

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ROCK ART IN NINE MILE CANYON, UTAH

The Twenty-fifth Annual Symposium of the Utah Rock Art Research Association was held in Price, Utah, because of the threat to the rock art of nearby Nine Mile Canyon. Everyone attending the symposium was encouraged to take this opportunity to visit Nine Mile Canyon and see for themselves the adverse impacts that are occurring to the rock art in the canyon. Because of this situation, I am going to focus this paper on why the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon is important. This paper is divided into three parts. The first part is a brief discussion about the natural gas explorations and extraction activities that are impacting the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon. The second part is a discussion of previous research in Nine Mile Canyon for those who are not familiar with this topic and as a foundation for the information that is presented in the third part. The third part presents examples that demonstrate some of the reasons why the images in Nine Mile Canyon are important and why they should be preserved. This discussion cannot include all that is known about the importance of the rock art, it would require a book to do that, but these examples should be sufficient. In this paper I wish to emphasize the importance an individual panel can have and show how much information can be obtained from just one panel, and what images in these panels tell us about people who came to Nine Mile Canyon hundreds, and even thousands, of years ago.

PART I

THE THREAT TO THE ROCK ART OF NINE MILE CANYON

Oil and principally natural gas extractions on the West Tavaputs Plateau and the adjacent southern rim of the Uintah Basin threatens to

harm and has harmed the important prehistoric images that exist in Nine Mile Canyon. Dust created by commercial vehicles traveling on the dirt roads is being deposited on petroglyphs and pictographs making it difficult in some instances to even see the images. Numerous construction trucks, tankers with large trailers, large gravel trucks hauling road base, drilling rigs, water tankers, and other large commercial vehicles travel up and down the unimproved dirt road in the canyon 24 hours a day. Currently about 40 commercial trips are made every day over the road in Nine Mile Canyon, which was never designed for 80,000-pound vehicles.

[Note 2008: The number of vehicle trips is expected to reach 2,853,370 over the 33-year life of the project (WTP DEIS, Section 2.2.10), which, for 168 new wells, would be 575 trips a day. This figure represents only part of the development of the natural gas and oil resources because this number of vehicle trips is only from one major natural gas company—Bill Barrett Corporation—and several small companies. Even this number is only an estimate. Actual vehicle trips will certainly exceed this number; just as the actual number of vehicle trips today is almost double Bill Barrett Corporation's previous estimate.]

As these semi-trucks and trailers travel over the dirt road, great clouds of dust fill the canyon. The dust settles on the vegetation and the rock art that lines the canyon walls. The numerous petroglyphs and pictographs that were created hundreds and even thousands of years ago are now becoming obscured by this dust (Figure 1). When it rains, the dust turns to mud, which flows down over the images impacting them even more (Figure 2).

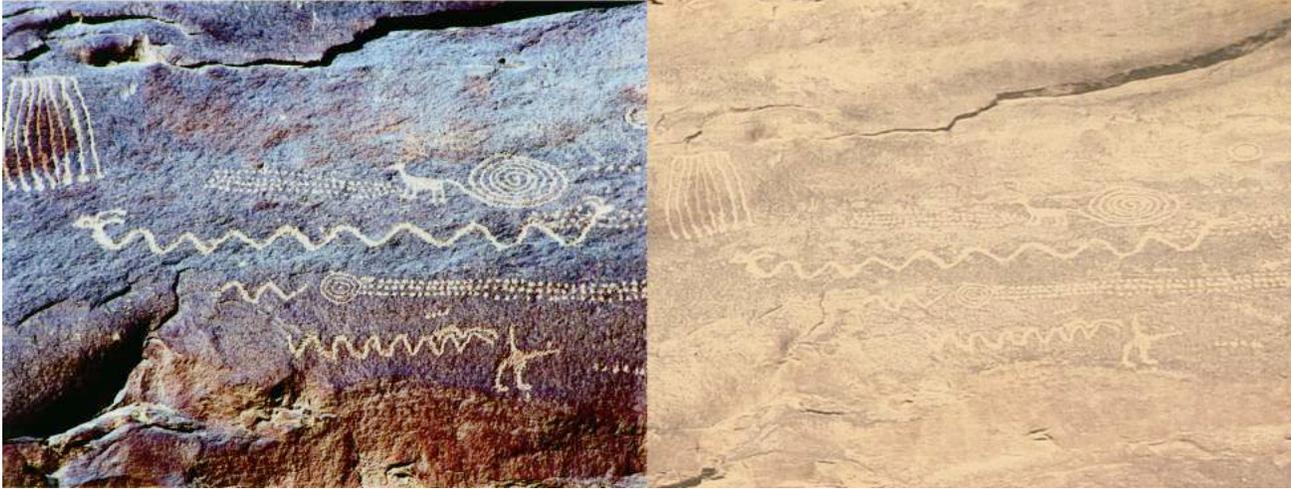


Figure 1. Left: Oct. 2000. Right: Oct. 2005. Sometime after this picture was taken, the dust was removed from this and the Great Hunt panel, apparently with a pressure washer, by persons unknown.



Figure 2. Petroglyph panel showing the effects of road dust and rainwater, Oct. 2005.



Figure 3. Part of a large newly fallen section of a cliff face on the Nine Mile Canyon road, Oct. 2005. A pictograph panel is now missing on the cliff face above. The bright red-orange paint is to alert drivers of the now hazardous rock.

The use of corrosive magnesium chloride and other chemicals which have recently been applied to the roads in an effort to control the dust, also ends up on the pictographs and petroglyphs as the extremely heavy trucks eventually break up parts of the dirt road and churn it to powder. Pollution from diesel exhaust and compressor stations fouls the air and adversely affects the rock art. Vibrations from the heavy trucks are also loosening the rocks on which the rock art was placed, hastening the image's total destruction. Figure 3 shows part of a cliff face that once contained pictographs that is now lying on the road.

In the fall of 2004, the National Trust for Historic Places designated Nine Mile Canyon as one of the "Eleven Most Endangered Historic Places in America." The Carbon County Commission, the State of Utah, and the Bureau of Land Management have all failed to take any substantive preventive measures to protect the prehistoric rock art of Nine Mile Canyon. Their primary failure is that they did not require all commercial vehicles to use an alternative route past the town of Sunnyside, bypassing Nine Mile Canyon entirely.

PART II

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The following is a brief summary of what researchers have understood about the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon and in Utah. This summary provides a description of how the prehistoric images in Nine Mile Canyon have been studied by researchers, as well as what has been understood about the origins, cultural affiliations, styles, areal distributions, currently defined classifications, etc. of these images. This summary will also briefly review how various systems of classification were developed and demonstrate the variety of types of rock art present in Nine Mile Canyon. It will also provide relevant introductory information for the discussions in Part III. The developments in rock art research are arranged in order of occurrence.

Garrick Mallery

Almost certainly, the earliest attempt at investigating the rock art in Utah was by Garrick Mallery in 1882 and 1889 (published in 1886 and 1893 respectively). In the late 1800s, little was known about Utah rock art outside of Utah (Mallery 1886:116–121). The situation in Utah was entirely different. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) had settled next to the Great Salt Lake in 1847. Two years later colonization efforts were commenced that led to small settlements throughout much of what would later become the western United States. The people who settled the Price area were soon acquainted with the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon.

In about 1888, the ancient inhabitants of Utah and the southwestern region of the United States were known as Moki Indians. Mallery's work not only represents the early stages of categorization, but also the determination of cultural affiliation and the distribution and meaning of rock art. Mallery attempted to correlate comparable images from

various regions to show a consistency in the meaning of the images and therefore establish a cultural continuity. He determined that various types of rock art located in Utah were comparable to that which existed in surrounding regions and he concluded that it was also created by the same cultures and that it had interrelated meaning.

Julian H. Steward

Julian Steward in 1929 described a style of petroglyphs that he identified in the western United States, i.e., from eastern California to the Rocky Mountains of Utah (Steward 1929:220). This area, called the Great Basin, is west of Nine Mile Canyon, which is situated on the Colorado Plateau east of the Wasatch Mountain range. Steward noted that the images found in the Great Basin consist principally of curvilinear design elements, such as meanders and wavy grid patterns, which often filled the entire surface of a boulder. Steward named these images the Great Basin Curvilinear Style. The style also includes circles, chains of circles, spoked wheels, hand and footprints, animal tracks, mountain sheep, simple human stick figures, along with "abstracts that defy description." Mallery was also aware of this type of image (Mallery 1893: plates I–XI) but he did not suggest a name for them. Steward attributed these panels to the Desert Archaic Culture. In Utah and Nevada, they apparently continued to be created into the Formative Period with the addition of small Fremont anthropomorphs. These images extend farther eastward than Steward realized.

Albert Reagan

In about 1930, Albert Reagan, a schoolteacher with the U. S. Indian Field Service who was teaching in Ouray, Utah, became interested in the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon and in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah. He published several papers in which he classified the rock art in the Ashley and Dry Fork Valleys into a kind of cultural-history scheme (Reagan 1931, 1933a).

His categories were Basketmaker, The Earth-Lodge Pueblo People, People of the Round or Circular-Bodied Drawings, and The People of the Head-Hunting Square-Shouldered Drawing Era.

Up to Reagan's time the differences between the archaeology and rock art of eastern Utah and the surrounding areas were still little known, so Reagan believed, as did others, that Utah was a fringe area of the Anasazi from the Four Corners region of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. At that time, Utah was considered by archaeologists to be part of the "Northern Periphery" of the Anasazi.

Reagan's initial paper was followed by a number of others over a period of several years (principally 1931–1935) in which he expanded his thesis. Reagan believed that the first occupants of Utah were Basketmakers and that they were confined largely to the Ashley-Dry Fork Canyon and to Nine Mile Canyon (1933a:3). The panels where "Puebloan" elements superimposed "Basketmaker" elements were evidence to Reagan that the Puebloan people of the "Willard-Beaver Culture" of western Utah migrated into the area. Later occupation by Pueblo people resulted in the creation of the panels in Hill Creek Canyon where "...men carrying the image of the horned snake, kachina scenes, and women with whorled hair as Hopi virgins wear their hair at the present time" (1933a:6). Reagan also described panels in Nine Mile Canyon purportedly depicting Puebloan ceremonial scenes with masked participants (1935:707–708), Puebloan horned or plumed serpents (1933b), and Puebloan domesticated turkeys (1933a:6).

Reagan believed that the fourth and last group to migrate into the region were the Head Hunters, who appeared to be an amalgamation of peoples, including some of the Shoshonean family, more or less allied with the ancient peoples from which the present Ute-Chemehuevi people descended (1933a:7).

Most of Reagan's explanations for the cultural affiliation and interpretation of rock art in Nine Mile Canyon have been superseded by later research; and although he used names for various types of rock art images in Nine Mile Canyon that have not stood the test of time, the temporal sequence that he proposed for the various images is surprisingly accurate. Reagan's papers are also still valuable because they contain photographs and descriptions of rock art and archaeological features that no longer exist or are badly vandalized.

Noel Morss

Also in 1931 a report was published by Noel Morss, an archaeologist from Harvard University, that changed archaeologists' views of the prehistoric cultures in Utah. Morss identified the rock art in Utah as being unique from that of the general Southwest and determined that it was characteristic of a distinctive culture, which he named the Fremont, after the Fremont River drainage in central Utah where he was excavating sites.

Morss notes that the rock art of the Fremont region is, "among its most interesting antiquities" and at the same time concluded that the images "...present some of the most difficult problems" (1931:34). Morss believed that the images could be associated with the materials that he excavated; however, variations from what he considered normal always seemed to lead to great uncertainties. Morss noted that "...studies in style, subject matter, and superimposition do little to clear up the confusion" (1931:34).

In 1929, Morss made a "...hasty trip as far as Nine Mile Canyon, well up on the Green River, where evidences of the same culture, or something very like it were found." The principal area visited by Morss in Nine Mile Canyon was centered on a large cave at the Rasmussen Ranch. The now well-known and heavily visited site is called Rasmussen Cave. Morss concludes from his

observations in the cave that, “It seems probable that the painted groups at least are the product of a culture similar to, if not indistinguishable from, that of the Fremont valley...” (1931:40). Morss also stated that: “The Fremont anthropomorphs seem to have been developed from Basketmaker prototypes and indicate the personification of supernatural beings in forms similar to those now familiar in the Southwest” (Morss 1931:42). Morss’s understanding of the distinctive nature of Utah rock art was undoubtedly influenced by his visit to Nine Mile Canyon.

David S. Gebhard and Harold A. Chan

In 1950, Gebhard and Chan described a distinctive type of rock art located in western Wyoming. At that time, it was recognized as existing in the area around Dinwoody Canyon and Dinwoody Lake. It therefore became known as Dinwoody Style rock art. The Dinwoody Style plays a major part in the importance of the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon, so it will be described here in some detail. As described by Gebhard and Chan (1950), the images exhibit an emphasis on extraordinarily abstract and supernatural anthropomorphic forms. They commonly appear in outline form with complex, sometimes elaborate, body decorations consisting of patterns of horizontal and/or vertical lines and geometric designs. The anthropomorphs frequently are associated with wavy lines, groups of circles, and dot patterns. Occasionally, abstract forms exist that resemble the form of a body, but no (or few) arms, legs, or heads appear. Although these images generally resemble humans, some appear to represent birds because of the presence of what appear to be wings and claw feet. These particular images appear owl-like. Another characteristic feature of the images is that they have short stubby arms and legs and the heads sit directly on the shoulders of a generally rectangular body with rounded corners. The images range in size from six inches to six feet (0.15 to 1.8 m). Animal figures also occur. The outlined figures are generally larger than the solidly pecked figures where they appear together.

