AN INTERPRETATIVE STUDY OF THE OHIO HOPEWELL
MORTUARY CULT IN NORTH AMERICAN ARCHEOLOGY

A Thesis

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by

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ABSTRACT

Using methods of inference and analogy, selected objects in grave association of the prehistoric Hopewell culture-complex in southern Ohio appear to define a cult of the dead, and further suggest the presence of ritual specialists (shamans) and a highly structured social system. The mortuary cult may have been based upon cosmological elements similar to those present in aboriginal eastern North America, and with the data at least three hypothetical funeral variants can be reconstructed.
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I

Introduction

In the literature concerning the prehistoric Hopewell Indians of the eastern United States, there appears to be a lack of comprehensive and interpretative analysis of specific mortuary objects found in grave association. The Hopewell culture is known for elaborate and careful burial practices, especially in Ohio, with the use of exotic materials. Even with the decline of the mortuary cult in Ohio (circa A.D. 600) diffusive elements of artistic design and earthwork features pervaded the scene in the southern and eastern United States for another thousand years (e.g. Troyville, Coles Creek, Weeden Island cultures and the "Southern Cult" according to William Sears 1964:270 ff.; late point Peninsula Kipp Island phase according to William Ritchie 1969:228). Although many objects are found associated with the burial remains it is apparent that certain artifacts had special significance in the portrayal of death as a functional expression of the Hopewellian belief system.

The archeological data for hypothesizing a mortuary cult complex in the Ohio Valley are derived from recovered material and site descriptions from both professional and amateur excavations dating back to the 19th century. For the purposes of this study concentration was made in examining the form, style and association of a few selected artifacts, those which seem to contribute directly to the definition of Ohio Hopewellian death-cult symbolism.
Theoretical considerations for applying behavioral interpretations to the selected artifacts and features are based primarily upon the method of William Sears (1954; 1958; 1961). Having concentrated his effort upon the archeology of the Gulf Coastal Plain, Sears has utilized both archeological and ethnohistoric data for interpreting elements of social and religious organization of prehistoric cultures. Furthermore, Sears has traced elements of culture history, including population movements and trait continuities, in order to establish definite relationships between the known and the unknown wherever possible. This paper will also make use of ethnohistoric data as they may apply to the Hopewellian mortuary practices. Inferences will also take into account certain causative factors in the dynamics of cultural process, especially as suggested by a functionalist approach to cultural anthropology.

A working hypothesis for the paper may be stated as follows: given the limitations of analogical reasoning, especially between Hopewellian culture and ethnohistoric cultures, it can be postulated that, first, selected specific objects in grave association (beyond utilitarian and ornamental function) define a cult (i.e. a set of beliefs and rituals; cf. Anthony F.C. Wallace 1966:75) of elaborate mortuary symbolism, suggest the presence of shamanism, and reveal a highly structured social system. Second, that this cult appears to be based upon similar cosmological elements present in many aboriginal tribes of the eastern United States. Third, that enough elements of archeological and ethnohistoric cultural process are available to attempt reconstruction of at least three forms of Ohio Hopewell funeral rites, not as the end product of the study, but as a means of establishing further hypotheses.
In order to establish a context for the hypothesis, a culture-historical analysis is presented, followed by the presentation of selected data. The hypothesis is then argued by means of a hypothetical interpretation of the data.
II
The Culture-historical Context

The spatial and temporal perspectives drawn from the archeological data attributed to the middle Woodland cultural tradition reveal a slowly developing and long-lasting ceremonial cult complex, widespread through the eastern United States and colored with local variants. Important for the temporal perspective is the concept of an evolutionary continuum for aboriginal culture extending from the Paleo-Indian big-game hunting tradition through the Archaic, the Woodland, the Mississippian traditions and into the American Indian ethnohistoric present (Spaulding 1955; Caldwell 1958).

A ceremonial cult complex does not include the integration of cultural processes of one homogenous population unit nor that of all aboriginal culture in one area at any one time. However, concentrating upon a pattern of artifactual data pointing to the presence of ceremonial-funeral trait complex, such a complex is apparently based upon a common religious ideology, world-view, and certain cosmological concepts, which existed across tribal and cultural boundaries but manifested itself in a definite evolutionary pattern through the Archaic, Woodland and Mississippian traditions in eastern North America.

To see the rise of the cult complex, using the Ohio Valley as an arbitrary geographical focus, archeological evidence reveals special burial preparations of the late Archaic peoples. The Glacial Kame burial complex is an example. Red ochre was used on a corpse, and interment was
made in "round graves" into existing glacial deposits (kames and eskers). A cut wolf jaw has been found in a kame in Logan County, Ohio, which appears to have been attached to a person's head as a bony part of a mark that may have been covered by a wolf skin (Baby 1961a). This latter trait is significant, suggesting the development of a "totemic" world view on the one hand (that is, a religious belief and ritual in which the supernatural spirits are identified through naturalistic animal representations), and possibly the rise of a socio-cultural specialist, the shaman, on the other hand.

In the gradual transition from the Archaic tradition into Woodland, innovations of pottery-making and agriculture took place, as did the cultic manifestation of interment into mounds of earth tumuli (Willey 1966: 267). Griffin (1964:236-7) points out, for the Ohio Valley, that "many of the roots of the Adena culture are in the Late Archaic sites of its immediate area and in the Red Ochre--Glacial Kame--Point Peninsula I burial elaboration." This means that apart from the objects of utilitarian nature (projectile points, flake knives, atlatl weights, stone celts, drills and scrapers), an increase in ceremonial objects and features is observed, associated especially with funeral procedures, whether actual grave offerings (animal jaws, beads, gorgets, smoking pipes) or burial traits (use of red ochre and earth mounds, and cremation).

Don Dragoo (1964:5) indicates two major finds in Early-Middle Adena burial association which further illustrate this development. One is the tubular pipe, showing extensive use and modification, to the point of adding a second channel at a right angle to the main channel. The pipe, as we shall see, becomes an important ritualistic object, even into
historic times. The second find is that of copper antler headdresses, a
further development in the rise of possible cultic totemism, being applied
to hunting rituals, mortuary symbols, and possibly to preventive medicine,
or "curing." The question as to whether animal masks were either wide-
spread shamanic ceremonial symbols or clan motifs, or both, cannot be
determined readily.

Adena cultural development into the late phase saw the culmination of
changes quite conspicuous from earlier phases. Dragoo has listed seven
of these as follows (1964:25):

1. the construction of elaborate log tombs in contrast to the
   simple burial pits of Early Adena;
2. the concentration of fine artifacts with the individuals
   buried in subfloor tombs or in log enclosures on the
   mound floor rather than the placement of artifacts with
   many individuals scattered throughout the mound;
3. the placement of "trophy" skulls as burial furniture
   with the dead;
4. evidence for ceremonial rites centered around the burial
   of several individuals not accompanied by artifacts;
5. an increase in the number of individuals cremated;
6. the establishment of major ceremonial and residential
   centers with an increase in the number and size of the
   burial mounds; and
7. the construction of earthen enclosures or embankments
   around the mounds in these major centers.

There are, in addition to the above, many changes in specific artifacts
(styles of projectile points and ceramics) which will not be enumerated
here.

In turning from Adena to Hopewell, a generally accepted chronologi-
cal pattern for the Ohio Valley reveals an overlap in time between these
two cultural manifestations. According to radiocarbon evidence (Webb
and Baby 1957:110; Dragoo 1965:294) the dates for the Cowan Creek and
Florence Mounds (Ca. A.D. 400) seem to suggest that late Adena may have
slightly postdated Hopewell. It is established that certain early Adena traits are ancestral to those of the Hopewell.

Radiocarbon dates also suggest that "classic" Hopewell sites may be classified as earlier chronologically in Illinois than in Ohio (Deuel 1958; Prufer 1964a:45) so that distinctive Hopewellian traits may have entered Ohio from the west sometime before 100 B.C. Prufer questions a 335 B.C. date, which is from Mound 25 of the Hopewell Group, on the basis that the sample was not charcoal but shell (shell death being earlier than its use by human beings), and furthermore suggests that the Hopewell "complex" first materialized in southern Ohio about 100 B.C. (Prufer 1964b:90). This last date is supported by Griffin (1964:239), and he gives a rough date of 300 B.C. as the beginning of Hopewell in Illinois using radiocarbon dates from the Poole, Knight and Weaver sites. Thorne Deuel (1958) is not as critical of such dates and suggests that Hopewell had beginnings in Illinois as early as 500 B.C. In any case, the internal relative chronological positions of Hopewell sites are based upon characteristics other than radiocarbon dating (Orrin Shane 1970).

Examination of ceramic material at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan (Griffin 1964; Streuver 1964; and Brown 1964) has shown that the Havana Tradition may well mark the position of the early Hopewell in Illinois, also connected culturally to the Illinois Crab Orchard Complex (Deuel 1958:29-30). Through pottery continuities and projectile point distribution (namely the Snyders corner-notched point) the above scholars have traced a geographical network of sites from Illinois into the Kankakee and Wabash Valleys of Indiana, into Michigan, north into Northern Illinois and Wisconsin, and west into
Missouri. Streuver's hypothesis that the cultural complex (or following Caldwell's phrase, "interaction sphere") was a riverine-based economy with mud-flat horticulture seems to be a valid one for each of the extensions of Hopewell sites. This can be validated by the presence of sites in the marshland ecology of the Kankakee River in Indiana, and seems to be substantiated by the finding of the bottomland McGraw Site in Ohio.

Don Dragoo thus summarizes that

Ohio Hopewell developed as the result of the intrusion of Lenid peoples from the west and northwest into the Ohio Valley on or about the Middle Hopewell time level where they first merged with and eventually dominated physically and culturally the Adena peoples in southeastern Indiana and western Ohio. The major Adena center affected by this intrusion of Lenid peoples was located north of the Ohio River in the Scioto Valley of south-central Ohio. All the major classic Ohio Hopewell sites developed in this area of initial Lenid intrusion and domination (1964:28).

All of the problems, however, have not been explained, especially in regard to ceramic affinities with Illinois (see Prüfer 1964a:60-1), but it is fairly certain that by 100 B.C. Hopewell and Adena were existing in a more or less symbiotic arrangement in southern Ohio, and many acculturative processes took place in the ensuing two or three centuries.

It is Ohio Hopewell which apparently shows the greatest elaboration of Hopewellian cult practices, and it seems to be generally accepted that the reason behind this is a converging tradition of Adena traits by Hopewell, geographically centered in southern Ohio, with some peripheral extensions into northern Ohio.

Among those Adena traits believed to have carried over into Hopewell were the practice of cremation, increased use of copper and mica, artistic carving of stone and bone, the supposed use of earspools, the conventionalized figures cut into Adena tablets as ancestral to later elaborate Hopewell designs, the presence of earthworks in association with Adena burial mounds, the use of logs to construct a tomb in which
important individuals were buried, and the expanded bar gorget (atlatl weight) of Adena which in Hopewell became ornately carved effigy forms (Dragoo 1964:20).

