

Chapter 14

Smoking Pipe Compositions and Styles as Evidence of the Social Affiliations of Mortuary Ritual Participants at the Tremper Site, Ohio

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Hugging the western slopes of the Scioto valley, amidst the heavily dissected countryside of the Appalachian Plateau in southern Ohio, is a modest Hopewellian construction—the Tremper mound and its encircling earthwork. At first glance, Tremper seems an unlikely site for understanding the internal workings of Scioto Hopewellian societies, for it lays some 35 miles south of the concentration of large Hopewellian earthworks and cemeteries around Chillicothe, Ohio. It also has a very small enclosure—only 3.5 acres—compared to the large 40 and 78 acre earthworks around Chillicothe. However, if we are to understand “that which is Hopewell” by contextualizing it in local cultures and histories and personalizing it with human actors, Tremper has a key role to play.

In particular, Tremper is the earliest of the excavated Hopewellian cemeteries in the Scioto drainage that had large burial populations. It may have recorded the beginning of the Scioto Hopewellian tradition, in which multiple communities in a region gathered together at an earth-

work to bury their dead together, in an effort to establish and maintain alliances among them (Carr, Chapter 7; Carr et al., Chapter 13). These practices stand in contrast to previous Adena ones, in which local social groups individually built their own mounds and earthen enclosures for their own use (e.g., Clay 1987:48; Aument 1990). From Tremper onward, the Hopewellian mortuary and alliance-making tradition matured. The system shifted from one where alliances within and among communities were worked out largely through the economic and social relations of commoners as individual agents, who were then buried together, as at Tremper, to one where alliance making was focused through leaders as representatives of their communities, as at Hopewell, Seip, and Liberty. These changes in alliance-making strategies were recorded archaeologically in several ways. The total size of burial populations processed and placed within charnel buildings decreased through the Middle Woodland. The amount of co-mingling of human remains decreased. The proportion of persons

who gave gifts for placement with the deceased shifted from ordinary persons to leaders, and from shaman-like leaders to ones not obviously shamanic in their accoutrements (Carr et al., Chapter 13).

Tremper is significant culture-historically also as one of only three excavated Hopewellian ceremonial centers in the Scioto drainage that, in their own ways and times, appear to have been functionally unique and regionally specialized foci of activities of certain kinds (Carr et al., Chapter 13). The other two sites were Mound City and Hopewell, which date progressively later, although overlapping in time (Prufer 1961a:702–714, 1964a:44–52; Ruhl 1996, Chapter 19; Ruhl and Seeman 1998). Mound City and Hopewell were functionally specialized as places of burial of disproportionately high numbers of social leaders, which logically must have been drawn from multiple communities, regionally. Tremper is the only known, large Hopewellian cemetery in its early time horizon within the Scioto drainage and seems to have drawn persons from distances beyond any single community, to judge by its singular place on the Scioto landscape, the large size of its burial population, and the number of social leaders represented by artifacts that were decommissioned and placed in one of its ceremonial depositories. Reflecting the regional functional uniqueness of Tremper, Mound City, and Hopewell, they alone, in contrast to other excavated Hopewellian ceremonial centers in the Scioto valley, contained ceremonial deposits of artifacts that, by quantitative estimates, represented the largest of ritual gatherings in the region. These gatherings totaled about 200 or more different gift-givers and an unknown additional number of other participants and attendees (Carr et al., Chapter 13, Table 13.10).

This chapter, like the previous, attempts to contextualize and personalize Hopewell by revealing and analyzing the nature of the ceremonial gatherings of Scioto Hopewellian peoples. The two chapters complement each other in approach. Chapter 13 directly estimates the minimum numbers of persons who gathered at ceremonies within earthwork–mound centers and identifies the spectra of social roles of those persons. In this chapter, we inquire into the number of distinct social groups that might have cremated

and buried their dead at Tremper, the sociological identities of those groups—such as clans, phratries, divisions, or communities—and the distances from which they might have come to join in ceremony.

This chapter begins with a brief introduction to the Tremper mound and earthwork, its approximately 375 cremated persons, and a ceremonial deposit (“cache”) of over 500 ritual objects, including 145 plain and effigy, stone smoking pipes, mostly of the platform kind. The chapter then describes a previous study made by two of us (Penney, Carriveau) of the chemistry and geographical sources of the pipestone used to manufacture some of the smoking pipes deposited in the Tremper mound. Eight samples of the pipestone from five finished pipes of various styles and colors, and 21 samples of natural pipestone from the nearby Feurt Hill quarry, were analyzed for their trace element chemistry by instrumental neutron activation analysis. Next, this study is refined by two of us (Weets, Carr), in order to obtain more detailed information on the likely minimum number of distinct geological sources from which pipestone was derived to make the Tremper pipes. Variation in pipe chemistry compared to that of the quarry samples, along with information on pipe stylistic diversity, indicate that pipestone from at least four sources was used to make the Tremper pipes. This result, in turn, implies that four or more social groups that used different pipestone sources, or that had different social networks through which pipes were obtained, assembled at Tremper to bury their dead and their ceremonial artifacts. The chapter proceeds with contextual analyses of certain artifacts and features at Tremper. The contextual studies corroborate the chemically based estimate of the number of social groups that gathered at the site. The studies also suggest the more specific interpretation that four different clans, which were comprised of up to 12 subgroups such as lineages, cognatic groups, or communities, and which were combined into two phratries, dual divisions, or moieties with reciprocal or asymmetrical obligations, assembled at Tremper to bury their dead together. The chapter ends with the conclusion that the burial rituals at Tremper most likely occurred sequentially as part of one extended stepwise ceremony, over weeks or

several years, similar to the protohistoric and historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead, with several hundred to many hundreds of participants or, less likely, intermittently over generations of time with smaller gatherings of varying sizes. This reconstruction furthers understanding of the history of development of Hopewellian alliance strategies in the Scioto valley.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND A PREVIOUS STUDY

The Tremper site is a burial mound within a roughly elliptical to subrectangular embankment that encloses 3.5 acres (Figure 14.1). The site is located in the Scioto river valley, five miles north of the river's confluence with the Ohio. Artifacts within the mound date stylistically to the early Middle Woodland Period (Prufer 1961a:711, 1964a:49). The small area and one-part geometric form of the earthwork similarly suggest a very early date for the site, relative to DeBoer's (1991:table 3) seriation of earthworks by form and size. The shape of the burial mound has recalled a four-legged mammal of a kind to many people, although Mills (1916:275) insisted that the form was the unintended result of ancillary

structures that were appended to the main, subrectangular wooden building that lay below the mound and served to guide its shape.

Tremper was excavated in 1915 by William Mills, with the assistance of George Miehl. The mound was found to contain at its base the burned remains of a large building that functioned as a charnel house, and perhaps in other ways. The building was some 200 × 100 feet in size and was comprised of nearly 600 posts. It probably was not roofed (see below). Twigs and reeds appear to have been woven loosely among the posts, possibly providing visual screening. Within the charnel house in scattered locations were up to 12 large crematory basins. Most of the human remains that were cremated in these basins, or brought already cremated to Tremper, were distributed among four large rectangular basins or "depositories." A fifth depository was built but apparently never used. Mills quantitatively estimated the number of individuals in these depositories, from the volume and compactness of their remains, to be about 375 (Mills 1916; Otto 1984).

In addition to these finds, Mills (1916) unearthed two sizable caches of artifacts. Within the larger, "Great Cache," situated at the floor of the mound with the other aforementioned features,

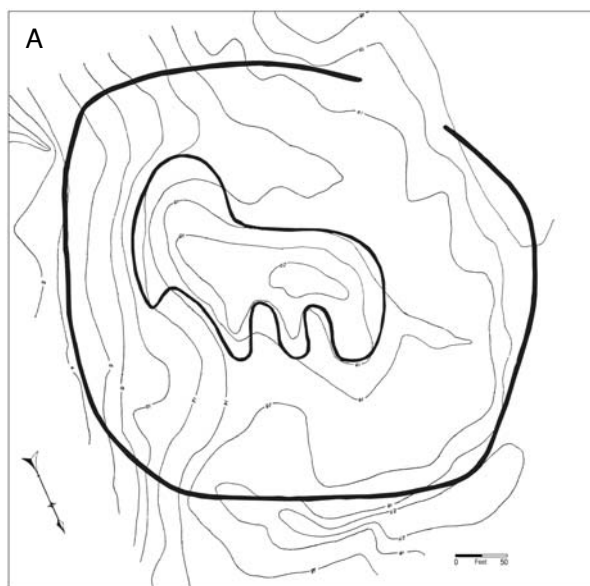


Figure 14.1. The Tremper site, Ohio. (A) Mound and embankment. (B) Floor of the charnel house (next page). Adapted from Mills (1916:269, 271, figures 2 and 3).

