

Recreating Home? A Consideration of Refugees, Microstyles and Frilled Pottery in Huronia

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This paper revisits explanations for the presence of large quantities of frilled pottery at certain seventeenth century Wendat sites. It considers the ways in which the traditional Wenro refugee explanations are problematic. An analysis of decorative microstyles is outlined, with the goal of determining whether pots from BeGx-25 (identified in the literature as Ossossané village), both with and without frills, were decorated by the same potters. The relationship between forced migration and material culture is examined and a second explanation for the presence of frilled pottery is offered. The results of this analysis are considered in light of what is known of how contemporary refugees manipulate material culture.

Introduction

One of the themes in contact-period Wendat archaeology has been the identification of villages and missions documented in the Jesuit Relations (for a review of such work see Latta 1985). In western Huronia, the work of Kidd (1953) and Ridley (1947) served to identify a village referred to as Ossossané, occupied from 1623 to 1634, and the associated 1636 ossuary. It should be noted, however, that Sagard and Le Caron refer to the village of this period as Quieuindahian (Trigger 1976). While Latta (1985) argues that identification of Jesuit missions associated with different Wendat tribes can be a useful archaeological tool for interpretation and study of earlier material culture, some other archaeologists have used identification of sites and their traits mainly as confirmation of the historical record. An example of such work is Ridley's (1964) identification of the Ossossané village(s) and the link he made between frilled pottery from that site and from the Edwards site (BeGx-27) with Wenro refugees (Ridley 1973). Archaeologists tend to accept the latter hypothesis (Garrad and Steckley 1998; Hawkins 1992; Jackson and Merritt 2007; MacDonald 1991), but it does not account for all of the evidence (Hawkins 2001:32-33). Furthermore, in the time since Ridley's publication, contact period studies of the Wendat have moved from confirmation of history as understood from documentary sources to interpretation and explication of the past

(Trigger 2001). Whether the pottery was produced by Wenro refugees or not, the appearance of a large quantity of pottery with unusual decoration holds potential for more detailed understanding of the dynamics of Wendat society in the early to mid-seventeenth century. This paper outlines analysis aimed at determining if the decorators of typical Wendat pottery were also the decorators of unusual, frilled pottery, and explores why new styles may have been introduced and adopted.

Background

The Wenro migration question is outlined in detail elsewhere (Hawkins 1992, 2001), and will be briefly discussed. According to the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites 1896-1901:15:159, 17:25-29), a group of over 600 refugees migrated to Huronia in 1639, having negotiated the move in advance. The group arrived first at Ossossané and included many people who were ill (Thwaites 1896-1901:17:25-29). Interpretations of the *Jesuit Relations* and archaeological remains have led researchers to place the Wenro homeland in the Niagara frontier and other locations in New York state (Bradley 1987; Niemczycki 1984; White 1961,1978) (Figure 1).

In 1973, Frank Ridley published a description of material recovered from the Edwards site and from BeGx-25, the site that he identified as the Ossossané village of 1623-34. These sites both contain high proportions of pottery with basal

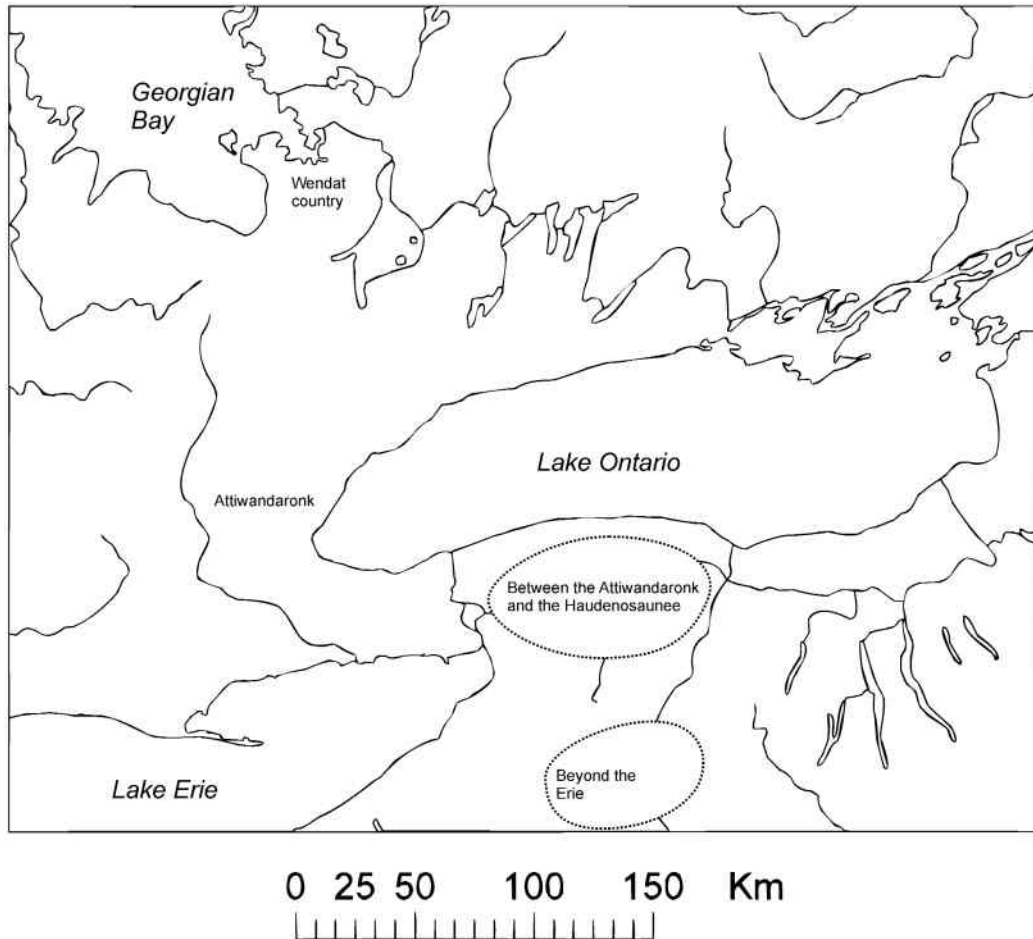


Figure 1. Map showing possible Wenro homeland locations based on interpretation of historical documents.

collar modification (hereafter referred to as “frilled pottery,” although notched, frilled and nocked pots are all referred to using this term) and pottery with decorative rim motifs different from others common to contemporary sites in Huronia. Ridley suggested Wenro migrants produced the frilled pottery, which occurs in high proportions. Although not explicitly stated, he assumed that pottery decoration reflected the ethnic identity of the potters. He believed that the Wenro came from somewhere near the Seneca (Ridley 1973).

