

Chapter 11

Gender, Role, Prestige, and Ritual Interaction across the Ohio, Mann, and Havana Hopewellian Regions, as Evidenced by Ceramic Figurines

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The interpretation of gender as a cultural distinction through archaeology can be a difficult task. Archaeological gender studies have been few until the last decade, due to a lack of helpful analytical tools and models. Although speculative, this chapter attempts to increase our understanding of various cultural practices influenced by gender in northern Hopewellian societies. Specifically, what can be learned of the social roles, roles in ritual, relative prestige, and social interactions of northern Hopewellian women through archaeologically preserved materials?

This chapter focuses on Hopewellian societies in three regions of the Woodlands: the Scioto–Miami area of Ohio, the Havana region of the Illinois valley, and the Mann area of Indiana. The artifacts that are used to gain insight on these societies are ceramic figurines, totaling 148 from 19 Hopewellian sites.

The first half of the chapter is a general, descriptive study of figurines in all three regions. A search is made for empirical patterning in the representational content, formal details, technology, and depositional contexts of figurines, with

an eye that these might express gender roles and other features of social organization, the function(s) of figurines, and their nature of production. The survey shows that Hopewellian figurines depict both males and females, in life, hunting, rearing children, milling grain, and engaging in other activities, and in death. Children and the elderly were seldom portrayed. Figurines were very likely produced by women, primarily in residential sites for domestic ceremonies. They were also deposited in mortuary contexts, although less frequently. The sequential addition of utilitarian pottery, fancy pottery, and figurines to the list of goods placed in graves over the course of the Early and Middle Woodland may indicate an increase in the participation of women in mortuary rituals through time. Markings of status on figurines show that some women held important social positions and expressed these actively, most frequently in the Havana region.

In the second half of the chapter, a stylistic, geographic analysis of the figurines is presented. The analysis suggests that figurines were

not traded frequently interregionally, that women who produced figures were not frequently exchanged in marriage interregionally, and that women did not commonly travel long distances to acquire from each other formal rights and formulae for producing and using figurines. Instead, information about figurine styles and uses was exchanged. This probably occurred informally, with open rights to figurine production—perhaps through casual observation and learning at inter-regional ceremonial gatherings, but not through simple down-the-line interactions.

Examples of Hopewellian figurines with various characteristics, some previously published, many not, are illustrated throughout the text. Citations to other published and unpublished illustrations and descriptions of figurines are provided in Tables 11.1 and 11.2 and in the text. Appendices 11.1 through 11.9 contain line drawings of previously unpublished figurines, primarily from the Mann site, Indiana. Griffin et al. (1970) illustrate a broad diversity of figurines from eight sites in Illinois and Ohio.

Both authors collected the primary data for this chapter and worked on the analyses. Keller had a greater hand in the interpretations about gender in the first half of the chapter; Carr, in the interpretations of figurine styles and artisan interactions in the second half.

ANALYSES OF GENDER, SOCIAL ROLES, AND PRESTIGE

Description of Dimensions of Variation of Figurines

In the first part of this chapter, the sample of figurines selected for study are those that are as complete as possible. This was necessary to search for patterns of association among and geographic distributions of figurine attributes, such as their sex, hairstyle, clothing style, and posture. The sample of figurines used consists of 31 pieces from 4 major sites in the Scioto–Miami region, 59 pieces from 13 sites in the Havana region, and 58 pieces from 2 sites in the Mann region (Table 11.1). Different criteria were used to select figurines for the stylistic study in the second half of the chapter (see below).

The sample used here includes figurine descriptions and depictions available in published literature, as well as unpublished photographs of additional figurines that were provided by C. Carr and B. K. Schwartz. Only figurines that could be provenienced to site were analyzed. The sample is not an exhaustive collection of figurines from the regions. There are many figurines available in private collections that are not dependably provenienced, as well as figurines that are too fragmentary for use here. In addition, some figurines are known from the southeastern United States.¹

In the following descriptive material, when percentages of a figurine trait are given, such as the percentages of figurines from a region or of a sex that have ornamentation or certain hairstyles or eye styles, care has been taken to distinguish between the actual absence of the trait from a figurine and absence that results from missing parts due to preservation. Figurines missing a part where a given trait might occur were excluded from calculating percentages for that trait.

To begin, some basic dimensions of variation that characterize northern Hopewell figurines must be described.

Representational Content

Figurines represent the arenas of both life and death. They show individuals in various life activities, including holding and nursing children (Figures 11.1a and b); sitting, possibly in counsels (Figure 11.1c); and holding hunting equipment (Figure 11.1d). Another may represent a body being prepared after death, arms crossed and lying in prone position (Figure 11.2a). One figurine with its knees flexed tightly against its chest (Figure 11.2b) may represent a body prepared for a flexed burial. An analogous depiction of a person in death or trance, with eyes closed, but sculpted from stone into a pipe bowl, is illustrated by Squire and Davis (1848:244, fig. 144).

The elderly and children are rarely depicted, probably because adult life expectancies were short (see Scullin et al. n.d.). Similarly, children are seldom represented, perhaps because they were thought of as extensions of their parents, without well-defined, individual and social identities of their own until they grew older. This

Table 11.1. Basic Data on Figurines Included in This Study

Region	Site	ID#	Context (1)	Sex (2)	Hair (3)	Topknot (4)	Earspools (4)	Belt (4)	Arm band (4)	Necklace (4)	Item held (6)	Temper (4)	Posture (5)	Ref. (7)	Notes	
Havana	Knight	1	B	M	2	N	Y	N	N	N	Allatd	Y	1	2, 6, 7		
		2	B	F	3	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	2	2, 6, 7		
		3	B	F	3	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Child	Y	2	2, 6, 7	
		4	B	F	3	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Child	Y	3	2, 6, 7	
		5	B	F	1	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Foot trophies	Y	3	2, 3, 6, 7	Belt with a pouch
		6	B	U	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	3	2, 3, 7	Burial is that of a child; crude figurine
	Baehr	1	B	M	U	U	U	U	LC	N	N	N	Y	3	1, 7	In fiber bag with copper ceft and pottery, head broken
		2	B	M	U	U	U	U	LC	N	N	N	Y	3	1, 7	On a mica plate with flint blades and bone earspool
		1	U	U	3	N	N	N	U	U	U	U	Y	U	1, 7	
		1	V	U	4	N	N	N	U	U	U	U	Y	U	1, 7	
	Schuyler	1	V	M	1	Y	Y	LC	N	N	N	U	3	1, 7	Male with only one side of head shaved	
		2	V	F	3	N	N	Y	N	N	U	U	2	1, 2, 7		
		3	V	F	2	Y	Y	U	U	U	N	U	5	1, 7	Posture known as naughty Marietta style, with hands under chin	
	Twenthofel	4	V	F	U	N	N	U	U	U	N	N	U	2	1, 7	
		5	V	F	3	N	N	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 7	
		6	V	F	3	N	N	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 7	
		7	V	F	3	N	N	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 7	
		8	V	F	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	3	1, 7	
		9	V	F	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	3	1, 7	
		10	V	F	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	2	1, 7	
Sister Creek White Co.	11-16*	V	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	7		
	1	U	F	1	N	N	Y	U	N	N	N	U	2	1, 7		
	2-4*	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	3	7	Fragments	
Murphysboro Sugar Camp Hill Carrier Mills	5-23*	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	7		
	1	V	F	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	3	1, 9	Crude	
	1	V	U	U	U	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 9		
	1	U	F	U	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 9		
	1	V	M	2	U	U	U	U	N	N	U	U	3	1, 9	Crude Squared shoulders with hands on thighs	
Whitnah Smiling Dan	1	V	F	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	U	3	1, 9	Crude	
	1-3*	U	U	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	3	9	Crude	

Table 11.1. (*continued*)

Region	Site	ID#	Context (1)	Sex (2)	Hair (3)	Topknot (4)	Earspools (4)	Belt (4)	Arm band (4)	Necklace (4)	Item held (6)	Temper (4)	Posture (5)	Ref. (7)	Notes	
Mann phase	Mann	1	V	M	U	U	Y	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2	Elderly and toothless	
		2-10*	V	M	2	Y	Y	LC	N	N	N	U	U	U	2	
		11-20*	V	M	2	Y	Y	LC	N	N	N	U	U	U	2	
		21	V	F	U	Y	Y	U	N	N	Y	U	U	U	1, 2	
		22-23*	V	F	U	U	U	U	U	N	N	U	U	U	2	Swollen abdomens as if pregnant
		24-29*	V	F	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	U	5	2	Not ornamented in detail like Knight figurines
		30-33*	V	F	U	N	N	N	Y	N	N	U	U	U	2	
		34-51*	V	F	U	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	U	U	1	
		52	V	U	U	U	U	Y	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2	
		53	V	U	U	1	U	U	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2, 5	
		54	V	U	4	Y	Y	U	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2, 5	Holes for headdress antlers
		55	V	U	U	U	Y	Y	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2	
		56	V	U	U	Y	Y	U	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2, 5	
		57	V	U	3	U	U	U	U	N	N	U	U	U	1, 2	
		1	B	M	5	Y	N	N	U	N	N	U	U	U	1	
		Scioto/Miami	Worthington	1	U	M	2	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	5	1
2	U			F	4	N	N	N	N	U	U	U	5	1		
1	A			M	4	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	3	2, 4, 7	Hands over abdomen	
2	A			M	2	N	N	U	U	N	N	U	3	1, 4, 7		
3	A			M	2	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	2	2, 4, 7	Warrior hairstyle	
4	A			M	4	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	3	2, 4, 7		
5	A			M	2	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	3	2, 4, 7		
6	A			M	2	Y	Y	Y	U	U	U	U	1, 7	1, 7	Knees to chest/head destroyed	
7	A			M	U	U	U	U	N	N	N	N	U	2	1, 7	
8	A			F	3	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	U	3	2, 4, 7	
9	A			F	U	U	U	U	Y	U	U	U	U	U	1, 7	Bird shapes
10-23*	A			U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	3	7	
24-25*	A			U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	1, 7	
26	A			U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	1	
1	U			M	U	U	U	Y	U	U	U	U	U	U	1	Eyes round, mouth resembles Indiana style
1	A			M	4	N	N	N	N	U	U	U	U	U	1, 2	

Note. * More than one figurine represented in the row because all variable states are the same.

(1) V—village/domestic; B—burial; A—alter; U—unknown.

(2) M—male; F—female; U—unknown.

(3) 1—one side shaved; 2—two sides shaved; 3—straight/long; 4—bald/cap; 5—other; U—unknown.

(4) Y—present; N—not present; LC—loincloth (belt); U—unknown.

(5) 1—kneeling; 2—sitting; 3—standing; 4—knees to chest; 5—prone with bent knees.

(6) N—nothing; U—unknown.

(7) 1—Swartz (n.d.a); 2—Carr (slide collection); 3—Struever and Houart (1972); 4—Penny (1983); 5—Adams (1949); 6—Griffin (1978); 7—Griffin et al. (1970).

Table 11.2. Data for Figurines Used in the Style Analyses

Region	Site	Sex	Mouth (1)	Nose (2)	Eyes (3)	Slant (4)	Hair (5)	Ears (6)	Ref (7)	Size	
Havana	Schuyler Co.	F	1	3	M	0	1	4	1, 2, 7	3.5 × 2.5 cm	
		F	1	3	M	0	1	4	1, 2, 7	3.5 × 2.5 cm	
		F	1	3	M	0	1	U	1, 2, 7	3.5 × 2.5 cm	
		F	1	3	M	1	1	1	1, 2, 7	5.5 cm	
		M	1	3	M	1	1	1	1, 2, 7	12.2 cm(hd, 3.5 cm)	
		F	1	3	M	0	1	4	1, 2, 7	10.5 cm(hd, 3.5 cm)	
		F	1	3	U	U	1	4	1, 2, 7	7.5 cm	
		F	1	3	M	0	1	U	1, 2, 7	5.5 cm (hd, 2 cm)	
		Crable site	U	1	3	M	0	1	N	1, 7	3.7 × 2 cm
		Steuben village	U	1	3	M	0	U	1	1, 7	2.4 cm
		Knight (Child burial)	M	1	4	N	1	1	4	2, 6, 7	3.1 in.
			U	2	4	N	1	U	N	2, 3, 7	6.9 cm
			F	1	4	N	1	1	4	2, 6, 7	3.75 cm
			F	1	4	N	1	1	1	2, 6, 7	4.5 in.
			F	1	4	N	1	1	4	2, 6, 7	3.2 in.
		Unknown*	F	2	6	N	0	2	N	1	2, 6, 7
			F	1	U	M	0	1	1	1	
			F	1	2	N	1	1	1	1	
			F	4	1	N	2	1	N	1	
	Scioto/Miami	Adena Md. Seip Turner	M	3	5	M	0	1	1	1	U
M			3	5	W	0	1	2	2	U	
F			1	5	M	0	1	2	2, 4, 7	U	
M			1	3	M	2	4	1	2, 4, 7	U	
M			1	4	M	2	1	2	2, 4, 7	U	
M			1	3	M	1	3	2	2, 4, 7	U	
M			1	3	M	1	U	1	2, 4, 7	U	
U			1	5	M	1	1	2	2, 7	U	
Mann phase	Crab Orchard Mann	M	3	5	M	3	3	2	1	U	
		F	3	3	M	2	3	N	1, 2	U	
		U	2	3	W	1	1	N	1, 2	U	
		M	2	3	N	1	4	4	1, 2	U	
		M	2	4	M	3	4	3	1, 2	U	
		U	2	3	M	3	4	3	1, 2	U	
		M	1	4	M	3	4	2	1, 2	U	
		U	U	U	M	3	U	U	1, 2	U	
		U	U	U	U	U	3	U	1, 2	U	
		U	U	U	U	U	2	U	1, 2	U	
		M	1	4	N	3	4	2	1, 2	U	
		M	1	4	M	3	2	1	1, 2, 5	U	
		F	2	4	M	0	4	2	1, 2	U	
		U	1	4	N	2	3	2	1, 2, 5	3 cm	
		U	1	4	M	1	1	N	1, 2	U	
		U	4	6	W	0	4	N	1, 2	1.5 cm	
		U	4	3	W	0	U	N	1, 2	1.7 cm	
		M	4	6	M	0	1	3	1, 2, 5	2.2 cm	
		U	1	3	M	1	1	N	1, 2	U	
		U	2	3	W	1	4	N	1, 2	U	
U	4	3	M	1	4	N	1, 2	U			
U	2	3	W	3	4	N	1, 2	U			

Table 11.2. (continued)

Region	Site	Sex	Mouth (1)	Nose (2)	Eyes (3)	Slant (4)	Hair (5)	Ears (6)	Ref (7)	Size
		U	2	3	N	3	4	3	1, 2	U
		U	2	3	N	3	4	N	1, 2	U
		U	2	3	M	3	4	3	1, 2	U
		U	4	6	W	2	4	N	1, 2	U
		U	2	6	N	1	4	N	1, 2	U

Note. *Private collections; not provenienced. (1) 1—closed with lips; 2—closed without lips; 3—open with lips; 4—open without lips; U—unknown. (2) 1—narrow/square; 2—narrow/round; 3—medium/square; 4—wide/square; 5—wide/round; 6—other; U—unknown; (3) N—narrow; M—medium; W—wide; U—unknown. (4) 0—no slant; 1—slight, 10 to 20 degrees from horizontal; 2—average, 20 to 45 degrees from horizontal; 3—extreme, above 45 degrees from horizontal. (5) 1—raised cap; 2—incised lines; 3—both incised lines and raised cap; 4—bald or caps/smooth; U—unknown; (6) 1—scrolled with ear spoons; 2—scrolled without ear spoons; 3—ear outline; 4—earspool outline; N—no ears or ear spoons; U—unknown. (7) 1—Swartz (n.d.b); 2—Carr (slide collection); 3—Struever and Houart (1972); 4—Penny (1983); 5—Adams (1949); 6—Griffin (1978); 7—Griffin et al., (1970).

is a common belief cross-culturally (e.g., Driver 1969; Senior 1994).

