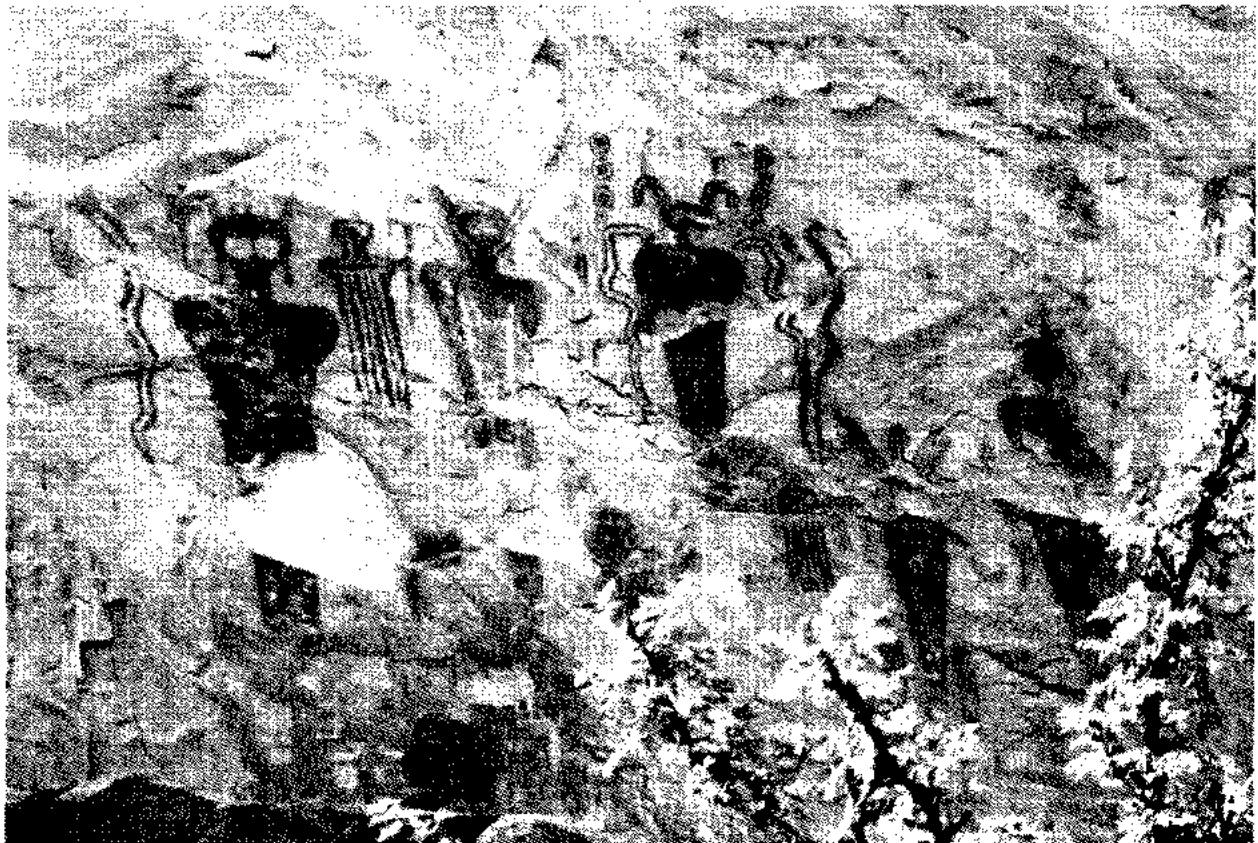


Utah Rock Art

Volume 20

Proceedings of the
Utah Rock Art Research Association Symposium
at Moab, Utah
September 1 - 4, 2000



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Proceedings of the Utah Rock Art Research Association
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Edited by Dorde W. Woodruff

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With respect and appreciation for their outstanding example, and dedication in
recording rockart

and their generosity in sharing their time, talent, and expertise

the Utah Rock Art Research Association dedicates the

20th Annual Symposium and its Proceedings

to

Robert Mark

and

Evelyn Billo

Preface

This volume, like the second edition of Vol. 19, is formatted in PageMaker and stored on a CD. Quark Express is another appropriate program that some members prefer. But since the majority seems to use PageMaker, that is what we've opted for. Quark is intrinsically stable and thus can be easier to print with, though PageMaker can be stable if applied just so. These volumes are graphics-heavy, and printers' computers more complicated and delicate, it seems, than home ones.

When mistakes or typos are found – one of those inevitable laws of nature says it's always *when* and *how many* not *if* – the document is easily changed for subsequent printings.

Historically, URARA editors can choose the format that they like for their volume. Believing that Times Roman is for newspapers, I chose the popular font Book Antigua in the 11-point size for the text. The paper is 70-lb Husky offset, and the cover acid-free, part-recycled Neenah Environment in the color called Woodstock.

The editing goal is to help these papers read well, while keeping as close to the author's voice as possible.

Thanks to the excellent helpers and proofreaders for this volume, Elaine Holmes and Nina Bowen of URARA, and my daughter Laurel Wright. Their thoughtful suggestions and corrections, and their wide-ranging knowledge are deeply appreciated.

Thanks to our patient researchers, without whom there would be none of these volumes, always coming up with fresh insights into the rich and wonderful world of rock art.

Dorde W. Woodruff, Editor
October, 2002

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Cover photo of Barrier Canyon Style panel at Segoo by Layne Miller

The X-Form: Applying Teton Lakota Sioux Cosmology to the Rock Art of the Upper Midwest

Charles R. Bailey

The use of simply rendered symbols to express complex ideas is pervasive in religious iconography. In contemporary Lakota cosmology the motif for the term Kapemni (twisting), a simple hourglass or X-form, is used to symbolize the Lakotas' entire relationship with the universe — an intertwining of the physical world, philosophy, and religion. This element is often found embedded in more complex patterns in their art — beadwork or painted objects — and this peculiar feature is also found incorporated into some figures found in the rock art attributed to the Siouan and Algonquin cultures. The images most often displaying this embedded motif are bird or "thunderbird" images and anthropomorphs. According to some Lakota informants the incorporation of this motif into the X-bodied bird symbol represents "the power that mediates (or carries) prayer from below to above" and that "this same power is sent back down in response."

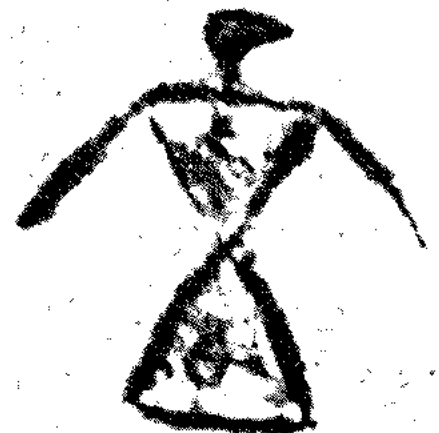
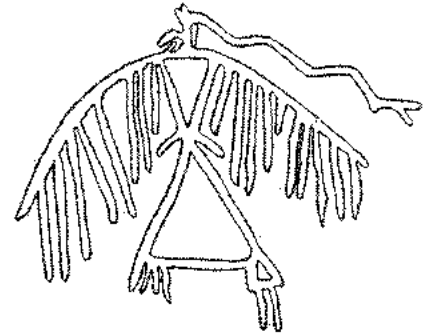
To the Teton Lakota, the eagle flew over large temporal and spatial distances as an emissary carrying appeals between humans and the Creator. It figures strongly in the belief systems of Siouan- and Algonkian-speaking people, among others.

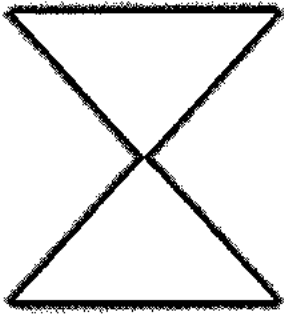
There may be a direct link between the eagle cosmology of the Plains and Woodland Indians, particularly the Lakota, and some of the ubiquitous symbolism that occurs in rock art around the Upper Midwest and Canada, such as the glyphs shown in Figures 1 and 2, at right. An excellent source for Lakota information is Ron Goodman's *Lakota Star Knowledge*, published in 1992 by the Sinte Gleska University in Rosebud, South Dakota. In his project Goodman, a teacher at the university, gathered together the results of ten years of research, interviewing some 61 elders and teachers and searching through various accounts and texts, to create an outstanding exposition of Lakota constellations and their relation to the sacred lifeways of the people.

My own postulations dealing with this subject are based on research, recording of various rock art sites in the Midwest, and discussions with various archaeologists, anthropologists, and Native American elders.

It is necessary to begin with a description of Lakota symbolism as it relates to their cosmology, and then to try to relate it to a few rock art sites in Minnesota.

Figure 3 (next page, top left) shows *Kapemni*, the simple X-form or hourglass used in Lakota iconography to represent their cosmology of reflection, a

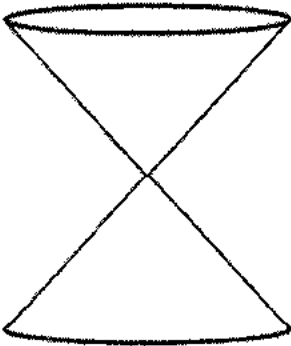




spiritual view in which the physical world is dramatically mirrored in the sky and stars directly overhead. As above, so below. The form consists of two triangles joined at the center. The one pointed up is the symbol for the earth, the one pointed down for the sun and stars.

The Lakota-English dictionary by Father Eugene Buechel gives "twisting" as a general meaning for *kapemni*. *Pemni* is "twisting." *Ka* is a "prefix for a class of verbs whose action is performed by... the action of the wind" (Buechel 1970).

This symbol occurs in Plains Indian decorative art such as beadwork, teepee-painting, and parfleche designs.



The Keeper of the sacred star maps among the Oglalas has said of the motif illustrated at left in Figure 4, that without proper instruction it wouldn't be recognized as a star map. Asked to explain why, he replied that this was partly because the stars as they are drawn on the robe look like a wedge of pie, or a long triangle. He added that the shape on earth that a star map most resembles is the cottonwood leaf twisted into the form of a tipi.

Ron Goodman wrote, "I consider this reply of fundamental importance. The Keeper is saying that the Lakota image of a star is not a flat two-dimensional triangle, but rather a cone, a vortex of light slanted down. The inner true shape of the stars and the sun is an inverted tipi" (Goodman 1992).

John Colhoff, a Dakota man employed at the Rapid City Indian Museum, said, "an hourglass figure (two triangles joined at their apexes, *ka-pe-mini*) represents a prayer. The lower part (triangle) has to do with the earth and the upper part is the heavens. This design represents a prayer from earth going to heaven and being met halfway by the heavenly bodies" (Goodman 1992).

Goodman goes on to state that:

These wonderfully precise but all too brief words by Mr. Colhoff will need some explaining. It is important to hold to his three-dimensional (hour-glass) ideas and not its reduction to two dimensions (triangles). As we see, Mr. Colhoff is referring to two vortexes (two tipi shapes) joined at their apexes, and turning.

At one point in our research into Lakota Star Knowledge, we were told that a symbol for both stars and the sun is a vortex with apex pointing down. Mr. Norbert Running, Medicine Man and Sun Dance leader on the Rosebud Reservation, explained that the Sun Dancers create with sacrifices and prayers an invisible tipi (or vortex) of praise as they dance around the holy tree at the center Sun above, Sun Dancers below: and the connection between them is prayer.

The Lakota have maps of the earth and charts of the stars, and "they are the same," said Mr. Stanley Looking Horse, father of the Keeper of the original Sacred Pipe, "because what's on the earth is in the stars. And what's in the stars is on the earth." This mirroring principle will prove central to understanding sacred designs.

Finally, Mr. Colhoff said, "This design represents prayer from earth going to heaven and being met halfway by the Heavenly Bodies." Also during our research we were told that the stars are "The holy speech of the Great Spirit, the woniya of Wakan Tanka."

Lakota concepts about the divine universe can to some extent be described through making a sequential arrangement of several of their basic theological symbols. First, the circle represents the notion of Wakan Tanka as infinite, all encompassing, with no beginning and no end. This transcendent One can be experienced as Taku Wakan, "something sacred", while remaining incomprehensible to humankind. "Indescribably mysterious" is one of the best attempts to articulate in English the essentially ineffable nature of the divine Oneness of Wakan Tanka [Goodman 1992].

In Figure 5 on the right, at the left of the figure is illustrated the place of intersection of the vortices. The *kapemni* expresses the notion that when the One becomes creator, it becomes creators, it becomes two, "grandfather" sacred above, *tunkas'ila*, and "grandmother" sacred below, *unci*, while remaining one (Goodman 1992).

In the middle of Figure 5 the hourglass symbol shows a division into above and below, with masculine and feminine attributes. As grandfather and grandmother they are separate yet not separated. The two creators express aspects of the One, *Wakan Tanka*. And it is through the power of their "sacred talk", *woglaka wakan*, their prayerful and mirrored dialogue, that the stars are created, the galaxies occur, and finally that all life on earth comes into being (Goodman 1992).

On the right side of Figure 5, a third symbol, a medicine wheel, embodies further manifestations of the One. The Lakota view the universe as a sphere (Goodman 1992).

Figure 6 at right shows that, as a result of the sacred talk between grandfather and grandmother, the stellar world is created, and also the unfolding of what comes to be called the four directions. The materialization of spirit shows itself through emergence of the four elementals: water in the West, air in the North, fire in the East, and earth in the South. Certain spiritual powers are associated with the directions.

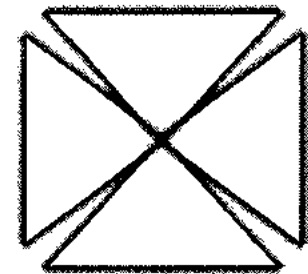
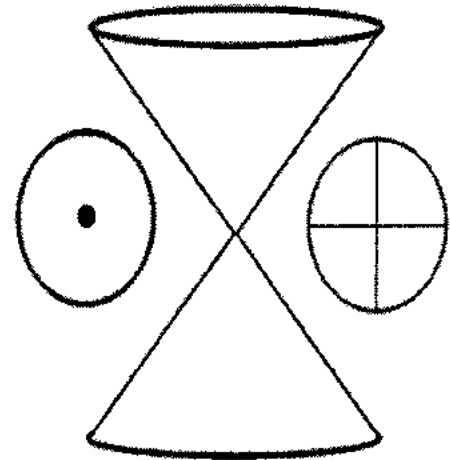
Thus, the One becomes two, sacred above and sacred below, while remaining One, and the One becomes four while remaining One. This makes six. And finally, there is the center point that represents the fire in the tipi, the Black Hills, understood as "The heart of everything that is," and the heart of a person praying with the Sacred Pipe.

Therefore, the One becomes seven while remaining one (Goodman 1992).

We may now look at parfleche designs with better understanding. The parfleche is a storage bag or purse used most often by women to carry fans, quills, beads, and other items. It is usually decorated with seemingly-abstract designs that often contain variations on the *kapemni* or X-form ideogram.

A parfleche in a text by F. H. Douglas incorporates literal elements into the X-form ideogram. The earth is a triangular, mountain motif while the stars are represented as dots inside diamond forms.

Figure 7 (next page) shows a parfleche from Mable Morrow's *Indian Rawhide: An American Folk Art* (1982); it figures heavily in Goodman's exposition. He writes:



This parfleche contains a mandala which expresses a Lakota woman's personal vision of the tribe's world view. The principal mode for the presentation of ideas in this design is through the mirroring of certain basic Lakota symbols. Of course, this mirroring gives an artistic balance and symmetry to the overall pattern, but it is this theological significance of the mirroring which shall mainly concern us here.

First, we see grandmother Earth's prayer as the triangle rising out of the earth which is represented as a sacred mountain, as tipi, as vortex.

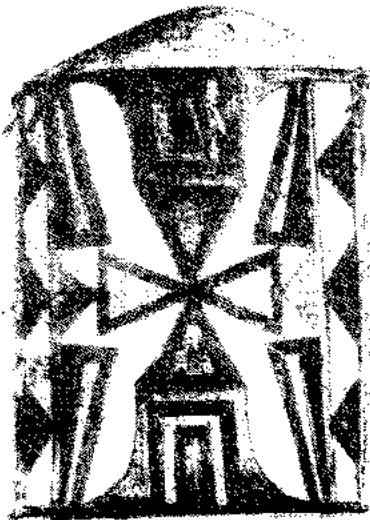
And then its mirrored image representing grandfather sacred above.

We see two vortices meeting at their apexes, and we know they are twisting. The twisting represents the "sacred talk", the movement of prayerful and creative speech going on between the grandparents, the spouses.

Next, we observe the triangles to the left and right. Together with the triangles at the peaks of the two sacred mountains, they make a four directions symbol which meets at the center.

Once "the center": *cokata*, is established by the *kapemni*, then spiritual power rays out and flows in at the six directions: West, North, East, South, above, and below. The triangles on the mountains serve a double purpose in this mandala: they are sacred above and sacred below, but also they are North and South.

Moving away from the center and the directions, we come next to the large winged images which mirror each other [Figure 8, bottom left]. These, to me, are central to the application of this cosmology to rock art imagery. The bird, especially the eagle, is a Lakota symbol for that power which mediates (or carries) prayer from below to above [Goodman 1992].



The mirroring of the winged image shown at left in the bottom figure, Figure 8, (each with a triangle, as it were, within it) implies that this same power is sent back down in response. In other words, prayer is answered. The Lakota live in a compassionate universe. This is achieved through prayer. "Prayer" in Lakota also means making relatives of the spiritual powers in the seven directions (Goodman 1992).

Figure 9 (opposite, top right): to apply this ideographic symbolism to American Indian rock art it is important to find a site that would act as a sort of Rosetta Stone, a precise representation of this sacred symbolism.

In 1944, Helen Harvey of the Minnesota Archaeological Society performed a survey of rock shelters and rock art on the west bank of the St. Croix River near the town of Stillwater in Minnesota. Accompanying her was Monroe Killy, a professional photographer and archeology buff. Killy took several black and white pictures of the rock art carved and painted on the sandstone banks, including this scene of several small petroglyphs carved over pictographs.

What appears to be depicted is a medicine wheel, a *kapemni*, and various bird images that actually incorpo-

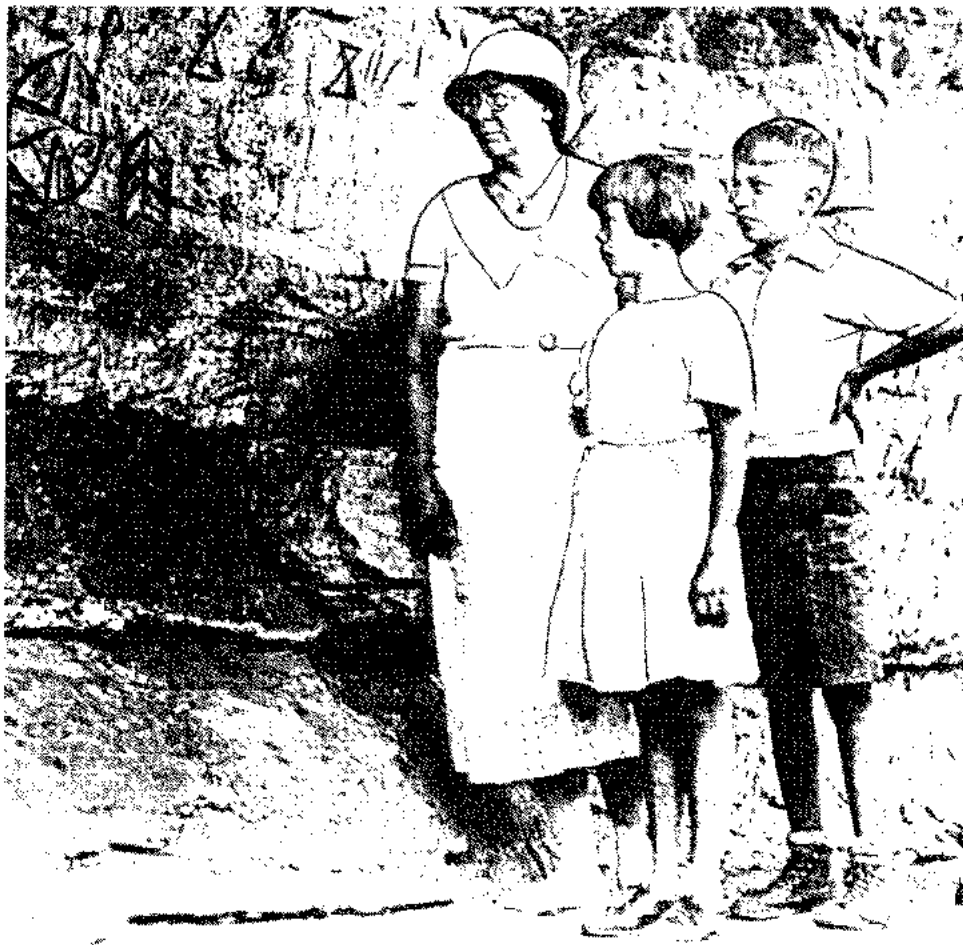
rate the *kapemni* as the body of the bird image. The same type of incorporation occurs in the bird images on the parfleche.

The medicine wheel shown by Harvey is similar to the one found on Shoshone teepees, as well as on other portable art of the plains Indians. Usually divided into four quarters and sometimes cross-quartered, they often include other lines that run at various angles from the main lines.



Figure 10, below, shows Mrs. Harvey with her two children posing by the glyphs shown in Figure 10, circa 1933. Notice the medicine wheel and the X-form.

Figure 11 (next page, top left): around 1880, T. H. Lewis surveyed the same panel and made tracings of some of the glyphs. This shows the X-form incorporated into the thunderbird. This form of the X-bodied-thunderbird is found throughout the plains area of the U. S. and in Canada. Apparently, this ideogram-within-an-image is pan-tribal, occurring in glyphs and other art attributed to Siouan and Algonkian cultures.



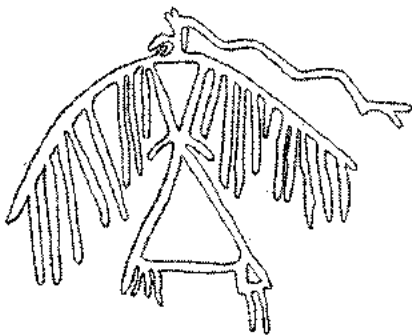
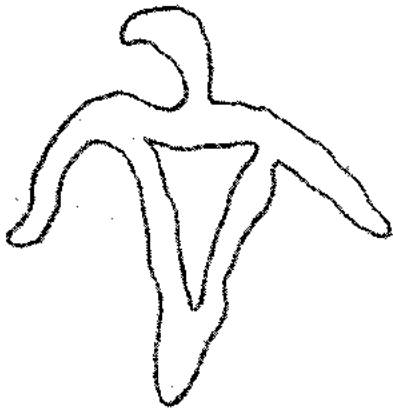
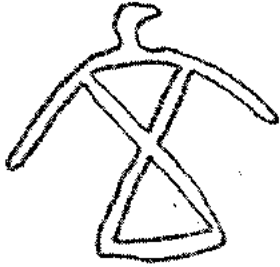


Figure 12 (left, middle) shows another Lewis tracing in the Browns Valley region. This one depicts just the "rising or upper triangle" of the X-form, possibly implying that something is being carried up. This may be similar to the imagery found on the parfleche, where one triangle is used to define the direction of the message. Often the triangle is the most pronounced part of the image (see Figure 14).

The glyph in Figure 13 (left, bottom) was recorded by Lewis in the LaMoille cave near Winona, Minnesota, on the Mississippi river. Notice the marvelous feather structure and the X-form body. This glyph is now believed to be buried, the victim of lock and dam construction on the Mississippi.

While the earlier images are assumed to be Siouan glyphs, the pictograph in figure 14 (opposite page, top) is believed to be Algonkian, possibly Ojibway or Cree. This is from a drawing of a site in Canada done by the late Selwyn Dewdney.

In Figure 15 (opposite page, middle) we have an X-bodied anthropomorph from Saskatchewan, Canada, also photographed by Selwyn Dewdney. There are numerous recorded stories of individuals receiving power and wisdom (Lakota *wakan*, Ojibway *kitchiwa*) from thunderbirds or eagles in both Algonkian and Siouan cultures. The individual depicted here is said to be a shaman (Dewdney and Kidd 1967). It is possible that the same cosmic power represented by the X-form in bird imagery could be applied to human images as well.

The image in Figure 16 (opposite page, bottom) is shown in Grace Rajnovich's book *Reading Rock Art: Interpreting the Indian Rock Paintings of the Canadian Shield*. In a section on handprints in rock art she notes, "The flat hand pressed to the lips and then moved upward to heaven indicated prayer or address to the deity. Mallory, who collected a large volume of gestures, noted that the sign for 'pray' in several languages was the open palm of the hand held toward the Sky" (Rajnovich 1994). Note the X-body bird figure with what is apparently a line of communication reaching upwards.

The image in Figure 18 (overleaf, top left), photographed by Dewdney, is in Quetico Provincial Park in Canada. It shows an X-form next to a pipe-smoking figure, possibly another "prayer" reference, as the pipe is considered a vehicle for communication with the spirit world.

The glyph in Figure 18 (overleaf, left, middle) was found at Kejimikoojik Park in Nova Scotia and given a Micmac attribution by Mallory, who considers it a highly abstracted thunderbird. It also has a passing, though highly abstracted, resemblance to the earth and

sky hourglass motif found in Plains Indian artwork.

Figure 19 (overleaf, bottom left) shows a glyph found at the Jeffers Petroglyph site in southwestern Minnesota. It is part of a larger configuration that depicts an X-form thunderbird and a human together, an ubiquitous pairing found in both Plains and Woodlands rock art. The curious thing about this group is that it also falls very close to being a mirror image of four important Lakota constellations. These are: Thunderbird or *Wakinyan*, the Race Track or Sacred Hoop, Turtle, and Elk. The ritual aspect of such a configuration is powerful and multilayered. Goodman calls the cosmic icons depicted in the parfleches a mandala, "...an abstract representation of the nature of the universe, often used as an aid to private prayer, meditation, or for teaching" (Goodman 1992).

Whether or not the artists who created these glyphs were consciously trying to create a map of their constellations or were incising a sort of mandala in the rock at Jeffers for ceremonial purposes is almost a moot point; the first is contained in the second.

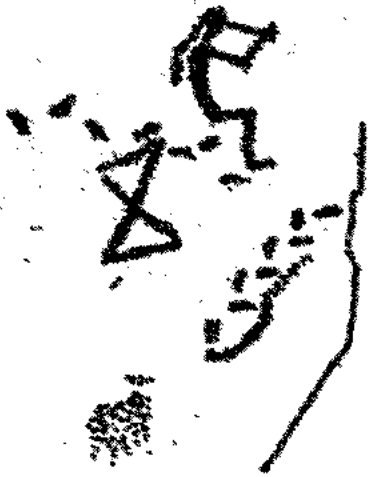
In Figure 20 (overleaf, top right) we have the Black Hills sky mirror, what Goodman describes as "the Lakota constellations on the ecliptic correlated by sacred stories to distinctive landforms in the Black Hills." To the contemporary Lakota the Black Hills are the center, the heart, of the earth. Notice that the constellations are not directly over their corresponding landforms, they are in a mirror image conformation, thus complying with the X-form dictate. A similar example of this may be found at Jeffers as discussed earlier.

Summary

Oftentimes, very simple abstract symbols can contain highly complex information encoded within them, to be understood and utilized by the informed person. What we are finding is that while this symbolism is often depicted alone in Plains rock art, it also occurs inside of other imagery pecked and painted on the rocks, perhaps to give the imagery exceptional power by its creator and to communicate this to others.

It is important to note that while the X-form and triangle form motifs are found incorporated in rock art imagery all over North America as well as in other parts of the world, it is my intention to focus only on the Upper Midwest and Canada. In this region the

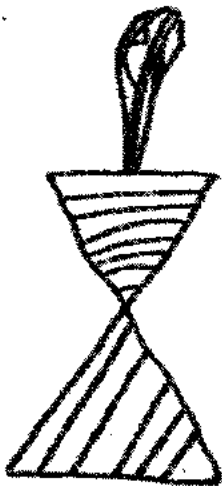




depiction of the X-form or hourglass is a well-recorded ideogram. It appears embedded in other imagery, but stands out as a symbol that transforms the gross image into something much more than a bird or human. It becomes a motif for spiritual communication with the cosmos. The cultures that apparently created these images also have an ethnographic tradition that includes the thunderbird and the pipe. Both are considered vehicles for communication with the spirit world.

In his book *Plains Indian Rock Art*, James Keyser discusses the concept of ideography as it applies to rock art:

Ideograms...are abstract images that do not display any obvious pictorial link with real entities.... Because ideograms do not depict any actual things, their meanings are not restricted to "things", they can also be used to represent concepts and ideas.... An important component of a simple writing system is that each pictogram or ideogram must be recognized by all those using the system. Another aspect of a simple writing system involves the combination of interchangeable symbols into meaningful sequences. In a true ideographic system, ideograms are combined into different sequences following certain rules of syntax. These rules dictate which ideograms can be used with which, and how these symbols are spatially arranged and associated. In this way, an ideographic sequence can be read by anyone familiar with the meaning of the individual symbols, and with knowledge of the syntax. Thus, an ideographic system can communicate standardized information to multiple individuals [Keyser 2001].



In the case of the bird and human images, the ideogram is an important component of an otherwise-representational image. We do not know specifically why these images were created. Whether it was part of a ritual involving a direct appeal to the spirit world, a form of communication to others familiar with the same symbols, or both, remains to be seen. Clearly, the fact that the exact same symbol

occurs over such a large geographical area implies that it has some form of ideographical attribution. Although the X-form image, and other abstract and representational symbols found in relation to it, may not be part of a true ideographic system as described by Keyser, the rock art could display elements of that system.



Acknowledgments. Sources of figures: Figures 1,11,12,13 Lewis 1885; Figures 7,8 Goodman 1992; Figures 2,7 Monroe Killy; Figure 10, *St. Paul Daily News* 7/23/1933, Figures 14,17 Dewdney and Kidd 1967; Figure 16 Rajnovich 1994; Figure 18 Mallery 1893; Figure 20 Goodman 1992; used with permission. Figures 3-6 drawings by the author; Figure 19 by the author.

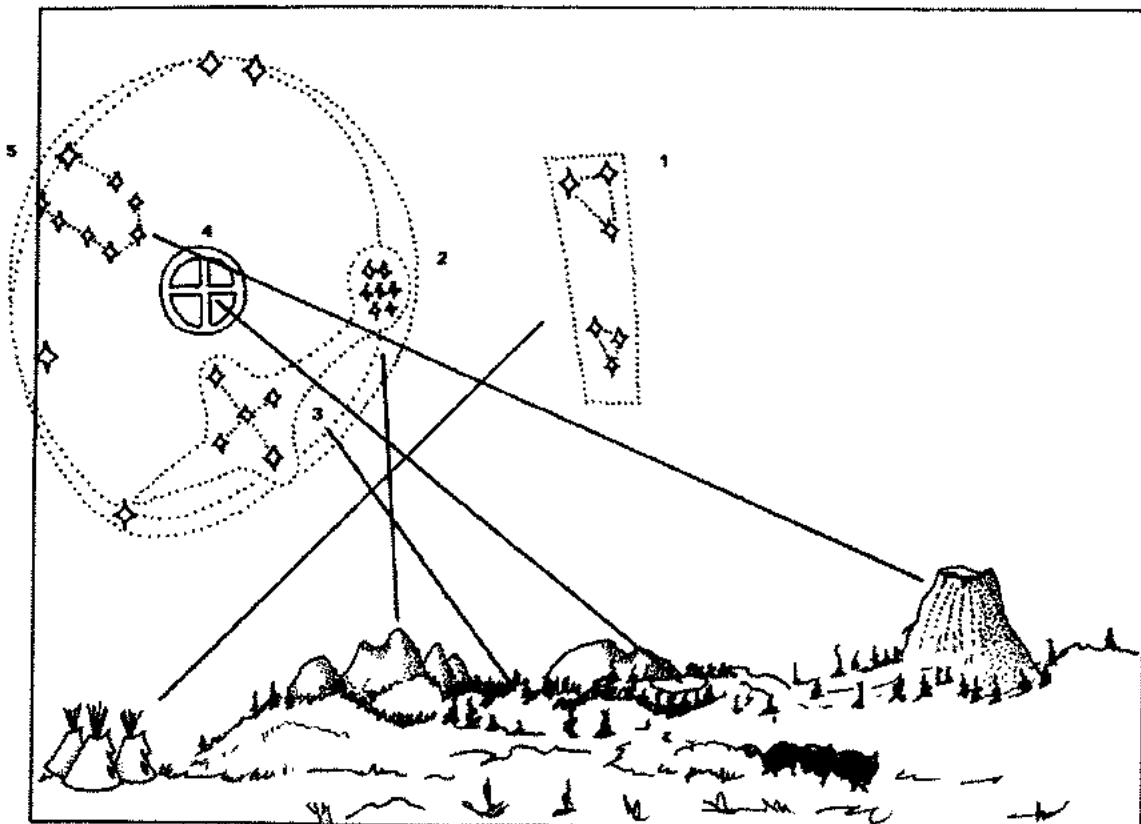


Figure 20. Lakota constellations on the ecliptic correlated by sacred stories to distinctive landforms in the Black Hills:

1) Cansasa Ipusye, the winter camps. 2) Wicincala Sakowin, Harney Peak. 3) the group Tayamni, an animal. 4) The center of Ki Inyanka Ocanku, Pe Sla, a bare hill in the Black Hills. 5) Mato Tipila, Devil's Tower. [Editor's note. we regret that we do not have or cannot easily insert the symbols for the correct orthography.]

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Consecrated Environments

Chuck Bailey

How many of us have entered a site and experienced a sense of awe or wonder, or perhaps well-being? The name I have given such a place, for want of a better term, is a "consecrated site."

What is there about these sites that evokes or inspires this sense of awe? More importantly, what do these qualities tell us about the people who made them? Are we really recording all of the defining features of these sites?

Rock art sites exist throughout the world. To date, studies of them typically focus on recording and cataloging the symbols depicted, the medium used (pecking or painting), and the relationship of the subject matter to rituals and symbolism, which is often that of current indigenous populations. Until recently, many archeologists tended to ignore these sites, preferring to deal instead with the cultural debris left behind by previous civilizations, not too enlightening with respect to the mental capacities and concepts of the peoples who made them.

When Jesse Warner suggested I speak to you on our work of recording sites, I began to review our data. Though it is from many sites exhibiting a wide variety of techniques and symbols in their construction, there appear to be common underlying features that transcend cultural identifications assigned to them by researchers in the past. These features include such things as:

1. *Astronomy*— *alignments to various seasonal positions of the sun, moon, planets, and stars*

2. *Consecrated Environments*— *effects produced by the sites on those who visit them*

3. *Solar Interactions*— *use of light and*

shadow to enhance images, symbols or natural features

4. *Hidden Messages*— *features or effects that appear only at specific times of the year*

5. *Symbols and Iconography*— *use of a well-developed and commonly understood system of symbols to represent an already well-established mythology.*

Today well-meaning people still invade the remaining ancient sites with trowels and shovels in an attempt to discover their secrets, often destroying vital clues to their meaning and removing objects from the context in which they are found.

We are involved in recording these sites before they are destroyed, in the hope that the information they contain will one day lead to a better understanding of the concepts and practices of peoples in ancient times.

For more than 40 years, I have been studying all aspects of human behavior in connection with my occupation, while my avocation has been the study of ancient history. These two areas of study, human behavior and ancient history, led to a study of the sites and symbols left by prehistoric peoples in this country, and what they tell us about those who made them.

