

THE LOBED-CIRCLE IMAGE IN THE BASKETMAKER PETROGLYPHS OF SOUTHEASTERN UTAH

by

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INTRODUCTION

Some popular interest has recently developed concerning a distinctive image that is found predominantly along the central San Juan River drainage in southern San Juan County, Utah (Hurst and Pachak 1989:20; Cole 1990:113, 116, 153). This paper discusses the distribution, cultural affiliation, context, cognitive modes, and a proposed interpretative hypothesis for this intriguing petroglyphic image.

The image consists of a round to oval shape from which there is a rounded-rectangular extension or 'lobe'. The area within the round portion of the image is most often left unmodified i.e., not pecked out. This characteristic gives the impression that the entity being represented is hollow. In discussing these images with a number of individuals, the images have been informally referred to by a variety of names, names which hint at their resemblance to contemporary objects (some apparently with an attempt at humor). Names that have been used include: Ping-pong paddles, toilet seats, light bulbs, pears, avocados, gourds, doughnut-like elements with tabs, lobed circles (Pachak 1989), tabbed circles (Hays 1990), circular rings with a rectanguloid projection on one side, and keyhole-shaped images (Cole 1990).

The term 'lobed circle' is perhaps the best name, and it is used here for ease of discussion even though it is not totally accurate. The name is not completely satisfactory because it fails to be adequately descriptive, as do all of the above terms. It is however suitably concise. The name lobed circle is inaccurate because the circle portion of the image is not always a circle. It often exists as a slight to prominent oval, and some of the images have a slightly lopsided form, which is distinctively unique. The 'lobe' portion of the term is defined in Websters Dictionary as, "a rounded projection" and is therefore suitable.

Information on the occurrence and characterization of the lobed-circle image has been accumulated by the author since

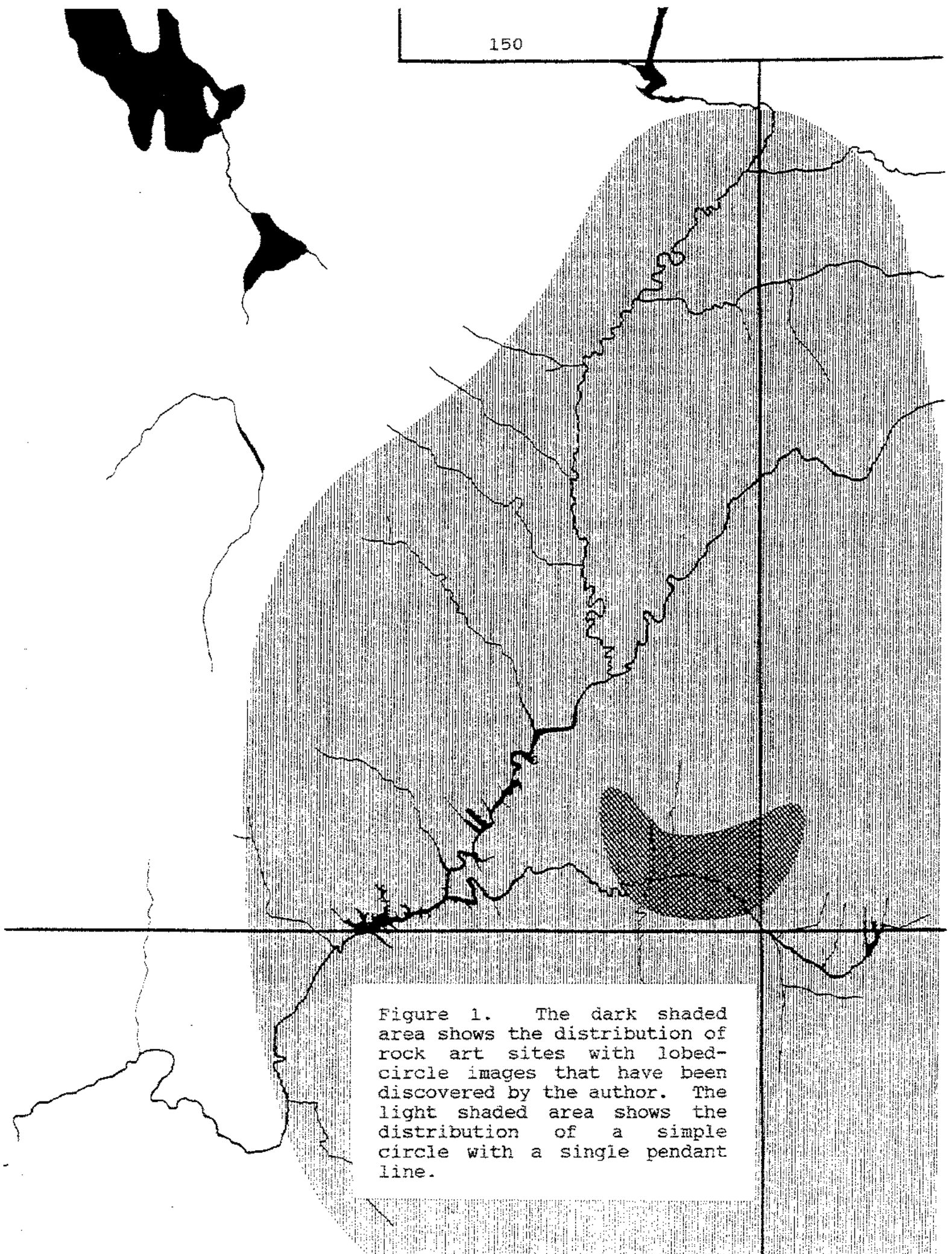


Figure 1. The dark shaded area shows the distribution of rock art sites with lobed-circle images that have been discovered by the author. The light shaded area shows the distribution of a simple circle with a single pendant line.

1982. The study area for these images is concentrated within the State of Utah, and includes over 8,000 rock art sites (Manning 1990a:148). There has also been some limited investigation into neighboring states. Sixty-seven examples of the lobed-circle image have been located to this date. The distribution of the lobed-circle image is shown in the dark shaded area in Figure 1. The lighter shaded area indicates the presence of perhaps a related image, i.e. that of a simple circle with a single descending short line. This image is discussed below.

All of the images containing the lobed circle located to this date are petroglyphs, i.e. pecked out images. This suggests that the lobed-circle images exist only as petroglyphs. However, the possibility that painted images exist, or that the images themselves were part of a painted and pecked assemblage, cannot be ruled out. Since all the images so far located are on cliff faces in exposed locations, painted features once present could easily have eroded, and by now have vanished. Because of the great variety of techniques available to the prehistoric artesian, and utilized in the Basketmaker culture, it is likely that painted images do exist. ¹

METHODOLOGY

With few exceptions, specific theoretical interpretations for rock art images in Utah are based on weakly substantiated inference, or are absent. An overshadowing and a neglect of the functional aspects of rock art, and thus of meaning, has resulted from the extreme emphasis on style as the principal classification methodology for rock art studies (Manning 1992). There does not exist then, a well defined process for formulating and testing hypothesis to determine the meaning of rock art images. The methodology developed and followed here for formulating specific theoretical interpretations for rock art images consists of several discrete steps. The steps, however, are not necessarily followed in the order presented below. This is because the different approaches taken when working with rock art utilize slightly different procedures. One approach is to work within an established data base. Another is to work on a panel by panel basis, i.e. as new panels are discovered, the appropriate steps may be repeated at each newly discovered panel and the information added to a growing data base.

Generally the first step is determining if consistency exists in the form of the image. This is done by the process of classification (Manning 1992). From this information the extent of the areal distribution is approximated. The second and third steps are determining temporal distributions and cultural associations of the image and its variations, where possible. The fourth step is determining the context of the

image within as large a sample as possible. This includes the context of the image within the panel, i.e., in relation to other images, and the context of the geographic location. The fifth is establishing ethnographic parallels, again where possible. These steps should lead to a secure hypothetical interpretation for specific images. Hypothetical in this context means a premise that explains, within a theory or ideational framework, a set of facts which can in addition be used as a basis for further work, including hypothesis testing. A recently developed procedural classification is added to this methodology. The method consists of classifying images in categories other than style, with emphasis on cognitive modes (Manning 1992). These steps are followed below in determining a theoretical interpretation for the lobed-circle image.

CULTURAL IMAGE MODES

OVERVIEW

Since classification by modes (Manning 1992) is a new procedure to rock art analysis, a brief explanation is included here. Modes are a fundamental unit of archaeological classification that have been used in archaeology for many years (Whiteford 1947; Rouse 1939, 1960). The term mode, as used by Rouse (1960), indicates any standard concept or custom which governs the behavior of the artisans of a community. Rouse further states that modes are handed down from generation to generation, and they may spread from community to community over considerable distances (Rouse 1960:313). Images in rock art are a product of concepts in the minds of their creators. If the meanings that are represented by the images are standardized concepts, the images would be consistent in form, attributes, and context. If they are consistent they would be a product of cultural and cognitive norms, and are thus modes. Modes then should be reflected in the images of rock art. The term mode is applied, not only to the cognitive processes that produced the images, but also to the images themselves. This duplexity is necessary to facilitate classification and discussion. Cognitive modes form the basis for establishing meaningful consistency in the image. Classification by this method, instead of by style, will more readily define and establish the ideas and concepts that the rock art was created to express. It will also make possible a more narrow delineation of cultural associations and intra-, and inter-cultural variations.

The lobed-circle image occurs in at least eight different cultural modes in the San Juan area. These cultural modes are listed and briefly described below. Four of these image categories are felt lacking in sufficient numbers to firmly establish a mode classification. Nevertheless, it is felt

appropriate to designate and define categories here for these images, if for no other reason than ease of discussion. A more detailed analysis of the individual images comprising the modes, and the context of the individual figures within sections of the panels, are included below in the individual panel descriptions.

CLASSIFICATION: SPECIFIC DESCRIPTIONS

The lobed-circle images discovered to this date have been classified into eight mode classes. A brief discussion of each is given below.

1. Primary Lobed-Circle Mode. The lobed circle occurs principally, and most explicitly, as a primary image (see Figure 2). The term 'primary', as used here, indicates that the image is an entity by itself - a particular and discrete unit. It is not part of (i.e., attached to) another figure, nor is it inside another figure. In all the modes of the lobed-circle image, the primary form is the largest size. It is also possibly the smallest size. The primary lobed-circle images are distinctive, and they occasionally have a characteristic form. Instead of being symmetrical along the vertical axis, the images are asymmetrical. They have a very slightly lopsided form. This form is significant in the determination of a hypothesis for meaning of the image (which is discussed below). The images of the lobed circle in the primary mode are generally well made. These images also have a noteworthy uniform depth of indentation. The primary form of the image most often occurs in pairs, and occasionally appears in a dominant position in the panel. The primary lobed-circle mode is further classified into several varieties. For example, occasionally the central area of the "hollow" lobed-circle image contains a small pecked-out-area or dot. The dot may be in the center, or it may be located at the bottom (see Figures 2 and 3). A hypothetical meaning for the dot in the center of the lobed circle has not been firmly determined.

2. Lobed-Circle Anthropomorph Mode. The lobed-circle image appears as the body of an anthropomorph (Figure 22). In these instances the lobe points down, and a head is attached opposite to the lobe. Features appearing to represent arms are attached to the side of the circle. The lobe is split slightly, apparently to represent legs. These figures also occur in pairs.

3. Horizontal, Lobed-Circle-Headed Anthropomorph Mode. The lobed-circle image occurs as the head of small anthropomorphs (Figure 24). In these figures the image is horizontal, or nearly so, and the lobe is always positioned over the anthropomorph's back. The lobed-circle-headed anthropomorphs occur in pairs in all examples located so far.

4. Vertical, Lobed-Circle-Headed Anthropomorph Mode. The heads of many Basketmaker anthropomorphs are depicted by a simple circle (Figure 10). Sometimes the entire circle is pecked out. The head is attached to the body generally with a short line. This line has a variety of widths. Where a wide line is used it has a tendency to give the appearance that the head and neck form a lobed-circle image. Because of this technique it is not easily to determine whether the head represents a purposefully designed lobed circle, or the form is simply a coincidence.

5. Lobed Circle Being Carried Mode. The lobed-circle image appears as an object being carried by a human figure (Figure 31). In the one known example there are two objects being carried, one in each hand. The lobe of each points downward.

6. Lobed-Circle Fetish Mode. The lobed-circle image occurs as a pendant attached to each side of the head of an anthropomorph (Figure 32). These lobed-circle images appear to represent an object attached to each ear of an anthropomorph. Again two lobed-circle images are present. These images, if they represent the same object as the modes described above, may represent a fetish.

7. Lobed Circle on Interior of Anthropomorph Mode. The lobed-circle image occurs on the interior of anthropomorphs (Figure 33). It is generally placed in what would be the lower abdomen. In all three known examples the lobe points down. This image has not been found in pairs.

8. Inverted Lobed Circle on Chest of Anthropomorph Mode. An image somewhat similar to number seven above, but inverted, occurs on the chest of anthropomorphs (Figure 20). In all known examples the lobed-circle(?) images exist in pairs.

Additionally, physical objects having the form of the lobed-circle image have been found as pendants on the chest of human remains excavated in northern Arizona. Some of these pendants were covered with turquoise mosaic. Physical objects similar in form to the lobed circle have also been found as ear pendants (Jernigan 1978; Tanner 1976). This occurrence appears to correspond to the image discussed in number six above. These physical objects are discussed in detail below.

DISTRIBUTION

The highest concentration of the lobed-circle images in Utah, so far discovered, occurs along the San Juan River and its northern tributaries, as shown in the dark shaded area in Figure 1. Sixty-seven examples have been discovered by the author to this date. All but six are within the San Juan

River drainage, and all but one are southeast of the Colorado River. Cole (1990:153) reports the existence of an example of the primary lobed-circle image from the Dolores River drainage in west central Colorado i.e., just north of the San Juan River. The image has also been found (in one instance) as far north as the Uintah Basin, an occurrence not unexpected (Manning 1991a).

The complete distribution of the distinctive lobed-circle image has not yet been determined. Because of the image's characteristic presence in San Juan Basketmaker petroglyph panels, and the presence of physical objects closely paralleling the lobed-circle image in Basketmaker contexts south of the San Juan River (as will be discussed below), it is presumed that the distribution of the images will correspond to that of the Basketmaker Culture (McGregor 1941:Figures 79,96,103; Plog 1978; Schaafsma 1980:73, Map 3), and extend south into northern Arizona. It is also presumed that the presence of the lobed circle will exist among the Fremont, but to a far lesser extent. It is also presumed that the density of occurrence will decrease with distance from the San Juan River drainage.

CULTURAL AFFILIATION

Because the highest concentration of the lobed-circle image occurs in the upper San Juan River drainage in Utah, it is easily presumed that the lobed-circle image dates from the Basketmaker Period. This presumption is easily reached because this same area appears to have the highest concentration of Basketmaker cultural remains in Utah. Also, many of the lobed-circle images occur in panels in the San Juan River drainage that are classified under a style designation termed the 'San Juan Anthropomorphic Style' by Schaafsma (1980). Schaafsma (1980:109) has suggested that this style dates from the Basketmaker II Period. The images also occur with figures indicative of the Basketmaker III - early Pueblo I period, as suggested by Schaafsma's 'Chinle Representational Style' and 'Rosa Representational Style' (see also Cole 1990:151-153). The association of the lobed-circle images with these 'styles' and 'types' appears to suggest that the images, and associated ideologies, continued into the early Pueblo period. Superimpositions also support this conclusion.

Note that the Chinle Representational Style contains small paired anthropomorphs, some of which play flutes (Schaafsma 1980:124, Plate 15). These anthropomorphs appear to correspond to the small, paired, twin, lobed-circle-headed mode described above.

CONTEXT: DESCRIPTION OF IMAGES IN ROCK ART

This section describes by cultural mode the location, occurrence and context of the lobed-circle images in a representative sample of the various panels. Since the large primary images are the most prevalent they will be discussed first.

PRIMARY LOBED CIRCLE

The immediate context of the lobed-circle, as a large primary image, is shown in the figures described below. The panels are not presented in any particular order. The drawings were taken from color slides of the panels from the author's personal files. Because the drawings were taken from slides rather than made as scale drawings while at the panels, there will occasionally be some distortion due to unavoidable camera angle. Since the drawings were taken from slides, some representational errors will also occur in the drawings. This is due to lack of clarity in the photographs (caused by weathering of the images). Additionally, the purpose of the drawings is to indicate to the reader the general context of the lobed-circle image within the context of the panel, not to provide an absolutely accurate reproduction of every image the panel. Furthermore, not every figure in the immediate area of the lobed-circle images was included in the drawings. These were omitted for the sake of clarity (see Figure 3 as an example of the complexity present in some panels). In all instances, the images in the drawings that are associated with the lobed-circle images are of the same level of patination, and appear contemporaneous, unless specifically noted. 'Right' and 'left' in the descriptions are indicated as facing the panels.

Before describing the individual panels it is appropriate to point out some general observations. All of the panels are situated on cliff faces. None are in rockshelters. The only protection therefore offered the panels is an occasional outward curvature of the cliff face. No apparent consistency is evident in the placement of the lobed-circle images within the panels. The images appear above, below, at the left and at the right side of the panels, and are similarly placed relative to various images in the panels. The primary lobed circle also occurs in a range of physical sizes.

