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1991

## Seneca Hair Combs as Material Culture: A Study

April Jean Vasey

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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<https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-kbb7-qm19>

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SENECA HAIR COMBS AS MATERIAL CULTURE:

A STUDY

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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by

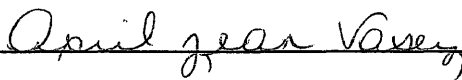
April Jean Vasey

1991

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

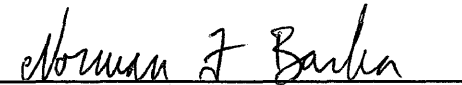


April Jean Vasey

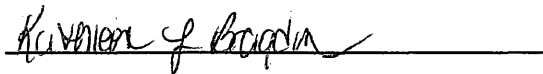
Approved, April 1991



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge and thank the Rochester Museum and Science Center for access to comb collections and cooperation in research efforts. Specific recognition is given to: Charles Hayes, III; Betty Prisch; Martha Sempowski; and, Lorraine Saunders. Particular mention need also be made of George Hamell of the New York State Museum in Albany, for his initial insight and invaluable thoughts on Iroquois culture and material culture studies. Gratitude and praise are likewise offered to Russell Judkins, whose good faith and knowledge have continually served to advise and direct the author since September 1983. Finally, warm and loving appreciation is extended to the author's parents whose unending support, diligent patience, and quick humor have served to inspire, permitted perseverance, and allowed this thesis to evolve.

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\*\*4 to 5 children and adults

SENECA HAIR COMBS AS MATERIAL CULTURE:  
A STUDY

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a material culture study of some 37 Seneca decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif. The combs are associated with 14 sites (11 major villages and 3 minor villages) whose combined period of occupation spans approximately 150 years (c. 1550 - c. 1700). Discussion focuses on typologic classification: stylistic, form, and technological attributes. The patterns provided by these attributes have then been considered contextually relative to spacial and temporal conditions. The result of such inquiry has been the realization that the three main themes found to be common to the combs (League, history or myth) are ideologically based and are designed in defense to European contact.

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SENECA HAIR COMBS AS MATERIAL CULTURE:  
A STUDY

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to define, from a material culture perspective, the significance and meaning of the human figure motif on decorative hair combs of the Seneca Iroquois. It is proposed that human figures, as they appear on decorative hair combs, consciously reflect Iroquois "belief systems" (i.e., "values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions") and any change exhibited by these combs is in response to societal change and may be understood relative to related concurrent events and conditions over and through time (Schlereth 1982: 3). This thesis seeks to decipher the link between decorative hair combs, the human figure motif, and Iroquois culture; this study hopes to find answers to such questions as why are decorative hair combs specifically chosen as communicating mediums of Iroquois ideology (i.e., what it means to be Iroquoian) and more importantly, why are human figures deliberately utilized as a decorative motif?

From this standpoint it will thereby be assumed that, for classification purposes, it is not possible to impose typological paradigms but rather discover the 'natural' order inherent in data. Artifact types thus discovered are seen to be representative physical examples of "ancient cognitive structure" (Sharer and Ashmore 1979: 278). Deetz aptly refers to this phenomena as a culture's "mental template" (Joukowsky 1980: 277). To effectively interpret the mental template of the Seneca Iroquois as it is represented through decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif, typology will focus on stylistic, form, and technological attributes. Patterns illustrated by these attributes will be considered contextually, in terms of spacial and temporal conditions.

The format of the thesis shall be presented and developed accordingly, so that all eventual conclusions will be sound and well founded: the first chapter will not only



justify the topic at hand, but also define it. This chapter will likewise list all biases of and in this thesis; chapter two will first provide a broad history of Iroquois culture and then pointedly trace the evolution of the Seneca site sequence; chapter three will interpret Iroquois culture as material culture; chapter four will define and discuss stylistic and form attributes as they are considered relative to the combs featured in this study. Such definition and discussion will provide thematic information about the combs; each theme (or type) will then be discussed as a separate chapter (chapters five through seven); chapter eight will deal with technological factors; chapter nine shall be devoted to symbolic interpretation; and chapter ten will be conclusive.

CHAPTER I  
TOPIC JUSTIFICATION  
DEFINITION OF TOPIC  
RESEARCH BIASES

This first chapter shall not only serve to justify the thesis topic, but also define it. Valid biases encountered during research shall likewise be relayed at this time. Decorative hair combs of the Seneca Iroquois featuring the human figure motif are justifiable valid as an anthropological thesis topic. First and foremost, the eighteenth century Iroquois are typically recognized as being "...the greatest Indian power on the American continent..." (Wallace 1946: 3):

"United by the ties of blood, speaking dialects of one language, inhabiting the same country and climate, and acting in one cause, they had acquired a national pride, a national character; and when we reflect upon the advances they had made in the art of government, and the sound maxims of policy by which they were uniformly actuated, we cannot suppress the wish that we might have viewed the Northern Indian in a state of civilization, which it is now not probable we shall ever behold" (Schoolcraft 1970: 24).

Ethnographic and archaeological evidence further validates the anthropological significance of this subject.

"[According to Fenton,] no ethnographic province in the Americas indeed--if not the world--has a richer lode of published ethnological and historical literature than the Northeast, and the manuscript of historical materials bearing on the Iroquois alone in a number of libraries are rivaled by the Hewitt papers in the Bureau of American Ethnology archives" (1951: 5).

Archaeologically speaking, "the rich and variegated material culture of the Iroquois is proof [i.e., the best example] of craft specialization [among Native Americans of the Eastern United States]" (Driver 1961: 183). "The lively trade, which occurred in

pre-Columbian times and continued after Europeans settled America, is further evidence of specialization" (Driver and Massey 1957: 371). Taken together, this vast collection of ethnographic and archaeological information is ideal for the researcher: a richer resource base permits and provides for more accurate and better detailed Iroquois studies. Taken a step farther, this information is seen as being significant to interpreting "...the history of northeastern North America from discovery to the present, for the Six Nations crop up near the center of every national crisis down to 1840" (Fenton 1951: 5).

Considering the fact that Iroquois culture is so well preserved ethnographically and archaeologically, isolating a subject for a material culture study is difficult at best. However, according to Rose, some artifacts function better than others as ideological communicators and are, thus, better suited for material culture research: i.e., e.g. miniature maskettes, wooden ladles, smoking pipes, and carved hair combs. Obviously, time and feasibility are two limiting factors which would inhibit this thesis from examining all of these artifacts. Furthermore, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to single out any one class of objects as being more "exciting" than another (1983: 19; 6). However, it is possible to recognize one class for the purpose of attempting to make a meaningful contribution to Iroquois studies. This thesis will focus on how and why carved hair combs have been used by the Iroquois as a means to express their cultural beliefs relative to and terms of surrounding social, spacial, and temporal environments. Particular emphasis will be placed upon the human figure motif found on decorative hair combs of the Seneca.

Seneca decorative hair combs, regardless of figure type, are worthy of examination for six primary reasons: 1.) the most recent attempt at Seneca decorative hair comb analysis was in 1963 by Charles Wray. Since then, there has been no isolated interest in this subject. Thus, for all practical purposes, renewed research is long overdue. Such

research will not only offer a different perspective on the subject, but simultaneously provide an updated listing of comb collection content, location, and number; 2.) "the Seneca,...living in the Genesee Valley region of Western New York, was the largest and most powerful Nation of the League with an estimated population of three thousand to five thousand in the seventeenth century" (Rose 1983: 19);

"[3.] according to Wray, ] there are without question more Seneca combs in existence...[i.e., as of July 1963] than those of any other Iroquois group. It would indeed be quite safe to include any other North American Indian group;...at least two hundred and fifty-one Seneca combs...[were] known to be in private and institutional collections....[in July 1963, with] the actual total number...[assumed to] be near two hundred and seventy-five or three hundred" (1963: 38);

4.) besides being abundant in number, Seneca decorative hair combs may be traced and documented over and through time; these artifacts provide information from which it is possible to establish a chronological sequence of Seneca life and lifeways. In fact, whether it is decorative hair combs or another artifact typical to their culture, two unique qualities of Seneca archaeology make it possible to sequentially document the chronological development of art. First, "....an unbroken series of sites can be traced from precontact times through the Colonial period...." Second, "....most of the old village sites exist in a relatively small area south of Rochester, New York" (Mathews 1978: 21); 5.) Seneca decorative hair combs, regardless of form or subject matter, are cultural records because they typically depict historical events, myths, or legends (Rose 1983: 20); and, 6.) Seneca decorative hair combs have received a "....limited amount of attention....from researchers," and have never been considered as material culture phenomena (Rose 1983: 6). Following Deetz's philosophy, a material culture perspective most basically differs from typical archaeological investigations in terms of "scope" and definition. Material culture is generally viewed as one research option in archaeological research--archaeology being considered as one of four sub-disciplines of

anthropology. Archaeology is most notably concerned with artifacts relative to their subterranean context. Material culture is also interested with the artifactual remains of the past, however, these remains are believed to be physical representations created "...according to culturally dictated plans." Furthermore, material culture studies are not only interested in the past, they are also intended to include any activity or event resulting from present human behavior as well. Thus, as Deetz concludes, "the complex and often bizarre configurations performed on football fields during halftime such as a band forming the word 'OHIO' is....just as much material culture as an arrowhead." Based upon this difference in scope and definition, Deetz goes on to claim that the relationship between material culture and archaeology should be redefined. He maintains that material culture is what anthropology is all about: culture. Therefore, material culture forms the core of anthropology, and ethnology and ethnography are its sub-disciplines (1977: 10-12). The ramifications of such a redefinition as proposed by Deetz are inspiring, but not the primary concern of this thesis. Of more immediate interest is how decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif reflect the ancient culture patterns of the Seneca Iroquois.

The human figure motif is particularly well suited as an isolated category of study; according to Wray's system of classification in which a total of sixty-three Seneca combs were examined, eighty-five percent were "...ornamented with carvings of human, animal, and bird effigies." Twenty-five percent of the carvings depicted human figures; the remaining seventy-five percent represented either birds (twenty-five percent) or animals (fifty percent) (Wray 1963: 41-2).

In defining the study subject it should first be mentioned that the typical European pocket or 'cootie' combs have been excluded as examples offered herein; generally speaking, decorative hair combs are carved ornamental artifacts serving both functional

and aesthetic purposes. These combs are composed of one of four organic materials: antler (moose or elk); bone; wood; or horn (cow or ox).

Following Wray's terminology, each decorative hair comb contains three main parts: a top ("upper portion of the comb, above the base"); a base ("the solid area between the teeth and the top of the comb, often engraved"); and, teeth ("the toothed portion of the comb"). Decoration might be plain (i.e., unornamented), carved, or engraved. Carvings depict figurines; engravings include figurines and lines. The main practical purpose of decorative hair combs "...seems to have been for securing the hair when coiled up on the head" (1963: 37; 35).

Combs of this nature are, by no means, unique to the Iroquois let alone the Seneca; decorative hair combs have not only been documented in North America, but in many areas of the world at large. For example, according to Wray, decorative hair combs were utilized in the New World by Late Archaic and early Woodland cultures. Old World cultures of this same time period, specifically those of northern Europe, also made use of such combs, which display a striking similarity in both design and material to their New World contemporaries (1973: 11). Thus, in general then, decorative hair combs are not exclusive to Iroquois culture, nor do they predate it. However, "the combs of the pre-Iroquoian cultures were never numerous and, with....[limited exception,] never matched those of the Iroquois in quality of workmanship or degree of ornamentation" (Wray 1963: 36).

According to Wray, the earliest decorative hair combs of the Seneca (i.e., those displaying any type of decoration) date to 1400 A.D. Their evolution, from that point appears to coincide with the maturation of Iroquois culture as a whole: "With the development of the prehistoric Iroquois culture in the New York area, combs began to make more frequent appearances" (1963: 49; 36).

In acknowledgement of the foregoing facts which not only justify the thesis topic but define it as well, research biases should now be discussed. As with any artifactual research, biases exist which may effect and/or hamper final conclusions (George R. Hamell 1988a: pers. comm.). These biases include: collection (or what has or has not been excavated, as well as what is or is not accessible for study); contact (or what influences have effected the current condition of the artifacts in collections); and, preservation (or what has or has not survived either in and/or above the ground) deserve acknowledgment, but should not disqualify proposed research. This thesis will, when possible and appropriate, relate these biases as they pertain to the subject matter at hand.

Comb collections are one such bias which should presently be discussed. The current study consciously limited itself to the decorative hair comb collection at the Rochester Museum and Science Center, Rochester, New York. The reason why no other collections were explored is legitimate; although Wray's 1963 work localized private and institutional decorative hair comb collections, many (if not most) of these artifacts now reside at the Rochester Museum and Science Center (Sheldon Fisher 1989: pers. comm.). Furthermore, though the New York State Museum in Albany does contain some such artifacts, Rochester offers the very best selection, quantitatively speaking, of Seneca decorative hair combs featuring a human figure. A total of thirty-seven of these combs will be discussed herein.

It should be noted that study of the specimens at the Museum was restricted. These restrictions included: 1.) access to the entire decorative hair comb collection of the Seneca, regardless of figure type, was denied. Only those combs displaying a human figure motif were removed from Museum storage and, therefore, no comparison nor cross reference could be made amongst and between other comb types; 2.) combs retrieved from storage (twenty-two in total) were selected by Betty C. Prisch, Curator of

Anthropology. Selection was, thus, limited to her expert judgment as to what combs were or were not human figure motif examples; 3.) it was not permissible to remove the combs from their clear plastic storage boxes, and descriptions and measurements (unless stated otherwise) were taken accordingly. Furthermore, due to this fact, only the ventral side of the artifact was visible; and, 4.) the remaining fifteen combs studied were display items, and could not be removed for adequate examination. In order to gain appropriate information, it was necessary to rely upon Museum notes.

Another bias worthy of mention relates to the description of the combs themselves. There are two basic factors which have had an effect on the general existence and appearance of each comb. Such factors are the direct result of post-depositional processes and include: 1.) the weight, condition, and composition of the soil (including the effect of leaching of water soluble molecules) and surrounding artifacts; and, 2.) the mode and method of repair sought to preserve each comb after excavation. Most commonly, minor repairs on combs were made by excavators using those materials most readily available to them: wood putty, wax, or white glue. Oils or shellacks were also many times used as preservatives. In some cases, adhesives have since been removed by contemporary archaeological conservators and replaced with less aggravating and destructive substances such as polyvinyl acetate.

The overall effect of both of these factors has been positive and negative. On the positive side, the exact temperament of the soil and surrounding artifacts, combined with the dutiful preservation efforts of the excavator, permitted the artifact to survive so that it could be studied. On the negative scale, these same facts have caused and produced a distortion of each comb's surface characteristics. This distortion occurs in the form of : 1.) pitting; 2.) warping; 3.) shrinkage; 4.) cracking; 5.) discoloration; 6.) breakage; and, 7.) bogus detail.



CHAPTER II  
HISTORY OF IROQUOIS CULTURE  
&  
THE SENECA SITE SEQUENCE

As was initially stated, this thesis is interested in determining the link between a specific artifact class and a specific cultural subject. Acknowledging this, the evolution of this subject deserves brief consideration; in order to interpret the material culture of the Seneca, the history of the Iroquois League (or Confederacy) must first be briefly defined and the relevance of the Seneca site sequence must likewise be relayed. It is difficult, if not impossible, to offer an absolute acceptable date for when the League was actually formed; different scholars have differing opinions, and cling to different dates, and even to different centuries. "Nevertheless, although there is disagreement, virtually all suggested dates for the founding of the League fall in the period from A.D. 1400 or slightly before to 1600 or slightly before." "It is certain that it was in existence by the 1630's when Europeans were beginning to acquire more than casual acquaintance with Iroquoians." Iroquois tradition purports that the League was in existence well before the 'discovery' of America, let alone immigration to its borders. The question which, thus, arises is how many years did it antedate this white infiltration? Such a question is thought provoking, but beyond the scope and realm of this thesis. Of more immediate concern is not when the League was formed, but why and how did its existence transform Iroquois and non-Iroquois life (Tooker 1978: 418; 420).

"[At this time it should be noted, that] the term Iroquoian includes all the languages of the family, one branch of which is Northern Iroquoian;....but the northern Iroquoians whose culture patterns are treated here are a smaller grouping, geographically definable as the Iroquoian-speaking peoples of the Lower Great Lakes region" (Fenton 1978: 296).

The League formed by these Lower Great Lake Iroquoian speakers encouraged inner cohesion and served to prohibit internal warfare among the tribes, while it simultaneously presented a united front against external forces. The League was originally composed of five tribes (or nations): Seneca; Cayuga; Onondaga; Oneida; and, Mohawk. During the eighteenth century a sixth nation, the Tuscarora, (who had migrated north from the Carolinas) was adopted by the League (Fenton 1978: 296).

Following the League's formation, the 'Five Nations' began to refer to themselves as the Hodensaunee: 'The People of the Longhouse'--a name which likens them to the ancestral longhouse of their ancient villages.

"The Long House of the league stood as a magnified working symbol of the Iroquois bark-covered long house habitation, surrounded by protecting walls and palisades, its two doors opening east and west, one at the side of the Hudson, the other near Lake Erie. The north side of the Long House, as a topographical symbol, faced the St. Lawrence, the south side the Susquehanna.

This areal structure, housing the five families of united nations, covered the entire extent of its eastern door at the Hudson and its western door the Genesee. The Mohawk tended the eastern door, the Seneca the western. The hallway, running through it east and west, was the Mohawk River, another geographical symbol. The home fire of the communal house burned symbolically near its center, near what is now Syracuse, and was tended by the Onondaga. Flanking it were the seats of the Oneida and the Cayuga, near the north and south walls respectively.

As the hallway was the passage for the coming in and going out of the families and nations, so an imaginary line running athwart the middle of the Long House separated it into eastern and western halves. It divided the people of the tribe as well as the nations of the confederacy into 'sides,' working in part independently, in part reciprocally.

....These parallels constitute a three-sided symbol: the topography of the homeland of the Long House league, with a floor terrain of some two hundred miles; the longhouse in which they dwelt; and the spirit of cohesion that bound them together in amity as related families cohabitating a compartment house, each pursuing its own affairs. Always we have the symbols of practice and the practice of symbols, a rubric of Indian culture in the east" (Speck 1955: 36).

The significance of this three-sided symbol was that it provided the basis for Iroquois social organization: 1.) matrilineal descent; and, 2.) matrilocal residence patterns.

Each village site was chosen by the horticultural Iroquois for its potential to guarantee community survival. A collection of such villages combined to form a single nation (Farb 1978: 99). Each nation was composed of clans: the "social unit" of Iroquois society (Dickason 1984: 120). Among the Seneca Iroquois, current research suggests that a chronological sequence may be established for village sites (see Wray 1973, 1984; Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone 1987).

"Nearly fifty village sites located in the Genesee region of western New York state have been identified with the historically known Seneca Iroquois. The chronological ordering of these sites....[is] based on two fundamental theses--that two principal Seneca villages [one eastern sequence and one western sequence] coexisted simultaneously from at least the latter half of the sixteenth century through the end of the seventeenth century; and that these villages were abandoned and relocated approximately every twenty years. It...[is] also proposed that one or more small settlements were often associated with each of the major Seneca villages" (Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone 1987: 2; 4).

This sequence provides the contextual framework for Seneca artifact analysis--including the analysis of decorative hair combs of the Seneca Iroquois featuring the human figure motif, presently being conducted.

The impact of Iroquois social organization proved to be two-fold: 1.) it permitted the Iroquois to develop into "....the greatest Indian power on the American continent..." by the eighteenth century (Wallace 1946: 3); and, 2.) it served to systematically

structure Iroquois political life. Obviously, the size and location of the League was advantageous, and proved to be threatening and intimidating to outside forces:

"after the formation of the League, the Iroquois rose rapidly in power and influence. It gave them additional strength by concentration of effort; a constant increase of numbers by unity of the race; and a firmer establishment, through their more ample means for self-protection and foreign conquest....The period of their greatest prosperity, and of their highest numbers, was evidently about the year 1650, shortly after their intercourse with Europeans. At that time their total population may be safely placed at twenty-five thousand" (Morgan 1901: 7; 25).

Geographically speaking, the regional position assumed by the Iroquois proved to be particularly strategic during the seventeenth century. It was at this time that "...the fur trade...came to dominate all affairs in the Northeast" (Tooker 1978: 418). Being accustomed to hunting and located in an environment genuinely bountiful in game, the Iroquois found themselves in a most desirable and advantageous controlling situation both economically (i.e., trade goods) and politically (i.e., "concomitant alliances") (Dickason 1984: 121).

The League has been truly both a social and political institution. As was previously mentioned, the clan was the social unit of Iroquois society. The nation, in turn, was the League's most basic "political unit." Generally speaking, each of the five nations, though bound socially, was subject only unto itself in personal political matters: though the League held council in which all tribes were represented to discuss "...external affairs such as war, peace, and trade,....each of the five tribes was autonomous in its internal affairs;" "although their political organization was relatively complex, it was still based on the principles of non-state societies, which were fundamentally opposed to centralization of power." In other words, for example, when peace was secured with a single nation, it did not automatically extend to and include the entire League (Dickason 1984: 120; 119).

Considering that this thesis deals with the decorative hair combs of a single nation of the League, it seems appropriate at this time to convey information which is specific to it as well. Therefore, the evolution of the Seneca site sequence shall now be discussed. As was previously mentioned, an understanding of the Seneca site sequence is basic to understanding Seneca archaeology. More specifically, it is crucial to interpreting an artifact's location and history contextually. Decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif have been documented for a total of fourteen sites, spanning a period from c.1550-1700 A.D. Boughton Hill (c. 1670-1687) produced the highest number of combs (ten) for the Eastern Sequence, and its contemporary Western Sequence Village (Rochester Junction) produced the second highest number of combs (eight). On the average, each of the remaining sites either supplied one, two, or five combs respectively.

The actual Seneca site sequence was initially proposed by Wray (1973) and has since been and continues to be updated (see Table 1 for the most recent suggested sequence). In updating this sequence, researchers at the Rochester Museum and Science Center hope to produce a consecutive series of manuals for every site. Each volume of the series will represent a combination of any and all information available on the fourteen major sites (i.e., e.g., field notes, maps, sketches, etc.). Contemporary statistical and analytical conclusions regarding site age and content, specifically with reference to associated artifacts, customs, and biological remains will also be included. Once completed, these volumes will provide future scholars with an easy and accessible reference tool, which will, in turn, promote further interest and permit for more accurate research in Iroquois studies and programs. Given this fact, then, any information offered herein which makes specific reference to the sites, should be seen as preliminary. For this very reason, extensive site descriptions have consciously been avoided and only that information which seems especially pertinent to this study has been included. Only

TABLE 1  
SENECA SITE SEQUENCE

<u>Eastern Sequence</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Western Sequence</u>
Townley-Reed	(c. 1700)	Snyder-McClure
Boughton Hill		Rochester Junction
	(c. 1670-1687)	
Beal (minor village)		Kirkwood (minor village)
Marsh	(c. 1655-1670)	Dann
Steele	(c. 1640-1655)	Power House
Warren		Lima
	(c. 1625-1640)	
Cornish (minor village)		
Factory Hollow	(c. 1610-1625)	Dutch Hollow
	Cameron*	
	(c. 1595-1610)	
	Tram*	
	(no date)	
Culbertson	(c. 1550)	Adams

\*nondistinguishable as either eastern or western sequence

one manual has now been completed by the Rochester Museum and Science Center: Charles F. Wray Series in Seneca Archaeology Volume I: The Adams and Culbertson Sites (1987).

A second reason why no extensive explanation will be given for the fourteen major sites, directly relates to the questionable excavation history associated with each. Documented evidence suggests that though the sites did receive professional archaeological treatment, data discrepancies have oftentimes occurred, specifically with regard to total burial counts. In such instances, it is typically concluded that graves may have been excavated more than once, but not documented as such. Such a problem is directly attributable to four basic factors: 1.) each site was excavated by a varied number of archaeological teams; 2.) research was conducted by every team at a different era on each site, oftentimes spanning a number of decades; 3.) pot-hunters contaminated and damaged valuable (and invaluable) artifactual and contextual evidence over the years; and, 4.) pertinent site notes were many times lost and/or destroyed.

In general then, considering that the Rochester Museum and Science Center is in the process of developing a volume series for the Seneca site sequence and acknowledging the questionable excavation history associated with each site, it would be in this study's best interest to reserve from offering in-depth site subject matter and simply only include that information which is specifically necessary to understanding decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif from a material culture perspective.

The current basic philosophy of the proposed Seneca site sequence is that a series of two principal village settlements, one eastern and one western, are thought to have coexisted simultaneously, from approximately 1550 through to 1700 (Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone 1987: 2; 4). Accordingly, these villages increased in size and importance, and continuously migrated northward two to three miles every

twenty years (Wray 1973: 2). In other words, villages moved about twice in a generation and/or according to the urgency of the population's need and demand for food, firewood, building material, and game (Driver and Massey 1957: 225). The western sequence of sites, "...followed the course of Spring Brook to its confluence with Honeoye Creek near Rush, New York." The eastern site sequence migrated north and eastward (in relation to the western sequence) "...to the Honeoye Valley and then later to the valley of Mud Creek, near present day Victor, New York." The reason for the eastern site sequence northward movement, appears to have been a direct response of the threat posed by the Susquehannah--"who, in their turn were moving southward from their early villages located in southern New York State near the Pennsylvania border " (Wray 1973: 2). For each major village associated with each sequence, it has been proposed that one or more small satellite villages was also present (Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone 1987: 2; 4).

Specific information pertaining to individual sites was derived from the Registrar's Records (Rochester Museum and Science Center), the invaluable personal notes of Dr. Martha Sempowski, particularly her numerical and statistical data (Dr. Sempowski is a Research Fellow in the Department of Anthropology at the Rochester Museum and Science Center), and original site documents and diaries (Rochester Museum and Science Center). The subject matter contained within each of these sources is based upon legitimate research (i.e., excavations conducted in a professional archaeological manner) rather than amateur reports. See Map 1: Site Specifics located at the end of this thesis for further information.

Each decorative hair comb recovered from each site had originally been located in a grave. Bearing this in mind, it seems appropriate to provide a general overview of associated Seneca mortuary practices. Archaeological and ethnographic evidence reveals



that the Seneca discussed herein typically disposed of human remains by burying them beneath the ground in grave pits. Each pit might contain anywhere from one to six individuals, and was located in either a cemetery or the village area proper. Each individual recovered was generally anatomically complete, indicating that the body was intact when interred. However, there were reported cases of disarticulated and/or incomplete body burials. All burials were situated horizontally, the body typically being in a flexed position. The head was most commonly oriented towards the west. Westward orientation of the head relates to the ideological belief held by Iroquoians that it is in this direction where a person's spirit will ultimately come to rest; "the soul commences its long journey westward to where the sky lifts and admits entrance, through a series of ordeals, to the land of the dead in the sky world (Fenton 1978: 319).

For the sake of time, space, and convenience, only those sites which produced a decorative hair comb will be most fully reported on in this thesis. This is not to discredit the importance of those sites in the sequence which did not contain the artifact topic being discussed. However, for all practical purposes, detailed accounts of these sites' history seems inappropriate since no critical conclusions regarding them will be formulated at this time. The very presence of each and every site and its respective position in the entire sequence is recognized and documented, as previously mentioned, in Table 1. Also, general historical information will be included regarding specific sites lacking decorative hair combs, if it seems that this information is important and pertinent to interpreting and understanding facts associated with sites containing decorative hair combs.

In describing each comb, information will be provided, when possible, on its three main parts (top, base, and teeth) and measurements will, likewise, be offered. These dimensions will refer to the comb's longest and widest portions.

Measurements were either taken by the excavator, conservator, or myself and will be defined accordingly. In instances where measurements were taken by the excavator or conservator, credit will be allotted to the Registrar, since it is in this department where such records are now eventually filed at the Rochester Museum and Science Center. As was previously mentioned, adequate inspection (and, thereby, ultimate description and measurement) was limited by the fact that the combs were either stored in clear plastic containers or subject to display. Furthermore, many times the combs were structurally incomplete and, thus, could not be extensively nor appropriately studied.

### CHAPTER III

#### MATERIAL CULTURE INTERPRETATION OF IROQUOIS CULTURE

Considering, then, the general development of this culture and the particular establishment of the site sequence, it is soon realized that Iroquois social organization created a political world in which the assignment of power and authority was based upon and relative to conditions and issues at hand. Such a world would, obviously, cause and produce stress between the united League and its individual nations. "This not unfamiliar political tension, [is] analogous to state's rights versus federal rights....(Hamell 1984: 29). In order for the Iroquois political world (as well as its respective social world) to survive and thrive, the League and its nations must be willing to give and take; each must bend without breaking itself or the other. No society could be so ordered nor endure, unless it had plan, purpose, and reason; the basis for Iroquois social organization and the roots of its success has been its ideology or world view (Herrick 1980: 16). This revelation, i.e., recognizing the catalytic importance of Iroquois ideology to Iroquois culture, is not new. According to Fenton, Cadwallader Colden noted this very fact in his 1727 work: The History of the Five Nations depending on the Province of New York; Fenton quotes Colden as stating: "'The Five Nations are a poor Barbarous People, under the darkest Ignorance, and yet a bright and noble Genius shines thro' these black Clouds.'" From this he concludes: "Colden had the wit to see that whatever made the Iroquois great: 'It was an affair of the mind.'" Fenton finally submits "...that this quality is what governs the coherent character of

Iroquois social structure, and their tendency to systematize the elements of their culture into great institutional showpieces is what has given their culture stability over the years" (1961: 260).

"[As Berenda has so duly noted,] the chief glory of man lies in his potentiality to bring glory into his world....The glory of our world is in the world visions we create that provide fullness of meaning and direction to our lives" (1965: 9).

More succinctly, world view or "cosmology" (i.e., a culture's general philosophy and explanation as to the form, content, organization, and evolution of the universe) reflects a peoples' "value orientations" (Herrick 1980: 5). Values are "strongly held general ideas that people share about what is good and bad, desirable or undesirable; values provide yardsticks for judging specific acts and goals" (Persell 1984: 643-44). The values expressed by the Iroquois in their cosmology are evident socially and politically and, by extension, they are made manifest in every detail of life. These values stress "...the theme of balance and reciprocity between man and animal, natural and supernatural, human and superhuman..." (Herrick 1980: 5; Rose 1983: 20-1); the Iroquois have been concerned with maintaining an equilibrium of power (i.e., *orenda* or spirit) amongst and between life forces (Issacs 1977: 167). Thus, according to this philosophy, there is no imbalance in Iroquois culture only "harmony in diversity." Such a conception permits adaptability, promotes flexibility, and encourages survival--even to this day (Herrick 1980: 16). Maurer refers to this harmonic mental philosophy which is typical to Native American mentality as "profound spiritualism" and maintains that it provides and guarantees strength (1977: 18). Iroquois ideology, in general, then, has provided 'rules' for behavior; ideology has traditionally identified who the Iroquois are, why they are important, and what they are about, throughout time. Therefore, Iroquois political and social organization may be defined as physical reflections of a mental construct. It is proposed that Iroquois cultural artifacts operate in much the same way--i.e., cultural

artifacts are visual examples of a peoples' belief systems. Speck supports this theory for the Iroquois, as well as for all Native American groups in general:

" ....[such] concepts of preliterate people....are to be [generally] regarded as forming their most conservative culture properties, reflecting the entire system of their culture in ramifications leading off to other topics of ethnology, the food-quest, social organization, warfare, art-symbolism, as well as rulings of simple custom and ethical character; indeed where not?" (1931: 8).

However, it should not be assumed that these physical examples (be they institution or craft) are simple by-products of a culture. On the contrary, artifacts and social and political organization re-invent, re-vitalize, and re-define Iroquois culture. In other words, physical and ideological phenomena operate symbiotically: ideology provides the foundation for a culture, and artifacts and social and political organization justify and give meaning to that foundation.

This notion of 'mutual benefit' may be extended and carried to the Confederacy itself; as ideology and artifacts operate symbiotically, and as ideology and social and political organization operate symbiotically, so too does the League and its individual nations. The League offers, secures, and binds group identity, while the nations are defined by the clans and in turn define the League permitting and encouraging personal individuality. In sum, as Rose concludes, from individual to clan to nation, Iroquois identity reflects qualities of independence and strength (1983: 19).

"A hierarchy of numerous allegiances extends from the individual to the outermost boundaries of the society....; the only way to make sense out of it all is to postulate an orderly environment over which rules prevail even at the ultimate, supernatural boundaries" (Farb 1978: 111-12).

When these facts concerning the symbiotic relationship between a culture's mental and physical phenomena are generally considered, it becomes obvious why the Iroquois are prime candidates for material culture studies: as ideology is the basis for material culture studies, so too is ideology the basis for Iroquois culture; as material culture

studies illustrate how mental and physical constructs work for mutual benefit, so too does Iroquois culture.

Since all decorative hair combs, regardless of form or subject matter, seem to typically depict the League itself, historical events, or myths (as will be illustrated and defined in ensuing chapters), it is proposed that these depictions are indicative of how the Iroquois viewed and valued the world around them (Rose 1983: 20). The fact that decorative hair combs and human figures have been specifically chosen to harbor and preserve this information further reveals Iroquois thought processes. To understand these processes, it will be necessary to evaluate the role and relationship of decorative hair combs and human figures in Iroquois culture. To conduct this evaluation properly, an appropriate method of classification is required.

## CHAPTER IV

### STYLISTIC & FORM ATTRIBUTES

Classification is basic to any branch of scientific study. From it, collected data may be organized and arranged, and through it information may be interpreted and processed. For this thesis, analytic conclusions will be based upon typologic classification. Typologic classification is based upon the premise that clusters of artifacts naturally occur due to their sharing similar attributes. An attribute is any single characteristic of an artifact which may be observed, isolated, and studied both qualitatively and quantitatively. There are three categories of attributes pertaining to artifacts: stylistic, form, and technological. By studying these attributes particular to a given artifact class, it is hoped that ancient behavior patterns may be reconstructed spatially and temporally (Sharer and Ashmore 1979: 276; 281; 448).

Stylistic attributes describe an artifact's surface characteristics or appearance; more simply, style considers artifacts as art. Form refers to the physical characteristics of an artifact; form identifies and categorizes the observable and measurable attributes of an artifact. Art is one of the most dynamic and attractive means of expressing and defending cultural ideology. It is both a creative and created force which serves dual purposes: functionally, it communicates or preserves messages; aesthetically, it appeals to the senses (be they verbal, visual, etc.) by confirming the positiveness of those messages.

Iroquoian art (as all Native American art) functions as folk art. Folk art, as opposed to fine art (i.e., "...art for art's sake...") is a physical reflection of cultural experience.

"....It is...an inextricable part of all social, economic and ceremonial activities of a given society. It creates within a collectively established scope of forms and patterns, and always serves a definite utilitarian or spiritual purpose that is accepted by the entire group" (Douglas and D'Hamoncourt 1941: 12; 13).

More succinctly, this means that Iroquoian art embodies and possesses an

"...historically specific significance which is involved ideologically within social strategies" (Hodder 1982: 195).

However, Iroquoian art not only functions to convey and defend the ideology of a people it also, as mentioned previously, appeals to the senses, thus, confirming the positiveness of that ideology. In all practicality, craftsmen were only successful in securing a desired emotional response if they understood and appreciated their task--"one of the major criteria...[being] the degree to which...[they] recognized the force of tradition" (Dockstader 1973: 10). In other words, Iroquoian craftsmen had to have a comprehension of human identity in and of their culture over and through time and simultaneously be aware of what symbols best expressed and translated that comprehension, in order to be successful in their work; they had to know what it meant to be Iroquoian. Considering this, then, it seems proper and correct to trace Seneca Iroquois ideology as it appears via the human figure motif on decorative hair combs, in terms of related cultural events and symbolic forms.



## CHAPTER V

### THE LEAGUE TYPE

Initial observation and research of the human figure motif as it appears on decorative hair combs has revealed the existence of three primary themes or types, which are believed to purport Iroquois ideology: League; History; or, Myth. Realization of these themes is best illustrated via verbal descriptions. The first theme to be examined will be the League, since it contains the largest number of examples (thirty). Combs exhibiting this theme are found to be continuously present throughout the history of the Seneca site sequence. The League theme contains elements which, as would be expected, support and give credit to the Confederacy of the Iroquois. A general overview of the specific symbolic forms which are utilized to emphasize this theme will be provided in chapter 9

The first example of the League theme is, coincidentally, found to be featured on a comb associated with the Adams Site--the earliest site to be documented in the Seneca Site Sequence (see Figure 1) No absolute date has been offered for this site, though it is believed to have been in existence at some point during the last half to last quarter of the sixteenth century. This village, and indeed this era in general, is important to interpreting Seneca Iroquois history: Adams and its parallel eastern village, the Culbertson Site, represent the very first fortified settlements built by the Seneca. This village type would come to set the precedent for settlement patterns over the next one hundred and fifty years. The actual origin of and/or impetus for this pattern shall not be ventured into; the long term use and associated prosperity of the sequence best illustrates its true success and ultimate importance. Furthermore, its very presence is but another example of how a

FIGURE 1



mental phenomena is expressed in physical material: once more, as the Iroquois establish balance in their ideological universe, they likewise develop visual examples of this balance in the form of dual settlements which move twice in a single generation. Thus, in general, then, the number one is constantly divided and, thereby, balanced.

The motif on this particular site's comb example is commonly referred to as 'September Morn.' It has usually been concluded that the human form thus depicted is female. It should be noted that the corpse associated with this antler comb is presumed to be an adolescent female. Therefore, a female decorative item is being offered with a female corpse. Interestingly enough, the comb was not located by archaeologists at or near the head of the adolescent (as is typically the case), but on her chest. Furthermore, an antler figurine was also encountered in close proximity to the comb, likewise resting on the chest. This figurine is assumed to be male and represents the only artifact of its type to be located at Adams. At close examination, the comb and figurine are seen to be quite similar in carved detail and workmanship--most notably with regard to facial features. Given this, as well as that: 1.) the two artifacts each represent the opposite sex; 2.) each of the two objects were found together in association; and, 3.) the age of the individual interred with the objects, indicates that they may possibly be related to some sort of fertility rite. This very conclusion is supported by Wray, Sempowski, Saunders, and Cervone (1987: 37). This may well be the case. Another possibility is that the two share some sort of positive power, specifically with regard to warding off witchcraft. Assuming that combs and figurines share such a common attribute is, indeed, an interesting proposal and should be further explored. Of particular interest is the association which might be made between the human figure and either positive or negative power.

First and foremost it should be noted that, according to Parker, figurines typically operated as ideological communicators, principle being associated as anti-witchcraft charms:

"the modern Seneca say that their ancestors carved small images of the human figure to represent a witch and by placing them in a bag or other receptacle were able to prevent the evil influence of the witch after which the effigies were named" (1922: 117).

More recent research, principle that conducted by Mathews (1980), has supported and confirmed Parker's initial conclusions. Herrick maintains that a witch is "...any powerful and/or potentially dangerous thing or event....human or otherwise" (1980: 87).