Among other things, these studies led to the conclusion that the world's ancient peoples were no less gifted or intelligent than we are, and perhaps possessed a greater "natural wisdom." As we do today, they applied their talents and abilities to solving problems they encountered in their daily lives, and to inventing whatever they needed to adapt to conditions of their day and age. Failure to understand this mistakenly led many scholars to consider them

primitive and unsophisticated.

The ancient people seem to have struggled with the same questions we struggle with today:

Where did we come from?

Where are we going?

And why are we here?

Responding to a need to affirm belief, they constructed shrines and holy places consecrated to the gods worshiped by their communities. These places seem to be chosen for creating a sense of awe or well-being in those who visited them. Sky-based religions, in particular, seem to have constructed sites which provided worshippers opportunities to monitor and personally interact with movements of the sun, moon, planets, and stars.

While a sense of awe or well-being cannot be measured on an empirical basis, I believe it is a factor to be considered in evaluating sites.

What triggers a sense of awe or reverence upon entering a great cathedral? It could be a reaction to the massive stone construction, or the beauty of the art, or the play of light and shadow.

We believe there are natural characteristics of the sites we will discuss that evoke similar feelings when we visit them. Among the physical possibilities for this sense of awe or consecrated environment we experience are:

1. *Magnetic fields or anomalies*
2. *Natural discharges of positively or negatively charged ions due to presence of large rocks, flow of groundwater, prevailing wind, etc*
3. *Natural beauty, colors, or vistas*
4. *Subliminal effects on vision, smell, hearing, or touch*
5. *Presence and unusual format of the rock art*
6. *Changing play of light and shadows on the surface of the rock and the rock art*

To illustrate some of these factors, eight sites that contain similar underlying features are described and discussed.

Jeffers

The Jeffers Petroglyph Site is in southwestern Minnesota at a high point on the red granite ridge that runs from east to west across the prairie in Minnesota and the Dakotas.

The rock outcrop slopes away to the south, providing an unobstructed view for miles in every direction. Sunrise beams fall on the glyphs making them appear to rise from the flat surface of the rock in relief. Different groups of glyphs are affected at the different sun positions on the eastern horizon throughout the year.

The alignments and grouping of the glyphs, and the fact that certain groups are highlighted at different times of the year, suggest the site was a sophisticated observatory, used by its makers to track movements of heavenly events and also to teach the sky-based mythology of their culture. A few of the more than 2000 glyphs appear relatively recent, while others look like they are very old and incorporate ancient symbols related to astronomy. It appears the site has been used by more than one cultural group throughout the centuries, each of which left their own particular symbols at the site.

Lujenida

The central feature of this site is a dolmen, a table rock perched on three smaller rocks, located on a basalt outcrop in a small river valley in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in northern Minnesota. The only access to this site is up a river the shores of which contain huge white boulders placed at critical navigation points, probably to make travel at night possible in ancient times.

Most people visiting here report feeling a sense of well-being as they enter it. Besides the dolmen, which appears oriented to a summer solstice sunrise point on the

eastern horizon, the site contains a strong magnetic anomaly, other perched boulders and cairns around the perimeter, a cave with openings which emit light from the east, a stone phallus, and the first petroglyphs, so old they are completely repatinated, found in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area. Mapping and recording to incorporate new features that have recently come to light continues.

Peterborough

This site is located on a large stone outcrop in the Kawartha area of Canada, near an ancient water route from Hudson's Bay to the Great Lakes. I was fortunate enough to visit the site and photograph it before it was enclosed in a building, supposedly to protect it. While I have not been back since the building was erected, I am fairly certain the sense of well-being it once conveyed no longer exists.

The glyphs themselves are controversial. Some of the symbols appear to be related to the old Northern European symbolism and mythology.

Off in the area surrounding the site to the east are additional petroglyphs on boulders that appear to provide lines of sight to solar events. Installation of the roof over the main panel of the site has eliminated any possibility of evaluating these interactions.

Rochester Creek

Like many other sites in the Southwest, Rochester Creek makes use of its physical location and solar interactions to portray ancient mythology. It is located on a narrow butte formed by the confluence of two river canyons in central Utah. There is a strong sense of awe as you enter the site on a narrow path which winds along the canyon rim.

Jesse Warner, who introduced me to this place, has been recording the interac-



tions of light and shadow with the figures and symbols on the panels for several years. To illustrate how the site was used, we recently produced a video showing some of the more prominent interactions.

A "pregnant woman" shadow (above) appears at mid-morning and sweeps across the main panel, interacting with figures on the panel in various ways. Other figures on the panel appear to be conversing with each other, so to speak, as shafts of light proceed from their mouths, eyes, and other organs.

The mythological characters portrayed are situated at points where the light and shadows reach them within certain time intervals during the day and year. This timing may well have been accompanied by ceremonies related to the people's mythology. The outline shapes of the figures often are made to coincide exactly with the shadow shape at a given point, perhaps pinpointing the time a specific ritual was to be observed.

At some time after the panel was produced, additional details and figures were added. This may be an indication of changes in religious beliefs, or else the need to provide additional or more sophisticated information at that location. Perhaps the population who originated the site was replaced by one with slightly different beliefs who modified it to their own religious specifications. The enormity of the

work which went into the making of this site certainly contributes to the sense of awe which it inspires.



Waterfall Canyon

This site is located in a small canyon in the foothills west of Phoenix, Arizona. The trail leading to the waterfall has several unusual petroglyphs and large perched boulders that appear oriented to notches in the canyon rim.

Some glyphs seem to be arranged to catch the sun's rays as it rises or sets over the rim of the canyon at various seasons. At summer solstice a split boulder emits light through a crack, to highlight a glyph on the rock face behind the crack.

An amphitheater near the lower end of the trail features many boulders completely covered with glyphs in reoccurring patterns. These boulders face east, and provide some very interesting effects at sunrise throughout the year.

A large perched boulder with the shape of a sheep's face (above), covered with glyphs, lies facing a notch in the canyon rim to the southeast. It catches the first rays of the rising sun at equinox while the rest of the canyon remains in darkness.

Farther along the trail and above it, a boulder with a concave face that is also covered with glyphs appears to be located

to catch the first and last rays of the sun just above the canyon rim, near the time of winter solstice.

As one climbs higher into the canyon, the shadow of a man's face can be observed on the cliff above the trail. The rocks which create the shadow seem to have been altered to create this effect. A waterfall drops about 35 feet into a small pool on the canyon floor. This area also contains a number of glyphs.

The entire site contains boulder alignments to various sunrise positions throughout the year, confirming its use as an observatory in ancient times. The natural beauty of the canyon, and especially the area near the waterfall, confers a sense of well-being.

Shaw Butte

This site is located on a hill in a park just north of Phoenix. From the summit of the hill there is an uninterrupted view of the mountains to the east. On the top of the hill are the remains of stone walls, which probably supported some type of shelters in ancient times.

At the crest of the hill, there is placed a large boulder on which 13 circles were inscribed. One of these circles is lighted by the rays of the rising sun at the equinox; other circles are probably lit at different times of the year. Sighting along the squared-off side of this boulder provides a viewpoint of equinox sunrise on the ridge of the hill across the valley.

Beside this boulder is another "calendar stone" boulder with a complex grouping of circles inscribed on it. The south half of the largest set of circles is in shadow at sunrise on the equinoxes. The north half is in shadow at sunrise on the summer solstice. On the winter solstice a triangle of light penetrates to the center of the set of circles. Adjacent circles may be similarly affected at other times of the day and year.

The most interesting feature of the site,

however, is a rock cave that appears to be man-made, just below and to the east of the summit. It was constructed to let an observer monitor light and shadow "pictures" on the back wall of the cave, at various times of the day and seasons of the year. Light and shadow play is governed by sculpted rocks on both sides of the entrance. Windows overhead also permit an occupant of the cave night viewing of star groups from this observatory throughout the year.

There is certainly a feeling of well-being and detachment from the world below while sitting in this mountain-top observatory.

Moon Valley

This site in the northern area of Phoenix has been partially destroyed by encroaching housing projects, including houses above the site that obliterated a rock circle on the hill, and sent rocks rolling down into the site. The site was obviously an observatory which marked the seasonal positions of the sun and perhaps the moon and stars as well.

At the entrance to the site is a natural amphitheater of boulders on which several glyphs are inscribed. A large boulder has two rams with double sets of horns pecked on opposite sides of it, facing each other. Half of this boulder is always in shadow from equinox to equinox.

Near this equinox boulder, as the sun sets at the summer solstice, sunlight fills a carved basin in the rock below a lizard figure. Several other figures are also activated by the sun at various seasons of the year.

South of this area is a boulder with a bowl-shape carved in it that fills with sunlight as the sun rises at the winter solstice. A counter-clockwise spiral on the south face of this boulder is also in light only at the winter solstice. Near this rock is another on which a birthing scene is also

lighted at the winter solstice.

Even though partially destroyed, this observatory still retains a number of the features used by its ancient worshipers to mark important days in their seasonal mythology.



Sego Canyon

Spend some time in Sego Canyon (above) and you will experience many of the effects which led different peoples to use this place to worship and inscribe symbols related to their beliefs.

The canyon is a natural observatory. To the observer on its floor at night, there is a never-ending canopy of stars rising in progression around the rim. Fixed points and irregularities on the rim make it easy to identify prominent stars and constellations on their annual journey through the heavens. The rock walls magnify sounds in eerie ways.

At sunrise, as the sun finally penetrates the canyon and reaches each panel in turn, certain figures on the panels are framed by the rays of the rising sun -- telling the ancient legends appropriate to the seasons.

The sense of consecration fostered by the beauty of the canyon, the stream, the art work on the panels, and other factors, is certainly strong here. With so many figures and styles, that understanding will come only through years of recording light and shadow interactions throughout the year.

From the standpoint of human behavior and characteristics, these sites all appear to

reveal several things about the ancient people who made them.

1. They had a concise theology, probably based at least in part on astrology

2. They had a well-developed knowledge of astronomy

3. They had a well-developed method of communicating ideas and keeping records using symbols

4. They made sophisticated use of mathematics and geometry in laying out their sites

5. They possessed an artistic ability of a high order

6. Their sites were constructed with massive features that allowed them to make precise observations and measurements over long periods of time

7. They were sensitive to and used factors at the sites that evoked a sense of awe in those who visited them

As we learn more about voyages, trade, and migrations of people in ancient times, the meaning and symbolism embodied in these sites will undoubtedly become clearer, and we will have a much better appreciation of the abilities and creativity of the ancient people who made them. Truly, in understanding them, we will gain greater understanding of ourselves.

VERMILLION CANYON MEDICINE WHEEL: A SACRED SITE IN NORTHWESTERN COLORADO

Peter Faris

Vermillion Canyon in Brown's Park in northwestern Colorado, an area occupied prehistorically by the Eastern Shoshone, has long been known for its concentration of rock art produced by the Fremont culture between about AD 500-1300. The recent discovery of a medicine wheel in this canyon suggests that it was a place of great spiritual significance to the later Shoshone. This agrees with ethnographic records of Shoshone belief in rock art sites as sources of poha or medicine power. Additionally, because of its canyon-bottom location, it calls into question archaeoastronomical interpretations. Whatever its purpose, the presence of the medicine wheel in this Poha Kahni, House of Power, marks Vermillion Canyon as sacred land to the prehistoric and proto-historic Shoshone inhabitants of the region.

Introduction

Throughout the northern Great Plains a number of Medicine Wheels have been found. These usually consist of a circle of rocks with a number of interior spokes (there are a few examples which omit the circle and consist only of rock alignments like spokes), and they may or may not include cairns of stone that mark various locations on the structure.

"About 50 medicine wheels and related structures are known. Nearly all are found on the east flank of the Rockies or on the open plains below; most are in the north, on the grassy prairies of Canada. Some wheels seem only to be a few centuries old; others are very ancient" (Krupp 1983:142).

"Although many date from the precontact period, others, such as the Big Horn Medicine Wheel in the mountains of Wyoming (which dates from about 1700), are more recent. The medicine wheels, especially important to the northern Arapahos and to a lesser extent the Shoshones, reflected the reverence that all people of the plains maintained for the circle, a shape that suggested spiritual and political unity and connected people with one another and with the natural world" (Carlson 1998:114).

Medicine Wheels

The purpose of the medicine wheels has been variously reported, and at present many are believed to be a manifest record in stone of alignments that mark celestial events such as solstices, equinoxes, and the rising or setting of certain stars. The astronomical interpretation of medicine wheels received a great impetus from the studies conducted by Dr. John A. Eddy (1974) on the Big Horn Medicine Wheel in northern Wyoming. Eddy (1977:146) found that wheels with discernible astronomical alignments, "... were built on the highest land around, with clear, commanding views of the horizon."

Indeed, many of the structures classified as medicine wheels have discernible alignments to the celestial events noted above, and the archaeoastronomical significance of those is not debated. In fact, whatever the original purpose of their builders may have been, there is ample evidence the medicine wheels were incorporated into different belief patterns by later peoples.

Earlier studies of these structures tended to assign a ceremonial purpose to them, and many Native American informants gave statements to early researchers concerning this subject. According to Krupp (1983:147), "Use of the Bighorn Medicine Wheel by Crow Indians was reported by the ethnographer R. H. Lowie in 1922. One of Lowie's informants, a Crow medicine man named Flat Dog, said the wheel was the 'Sun's Lodge' and a place of fasting and vision questing for the Crow. What Flat Dog described as roofless sleeping shelters for vision seekers may have been the rim cairns."

Other stories indicate that the Crow believe the medicine wheel was intended for worship. They recall that they "visited it when they wished to communicate with the spirits of nature or with the spirits of the dead. They stopped there on their travels to and from the hunting grounds in the Wind River Country. On their return they held thanksgiving ceremonies at the Medicine Wheel and left offerings of the best game they had killed. The women left offerings of beads. The Crows believed that in the rock shelters near the Wheel lived some of the Little People" (Clark 1966:302).

Many of these reports seem to reflect traditional knowledge on the part of the informant. This may represent attempts of later peoples to explain the presence of an enigmatic structure, or examples of reuse of medicine wheels by later cultures.

Brown's Park

In an arid region that receives less than 10" of precipitation annually, Brown's Park is a rich habitat that now contains a national wildlife refuge. A sheltered parkland with abundant wildlife, it lured fur trappers, becoming a rendezvous site as early as 1826. Later, in the 1890s, cattle rustlers like Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid hid their stolen herds in Brown's Hole, as they called it.

An area of such richness in an arid land can be expected to have been important to



Figure 1. Lower Vermillion Canyon, Brown's Park, Moffit County, Colorado.

Native Americans, and there is evidence of prehistoric occupation of the area as early as the Paleoindian stage, lasting to about 5,500 BC, and Archaic occupation has been found at sites throughout the region dating between 5,000 BC - AD 500 (Tate 1998:9).

Vermillion Canyon

Vermillion Canyon runs north and south, carrying Vermillion Creek through the eastern end of the Cold Spring Mountains to join with the Green River at the south end of Brown's Park. The northern half of Vermillion Canyon is a narrow slot cut through the rock of the ridge, and the southern half opens up into an enclosed bowl (Figure 1, opposite page). This bowl is well watered by Vermillion Creek, a permanent stream, and shows signs of habitation in addition to the rock art and medicine wheel discussed in this paper.

Fremont Culture

The Fremont culture may have developed from the Desert Archaic tradition by AD 500 or earlier in eastern Utah and some parts of northwestern Colorado. Abandonment of the region by the Fremont falls at AD 1300 according to LaPoint (1987:194). People of the Fremont culture manufactured pottery and relied to a varying extent on maize horticulture.

Most rock art in the Brown's Park area is attributed to the Uinta Fremont culture and all rock art in Vermillion Canyon is Uinta Fremont. The petroglyphs in Vermillion Canyon are of the Classic Vernal Style as defined by Polly Schaafsma. This consists of figures with trapezoidal body form and discernible headgear; also facial features and details of ornament are common. Anthropomorphic figures may occur in clustered groups, or in lines across the cliff (Schaafsma 1980:171-175) (Figure 2). The Classic Vernal Style can be dated from between AD 600 and AD 1000, approximately (Cole 1990:174).

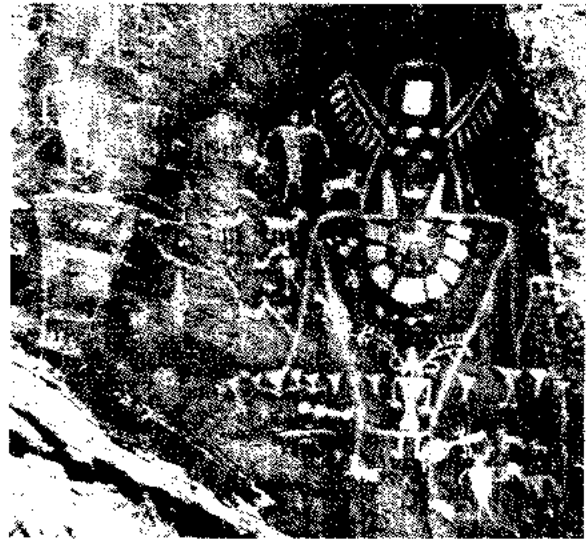


Figure 2. Classic Fremont Style petroglyph in the northern half of Vermillion Canyon

Shoshone Culture

In northeastern Utah and northwestern Colorado the Fremont culture seems to have been followed by the Shoshone. About 1000 years ago speakers of the family of languages known to linguists as Numic, which includes Shoshone, began a movement that originated in the southwestern Great Basin and expanded northeastward. Groups of people who spoke the Shoshone language spread up through central Nevada and across northern Utah into southern Idaho and adjacent Wyoming, according to Grayson (1993:35-36). Sydney Lamb (1958:95-100) estimated that when encountered by Europeans these people had been in place for one thousand years or less. Later analysis based upon glottochronological data tended to support that estimate, suggesting a minimum of 700 years for the

split between Panamint and Shoshone (Grayson 1993:35-36). So the Shoshone may have arrived in northwestern Colorado and succeeded the Fremont Culture there around AD 1300, a date that is consistent with LaPoint's (1987) statement that the Fremont abandoned northwestern Colorado about AD 1300.

Archeological evidence places the Shoshonean expansion at a somewhat later time, however. One indicator regarded as diagnostic for prehistoric Shoshone in the northwestern Plains includes a "distinctive flat-bottomed pottery known as Intermountain Ware" (Frison 1971; Mulloy 1958; Wedel 1954). "Dates of around AD 1450 - 1600 are available for a number of sites that contain Intermountain Ware in mountainous eastern Idaho and western Wyoming" (Wright 1978:49, cited in Greiser 1994). According to Hughes:

Two Shoshonean groups, the Wind River Shoshones and their far-ranging relatives, the Comanches, occupied a section of northern Colorado before 1800. After that date the Comanches left, but the Shoshones remained. Shoshone country included all the land north of the Yampa River, North Park, and the mountains to the front range north of what is now Rocky Mountain National Park. The Shoshones were northern neighbors of the Utes, speaking a closely related language and sharing much of the same way of life. Besides northern Colorado, they occupied much of the basin and plateau country in Wyoming, up to the Yellowstone. The closely related Bannocks and Northern and Western Shoshones made their homes in Idaho and Nevada. They were hunters and gatherers, while the more easterly bands were specialized buffalo hunters - Great Basin Indians who had adopted much of the Plains culture [Hughes 1977:33].

Stamm adds:

The men who led the local bands and the divisions possessed *puha*, or *medicine power*. According to Hultkrantz, Lowie, and other ethnologists, *puha* enabled individuals to achieve military or economic success and probably represented an older, Basin-oriented religion.

Whatever gifts of power a person might obtain were used for the benefit of the family, band, or collective tribe. The exercise of power in war, hunting, or healing contributed to the overall welfare and health of the larger community, not just the one endowed with *puha*.

Puha acquisition generally required individual effort. Hultkrantz notes that "except for certain great medicine men especially chosen by the spirits, all who desire *puha* must themselves seek the spirits." This distinction between actively seeking spiritual power or simply being chosen or identified, demonstrates the Basin/Plains duality. Basin Shoshones often received *puha* via dreams, which did not require special preparations, while Plains people used vision quests.

Unbidden and unsought visions certainly informed the lives of Plains peoples and a vision quest was not the only protocol for *puha* acquisition. Yet for an intentional seeker of *puha* among the Plains Shoshones, enduring a quest ordeal at the rock art sites of ancestors in the Wind River Mountains was perhaps a more normative route. By fasting and prayer, the individual seeker might receive the gifts of a particular spirit (*puhagan*, or power-giver), often delivered through dreams or trancelike consciousness. The spirit(s) also instructed the recipients in the nourishment of the *puha*, as well as in the construction of "medicine bundles" and the uses of the *puha* [Stamm 1999:5-6].

Shimkin (1986:325) explained that

The mythological beings and animals of nature and their power (*poha*) are of central importance; the shaman is called *pohakanti* "(one who) has power." The relation between shaman

and power is not one of control but of supplication and dependency. Although power may come in the unsought dreams of late adolescence and is sometimes transferred from shaman to acolyte, it is commonly the fruit of efforts, either in the Sun Dance or through sleeping in sacred places, to gain the blessing or pity of a source of power through a quasi-compelling petition or prayer. A successful quest is expressed by a vision in which the *poha* appears, often transforming itself from one form to another, and bestows skills or protections, fetishes to call forth the power, a song, and individual taboos. The *poha* often resides within the shaman and may be coughed out, then transferred to another by blowing. This is deadly; a shaman must come to track the *poha*, capture it, and then blow it back into the sufferer lest he die.

The most sacred places are the sites of pictographs (*poha kahni* "house of power"), particularly in the vicinity of Dinwoody Canyon, on the Wind River Reservation. There are hundreds of pictographs, clearly accumulated over a long period. The later representations are particularly important. They include large panels representing the feared Water Ghost Beings and Rock Ghost Beings.

In addition to Dinwoody Canyon, Bull Lake remains both fearful and attractive. It is reported to be the home of monsters; those who kill and eat them will change into Water Buffalo and disappear. It is also the place where ghost people play the hand game.

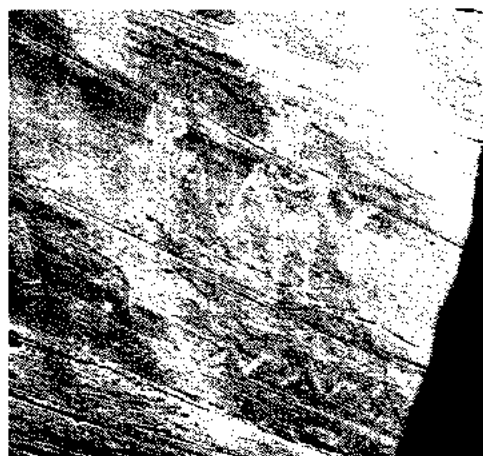
Caves were used for seeking shamanic power as well and were believed by the Shoshone to be entrances to the legendary underground world (Liljebland 1986:652). With its dense concentration of Fremont petroglyphs and a cave (Figure 3), located within the known range of the Eastern Shoshone people during the late prehistoric period, Vermillion Canyon was likely a site of special sacred significance.

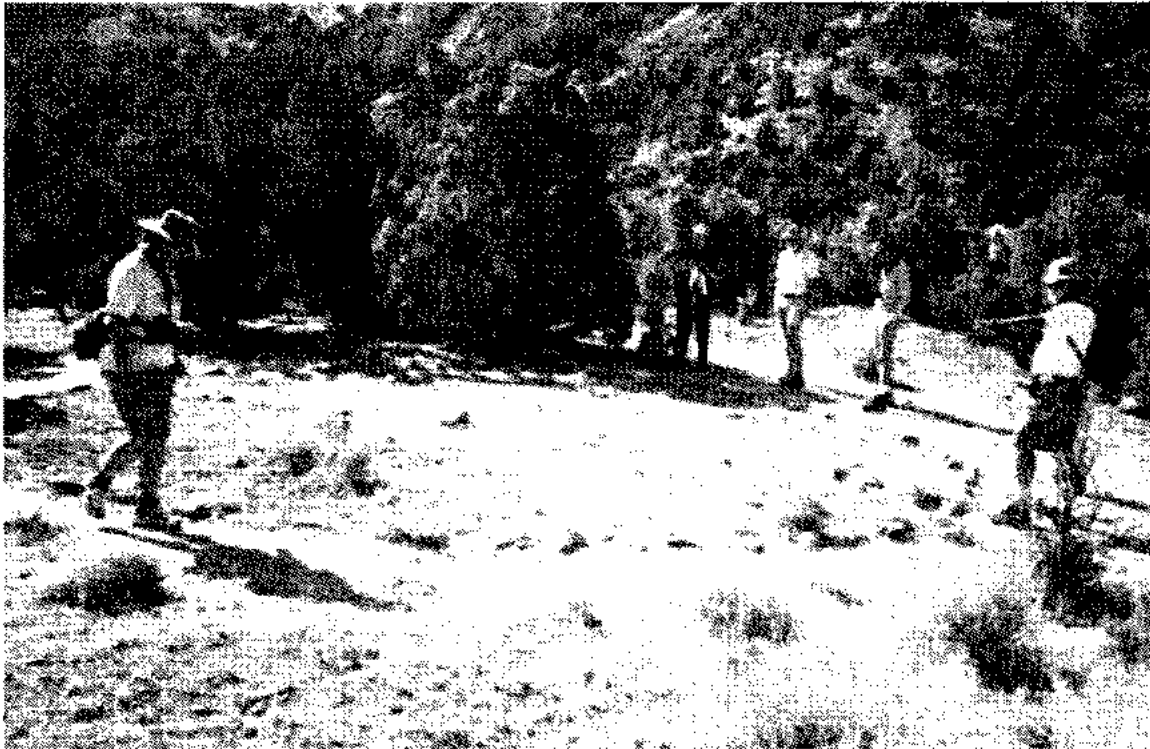
Sacred Twins

One theme found in the rock art of Vermillion Canyon is the portrayal of a pair of figures standing side-by-side, appearing to hold hands. One example of this theme from a dense rock art site on a nearby ranch has been named "The Friends" and was adopted as the logo of the Colorado Archaeological Society (Figure 4). Another example, this from Vermillion Canyon proper (Figure 5), was identified as "The Medicine Man and Medicine Woman" by John Tarnesse, a Sun Dance Chief and spiritual leader of the Eastern Shoshone in Fort



Figure 3, above. Cave in Vermillion Canyon.
Figure 4, middle. Friends pictograph.
Figure 5, bottom. Paired figures identified as Medicine Man and Medicine Woman.





Washakie on the Wind River Reservation (John Tarnesse, personal communication 1998). It is possible that these paired figures also represent the mythical twins of North American native mythology.

Hultkrantz (1967:40) identified the Sacred Twins theme among the Shoshone in their tales of Coyote and his brother Wolf. "It is a remarkable fact that possibly dates from a distant prehistoric age that the wolf, brother or twin of the culture hero, does not only occur among the Algonkin but also among the Shoshone and their neighbors (among whom Wolf faces the mischievous Coyote, 'Little Wolf')."

Smith (1993:67) and others have also related Shoshone tales in which Coyote and Wolf were brothers. It is possible that the prehistoric Shoshone, entering the Brown's Park area in general and Vermillion Canyon in particular, saw in the paired figures of the rock art the Sacred Twins of their mythology, and thus saw that location as sacred ground. Such a location, known as a *poha kahni*, house of power, would be a natural choice of site for the later construction by a shaman of a medicine wheel for ceremonial purposes.

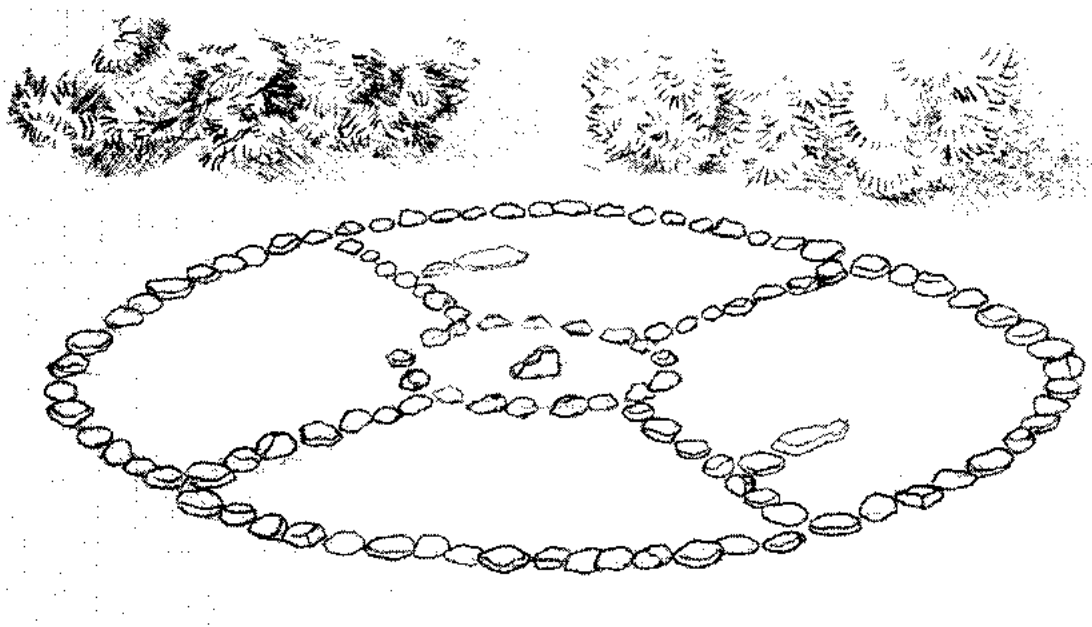
The Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel

In 1994 a medicine wheel (Figure 6, above) was discovered in the lower reaches of Vermillion Canyon by John Tarnesse and Joseph Triscari, a Denver photographer. They were told of rumors that there was one in that area and had been searching for it, as well as visiting the rock art in Vermillion Canyon. John Tarnesse (personal communication 1998) said of the Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel:

Here we walk into a world of our ceremonies. This world of ceremonies is portrayed in rock art in many places. Spiritual Leaders understand it. We understand it and learn how to balance our people's lives and how to balance the world. Here is one of the ceremonies we hold to keep

the world and our lives straight, in balance. We ask, in the ceremony, the direction of life.

This medicine wheel should be titled "The Sacred Direction". The Sacred Direction is what spiritual leaders asked for when they built this place, close to the petroglyphs. They prayed for the world to be in balance from here. We pray here today too. Prayers to have Mother Earth claim her medicine and clean her house. She cleans her house in a way most people do not understand, like hurricanes and tornadoes. We pray for world peace, for people to live long and happy lives. For their lives to flourish. This is one of the things the medicine wheel portrays.



The Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel (Figure 7, above) is located in the bottom of the lower portion of Vermillion Canyon, near the foot of the slope of the western wall of the canyon. This position at the bottom of the canyon is away from the long sight lines to a distant horizon to be expected in a site with archaeoastronomical significance. Measuring approximately 27.5 feet in diameter (8.4 meters), the wheel is laid out as two concentric circles, linked by four spokes, and surrounding a single upright center stone (Hauk 1999:1). In the outer ring are 63 rocks, and in the inner ring 17. The four spokes consist of seven stones each for a total of 28 stones. The number 28 is often quoted as the length in days of the lunar cycle (or synodic cycle) although the real number is 29.53 days (Howard 1967:72). There are 28 spokes in the Bighorn Medicine Wheel (Eddy 1974:1040).

The four spokes in the Brown's Park Medicine Wheel are roughly aligned to the cardinal directions (Hauk 1999). "The number four also symbolized natural harmony. There were four seasons, four ages in human life (babyhood, childhood, adulthood, and old age), four elements above the earth (the sun, the moon, the stars, and the sky), and many other natural manifestations of the number. The four winds or four directions of the compass represented both natural and metaphysical powers. In effect, because the great creator force (or Holy One Above) created everything in fours, the Plains Indians believed they should do as much as possible in fours" (Carlson 1998:114).

The seven stones in each spoke of the medicine wheel may refer to the Pleiades, which in Shoshone mythology is Coyote's family, or to the stars in the Big Dipper, which in Shoshone mythology is "hunting with a rabbit net" (Miller 1997:130-132).



The age of the medicine wheel is unknown. Given the absence of an absolute date at this time, any guess as to its age must be made on the basis of relative factors. As earlier peoples are not known to have made medicine wheels, and since Shoshone occupation of the region began in about AD 1300, it should date from that time or later.

The location of the medicine wheel at the bottom of the slope of the west wall of the canyon makes a detailed geomorphologic study necessary before any assumptions are made based on the depth of the rocks in the soil. The rocks appear to be well seated in the soil at perhaps one-third their height (no rocks were moved during our visit). The soil around them could be accreting due to dust blowing in from the flats above the canyon, or during precipitation by gradual sheet wash from the slope above the wheel. Or, on the other hand, the soil around the rocks of the medicine wheel could be eroding due to water flowing over the site from rainfall. However, when the medicine wheel was discovered, the soil around it had a well-developed cryptobiotic crust; this suggests the surface was stable for some time. Visitation has now destroyed much of that crust, so more serious erosion can be expected in the future.

The medicine wheel is located near three Fremont rock art sites on boulders that, as suggested above, may have provided part of the motivation for the location selected for the wheel.

One site has a typical Fremont figure with large plumes on its headdress (Figure 8).

The second site contains an insect-like figure with ten legs, a pair of claws or pincers at the top, and a hooked tail or stinger at the bottom (Figure 9).

The third site contains a cluster of six Fremont figures. One figure at the top with a plumed headdress holds an object in its left hand. Below that is a row of three figures, with the middle figure only about two-thirds of the size of the flanking figures. Of the bottom pair of figures, the figure on the right holds an object in its left hand (Figure 10).

There is also a flat area near the medicine wheel, next to the stream, which shows some indications of habitation. It is likely that further studies and excavations in this location will provide evidence as to the cultural affiliation of the medicine wheel.

Figure 8, top. Single anthropomorph petroglyph near Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel.

Figure 9, middle. Insect-like petroglyph near medicine wheel

Figure 10, bottom. Petroglyph of six anthropomorphs near medicine wheel.

The Sacred Circle

The form of the Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel with four spokes connecting the inner and outer concentric circles suggests the Indians' Sacred Circle.

"One of the symbols that expresses most completely the Plains Indian concept of the relationship between human beings and the world of nature surrounding them is a cross inscribed within a circle. The symbol is painted on a number of ritual objects, and on the bodies and heads of people who participate in tribal ceremonies. Its form is reflected in the circular shape and central fire of the tipi, the Indian's home: its pattern is found in the Sun Dance and purification lodges and in many ritual movements" (Brown 1982:34-36).

Lakota holy man Eagle Voice recalled a mystical experience of his youth: "I was standing on the highest hill in the center of the world. The circle of the world was a great hoop with two roads crossing where I stood, the black one and the red. And all around the hoop more peoples than I could count were sitting together in a sacred manner" (Niehardt 1951:53).

The cross, a symbol of the four winds and world corners, was also identified with the universe in most of North America. In the form of a cross within a circle, the symbol first appears in the Mississippian culture (700 - 1700 AD), a culture that was inspired from Mesoamerica and brought many new features in religion, ritual, and symbolism to the southeastern, prairie, and plains provinces of North America. Indeed, the whole of this vast area shows the sacred circle design in the most diverse functions, as camp circles, sacred lodges, arrangements of buffalo skulls, stone enclosures on mountain tops ('medicine wheels'), emblems on rock drawings and dresses, and cultic implements (the Arapaho sacred wheel) [Hultkrantz 1967:28].

