

## **Animals As Metaphors in Rio Grande Petroglyphs**

The following paper is modified and adapted from previous publications including *Petroglyphs and Myths of The Rio Grande*, Avanyu Publishing, 1991, Chapter two, Symbol Signs and Metaphors, and Chapter Three, Water Jar Boy. Also *Water Jar Boy*, American Indian Culture and Research Journal, Vol 14, 1990.

Written by Carol Patterson Rudolph

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## Animals as Metaphors in Rio Grande Petroglyphs

American Indians have traditionally referred to their petroglyphs as "rock writings" or "writings" in the same sense they refer to any writing system. There is a firm belief that petroglyph images are intended to transmit information that is important, whether or not it can still be "read" or understood by contemporary people. The term *picture writing* is used here to refer to any panel of images that conveys a comprehensible message. The term *pictography* refers to picture writing on rock as well as other surfaces and materials. The term *petroglyph* refers to an image that has been inscribed into a rock surface in some manner, and the term *pictograph* refers to painted images upon a rock or other surface. The term *rock art* is avoided because it has too often been indiscriminately applied in Western tradition to both symbolic and non-symbolic images. The term, *pictography* is used here instead to refer to the symbolic communication system itself as it has been applied to rock surfaces.

Dr. Greg Cajete, a native of Santa Clara Pueblo has pointed out for example, that the word for "write" in the Tewa language, as it is used to say "I want to write a letter to my friend" is ta *ah' nĩn'*. This same word is used for "paint" as in "I want to paint a picture for my friend." Both painting and writing are acts of communicating what is common knowledge (personal conversation, May 1989). The term *art* does not accurately express this communication process without further contexting the specific way in which the term has been applied. The term *writing* more closely describes the use of a code system in regard to the symbols found in these petroglyphs.

The following is a study of the use of symbols as metaphors within the parameters of Pueblo mythology. A *symbol* has a defined meaning, which is based on a shared knowledge about that which it represents. A *metaphor* is a symbol or related group of symbols that evoke an experience or concept of something, which in turn is used to describe a concept of something else.

Graphic symbol systems in general have a definite structure and syntax. Cirlot (Dictionary of Symbols, 1962:liii-liv), believes Western European symbol syntax may function in four different ways:

1. The successive manner, in which one symbol is placed alongside another; their meanings do not combine and are not even interrelated.
2. The progressive manner, in which the meanings of the symbols do not interact but represent different stages in the symbolic process.

3. The composite manner, in which the proximity of the symbols brings about change and creates complex meanings; here a synthesis is involved and not merely a mixture of their meanings.

4. The dramatic manner, in which there is an interaction between the groups and all the potentialities of the proceeding groups are synthesized.

Indian symbol systems, however, may be structured differently in some ways:

1. They do not read successively, in a linear manner, as is so characteristic of graphic symbol systems of cultures who use alphabetic writing systems; and

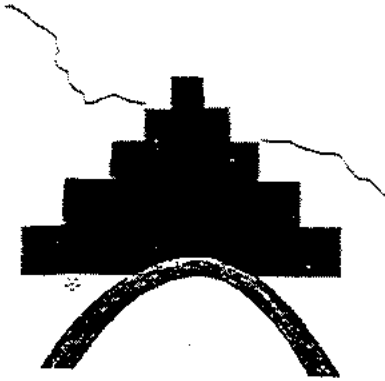
2. They differ from the progressive manner in that they *do* interact with one another and their meaning is dependent upon this interaction.

Indian pictography is composed of graphic symbols with basic meanings and many extensions; like any language, in different contexts, different extensions apply. Symbols may change meaning when the context changes. These are called symbol extensions. This is the reason that studies of symbol lexicons cannot be complete if the lexical symbols are studied exclusive of the context in which they are found.

In the English language, the majority of words (sound symbols), listed in any dictionary are accompanied by more than one definition. The word "solution" can be used in completely dissimilar contexts. For the word "hard," the dictionary lists a full page of semantic extensions to its meaning in different contexts. Semantic extensions are a common trait in most languages. The Western Apaches, for example, apply the same words for human body parts that they do for corresponding parts of an automobile. Thus, if a person were speaking in Apache of his liver malfunctioning, the context of the entire conversation would determine whether the person needed hospitalization or the battery changed in his car.

Indian pictography is a language or symbol system. The symbols have meaning and semantic extensions that convey additional meanings. For example, Martineau (1973:82) has shown how the terrace symbol in the Southwest generally means "piled up." The Kiowas have used this symbol to represent rocks "piled up" in describing their defence against an attack by the Mexicans at Hueco Tanks.

The Navajos used it to describe the stockpiles of food that were destroyed by the U.S. soldiers in their attempt to starve and conquer them.



The kiva murals at Kuaua ruin showing the "terrace" symbol. (Dutton, 1963:89)



Kiowa recording at Hueco Tanks, of Konate's story using the "terrace" symbol. (Martineau 1973:82)

This Navajo panel in Largo Canyon illustrates the Kit Carson Campaign of 1863-4 depicting the corn that was piled and burned by the soldiers, (Martineau 1973:101).



Navajo Panel in Largo Canyon using the "terrace" symbol. (Martineau,1973:101)

The Iariko panel, with a *shipapu* or dwelling shown as a terraced symbol as discussed in my book (Rudolph:1991). The "piled up" symbol has other extended meanings when used with other symbols to represent sacred altars or piled up cumulus clouds.

Dutton,(1963:89) , discusses the terraced symbol as an altar, from the Kauna ruins.

The "Cloud-Blower" petroglyph panel from La Cienega, located with the rest of the panels in this study, uses the terrace symbol turned horizontally and two are joined with a connecting line. It is interpreted as piled up clouds because they are also associated with the object the figure is holding called a "cloud blower". Dutton (1963) interprets this symbol as an altar and in some cases cloud altars. Dumarest (1919:182) writes that when the clouds come, the women are wearing the terraced design they call *haetchoni*, (steps) behind the clouds. When the clouds come, people will say, "Here comes the *haetchoni*". In this panel, the altar/cloud symbols are used in context with a fertility figure holding a cloud-blower (not a flute).



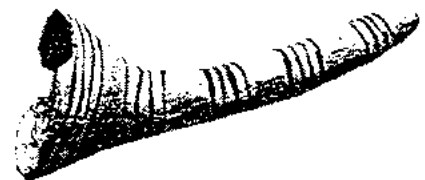
Pueblo panel in La Cienega using the "terrace" symbol as clouds.(Rudolph 1991)

The cloud blower as a symbol conveys the relationship between smoke and rain. It is believed that smoke makes the mist and feeds the clouds so they grow larger and join together (Parsons 1939:370-372). Note the figure does not have a hunch back, but rather a pack or burden basket that he carries lower down on his back, below his shoulders. Figures similar to this are often collectively called "Kokopelli".

## Metaphor

Metaphor is present in every part of our life: in literature, in art, in the media, even in our daily conversations. It saturates our language in ways of which we are hardly aware. Most of all, metaphor is part of our conceptualizing process. We think in terms of metaphors in order to convey concepts difficult to express in plain language. Metaphoric analogies allow a meaning to be conveyed within a more familiar structure. Metaphor is used to describe something in terms of something else.

Metaphor, too, has structure. It contains participants of people, animals, or plants. It has parts that consist of activities, conversations, or adventures. It has stages that consist of conditions that change as one passes through each



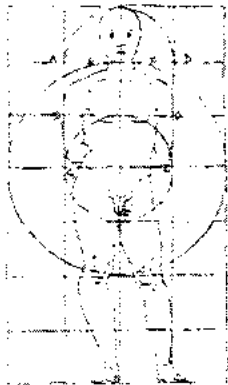
Ceremonial cloud blower circa 1400 A.D. Rio Grande Pueblo. S.A.R. collection



Common cloud blower, S.A.R. collection

stage like an initiation process. It has a linear sequence, where the participants in their actions portray meaning that is culturally defined by the order and positioning of each participant. There is cause and effect and a purpose of teaching a truth that would otherwise be obscure.

The most important point to understand when talking about metaphor is that it enables us to make a link between our experience and a new concept. The language of metaphor creates a parallel structure between the known and the unknown. Metaphor allows a culture to define its parameters with social behavior, ritual, and cosmology.



Renaissance religious art showing an orientation to the earth and body. (Carl Jung 1964:243)

In Western culture the most predominant and consistent theme since Classical Greece has been the interrelationship between Man and Nature. By objectifying Nature and studying its properties, Western Man has come to believe he has to dominate and control Nature. He strives to observe the world around him "objectively" as a separate entity in order to learn the "truth" about his world. He separates everything in order to look at it apart from other things and to gain an understanding of its reality. He classifies everything around him into categories that include physical, intellectual, spiritual and emotional realms that are separate from himself. We must be careful to distinguish our own metaphoric orientation from that of American Indians, who draw from completely different metaphors.

The Christian/Judaic metaphors contain an after world in the sky for those who live a virtuous life. Those persons who are considered evil may, of course, face an afterlife below the ground. Metaphors are created consistent with this theme throughout the literature in Christian/Judaic culture. They extend to the concepts that the direction up is good, and down is bad; rational is better than emotional judgment; more is better than less; and so on. Like our physical bodies, which stand erect, the head ranks the highest and the metaphor of the brain is of greater value than that of the heart, which is better than our stomach, which is better than our groin and so on down to our feet that trod upon the earth. The earth is dirty and unclean, whereas the fluffy white clouds of the heavens are divine. We rate ourselves above all other life forms, putting plants at the lower end, and human life at the top. The Western world has picked north as the top of the Earth, and we orient our perception of the globe in terms of top and bottom, above and below, Australia being "down under."