Following up on Ridley’s work, I conducted stylistic analyses of material from a number of Wendat sites: Leonard (BeGx-22), Ellery (BdGx-8), BeGx-25, Charity (BeHb-4), and Orr Lake

(not Bordenized) and chemical analysis of material from BeGx-25 and Leonard (Figure 1). All of these collections, even the ones with few frilled pots, show considerable variability in the decoration of the upper rim; these include the method of fashioning the frill as well as the nature and application of upper rim decoration. These rim-focused analyses did not entail examining the pots for potentially informative differences in paste composition, vessel size, vessel shape, body decoration or function. The results suggest production by more than one individual and/or experimentation with frilling as decoration. The compositional analysis indicates that frilled pots and those with more typical decoration do not differ chemically (Hawkins 2001:28-32). Pottery

from the Genoa Fort site in New York State, however, has a different chemical signature than that from Ontario (Hawkins 2001:28-32). I interpret this to indicate that the frilled pottery was made from the same local clays as pots decorated in more typical fashions.

Production of pottery locally in Huronia by a number of individuals appears consistent with what we would expect from a refugee population. However, in the time since Ridley's publication, the archaeological records in Ontario and New York state have been more fully investigated and some possible problems with Ridley's hypothesis arise. Furthermore, refugee studies have emerged as a discipline (Ager 1999; Black 2001) and may provide models for how forced migrants may alter their material culture as a consequence of displacement.

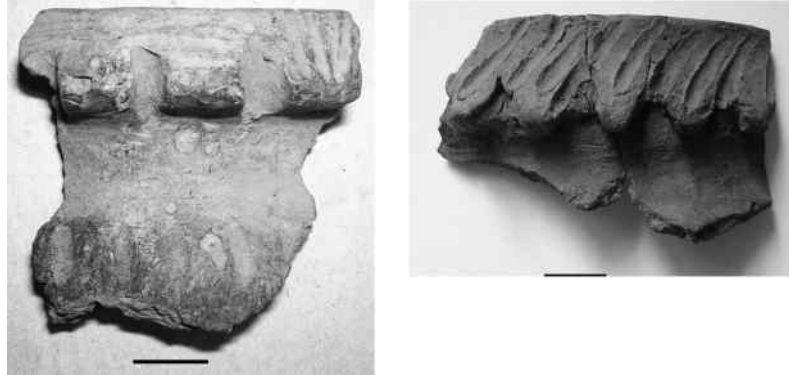
Problem One: Large Amounts of Frilled Pottery and No Clear Homeland

If frilled pottery is a marker of Wenro-ness, then, unless explained further, we would expect to find a Wenro homeland with frilled pots similar to those found in Huronia. Furthermore, if Wenro potters continued their potting traditions in their new home, we would expect that the proportion of frilled pottery at sites in their homeland would be greater than at Wendat sites where Wendat women would, presumably, produce pots in their traditional styles. Sites in Huronia with frilled pottery include BeGx-25, Edwards and Orr Lake, among others. According to Ridley (1973), 72 percent of the pots from Edwards are frilled and when he includes high collared material in his calculations, the percent of "foreign" pottery at Edwards reaches 91 percent. The high proportions of frilled ceramics may be a product of sampling at Edwards. However, this is unlikely to be the case at BeGx-25. Examination of excavation reports and provenience information on sherds shows that Ridley excavated two main areas 100 feet apart, and frilled pottery was found in both of these places (Hawkins 2001; Ridley 1964, 1965). Ridley (1975) re-located the Orr Lake site, but the collections at the Royal Ontario Museum are the product of other collectors (Kidd 1950) and were made long before Ridley

put forward his Wenro refugee hypothesis. Frilled pottery accounts for 18 percent of the sherds in the assemblage, while high collared sherds make up another five percent. This is a conservative estimate of the proportion of frilled sherds because children's pots and castellations were included when making the calculation. However, it should be noted that this is the proportion of frilled sherds at Orr Lake, not the proportion of frilled pots. Sampling may account for high proportion of frilled pots from Edwards, but it seems unlikely that in the other cases excavators chanced upon middens with unrepresentatively high amounts of frilled pottery.

The suggested location of the New York homeland of the Wenro is based on interpretation of documents and archaeological evidence (Figure 1). According to White (1961:37) the most likely location of the Wenro prior to 1639 is in the Niagara frontier region, between the Seneca and the Attiwandaronk (Neutral confederacy). Sites such as Silverheels, Kleis and Ellis have percentages of frilled ceramics that range from 8 to 19 percent (Bursey, personal communication 2005). Englebrecht (personal communication 2001) reports that between 13 and 25 percent of sherds from sites east of the Niagara River and south of Lake Erie fall into the Seneca Barbed and Genoa Frilled types. Although Noble (1980:52) reported "a sizeable quantity of Genoa Frilled pottery" at the Thorold site on the west side of the Niagara river, only eleven frilled pots (about 6 percent) are present in the assemblage and several of these are so similar in decorative motif and method of manufacture that it is likely a single individual produced them. The percentage of frilled pots in this collection is an estimate because time constraints did not allow me to group typical sherds into pots. Neither the decorative motifs nor the method of manufacture of frill on the Thorold pots is similar to that known from Wendat sites (Figure 2). In sum, if Wenro refugees produced frilled pots in the same proportions in Ontario as they did in New York, then we would expect to find only small proportions of the Ontario assemblages composed of such pots. This is not what we find. Ridley acknowledges this problem when writing about Orr Lake:

Figure 2. A comparison of the frilled pottery from Thorold (left) with that from Ossossané (right).



As with several historic Huron sites, the strange Seneca-like pottery, that seems intrusive, appears in considerable quantities and is now attributed to the Wenro, who migrated to Huronia in the year 1639. The quantities of such pottery on these sites seems unduly copious, since the Wenro migration consisted of only six hundred souls. However the Wenro were said to have been impoverished and probably had to continue the use of their own hand made clay vessels, whereas their Huron hosts would be enjoying the use of European brass kettles and trade goods in comparable prosperity. (Ridley 1975: 6)

Ridley's explanation does not account for the ethos of sharing among the Wendat (Trigger 1990:48), nor for the fact that brass kettles appear to have been used in ritual contexts and as a source of raw material (Anselmi 2004).

Problem Two: Different Types of Frilling

Frilling of pottery from Wendat sites differs significantly from frilling of pottery from Thorold on the Niagara peninsula, and from Haudenosaunee (League of Five Nations) sites in the Finger Lakes district (MacNeish 1952; Niemczycki 1984; Wray, et al. 1991). Examination of pots in the Rochester Museum of Science showed that, for specimens from the Finger Lakes, decoration of the collar is more common, includes horizontal motifs, may be more complicated and sometimes includes decoration on the frill or barb itself. The frills and barbs are more widely spaced. Frilled pots

from Thorold differ from those found at Wendat sites in that they have more complicated designs on the collar and the frills appear to have been manufactured mainly by notching, rather than modelling (see Figure 2). If the Wenro came from somewhere in the Niagara frontier or upper New York state area, and brought with them their pot decorating traditions, we would expect to find examples of complicated designs on the collars of frilled pots from Wendat sites, and we might expect to see examples of frilling using similar methods to those found in the Niagara frontier or New York state. Although the lack of some of these elements might be explained by the "founder effect," one wonders why *none* of the frilled pots from Thorold were similar to the pots found at Wendat sites.

