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Chapter 9

The Genealogical Connections between Particular Hopewellian and Mississippian Avian Motifs and Themes

Bretton T. Giles

Representations of falcons and other birds are pervasive in precolumbian Eastern Woodlands (Brown 1997; Krech 2009; Strong 1989). These depictions indicate the significant roles that birds played in the ceremonial lives, practices, and ontologies of Eastern Woodlands peoples (Brown 1997; Hudson 1976; Krech 2009; Penney 1985). The importance of raptors, ducks, and other waterfowl in Middle Woodland imagery has been the subject of considerable discussion (Brown 1997, 2006; Penney 1985; Webb and Baby 1957). But few studies have examined whether Hopewellian avian imagery has continuity with (and contributed to) later iconographic representations, such as the Mississippian Birdman theme and the so-called “forked eye motif” (cf. Brown 2004a, 2007; Brown and Dye 2007; Brown and Kelly 2012; Brown and Muller 2015; Strong 1989; Waring and Holder 1945; Webb and Baby 1957). Antonio Waring and Preston Holder (1945) speculated that the “forked eye” motif, or to use a more general terminology—avian surrounds—are derived from the naturalistic markings of certain falcons, following Eugenio Yacovleff’s (1932) interpretation of similar eye-markings in precolumbian Andean representations. However, Yacovleff’s (1932) thesis was based on the natural markings of the Aplomado falcon, a species not

indigenous to the North American Southeast. Accordingly, Waring and Holder (1945:4) argued that other *falconidae* species endemic to North America gave rise to the Mississippian motifs, especially peregrine falcons (cf. Brown 1996; Byers 1964).

In this paper, I challenge Waring and Holder's (1945:4) interpretation of the derivation of avian surrounds in the Eastern Woodlands, based on their presence and contextual usage in a series of Hopewellian effigies. I also employ the analysis of avian surrounds as an entry point into whether there are historic continuities between Hopewellian and Mississippian motifs and themes. I tackle three distinct, but related questions.

The first issue is when, where, and in what context do avian surrounds originate in the Eastern Woodlands? I assert that avian surrounds first appear, near the beginning of the Ohio Hopewell sequence, on particular Middle Woodland anthropomorphic and animalistic effigies. I suggest that these effigies represent a Hopewellian iconographic theme in which birds (sometimes falcons) were depicted *pars pro toto* on the faces of certain characters or beings.

Second, what are the iconographic contexts in which these Middle Woodland avian surrounds are portrayed? I illustrate that avian surrounds and other related imagery are portrayed on both anthropomorphic and animalistic effigies. However, only the anthropomorphic effigies with these avian surrounds and other falconoid characteristics are depicted wearing ceremonial regalia, coiffures, and symbols that indicate the status and probably the identity of these figures. I also discuss how these avian surrounds and associated imagery fit more broadly into Hopewellian representational imagery.

Third, I assess whether there are connections between Hopewellian avian imagery and Late Woodland and Mississippian forked eye (and mouth) surrounds. I argue that continuities exist between Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian iconographic frames in the contextual use of avian surrounds (e.g., the positions these motifs are depicted in), as well in the ceremonial regalia and hair-styles portrayed on certain anthropomorphic representations. I discuss the implications of these continuities and note the obvious changes that occurred in avian motifs and themes between these periods, such as the transition to more angular "forked" avian surrounds.

ICONOGRAPHIC MODELS AND HISTORY

I employ a configurational approach to describe and identify particular Hopewellian avian motifs and themes, as well as their hypothesized connections

to later representations. Jim Knight (2013) has developed well-articulated prehistoric iconographic methods that build on George Kubler's configurational approach. Configurational analyses investigate how various characteristics, motifs, and visual themes were used in specific pictorial compositions (Knight 2013; Kubler 1969). The relational and contextual uniformities identified are then employed to assess the referent of particular motifs, visual themes, and narratives (Knight 2013). Yet it is important to realize that Knight's (2013) approach privileges particular questions, especially determining the referent of the imagery and connecting it to ethnographic/ethnohistoric homologies. Knight (2013) does not advocate a historical approach that examines how motifs, themes, and imagery developed through time, although he emphasizes the utility of archaeological seriations. Yet it is possible to envision iconographic approaches that infer how certain ideas or imagery influenced the production of subsequent representations and vice versa.

As Gombrich (2000 [1957]) emphasizes, all artworks borrow formulas, conventions, and traditions from their predecessors. It is these formulas and conventions that contribute to the 'mental set' or, in other words, the artist's and audience's expectations for how representations should be interpreted. Modifications and deviations from this 'mental set' are often interpreted with exaggerated sensitivity (Gombrich 2000 [1957]:60). As a result, variations on a theme can illustrate how particular images built on the meanings associated with earlier symbols. These associations can sometimes shed light on the meanings and referents of both earlier and later images in an iterative sequence of artistic production (cf. Giles 2010a; Gombrich 2000 [1957]; Knight 2013).

However, documenting continuities and discontinuities in precolumbian representations and themes is challenging. It raises the question of what constitutes continuities versus discontinuities. I propose that continuity is indicated by relatively consistent ways of using particular characteristics and motifs. Moreover, arguments for iconographic continuity are strengthened by multiple lines of evidence or, in other words, similarities between how certain representations use a number of characteristics and motifs. In contrast, discontinuities are when certain motifs, characteristics, or visual themes are used in a way 1) discordant with earlier representations or 2) indicative of a shift in its significance. One way or another, it is essential to be as specific as possible in discussing iconographic continuities and discontinuities. This specificity entails focusing on discrete characteristics, motifs, and themes, as well as the contexts where they were employed (Brown and Kelly 2012).

POSITED CONTINUITIES IN AVIAN IMAGERY IN THE EASTERN WOODLANDS

While Knight (2013) does not advocate a historical approach to prehistoric iconography, James Brown, Jon Muller, and other archaeologists have explored the historical depth of various motifs, themes, and narratives in the Eastern Woodlands (Brown and Kelly 2012; Brown and Muller 2015; Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Muller 2007; Phillips and Brown 1978; Salzer 1987; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000; Webb and Baby 1957). For instance, there is evidence of continuity between the Late Woodland rock art at Picture Cave and Gottschall Rockshelter, and the Mississippian Birdman visual theme (Brown and Kelly 2012; Brown and Muller 2015; Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Salzer 1987; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000). Brown and Kelly (2012) specifically argue that “Birdman can be traced by one of three identifiers—namely, the Long Nosed God, the bi-lobed arrow, and the single long braid.” Drawing connections between these representations is compelling because current interpretations highlight how certain Late Woodland anthropomorphs are antecedents of Mississippian Birdmen. Yet it is a perspective that clearly looks backward in time.

Alternately, Sampson (1988) proposed that the “three pronged” or trifurcated fork eye motif developed from what he calls bisected angle motifs, which are present on Late Woodland, Maple Mills Focus pots. Sampson’s (1988:180) interpretation of these bisected angle motifs as incipient three pronged forked eye motifs supplanted the notion that they represent bird tracks or wings. It is however noteworthy that the earliest example of the bisected angle motif is present on a Hopewellian pot from Havana Mound 8 in the Illinois River Valley that also portrays a pair of human feet (e.g., flat with five toes). This co-occurrence emphasizes the possibility that Sampson’s (1988:181–182) interpretation of bisected angle motifs as incipient three pronged forked eye motifs is wrong. I contend that these motifs are probably bird feet, which is an interpretation strengthened by the fact that Hopewellian people sometimes depicted birds’ and animals’ feet, such as the copper bear “paws” and mica raptorial “talons” from Hopewell Mound 25 (Giles 2010a; Greber and Ruhl 1989; Moorehead 1922).