There are three, easily observed, contextual occurrences that exist often in the panels. First, the extension or lobe of the circle points downward, except when depicted horizontally as part of another image. This orientation is present in all examples located to date. Second, two nearly identical, lobed-circle images generally appear together, side-by-side. Third, the primary lobed-circle images most often occur in

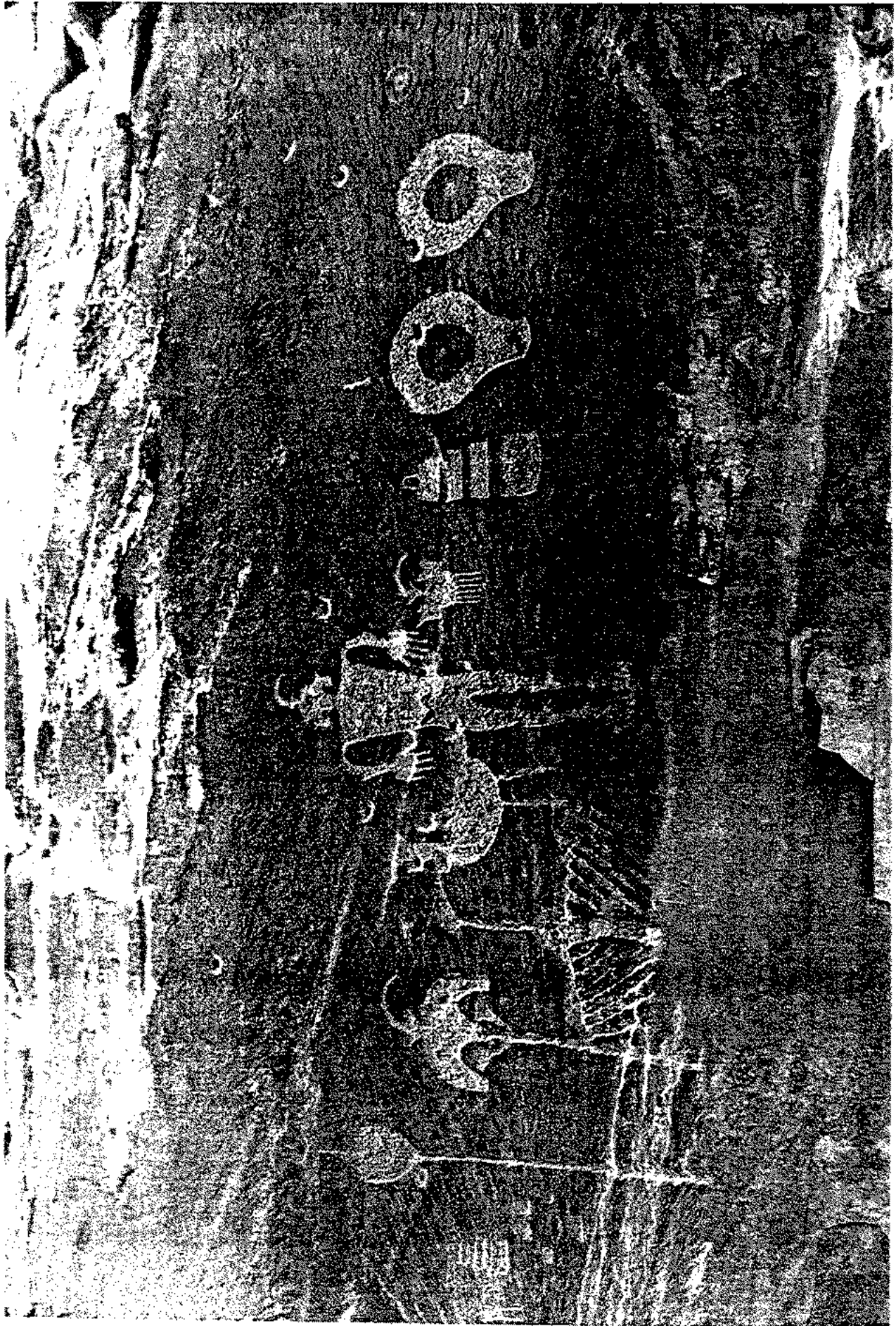


Figure 2



Figure 3

association with (or in proximity to) anthropomorphs.

The primary lobed-circle images are occasionally superimposed over other Basketmaker figures and earlier images. This superimposition provides the opportunity to determine the placement of the image in time relative to other images. It therefore provides the opportunity to place the cultural modes and ideologies responsible for the images within a relative time frame.

EXAMPLES

Figure 2 is located in a northern drainage of the San Juan River. The panel is situated on an east facing cliff in a small narrow canyon. The primary lobed-circle images are placed on the far right side of the panel. Two nearly identical images appear side-by-side. In the center of each image is a small pecked out area or dot. This center pecking occurs in three other panels. The lobed-circle images are large in comparison with the other figures in the panel, and are thus prominent. This panel exhibits an excellent example of the Primary Lobed-circle Image Mode.

At the far left of the panel there are images associated with fertility, human sexuality, and ritual. These include a reclining flute player, what may be a copulation scene, two female anthropomorphs - identified by the presence of what appear to be aprons or menstrual pads (see Figure 4) (these female images are discussed below), crook staffs, etc. Cole (1989, 1990) has also discussed this panel. The general theme of the panel appears to center on the concept of human fertility or sexuality. The prominent position of the two lobed-circle images and the two females suggests an importance for duplicates or pairs associated with human fertility.

Another panel containing two primary lobed-circle images is located along the San Juan River (Figure 3) west of Bluff. The lobed-circle images are next to each other and located near the top of an extensive panel. To the right of these two images there is another large lobed-circle image with another smaller one below it. These are not shown in the photograph. This panel illustrates the complexity of superimposition present in several of the panels containing the lobed-circle image. There are in this panel numerous anthropomorphic forms of various sizes. Basketmaker forms are superimposed over what appears to be a Glen Canyon Style 5 image, as defined by Turner (1963). Basketmaker anthropomorphs are also superimposed over other Basketmaker anthropomorphs. Also in the panel there are geometric and abstract elements and sheep with what appear to be atlatl darts protruding from their backs. There is one well made image of a Yucca in blossom. The large Basketmaker

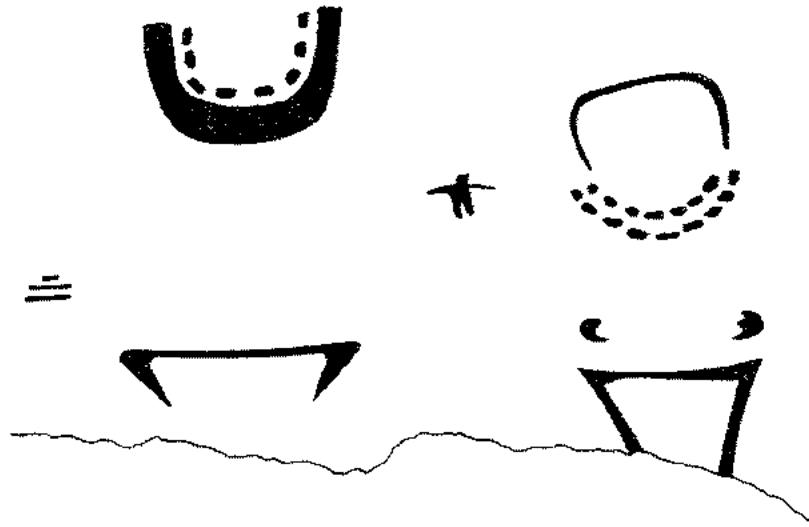


Figure 4

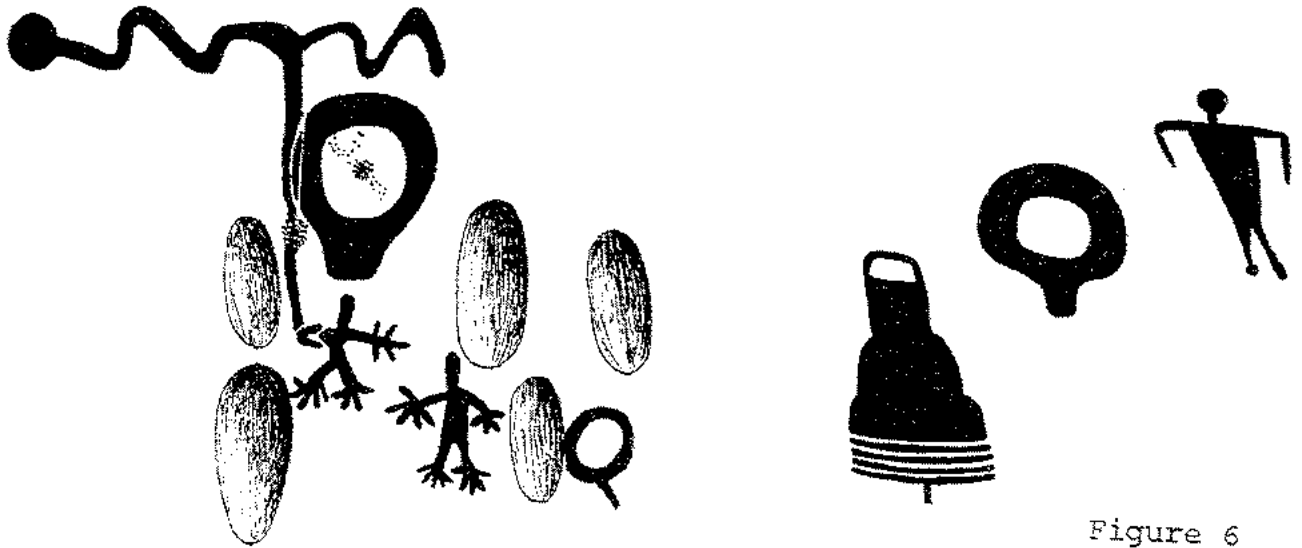


Figure 5

Figure 6

anthropomorph to the right of the two lobed-circle images has male genitals displayed, as do several other anthropomorphs, both male and female. One female anthropomorph has a smaller anthropomorph inside its body. This panel again appears to express the theme of fertility; both plant and human.

Figure 5 occurs at a site along the San Juan River. The lobed-circle image was placed above two small anthropomorphs. They are very similar in form; each has similar body shape, and widely spread fingers and toes. The panel is interspersed with several wide, abraded depressions. These depressions are the same as bedrock metates, except they are on a vertical cliff face. Above the lobed-circle image there is a snake or wavy line, the tail of which appears to make a right angle to travel through the left side of the lobed circle. The lobed-circle image appears to be deeper than the wavy line, and may have been constructed last. In the lower right corner there is a circle with a short line descending from it. This is an example of the image that is similar to the lobed-circle image, as was discussed above. It is unknown if the circle with a short line represents another lobed circle. In this panel the lobed circle is again associated with two comparable anthropomorphic images, which once again appear to represent pairs or perhaps twins.

Nearby is another panel that illustrates a single lobed-circle image (Figure 6). The image is situated at the far upper right side of a panel. To the right of the image there is a single anthropomorph. To the left and below the lobed circle there are several images that look like bells, but which probably represent skin bags (only one is illustrated here).

Figure 7 is also located along the San Juan River. It contains a single lobed-circle image. The lobed circle appears to have been superimposed over an abstract image consisting of a long horizontal oblong shape with widely spaced vertical lines. Nearby are mountain sheep (not illustrated) and some simple crudely formed anthropomorphs.

Figure 8 occurs nearby. This panel contains two, large, well made, primary lobed-circle images. In general form these images appear nearly the same. The image on the right contains the usual pecked out area in the center, but the interior of the image on the left has an amorphous interior - shown solidly pecked here. The center of the image contains some pecking, and it appears as if the figure was never finished. Note that the lobed-circle on the left has a distinctive lopsided appearance.

The lobed circles are on the edge of a large spall and the lower portions of the lobed circles, and whatever was below them, have been lost to erosion. Just to the right of the

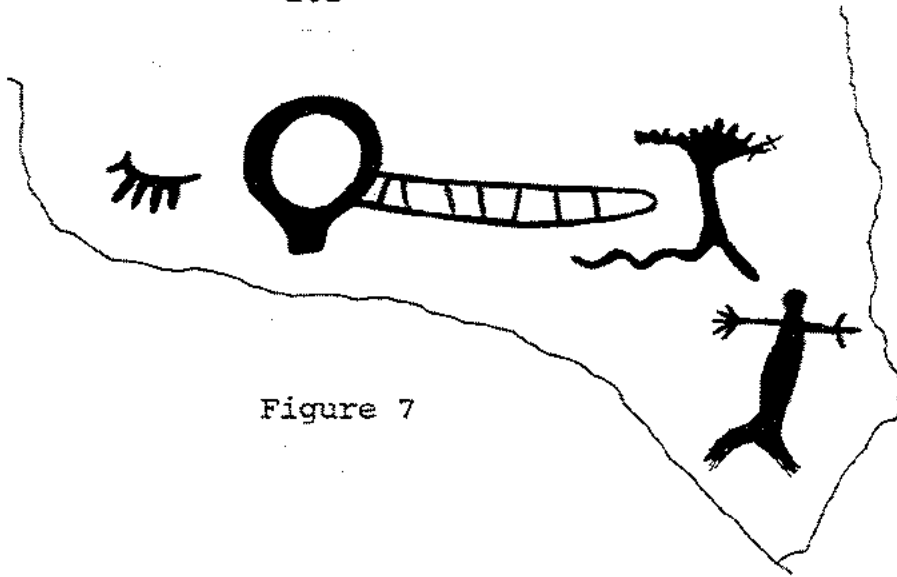


Figure 7

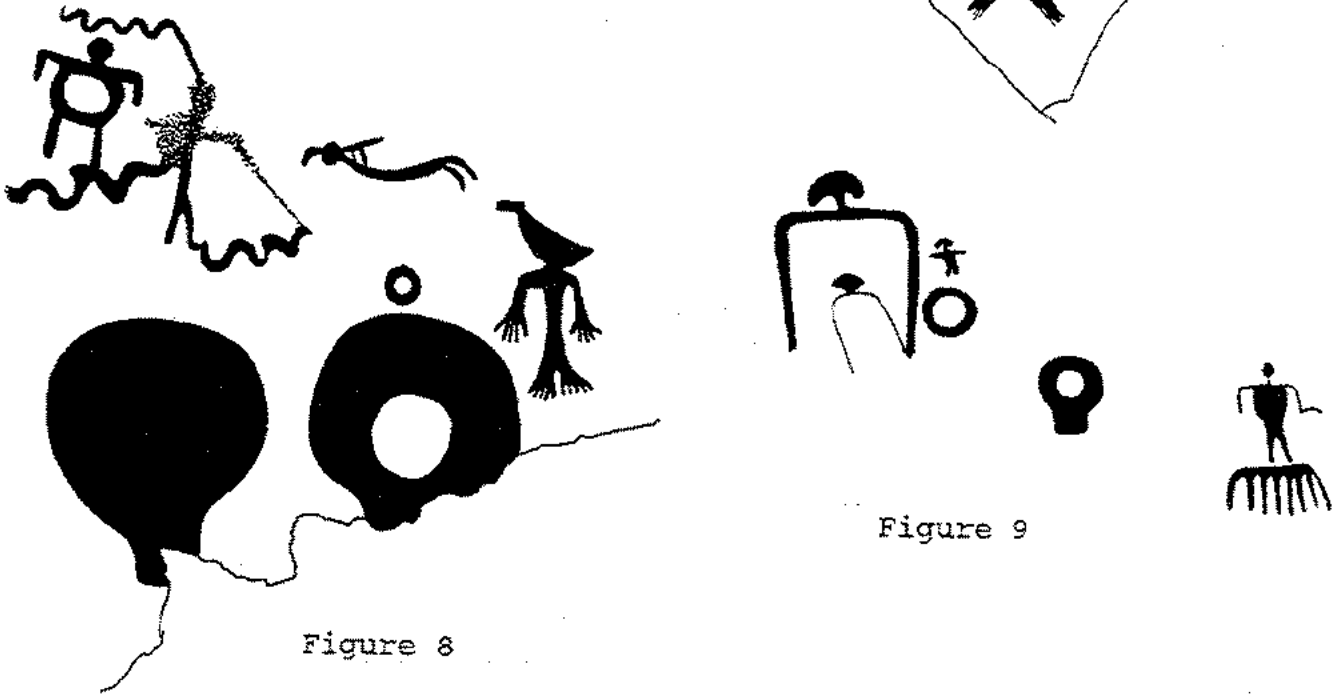


Figure 8

Figure 9

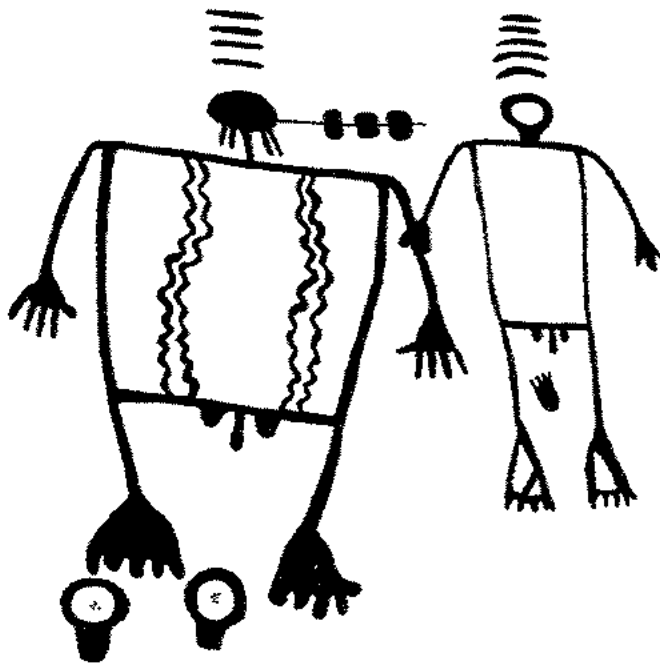


Figure 10

lobed circle there is a bird-headed figure. The bird-headed figure appears to be characteristic of the Basketmaker III period (Grant 1978:171-175; Schaafsma 1980:122-128). The large lobed circles appear to have a barely perceptible lower level of patination than the bird-headed figure. This suggests that the bird-headed figure was created first. If these conclusions are correct, the large primary lobed-circle image existed during or following the Basketmaker III Period. This conclusion is further confirmed by examples at other panels.

