THE *RE*-INVENTION OF TRADITION AND THE MARKETING OF CULTURAL VALUES[1]

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Abstract: The concept of the invention of tradition has gained widespread acceptance and innumerable applications. However, consideration of the re-invention of tradition, particularly in the scope of material studies, has received minimal coverage. Increased production and marketing of Native-made "dream catchers" provides an excellent example. Derived from traditional baby charms no longer made to protect the developing infant, as a re-invented tradition this form is now rendered as earrings and ornamental items for car and home. For Natives, dream catchers serve a dual purpose in providing a cash return while simultaneously "marketing" Native values and spirituality.

Résumé: Inventer la tradition, ce concept est de plus en plus reconnu et a de nombreuses applications. Cependant, toute considération portant sur la ré-invention de la tradition, et en particulier dans l'optique des études sur les objets fabriqués, n'a reçu qu'une faible publicité. Un très bon exemple de cela est la production et la diffusion des «attrape-rêves» (dream catchers) créés par les populations indigènes. Inspirés des amulettes traditionnelles destinées à protéger les nouveaux-nés, ces objets connaissent une nouvelle existence sous forme de boucles d'oreilles et d'ornements destinés à la voiture ou à la maison. Pour les amérindiens, ces «dream catchers» ont une double utilité, ils fournissent une source de revenus tout en faisant la promotion de la spiritualité et des valeurs indigènes.

In their 1983 edited volume, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger present the concept of inventing tradition. According to Hobsbawm in his introductory article in that volume, " 'Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1). Furthermore, he remarks that in a broad sense invented tradition "includes both 'traditions' actually invented,

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constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less traceable manner within a brief and datable period—a matter of a few years perhaps—and establishing themselves with great rapidity" (ibid.). Significant, too, is the deliberate inculcation of certain norms and values with an implied historic past. While this concept has gained widespread acceptance and innumerable applications within anthropological circles, consideration of the *re*-invention—that is, a re-introduction and expansive adoption of an actual historic and ethnographically documented tradition, particularly in the scope of material culture studies—has received minimal coverage.

I became intrigued with this concept when I perceived the ubiquity of dream catchers that were being offered for sale from coast to coast in Canada and the United States, from as far north as Attiwapiskat on James Bay and at least as far south as Denver, Colorado, in the United States (Brasser 1994). These circular objects filled with a spider-web-like netting are being produced in various sizes and from a range of materials in Victoria, British Columbia,[2] in the west and Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the east, with countless other locations in between. Dream catchers are being made by Native artisans and marketed through mail-order catalogues,[3] sold in airports, souvenir stands, commercially run museum shops and Native craft stores.[4] On a more personal level, individual artists vend their products at powwows,[5] craft fairs and tourist outlets. More recently, specialized craft kits have been made available to "crafters" in general, irrespective of their heritage.[6] Marketing strategies are targeted—intentionally or unintentionally—so that any person, anywhere, in any income bracket, whether traveller, art collector or at-home shopper, has ready access to dream catchers.

Fashioned as pairs of earrings or single ornamental items, dream catchers range in size from less than an inch to about a foot in diameter.[7] Variation in size correlates with their intended purpose: whether they are to be worn, hung from the rear-view mirror of a vehicle or displayed in homes, offices or collections. Materials vary from the more traditional indigenous ones that use willow for the circular frame and sinew for the netting to contemporary substitutes of plastic and synthetic sinew. Items intended as jewellery are wrought from sterling silver and silver-coloured metals. Decorative elements on larger ones may include a single feather attached to the centre, hide wrappings and/or fringes, tassels of beads and feathers suspended from the frame or tiny beads caught into the netting, reminiscent of the dewdrops caught in a spider's web. A singular example has a bear carved from bone, polished and then suspended on the netted surface. Furthermore, regionally associated materials are incorporated into items crafted in specific locales, as, for example, sterling silver and turquoise featured in the jewellery forms originating from the American Southwest.[8] In all instances the netted infill presents a uniformity which suggests a formulaic mathematical precision for easy replication.