Conversely, archaeologists are divided on whether there is a genealogical connection between Hopewellian and Mississippian imagery, possibly due to the five to six hundred year hiatus between these societies. For example, Beck and Brown (2012) have recently compared Mississippian representations from Etowah to the imagery found at the Hopewell site. They argue that Hopewellian imagery is more closely associated with shamanism and deals with the here-and-now, while Mis-

Mississippian religious representations were linked to a political ideology and focused on the there-and-then (Beck and Brown 2012). Similarly, Fortier (2008) argues that there is a rupture between Middle Woodland and Late Woodland/Mississippian practices, symbolism and imagery in the American Bottom.

Jon Muller (2007) offers a counter-point to Beck and Brown's (2012) and Fortier's (2008) assessments because he argues for historical connections between Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian symbols. Specifically, Muller (2007:16, 36) suggests that close connections between Hopewellian and Mississippian cross-and-circle motifs—as well as long-term similarities in copper plates, ear spools, and shell gorgets—are evidence of this continuity (cf. Phillips and Brown 1979; Webb and Baby 1957). In particular, the late Middle Woodland and early Late Woodland Fairfield-Style shell gorgets are illustrative of a measure of continuity between these time periods (Phillips and Brown 1978).

Nevertheless it has been implied that these historical connections are diffuse and could simply be the product of broad commonalities in Eastern Woodlands belief systems (*sensu* Fortier 2008). This raises the question of whether specific continuities between the symbols/imagery of these periods can be documented. I tackle this issue by examining the historical continuities and ruptures between certain Hopewellian and Mississippian avian iconographic motifs and themes.

ICONOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

This configurational analysis is based in part on my dissertation, which analyzed 156 three-dimensional effigies, 152 mica cutouts, and 200 copper artifacts from Tremper, Mound City, and Hopewell (Giles 2010a). Only a modest number of these artifacts are relevant to continuities between Middle Woodland and Mississippian avian imagery. So I supplement the relevant artifacts from my dissertation with representations from the published literature, including a number of Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, and Mississippian sites (Figure 1).

My entry point is the recognition that a number of Hopewellian representations are portrayed with avian surrounds, which appear analogous to the so-called Mississippian “forked eye” motif (Waring and Holder 1945). This configurational analysis examines the use of avian motifs in Hopewellian representations, especially how certain anthropomorphs are portrayed with avian eye (or mouth) surrounds, ceremonial regalia, and stylized coiffures. I then compare the contextual associations of these Hopewellian avian surrounds to later representations in order to assess potential iconographic continuities and discontinuities. The first avian surrounds appear to have been depicted on certain Hopewellian animalistic and

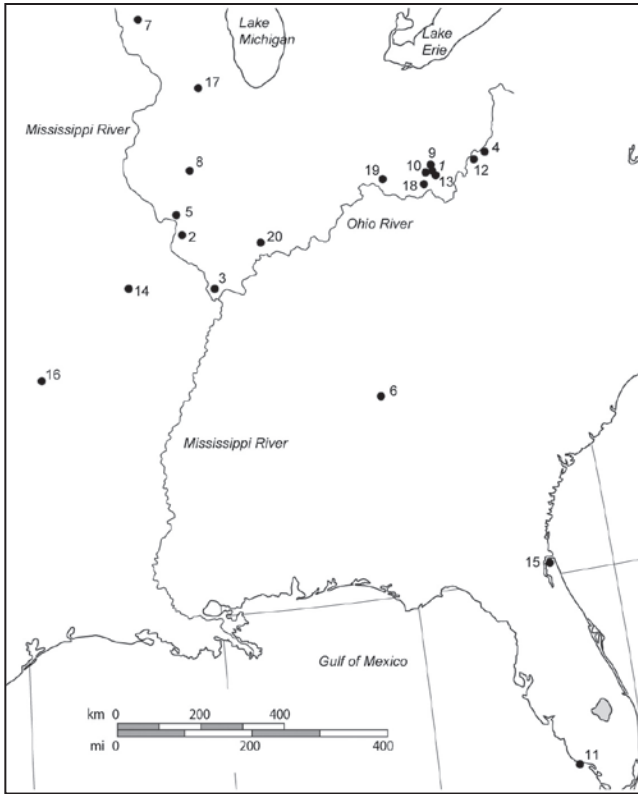


Figure 1. Map of the Eastern Woodlands illustrating the archaeological sites referenced in the text. 1. Adena, 2. Cahokia, 3. Chapel Hill, 4. Cresap, 5. Cummings-McCarthy, 6. Etowah, 7. Gottschall Rockshelter, 8. Havana, 9. Hopewell, 10. Liberty/Edwin Harness Mound, 11. Key Marco, 12. Low, 13. Mound City, 14. Picture Cave, 15. Queen Mound, 16. Spiro, 17. Sterling Pipestone Quarry, 18. Tremper, 19. Turner, and 20. Wilson Mounds.

anthropomorphic effigies, which were deposited at sites in Ohio, Illinois, and Florida (Figure 1; Giles 2010a, 2013; Trevelyan 2004:47–48).

TREMPER BEAR PIPE WITH AVIAN SURROUNDS

The example from the earliest depositional context is a bear platform pipe (OHS 125/28) from the Tremper Mound in the Scioto River Valley (Figure 2.1; Table 1). OHS 125/28 appears to have been produced from green Sterling pipestone that outcrops in northern Illinois, similar to many other effigy platform pipes from Tremper

Table 1. Middle Woodland (Animalistic or Anthropomorphic) Platform Pipes and Statuettes With Avian Eye or Mouth Surrounds.

Description	Catalog #	Depositional Context	Avian Surrounds	Avian Supercilium (Falconoid)	Roundel (2nd Eyes)	Ceremonial Regalia & Coiffure	Other Features
Tremper Mound, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)							
Bear Platform Pipe	OHS 125/28	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Trifurcated Rounded Eye Surrounds	Absent	Forehead	Absent	Cross-Hatched Design on Forehead
Mound City Earthworks, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)							
Quadruped "Head" Platform Pipe	BM S255	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Trifurcated Squared-Off Eye Surrounds	Absent	Forehead	Absent	None
Anthropomorphic Statuette	BM S278	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Trifurcated Rounded Eye Surrounds	Present	Forehead	1. Probable Earspools 2. Coronal Plate 3. Occipital Hair Bun 4. Quadriconcave Plate	Fan-Shaped Motif on Chin (Bird's Tail Feathers)

Description	Catalog #	Depositional Context	Avian Surrounds	Avian Supercilium (Falconoid)	Roundel (2nd Eyes)	Ceremonial Regalia & Coiffure	Other Features
Liberty Earthworks, Edwin Harness Mound, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)							
Anthropomorphic "Head" Platform Pipe	PN 84-6-10/35002	Charnel House Floor	Trifurcated Rounded Mouth Surrounds	Present	Absent	1. Swirl-Cross (Posterior of Head) 2. Possible Occipital Hair Bun	1. Fan-Shaped Motif on Chin (Bird's Tail Feathers) 2. Comma-Shaped Motif on Chin (Stylized Talon)
Wilson Mounds, Wabash River Valley (Illinois)							
Bear Effigy Platform Pipe		Wilson Md. 6, Burial 9	Oval Rounded Eye Surrounds	Absent	Absent	Absent	None
Unknown Deptford Context (Florida)							
Falcon "Head" Plummet	Cat. 60.1	Unknown	Forked Eye Surround	Absent	Absent	Absent	Dashed Incised Lines on Plummet (Mottled Plumage?) (Penney 1985:86 Plate 66)

(Farnsworth et al. 2004; Emerson et al. 2013). Radiocarbon assays suggest that the mortuary regime at Tremper dates, circa 50 BC to AD 79 (Emerson et al. 2005, 2013).