Above the lobed circles there is a reclining flute player, a simple anthropomorph with a large round body, and what appears to be an anthropomorph associated with two or three wavy lines or snakes. The figure appears to have one snake at the end of a stick or cord. Another snake is attached to his head, and yet another appears to be attached to his back. The image of a reclining flute player generally carries with it a connotation associated with fertility and human sexuality. Perhaps the anthropomorph with the large round body represents pregnancy. The general theme again appears to be fertility.

Figure 9 is a small panel along the San Juan River. It contains a single small primary lobed-circle image. Above the image there is a circle adjacent to two simple anthropomorphic forms. One is smaller and may be inside the larger figure. Above the circle there is a much smaller anthropomorph. To the right and below the lobed-circle image there is a human form that appears to be standing on an abstract image that may represent a rain cloud. The rain cloud, and the small human figure apparently inside the larger one again suggest the context of fertility.

Figure 10 also occurs along the San Juan River. There are many primary lobed-circle images illustrated in this one large panel. Two of these images are located at the feet of a large tapering rectangular-bodied anthropomorph. The lobed-circle images are another example where there is a pecked dot in the center. The smaller anthropomorph to the right appears to have as a head the same lobed-circle image. This is a common occurrence with Basketmaker petroglyphs, as was discussed previously. Both of the anthropomorphic images display male genitalia. The presence of these two male images again suggests the generative power of human sexuality or fertility as a predominant theme in the panel.

Figure 11 is a portion of a panel containing two nearly identical, primary lobed-circle images together with an example of a typical variant of the Basketmaker bird-, or turkey-headed anthropomorph. The primary lobed-circle images occur near the left of a panel that contains several images that represent atlatls. Of particular interest is the occurrence of near duplicates of several objects in the

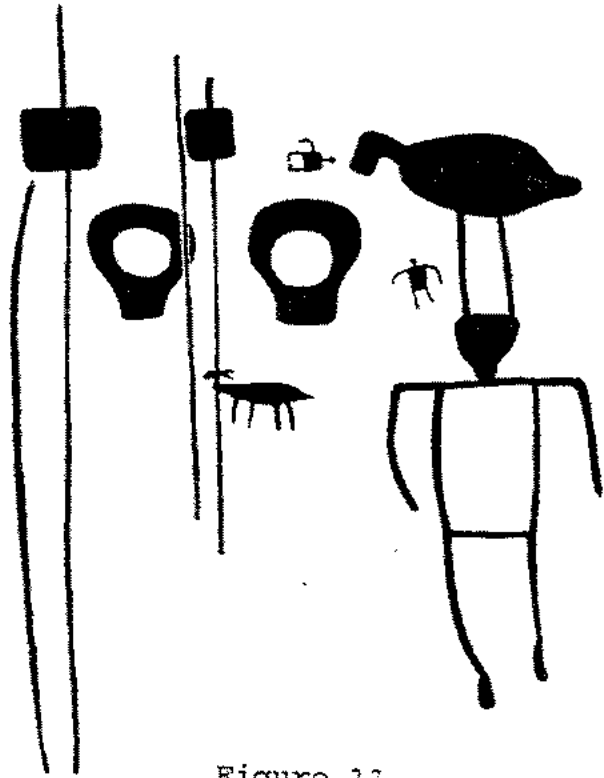


Figure 11

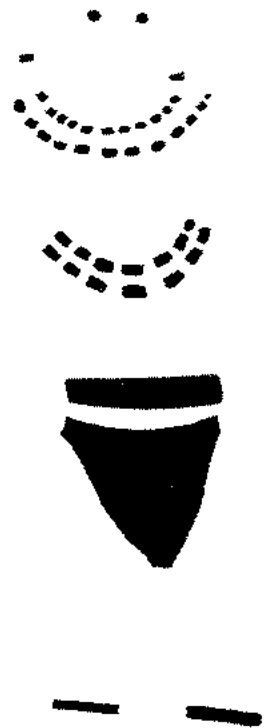


Figure 12

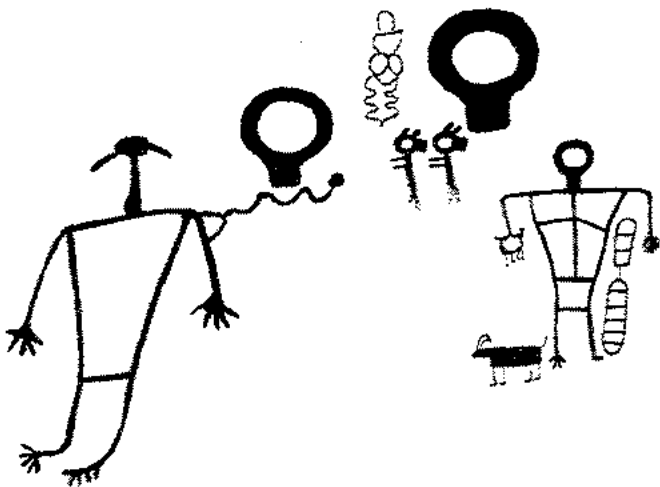


Figure 13

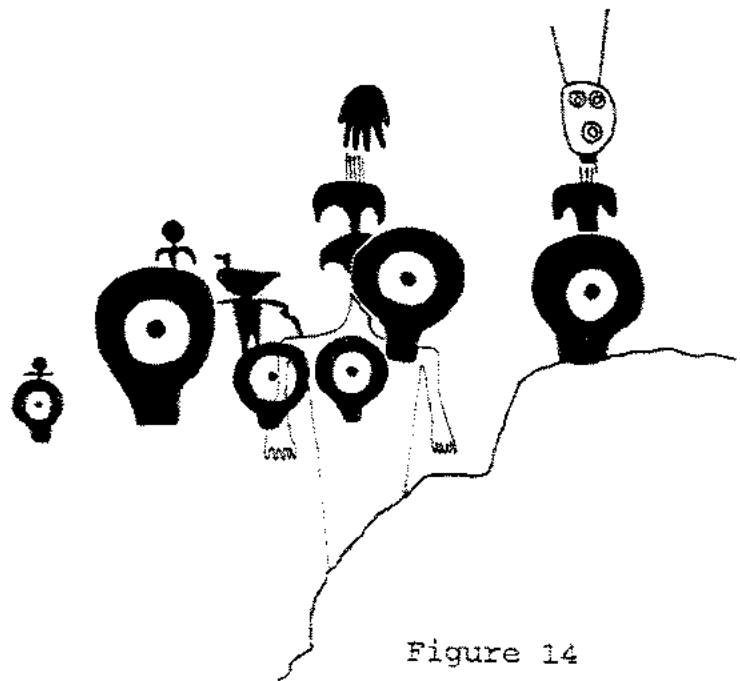


Figure 14

panel. For example, there are two atlatls, each with what appears to be an accompanying spear. An atlatl/spear pair occur on the left side of each of the two lobed-circle images. The atlatl shaft on the far right appears to be pecked over the lobed circle, suggesting that the atlatl was constructed after the lobed circle. Since atlatls were most likely used by males for hunting, the placement of an atlatl next to each lobed circle suggests that these lobed circles are associated with the male sex. Farther to the right there is a presumed female anthropomorph, as indicated by the typical triangular waist feature and necklace (see Figure 12). This anthropomorph has features that are not typical of most pecked Basketmaker anthropomorphs. These features consist of two upward curving rows of two necklaces, and facial features, notably eyes. This kind of anthropomorphic ornamentation is not common in the San Juan Basketmaker area, except in one area (Manning n.d.). The features seem to always be associated with females. These elaborate necklaces parallel Fremont rock art images farther north, and thus suggest a relationship (Manning 1991a). This elaborate decoration seems to suggest that the image represents a female of significant importance.

Figure 13 contains two of the primary lobed-circle images in association with an example of the Horizontal-Lobed-Circle Headed Anthropomorph Mode. The two primary lobed-circle images are at the top of the panel. Below and to the right and left respectively of each lobed circle there is an anthropomorph. The anthropomorph on the right has a head that is the same shape as the lobed circle. Below the arm of this anthropomorph there is an image similar to the abstract image in Figure 7. It again consists of a long oblong shape with widely spaced vertical lines. Below and between the lobed circle there are two twin anthropomorphs with the lobed circle as a horizontal head (these images are discussed below). To the right of this small panel there are two other small simple twin anthropomorphs (not illustrated). The presence of two primary lobed-circle images and two sets of nearly identical small anthropomorphs again illustrates the importance given to twin figures.

Figure 14 is a panel containing six primary lobed-circle images. It is located along the San Juan River north of Bluff, Utah. Three of the lobed-circle images are large and three are small. The panel also contains a considerable amount of superimposition, not all of which is illustrated. The lower portion of the panel has been lost to erosion. It is difficult to determine the order of placement of all the images, however it appears that the three large primary lobed circles were constructed last. The primary lobed-circle image on the far right is placed over the headdress of a large Basketmaker anthropomorph, which appears to have been placed over a Glen Canyon Style 5 anthropomorph (Turner 1963, see his Figures 74 and 77). The large primary lobed circle



Figure 15

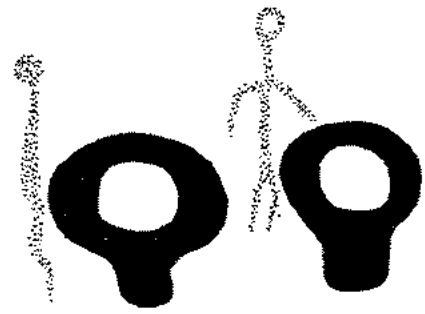


Figure 16

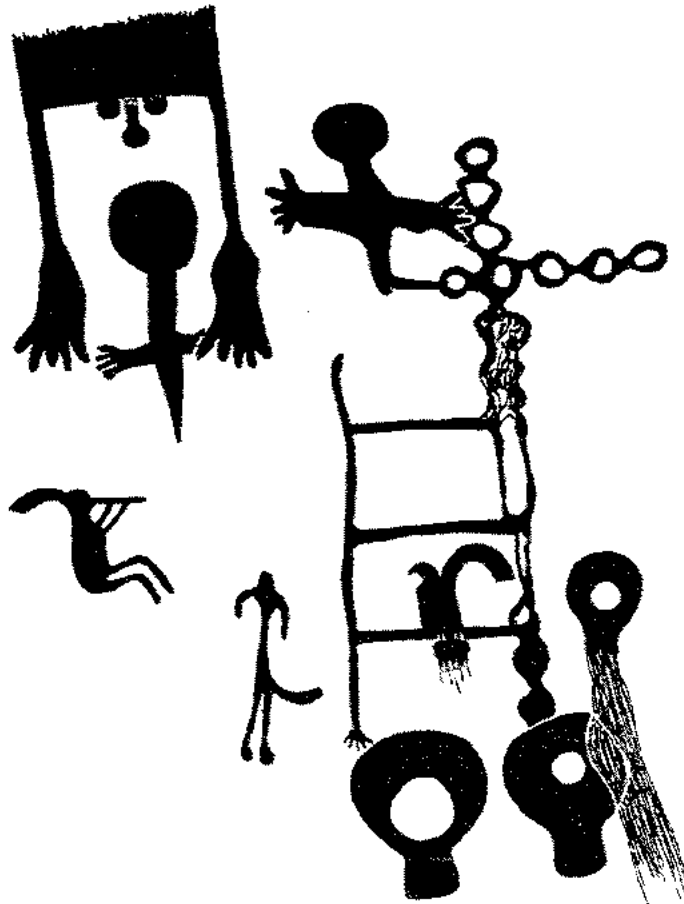


Figure 17

just to the left is also superimposed over a Basketmaker anthropomorph, as are the two small lobed circles just below it. The anthropomorph appears to have the same headdress as the anthropomorph on the right, which was described above. All of the lobed-circle images have a small, deeply pecked out dot in the center. On top of both the two lobed circles on the far left there is a small anthropomorph.

The panel illustrated in Figure 15 contains two primary lobed-circle images. These figures are similar in shape, but one contains the more common undisturbed area in the center, while the other is pecked out completely. The images are associated with a phallic anthropomorph, a snake, and a somewhat abstract image that likely represents an anthropomorph.

Figure 16 occurs south of the San Juan River. The entire panel is shown. The panel contains two primary lobed-circle images that are similar in form. Standing on the left side of each lobed-circle image there is what appears to be an anthropomorph. The anthropomorph on the right is shown in a frontal position with one hand apparently resting on the lobed circle. The anthropomorph on the left is shown in profile view facing away from the lobed circle. These anthropomorphic images are very faint, and not as well made as the lobed circles. There are also several grinding depressions below the panel. These are nearly identical to those shown in Figure 5.

The panel shown in Figure 17 is found along the San Juan River south of Bluff, Utah. It contains two large and one small lobed-circle image. The two large lobed circles are side-by-side. The small lobed-circle image is above and to the right of the two larger images. The smaller lobed circle appears to have a liquid substance flowing down from the bottom of the lobe. It flows across the right side of one of the larger lobed-circles. To the left of the two lobed circles is a phallic anthropomorph, and just beyond him is a sitting flute player.

Directly above the two large lobed-circle images there is a female anthropomorph. Only the lower portion is illustrated, most of it is difficult to discern because of erosion and superimposition by other images - like the rows of circles illustrated in the drawing. A representation of the female pubic area is evident as a circle with multiple lines attached to the bottom. Directly above the pubic area there is a representation of a headdress. It is shown as a rectangle with two arcs attached to the top. There are several variations of this headdress. In this variation the arc on the right is always longer. This headdress is found on anthropomorphs, and on images representing detached human heads. Figure 2 contains an example of a closely related variation of headdress. It is present three times in the