"At the center of the circle, uniting within a point the four directions of the cross and all the other quaternaries of the Universe, is a human person. Without the awareness that they bear within themselves this sacred center, human beings are in fact less than human. It is to recall the virtual reality of this center that the Indians have so many rites based on the cross within the circle" (Brown, 1982:34-36).

Conclusion

A feature like the Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel in a location like Vermillion Canyon compels us to attempt to explain its purpose. In our attempts to do so we draw upon the available data, both ethnographic and scientific, to test hypotheses and draw conclusions. This is, of course, exactly what the people who followed the original makers of the structure did. This feature, and indeed other like features, would have been continually redefined in terms of the culture and the individual doing the evaluation. Such definitions allowed these subsequent cultures or individuals to develop their own explanations for the feature, using them to adopt the feature into their own cultural context. As we have seen, medicine wheels were of great spiritual significance to the Shoshone culture, and we must assume that no matter who originally created the Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel, these people appropriated it later for their own cultural purposes.

However, it is likely that the Vermillion Canyon Medicine Wheel was created by the early Shoshone inhabitants of the area, the ancestors of the Eastern Shoshone of the Wind River Reservation in Western Wyoming. They had a considerable time depth in occupation of the area. The proximity of the wheel to the cave and the rock art is known to be of considerable importance to the Shoshone. Also the twins theme is found in both the

canyon rock art and Shoshone mythology. This suggests that Vermillion Canyon in northwestern Colorado is a location that was of rich spiritual significance to the Shoshones.

Acknowledgment. The photograph for Figure 3 is by, and used courtesy of, Dell Crandell. All other photos and the field sketch for Figure 7 by the author.

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Agony and Ecstasy in Native American Rock Art

Rev. Galal R. Gough

Vernal Style anthropomorphs on the sandstone cliffs at the McConkie Ranch in Dry Fork Canyon, Utah, have tears streaming down their cheeks. Trophy Heads held by other anthropomorphs also have tear-streaks (Figures 1, 2, and 3). This Weeping Eye motif in rock art is a dramatic expression of emotion, captured in stone. On the other hand, a petroglyph figure at the Blue Mountain Site in Dinosaur National Park (Figure 14), east of Green River, seems to be expressing exaltation.

Because Weeping Eye petroglyphs and pictographs, as well as Hallelujah Man and ecstatic anthropomorphs in California and other Southwestern States might be of interest to members of URARA, along with more familiar Utah examples, a paper on contrasting emotions in rock art seems appropriate, hence the title "Agony and Ecstasy in Native American Rock Art."

The Weeping Eye figures at the McConkie Ranch, and especially the Trophy Head glyphs with tears streaming down their cheeks, are shocking and require comment. In fact, actual Trophy Heads have indeed been found in archaeological sites, as reported by Kidder and Guernsey (1919) and others, and some heads have rope handles so they can be carried, as the McConkie Ranch petroglyphs illustrate.

Stephen H. Lekson, in his review of Steven A. LeBanc's book *Prehistoric Warfare in the American Southwest* (1999) in the May-June, 1999, issue of *Archaeology*, refers also to several earlier papers on the same theme, and makes a case for warfare and rule by intimidation. Also in that issue are three related articles: "War and Peace in the Southwest," by Stephen H. Lekson; "Violence in the Prehistoric Southwest," by Steven A. LeBlanc; and "A Reign of Terror," by Christy G. Turner II. Class conflict, the use of violence, and the exhibition of Trophy Heads to enforce order and the supremacy of a ruling elite have been demonstrated in other regions of the Southwest. If that kind of ruthless rule were the case in the Dry Fork area, there would have been ample cause for weeping eyes and tear-streaked faces.

Moving on to California, the Crying Face petroglyph at the Freightwagon Site in the Mojave National Preserve (Figure 4) might represent a completely different story. The Freightwagon Site was recorded by the legendary Jim Benton on January 15, 1977, and facetiously so-named because it was loaded with artifacts: petroglyphs, pictographs, pottery, tools, metates, flakes and points.

Jim Benton, who passed away on December 9, 1999, was born in Indiana in 1916. He enlisted in the Air Force in 1940, and continued in the service for 22 years including assignments in the Far East and Europe. After retiring from the military he went back to school at Indiana University majoring in education, receiving his bachelor's degree in 1965 and his master's in 1968. He taught in Indiana for a time, then in Barstow, California, and finally in Baker and Mountain Pass, where he became recognized as knowing the archeology of the Eastern Mojave area more thoroughly than any other person. This paper is affectionately dedicated to his memory.

I first met Jim Benton in 1981 at the Desert Study Center south of Zzyzx Springs near

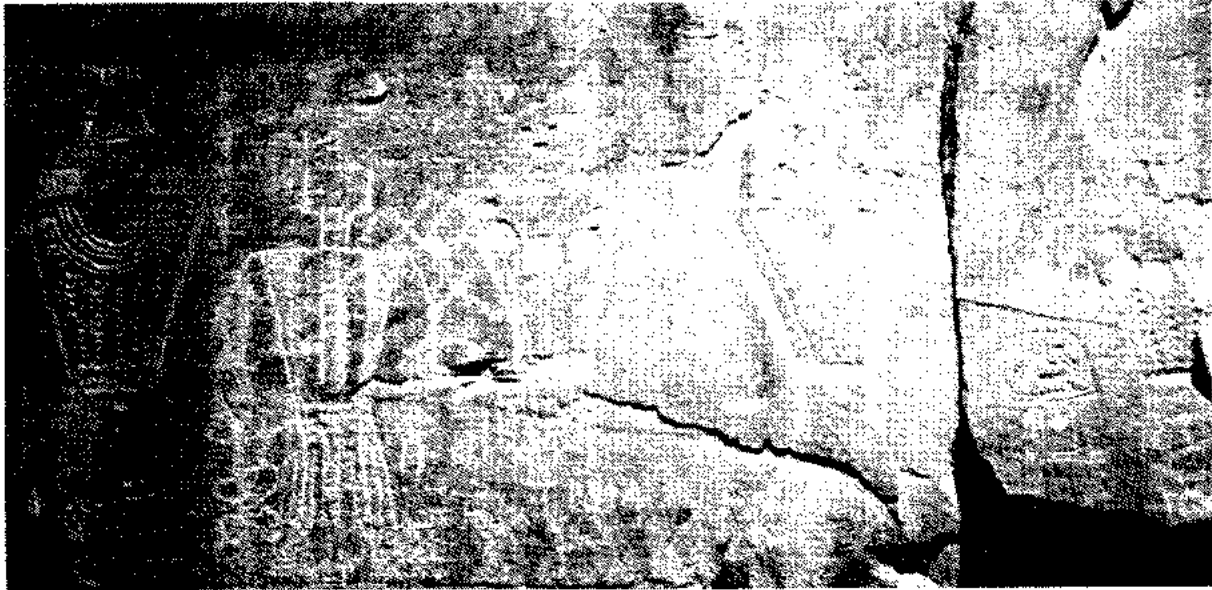


Figure 1. McConkie Ranch anthropomorphs with weeping trophy head



Figure 2. Weeping eye trophy head

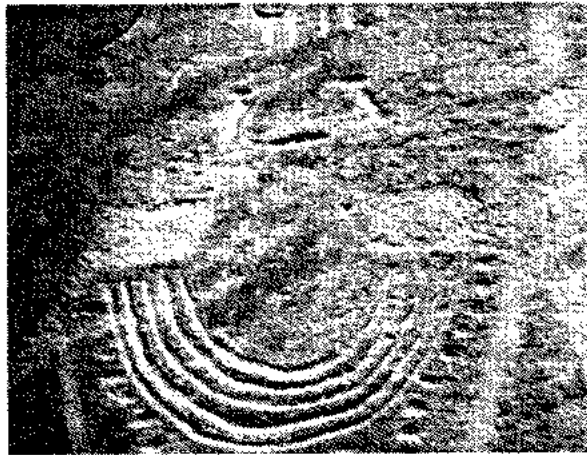


Figure 3. Tear-stained figure



Figure 4. Freightwagon weeping eyes



Figure 5. Tortoise Mountain mask

Baker on the western edge of Soda Dry Lake. He spoke of the whole area between Halloran Springs and the 32 cinder cones along Aiken Wash to the south as one vast archeological site. As we were leaving the Desert Study Center, Jim stopped at a point where we could see two Indian trails going up hills to the north. He had followed those trails for miles and plotted out prehistoric trails all over the Eastern Mojave, noting village sites, rock art and other archaeological features. In the next several years we visited several times at the annual San Diego Museum of Man rock art symposium, where he gave papers. I last saw him at an Albuquerque Symposium in 1995, though we exchanged letters more recently. He sent me a copy of his paper on "Cultural Affinities of the Freightwagon Site, Near Baker, California."

At Albuquerque Jim drew a map for me of directions to the Freightwagon Site that were no doubt intentionally vague, which was an experience other researchers said was characteristic of Jim (though he had also suffered a major stroke). He marked a trail all the way from Black Tank to Indian Springs, and circled a vast area.

Consequently, I started out from Black Tank, then Aiken Arch, and finally Indian Springs on separate outings. I photographed five rock art sites I had never seen before, located springs and seeps, and followed several trails before finally reaching Freightwagon.

If Jim intended for me to become acquainted with prehistoric trade and travel routes and their surrounding network of sites, perhaps his motive is implied in a 1986 letter accepting the honor of being a Research Associate with the San Bernardino County Museums, in which he wrote he had "continued to be concerned with the many smaller, often ignored, sites of the Mojave Desert. These minor sites often present a picture which supplements that which is offered through the larger, better known sites. It is through the assembling of small pieces that a jigsaw puzzle is clarified and understood" (Benton 1986).

At Freightwagon the first petroglyphs encountered were on massive boulders with a deep reddish patina, located on the north side of the wash. Farther west were smaller, deep-brown to black basaltic boulders that had the finest petroglyphs. Farther west up the ridge, pinkish rhyolite provided material for a lithic workshop. Moving eastward up the hill or butte from the lithic area, on the summit were twelve mounds or cairns, several of them disturbed. Across the wash to the south was a cliff with a large midden at the base, and the remains of a wall apparently built for storage. Then up the incline to the right are face or mask petroglyphs, with long tear lines extending down from each eye. From one face, the tear streaks extend beyond the surface to the overhang below (Figure 4).

Nothing within the area of the site would appear to call for such elongated, exaggerated tears. Of course, the fact that we noticed only one tool at a site originally named Freightwagon because of the load of pottery, flakes, points, and other artifacts, might cause an archeologist to weep; Jim Benton predicted on his site survey form that with the growing popularity of off-highway vehicles, the site might fall prey to vandalism and theft of artifacts.

More to the point, did the original dwellers who left their pottery, tools, and other possessions in place expect to return? Were they among the peoples who went to Clark Mountain to peacefully harvest *Agave* and were observed by army scouts, who assumed they were congregating to attack wagon trains to the south? If so, they never returned, for they were ambushed and massacred by army troops. Did a lone survivor chronicle the tragedy with weeping eyes, looking down at the Freightwagon encampment? We shall never know.

In the central Mojave Desert northwest of Barstow is a tragi-comic mask (Figure 5) at

Surprise Outcrop on the northeast point of Tortoise Mountain, which is part of the Black Canyon petroglyph complex. Wilson G. Turner started recording the petroglyphs in Black Canyon in 1977 with a team of twenty people during a six-week period beginning on July 10. Little did he expect that the recording would take some five seasons, with over 10,000 glyphs in the final count.

On August 10, 1978, I went to Black Canyon with Turner's "A 1997 Preliminary Report on the Black Canyon Project of the Mojave Desert" from the Spring, 1998, *Quarterly of the San Bernardino County Museum Association*. My little Honda Civic immediately got stuck in the deep sand of the main canyon. Backing out, I fortuitously decided to skirt west around Sandal Hill. That route took me directly to Surprise Outcrop and the amazing tragi-comic mask. The face was divided in half, with one eye open and the other closed, and tears streaming down the cheek. It was an awesome example of competing emotions, and appeared to be old, deeply incised and repatinated. Turner's report dealt with petroglyphs in the main canyon, so the Surprise Outcrop tragi-comic mask was indeed a surprise.

The final examples of the Weeping Eye motif that I want to point out in California are in a large rock shelter on the Tule River Indian Reservation in Tulare County. The shelter is composed of huge boulders, which hold up a large slab forming the ceiling. It is located right next to a narrow, boulder-lined channel of the Tule River. Pictographs cover the ceiling and side walls. On the wall to the right of the entrance is a large shaggy figure with outstretched arms and tears streaming down from the eyes (Figure 6). On the same wall, deeper into the shelter, another figure seems to have less clearly-depicted tears (Figure 7).

At the Three Rivers Site in New Mexico are at least two petroglyph masks with weeping eyes, one of which has pronounced tear streaks (Figure 8).

At Hueco Tanks State Historical Park in Texas are a number of pictograph masks having tears. On the east side of West Mountain there, a fading mask has on the left side a large weeping eye with four tear streaks coming down, and enough of the faded mask outline to suggest that the other eye had tears as well (Figure 9). Near this mask was what would in rainy weather be a waterfall, which suggests an association of the mask with rain. North Mountain also has a mask, under an overhang. The mask is outlined with yellow pigment, with red features suggesting tear streaks under one eye (Figure 10).

In contrast to rock art with Weeping Eye symbolism are examples of more ecstatic themes. In the Pahranaagat Valley of Lincoln County, Nevada, there are almost identical Hallelujah Man designs near Alamo and Ash Springs. At the Alamo Paint Site the Hallelujah Man, with arms stretched high above the head, is a bright red pictograph (Figure 11). But near Ash Springs the Hallelujah Man is a petroglyph (Figure 12) on a boulder located on the slope east of the Highway. In 1978 when I first became intensely interested in Native American rock art, as my wife and I were driving up to Caliente, Nevada, at the approach to Upper Pahranaagat Lake I saw the lava escarpments on both sides of the highway. I said to my wife, "I think there will be petroglyphs there," and there were, on both sides.

Then approaching Ash Springs, I saw the boulders up the slope to the east. Stopping at a service station that no longer exists, I asked if there was "Indian writing" on the boulders up above the station.

"No, nothing like that," was the answer, but I persevered.

"Any reason I couldn't go up that dirt road to see?"

"Go ahead," I was told, "but I'm telling you now, there's nothing up there but the dump."



Figure 6. Tule River Indian Reservation weeping eye, shaggy figure



Figure 7. Tule River weeping figure

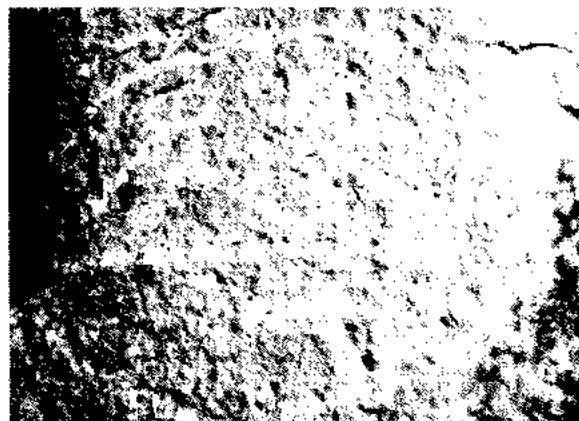


Figure 8. Three Rivers tear mask

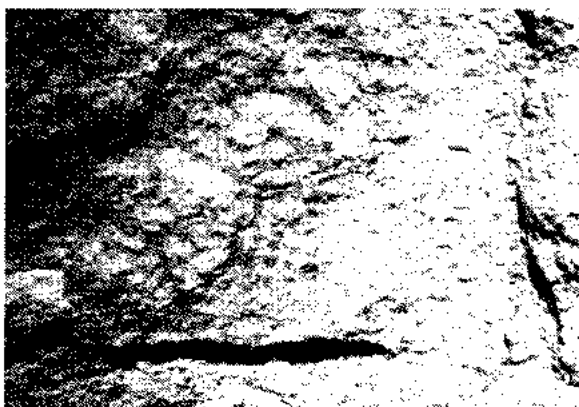


Figure 9. Hueco Tanks weeping eye



Figure 10. Hueco Tanks tear mask



Figure 11. Alamo painted Hallelujah Man



Figure 12. Ash Springs Hallelujah

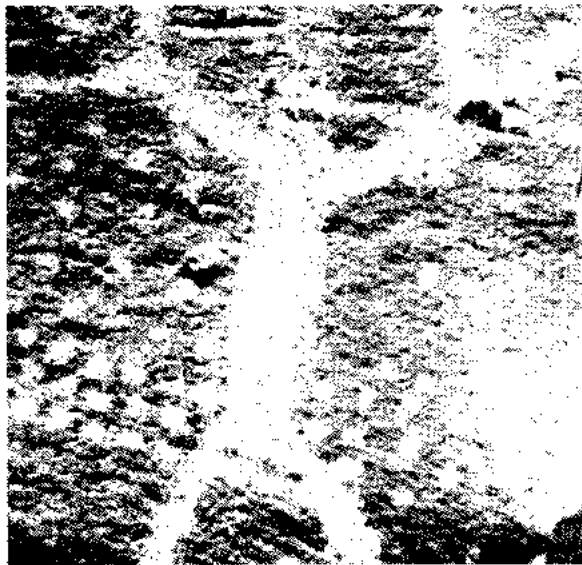


Figure 13. Lagomarsina arms raised



Figure 14. Blue Mountain figure



Figure 15. Buckhorn Wash with several figures having upraised hands



Figure 16. Panel north of Antelope Springs with exultant figure



Figure 17. Newspaper Rock ladder figure

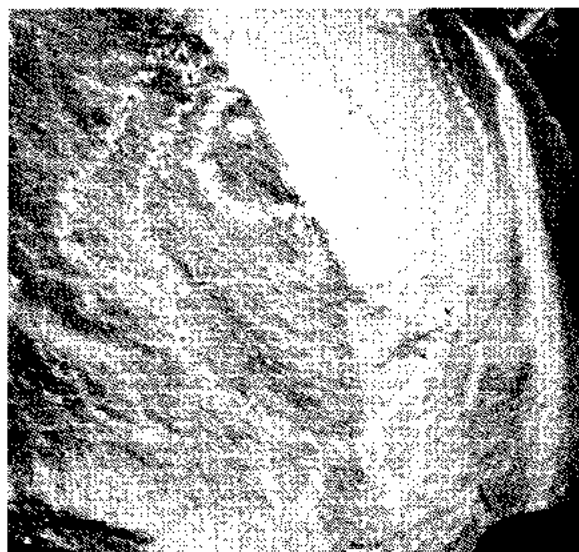


Figure 18. Santa Fe River arms up



Figure 19. South Mountain arms up



Figure 20. Tempe Butte ecstasy

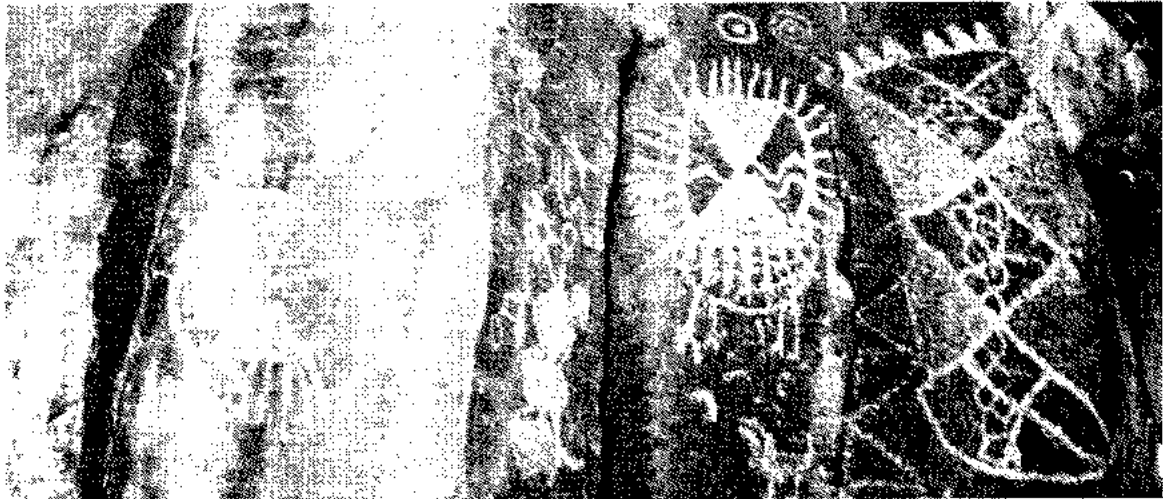


Figure 21. Gillespie Dam with figures having upraised arms

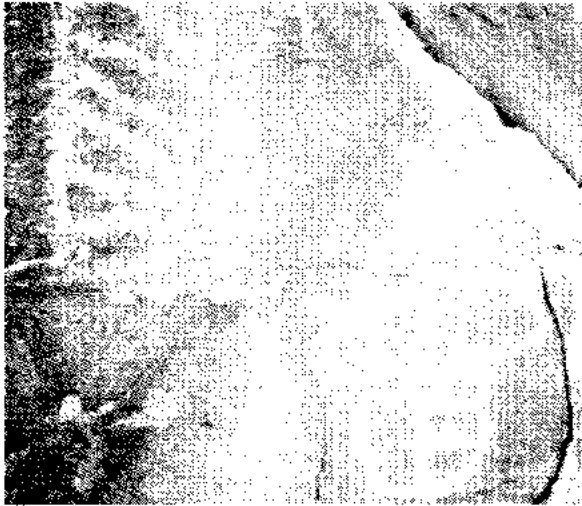


Figure 22. Sears Point shield arms

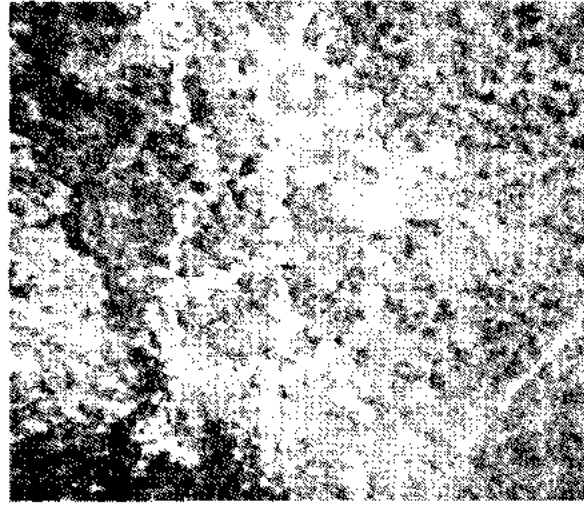


Figure 23. Three Rivers figure



Figure 24. Canyon de Chelly upraised arms

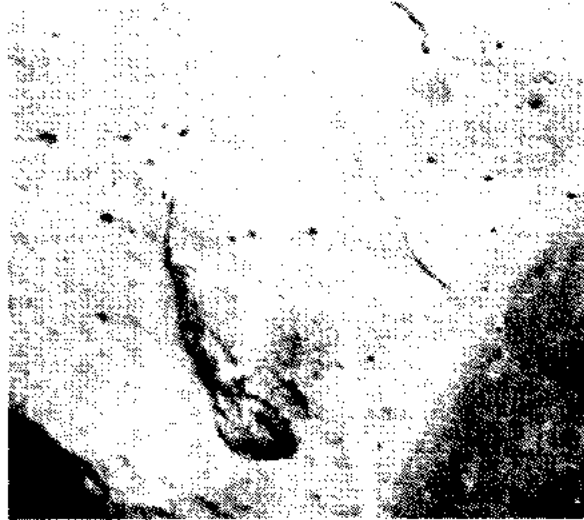


Figure 25. Gillespie Dam upraised arms

The second boulder we came to, though with some exfoliation, still had bighorn sheep glyphs. We found rock art on many boulders, including Hallelujah Man. Fortunately, the smoldering dump no longer exists.

A petroglyph with upraised arms in Nevada at the Lagomarsina Site in the Virginia Mountains between Reno and Carson City (Figure 13) intrigued me because of the rows of dots across the waist. But it was the exuberant little figure with upraised arms at the Blue Mountain Site in Dinosaur National Park in Utah (Figure 14) that suggested the contrast in emotions with those tear-stained figures at McConkie Ranch.

Because of my interest in the Buckhorn Wash Pictograph Panel Restoration Project initiated by citizens of Emery County, Utah, I must note the upraised arms in a prominent panel there (Figure 15). An idyllic petroglyph scene north of Antelope Springs in Western Utah features a cluster of life forms around a central figure with halo rays arching above the head, and has a figure to the right with arms upraised in exultation (Figure 16). Also in Utah, at the well-known Newspaper Rock site, is an intriguing ladder with upraised arms, along with a small figure with arms up as well.

In New Mexico along the Santa Fe River at the Cienaguilla site, a figure with upraised arms overlaps two surfaces that meet at the center (Figure 18).

In Arizona at South Mountain, along with the dancing shaman holding a crook, there are several dancing figures with upraised arms (Figure 19). At Tempe Butte several figures have arms raised in exultation, including those pictured (Figure 20). Among several figures with upraised arms at Gillespie Dam, a small, perhaps-pregnant figure with raised arms is located next to what some commentators regard to be "vision images" (Figure 21). At Sears Point, which has several figures with upraised arms, there is a shield figure with arms raised (Figure 22).

However, not all rock art figures with upraised arms fit into the general Hallelujah Man or ecstasy category.

At the Three Rivers site in New Mexico, there is a circle-enclosed cross with head, upraised arms, legs, and phallus (Figure 23). The encircled cross, according to ethnographic data, was an emblem of fructification in girl's puberty ceremonies (Patterson 1994:197). For both boys and girls, puberty was observed with special celebrations; the ability to have children and ensure a new generation was looked upon as very important, and became the occasion of training, purification, and ceremony.

In Arizona near the entrance to Canyon de Chelly is a design (Figure 24) showing a reclining, hump-backed flute player, having fertility significance, and an example of the "receptive female" symbol with upraised arms (Patterson 1992:115). On the escarpment south of Gillespie Dam, a male figure with upraised arms is positioned over a hole in the rock surface, which has female implications (Figure 25).

In California along the Kern River just below Lake Isabella in the southern Sierras, a red pictograph figure with upraised arms is positioned in the midst of several fertility symbols (Figure 26). At the Canebrake Wash Fertility Site several miles east of Lake Isabella, there is a long panel of pictographs under an overhanging boulder. Twenty-eight red markers symbolize the menstrual cycle. In front of the overhang is a large boulder with a yoni on top, a natural feature resembling female genitalia (McGowan 1982:1). Several grinding surfaces are at the base of the boulder. Back under the overhang and to the left of the 28 red markers, is a red pictograph figure with upraised arms. Couples not able to have children went to such fertility sites, so the upraised arms may signal success.

Jane Bush presented another meaning for the upraised arms in her paper "Prehistoric Women and Rock Art." She gave examples of hunt scenes when all the people would shout and raise their arms to chase deer over the cliffs, or to chase rabbits into nets



Figure 26. Kern River panel has upturned arms and fertility themes



Figure 27. Canebrake fertility site



Figure 28. Buffalo Eddy hunt scene



Figure 29. Nine Mile Canyon figure with lifegiving raised arms



Figure 30. Nine Mile Canyon where upraised arms suggest worship



Figure 31. White Shaman Rock Shelter with three figures in awe



Figure 32. Panther Cave figure with upraised arms and regalia

stretched across a valley (Bush 1999:2). At Buffalo Eddy on the Idaho side of the Snake River in Hells Canyon is a panel with many figures with upraised arms, some holding weapons, with bighorn sheep at the bottom of the panel (Figure 28). Since we saw bighorn sheep drinking from the river not far from Buffalo Eddy, this is a very plausible interpretation of the meaning for the upraised arms in the panel.

Finally, upraised arms can also symbolize prayer, worship, or the experience of awe (Patterson 1992:161). In Nine Mile Canyon, Utah, are two very provocative petroglyph panels. In one, to the right of the central powerful figure with upraised arms, there are animal and human forms in the horizontal or upside-down position, which may symbolize illness or death. But on the other side, the many big horn sheep and also human figures are right-side-up (Figure 29). Is this an awesome depiction of healing or life-giving power?

Another Nine Mile Canyon panel features a central figure with upraised arms and an enclosing arch and lower orb, suggesting a creation motif. There are surrounding animal and bird designs, with a lower human figure on each side. These figures seem to be in awe (Figure 30). While we cannot know the intention of the shaman artist, the impression is one of worship or adoration.

In the lower Pecos River Canyon, Texas, there are also several pictograph panels suggesting awe or ecstasy. In the famous White Shaman rock shelter overlooking the Pecos River, three small figures with upraised arms at the lower left seem to be in awe of the White Shaman ascending, leaving his black, shadow-like body behind (Figure 31). At Panther Cave a red pictograph figure under a slight overhang has upraised arms, as if in awe over the arching, 12-foot-high panther shaman, up to the left on the rock surface above (Figure 32).

Certainly emotion is depicted in Native American rock art, and this paper seeks to present a few of the contrasting emotions of agony and ecstasy, suffering and exultation, found in selected sites throughout seven Southwestern states.

Acknowledgments. It was Jim Benton, to whom this paper is dedicated, who sent me on the quest to find the Freightwagon Site in the Mojave National Preserve, and gave me his unpublished paper: "Cultural Affinities of the Freightwagon Site, Near Baker, California." I met Wilson G. Turner on several occasions at the San Diego Museum of Man rock art symposium, and his progress report on the Black Canyon Petroglyph Recording Project sent me on an adventure. Jesse Warner, past president of the Utah Rock Art Research Association and prominent rock art researcher, took us to the Blue Mountain site in Dinosaur National Park. Jane Bush, also affiliated with URARA, directed me to the upraised arms in hunting scenes in her paper on "Prehistoric Women's Roles and Rock Art." I am indebted to Nancy R. Weir, president of the Southern Nevada Rock Art Enthusiasts, for taking us to the Alamo Paint Site. I owe thanks, also, to Wanda Olszewski, Ranger Exhibit Technician at Hueco Tanks State Historical Park, Texas, for guiding me to the Weeping Eye Mask on the east side of West Mountain.

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FOXPELT OR PHALLUS?

Elaine Holmes

"Things are not what they seem; or, to be more accurate, they are not only what they seem, but very much else besides." — Aldous Huxley 1894-1963. Mr. Huxley certainly could have been speaking of rock art.

Years ago Nancy Wier, coordinator of Southern Nevada Rock Art Enthusiasts, and I speculated on why many more of the gender attributes in anthropomorphs are male rather than female. After listening to Jesse Warner's oft-repeated questions, "Well, if it's not this, what is it? If it's not that, what else could it be?" and seeing Gerald Dean's presentation of a maze that could be a fish weir and vulviforms that might be antelope rumps, I began to take the question a little more seriously.

Research led me to the conclusion that, indeed, these gender attributes may occasionally be something other than male vanity, crossing the ages. A small percentage of the apparent phallic symbols could be the foxpelts worn in western Pueblo katsina ceremonies, as in Figure 1.

Colton (1995:15) states, "The typical katsina costume characteristic of over seventy kachinas, consists of a white, handwoven, cotton kilt with embroidered ends, called a katsina kilt, and a man's white, handwoven sash with brocaded ends, called a katsina sash, over which is worn a woman's narrow belt in red, green, and black. A fox skin, suspended from the sash, hangs down behind." Further, the foxpelt tail is "considered as a relic of the earliest days of man, for the kachinas were transformed while mankind was still tailed and horned," according to Bunzel (1984:870).

The foxpelt used in ceremonies received particular attention. Roediger (1991:136) elucidates, "A noticeable feature of many of the costumes is the pendent foxskin, worn tail downward at the back of the belt. This particular fox, formerly indigenous to the mountainous country of the Pueblos, is a small animal with gray hair intermingled with amber. It was hunted during the season of the year when the hair was long and thick and the hide tough. When killed, the body of the animal was skinned very carefully and all the parts were retained: the paws remained on the legs and the ears were kept on the full head covering."

Figure 2. Ahul, Sun Katsina, from Walpi, Hopi.



Figure 1. Mahu or Cicada Katsina.





Figure 3. Kokochi Dancer, Zuni. These foxpelts clear the ground by only a few inches

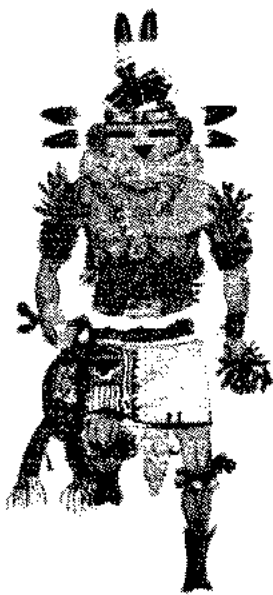
For several days prior to each occasion on which they were worn, the pelts were buried in damp sand in order to bring suppleness to the skin and a soft, live quality to the fur, mentions Roediger (1991:66). She also says (p. 135) that Hopi and Zuni performers use the foxpelts as a convention with the traditional katsina costume, while the Rio Grande Pueblos apparently do not have an association with animal tails but, instead, "affect the fringes of the plaited sash or a fan of eagle feathers on the belt at the rear."

What other distinguishing traits should our foxpelt katsinas have? As Figures 2 and 3 suggest, katsina dancers also wear headdresses or accessories in their hair.

"The true marks of identification in ceremonial costumes are found in the headdresses.... Every performer wears some ornament in his hair, even if it is no more than the white, downy, 'breath' feather or a red, downy badge of office," declares Roediger (1991:155,156).

Since katsina dancers are the topic here, we should expect to see petroglyphs or pictographs in a dancing posture. Bunzel (1984:898-899) alleges that katsina dances are line rather than circle dances, and at Zuni,

There are no elaborate dance figures, no interweaving of dancers, no use of grouping as an esthetic feature. It is all dancing in place. The group itself does not have movement. Bodily movements are restricted to movements of the feet and some slight use of gesture with the arms. There is no running or leaping, no high, deep, or wide movement, and no posturing with the body.... According to Zuni ideology, the dance is compulsive magic. The supernatural are constrained by the use of their corporeal substance, i.e., the mask. They must come with all their attributes, including rain [Bunzel 1984:898-899].



She also points out (p. 897) the customary dance step used by the katsina personators is a vigorous stamping with the right foot, to which is usually attached a turtle-shell rattle or a string of sleigh-bells to mark the rhythm. On alternate beats the heel of the left foot is slightly raised, see Figure 4, left.

In summary, how shall we differentiate "foxpelt" glyphs from other gender attribute glyphs? As so often appears with rock art, context seems to hold the clue:

A vertical line appearing between the legs (certainly not ithyphallic);

A headdress of some sort;

A dancing posture, a bent leg or legs, bent arms;

And judging from pictures of katsinas, they may have something in their hands: wands, bows, staffs, crooks, rattles, spruce sprigs, yucca leaves, *mongkos*, lightning wands, rabbit

Figure 4. Mona Katsina, also known as River or Thunder katsina, Third Mesa, Hopi.

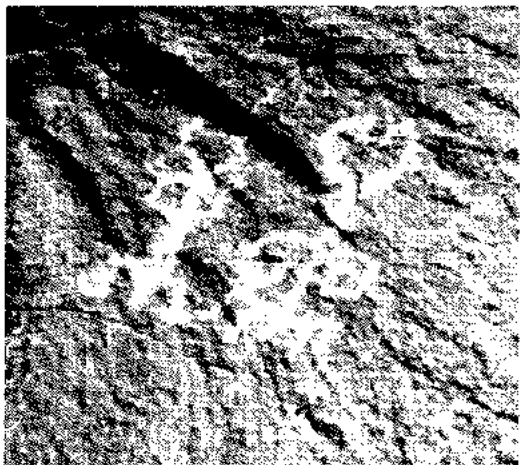


Figure 5, top left. Ravensite, Arizona.
 Figure 6, top right. Atlatl Rock, Valley of Fire, Nevada.
 Figure 7, left. Orange Pipe, Gunlock, Utah.
 Figure 8, above. Mt. Trumbull, Arizona.
 The graphic at the top of this paper is from a glyph at Little Red Rock, Nevada.

sticks, or dance wands.