Gebhard and Chan (1950:221) classified these images into four classes and four subclasses based on superimpositions, weathering, and/or differences in style, which they note are “from a realistic primitive to a more complex advanced style.”

In 1969, Gebhard discussed these images in more detail. During the interim between publications, Gebhard and others found additional examples and extended the distribution of the style to include the Wind River Mountains, the southern Big Horn Basin, and the Boysen Basin. Gebhard also revised the previous style classifications into three general styles, which he defined as the Early Hunting Style (Style 1), the Interior Line Style (Style 2), and the Plains or Late Hunting Style (Style 3). Gebhard stated that the Interior Line Style “...is the predominant style at Dinwoody and gives the area its distinctive quality” (Gebhard 1969:16).

Gebhard, noting that images from other parts of the west also contained anthropomorphs with rectangular bodies decorated with interior lines, was of the opinion that this demonstrated a commonality, i.e., all of these images were in some way related. He also noted the existence of remarkably similar images occurring in a panel in Dry Fork canyon in northern Utah and two panels near the Utah-Wyoming state line near Flaming Gorge that, “... exhibit classic examples of the Wyoming Interior Line figures” (Gebhard 1969:20). Based upon the existence of these figures, Gebhard noted that it was entirely possible that the Interior Line Style extended southward into northern Utah and Colorado.

Beverly Childers in 1984, while studying the Dinwoody type petroglyphs in Fremont County, Wyoming, created four subclasses of Gebhard’s Interior Line Style. These were Linear Winged Anthropomorphic Figures, Major Anthropomorphic Figures, Abstract Designs, and Representational Figures. She found that Abstract Designs virtually always accompany Representational Figures, and

in many cases are physically connected to them (Childers 1984:8). Analyzing the levels of repatination, amount of lichen growth covering the images, and differences in style she found that the oldest figures appear to be the Linear Winged Anthropomorphic Figures, followed by the Major Anthropomorph Figures, then by the Representational Figures.

James D. Keyser and Michael A. Klassen

Two archaeologists from northwestern Wyoming, James D. Keyser and Michael A. Klassen, redefined Plains Indian rock art in 2001. They classified the rock art of the Northern Great Plains into traditions. They define a tradition as a descriptive organizational division based on traits shared by a group of images. Each of their 11 traditions consists of a set of related styles for which a temporal, spatial, and cultural continuity can be established (Keyser and Klassen 2001:13–15).

Keyser and Klassen disagree with several of Gebhard's conclusions. For example, they state: "The characteristic interior body designs have led some authors to group these petroglyphs into a more widespread Interior Line Style that occurs across much of the southwestern United States. *The Dinwoody tradition itself is restricted to a small area of western Wyoming that includes the Wind River Valley and adjacent southern Bighorn Basin*" (Keyser and Klassen 2001:107, italics added). Keyser and Klassen further state: "One of the most important characteristics of the Dinwoody tradition rock art is its restricted geographic range—a fact noted by every scholar who has studied it (Francis 1994; Wellmann 1979a; Gebhard 1969; Keyser 1990; Loendorf 1993)" (2001:121). They also note that "Dinwoody tradition motifs are found almost exclusively in the Wind River and Bighorn Basins. So notable is their absence to the east of the Bighorn River that Francis has proposed that the river was a prehistoric territorial boundary" (Keyser and Klassen 2001:121–122). Keyser and Klassen (2001:122) do however note that: "A few

sites with similar, although somewhat simpler motifs occur to the south of the Wind River Basin. ...several others occur in the Green River drainage of southwestern Wyoming and northeastern Utah (Gebhard 1969 and Cole 1990)." The images referred to by Gebhard and Cole are similar to Dinwoody tradition figures, but they do not have the same comparative detail in the form and features of the images, as do the images in Nine Mile Canyon.

Keyser and Klassen are also of the opinion that the Dinwoody tradition is likely the best-dated rock art in North America. They state that five major dating techniques, including superposition, differential weathering, dated archaeological deposits, portrayal of dateable objects, and rock varnish dating have established a date starting at 1000 B.C. and ending at A.D. 1775 for the Dinwoody tradition.

Some of Keyser and Klassen's conclusions regarding the Dinwoody tradition are incorrect because they are based on incomplete information. Their search for Dinwoody tradition images would benefit from a search for these images beyond "a small area of western Wyoming." Dinwoody images are found in Nine Mile Canyon, as described below; moreover, the rock art in Utah has been dated at least as accurately as the Dinwoody tradition.

Robert E. Heizer and Martin A. Baumhoff

In 1962, Heizer and Baumhoff published the results of a three-year study on the rock art of Nevada and eastern California. They built upon the work of Julian Steward and identified five main rock art styles. These are: (1) Great Basin Pecked, (2) Great Basin Painted, (3) Great Basin Scratched, (4) Puebloan Painted, and (5) Pit and Groove (1962:197). Of these, the Great Basin Pecked Style is likely the most significant here because, unknown to Heizer and Baumhoff, it extends eastward far into Utah. This style was further divided by Heizer and Baumhoff into two

sub-style categories: the Great Basin Representational Style and the Great Basin Abstract Style. The Great Basin Abstract Style was further subdivided by Heizer and Baumhoff into the Great Basin Curvilinear Abstract and the Great Basin Rectilinear Abstract Styles. The definitive elements of the Great Basin Rectilinear Abstract Style are dots, rectangular grids, bird tracks, rakes, and crosshatches, while those of the Great Basin Curvilinear Abstract are circles, concentric circles, chains of circles, sun disks, curvilinear meanders, stars or astral, and snakes. Heizer and Baumhoff suggested that these two styles date at least from about 1000 B.C. to about A.D. 1500 with the Great Basin Curvilinear Abstract appearing earlier (1962:233).

Christy G. Turner II

In 1963, following the archaeological salvage operations of the Glen Canyon Dam, a report was published by Christy Turner in which he classified the rock art in the Glen Canyon Region into categories that he called "style horizons." This was, and still is, arguably the most important study of Utah rock art. While some of Turner's categories have to some extent been refined, renamed, and reordered by others, it is the only comprehensive work categorizing rock art that takes into account artifact association, image type, pottery and petroglyph association, method of manufacture, repatination, superimposition, and geological context.

To conduct a study of this type today would be difficult or likely impossible. Turner was fortunate to work in a region that, at the time, had received sparse historic human visitation; artifacts were actually still present at every site. Today nearly all of the surface artifacts have been removed, or are in the process of being removed by the public. This is not only true in southern Utah, but at nearly all archaeological sites in the entire western United States, even though Federal and state laws prohibit the removal of all prehistoric artifacts without a permit.

Turner's work is exceptionally important because what occurred in Glen Canyon during the past 8,000 years, or longer, also occurred adjacent to Glen Canyon. Thus, Turner's classification of rock art can be applied to a much larger region. For example, in the Fremont area north of Glen Canyon where Nine Mile Canyon is located, similar changes over time and general characteristics also occur in the rock art there. This indicates that Turner's findings are indicative of a broad cultural manifestation that occurred over a very large area. It should be noted that a cultural classification scheme comparable to that developed for the Anasazi realm, i.e. the Pecos Classification, has not been developed for the Fremont area, so Turner's cultural periods, which are based on Anasazi Basketmaker and Pueblo periods, cannot be (or have not yet been) directly applied to corresponding periods in the Fremont culture.

Turner described his style horizons as follows: Style 1 was the most recent, and it dated from 1850 to the present. It was made by Navajo, Paiute, and Anglo-Americans. It principally depicts cowboys (both on and off horses), horses with saddles, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, rabbits, eagles, and the names, dates, likenesses, and initials of people who have lived in or passed through the area. Style 1 also includes imitations of existing prehistoric elements. These are generally easy to distinguish because of their fresh appearance. Historic repecking of prehistoric designs was also noted. Turner also observed that: "The Navajo-Paiute pecking technique is an outline form with the enclosed area seldom pecked out. Dints are shallow and broad, seldom placed equidistantly, and appear to have been done with a metal tool" (Turner 1963:5). This description could just as easily be applied to some Ute rock art in eastern Utah.

Style 2 dates from 1300 to the present, and it was created by the Hopi. Hopi potsherds were found at some of the sites. The images were produced by shallow dinting and incising, which is similar

to images located around Hopi Villages. The images generally consist of identifiable Kachina figures, crosshatched sandals, clan symbols, sheep, and poorly executed anthropomorphs.

Style 3 was created during the period from roughly A.D. 1200 to 1300. Turner concluded that it was created by the Kayenta and Mesa Verde Anasazi in the late P-III period. The pecking appears to have been done with a sharp stone hit directly against the rock surface resulting in a generally poorly executed outline form with broad irregular-edged lines. Images include sheep, broad-bellied lizard-men with occasional ear pendants, an occasional broad-lined stick figure, concentric circles, and negative designs. Turner noted that “The horns of the sheep tend to stem from the neck region rather than from the head and the sheep often have the nasal region extending and drooping like the snout of an elephant. Naturalistic designs are poorly done, but the negative designs are often the most striking of a specific panel” (Turner 1963:6). Turner further notes that the images are generally not naturalistic and always fall short of the quality of the earlier Style 4 figures. “Elaboration of elements does not characterize this style horizon. Rather, its complexion is a retrogression from the plasticity and peerless extensibility of Style 4. Designs can thus be recognized by hammerstone pecking technique, paucity of element variation, and position of the sheep’s horns” (Turner 1963:6).

Style 4 was believed by Turner to have been produced in the P-II/P-III period or about A.D. 1050–1250 by the Kayenta Anasazi along with Mesa Verde Anasazi influence. This style was considered by Turner to be the most widespread and most well executed in the area, and it was consistently associated with P-II/P-III pottery. Turner noted that dints are shallow to deep and are generally spaced equidistantly and the pecking technique was usually a well-controlled hammerstone and chisel method. Incising is rare. The figures are both solid pecked and outlined forms.

Turner notes that the subject matter is so variable, compared to the other four styles, and the pecking technique so well executed, that this style is easily recognized. Turner stated that the Style 4 diagnostic designs are birds, flute players, hunting scenes, anthropomorphs with enlarged appendages and genitals, bird-bodied open mouthed cloven-hoofed sheep, concentric circles, watch spring scrolls, and triangular-bodied elaborately head-dressed anthropomorphs. Other images cataloged by Turner in Style 4 are listed in Figure 4. These same elements can be found in Fremont rock art in the same period.

Abstract (non-representational) designs
bird tracks
bird-bodied sheep
bow-and-arrow carrying anthropomorphs
complex blanket or pottery designs
concentric circles
dotted-center sunbursts
extremely large-handed anthropomorphs
extensive non-representational design motifs
flat-bellied lizards
flute players
game-playing anthropomorphs
hat-topped anthropomorphs
humped-back anthropomorphs or snails
hunting shafts
hunting scenes
large-footed birds
large-footed sheep
left and right handprints and foot prints
lizard-men
long-necked birds
masks
notched toe sandal designs
paired sandals
possible birth scenes
reclining flute players
rectangular frames
sheep
sheep hoof prints
shields
simple blank designs
snakes
solid triangular anthropomorphs
watch-spring scrolls

Figure 4. A partial inventory of elements listed by Turner as appearing in Style 4 (Turner 1963:6–7).

Turner also describes an unusual image found in the region. These are the “triangular-bodied anthropomorphs wearing a bird-bodied headdress.” Turner notes that these figures appear at sites with Mesa Verde ceramics along with the above designs. Other differences at these sites led Turner to conclude that these images: “...may be considered to represent a Mesa Verde division of Style 4” (Turner 1963:7).

Style 5 was classified by Turner as the oldest rock art in Glen Canyon. It often had no ceramic association, being created prior the advent of pottery. The degree of obliteration and repatination of Style 5 petroglyphs suggested to Turner that they were twice as old as Style 4. Turner indicates that Style 5 consists almost exclusively of rectilinear outline forms, occasionally filled within the outline with parallel or vertical lines or with combinations of the two. Triangular forms are rare; instead, there is an emphasis on rectilinear shapes. Many of the figures were created with deeply incised, broad straight lines. Dints are the deepest of the five styles. They are relatively well placed. Solid pecked areas are very rare, as are narrow lines.

Turner describes the anthropomorphs of Style 5 as sometimes having very large elongated bodies that are also occasionally filled with the horizontal and/or vertical line pattern. Arms and legs are minor features, usually being a single line. The heads often have elaborate headdresses. Anthropomorphs occasionally hold hunting shafts, and there is an emphasis on sheep. These sheep also often have exceptionally large rectangular bodies with head, tail, and legs disproportionately small and with the same interior lines.