Comparatively speaking, the only specific source which could be located linking decorative hair combs and witchcraft was authored by Schoolcraft. In this work he proposed that amulets and ornaments associated with the head, ears, and neck typically constituted a substantial part of the Iroquois wardrobe, serving not only as personal decorative gear but as invaluable superstitious charms as well:

"they were among the most cherished and valued articles he could possible possess. They were sought with great avidity, at high prices, and, after having served their office of warding off evil while he lived, they were deposited in his grave at death" (1970: 326).

Given this, perhaps the combs and figurines may be associated with the same type of positive power, since they also do seem to share some common structural characteristics. Most obvious is that the two both depict the human form in miniature. Another similarity worthy of mention is that each has been common as a grave offering among the Seneca oftentimes, as in the present case, appearing in association with one another. According to Parker, figurine carvings were most often composed of bone or antler. He furthermore concludes that although they were specifically common to contact sites, they actually pre-dated European influence (1922: 117). Interestingly enough, decorative

hair combs are also typically composed of bone and antler, and although particularly common to contact sites, they too are a pre-contact artifact. Obviously, the facts and conclusions thus offered surrounding figurines do not, thereby, absolutely confirm that hair combs decorated with a human form are also automatically endowed with the same specific positive powers. However, it may be said that based upon the presentation of the foregoing subject matter, there is indeed a greater tendency to assume that these combs are more inclined to be associated with good rather than bad influences. This very assumption will be further developed as more combs are examined and described.

The September Morn Comb receives its name from the painting of that title by the French academic artist Paul Chabas (c. 1912). The female depicted in this painting appears to assume the same posture attributed to the figure featured on the comb. In fact, any form which promotes this very stance, regardless of artifact type, is affectionately referred to as 'September Morn.' However, it should not be concluded that because these forms are reminiscent of an image encountered in a painting, that they reflect and harbor the same meaning. Related cultural factors have been, and always should be, paramount in artifact interpretation; "cross-cultural labelling is always dangerous and....[oftentimes it can be] misleading" (Mathews 1980: 76). So, therefore, though the September Morn Comb recovered from Adams may indeed prove to have similar features as a character depicted in a twentieth century painting and as such acquired the same name as that work of art, it should still, nonetheless, be described and evaluated on and according to its own terms.

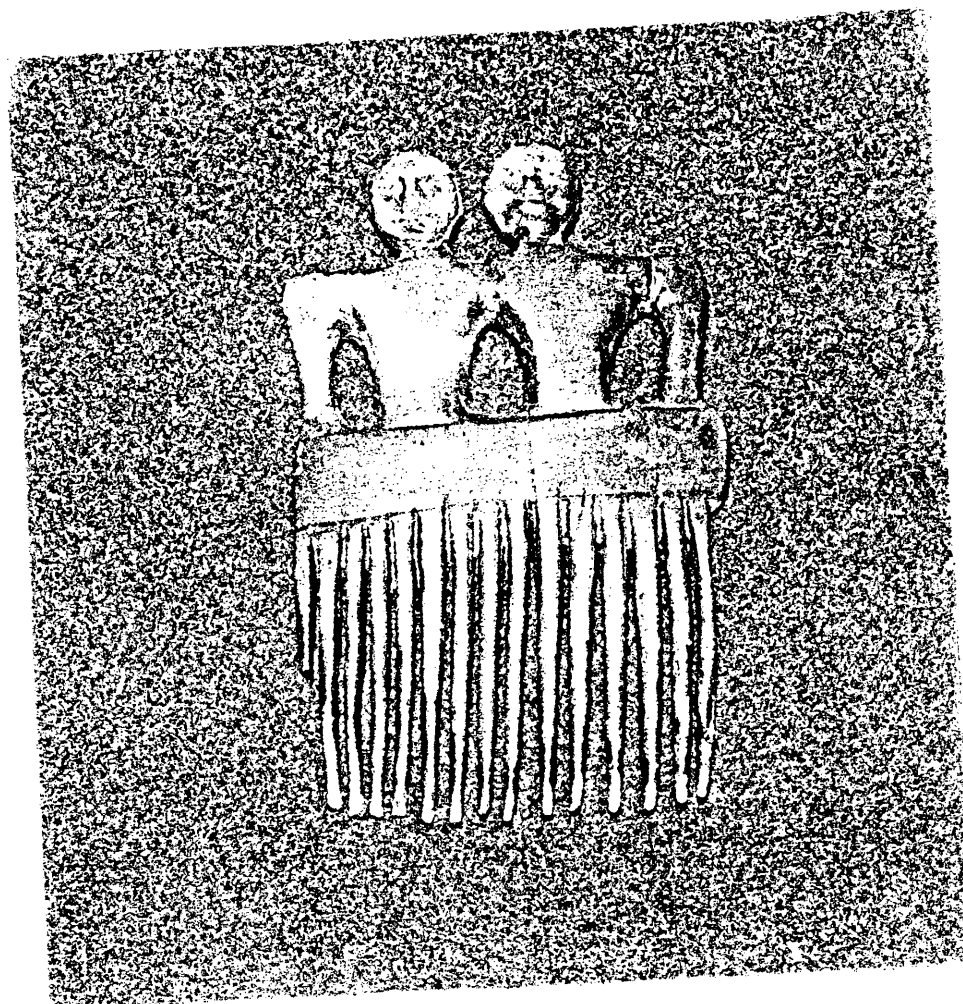
The September Morn Comb depicts a single human form from head to toe. The form faces forward. The head features a carved face: recessed eyes and mouth; raised nose. A type of chin is also evidenced. The wide shoulders slant down. The torso narrows at the waist. The figure's right arm is bent and raised upward. It is not entirely

separated from the chest and appears to clutch at same or cover it up. The left arm is, likewise, not disjointed from the figure's body. It is bent and extends downward, as a means to hide the genitals. No sexual attributes of the figure are clearly visible nor are they truly defined. The legs are fairly even in width from the thigh to the foot and are slightly bent. The feet extend forward rather than face profile. The feet attach the form to the top of the base. No open (or uncarved) space is evidenced, except for the single oval-shaped gap between the figure's legs. Other than the face, no decorative detail is encountered on the comb including its base. No arbor is present (this attribute will be further explained when it is first encountered as such on a comb). The comb contains six broken and complete teeth. According to the Registrar's Records, its length measures 5 3/8 inches and its width equals 1 3/8 inches. The comb is currently featured 'At the Western Door' exhibit.

No decorative hair combs featuring a human figure were documented for Adams' parallel eastern village (i.e., the Culbertson Site) dating to the same period. Furthermore, neither Tram nor Cameron contained decorative hair combs exhibiting a human figure; the next site in the sequence to feature the study subject as well as the League theme was Factory Hollow. As a matter of fact, Factory Hollow (c. 1610-1625) has produced a combined total of two decorative hair combs displaying a human figure motif and League type.

The first comb to be described featuring the League theme is currently displayed on the 'Face to Face' exhibit (see Figure 2). This particular comb is composed of antler and

FIGURE 2



actually contains two joined human forms. The League type is expressed via the linkage of the two forms;

"[according to Hamell,] combs depicting two, four, five and eight linked human figures may...be interpreted in terms of Iroquois or Seneca political organization. Combs depicting two linked figures...may simply reflect the basic bilateral symmetries noted in Iroquois culture, including those in clan,...[nation] and Confederacy organization" (1979: Figure 8)

Hamell further maintains that when three linked forms are displayed on decorative hair combs, the Confederacy's "Three Elder Brothers" are being represented (1979: Figure 6).

Both forms on the comb currently being described are depicted from the head to the torso. Each is facing forward and connected to the other at the shoulder. Therefore, the figure on the left ventral side lacks a left arm, while the figure on the right ventral side lacks a right arm. The other arm of each form is separate from the body and extends straight down from the shoulder. Neither of the forms meets with the other at any other point on the comb. Each form is, however, connected to the comb's base at the waist and arm. Overall, the comb makes excellent use of positive (carved) and negative (uncarved) space. Since the forms are only connected at the shoulder, three repetitive openings of uncarved space are created: between the figure's arm and waist on the left ventral side; between the waist of each figure; and, between the figure's arm and waist on the right ventral side. It has been suggested that the use of positive and negative space may prove most significant in this particular comb example. That is to say that the carved space is balanced by uncarved space; the two human figures (positive space) are complemented by three negative spaces. Furthermore, perhaps the intention of utilizing the numbers two and three as complements was to symbolically show the relationship between the Elder and Younger Brothers of the League. The Elder Brothers being Seneca, Onondaga and Mohawk, and the Younger Brothers being Cayuga and Oneida.

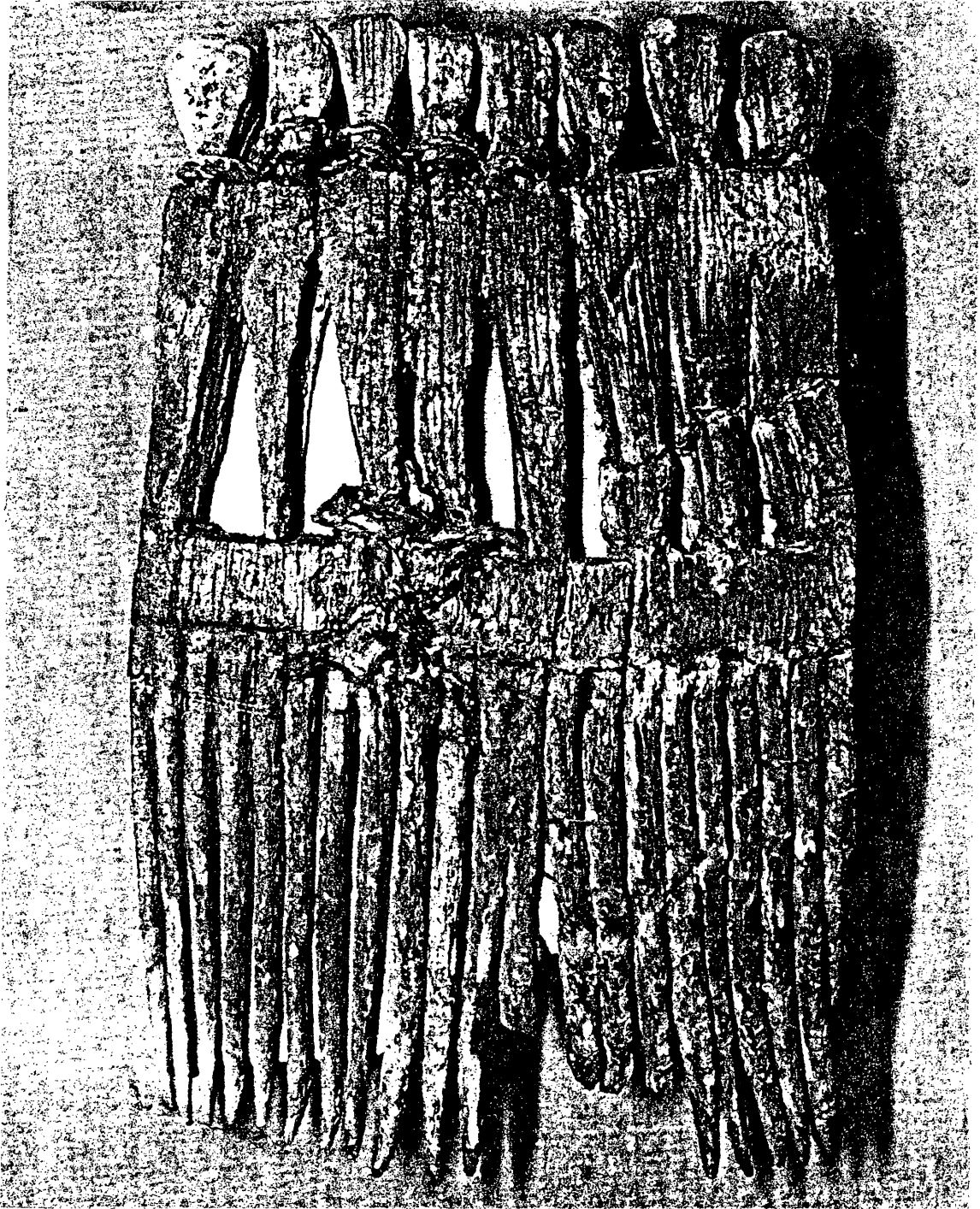


No decorative detail is evident on the comb, though both figures display facial characteristics: eyes, nose, and mouth. It is assumed that both forms are male. The comb is complete, though no arbor is offered. The Registrar's Records reveal that the comb contains fifteen broken and unbroken teeth. These records also indicate that the comb's length measures 2 3/4 inches and its width equals 1 5/8 inches.

The second decorative hair comb encountered at Factory Hollow (i.e., that which was recovered from Burial #85, see Figure 3) is currently on display 'At the Western Door' exhibit. This comb is composed of wood and actually contains eight human forms, all of which occur in succession. The forms are depicted from head to toe, but lack specific differentiated body parts. In other words, no arms nor legs are shown; each figure has a head, neck and needle-shaped body form. The bodies are connected to one another at the shoulder. It appears that twine may have once further linked these figures, the remnants of which continues to encircle the necks of a few. For this reason, this comb has oftentimes been referred to as the 'Captive Comb,' since it is believed to perhaps represent those individuals taken and held by the Iroquois as captive. Hamell proposes that these linked forms may well represent the political grouping of eight Seneca federal chiefs of the League (1979: Figure 6). According to Tooker, although the Seneca were the largest nation of the Iroquois, they had the fewest number of chiefs. Furthermore, one half of these chiefs were allied with one moiety and the second half were matched with the other moiety, with each chief thereby being paired with a chief of the opposite moiety.

"[Tooker concludes that] this practice is unique to the Senecas and may have had its origin in the old division of the Seneca into a western and eastern group--a division also unlike any found among other Iroquois tribes" (1978: 428).

FIGURE 3

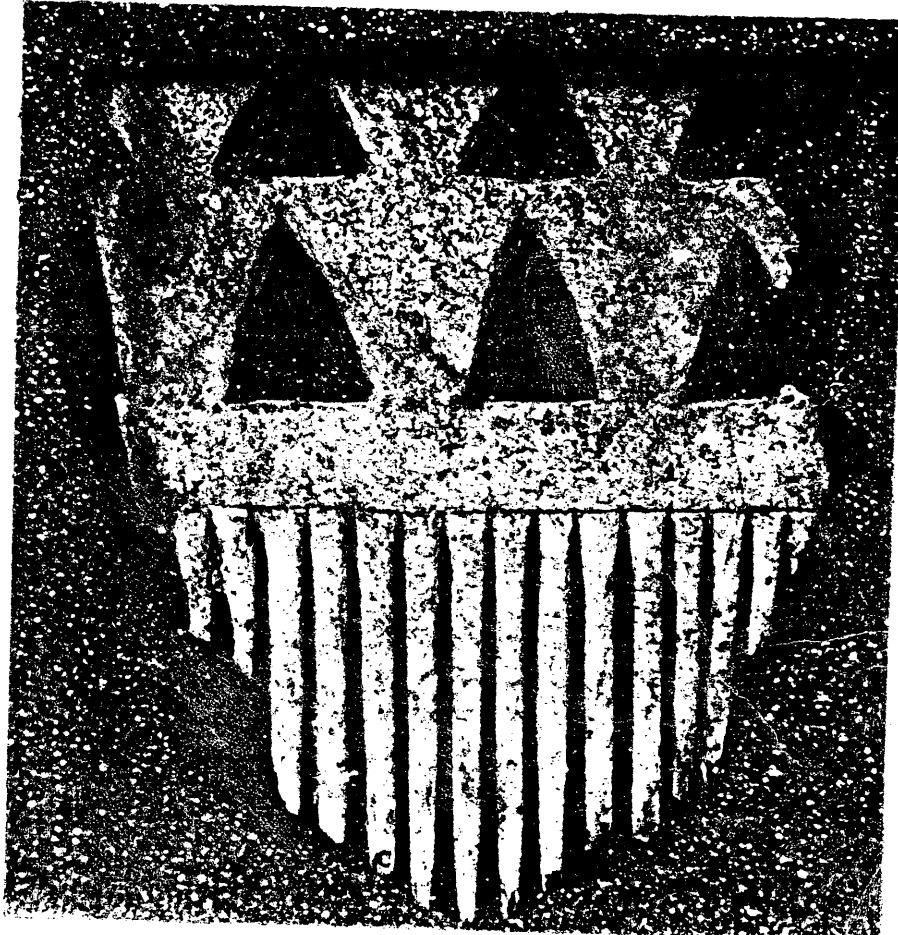


In either case, then, whether the figures in question are captives or chiefs, they are physical examples intended to support Seneca nationalism and, by extension, Iroquois supremacy.

The evidence for a cord wrapped around the forms' necks causes the subjects to appear as though they are choking. This illusion is further supported by the fact that the heads of the individuals are carved such that they slant inward. The bodies of the individuals are wide at the shoulder and then narrow towards the feet. Each form is attached at the top of the comb's base at the feet. The comb does not contain an arbor. No engraving is evident anywhere on the comb and no records were supplied which might offer information as to its measurements. I counted a total of twenty-one teeth, some of which are broken.

Dutch Hollow (c. 1610-1625) is the parallel western village to Factory Hollow. It has produced a total of one decorative hair comb displaying a human figure (see Figure 4). This figure likewise appears to support the League type. The comb's top features three identically stylized forms. The forms lack facial detail and, in fact, the comb itself is completely free of any decorative engraving. Each figure is connected to the other at the shoulder. The heads of the figures appear to be directly mounted to the shoulder--i.e., no neck is present. Each head is flattened on top, its sides converging toward the shoulder. The torso of each form is triangular-shaped, the widest portion appearing at the shoulder and the most narrow part ending at the waist--where the comb's top is connected to its base. No further bodily features are evident, except for the possibility of a partial arm extending out from one form's unconnected shoulder (i.e., on the furthestmost right of the comb's ventral side). This particular side of the comb is actually broken and, thus, it is difficult to ascertain what the exact function of this arm may have been. Between each of the three forms, and thereby separating them, is open space

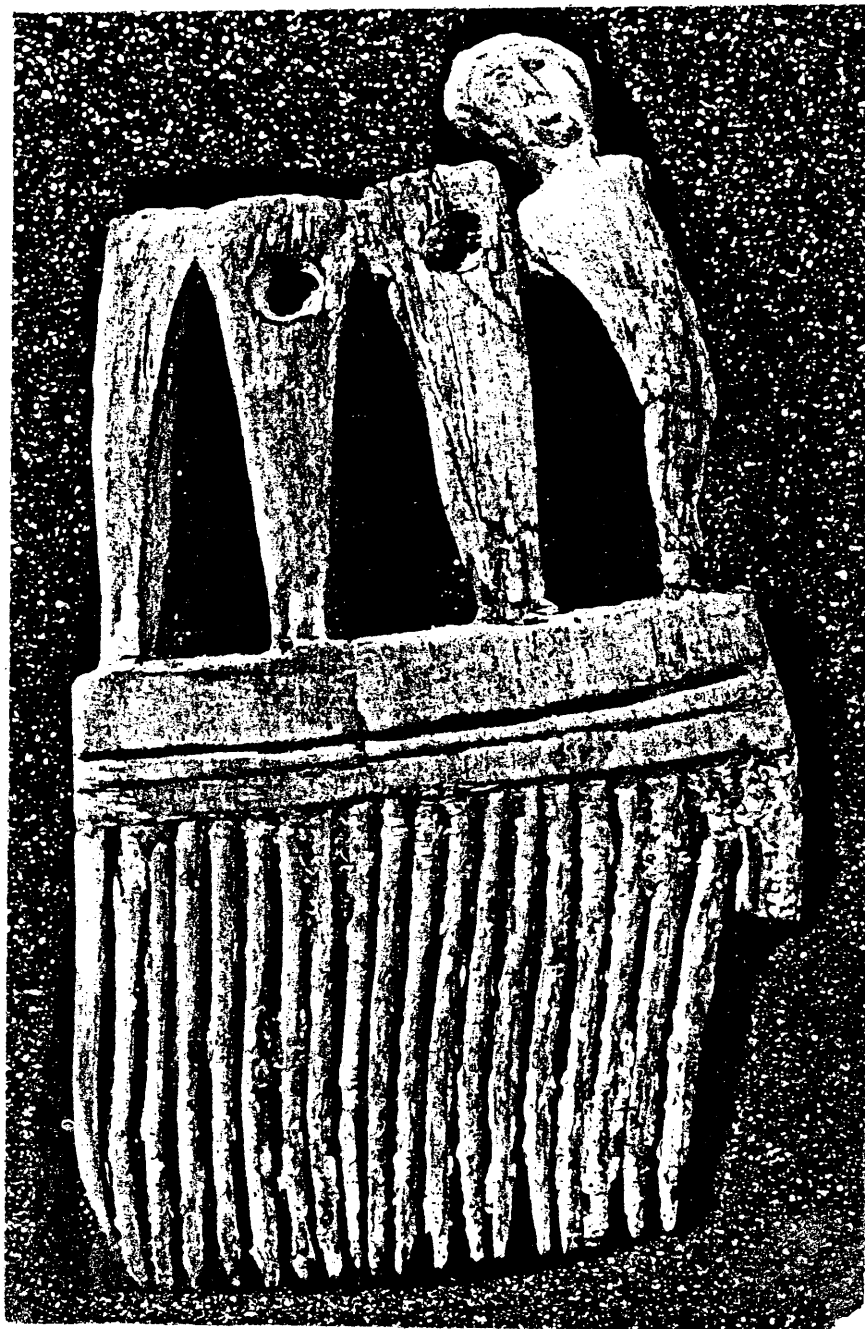
FIGURE 4



whose outline images emulate three inverted triangles. Because the comb is incomplete on its right ventral side, its associated triangle of open space is likewise incomplete. However, taken in sum, it may be concluded that the three carved figures represent the League's Elder Brothers and the three uncarved triangles mirror and reinforce this imagery. Therefore, there is logical use by the Seneca of a single concept in dual form; the repetitive use of the number three constantly reminds the Seneca of their traditional position in the League of the Iroquois. The comb's base (which is undecorated) separates its top from sixteen complete or broken teeth. No arbor is present. According to the Registrar's Records, the comb's length measures 2 3/4 inches. Its width equals 1 3/4 inches. The comb is composed of antler.

The next sequence of sites (c.1625-1640) are Warren (eastern village) and Lima (western village). Warren features a minor village (Cornish) dating to the same period. There is no evidence of a minor village for Lima. For this particular sequence, no decorative hair combs displaying a human figure have been documented for either of the major villages. However, one such comb has been recorded for the Cornish site and this comb likewise features the League type (see Figure 5). More specifically, the comb's top features one complete human form. This form is furthestmost right on the comb's ventral side. It appears as if a total of four complete forms may have at one time been present. The three forms which are now incomplete are classified as such because, although each may feature a torso, each also simultaneously lacks a head. The head featured on the fourth figure displays facial characteristics, i.e., two eyes, a nose, and a mouth. The carved sections depicting the nose and lips are raised, such that the face appears to have cheeks. The eyes are recessed, but open. The head is circular in shape, and attached directly to the shoulders. No neck is evident. Each figure is connected to the other at the shoulder. The figures appear to slant slightly inward, such that if all of

FIGURE 5



the heads of the forms had been present, they might have touched or been connected to one another. Such an illusion would have indeed been powerful, considering the very importance of the number four to Iroquois culture.

"[According to Hamell,] this is the number representing the four earthly directions which extend from the Earth's Center like spokes of a wheel to the World's Rim. Four is the number of the Winds and of Seasons associated with these directions" (1979: Introduction).

More specifically, four represents the number of roots thought to extend from the trunk of the great legendary 'peace tree' of the Iroquois, hence the term: 'four white roots of peace.'

"[According to Lyford,] the Iroquois nations symbolized peace by a tree whose top they said reached to the sun, and whose branches not only offered shelter and repose, but also extended so far that they could be seen at a great distance. The Iroquois pine tree was an emblem of the confederacy, and was variously known as the 'evergrowing tree,' the 'world tree,' the 'great earth tree,' the 'tree of life,' the 'tree of peace,' and the 'celestial tree.' The Iroquois believed it stood at the center of the world, and bore aloft the sun and moon on its branches. According to other legends it bore luminous blossoms, which provided light for humans. Its great white roots were thought to penetrate to the primal turtle on whose back the earth rested" (1989: 91).

As a final point, four is the double amount of two. Since bilateral symmetry is of such major concern to the Iroquois, when the numeral two becomes multiplied by two, issues of harmonic balance are further made important and reinstated as such.

Two holes have been drilled into the two central figures at the chest level. The actual significance and purpose of these holes may only be speculated upon. Perhaps, they were designed so that the comb may be worn as a necklace. Another possibility is that they may have helped to secure the comb during some episode of manufacture. As another alternative, the holes may have served some particular ceremonial function. According to Lyford, the Iroquois regard the circle as the symbol of life. More specifically, "...its unbroken circumference [is thought to be] symbolic of the

continuation of life in the world beyond" (1989: 92). Considering this, how appropriate, then, that this emblem should appear on a grave good. As a further note, it is interesting that these holes should appear in duplicate. Also, too, that they should be the first such mode of ornamentation to be encountered thus far on the type of decorative hair combs currently being discussed.

The holes described above are also worthy of mention, because they represent uncarved space of the comb. The only other negative area is located between the figures' bodies; three triangular outline shapes are visible between the four connected forms, directly beneath their shoulders and well above the comb's base. The triangles are, in fact, inverted images of each forms' body shape. Thus, a single concept, the triangle, is expressed in two distinct ways. Also, it is well worth noting that the triangle is a three-sided conception. Therefore, a tri-shaped image is being expressed three times through three open spaces. The number three, as mentioned earlier, is typically believed to be associated with the Elder Brothers of the Iroquois League. Since two of the carved forms are specifically differentiated from the others by each one featuring a single carved hole, perhaps they could be intended to represent the League's two Younger Brothers. As an alternative, perhaps the two forms which do not display these holes are meant to depict the Brothers. In either case, the League of the Iroquois Confederacy is particularly well-represented in this comb example.

The base of the comb features two engraved horizontal lines, which likely once more support concepts of duality. No arbor is offered on this comb. I counted a total of twenty-one complete and incomplete teeth, and according to the Registrar's Records its overall length was 11.5 cm and its width equalled 6.5 cm. The comb is composed of wood.



Power House (c.1640-1655) is the fifth village to produce a decorative hair comb featuring a human figure devoted to the League theme. This comb is composed of antler and is featured 'At the the Western Door' exhibit (see Figure 7). One form is displayed in a type of sleeping or death position: the figure reclines on its back atop a sort of couch. The position seems appropriate given the fact that the combs are typically associated with graves. Also, as work is one part of life so too must it be balanced by rest; in general, life, too, meets its ultimate balance in death. The form is complete from head to toe and is depicted as such in vertical profile. Specific bodily parts are discernible from this profile: head (including nose and chin); neck; waist; knees; and feet. The knees are bent. The form's right arm has been engraved on the body, is flexed upward, and rests at its waist. The neck is shown as being cocked slightly. Overall, the body is depicted so that its head rises higher than its feet. In other words, the form is shown at an angle. The head is present on the comb's left ventral side and its feet are located on its right ventral side. The couch follows the body's contours; it almost appears that the body floats above the couch and is unconnected to it. However, the two are attached in four different places: at the back of the head; back of the shoulder; back of the knee; and, back of the foot. Given the fact that the body is attached to the couch in four distinct places, four narrow gaps are created which separate these connected areas. These gaps represent the comb's only negative space. Thus, carved and uncarved space are balanced numerically. Furthermore, this space is what actually balances (or supports) the reclining figure featured. Since the number four has heretofore been described as being representative of the four Earthly directions and with those directions thought to extend off of the back of the primal turtle, it seems most appropriate that the figure featured be depicted as such: by being transfixated on its back, the human figure reminds viewers of the legendary turtle, an image which is further defined by the four

FIGURE 7

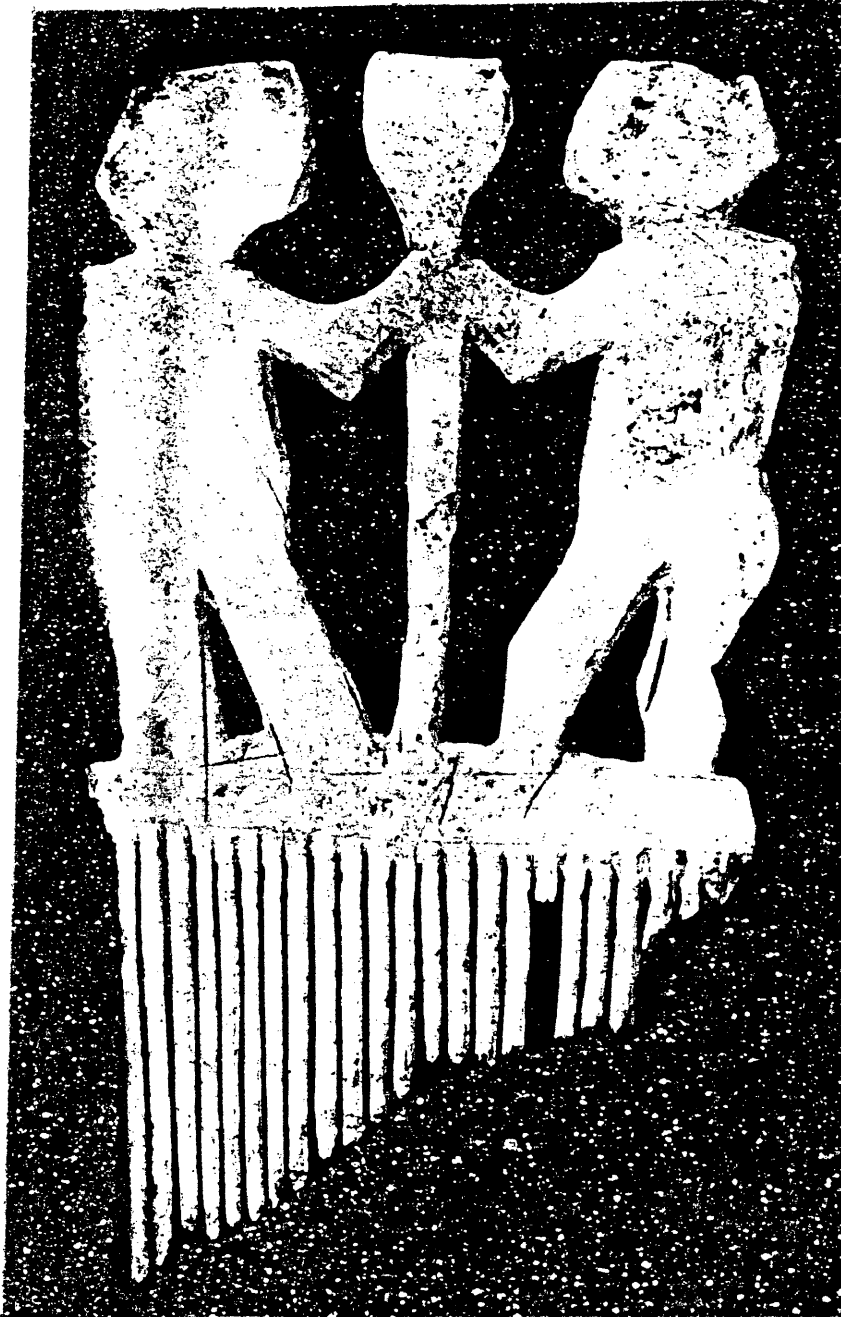


connected and unconnected spaces which are prominently linked to its back, as if to extend from it. Also, since the figure is displayed in a type of death pose (and with the artifact itself being a grave good) it is proposed that humans (not only the individual buried with the artifact but also all those individuals who have or will ultimately die) have their very origin with the turtle featured so prominently in Iroquois cosmology--an origin which extends up through their past generations and connects them with the present. This origin must never be forgotten--even in death, since death does not and cannot erase nor change what has already been. The Iroquois must never forget this origin, for with it lies their identity.

The outside edges of the comb hang down vertically along either side of the comb. This comb is approximately one half the width of the body form. Beneath the comb is the comb's base which, like the rest of the comb, is undecorated. The comb does not feature an arbor. According to the Registrar's Records its length equals 3 inches and its width measures 2 5/8 inches. I counted a total of twenty broken and complete teeth.

Four of the following examples of combs to be of the League type were recovered from a single site: Dann. Dann is a western village which dates to c.1655-1670. The first such comb is composed of antler and contains two human figures and a canoe paddle (see Figure 9). The two forms are standing profile, facing each other. The paddle extends up between them. This paddle is completely straight, except for its circular-like top. The straight line created by the paddle emulates the well defined non-curving character of each figure's torso; the rounded nature of the paddle's top serves to compliment the circular quality of each figure's head. In general, then, the forms serve as a balance to the paddle. The very fact that the figures serve this purpose is an interesting note, since most comb examples did/do not utilize the human form as a balance, but rather as an object in need of balance (refer to the Sojasko Combs described

FIGURE 9



in chapter 7). It is also interesting to once again note the appearance of the numbers one, two, three, and four. Each of these numbers thus illustrated by and through the comb's decorative top, serves as a point of reference to the League of the Iroquois.

One, is displayed through the paddle--the central carved item on the comb; the single object to which both forms cling. It is proposed that this object, thus singly depicted, is meant to represent the one united Confederacy. Two, is illustrated through the coupled forms. One arm of each form extends out and appears to grasp the paddle. The other arm is not depicted. Considering this, then, it is not possible to determine whether each figure is extending its left or right arm. The form on the left ventral side of the comb features straight legs, while the form on the right has its legs bent. These forms, thus, reach toward each other and practically serve as mirror images; it is as though they either boost the paddle or brace themselves against it (a role much like that assumed by the Hocker motif and its complimenting arbor--images to be elaborated upon in the third comb example recovered from Dann, see Figure 11).

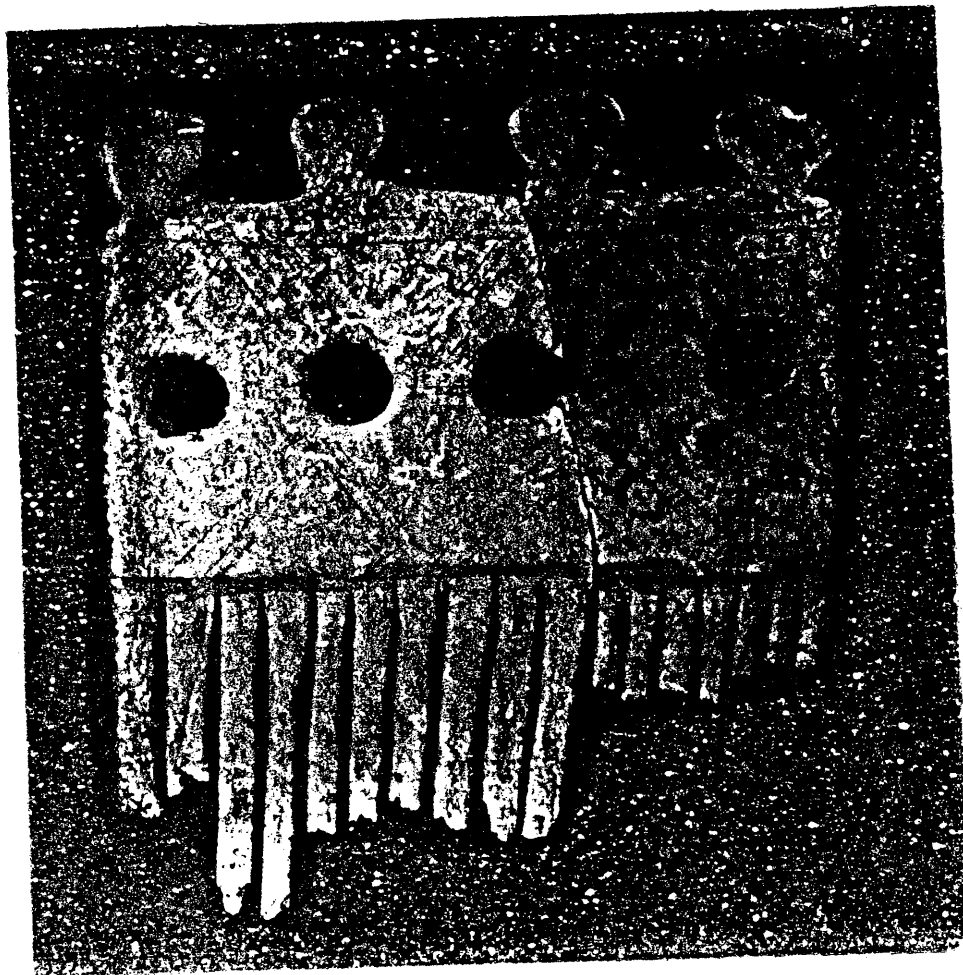
As a matter of fact, it is rather interesting that this comb does not contain an arbor given its Hocker motif overtones. It is proposed that such an attribute is not needed, given that a paddle is featured and its presence performs much the same function. Since each form is a type of duplicate of its opposite, there is balance and uniformity on the comb, between the figures, and among and between the League's members at large. These notions of balance and reciprocity are further replicated via positive and negative space. As with previous examples, the negative or uncarved area of the comb has proven to be of as much interest as the positive or carved comb area. This particular example has four negative areas, two of which are contained on each side of the paddle; each figure has a gap between its legs and a space between its body and the centrally located canoe paddle. It is once more proposed that this number is meant as a directional

reference. The number three is represented in the total figure count. It is again concluded that this numerical offering is specifically intended to remind viewers of the Elder Brothers of the League. Furthermore, since two human forms are featured on this comb, it may very well be that they are meant to signify the Younger Brothers of the Confederacy. Suggesting, then, the paddle be illustrative of the one and only League is clearly justified.

No decorative detail is present on the comb's top. It is, therefore, impossible to determine whether the figures illustrated are male or female. It is assumed that they are male, since canoes are a male oriented object. Despite the lack of engraving thus noted, deep vertical carved lines are evident on each of the figures, specifically on the calves of the legs. These lines then extend into the base portion of the comb. The purpose and significance of these lines is not known. No further carved detail is present anywhere on the comb. Overall, the comb is complete and its base is narrow. A total of twenty-four broken and unbroken teeth are featured. I calculated its entire length to measure 5 1/4 inches. Its entire width measures 2 3/4 inches.

