

JANUS AND OTHER MULTIPLE-IMAGE IROQUOIAN PIPES

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ABSTRACT

An analysis of five types of multiple-image Iroquoian smoking pipes, including the "Janus" types, indicates that all are related conceptually. The distributional data reveals that these pipes appear from the 12th through the 17th centuries and are found in small numbers in the territory of all northern Iroquoian groups. It is suggested that these pipes could have been the property of religious specialists.

INTRODUCTION

Iroquoian pipes which have two faces looking in opposite directions are usually termed "Janus" pipes after the two-faced Roman god of beginnings. When European names are applied to Native American objects, the Indian material is frequently misinterpreted, and the more associations that are attached to the European terms the more the misunderstandings



Fig. 1. Clay Janus pipe. Con. 1, Lot 23E½, Fenelon Twp., Victoria Co., Ontario. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 95 7.141.37.

tend to mushroom. In this case, the name tends both to submerge some features of double-image pipes which are left unexplored and to isolate them from other multiple-image types with which, I believe, they should be associated.

But while the term Janus is probably inappropriate, it is so ingrained in the literature that changing it would be difficult. The name, however, must be more clearly defined and pipes with human images distinguished from other types. I think the terminology can be made to serve so long as the two-image pipes are not isolated from other types on the basis of semantics. Here Janus will be used only to describe those pipes which have two human images (Figs. 1, 8; Table 1). The term "Janus human/animal" will be used for the pipes which have one human and one faunal image (Fig. 2; Table 2). "Animal" as used here includes mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians. These animals are often represented *in toto* (Fig. 2b). On both Janus varieties the two images are usually situated so that one faces the smoker and the other is on the opposite side of the bowl but there are a few examples where the two images are to the right and left of the smoker.

**TABLE 1
JANUS PIPES**

Place or Group	Site	Date ¹	Material	Source(s) ²
New York				
Belmont, Allegany Co.			clay	Buffalo Museum of Science:34027; Parker 1922:149, P1.50 #5
Broome Co.	Castle Creek	1200-1300	clay	Rochester Museum: AR 17899; Ritchie 1944:30, P1.7 #14
Chenango Co.	Bainbridge	1200-1300	clay	Ritchie 1944:30,P1.7 #16
Chenango Co.	Bainbridge	1200-1300	clay	Ritchie 1944:68
Jefferson Co.			clay	American Museum of Natural History: 2724
Jefferson Co.			clay	Beauchamp 1898:134 #221
Jefferson Co.			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 #110a
Montgomery Co.	Snell	1156±200	clay	Ritchie et al. 1953:54,73, P1.8 #8
Montgomery Co.	Hoffman's Ferry	1100-1300	clay	Mohawk-Caughnawaga Museum; Beauchamp 1898:126 #203
Storrs Harbor, Jefferson Co.			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.8 409 #1100
New York				
Erie	Ripley	Early postcontact	clay	Smithsonian:206461 Parker 1922:297, Pl. 95 #3, and 4; NYSM:3496
Mohawk	Garoga	Precontact	sandstone	Beauchamp n.d.: V.5 747 #152; Jackowski Collection
Oneida	Thurston	1630's	clay	Pratt 1976:133-4, Pl. 34 #6
Onondaga	Atwell	1525-50	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.7 356 #587; NYSM:31843
Seneca	Dannsville	1500	clay	Private collection
Seneca	Richmond Mills	1500-50	clay	Parker 1922:196, P1.6 #6; NYSM: 34760
Seneca	Dann	1660-75	clay	Rochester Museum, Rock Fndn: 3980/28
Ontario				
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Hardrock		clay	Emerson 1954:192, Fig.87d
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Lot 5 Con. 5		clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 18825; AARO 1898:17 Fig. 6
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Lot 9 Con. 3		clay	AARO 1898:17, Fig. 7; 1901:20, Fig. 20
Brant Co.			limestone	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto:HD 654 (915.8.10); Laidlaw 1916:69-70, Fig. 8
Fenelon Twp., Victoria Co.	Kirche	protohistoric	clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 957.141.37
Glengarry Co.	Glenbrook	ca. 1525	stone	National Museum of Man, Ottawa: BgFp-5:61
Hallowell Twp., Prince Edward Co.			clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 39241; AARO 1922:112
Middlesex Co.			clay	National Museum of Man. Ottawa: VIII-F-5737; Wright 1966: Pl. XIX #5
Simcoe Co.			clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 6881; AARO 1888:24 Fig. 14

Simcoe Co.	Sopher	1580-1610	clay	National Museum of Man, Ottawa: BdGu-1:99; Noble 1968:191
York Co.	McKenzie- Woodbridge	1550	clay	Morrison Collection, Toronto: W.B. 5962
Ontario			clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: HD 4875
Neutral	Nathan Turner		stone	Private collection
Neutral ?			stone	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 915.8.13
Petun ?			limestone	Wintemberg (n.d.)

¹ For all tables, dates are approximate, unless otherwise indicated. In addition to those noted, the following sources have been used: Bradley 1979; Kenyon 1972; Lenig 1965; Pratt 1976; Wray 1973; and personal communication with Charles Garrad, James F. Pendergast, Peter G. Ramsden and James V. Wright.

² NYSM: New York State Museum; AARO Annual Archaeological Report, Ontario.