This bear platform pipe has trifurcated (rounded) eye surrounds depicted on its face, which seem to portray stylized wings (Figure 2.1A). Two small roundels have also been incised on the bear's forehead that appear to represent secondary eyes (Figure 2.1B), while lightly incised cross-hatching is located on the center of the bear's head (Figure 2.1C). This cross-hatching could indicate an emphasis on transformation. For instance, Brown (2006) has speculated that Middle Woodland cross-hatched patterns might represent snake skin, which due to its periodic shedding could be associated with transformation (*sensu* Hall 1997; Radin 1945).

The aforementioned motifs (e.g., trifurcated avian surrounds, roundels, and cross-hatching) on OHS 125/28 are incised to different depths and associated with additional scratches. Since most Hopewellian effigy pipes were carved shortly after the stone was quarried, before it dried and hardened (Minich 2003), OHS 125/28 was carved and then the aforementioned avian motifs were added to its face.

This two stage production process raises questions about the artisans that produced the pipe and—where and when—the beliefs it exemplifies originated. For instance, it is possible that the trifurcated avian (eye) surrounds, roundels, and cross-hatching were added to this bear pipe after it arrived in the Central Ohio River Valley (CORV). Conversely, these motifs could have been added to OHS 125/28 at another point in time as well. This complicates interpreting where the avian surrounds portrayed on it derive from, which is chronologically important because OHS 125/28 is the example from the earliest archaeological context. Did these avian surrounds derive from the beliefs of Hopewellian peoples living in Illinois, Ohio, or even somewhere else?

MOUND CITY EFFIGIES WITH AVIAN SURROUNDS

An animalistic platform pipe (Cat # S255) and an anthropomorphic statuette (Cat # S278) with similar avian surrounds were found in the slightly later cache under Mound 8 at Mound City. They point to the historical development of this Hopewellian iconographic theme (Table 1). This animalistic “head” pipe (S255) with avian eye surrounds shares many features with the bear pipe (125/28). In contrast, the anthropomorphic statuette has more complex characteristics that exemplify elaborate ceremonial regalia and a stylized coiffure (Giles 2010a:475–79).

It is not clear what type of mammal was portrayed by the animal “head” platform pipe (Giles 2010a:489–90). This fragmentary pipe depicts the head of a mammal with a long snout, rounded upturned ears, and long whiskers (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2. Two Hopewellian animalistic platform pipes with stylized avian imagery, including avian eye surrounds and secondary eyes. **Figure 2.1** illustrates a bear effigy platform pipe (125/28) from the cache under the Tremper Mound. 2.1A) rounded trifurcated avian eye surrounds (wings), 2.1B) roundels (secondary eyes), and 2.1C) cross-hatched incised pattern. **Figure 2.2** illustrates an indeterminate mammal effigy head platform pipe (S255) from the cache under Mound City, Mound 8. 2.2A) cameo squared-off trifurcated avian eye surrounds (wings) and 2.2B) cameo roundels (secondary eyes).

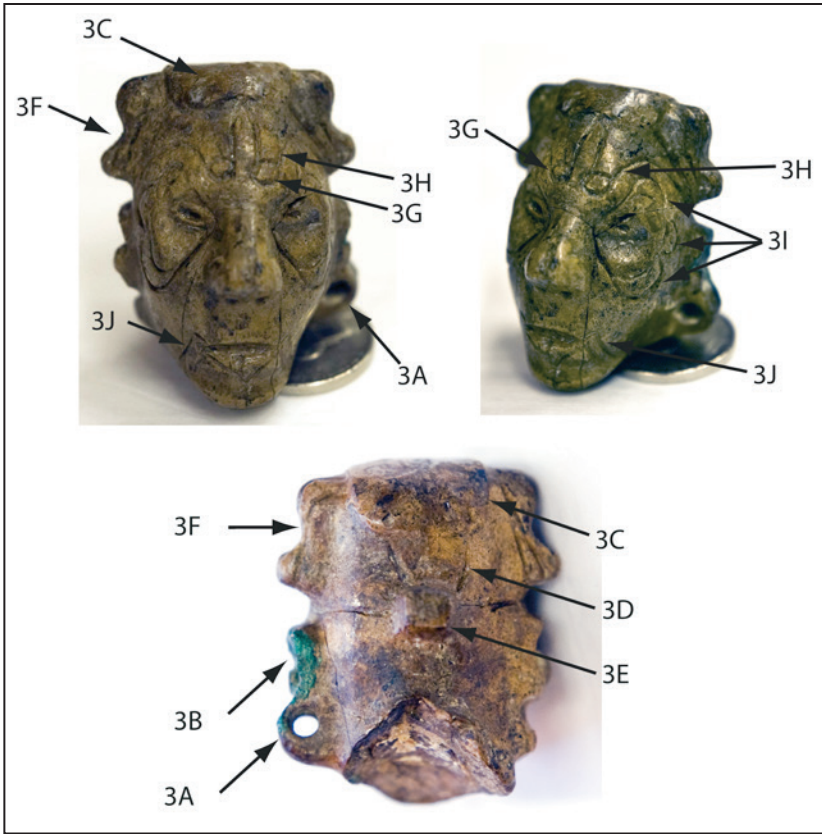


Figure 3. An anthropomorphic statuette (S278), from the cache under Mound City, Mound 8, portrayed wearing various pieces of ceremonial regalia and avian (falconoid) motifs. 3A) perforation for ear spools, 3B) copper staining along left ear, 3C) coronal plate, 3D) hair pulled back), 3E) occipital hair bun, 3F) quadriconcave plate, 3G) roundels (secondary eyes), 3H) linear eyebrows (prominent falconoid supercilium), 3I) rounded trifurcated avian eye surrounds (wings), 3J) fan-shaped motif (tail feathers).

It has *cameo* (raised) trifurcated eye surrounds, which have a squared off appearance that, once again, seem to represent stylized wings (Figure 2.2A), as well as cameo roundel motifs on its forehead that likely served as secondary eyes (Figure 2.2B). Accordingly, the motifs on S255 are generally analogous to those etched onto OHS 125/28—the bear pipe (Table 1). One difference is that the cameo trifurcated eye surrounds and roundels on S255 were an original element of this effigy’s design, which suggests increased formalization.

In contrast, the only element of an anthropomorphic statuette (Cat# S278) available for analysis is its head because it is broken along the top of its neck (Figure 3). Ephraim Squier and Edwin Davis (1998 [1848]:244) interpreted this fragmentary statuette as the top of a ferrule. But there are few indications what this unique (small) anthropomorphic head was originally attached to. It portrays a man wearing (at least) three pieces of ceremonial regalia, who has his face tattooed, painted, or adorned with various insignias (Table 1; cf. Carr and Case 2005; Giles 2010a).

