

UTAH ROCK ART

Volumes XXVII and XXVIII

Papers of the Utah Rock Art Research Association

**Twenty-Seventh
Annual Symposium
October 5-8, 2007
Moab, Utah**



**Twenty-Eighth
Annual Symposium
October 10-13, 2008
Escalante, Utah**

Edited by Anne McConnell and Elaine Holmes

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2009
Utah Rock Art Research Association
Salt Lake City, Utah

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Papers Presented at the Twenty-Seventh
Annual Symposium
of the Utah Rock Art Research Association (URARA)

Moab, Utah
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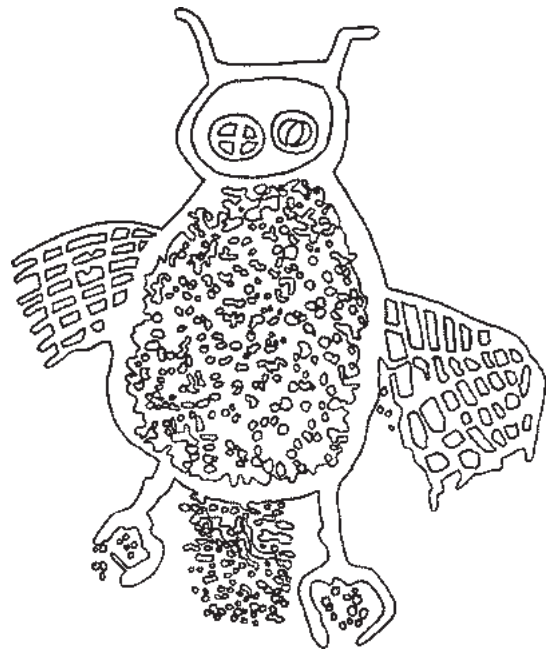


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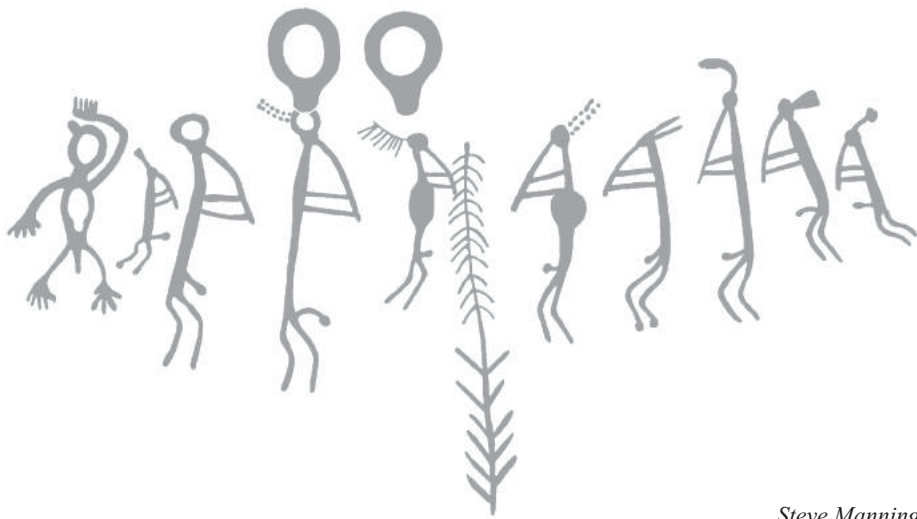
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CONTENTS

Steven J. Manning and Mary K. Allen	The Discovery of Kayenta Basketmaker Rock Art in the Virgin Anasazi Area and the Implications of this Discovery	XXVII-1
Mary Amanda Gorden	Women's Business: Symbols on the Rocks	XXVII-23
Galal Gough	Sacred Landscape and Native American Rock Art - Part II	XXVII-35
Abstracts of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Symposium of the Utah Rock Art Research Association in Moab, Utah, October 5–8, 2007		XXVII-49



Steve Manning

Steven J. Manning and Mary K. Allen (posthumous)

THE DISCOVERY OF KAYENTA BASKETMAKER ROCK ART IN THE VIRGIN ANASAZI AREA AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS DISCOVERY: THE IDENTIFICATION OF A GEOGRAPHICALLY AND ENVIRONMENTALLY CONSTRAINED ROUTE IN SOUTHWESTERN UTAH

Many of you know Mary Allen, or know of Mary Allen. What you probably do not know, however, is that Mary and I had been carrying out a major research project in southern Utah and northern Arizona for many years. We had also been collaborating on a report that describes our research efforts. Our research is the subject of this paper.

Unfortunately, before this paper could be finalized Mary Allen passed away. She died in February 2006 after about a year and a half battle with cancer. It was only a few days after the URARA symposium in Kanab three years ago that Mary discovered she had cancer.

We had finished a rough draft of this paper and I have attempted to complete it. Certainly, it would be substantially improved if Mary were here to include her knowledge and insights. It is not my intent to make this a strictly scholarly paper. I also want it to be a tribute to Mary Allen and her many years of dedication to rock art research; therefore, there are several personal experiences and observations about Mary that would not normally be found in a scholarly paper.

My wife and I first met Mary Allen at the home of Diane Orr's parents in Salt Lake City in about 1985. (Note: Diane Orr was an organizer of this symposium.) At this time, URARA was in its infancy and we occasionally had monthly meetings in member's homes. We learned that Mary lived in St. George and we started discussing the rock art in the St. George area with her. Mary told us about sites that I had never heard of that

concerned my research interests and she invited us to come down and visit those rock art sites. We had been doing that periodically ever since. Our family enjoyed going with Mary to rock art sites. We could, and often did, spend hours at a single panel. We would discuss every image in the panel and its relationship to every other image, both in that panel and everywhere else that we had seen it. We would discuss when it was made, who made it, why it was made, what it might mean, why it might have been placed in this particular location, along with many other questions.

QUESTIONS ABOUT ROCK ART IN THE VIRGIN ANASAZI AREA

Some of the topics we discussed were a series of questions posed by Mary Allen and others who lived in the Virgin Anasazi area. Three of these principal questions were:

1. Is there a style or type of rock art that is unique to the Virgin Anasazi area?
2. If this style or type exists, what are its defining characteristics?
3. Does the Eastern Virgin Kayenta Anasazi Style and Western Virgin Kayenta Anasazi Style, as defined by Polly Schaafsma (1971:110–124) actually exist?

The Virgin Anasazi area is shown on the map in Figure 1 (after Gumerman and Dean 1989). On this map, the various divisions of the Anasazi are identified as branches. This system is based on the analogy of a tree, where the trunk represents

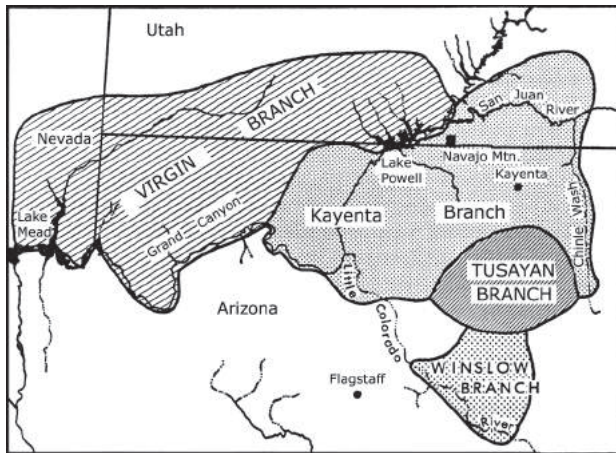


Figure 1. Divisions of the Anasazi in southern Utah and northern Arizona, after Gumerman and Dean 1989.

the common base of the Anasazi Culture and the branches represent regional variations. The Virgin Anasazi branch was distinguished from the Kayenta branch principally on differences in ceramics and architecture. Not all archaeologists agreed with this analogy and now it is not as popular as it once was, so the Virgin Branch of the Anasazi is more often referred to as the Virgin Anasazi, and the Kayenta branch as the Kayenta Anasazi. Of course, today there are people who no longer use the word Anasazi, so it is now commonly referred to as the Virgin area. Eventually there will be people who object to the name “virgin” and then it will not even have a name.