Willey (1966:237) speaks of elaboration in the transition from Adena to Hopewell, and has even suggested that this is the division between a Burial Mound I Period and Burial Mound II Period in the Woodland Tradition. Spaulding (1955:22) questioned a transition as such, in that "Hopewell Culture cannot be considered simply an intensification or elaboration of the Adena pattern," but indicates that the Hopewell Culture was a vigorous culture arising out of the fusion of Archaic, Adena, and "northern influences." Jennings, who endorses and quotes Spaulding's summary of this matter in toto (Spencer and Jennings 1965:68), notes the Adena contribution to Hopewell as that of "the mound and earthwork, the log tomb, agriculture (?), copper earspools, panpipes, and negative painted cloth. The platform pipe is a striking example of the unique Hopewellian trait."

To be added to such a trait list would be the art motifs utilized by Hopewell of Adena prototypes. These motifs often suggest beings associated with death, whether the raptorial bird (a flesh-eater?) or a detached human head, or mask, as incised upon the Lakin A tablet (Webb and Baby 1957:90, 92).

The spatial dimension of Hopewellian "concepts" can be seen in archeological data from Florida to Minnesota and from Oklahoma to New York. Much of this influence arose, as we have seen, from a center of culture along the Mississippi River in the region of Illinois, but special influence was felt from the southern Ohio Adena-Hopewell phase (or Scioto Tradition, in Prufer's words). Griffin warns, however, that we not place too much emphasis on the eastern dispersal of Hopewell from the "Ohio
"Aspect" alone (Griffin 1966:307). In terms of the extra-Ohio sites themselves, more Adena sites are found than Hopewell, and with greater geographic dispersal.

In New York State, William Ritchie has classified Hopewellian manifestations not only in terms of Ohio Hopewellian influence but also influences from the earlier widespread mortuary cult complex already present in the northeast.

This cult was widely shared by a number of discrete Early Woodland period cultures, such as the Red Ochre, Glacial Kame, Early Point Peninsula and Orient, in each of which regional, and probably to some extent temporal, variations on the major theme are observable (1955:7).

The site which indicates definite Ohio Hopewellian burial traits is that of the Poland Center Mound in Cattaraugus County (classified in the Squawkie Hill Phase) where the largest mound in New York has revealed a prepared floor, small primary mounds covered with a secondary tumulus, and the use of cobblestone for outlining features. Other Squawkie Hill sites have revealed stone-lined graves, clay crematory basins, cremated burials, and "trophy" skulls with extended inhumations. Thus, as Ritchie suggests, "the Late Point Peninsula Kipp Island phase had its basic roots in decadent Hopewell and its efflorescence from the post-Hopewellian Intrusive Mound culture of Ohio (1969:228)."

The Sandy Hill Site in Maryland represents an eastern extension of Adena, identified by red ochre, single burials, tubular pipes, Flint Ridge flint points and blades, slate gorgets, and cylindrical copper beads (Webb and Baby 1957:77). In the southeast, Adena sites are found throughout the Tennessee Valley watershed in Kentucky, Tennessee and northern Alabama, but there are no Hopewell sites (with the exception of
several possible Hopewell sites in Kentucky). The rise of the Copena cultural manifestation in the same general area shows influence from both Adena and Hopewell, but "the cultural contribution of Adena may be evaluated correctly as greater than that of Hopewell...because the contribution of Adena to Copena may have been more direct (Webb and Baby 1957:80)." This apparently led Dragoo (1964:31) to conclude that while a population movement away from Ohio took place on the part of Adena, having been driven out by the Hopewell intrusion into Ohio, only the cult influences of Hopewell diffused out of Ohio, not the population.

William Sears (1964) does not seem so "concerned" about Adena population movements as he does about the importance of the Hopewelian religious system entering the southeast during the last few centuries B.C. with accompanying pan-pipes, bi-cymbal copper ear spools, platform pipes, and burial-mound interment for some part of the population. "Certainly, from this time on there were trade relationships as well as participation in some common elements of religion among most southeastern and midwestern cultures (Sears 1964:265)." Sears then shows the subsequent development of three significant cultural traditions, all influenced by the Hopewelian tradition, namely the Deptford-Swift Creek complicated-stamped-pottery complex, the Tchefuncte and Lower Mississippi Valley tradition (Marksville, Troyville), and the Appalachian fabric-marked-pottery tradition.

This suggests, certainly, that the manifestations of religion or magic that we see in the burial mounds are but manifestations of a way of life, a total cultural pattern complete with economic and social components which was new to the Southeast...and which, when accepted, was economically far more successful than anything that had existed previously (Sears 1964:270).
After one or two centuries A.D., then, the Hopewelian culture traits no longer diffused from the north, primarily because Ohio Hopewell declined in intensity for reasons not yet determined. In the south, where traditions had solidified, the period of time from A.D. 500-1000 saw an apparent rise of population in growing ceremonial centers until an entirely new cultural complex had arisen, the Mississippian Tradition, marked by temple mounds. The Hopewelian elements had not been lost, however, and quite probably it is this new synthesis of Hopewelian elements, entering through Troyville and Coles Creek, and modified Mesoamerican ideas, thoroughly stirred in a Southeastern pot, that produced the elaborate religious manifestation that we call the Southern Cult in the next time period (Sears 1964:274).

There seems to be considerable later influence from the west during the formative stage of the Mississippian tradition, and then later influence back to the western Caddoan region. The Weeden Island cultures of the Gulf Coast are also important to the development of the Mississippian tradition, especially as manifested in the Southern Cult (Southeastern ceremonial complex—Waring and Holder 1945). The Weeden Island burials tended to be mass burials with the presence of a charnel house, and coupled with conventional and stylistic art designs on pottery especially made for burial ceremony indicates the strong Hopewelian influence which carried into the art styles found at sites in Etowah, Georgia, Moundville, Alabama, and Spiro, Oklahoma, the classic sites of the Southern Cult (cf. Waring and Holder 1945; Sears 1958; 1964; Willey 1966:288-9; Waring 1967; Williams 1967).

...In my opinion classic Weeden Island culture, and particularly mortuary ceremonialism are direct lineal descendants of Hopewell culture and ceremonialism. This is
not to say that they are the same people [but] that the original inspiration for cultural development in this area was from Midwestern Hopewell and that after Hopewell died out in the Midwest a Hopewell type culture continued its development in the Southeast... (W.H. Sears, personal communication with O.H. Prufer 1962:315).

To complete the culture-historical perspective, then, one can only speculate as to the rise of historical tribes out of the patterns of the late Mississippian tradition. To do justice to such speculation would take a much deeper study than is even suggested here, but for the purpose of identifying major tribal locations (following Driver, Wissler and Swanton; see Map II) one may note generally that the southeastern cultures, associated with tribes of the Muskogean language stock, are remnants of the Mississippian culture groups in that area (Willey 1966:294).

Antonio Waring (1967—though written in 1940s) contended that the historic Muskogean tribes, coming into the southeast after the Southern Cult had declined, may well have received the Cult when they lived west of the Mississippi, thus bringing such cultic influences with them into the southeast (Waring 1967:68). Contrary to earlier opinion, the Caddoan tribes which lived west of the Mississippi seemed to be culturally linked more to the southeast than either to the southwest or even Mesoamerica (Caldwell 1958:59).

In protohistoric times, in the central and upper Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, the patterns are much more complex, and suggest even greater tribal mobility. The late Woodland and Mississippian cultures left many sites with effigy and temple mounds throughout Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, but to connect such sites ethnohistorically to specific
modern tribes, either by linguistics or by typology of material culture, is, as yet, speculative.

We are left, therefore, with only traces of the protohistoric movements of the eastern North American tribes (See Willey 1966:252), namely the Siouan groups, including the Oto (Mosopelea) and Winnebago; or the Algonquian groups, including the Shawnee in the south along the Ohio River, and the Ojibwa, Menomini and Kickapoo in the north in Wisconsin; the Iroquoian groups, such as the Huron, Erie, and tribes of the League across Michigan to New York, and the Cherokee in the southern Appalachians, and the Muskogean, including the Creek, Natchez, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole. It is assumed, consequently, that these protohistoric and historic tribes are physical and cultural descendents of the earlier Archaic, Woodland and Mississippian peoples.
III
The Data

The recovery of archeological material from sites in Ohio has undergone several changes in method, raising questions as to the reliability of data under various circumstances. Curiosity seekers, from pioneer times to the present, have dug into "Indian mounds" for "relics," sometimes amassing large collections. The method of recovery, of course, was totally unscientific, concentrating more upon the artifact than upon its context. Some of these artifacts, however, have been re-examined by scientists, with the aim of using what information may be of value (e.g. a figurine "rediscovered" by Don Dragoo and Charles Wray 1964).

During the 19th century, a number of serious "antiquarian" investigators began a systematic survey of archeological sites in the Ohio Valley, and laid the groundwork for later scientific studies (See especially E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis 1848). Near the turn of the 20th century professional archeologists with a systematic approach for excavating and recording artifacts and features excavated a number of sites for the Ohio Historical Society. The Edwin Harness Mound, for example, was excavated by Frederick W. Putnam in 1885, Warren K. Moorehead in 1896, and by William C. Mills from 1903 to 1906. The Seip (#2) Mound was excavated in 1909 by Mills, followed by the Tremper Mound in 1916. These reports, however, were still without detailed diagrams and specific descriptions of artifact associations, although the pictorial representations of individual artifacts, often lithographed, were excellent.
Field techniques were improved during the project of restoring the Mound City Group (Ross County, Ohio) when the construction of streets and barracks during World War I had destroyed much of the site. William C. Mills and Henry C. Shetrone (1922) recovered what data remained, and restored the mounds to what they believed were the original locations (which locations are still being re-established by excavating postmold patterns; Brown and Baby 1966). Other selected sites excavated during the 1920s were the Turner Group of Earthworks in Hamilton County, Ohio (Charles C. Willoughby and E.A. Hooton 1922), and the Hopewell Group, in Ross County, from which site the culture-complex takes its name (Shetrone 1927). The Seip Group, Mound 1 (Pricer), in Ross County, was excavated in 1931 by Henry C. Shetrone and Emerson Greenman.

Following World War II the field technique became more meticulous, especially in recording and photographing postmold patterns and associated features. In Ohio, the Hopewell sites excavated under these techniques include the Raymond Ater Mound (Raymond S. Baby, field notes, Ohio State Museum) and the Alvin McGraw site (Olaf Prufer 1965), both in Ross County.

