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INDICATORS

Boas' objective in *Primitive Art*:

Was to determine whether valid laws controlling the growth of specific art styles exist. He felt that aesthetic value could be gauged by the standard of excellence attained. Further *typical fixed forms* would develop, *indicating the existence of a standard of perfection* (Marshall 1977:82).

Lee and Bock (1982:28), while looking for examples of progressive stylization, belied that *standards* are needed to identify repeated patterns that have become schematized, shorthand forms of more detailed forms.

Horne (1976:119) notes, "Statistical non-random variability in rock art points to *patterns* favored by the makers". It was the typical fixed forms and favoring of patterns that created the abrupt difference in style noticed by Grant (1967:115), Snyder (1978:126-7) and others. Most often these stylistic distinctions were only made on the very obvious differences in the elements and their basic forms. In this report more subtle distinctions will be suggested which will not only suggest a culture or style, but will indicate the author's association with various segments of a culture, style or group.

One of the early problems of archaeology was the typing of artifacts and identifying and determining cultural affiliation. Ceramics and their varieties are to archaeology as key fossils are to paleontology. Each indicates the factors relative to their circumstances. With ceramics, many reports argued what the *indicators* should be and

what they should *indicate*. The most common denominator associated with ceramics, and the facts they identify are style and segments of it. Many procedures have been suggested, all of which use multiple facets of ceramics, as indicators to determine style, or other more restricted categories, such as traditions, horizons, clusters, etc.

Long ago Schapiro summed up the way indicators could determine style,

For the archaeologist, style is exemplified in the *motif* or *pattern* or in some directly grasped quality, which helps him to localize and date the work and to establish connections between groups of works or between cultures. Style here is a *symptomatic trait*, like the non-aesthetic (form) ... of an artifact (Schapiro 1953:287).

In rock art no one at present has broken down Fremont glyphs into their basic parts, and shown in lists that specific attributes express cultures, regional styles or sub-groups.

Sackett (1977) has re-examined the term style to clear the confusion surrounding its many applications. The extremes to which it has been used has helped in a sense to dilute and misconstrue its meaning. By placing style back in proper perspective, we can see some extremes many have followed. Some of these directly relate to rock art research. Many enthusiasts, without basic background in archaeology, seldom realize that it is the total material culture, not just one aspect (i.e., rock art), that equals or identifies a style or a culture.

Many try incorrectly to determine a cultural style or a culture area with the use of rock art. Rock art style areas and culture areas may differ. Rock art should be defined in terms of cultural areas—not the reverse. Cultural areas are already well established.

When looking for what it is that may make a glyph a determining factor, one must become involved with norms and laws of regularity. These are the first and most significant items in discerning style. Cultures and their styles are definitely not homogeneous. Yet, there is patterning in the various parts of a culture that show up in its remains. It should not be any one particular feature, or element, or a panel that is used to indicate the style group of the author. It should be the total—the combination of all the indicators from the panel, context, etc., that indicates the culture, or segments within that culture (Sutherland 1975:62).

It is the manipulation or alternation of different preferred physical modes of rendering an individual form that basically establishes and distinguishes the rock art style of one culture from another. This is what enables Morss (1931:34-42) and Wormington (1955:79-85, 138-162), without being well versed in rock art phenomenology, to identify and isolate the Fremont-type graphic representation from the Archaic and Anasazi. By presence and absence, and verification of indicator forms, Schaafsma (1971), in Tables 1-8 and Figure 7, shows that each Fremont regional style has a profile that reveals either a similarity to or difference from other Fremont and non-Fremont styles.

To exemplify that there are specific things in rock art patterns that could be used as indicators, and the ways these can be applied, consider a comparison of the process of medical diagnosis to style identification.

This will help set a precedence for indicators and illuminate the benefits of procedure. The question is: If rock art form is diagnostic, can it, like a disease, express itself in single pieces of a recognizable pattern like pieces of a puzzle?

Can glyphs, or features of elements, be consistent enough to be like symptoms of a disease that reoccur in recognizable patterns, as Schapiro stated? It is the symptoms that act as indicators, allowing doctors to diagnose and isolate one disease from those with different symptoms. After one becomes familiar with the glyphs and features of elements, they are like symptoms that reoccur in rock art; and it is obvious that cultures, styles within a culture or groups within a style, do have indicators symptomatic of their art forms. They then are diagnostic of their group, style and culture.

