

A Review of Northern Iroquoian Decorated Bone and Antler Artifacts: A Search for Meaning

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The Northern Iroquoian practice of producing finely etched designs on bone and antler tools is examined in the context of conveying symbolic messages, some of which were communicated both privately and publicly. This paper presents the results of a review of the archaeological literature, which focused on both the symbolism inherent in the designs and the ideological roles in society of the animals from which the artifacts were produced. Tables of provenience and descriptive attribute data are provided for each class of artifact as well as a summary of the highlights and trends in decoration for each.

Introduction

In the winter of 1623-1624, Gabriel Sagard, a Recollet friar, visited the country of the Huron in what is now southern Ontario and, based on a series of encounters the Huron had with their enemies, he noted that after having clubbed their enemies or shot them dead with arrows, the Huron carried away their heads (Wrong 1939:152-153). This is a practice that we know was not unique to the Huron but was, in fact, an essential element of warfare and prisoner sacrifice among all Iroquoian peoples (Williamson 2007).

It would seem that rattles were occasionally manufactured out of the parietal bones of human skulls, usually from the same individual, and presumably from the skulls that warriors had carried off as trophies. The margins of the parietal bones were ground smooth and beveled, allowing the two discs to fit together. Bi-conical holes were sometimes drilled along the lateral margins, presumably in order to bind the two portions of the rattle. Skull rattles may have been held in the hand or fastened to a handle, analogous to the turtle shell rattle which was used during dancing, feasting, and curing ceremonies or at other times when the aid of a spirit was invoked (Thwaites 1896-1901:15:179, 17:213, 20:23; Wrong 1939:115-116). Perhaps these rattles were used particularly in the context of feasts held in advance of the departure of war parties.

Given the prominent role of the sun in Iroquoian ideology (e.g., Speck 1949:135-138;

Trigger 1976:73), it has been suggested that their disc-shape may have been intended to represent the sun and that patterns such as the one in Figure 1, found on a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century Iroquoian site in southwestern Ontario, represent sunbursts, similar to those that are common in the art and cosmology of the contemporaneous Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (Cooper 1984:44; Jamieson 1983:166).

The stick figure image accompanying the sunburst is particularly striking. William Fenton (1978:316) has suggested that graphic representations of headless individuals

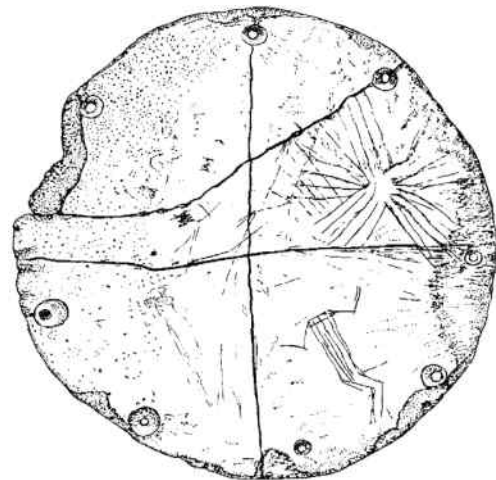


Figure 1. Complete parietal disk, likely from a skull rattle, fifteenth century Clearville site (Jury 1941). Illustration by Dr. Helen Battle, Department of Zoology, University of Western Ontario, 1939.

represent head-taking in warfare. This might be a particularly fitting observation for this image, which possibly was carved into the cranial fragment of an enemy taken by the very manufacturer of the rattle during war. A characteristic polish is often found on these items, often only occurring on exterior convex surfaces, and possibly deriving from hide sheathing that helped to hold the skull halves together, rendering such images and their meaning inaccessible to unknowing observers. If the images were covered by a sheath, their direct power may have been experienced privately by the individual, although the rattle was likely used in public performances. On the other hand, the polish may derive from hide containers in which they were maintained when not in use. If so, their power may not have been restricted; it may, rather, have been fully accessible.

This fact and the more apparent observation that the image of a headless person was carved into human bone, perhaps even the skull of the victim of a rattle owner, indicates that the selected bone, or the medium, constituted an important part of the message. A similar example is that of a maskette fashioned out of a human patella and found in a rock-filled pit inside an Onondaga longhouse, which was linked by Bradley (1987:211) to witchcraft. Engelbrecht (2003:48), in commenting on this find, and on the discovery of diseased human teeth in certain longhouse features, argued that human remains, in particular hair and nail parings, have been used in many cultures to cast spells and are therefore disposed of carefully. Perhaps this maskette had just such a malevolent purpose, its intention derived in part from the fact it was made of human bone.

It is not always clear whether the medium was always part of the message on other kinds of decorated bone or antler artifacts, or whether there are other examples of objects that held private rather than public meanings. While it is obvious that meaning can be communicated concomitantly at multiple levels, both privately and publicly, and that objects frequently have both profane and sacred values, ample evidence in the archaeological record suggests that there were ceremonies and meanings that were intended for

the individual. We also recognize that identifying the significance of artistic media is hardly insightful, given the substantial literature on Aboriginal awareness and use of the physical and spiritual characteristics of rock outcrops and faces (e.g., Rajnovich 1994; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973).

With respect to the designs or types of decoration, Yellowhorn (2006) has argued that, in constructing what he calls an internalist archaeology, an Aboriginal culture's worldview represents what middle-range theorizing is to western science-based archaeology—both play the role of binding high levels of abstraction to observed data. Middle-range theory “is widely regarded as a useful means by which archaeologists can reconstruct human behaviour from a materialist and rationalist perspective” (Trigger 1995:450). Yellowhorn argues that traditional narratives can function easily in an equivalent role for a truly indigenous archaeology. In this way, answers to the search for meaning of decorated bone and antler objects lie in traditional narratives and art, both accessible and inaccessible.

In an attempt to address these issues in the context of decorated bone artifacts, a review of the published (and some unpublished) archaeological literature concerning northern Iroquoian sites was conducted in search of data concerning decorated bone and antler objects. The term “Iroquoian” has been used throughout to refer to all northern Iroquoian-speaking peoples and should not be confused with “Iroquois,” an Algonquian word used by Europeans to refer to the Five Nations Confederacy of New York State (Trigger 1969:6). The actual Nation name has been employed, either when identified by the researcher, or where the site's location customarily denotes the ancestral affiliation of the site and the site post-dates the Middle Iroquoian period.

While the review is nearly complete for those sites dating to the fifteenth century or later, relatively few sites outside of Ontario are included for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, due to the lack of published site reports. The Ontario sample for this period is much larger because of the numerous pre-development salvage excavations that have been undertaken on private lands in southern Ontario. Objects in public or private

collections have also not been included, except where they have been described in the published literature (e.g., Wray 1963; Hamell 1998:279). It should also be noted that our inventory was restricted to decorated tools, defined to include both carved artifacts and those with notched or incised surfaces. Those tools with polished surfaces alone, or tools described as having striations likely caused by use of the object, were not included. Tables of provenience and descriptive attribute data are provided for each class and we have also summarized the highlights and trends in decoration for each. It is unfortunate that the provenience of many of the artifacts was not specified in the reports in which they are described, even in the recent research, as it would have been helpful to have the contextual data needed for interpretation.

This paper will present the results of this review by artifact class, acknowledging that certain objects cross a number of the categories. Antler combs, for example—items of personal ornamentation—often incorporate startling stylized animal and human images. They possibly even function as markers of salient identity. Other examples include pins that may have functioned as hairpins (personal ornamentation) or tubes that may have been used by medical practitioners for curing illnesses despite their classification as beads.

Effigies: Figurines, Maskettes and Combs

Approximately 90 percent of all human and animal effigies that are not stand-alone figurines or maskettes appear on combs (Tables 1 and 2); and where provenience is specified, most human effigy figurines, maskettes and combs are found in burial contexts. Of the figurines, about half were

found in child burials and all but three of the human figurines and maskettes were recovered from Iroquois sites. The exceptions are singular antler artifacts with carved human faces found on two historic Neutral sites (Kenyon 1982:206; Lennox 1981:319) and a “carved human bone face mask” found at the historic Huron Robitaille site (Hurley and Heidenreich 1971:129).

Martha Sempowski and Lorraine Saunders (2001) have described figurines in detail, noting they are limited in temporal occurrence to early historic Iroquois sites. In a study of these figurines, Edmund Carpenter (1942) suggested that the style and detail of the legs were dictated, in part, by the shape and nature of the deer antler tine, another case where the medium formed part of the message.

The vast majority of these carvings constitute variations of the “September Morn” position with one hand covering the genital area and the other hand near the opposite shoulder, although some were found to be holding masks or animal headdresses over their faces. Carpenter has recently suggested (2005:123-125) that, given the late sixteenth-century (or later) date for all of the recovered figurines and the seemingly European origin for the sculpted figures, the design may have been copied from an object introduced during one of Cartier’s voyages in the early sixteenth century, perhaps a spoon handle.

Seven of these figurines appear to have had their heads intentionally removed and two severed heads have also been recovered. This phenomenon seems analogous to the removal of the stylized heads of ceramic smoking pipes (Figure 2) and may originate in the belief among Iroquoians that even inanimate objects had souls



Figure 2. Stylized human heads broken from ceramic smoking pipes, from the late thirteenth century Antrex site (Archaeological Services Inc.).

Table 1. *Human effigies.*

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Grimsbey Hamilton	1640-1650 1638-1650	Neutral Neutral	human effigy human effigy	antler antler	burial not specified	strip of antler topped by carved oval face two opposing human faces carved on proximal end of awl/pin; traces of red ochre on faces carved human face with headdress/hairedo	Kenyon (1982:206, pl.1.69) Lennox (1981:319, fig.27) Snow (1995b:119, fig.3.17)
Orstungo Wagner's Hollow	1400-1524 1614-1626	Mohawk Mohawk	human effigy human effigy	not specified not specified	not specified not specified	2 individuals carved shoulder to shoulder (no arms); notches at bottom hands crossed over chest; punctates surrounding face	Snow (1995b:267, fig.6.25)
Cayadurta	1524-1580	Mohawk	figurine	not specified	not specified	hands crossed over chest	Snow (1995b:186, fig.4.49)
Wagner's Hollow	1614-1626	Mohawk	figurine	not specified	not specified	hands crossed over chest	Snow (1995b:266, fig.6.23)
Wagner's Hollow Oak Hill #1	1614-1626 1635-1646	Mohawk Mohawk	figurine figurine	not specified not specified	not specified not specified	hands crossed over chest September Morn pose	Snow (1995b:266, fig.6.24) Snow (1995b:351, fig.8.58)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	September Morn pose (3 examples found) fig.3.11a/d, fig.3.12a)	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:64-65,
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	modified September Morn pose (2 examples found)	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:64-65, fig.3.11c, fig.3.12d)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	modified September Morn pose	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:65, fig.3.12b)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	both hands below the chin possibly holding mask	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:65, fig.3.12c)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	modified September Morn pose; headless	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:344, fig.7.14)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	modified September Morn pose; headless	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:344, fig.7.15b)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial	modified September Morn pose; headless	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:345, fig.7.16)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-adolescent	modified September Morn pose with distinctive hairedo	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:345, fig.7.17)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	both hands below chin; possible headdress; broken at legs	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:344, fig.7.15a)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	female figurine in modified September Morn pose; distinct hairstyle; neck encircled by brass ring	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:346, fig.7.18)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial	figurine holding mask in front of face which is in turn attached to a wolf head that covers the top and back the head	Wray et al. (1991:219-220, fig.7.4a, fig.7.5)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	hands joined together in front of waist, bend to the knees; feet represented by single large bulb, perforation at back of neck	Wray et al. (1991:219-220, fig.7.4d, fig.7.6)