The Pueblo cultures, on the other hand, orient more to the south in the direction of the sun. To the Pueblo, the Earth is their Mother and they belong more to the Earth than the Earth does to them. Their very existence is like that of the plants they cultivate (Ortiz 1989). Time is not conceived in a linear fashion, but more of a continuum marked by

significant events, rituals, and personal growth. Pueblo metaphors reflect their strong alliance with the Earth, and equality with all life forms in a manner that is quite different from the Western hierarchial perception.

The metaphors chosen by American Indians are largely drawn from nature, the weather, the natural surroundings, and plant and animal life.

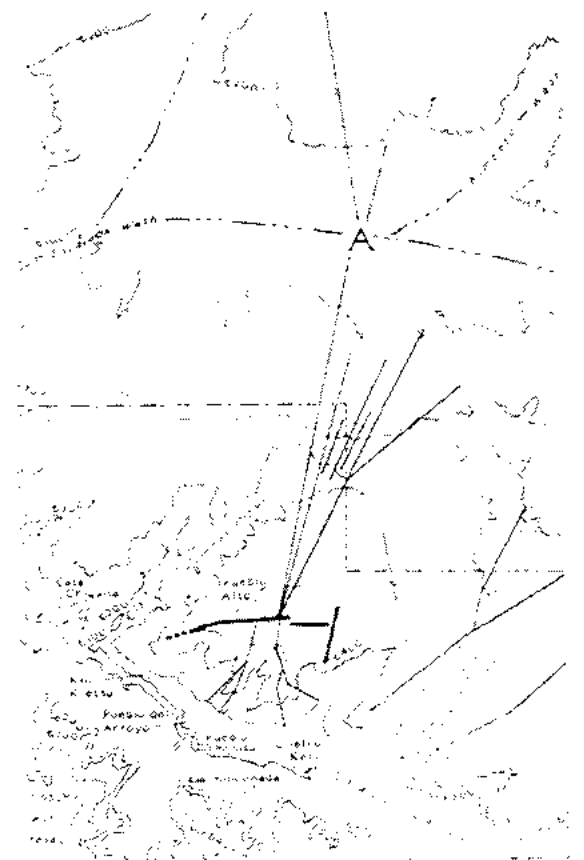
It is important to understand how metaphors are used by the Pueblos, particularly the Rio Grande Pueblos, and how these metaphors are applied as visual images in their petroglyphs. It is impossible to interpret the symbols found in the petroglyphs without knowing the metaphors that were employed by the culture. For example, the metaphor of a corn plant is used by all the Pueblos in reference to life and the various stages of growth from birth, through childhood, adulthood, and old age. They consider themselves the Children of the Earth. According to Alfonso Ortiz, the Pueblo left monuments attesting to their belief that they grew up out of the ground, out of the earth like the corn plant, their mother. Hovenweep, he believes, is a giant emergence place. The towers in the canyon were thought to be used for fortification by early archaeologists, but now they think they may have had more of an economic or religious function. Ortiz believes they were metaphoric manifestations of the emergence stories. They are attempts to replicate on the surface of the ground the process of emergence from a prior life within the Earth of three previous worlds to the fourth, present world.<sup>2</sup>

The Road of Life metaphor is also dominant in Pueblo expression. The "roads of Chaco Canyon" are a puzzle because they too, like the towers, do not serve a purpose conducive to Western logic. Many roads "go nowhere", or are found in twos or fours, running parallel for a distance before stopping. Archaeologists are discovering that the roads make more sense if interpreted through the ethnographic records and the Pueblo metaphors are considered.<sup>3</sup> Several of the Chaco roads lead to prominent natural formations that may have been shrines which are an important aspect of Pueblo ritual.

Chaco Roads that lead to shrines, are metaphoric rather than utilitarian.



Hovenweep National Monument.



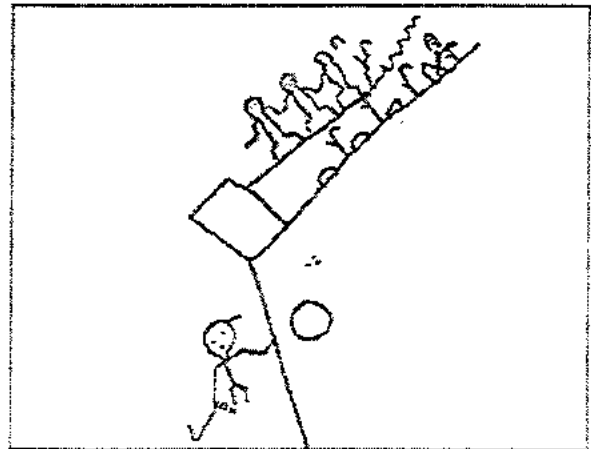
There are frequent references in Pueblo ethnographies to mythic and ceremonial journeys to and from the north and the middle place on sacred roads. These roads are metaphors as Ortiz states: 'Road' translates as 'channel for life's breath' in Tewa. They speak of 'life-breath openings' and 'life-giving channels.' Every individual has a road of life that may be 'cut short' at any time (Ortiz 1989). The mural paintings of the Tewa depict these life-breath openings.



Tewa mural painting from San Juan depicting the Life Breath Openings and Life Giving Channels. (Parsons 1929:112)

A graphic example that uses Pueblo metaphors is the Hopi life plan petroglyph located on Third Mesa in Arizona. Hopi spokesman, Thomas Banyacya, has publicly explained the symbols on this panel many times over the years, giving the following interpretation:

To the left is the Creator, *Masawu*, with the life plan or trail. The circle represents all one people, no end, a circle. The Hopi path is divided. The three circles are the three past worlds. The corn plant is shown four times and is incorporated with the cane and a person leaning on it to symbolize old age. Together, the corn and cane symbolize everlasting life. Many people took the false path. The zigzag line is that of going back and forth (like water) in confusion and trouble. But there is still a pathway back down to the Hopi way. The last figure is the creator holding the corn symbol for everlasting life. \*



Hopi Life Plan.

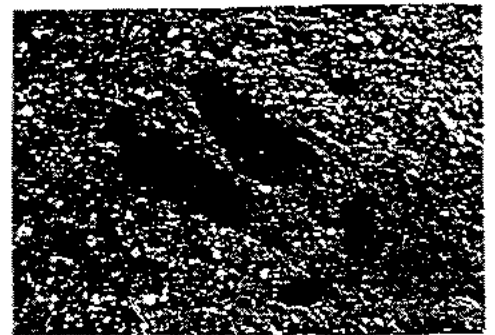
## Metonymy

Metonymy is similar to metaphor, except that only a small part of a metaphor is used to represent the whole. We have seen how corn and its life cycle are used as a metaphor for human life cycles. Metonymies are abbreviations of a whole metaphor or even a synopsis of a concept. By using the part, the whole is evoked in one's mind. In Christian religion, the symbol of a fish is a metonymy of the larger metaphor of "allowing Jesus into one's life." It is a symbol for the spiritual world that lies under the world of appearances. The fish represents the life-force surging up from within. It is grounded in the common knowledge of fishermen, who were among the first disciples of Jesus. He said, "Follow me, I will make you fishers of men." Johnson and Lakoff (1980:40) state;

The conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical in nature. Symbolic metonymies are critical links between everyday experience and the coherent metaphorical system that characterize religions and cultures. Symbolic metonymies that are grounded in our physical experience provide an essential means of comprehending religious and cultural concepts.

Religious iconography is the most expressive form of a culture's metaphors and strives to present them in a way that conveys meaning to the culture. It defines the myth that defines the culture. When we look at Pueblo iconography, we are looking at metonymies that bring to mind many of the Pueblo's elaborate cosmological concepts and cultural metaphors.

The metaphors of the Pueblo Indians, as well as those of other Indian tribes, are grounded in animal/nature experience. Pueblo knowledge of wildlife and other natural phenomenon is a rich source of common experience and is drawn upon for metaphors to describe human activities. Animal activities are used as metaphors because they are common knowledge. The example given below of a deer track is a familiar image to any culture that has hunters. To a hunter, variations in the deer track can signify whether the animal is running or walking. If the track is grouped with other varied tracks, one can tell which are older and heavier, and which are younger and lighter. To a good hunter, animal tracks tell much about the animals, the direction and conditions in which they are traveling and their experiences along the way. Tracks convey this information cross-culturally and speak to the common knowledge of all hunters in any society.



Deer print in sand.  
(Rudolph 1989)



Drawing of a print of  
a fleeing deer.



Animal tracks found in petroglyphs are metonymies of the animal itself as a metaphor. The animals are metaphors used to represent people, while their tracks are ideal metaphors for expressing the activities, travel, battles or other conditions of people's lives.

A deer when it is running leaves a track showing dew claw marks. These marks do not appear when a deer calm and standing or walking. An early Pueblo petroglyph uses the same track. It is found in sequence with a mountain lion print. In real-life experience, this would indicate a predator/prey relationship. Both tracks are going in the same direction, the lion track right behind the deer track. Together, they convey the action of the deer fleeing from a predator. But more information has been added. The predator/prey petroglyph employs the repetition of the symbols to suggest a sequence of events. The mountain lion print is placed a second time, in front of the deer track. Simple deduction would conclude by this positioning that the mountain lion pursued the deer and overcame it.



Drawing of a mountain lion print.

But further investigation of the use of rock-incorporation as another symbol brings another conclusion to mind. The large crack running diagonally across the path of the two primary characters has been pecked-over and widened to emphasize its importance as part of the story. Beyond the crack is a single deer track, positioned well beyond the mountain lion print. Together the sequence of symbols tells the story of the predator chasing the prey, and the prey escaping across an obstacle (canyon or river) of some kind, with the predator unable to follow. The episode is further illustrated in the drawing.