As a marketable item, dream catchers meet the accepted requirements of souvenir art: small, portable and non-perishable, as well as being hand-crafted and sold at reasonable prices (cf. Graburn 1976; Hail 1991; Krech 1991). In addition, they are considered functional, for they can be worn, used as ornaments or serve as a potential source of well-being;[9] protect a vehicle operator; shield computers from viruses; filter messages; and validate a traveller's trip. Their exoticism as material reminders of "the other" renders them desirable as gifts; moreover, dream catchers tangibly signify and project—at least to the non-Native audience—the collector's empathy and a presumed understanding of Native culture. Larger-scale art pieces, created as the consequence of dreams experienced by the artist, and thus manifesting a further significance of creativity and mystical experience, reiterate the purchaser's knowledge and appreciation of art, especially Native art.

Most significantly, each dream catcher is presented with a "story," "legend" or "myth"—either in printed form or given orally by the vendor. The legends are essentially similar in meaning with only minor differences in content. A sample reads as follows:

> The legend of the Dream Catcher originated when the child of a Woodland chief fell ill and could not sleep due to bad dreams and fever. The Medicine woman of the tribe formed a circle from a willow branch and with sinew, borrowed the pattern from our brother the spider who weaves a web. The dream catcher was hung over the bed of the child and soon the fever broke and the child slept peacefully. It is said that at night, when dreams visit, they are caught in the web and only the good dreams find their way and filter down through the feather. When the morning sun comes, the bad dreams that are caught in the web are burnt away. The good dreams, now knowing the path, visit again on other nights.

At the conclusion of this particular version we are transported back from a simulated and atemporal mythical past to the present,[10] and an intimacy between producer and purchaser is invoked by this statement: "With our warm hearts, we at the Pine Tree Native Centre of Brant, made this especially for you. May your dream catcher bring everything it is supposed to."

Furthermore, an Ojibwa variant of the legend stresses a Native belief that "dreams have magical qualities [with] the ability to change or direct their path in Life." Another rendition acknowledges that "Dreams are the messengers between the spirit world and everyday life. Bad dreams are caught in the dreamcatcher's web and good dreams escape through the centre to become reality." Yet another version demonstrates an awareness of current marketing ethics and environmental issues with the inclusion of the following message which states, "These reproductions are made of willow, imitation sinew, and feathers of assorted *non-endangered birds*." Thus, the message tells us that renewable resources are utilized, implicitly reassures animal rights activists that

no animal suffered to provide sinew and addresses the concerns of naturalists and environmentalists against the wanton killing or mutilation of scarce avian breeding populations. Concomitantly, the list of materials also intimates these as the customary (that is, "traditional") choices used generation after generation.

Together these objects and legends conjure up romanticized images of cultural ideals and traditions; of a people intimately in tune with nature; of a communication between the spirit world and the human world; of a simpler past when the world was suffused with universal love and concern for one other; and the implied promise that this will again become a reality. I sense that the stereotypical image of the "Noble Savage" (cf. Berkhofer 1979:73-80, 86-91) presented by this contemporary advocacy is being marketed by Native artists and entrepreneurs as a means to educate the non-Native public of the strengths of Native spirituality and values. For the Native makers and consumers, dream catchers also exemplify and tangibly acknowledge their cultural values, their beliefs in the revelations and efficacious nature of dreams and, ultimately, their personal identity.

It is through this conscious marketing that the layered messages contained in these "traditional" items are disseminated to Natives and non-Natives alike. As a consequence, these objects have become icons of Native beliefs and spirituality[11] and, as such, have been appropriated both by white artists to project a romantic mysticism of shamanism and by individuals who wish to project a newly discovered awareness of their Native heritage. Non-Native and self-acclaimed "metaphysical artist" Susan Seddon Boulet, for example, incorporates the dream catcher as a conspicuous image in her shamanic art reproduced on art calendars.[12] The latter group is represented here by Jerry Evans, a printmaker whose recent work has centred on exploring Native culture and iconography. The basis for the five lithographs displayed in the exhibit *But, Enough About Me: Artists Talk About Identity* (Johnson 1993) is found in Evans' discovery several years ago that part of his heritage included Micmac ancestry. This exhibition documents his first efforts at developing a visual language which addresses his need to bridge the expanse existing between the two cultures. His strategy in these initial prints was to select and reinterpret symbols and imagery widely regarded as Native. Significantly, in addition to feathers and traditional quillwork patterns, Evans has appropriated and reused dream catchers to look into the past, as someone who is neither an insider nor completely an outsider, to determine what it means to say, "Part of me shares in this Native culture" (ibid.).