When a rock art researcher applies the tools of his trade like a doctor, he can diagnose and isolate symptoms to identify one segment or attitude as part of a larger whole, a part of a pattern or a piece of a puzzle. The investigative procedure the doctor follows is important. Rock art symbols, like the patient's words, are ambiguous. Because the patient does not know exactly what is going on within him, the doctor needs to have the expertise to diagnose. In the same way, one without expertise cannot categorize (diagnose) when he is not acquainted with the limitations of rock art and the scientific approach. Because the patient's words (glyphs) are not often decisive, even the doctor has to look at and consider the evidence such as: body language, and hand signs and gestures (the attributes, attitudes and context of glyphs), which also describe what the patient is feeling, or what the artist thinks.

Even the most conscientious observers frequently overlook both the obvious and the obscure (Sutherland 1979:82). If one's background does not involve sufficient experience in rock art phenomenology, even the most scientific can miss the obvious and usually the un-obvious. Such a case occurred with the Fajada Butte Observatory (Sofaer, et al. 1979:120). If the professionals not trained in rock art have trouble, how can a non-professional without training in rock art have a chance. It is not the amount of education that makes a petroglyphologist—it is the degree and type of experience. An old geology professor once said, "Burn the text books and buy some hiking boots. Ten to twenty years from now you will write texts which will out date these."

The visual impression of the beginning researcher is analogous to the visual reaction to the refracting angle of a stick in water. A person not familiar with this natural process, or without study, cannot accurately read the signs. In the doctor's case, knowing the principles of cause and effect (light and refraction), he can use them as indicators in the process of diagnosis.

This is the medium (the indicators) through which he can accurately reconstruct the cause by the visual effect. To the would-be rock art researcher, uneducated in the scope, possibilities and potential of the symbolizing process, any statements of interpretation are sheer speculation. What he sees on the surface of the water is an optical illusion—a pseudo reality. The stick looks bent, when actually it is not. In interpretations of any kind, we can only gloss over this illusionary surface. No one can ever experience the full subsurface reality. However, because of indicators, he can assign spatial and temporal affiliation and possibly a concept association.

To gain a better understanding of what is going on beneath the surface of the water (the patient or the rock art) the doctor (or the researcher), with the onset of intensity and rhythm (the repetition and variation of a glyph), first gives a verbal examination. The assessment of the indicators in this preliminary survey restricts the number of possibilities, and predicts the type of investigation to follow. Second, comes the physical examination and appropriate tests. These are comparable to the rock art researcher's statistical and comparative analysis. This is what should confirm his earlier suspicions.

In a routine exam, the exact order of the investigation does not matter. That this same order is followed each time does matter. Chronological or sequential examination is important. It is not that an important procedure or area of comparison may be left out, it is that many areas of research cannot be started until other areas of investigation have been completed (Warner 1982a).

Culture has provided the glyph-maker with a preferred mold for elements, forms and contexts to produce the features that become his material culture. Concerning the shape of a tool or utensil, the demands of the environment have a great influence. The manner in which they are decorated is not based on environmental influence. Instead, his world view and his relationship to his environment precipitates the expression of his philosophical outlook (Gunn 1975:424-434; Levine 1971:924-934). In part, it is this philosophical outlook that predicts the indicators and their forms; the rest depends on the element selected for representation.

Different cultures allow different degrees of freedom in the expression of personal preference. In cultures with strict regulations or with little imagination, there seem to be few elements that appear to have minor

variation. Groups often produce glyphs with statistically favored forms, or which are iconographically different from other groups (Marshack 1979:279-291). In societies that allow maximum personal preference, the variations and indicators would still seem to fall into recognizable categories of differences. The form he chooses to give the glyph is highly specific and characteristic. These choices are historically diagnostic, because they are unique, that is, they are peculiar to given time and location (Sackett 1977:371).

While working on Fremont taxonomy, assistance was requested from Dr. Albert Wood, Professor of Ethnology, Dayton, Ohio, then Chairman of the Nomenclature Committee for the American Rock Art Research Association. One of the areas he asked us to consider involved the *concept of cultural and stylistic indicators*. These are facts beyond terminology, and are a byproduct of taxonomy. These involve features, segments and characteristics of elements (which do or do not carry the information allowing them to be cultural or style determinatives).