Foxpelt or phallus? Interpretation is in the eye of the beholder.

Acknowledgments. Photos for Figures 5, 6, 7, 8 and the graphic at the top of the paper are by Jack Holmes. Figures 1 and 3, Wright 1998, used with permission of Northland Publishing. Figures 2 and 4, Roedigger 1991, used with permission of Carl S. Johnson.

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ART AND ROCK ART: CLARIFYING THE MISCONCEPTIONS

Reinaldo Morales, Jr.

There has been an ongoing debate about the "art" in "rock art." Various justifications have been offered for abandoning the word "art" and any art-related discourse in the study of prehistoric painting and engraving on rock. This essay addresses the assumptions that rock art is not art, and explains how these assumptions have been based upon rather limited and uninformed notions of art. Considering rock art as art in no way diminishes any cultural, religious, or communicative value it may have. On the contrary, seeing rock art as part of the rich and diverse history of art from around the world serves to widen our understanding of the motivations, circumstances, and significance of its production.

Many rock art enthusiasts, professional and amateur, have expressed a degree of hesitation or outright refusal to associate the word "art" with prehistoric paintings and engravings. Frequently this is mentioned in passing, and the term "rock art" is used with certain qualifications (Grant 1967; Schaafsma 1985). Sometimes, however, the claim that "rock art" is "not art" stands ostensibly as the premise behind an entire theoretical discourse.¹ Bahn and Vertut (1988:10) even listed some of the alternatives to "rock art" that have popped up in the literature ("pictures", 'iconography', 'images', 'pictograms / ideograms', 'symbolic graphisms', 'decorations'). Many researchers agree that the true meaning of most prehistoric painting and engraving is shrouded in mystery, limiting even the best interpretations to informed speculation reinforced by carefully-considered evidence. Unfortunately, the concept of art seems to be just as mysterious, at least as it has been characterized in the arguments that "rock art" is "not art."

The major discontentment with rock art as art revolves around a few general objections, each with overlapping implications: (a) rock paintings and engravings were *not* merely "Art For Art's Sake" (but art *is*); (b) rock paintings and engravings were *not* created primarily for aesthetic purposes (but art *is*); and, (c) art is a recent Western concept that is not shared by many, perhaps most, non-Western cultures (such as those responsible for American Indian rock painting and engraving). In this essay I will address these assumptions, and explain how they are based upon rather limited and uninformed notions of art.

Art For Art's Sake

Campbell Grant (1967) objected to the idea that American Indian rock art could be *art for art's sake*, but nonetheless used the term "rock art." Likewise, Polly Schaafsma (1985:259) wrote that, "the art of preliterate peoples, including rock art, is rarely *l'art pour l'art*... it was created for various purposes." She was not so much objecting to the term "rock art," but acknowledging that such a limited definition (merely *l'art pour l'art*) is too restrictive to allow for the inclusion of most (if not all) American Indian painting and engraving on rock. "Art For Art's Sake" refers to a specific phenomenon in the history of

Western art, but (as “art for art’s sake”) has come to generally indicate an endeavor pursued for pure enjoyment; with little or no practical value, function, or meaning.

Having its roots in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Art For Art’s Sake was a movement that intended to free art from the rules of “academic art” that prescribed the purposes and meanings to which art should adhere. On some levels it was an attempt to remove art from the available propaganda of the dominant class—to elevate art above the restrictions of social instruction and moralizing. This became an endeavor, for some, to explore those qualities that only art could—those qualities that were embodied in pure form (as in the abstract paintings of Wassily Kandinsky and Piet Mondrian), rather than in subject matter. Some art developed an intentional distance from the mundane world of everyday life—no longer part of ritual and function *as it had been before*.

However, even this art was not without meaning. Its meaning was simply found in its own form; in its intentional abandonment of representational subject matter, as had been the hallmark of Western “refinement” exhibited by “high” art since the Renaissance. It began to serve a new function: to declare the freedom of the artist and the arts. Even this, however, was subverted by bourgeois reactions to the movement and its implications. By claiming it was merely *l’art pour l’art*, critics were able to play down the corrosive effects they saw it having on “traditional values” (bourgeois values). Thus, what at first characterized a liberating movement in art became a pejorative expression of uselessness in art (at least among those who refused to look beyond the surface of the issue, or who had a social or economic agenda to protect).

Clearly, all art is not circumscribed by the tenets of this period-specific Art For Art’s Sake movement. But what about the more general idea of “art for art’s sake”? While it would be ridiculous to assume that there has *never been any* art created merely for the pleasure of creating art, it would be equally erroneous to assume that this has been the *only* motivation for art production. This would deny centuries of undisputed art, like Egyptian faience, Minoan murals, Greek sculpture, Early Christian and Jewish wall painting, Medieval stained glass, Renaissance portraiture, or Gothic architecture, for example, which certainly serve a purpose, and were not the result of merely self-satisfying endeavors.

Thus, as Schaafsma pointed out, it would be inappropriate to circumscribe all rock art within the limits of *l’art pour l’art* (just as it is inappropriate to do so for art in general). Just like art has functioned for centuries in the West (and elsewhere), it has been, and continues to be “created for various purposes.” Understanding this, the “art” in “rock art” in no way implies that prehistoric painting and engraving was an activity pursued “for its own sake.” Additionally (most certainly), it would be a stretch of logic to assume that the motivations behind the production of rock art in any way mirrored those behind the late 19th to early 20th century “Art For Art’s Sake” movement.³

The Aesthetic Purpose

In the introduction to her 1993 doctoral dissertation, Carol Díaz-Granados wrote that she prefers the term “rock graphics,” since “we cannot be certain that petroglyphs and pictographs were created as ‘art,’ that is, primarily for aesthetic purposes. It is possible that some were, but to call all rock graphics ‘art’ does a disservice to both the topic and the people who created it.” In the absence of any supporting discussion of what exactly an *aesthetic purpose* entails, we are left to presume that, for Díaz-Granados, this meant that art is created primarily to satisfy the artists’ or audiences’ desire for things of beauty (to possess them, or view them, as objects of reflection upon the ideals of beauty). The

previous discussion has already made clear that art has served many functions throughout history, so the idea that it is *limited* to objects of aesthetic appreciation is untenable. But what about the role of aesthetic appreciation in the production and reception of rock art, and for that matter, in the art of small-scale or non-Western societies in general (since these are frequently used as ethnographic models to understand the motivations of rock art production)?

This brings up the larger question of the role that subjective notions of beauty play in the judgment of *works* (things made by people—as opposed to the appreciation of beauty in things like sunsets, the smell of the air after a light rain, a bird’s song, or an attractive member of the opposite or same sex). We would not deny that all humans have the capacity to appreciate beauty, albeit according to their personal tastes. But would it be fair to say that in small-scale non-Western societies the notion of beauty does not play an elemental role in the production of their works (utilitarian or otherwise)? And, by extension, that aesthetic sensibilities should not be considered as important determining factors in the production and reception of rock art? The following discussion addresses the living arts and aesthetic sensibilities from several American Indian Tribes of the Upper Xingu River region, in the southern Amazon (Brazil). I mention these here because their traditional culture and arts have remained *relatively* unchanged by the last century of contact with *caraiabas* (non-Indians, or Whites).³

According to Pedro Agostinho, the Kamayurá are very proud of their “art” (as he put it). They take great care in its production, and make clear distinctions between beautiful and ugly work (Agostinho, personal communications 2000, 2001).⁴ Another Xingu Tribe, the Mehinaku, has similar attitudes. According to Thomas Gregor, they “admire well-executed designs and attractive ornaments,” having special words for the beautifully decorated (*kawushapaitsi*) and for the poorly decorated (*mawushapawa*) (1977:155).

Designs such as the *kulapei yana* [fish design] are carefully applied and subject to criticism if they are done poorly. No mere embellishment or ornamentation, they become an intrinsic part of the object that is decorated... Once a mask has been painted, it can attract a spirit because it now resembles him. Even a mundane object like a pot is regarded as incomplete without its appropriate design... [although] everyone knows that an undecorated pot will cook as well as any other. It is merely that a pot lacking a traditional design is undesirable [Gregor 1977:37].

This aesthetic sensibility is also seen in their attitudes toward corporal painting and adornment—garments (*nāi*), necklaces (*nete*), earrings (*tulute*), leg bands (*kuyapira*), ankle bands (*itsiyalakate*), and body designs (*yana*). Kuyaparei, a Mehinaku, said of a group of women adorning themselves, “now they are really beautiful.” The “art” of the Mehinaku, as Gregor used the term, not only communicates social relationships, but is also appreciated for and judged by its beauty (Gregor 1977:153-176). While neither Gregor nor Agostinho provided an indigenous word that glosses as “art,” they did not restrict their notions of art to merely the non-utilitarian products (if there were any) of the people they came to know.

Perhaps the most thorough study of Xingu Indian aesthetics is Aristóteles Barcelos Neto’s 1999 doctoral thesis on the Wauja.⁵ The Wauja maintain daily contact with the *Yerupöhö* and *apapaatai* (two categories of supernaturals) through their work, sex, nutrition, and “art” (as he uses the term) (Barcelos 1999:12). The origins of art and creative potential exist in these supernaturals, creating a close relationship between Wauja cosmology, aesthetics, and ethics that pervades all aspects of their life. Like their Xinguanó neighbors, the Wauja have strong opinions about good and bad art, drawing a clear distinction between *awöjötöpapai* (beautiful) and *aitsawöjötöpapai* (ugly) works (Barcelos

1999:12). These attitudes go far beyond the merely pleasurable reception of their artistic production, they are vital distinctions reinforcing the connection their art creates between humans and supernaturals.

Also like the Kamayurá, music (*apay*) plays the pivotal role of translating myth (*awnaki*) into dance (*tulukai*) and the "cosmetic beautification" (*wöjöpaitxei*) of the individual. *Wöjöpaitxei* consists of *ipitalapiti* (figurative images) and *ögána* (geometric ornamental designs) as expressed in their ritually transformative masks, featherwork, and corporal painting (*ijnāu ögána*) (Barcelos 1999:42-51). This relationship is also expressed in the ritual performances of the Kaxinawá (Lagrou 1991), Kayapó-Xikrin (Menezes Bastos 1996), and the Kalapalo (Basso 1985). This is "meaning constructed through performance" (Basso 1985:1-10), complete with sophisticated concepts of beauty, talent, and image making.

I would go so far as to say that the attitudes expressed by the Xingu Indians of the Amazon reflect many of the very same concerns that characterize the production and reception of art throughout the history of Western civilization (perhaps even that which we laud as our Fine Arts, which we now relegate to the sterile interiors of museums and galleries). Clearly, Xinguano art is not limited to an activity pursued "for its own sake," but is rather incorporated as an elemental aspect of their sacred and mundane life (just as art is, and has been in Western society). Not only that, but the aesthetic reception of their work is a deeply serious consideration. Great praise is heaped upon the best painters, carvers, and weavers, and scornful ridicule (sometimes leading to heated arguments) is visited upon those whose work is not beautiful (Agostinho, personal communications 2000, 2001).

This leaves us with two questions to consider here: Can these Xinguano attitudes about art and aesthetics stand as a model for all American Indians? And, can these attitudes provide a model for understanding the rock art of their ancestors? Clearly the answer to the first question is: No. The Tribes of the Xingu represent only a dozen of the thousands of American Indian groups. However, perhaps most significantly, these ethnographic investigations were conducted by researchers who did not limit their own ideas about art and aesthetics to those mentioned at the outset of this essay (by the detractors of "art").

Another researcher, whose notion of art was not limited to "art for art's sake," or "a merely aesthetic pursuit," was Miguel León-Portilla, who produced a study of Aztec thought and philosophy (1963). He discussed the close relationship of the *tlamatinime* to what we consider a theoretician, philosopher, or aesthetician. He studied the 16th-century chronicles and concluded:

These texts speak of a certain predestination or fate (*tonalli*) with which the artist is endowed, and part of what he seeks and experiences when he produces a work of art. They define the several classes of artist in the pre-Hispanic Nahuatl world: painter [*tlacuilo*], sculptor, goldsmith, potter [*zuquichihqui*], singer, gem carver, and others. A careful study of a number of these texts reveal that they contain something approaching a Nahuatl concept of art... There is even a text in which the artist is described and referred to precisely as a *toltécatl* [León-Portilla 1963:166-168].

León-Portilla acknowledged that these texts reveal a concept only "approaching" art. Nonetheless, the *tlamatinime* "considered the only way of embodying truth on earth to be through 'flower and song' [*In xóchitl in cuicatl*], that is, by means of symbolism expressed in art, ...sufficient proof that the Nahuas possessed a unique and effective aesthetic" (1963:176). If the Aztec and the Xinguanos developed such an advanced and sophisti-

cated aesthetic discourse, it is likely that other American Indian cultures did (many? perhaps even most?). Any assumed lack of such a discourse might indicate a less developed and sophisticated notion of aesthetics *on the part of the researcher*, rather than on the part of the indigenous culture under consideration.

But, can these aesthetic sensibilities be attributed to the makers of rock art? There is no way of knowing for sure, but it should be considered as a possibility. There is no reason to assume that among these American Indians, aesthetic sensibility somehow appeared in all other aspects of their painting and engraving (sacred and mundane), but was absent when those same activities were conducted on stationary rock surfaces by either their contemporaries (as with the Aztec) or ancestors (as with the Xinguanos). Attributing an aesthetic sensibility to the painters and engravers of prehistoric American Indian rock art in no way suggests that the aesthetic was the *primary* consideration (i.e., rock art being “created... primarily for aesthetic purposes” as Díaz-Granados says above). On the contrary, this simply adds an important dimension to the study of the paintings and engravings—one that would expand our understanding of the attitudes and considerations involved in American Indian art.⁶

Western Art, and Non-Western “Art?”

Olga Soffer and Margaret Conkey stated that most non-Western cultures “do not have an equivalent term for ‘art’ nor do they often differentiate the aesthetic from the symbolic from the sacred from the utilitarian, and so on” (1997:2); the implication being that this was the case among the prehistoric cultures who made rock art. The published exchange between Richard L. Anderson and two reviewers of his 1990 book, *Calliope’s Sisters: A Comparative Study of Philosophies of Art*, addressed this apparent lack of art or aesthetic motivations in non-Western visual expression. In *Calliope’s Sisters* Anderson sought to examine “the core of art itself” in nine non-Western societies (1990:xii).

Jacques Maquet voiced concern over the lack of “precise indicators” in Anderson’s analyses which he considered “vague” and in need of “some criteria to delimit the focal phenomenon of [Anderson’s] study: art.” Maquet’s criticism was specifically aimed at Anderson’s “lack of analytical rigor [that] perpetuates the widespread opinion that [almost] anything more or less related to art can be included in an art theory” (1991:967-968). In Kris L. Hardin’s review of *Calliope’s Sisters* she noted a reliance upon imposing “Euro-American categories of experience, form, behavior, and, finally, art” (1991:119). Like Maquet, Hardin also wanted a more precise *inventory* of the characteristics Anderson used to quantify the presence of art in various aspects of non-Western material culture.

In his defense, Anderson noted that he adopted “an effectively inductive approach” (1992:928) and, in fact, provided a refined analysis based upon “the conditions of there being present some sort of artifact, made by human skill, ingenuity, and imagination, which embodies... certain distinguishable elements and relations” (citing Weitz 1956:33). In *Calliope’s Sisters*, he reduced the definition of art to the three traits “most commonly associated in the Western mind with art... its being beautiful, skillfully made, and non-utilitarian” (1990:22). This is reminiscent of the ongoing debate over the separation of Craft and Fine Art.⁷

Anderson’s approach, and that of his critics, reflects a need to define art as a *measurable thing*, quantitatively identifiable in the object in which it is expressed or embodied.⁸ One frequently used method of determining whether art is present in a culture is through investigating the indigenous language to find out if there exists a word that translates directly as “art.” This requires a succinct definition of the word in order to discover an

indigenous synonym and other "art-related terminology." Hardin and Maquet claimed, as Soffer and Conkey did, that "some—perhaps most—languages lack words that translate even approximately as *art*" (Anderson 1992:927). However, Anderson limited his definition to three questionable traits that would discount centuries of undisputed Western art (Minoan murals, Greek sculpture, Renaissance portraiture, etc., as mentioned earlier).

Hardin's insistence on a similarly limited notion of art (as a "Euro-American" construct) is reflected in her conclusions about art in non-Western cultures. For example, her study of the dance occasions among the Kono of eastern Sierra Leone (West Africa) focused upon the "connections between aesthetic response and 'non-art' experience" (1988:35). Hardin considered "Art" inappropriate in this context. Babatunde Lawal's 1996 study of the Yoruba (Nigeria, Benin, Togo) *Gèlèdè* spectacle likewise addressed the aesthetics of a West African dance cycle. Unlike Hardin, however, Lawal not only provided an indigenous word for "art" (*onà*, in Yoruba), but also explained in detail the diverse ways art and aesthetic sensibility are intertwined into Yoruba culture (both in their ceremonial and everyday life). With regard to the symbolism of the *igi Gèlèdè* (*Gèlèdè* wooden headdress) he wrote:

In line with the dualism that runs through other aspects of the culture, Yoruba aesthetics embrace the outer and the inner.... Outer or external beauty is *ewà òde*, and inner beauty or intrinsic worth is *ewà inú*. The truly beautiful combines both qualities to an appreciable degree. Similarly, a full appreciation of a work of art (*isè onà*) requires the use of one's "outer" and "inner" eyes, known as *ojú òde* and *ojú inú*, respectively.... The following Yoruba proverb underscores the importance of knowledge, experience, and insight in the interpretation of art forms: *Bí òwe, bí òwe l'á nlù ògidigbó: Ológbón ní íjò, Òmòràn ní í mò o.* (The language of the slit wooden drum is proverbial: Only the wise know how to dance it, Only the astute can understand and interpret it) [Lawal 1996:238-239].

Perhaps the Kono had no synonym for the Yoruba word "*onà*" (i.e., no word for "art"), or perhaps Hardin could simply find no term that conformed to her definition of art—a definition free of those "Euro-American categories" she criticized Anderson for relying upon.⁹

While the researchers cited in the earlier discussion of Amazonian art did not provide an indigenous word that translates directly as "art," as Lawal did with the Yoruba word "*onà*," they did not limit their own ideas of art to something they should "recognize and even carve off separately as the aesthetic sphere" (Soffer and Conkey 1997:2), somehow "outside the rational reasoning of everyday activities" (Tomásková 1997:269). Claims that "some—perhaps most—languages lack words that translate even approximately as *art*" (Anderson 1992:927), or that "ethnographic data from nonwestern cultures clearly show us... [that] most such cultures... do not have an equivalent term for 'art'" (Soffer and Conkey 1997:2)¹⁰, seem to reflect a problem with linguistics—a hindrance to compiling a dictionary—rather than evidence of a lack of art (Lawal, who is Yoruba and an art historian, had no problem providing the Yoruba word for art).

This is easy to understand in the context of the attitudes and definitions of "art" reviewed in the introduction of this essay. If, for example, an anthropologist questioned an indigenous informant about the word she or he uses for "art," but defined it as something "created *primarily* for aesthetic purposes," or something "being beautiful, skillfully made, and *non-utilitarian*," then it would not be surprising if the informant could offer no word for the anthropologist's "art." In fact, if these same questions were asked of many Western artists (e.g., those responsible for Medieval manuscripts, Baroque architectural sculpture, Neoclassical painting, De Stijl painting and architecture, Abstract Expressionist

paintings, Postmodern works, etc.), the outcome would likely be the same. The reason some cultures have “art” and others supposedly don’t is probably less a reflection of any concept of art on the part of the “Other,” and more likely a reflection of the definition of “art” used by the investigator.

Art History and Prehistoric Art

The objections mentioned at the outset of this essay also reflect unfamiliarity with the discipline of art history. Some researchers prefer a methodology based in text and language analysis rather than an art historical approach, which they assume “addresses works of art through the lens of aesthetics” (Tomášková 1997:259). This assumption, however, ignores the plurality of approaches that have characterized the discipline of art history in the last half of the 20th century. (See, for example, Howard Risatti’s *Postmodern Perspectives* [1990] for a review of art criticism in the 20th century, including Formalist theory, Ideological criticism, Cognitive and Communicative theory, Feminist criticism, and Psychoanalytical criticism.)

“As defined in the past century, art is a cultural phenomenon that is assumed to function in what we recognize and even carve off separately as the aesthetic sphere.... This aesthetic function is something that we cannot assume to have been the case in prehistory,” Soffer and Conkey wrote (1997:2). “Today, we have refocused our attentions to include other locales, other contexts, other situations and, most importantly, withdrawn from seeing this body of data as representing ‘art.’ In doing so we argue that such a catholic view is absolutely crucial in reorienting the entire field of inquiry and interpretation” (Soffer and Conkey 1997:3). Curiously, this “catholic view” (universal, all embracing, if the dictionary is correct) does not embrace the idea of art.

It is not clear whose definitions of art “in the past century” Soffer and Conkey used to support these assumptions. Helen Gardner (1926), Erwin Panofsky (1939, 1955), E. H. Gombrich (1960, 1962), Michael Baxandall (1972), and Marilyn Stokstad (1995), certainly did not consider the function of art to be restricted to the “aesthetic sphere.” On the contrary, in addition to the aesthetic qualities of art, each of these authors (whose texts are among the standard introductory readings in art history) also made clear the various ways art functions in society. The “catholic view” of rock art that Soffer and Conkey considered “crucial” was a reaction to a rather limited understanding of art and the discourse of art history.

The claims that we need to “withdraw” from seeing prehistoric art as art, or that the entire field needs to be “reoriented” to avoid some presumed illegitimate art historical approach, do not account for the fact that as early as 1950, students of art history were already being cautioned against an improper contextualization of art. As E. H. Gombrich wrote:

There is really no such thing as Art. There are only artists. Once these were men who took coloured earth and roughed out the forms of a bison on the wall of a cave; today they buy their paints, and design posters for the Underground; they did many things in between. There is no harm in calling all these activities art as long as we keep in mind that such a word may mean very different things in different times and places, and as long as we realize that Art with a capital A has no existence. For Art with a capital A has come to be something of a bogey and a fetish [Gombrich 1962:5].

So the “crucial” need in 1997, to understand prehistoric art in its proper context, is something students of art history had already been aware of for at least 50 years. Again,

Gombrich wrote:

If we take art to mean such activities as building temples and houses, making pictures and sculptures, or weaving patterns, there is no people in all the world without art. If, on the other hand, we mean by art some kind of luxury, something to enjoy in museums and exhibitions or something special to use as a precious decoration in the best parlour, we must realize that this use of the word is a very recent development and that many of the greatest builders, painters or sculptors of the past never dreamed of it... Paintings and statues... were not thought of as mere works of art but as objects which had a definite function... Similarly, we are not likely to understand the art of the past if we are quite ignorant of the aims it had to serve... We cannot hope to understand these strange beginnings of art unless we try to enter into the mind of the primitive peoples and find out what kind of experience it is which makes them think of pictures, not as something nice to look at, but as something powerful to *use* [Gombrich 1962 19-20].

Despite his obviously dated language (*primitive peoples*), Gombrich's approach to art was clearly based in the understanding that art has been, and continues to be, an important and diverse activity,¹¹ meaning different things to different people at different times. This is a far cry from the assumed limitations of art and art history that the critics of "rock art" claim as the basis for their discontent.

Conclusions: Rock Art as Art

As this essay has shown, the objections to considering rock art as art have been based upon fairly uninformed notions about art. A harmless side effect of this has been the invention or adoption of an entire vocabulary just to avoid using "art" or art-related terminology. A more insidious and harmful side effect (the true disservice) has been the possible dissemination of an uninformed, incomplete, or pejorative definition of "art" to the people for whom rock art is part of a revered cultural heritage.

For example, I wonder if David Mowaljarlai would have made the following emphatic declaration if he had been informed that art is not just some frivolous Western concept and activity:

Someone told me just recently that "rock art is dead". If "Art" was dead, that would not matter to we Aborigines. We have never thought of our rock paintings as "Art". To us they are IMAGES. IMAGES with ENERGIES that keep us ALIVE – EVERY PERSON, EVERYTHING WE STAND ON, ARE MADE FROM, EAT AND LIVE ON [Mowaljarlai 1992:8].

I also wonder if the Nations consulted for a paragraph included in *La Pintura* would have expressed the same dissatisfaction with the term "rock art" if they had been informed of the important and diverse ways art functions:¹²

Native American elders in the area have voiced discomfort at the use of the word "art," as used in the term "rock art." They feel that its use is both inappropriate and inaccurate when describing pictograph and petroglyph images. While ARARA recognizes and respects their concerns and admits that a label such as "rock images" might be more exact, we also acknowledge that the term "rock art" is generally used, understood, and accepted as the common expression to collectively describe these images [Dean 2001].

The artist Frank LaPena (Wintu Nation), on the other hand, expressed a decidedly different attitude about the "art" of rock art:

As an art form, rock art is aesthetically some of the finest work ever done. It continues to

fascinate and relate to contemporary times because philosophically it gives us a vision of a living earth balanced with both the spiritual and physical in harmony [LaPena 1983:27].

To the Nations consulted for the *La Pintura* paragraph, "art" was an inadequate, perhaps insulting, term when applied to the prehistoric "rock images" on their land. For LaPena, rock art is not only art, but some of it is great art. The difference here is in the definition they have for "art" and how that definition applies to their cultural legacy.

A lot of emphasis is placed on public education of the value of rock art. With the increasing interest in rock art evident in the last few decades of the 20th century, a very diverse community of researchers from many disciplines has come together in the field, at conferences, and over the Internet to cooperate in an effort to more fully understand rock art. It seems odd in light of this, that the education offered by art history is deemed inappropriate, inconsequential, or unnecessary by some researchers. The definitions of art and offered by the "rock art is not art" critics are indeed insufficient and inappropriate to adequately characterize prehistoric paintings and engravings on rock. But more importantly, they are insufficient and inappropriate to adequately characterize *art*.

Considering rock art as art in no way diminishes any cultural, religious, or communicative value it may have. On the contrary, seeing rock art as part of the rich and diverse history of art from around the world serves to widen our understanding of the motivations, circumstances, and significance of its production. As art, rock art is not restricted to merely *l'art pour l'art*, or to a *primarily aesthetic function*, or to some illusory concept found *only in modern Western societies*. These assumed limitations of art do not withstand even the most rudimentary critical analysis. Coming to terms with the *art-ness* of rock art compliments our understanding of prehistoric visual culture, and enlightens our conception of art as a pan-cultural human phenomenon.

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Notes

¹ See for example: Guidon 1982; Pessis 1991, 1999; Soffer and Conkey 1997; Tomásková 1997; and White 1997.

² We must keep in mind, however, the likelihood that some rock art production was indeed in response to social and economic tensions; just as art responded to the radical (and reactionary) changes in late 19th to early 20th century industrialized European society. The arts have often been unwilling (or willing) pawns in the ebb and flow of social and economic propaganda. Likewise, the arts have stood as one of the most effective channels through which to combat that propaganda. Is the use of art in the service of radical or reactionary propaganda only a modern Western phenomenon? I think not.

Were there serious issues of power, display, resistance, or conformity (appropriation) at work in the execution of some prehistoric rock art? I don't see why not.

³ An interesting historical note: When Columbus' Arawak (Taino) "guides" told him about the marauding groups of "enemy savages" who lived on some of the islands in the Antilles, they referred to them as *caribes* (cannibals). This word has come to refer to one of the four major language trunks of South America (Jê, Tupí, Arawak, and Carib), when it actually just meant cannibal / enemy / non-Indian (see: Pané 1999).

⁴ Pedro Agostinho is a professor of Anthropology in the College of Philosophy and Human Sciences, Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. See also: Agostinho 1970, 1974a, 1974b, and 1993.

⁵ *Waurá* is the most commonly used spelling. However, *Wauja* is used in this essay as it is the spelling preferred by the Indians themselves (Emilienne Ireland 1991:57 note 1; and personal communication 2001). Other studies of Xingu art and aesthetics include Coelho Penteadó (1991), Costa (1987, 1988), and Müller (1990).

⁶ This notion of aesthetic sensibility is not limited to the *beautification* of a work, but also applies in situations where the natural qualities of the material (the rough, unworked, innate qualities) were considered part of the overall aesthetic (or, anti-aesthetic). The *nan* masks of the Xerente (central Brazil) are made from a bundle of unmodified blades of *buriti* palm fronds (as opposed to the finer *buriti* "silk" used in most masks). These are bound together at one end with string, and draped over the head of the masker. The unrefined, rough quality of these masks reflects the ungainly appearance of the *seriema*, a rail-like bird whose meat is considered undesirable, and who is a central character in the myth associated with the *nan* masking event (see: Nimuendaju 1942:54 ff.).

⁷ See Risatti, "Crafts and Fine Art: An Argument in Favor of Boundaries" (2001).

⁸ See Steven Leuthold's chapter, "Is There 'Art' in Indigenous Aesthetics?" (1998:45-63) for a detailed discussion of this approach to art in American Indian and other non-Western cultures. A humorous, yet salient observation was made by John Clegg, with regard to the attempt to quantify the elements of something as nebulous as art:

Mathesis is a perfectly good English word which means the counting or measuring of things which are not normally counted or measured.... In our time the frontiers of measurement are at Style, and Art. An archaeological generation ago, it was fashionable to do QUANTIFICATION, and equally fashionable to sneer at the practise, on the grounds that it constitutes unnecessarily abstruse mathematics for its own sake. If you can't shoot it, or cut it down, then count it and perform a test of significance, which will save you from needing to understand what you are trying to do [Clegg 1995:3].

⁹ It is important to note one of the observations Anderson made in defense of his work; specifically regarding the insistence that the lack of a word equates to the lack of a corresponding concept ("art" and art, for example). The following is from Anderson's response to Maquet and Hardin:

The situation [no word "art" means no concept of art] parallels that found in other areas of anthropology. For example, consider a non-Western society that has no single word that translates directly into English as *kinship* and that, similarly, lacks a coherent articulated theory of kinship. A fieldworker who encounters such a group is likely to possess an abstract concept of kinship, with constituent notions of consanguinity, marriage, lineality, and so on, all based on the way *kinship* has been used in the West generally, and especially among people, such as

anthropologists, who talk a lot about kinship. The absence in a particular non-Western society of a native kinship system, explicitly and consciously verbalized by members of the culture, would not lead most researchers to conclude that the people have no kinship system or that there is nothing to be said regarding kinship in the society, especially if many of the concomitants of kinship, such as clans and lineages, rules of descent, and so on, are in evidence. . . . Eugene Ogan (personal communication, 1992) has pointed out that Schneider's critique (1984) of anthropologists' usual method of studying kinship parallels Hardin's criticism of my way of looking at non-Western philosophies of art. Nevertheless, most anthropological writing, past and present, is based on the premise that both kinship and art are found in all cultures (cf. Brown 1991:140) [Anderson 1992:928-929].

¹⁰ It is unclear what these authors mean by 'most non-Western cultures' (they do not identify how many or which cultures do not have a word for art). This certainly does not include the cultures of India, China, and Japan, who have long had art and aesthetic discourse.

¹¹ The idea that "the arts" include a diversity of activities is not limited to mid-century art history. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* includes in its frontispiece the following statement:

"The arts" are understood broadly to include not only traditional forms such as music, literature, theater, painting, architecture, sculpture, and dance, but also more recent additions such as film, photography, earthworks, and performance art, as well as the crafts, decorative arts, and various aspects of popular culture.

¹² The text was prepared by J. Claire Dean with representatives of The Nez Perce Tribe, Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Reservation of Oregon, Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, and Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation. The information provided here is from a personal communication from J. Claire Dean (2001) explaining the motivations and process of involving local Nations in the preparation of the 2001 American Rock Art Research Association conference in Pendleton, Oregon.

Odd Eye Out: More Than Just "Here's Looking at You with One Eye"

Jesse E. Warner

I began a file of odd-eyed figures after I read Hill and Hill's great work on *Indian Petroglyphs of the Pacific Northwest* in the early 1980s. They devote a section to what is described as a "different treatment of the left and right eyes." They quote Gjessing who assumed these figures represent a person with a "blind eye." The "blind eye" motif was found by Gjessing in "Europe, Siberia, through the Pacific, along the Northwest coast of America, in the West Indies, and on the Northeast coast of South America" (Hill and Hill 1975:275).

They state that this motif is ancient. Odin gave up one of his eyes for wisdom and prophetic knowledge. Lqwalus, from around Puget Sound, is recorded as saying in a Spirit Canoe Ceremony, "Now look at me, I have only one eye and with it I see everything." This provides the needed association with mysticism. They caution the reader that this widespread occurrence does not necessarily indicate "anything precise in terms of the transfer of ideas or people" (Hill and Hill 1975:275).

They then quote Rand, whose view is that, "Stylistic factors have empirically proven more reliable than motifs as criteria for tracing precise time-space relationships." To that they add, "Motifs diffuse more easily than integrated art styles. However, the blind eye motif appears to be associated with the idea of spiritual power and hence the spread of the feature may represent the diffusion of a religious concept" (Hill and Hill 1975:275). In the section where they consider this topic, they illustrate six different examples (Figures 1A:a-f, 1B). Searching through the rest of Hill's illustrations yields another 30 likely candidates. I include 27 here, marked with an HH.

Figures in this paper are grouped into different categories based on variations of how they were rendered rather than by geographical area. In no one geographical area is there an exclusive manner of representing these glyphs, even though there are favorite local variations. It is interesting, however, to note the similarities and differences within each geographical area, and which ones are predominant; some are rather geographically restricted.

After seeing the variety of depictions on the Northwest Coast, it became obvious to me that the same basic symbolism occurs throughout the the western United States. Before we begin to discuss the illustrations, quickly look at Figures 1 to 9. Notice that the large number marked with an asterisk are from Washington and Oregon, many from the two volumes of Loring and Loring (1982a; 1982b), supporting Gjessing's findings of an abundance of one-eyed figures in the Northwest. By going through my files I have been able to pull out many others.

The various categories are fairly self-explanatory. The main purpose here is to bring them together for your attention, and show their variety and some context supporting their mystical applications. It seems evident from this expanded collection that the previous assessment of the odd-eyed motif as dealing with spiritual sight and associated with certain powers can be assumed as given. Early recorders like the Hills were pioneers in the

process of providing keys to understanding this symbolism.

I would like to note how many examples incorporate what seems to be solar-related symbolism, with sun-like rays as various parts of their form. There is also obvious use of this one- or odd-eyed feature in what can be considered as representations of owls. Perhaps, in part, this creature was the source or inspiration for the odd-eyedness. In my opinion the owls' ability to wink and to see in the darkness sets them off as odd-eyed and esoteric.

We need to rid ourselves of the idea that native peoples thought of owls only as bringers of evil omens. Owls were associated with a great variety of symbolism going far beyond that simple and often-feared aspect. According to Reichard in her book *Navaho Religion*, they were viewed with different concerns by different peoples. Those possibilities include ideas such as transformation, representations of vision questing, and as guides for adepts' continued search for enlightenment. Owls also covered heroes and holy ones with their wings or skins for comfort and protection (Reichard 1966:65, 432, 456, 581).