Critical to this discussion is the speed with which dream catchers have become entrenched as "traditional items," representative of Native values. Although firm dates are somewhat tenuous at this point, it appears that the proliferation of these items has taken place over the past 10 years or so. Certainly,

this rapidity in establishing dream catchers as "traditional" items concurs with Hobsbawm's second consideration as a criterion for the invention of a tradition. However, if we explore the symbolic referents encapsulated in these icons and then examine them against the archaeological and ethnographic evidence, another picture emerges.

The concept of nets in general, and spider webs in particular, as metaphors of protection (by ensnaring undesirable and malevolent forces) has a long and extensive history in the Americas.[13] Material evidence for this occurs as early as A.D. 100 in Peru with the archaeological uncovering of the undisturbed remains of a Moche lord, buried wearing a necklace comprised of several circular gold spider webs complete with spiders (Alva 1990:4). Somewhat later in pre-hispanic Mesoamerica, spiders, webs and Grandmother Spider (also known as Spider Woman) were rendered as pictorial images on artifacts and paintings as well as incorporated into glyphs. Such visual imagery in the Mayan murals and Aztec codices was closely associated with creation, women and water (see Taube 1983 for a detailed analysis). In a similar vein, depictions of nets have been interpreted as an Aztec means for social control that effectively removed undesirable miscreants from that society and thus provided protection for the general populace (Burkhart 1989; Franco 1954; Klein 1990:81-103). Cecilia Klein (1983) has also demonstrated that the netted circular abdomens of insects depicted in Aztec iconography served to catch and remove illness, an interpretation more closely linked to the level of analysis here.

Within the last century, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic records for certain areas of Mexico and North America document the use of small netted hoops imbued with inherent symbolic protection. One form, considered to be a miniature netted shield, has been recorded for the Huichol of Mexico, the Pueblo groups of the southwest and among the tribes of the Plains (Culin 1907; Cushing 1896; Dumarest 1905; Lowie 1922; Lumholtz 1900; Parsons 1918, 1939; Taube 1983:129-135; Toor 1947; White 1932). In his discussion of the protective powers of all circular shields of the Southwest and Great Plains, Ronald McCoy (1988) suggests that with the advent of the white man's weapons, the shield became useless as a defensive weapon. However, the shield's protective powers were retained in the miniature shields, about six inches in diameter, which were worn in a "man's scalp lock or around his neck—ample testimony that a shield's importance was not confined to its actual ability for offering physical protection but in its inherent power to invoke supernatural aid" (McCoy 1988:25). Earlier, Stewart Culin (1907) had first recognized the inherent mystical and protective powers of both shields and spider webs in the small netted hoops worn by Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. Culin went on to suggest that this type of (netted) shield symbolized a spider web, the protective mantle created by Spider Woman. Indeed, a "Zuni myth

describes Spider People weaving a shield known, appropriately enough, as a 'spider-web shield' " (McCoy 1988:29).

Moving into the Northeastern Woodlands, a visually similar form was used among the Algonquian peoples.[14] In these societies the older women made circular netted charms of willow and sinew to be dangled from the hoop of a *tikanagan* (cradle board) or attached to a moss bag to protect the baby by ensnaring—as Frances Densmore (1929:52) recorded for the Ojibwa—"everything evil as a spider's web catches and holds everything that comes in contact with it." Analogous usage was noted by Regina Flannery for the East Cree of the James Bay region (1962:477; 1992). Evil in this context refers to colds, illness, bad spirits and malevolent powers. Because the infant was protected from these invisible and negative forces, it was able to grow into a competent, productive adult capable of providing for him- or herself and for the group in general. Thus, as an efficacious defence mechanism these netted baby charms serve as a tangible metaphor of protection and provision. On a deeper level, the tiny circular cobweb-like nets make reference to the mythic arrival of the first people on earth who descend from the upper world on a line spun by the "Great Net-Maker" or "Spider" (Ellis 1989:5-8). Implicit in this spider thread is a secondary theme of connectedness inherent in the lines linking the spiritual world with the physical world.