Determinatives, as diagnostic traits indicating a style, would not always be an element itself, but a feature, attribute, form or treatment of an element that was done in a characteristic conventionalized manner. Consistent use with other indicators betrays the author as a member of a specific style group.

On the basis of statistics of different categories of constantly repeated features used as determinatives, one category was predominant. The main category was attributes of anthropomorphs. Among these, only specific parts of body or appendage expression implies style identification. These involve those parts of the body that comprise the

main features, those most susceptible to stylistic variation, and those most easily manipulated.

The following is a list of characteristics of anthropomorphs that do and do not indicate a style on a cultural, regional or group level. Non- indications of anthropomorphs (i.e., geometrical or abstract designs, glyphs representing anything other than items associated with the human form or its treatment) will be treated in a subsequent report.

One: features that provide cultural, regional or group identification, when they are repeated as specific, unique or regional forms of:

1. Body shape
2. Head shape
3. Head gear
4. Hip and waist treatment

Two, features that generally occur as less often than the above will become indicators only when represented as specific repeated forms of:

5. Body decoration: i.e., torso painting, necklace, sash or belt
6. Facial treatment: i.e., facial features, tear streaks or facial painting
7. Forms of legs
8. Forms of feet
9. Forms of genitalia
10. Objects held

Three, features that generally do not provide determination. These, as well as any others, will not be indicators when they do not occur as specific repeated forms of:

1. Arm form or position
2. Leg and foot form and position
3. Hand and finger shape and position

4. Body decoration
5. Facial treatment
6. Objects held

The existence of both groups of indicators suggests a reservoir of culturally preferred forms unique to that group. Those associated with the human form are indicators of anthropomorphs.

Non-anthropomorph indicators, or those not associated with the human form, are other naturalistic and abstract designs. Non-indicators do not reveal the stylistic pool that expresses features, or qualities that can be manipulated to give specific expression to the semantic content they imply.

It was considered that if semantic content carried more weight to distort the style indicators, then those distortions should still be represented in a culturally prescribed manner (Pearce 1971:6). Even these with sufficient representation will become indicators. The trouble is they seldom repeat often enough in rock art to become diagnostic. This would be according to cosmological sanction or cultural conditioning—a form of *repetition fixation*. This implies that individuals seldom change old forms (indicators) or initiate new ones, they generally reproduce what they have seen done in a similar style. This operates like *functional fixedness*, until some necessity arises or influence creates new innovations.

The manipulation of non-indicators marks the difference between an expression with minimal semantic content, and those which are loaded. These also betray the group's psychological frame of mind, and help to create the distinctiveness of a style profile.

What isolates a figure on the cultural level, can be refined to identify regional styles and other subgroups. This will allow us to narrow down the possibilities when assign-

ing a glyph to a specific group. It will increase accuracy in element assignment better than the assignment made on the basis of laundry-like element lists alone (Warner 1981). Crotty (1979:27) was aware of this when comparing Modoc glyphs with those described by Steward for the Great Basin style.

Specific, typical, regional, Fremont body types have been described by Morss (1931), Wormington (1955), Grant (1967) and Wellmann (1979). The common denominators these people use to describe Fremont body types, are that they generally restrict themselves to the styles of a few more typical anthropomorphs found in specific parts of the Fremont area. There are many other body types and areas (i.e., Nine Mile, San Rafael, Moab, Parowan, Sevier, Utah and Salt Lake Valleys to name a few) which consistently contain Fremont style indicators, just as much Fremont, but which do not comply with the early Fremont River drainage body form definition.

The main reason for this difference, was that the early descriptions, most often used as references, generally described the specific, well-known, localized variants of two areas that share a considerable number of indicators. Morss described these found in the Fremont drainage. Wormington reviewed those by Morss and the Vernal and Dinosaur National Monument variants, and added the White River and West Water variants. Most of these have much the same stylistic indicators. However, with careful examination, it is easy to separate the distinctive regional indicators.