Depositional Contexts

In the Scioto–Miami area, 90% of ceramic figurines are found in mound altars. The remaining 10% are unprovenienced (Figure 11.3). In contrast, only about 14% of Havana figurines are from mortuary contexts. These figurines are from individual or small-group burials. This difference reflects the fact that altars do not occur in the Havana area; small crypts were used instead of the large charnel houses of the Scioto–Miami area. Approximately 36% of the Havana figurines

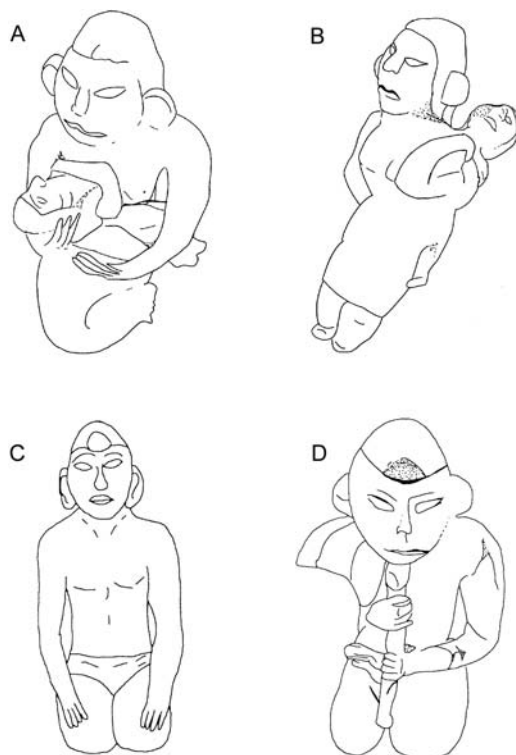


Figure 11.1. (A, B) Figurines from Knight mound site, Illinois (Griffin et al. 1970:Plates 71, 72, respectively). Persons are shown nursing and/or holding, and carrying children. (C) Kneeling figure from Altar 1, Mound 4 of the Turner site, Ohio (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:Plates 20e, 21e). (D) Figurine holding atlatl, from the Knight mound site, Illinois (Griffin et al. 1970:Plate 69).

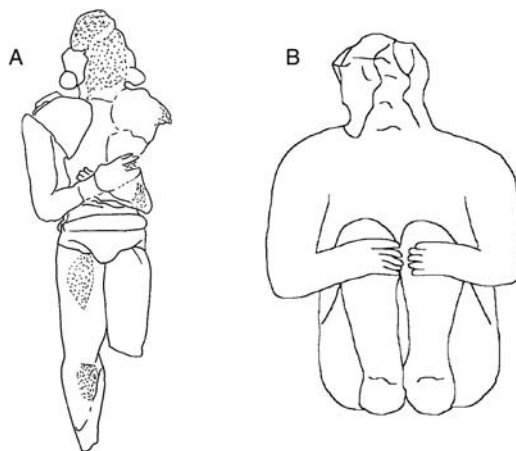


Figure 11.2. Figurines from Altar 1, Mound 4 of the Turner site, Ohio. (A) Arms crossed and laid out as if for burial (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:Plates 20g, 21g). (B) Knees flexed tightly to chest as if for burial (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:Plates 20c, 21c).

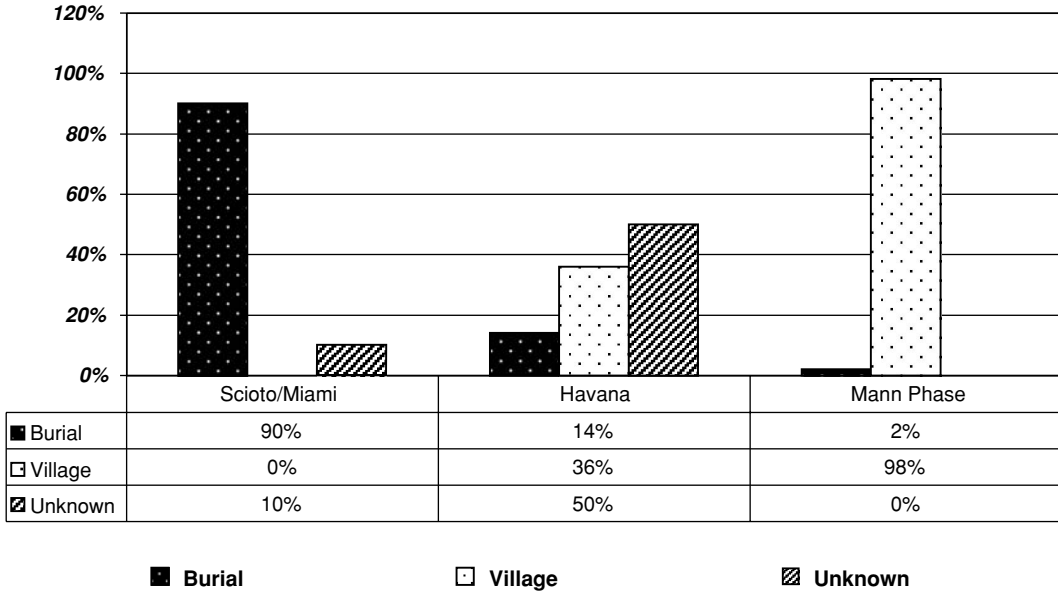


Figure 11.3. Context in which figurines were found.

occur in village contexts. The remaining 50% cannot be assigned a provenience.

Over 95% of the figurines known from the Mann site were found in residential contexts, in part because these were excavated extensively by Kellar (1979), and the one mound excavated to a considerable degree (Mann 9) was a rectangular, flat-topped, apparent stage for ceremonies rather than a burial mound. Only a few burial mounds have been partially excavated, by amateurs and antiquarians (see Ruby 1997e for summaries). However, no figurines were recovered from the Mann phase Mount Vernon burial mound, which had large numbers of ceremonial and mortuary artifacts (Seeman 1995:table 5.1).

Technology, Detail, and Realism

None of the Scioto–Miami figurines are tempered, nor are they highly ornamented. The figurines are detailed in facial features and hairstyles, and sexual distinction is easily apparent, yet their forms are rigid, with little animation (Figures 11.2a and 11.4). In contrast, nearly 50% of the Havana Hopewellian figurines are made of fine limestone tempered clay, and about 15% show ornamentation or painted bodies (Figures 11.1a–c, 11.12, and 11.14). Most of the figurines



Figure 11.4. Figurine from Altar 1, Mound 4 of the Turner site, Ohio (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:Plates 20b and 21b).

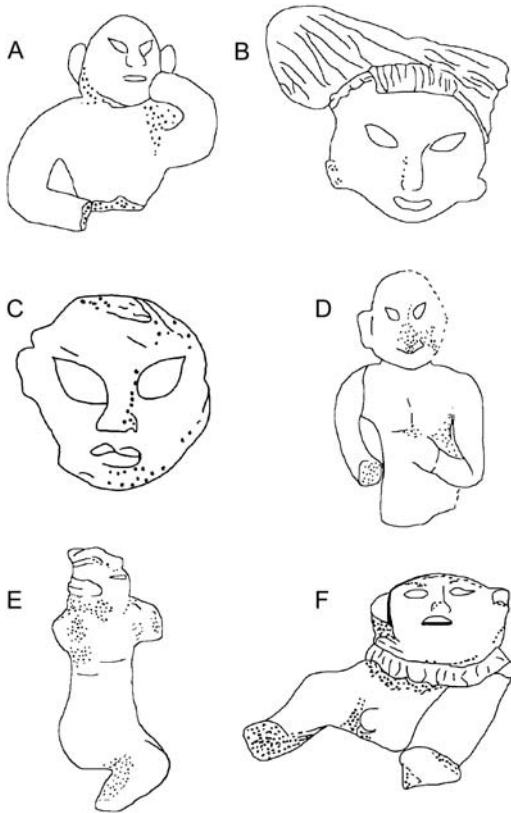


Figure 11.5. Figurines from the Mann site, Indiana (A, B, C, D, E, F). Objects courtesy of Charles Lacer, Evansville, IN.

in this area show refined sexual distinction, and they have varying degrees of animation.

Mann figurines have grog tempering, when tempering is present. Ornamentation is limited, consisting of ear-pools, and only one female has a necklace. Mann phase artisans produced very simple forms with little animation and little sexual distinction (Figures 11.5 and 11.6).

In the Havana region, there is a distinct class of figurines known in the literature as “Casper-the-Ghost” figurines, which are not found in the Mann or Scioto areas. These figurines have a very crude form with rough features (Figure 11.7). Of the seven such figurines within this study, four are from unknown contexts, two are from village sites, and one was placed in the burial of a child on its chest. The three ghost figurines that could be identified to sex are all female.

Kinds and Commonness of Ornamentation

Significant markings on figurines include ear-pools, topknots, and a shaved or capped head. These may indicate social leadership and/or prestige. Figurines having these expressions are most prevalent in the Mann region. There, ear-pools occur on about 21% of the figurines, shaved or capped heads on about 36%, and topknots on about 41% (Figure 11.8). The Scioto–Miami figurines are more conservative, with ear-pools occurring on 17% of the figurines, shaved heads on 30%, and topknots on 13%. Percentages of possible leadership/prestige markers are lowest on Havana figurines, with ear-pools on about 21%, shaved heads on about 12%, and topknots on about 7%. However, Havana figurines are the most realistic and technically refined of those of the three traditions (see above).

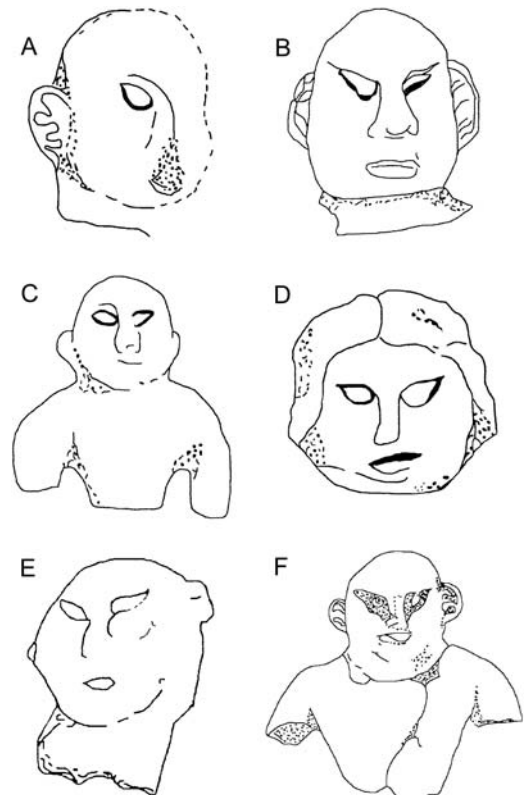


Figure 11.6. Figurines from the Mann site, Indiana (A, B, C, D, E, F). Objects courtesy of Charles Lacer, Evansville, IN.

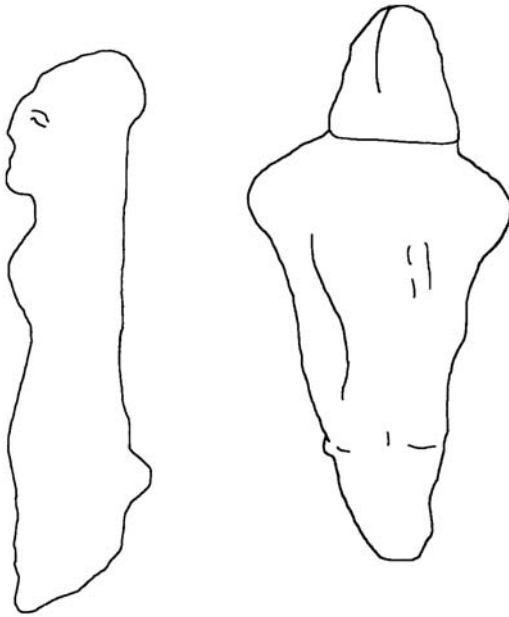


Figure 11.7. A Casper-the-Ghost figurine from the Whithah village site, Illinois (Cole and Deuel 1937:161–166, Plate 34).

There are at least two possible explanations for these patterns in ornamentation. First, it may be that the several kinds of ornamentation were considered markers of social leadership or prestige for restricted sets of persons among Havana and Scioto–Miami societies, while they were worn and accepted more widely in the Mann area. Alternately, the pattern may reflect distinct beliefs among the three regions as to who should be depicted by ceramic figurines. Artists in Havana and Scioto–Miami societies may have been freer to depict commoners without ornamentation or high-status markings, and/or Mann phase producers may have sought to depict primarily leaders or other individuals of high status.