However, in the Woodlands area, museum documentation, ethnographic accounts and recent field work all suggest that no extant examples or evidence for the use of these netted charms exists throughout the past 30 or 40 years.[15] My own field work revealed that among the Cree on the west coast of James Bay only one of the elders was able to recall charms such as these. However, on the lower east coast, a few of the older women had actually used these *hiibii* (nets) to protect their own babies from illness. Nonetheless, the practice even at that time was no longer common (for further details see Oberholtzer 1993). Moving further east, preliminary research of Micmac ethnography and mythology reveals no mention of these charms (see, for example, Rand 1894; Wallis and Wallis 1955, 1957; Whitehead 1988). And among the Iroquois, there are no examples of these infant charms, and references to spiders and their webs appear only in their mythology (Engler 1995; Parker 1923, 1926; Speck 1945; Spence 1932; Tooker 1994; Trigger 1978).

Based on the scope of this material evidence, we can argue that on one level the metaphor of protection expressed in this tangible spider-web form is indeed pan-cultural,[16] supported by great historical depth. From this same evidence I would also argue that an awareness of this layer of symbolic meaning, if it was realized, had become forgotten or deliberately submerged for a period of time. Currently, the Cree, Ojibwa (Chippewa), Lakota,[17] Navajo,[18] Huron, Mohawk, Iroquois[19] and Micmac each claim these objects and legends as being traditional to their respective cultures, despite more recent ethnographic

evidence to the contrary. Rather, the evidence suggests that this singular form with its deeper meaning was retrieved first as a revived tradition by the Ojibwa (see also Engler 1995:18). Receiving an overwhelmingly positive response, the newly created "Dream Catcher" rapidly acquired a widespread adoption by other First Nations. Thus, in an effort to achieve the ideological solidarity offered by the prevailing pan-Indian movement, this object became *re*-invented to serve as a symbol and an icon for that solidarity. In doing so the dream catcher serves a multilayered purpose, functioning foremost to establish and reinforce Native identity. At the same time, production and sales provide a cash return while concomitantly "marketing" Native values and spirituality.

This marketing of dream catchers—and with them the allusions of buying and selling of dreams—brings into focus the divergent concepts about dreams and dreaming held by Natives and non-Natives. Antithetic to the Western belief that dreams originate within the brain (Caldwell 1995:202-220), Natives perceive that dreams and dream visitors are external entities entering the mind during sleep or trance-like episodes. A similar correspondence offered by A. Irving Hallowell (1991:85) reveals that

> The Ojibwa (in short) interpret the manifest content of dreams as experiences of the self, continuous in time and space with those of waking life. For them, the vital, enduring part of a human being can undergo all sorts of experiences while the body—the outer shell—lies quiet and inert in sleep. For us dream images are recognized as self-related when their content is recalled, but they are not integrated with our personal experiences when awake. Our world of dreams is usually considered to be a world of unreality and fantasy that contrasts with perceptually sensed experience when awake.

Turning to evidence provided by Cree collaborators, ethnologist Regina Flannery documents further that dreams were the vehicle for communication with the spirits, and that, in the guise of dream visitors, the spirit(s) made visual and aural contact with the dreamer (Flannery and Chambers 1985:2). Through this communication with dream visitors, spiritual strength, guidance, protection and a glimpse of the future are imparted to the dreamer. The Native dreamer is thus subject to external guidance (cf. Brown and Brightman 1988; Speck 1935:187-190; Tanner 1979:125-128). Conversely, the non-Native dreamer for the most part does not believe scientifically that dreams predict the future as the mind is merely manipulating known facts (cf. Caldwell 1995:210-211). Metaphorically, however, Western thought also encompasses the notion of dreams and dreaming—particularly in the pursuit of future goals or accomplishments—as a conscious wakeful act generated by the "dreamer." Such marketing ploys as the advertising of "dream homes," "dream vacations," "the dream of a life-time" and other desires imply that individuals' dreams can be obtained through the exchange of money or personal labour. Here the

acquisition of a dream catcher, as the tangible nexus of Native and non-Native perceptions of dreams, grants the possessor another avenue of protection. Certainly the symbolic meanings of spirituality and strengths of past traditions embedded within this object are grasped as a means for ameliorating the ills of the times.