Schaafsma (1971) was the first to describe in any detail other variants, but by then the anthropomorph typically representing the Fremont culture became synonymous with the variants described by Morss and Worm-

ington. These and similar differences in the objects of material culture have caused some to insist on isolating or restricting the Fremont term to only that described by Morss (Madsen and Lindsay 1977). With subsequent comparative analysis, it is obvious that there are indicators that are universal to all the regional Fremont styles. Some of these make it impossible to deny that this culture was present within the eastern boundaries of Nevada, south of central Idaho, well within western Colorado, and south beyond the Colorado River. The existence of some of these in isolated occurrences in peripheral areas may be due to hunting activities, as Ambler (1970) suggests. But with heavy concentrations of Fremont glyphs, along with possible granaries and associated artifacts, settlement of some type cannot be ignored. This may be the situation near Indian Creek and Canyon Lands.

All of these regional rock art expressions indicate their membership within a larger cultural tradition that must be called Fremont. Even though each have considerable regional differences, they all have sufficient overall similarities. This implies large aerial, but loosely knit, ties and strong smaller clan-like ties (Warner 1982b). Information is being compiled on each of these regional groups to present a greater in-depth analysis for each style and area of expression.

In an overall territorial survey of Fremont indicators, it became obvious that those styles with more detail naturally contained more indicators. These indicators can be transformed into style profiles (Schaafsma 1971:Figure 17).

In the Ashley and Dry Fork Canyon alone there are over eleven different, distinct, consistently repeated types of head gear with

variations of each. Many of these are unique, and thus indicate different segments of the Vernal style; the rest are universally Fremont. A couple of these forms of head gear are shared with both Barrier Canyon and Anasazi representations. These cannot be confused with Barrier Canyon or Anasazi glyphs because of the body form and associated elements; yet, their head gear is identical.

Within the Ashley and Dry Fork area, a distributional sequence showed marked distinctions between areas with high versus low percentages of presence of certain types of headgear. The dividing line between these overlaps somewhat. A general division would be the confluence of the Ashley and Dry Fork Rivers at the old Merkely Park. North of this there is a high percentage of certain features and characteristics, and a low presence or absence of others.

South of the junction the predominance reverses, indicating at least two groups or time frames of Fremont. Each had distinct preferences for specific types of head gear—and several other characteristic elements. The features immediately obvious include the following: Nearly all shield figures occur north of the junction. To the north nearly all the shield figures are large. To the south, most are very small. Nearly all diminutive figures occur south of the junction. A significant percentage of head-holding scenes occurs north of the junction. To the north, "decapitated heads" are most naturalistic while "decapitated heads" at the south are most often highly stylized. Most contexts north of the junction are generally side-by-side compositions with few geometrical abstract designs. To the south, compositions have more variation in element placement, and they contain more geometrical abstractions.

Other diagnostic traits unique to the Vernal style consist of a conventionalized treatment of necklace, ear bobs, waist and chest decoration, and sometimes body, leg and feet shape typical of the Vernal style. All of the various Vernal Fremont styles, more than any other, played with head shape, head gear and decoration. As is now known, there are more different head shapes and types of head gear in the Vernal style area than in all the other Fremont regional styles combined. There are also more combinations of head decorations and treatments combined in these combinations than any other area.

Comparisons between the Vernal and Capitol Reef style necklace types were briefly treated in the preceding paper. These types alone, when used to diagnose style areas, could isolate the Vernal and Capitol Reef forms, but it is the multiplicity of indicators that define styles. Prime examples are the types of necklaces from Cub Creek, where the two styles occur together and hybridize. However, other indicators seem to maintain a dominant regional divergence for aerial isolation.

In Chapter Four of the Barrier Canyon Report (Warner, Manning and Miller n.d.) it was shown that one or two such traits do not always define a glyph as a member of a style group. For greater accuracy it is necessary to consider as many indicators as possible. Depending on the style being considered, the more indicators present, the more positive the identification. In that section it was suggested that three categories of identification be considered, so the ambiguous, indefinite examples could have some tentative, comparative assignment.

This includes a *positive category*. In this category are those figures that unquestionably belong to a specific culture, style or group. The *probable category* contains

those figures that are more like one style than another. These tend to lean toward one group, but whose indicators are not as specific or concrete as they should be for positive identification. The *possible category* includes those figures without indicators, or those that are not sufficient to isolate them from any others. This category contains those which show basic universal traits that are equally shared by other groups. In the last two categories, panel content and context need to be considered. On a basis of comparative analysis, an indefinite glyph could be given a more positive identification if a panel contains other indicators, and it is contiguous and consistent in technique, media, repatination, dint pattern, etc.

