Beyond the Sacred: Temagami Area Rock Art and Indigenous Routes

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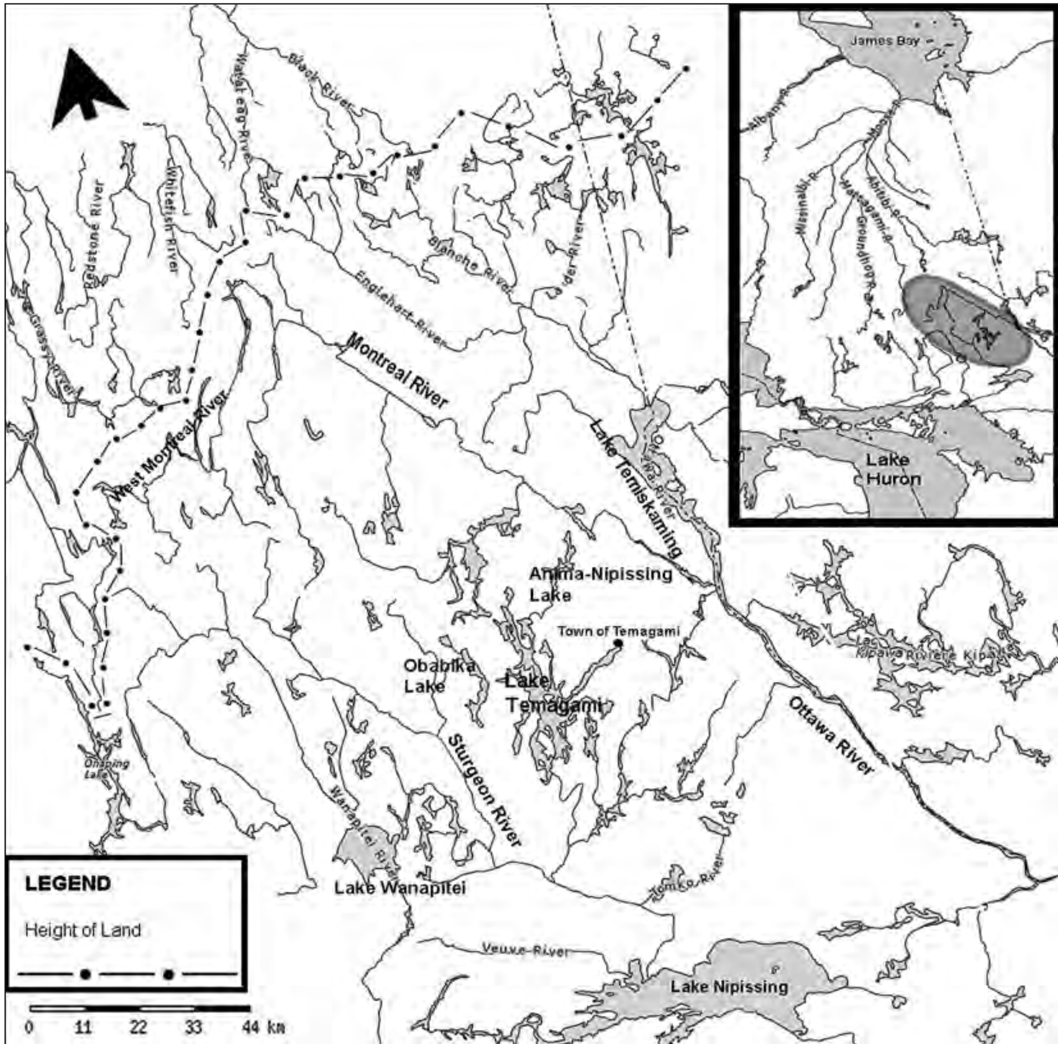
The rock art of the Temagami area in northeastern Ontario represents one of the largest concentrations of this form of visual expression on the Canadian Shield. Created by Algonquian-speaking peoples, it is an inextricable part of their cultural landscape. An analysis of the distribution of 40 pictograph sites in relation to traditional routes known as nastawgan has revealed that an overwhelming majority are located on these routes, as well as near narrows, portages, or route intersections. Their location seems to point to their role in the navigation of the landscape. It is argued that rock art acted as a wayfinding landmark; as a marker of places linked to travel rituals; and, ultimately, as a sign of human occupation in the landscape. The tangible and intangible resources within which rock art is steeped demonstrate the relationships that exist among people, places, and the cultural landscape, and they point to the importance of this form of visual expression.

Introduction

The boreal forests of the Canadian Shield are interspersed with places where pictographs have been painted with red ochre. Pictographs, located most often on vertical cliffs along lakes and rivers, are attributed to Algonquian-speaking peoples and attest, along with petroglyphs, petroforms, and lichen glyphs, to a tradition that is at least 2000 years old (Aubert et al. 2004; Rajnovich 1994:41). The motifs depicted include animals; anthropomorphs; mythological beings; items of material culture; and the so-called abstractions, such as short strokes identified as tally marks, crosses, or indeterminate figures. Ethnohistorical studies and ethnographic research among the Cree and Ojibwa people, in particular, has uncovered the sacred nature of this form of visual expression. The religious and ritual character has taken a prominent place in the interpretation of the images, while the sites were considered as components of the sacred landscapes of Indigenous people. However, rock art may have also been implicated in the social facet of the cultural landscape of Algonquian-speaking peoples, structuring social organization and interaction in the landscape. It may have served as a boundary, resource, or pathway marker. Therefore, it may have conveyed information that transcends the religious dimension of rock art and of the landscape.

This paper discusses the rock art of the Temagami area in northeastern Ontario in relation to the traditional pathways of the area known as nastawgan (Macdonald 1985a). The Temagami area, located in northeastern Ontario (Figure 1), is home to the Teme-Augama Anishnabai, whose ancestors have developed and maintained over millennia a sophisticated system of traditional pathways. These *nastawgan* consisted of water routes that were often travelled all year round in canoes and during winter using snowshoes and toboggans. There also existed special winter trails, known as *Bon-ka-nah*, which were constructed on land in order to avoid unsafe ice and open water. Portages, which circumvented obstacles such as falls or heights of land between drainage basins, were known as *Onigum*. In addition, overland foot trails existed that were used throughout the year; however these have not been well documented in the Temagami area (Pollock 1992:51-52). Though

Figure 1. *Temagami area. Map based on http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/index.html.*



such diverse pathways once crisscrossed all of the Canadian Shield, they have been especially well preserved and documented in Temagami (Macdonald 1985a, 1985b). The Temagami area also represents one of the largest concentrations of rock art in Ontario and the most extensive concentration of rock art in northeastern Ontario.[1] An examination of the distribution of 40 sites located on, among others, Lakes Temagami, Anima Nipissing, and Obabika, has revealed that the majority are located on traditional pathways, at places such as narrows or near portages or route intersections (Table 1). All these characteristics may have rendered these rock art sites useful in the navigation of the landscape.

This paper begins with a brief overview of rock art research in the Canadian Shield. This is followed by a theoretical discussion of the concepts of cultural landscape and pathways, which emphasize the symbolic, social, and

[1] The greatest concentration of rock art occurs in northwestern Ontario in Quetico Provincial Park and Lake of the Woods areas and in the Berens River region of Ontario and Manitoba (see Rajnovich 1994:Figure 1).

Table 1. *Pictograph sites in n'Daki Menan in relation to nastawgan.*

Site Name	**Borden No.**	**Location**	**Nastawgan**							
			Water route	Winter trail		Portage		Route Narrows		Route inter-section
				on	near	on	near	on	near	
Baie Jeanne Pictograph	CeHa-1	Lake Temagami	X					X		X
Bear Island Pictographs	CfHa-3	Lake Temagami	X							X
Little Bear Pictograph	CfHa-5	Lake Temagami	X							X
Lake Temagami Pictograph	CfHa-6	Lake Temagami	X					X		
Portage Bay 1 Pictograph	CfHa-7	Lake Temagami	X					X		X
Portage Bay 2 Pictograph	CfHa-8	Lake Temagami	X					X		X
Sharp Rock Inlet Pictograph	CgHa-3	Lake Temagami	X						X	X
North Arm Pictograph 1	CgHa-8	Lake Temagami	X							
North Arm Pictograph 2	CgHa-9	Lake Temagami	X							
Sealrock Point Pictograph	CgHa-10	Lake Temagami	X						X	X
Northwest Arm Pictograph	CgHa-19	Lake Temagami	X					X		
Doorstep Pictograph	CgHa-20	Lake Temagami	?					X		
Low Rock Pictograph	CgHa-21	Lake Temagami	X					X		
Granny Bay Pictograph	CgHa-22	Lake Temagami	X							X
Deer Island Pictograph	CgHa-23	Lake Temagami	X		X			X		X
Turtleshell Pictograph	CgHa-25	Lake Temagami	X						X	
Trout Cliff Pictograph	CgHa-27	Lake Temagami	X							X
Shoal Bay Pictograph	CgHa-28	Lake Temagami	?					X		
Racoon Bay 1 Pictograph	CgHa-29	Lake Temagami	X		X				X	X
Racoon Bay 2 Pictograph	CgHa-30	Lake Temagami	X		X				X	X
Mathias	CgHa-38	Lake Temagami								
Obabika Inlet 3	CgHa-41	Lake Temagami	X					X		X
Obabika Lake Pictograph	CgHb-1	Obabika Lake	X							X
Mystery Rock Pictograph	CgHb-3	Obabika Lake	X							X
Devil's Ledge Pictograph	CgHb-4	Obabika Lake	X							X
Shining Rock Pictograph	CgHb-5	Obabika Lake	X							X
Obabika Inlet 2 Pictograph	CgHb-6	Obabika Lake	X		X		X	X		X
North Rock Pictograph	CgHb-11	Obabika Lake	X							X
Lake 1895 Pictograph	CgHd-1	Lake 1895	X				X			X
Anima-Nipissing Pictograph	ChGx-1	Anima Nip Lake	X							X
Shady Grove	ChGx-2	Anima Nip Lake	X		X				X	
Whitewater Portage	ChGx-3	Anima Nip Lake	X				X	X		X
Greyrock	ChGx-4	Anima Nip Lake	X						X	X
Windy Arm	ChGx-23	Anima Nip Lake	X		X		X	X		X
Crow Rock Bay	ChGx-24	Anima Nip Lake	X				X			X
Diamond Lake	ChHb-1	Diamond Lake	X				X	X		X
Matabitchuan River	CgGv-1	Matabitchuan River	X				X			
Longpoint Lake 1	CkHd-1	Longpoint Lake	X							X
Longpoint Lake 2	CkHd-1	Longpoint Lake	X							
Wapus Creek Pictograph		Wapus Creek	X			X		X		
Total	40		37		6	1	7	15	7	26

experiential dimensions of human engagement with the world. Subsequently, it discusses the cultural landscapes of Algonquian-speaking peoples and the importance of routes, as well as the wayfinding strategies used to negotiate these water and land routes. Examples are provided that point to rock art's role in path negotiation. In the next section, the Temagami area and its rock art are discussed. It is argued that this form of visual expression participated in path negotiation, as a landmark; as a marker or ritual place linked to travel; and, ultimately, as a trace on a human pathway.

Rock Art Research in the Canadian Shield

Research on Canadian Shield rock art was initiated by Selwyn Dewdney in the 1950s. Since its inception, the quest for the meaning of the images has been of central concern, leading to the exploration of the symbolic and iconographic dimensions of the images. Ethnohistoric sources, such as *Midewiwin*[2] pictography and consultation with Indigenous people, were used to elucidate the meaning behind the imagery (e.g., Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Rajnovich 1994; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973). These investigations indicated that rock art was associated with puberty vision questing, as well as medicine men, who could enter the cliffs in order to visit and obtain medicine from the other-than-human persons known as *maymaygweshiwuk*. The latter were also credited with the creation of many rock art sites (e.g., Dewdney and Kidd 1967:13-14, 22; Jones 1981:69-77; Rajnovich 1994). Rock art images are usually perceived as sacred, and according to Dewdney and Kidd (1967:22), "[m]ost of the evidence suggests that the rock paintings represented dreams and were intended to enhance their efficacy." However, these images could also represent historical events (Laidlaw 1915:9; Schoolcraft 1851-1857:1:406-407,414), as well as envisioned future events (Jones 1979:87).

Rock art has also been interpreted through the prism of landscape archaeology, especially as an element in the wider sacred landscape. The placement of the images in the landscape points to sacred places, where the physical characteristics of the site carried a spiritual charge (e.g., Arsenault 2004; Conway 1993; Molyneaux 1980, 1983; Vastokas and Vastokas 1973). Many of these sacred places continue to be held in veneration, as attested by the offerings of tobacco and cloth deposited at these locations (e.g., Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Norder 2012a:397-398; Zawadzka 2008:107-108). However, rock art could have also played a role in the social component of the cultural landscape by structuring social organization and interaction. Rock art achieved this end by conveying information regarding not only sacred sites but also resource areas and aggregation points, all the while being placed on water travel routes (Norder 2003, 2012b; Norder and Carroll 2011). These investigations indicate that rock art participated actively in shaping people's engagement with each other, the other-than-human beings, and the landscape.