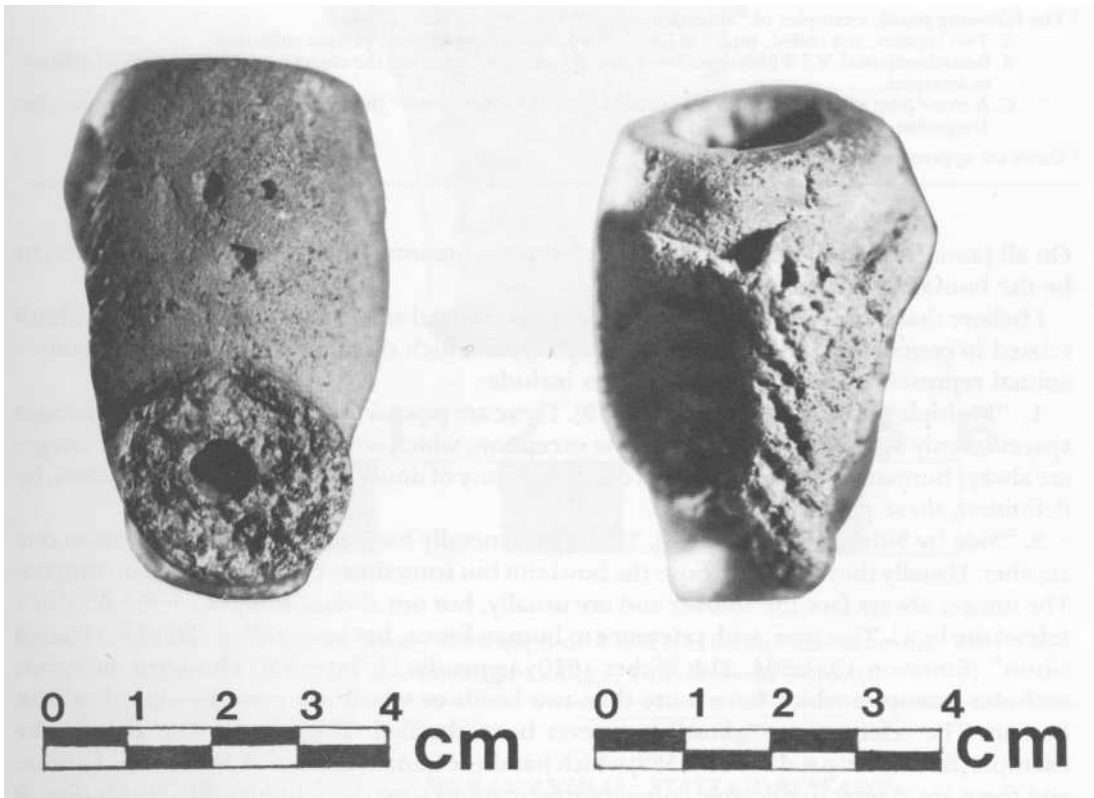


Fig. 2a. Clay Janus human/animal pipe.
Sackett site, Canandaigua. Ontario
Co., New York. The Ontario County
Historical Society, Canandaigua.
New York: 126. Side of bowl facing
smoker. Approximately 6 cm high.

Fig. 2b. Opposite side of Fig. 2a.

TABLE 2 JANUS HUMAN/ANIMAL PIPES¹

Place or Group	Site	Date ²	Material	Source(s)
New York				
Canandaigua, Ontario Co.,	Sackett	1140±150	clay	Canandaigua Historical Society:126; Mathews 1978: Fig. 89.
Onondaga ?	Atwell ?	1525-50	clay	American Museum of Natural History: NY 13/207
Ontario				
Victoria Co.,	Benson	protohistoric	clay	Emerson 1954:212, Fig. 96f
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.			clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 927.82.56
Petun	Kelly-Campbell	1639-49	stone	Ministry of Culture and Recreation, London, Ontario
Neutral	Walker	1620-50		Ridley 1961: P.1.5

¹ The following *possible* examples of "animal/animal" Janus pipes may be noted:

- A. Two reptiles, not coiled; pipe has been heavily restored. Mohawk, private collection.
- B. Beauchamp (n.d. V.7 #886) describes a pipe as having two frogs but the object is badly damaged and difficult to interpret.
- C. A stone pipe with two stylized bird heads found "near Rochester" (Beauchamp n.d. V.5 #354) may not be Iroquoian.

² Dates are approximate; see note 1 on Table 1.

On all Janus human/animal pipes for which the orientation can be determined, it appears to be the human which faces the smoker.

I believe that these two Janus varieties are closely related and that, in addition, they are both related in concept to a number of other pipe types which combine multiple human and/or animal representations. These other types include:

1. "Multiple Human" (Figs. 3, 4; Table 3). These are pipes which have three or more images spaced evenly around the bowl. With one exception, which is discussed below, these images are always human. If one begins with a closed category of double images called Janus, then, by definition, these pipes are excluded.

2. "Side by Side" (Fig. 5, Table 4). This type generally has two similar images next to one another. Usually these are just above the bowl rim but sometimes they are directly on the rim. The images always face the smoker and are usually, but not always, situated on the smoker's side of the bowl. This type, with reference to human forms, has been called "Double Headed Ghost" (Emerson 1954:204, 212; Weber 1970: Appendix D, Type 33). This term, however, excludes examples which have more than two heads or which represent beings other than human. The reference to "ghost" has never been clarified. There is, in fact, at least one example (Beauchamp n.d.:V. 10 *539) which has three human heads arranged in this fashion, and there are at least five double faunal representations — two with unidentified birds (Fig. 5) and one each with owls, snakes, and turtles. Pipes with intertwined snakes whose heads rise above the rim may embody the same concept but these will not be considered in this article.