I begin by discussing his ceremonial regalia and coiffure. First, the statuette clearly had perforated ears, although the right one is broken off, which indicates he was portrayed wearing ear spools (Figure 3A). These could have been miniature copper ear spools because a copper stain is present on the left ear (Figure 3B). Second, he has a rectangular cameo motif on the top of his head that likely represents a Hopewellian copper coronal plate (cf. Figures 3C and 4.1). Third, there is a differentiated inverted trapezoidal area on the back of this statuette's head that connects to a raised rounded motif (Figure 3D and 3E). The raised rounded motif appears analogous to the hair buns, knots, or plaits depicted on other Hopewellian statuettes (cf. Keller and Carr 2005). Its placement on the posterior of the head is also analogous to later Mississippian hair buns, knots, or plaits (Brown 2007; Smith and Miller 2009). The inverted trapezoidal area therefore seems likely to represent this man's hair pulled back into a hair bun or plait (Figure 3D and 3E).

Finally, there is a stylized motif towards the posterior of his head that Squier and Davis (1998 [1848]:244) labeled "festoons" (Figure 3F). However, it probably portrays a quadriconcave plate. In the CORV, quadriconcave plates (or gorgets) were often crafted out of hammer copper (Figure 4.2), although examples were also made—shaped and ground—from slate and other stones. These pieces of ceremonial regalia are often called "breastplates" in the literature, but the label is a misnomer. As Warren DeBoer (2004:98) has documented, when copper quadriconcave plates were deposited with Ohio Hopewellian extended burials they were most commonly placed behind the head and shoulders of individuals, although a smaller minority occurred in other positions. However, a depiction of a quadriconcave plate has never been identified in an artistic composition, which makes its recognition on S278 particularly significant.

The imagery engraved on the statuette's face is similarly complex and I argue that it depicts a falcon—*pars pro toto*. On his forehead, there are two small roundels connected to linear parallel motifs (Figure 3G and 3H). He has rounded trifurcated eye surrounds (Figure 3I) and a fan-shaped design on his chin, which consists of



Figure 4. Pieces of ceremonial regalia and related iconographic representations. Figure 4.1 Hopewellian coronal copper (head) plate. Figure 4.2 Hopewellian quadriconcave copper plate. Figure 4.3 Falcon Boatstone from Hopewell Mound 17 (cache) with prominent supercilium (eyebrow). Figure 4.4 prominent falconoid supercilium on an anthropomorphic pipe from burial in the Adena Mound. Figure 4.5 mica cutout of a raptor’s foot illustrating its talons and bulbous footpads. A stylized curved talon and footpad could represent the iconographic derivation of the comma-shaped motif on the chin of the anthropomorphic pipe from Edwin Harness (PN 84-6-10/35002). Figure 4.6 copper swirl-cross from a cache of copper cutouts deposited on a primary mound surface in Hopewell Mound 25.

two incised lines that extend up to a point and then angle down and away from his mouth (Figure 3J). Based on earlier interpretations, the roundels portray secondary eyes (Figure 3G), while the eye surrounds depict stylized wings (Figure 3I). The fan-shaped motif on his chin probably portrays the bird’s tail feathers (Figure 3J). Alternately, the parallel motifs on his forehead represent the prominent supercilium (Figure 3H) commonly depicted on Hopewellian representations of falcons (Table 2; Figure 4.3). These falconoid supercilium are also portrayed on several other anthropomorphic effigies from the CORV, namely the Adena pipe and a statuette

Table 2. Iconographic Characteristics Portrayed on (Peregrine Or Duck) Falcon Effigies and Copper Plates Found at Tremper, Mound City, and Hopewell.

Description	Catalog#	Depositional Context	Check "Moustache"	Prominent Supercilium	Tomian Tooth	Hooded Beak
Tremper Mound, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)						
Platform Pipe	OHS 125/16	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Absent	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	OHS 125/17	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	OHS 125/18	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	OHS 125/19	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	OHS 125/20	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Absent	Present	Absent
Platform Pipe*	OHS 125/33	Large Cache on Stone Disk near Fired Clay Basin	Variant**	Present	Absent	Absent
Mound City Earthworks, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)						
Platform Pipe	BM S238	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Absent	Absent	Absent

Description	Catalog#	Depositional Context	Cheek "Moustache"	Prominent Supercilium	Tomian Tooth	Hooded Beak
Platform Pipe	BM S249	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	BM S251	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Frag. Missing	Present	Frag. Missing	Frag. Missing
Platform Pipe	BM S256	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Absent	Present
Platform Pipe	BM S257	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Platform Pipe	BM S292	Cache, Md. 8 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Copper Repoussé Plate	HCNHP 2641	Burial 12, Md. 7	Present	Absent	Present	Present
Copper Repoussé Plate	HCNHP 2655	Burial 9, Md. 7	Present	Present	Present	Present
Copper Repoussé Plate	HCNHP 2656	Burial 9, Md. 7	Present	Present	Present	Present
Hopewell Earthworks, North Fork, Scioto River Valley (Ohio)						
Boatstone	OHS 283/113	Cache, Md. 17 near Fired Clay Basin	Present	Present	Present	Present
Boatstone		Cache, Md. 25 in Fired Clay Basin (Altar 2)	Present	Present	Present	Present

from Hopewell (Figure 4.4; cf. Giles 2010a; Lepper 2010). Since adult peregrine falcons do not have prominent supercilium, some of these representations were probably intended to portray juvenile peregrine falcons (cf. Brown 1996; Byers 1964). Moreover, a number of Hopewellian falcon representations portray portions of these birds' bodies with "dashed" or zigzag lines—a mottled appearance, which could further support that these representations portray juvenile peregrine falcons.

Overall, this anthropomorphic statuette head is a good example of how complex iconographic characteristics were sometimes invested in very small Hopewellian statuettes (cf. Cowan 1996). It shows that ritual objects can carry an abundance of information about power, status, and cultural beliefs, even if they are quite small (*sensu* Earle 1990; Hegmon 1992:520). However, the geographic source of this imagery/beliefs is complicated because S278 appears to be made of green Sterling pipestone from northern Illinois (Emerson et al. 2013; Farnsworth et al. 2004). Yet this statuette features pieces of ceremonial regalia that are much more common in the CORV—namely coronal plates and quadriconcave plates—than in Illinois Hopewell contexts (cf. Carr and Case 2005; Seaman 1979).

EDWIN HARNESS ANTHROPOMORPHIC “HEAD” PLATFORM PIPE

Frederick Putnam (1885) also found an anthropomorphic “head” pipe (Cat # PN 84-6-10/35002) with a similar visage in the Edwin Harness Mound at the Liberty Earthworks. It has elaborate motifs portrayed on its face that could represent tattoos, face paint, or other types of adornments (cf. Carr and Case 2005; Giles 2010a; Steere 2013). These motifs are executed in a different style than S278, but their organization is quite similar. This anthropomorph has parallel motifs on his forehead (Figure 5.1A) and rounded trifurcated avian surrounds around his mouth (Figure 5.1B). A fan-shaped motif reappears on his chin (Figure 5.1C) and it has a comma-shaped motif next to it (Figure 5.1D). There is also a lobe-shaped motif at the bottom of his ears that could represent a stretched earlobe for an ear spool or other adornment (Figure 5.1E), while on the back of his head is a swirl-cross positioned over a raised area (Figure 5.1F).