Cultural Landscapes and Paths

A people's perception of a cultural landscape is reflected in the ideas, attitudes, and practices toward places and paths. A landscape can simply be defined as a set of places connected by paths, inhabited and experienced by people (Ingold 2000:193). A cultural landscape encompasses the social, political, economic, and religious lives of a

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[2] The *Midewiwin* or the Grand Medicine Society is a curing society whose members engaged in the healing of people through the use of herbs and medicine bundles (Angel 2002; Hoffman 1891; Landes 1968). The *Midewiwin* was practiced by many Algonquian-speaking groups, especially by the Ojibwa where it was believed to have originated, though the Cree and the Algonquin people also practiced it (Rajnovich 1994:52; Skinner 1911:60-65, 152-157). The *Midewiwin* was responsible traditionally for preserving traditional lore: myths, legends and origin tales. Membership in the *Midewiwin* was limited and could only be obtained after a long and costly initiation process. Members were usually ranked into four to eight degrees depending on their level of instruction, power gained and completion of appropriate ceremonies (Densmore 2007:86-97; Hoffman 1891; Landes 1968). *Midewiwin* knowledge was recorded with pictographs on sacred birch bark scrolls whose interpretation was limited to the initiated (e.g., Dewdney 1975; Hoffman 1891).

given group. It is a landscape that is perceived through the prism of a culture and, in its turn, it shapes that culture and its people. It is the living embodiment of the collective memory of the people. This collective memory permeates the tangible elements—the fauna, vegetation, architecture—and the intangible elements—oral stories, toponyms, evanescent smells and sounds—of the landscape. It sustains the relationships among these elements and helps to make sense of the everyday lived -in world. Places in the landscape, whether natural or human -made, are imbued with symbolic potentialities, which are channelled through the tangibles and the intangibles. Places are in relation to each other, to humans, to spiritual entities, and to animals. People dwelling in the landscape relate to the landscape through places (and, hence, all that a place means), while the landscape as a totality allows for these relationships to emerge, coalesce, and take on a meaningful shape for the individual and for the group. The palimpsestic and cyclical characters of the landscape indicate that landscapes contain the grains of past, present, and future, which co-exist and wait to be revealed depending on the experiences of individuals (Bender 1993:1-2; Buggey 2000, Ingold 2000:189-208; Tilley 1996).

One way to weave the fabric of a landscape into a cohesive entity is through paths— whether real or imaginary—which, like arteries and veins, allow for the life of a landscape to continue. As Tilley (1994:31) states, it is "[i]n the process of movement [that] a landscape unfolds or unravels before an observer," and pathways allow for this unravelling. Pathways, whether riverine or terrestrial, human -made or animal -made, are important because they connect people with each other and with places. They structure movement in a landscape, whether it is habitual, occasional, or unusual. They render the landscape comprehensible as landscapes emerge from the memories and experiences of those who dwell therein (Golledge 2003:37-38; Ingold 2000:204; Kelly 2003:45). Movements along paths, whether for everyday or seasonal activities, journeys, pilgrimages, or migrations, allow people to learn their landscape and to develop bonds with it (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:61, 65-68). Paths are intimately linked with the experiential narrative of travel and the act of remembering, as previous experiences are invoked in the act of a current movement (Ingold 2000:147-148; Tilley 1994:30-31). Thanks to repeated movement along pathways and re-encountering of places, the latter would get stories attached to them and ingrain themselves in the collective memory of a people, becoming important vectors of symbolic meanings. Paths themselves, by virtue of experiences they engender, of actions they solicit, and of stories attached to them, could be envisioned as places (Tilley 1994:31- 32; Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:59).

Path management is indicative of the social and political organization of a people. Restricted or forbidden access, as well as free access onto a path (and thus its associated places), are all important in landscape cognition. Differential pathway uses also determine the experience of travel, as the objectives, seasonality, duration, and difficulty vary (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:61, 65-68). As much as paths shape movement and the experience of the landscape, they are also shaped by the beings that travel on them over time and maintain them. Places facilitate path integration and act as convergences of paths and, among mobile hunter-gatherers, are the primary loci on which landscape knowledge is based, because "landscapes are learned as a set of [connected] places" (Kelly 2003:45, 47-48). As Ingold (2000:204) declares, "[t]o reach a place, you need cross no boundary, but you must follow some kind of path. Thus there can be no places without paths, along which people arrive and depart; and no paths without places, that constitute their destinations and points of departure."

Algonquian Cultural Landscapes and Routes

The Anishinaabeg (Ojibwa, Algonquin, Odawa); Cree; and Innu people of the Canadian Shield inhabit cultural landscapes where the importance of places and paths derived from events, activities, and experiences is reflected in the descriptive toponyms and the oral stories safeguarded in the collective memory (e.g., Denton 2007; Zedeño

and Laluk 2008). The landscape is perceived as sacred and filled with other-than-human persons, who are often associated with particular levels of the multilayered universe and sometimes with specific places. According to the Recollet Brother Sagard (1939[1632]:171), who journeyed to Huronia in 1623, "[t]hey [Indigenous people] believe also that there are certain spirits which bear rule over one place, and others over another, some over rivers, others over journeying, trading, warfare, feasts and diseases, and many other matters. Sometimes they offer them tobacco and make some kind of prayer and ritual observance to obtain from them what they desire." Thunderbirds that create lightning and thunder are associated with the Upperworld and the mountains, which are believed to be their abodes (e.g., Jenness 1935:34-38; Smith 1995:80-81). Underwater creatures, such as *Mishipeshu*, are associated with lakes, rapids, falls, and portages (Dewdney Collection, 1960-1966; Rogers 1962:D24, D42). Lake Superior is especially associated with *Mishipeshu* (e.g., Smith 1995). The *maymaygwayshiwuk*, who are linked with rock art, are believed to be human-looking, hairy dwarfs who inhabit rocky cliffs on lakes (e.g., Hallowell 1992:64; Jenness 1935:42).

Places in the landscape were formed in the course of actions of other-than-human persons. For example, the Ojibwa culture hero *Nanabush* is credited with the creation of Lake Superior, and the Great Beaver, with the creation of "lake Nipissing; and all the rapids or currents which are found in the great river of the Outaways" (de Charlevoix 1923[1761]:2:41, 45). The leaving behind of traces of one's passing though the landscape is also evident in the numerous peculiar rock formations that were imbued with cultural significance. As the Mississauga missionary George Copway (1860:97) states, "[t]here is not a lake or mountain that has not connected with it some story of delight or wonder, and nearly every beast and bird is the subject of the story-teller, being said to have transformed itself at some prior time into some mysterious formation." *Nanabush* is now the Sleeping Giant of Thunder Bay, while the Great Beaver became a mountain on the northern shore of Lake Nipissing (de Charlevoix 1923[1761]:2:45).

For Algonquian-speaking peoples, the divide between the sacred and secular realms does not exist, and everything on Earth has the potential to be imbued with spiritual meaning, while at the same time everything has the potential to be animate, depending on its capacity for action, speech, or spiritual power (Hallowell 1992:61-65, 81). Humans would enter into relationships with animate entities (e.g., guardian spirits) and honour these relationships through offerings and rituals. Hunting and gathering were among the activities where the other-than-human beings were ritually acknowledged. For example, the gathering of wild rice was punctuated by ritual acts. The explorer Thompson (1916:275) reported in the late eighteenth century that, while gathering wild rice west of Lake Superior, a man would sing and smoke his pipe between each canoe load. The hunting of animals also was accompanied by rituals (e.g., Hallowell 1992:62; Tanner 1979). Whether in dreams or while one was awake, other-than-human persons could be met and interacted with (e.g., Hallowell 1992:90). The ethos of relationships permeated all aspects of life and manifested itself in the particular places that, connected through paths and associated with particular activities and rituals, acted as nodes of spiritual meaning. The close interaction of the sacred and secular domains indicates that many activities and attributes of material culture can be steeped in both realms. This sheds new light on interpretations of rock art that, like most non-western art, is seen as a manifestation of the religious sphere of life and a conduit to the world of other-than-human persons. However, rock art could have been implicated in non-religious activities, such as path negotiation.

Indigenous Pathways of the Canadian Shield

The role of pathways has seldom been recognized and discussed, because it is places that are usually considered of greater importance. However, Allen (2002a), Hulbert (1900, 1902), Macdonald (1985a), and Oetelaar and Meyer (2006) are

among those who have tackled the subject of Indigenous travel routes. Among hunter-gatherers, paths are entrenched in the perception of the land. The landscape is conceived linearly, and land tenure is envisioned in terms of places and paths that interconnect them (Ingold 1986:153; cf. Hallowell 1955:210-211). Mobility was well entrenched in the life ways of the Indigenous hunter-gatherers of the Canadian Shield. Seasonal rounds between winter hunting grounds and summer settlements, as well as long-distance journeys engaged in for trade[3] or war purposes, involved travel on water and on land. The description of the Nipissing people provided by the Jesuit priest Lalemant, that "[t]hey seem to have as many abodes as the year has seasons" (Thwaites 1896-1901:21:239), epitomises the travelling existence of the Shield's Indigenous inhabitants.

The forests of the Canadian Shield can be divided into two types. The southern area, around the Great Lakes, is home to predominantly mixed broad-leaved and coniferous forests. The bulk of the Precambrian Shield is composed of boreal forests, where conifers, such as black spruce or jack pine, dominate (e.g., Dean 1994:12-15). This dense bush is crosscut by a complex network of lakes and rivers, as well as muskeg and rocky outcrops. The abundance of waterways has established them as the Indigenous highways par excellence, especially since the thick, rugged bush is hard to travel through at all times and is infested with insects in the summer. Canoes were used for water transportation, while snowshoes and toboggans were used to travel over land and frozen lakes in the winter (e.g., Skinner 1911:144-146). Settlement patterns also reflected the importance of waterways and paths, as camps tended to be erected near portages, river mouths, lake outlets or narrows, good travel routes, and fishing grounds or caribou crossings (Hamilton 2000; Tanner 1979:37, 45; Wright 2004:1529-1535).

Different types of pathways existed, from small forest trails to long rivers, from temporary routes to old trails where years of use have created a deep depression in the ground and obliterated vegetation. Ideally, the routes were devised so as to offer the least resistance to the traveller. Land trails, which often followed old or existing animal paths, would avoid as much as possible natural obstacles, such as dense bush, or would be located along hilltops that provided good drainage and strategic vistas and, being windswept, little snow maintenance in the winter (Hulbert 1900; McGuire 1910:799-801). Hulbert (1902:45-65) identified five types of Indigenous trails: the hunting, war, portage, river, and trade trails, with the hunting trail being the most esteemed. A route could, of course, serve more than one purpose, and a river trail could be a war path. Hunting - ground trails and war paths were associated with particular groups of people, as were trade throughways. The explorer Hind (1860:2:28-29) listed some of the paths in northwestern Ontario and Manitoba used mostly by the warring Ojibwa and Sioux. Finally, paths were gendered, as women were less likely to venture on long expeditions or war expeditions (Hallowell 1955:192; Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:66).

The ethnogeographer Craig Macdonald (1985a) has discussed the traditional travel routes of northeastern Ontario known as *nastawgan*. Waterways were used in both summer and winter, when the ice allowed for walking across a lake or river in snowshoes. Travelling via waterways was the preferred mode of transportation in both summer and winter because it allowed for the carrying of larger loads; in winter the ice provided an even surface for hauling toboggans. As mentioned earlier, other trails were the *Bon-ka-nah*, which were used in winter in places where water would not freeze and where venturing onto the ice was risky. *Bon-ka-nah* could range from a few hundred metres to many kilometres. Their construction attests to the detailed knowledge of

[3] In the seventeenth century, the Nipissing, for example, would travel as far as Trois-Rivières in Québec, while the Odawa traded as far as Lake Superior and Lake Michigan (Trigger and Day 1994:71-73). Lalemant stated that the Nipissing "trade with the tribes which gather on the shore of the North or icy sea [James Bay], upon which they voyage ten days, after having spent thirty days upon the rivers, in order to reach it" (Thwaites 1896-1901:21:239).

the local topography, because geological faults or sequential series of ponds were used in their construction. *Onigum* was the appellation given to canoe portage trails used to avoid obstacles, such as rapids.

These pathways connected people with each other, with subsistence resources, and with trade goods, as well as with spiritual resources (for example, red ochre quarries) and sacred sites. The ubiquitous pathways became ingrained in people's cognitive and symbolic universe. Pathways are ever -present in oral stories and traditional teachings. Mobile hunter-gatherers often envision life as a path that offers choices and possibilities. Paths are omnipresent, and all living entities, as well as other-than-human beings, create their own characteristic paths, which intersect, creating an ever -present mesh of coexistence (Ingold 2000:14).

In the *Midewiwin* birchbark scrolls, Path of Life is represented pictographically by a line from which projections are branching off obliquely, thus indicating temptations and dangers—and, ultimately, choices. "The path that has no end" is the designation given to the future progress of a *Midewiwin* candidate of the last degree, which stipulates as well the limitless spiritual powers to be obtained (Densmore 2007:88-89; Johnston 1976:86, 116-117; Köhl 1985:214-215).[4] Maintaining the proper path assured that *Pimädaziwin*, or the Good Life—that is, a life free of misfortune and illness—was attained (Hallowell 1992:82-83, 97). The journey to the afterlife was undertaken on a "path of souls," which was often equated with the Milky Way (e.g., Köhl 1985:213-222; Thwaites 1896-1901:6:181; Speck 1977:44). Oral traditions also speak of the great westward migration of the Anishinaabeg from the Atlantic seaboard to the Great Lakes. This migration, documented in the form of pictographs on birchbark scrolls, mentions various places along the route, such as *Mattawaung* (Mattawa) and Sault Ste. Marie (Dewdney 1975:27, 57-80; Hoffman 1891).