These images in Style 5 were originally thought by Turner to be made by people living before A.D. 1050 and to include the Archaic (Desert Culture) and the Anasazi—both Basketmaker and P-1 Pueblo. Turner modified this in 1970. Following additional geological and archaeological findings

Turner extended the beginning of rock art in Glen Canyon to 4,000 to 8,000 B.P. Evidence for this was: (1) the similarity of Style 5 to the split twig figurines (dated at that time to 4,000 B.P.), (2) occupation in the Glen Canyon dated to 8000 B.P. and (3) the apparent occurrence of Style 5 throughout most of western North America. Turner notes that the Glen Canyon Style 5 petroglyphs are “... the best candidates for the earliest rock art in the New World” (1971:469–471). Turner also states that Style 5 could likely be usefully subdivided, which was an insightful and accurate observation.

Polly Schaafsma

In 1971, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University published a monograph by Polly Schaafsma wherein she classified the rock art of Utah into a number of artistic styles. She accomplished this by using a collection of photographs and drawings accumulated by the late Donald Scott of the Peabody Museum (Schaafsma 1994[1971]:xvii–xix). Schaafsma’s work is centered nearly exclusively on the Fremont rock art of Utah, since that was apparently Mr. Scott’s main interest, or at least one of them. Unlike Turner, Schaafsma’s data did not come from personally visiting the sites. Therefore, information on patination levels, construction techniques, associated dateable artifacts, site context, geology, etc., were not available. She notes that even “the scales of the figures were unknown” (Schaafsma 1994 reprint preface). Schaafsma’s study, then, was one conducted principally on the basis of the artistic qualities of the images. While the data available to Turner was missing, her study is no less important than Turner’s work.

Schaafsma’s classification structure was developed by first sorting the numerous photographs and drawings from all over Utah according to their “general appearance and on the basis of an intuitive evaluation of the elements present” along with the “aesthetic qualities.” In addition to these

features, she tabulated the frequency of occurrence of the various elements. Then, noting the existence of patterns in the rock art, she grouped the photographs according to geographic distributions. Schaafsma found that they nearly corresponded to Ambler's Uintah Fremont and Northern and Southern San Rafael designations (Ambler 1966:273, Figure 51). The styles that Schaafsma defined, which are applicable to Nine Mile Canyon, are as follows:

Classic Vernal Style (Uintah Fremont). The area in which this style principally occurs is the Uintah Basin in Northeastern Utah and northwestern Colorado. Schaafsma rightly considers that this style "embraces the most advanced expression of Fremont petroglyphic art" (1994[1971]:8). She notes that the panels contain many grand human figures with broad shoulders. These anthropomorphs have large trapezoidal bodies with simple large, round, rectangular, or bucket heads. Many of them have outlined bodies. Hands are often missing. Feet are often exaggerated. The images often exhibit elaborate decorative detail. Heads have facial designs and headdresses and the ears have pendants. The figures often have ornate necklaces. Schaafsma also notes, "Small anthropomorphic figures, quadrupeds, and abstract designs are often found in the panels with the large dominating anthropomorph" (Schaafsma 1994[1971]:8).

Northern San Rafael Style. South of the Uintah Basin is a region Schaafsma refers to as the San Rafael. Schaafsma defined the existence of two styles in this region. These are the Northern San Rafael Style (which includes all of Nine Mile Canyon) and the Southern San Rafael Style. The Northern San Rafael Style area includes the southern and northern drainages of the Book Cliffs, Roan Cliffs, and the Tavaputs Plateau from Price, Utah, to Grand Junction, Colorado. Schaafsma (1994[1971]:28) states that the element and attribute data of sites in this area "exhibit a stylistic phase of Fremont rock art which is internally consistent and distinct" from

areas around it. She notes that the area lacks the large well-executed, highly-decorated anthropomorphs. Instead of the "pleasing visual patterns" present in the Classic Vernal Style, both large and small panels are "crowded and busy, with a wealth of small solidly pecked figures that are carelessly executed and ill defined" (1994[1971]:29). Schaafsma also notes that the area contains a greater percentage of paintings than the Uintah Basin.

Southern San Rafael Style. Schaafsma's Southern San Rafael Style zone virtually covers all of southwestern Utah, with the exception of the southeast corner and the area southwest of the Kaiparowits Plateau. Schaafsma notes that the sites in this region are widely scattered and show a high degree of variability. She observed that the panels lack the stylistic unity found to the north, a fact that she attributes to the rugged terrain of the region. Schaafsma discusses sites in this region on a panel-by-panel basis.

Some of the distinctive features of this region, as indicated by Schaafsma, are the diagonal line drawn through the torso of anthropomorphs and the absence of dot patterns and round hair bobs or earrings. Schaafsma also notes that one of the factors that make this region distinctive is the presence of Anasazi characteristics—such as "rows of hand holding figures, flute players, and animal tracks" (1994[1971]:53). It is obvious from Schaafsma's discussion of this area that, unfortunately, Scott's files were sorely lacking in information about the wealth and diversity of rock art sites from this region.

Barrier Canyon Anthropomorphic Style. Schaafsma observed that "...Within the San Rafael Fremont region there is a group of rock paintings in which life-size paintings are dominant, but which are stylistically distinct from the Fremont tradition described above." (Schaafsma 1994[1971]:65) She named these paintings the Barrier Canyon Anthropomorphic Style after the tributary where the largest number

of known panels was located. Schaafsma described these images as follows: “The dominant motif in these paintings is the long dark form of the human torso” (Ibid:69). “These highly abstracted and mummy-like anthropomorphs which seem to hover against the cliff walls determine the overall aesthetic impact of the Barrier Canyon Style, not only because of their repeated occurrence in each site, but also because of their great size in comparison with the few other elements occurring with them which are often tiny adjuncts to the major anthropomorph theme” (Ibid:69). Schaafsma notes that the decorative detail is distinctive: “The torso may be intricate and textile like. Heads occasionally have crowns of white dots or short lines” (Ibid:69). Birds often accompany the large anthropomorphic figures. Citing what Schaafsma believed to be Fremont images superimposed over Barrier Canyon Style images, she concluded that they were Archaic in origin (Ibid:135)

San Juan Anthropomorphic Style. In 1980, Schaafsma defined an additional style in southeastern Utah. This was the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style. The diagnostic feature of this style, Schaafsma notes, is the “large, broad-shouldered anthropomorph figure depicted in rows, in pairs or scattered across a cliff face” (1980:109). The anthropomorphs are often elaborately decorated with ornate headdresses, necklaces of various types, belts, etc. Arms and hands with fingers, and legs with feet and toes usually hang straight down at the sides. The bodies are usually trapezoidal.

Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style. Also in 1980, Schaafsma added another style to the repertoire of Utah rock art. She defined a Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style. Schaafsma found these images distributed in caves and rockshelters in the Chihuahuan desert of southern New Mexico and in Eastern Utah. Noting the similarity of these images in design inventory to the Great Basin Abstract Style petroglyphs, she attributed the images to the

Western Archaic (Desert Culture). This is reinforced by a site in Grand Gulch where the Polychrome Abstract images are high out of reach on the back wall of a tall and deep rockshelter, while Anasazi Basketmaker images are beneath them. The Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style is composed principally of rows of short parallel lines (which sometimes descend from a horizontal line), zigzags, circles, circles with a single descending line, concentric circles, dot patterns, and wavy lines. Despite the presence of a major Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style just 60 miles south of Nine Mile Canyon, no examples of this style have been found to this date in Nine Mile Canyon.

William G. Buckles

In 1971, William G. Buckles defined two styles of rock art in western Colorado that were attributable to the Ute Indians. These styles are the Early Historic Ute, which date from the time the Utes acquired the horse (about 1640 to 1830), and the Late Historic Ute (1830 to 1880) when the Utes were removed from the region and settled in the Ute Indian Reservation in northeastern Utah. Buckles (1971) noted that Ute rock art contains both pictographs and petroglyphs, with solid pecking predominating; although stipple pecked, grooved, and lightly abraded techniques exist. Most often the pictographs are painted in red pigment, however yellow, orange, and black are also used.

It is well known that the early Utes were nomadic and are described as living in loosely organized family groups, called bands. The people lived in wickiups and tepees. At one time, they occupied nearly all of Utah and Colorado, and the northern portions of Arizona and New Mexico (Pettit 1990). Following the acquisition of the horse, they ranged even farther. This subsistence pattern probably accounts for the variability in Ute rock art. Variability in artistic talents and abilities is probably more obvious in Ute rock art than in any other style. A particular Ute “artist” in

southeastern Utah imitated and elaborated Fremont rock art to such an extent that researchers still call it Fremont rock art, despite the fact that the panels have no repatination.

Nine Mile Canyon was at one time part of the Ute Indian Reservation, so it would be expected to contain many panels of Ute manufacture, which it does. Hill and Willow Creeks, on the opposite side of the Colorado River, along with other nearby drainages, also contain many Ute rock art panels.

Much of historic Ute rock art is easily recognizable because it depicts historic objects such as horses (both with and without riders), tepees, guns, trains, automobiles, period costumes—especially hats, etc. What constitutes prehistoric Ute rock is a different story. There are several conflicting theories about the Fremont/Ute period. Some researchers are of the opinion that Fremont groups were ancestral to the Numic-speaking Ute, Shoshone, and Southern Paiute who occupied the area at the time of Euro-American contact. A critical change in climate is believed responsible for forcing the Fremont back into a strict hunter/gathering way of life causing them to lose their Fremont cultural identity. The majority opinion is that there is no evidence of cultural continuity between the Fremont and the Numic-speakers. It is believed that Numic expansion into Utah took place around A.D. 1000 into what was basically an area entirely void of people. What constitutes Proto-historic Ute rock art, if any, is currently a never-ending debate. The rock art in Nine Mile Canyon may well hold the answer to this question.

Sally Cole

In 1987 and in 1990 Sally Cole defined additional style complexes in eastern Colorado. She notes the existence of an “Archaic Abstract Style” in eastern Colorado that is similar to those defined by Steward (1929) and Heizer and Baumhoff (1962).

Cole refined Schaafsma’s Southern San Rafael Style and defined a style in southeastern Utah that she calls the Abajo-La Sal Style (Cole 1987:132–156; 1990:152–164). She dates this style as occurring between the Basketmaker II to early Pueblo I periods (Cole 1987:133). Cole describes the style as exhibiting “...forms and themes which are clearly similar to those of the Barrier Canyon Style and the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style” (1987:132). She notes, “There are, as well, some notable similarities to Basketmaker III–Pueblo I rock art of the San Juan...” and, “Additional complexity is provided by forms and themes of the Uncompahgre Style...” Cole states that the Abajo-La Sal Style rock art features broad shouldered triangular or trapezoidal anthropomorphs (Cole 1987:133). “Overall, Abajo-La Sal Style rock art is distinctive and reflects the cultural complexity and distinctiveness of the La Sal Anasazi...” (1987:133).

Cole (1990:96–108) also adds annotations on the Interior Line Style from western Wyoming. Her additions of image types into this style classification are more generous than other researchers. She also extends the distribution southward along the Green River past Nine Mile Canyon (1990:97). Cole, citing charcoal dates from a partly buried figure in the Legend Rock area (Walker and Francis 1989), proposes that the style dates from pre-A.D. 1 to at least 1000 (1990:100–108).

Steven J. Manning

In 2003, I defined a type of image based not on artistic style but on form, attributes, and method of manufacture (Manning 2004). These images are anthropomorphs that were created with fugitive pigments. The figures were made first by applying pigments to vertical stone surfaces, usually cliff faces or rockshelter interiors. Distinct features were then created by pecking or abrading away the pigment. When the pigment eroded, only the pecked or abraded features remained. These pecked features usually consist of facial features,

necklaces, bracelets, beltlines, hair ornamentation, etc., all of which vary from simple to ornate. An often-present feature is a large, single-pendant necklace. Sometimes the figure has an abraded line or area outlining it. This is presumably an effort to create a distinct edge to the figure by scraping away some of the uneven or excessive pigment.

These anthropomorphs exist throughout all of eastern Utah and western Colorado, and extend southward into northern Arizona and New Mexico. They occur in both the Anasazi and Fremont Culture areas. They are present, or constitute a major constituent, in Schaafsma's Classic Vernal Style, Northern and Southern San Rafael Styles, the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style, and Cole's Abajo-La Sal Style.

In some situations, the original form of the figure can be determined. First, a few of the figures remain that were covered with mud. The mud has weathered away revealing the original pigment. Second, the figures were created in caves and the original pigment remains; these were usually created using charcoal. Third, a silhouette of the original pigment remains because the rate of repatination was altered by the pigment. Fourth, other images with the same features were created with pigments that were not fugitive. In addition, the initial simple pecking and abrasions changed over time and increased to a point where the anthropomorphs with the same pecked or abraded features were nearly completely outlined with pecking so that their form is almost completely revealed.