The questions listed above led Mary Allen and Steve Stoney, from Las Vegas, to host an invitational conference in St. George, Utah to address these questions. The conference was held on January 16, 1993. Individuals who had published papers or were currently doing rock art research in the Virgin Anasazi area were invited to present a paper answering these questions. Papers were followed by a group discussion. Field trips were held the following day to specifically study some of the panels that were discussed. I was invited to participate in the conference because of a paper I wrote titled, *A Reappraisal of the Cave Valley Style* (Manning 1990b).

At the conference, all the other presenters showed photographs and discussed images that they considered to be unique to the region. I took an entirely different approach, or perhaps more appropriately, looked at it from a different perspective. I showed about 280 photographs of rock art in all areas surrounding the Virgin Anasazi area to illustrate that the rock art in the Virgin area is *not found* in the surrounding areas and was therefore unique to the Virgin area.

A consensus was reached among the participants that there was a specific rock art style that was unique to the Virgin Anasazi area. It was agreed that the Cave Valley Style, defined by Schaafsma (1971), was unique to the Virgin Anasazi area. It was also concluded that the other Virgin Kayenta Anasazi styles defined by Schaafsma were problematical because of their similarity to images in Fremont rock art north and east of the area and with other styles or types of rock art that exist to the south and west, which were not defined by Schaafsma. It should be noted that Schaafsma in 1980 changed the name of the Western Virgin Anasazi Style to the Virgin Representational Style (Schaafsma 1980:153).

A consensus was also reached that there is a particular type (or style) of image that is unique to the Virgin Anasazi area. These images were subsequently discussed in a paper that I wrote titled, *Rock Art Symbolism Unique to the Virgin Anasazi Region: A Ritualistic Response to an Arid Environment* (Manning 1997).

For several years, we spent a significant amount of time in the Virgin Anasazi area looking for additional images or types of images that were unique to the Virgin area. It was the center of our focus, but unknown to us, this was about to change.

KAYENTA BASKETMAKER ROCK ART IN SOUTHWESTERN UTAH

The change had its beginning in October 1987, when I was invited by Al Schroedl and Betsy

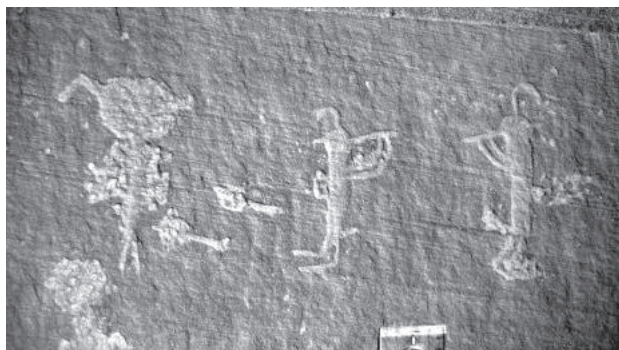


Figure 2. Part of a panel of petroglyphs in Cottonwood Canyon.

Tipps of P-III Associates in Salt Lake City and by the Utah Bureau of Land Management to help excavate and stabilize a unit pueblo in Cottonwood Canyon west of Kanab. A unit pueblo is a group of contiguous rooms that were used for living and storage with a kiva in front. The structures at this site in Cottonwood canyon were still intact because they were built in the back of a very large alcove and were protected by the overhang. The unit pueblo was the home of what was likely an extended family; in other words, it was a family homestead. This was the first unit pueblo that I had ever seen that was intact and not just piles of rubble because it was built out in the open. To see the walls of the structure nearly exactly as they were when they were built was a unique opportunity. The site is well protected because, while the site is on BLM land, access is through private property with two or three locked gates.

When we arrived at the site we were on the mesa top above the alcove, so each day we had to hike down to it. While hiking down the first day, I saw several rows of cliffs below the site and supposing that there was rock art on the surfaces, I asked Betsy Tipps if I could go exploring one afternoon if I was not needed. A few days later, Betsy told me to take the afternoon off and see what I could find. She also asked me to take some site forms and record any sites that I might discover. As I had suspected, there were petroglyphs on some of the rock faces. Four sites were discovered and



Figure 3. Flute players near Canyonlands National Park, eastern Utah.

they were all interesting; however, one was especially interesting. A photograph of a portion of the panel is shown in Figure 2. A report on these sites was published in February 1989 as an appendix to the main excavation report (Tipps 1989).

Facing Flute Players

The images shown in Figures 2 and 3 are of Kayenta Basketmaker affiliation and are nearly identical to images in eastern Utah. This panel could easily be in Grand Gulch, for example, and no one would question its presence. The section of the panel shown in Figure 2 contains two flute players facing each other. They both have two arms holding the flute, bent legs, a headdress consisting of a single curving arc, pecked areas on their back and they are both phallic.

Facing flute players are not common in most of Utah, but there are several in eastern Utah. An example is shown in Figure 3, which is near Canyonlands National Park. These images are not as elaborate as those in Figure 2. In addition, flute players with bent knees (and other pairs of anthropomorphs with bent knees) are also relatively common in eastern Utah (Manning 1992a:172). The similarity of these unusual images suggests a common origin.

Birds and Bird-Headed Anthropomorphs

To the left of the facing flute players in the panel in Cottonwood Canyon (Figure 2) are two images apparently representing atlatls, along with an anthropomorph with a large bird on its head. The bird has the typical form found along and in drainages of the San Juan River in eastern Utah. Anasazi Basketmaker birds have a unique form that is different from other cultures. The presence of atlatls, if that interpretation is correct, may serve to confirm the panel as Basketmaker because the atlatl predated the bow and arrow.

The rest of the panel (Figure 4) contains a larger bird, footprints, apparently a depiction of a turkey(?), a couple involved in intimate contact, a pregnant female, and vulva symbols (not shown), etc. All of these images, especially the birds, are present and typical of Basketmaker panels in eastern Utah, especially in the drainages of the San Juan River.

Our knowledge of the presence of bird-headed anthropomorphs in the Virgin area was expanded some time later, when Owen Severance and I were exploring east of Kanab. We visited a site in Cat Stair Canyon, which was described by Kenneth Castleton in *Petroglyphs and Pictographs of Utah* (1979:180–181). Unfortunately, the creators of some of the images at this site chose to place them on a surface unprotected from the elements. In addition, the sandstone surface itself is soft and appears to be slowly disintegrating. Some of the images, as Castleton pointed out, are faint and worn. Castleton also noted that some of the figures were high up on the sheer cliff face and could not be reached. This makes photographing the images difficult. Apparently, at some point in time, a sand dune made it possible to access the upper cliff surface. The area below the panel is quite sandy today.