Of the above sites, two will serve as the primary source of data. The first is that of the Hopewell Mound Group, located along the North Fork of Paint Creek (See Figure 1). As represented mainly by the contents of Mound 25, the largest of the group, the site has yielded one of the largest inventory of mortuary objects among Hopewell sites, and as such, presents a starting point for comparative purposes. The second primary site is the Mound City Group. It is the one site which appears to have been used for burial purposes alone, and not connected with
habitation or other ceremonies (e.g. calendric, matrimonial, rites of passage). The Mound City Group consists of one nearly square, round cornered earth enclosure of thirteen acres within which are located twenty-four burial mounds of various sizes and shapes (See Figure 2). The contents of these mounds, I will contend, most nearly define a cult of the dead, the climax of middle Woodland shamanism, and a theocratically structured society. Most assuredly, the Hopewell people did not spend all of their time burying their dead, that is, the Hopetont works directly across the river from Mound City show some preoccupation with other ceremonies, and the McGraw site (Pruefer 1965) in the nearby Scioto River alluvial plain shows a secular subsistence economy of hunting, gathering, fishing and farming. However, their life seemed to be structured around an unusual concern for funeral ritual and its counterpart, a strong magico-religious system (See Appendix I and discussion, Part IV).

Although most mortuary symbols are represented in these two sites (namely Hopewell Mound Group and Mound City), other sites in southern Ohio have also contributed various artifacts in the same cultic tradition. The Tremper Mound in Scioto County (Mills 1909) consists of one large mound in one earthwork enclosure (See Figure 4), and instead of grave offerings placed with the burials as is true at other sites, at Tremper most of the offerings, including 146 tobacco pipes, were placed in one special cache. All of the burials at Tremper were cremations, of which there were at least 375.

The Raymond Ater Mound in Ross County, near Frankfort, Ohio, consists of a low mound covering a shallow ditch in the form of a broken figure "S." Small poles were placed in the ditch forming a fenced area
where burials were made. On the floor of the Ater Mound were 53 cremations and five extended inhumations (R.S. Baby, field notes, Ohio State Museum). This fenced-area trait contrasts with structures at Mound City where post molds indicate double side walls, single end walls and interior roof supports (Brown and Baby 1966).

Three sites which include substantial burial mounds within geometric earth enclosures are these: the Edwin Harness Mound Group (focusing upon the main mound; Mills 1907; see Figure 3), the Seip Mound Group (focusing upon the excavations of the original Seip Mound, now #2, and upon the central Pricer Mound, now Seip #1; Mills 1909; Shetrone and Greenman 1931; see Figure 6), and the Turner Mound Group (focusing upon all inclusive mounds; Willoughby and Hooton 1922; see Figure 5). Each of these mound groups contributes special representative artifacts of the Hopewellian death cult.

There are yet two additional sites from which extraordinary objects have come. First is the Bourneville Mound along Paint Creek in Ross County, which is described in conjunction with its destruction by highway equipment in 1959 (Donald McBeth 1960). Found among the recovered bones from this mound was a human bone whistle (Baby 1961b; see Figure 22), described later in this paper. Second, a large stone figurine (6" high, 1½ pounds; see Figure 19) was recovered from a mound of the Newark Group of Earthworks in Licking County by workmen in 1881. Added to the collection of James Wright, a lawyer, the figurine was examined by Don Dragoc and Charles Wray in 1964 (op. cit.) and judged to be an authentic Hopewellian art work.
The presentation of site data also would include a description of the mound and grave structures themselves. As described by those who excavated the "classic" sites, the larger mounds are outlined at the base with stone, and the smaller primary mounds (covering the graves) are also in many cases lined with stone, sand or gravel (Shetrone 1927:57; Mills 1922:489). Beneath the mounds are prepared gravel and sand floors upon which crematory basins and platforms (to receive burial deposits) were built (Shetrone 1927:220). As early as 1848 E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis (op. cit.) had noted the types of graves and crematory basins (the latter of which were called "altars"). William Mills (1907) described four categories of graves in the Edwin Harness Mound as including rectangular and elliptical raised platforms prepared with puddled clay, and outlined with logs; some platforms were flat and some formed a concave center basin. In other sites stone slabs were used in place of logs (cf. Shetrone 1925).

A typical burial mound itself reveals that during the time of the burials a mortuary house was constructed there. Robert Silverberg, a journalist, after extensive research on mound-building groups, summed up the actual building of the house as follows:

The Hopewell funeral activities centered about mortuary houses built on specially prepared sites. First all trees and underbrush were cleared from the area where the mound was to rise; loose topsoil was removed, and the subsurface usually was plastered with tough clay. Next, a layer of sand or fine gravel an inch or more in depth was strewn over the clay floor, and on this was erected a large wooden structure. The walls of these mortuary houses consisted of rows of single palisades. Some of the buildings were so big that they probably did not have roofs, but were stockades open to the sky; smaller, roofed apartments were often arranged around the inside of the main wall (1968:268).
The destruction of the house prior to building the mound seems to have two variants. William Mills (1907:133) reports that charred wood in the postmolds show that the charnel house had been burned to the ground. However, the excavation of the postmold patterns at Mound City suggest that the posts were laboriously pulled out rather than subject to fire (Raymond S. Baby, personal communication).

The above site data has therefore served the purpose of providing a physical context for the discussion of artifactual data which now follows. The selected list of artifacts for interpreting funerary practices are those which specifically suggest the portrayal of death, its finality and its mystery. When selecting out, arbitrarily, the items of ornamental function (See Appendix IIIA) and utilitarian function (See Appendix IIIB), there is left an inventory of extraordinary objects used by the Hopewell in connection with death-cult symbolism. The main difficulty, however, in interpreting these extraordinary data, lies with a lack of direct analogies to living societies. In any case, it is suggested in this paper that such objects confirm the cultic expression of death, the presence of ritual specialists known as shamans in North American ethnology, and the presence of a highly structured social system.

The selected artifacts for thesis purposes are presented in Table I. One may note that they are categorized into a logical mortuary procedure for any given culture, that is, first, a preparation for the disposal of the corpse, then the observation of what the ritual specialist may be wearing, then the ceremony itself followed by grave offerings, and finally, any post-funeral activity. The objects in Table I are categorized mainly for the purpose of interpretation (Part IV this paper),
| Key: C- Cremation  
| I- Inhumation  
| S- Special Cache  
| F- Present, but burial association uncertain  
| **Artifacts inferred to have been used in:**  
| I. Preparation of Body  
| a. Copper nostrils         | I  
| b. Woven fabric shrouds   | CS | C | I | C | IC | C | IC  
| c. Semi-lunar knives, obsidian, flint. | S | C | P | C | S  
| II. Shaman's Symbols of Death  
| a. Human head effigy, copper  | S  
| b. Sculptured head, clay  |  
| c. Figurines with severed human heads  |  
| d. Headless torso headplate, copper  |  
| e. Headless torso cut-out, mica, copper  |  
| f. Head profile, mica  |  
| g. Toadstool effigy wand  |  
| h. Mask-headress, worked human skull  |  
| i. Engraved death mask on human bone  |  
| j. Duck Hawk (falcon) cut-out, copper  |  
| III. Funeral Ceremony  
| a. Effigy rattles, copper, stone  | S | C  
| b. Human bone whistle  |  
| c. Pan-pipes (copper-covered tubes)  | C  
| IV. Special Grave Offerings  
| a. "Trophy" skulls  | I | IG | I | I  
| b. Human jaw ornaments  | I | I  
| V. Post-Funeral Activity (Feast of the Dead)  
| a. Deer rib fragments  | **(in midden deposit, south wall)**  
| VI. Mortuary House Structures  
| Ch  
| (Ch- Channel House) (Po- Pented area)  

Table 1. Grave Association of Selected Objects in Selected Hopewell Sites
though at the moment the concern is for their presentation. It is to be noted also that such objects are only to be inferred as belonging to these categories; they were found in connection with individual burial deposits or in ceremonial offering caches. How they were found is the purpose of Table I, showing the sites at which they were recovered, and in what burial association they were observed.

An annotated list, supplementary to Table I, would seem appropriate here. An attempt will be made to avoid functional inferences, but in some cases they are inevitable.

Ia. Copper nostrils were found in the nasal cavities of two skulls (Shetrone 1927:66; See Figure 7), originally giving a shiny, copper facial protuberance to a corpse in repose.

Ib. The decayed remains of woven fabric designs were found beneath and over extended inhumations and cremated deposits, showing preparation of the body, or possibly in some cases a blanket covering the burial (See Figure 23).

Ic. Semi-lunar (curved) blades of obsidian and Harrison County, Indiana, flint, have been recovered. As knives, they are inferred to have been used in the practice of dismembering a corpse for cremation (Baby 1954:4; see Figure 10).

IIa. A hollow, copper object shaped in the form of a human head (See Figure 7; Hopewell Mound Group, ceremonial offering 1, mound 17) has connected at the neck a thin extension of copper which could fit the shaft of a stick to have been held by a shaman.

IIb. A clay sculptured head found in the Seip (#1) Mound (burial 36) also shows evidence of having been mounted on a stick as a wand or
on a pole stuck in the ground. The head was associated with a cremation deposit and with some miniature artifacts. Incisions on the head "may represent portions of a headdress (Morgan 1941:387; see Figure 12)."

IIc. Specific figurines are noted, namely: a stone pipe effigy of a dog (or a wolf) eating, or sucking, a human head (Seip Mound #1; Shetrone and Greenman 1931:416-9; Figure 15); the aforementioned stone figurine described by Dragoo and Wray (1964; Figure 19); showing a shaman dressed in a cloak of bear skin holding a severed human head in his lap, and the terra cotta figurines recovered from the Turner Group, all of which are imperfect in some way (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:71 ff.; Figure 21).

IIId. A copper cut-out of the human body, but without the head, was associated with a cremated burial of many artifacts (Burial 12, Mound 7; See Figure 8) at Mound City. The copper plate was curved to fit the head of a wearer, presumably the shaman.

IIe. A similar mica cut-out was found, as two separate artifacts, in Mound 25 of the Hopewell Group. One smaller object (See Figure 17) was headless and legless. The larger object was headless only.

IIf. The profile of a human head, cut from mica, in grotesque appearance, was found in a ceremonial offering in Mound 3 of the Turner Group (See Figure 13). "At least a portion of the profile was painted, for traces of red paint still adhere to the neck. There are four or five small perforations along the upper lip, as though something has been sewed to the effigy at this point (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:56)."

IIg. A copper-covered wooden "wand" was part of a large cache of artifacts at Mound City (Burial 9, Mound 7; see Figure 11). It has been
suggested that the effigy was that of a "death-cup toadstool (Mills 1922: 490, 548)."

IIIh. A unique mask-headdress was reconstructed from the calcined fragments of drilled and cut human skull bones (Baby 1956; see Figure 14), and inferred to be part of a shaman's paraphernalia. Human skull was also worked and engraved, as found at the Turner site, though not suggesting a mask-headdress.

IIIi. Stylized engravings of masks on human long bone (Turner Group, Altar 1, Great Enclosure) suggest masks used by a shaman (See Figure 1B), especially with a grotesque death motif (cf. Webb and Baby 1957:105).