Bearing on these two possibilities, it is known that earspools themselves occur in burial contexts more frequently in the Scioto-Miami area than the Havana area. Yet the frequency of figurines with earspools in the two areas is approximately the same. This suggests that the Scioto-Miami artists may have been more constrained in depicting leaders and/or that Havana artists may have been freer in rendering

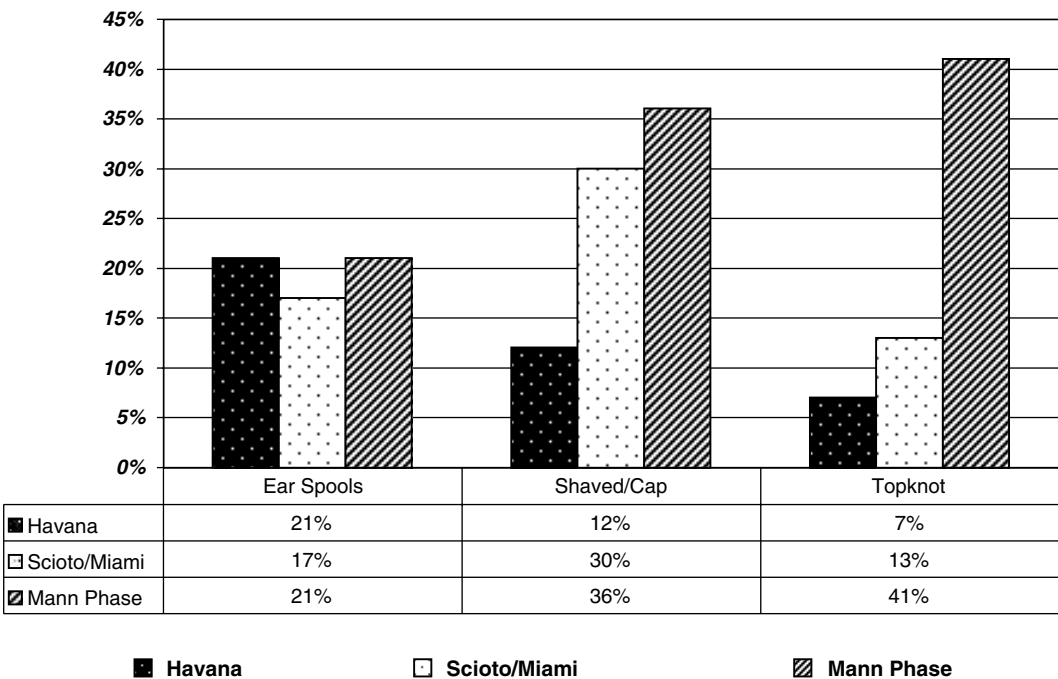


Figure 11.8. The distribution of status markers on figurines.

leaders. Frequencies of depiction of earspools in the two areas does not seem to have been related to the commonness with which earspools were worn there. Comparative data on the frequency of earspools in Mann phase burial contexts is not available to assess the two alternatives there.

Gender Differences in Decoration

In the Scioto–Miami area, about 40% of the male figures have earspools, while the females have none (Figures 11.9a and b). These gender distinctions correspond well with those obtained from burial data from Hopewellian sites in the Scioto valley. There, deceased persons interred with earspools were usually male (Carr, Chapter 7, Appendix 7.2). The Mann phase figurine sample is similar, with 48% of the males and none of the females wearing earspools.

In contrast, Havana Hopewell artisans depicted earspools on both male and female figurines, but somewhat more commonly on females (males, 40%; females, 56%). Havana Hopewell female figurines have most categories of ornamentation in higher percentages than do male figurines, but especially earspools. This may suggest some significant differences in the kinds and frequencies of leadership and/or prestige roles filled by women in the Havana area compared to the roles they took in the Mann and Scioto–Miami regions.

That the social situation is complex, requiring specification of the particular leadership and prestigious roles filled by males versus females in each area, rather than generalized statements of male or female dominance by area, is evidence from comparing these patterns to others found in other studies. Buikstra (1976) and Braun (1979) noticed in Havana burial mounds that males were interred in central crypts much more often than females, and that females never were interred there unaccompanied by a male-crypt burial indicating leadership (Carr, Chapter 6). In an analysis of the grave goods found with males and females at the Turner site in the Miami drainage, Rodrigues (Chapter 10) found that females were more commonly associated with artifacts used by shaman or other kinds of institutionalized leaders than were males.

Gender Differences in Hairstyles

Among male figurines, topknots are present in all areas: about 95% in the Mann area, 40% in the Scioto–Miami area, and 20% in the Havana area (Figure 11.10). Female figurines with topknots are absent in the Scioto–Miami area, and almost nonexistent in the Mann phase, about 3%. However, in the Havana area, female figurines with topknots nearly equal male figurines with them, about 17%.

A shaved head or cap is common among males in all areas: Mann, about 90%; Scioto–Miami, 80%; and Havana, 60% (Figure 11.11). Women share in this expression at lower percentages in two areas: Havana, at 17%, and Scioto–Miami, at 33%. No female figurines were found to have a shaved head or cap in the Mann phase.

The Production, Function, and Cultural Implications of Figurines

In this section, seven topics that are relevant to the figurines and what they reveal about Hopewellian culture and society are raised and discussed.

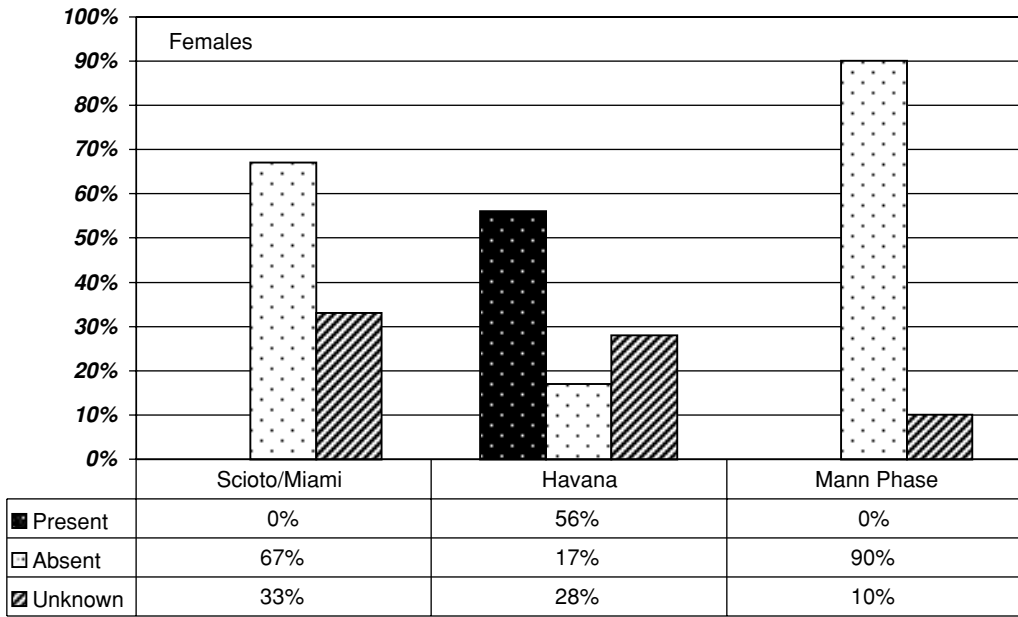
Were Figurines Traded within the Hopewell Interaction Sphere?

This issue must be addressed first, before any other cultural conclusions can be drawn from the frequency, distribution, style, and content of the figurines.

The interaction of Middle Woodland peoples among regions has been viewed by many archaeologists as the product of a series of exchange networks (Seeman 1977a; Struever and Houart 1972) in combination with small-group, long-distance, logistical procurement trips or ritual journeys (Carr, Chapter 16; Bernardini and Carr, Chapter 17; Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Carr and Sears 1985; Griffin 1965; Seeman 1995).

The equation of Hopewellian interaction with exchange has sometimes been applied to figurines as an exchanged medium. Swartz (n.d.a) and Struever and Houart (1972:77) held that the Mann site may have been a large trade–production center, given that more than 400

A



B

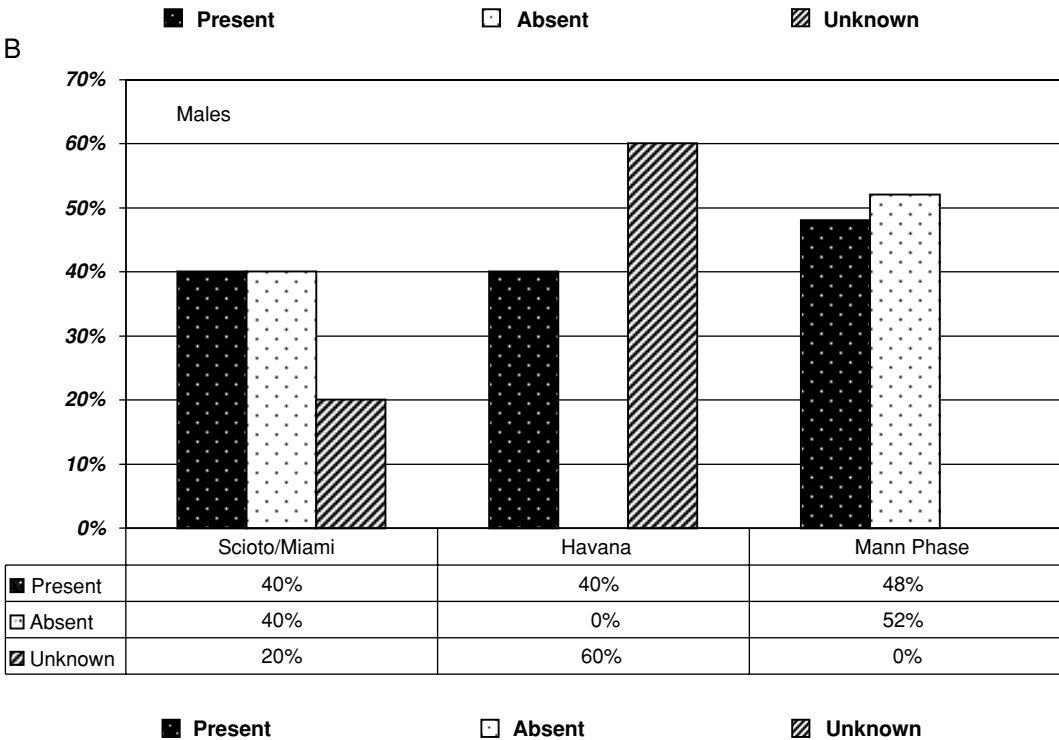
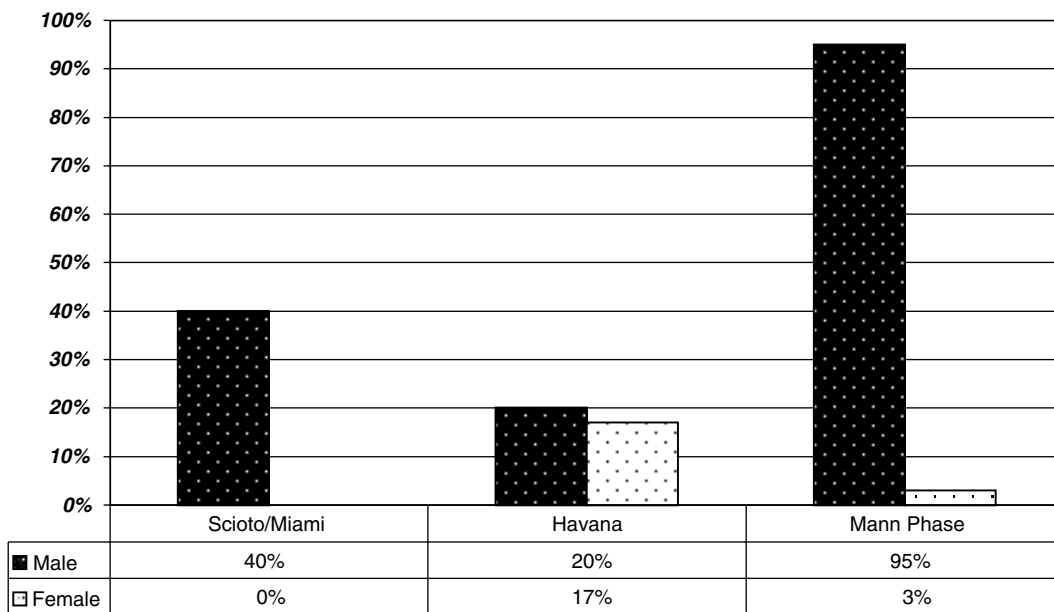
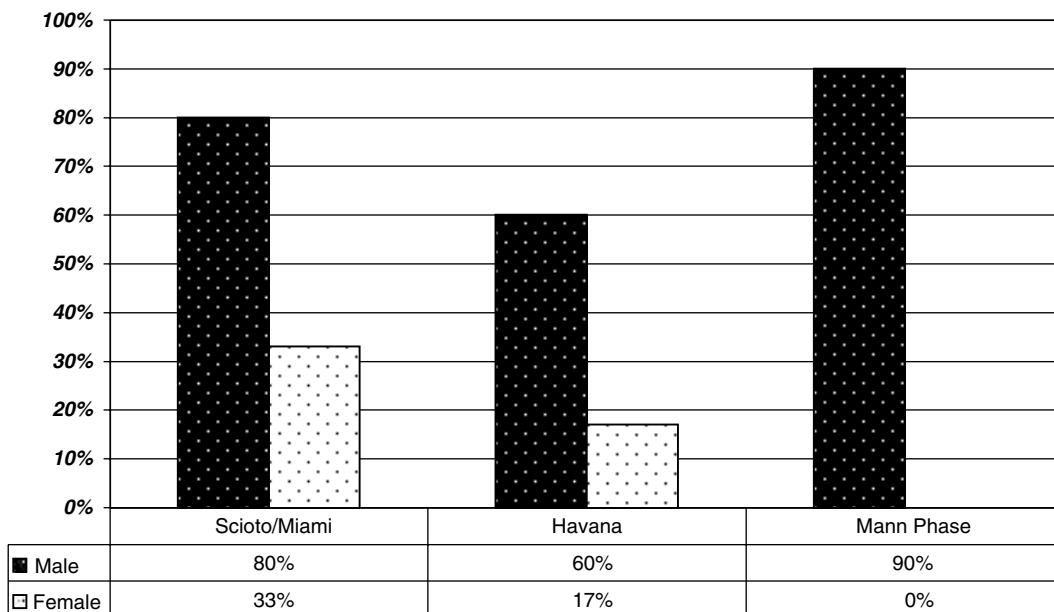


Figure 11.9. The distribution of earspools for (A) female and (B) male figurines.



■ Male □ Female

Figure 11.10. The distribution of topknots for both male and female figurines.



■ Male □ Female

Figure 11.11. The distribution of shaved heads or caps on male and female figurines.

figurine fragments have been recovered there. However, this idea is not upheld by the presence of figurines of the Mann phase style in other regions. More broadly, even though Hopewell figurines over the Northeast share general morphological similarities, sufficient formal variation exists to view them as locally made products.

Specifically, variations among regions are manifest in fabrication skills, hairstyles, dress styles, and figurine feature depictions (see below). All of these variations point toward primarily a sharing of ideas and knowledge rather than the actual artifacts within the Hopewell interaction sphere (Adams 1949; Griffin 1970). Adams spoke of the general resemblance of clay figurines among sites in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, not specific similarities. He noted that variation among regions is obvious in both fabrication skill and decisions regarding style and content. Penney (1988) held that interregional stylistic continuity is better explained by the open buying of rights to produce figurines and use them in ceremony, rather than by their trade. These data patterns and ideas, and one possible exception to them, are explored in detail in the second half of this chapter through a style analysis of figurines.