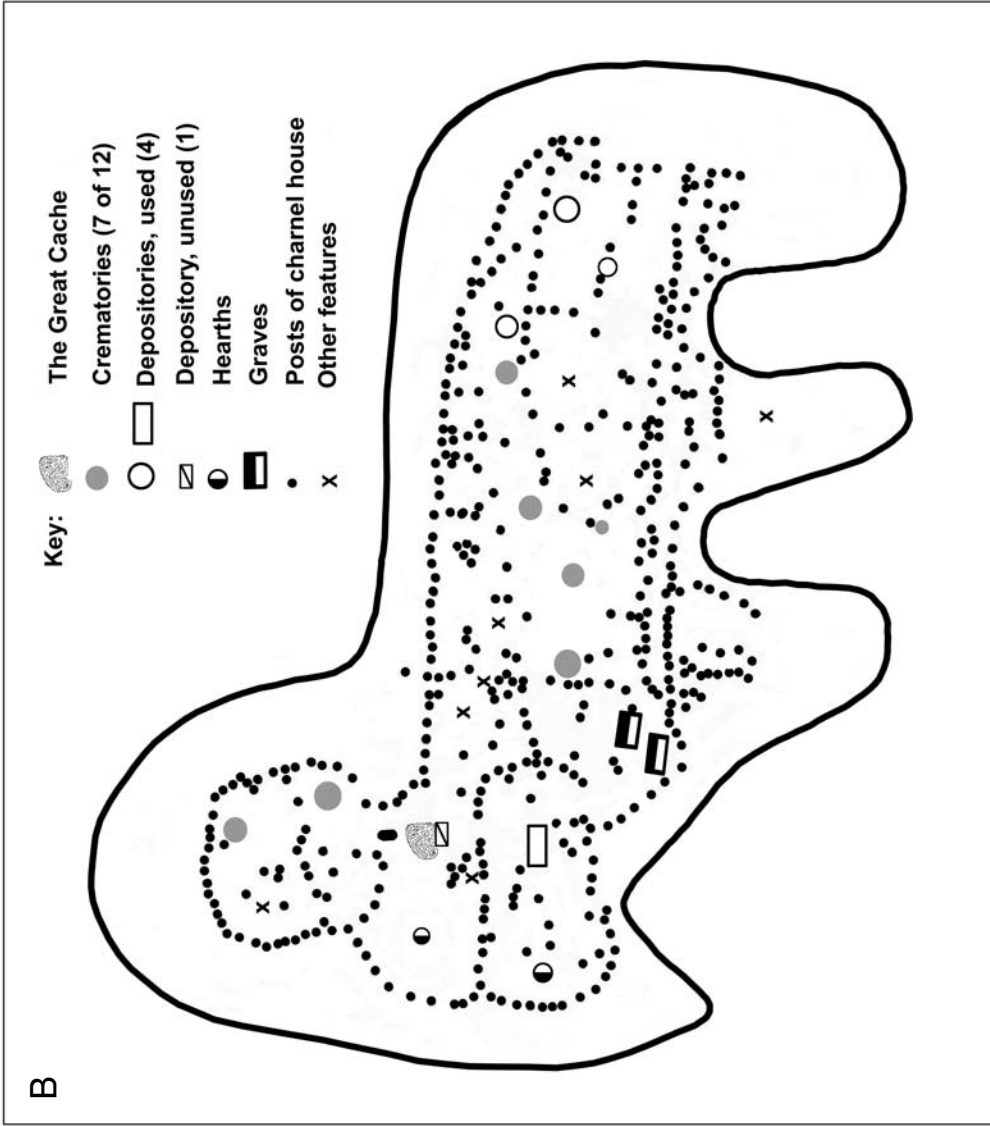


Figure 14.1. (continued)

were the remains of over 500 objects, most ceremonial or ornamental in nature. Among these objects were 136 platform pipes—some plain, more carved with animal effigies, and all intentionally broken. A total of 106 of these pipes were later fully restored by Mills's assistant, H. C. Shetrone; the remaining 30 were beyond repair. Sixty of the 106 restored pipes were sculpted into animal effigies; the others were plain. A second, smaller cache, located some two and a half feet above the crematory basins and the large, primary cache, contained nine intact pipes, a pair of red Ohio pipestone earspools, and a pierced slate tablet. Six of the nine pipes were plain platform pipes, two of which were unusually tall, red, "smokestack" forms; two were of the Adena tubular pipe form; and one was of a "modified" Adena tubular pipe form. The three tubular pipes were the only ones of this style found at Tremper (Mills 1916:285). Mills noted the stylistic differences represented in the pipes of this second cache in comparison to those of the first and, also, commented on their large size and fine manufacture. Mills (1916:293–363) and Otto (1984) illustrate a very large selection of the Tremper pipes, including the infrequent tubular, modified tubular, and tall "smokestack" platform styles (Mills 1916:361, 363, 353–359, respectively).

Across the Scioto to the east exists a large outcrop of Ohio pipestone, and the only documented prehistoric quarry from which Ohio pipestone was extracted and formed into native crafts—Feurt Hill. Mills (1916:289–291) knew of it and, based on visual inspection and comparative wet chemical assays of the pipes and raw pipestone, concluded that all of the 106 restored pipes from Tremper, with the exception of one limestone eagle effigy pipe, were made of the local Ohio pipestone. He also suggested that the outcrop was the source of the pipestone for the approximately 200 pipes excavated by Squier and Davis in 1846 from Mound 8 at Mound City.¹

These conclusions of Mills were to have a lasting impact on ideas about pipe making, trade networks, and the identity of groups involved in these networks. For example, Struever and Houart (1972:67, 69–71, 74, 76) held that pipestone from south-central Ohio was quarried by inhabitants around Tremper, used by them to make the T and smokestack-style pipes that pre-

dominate there, and was traded by them along with smokestack-style pipes to the inhabitants around Mound City. In turn, the people around Mound City were thought to have specialized in the manufacture of effigy pipes made from that pipestone and traded them in return to the people around Tremper. Additionally, Ohio earthwork centers (largely Tremper) were thought to have shipped pipes (especially the smokestack variety) to Hopewellian peoples of the Illinois valley. By extension, platform pipes came to be considered candidates for Hopewellian exchange more widely over the Woodlands. Seaman (1979a:330) noted 38 sites, largely north of the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, that had platform pipes made of Ohio pipestone and other raw materials used by Ohio Hopewell peoples. He concluded that trade of platform pipes out of Ohio was "relatively frequent" and "regular", especially to the Crab Orchard and Havana areas to the west (Seaman, p. 331). It wasn't until Penney's (1989) stylistic analysis of effigy platform pipes from Ohio, Illinois, Georgia, and Louisiana that this view was empirically and seriously cast into doubt. Mineralogical fingerprinting of Havana pipes definitively freed at least some of them of Ohio manufacture only recently (Hughes et al. 1998).

Several persons in recent years have sought, through detailed chemical analyses, to rewrite long-held assumptions about the raw material sources of artifacts in the Hopewell Interaction Sphere (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Carr and Sears 1985; Goad 1978, 1979; Hughes 1995; Hatch et al. 1990; Walthall 1980, 1981; Walthall and Karson 1979). The work of Penney and Carriveau (1983, 1985), which evaluates Mills's conclusions, is no exception. Penney observed great stylistic diversity among the reassembled Tremper pipes, which might suggest their distinct origins. To investigate this possibility, chemical fingerprinting methods were harnessed. Eight samples were taken from five pipe fragments representing several colors and styles in the large and small caches at Tremper (Table 14.1). An additional 21 samples were removed from the Feurt Hill quarry. Finally, 10 samples of eight pipes from later Fort Ancient sites in the vicinity of Tremper, in Scioto and Pike counties, Ohio, dating between A.D. 1400 and A.D. 1650, were also

Table 14.1. Eight Samples Taken from Five Pipes of Several Colors and Styles in the Large and Small Caches at Tremper

Pipe clay color	Pipe style	Cache	<i>n</i>	Sample No.
Gray	Tremper style, plain/effigy ^a	Large	2	P1A, P1B
Gray	Tremper style, plain/effigy ^a	Large	1	P2
Red	Hopewell style, plain ^b	Large	1	P3
Yellow-brown	Distinctive style, effigy ^c	Large	2	P4A, P4B
Red	Tremper tall style, plain ^d	Small	2	P5A, P5B
			(<i>N</i> = 8)	

^aConsistent with the style of effigy and plain platform pipes comprising the majority of pipes at Tremper.

^bPlain platform pipe of a style also found at the Hopewell site.

^cAn effigy pipe of a distinctive, blocky style.

^dA tall platform pipe associated with other pipes of the distinctive Adena tubular and Adena modified tubular pipe styles.

collected for study. The chemical compositions of all 8 samples from the five Tremper pipes, 17 of the Feurt Hill quarry samples, and 3 of the samples from three of the Fort Ancient pipes were then analyzed for 19 elements using neutron activation methods (Appendix 14.1) at the Phoenix Memorial Laboratory at the University of Michigan.² Concentration data on 14 of the more discriminating elements were chosen for study.³ All of the samples, except one from the Feurt Hill quarry, were then selected for multivariate analysis of their overall chemical similarities and differences using a single-linkage, Euclidean distance clustering routine.