3. "Humans with Animal Skins" (Table 5). On these pipes, a human face is surmounted by the head or upper body of an animal (Fig. 6) or a bird or has a snake (or snakeskin) wrapped around the head (Fig. 7).

4. There are, in addition to the above, various idiosyncratic forms which combine two or more human and/or animal representations. This body of material cannot fairly be considered here because of its complexity. There is little doubt that at least some are related to the types described but only further study will determine the extent of the relationship.



Fig. 3. Clay multiple human pipe, showing 3 of 4 faces. Huron, Robitaille site, Tiny Twp., Simcoe Co., Ontario. Scarborough College, University of Toronto.

JANUS AND JANUS HUMAN/ANIMAL: STATE OF RESEARCH

Wardle (1949) was the first to write about Janus pipes and to indicate their rarity. Searching collections of Eastern Woodlands material he was able to locate only 13 examples from an area which extended as far west as Michigan. Of the 13, six are Iroquois. Weber (1970), twenty years later, in a study which examined over 5000 Iroquoian smoking pipes, reports about 16 which have two or more images arranged around the bowl (Types 31, 32, 52 in Appendix D). (The information from Weber is taken from charts which do not have numerical entries. It is not possible, therefore, to know exactly how many pipes were examined in each category. In addition, it is difficult to determine how many of her entries overlap my documented examples as she does not include descriptions. I believe I have included all the examples which she notes.)

TABLE 3
MULTIPLE HUMAN PIPES

Place or Group	Site	Date ¹	Material	Source(s)
New York				
Adams Twp., Jefferson Co.				
Chenango Co.	Bainbridge	1200-1300	clay	New York State Museum:20391
Jefferson Co.	Beleville (Nohley)		clay	Ritchie 1965:294 P1.100 #4
Jefferson Co.	Collegan		clay	New York State Museum:27713
Madison Co.		1300-1400	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.8 #1215
Montgomery Co.	Galligan	1300-1400	clay	Lenig 1965: Fig. 3I
Montgomery Co.	Second Woods	1300-1400	clay	Lenig 1965: Fig.3J
Rodman, Jefferson Co.			clay	Lenig 1965: Fig. 3L
Eastern New York				
Mohawk	Winney Island	1300-1400?	clay	Beauchamp 1898:119, Fig. 157;
Mohawk	Winney Island		clay	Lenig 1965: Fig. 3K
Oneida	Nichols Pond	1400-1500	clay	Rochester Museum: 6224/177
Onondaga			clay	Sassi n.d.: Fig. IX
Onondaga ?			clay	Sassi n.d.: Fig. XI
Ontario				
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Lot 5 Con. 5		clay	Rochester Museum:AR 19280
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Lot 5 Con. 5		clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.5 #1360
Grenville Co.	Roebuck	1390±100	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 #613
Kent or Elgin Co.			stone	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 927.82.58; AARO 1901:20 Fig.23
York Co.	Draper	1450-1550	clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 18841; AARO 1901:20 Fig. 22
York Co.	Parsons	1550	clay	Wintemberg 1936: Pl.XVI #15
Huron	Robitaille	1620-40	clay	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 29256; AARO 1911:39
Petun	Conner-Rolling	1639-1646	clay	Museum of Indian Archaeology, London, Ontario:AlGh-2:111167
Quebec				Morrison Collection
Montreal Island	Dawson	1500-1600	clay	Scarborough College, Scarborough, Ontario
				Ontario Archaeological Society
				Pendergast & Trigger 1972:120, PLXII #2

¹ Dates are approximate; see note 1 on Table 1.

To date I have located 33 double image pipes. Of these 27 are Janus and six are Janus human/animal. The distribution for these pipes, both temporally and spatially is extensive. The pipes have been documented from the territory of every Iroquoian group in both New York and Ontario and from both sides of the St. Lawrence. They appear over a four to five century period, from the Canandaigua phase of the Owasco period (ca A.D.1100-1200) to various post-contact sites (ca. A.D. 1620-1670). There are examples in clay and stone, but the majority — over 80% — are clay.

JANUS AND JANUS HUMAN/ANIMAL: THE EARLIEST PERIOD

The earliest examples of Janus pipes — those from the Owasco period (ca. 1100-1300) — give us a good deal of information and have some intriguing aspects. From the middle stage of this period, the Canandaigua (1100-1200), we have at least one example of each Janus type. An example from the Snell site (Cnj 35-1) in Montgomery County which has a radiocarbon date

TABLE 4
SIDE BY SIDE PIPES

Place or Group	Site	Date ¹	Material	Source(s) ²
New York				
Chenango-Madison Co.'s			soapstone	Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 #539
Jefferson Co.			stone	Beauchamp n.d.: V.5 757 #300
Jefferson Co.	Morse	?-1550	clay	Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation: 24/2426
Jefferson Co.			soapstone	Beauchamp n.d.: V.7 307 #57
Onondaga	Temperance House	1525-50	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.2 #1236
Onondaga			clay	Beauchamp 1898:122 #172
Seneca	Factory Hollow	1590-1615	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.7 #s 76, 497
Seneca	Power House	1645-60	clay	Rochester Museum: 5272/24
Seneca	Fort Hill, Le Roy		clay	Beauchamp 1898:127 Fig. 209; possibly NYSM: 35526
Ontario				
Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Benson	protohistoric	clay	Emerson 1954:212, Fig. 96j
Innisfil Twp., Simcoe Co.			soapstone	Laidlaw 1913:50-51
Huron	St. Louis	1639-49	stone	Huronia Museum, Midland, Ontario: X975.225.96
Petun	Sidey MacKay	1580-1600	clay	National Museum of Man, Ottawa: VIII-F-21132

¹ Dates are approximate; see note 1 on Table 1.