Were Figurines Produced in Ceremonial or Domestic Contexts?

In and around some Ohio Hopewell earthworks, there are areas interpreted as special activity workshops, such as the buildings at Seip possibly used for textile and mica artifact production (Baby and Langouis 1979) and the blade workshops at Liberty, Baum, and Turner (Coughlin and Seeman 1997:236–238; Greber 1997:217; Greber et al. 1981; Seeman 1981b:3). Such locations have craft-related artifacts and/or debris without the common signs of habitation, suggesting that they were used for ritual activities and/or production. Similarly, a location within the Hopewell earthworks (West Village) and another just outside the walls of Hopeton (the Redwing component) are predominated by obsidian, quartz crystal, and nonlocal chert debris and lack pottery, blades, and groundstone tools, suggesting the manufacture of ritual para-

phernalia there (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Pederson and Dancey 2002; Pederson et al. 2002; Ruby 1997b, 1997c, 1997d). However, no evidence of analogous workshop locations in which clay figurines were produced is known in earthwork and mound sites in the northern Hopewellian regions we studied.

Evidence for locations of pottery vessel production is currently known only in domestic settings in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois (e.g., Carr and Komorowski 1995; Neumann and Fowler 1952; Pruffer 1965; see also Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). Complementarily, there is little indication of the manufacture of items of fancy gems, minerals, and metals in residential sites, where these materials are rare (Brose 1985), although mica scrap is more common in residential sites in Ohio (Dancey and Pacheco 1997). Thus, it appears that pottery and clay figurines were formed and fired primarily within residential sites.

Did Males or Females Produce the Figurines?

Clay is an accessible and easily worked medium, and may have been used more naturally by women. The appearance of figurines in primarily village sites and domestic middens in the Mann and Havana areas has been considered to be a strong reason, in itself, for concluding that figurines were produced by females (Griffin 1967). In contrast, copper, mica, iron, silver, and galena are more labor-intensive to work and take long excursions to procure, suggesting male use, in light of ethnographic analogs (see below).

It is also significant that clay figurines have a naturalistic style. Clay figurines rarely show facial scarification, tattoos, or painting in the form of geometric designs or power animal features, unlike human images carved from stone, antler, and pipestone (see Carr and Case, Chapter 5, Table 5.2, and Carr 2000c, for an inventory) or patinated on copper headplates, breastplates, and celts (Carr 2000c, 2000d) in Ohio. Significantly, at least headplates, breastplates, and celts are found in predominantly male burials (Carr, Chapter 7).

Hopewellian women were clearly invested in the earthy Middle World. They bore and raised

children (Figures 11.1a and b), probably worked the earth in horticulture (Burton et al. 1976), and, if ethnographic analogies pertain, may have prepared corpses for burial (Trigger 1969). The naturalistic style of clay figurines expresses the feel of the world that Hopewell women would have known and of which they were a part. The congruence of this naturalistic style and these female Hopewellian roles suggests that figurines were more likely produced by women.

These patterns are significant in light of cross-cultural studies on the division of labor, which show ceramic production to be overwhelmingly a female activity. George Murdock and Caterina Provost (1973) coded labor by sex for 185 societies world-wide and 50 different activities. In examining the qualities of raw materials, Murdock and Provost found that manufacturing activities using materials that are hard or tough to process tended strongly to be assigned to males. Females were assigned to working materials that are soft and pliable such as clay. Ceramic production was traditionally a woman's activity in more than 90% of the societies examined. Among Historic-period Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands, ethnohistories (Driver 1969; Flannery 1946) show that ceramic producers were predominantly female. These ethnographic data support the archaeological inference that females were more likely responsible for producing figurines.²

What Role Did Figurines and Females Play in Mortuary Ceremony?

In Kentucky, Early Woodland utilitarian plain ware was used during graveside rituals, but was not placed with the dead to accompany them to the hereafter (Clay 1986). By the Middle Woodland period, Havana and Scioto Hopewellian peoples placed utilitarian and elaborated ceramics with some burials. If ceramics can be seen as a female medium of expression, then graduating from the utilitarian use of pottery at the graveside to the actual inclusion of it in burials was a significant addition to the influence of women in mortuary ritual. A stronger statement of female expression would have been the production and inclusion in burials of elaborately decorated pottery

used in ritual, such as the fine Hopewell wares with bird designs and other decorated ceramic types. The manufacture and burial of Hopewell ware, in particular, would have been especially significant, given its bird, snake, and other symbolism of the Upper, Middle, and Lower Worlds of the cosmos, its representation of the inversion of the cosmos at night, and the power that would have been generated from joining Upper World and Lower World designs (Carr 1998, 2000a, 2000b; Carr and Case 1995). The production and mortuary use of Hopewell ware by women would suggest an acceptance of women participating in arenas other than just the earthy Middle World. A yet greater and final step in the ceremonial expression of women would have been the production and inclusion in burials of ceramic figurines, which were concerned most basically with the human condition and human welfare.

It might be argued that fine Hopewell and other elaborated ceramic wares, which were most likely used in mortuary and domestic rituals, were produced by men rather than women. Then the interpretation that the role of women in mortuary rituals increased progressively through time would be less clear. However, Neumann and Fowler (1952) concluded from their excavation of a residential site with both refuse pits and burials in White County, Illinois, that the Havana utilitarian pottery and the carefully decorated Hopewell ware were both made by the same potters.

Ethnohistorical accounts for the Eastern Woodlands (Driver 1969; Trigger 1969) also suggest that women played an important role in mortuary behavior and ritual. Huron women did much of the preparation of the corpse and transporting of it to places of burial. They were responsible for bundling bones, participated in choosing the placing of grave goods, performed rituals, and placed food in graves for use by the souls.

It is significant that the Turner site in Ohio, which dates later in the Middle Woodland and perhaps later in the sequence of elaborated involvement of women in mortuary ritual, has produced the most symbolic incorporation of figurines in mortuary contexts. In Altar 1 of Mound 4, naturalistic clay figurines, which have

been argued above to have been associated with the Middle World, were surrounded by effigies of Lower World monstrous, dangerous, and powerful creatures (Willoughby 1922:68–74). The combining of these items demonstrates an attempt to relate these two worlds and their beings in some fashion. Based on widespread Woodland ethnohistorical accounts, Penney (1983) inferred that the Altar 1 deposit referred to the dangerous journey that souls of the deceased make through the Lower World to a land of the dead. To this interpretation might be added the guidance and facilitation of souls in their journey to that afterlife, and the potential role of women in psychopomp work. Again, if females produced the Turner figurines, the participation of women in more than the earthy, Middle World arena is implied. Significantly, Pauketat and Emerson (1991), in their discussion of symbolism and ideology expressed on Ramey incised pots from Cahokia, state that the material expression of a worldview is a way in which individuals and groups become aware of their social position and, we would add, their place in the cosmos.

What Was the Purpose of Figurines in Village Contexts?

The scarcity of figurines that were deposited in mortuary contexts compared to village contexts in the Havana and perhaps Mann areas may point toward mound inclusion and mortuary ceremony as not being the sole or even the primary purpose for figurines in these two regions.

Ceramic items are a natural and easy form of self-expression and identity creation for the producer. It is possible that Hopewell figurines, particularly the simple and possibly spontaneously produced ghost figurines found in the Havana region, started as self-portraits. McCoid and McDermott (1996), in their study of Upper Paleolithic Venus figurines, discussed the probability that figurines were a form of female self-representation. The Venus figurines are faceless, with thin or nonexistent arms. Their unnaturally short legs, disproportionately small feet, and large breasts are all apt renderings, if one considers the body as seen by a woman looking down on herself. This description has significant

similarities to the rough ghost figurines and may imply an analogous function for them.

The commonness of figurines in habitation sites in the Havana and Mann areas might lead to the impression that figurines were not ceremonial in nature. We contend that this fact means only that they were not used exclusively in mortuary ceremonies. Ceremony almost certainly also occurred in the domestic arena. Women's ceremonies might have addressed such concerns as fertility, the life cycle, and offerings to household or clan ancestors, spirits, or deities.

It is possible that ghost figurines of the Havana Hopewell represented a cult of human female fertility. One ghost figurine at the Knight mound site was found in the burial of a child (Giffin et al. 1970:plate 79). The figurine may have been a fertility talisman or image of the mother herself.

The fertility hypothesis fits well within the context of early sedentary agricultural economies that are demographically expansive and that value children as labor and the elderly as child caretakers (Ford 1974). This is an apt description of Havana Hopewell ecology at the time of the appearance of ghost figurines (Ruby et al., Chapter 4; Charles 1992).

Who Did the Figurines Represent?

There are several reasons to believe that Hopewellian figurines in burials represent the person or group with which they are found. Items included in burials often reflect the identity of the deceased as perceived by the survivors (Binford 1971; Braun 1979; Peebles 1974; Saxe 1970). Following this line of thought, at the Turner site, the ear ornament style found in burials matches the style depicted on figurines. Also, figurine cranial deformation at Mann matches the skulls of persons in the burials (Swartz n.d.a:5). Finally, at the Knight Mound, five figurines were cached together in a burial of five individuals (Griffin et al. 1970; McKern et al. 1945). The skeletons were of three adults, one of whom was male, and two children. The figurines were of three adults, one of whom was male, and two holding children.³

Figurines in burials also could have been miniature surrogates for the deceased. Items

found in Scioto Hopewell altars and basins, such as pipes, panpipes, necklaces, bracelets, boatstones, and tools often were unused and sometimes were too small to have been used (J. A. Brown 1979). They may have symbolized or held the spirit of the true piece and been intended for use by the dead. Analogously, figurines may have been miniature representations of whole persons or their souls. They might have been used as a way to bring the dead back to oversee and participate in burial procedures, especially if the burial had been postponed for winter-season constraints, transport of the body, or multistage body processing. (For an ethnographic analogy see Metcalf and Huntington [1991:87–90.]) In addition, placing figurines in mortuary altars could have been part of the ritual means and symbolism of letting go of the dead. This would be fitting if construction of a mound over the dead represented the final act of separation of the dead from the living and announced the reincorporating of surviving kin back into the society of the living (see Carr, Chapter 12).

Figurines may have had multiple purposes that varied within and between geographic regions. It is also possible that individual figurines changed in purpose and meaning with a change in context—for example, the transfer of a figurine from a residential area to a mortuary context.

What Was the Social Status and Power of Hopewell Women, as Revealed by Figurines?

The ornamentation and hairstyles of figurines suggest the high status of some women. Greber (1979a) and Carr (Chapter 7) conclude from mortuary analyses that earspools were high-status markers of a kind. Significantly, earspools are present on female figurines of only the Havana region, and on a fairly high percentage of them (56%; Figure 11.9). In addition shaving the head—completely or on one or both sides—may have been an indication of high status. This action would have allowed both earspools or one to show. Shaving of the head is depicted largely on male figurines. However, female figurines with one or both sides shaven, and in one case completely shaven, do occur in the Havana and

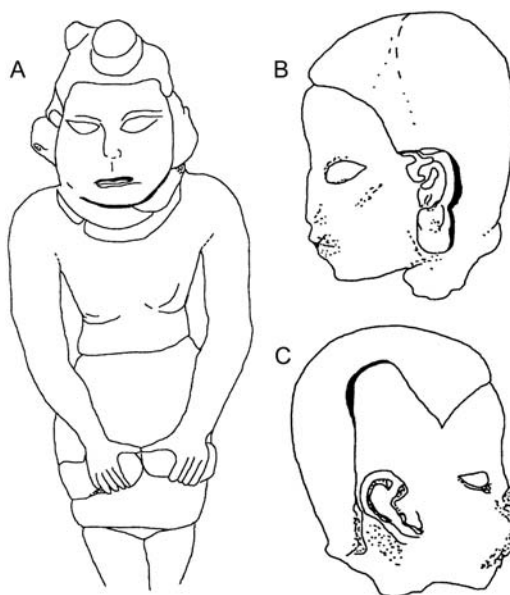


Figure 11.12. (A) A female figurine from the Knight mound site, Illinois (Griffin et al., 1970:Plate 73), and (B, C) one from the Havana region, probably the Twenhofel site (Griffin et al. 1970:Plate 86a). Both figurines show shaved heads.

Scioto–Miami areas, implying the high social status of some women. One highly decorated female figure from the Havana region shows only one side of the head shaven (Figure 11.12b,c). This hairstyle would have allowed her earspool to show (Figure 11.12c) without shaving both sides completely—practices more commonly reserved for males (Table 11.1).

Another hair form or headdress that possibly expressed high status is topknots. In the Havana area, all female figurines with topknots had earspools and shaven heads, where these parts of the figurine were preserved. One female figurine from the Mann phase has a topknot, but it is unclear whether it had earspools.

Belts are rare. They are associated with topknots and earspools and are shown on both male and female figurines. This pattern, too, suggests that some women occupied high-status positions. In addition, one female figurine (Figure 11.12a) from the Knight site, Illinois, has a belt with a pouch connected in back. This pouch is very similar to the one on the high-status male represented in the sculpted stone Adena pipe found

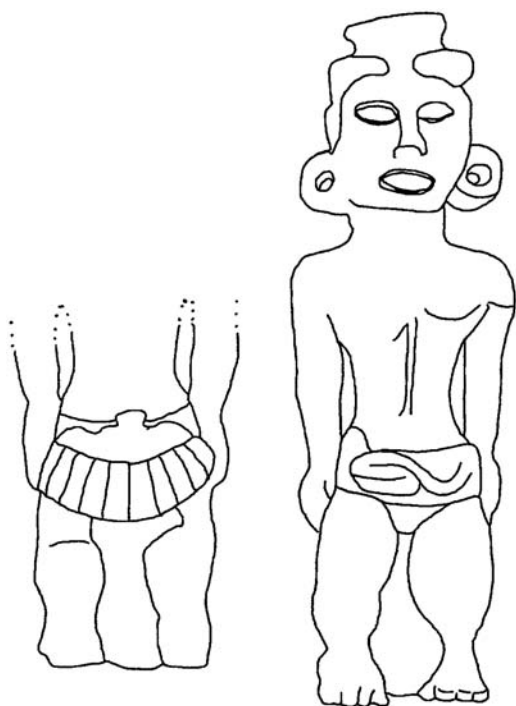


Figure 11.13. Adena pipe figurine from the Adena site, Ohio, showing belt and pouch.

in the Adena site, Ohio (Figure 11.13) (Mills 1902:476–478).