While this marketing of dream catchers, with its reciprocal buying of dreams, has been instrumental in developing an awareness of Native cultural heritage, it also evokes questions concerning authenticity, souvenirs and tourist art. Who is making dream catchers and for what reasons: Native or non-Native, as a means of cultural identity, spiritual fulfilment, creative urges, financial gain or self-satisfaction? Who is buying dream catchers and why: Native or non-Native; men, women or children; as personal items or gifts; as mementos of spiritual and/or cultural experiences or places visited? Can dream catchers be considered tourist art when they are both made and purchased by more than one cultural group?[20] Even partial answers to these questions require an accumulation of documented exchanges between artist-vendors and buyers, complemented by extensive interviews. Perhaps then we will be able to gain insight into the identities, aspirations and expectations of both groups.

Further to this discussion, a subsequent interview with artist Nick Huard provides additional information which contributes important considerations to both the specific study of dream catchers and to a broader anthropological analysis of material culture, with particular respect to the diffusion and incorporation of visual and ideological concepts. In March of 1995, Huard was invited by the Canadian Embassy to travel to Caracas, Venezuela, as a visiting artist from Quebec. While there, he gave a workshop in making dream catchers, recounting the myth, detailing the symbolic significance of each material and element used, and teaching, first by demonstrating and then by overseeing, the techniques of construction. Since returning from Caracas, he has given workshops sponsored by the McCord Museum of Canadian History (Montreal) to non-Native children. Although actively and willingly participating in this cross-cultural sharing of skills and ideology, Huard asserts that his own dream catchers, as art forms, are created in response to dreams. As documented evidence for the dissemination of material forms with their embodied symbolism, this knowledge also holds fascinating ramifications for future research in material culture studies.

Happy Dreams.

Notes

1. This paper was originally presented at the Northeastern Anthropological Association Conference in Geneseo, New York, in April 1994. Further research facilitated by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank Nick Huard for sharing the results of his dreams, with further thanks extended to Joan Lester

and to the anonymous reviewers who added insightful comments. All errors, omissions and misinterpretations are my own.

2. One of two examples collected from British Columbia, while identifying the source as Ojibwa, documents that these dream catchers were "made by the Monague Native Crafts Ltd., British Columbia, Canada."
3. See, for example, Nova Scotia Characters which advertises two sizes of dream catchers: Small 3" (104) and Large 5" (105). The description reads: "This magical creation by Mi'Kmaq *Eileen Brooks* catches bad dreams and turns them to good. Features a feather and a precious stone inside a spider-like webbing. A fine gift for the troubled sleeper, child or adult. Makes a soothing window decoration." All other items are non-Native. A second mail-order catalogue, offering a mix of Native and non-Native "Gifts of Distinction from Canada's Cultural Centres," features the Glenbow Museum's "Dream a Little Dream" (B007) and from Wanuskewin Heritage Park the "Traditional dreamcatchers" in elk (Y001) and doe (Y002) as well as "Dreamcatcher earrings" (1" Y003; 5/8" Y004). Both cultural centres are in western Canada. A third example from an all-Native catalogue, The Southwest Indian Foundation, for Christmas 1994 has a cover illustration of an infant laced into a cradle bag with a "dreamcatcher" suspended at its foot. This same illustration is used for a "delightful Christmas Card" (#774). As well, "Sterling Silver and Turquoise Dream Catcher Earrings (#141) and Pendant (#400)" and a rawhide and feathers Dream Catcher Ornament (#474) and Dream Catcher Hanging (6"D #761, 10"D #762) are offered for sale.
4. This widespread availability questions the authenticity of the items produced. Advertisements, such as those of the Indian Arts & Crafts Association (Albuquerque, New Mexico), proclaim their integrity and dedication to protecting, preserving and ethically promoting "honest representations of American Indian arts and crafts" (see specifically *American Indian Art Magazine* 19[1]:108-109). In diametric opposition, the gift shop of the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal has, until very recently, sold "Native" dream catchers but which were, however, made by two non-Native women (Huard 1995).
5. Another line for further exploration takes into consideration the aspect of powwows as movable sacred sites and performances and thus establishes followers as pilgrims. The acquisition of dream catchers becomes comparable to the procurement of religious souvenirs (icons) during a pilgrimage
6. See, for example, sales catalogues produced by Mary Maxim in 1994 and 1995 which offer kits for "Indian Summer Dream Catcher" (80576), "Black Thunder Dream Catcher" (80576), "Dream Catchers" (small, 1 pink, 1 brown: 38433; large: 38432), "Dream Catcher Jewellery" (necklace and pierced earrings: 38437; NOTE: a reduced price is applicable with orders over a specified sum). These kits are advertised as "Exciting Stitchery for Your Home." Significantly, the actual kits include "Instructions printed in English and Spanish" (but not in a Native language) and thus targeting a perceived consumer market. Tandy Leathers also offer kits. I recently purchased four pattern books (produced by non-Native craftspeople) devoted entirely to the making of dream catchers in a variety of forms and materials.
7. Nick Huard, a Montreal-based artist of Micmac ancestry, creates much larger dream catchers as installation pieces but only in response to his dreams. These pieces incorporate "found" items such as animal skulls, feathers, special stones and bones.
8. The inclusion of ostrich feather "eyes" on an Ojibwa example raises further issues regarding trade goods, incorporation of exotic elements and authenticity.
9. A non-Native colleague recently purchased a dream catcher for her father who had been tormented by bad dreams and restless sleep. The remedial effect was immediate and credited entirely to the dream catcher. A newspaper story featured a photograph of a young woman in a hospital bed with a dream catcher conspicuously placed in the forefront of the picture. The headline reads "Saved! Brenda's leg—and her dream of sailing" (*Toronto Star*, March 17, 1995).