This anthropomorphic “head” pipe probably also depicts a falcon overlaid on its face. The parallel motifs on his forehead seem to depict the salient supercilium portrayed on Hopewellian falcon representations (cf. Figure 4.3 and 5.1A). Similarly, the trifurcated motifs portrayed around his mouth served as wings (Figure 5.1B), while the fan-like motif on his chin likely represents the falcon's tail feathers (Figure 5.1C). The comma motifs positioned on his chin probably portray stylized

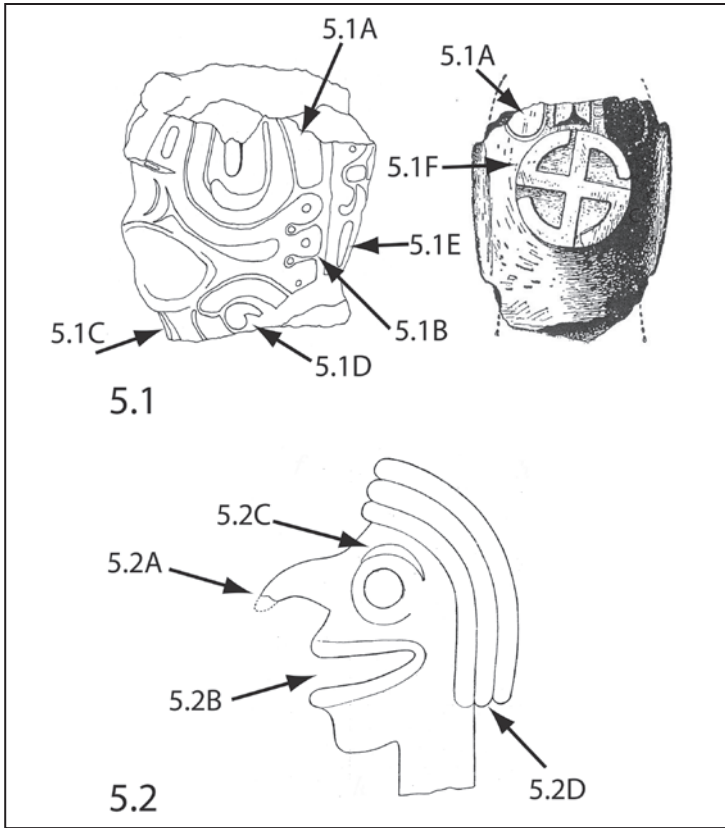


Figure 5. Hopewellian anthropomorphic representations with avian imagery from the Liberty and Turner Earthworks. **Figure 5.1.** Sketches of an anthropomorphic “head” pipe (PN 84-6-10/35002) found on the floor of a sub-mound building under the Edwin Harness Mound. The second drawing is from Charles Willoughby’s paper on Moundbuilder Art (1916:Plate 10f). 5.1A) linear eyebrows (prominent falconoid supercilium), 5.2B) rounded trifurcated avian mouth surrounds (wings), 5.1C) fan-shaped motif (tail feathers) 5.1D) comma-shaped motif (possible stylized talon), 5.1E) lobe-shaped motif (possible stretched earlobe, 5.1F) and raised swirl-cross motifs (possibly on an occipital hair bun). **Figure 5.2.** Drawing of the mica anthropomorphic face from cache under Turner Mound 4 from Charles Willoughby’s (1916:499, Plate 9k) paper. 5.2A) large pointed (beak-like) nose, 5.2B) gaping mouth. 5.2C) crescent-like eyebrow (prominent falconoid supercilium?), and 5.2D) a three lobed turban-like motif on his head.

talons (Figure 5.1D). This use of comma-shaped motifs to depict talons could derive from the hook-shaped talons portrayed on some Hopewellian falcon effigies, as well as the mica cutouts of talons found with Burial 47 under Hopewell Mound 25. For example, these hook-like talons often attach curved crescent-like elements to bulbous foot pads (Figure 4.5 and 5.1D). A single example of these elements could have been interpreted as a comma-like element.

Alternately, the swirl-cross and circle on the back of his head is comparable to two copper swirl crosses found in the Hopewell Mound 25 copper cache (cf. Figure 4.6 and 5.1F; cf. Moorehead 1922:109–110). Cross and swirl cross motifs are often considered world symbols (Greber and Ruhl 1989; Lankford 2007, 2011; Pauketat and Emerson 1991), which connects this avian imagery with broader cosmic allusions. Moreover, George Colvin (2010) has suggested that its raised position could suggest the swirl-cross sits on an occipital hair bun.

RELATED MIDDLE WOODLAND AVIAN IMAGERY

While I have discussed only a curtailed number of Hopewellian examples with avian surrounds, these effigies are part of a broader corpus of related Middle Woodland imagery. As I noted above, these avian surrounds appear to be conceptually related to the depiction of birds overlain on the faces of particular anthropomorphic and animalistic representations. It is therefore closely related to the two-headed raptor headdress identified on Burial 11, Hopewell Mound 25, and the two-headed raptor copper cutouts found with Burial 2, Mound City Mound 13 (Giles 2010a, 2013). These two-headed raptor headdresses were portrayed in other genres as well, such as on an engraved femur from Hopewell Mound 25 and the Low Tablet (Giles 2013).

Similarly, Chris Carr and Troy Case (2005:25) have pointed out that two mica cutouts from Turner Mound 3 depict a bird overlaid on an anthropomorphic face (Willoughby and Hooton 1926). These cutouts portray an anthropomorphic face with a large pointed nose (Figure 5.2A), a gaping mouth (Figure 5.2B), a circular cutout eye, a crescent-shaped incised motif above his eye (Figure 5.2C), and a three lobed turban-like motif on his head (Figure 5.2D). Carr and Case (2005:25) inferred that the beak and mouth of the raptor is formed by the long nose and extended lip of the anthropomorph. I would add that the motif above the eye on this face could pun an eyebrow and Hopewellian falcons' prominent supercilium, while the three lobes on his head are numerically similar to the trifurcated avian surrounds (wings) depicted on several effigies (Figure 5.2D). It is notable that this

later example does not depict roundels (secondary eyes) on this individual's head. These secondary eyes might therefore be restricted to the early portion of the Middle Woodland sequence because it also appears absent from PN 84-6-10/35002. Conversely, these mica cutouts can be interpreted as an antecedent of later Birdman representations, since one of the three identifiers of this visual theme is a long nose (Brown and Kelly 2012:219). Along these lines, the long pointed nose of these mica cutouts appears similar to the Cahokia Birdman Tablet (Figure 6.1) and certain anthropomorphs from Picture Cave and Gottschall Rockshelter.

Additionally, there are other Middle Woodland effigies that have been found outside of the CORV that have avian surrounds. For example, avian surrounds appear around the eyes of a bear platform pipe from Burial 9 in Wilson Mound 6 in the Wabash River Valley that consist of simple extended ovals (Neumann and Fowler 1952; Trevelyan 2004). Meanwhile, the earliest bifurcated avian surrounds, of which I am aware, appears on a Middle Woodland, Deptford avian (possibly falconoid) effigy plummet that is similar to examples from the Queen Mound in Florida (Penney 1985:86 Plate 66). These two additional examples illustrate the variability of Middle Woodland avian surrounds.

Overall, it appears that Middle Woodland avian surrounds tend to be trifurcated, as exemplified by the effigies deposited at Tremper and Mound City sites, but other examples hint at greater variability that might be supported by additional analyses. There was a transition to more angular bifurcated avian surrounds, which occurred by the Late Woodland period as characterized by their depiction on a Fairfield-Style shell gorget from Texas and rock art at Picture Cave, Missouri and Gottschall Rockshelter, Wisconsin (Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Phillips and Brown 1978; Salzer 1987; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000). This transition to bifurcated angular avian surrounds anticipates their importance on (Braden-Style) Mississippian Birdmen, but not the presence of trifurcated eye surrounds on other Mississippian representations. Interestingly, trifurcated avian surrounds do not appear in Late Woodland rock art representations at Picture Cave or Gottschall Rockshelter (cf. Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Salzer 1987; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000). Additional analysis of rock art from other regions may ameliorate these discrepancies, as well as providing more detailed information about changes in the usage of avian surrounds through time.