Other-than-human beings also have their own specific paths (Smith 1995:45). Smith (1995:81) reports that the La Cloche Mountains (Ontario), where Thunderbirds are known to have lived (Jones 1861:43), are known as "the pathway of animikeek [Thunderbirds] […] because thunder seems to sound loudest when it crosses these quartzite mountains." Other-than-human beings are also recognized by how they move along a path and by the specific traces they leave behind. An Ojibwa informant told the anthropologist Hallowell (1992:61) that he saw a Great Snake, which "moved in a straight path, not this way and that, as the smaller snakes do." Whereas the feared Great Frog can be recognized by its tracks (Hallowell 1992:61), the cannibalistic monster *atuus* can leave in its wake destruction in the form of uprooted trees (Tanner 1979:96). Other-than-human persons left behind traces of their movements. Most often, it was in the form of various rocky formations, which now constitute places where stories and spiritual powers are contained. *Nanabush* (Ojibwa)/ Wisakaychak (Cree)[5] is known for always being on the move. As he traversed the territory, he left behind concrete evidence of his passage, which has been documented all across the Shield country (e.g., Bird 2007:175-178; Désveaux 1988:260; for the importance of tracks in Cree worldview, see Preston 1999).

When these paths are transgressed through improper behaviour or blocked, problems arise, as is attested by the widespread story of the snaring of the Sun by *Tseka'bec* (Innu, Ojibwa) (Hallowell 1992:66; Speck 1977:53-55); a little boy (Ojibwa) (Speck 1915a:69); or *Chakapesh* (Cree) (Bird 2007:29-36). Walking in the path of an other-than-human person can be a delicate affair. It may confer powers and strengthen ties, as the Innu story of the Caribou man who married a Caribou recounts. "The caribou walked along well like me. Then I walked as he was walking. Then I took his

[4] As mentioned previously (see note 2), members were ranked usually into four to eight degrees. The last degree, which was associated with most knowledge and power, was rarely attained (Angel 2002:160).

[5] The culture-hero's name appears variously spelled in ethnohistoric, as well as modern accounts. Some other variants include *Nanibozhu, Manabozho* (Ojibwa), *Wisahkecahk, Wisakedjak* (Cree) or *Tseka'bec* (Innu).

path. And then I walked like the caribou, my trail looking like a caribou trail where I saw my tracks. And so indeed I will take care of the caribou" (Speck 1977:81). At the same time, walking someone else's trail could also be an affront. Among the Mistassini Cree, there is an injunction on walking in the tracks of an animal because the animal will be offended and it will not let itself be caught by the hunter (Tanner 1979:145).

Paths were also dreamed about, because travels were also undertaken in dreams and visions (e.g., Köhl 1985:375-376), and they fulfilled important roles in rituals. During the initiation ritual, a *Midewiwin* candidate symbolically reproduced the path of the great migration by entering the Midé lodge from the east and exiting it from the west (Vennum 1978:754). The divination ritual of scapulimancy practised by the Innu people consisted of burning a caribou scapula bone and interpreting the resulting cracks in order to determine success at hunting. The longitudinal cracks were interpreted as landscape features and trails to follow in order to find game. This type of divination was known as "shoulder-blade path" (Speck 1977:152-163).

The link between pathways and hunting is further evinced by the symbolic conception of hunting as a journey (Tanner 1979:90). Among the Montagnais (Innu) of Lac Saint-Jean, a hunter's trapline is called *mecGanâ* (the road) (Burgesse 1945:11), and the Mistassini Cree "refer to their hunting grounds as *nəmèckənu*, 'my path, my road' as though their business of life lay along the well-known track over which they pass in canoe and with sled in setting their traps and killing the meat- and fur-producing animals" (Speck 1923:460).

Paths were important for the mobile hunter-gatherers of the Canadian Shield. Though waterways were preferred, land trails were also important. Together, these paths, which served various functions, connected people to each other and to resources and influenced people's relationship to the land. Other-than-human beings also have their paths, as is evinced by the traces they leave behind. Paths play a role in traditional stories and in rituals. Beings that possess paths are sentient and have a will (Smith 1995:66), and one can establish relationships with them. Having a path to follow is one of the criteria that determine the animacy of an entity, because paths made those who walked them.

Negotiating Paths in the Canadian Shield

Problems and Solutions

Travelling the Precambrian Shield is not devoid of hardship. The difficulties of water transportation were recognized as freeze and thaw cycles, winds, currents, waterfalls, and rapids had to be dealt with appropriately. Negotiating the paths necessitated the storing and sharing of knowledge about the waterways in the form of topographical lore, toponyms, and maps. The importance of the waterways is evident in the classificatory system developed for waterways, which encrypts vital information about the environment. The classification was based on the characteristics of lake and river bottoms, water currents, types of banks, and local flora (Denton 2007:145-146; Pentland 1975; Tanner 1979:45).

Being knowledgeable about the drainage systems travelled is of great importance, and this knowledge is reflected in the toponyms of an area. The Cree near James Bay have a term for "stream leading to another drainage system," which is *kwētapohikan* (Pentland 1975:157). The Kwetabohigan River, which connects the Albany and Moose River basins, takes its designation from this term (Pentland 1975:157). Another term among the Cree, otāhkwahikan, which means "a back way," indicates a river that flows alongside a more difficult route. This term is evident in the appellation Otakwahigan River. Three such rivers are found in the Moose Factory area (Pentland 1975:158). The navigability of a water body is also indicated by toponyms among the Whapmagoostui Cree of Québec. The toponym *Ahpipuniskiushich* means "winter open water," signifying that the water body does not freeze completely in winter, and thus signalling that travel on it in the winter is dangerous (Denton 2007:146). Another example of orienting information in toponyms is found among the Ojibwa of Big Trout Lake in northern Ontario. Traditional names of rivers do not bear the same

name throughout their entire course, but are divided into sections that are named after important places and natural features in the vicinity. Thus, Mahikan Sipi, which literally means "wolf/river," should be understood as "the section of the river which provides access to the lake of wolves" (Désveaux 1988:26-27). As Bell (1893:18F) remarked, "as a rule, all over the vast Archaean country inhabited by the Outchipwai Indians, most of the rivers bear the same names as the principal lakes, which in each case are regarded as their source." Toponyms tend to contain useful descriptive information about the environment. Hallowell (1955:193) has remarked that an individual would possess the most intimate knowledge of his or her territory through direct experience, crystallized in the great number of known place names; however, toponyms for important distant water bodies and their general location and distance of travel were known.

The negotiation of paths was done by relying on natural phenomena, topographical cues, and landmarks. Hallowell (1955:190) states that the Saulteaux (Manitoba) "rely exclusively upon the direct observation of natural phenomena in order to maintain their directional orientation." These natural phenomena include astronomy, where especially the North Star was emphasized (e.g., Bird 2007:17, 165; Hallowell 1955:190; Harmon 1820:368; Pentland 1975:156-157); moss growth on trees and tree shape (e.g., Harmon 1820:372; Long 1922:37-38); topographical cues, such as muskeg orientation (Hallowell 1955:197); and winds, which were relied on when visual cues were unavailable (e.g., in whiteout conditions) (Hallowell 1955:197).[6] However, it was the visual cues, in the form of landmarks, such as cliffs or effigy formations, that were of primary importance, and it is landmarks that have the potential to shed light on rock art and its role in path negotiation.

Path Negotiation Through Landmarks

In 1623, Sagard observed an important location on the Ottawa River.

> They also showed me many mighty rocks on the way to Québec, in which they believed a spirit lived and ruled, and among others they showed me one, a hundred and fifty leagues from there which had something like a head and two upraised arms, and in the belly or middle of this mighty rock there was a deep cavern very difficult to approach. They tried to persuade me and make me believe absolutely, as they did, that this rock had been a mortal man like ourselves and that while lifting up his arms and hands he had been transformed into this stone, and in course of time had become a mighty rock, to which they pay respect and offer tobacco when passing it in their canoes, not always, but when they are in doubt of a successful issue to their journey. And as they offer the tobacco, which they throw into the water against the rock itself, they say to it, "Here, take courage, and let us have a good journey" [Sagard 1939[1632]:171].

This landmark, like many others (whether natural or human -made), was incorporated into the process of negotiating a path. Travel from landmark to landmark is known as "piloting" (Golledge 2003:28). As Hallowell (1955:190-191) reported, the Ojibwa people identify directions with places and speak of going "toward x." Köhl observed a similar method of travel among the Ojibwa of Lake Superior.

> Indians and Voyageurs rarely make greater traverses across the lake than fifteen miles from cape to cape, so that we may be easily able to pull our boats ashore in the annoying caprices of our weather and water. A passage of twenty-five or thirty miles we call a "grande traverse," and one of seventy miles is an impossibility [Köhl 1985:181].

[6] For example, Long (1922:38) reports "that the branches are larger, and the leaves more luxuriant on the south than on the north side of the tree."

This importance of landmarks is also reflected in Indigenous maps, which have been praised for their accuracy. These maps reflect the utilitarian experience of travel, because culturally important water bodies, portages, and obstacles such as rapids were indicated, while trivial details of topography were omitted (Harmon 1820:371-372; Pentland 1975; e.g., Densmore 2007:179-180). These maps, drawn, for example, on birchbark, were created most often to specify a route to follow for those who were unfamiliar with a territory. Maps would emphasize trails and their interrelations to landmarks because travel, whether on land or by water, was done point by point, instead of following one direction to a goal. Landmarks were thus crucial for orientation (Désveaux, 1988:26-27; Hallowell 1955:195-196; Harmon 1820:371).

Hallowell links this mode of travelling with oral traditions:

> In principle, this step by step procedure emerges in certain mythological narratives where it takes the following form: The protagonist is directed from point to point in a strange country by a series of old women. The first old woman he encounters not only directs him on his progress, and so on. And finally, she tells him that he will come upon another old woman on whom he can depend for directional advice for the next stage of his journey. Of course, events occur as anticipated; the second old woman is reached who directs him to a third. The analogy to actual travel should be clear. Familiar landmarks in a journey correspond to the old women; they mark the nodal points in a geographical progression in space and while they fail to give advice in a literal sense, they are anticipatory signs of the particular features of the country in the ensuing segment of the journey that must be mentally prepared for before they are encountered [Hallowell 1955:196].

There exist accounts of some key landmarks located especially on major travel routes that helped in wayfinding. In some cases, they acted as places of encounter and of ritual activity. The dangers and perils of travel were well recognized and the assistance of other-than-human beings was sought. Underwater sprits, such as *Mishipeshu*, were often propitiated with various gifts, such as tobacco and dogs, which were thrown into the water in order to secure a safe journey (e.g., Henry 1921:107; Jones 1861:84). Offerings were often deposited "on the sides of difficult or dangerous roads on rocks, or near cataracts, […] to the genii who preside in these places" (de Charlevoix 1923[1761]:2:137). These places, often located at narrows or rapids, are unusual and salient, imbued with significance through toponyms, stories, and experiences— and often they are linked with some other-than-human person. Such is the case of the Porte de l'Enfer, a red ochre mine on the Mattawa River where a Man-eater was supposed to dwell (Conway 1981a:48; Harmon 1820:31-32; Henry 1921:29). The Lost Child (*L'Enfant perdu*) on the French River was a portage where a rock with a deep chasm was reported. From it, sounds resembling a child's cries issued, and therefore it was called "crying child" by Indigenous people (Harmon 1820:33; Nelson 2002:39). Another Lost Child carrying-place, associated with a similar story, was located on the Pinawa River (a branch of the Winnipeg River) in Manitoba (Henry 1921:238).

Other unusual land formations, such as projecting points of land or spectacular rock formations (e.g., Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior), were also used in wayfinding (e.g., Copway 1860:25-26). These rock formations could also be anthropomorphic or zoomorphic in shape, or they could resemble objects of material culture (e.g., Bell 1879:7C; Chamberlain 1900:273; Henry 1921:227; Long 1922:58; Sagard 1939[1632]:171) (Figure 2). Large boulders located at entrances to water bodies often served as rally points and were scenes of ritual activities (e.g., Blackbird 1887:45; Hind 1860:1:364; Keating 1824:2:198-199; Schoolcraft 1821:87-88). Small boulders located in well-travelled places such as portages could also be

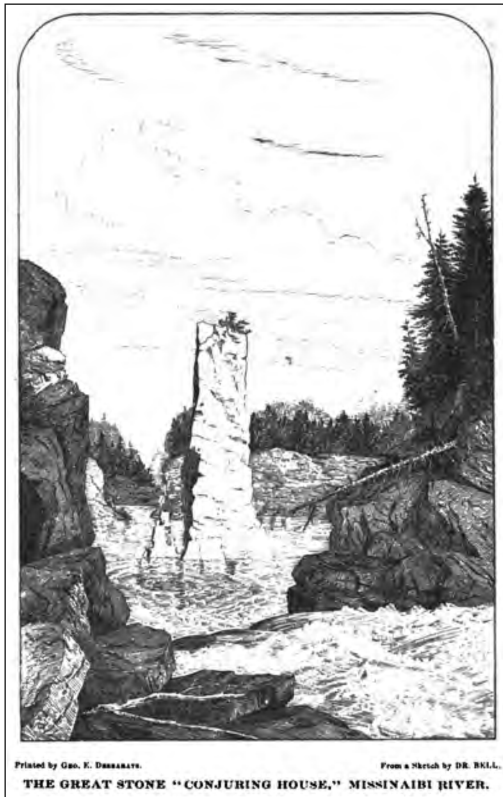

Figure 2. *"Conjuring House," Missinaibi River. From Bell 1879:7C, Illustration 16.*

recognized and act as shrines for the deposition of offerings (Hallowell 1992:58).