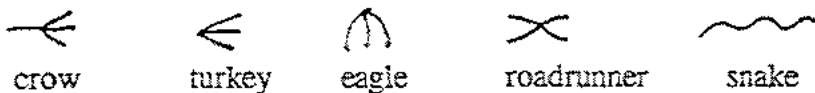
Petroglyph of mountain lion and deer prints, Hidden Mt. Los Lunas, New Mexico. (Rudolph 1990)

This panel is a classic example of use of the metonymy—animal tracks—in referring to the metaphor of a predator chasing prey; the concept of pursuing/fleeing that is grounded in the common knowledge of all hunters cross-culturally. The predator/prey relationship in symbols is used frequently by Indian people as a metaphor for dangerous and life-threatening experiences with their enemies. This Anasazi petroglyph panel uses the predator/prey, pursuing/fleeing metaphor to describe the danger, the terror, the close encounter and the miraculous escape of someone from a mortal enemy. Note the use of lack-of space to illustrate "close encounter" with the enemy and wide space to show a "margin of safety."

Martineau has pointed out the Navajo have used this same symbol/metaphor technique in a petroglyph panel in Largo Canyon, New Mexico. In this panel, the combination of lion and deer tracks represents the U.S. Army (lion) pursuing the Navahos (deer) fleeing through Canyon del Muerte during the Kit Carson Campaign of 1863-64 (Martineau 1973:95-97).

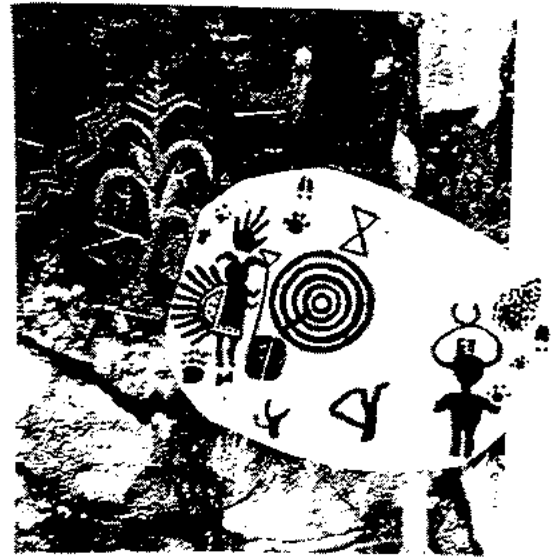
We have seen how animal tracks can be metonymies referring to a specific metaphor that expresses a human condition or experience. Bird tracks are also metonymies and each species is easily identifiable by its track, which carries with it a specific set of attributes. These attributes are common knowledge among Pueblo tribes. Different birds play different roles in Pueblo mythology and religious iconography. Birds with attributes to help bring rain are distinguished from birds that compete for food or those that are helpful to hunters or those that are protective or informative to man. On one level, different birds play out parts in human drama to bring about balance in the universe. On another level, the birds may represent aspects of the human psyche that are best illustrated with metaphor.

Dumarest (1919:167), among others, has pointed out that to the Keresan Pueblo, the turkey, the crow, the eagle, the roadrunner, and the snake are represented by these tracks:



The characteristics of each bird are important in Keresan mythology and are employed in their altars and mural paintings. As a metonymy, each refers to a metaphor for those aspects that keep the universe in balance.

Crow tracks are distinguished by their fourth rear toe. Crows' attributes include being in competition with man for food, but at times they are intelligent allies to man for religious purposes. Crow tracks in association with corn



Navajo panel in Largo Canyon depicting mountain lion and deer tracks. (Martineau 1973:95)

have been used by the Navaho to represent the act of destroying food, as Martineau points out in the Navajo panel in Largo Canyon. The track emphasize the destruction of the piled-up corn. The common knowledge of the crow's relationship to corn is a metaphor to convey the act of Kit Carson's soldiers destroying the Navajo's corn supply and food source (Martineau 1973:101).



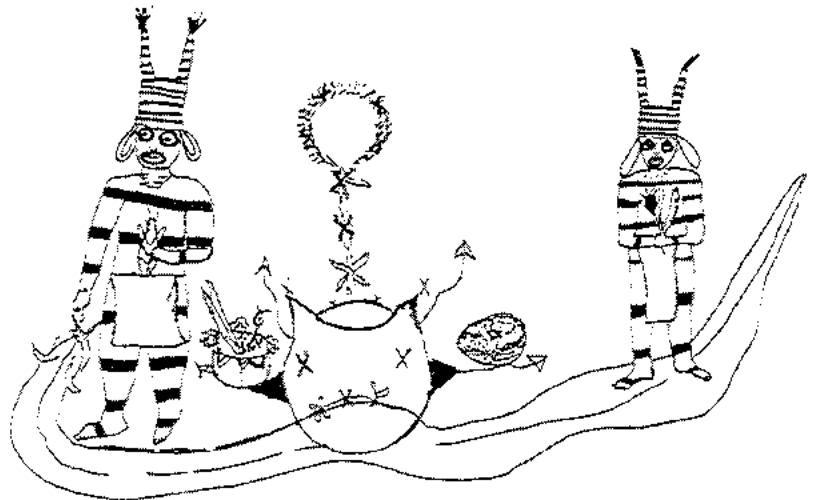
Roadrunner and mountain lion track, San Diego Mountain. (Col. Baines collection Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe.)

The roadrunner (also referred to as chaparral cock) tracks in Eastern Pueblo and Zuni iconography are associated with courage and protection against enemies. The roadrunner has always been admired for his bravery, swiftness, and courage. He can kill and eats snakes, outruns most predators and leaves a track with two toes in each direction that makes his direction of travel ambiguous. The roadrunner track as a metaphor conveys the ideas of courage, bravery and the ability to confuse one's enemies. The panel here shows its use with a mountain lion track and conveys the opposite idea of the previously mentioned predator/prey relationship found in the lion/deer track combination. The relationship of pursuer (mountain lion) is in retreat from his prey (roadrunner).<sup>5</sup>

The symbols are metonymies for the animals-as-metaphors that represent the power of a warrior, who, like the roadrunner, is able to deter pursuit by his enemies. The interpretation of this petroglyph is consistent with Zuni ritual activities that entail wearing roadrunner feathers in an X formation inside their moccasins, or tied in their hair, to enhance their ability to confuse or deter their enemies in pursuit.<sup>6</sup> To the Keresan Pueblos, the roadrunner was also important in protecting the souls of the dead along their pathway, when they come out from the underworld. Tracks of the roadrunner are marked along a symbolic corn meal trail to confuse witches and evil spirits and prevent them from accompanying souls on their journeys.

The Tewa also employ the roadrunner track for protection against enemies and witches. The roadrunner tracks is portrayed along the 'life-breath' road, in this Tewa mural painting.

Tewa mural of the Kosa altar ceremony from San Juan depicting roadrunner tracks on the cornmeal pathway. (Parsons 1929:126)



Indian people use animals and their behavior as metaphors to convey concepts for human activities and emotions. We find hundreds of animal tales recorded in American Indian oral traditions in which animals represent human personalities and behavior.

It logically follows that the descendants of the Anasazi also depicted animals and animal tracks in the petroglyph panels to metaphorically describe the activities of humans. Human tracks focus more closely on the immediate condition of humans, but, together, metaphors and metonymies using animals and their tracks form a large part of the pictographic communication system under discussion. Another significant component within this code system involves the use of metaphoric animals with symbols attached or added. These images then become vehicles, for conveying more information, more efficiently, within a single container. An animal with symbols added can convey more information within its metaphor than many animals and strings of symbols portrayed independently.

In the second part of this paper, I would like to discuss a Pueblo Indian petroglyph panel located in Northern New Mexico, at La Cienega and its direct association with a Pueblo myth called "Water Jar Boy." The images in the petroglyph panel, only partially resemble what images one might see after listening to the myth. But when the images are understood as "metaphoric" instead of literal, then the whole series of images on the panel fall into place in accordance with the myth. The analysis of the images involved the step by step breakdown:

1. Its shape, open or close, regular or irregular, geometric or biomorphic.
2. The component elements making up the shape.
3. The significance of the number of repetitive elements.
4. The significance of exaggeration of certain elements.
5. The spatial arrangement of symbols in relation to each other, in relation to rock features and in relation to geographical features.
6. Directionality, movement upwards as opposed to downward, spiral direction to the left as opposed to the right.

In order to study the American Indian Pictography, I had to approach it from a structural analysis. Using Cirlot's ground work and various other scholar's definitions, I found the application of a structuralist analysis brought more meaningful understanding for what I was looking at. I found the American Indian pictography to have distinctly different structural characteristics from the European symbol systems.

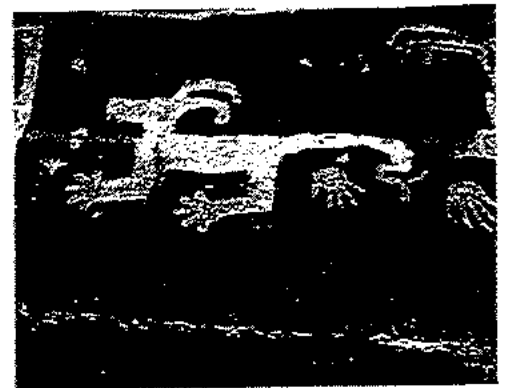


Two headed quadruped from La Cienega.