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Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial	grotesque features, one hand held up to face, hunchback posture, possible wolf head at back of own head; possible False Face figurine	Wray et al. (1991:219, fig.7.4b) Wray et al. (1991:219, fig.7.4c) Wray et al. (1991:219, fig.7.14e/f)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial	modified September Morn posture; headless	
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	figurine	deer; antler	burial-child	figurine head only (two examples found) classic September Morn posture; figure itself is very childlike	Wray et al. (1991:219-222, fig.7.14g, fig.7.8)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	hands over genitals	Pratt (1976:228, 1)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	classic September Morn posture	Pratt (1976:228, 2)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	no arms, very worn	Pratt (1976: 228, 3)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	pregnant with hands over breasts	Pratt (1976:228, 4)
Marshall	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	hands over breasts, wearing skirt	Pratt (1976:233, 8)
Marshall	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	hands under chin	Pratt (1976:233, 9)
Marshall	1600-1650	Oneida	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	September Morn posture	Pratt (1976:233, 10)
Genoa Fort	post-1650	Cayuga	figurine	deer; antler	not specified	hands under chin	Engelbrecht (2003:64, fig.34)
Genoa Fort	post-1650	Cayuga	figurine	antler	not specified	September Morn posture; face more incised than carved	Engelbrecht (2003:65, fig.35)
Goodyear	17th C.	Erie	figurine	not specified	not specified	September Morn posture; possibly originally part of a comb	Engelbrecht (1991:7, fig.6-b)
Goodyear	17th C.	Erie	figurine	antler	not specified	one hand near face; no legs	Engelbrecht (1991:7, fig.6-c)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	figurine	not specified	not specified	September Morn posture	Boye (1888:53, fig.106)
Burke	1450-1500	Onondaga	maskette	human; patella	rock filled feature		
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	maskette	antler	inside longhouse	carved human face; suggestions of witchcraft	Engelbrecht (2003:48, fig.15)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	maskette	antler	burial-child	carved human face	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:75, fig.3.18)
Tiam	1570-1590	Seneca	maskette	not specified	burial-child	carved human face; cruder, less finely made	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:76, fig.3.19)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	maskette	antler	not specified	oval hollowed-out bone; carved face is almost completely encircled by a serpent; perforations on both sides of face	Wray et al. (1991:59, fig.3.23)
Robitaille	1620-1640	Huron	maskette	not specified	not specified	carved human face	Pratt (1976:229, 4)
Steele	1635-1650	Seneca	maskette	antler	not specified	carved human face mask about three inches in length	Latra (1971:129)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	maskette	not specified	not specified	carved face with 3 perforations at top of head; possible association with False Face medicine society	Engelbrecht (2003:110, fig.47)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	maskette	not specified	not specified	carved bone effigy face 20mm tall	Snow (1995a:77, fig.14.13)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	maskette	not specified	not specified	oval face, eye-holes bored through	Boyle (1888:53, fig.105)

Table 2. Combs.

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Adams	1550	Seneca	comb	not specified	burial- young adult female	triangular shaped handle with triangular perforation at top	Wray (1963:39-1) Wray (1963:39-3)
Adams	1550	Seneca	comb	not specified	burial-young adult female	rounded handle with large perforation	
Lawson Utren	1475-1500 1250-1300	Anc.Neutral MOI	comb comb	antler antler	not specified not specified	both edges decorated with notches incised ornamentation on body; zigzags and triangles	Wintenberg (1939:87, fig.1)
Smith-Pagerie Rice's Woods	1525-1580 1580-1614	Mohawk Mohawk	comb comb	not specified not specified	not specified not specified	carved with 4 tines simple square comb with some notches along top edge	Wintenberg (1928:95, fig.1) Snow (1995b:173, fig.4.36)
Wagner's Hollow	1614-1626	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	tines on 2 sides; middle part incised with diagonal lines	Snow (1995b:224, fig.5.20)
Wagner's Hollow	1614-1626	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	tines on 2 sides; middle part smooth; looks like broken pendant hole along one edge	Snow (1995b:268, fig.6.27)
Brown	1626-1635	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	incised motif looks like 3 worm/tails with spikes on them	Snow (1995b:268, fig.6.28)
Nellis	1646-1666	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	carved with what looks like 2 headless individuals/animals facing each other	Snow (1995b:291, fig.7.5)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial	carved triangle design on handle	Snow (1995b:406, fig.9.52)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial	handle incised with seemingly random lines	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:59, fig.3.3)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial	tines on both sides; punctates along middle handle part; cootie comb	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:59, fig.3.4)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial-venile adult female	handle consists of a large oval perforation and cross-hatched etched design	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:60, fig.3.6)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	midden	displays a knoblike protuberance on the end directly above the teeth and a wide notch in that edge	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:336, fig.7.6)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	midden	teeth not separated from each other; deep groove separating tooth area from handle	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:336, fig.7.8)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	midden	teeth no separated from each other; crudely carved	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:337, fig.7.9)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	midden	long, narrow blank handle and the stumps of 7 broken teeth which are not separated from each other	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:337, fig.7.10)
Tram	1570-1590	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial-adult female	possible carved effigy of a large bird (heron, crane or turkey)	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:338, fig.7.11)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	comb	moose; antler	burial-child	double-row of tines separated by handle;	Wray et al. (1991:44, fig.3.2-3.3)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	cootie comb triangular handle with vertical line of perforated holes and 2 horizontal incised lines over teeth area	Wray et al. (1991:217, fig.7.2) Pratt (1976:220, 7)

Table 2. Combs.

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	triangular handle perforated with one hole; 2 examples found	Pratt (1976:220, 8-9)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	double-row of tines separated by handle decorated with oblique parallel incised lines	Pratt (1976:220, 10)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	handle has square rectangular perforation, incised animal motif and horizontal row of dots at base	Pratt (1976:220, 11)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	handle has single marginal row of perforations and cross-hatched incised decorations	Pratt (1976:220, 12)
Thurston	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	handle consists of carved fox with perforated over-all decoration	Pratt (1976:227, 2)
Thurston	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	double-toothed; horizontally incised lines on handle	Pratt (1976:229, 1)
Marshall	1575-1595	Oneida	comb	antler	not specified	oblique incised lines crossed by horizontal line	Pratt (1976: 233, 12)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	comb	not specified	not specified	one handle; teeth are ringed by incised lines	Pratt (1976: 233, 12)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	comb	not specified	not specified	suspension hole in square handle	Boyle (1903:82, fig.45)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	comb	not specified	not specified	triangular handle	Boyle (1903:82, fig.46)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	comb	not specified	not specified	square handle with large openings carved in it	Boyle (1903:83, fig.47)
Goodyear	17th C.	Erie	comb	not specified	not specified	handle=blank (unfinished)	Boyle (1903:84, fig.50)
Simmons	17th C.	Erie	comb	not specified	not specified	6 thick teeth; carved out hole in handle	Engelbrecht (1991:7, fig.6-d)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	triangular handle; hole drilled at top of handle	Engelbrecht (1991:8, fig.7-c)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	carved with 3 diamonds	Snow (1995a:77, fig.14.12)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	comb	not specified	not specified	simple square comb with no carving	Snow (1995a:77, fig.14.12)
Adams	1550	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-female adolescent	tines on two sides separated by strip of bone with incised lines running across its length	Snow (1995a:82, fig.15.8)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	effigy comb	antler	burial	female in September Morn position as handle lines atop the tines	Wray (1963:39-2)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	effigy comb	antler	burial	bear effigy; 2 bears rearing up in almost perfect symmetry.	Kenyon (1982:96, 88)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	effigy comb	antler	burial	otter effigy; incisions on body of otter	Kenyon (1982:20, pl.12)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	effigy comb	antler	burial	possible human figure with knees drawn up	Kenyon (1982:54, pl.47)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	effigy comb	antler	burial	two bears facing each other	Kenyon (1982:214, pl.197)
Orstungo	1400-1525	Mohawk	effigy comb	antler	burial	possible bears facing each other	Kenyon (1982:215, pl.201)
Rice's Woods	1580-1614	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	two tines (one missing) with 2 human faces	Snow (1995b:119, fig.3.16)
Rice's Woods	1580-1614	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	animal effigy atop a solid section incised with lines atop the tines	Snow (1995b:225, fig.5.21)
Rice's Woods	1580-1614	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	animal effigy attached to the tines	Snow (1995b:225, fig.5.22)
Martin	1614-1626	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	3 carved human heads	Snow (1995b:225, fig.5.23)
Wagner's Hollow	1614-1626	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	bird pecking a human head with its beak	Snow (1995b:248, fig.6.7)
			effigy comb	not specified	not specified	animal effigy carved atop a flat section with 2 faces incised in it	Snow (1995b:267, fig.6.26)

Table 2. Combs.

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Nellis	1646-1666	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	2 birds facing each other beak to beak	Snow (1995b:406, fig.9.51)
Dann	1675	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial	man on horseback wearing hat, holding gun-like object; stirrups indicated on horse	Wray (1963:39-5)
Dann	1675	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial- adult female	two facing panthers	Wray (1963:41-7)
Dann	1675	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial- multiple	two facing bears; front paws together	Wray (1963:41-8)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	midden	broken effigy from hair comb; single human figure (head and shoulder only)	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:61, fig.3.2)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial	handle consisting of 3 carved stylized human figures	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:61, fig.3.7)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial	carved wolf effigy on handle with head broken off	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:61, fig.3.8)
Dutch Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	antler	burial	bear; broken off comb at the feet	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:60, fig.3.5)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial-adult female	2 carved large facing birds	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:335, fig.7.5)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial-adult male	the effigy of undetermined form deliberately severed from the comb	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:336, fig.7.7)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial	consists of the carved abstract representation of five human figures (one broken off) joined at the shoulders; originally comb but tines broken off and polished	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:341, fig.7.13)
Factory Hollow	1600	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial- infant	two human figures joined at the shoulders	Wray (1963:39-5)
Factory Hollow	1605-1625	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	not specified	carved handle consists of 7 stylized human figures joined at the shoulders, no legs	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:593,fig.11.3)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial-child	effigy of a bear in profile that is walking or standing on 4 feet; 4 diagonal lines incised in the handle	
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	facing beavers (?) and vertical incised lines	Wray et al. (1991:216, fig.7.1)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 facing animals; animals' bodies incised with vertical lines	Pratt (1976:218, 10)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 facing birds (one missing); birds' bodies decorated with dots; zigzag motif in dots above toothed section	Pratt (1976:219, 1)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	animal with 3 vertical incised lines	Pratt (1976:219, 2)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 facing birds (one missing); some random incised lines	Pratt (1976:219, 3)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 facing bears; bears' bodies and solid section decorated with dots	Pratt (1976:219, 4)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 human figures with hands on chest; incised lines and line of dots on section above teeth	Pratt (1976:219, 5)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified		Pratt (1976:219, 6)

Table 2. Combs.