Path Negotiation Through Anthropic Signs

Path negotiation was also facilitated by signs. Signs were left for passersby in the woods and along the waterways to indicate the direction of travel and paths to follow; to indicate the number in and constituency of the party (indicated by totem animals); and to record events, such as hunting exploits or deaths. Among the Cree, markers left in the bush to designate paths and other travel - related information are known as *Achiskuhiichaawan* and *Achiskuhiikan* (Scott 1989:195). These markers could take on various forms. Trees whose branches have been trimmed except for the top, known as lobsticks, also functioned as trail markers and conveyed various messages, such as directing toward winter hunting grounds (Allen 2002b:65-66; Mackenzie 1902:1:276). Trees could also be bent so as to point in a specific direction and mark a path (Ritzenthaler 1965). Tree bark would also be chipped, and sticks or broken branches would be placed along a trail to point toward a destination (e.g., Jenness 1935:11; Skinner 1911:147; Tanner 1979:32; cf. Hulbert 1902:28-31). In the Algonquin language, *Kikaigan* refers to "broken branches, which the Indians stick in the ground, bent in the direction in which they have gone, in order to mark their path for those who may follow" (Chamberlain 1900:272).

Pictography was also used in trail marking. Schoolcraft (1851-1857:1:351-421) has recognized two types of pictographic modes: *Kekeewin* images, which were generally understood by all and served for recording information related to hunting, travel (e.g., directions to take), or historical events, and *Kekeenowin* images, which were used for sacred purposes by medicine men and had a restricted audience (see also Densmore 2007:174; Mallery 1886:16, 147-223; 2007). Information images were painted or engraved on trees (e.g., Keating 1824:1:340; Köhl:1985:143; Skinner 1911:146-147), as well as on pieces of birchbark that were affixed to sticks and left in conspicuous places, such as landing spots along canoe routes (e.g., Densmore 2007:176-179; Harmon 1820:370-371; Nelson 2002:120-121; Skinner 1911:146). Negotiation of the landscape through landmarks and anthropic signs may have been reflected in rock art sites, where both the physical setting and the images could have participated in this task.

Rock Art as Landmarks

Rock art was often placed in strategic locations near lake or bay entrances, narrows, or portages, where it could have acted as a landmark to guide travellers (e.g., Bell 1881:7C; Cumberland 1886:178; Keating 1824:1:265, 288, 304, 334, 360; Mackenzie 1902:1:cxxii). Among these strategically placed sites was the Picture Rock located at a narrows at the entrance to Crooked Lake (Minnesota) (Coues 1897:1:15-16; Mackenzie 1902:1:xc; Nute 1941; Thompson 1916:178); the Painted Stone Portage (Manitoba,

now destroyed) (Franklin 1823:40-41, 504-505; Tyrrell 1934:32, 246, 489); and the *Rocher à l'Oiseau* (Québec), which is located between portages on the important Ottawa River (de Troyes 1918:37; Sagard 1939[1632]:171; Thwaites 1896-1901:10:165,167).[7] In 1669, the Sulpician priest de Bréhant de Galinée described an effigy rock near the western end of Lake Erie. This anthropomorphic effigy formation, whose face was fashioned with red paint, was venerated and supplicated for good journeys on the lake. Despite him providing one of the earliest accounts of rock art in Canada, the missionary consecrated an axe and destroyed the "idol" (de Bréhant de Galinée 1875:41-42).

Sites were also located near navigational dangers, such as rapids or falls. An account of one such rock art site located on the Churchill River in Northern Saskatchewan was left by Alexander Mackenzie (Pohorecky and Jones 1968:30). Mackenzie (1902:1:cxxi) recounted that "[a]t some distance from the silent rapid [a dangerous rapid] is a narrow strait, where the Indians have painted red figures on the face of a rock, and where it was their custom formerly to make an offering of some of the articles which they had with them, in their way to and from Churchill."[8] The Jesuits described a painted anthropomorphic rock near Green Bay, Wisconsin, which was located near rapids. Unfortunately, the Jesuit fathers had it thrown into the river in order to "remove this cause of idolatry" (Thwaites 1896-1901:55:191-193). Other sites located on important travel routes are those of Missinaibi Lake, which are located along an old travel route from Lake Superior and the St. Lawrence system to James Bay (Morse 1971:69). The Churchill River sites are located on a major throughway that leads northwest from Hudson Bay (Jones 1981:1; Morse 1971:36), while the sites located in what is now Quetico Provincial Park are located on old travel routes between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg, travelled by Indigenous people and fur traders alike.

Other sites seem to be located in labyrinth-like places, such as the Lake of the Woods, where they could have served as useful landmarks on the landscape. According to Morse (1971:81), "the voyageurs seem to have got lost more often in Lake of the Woods than in all the other miles of their long voyage put together." Dewdney and Kidd (1967:48) report that on the same lake,"[e]ven old-timers stick to the channels they know." Though rock art was not frequently mentioned by the early explorers and missionaries, some sites have made it onto the pages of their journals and relations because of their strategic location and the reverence that was accorded to them. The relationship of sites to routes seems at least in some cases to indicate that rock art may have served as a landmark.

Research on Rock Art and Paths

Early forays into rock art studies were but little concerned with the distribution of rock art on the landscape, though Mallery (1886:16), the ethnologist who worked extensively on Indigenous picture-writing, observed that some rock art may have functioned as "guide-marks" pointing out trails or places of cultural importance. He further states:

> Rock carvings are frequently noticed at waterfalls and other points on rivers and on lake shores favourable for fishing, which frequency is accounted for by the

[7] Though the places are mentioned, the rock art is not described per se (except for Franklin's account). Of greater interest to the early explorers, who failed to notice the images or ignored them, were the customs associated with these places. For example, Mackenzie (1902:1:xc) wrote about the Picture Rock, "Within three miles of the last Portage is a remarkable rock, with a smooth face, but split and cracked in different parts, which hang over the water. Into one of its horizontal chasms a great number of arrows have been shot, which is said to have been done by a war party of the Nadowasis or Sieux, who had done much mischief in this country, and left these weapons as a warning to the Chebois [Ojibwa] or natives, that, notwithstanding its lakes, rivers, and rocks, it was not inaccessible to their enemies."

[8] The rapid is officially known as Silent Rapid and it is located on Black Bear Island Lake. The Cree call it *Mantou Powstik* that is "God" or "Devil" Rapid (Pohorecky and Jones 1968:36).

> periodical resort of Indians to such places. Sometimes they only mark their stay, but occasionally there also appear to be records of conflict with rival or inimical tribes which sought to use the same waters […] rock pictures sometimes were pointers or "sign-posts" to show the direction of springs, the line of established trails, or of paths that would shorten distances in travel [Mallery 2007:2:770].

In the United States, Heizer and Baumhoff (1959) analyzed the distribution of the rock art of Nevada in relation to deer migration trails.[9] Schaafsma (1985:261-263), summarizing the state of affairs in American rock art research, commented on site functions and their relationship to location in the landscape. "The spatial context in which rock art occurs has definite functional implications. It is a basic assumption that rock art will be located in a patterned way in relationship to both the landscape and other cultural remains" (Schaafsma 1985:261).

However, it was in the 1990s that work on rock art sites and their relationship to paths was undertaken. Distributional and visibility studies of rock art were carried out by Bradley (e.g., 1997; Bradley et al. 1993) on Atlantic European rock art. Bradley (1997, 2000:39, 64-80; 2009) envisions rock art as a source of information that is determined by the location of the site (e.g., accessibility, which will result in different audiences for the art) and the image content. His pioneering work has explored the correlation among rock art, visibility, landscape mobility, and routes. Bradley demonstrated that some rock art is placed along paths that are associated with resources or that connect different ecosystems. Hartley and Vawser (1998) have examined the rock art of the Colorado River drainage in Utah using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and information theory. The authors suggest that rock art had the ability to convey specific information, depending on its graphic content and its particular location. One of the functions served by Utah rock art was probably that of a landmark serving to facilitate spatial navigation in the rugged canyon country, because sites were located in prominent places, near trails, or at the confluence of rivers. Another study using GIS to examine the relationship of rock art and paths was undertaken by Fairén-Jiménez (2007) in northern England, where it was determined that rock art was located so as to facilitate visibility of routes between uplands and lowlands, thus allowing for their control. Rock art and route connection was also discussed by, among others, Briones-M. (2006) for Chilean Atacama desert geoglyphs, Demattè (2004:18) for Mongolian and northwestern Chinese petroglyphs, and Lahelma (2008:9, 20-21, 46) for Finnish rock art. These various studies all point to the role that rock art played in the landscape in relation to people's activities and mobility.

Rock Art and Paths in the Canadian Shield

Interest in rock art distribution and mobility was expressed early on by Kenneth Kidd, in the classic book *Indian Rock Paintings of the Great Lakes*, for which he provided the anthropological background. Kidd remarked:

> It is conceivable that there is some pattern or plan to the general location of rock paintings, but, if this is true, it has still to be worked out. Were they placed only at the abodes of spirits? Were they scattered haphazardly in remote as well as in accessible places? Were they located only along important routes, or along routes used only at certain seasons or for certain purposes? The answers to these, and to many other questions, still have to be found, but should be interesting when discovered [Dewdney and Kidd 1967:168].

[9] As Whitley (2001:14-15) demonstrated, Heizer and Baumhoff's paper, which was calling for a hunting magic interpretation of Great Basin petroglyphs, was flawed. The trails they were connecting with the petroglyphs were deer migration trails, while the non-migratory bighorn sheep are depicted in the art. Furthermore, many of the sites are located not on game trails but at historical villages.

However, the correlation with rock art and routes was rarely explored. Conway (1984:3) claimed that there is no correlation between rock art and travel routes, and both Dewdney and Kidd (1967:6, 74-75) and Rajnovich (1981:27) provide examples of sites not connected with important travel routes and located at "dead-end" water bodies. Other researchers have supplied examples of rock art sites placed on traditional Indigenous travel routes, indicating the placement of rock art at narrows or near portages (e.g., Lambert 1986; Norder and Carroll 2011; Rajnovich 1981:27). Pohorecky and Jones (1967:4, 6-8) have discussed the sites of Kipahigan Lake, located on the border between Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where sites are located on a regional travel route. These authors have also provided the example of Black Bear Island Lake in Saskatchewan, where the pictograph sites are located on the shortest route across the lake (Pohorecky and Jones 1968:36). Ethnographic work carried out among local Indigenous communities has also resulted in some people opining that pictographs were akin to a map on the landscape, identifying directions to take (e.g., Dewdney Collection 1960-1966; Jones 1979:88; Jones 1981:74; Vickery 1991:27). Certain pictographs of anthropomorphs with lines projecting from their heads have been linked with the idea of symbolic journeys (Jones 1981:79; Rajnovich 1994:137).

Researchers have suggested that the placement of some Canadian Shield rock art sites in conspicuous locations near narrows or portages may have rendered rock art an effective means of communication as a navigational system, while its location at the endpoints of routes may have indicated gathering places. Peter J. Lambert (1986) has compared rock art sites from various drainage systems in northwestern Ontario in order to determine their functions. Lambert was interested in rock art as a conveyor of secular information, a "sign post" or "information board" that would transmit different information depending on its image content and respective drainage. This information could relate to aggregation areas, sacred areas, hunting resources, or navigational danger, such as "rapids ahead" (Lambert 1986:188). Lambert (1986:163, 171-172, 202-203) points especially to the location of sites at narrows, rapids, or passages between lakes and notes that certain sites are best viewed when approached from a particular direction, thus guiding travellers. He concludes his discussion of differential functions by stating, "That pictographs function as message boards, maps or navigation aids, is apparent. Interpreting their information is more difficult, whether [they were] intended to guide or identify, or to warn of fast water or malevolent spirits" (Lambert 1986:203).

John Norder (2003, 2012a, 2012b; Norder and Caroll 2011), who conducts archaeological and ethnographic work in the Lake of the Woods area of northwestern Ontario, has studied the role of rock art in the social universe of Indigenous people. For example, he examined rock art's role in the landscape of memory as an agent shaping cultural identity and as a more "secular" phenomenon that conveys information in the landscape—for example, regarding aggregation areas. Through distributional and GIS studies, he has determined that rock art sites were placed on travel routes (Norder and Caroll 2011). Furthermore, after analyzing the location and image content of sites, Norder (2012b) proposed three rock art site types, each of which conveyed different information. Type one, represented by sites with single images or redundant images, served to orient travel. Type two, represented by a high number of naturalistic images at a site, indicated aggregation sites (e.g., wild rice beds). Type three, represented by abstract figures and complex human or animal forms, carried the highest spiritual charge and were concerned with cosmological ideas. Type three sites were located at places where travel would be difficult in bad weather and where assistance from other-than-human beings would be sought. The research on Canadian Shield rock art and paths indicates that this form of visual expression acted as a "signpost" in the landscape, indicating places of diverse cultural import. Rock art structured the interaction among people, other-than-human beings, and the landscape, and in some cases, like in the Lake of the Woods area, it still fulfilled some of these functions.