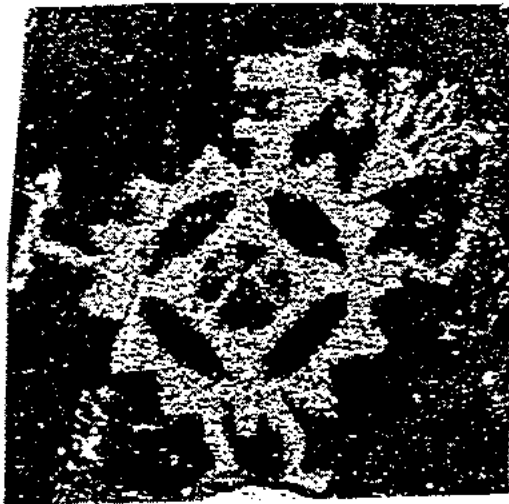


Duchesne Co., Utah

Shield-bearing horned quadruped. (Martineau 1973:11)



Horned mountain lion (Fred Hirschmann 1990)



Shield-bearing horned quadruped.  
Gaiisteo, N.M.(Barnes1982:181)

There is a great deal of symbol interaction along with symbol combinations and incorporation. These tools have allowed for an indept investigation into the possible interpretation of certain petroglyph panels that appear to relate specific origin myths of the Pueblo Indians.

Boas found that Native American Picture writing was in "no way ornamental, nor bear a relation to the object on which they are depicting, but made for the purpose of representation only. (representational meaning symbolizing) It is not art in the rigid sense of the term. Judging from the character of the figures and their use we may safely say that the artistic interest is entirely absent. The importance of communicating ideas out weighs the artistic interest" (Boas:1955 67-68)

I have therefore looked at the meaning behind each symbol. In Native American Pictography, there are three levels of meaning the symbol can be assigned to. The first level, is representational of an actual animal, plant or object, with a direct meaning, as a clan symbol, corn plant, horse, gun, tepee, etc.

The second level, is based on association between the symbol and what it transmits or represents in meaning according to the context it is used in. Examples in American Indian Pictography are the heart (place of knowledge) the arrow, (aggression) the bare foot (battle) the turkey track (movement in one direction ) the mountain lion (seeking, hunting) the coyote, (mediator between spiritual and physical worlds).

The third level is that of the meaning of the stories that are symbolized by the images. The universal themes played out in a thousand different ways. A language of images and emotions based upon a precise and crystallized means of expressions, revealing transcendent truths, external to Man (cosmic order) as well as within him (thought, the moral order of things, psychic evolution, the destiny to the soul). (Schneider, :51)

## Endnotes

1. Basso (in Spradley, 1972:346) states "The application of anatomical terminology to motorized vehicles illustrates an aspect of semantic extension that is clearly apparent at the level of the set, but that goes undetected if we focus on the individual terms in isolation. Thus a typical 'atomistic' interpretation - operating strictly at the word level and failing to consider the internal structure of the lexical set as a whole - would not disclose that together with individual terms a classificatory scheme had also been extended." He lists in his Table 19.1 Western Apache Anatomical Terms With Extended Meanings:

Anatomical Terms (re: man)	Extended meanings (re: auto)
shoulder	front fender
hand + arm	front wheels, tires
chin + jaw	front bumper
foot, feet	rear wheels, tires
face	area from windshield to bumper
forehead	front portion of cab
nose	hood
back	bed of truck
hip = buttock	rear fender
mouth	gas tank opening
eyes	headlights
veins	electrical wiring
entrails, guts	all machinery under hood
liver	battery
stomach	gas-tank
heart	distributor
lung	radiator
intestine	radiator hoses
fat	grease

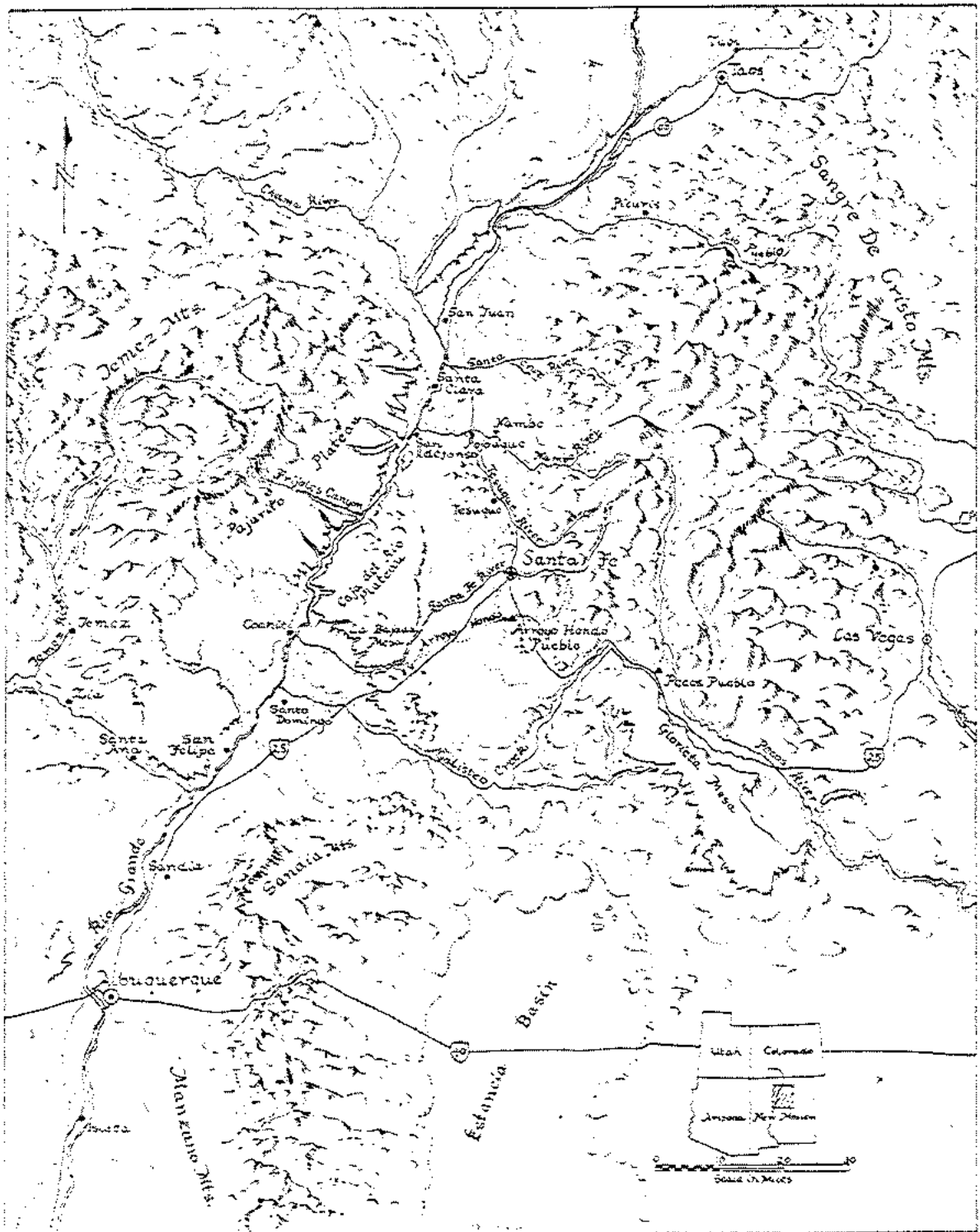
2. Alfonso Ortiz, *The Tribal World as a Mosaic*, 1989 Santa Fe Trails Association Conference, Santa Fe.

3. An article entitled "*The Great North Road: a cosmographic expression of the Chaco culture of New Mexico*", produced by the Solstice Project 1988, Anna Sofaer, Michael P. Marshall, and Rolf M. Sinclair describe the complex series of roads radiating out from the Chaco Canyon National Monument. The interpretation of these roads as arteries connecting communities for trade, transportation of good and materials is generally accepted but does not explain why some end so abruptly or run in sections of two or four parallel. Many do not lead to outlying communities, but rather to sparsely populated areas. However, in the ethnographic record, many references are made to roads for the spirits of the dead returning to the Shipapu. The Zuni have prayers and chants telling of their emergence and migration to the middle place and reference is made to four parallel roads.

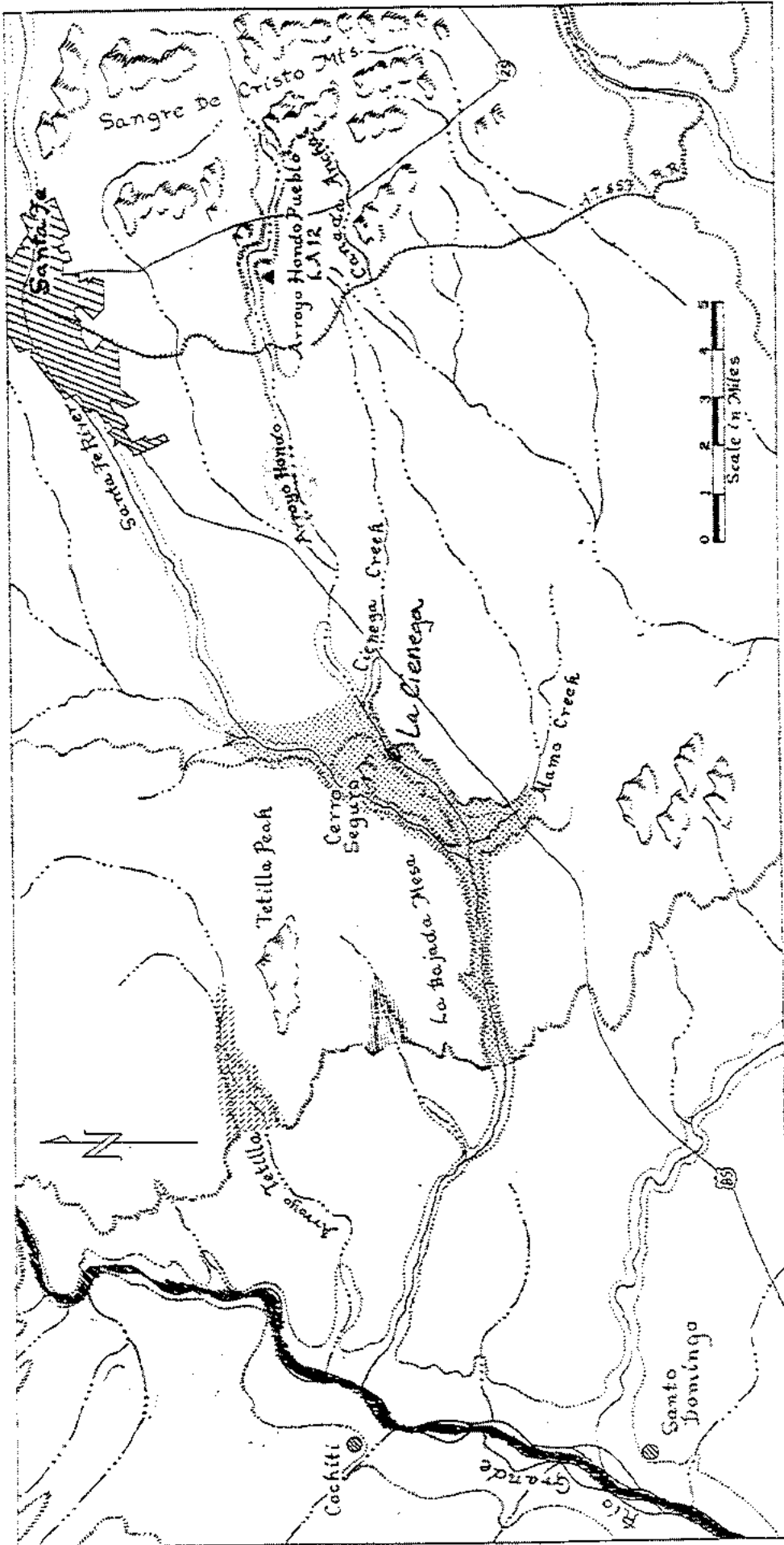
4. Presented by Thomas Banyacaya at the World Conference of Indigenous People's Education, Vancouver, 1987. A similar interpretation is given in Martineau (1973:116)