² NYSM: New York State Museum.

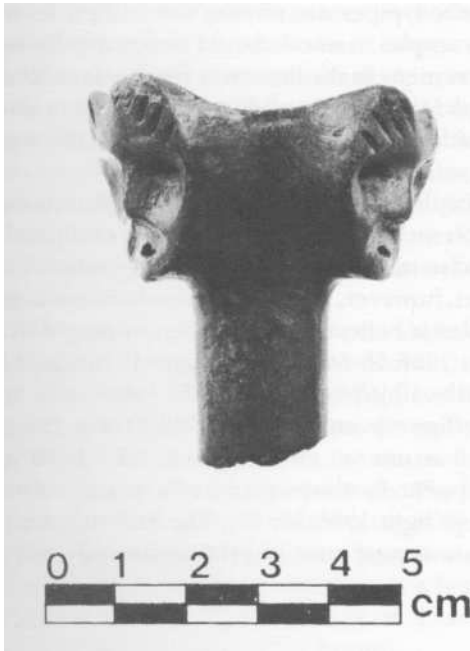


Fig. 4. Clay multiple human pipe, showing 2 of the original 3 faces. Con. 5, Lot 5, Bexley Twp., Victoria Co., Ontario. Royal Ontario Museum: 18841.



Fig. 5. Clay side by side pipe. Jefferson Co., New York. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation: 24/2426. Approximately 8 cm from bottom of stem to top of heads.

of 1156±200 (Ritchie 1965:274) is the earliest known Janus pipe (Ritchie, Lenig and Miller 1953:54, 72-73, Pl. 8, Fig. 8). This pipe is described as having a stem "rhombic in section" with "human face effigies in hollow relief" on the front and back of the bowl.

The earliest Janus human/animal example is from the Sackett (Can. 1) site (1140 ± 150) (Ritchie 1965:274, 286). This pipe has a being which may be a salamander, lizard or amphibian facing away from the smoker (Fig. 2b). Facing the smoker is a face represented only by three dots – two for the eyes and one for the nose or mouth (Fig. 2a). While it is usually assumed that these extremely minimal representations are of humans, the identification is uncertain. It is interesting that animal representations, whether identifiable to us or not, in the beginning, are defined with greater clarity than the humans. This must indicate that the identity of the animal was important and I think we can assume that their identities were apparent to the Iroquoians.

From the Castle Creek, or late Owasco period (ca. 1200-1300), Ritchie (1944:30, 68, Pl. 7, Figs. 14, 16) reports three Janus pipes. One, from the Castle Creek site, appears to have each face carved as a single block of intaglio. The areas between are covered with dentate stamp impressions (Rochester Museum AR:17899). The second pipe (present location unknown), from the Bainbridge site, Ritchie (1944:30) describes as having a "well-modeled human face in low relief on either side of bowl near base" and with a "terrace-like projection of bowl on upper part of stem, outlined with circular punctates." The third example (present location unknown) is not illustrated nor are the faces described, but we are told (Ritchie 1944: 68) that the pipe has "a large loop extending from either side of the bowl and meeting over the stem." It is difficult, obviously, to evaluate stylistic similarities having seen only one of the three examples. While it is true that these Owasco period pipes are among the earliest known Iroquoian effigies, the possibility of even earlier examples in wood should not be overlooked. (It should be noted that there is not complete agreement in the literature for the dates of the phases of the Owasco period and the following Oak Hill and Chance periods. Different times are given by Ritchie (1965:303, 313), Lenig (1965) and Tuck (1978:322). The dates in this study are those from Tuck, unless otherwise specified.)

Today, there is little doubt that the Owasco people were the ancestors of the Iroquoians (Tuck 1978:322). Archaeological patterns in New York and Ontario are comparable throughout the Owasco period even though precise relationships between all components have not yet been elucidated (Tuck 1978). For pipes, however, there appears to have been only one major development. The Ontario pipe complex is believed to have been imported from the New York area during the 14th century (Wright 1966:55-56, 63-65; Trigger 1976:126, 141, 143). Before this time, pipes in Ontario, as described by Wright (1966:55) "are scarce and crude." (There is at least one rather complex bird effigy reported by Fox (1967:21, Fig. 20) well before this time but the significance of this find is not yet clear). About A.D. 1350 (the Middleport period in Ontario) pipes begin to appear in abundance as "a major cultural clement" and become increasingly sophisticated (Wright 1966:55, 62). The earliest multiple image pipes which are known from Ontario seem to appear around 1400, apparently, as part of this New York complex.

JANUS AND JANUS HUMAN/ANIMAL: LATER EXAMPLES

An examination of the Janus pipes reveals some interesting characteristics. The variation in style and detail is intriguing as the body of material is relatively small. One of the few generalizations which can be advanced is that when we know the provenance, the pipe appears to conform to the style (or one of the styles) of the contemporaneous single image effigies. This

is, of course, hardly surprising, but does indicate that these pipes *are not* likely to have diffused from a single location. Rather they appear to have been manufactured, in limited quantities, all over the Iroquoian area.

The two faces of Janus pipes are often similar, but they are seldom, if ever, identical, as Noble (1979:85) has maintained. There are, in fact, several examples which have faces which appear to have been designed to be obviously different. The most dramatic example is one from the McKenzie-Woodbridge site (Fig. 8) where the two heads, which presumably once sat above the bowl rim, form a rattle. The faces are obviously intended to oppose; one has eyes represented as sunken hollows and an open but empty mouth, the other has bulging eyes and a mouth which appears full of teeth.