IIJ. Another effigy design cut from sheet copper, from the Mound City Group was the raptorial bird concept represented in bilateral symmetry (See Figure 16). The hooked beak and ruffled neck feathers suggest a carrion crow or vulture, symbolic of flesh-eating and death. The motif is also found in Adena tablets (Webb and Baby 1957:99).

IIIA. A number of copper effigy turtles, with hollow center and tiny pebbles, suggested their use as rattles (Burial 12, Mound 7 at Mound City; see Figure 24). They appeared to have been attached to a leather "belt (Mills 1922:494)," which would have added accompaniment to a funeral ceremony when worn by a specialist around his waist, ankles, or arms. A boatstone effigy of copper, with pebbles, was found in the special cache at the Tremper Mound.

IIIB. An engraved human radius fashioned into a whistle was among the artifacts in the Bourneville Mound, Ross County (Baby 1961; see Figure 22). Two copper bands had been placed near each end, and holes drilled near the radial tuberosity suggested suspension about the neck of the user.
IIIc. Metal-covered conjoined wood tubes have been found in Hopewell sites. Examination has suggested they were made to be used as musical instruments, producing several different fluted tones (Willoughby and Hooton 1922:51), though not conclusively according to H.C. Shepstone (1927:189). The artifacts from the Raymond Ater Mound and the Hopewell Group (Burial 1, Mound 20) were covered with sheet copper, while the Turner specimen was covered with meteoric iron (See Figure 20).

IVa. "Trophy" skulls, or extra crania accompanying burial deposits, show the use (though probably not general) of detached heads. Most of the skulls seem to be associated with the extended burial of an older person (cf. Burial 5, Mound 2, of the Hopewell Group). A photograph from the excavation of the Edwin Harness Mound shows a skull placed with a cremation deposit (Mills 1907:159). A total of 34 have been found in Hopewell sites (Professor Raymond S. Baby, personal communication).

IVb. Ornaments made from worked human jaws could be seen also in the above category of the shaman's symbols of death. They are placed here only in the sense that the jaws may have been personal property of the deceased who wore the jaws as adornment, and as such, are special grave offerings. The use of human bone material, especially part of the cranium, reveals a cultic expression of supernatural belief associated with respect for the dead. The jaws have been cut, polished and drilled for ornamental display presumably about the neck (See Figure 25).

Va. A deposit of deer rib fragments were recovered from a recent excavation of the south embankment at Mound City. Interpretation by John E. Guilday and Donald F. Tanner of the Carnegie Museum would "suggest funeral offerings of choice or select cuts of meat (Brown and Baby
1966:Appendix ii)." Post-funeral feasts have many ethnohistoric analogies.

Once again, the above artifacts are arbitrarily selected to represent the Hopewell Cult of the Dead, and not the total ceremonial complex of the Hopewell people. There are numerous other objects of utilitarian and ornamental value which were placed in grave association, objects made of such raw material as diorite, pyrite, fossil gum, galena, and crystal quartz. Literally thousands of pearl beads were found in deposits, along with perforated bear canine teeth, and copper ear spools. Many ground-and-polished stone celts and axe blades made from copper were placed with the remains of the dead, some of the copper blades too heavy to be of utilitarian value. The art craftsmanship of the Hopewell is a study in itself, including the art concepts of symmetry and geometry (split representation; see Conclusion). Some members of the community were apparently given the laborious task of traveling great distances in different directions to secure raw material (possibly through trade) for the cult items—to the upper Great Lakes for copper, to the Gulf of Mexico for shells and shark teeth, to the southern Appalachians for mica, and to the Rocky Mountains for obsidian.

With this data, it is now appropriate to make interpretative generalizations, and hypothetical reconstructions of mortuary practice among the prehistoric Hopewell.
IV

Interpretation

From the archeological data, from ethnological data, and from extrapolations from the dynamics of cultural process, an attempt will now be made to reconstruct the mortuary cult practices of the Hopewell people. Recognition is also given to the dynamics of cultural change, since it is assumed that local selective factors have long been at work in American culture history. The same factors would also apply to mortuary practices and belief systems. Fred Gearing (1958:1148) has noted that in any social structural analysis the "structural poses," or sets of roles and group identities, come and go recurrently in space and time, even in one community. Ethnographic analogies, therefore, must take such factors into account, especially as we are considering a time gap of nearly sixteen hundred years. For the purposes of inference it may be established that Ohio Hopewell is indeed related both phylogenetically (Willey 1966:13-16) and culturally (Part II this paper, plus glottochronological considerations, see Driver 1969:25-52) to historic tribes of the eastern United States, which age-area factors would seem to add authenticity to factors of cultural causality and vice versa.

It can be fairly well established, also, that the North American aboriginal tribes relied upon their religious systems for ecological adaptation (Driver 1969:96, 102, 396), that is, they lived in constant interaction with the realities and mysteries of nature and with what were believed to be deities (See Appendix I). The power of these spirits, as a result of improper ritual or social taboos or lack of respect, could,
they felt, bring misfortune, illness, pain, and that great enemy, death. So, death was not only feared but proper disposal of both a body and its soul (or souls) was ritualistically necessary to insure continued community welfare, as well as was the therapeutic adjustment to the loss of kin. Obviously, not all tribes held the same types of funeral ceremonies, nor were similar types performed alike, but the functional necessity of such activities was based upon the individual group needs. Gertrude P. Kurath, in observing recent tribal festivals in Michigan notes that "A ceremony could involve an individual, a family, a clan, a tribe, or several tribes; men only, women only, or all ages and sexes (1966:15)."

Finally, as it has been noted (Part III this paper), the Hopewellian mortuary customs appear to have been varied, not only between sites but between different graves in the same sites, which clouds the issue of whether we may be dealing with ancestral-lineal traditions or with religious traditions of non-related people.

The surrounding wildlife, plantlife, and meteorological phenomena apparently played a great part in influencing cosmological concepts.

In the eastern Woodlands, and in Ohio, where kindling was bountiful it is inferred that the prehistoric Hopewell made great use of fire, to the extent of consuming even the bodies of most of their kin. Bushnell (1920:101 ff.) relates that, according to observers, the Natchez Indians of Mississippi kept a constant fire burning on the ceremonial temple mound, not only where the chief of the tribe lived and where continual ceremonies were held in behalf of the community, but also where funeral rites were held, burial taking place in the temple-tomb. Although it is not intended to equate Hopewellian cult practice with sun-temple worship
to the same degree as in the historic Natchez, or even with Mesoamerican sun-temple practice, it may be suggested that the Hopewell people linked the fire and the sun and deity together. Elijah Haines, in a fairly perceptive and objective ethnology of the American Indians wrote of the "mysterious and sacred character of fire. Sacred fire was obtained from the flint...fire was always considered by the Indians as a symbol of purity (1888:359-360)." This may explain the importance of Hopewellian cremation practices, that is, the appearance of fire's purification quality.

The contents and use of the smoking pipe is also related to fire, and according to the Shawnee, tobacco was one of the main personified forces of nature, along with wind, fire, water and the eagle (C.F. Voegelin 1936). Tobacco among the Menomini, writes Felix Keesing (1939: 23), is essential to their ceremonies, for it is "incense beloved of the powers." Diamond Jenness, in writing about the Ojibwa (Chippewa) Indians of Parry Island in Canada, has said that tobacco was not smoked "for mere pleasure in earlier times; it was a strictly religious ceremony, practised, E.g. by medicine-men when healing the sick (1935:114)." With such reports it may reasonably be inferred that because of the presence of pipes in Hopewell burial sites, pipes (plain and/or effigy) were used by the Hopewell, and probably by the shamans, in curing-rites and in funeral ceremonies.

Turning now from introductory matters to the mortuary rites themselves, evidences of the Hopewellian practices contain some very wide differences when compared to ethnographic sources, but of course there are some important similarities. Erminie W. Voegelin (1944), working specifically with the Shawnee, compiled a series of comparison tables
concerning mortuary customs among most of the eastern tribes. Taking
the opportunity here of adding Hopewell to Voegelin's tables, supported
by archeological data, Hopewell may be shown to reveal the differences
and similarities as in Table II. Concerning the differences in Table II,
there are actually a few historic similarities. The Choctaw, for example,
make use of the charnel house, or bone house, for storing cleaned bones of
deceased, and then observe a community burial, covering the remains with
a "conical hill, or mount (Bushnell 1920:94)." The Choctaw, also, were
known to practice cremation after temporary scaffold burial, and further,
to combine animal symbolism with mortuary ritual: "On the top of a ladd-
er was the carved image of a dove, with its wings stretched out, and its
head declining downward (op. cit., page 96; see also Lewis and Kneberg
1958:67 ff.)." The Cherokee practiced mound construction over burials,
and also decorated the body with the richest possessions of the living
(Bushnell 1920:91 ff.). The Huron tribes made much use of social status
in elaboration of burial, in that the more prominent persons received the
more elaborate rituals; graves were lined with beaver robes, and the
grave offerings included broken kettles, porcelain collars, and netsful
of corn (Herman 1956; Busnell 1920:73 ff.).

One of the most significant factors which seems to set apart Hope-
wellian mortuary practices from historic tribes is that of cremation,
and well over half of the burials in Hopewell sites are cremations
(Potter 1968:44). In fact, in the Tremper Mound there were no inhum-
tions while there were at least 375 cremations (Mills 1916:280).

Why did Hopewell put so much importance in cremation, when inhum-
tion was also practiced? The two modes of burial seem to be diametrically
DIFFERENCES:

1. Cremation as usual disposition of the dead
2. Apparent body dismemberment before cremation
3. Arrangement of cremated remains into anatomical order at time of final deposition
4. Generous grave offerings of exotic materials and art objects of highly skilled craftsmanship
5. Some offerings ceremonially broken
6. Extensive use of a charnel house as crematorium and as multiple burial chamber
7. Additions of compartments to charnel house
8. Apparent community-organized project for covering entire charnel house site with earthen mound
9. Cremation and inhumation burials in same site (cf. Mille 1907:143-4)

SIMILARITIES:

1. Corpse prepared for burial; adornment (beads, necklaces, pendants, clothing or shrouds)
2. Body carried from place of death to burial site
3. Interment of body in earthen grave (soil, rock grave covering)
4. Occasional extended inhumation
5. Graves lined with wood logs, bark and stone
6. Fire associated with burial (burned earth, charcoal remains
7. Gifts presented to deceased by mourners (placed in association with cremation, inhumation, or in special cache)

Table II. Inferred Comparative Mortuary Traits of Hopewell with Historic Tribes, using Terminology from the Tables of Erminie W. Vogelii (1944:341-2, 348, 354-6, 359, 361-2, 365, 367)
opposed to each other, and yet, though it may be a problem to us, it apparently was no problem to them, nor to many nonliterate societies in the world (E.O. James 1957:122 ff.). Concerning cremation itself, James suggests that

the destruction of the corpse by fire no doubt has tended to foster the belief in the liberation of the spirit regarded as an independent entity only temporarily housed in the body, and of wafting it to the sky... (ibid., p. 131).