5. Schaafsma (1989:253-269) concludes also that the use of the road runner track in pictography is more symbolic than for hunting magic. Though Schaafsma has demonstrated a predator/prey relationship, in her Fig. 11.3, the tracks are clearly reversed, and show the "prey" chasing the "predator." In other words, this is an enemy/warrior relationship, the warrior confusing or scaring the enemy into retreat.

6. Parsons (1939:291) notes: "Feathers of the bird of courage, the Chaparral cock, are worn in moccasins or hair by Zuni scalp-kickers in order to gain courage....(Stevenson) [1904:584]. Again the feathers may serve against pursuit."



Location Map of Area Within New Mexico.  
 (Dickson 1979:X)



Vicinity Map of La Cienega and Petroglyph Site Area.  
 (Dickson 1979:46)



## Water Jar Boy:

### A Petroglyph and story from La Cienega Pueblo

The petroglyph discussed in this paper has the working title of "Water Jar Boy" because of the strong association between the symbols found in the petroglyph panel found in La Cienega, near Santa Fe New Mexico and the myth in Pueblo oral tradition called "Water Jar Boy". There is no doubt, when viewing this panel, that the images are intended to represent an important story. Dr. Jane Young refers to petroglyph panels of this clarity and style in her studies of Zuni panels, as metonymic images "that evoke parts of tales and myths and the emotions associated with these vital, important 'texts' they operate, then, as 'metonymy of narrative': the visual image stands for and calls forth the verbal recitation."<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this study is not an 'etic' comparison of data gathered from numerous sites to support individual symbol analysis, but instead an 'emic' perspective from the aspects of the myth itself, as a guide towards understanding the images as metaphors.<sup>2</sup> Shaafsma has concluded in her analysis of the frequent use of roadrunner tracks in association with carnivores, that the meaning goes well beyond that of hunting magic. Instead the study of the ethnographic data, and myth allows a better understanding of the image. "This myth fixes the relationship between the roadrunner and the Scalp Ceremony; by extension, this bird's association with 'war' and by... 'confusing the enemies' in Pueblo Society."<sup>3</sup>

In this study we examine the way in which mythical characters are portrayed in animal or bird form in a petroglyph, to symbolize the attributes of the *people* portrayed in the myth. We will look at how metaphors are used within myths to express concepts of a spiritual and cosmological nature. We will see how the power of metaphor has been utilized in both the myth and the petroglyph to enhance our understanding of the very fundamental themes in Pueblo world views.

The petroglyph is located on the cliff face above the village of La Cienega in the Rio Grande river drainage area in Northern New Mexico. This panel is classified as "Rio Grande Style"<sup>4</sup> and though it is difficult to know exact dates, the close association between the panel and the pueblo site of La Cienega. This pueblo ruin associated with the petroglyph site was inhabited from the 1400's up until the time of the 1680 Pueblo revolt against the Spanish. Don Diego DeVargas who reconquered the region in 1692, tried to

was very angry about it; but after she looked at the baby, she saw it was not like a baby, she saw it *was a round thing with two things sticking out*, it was a little jar.

"Where did you get this?" said her mother. The girl was just crying.

About that time the father came in. "Never mind, I am very glad she had a baby," he said.

"But it is not a baby," said her mother. Then the father went to look at it and saw it was a little water jar. After that he was very fond of that little jar. "It is moving," he said.

Pretty soon the little water jar *was growing*. In twenty days it was big. It was able to go around with the children, and it could talk.

"Grandfather, take me outdoors, so I can look around," he said. So every morning the grandfather would take him out and he would look at the children, and they were very fond of him and they found out he was a boy, Sipe'geenu (Tewa), Water Jar Boy. They found out from his talking.

About the time of year (December) it began to snow, and the men were going out to hunt rabbits, and Water Jar Boy wanted to go.

"Grandfather, could you take me down to the foot of the mesa, I want to *hunt rabbits*."

"Poor grandson, you can't hunt rabbits, you have no legs or arms."

"Well Grandfather," he said, "I am very anxious to go. Take me anyway. You are too old and you can't kill anything."

His mother was crying because her boy had no legs or arms or eyes. But they use to feed him in his mouth (i.e. in the mouth of the jar).

So next morning his grandfather took him down to the south on the flat. Then he rolled along, and pretty soon he saw a rabbit track and he followed the track. Pretty soon the rabbit ran out, and he began to chase it. Just before he got to the marsh there was a rock, and he hit himself against it and *broke and a boy jumped up*.

He was very glad his skin had been broken and that he was a boy, a big boy. He was wearing lots of beads around his neck and turquoise earrings, and a dance kilt and moccasins, and a buckskin shirt.

fixed a lunch for him, and he went off to the southeast where they call the spring Waiyu powidi, Horse Mesa point.

He was coming close to that spring, he saw somebody walking a little way from the *spring*. He went up to him. It was a man. He asked the boy, "Where are you going?"

"I am going to this spring."

"Why are you going?"

"*I am going there to see my father,*" he said.

"Who is your father?" said the man.

"Well, *my father is living in this spring.*"

"You will never find your father."

"Well, I want to go into the spring, he is living inside it."

"Who is your father?" said the man again.

"Well, I think you are my father," said the boy.

"How do you know I am your father?" said the man.

"Well, I know you are my father." Then the man just looked at him, to scare him. The boy kept saying "You are my father."

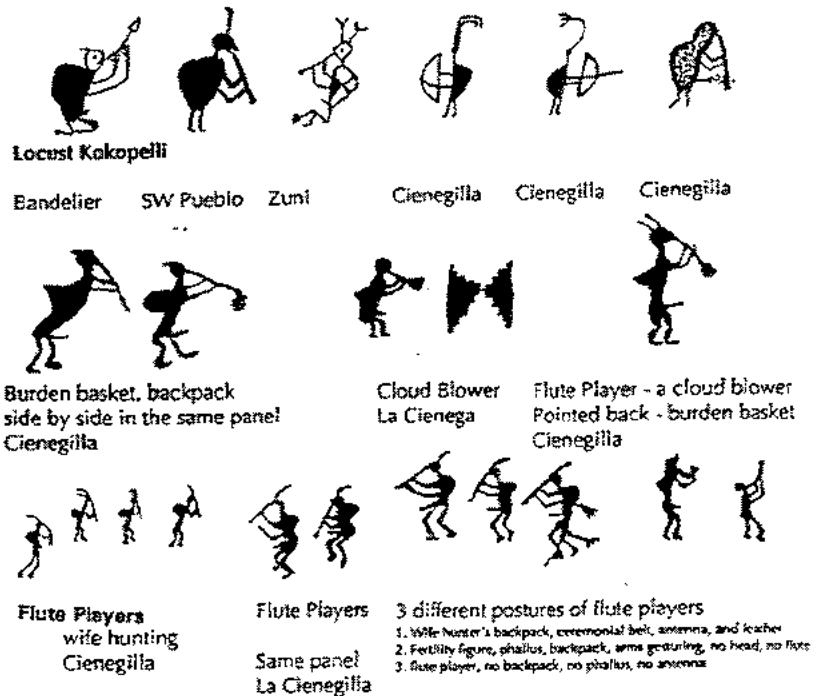
Pretty soon the man said, "Yes, I am your father. I came out of that spring to meet you," and he put his arm around the boy's neck. His father was very glad his boy had come, and *he took him down inside of the spring*. A lot of people were living down inside of the spring, women and girls. They all ran to the boy and put their arms around him because they were glad their child had come to their house. Thus the boy found his father and his aunts, too.

Well, the boy stayed there one night and next day he went back home and told his mother he had found his father. Then his mother got sick and she died. Then the boy said to himself, "No use for me to live with these people." So he left them and went to the spring. And there was his mother. That was the way he and his mother went to live with his father. His father was Avaiyo pi'i (water snake red). He said he could not live with them over at Sikyat'ki. That was the reason he made the boy's mother sick so she died and "came over here to live with me," said his father. "Now we will live here together," said Avaiyo to his son. That's the way that boy and his mother went to the spring to live there.