A developmental sequence was established through superimposition, variation in repatination levels, and increasing size and complexity, and shown to occur relatively consistently throughout all of the large area in which the images exist. This indicated that the people living in the entire region were in contact with each other and that they shared the meaning, function, nuances of construction and, most importantly, they

participated in the consistent changes of the images over time—at least for a period. The images apparently came into existence at the end of the Archaic period and ceased to be made at the time the Fremont culture ended.

These discoveries are significant because they show that the ideology from which the images originated crosscuts the lines of cultural and style demarcations that researchers have defined; and again most importantly, a constant change occurs over time throughout the entire area. These images show that there was a major ideological feature that existed in both the Fremont and Anasazi cultures whose existence has never before been determined. Apparently, these cultures may not have been as different ideologically as had been defined, at least during a period of their existence.

In 1997 and 2001, I described and defined the existence of Barrier Canyon Style petroglyphs (Manning 1997, 2001), which did not appear in Donald Scott's photographs. The discovery of petroglyphs provided the opportunity to use repatination levels to determine a relative date for the style. To this date, no Barrier Canyon Style petroglyphs have been located that have the same high degree of repatination as Turner's Glen Canyon Style 5 petroglyphs (see Part I), which indicates that Barrier Canyon Style is younger than Turner's Glen Canyon Style 5.

SUMMATION

This brief summary provides a glimpse of how rock art research has progressed since 1882 and the part that Nine Mile Canyon has played in this activity. This also shows that the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon has always been considered valuable and that it has played a significant part in defining the prehistoric cultures that have inhabited Utah and the surrounding area. In the following section, I will attempt to add important information about the rock art of Nine Mile Canyon that has not been considered before. The emphasis is on examples of rock art found in the canyon that are important

because they demonstrate that people living in distant areas, where different cultures existed, came to Nine Mile Canyon.

Typically, archaeologists do not discuss prehistoric cultures in Utah on the level of an individual person, or for that matter on a small number or group of people. This is because there is little, if any, archaeological data that differentiates one individual from another. There are no unique identifying marks on a projectile point to identify the individual who created it. A Rose Springs point in Nevada has the same form as a Rose Springs point in Utah. Rock art is different. Different people possess different levels of artistic skill and experience, and this is reflected in the images they create—much like differences in handwriting. People living in different cultural areas possess different ideas about their life, religion, and the world around them, so the images they create are different. Additionally, each individual person was apparently allowed some degree of freedom to express in rock art the ideology that existed at that particular time and place among the distinct group of people with which the person lived. Furthermore, the ideology from which the images sprang into existence appears to have been continually changing, resulting in modifications or variations occurring in panels of rock art. All of these changes occurring over time, space, and an individual's experience and personality explains why, with tens of thousands of rock art panels in Utah, no two are exactly alike; in fact, with only a very few exceptions, no two are even close to being alike. With sufficient data, it is possible to trace the locations where an individual person or small group of people lived while they were creating rock art specific to their time and place.

LIMITATIONS ON STYLE DEFINITIONS

In the past, the rock art in Utah, including that in Nine Mile Canyon, has been studied principally by classifying it into artistic styles. This

categorization has been done in an attempt to determine the image's cultural affiliation and date of construction (Manning 1993). Most of the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon has been classified into one or more of these organizational schemes, but only in a broadly generalized way. There are rock art panels in Nine Mile Canyon that do not fit into any classificatory scheme, and images that argue against any local cultural affiliation.

It should be noted that while the stylistic classification method is most commonly used to categorize rock art, as demonstrated above, it is not without problems and limitations. Some of these are: first, stylistic identification and classification is not a perfect analytical system. It is for the most part an intuitive taxonomy, as it has been applied to this date. Disagreement, therefore, exists among researchers, not only concerning the conclusions reached from the data, but the initial definition and classification of the images themselves. One researcher's Archaic image is another researcher's Fremont image, and one researcher's Fremont image is another researcher's Ute image. This has created a nearly bewildering assemblage of images in various researcher's style categories. Second, the researchers are disadvantaged by a lack of data concerning their subject. Schaafsma, for example, only had available photographs and drawings collected by other people and Turner was working only in the Glen Canyon area. Considering that tens of thousands of rock art panels exist in Utah alone, styles have been identified from only a miniscule percentage of the existing sites. Some definitions of styles have been created by describing elements in only a few panels, and then a later and wider sampling has shown those particular elements are not at all a common feature of that style, and certainly not a defining feature of it. Third, not all rock art in Utah has been classified into one of these stylistic categories. Some rock art panels defy all classifications. Fourth, and the most important limitation of all, is that while stylistic categorization may help

determine temporal and areal distributions and cultural affiliations, it does little to determine the purpose, meaning, or function of the individual images.

NUMBER OF SITES IN NINE MILE CANYON

Some controversy exists about the number of recorded rock art sites in Nine Mile Canyon. Numbers range from 500 to several thousand and even to 10,000 sites. I would like to clear up this confusion. As of October 1, 2006, there were 663 recorded archaeological sites in Nine Mile Canyon that contain rock art. Compare this to the 8,510 archaeological sites that contain rock art that have been recorded in all of Utah. Nine Mile Canyon contains one of the highest densities of rock art sites in Utah—663 sites in one canyon.

It is important to note that stating the number of sites or panels does little to describe the amount of rock art in Nine Mile Canyon. Some recorded sites consist of only one small image. Other sites consist of 10 to 20 panels, some of which contain as many as 30 figures. Consistency in recording has also been a problem. One group of surveyors recorded rock art sites by defining a site as one or more panels until no other prehistoric evidences were found within a distance of 50 m (more-or-less the standard of separating archaeological sites), while another group has recorded nearly every panel as a site, with some being as close as 5 m. In addition, less than 10 percent of the land area has been surveyed, and most of the surveys have been done within 50 to 100 m of the floor of the canyon. The higher steep rugged canyon walls have not been surveyed, which means that less than one percent of the rock faces in Nine Mile Canyon have been searched for rock art. This variation and paucity of information makes conclusions regarding rock art density tenuous at best. One statement, however, is accurate, and it is: There is a lot of rock art in Nine Mile Canyon.

PART III

EXAMPLES OF SOME IMPORTANT IMAGES IN NINE MILE CANYON

The following is a discussion of a few of the panels in Nine Mile Canyon that have particular significance, as discussed in Part II. These panels, and the images that they contain, help us understand what happened in the past in Nine Mile Canyon. They provide significant information on who lived in the canyon over the last 6,000 years, what these people were like, how they lived, and more accurate information on when they lived. These images will, someday, also help us to understand why the descendants of the people who created the prehistoric images are no longer living in the canyon. Not only does the rock art of Nine Mile Canyon provide important information concerning the prehistory of Nine Mile Canyon itself, it also provides important information concerning the prehistory of Utah and even the prehistory of the western United States, as will be shown below.

The emphasis in this discussion is on images and panels in Nine Mile Canyon that provide information about the movement of people in prehistoric societies across the land in which they lived. The images in Nine Mile Canyon have the potential to determine if prehistoric people from other regions visited Nine Mile Canyon. They also provide information on when they visited and if they interacted with the inhabitants who occupied the area at that time. The images also might be able to provide information concerning the degree to which the visitors interacted with the local inhabitants and if this interaction influenced the ethnicities or beliefs of the people living there, or if there was anyone living there at all. An example of this type of influential interaction is the observation that Plains Indian characteristics in rock art increase in density from the southwest to the northeast across northeastern Utah.

The people living in Nine Mile Canyon developed their own unique types of rock art. The existence of a few of these unique images outside of Nine Mile Canyon suggests that people who lived in Nine Mile also traveled outside of the canyon. Studies of the images in Nine Mile Canyon may also assist researchers in other regions by providing important information to assist them in placing these images into a cultural, temporal, and spatial context. The examples described in the following discussion are not exhaustive because of space limitations. The images are ordered by the period of time in which they occur.

PALEO-INDIAN PERIOD

The oldest rock art in Nine Mile Canyon would likely be from the Paleo-Indian period (approximately 11500 B.C. to 6000 B.C.), since this is the oldest period of occupation currently demonstrated to exist in Utah. However, as of this date, no rock art suspected to have been created in this period has been located in Nine Mile Canyon. However, since a panel from the late Paleo-Indian or early Archaic period has been found in nearby Range Creek Canyon south of Nine Mile Canyon by the author (Manning 2002), the potential exists that a Paleo-Indian image might exist in Nine Mile Canyon.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

The next oldest rock art in Nine Mile Canyon would be an Archaic style (or type) such as Turner's Glen Canyon Style 5 (Schaafsma's Glen Canyon Linear) or Steward's Great Basin Curvilinear Style (Heizer and Baumhoff's Great Basin Abstract Style), see Part II. Note that the Archaic period ranges from about 6000 B.C. to about 500 B.C. Turner's Glen Canyon Style 5 appears to be concentrated south of Nine Mile Canyon in the Four Corners region (particularly in Utah and Arizona), and the Great Basin Abstract Style is, of course, abundant in the Great Basin west of Nine Mile Canyon. These Archaic styles are present in contiguous areas north, west, and

south of Nine Mile Canyon, but in the canyon, they are rare. I have found that the density of the Glen Canyon Style 5 images decreases rapidly from San Juan River in southeastern Utah northward toward Nine Mile Canyon. The Great Basin Curvilinear Style is considered by most scholars to terminate at the crest of the Wasatch Mountain Range that forms the eastern border of the Great Basin. It is suspected, therefore, that these types of Archaic rock art would be present in Nine Mile Canyon, but that the panels would be very limited in number. This is exactly the situation.

Glen Canyon Style 5

Only one clearly distinguishable image of Turner's Glen Canyon Style 5 has been located in Nine Mile Canyon to this date. There are probably more in the canyon. This image is a heavily repatinated and weathered quadruped that is located at site 42Dc169. It is shown in Figure 5. The image is at the top of the photograph. Because of its age, much of the image has, unfortunately, been lost to exfoliation and erosion. Only the back half of the body currently exists, along with two back legs, which are slanted backward at an angle. The front of the animal, including the torso, head, and front legs, has been lost due to spalling; however, there appears to be a small part of the top of the horn still present above the large spall and the natural horizontal banded inclusion in the sandstone. The vertical and horizontal lines on the interior of the body that are one of the defining characteristics of Glen Canyon Style 5 quadrupeds are still intact and reasonably visible. Turner, and many others following him, noted that this pattern is similar to Archaic split-twig figurines found in southern Utah and Northern Arizona that are radiocarbon dated to greater than 4,000 years ago (Turner 1971:469, see also Jett 1991). Notice the level of repatination on the image and in the spalled areas. This quadruped may be as old as 4,000 to 6,000 years.



Figure 5. A Panel from Nine Mile Canyon showing a Glen Canyon Style 5 quadruped (top of picture).

The significance of this panel is further augmented by two additional images from other time periods. Each was created by people from a different culture. Below the center of the Archaic Glen Canyon Style 5 quadruped is an anthropomorph. This image has a lesser degree of repatination than the Glen Canyon Style 5 image and a lesser degree of weathering. Notice that the level of repatination on this image is about the same as in the spalled area where the front of the Glen Canyon Style 5 quadruped was lost. This image was created by the Fremont culture because it is similar in style (and form) and it has the same degree of repatination as many other Fremont images in the rest of Nine Mile Canyon and beyond. The anthropomorph is probably about 800 to 1,500 years old.

The brightest image in the photograph was likely created by historic Ute Indians. The vertical narrow scar in the panel appears to have been

created by a metal hatchet. This is not the only panel in the region that contains hatchet marks. The same mark has appeared in other panels in the Book Cliffs in the last ten years. The animal with the long curving tail, which probably represents a dog, may have been created with the corner of the hatchet. Similar animals, also with little or no repatination, are found in Ute panels at a few other sites in Nine Mile Canyon—they are, however, not quite as roughly formed as is this image. The image was probably created recently.

Since the recent creation exposed the native color of the sandstone, it enables us to envision what the other images looked like when they were originally created. It also makes it possible to see the amount of repatination and the degree of weathering of the other images.

The primary significance of this panel is that it demonstrates the presence in Nine Mile Canyon of early Archaic people, who apparently traveled north from the San Juan River/Little Colorado River region of southern Utah and Northern Arizona. The origin and development of this type of image occurred in the San Juan/Little Colorado River area because the images are most abundant and varied in this location. The density of the Glen Canyon Style 5 images decreases in proportion to the distance northward from this region. This panel is one of the farthest north Glen Canyon Style 5 images known to exist. Without this image, it would likely never have been recognized that Archaic people came to Nine Mile Canyon from the San Juan/Little Colorado River region. If the person or people who created it traveled from the area with the highest density of these images, they would have traveled over 300 miles. This demonstrates the importance of just one image.

Great Basin Curvilinear Style

At least three boulders in Nine Mile Canyon conform to the definition of Steward's and Heizer and Baumhoff's Great Basin Curvilinear Style.



Figure 6. A Great Basin Curvilinear Style panel in Nine Mile Canyon.

As seen in Figures 6 and 7, the images consist almost entirely of curvilinear design elements, such as meandering lines, spirals, and circles that fill the entire surface of a boulder. Notice that the boulders do not contain any anthropomorphs or zoomorphs, which are features in nearly all Fremont panels in Nine Mile Canyon. The boulder pictured in Figure 7 also has images on the opposite side.