We may well be led to believe that complete destruction of the body was indeed the primary motive in Hopewell because the evidence of certain artifacts shows, quite convincingly, that many artifacts, too, were broken and destroyed intentionally (or "killed") in order to liberate the spirits to properly accompany the free soul of the deceased to its place of repose. Some tobacco pipes at Tremper Mound were killed, some stone celts in the Hopewell Group were killed, obsidian blades at Mound City were intentionally broken, as were earpools, breastplates, and a reel-shaped copper gorget (Mills 1922:433). Near the Ft. Ancient site (See Map I), a collection from the Perry Wolfe Farm yielded artifacts all of which were considered to have been killed, including quartz crystals, mica flint blades, pipes, gorgets and copper designs (from exhibit in the Ohio State Museum).

The apparent contradiction of destruction and attempted "preservation" of physical objects by the same people may be a human behavioralistic paradox, resting upon the immediate preference of the individual, family, clan or tribe. The main causative factor which seems to rule is that the spirit of the dead be properly released to the wind or sky, so that it will not harm the living. This factor prevails, then, whether the circumstances would call for a cremation or an inhumation--and this leads to
selectivity based upon social status. One indication of special social status is that of the shaman. "The Tlinkits, and other tribes of Alaska, also burn their dead upon funeral pyres, with the exception of the bodies of shamans, or sorcerers, which are deposited in boxes and elevated on posts (Haines 1888:382)."

The death of a shaman or chief, then, may prompt special preparation (See Hypothetical Funeral #3). The shaman was believed to have possessed an unusual body/spirit combination because it was he who had special access to the spirit world (See Appendix I), and so the members of certain societies may feel that his (or her) disposal should be different. In the Far East (Ryukyuan Islands), for example, Erika Kaneko reports that "priestesses were not only accorded a special coffin, but, in consequence of the belief that they ascend to heaven body and soul, were also exempted from the general bone-washing ritual (Kaneko 1964:27)." The socio-cultural cause would seem to apply to North America, in whatever time period, that special care should be afforded the "sacred" body of the specialist, whom the members of the community had observed many times in various states of spirit-possession or spirit-impersonation (See Appendix I). To carry this point one step further, it would also follow that if the ritual specialists held not only spiritual control over the people but also political control, then they would be doubly respected and honored. This may very well be the case, though not always (See next paragraph), in the Hopewell Cult of the Dead. Special treatment seems to have been true among the historic Natchez, where, in an account by John Swanton (quoted by Bushnell 1920:101 ff.), that when a chieftainess died in 1704 the community sacrificed thirteen
others, twelve of them children, and erected fourteen scaffolds, so that
the whole group could enter the spirit land together.

Cremation, therefore, seems to have been important for the Hopewell
people to feel that the deceased personage has been fully separated from
the body, except in the case of special persons who may have been con-
sidered too sacred to immolate. It is not easy, however, to explain all
Hopewell burials by these oversimplified criteria, especially in the case
of a multiple extended-inhumation burial in Seip #1 mound (Shetrone 1931:
369 ff.). Burials 2 through 7, the last of which were infants, were
placed parallel to each other in what appeared to be one multiple burial.
Presumably not all of these persons could have been shamans, so that it
therefore seems likely a whole family sacrifice (or disease?) may have
taken place, without the ordinary cremation rites. All the skeletons
were found elaborately ornamented, with thousands of beads, effigy pipes
and figurines, copper breastplates, and perforated bear canines. Burial
number 4, a female, had presumably been laid out upon a fabric shroud
with color designs, the design having been preserved on the surface of a
breastplate. Were these people too sacred to immolate? Possibly, but
personal wishes at the moment may prevail (See discussion, p. 45). Bush-
nell warns that one should not put too much superstitious emphasis on
the practice of cremation, especially among historic tribes: "Probably
cremation was resorted to in many instances as a means of reducing the
difficulty of removing the remains from the place of death to the locality
where it was desired they might be deposited (1920:37)."

Turning now to the funeral rites themselves, Erminie Voegelin notes
the many actions and taboos of the living which surround the proper
disposal of the dead. Curiously, she shows that in a number of Eastern tribes there are special taboos connected with purifying the body handlers, although this does not seem to be true where cremation is an accepted practice (1944:354). Apparently, where cremation takes place, the body is believed to have been released of the spirit, and the bones are interred with only mild respect. In Hopewell, especially as observed during excavation of the Ater Mound by Professor Baby, the calcined bones had been placed in roughly correct anatomical order after cremation (Potter 1968:44; see also illustration in Baby 1954:5).

Other rules in funeral practice noted by Voegelin are those with respect to the family of the deceased, as to whether they paid to have the body handled, or whether the mourners went home after interment, or whether condolence ceremonies took place. These would be almost impossible to apply to Hopewell cult practices, except that it is inferred that logs were closed around the corpse, and then a certain amount of soil was piled over the grave structure. How long after burial this soil was added we do not know—it could have been immediately, or after some days, or months. Eventually, the community, probably including the families of the many deceased, assisted in the razing or burning of the charnel house, and the fairly lengthy process of building the mounds began, especially for mounds of proportions known in the Seip, Harness, Hopewell and Mound City groups.

It is now possible, with the forms of data presented, to hypothetically reconstruct at least three variants of Hopewellian mortuary practices. The first is based upon a cremation rite of an ordinary person in a charnel house, the second upon an inhumation rite of a respected person
in an unroofed fenced area within a geometric earthenwork enclosure, and the third a funeral of a shaman. Hypothetical (and often highly conjectural) activities accompanying each of the rites will be based entirely upon variations in a composite picture of Hopewelian mortuary practices, and not upon any one specific grave assemblage. Five elements of the reconstructions will be followed, as in Table I, namely, preparation of the body, the death symbols of the shaman, the funeral ceremonies, the special grave offerings, and the post-funeral activities.

Hypothetical Funeral #1

If one were to try to envision the funeral procedures in a hypothetical Hopewell village in southern Ohio sometime around A.D. 100, he would probably be led into organizing his observations around the activities of the ritual specialist, who would ordinarily be summoned at the serious illness of a community member. It is possible that the shaman would be found at the cemetery grounds rather than in the village, so that he might have to leave his supervision of other rites, such as the covering of a mound with earth by another family, to attend to the curing rites of the sick person in the village.

Arriving at the sick bed, the shaman would probably begin to lead the family in making pleas to the supernatural spirits to restore the life of this person (whom we may envision as a man, not aged, but enough past his prime hunting years to be vulnerable to terminal disease). The shaman may assist his incantations by producing from his garment a smoking pipe upon which might well be carved the head of an animal or bird or even a human head. However, the curing rites do not always succeed, and the man may very soon have succumbed to his illness. At once, the shaman
would assume a different role, and would see that the body of the deceased would be prepared properly for burial.

Procedures at this point would show both similarities and differences in comparison to historic tribes, most of which would remain indeterminable. As Erminie Voegelin relates (1944:243 ff.; cf. Table II), a Shawnee corpse would be bathed, and dressed in new clothes. A woman would be given a red paint spot on her cheeks. The body would then be taken feet first through the doorway, and laid on the ground with feet to the east [Hopewell seem to have had no strong preference for aligning the body in any certain direction]. Then, the funeral leader would be chosen, beginning a four-day wake, followed by pit-burial in the ground in a bark-lined grave. The grave would receive a few personal belongings and sprinkled with tobacco; the burial address would be given by the funeral leader and the funeral fire would be lighted, followed by the post-burial vigil by the family members.

Kickapoo rites differed somewhat from the Shawnee in that burial was to take place the same day as the death, or the next day if death occurred after noon. The "priest" was called, and announced the death to the person of God [one can note some Christian acculturative elements], and then the body was dressed, dabbed with red ochre, wrapped in a blanket and carried to the west. Burial took place in a four-feet-deep grave lined with stone, with head to the east so that he is faced in the right direction for his journey to heaven (Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956:47).

The role of the shaman in the funeral ritual would presumably follow an unsuccessful curing ritual, whether by the family or by the shaman himself. The funeral rites may or may not involve similar actions or
paraphernalia than for curing rites; I would suspect the latter, though without ethnographic support. In pre-Hopewell cultures a great deal of red ochre paint and/or powder was used in burial (Griffin 1964:235; Ritchie 1955:64), probably administered by a shaman, and as seen above, some historic tribes used red ochre paint, but the lack, though not absence, of ochre on the remains of Hopewell dead may suggest that the importance was placed upon destruction of the body through cremation and not upon giving the corpse any more life than it seemed to have, with the feeling that the soul had not yet been escorted to the spirit land.

In the Hopewellian reconstruction, the shaman might see that the body was cleaned and dressed in whatever garment the family might feel appropriate. Then, the litter carriers would be chosen, and the body carried through the doorway of the house, up the terrace from the river flood plain to the cemetery grounds, through the earthwork gateway and to the charnel house. The shaman during this procession may very well ornament himself in the symbols of death: on his head he may be seen wearing a headplate of shiny copper, cut into an effigy of a person, though headless; in one hand he may be holding a long stick to which may be hafted a semi-lunar obsidian blade, and in the other hand he may be holding a wand upon which could be placed a copper effigy head. Beads would surely adorn his woven fabric robe of several colors, and upon his chest a gorget, a paired-head vulture effigy in bilateral symmetry, cut from plate copper, may be seen. Following along, in funeral procession, would be the family members, also adorned in mortuary symbols, carrying the deceased’s personal possessions, other offerings, and some food. As the body was to be carried into the charnel house the family
members would possibly not be able to enter because at this point they would not have yet been ritualistically purified. Only the shaman, and his apprentices, may be allowed to enter.

In the house would be some low mounds over the graves of those who had died long before, as well as several log pens around platforms of those clan members who died more recently. A crematory basin would now serve as the primary receptacle for the most recently deceased, for the expressed purpose of consuming the body by fire. But first a customary set of rituals must be observed, preparatory to final burial. It is inferred that the shaman, taking his semi-lunar knife, possibly with an assistant playing a series of musical tones from a pan-pipe, would begin to dismember the body, removing the head and laying it upon the torso, then removing the legs at the knees, also placing them upon the torso. The whole pile of flesh would then be placed in the clay-lined basin. But then, so that the family would be assured that the ritual was being properly conducted and that the ghost of the deceased would not be offended, it is suggested that the head might be carried outside the house into the presence of the mourners, and displayed on a wooden wand or pole. In grief, members of the family would be procuring from the forest enough kindling for the cremation.