It may seem natural to assume that in each of the three categories indicators, which determine universal features or characteristics (i.e., the overall cultural style, regional style and styles of subgroups), would be dominant in number and with more regional representations. After the process of isolating indicators begins, it becomes obvious that such is not the case. At this point it is difficult to determine if there are fewer characteristics to determine either regional styles or subgroup styles.

It was assumed that the characteristics used to determine the culture would be the greatest, since any indication of a more restricted Fremont subgroup automatically defines a part of the Fremont culture. However, the groups of indicators that specifically relate to the cultural level, (universals) without any input as to group or regional style, are the fewest. The area in which most of the indicators seem to be applied is the regional stylistic sections of the culture. The next largest seems to isolate subgroups within or among the various regional styles. The cultural level contains the fewest specific indicators. It is felt that

examination of more evidence will not change this later on.

I encourage studies exemplifying the use of indicators on the group level. These will show that one style can have within its glyphic system different regional restricted indicators and forms of elements that are combined with the same style indicators with which other different regionally restricted element indicators occur.

more restricted features, further segregating the representations of subgroups. This can be done from body, leg and foot shape that imply a specific subgroup in itself to those with different head shapes. Significant repetition occurs with several different head shapes. Two of the prominent types of heads are the inverted bucket form, with a spot that occurs quite often on its forehead, and a form with ear-like protrusions (Figures 1-2).