Problem Three: The Wide Distribution of Ceramic Decorative Elaborations

Ridley's hypothesis that Wenro migrants to Huronia produced frilled pottery does not account for the widespread nature of a variety of elaborations in decoration, including frilling, which occurs in the early to mid-seventeenth century through the Northeast. As outlined by Lizee (1995), frilling and notching of collars, castellations, high collared triangular plat motifs, and effigy decorations occur through much of the Northeast at this time. It is noteworthy that other elaboration types do not co-occur with frilling on the same vessel: I have found no examples of castellated frilled sherds, high-collared frilled sherds, or frilled sherds with effigy decorations. MacNeish (1952:52) associates Genoa

Friiled pottery with the contact-period Cayuga and noted that it “has no antecedent in the Cayuga sequence, and its ancestral or developmental predecessor is unknown.” De Orio (1980:77), a number of years later, also indicates that friiled pots occur “for either the first time or in larger quantities...on historic sites.” An example of such a site is Genoa Fort, which he estimates dates to A.D. 1600-1620. This suggests that this method of decoration may be as much a seventeenth century innovation in the Haudenosaunee area as it is in Huronia. Similarly, the Susquehannock friiled pot type, Blue Rock Valanced, becomes more common after A.D. 1600 (Kent 1980:103).

The widespread nature of friilling and other elaborations was remarked upon by Kent, as long ago as 1979:

Purely Seneca or Cayuga grit-tempered vessels are occasionally found at Susquehannock sites. Similarly, a few shell-tempered Susquehannock pots occur in sites of the former. In view of their obviously different preferences for tempering materials, the travel distance between the two areas, and the frequent conflict between them, we are struck by the remarkable similarity between certain Seneca-Cayuga pottery types and those of the Susquehannocks. Schultz Incised...and Ithaca Linear (and in some cases Cayuga Horizontal), except for their temper differences, often appear indistinguishable from one another. The same is true for Blue Rock Valanced and Genoa Friiled. (Kent 1980:103)

Although the presence of friiled pottery in the Susquehannock area may lead researchers to suggest that friiled pots and/or Wenro originated there, in the Susquehannock area the appearance of friilling also dates to the early seventeenth century.

In the case of Susquehannock friiled pottery, one can make an argument on technological grounds that the pots are made locally and are not imports. While Bursey (personal communication 2005) puts forward an intriguing explanation for the widespread occurrence of friilling that relates to trade patterns, the fact that Susquehannock

friiled pots are shell tempered, while Seneca and Cayuga ones are grit tempered suggests different *châines opératoires* and, consequently, that the makers of Susquehannock friiled pottery are not simply transplanted Wenro. Furthermore, the trade network explanation does not explain the widespread nature of other types of elaborations cited by Lizee.

Problem Four: Which Ossossané is BeGx-25?

The *Jesuit Relations* clearly place the Wenro migration at 1639. In the 1964 excavation report on his work at Ossossané, Ridley identified BeGx-25 as the Ossossané village occupied between 1623 and 1634. The geographic setting of the site served as the main basis for this identification.

If Ridley's identification of the site is correct, however, why was the supposedly Wenro-produced pottery present in a village that dates to before their arrival? Although the *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites 1896-1901:17:29) indicate that the Wenro were given “the best places in the cabins,” it is possible that the site identification is correct, that the pots were produced by Wenro and the reason that they are found there is that the refugees occupied the abandoned village. The occupation dates of the site ought, however, to be clarified based on the glass bead chronology.

Problem

In light of these unresolved questions, other explanations for the appearance of filled pottery should be considered. In doing so, I make the assumption that people actively manipulate material culture as a method of transmitting messages, often about the identity of the producer or the user of the item (e.g., Hodder 1982:128-132; Wobst 1977). This perspective entails a consideration of the role of pottery in everyday life when suggesting reasons for unusual decoration. Iroquoian people used pots for both storage and food preparation, with ethnohistoric accounts clearly indicating the use of clay pots for cooking (Parker 1983; Waugh 1973). While storage vessels may have been located in places where they were not seen regularly, cooking vessels would have been visible and important in both the daily lives of longhouse inhabitants and in hosting of guests (Parker 1983). Such vessels would have

carried decoration deemed appropriate by the potters and users of the pots. Johnson (1999) argues that because of the visibility of pots and the importance of food in Mohegan ritual and political negotiation, one of the important considerations for potters would have been the social information that the pot would carry. Pots would have had a similar role in the Wendat life and, in light of this, other explanations for the high proportions of frilled pottery on Wendat sites require consideration. Four possible explanations are:

1. Wenro refugees were present at the sites in question and did produce frilled pottery. Possibly they also came from a homeland in the Niagara frontier region. The reason for the inflated proportion of frilled pottery in Ontario compared with sites in the Niagara frontier is that refugee women chose to emphasize a distinctive aspect of their material culture to underscore their different identity.
2. Wendat potters produced the frilled pottery. Although archaeologists frequently associate Wendat women with the domain of the longhouse and the village, and men with the world beyond the village, at least one historical document indicates that Iroquoian women did travel (Bogaert 1988). Thus, Wendat women may have had opportunities to see the pottery styles of people living south of the Lake Ontario themselves. "Captive brides," although I do not consider them to be the producers of all frilled pottery in Huronia, may also have showed or described to Wendat women the styles of their pots.
3. A group of people not documented in the *Jesuit Relations* joined the Wendat sometime before 1634, bringing with them their pottery decoration. Possibly these new designs were observed and replicated by Wendat potters.
4. Frilling, along with other forms of elaboration in decoration, had an indigenous Wendat origin, possibly inspired by the different material culture of Europeans with whom they interacted. This explanation requires significant communication amongst groups in the Northeast.

If we allow that Wendat women produced frilled pottery, we must consider why they might have done so. Iroquoian women had, and have today, a significant role in political life (Trigger 1990). Frilling and notching is widespread in the Northeast in the early to mid-seventeenth century, being known from sites of the Susquehannock (Kent 1980), Mohegan-Pequot, Narragansett and Wampanoag (Goodby 1998; Lizee 1995), and Haudenosaunee (MacNeish 1952). Geographically, the closest makers of such pottery are the Haudenosaunee, specifically the Seneca and Cayuga, people with whom the Wendat were warring in the seventeenth century. While frilled pottery does not, in MacNeish's (1952: 52) opinion, have predecessors in Cayuga territory and thus its appearance there may be coeval with the appearance in Huronia, other pottery with basal collar modification does. Why, then, might Wendat women have made pots in the style of their enemies?

Goodby (1998) examines a similar issue in the Mohegan-Pequot, Narragansett and Wampanoag tribal areas in present-day New England. Like the Iroquoian-speaking groups in Ontario and New York state, these three groups spoke closely related languages and followed the same subsistence strategy (Goodby 1998:163). As a result of colonization during the seventeenth century, relations among these three groups were tense and marked by war and murder (Goodby 1998:164-165). At the same time, however, social ties between the members of the three groups persisted. Goodby's (1998: 168-175) analysis of ceramics from Narragansett and Wampanoag sites showed that they did not differ stylistically or technologically. The formation of tribal boundaries in New England occurs at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Goodby

1998). In Ontario, archaeologists have tended to extend the tribal designations known from seventeenth century ethnohistoric writing (Wendat, Attiwandaronk) backward to the fifteenth century. However, archaeologists now acknowledge that these confederacies may be relatively recent political groupings (Ferris and Spence 1995:115).