10. The allochronicity proposed here through the contrastive use of myth time and/or dream time with atemporality reflects a Western tendency to employ a temporal metaphor for distancing "the other" (who are otherwise historically contemporaneous) and hence objectifying them as "primitive" (cf. Fabian 1983). Empirically, however, there appears to be an ironic twist here for the Native vendors demonstrate an awareness of these temporal metaphors by capitalizing on the mystique of this projected "primitiveness" as an aspect of marketability.
11. According to Huron artist Anne Marin, during the making and marketing of dream catchers at powwows, she "focusses on their spirituality" (Marin 1993). However, nothing further was elicited about her concepts of spirituality nor how she felt it was encapsulated in the physical form of the dream catcher.
12. Such as those printed by Pomegranate Calendars and Books (see especially 1992)
13. The Dream Catcher Art Center, recently constructed by the Seneca Nation at Irving, New York, is a concrete manifestation of this metaphor of protection. As a physical repository which functions to protect and preserve Iroquois culture, it simultaneously serves as a centre for the dissemination of cultural knowledge to both Natives and non-Natives.
14. Earliest evidence of a circular netted "shield" occurs on a fragment of birchbark eroded from the riverbank at York Factory. The figure depicted on it is a thunderbird with a netted gorget on its chest (Adams 1982:40).
15. The most recently collected example from the eastern James Bay area is one made from a plastic ring netted with coloured knitting yarn. Collected in the early 1960s, it was noted at that time as being "still in use" (Canadian Museum of Civilization III-D-108). Only a few of these baby net charms are housed in museums.
16. That this pan-cultural belief extends as far as New Guinea is exemplified by a photograph of a Dani youngster wearing a cap ingeniously woven of spider webs, which are said to protect him (Morrow and Morrow 1985:38).
17. In a special report on dream catchers in the October 1995 issue of *The Indian Trader* Mark Engler provides the Lakota Sioux version for the origin of dream catchers.
18. In this same article, an interviewee claims that the first dream catcher he had seen many years ago was one made by a Navajo woman. This was, however, an isolated incident until the 1990s when dream catchers "caught on as popular consumer items" (Engler 1995:16).
19. The term Iroquois is used here to encompass both the composite Iroquois League in general as well as the occasional reference to one or another of the Iroquois nations which has not been named specifically.
20. Although a great deal has been written about commercially derived tourist art—that is, art "made for the external, dominant world" (Graburn 1976:4) which "is now a thing, an object, no longer an act, a ritual . . ." (Carpenter 1971:166) and which lacks "the power of belief" (Rainey 1959:13)—dream catchers do not entirely fit into such definitions of tourist art (see also Grant 1986; Hatcher 1985; Nicks 1990; and numerous other authors). The complexity of their origin, history, distribution, function and meaning affords a unique opportunity for further research.

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