Figure 5 shows a white painted anthropomorph with a bird on its head. The bird was pecked into the sandstone and then it was painted. Traces of

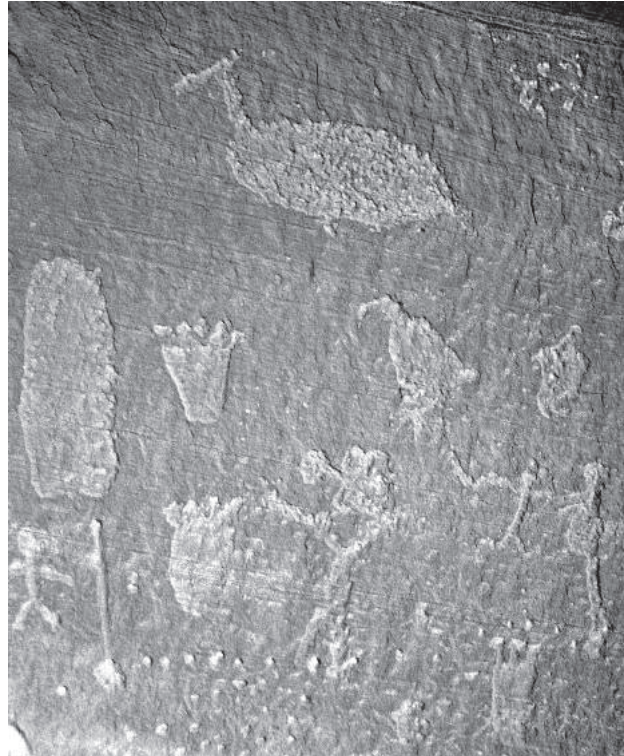


Figure 4. A section of the Basketmaker panel from Cottonwood Canyon.

white paint are still present. The head and neck of the bird were also painted. They were apparently painted with thicker coats or a different type of paint because they still contain thick white pigment. The anthropomorph was also painted with white pigment, and like the paint in the body of the bird, it is eroding away. The red painted outlined anthropomorph was added later, as its arm is superimposed over the beak of the bird.

Another section of the panel contains a bird painted with red pigment on top of the head of an anthropomorph painted with somewhat white pigment (Figure 6). Two other white painted anthropomorphs in the panel also had birds on or almost on their heads, but they were too faint to show up in photographs. Notice the presence of another pecked bird with a painted head and neck on the right side of this photograph. Beneath it are evidences of pecking, but the pecking is too eroded to determine what it represented—it could be an anthropomorph. There are also other small pecked anthropomorphs in the panel.



Figure 5. *A bird on the head of an anthropomorph in Cat Stair Canyon.*

The unique characteristics where the heads and necks of birds are painted a different color than the body occurs in rock art in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona. Compare the images shown above to those in Figure 7, which is a

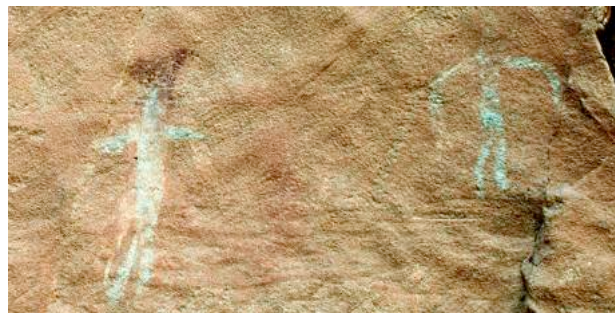


Figure 6. *A red painted bird on top of the head of a white painted anthropomorph at Cat Stair Canyon.*

typical panel with painted birds on the heads of anthropomorphs in Grand Gulch. Note that there are birds painted with a white body and a red head and neck as well as birds painted with a red body and a white head and neck. Distinctive traits like these make it possible to accurately plot the distribution of specific rock art ideologies.

Following the discovery of the Cat Stair Canyon panel, I was interested in learning how images of birds like these were distributed in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona. I conducted an



Figure 7. *Painted birds on the heads of anthropomorphs in Grand Gulch.*



Figure 8. *Basketmaker face from the Johnson Canyon drainage near Kanab, Utah.*

analysis of the distribution of the number of bird headed and birds-on-the-heads of human figures in each drainage in this area. I found that the number of painted and pecked bird-headed and birds-on-the-heads is highest in the Grand Gulch drainage. In fact, the concentration is almost 10 times greater there than in any other drainage in southern Utah or northern Arizona. Campbell Grant in *Canyon de Chelly: Its People and Rock Art* (1978: 153–268) illustrates several panels of these images in Canyon de Chelly. Both Grand Gulch and Canyon de Chelly drain into the San Juan River.

Basketmaker Painted Faces or Masks

Another painted figure that we discovered at the Cat Stair Canyon site is an image variously referred to as: a painted face, a mask, a whole face and hair scalp, or a trophy head (Cole 1990. Kidder and Guernsey 1919, Manning 1990a). These images are considered to be Basketmaker, first because of their comparison to a skinned head and scalp with a painted face which was found in a Basketmaker burial (Kidder and Guernsey 1919) and second because of the level of repatination of the petroglyphs. Some of the images in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona are



Figure 9. *Basketmaker face from Grand Gulch, Utah.*

definitely a depiction of a skinned head because they depict the loop attached to the top of the head that apparently served as a handle, which is an actual feature of a skinned head that was excavated by Kidder and Guernsey. These faces occur both as painted and pecked images. It is questionable whether the feature depicted in Cat Stair Canyon is a mask, a face, or a detached head, so for simplicity it is referred to here as a face. The image in this location was created in yellow pigment. It was high on the cliff and extremely difficult to see. On a second visit to the site several years later, and this time with a telephoto lens, the image could not be located. Apparently, it was obscured by the bright sun or it has eroded from the cliff face.

In addition to the painted face at Cat Stair Canyon, there are at least two other Basketmaker faces in drainages in the Vermillion cliffs. The most distinctive one is in the Johnson Canyon drainage (Figure 8). There are also other Basketmaker images at the site.

Basketmaker faces are also found along the San Juan River (Figure 9) and in its drainages

(Manning 1992b). Quite a few occur in and around Grand Gulch; sometimes they appear at the same site as bird-headed or birds-on-the-head images. One of the most notable is known as the green mask (Castleton 1979:245, Cole 1990: 119, Manning 1992b:16). The faces in the Virgin area, then, are analogous to those in Kayenta Basketmaker rock art.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF IMAGES THAT ARE NOT UNIQUE TO THE VIRGIN AREA

One day while I was innocently looking through photographs of rock art from western Utah, I was suddenly struck by what I thought was an incredible awareness, an epiphany, and an intuitive grasp of reality. It dawned on me that we had been so engrossed, so preoccupied, and so intent on finding images that were unique to the Virgin area that we had failed to recognize the significance of images that were *not* unique to the Virgin area. Archaeologists have believed for many years and have published so much information on the existence of the Anasazi Basketmaker culture in eastern Utah that we were not surprised when we found Anasazi Basketmaker images from nearby areas in eastern Utah. Evidences of Basketmaker occupation have apparently been found throughout the Virgin area and archaeologists believe that the cultural traits that define Basketmaker came from the Kayenta area. In addition, we had identified rock art that we believed dated to the Basketmaker period because it was superimposed by distinctive Virgin Pueblo rock art and because the levels of repatination of these petroglyphs was greater. We were looking for Basketmaker rock art that was unique to the Virgin area, and we were finding it, and when we found Basketmaker images that were not unique, we dismissed them as unimportant—it was not what we were looking for. I finally realized that Basketmaker images, which are extremely common in the Kayenta area, are very uncommon in the Virgin area—like bird-headed anthropomorphs. Notice the absence of bird-headed images in Schaafsma's discussion of

the rock art in the Virgin/Kayenta area in *The Rock Art of Utah* (1971).