Goodby (1998:76) proposes, with respect to the Narragansett and Wampanoag, that:

...there was an important debate ongoing during the seventeenth century about the nature of relations between native peoples... [C]eramic style was used by women in a debate over the unity among native peoples...arguing through their expressions of unity in ceramic design that unity among native peoples was a desired social end.

Heidenreich (1990:489) points out that a recurring theme in the Iroquois wars was the unification of all Iroquoian-speaking people into one nation. The possibility that Wendat women made frilled pottery (as well as high collared pots with triangular plat motifs) as an expression of pan-Iroquoian or pan-aboriginal identity and unity deserves further exploration, given both the outstanding problems with the Wenro refugee hypothesis listed above and the fact that this hypothesis treats Iroquoian women as active manipulators of material culture. Earlier examination of the frilling at BeGx-25 showed that there is a great deal of variation in the method of producing the frill (Hawkins 2001: 22-23), such as one would expect if potters were experimenting with methods, or production was in the hands of a number of individuals, or both.

Methods

Work by Martelle (2002) suggests that it may be possible to identify individual Wendat potters. Thus, with a reasonably large ceramic collection, we may be able to determine whether potters who made vessels with more typical Wendat decoration (collared and collarless vessels with oblique stamping and incising on the upper rim and lip) also made frilled pottery.

Hill (1977) established the theoretical and methodological basis for this type of analysis by

demonstrating that participants in experiments consistently varied in how they applied decoration that they were asked to copy. Further, the work of these individuals could be sorted correctly using statistical analysis of a series of ratio scale measurements. Hill (1977), Martelle (2002), and Van Keuren (1994), among others, focus on variables of painted and incised or stamped decorative motifs to isolate individual microstyles. Such analyses employ small differences in the nature of the motifs and their application, including the order of application of different elements. In pots with little or no decoration, variables related to forming of the vessel have been applied (Espenshade and Kennedy 2002:230). These include the method of forming the pot, shape of the foot, and the method of producing the lip.

Such researchers often equate clusters of similar artifacts with individual artisans, as I do below. There are other explanations for similarity; for example, in social contexts that prioritize conformity we would expect variation between individuals to be slight. At the same time, this analysis does not attempt to group all of the materials that a person might produce because it is likely that stylistic micro-variation could be affected by a range of factors: age, illness, weather, paste conditions, exhaustion, and even time of day. For this reason, I attempt to isolate "analytical individuals," who I assume represent individuals or socially close individuals. The possibility remains that different clusters may include objects crafted by the same person at different times (e.g., Potter A may have produced pots in Clusters 1 and 3); however, for the purposes of this analysis this possibility is set aside. Although ethnoarchaeological investigation could provide insight on the range of variability in the work of a single artisan, cross-cultural variation is likely to be great.

I undertook preliminary analysis using material from the Leonard site, and this entailed measurement of a series of nominal, ordinal and ratio scale variables that were subsequently analysed statistically. The results were less than satisfactory, likely because of the small collection used: resultant grouped sherds, when directly compared, included many dissimilar ones.

The second analysis proceeded in a more intuitive fashion. I used the larger BeGx-25 collection because there is a greater probability that the collection contains more than one pot produced by an individual potter. In addition, I incorporated into the analysis variables related to the method of manufacture of the frill. Given my earlier unsatisfactory results, the analysis proceeded in several steps in order to allow me to check that the selected variables clustered pots into groups of like objects.

The stages of analysis are represented in the flow chart shown in Figure 3, which makes reference to other figures and tables. A few points bear discussion. The analytical pot is the basis of analysis. Size, paste characteristics, shape of the rim, and decoration all contributed to grouping of sherds into pots. A large number of sherds from the BeGx-25 collection were not part of this analysis because its goal was to determine if the microstyles of frilled pots are the same as the microstyles of plain pots. Most decorated frilled pots are decorated with a simple design of oblique incisions or stamps on the collar; thus, only plain pots with the same type of decoration are part of this analysis.

Analytical Results

The analysed portion of the BeGx-25 collection comprises 203 analytical pots, of which 36 pots are “plain frilled pots,” 25 are decorated frilled

pots, 31 are Sidey Notched, and 111 are Huron/Lawson Incised pots. Plain frilled pots are grouped into 13 “tentative microstyles,” listed in Table 1, and an example is shown in Figure 4. Where multiple pots are grouped into a tentative microstyle, size is a major distinguishing factor.

Measurements to determine if pots in tentative microstyles are also grouped statistically are shown in Table 2. To avoid clustering based only on size, I calculated and compared proportions. Two variables that are particularly useful for clustering are the angle of the centre of the notch and the ratio of frill width to notch width (Figure 5). Hierarchical cluster analysis based on angle of notch, frill width/notch width, lip thickness/collar base thickness and frill spacing/collar base thickness resulted in clusters of pots that in some cases correspond with the microstyles, but in other cases pots fall into larger groups that incorporate several microstyles (Figure 6).

Inclusion of decorated frilled pots into tentative microstyles defined for plain frilled pots (Table 3) resulted in the addition of decorated pots to only a few of the existing microstyles (Microstyles 4a and 6a with microstyles 4 and 6). Further, the grouping of decorated frilled pots resulted in a large number of microstyles (15) for the number of pots (25) (Figure 7). A number of them are clearly unique, and were excluded from further analyses.