## The Panel of Water Jar Boy Identification of the Symbols

The story begins with a description of a fine girl who did not want to marry any of the boys in her village nor of any other village. This is expressed in pictography with "wife hunters" a Flute Player variant shown in panel#1. These figures are shown with back packs, playing flutes, and having rabbit ears. These are all elements associated with courting, wooing and prolificacy having to do with "wife purchasing" and as "a hunter and moccasin maker who in the tales appears with a buckskin on his back from which to make moccasins for a bride."<sup>10</sup> The name "Kokopelli" that is commonly used for all kinds of flute players, comes from a mythical locust like insect character who is able to bring rain and fertility for the people of Zuni and referred to in Hopi mythology as well.

CHART 1 FLUTE PLAYERS

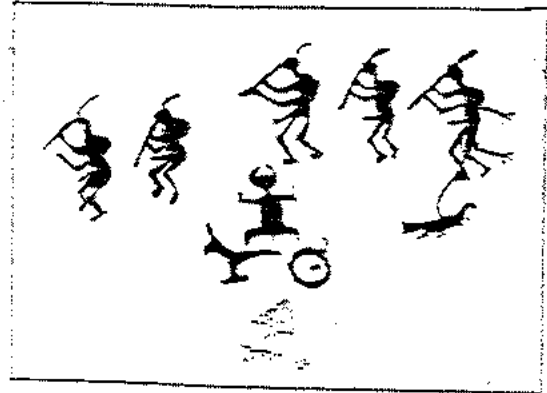


In panel #1, the Flute Players are not insects with humped backs, but men with packs, playing a flute and walking in one direction. In pre-historic Pueblo culture it was customary for young men to go "wife hunting" to other villages, carrying gifts for a bride and play a flute to court her. They are portrayed as phallic and "prolific as rabbits" as part of their appeal. They are easily identified by their human bodies, hands and feet, backpacks and rabbit ears. The insect, Kokopelli has a hump that is continuous as part of his back with insect antenna and an insect head. This type of flute player is also found near La Cienega, at Cienegilla, but is very different from the flute players in this panel.

Careful attention to these details of the many variations of the Flute Player figure, can better determine the identity of these figures. It would be misleading to associate agricultural aspects such as "rain" and a "seed pack" into the context of this panel as is so often the case with the insect Kokopelli. Symbol association with a female figure giving birth is further evidence that these Flute Players are associated with wife hunting rather than seed germination.

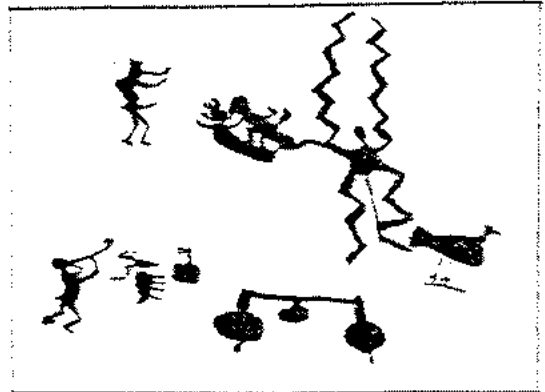


Water Jar Boy Panel 1



Panel 1

In contrast, panel #2 has a figure playing a flute but is not carrying a pack. The meaning symbolized by this figure has changed with the context. In the same panel #2 is a second figure with a hump on his back and a phallus but is not playing a flute. Each of these three figures is a variation of the Flute Player, having a specific meaning implied within the context of symbols around them. A generalized statement, labeling them simply as "Kokopelli" figures does not do justice to the meaning intended by these symbols.




Panel 2

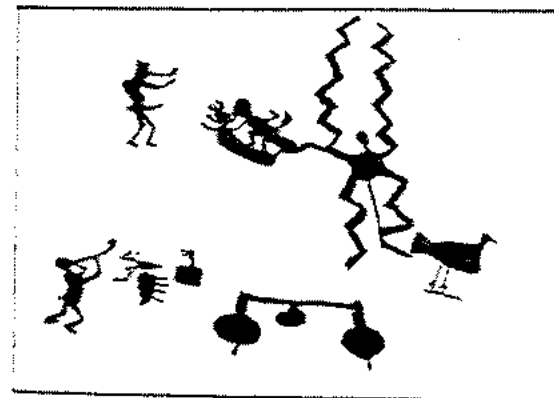
In panel #1 the five figures with ceremonial belts, packs (of bridal goods), flutes (for courting) and rabbit ears (prolificacy) are used in context with a figure (female) in a birthing position. The "birthing" position is characteristic of having flexed knees and out-spread legs, with a second image positioned below and between the legs. The symbol below the legs represents "what was born" and in this case it is something not clearly identifiable. Within the mythical context, the maiden is giving birth to a "round thing with two things sticking out." The petroglyph emphasizes two qualities of this "something" with two symbols. The first object is a circle with a dot inside, indicating a round thing with something in it, like a container of some kind. The second image has feet like appendages that may represent the qualities of mobility.



Water Jar Boy Panel 2 and 1









In the story, the question remains, who of the above males is the father. The petroglyph shows the "suitsors" or "wife hunters" going on their own way, in one direction. There are no figures turning back or "returning". A returning figure might indicate that he had been chosen by the maiden. This is an important detail from the standpoint of symbol analysis. The positioning and formation of these pack-carrying, flute-playing, wife-hunting suitsors, traveling in one direction without returning indicates a continuing search going away from home. There are no indications of a suitor touching or "being with her" to indicate a marriage or a relationship to the birth. Within the context of the myth, this question is a basic element in the story, "Who is my Father?" One can tell from the panel alone, the suitsors were not responsible for the birth. The maiden in the petroglyph reinforces this theory, by being portrayed wearing a horned headdress, that indicates extraordinary strength or powers. Horned figures are usually associated with shamans, or persons having strong medicine. Male or female deities are symbolized in Kiva art and pottery designs using a horned headdress that call attention to a special denotation of power or ability, medicinal power or divinity. Within the context of the myth, the horned female figure is identified as the maiden who gave birth from a supernatural conception. Thus she has been elevated to the status of a deity.

There are many stories in Pueblo mythology that describe pregnancies from supernatural events. This supernatural conception is illustrated in Panel #2. The humped back phallic figure near the top is positioned in association with two figures copulating. Further to the right is the symbol for water,  two wavy lines.<sup>11</sup> The myth speaks of the water splashing up the maiden's leg and causing her to conceive and eventually give birth. The figure to the left with a phallus and a humped back is gesturing toward the two figures copulating. They, in turn, are connected to the water symbol by a short line that indicates a direct association between the conception process and the water. These three symbols in context with each other convey the idea of copulation, fertilization in association with the water.

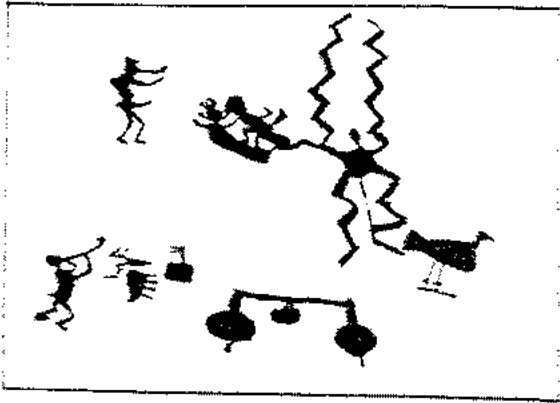


Panel 2

Within the water symbol is a figure with the arms and legs incorporated into the water symbol. The arms become the wavy line and the feet become the wavy line. They are incorporated into the water symbol to indicate their connection with water. Within the context of the myth, the act of "mixing the water and mud" is illustrated here by symbol incorporation using the water symbol and the hands and feet of the figure.<sup>12</sup> See chart #2 for clarity of this symbol.

Chart 2	Symbol Incorporations	
		<p>"mixing water"</p> <p>water + person + splashing up inside</p>
		<p>wet person rising up</p> <p>particles of something + person (moisture)</p> <p>+ rising up from knees (kneeling)</p>
		<p>"spring"</p> <p>particles (moisture) + descend</p> <p>+ snake or spring</p>
		<p>"growing up"</p> <p>moisture + dry + horn</p> <p>+ quadruped moving upward</p>

The long tail from the center figure is attached to one side of the water symbol. Within the context of the myth, it may refer to the "mud splashing up her leg" causing the conception. The symbols together describe the act of the girl mixing the clay with the water, and stamping it with one foot, as described in the story. From the view point of the myth, these symbols together clarify the idea that the pregnancy was caused by something in the mud or water, and not by one of the suitors in the previous panel.



Panel 2



Water Jar Boy Panel 2

Below the water symbol to the right is a large bird. It's feet are touching a crack leading downward. It's breast is large and pointed. The position of the bird is turned away from the other symbols but the tail is still touching them to indicate a relationship of some kind.

The use of animals or birds as metaphors becomes obvious at this point. In the myth, the mother instructs her daughter how to mix the mud and the water and stamp on it with her feet. She then turns away and leaves to get more water. "You keep on doing this for me," she says, and turns away. The mother is represented here by the bird that is walking away from the figure mixing the mud and water. This bird has an unusually large breast, to identify it as the "mother."<sup>13</sup> The feet are touching a crack that leads down and away to the right. This bird is used a second time in panel #4, drawn with the same enlarged breast to distinguish it from other more ordinary looking birds. This "mother" bird appears in the appropriate context within the myth and panel #4 later on.<sup>14</sup>



Double Lobed Jar from Chaco, circa 1100 A.D.