Why is the distinctive rock art from the Kayenta area so rare in the Virgin area? Our best possible explanation was that individuals from the Kayenta area were coming into the Virgin area in the Basketmaker period and bringing with them their rock art ideologies fully intact and unchanged. Archaeologists have for some time believed that the traits that define the Anasazi diffused outward from where they originated. Evidence for diffusion in rock art ideologies would be present in changes in the rock art from east to west. We found identical rock art in both areas; therefore, at least one of the characteristics that defines the Basketmaker culture for a brief period of time—the rock art—did not arrive in western Utah by the diffusion of ideas, it arrived there by the movement of individual people who created the same rock art in both areas. The rarity of the Kayenta images in the Virgin area suggested two additional possibilities: one, that there were not many people traveling in this period; and two, an analyses of the distribution of the images in the Virgin area should provide information on the route the Basketmaker people traveled from the Kayenta area to the Virgin area.

When we realized this, our focus was immediately modified. We became very interested in verifying this observation and determining if there was a route across southern Utah/northern Arizona delineated by the presence of distinctive Kayenta Basketmaker rock art. Therefore, in our explorations we began to search instead for images that were not unique to the Virgin area—a significant change.

These discoveries led us to question how the people from the Kayenta area, particularly the Cedar Mesa/San Juan River area, traveled to the Virgin area, specifically the Kanab/Vermillion Cliffs area, since that is where we were finding the Kayenta images. Since the highest concentration of bird-headed anthropomorphs,

birds-on-the-heads, birds with white painted heads, etc. is in Grand Gulch this became the focus for the starting point of our Kayenta immigrants.

We considered two possibilities: One, the Kayenta images came to be in the Virgin area because people moved directly west from all areas of southeastern Utah/northeastern Arizona that they inhabited. If this were true, the pattern would be many parallel east-west routes. Two, there was only one route or a very limited number of routes that people followed from the Kayenta area to the Virgin area. From our own experience and what has been reported in the literature, we ruled out many parallel routes because of the absence of Kayenta Basketmaker images in areas north of the Escalante River or south in the Grand Canyon. This analysis left only a few possible routes. Interestingly, we independently studied topographic maps and using our experience in the geography of the region, we each determined that there was only one possible route. The next time we went searching for rock art, we discovered that we both had picked the very same route. We agreed that the route would have to parallel the Vermillion cliffs.

The Vermillion Cliffs are the southern edge of an east-west trending line of high plateaus that mark the boundary between the Arizona strip—a flat arid landscape north of the Grand Canyon—and the extremely rugged semi-mountainous area south of Bryce Canyon. This is easy to visualize with a large-scale topographic map or with a sketch of the terrain such as the one by Brown (1980) that was shown at the symposium, which shows the Vermillion Cliffs from Hurricane to Glen Canyon.

We discovered in our analysis that the route along the base of the Vermillion Cliffs is both geographically and environmentally constrained. It is geographically constrained because north of the face of the cliffs the plateau is cut by numerous rugged deep canyons and gorges. Any east-west route would be torturous. The route is also

environmentally constrained. South of the Vermillion Cliffs an east-west route would be through the semiarid Arizona Strip. Water sources in the Arizona strip are few and there is little vegetation and wildlife. It is also extremely hot in the summer. On the other hand, water is readily available in drainages and canyons that penetrate the Vermillion cliffs.

There are many good springs. In fact, the very best spring I have ever seen anywhere is in one of these canyons. If I owned the land this spring is on, I would be in the bottled water business. Because the land along the base of the Vermillion Cliffs is such prime real estate, people homesteaded it and today much of it is privately owned. There are also large Anasazi habitation sites along the Vermillion Cliffs at sites such as Pipe Springs, Hildale, and Johnson Canyon, indicating that the prehistoric Indians utilized its resources (Berg, et al, 2003).

One other observation influenced our thinking. Basketmaker sites have been found near the point where the Virgin River enters the Colorado River, which is southwest of the Grand Canyon and northeast of Las Vegas near Overton, Nevada. If Basketmaker people were following the Colorado River downstream from Grand Gulch to reach this point, their route would travel through the rugged Grand Canyon. To bypass this area, all travelers would have to do is follow the base of the Vermillion cliffs to the Virgin River and then follow the Virgin River south to the Colorado River. This is a far better route than trying to follow the Colorado River.

We therefore formulated a hypothesis that following the Vermillion Cliffs was the route that made it the easiest for the Kayenta Basketmaker people to travel into the Virgin area. We then discussed how we would test this hypothesis. Mary concluded that all we would have to do is survey the area 90 miles north and 90 miles south of the Vermillion Cliffs, record all of the rock art sites, and from this determine if the Kayenta

Basketmaker rock art was concentrated along this route. If it is, then we are correct in our deduction. We decided that this was an impossible task, even if we worked at it full time for the rest of our lives. Therefore, we decided to do a sample survey and explore the face of the Vermillion Cliffs and all of the drainages and canyons from the Colorado River to the Virgin River as well as areas north and south of the Vermillion Cliffs for at least 100 miles—to the best of our abilities.

Number of Rock Art Sites in the Study

To this date, we have examined at least 4,000 rock art sites. Their numbers in Utah by county are: Washington 250, Kane 391, Garfield 408, San Juan 2,904, for a total of 3,953 rock art sites. The number of rock art sites included in our study is substantial, and it serves to validate our results.

EXPLORATIONS

The following are some examples of what we have found in our explorations along the Vermillion Cliffs that show Kayenta Basketmaker rock art in the Virgin area that verifies the presence of an east-west route along the face of these cliffs. Independently and together, we have spent years, and more trips than I can remember, testing our hypothesis. Owen Severance and I also made trips to this region. There are only three hikes in my life that I thought I was not going to make it back to my vehicle. One, I actually did not make it back, and the other two were in the Virgin Anasazi area with Owen Severance.