The results of Penney and Carriveau's neutron activation analysis are as follows.

- (1) A strong, coherent chemical "fingerprint" of the Feurt Hill quarry samples was characterized.
- (2) The Fort Ancient pipe fragments were found to have probably originated from the Feurt Hill quarry site.
- (3) None of the Tremper Mound pipe samples were consistent with the chemical fingerprint of the Feurt Hill quarry.
- (4) The two samples representing a pipe of the tall platform pipe style from the small artifact cache (Table 14.1) was found to exhibit marked chemical differences from the samples of pipes in the large cache.

Chemical studies by Sigstad (1973), which sampled two red pipes from the upper cache at Tremper and a few other Middle Woodland pipes, also found none to link to the Feurt Hill quarry. One of the Tremper pipes was sourced to the catlinite quarry in Pipestone, Minnesota, and the

second pipe possibly to that quarry (Penney and Carriveau 1985), in line with more recent assays suggesting the use of Minnesota pipestone (Emerson et al. 2002).

Penney and Carriveau concluded that Feurt Hill Ohio pipestone does not appear to have been the source for pipes found throughout the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. The two researchers went on to suggest one possible source of the pipes from the small cache, after their consultation with other analysts who had performed similar studies of pipes from prehistoric and historic contexts. This source is the red catlinite quarries of distant southwestern Minnesota. Penney and Carriveau also concluded that the source for the pipe materials in the large cache "could also be quite distant from the site."

A STATISTICAL STUDY EXTENDING THE NEUTRON ACTIVATION ANALYSIS

Research was undertaken by two of us (Weets, Carr) in order to refine the quantitative work of Penney and Carriveau. Our study centered on statistically defining the number of chemically distinct pipestone sources represented by the sample of pipes. We were also interested in whether each defined pipestone source could have represented a distinct group of people involved in the caching of the objects. In particular, one might logically link different pipesone sources to different social groups, based on the degree of statistical, and possibly geographic, dispersion among the pipestone sources, even if the locations of those sources could not be known.

To explore the chemical variation in the sampled pipes and raw materials, Penney's and Carriveau's chemical data were analyzed further by multidimensional scaling analysis (MDS). Multidimensional scaling was selected over cluster analysis and factor analysis in order to investigate middle-scale relationships among subclusters and clusters, rather than the details of linkages among sample pairs or the global pattern of dispersion of the samples. A series of monotonic and linear scalings was calculated, using the SYSTAT 5.0 statistical package. All 19 elements were included in the studies, and each of these variables was standardized in order to give them equal variance and weight. Euclidean distances were used as the measure of sample dissimilarity. To better understand the chemical nature of the samples, separate analyses were performed for the three sets—the quarry samples, the Tremper pipe samples, and the Fort Ancient pipe samples—before combining them in a more comprehensive scaling.

Separate Analyses of the Feurt Hill Quarry, Tremper, and Fort Ancient Samples

The Feurt Hill quarry samples represent some 40 pounds of pipestone removed by Penney and Carriveau from four dispersed locations (A, B, C, D) on the hill. The samples were taken at and near the modern land surface, which is irregular, and varied in color from red to yellow. The degree to which pipestone color variation from location to location represents horizontal variability in the pipestone deposit or the exposure of different strata of the deposit at the different locations is unclear. No stratigraphic variation in color was seen in the shallow sampling pits that were dug into the deposit at each location.

Seventeen samples from three of these loci—five samples from locus A, six samples from locus C, and six samples from locus D (Appendix 14.1)—were analyzed by neutron activation methods. In both the linear and the monotonic two-dimensional scalings, one sample (C5) was found by us to be a distinct multivariate outlier. When included in the data, this sample tended to “pull” other quarry samples from their otherwise more agglomerated positions, and dis-

persed clusters when both the quarry and the pipe samples were scaled together. Thus, the sample was dropped from the data used in further studies, leaving 16 raw pipestone samples. The result of the multidimensional scaling analysis was the establishment of a definite chemical fingerprint for the Feurt Hill quarry.

Two-dimensional scalings of the eight Tremper pipe samples did not reveal any distinct multivariate outliers. However, they did show that the two samples from a pipe in the small cache are widely separated in their chemistry from the six samples of four pipes in the large cache. The six samples of the four pipes in the large cache were found to be approximately equally similar to each other in their chemistry.

No outliers or distinct clusters were found among the three Fort Ancient pipe samples when they alone were scaled.

Combined Analyses of the Feurt Hill Quarry, Tremper, and Fort Ancient Samples

Multidimensional scalings of the combined quarry, Tremper, and Fort Ancient samples were again made in two dimensions, using both linear and monotonic regression methods. Both methods produced similar and revealing sample dispersion, with acceptable levels of stress (linear method, stress = .137, R^2 [RSQ] = .950; monotonic method, stress = .075, R^2 = .989). Figure 14.2 illustrates the plot for the linear scaling. In the plot, several patterns are clear. (1) The Feurt Hill samples form a tight cluster. (2) The Fort Ancient pipe samples form a tight cluster and relate quite closely to the Feurt Hill quarry samples. (3) The Tremper pipes from the large cache segregate from the cluster of Feurt Hill and Fort Ancient samples. (4) The pipe from the stylistically different small cache is also a distinct chemical outlier. Thus, the scaling plot shows the general patterning reported earlier by Penney and Carriveau (1983, 1985). (5) However, there are some notable differences among samples within the cluster from the large cache. This dispersion suggests the possibility that the pipes from the large cache came from multiple sources—an inference bolstered by the diverse

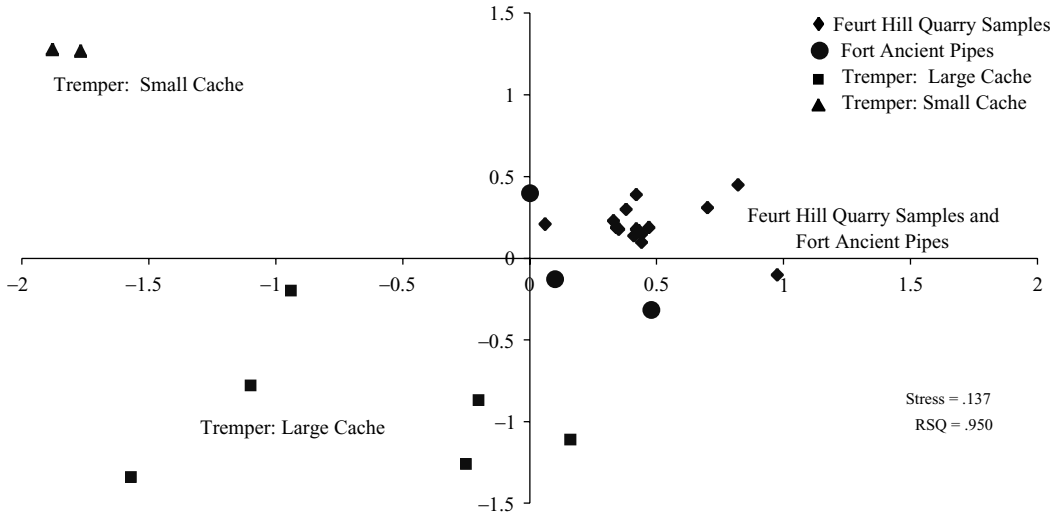


Figure 14.2. Two-dimensional scaling of 15 pipestone samples from the Feurt Hill quarry, Ohio; 10 samples of Fort Ancient period pipes from Scioto and Pike Counties, Ohio; and 8 samples of five pipes from the Tremper mound, Ohio. The scaling is based on 19 trace elements within the samples (see Note 2 and Appendix 14.1), the Euclidean distance coefficient, and a linear multidimensional scaling algorithm.

red, gray, and yellow–brown colors of the pipes and their distinctive styles. In addition, the two gray Tremper pipes, although similar in color and style, are also quite different chemically.

In order to gain insight into whether the pipe samples from the large cache might have been made of pipestone from multiple sources, the variances of the elemental compositions of the pipe samples were compared to the variances of the elemental compositions of the quarry samples. It can be argued that if the chemical variability of the pipe samples is statistically greater than the chemical variability of the samples from the one pipestone quarry investigated, then the pipes probably were made from stone from two or more sources.

To follow out this logic, 19 one-tailed, *F*-ratio tests of the equivalence of variance of two populations (Nowaczyk 1988) were made, one test for each of the 19 studied elements, comparing the large cache pipe samples to the quarry samples. The tests show (Table 14.2) that 11 of 19 elements have significantly greater variation among the pipe samples than the quarry samples at the .01 level of significance ($df = 5, 14$) and that 12 of 19 elements have this pattern at the .05 level of significance ($df = 5, 14$). These results suggest that the

pipe samples from the large cache likely were manufactured of pipestone from two or more sources.