A second Ontario example with different faces is a stone pipe from Neutral territory (Royal Ontario Museum: 915.8.13). The faces are highly stylized but clearly different; one has a triangular-shaped nose, the other has one which is rectangular (Mathews 1978:Fig.86).

Three Janus pipes from New York indicate the same principle. On a pipe from the Onondaga Atwell site (New York State Museum: 31843), dated ca. 1525-50 (Bradley 1979:342), the faces are so different that Beauchamp (n.d.: 356 V.7) indicates that the founder "called one a man and the other a woman." A find from Jefferson County (Beauchamp n.d.: 409 V.8 #1100) emphasizes different noses and mouths. On a third example, from the Seneca Dannsville site (private collection), the image facing the smoker is at least twice as large as the other (Mathews 1978: Fig. 87) although, stylistically, the faces are similar. I think a word of caution is in order for Janus pipes on which the faces appear to be the same. The images are small and all have undergone some degree of weathering and deterioration. Since the objects are hand modelled, the faces are never identical although this may have been the intent. On the other hand, it may have been important for the faces to be at least slightly different.

Although Janus human/animal pipes are much rarer than Janus, we have seen that they both appear by the middle of the Owasco period. From this time, one Janus human/animal example is known. The only other possible human/animal representation from New York is documented as from Cazenovia, Madison County (possibly the Onondaga Atwell site) (American Museum of Natural History: 13/207). An amphibian-like form is clearly represented on the side of the bowl facing away from the smoker but the opposing side is badly damaged. While one can vaguely imagine a human face from the remnants it is not possible to say with certainty what is represented.

The remaining four Janus human/animal pipes are from Ontario. Two, probably proto-Huron, are from the Trent Valley (Royal Ontario Museum: 927.82.56, and Emerson 1954:212 Fig. 96f), one is historic Neutral (Ridley 1961:Pl. 5) and the fourth historic Petun (Ministry of Culture and Recreation, London, Ontario). Three represent humans and owls but one, from the Petun Kelly-Campbell site, is not true Janus as the head of the owl fits into the back of the human head and looks up at an angle. The fourth example is missing and the only information that remains is a rather crude drawing of the human side (Emerson 1954: 212 Fig. 96f) which is possibly intended to represent a human with animal ears. The animal on the opposite side is identified by Emerson at one time as a bear or deer and at another time as a wolf (Emerson 1954:204, 212). If, however, any of these identifications are correct, then this is the only human/mammal Janus pipe known.

PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS

The meaning of Janus pipes is not clear. The only explanations which have been offered applied only to those which represent two humans. Wardle (1949) noted that the Janus pipes could be compared with the central post on the Big House of the Lenape which also has two

faces looking in opposite directions. He suggested that the pipes, which burn "incense" to the Creator, could be, like the post, a symbol of contact between the Great Spirit and man. Wardle is, no doubt, correct but his conclusion is too general. Tobacco and other substances were burned in a great many, if not all, types of pipes and were widely used as a means of communication with the supernaturals. Janus pipes *per se* have not been clarified.

Fenton (1950), in a study of the pictographs on the Spragg cane, which represents the Chiefs who founded the League, was influenced by Wardle when interpreting one pictograph which is Janus-faced. The pictograph is the symbol for the Onondaga Chief, *Dehatkadons*, whose name means: "He looks both ways (or around)," "On watch" or "Two-sighted (vigilant)" (Fenton 1950:62). At that time Fenton suggested that both the pictograph and the name "offer a theory for interpreting Janus-faced tobacco pipes from the area."

Noble (1979:85) in a recent study of Ontario effigy pipes adopted Fenton's 1950 interpretation of the Janus pictograph and concluded that "the chief was the intended person represented on Janus-faced pipes." Noble also suggests that "from the decided concentration of Janus-faced pipes in Huronia, *Dehatkadons* may have been originally a Huron shaman." Of the 50 League founders *Dehatkadons* is one of nine who, Noble feels, are identifiable with specific Ontario Iroquois effigy pipes.

Today, Fenton prefers to see in the two-faced pipes the concept of the divided or split personality and/or the person who looks both ways and is vigilant. His description of the split personality discussed with relation to the Onondaga Chief *Skanaawadi*, also represented on the cane, Fenton now believes is closer to the meaning expressed by the Janus pipes (Fenton 1950:64; personal communication 1980).

The most serious difficulty in identifying the Janus pipes with *Dehatkadons* is that they appear among the proto-Iroquoians long before the founding of the League; in fact, at least 300 years before 1460, the date which Noble (1979:85) cites as the most likely for the formation of the Confederacy. While it may be true, as Noble suggests, that Janus pipes first appear in Ontario about 1460, it does not follow that this is the beginning of their history.

A second problem with the *Dehatkadons* interpretation lies with the widespread distribution of Janus pipes. The fact that they appear in all Iroquoian groups as well as on the St. Lawrence makes it unlikely that a specific individual was being represented. Since the type also occurs among non-Iroquoians (Wardle 1949) it would seem that a concept – and a rather basic one – not an individual, is indicated.

Third, if Janus pipes did represent an Onondaga chief, one would expect them to be more common among this Nation, but to date, I know of only one Onondaga example (New York State Museum: 31843). Noble (1979:85) feels that Janus pipes have a "decided concentration" in Huronia and thinks that *Dehatkadons* "may have been originally a Huron shaman." It is true that there are more documented examples from Huron locations than from any other; i.e., 6 of the 27 or 22%. There are, however, almost as many examples from the St. Lawrence. The 6 pipes from the Huron, moreover, are spread over an area which encompasses Huronia, Simcoe County and the Trent Valley. The numbers with which we are dealing are simply too small to be able to deduce anything from this kind of distributional data. One additional example from any area could upset the existing pattern.