Posture is an expression that seems to be gender-specific. It may generally imply male dominance. Female figurines sit with legs to the side, while males kneel directly on their knees. This posture allows the male to sit higher, in contrast to the more diminutive sitting height of females (Figures 11.1a, c, d and 11.14a). There are no benefits physically or for modesty's sake to sitting with the legs to the side as opposed to kneeling.

The idea that posture in general indicated prestige, and in particular the lower prestige of females, is supported by the fact that some male figurines sit cross-legged and therefore lower than other sitting males. Significantly, these male figurines have no earspools (Figure 11.14b).

Trophy pieces as symbols of power are also relevant to the issue of female status. The same female figurine from the Knight mound who wears a belt also holds a pair of “foot-like” (McKern et al. 1945) objects, possibly foot tro-

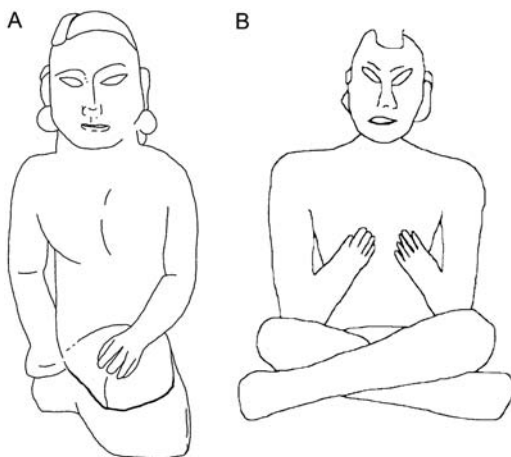


Figure 11.14. (A) Female figurine from the Knight mound site, Illinois (Griffin et al. 1970:Plate 70). (B) Male figurine from Altar 1, Mound 4 of the Turner site, Ohio, without earspools and sitting rather than kneeling (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:Plates 20f, 21f).

phies (Figure 11.12a). In the Eastern Woodlands, ownership of trophies was very significant because this allowed control of a victim's soul, which was believed to reside in joints and pulse points (Hall 1976). Thus, the female Knight figurine may show a woman controlling the soul of a victim.

Certain ethnographic analogs are especially relevant to this case and may explain the trophies held by the Knight figurine. Iroquois women were powerful in counsels and in disposition of war captives. Among the Miami, although a woman would not take part in military action, she could participate by obtaining visions sanctioning military action. Peace chiefs were either women or men, and they could determine the fate of war captives. They also led the preparations for important feasts, readied supplies for war parties, and could order an end to blood feuds or wars (Callender 1979:256; Trowbridge 1938; Voegelin 1944). The Knight figurine gives a hint of the many arenas of power in which women may have played important roles.

STYLE ANALYSIS

The style of material culture can be valuable for defining interactions within and among social

groups. In this section, an analysis is made of the style of Hopewellian figurines in order to assess the nature of intraregional and interregional interactions that fall under the umbrella concept of the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Caldwell 1964). As with analyses in Chapters 16 through 20 of this book, this one has the goal of helping to resolve monolithic “Hopewellian interaction” into its many constituent actors and processes (Carr, Chapter 16). In particular, because it is likely that females produced figurines, an analysis of their style may reflect the movements of women or information available to women within and among Hopewell societies. Thus, the primary question addressed in this section is, *What do various stylistic attributes reveal about intraregional and interregional interactions among female artisans and the messages they attempted to convey?*

To address this question, the tactic set forth in Carr’s (1995a) unified theory of artifact design will be used. A range of attributes that vary in their visibility and other properties will be selected in order to find interpretable patterns of stylistic similarity and differences between and within regions.

Specifically, style attributes can be arranged hierarchically as first, middle, or last order, depending on their visibility, order of manufacturing, order of planning in a sequence of production decisions, and geographic expanse (Carr 1995a:174–178). Attributes at different levels of a style hierarchy are likely to reflect different processes, constraints, or sociocultural/psychological units. Simplifying ideas, highly visible attributes that are broadly distributed geographically are commonly constrained by only technological procedures or raw material limitations. Such attributes include color, size, shape, and texture. Moderately visible attributes with a more limited spatial distribution can reflect a society, a community, some segment of these, and the sociocultural processes that define them. Poorly visible attributes that are very restricted geographically directly reflect interaction—either active or passive—on an artisan-to-artisan level.

Active and passive interaction are explored in our analysis and must be distinguished here. In

the context of material style, passive interaction involves the casual learning of cultural practices, including stylistic ones, among artisans during weakly structured and often brief contacts. In contrast, active interaction involves a broader range of processes that are controlled by the actor/artisan. These processes vary in the amount and scale of artisan control, depending on the outcome that the artisan is attempting to achieve. The least control involves the simple stylistic expression of personal preferences and social traditions for personal reasons. More control is involved in the stylistic communication of personal and social messages to others for adaptive purposes not aimed at changing the social order. The greatest control is expressed in negotiating or manipulating style with the intent of altering or maintaining a social order (Carr 1995a:183–184). These several processes occur in the context of more structured and longer contact among artisans, including intermarriage, adoption, artifact exchange among groups, and joint participation in intimate rituals. In these situations, there is more opportunity for artisans to learn and master the details of a foreign style (Carr 1995a:177, 183–184, 195; Pryor and Carr 1995:260–261).

Regarding the choice of the stylistic attributes to be analyzed here, study had to be focused on three dimensions of variation that could be defined for the majority of cases. Many Hopewellian figurines are fragmented and did not permit other potentially useful attributes to be included. The attributes studied, in descending order of visibility, are raw material, overall design, and facial features including the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, and hair. Attribute analyses are presented in this natural order.

The sample of figurines used for this study is slightly different from that used in the first half of this chapter. Here, focus is placed on figurines with extant facial features, instead of those that are most complete. The sample includes a total of 57 figurines from three Hopewellian traditions: 8 from three sites in the Scioto–Miami region, 22 from nine sites in the Havana Hopewell region, and 27 from two sites in the Mann phase (Table 11.2). The numbers of ceramic figurines from each site are too small to measure variation within sites. Therefore, the unit of study

that is used here is the learning pool within a region. Also acknowledged is the disproportionately small sample of figurines available from the Scioto–Miami region and the few sites within both the Scioto–Miami and the Mann phases, which may affect results. We have kept these sample issues in mind when interpreting data patterns.

Raw Materials

Theoretically, one might expect clay, as an attribute of figurines, to reflect either the passive use of an available raw material or the active selection of a raw material to express, communicate, or manipulate, at the personal to interregional scales. These possibilities arise because (1) natural clay deposits are broadly distributed geographically and readily available in all the study regions, and (2) clay as the medium from which Hopewell figurines were manufactured is broadly distributed, but also (3) clay is a highly visible attribute susceptible to serving as a means of expression, communication, and manipulation. Here we ask, Is it possible that clay served as an identifier of female ceremonial expression in ritual contexts otherwise unavailable to women? Could clay items have expressed the active presence of females in Hopewellian rituals and an “active interaction” and solidarity among individual, networked Hopewell women within and among regions?

Clay, as a visible aspect of figurines, could have been socially active. It is very easy to see that the figurines are not made of copper, galena, silver, mica, or other rare materials commonly designated as ceremonial. Why would clay have been chosen above these other materials to make figurines? Calling to mind the study by Murdock and Provost (1973), the fact that clay is both pliable and locally available is a strong argument for the production of figurines by females. In contrast, quartz, copper, mica, galena, iron, silver, and stone are labor-intensive materials to work and take great effort in time and travel to procure. This suggests that males worked them. Considering that producers are often the users of a product implies that males used exotic raw materials for ceremony, that female opportunities for the cere-

monial use of such rare materials might have been limited, and that, consequently, clay might have been actively selected by females for expressing themselves and their interrelationships in ceremonial activities. Moreover, because clay is a geographically uniform and unbounded medium, it might have been used in an active way by female artisans to express their interaction and solidarity within and among regions. Other explanations for the selection of clay to make figurines do not fare well empirically.⁴

Overall Design

A second attribute of interest is the general, naturalistic style of the figurines compared to other Hopewell artifacts. This is a visible aspect of figurines and is widely and uniformly distributed over all of the northern Hopewellian societies examined here. These visual and geographic characteristics of the naturalistic style theoretically suggest that it was an active choice.

Helping to corroborate this conclusion, the visible nature and broad distribution of the naturalistic style of Hopewellian figurines are similar to the visible nature and broad distribution of symbolic Hopewellian forms made of exotic raw materials, such as copper and mica. These latter forms are more clearly the products of active choices and active interaction among artisans, implying that the naturalistic style of figurines may have been as well. Both forms may reflect the “active interaction” among individual, networked artisans—female and male, respectively.

It is possible that the pan-regional association between symbolic designs and fancy raw materials, and that between naturalistic style and clay, relates specifically to actively shared ideological constraints in Hopewellian societies as to what kinds of styles and images could be properly expressed in what kinds of raw materials. Perhaps Hopewellian beliefs required or encouraged the manufacturing of symbolic designs out of fancy raw materials and human figures out of clay, antler, or stone. However, this does not seem to be the case empirically. Highly symbolic raptor and duck images linked to the Upper and Lower Worlds were depicted on clay Hopewell ware

(Mills 1922:510–511). Also, human figures were sometimes made of copper (Mills 1922:542, 552) and mica (Shetrone 1926:209). Instead, it would appear that the kinds of ceremonial uses to which fancy raw material designs and clay figurines were put may have dictated both their style and their raw material, which were correlated only secondarily. In turn, ceremonial usage probably was tied to gender (see *Did Males or Females Produce the Figurines?* above).

Tempering Material

Tempering material has a much lower visibility than clay and the naturalistic style of figurines. Individual tempering materials also have more restricted natural geographic distributions and distributions of use than do the clay and the naturalistic style of figurines. Empirically, there are clear and bounded distinctions among the regions in temper usage. The Havana region has very fine limestone tempered clay. The Turner and Marietta sites of the Scioto–Miami region used untempered clay. When tempering is present in the Mann phase region, it is grog and grit, with the ceramics showing signs of imperfections and re-firing.

Both the low visibility of tempering materials and their natural and cultural restriction to specific regions suggest theoretically (Carr 1995a:174–178) that they indicate means for making figurines that were developed and maintained within regions through casual learning, that is, passive interaction within regions. It is very unlikely that tempering materials were used to actively communicate among persons within a region or to symbolize a whole regional social network internally or externally. There is no empirical support that tempering materials communicated or symbolized interregional connections. Other figurine attributes, such as hairstyle, would have been more appropriate to these kinds of communication.

Facial Features

These final attributes of interest include the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, and hairstyle. These attributes all have low physical visibility. The figurines are all rather small, with heads averag-

ing between 2 and 3.5 centimeters in diameter. The low visibility of these features suggests theoretically (Carr 1995a:174–178) that they might reflect active interactions among individual artists at the local level, personal choices, learned or developed habits, or passive motor skills. We chose to examine facial features because they require more detailed tooling than some other figurine attributes in order to obtain a real or naturalistic look; thus, they are more likely to reflect active choices.

It would have been preferable to have examined the homogeneity and diversity of facial features both within sites and within and among regions, given the fine-scale processes that these features likely reflect. Unfortunately, many sites are represented by only one to five figurines, so finding patterns within sites was not possible. Thus, data analysis focused on the variability of attribute states within and among regions.

Several processes that might be responsible for *intra*regional uniformity or diversity were considered. These are: (1) the degree of interaction among artisans within a region or among regions, (2) the degree of acceptance of extralocal and extraregional innovations, (3) freedom for or constraint upon personal artistic innovation locally, and (4) the number of figurine producers. *Inter*regional uniformity and diversity were interpreted in relation to other processes: (5) the degree of interaction among artisans of different regions, and (6) the acceptance or not of extraregional artistic innovations. Finally, by looking at patterns of diversity and uniformity for other ceramic artifacts, it was sometimes possible to more clearly tie the patterns of figurine variation found to one of these several explanations.

Mouths

The first trait analyzed is figurine mouths. Mouth variations include the following: (1) open with depiction of lips; (2) open without depiction of lips—a hole placed in the clay while it was still plastic; (3) closed with depiction of lips; and (4) closed without lips—roughly an incised line.

Of the three regions, the Mann phase region has a higher degree of internal variation, showing some of all of these variable states. This is especially significant because the Mann phase

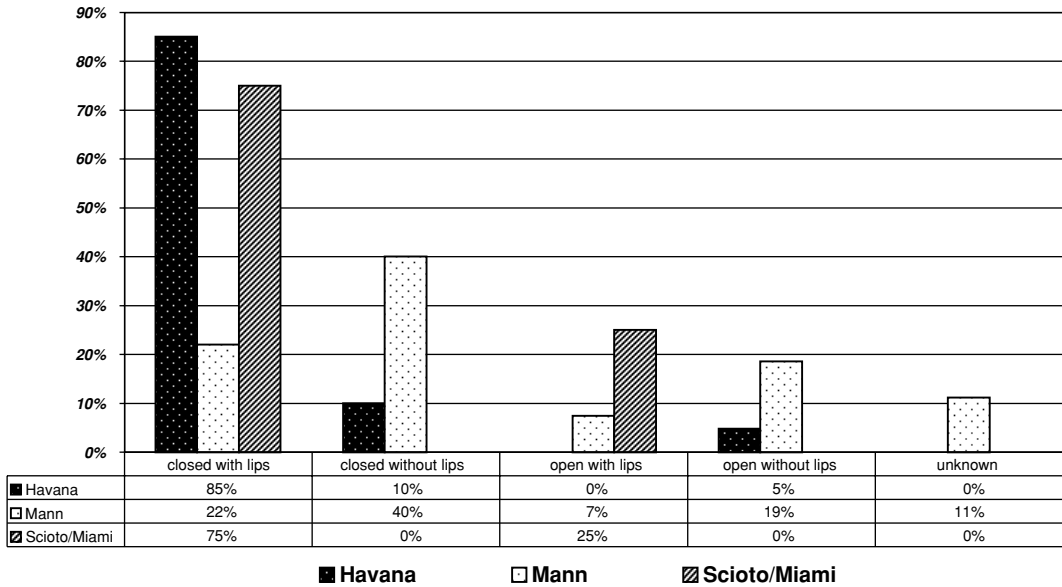


Figure 11.15. Distribution of mouth and lip depictions for each region.

sample comes from only two sites, and mostly from the Mann site itself. The most common depiction in the Mann phase is a closed mouth without lips (40%), but there are also depictions of closed mouths with lips (22%), open mouths without lips (19%), and open mouths with lips (7%) (Figure 11.15).