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	human figure with arms at side	Pratt (1976:219, 7)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	handle consists of one carved human face; horizontal incised lines on section above teeth	Pratt (1976:219, 8)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	handle consists of carved armless human figure next to unidentified object	Pratt (1976:219, 9)
Cameron)	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	4 human heads over large square section; square section decorated with straight line of dots at top, zigzag line of dots at bottom, and large zigzag incised motif between the 2 lines	Pratt (1976:219, 10)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	human figure with arms at side (2 examples found)	Pratt (1976:220, 1-2)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	human figure with arms at side; figure and base covered in incised lines	Pratt (1976:220, 4)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	armless human figure	Pratt (1976:220, 5)
Cameron	1575-1595	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	incised human face	Pratt (1976:220, 6)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	effigy comb	antler	not specified	fox	Pratt (1976:229, 5)
Warren	1625-1650	Seneca	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 facing birds	Engelbrecht (2003:153, fig.62)
Ganondagan	17th C.	Seneca	effigy comb	antler	not specified	European holding a gun and a dog; decorated with dots	Engelbrecht (2003:154, fig.63)
Great Gully	17th C.	Cayuga	effigy comb	antler	not specified	European on a horse	Engelbrecht (2003:155, fig.64)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-adult female	human figure in spread-eagle position, hair style indicated, decorated with incised hourglass figures	Wray (1963:41-9)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-adult female	two facing animals separated by an hourglass figure; decorated with drilled dots, incised triangles, hourglass figures and arrows	Wray (1963:41-10)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-male	child on a dog's back supported by two adults	Wray (1963:43-12)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial female	three squatting human figures supporting two dogs or wolves on a platform; area between figures and teeth highly decorated with incised lines and the outlines of two facing birds	Wray, C.F. (1963:43-13)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-multiple	two facing birds, possible snipe	Wray (1963:43-14)
Rochester Junction	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-male	animal with head raised; decorated with incised lines and X's	Wray (1963:43-15)

Table 2. Combs.

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Markham & Puffer Estate	1687	Seneca	effigy comb	not specified	burial-adult male	human figure holding two birds (heron) by the necks, wearing a hat, and decorated with drilled dots and incised lines	Wray (1963:41-11)
White Springs	1688-1710	Seneca	effigy comb	antler	not specified	2 men in a canoe	Engelbrecht (2003:155, fig.65)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	old person leaning on a cane	Boyle (1903:83, fig.48)
Walker/Sealey	17th C.	Neutral	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	carved figure in profile (twin?)	Boyle (1903:84, fig.49)
Baby Point	late 17th C.	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	not specified	animal in profile (twin?)	Boyle (1903:84, fig.510)
Baby Point	late 17th C.	Seneca	effigy comb	moose; antler	burial	3 European figures	Henderson (2001)
Goodyear	17th C.	Erie	effigy comb	not specified	thunderbird', 2 possible drums	composite human and morphing animals with detailed incisions; 'power line', 'hourglass/star'	Crawford et al. (2007a:21, fig.8; 35-36, pl.27-30)
Simmons	17th C.	Erie	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	4 teeth; handle consists of human figure in September Morn pose	Engelbrecht, W. (1991:7, fig.6-a)
Simmons	17th C.	Erie	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	handle consists of human figure with hands over genital area; comb teeth originating from head (x2)	Engelbrecht (1991:8, fig.7-a)
Great Gully	n/a	Cayuga	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	handle consists of human figure (from waist up); comb teeth originating from head (x2)	Engelbrecht, W. (1991:8, fig.7-b)
Fleming	n/a	Cayuga	effigy comb	not specified	burial - female	facing panthers decorated with dots, lines and chevrons	Skinner (1921:65, pl.IX)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	burial	facing partridges; joined at bills with finely etched lines for plumage; and groups of chevrons	Skinner (1921:81, fig.8)
Unknown	1885	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	carved with kissing animals	Snow (1995a:72, fig.14.6)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	effigy comb	not specified	not specified	carved comb fragment with 3 times; looks like a figure standing on its head	Snow (1995a:83, fig.15.10)
Unknown	1670-1687	Seneca	effigy comb	antler	not specified	twinned panther back to back; incised motifs of 'hourglass/thunderbird' and 'power line'	Snow (1995a:32, fig.7.6)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc.Neutral	effigy comb	antler	not specified	representation of a head with circular grooves for eyes and mouth; two possible horns at top of head; 4 times;	Hamell (1998:279, fig.10.6)
Anc. Neutral= Ancestral Neutral MOI= Middle Ontario Iroquoian							Pearce (2007; pers.comm)

and that the souls of these objects could accompany the dead to the next world (Wrong 1939:172). While the taking of heads and scalps has been described as a form of soul capture (Hall 1997), perhaps the removal of the stylized heads from pipes and bone/antler figurines represents a symbolic beheading or spirit capture or expulsion (see Williamson 2007). This act may have corresponded with an important stage in the function or usefulness of the artifact or the death of the owner. Sometimes the bases of severed stylized ceramic heads have been ground smooth, suggesting that, having retained their power, they were used further (William Fox, personal communication 2006). In that both “headed” and “beheaded” figurines were placed with the burials of children and adolescents, it is tempting to speculate on the circumstances that would have led to a symbolic beheading of such an artifact. Perhaps in some cases, the souls of pipes or figurines were considered to be malevolent, requiring their “death” or at least the neutralization of their power. Such behaviour would be entirely consistent with the ritual killing of Iroquois medicine masks witnessed in the early twentieth century (Fox 1992:30), given their potentially dangerous power (Fenton 1990:155). It would also be consistent with a similar practice among Algonquian-speaking groups, documented by William Fox (1992), being the alteration of dragon sideplates from trade muskets. These plates are thought to relate to Cree-Ojibwa expressions of spiritual beliefs concerning hunting and Michipeshu, the water lynx.

In the case of carved antler combs, their absence on ancestral or contact period St. Lawrence Iroquoian and Huron sites is noteworthy, as they are present on both ancestral and historic Neutral sites. While there are five specimens from the postcontact Neutral Grimsby cemetery and seven specimens from the postcontact Neutral Walker and Sealey villages, their presence is otherwise limited to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Iroquois sites.

The development of antler combs reached its peak with the Seneca in the mid-to-late seventeenth century and only limited evidence for their origin has been found in pre-Iroquoian

societies (Cooper and Pihl 1999:59; Ritchie 1944). It includes a few combs that are much cruder in style and workmanship. Prior to the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of metal trade tools, Iroquois combs tended to be larger in size and consisted of three to five thick and sturdy teeth. The tops were occasionally carved to represent animal or bird figures (Wray 1963:36).

The Seneca produced more combs than any other Iroquoian-speaking group, an increase in their production perhaps coincident with the introduction of iron tools and the growth of their political and military strength in the post-1650 period (Wray 1963:40). With the introduction of the iron knife, combs became wider, the teeth became thinner and increased in number, and ornamentation became more intricate. Seneca combs are characteristically rectangular in shape and are often bilaterally symmetrical. The great majority of combs are manufactured from the flat section of moose or elk antler, although wood and bone were sometimes used. They are often ornamented with carvings of human, mammal and/or bird effigies or less complex geometrical shapes. Identified mammal effigies on Seneca combs include the bear, panther, wolf, dog, horse, beaver, lynx, deer and otter, while commonly identified birds include the heron and the woodcock. Reptiles and amphibians such as the snake, lizard and frog have also been identified (Wray 1963:45). When human figures are represented, Europeans can be differentiated from First Nations individuals, usually on the basis of the depicted hairstyle or details of dress. Combinations of representations are common. Intricate and fine engravings on combs also become more frequent in the period between 1650 and 1700. These designs include hourglass figures, stars, crosses and X's, as well as zigzags (Wray 1963:43-45, Figure 2).

Combs have been found in graves of women, men and children, often behind or beside the head, as one would expect for a hair comb. Just as often, however, they have been found within caches of artifacts accompanying the individual, either as a burial offering or as part of his or her personal belongings. In flexed burials, these artifact caches

were usually placed between the knees and the face. In extended burials, they were usually placed beside the chest or hips (Wray 1963:41-42).

A moose antler comb recently found with the burial of an adult woman at the late seventeenth-century Teiaiagon (Baby Point) site in west Toronto, on the Humber River, is especially evocative in its representation of icons shared by both seventeenth-century Algonquians and Iroquoians and is deserving of special attention (Figure 3). The design of the comb is elaborate and consists of a combination of human and multiple animal figures. It also has fine detailed engravings on both the front and back faces of the comb. The animal figures are illustrated in side profile with the human figure situated on the back of one of the animal figures. The existence of two animal figures is supported by the presence of two power lines emanating from the interior of the two figures. The human form is represented from the waist up, showing two definite arms and what appears to be a hat on its head. The upper animal figure and the human figure are connected in two areas: at the head-hat area; and through the forelimb-arm area. Such objects are usually symmetrical. But, based on careful microscopic analysis, there is no definitive evidence to indicate that the comb handle was broken and that the effigy set included any additional figure(s) on the other side of the human figure. The lower arm on the unconnected side appears to be missing by comparison with other

similar specimens. While the potentially broken surfaces are rounded and polished, rounding and polishing may have occurred after one side of the comb handle had been removed, either intentionally or accidentally. A possible third animal figure on the other side of the handle would only have been connected to the human figure.

While the interpretation of representations and engravings on combs and other artifacts is, of course, equivocal, the animal figures on this comb fit Hamell's (1998) description of a Seneca panther effigy. The rounded quality to the ears and face, as opposed to more pointed wolf/dog ears and snout, in addition to the long lithe body and long slender tail, suggests that a panther man-being was intended (Hamell 1998:273). On the other hand, panthers are most frequently represented as a pair, placed face to face in ventral opposition and in a vertical orientation, with their tails curled up in front of them, distal end clasped between their forepaws, although they are sometimes in lateral profile similar to the comb in question (Hamell 1998:277-278).