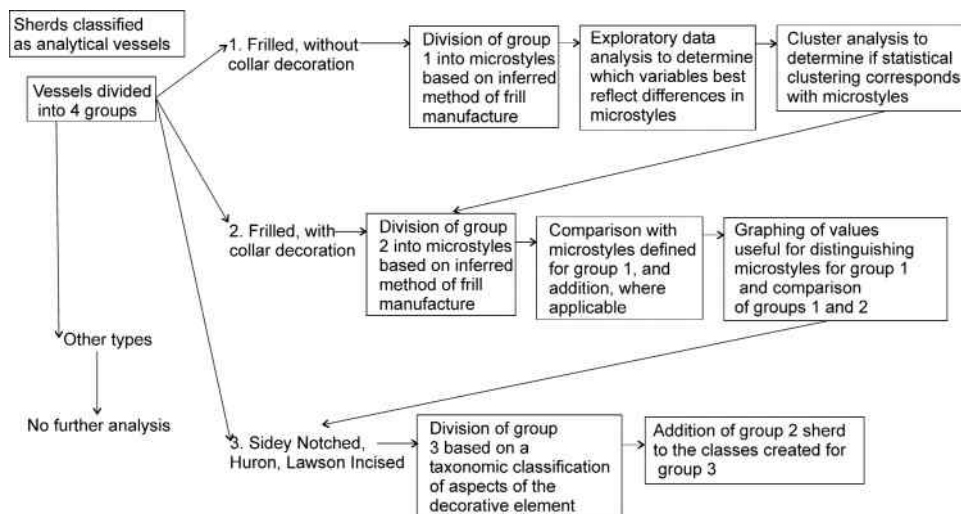
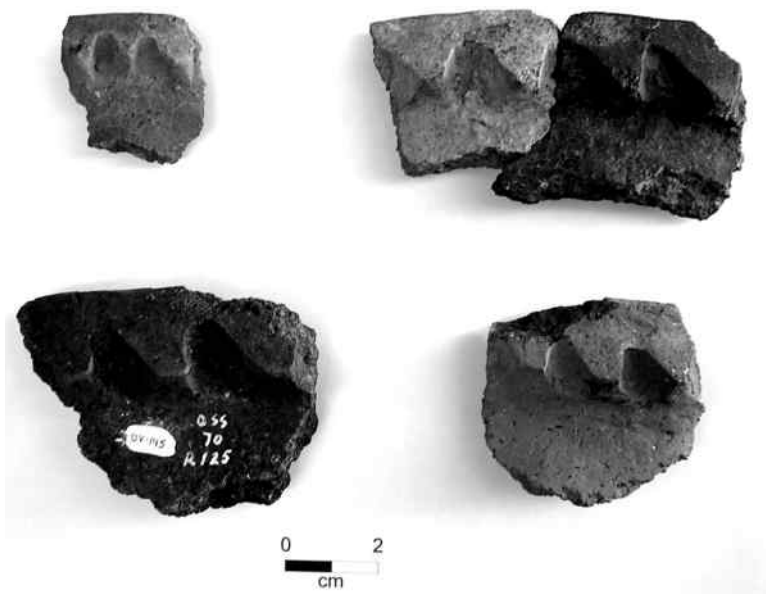


Figure 3. A schematic description of the analysis procedure.

Table 1. *Tentative microstyle assignments for undecorated frilled pots from Ossossané.*

| Microstyle No. | Method of Frilling | No. of Pots |
|----------------|--|-------------|
| 1 | Thickening of collar and subsequent cutting out of clay | 3 |
| 2 | Impressed U-shaped notch | 5 |
| 3 | Impressed notch followed by modelling | 1 |
| 4 | Modelled | 2 |
| 5 | Clay cut out of thickened collar in a wave shape | 5 |
| 6 | Thickened collar notched by pushing clay to right and left | 4 |
| 7 | Impressed U-shaped notch | 1 |
| 8 | Impressed V-shaped notch angled to the left | 5 |
| 9 | Modelled, widely spaced | 1 |
| 10 | Impressed V-shaped notch, angled to the right | 1 |
| 11 | Impressed U-shaped notch, angled to the right | 1 |
| 12 | Impressed V-shaped notch, angled to the right | 1 |
| 13 | Impressed V-shaped notch, vertical | 3 |

**Figure 4.** *Tentative microstyle 5 (clay cut out of thickened collar in a wave shape).***Table 2.** *Variables measured on frilled pots (decorated and undecorated).*

| Primary Variables of Shape Measured on Frilled Pots | Derived Variables |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Frill spacing | Frill width/Notch width |
| Width of frill | Frill spacing/Collar base thickness. |
| Width of space | |
| Angle of right side of frill at the top | |
| Angle of left side of frill at the top | |
| Angle of the notch | |
| Height of frill | |
| Primary Variables of Shape Measured on All Pots | Derived Variables |
| Lip thickness | Lip thickness/Collar base thickness |
| Collar base thickness | |
| Neck thickness | |
| Collar height | |
| Angle of lip to interior wall | |

Because it is not possible to link plain and decorated basally modified pots based on the method of frill production, before continuing, I wanted to be

sure that my analysis had not been affected by the presence of decoration. I plotted the notch angle vs. frill spacing as I did with the plain pots. As with

Figure 5. Scatterplot showing the relationship between the angle of the notch and the frill width to notch width ratio on frilled undecorated pots. Numbers indicate the tentative microstyle each pot was assigned to (see Table 1). 6a is a pot with decoration on the collar that was tentatively associated with microstyle 6. Microstyles 4, 9 and 11 are not represented because the variables in question could not be measured on those pots or the piece was too small for measurement.

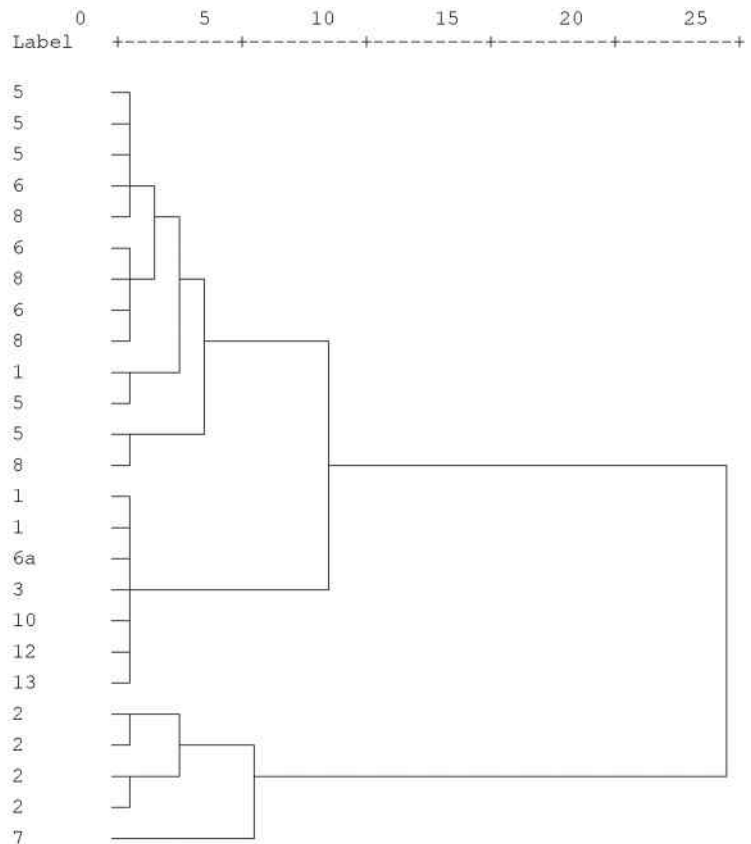
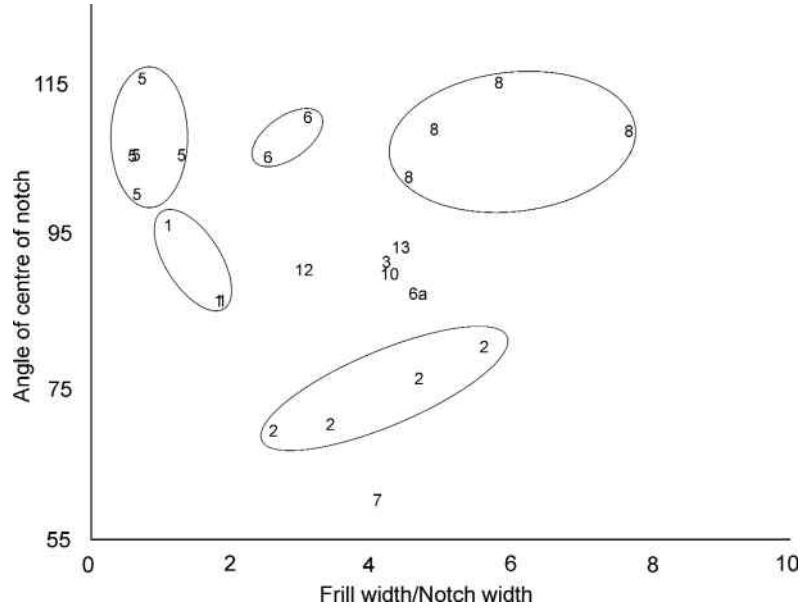
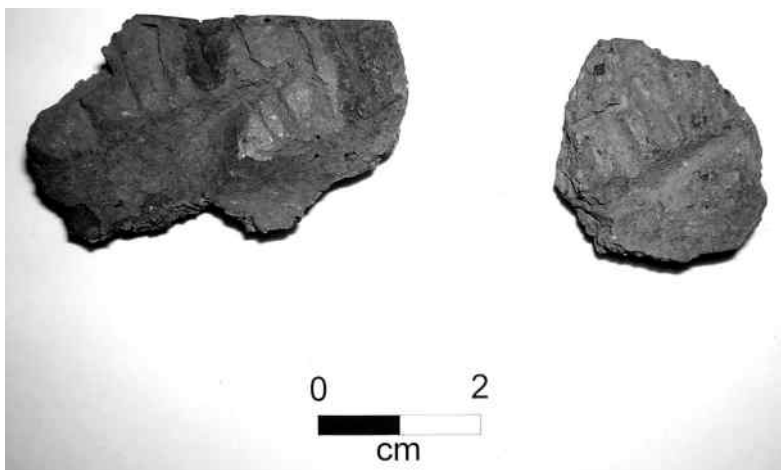