Temagami and Its Rock Art

The Temagami Area

The Temagami area is located in northeastern Ontario, in the districts of Nipissing, Timiskaming, and Sudbury. The town of Temagami, the largest settlement in the area, lies about 450 km north of Toronto (Figure 1). The region encompasses Lake Temagami and the surrounding lands; however, as Hodgins and Benidickson (1989:4-5) demonstrate, the extent of the Temagami region can be equated with a number of entities of economic and administrative nature.[10] The Temagami area corresponds closely to *n'Daki Menan*, the ancestral territory of the local Teme-Augama Anishnabai. At the time of contact, in the nineteenth century, this territory covered roughly 10,000 km^2. In the north, its boundary reaches the height of the land by the bend in the West Montreal River. In the south, the boundary is drawn at the confluence of the Sturgeon and Temagami Rivers and passes between Red Cedar Lake and Tomiko Lake. In the west, the boundary is drawn by the Sturgeon River, and in the east, it reaches the coastline of Lake Temiskaming, between the mouths of the Matabitchuan and Montreal Rivers (Figure 3). N'Daki Menan means "our land" in Anishinaabemowin. The name Temagami means "Deep Water" or "the place of deep water." It is after this lake that the local Indigenous people call themselves Teme-Augama Anishnabai, or "the people of the deep water" (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:6, 10).

The area is rich in lakes and rivers. Lake Temagami, the largest lake in the area, is approximately 50 km long and 35 km wide and reaches depths of 110 metres. Shaped somewhat like an octopus, with five arms and a central hub, it is home to around 1259 islands. Other large lakes in the area include Obabika Lake, Anima Nipissing Lake, and Lady Evelyn Lake. The Sturgeon, Matabitchuan, Montreal, and Lady Evelyn are the principal rivers (Figure 3). Rivers and lakes tend to be oriented on a northwest–southeast axis (Knight 1977:14).

The region, underlain by Precambrian rocks, possesses the highest elevations in Ontario. These are the Ishpatina Ridge (693 m asl) and Maple Mountain (642 m asl), both located in Lady Evelyn-Smoothwater Provincial Park. Incidentally, the region west of Lady Evelyn Lake and around Smoothwater and Florence lakes is the most rugged terrain in all of Temagami. In the north and east, the area touches upon the Lake Timiskaming Rift Valley, which creates a rugged relief with ridges and hills (Knight 1977:14). Lake Temagami's shores also consist of ridges, such as the Devil's Mountain in the north; however, the area around the lake is characterized by a flatter relief, and the mountains tend to be rounded. The Temagami region is located at the boundary between the boreal forest and the mixed wood Great Lakes-St. Lawrence forest. White and red pines reign supreme, though black and white spruce; yellow birch; cedars; and, to a lesser extent, oak, elm, and sugar maple are also present. The area abounds in wildlife and fish (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:8; Quinby et al. 2002).

Previous Archaeological and Ethnographic Research in the Temagami Area

The Temagami area was the stage of some of the earliest archaeological studies in Canada. At the beginning of the twentieth century, The Ontario Provincial Museum in Toronto acquired two lithic artifacts (one knife and one slate gouge) from the region, as well as a birchbark canoe (Boyle 1900:6, 1902:18, 1904:63, 1905:27, 1906:11). Frank Ridley, who pioneered archaeological research in northeastern Ontario, conducted fieldwork at the Montreal River site (CgGu-l) on Lake Temiskaming (Knight 1977:7). The Montreal River drainage basin and lands west of Lake Temiskaming were studied by Dean Knight (1971, 1972, 1977). John Pollock (1972, 1975a, 1975b) conducted surveys on the upper Ottawa River drainage (the Montreal, Larder, and Blanche river systems) and carried out excavations in the

[10] Temagami might be envisioned as a contested region where the forest industry, recreation and Indigenous rights are at stake; therefore its geographical extent might shift depending on the issue at hand. However it is always centered on Lake Temagami (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

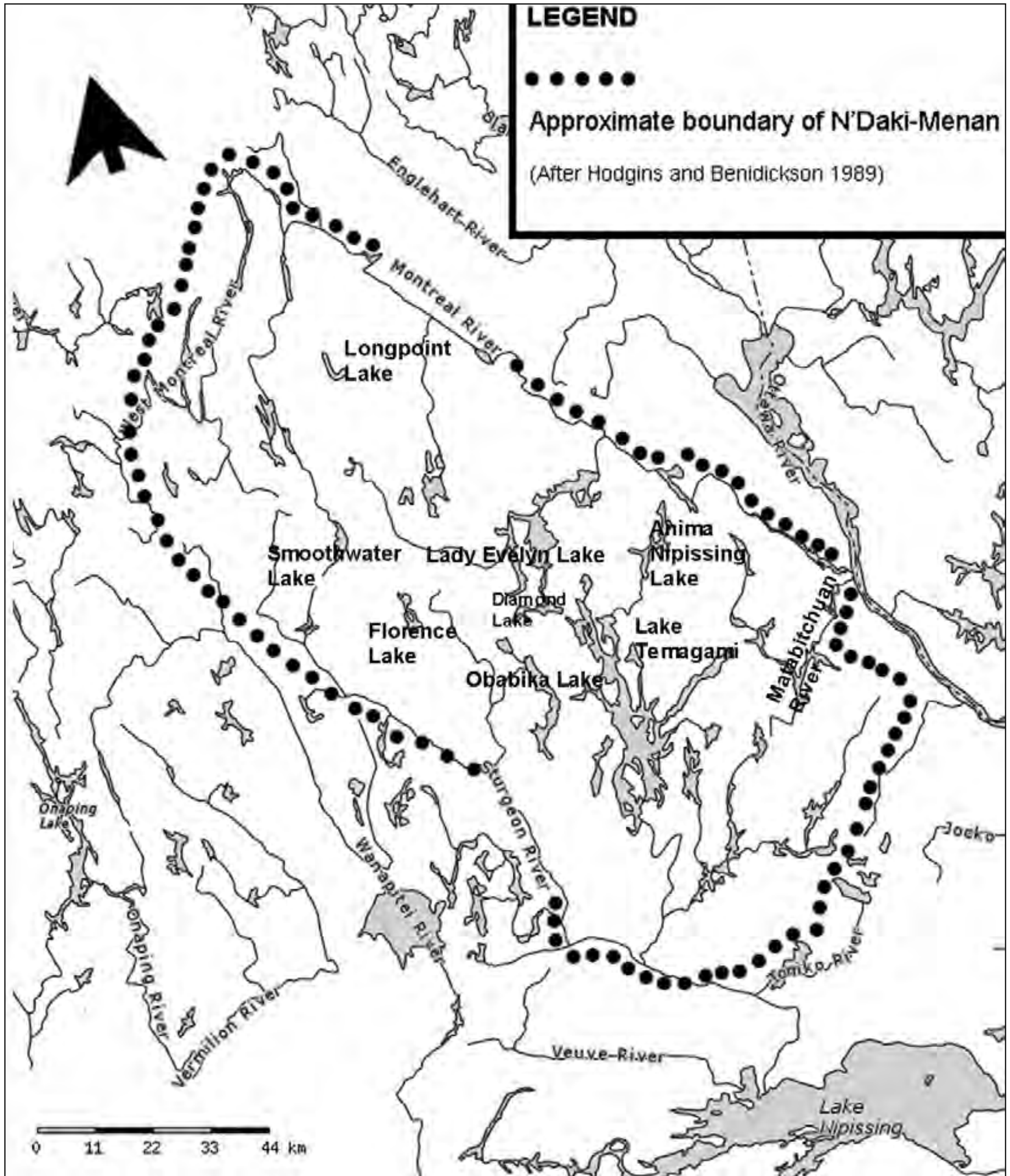

Figure 3. *Extent of n'Daki Menan (after Hodgins and Benidickson [1989]:map 1). Map based on http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca/site/english/index.html.*

Kirkland Lake district (in Timiskaming District), which includes two sites in n'Daki Menan: the Smoothwater Lake (CiHd-1) and Duncan Lake (CiHf-2) sites. Pollock (e.g., 1992, 1993) continued to conduct archaeological impact assessments and salvage excavations in the Temagami area. Thor Conway (1976a, 1981a:46, 1982a, 1984) worked extensively in the Temagami area, documenting archaeological sites on Lake Temagami, excavating the Witch Point (CgHa-7)

and Sand Point (CgHa-1) sites, and surveying Obabika Lake. Diana Gordon (e.g., 1987, 1989, 1990, 1995) extensively surveyed Lake Temagami and excavated the Three Pines (CgHa-6) and the Witch Point Sites. Charlton Carscallen (1993, 1994a, 1994b) excavated the Lake Temagami site (CgHa-2).

Ethnographic research was carried out by Speck (1915a, 1915b), who recorded some oral traditions as well as the distribution of the traditional hunting territories. Conway (1982b) has collected oral stories relating to Iroquois attacks. Macdonald (1985a) has discussed the Nastawgan of the Temagami region. He also collected ethno-geographic information on the region, which resulted in the creation of a map that details Indigenous toponyms and the traditional canoe and winter snowshoe routes in the region as they existed before A.D. 1900 (Macdonald 1985b).

Culture History of the Temagami Area

The Temagami area has been inhabited for at least five millennia, as is attested by the dates generated through relative and radiocarbon dating as well as the multi-component nature of the archaeological sites (Conway 1981a:22-23; Gordon 1990:158 and this volume). The known archaeological sites "include short- and long-term habitations, summer-gathering areas, quarry sites, lithic processing sites, rock paintings," petroglyph sites, and sacred sites (Gordon 1990:158). The settlement patterns indicate the riverine orientation of the people. The Archaic period is present at sites dating to ca. 7000–3000 B.P., such as Smoothwater Lake (Pollock 1975a, 1975b), Montreal River (Knight 1977), Three Pines (Gordon 1987, 1990:162-163), and Witch Point (Gordon 1994). The Shield Archaic artifacts recovered consist mainly of stone tools, including stemmed and lanceolate projectile points, choppers, and bifaces. The toolmakers exploited locally available materials, such as siltstones and quartzites. However, trade in exotic materials, such as clear quartz, was also evidenced (Gordon 1990:162). Possible trade is also indicated by the presence of native copper at the Witch Point site (Gordon 1994:130). The Initial Woodland period (c. 3000–1000 B.P.) is represented by the Laurel culture at the Three Pines (Gordon 1987:4; 1990:163-164), Witch Point (Gordon 1994), Montreal River (Knight 1977:249-251), Smoothwater (Pollock 1975a:165, 186), and Duncan Lake (Pollock 1975a:165, 186) sites. It is characterized by smaller stone tools, such as side-notched small projectile points and triangular unifacial scrapers made of Hudson Bay Lowland chert. The pottery is coil -manufactured and decorated with pseudo-scallop shell and dentate stamp. Faunal remains recovered at the Three Pines site include beaver, deer, and caribou (Gordon 1987:4). The Terminal Woodland period (1000 B.P.–A.D. 1650) is present at Three Pines (Gordon 1990:165), Witch Point (Gordon 1994), Lake Temagami (Carscallen 1994b), and Duncan Lake (Pollock 1975a:165, 186-190) sites. During this period, the Temagami area was undeniably occupied by Algonquian-speaking peoples. The recovered pottery includes cord-wrapped, stick-impressed, and cord-textured vessels. The vessels do not seem to fit into the standard Blackduck or Selkirk pottery types, except for one rimsherd at the Lake Temagami site (Carscallen 1994b:120). Iroquoian-type vessels have also been recovered from the Witch Point site and the Lake Temagami site. Lithic remains include side-notched and triangular projectile points, celts, and end scrapers. These tools were made from greywacke, quartz, and Hudson Bay Lowland chert. Evidence for ceremonial activities includes red ochre nodules, clear quartz crystals, and dog burials at the Witch Point site (Gordon 1994:130) and the Lake Temagami site (Carscallen 1994b:118).

During the initial stages of the post-contact period, the area was relatively little known to Europeans. In 1615, Champlain made reference to people who live in a lush country to the north of the Nipissing nation, with whom they trade (Biggar 1922-1936:4:234). In the *Jesuit Relations* of 1640, the *Outimagami* are mentioned again as the northern neighbours and trade partners of the Nipissing (Thwaites 1896-1901:18:229). Although a Temagami band is mentioned in the seventeenth century, Speck (1915b:11-12) claims they are newcomers to the area who arrived as part

of the Ojibwa migration from the Great Lakes. Seventeenth- and eighteenth -century maps by Jolliet (1679), Franquelin (1685), and Delisle (1703) are among the earliest to mention a lake Temagaming, though they locate it in Québec, where Lac Mistassini is.[11] However, European testimonies concerning the Temagami area are limited because it is not located on the main travel routes of the early explorers and missionaries, despite being in close proximity to both the route from the Ottawa River to the Great Lakes via Lake Nipissing (travelled by Champlain in 1615) and that from the Ottawa River to Hudson Bay via Lake Temiskaming and the Abitibi River (travelled by de Troyes in 1686). These major highways were easily accessed. In the south, the Sturgeon River leads to Lake Nipissing, while the Ottawa River can be reached by the Montreal River or Matabitchuan River (Figures 1 and 3). It is through these arteries that the Iroquois penetrated *n'Daki Menan* in the seventeenth century, during the Iroquois Wars. The resulting animosity is well documented in the oral traditions, which speak of particular attacks and of places where these occurred (Conway 1982b; Gordon 1995:17; Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:15-18).