The object in Panel #2 has two lobes connected by a cross bar and is similar to double lobed pottery found in the southwest, from Chaco Canyon, dated around 1100 AD. (Chaco Culture National Historic Park, New Mexico) and from Cochiti, dated around 1900 (Millicent Rogers Museum, Taos New Mexico) and Kayenta dated around 1200 A.D. (private collection).

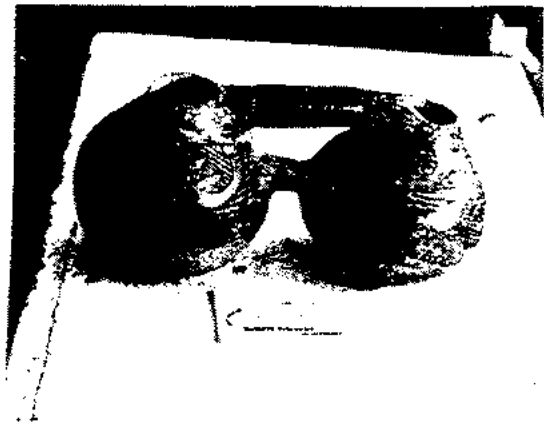


The myth relates how the boy was born and grows up inside the water jar and is fed through the mouth of the jar. Double lobed jars are considered highly ceremonial in Pueblo society. Their utility was not of a practical use but instead of a metaphorical nature, as a vessel symbolizing the world of duality within which we live.

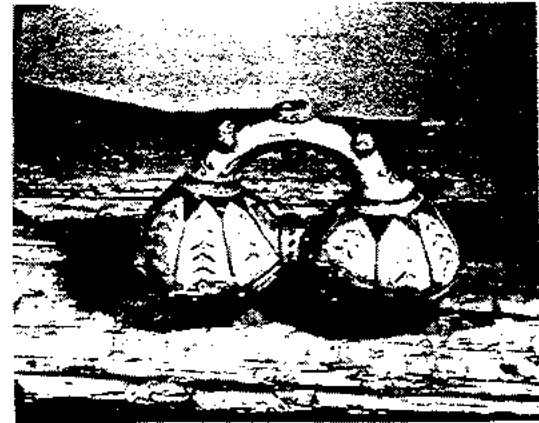
Pictured on this panel near the double lobed jar is the symbol of a flute player. Notice it does not have a hump back nor a phallus. This figure is merely playing a flute and gesturing up toward the couple in copulation. In many Pueblo Genesis stories, it is said that life forms were *sung* into being. The flute player was commissioned by the Creator for music that brings things to life. Here the flute player is playing and gesturing toward the copulating couple, to promote life from the strange conception. He is also in association with the next symbol, the goat.

The goat to the right of the flute player is positioned vertically. The goat is a sign vehicle, as we have discussed previously. Its position vertically indicates, "moving upward" or straight up as in "growing up." One horn has been pecked-in with dots that are symbolic of particles of water. This pecking method refers to being "wet" in some contexts, and "corn meal" in others." The other horn is sharp and clear to indicate the opposite of "wet", that of being "dry." The goat is moving upward, ahead and away from the "wet" horn and on toward the "dry" horn. Within the context of the myth the sign vehicle illustrates the boy, "growing up" in a "wet" place and moving towards an adult life in the "dry" place.

The goat is a sign vehicle as is evident by its unusual position, body shape and variation in horn shape and texture. The goat as a sign vehicle fills in important information about the condition and status of the main character without the necessary cultural contexting that other images require in order to understand their meaning. The Symbol Incorporation chart demonstrates the use of these symbols as sign vehicles.



Double Lobed Jar from Kayenta, circa 1203-1273 A.D.



Double Lobed Jar from Cochiti, circa 1900 A.D.


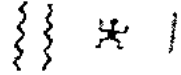






		"Mixing water": water+person+splash up inside
		"Wet person rising up": particles of something (moisture) + person + rising up from knees kneeling
		"Spring": particles of something (moisture) + descend, or snake, or spring Spring + center place
		"Growing up": moisture + dry +horn + quadruped moving upward

CHART 2

Symbol Incorporations

"Animals-as-metaphors" as demonstrated in panel #2 with the use of the bird symbol representing the girl's mother, are further demonstrated in panels #3 and #4 with the use of a mountain lion and birds. The exercise of transcending our fixation from the "animal" or "bird" identification, to the "meaning" intended is essential in the reading of a myth or a visual representation of a myth.

Joseph Campbell writes:

" The distinguishing function of a properly read mythology is to release the mind from its naive fixation...on material things as things-in-themselves. Hence the figurations of myth (and in symbolic art) are metaphorical in two senses simultaneously, as both psychological, and at the same time metaphysical."<sup>16</sup>

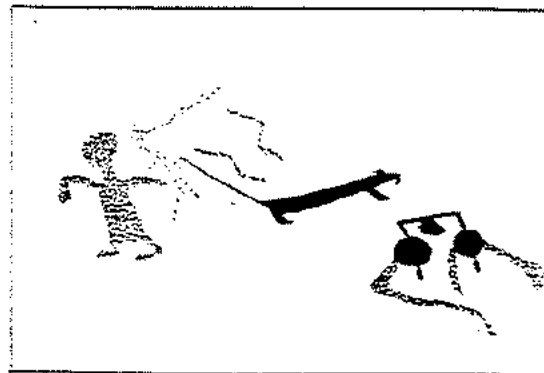
In the myth, Water Jar Boy asks his grandfather to take him hunting. In panel #3 we find the image of a mountain lion that is identified by his long body and tail, and facial whiskers. The mountain lion is traditionally considered the symbol of a great hunter by Pueblo societies. In Pueblo cosmology, the lion symbol can evoke the whole concept of " going hunting with the power and ability of the great mountain lion." The Pueblos use the mountain lion as a symbol of the supreme hunters, who " have power to attract deer, antelope, and the power to be lucky (succeed)."<sup>17</sup> Pueblo hunters carry their arrows in a mountain lion skin quiver. They make shrines in the mountains to the north of their villages for the mountain lion spiritual power to assist them in their hunting seasons. They may even "feed" a mountain lion fetish blood from fresh game to encourage the lion to attract more game in the future.



Water Jar Boy Panel 3 and 4

In the myth, Water Jar Boy asks his grandfather to take him hunting with him. Water Jar Boy himself spies a rabbit and rolls along in pursuit. Within the context of the myth, the mountain lion symbol is used to represent the boy in the act of "hunting". This idea is supported by the other images in the panel. In the myth, during the hunt, the Water Jar Boy accidentally hits a rock and breaks open. This is illustrated in the panel with an image of the water jar breaking open with little dots in a stream coming out of both lobes of the jar. These dotted particles refer to water leaking out the sides (not the top), to indicate the jar was broken.

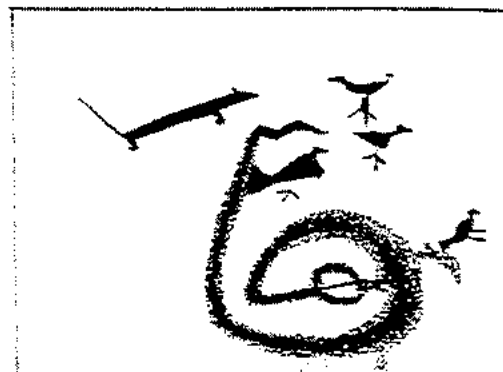
To the left of the water jar is a very sparsely pecked (dotted) human figure. His legs are positioned to show him still on one knee and rising on the other leg. The figure is textured with the dotted pecking indicating "wet" and associating him with the substance leaking out of the water jar. Together, these symbols relate the mythic incident of the water jar breaking and the boy emerging. The interpretation of this sequence of events portrayed in the symbols in the panel, that include the boy "hunting", "pursuing" hitting a rock and "breaking open", and "emerging all covered with water and broken pottery" are in agreement with the events found the myth.



Panel 3

The mountain lion symbol is carried over to panel #4, where it is placed next to a coil. A short coil is used in sign language gesture to denote going down or up, "ascending or descending" as an eagle does when he spirals around to catch the up-drafts.<sup>13</sup> The coil in the petroglyph is commonly known to the Pueblos to represent the whirl wind, a directional descending, and is associated with springs and with snakes who live in or near a spring. The two ideas, snake and spring are interchangeable in some contexts.

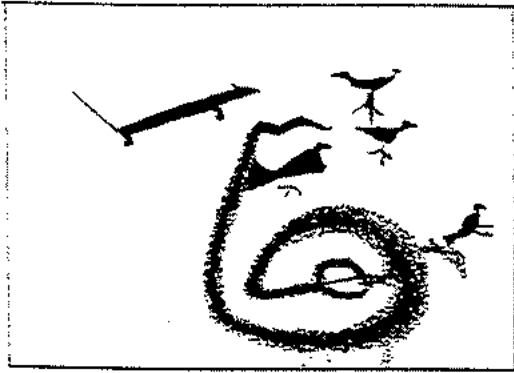
On another level, the longer "spirals" represents the journey of the people to the center place. As most lines refer to trails, a line spiraling inward represents the "Journey in search of the Center".



Panel 4

The Center Place then, is represented by the central point of the spiral. When the coil is pecked with many dots, the reference to water has been added. (See the Symbol Incorporation chart.) In this case, the coil refers to a spring, rather than a long migration.

The myth recounts how the boy goes to the spring "in search of" or "hunting" his father. Water Jar Boy insists on knowing who his real father is and his strong intent is again represented by the mountain lion, the hunter and seeker, positioned near the spring.