Figure 10 illustrates the extremes that we went to discover and photograph the rock art along the Vermillion Cliffs. This is a picture that I did not show Mary's family. I want to relate two incidents that happened while we were exploring this canyon. We started early one morning to explore additional drainages into the Vermillion Cliffs and we chose this particular canyon. We had been searching all of the cliff faces on the left side of the drainage as we progressed upstream. The road

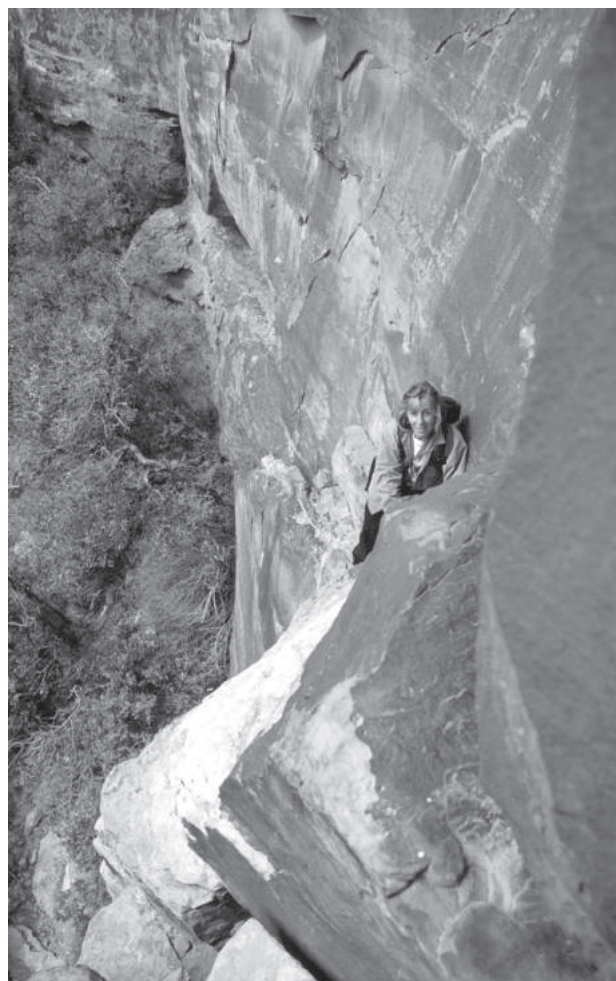


Figure 10. Mary Allen climbing a rock face to reach a petroglyph site in the Vermillion Cliffs.

ended at a large pour-off. Here we found rock art at the location where the photo in Figure 10 was taken. After climbing back down, we went back to my recently purchased Toyota four-wheel-drive truck, on which I had put new tires with an aggressive off-road tread design. I told Mary as we began the exploration in this canyon that my truck was so capable in off-road conditions that there was no need to put it into four-wheel-drive to travel up the dry sandy streambed. Although we were driving in deep sand, the truck performed flawlessly. Where the road ended at the large pour-off, the wash narrowed down to where it was about as wide as the truck was long.

After we finished climbing to the rock art, we got back in the truck and prepared to leave. I turned

the wheels sharply to the right and backed up to turn around. The rear wheels hit the low bank on the wash and the truck stopped, so I turned the wheels sharply to the left and pulled forward. The front wheels almost immediately hit the opposite bank. I repeated this maneuver again and I found the truck pinned in place between the two sandy banks of the dry streambed. Somewhat abashed, I told Mary that it looked like we would have to put the truck in four-wheel drive to get unstuck. The truck had manual engaging hubs, so we each got out and engaged the hub on our respective sides of the truck. Mary shut the truck door and stood a few feet from the passenger side of the truck and I got in to finish turning the truck around. I turned the wheels sharply to the left and then pushed much too aggressively on the gas pedal. The truck went forward into the bank and the right front tire dug into the sand. The new tires with the aggressive tread began to spin rapidly throwing literally buckets of sand right at Mary. She was covered from head to foot. So much sand hit Mary that before I could take my foot off the gas pedal, the sand, ricocheting off her, went through the open window and into my truck and spread sand all over inside of it, even getting sand in my face. I looked out at Mary—she was covered in sand—and I began to apologize profusely. I know some people who in this situation would have become angry, some might have even started to cry, but Mary began to laugh. I tried extremely hard not to laugh, but eventually I gave in. I think it took Mary several days to get the sand out of her long hair. This experience reveals a lot about Mary Allen's personality and how she handled difficult situations. I never saw Mary angry, nor did she ever make a disparaging comment about anyone.

After we got ourselves cleaned up the best we could and as we went back downstream, we continued our explorations on the opposite side of the canyon. It was getting dark and we had at least an hour's drive to get back to Mary and



Figure 11. *Kayenta Basketmaker panel in the Vermillion Cliffs of western Utah.*

John's house, but we saw one more cliff face. It appeared to be one of the best we had seen. It was large, smooth, and covered with dark desert varnish. We parked and hiked over to it. There was not a single mark on it. However, we discovered that it was the point of a ridge protruding toward the dry streambed, so we walked around to the other side, and what we saw made us stare in disbelief. We had discovered a panel that could have easily been created along the San Juan River. It contained the most comprehensive group of San Juan Basketmaker images yet discovered in the Virgin Anasazi area. The panel contains bird-headed images, atlatls, four sets of lobed-circle images, medicine bags, etc. Unfortunately, it was nearly dark, so our pictures were blurry. We intended to return to the site and fully document it, but it never happened. Mary, however, did return and found that the panel is on private land. Unfortunately, she was unable to complete a discussion of these images for this paper. A small section of the panel is shown in Figure 11 and a larger section in Figure 12.

Figure 11 shows a bird-headed anthropomorph with a single bird above it, two lobed circles (with bird heads) and two skin bags—one large and one small (note the carrying handle), two atlatls and other images. There are at least three ages represented in this panel.



Figure 12. Another section of the Basketmaker panel in the Vermillion Cliffs.



Figure 13. Lobed circles and other images along the San Juan River in the in the Kayenta area.

Figure 12 shows a larger section of the panel. In this photograph are two more sets of lobed circles, one of which is the head of an anthropomorph.

Lobed Circles in Pairs

Manning (1992a) has shown that lobed circles are a graphic representation of a uterus, and are present in panels with images associated with fertility, which is the theme of the panel in Cottonwood Canyon (Figures 2 and 4). Pairs of

lobed circles are common and almost exclusive to drainages of the San Juan River in eastern Utah (Manning 1992a). The photograph in Figure 13 shows lobed circles in the Kayenta area for comparison. Lobed circles also exist in a variety of contexts, even as the heads of anthropomorphs (Manning 1992a), which apparently is similar in context to birds being the heads of anthropomorphs. Some of the lobed circles in the Kayenta area have a pecked-out dot in the center (Manning 1992a). Notice that the images in the

Virgin area also have pecked out centers (Figure 11).

Details like this are significant because they illustrate the importance of fine details in the images. They show that the people who were creating the images in the Virgin area were creating them based on an intimate knowledge of the meaning and function of the images that had not changed over time or space. They were not made by someone who saw the images along the San Juan River and then attempted to make copies of them in the Virgin area. It would be impossible for someone who was not familiar with the meaning and function of the images to replicate all of the fine details, and the context and associations, many months after seeing them in the San Juan River area.

Skin Bags

In the panel shown in Figure 11 are what appear to be two skin bags. Skin bags appearing exactly as this shape have been found in southeastern Utah by pothunters and identical images are illustrated in petroglyph panels in the drainages of the San Juan River in eastern Utah. Figure 14 is a photograph of a skin bag along the San Juan River for comparison.