CONTINUITIES AND DISCONTINUITIES

Careful analysis illustrates structural continuities and a probable genealogical connection between Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian representa-

tions with avian surrounds, as well as some iconographic ruptures (e.g., changes). One obvious rupture is the aforementioned shift from the usually rounded (Hopewellian) to angular (Late Woodland and Mississippian) avian surrounds. Yet structural continuities also exist, such as the close connection between anthropomorphic representations and falconoid imagery. For instance, the Hopewellian anthropomorphs (S278 and PN 84-6-10/35002) are closely associated with falconoid motifs, as characterized by the depiction of prominent supercilium that were commonly portrayed on Hopewellian falcon effigies (cf. Tables 1 & 2; Giles 2010). This connection parallels the close association that Mississippian Birdmen have with falconoid imagery (Brown 1996, 2004b, 2007; Brown and Dye 2004; Byers 1964). In contrast, falconoid characteristics are **not** depicted on animalistic and composite monstrous—feline and serpentine—representations with eye surrounds.

Additionally, there are continuities in how avian surrounds are portrayed on Hopewellian and Mississippian anthropomorphs. Avian surrounds are depicted in two contextual positions on these anthropomorphs: 1) around the eyes and 2) around the mouth. Adam King (2013) has called the Mississippian examples: the forked mouth motif. Yet their appearance is analogous to the bifurcated forked eye motif, albeit shifted to the mouth. The depiction of rounded trifurcated avian surrounds around both the eyes and mouth of earlier Hopewellian anthropomorphs (e.g., S278 and PN 84-6-10/35002) reinforces their long-term historical association as well. Yet the significance of these shifts (in positioning) is not clear, since both conventions are employed in particular Mississippian (Braden-Style) compositions, such as the Rogan Copper Plates from Etowah (Figure 6.2). For example, two of the Rogan Plates depict a dancing Birdman with avian surrounds located around his mouth that is holding a decapitated head with avian surrounds around its eyes (Figure 6.2). Given their co-occurrence, the alternate placement of avian surrounds around the eyes and mouth of these (Braden-Style) anthropomorphs seems meaningful and not simply a geographic variant.

In contrast, Mississippian and Hopewellian artisans only portrayed avian surrounds around the eyes of animalistic and composite monstrous—feline and serpentine—representations. For instance, the Hopewellian examples portray avian surrounds around the eyes of bear effigy platform pipes (e.g., 125/28) interred at Tremper and Wilson, and an indeterminate mammal (S255) from Mound City. Alternately, composite monstrous—feline and serpentine—representations were often portrayed by Mississippian artisans with avian surrounds around their eyes. Yet these animalistic and monstrous depictions never had avian surrounds on their

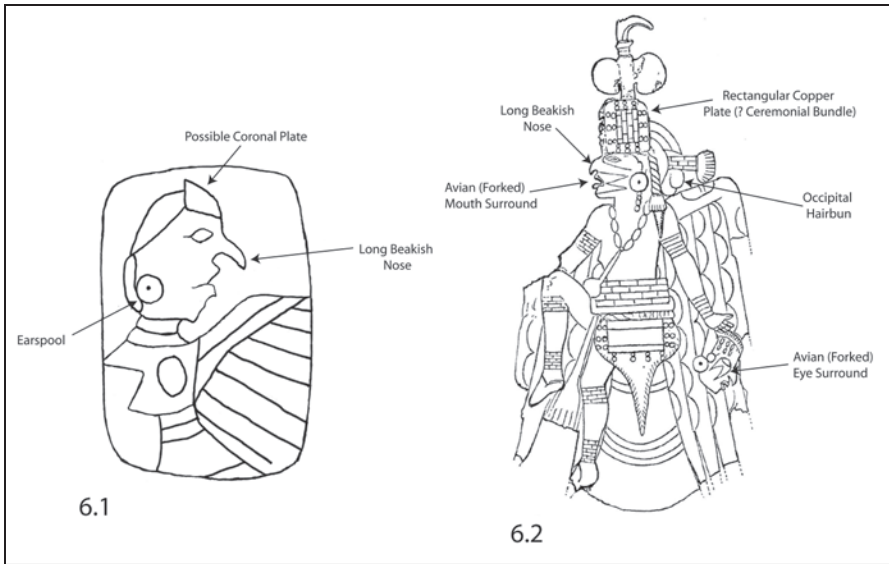


Figure 6. Mississippian Braden-style birdman representations from Cahokia and Etowah. **Figure 6.1.** stone tablet with a birdman representation found in Monk's Mound at Cahokia (personal sketch based on a photograph). **Figure 6.2.** fragmentary Rogan copper plate from Etowah Mound C illustrating a Braden-style birdman with a bifurcated avian mouth surround carrying a decapitated head with a bifurcated avian eye surround. (Drawing of Rogan copper plate #2 from Thomas 1894:304, Figure 186).

mouths. So why were only anthropomorphs with falconoid imagery portrayed by Hopewellian (PN 84-6-10/35002) and Mississippian (Braden and Hightower) artisans with avian (mouth) surrounds (cf. Figure 5.1 and 6.2)? I am not sure, but it is certainly a continuity that is not easily explained.

Connections exist as well between the ceremonial regalia and coiffures portrayed on the Hopewellian anthropomorphic effigies (S278 and PN 84-6-10/35002) and Mississippian Birdmen. One pervasive association is the depiction of anthropomorphs with falconoid characteristics and ear spools. The perforated earlobes of the statuette (S278) from Mound City, Mound 8 are a good example, but its history extends earlier, since the Adena anthropomorphic pipe is portrayed with prominent, falconoid supercilium, a feathered bustle, and ear spools (Giles 2010a). In contrast, the anthropomorphic "head" pipe from Edwin Harness has a more ambiguous association with ear spools, since it only has a lobe shaped motif that could depict a perforated and stretched earlobe (Figure 5.1E). Ear spools are por-

trayed on virtually all Braden and Hightower Birdmen, including the Birdman tablet from Cahokia and the Rogan Plates from Etowah (Figures 6.1 and 6.2; cf. Brown 1996, 2007; King 2011; King and Reilly 2011; Strong 1989; Reilly and Garber 2011). Yet many other types of characters are portrayed with ear spools in Hopewellian and Mississippian representations so this regalia is likely a classifying characteristic (*sensu* Knight 2013:97-104).

Another consistent linkage is the depiction of anthropomorphs with falconoid characteristics and occipital hair buns, knots, or plaits. This iconographic association characterizes statuette S278, whose coiffure is distinctly pulled back into an occipital hair bun (Figure 3E). The Edwin Harness head pipe (PN 84-6-10/35002) is also likely portrayed with a raised occipital hair bun, over which lies a swirl-cross motif (Figure 5.1F; Colvin 2010). This Hopewellian imagery has continuity with Classic Braden imagery that portrays most Mississippian birdmen with occipital hair buns (Figure 6.2; Brown 1996, 2007; Phillips and Brown 1968). These coiffures could mark an important characteristic of these falconoid avimorphs (human-and-bird hybrids) because Brown (2007:96-97) has illustrated the important association between braids and the mythic figure Red Horn or Morning Star, which he linked to Braden-Style Birdmen. Furthermore, the occipital hair buns or plaits on Classic Braden Birdmen are usually associated with cosmologically charged symbols, especially bilobed arrows, feathers, or ogee (Brown 1996, 2007; Phillips and Brown 1968). This probably indicates a long term pattern of depicting cosmological symbols on the heads of certain individuals, which has implications for the swirl cross on PN 84-6-10/35002 and the quadriconcave plate on S278.