Figure 6. Dendrogram showing the results of a cluster analysis of vessels grouped into tentative microstyles.

Table 3. *Tentative microstyle assignments for frilled decorated pots from Ossossané.*

| Microstyle No. | Method of Basal Collar Modification | No. of Pots |
|----------------|--|-------------|
| 14 | Impressed V-shaped notch, vertical angle on collar with only slight thickening at the base of the collar | 1 |
| 15 | Modelling or appliqué of frill angled to the extreme right | 2 |
| 16 | Modelled and pulled down | 2 |
| 17 | Substantial thickening of the collar base and notching | 2 |
| 18 | Modelled or appliqué and pushing of frills to the right | 4 |
| 19 | Modelling and pulling of frills forward | 1 |
| 20 | U-shaped notching of a thickened lip | 1 |
| 21 | Cutting away of triangular notch | 2 |
| 22 | Extreme thickening of the lip and V-shaped notching | 1 |
| 23 | Relatively shallow diagonal gash at low angle | 4 |
| 24 | Impressed V-shaped notch and pulling of clay downwards on right side | 1 |
| 25 | Appliquéd and modelled, pulled down | 1 |
| 26 | Pulled over or appliquéd thickened collar with V-shaped notches angled right | 1 |
| 27 | Shallow impressed U-shaped notch at slight left angle | 1 |
| 28 | Incised U-shaped notch at collar base angled right | 1 |

Figure 7. *Tentative microstyle 23 (relatively shallow diagonal gash at low angle).*

the plain collared pots, these variables grouped some of the pots in the same clusters as the method of production (Figure 8). However, combining decorated and undecorated frilled pottery resulted in less than satisfactory results for each of two cluster analyses performed.

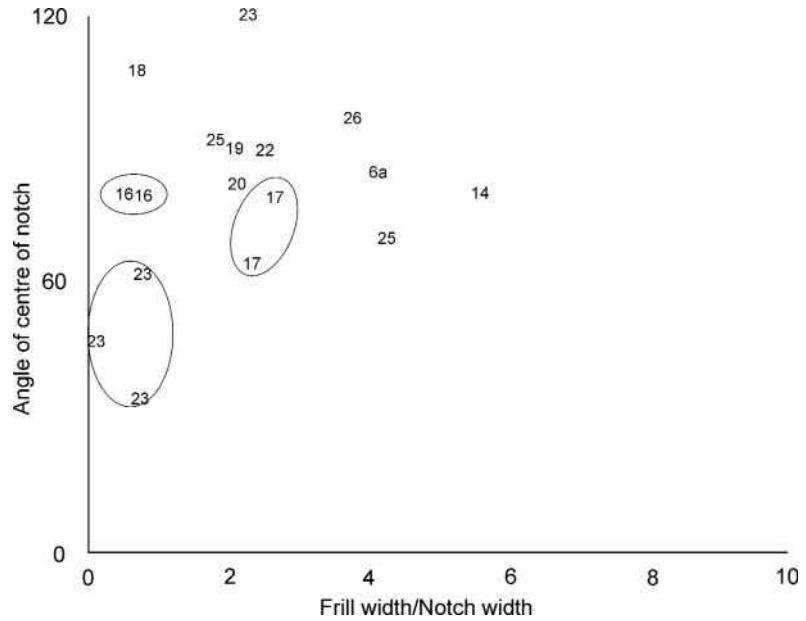
At least two explanations exist for the lack of overlap between the plain and decorated frilled pots, if one accepts that the method of frilling is a reasonable way to distinguish potters: (1) something in the application of decoration required or resulted in different methods of frilling; (2) different potters produced these two groups of pots. I prefer the second hypothesis because it is difficult to see how pots such as those shown in Figure 4 could not have been decorated by stamping or incising.

The next step in the analysis entailed attempting to determine whether frilled pots grouped with

typical pots. This proved challenging because the variables used to group frilled pots are related to the shape and method of production of the frill. Further, it is likely that variables of collar shape (e.g., lip orientation, lip shape and interior profile) would differ because of the presence of frills. The next analytical steps entailed:

1. Exclusion of pots without decoration because after preliminary examination there appeared to be no decorative attributes shared by plain frilled and non-frilled pots. A detailed paste analysis could be useful in future analysis;
2. Division of pots without frilling into two groups: those with stamped decoration and those with trailed/incised decoration;

Figure 8. Scatterplot showing the relationship between the angle of the notch and the frill width to notch width ratio on frilled decorated pots. Numbers indicate the tentative microstyle to which each pot was assigned (see Table 3).



3. Examination of each group for variation and development of a taxonomic classification for the pots (Table 4). The classes may include pots made by more than one potter, but the effort in classification was to continue subdividing groups until the remaining pots formed a homogeneous group in style of decoration, excluding attributes of size.
4. Classification of frilled pots using this system. Where they did not fit into a

pre-existing class, this was noted. Where they did fit into a pre-existing class, the objects were compared to determine whether similarities did exist, and whether other variables, not considered in the classification, had the same values.