Skin bags were apparently used to carry water, which is particularly important if a person is walking long distances between water sources. This is exactly the situation encountered by a person traveling along the face of the Vermillion Cliffs where water is scarce. Water sources are usually found only in the canyons. The two wavy lines below the skin bag in Figure 11 may indicate that it contains water, or that water is flowing from it into the mouth of the four-legged animal beneath it. The skin bag in Figure 14 is upside-down. Perhaps this signifies that it is empty. This may relate to the two anthropomorphs that have feet that hang vertically instead of horizontally. Feet are positioned vertically only when a person is dead and they are left hanging, as is suggested by

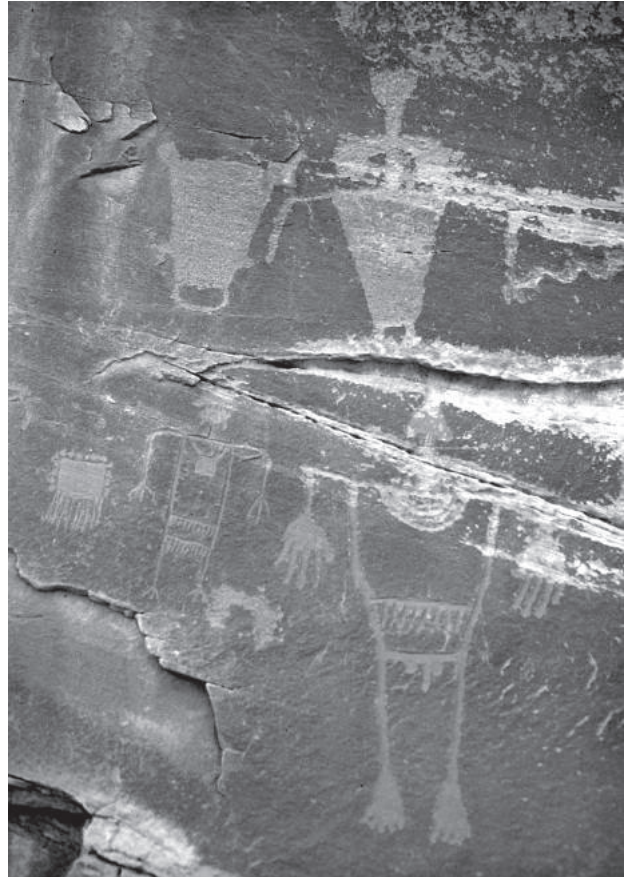


Figure 14. A skin bag from the San Juan River area in southeastern Utah for comparison.

the position of the arms, which might be lashed to a horizontal fixture to support the body. This conclusion is a personal observation. Perhaps these images indicate death caused by the absence of water. (Note: straps holding the arms of a dead person appear to be illustrated in a panel in Canyon Del Muerto [Canyon of Death], a tributary of the San Juan River, see Schaafsma [1980:Figure 73] and/or Cole [1990:Figure 43], who has a close-up photograph.)

Rows of Dancers

One final group or type of panel in the Virgin area is important to discuss. There are other examples of Kayenta images in the Virgin area, but those discussed here should provide sufficient examples to demonstrate the validity of our conclusions. These panels contain rows of anthropomorphs that appear to be dancing.



Figure 15. Pictograph panel along the Vermillion Cliffs showing two rows of dancing figures facing each other. Actual dinosaur footprints are nearby in sandstone.

Figure 15 shows a panel in which two groups of small human figures face each other. This panel is from a site located along the face of the Vermillion Cliffs in Kane County. This photograph was featured on the Utah Prehistory Week poster in 2005. There appear to be ten figures on the left side and nine on the right side; however, there may be ten figures on the right side as well because the dinosaur track appears to have been painted over the image. Notice that there is a small circular ground hole in the head of the right most person in the row on the left side. There is also a ground hole at the top of the dinosaur track. If there was a matching hole in the head of the left most person in the row on the right then there are ten figures in each row. All of the people in each row have both of their arms stretched out in front of them and their legs are bent at the knees. This suggests a motion like dancing. See Appendix A for some thoughts about this panel.

Panels featuring rows of dancers are also found along the San Juan River and in the drainages and side canyons in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona. For comparison, Figure 16 shows a drawing of a panel along the San Juan River in San Juan County, Utah. In this panel, the legs and arms of the anthropomorphs are very

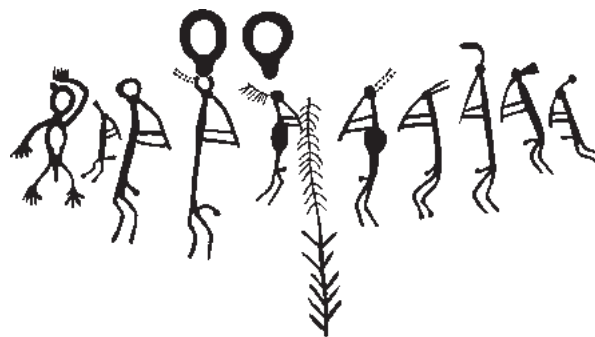


Figure 16. A panel near the San Juan River in southeastern Utah with facing dancers/flute players and lobed circles.

similarly positioned to those in the Virgin area, suggesting that both groups are dancing. The obvious difference between the two is that the figures in the San Juan River panel are apparently playing flutes while they are dancing, which is the same thing that the figures in Cottonwood Canyon near Kanab are doing; compare the position of the arms and legs of the images in Figure 16 with those in Figure 2. In both the Kayenta and Virgin areas, there are rows of dancers that have flutes and those that do not have flutes. Notice that the panel in the drawing also contains a pair of lobed circles and that three of the flute players/dancing figures have a lobed circle for a head.

It is not only the similarity in form that links these similar panels from the Kayenta and Virgin areas together; it is also the context of the panels. It is obvious from the phallic dancers that the context of both panels (Figures 2 and 16) centers on the theme of fertility.

Summary

All of the Kayenta images found in the Virgin Area discussed above provide support for our hypothesis for a route along the southern face of the Vermillion Cliffs. This support is in the form of physical evidence. Physical evidence that is not present also supports our hypothesis, and this missing evidence is that Kayenta Basketmaker panels are absent or nearly absent in all areas north and south of the Vermillion Cliffs in the Virgin area. Combined, the evidence is substantial that Basketmaker people from the Kayenta area, particularly from the San Juan River area of southeastern Utah, traveled along the face of the Vermillion Cliffs in an east-west route.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ARCHITECTURE

This is, however, not the entire story. It was stated above that one of the principal defining

characteristics of the Virgin Anasazi culture is architecture. What part does architecture play in this hypothesis? It plays a very significant part.

Figure 17 is a prehistoric structure in Natural Bridges National Monument, which borders Grand Gulch on the north. The structure is located at site 42Sa6801 in the White Canyon drainage that flows into Lake Powell. I first saw this structure many years ago. The first time I saw it, I thought it was an Anasazi structure, not a Fremont structure as some archaeologists believed, (Coulam 2001, Hobler and Hobler 1978). I had spent many years exploring the Fremont areas of Utah and I had never seen anything like this structure in the Fremont area. I had also spent considerable time in and around Canyonlands National Park, which area was heavily occupied during the P-II through P-III period, and there are no structures like it there, so I concluded that it was not from that period either. The only place I had seen these structures is in the Cedar Mesa area, which includes Grand Gulch and Natural Bridges. Figure 18 shows a structure in Grand Gulch. For a discussion of these structures, see Hobler and Hobler (1978). Many years ago, Owen Severance, who lives in southeastern Utah, reasoned from the evidences that he had found throughout Cedar Mesa that these were Basketmaker structures.