In order to interpret the large chemical variability of the pipe samples for the large cache in this manner, it is necessary to rule out the possible effects of intrapipe sample variability and laboratory error. This was achieved by considering the chemical variability of pipes represented by multiple samples: the yellow–brown effigy pipe (samples 4A, 4B) and one of the gray Tremper-style pipes (samples 1A, 1B) from the large cache, and the platform pipe (samples 5A, 5B) from the small cache. Two two-dimensional scaling plots of these six samples, along with the single samples from the red Hopewell-style pipe and the second, gray Tremper-style pipe, were constructed using linear and monotonic regression methods (linear method, stress = .074, $R^2 = .987$; monotonic method, stress = .031, $R^2 = .994$). Figure 14.3 shows the linear solution, which is very similar to the monotonic one. The figure clearly shows that combined intrapipe sample variation and laboratory error is less than between-pipe variation in chemical composition. Distances between samples from the same pipes are smaller than distances between samples from different pipes in the plot.

Table 14.2. Results of *F*-Tests Comparing the Chemical Variance of Pipe Samples from the Large Cache to the Chemical Variance of Quarry Samples

Element	<i>F</i> -ratio
SM	16.055*
LU	2.250
U	1.031
AS	.323
LA	8.901*
CE	2.118
YB	15.565*
TH	.659
CR	8.682*
HF	5.924*
CS	60.033*
TB	76.640*
SC	5.368*
FE	6.071*
ZN	28.116*
TA	.461
CO	378.310*
EU	24.467*
SB	4.348**

*Significant at the .01 level; *df* = {5,14}, critical *F*-ratio = 4.69 (Nowaczyk 1988).

**Significant at the .05 level; *df* = {5,14}, critical *F*-ratio = 2.96 (Nowaczyk 1988).

This graphic result was evaluated statistically with an ANOVA test using the three pipes with two samples each. The test had a two-way design: three pipes versus 19 elements, with two replications within each cell. Three variations

on this two-way ANOVA were explored. The ANOVA was first run with the raw scores from Penney and Cariveau’s data, which implicitly weighted trace elements by their variances. The ANOVA results suggested that trace elements with small variances probably were “washed out” by trace elements with large variances, as expected. To overcome this problem, the chemical data were standardized within elements, equalizing their variances. A two-way ANOVA with replication was made on these numbers. The third manner in which the problem was overcome was through using a data transformation often applied by biologists and physical anthropologists. The transformation involved choosing the highest elemental concentration score for each of the six samples, then dividing it and the remainder of the scores by it. A two-way ANOVA with replication was then made on these numbers. The ANOVA tables for all three variations of the data are displayed in Table 14.3. They all depict a greater amount of variation between the three pipes than within them. Overall, these statistical tests corroborate the MDS plot (Figure 14.3) and suggest that combined intrapipe sample variation and laboratory error is less than between-pipe variation in chemical composition. Thus, intrapipe sample variation and laboratory error probably do not explain the notable elemental variability among the pipes within the large cache.

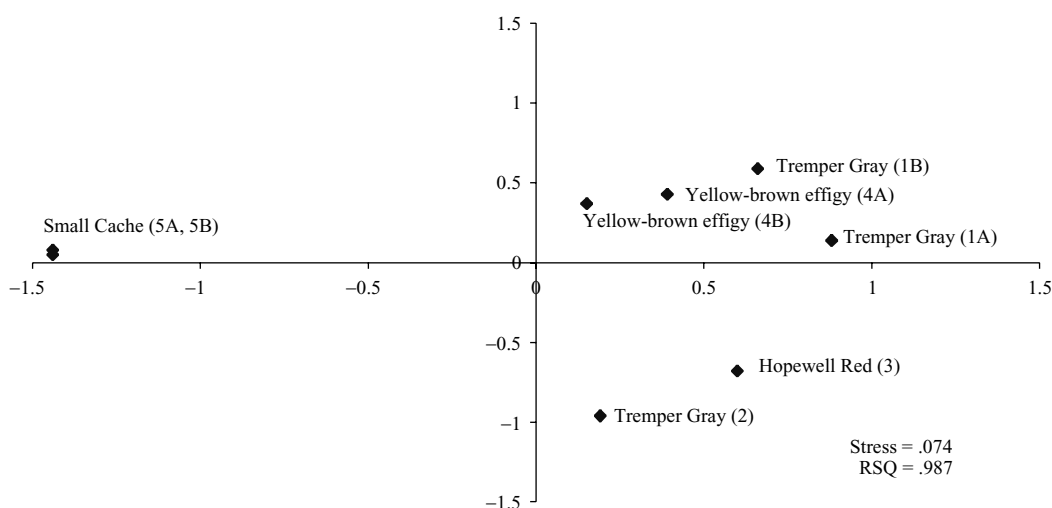


Figure 14.3. Two-dimensional scaling of eight samples of five pipes from the Tremper mound. The scaling is based on 19 trace elements within the samples (see Note 2 and Appendix 14.1), the Euclidean distance coefficient, and a linear multidimensional scaling algorithm.

Table 14.3. Results of Two-Way ANOVAs of Within-Pipe Variation versus Between-Pipe Variation for 19 Trace Elements and Two Samples of Each Pipe

Source of variation	SS	df	MS	F	P-value ^a	F crit
ANOVA with raw data (untransformed data)						
Elements	180,834.150	18	10,046.340	34.3959	4.2244E-24	1.570569
Pipes	1,484.756	2	742.378	2.5417	.08762595	2.398160
Interaction	50,925.221	36	1,414.589	4.8432	6.3728E-08	1.457581
Within	1,6648.537	57	292.080			
Total	24,9892.670	113				
ANOVA with data transformed to Z-scores within elements (standardized data)						
Elements	.52068	18	.028927	.1524	.99996903	1.787807
Pipes	8.42247	2	4.211234	22.1822	7.4939E-08	3.158846
Interaction	80.78808	36	2.244113	11.8206	6.4822E-16	1.623292
Within	10.82133	57	.189848			
Total	100.55256	113				
ANOVA with data transformed to percentages of the highest elemental concentration within elements (biological transformation of data)						
Elements	3.37611	18	.187562	6.3541	3.6786E-08	1.787807
Pipes	.38161	2	.190803	6.4640	.00295037	3.158846
Interaction	9.81749	36	.272708	9.2388	1.6993E-13	1.623292
Within	1.68252	57	.029518			
Total	15.25772	113				

^aBoldface statistics show that within-pipe chemical variation (intrapipe sample variation, laboratory error) is less than between-pipe chemical variation.

Pipestone source variability is a more likely cause.

The conclusion to be drawn from these various MDS analyses and statistical tests is that the pipestone used to make the pipes in the large and small caches at Tremper come from a minimum of three sources. (Source 1) The pipestone chemistry of the one sampled pipe (samples 5A, 5B) in the small cache differs greatly from those of the four other sampled pipes in the large cache. (Sources 2, 3+) In turn, these four pipes vary much more in their chemistry than do the 16 analyzed pipestone samples from the Feurt Hill quarry, suggesting that the four pipes were made of stone from two or more diverse sources. In particular, as shown in Figure 14.3, minimally the yellow–brown effigy pipe (samples 4A, 4B) and the first example of the gray Tremper-style pipe (samples 1A, 1B) appear to have been made from pipestones that differ chemically and in source from the red Hopewell-style pipe (sample 3) and the second example of the gray Tremper-style pipe (sample 2).

Adding stylistic information on pipe morphology and color to the chemical patterning sug-

gests a yet greater diversity of stone sources for the pipes. Gray pipes 1 and 2 of the Tremper style differ more from each other in their chemistry than does gray pipe 2 of the Tremper style from the red Hopewell-style pipe (Figure 14.3). If the Hopewell-style pipe was made of stone found in the rough vicinity of the Hopewell site, which lies about 45 miles from Tremper, or of stone brought uniquely to the Hopewell site, then it is also possible that the two gray Tremper-style pipes were made of stone from different, potentially distant sources as well. Using all this chemical and stylistic information, it is possible to argue that the pipestone used to make the pipes in the large and small caches at Tremper come from a minimum of four different sources, pertaining to (1) the tall, red, platform pipe No. 5 from the small cache, (2) the yellow–brown effigy pipe No. 4 and the Tremper style gray pipe No. 1, (3) the Tremper-style gray pipe No. 2, and (4) the red, Hopewell style pipe No. 3. The stone used to make yellow–brown pipe No. 4 and gray pipe No. 1 may have come from distinct localities, although this is harder to argue. It is unknown how many more sources might be revealed through

further neutron activation analysis of pipes beyond the five studied here.

Social Interpretation of the Neutron Activation and Quantitative Analyses

The results of the above analyses can be interpreted in social terms. The different pipestone sources used to make the analyzed pipes can be hypothesized to represent (1) the different pipestone procurement traditions of different social groups who gathered at Tremper and cached pipes, and/or (2) the different social networks or “catchments” through which finished pipes were obtained by those different social groups. If this view is correct, then the data suggest that a minimum of four social groups gathered at Tremper to destroy and deposit the remains of their pipes, or at least were represented by their pipes, which were brought by those who gathered. It is also possible that all five of the sampled pipes, which differ either chemically and/or stylistically from each other, indicate five such distinct social groups.