DUALITY, OPPOSITION AND TRANSFORMATION

I would like to suggest that Janus pipes have nothing to do with a Chief involved in the formation of the League nor are they associated with any one Iroquoian group. Several years

ago, I noted that these pipes seem to embody the Iroquoian concepts of dualism, opposition and transformation (Mathews 1978:180, 183). Additional material which I have examined in the interim has strengthened my belief that this is the case. I also believe that it is likely that all multiple-image pipes are related, both conceptually, and in their attributes, which often suggest power in general and shamanism in particular. I do not mean by this that the Iroquoians of the 12th to 17th centuries practiced "traditional" shamanism as it is known from Siberia but rather that many of the concepts inherent in shamanistic practice and belief continued to influence Iroquoian thought and therefore to be represented in their art (see Mathews 1976:28-29; 1978:188-200). The fact that Janus pipes date to the 12th century when the Iroquoians, or their ancestors, had a greater reliance on hunting, enhances the likelihood of shamanistic representation.

Duality, opposition and transformation are often different aspects of the same concept. All, singly or together, are prevalent in the thought and art of the Iroquoian peoples. Fenton (1950:64; personal communication 1980) notes that there are pictographs, canes, pipes, masks and the good and evil twins of the cosmology which illustrate these ideas. Life and ceremonies are often based on dualistic divisions (Fenton 1936:18-19; Wallace 1972:15). Hewitt (1920:543-5) emphasizes the antiquity and continuity of the dualism of "male and female principles" stressing their importance for fertility. Iroquoian myths and legends abound with dualistic themes. Parker (1923:23) lists twins and transformation as two of the basic themes in Seneca folklore.

Duality is certainly intended on every Iroquoian pipe which has two faces, heads, or beings but this does not clarify the issue. The concept is actually too broad to be of specific use. Opposition and transformation provide more concrete handles for an understanding of these pipes.

It must be understood that opposition for the Iroquoians, as for most American Indian peoples, is not defined clearly, as it is in Western thought. Rather, opposites are more likely to be considered as different aspects of one object or concept. In Iroquoian thought opposition may be most obvious in the "good" and "evil" twins of the cosmology but the terms are certainly European. Parker (1908:34n2) has noted that these ideas of moral dualism most likely originated as the "idea of the conflict of constructive and destructive forces." These forces are really one force as exemplified by the Creator, who, in the Twins, simply defines more than one aspect of his nature. Beings with power are able to use their forces for benevolent or malevolent ends (see Druke 1980:65-6). Tooker (1964:84n56) notes that general power is attributed to those with medical knowledge.

Certainly some form of opposition is represented on those Janus pipes which have different faces (Fig. 8). The exact nature of this opposition may never be clear and it may have more than one referent. There are, however, a few indications that in this context the opposition may be shamanistic in origin. It is the shaman who must deal with opposition and in fact must simultaneously incorporate opposite states. The shaman must experience both life and death (Hewitt 1895:107-8; Eliade 1972:93) but must also be "simultaneously a human and an animal," have "attributes of male and female" and feel "at home both in the secular and spiritual worlds" (Jonaitis 1977:69).

It seems noteworthy that certain objects which are documented as belonging to Tlingit shamans have some parallels to Iroquoian Janus pipes. Although we have no corresponding ownership documentation for the Iroquois, we may consider other information which is available. I do not contend that there are direct relationships between these two peoples. Rather, I believe that this indicates that we are dealing with parallel developments from the same basic principles. These Tlingit objects include rattles (Holm and Reid 1975:208-211; Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation: 16/1719), combs (American Museum of

Natural History: 19/448) and charms (Alaska State Museum:IIB-1189; and Peabody Museum, Harvard: 69-30-10/1958). The Peabody charm has one bird head about three times the size of the other which is an interesting parallel to the human heads on the Dannsville pipe.

Transformation, like opposition, is associated with power; the potential for transformation being contingent on the amount of *orenda* possessed by the particular being (Parker 1923: 3-4, 23; Mathews 1978:163). While transformation, theoretically, can take any form, the most common is between human and animal states (see Druke 1980:62). Human/animal transformation is an ability of powerful individuals who can directly affect the lives of others — shamans, curers, witches, sorcerers — and the association between animals and those with supernatural powers is ancient in many parts of the world (Mathews 1978:179). Transformation into a bird or animal is a common way for a shaman to prepare for magic flight (Eliade 1972:93).

Janus human/animal pipes can possibly be interpreted in the context of transformation. Owasco examples have lizard or amphibian forms interposed with stylized human faces (Fig. 2). Much later in time, Waugh (n.d.) noted that among some Iroquoians the beings usually called "lizards" are more likely salamanders and that these creatures, known as *jainos*, are associated with witchcraft and sought as a source of medicine. Of the five human/animal pipes which appear later in Ontario, four represent owls. Owls are powerful beings associated, in myths and legends, with malevolent forces. Parker (1923:28), indicates that transformation between witches and owls is a common incident in Seneca folklore; the owls are almost always screech owls.

There are, however, problems, when trying to interpret the human/animal pipes in this context. A primary difficulty is the inability to identify the types of beings with accuracy. Even if the creatures can be identified, as with owls, there are problems as to species. Screech owls are "horned" and while dozens of single-image Iroquoian pipes from the same period as the human/owl pipes represent owls with horns, those on the human/animal examples do not. If the animals on these pipes are meant to indicate forces of evil, then the smoker may have been attempting to exert control over these beings.