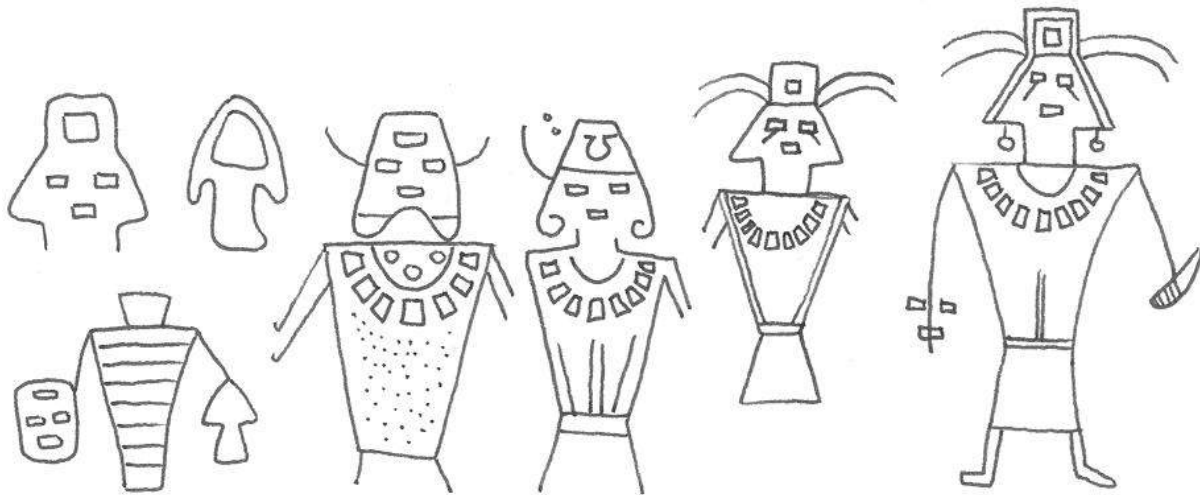


Figure 1 Vernal Area

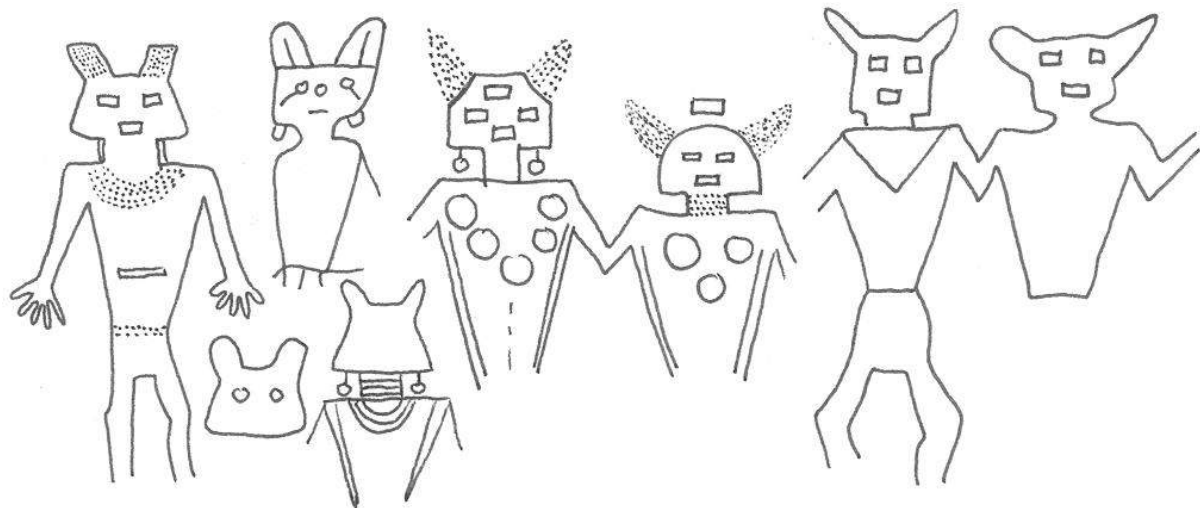


Figure 2 Vernal Area

In the Vernal area the expression of the anthropomorph can be broken down into

It cannot be coincidental that the largest number of anthropomorphs associated with head-holding scenes have the inverted

bucket form head, spot on the forehead or a variant. Implications seem to imply a warrior society with possible ranking. Consistent repetitions of various forms of inverted bucket heads imply a group that was identified by that feature. Further segregation based on variations could be made because of their consistency in form, variation and frequency of repetition. This may imply several smaller distinct groups with the "order" of inverted bucket heads (Warner n.d.).

Throughout the Fremont territory there are many other glyphs that may be group indicators that repeat often enough to beg investigation. Among those which stand out the most, are two specific types of horned head gear. The intellectual acrobatics that have occurred within their panels show without question that there were several other distinct groups that functioned within Fremont society. Any attempt at stating the exact facts would be dangerous, however, we can examine the interplay within the graphic system and retrieve a considerable amount of information without interpretation (Marshack 1979:290, 304).

One study examined the interrelationships of these two types of horned head gear. The most prominent type is the typical two-horned anthropomorph, and the next are the anthropomorphs with one horn. This investigation began after finding an unusually high percentage of one-horned, two-legged sheep in the restricted area near Richfield, Utah. When comparing percentages of similar sheep forms for other areas, it was noticed that whenever this one-horned, two-legged sheep occurred it was sometimes associated with an enclosure like those near Richfield. Even though no other sites duplicate such a high percentage of occurrence, small pockets do occur which repeat this form and its context. This led to an

examination of associated representations of one- and two-horned anthropomorphs occurring in panels with the one-and two-horned sheep (Warner 1981c).

It was noticed that prehistoric modifications were made on two-horned, four-legged sheep. It was assumed these changes were made by a one-horned group, since the addition of one-horned anthropomorphs seemed to be later. These modifications often change the two-horned, four-legged sheep to a one-horned, two-legged expression. Sometimes legs were also modified. Seven criteria for isolating a modification were set up. With further study it became obvious that some panels contain *additions* that express similar differences in these two-horn types. Panels that contain processions of both types on horned anthropomorphs show them in segregated groups isolated and opposed or alternating with those of the opposite horn type. The report concluded that evidence suggests that group identification can be made, and that these specific groups suggest some type of moiety among the Fremont (Warner 1982c:117-130).

Without the application of the process of indication, the style of rock art expressed remains just a skeletal format. Indicators and the concepts of presence and absence place the muscle and tissue on that frame to make each area of the Fremont style body a viable functioning entity. These two areas of study provide the facts that bring character to rock art. These give greater credibility to style studies, and make rock art research more definitive.

For further information on these points of concern, please contact Rock Art Research of Utah, 960 West 700 South, Salt Lake City, Utah 84104.

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