Finally, it is possible that the social group responsible for the small cache of pipes created this deposit significantly later than those groups who gathered to create the large cache on the mound floor. This temporal distinction is suggested by the facts that the pipes in the small cache are of several stylistically unique forms (very tall platform pipes, Adena tubular, Adena modified tubular), are all unbroken, and were deposited two and a half feet above the mound floor. Considering this temporal dimension, the number of social groups who gathered at any one time at Tremper to decommission and deposit their pipes on the floor of the mound might have been as few as three to as many as four.

In sum, it is not possible to know the exact number of social groups that assembled or that were represented by their pipes at Tremper. The small sample of pipes studied, the lack of information on the geographic location of the different sources of stone for those pipes, and the lack of data on any stratigraphy in the large cache prevent such precision. However, the possibility is good that multiple, distinct social groups, such as lineages, clans, moieties, phratries, or members of different communities, gathered at Tremper

and ritually disposed their pipes. From the large total number of pipes deposited, it must be concluded that the social groups were either large and few (e.g., phratries, moieties, communities) or smaller and more numerous (e.g., lineages, clans). This range of possible interpretations can be narrowed by considering the greater archaeological context of the pipe deposits, to which we now turn.

THE NEUTRON ACTIVATION STUDY IN COMPARISON TO OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL INFORMATION

The interpretation that multiple social groups, who obtained pipestone or pipes from distinct sources, gathered at Tremper is supported and can be refined in light of other aspects of the Tremper archaeological record. We begin with some very general observations and move to more specific ones. All of the ideas posed remain working hypotheses at this time.

(1) The Tremper earthwork is located on the edge of a 70-foot-high plateau, directly overlooking the Scioto valley flood plain. Its visibility from a distance, as well as its placement not far from the confluence of the Scioto and Ohio rivers, would have enhanced its potential as a gathering place for members of one or more Hopewellian communities.⁴

(2) The building within which the crematory basins, depositories, and Great Cache were located was large—approximately 100 × 200 feet. It could easily have held a large assembly of a hundred or so persons, particularly if they were spatially organized for ceremony respective to the building’s multiple cremation basins, depositories, and semi-open rooms. Many times more persons could have assembled outside the building, but within Tremper’s 3.5 acres of embankment-enclosed space. Many localized lineages or clans from one or several earthwork–mound communities conceivably could have gathered together within the building, and many more could have assembled within the earthwork walls.

(3) The cremated remains of the approximately 375 individuals housed within the

building were divided among four depositories. One depository was large and contained what we would judge to be 75% or more of the cremated remains (i.e., ca. 281 individuals), based on Mills's (1916:277–278) volumetric descriptions. It was located at the east end of the building, which also contained the Great Cache of pipes and other ceremonial items. The other three depositories were smaller and were scattered over the west end of the building. They contained approximately equivalent volumes of cremated remains (i.e., about 31 individuals each). A fifth, unused depository was located at the east end of the building, close to the Great Cache. If distinct social groups, such as clans, phratries, “divisions,” or communities used different depositories to hold the remains of their dead, these features would imply that four social groups gathered at Tremper. This interpretation falls within the range of possible numbers of social groups suggested by the chemical analysis of the Tremper pipes.

(4) Identification of the kinds of social groups that assembled at Tremper can be inferred from its faunal assemblage. Within the Great Cache of artifacts, which included the pipes, were found 110 pieces of animal jaws, at least some of which were used as ornaments (Ohio Historical Society n.d.). These jaws, which have recently been studied by Heather Thew (n.d.), derive from only four animal groups: (a) bear, including black and grizzly; (b) wolf–coyote; (c) puma—also called mountain lion and cougar; and (d) bobcat. Grouping wolf and coyote together seems appropriate, since they are similar in shape, markings, and size. A wolf is only about 20% larger and has a larger nose pad than a coyote (Thew n.d.; Whitaker 1980). Separating pumas and bobcats seems appropriate, since a puma is about twice the size of a bobcat.

The kind of social segment with which these categories of animals most likely were associated at Tremper is the clan, in contrast to phratries, dual divisions, other divisions, or communities. In Chapter 8, Thomas et al. show a good correspondence between the species of animal power parts, including jaws, that are found in Hopewellian graves and ceremonial deposits across Ohio and the eponyms of clans of historic tribes in the Northeastern, Great Lakes–

Riverine, and Southeastern areas of the Eastern Woodlands. Canine and bear were consistently the most common clan eponyms found historically in these areas, and canine, bear, and feline power parts were the most common species of power parts found across Ohio Hopewell sites. The four animal categories represented by jaws at Tremper fall easily within these ethnohistoric and Ohio Hopewell patterns. In addition, historically in the Woodlands, clanpersons were sometimes marked by necklaces or pendants of the animal power parts of their clan eponyms (e.g., Callender 1978b:641)—a manner in which at least some of the Tremper specimens may have functioned.

In contrast, phratries in the historic Woodlands were sometimes named for larger-category phenomena, such as the Winnebago's Air, Land, Water, and Thunder People or the Shawnee's Herbivorous, Carnivorous, Aquatic, Scratching Animal, and Rabbit phratries. Although bear and wolf phratries did occur among the Potawatomi, their constituent clans included a broader range of species (Thomas et al., Chapter 8, Table 8.2). Dual divisions of the ethnohistoric East were almost always referenced by encompassing categories or colors: earth versus sky, black versus white, or red versus white (Thomas et al., Chapter 8, Table 8.3). Historic Northeastern Native American communities were not regularly named for animals, and those in the Southeast were associated with red or white. In sum, the four animal groups found in the Great Cache at Tremper most probably referred to clan membership.

If these four animal groups did indicate clans, conceivably they placed their dead in the four separate depositories.⁵ Three clans may have been similar in size, and the fourth much larger, based on the volume of cremation remains recovered from each depository. Such demographic inequality among clans is feasible, with dynamic shifts over generations, and was common ethnohistorically in the Woodlands (Thomas et al., Chapter 8; Chagnon 1979; Triggner 1978).⁶

The information on animal jaw species and crematories does not suggest one way or another whether the members of the four hypothesized clans might have come from one or multiple earthwork–mound communities. However, the

pipe data are suggestive in this regard. The presence in the Tremper Great Cache of a style of pipe most commonly found at the Hopewell earthwork, the large chemical differences in the stone of the two gray pipes from the large cache, the chemically distinctive tall platform pipe from the small cache, and the stylistically rare Adena tubular pipes from the small cache leave open the possibility that persons from different earthwork-mound communities gathered at Tremper.⁷ Also, because the majority of pipes are of one artistic style and color, it is likely that members of one community predominated in the gathering(s) at Tremper. The alternative possibility, that persons of one community built and gathered at Tremper but had previously received distinct pipes from other distant communities through exchange, must also be entertained.

(5) The deposition of nearly all of the ceremonial artifacts at Tremper within one Great Cache, in contrast to the separation of cremation remains among four depositories, is interesting. It is possible that multiple clans from one or more communities came together at Tremper and placed their dead in four separate depositories but placed their ceremonial artifacts together in the one Great Cache. This action could have symbolized and helped to cement various social, economic, political, and/or ritual-religious reciprocal or asymmetrical relationships among the clans.⁸ Alternatively, it is possible that the artifacts in the Great Cache belonged to only one of the four social groups that were associated with the four depositories: the Great Cache is located at the east end of the mound and near the large depository of cremated remains, and both facilities are separated from the three smaller depositories at the west end of the mound.⁹ Perhaps within the Tremper community and/or others, one clan represented by the large depository and cache was larger and was socially responsible for handling the arena of death and mortuary rites. Perhaps a Tremper community, represented by the large depository and cache, hosted a regional mortuary ceremony to which members of (three?) other communities came and buried some of their dead, as in the Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead (Heidenreich 1978; Hickerson 1960; Trigger 1969). Finally, the possibility that the depositories were created in a

sequence over time must be considered, fleshing out Mills's (1922:284) belief that the large cremation depository and the Great Cache accumulated over years of time.

(6) It is possible that the four hypothetical clans—Bear, Wolf-Coyote, Puma, and Bobcat—were grouped into two phratries, dual divisions, or moieties with reciprocal or asymmetrical obligations. The bear and wolf-cougar jaw fragments identified within the Great Cache were almost completely maxillary elements (95% and 90%, respectively). In contrast, the identified puma and bobcat jaw fragments were all mandibular elements. This pattern appears to be entirely cultural in origin (Thew n.d.). The complementary maxillary and mandibular elements could have symbolized complementary social relationships among two phratries, dual divisions, or moieties.