Panel 4

In the myth the father meets the boy at the spring and together they travel down into the spring. There he is greeted by his sisters and aunts. The center place inside the spring is represented by the circle with a line through it indicating "passed through the center," or the "center place."<sup>19</sup>

The birds, as with the mountain lion, are carried over from previous panels to represent the relatives of the boy, who in the myth meets his sisters and aunts inside the spring. The myth states that the boy's mother dies but re-joins him back inside the spring. She is identified as "mother" symbolized again by the bird with a large breast that is located near the top of the spring. The boy's father is identified as Avaiyo, the water serpent, who lives inside the spring, and is represented also by the coil.

### Conclusion

The interpretation of this petroglyph depends upon the understanding of metaphors that are used in the myth by the Pueblos. It is hoped that one's etic perception will shift away from the notion of representational objects or animals towards the emic metaphorical meaning that is found within the myth itself.

In reading a myth, one must go well beyond the literal imagery, to that which is psychologically intended. By using the myth as a guide, I have attempted to transcend the literal interpretations of the images in the panel as things-in-themselves to the metaphorical meaning intended and thereby drawing a direct correlation between the images in the panel and those found in the myth.

An interpretation of the "Water Jar Boy" myth has been put forth by Joseph Campbell in his book "The Hero with a Thousand Faces". Though he never knew of a possible visual representation of this myth, these images support Campbell's interpretations. He writes of Water Jar Boy:

"The child of destiny has to face a long period of obscurity. This is a time of extreme danger, impediment or disgrace. He is thrown inward to his own depths or outward to the unknown; either way, what he touches is a darkness unexplored...after a long period of obscurity his true character is revealed. This event may precipitate a considerable crisis; for it amounts to an emergence of powers hitherto excluded from human life. Earlier patterns break to fragments or dissolve...the creative value of the new factor comes to view...the adventure of the second is the going to the father - the father is the invisible unknown.....Where the goal of the hero's effort is

the discovery of the unknown father, the basic symbolism remains that of the tests and the self-revealing way...The hero blessed by the father returns to represent the father among men. ..Since he is now centered in the source, he makes visible the repose and harmony of the central place. He is a reflection of the World Axis from which the concentric circles spread - the World Mountain, the World Tree - he is the perfect microcosmic mirror of the macrocosm. To see him is to perceive the meaning of existence. From his presence boons go out; his word is the wind of life."<sup>20</sup>

The petroglyph image of the coil spiraling inward to a center point and circle is consistent with the Pueblo's use of the symbol of the middle or center of the cosmos, represented by a "sipapu", an earth navel or the entire village.<sup>21</sup> This sacred space is visually represented by a small circle in the center of a sand painting, a ring of rocks in the village plaza or a hole in the floor of a Kiva. Ortiz states, "The elaboration of the notion of the center has the further implication that the dominant spatial orientation, as well as that of motion, is centripetal or inward. That is to say, all things are defined and represented by reference to a center."<sup>22</sup>

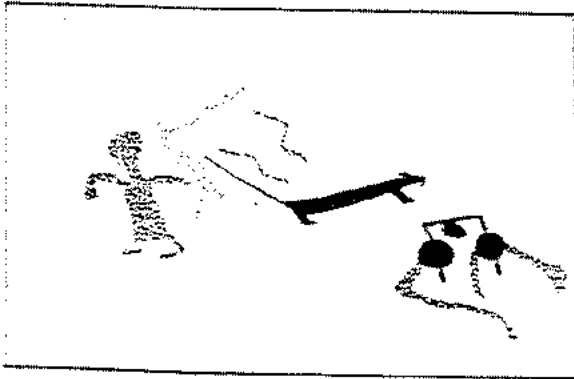
The coil is a symbol combination of both a trail and water, is multireferential representing the dwelling place of the water snake, the pathway to the underworld, and the source of life giving water. On another level, it represents the spiritual world, the dwelling place of the unconscious, the source of the life giving spirit, and the home of "The Father" to which you return after death. Jane Young (1988:105-106) writes about multireferential symbols in the Pueblo world and particularly for the Zuni: "They are standing for both themselves and something else at the same time, yet all of the meanings are bound together, so that the Zuni say, "They are all the same thing."

The double lobed jar represents the duality of the earthly world in which the boy was born and the watery dark abyss the boy grows up in. The water jar, described in the myth is a metaphor for the obscure world in which the boy is born. That metaphor is translated to the image of the double lobed jar, to incorporate the concept of the dualism that exists in every aspect of Pueblo life and is reflected in the society and social structure. It is the reality of life, that the boy eventually breaks out of in order to find the unity of spirit. Ortiz (1972:144) emphasizes this concept, "The grand dualities of the cosmos also serve to unify space and time and other, lesser dualities that reverberate through Pueblo life....The basic level of dualities that in nature, winter and summer, provide the fundamental principle of organization



Water Jar Boy Panel 4

for the ritual calendar...Other dualities cut across all of existence, from the hot and the cold to the raw and the cooked and the ripe and the unripe, sometimes all at once."<sup>23</sup> Others have also written on the concept of duality in Pueblo world views. Levi-Strauss writes that the actions of the unconscious mind expresses itself through social forms. "A moiety system ...makes a visible representation of the minds natural proclivity to divide and subdivide."<sup>24</sup>



Panel 3

The mountain lion image in the panel is interpreted as a symbol for "hunting", "seeking" or "pursuing with great intent" whether to hunt rabbits or seek and find the true father. The theme occurs over and over in Pueblo mythology, when the son of a virgin birth asks the question, "who is my father" and sets forth "seeking" to find his father, be it the sun, the wind or the water. The hero has to overcome tremendous obstacles using sheer determination and intuitive power. The mountain lion is a metaphor for such profound intent in seeking out metaphysical objectives. The double lobed jar represents the dualities on the temporal plane, the boy has to break out of, in order to find the source of spirit and unity of human consciousness.

It is highly probable that this petroglyph represents the Water Jar Boy myth of Pueblo oral tradition, based on the above description and accordance between the drawings and the myth. Investigations made by Martineau (1973, Dutton (1965), Parsons (1939), Cushing (1979), Young (1985), Shaafsma (1989) and others who have studied traditional visual art of the Pueblo Indians conclude that there was little concern with realistic representations of actual animals or people. A Olsen summarizes:

"When the meanings are restored to form and context, documented evidence of social categories emerges such that animals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians are used exclusively to refer to man-made situations; such as clan symbols, as representatives of power for curing, as assistants to spirits and Kachinas, and as messengers for the People. In the emic view, animals have power to travel between men and spirits/kachinas to mediate between them. The natural abilities of an animal or bird are interwoven with their powers in myth and histories."<sup>25</sup>

What Campbell has suggested with myth, also holds true with the visual art, the stylistic or simplified gesture figures are metaphors used to transmit the meaning or essence of character imbued in these beings. Animals used as metaphors have more to do with a metaphysical and psychological meaning. They enable the viewer to transcend aspects of the physical realm to that of greater complexity and spiritual meaning within the context of Pueblo cosmology and world view.

## End Notes

1. Jane Young, Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1988), 122
  2. Nancy Olsen, "Social Roles of Animal Iconography: Implications for Archaeology from Hopi and Zuni Ethnographic Sources", Animals in Art, ed.H. Morphy,(London:Unwin Hyman 1989),418.  
Nancy Olsen clarifies the purpose of this paper in a similar approach in her work. " To do this in a manner satisfactory to both Pueblo people and science, a cross-cultural perspective will be used that recognizes differences between an insider's 'emic' perception of their iconography and the outsider's 'etic' view. In doing so, oral tradition is separated from scientific analysis in order to appreciate the value of each."
  3. Polly Schaafsma, "Supper or Symbol: Roadrunner Tracks in Southwest Art and Ritual", Animals in Art, H. Morphy ed. (London: Unwin Hyman 1989), 264-267.
  4. Polly Schaafsma, Indian Rock Art of the Southwest (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 254-9.
  5. C. Hackett, Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 37.
  6. Michael Stansilawski, "Hopi-Tewa", Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 9 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution 1979), 600.
  7. Henry R. Voth "The Traditions of the Hopi" Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Series VIII, (Chicago: 1905), 155.
  8. The myth was first recorded by Voth, called "Little Jug Boy" from the Hopi Tewa pueblo of Hano. It is not Hopi, but rather retold at Hopi by the Tewas. Else Clews Parsons, "Tewa Tales", American Folk-Lore Society Memoirs, Vol. XIX. (New York: 1926), 193.
  9. La Van Martineau, The Rocks Begin to Speak, (Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1973), 53.
  10. Elsie Clews Parsons, "The Humpback Flute Player of the Southwest" American Anthropologist, No. 40 (1938): 337.
  11. Col. Garrick Mallery, Picture Writing of the American Indians, (New York: Dover Publications 1972), 642.
  12. La Van Martineau, 1988 personal conversation.
  13. Ibid.,
  14. Ibid.,
- The bird is used at Cochiti to represent the mother of the people. In more specific images, such as the "bird with the one-cross-foot", the association with their "Corn Mother" is implied. (personal conversation with Cochiti elder.)
15. Burtha Dutton, Sun Father's Way. Kiva Murals of Kuaua (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963).
  16. Joseph Campbell, The Inner Reaches of Outer Space, (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 56.
  17. Elsie Clews Parsons, Pueblo Religion, Voi 1 and 2, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 335.
  18. La Van Martineau, The Rocks Begin to Speak, (Las Vegas: KC Publications, 1973), 19.
  19. Jane Young, Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1988),423

20. Joseph Campbell, The Hero With A Thousand Faces, Bollingia Series XVII, (New York: Princeton University Press, 1949), 326-347.
21. Alfonso Ortiz, New Perspectives on the Pueblos,(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1972), 142.
22. Ibid., 142.
23. Ibid., 144.
24. Levi-Strauss in Mary Douglas, Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 165.
25. Nancy Olsen, "Social Roles of Animal Iconography: Implications for Archaeology from Hopi and Zuni Ethnographic Sources",in Animals in Art, H. Morphy ed (London: Unwin Hyman 1989), 423.



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