While the coronal plate portrayed on S278 is a typical piece of Ohio Hopewell ceremonial regalia (Carr and Case 2005; Carr 2008), it might also have continuity with later Mississippian affectations. For instance, certain Braden Birdman representations have a piece of ceremonial regalia along their scalp, which sometimes features a feathered-inspired roach— notable examples are illustrated on the Cahokia Birdman tablet (Figure 6.1) and the three Wehrle copper plates from Spiro (Phillips and Brown 1978:190-191 Fig. 248-250).

The quadriconcave plate portrayed on S278 is another piece of the jigsaw puzzle, which brings clarity to how this Hopewellian affectation was worn (Figure 3F). For example, S278 indicates that quadriconcave plates were probably worn on certain individual's heads, an interpretation reinforced by their placement around the head or shoulders of extended Ohio Hopewell burials (DeBoer 2004:98). This interpretation is quite different from Shetrone's (1931) argument that these quad-

riconcave plates were worn as breastplates that were strung about the necks of Ohio Hopewellian people. Yet the quadriconcave plate is depicted through the center of S278's head; a convention that likely allowed other important affectations to be portrayed, such as the copper coronal headplate and occipital hair bun.

Morphologically, quadriconcave plates have two central perforations, which probably facilitated their attachment as a piece of ceremonial regalia. The recent analysis of an Early Woodland quadriconcave plate, from Feature 15 near the base of the Cresap Mound, provides additional information. Mark McConaughy and his colleagues (2014:20) have inferred that the Cresap quadriconcave plate was probably "mounted on a rectangular strip of hide/buckskin that was then sewn into another piece or pieces of hide/buckskin" (cf. Moorehead 1922:119). Accordingly, the quadriconcave plate had scalloped impressions along its edge where the piece(s) of hide/buckskin fit over the edge of the gorget (McConaughy et al. 2014:20). A scalloped edge is also depicted on the quadriconcave plate portrayed by S278, which reinforces these inferences and their contextual importance (Figure 3F).

The quadriconcave plate portrayed on S278 is significant for two different reasons. First, quadriconcave plates were an affectation that had considerable time depth in the CORV. For instance, a small piece of wood was found on top of the Cresap quadriconcave plate and dated 2380 BP \pm 15 (ISGA-A 1832, 430 BC uncalibrated). However, this plate is likely even older because the AMS assay was run on heartwood, rather than twigs, seeds, or nutshell (McConaughy et al. 2014:16). Copper quadriconcave plates could have also developed from earlier groundstone (sometimes banded slate) gorgets that were produced in a similar quadriconcave shape and had two central holes for attachment.

Second, quadriconcave plates appear to have been worn on Hopewellian individuals' heads in a position roughly analogous to the rectangular headdress portrayed on some Mississippian Braden Birdmen (Brown 2004a; 2007; LeDoux 2009:30). The quadrilateral shape and scalloped edge of the "plate" on S278 (Figure 3F) parallels the aforementioned Mississippian motif (Figure 6.2) displayed on the head of a male anthropomorph with falconoid imagery emblazoned on his face (cf. Brown 2007). Kent Reilly (2007) has suggested that these Mississippian motifs represent ceremonial bundles, analogous to the use of copper plates in Creek ethnohistoric practices (LeDoux 2009; Waring 1977).

In this context, it appears significant that Early and Middle Woodland copper quadriconcave plates were often deposited with a variety of different types of fabrics, feathers, and other perishables (Baldia and Jakes 2007; Baldia et al. 2008;

Armitage et al. 2015; McConnaughey et al. 2014; Moorehead 1922:119–120; Song et al. 1996; Wimberley 2004; Wymer 2004). This raises the possibility that Woodland quadriconcave plates might have served as ceremonial bundles or movable altars too. Historically, ceremonial bundles served to conceal the sacred power of the objects they contained and were only ritually opened at certain times (Bailey and LaFlesche 1999; Waring and Holder 1945). This usage of bundles seems conceptually similar to the regimes ethnographically documented in sacrificial economies, where contingent containers hold or conceal things that must only be revealed (released) under specific circumstances (Giles 2010a, 2010b).

Certain Late Woodland copper plates from Illinois might also represent transitional forms between Hopewellian quadriconcave copper plates and later Mississippian examples. For example, the Cummings-McCarthy copper plate found around the head of Burial 26 in the Late Woodland (Jersey Bluff), Cummings Mound 50 in west-central Illinois has rounded corners and concave sides, similar to Ohio Hopewellian quadriconcave plates (cf. Farnsworth and Koldehoff 2007). The form of the Cummings-McCarthy plate, though, has shifted towards the rectangular headdress of Braden-Style Mississippian Birdmen. Its embossed decoration and perforations are like a limited number of other examples, such as the Late Woodland, Chapel Hill copper plate, which might represent another transitional form (cf. Farnsworth and Koldehoff 2007).

What then is the significance of the continuities between the aforementioned avian surrounds, regalia and coiffures depicted on Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian representations? These specific continuities hint at a genealogical connection between these depictions of avimorphs from these periods. The continuities suggest that Muller (2007) correctly inferred continuity between Hopewellian and Mississippian ceremonial regalia and representations, based on the similarities between the cross-and-circle motifs, copper plates, ear spools and shell gorgets from these periods (cf. Brown and Muller 2015; Phillips and Brown 1978; Webb and Baby 1957). Moreover, the depiction of two-headed raptors and human hands at Mound City and Hopewell further substantiate the genealogical connections between Hopewellian and Mississippian visual imagery (cf. Giles 2013; Lankford 2007).

These continuities point to a long-term association between elevated status and particular ritual regalia and affectations in the Midcontinent. Accordingly, certain elevated positions during both these climaxes could have been linked to historically related narratives or myths, such as the cyclical death and rebirth of Sun-Morning Star (*sensu* Brown 2007). Colin Renfrew (1994:51–52) has suggested

that the symbols found in iconographic representations can be associated with the deities or characters found in mythic narratives, which in turn justify or charter elevated social roles. The aforementioned continuities highlight how the development of social difference in the Midcontinent might be linked to the manipulation of certain narratives, ritually charged objects, and esoteric knowledge.

Yet continuity between Hopewellian and Mississippian avian imagery does not indicate that the organization of these societies was analogous. Elevated leadership positions in Mississippian chiefdoms were certainly more marked than in Hopewellian communities. Instead, it is their importance over the *longue durée* (Cobb 1998), which should be highlighted, and their ties to certain places/ritual regimes (Giles 2010b). Moreover, these continuities likely emphasize how certain Late Woodland and Mississippian peoples probably mobilized narratives with considerable time depth to charter/justify elevated social positions (*sensu* Knight 2013).

Conversely, the conventions governing avian surrounds in Hopewellian and Mississippian compositions seem more complicated than a simple justification of elevated positions and were likely also linked to cosmological/religious beliefs. So despite considerable ambiguity and temporal gaps, the history of these avian (sometimes falconoid) themes looks complex and entangled with ceremonial affectations, such as ear spools, copper plates, hair buns/knots, avian surrounds, and long-pointed noses. Other characteristics became associated with these avian representations (themes) later, such as the long braid and human-head earrings that appear at Picture Cave and Gottschall Rockshelter (Brown and Kelly 2012; Brown and Muller 2015; Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Salzer 1993; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000).