It should be noted, however, that a comb described by Hamell (1998:277) as having a panther effigy was described by Kenyon as a bear effigy (Kenyon 1982:96, Plate 88, Figure 57). It is also possible that the Baby Point representation is of both animals, with the panther morphing into bear, as the morphology of the head is quite bear-like. Bear is another powerful symbol in Aboriginal ideology. It has a strong association

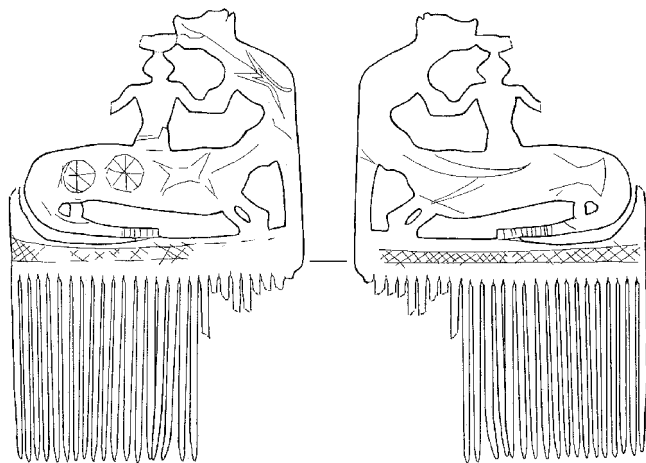


Figure 3. Antler comb from the Baby Point site. Illustration by Kathy Mills.

with medicine and medicinal herbs, appearing as a guardian spirit for individuals and also as a helper-spirit for many shamans. Many Algonquian-speaking groups believed that bears could both cause and cure sickness. For many, bears also possess the power of resurrection and symbolize transition, in death, from one world to another (Rockwell 1991; see also Fox and Molto 1994).

The distal end of the panther's long tail has a series of engraved bands, which might represent the rattle of a rattlesnake. According to Hamell, "panther, dragon, and serpent tails and tales are closely entwined" in the mythical universe of the Seneca and Huron-Wyandot, and artifactual representations of these "panther/fire-dragon/great serpent man-beings" were possible manifestations of personal guardian spirits to guard against war, famine and disease (Hamell 1998:265, 272, 276). As "skin-shedders," serpents are also recognized for their shape-shifting abilities, a concept perhaps related to life renewal and resuscitation (Hamell and Fox, this volume). They also belong to the category of long-tailed and long-bodied animal man-beings, which also include salamanders, lizards, weasels, mink, fishers, martins, otters, and mountain lions/panthers. These beings are closely identified with medicine, or the power that can be consecrated to be put to socially-constructive ("good"), or socially-destructive ("evil") purposes (Hamell 1987:78; 1998:258, 264, 269; Hamell and Fox, this volume).

According to Hamell, these panthers as "fire-dragon/meteor man-beings" of the Huron-Wyandot and Seneca are related to the underwater panther man-being of the Algonquian speaking peoples of the Great Lakes (Hamell 1998:281). Michipeshu (Mishi-pi-zhiw, Missibizi, Gitche-anahmi-bezheu) is known as the Great Lynx, the Great Underground Wildcat, and the Great Underwater Wildcat—the chief manitou of the underwater realm (Dewdney and Kidd 1973:82; Hamell 1998:281; Rajnovich 1994:102). It is often portrayed as a cat-like figure with large ears or horns on its head and the body of a large serpent, often with scales or spikes on its back. It also frequently appears, however, as a quadruped with little or

no serpentine qualities (Dewdney and Kidd 1973:82-85; Fox 2004:286-290). Manitous are known as being great shape changers, and the physical and behavioural attributes of these creatures (panther/lynx and serpent) overlap, often making it difficult to distinguish between them (Hamell 1998:281; Rajnovich 1994:107).

The fine engravings consist of linear, circular and geometric designs located on the bodies of the animal figures and are largely restricted to one side of the comb. The only engraving on the human figure consists of a few generally horizontal lines at the waist or "belt" area. Designs on the creatures' bodies include modified hourglass or star designs (Wray 1963:45-46) as well as two circles, one with six and the other with eight radial spokes. The short comb base, which is located between the teeth and the top of the handle (Wray 1963:36), is also finely engraved on both faces: a series of criss-crossed lines bordered by two horizontal lines cover the entire width of the comb. This patterning is reminiscent of snakeskin and also of etching lines used on birch bark scrolls (see Rajnovich 1994:29 for an example of a Midéwiwin birch bark scroll).

The modified hourglass/star motifs described by Wray (1963:45-46) as possible human figures have also been described as thunderbird representations (Hamell 1998:278-279). This motif is characteristic of panther effigy combs and, according to Hamell, "a bi-association of panther man-being and hourglass shape suggests a Northern Iroquoian universe in microcosm, specifically the conceptual symmetry and complementary synergism between powers below, exemplified by the panther/fire-dragon/great serpent man-beings, and the powers above, typified by the thunder (bird) man-beings" (Hamell 1998:279).

Lines, such as the one radiating from the hourglass/star/thunderbird motif, are often described by researchers as power lines. An almost identical line, wavy and branching off at the end, was located on a pictograph on a granite wall on Annie Island, Lake of the Woods (Dewdney and Kidd 1973: 53). This particular line radiates from the head of what the researchers interpreted as a Maymaygwayshi, little men with hairy

faces who live behind waterside rock faces. The same pictograph has been described by Rajnovich (1994:14) as a powerful healer with the radiating line representing his long and difficult journey in search of the medicine manitous that make the mountains their home. The Midewiwin scrolls of the Ojibwa also have lines that represent journeys: a straight line represents the right path; a wavy line represents a difficult path; and a line with several branches leading away from the straight line represents the wrong path (Rajnovich 1994:142).

Unlike the power line and the star/thunder bird motifs, the incised circles with spokes are rare. One similar example has been found on picture writing from northern Minnesota and northern Wisconsin (Rajnovich 1994:88, 91, Figure 72b). The circle with spokes was interpreted as a drum, which is the means of communication of *Kitche Manitou* and an affirmation of the medicine given to the people. The circle is at the centre of Algonquian symbolism, gathering numerous meanings within it, culminating in a vast medicine wheel (Rajnovich 1994:85).

The etched symbols, along with the morphing figures of (rattle) snake, panther, possible bear and human, produce a powerful comb evocative of the ideology of the Seneca and other seventeenth-century Aboriginal groups. It is replete with references to medicine, either for healing or malevolent purposes, shape shifting and transformations, and possible journeys and transitions from one world to another.

Objects of Adornment

Pendants, Gorgets and Armbands

Table 3 presents data on pendants, gorgets and armbands, all interpreted primarily as objects of adornment but decorated or worn in ways to suggest that some had more private than public meanings. One effigy pendant of an owl head (Finlayson 1998:3:1308, Drawing 5.28), for example, recovered from a sixteenth-century, ancestral Neutral site, was perforated in such a way that, when suspended, it would appear inverted to an observer but in correct anatomical position for the wearer looking down at it. A

similar interpretation can be made of a sixteenth-century Seneca maskette, which is almost completely encircled by a serpent (Wray et al. 1991:59, Figure 3.23). Perforations have been drilled on either side of the face just below the eye sockets. As a pendant, the maskette can only balance properly when it is suspended so as to provide meaning for the wearer. Wray et al. (1991:59) note, however, that if it had been attached to a piece of clothing or another object, the maskette's centre of gravity may not have come into play.

While most effigies are suspended from the neck in a manner to be interpreted publicly, perhaps as a protective strategy, these artifacts are similar in form and practice to the modeled animal and human effigies on ceramic pipes that faced their smokers. The spirits represented by the pipe effigies, often related to bird forms, may have come alive for the owner while smoking, thereby engendering communication with the sky world (von Gernet and Timmins 1987). All of these artifacts, which are, at least part of the time, directed inward, are known as "self-directed art," and are linked with dreaming and self-knowledge (Brasser 1980). It is also possible that, rather than simply reflecting indifference toward the viewers, these objects were designed in such a way as to exclude them deliberately to prevent them from seeing or experiencing the power of the item during its use.

Another complex form of art that may also have been at least in part "self-directed" is tattooing. The Jesuit priests, who prepared annual accounts of their life among the Huron from 1634 until the Huron dispersal in 1649-1650, and among the Iroquois from 1654 to 1667 (Thwaites 1896-1901), described the Neutral and Petun neighbours of the Huron as being tattooed. The tattoos were reportedly accomplished by perforating the skin of some part of the body with a needle, sharp awl, or thorn to make an eagle, snake or other figure. Black colouring matter was then traced over the figure, indelibly imprinting the designs to the extent that some individuals were covered from head to foot. Petun men and women, it was said, had their bodies tattooed with representations of snakes,

Table 3. Articles of adornment (gorgets, pendants and armbands).

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	gorget	human; cranial (child)	refuse deposit	incised reticulate design on the convex side; 2 perforations on each edge	Wintenberg (1939:89, fig.8)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	gorget	human; cranial	not specified	parts of the convex surface covered with finely incised lines; 5 holes	Wintenberg (1939:89, fig.11)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	gorget	human; cranial	refuse deposit	large X-like figure scratched on the convex side	Wintenberg (1939:89, fig.9)
Martin	1614-1626	Mohawk	pendant	not specified	not specified	incised bands along its length	Snow (1995b:248, fig.6,8)
Lite	Unknown	Anc. Huron	pendant	small carnivore; canine	not specified	root has been notched and incised around the circumference 7mm from end	Pendergast (1972:53, fig.14)
Parsons	1450-1500	Anc. Huron	pendant	bear; canine	house	annular groove near the tip of the root	Thomas (1998:90, fig.1)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pendant	not specified	not specified	2 notches on sides as well as 2 biconically drilled suspension holes in the basal region	Wright (1979:126, fig.36-f)
Miller	12th C.	EOI	pendant	bear; canine	not specified	shallow groove encircling root on 3 sides	Kenyon (1968:75, fig.8)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	pendant	large bird;	not specified	incision made on the shaft just below the head;	Busby (1979:58, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	Se-LI	pendant	mammal;	not specified	3 perforations	Pendergast (1981:177, fig.21)
Glenbrook	1535	Se-LI	pendant	femur head	not specified	head deeply notched on each side	Pendergast (1981:177, fig.24)
Glenbrook	1535	Se-LI	pendant	bear; canine	not specified	heavily notched on proximal end	Pendergast (1981:26, no image)
Allen	1646-1666	Mohawk	pendant	wolf/dog; canine	not specified	notched on proximal end (3 examples found)	Snow (1995b:392, fig.9.30)
Milton	1500-1550	Anc. Neutral	pendant	not specified	not specified	criss-cross design along one surface;	Finlayson (1998:1293)
Irving-Johnston	1560-1600	Anc. Neutral	pendant	not specified	not specified	perforation at top	Finlayson (1998:1308, 5.28)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	pendant	antler	not specified	triangles and polygons filled with incised lines;	Pratt (1976:229, 2)
Thurston	1600-1650	Oneida	pendant	antler	not specified	form like inverted V; notched at top	Pratt (1976:229, 3)
Carson	15th C.	Anc. Huron	pendant/ gorget	mammal	not specified	owl effigy	Parker et al. (1990:32, ph.8)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown?	pendant?	beaver; incisor	house	other effigy	Wright (1974:100, no image)
Myers Road	1280-1340	EOI-MOI	pendant?	not specified	not specified	perforated by a single hole and incised on its dorsal surface by 3 hatched lines	Ramsden et al. (1998:191, no image)
Holly	14th C.	MOI	pendant	deer; metapodial	midden	small fragment from the base of the incisor that has been laterally notched	Needs-Howarth and Watson (2007)
						notched line attachment	
						flat piece notched on both sides on one end;	
						decorated on one side with short incised lines	
						along both edges from notched end to	
						midway; other side decorated with a large	
						incised triangle pointing up from notched base	
						with short parallel lines radiating from its base	
						and topped with a horizontal line; small	
						inverted triangle; other horizontal line	

Table 3. Articles of adornment (gorgets, pendants and armbands).