Dismemberment of the body in the way suggested by Hopewillian data has few, if any, ethnographic analogies. Upon close examination of the calcined ashes, of unidentified Hopewell individuals of all ages and of both sexes, and from a lab test of burning a modern fleshed cadaver, Professor Raymond Baby has concluded "that the Hopewell cremated their dead in the flesh," and "dismembered the remains just prior to cremation,
removing the head, lower legs, and perhaps the entire upper extremity (1954:3-4)." From the visual evidence of at least two figures (See below), from the apparent displays of effigy heads on the ends of sticks (cf. the Hopewell copper head, Figure 9, and the Seip sculptured head described by Richard Morgan, Figure 12), and from artistic designs of headless torsos, it is further suggested that the head was not immediately placed with the body and cremated, but was ritualistically treated and displayed before the mourners for an undetermined period of time before destroyed. In some cases, the head was not returned to the body but was presented to a close relative, such as the father, as a "souvenir" skull, most probably at the special dispensation of the shaman (See Hypothetical Funeral #2). The figurine found at Newark, and examined by Dragoo and Wray (1964; see Figure 19), clearly shows a shaman, dressed in a bear skin from head to toe literally, holding a detached human head in his lap. The effigy pipe from the Seip #1 Mound (Figure 15) also shows a detached human head, being devoured by a wolf or a dog. Without going so far as to suggest that the Hopewell "gave the head to the animals," it seems more likely that symbols of god-animal representation (clan totemism?) were involved.

In due time, the head would be returned to the corpse, the kindling would be added, and the fire ritualistically lighted from a fire in the village or in the cemetery itself. During this time it would not be impossible for the shaman to have changed his costume so that he could be wearing the most extraordinary symbol of his office, the mask-headdress fashioned from human skull bones. Through holes drilled around the margins of the bone could be tied a skin mask, hanks of hair and even groups
of colorful bird feathers (Baby 1956; see Figure 14). As the smoke from
the crematory fire piled through the roof of the charnel house into the
sky, the shaman would possibly be seen leading the mourners in funeral
incantations. As the shaman danced, the copper rattles around his waist
or his arms or his ankles would add a sonorous rhythm to the air, and a
whistle carved from a human arm bone could be played, wailing a song
above the mourner's cries.

Concerning the use of noise-making or musical instruments during the
funeral, an analogy is drawn from the Mexican Kickapoo, who apparently
brought this trait from their Wisconsin homeland.

This mourning-for-the-dead ceremony also involves the use
of rattles and sacred flutes which are said to be used for
talking with the dead, the music considered to resemble the
voice of God (Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956:47).

The funeral ceremonies would be near an end as the smoke dwindled,
and while the ashes cooled the mourners would prepare to make a grave
offering to the deceased. Perhaps at this time the funeral feast would
have begun, a newly-slaughtered deer having been brought to the cemetery
grounds. The deer rib fragments found in midden at Mound City suggest
very strongly that special cuts of venison were consumed in or near the
cemetery. When the crematory ashes were cool the shaman or a respected
member of the family would then transfer the remains to a prepared grave
platform, lined with logs. One by one, the members of the family may
then be ceremoniously allowed to file through the charnel house, to place
their offerings to the departed spirit. Some offerings may be ritualis-
tically smashed with a hammerstone so that their spirits, too, could be
released and accompany the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead.
After the ceremony, the grave would be enclosed with bark and wooden slabs to form a log pen around and over the remains, to be left like that until the memory of the deceased would no longer be fresh, and so could be covered with a memorial mound of earth by his descendants.

Hypothetical Funeral #2

It may be assumed that in the Hopewillian social life the death of a respected elder took place, a person not having the authority of a shaman, but one who had captured the honor of the whole community or tribe. It may have been that such an individual was the spokesman at the annual festivals, such as the "Green Corn" ceremony in the summer. And now, in death, he would most likely continue to be respected, even to the point of having certain ritual standards waived, of which cremation was one standard. This elder may also have had in his possession the souvenir skull of his son, perhaps killed in a hunting accident, and also the polished jaw of his wife who may have died some years before. However, there would likely be those in the community who would complain against the waiver of standards, fearfully contending that entire bodies of the dead should be consumed by fire, or else a soul would return to cause unlimited misfortune. Only the shaman, some may have felt, should be given special burial privileges or use human bone.

Because a person of this stature would probably be known outside the local community, word about his death may be sent to other villages, and burial might be delayed until all interested parties could honor his spirit. Preparation of the body, therefore, may not only be for burial but also for community display. The shaman, being aware of this situation, and possibly being the final authority in all matters pertaining
to religious and secular policy, would be in charge of these arrange-
ments. Knowing that the face of the body begins to decompose quickly,
he would likely call one of the community craftsmen, and together they
might fashion from sheet copper a set of artificial nostrils, which
would add much respect to a displayed corpse. And for a more life-like
appearance, among other reasons, red ochre may be sprinkled over the body.
Then, a scaffold might be built in the village, so that all could see,
yet out of the reach of the animals. In time, the vultures would be
attracted to the body, but these birds may be representations of death
itself and so would likely be welcomed to join the soul of the deceased.

The practice of applying red paint (or powder) to a corpse has both
prehistoric and historic analogies. It is known to have been used in
Ohio long before Hopewellian times (See Part II, this paper), and among
the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin in historic times. According to Felix
Keesing

A corpse was painted with red to signify happiness at the
privilege of the soul in departing to the spirit land. Burial
took place apparently within the day, sometimes on a scaffold-
ing, sometimes beneath logs in the ground, or perhaps in a
mound. The ghost was believed to linger around the grave in-
definitely and to be capable of having influence on the living;
but the soul or personality, it was thought, passed on a four-
day journey to the spirit land (1939:51).

The practice of temporary scaffold burial was introduced in this
hypothetical reconstruction, with the recognition that little or no evi-
dence would suggest that Hopewell practiced the trait. Only such in-
direct evidence, such as the apparent respect of the carrion crow, ex-
hibited in artistic design, may suggest that a body was subjected to the
activities of the flesh-eating birds, or at least as symbolic of death,
as in historic times, the burial platforms themselves appeared to be.
Among the Choctaw (Bushnell 1920:94), a corpse was placed upon a scaffold 18 to 20 feet high, and visited by friends until the flesh was putrid. Then the flesh was removed by hand, the bones cleaned, and taken to a bone (charnel) house. There, the kin attended the funeral rites, where the bones were placed, disarticulated, in coffins. After the coffin or coffins were covered with earth the living returned to the town for a feast of the dead. The hypothetical reconstruction in this paper suggests that the flesh had not decomposed to the extent as in Choctaw practice, since Hopewell burials (though mostly cremations) are not bundle burials but extended inhumations.

Continuing with this hypothetical funeral, the body would be ready for final burial after all interested parties had visited the scaffold in honor of the soul of the deceased. The body-handlers would be chosen and probably ritualistically purified as in historic Shawnee tribes (E.W. Voegelin 1944:390), and then the corpse would be transferred, though partly decomposed, to the ceremonial earthwork enclosure and to the death house. In the house, which may have been seen as an oval ring of high posts and without a roof, a rectangular platform would have been constructed several inches above the floor, and lined with logs, bark and stone. A woven blanket shroud, painted with conventional designs (See Figure 23) might have been placed on this platform, and on top of that a shiny quadri-concave copper breastplate.

The funeral ceremony for this person, who in this case may have been chosen to be inhumed in an extended position, would not be unlike that for a cremation ceremony. The shaman may light a central fire, around which he would dance in full regalia, possibly a bearskin cloak draped
over his head, with rattles sounding from his body, and music from pan-pipes played by the assistants or the mourners. An effigy smoking pipe may likely be passed among the mourners, each person drawing a mouthful of tobacco smoke. The body would possibly be placed directly upon the blanket and the breastplate, the souvenir skull laid beside him, with headplate still attached, and the polished jaw of his wife placed on his chest. The copper nostrils would still give an air of dignity to the putrifying flesh. Before the logs and bark were to be constructed as a pen around the body the close relatives would file past the grave with gifts. Because most of the respect had been hypothetically given him earlier, and because there were few living members in his immediate family, the number of gifts would be relatively small, and not even as elaborate as in other graves in this death house of persons of lesser prominence. One special grave offering might be a mica cut-out of a headless torso, suggested by the shaman, to indicate to the spirits the recognition that this burial was a deviation from the normal ceremony which would ordinarily have involved the decapitation and cremation of the corpse.

It is noted, in reference to the offering of a headless torso cut-out, that a similar object was actually found in association with a non-cremated burial in the Hopewell Mound Group. Most designs of this type were found associated with cremations, and notably at Mound City (See Table I).

As the funeral rites would end, the shaman may direct that basketsful of earth be brought to the charnel house from outside the earthwork enclosure, to cover the log pen with a low mound. It would remain that way
until a future date when a huge mound would cover all of the burials. When the labors were completed at the death house, the mourners would likely have been instructed to return to their homes and not look back, for as among the Shawnee, "each person must look straight ahead and not glance backward over his shoulder toward the grave, as this would be an insult to the dead (Voegelin 1944:245)."

Reference was made in this hypothetical reconstruction to a ceremonial rite called among historic tribes the "Green Corn" ceremony (Bushnell 1920; Swanton 1922). Among the Creek Indians a "square-ground" area was prepared for such a festival, and although John Witthoft discounts this practice as analogous to Ohio earthworks (1949:69), William Fidgeon (1853:158, 247) convincingly contends that prepared earthwork centers were used for such festivals, for burial, and for the residence of the ruling prophet.

**Hypothetical Funeral #3**

As already discussed (Page 33), the death of a shaman would prompt special attention, and due to the suggested possibility that a shaman's terminal illness and death may be taboo for the villagers' presence, it would follow that the shaman's apprentices would have been among the few persons at hand to prepare and dispose of the body. One could infer that the people would voluntarily avoid the ceremonies because the feeling might be that certain spirits had been seriously disrespected and that the ghosts of all the dead would be angry. But gifts would have to be offered, and someone from the village would have to attend the rites with representative donations.
Whatever offerings are found with the skeleton of a suspected shaman may or may not be part of his own personal possession. It is suggested throughout this paper that the shaman possessed a set of designed symbols of his office as a functional part of his paraphernalia. These symbols would be symbolic of his different roles, including the role of funeral director. On the other hand, the grave offerings might also have been the donations of the community which he served, in the form of carefully chosen objects to denote honor and reverence.

The shaman, it would seem, could fairly well predetermine the mode of his own burial, and it might be suggested here that he chose not to be cremated, but interred upon a platform grave fully extended, as others who were not cremated. There may have also been the cultural expression present that the bodies of shamans should not be destroyed but kept "intact" so that the body and soul might travel to the spirit land together.

Erminie Voegelin writes:

The expressed wishes of any person regarding the disposal of his body after death are always complied with. Particular interest attaches, however, to the requests of shamans or "powerful men" [among the Shawnee] and male or female prophets. Such individuals are most apt to express the wish that their bodies be prepared for interment or interred in unusual fashion...common men, however, only infrequently ask for an extraordinary burial (1944:403-4).

The inference here is that the Hopewell may very well have exercised this prerogative, whether for a respected elder (as in Hypothetical Funeral #2) or for a shaman. If evidences of mortuary practice were highly consistent throughout Hopewellian sites (i.e., all cremations or all inhumations) then one would be led to question the possibility of any choice in the matter, but in recognition of the variations of burial
among Hopewell graves it appears that Voegelin's analysis may be used as a fair analogy.