Pots decorated by stamping are a minority of both the standard Wendat pots and the frilled pots. Stamped pots included those with symmetrical V-shaped grooves and those with asymmetrical

Table 4. Example of the taxonomic classification of decorative microvariation.

| Attributes of Tool, Technique and Motif | Typical Pots | Frilled Pots |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Stamped decoration | | |
| V-shaped tool | | |
| Symmetrical V groove | | |
| Groove wide at top and tapered at bottom | yes | |
| Groove approximately same width throughout | yes | |
| Tool flat | | |
| Groove deep | yes | 3 |
| Medium depth groove | no | 1 |
| Groove shallow | yes | |
| Tool slightly curved | yes | |
| Asymmetrical V groove angled right | | |
| Shallow (smoothed over) yes | | |
| Medium groove | yes | |
| Tool flat | yes | 1 (d) |
| Tool curved | yes | |
| Deep groove | yes | |
| Asymmetrical V groove angled left | 1 (d) | |

grooves. Four pots with basal collar modification, assigned to two microstyles, were decorated by stamping to produce a V-shaped symmetrical groove. Three of them fall within a class defined for unfrilled pottery (Figure 9). These pots share the attribute of the lip being pushed down after stamping with three non-frilled members of this class.

Incised and trailed pots showed considerable variation in the depth of the groove, width of the groove, whether attention had been paid to cleaning the clay that is pushed up as a result of incising, the shape of the tool, the regularity in the spacing of the obliques and the placement of the obliques on the collar. Some frilled pots bore similarities to pots without frilling, but others did not. In one case, the lack of similarity between the two groups may arise from the difference in the morphology of the decorated piece. The lines on some of the frilled pots are broken, whereas this was not observed on non-frilled pots.

Discussion of Analytical Results

The frilled pots from BeGx-25 fall into two broad groups: those with decoration on the collar and those without. The methods of producing frills or barbs differ between these two groups. Two explanations for this are (1) different potters were responsible for production of the different groups, and (2) the method of

frilling appropriate for decorated pots was considered to be different than the method of frilling appropriate for undecorated pots. At this time, it is not possible to suggest which explanation is more likely.

Within each of these two general groups, there are sets of pots that are similar in terms of method of production and proportions of the upper rim. Each set may be the product of an individual potter (or analytical individual). This suggests that there were many women producing frilled pottery at Ossossané.

Comparison of decorated frilled pots and typical pots showed that there are similarities in the application of collar decoration that could indicate potters were producing or decorating both frilled and plain pots. Interestingly, pots assigned to different microstyles on the basis of frill production method tended to group together when collar decoration was considered. Was more than one person involved in the production and decoration of a single pot?

One of the striking aspects of the BeGx-25 assemblage is the great variation in the way that frilling was accomplished. There are at least two possible explanations for this, and they are not mutually exclusive. A number of different potters were producing frilled pots, or potters were experimenting with frilling, or both. Such experimentation may have occurred if Wendat potters were attempting to replicate pot styles that they were unfamiliar with. Alternatively, if mainly

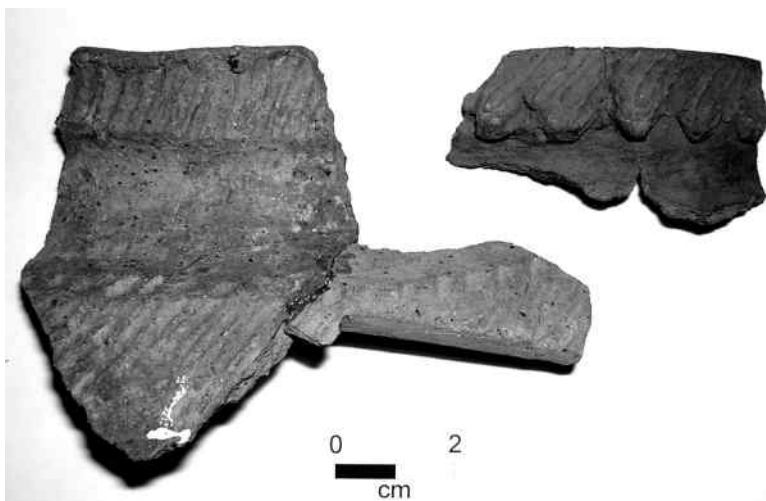


Figure 9. Frilled decorated pot with typical decorated pot of the same decorative class (see Table 4).

inexperienced potters produced pots found on mid-seventeenth century Wendat sites, as suggested by Martelle (this volume), either Wenro or Wendat potters may have been attempting to determine how to frill a pot. While there is only one good example of a pot with exfoliated frills in the BeGx-25 assemblage, the series of pots that appear to have been decorated by a single person but have frills produced in different ways supports experimentation as an explanation.

In sum, it would appear that many potters frilled pots, that potters frilled them in different ways and that the decorators of frilled pots were also the decorators of plain pots. How can this help us to better evaluate the Wenro refugee hypothesis?

Contemporary and Past Refugees

One of the problematic areas in Ridley's identification of the makers of frilled pottery as Wenro refugees is that it lacks any consideration of what it means to be a refugee, how refugees understand their identity, and the use of material culture to underscore or bury identity. The twentieth century saw unprecedented numbers of people undertake forced migration, and so we have numerous examples of studies of uprooted people that may help us to understand the seventeenth century Wenro and evaluate the hypothesis they were the producers of the "strange Seneca-like pottery."

Although refugees are traditionally defined as people who are forced to flee from their home country, or who live outside its boundaries and cannot return to it for fear of persecution (Ager 1999:1; Black 2001:63), forced migration also occurs among people who do not live in state societies. People who migrate within national boundaries because of political or ethnic conflict, known as "Internally Displaced Persons" (IDPs), may provide better analogies for the seventeenth century Wenro. Frequently, IDPs "self-settle," a pattern that "seems especially prevalent where there are close kinship ties between the refugee group and the local population" (Ager 1999:9).

The refugee experience is often discussed in terms of a number of phases, each accompanied

by different stresses: pre-flight, flight, temporary settlement, and resettlement or repatriation (Ager 1999:3-11). Of these phases, temporary settlement and (re)settlement are relevant to this study. One of the stresses related to settlement arises from the integration of one group with another, which Shanmugaratnam et al. (2003) describe as a "social interface situation:"

...a critical point of intersection between different life worlds or domains where discontinuities exist based on discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power. More concretely, they characterise social situations wherein the relationships between actors become oriented around the problem of devising ways of 'bridging,' accommodating, or contesting each others' different social and cognitive worlds" (Long 2000:198) (quoted in Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003:12).

In the case of the Wenro, we may tentatively suggest that their values and interests may have been broadly similar to those of their hosts. They would, however, have been faced with issues of knowledge and power so that even if there were kin ties between the Wenro and Wendat, it is likely that there would have been points of social difference.