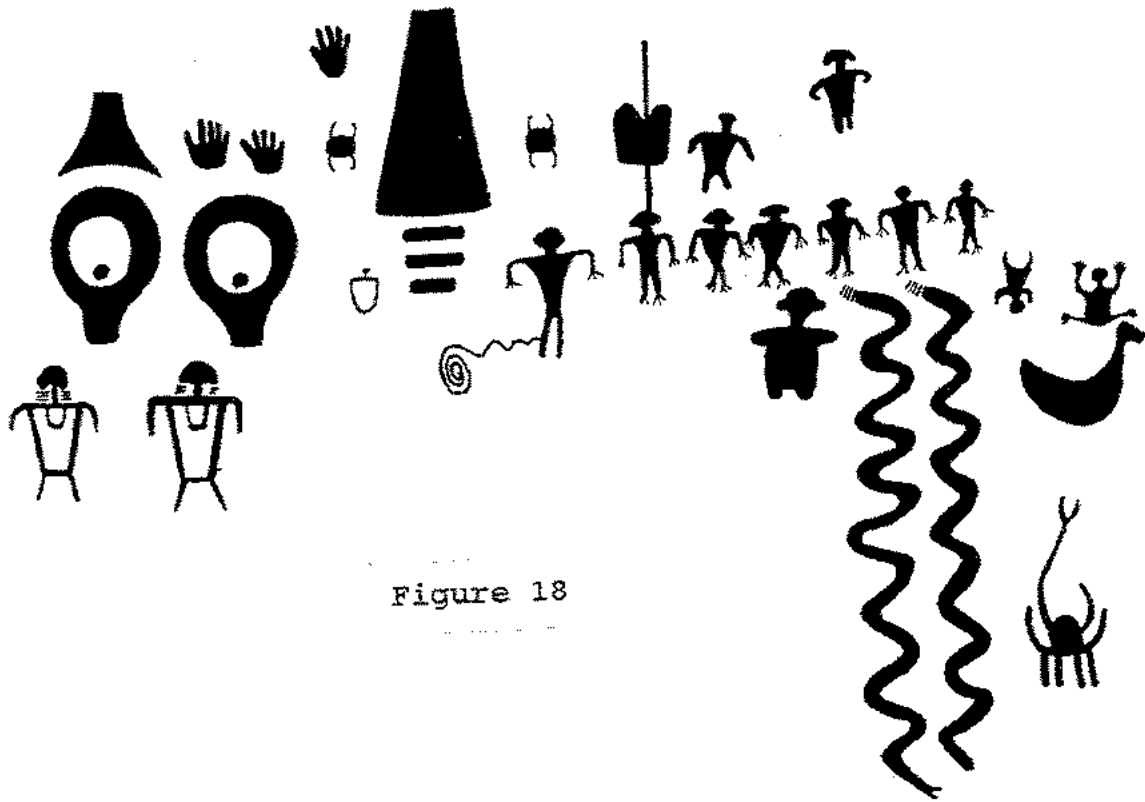


Figure 18

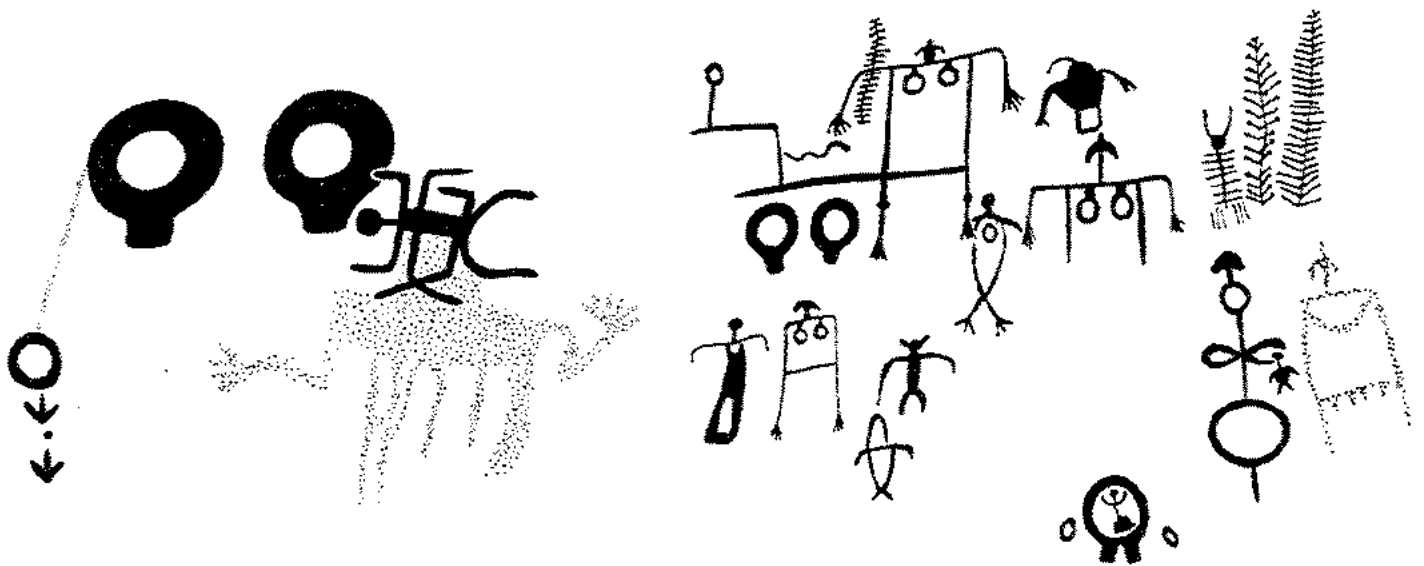


Figure 19

Figure 20

photograph. The headdress in figure 17 appears to be generally found on male images, which suggests that the symbol is in some way an indicator of the male sex. Its placement at the location in the female figure where a uterus is located suggests that the creator(s) of the panel may have been expressing the concept of the pregnancy of a male child.

To the left of the female figure and above it there is a male anthropomorph with genitalia represented. Only the lower portion is shown in the drawing. This anthropomorph is placed above the reclining flute player. There are also two unusual anthropomorphs that are nearly identical. One is placed between the legs of the male anthropomorph, and the other is on the right side of his right leg. They each have oversized round heads and short stubby arms. These figures suggest babies because of the oversize heads and short arms.

The images in this panel suggest that the context of the panel centers on fertility and human sexuality. The images of a male and a female anthropomorph, two anthropomorphs that suggest babies, two large lobed-circle images, and the presence of a symbol, apparently denoting the male sex, in the abdomen of the female figure, suggests further that the context of the panel centers on the birth of twins, most likely male twins.

Figure 18 is high on a cliff face near Bluff, Utah. Two primary lobed-circle images appear near the left side of the panel. The panel contains, among other elements, anthropomorphs, two handprints, an atlatl, two long vertical wavy lines, and an image apparently representing a spider. Just to the right of the spider are two 'twin' anthropomorphs (not illustrated). There are two nearly identical anthropomorphs below the two lobed circles. Above the lobed circle on the left there is a triangular shaped image that is similar to the pelvic features of other proposed female anthropomorphs, only upside-down. This appears to suggest a relationship between this apparent female symbol and the lobed-circle image. Above the other lobed circle there are two handprints.

Figure 19 occurs on a cliff high above the San Juan River. The panel contains two of the primary lobed-circle images side-by-side. The lobed circles are smaller, and not as well made as at other panels. To the left of the lobed-circle image there is a circle below which are two bird tracks. A line connects the top of the circle with the left side of the left most lobed circle. On the right side of the two lobed circles there is an image that appears to be a spider. This is the second of two sites in which a spider is in association with the lobed-circle images. A leg of the spider appears to be superimposed over the right edge of the lobed circle, suggesting the spider was added following construction of the lobed circle. The spider is also

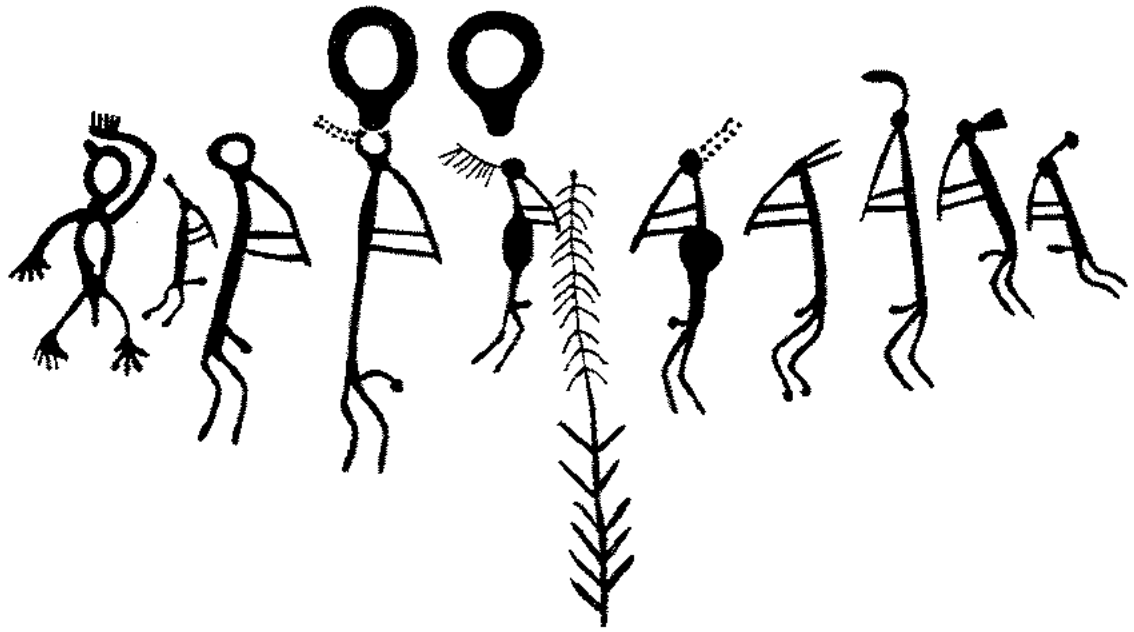


Figure 21

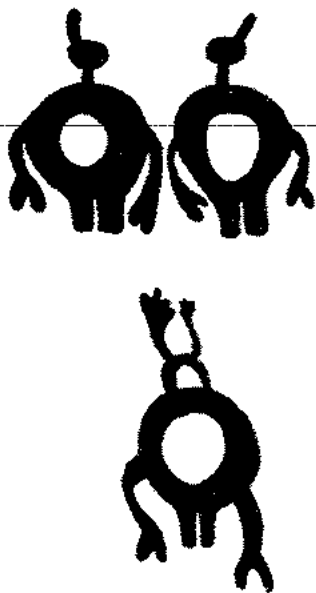


Figure 22

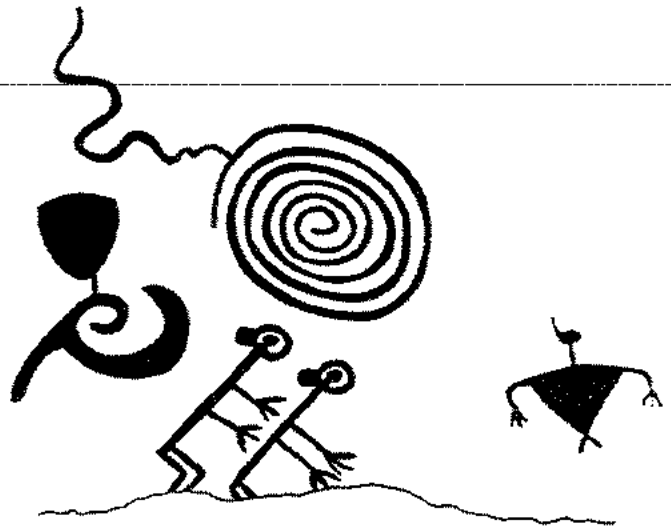


Figure 23

superimposed over what appears to be a very faded, eroded anthropomorph from an earlier age. Other images in the immediate vicinity consist of abstract forms, groups of mountain sheep, and one flute player. There is also one image slightly similar to the lobed-circle. It appears to have two legs attached to it, with three toes on each leg (not illustrated).

The panel illustrated in Figure 20 occurs nearby. The two primary lobed-circle images are again side-by-side and appear near the center of the panel. They are surrounded by a variety of anthropomorphs, apparent plant forms, and abstracts. Three of the adjacent anthropomorphs have what appear to be the lobed-circle image on their chest. This feature is discussed below. Below and to the right of the lobed circles is an image that is similar to the lobed circle, except that the lobe is split. Inside the circle there is a small anthropomorph.

Two primary lobed-circle images appear at the top of the panel shown in Figure 21. The images are placed side-by-side. Below them there is a row of ten phallic flute players. The flute players are divided into two groups of five, and they face each other. Between them there is a plant form that resembles a Yucca in blossom. A similar Yucca blossom image (not illustrated) is found in the panel that is shown in Figure 3. The flute player on the far left has what appears to be a lobed-circle image on its body. This flute player, and one of the flute players nearby, appear to have a lobed-circle image for their heads. The primary lobed circle at the top left of the panel appears to have the lobe placed just over the lobed circle head of one of the flute players. The presence of the phallic flute players and the apparent yucca blossom suggests the context of fertility. The presence of two primary lobed circles and two lobed circles as heads of flute players again suggests emphasis on pairs.

RELATED IMAGES

There are also other images in the San Juan area that somewhat resemble the primary lobed circle. These images consist of a plain circle with a single short line attached at the bottom of the circle (see Figure 5 for an example). An untabulated number of these images have been found by the author throughout most of Utah. The highest concentration of these images seems to occur in the lightly shaded area in Figure 1. It is not clear if these images have a uniform meaning throughout Utah, if they represent the same object, or if the concept is different among the San Juan Basketmaker. cursory evidence suggests that the concepts and use of the two disparate images are different. This tentative conclusion was reached because the images appear to



Figure 24



Figure 25

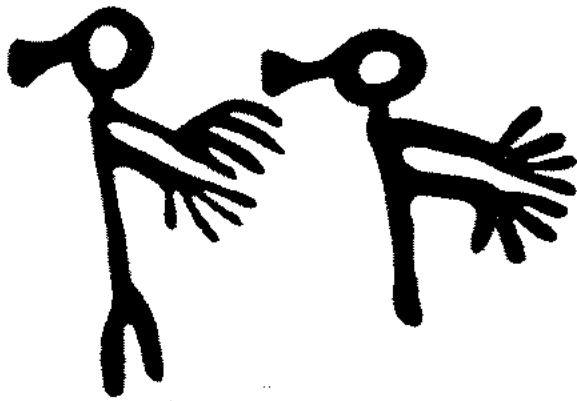


Figure 26



Figure 27



Figure 28

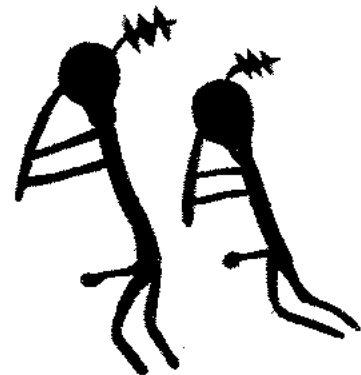


Figure 29

exist in different contexts within most rock art panels. This evidence suggests that these other images may represent something entirely different from a lobed-circle. An indication of their dissimilarity is that sometimes these other images have the short line pointing upwards. The easily identifiable, well made, primary lobed circles have never been found in this position.

There are a few of these other images, however, that do have a context analogous to the primary lobed circle. For example, the well known panel at Sand Island contains several of these images. Two of these images occur next to each other. There are also in this panel many figures associated with fertility, for example phallic flute players exist in abundance. The panel, however, lacks any of the large, well made, distinct lobed-circle images. It may be that these other images represent an earlier form of the concept, or perhaps an abstract or idealized form. Clearly, further research needs to be accomplished before secure conclusions can be reached.

THE LOBED CIRCLE ANTHROPOMORPH

The lobed-circle image appears as the body of anthropomorphs in the panel illustrated in Figure 22. These images, and one nearly identical image not shown, are the only images located to date where the lobed circle appears clearly as the body of an anthropomorph. The human shape is formed by the addition of a head opposite the lobe. The head has a single, broad, short, upward pointing line as a headdress. Features appearing to represent arms are attached to the side. The lobe is slightly split, apparently to represent legs. Two very similar figures are placed side-by-side. Beneath them is a single figure with a similar form. This figure has a different headdress. The headdress consists of an arc from which there are two upward projections similar to the features that represent arms.

One of the important features of this panel is the presence of two nearly identical images. The two upper images suggest that they are twins, and reflect again the importance and the relationship of pairs, or twins, to the lobed-circle. The effect of placing the headdresses on opposite sides of the heads of these images seems to suggest that the creator of the images was expressing the idea of symmetry or mirror images.

HORIZONTAL-LOBED-CIRCLE-HEADED ANTHROPOMORPH

Figures 13 and 23-27 illustrate examples of a cognitive mode where the lobed-circle image appears as the head of small paired anthropomorphs. In this mode the lobed circle is



Figure 30



Figure 31

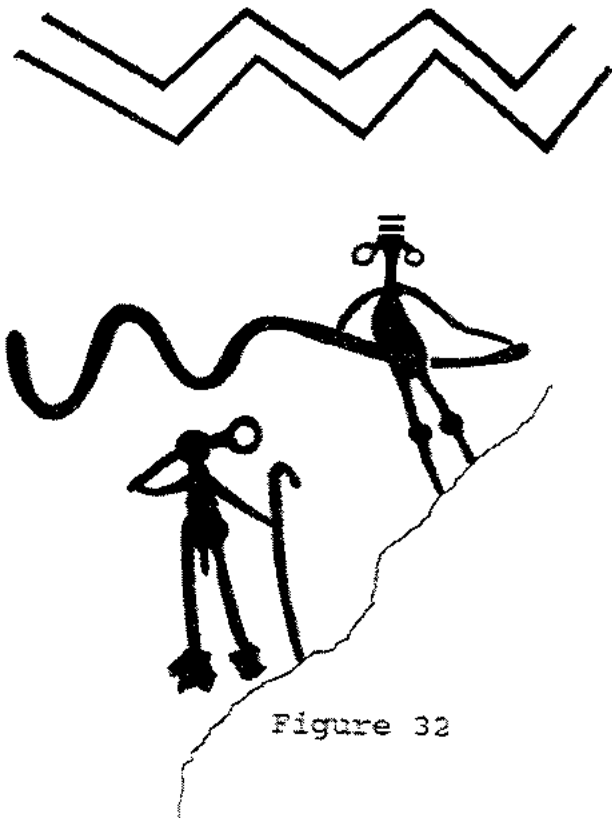


Figure 32

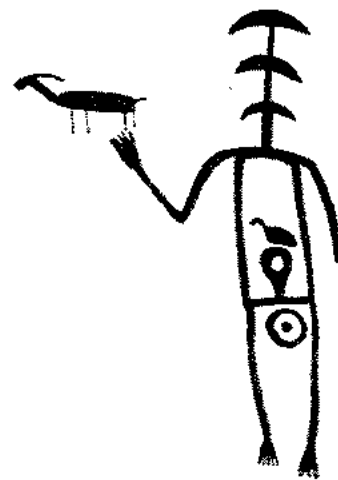


Figure 33

horizontal, or nearly so. The lobe in most of these examples is apparently positioned over the anthropomorph's back. This interpretation appears likely since in most instances the anthropomorphs appear to be in profile, i.e. both arms are on one side of the body. Figure 24 is an example of a variety of this mode where the anthropomorphs are positioned in a frontal posture.

An important feature and characteristic of this mode is that in all known instances the figures occur in pairs. This again illustrates, and reinforces, the importance of the images, and the lobed circles, as pairs or twins. There is within this mode some variation in the illustration of arms and hands. In eight of the nine known examples, the pairs of anthropomorphs have both arms outstretched. In only one instance is one hand outstretched. In several occurrences hands are not illustrated. This may be because the smallness of the images prevented the construction of distinct hands. In other examples the hands are shown and may even appear oversized. Outstretched arms, sometimes depicting hands, are an important feature of these paired lobed-circle headed anthropomorphs.