Transformation, as noted, does not have to occur between human and animal states. It is possible, therefore, that Janus pipes, or some of them, are intended to represent change of condition: in these cases, powerful individuals going from one human state to another.

OTHER MULTIPLE-IMAGE PIPES

With this background, I think that some relationships between Janus pipes and other effigies with multiple beings become apparent. The pipes which seem most closely allied, at least stylistically, are Multiple Human Pipes; i.e., those with more than two human faces distributed evenly around the bowl (Figs. 3 and 4; Table 3). The similarities between these pipes and the Janus varieties are striking:

1. Perhaps most obviously, both the multiple-human pipes, by definition, and the Janus varieties, are concerned mainly with what we have been calling human representations.

2. Multiple-human pipes are contemporary with Janus pipes. An example from the Bainbridge site during the Owasco Castle Creek phase (1200-1300) has four stylized faces separated by incised vertical lines (Ritchie 1965:294, Pl. 100 *3). The three-dot-faces correspond to that on the human/animal Janus pipes from the Owasco Canandaigua site (Fig. 2a). A second example from the Owasco period is discussed here although it is not a multiple-human example. This pipe, which to my knowledge is unique, has more than two images around the bowl which are not all human (Rochester Museum:AR 27322). Two slightly

different creatures, which Ritchie (1944: Pl. 17 #18) calls tree frogs, are situated at the front and the back of the bowl. Between them appear to be headless, stylized hocker figures. The only other known pipe at all similar was found at the Ivy Farm in Jefferson County and has similar faunal representations, but are alternated with human heads (Sassi n.d.: Fig. 26).

3. The temporal and spatial ranges of the multiple-human pipes correspond to those of the Janus examples. These pipes, although even rarer than the Janus types, appear in New York, Ontario and on the St. Lawrence. They continue to be found at sites dating up to and including the postcontact period. The number of images ranges from three to six, but those with three and four are most common.

4. Like the Janus types, multiple-human pipes are stylistically closer, in most cases, to other effigy pipes which were produced contemporaneously than they are to each other.

5. Multiple-human representations, like the Janus faces, sometimes clearly indicate different faces or different aspects of the same face. When the faces are similar, there are, as on

TABLE 5
HUMANS WITH ANIMAL SKIN PIPES

Place or Group	Site	Date ¹	Material	Source(s) ²
New York Jefferson Co. ³			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.9 #1448 Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 # 108; NYSM: 27698
Jefferson Co.			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 #110c; NYSM27717
Jefferson Co. ^o	Normanders		clay	Woodland Indian Cultural Centre, Brantford, Ontario: 973.105.3; Beau- champ n.d.: V.9 #s 432,960
Jefferson Co.	Morse	?-1550	clay	SUNY, Buffalo
Mohawk ?			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.10 #766
Mohawk			stone	Beauchamp n.d.: V.1 #1; Mohawk/ Caughnawaga Museum
Mohawk ^o			clay	Beauchamp 1898:124 #188
Onondaga ?			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.9 #100I
Onondaga ³			clay	Beauchamp 1898:125 #193
Onondaga	Christopher	1400-1500	clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.7 #s 616, 676; NYSM:31834
Onondaga ^o			clay	Beauchamp n.d.: V.7 #940; NYSM: 31830
Seneca	Fort Hill, Le Roy		clay	Parker 1922: P1.52 Fig.6; Beauchamp 1898:131 Fig. 210
Ontario Bexley Twp., Victoria Co.	Lot 10 Con. 7		soapstone	AARO 1907:26, Fig. 12
Huron	Vints	postcontact	stone	Ridley 1967; Trigger 1976: frontispiece
Huron	Thompson-Walker	postcontact	stone	Ridley 1969
Neutral	McMurray	1620-35	clay	Wintemberg n.d.
Petun	Melville	1616	clay	Wintemberg n.d.
Petun	Haney-Cook	1616-50	stone	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 956.4.5.
Petun			argillite	Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto: 11098

¹ Dates are approximate; see note 1 on Table 1.

² NYSM: New York State Museum SUNY: State University of New York; AARO: Annual Archaeological Report, Ontario. ¹ Humans with birds.

^o Humans with snakes.

Janus faces, always slight differences.

6. Multiple-human pipes were made of both clay and stone but, like the Janus pipes, the majority are of clay.

7. There is a possibility that some pipes of all multiple-image varieties are represented with headbands. This was first suggested by Rutsch (1973:178), and I have discussed further variations (Mathews 1978:153-4). These may take various forms including exaggerated or decorated rim bowls, bands of incising around the forehead and rims decorated with punctate lines or circles (Fig. 1) These stylistic features appear both on Janus and multiple-human pipes.

8. A triple-headed pipe from Victoria County, Ontario, (Fig. 4) is a rattle, like the Janus example from the McKenzie-Woodbridge site (Fig. 8). The Victoria County pipe is also interesting as it is the only multiple-human pipe, known to me, which appears to indicate human faces with animal ears. This configuration, as noted above, may be represented on the Janus human/animal pipe from the Benson site, also in Victoria County. Single-images of this type are also most commonly found at proto Huron sites but they also occur in the territory of the Petun and Neutral and among the League (Mathews 1978:148).

Pipes with more than two images are even more difficult to explain than the Janus varieties because while duality and related concepts are prevalent in the Iroquoian literature multiplicity is not explicit. Given the number of similarities, however, I think we can assume conceptual relationships. Powerful beings may certainly have more than two aspects to their characters or be able to undergo more than one kind of transformation.