A second decorative hair comb featuring a human figure noted for this site was recovered from Burial #7 (see Figure 10). The decorative hair comb featuring the human figure motif is composed of antler and contains four forms. More specifically, this particular comb's top is decorated with four knob-like heads. None of the heads are connected to each other, nor do they display any carved or engraved detail. The number four may again be intended to represent the four Earthly directions. The comb's base contains four holes which have been drilled beneath each of the four heads thus noted. Each hole is, therefore, a balance to its corresponding head. Furthermore, each hole may be seen as a type of negative mirror image of the head depicted above. There is, then, balance between positive and negative space on this particular comb example. It is also,

FIGURE 10



again, further suggested that the circular nature of this positive and negative space be reflective of or associated with life. The base of the comb also features a pattern of diagonal and horizontal lines. The diagonal lines appear in succession directly above and below the carved holes. They appear in clusters of single lines, first slanting in one direction and then slanting in the opposite direction. Due to the nature of the slants, the very ends of these opposing clusters sometimes connect and cross. Vacant space is also evident between the groups of lines, i.e., unengraved or blank areas. This space is triangular shaped--a symbolic image presumably linked with the Three Elder Brothers. Thus, once again a negative area, an unassuming spot, is seen to possess much significance and value. As previously defined, the clusters of diagonal lines are located above and below the carved holes, such that the slant featured above the hole is the direct opposite of that found beneath. In other words, the clusters zigzag or alternate above and below the holes. The impact of this zigzagging on the negative area is obvious: triangular images featured superior to the holes appear as inverted shapes beneath them. Thus, each angle finds a mirrored reflection of itself and is thereby balanced. This balance is reinforced by two single horizontal lines which are engraved in the negative area between each of the four holes. These lines are further complemented by a dual set which appear first beneath the four carved heads and then below the final offering of diagonal lines. Thus, three separate sets of dual lines appear on this single comb. Taken in sum, this numerical figure means that each of the five nations of the League is clearly represented; regarded separately, the Brothers of the Confederacy are being well provided for. Overall, then, as in the previous comb example, the numbers one, two, three, and four prove particularly prominent in this comb example. As a final note, it should be mentioned that the comb is complete and lacks an arbor. A total of seventeen



teeth have been calculated. According to the Registrar's Records, the comb measures 5.7 cm in length and 4.6 cm in width.

A third decorative hair comb featuring a human figure was encountered in Burial #11 and is composed of antler (see Figure 11). The comb itself is shown to feature a top decorated with two human forms and a possible canoe paddle. Each form is depicted in its entirety and faces forward. The paddle extends up between the two forms and also faces forward. The paddle is 'Y' shaped, and a heart cut-out is created by the negative space at the 'Y's crotch. Ten other areas of negative space are also encountered on this comb: between each forms' legs; on either side of the bodies' torsos; and, on either side of the heads. It is interesting that ten is the double amount of five, the original number count of the nations contained in the League. The heart shaped hole encountered on the "Y"'s crotch, being the only type of negative space found on the comb, might then be supposed to represent the single Confederacy, to which these nations owe their allegiance and identity. As the negative space is identical on each side of the paddle, so too is the positive space; the forms are identical: each figure has a broad torso, and narrow hips; both arms of each are bent up and appear to grasp at the paddle between them; the opposite arm of each grasps at the surrounding arbor; the head and feet of each figure connects at the arbor and base respectively; no clothing is evident on either; and, the facial features of each include two eyes and a nose. It is once more assumed that the two forms thus described are male, since they are associated with a canoe paddle.

Given the description just offered, it is proposed that this comb is the first prime promotion of the Hocker motif. Historically speaking, Hockers evolved c. 1640-1655. Refer to Figure 6 in this thesis. According to Hamell the Hocker is a genealogical theme which uses the human figure as its basis. Typically speaking, the figure is spread eagle such that its elbows appear to rest on its knees. When groups of Hockers are linked

FIGURE 11



together horizontally, they bespeak of societal kinship; linked vertically or obliquely, they promote lineage. In certain instances all linkages may be used, so that a three-way combination pattern is created. The Hocker theme itself is not native to the New World, let alone the Seneca; this particular decorative device has been noted among cultures of the Near and Far East, South Pacific, and South and Central America. It has, furthermore, been reported as being present among peoples of the Northwest Coast. Its popularity, as such, has rarely been reported east of the Mississippi River (1980: Figure 3). According to Hill, combs of Iroquois origin featuring this accent are particularly common to the Seneca Nation. The reason for this being that the figure refers "...to the confederate duty of the Seneca Nation as Keepers of the Western Door " (1986: 21).

Hamell explains that there are actual mechanics involved in the Hocker theme. He concludes that there are two basic underlying tools of expression: diamond shapes and hourglass patterns. These tools, most simply, are actual abstractions of the human figure. When the human figure is reduced to these geometric shapes and patterns, there is, obviously, greater opportunity for it to be applied as and used for ornamentation. Hamell cites the following examples to illustrate this point: body decoration; quillwork; moose hair embroidery; and, wampum belts. Taken in sum, then, the Hocker theme as it appears on Seneca decorative hair combs is actually a part of a much larger symbolic community; the Hocker theme is not an isolated medium of expression, limited to decorative hair combs. Since, then, a variety of Seneca subjects and objects are featured with this theme, there must be some underlying premise for its preservation and perpetuation as such. Obviously Iroquois ideology has had some influence on promoting the Hocker theme; notions of basic balance are quite obvious in the simple symmetry associated with the theme itself. Furthermore, once multiple images of the Hocker appear on an artifact, as is often the case, then these philosophic ideals are, in

turn, reinforced and repeated: when physical examples of symmetry are offered sequentially, principles of balance are encouraged and reinstated over and over again, ad infinitum (1980: Figure 3; Introduction). Also, in appearing on an artifact, their design and message are permanently sealed to forever remind future generations and cultures of their presence and importance.

It is proposed that since the Hocker image is offered in duplicate on the Dann Site example, its basic imagery (and thereby its basic message) is further made significant; how inspiring, that a symbol which is in perfect harmonic unity with itself and further bespeaks of and supports this symmetry in all aspects of life, should be featured twice.

This particular comb example has also proven to be interesting, because it is the first such artifact in this study to feature an arbor. Historical evidence for an arbor may likewise be traced back to the Steele Site, c. 1640-1655. An arbor is a decorative attribute detailed on the comb's top. As its name suggests, an arbor is a type of horseshoe ring which literally and figuratively forms a semi-circle around the comb's central motif--be it human, animal, or bird. This ring is attached to the comb at the top of its base. According to Hamell this attribute was intended to either represent the overarching sky (specifically as it relates to the Creation Myth) or the wide-reaching expanse of the Longhouse Confederacy. When human figures are placed in the center of this arbor-type framework, they are depicted as grasping or bearing up its side columns. Hamell concludes that this posture suggests that the figure is physically and spiritually supporting the Sky World and League concepts (1980: Introduction). This conclusion may receive further approval when it is recalled that these concepts are the two realms of existence which actually formulate an individual's identity in Iroquois culture. In other words, each world sets the stage for every action and interaction which a person may have not only in life (specifically the League) but in death (specifically the Sky World) as

well--a particularly important point considering that decorative hair combs are grave offerings. Also, since the arbor may be defined as formulating either one of two worlds, Iroquois ideologic elements of duality once more shine through. Perhaps then, on a larger scale, the arbor may be seen to demonstrate to members of Iroquois culture, proper rules for behavior. In other words, an individual is guided and, furthermore, ideologically obligated to uphold his physical and spiritual surroundings, since these very surroundings reciprocate by offering him his identity.

Given the fact that this particular comb example features both a paddle and an arbor and considering that a previous comb example from this same site featured a paddle but no arbor, there is question as to the reasons for such discrepancy. It was proposed in the previous example that the paddle was meant to, perhaps, serve the same symbolic purpose as an arbor and, therefore, there was no practical need to decoratively depict the latter. Since this second example contains both elements, there should not be doubt cast upon the previous conclusions; the presence of both an arbor and a paddle on the same comb top does not mean that both items cannot be endowed with the very same meaning. In fact, by having both items present together, messages are twice repeated and, thereby, reinforced--a state very much similar to that created by having dual Hockers present. Thus, once more, there is balance and reciprocity perpetuated and preserved.

In conjunction with this explanation, it is also suggested that three natural elements are being decoratively expressed: earth; air; and, water. Man assumes the role of earth; the arbor depicts those properties assigned to the sky; and, the canoe paddle serves to relate those attributes associated with water. There is, thus, balance among these natural forces as they are depicted on the decorative hair comb, which, in turn, acts to encourage members of Iroquois society to seek and strive for this very same balance in their everyday lives. The fact that three elements have been selected, in all probability, serves

to once more relate notions of brotherhood. In general, then, the numbers one, two, and three and their associated meanings may be seen to symbolically dominate this decorative hair comb--an artistic device which has, likewise, typified the majority of combs currently being described. The numeral four has also been found to be of particular significance on this decorative comb example, and information supporting its presence and the interpretation of this presence will be offered below.

There is evidence of tiny circular inlays on the comb's arbor (i.e., its corners) and on the face of each form (i.e., the eyes and nose). The comb also features cross-hatching on the arbor's very top, paddle, figure foreheads, and base. The base also contains two horizontal engraved lines which run parallel to each other and act as borders to the cross-hatching. It is interesting to note that as the two lines balance and border the cross-hatching on the comb's base, so too do the two figures serve the canoe paddle on the comb's top. Upon closer examination of the cross-hatching, it is soon realized that a series of four tiny triangles are created through the resultant engraved "x" images. The triangle image has heretofore been associated with the Three Elder Brothers of the League; the number four has been thought to represent the Earth's four directions. As a final note it should be mentioned that the comb is complete and features seventeen teeth, some of which have been broken. According to the Registrar's Records, its length measures 9.2 cm and its width measures 6.1 cm.

The fourth comb noted for the Dann Site also features the Hocker motif (see Figure 12). Actually, it is a 'purer' version of the image. When this comb was examined, it had just recently been acquired by the Rochester Museum and Science Center and, thus, no specific conclusions concerning its composition had been made. The comb's top displays a figure whose shoulders are connected to an arbor, as is its head and each foot. The figure's behind rests on the comb's base. The legs are bent. The form's torso

FIGURE 12



widens at the shoulders and narrows at the hips. The head is circular shaped (the circle, heretofore, being an image associated with life). No decorative detail is present anywhere on the comb's top. The narrow base features three visible arches which extend across horizontally. Subsequent arches may have been present, but are no longer evident due to deterioration. Perhaps, a total of five to six such arches may have originally been in existence--a number reflective of the actual sum of nations in the Confederacy. The arches are composed of two lines (one exterior and one interior). Two horizontal lines run parallel to each other beneath the arches. There is, thus, a common sensitivity to the number two. The devotion to this number is further emphasized by the fact that the figure depicted, being spread eagle, is in perfect balance with itself. A second theme is created by the arches: the all encompassing flavor offered by this decoration, is repeated in the figure's bent legs, the arbor, and the overall shape of the comb. In fact, by extension, these arches may be seen as types of mini-arbors. The meaning associated with the arbor is, likewise, extended to these small-scale versions. The comb is broken and one portion of the arbor is missing (specifically between the head and shoulder on the right ventral side). Sixteen teeth have been counted. According to my measurements the comb's length equals 4 1/4 inches. Its width is 2 3/8 inches.

The next eight examples of decorative hair combs to feature the League type were recovered from the eastern village known as Boughton Hill c. 1670-1687. The first such comb to be described for the site presents itself as a most unusual case: it was recovered from a refuse area as opposed to a grave; it was previously stated that each decorative hair comb removed from each site had originally been located in a grave. The fact that this particular comb does not also find its origin in a tomb is somewhat unusual,

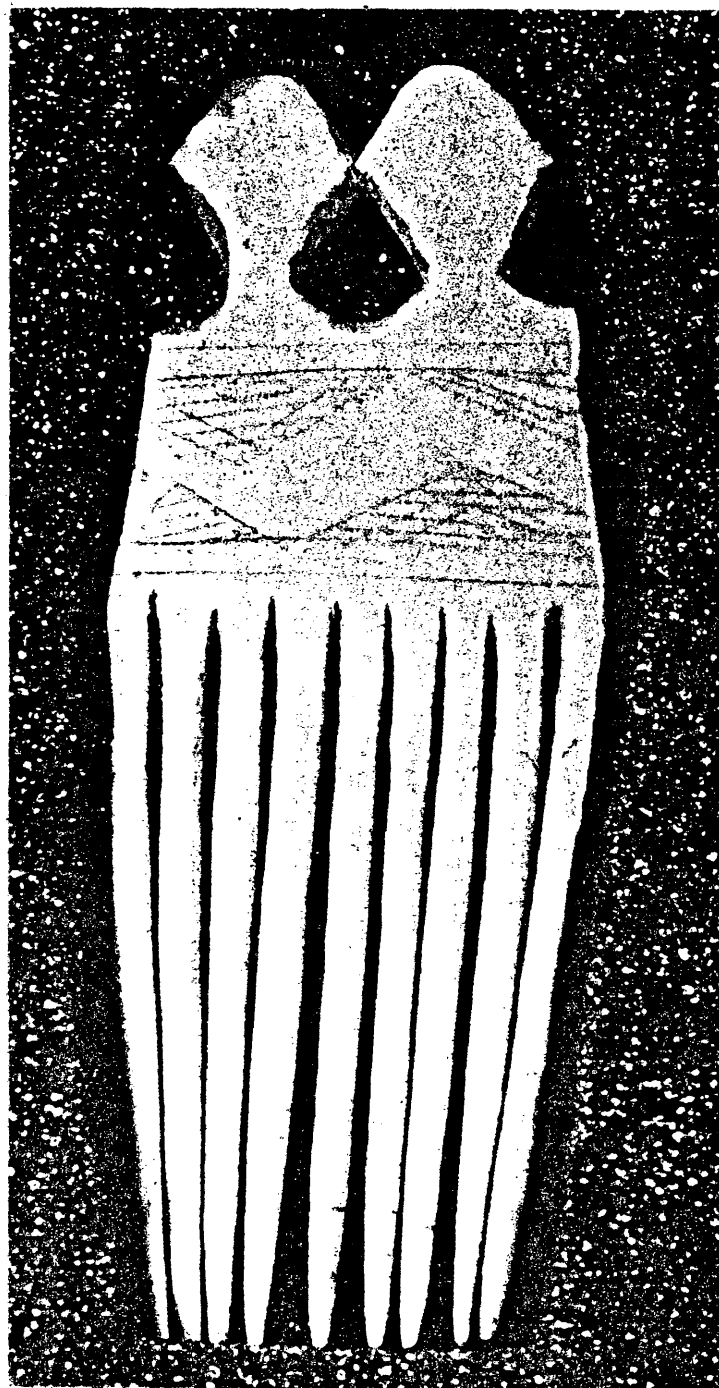


however, it should be remembered that many if not most of the burials to which these combs are traced have been disturbed.

The comb is composed of antler and contains two human forms on its top (see Figure 16). Only the head and neck of these two individuals is depicted, and no facial detail is offered. The two forms are connected to each other at the ear. The neck secures each head to the base. The head of each form is somewhat rounded, and no hat is present on either. The only decoration detailing the comb is located on the base itself. Here, a complicated series of lines and angles are evident: most basically, a series of five horizontal lines running parallel to each other are coupled with two triangular shapes and three diagonal lines. This design first appears right-side-up and then it is inverted. The comb is complete, contains no arbor, and has a total of nine teeth. Given the fact that the two forms are connected at the ear and since no other bodily parts are featured (as well as no arbor), there is only one single negative space on the entire comb. This space is located between the necks of the forms. In all actuality, its general outlining shape might best be described as an inverted version of the carved heads of the forms. In sum then, one blank space is complemented and balanced with two carved shapes; one Confederacy is defined by and composed of two moieties. According to my calculations, the comb measures 3 inches in length and 1 1/16 inches in width.

Given this information it is obvious that images of the Iroquois Confederacy are well defined in this particular comb example; aspects of duality and unification are clearly illustrated on this comb's decorative top. Its base, however, is also then well-marked with angled lines and shapes--sharp images which directly contrast the curving lines of the forms resting superior. Thus, two distinct stylistic devices are in use, in two different portions of the comb. The numbers five, two, and three dominate as ornamental elements on the comb's base. Five most likely refers to the original nation

FIGURE 16

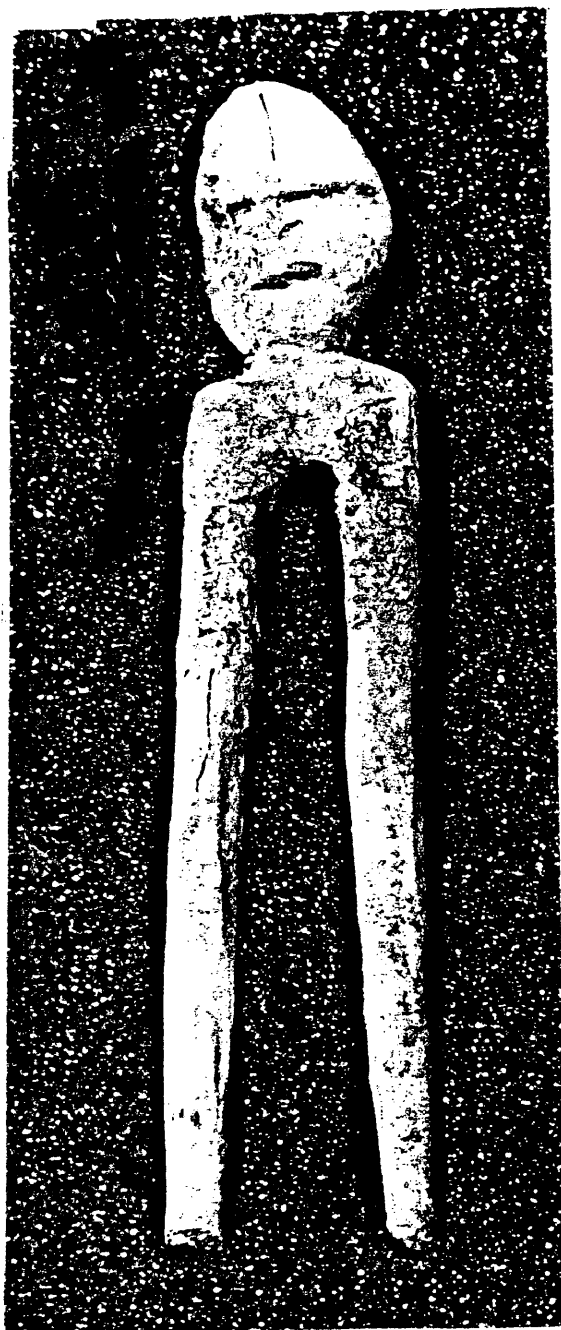


count of the Confederacy; two and three probably bespeak of the Elder and Younger Brothers. Furthermore, the two forms on the comb's top define these brothers into their two distinct moieties. The comb's top, thus, is understood through its base and vice versa; both sections of the comb are dependent upon the other for interpretation--much like the nations themselves.

The second comb encountered at Boughton Hill appears to be more of a hair pin type artifact; this "two-pronged antler 'masket' hair ornament," as it is classified in Museum notes, contains two tines and no base (see Figure 17). The top features a single head. Facial details are present, including two eyes, a nose, and a mouth. All of these details are recessed and oval shaped. The head is, likewise, oval in shape. The top exhibits no further decorative evidence. A neck connects the head to the two tines. Each tine extending off of the neck features a curved edge, creating a shoulder-like image. The tines extend straight down and equal in distance apart the overall width of the head. The comb is in perfect balance, each half mirroring the other. No arbor is present and no negative space may be accounted for. I calculated the comb's length to be  $4 \frac{9}{16}$  inches and its width to be  $\frac{13}{16}$  inches.

Comparatively speaking, this comb is generally lacking in overall detail. Its significance, as such, should not, however, be overlooked. In fact, the ultimate simplicity of this comb indicates that even in instances where a limited amount of decorative detail is presented, concepts of ideology can still, nonetheless, be offered and related. Perhaps, such artifacts are actually more direct in their communication. For example, the two tines depicted on this comb strongly defend concepts of duality, further underlying its importance and defending its legitimacy. These tines, in turn, extend from a single form's head, perhaps suggesting that as one figure branches into two tines, so too does one Confederacy divide itself into two moieties. It is interesting, as an aside,

FIGURE 17



that the teeth of a comb should be showing themselves to be of special significance in interpretation. In previous descriptions, due to the overall variance in tine count, no actual attempts were made to suggest the symbolic importance of teeth to each individual comb nor to the group of combs at large.

Two other Boughton Hill examples featuring a human figure presumed to be illustrative of the League theme contain a single form. These particular combs are incomplete; only the top portion of the first comb is extant, the base and teeth both being absent (see Figure 18). This comb is composed of antler and contains a male form who is clothed in European fashion. The figure is standing, facing forward. Both arms extend out from the body, bend down, and then rest on the hips. The legs are not bent and feet are present. No facial expression is offered, however the form does feature a hat. The head is round. A series of engraved, superficial pin-dot holes extend down from the chest, and then continue running down the center of each leg. A total of five single pin-dots appear on the figure's chest; seven dual pin-dots are featured on the right leg (ventral side); eight dual pin-dots are present on the left leg (ventral side). The outside of each leg and foot is notched, approximately from the knee down. Each notch extends out from the body and points upward. It is possible that this figure once featured further detail; unfinished edges on and around the hip area suggest that this may have been the case. No arbor is included. I measured the figure to be 11/16 inches in length and 7/8 inches in width.

It may very well be that this comb was a variant of the Hocker theme and/or even the Sojasko Myth--this myth will be elaborated upon in chapter 7. Though the arms of the figure do bend in, rather than extend out, its general stance and associated decorative detail seem to promote this/these very theme(s). The five single pin-dot holes featured on the figure's chest probably are intended to relate to the five original nations. Since the

FIGURE 18



dots then branch off, duplicate, and run down each of the figure's legs, there is a well-defined decorative representation of the League's moieties. It is also proposed that the figures' bent arms are meant to represent miniature arbors. Thus, generally speaking and given specific conditions, when a comb is an incomplete state, recognizable aspects of Iroquois ideology can still be identified and defined.

Unfortunately, such conditions are not always available with each and every artifact, even at the very same site. Preservation factors were less than ideal for the second comb which was incomplete (see Figure 19). This comb lacks teeth, though it does contain a top and base. Additional indecipherable fragments are offered in a separate, clear plastic bag. The form appears to feature European dress, but decorative detail is lacking and no hat is present. The head is somewhat rounded and the torso is complete. The figure is missing three of its limbs; the only complete limb is the leg on the comb's right ventral side. This limb connects the top to the base. The remaining limbs are eroded down to mere stubs. The base, likewise, is undecorated. There is no evidence of an arbor. I measured this antler comb's length to be  $3 \frac{7}{16}$  inches and its width to be  $1 \frac{3}{4}$  inches. Considering the limited amount of information which is available on this specific example, no formal conclusions regarding its detail will be offered. However, its very presence on the site needed mention and its current residency at the Rochester Museum and Science Center required notation.

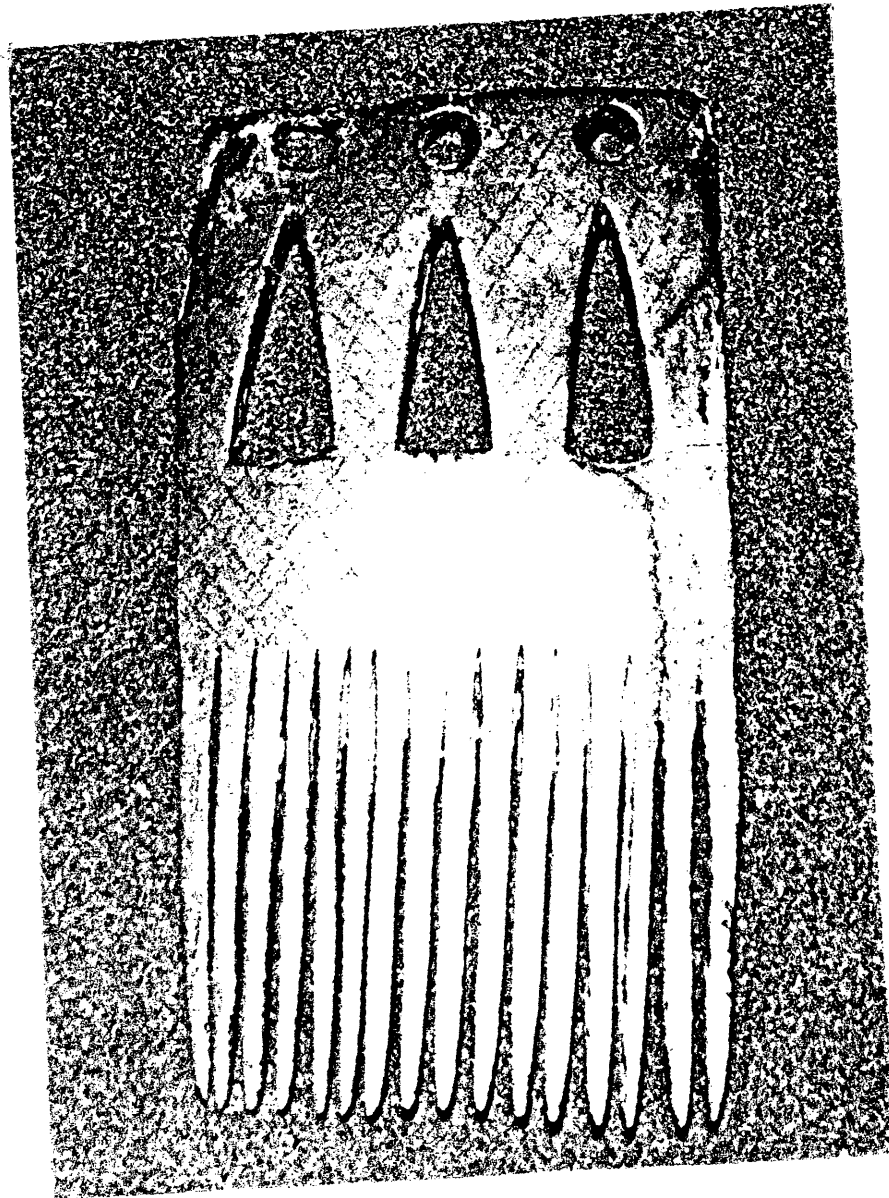
Two additional League type combs found at Boughton Hill currently appear on the Museum's 'Face to Face' exhibit. The first of these combs to be described is composed of antler and contains three human type geometric forms (see Figure 20). These forms are represented in negative space and are made of three separate cut-out circles which are unattached from three blank triangles; the circles seem to represent heads, and the triangles are the associated bodies. This is a most obvious reflection of the Three Elder

FIGURE 19





FIGURE 20

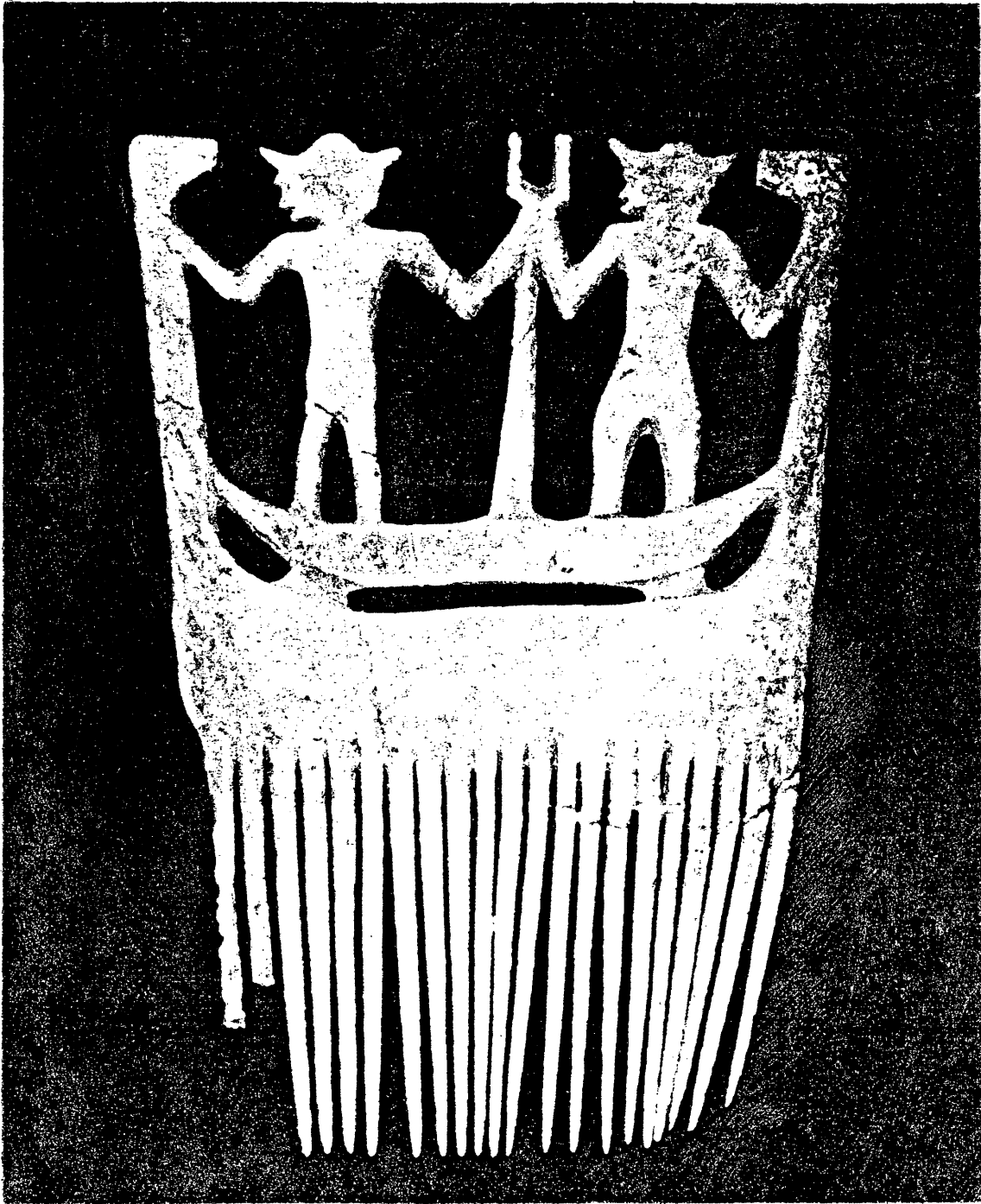


Brothers. No limbs are represented in any way, either by carving or engraving. The only decorative detail present, is an all over series of multiple cross-hatch lines which extend from the top of the comb to the end of its base (i.e., the teeth are the only area lacking cross-hatching). The base itself is differentiated by two horizontal bands which are located across its top and bottom respectively. According to the Registrar's Records, the comb measures 1 7/8 inches in width and 3 5/8 inches in length. I counted a total of sixteen teeth.

This comb is a most unique example since it is the only product in this study to feature the human figure in negative space. The rationale for this depiction is uncertain, as is its impact. The quality of this comb would make it an unlikely anomaly. However, why such deliberate attention would be given to: 1.) creating these human forms out of negative as opposed to positive space; and, 2.) only limiting this representation to one comb example (i.e., one known comb example) is not truly certain. This might once more be reflective of Iroquois attempting to cope with their ever changing world of contact. This comb could, thus, mark Iroquois ability to make sense out of a world of confusion: i.e., to overcome empty space and, thereby, make it more familiar; rather than have blank space serve as a metaphor for Iroquoia through total number count, an attempt is being made to have the human form adopt this area and thereby make it its own. In other words, the human form knows no bounds. Such adoption is a bold maneuver, but one which did not seem to retain popularity. Perhaps, the appearance of the human form in negative space was no longer warranted after this appearance.

The second comb featured on the 'Face to Face' exhibit is likewise composed of antler, but it contains two human forms (see Figure 21). These forms are standing in what appears to be a boat. Situated between them is a stake-like object, which also has its origin in the boat. Both forms' bodies face forward, though their heads are

FIGURE 21



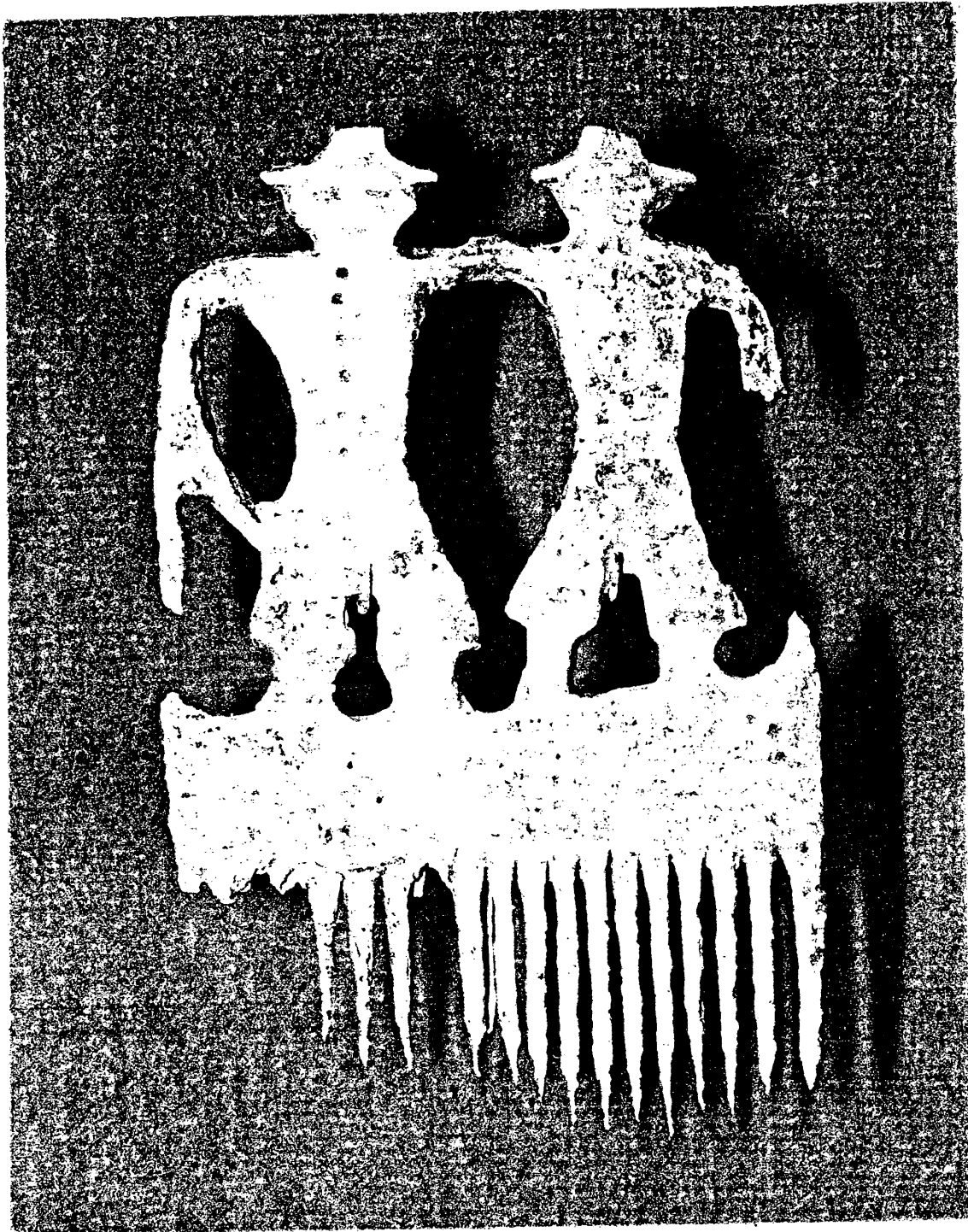
positioned profile facing ventral left. No engraving is evident anywhere on the comb, however the carved outline of a hat is clearly visible on both forms. The inside arm of each figure grasps at the central stake. The stake itself is the same height as the forms and its top features two prongs. The device is, therefore, most similar to a trident. The comb also has two columns which are located on the outside of each figure, respectively. The base of each column forms the edges of the boat and the top of both is equal in height to the figures and the central stake. Both figures clutch at these columns with their respective outside arm. No measurements were made available on this particular example. I counted a total of twenty-one broken and complete teeth.

Though this comb is a most unique specimen, it does appear to have some characteristics linking it to examples originally cited at Dann: two male forms and a central beam, i.e., two men and a paddle/stake. Though these past examples do not exactly resemble this Boughton Hill selection, the common array of attributes cannot be denied. A certain specific which makes this comb an interesting specimen and separates it from the Dann descriptions, includes its lack of an arbor but incorporation of side columns. Also, rather than being directly affixed to the comb's base, the forms, stake, and columns are connected to the boat. As a further point, the forms feature European hats and, though their bodies face front, their heads are depicted in profile; the comb located in Burial #50 had its figures pitted towards each other, while that which was retrieved from Burial #11 had its forms facing forwards. It is curious that in this example, the bodies be twisted in one position and the heads be pivoted in another. However, though this may be true, the heads and bodies of both are at least identically situated in that each has its torso facing front and its head aligned ventral left. Thus, then, there is a degree of harmony in this state of opposition. Concepts of the Iroquois League are, then, being affirmed here. This affirmation is extended by the way in which

negative space is depicted; the number three is particularly prominent on this comb--a number associated with the Elder Brothers. All told, nine negative spots are present on the comb. Each spot may be plotted into one of three groups. Evidence for the first two groups may be seen in three open areas surrounding each form. Three additional open spaces which serve as gaps where the comb's top is attached to its base, make up the third group. The number two (reminiscent of the Younger Brothers) is also obviously represented by the forms and the side columns. This number is further verified by the dual worlds of earth and water which are being offered. One (indicative of the League) is likewise recognized via the central beam and the boat. Five and six (numbers also typical with League affiliation) may be seen in the total carving count: five equals the number of carved fixtures in the boat; six equals the complete number of carvings.

Another comb found to be illustrative of the League theme now appears 'At the Western Door' exhibit. This comb contains two human forms (see Figure 22) and is composed of antler. The forms displayed on the comb's top are standing and facing forward. They are featured in European dress: hat; suitcoat with buttons; breeches; and, boots. The buttons on each of the forms are actually six single pin-dot holes which extend down, from the neck to the waist. The number of holes could well reflect the number of nations currently contained in the League, although it is generally assumed that the Tuscarora did not join the Confederacy until the eighteenth century. Both of the forms, also, feature a face: two eyes and a mouth. The shoulders of each form are wide, the waist is narrow. The inside arm of each form seems to be wrapped around the back of the opposite figure. A space is created beneath the linkage of these arms between the two bodies. The outside arm of both forms is, likewise, separate from the body but it extends down. The outside arm of the form on the left ventral side of the comb connects at the form's own waist. A space is, thus, present between the arm and

FIGURE 22



waist. The outside arm of the figure on the right ventral side is broken halfway down, but it is assumed that it too must have once eventually been connected at the form's own waist. The remnants of an arbor are evident, specifically on the left ventral side. Here, a portion of it is seen extending down off of the outside arm of the figure on the left ventral side. Other evidence of an arbor is found in the form of stubs, which extend up from the top of the base on its outermost edges. In all cases, the width of the arbor is the same as that of each of the forms' arms. The feet of both forms connect them to the comb's base. The base is undecorated. Since portions of the arbor are missing it is difficult to realize all areas of positive and negative space in this particular comb example. However, if both sides are assumed to be mirror images of one another, it is not difficult to surmise what the completed comb may have once looked like. Given this thought, it then becomes obvious that when the outside arm of the figure on the right ventral side of the comb is complete, a total of three negative spaces are created: one between the outside arm and body of the figure on the left ventral side; one between the two figures; and, one between the outside arm and body of the figure on the right ventral side.