The lobed-circle headed anthropomorphs shown in Figures 25 and 27 share a common characteristic. The rows of dots above the heads indicate influence from the Virgin Branch of the Anasazi. The two panels occur just outside the northwestern limit of the San Juan River Drainage. The images are situated in a canyon that drains into the Colorado River. The Virgin Branch occurs far to the west of the San Juan River Drainage. Easily a thousand images with rows of dots above the heads of anthropomorphs have been observed by the author in the Virgin Anasazi area. It should be noted that paired small anthropomorphic images also exist in the rock art of the Virgin Anasazi Area.

In the panel illustrated in Figure 25 the two anthropomorphs with lobed-circle heads have outstretched arms and open hands and appear to reach out toward, or approach, two phallic anthropomorphic images. Since the two phallic images are male, and since the context where the lobed circle occurs often suggests sexuality, the two figures with lobed circle heads may be members of the female sex. Note also that the panel illustrated in Figure 25 contains two animal paw prints. The panel shown in Figure 2 also contains two animal paw prints.

The presence of two nearly identical lobed-circle-headed anthropomorphs in all these examples again suggests the dominant theme and importance of pairs to the creators of the panels.

VERTICAL, LOBED-CIRCLE-HEADED ANTHROPOMORPH

The anthropomorph illustrated in Figure 28 appears to have a vertically positioned lobed-circle as its head. As discussed above, the heads of many Basketmaker anthropomorphs are formed by a simple circle (for example see Figures 10 and 13). When the head is attached to the body by a wide line it gives the appearance that the head and neck form a lobed-circle image. This construction technique makes it difficult to determine if the head is actually a lobed circle, or if the appearance is just coincidental. The head of the particular anthropomorph in Figure 28 however, appears to be separate from the body. Therefore the concept of an anthropomorph having the head of a lobed circle appears unambiguous. It is important to note that this anthropomorph is male.

In other examples the diameter of the lobe is clearly larger than the diameter of the body, which appears to emphasize that the head is unmistakably a lobed-circle. An example is the two images shown in Figure 29, which seem nearly identical. They appear to have the lobed-circle element placed vertically as their heads, as evidenced by the larger diameter of the lobe. These figures are also phallic, have a headdress, and appear to be playing a flute (Two of the flute players shown in Figure 21 also have these characteristics). The importance and significance of pairs, or twins, is again indicated in this panel.

It appears that perhaps the position of the lobed-circle on the head of these anthropomorphs may, in some instances, correspond with its sex. Where the lobed-circle image is placed vertically the resultant anthropomorph is male (Figures 10, 21 and 29), but when the lobed circle is placed horizontally (based upon the supposition above) the anthropomorph is female. As is shown below this conjecture is very tenuous.

Two anthropomorphs with vertical lobed-circle heads are shown in Figure 30. These figures are beneath a roughly pecked out circle. The lobed circle in these images, unlike the examples above, contains an unmodified area. These figures have one arm outstretched. An interesting feature of these figures is that the one on the right could represent a male and the other could represent a pregnant female. This explanation differs from the presumption stated above i.e., that the position of the lobed circle as a head relates to, or defines, the sex of the anthropomorph; both should be male, but they apparently are not. However, there are several reasons that would explain this apparent inconsistency. One, the interpretation of the sex of the anthropomorphs could be incorrect. Two, the presence of absolute standardization in the use and meaning of images in Basketmaker rock art, especially over large areas occupied by

diverse individuals, would not likely exist. The absence of standardization in rock art meaning may likely correspond to the lack of standardization in the spelling of words in early American script. Also, meanings change over time. Three, the lobed circles on these images are not filled in as are the images discussed above. Perhaps there is a different meaning attached to the filled-in lobed circle as opposed to the open circle. Perhaps an open circle, as a head, is not tied to any certain sex. Certainly, more examples need to be located before any conclusions can be reached.

If the supposition that one of these anthropomorphs is male and the other is female is correct, then the context of these images (phallic image and pregnancy) could also relate to human sexuality or fertility. The two images do not appear to be a pair, but they still could be twins.

LOBED CIRCLE BEING CARRIED

Figure 31 illustrates two of the lobed-circle images being carried. The human figure has one in each hand. It is interesting that the lobed circles are being carried in the position of the large primary lobed-circle image mode. This figure suggests that the lobed-circle images exist as actual physical objects. The image also suggests an idea of the size of these lobed-circle objects; that is, if the size is accurately represented. The anthropomorph carrying the lobed circles also has what appears to be a pack on his back. This suggests that the person was transporting materials, or traveling some distance. The presence of two lobed circles being carried further substantiates that the presence of a pair is very important.

LOBED-CIRCLE FETISH

In the panel illustrated in Figure 32 there are two anthropomorphs. One is above and to the right of another. The upper anthropomorph appears to be holding a long wavy line (a snake?) in its hands. A lobed-circle image appears to be hanging from each side of the anthropomorph's head. This suggests that the lobed circle may exist as a small object of adornment. This representation, if interpreted correctly, suggests that the lobed circle also obtained status as a fetish. A fetish is a material object, or a likeness of that object, that is believed among primitive cultures to possess magical power.

The other anthropomorph is phallic and has a headdress that appears to be a lobed circle. This figure appears to be playing a flute and is holding a crook staff in one hand. Since this image is the only one known with a headdress of a lobed-circle the image was not classified as a cultural mode.

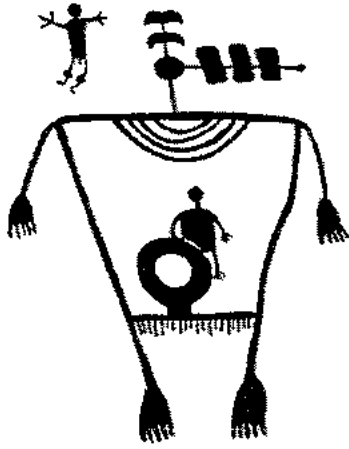


Figure 34



Figure 36

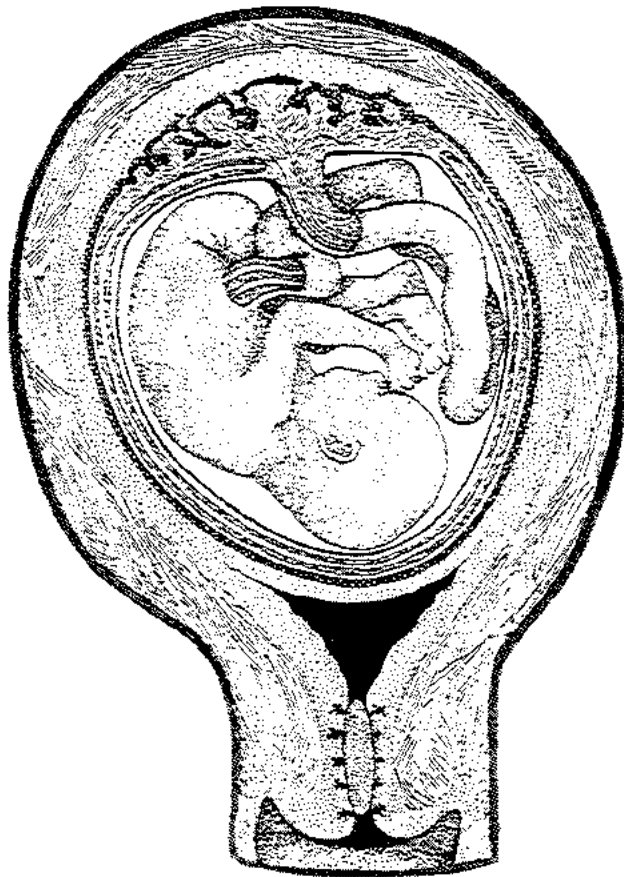


Figure 35

LOBED CIRCLE ON INTERIOR OF ANTHROPOMORPH

Figures 33 and 34 illustrate two examples where the lobed circle appears as an object in the interior of anthropomorphs. In both examples the lobe points downward and both are placed in the abdomen of an anthropomorph. Above the lobed circle in Figure 33 there is a bird. It appears to be the same form as the typical bird on the Basketmaker, bird-headed anthropomorphs. Beneath the lobed circle, and apparently between the legs of the anthropomorph there is a circle with a dot in the center.

Figure 34 is the more typical Basketmaker anthropomorph. Partially behind the lobed circle in the abdomen of this figure there is a small anthropomorph. In other figures a small image in the abdomen suggests pregnancy. Since the lobed-circle image occurs with the small anthropomorph there appears to be a relationship.

INVERTED LOBED CIRCLE ON CHEST OF ANTHROPOMORPH

On the chest of three anthropomorphs illustrated in Figure 20 there are two lobed-circle images. This drawing depicts a portion of a large panel. The lobed-circle images are positioned with the lobe pointing upward, and oriented so that the lobe joins the line that forms the top of the shoulders. These figures again suggest the importance of pairs of these images.

HYPOTHESIS

Having classified the lobed-circle images as cognitive modes, and therefore examined the form, attributes and the panel context of these images, I propose that the lobed-circle image is a representation of a uterus, see Figure 35 (after Torrey and Feduccia 1979). In many instances it appears to represent a human uterus, while in other panels, it carries with it the simple symbolism of reproduction.

Often the lobed-circle (uterus) images are clearly in proximity to, and in association with, figures depicting concepts of human fertility and sexuality. This is unambiguous even with our cultural biases and limited understanding of Basketmaker intent. The association of the uterus with reproduction is especially prominent in the panel illustrated in Figure 17. In this panel the two uterus images are in association with a flute player, a phallic anthropomorph, represented male and female genitalia, two apparent babies, etc. At the far right of this panel there is a smaller image of the lobed circle (uterus). There appears to be a liquid substance flowing downward from the lobe of this image. A reasonable interpretation of this

image becomes evident once a uterus definition is presumed, especially with respect to sexuality and birth. The fluid issuing from the opening of the uterus likely represents either water or blood, both of which are associated with birth and fertility. Considering the reproductive context of the panel, the liquid may be a representation of the amniotic fluid that precedes the birth of child, but this is, of course, only an assumption.

Figure 18 depicts a triangular image above one of the uterus images. This image likely represents what has been called an apron. Aprons are a characteristic Basketmaker female adornment (Cole 1989:66, 1990:116; Mails 1983:88-90; Manning n.d.; Morris 1980:122). Figure 12 and, to a less obvious extent, Figure 4 contains the Basketmaker apron. The presence of an apron not only indicates female attire but also suggests a menstrual association. Concerning aprons that were excavated from Basketmaker sites, Morris (1980:104) states, "Nearly all of the aprons were stained in the central portion of their length, indicating their use by woman during their menstrual period. Most of them were subsequently folded and tied into a neat bundle so that the stain was hidden." The association of an apparent menstrual apron fits with the proposed hypothesis, since these objects are incidental to reproduction and fertility. The presence of two female anthropomorphs (Figure 4) along with two uterus images (Figure 2) in the same panel suggests that there is a contextual association between the two images. This is further confirmed by the presence of the female image shown in figure 12 adjacent to the two lobed circles shown in figure 11.

Other figures provide further support for the uterus hypothesis. For example, the images illustrated in Figures 33 and 34 depict a lobed-circle image inside an anthropomorph. In each instance the lobed-circle images are located in the correct anatomical position for a uterus. Another occurrence supporting the uterus hypothesis is that when the lobed-circle occurs on the interior of anthropomorphs it only occurs as an individual feature. It has never been found in pairs inside an anthropomorph. This suggests that the creators of the panel knew that women have only one uterus, and so illustrated this in the images.

At the bottom of Figure 20 there is a small anthropomorph located inside the lobed-circle image. The lobe, which is pointing downward, is split. This may be a representation of a baby about to be born. If the lobe is the cervix, then the cervix appears to be in the process of opening.

The two lobed-circle images on the chest of the three anthropomorphs above this image may indicate a concept associated with birth. The images, located in the position on the chest where the breasts are located, appear to suggest

an association between the female breast and the uterus. What relationship is there to birth and breasts? It is obvious. When a baby is born the female breasts began to lactate. Certainly breast feeding would be associated with a baby being born.

The two uterus images in Figure 21 are positioned above a panel that illustrates many concepts associated with fertility. The phallic flute players, the yucca in blossom, the uterus image as the head of two anthropomorphs, and the uterus image in the body of the anthropomorph on the left, all suggest rituals with the principal theme of sexuality and reproduction.

Further support for the hypothesis is found in a panel north of the San Juan River. Here a lobed-circle image is shown in more detail. Part of the panel, which is illustrated in Figure 36, depicts a human image inside a lobed-circle i.e., a uterus. Notice the slightly off center shape of the image, and that the arms of the 'baby' are touching the sides of the uterine wall - pushing against it - deforming it. Any woman who has experienced pregnancy understands the meaning of this illustration. This is more of a realistic appearance, or form, than might be immediately evident. Figure 35 shows the actual 'lopsided' form of a uterus with a baby inside. Several lobed-circle images have this lopsided form, see Figure 8 for example. This unique form strongly suggests that the lobed-circle is a uterus.

Features and associations with the image of the uterus shown in Figure 36 may prove insightful. The 'snake' inside the uterus could represent the umbilical cord. The presence of the Hummingbirds is also significant. In Pueblo societies Hummingbirds are associated with fertility (along with other attributes). Tyler (1979:14) noted that, "Hummingbirds have rainbow hues and suck nectar from flowers. Nectar is a quintessential liquid representing all the moist forces in growth and life." Hummingbirds also, "spend their time hovering about the flowers that are a sign of fruitfulness" (Tyler 1979:117). Thus, hummingbirds would be associated with fertility and the concept of birth. Another concept involving the hummingbird is related to stillbirth. At Isleta prayer-sticks are made for the stillborn during the winter solstice ceremony. Several hummingbird feathers are attached to the ends of each stick. This offering is made because it is believed that children who die before they are four days old will be born again (Parsons 1974:299-300) (note the presence of the number four). Hummingbirds likely occur in this context because they aid in rejuvenating the sun as it is 'reborn' following winter solstice, and so serve the same purpose for stillborn children. These early historic concepts further confirm the concept of fertility in the panel, and the possibility of existence of these Pueblo ritual concepts back to the Basketmaker period.

CEREMONIAL CONTEXT

A panel that exists a few kilometers north of the San Juan River provides an exceptional amount of information about the lobed circle in a ritual context. A ritual function is generally presumed for the lobed-circle image because of its common occurrence in Basketmaker petroglyphs, which are themselves presumed to be ritualistic in nature. However, this panel goes considerably beyond presumption; it appears to be a depiction of an actual ceremony, or rather, activities preceding a ceremony. Indications of the ceremonial context are provided by figures in the panel. One figure in the panel suggests that some lobed-circle images may have been actual physical objects. Whether this indicates the use of an actual uterus, or a replica is unknown.

The site, unfortunately, is receiving a lot of attention and popular publicity recently, which means that it will only be a short time before the panel is damaged. Already the ground beneath the panel has been significantly disturbed. Thus, the process of destroying the potential for obtaining scientific information has already begun.

The panel is shown in Figure 37 and 38, and portions are illustrated in Figures 30 and 31 (not all the images in the horizontal rows are shown in the photograph). The common local name for the panel is The Procession. The predominant feature, and focal point of the panel, is a simple, almost circular ring. There are four rows of anthropomorphs (people) converging on the ring (note again the presence of the number four). One row is no less than spectacular because of the number of images (people) in the row. The horizontal row to the right contains roughly 130 images. Two of the rows are horizontal, one on each side of the ring. Another row is vertical, with images coming up to the ring from beneath it. The remaining row comes up to the ring, at about a forty-five degree angle, between the horizontal and vertical row on the right side.

It should be noted that four is the most significant and most commonly used number in Pueblo ritual. The presence of four rows of people suggests an ideological relationship between Basketmaker and Pueblo ritual.

Inside the ring are two primary lobed-circle/uterus images. Their presence suggests that the ceremonial activities depicted in the panel center on a pair of uterus forms, or the concepts for which the two uterus forms are a symbol.