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Jarrett-Lahmer	16th C.	Anc. Huron	pendant/armband	not specified	not specified	2 parallel rows of dots along length of bracelet; dots in each line connected by incised line;	Cooper (2005:91, no image)
Kirche	16th C.	Anc. Huron	armband	not specified	not specified	2 rows of small punctates and on opposite side is 1 row of similar punctates	Ramsden (1989:103, pl.8)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	incised longitudinal line with small triangle-like shape	Finlayson (1998:1258, 3.2.4)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	row of triangles (outlined by dots) along one edge, row of dots along other edge	Finlayson (1998:1258, 3.2.5)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	incised lines which form rows of rectangles	Finlayson (1998:1259, 3.2.6)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	incised line down the centre of the bracelet, 2 triangles filled with parallel lines on each side of the mid-line	Finlayson (1998:1259, 3.2.7)
Van Eden	Late 15th C.	Unknown	armband	not specified	not specified	2 parallel lines incised along length of bracelet filled with perpendicular lines, each of these lines crossed by 2 smaller lines; two triangles along one edge on broken end filled with parallel lines;	Finlayson (1998:1263, 3.3.1)
Crawford Lake	1350-1400	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	2 parallel bands of dots running along length	Finlayson (1998:1265)
Chypchar	1350-1400	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	4 rows of dots connected by incised line along length	Finlayson (1998:1267, 4.1)
Winking Bull	1450-1500	Unknown	armband	not specified	not specified	row of dots down the centre	Finlayson (1998:1275, 4.10)
Winking Bull	1450-1500	Unknown	armband	not specified	not specified	2 rows of dots down centre connected by incised lines	Finlayson (1998:1275, 4.11)
Winking Bull	1450-1500	Unknown	armband	not specified	not specified	2 slightly crooked rows of dots down center connected by incised lines	Finlayson (1998:1276, 4.12)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	groups of diagonal lines incised on both edges	Finlayson (1998:1287)
Acheson	late 15th C.	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	row of short incised lines down the centre	Finlayson (1998:1290, 5.7)
Red Turtle	1504-1550	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	line of dots connected by incised line down center	Finlayson (1998:1292, 5.10)
Irving-Johnston	1560-1600	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	slight notches along entire edge on both sides; red ochre motif on one surface	Finlayson (1998:1308, 5.27)
Merate	1560-1600	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	decorated with dots over whole of one surface	Finlayson (1998:1325, 6.8)
Bennett	late 13th C.	MOI	armband	rib	not specified	has a lashing hole and 2 incipient side notches on both edges adjacent to the lashing hole; series of engraved dots run along one face adjacent to both edges	Wright and Anderson, (1969:115, fig.y)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	armband	antler	not specified	2 bands of finely incised reticulate designs; each bounded by 2 finely scribed parallel lines	Wintenberg (1948:73, fig.23)

Table 3. Articles of adornment (gorgets, pendants and armbands).

Site	Date	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	armband	antler	not specified	incised line about 1/8 inch away from and parallel with the intact edge; row of zigzags projecting from the inside on the line	Wintenberg (1948:73, fig.24)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	armband	antler	not specified	double row of small roughly circular pits; also several faintly incised, apparently meaningless lines that seem too scattered to have been intended for ornamentation	Wintenberg (1948:73, fig.25)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	armband	not specified	not specified	notches along one edge; polished on both faces; 2 holes	Wintenberg (1939:87, fig.23)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	armband	mammal; rib	not specified	smoothed and polished on the exterior and decorated along the edges with oblique striations	Busby (1979:60, no image)
Spang	early 16th C.	Anc. Huron	armband	human cranial	not specified	decoration consists of a series of small incisions set within parallel lines found along both edges and in the centre is an S-shaped pattern	Carter (1981:33, fig.f)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	armband	not specified	house	has 2 parallel rows of small dots on the exterior surface	Wright (1974:264, fig.25)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	armband	not specified	midden	incised medial line, incised triangles on either side filled with vertical or oblique incised lines	Wright (1974:274, fig.12)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	armband	not specified	midden	two medial lines of dots decorate the exterior face	Wright (1974:272, pl. XIV, fig. 8)
Scout	1330-1420	MOI	armband	not specified	not specified	series of triangles filled with parallel lines which extend off an incised line along the centre	Finlayson (1998:1241)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	armband	rib	house	has 2 lines of small dots along both sides of the outside face	Wright (1974:101, no image)
Holly	14th C.	MOI	armband	deer; antler	not specified	short incised notches along both edges; 2 incised parallel lines down centre filled with horizontal lines from which short diagonal notches radiate	Needs-Howarth and Watson (2007)

Anc. Huron= Ancestral Huron
 Anc. Neutral= Ancestral Neutral
 St.-LJ= Saint-Lawrence Iroquoian
 EOJ= Early Ontario Iroquoian
 E-MOI= Early to Middle Iroquoian
 MOI= Middle Ontario Iroquoian

lizards and squirrels in various colours, not just black. Engelbrecht (2003) has argued that it is likely that tattoo designs held spiritual meaning for the wearer (or others), perhaps conferring protection, or reminding the wearer of their guardian spirit. In this way, bodily decoration should be seen as a material manifestation of the spiritual world.

In that tattoos are essentially patterns of dots, it is tempting to relate bracelets decorated with dots to arm tattoos. With very few exceptions, they are the only bone or antler artifact class decorated by lines of dots. Indeed, almost 60 percent of all bracelets are decorated with row(s) of dots, some connected by incised lines. The number of rows ranges from one to four, although most bracelets are decorated with two rows. They also have filled triangles of dots along the lines or incised filled triangles on one or both sides of incised lines. Some authorities view such triangular designs as Thunderbird tails and wings while zig-zag lines have been related to lightning energy symbols or snake manifestations, both referencing the eternal conflict between the lower and upper worlds (Fox 2004). On the other hand, dotted lines have also been seen as journeys or quests, both real and metaphorical, the latter in search of guardian manitous. One bracelet was decorated with a red ochre-stained motif that appeared as flames or waves filled with parallel lines and notched along its edges—interpreted by the researcher as the flaming arrows from thunderbird (Finlayson 1998:3:1308, Drawing 5.27).

The use of dots is also prominent in the decoration of Iroquoian ceramic pipe effigies. A particularly striking example was recovered from the ancestral Huron Mantle site, which is located near Stouffville, Ontario (Figure 4). The line of dots around the face is very similar to the decoration on the head of a Mohawk bone figurine (Snow 1995b:186, Figure 4.49), both of which, in turn, are similar to the tattoo on an illustration of Joseph Brant's grandfather (Figure 5).

As the data in Table 3 indicate, decorated bracelets or armbands occur most frequently on Middle Ontario Iroquoian sites located in southwestern Ontario, which have traditionally been identified as ancestral Neutral. They were either



Figure 4. Human effigy from a ceramic smoking pipe from the late sixteenth century Mantle site (Archaeological Services Inc.).

manufactured from antler, with at least one identified to deer, or from large mammal rib, likely deer or bear. In at least one case, human cranial bone was employed.

Beads and Tubes

Table 4 lists objects identified as decorated beads or tubes. This type of artifact consists of tubular objects that range in length from a few centimetres to over 15 cm. They have been described as beads, tubes, shamans' tubes, sucking tubes and tally beads. Researchers have come up with various criteria to differentiate between beads and tubes, usually based on length (Thomas 1998:88). Lennox (1981:306) defined beads as measuring less than 100 mm and tubes as being greater than 100 mm in length. In comparison, Wright (1981:94) used 55 mm as the benchmark between the two types of artifacts based on the bimodal distribution of lengths within his data from the Walker site. Other researchers decline to define a distinguishing marker between beads and tubes. The specimens listed here have been classified as they were in the literature.

These objects are mostly fashioned from mammal and bird long bones, whose shapes naturally lend themselves to the manufacture of these artifacts. Of the mammals, deer is by far the most common. Beads/tubes have also, however, been manufactured from dog/wolf, lynx, raccoon, as well as from human bone.

Over three-quarters of the decorated beads/tubes were recovered from Neutral sites in southwestern

Figure 5. *Mohawk Warrior circa 1710. Courtesy National Archives of Canada 2897086.*



Ontario. While ancestral Huron sites have yielded just less than ten percent of all the decorated beads/tubes, the remaining 15 percent is distributed in almost equal parts among ancestral Neutral, St-Lawrence Iroquoian, Seneca, Middle Ontario Iroquoian and Mohawk sites. Since provenience was specified for only three of the 82 examples found in the published literature (two from burials and one from a post mould), it is impossible to reach any conclusions about context.

For type of decorations, over 65 percent of the objects recorded in Table 4 consists of transverse incisions, short notches or possibly scoring. While an attempt was made to differentiate between alterations resulting from decoration as opposed to manufacture, some of the marks are probably due to manufacture, especially those formed by repetitive scoring followed by snapping of the bone. Short incisions, usually when evenly spaced over the surface of the bead, have also been considered to be some sort of tally system. Annular grooves (16 percent), triangles (six percent), and various zigzag motifs (four percent) were also recorded.

A few examples exhibit more complex designs or combinations of motifs. An interesting specimen comes from the Middle Ontario Iroquoian

Rife site in southwestern Ontario. The bead or tube is covered by seemingly random wavy lines—a main one, which runs the entire length of the bead, and small ones that veer off from the long line and off from each other (Finlayson 1998:3:1254). It has been suggested that the lines might represent some sort of map, perhaps for a physical or spiritual journey.

Pins

This category of artifact (Table 5) includes all elongated pin-like implements, whether or not the researcher thought they were used as perforating devices. Certainly a few with styloid-tipped points and opposing, finely notched proximal ends have been found; these may have functioned as tattooing needles.