It would seem reasonable to assume that in the actual burial of a shaman he would be dressed in a ritualistic costume, whether it was partly a cloak, or robe, associated with an antler headdress or whether it was a bear-skin cloak including the head. The figurine mentioned previously (Dragoo and Wray 1964) seems to represent the best evidence of a shaman's costume of this latter type, and an historic example from the Kickapoo is also available: "One informant reports seeing a man with wolf hide stretched over his back and head with the tail hanging between his legs (Ritzenthaler and Peterson 1956:49; see also illustration in Webb and Baby 1957:68)." Examples of art forms which suggest similar shamanic paraphernalia also come from sites of the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, or "Southern Cult (Waring and Holder 1945, in Williams 1964:19)." The engravings in copper show stylized human beings wearing various garments, but Waring warns (1964:41) that the "winged beings" forms are not "representations of people dressed as eagles, but rather... representation of a being with eagle attributes (ibid.)." Despite the warning, however, many represented motifs do not seem unrealistic, in that they may very well illustrate items of paraphernalia.

The shaman, in death, may also be interred with other symbols of his office, such as an effigy toadstool wand, of the poisonous variety, laminated with a thin sheet of copper. Or, someone might offer an effigy head sculptured from clay, which may have been the likeness of a member of the community at one time, but primarily symbolic of the ceremony of detaching the head for cremation. Yet, because the community members may
have avoided the funeral rites themselves, as was suggested, the grave of the shaman would not have been ostentatious in comparison to other graves in the death house where, at those funerals, many people were present to offer gifts.

It seems to be a standard method to assign the more elaborate of burials to those persons highly respected or even feared (Deuel 1958:38). This is as it should be, but caution is advised, for there seems to be only a fine line among Hopewell graves as to what is and what is not an extra-elaborate burial. Some of the most unpretentious burials may contain extraordinary objects, and some of the more obviously elaborate prepared burials may contain the ordinary number of bead and pearl necklaces, and a lack of what may be expected. The double burial in Mound 25 of the Hopewell Mound Group (Burial 47) is an example of this, in that in association with the skeletons were placed large copper axes, cut mica in shapes of an open hand and a bird (duck hawk) claw, a seven-inch-long flint blade and an ocean-shell container, but no effigies of the head or torso, no head or breastplates, and no worked human bone. A skull uncovered by Warren K. Moorehead in an early excavation of Mound 25 of the Hopewell Group, as illustrated by Shetrone (1930:197), plainly reveals the wearing of a full-rack antler headdress, clearly suggesting a person of great social status and probable influence, but again with no more elaborate or more numerous grave offerings than other burials. A cremated burial deposit at Mound City (Burial 12, Mound 7) was not the central grave of the mound, yet was adorned with a headless torso headplate, shark teeth necklaces, a copper effigy horn, a round mica mirror, copper "tats," copper "stars," obsidian blades and a belt with the copper turtle effigy rattles.
It might be inferred, finally, that the funeral feast was highly elaborate, where, as in the funeral of any highly respected person, a special hunt may have taken place and special kinds of meat be eaten. During this feast, or soon afterward, the community would have probably learned the identity of the new chief shaman who would be their leader in both religious and secular matters.
V

Conclusion

The working hypothesis for this paper first stated that selected archeological data defined an elaborate mortuary cult for the Hopewell culture in southern Ohio. It was seen that such a cult probably developed out of a larger socio-cultural complex of funerary traits in the Great Lakes area, and specifically out of practices of the Adena culture (Dragoo 1963:277; Willey 1966:273). It was stated in the second place that the data suggested the presence of ritual specialists, or shamans, because a number of highly specialized objects were not found in the majority of burials, but in occasional elaborate burials, some of which showed exemption from the rule of cremation and accompanied general artifacts. In the third place, the variations in burial, associated grave offerings, and large earthwork centers suggested a well-organized and structured society, with commoners, craftsmen, respected elders, persons who went great distances to trade raw materials, and with a ruling class made up of specialists who could properly contact the feared ghosts of the dead and other spirits, and also demand social obedience.

It was further hypothesized from a comparison of ceremonies and objects with historic tribes in eastern North America that the Hopewell cult shared a similar cosmological orientation with the historic tribes. According to Harold E. Driver (1969:396), this orientation is based upon a constant social and individual interaction with the deified forces of nature, which are expressed by ritual and symbolic artifacts. It would
appear that the elaborate funerary preparations from Hopewell graves would imply an extraordinary preoccupation with the spirits of death.

Finally, it was felt that enough elements of archeological and ethnohistoric data are available to attempt the hypothetical reconstruction of at least three variants of Ohio Hopewell funeral rites. These reconstructions (Pp. 36-50), it is admitted, were highly conjectural, but are not expected to be considered as the end product of the study. They are presented in order that further hypotheses in prehistoric religious systems (Hopewell or otherwise) might be established.

In suggesting that the Hopewell cult was based upon a cosmological outlook it would seem that many of the problematic factors of the archeological data are within range of credible explanation. The use by any society of exotic materials procured from thousands of miles away for ceremonial use and grave offering would seem to demand more than superficial interpretation. The ritualistic and ornamental use of detached heads and human bone would seem to involve a special psycho-social framework by the people themselves, even if only a part of village life was spend in funeral preparation and mortuary rites.

By necessity, the people most probably expended more time in agricultural, hunting, gathering, and fishing pursuits, as well as child-rearing and house building. Yet, large blocks of Hopewell time seem to have been given over to preparing for and participating in various cultic rites, in obedience to shamanic suggestion. Those members of the community who had artistic talent apparently were utilized constantly, the indication being that master craftsmen were giving full-time devotion to copper-working and designing, bead-making and drilling, mica-working and cutting,
bone-shaping and engraving, stone-grinding and chipping, pottery-making and incising, all for the purpose of providing ornaments for the living and symbols for honoring the dead.

In addition, it would seem that the use made of art design, including circles, loops, hands and fingers, "eyes," zig-zags, crescents, angles, stars, points, rectangles, cones, and spheres, and the animal and human effigy forms in sculpture and silhouette, would be to some measure expressive of the Hopewellian cosmology, i.e. their view of the natural world around them (including the sun and moon) perceived in geometric unity, symmetry and diversity, finality and mystery.

However, an alternate hypothesis may be appropriately presented here. It appears that the interpretation of geometric art figures does not necessarily point to a cosmological cause. Dr. Claude Levi-Strauss hypothesizes (following his reference to Franz Boas' earlier interpretation of "split representation" in Northwest Coast art) that "art is intimately related to social organization: Motifs and themes express rank differences, nobility privileges, and degrees of prestige (1967:250; italics mine)." Whether such speculation, convincingly presented by Levi-Strauss, can be applied to Hopewell (or even to the Adena-Hopewell continuum, for the Adena tablets are classic examples of split representation) is yet undetermined, and in order to do so a diffusionist point of view would have to be set aside (which point of view has been generally followed in this paper). Elements of social organization, I feel, have been justly considered here, supposing that the Hopewell people lived in obedience to a sorcerer and his magic. Levi-Strauss writes, in another context than above:
There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the efficacy of certain magical practices. But at the same time we see that the efficacy of magic implies a belief in magic. The latter has three complementary aspects: first, the sorcerer's belief in the effectiveness of his techniques; second, the patient's or victim's belief in the sorcerer's power; and, finally, the faith and expectations of the group.... (1967: 162).

The hypothesis of this paper, with its secondary aspects, remains largely inconclusive, as most reconstructions of prehistoric social systems would tend to be. Whether or not the Hopewellian social system was based entirely upon a cosmological orientation cannot be determined conclusively, and this would seem to be true also for attempting to determine whether the mortuary cult was entirely based upon a social system of a clearly-defined rank hierarchy. One aspect of the hypothesis suggested that the shaman was a theocrat, that is, both religious and secular leader; this, too, is only conjecture.

William Sears, whose basic methodology is utilized in this paper, discusses the relationship between burial mound cultures on the Gulf Coastal Plain (1958) and social organization in general, and yet his conclusions do not provide a congenial basis for my own. He describes three main types of mound building: 1. patterned, pit-burial mounds, 2. mass burial (charnel house) mounds, and 3. continuous use or cemetery-type mounds. His hypothesis is that the first of the three types is associated with the structured, theocratic society, while the second is less, and the third is associated with a loosely structured society (analogous to the historic Choctaw). Sears notes that the Adena and Hopewell mounds (earlier in time than the Gulf coastal mounds) were "of the patterned type defined here, although they do not fit the subclasses (1958:282)." Hopewell burials alone would seem to cut across all three of his mound-
type boundaries, except for what he considers the Choctaw mass-burial
classic, that is, a mere solemn occasion without elaborate ceremony. It
would seem to me that the charnel house concept, with prepared crematory
basins and burial platforms, indicates the highest structured social and
religious system.

It would appear further that the Hopewell people gave not only
obedient devotion to the cult leader or leaders, but also voluntary
devotion to the cult. This is inferred from evidence which shows that a
number of grave offerings (of invaluable artistic quality) were not only
given for specific individuals buried in the mounds but also for the
spirits in general. That is, offerings were found also in special cache
and burnt-offering deposits (at Tremper, Turner, and Seip #1). Being non-
grave gifts they were apparently donations expressing communal faith in
the cultic spirits. An unusual offering was recorded at the Hopewell
Group where over 2,000 round discs, chipped from nodular flint, were
found. In addition to this, the size of the earthworks alone suggests
that only contented, or, of course, frightened people would seem to work
so long at one job without offering some resistance. After reading the
accounts of William Pidgeon (1853), however, one may be captured by the
enthusiastic desire on the part of the "Indians," even those who lived
centuries after the mounds were built, to voluntarily assist the "ruling
prophet" in worshiping the sun each morning, to pass the smoking pipe for
sacred friendships, and to impersonate the animals. It would seem un-
reasonable to remove from inference the same enthusiasm among the Hope-
well, only because this aspect of inference is not based upon material
data. And yet, the data may be examined again, to visualize the luster
of a newly made breastplate, the pride in the maker of a human bone
whistle freshly engraved with the symbols of spirit worship, the meticu-
lous fashioning of conjoined tubes linked together with sheet copper, or
the feeling of well-being at the ownership of a round mica mirror.

The point to be made in summary, therefore, is that despite the po-
tential despair of death, or even fear of the unknown, there seems to
exist a psycho-social channel for mourners to receive comfort in times of
grief, and mutual support, and even a kind of joy from a community close-
ly joined to the same traditions, same symbols, and same eschatological
expectations (cf. Geoffrey Gorer 1965:127). In this paper I have
attempted to establish that the same cultural process was manifested
by evidence of the funerary artifacts of the prehistoric Hopewell.
APPENDIX I

North American Indian Religion

The religion of the North American Indian, as fundamental to the consideration of mortuary rituals and accompanying beliefs, is discussed in this section in the following aspects: clan and tribal cosmology, magico-religious ritual, and shamanism. It is inferred, by the archeological data presented in this paper and elsewhere, that similar cosmological concepts and beliefs about death were present in prehistoric eastern North America.