The diversity of the Mann phase figurines suggests several possible situations: (1) intraregional and interregional interactions among artisans, (2) acceptance of local and extralocal artistic innovations, (3) freedom for personal innovation locally, and/or (4) a greater number of artisans within the region. With regard to interregional interactions and the acceptance of extralocal styles, it is important that pottery of this area shows much influence in both design and technology from Hopewellian groups in the Havana area and the Southeast. People in the Mann phase manufactured their ceramics locally but made both classic Hopewellian zoned, incised, dentate-stamped, and rocker-stamped ceramics similar to those at Havana sites and carved-paddle, simple and complex-stamped techniques and motifs clearly derived from Georgia and Florida (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; Brose 1990). This would cause one to characterize Mann phase artisans by their in-

terregional interactions and their openness and acceptance of interregional influences. It may also imply their freedom to express their own innovations.

The Scioto–Miami area displayed only two variations, although it must be remembered that the sample is smaller. A closed mouth with lip depiction is most common (75%) and an open mouth with lips is less frequent (25%). In the Havana region, a full 85% of the figurines displayed a closed mouth with lips. A small percentage (15%) have closed and open mouths without lips, but this figure reflects the presence of regionally specific ghost figurines that are rough in all of their features.

Thus, both the Havana and the Scioto–Miami regions do not show much stylistic variation in mouth form. These situations could arise from intensive local interaction among artisans with little input from other regions, intraregional constraints on expression, a lack of acceptance of intraregional and interregional innovation, and/or the small number of artisans within each region. The more significant of the two cases is the Havana region, since its sample includes many figurines from many sites yet one dominant form. This is interesting in light of the fact that the Havana region shows relatively

advanced and decoratively diverse craftsmanship in its ceramic vessels.

Interregionally, the Scioto–Miami and Havana regions are the most similar to each other in figurine mouth form, and the Mann phase is the most distinct. Both the Scioto–Miami and the Havana regions are predominated by figurines with closed mouths having lips. The Mann phase figurines have primarily closed mouths without lips. The similarity of the Scioto–Miami and Havana regions in their figurines and the distinction of the Mann phase are paralleled in pottery vessel decoration.

Eyes

The next trait documented is figurine eyes. The variables measured were eye size (narrow, medium, and wide) and slant (ranging from no slant [0] to extreme slant [3]). As with mouth forms, eye attributes show a great deal of variation among the figurines from the Mann phase (Figures 11.16a and b). Eye attributes are more uniform in the Havana area and most uniform in the Scioto–Miami area. The Mann phase figurines have eyes of all sizes and slants; the area is the only one with extreme slants, coded 3. Havana figurine eyes are the least slanted—mostly 0 and 1, at approximately equal frequencies, and ranging to 2 in one case. They vary somewhat in size, between narrow and medium, at approximately equal frequencies. Figurines from the Scioto–Miami region have moderately slanted eyes. They are predominantly medium in size, with only one figurine registering wide in eye size.

The above interpretation of intraregional diversity in mouth form also holds for eye size and slant. Compared to the Scioto–Miami and Havana regions, the Mann region may have been characterized by more intraregional and interregional interactions among artisans, greater acceptance of local and extralocal artistic innovation, freedom for personal innovation locally, and/or a greater number of artisans within the region.

Interregional relationships as seen in eye size and slant follow the same pattern found for mouth form. The Scioto–Miami and Havana

regions are most similar and the Mann phase is most distinct. However, it is significant that largely one eye shape is found in each area—almond-oblique. This suggests interregional interaction across all three northern Hopewellian manifestations. The only exceptions to this pattern are the rough Havana ghost figurines and a few simple Mann phase figurines that have only incised lines to depict eyes. These were recorded as unknown/incised.

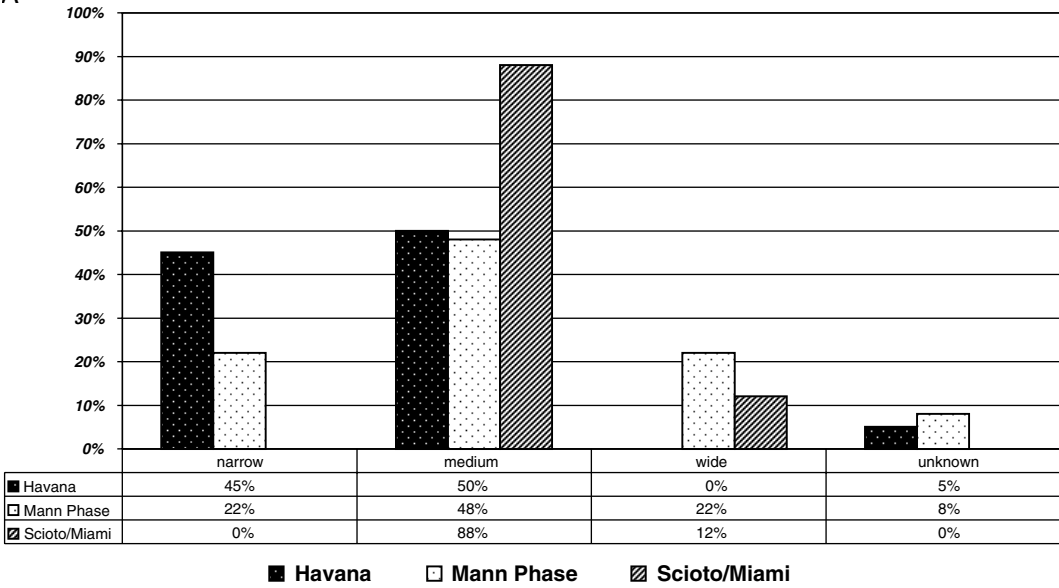
There is one extreme variant in the Scioto–Miami region from the large mound at Seip (Mound 2, Seip–Pricer [Mills 1907a]). It is a very well-made, detailed ceramic head with “rounded” eyes. This shape seems to mimic human effigy stone pipes from Ohio. Could this have been an artisan also fluent in stone pipe work? The other features of the face are very realistic and well formed, as are human and animal-effigy pipes in Ohio.

Hair

Hair was examined for both its style and how it was depicted. The attribute states recorded include: (1) hair depicted by a raised cap, (2) hair depicted with incised lines, (3) hair depicted by a combination of both raised cap and incised lines, and (4) baldness or caps depicted by incised outline. The first three states differ in hair depiction. The contrast between the first three states and the fourth is one in hairstyle. Hairstyle probably reflects actual hairstyles and might have been a social pattern more so than a personal choice. Hair depiction might give better definition of individual artistic choice.

The Mann phase again shows the greatest amount of variation, with some of all styles and depictions (Figure 11.17). The majority of figurines have the bald/smooth depiction. The Havana region is most uniform, artisans there having preferred raised cap depiction in all but one of the definable cases. The one incised line depiction used in the Havana region is on a ghost figurine. The Scioto–Miami region has figurines with three of the four hairstyles and depictions; no figurines have hair depicted with incised lines. In sum, the Mann phase figurines show greater diversity in each of mouth, eye, and hair form

A



B

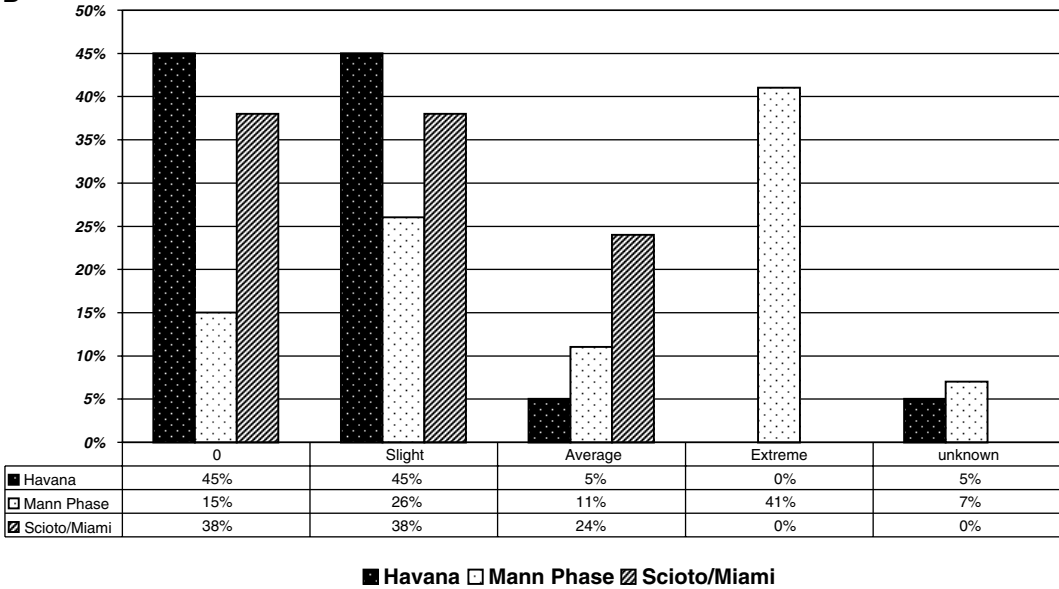
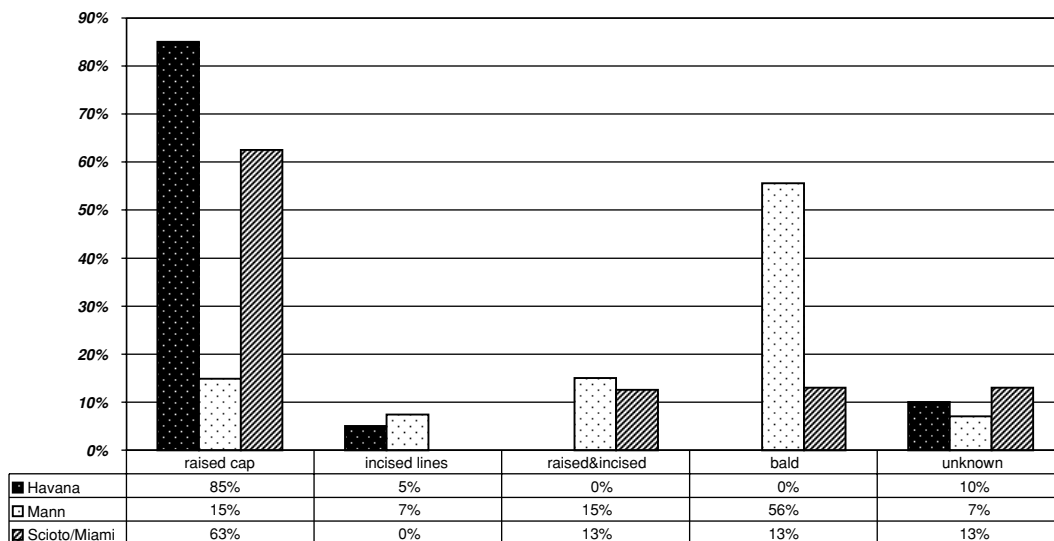


Figure 11.16. Distribution of (a) eye size/shape and (b) eye slant depictions for each region.

compared to the Havana and Scioto–Miami region. Each of these attributes suggests that Mann phase artisans interacted more with other artisans intraregionally and interregionally, were more accepted for their innovations and the styles they borrowed from afar, had more freedom to be creative, and/or were more numerous. In contrast, Havana figurines are more diverse than Scioto–

Miami figurines for mouth and eye form and less diverse for hair form, making the stylistic comparison of these two regions to each other more difficult to interpret.

Interregional relationships among people of the Mann, Scioto, and Havana regions, as indicated by the overall similarity in figurine hairstyles and depictions, differ from those



■ Havana □ Mann ▨ Scioto/Miami

Figure 11.17. Distribution of hair depiction forms for each region.

indicated by figurine mouth and eye forms. The hairstyles and depictions found in the Mann and Scioto–Miami areas are more similar to each other than to those of the Havana region. Mann phase and Scioto–Miami figurines each have raised caps, incised lines combined with raised caps, and baldness/smooth caps. Havana figurines have only raised caps and incised lines, and the latter in only one case (Table 11.2).

The similarity of the Mann phase and Scioto–Miami figurines can also be seen in the relationship of hairstyle to gender. In the Mann phase, baldness or caps with incised outlines are prevalent (56%). All figurines with baldness or caps, and that could be identified to gender, are male in the Mann phase. This hairstyle was probably gender-specific for the region and socially constrained rather than a personal choice. In the Scioto–Miami area, the one figurine that is bald or has a cap with an incised outline is also male. In contrast, the Havana sample contains two male figurines, neither of which have this hair depiction, and has no figurines with this hair depiction at all.

Ears

The next trait examined is ear depiction. Detailed depiction of the ear seems to have been an in-

terregionally shared way in Hopewell iconography to identify the status and importance of an individual. An inspection of the leather and copper effigy ears found at the Mt. Vernon and Hopewell sites (Burkett 1997; Greber and Ruhl 1989:124) reveals that they were meant to portray individuals who wore earpools, which signified prestige of a kind. Significantly, the ear effigies from Mt. Vernon have been rendered useless for earpool display by slitting the earpool holes. This may indicate an individual who had lost a prestigious social position through some social demise (Burkett 1997:273–274; for analogs, see Carr, Chapter 7, Table 7.2). It can be concluded that ear depiction communicates an informative story about the individual represented and their social circumstances. In particular, earpools appear to have represented high social standing in Scioto Hopewell societies, although not standing as high as that represented by breastplates, celts, and head plates (Carr, Chapter 7; Ruhl, Chapter 19; Carr and Lydecker 1998; Greber 1979a). Ears depicted in detail also appear to have indicated high status, given the above-mentioned renderings of such in leather and copper, and especially in copper as a valued material. Taking this information into consideration when studying the Hopewellian figurines leads one to

observe ear depictions and ornamentation with an awareness that they are more significant than simply rendering the human figure anatomically correctly.

With these thoughts in mind, five aspects of ear depiction were observed: (1) the absence of ears and earspools; (2) the presence of ears, but with only simple outlines and no earspools; (3) the presence of ears with scrolled and detailed depictions and no earspools; (4) the presence of only earspools and no ear depiction; and (5) the presence of earspools and ears with scrolled and detailed depictions.

This sequence possibly suggests a conscious decision made by artisans to express specific information about levels of social status. The obvious omission of ears and/or earspools from figurines cannot be considered an oversight. Likewise, depicting ears in detail yet omitting earspools would have been a way for an artisan to accentuate the status of the individual but also to emphasize what was absent—earspools and the social status that they represented. By drawing the eye to a well-formed ear that nonetheless had an empty lobe, the artist made a clear statement about the relative social status of the person depicted. This logic seems to have been followed by figurine artisans in the Scioto–Miami region, where figurines with detailed, scrolled ears both

have a clear depiction of earspools (38%) and lack earspools (62%), and these are the only two stylistic options. Next in the proposed stylistic sequence, figurines that show the outline of earspools without the detailed depiction of ears may have expressed the ultimate level of social status in the sequence of stylistic variation, and/or perhaps an ideology that placed importance on earspools displayed at the ears over the ears themselves. This ideology seems to have characterized artisans in the Havana region, who did not depict ears unless they had earspools attached to them. Finally, the social standing expressed by figurines with both earspools and detailed ears, relative to those with only earspools, is unclear in the absence of ideological information on the relative social importance of earspools and ears. This contrast occurs among the figurines from the Mann phase.