Owls provided special information and ceremonial properties. In one case an owl gave a hero the means to get back home. An elf owl once warned of an approaching enemy, and a screech owl helped to make things beautiful on earth. And of course, some were believed to be sorcerers or witches. Some owls were also associated with sexual representations. This paper will consider a sexually-oriented symbolism associated with eyes, which may relate to contexts with owls.

A Solar Related Aspect, or When Isn't a Sun a Sun?

Before we consider aspects relating to the sun, flip through all of the illustrations and quickly look at the many different ways in which odd eyes are associated with solar-related symbolism, or at least symbolism suggesting a rayed aspect. The sun-like eyes in Figures 6 to 9 and a few others, especially, seem to express an ability to see not only into both light and darkness, but to see into light with one eye and into darkness with the other, or into both worlds with the good eye if the other is blind; but then it was the blind eye that provided the second sight. Or, on the other hand, it may be the blind eye that was really allowed to see. (An assumption, but it seems a fundamental part of this symbolism.)

However, no one can be certain whether these or any other examples belong to the odd-eyed concept. If they do, it is difficult to tell just how they may relate, in their seemingly different applications, and to understand how exactly the people viewed them. At least we can begin to gain a basic understanding with the added familiarity presented here.

What I have done in all my research, as in many previous papers, is to gather as many examples as possible of what seems to be included in this concept. Then we can study their similarities and differences, just as the Hills did. It is the similarities each figure possesses which places it on any of these pages, but it is its specifics that place it on one page versus another. And then it is the difference between one page and the next, as well as within each page, that allows us to gain a better understanding. Any example with the exact same form and treatment indicates little more than just distribution and conventions.

As an example, notice that Figures 7:d-f are dot-centered circles or dot-centered concentric circles. Among other things, both of these are basic sun symbols. Such symbols, as well as other sun-like eyes, suggest emergence or a tunnel effect as a portal to or from

the Otherworld. If both of those graphic forms are combined, considering the eye (sun) as the window or door to the soul, and the sun as a portal to enlightenment, then the two may thus be related. And they may even be considered as possibly owl-like, with the eye centered within an outlying, feathered ring seeming to enlarge the eye itself, especially if we think one to be odd.

What better way to express eyes which can see into the Otherworld than by depicting them as the portals to that mystical realm, since to see something new is to enter into that new area of experience? But the sun is also believed to be a portal that the mystic traveler has to pass through. What does one tell us that the others don't? Often it is the differences that add additional detail and *insight*, presenting familiar symbolism with noticeably different variations and applications, which may strengthen previous conclusions. Differences may illustrate an extension of the meaning of a form, or they may suggest another symbolism that is just similar in form, in that concepts of sun, portal, emergence, and gaining new insight are similar in many respects.

One thing we may not want to assume is that dot-centered circles are abbreviated forms of concentric circles, since that may not always be the case. This symbol may have many different meanings, just as with many, if not all, symbols. If dot-centered circles do not represent concentric circles, could they still be related in their meaning some way? Is there an affinity between them, and if there is, what is it? And if so, are they equal and interchangeable? I do not believe that the forms in Figures 7d to f are necessarily exact equivalents, even though some may be.

According to several Native American informants, each nuance of different form or context adds to or changes meaning to an equivalent degree. To some, the more rings added to a concentric circle, the more a concentric nature is stressed. As is true for spirals, in addition to a great many possible meanings, concentric circles can be emphasized or added to, slightly changing their meaning with each additional whorl, concentric ring, or appendage, or combination with another symbol.

Figure 5A:n shows an odd attachment to the eye on our right. This eye-like form is much like the forms of the two eyes in Figure 2:f, providing evidence that it may also be an eye. But is the concentric, circular, two-pronged attachment in Figure 5A:n an eye as well? If so, then is it an example of what is often called "the third eye" (if counting from the left, as we may want to do; the third eye is usually represented as the middle one of the three). Notice, however, that the middle eye in 5A:n is within what could be taken as an inverted U-bracket, much like a vulviform. Is that eye then to be understood as the real third eye since, in the mystery of the third eye, sexual affinity and sexual symbolism are associated with it in some parts of the world? That must be considered as unlikely, to be totally objective, but is there something subjective about it that may help make this association more convincing?

For a moment, consider that the Sanskrit term meaning the third, all-seeing eye, allowing one to see beyond the illusions of ordinary reality, is believed to be related to the Egyptian *ru*, a mouth symbol used by later esotericists as an eye, mouth, and uterus symbol. *Ru* was also used not only as a symbol of birth and rebirth (in a spiritual sense), but as the portal between the two worlds (Ovason 1999:277, 357, 392), whether that may seem logical or not to those unfamiliar with their uses of these older, more esoteric symbols.

For those not familiar with sacred geometry, this oval eye, mouth, and womb symbol *ru* is also the center formed within the *Vesica Pisces* (two sacred and symbolic overlapping circles). The central oval is the door between the two circles, analogous to the crack between the two worlds. (This form also opens a door to numerous measurements relat-

ing to key philosophical principles.)

Play an interesting mind game with me that will take us in a circuitous route through a visual representation of symbolic meanings. Under the esoteric principles of opposites, and the bipolarity of reversed images, if you take the two concentric-circle eyes of an owl (not used as odd and opposite in their aspects of light and dark at this point) and place them in the center of two squares, you have Figure 5B:a. This represents the centering of one's self. It is analogous to calibrating one's self to the universe, to ritually preparing a harmonious setting for the third eye to begin seeing.

Since we are considering opposition in bipolar imagery, in Figure 5B:b odd eyes are reflected reversed below the line, marking the boundary between the two worlds of each set of eyes. The upper two eyes still belong to this world and the lower eyes now belong to that unknown world hidden in mists of darkness.

In Figure 5B:c draw the lines of sight between the centers of all four pupils and then quarter all of the boxes. On the horizontal lines between the centers of the pupils of the two pairs of eyes mark an x at the center of each for the third eyes. Take a compass and put the pivot point x of the line between the two upper eyes and draw a circle around them. This creates a face, the face of mortality.

Because we are dealing with a balance of opposites, do it again to encompass the bottom two eyes to create the face of our other half, to represent the spiritual side of ourselves, that shadow made of light. In doing so, we have created the powerful symbol *Vesica Pisces* with its central *ru* or mouth symbol (Figure 5B:d).

This only allows us to communicate between the two worlds, mortal and spiritual. To get the normal view of the *Vesica Pisces*, turn it sideways, with the corners of the mouth halfway between the two upper and the two lower eyes (the position of the third eyes), balancing two of those four invisible points the third eyes now made visible. In other words this helps us to see something not previously visible.

Remember the upper eyes in Figures 5B:a-c are the ones that see in the world of the living, the mortal, mundane, physical world of matter. The lower eyes are those able to see into the Otherworld since they represent the reversed, opposed eyes of the world of the spirit. But it's not that easy; there needs to be disassociation between the mortal and the spirit, representing flight of the spirit or the Out of Body Experience (OOBE).

Rotate Figure 5B:d just half a turn; Figure 5B:e represents this. In this position, instead of having the two mortal eyes in one circle or on one face as before, we now have one mortal eye and one spiritual eye in each circle. This represents a person who possesses Double Vision, the ability to see anywhere and everywhere (Figures 12 to 15, 18, 19). If the circle represents the face, then one of these eyes can see into the world of light and day, and the other into the world of night and darkness. This allows us to begin to understand the symbolism of these eyes. The imagery of one eye in light and the other eye in the shadows will be illustrated with solar interactions on rock art in the figures given just above, also in Figures 1A:f and 1B illustrated in Hill and Hill (1975).

This now allows us to create the form of the lozenge, which represents the all-seeing eye. It can only be used when one head is split away from the other, in an opposite (rotated) view of that normally used. But what is so very important is that the lozenge also forms the beak or mouth of the owls, shared by both the upper eyes of the upright face and the lower eyes of the reversed face. Now notice that the quartering lines of the background split this lozenge-shaped *ru*/eye/mouth into a right half and a left half, as well as a top half and a bottom half. The shape of this eye changes with the latitude in which the people who use it live. Figure 5D illustrates the sightlines by which men see their gods.

This lozenge can also represent two other things that say much the same thing. The

first is that this is the social-cosmological division of the Navajo worldview as seen from within the *hoghan*. The top, north half is male, while the bottom, south half is female. The right, east half is adolescence, and the left, west half is adult. That social structuring provides a guide, a map of how to navigate passage through the architecture of life, from the past through the present to the future. It tells the Navajo people where they came from, where they are at any one moment in life, and where they are going.

Secondly, the form of this lozenge represents the all-seeing eye's view into the world of youth and adulthood, as well as into or within the world of men and the world of women, understanding with the right brain of female emotion and spirit, or the left brain of male and logic.

In esoteric lore it is the mouth that acts as the womb, allowing the possibility of re-birth. The two triangular forms embracing the curved edges of the *ru* create the whites of the eye around that womb or iris form. This triangular beak or mouth forming a part of the third eye expresses a mystical nature in another way of looking at the beliefs shown by the rock art. Is that the eye used by Lqwalus to see everything with?

If you draw another *Vesica Pisces* ninety degrees from the first one and then square off another inner lozenge within the two, you can create the rotating, all-seeing *Ojo de Dios*, as a four-pointed star. In early Christianity the mouth which formed the *logos* also forms the fish, the word for he who was the fisher of men, the Christ who sees all (Ovason 1999: 426); see Figure 5B:g. (Refer to the paper "Looking At Versus Seeing." (Warner 2000b:21))

Notice that if you turn Figure 5B:e upright to make 5B:f to the right of 5B:e, you still have an upright, owl-like face with a reversed owl-like face above and attached to it, creating two overlapping owl-like heads with large V-shaped beaks. Figures 5C:a-d show the same upright, reversed composition of two heads, discussed in greater detail in the paper "Inverted Bucket Heads" (Warner 1984a, 1984b). This duality may be an example of an affinity between things, creating the sacred nature, identity, and empowerment of this symbolism.

Study Figure 5C and you'll notice variations representing this same basic idea. Are the Inverted Bucket Heads simply reversed (upright) Bucket Heads sharing the same eyes, with the mouth symbol on their foreheads, as the last two references suggest? Turn the reversed, supposedly-spirit image above the head of Figure 5C:b upright; the eyes and mouth within the (Bucket-Shaped) face bordered by horns shape the Inverted Bucket form, and you have symbolism similar to Figure 5C:a. Figure 5C:a's head is detached and reversed below the familiar cap with forehead dot. Notice how many of these glyphs share eyes, or have another set of eyes and mouths, probably just another manner of expressing this detachment. Note the reversed face without an outline to the side of 5C:p. The two papers referred to above explain these images.

In Figure 5C:y two butt-joined animals create a mask-like form, with birds whose heads are on the sides of the animals placed as if to form the mask. This mask would allow one who wears it to see through the side of the body of each animal through the eyes or the heads of the birds placed within the bodies. The animal shapes are placed not only opposite in direction, but also sexuality. Notice that the heads of the birds also form the lozenge of the *Ojo de Dios* or eye of god. (Remember that the *Ojo de Dios*-like form in Figure 5B:f was also used as a plan for Navajo social structure.) Compare that with the form in Figure 20:a of a figure whose emerging head sees with the eye of the bird, possibly representing one who can fly. Similar figures to this one and Figure 5C:y, with their heads superimposed over the bodies of animals, were considered in the paper "When The Body Sees..." (Warner 1993). All of these are variations on the same theme played over and over again, with their own melodies. Figure 5D is a rock alignment with postholes exca-

vated, from near Miami, Florida. Notice that it can not only form the shape of an eye, but includes one rock with an incised human eye; also notice the solar alignments.

Could this be the reason for the presence of the three eye-like forms in Figure 17:c, f, and i, or for the three sets of eyes in Figure 17:h, considered by the recorders of that site in Baja California as relating to other owl-like forms at that same site, shown as the rest of Figure 17? And are they any more or less three-eyed than Figure 5A:n, or even Figure 5A:m with a dangling, concentric circle, and possibly-eye-like form? The only thing that makes them eyes or not is one's mental view.

Note that in Figure 17:c the ear-like appendages go both up and down on both sides of the toothy mouth (seemingly another representation of detachment and act of reversal). The form of the ear-like appendages and their balanced opposition implies that they are related. And as stated elsewhere, orientation applies more to meaning than it does to identity.

What they may mean is not immediately obvious, though. Notice that the two on the left are, if not much the same, at least more like each other than they are similar to the two on the right. At the moment all we can note is their association with odd-eyedness, and the differences as well as the similarities.

The next thing is to examine whatever the context may suggest. The main context beyond the graphic is that one can see the sun set in his house through the crack above it, believed to represent the portal to the Otherworld and thus the potential enlightenment of those who dare to follow (see paper on ladders, Warner 2002c).

There are no examples of tags or extensions around the eye like those shown in Figures 2:f and 5A:n, but there are other eyes with different styles of extensions or appendages attached. Those in Figures 7:d-f are somewhat phallus-like. If those tagged-, tailed-, or phallic-like eyes were removed from their context here of odd-eyedness and appendages, it is likely they would be taken as phalli. It may be important to note that their counterparts, the other non-tagged, -tailed, or -phallic eyes, are used in other contexts to represent vulvae, among many other things. So what does this tell us? Not solely that the right hand (or eye) doesn't know what the left is doing. It may well be that it is the *union*, the coupling of both the phallic and vulvate that suggests the ability really to see.

If it isn't that union, maybe it's the two separate lobes of the right (female) and left (male) brain linking, seeding an idea, resulting in conception of thought or vision of what one desires to see, then incubation or formalization prior to giving birth from the mouth as a womb by speaking the new-born idea into existence, as many different gods are said to do in many different creation stories. Remember *ru* as the eye taking in the seed as well as the womb giving birth to the *Logos*, the Word.

In a word play in esoteric lore, the Black Virgin was called the *Mother of God* and was considered as the great idea, the *Matri deum, magnae ideae*, a phrase that contains several different but related meanings. One of these is that the word "idea" is a play on the feminine for goddess, *dea* (Ovason 1999:427). Another axiom states that the Virgin in the fool's eye never perishes. "The Virgin in the eye is a reference to the Greek *kore*, which besides meaning 'pupil of the eye' also means 'maiden' or 'virgin.' Just so, the English 'pupil' can also mean 'someone who is learning'" (Ovason 1999:453). If that is more poetic than factual, what else could the male or female (or both) genital-likenesses of these odd eyes imply?

In most cases tear streaks are seldom represented with two small, centered, pendant lines descending straight down from each eye, as in Figures 5A:h, i, n, and a few others illustrated in this paper. However, two examples show such tear streaks, but with the two lines slanted to the outside. One is on a figurine, the other is on an anthropomorph from

the Vernal area. The two arrows in Figures 5A:i and n illustrate another tag that ties odd eyes and genitals together.

But these forms of so-called tear-streaks may mean something else. So what could these lines represent in the Northwest? If one eye could be a phallus and the other a vulva, could the two eyes in Figure 2:f, if used separately, be taken as vulviforms? That may seem an unfounded leap of faith, but is based on a type of evidence we will now consider.

One reason for the questions above is that the upside-down Y between the eyes does not represent the nose in the usual way it is depicted, but as it sometimes is. About eight similar forms are illustrated in this paper. In an area variations within its regionally conventionalized form that are different from the more natural form, besides being simply a variant, could signal its use as representing something which is either an ordinary nose or not always so (Warner 2001); it could be a metaphor, representing something else. If that is so, what else could it mean and how could we tell? Recognizing another meaning depends on other uses or *affinities* of that form. (Another discussion of phallic and vulvate heads will be in "Evidence Often Missed" [Warner 2002b]).

Because of the number of cases where the Y-form is associated with identifiable vulvae, it is considered as a phallic variant (Warner 2000a:109). That can easily be illustrated by a few examples in Figure 23 part A, with the Y pointing in either direction. In most cases, unincorporated phalli are associated with their counterparts, vulvae, in their placement on the rock, or pointing to where different celestial objects can be seen at the edge of the rock.

Compare the two phallic-eyed forms in Figures 3:j and l to the one in Figure 3:m with a phallus attached to the side of its head pointing to the position of sunset on summer solstice. What does a phallus-like form have to do with sight? Could Figure 3:m be a little different in intent from the other two?

Figure 3:m seems to use the phallus to point out at what is *to be seen*. It is not only directional, it may be considered as an act of devotion or as making an offering. That sort of evidence exists in too many places to be thought unusual here (Warner 2000a; Warner 2001; Warner 2002a, 2002b).

Does such evidence, together with the previous considerations, prove anything? Not really, but it is highly suggestive. Note that Figure 3:j also has a popular phallic form for a nose-and-mouth combination. Now look at Figures 3:h and n. Even the forked tip of the nose of Figure 3:k has a phallic counterpart (Warner 2000a; Warner 2001). Are they also phallic variants of the Y form? In other words, are they within acceptable limits of variation?

As new thoughts, these may seem to stretch the situation a little, but no one knows exactly where to draw the line. At the moment we are throwing mud up against the wall to see what sticks, as Clifford Rayl, URARA's late sage, would say. Does that allow the "tagged" examples in Figures 7:d-f (if they were represented alone) if not obviously at least a little more likely to be taken as phalli, rather than just eyes with tear streaks, considering their similarity of form and context?

Phallic eyes (remember that here phallic means phallus-like, not actually eyes on phalli), may or may not be represented as odd (Figures 1 A:b; 3:j, l; 4:d, h, l, n; 5A:c, h-k, n, o, q, and 7:d-f; many glyphs in Figures 8 and 9 and in Figure 22, as compared to Figure 11). Notice the phallus and vulviform associated with Figure 5A:e, which adds another Y-shaped variant to this association. Now notice the phallic form under the one sun-like eye of Figure 7:a. The phallic nature of that form is illustrated with a few examples in Figure 21 part B; also compare those with Figures 7:l; 8:g, t, u and 9:r.

It may be difficult to believe that the examples in Figure 11 are phallus-like, let alone odd-eyed, phallus-like forms. That assumption is based on many other phallus-like, eyed figures. (Compare them with the four examples of two-eyed or two-faced forms at the end of the last line, Figures 11:u-x, that are not odd-eyed.) That they are phallic can be supported by the seeming association of some with vulva-like symbols. Also, some look to be within an appropriate coital relationship.

Again, these illustrate how ambiguous this kind of symbolism can be. Such figures need to include a certain amount of additional information, need to be not too confusing, yet still comprehensible. The conclusion here is that Figure 11 consists of a collection of examples that are phallic in nature, odd-eyed, or both. Are they then, phalli with odd eyes implying a face, like many other, more-normal-looking, eyed faces forming testicles?

It is probably a just assumption that these examples contain odd-eyed symbolism, which is not obvious at first. It is more likely than not, however, that these examples are related in the belief system of their makers.

It may be that the sexual act or just their ithyphallic nature is associated with enlightenment or the trance state or both. Again, whether or not they are identified as odd-eyed may be debatable, but they all need to be considered for an examination of the limits of their variation. We will wonder at the why of their form throughout the rest of this paper. In the meantime, let's continue with an examination of related information.

I know this type of paper isn't easy reading. It is designed to make one think, and in that way help let go of old paradigms so that a new paradigm may emerge. Often that is difficult. But understanding what this type of paper can contribute (not exactly just what it means) will take some study and maybe more than just one reading, and a lot of thinking; also study of referenced support material would be helpful.

All of the considerations presented here concern what can be called *intended ambiguity*. Belief in an intended ambiguity depends on one's familiarity with other expressions within the symboling process, and the number of examples required to be convincing. It also depends on remembering the earlier discussions until the end of this presentation.

There are many precedents for the likelihood of this ambiguity. But, still, is this intended ambiguity what the ancient people really meant? And if so, what was meant by intentionally making it ambiguous? Does that mean that we are not totally understanding this symbolism unless we have the ability to see it through the mask they placed over it?

More Associations with Sun-Related Symbolism

Note how different forms of sun symbols can be combined with these odd-eyed symbols. Some examples in Figures 6 to 10 show their context, which adds additional information for understanding their application. Figures without context shown in these illustrations often do not have a relevant context. Figures 8 and 9 are more abstract examples that may or may not represent odd eyes with sun symbols, but until we know one way or the other, they are included for their comparative value.

Some related glyphs might be at or just past an acceptable limit of variation. These are difficult to identify because they also represent something else; without thinking about odd eyes they may not even appear to relate to that concept. Can we think about two different things at the same time? Bill Strange suggests that, when looking at rock art, suspend intellectual processes and look with a naive innocence, a blank mind, or a blind eye, so the rock art can tell us what it belongs to (Warner 2000b).

Paw Prints as Odd Eyes

If one looks at these glyphs without thinking, without letting thinking interfere with understanding, then the following may seem possible. Figure 10 includes paw prints and hands which in some cases are strange, unusual, or different. Considering them as eyes is strange enough. To set the stage for understanding, in Figures 10:a-c are three examples of paired hands or paw prints. Figure 10:c suggests they may be a variant of odd eyes. Compare their presence at the sides of the body in Figure 10:a to the eyes of the Tlaloc-like glyph in Figure 5C:t. Consider the topknot as the head of an emerging figure; the lines at the top of this head are the shoulders and arms, continuing down to form the sides of the original head, thus expressing a popular variant of a Double Entity, implying that the eyes that see exist out beyond the body. This may be a radical interpretation, but I suggest it is based on similar forms (Warner 1990, Warner 1991a, 1991b; Warner 1993; Warner 1994).

The pair of paw prints in Figure 10:a have dots in the palms or pads like the associated circles in Figure 10:f, which may or may not be eyes but have an eye-like nature. They are paired at the sides of human forms like the paws in Figure 10:a, showing an *affinity* in context. Do the examples in Figures 10:a and b and those in Figures 10:d through f include the same idea represented differently? Understanding this requires an open mind and a good imagination.

Consider these special applications from another perspective; suspend judgment and look at the evidence. The first two sets at the tops of Figures 10: a and b are paired and more or less symmetrical rather than odd (as we are considering for the moment). It is asymmetry that Moody says is a key to attainment of the esoteric experience (Moody 1993:86,135-8).

It is the oddness, the "out-of-balancedness" of asymmetry that allows us to lose our level-headedness and see the slanted side of the world. The *form* of Figure 10:a at first seems to be a headless figure. But the bisected aspect within the chest area, if it is indeed headless, may provide a solution for that problem. The Bisected Circle is demonstrated to be closely associated with ecstatic symbolism. It is often considered to represent the world of the unnatural and is often asymmetrical; this example is no exception (Warner 1991a).

Headless figures also relate to the esoteric, the ecstatic, the shamanic, and OOBIE. Notice that the face in Figure 6:p may be a headless figure with its arms joined below its feet (again note the versatility of the reversed Y-like form between the eyes). This creates the interesting possibility of a bodiless head that is at the same time a headless body, an extraordinary composition. For the headless aspect, compare that to the image of what may also be a stylized headless body with one arm connected to the foot of a smaller figure in figure 6:q.

These are the essence of the head(less)-games often played in rock art with intended ambiguities. After a comparison with the somewhat similar form in 6:q, these examples are impressive, easily related to ecstatic symbolism. This comparison suggests that the two odd sun-like eyes in Figure 6:p and the bodiless head or the headless body with detached sun or portal or enlightened eyes at either side of its body are related.

Other analogies may present another feasible idea for using sun-like eyes. One is that two sun-like eyes (which are not odd, however) mark where to look between two large stone pillars in Canyonlands towards winter solstice sunset. At another Barrier Canyon Style site, the sun can be seen to set perpendicular to the cliff where an anthropomorph with large, exaggerated eyes of Figure 12:a is placed. These two examples may not seem all that supportive, but when the Symbolic Solar Interactions are considered, it is obvious

that the anthropomorph was there for enlightenment and that a major part of his ritual participation included observing both the sun and what it did with the figure he made on those dates (Warner 1991c, Sec.4:27, Figure13).

On the esoteric side of this problem, it is interesting to note that in several medieval representations of the wandering fool, his head is tilted back indicating that his gaze is heavenwards. The fool, with his stick, staff, and knapsack, is a metaphor for a person on a spiritual quest. In a play on words, the "pupil" of the eye, where the soul is discerned, is turned heavenwards; "pupil" refers not only to the eye's anatomy, but to the *student's* use of the eyes gazing heavenward searching for enlightenment. The eye is the prepared pupil where the *student* of spirituality resides, who really can see what he or she looks at. The finial on the pointed end of his cap could represent his third eye, also gazing heavenward but into the spirit world (Ovason 1999:28).

The upper, detached section of Figure 10:a provides an abnormal, supernatural aspect. The dots in the paws provide an additional aspect not present in normal paw prints. They are reminiscent of those glyphs with dot-centered circle-eyes, and of dot-centered circles to the side of heads or bodies. Are these dot-centered circles eyes? And are these paw prints like the dot-centered circles in the second row of Figure 10? They do add a similar context, and a similar relationship, an *affinity*, in their support of the meaning of the main figure. Is there anything else that could make an affirmative answer more convincing?

We do know that the symbolism of the eye in the palm of the hand, in North and Central America and elsewhere, has definite mystical and esoteric relationships. Is Figure 10:i9 two paw prints with eyes inside of them? They do seem to be faces. Compare these two with the face-like form in Figure 1:b, which is almost hand-like; remember that polydactylism is a sign of power. Look at the power of the eyes of light produced by two protuberances in a cliff face, intentionally placed within a polydactylic, foot-like form, possibly becoming the eyes of a face in Figure15:a. One of those eyes shuts off before the other, creating an odd-eyedness.

In Figure 15:a the light passes over the top of the rock and the nodules stay in the light, creating eyes looking out at the observer from the dark shadows. Talk about eerie; standing there you are looking at this fantasy. As the moments pass the eyes grow dimmer. Then one shuts off creating an odd-eyed situation. Both then go into darkness as if the eyes were totally shut, while a shaft of light touches the bottom of what seems to be a detached arm or tree-like form. There is power here that cannot be gained from this simple explanation.

Figure 10:g contains mystical symbolism and is tied in with a possible sun-like element below the paws. The likeness to odd eyes of the two different paw prints now does not seem to be out of place. Notice the phallic, inverted, Y-like element in the last example in Figure 10:i6, pointing to the hand opposite the nested U-forms. If not intended to be eyes, they are in an eye-like format. Also note the possible sun-faced, testicular phalli in Figure 10:g pointing in the direction of a possible hand-as-eye (for three-forked glans on phalli refer to Warner 2000a; Warner 2002a). Are both the combinations of hands and U-forms in Figure 10:i representations of odd eyes?

Note the handedness of the two upper eyes in Figure 23:a. They are in a V-form like Figure 9:v. There are other examples of V-forms representing eyes in the Hill and Hill (1975) and Loring and Loring (1982a,1982b) books that are not odd-eyed, and in Warner 2000a. Notice the group in Figure 10:i7, which repeats the basic forms of Figure 10:i6 with a similar symbol reversed, a foot, above another phallic variant. Now compare these two figures to some of the other examples, especially the two paws in Figure 10:i3 with its

associated curved, phallic element. Notice the pairs of odd paw prints in the rest of Figure 10:i. Figure 10:i5 provides a more definitive odd-eyed relationship; what other reason could there be for the difference in these two forms?

Remember that in symbolism, the natural is often, but not always, natural, and the asymmetrical is probably more often than not abnormal, even spiritual or supernatural. That is, in real life, a man with bear feet or making bear tracks is likely not just a natural man. A bear that makes different types of tracks than bear should is more than just a natural animal, it is an unnatural animal. That is no different than sheep shown with human characteristics like the ones at the Head of Sinbad or Old Woman Wash in Utah, or Black Canyon near Barstow, California. Remember that we already considered some eyes phalli and some vulvae; both hands and feet can represent both phalli and vulvae (Warner 2002a). It is not *if* those hand or paw prints are hands, eyes, phalli or vulvae, it's how likely they could be one versus another, in their various contexts and based on what we see in other supportive examples. Now that we have seen similar cases, the situation concerning Figure 10:a is not that out of place.

Since we are considering that things are not always what they seem, that everything has an exception, and that nothing necessarily has its face value (or that some things which do not seem to be a face, are), consider this: if the paw-or-hand and nest of U-forms in Figure 10:i6 are eyes, then the inverted, Y-like element could be a nose — like those in Figures 2:f, 3:h and n, 4:n, and 5A:b. Or it could be a phallus like those in Figure 21. If that is the case, then are we forced to admit that it could be both at the same time as well? (Refer to Warner 2000a for the Y as both a phallus and a vulviform.) Would the face represented here then be one that could not only “see”, but “speak” regeneration, life, or enlightenment as well?

Odd Eyedness and a Few More Sexual Representations

Even though we've been considering a few of these possibilities, we'll consider this with a little more and different evidence, and an obvert perspective, a different aspect. It may be best to begin by going back through the illustrations and again looking at certain figures the significance of which isn't obvious.

To consider other intended ambiguities, we have already mentioned some possibly phallic-eyed figures. The glyph in Figure 3:j is one, but notice the phallus-like nose-mouth combination, also Figures 3:h and n, as variations of the same concept, both supporting the conclusion that the forms of 10:i.6 as both a nose for the eyed-ness of the face, and a phallus for the vulva-ness of the hand (and U-forms) as eyes.

Look at Figures 5A:b, c; are they variations of the ones in Figures 3:h, j, n? If they are, what about those in Figures 5A:j and k? For more information on these possibilities I'm working on a paper (Warner 2002a) about hands and feet as phalli and vulvae. These are all exercises in metaphors and euphemisms.

It may be impossible to decide whether these are phallic with just the few examples from this paper. But notice in Figures 5A:i and n, the nose-like aspect that the possible-phallus provides if the eye is the testicle associated with the phallic nose, like those in Figure 11. Also notice that there is a tag-like attachment to the left of each of the eyes-or-testicles mentioned earlier.

The eyes of the large figure in Figure 23:a are odd, but not in the sense of one being different than the other. They seem at first to have two tear streaks, instead of the one tear streak we have thought phallic eyes to have (at least in some cases), included because they

arc within a rayed arc like many faces in their geographic area. Some of those seem to be vulviforms. Only a few of these examples are illustrated here (see Figure 6 and Figure 24:B), those having odd, meaning unnatural, eyes, which relate to much of this odd- (as in different) eyed symbolism.

Besides eyes, what could the dot-centered circles with two little legs represent, in reference to so much not being what it seems? Are they vulvate? If they are, could this relate to an idea like the "Womb of the Dharma Eye" (Williams 1992:69), and the womb eye of Figure 5B? Perhaps surprisingly, in addition to anything else they might represent, these eyes are likely A-form vulvae (Warner 2000a).

At this point, it is obvious that before we can understand one simple symbol, we must first immerse ourselves in the whole symboling process. This means being aware of everything and tied to nothing; the essence of objectivity. These so-called simple symbols weave themselves in and out of the warp and woof of other symbols to create a tapestry of mysticism. Wrapped in the unobviousness of their intended ambiguity, they are cloaked in their hidden meanings from those unwilling to earn their sight. By using this odd-eyed viewpoint, one can give up what one thinks his or her own two eyes are telling one it is, and let the meaning reveal itself.

Look at Figure 23:b, which illustrates a few A-form vulvae associated with phalli, to provide the logic of their being vulvae. Do they provide sufficient evidence for the eyes of the larger figure to be vulviforms, or a shorthand form of a womb-eyed figure? Are these examples, with their companion figures, trying to suggest there is a relationship with that area of female anatomy and sight, specifically second sight? Not perhaps the best way to phrase it, but that may be what the vulvate form represents (Warner 1984a). I believe there is a relationship, and I believe it a metaphor extending the meaning of vulviform to something like "being reborn" or "born again," as one with that "second sight" or "third eye." Or maybe there is something else, something like the goddess Sodasi who, identified with Tripurasundari, the radiant light in the *three eyes* of Shiva, is the source of Shiva's wisdom and consciousness (Camphousen 1999: 216). Whatever the case, there is more to it than we understand.

Figure 23:c illustrates a few full faces with possible vulva-like representations as faces, or as the head itself rather than just the eyes, and other heads with a vulvate aspect with phalli pointing to them (compare Warner 1984a for vulviforms extended to esoteric contexts; Neumann 1974:168-170 for mouths as womb and giving birth to the word). Eyes as phalli and heads as a phallic concept (see Figure 22:B for a few examples) may or may not be directly related, but some heads have been known to impregnate, the head of Hunahpu with Blood Maiden, the mother of the Maya Hero Twins, for instance; his spittle symbolized the semen which impregnated her through her hand as a vulva (Freidel et al 1993:109).

The rayed eyes, eyelashes, or eyebrows in Figure 6 are similar to what are also accepted as rayed vulviforms (see Figures 23:a and 24). The solar aspects of the concentric circle forms with solar affinity also contain that rayedness, though without representing it graphically. This may indicate that the degree of success of research into meaning must be somewhat suspect. Acceptability is correlated with understanding related symbols, and understanding their relationship to each other, or at least not being lost within the interchangeability of this type of symbolism or symbol extensions. Without understanding the basics of the prehistoric peoples' use of metaphor, which permeates all aspects of their verbal and graphic representations, we are lost as to what the graphic symbolism can tell us about itself and the ones who created it. At best, we stumble through this *symbolic* forest like a blind man looking for any *sign* of a tree.

Consider the phallus and vulviform below one odd eye in Figure 5A:e, the phallus and vulva above and between the eyes of Figure 5A:l, and below the eyes of Figure 7:a. Refer to Figure 21:B and D:B for the likelihood of the identity of the last two objects below the sun-like eyes in Figure 7:a. Does anything come to mind providing a relationship?

Figure 11 illustrates objects I consider likely to be phalli that also include what seems to be this odd- or one-eyed aspect. At this point, is it easier to believe this is so? That is still not an easy question to answer. What could provide sufficient evidence, and is there anything in the literature that relates to sexual activity or using sexual symbolism as a metaphor for esoteric sight or enlightenment? If that conviction cannot come from the graphics alone, will what the literature can produce provide enough?

Besides the initial references to owls, sexual intercourse, and esoteric wisdom, among many cultures sexual intercourse is one means of gaining (even stealing) new knowledge, achieving enlightenment, or both (Reichards 1963:139, 254; Campbell 1988:174; Schwartz 1994:90; Camphousen 1999:8, 21, 51, 57-58, 63, 67-68, 71-73, 80, 96, 105, 138-139, 151, 157, 160, 167, 181, 189, 192-193, 194-195, 201, 216). Were the love songs of King Solomon literal or a metaphor for spirituality (Camphousen 1999:217)? Camphousen quotes the belief of Allegro that the name Jesus or Joshua means "the semen that heals" or "fructifies," the god-juice that gives life. "To be smeared with this powerful liquid that gives life, above all to absorb it into his body, was to bring the worshipper of the 'Jesus' into living communion with God, indeed to make him divine" (Camphousen 1999:201).

That may seem a bit extreme for mainstream Christianity since it isn't taught in Sunday School, but it illustrates that we can never outguess meaning. However, in most mystic sects and (their Sunday) schools, sexual and erotic elements fill a very important role. Erotic elements were taught and written in veiled terminology, however (Camphousen 1999:201). The sexual aspect of these sects was used to heighten the adept's awareness and state of consciousness (Camphousen 1999:206-7).