Considering the above information, then, the two forms might very well represent the Younger Brothers of the League and the three open spaces could be seen as the League's Elder Brothers. Thus, as the positive and negative spaces of the comb complement each other and operate together, so too do the Brothers of the League. The two forms thus displayed, would serve to define the brothers into their respective moieties. Furthermore, as the two forms are linked to one another, so too are these moieties; the interior upper limbs of the forms actually bind and blend them together, thus forbidding individual identification and, instead, promoting mutual recognition. Given the blood ties which existed across and through these separate moieties, such

recognition would certainly be worthy and most appropriate. No measurements were available for this comb. I counted a total of nineteen teeth, some of which were broken.

With this particular comb example, it is likewise interesting that two European type figures should be displayed; this comb is the first such example to contain two human figures garbed in European fashion. Furthermore, these two figures are the only forms featured on the entire comb. Given the fact that the Iroquois made and used these decorative hair combs as communicating culture mediums for their thoughts and observances, this ornamented depiction most likely reflects the then current relationship between Europeans and Iroquoians. However, there seem to be three interpretive possibilities for how the Iroquois actually viewed the temperament of this relationship during the late seventeenth century. On the one hand, the Iroquois may have had growing suspicions regarding their foreign contemporaries' methods and motives in trade and contact and, thus, manifested this concern decoratively. In other words, the Iroquois were attempting to show that the friendly demeanor exhibited by Europeans was not to be trusted since it threatened the actual establishment and perpetuation of the League. Craftsmen, thereby, acknowledged and communicated this realization by showing Europeans in a carved a position typically reserved for Iroquoian subjects. Such carvings would then serve to warn observers that as European subjects had replaced Iroquoian characters, so too would this very conception be carried over to the everyday day world of policy and politic.

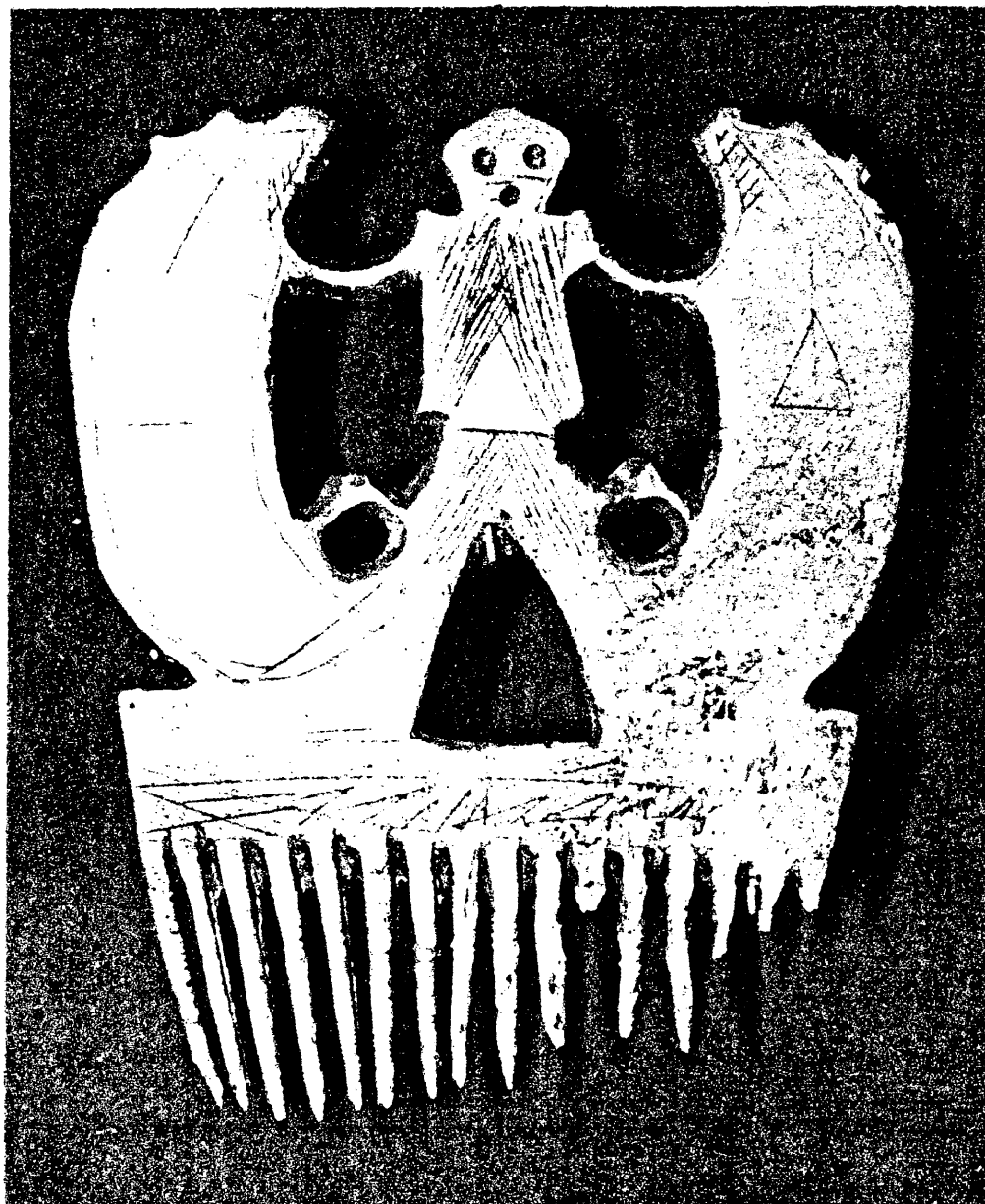
As an alternative, this display may well be intended to recognize Europeans as laudable comrades. Such a commemoration would, indeed, be justified and supported given the positioning of the figures and the associated history of past comb examples; in depicting Europeans in a role normally assumed by Iroquoians, Iroquoians may actually be complementing the former and classifying them as equals or brothers. As a third



possibility, the Iroquois may be attempting to creatively project and rationalize their relationship with Europeans; Iroquois effectively defined their interactive history with Europeans as both a good and bad experience: there were positive and negative moments of contact between the two groups, as there were worthy and unworthy European representatives who contracted and arranged for contact situations; i.e., as there are two European type figures decoratively displayed, there were two European personality types. Thus, given the actual variance of either positive and/or negative historical relations and associations between the two ethnic groups, it is logical that there would be a crossing over and/or exchange of cultural ideas as expressed artifactually: a European figure on an Iroquoian artifact featured in an Iroquoian stance or pose. However, regardless of the actual terms of relations between Iroquoians and Europeans during this specific period (i.e., whether the two groups were friends, foes, or, formal acquaintances), it is clear that the former sought to rationalize this interaction via artifactual form.

A second comb on display 'At the Western Door' exhibit and likewise believed to be a League type contains a single human form, and two bears (see Figure 23). This particular comb example appears to be a variation of the Hocker theme: the figure is standing, facing forward and has both arms extending away from the body, bent up; the legs are straight, but they too spread away from the body. The bears are featured in profile. The arms of the individual connect at the chest of each bear. The hind paws of each bear rest on the mid-thigh portion of the form. It, thus, appears as though the individual is either bracing against the two bears, or pushing them away. In either case, each is functioning as a support to the other. As with many of the other combs featured in this thesis, there is conscious use of both carved and uncarved space. For example, a series of two open spaces are created beneath the arms of the figure (i.e., between the

FIGURE 23



figure's body and the bears) and a third open space is evident between the figure's legs. Thus, there is a numerical theme evident with this particular comb: one human form; two bears; and, three open spaces. Perhaps, the individual is intended to represent the League while the bears and spaces are meant to represent the Brothers of the League (i.e., Elder and Younger Brothers).

As in certain previous examples this comb is likewise a depiction of two animal worlds: man and beast. As with other noted comb cases, neither world is seen to be superior to the other, nor are they in any specific competition with each other. Each world is merely an extension and reflection of the other. In other words, the bear is not only a beast of sustenance to man, he is also a character of clan definition. Man is, therefore, dependent on this creature for his identification and livelihood. However, being a beast of the wild, the bear is, at times, a foe to be reckoned with. Man, thus, is caught in the middle of a push/pull relationship, where he battles with an animal which both serves him and has the potential to make him suffer. The comb of discussion clearly illustrates this very premise. The bear, too, secures a certain degree of specific identification from man. In being a combined dual persona of friend and foe, the bear finds his true definition; without man, bears would lack identity and have no meaning. The particular decorative hair comb in question, illustrates this fact, too.

The bears are shown to have no physical features other than the hind paws mentioned above, except for a snout and ears. The backs of the bears are arched. They are connected to the top of the base by their tails. The figure is attached to the top of the base by its legs. The legs of the form are thicker than its arms and they extend down slightly farther into the base of the comb than do the bears' tails. The body of the individual features a square torso and narrow hips. Decoration is evident on both the form and the bears. The form features two eyes and a mouth. The torso is cross-

hatched with diagonal lines which meet at the center of the chest. The legs feature similar diagonal lines which cross connect at the hip. One small triangular-shaped area of the individual does not contain any engraved lines. This area is best defined as being between the waist and hips. This triangle is complemented by two others, one appearing directly on the bear to its left and one on the bear to its right. It is interesting that one three-sided geometric shape should make its appearance three different times on two different figure types; once more, the numbers one, two, and three are evidenced. The bears also feature cross-hatching on their snouts. This cross-hatching is further credited on the comb's base. No measurements were made available on this particular comb. I counted a total of sixteen complete and broken teeth.

In general, the Boughton Hill site is a most intriguing archaeological wonder. For further, more detailed information, readers are directed to The Iroquoian, No. 10, Spring 1985, pages 2-65.

The next site to feature the League type on a decorative hair comb is a minor village known as Beal (c. 1670-1687). This comb is composed of antler and features but a single human form (see Figure 24). This form appears to be that of a European male; although no decorative engraving is present anywhere on the comb, the form does wear a hat. Only the figure's torso is depicted; detail from the waist down is missing. The figure is assumed to be standing. Its body faces forward and its head is turned sideways. Both arms extend out from the body: the arm on the comb's left ventral side is raised upward and is unattached; the arm on the right ventral side of the comb is bent down and rests on the top of the base. The waist of the figure also connects the top to the base. There is evidence suggesting the one time presence of an arbor; two eroded stubs extend up part way from the base on either side of the figure. The base itself is quite long, comparatively speaking, perhaps suggesting that the comb was in the process

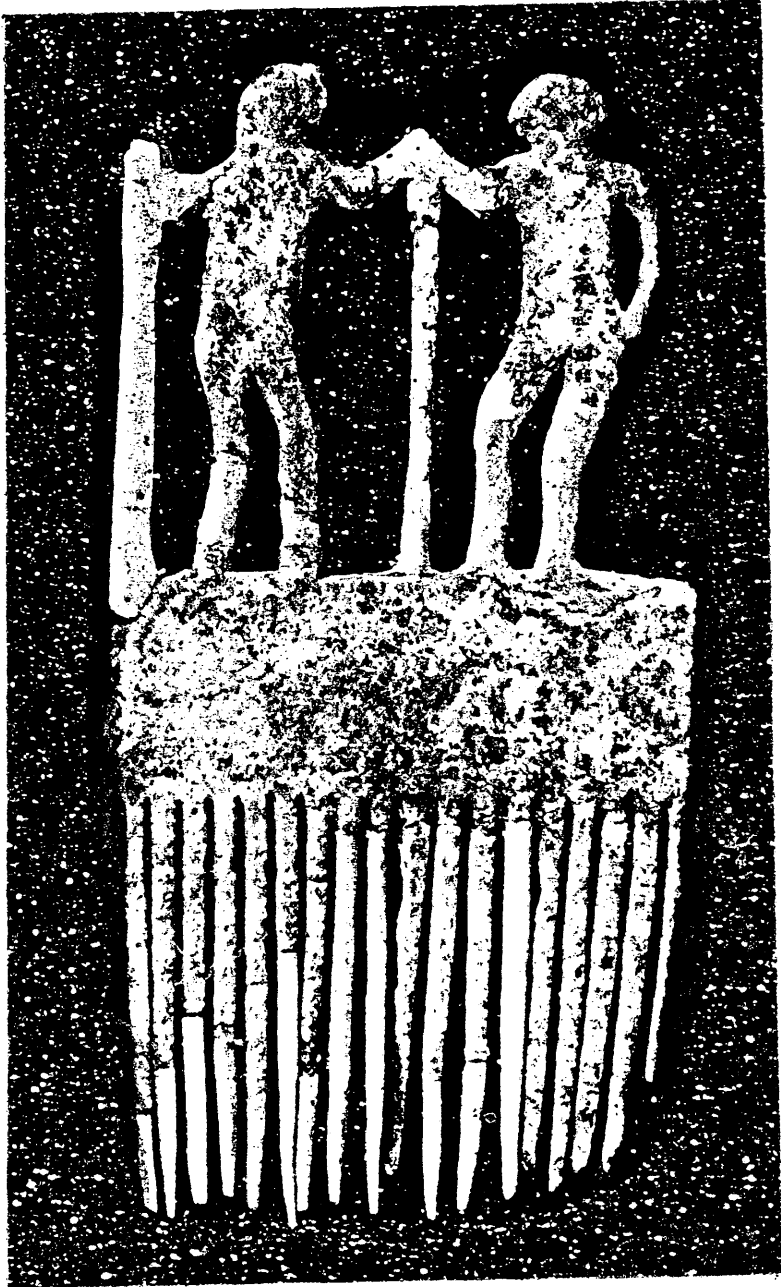
FIGURE 24



of being manufactured prior to its deposition. That is to say that the top would have probably ultimately included more carved detail, thereby limiting space presently assumed by the base. A total of eighteen broken and complete teeth have been counted for this comb. I measured its length to be  $3 \frac{5}{8}$  inches and its width to be  $1 \frac{11}{16}$  inches.

The next comb example to be described was recovered from the Rochester Junction Site (c. 1670-1687), the parallel western village to Boughton Hill. This League type example is composed of antler and contains two males and a canoe paddle (see Figure 25). This comb has also been listed as depicting two wrestlers and a stake. In either case, the forms are standing profile and a paddle or stake extends up between them. It should be noted that approximately one half of the carved detail present is synthetic in character and not pure to the comb itself. It is, therefore, difficult to ascertain if all of that which is observed is true and accurate to the comb or a matter of later speculation and interpretation. Regardless, the comb will be described, herein, as it appears. One arm of each figure extends out, bends up, and rests on the paddle/stake top. The other arm of one figure extends out, bends down, and rests on the form's hip (right ventral side); the arm of the second figure extends out and grasps at a second paddle/stake which extends up and is connected to the base (left ventral side). It is proposed that the figures depicted as such are not meant to be interpreted as conquerors of the paddle/stake which rises up between them, but rather as supporters. In fact, the paddle/stake and the people might be defined as partners, with each depending and dependent upon the other for survival. Although the forms stand profile, two legs of each are visible. They are bent and by them each figure is attached to the base. Neither of the figures is decorated. No arbor is indicated, however, the second paddle/stake which extends up from the base on the comb's left ventral side may be the remnants of such detail. The comb's base

FIGURE 25



also lacks decoration. A total of nineteen teeth have been counted for the comb. I measured its length to be 4 inches and its width to be 1 13/16 inches. A total of six negative areas have been accounted for on this particular example. Perhaps, given the late date for this comb, it might be intended to represent the League's Six Nations.

As an interesting aside, it should be mentioned that neither of the figures is a direct mirror image of the other. However, as noted above, much of the comb's integrity is synthetic. One such alien portion is the arm and arbor of the figure on the left ventral side of the comb. Considering this, there may be some question as to the authenticity of such a depiction. Such question is justified in recognition of the fact that the two previous comb examples containing this decoration (examples which were recovered from the Dann Site), displayed its human figures in almost absolute symmetrical position with one another. Furthermore, past comb examples featuring two forms, regardless of pose, likewise offered them in stances so that one figure might be interpreted as the mirror image of another. Why this comb at Rochester Junction should be any different from these past examples is not known; perhaps, there was some misinterpretation when this Rochester Junction comb was being processed and evaluated as such. Perhaps too, its very differences should make it an object of particular consideration. In either case, its presence and importance cannot be denied.

Though this comb lacks balance of positive space, its negative areas contrast by being in perfect proportion; the six blank areas mentioned previously are split evenly into thirds on either side of the paddle/stake. Thus, though qualities of imbalance might at first be theoretically suggested, they are not basic of and to the comb itself; in general, it should be recalled that in Iroquois culture notions of imbalance are defined as being harmony in diversity. This particular comb example supports such an acclaim.



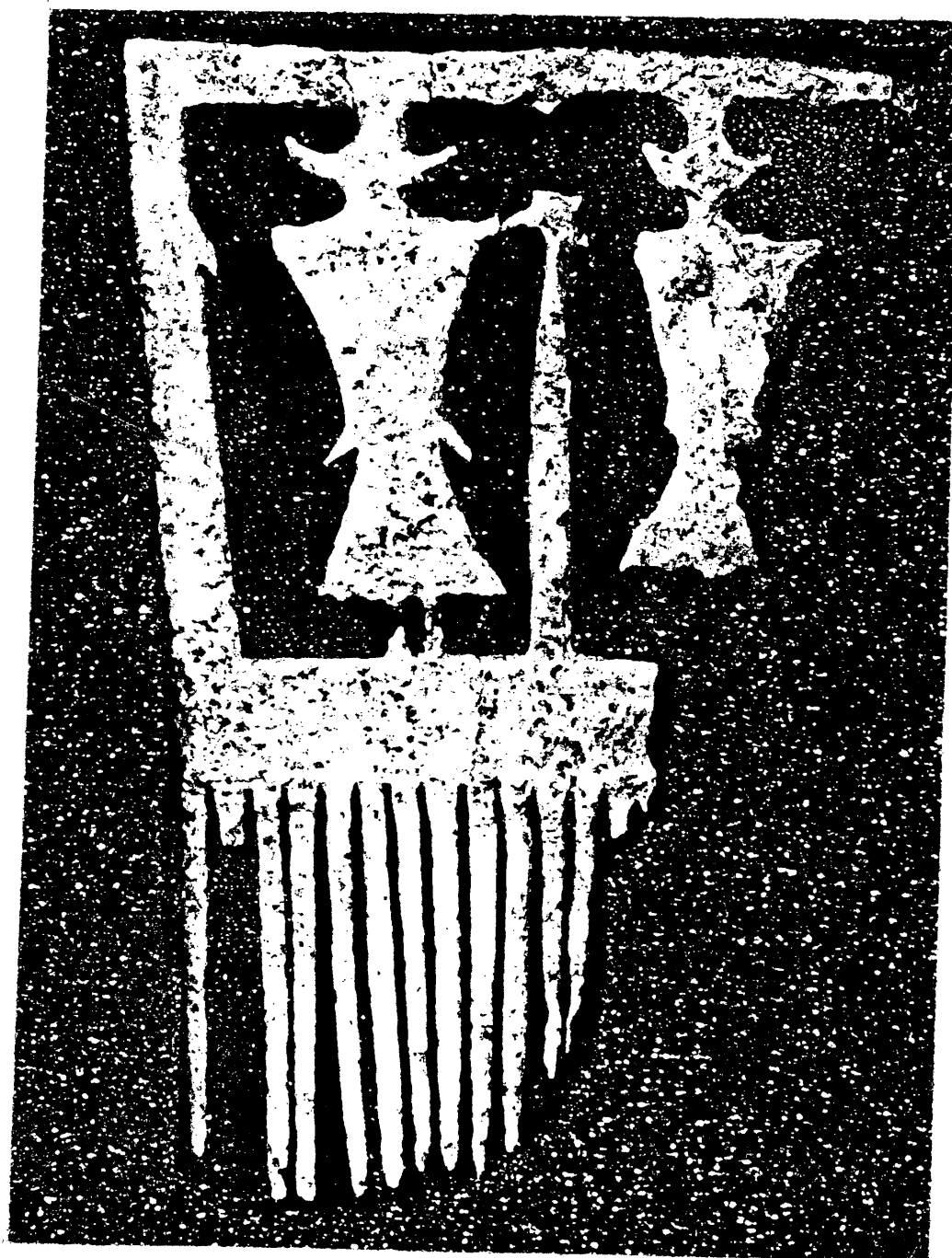
The two comb examples located at the Dann Site which resemble this Rochester Junction specimen were recovered from Burials #50 and #11, which were previously described. It should be mentioned that the Dann Site is the western major village which immediately preceded Rochester Junction. All three combs in question seem to be reminiscent of the Iroquois League Theme, specifically notions relating to the League's Elder Brothers. All three combs, likewise, obviously, make conscious use of the numbers one, two, and three: one via the paddle/stake (symbolic of the League); two in terms of the two figures (defining moieties and concepts of duality); and, three through the total object count (relating to the Elder Brothers). The Rochester Junction example is most like the comb retrieved from Burial #50, though elements noted for the comb excavated from Burial #11 are also evident: the comb contained in Burial #50 is somewhat larger than that recorded for this Rochester Junction example and it likewise lacks an arbor; the decorative example noted for Burial #11 at Dann does have a complete arbor, however both figures are somewhat stylized and reminiscent of the Hocker Motif and they, furthermore, face forward rather than profile. In fact, it is very interesting that the Rochester Junction example should combine the ornamental properties of both of the Dann specimens, not strictly limiting itself by being an absolute duplicate of one nor the other.

As a general rule, none of the combs described herein have ever been simply a verifiable copy of any other comb; every comb heretofore has shown itself to be an original creation though it may support one of three central themes. In all actuality, this is not surprising, since it is highly unlikely that all of the combs were carved by the same master--specifically given the time frame involved. Also, too, considering that these combs are, in fact, grave goods, their appearance and presence would not make them readily available as carved models. Any semblance, therefore, which the combs

might have for one another only further proves how undeniably strong underlying ideological themes are and how very gifted comb creators were. This is not to say that the human form as decorative detail is strictly limited to combs as such. As a point in support of this, other artifacts of Iroquois culture which actually do feature the human figure motif will later be introduced and compared to the decorative hair combs presently being described and studied. Initially, it might be concluded that these non-comb items (more specifically those items which are not grave goods) served as inspirational models for comb carvers. However, current research for this thesis suggests that the three themes which have been found to typify decorative hair combs featuring the human figure may not likewise be categorized nor identified with any other ornamented class of artifacts. Given this, the actual value and creativity of the combs is only further magnified. In other words, not only do the combs seem to have their very own creative formats, but the individuals who manufactured them likewise show that they are conscious and aware of what each format is and how important it is in and to their culture.

The next decorative hair comb found to feature elements which appear to be true to the Iroquois League is also composed of antler and likewise was recovered from Rochester Junction. More specifically, these elements appear to bespeak of the League's Elder Brothers (see Figure 26). As a matter of fact, this particular example, though somewhat incomplete, seems to resemble that comb which was taken from the Dann Site, Burial #11; as the previous Rochester Junction specimen is more like that comb from Burial #50 at Dann, so is this article most similar to the Burial #11 comb. Specific qualities which it seems to best emulate include: 1.) dual figures facing forward; 2.) stylized paddle/stake separating two forms; 3.) narrow, undecorated base; and, 4.) an arbor. However, as with all the combs discussed herein, this example is,

FIGURE 26



likewise, unique unto itself and, therefore, contains its own specific qualities and characteristics.

For example, the forms displayed on this comb appear to have some animalistic characteristics in addition to their human attributes; both figures feature: head attached to arbor; pointed horn-like ears; pointed shoulders; lack of arms (hand-like structures protrude out and up from the hips); lack of specific European dress (skirt-like garb is apparent); and, lack of engraved detail. Perhaps, these figures are intended to portray anthropomorphic beings--a role which would well support Iroquoian notions of duality.

A second factor which characterizes this comb is its paddle/stake, whose straight handle features a four-pointed, star-like top. This star-like top may have once connected the paddle/stake to the arbor--which itself is a notable case, considering its squared corners (as opposed to rounded) which so dubiously reify the figures' sharp edges. The four prongs which extend off of the top are symbolically reminiscent of the four earthly directions which have previously been defined as being of particular importance in Iroquois ideology.

As was mentioned earlier, this ornamental example is incomplete; the comb's structural integrity is fairly complete on the left ventral side, however, the opposite is specifically lacking a portion of its base and teeth. Therefore, only fourteen teeth are accounted for. I measured the comb's length to be 4 1/4 inches and its width to be 2 13/16 inches. In spite of this comb's reduced structural state, four negative space areas were found to be present on either side of the paddle/stake. This numerical factor is consistent with the number of prongs associated with the paddle/stake's top. As a final note, it should be mentioned that the number of forms depicted is equal to one half of the number four.

This comb example and the previous one which was just described have not been compared to the Boughton Hill specimen (i.e., see Figure 21) which is also believed to have traits typical to the two men and paddle/stake image. The reason for this is because of one particular unique feature on the Boughton Hill comb: the boat; though this comb does contain other attributes which actually link it with the two Dann examples, as well as with these two Rochester Junction products, it also is quite different from them because of the boat carving on its top. This featured attribute will once again make its presence, and then be further discussed, with a Snyder-McClure example.

The next League theme example to be recovered from Rochester Junction is likewise decorated with two figures; the top of this particular antler comb features an adult female and child (see Figure 27). It is presupposed that the figures represented are a mother and child. The child, which is located on the left ventral side of the comb, is depicted as suckling at the breast of the woman. The woman rests on the comb's right side. Both figures are standing. The child faces profile and the woman faces forward. The left arm of the child is bent, extends down and rests on the hip. The right arm is bent, raised up and holds the breast to the mouth. The torso is wide at the shoulder and narrow at the hips. Both legs are straight and connect the figure to the base. The head, though basically undecorated, features a single, circular eye. The top of the child's head is unattached. The woman has her right arm bent over the child's head, and then extends it down so that it ultimately rests on the child's shoulder. Her opposite arm is likewise bent down but it is connected at the bottom edge of her own skirt. Her torso is wide at the shoulders and narrow at the hips. No anatomical nor decorative detail is offered in terms of her breast, other than the carved outlined portion at which the child is suckling. The other breast is not detailed at all. She is dressed in a skirt which is decorated with a series of single, pin-dot holes. The holes do not appear to be in any

FIGURE 27



prescribed pattern. Both legs are straight and connect the figure to the base. The woman's head features a face: two circular eyes and a circular nose or mouth. Her head is attached to the remnants of an arbor. The actual length of this remnant is comparable to the width of the woman's shoulder's. The only other visible section of the arbor is on the comb's right ventral side. This section extends up from the base and is attached where the woman's left arm joins at the bottom edge of her skirt. The remainder of the arbor is not present. The base of the comb is narrow and undecorated. The comb is incomplete; the teeth are represented in the form of seventeen mere stubs. The storage case inhibited my ability to measure the comb's length. Its width is 1 5/16 inches.

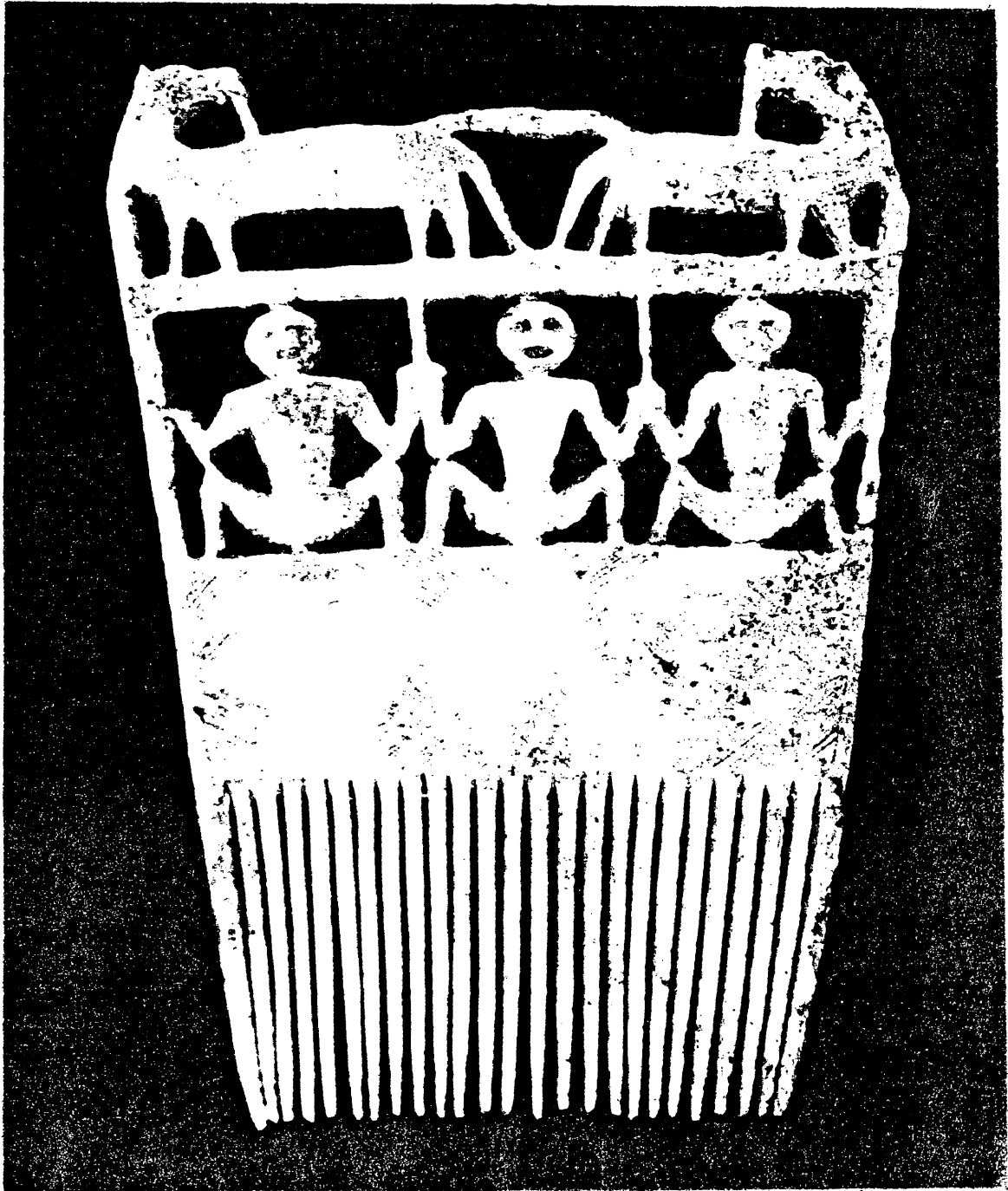
As with the two previous Rochester Junction examples, it is assumed that this specimen is, likewise, illustrative of the Iroquois League theme. Though this comb is unique in that it does not show a similarity to any other ornament offered and described herein, it does feature structural elements (i.e., the suckling child) which seem to contain and transmit ideals that are basic of and to the Iroquois Confederacy at large: the maternal image--Iroquois social organization was based upon matrilineal descent, including the observance of matrilineal residence patterns. In effect, then, by preserving this image in carved detail, support is being offered for such modes of tracing relations and established settlements; obviously, this decorative hair comb is not attempting to negate, detract, nor belittle the nurturing relation and experience by and between mother and child/League and individual, specifically given the non-threatening posture assumed by the two forms. As a matter of fact, positive qualities are clearly being emphasized via the arch-like character of the figures' arms. Considering the limited structural state of the comb, it is difficult to mark and, therefore, interpret any areas of negative space. The comb does seem to promote some degree of balance, in lieu of the fact that neither of the forms is identical to the other; the mother and child interact in a harmonic, natural

way, with each assuming a stance opposite to the other, i.e., one faces forward and the other stands profile. As was stated previously the Iroquois believe that there is no such concept as imbalance; there is only harmony in diversity.

Four additional combs recovered from Rochester Junction found to be illustrative of the League type are display items. Two of these combs appear on the Museum's 'Face to Face' exhibit. One such comb is composed of antler and contains three human figures--the League's Elder Brothers are once again creatively being supported and, as will be described in the following sentences, acting as most effective support mechanisms (see Figure 28). These figures are all featured in the Hocker position: seated, forward facing body position; head attached to arbor cross beam; behind and feet resting on top of comb's base; arms and legs bent (arms bent up, legs bent down); and, arms grasping at vertical side posts. In this particular case the elbows of the forms rest on the knees. The figure on the left ventral side grasps at the arbor side column with its right arm. Its left arm reaches out to a vertical post which extends off of the arbor cross beam. The central figure likewise grasps at this same vertical post with its right arm, thereby meeting with the opposite's left arm. The central form's left arm extends up to a second vertical post. This post is also connected at the arbor's cross beam. The right arm of the figure on the right ventral side meets with the central figure's left arm on this second vertical post. The figure's left arm reaches out to the arbor's side column. Neither of the vertical posts extending off of the arbor's cross beam connects at the comb's base; both posts end where the figures' grip on them begins. On top of the arbor's cross beam are two wolves. The wolves are back to back to each other. Their bodies are depicted in profile and, thus, they each feature four legs and a tail. The two are connected to each other by way of a horizontal beam. This beam rises off of the back end of each animal. The head of each wolf is turned so that the two animals face



FIGURE 28



back at each other. A diagonal beam attaches the snout of each wolf to its back. The arbor's side column rises up and connects at each of the wolves' chest. The unusual occurrence of the carved wolves appearing above the comb's arbor should be mentioned; in most other cases reported herein, the arbor served as an all encompassing border to the human figure motif, and no detail was contained outside of its range. This comb case should be of special interest, then, given that: 1.) forms are beginning to transcend traditional boundaries; and, 2.) human figures are not the subject initiators of this maneuver. In general, the comb's top does not feature any decorative design, however, its base does have a series of engraved bird-like images. According to Wray, these images are meant to represent eagles (1964: Plate 5). The eagle is said to be a common design metaphor used to illustrate the League (Hill 1986: 19).

Taken in sum, then, the three human forms are seen to be in balance, above and below, by animal subjects. Also, too, two different bodily positions are used (facing and profile) so that there is perfect balance and harmonic union amongst and between carved forms. It is interesting to note that the types of animals, thus, depicted differ from each other in that wolves are terrestrial by nature while birds are air born. Therefore, earth and sky are equally represented, and neither supersedes nor outweighs the other in its importance--specifically since the wolves are placed above the birds. Furthermore, since man is placed in the center between the wolves and the birds, he figuratively supports the former while he looks over the other. This is a particularly interesting depiction since man, being terrestrial by nature, is rising above creatures which are of the wind and sky. Also, since man is, in effect, supporting animals in one respect and watching over others in another, a definite message is offered to the observer: man is to consciously make every effort to preserve and protect nature's balance. It would, likewise, be in his best interest to secure this balance since he is very

much a part of it; although animal forces are in need of man in order to survive, man is also in need of animal forces in order to exist. The very impact of this is illustrated in that as three levels of being are represented (bird, man, and wolf) so too are three human figures depicted. Thus, man is seen as both a part of nature and its caretaker. It should also be recalled that the Iroquois utilize animal and bird images in association with clan symbols. Thus, again, non-human beings are serving to represent human identity and institution. The comb is complete and according to the Registrar's Records it has a total of twenty-five teeth, and its length measures 4 1/2 inches and its width measures 3 1/4 inches.

A second decorative hair comb to be featured on the 'Face to Face' exhibit is composed of antler and contains three human forms (see Figure 29). All three forms on the comb's top face forward, in a type of Hocker stance. Two of the forms are standing and one is depicted astride an animal. The animal may be a horse, however, it does not have a tail, nor does its snout resemble one typical to this particular beast; previous comb examples which did contain a horse (such as those featuring the character Wentworth Greenhalgh--an individual to be discussed in chapter 6) displayed the animal so that its features could not be denied: i.e., e.g. pronounced large snout; pointed ears; long tail; and, distended belly. Wray maintains that the animal is a dog (1973: 11) I propose that this beast may be a bear. A bear would be a most likely choice, since a previous comb at Boughton Hill (i.e., Burial #58) featured a human in a Hocker pose balanced by two bear effigies. This animal resembles those effigies in its overall appearance. How interesting that in this example now being described, the bear should be the subject in need of balance rather than the character serving to balance.

The bear, as such it will now be referred to, faces ventral left and has its snout attached to the one form's leg (i.e., that figure which is fixed on the comb's left ventral

FIGURE 29



side). The bear's posterior is unattached. Since it is depicted in profile, only two of its four legs are shown (one in front and one in back). The form astride the bear has its arms bent upward. It grabs at the chest area of each of the other forms on either of its sides. Each of these forms stands erect, spread eagle. The exterior hand of each reaches toward a stake; a stake is positioned on the outer edge of each side of the standing figures. This stake is equal in height to the two forms. The entire stake is not uniform in width--it widens towards its base. In some respects the base resembles the butt of a rifle, particularly since it is flat along its outside edge and bowed-in on its inside corner edge. The inside hand of each of the forms' arms meets and joins above the central figure's head, so that they thus appear to form a canopy. In other words, each of the standing forms' bodies work together to create an arbor for the central figure.

All three forms have round heads. No arbor, other than that which has already been described, is evident and no engraving is present. The comb is composed of antler and features twenty-one teeth. Since it was a display item, no measurements could be taken.

A total of ten negative areas are noted for this example. This is most appropriate since ten is twice the amount of five (the original number of nations in the Confederacy). Thus, ten is the double or dual amount of one number. Two is also emphasized in that this number is the total number of figures standing (probably to display the Younger Brothers). Two is likewise being professed in that a dual number of worlds are offered: i.e., man and beast. Also, the central figure might be interpreted as assuming two demeanors: a stance typical to the Hocker and a position similar to the Man on Horseback--an image which will be further elaborated upon in chapter 6 of this thesis. The numbers one and three also prove significant. Three is suggested via

the total figure count (most likely in reference to the Elder Brothers). One is transmitted not only through the central figure but also in the one animal example offered.

The Registrar's Record defined this comb as a familial depiction. I agree with this proposal, however, I believe that it represents the Iroquois Family at large--specifically given the explanation of numerical symbolism which has just been relayed. By extension, then, perhaps too, clan information is likewise being offered; the bear was one such animal used as a clan name. The use of animals as reference labels to human organizations is ideologically based--i.e., concepts of duality are presented and encouraged via animal clan names: animal names serve the human socio-political condition and define it, while simultaneously receiving prestige and status from it; natives show respectful awareness of their environment in selecting and identifying beasts with their confederate institutions, since man and animal are thereby shown to be of equal importance and mutual dependence.

The other two combs which have been secured from Rochester Junction are on display 'At the Western Door' exhibit. The first decorative hair comb from this exhibit to be described contains a single human form (see Figure 30). This comb is composed of antler.