Malkki (1992) argues that the sedentary world has pathologized displacement, having naturalized attachment to a particular territory. In light of the fact that seventeenth century Iroquoian peoples could be considered semi-mobile, it is possible that the stresses that the Wenro would have faced were mainly related to social difficulties associated with integration, rather than separation from a specific territory. New to Huronia, however, they would still have encountered problems of arising from lack of knowledge of local climate and resources.

Chan and Loveridge (1987), reporting on the refugee experience in Hong Kong, write that "bewildered and isolated in his confusion...the refugee's first inclination is to preserve what remains of his identity by burying it." Is this necessarily the case? Are there circumstances in which the refugee does the opposite, actively

asserting her identity? The degree to which the migrant population wishes to, or is under pressure to assimilate with the host population likely determines how the refugee presents her or his identity. The outcome differs depending on whether integration is an acceptable option to both the host and migrant. Ethiopian Jews who migrated to Israel are an example of migrants who wished to identify themselves with their hosts. To this end, symbolic behaviour associated with Judaism was altered (Edelstein 2002). The incidence of tattooing, claimed to be performed for medicinal purposes and common among Christian Ethiopians, is much less common among Ethiopian Jews in Israel than in Ethiopia (Edelstein 2002:159-160). The reasons for changes in material culture may be complex: the coffee ceremony is an important part of Ethiopian culture but presents a dilemma to Ethiopian Jews in Israel because it cannot be performed on Shabbat (Edelstein 2002:161). Although this ceremony is an integral part of Ethiopian identity, the desire to conform to Judaic laws appears to be greater.

A second example from Israel illustrates how maintaining a different identity can be acceptable for both the host and the migrant. While questions may arise about the authenticity of Ethiopian Jews, the same is not true for Karaite Jews, who migrated to Israel mainly from Cairo. In this case, the minority migrant population steadfastly defended their community from pressure to conform to practices that could dilute their identity, such as intermarriage with Rabbinic Jews (Hirshberg 1989).

In some cases, completely new forms of material culture have been invented as a result of involuntary migration. An excellent example of this can be found among the Hmong, refugees from Laos living in Thailand (Conquergood 1992). Prior to migration, textiles produced by Hmong had geometric motifs. A few years after camps were established, Hmong began producing story cloths, many of which documented their journey. The precise history of these cloths is unknown, but Conquergood (1992:209) speculates that books used for teaching English as a second language served as the inspiration. In this

context, the invention of a new form of expression is linked to the economic conditions of camp life – refugees found that the story clothes sold well, thus providing them currency when they did not have access to wage labour outside the camp.

These several examples show that the way that refugees treat material culture after settlement, or temporary settlement, is dependent upon a number of factors, including economic ones, but also, importantly, the relationship between the host and refugee.

The Wenro appear to constitute an example of self-settling; friendly relations between the Wendat and Wenro are suggested by the reference to Wendat having travelled to provide assistance in the move. The depopulation that resulted from disease at this time likely increased the desire of the Wendat to include the Wenro in the confederacy. The host population was possibly welcoming and wished to make the move as easy as possible for the migrant group. This may explain the description of the welcoming of the Wenro: “the best places in the cabins were given to them, the granaries or chests of corn were opened and they were given liberty to dispose of them as if they were their own.” (Thwaites 1896-1901:17:29). In light of this, I would suggest that there is no reason why the Wenro should try to demonstrate that they were authentically “Wendat” in fact it is clear that they are not. Indeed, it is interesting to note that even 30 years after the dispersal, a man still identified himself as Wenro (Thwaites 1896-1901:57:197).

Conclusions

How does this analysis and consideration of refugee manipulation of material culture help us to evaluate Ridley’s Wenro refugee hypothesis? As outlined in earlier works, and confirmed by this analysis, the frilled pottery from BeGx-25 is very likely to have been produced by a number of people. This is consistent with an immigration of potters but could also be explained by Wendat potters adopting the style in a widespread fashion. Those who favour the idea of an immigrant group joining the Wendat must consider that the

Wenro are one possible group, but there are others. In light of the issues of dating and the lack of a Wenro homeland in the Niagara frontier area, it is possible that a different group, such as the Susquehannock (Burse, personal communication 2005), introduced frilling.

The production of both frilled pots and pots with typical Wendat decoration by the same group of people could simply indicate that refugees, wherever they may be from, also produced pots similar to Lawson Incised or Huron Incised types as part of their suite of pottery. However, the possibility that there was interplay between potters from different traditions is hinted at and makes sense in terms of what we know about how refugees use material culture. Frilled decorated pots fall into a large number of microstyles for the number of pots in the assemblage, compared with frilled pots without decoration. This could be a matter of sampling, but it may also reflect the practice of Wendat potters experimenting with decorations introduced by newcomers. Such playing with new styles could be one way of bridging the gap between host and guest, particularly when incorporation of the new group is desirable, and when it is not necessary for the incoming group to bury its identity.

It is a truism to state that relations among Iroquoian groups in the seventeenth century were complex. To try to gain insight into these relations, future studies need to investigate the entire suite of material culture from sites contemporary with and earlier than BeGx-25. Ceramic analysis provides us with one small window; analysis of other artifact classes and more precise dating are necessary before we can state with any certainty that particular artifact types are representative of refugees or that they constitute innovation or experimentation by Wendat people themselves.

Acknowledgements. Martha Latta introduced me to contact period Wendat archaeology, to ceramic analysis and to Hill's work on individual variation in application of decorative motifs. I thank Pat Reed and Mima Kapches for organizing the session in honour of Marti at the OAS-ESAF symposium. I thank Peter Ramsden and Jeff Bursey for their thoughtful reviews of an earlier version of this paper. The Laurentian University Research Fund

provided funding for this research. I thank Jamie Hunter and the Huronia Museum for the loan of the Ossossané and Edwards material, Susan Jamieson and the Anthropology Department at Trent University for the loan of the Leonard Site artifacts, and Aubrey Cannon and Meghan Burchell of McMaster University for allowing me to examine the Thorold material. Holly Martelle's work on individual variation in decoration of Wendat pots inspired me, but clearly any mistakes that I have made in attempting such an analysis are my own. Meghan McMillan and Holly Nicholls assisted with the analysis. Kristin Thor assisted with background research on the timing on different occupations of Ossossané. Andrew Stewart assisted with production of Figure 1.

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Cet article révisé les explications qui ont justifié la présence d'une grande quantité de poteries ondulées (ondulations apparaissant sous le parement) dans certains sites wendat du XVIIe siècle. On considère les raisons pour lesquelles les explications classique faisant appel à des réfugiés wenro sont problématiques. On délimite l'analyse des microstyles décoratifs dans le but de déterminer si les vases, avec ou sans ondulations, provenant de BeGx-25 (identifié dans la littérature comme le village Ossossané), ont été décorés par les mêmes potiers. On examine les liens entre les migrations forcées et la culture matérielle et on propose une deuxième explication pour justifier la présence de la poterie ondulée. On considère les résultats de cette analyse à la lumière de ce qu'on connaît des manipulations de la culture matérielle de la part des réfugiés contemporains.

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