The process of gaining one's new ability to see is like going through a process of being born again. Moody and others in their studies of near-death experiences (NDE) and OOBes often hear people use terms relating to those used in esoteric experience including sexual metaphors and the birthing process, for lack of a better way of explaining it. Devereux (1994:136) points out that *trance* comes from the Latin *transistus*, a passage, from *transir*, to pass over, thus an entrance into the Otherworld. He also notes that the sense of moving down a tunnel is a major motif in many NDEs and OOBes (Devereux 1994:159), like the experience of birth. Death, whether a literal and permanent or figurative and temporary disassociation from one's mortal self, is a rebirth of one's spirit self (Cowan 1993:185).

Among the Kogi, the gourd container holding coca, a drug which lessens physical restrictions so the spiritual has more freedom of expression, represents the womb and its cervix. The applicator they put to their mouth is analogous to a phallus.

Certain physiological changes take place during the dream or trance state in which one is gaining knowledge. Men tend to get an erection, and even ejaculate, which might, as Devereux suggests, explain ithyphallic images in cave art. Could that also be the reason that phalli are associated with possible eyes, especially odd eyes? While usually interpreted as symbolic of fertility, these may in some cases represent the shaman in a trance state; the same or a similar symbolism often in a different context. "Women," he notes, "experience increased vaginal blood flow" (Devereux 1994:211).

The *omphalos* stones at Delphi and the Turoe stone in Galway are phalloid and mark places where communion with the spirit world occurs. They are also versions of the cosmic axis (Devereux 1994:117). Even the name Jacob (the usurper), the ancient Hebrew

patriarch, may possibly relate to the Sumerian IA-A-GUB, which means pillar or standing stone. According to tradition, this may refer to his marking, as a witness, the place of his vision and enlightenment, where he experienced his dream of the ladder. Standing stones elsewhere in Canaan, Egypt, Mesopotamia, China, and throughout Europe, also had phallic connotations, and were considered as the hand of the ruler on the boundaries of their countries.

There is an awkward situation within the Jewish community of becoming enlightened and becoming one with God or the bride of God, knowing God and homoeroticism (Schwartz 1994:2-3, 6, 34, 40-42, 94, 99, 119, 241, 265). It was written that a person who has never experienced a longing for a woman is worse than a donkey. The reason for this is that as a result of the feelings of longing for a woman, one learns to cultivate a longing for God (Williams 1992:96). "I was embraced by the love (of God) as a bridegroom embraces his dearly beloved bride" (Williams 1992:134). The death of Rabbi Shim'on was considered as a marriage to the divine (Williams 1992:96).

All of these references may seem fairly heavy for a study of odd-eyedness. Again, there is no such thing as a simple symbol, or a simple study of what is likely a complex symbolism. Also, no element or motif exists in a void. As the illustrations in this paper demonstrate, there is a current flowing through any reservoir of symbolism that intermingles symbols and meanings into currents *that cannot be separated* till they flow into different courses designated by the cultural barriers that mark the banks of those streams.

Odd Eyes in Symbolic Solar Interactions (SSIs) with Light and Shadows

Eyes of light, eyes shining with light, faces radiant with light, or figures with halos of light express those called enlightened ones and seers (Williams 1992:33, 165, 192). Some believe that it was light representing the spoken word emanating from the face of God, his hand, or the Holy Ghost, that impregnated Mary (Fisher 1995:15, 41-42, 83, 96). I believe there was more to it than that, but we can see such light effects in similar contexts in rock art images.

Odd-eyedness manifests in several different ways with light and shadows. Look at Figure 1A:f. A photo of that occurs on page 204 of Hill and Hill (1975: Figure 14a), redrawn here as Figure 1B. Notice how the rock was sculpted to create that "one-eyedness", yet how it is emphasized by the way it catches the light and shadow, creating a powerful and impressive impact with a 3-D effect. Another drawing of a sculpture of an odd-eyed figure from Mexico represents Nanahuatzin the scabby god covered with weeping sores, who sacrificed himself to become the Aztec Fifth Sun (Figure 1C).

These, in their own way, are like glyphs placed on cliff faces that use light and shadow, the same symbolism whether pecked or sculpted into the rock. The symbolism is the same on these sculptures when seen in total shadow as it is in light when shadows emphasize the odd-eyedness dramatically. Like the sculpted forms, the petroglyphs have a greater presence of power at certain times. At certain times of the year, considered as portals to the Otherworld, the eyes are not only enhanced, but also the odd-eyedness made from otherwise ordinary-looking eyes creates the awed-ness of the odd-eyed symbolism. That is no more nor less than seeing normal faces of individuals and not knowing if they have that second, special sight until it is revealed to you by the forms of light and shadow that play on them.

That is the significance of these SSIs, which can be achieved only by placing one eye in the light and the other eye in the shadow at moments of power, not only on special days,

but also at special times such as first light, last light, or solar noon. A place and time with a triangulation of one shadow trajectory crossing another date's shadow path is also powerful. That can happen simultaneously or sequentially. The various ways of doing this are considered as specific categories of SSIs called *Double Vision*; each eye is emphasized differently, one in the light and one in the shadow, thus creating a set of odd-eyes (Figure 12). Note that the Barrier Canyon style figure in 12:b even has a Double Vision symbolism at three different times, though it would seem improbable considering that the direction and angle of the shadow's movement are different during each subsequent episode.

Does that, and the rest of these figures having one eye in light and the other in the shadow, leave any doubt that the odd-eyedness is not only expressed, but also stressed, in a very powerful format beyond the differences in graphics alone? How important and meaningful does this symbolism now seem to be?

We must stress that odd-eyedness in these figures is not expressed in the exoteric nature of the graphics themselves, but in the esoteric nature of light and shadow for only a few moments once or twice a year. After observing those that interact, I believe many of the other graphic, odd-eyed representations considered thus far may also have similar SSIs. That would be a good test of these assumptions. If you are interested and can, check them out. The proof is just waiting for someone ambitious enough to sit, watch, and wait to see. This symbolism is expressed in a different and even more powerful manner than those simply pecked as odd-eyed on the cliff.

Since I mentioned these in previous papers, they need no further discussion here. Each category of SSI will have its own chapter in a volume on SSIs in the series on *Rock Art And The Symboling Process*.

Another category of SSIs which may relate to this type of symbolism is what I refer to as figures that are *Split In Half* (Figure 13). In this category figures are split in half at first or last light, so that half of the image including that eye quickly comes into or goes out of the light, while the other half of the image and its eye stays in the shadow. Only a few occur near solar noon. Others are split in half as something else happens, such as when they speak with light (Figure 13:n). They all seem to reflect the act of enlightenment. Notice the bisected-circle-variant phallus pointing to sunrise in the panel shown in Figure 13:n at the moment of being split in half, again associating enlightenment with speaking with light, and marking sunrise with a phallus.

Many of these figures are owls, which is not surprising (Figure 14). Every owl I have watched for significant shadows showed some type of interaction suggesting the esoteric. Many are split or have some other interaction relating to the one- or odd-eyed concept (Figure 14). Several others not yet observed for interactions are anticipated to have such.

Some sites, like Rochester Creek, have an abundance of owls; the interactions on them consistently involve their eyes (Figures 14, 15). The last example in Figure 14 is an odd-eyed, owl-like figure for comparison of the two different ways of producing the odd-eyedness. Other quasi-human forms with exaggerated or owl-like eyes also have interactions involving their eyes. This is another category of SSIs, *Eyes Of Light*.

I consider Eyes of Light to be a variation of Double Vision or being Split In Half, and the effect is profound and impressive. These figures often have both eyes light up at once, but many have one eye that remains in the light after the other shuts off or seems to close. The rest of the face or figure or both is often in darkness when the eyes seem to be full of light. What the difference is between both eyes lighting up (like some of the forms in Figure 15) versus just one lighting up is probably not much.

Compare Figure 16:g with the two circular forms above Figures 8:p and q, which look like they could fulfill this odd-eyed role. The horns of 16:g also seem to have one eye

composed of a horn, if these really are eyes. These are reminiscent of animals with eyes on the sides of their bodies that interact all year long in a way indicating Double Vision, a very unusual situation (Figure 12:k).

Animals having bodies with eyes were treated in a presentation suggesting their esoteric nature (Figure 16; Warner 1993). The head of URARA's logo (Figures 14:g, h, j) is an odd-eyed owl. The two horns comprise the head and tail of an animal. This animal can be seen perched on the owl's head. Or it can be seen with the owl's face as its body. Note the similarity of that owl to the form from Rochester Creek (Figure 14:j). It is split in half at last light. Note that its eye is also split on another date when an angle of light comes out of the vulva of a figure above it, connecting them in a symbolic relationship. There seems to be no end to where and when eyes and sight come into association with vulvae and their extended symbolism; that the symbolism is extended is probably a given because the owl is said to be involved in many activities.

At a site in Baja California is an owl about three feet tall (Figure 17:a). The way the light interacted with it and a set of lines next to it is illustrated in Figures 18:a and b. At another Baja site near the one above are several owl-like creatures with emphasized eyes. Whether or not they are actually owls, represent Double Vision, or contain the odd-eyed aspect isn't certain. Although they are very stylized, they share certain traits. Many are triangular, and several observers suggested some are vulvate in nature.

In one of these, a natural white feature in the rock creates an odd eye (Figure 17:b). On summer solstice a small dot of light first appears on the natural patch of discoloration (Figure 18:c, black represents light), an impressive interaction. From its first appearance the small patch of light grows to fill in the face and most of the upper pecked area within the border of the body of the glyph, an excellent example of an iconic congruence. Not only did the natural discoloration dictate the placement of the odd eye, but also, because of what the light does, that is why it was produced where it was. The light spreading to fill in the upper face finishes off the shape of the pecked lines of the upper body, creating a face, or becoming a "being of light". Those three factors determine where the eye, the face, and the rest of the body were placed, as well as its size and shape (Figure 18:c). Before we leave that figure, notice the interesting forms around the eyes. Again, their negative aspect almost seems phallic. The dots are eyes in the center of the possible testicles (see Figures 3:j, l; 5A:h-k, n, o, q, and 7:f); pointing inward almost gives them a cross-eyed look.

The top of the inner section of Figure 18:c and the inside of the top lines almost seem ray-like. This owl also has two suns pecked just above its head (Figure 18:d). Just above this sun-glyph and the owl, as the sun rose on summer solstice, its rays consumed the pecked sun and then the owl with a solar flare (Figure 18:d).

Figure 17:f is a simple owl-like form with an iconic congruence with light (Figure 18:e). On a boulder near that owl-like image is what has been referred to as a mask (Figure 17:c). On this seemingly odd-eyed image, a notch in the light brackets several eyes just after it engulfs a rayed vulviform (Figure 18:g). But before that vulviform was penetrated, it bracketed another owl-like image, shown in Figure 17e. Owl-like image (or even a fat phallus), vulva, and odd-eyed mask produce a strange sequence that seems to relate to this concept, but it isn't obvious in the graphics. In other words, this sequence with light again ties eyes into an intriguing association with a vulva not graphically associated with either owl-like form within the panel.

Figure 17:j is another fascinating owl-like image. With its crewcut-like image, it is similar to the one in Figure 17:a. On summer solstice a shaft of light pierces the four-pointed circle below it. Notice in Figures 18:h and i that during the progression of that

event a very small spot of light appears on the dot in the center of the eye on our left. This creates another abstract, odd-eyed, owl-like figure. These interactions on important solar dates, with all of their interesting eyes on figures that may or may not be owls, or even owl-like, stresses the significance of this subject as not only important for specific times, but for this site as a whole.

Note the set of three stacked, eye-like elements in Figure 17h, not much different than those in Figures 5 to 9. For the most part they are not that odd. The light, however, may provide the oddness. On summer solstice an angle of light brackets the left eye of the center pair that has a central dot, as well as the lower left eye.

Shown in Figure 19a is a natural, profiled, human-like face created by spalling, exposing the natural gray of the parent lava rock in the surrounding cliff face that has turned to a light tannish-orange. A natural lava bubble forms an eye, giving it the likeness of a face. An angle in the break from the natural form of that face was outlined with pecking and ridge abrasion. Also, it was roughly pecked around the back of the head formed by the natural breakout, implying that this face was recognized.

In the afternoon of summer solstice, the shadow cast by the natural ridge forming the face in the rock throws a more natural-looking face of shadow on the rock to the right and below it. In that shadow face a second lava bubble in the correct place forms another eye. This creates an image seeming to represent two aspects of one face, the dark as well as the light, reminiscent of odd-eyedness (Figure 19:a-c). That happening may connect odd-eyed symbolism with the split faces Wellmann called *shades* of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (Wellmann 1981).

Ewing relates how the Paipai who lived to the north of this site tell of a story of Owl Man, who had seven daughters. When the children of Coyote pursued them, they became the Pleiades (Ewing 1990:26-27). How those stories relate to these symbols and their interactions cannot be certain, but we believe this site was used not only to represent the place and act of the resurrection of their god, but also the pursuit of esoteric experience by those who came here to make their devotions, their observations, and expand their enlightenment.

Now we think that to a certain extent we are beginning to grasp meaning, but do we have real understanding? What is it that the light signified to those people? Was it truth, power, knowledge, enlightenment? *Ecstasy* seems a poor word with too many alternatives coloring its various meanings. Does it mean the suspension of one's sense perceptions (Williams 1992:76)? Or the ability to see with all of one's senses combined (Cytowic 1993)? And what is the difference between the two odd eyes? Do the odd eyes represent power, wisdom, or knowledge? Or do they simply represent experiencing the light, an acquisition of the light, or an experience with the Holy Spirit (Williams 1992:164)?

John 1:9 in the New Testament says, "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Matthew 6:22 states, "The light of the body: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." That seems to be what many of these figures quote in poetic-esoteric forms of art and light.

John 1:5 reads, "God is light, and in Him is no darkness at all." Ephesians 5:14 says, "Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." Is that a call to be reborn?

Second Peter 1:19, says, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts:" It is difficult to agree on what all of these references mean. Even *esoteric* is a poor word. It is impossible to understand it and its symbolism without experiencing it. How can one express in symbolism that the "eye", among the

Selk'nam Indians of Patagonia, leaves the body and flies in a straight line to a desired destination (Devereux 1994:195)? To us that is unfathomable. Do any of the one-eyed figures represent one whose eye can fly? How many birds besides owls have odd eyes? At Fremont Indian State Park there is a glyph of a man seeing with a Bisected Circle eye, which itself seems to be a head with mystical sight, emerging from the main figure's head. This Bisected Circle head of an emerging spirit-like form makes the eye of a bird-like figure (Figure 20:a; Warner 1991a, Sec.7:2). What is the difference between Figure 20:a, the one in Figure 5C:y, and the last three examples in the bottom row of figure 20, said to represent the last stages in a tobacco-induced trance of a visionary experience (VanPool 2002)? The last, parrot-headed figure may not be very different in meaning than those considered in the rest of Figure 20 and the supposed mask in 5C:y.

Trying to understand and analyze the effect these SSIs must have had on the ancient people, and what they might have represented to them is difficult, if not impossible. But we agree they must have been awesome. Today our children are post-Star Wars; man on the moon is "prehistory". What can impress them? These mystics were not simple folk, the "country bumpkins" that epitomize the cultural ignorance our ethnocentric society imposes on others. These people were intelligent and sophisticated about their world, the universe around them, and the Otherworld.

When the gate between the worlds opened to Jacob Boehme, in one quarter of an hour he saw and knew more than could be learned in many years in any university (Williams 1992:130). Universities then, like now, only teach the science of man and not of that Otherworld. This symbolism of a so-called "blind eye" illustrates that a belief existed in these societies that we consider so primitive and ignorant of any real intelligence; they were actually societies of a deep and great understanding. The existence of the same symbolism from Alaska to Mexico, and from California into the interior of the continent, indicates there was much more to these people than ignorant savages.

To many Native Americans, crystals are light. "Light is the gossamer veil between this world and the next" (Williams 1992 :200). All matter is just "frozen light" (Williams 1992:201, 207) or "crystallized light" (Williams 1992:237). "The Gupa-sadhana Tantra states that 'infinite result (enlightenment) is obtained by worship of a Shivalinga (a phallic representation of Shiva)... made of crystal'..." (parentheses are mine, Camphousen 1999:211). Imagine that spectrum of the crystal as the symbol of the creative fire of the universe when it was filled with the light of the sun. How similar is that thinking to Figure 3:m with its phallus pointing in the line of sight to the accompanying summer solstice solar flare, or just phallic odd-eyed figures, when one considers that through the phallus of Shiva or any other god we receive our enlightenment? Weber states that when mystics use the visualization of light they don't use it as a metaphor only; to them it seems reality. Have they tapped into matter and energy at a level where time is absent (Williams 1993: 208)?

Light is the metaphor *par excellence* of the spirit. Many womb-like caves admit sunbeams at certain times of the year, allowing those retreats to become temples and universities in which people could have learned to see and accept the light. "With that physical sexual stage creating a sympathetic act of sexual magick (sic) their minds conceived of the light their own personal visions" (Devereux 1994:203, Ovason 1999:427). "As John Halifax puts it: 'The journey's mythic end is the sun.' The Shaman flies through the Sun Door to the realm of eternally awakened consciousness... the realm of the immortal," as we stated in the beginning (see Ovason 1999; Johnson 1996; Ewing 1990:28). The sun is the great all-seeing eye in the sky.

"Men are asleep; when they die, they awake" (Williams 1992:76). Death is just an

awakening, a being born to the new light. It is only knowing this that makes a man rich. Without it, those who believe less are those with a poor soul. "God sends upon you, at certain times breathings of his grace; be prepared for them" (Williams 1992:77). Anything other than this is blindness to the light, as well as to the fact that we always take ourselves too seriously.

Acknowledgments and Key to Illustrations. Figure 1B, and other illustrations indicated by HH, after Hill and Hill (1975). Figure 1C after Hancock (1998). Figure 5D after an illustration published by Ron Lee in *Vestiges*, April 1999. An asterisk (*) indicates an illustration after Loring and Loring (1982a; 1982b). A sloping N (*N*) indicates to compare the previous figure(s) with the following. A dash separates individual figures or compositions.

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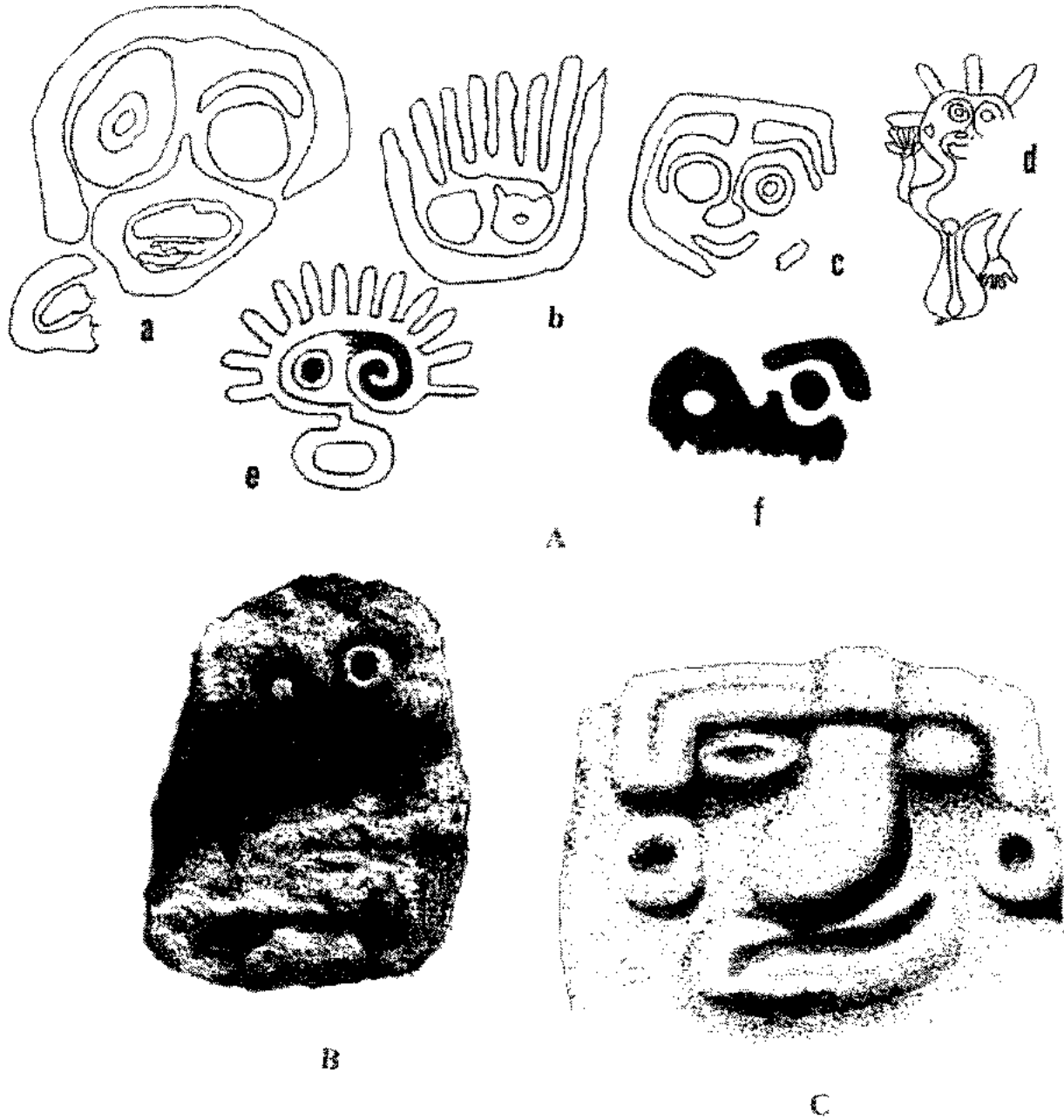


Figure 1

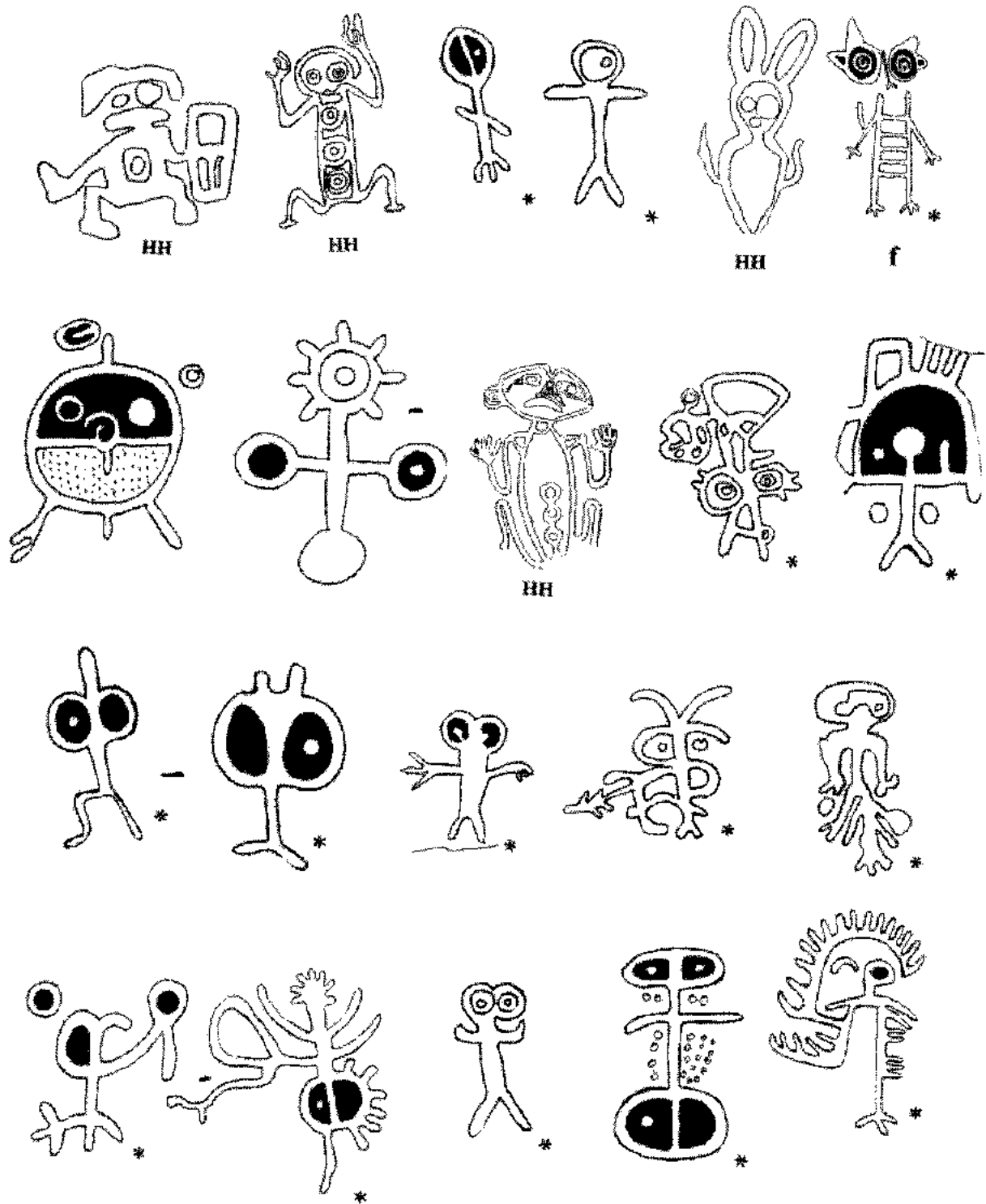


Figure 2

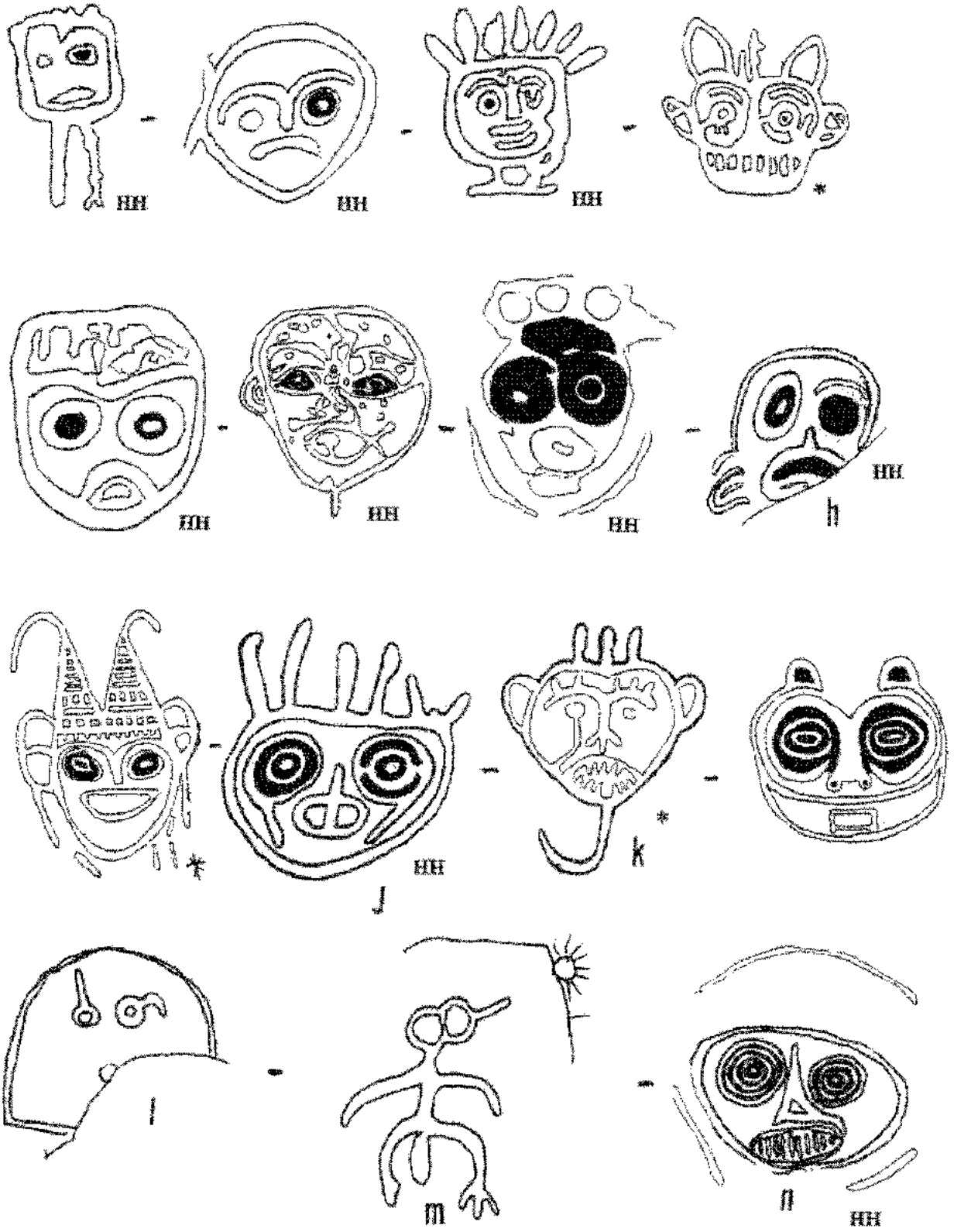


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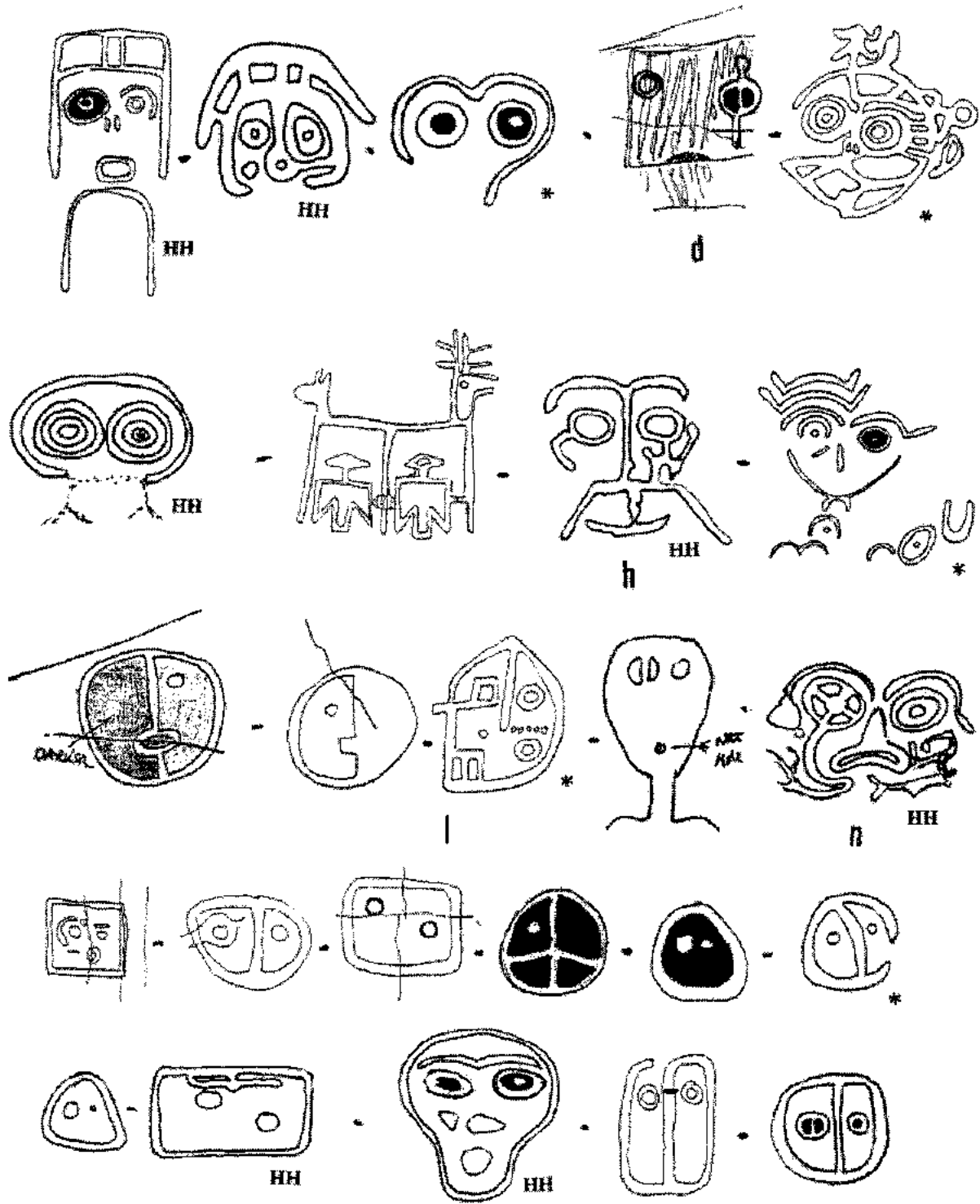


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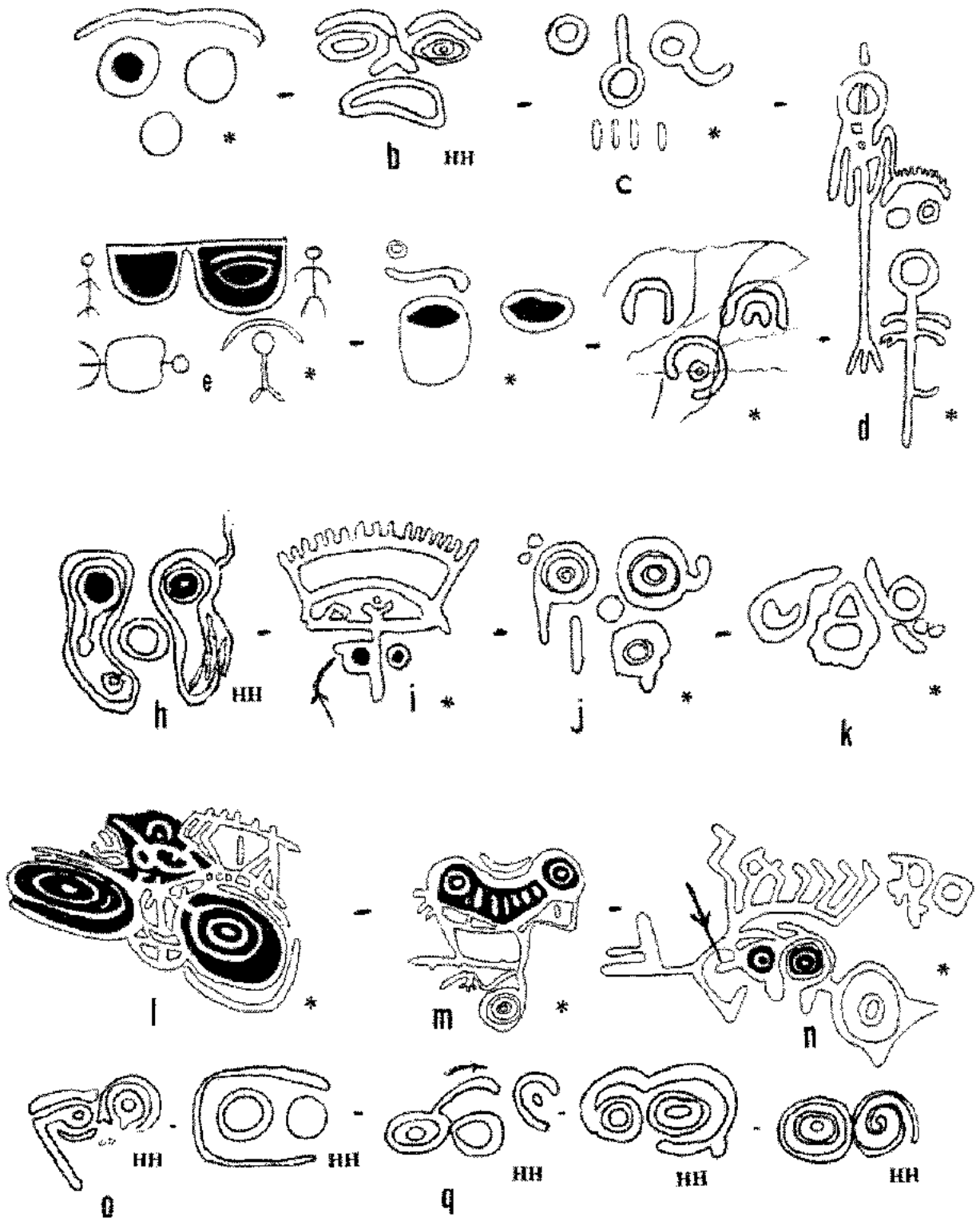
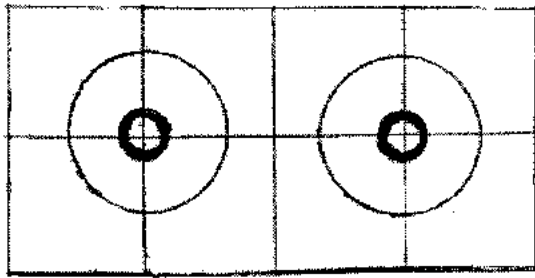
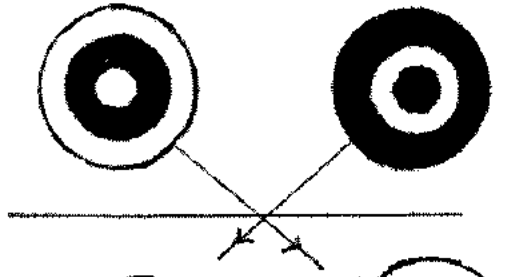