The figure featured on the comb's top assumes the Hocker position: the form is seated, facing forward; both arms are bent and extend up, grasping at the arbor's side columns; both legs are bent and connect and rest on the top of the comb's base; and, the figure's behind is also attached to the top of the comb's base. The figure's elbows rest on its knees and its wide torso tapers down towards a narrow waist. Although the side posts of an arbor are evident, no cross beam is attached. This particular piece of the comb may have been lost at some point when the artifact was either being processed or it may never have been constructed as such. The comb does feature a face (two eyes and a

FIGURE 30

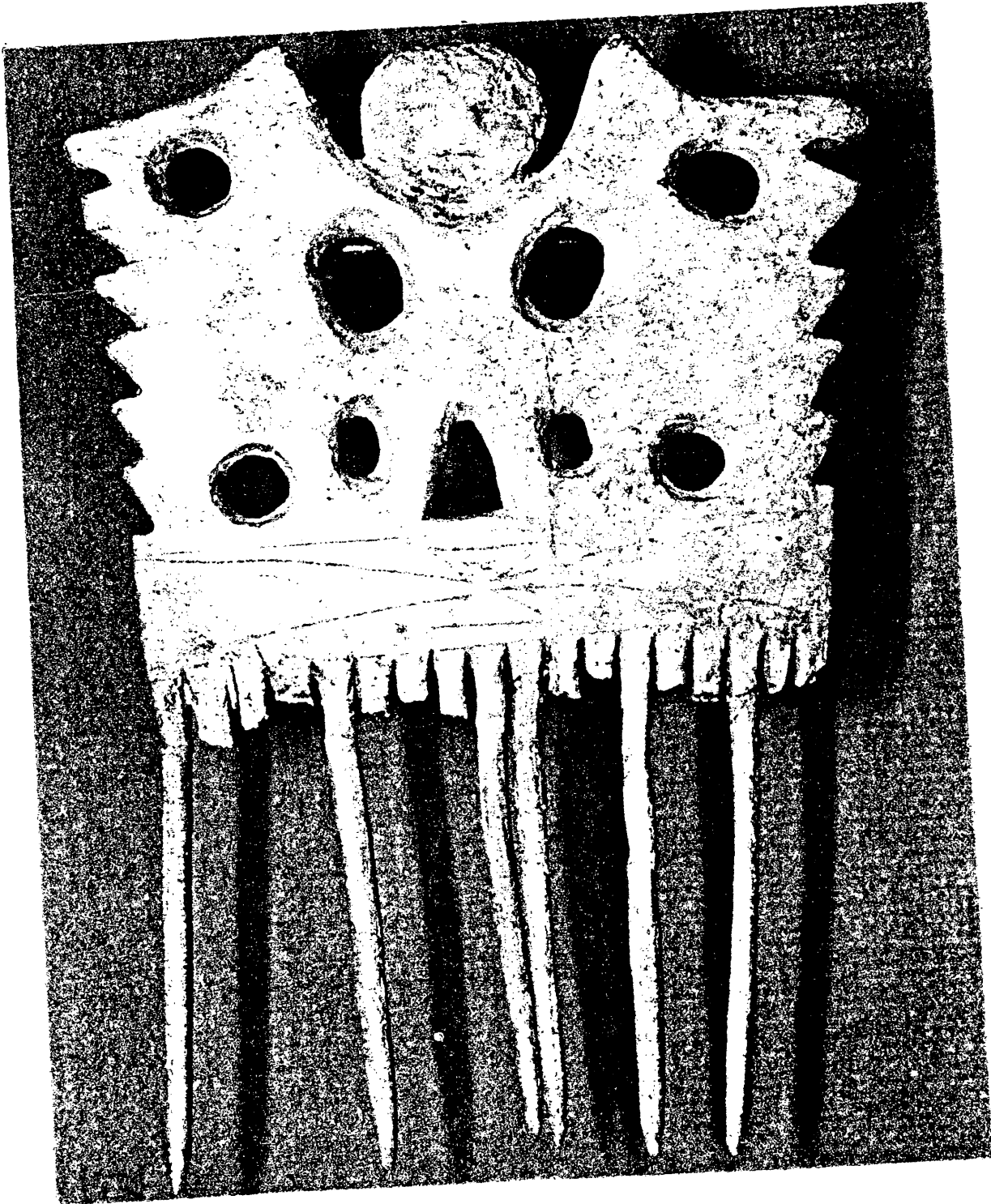


mouth) and two horizontal lines extend across the figure's neck, just above the shoulder area. No other decorative detail is evident, except that the base does contain some engraving. This engraving is in the form of geometric shapes. More specifically, two horizontal lines running parallel to each other extend across the base. Three inverted trapezoids rise above the top line. Three successive trapezoids complement these previous shapes by riding below the lower horizontal line. Taken in sum, the detail, thus, offered makes excellent use of both engraved and unengraved space. For example, the unengraved area between trapezoidal shapes actually, when examined closely, is seen to be the inverted image of its neighboring shape. In other words, every engraved trapezoid features an unengraved inverted trapezoid next to it, and vice versa. Therefore, the engraved and unengraved areas balance each other out, neither one being any more significant than the other. I counted a total of nineteen teeth for this particular comb. According to the Registrar's Records its length is 3 1/2 inches and its width is 1 3/4 inches.

The second decorative comb encountered in this exhibit likewise contains a single human form (see Figure 31). The comb in question appears to be a bone variation of the Hocker motif: an individual spread eagle. Due to its ornate nature, the face is the only portion of the figure which is specifically featured on the comb. The remainder of the form is merely suggested; a series of carved holes create the illusion of a body though no exact anatomical parts are evidenced as such. To be more accurate, images of two arms, two legs, and a torso are created via a series of four oval shaped holes, four round holes, and one triangle; open spaces act to define each of the limbs and the torso respectively, with the overall picture being quite similar to swiss cheese. The four oval holes are located towards the center, appear at an angle, and seem to create a rectangular shape in the available positive space (i.e., the torso). Four round circles are each



FIGURE 31



positioned in a corner of the comb's top, run diagonally to each of the four ovals, and together with them form the limbs of the figure out of the remaining uncarved area. The circles are smaller in overall size than the circumference of the figure's head. A single triangle is located towards the comb's base. It is carved between the bottom two ovals, but is situated beneath the lowest two circles, respectively. The very edges of the comb's top are fluted: on the left ventral side, six indentations appear; five indentations are evident on the right ventral side. These edges extend down off of the sides of the figure's seemingly curved shoulders. They commence at the comb's base.

The face, itself, is well defined: two eyes and a mouth appear as carved recesses. The head is round and no neck is given. No arbor is offered.

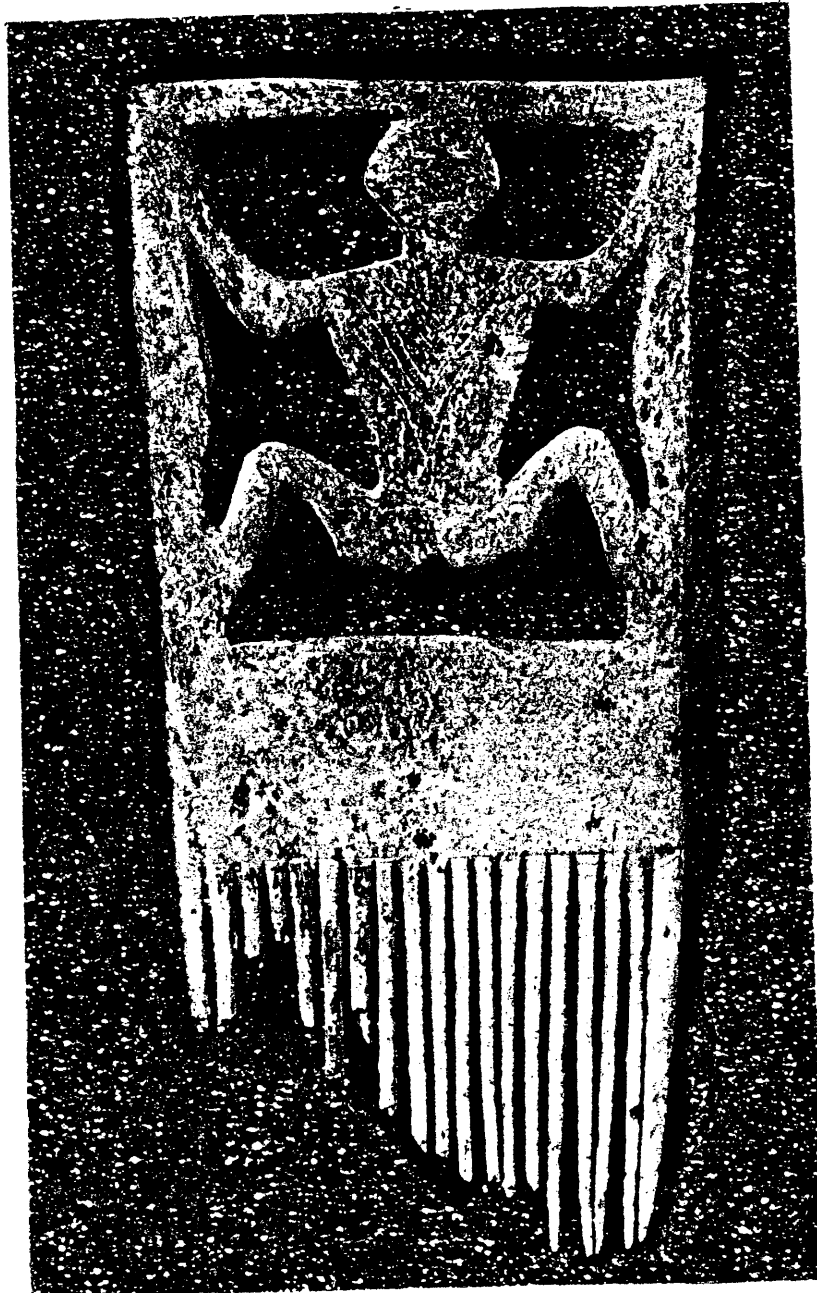
In sum, then, three separate geometric shapes make themselves apparent in this comb: oval; circle; and, triangle. The number three, reifies the League concept which is so deeply linked with the Hocker theme. The triangle image further supports this principle. The fluted edges likewise appear as miniature triangle's and further offer credit to the Confederacy cause. In addition, a total of nine negative areas are visible and nine is a multiple of three. Notions of brotherhood cannot, therefore, be easily denied in this particular comb example. Neither can associations for the number four, which is clearly credited via the total number of cut-out ovals and circles. If this number is added together, the sum equals eight, which represents the total number of chiefs (half of which are allotted to each moiety). The circle, itself is also loaded with meaning (i.e., unending life) and it is represented a total of five times (if the figure's carved head is counted). Five and six are supported through the fluted edges, again pointing to ideas of confederacy alliance.

League concepts are further reinforced on the comb's base. Two parallel horizontal lines flank the base's top and bottom. Between these bands are two diagonal lines

which converge at the center, where two triangles have been positioned. One triangle is right-side-up and the other is inverted. In general, then, principles of duality are well founded on this comb's base: two horizontal lines; two diagonal lines; and two triangles--notions of Iroquoia are, thus, alive and well. A total of eighteen teeth are featured on this comb, though no measurements were possible since it was a display item.

The next example to be cited was recovered from Kirkwood (c. 1670-1687). As Beal is Boughton Hill's minor village of the eastern sequence, so is Kirkwood Rochester Junction's minor village of the western sequence. This comb recovered is composed of antler and displays the Hocker motif (see Figure 33). The figure's arms extend out from the body, bend, and then reach upward grasping at the side posts of the arbor. The legs also extend away from the body and, although they bend in the opposite direction of the arms, they too are connected at the arbor's side posts. The figure's behind, rather than being attached at the base of the comb, rises up above it. It, therefore, appears that the figure is balancing its weight on its arms and legs. The head of the figure is attached at the arbor's crossbeam. No facial features are evident. The chest is wedge-shaped and decorated with a series of diagonal lines which meet in the center and form a 'V.' The base is somewhat wide and contains a single, engraved line. This line extends out horizontally across the base's bottom and acts to separate it from the teeth. The arbor is complete and somewhat bowed-in on its side columns. The impact of this detail is that it acts to complement the arch-like image created by the bend of each arm and each leg. This arching effect is further perfected in the rounded quality of the figure's head and behind. The overall condition, thus, created by these circles and semi-circles is one of completeness or wholeness; there is no beginning and no end with these rounded shapes, only continuous flow and balance. The figure, furthermore,

FIGURE 33

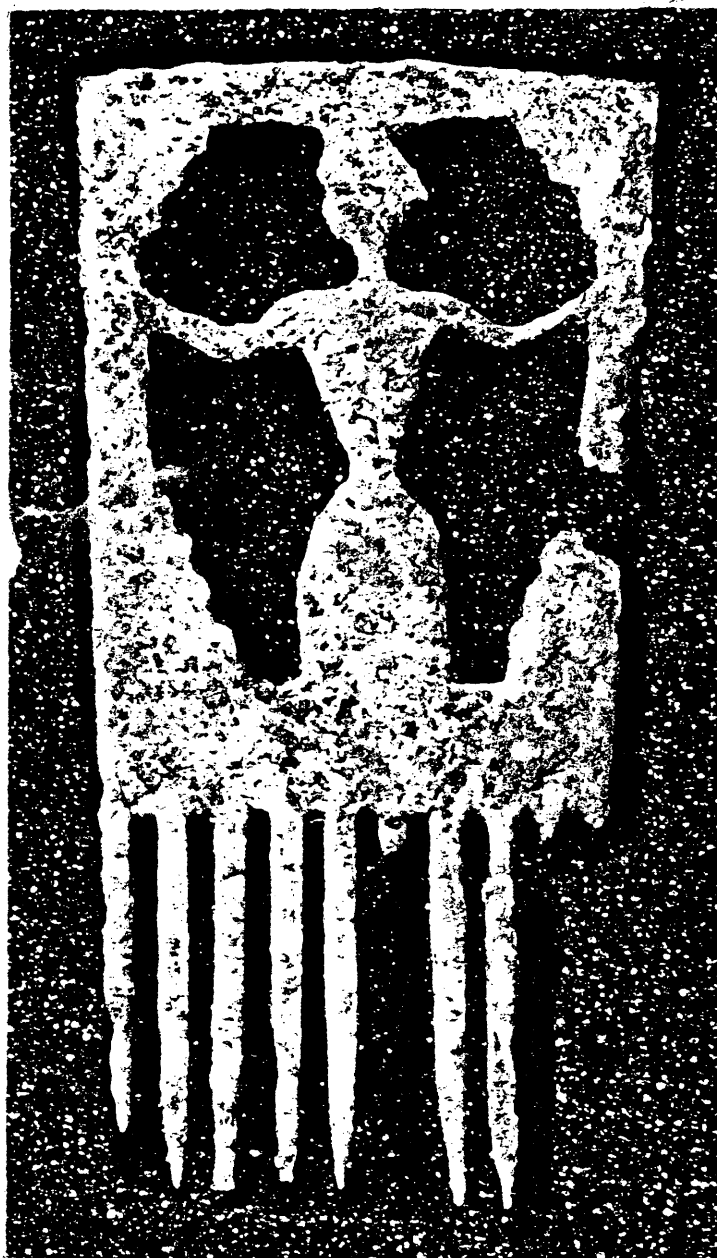


is in perfect balance with itself, one half being the mirror image of the other. Also, the form is performing a sort of balancing act by grasping and leaning on the sides of the arbor with its arms and legs. Perhaps, it may be proposed, that the arbor is supporting the individual. Perhaps, too, the figure is bracing the arbor. It may be that, as with previous suppositions, both propositions are, in effect, true and that both the figure and the arbor are in need of each other in order to prevent collapse. I accounted for nineteen teeth (some of which were broken and some which were complete) on this particular comb. I measured its length to be 4 inches and its width to be 1 3/4 inches.

The next example of the League type has been recovered from Townley-Reed (c. 1700) Townley-Reed is the final major village of the eastern sequence to be featured in this study.

This comb is composed of antler and contains a single human form (see Figure 35). The decorative detail it features could almost be interpreted as being a modified version of the Hocker motif: the form is standing, facing forward; both arms extend away from the body, are bent, and reach upward grasping at the arbor's side columns; no legs are evident, since the form appears to be wearing a long skirt which, extending down from the waist, is connected at the comb's base; the form has broad shoulders and a narrow waist; the form also appears to be wearing a hat, by which it is connected to the arbor's cross beam. Considering this description, it is difficult to ascertain as to whether the figure is intended to be male or female, since no decorative detail is offered on the comb, with the exception of its arbor which is somewhat bowed-in on the inside corners and fluted on the edges. Irregardless, its very general plan is clearly of Hocker orientation. The remainder of the arbor features straight lines; its outside edges are squared-off. A small portion of the arbor's side column is missing on the right ventral

FIGURE 35



side. The base is plain. I counted a total of ten teeth for this comb. I measured its length to be  $3 \frac{15}{16}$  inches and its width to be  $1 \frac{7}{8}$  inches.

If this comb were complete, it would display perfect balance of positive and negative space. Positive space is well represented in two specific cases: 1.) via the central uniform character typical of and to the Hocker motif; and, 2.) in the all encompassing nature of the comb's carved arbor which binds, secures, complements, and draws attention to this motif. Negative space is illustrated through a total of four blank areas, two of which are located on either side of the motif to outline and separate it from its arbor. Thus, neither positive nor negative space overpowers nor is overpowered by the other. As a matter of fact, it is proposed that these two concepts are working together as a means to transmit a common message: direction. For example, as with previous Hocker comb cases, it is here proposed that this figure is meant to physically emulate with its limbs the four earthly directions, its torso being the central core of extension for these directions. Once again it also suggested that the arbor (being a symbol for the League) might be the very rim to which these directions radiate to. Negative space reinforces this directional imagery by appearing in a cluster of four. Thus, then, with this comb example, the Iroquois are perpetually reminded of how they, as a human race, are the center and source of all direction and through them the League is supported and the reference point of their support.

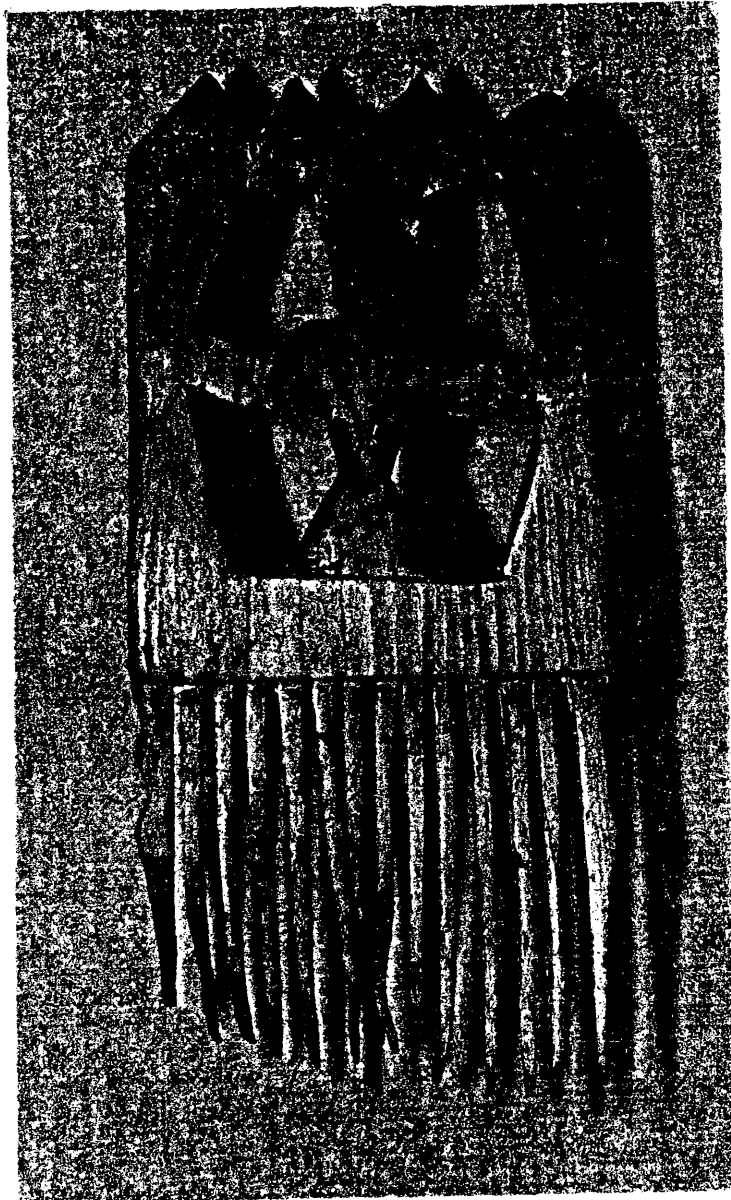
It should be noted, however, that this comb is the first such example to consider the Hocker in European type regalia. Perhaps, given the late date of this specimen, this specific depiction is a foreign characterization of a native concept, much like that witnessed in Sojasko comb examples (see chapter 7). Thus, in holding true to notions of bilateral symmetry, two distinct worlds (Native and European) are being offered and observed. However, considering that the Hocker is typically linked with ideals

supporting direction, it is curious that a European figure type should be depicted in such a dominant and influential position. Perhaps this illustration is meant to capture the condition of the times and the ever increasing situation of control being assumed by Europeans. Also, too, it is of particular note that this European might indeed be female. Perhaps the Iroquois were now being truly exposed to and having contact with European women and they wanted to document this interaction. Perhaps, too, Iroquois interpreted interaction according to native terms; i.e., as Iroquois women are the source of life (biological), sustenance (Three Sisters--a term which shall be further explained as the thesis evolves), and society (matrilineality), so too might European women have been regarded. It should be mentioned, however, that by offering such a depiction, two limbs (i.e., the legs) are absent on this comb since the figure is featured in a skirt. Thus, only the arms reach out toward the arbor. Perhaps this is meant to show that this position of influence is not yet complete.

The next League theme example was also taken from Townley-Reed and is a display item 'At the Western Door' exhibit. This comb is composed of wood and offers a variation of the Hocker motif (see Figure 36). As was just mentioned, this comb appears to be a variation of the Hocker motif. The term 'variation' is incorporated, because the comb's figure is not absolutely true to this theme; though elements typical to the Hocker pose are offered in this example, (such as a standing body form with its arms spread eagle) one certain specific attribute marks this comb as most unique: the featured form is depicted facing ventral right. Hockers described heretofore have been regarded as the epitome of bilateral symmetry. It is most interesting that a comb of such late vintage should break away from this ever familiar basic trend and assume such a new and, actually, daring characteristic. It is particularly thought provoking, considering that the previous comb just described for Townley-Reed also displayed the



FIGURE 36



Hocker theme, though its attributes were much more typical to previous examples of the same nature. The reasoning for the change displayed by this representation is not known. It might be that this display piece is attempting to communicate the impending danger of ever increasing European contact; i.e., contact is producing an imbalanced situation. In spite of this situation, however, Iroquoians do not relinquish totally to the pressures of this foe. In other words, though they recognize the danger, they do not surrender to the intruder. Rather, they record the threat and re-establish their claim; the Hocker may face profile, but the body retains its own balance, even temper, and same basic harmonic qualities. For example, as the arms extend away from the torso and grasp at the bowed-in arbor side columns, four areas of negative space are created: two above the outspread arms; and, two below. This number is further reinforced by a series of four triangles which grace the arbor cross beam's top. An engraved line directly separates the triangles from the beam itself. Both the numbers four and three have previously proven to be of specific symbolic importance, by instituting and encouraging notions of brotherhood and the like. The triangle image is actually further replicated in an engraved 'V,' which is present on the figure's torso. The only other evidence of engraving is on the form's head, where it appears that the figure is either shown to have hair or depicted as wearing a type of beret. It would be most unusual if this detail were indeed meant to represent hair, since none of the human figures which have already been described appeared with hair. The figure does have a single eye and, thus, appears to be looking ventral right, which is in agreement with the direction he is facing. A nose and chin have also been carved, and are evident in the figure's profile. The head is attached at the arbor's cross beam and the hips are connected to the top of the comb's base. No legs are offered on this comb, thereby marking its similarity with the previous Townley-Reed example. That comb was thought to represent a woman

because of its featured skirt-like costume. An insufficient amount of the figure's outfit is offered with the present comb example to permit the same conclusion. However, this comb's figure does feature a torso reminiscent of the ever familiar hour glass shape. The base is plain and unengraved. Since the comb was on display, no measurements could be taken. I counted a total of fourteen complete teeth.

The final League theme example was removed from Snyder-McClure, a western village which dates to c. 1700. This particular comb actually contains two human figures (see Figure 37). Both are depicted in profile and are facing towards the right. Each figure is shown only from its head to its waist; no legs are featured on either of the forms. The figures are attached at the waist to an engraved, horizontal horn-shaped beam, which also acts to disengage them from the comb's base. The tips of the beam connect into the comb's arbor side columns. The beam is undecorated except for these tips; each tip of the horn features cross-hatching and thereby separates the beam from the arbor. It appears that each of the figures is male: both figures wear a hat; both figures hold a spear-like object in their left hand. The hat attaches each of the forms to the arbor (specifically its cross beam). The profile of each face features a chin and nose. The shoulders of both forms are broad and the waists are narrow. The figure on the comb's left ventral side has its right arm bent down, resting at its waist. The left arm (holding the spear-like shaft) is bent and extends up. The base of the spear rests at the figure's hip. Its tip connects at a central post which separates the two figures. This post is attached at the arbor's cross beam and horizontal beam, respectively. The figure on the comb's right ventral side differs from its partner: its right arm is bent upward and is attached at the comb's central post; its left arm is bent upward and the spear which it is holding attaches the figure to the comb's arbor side column and horizontal beam exclusively. The comb is complete except for a portion of its arbor which is missing

FIGURE 37



from the left ventral side. Other than the cross-hatching evident on the beam's tips, no further decorative detail is featured on the comb. The comb is composed of bone, contains a wide base, and I counted a total of thirteen teeth (broken and unbroken). I measured the comb's length to be 3 3/4 inches and its width to be 2 inches.

It may very well be that, given the late date of this specimen, its decorative detail is a modification of certain previous comb examples: two males and a paddle/stake (two such combs were recovered from Dann and two were retrieved from Rochester Junction). Specific structural elements which might be cited as supporting such a conclusion include: presence of central beam; appearance of dual male figures who assume similar (but not identical) posture and carved detail; added feature of spear-like object; cross-hatch engraving; and, purposeful use of positive and negative space (i.e., the two, carved figures are complemented by a notable series of five to six blank spaces; as the figures themselves are not identical, neither is the uncarved area surrounding them, yet numerically all space (i.e., two, five, and six) is the same in that it continuously, symbolically refers back to the League). Past examples (of which this comb is thought to resemble) were assumed to be symbolically providing for the Iroquois League theme, more specifically the Three Elder Brothers. The same category of assignment will be allotted to this ornament encountered at Snyder-McClure.

Though this categorical assignment is well deserved, it should be mentioned that this comb does contain one element which seems to link it with a certain Boughton Hill example: the horn-shaped beam. It might very well be that this beam is actually a variation of a boat. Perhaps, then, the figures are indeed being more firmly associated with boating, much as forms in the previous example at Boughton Hill were assumed to be. It would be most beneficial for the Iroquois to emphasize the male/boat association, given the fact that ever increasing contact between Natives and Whites was debasing the

certainty of Iroquois identity and survival; by supporting and calling attention to that activity which had provided them sustenance, Iroquois males would come to be reacquainted with their livelihood (i.e., fishing) while they simultaneously would come to see what their role in that livelihood actually was. In sum, then, Iroquois males would realize the importance of their place in the community, as well as the League. Such imagery would, thus, provide answers where there was doubt, and comfort to periods of question--such as at death. In addition to this, it may be that since the carvers of these combs are assumed to be male (see chapter 8) male activities (i.e., boating/fishing) are being represented. Since the forms in the specimen at Boughton Hill and the figures in this example both wear hats, it might be assumed that Iroquois dominance in fishing was being threatened and/or waning. Perhaps, too, a warning is being given through this comb so that such a condition might be further avoided. In any case, the message is quite clear: if the Iroquois were to retain their Confederate alliance (i.e., e.g. face off in the same direction and be of one mind) no foe would be able to intimidate them nor shatter their stronghold. It is most interesting that though this comb and that one featured at Boughton Hill have their figures facing in opposing directions (i.e., either facing ventral right or left) the figures themselves on the respective combs face in the same direction. In other words, both figures at Boughton Hill face ventral left and both figures at Snyder-McClure face ventral right; though the direction be different between the individual combs, it is constant for the figures on the combs: harmony balances out diversity.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE HISTORY TYPE

The second theme to be found on decorative hair combs featuring the human figure has historical overtones; i.e., combs of this type contain an historical figure. More specifically, a single form is depicted astride a horse. Discussion of the identity of this figure will be provided in this chapter. Further interpretation will be offered in chapter 9 of this thesis.

The first comb found to feature this theme is, obviously, worthy of mention because it marks the occurrence of something new and different. The historical figure type, as such, is actually listed in Museum notes as 'Man on Horseback.' The first comb found to depict a 'Man on Horseback' was retrieved from the Dann Site (c. 1655-1670) and is currently part of the 'Face to Face' exhibit (see Figure 13). According to Wray, this image is intended to represent Wentworth Greenhalgh. Wentworth Greenhalgh is said to have entered into Iroquois territory in 1676 to take a census of the Natives' fighting strength. Though contact between Europeans and Iroquois was not unfamiliar by this period, the stance and/or approach assumed by Greenhalgh (i.e., being astride a horse) is said to have been quite contrary to the Seneca. They, therefore, preserved this event artifactually in order to commemorate their witnessing its occurrence (1973: 11).

It should be noted that the date offered for this site predates the time period associated with Wentworth Greenhalgh entering Iroquois territory. However, the dates currently listed for the Seneca Site Sequence (see Table 1) are only preliminary. Perhaps, artifacts such as the comb in question will ultimately aid in securing more accurate dates for each of the Iroquois villages.

FIGURE 13



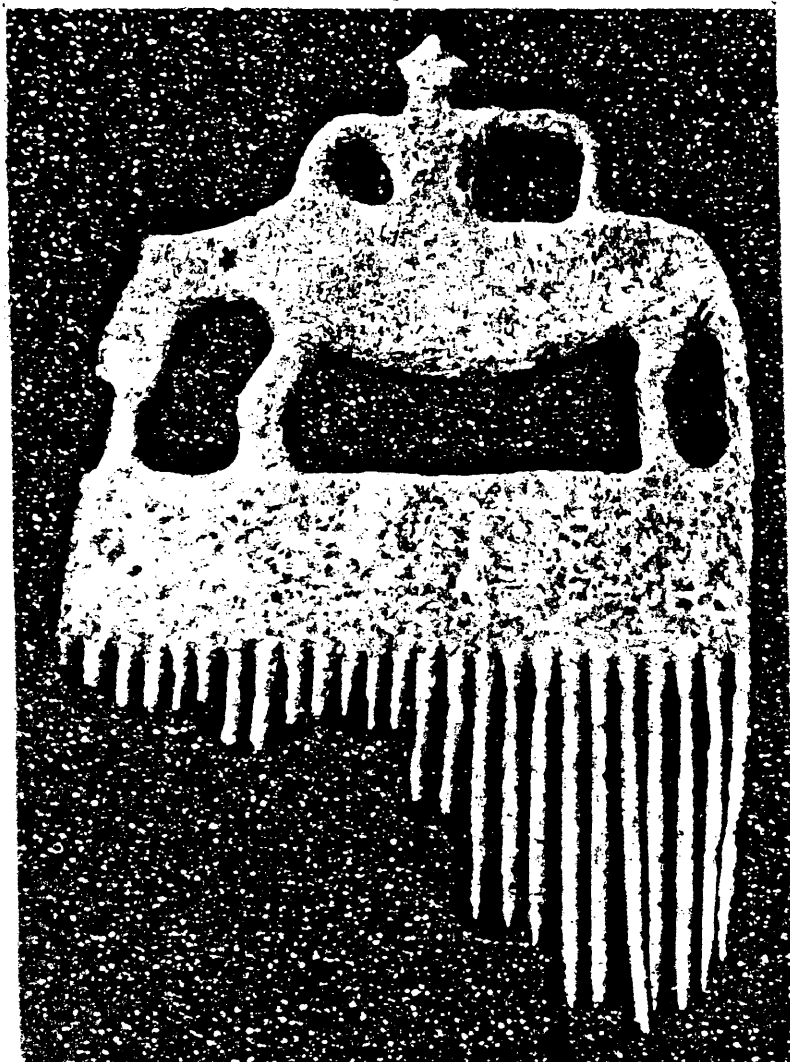


This comb, thus, located at Dann features a single male figure poised on a horse. The figure faces forward, while the horse is depicted in profile. Both arms extend out from the figure's body: the arm on the comb's left ventral side is slightly bent upwards and appears to hold a sword; the limb on the right ventral side of the comb is likewise bent upward, however, it appears to hold the horse's reins. These reins, which extend off of the back of the neck of the beast, are represented as simple carved lines; engraving is completely lacking on this particular comb example and no detail is offered to the form in terms of clothing, with the exception of a hat. The figure's feet are visible and extend beneath the horse's distended belly, but there is no evidence supplied for them being connected to a pair of legs. The figure has a straight neck, broad shoulders, and a narrow torso. The horse features pointed ears and an extended snout. All four legs of the horse are depicted, as is its tail. A vacant area is located between each leg and the tail respectively. Thus, a total of five negative areas are found on this particular comb example. As always, the numeral five is associated with the Iroquois League. The comb's base is warped. Since this specimen is a Museum piece, no measurements could be taken. I counted a total of fourteen broken and/or complete teeth for this sample.

As has been discussed, this comb selection is most important because it does mark the initial occurrence of an historical figure as a decorative motif on ornamental hair combs. As an interesting aside it should be mentioned that the figure thus depicted is facing ventral right. As with all Man on Horseback combs both rider and beast are generally in agreement in terms of body and/or facial direction. However, this particular specimen depicts its characters in a directional pose which is the opposite of all ensuing examples. In other words, every future Man on Horseback comb features its forms facing ventral left rather than ventral right. Perhaps the reason for such discrepancy is related more to Museum aesthetics, than Native ethics.

The second comb to relate to the History type is found at Boughton Hill c. 1670-1687. Interestingly enough, the third example offered herein is also a Boughton Hill specimen. The figure on this first comb faces forward, and only details from the waist up are evident (see Figure 14). It is assumed that the form is male, since the carved outline of a hat is visible. Evidence of this hat further suggests that the figure thus depicted is European. The arms extend out and bend down such that they eventually come to rest on the horse's back. The figure is, therefore, attached to the horse at its arms and waist. The horse appears in profile, and is connected to the base with its legs, tail, and an additional section extending out from its mouth. Since the horse is in profile, only two of its legs (front and back) are actually evident. The horse does not appear to be moving; i.e., there is no sign of motion. Neither the figure nor the horse features any decorative detail. The comb's base also lacks decoration. An arbor is absent, though, there appears to be a gradual reduction in carved area extending up from the comb's teeth to the tip of the man's hat, giving the impression that the comb has an overall arch-like outline appearance. This arch-like image is repeated in the figure's bent arms. This ever present arching image, so constantly detailed in decorative hair combs thus far, is here defined with a new and different theme: an historical figure. Such a theme is of specific importance, since it is the first image to be of a truly non-Iroquoian nature; all the combs heretofore described (and yet to be described) featured particular details of the Iroquois Confederacy (or will feature a Seneca Myth). This comb offers an alien subject as its focal point of ornamentation. It is, therefore, most interesting that, in spite of this fact, arches should be incorporated as part of the figure's anatomical detail. Perhaps the purpose of combining Iroquois symbolism with an historical event/person is to show that though the event was/is important enough to preserve, aspects of Iroquois ideology are what truly define the decorative image and give it its true meaning, lingering interest, and

FIGURE 14



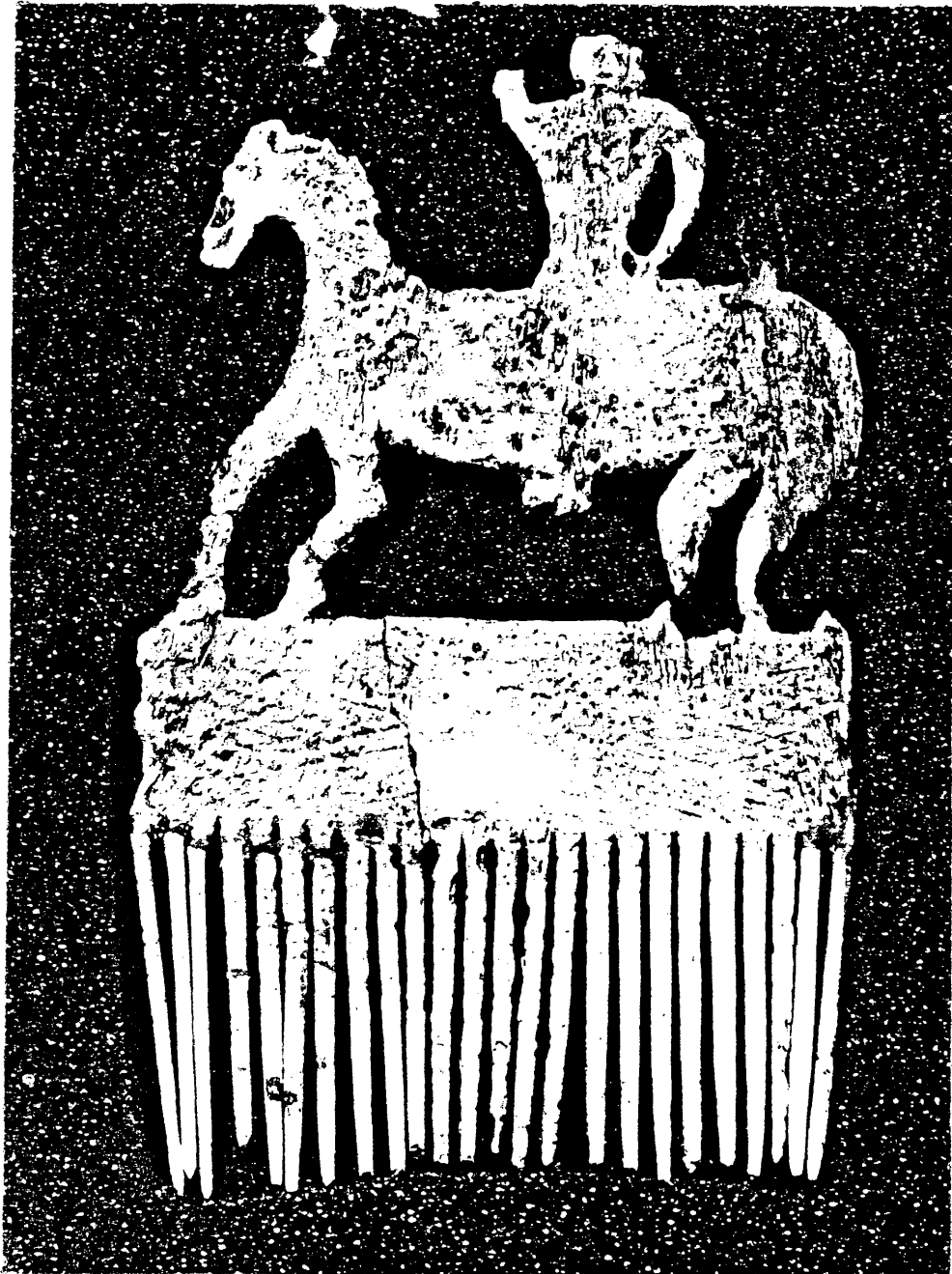
ultimate importance. It is also of special interest that combs which contain this Man on Horseback as detail are not, due to their very design, in perfect symmetry as such.