The presence of a rough circle around the uterus images suggests some type of enclosure, which further suggests a structure. The dimensions of such a structure are suggested by both the size of the uterus images, and the size of the

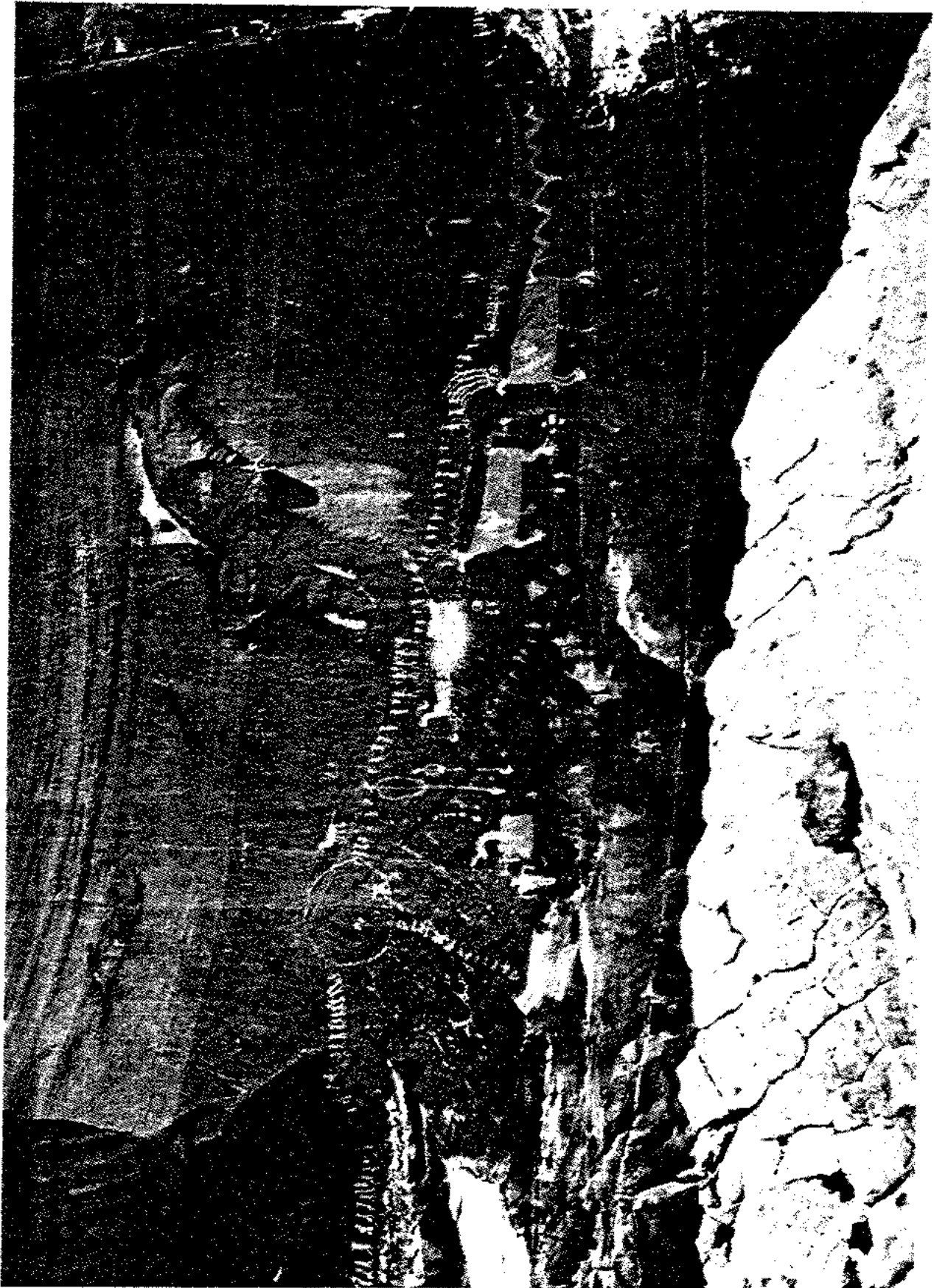


Figure 37

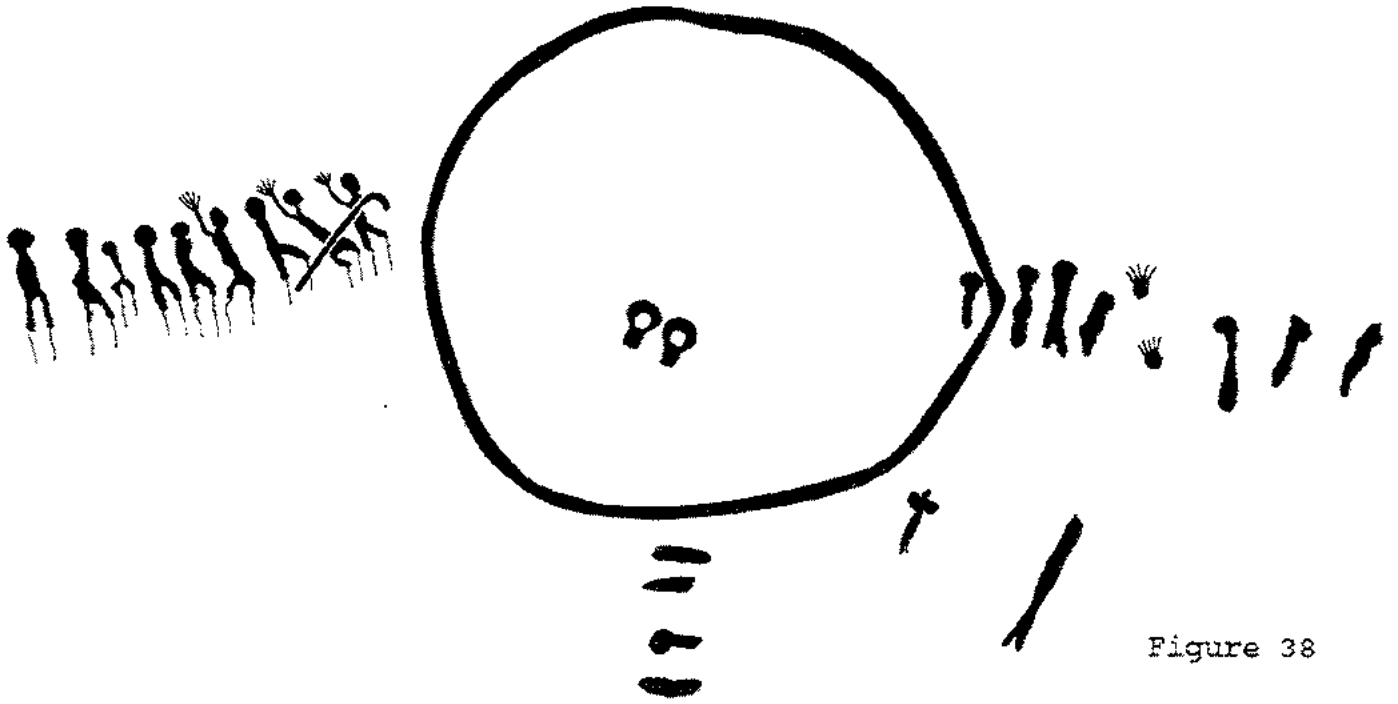


Figure 38

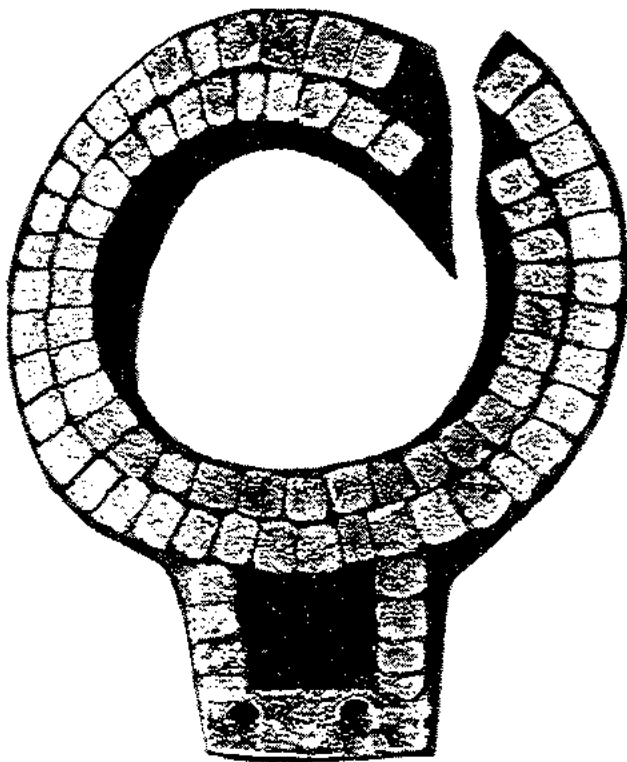


Figure 39

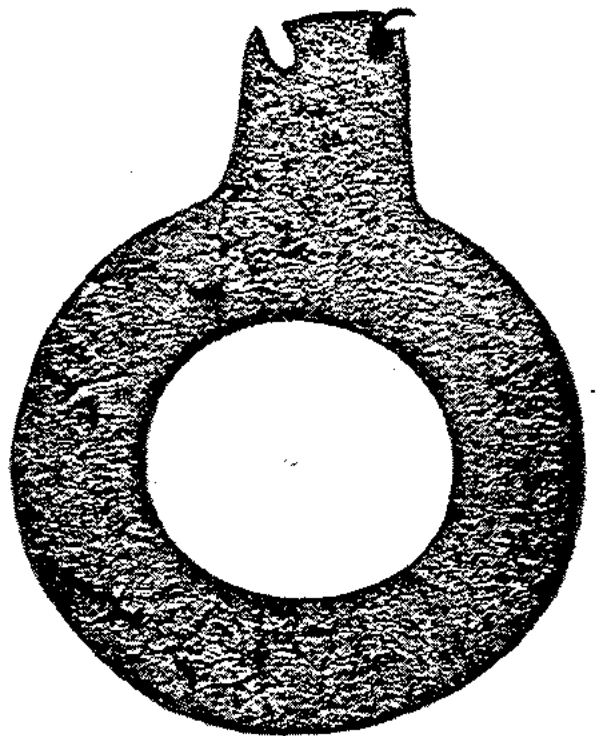


Figure 40

persons approaching the ring. If however the number of persons approaching the ring is any indication of the actual number of participants, the ring would have to be large enough to accommodate roughly 210 people, assuming of course that they were all going to fit inside the ring. There are evidences that large kivas came into existence during the Basketmaker III period. There is then a potential for the circle to represent a large kiva, and the panel to have been constructed during the Basketmaker III period. The proposal that the ring represents a large kiva is discussed in more detail below. There are also two large atlatis in the panel. They are to the right and below the ring. The presence of atlatis further suggests a Basketmaker affiliation. Note also the presence of a pair of atlatis in Figure 11.

If the Basketmaker III affiliation of the panel is correct, then the images suggest that at least one ceremony involving a large group of people, perhaps from four different areas, took place in the Basketmaker period. Cassells (1983:118) noted, "During Basketmaker III, settlement patterns vary from isolated farmsteads with a single pithouse and perhaps a few surface storage structures made of posts and adobe (jacal), to a cluster of 12 or more houses." Even twelve pithouses would not account for the over 200 people represented in the panel. The panel suggests then an inter-community assembly.

Additionally, the panel may be indicative of the period when large ceremonial events were beginning to take place in the southwest. Perhaps, since this panel is unusual, it may date to the time when the events began to take place. It is well known that the early historic Utes (among other Indian groups) recorded significant events, unusual circumstances or strange objects on cliff faces. The first appearance of trains, horses, metal stoves, boats, etc. appear to be well represented upon the cliff faces. It is thus suspected that this panel may have recorded one of the first, and at that time unique, inter-communal ceremonial events. Perhaps the lobed-circle images in the center of the circle indicate the stimulus for the beginnings of large inter-settlement ceremonial gatherings, or perhaps even the establishment of large communities themselves. Other images in the panel might provide further information toward this idea.

In the rows of anthropomorphs approaching the ring, there are several figures which provide additional indications for the context of the apparent ceremonial activities. The image shown in Figure 31, which was discussed above, is an example. A person is shown carrying a uterus shaped object in each hand. This image is located in the row of anthropomorphs approaching from the left. It is just beyond the edge of the illustration in Figure 38. This figure suggests that these uterus images, and those portrayed within the ring, represent actual objects. But again, as discussed above, it is unknown whether these images represent an actual uterus, or a

replica, or just ideologies. The existence of two lobed-circle images being carried again illustrates the importance of the concept of the uterus images being in pairs.

There are also in the rows of anthropomorphs at least four large crook-neck staffs. In the long row on the right side of the ring there are three widely spaced anthropomorphs each carrying a single crook-neck staff. Figure 38 shows a crook-necked staff that is on the left side of the ring. This particular staff is being held or carried just outside the ring. The presence of these crook-neck staffs implies that they possess ceremonial significance (see also Shearin 1990). Owen Severance and I have found anthropomorphic images carrying crook-necked staffs in several locations along prehistoric 'roads' in San Juan County. Owen Severance has also located others that I have not seen. There may be an association of the crook-necked staffs with these travel corridors.

There is also in the line of anthropomorphs at the procession panel one figure with a lit torch that appears to be leading four other anthropomorphs with lit torches. Additionally, the two anthropomorphs with lobed circles for heads, as shown in Figure 30, as discussed previously, are located in the panel in front of two large deer.

The details within the panel then, may provide clues to why large ceremonial events began to take place. Thomas Mails offers some interesting insights into what may have been happening at this time in history. "Agricultural life was causing them to think in new directions as the need for soil fertility, water, and growth became dominant. The pursuit of ways to propitiate the supernatural forces controlling the renewal of these things became essential, and, with the sedentary life as its midwife, the sophisticated ceremonial complex pursued so avidly by the modern Pueblos was being born" (Mails 1983:129-130). The lobed-circle images in the ring suggests that the myths and rituals of fertility surrounding the birth of twins played a significant role in this development of the ceremonial complex that was in existence at the time of European contact with the Pueblos.

TWINS

The often repeated appearance of the paired lobed-circle images in association with images denoting human sexuality, fertility and birth, along with images apparently representing babies, often in pairs, suggests that the panels in which these associations occur are concerned with the birth and/or conception of twins. Myths about twins are prolific in both Pueblo and Navaho mythology (see references below). The emphasis and significance placed upon the miraculous conception of twins in these myths are widespread.

There is a general belief among Pueblo people that the Sun begets all twins (Wright 1988:107). With this strong ideological emphasis it would be expected that mythological events surrounding twins would appear in the rock art, if rock art is part of the ideological matrix. The presence then of pairs of uterus images in the rock art, and the associated evidences, suggests that there is a continuity between the Basketmaker images and the Pueblo and Navaho myths about the birth of twins. This subject deserves further investigation.

Myths about twins also exist in Native American cultures in nearby states (McClure 1979), and in other primitive cultures as well. Only those myths associated with the Basketmaker area of the Southwest will be discussed here. In Pueblo myths the War Twins are prominent. Myths of the War Twins may be grouped into three general categories. One group of myths indicates they are powerful Sons of the Sun, and even created surface forms of the earth. Another group tells about their exploits as heroes who lead the people and protect them at the time of their emergence (i.e., their coming into the world in which we now live). A third group describes their exploits as hunters who use magic or craftiness to lure prey.

There exist a great variety of Pueblo stories about the War twins, or Twins of the Sun as they are sometimes called (Benedict 1935; Cushing 1901, 1923; Parsons 1923, 1939; Stevenson 1894, 1898; Tyler 1964; White 1932, etc.). Details of their birth and exploits (and their names) differ from pueblo to pueblo, but there is always the presence of a story about the creation or emergence that includes twins as prominent figures. Some of these variations are summarized by Tyler (1964:209-220), Benedict (1935), and Wright (1988). The following is quoted from Tyler to illustrate the differences in pueblo myths concerning the birth of the twins.

The impregnation of the mother of these gods was miraculous. Often she conceives when a ray of the sun falls upon her as she sleeps, or when a drop of water splashes on her from a waterfall. Sometimes both events conspire, and one accounts for the elder brother, and the second for the younger twin. Sometimes the miracle is complete and they are born of the Sun's rays on mist, or again it may be due to piñon nuts. With such possibilities it is not surprising that they have a variety of mothers, and even grandmothers. Sometimes they are the grandsons of Salt Woman. The place of their birth is also a little doubtful. Despite the fact that they seem to have been conceived in the upper world they are the ones who led the people from the underworld [Tyler 1964:213-214].

It is these many varieties, along with the consistent presence throughout the Pueblos of the War Twins myths, that suggest a widespread and ancient ancestry for these myths.

Twins also play a significant role in Navaho emergence myths. Some variations of these myths are similar to the Hopi, for example see Wheelwright (1946:55-90) and Haile (1949), and may well have been borrowed from the Hopi. In the example from Wheelwright, twins are born to a Son of the Sun and become producers and protectors of game. There are also the well known Hero Twins, who in the creation story, slew monsters who were the enemies of man (Haile 1949:103-104).

There is, at least, one additional possibility for the creation of some of the Basketmaker panels discussed here that should be briefly mentioned. According to mythology the twins have, "tremendous potential for doing great things" (Tyler 1964:213). It is this potential that may have led to the creation of some of the panels depicting the twin uterus image. A woman (or man) desiring the birth of twins, or to have his or her children have the potential for doing great things, may have illustrated this concept in the rock art as a ritualistic expression of this desire. It is well known that other nearby Native American groups created sexually related images on rocks as part of fertility rituals (McGowan 1977); perhaps the Basketmakers did the same thing.

Pursuing this idea further suggests that symbolic concepts associated with twins might have been associated with other images in petroglyph panels by placing the symbols of twins in proximity to them. For example, the twin uterus images might be placed next to a group of mountain sheep to insure their propagation, or because the twins, as described in the Navaho myths, were the producers and protectors of game (Wheelwright 1946:90). Similarly twin uterus images, as a symbol of the power of the twins, might be placed to insure good hunting because, as Sun told the twins, "Now I have given ye with your birth the power to slay all game" (Cushing 1901:453).

Another hypothetical reason for the presence of twin uterus images in panels may be the association of the mythological Twins with the Sun as the father. The sun's miraculous power of fertility in producing twins may also be expressed or embodied in the twin uterus images. The twin uterus images then would have been placed in a panel in a context where the concept of the sun's reproductive power would be desired. The relationship and importance of the sun to warmth, growing things, and fertility are well known to the Pueblo and Navaho people. The twin uterus images then could have become symbols that stood for the concepts associated with the twins.