The fur trade officially took root in the area in 1679, when the French traders who later formed the *Compagnie du Nord* established a trading post on Lake Temiskaming at the mouths of the Montreal and Matabitchuan Rivers. This was only the beginning of the fur trade in the area—a trade that saw bitter rivalries among the French, the North West Company, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and other independent traders (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:17-26). In 1821, the American Fur Company established a post on Lake Temagami that functioned for a brief time. In 1834, the HBC established a post on Temagami Island, which was moved in 1876 to Bear Island. Short-lived outposts were also established at Diamond Lake and Bay Lake (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:28-30, 35-38; Barlow 1907:221).

Although a Euro-Canadian presence had been established since the inception of the fur trade at the end of the seventeenth century, it exploded in the nineteenth century as government officials, surveyors, lumbermen, mineral prospectors, sportsmen, and tourists began to penetrate the area (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989). Among the visitors to the Temagami area were the surveyors of the Geological Survey of Canada (e.g., Barlow 1907; Bell 1877) and the members of the Exploration Survey Party No. 3, sent out by the Department of Crown Lands to assess the resources of the area (DeMorest and Silvester 1901). Reports of mineral wealth brought in prospectors (e.g., Miller 1901), while the rich pine stands attracted commercial interests and led to the establishment of the Temagami Forest Reserve in 1901. Thanks to the new railway lines that reached Lake Temagami, those seeking mineral fortunes and those seeking to enjoy the natural scenery and the rich wildlife of the area began to flock there in large numbers (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989).

The Teme-Augama Anishnabai's traditional lifeways revolved around the family, which was the basic social unit. Totemic clans were recognized, and families had their own hunting territories (Speck 1915b). However, in the 1870s, the Teme-

[11] The confusion regarding the location of Lake Temagami in Québec stems from a mention in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1896-1901:62:223) which reads, "The Mistassins, whom Father sylvi has gone to teach on Lake timagaming." Early cartographers relied extensively on the accounts of the Jesuits for the production of their maps (Kershaw 1993:125-160). Another misconception arose from the Jesuit Relations of 1656-1657, which discuss the "Routes to the North Sea"(Hudson Bay) and give the following description of one route, "There is a new way still, from the country of the Hurons to Three Rivers, starting from the lake called Temagami,-that is, 'deep water,'-which I think is the Fresh-water sea of the Hurons, and the source of the great St. Lawrence river" (Thwaites 1896-1901:44:243, 245). Crouse (1924:154) claims that it is Lake Temiskaming on the Ottawa River that is implied in this description. The name of this lake also stands for "deep waters" and it was on a well known route to Hudson Bay via the Ottawa River. To this author's knowledge, the first correct identification of Lake Temagami (Tamagamingue) is found on a map by Bouchette (1846).

Augama Anishnabai, whose lands were being increasingly encroached upon and who never signed the 1850 Robinson-Huron Treaty, began to pressure government officials for a reserve. They also turned to agriculture to supplement their subsistence as they settled in villages, such as the Austin Bay village on Lake Temagami (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989:32-35, 43-48, 136-152; see Pollock 1992). Although a reserve was officially established on Bear Island in 1970, the issue of unceded land has not been properly resolved to this day (Hodgins and Benidickson 1989; Potts 1989).

Rock Art of the Temagami Area

The Temagami area boasts the largest concentration of rock art in northeastern Ontario. There are at least 57 known rock art sites in the area. Forty -seven pictograph sites are in n'Daki Menan and eight are immediately outside of *n'Daki Menan* (Upper Grassy Lake, Ferris Lake, Bigfour Lake, Matagamasi Lake, Stouffer Lake, Chiniguchi Lake). There are also two petroglyph sites in *n'Daki Menan*. All of the sites are on lakes, except for one pictograph site on a river (Matabitchuan) and one pictograph site on a creek (Wapus). There is also one pictograph site in the bush on a boulder. The larger lakes exhibit a concentration of sites. Twenty-two sites are on Lake Temagami, six on Anima Nipissing Lake, and five on Obabika Lake (Figures 4 and 5). Furthermore, there are four known destroyed sites, one each on Lake Temagami, Lady Evelyn Lake, Lady Evelyn River, and Obabika Inlet.

The motifs present include canoes with occupants; animals, such as bears, moose, canids, and mustelids; powerful beings, such as thunderbirds and horned snakes; anthropomorphic figures; and, especially, the so-called abstractions, such as circles, dots, crosses, and lines, as well as undetermined figures (Figures 6 and 7). Series of lines known as tally marks are ubiquitous in the area (Figure 8). Of interest are some motifs that seem to be restricted to or predominant within this area. Among these are the so-called bird tracks (Figure 9). Other rare motifs in Shield rock art which are found in this area are the "vulva" triangles and one of only three known ithyphallic anthropomorphs (Conway 1976a:20; 1981b:9-10; Lemaitre 2013:155, 159).

The exact dates of the execution of the images are not known; however, some sites could date to the seventeenth century and be related to the Iroquois attacks that were occurring in the area (Conway 1982b). Speck was informed by Chief Aleck Paul that the pictographs in the area were done by the Iroquois:

> The Iroquois used to come here to fight the Ojibwa because the Americans had driven them from their homes in the States and the Iroquois had to seek new countries beyond the settlements in the North. In their excursions, when they got far from home, they cut and painted pictures in the rocks on river or lake shores, so that their friends, if they ever penetrated so far, would know that their own people had been there before them. The characters of these pictures would tell what had happened, so that if the advance party never returned to their people, some record would at least be left behind of their journey [Speck 1915a:76].

A tourist by the name of Dorothy Ames was informed by a local guide that the Diamond Lake pictographs (ChHb-1) were executed by the Iroquois (Wintemberg 1934). The Matachewan pictographs (DaHe-4) were also ascribed to the Iroquois, as were those of Beaverhouse Lake (DbGw-4), north of the Temagami area (Conway 1976a:19; Holley 1984:7). Traditional Elders interviewed by Conway in the 1980s stated that the pictographs of canoes were made in the context of sorcery in order to avert Iroquois attacks (Conway and Conway 1989:53). This is a more likely scenario, both because the Iroquois did not have a tradition of creating rock art and because the images correspond to pictographic productions of the Algonquian-speaking peoples of the Canadian Shield (Conway 1976b:20).

This attribution of the pictographs' authorship to other groups, such as the *maymaygweshiwuk*, or to people "from long ago" is common in the Shield and contributes to the secrecy of this form

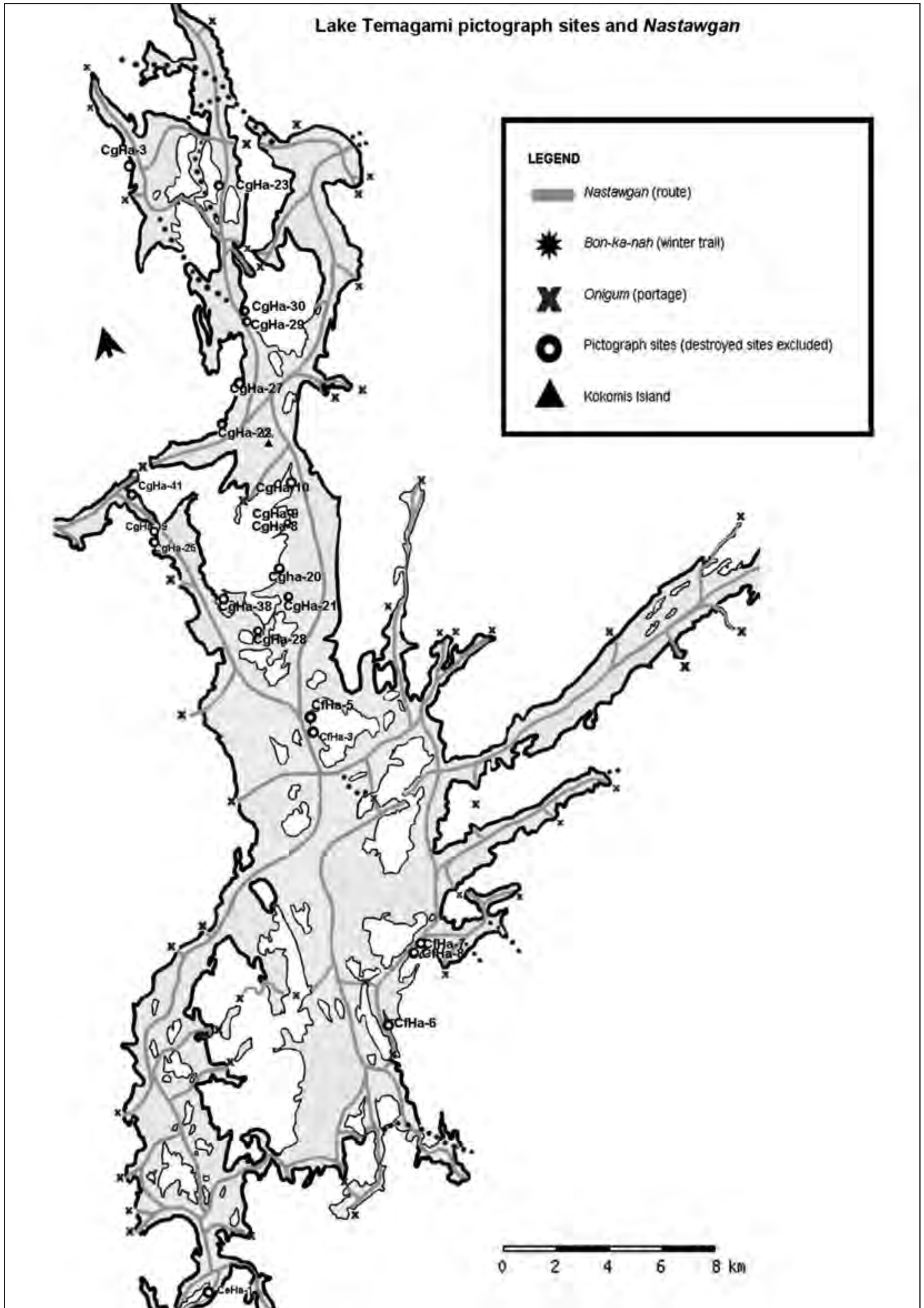

Figure 4. *Lake Temagami sites and Nastawgan (after Macdonald [1985b]).*

Figure 5. *Anima Nipissing pictograph site (ChGx-1) (Anima Nipissing Lake). The arrows point to the location of the panels.*

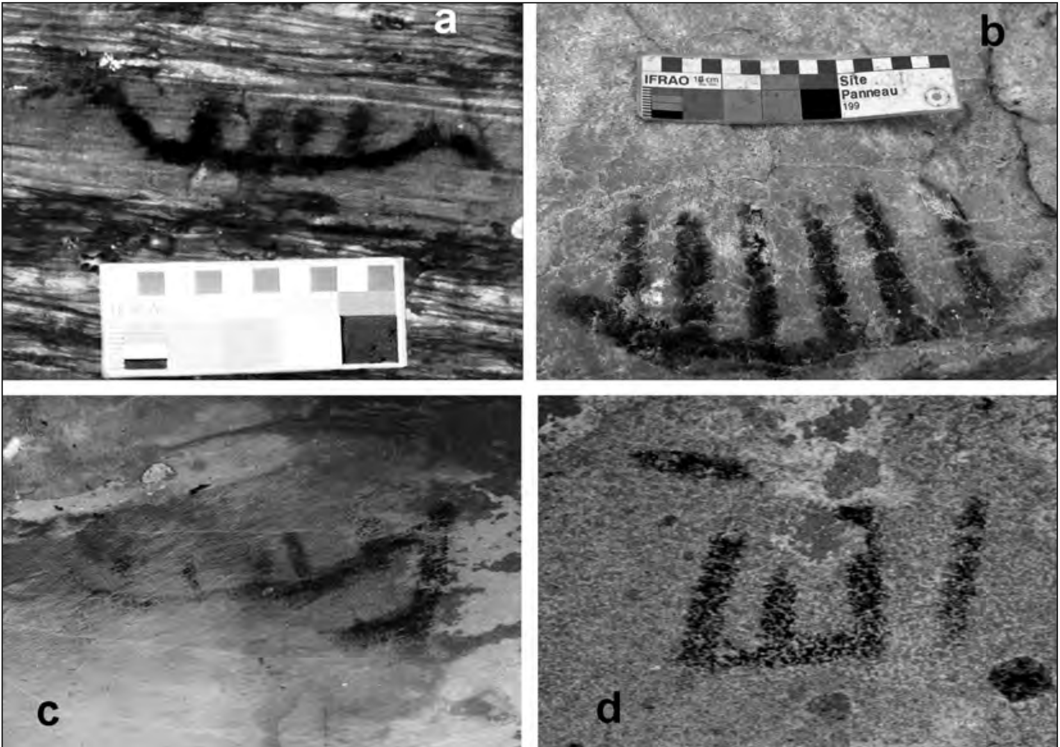

Figure 6. *Canoe motifs. Anima Nipissing pictograph site (ChGx-1) (a), Diamond Lake site (ChHb-1) (b), Northwest Arm Pictograph site (CgHa-19) (Lake Temagami) (c), Portage Bay 2 Pictograph site (CfHa-08) (Lake Temagami) (d). The motifs have been digitally enhanced for better visibility.*