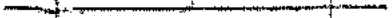
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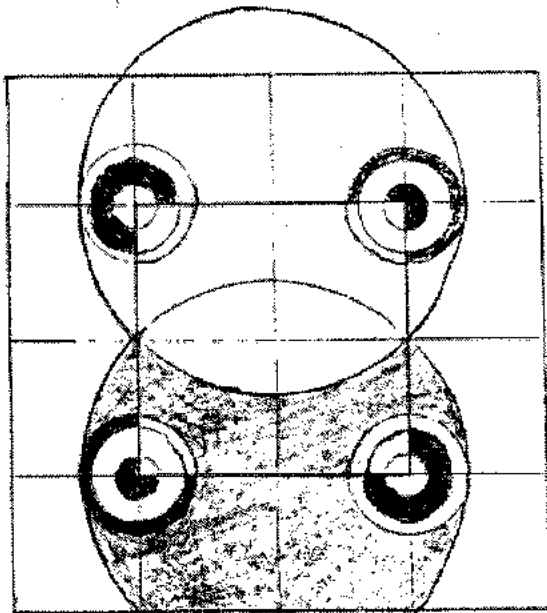
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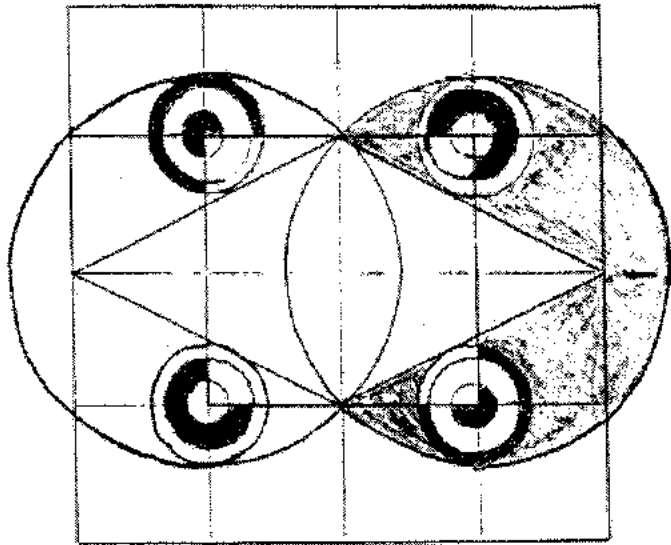
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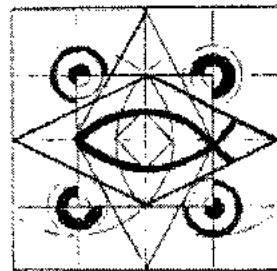
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Figure 5B

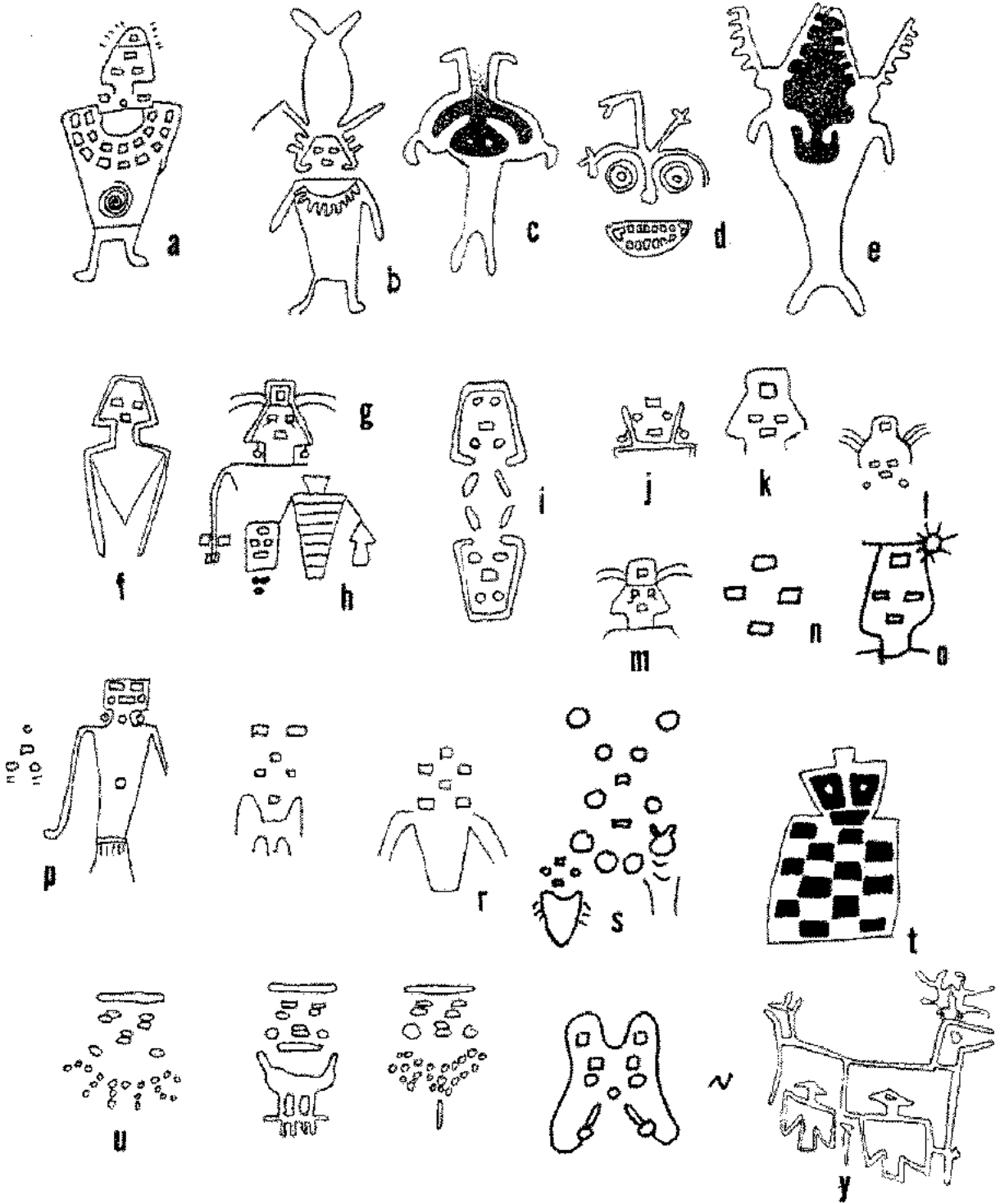


Figure 5C

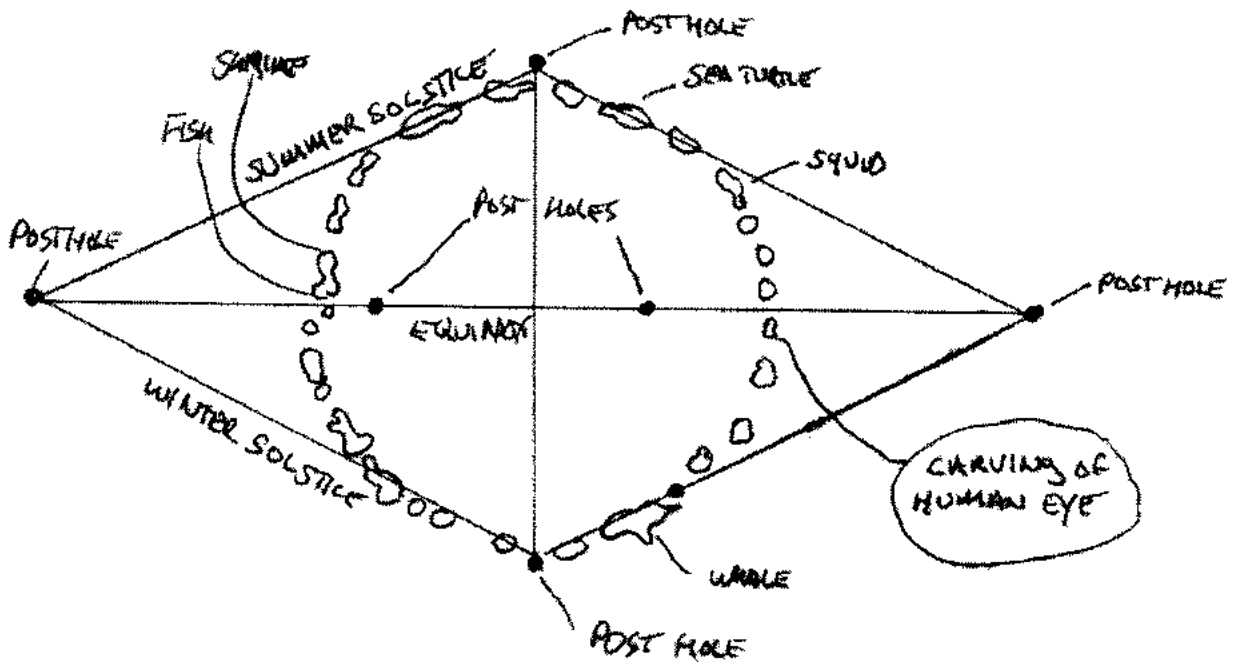


Figure 5D, showing post holes, equinox and summer and winter solstice lines, fish, shore lines, sea turtle, squid, human eye, and whale

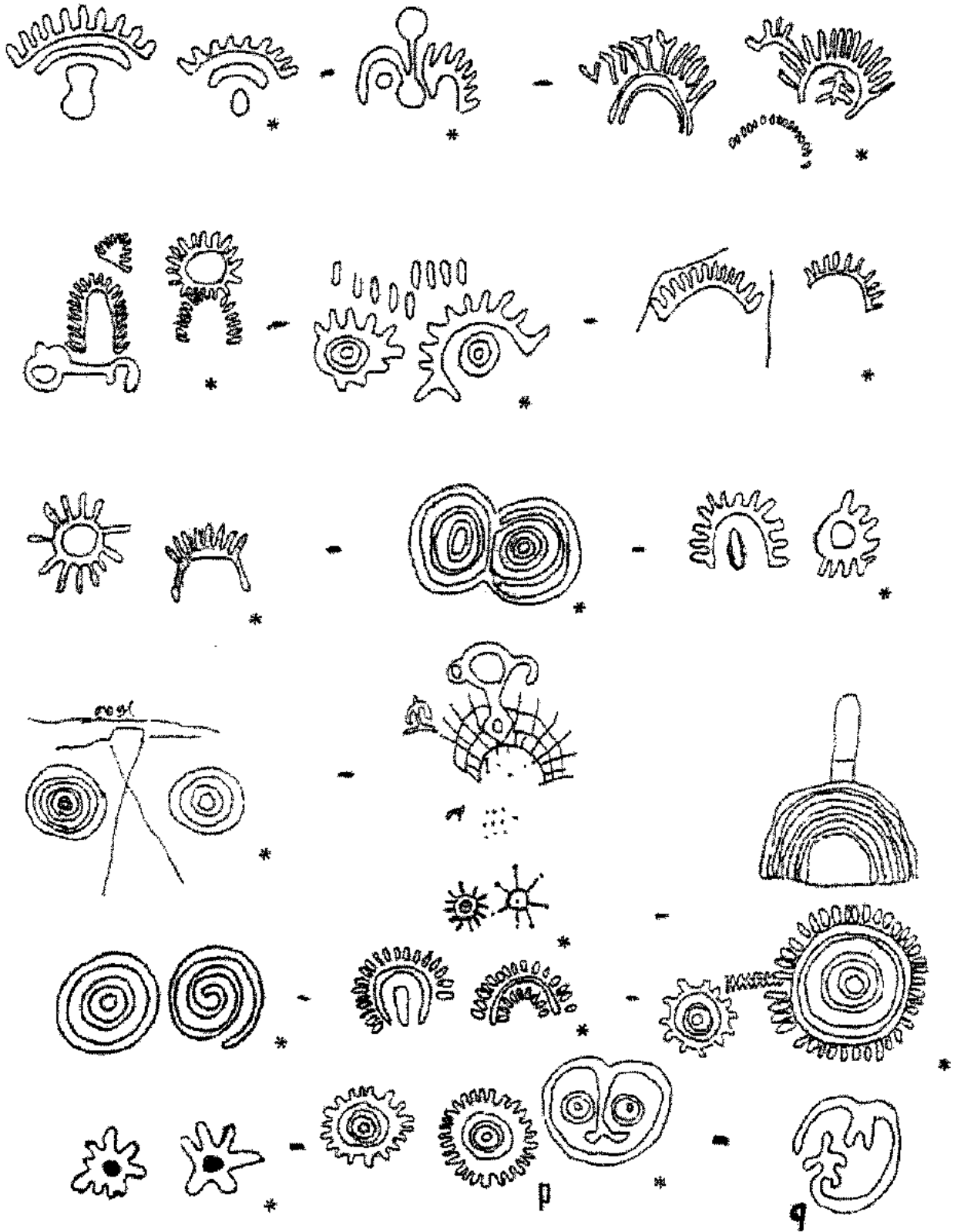


Figure 6

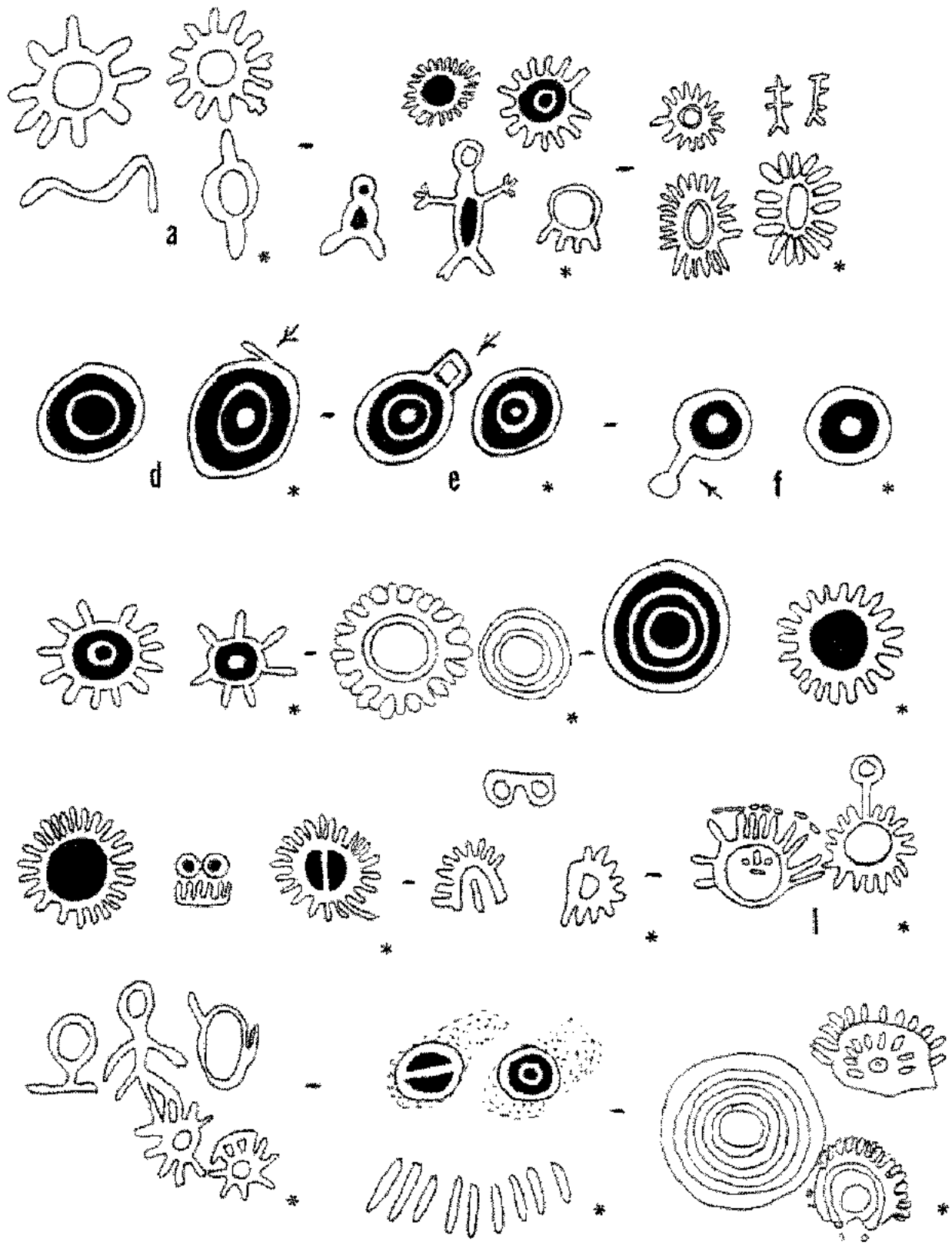


Figure 7

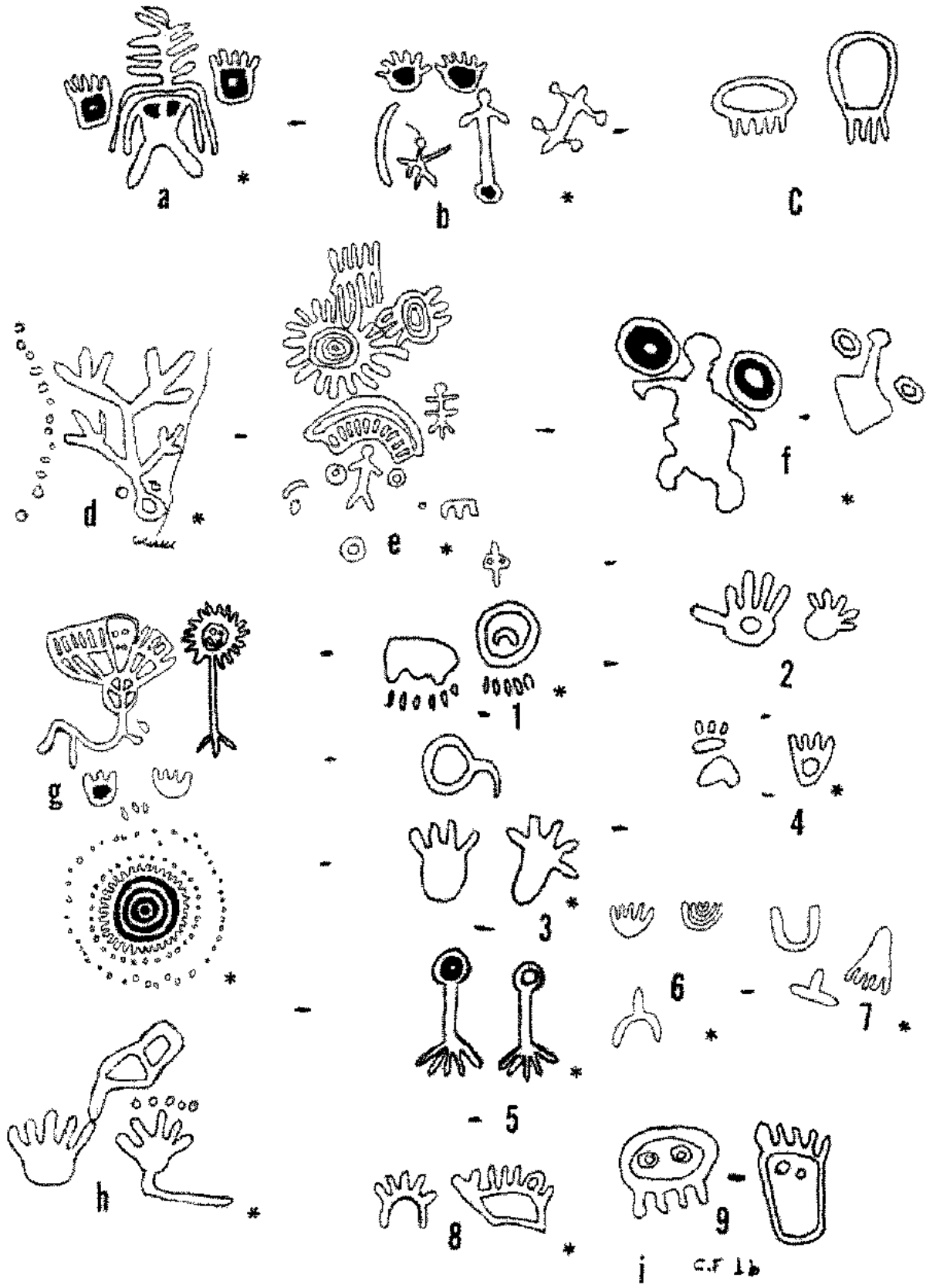


Figure 10

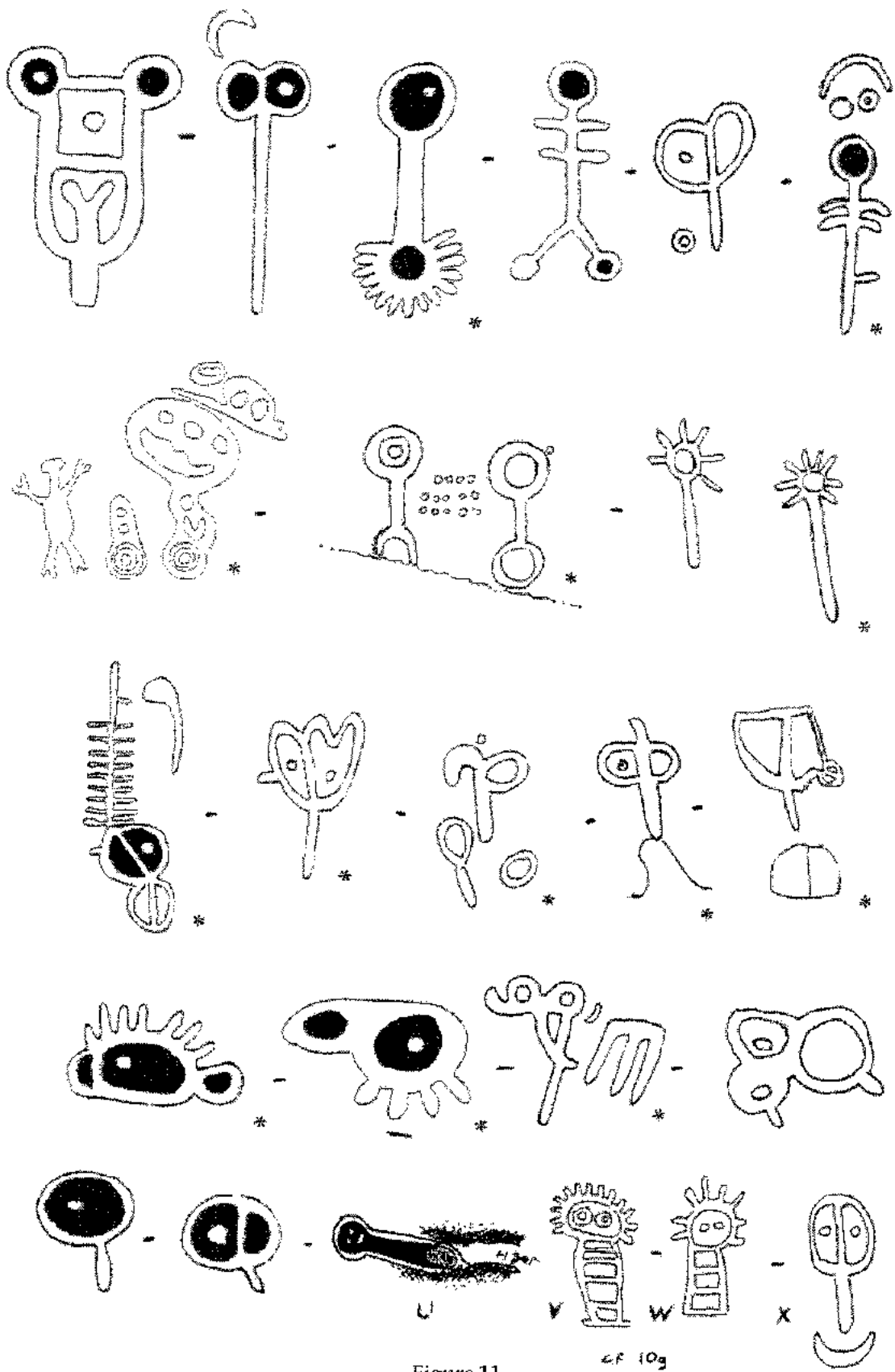


Figure 11

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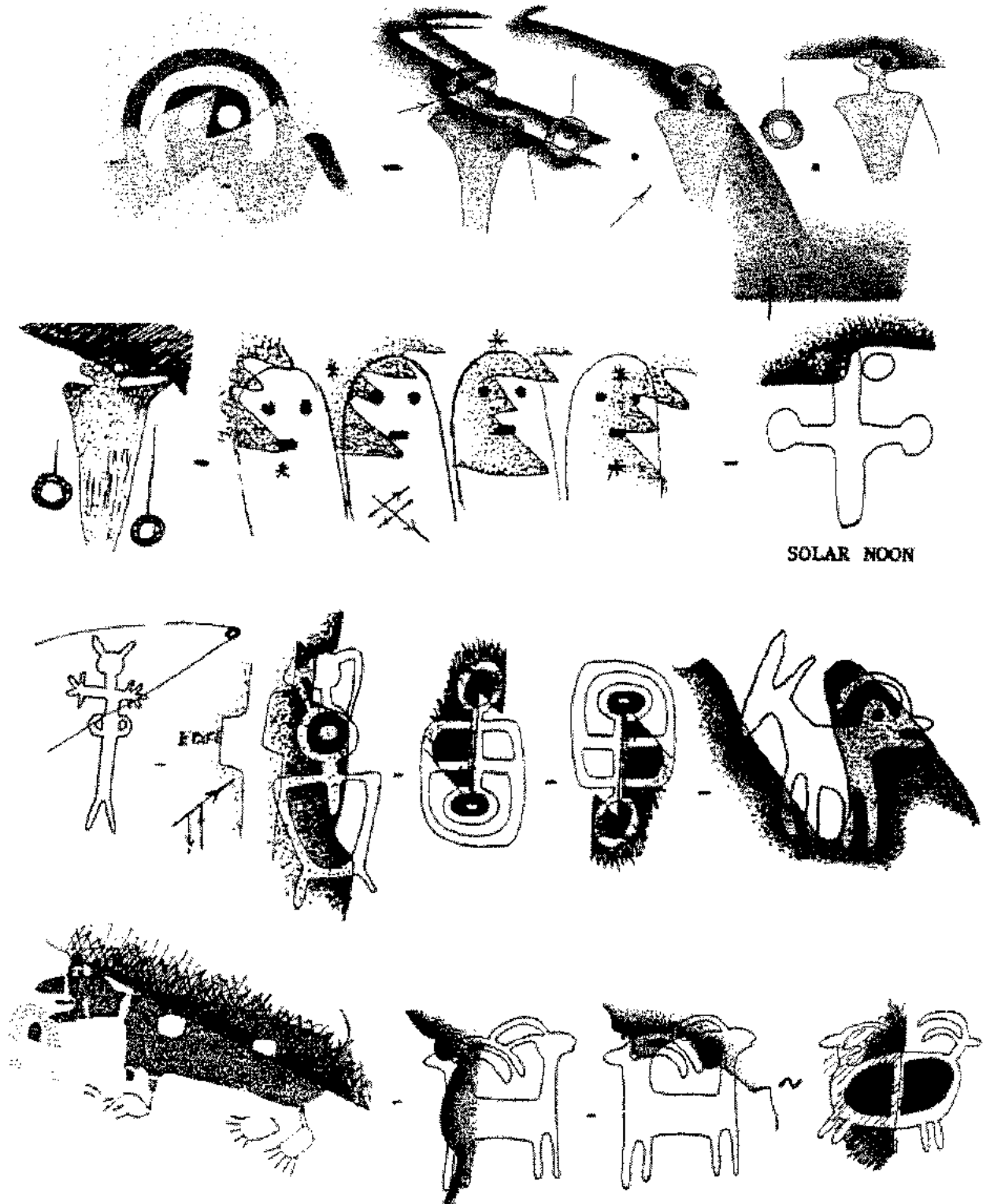