Most of these objects are decorated with incised geometric patterns, most often filled right-angled triangles (thunderbird tails and wings), but also chevrons, zigzags, as well as oblique, vertical and horizontal lines (lightning energy symbols or journey or snake manifestations). The other frequent decoration is notching of bases and lower edges, which thereby creates

Table 4. Beads and tubes.

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Squire	Unknown	Unknown	bead	not specified	not specified	short incised lines along one of its sides	Squire (1958:8)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	bead	not specified	not specified	incision encircling the exterior surface, located at bead's centre	Busby (1979:50, no image)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	bead	not specified	not specified	incision encircling the exterior surface, located at one end of bead	Busby (1979:50, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	bead	not specified	not specified	2 deeply incised lines around the circumference at each end; triangular in cross section	Pendergast (1981:21, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	bead	not specified	not specified	decorated with parallel incised lines near one end	Pendergast (1981:21, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	bead	not specified	not specified	2 shallow incised lines around the circumference 10mm apart on one end	Pendergast (1981:21, no image)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	bead	canis; radius	not specified	fine transverse incising	Fitzgerald (1982:202, no image)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	bead	human; ulna	not specified	fine transverse incising	Fitzgerald (1982:349, fig.6)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	bead	deer; rib	not specified	fine transverse incising	Fitzgerald (1982:349, fig.11)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	bead	mammal; long bone	not specified	fine transverse incising (5 examples found)	Fitzgerald (1982:202, no image)
McGaw	15th C	Anc. Huron	bead	not specified	not specified	series of incised notches along one lateral side	Pfhl (2003:55, pl.29)
Kirche	16th C.	Anc. Huron	bead	not specified	not specified	has small incised lines running perpendicular to the long axis	Ramsden (1989:101, pl.7-4)
Kirche	16th C.	Anc. Huron	bead	not specified	not specified	scoring along length of bead and has small triangular notches along one edge	Ramsden (1989:101, pl.7-3)
Draper	late 15th C	Anc. Huron	bead	not specified	not specified	traces of scoring along length of bead, with a heavier groove near the middle	Ferguson (1979:107, fig.6)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	bead	deer; rib	burial-child	deep groove around circumference around mid point; round cross-section; 2 beads not severed	Wray et al. (1991:229, fig.7.17) Finlayson (1998:1254)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	bead	bird; long bone	not specified	incised lines which may represent a map	Finlayson (1998:1673.2)
McCarthy	1600-1650	Anc. Neutral	bead	not specified	not specified	series of short notches along length of one surface	Cooper (2005:88, no image)
Jarrett-Lahmer	16th C.	Anc. Huron	bead	bird; long bone	not specified	paired parallel scoring toward each end	Boyle (1890:54, fig.132)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	bead	deer; leg bone	not specified	4 notches at each end and 5 notches at mid point; notches go around circumference	Berg and Bursey (2000:13, fig.g-h)
Anderson	late 13th C.	MOI	bead fragment	bird	not specified	3 to 4 incised lines encircling the bead near the midpoint	Sutton (1990:81, pl.7-6)
Bark	ca 1500	Anc. Huron	bead preform?	bird; long bone	not specified	grooves cut around circumference	Kenyon (1982:54, pl.48)
Grimsby	1640-1650	Neutral	sucking tube	deer; radius	burial	series of notches along one edge	Lennox (1984:100, fig.34)
Hood	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	zigzag pattern along length, with notches on sides	Lennox (1984:100, fig.34)
Hood	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	straight angle triangles without bottom edge; parallel vertical lines in triangles	Lennox (1984:100, fig.34)
Hood	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	zigzag pattern (but with more than one incision per side)	Lennox (1984:221, fig.11)
Hood	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	overlapping zigzag pattern between two groups	Lennox (1984:221, fig.11)
Bogle I	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	deer; radius	house post	has zigzag overlapped with curved lines	Lennox (1984:221, fig.11)
						3 groups of chevrons on one side; other side has zigzag overlapped with curved lines	

Table 4. Beads and tubes.

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Walker	1640	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	3 series of short incised notches along length of one side	Wright (1981:201, fig.10)
Walker	1640	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	series of short oblique parallel lines bounded by 2 longitudinal lines	Wright (1981:201, fig.9)
Allen	1646-1666	Mohawk	tube	not specified	not specified	2 incised lines around circumference at both ends	Snow (1995b:392, fig.9,29)
Allen	1646-1666	Mohawk	tube	not specified	not specified	2 incised lines around circumference at one end (other end broken)	Snow (1995b:392, fig.9,29)
Allen	1646-1666	Mohawk	tube	not specified	not specified	2 incised lines around circumference at both ends as well as in the middle; half of tube seems to be covered with lightly incised hourglass shapes filled with lines	Snow (1995b:392, fig.9,29)
Alderson Farm West	15th C.	Anc. Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	3 incised grooves on one end, 3 on the middle and 2 on the surviving portion of the other end	Finlayson (1998:1279)
Hood	1630-1641	Neutral	tube	not specified	not specified	small shallow lines cut across a high ridge on the tube (3 examples found)	Lennox (1984:100, no image)
Lite	Unknown	Anc. Huron	tube fragment	long bone	not specified	2 lines incised around the circumference	Pendergast (1972:32, no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	deer; radius	not specified	short parallel incisions along lateral edges (12 examples found)	Lennox (1981:307, table 43; 395, fig.3)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	deer; radius	not specified	parallel incisions across posterior surface (5 examples found)	Lennox (1981:307, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	deer; radius	not specified	incised triangular patterns, filled with parallel or cross hatched incisions (3 examples found)	Lennox (1981:307, table 43; 395, fig.2.4)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	deer; radius	not specified	incised rectangular areas filled with opposed parallel lines and cross hatched patterns	Lennox (1981:307, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	dog; radius	not specified	chevron motif on end, incised lines and scored notches on 2 edges	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; 395, fig.8?)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	dog; tibia	not specified	scored parallel lines	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; 395, fig.9)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	lynx; radius	not specified	short parallel incisions on 2 edges	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	raccoon; tibia	not specified	notched edge	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	raccoon; femur	not specified	scored longitudinally	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; 395, fig.10)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	mammal	not specified	parallel incisions (2 examples found)	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	medium mammal	not specified	notched edge	Lennox (1981:308, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	turkey; humerus	not specified	short parallel incisions on 2 edges	Lennox (1981:309, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	turkey; tibio-tarsus	not specified	short parallel incisions on one edge	Lennox (1981:309, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	swan; humerus	not specified	notches on one end	Lennox (1981:309, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	med-large bird; radius	not specified	parallel incisions on one side	Lennox (1981:309, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	med-large bird	not specified	parallel incisions (2 examples found)	Lennox (1981:310, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	med-large bird	not specified	parallel oblique incisions	Lennox (1981:310, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	med-large bird	not specified	scored longitudinally	Lennox (1981:310, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	not specified	not specified	triangles filled with parallel obliques	Lennox (1981:310, table 43; no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	tube/bead	not specified	not specified	short parallel incisions on one edge	Lennox (1981:310, table 43; no image)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	tally bone/bead	long bone	not specified	notching along length of bead	Boyle (1888:52-53)

Table 5. Pins.

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
King's Forest Park	1250-1300	EOI	pin	not specified	middle	carefully worked all over with incised geometric design at its base	Fox (1967:20, fig.2)
Lite	Unknown	Anc. Huron	pin	not specified	not specified	has 5 deep notches on one edge near the poll end giving it a scalloped edge	Pendergast (1972:55, fig.2)
Lite	Unknown	Anc. Huron	pin	not specified	not specified	edges notched deeply with 2 pairs of notches along it length on lower half of awl; 2 perforations	Pendergast (1972:55, fig.1)
Lite	Unknown	Anc. Huron	pin	not specified	not specified	external surface decorated along one edge with incised lines along one edge; other edge decorated with incised lines which form right-angled triangles filled with 3 or 4 incised lines parallel to the vertical side of the triangle	Pendergast (1972:55, fig.3)
Salem	Unknown	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	3 unconnected right-angle triangles along one edge, which are filled with parallel incised lines	Pendergast (1966:32, no image)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	refuse deposit	crude incised decoration	Pendergast (1939:97, fig.18)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	refuse deposit	incised reticulate design on one side and notches on both edges	Wintemberg (1939:97, fig.20)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	3 notches at base, 2 notches on one edge near base	Wintemberg (1939:97, fig.22)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	4 faint notches along one edge; 2 deeper grooves near middle	Wintemberg (1939:97, fig.23)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	series of notches across surface near base	Wintemberg (1948:71, fig.25)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	series of notches along edge near base	Wintemberg (1948:71, fig.26)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	3 deep incisions across one surface near base	Wintemberg (1948:71, fig.31)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	not specified	deposit	3 deep grooves around circumference near base; notches along one edge?	Wintemberg (1948:71, fig.32)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	not specified	deposit	3 incised lines around circumference at base	Wintemberg (1928:91, fig.19)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	rib	deposit	groove around circumference at base	Wintemberg (1928:91, fig.20)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	not specified	deposit	edges of expanded base are ornamented with shallow notches	Wintemberg (1928:91, fig.21)
Miller	12th C.	EOI	pin	not specified	not specified	2 deep grooves around circumference near base	Wintemberg (1928:91, fig.22)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	series of notches along both edges; groups of horizontally incised lines on one surface	Kenyon (1968:71, fig.11)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	4 horizontal incisions at base	Busby (1979:51, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	an oblique incision at the tip	Busby (1979:51, no image)
Myers Road	1280-1340	EOI/E-MOI	pin	not specified	sweatledge	2 notches one opposite the other 10mm from the poll end; each side decorated with fine transversely incised lines on the edges	Pendergast (1981:177, fig.16)
Myers Road	1280-1340	EOI/E-MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	4 annular grooves carved in the proximal edge giving effect of a row of 3 pea-sized balls	Ramsden et al. (1998:183, fig.5.18b)
						has two opposing rows of fine notches incised in the proximal end	Ramsden et al. (1998:183, fig.5.18a)

Table 5. Pins.