The pattern noted earlier for other figurine attributes, where Mann phase figurines are more stylistically variable than figurines from the Scioto–Miami and Havana regions, holds for ear styles (Figure 11.18). The Mann phase figurines have some of all variants. The largest group (44%) is comprised of figurines not depicting ears or earspools at all. This variant does not occur elsewhere, other than in the Havana region at a minor frequency (20%), where its

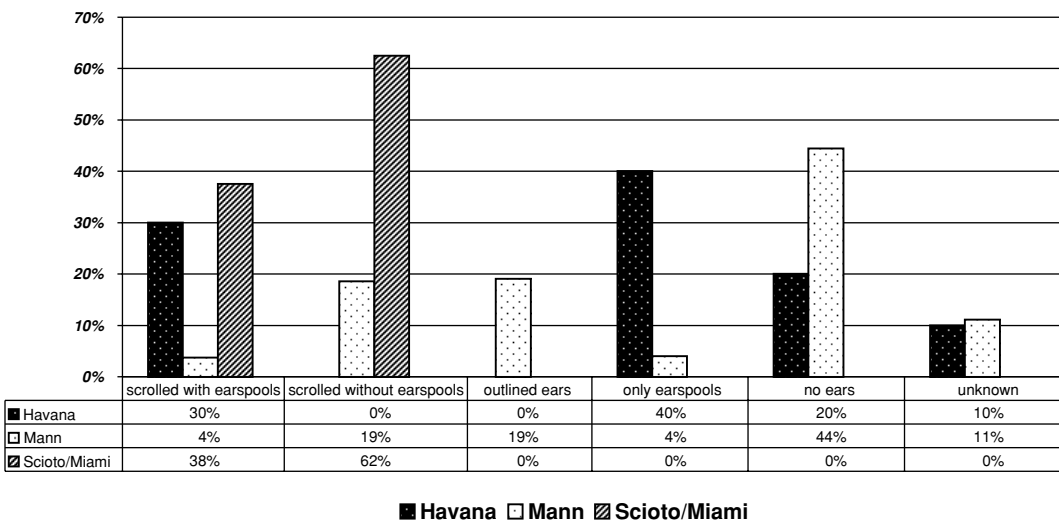


Figure 11.18. Distribution of ear depiction forms for each region.

presence can be attributed to the occurrence of ghost figurines. In the Havana region, large outlines of earpools are often substituted for the ears themselves (40%), which are not depicted. Scrolled ears with earpool outlines are almost as common (30%). Scrolled, detailed ears, with or without earpools, are the only style in the Scioto–Miami region (100%), whereas in the Havana and Mann regions, scrolled ears accounted for only 23%–30% of the cases. These findings again show both the Havana and the Scioto–Miami regions to be internally more uniform stylistically, whereas the Mann phase shows greater variety. As with mouth, eyes, and hair attributes, the patterning for ear depiction suggests that figurine producers in the Mann phase were more connected with other artisans intraregionally and interregionally, were more accepted for their creations and the styles they borrowed extralocally, had more freedom to be creative, and/or were more numerous.

Interregionally, the Scioto–Miami area and Mann phase share more ear attributes in common than they do with the Havana area. The Havana area has only figurines with scrolled ears and earpools, save one with scrolled ears and no earpools. The former are found in only one instance

among the Mann figurines and twice among the Scioto–Miami figurines.

Nose

The final feature analyzed is nose style. Both the size and the shape of the nose were considered. Nose size was defined as narrow, medium, or wide; nose shape, as square or rounded. A few figurines have noses formed simply by pinching up a portion of the clay; this form was designated “other or pinched.”

The Scioto–Miami region shows a preference for two sizes and shapes, wide and rounded (50%) and medium and square (38%) (Figure 11.19). Wide, rounded noses are depicted on one other figurine outside the Scioto–Miami region, in the Mann phase. The Havana region is the only region with narrow noses and has only two examples of them (10%). These cases of regionally constrained Scioto–Miami and Havana nose styles indicate a lack of acceptance of these particular styles outside the region in which each is known. In contrast, other nose styles are more widely spread and show acceptance. The most prevalent of all variable states is the square shape, at 85% in the Havana area, 51% in the Scioto–Miami area, and 70% in the Mann phase.

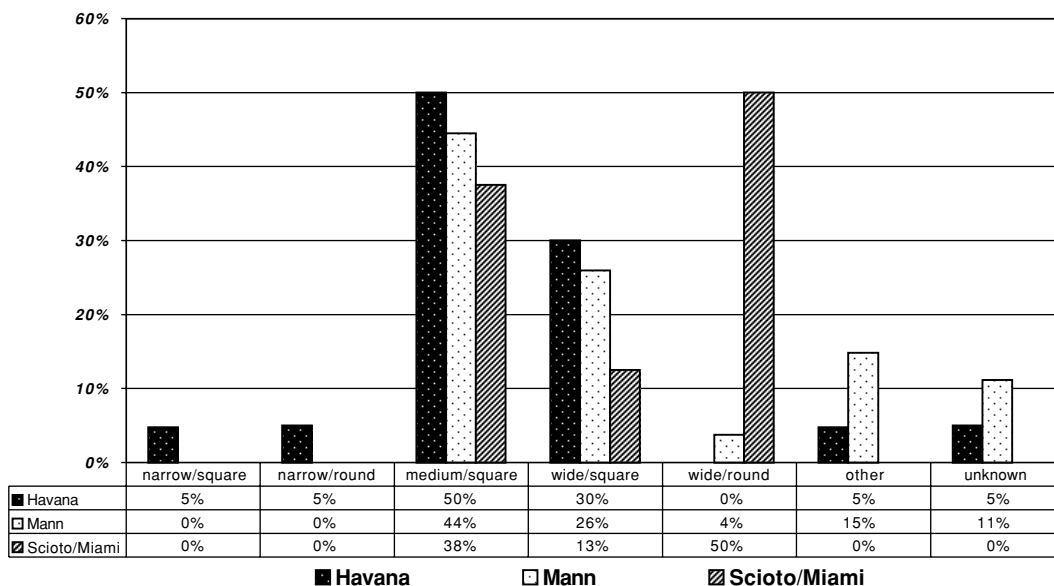


Figure 11.19. Distribution of nose depiction forms for each region.

As with other facial features, the nose shows much formal variation in the Mann phase figurines. Surprisingly, both the Havana and the Scioto–Miami regions also show fair amounts of variation in nose shape; these regions are very uniform for other facial attributes. Variation in nose shape and size may indicate that many artisans were allowed to produce figurines in the Havana and Scioto–Miami regions and that the artisans varied in their production skills or their personal perception of the human image. In addition, nose size and shape probably were less constrained by social convention, and innovations in these features and interregionally borrowed forms probably were more readily accepted. Since nose size and shape are features not easily controlled or altered for marking status, they could have been left open to individual artisan depiction. Features used as status markers (i.e., hairstyle, earpools) would more likely be the ones that would have been made uniformly over a region.

Interregionally, the Havana and Mann phases are most similar to each other in the kinds of nose shapes found on their figurines. The Scioto–Miami region is more unique. This pattern is distinct from those found for other facial attributes, in which case the Havana and Scioto–Miami regions aligned more closely.

Summary of Information on Facial Features

The Mann phase has a large variation in all attributes, suggesting wide, active interaction of its artisans, an acceptance of extralocal artist innovations, freedom for personal innovation locally, and/or numerous artisans. In contrast, the Havana sample, which is composed of many figurines from many sites, is generally fairly uniform. This uniformity suggests the strong interaction of artisans within the region, as well as the existence there of strong grammatical rules in form and production rather than family styles or individual innovations, and the lack of acceptance of extraregional styles. The number of artisans may also have been limited, although the presence of informal ghost figurines and the diversity of nose styles in the Havana region would suggest otherwise. The Scioto–Miami region is also fairly

uniform in the facial traits of its figurines. Although the sample is small, figurines were acquired from three separate sites and should be sufficient to show some intraregional variation. Again, the data suggest that artisan interaction was focused within the region, form and production were constrained by rigid grammatical rules, extraregional styles were not well accepted, and perhaps figurine producers were less frequent.

Certain facial features predominate or commonly occur in one region and rarely or never occur in the other two. The region in which these features are common is likely where the feature was innovated. Their rarity elsewhere suggests an active lack of acceptance of the specific traits by other traditions rather than a lack of interregional interaction among artisans, because other figurine features are widespread among two or all three areas. Facial features that predominate or are common in one area include wide and round noses in the Scioto–Miami area, baldness or smooth caps in the Mann phase, ears scrolled and without earpools in the Scioto–Miami area, and earpools with no ear outline in the Havana area. More generally, the minimalist ghost figurines of the Havana area fit this pattern.

Many other facial features were popular in two or more areas and suggest interaction among them. These include a closed mouth with lips, a medium-sized and square nose, a wide and square nose, medium-sized eyes, eyes with no slant or a slight slant, and hair with a raised cap. The commonality of almond-shaped eyes, often oblique, in all regions is particularly marked. However, there does not appear to have been any consistent pairing of regions stylistically, considering all of the facial features studied. For some features (mouth, eyes), figurines in the Scioto–Miami and Havana regions are most alike; for other features (hair, ears), figurines in the Scioto–Miami and Mann regions are most similar; and for one feature (nose) figurines in the Havana and Mann areas are more alike. Thus, different attributes are shared among different pairs of regions.

This inconsistent pattern of interregional resemblances points toward a sharing of ideas, knowledge, and forms among regions, but not the actual exchange of artifacts (Adams 1949)

as covering *bundles of traits* among two or three regions. Nor does it support the idea of regular and frequent interregional marital exchange or adoption (Hall 1997) of women who would have produced figurines as covarying bundles of traits. The idea of the occasional exchange of women among Hopewellian elite of different traditions remains a possibility that the found patterning does not address. Finally, the inconsistent pattern of similarities of figurines among regions does not accord well with Penney's (1989) model of individuals traveling interregionally to acquire rights and formulas for producing and using ceremonial artifacts (here figurines). Again, the interregional spread of covarying bundles of figurine traits is lacking. Instead, the varying geographic distributions of figurine facial features suggest the informal exchange of information concerning the production of figurines—for example, casual observational learning at ceremonial gatherings and an open right to produce figurines. This conclusion was also reached impressionistically by Penney (1989). The mechanism has been used to explain interregional stylistic similarities in other kinds of artifacts as well (see Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15; Turf and Carr, Chapter 18; Ruhl, Chapter 19). Simple down-the-line interactions and exchanges of figurine styles are not evidenced, because figurine styles are not distributed clinally across regions.

Discussion of Style Analysis

The clay medium and the naturalistic style of figurines are both highly visible and pan-regionally uniform traits. Several lines of argumentation made above suggest that both traits were active choices and expressions, quite possibly of female interaction and solidarity within and among regions, and of female ceremonial roles. The naturalistic style of the figurines might also have reflected more particularly the association of females with earthy aspects of the Middle World.

The regionally uniform distribution of the clay medium and the naturalistic style of figurines also suggest that they were produced and used in open social contexts rather than closed and/or secretive ones. Had the latter been true, these two physically visible attributes would have been contextually obscure and, likely, would

have been more variable among regions (Carr 1995a:195–196).

The raw materials used to temper the clay of figurines have regionally bounded distributions, in part due to their geographic availability. Both the cultural and the natural restriction of tempering materials to given regions, as well as the low visibility of temper in figurines, suggest that means for tempering were developed and maintained within regions through casual learning (i.e., passive interaction) there.

Facial features reflect a broad range of processes, depending on the feature and the region. Figurines from the Mann phase vary considerably in all the facial attributes studied, suggesting a wide network of “active interaction” among artisans within this area and with those in other regions, an acceptance of extralocal artistic innovation, freedom for personal innovation locally, and/or a large number of artisans. The location of the Mann phase along the lower Ohio River, and near the mouths of the Wabash, Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers, and the presence in Mann phase sites of ceramic styles that reflect Southeastern Hopewell culture influences (Ruby and Shriner Chapter 15), support the inference drawn from figurine styles that this area may have had more interaction with neighboring areas than did the Havana and Scioto–Miami areas. In contrast, figurines from the Havana region are fairly uniform for most facial stylistic features, despite figurines being numerous and from many sites there. This suggests a good amount of interaction among artisans within the region, social conformity to strong grammatical rules of form and production as opposed to family or individual innovation, and a lack of acceptance of extraregional style. The same may be true of the Scioto–Miami area, but the smaller sample of sites and figurines makes this conclusion less certain. Both the Havana and the Scioto–Miami areas are removed from riverine connections to the southeastern United States.

The material expressions of Hopewell society and ideology in total show well-formalized pan-society rules about the appropriate production, context of use, decommissioning, and burial of fancy artifact classes (e.g., Carr and Case, Chapter 5; Carr et al., Chapter 13). This

formalization is expectable, given that across the eastern United States, the depictions on and designs of many kinds of Hopewellian mortuary items are symbolic of the Upper and Lower Worlds and their inhabitants (e.g., Carr 1998, 1999a, 2000a, 2000b; Carr and Case 1995; Penney 1982, 1985). So too are the very specific materials that were worked (e.g., Turff and Carr, Chapter 18). Figurines share in this pan-regional pattern regarding their clay raw material and naturalistic design, but vary among regions in their less visible tempering and facial stylistic attributes. In addition, the particular facial features that are similar or different among regions vary with the regions being compared, rather than form bundles of attributes that are consistently similar or different among all three regions. These patterns in combination suggest an informal sharing of the ideology behind the figurines and their usage, without much regular and frequent exchange of figurines among regions, marriage exchange or adoption of females among regions, or formal long-distance acquisition of rights and formulas for producing and using figurines.

The lack of stylistic evidence for marriage exchange or adoption of females among regions aligns with metric and nonmetric skeletal biological evidence for the continuity of human populations within Ohio from the terminal Late Archaic (1000–500 B.C.) through the Middle Woodland (Scuilli and Mahaney 1987). It also is supported by metric cranial biological differences found between peoples of the Illinois valley Woodland and those of the central and eastern Ohio Middle Woodland (Jamison 1971). In addition, metric and nonmetric cranial biological comparisons of Middle Woodland populations in the lower Illinois valley to those in the Scioto valley indicate their biological separation to a fair degree—equivalent to a time spread of up to 800 years within the lower Illinois valley Middle and Late Woodland periods (Reichs 1975, 1984). At the same time, metric cranial comparisons between the Illinois valley Woodland and the Middle Woodland Turner population in western Ohio have indicated their close relationship (Jamison 1971), making the picture more complex.