(7) The four hypothetical clans may have been comprised of as many as 12 subgroups in total—lineages or cognatic groups, from the same one community of Tremper or from different Scioto communities.¹⁰ This possibility is indicated by the up to 12 separate crematories at Tremper, most of which are separated from one another by rows of posts that may have served as screens. In one scenario, approximately 12 localized kinship groups from the one community of Tremper would have cremated their dead separately, at one time. Then those of the same clan would have placed the cremated remains of their dead together, in one of the four depositories. Finally, after these rites were completed, all the ceremonial equipment involved in them, and possibly from all four clans, would have been buried together in the Great Cache. An alternative scenario would see the four hypothetical clans each having resided in three different communities, defining up to 12 clan-community groups.¹¹ Again, these clan-community groups would have cremated their dead separately, and then those of the same clan but from multiple communities would have joined the cremation remains of their dead together in one of the four depositories. In either case, the flow of ceremony would have been from separate rituals by small groups to progressively larger rituals by more encompassing group(s). A final possibility, that the approximately 12 crematories and four depositories were created over time by smaller

numbers of social groups, must also be considered.

In all three of these cases, the rituals of two differing scales and operations—those that used the up to 12 crematories versus those that used the four depositories—could have been elements of a multiple-stage mortuary program that involved rites of “liminality” and “reincorporation,” as a process for helping the deceased transition to an afterlife and their survivors’ transition to normal life (Turner 1969; van Gennep 1960; see also Carr, Chapter 12). The various rituals might be seen as an example of the shorter and longer ritual cycles hypothesized by Greber (1996:165, 170), although the existence of the cycles is questioned (Carr et al., Chapter 13).

(8) It is unlikely that the animal species carved on some of the pipes from Tremper, in contrast to the site’s faunal assemblage, provide insight into the large-scale social segments of those who gathered there. Of the 136 platform pipes deposited in the Great Cache, 82 to 89 are animal effigies and 47 to 54 are plain (Mills 1916:289). The effigy pipes illustrate at least 31 distinct animal species, including owls (saw-whet, barred, great horned), hawks, squirrels, otters, raccoons, pumas, black bears, turtles (box, snapping), wolves, ducks, porcupine, opossum, beaver, dog, bobcat, rabbit, mink, white-tailed deer, gray fox, great blue heron, sandhill crane, crow, quail, toad, blue jay, eagle, kingfisher, and parakeet (Mills 1916:291–292; Otto 1984, 1992:5). The attention to detail that is shown on the pipes and that has allowed the identification of these animals indicates the artisans’ awareness of the distinctness of these kinds of animals. Some species occur two to five times in the collection of pipes, but most are unique.

Both the large number of kinds of animals represented on the pipes and the uniqueness of many of them suggest that most, if not all, do not represent clan, phratry, or division totems (contra Otto 1984:24). The number of clans typically found within single tribes of historic Native Americans of the Great Lakes–Riverine area was 8 to 10. The average number of phratries, where they are known to have existed, was five (Thomas et al., Chapter 8; Trigger 1978). In contrast, the great diversity and uniqueness of the sculpted animals on the Tremper pipes lends sup-

port to the idea that they were personal “power animals” or “animal guardian” (Harner 1990:42–43; Otto 1992:7). Some of the effigies might also have been the power animals of shaman-like practitioners, which likewise can be diverse within a single culture (Eliade 1964:88–99; Harner 1990:42–43, 57–65). The Great Cache at Tremper does, in fact, include a variety of ritual artifacts other than smoking pipes that probably were used by shaman-like practitioners.¹² Further supporting the idea that the Tremper pipes depict personal power animals is the placement, in nearly all instances, of the animal’s face facing the inhaling hole of the pipe and the smoker. This positioning has been argued, in the case of early Iroquois animal-effigy smoking pipes, to indicate the smokers’ use of the pipe sculpture to help them visualize their power animal and to communicate and/or merge with it while in a smoke-facilitated trance state (Gernet and Timmins 1987).

(9) The numbers of persons who gathered at Tremper at any one time to cremate their dead is not so easily inferred. This is so because the duration over which the mortuary building below the mound was used, prior to its destruction and burial, is unknown. However, several pieces of information are relevant. (a) The building was substantial and may have been used a long time. Thus, the cremated remains within the building may have been produced over a long period of time or a short one. The nearly 600 posts that comprise the building averaged about six inches in diameter and were set into the ground about two and a half feet (Mills 1916:274). In addition, the building does not seem to have been roofed, making roof failure an unlikely cause for a shortened period of building use. The building lacked large support posts and a regular pattern of interior support posts similar to the charnel structure at the Edwin Harness Mound (Greber 1983), either of which would have indicated some kind of roof. Mills (1916:284) thought that the building was used over a long period of time, that the cremations in it had likewise accumulated over a “considerable” duration, and that the artifacts in the Great Cache had been deposited over a “number of years.” The bases for Mills’s time estimates for the three categories of use are unclear; nor did Mills consider the possibility

of changing use of the building over time, with cremation having occurred only at the end of the building's history, analogous to somewhat earlier to coeval Adena "charnel" buildings (Clay 1986:590). (b) The total number of cremations was estimated by Mills as 375. Each of these deceased persons may have been accompanied by one to several survivors at the gathering(s) at Tremper. The "Best" estimate of the median number of ritual attendees who actually gave gifts at Ohio Hopewell mortuary ceremonies has been calculated as two or three per deceased by Carr et al. (Chapter 13). These figures would imply a maximum aggregation of 750 to 1,125 or so individuals, if the mortuary remains at Tremper were the product of essentially one extended gathering. However, this may not have been the case, given the durability of the charnel structure. (c) Over 500 objects were found in the Great Cache of artifacts, defining the maximum number of artifact owners/depositors who might have assembled at one time at the site, with one artifact per person. (d) The largest number of artifacts of one kind in the Great Cache is the 136 pipes, which estimates the minimum number of artifact owners/depositors who might have assembled at one time at the site, assuming one pipe per person. (e) The "Best" estimate of the number of persons who gave gifts at mortuary rituals at Tremper, using the method of Carr et al. (Chapter 13), is 191. (f) The number of shaman-like and nonshaman-like sociopolitical leaders estimated to be represented by certain artifacts within the Great Cache, using the methods of Carr et al. (Chapter 13), is approximately 30. This number of leaders would imply a considerable dependent population of potential grievers, on the order of hundreds.

(10) If the cremated bodies and artifacts at Tremper were deposited there as part of one extended, stepwise mortuary ceremony, over the course of several weeks or years, rather than over generations in multiple ceremonies, then the attendance of multiple Hopewellian communities at that ceremony would be suggested by the large number of burials, the estimated large total number of gift givers, and the estimated large number of leaders represented by artifacts in the Great Cache at Tremper. The singular place of Tremper as the only large burial grounds on the Scioto

landscape during its time plane also tends to suggest the drawing together there of persons from multiple communities (Prufer 1961a:711; Prufer and McKenzie 1975).

(11) The burial population of about 375 individuals at Tremper is much larger than the burial populations from any late Adena mounds, or earlier Adena mounds, in Ohio or the Ohio drainage generally. Most Adena mounds covered just one to a few persons (e.g., Dragoo 1963:147, 151, 152, 158, 161; Greber 1991:11; Webb and Snow 1974:110–131). The largest burial populations found within Adena mounds range between about 30 and 55 individuals, with one outlier at 86 individuals. Moreover, the burial populations of most of the large mounds were amassed by accretion, over extended time, implying smaller numbers of deceased buried at any one time.¹³ In contrast, the approximately 375 cremations at Tremper were placed on one floor, implying greater synchrony and the processing of many more individuals at a time.

Taken at face value, Adena mounds seem to have covered one or a few persons of import, probably from one or a few neighboring, small local social groups, to judge by the number of individuals buried (see also Aument 1990; Clay 1987:53–54; 1992:80). In contrast, Tremper appears to have serviced many local social groups from one or more "communities" of larger but unknown population sizes and a much broader geographic scale.

The much larger geographic and demographic scale of social integration that Tremper seems to represent compared to earlier Adena mounds is supported by Seeman and Branch's (n.d.) study of the geographic distributions of Adena and Hopewell mounds in the Scioto, Muskingum, and Miami valleys. Seeman and Branch found that in all three valleys, Adena mounds were fairly evenly dispersed over the landscape, and much more so than Hopewell mounds, which were tightly clustered in a few localities. This suggests to us that Adena mounds were each built and used by one or a few, small, localized social groups, whereas the clustered Hopewell mounds indicate locations on the landscape where the ceremonialism of many local group—one or more "communities"—was concentrated and integrated. Further, in the Scioto

valley, where Seeman and Branch made a more detailed study, Adena mounds were also found to be located in a great variety of geomorphological and environmental settings, supporting the observation that they were fairly evenly dispersed over the landscape, and in keeping with the interpretation that each was built and used by one or a few local groups who lived within a small area with its own environmental particulars. Finally, Adena mounds were found to have been built generally at higher elevations, away from the main water courses that otherwise could have provided easy access to these ceremonial sites by peoples from a good distance. Building and use of the sites by local groups is implied. In contrast, Hopewell mounds, including Tremper, were constructed primarily on terraces in the main valleys, where they were accessible to peoples from a wide region via river travel. Broader-scale social gatherings are implied. All of these locational contrasts between Adena and Hopewell mounds support the idea that Adena mounds usually were built and used by one or a few, small, neighboring, local social groups, whereas Tremper and other large, Hopewellian mound sites were gathering places of larger communities of people from a wider region. The Hopewellian situation is borne out empirically in multiple ways in Chapters 3, 4, 7, and 13 of this book.¹⁴

CONCLUSIONS

The research presented here expands knowledge about Hopewell in its particular guise at the Tremper site, within the history of Early through Middle Woodland culture change in the Scioto valley, and with broader implications for local and supralocal Hopewellian interaction. Some of the major points to be emphasized are as follows.