Several specific ethnographic parallels exist between the Hopi and Navaho twin mythology, and the Basketmaker rock art in which twin uterus images occur. These parallels strengthen the premise of a continuity between the Basketmaker rock art and the mythology, or mythological events, surrounding the birth of the Pueblo and Navaho twins. For example, the panels with lobed-circle (uterus) images shown in Figure 18 and 19 have spiders associated with them. Spiders are an unusual and rare element in San Juan Basketmaker rock art. The spider's association with the twin uterus images, in two separate panels, is therefore significant. There are two closely related possibilities in Pueblo mythology to account for the association of a spider with the uterus images. The spider may either be a symbol representing Spider Woman or Spider Grandmother; in some accounts the Pueblo War Twin's grandmother is a spider (Tyler 1964:97). Spiderwoman is one of the creators of human beings (Tyler 1964:96), and is thus the mother of the Twins. One especially significant aspect of Spider Woman or Spider Grandmother is that she created human beings in pairs (Tyler 1964:95-96). A symbol representing her creative powers or abilities would be appropriate in context with two uterus images. A spider therefore in association with twin uterus images would be expected in Pueblo rock art. That this relationship exists in Basketmaker rock art strongly suggests a continuity with Pueblo and Navaho mythology; panels where the uterus images occur may be illustrations of Basketmaker myths from which the Pueblo/Navaho War Twin myths originated.

In almost all instances the twins of Pueblo and Navaho creation mythology are male. The presence of a headdress, which is limited to male images, in the abdomen of the female image in the petroglyph panel illustrated in Figure 17, along with twin images of babies, seems to confirm the idea of the importance of male twins. This further strengthens the Basketmaker - Pueblo/Navaho mythology relationship.

An aspect of the birth of the Hopi and Navaho twins, as previously mentioned, is that they were born from a woman who is also supernatural, and who plays particularly significant roles in mythology. In two panels discussed here (Figure 11 and 12, and Figures 2 and 4) the lobed circle image is associated with a female figure or figures that possess exceptional ornamentation. These petroglyphic images do not appear to be the typical Basketmaker anthropomorphic type from Schaafsma's San Juan Anthropomorphic Style (1980). While the female images have the typical Basketmaker triangular apron that identifies them as female, they also have above the waist either one or two upward curving rows of two necklaces (Figures 4 and 12). This elaborate decoration suggests that the images represent a female of unusually high significance. Spider Woman would be such a woman. This is not to suggest that these images represent Spider Woman and Spider Grandmother, rather it is to suggest that there was a

continuity in mythological concepts between the Basketmaker and historic Pueblo and Navaho mythology - they may be distant relatives.

The abundant presence of images suggesting twins in Basketmaker petroglyphs, and their context, implies that the preponderant interest in twins among the myths of the historic Pueblos and Navaho, appears to have its roots at least as far back in time as the Basketmaker period. This is far earlier than has been presumed.

CULTURAL ASSOCIATION: DESCRIPTION OF PHYSICAL OBJECTS

LARGE PENDANTS

Physical objects in the shape of the lobed-circle image have been found in excavations in Northeastern Arizona. Earl H. Morris discovered a pendant that is analogous in form to the lobed-circle image. This pendant was found while Morris was excavating in Canyon del Muerto (now included in Canyon de Chelly National Monument) (Morris 1925). The pendant was covered with turquoise mosaic, see Figure 39 (after Morris 1925). Near the end of the lobe are two holes, apparently made to hang the pendant around the neck of the wearer. The context and circumstances under which the pendant was found are exceptional and are quoted below.

Around the corner of the cliff from Mummy Cave was a cemetery. Bones lying about the mouth of an animal's burrow gave the clew [sic], and we set to work with the expectation of rich finds. The bubble of our hopes, however, was soon punctured, for destruction had preceded us. A deep recess had been packed full of bodies of all ages, accompanied by quantities of burial offerings, enough of them at least to transform the spot into a charnel place, when fire of unknown origin gained access to the grotto.

For days we worked through an 18-inch layer of calcined bones smoked black or burned an ashy white and more brittle than icicles. There must have been more than 100 bodies in the original heap.

The meager fragments of specimens recovered from the wreckage poorly repaid our efforts, but the unexpected, which always holds a beckoning finger before the archaeologist, brought us our reward in the end.

In front of the burned area a pit had been dug in the talus and three bodies placed in it. They lay back

downward, one on top of the other. As I was removing the earth from the breast of the second, there were glints of blue in the mold upon my trowel.

A few strokes with a brush laid bare a magnificent mosaic ornament which had been worn around the neck. It was a large, skillfully fashioned ring of hardwood solidly incrustated with turquoise set in gum, each piece highly polished and accurately shaped to the space it was to occupy.

A mouse had dug its burrow past the pendant and in so doing had detached a few of the stones. These were recovered by passing the adjacent earth through a fine screen.

Altogether apart from its intrinsic beauty, this pendant was the most ancient piece of mosaic work thus far discovered in the Southwest; hence the little group of excavators gloated over it as if it had been a king's ransom.

A few moments later we stared at each other in blank astonishment, for on the breast of the third skeleton there lay a second pendant precisely like the first, except that there was included among the mosaic elements a large rectangle of iridescent abalone shell.

This breast ornament, 3 1/4 inches in diameter made of turquoise set on wood with gum, is the most ancient mosaic thus far found in the southwest. It was preserved in recoverable condition as if by a miracle, for the skeleton with which it was found was so badly decayed that the bones could be rubbed to powder between the thumb and forefinger [Morris 1925:272-273].

It is significant that two lobed-circle pendants were found in this burial. This is further discussed below. Since the two bodies with the lobed-circle pendants were buried one upon the other one cannot help wondering what association these two individuals had with twins i.e., if they were twins, or ritualistic representatives of twins. It is unfortunate that the sex of the three individuals buried together is unknown. Having this information would add to the knowledge of the use and further meaning of the lobed circle. It would be informative to know if the pendants were on the chests of two females while a male was buried on top.

A second occurrence of nearly identical lobed-circle objects was reported by Elizabeth Ann Morris (1980), see Figure 40 (after Morris 1980). These objects were excavated from broken Flute Cave in the Prayer Rock District of Northeastern Arizona (Morris 1980:133, Figure 86c). These lobed-circle objects are identical in form to those found by Earl Morris

in Canyon del Muerto. They are, however, missing the turquoise or whatever mosaic covered them. During the excavation one whole lobed-circle object was found, and one fragment. Morris classifies the objects as, "Mosaic Pendant Backs." She describes the objects as, "circular rings of wood with a rectanguloid projection on one side." The lobed-circle objects were, "smoothed on all surfaces and edges by grinding." One side of each was, "smeared with pitch, which held the decorative material in place. One of the holes in the lobe through which the cordage passed that apparently held it in place had broken out" (Morris 1980:133). Morris surmises that the decorative materials must have been removed from the pieces when the suspension holes broke. No turquoise was found. Here again the presence of two of the lobed-circle objects is indicated. It is unknown however, if they were in association.

The existence of a pair of lobed-circle pendants, one upon the chest of each of two bodies, and also the presence of two lobed-circle pendants at another site, reinforces the importance and obvious emphasis that a pair of these objects had among the Basketmaker Culture. The form of the pendants and their context further strengthens the relationship between the lobed-circle images in rock art and these lobed-circle shaped physical objects (They both occur predominantly in pairs). A relationship in form appears evident; a relationship in meaning is implied. The presence of two lobed-circle pendants in both of these locations reinforces the supposition that the lobed-circle rock art images and the physical objects are indicative of the same ideologies. The petroglyphs discussed here then, have the potential to provide additional information about the use of the physical pendants, and thus their meanings and associated ideologies. This information could not be obtained from the objects themselves.

The presence, and suspected presence, of turquoise (and white shell) in association with the pair of pendants is not unexpected. In several versions of the creation/emergence myths, twins save the people from a flood by providing reeds for the people to use to climb up out of the water. These reeds are then turned into Turquoise and White Shell (Haile 1949:130-131). The presence of these "precious jewels" as elements in a pair of Basketmaker mosaic uterus images again suggests considerable antiquity for the Hopi and Navaho emergence myths.

There appears to be an inconsistency in the use of the lobed-circle form between the pendants from Canyon del Muerto and the anthropomorphs with pendants shown in the panel in Figure 20. Three of the anthropomorphs in the panel have two lobed-circle appearing images on their chests, while there is only one on the chest of each body in Canyon del Muerto. This appears to suggest that the images on the chests of the

anthropomorphs do not represent a Canyon del Muerto kind of mosaic pendant. While this may be true, (a supposition was made earlier that these images may represent female breasts) it must be realized that meaning and use of the same object would be expected to vary slightly, likely even more than slightly, over time and space. This variation then does not rule out the possibility that the same objects were being used in slightly different contexts in different areas or at different times. The images on the chests of the anthropomorphs in Figure 20 then, could represent mosaic pendants. The conflict and difficulty in assigning a definitive meaning to the images on the chest of these anthropomorphs is a good example of the difficulty of specifically interpreting rock art images.

SMALL PENDANTS

Tanner (1976:155, Figure 5.8a) illustrates a small pendant that has the form of a lobed circle (see Figure 41). Jernigan (1978) also illustrates several small shell pendants that resemble the lobed circle. The existence of these small pendants appears to substantiate the existence of lobed-circle shaped physical objects that correspond to those that are hanging from the sides of the head (ears) of an anthropomorph, see Figure 32. Hays (1990) notes the presence of lobed-circle images in Broken Flute Cave. She describes these as, "two tabbed circles pendant from a half circle, possibly a head or mask with earrings." Apparently these images are similar to one illustrated by Morris (1980:15, Figure 6b, Number 3). Hays notes that there are several occurrences of these figures in Broken Flute Cave. Hays' description appears to establish the existence of several panels, in addition to Figure 32, exhibiting ear pendants of the lobed-circle form. This small image then may represent the existence of a fetish, amulet or talisman.

LOBED-CIRCLE OBJECTS AS FETISH

The context of the lobed circle or uterus image in some petroglyph panels, and the existence of lobed-circle objects and their archaeological context, suggest that the likeness of a uterus may have been used as a fetish. There are two meanings for the word fetish. One is a material object, sometimes in the form of a living thing, that is believed among primitive people to have magical power. In most contexts a fetish is believed to confer upon its bearer supernatural power or protection. Branson (1976) noted, "a fetish is thought to bring good luck, and if treated properly and with veneration, will help or give power to its possessor. The most prevalent belief is that the power is supposed to reside in the spirit dwelling within the fetish, rather than the fetish itself."

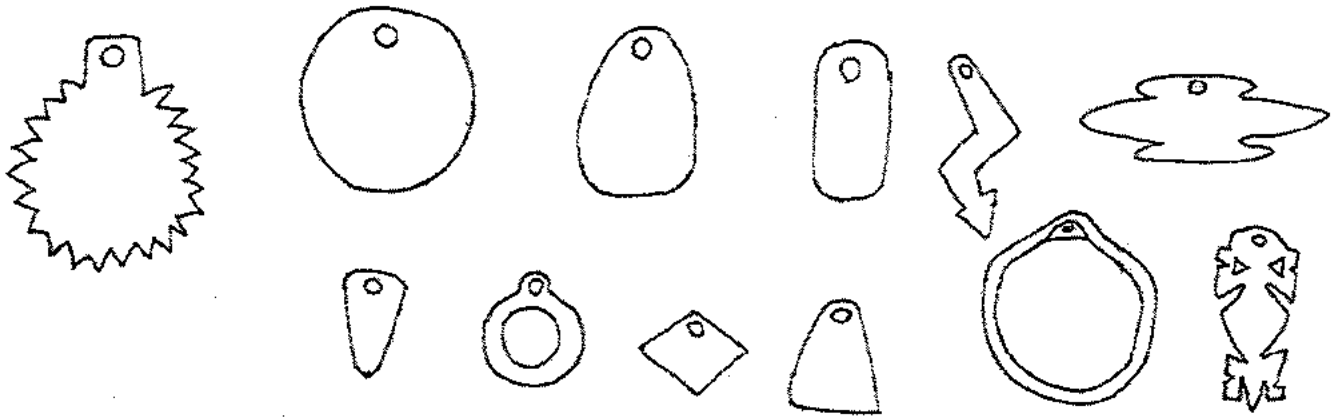
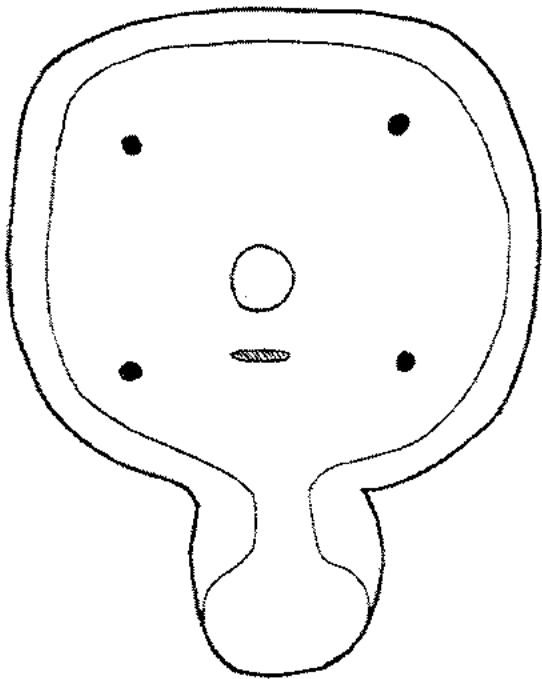
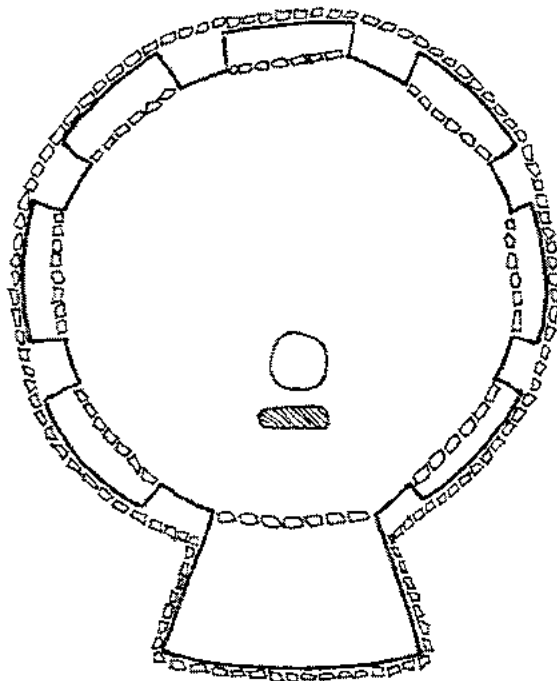


Figure 41. Pendants.



Basketmaker pithouse with lobed-circle shape.



Anasazi kiva with lobed-circle shape.

Figure 42

The second definition for fetish is: an object of unreasonably excessive attention or reverence. It would appear that the second definition may also be correct for the lobed-circle images among the Basketmaker Culture.

Fetishes are common among prehistoric cultures, as they are among the historic Pueblo. This is especially true among the Zuni. Bunzel (1929:489) noted, "Practically all the techniques employed by primitive or civilized man to influence the supernatural are known at Zuni - fetishism, imitative magic, incantation, and formula, figure in ritual." Branson (1976) further observed, "Among the Zunis, there is a fetish for almost any unknown phenomenon, including those for use in hunting, war, initiation into cults or societies, propagation, diagnosing and curing diseases, gambling, and even the detection and protection against witchcraft." Leighton and Adair (1966:47) noted of the Zuni, "Care for sacred objects (fetishism) is most important, for the whole welfare of the people depends on the proper treatment of the *ettowe*." Since lobed-circle images appear to represent a uterus as symbol of fertility, and since the existence of a physical object whose image is represented in the petroglyphs is likely, it would not be unusual for lobed-circle objects to be fertility fetishes. Also, since many lobed-circle images appear as pairs, and have a context suggesting a continuity with the Pueblo and Navaho Twins and their mythology, the objects may represent fetishes associated with the Twin mythology. It would not be unusual for fertility to be combined with some fetish aspect of the Twins.

The turquoise objects worn around the necks of the bodies found by Morris could represent fetishes. The anthropomorph in Figure 32 appears to illustrate the presence of the lobed-circle object as ear pendants. These objects could represent a fetish. The uterus images being carried, as illustrated in Figure 31, and those in the circle in Figure 38, are not quite so well defined. The image being carried may suggest the existence of an actual uterus because of their size compared with the person carrying them. Of course it is unknown whether the artist illustrated their relative size accurately, and it is also speculation whether the object being carried is an actual uterus or just a replica. If the uterus images in this panel are replicas then they might well represent a fetish.