It can be argued that proving the existence of Archaic Great Basin Curvilinear Style panels in Nine Mile Canyon is problematic. The uncertainty exists because the types of images that define the Great Basin Curvilinear Style, i.e., meandering lines, circles, etc., are occasionally found in Fremont panels in Nine Mile Canyon, and even in some Ute panels. So it might be argued that even if Archaic Great Basin Curvilinear Style panels were found in Nine Mile Canyon, it is doubtful that it could be shown that they are actually Great Basin Curvilinear Style because they could be a few of the Fremont elements that happened to be placed alone; unless of course, repatination levels and superposition indicated otherwise.

Negating this argument is the observation that the Great Basin Curvilinear Style, unlike the Fremont panels, fill the entire surface of a boulder, or most of the surface, which is a defining characteristic



Figure 7. A Great Basin Curvilinear Style panel in Nine Mile Canyon. Lichens cover some of the figures.

of that Great Basin Style. Additionally, Fremont panels, wherever they are found, display an emphasis on anthropomorphs and mountain sheep, not on Great Basin types of abstract images and wavy and meandering lines. Furthermore, in Nine Mile Canyon the Fremont seem to have ignored boulders when creating their images. In the Great Basin, boulders seem to be nearly the preferred medium. It is apparent then, that these few panels in Nine Mile Canyon are definitely Great Basin Curvilinear Style panels. This suggests that a few people from the Great Basin traveled eastward as far as Nine Mile Canyon, a distance of at least 100 miles, which is not that far, except that the Great Basin is on the other side of the Wasatch Mountain Range, which would significantly increase the difficulty of reaching Nine Mile Canyon. This again demonstrates the importance of just one panel.

Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style

Panels of Schaafsma's Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract Style have not yet been found in Nine Mile Canyon. The farthest northward that these panels have been found as of this date is near Green River, Utah. Since Nine Mile Canyon is roughly 70 miles from the site, it is reasonable to expect that an image of this style might be discovered in Nine Mile Canyon.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

The Dinwoody Tradition

A type (or style or tradition) of rock art which may date to the Formative Period, or the time when agriculture was first adopted, was identified by Gebhard and Chan (1950) and defined as the Dinwoody tradition by Keyser and Klassen (2001:107–124) (see Part II). The rock art in Nine Mile Canyon demonstrates that images from the Dinwoody tradition exist in areas outside of the small area of Wyoming that includes the Wind River Valley and southern Bighorn Basin, which was suggested as the limiting boundaries by Gebhard and Chan and others. At least two panels exist in Nine Mile Canyon that are conclusively from the Dinwoody tradition.

The first site consists of a panel with five sections, each on an adjacent vertical section of a blocky cliff face. Figure 8 shows the right side of the panel. Compare the panel in Figure 8 with the panel shown in Figure 9, which is located northwest of Thermopolis, Wyoming, some 400 automobile miles north of Nine Mile Canyon. This panel is located at 48HO4, which is known as Legend Rock.

The most remarkable and obvious feature of the two panels is that they both contain a prominent



Figure 8. Panel located in Nine Mile Canyon, Utah. The largest anthropomorph is a Dinwoody type figure. There is another one on the right.

anthropomorph that has nearly identical features. They are so similar that they could have been created by the same person. Additionally, not only are the large anthropomorphs nearly identical, so is the context of the panel, which is discussed below. Furthermore, the features of these panels are unlike those in any other panel found in Nine Mile Canyon to this date.

At both locations, the largest anthropomorph's bodies are rectangular and the opposing sides of the torso are both curved, seemingly depicting the body as if the person was doing some type of dance. The heads are an extension of the body—no neck is illustrated. This particular feature is especially *not* a characteristic of Fremont images. Both figures have a row of short vertical lines on top of their heads. At the top of both faces, there is a similar-shaped rectangular unpecked area. The arms of both images have rounded elbows and the arms extend outward from the sides of the body. Both hands and upper arms are in an upraised position. Fingers and toes are long and spindly and are spread wide. Both anthropomorphs may have had similar feet; however, since the image's feet are missing in the Legend Rock panel, this is unknown. The feet on the Nine Mile Canyon image are common in the Dinwoody area, so it is possible that they were the same.



Figure 9. A Dinwoody tradition panel from the Legend Rock Site, Wyoming, see also Hendry (1983:67).

There is one small detail that has some particular significance. This small detail is easily overlooked and it appears that no one has previously mentioned it, including Keyser and Klassen (2001). . The right arms of both figures have an upward curve going from the shoulder to the elbow. This detail was significant enough to the person (or persons) who created these images that it was a required part of the image, and thus an important part of the creator's ideology. So, it was depicted on both images, even though they are 400 miles apart. This seemingly insignificant (to us), yet identical detail is one of the characteristics that conclusively identifies this as a Dinwoody image.

There are actually two large Dinwoody type anthropomorphs in Figure 8. The second one is less noticeable. It is at the far right side of the panel and it is smaller than the prominent figure. It is sandwiched between a crack and the inside edge of the rock. The figure is not readily evident because it is mostly eroded and covered with lichens. The feet and the right hand are the most visible features of this image. The body is nearly the same as the other anthropomorph, as are other details such as the vertical lines on top of the head. The facial features are mostly eroded and obscured with lichens. This figure also has its arms upraised at right angles.

Another feature that the Nine Mile Canyon panel has in common with the Dinwoody tradition images are wavy lines. Keiser and Klassen describe wavy lines as a defining feature of Dinwoody tradition images (2001:107). To the left of the anthropomorph in the Nine Mile Canyon panel is a wavy line that partly surrounds a small abstract image.

Keyser and Klassen (2001:118) also note that one of the common features of the Dinwoody tradition images "...is seen in figures with a hand, foot, or body terminating in a major crack." Notice that the left hand of the anthropomorph on the right side of Figure 8 terminates in the major crack



Figure 10. A section in the center of the panel contains two images common in the Dinwoody tradition. They are the figures that have long narrow bodies with what appear to be long toes. Fremont Mountain sheep and the horizontal row of dots are superimposed over the Dinwoody images, but they have the same level of repatination and lichen growth.

formed by the right-angle intersection of the blocks of the cliff.

The two sections to the left of the Nine Mile Canyon panel discussed above are shown in Figure 10. In this part of the panel, there are two narrow anthropomorphs. The one on the left is a tall narrow image with feet that have long narrow lines descending below them—a characteristic of Dinwoody tradition figures. On both sides of the body below the head are short horizontal lines. The second anthropomorph is in the lower center of the panel. These images are found in the Dinwoody tradition. Two similar anthropomorphs with elongated figures are in the Dinwoody panel shown in Figure 9. There are also other elongated Dinwoody tradition images at Legend Rock a short distance upstream from the panel shown in Figure 9 (Hendry 1983:67).

Further evidence that Dinwoody tradition panels exist in Nine Mile Canyon is demonstrated by another panel that is shown in Figure 11. The elements in this panel are also found in the Dinwoody tradition; compare with Figure 9. Notice the presence of small anthropomorphs in



Figure 11. A second site in Nine Mile Canyon containing characteristics of the Dinwoody tradition. The two parallel lines in the left of the panel continue around the corner of the rock and connect with an image similar to the two large figures.

relationship to the two large figures in both panels and that there is a small anthropomorph with horns and an outlined body with extended arms in both panels. The fringe at the bottom of one of the large figures is a characteristic of many Dinwoody anthropomorphs. The small anthropomorph on the lower right has its hand ending in a crack, or did until the small area spalled off the rock surface. Notice also the existence and emphasis on wavy lines in the panel. In addition, there is one single isolated footprint in both the panel in Nine Mile Canyon and the Dinwoody panel in Wyoming.

From these comparisons, it is evident that the panels at these two sites in Nine Mile Canyon contain images nearly identical in figure type and composition to the Dinwoody tradition panels. It would not be expected that the images in Nine Mile Canyon would be precisely identical to those in the Dinwoody area because they were made at different dates because of the time it took people to travel the distance between the panels. It is remarkable that the two large anthropomorphs in the different panels are so similar given that they are so far apart. It is difficult to imagine how a person could remember exactly what they had created many miles away and perhaps some years earlier, or later.

While it can be argued that the existence of nearly identical images located hundreds of miles apart in a completely different cultural area demonstrates that the images were created by the same person or a small group of people, the argument is not especially convincing because there is the possibility that the existence is just a coincidence. While the argument may be weak when considering one simple image, it is significantly more valid when the panel has complex imagery and many elements in common. This analogy can be taken a step farther. If two panels in widely separated areas share not only common complex elements, but also share common compositional arrangements or the consistent grouping of common elements, the possibility of them sharing a common origin is increased even more. It is evident that not only are the individual elements stylistically the same in the Nine Mile Canyon and Dinwoody panels, so are the compositional arrangements.

It is important that the compositional arrangements be considered because it is believed that the meaning and function of the images in a panel are determined by the individual elements and their composition or context. Since these two panels share many common features in the same context, the panel in Nine Mile Canyon must also share similar meanings with the panels in the Dinwoody tradition area. If it could be proven that both panels have the same meaning, and that they functioned in the same manner, it would certainly add definitive evidence that the panel in Nine Mile Canyon was created by a person, or people, from the Dinwoody area of Wyoming, and that someone from Nine Mile Canyon did not just go up to the Dinwoody area, view a panel and try to duplicate it back in Nine Mile Canyon. A hypothesis that explains the meaning of the images has been formulated and it is in the process of being tested. Information on the outcome will be given as the research progresses. As of this date, it appears that both panels have the same function and likely the same meaning.

The high density of the Dinwoody tradition panels in central northwestern Wyoming (greater than 200) and the low density in the Nine Mile Canyon area (only two?) indicate that the images in Nine Mile Canyon were made by people from the Dinwoody tradition area. Note that the relative density of images in these two areas also suggests that this visitation was a rare event. There is also no evidence of the development of the Dinwoody tradition figures in Nine Mile Canyon or anywhere in Utah, so they did not originate in Utah. Since there are only two panels, and they are located close together, it appears that the number of visitors was small and the duration of the visit was short. If a large group of people came to Nine Mile Canyon, there would probably be more panels in the canyon, because in the Dinwoody area these panels are as frequent as are Fremont panels in Nine Mile Canyon.

It appears then, that a person or a small group of people traveled from the Legend Rock area west of Thermopolis, Wyoming, to Nine Mile Canyon, Utah. This realization leads to two questions: why was this person, or a small group of people, from northeastern Wyoming in Nine Mile Canyon, and was there something that attracted them from so far away?

One small panel that I found on the north side of the Wind River Mountain range near Dubois, Wyoming, has interesting implications in this respect. The site is located on private property, and it is situated on the back wall of a low rock shelter containing a lot of black ashy soil. One of the images is unlike any others I have seen in northwestern Wyoming to this date. It has Fremont characteristics (Figure 12). It is not constructed in the typical carefully executed artistic method that the Fremont employed. The lines that form the head are not straight. It is as if someone from the Dinwoody area who had seen Fremont figures tried to copy them or incorporate them into their rock art. The image has the typical trapezoidal or inverted bucket head of Schaafsma's Classic vernal anthropomorphs that I have seen nowhere



Figure 12. Anthropomorph with both Fremont and Dinwoody tradition characteristics that is located on the north side of the Wind River Mountains in northwestern Wyoming.

else in northwestern Wyoming. It has unerringly the same facial features as numerous Classic Vernal Style anthropomorphs along with what appears to be the distinctive large pendant necklace. The body and the arms, however, are like many of the Dinwoody images (Francis and Loendorf 2002). (There is another similar, but smaller figure to the right of this image [Childers 1984:Figure 8j.]) Could these images be the creation of the person, or one of the people, who had visited Nine Mile Canyon, or was it done by someone that came back with the visitors? The figure does not seem to have a happy face; notice the pecked areas below the eyes. There must be an interesting story behind this image.

Several images in the Nine Mile Canyon panel shown in Figure 8 have not been discussed. In addition to the Dinwoody images, there are also two well-executed and characteristic Fremont anthropomorphs in the panel. They are difficult to see because of the lichens. The figures are located between the two Dinwoody tradition images. One of the Fremont anthropomorph's arms is superimposed over the Dinwoody image. In addition, the left side of the panel (Figure 10)

contains mountain sheep and a row of dots that are indicative of the Fremont culture. In this panel, the mountain sheep and the horizontal rows of dots are also superimposed over the Dinwoody tradition image. It is evident that the Dinwoody tradition images were created first. The panel at the second site (Figure 11) also appears to contain Fremont images, which are the pattern of dots. Similar dot patterns are common throughout Nine Mile Canyon. The dots appear to have been placed to avoid the Dinwoody images, indicating that in this panel the Dinwoody images were also created before the Fremont images.

The exact period of time that elapsed between the creation of the Dinwoody images and the overlapping Fremont images is difficult to determine. It appears from the similar repatination levels, weathering, and lichen growth, that it was not very long—certainly not hundreds of years—perhaps only a few years.