All members of human cultures have preconceived views of relationships between themselves and the natural world around them, i.e. different cosmologies. Anthropologists consider this phenomenon to be culturally relative (cf. A. de Waal Malefijt 1968:6-7), and a learned behavior trait which exists in any society through successive generations modified by culturally selective factors somewhat analogous to factors of organic evolution (cf. Howells 1948 [1962 Natural History Library edition, p. 22]). In North America, a cosmological theme apparent among the native peoples is a belief in the constant presence of supernatural spirits, potentially malevolent or benevolent depending upon the effectiveness of ritualistic expressions and personal behavior.

Gods, ghosts and other spirits are supposed to have intelligence, emotions, and free will comparable to those of man. They may intervene in the affairs of the world and of man in a manner consistent with a system of ethics or according to their whims of the moment (Driver 1969:397).

Ruth Underhill described the belief system as follows:

The five tribes [in the southeastern United States] believed also in a number of spirits who often remind us
of northern hunting tribes. These spirits were the plants and animals which embodied for many Indians the mysterious force which seems to pervade all nature. Above them were the spirits of the earth and the air, and beyond them all was Master of Breath who had created man (1953:40).

Obviously, the term for the highest god was not always "Master of Breath," but native expressions have also been translated as "Sky Being," or "Great Spirit." Furthermore, it may well be assumed that religious systems were in no way uniform throughout the eastern United States, yet there were enough common themes present to allow general discussion. There seems to have been a unity out of the spiritual plurality in the Woodlands, whereby local beliefs could be concentrated momentarily upon animistic powers, such as in an animal or a bird, or in the flickering fire, or in the brightness of the sun, or in the imminent death of a clan member—yet all could be ultimately attributed to the Great Spirit. Most assuredly, there was little concern for this belief in theological terms as members of Western culture attempt to establish, but that the cultural transmission of any tribal cosmology was more in the form of enculturation by folk myth, ritual observation, dream interpretation, and adult example.

The active relationship between people and animal spirits was also important, for providing feelings of security about success in a hunt, for providing channels of fulfillment for enviable animal characteristics, and for clan or tribal identification. Some groups in the plains and in the southeast possessed a concept of a guardian spirit, often seen in the character of a tutelary animal god (Ruth Benedict 1923). A belief system with possible totemic elements may be based upon a philosophical
dualism of body and spirit, in that the bodies of men and animals could be seen to be dependent upon the conditions or whims of the spirits.

One may note further, that in the "Indian" cosmology as defined so far, any contact with the spirits was performed on a "magico-religious" basis. The basis was not exclusively "magic" because spirits were approached in a propitiatory manner, in an appeal for help from higher powers. But it was not exclusively "religious" either, because ritualistic performance was also aimed at the cause of a real or potential malady, thus bringing about, automatically, the expected result in the mind of the believer.

The specialist for magico-religious activity was a trained "shaman," or medicine man, or dream interpreter, who was socially sanctioned to make proper contact with the spirits and to know the cause of real or potentially unpleasant situations. Using illness as an example, Underhill writes:

To most Indians the outward form taken by disease had little significance. The important thing was its cause, whether in the breaking of some taboo, some evil dream, an anger of some offended spirit, or the malevolence of a human witch...Hence the diagnostic function of the Knower was one who must discover by trance or other form of divination what was causing the disease and therefore which expert could dispel it with his formula (1953:40-1).

Underhill does suggest, however, that there is some difference between northern hunting groups (e.g. Algonquian, Iroquois) and southern farmers (e.g. Creek) in that the hunting groups tend to include more laymen in religious ritual while the farmers rely on the direction of shamans for direct contact with the spirits. While realizing that "northern hunting groups" are not exclusively hunters but do have some large degree of agricultural subsistence it is true that clan protection objects, often
kept in "medicine bags," are not always held by the shamans but also by the clan leaders; the Mediwiwin, or Medicine Societies, among the Algonquian tribes are lay oriented (Radin 1923), and dreams and wishes of the soul among the Iroquois may be experienced by anyone (Wallace 1958: 245).

In any case, where shamans are part of the culture they appear to be functional to that culture. The corporate concern is that the right spirits are to be contacted by someone with special spiritual insight, whether through daily rituals as in the regular worship of the sun or the moon or a community fire, or as in special events where, in highly theatrical ceremonial performances, the specialist may even appear to behave as an animal (cf. Radin 1937:211). Such animal-spirit-impersonation activities, with various masks, disguises, or other art objects (possibly held in the hand as a wand), possibly would allow a ritualist (shaman or layman) to act out impulses which would be unacceptable in the everyday context. Professor Érika Bourguignon, however, warns about placing too much importance upon trance and possession states among North American aboriginal tribes, especially among shamans.

Much North American shamanism, we must repeat, appears to have been of the non-inspirational type, and although shamans communicated with spirits, sent their spirit-helpers on trips, and performed various sleight-of-hand tricks reminiscent of the activities of the arctic shaman, there are few references here to true trance or any belief in possession (Bourguignon 1968:28, 30).

In the context of death, it is suggested by the data that the Hopewell engaged in a form of spirit-impersonation activity in association with their mortuary practices, presumably by the ritual specialist, the shaman. If tribe members would expect such performances by a special individual,
indeed their leader, then they may be convinced that the ghosts of the dead would not return to haunt the living.
APPENDIX II

Hopewell Ornamental and Utilitarian Artifacts

A. Those artifacts recovered from Hopewell graves which are judged to have been used primarily for personal adornment of the body, in life and/or in death, are as follows:

1. Beads, of shell, pearl, copper, and bone, all perforated for stringing. They have been found at the neck and chest regions, at arms and legs, and even strung into a blanket which covered a child inhumation in the Ater Mound.

2. Perforated teeth and claws, including bear canines, found in the neck and chest regions, and in the hands; often charred in cremation deposits.

3. Rings of copper, found around arm and leg bones, as bracelets and anklets.

4. Copper-covered wood buttons, presumably once attached to garments.

5. Copper ear spools, found at the sides of skulls and in the hands; a ubiquitous item in Hopewell sites.

6. Copper headplates, curved to fit a skull; often found in place; sometimes inlaid with pearls and mica.

7. Copper breastplates, rectangular and conventionally designed, probably once attached to clothing or hung around neck; often found as "pillow" in extended inhumations.

8. Effigy teeth, carved from bone, or copper-covered, for necklace.

9. Stone and copper gorgets, generally thought to be pendants, worn about the neck. They could also be hand held, as in incised-designed tablets, possibly for ceremonial body stamping with dye (cf. Webb and Baby 1957:96).

10. Animal (and human) mandibles, perforated, and regarded as jaw ornaments, hung about the neck.

11. Copper rods, thought to be hairpins.

12. Tortoise-shell ornaments, cut into comb shapes and stylized swan.
B. The following are objects judged to be of utilitarian value in Hopewellian society, even though they, too, were ritualistically placed as grave offerings, and possibly used in other ceremonial procedures:

1. Bone (and copper) awls and needles, also called perforators, used in weaving and skin-working, and probably in ceremonies where a participant's skin was punctured or tattooed.

2. Stone celts, used for thousands of years in many cultural contexts as axes and adzes, found in Hopewell burials presumably as an offering of personal property or wealth, and possibly with hope that the deceased may need the item in the afterlife.

3. Copper celts, some weighing from 25 to 40 pounds, made primarily for symbolism, but smaller ones were undoubtedly used as working tools (Shetrone 1930:frontispiece). Ceremonial celts were symbolic of subsistence activity and were probably considered sacred by those who recognized their importance (discussed briefly by A. Waring, in Williams 1964:81).

4. Flint-flake knives, like stone celts, which have formed part of the material inventory of many aboriginal cultures. Thin knives and blades have effective utilitarian qualities in cutting, scraping, slicing, and engraving. Unretouched blades removed from a prepared core by careful pressure flaking have esthetic quality, especially those with varied colors from Flint Ridge, Licking County, Ohio.

5. Flint projectile points, as above, typical of hunting cultures, of which Hopewell was a part, though also partly agricultural. The points were notched for hafting to a wooden shaft.

6. Pottery sherds and vessels, largely grit-tempered and cord-marked (Potter 1968:40; Baby 1954:3), comprise a special study in themselves. Many sherds, but few complete vessels are found. Some vessels, designed with bird or animal figures, were surely ceremonial.

7. Stone vessels, sometimes the outer shells of iron concretions, were probably used as small containers and mortars, including use as paint cups in ceremonial preparation.
Appendix III

Maps and Figures
Map II. Distribution of Historic Tribes in the Eastern Woodlands
Figure 1. The Hopewell Mound Group (Ross County, Ohio), mapped by E.G. Squier and E.H. Davis (1848)

Figure 2. The Mound City Group, Ross County, Ohio (after Squier and Davis)

Figure 3. The Edwin Harness Group of Earthworks, Ross County, Ohio
Figure 4. Tremper Mound and Earthwork, Scioto County, Ohio

Figure 5. The Turner Group of Earthworks, Hamilton County, Ohio (after C.C. Willoughby)
Figure 6. The Seip Group of Earthworks, Ross County, Ohio (after Squier and Davis)

Figure 7. Effigy nostrils of copper, shown with maxilla (after Shetrone and Greenman 1931:409)
Figure 8. Copper Headplate, human torso, headless

Figure 9. Copper Effigy Head, Hopewell Mound Group

Figure 10. Semi-lunar Obsidian or Flint Knife, about 2/5 normal size

Figure 11. Copper-covered Effigy Toadstool
Figure 12. Sculptured Head of clay from Seip #1 Mound (after Morgan 1941)

Figure 13. Mica Cut-out of human head, Turner Group, 1/3 scale (after Willoughby)

Figure 14. Reconstruction of human bone mask-headdress (after Baby 1956)
Figure 15. Stone Pipe Effigy, animal eating detached human head
(after Shetrone and Greenman 1931:418)

Figure 16. Copper Pendant, raptorial bird design

Figure 17. Headless and legless torso
of cut mica

Figure 18. Engraved design on human bone (after Willoughby)
Figure 19. Stone Figurine (after Dragoo and Wray 1964)

Figure 20. Copper-covered Conjoined Tubes, inferred to be pan-pipes (after Shetrone 1927:188)
Figure 21. Reconstruction of terra cotta figurines, Turner Group (after Willoughby)

Figure 22. Engraved Whistle, made from human radius (after Baby 1961)
Figure 23. Design on fabric adhering to copper breastplate, from Seip #1 Mound (after Shetrone and Greenman 1931:453)

Figure 24. Copper Effigy Turtles, hollow and filled with pebbles, from Mound City (after Mills 1922)

Figure 25. Worked Human Jaw, with perforations (after Shetrone 1927)
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