Perhaps the reason for this conscious lack of balance is to show that the presence of Europeans marks a state of imbalance in the Iroquois community as a whole.

Negative space, also, proves to once again be a powerful decorative device on this particular comb example; a total of five vacant spaces may be accounted for on this comb: two open areas are located on either side of the figure's body, specifically between the arms and torso; and, three other blank spots are carved out around the horse (i.e., between the snout and front legs, front legs and hind legs, and hind legs and tail). Therefore, the Iroquois Confederacy is further well represented and supported, both in terms of its individual nations (through the number five) and with regard to its moieties (by the numbers two and three). The comb lacks a formal arbor, though arching images (as discussed above) are nonetheless present and accounted for. A total of twenty-five complete or broken teeth have been counted for this particular comb. According to my measurements, the length is  $3 \frac{11}{16}$  inches and the width is  $2 \frac{1}{4}$  inches.

The second Man on Horseback comb example recovered from Boughton Hill is composed of antler (see Figure 15). Though it may, indeed, feature a man astride a horse, specific elements are visible which distinguish this piece from the selection just described. For example, the individual pivoted upon the horse is facing forward with one arm raised and extended upward (i.e., on the left ventral side), while the other arm arches away from the body and rests on the horse's back; the horse's snout is in harmony with the raised arm since it too is positioned slightly upward; the feet of the individual are visible and hang as mere stubs beneath the horse's distended belly; no clothing nor hat are featured; all four limbs of the horse are illustrated and connect the top of the comb to its base; evidence for a tail is offered, in that stubs appear at the horse's

FIGURE 15



hind quarters and at the top of the comb's base--a tail appears to have originally been carved as separate and distinct from the horse's body proper and further attached the comb's top to its base. If this had been the case, the comb would have contained a series of four negative spaces between the horse's body and base of the comb. A fifth vacant space is visible between the figure's bent arm and body proper. Thus, this example does contain the same amount of negative space as its predecessor, however, the exact positioning of the space varies. This numeral, as always, clearly bespeaks of the League. Though badly warped, this comb does contain visible engraved detail on its base; a series of cross-hatched lines decorate the entire surface area of the base. I counted a total of twenty-four teeth for this specimen, and found its width to equal  $2 \frac{11}{16}$  inches and its length to measure  $4 \frac{1}{2}$  inches.

As with the previous example, this comb is showing an image of import on a domestic artifact. The earlier specimen did not exhibit this image in perfect symmetry, and neither does this particular comb selection. To compensate for this general lack of harmony, the former example utilized arching images and negative space, to thereby define a foreign element according to native terms. However, though the description just offered did feature the same amount of negative space, the only visible arching image was the figure's arm on the left ventral side of the comb. This is not to say that the overall lack of such an image in this second example makes it less forceful as a native piece. Rather, it does suggest that alternative means of native expression are possible which, likewise, transform unintelligible events into familiar happenings. For example the second comb which was just described depicts a figure in a positive, peaceful posture: one arm is raised in salutation and no foreboding European garb is featured. In general then, both combs absorb an unusual event and offer it meaning and substance

according to native terms and philosophies. Neither comb is more forceful in its attempts; both selections are balanced by each other and, therefore, true to Iroquoia.

The final comb example noted for displaying the Man on Horseback type is a Kirkwood example (c. 1670-1687) and is composed of antler. However, this comb appears to be unfinished (see Figure 34). The figure shown seems to be riding a horse. However, the form contains only a torso and no head; the horse features a head, both hind legs, and a tail, but the remainder of its body is solid, its prospective shape being suggested by the presence of an engraved line. The form is seated facing forwards. No legs are depicted, nor are they outlined as such. The figure's arms extend out from the body: the figure's left arm bends down and rests on the horse's back; the right arm bends up and meets with the horse's neck. The horse stands profile facing ventral left. A type of pouch appears to be hanging down from its mouth, perhaps an indication that the horse is eating something. This pouch is attached to the remaining solid portion of the comb. The horse's belly is outlined by a single engraved line. This line extends down from the neck, runs horizontally and then connects at the hind leg which is closest in proximity to the stomach area. There is no evidence allowing for the presence of the horse's front legs. The top portion of the comb, in general, does not contain any decorative detail, however, two engraved lines do extend diagonally across the horse's head (specifically at the ears and forehead). The base is credited by the existence of a single engraved horizontal line which runs the length of the comb. The base is wide but undecorated and no arbor is indicated. A total of twenty-three teeth have been counted, some of which are broken. I measured the comb's length to be 4 1/4 inches and its width to be 2 11/16 inches.

The comb does contain six definite areas of negative space: one between the horse's neck and pouch; two distinguishing the form's arms from its torso; and, three

FIGURE 34





differentiating each of the horse's hind legs. Since the comb is incomplete, formal conclusions surrounding the possible meanings of this use of vacant space will be avoided.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MYTH TYPE

As the League and History themes are so well represented on the thirty-four previous examples, so is the Myth type clearly displayed on the following three combs. The Myth theme is defined on combs by and through the presence of three primary characters: a human figure and two birds. The actual history and identity of these forms will be discussed below. The ramifications of this discussion will be elaborated upon in chapter 9 of this thesis.

The first comb to feature the Myth theme is found on a comb associated with the Steele Site, c. 1640-1655 (see Figure 6) . The top of the comb features one human form and two bird figures. This particular comb is composed of bone. According to Betty Prisch, combs containing these specific decorative details are believed to be reflective of the 'Sojasko Myth' and they are, thus, commonly referred to as 'Sojasko Combs' (1989: pers. comm). It is indeed important and interesting that the Iroquois should choose to preserve a myth on a decorative hair comb.

"[According to Schoolcraft,] myths are versions of oral relations from the lips of the Indians, and are transcripts of the thought and invention of the aboriginal mind. As such, they furnish illustrations of Indian character and opinions on subjects which the ever-cautious and suspicious minds of this people have, heretofore, concealed. They place the man altogether in a new phasis. They reflect him as he is. They show us what he believes, hopes, fears, wishes, expects, worships, lives for, dies for. They are always true to the Indian manners and customs, opinions and theories. They never rise above them; they never sink below them;....it is impossible not to perceive what he perpetually thinks, believes, and feels. The very language of the man is employed, and his vocabulary is not enlarged by words and phrases foreign to it. Other sources of

FIGURE 6



information depict his exterior habits and outer garb and deportment; but in these,....we perceive the interior man, and are cognizant of the secret workings of his mind, heart, and soul" (1971: Preface).

How similar this explanation of myth is to that definition of material culture, offered in this paper's introduction.

It is worth mentioning that the myth depicted, herein, is not one of general familiarity; Iroquois folk literature has "...three great set pieces...." for which it is typically well-known: the cosmology; Deganawida's epic of the League; and, Handsome Lake's Code (Fenton 1978: 319). The Sojasko Myth is commonly entitled: "How the Wood Duck Got His Red Eyes and Sojy Had His Coat Spoiled" or "Old Man Autumn Gets Back at the Mischief Maker." As its title suggests, this myth explains how things came to be as they are. However, it also may be further defined as a moral offering; this light hearted dramatic tale is an actual promotion for ethical living and a derision of evil behavior. Thus, this myth is a verbal reflection of Iroquois duality. As a myth, its true flavor is forever lost once it is reduced to written form. Parker, perhaps, best explains this transition:

"I only wish that you might have heard them told as I heard them, in the melodious tongue of Seneca, so rich in metaphor and apt allusion" (1926: 30).

However, being written down they are at least permanently preserved. Perhaps, though, their message(s) is (are) better expressed non-alphabetically, (as on such items as decorative hair combs) where visual images can tempt and spark the imagination.

The central character of the particular myth in question is Sojasko, nicknamed "Sojy." This actor is described as follows:

"There was one creature who looked like a man, but wasn't a man. He had a good red coat which had a long fluffy tail like a gray squirrel, but he wasn't a gray squirrel. He was much bigger and had pointed ears and a long narrow nose!....he was known as Mischief Maker, but wise old folk in their language called him S'hojiosko. We'll call him Sojy for short" (1926: 59).

His physical appearance is further complemented by the fact that his personality assumes the same negativity: "he was very foxy and could get up sly schemes" (Parker 1926: 60). Thus, considering this, Sojy's mind and body are in balance. However, it is likewise interesting to note that as a 'trickster,' Sojy is also assuming a certain personal duality with himself: Sojasko is a deceiver and he, therefore, gives the impression that he is good when he is truly bad.

In this myth, Sojy (the epitome of evil) is pitted against the goodwill forces of nature (Autumn and ducks). Although Sojy is armed with crafty powers, his shrewd demeanor ultimately proves to be no match for the positive virtue of his opponents. Initially, however, Sojy is seen to have the advantage; he has the uncanny ability to make Autumn (a personified being) and ducks to doubt their very own senses and abilities and, thereby, themselves. Such doubt is created in that Autumn believes that he is unable to paint a leaf on water and the ducks believe that they are able to sing. Once again a dual concept is transmitted: one character is convinced he cannot do something, while the others are made to believe that they can. Furthermore, the very things which Sojy guarantees are possible are, in fact, impossible. They, in effect, go against nature. However, Autumn and the ducks decide to test nature and believe in Sojy's promises. They are aware of Sojy's bad reputation and history, but give him the benefit of the doubt. They, thus, violate the past laws and forsake common truths; they operate on blind faith. Such trust sometimes has fatal consequences: i.e., e.g., Sojy strangles some of the ducks so he can later eat them. The unstrangled ducks are unaware that their friends are being killed because they have their eyes shut. Sojy has told the ducks to close their eyes, so that they might better learn how to sing.

Perhaps the illusion offered above may serve as a warning to listeners: stay alert and wide eyed. Luckily, both Autumn and the remaining ducks eventually display such

behavior; the characters who do not succumb to Sojy, recognize his tricks, overcome his mischief, and turn the tables on him. In other words, Autumn and the few ducks left join forces and teach Sojy a lesson by beating him at his own game: they trick him. Sojy, thus, wins a battle against nature, but eventually loses the war.

Generally speaking, this myth provides a variety of lessons of and about Iroquois culture. Obviously, nature is shown to be man's friend, an element worthy of consideration. Like man, however, nature is likewise shown to be impulsive. This impulse is regarded as being hazardous when it disrupts the universe's balance and harmony; nature should not attempt feats for which it was not specifically designed (anymore than man should)--it is unnatural. Furthermore, in seeing nature's mistakes, man may learn and avoid these pitfalls himself. Also, man is shown that when positive forces unite, any foe may be defeated. Man is further instructed to be wary of tricksters. If he has been played for the fool, he should teach that foe a lesson and then approach him in the future with caution or otherwise risk further deceit.

The specific Sojasko Comb encountered at Steele is damaged; the comb is broken vertically into two main parts and its overall surface shows evidence of repair. One broken half of the comb (i.e., its left ventral side) features a complete human form and a single bird. The remaining portion of the comb (i.e., its right ventral side) contains one bird figure. If the comb were not broken, the human form would be balanced on either side by each of the two bird figures. Each bird is a mirror image of the other. This balance is reinforced in the comb's uncarved space; most specifically, two open spaces are featured on either side of the figure: each uncarved area is located between the arbor's side columns and the bird forms. Other openings may also be noted--i.e., the uncarved outlining space surrounding the figures. These openings give character and shape to the human and animal forms, as such. Their actual presence adds interest to the

comb, displays the masterful skill of its creator, and sets the comb to be in perfect harmony with itself. Without these openings, the comb would, most likely, be engraved with these details. With such engraving, the very nature of the forms would, perhaps, be lost in the background and the ultimate value of the theme itself might go unappreciated.

The human form is standing and faces front; the birds stand profile. The form appears to be male and displays detail of European dress (hat, button shirt, and jacket). Facial characteristics are likewise visible (eyes). Both arms of the form are raised and appear to be grasping each bird by the neck. In sum then, the specific characterizations of the Sojasko Myth are undeniably evident in this comb example, and any member of Iroquois culture or any individual familiar with its precepts would recognize them as such. In fact, myths in general are an interesting concept to be chosen as a thematic decorative element. According to Kluckhohn, "three things appear to distinguish man from all other living creatures: the systematic making of tools, the use of abstract language, and....the presence of myth or theology" (Lessa and Vogt 1979: Forward). It is thought provoking that myth should be seen as separating man from beast or bird, since in this particular comb example the worlds of man and animal are combined and, furthermore, balanced. It should also be noted that this comb further features a narrow undecorated base, twenty complete or broken teeth, and an arbor. The form and figures are connected to the comb's base and arbor, respectively. According to my calculations, the comb's length measures 4 1/16 inches. No width measurements could be taken since the comb was broken.

Given the above description, as well as the background information surrounding the Sojasko Myth, it is proposed that the human form depicted as such may be intended to represent Europeans, with the birds serving as Iroquoians. Considering this

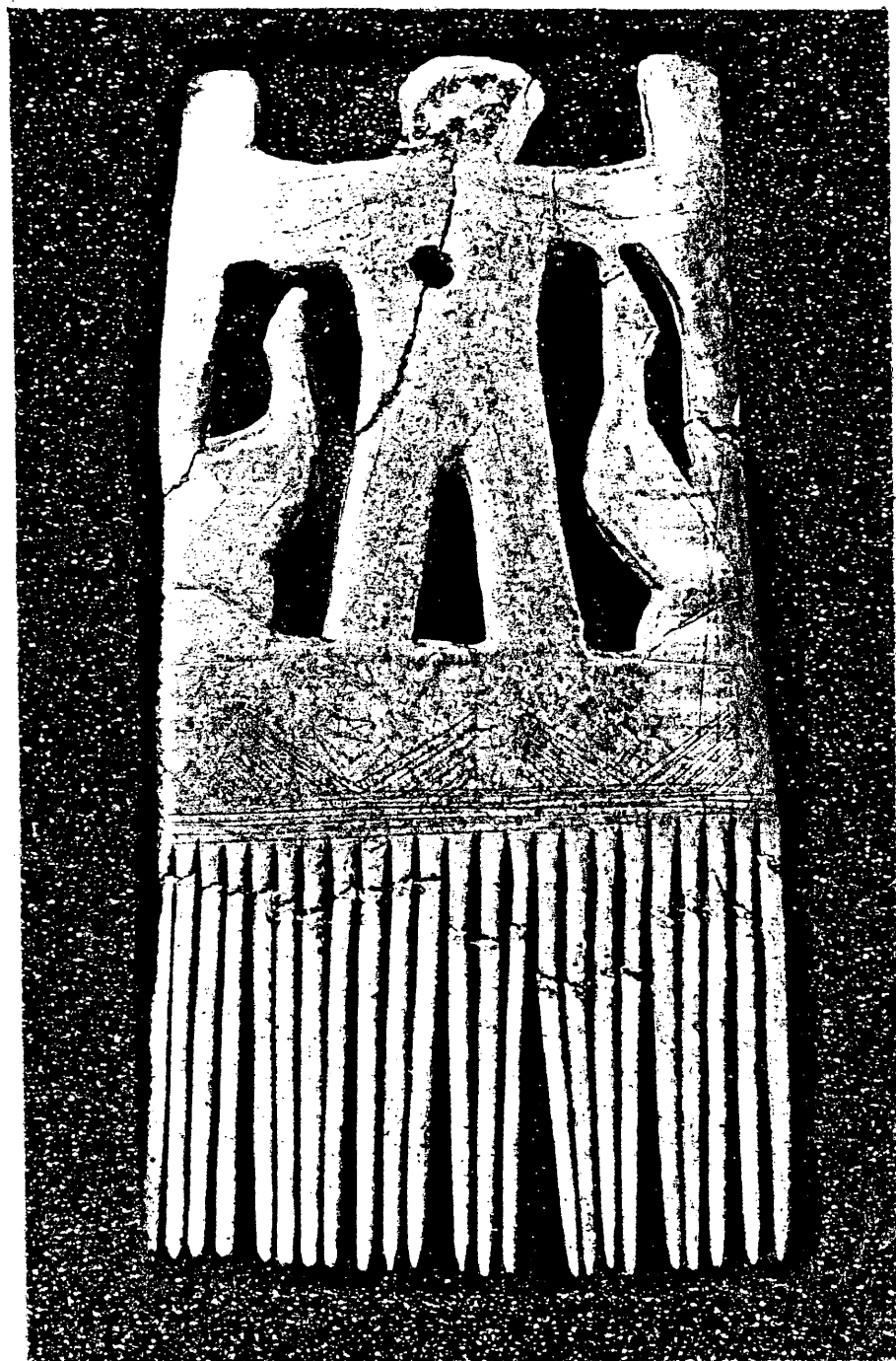
assumption, Europeans are being qualified as tricksters or deceivers, thereby identifying Iroquoians as the victims of this treachery. Generally speaking, this depiction is accurate and correct, since the relationship between Europeans and Iroquoians has reflected such behavior throughout history. This very proposal is particularly well supported by the fact that the human form is shown to display European garb. Furthermore, it would be most appropriate to feature a European in the specific role normally assumed by Sojasko, given the context in which this comb was created--i.e., c. 1640-1655, a time of trade, conquest, and settlement by European invaders. Furthermore, as relations between Europeans and Iroquoians went from bad to worse, the latter were compelled to reach back and rely upon those cultural ways which were most familiar to them, lest they and their culture become extinct. Perhaps, also, by incorporating a foreign character in a native role, Iroquoians hoped to gain a better understanding of their relationship with their contemporaries or, at least, suggest that the very suspicious nature of such a foe was not new and should not, therefore, be feared, particularly since it could logically be overcome. Irregardless, two distinct cultural worlds (Iroquoian and European) are offered and combined through one myth, in one comb. Thus, once more, a dual philosophy manifests itself via a single artifact. It should also be mentioned that three forms have been selected to transmit these Iroquoian concepts. These forms may further be divided into two groups (man and bird), comprised of one and two figures respectively. Therefore, the numbers one, two, and three prove prominent in this particular comb example, numbers which have, heretofore, shown to be of certain importance to this culture.

Conceptions of duality are not limited to the above cited examples. In addition to depicting the Sojasko Myth, this comb simultaneously depicts a variation of the 'Hocker' motif.



Marsh (c. 1655-1670) likewise features but a single hair comb decorated with a human figure motif dedicated to the Myth theme. The particular decorative hair comb in question encountered at Marsh is reportedly composed of antler (see Figure 8). It is interesting that the Sojasko Myth should once again appear on a decorative hair comb; this type of decoration being previously featured on a comb found at Steele (the eastern major village which preceded Marsh). However, the comb noted at Marsh differs from the Steele example in that it is more geometric in its carved and engraved detail. This comb's top is like its Steele counterpart in that it features a single human form flanked by two bird figures. The form appears to be male, though no clothing nor facial characteristics are apparent. Both of the form's legs are straight and are connected to the comb's base. Both arms extend out from the body horizontally, each eventually connecting with a single, vertical post. The connection between the arms and posts creates an H-like illusion. These posts form the vertical boundaries of the comb's top. Thus, unlike the Steele example, the form does not grasp the birds by the neck; each bird figure, on this particular comb, is situated beneath the form's outstretched arms such that the bill of each bird touches and is connected to the underside of each arm. The backside of each bird is then likewise connected to each of the vertical posts. No formal arbor is present on this comb, however, the form's outstretched arms actually create an arbor-like image. Perhaps the human form is serving as a substitute for the arbor, both literally and figuratively. Such a depiction is somewhat inspiring to the beholder who is a member of Iroquois culture. However, this same image could be seen as a threat; since the figure may have very well been intended to represent a European male in a role typical to a character(s) of Iroquoian origin (specifically Sojy and/or the Hocker), and since the other two forms depicted are placed beneath the outstretched arms of the human figure, perhaps this is an indication that there is some question as to the ultimate victory of the

FIGURE 8



Iroquois with regard to their foreign foe or, at least, concern as to the growing power being assumed by European culture at this time and during this period.

It is interesting to note that the figure also features a single hole drilled into its chest (specifically on the left ventral side). It may be recalled that two similar holes are featured on a minor village comb example (Cornish), also of the eastern sequence. It is likewise again suggested that this hole was designed so that the comb could be placed on a string and worn as a type of necklace. As an alternative, the hole may have been used to secure the comb at some point during its manufacture. A third possibility is that this hole may be strictly symbolic in nature; as previously noted, the Iroquois regard the circle as the symbol of life. The base of the comb is engraved with a combination of diagonal and horizontal lines. More specifically, the base features four right angle shapes. Each angle is filled with a series of diagonal lines. Beneath these angles is an uncalculated collection of horizontal lines. The geometric patterns thus detected, complement the straight, sharp lines of the form and figures on the comb's top. According to Lyford, geometric images such as these predated the more stylized and realistic design motifs (like those featured on the comb's top). The reason for this logical evolution of design from simple to complex is justified: gradual exposure to new and different technological advancements permitted for more sophisticated artistic expression. Thus, as contemporary tools were further made available in Iroquois culture, design patterns responded by becoming more complex (1989: 95). However, it is most interesting that such a blatant example of geometry should be encountered on a decorative hair comb of such late date. Furthermore, that this should be the first comb to contain this design element; it seems contradictory, considering Lyford's conclusions, to find a decorative hair comb of the late seventeenth century with geometric patterns flanking its base. However, the appearance of these angles, thus described, may be supported: 1.)

the geometric detail is contained on the comb's base. The base, though an important part of the comb, is not its fundamental focal point. Therefore, it is most logical that a past primary decorative item should receive secondary attention, considering the creative possibilities evidenced on the comb's top which were made possible by and through superior tools; 2.) the presence of geometric detail recalls and reminisces past ways without denying or refusing current advances. Thus, two distinct eras are witnessed in one comb--pre and post contact. The legitimacy of the encounter with Europeans is reflected in the superior position of the more elaborate decorative motif. However, the actual very presence of the past is well defined on the comb's base, which bespeaks of and supports all that which is truly traditional Iroquoia; though angled images might appear beneath the more refined carvings on the comb's top, traditional ways are simultaneously shown to be in conscious coexistence with more contemporary design concepts. Thus, even in the midst of an ever approaching and encroaching foreign technology, the Iroquois are shown to be able to adopt that which is useful, adapt it to their needs, and retain their own cultural identity in the process; and, 3.) in supplying visual symbolism of the past, Iroquois craftsmen chose those items which would work best for them both aesthetically and functionally. Aesthetically the four angles dubiously balance the images offered above, neither detracting from its appeal nor threatening its message. Functionally, the four shapes communicate messages about the ancient directional points which are ever so important and familiar. Furthermore, since the triangle is the shape specifically chosen as a decorative device, illusions of the Three Elder Brothers are once more recanted. Taken together, a Seneca would immediately be able to identify not only his origin, but his social position as well. Also, not only would he be able to see himself as a Seneca, he would likewise know himself as Iroquois.

The comb is complete and has a total of twenty-three teeth, all of which have been mended. According to my calculations, the comb's length measures 5 inches. Its width measures  $2 \frac{5}{16}$  inches.

Evidence for negative space is once again strongly emphasized; this particular comb contains a series of five uncarved spaces. If the hole previously described is included in this count, then six such spaces are found to be in existence. The five spaces are featured as follows on the comb's left ventral side: between the side column and bird; and, between the bird and human form. The comb's right ventral side likewise treats its uncarved space in the very same manner. The fifth open space is located between the form's legs. It is suggested that these five openings are intended to represent the original five nations of the League. It would be convenient to include the sixth opening (i.e., the hole in the figure's chest) in this sum and conclude that it represents the sixth nation. However, given the date typically assigned to the Tuscarora joining the Confederacy (i.e., c. eighteenth century) it is unlikely that this could indeed be the case.

A final decorative hair comb to feature the infamous Sojasko Myth is to be encountered 'At the Western Door' exhibit (see Figure 32). The original origin of the comb is Rochester Junction (c.1670-1687). The last comb in this study to show the influence of the Sojasko Myth was found at Marsh. The only other comb in this study found to preserve the Sojy character was recovered from Steele. Interestingly enough, these two other site locations are part of the eastern site sequence; Rochester Junction is aligned with the western villages. This comb attributed to Rochester Junction displays a single human form flanked by two bird effigies. The form assumes a squat position reminiscent of the Hocker theme, though its feet and behind are lodged firmly on the top of the base. An arbor extends around the entire comb top and arch-like images are repeated in four specific areas of negative space: in the gaps which are present between

FIGURE 32



the legs of each bird; and, at the blank spots located between the form's two legs and its behind. Four, of course, is a number which has proven to be of symbolic importance in transmitting League notions--such as moiety. The arbor begins and extends from the back of each bird. Its passage is halted by the figure's hat, which not only blocks the arbor, thereby preventing its ultimate linkage, but also rises superior to it so that its peak is actually outside of the arbor's limits. It is most unusual for the human figure to attempt this specific maneuver; i.e., it is unique for the human form to assume space which is disengaged from the arbor's interior boundaries. Perhaps, it should be noted, however, that though the hat is without the arbor's range, the body itself is still contained within it. This might be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to bar European influence from the encircling League arbor. In other words, since the hat is a European accessory and due to its depiction as being excluded from the encompassing influence of the arbor, perhaps Iroquoians are selectively displaying their claim to their Confederacy. A Confederacy which may, from time to time, be met with outside foes who might attempt to block Iroquoian influence, yet never be able to penetrate into its inner circle.

Both of the figure's arms are extended out toward the two birds, and grasp at each of their necks. In this sense, then, the Rochester Junction example is more like the Steele specimen, rather than the Marsh comb. Another factor which links this comb more with Steele than with Marsh, is the fact that the figure is graced with a hat and facial characteristics. The birds, themselves, are lacking in engraved detail, as is the remainder of the comb; the only other area to feature any engraving is the base, which contains a total of three lines: one engraved horizontal line marks the base's top; and, two others extend across its very bottom, running parallel to each other, and to the top line. Three is important as a symbolic numerical representative of the Elder Brothers.

Besides the four gaps previously described, there are six other negative areas on

this comb. Thus, a total of ten blank spaces are evident on this particular example. Ten, of course, is the dual amount of five--the original number of League Nations.

No measurements are offered, since the comb is part of the 'At the Western Door' exhibit. I counted a total of twenty-six broken and complete teeth.



## CHAPTER VIII

### TECHNOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTE

Technology is not an isolated attribute of artifact classification, any more than form is--specifically with artifacts defined as art objects. Art, as previously mentioned, operates both aesthetically and functionally. However, for all practical purposes, it should be understood that these qualities do not meet their full potential if an object suffers from poor craftsmanship. According to Douglas and D'Harnoncourt, there is a close bond between art and technical merit in Native American culture. They conclude that this bond "...gives the work of most Indian artists a basic unity rarely found in the products of an urban civilization" (1941: 13). This unity is what is fundamental and true to Iroquois ideology. Thus, once more, principles of Iroquoia are offered and find an outlet for expression.

When considering the associated details of an artifact's technological attributes, three factors are studied: raw material; manufacturing technique; and, manufacturer. As was mentioned previously, decorative hair combs of the Seneca Iroquois featuring the human figure motif were composed of one of four organic materials: antler (moose or elk); bone; wood; or horn (cow or ox). Around seventy to eighty percent of the combs described herein are composed of antler. The remainder were either composed of bone or wood, neither one proving to be of particular favor: less than ten percent of the combs were made of bone; fewer than ten percent of the specimens were composed of wood. In at least one instance, the composition of the comb could not be determined. Given the fact that none of the combs featured in the current study appear to have been composed of horn, but that horn was listed above as a common material of manufacture,

creates a discrepancy. However, it should be recalled that the initial list of four organic materials of manufacture was supplied by Wray and referred to all decorative hair combs regardless of motif. Thus, it is possible and probable that horn decorative hair combs are in existence. Furthermore, it may be that some such combs do feature a human figure, but that their accessibility (and/or even their actual location) was not made available. It should also be noted that conditions effecting preservation have a significant impact upon the number of combs recorded for each material type. Such conditions (which are specifically post-depositional in character) have already been previously alluded to. It should be reaffirmed, however, that organic matter preserves either very well or very poorly in and/or above the ground, depending upon its associated context. However, environment and surroundings not only effect quantification results post-depositionally, they also have an impact upon materials initially selected in artifact manufacture, i.e., e.g.: 1.) according to Dockstader, the abundance and accessibility of one specific raw material over another directly determines an object's composition (1973: 11); and, 2.) the general state of a culture's subsistence effects the amount and quality of objects produced.

"When food is abundant and easy to obtain, a good deal of leisure time is available for artistic production. Needless to say, the reverse is also true: little art is produced in areas where all the hours between sunrise and sunset are consumed in just finding enough to eat" (Feder 1965: 35).

Bearing this in mind, it is understandable why the Iroquois, being a thriving 'Woodland People,' should take advantage of their surroundings and become adept woodworkers (Dockstader 1973: 11; Whitney 1974: 1). According to Parker, the most common organic material utilized by the Iroquois was wood (1920: 456). This point is supported by the writings of Beauchamp, Morgan, traders, missionaries, and travelers, who all mention the prevalent use of wood by the Iroquois (Whitney 1974: 1). Typical

wooden articles included: houses, dishes, spoons, clubs, baskets, bowls, mortars, cups, rattles, masks, arrow and spear shafts, game sticks, and boxes to name but a few. Not to be excluded nor wastefully disposed of, bark was also a common item utilized for such things as: ropes, string, nets, fabrics, dishes, barrels, and houses (Parker 1920: 456). Unfortunately, since wood is a highly perishable substance (specifically when exposed to the damp and acidic soil conditions typical to New York State) it has not been as commonly observed and documented archaeologically as more durable materials have (such as stone, bone, clay, and horn) and, therefore, its importance has oftentimes been overlooked (Beauchamp 1902: 252; 278; Parker 1920: 456; Whitney 1974: 1). Thus, in all practicality, it is impossible to list and identify each and every wooden article ever made and/or put to use (Whitney 1974: 1). When wood has been noted archaeologically, it has been due to highly specific conditions. Two such conditions are: graves (specifically in contact graves where brass has acted to preserve wooden artifacts) and swamps and/or lakes (Parker 1920: 456). In consideration of the foregoing facts, it should then be understood that the limited number of wooden combs acknowledged and represented in this report does not indicate the total number of such articles which might have been in actual existence.

As subject matter (or stylistic attributes) and form evolved, so too did Iroquoian woodcarving technique change and become influenced by culture contact with European technology. Though all of the combs in question in this study were products of a post contact period, there is no doubt that Iroquoians combined some use of both Native and European technology. Therefore, some explanation of each technique is necessary.

"Before metal tools were obtained, carving was done by charring the wood and scraping off the burned sections with stone or shell tools. Metal made woodworking easier and the craft reached its height in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (Douglas and D'Harnoncourt 1941: 156).

According to Custance, archaeological evidence and experiments testing the capabilities of stone have consistently proven its remarkable effectiveness as a tool. Custance further concludes that prehistoric cultures were fully aware of the logical benefits of stone: stone was economical, sharp, and durable--attributes all supporting its use and usefulness (1968: 101). Besides stone and shell, early carvers also employed the use of bone implements. According to both Parker (1922: 115) and Fisher (1989: pers. comm.) scrapers were oftentimes composed of bear and/or beaver teeth. Parker further concludes that the metapodial bones of deer and elk also make excellent scrapers. Bear teeth were also often utilized as knives. Finally, Parker purports that human bone was sometimes used as a tool: "perforated disks cut from the human skull were also used, but aside from this human bones were seldom employed" (1922: 115).

According to Ritzenthaler, the manufacturer involved in this carving was not regarded as an artist, nor dedicated to art as a full time profession. Also, although some carvers were more astute at their task than others, prestige for such talents was never awarded to individual manufacturers. Each carver only worked during spare moments, and the fruit of each effort was community property of the Nation whose value could not be measured according to economic standards (1969: 31). Research in experimental archaeology has been particularly useful in shedding new light on the complexity of woodworking with stone implements, specifically with regard to their role as tools. Such research has proven that there was specific skill and expertise not only in the manufacture of the artifact, but in the manufacturer as well. According to Crabtree and Davis, there were three basic factors which a skilled craftsmen must possess: 1.) he must have an understanding of his tools in order to obtain the best results from them; 2.) he must be trained at any early age how to assume proper body postures so that his tools could be used to their fullest potential; and, 3.) he must maintain a degree of flexibility

and possess a definite understanding of his own muscle groups, so that he could use his tools most efficiently (1968: 426-28).

It should not be assumed that because the Iroquois were so successful in and with respect to their environment, that they exploited the lush wealth of their surroundings and took them for granted; i.e., using resources which were available and plentiful, without considering their appropriateness for desired tasks or expendability. On the contrary, the Iroquois respected, appreciated, and understood "...the different behavior of different timbers...." Based on this understanding (as well as the relative abundance of a specific timber types) the Iroquois "...would select the appropriate material for the purpose in hand" (Hodges 1964: 112). Thus, in their environment, this people was successful because they could comprehend it and did not take advantage of it. In other words they lived their ideology: man in balance with nature. According to Whitney, the Iroquois shared an intimacy with the forest, appreciated its offerings, and were thankful for the bounty it provided them: "[the Iroquois]...considered the tree...[a] friend and often gave thanks to it for its gifts;...[the tree was] imbued....with a certain mystical nature, that is, a humanlike spirit" (Whitney 1974: 2; 1). Also, as was explained previously, the tree was symbolic of the League and, thus, a metaphor for life. Taken in sum, the foregoing information, is invaluable to researchers for from it they are able to develop a deeper appreciation of how the Iroquois achieved such success in their environment, as well as (as Hodges notes) an understanding of what the ancient environment's composition actually was (1964: 112).

Bone was also a common raw material in the manufacture of decorative hair combs. In fact, it may be said that "...early and late Iroquois, with their kindred, were the workers in bone par excellence" (Beauchamp 1902: 253). According to Hodges, it was the obvious choice for manufacturers due to its prime availability, accessibility, and

strength (1964: 154; 155; 153). Bone was naturally abundant in Seneca villages due to its being a by-product of game typically hunted for meat and skins. Its potential and usefulness was soon recognized, and manufacturers were quick to work this raw material into much needed weapons, tools, and ornaments (Whiteford 1970: 124). Bone proved to be particularly valuable in instances where wood was shown to be too fragile (Hodges 1964: 154; 155; 153). Thus, it is obvious, that the Iroquois once more were not only conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of their environment for specific tasks, but they also did not waste that which was made available to them.

None of the bone combs featured in this study were subjected to compositional analysis, whereby an attempt was made to determine the actual animal source involved. However, considering: 1.) the diet of the Iroquois; 2.) the overall quality, size, and shape of each comb; and 3.) the environmental terrain, scholars generally agree that deer were probably one of the most likely candidates (Beauchamp 1976: 35; Sempowski 1990: pers. comm.; Saunders 1990: pers. comm.) One other factor supporting this choice of resource related to hunting taboos. According to Beauchamp, season, which was determined by myth, dictated and regulated when deer might be hunted (1976: 35). This would then affect not only the actual time when the combs were produced, but also the final number which might be made by a single village. Also, too, taboos associated with the animal being hunted would extend to its bones as processed. According to Hodges, the largest and flattest bone of an animal was generally most desirable for manufacturing purposes. Long bones from the legs of larger animals were, thus, chosen because they provided the best surface area, size, and shape with which a manufacturer might work (1964: 154; 155; 153). According to Whiteford, prior to the introduction of metal tools, bone ordinarily passed through five basic phases of manufacturing: 1.) the ends of the bone were broken off with either a

rock or hammer; 2.) sandstone was used to smooth rough edges and/or to cut into the bone's hollow interior; 3.) a serrated stone blade was required to saw the bone into rings or tube-like sections; 4.) flint points served to score or engrave the bone's surface, split the bone, and/or remove splints of bone; and, 5.) finally, the bone was ground on grooved sandstone abraders, using a process similar to sharpening stone tools (1970: 124). It is logical, then, that the combs thus produced by these tools and from this technology are: 1.) generally less elaborate or completely free of any decoration; 2.) more narrow; 3.) contain fewer but wider teeth (approximately three to four); and, 4.) oftentimes may be compared to the European fork, when they are paralleled with bone combs of a post-contact period (Parker 1920: 116; 117). Bone combs of the post-contact Seneca, exhibit the same evolutionary characteristics associated with wooden ones. As with wooden decorative hair combs, there is a direct correlation between subject matter (or more specifically, of decorative features in general) and manufacturing technique. According to Parker, contact between Iroquois and Europeans resulted in the introduction of steel cutting implements for combs.

[He claims that this introduction caused bone combs to ultimately] ....take on an entirely new form, resembling in general motive a lady's back comb of modern times. These have from fifteen to forty teeth, generally two inches long, above which rises a decorative top or handle upon which are fretted out the effigies of various birds or the human figure" (1920: 116; 117).

Antler, although solid in its physical integrity, was easier to work than bone (Whiteford 1970: 129). As with wood and bone, decorative hair combs composed of antler evolved in response to European contact. The introduction of sophisticated western manufacturing tools, simplified carving tasks and made for more elaborate expression.

"[As with bone combs,] the earlier types are narrow and resemble coarse forks with long prongs and long bases. The base may be plain, incised or decorated by fretwork in the form of animals, birds or combinations."

Later, as trade opened up between the Iroquois and Europeans, steel saws and knives permitted manufacturers to create combs with more teeth and more figures (Parker 1920: 382).

A ready supply of antler was always guaranteed, since beasts of this nature shed them annually. Antler is an outgrowth of the bones of the skull. Antler was also obtained through slaughter. Regardless of the method by which this resource was made available, its hard consistency challenged the manufacturer unless it was first softened by soaking in water (Hodges 1964: 153; 155). Deer and elk seem to be prime selections as resources for antler. According to Beauchamp, animals such as these were more typical to Iroquois territory. Moose, another resource possibility, were more geographically limited and, therefore, direct access to them was difficult. Elks were regarded by the Iroquois as beasts of good omen, and superstition and myth surrounded these creatures. It was believed, for example, that a giant elk had once existed who had had a court of regular size elks in his service. It was maintained that the giant elk's massive proportions caused the regular size elks to appear as mere ants (1976: 35; 91). Deer antler also had a positive association in that its presence on an Iroquois headdress was said to symbolize a chief; when broken antlers made their appearance, this was said to represent "...the loss of certain Iroquois chiefs because they had chosen the path of war for personal gain" (Grinde 1977: 28; 98).

Previously it was proposed that decorative hair combs featuring a human figure might be seen to possess certain positive or negative qualities. At that time it was alluded that these combs might indeed be more closely associated with positive rather than negative properties. The foregoing discussion appears to support this general opinion; considering the fact that each of the organic materials utilized in manufacture



was associated with 'good' motives, it seems logical to assume that, by extension, the combs themselves shared in possessing these very qualities.