Owen's conclusion was verified when the structure was dated by Nancy Coulam, National Park Service Archaeologist, in 2001. The radiocarbon dates were obtained from materials encased in the wall fragments found at the site (Coulam 2001). A juniper berry from a broken off section of the wall that was lying between the structure and the cliff yielded a date of A.D. 600–655. A second date of A.D. 390–530 was obtained from grass stems embedded in the adobe of a second fallen wall segment. Another similar nearby structure with low walls yielded a date of A.D. 600–650 from an artiodactyl hoof fragment in a newly fallen wall segment. The A.D. 390–530 date is from the Basketmaker II period and



Figure 17. Prehistoric structure in Natural Bridges National Monument, southeastern Utah.



Figure 18. Jeremy Manning inspecting a prehistoric ruin beneath a large overhang in Grand Gulch.

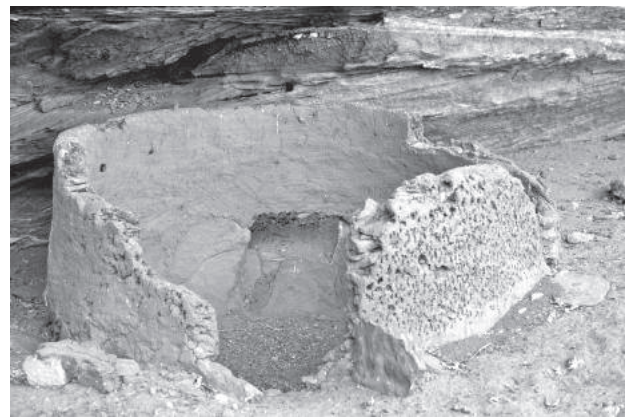


Figure 19. A prehistoric structure in a canyon near the Paria River.

the A.D. 600–650 date is from the Basketmaker III period. A possible explanation for the two different dates from the same structure (Figure 17) is the existence of a dismantled structure shown by remnants of adobe clinging to the cliff wall. It is likely that a remnant from an old structure was incorporated in the building of the new structure.

The significance of these structures, which date from the Basketmaker period, is that they also occur in the Virgin Anasazi area. Owen Severance found one site near the Paria River (Figure 19) and then we found another site near Kanab (Figure 20). The structure near Kanab is nearly 200 miles from the structure in Natural Bridges, and that is in a straight line, and arguably across the most



Figure 21. Ruin in Canyon near Kanab.

rugged desert terrain in Utah. Amazingly, all three sites have structures that appear identical in form and method of manufacture, although we did not examine them in minute detail. Notice that all three have rocks embedded in the clay that forms the walls and that they are the same color. The structures are so identical that they appear to be made from the same clay. It does not seem possible or reasonable that they would be made from the same clay source. It would be interesting to obtain a chemical analysis of the clay from the three structures and determine its source. The similarity of the structures and their rareness suggests that they were all created by the same people at about the same time or in the same period. If these structures were all made in the same period, then they would also have been made in the same period as the associated rock art that exists in both the Kayenta and Virgin areas. This is a good hypothesis since all three sites have Basketmaker rock art next to the structures.

CONCLUSION—ALMOST

The presence of the Kayenta Basketmaker images and structures found only along the Vermillion Cliffs and, equally as significant, the absence of these images and structures in adjacent areas (both north and south) substantiates the existence of a major travel corridor in the Basketmaker period between the Kayenta and the Virgin areas. The route these Basketmaker people traveled goes all the way to the Virgin River, as indicated by

Kayenta rock art along the Virgin River near Zion National Park (Connor and Vetter 1986:48–61; Steward 1929:150, plate 86d). In fact, Connor and Vetter (1986:60) note that “Other Rock art in Zion National Park resembles art from Anasazi regions, particularly the Kayenta region just east of the Virgin Anasazi region.”

But this is not all of the story. This only traces the route in the Virgin area. How did the Basketmaker people from Cedar Mesa travel to the Vermillion Cliffs where the cliffs meet the Colorado River? This route might be a little difficult to determine, since possible routes now lie beneath Lake Powell. It is possible to follow the San Juan River to the Colorado River and then follow it downstream to the Vermillion cliffs, or a person could follow White Canyon to the Colorado River; however, this would be a longer journey since White Canyon flows northwest. Prehistoric routes in southeastern Utah that would connect Grand Gulch to the Vermillion Cliffs route have not been seriously investigated.

Pre-Anasazi Inhabitants

We also discovered the presence of an Archaic Period type rock art in the eastern Virgin area that is different from that characterized by Turner (1963, 1971). This is important because it suggests that the Vermillion Cliffs corridor in eastern Utah may have been initially used, or pioneered, in the Archaic period. The presence of this Archaic Period type rock art suggests that the Anasazi Basketmakers from the Kayenta area may have been following an Archaic route. This relatively easy route may have enabled the Kayenta Basketmaker people, along with their ideas and technology, to travel into the Virgin area, where they influenced and interacted with the Archaic Period people already living there. This may help explain why the rock art is so different in the Virgin area than it is elsewhere and why unmodified Kayenta rock art in the Virgin area is so uncommon and unique. This, of course, needs further study to be a viable hypothesis.

Dating Kayenta Rock Art

One day when I was working on the draft of the paper we were writing, I was suddenly struck, again, by what I thought was an incredible awareness, an epiphany, and an intuitive grasp of reality. It dawned on me that we had been so engrossed, so preoccupied, and so intent on finding Basketmaker images that were not unique to the Virgin Anasazi area that we had failed to realize that we were not seeing in the Virgin area examples of all types of the Kayenta Basketmaker rock art. We were only seeing part of them. An enormously significant type of figure was entirely missing. In all of the panels we had examined, we had never seen even one of Schaafsma's San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images. Examples of the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images from the Kayenta area are shown in Figures 13 and 14. Of course, we have not searched every square meter of southwestern Utah, so there may be some somewhere. We kept looking for them, but we have never found any—so far.

Why are there no San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images in the Virgin area when they are so abundant in the Kayenta area? There are actually many hundreds of these images along the San Juan River and in its drainages in the Four Corners area. There are so many of these images and they are so impressive that Schaafsma (1980) gave them a specific name—the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style. They were also discussed as early as 1921 by Guernsey and Kidder (1921). We decided that the most likely possibility that would explain the absence of San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images in the Virgin area was that they were created at a different time than the other Kayenta Basketmaker images in the Virgin area.

If it could be determined when the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images were created in the Kayenta area it would also determine when the other Kayenta Basketmaker images were created in the Virgin area, because they would have been created during different periods. Thus,

specific types of Basketmaker rock art in both the Kayenta and Virgin areas would be unambiguously assignable to different periods—BM-II or BM-III; that is, if Basketmaker rock art follows the same pattern as the characteristics that differentiate BM-II from BM-III.