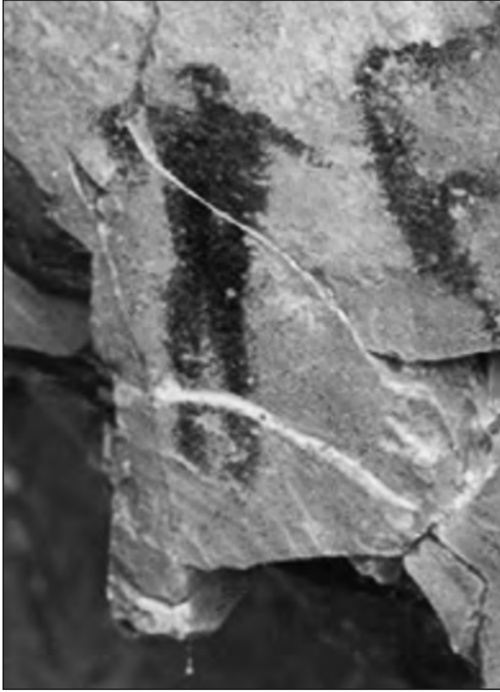

Figure 7. *Anthropomorph. Longpoint Lake (CkHd-1). The motif has been digitally enhanced for better visibility.*

of visual expression, especially if the images were created in the context of sorcery, which was dreaded (e.g., Hallowell 1992:96). However, the *maymaygweshiwuk*, associated with rock art, were also present in the area and were in some cases linked with particular sites, such as the Diamond Lake site or the pictograph sites on Bear Island (Lemaitre 2013:128; Speck 1915a:82; Twain 2003:14). These other-than-human persons could have been credited with the creation of the images. Rock art in the area seems to have been made well into the nineteenth century. The last person who was associated with it was Wendaban, a medicine man who passed away at the end of the nineteenth century (Conway and Conway 1989:56).

Previous Research on the Temagami Area Rock Art

Some of the earliest rock art studies in Canada were undertaken in the Temagami area. In June of 1906, W. Phillips (1907), an assistant to David Boyle, recorded the pictographs at Diamond Lake and the south arm of Lady Evelyn Lake (now submerged). Nothing more was done until 1959, when Selwyn Dewdney recorded three sites on Lake Temagami (CfHa-3, CfHa-5, CgHa-19, and the destroyed CfHa-10[12] ; the Diamond Lake site; two sites on Upper Grassy Lake (CkHh-2, CkHh-3); one site on Ferris Lake (CkHg-1); and, in 1965, one site on Matachewan Lake (DaHe-4) and one site on Lake Matagamasi (CeHd-1) (Dewdney and Kidd 1967:92-94, 152-153). The Ferris Lake site and Upper Grassy Lake site (CkHh-3) were also photographed in 1958 by John Macfie (1958), an employee of the Department of Lands and Forests. Knight (1971:27) recorded the Anima-Nipissing pictograph site (ChGx-1) and Dewdney recorded it in 1973 (Figure 5).[13] In 1973, Dewdney and Tassé attempted to locate the submerged Lady Evelyn Lake site with the help of divers. Though they were unsuccessful, they did discover another submerged rock face on the Lady Evelyn River with pictographs, of which they secured some photographs (Dewdney 1977: 18, 32, fig. 10; Tassé 1977:45, 48).

In the 1970s, the regional archaeologist, Thor Conway, began studying the rock art of northeastern Ontario, reporting on and recording many new sites. His research led to fresh ethnographic material, as well as new insight into rock art and its placement within the sacred landscape (e.g., Conway 1976a, 1976b, 1976c, 1980, 1981b, 1988, 1993). Julie Conway assisted him in this endeavour (Conway 1979; Conway and Conway 1989). Pollock (1992:51) mentioned a rock art site on Wawiagama Lake. Gordon (1992:21) noted the Deer Island pictographs (CgHa-23), and, in 1994, while surveying Lake

[12] Dewdney recorded CfHa-3 and CfHa-5 as one site. CfHa-10 was already destroyed when Dewdney went to investigate it. However, Conway was later shown the location of the site and assigned it its Borden number in 1982.

[13] Site card located at the New World Archaeology Department (Royal Ontario Museum) in the Selwyn Dewdney Rock Art Research Collection, Series 1: Pictograph Reproductions.

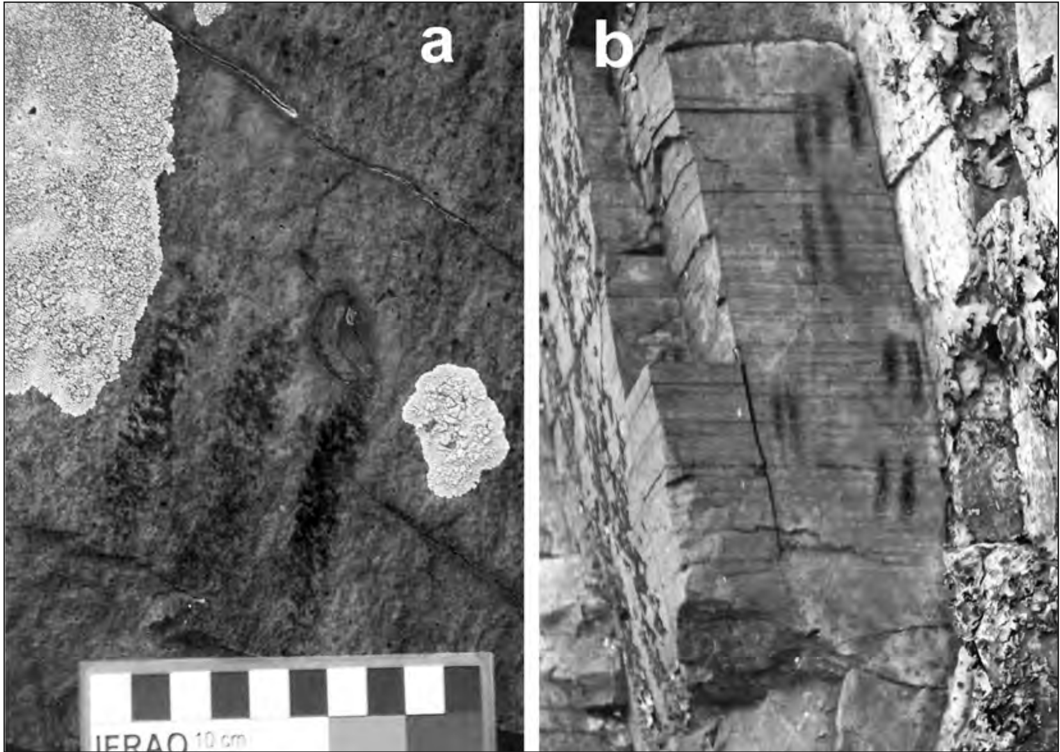

Figure 8. *Tally marks. Lake Temagami Pictograph site (CfHa-6) (a), Shady Grove site (ChGx-2) (Anima Nipissing Lake) (b). The motifs have been digitally enhanced for better visibility.*

Figure 9. *Bird track. Diamond Lake site (ChHb-1).*

Temagami, she photographed previously known sites (CfHa-3, CgHa-28, CgHa-21, CfHa-8, and CfHa-6) (Gordon 1995). Luke Dalla Bona (2001) reported a pictograph site on Wapus Creek. Serge Lemaitre (1999, 2013) was the next researcher to tackle the pictographs of Temagami, in his doctoral thesis examining the sites of northeastern Ontario and western Québec. Lemaitre examined their graphic content and their landscape context, putting forth interpretations linking the two. He examined the motifs and their distribution across the Shield region and (re-)recorded all of the sites (see also Lemaitre and Decart 2008). The location of rock art sites in the Temagami area has also been made accessible through canoeing maps that highlight the cultural heritage of the area (Friends of Temagami 2012; Wilson 2004).

Rock Art and Routes of the Temagami Area

The *nastawgan* in the Temagami area are predominantly water routes, and they tend to be developed especially on major lakes and rivers. On major lakes, the routes would change depending on wind and wave direction, and islands and points would be used as lee shores. *Bon-ka-nah* trails were also present, and their major intersections were located, for example, at Diamond Lake, Florence Lake, and Round Lake. The winter trails were also located in the north of Lake Temagami, around Ferguson Bay and around Rabbit Lake (Macdonald 1985b). Macdonald's map depicts around 5,000 km of nastawgan; however, overland trails known as *Mekums* (Pollock 1994:54) were also present in the area. These trails were marked by tree blazing (Pollock 1992:51).

This study concerns 40 pictograph sites located in *n'Daki Menan* that have enough information on their location in relation to the *nastawgan* route network. These 40 sites are located on Lake Temagami (22), Anima Nipissing Lake (6), Obabika Lake (5), Longpoint Lake (2), Diamond Lake (1), Obabika Inlet (1), Lake 1895 (1), the Matabitchuan River (1), and Wapus Creek (1). Out of these 40 sites, 34 were seen in person and 3 are newly re-discovered (CgHa-41, ChGx-23, ChGx-24). This includes one site on Lake Temagami and two sites on Anima Nipissing Lake.[14]

Upon plotting the 40 pictograph sites in relation to travel routes, it became apparent that 37 are located on *nastawgan*; 6 are located near *Bon-ka-nah* trails; 7 sites are located near portages and 1 is located at a portage; 15 sites are located at narrows and 7 sites lead to narrows; and 26 sites are near route intersections (Table 1). Lake Temagami is crisscrossed by many routes, which attests to its importance as an aggregation area, as do the numerous archaeological and pictograph sites located on it (e.g., Gordon 1990). The routes connected settlements; resource areas, such as quarry sites; and sacred sites (Figure 4). Of the 22 sites on Lake Temagami, 19 are definitely on *nastawgan*, while 2 (CgHa-20 and Cgha-28) may have been on a route depending on the weather conditions, when the islands on which they are located could have been used as lee shores. Two sites are near *Bon-ka-nah* trails (CgHa-29 and CgHa-30), ten sites are at narrows and five lead to narrows. Thirteen sites are located near route intersections.

Rock Art and Navigation

The relationship between water routes and pictograph sites appears to be strong. Sites located on water routes may have participated in the negotiation of paths because of their location near travel points of interest, such as portages or narrows, and because they were visually salient. Among the sites that command visual attention is the Deer Island pictograph site (CgHa-23) in the north of Lake Temagami (Figures 4 and 10). The site is located at a narrows near an intersection of routes going north to Whitefish Bay, west to Sharp Rock Inlet, and east to Ferguson Bay. Its location at a narrows would have made it easier to notice by canoe travellers. The site is easily spotted thanks to the widespread white precipitate on the rock. The images, which consist of crosses and smears, are barely visible against the background. However, the cliff itself may have served as a landmark and thus could have implicated the images in route navigation.

Another site that stands out from its background is the Whitewater Portage site (ChGx-3) on Lake Anima Nipissing (Figure 11). The site, located near a portage that leads to Whitewater Lake, is located near the intersection of two routes, one leading to Whitewater Lake and another leading further south on Anima Nipissing Lake. The dome -shaped cliff stands out sharply from the surrounding shore, which is overgrown by trees and bushes. Here as well the images are painted on a lighter -coloured cliff that is streaked with white precipitate deposits. Yet another interesting example is provided by the Diamond Lake site (ChHb-1) (Figure 12). This site is located in a narrow arm of the lake near a portage

[14] One of the sites on Anima Nipissing Lake (Crow Rock Bay) was discovered in 2009 along with Dr. Serge Lemaitre, Prof. Daniel Arsenault and Dr. Steven Waller. The sites were located by shore survey.

that leads to nearby Lady Evelyn Lake. With the exception of one bear, the human and animal figures face north, where the portage is located. The physical characteristics of the site itself make it a good landmark. The images are painted on a white crystalline background, which stands out against the surrounding thick forest and darker cliffs.

Some sites are only visible from a particular direction; they would therefore only be seen by those going a specific way. Among these sites is the Portage Bay 2 Pictograph (CfHa-08) on Lake Temagami (Figures 4 and 13). This site is located on a diamond -shaped, light -coloured rock that can be observed only when one is travelling north on Portage Bay. The northern direction leads to two routes, one to Cross Bay and the other to High Rock Island. Another example is the Windy Arm Pictograph (ChGx-23) on Lake Anima Nipissing (Figure 14). The site is located near an intersection of three routes, one leading east to Anima Nipissing Lake, one leading northwest to a portage to Harris Lake, and one leading southwest to Diabase Lake. This site, where four oblique lines are depicted, is located on a jutting point of land at a narrows and can only be seen when one is going west though the narrows. Finally, some sites may be implicated in route negotiation because they are unusual. One such site is the Northwest Arm Pictograph (CgHa-19) on Lake Temagami (Figures 4 and 15). Located at a narrows, the site is unusual for being on a small boulder. The image hidden by tree branches represents a canoe depicted in blocky outline instead of the usual crescent line or straight line with perpendicular lines representing occupants (Figure 6). The images were most likely created in a spiritual context; however, by virtue of their location on prominent cliffs, on portages, or at route intersections, they may have become drawn into a role of a navigational landmark.