(1) Chemical testing of the pipes from Tremper Mound and pipestone from the nearby Feurt Hill quarry casts serious doubt on Mills's assumption that local Feurt Hill pipestone was used to make most of the pipes. This conclusion suggests that Mills's assumption of a local source for the pipes excavated by Squier and Davis from Mound 8 at Mound City should also be reconsidered, as well as more modern interpretations that

see platform pipes spread across the Hopewell Interaction Sphere as having been derived from Ohio (see also Hughes et al. 1998). Chemical testing of the Mound City pipes by neutron activation analysis, to compare with the chemical data presented here, would be particularly insightful.

(2) Chemical testing of the Tremper pipes suggests that they were manufactured from pipestone having several different sources. This diversity, in combination with pipe stylistic information and the joint burial of the pipes in the Great Cache and Upper Cache, suggest that three to five social groups gathered together at Tremper for one or more rituals. The different groups either had procured their pipestone from different, distant sources or had different, far-reaching social networks through which pipestone and/or finished pipes were obtained.

(3) Additional archaeological information on the cremation and burial facilities within the submound building at Tremper, and on animal jaws within the Great Cache, in conjunction with ethnohistorical information on clans and other social divisions in Eastern Woodland societies, suggests that four clans associated with four different animal-totemic species—bear, wolf-coyote, puma, and bobcat—were assembled at the site. These groups may have placed their dead in four separate depositories, and one or more of them may have cached their ritual artifacts together in the Great Cache. The four hypothetical clans may have been comprised of up to 12 subgroups, such as lineages, cognatic groups, or communities. They also may have been combined into two phratries, dual divisions, or moieties with reciprocal or asymmetrical obligations: bear/wolf-coyote, and puma/bobcat.

(4) The maximum number of persons who assembled at Tremper at any one time cannot be estimated well. The mortuary events of cremating bodies, moving cremation remains to depositories where they were co-mingled, forming the Great Cache, burning the mortuary building, and covering it with a primary mound might have been performed as one extended, stepwise ceremony together, over weeks or several years, similar to the protohistoric and historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead (Heidenreich 1978;

Hickerson 1960; Trigger 1969), with a large number of participants. Assuming this scenario, estimates of the number of attendees at Tremper, by various means, range from a bare minimum of 136 to a maximum of 1,175, with an assembly of the order of hundreds likely. Alternatively, the several mortuary events might have occurred separately and over generations of time, with gatherings of smaller sizes and varying social composition, perhaps ending in larger climax ceremonies in which the Great Cache of decommissioned artifacts was formed, the mortuary building was burned, and the mound was built.

(5) It is not clear whether the social groups who gathered at Tremper were affiliated with that one earthwork-mound community, or whether they came from multiple communities. The diverse pipe chemistries and styles found at Tremper raise the possibility of multicomunity participation. However, this diversity can also be explained by the exchange of pipes from afar to one community that might have built Tremper. Similarly, the numbers of deceased, the estimated total number of gift-givers, and the estimated number of leaders who gave gifts would suggest that multiple communities contributed to the remains at Tremper, if only one extended ceremony was held there. However, the possibility of multiple smaller ceremonies carried out by members of one community over a long duration is also possible.

(6) The reconstructed sequence of mortuary events at Tremper possibly represented discrete stages of a multiple-stage mortuary program that involved rites of “liminality” and “reincorporation”, as a process for helping the deceased to make their way to an afterlife and their survivors to transition to normal life. Earlier rituals in the sequence, such as cremating the deceased and moving their remains to a depository, might have occurred frequently, as part of one or more shorter ritual cycles. Later rituals, including the creation of the Great Cache, burning of the mortuary building, and building of Tremper mound over it, might have been infrequent events within a longer ritual cycle, which occurred only once at Tremper.

(7) The chemical, stylistic, and archaeological-contextual data together suggest a lim-

ited number of scenarios for interpreting the ritual use of Tremper. One parsimonious possibility is the performance of a ceremony analogous to the protohistoric and historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead, which involved multiple residential communities on a regional scale gathering together in the process of building alliances. This interpretation would explain (a) the large burial population at Tremper, (b) the large, estimated total number of gift-givers, (c) the singular place of Tremper as the only large burial grounds on the Scioto landscape during its time plane where persons from multiple communities may have been drawn together, (d) an estimated number of leaders who gave gifts that is more than what one community would require, (e) the high proportion of ordinary persons compared to Leaders represented as gift-givers, (f) the co-mingling of cremated bodies in the depositories, (g) the co-mingling of a great number of ceremonial objects, including smoking pipes, in the Large Cache, (h) the diversity of sources of pipestone used to make the pipes found at Tremper, and (i) the diversity of their styles.

This interpretation, in the variety of independent lines of evidence it explains, is a powerful one. It is also very significant to Scioto Hopewell culture history, if correct. In its view, Tremper would mark the first, or first large and archaeologically known, ceremonial gathering place in the Scioto valley where multiple communities on a regional scale assembled in order to perform mortuary rites, to bury their dead together, and thereby to establish and maintain alliances among themselves. The beginning of this practice would mark a disjunction from earlier Adena traditions in the Scioto, where burial mounds and ritual enclosures appear to have been built by one or a few adjacent, small, local residential groups to bury their own kin and/or persons of importance, to reaffirm intragroup ties, and perhaps to renew relationships with close neighbors (Clay 1987:53-54; 1992:80; see also Aument 1990). The particular manner in which alliance making was handled at Tremper—through dyads of ordinary persons as individual agents, as represented by their pipes—would later evolve into more systematic and institutionalized means, centralized through

community-wide and smaller-scale leaders (Carr et al., Chapter 13).

On the other hand, most of the nine archaeological patterns just listed for Tremper can also be explained with an alternative interpretation. In this case, one community would have held a series of cremation ceremonies over a number of generations to maintain alliances internally among its various kinship, residential, and/or other social groups, similar to the old Adena pattern. The Hopewellian pattern of multicomunity burial in an earthwork, found at Hopewell, Seip, and Liberty (Carr et al., Chapter 13), would not yet have developed. Greater residential stability at the time of Tremper, compared to earlier, would probably have been the primary factor causing the distinction between the large number of burials amassed at Tremper and the smaller numbers found in Adena mounds. In addition, for this alternative interpretation of Tremper to be true, those several groups within the one community that Tremper is thought to have served would have had to have obtained their pipestone and/or pipes through a number of different exchange networks that linked to different regions, or through procurement trips to gain pipestone from those different regions. This would be necessary to explain the chemical and stylistic diversity of the pipes at Tremper.

It is our conclusion that the first interpretation of Tremper, as a multicomunity gathering place in which rites analogous to the historic Feasts of the Dead were performed, rather than as an Adena-like ceremonial center where one or a few small local group congregated over extensive time, is more likely. No excavated Adena mound has a burial population beginning to approach the size of Tremper's, as the second interpretation of Tremper would posit—even considering those Adena mounds that evidence an accretion of burials over time. The lone position of Tremper as a large earthwork—mound ceremonial center in the Scioto valley at its time of use also invites an interpretation of regional scale gathering—especially in contrast to the fairly uniform, dispersed distribution of smaller Adena mound sites in the area. Likewise, Tremper's location within the Scioto valley, which would have afforded easy river travel to it by persons from

a broad region, and the contrast of Tremper's placement from the less accessible, upland placements of Adena mounds, suggests the possibility of regional use of Tremper. Further, the alternative reconstruction requires that the one residential community that Tremper is posited to have represented had a minimum of four or five different networks for obtaining basically the same kind of resource—pipestones or finished pipes. This situation seems unlikely by comparison to the less diversified procurement systems found in other middle-range societies cross-culturally (e.g., Malinowski 1922b; Wiessner and Tumu 1998), where a distant, sacred place and/or admired people having a rare material or prestigious knowledge were as essential to spurring procurement as the material itself (Helms 1976, 1988). Even the most elaborate of Ohio Hopewellian procurement systems for obtaining valued raw materials exploited only one or two spatially distinct sources (Spence and Fryer, Chapter 20; Carr and Sears 1985; Goad 1978, 1979; Hughes 1995; Hatch et al. 1990; Walthall 1980, 1981; Walthall and Karson 1979).