The history of each of these objects/affectations needs to be considered independently because some of them appear in different iconographic contexts and are not consistent identifiers of these avian (falconoid) themes (cf. Brown and Kelly 2012). For example, occipital hair buns/knots were depicted on numerous Hopewellian and Mississippian anthropomorphic representations that cannot be conclusively linked to Birdman imagery. They should therefore be considered a classifying characteristic, which contributes to continuity between Hopewellian and Mississippian imagery, without being an identifier of these falconoid iconographic themes (*sensu* Knight 2013:97–104). The depiction of ear spools is similar because many different Hopewellian and Mississippian characters are portrayed with this affectation.

In fact, I hesitate to extend the Birdman theme to the Hopewellian representations because overly facile iconographic identifications can gloss over significant differences. Many of the earlier Woodland representations quite clearly represent

a bird (often a falcon) *pars pro toto* on the faces of particular anthropomorphs and animalistic creatures, which could be significantly different from later depictions. For example, the depiction of roundels as secondary eyes is a feature that disappears during the Middle Woodland period. Similarly, the portrayal of prominent supercilium that are probably symbolically linked to juvenile peregrine falcons becomes much rarer after the Middle Woodland period, although they do occur on a human-falcon mask from Key Marco, Florida (Gilliland 1975, 1989). Positioning falcons and other birds on the visages of anthropomorphs and other beings could have been intended to suggest that the cosmological position of raptors in the sky was analogous to the face at the top of the body. If so, then this Middle Woodland imagery was probably associated with the widely held (cross-cultural) notion that the body (person) is a model for the cosmos and vice versa (cf. Bailey and LaFlesche 1995; Ellen 1986; Giles 2010b; Hudson 1984; Strathern 1988; Wayman 1982).

Contextually, it is clear that the referent of Hopewellian avian surrounds was conventionalized wings, likely associated with the depiction of birds *pars pro toto*. This interpretation is strongly supported by the presence of secondary eyes on several Middle Woodland representations and their connection to the prominent supercilium depicted on Hopewellian falcons (Table 1). Whether wings served as the referent for Late Woodland and Mississippian avian surrounds is unclear because the contextual clues associated with these motifs changed, which could indicate shifts in their meaning (cf. Knight 2013).

For instance, Reilly (2004) suggests that Mississippian avian surrounds served as locatives with bifurcated examples associated with the upperworld, while trifurcated surrounds indicate a linkage to the underworld. Reilly's (2004) interpretation of the significance of bifurcated/trifurcated avian surrounds is intriguing. But the number of representations with avian surrounds and the complexity of their usage also increases during the Mississippian period in ways that make it difficult to generalize. An example is the (albeit rare) depiction of Mississippian representations with quadrifurcated avian surrounds (Reilly 2004; Waring and Holder 1945). Thus, detailed empirical analyses of avian surrounds in Mississippian imagery need to examine how they were employed in regional and temporally specific styles.

One way or another, the historical depth of avian surrounds—the entry point for this analysis—seems to lie near the beginning of the Hopewellian sequence in Ohio. The representation of avian surrounds on effigy platform pipes and statuettes from the caches under the Tremper Mound and Mound 8 at Mound City probably date near the beginning of the Common Era or even slightly before, circa 50 BC to

AD 100. Avian surrounds continued to be employed in Hopewellian symbols (e.g., PN 84-6-10/35002) and there are examples of related iconographic depictions from Hopewell, Turner, Liberty, Wilson and Low (Carr and Case 2005; Giles 2010a, 2013).

The Late Woodland period, however, offers few examples of avian surrounds and associated imagery, possibly because there are simply few extant representations from this interval. Nevertheless, evidence of continuities could pivot around the history of Late Woodland people living in the Mississippi and Illinois River Valleys. It is Late Woodland peoples from these regions, which had traditions and beliefs that foreshadow early Mississippian iconographic themes and practices, such as representations of Birdmen, Maces, and He-Who-Wears-Human-Heads-As-Earrings, as well as long (and short) nosed god “maskettes” and discoidals (chunkey stones; Brown and Kelly 2012; Perino and Farnsworth 2006). This area might have some potential continuities, as well, because it is where the Cummings-McCarthy and Chapel Hill copper plates were found (cf. Farnsworth and Koldehoff 2007). Additionally, the two-headed falcon mussel-shell pendant found at Liverpool Lake has a similar referent, when compared to earlier Middle Woodland double-headed raptors (Giles 2013; Sank and Sampson 1999). Several bird, owl, and frog effigy pipes might also derive from Late Woodland contexts in this area; another potential bridge between the Middle Woodland, Late Woodland, and the Mississippian periods (Farnsworth and Koldehoff 2007:45–46).

CONCLUSION

This paper assesses whether a genealogical connection exists between certain Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian representations and iconographic themes. It uses the avian surrounds identified on Hopewellian effigies from Tremper, Mound City, and Liberty as an entry point into whether Middle Woodland avian motifs and imagery have continuity with the forked (eye and mouth) surrounds employed in Late Woodland and Mississippian representations. Based on an iconographic analysis, it concludes that there are continuities in the way that Hopewellian, Late Woodland, and Mississippian artisans employed avian surrounds. These continuities are consistent with Mathew and Perrault’s (2015) quantitative analysis, which indicates that cultural histories and social learning are stronger determinants of behavioral variability than the environment.

The clearest evidence of this continuity is the depiction of anthropomorphic figures with avian surrounds and distinctive ceremonial regalia and coiffures. These insights lend further credence to Muller’s (2007) argument that similarities

in Hopewellian and Mississippian cross-in-circle motifs, copper plates, ear spools, and shell gorgets are evidence of continuity. Moreover, there are certain Hopewellian anthropomorphic representations, such as the long nosed mica cutouts from Turner Mound 3 (Figure 5.2), which appear to be iconographic antecedents of Late Woodland and Mississippian Birdmen (cf. Brown 2007; Brown and Kelly 2012).

Yet notable ruptures also exist between the avian imagery from the Middle Woodland, Late Woodland and Mississippian periods. One obvious rupture is the shift from primarily rounded trifurcated avian surrounds to more angular (forked) examples. This change occurred by the Late Woodland period as characterized by the forked bifurcated avian surrounds portrayed on anthropomorphic representations at Picture Cave and Gottschall Rockshelter (Brown and Kelly 2012; Brown and Muller 2015; Diaz-Granados et al. 2015; Salzer 1987; Salzer & Rajnovich 2000). Another important question is whether there were shifts in the referent and significance of avian surrounds through time. In Hopewellian representations, these avian surrounds initially signified conventionalized wings. Yet it is not clear that Late Woodland and Mississippian avian surrounds were intended to depict this same trope because their associations and contextual clues are different.

Nevertheless, there are noteworthy continuities between how particular Hopewellian and Mississippian anthropomorphic representations are portrayed with avian surrounds, ear spools, quadrilateral plates, and occipital hair buns. These Hopewellian and Mississippian avian motifs and themes could have been associated with historically related narratives or myths, such as the cyclical death and rebirth of Sun-Morning Star (*sensu* Brown 2007). Yet the conventions governing avian surrounds are complex and should not be simplified to chartering specific roles, but rather appear tied to broader belief systems.

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