In total, the stylistic figurine patterns presented here and the bulk of the human biological patterns just summarized imply the improbability of regularized, frequent marital exchange or adoption of women among regions. This conclusion does not preclude, however, small-scale, occasional marriage exchange or adoption of women among Hopewellian regions, such as infrequent marital exchange among elite members of different areas.

Looking more widely across the eastern United States suggests the inference that Hopewellian figurines were not or were seldom exchanged among traditions but does provide one instance that suggests intermarriage or adoption of females or long-distance acquisition of formal rights to the production and use figurines. In Mounds A and B of the Mandeville site in Georgia were found a complete female clay figurine, a clay human head, and two clay female(?) torso fragments that resemble Havana Hopewellian figurines from Illinois in their overall form, pose, and/or painting (Kellar et al 1962:344, 351). The complete figurine looks like ones from the Knight mound, Illinois, in its hair, which runs far down its back, hair part, skirt down to the knees, short and stubby legs, relatively broad shoulders, chest form, straight and closed lips, and painting. However, the pastes of at least the broken figurines (that of the whole figurine is not reported) are similar to the local Mandeville pottery in their micaceous temper. These attributes suggest that the figurines were not transported or exchanged from Illinois (Kellar et al. 1962:344, 351), but do imply production by a person from or near Mandeville who knew the Illinois style of figurines more than casually. A female from Illinois who married or was adopted into the Mandeville community, or who traveled to Illinois and back and obtained any necessary rights and specific procedures for producing figurines, are strong possibilities.

CONCLUSIONS

Contextual and stylistic studies of a large sample of figurines from the Havana, Mann, and Scioto–Miami regions tell us much about the

roles of women in northern Hopewellian societies, as well as the nature of female Hopewellian interaction and Hopewellian interaction, generally. Some of the more important conclusions drawn and ideas raised in this chapter are as follows.

(1) It is very likely that Hopewellian figurines were produced by females. Clay as a raw material was easily accessible to women, in a way that exotic raw materials obtained by long-distance journeys and perhaps restricted to men may not have been. Cross-cultural ethnographic survey (Murdock and Provost 1973) indicates that females usually work soft, pliable materials such as clay, whereas males work hard, tough-to-process, labor-intensive materials, which are the characteristics of Hopewellian exotics. Specific ethnographic analogs in the Historic Eastern Woodlands show that ceramics were made predominantly by females. Finally, the naturalistic style of figurines, in contrast to the geometric shapes of symbols made out of exotic raw materials, might be argued to indicate production by females. However, the naturalistic style of the animal effigy pipes that were found at the Tremper and Mound City sites in Ohio, and that were not ethnohistorically feminine accoutrements, must be kept in mind.

(2) Figurines have been found in both village and mortuary contexts. In both contexts, they may have served in ceremonies—domestic and funerary, respectively. Figurines in both arenas also may have been a medium for self-expression and identity creation and communication, including the display of the social positions and prestige of males and females. Figurines from all three geographic regions depict status markers, including earspools, topknots, and half- and fully shaven heads or capped heads.

(3) Although figurines have been found in both domestic and mortuary settings, and were probably used ceremonially in both, they were likely produced in residential sites. No workshops for the production of figurines or pottery vessels have been found in mortuary sites, whereas locations for working mica, obsidian, quartz crystal, and nonlocal cherts are known there. This pattern, as well as the relative abundance of figurines in domestic contexts compared

to mortuary contexts in the Havana and Mann areas, suggests that the primary function(s) of most Hopewellian figurines was in domestic rituals.

(4) Figurines were probably produced and used in open social contexts rather than closed, secretive ones. The pan-regionally uniform distribution of the clay medium and natural style of figurines, which are physically visible attributes, suggest this.

(5) The females probably played defined roles in domestic and funerary ceremonies. The use of utilitarian pottery vessels in graveside ceremonies in Ohio and Kentucky during the Early Woodland, followed by the inclusion of utilitarian and fancy pottery and figurines in Middle Woodland graves in Ohio and Illinois, may represent a sequential increase in the role of women in funerary rites over these periods. This interpretation is based on the likelihood that women produced all of these kinds of ceramic forms (e.g., Neumann and Fowler 1952) and the generalization that, in simple societies, the producer of a utilitarian object is commonly its user.

(6) Although figurines were probably produced by females, they were not used to express or communicate exclusively female social roles and standing. Male and female figurines are equally abundant. Regional differences in the sexes of persons who filled various social roles, in the prestige had by women, and in gender relations are apparent in Hopewellian figurines. Earspools, which occur primarily with males in the Scioto–Miami region, are depicted on figurines of only males there and in the Mann phase. Topknots are found on figurines of only males in the Scioto–Miami region and almost completely on figurines of males in the Mann phase. Heads shaven on two sides are shown on only male figurines in both regions. In contrast, in the Havana region, figurines of both males and females have earspools, but females somewhat more commonly. Topknots, heads shaven on one side, and heads shaven on two sides appear equally on figurines of males and females there. The only known instance of a figurine showing a probable human trophy being displayed by a person—an image recalling military action and power ethnohistorically in the East—is a female

figurine from the Havana area. The distinction of the Havana region from the Scioto–Miami and Mann regions in all these regards may indicate differences among these areas in female access to leadership and/or prestige and in gender relations. Females in the Havana area appear to have enjoyed greater access to positions of leadership and/or prestige, and were active in communicating their social positions and power. At the same time, figurines in the Havana region show that sitting postures allowed males to sit higher than females, implying a general male dominance there. One must remember that figurine depictions indicate how social reality was perceived by figurine producers, and perhaps manipulated by them through material communication.

(7) The meanings of figurines to Hopewellian peoples can be known to some extent empirically. Within graves, figurines sometimes represented the person or group of persons with whom they were placed. Cases of correspondences between the age and sex of buried persons and those of figurines laid with them make this clear. The disproportionate shape of the ghost figurines from the Havana region suggests self-portraits of persons looking down on their own body. In altars, figurines and other deposited artifacts that often were miniatures or unused possibly symbolized the soul/essence of the persons and items. Figurines thus may have played important roles in the spiritual-focused components of mortuary ceremonies. The common occurrence of figurines in habitation sites in the Havana and Mann areas suggests their use in domestic ceremonies. Human fertility rights, life-cycle ceremonies, and clan or household ancestor worship are possibilities that remain to be explored. The naturalistic style and the clay of figurines suggest reference to the earthy Middle World tasks in which Hopewell women would have participated, by ethnohistorical comparison (e.g., birthing, horticulture, and body care of the dead). In contrast, the Upper and Lower Worlds, and the Cosmos at large, are referenced by copper, mica, silver, and other exotic raw materials and the symbolic forms made from them (Turff and Carr, Chapter 18; Henry et al. 1994), such as copper and mica cutouts. These materials were procured and worked more

probably by men (Murdock and Provost 1973), and possibly used primarily by them.

(8) Figurines do not appear to have been traded much interregionally, and females who probably produced figurines do not appear to have been exchanged in marriage or adopted much interregionally, among Hopewellian peoples of the Scioto–Miami, Mann, and Havana areas. Nor does it appear that individuals traveled interregionally to acquire rights and formulas for producing and using figurines as ceremonial paraphernalia as persons may have for smoking pipes (Penney 1989). Several kinds of evidence do not accord with these three hypothetical mechanisms of interregional interaction. The poorly visible figurine trait of tempering raw material, which theoretically should monitor figurine exchange, is distinct among the three regions. Certain states of the obscure attributes of nose width and shape, eye slant, hairstyle, and ear depiction, which should monitor artisan interaction and mobility, also vary considerably among the regions. Finally, patterns of resemblance of figurines among the three regions are inconsistent, with different traits shared among different pairs of regions; covarying bundles of traits among two or three regions, which would be expected with interregional figurine exchange, intermarriage, adoption, or acquisition of production rites, do not occur. The lack of stylistic evidence for frequent interregional marriage and/or adoption concurs with the results of a number of metric and nonmetric skeletal biological analyses, which suggest the continuity of human populations within regions and infrequent marital exchange and adoption of women across regions (Jamison 1971; Reichs 1975, 1984; Sculli and Mohaney 1987). The only figurines that may suggest the interregional marriage or adoption of a figurine's producer, or long-distance formal acquisition of rights and procedures for figurine production, are the several figurine fragments and the complete figurine from Mounds A and B at the Mandeville site in Georgia. These figurines closely resemble in overall form and detail figurines from Illinois, specifically the Knight mound, yet were made of local materials.

(9) Although figurines probably were not exchanged much among the Scioto–Miami, Mann, and Havana regions, aspects of their form, the ideology behind them, and their uses probably were. The pan-regional distribution of the clay raw material of figurines, their naturalistic design, and perhaps their dual contexts of ceremonial use, in village and mortuary settings, hint at this sharing of ideas. The varying geographic distributions of different facial features among regions suggest the informal nature of interregional exchange of information about figurine production. This perhaps occurred through casual observation and learning at ceremonial gatherings, with open rights to produce figurines (see also Penney 1989), but not by simple down-the-line interaction.

(10) The considerable variation found among Mann phase figurines in their facial features, which are poorly visible traits that likely monitor close artisan interaction, suggests that Mann phase figurine artisans had wide networks of contacts outside of their region. This finding accords with the location of the Mann phase near the confluence of the Wabash, Tennessee, and Cumberland rivers with the Ohio, and with the relative commonness of southeastern ceramic styles and vessel imports at the Mann site (Ruby and Shriner, Chapter 15). Mann phase artisans also must have been accepting of artistic innovations of local and extraregional origin. In contrast, figurines from each of the Havana and Scioto–Miami areas are fairly uniform in their facial features, suggesting a good amount of intraregional interaction among artisans within each area, social conformity to regional norms of form and production, and less acceptance of extraregional styles. Neither the Havana nor the Scioto–Miami area has close riverine connections with the southeastern United States or abundant examples of southeastern ceramic styles.

(11) Hopewellian women were active in the creation and maintenance of their social positions and prestige, and their identity as women. Their capability in this regard is shown by the common interaction between figurine artisans within both the Havana and the Scioto–Miami areas, as indicated by the sharing of obscure stylistic traits

(temper, facial features) within regions, as well as by the occurrence of status markers (ears-pools, topknots, shaved heads, belts) on some female figurines. Active communication of female social positions, prestige, and identity does not appear to have been coordinated over multiple regions: female figurines from different regions vary in the status markers they do and do not exhibit, and in the frequency of these. However, the general resemblance of the figurines from the different regions in their clay raw material and naturalistic style may speak to the shared, Middle World, earthy place that Hopewellian women perceived themselves to occupy in a Hopewellian cosmos generally.

In the future, it would be worthwhile to explore other kinds of variation in northern Hopewellian figurines. The Havana region was the only region to express children, and then only as extensions of adult caretakers. Depicting the elderly was also rare and may prove to be regionally distinct. Coupling bioarchaeological, social, and ideological data about the skeletons and goods included in graves with figurines would make a richer context for interpreting the meanings and uses of those figurines. Finally, the stylistic attributes and depositional contexts of clay figurines in the Scioto–Miami region might be compared with those of human representations in other media, such as copper, mica, bone, and stone. This comparison might shed light on possible gender distinctions in the production and use of different kinds of items and different intraregional patterns of interaction among women compared to men.⁵

Hopewell ceramic figurines are not silent artifacts. Discovering their origin, use, and stylistic patterning helps them to speak about the people who produced them. We believe that the question of authorship sheds a different light on the study of figurines than has traditionally been the case, particularly regarding the roles of women and individuals in Hopewellian societies.

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NOTES

1. Clay figurines of humans are known from the Santa Rosa–Swift Creek tradition sites of Crystal River, Mandeville, Crooks, and Block–Sterns, and the Marksville tradition site of Coral Snake (Brose 1979b:147; Seaman 1977a: table 23).
2. In line with Murdock and Provost's (1973) study, and closer in time and space to the Hopewellian peoples studied here, the working of hard compared to soft materials can be attributed to men compared to women at the Illinois Mississippian site of Dickson Mounds. There, excavation of domestic house floors showed the pattern that stone tool making, wood working, and ornament making—activities involving hard materials—occurred in the southwest corners of houses, while food processing, leather preparation, and weaving—activities involving soft materials—occurred in the northeast corners of houses. The location of smoking pipes in the areas of hard material working but not soft material working suggest that males processed the hard materials and females the soft ones (Dickson Mounds Museum display, Lewistown, IL).
3. The representation of these children in figurines is the only instance of children rendered in figurines. This circumstance may relate to the fact that the Havana region, of all the regions considered here, has the greatest number of burial goods associated with children (J. A. Brown 1979; Penney 1989). These patterns may relate to the relative value placed on children, the age at which persons were attributed personhood and/or were held to become a member of society, or religious beliefs about the death of children compared to adults.
4. It is logically possible that the geographic uniformity and expanse of clay as the chosen medium for manufacturing figurines could reflect the transport and/or exchange of figurines and their styles over long distances. Other data below, however, suggest that figurines were seldom exchanged over long distances between regions.
5. Published examples of human representations made of materials other than clay and found in the Scioto–Miami region are few. They include the Wray stone figurine bear impersonator from the Newark site (Dragoo and Wray 1964); the mica cutout bird impersonator with a multilayered headdress from Mound 3 at the Turner site (Willoughby 1922:plate 15); the bird impersonator carved on a human femur from the Burial Place within the Great Enclosure at Turner (Willoughby 1922:plate 2c); the pipe with a bird's body and a human head from Mound City (Fowke 1902:592); the deer–"rabbit" impersonator carved on a human femur from Mound 25 at the Hopewell site (Moorehead 1922:128); the stone figurine cat impersonator from Mound City (Shetrone 1936:122); the carved pipe-fragment human head with curvilinear face painting, tattooing, or scarification from the Edwin Harness mound (Greber 1983:33); the carved fossil ivory figurine with facial painting, tattooing, or scarification from the Hopewell site (Moorehead 1922:169); the copper cutout of a human face with a tall headdress from Mound 25 at the Hopewell site (Shetrone 1926:214); the copper cutout of a human face with a tall, flowing headdress from the Hopewell site (Shetrone 1926:214); the several (three?) anthropomorphic masked figures carved on a human ulna from the Burial Place within the Great Enclosure at the Turner site (Willoughby 1922:plate 2); and the earlier raptor–human faces carved on Adena stone and clay tablets (Carr 1999b; Otto 1975; Webb and Baby 1957:83–101).

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

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