It may be suggested that the panel substantiates that the lobed-circle image represents an actual uterus and not a replica because fetishes are an object worn only by one individual and are not part of a ceremony of a large group. This is not correct however because among primitive societies a fetish, "may belong to an individual, a secret society, a clan or it may be the property of the entire tribe" (Branson 1976). A fetish then, may be larger than a object worn by an

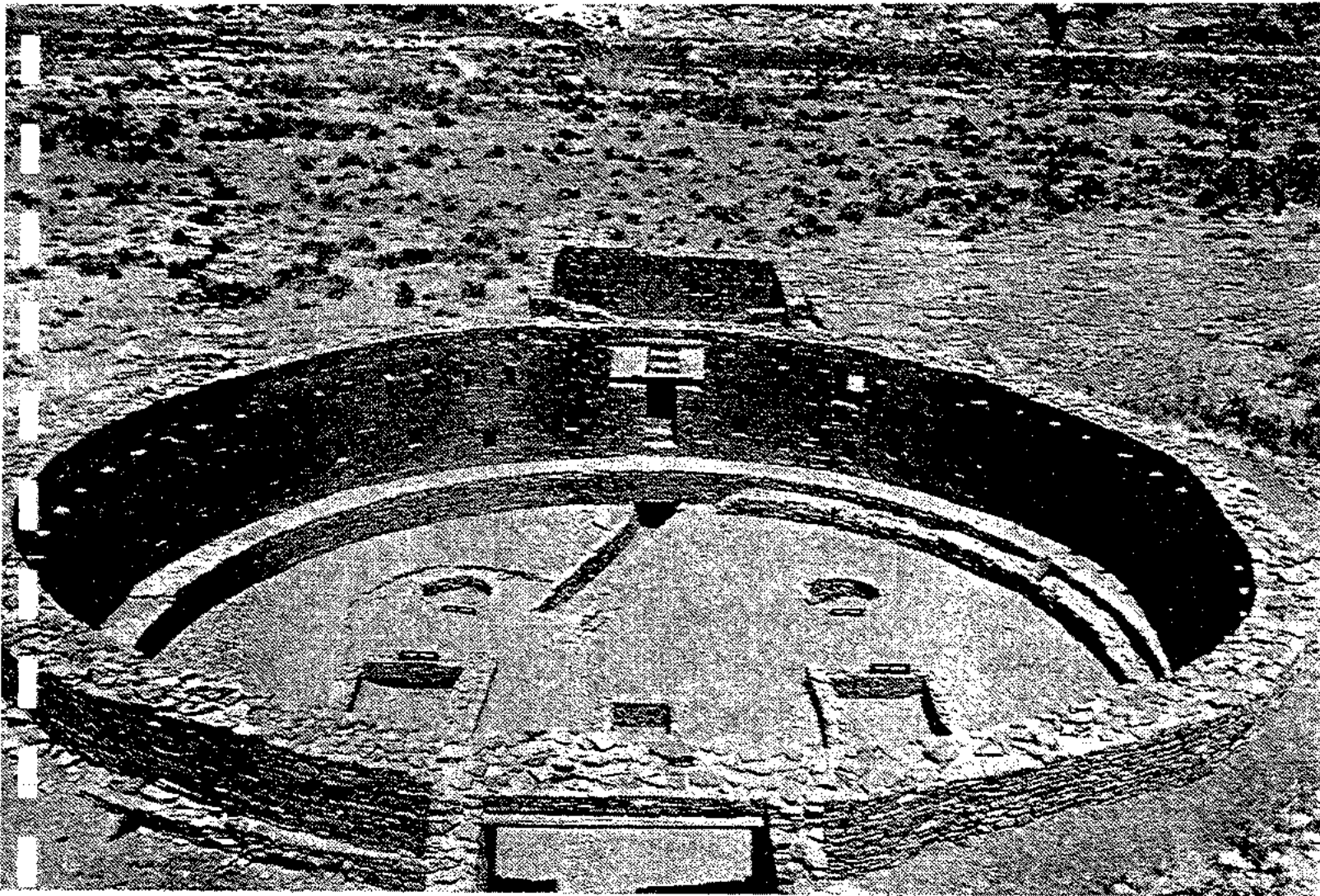


Figure 43 Great kiva at Casa Rinconada, Chaco Canyon



Figure 44

individual. Thus, the images being carried may represent a fetish and not be indicative of an actual uterus.

KIVA AND PITHOUSE RELATION TO LOBED CIRCLE

Many of the pithouses, protokivas, kivas, and great kivas throughout the southwest have an overall form nearly identical to the lobed-circle image and its various expressions (Figure 42). The long and narrow to semi-rectangular antechamber on the side of the pithouse would form the lobe of a lobed-circle shape, as does the large recess on the exterior of a kiva. The shape of some of the pithouses of the Basketmaker III period are egg shaped or oval (McGregor 1941:227), which would enhance the lobed-circle even more. The lobed-circle shape would have been very apparent when viewing the exterior of an appropriately shaped pithouse structure, as in contrast to just examining the excavated floor plan. This is because the above ground portion was built with sticks and covered with smoothed mud, which would promote the lobed-circle effect. These structures then, have a round to oval shape, from which there is a rounded-rectangular extension, and they are 'hollow' in the middle. The parallel in form suggests that a relationship may exist between these structures and lobed-circle images.

These lobed-circle shaped structures have a wide distribution in the Anasazi area. Hays and Lancaster (1975, Figures 3, 10, and 16) illustrate several pithouses and protokivas from the Mesa Verde area that have this form. Cassells (1893:117-125) describes Basketmaker III Pithouses and Pueblo I Kivas from areas south and west of Mesa Verde that have the lobed-circle form. Brew (1946) illustrates lobed-circle shaped structures from Alkali Ridge, which is north of the San Juan River. Prudden (1903, 1914, 1918) describes many kivas (associated with room blocks) from the San Juan drainage that have the lobed-circle form. Chaco Canyon contains many examples of distinctive lobed-circle shaped kivas; these include Pueblo Bonito, Chetro Ketl, Una Vida and others. The author has observed many kivas in northern canyons of the San Juan River drainage that have this same overall form.

Many great kivas have the same lobed-circle shape. The lobed-circle portion of the image is formed by the antechamber. Cordell (1984:253) states, "Antechambers are commonly associated with great kivas." An excellent example is the great kiva at Salmon Ruin in Bloomfield, New Mexico (Cordell 1984:262), which is along the San Juan River. The kiva forms a near perfect lobed-circle image. Other well known examples occur at Aztec Ruins National Monument and Casa Rinconada in Chaco Canyon (Figure 43) - both in New Mexico.

Large kivas dating from the Basketmaker III period have been found in the southwest. Frank H. Roberts (1929) excavated a kiva at Shabik'eshchee Village in Chaco Canyon that was 12.2 meters (40 feet) in diameter and 1.27 meters (4 feet 2 inches) deep. At Broken Flute Cave Earl Morris found a wall he believed had been part of a bench of a large kiva (Lister and Lister 1968:149).

There are several large circular depressions near the San Juan River, and even more in its northern drainages. Large circular depressions are found as far north as Canyonlands National Park. One large depression, located near the San Juan River and believed to be a great kiva, was recently tested (Glass 1990). The outside wall was located, and a test pit dug inside the depression next to the wall. The 'great kiva' turned out to be only about one meter deep. This structure would be an excellent candidate for the circle depicted in the panel illustrated in Figure 38.

Since the kivas, and some earlier Basketmaker pithouses, were a ceremonial structure, their form might also have had ritual significance. Evidence suggests that the form of some of these structures was patterned after a uterus. Access to some of the Basketmaker pithouses was through the antechamber on the side of the pithouse. People coming out or emerging from the antechamber would be symbolic of birth, or emergence, which would correlate with the Pueblo myths. (I remember reading an early ethnographer's statement where a Native American informant had said that the form of coming out of the kiva was the same as that of the emergence, and the kiva was made that way so the people would always remember their emergence, but I have been unable to relocate it.) This concept was mentioned by Williamson (1981) who quoted Stirling (1942). In recording the origin myth of Acoma Pueblo, the following statement was made: "When they began to build the first Kiva, Iatiku told Oak man that it must be done in a certain way. Then she told him just how it was to be done. The whole Kiva was to represent Shipapu, the place of emergence... (Williamson 1981:72)." If the whole kiva was to represent the place of emergence, the form of the kiva may have been patterned after a uterus - the real place of emergence.

Many kivas in the southwest were constructed with an underground tunnel that led from an outside structure into the kiva. Presumably this was for emergence ceremonies, during which entrants would 'emerge' from the kiva floor. This further substantiates the relationship of the emergence concept with the kiva.

Additional evidence for emergence context associated with Pueblo structures is the Sipapu which is sometimes found in the floor of kivas. The Sipapu is generally a small tubelike pit (Wormington 1947:18). "Similarly placed holes in present

day ceremonial structures of the Pueblo Indians represent the mythical place of emergence from the underworld from which the first people came to the earth" (Wormington 1947:18, 52).

Pithouses, protokivas, kivas, and great kivas having the lobed-circle form, and having associations with emergence, suggest that the kiva may have been purposefully shaped like a uterus to suggest ritual birth. It appears that this concept may have originated during the Basketmaker II period and carried over into the late Pueblo periods.

ALTERNATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

There is a possibility that some of the lobed-circle images in Basketmaker rock art represent something other than a uterus. There are several objects occurring in nature that have the same overall form as a uterus, a gourd for example. There are also several objects that could conceivably have been manufactured that would have a similar lobed-circle shape, for example a ceramic vessel or a water bladder made from animal skins. Some of the Basketmaker, wide-mouthed, straight-necked plain gray jars (for example Morris 1980:Figure 25), when turned upside-down bear a resemblance to some of the lobed-circle images.

The context of the lobed-circle images in most of the panels, especially where they occur so well standardized in pairs and in contexts suggesting human sexuality, rules out these interpretations. There is also one other subtle aspect, easily overlooked, that confirms the uterine hypothesis; it is the peculiar shape of some of the lobed-circle images themselves, which was discussed above. The asymmetrical shape of the baby in the uterus matches many of the lobed-circle images. This subtle characteristic would not so often exist if any other image was being portrayed.

LOBED-CIRCLE IMAGE IN UINTAH BASIN

In the Uintah Basin there exists a panel that contains a well made lobed-circle image. This image appears nearly identical to the lobed-circle images of the San River drainage. Below the image are several abraded grooves like those in Figure 5. Part of the panel is shown in Figure 44. Superimposed over the lobed circle is part of the body of a Fremont anthropomorph. The lines forming the body of the Fremont anthropomorph have less patination than the lobed-circle image. This indicates that the lobed-circle image was constructed first, and that it is older than the Fremont image. To the right of the lobed circle there is a "maze" figure that resembles the maze on the boulder below Shipau'lovi on the Hopi Mesas (Stephen 1936:1030). This panel appears to establish the consistency of the lobed-

circle ideologies as they spread outward from the San Juan River area.

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of the lobed-circle image along the San Juan River and in its northern tributaries, in combination with the presence of lobed-circle objects (pendants) in two locations in the southern tributaries of the San Juan River, suggests that the ideologies responsible for the creation of these images and objects center on the lower San Juan River and its tributaries. This areal distribution corresponds roughly with that of the Basketmaker Culture and suggests that the lobed-circle image is associated with the Basketmaker culture and time period.

More precise information on cultural affiliation and time period of the lobed circle may be derived by noting its presence in other rock art styles. The lobed-circle image has not been found in rock art of Turner's "Glen Canyon Style 5" style, which is apparently the oldest defined style in the San Juan Area. Turner (1971) proposed that the style dates to 2,000 - 6,000 B.C. This suggests that the lobed-circle came into existence following this period.

The lobed-circle image often occurs in panels of Schaafsma's "San Juan Anthropomorphic Style" (1980:109-119). If Schaafsma's proposed dating is correct, then the lobed circle's existence in this style suggests that the image was used extensively in the Basketmaker II Period, and thus came into existence nearly simultaneously with the Basketmaker Culture.

Temporal dates associated with objects that have the form of the lobed circle suggest that the lobed circle as objects came into existence in the Basketmaker III period. Tree Ring dates from Broken Flute Cave, Pit House 8A, where the lobed-circle pendants apparently were found, range from A. D. 469 to 494 (Morris 1980:50). These dates place the lobed-circle objects just into the Basketmaker III period.

The association of the lobed circle with bird-headed images further places the lobed circle within the Basketmaker III period, that is if the assumptions of Grant (1978:171-175) and Schaafsma's "Chinle Representational Style" (1980:122-128) are temporally correct. Evidence suggests that these dates appear to be reasonably accurate. Hays (1990) has reported that Chinle Representational Style rock art in Broken Flute Cave, "is often found on surfaces which formed the back walls of cists dating to the Pueblo I period (on the basis of ceramic and sandal styles)." She also stated that, "sometimes the mud outlines of these cists are superimposed over the rock art." Hays also notes the presence of lobed-

circle images in Broken Flute Cave. Assuming the above information is correct, it appears that the lobed-circle images date from the Basketmaker II period, through at least the Pueblo I period.

Determining the beginning date and period of use of the lobed-circle images would establish whether the ideologies responsible for these images are associated with the same material based cultural divisions that have been established by archaeologists. It appears, from the above information, that the ideologies responsible for the lobed-circle image developed along with other material evidences.

The information presented in this paper suggests that the ideologies responsible for the creation of the lobed-circle images evolved to incorporate the image in many different forms of rituals and aspects of culture. This would be expected if the image came into existence in the Basketmaker II period. This was a period in which major changes took place in the southwest. There was a great increase in cultural complexity along with a general expansion of the population.

The incorporation of a uterus into other aspects of culture appears to be evidenced by the shape of many pithouses, protokivas, kivas, and great kivas, since they have the form of a lobed circle. This form, along with early historic creation (emergence) myths, suggests that the ritualistic ideologies and concepts of birth extended to these structures. There are two possibilities that explain this relationship. One, the ideologies and concepts of emergence evolved from the coincidental shape of the pithouse to a uterus. And two, the ideologies were responsible for the structures being constructed in the uterus shape. Which of these ideas is correct is unknown. Perhaps more research may determine which theory is valid. If these impressions are correct, they demonstrate the importance that ideologies, superstitions, myths, etc. have in ordering prehistoric societies, and in forming their material remains.

A direct relationship between the mosaic pendants and the lobed-circle image has been established here. Petroglyphs then have the potential to provide additional information about the use of physical objects, their contexts, and thus their meanings, which could not be obtained from the objects themselves.

Two lobed-circle images frequently occur together. When they do occur together, they are of the same size, and are placed next to each other. They also often appear in a context suggesting that they are specifically related to human sexuality and fertility, and likely to the birth of twins. The contexts of many panels, coupled with the presumed cultural association discussed above, further suggest that

myths concerning Pueblo and Navaho Twins may have begun as far back as the Basketmaker period.

Do these panels in fact represent Pueblo creation myths from the Basketmaker period? This is a very difficult question to answer. Evidence appears to suggest that some of the panels illustrated in this paper (and others not discussed) could represent Pueblo myths, or a variation of the myths. Harris (1982; 1983) has suggested that several panels explicitly depict Pueblo and Navaho creation myths involving twins. Harris's conclusions are easy to both arrive at and to justify. There are so many variations in the creation myths involving twins that one can match up a story, or even easier, parts of a story, with a panel. For example, in one emergence myth the War Twins save the people from a flood. Figure 18 contains two large wavy lines that could represent water and thus the flood. The row of people above the wavy lines could represent the people, the spider could be a representation of spider woman, the mother of the Twins. The duck could represent some aspect of floating on water. Therefore this panel could be interpreted to represent a version of the emergence myth. The difficulty, of course, comes in trying to prove such an explanation. There are many panels that could be easily interpreted to give accounts of the Twins mythology, especially where portions of several different myths are combined to explain one panel. Specific interpretations then, should be accepted with skepticism.

One other factor complicates an unambiguous interpretation that panels incorporating the lobed-circle images are symbolic of the Twins mythology. There appear to be no twin uterus nor lobed-circle images in rock art defined to be from the Pueblo II and III period. Schaafsma (1971, 1980) mentions none. They appear absent even in the Pueblo IV period. There appears then to be no continuity in the Twins mythology between the Basketmaker period and the ethnographic recording of Pueblo Twin myths. What would account for this absence? One possibility would be that the definition of what constitutes Basketmaker rock art is incorrect. For example, were all the large anthropomorphs of Schaafsma's "San Juan Anthropomorphic Style", and "Chinle Representational Style" really limited just to the Basketmaker II/III Periods respectively, or did these 'styles' continue through the Pueblo periods? Does style classification adequately address (or permit) designations of specific images, image complexes, and mythologies beyond strict cultural affiliations? These questions remain unanswered.

Another possibility that might explain the apparent absence of the uterus image in later Pueblo rock art is the change that took place in rock art in general as the Pueblo period progressed. There is a marked decrease in complexity of images, and intricacy of panels from Basketmaker to Pueblo

rock art. A change in ideologies that influenced graphic arts was proposed to account for this difference (Manning 1990b). This change may have modified the way ideologies were expressed or utilized. Perhaps the utilization of rock art in mythology, or the legends told about twins via petroglyphs, changed into oral legends which became part of the kiva ceremonies. Should this have happened, the depiction of uterus images on the cliffs would have ceased, yet the mythologies would have lived on.

Still another possibility is that there was a revival in Twin mythology just before the historic period. If this is the situation then the petroglyphs do not represent direct Basketmaker versions of Pueblo myths. This appears unlikely however, because there are too many parallels in the details of the elements of rock art that correspond to the Pueblo and Navaho myths. Several possibilities exist then to account for the apparent discontinuity between the twins mythology in the Basketmaker period and the abundance of twin mythologies in ethnographic accounts. Which of these is correct, or if even there is a discontinuity is unknown. Regardless, the evidence points strongly to a direct relationship between the Pueblo twin mythology and Basketmaker rock art.

The objective of this paper was not to make a determination of whether the panels are a depiction of the Pueblo and Navaho Twin myths, but to propose a hypothesis for meaning for the lobed-circle image and to discuss its distribution, cultural affiliation, context, and cultural modes. I believe this has been accomplished.

NOTES

1. Joe Paycheck has indicated that he believes there is a painted lobed circle in Grand Gulch. I have not yet had the opportunity to verify his observation.

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