Based upon the above information involving various material types and associated manufacturing techniques, two basic conclusions may be made: 1.) the Iroquois were environmentally conscious; and, 2.) the Iroquois were culturally aware. In being environmentally conscious, the Iroquois took particular care in choosing specific organic materials for special tasks, never deliberately exhausting nor wasting that which was made available to them. The Iroquois, then, guaranteed the survival of their surroundings by prescribing the enforcement of environmental conservation through their ideology; it was a positive and good thing to live in harmony with nature and use its resources wisely. Decorative hair combs featuring a human figure are the artifactual manifestation of this harmonic philosophy. However, it should be made evident that without the workmanship of talented craftsmen, this ideology could not be realized. Such craftsmen possessed highly developed skill and knowledge--i.e., cultural awareness. More specifically, skill refers to the physical capabilities of the artist: his control and expertise as a craftsman, in terms of the tools, conditions, and materials at hand; knowledge is defined by the manufacturer's historical insight and personal intuition: his familiarity with cultural traditions over and through time, and his ability to make those traditions come alive.

Up to this point little exact information has been offered relating to the origin and originator of these combs. It has generally been assumed that the origin of each comb may be traced to a local craftsman. That is to say that each comb was a product of the village from which it was ultimately recovered. This theory is supported by the fact that comb blanks (as well as unfinished combs, regardless of figure motif) have been recovered from Seneca graves. It is highly unlikely that an uncompleted article would

be used as a trade item. Furthermore, this thesis would prove to be a fruitless effort in material culture studies, if decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif were assumed to be of non-Seneca Iroquois origins.

Considering, then, that the Seneca are credited with the manufacture of these combs, questions arise as to who in Seneca society actually created them. It has generally been assumed that the originator of these combs was male; precedence and convenience has upheld and supported the use of the term 'craftsman' in this thesis. Further research now tends to legitimate these findings and conclusions. According to Schneider, in typical hunting and gathering societies domestic craft evolves and develops with women. The reason for this is that men are occupied with the tools (i.e., e.g. flaking, whittling, and carving), techniques, and strategies of the hunt--a concern meant and designed to secure the group's existence and survival (1972: Preface). Although the Iroquois were a horticulturally based society, a fair amount of effort was spent on the hunt. The reason for this being not only subsistence, but the fur trade as well. According to Feder, "in areas where hunting constituted a major part of the economy, the males concentrated on producing equipment for the hunt..." (1965: 19). Carving was one such craft which required a degree of male expertise and, as mentioned previously, wooden articles were both common and numerous to Iroquois society. Bearing this in mind it would then seem logical that being such astute carvers, males would be responsible for the hair combs which are discussed herein; it is, therefore, proposed that males are to be credited for the manufacture of decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif.

Based upon the foregoing discussion, it has, then, been concluded that decorative hair combs as recognizable artifacts (i.e., whether or not each has been completed) are not associated with trade. However, there has been some speculation as to the source of

the raw material used in comb manufacture. It has already been stated that wood, bone, and antler were items whose abundance and quality made them natural choices for decorative items. However, some suggestion has been made that raw antler in particular may have, indeed, been a trade good. Though this is an interesting proposal, information by Beauchamp purports that this resource was specific to Iroquois territory (1976: 35). It might very well be that the Nations traded this commodity amongst themselves, however, no documents could be secured supporting such a notion one way or the other. Conclusions surrounding the possible trade of antler are, therefore, strictly preliminary.

## CHAPTER IX

### SYMBOLIC FORMS

Given the foregoing descriptive discussion relaying known and proposed information of and about decorative hair combs, it may be concluded that they do indeed contain one of three figure forms, each of which has symbolic importance not only by its very presence but also by the way in which it is represented--specifically with regard to body position and carved detail. The foregoing interpretation of this symbolic representation has been influenced by numerous readings, course work, and personal communications--specifically with Dr. Russell Judkins, Mr. George Hamell, and Mr. Sheldon Fisher (c. 1983-1990). The actual significance and ramifications of this symbolism must now be answered and dealt with. In other words this thesis may now attempt to determine why such specific symbols were chosen and what their effect upon Iroquois life might have been. To do this properly, it should be noted and remembered that neither symbols (as a concept) nor the human figure motif are strictly limited to decorative hair combs.

The very presence of any and all symbols in Iroquois culture at large is specifically significant; according to Parker, their very existence, preservation, and perpetuation is provided for in the Constitution of the Five Nations. One example of a symbol thus mentioned is the bundle of arrows, which is intended to reflect the union of the five nations (1968: 11).

The Seneca also depicted the human form on a variety of artifactual objects, i.e., e.g.: pipes, miniature maskettes, masks, ceramics, ladles, and figurines. It was earlier noted that the three general themes which have been found to typify decorative hair

combs were categorically limited to them as such. In other words, though these other artifact classes may indeed depict aspects of a myth (specifically the Sojasko Myth) or an historical event (specifically Wentworth Greenhalgh on horseback) or the League itself, they do not, it seems, strictly fix themselves on these three categories with the same degree of accuracy and specialization as the ornamental combs featured in this study most notably do. Since, then, the combs are grave items which consciously contain themselves to three basic themes, and since these themes are clearly recognizable over and through time, it seems fair to conclude that comb manufacturers were well aware of their responsibility to transmit and perpetuate these constant ideologic messengers and their associated messages. Such a conclusion has a three-fold impact: 1.) it means that comb ornamentation inspired with human oriented themes are not haphazard, but culturally regulated; 2.) it indicates that comb manufacturers were conscientious and held true to these regulations; and, 3.) it suggests that the decorative hair combs of and in this study contain information about Iroquois culture which is limited only to them as an artifact class. Therefore, the ultimate value of these artifacts cannot ever be fully calculated nor even estimated.

Given, then, that the human form does appear on objects other than combs, it should be realized that the body need not be depicted in its entirety in order for it to be clearly recognizable. The face is one such body portion which is easily observable and particularly popular; according to Mathews, the most common object to bear a human likeness (specifically the face) is a pipe (1978: 129). Miniature maskettes and masks are two types of artifacts which also typically depict only a human face as opposed to an entire body form. Both of these types of objects (like decorative hair combs) are generally assigned with and harbor ideological messages. Pipes and maskettes are often recovered from burials. Ceramics and ladles often feature the human form and, though

usually assumed to be objects of a more utilitarian nature, they too are a common grave offering. It is interesting to note that decorative hair combs likewise functioned to serve both utilitarian and ideological purposes; not only did decorative hair combs operate as hair clips, but they also, it is proposed, contain meaningful messages. Thus, perhaps, decorative hair combs featuring the human figure may be seen as a link between the utilitarian and ideological worlds of the Seneca, serving two very important functions simultaneously.

One other type of artifact mentioned above which features the human form is figurines. Figurines were first identified when a description of the Adams' September Morn comb was being presented. It was at that time that evidence was offered linking the two; it was previously suggested that these two artifacts might share a common inherent attribute: positive power. Given the subsequent information which has since been offered and discussed it may well be thoughtfully concluded that the symbols chosen for these combs were intended to extend and promote this positive notion. Such a notion may best be understood by interpreting the symbolic use of the human figure motif, as it appears with regard to the League, History; and, Myth.

Obviously, any time the Iroquois League theme is utilized, it defines and reifies the Confederacy--the eternal hub of Iroquoia. There are many ways in which notions pertaining to the Confederacy have been expressed on the combs featured in this study. Numbers are one category of accents which have proven themselves to be of particular importance as appealing symbolic devices; this thesis has found that combs featuring the human figure have a definite affinity for the numbers one through six. Interestingly enough, this numerical range is directly akin to the possible dispersion count of individuals typically interred in a single grave pit--i.e., one pit normally contains anywhere from one to six individuals. To best comprehend the symbolic import of each

numeral as it appears in reference to the combs, some explanation should be offered. Prior to doing this, however, it should first be noted that each number is represented in one of three ways: carving; uncarved or blank area; and/or, engraving. Each method of representation has proven itself to be positive and worthwhile in its own respect, however carved and uncarved areas have proven themselves to be particularly popular and pertinent. It may seem somewhat contradictory at this point to refer to uncarved space as a 'positive,' considering that it has heretofore commonly been labeled as a negative. It should, however, be emphasized that this labeling only refers to an area's physical character, not its inherent quality. In fact, previous discussions have shown that carved and uncarved spaces are two opposing ideas which serve as balances to one another. Furthermore, they function to physically define each other: without uncarved area, there would be no carvings, only engravings, and without carved area, blank spaces would be nonexistent. Since, then, two opposing ideas do indeed operate in cooperation with one another, those concepts of balance and reciprocity (positive truths held constant in Iroquois ideology) make themselves evident.

As a further comment on carved and uncarved space it should be mentioned that though numerical values may indeed be attached to either concept, human forms are only represented in the former. Thus, humans do appear in solid silhouette, but never as an empty outline in open space. In other words, though the human condition may be suggested in negative space (i.e., e.g. via numerals) individual forms are never to be formally fixed in such areas. The only comb to be exempted from this rule is that one which was recovered from Boughton Hill (see Figure 20). Here, three triangular shapes have been represented in negative space. Why each human form would be depicted as such and, furthermore, limited to this example is not known. It is interesting to note that as depictions, the forms are represented via geometric shapes. Each form is, therefore,

somewhat abstract rather than true to life. This display, as well as that evidenced by every other comb, reveals the manufacturer's keen awareness and understanding of positive and negative space, as well as how this space could and should be effectively manipulated. The manufacturer was likewise conscious of the material being selected for manipulation. This fact was elaborated upon in chapter 8.

One, of course, is a number which is both literally and figuratively of primary importance. By its very nature, this numeral automatically suggests and signifies notions of superiority, independence, and strength: i.e., to always and ever be the proverbial 'number one' is the sure and constant sign of success, regardless of culture. One is featured through every blank uncarved space which is visible on each comb; all of the negatives may be defined alone and counted singly, in addition to being viewed as part of a group of spaces and calculated as such. For example, as the Iroquois League actually represents a compilation of a number of nations, clans, and families it truly has simultaneously served as an individual focal point for the Iroquois people, providing a number of separate but related functions: rules for settlement and descent; laws of government; proper practices for trade and politics; etc. Thus, this one concept created by the people, has become their source of identity and blueprint for behavior.

Carved areas operate in much the same way. For example, combs displaying two men and a canoe paddle feature three carved figures: two human forms and one paddle. The paddle is assumed to represent the one League and the forms are thought to signify brotherhood--a concept where many strive to be as one. In turn, then, the two forms emphasize three separate ideas: 1.) they represent one gender; 2.) they constitute one species; and, 3.) they exist and subsist in one area of the universe (i.e., earth, as opposed to sky or water). Also, too, the two do not appear together, but are divided: one is positioned to the left of the paddle and one is located to the right. In concentrating



symbolic images on this one numeral, multiple reference is being made to the single united Confederacy or League. In sum, then, the number one serves just as the League itself does: symbiotically; no other numbers have meaning or a reference point without number one and viceversa; the League is both defined by and defines the Iroquois people.

In considering the rationale of emphasizing this number on a grave good, it must be realized how very logical it would be to seek to revitalize thoughts of group identity when a single person is lost to death. Furthermore, what better time to re-emphasize such thoughts as League stability than during a period of crisis, confusion, mystery, and fear. Also, by offering these very thoughts, the individual(s) interred is (are) not lost to death, but rather forever claimed as Iroquoian. Thus, in general then, the Iroquois had an appropriate means of response to a time of difficult question: they created and utilized a mechanism of hope so that they might conquer any doubts and, thereby, cope.

Iroquois ideology attempted, then, to provide solace to its people by offering them stability and guidance. To maintain this union of strength, the League was forced to monitor itself. To effectively accomplish this feat, it followed a system of checks and balances, whereby equality of person was seen as the ultimate advantage. Social and political rules for behavior (specifically laws involving marriage and government) insured that this equality would be respected and perpetuated. This thesis has emphasized Iroquois ideologic professions of equality by noting the presence of such positive precepts as balance, reciprocity, harmony, and symmetry in the decorative hair combs discussed herein. The human figure motif has shown itself to be of certain importance in illustrating these precepts due to the bilateral nature of the human body. In other words, then, the Iroquois not only displayed a specific way of life, they also promoted a belief in this lifeway. It is obvious and logical that the Iroquois would seek

to support and share this philosophy. The simplest and most efficient way by which this attitude might be professed is numerically and the number two appears to be the prime candidate for such profession.

"[According to Hamell], the Seneca believe that the basic and most important number is 'two'; or more properly the concept of reciprocating and complementing dualities...of 'opposite sides'. The concept is basic to Seneca Iroquois cosmology...." (1979: Introduction).

Decorative hair combs featuring this number via carved and uncarved space oftentimes display two brothers (i.e., Younger Brothers) and/or two moieties (i.e., Younger Brothers and Older Brothers). More subtle use of this number may be seen in the Hocker Motif, whereby the mirror image created by the character being spread eagle stresses the power of bilateral symmetry. Animals appearing in twosomes likewise emphasize notions of duality. Such notions are particularly interesting since animal names are also associated with clans: i.e., e.g. the Bear Clan. Thus, as was previously relayed, beasts are being used to represent human creations--creations which have League origin and reference. Considering this then, it does not seem so unusual that characters such as Sojy should be part human and part animal; Iroquois society stresses principles of equality, even in situations requiring a balance of status and role between man and beast.

Further mythical support for symbolic dualism may be found, as mentioned above in Iroquois Cosmology:

" Sky Woman fell from the world above,...[and] animals below made a place for her to land by diving into the waters for earth to put on the Turtle's back....She [subsequently] gave birth to a daughter....[and] this daughter [later] gave birth to ...Twin Brothers:....the Good Twin [(whose name means 'He Who Grasps the Sky' or Sapling) and the Evil Twin] ....The content of this myth is a mirror of Iroquois culture...[and] its principal motifs are known the breadth of the continent" (Fenton 1978: 319).

Physical evidence for dualism is found in Seneca settlement pattern, whereby an eastern and western division of major villages were sequentially established and relocated approximately every twenty years.

In sum, then, how appropriate it was to find use of and meaning for this number, specifically with artifacts relating to death. Death represents the ultimate physical state all living creatures will reach; death is the ultimate physiological equal end of all.

The number three is likewise visually focused on the carved and uncarved space of the decorative hair combs featured in this study. As illustrated in this thesis (and in the work of Hamell 1979) it has generally been assumed that the use and incorporation of this number has been to serve as a reference to the Three Elder Brothers of the Iroquois League. This assumption proves most appropriate considering that the Seneca are one of the three brothers credited to this moiety.

In addition to referring to this specific aspect of the Confederacy, this number might also be linked with the actual structural/functional image typically assigned to the League: i.e., Speck's three-sided Longhouse symbol where notions of land and subsistence, settlement patterns, and family are recognized as having proven to be of eternal historical prominence and significance. As a point in support of this image are the engraved triangular shapes which have been described as common occurrences on the combs.

Further support of the number three may be found when Iroquois modes of subsistence are elaborated upon. Foodways in this culture were horticulturally based upon three main crops: corn, beans, and squash. Fenton notes that the importance of these crops was that they "...provided the foundation of subsistence and afforded the leisure to develop institutions of sedentary life" (1978: 299). It is, then, logical that the Iroquois pay symbolic homage to this triad, since without them, the League concept

would not have been possible. The awe and respect offered for these crops is further made evident by the recognition which the Iroquois gave to them by labeling them as the proverbial 'Three Sisters.' Such reference not only denotes high esteem, but deep affection as well. This regard held by the people for these plants has its roots in cosmological myth. As was just previously noted, this myth makes claim that Sky Woman's daughter is responsible for the birth of the two twin boys, Good and Evil. More complete versions of this tale further relate how the birth of the boys (specifically of the Evil Twin) caused her to die. It is from her body that the Three Sisters are cultivated: "...[the Good Twin] gave to the Earth...[his mother's body], its Great Mother, from whom was to spring all life" (Converse 1908: 34; 35). From this mythical association, the Iroquois found purpose and premise for assigning gardening duties to women:

"Growing crops was the principal occupation of women in the village;...the village and its surrounding fields comprised their domain....[From this activity,] sibling terms were extended from the women to the crops they cultivated. 'The women and the life sustainers are as sisters' is the recurrent theme [in Iroquois society. The very real]....economic importance [of women] contributed to their position in [this] society. Not for nothing were the 'three sisters,' and the women, household lineage, and continuity of society deemed one and the same" (Fenton 1978: 299; 300).

In addition to the Three Sisters proving pertinent to the visual display of this number on decorative hair combs, it is likewise interesting that they should have their origin in a myth which is deemed as one of the three great epic tales of Iroquoia--Deganawida and Handsome Lake being the other two important myths (Fenton 1978: 319).

Also of possible related note is the fact that the number three is represented in the combs' structure. Though Wray (1963) originally established the terminology differentiating each of the comb's parts (top, base, and tines), his methodology does

seem justified. It is, however, realized that Wray's methodology is of a western, non-native origin.

The actual rationale in selection of this number as a decorative device on grave items is, then, realized, when the actual origin of the Three Sisters is recalled: a dead woman's body. How appropriate, then, that a number whose mythical source is of the earth, should ultimately return to the earth; how typical to Iroquois thought, that all things should be viewed as circular and infinite, even death. As a final word, notions of brotherhood and sisterhood become united as one concept through this number, thereby further unifying the Iroquois people--both living and dead.

The number four has also shown itself to be quite popular as a decorative detail. Four may be defined as symbolizing a variety of particulars, all of which have proven to be true to and in support of Iroquois ideology. Interestingly enough, four seems to be a numeral of universal prominence and importance, not only to Native American groups such as the Iroquois, but to all cultures everywhere. According to Brinton, adoration of this number stems from man's recognition, definition and awe of the four cardinal points:

"The assumption of precisely four cardinal points is not of chance; it is recognized in every language; it is rendered essential by the anatomical structure of the body; it is derived from the immutable laws of the universe" (1896: 85).

Aside from this universal appeal, in order to comprehend why the Iroquois chose to symbolize this number on decorative hair combs, details of previous conclusions should be compiled defining how they understood it and why it was important to their culture.

As was pointed to earlier in this thesis, four is intended to represent each of the earthly directions, seasons, and winds. It also is supposed to suggest peace and tranquility, and trees are envisioned as its honored earthly reminders and representatives: i.e., 'the four white roots of peace.' Also, too, four has been associated with the

numeral amount of chiefs allotted to each moiety and, furthermore, as it is half the amount of eight, so too is it twice the value of two--a number of particular significance in Iroquois culture.

Therefore, four is not only a number of prominence and meaning in all cultures, it also has the inclination to assume some specific values thereby warranting its depiction on individual artifacts of particular cultures. In view of this, the number has widespread appeal as well as personal application, making associated decorations pleasing to any viewer. There is, thus, logic and purpose in choosing this numeral in selecting and planning decorative detail.

Five and six are two numbers which seem to obviously have a 'nation' oriented association with the League: i.e., League of the Five Nations (or League of the Six Nations) (see Hamell 1979). The undeniable impact of national identity of Iroquois life cannot be overemphasized. This thesis has only looked at one motif of one nation. Combs from other nations do exist and likewise display a certain degree of uniqueness with respect to their origin. In this work, the numbers five and six have made themselves apparent via carved space, uncarved space, and engraved space. Though actual direct correlation between the number six as it appears on the combs and the sixth nation of the Confederacy, is questionable (i.e., considering the date of the combs in relation to the period during which the Tuscarora are generally assumed to have joined the League) this number may be defined as an alternative means of representing the number three (i.e., in duplicate). This methodology is most logical given Iroquois concern for and emphasis on this number, as well as for notions and ideas about duality and the number two.

As a matter of fact, it is most interesting that all of the numbers in question (i.e., one through six) operate sequentially. Thus, every one number is related to and

dependent upon all the other numbers, much like all the nations, clans, and families are interrelated and co-dependent. Such a fact permits each numeral to have meaning on its own terms as well as with regard to each of the other numerals--the discussion which has just preceded illustrates this very idea and further reveals the positive import of number usage on decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif and the very true significance of the combs to Iroquois culture.

Carved arbors also promote feelings of positivism; an arbor acts to positively reinforce the image(s) it encompasses, be it the simple archway of silhouetted uncarved space between it and the featured figure, or the figure itself. When the cross beam and side columns of the arbor are carved with bowed-in accent, they further emphasize the human shape, specifically as an hour glass form. As was stated earlier, arbors are believed to either represent the Sky World or the Confederacy (Hamell 1979: Introduction). Both of these concepts represent the principle domains of Iroquois existence and identity, with one generally being associated death and the other being linked with life. Considering that figures (specifically Hockers) are being represented in postures whereby they appear to be upholding the arbor's side columns, it may be concluded that a symbolic demonstration is being offered as to what is proper and correct behavior; i.e., the Iroquois people are being informed of their reciprocal responsibility to the League and the Sky World: in order to retain his spiritual and physical surroundings and, thereby, his identity, man must offer his support to them. It is interesting that both of these surroundings should, in turn, share a common origin: myth.

Myths are and have been an ancient and stable positive force among the Iroquois. This noble character associated with myths is culturally based, since Iroquois society is founded upon oral tradition.

"This is a tradition that places an enormous premium on ability to internalize long verbal streams; the myth-teller, the singer of the chant cycle, the ritualist, and the prophet are heroes honored in this country" (Fenton 1978: 319).

A qualified speaker (typically a male) knows his history, culture, and people well and he relates well with each, and his quality, intellect, and ability are judged according to the transmittals of fellow speakers;

"...each individual's knowledge is measured against the knowledge of others rather than against written knowledge, potentially the property of anyone, and those individuals recognized as possessing the most extensive information are regarded as the best authorities" (Tooker 1979: 31-2).

Considering, then, that speakers were held in such high regard, there must, logically, be some value or legitimacy assigned to what they were saying. In other words, the myth itself must possess some importance, otherwise the precision and care taken to its telling would not be necessary. According to most basic definitions, myths are unique tools which, like art, perform dual functions: 1.) they entertain; and, 2.) they inform. It is an interesting aside that notions of duality should apply to art, myth, and Iroquois ideology at large. From a more specific standpoint, myths are dramatic narratives designed to offer creative answers to a culture's most serious questions, such as: 1.) what is the meaning of life, of the existence of man, and of the world itself; and, 2.) how is man to cope and deal with the events and circumstances of everyday life, such as birth, war, death, etc. "...Myths seek to explain why things are as they are, thereby providing a traditional moral sanction for action..." (Crane and Angrosino 1974: 107). Broadly speaking, myths function to artfully provide three types of information: 1.) they characterize and emphasize what is important to a culture, i.e., their "principal preoccupations;" people's myths are "...a symbolic projection of what is on their mind." Myths also, by their very nature, insure that those very preoccupations will be memorized and, thus, preserved; 2.) myths aid in interpreting and analyzing the



structure and meaning of a culture's language; and, 3.) they offer, express, and favorable share information about a culture's past history, over and through time (Hammond 1971: 318; 319). Myths, therefore, not only reveal the creative nature of a culture, they also serve that culture by permitting it to effectively function in society; myths justify culture. In acceptance of this fact, it is also realized that were it not for culture there would be not myth. In other words, then, the two are compatible and mutually dependent upon each other.

In acceptance of the foregoing praise, recognition, and importance of myth to culture and culture to myth, as well as the significance of the transmitters of these oral traditions, it soon is apparent why the Iroquois would select various myths as a decorative accent on hair combs. First and foremost, myths are pure and true to the culture of which they are a product. Thus, there can be no doubt that a mythical form which is depicted on a given artifact is of that culture and, thereby, promotes its existence and heritage. Second, since myths are so much a vital part of a society, their perpetuation is a necessity. Given the fact that as contact increased, specifically between Iroquois and Europeans, and that through this contact new artifacts and ideas were interchanged, it seems appropriate to assume that the ways and means of the past should have been sought as guidance in the midst of such confused conditions. These past ideals had always proven worthy to the Iroquois in the face of other ancient threats and dangers; mythical morals had not only provided the Iroquois a sense of solace, they also had offered direction, hope, and renewal. Furthermore, it is during such periods of crisis that myths typically provide the most comfort and best aid to a people, and it is often during these very moments that new mythical plans are formulated. Fenton quotes Wallace as stating that "...myths and rituals arise in periods of social and cultural stress and [they] 'come into existence as parts of a program or code of religious revitalization movements'" (Fenton 1968: 35). In consideration of this, it is perfectly understandable

that the Iroquois should seek to project an image and message from the past in the presence of current foreign obstacles. It is also logical that these myths should come to appear on decorative hair combs, specifically those assigned with a human figure. This logic may be rationalized via three examples.

It should first be noted that the Iroquois were a prehistoric people. Therefore, even in lieu of the fact that they were subjected and exposed to the words and writings of Europeans, it would essentially be against their cultural makeup to invest in such methods of expression. Furthermore, if these myths had been offered and preserved as paper text, their absolute applicability to Iroquoians would have been truly lost. First and foremost, these myths were of, about, and composed by Iroquoians. In order to completely comprehend their meaning, an individual must possess and be a part of this cultural heritage either biologically or through adaptation. It would, therefore, be inappropriate (and, perhaps, even sacrilegious) to promote such ideals on people of foreign minds who had no true ability nor patience to appreciate their inspiring message. Second, translation of myths into foreign tongues causes them to lose their ethnic purity, both literally and figuratively.

"[Schoolcraft noted that]...Indian compound terms are so descriptive, so graphic, so local, [and] so characterizing....[that] sometimes...[they] cannot be literally translated, and they cannot, in these cases, be left out without damaging the stories" (1971: Preface).

Figuratively speaking, once the Iroquoian language in myths is substituted with foreign words and accents it, in a sense, loses some of its ethnicity. Perhaps, as an aside, in order for myths and, by extension, Iroquois society to be ultimately appreciated, an individual would do best to adopt the language and cultural heritage of this people, rather than attempt to measure and understand its customs and precepts according to more familiar standards and tongues.

In consideration of this it would, therefore, be more meaningful for the Iroquois to preserve their oral heritage in objects and through subjects they, themselves, associated with meaning. Decorative hair combs were one such artifact eligible for this very purpose and the human figure was a most appropriate subject candidate. Obviously it would follow, that a myth involving a human actor would, in turn, represent that actor in the form of a decorative motif. However, the noticeable selection of a myth involving a human agent for decorative use is worthy of mention, and leads into the second example. This example supports the fact that both decorative hair combs and myths bespeak of and apply to the human condition in Iroquois culture: as humans transmit myths and carve decorative hair combs, they physically carry out cultural traditions; the words they speak and the artifacts they create are the spirituality of these traditions. In either case, man is the primary creator or man is the object of creation. Furthermore, these two creative factors (myth and comb) are ultimately created for human use.

A third example deals with comb context as it pertains to myth. Decorative hair combs are grave items typically associated with the head area of the individual(s) interred.

"Mortuary evidence, [whether it be a decorative hair comb or an alternative artifact type or class] is an extremely valuable archaeological resource, since it represents the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious behavior, rather than its incidental residue" (O'Shea 1981: 39).

According to Chapman and Randsborg, this behavior may best be defined as a "cultural reaction to death." Such a reaction "...is not random but meaningful and expressive...." (1981: 2). According to Peter Jemison, a Seneca, death was assumed by the Iroquois to be a natural part of life; death represented a phase in the life cycle and, thus, was neither a beginning nor an ending, but a continuation (1989: pers. comm.). Death was not, therefore, necessarily a 'negative' occurrence but a natural happening. Myth and ritual surround death in Iroquois culture. Perhaps, it could be suggested that

decorative hair combs were often a definitive part of these ancient actions and customs. In other words, their inclusion in burials was ideologically dictated (as the myths and rituals were themselves) and not merely a result of chance nor fancy. In view of this it would thus seem that these combs (as well as other associated grave goods) were intended to somehow provide condolence or instill good will. A human figure thus depicted on the comb would only further direct the positive state of the human being being interred: as the mythical figure would commemorate the human situation, the death of the individual being buried would signify a phase in and of the human situation.

Generally speaking, each decorative hair comb is assumed to have been recovered from the vicinity of the deceased's head. The exact position of many of the comb's interred will forever remain elusive, due to the hazards of looting and incompleteness of field notes. Though specific cases do exist and have been documented, whereby combs were found to be located elsewhere on and around an individual's body (i.e., e.g. on a person's chest) most are believed to have originally resided in close association with the head. Most obviously, it seems perfectly natural that this device should be placed in direct proximity to the hair, given the former's basic functional capabilities. Such positioning is of positive association since it encourages and supports proper grooming through the incorporation of attractive hair care aids. This placement may also be in direct response to ideologic cultural dictates; i.e., the epic tale of Deganawida, which is the ancient myth associated with the founding of the League. The actual importance of this tale to comb interpretation cannot be overemphasized, considering the fact that little information could be located regarding specifics of Iroquois hairdressing. According to most versions of this myth, an inspired prophet named Deganawida is credited with seeking a peaceful alliance of the then disjointed five nations. Motives for unification were survival based; a situation of suspicion, rivalry, and constant warfare existed

between the groups, from which none seemed to truly profit. Deganawida travelled to each of the nations along with his spokesman (Hiawatha), as a means to promote and establish plans for a Great Peace, through which common laws and customs (or a Confederacy) might be formulated. Though eventually successful in his task, Deganawida was faced with some resistance: principle, Thadodaho (a.k.a., Atotarho or Adario), a mighty Onondaga Chief who did not wish to relinquish his individual, authoritative power for the sake and benefit of group peace (Fenton 1978: 422). Thadodaho is described as being a particularly despicable character, not only in terms of attitude but with regard to appearance as well: "...[he was] crowned with living snakes, his fingers and toes terminating with the hissing monsters...." (Converse 1908: 139). As a means to make Thadodaho see the ultimate advantage of nation unification, Deganawida attempted to "...reconstruct and straighten out...[his] mind....[and, likewise,] make [his body] straight and natural." To accomplish this feat, the prophet therapeutically combined singing, spoken word, and personal touch. It was through such techniques that the snakes were removed from Thadodaho's head:

"Still speaking, De-kan-na-wi-da said, 'It was not intended that men should have snakes in lieu of hair,' and brushing them from his head and casting away, he added, 'Thy head shall now be like that of a human being'" (Hewitt 1892: 140).

Thus, Deganawida literally removed the negative influences affecting Thadodaho's personality by using a combing process. Combs and comb usage were, therefore, of basic importance in the actual foundation of the League; if Thadodaho could not have been persuaded to dismiss his selfish greed, perhaps the Confederacy would never have come into existence. In consideration of this fact, the importance of this artifact is only further legitimized. As an added point, the actual presence of these decorative pieces in graves serves to remind the Iroquois that even in the face of death, ultimate strength comes from the League--the compilation of all nations. Furthermore, those combs

featuring a human figure only emphasize the very human qualities of assuming one mind of common laws and customs, qualities which Deganawida sought to make evident to Thadodaho.

To further enforce and perpetuate this positive attitude towards hair and hair care (specifically in relation to death) the Iroquois enjoined both with power. For example, unkempt hair was associated with mourning; combed locks released an individual from his period of mourning. Also, too, the habit of scalping is legitimized (Hamell 1979: Figure 4). As was noted previously in this thesis, the Iroquois often referred to the concept of power as 'orenda' or 'spirit.' As with all things in and of their culture, they sought to universally maintain balance of this spirit. To effectively secure such equilibrium, they made use of the laws of sympathetic and contagious magic. Mythical example once more is best at supporting and illustrating this Iroquois belief: according to Iroquois Creation Myth, as the earth was cultivated from the bodily remains of the daughter of Sky Woman, so too were the moon and stars transformed from her breast (Converse 1908: 35). Iroquois affectionately refer to the moon as 'Grandmother,' and support mythical visions of her "...continually....weaving a mantle of human hair (which her dog unravels as fast, when she is not looking)." The locks from those who have died supply her with constant material for her craft; "a single hair from each person upon their death...[floats] up to her for her use" (Hamell 1979: Figure 4). Thus, myth is providing a positive explanation for bodily decay. It also further clarifies some of the mystery associated with death; i.e, individuals come to realize that their ultimate fate is to once more become one with the universe--the source and substance of all living things. Myth provides a memorial tribute to this fate, which is an eventual state to be shared by all. This tribute also provides comfort for the deceased's survivors, as well as for subsequent generations.

In general, then, myth is a positive means of expression and basic to Iroquois identity since it did ultimately serve to inform. However, the deliberate selection of the Sojasko Myth as a decorative device (specifically a myth which might be seen to contain negative overtones) may cause some confusion: why would a myth such as this be chosen, specifically also considering the fact that it is not generally referred to as a tale of epic importance in Iroquois culture. A thorough investigation reveals three basic motivating factors which seem to have encouraged the selection of this particular myth as a subject.

To begin with, Sojasko combs are typical to only one period of Seneca history during which contact between Native Americans and Europeans was fairly frequent. It was previously proposed that these combs were purposely intended to reflect the strained attitude and suspicious conditions of that period (see the Steele Site comb example for a more complete discussion). In other words, then, this myth was intentionally chosen because it proved pertinent and worthwhile to the situation at hand; it best expressed the opinions and reactions of the Iroquois during a time of transition and era of adaptation. In addition to this, it should be realized that though the myth itself may contain a central negative character, its ultimate moral is one of inspiration and hope.

Finally, some mention should be made as to why this myth makes its appearance on a grave item. It should be remembered that in this tale some geese do perish at the hands of Sojy. However, others do survive his menacing attack and manage to save themselves, thereby securing the livelihood of future generations. In a broader sense it might be proposed the the death of the geese serves as a parallel for the death of the individual(s) being interred. Along with this philosophy, then, is the notion that as the surviving geese were able to unite forces, persevere and prosper, so too might the

survivors of the deceased. Thus, just as the death of a single goose would not mark the extinction of a species, so too would the death of one individual not indicate the demise of a culture--such an appropriate and intelligent rationale to cultivate when strife and stress if not already present were surely imminent.

As an alternative to either representing the League or myths, many of the decorative hair combs discussed herein seem to be offering and preserving information about a more specific event or occurrence of and about Iroquois culture. The actual recognition and documentation awarded to Wentworth Greenhalgh (i.e., Man on Horseback Combs) is a prime example of such specificity. Combs of this nature are thought to represent the actual preservation of the initial witnessing of a man astride a horse. Thus, it is not necessary for an occurrence to be fostered in the form of a myth in order for it be preserved historically. Artifactual representation of such an occurrence is of profound importance: the very positiveness of preserving such an event may be understood when it is remembered that these combs not only record an actual happening, they also mark the first appearance of a particular European on a traditional native artifact; the recognition being offered here to a non-Iroquoian subject is of import, considering the care and conscious reverence given to each of the other two thematic categories. In addition to being powerful emblems of curious happening, such combs also masterfully feature and furthermore combine unique elements of decorative appeal: the human form itself is typically depicted asymmetrically, while related body parts many times contain more traditional imagery (i.e., e.g. arches). It has been proposed that the reasoning for such a depiction was to define a foreign encounter according to native terms so that it might better be understood and, furthermore, become truly meaningful. Perhaps, however, further definition of this depiction is needed to support such a proposal; it is likely, that the best approach to interpreting and reasoning the



intent for this decoration is in rationalizing the relationship between Iroquoians and Europeans. Such rationalization will involve asking two basic questions: 1.) how did each group perceive the North American environment?; and, 2.) how did this attitude toward nature effect interactions of and between the two groups?

Obviously, trade (specifically the fur trade) was the single motivating factor which promoted and encouraged interaction between the two cultures. However, though the objective might have been held in common, the principle was not the same: Europeans acted according to self-seeking economic instinct; Native Americans were propelled by what might be called harmonic righteous integrity. Europeans saw the New World as an unspoiled land of profit, power, promise, and opportunity. Economic gains sanctioned all actions and, further, pardoned any non-monetary losses; the ends justified the means: "...nature....[existed] to meet human needs and desires [and] short-term profit and productivity....[were] the only things to consider." Native Americans, though not immune to such corrupt ideals, sought to maintain a balanced lifestyle with their environment rather than selfishly exploit its offerings; man and nature were cooperative partners who worked together to promote each other's well being: "...nature and...everything in it [should be treated] with respect,....[since] plants, animals, and even rocks were seen as containing spirits as vital as the human spirit" (Persell 1984: 540).

Considering, then, the curious differences in mentality that each culture had toward the environment, there is some wonder as to how these opposing attitudes effected the relationship that each group had with the other. First, despite differences in principle, Europeans and Iroquoians initially recognized the other according to peaceful business terms and thus thereby assumed that each was obtaining something of value through trade with the other--most probably, each culture thought it was acquiring something of

greater profit than what it had lost. Unfortunately, Europeans are far more often credited with having been granted the true 'deal,' thus assigning and depicting the Iroquois as less than astute businessmen. Such conclusions have been based upon the very nature of the bargaining objects: European goods are usually classified as useless, nonutilitarian wares ("baubles, bangles, and beads") and Iroquoian products are typically regarded as priceless, much needed commodities (furs, food and farmland). These conclusions, as would be expected, are and have been made by Europeans. Unfortunately, little consideration is (or has been) given to either how the Iroquois perceived their European acquisitions or why they were so anxious to receive same--it has generally been assumed that they sought and valued these foreign products because of their superior quality and uniqueness, and also, due to their being Native American, lacked a sophisticated appreciation for what real property actually was. However, according to Miller and Hamell, the very opposite is actually true. In their work A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade (1983), these authors claim that the actual reason why Native Americans were so instantly attracted to foreign trinkets was because they so physically resembled those items which were already present and a part of their culture. By extension, then, the Native American associated this similarity in form with similarity of function. However, function, in this particular context (due to the very nature of the goods involved) refers to inherent or spiritual power. Thus, it is for this reason that imported goods (i.e., e.g., glass wares) are oftentimes found in association with native products (i.e., e.g., exotic siliceous stones) since each would be assumed to have a common ideological value with neither being superior nor inferior to the other. In consideration of this point, it would, therefore, make perfect sense to have shell beads buried in association with glass beads--as has been the case with many of the graves described herein.

This general idea that similarity of form equalled similarity in value between items of foreign import with those of native origin "...permitted Woodland Indians to incorporate, not just the trade goods, but also the people that bore them [into their cultural realm]." Furthermore, since these objects of trade were items particularly charged with specific powerful charms, it was concluded that their origin must be of a spiritual nature. Considering this notion, then, Europeans, being the bearers of these objects, were likewise regarded as other-worldly icons. It was for this very reason that they and their goods were held in such high esteem and treated with such particular respect.

In consideration of this conception of culture contact held by Native Americans, it is soon realized that they possessed a most unique and successful means of coping with and understanding "...a process that otherwise would have been exceedingly disturbing, perhaps incomprehensible;" "...the Woodland Indians transformed...[a] series of [incongruent] events into something understandable and desirable" (1983: 311; 315-20). It is, then, understood why and wherefore Native Americans would choose Europeans as subjects for decorative hair combs, given the very nature of the artifacts themselves, the materials and tools from which they were composed, and the context in which they are found. Of course, idealization of Europeans was not held static by Native Americans and certain doubts gradually forced them to question the former's true motives. Some evidence of this doubt may, in fact, be first hinted at on the Sojasko Combs, where Europeans seem to mimic the role of a trickster--combs which actually pre-date the Man On Horseback Combs. Perhaps, too, the Man on Horseback is intended to show that not all Europeans are such tricksters--once again denoting the healthy balance between positive and negative forces, even with (and perhaps especially with) those forces assumed to be of another world.