A type which may be related iconographically to Janus human/animal representations are those which I have called Humans with Animal Skin. On these pipes a human face is surmounted by the head, or head and body of an animal (Fig. 6). This type, like the others, occurs, sporadically across time and space (Table 5). I have documented 14 examples; 12 are humans surmounted by animals probably mammals and two are surmounted by birds. Five of the examples are stone, the others clay. A few stone heads, apparently broken from something, could conceivably have been charms, rather than parts of pipes, but this is difficult to determine. When I first discussed this configuration I knew only of human-animal combinations and suggested a possible relationship with those individuals described in the Iroquoian literature as wearing bearskins. I also noted that there were problems with this interpretation (Mathews 1978:149-50; 1980a:78). For example, Sagard (Wrong 1939:117), who gives the clearest explanation, states that people wearing bearskins had their "ears erect on top of their head, their head covered up except for the eyes." On the pipes, it is almost always the snout which is



Fig. 6 Stone pipe bowl of the human with animal skin type. Petun, Haney-Cook site, Nottawasaga Twp., Simcoe Co., Ontario. Royal Ontario Museum: 956.4.5.

on top of the head and the faces are not covered (Fig. 6). Now that we know that some of the beings on these pipes are birds, it is unlikely that any of the pipes are meant to represent masked dancers. They are best explained in terms of transformation. This is not to say that those who wore bearskins were not involved with transformation; it is to say that the pipe representations and the masqueraders are probably not directly related to each other. Eliade (1972:459-60) has explained transformation via animal skins as follows:

"For primitive man, donning the skin of an animal was becoming that animal, feeling himself transformed into an animal . . . Little would be gained by recording the fact that shamans dressed up in animal skins. The important thing is what they felt when they masqueraded as animals. We have reason to believe that this magical transformation resulted in a 'going out of the self' that very often found expression in an ecstatic experience.

"Imitating the gait of an animal or putting on its skin was acquiring a superhuman mode of being By becoming this mystical animal, man became something far greater and stronger than himself."

For the Iroquois, this seems to correspond directly. Parker (1923:4) notes that among the Seneca "Transformation may be . . . by entering the skin of the creature whose form one desires to assume."

A number of pipes, which I believe also belong in the category of humans surmounted by animals, illustrate a human with a snake wrapped around the head (Fig. 7; Table 5). For these there appears to be a literary reference. The author of the narrative of a journey to the Mohawk and Oneida in 1634-35 tells us that "While curing [some] doctors would wear a snake skin wrapped around the head" (Jameson 1909:146). This is the only documentation known to me which relates multiple-effigy pipes directly to curers or shamans.



Fig. 7. Clay pipe with a snake above a human face. Jefferson Co., New York. New York State Museum and Science Services: 973.105.3. Approximately 10 cm long.



Fig. 8a. Clay Janus pipe bowl face.
McKenzie-Woodbridge site, Vaughn
Twp., York Co., Ontario. John
Morrison Collection, Toronto: W.B.
5962. Approximately 4 cm high.

Fig. 8b. Opposite side of Fig. 8a.

The remaining type to be discussed is that which I have called Side by Side (Table 4). On these pipes human or animal forms sit together on or above the bowl (Fig. 5). Wardle (1949) suggested that the human examples could represent the twins of cosmology. While this is possible it would not explain the pipe with three heads or those with animals. One example from Jefferson County (Beauchamp n.d.:V. 5 757 #300) has horned humans which is an indication that the beings are powerful. Despite the fact that there are only twelve examples of this type, they are enormously varied. Of the twelve, seven are humans, two unidentified birds and one each snakes, owls and turtles. The two bird examples are interesting. They seem almost identical although one was found at an Onondaga site and the other in Jefferson County (Fig. 5). The Onondaga example has a stylized face between the birds and the Jefferson County pipe looks as if it may originally have had the same. This human element inside of or enclosed by animals may also indicate transformation. However, aside from the obvious fact that these pipes indicate some kind of dualism, I am less convinced that they form a unit than I am for the other types which have been discussed. As more examples become known and more research is attempted, we will, no doubt develop a clearer picture.

CONCLUSION

There are two facts about multiple image pipes which I feel should be stressed as they appear to contain valuable information. One, they are rare and two, they do *not* tend to cluster at certain sites, certain times or with certain groups. I think this indicates that broad, general

concepts are being conveyed. Their scarcity is interesting; while no effigy type is numerous relative to the total pipe output, multiple-image pipes are scarcer than some other types which have been studied, such as pinch-faces. A comparison between multiple-image pipes and pinch-faces is revealing because both groups share representations which have attributes indicative of power. Their distributions and numbers, however, are completely different. Pinch-face pipes appear at a specific time, namely that of direct contact with Europeans. They also concentrate in Huronia where they appear to have originated (Mathews 1976). I have argued that these pipes may have evolved in response to the disease and disruption which came with the Europeans. The appearance of pinch-faces in relatively large numbers possibly indicates that many individuals were trying to buy protection by smoking or owning a pipe which represented an individual having attributes of curing and shamanism (Mathews 1980b). Multiple-image pipes, on the other hand, appear among all northern Iroquoians, in small numbers, spaced over centuries. This may indicate that these pipes were owned and used only by certain special individuals. The concepts expressed by the representations on these pipes would indicate that the most likely owners were religious specialists.

Unfortunately, burial or location documentation for effigy pipes is scarce. We may hope that further more specific information will help us answer some of these queries and substantiate some of the hypotheses. I think it is clear, however, that the distributional data itself can provide us with new and provocative insights.

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