Finally, our interpretation that the ceremonies performed at Tremper were analogous to the protohistoric and historic Huron and Algonkian Feasts of the Dead is reasonable in the context of other Hopewellian and earlier mortuary records in the Eastern Woodlands that likewise suggest this analog (Carr, Chapter 12, Feast of the Dead). It appears that cremation remains of many persons from several distant Hopewellian traditions were co-mingled and buried together, along with broken pottery vessels diagnostic of those traditions, at the Duck's Nest Sector of the Hopewellian Pinson Mounds in Tennessee (Mainfort 1986:31, 35, 46, 82; 1988:167–168) and at Feature 45, Mound C of the Hopewellian Helena Crossing site, Arkansas (Ford 1963:33–38; Mainfort 1988:46). Mass burial pits of cremations and bundled skeletons, with up to about 100 individuals from multiple local bands in a pit, have also been found in Late Archaic and Early Woodland cemeteries (Williams-Sidecut complex, Hickory Island No. 2, Marblehead) in the Erie basin of northern Ohio (Stothers and Abel 1993:68, 73, 75). The Tremper site falls between these other sites in time and space and is at home among them in form.

In the course of this chapter, we have attempted to contextualize Tremper and the Hopewellian practices of its makers in local culture and culture history, and to personalize the site and these practices with specific sets of actors—clans, possible phratries or divisions of a kind, communities or interaction networks, and numbers of participants in ritual. By this strategy, alternative anthropological reconstructions of what happened at Tremper, and its position and significance in the culture history of the Scioto valley, have been developed to a degree that would not otherwise have been possible.

POSTSCRIPT

Since the time of writing of this article, Emerson et al. (2002) have used nondestructive, portable infrared mineral analyzer (PIMA) spectroscopy to identify the mineralogy of 96 of the 145 platform pipes from the Tremper Mound. Pipes from both the Great Cache and Upper Cache were included in the sample. Also assayed were a pair of pipestone “napkin-ring” ear ornaments from the Upper Cache. Like the results reported here, Emerson et al. found that the pipestone used to make the pipes came from a minimum of four sources, and that red colored pipestone was derived from two different sources. Emerson et al. were able to go further and specify the locations of three of the sources: the Sterling-Rock Falls portion of the Neda Formation in northwestern Illinois on the Rock River, the Sciotoville Clay Bed in southern Ohio, of which the Feurt Hill quarry on the Scioto River and across from Tremper is one outcrop, and the Catlinite quarries in southwestern Minnesota. Artifacts from both the Great Cache and Upper Cache were found to have been made from the Sciotoville and Catlinite sources: Catlinite pipes were found in both caches, Sciotoville pipes in the Great Cache, and Sciotoville ear ornaments in the Upper Cache. The sample of pipes analyzed here was small enough to have missed ones made from the Sciotoville source. More details from Emerson and colleagues are forthcoming.

Compositional analyses of the pipestone pipes recovered from the Central Altar and Depository Bag under Mound 8 at Mound City

(Mills 1922:434–441) are in progress (Gundersen and Brown 2002) and preliminarily suggest diverse sources (J. Gundersen and J. A. Brown, personal communications, 1996, 2002).

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NOTES

1. Mills made this statement on the basis of pictures of the Mound City pipes in the Blackmore Museum catalog; a collection he had “never . . . had the pleasure of seeing” (Mills 1916:286).
2. The 19 elements are samarium (Sm), lutetium (Lu), uranium (U), arsenic (As), lanthanum (La), cerium (Ce), ytterbium (Yb), thorium (Th), chromium (Cr), hafnium (Hf), cesium (Cs), zinc (Zn), tantalum (Ta), terbium (Tb), cobalt (Co), scandium (Sc), europium (Eu), iron (Fe) and antimony (Sb).
3. The 14 elements used by Penney and Cariveau in their cluster analysis are no longer known.
4. The river accessibility and visibility of the Tremper earthwork, and its potential as a gathering site for multiple communities, are analogous to those of the 12-mound Chillicothe Northwest mound group, of which the Adena mound is a part (Greber 1991), and the Mound City Group (Mills 1922). All three sites probably date closely to each other and prior to the florescence of Hopewellian earthwork–mound sites.
5. In a less likely scenario, it is possible that wolf and coyote were distinguished by Hopewellian peoples at the time of Tremper and served as different clan totems. In this case, the number of totems and clans would have been five, possibly corresponding to the four depositories with cremations and the one without.

This reconstruction fits the Tremper archaeological record less well than the one positing four clans or phratries, but remains viable. Although four depositories were filled with cremation remains, a fifth depository existed but was “unused” (Mills 1916:279). It is

unclear whether unused means unused or well-cleaned, with cremation remains from a fifth group ultimately placed elsewhere. The possibility of a demographically extinct phratry/clan symbolized by the unused depository also must be considered.

6. It is significant in this regard that the numbers of animal jaw ornaments found in the Great Cache are unequally distributed among the four species, with bear jaws having been most common. It is possible that Bear clan members predominated numerically, or in some way the Bear clan was more prestigious than other clans and more represented materially. The only cutout artifact from Tremper is a six-inch mica effigy of a bear. The shape of Tremper mound has sometimes been likened to that of a bear. It is also possible that the Bear clan had responsibility for the mortuary tasks undertaken at the gathering(s) at Tremper, and therefore was represented ceremonially and materially more often. The association of bear with death and death rites among the Scioto Hopewell is suggested by the Wray figurine from the Newark site, which shows a man in bear costume (or wrapped by a bear spirit) with an apparently severed head on his lap and arms placed in a ritual posture. In addition, among historic central Algonkians, the bear was associated with the underworld because it hibernates there (Gill and Sullivan 1992:23; Schoolcraft, cited in C. E. Brown 1939:39)—a quality that, along with winter, might easily also refer to death. The possible association of the Bear clan with death and mortuary tasks is considered in greater detail by Thomas et al. in Chapter 8.
7. How community affiliation and clan affiliation might have related to each other is uncertain in this scenario. It is possible that the different clans that gathered at Tremper came from generally different communities, in which case clans were localized. Alternatively, each clan might have come from multiple communities, in which case clans were not localized. Ethnohistorically throughout the Eastern Woodlands, clans were not localized to specific villages. This pattern also appears to have held for the Ohio Hopewell in general (Thomas et al., Chapter 8).
8. This equipment could have included ceremonial artifacts of the deceased, as well as the living.
9. However, the Great Cache and large cremation depository were located in different rooms of the building.
10. The up to 12 lineages or cognatic groups may have come from the same one community of Tremper, with their pipes having been manufactured from sometimes different, distant pipestone resources that were exploited directly by the different kinship groups, or exchanged to them. Alternatively, the kinship groups may, themselves, have come from different communities, which brought with them their pipes made of pipestone from different sources.
11. The possibility that clan segments from three different communities were responsible for the Tremper cremations falls in line with the interpretation (Carr, Chapter 7) that the tripartite layout of the earthworks of Frankfort, Seip, Baum, East Works, and Liberty, as well as the tripartite layout of the charnel houses under the Edwin Harness mound, Seip-Pricer mound, and Seip-Conjoined mound, symbolized three allied communities that buried their dead together. However, Carr reconstructed this alliance as having developed only in the middle to late Middle Woodland period, three or four centuries after the building and use of Tremper.
12. The ritual artifacts that probably were used by shaman-like practitioners and that were found in the Great Cache at Tremper include: boatstones of copper and stone; cones of quartz crystal, copper, and galena; a paint cup filled with red ochre; and a possible medicine bundle with bamboo tubes possibly used for sucking to extract illnesses (Mills 1916:285, 364–396).
13. The largest burial populations found within Adena mounds are only 33, 36, 44, 52, 54, and 86 individuals, respectively, at the McKees Rocks mound, Pennsylvania (Dragoo 1963:155), the Adena mound, Ohio (Greber 1991:11), the Galbreath mound (Aument 1990:117), the Sidner II mound, Ohio (Aument 1990:117), the Cresap mound, West Virginia (Dragoo 1963:71), and the Toepfner mound, Ohio (Norris 1985). The burial populations of all of these mounds were formed by accretion over an extended time, except perhaps at McKees, where 32 of the individuals may have been buried at one time or close to one time.
14. Another, “softer” line of evidence that the number and geographic spread of the people who assembled at Tremper were substantially greater than in the cases of gatherings at Adena mounds is the innovation in Tremper’s site layout compared to the traditional form of Adena mounds. Tremper’s new layout indicates new forms of regional social organization and integration that were developing at the time and that, in part, help to distinguish the beginning of the Middle Woodland period and Hopewellian lifeways from the Early Woodland period and Adena lifeways. Specifically, Tremper was laid out horizontally, with multiple cremation basins, cremation deposits, and ceremonial activity areas spread out over one large floor at the base of the mound, whereas Adena mounds are vertically stratified, with activity surfaces and burials at multiple levels, each much more limited in scale than Tremper’s floor (Greber 1991). The horizontal organization of Tremper’s floor and the repetition of like ceremonial activity areas across it suggests the coming together of multiple, distinct, equivalent social groups—such as clans, sodalities, or communities—each of which can be regional in scale. In contrast, the vertical organization of Adena mounds suggests social continuity through time of one or a few small, local groups, who were emphasizing and symbolizing ancestral lines within a group, ties among local groups through time, or both.

Gathering Hopewell

Society, Ritual, and Ritual Interaction

Edited by

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