When did the creators of the Dinwoody tradition images arrive in Nine Mile Canyon? Keiser and Klassen found that Dinwoody images are superimposed over what they believe are Archaic images and are in turn superimposed by late historic period images. Keiser and Klassen indicate that the Dinwoody tradition dates from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1700 (2001:118–121). This is an extremely broad time span in terms of the Fremont Culture, which existed from about A.D. 250 to A.D. 1250. Clearly, these dates overlap.

The images in Nine Mile Canyon may define more closely the time span for the specific images of Keiser and Klassen's Dinwoody tradition, at least those of the type found in Nine Mile Canyon. If the people from Dinwoody visited Nine Mile Canyon only once, the images they created provide a "snapshot in time." If this date can be narrowed, this "snapshot" can date both groups of panels.

Radiocarbon dates from Fremont structural sites in Nine Mile Canyon cluster at about A.D. 900 to

1100 (Spangler and Spangler 2003). If the Dinwoody people were in Nine Mile Canyon at that time or perhaps somewhat earlier, which the superimposition and apparently the levels of repatination seem to confirm, then the particular Dinwoody tradition images of which these are examples, date to that period. Given the differences in the Dinwoody tradition images over time, it appears that following the creation of the panels in Nine Mile Canyon the Dinwoody tradition continued to evolve in their own area to create panels that are characteristic of the late Dinwoody tradition.

The presence of these Dinwoody tradition panels in Nine Mile Canyon provides another example of why the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon is significant and important. These panels provide information about human behavior. The Dinwoody tradition panels in Nine Mile Canyon show conclusively that a person or small group of people who lived in what some researchers consider a circumscribed area, were not restricted nor confined to that area. The person, or persons, were capable of leaving the Dinwoody region and they had the ability to travel the significant distance to Nine Mile Canyon where they created these images. In other words, people were free to move outside their normal habitat and were able to place their images indicative of their unique ideology, seemingly unhindered, on cliff faces in Nine Mile Canyon. It was, however, apparently not very long before the Fremont Indians created images on the same rock, which opens up an entirely new discussion about why Fremont images were placed in the same panel as the Dinwoody tradition images. The ability to determine the exact location where a specific prehistoric person or a small group of people lived or even visited is one of the major advantages that rock art has over other archaeological evidences.

It should be noted that the Dinwoody tradition images in Nine Mile Canyon are important to people living today. In Wyoming, the Dinwoody tradition images are considered as being part of

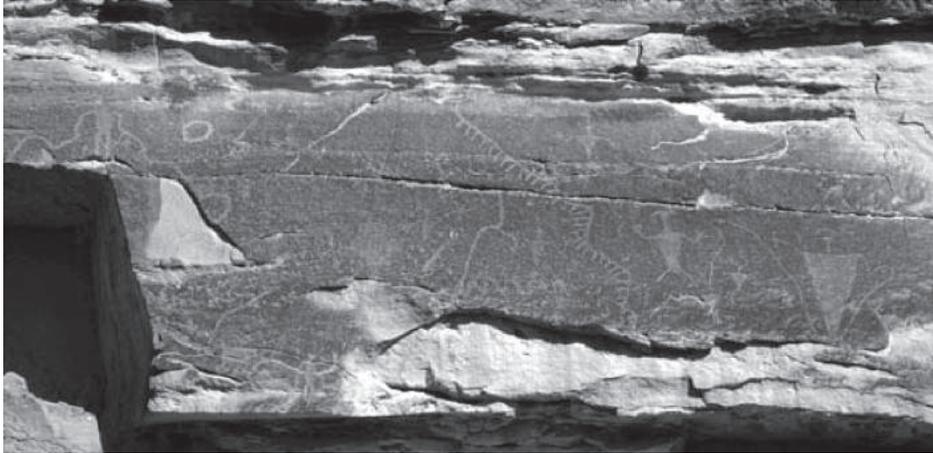


Figure 13. Basketmaker panel in Nine Mile Canyon.

the heritage of the Shoshone Indians. Thus, the Shoshone people have an interest in the images in Nine Mile Canyon.

In 1997, I placed a picture of the Dinwoody tradition anthropomorph in Figure 8 on the title page of Volume 17 of Utah Rock Art. This was done to see if anyone would recognize the significance of this image being in Utah. It has now been eight years. No one has ever commented about it.

Anasazi Basketmaker

The Basketmaker II–III period of the Anasazi Culture existed in the southwest from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 700 (Plog 1979). During this period, the Basketmaker people created a unique style of rock art. In Nine Mile Canyon there are several panels attributable to Basketmaker people. One of these is shown in Figures 13 and 14 (see also Spangler and Spangler 2003:177). The largest figure is characteristic of Basketmaker anthropomorphs and it apparently exists everywhere the Basketmaker people lived. Turner (1963, Figure 15) included several of these images in his Glen Canyon Style 4 horizon (shown here as Figure 15). The degree of repatination of the panel shown in Figures 13 and 14 is greater than the representative Fremont panels in Nine Mile Canyon, which indicates that the images predate the Fremont.



Figure 14. Detail of a Basketmaker anthropomorph from Nine Mile Canyon.

It is evident that the characteristics of the two anthropomorphs are nearly identical, except for the unpecked area in the body of the anthropomorph found in Glen Canyon. Basketmaker anthropomorphs of this type in all areas of occupation occasionally have an unpecked area in the chest. (A similar image with an unpecked area in the chest was found in Range Creek [Castleton 1978:107, Manning 2002], which is south of Nine Mile Canyon. It too was more repatinated than nearby Fremont images.) Notice that both figures have elongated triangular bodies, thin lines for arms and legs and the heads are small and attached to the body with long thin



Figure 15. Sketch of an anthropomorph from Glen Canyon, NA7166, after Turner (1963:50, Figure 14) Style 4.

lines. In both panels, a long thin line goes beneath both figures. There may have been a feature above the figure's head in the Glen Canyon panel but it is in the area of an eroded horizontal crack and it is indistinct.

The density of these types of images is highest north of the San Juan River (in the southeast corner of Utah) in and around San Juan County, Utah, and it decreases quickly north of the Colorado River. From this distribution, it is apparent that a person or a small group of people living in southeastern Utah during the Basketmaker period traveled to Nine Mile Canyon, which would not be too difficult, since it is about 100 miles from the high concentration of the Basketmaker images around Moab, Utah.

Fugitive Pigment Basketmaker Anthropomorphs

There is additional evidence that suggests that during the Basketmaker period an individual or a small group of people may have extended their stay in Nine Mile Canyon. This evidence comes from fugitive pigment anthropomorphs discovered by the author during an archaeological survey in southeastern Utah east of Canyonlands National Park (Manning 1983). In Indian Creek, there are two places where similar images were placed on opposite sides of the canyon (Figure 16). At that time, I categorized these images as abstract, not being aware that they were anthropomorphs that were originally created with fugitive pigments. After pigment was applied to form the body of these anthropomorphs, features were created by pecking and/or abrading away the pigment, which also removed the surface of the rock. Once the fugitive pigment weathered away, the only visible traces of the images remaining are the pecked-out features. The most notable characteristic of these images is the large pendant on the chest of the figures. As with other Basketmaker images in San Juan County, Utah, three lines were painted on the face of some of the figures.

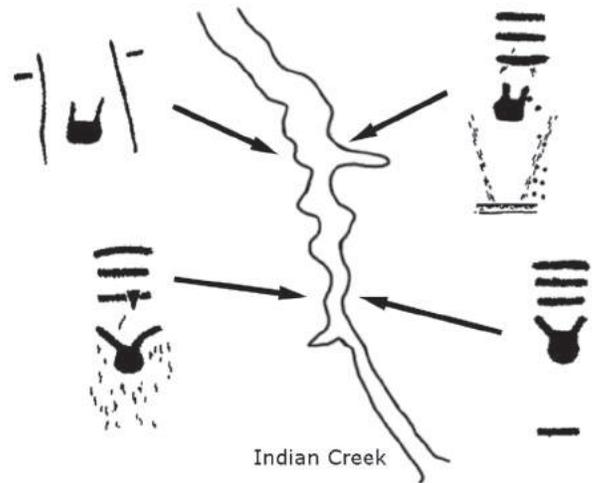


Figure 16. Fugitive pigment anthropomorphs on opposite sides of Indian Creek.

In Nine Mile Canyon, I discovered another set of similar images that were also positioned directly across the canyon from each other (Manning 2004:97–100, Figures 47 and 48). The distance between Indian Creek and Nine Mile Canyon is about 125 miles. These images are shown in Figures 17 and 18. Both of these panels feature anthropomorphs with the same large pendant



Figure 17. Fugitive pigment anthropomorph on the north side of Nine Mile Canyon.



Figure 18. Fugitive pigment anthropomorph on the south side of Nine Mile Canyon.

necklace as those in Indian Creek. There are a few additional similar fugitive pigment images adjacent to Figure 17 that are not illustrated here. Unlike the panels in Indian Creek, the images in Nine Mile Canyon have been modified; for example, the “arms” on the anthropomorph in Figure 17 were added later, as were the diagonal lines on the pendant necklace of the second anthropomorph. Other features, some of them lightly pecked, were also added later.

One of the significant features of these images is that they provide conclusive evidence that a specific type of image was intentionally placed in a specific location, which, incidentally, again indicates that the creation of these images was not just a random act and that the images were not just random doodles. The specific placement indicates that the images possess an established meaning and function. If there were many of these images in Nine Mile Canyon, then it could easily be a coincidence that two would be across the canyon from each other, but as in Indian Creek these are the only panels, so it is not a coincidence that they were placed across from each other—it was intentional.

The rarity of the images in this position also suggests that the ideology that was responsible for their existence was invented by only one person or a small group. If this ideology was something that was commonly known to many people there would be many situations where the images were on opposite sides of a canyon, but there are not, so the pattern is unique to a very small part of the population.

Since there are two examples in Indian Creek and only one in Nine Mile Canyon the distribution suggests that the origin of the ideology was in Indian Creek, which further suggests that one individual or a small group of people from Indian Creek visited or resided for a time in Nine Mile Canyon. This is too small a number to be conclusive. There are, however, several considerations that support this conclusion. The first is that there are several instances in San Juan County where similar images exist, but they are not in locations across a canyon from each other. The farthest south is near the Utah-Arizona Border near Bluff, Utah, in a canyon that drains into the San Juan River where there are several groups of similar images. Second, is that near Moab there is another panel with a similar image on one side of a canyon and there could have been a second panel on the other side, but it is an area with a broken rocky cliff so if there was another image, it has broken off the cliff. The larger number of similar images in the south increases the density to the point where it is logical to assume that the origin was south of Nine Mile Canyon. It is apparently significant that all of these images, from the San Juan River to Nine Mile Canyon, follow a somewhat narrow route from north to south along the Colorado-Green River corridor.

The placement of these images across the canyon from each other seems to suggest that the images might have functioned as a boundary marker. This, of course, is speculative; however, if this were the situation, it would suggest that the people who made the images had intended to remain in Nine Mile Canyon, or were already living there, and



Figure 19. A Classic Vernal Style anthropomorph that is rare in Nine Mile Canyon.

may have been staking a claim to the canyon or to a portion of the canyon. The later modifications and additions to the panels in Nine Mile Canyon suggest that they were not alone in the canyon.

Barrier Canyon Style

No panels of Schaafsma's Barrier Canyon Style have been found to this date in Nine Mile Canyon. Schaafsma suggests that a pictograph panel in Sheep Canyon, a tributary of Nine Mile canyon, contains four anthropomorphs that have both characteristics of this style and Fremont figures (1971:79–82).

Classic Vernal Style (Uintah Fremont)

The principal images and defining characteristics of Schaafsma's Classic Vernal Style are almost entirely lacking in Nine Mile Canyon, which is extremely unusual given that Classic Vernal Style images are found only 50 miles to the northeast—only few days walking distance. The paucity of these images is another mystery of Nine Mile



Figure 20. A sketch of the pecked and abraded features of the Classic Vernal Style anthropomorph shown in Figure 19.

Canyon. One of the few and perhaps the best example located to date of the large, highly-decorated anthropomorphs that are the hallmark of the Classic Vernal Style, is the fugitive pigment image shown in Figure 19.

The left side and lower part of the panel have been completely obliterated by erosion. The panel is located where rainwater now flows down over much of it. A sketch of what remains of this image is illustrated in Figure 20. Other features may exist, but they are extremely difficult to see. The image clearly exhibits the characteristic anthropomorphic features of the Classic Vernal Style. These are: a tapered body, facial features including tear streaks, a multi-faceted necklace, a small breastplate, and a round feature held in the figure's left hand. There is also a row of short vertical marks on top of the head that contain remnants of red pigment. The red pigment may have been added later because several other images in Nine Mile Canyon have red pigment over pecked marks. Remnants of chalk also are on the image. This must have once been an impressive image. The process of first painting the anthropomorph then pecking away the pigment to create features would have created a highly contrasting three-dimensional image.



Figure 21. A typical Fremont Northern San Rafael Style panel. A horizontal slice of this panel is currently featured on Utah automobile license plates.