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	pin	bear; os baculum	burial-adult male	3 "barbs" on each side of blunt end (representing feather fleches on arrow shaft)	Wray et al. (1991:228, fig.7.16)
Cayadurta	1525-1580	Mohawk	pin	not specified	not specified	incised with 2 triangles filled with more lines, resting on 3 horizontal lines	Snow (1995b:184, fig.4.45)
Cameron	1575-1595	Seneca	pin	bear; os baculum	burial-adult male	3 "barbs" on each side of blunt end (representing feather fleches on arrow shaft)	Wray et al. (1991:228, fig.7.16)
Mantle	1500-1530	Anc. Huron	pin	deer; metapodial	midden	incised with horizontal lines, triangles filled with parallel lines, vertical lines	Williamson and Clish (2003)
Antrex	1300-1400	MOI	pin	not specified	midden	on both edges near at blunt end incised chevrons	Robertson and Williamson (2002, no image)
Salem	Unknown	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	faintly incised zigzag on one side	Pendergast (1966:32, no image)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	refuse deposit	notches along one edge near tip	Wintenberg (1939:97, fig.19)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	notches along one edge	Wintenberg (1948:71, fig.28)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	notches along one edge	Wintenberg (1948:71, fig.29)
Pipeline	1450	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	notched along one edge	Busby (1979:53, fig.b)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	deep notches on opposite edges 17mm from poll which has been ground smooth	Pendergast (1981:23, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	pin	deer; ulna	not specified	deep notches on opposite sides	Pendergast (1981:23, no image)
Glenbrook	1535	St-LI	pin	deer; ulna	not specified	decorated with 3 short incised oblique lines midway on the shaft	Pendergast (1981:23, no image)
Salem	Unknown	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	decorated with light obliquely incised lines (2 examples found)	Pendergast (1966:32, no image)
MacDougald	Unknown	St-LI	pin	not specified	not specified	two incised right-angle triangles filled with incised parallel lines along one edge on one side; similar single triangle on same side but opposite edge;	Pendergast (1969:53, fig.10)
Miller	12th C.	EOI	pin	channel catfish; pectoral spine	burial	spine modified by notching along one edge at least	Pendergast (1968:69, fig.6)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	"criss-cross" design on one side, parallel incisions on other	Wintenberg (1939:97, fig.21)
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	polished and designs on both sides; one side has double zigzag running over entire length; other side has a small double zigzag along both edges	Adams (2003:26, fig.15, 286EL4)
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	a few incised lines unevenly spaced over surface; notch at blunter end	Adams (2005: 12s10e-12-1)
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	small burnt fragment; incised zigzag-like pattern on one side, horizontal incisions on other	Adams (2005: 2s6e-11)

Table 5. Pins.

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	polished; notched on one edge and 3 oblique incisions near base	Adams (2003:26, fig. 15, 885E)
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	short oblique notches along entire edge	Adams (2003:26, fig. 15, 10s8E)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	pin	not specified	not specified	notched blunt end; 3 vertical lines connected with diagonal lines	Boyle (1890:54, fig. 130)
Unknown	n/a	Mohawk	effigy pin	not specified	not specified	carved human face at end of awl; incised chevrons and horizontal lines along length of awl to about 1/3 of way towards the point	Snow (1995a:59, fig. 11.13)
Mifler	12th C.	EOI	pin	not specified	not specified	light incisions along edges near base; hole at base	Kenyon (1968:71, fig. 7)
Middleport	14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	grooves along one edge; deeper groove across surface near base	Wintenberg (1948:71, fig. 27)
Walker	1640	Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	highly polished, carved bone shaft, carefully incised	Wright (1981:203, fig. 5)
Hutchinson	14th C.	MOI	pin	mammal	pit	butt end decorated with at least 2 annular grooves cut to create a series of pea-sized balls (only one ball survived due to breakage)	Balmer and Stanchley (2003:83, pl. 10d)
Rife	early 14th C.	MOI	pin	not specified	not specified	incised annular grooves forming row of pea-sized balls at proximal end (4 balls)	Finlayson (1998:1255, 1443-7)
Winking Bull	1450-1500	Anc. Neutral	pin	not specified	not specified	6 small notches along one edge of blunt end; 3 small notches on one surface of blunt edge (no "balls")	Finlayson (1998:1274)
Antrax	14th C.	MOI	pin	deer; metapodial	midden	annular grooves near one end creating 3 "balls"	Robertson and Williamson (2002)
Holly	14th C.	MOI	pin	deer; metapodial	sweatledge	annular grooves near one end creating 2 "balls"	Needs-Howarth and Watson (2007)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	pin	not specified	house	carved at one end (1 ball)	Wright (1974:248, fig. 9)
Grandview	1400-1450	Anc. Huron	pin	deer; metatarsal	midden	incised annular grooves forming row of 7 balls at proximal end; polished, blunt, unaltered tips	Thomas (1999:115, pl. 13g)
Grandview	1400-1450	Anc. Huron	pin	mammal; long bone sweatledge		incised annular grooves forming row of 4 balls	Thomas (1999:109, no image)
Grandview	1400-1450	Anc. Huron	pin	mammal; long bone pit in house		incised annular grooves forming 1 ball	Thomas (1999:109, no image)
Grandview	1400-1450	Anc. Huron	pin	deer; metatarsal	sweatledge	Incised annular grooves forming row of 2 balls	Thomas (1999:115, pl. 13f)
Uren	1250-1300	MOI	pin	mammal; long bone sweatledge		Incised annular grooves forming row of 6 balls	Thomas (1999:109, no image)
Grandview	1400-1450	Anc. Huron	miniature pin	not specified	not specified	2 incised grooves at the proximal end	Wright (1979:126, fig. 36a)
				not specified	sweatledge	has shallow annular constriction near the proximal end	Thomas (1999:115, pl. 13h)

scalloped edge(s). One example has three “barbs” on each side of a blunt end, suggesting, to the authors, feathers on an arrow shaft. The most unusual specimen has a carved human face at the base with incised chevrons and horizontal lines extending for about two-thirds of its length.

Approximately one-quarter of the pin-like artifacts are modeled on their proximal ends to produce a series of annular constrictions that appear as small, pea-sized, ball-like formations (Figure 6). They have only been found on fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century sites and, of the complete specimens, lengths vary from 4.5 cm (described as a miniature) to 12.4 cm, with an average of 9.4 cm (excluding the miniature). The number of balls ranges from one to seven with an average of 3.5. They are all manufactured from large mammal leg bones, four of which were identified as deer metapodials. The miniature is reminiscent of the miniature points and pipes that may well have functioned as charms or talismans, as is the case with modified teeth of bear and various canid species.

These objects have often been identified as bodkins, a term used widely to describe a weaving tool. While most bodkins have holes at their base ends, small, pointed instruments of carved bone have been used by traditional weavers around the world to make holes, to lift, push, insert, or adjust elements of weaving, including the warp and woof threads in cloth weaving and the strands of fine split materials in basket weaving. Similarly shaped tools are also used for the traditional practice of scrimshaw, the etching of designs into whalebone, ivory or other substances, which is then filled with colour to bring out the designs.

Yet, these tools rarely display needlepoint forms. Consequently, they have also been identified as hairpins, a conclusion that is consistent with the fact that they are the only artifact in this category to have been found on the floors and fill layers of semi-subterranean sweat lodges, where provenience has been specified. It is possible that long-haired individuals used these pins to manage their hair. The high level of polish usually found on these artifacts could easily be attributed to the natural oils found in hair or the animal grease sometimes applied to the hair during certain rituals.



Figure 6. Example of a “bodkin,” from the late thirteenth century Antrex site (Archaeological Services Inc.).

According to Fox and Hamell (this volume), there is a parallel in Iroquoian symbolism between rattlesnakes and hair, more specifically with the story of Atotarho (Hale 1833:26) or Adodarhoh, whose long hair was adorned by snakes (Parker 1916:17). Indeed, Fox has suggested that the decorated ends of these objects might represent rattlesnake tails, similar to a polished antler tine artifact recovered from the bottom of a storage pit on an Early Iroquoian village in southwestern Ontario (Fox 1982; Fox and Hamell, this volume). Their frequent discovery in semi-subterranean sweat lodges—more than 250 examples have been documented on more than 40 mid-to-late thirteenth-through-late fifteenth-century Iroquoian villages across southern Ontario (MacDonald and Williamson 2001)—may relate to curing societies and to other ceremonies, such as snake-related rituals connected with rainfall held in sacred contexts (Fox and Hamell, this volume). Indeed, the discovery of animal skulls on the living floors of sweat lodges, in particular deer and bear as well as the wing of a great horned owl, and their subsequent use as human burial areas, point to considerable sacred significance for such places (MacDonald and Williamson 2001:72). Robert Hall, employing a uterine metaphor, has described how Ojibwa appear to each other as bears, ritually cleansed and reborn, following a sweat (Hall 1997:125). The discovery of an awl (Wray et al. 1991:228, Figure 7.16), made from a bear baculum and placed with the burial of an adult male, similarly suggests that the material and element from which the artifact was made form part of the meaning of the artifact.

Miscellaneous Artifacts

Three decorated bone artifacts that clearly relate to hunting and fishing have been recorded (Table 6). Their rarity in the archaeological record might signal that such objects were not customarily decorated by Northern Iroquoians, although it is acknowledged that bone artifacts in general, decorated or not, are comparatively rare in the Iroquoian archaeological record. Of the three identified artifacts, two are harpoons and one is a projectile point. One of the harpoon heads was found in a longhouse, while the provenience of the others was not specified. One of the harpoons is entirely covered with evenly spaced annular grooves (Wright 1981:203, Figure 2), while the other has finely etched lines on at least one of its surfaces. The projectile point has evenly spaced notches (Parker et al. 1990:Plate 8).

The other miscellaneous decorated bone and antler specimens consist of types of artifacts that do not fit any prescribed category. These objects are manufactured from deer bone and antler, moose antler, human bone, and fish bone. They have been found in middens, burials, and pits within the sites of almost every Northern Iroquoian group.

One such complex artifact, discovered on the ancestral Huron Mantle site, was manufactured from a combination of mammal and bird bone. It consists of a longer polished and notched piece of wolf/dog metapodial that has been inserted into a shorter piece of bird long bone (Figure 7). Its intended function or meaning is unknown.

Some of the hypothesized identifications for the other artifacts include ceramic vessel and pipe decorators, handles, spatulates and knives. In addition, one of the antler artifacts, with some of the most provocative decoration that rivals all other decoration found, is a Seneca ladle (Prisch 1982:83). The uppermost part of the handle consists of a carved profile of an elderly woman holding a cane. Her spine is carved in jagged angles and a probable headdress is represented. The provenience of this particular artifact was not specified.

Conclusions

This brief review is far too provisional to allow us to draw any major conclusions about which animals



Figure 7. *Undetermined decorated bone artifact from the early sixteenth century Mantle site (Archaeological Services Inc.).*

might have been preferred for making bone tools that were then decorated. (It is also difficult to ascribe particular functions to tools based on their archaeological contexts.) Such an objective would have required inventorying undecorated bone tools as well.