Obviously, then, each theme has proven itself to be an effective communicating medium of positive influence. Precise carvings and/or engravings relating to the League itself have served to symbolically provide for and offer support to the Confederacy's cohesion. Physical characterizations of mythical and social experience have likewise been well preserved on the combs, and these too seem to approve of the actual existence and adaptation of the Iroquois situation. Most logically, then, every single decorative hair comb of the Seneca may actually be defined as a type of 'native cultural news source' since it contains subject matter current only to one particular theme, period, and people. In a much broader sense, every artifact of any society is a type of time capsule since it permanently captures, holds, and secures vital facts which are pertinent to interpreting specific cultural events (as well as details of those events) which, otherwise, might have either forever gone unnoticed or never even been recorded in the first place. Furthermore, artifacts (as opposed to documents) are less likely to be lost, destroyed, or disposed of. The very fact that certain site documents relating to this study are no longer available (resources which may have very well proven crucial to better understanding the Iroquois) is proof of this fact. Considering this, then, the value of the decorative hair combs being discussed herein is only further legitimized.

In realizing the importance of these combs it is soon understood that they are indeed imbued with sure and sacred meaning. Likewise, too, along with this meaning, they provide a variety of separate but interrelated functions, including: recording agent; ornament; grave good; etc. Compositional, manufacturing, and manufacturer information have been provided in chapter 8 and interesting points of thematic symbolism (points which specifically relate to the combs' construction) have been reviewed (i.e., e.g. carved space, uncarved space, and engraved space). Considering these facts, it is proposed that a parallel be drawn between these decorative hair combs

of the Seneca featuring the human figure and wampum belts. The basis for this proposal stems from personal conclusions, personal communication, and professional writings. A discussion relating the traits of wampum are in order to best comprehend how each of these factors contributed to this proposal. Though the actual origin of wampum is not truly certain, Hiawatha is many times credited as its source (Fenton 1978: 423). As there is difficulty in purely defining how wampum came to be, so too is there some discrepancy as to what its function truly was. Hamell concludes that function varied according to situation. He lists the following as potential possibilities:

"...Belts and Strings of wampum are the universal among Indians, serving as money, jewelry, ornaments, annals, and for registers; 'tis the bond of nations and individuals; an inviolable and sacred pledge which guarantees messages, promises and treaties. As writing is not in use among them, they make local memoir by means of these belts, each of which signifies a particular affair, or a circumstance of affairs. The Chiefs of the villages are the depositories of them, and communicate them to the young people, who thus learn the history and engagements of their Nation" (1986: 4).

Fenton maintains that wampum has one further capability: condolence (1978: 424). As an additional point in support of this, it should be recalled that wampum was one of the many typical forms of offering which might be found in association with the decorative hair combs of and in this study. In consideration of these factors, then, certain commonalties between combs and wampum are made evident: both have mythical association; both may be linked with death and mortuary custom; and, both have similar ornamental appeal. According to Hamell, this similarity of appeal refers to the fact that both feature the ever familiar Hocker Motif: i.e., the human form as it is displayed in abstract through diamond and hourglass shapes (1979: Figure 9). In combination with this specific feature, one other attribute which the two artifacts seem to share is that they harbor and transmit messages (Hamell 1979: Figure 9; Sheldon Fisher 1989: pers. comm.). How remarkable, that the Iroquois should choose to use two different types of

artifacts, and capture thoughts and events of worth through such abstract and seemingly inconsequential shapes of being.

## CHAPTER X

### CONCLUSIONS

Considering the foregoing study, then, it becomes obvious that despite the presence of three common themes, decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif exhibit a definite change over and through time. As a matter of fact, it is interesting to note that though actual detail may differ from comb to comb (i.e., e.g. measurements, number of teeth, associated burial artifacts, etc.) the same specific themes are still, nonetheless, clearly recognizable: mythical being; historical figure; and, Iroquois League. Therefore, it is obvious that the recurrent presence of such themes is not accidental but intentional. Thus, though time and circumstance surrounding the themes may change, and ways and means concerning the representation of detail may differ, the themes themselves remain the same. In fact, it may be said that these very factors do nothing more than effect the appearance of the theme; the very meaning of the theme remains intact, though its exterior detail may differ from comb to comb at each site. In this regard, the combs are much like the myths which often come to decorate their tops; according to Tooker, a specific myth offered by different individuals (or even the same individual at different times) is prone to variation. However, "some variation is expected and even welcomed, and a particular account is judged accurate if the principal matters customarily mentioned are recounted in a manner familiar to the listeners" (1979: 31-2). This common trait exhibited by comb and theme (i.e., difference in form but persistence in meaning) once more recounts the adaptive balance which is so basic to Iroquois ideology. In other words, rather than face ultimate extinction, combs (and myths) have come to survive societal pressures and, thereby, be

preserved. Furthermore, the culture, itself, by extension, matures in the process. Norman maintains that societal pressures actually work to secure and reinforce an artifact's meaning. She concludes that such meaning possesses its "...greatest import when [it is] rediscovered at crucial moments or presented in fresh garb" (1969: 4).

Given that the combs do experience physical change, the question, then, becomes: what factors influenced such change in the first place. Obviously, continuous contact with Europeans has been the single most important factor effecting change not only in decorative hair combs, but in all Iroquoian artifacts. Quimby and Spoehr, in their 1951 work *Acculturation and Material Culture-I*, have developed a classification scheme which is intended to measure change in artifacts effected by contact. They purpose that artifacts are effected by contact in one of two ways: 1.) native artifacts are replaced by contact introductions; and, 2.) native artifacts come to be modified due to contact interactions. Both of these categories are applicable to decorative hair combs containing human figures. Though none of the combs described herein had specific parts nor portions which were replaced by contact introductions, they did, in effect, come to be acted upon by European instruments (i.e., tools); the native implements once responsible for comb manufacture were soon substituted with foreign types. It has previously been noted that iron tools were adopted by the Iroquois in comb manufacture because of their ultimate technological superiority. It is further interesting to note that though these tools may have, indeed, modified each comb's appearance they did not have impact upon the substance of which each was made. Thus, though organic tools might be replaced with pre-fabricated metals, the very materials being worked (i.e., wood, bone, and antler) remained the same. It is proposed that the reason for this is that as the themes were addressed with inherent meanings, so too were the mediums of the



themes. The meanings associated with wood, bone, and antler were previously alluded to. Such current conclusions further give credit to and support these basic facts.

As an interesting aside, it should be mentioned that culture contact is reciprocal; Native Americans were not only effected by Europeans, they also had impact on them. This impact, specifically of Native Americans on European history in the United States, was quoted in this thesis' introduction, however, the depth of its significance may not be fully understood nor appreciated. It is often forgotten that although contact between Europeans and Native Americans did forever change the way in which the latter acted and interacted, it also influenced and had impact upon the people who settled here. According to Hallowell, the effects of this influence may be noted in a variety of areas: "speech, economic life, food habits, clothing, transportation, medicine, religion, [and] the arts...." (1972: 366). Along with this, though seldom recognized, is the fact that colonists were likewise being exposed to the precepts of democracy which were clearly visible in the behavior of their Native neighbors. Grinde maintains that these precepts had influence on the founding of American democracy. To support this conclusion, he points to the fact that the average settler was illiterate and, therefore, unfamiliar with the works of such individuals as Plato, Aristotle, and Locke. Thus, it would be purely logical for colonists to draw "...their own values [of freedom and democracy] from the Indian people whom they saw functioning around them (1977: Preface) Therefore, even though a study may focus on one culture the impact of contact effects both cultures involved in the interaction, not merely one nor the other. It is hoped that this fact may always be realized. The scope and realm of the influence of Native Americans on Europeans is perhaps best expressed by Constance Rouke: "'The Backwoodsman conquered the Indian, but the Indian also conquered him. He ravaged the land and was ravaged in turn'" (Hallowell 1972: 366).

In considering all that has been offered heretofore, there needs to be some general summation as to why such effort would be invested into developing and forming decorative hair combs, specifically those with a human figure. Most basically, rationale for their invention was symbolic efficiency; due to the size and shape of these combs, significant events and details of Iroquois culture could be depicted in miniature form through meaningful media. The ultimate destruction of such artifacts would be unlikely since, being placed in graves, they would be in a position never intended to be disturbed; as the grave was meant to be preserved for all time, so too were the combs and their associated messages. Thus, a situation of disunion (i.e., the death of an individual) would be transformed into something legitimate and positive--i.e., harmony is created in the midst of diversity.

Generally speaking, the human figure as it appears as a decorative device, serves as a model of and for human behavior; the combs described in this thesis offer information about social identity (the League), origin (mythical happenings), and interpersonal relations (contact dealings). Though other descriptive characters might have been used to illustrate each of these ideas, the human figure is most adept and persuasive as a communicating motif because of its universal effectiveness; i.e., any human who comes in contact with a comb featuring the human form as decoration is immediately able to relate to it--be that the individual who manufactured the comb, the person who possessed it, or anyone who might observe it.

In being an object of social identity, such combs exhibited characteristics which also defined them as 'personal' as opposed to 'group' objects. Since this appears to be a contradiction in terms, explanation is required. A personal object is one which is not shared amongst and between members within or without a given culture. Also, an object of this nature is composed and manufactured by one person. According to

Whiteford, small artifacts tend to be personal, while large objects are characteristically group (1970: 6). Most simply, then, personal artifacts are created by an individual for an individual; group artifacts are designed by people for people. The decorative hair combs currently being studied are of specific interest since they are the representation of individuals by individuals for individuals. Furthermore, at least eight of the thirty-seven combs described herein were retrieved from the grave of a single adult female. Statistics for the remainder of the combs either could not be determined (due to lack of information) or were of no particular consequence.

Given this fact, there is a temptation to assume that this concentration of effort on the individual via artistic expression, was intended to offer members of Seneca Iroquois society a brief reprieve from group identification and association with the League. However, recalling the history and culture which developed the patterns of thinking of the Iroquois, it becomes evident that there would be no need for an individual to disassociate himself from the group. In fact, it would be in an individual's best interest to associate himself with the League: through the group an individual reached his true potential, and found himself and his identity. For that matter, the League was equally dependent upon its individual members; without the mutual participation and cooperation of each person, the League would be nothing less than a paper dragon and nothing more than fancy. Thus, the Confederacy and the persons responsible for it, were mutually obligated to each other thereby creating a solid harmonic union. As was stated earlier, the League offered, secured and bound group identity, while the nations were defined by the clans and in turn defined the League permitting and encouraging personal individuality.

Individuals also found support of their mythical origins through these combs--most specifically in their claim as the only true 'natives' of this land. It is generally known

that the Five Nations commonly referred to themselves as "Ongweoweh", a term translating to "Original Men" (Russell Judkins 1986: pers. comm.). This term probably traces back to Deganawida, the mythical founder of the Confederacy. Perhaps, use of the human figure as a motif on decorative hair combs served to proclaim Iroquois glory as Original Men. Such a philosophy would certainly prove useful, particularly in contact situations. During difficult conditions such as these, the combs would remind individuals that though foreign influence might attempt to destroy their empire, nothing could change their ultimate superiority in being Iroquoian. Furthermore, this superior nature would, most likely, be more fully realized in and through that mysterious journey from life into death. Hence the appearance of the human figure on a grave good.

This thesis has, then, proven to be a worthwhile contribution to research, both generally and specifically. Generally speaking, a study focusing on Seneca Iroquois decorative hair combs featuring a human figure is justifiably valid and anthropologically sound. This very fact was initially supported in the paper's introduction. It is hoped that the preceding pages have further strengthened this fact. It is also hoped that the material culture perspective specifically offered by this thesis stimulates a new and different interest in Iroquois studies. Perhaps, it also suggests that no single approach in any artifact study is absolute nor correct; by attempting new modes and methods of research, new insight is gained in cultural meaning, and meaning and understanding are what are basic to anthropology. According to Hamell, "the goal of anthropology is cross-cultural understanding. Its method is the 'rethinking' of another culture" (1984: 24). It should likewise be apparent that this thesis is not the proverbial 'last word' on material culture studies of Seneca Iroquois decorative hair combs featuring the human figure motif; this study is but one contribution to the subject area at large. Indeed, there are other perspectives yet to be written and shared by subsequent scholars. Also, there

is a basic "semantic ambiguity" which will forever enshroud these combs as well as all other objects labelled as art (Sturtevant 1986: 4). However, each academic offering keeps the subject alive and insures continued public awareness. It would, perhaps, be best to conclude with those invaluable thoughts once offered by William Beauchamp-- thoughts which, indeed, continue to have application, worth, and merit.

"When we remember how great has been our advance during the last ten years in a knowledge of these aboriginal relics in New York, and how much practically unworked ground awaits examination, we can easily believe we are now only in the skirmish line, preparing for the later advance in full force. Some now in the field will fall before that advance is made, but they may be assured that every early effort will have some later value" (1902: 322-23).

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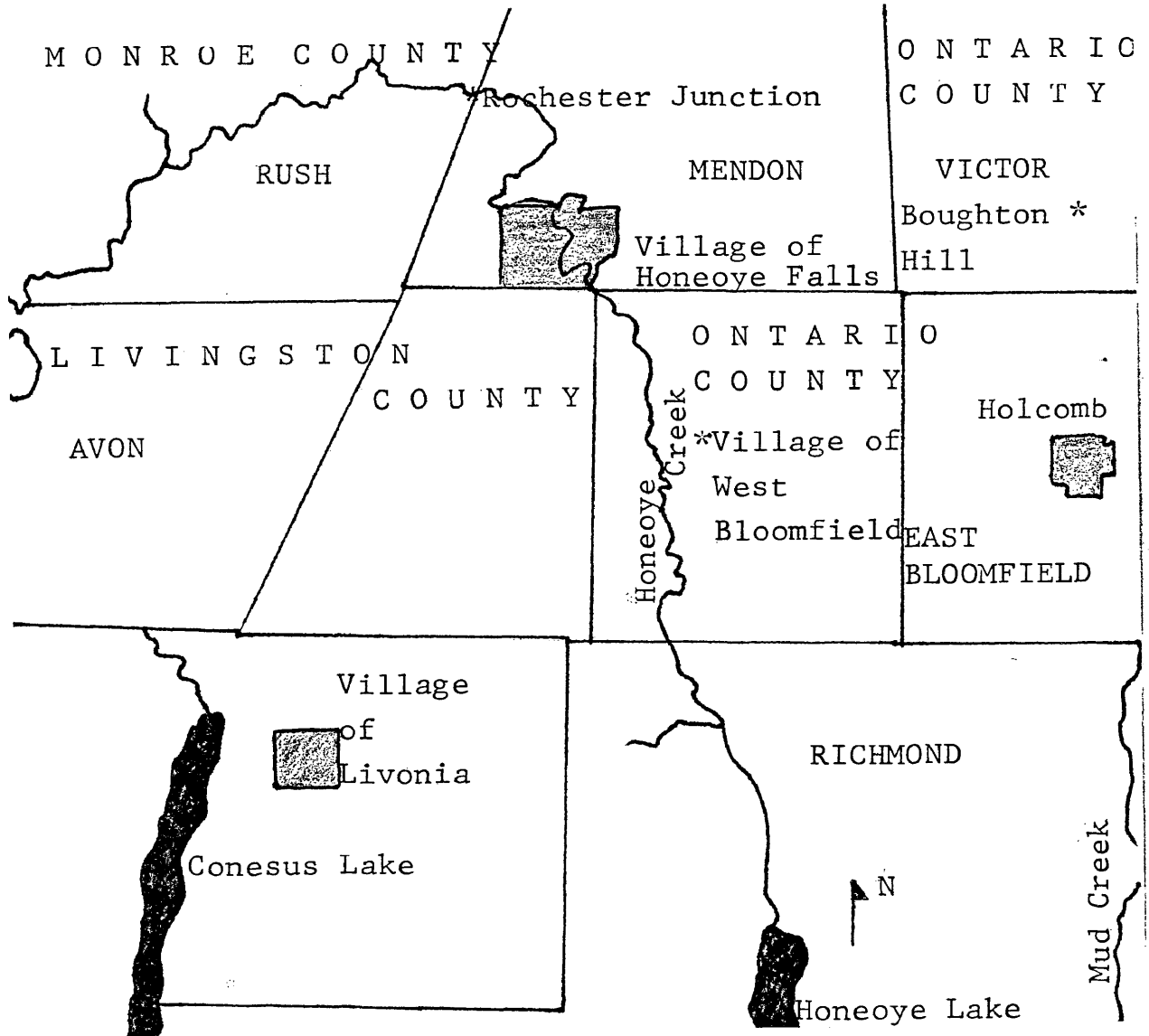
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MAP 1:  
SITE SPECIFICS



## KEY

Adams is located in Livingston County, and is two and one half miles northeast of the Village of Livonia, New York. The Adams Site features a total of 250 burials, which were excavated between 1848 and 1951 from three separate cemeteries. These burials produced 383 identifiable individuals. Seven of these individuals were associated with seven antler decorative hair combs. Five of the individuals thereby associated were female. Only one of the seven combs encountered was decorated with a human figure motif (see Figure 1). This single comb is a display item featured 'At the Western Door' exhibit. It was initially discovered by Harry Schoff in 1948 in Cemetery #2. The grave (which is referred to in Museum notes as Burial #42) is that of a single sub-adult, presumed to be an adolescent female. Other associated artifacts include: six ceramic pots; one hundred shell discoidal beads; one antler figurine (male); five pebble mullers; fifty-four small brass tubular beads (with leather strips and twisted fiber cordage); two brass earrings; four small brass rings; twelve green and white glass beads; nine elk teeth (perforated); three massive shell beads; one tubular shell bead; and, two leather pieces.

Factory Hollow is located in Ontario County, and is approximately two miles west of the Village of West Bloomfield, New York (i.e., about twenty miles south of Rochester, New York). A total of 288-308 burials were excavated over an approximate forty year period (c. 1912-1950). Information is available on only 239 of these graves. Two major cemeteries were present at the village's northern and southern extremes (Cemeteries #1 and #2), and one smaller cemetery (Cemetery #3) was located to its northeast. Scattered burials were also documented along the village's east side. Of the 239 burials, a total of 208 individuals have been identified and seven decorative hair

combs have been documented. Interestingly enough, decorative hair combs were the most common type of bone and antler objects recovered from this site. Five of the seven combs thus documented were associated with adults, and only two of the seven featured a human figure motif. Neither of these combs was excavated from graves contained in the site's cemetery. One comb was located in a multiple burial (adult sex indefinite/infant) at the site's south side (see Figure 2) and is now displayed on the Museum's 'Face to Face' exhibit. The grave was excavated by Charles Wray in 1950 and is referred to in Museum notes as Burial #32b. The burial number and comb are associated with the infant. Other associated artifacts include: two ceramic pots, three antler figurines, brass beads, a muller stone, and a wooden ladle. The second comb was located in Burial #85 (aged adult female) at the site's south end (see Figure 3) and is now on display at the Museum's 'Western Door' exhibit. The grave was excavated in 1950 by Harry Schoff. Interestingly enough, no other artifacts were present in this grave.

Dutch Hollow is located in Livingston County and includes lots 85 and 87 in the east central part of the Town of Avon, New York. It spans approximately fifteen acres and is oftentimes referred to in documents as the John Cleary or Malone Farm. A total of 352 burials were reported to have been excavated at Dutch Hollow between 1934 and 1952. It is generally believed, however, that there were only 343 actual original graves on the site. All burials were located either in one of five cemeteries (three large and two small) or within the village area proper (possibly beneath a modern house structure). Decorative hair combs, regardless of motif, appeared to be quite common as a grave offering, specifically in Cemetery #1. A total count of such artifacts for the entire site revealed that eleven combs were deposited in graves: five were featured in sub-adult burials; and, six were encountered as adult offerings. Only one of the eleven combs contained a human figure motif (see Figure 4). This comb is composed of antler and

was located in a child's grave in Cemetery #1. The grave was excavated in the fall of 1934 by the Rochester Museum and Science Center and is referred to in Museum notes as Burial #5. The excavator was William A. Ritchie, and according to the Registrar's Records, the comb was found behind the skull along with six brass beads. Other artifacts found in the burial include: two ceramic pots, bone beads, two brass bangles, glass beads, and eight raccoon penis bones.

Cornish is located in Ontario County, two miles south of West Bloomfield, New York. This site is oftentimes referred to as Vita-Taft in many records and notes. A total of 54-59 burials were excavated between 1938 and 1965. Information is available on only 57 of the 59 burials excavated. Furthermore, of these 57 burials, three are known to be re-excavations dug by Hoffman and others during the early 1940's. The remaining 54 burials display no signs of disturbance. A single major cemetery has been documented for Cornish. It was located at the site's north end. In addition, however, a lone isolated grave was uncovered towards the site's south end but within the palisade. It has been speculated that this single burial could be indicative of a second major cemetery, however, no further evidence has been produced to support this supposition. Of the 54 burials recorded, 57 individuals have been identified. None of these individuals has been associated with antler combs, figurines, nor dice; the single decorative hair comb noted for this site featured a human figure and was composed of wood (see Figure 5). It is significant that this comb should survive, since preservation conditions for this site were generally poor. It was excavated from the grave of a single adult female, by Harry Schoff sometime between 1943 and 1944. The burial is referred to in Museum notes as Burial #1. The comb was found in association with a ceramic pot, brass kettle, more than 300 glass beads (round and tubular type), iron axe, wooden ladle, wooden bowl, charred corn, and seeds.

The Steele Site is located in Ontario County on the south bank of Fish Creek in northeastern Holcomb, New York. Steele is oftentimes referred to as the Appleton or Moore Farm in site documents. This site features a total of 296 burials. Perhaps 50 of these graves were re-excavated; truly accurate information is available on only 219 of the burials. Two hundred and sixty-one individuals have been recovered from these graves, each of which was either located in a cemetery (of which there were two in total) or positioned in one of three burial clusters. Both of the cemeteries noted were large and referred to in site records as Cemetery #1 and Cemetery #2, respectively. Cemetery #1 was located northwest of the village and Cemetery #2 was situated more to the village's west. The clusters of burials were recovered east of the village and have been labeled as Cemeteries #3, #4, and #5. Such clustering may well be the first type of patterning to be exhibited by a village of the eastern site sequence. This trend was not common to western site villages. Excavation at Steele commenced c. 1936 and most probably was also being conducted prior to this date. Archaeological activity ceased at this site in 1978. Due to discrepancies in Museum notes, context specifics relating to the single comb featuring a human figure could not be determined (see Figure 6). However, it is known that a grand total of ten decorative hair combs, regardless of motif, were found at this site. The comb listed herein is composed of bone.

Power House dates to c.1640-1655 and is located about two miles due north of Lima, New York, in Livingston County. More specifically, it is situated on the east side of a small swamp, northwest and southwest of the intersection between Route 15A and County Road #6. The site is sometimes referred to as being part of the Green Property. Excavations were conducted at Power House for almost one hundred years: c. 1891-1974. A total of four cemeteries were documented over this period: two major and two minor. One major graveyard (Cemetery #1) was situated northeast of the village. The



second major burial ground (Cemetery #4) was located southwest of the village. No exact details are given offering specifics as to where the two minor cemeteries (#2 and #3) were positioned. A single isolated burial was said to be present close to the village's northwest palisade line. A total of 262 burials are reported for this site, however information is only available on 250. Site notes indicate that Charles Wray concluded that 350 might be a more accurate reflection of total grave count. Irregardless, 286 individuals were found to be interred at Power House. The comb described herein was recovered from Burial #97 a,b which was situated in Cemetery #4 (see Figure 7). This grave (which was most likely previously disturbed prior to excavation) was a multiple burial containing an adolescent and child. The comb is associated with both individuals. Harry Schoff conducted the excavation sometime between 1951 and 1973. Other burial goods include: a ceramic pot; wampum; an iron knife with antler handle; a perforated brass dish; hawk bells; a brass button; brass beads; and, scissors. No wooden combs were noted for this site, however, a total of four decorative hair combs composed of antler or bone were recovered. The comb herein is composed of antler and featured 'At the Western Door' exhibit.

Marsh is situated in East Bloomfield, New York, Monroe County. Marsh is often referred to as the Thompson Farm in past documents. A total of 265-358 burials have been excavated at Marsh between 1911 and 1980 from three large cemeteries. These cemeteries were located on the site's east and west sides, respectively. A small number of burials were also reported to be clustered along the site's western edge. A total of 281 individuals have been identified and recovered from the sum of those burials. Eight decorative hair combs were documented for the site. The single such comb of this total featuring a human figure was associated with Burial #28b and is composed of antler (see Figure 8). This number actually refers to one portion of multiple Burial #28 a,b,c which

included three adults (one of which is defined as an adolescent/adult). The sex on all three individuals is not known and details relating to the grave's location are vague. However, it is known that Albert Hoffman supervised teams of excavators in the recovery of this particular burial. Work was conducted during 1951. Other associated artifacts include: shell beads; wampum; a bone handle; two brass kettles; glass beads; flint chunks; an iron knife; an iron needle; iron frags; a lead ball; two bear skulls; wooden ladles; a wooden dish; plum pits; squash seeds; and, pumpkin seeds.

Dann (c. 1655-1670) is Marsh's parallel western major village and is situated northwest and southwest of the intersection of Route 15A and County Road #6, on the east side of Spring Brook. It is one and one half miles west of the Village of Honeoye Falls, New York, Monroe County. This site was named for John Dann who one-time owned and farmed the property. It is sometimes called Dann's Corners or Dead Man's Corners in many documents. It is also many times referred to as the Mack Farm. Dann has a total of 273 to 416 burials which were excavated between 1898 and 1983 from at least two cemeteries, possibly three; two large cemeteries were located north and west of the village area proper, and two smaller groupings of graves were encountered south of the site thereby possibly representing a third cemetery. A total of 311 individuals were recovered and identified from these burials and a sum of twenty-two antler or bone decorative hair combs were associated with the site. Only one wooden decorative hair comb was found at Dann. Five of the combs hereby mentioned featured a human figure. The first of these combs is composed of antler and was recovered from Burial #50, a previously disturbed grave containing the remains of a single adult whose sex could not be determined (see Figure 9). Charles Wray is credited with the 1953 excavation effort. In addition to the comb, the burial was also found to include: a ring bowl pipe; kaolin pipe with effigy bowl; brass kettle; bobcat jaws; fish bones; melon seeds; and, a turtle

shell rattle. The grave's location is thought to be in either one of the two large cemeteries. A second decorative hair comb featuring a human figure noted for this site was recovered from Burial #7 (see Figure 10). This grave had been looted twice, prior to its excavation by Charles Wray on October 17, 1953. The burial contained the remains of a single adolescent. The following artifacts were also noted in addition to the decorative hair comb: a decorative hair comb featuring non-human ornamentation; five brass kettles; and, a glass bead. The grave itself was located in either one of the two large cemeteries. The decorative hair comb featuring the human figure motif was recovered from the burial's south end and is composed of antler. A third decorative hair comb featuring a human figure was encountered in Burial #11 (see Figure 11) and is composed of antler. No specifics relating to the nature of the burial could be recovered. The fourth comb noted for the Dann Site had just recently been acquired by the Rochester Museum and Science Center and, thus, no specific conclusions concerning its composition had been made (see Figure 12). Also, too, no particular information was made available relating its original context. The fifth and final comb found to depict a human figure is currently part of the 'Face to Face' exhibit. The comb was removed from Burial #31a (see Figure 13). The grave actually contained the remains of two individuals: Burial #31a identifies an adult male; and, Burial #31b signifies an adult female. Charles Wray excavated the pair and their associated artifacts from either one of the two large cemeteries in 1953. The grave showed evidence of prior disturbance. Items found to be remaining in the multiple burial include: wampum; a brass kettle; and one half of a musket barrel.

Boughton Hill (c. 1670-1687) has produced a total of ten decorative hair combs featuring a human figure motif; forty-three antler decorative hair combs, irregardless of motif, were recovered from Boughton Hill. Boughton Hill is situated one mile south of

Victor, New York in Monroe County. It is, more specifically, located on the west side of the road to Holcomb from Victor. Notes and documents pertaining to this site commonly refer to it as Gannagaro, which translates to mean: 'where the basswood bark lay.' Some 386-429 burials are reported to have been excavated between 1849 and 1965 from this site, and a total of twelve individual cemeteries are found to have encircled the village area proper. Three hundred and eighty-six persons have been recovered. One such comb was located in Burial #11 (adult female). It was recovered by Charles Wray and Robert Graham sometime between 1959 and 1965 from Cemetery #1. The comb was said to be situated in back of the individual's skull. No other associated articles were listed, however mention was made that the tomb had previously been looted (see Figure 14). Another comb recovered from Boughton Hill lacks specific records relating any actual contextual information (see Figure 15). All that is known is that it was retrieved from an area designated at Burial #4. The comb, itself, is composed of antler. The next comb presents itself as a most unusual case: it was recovered from a refuse area as opposed to a grave; it was previously stated that each decorative hair comb removed from each site had originally been located in a grave. The fact that this particular comb does not also find its origin in a tomb is somewhat unusual, however, it should be remembered that many if not most of the burials to which these combs are traced have been disturbed. The comb in question is composed of antler and was most likely recovered from a locale labeled as Area #5 in Field #2, which represents the eastern slope of a woods just west of Cemetery #3 (see Figure 16). More specifically, the artifact was found to be contained in the refuse of a colonial barn foundation, commonly referred to as the Cone Property. Wray performed the excavation in 1960. The fourth comb encountered at Boughton Hill lacked documented information detailing its associated context. It is composed of antler (see Figure 17). The fifth and sixth examples do have supporting contextual information, but are physically incomplete as

specimens--i.e., e.g. only the top portion of the first comb is extant, the base and teeth both being absent (see Figure 18). Like a previous Boughton Hill example, this comb was retrieved from the refuse of a colonial barn foundation related to the Cone Property. It was collected by Charles Wray in 1960 and is composed of antler. The second antler comb found to be structurally incomplete was recovered from Burial #51, which actually represents the multiple burial of an adolescent and young adult (see Figure 19). The sex on either of the individuals could not be distinguished. The grave was located in Cemetery #3 and showed evidence of looting. Wray and Graham conducted excavation efforts in 1960. In addition to the recovery of the hair comb, the following items have been noted: 100 red and black glass beads; a musket mechanism; a solid piece of antler; and a gun trigger. Two additional combs found at Boughton Hill currently appear on the Museum's 'Face to Face' exhibit. These combs, unfortunately, lack specific contextual details. For this reason, then, valuable burial information is not offered. Both combs are composed of antler (see Figures 20 and 21, respectively). Two additional combs now appear 'At the Western Door' exhibit. The first Boughton Hill example contains two human forms and was recovered from Burial #12, which actually represents the multiple burial of a female adult and an adolescent (see Figure 22). The decorative hair comb is associated with both individuals. The grave had been looted prior to its excavation, however, artifacts other than the comb itself were found to be present. Those items specifically associated with the female adult include: an iron knife; an iron strike-a-lite; and, a gun flint. Articles found in association with the adolescent include: red and black glass beads; a Jesuit ring; and an iron mirror box. The comb, which is composed of antler, was recovered by Wray and Graham from Cemetery #1 sometime between 1959 and 1965.

The second example was removed from Burial #58 (see Figure 23). The grave does not show evidence of being disturbed. The individual interred with the comb appears to be an adolescent female around sixteen years of age. Excavation efforts were conducted by Wray and Graham sometime between 1959 and 1965 in Cemetery #1. The comb was recovered from the adolescent's right hip. On the left side of the skull, two tubular shell beads and a triangular shell pendent were found. In addition, two tubular shell beads and two triangular shell pendants were located beneath the skull.

Beal is a supposed minor village of Boughton Hill and, thus, dates to the very same period as this site (c. 1670-1687). It contains but a single decorative hair comb featuring a human figure motif (see Figure 24). A total of eight decorative hair combs, irregardless of ornamentation, have been recovered from the site. These combs were either composed of antler or bone; none were made of wood. Beal is situated in Monroe County in New York State. It is situated two miles south of Victor and one mile west of Victor-Holcomb Road. Site documents oftentimes affectionately refer to the area as the McClintock Farm. A sum of two large cemeteries have been documented at Beal. There is also mention of small clusters of graves located west and south of the village proper. Isolated burials have also been noted on an unoccupied ridge area located between the two cemeteries. Excavations were conducted between 1912 and 1961, revealing a total of 95 burials; information is only available on 80. Some 92 individuals have been identified at Beal. The individual which was associated with the single decorative hair comb featuring a human form is referred to in Museum notes as Burial #15. This grave was a multiple burial and contained the remains of some four to five children and adults. None of the individuals' sex could be determined. The grave, itself, showed evidence of having been disturbed. Wray conducted the excavation on September 24, 1950. Other associated artifacts include: round red, black, and white glass beads; 6 catlinite

ornaments; 4 glass buttons; 1 musket ball; brass springs; and, brass kettle frags. The comb is reported to have been located near the skull of one of the individuals and is composed of antler.

A total of eight decorative hair combs featuring a human figure have been documented for Rochester Junction; a complete sum of fifty-three bone and/or antler combs were collected from the the site, irregardless of ornamental motif. Rochester Junction is the western major village which parallels Boughton Hill. It, likewise, dates to c.1670-1687. Rochester Junction is located in Monroe County, in the Town of Mendon, New York. More specifically, it is situated along Honeoye Creek across from Rochester Junction. The property was once listed as the Kirkpatrick Farm. Iroquoians affectionately called this area Totiakon, which translates to: 'in the great bend of the river.' Excavation efforts were conducted between 1912 and 1974. A total of three cemeteries were accounted for during this period. Cemetery #1 was located east of the village. Cemetery #2 was situated to the village's west, and Cemetery #3 was positioned north of Cemetery #2. Cemetery #3 was the smallest graveyard accounted for and resided farthest from the village. Two hundred and forty burials were excavated from these cemeteries. Information is only available on 190 graves. A total of 92 individuals were identified as being associated with these graves. The first of the eight combs recognized herein was recovered from Burial #69 (a single adolescent female, aged 16 years). This grave, which does not show evidence of having been disturbed, was excavated by Wray in 1953. The burial was located in Cemetery #2. Other associated artifacts include: tubish beads; a brass kettle; red glass beads; an iron knife; berry seeds; and charcoal. The comb is composed of antler (see Figure 25). The next comb to be recovered is associated with Burial #7 (see Figure 26) and is composed of antler. Unfortunately, no further site specifics determining this comb's context could be

secured. The third Rochester Junction comb example also lacks specifics documenting its context. It, too, is composed of antler (see Figure 27). The remaining five combs are display items. Two of these combs appear on the Museum's 'Face to Face' exhibit. The first such comb is composed of antler and was retrieved from Burial #110 (a single adult female). The grave appears to have suffered from looting and, thus, no other artifacts were listed as being present (see Figure 28). Wray conducted excavation efforts in 1953 and encountered the grave in Cemetery #2. The second 'Face to Face' example was recovered from Burial #83 and is composed of antler (see Figure 29). Three of the combs which have been secured from Rochester Junction are on display 'At the Western Door' exhibit. The first such comb is composed of antler and was recovered from Burial #62 (see Figure 30). The grave contains the remains of two individuals : Burial #62a represents an adolescent/adult male; Burial #62b contains an adolescent. The decorative hair comb which is described was associated with Burial #62a. Wray noted the presence of this burial in Cemetery #2, when he conducted excavations in 1953. Though the grave showed evidence of disturbance, the following artifacts were associated with the burial: a ring bowl pipe; a bear effigy pipe with brass eyes; 2 brass kettles; a European gunflint; an iron bullet mold; iron gunflint lock parts; musket balls; a lead seal; 9 bear teeth; food; and, gunpowder. The second decorative hair comb encountered in this exhibit was retrieved from Burial #22 (see Figure 31). Unfortunately, no other specifics relating to the burial's context were made available. The third and final decorative hair comb encountered 'At the Western Door' exhibit is composed of bone and was removed from Burial #23 (see Figure 32). As with the previous example, no further specifics acknowledging the comb's context could be secured.

Kirkwood, a minor village which likewise dates to c. 1670-1687, produced a total of two decorative hair combs containing a human figure. The site, itself, which is often



referred to as Fort Hill or Kirkwood Farm, is located in Livingston County in the Town of Honeoye Falls, New York. More specifically, Kirkwood is positioned one mile due north of Huckleberry Hill and is actually divided by the Avon and Honeoye Falls township line. Though there is no exact listing which locates and numbers each of the cemeteries present at this site, 20 burials are reported to have been excavated in 1940. Approximately 22 individuals are believed to have been identified with these burials. The two combs were recovered by Harry Schoff. Interestingly enough, both articles were retrieved from the very same grave: Burial #2. This is the first such instance where two combs containing a human figure were found to be interred in the same burial. However, though both combs may indeed be mutually located, each is clearly associated with a different individual; Burial #2a represents an adolescent; Burial #2b features an adult female. The first comb is linked with Burial #2a (see Figure 33) and the second comb is matched with Burial #2b (see Figure 34). Both combs are composed of antler. All other artifacts found to be associated with a different individual; Burial #2 contains the remains of two people: contained within this grave did not appear to be so specifically associated with either one individual or the other and, thus, are considered to have belonged to both persons: trade axes; numerous red Venetian glass beads; a small amount of shell wampum; a brass Jesuit ring (bearing the L and Heart insignia); brass kettle frags; an iron knife blade; organics; and, charcoal.

Townley-Reed is an eastern village which dates to c. 1700 and is situated in Ontario County. More specifically, this site is situated three miles southwest of Geneva and one mile west of White Springs, on the south side of Burnell Creek. It is partially named for the family who once occupied and farmed the area: Townley. The site was excavated in 1979 and revealed a sum of 35 burials. From these burials, approximately 29 individuals were identified. No actual names nor numbers were made available with

regard to cemeteries. It is certain, however, that at least four decorative hair combs, regardless of material or theme, were recovered from this site. Two of these combs featured a human figure. The first such comb is composed of antler (see Figure 35). This comb was recovered from Burial #18 (a single adult woman) on September 1, 1979 by Wray and Cameron. The grave was said to be located on a sand knoll and does not seem to have been disturbed. Other articles found in association with the comb are as follows: 25 round white wire-wound beads; 11 amber wire-wound beads; 2 round glass beads; 1 round red glass bead; 1 round red with white strip glass bead; 1 small triangular catlinite bead; 1 iron nail; 1 large brass kettle; and, 1 iron axe. The comb which was retrieved was said to have resided on the right side of the woman's head. The second example also taken from Townley-Reed is a display item 'At the Western Door' exhibit. This comb is composed of wood (see Figure 36). It was located in Burial #1. The comb is mentioned as specifically being located inside a brass kettle, which was likewise positioned in the grave. The kettle, in turn, was found on the left side of the individual's left foot. No other specifics relating to the comb's context could be ascertained.

Only one decorative hair comb featuring a human figure has been recovered from Snyder-McClure (see Figure 37). Very limited information was made available with regard to the site's excavation history and comb context. It is certain, however, that this area has been referred to according to several different names, including: Snyder Farm; Love Farm; and, Onaghee (or Onagee). Its actual location is on the Snyder Farm in Hopewell, New York (i.e., one mile east of Canandaigua), Ontario County. The comb is known to be composed of bone.

## VITA

### April Jean Vasey

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