Northern San Rafael Style

Schaafsma's Northern San Rafael Style was defined principally from sites in Nine Mile Canyon, so it is expected that the Fremont rock art in Nine Mile Canyon would be classified as the Northern San Rafael Style, and so it is. Schaafsma describes the Northern San Rafael Style panel designers as being less interested in the creation of pleasing visual patterns than were, for example, the authors of the Fremont Classic Vernal Style (Schaafsma 1971:29). Instead, she indicates that the panels are crowded and busy with a lot of small solidly-pecked images. This is demonstrated by the panel in Figure 21. Notice the characteristic dot patterns.

Schaafsma also felt that in addition to the overall feeling of the panels, there is a marked difference in the types of images in the Northern San Rafael Style of Nine Mile Canyon when compared to sites in surrounding areas, particularly those in the Uintah Basin of northern Utah (the Classic Vernal Style) discussed above. In the photographs that Schaafsma used in her study, she notes that abstract elements make up 39 percent of the images in the Northern San Rafael Style panels; anthropomorphic figures constitute 20 percent;

quadrupeds 34 percent and other respective elements seven percent. The Classic Vernal Style in the Uintah Basin in comparison contains: abstract elements 24 percent; anthropomorphic figures 54 percent; quadrupeds 19 percent, and others three percent. There are, therefore, almost three times as many anthropomorphs in the Classic Vernal Style as there are in the Northern San Rafael Style in Nine Mile Canyon and there are nearly twice as many quadrupeds in the Northern San Rafael Style as there are in the nearby Classic Vernal Style in the Uintah Basin. This is a significant difference.

Another significant feature of the images in Nine Mile Canyon and which Schaafsma did not note, was that the period when the images were created corresponds to the time that Turner's Glen Canyon Style 4 was being constructed, which was A.D. 1050–1250 (Turner 1971) (see Part II). Turner noted that in Glen Canyon during this period, there was a great increase in the diversity of images. This increase apparently occurred over much of Utah and perhaps most of the southwest as well. The increase in diversity in the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon validates Schaafsma's time period proposal for the creation of the Northern San Rafael Style.



*Figure 22. A panel including many scenes apparently involving combat.
Scale in lower right is five inches.*

It should be noted that Schaafsma's Northern San Rafael Style should only be applied to some of the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon, not to all of it. The rock art does not lend itself to a simple all-inclusive classification, such as the Northern San Rafael Style. Nine Mile Canyon rock art created during the Fremont period is much like the Fremont Culture itself—it is diverse. Nine Mile Canyon was occupied for many hundreds of years, during which time numerous people, for numerous reasons, created numerous images on the cliff surfaces. Some of the images were created by visitors from outside the region, some came into existence from outside influences, and some were developed locally, and they all changed over time. (Some researchers are of the opinion that Nine Mile Canyon may be the source of much of the Fremont rock art. This has yet to be proven.) The result is a great variation in image forms and contexts. The rock art is far too complex for one all-inclusive category.

Warrior Images

Several panels in Nine Mile Canyon appear to show human figures involved in combat. Some people refer to these as warriors. All of the images of this type found to this date are always small,

note the scale (bottom right) in Figure 22. Interestingly, while images showing combat appear sparingly throughout most of the canyon, there is a concentration in one area, which is called Warrior Ridge. In this location, there are nearly 100 individual images portrayed in a position of conflict, i.e., holding spears, clubs, bows with arrows, and/or shields and facing what appears to be an opponent. These images are portrayed attacking one or more similarly armed persons.

Notice that the largest images in the panel shown in Figure 22 are mountain sheep. This appears to suggest that mountain sheep may have played a significant role in the conflict, since in historic Numic imagery the larger the image, the more important it is.

On the right side of the panel there is an unusual depiction of shields. Seven or eight figures are holding a shield that is depicted in profile view. Figures in profile view are extremely rare in Fremont rock art. It is not until after about the 1450s that profile views become common in rock art in the southwest, so this is unusual. This feature seems to suggest that the images date near the end of the Fremont Culture. Several of the combat scenes show both spears and bows and arrows



Figure 23. This combat scene shows both spears and bows and arrows being used.

being used (Figure 23), indicating that this panel dates to a later period than the introduction of the bow and arrow, which is about A.D. 500.

Figure 24, which is not at Warrior Ridge (see also Spangler and Spangler 2003:98) may also reveal something of the nature of the combat. (Notice the vandalism to this panel.) The two larger figures on the right have headdresses that have two vertical curving lines on top of their heads. The central figure in the small group of three, who seems to be fending off two attackers, also has a similar feature; however, the two attackers have only one curving line on top of their heads. This suggests that the conflict depicted here was symbolized by a difference that is represented by these features. Other panels, but not all, have similar differences in headdresses. The curving vertical lines on the heads may represent feathers, as photographs of Utes and other Indians of western America show long feathers in identical positions (Callaway et al. 1986:343).

Because of the existence of profile views in the panels, one of the most interesting questions concerning these small warrior figures that hold shields is their cultural affiliation. Are they



Figure 24. In this apparent combat scene, the figures have different headdresses.

Fremont or Ute? The relative size of the shields may hold a clue. At some point in time before the arrival of the horse, the Ute used large shields that covered much of their torso. One account by an early visitor to the west said that the Ute Indians in western Colorado were feared more by the Indians than any other tribe. The Ute Indians would form a circle holding large buffalo hide shields on the outside. Inside the circle would be other Utes with bows and arrows. When these moving fortresses would attack an Indian village without warning, they would always be victorious. Large buffalo hide shields have been dated to between A.D. 1420 to 1640 (Bauman 2002). The



Figure 25. A panel in Nine Mile Canyon with anthropomorphic characteristics indicative of other regions of Utah. The lower part has been lost to exfoliation.

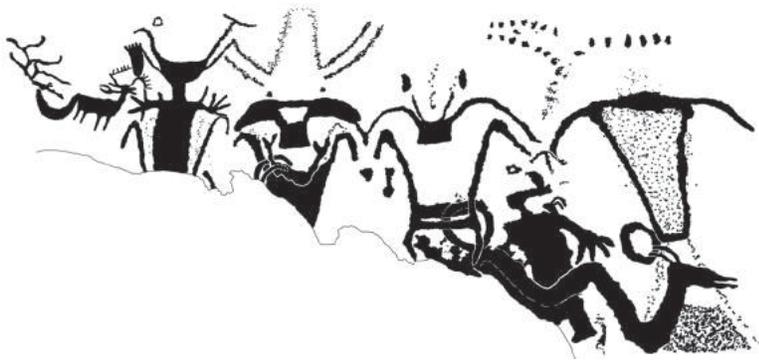


Figure 26. Sketch of the panel shown above.

presence of large shields depicted in rock art in the Uintah Basin confirms their use in prehistoric times.

Theoretically, when the Utes acquired the horse, they found that large shields were unwieldy on a horse; they required two hands to hold them. Their use was abandoned in favor of small shields, which could be held in one hand and easily moved to protect both horse and rider from arrows. Following this idea, the depiction of small shields in panels in Nine Mile Canyon, like those shown above, suggests that they were created by the Ute following the adoption of the horse; however, horses are not illustrated in the panels in Nine Mile Canyon that also depict figures holding small shields engaged in conflict. This suggests that

despite the reasoning above, small shields might have been known and used in Nine Mile Canyon before the arrival of the horse. Thus, these panels do not provide a definitive answer for the problem of cultural affiliation. The panels could be late Fremont or Ute.

Fugitive Pigment Anthropomorphs

Adjacent to the main dirt road in Nine Mile Canyon, and covered with a coating of fine dust and streaked mud, is another important panel. Figure 25 is a photograph of the panel and Figure 26 is a sketch of the panel (see also Schaafsma 1994[1971]: Figure 31). The panel consists of four anthropomorphs in a horizontal row along with a smaller anthropomorph in profile view that is partly superimposed over a mountain sheep. There are also two circles, a horned serpent(?), a quadruped, a footprint, and other abstract images. The small footprint on the left side appears to be older than any of the other images and it may not be a part of the newer

panel. The bottom of the panel has exfoliated from the cliff surface. Names and initials have been added, apparently in axle grease or paint, and they have left stains in the panel and below it. Note the P in the body of the second anthropomorph from the right side. The few images on the far left side of the panel are eroded and the sketch approximates what is there.

Three of the largest anthropomorphs in the panel are fugitive pigment anthropomorphs. They were created by first painting them, then features and outlining were added by pecking. Each of the four large anthropomorphs is entirely different from the others and each has distinctive attributes. These attributes are found in different areas surrounding Nine Mile Canyon.

The third anthropomorph from the right has a headdress or a feature on its head that is found in the Uintah Basin of northeastern Utah and northwestern Colorado. I have found that it is concentrated almost exclusively in this area. Photographs of this feature have been published in nearly every book about Utah rock art (Pratt 1972, Uintah Basin, Utah; Cole 1990:Figure 74, Browns Park, Colorado; Castleton 1978:Figure 2.38, Steinaker Reservoir, Vernal, Utah; Muench 1995:49, Dry Fork, Utah; Manning 2003:Figure 9, Lucerne Valley, Manila; etc.). Both Castleton (1978:Figure 2.9) and Schaafsma (1971:Figure 8) identify this feature as one of the Classic Vernal Style headdress. It is evident that the headdress is indicative of anthropomorphs in the Uintah Basin area. This anthropomorph is also wearing a large pendant necklace and a covering of some type over or on its shoulders. There is also a U shaped feature, with both ends ending in a Y, on its chest.

To the right of this figure is an anthropomorph that, like the adjacent image, is wearing a pendant necklace. This figure's shoulders are hunched up. This feature is almost entirely absent in the Uintah Basin. It is, however, frequently found in central Utah in the Capitol Reef, Sevier River areas, for example see Castleton (1978:Figure 4.26, Fish Creek Cove) and Schaafsma (1971:Figure 44, Fremont River, Fruita, Utah—her Southern San Rafael Style area). There are also a few images around Moab. Schaafsma states; “Hunched shoulders...are characteristic of Fremont representations in this district” [i.e., the Fremont River District] (1971:46). Hunched shoulders are also a characteristic found on some of the Barrier Canyon Style images in this same area. The pecked areas on each side of the head, which presumably represent hair ties, or earrings (Schaafsma 1971:41) are also found in this area. Schaafsma notes that these features “...are found on many southern San Rafael anthropomorphs” (1971:41). This image also has a feature described by Schaafsma (1971:49) as a depiction of a low curved chin. She also notes: “This method of chin

representation occurs sporadically among Fremont figures in the Southern San Rafael Zone” (1971:49). It is therefore evident that the features comprising this anthropomorph are indicative of images located in central Utah.

The anthropomorph on the far right only has a row of pecked areas on top of its head and a few random pecked dots on its face. The painted facial features were lost when the fugitive pigments eroded, so there are no facial attributes to associate it with a specific area. Beneath the body is a trapezoidal pecked area that appears to represent a kilt or skirt. A similar feature appears in Figure 17, and to a lesser extent in Figure 18, which are Basketmaker images in Nine Mile Canyon. I have seen anthropomorphs with bodies that are outlined and filled with stipple pecking in Indian Creek, where the Basketmaker images with pendant necklaces were also found. The features comprising this anthropomorph seem to be indicative of anthropomorphs in the southeastern corner of Utah.

The far left anthropomorph is an intriguing image. It appears to be an anthropomorph with a body and head that are entirely pecked; however, it might be part of a larger figure, or it might be superimposed over another image. Notice that on the left and right sides of the image are the same outlined inner body and lower arms as on the two figures on the right side, as if this represents the torso and upper arms of an anthropomorph. This second image appears to be a fugitive pigment anthropomorph. There also seems to be an extra line on each side of the head as if another headdress was behind this image. Because the panel is so badly covered in dust and mud it is not possible to determine if the fully pecked images are superimposed over a fugitive pigment anthropomorph or not.

The solid pecked anthropomorph has a unique head shape that is different from all the other images. I have seen this shape of head in other

locations; however, at this time, I have not been able to attribute it to only one specific region—more data is needed. Another intriguing feature are the arms and hands. The arms are short and stubby and the fingers are spread wide. The arms and hands of this figure are identical to those shown in Figure 12, which is in the Wind River Mountains of Wyoming. Notice that both images have four fingers. It is unlikely that the occurrence of this image in both panels is a coincidence. This section of the panel seems to suggest that a representation of a Dinwoody tradition image has been superimposed over another fugitive pigment anthropomorph. It is not clear what this would indicate.

The two figures in the center both have large pendant necklaces. They are also present on all of the anthropomorphs in the panels in Indian Creek that were on opposite sides of the canyon (Figure 16) and on figures on the opposite side of Nine Mile Canyon (Figure 17 and 18). Clearly, these large pendants have social, religious, or political importance. I have seen this feature in other panels that are associated with important events and it seems apparent that the large pendant is a symbol of status, position, authority, or power (Manning 1992).