With respect to Yellowhorn's (2006) arguments on achieving a truly indigenous perspective in the

Table 6. *Miscellaneous and undetermined.*

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Walker	1640	Neutral	harpoon	antler	house	entire specimen incised with uniformly spaced encircling lines	Wright (1981:203, fig.2)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	harpoon	mammal; long bone	not specified	notched deeply on both edges at the butt end; exterior side has line of short incised lines along its length; single barb has 5 notches arranged longitudinally on its triangular prismatic shaft with 3 additional notches carved upward into its base	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:370, fig.7.41)
Carson	15th C.	Anc. Huron	projectile point	not specified	not specified	flat surface has striations radiating from the center; roughly circular	Parker et al. (1990:32, photo 8)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	disc	mammal	midden	with 3 horizontal incised lines in the centre of the fragment; haft	Fitzgerald (1982:349, fig.17)
Pipeline	1400-1450	Anc. Neutral	handle	mammal; long bone	not specified	smooth and polished exterior surface	Busby (1979:60, no image)
Garoga	1525-1580	Mohawk	knife handle	antler	not specified	carved with chevrons, bands around circumference and lines along length	Snow (1995b:159, fig.4.23)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	knife-like	not specified	not specified	basal end decorated with faintly incised lines; highly polished	Wintenberg (1939:97, fig.12)
Steele	1635-1650	Seneca	ladle	antler	not specified	carving in profile of an elderly female holding a cane; spine carved in jagged angles; breast is pendulous; headdress or hair cut in bangs represented	Prisch (1982:23)
Lawson	1475-1500	Anc. Neutral	pipe	wapiti; phalanx	refuse deposit	decorated with notches and incised lines and designs	Wintenberg (1939:93, fig.17)
Dutch Hollow Coleman	1605-1625 16th C.	Seneca Anc. Neutral	pipe marker possible scraper?	deer; antler mammal; long bone	midden not specified	series of notches along one of the tines alternately bevelled along one edge	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:77, fig.3.21) MacDonald (1986:93, pl.12-12)
Calvert	12-13th C.	EOI	rattlesnake rattle effigy	cervid; antler	storage pit	five grooves around the circumference of antler tine	Fox (2003:3, fig.1)
Hood	17th C.	Neutral	spatulate	cervid; metacarpal	not specified	modified into knife-like form by grinding and several small shallow incisions have been cut into the sharpened edge, creating a serrated edge effect	Lennox (1984:161, fig.9)
Myers Road	1280-1340	EOI/E-MOI	spatulate	antler	not specified	wide, flat object shaped somewhat like a spatula; distal end of blade cut at an angle and is notched; "handle" broken off at a perforation	Ramsden et al. (1998:189, fig.5.21)
Beckstead	Unknown	St-LI	spatulate 'paddle- shaped' tool	not specified	not specified	handle extremity notched; expanded 'paddle' end; decorated with a very shallow incised motif on one side; motif consists of a band of left oblique lines between horizontal lines	Pendergast (1984:44, no image)

Table 6. *Miscellaneous and undetermined.*

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Cayadurra	1525-1580	Mohawk	tablet	not specified	not specified	fully incised with vertical lines, horizontal lines, chevrons, diagonal lines	Snow (1995b:185, fig.4.46)
Clearville	15th C.	Anc. Neutral	rattle disc	human; cranial fragment	not specified	incised lines resembling a sunburst or starburst as well as a stick figure image of a headless individual	Jury (1941)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	case	rib	not specified	hollowed out, incised with hawk bill markings in rows and diamond pattern	Boyle (1897:60-61, fig.29-30)
Miller	12th C.	EOI	pottery marker	antler	not specified	3 thick notches along one edge; oval in cross-section	Kenyon (1968:73, fig.1)
Richardson	Unknown	EOI/MOI	pottery marker	turtle; plastron/ carapace	not specified	series of small notches cut into one lateral edge (2 examples found)	Pearce (1977:139, fig.12p)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	pottery marker	moose; antler	midden	raised ridges of equal widths on one side	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:351, fig.7.22c)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	pottery marker	moose; antler	midden	raised ridges of equal widths on one side; has small non-ridged part	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:351, fig.7.22a)
Factory Hollow	1610-1625	Seneca	pottery marker	moose; antler	midden	long blank body with raised ridges of equal width on one side of one end	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:351, fig.7.23)
Dykstra	15th C.	Anc. Huron	awl with spatulate tip	not specified	not specified	one end has parallel lines of incised lines starting from both edges almost meeting in the middle; other side has faint cross-hatched incisions and possibly another motif but too hard to see with the naked eye; slightly scalloped edges	Thomas (2006:72, pl.6.1)
MacMurchy	late 15th C.	Anc. Petun	undetermined	human; humerus	surface	looks like flat bone, incised chevrons over whole surface; 6 notches along one side	Garrad (1978:34, fig.19)
Beckstead	Unknown	St-LI	undetermined	human; humerus	not specified	distal end of shaft shows sign of scraping and possible incising in a random pattern	Pendergast (1966:74, no image)
Bennett	late 13th C.	MOI	undetermined	not specified	not specified	zigzag incisions on one face and oblique incisions on other face; of 2 surviving edges, one is plain, the other has a series of notches spaced 1mm apart	Wright and Anderson (1970:58, no image)
Hood	17th C.	Neutral	undetermined	deer; mandible	not specified	distal edge has been cut into a series of V-shaped notches and points	Lennox (1984:161, fig.11)
Nodwell	14th C.	Unknown	undetermined	not specified	house	has an etched X on one face and longitudinal grooves and corner notches on other face	Wright (1974:168, no image)

Table 6. *Miscellaneous and undetermined.*

Site	Date (AD)	Affinity	Artifact Type	Material	Provenience	Description	Reference
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	undetermined	deer; rib	not specified	small notches cut into edges (2 examples found)	Lennox (1981:313, no image)
Hamilton	1638-1650	Neutral	undetermined	deer; rib	not specified	crudely incised criss-cross pattern on one side	Lennox (1981:313, no image)
Christianson	ca 1615	Neutral	undetermined	channel catfish; pectoral spine	not specified	edge opposite the barbs of the spine modified by notching to produce a symmetrically barbed appearance along the surface	Fitzgerald (1982:349, fig.21)
Kirche	16th C.	Anc. Huron	undetermined	antler	not specified	surface of tine is carved parallel to the long axis resulting in linear shallow grooves	Ramsden (1989:50, no image)
Bark	ca 1500	Anc. Huron	undetermined	not specified	not specified	there are grooves along sections of its lateral edges on both of its broad faces	Sutton (1990:81, pl.7-9)
Garoga	1525-1580	Mohawk	undetermined	deer; ulna	not specified	deep groove along shaft and another groove around circumference near the head of the bone	Snow (1995b:157, fig.4.19)
Wiacek Factory Hollow	1350-1400 1610-1625	MOI Seneca	undetermined undetermined	moose; antler deer; antler	not specified middens	shallow groove encircles one end of the cylinder and/or beam with scratches running along its length	Lennox et al. (1983:97, no image)
Winking Bull H&R	1450-1500 14th C.	Anc. Neutral MOI	undetermined undetermined	not specified not specified	not specified not specified	notching along one side of artifact; rounded tip bi-pointed artifact; short "barbs" on both edges of one end, and short "barbs" on one edge of other end	Sempowski and Saunders (2001:356, fig.7.27) Finlayson (1998:1505, 8)
Cameron Holly	16th C. 14th C.	Onsida MOI	undetermined undetermined	not specified not specified	not specified middens	evenly spaced notches on one end	Finlayson (1998:1410, 9) Pratt (1976:217, 16)
Mantle	1500-1530	Anc. Huron	undetermined	wolf/dog; metapodial;	not specified	flat piece, with incised cross-hatched lines over whole of one surface; a few parallel diagonal lines on other side	Needs-Howarth and Watson (2007)
Arbor Ridge	14th C.	MOI	undetermined	not specified	not specified	triangular cross section with notches incised along 3 edges; 2 pieces one inserted in other	Williamson and Clish (2006)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	undetermined	not specified	not specified	short incised lines around edges in groups of 3-5	Adams (2005: 3s6e-12-1)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	undetermined	not specified	not specified	spatulate in shape with sharp notching around edge of "head"	Boyle (1899:20, fig.8)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	undetermined	not specified	not specified	flat, long piece of bone, curved at both ends with notching along both edges at one end	Boyle (1892:20, fig.13)
Unknown	n/a	n/a	undetermined	not specified	not specified	incised lozenge pattern	Boyle (1888:34, fig.25)

interpretation of artifact manufacture and decoration, it is unlikely we will ever know, with certainty, the original intent of the artists who fashioned or subsequently altered artifacts such as the Baby Point comb. We can, however, look for parallel interpretations in the symbols that were routinely manipulated in other contexts where art was employed (i.e., rock art, body art, bark scrolls, other forms of material culture, oral histories, etc.).

In the future, one challenge will be to separate choices that were inspired by worldview from choices dictated by logistical considerations—not that these two choices are necessarily unrelated. While it might be tempting to argue, for example, that Iroquoian perforating devices were made out of deer bone because it was primarily deer hides that would be worked with those tools, it is equally likely that deer bone was the most common material available for manufacturing tools.

Similarly, conclusions about the discovery of many bone tools in sweat lodges must be tempered with the observation that, outside of middens, such places represented the largest convenient holes to be filled with refuse; and it is not always easy to differentiate between objects placed on living floors and those deposited in fill. While the initial function and use-history of sweat lodges is of immense interest, so too are the circumstances and lines of decision-making that led to their being filled with organic and inorganic waste.

Finally, it is also tempting to look at these data in light of our constant search for ascribing ethnicity to populations in the precontact archaeological record. The exclusivity of combs to Neutral and Iroquois groups and the generally restricted distribution of human figurines, maskettes and armbands are both noteworthy observations. They are comparable to the observation that the turn-of-the-fourteenth-century Moatfield site population along the central north shore of Lake Ontario practiced a burial pattern that is clearly consistent with later Huron practice (Williamson and Pfeiffer 2003). On the other hand, it is acknowledged that, before the introduction of maize (possibly by an Iroquoian speaking group) in the first half of the first millennium A.D., the various populations in the

Great Lakes region likely shared a pan-Algonquian ideology with a common iconographic vocabulary. This fact explains, for example, the shared use of icons such as thunderbirds among (and beyond) historic Iroquoian and Algonquian societies and the widespread use of bear ceremonialism. It is in this realm, therefore, that we might find useful data for reconstructing the social and political networks that led to the formation of the Haudenosaunee, Neutral and Wendat confederacies and, perhaps more importantly, the foundation for bringing them and Algonquian-speaking groups back together to manage consensually the risk to their collective cultural heritage posed by twenty-first century development.

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Une analyse d'artefacts décorés en os et en bois de cervidés des Iroquoiens du nord

La pratique des Iroquoiens du nord de créer des motifs finement gravés sur des outils en os et en bois de cervidés est examinée dans le contexte de communication de messages symboliques, soit privément ou publiquement. Cet article présente les résultats d'une analyse de la littérature archéologique, qui c'est concentrée sur le symbolisme inhérent des motifs, ainsi que sur les rôles sociétaux des animaux desquels les artefacts furent produits. Des tableaux de provenance et d'attributs descriptifs sont présentés pour chaque classes d'artefacts, ainsi qu'un résumé de leurs faits saillants et de leurs tendances décoratives.