Figure 10. *Deer Island pictograph site (CgHa-23) (Lake Temagami). The black square indicates the location of the pictographs.*

Figure 11. *Whitewater Portage site (ChGx-3) (Anima Nipissing Lake). The white squares indicate the locations of the pictographs.*

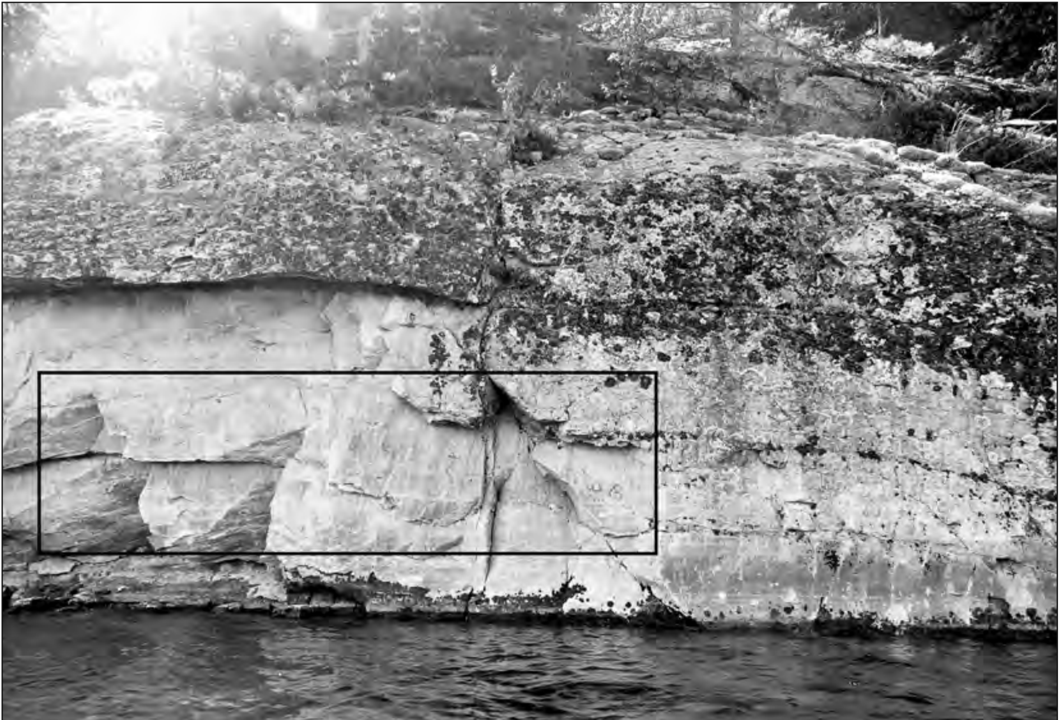

Figure 12. *Diamond Lake site (ChHb-1). The black square indicates the location of the pictographs.*

Figure 13. *Portage Bay 2 Pictograph (CfHa-08) (Lake Temagami).*

Rock Art and Travel Rituals

As previously discussed, the assistance of other-than-human beings was sought in order to secure safe travel and good weather. As the Jesuits reported, "[a]t perilous places in the Rivers, they propitiate the eddies and rapids by offering them presents" (Thwaites 1896-1901:50:287). Other-than-human persons were often supplicated with offerings thrown into the water, especially tobacco, but also dogs (e.g., Densmore 2007:81, Henry 1921:107; Long 1922:58; Tanner 1979:98). These travel -related rituals were also performed at rock art sites, such as *Rocher à l'Oiseau* (Sagard 1939[1632]:171) or the Silent Rapid site (Mackenzie 1902:1:cxxi), especially if the sites were located near narrows or rapids inhabited by other-than-human persons. The *maymaygweshiwuk* were also propitiated for safe passage on lakes and for good weather (e.g., Jenness 1935:42; for further discussion of offerings and rock art, see Zawadzka [2008:139-143]).

Travel rituals could also have been performed in the Temagami area. In the northern part of Lake Temagami are some landscape features connected with mythological stories (Back 2004:65; Speck 1915a:68). Kokomis Island (Granny Island), located near Granny Bay and Devil's Bay, is connected to a story of a woman transformed into a stone. The effigy on Granny Island (CgHa-16) used to be honoured with offerings, until it was knocked off in the second half of the twentieth century (Back 2004:65, 200; Gordon 1995:12; Jones 1900:53-54) (Figure 16). Conway and Conway (1989:54-55) were informed that in the Temagami area there are private and public sacred sites, such as rock effigy shrines. The public shrines, such as the Grandfather Rocks on Lake Obabika and the rock formation on Granny Island on Lake Temagami, are located on major travel routes and have rock art sites located nearby. The effigy on Granny Island was surrounded by rock art sites. To the west there is the Granny Bay Pictograph (CgHa-22), to the north there are three more sites

Figure 14. *Windy Arm Pictograph (ChGx-23) (Anima Nipissing Lake).*

Figure 15. *Northwest Arm Pictograph (CgHa-19) (Lake Temagami).*

(CgHa-27, CgHa-29, and CgHa-30), and to the south is the Sealrock Point Pictograph (Cgha-10) (Figure 4).

This section of Lake Temagami where Kokomis Island is located can be dangerous because five different channels of the lake and their associated winds meet there (Back 2004:65; Gordon 1995:11-12). Rock art sites surround this open stretch of water and they may have been places where rituals were performed for a safe journey. The connection between rock art sites and Kokomis Island is strengthened as well by the positioning of the effigy. According to Elder Bill Twain, "[f]rom a distance the rock looked like a lady, you could see the head and face *when coming south*" (Gordon 1995:12; emphasis added). The Trout Cliff Pictograph (CgHa-27), located north of Kokomis Island, is visible only when one is coming south. This orientation may possibly represent a connection between these two places (Figure 17).

Secrecy and Avoidance

The sample of 40 sites contained only a single pictograph site, on Lake Temagami, that was significantly removed from travel routes. The site, named Mathias (after the Elder Alex Mathias of Obabika Lake) (CgHa-38), is located in a natural amphitheatre in an isolated bay (Figures 4 and 18). Such hidden sites were meant to be secret and very likely were fasting places. Such sites, which would not be visited or approached during commutes, may also have actively participated in path negotiation. However, this time, they acted as markers of places where dangerous spiritual powers lived and which were avoided. Dewdney reported the following discussion in 1956 with a Lac Seul Ojibway regarding a site on Vermillion River (Ontario):

> [...] in the rock cliff carrying the pictographs was a crevice in which tobacco was placed by Indian who passed this way. He told me this half playing, but when I asked him if he also placed tobacco in the crevice, he replied that he did. He told me that the tobacco placed in the niche was always gone when they next passed that way. George also said that *some people (he didn't know who) are afraid when passing this place* having at time heard a slow thumping as of a drum coming from the rock. When I asked George if the 'Mameingwessi' were supposed to have done that painting, he answered in the affirmative [Dewdney Collection 1960-1966; emphasis added].

Rock art was not the only place associated with avoidance for fear of its inhabitants (e.g., Hind 1860:2:39, 133; Long 1922:175). Speck described one such site on Obabika Lake.

> Obabika lake is called *Ma'nitu Pi-pa'gi* "Spirit Echo." On the eastern shore of this lake is a great rock where a Manitu is believed to live. Whenever anyone makes a noise in the vicinity, the Manitu becomes angry and growls. His plaints, the Indians believe, can be clearly heard when he is offended. The Ojibwa never go near there when they can avoid it; and they seldom throw a stone in the lake, splash their paddles, or shoot their guns near its shores [Speck 1915a:76].[15]

Granny Island was also avoided for fear of spiritual forces (Jones 1900:54), and possibly the rock art sites located nearby served to deflect some of the ritual activity associated with this sacred site.

Rock Art and Human Paths

Rock art fulfilled one more function in relation to paths. As mentioned previously, humans, animals,

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[15] Speck is mistaken in attributing the toponym *Ma'nitu Pi-pa'gi* to Obabika Lake. There is a Lake *Manito-peepagee* or *Man-i-doo Pee-baw-gee* S. (Macdonald 1985b) (Manitou Lake) south of Obabika Lake and west of Lake Temagami. Barlow (1907:27-28) reports that "The action of the frost and weather is continually loosening large masses of these cliffs [slate or greywacké], which then fall with a great noise, and this phenomenon is so frequent that one of the lakes (Manito-peepagee), to the west of Lake Timagami, has received its name on the supposition that the Evil One was the cause of the disturbance."

Figure 16. *Rock effigy at Kokomis Island. Reproduced From 1905 Timagami, Mississagua, French River and that Sort of Thing. Rod and Gun 6(11):585-598, pp. 594.*

and other-than-human persons all have their own roads, which they travel periodically and on which they leave their tracks. These tracks are not only indicators of movement and of the experiences associated with this movement, but also signs of the beings that left them. Rock art marks the passage of those who came before and who made it. It is a repository of memory and of knowledge about the landscape and about those who dwell in it. Rock art was made by humans or by the *maymaygweshiwuk*. As such, it socializes the landscape and provides evidence of a landscape shared with other-than-human beings. The latter are often said to paddle their canoe into the rock cliffs that are their abodes. Rock art becomes the threshold track that they leave behind between their world and that of the humans. For humans, rock art indicated nodes in the landscape where communication with other-than-human beings could take place and where rituals could be performed. The *nastawgan* network helped to connect these places in the landscape —yet at the same time, these places helped people to navigate the routes by becoming landmarks encountered on the way and, possibly, being employed in rituals to guarantee a safe journey.

Conclusion

Pathways were ubiquitous in the universe of the mobile hunter-gatherers of the Canadian Shield. Whether they were travelled during day-to-day life or to wage a war, whether people travelled them

Figure 17. *Trout Cliff Pictograph (CgHa-27) (Lake Temagami). The white square indicates the location of the pictographs.*

while asleep or awake, or whether they were part of oral traditions, paths shaped those who ventured onto them. Orientation along a path was maintained through the observation of the environment, as well as through "piloting' between landmarks or following anthropic cues left behind by band members. Rock art may have also participated in path negotiation by acting as a landmark located along travel routes or strategic locations, such as narrows or portages. The Algonquian-speaking people of northeastern Ontario maintained a system of traditional roads known as *nastawgan*. An analysis of the distribution of 40 pictograph sites in the Temagami area in relation to the *nastawgan* network revealed the close connection between rock art sites and traditional routes. Sites were located in strategic locations, such as narrows, or in the vicinity of portages. More than half of the sites were also located at route intersections. The original intentions of rock art makers may have been multiple. These images could have been painted as a result of puberty vision quests or encounters with *maymaygweshiwuk*, or as deterrent art against the Iroquois. The original meaning of the message may have been lost over time, yet the sites remained vital elements in the cultural landscape (Norder 2012a). Their strategic placement would have rendered these sites practical landmarks in the negotiation of the *nastawgan* trails. Furthermore, the location of these sites along routes indicates their public and accessible status and, therefore, that their message was meant to be seen.

Rock art sites may have also been places where rituals for safe journeys were enacted, further strengthening the relationship between the sites and travel routes. The marking of places along *nastawgan* also asserted human presence in a landscape that was shared with other-than-human beings. Rock art reminded people of human presence, of their ancestors who created it and told stories about it —and this memory would be reinforced each time these places were passed on

Figure 18. *Mathias site (CgHa-38) (Lake Temagami). The white square indicates the location of the pictographs.*

the *nastawgan*. Paths are closely linked with experiences, and they weave places in the landscape together. The *nastawgan* helped to integrate rock art sites. At the same time, rock art helped to negotiate these trails. As such, it emerges as a complex phenomenon, playing various roles in the landscape that go beyond the sacred dimension.

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L'art rupestre de la région de Temagami, situé dans le Nord-Est de l'Ontario dans le Bouclier canadien,représente une des plus grandes concentrations de cette forme d'expression visuelle. Créé par les peuples de langues algonquiennes, il fait partie intégrante de leur paysage culturel. Une analyse de la répartition de quarante sites de pictogrammes concernant des routes traditionnelles connues sous le nom nastawgan a révélé qu'une écrasante majorité est située sur les routes ainsi que près de rétrécissements, de portages ou d'intersections de routes. Leur emplacement semble identifier leur rôle dans la navigation du paysage. Il est soutenu que l'art rupestre a agi comme point de repère d'orientation, comme marqueur de lieux reliés à des rituels de voyages et finalement, comme signe d'occupation humaine dans le paysage. Les ressources tangibles et non tangibles dans lesquelles l'art rupestre est imprégné démontrent les relations qui existent entre les personnes, les lieux et le paysage culturel, et elles soulignent l'importance de cette forme d'expression visuelle.

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