Figure 12

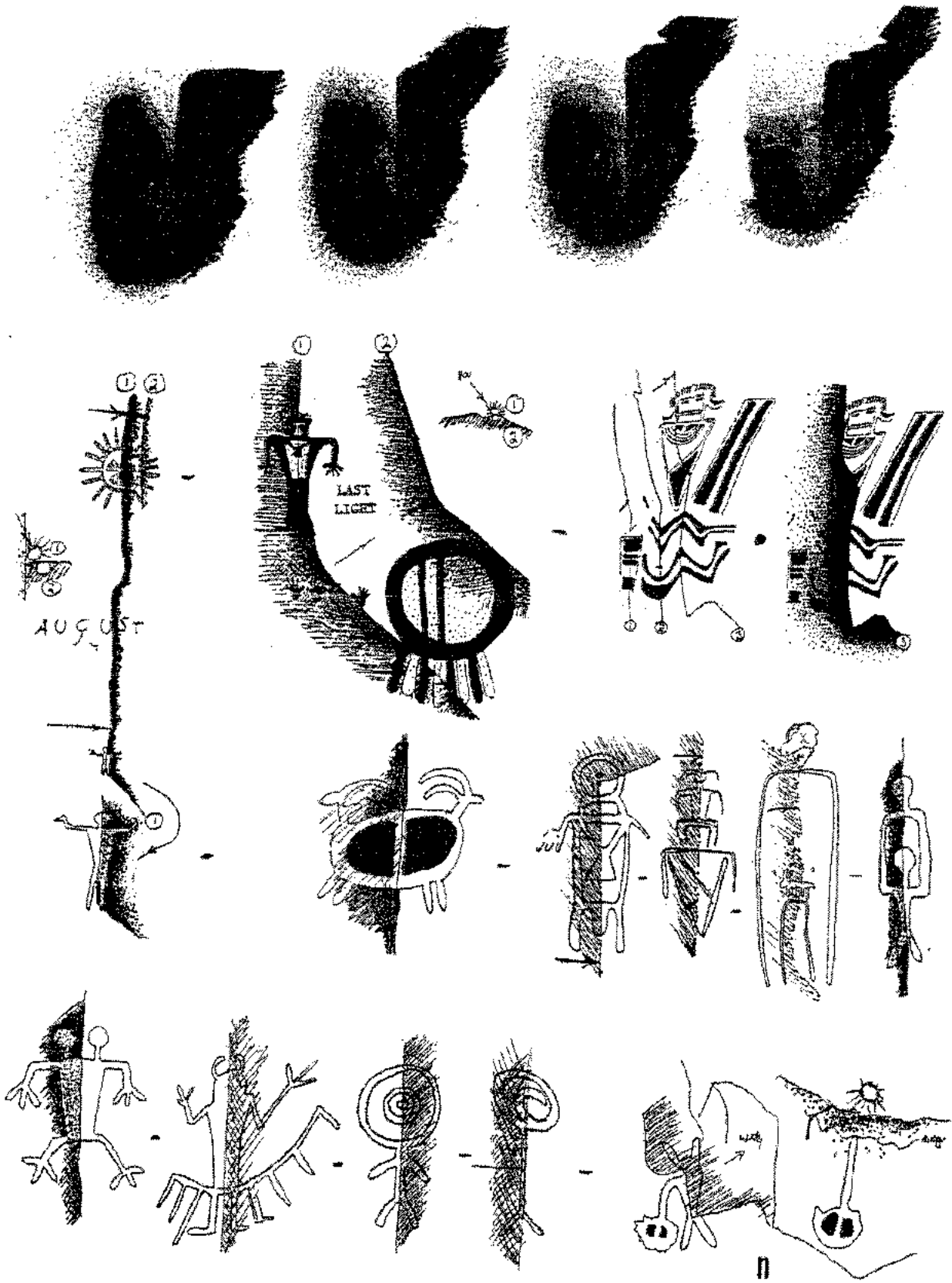


Figure 13

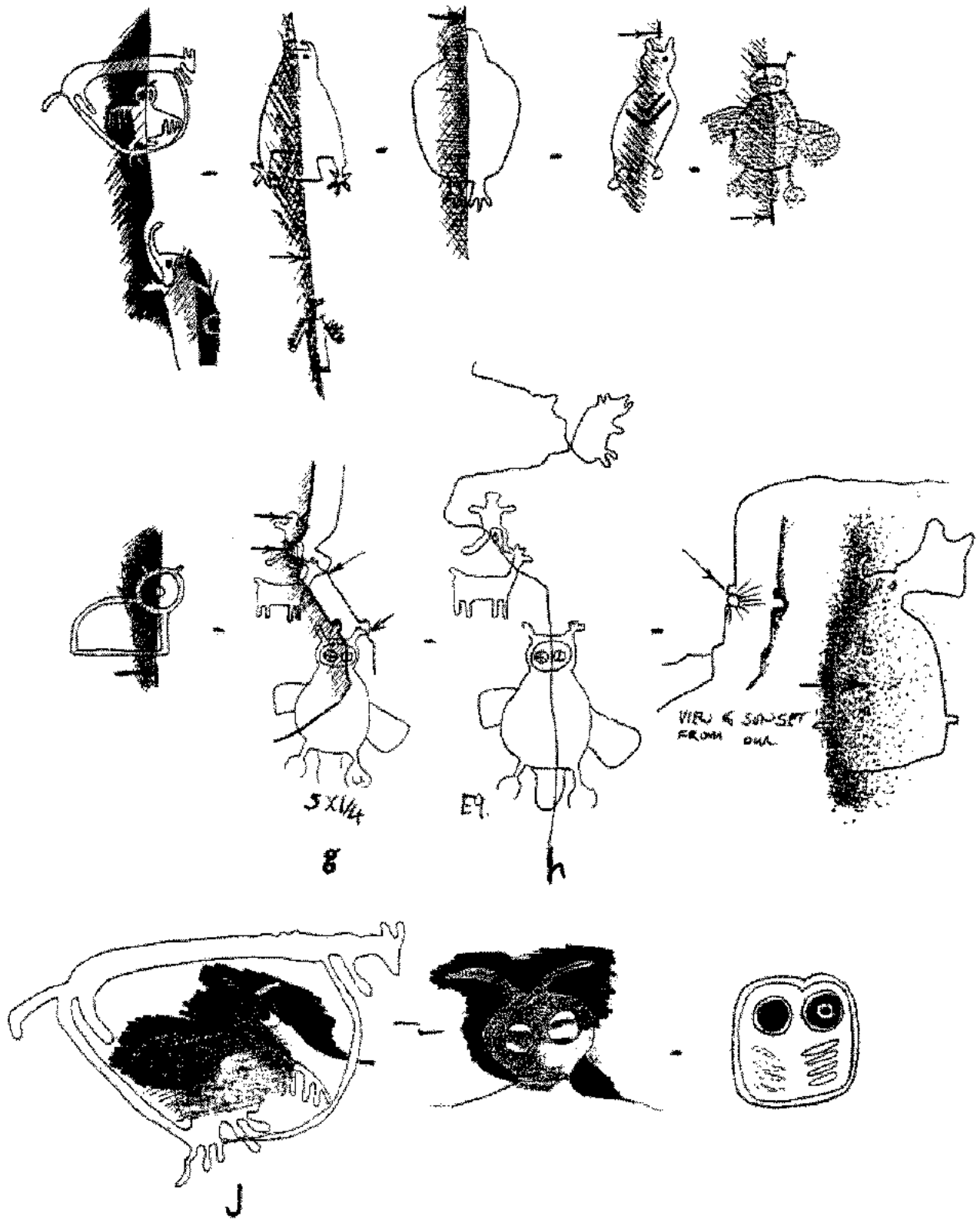


Figure 14

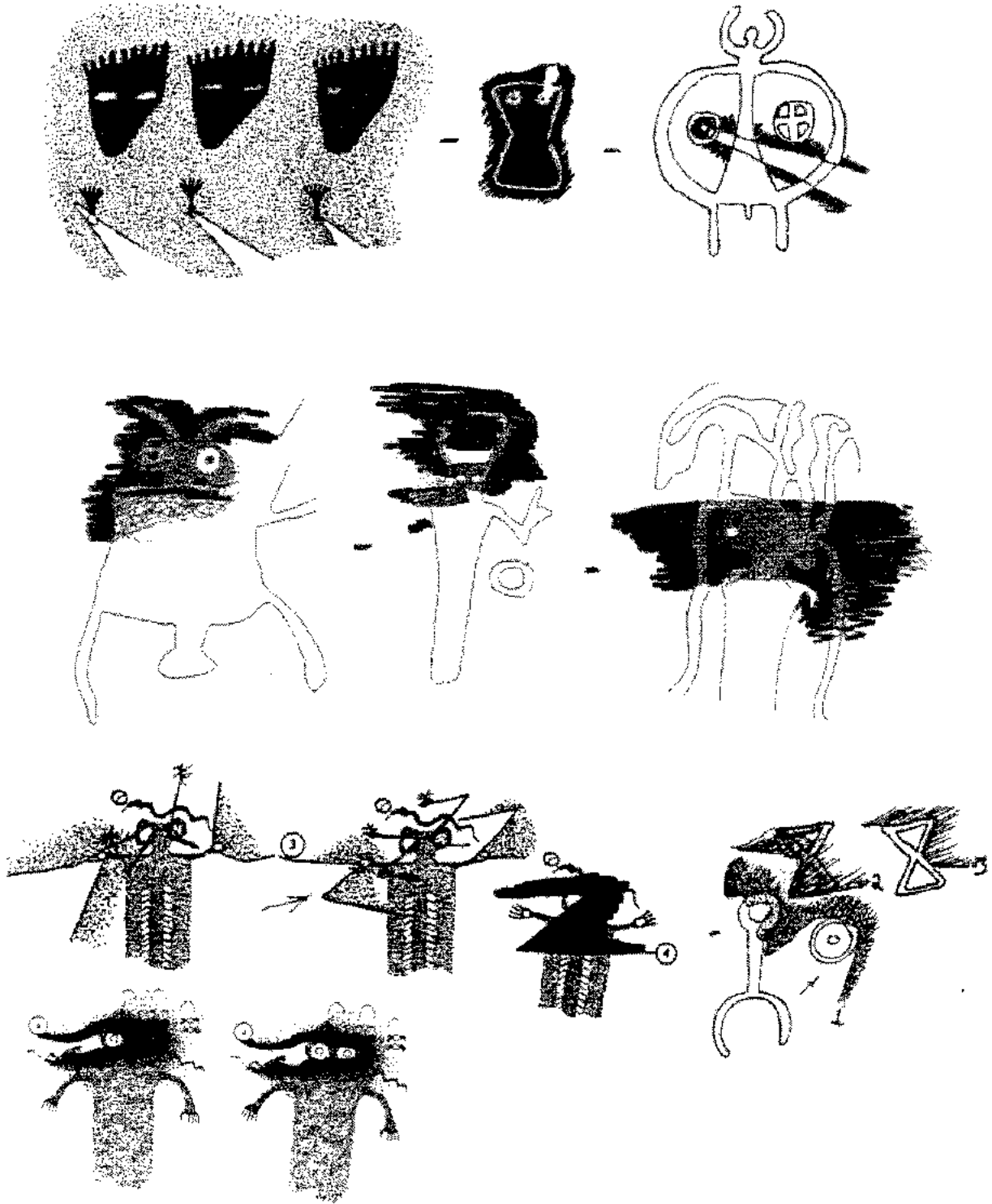


Figure 15

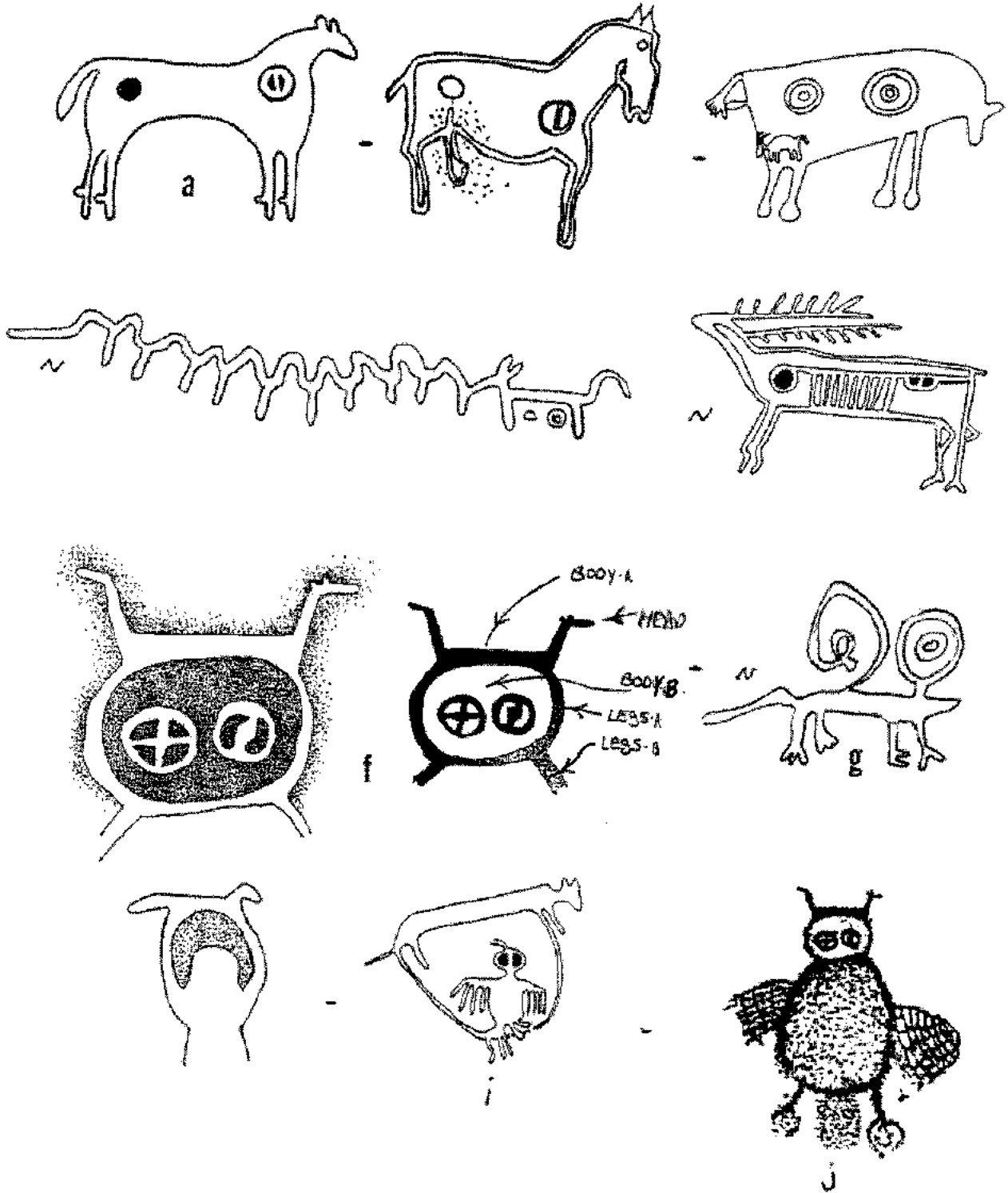


Figure 16

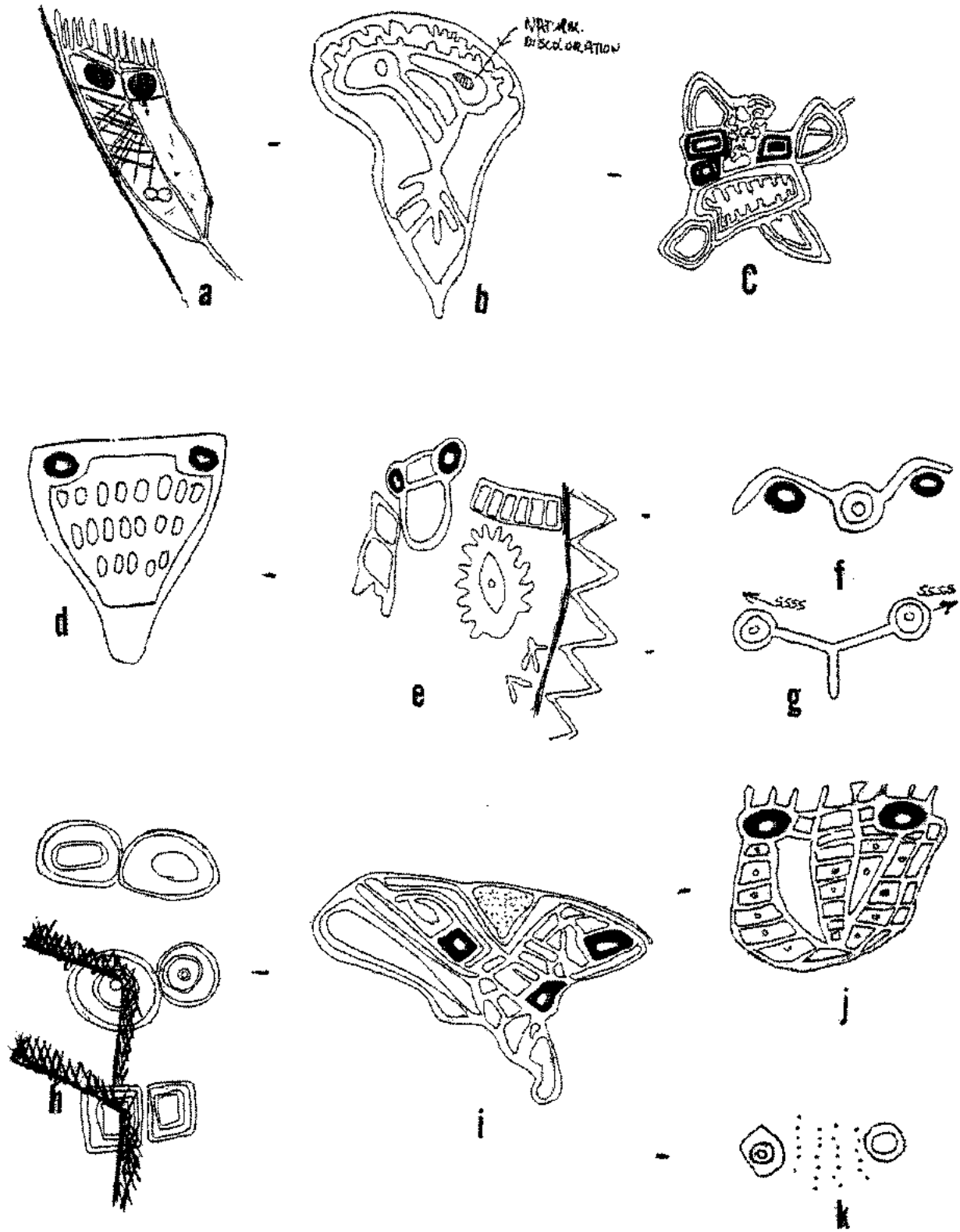


Figure 17

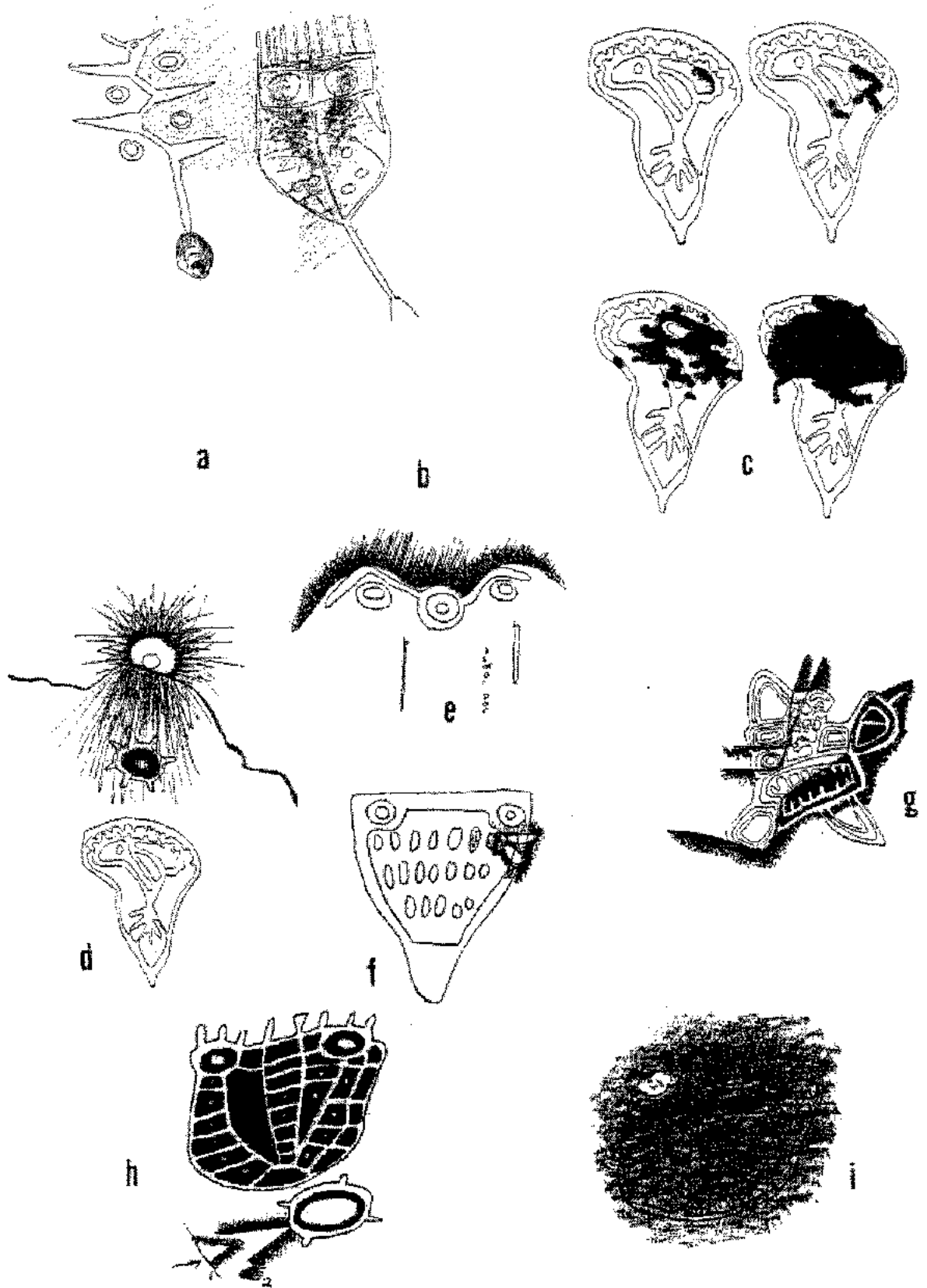


Figure 18

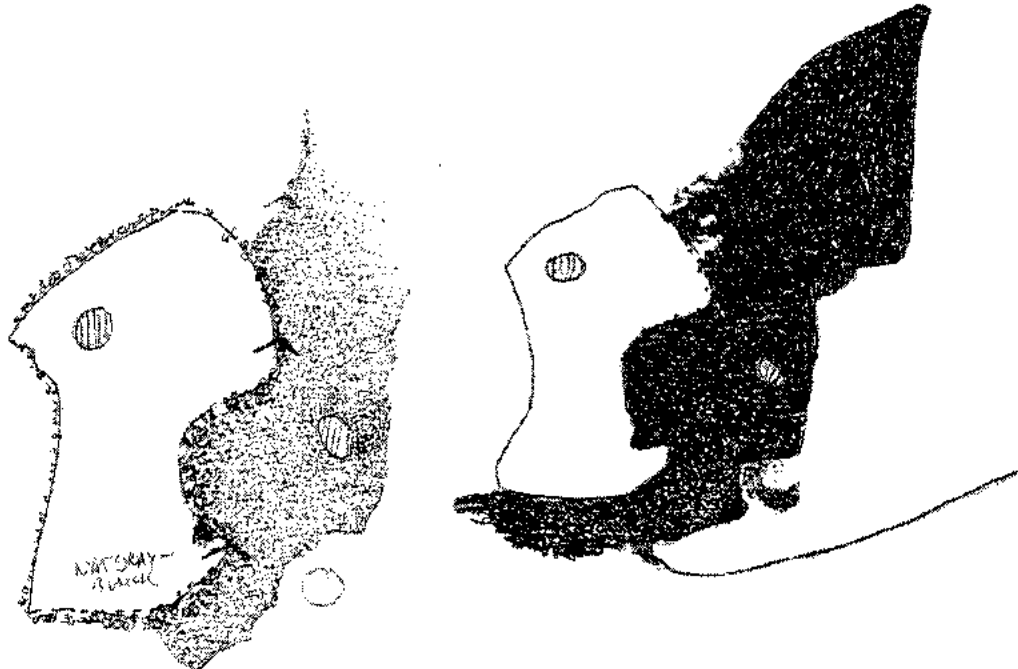
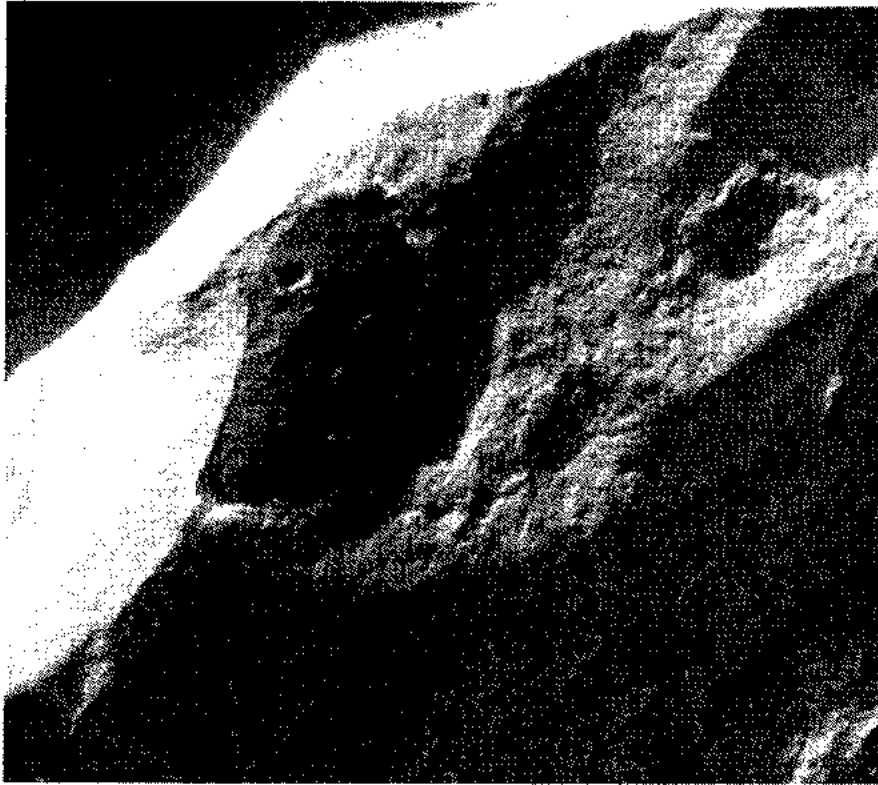


Figure 19a, top. Figure 19b, bottom left. Figure 19c, bottom right.

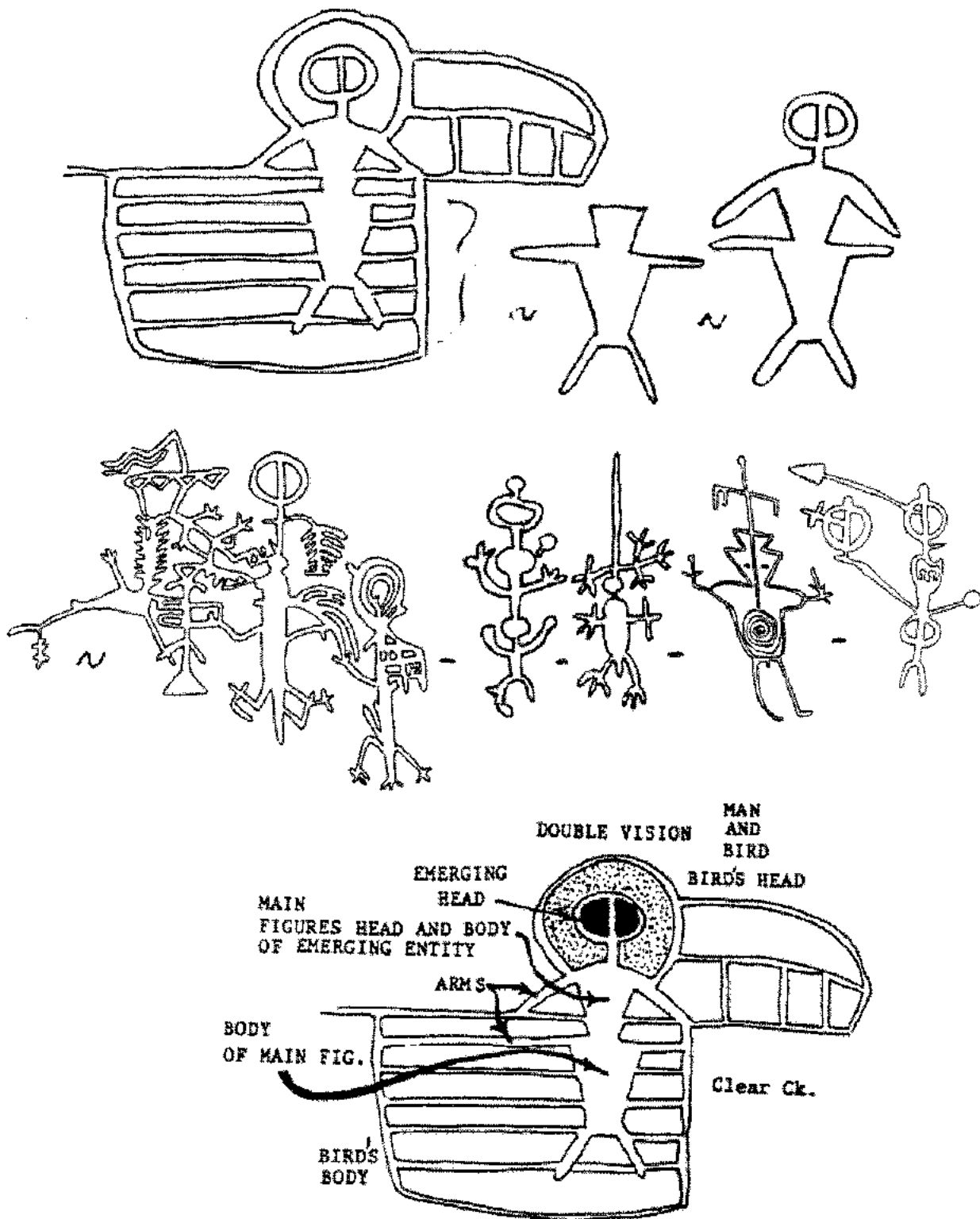
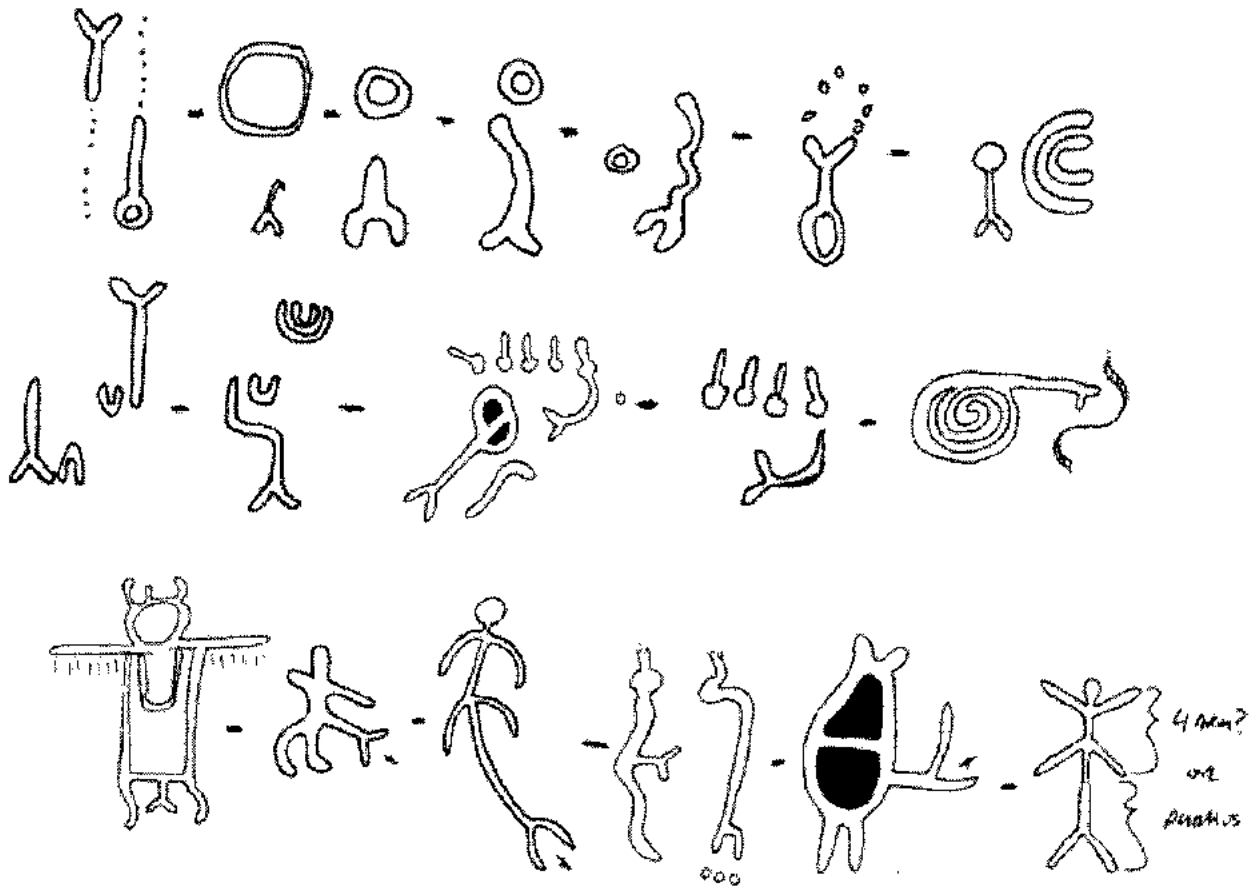
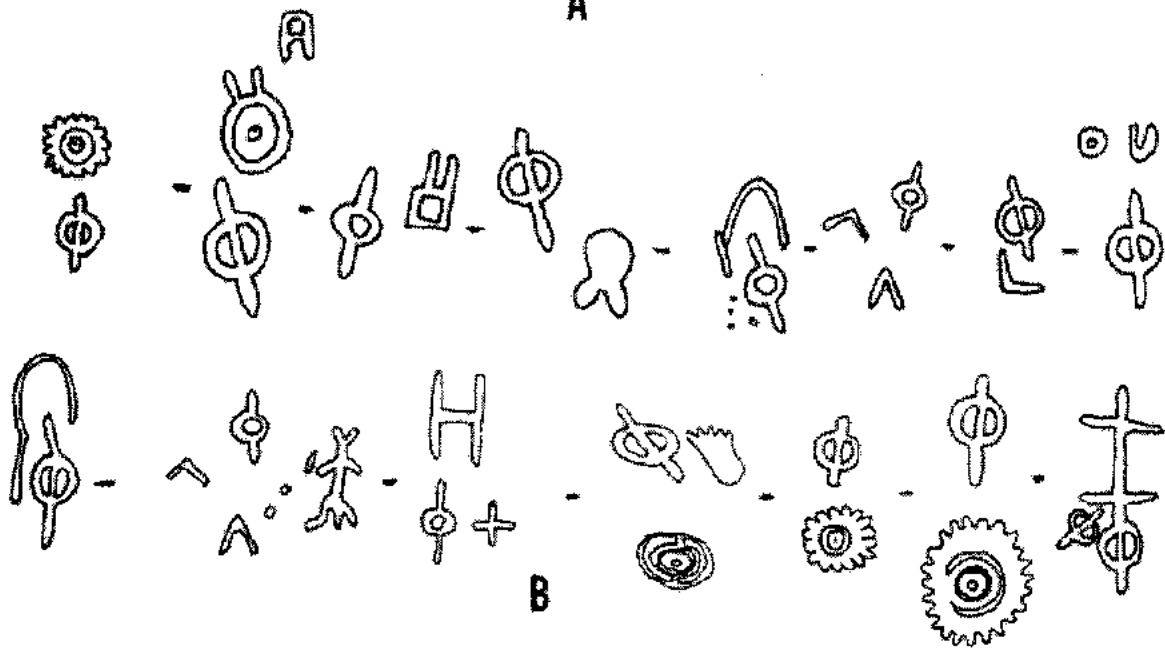


Figure 20



A



B

Figure 21



Figure 22

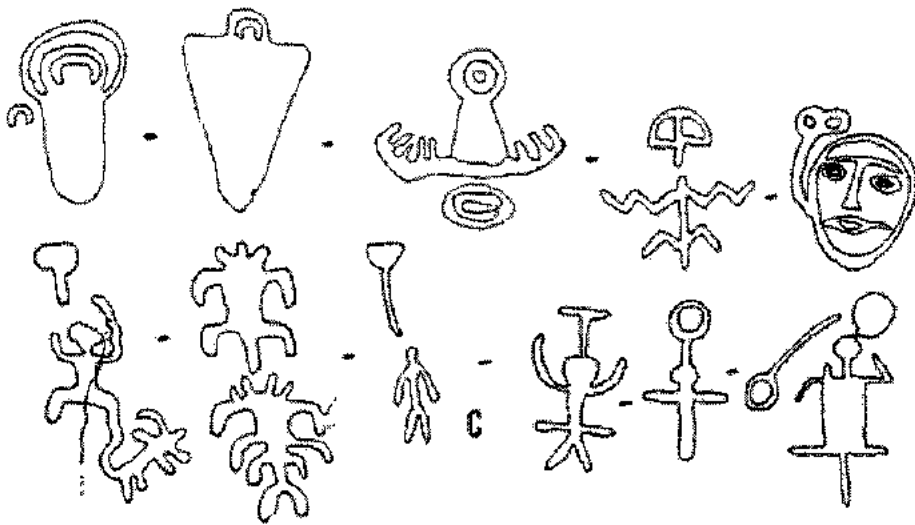
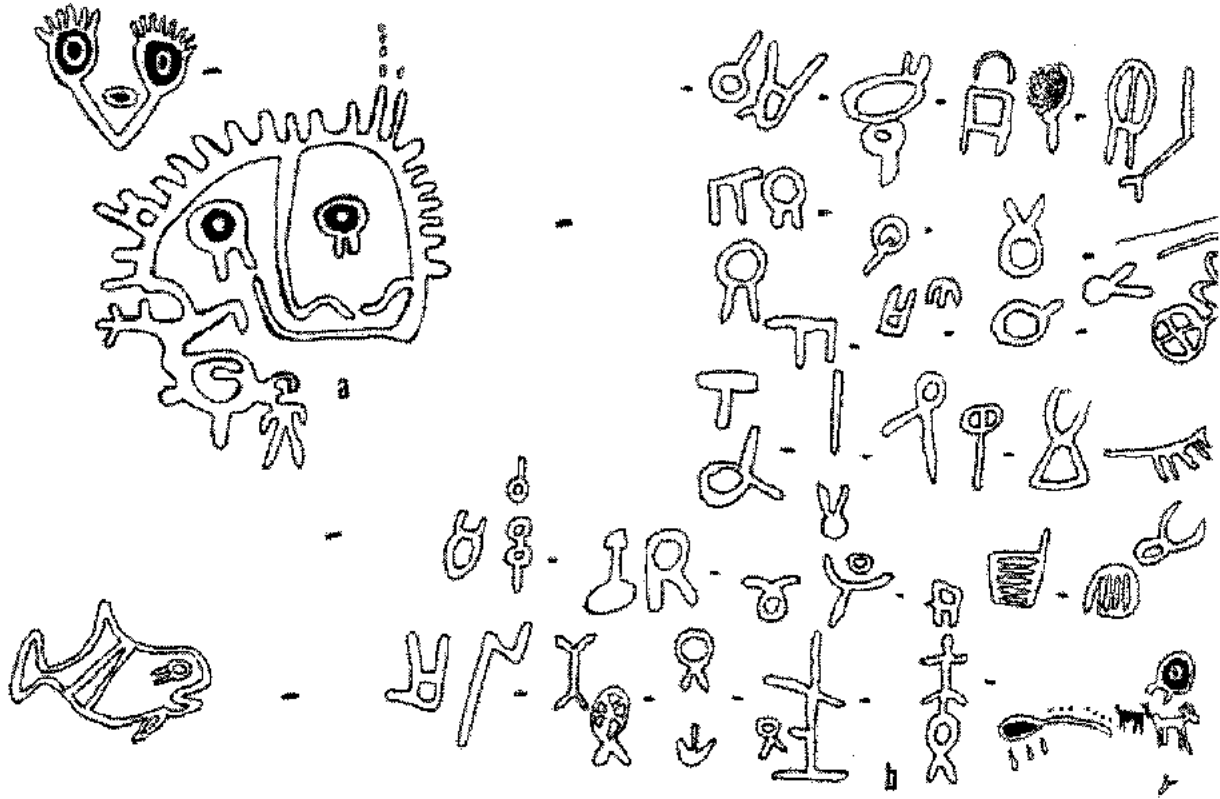


Figure 23



Figure 25