Notice that the three fugitive pigment anthropomorphs do not have hands. Actually, they all have hands; the hands were lost when the fugitive pigment eroded. This is a common feature of fugitive pigment anthropomorphs in the Vernal area (Manning 2004). The position of the image's arms in this panel in Nine Mile Canyon indicates that the figures' hands are overlapping, thus they appear to be holding hands.

What could be represented by human beings holding hands? I suggest that if figures confronting each other with clubs, spears, and bows-and-arrows (Figures 22, 23, and 24) indicate conflict, then figures holding hands would represent the opposite attribute. People holding

hands or touching each other in this fashion certainly does not seem to represent adversarial contact. Holding hands could certainly represent some agreement, like the resolution of a conflict to bring peace. Peace treaties have been almost a consistent feature of American civilization in the past 240 years; it may have been a feature of their civilization as well.

The meanings of the other images in the panel are not well understood. There are no conclusive explanations for two other significant images—the horned serpent and the anthropomorph behind it. Perhaps a more significant question is, what part did the anthropomorph with arms and hands, that are a characteristic feature of images in northeastern Wyoming, play in the acts depicted in this panel? Was this image added when people from the Dinwoody area came to Nine Mile Canyon or did the people from the Dinwoody play an active role in whatever was depicted in the panel? More information is needed to answer these and other questions.

Nearly all of the anthropomorphs in this panel, then, have attributes that associate them with specific areas in the broad region of Nine Mile Canyon. It appears evident that these attributes represent cultural features unique to each of these various areas respectively and thus functioned as symbols for the people living in these areas. These cultural features/symbols could represent social, political, or religious divisions or some other division unknown to us.

This panel is important, then, because it indicates that Fremont societies in Utah over 800 years ago differentiated themselves because of differences in cultural features. It is important to note that they possessed the knowledge to create symbols that were capable of representing the people occupying different areas. This is also significant because these divisions are not being imposed by archaeologists based on lists of cultural traits, like ceramics and projectile points (Madsen 1989:17–

27), but the differences were imposed by the Fremont people themselves.

The panel also suggests that certain individuals or organizations had authority to make decisions for the body of the people. Not only did these social, political, or religious organizations exist, but they also functioned, and they apparently functioned to the extent that representatives from outlying areas could meet to resolve conflicts. How important, for example, would a peace agreement have been for all the inhabitants of eastern Utah? Could this panel be a declaration of peace for a large region of Fremont people?

Another question is: Why was this panel located in Nine Mile Canyon? Is it because Nine Mile Canyon is situated midway between the Uintah Basin and central Utah, i.e., perhaps in the center of the apparent conflict? It appears to be significant that this panel is located directly across the canyon from Warrior Ridge—the location of nearly all of the scenes of warring conflict in Nine Mile Canyon.

The Fremont apparently did not have a written language so they have no writing or signatures on a piece of paper to mark the existence of any wide-scale agreement or resolution. Could this panel in Nine Mile Canyon be the symbolic equivalent of one of our important written documents, or even the “written document” itself?

The last time I was in Washington D.C., I waited in line for almost an hour so I could stand for five seconds in front of a thick U.V.-absorbing glass and steel case in a concrete building protected by armed guards to look at a piece of paper containing written words and signatures. It was the Declaration of Independence. If the panel in Nine Mile Canyon were a correspondingly significant declaration of agreement or resolution for a large region of people, would these people have come to Nine Mile Canyon to look at this important record? So how do we care for it? We write our names and initials over it and cover it with dirt.

Late Pueblo

The late Pueblo IV period existed from about A.D. 1300 to 1500 when the Spanish arrived in the Southwest. This was the period following the abandonment or great lessening of the population throughout all of the southwest in general. It is the period when cultural evidences of the Fremont and Anasazi are principally absent in Utah. Likely, somewhere in Nine Mile Canyon there are evidences of these people, because panels in the Uintah Basin show that Pueblo IV people were there around A.D. 1500 and apparently they entered into a land uninhabited by the Fremont. This is evident because they placed their own unique images directly over Fremont petroglyphs, apparently with impunity and total disregard for the Fremont images. Traveling from northern Arizona and New Mexico they passed by Nine Mile Canyon. As of this date, no images have been found that indicate the presence of Pueblo IV people in Nine Mile Canyon.

HISTORIC PERIOD

Ute

Ute images abound in Nine Mile Canyon. Early Historic Ute images are evident in the canyon, which date from the time the Utes acquired the horse, i.e., about 1640 to 1830 (Forbes 1959). There are also a few late Historic Ute images apparently dating from about 1830 to 1880 when the Utes were removed from the region and resettled on the Ute Indian Reservation in northeastern Utah on the east side of the Green River. These images are unmistakable because of the presence of included historic images and the use of metal implements to create the images. Nine Mile Canyon also contains a few Ute images that were apparently made in the late 1900s. These are evident because of the complete absence of repatination.

Questions about the Ute presence in eastern Utah have puzzled archaeologists for many years. The

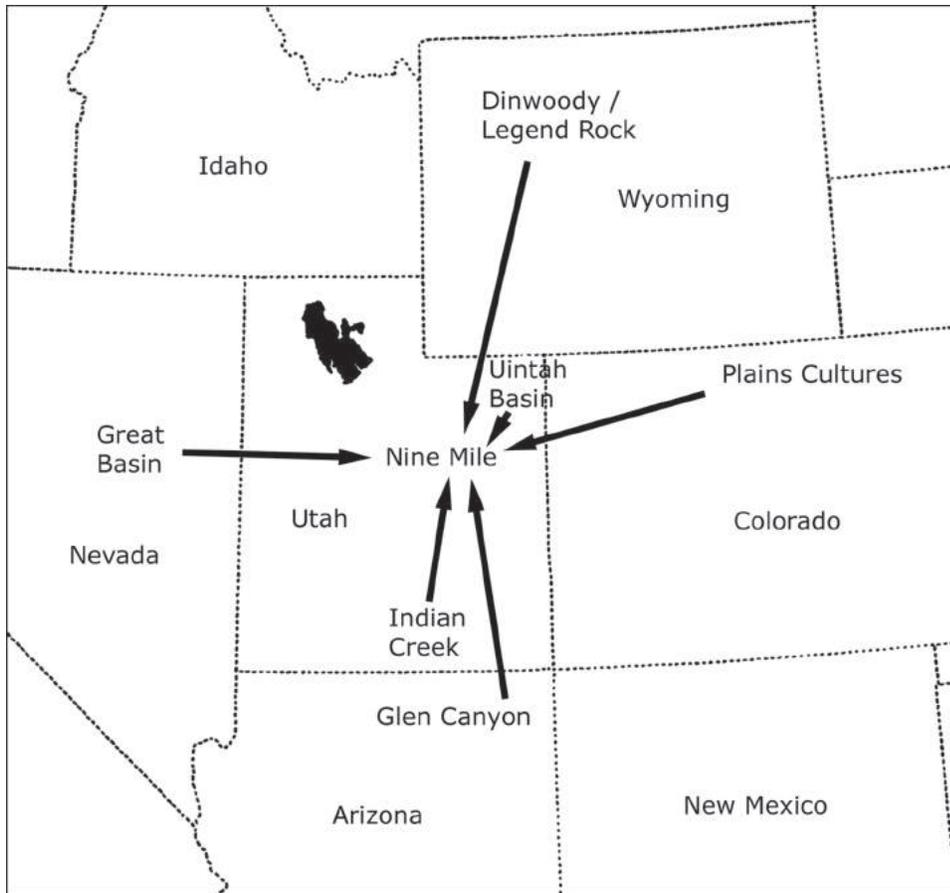


Figure 27. Map of the locations from which people of different cultures came into Nine Mile Canyon.

most frequently asked questions are: Are the Utes the descendants of the Fremont or did the Utes come into a land devoid of people? If the Utes came into Utah when the Fremont were still living here, did they displace or absorb the Fremont? Rock art, more than any other evidence of the past, likely holds the answers to these questions. The key lies in determining how to distinguish between late Fremont and early Ute rock art and in understanding the meaning and use of each. With this information, it will be possible to determine if the Ute learned the meaning of the symbols from the Fremont or if the Ute just copied Fremont symbols without knowing the meaning of them. Such a study is in its infancy. The meaning, purpose, and function of the Anasazi Basketmaker images that were placed across the canyon from each other, and the Dinwoody tradition images with their proposed function provide important clues to understanding the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon.

CONCLUSION

As discussed here, Nine Mile Canyon contains images from a large region where various other cultures existed. People from the Archaic Period to Ute came into Nine Mile Canyon. People came from the San Juan River area of southern Utah and Northern Arizona, from the Dinwoody area of Wyoming, from the Great Basin, from the Great Plains, and from the Uintah Basin. Figure 27 illustrates in summary the locations from which people from different areas came into Nine Mile Canyon.

The examples described above are not an exhaustive list. Not discussed here are images from the eastern side of the Great Plains that also occur in Nine Mile Canyon. They also appear to have the same function and meaning in both locations.



Figure 28. An anthropomorph from a Dinwoody tradition panel in southeastern Colorado.

As a side note, the consistency in these panels over such distant regions and different times shows that rock art is not random meaningless doodles, as some suggest. The images had a standardized specific meaning within the confines of time and culture, and some symbols crosscut cultures. Rock art is not art at all, but a language of symbols that played a well-organized, meaningful, and significant part in the lives of prehistoric people.

It is important to note that the Dinwoody travelers apparently ranged farther than Nine Mile Canyon. On the cover of the book *Petroglyphs of Southeast Colorado and the Oklahoma Panhandle*, there is a photograph of a large prominent Dinwoody anthropomorph, which is located in southeastern Colorado (McGlone et al. 1994). Figure 28 is a sketch of this figure. Portions of the legs are approximate because they are superimposed by parts of other figures. This anthropomorph, along with some others in the panel—several ages are present—are stylistically and compositionally the same as those in the Dinwoody area. Note that the large figure's body is rectangular and its sides are uneven. The head sits directly in the body. It has an unpecked area in its face. Its arms are both upraised and its fingers are spread wide. Notice

that even the anthropomorph's left arm has an upward curve. There are also smaller figures with outlined bodies in the panel along with other Dinwoody type characteristics. This site unquestionably contains Dinwoody tradition images.

The presence of this panel in southeastern Colorado raises an interesting question. Were the images created by people traveling from the Dinwoody area of Wyoming, or are these images part of a broader cultural phenomena, such as a Plains Indians tradition, which has been mistakenly considered unique to the Dinwoody tradition? Certainly, additional research needs to be conducted to answer this question.

The existence of these various images in Nine Mile Canyon creates many topics for discussion. The existence of only a very few of the panels/images in Nine Mile Canyon that are so common in other areas suggests that the people who brought them visited only rarely. It is also evident that various groups of people from Nine Mile Canyon did not visit far off regions and then return home to create similar images. The fine details of the images in Nine Mile Canyon are too precise to be copies of far-off panels, and it appears evident in several instances that the meaning of the images is also consistent, which would be an improbability if people were just copying panels. It is obvious that people from various cultures were in Nine Mile Canyon. What is not obvious is why they were there. What it is about Nine-Mile Canyon that drew these people for thousands of years?

To understand and determine the significance of rock art in the western United States, Nine Mile Canyon's place in the region needs to be considered, understood, and placed in a known framework. The people in Nine Mile Canyon did not operate in a vacuum; they interacted with others in surrounding areas. They might have been influenced by people from outside Nine Mile Canyon, and they might have in turn influenced

people living outside of Nine Mile Canyon. Rock art can play a critical role in determining this interaction.

The location of Nine Mile Canyon adjacent to a major river corridor might have played a role with its being visited by a variety of prehistoric people from other regions. The Green River would certainly have been a curiosity to people living both upstream and downstream from Nine Mile Canyon. People would certainly have been curious about where the river came from or where it went. Exploring parties along the course of the river may have been the source of some of the images in Nine Mile Canyon.

It also appears that Nine Mile Canyon was the center of the creation of several different types of images. Thus, the ideologies from which these unique images sprang were also created in Nine Mile Canyon. Rock art can provide important information in the study of how and why these ideologies developed.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated here that a single panel of rock art in Nine Mile Canyon is extremely important because of what it can tell us about the events and travels of people to, or through, Nine Mile Canyon. Without each of these individual panels, we would probably never realize that people from the Dinwoody area of Wyoming, the Great Basin, the San Juan River, etc., ever visited Nine Mile Canyon.

The prehistoric images in Nine Mile Canyon, then, are extremely important because of what they can tell us about human behavior. We actually know very little about prehistoric human behavior. Moreover, and most significantly, what has been described here is only part of what is known about the importance of rock art in Nine Mile Canyon. Many questions have not even been asked yet. Numerous papers remain to be published. This is why the rock art in Nine Mile Canyon must be preserved and studied.

The images in Nine Mile Canyon may be the only records that some people have of their ancestors' existence. If we let these panels be damaged or destroyed we also let the history of these people, and their heritage, be damaged or destroyed. Each panel tells a story and it is analogous to a page in history or a page in someone's family history. Each panel is a page that has yet to be read and understood. Someday they will be read and understood—if they are still here and still readable. Future generations will either praise us for preserving it or hate us for destroying it—which will it be?

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