Basketmaker rock art, however, has not been indisputably separated into these two periods and the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images have not been directly dated, and thus not clearly assigned to a particular phase of the Basketmaker culture, despite what others believe. Kidder and Guernsey (1919) are often quoted as noting that they were associated with BM-II cultural evidences in northeastern Arizona. Schaafsma (1980:110) and Cole (1990:111, 1994:289) discussed the distribution of these images and both, citing Guernsey and Kidder (1921), expressed the opinion that they were also of Basketmaker II cultural affiliation. Robins and Hays-Gilpin (2000) building on the work of Robins (1997), who also quoted all previous researchers including Kidder and Guernsey, have also suggested that the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images date to the BM-II period. More specifically, they relate them to the White Dog phase of the BM-II period that, in northern Arizona, may date from about 1500 B.C. to A.D. 50. This conclusion derives from an alleged association of the images with locations possessing high-quality agricultural lands that might have yielded surpluses, resulting in macro-social venues (food sharing feasts, fall festivals, etc.) that have nearby BM-II sites (Robins and Hays-Gilpin 2000).

All of these associations are tenuous at best. From our experience, the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images in southeastern Utah and northeastern Arizona are associated with every Formative culture that has inhabited the area. After all, the Anasazi Culture existed throughout the Four Corners region for two thousand years. So that the entire area where high-quality agricultural lands exist, which are the lands along the many

drainages of the San Juan River, all contain numerous Basketmaker II, III, Pueblo I, II, III, and even Navajo sites. To consider a particular association unique when the site density is so profuse is not well supported.

I would also suggest that these authors may have misread Kidder and Guernsey's statement regarding the cultural affiliation of Schaafsma's San Juan Anthropomorphic Style images. Kidder and Guernsey's text is:

These large and very peculiar anthropomorph representations we believe to be of Basket Maker origin, because we found them on the walls of the strictly Basket Maker Cave II and because at Ruin 4, where they are very abundant, they and their attendant hand prints are obviously older than the Cliff-house structure. [Kidder and Guernsey 1919:198].

Notice that it is not "Basket Maker II Cave;" it is "Basket Maker Cave II." In other words, the images were found in Basket Maker Cave 2, as opposed to Basket Maker Cave 1. Kidder and Guernsey's discussion of Basket Maker Cave I begins on page 74 and their discussion of Basket Maker Cave II begins on page 84. Thus, Kidder and Guernsey did not state that the images were Basketmaker II but only that they were Basketmaker. Furthermore, the Pecos Conference where the Pecos classification originated was convened in 1927, so Kidder and Guernsey would not have used the term Basketmaker II in 1919.

Rock art indicative of the BM-III period comes principally from Grant (1978) who defined a Modified Basketmaker-Developmental Pueblo rock art to designate images in Canyon de Chelly that he believed followed the Basketmaker II period. Schaafsma (1980:122) redefined this style and named it the Chinle Representation Style. Schaafsma places images that she describes as stick figures, which are the images described above as rows of dancers, in the Chinle Representation Style (1980:Figure 85). Some of these images hold flutes and some do not.

Schaafsma (1980:122) states, "The earliest flute players are believed to be Basketmaker III in date and are stick-figure depictions." She also includes birds and bird-headed images in the Kayenta area in this style. Thus, Schaafsma, quoting Grant, is of the opinion that all of these images date to the Basketmaker III period. Without substantive indirect or direct dating, however, these beliefs are just opinions.

Another reason why the cultural sequences or phases for Basketmaker rock art are insecure is that in the Kayenta area many of the Basketmaker images are mixed in panels in a confusing and disordered arrangement, as illustrated in Figure 13. Furthermore, since much of the Basketmaker rock art was created within several hundred years, repatination levels on petroglyphs are nearly the same on all of the images. This is not to say that every Basketmaker panel of varying ages has the same level of repatination. Basketmaker rock art occurs in a variety of environments and exposures, and in each of these different environments and exposures, different rates of repatination have resulted, which further complicates the determination of relative ages.

The problem of dating Basketmaker images needs to be examined from a different perspective than those discussed above. If the date when the Kayenta Basketmaker people followed the Vermillion Cliffs route into the Virgin area could be determined, the dates when the particular Kayenta Basketmaker images were being made in the Virgin area would also be known. This can be done. The structures that the people lived in when they created the rock art can be dated. This is the importance of architecture. When the structures in the Virgin area are dated, the Basketmaker rock art in the Virgin area will also be dated. This will also determine when the images were created in the Kayenta area. Furthermore, it will also determine when the San Juan Anthropomorphic Style was *not* created, thus providing a possible date for when it *was* created. We will then know which types of rock art in the

Virgin area and in the Kayenta area, are BM-II or BM-III, which no one has been able to conclusively determine.

Funding Requested

All that is needed is funding for the radiocarbon dates and permission from landowners to collect samples. This dating will not be done without some financial assistance. Today each radiocarbon date costs about \$560.00. A minimum of four dates is needed. If you are able to contribute toward this project, please donate to URARA and indicate that your contribution is specifically for radiocarbon dating for the Virgin-Kayenta rock art project. Your contributions are tax deductible. Any amount is welcome.

APPENDIX A

Notes from State History's Internet Site about the Photograph Featured on the Utah Prehistory Week Poster for 2005 (Figure 15)

If you look closely at the dancing figures, you will notice that someone scratched over them. These deep scratches go nearly all the way across all of the dancers. The scratching could have been done with a sharp stone tool like an arrowhead or a knife. It is also evident that some of the dancers near the right side of the panel seem to be missing most of their bodies. This is because someone rubbed a smooth, nearly flat stone across the dancers, apparently in an effort to remove them. Fortunately for us, this did not work very well. It appears that the stone used to do this was a mano, which was about the size of someone's hand. The abrasion is flat and smooth in the center and it curves up at both edges. Notice also that there are pecked marks on the dancers on the left side of the dinosaur track. It looks like someone pounded on the images of the dancers with the sharp point of a rock. The footprints or tracks above the row of dancers and the humanlike figure on the left side of the panel with its arms hanging down also

have been pecked. There are also six small round holes drilled into the panel. The purpose for these holes is unknown.

After all this abrading, scratching, and hammering, the dinosaur track was painted in the center of the dancers. The paint covers some of the dancers and most of the damaged area. The other large figures with their arms hanging down were also apparently painted on the panel at the same time.

Why were the dancing figures scratched, abraded, and hammered? What does this tell us about the different Indians that passed by the panel? (Also the panel is on a route to the top of the Vermillion Cliffs from the Arizona Strip. There is other rock art along the route. Some of it is Fremont.) Did they have respect for the images that were created by other people, or were they displeased with them? Why would someone be displeased by some simple drawings of people dancing? Obviously, the images had meanings that someone liked and someone else disliked. This indicates that the images were important, or they would have just been ignored. Furthermore, the damage to the dancing figures implies that they had a specific meaning and a special significance and that the meaning and significance was known both to the person who created them and to the person who tried to harm them. They were not just doodles made to pass the time while cooling off in the shade of the overhang after a long hard climb on a hot afternoon.

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Mary Gorden

WOMEN'S BUSINESS: SYMBOLS ON THE ROCKS

Some years ago at Ferron Box in Utah, I saw an image that appeared to be kokopelli in female form (Figure 1). I began compiling evidence of women in rock art, particularly from Yokuts' sites in the Central Valley of California. This compilation included ethnographic material based on the assumption that for group members to understand the symbols, they would have a cultural origin and a shared meaning (Dickson 1990:154). This paper discusses the context surrounding the rock art and the ethnography that supports its interpretation. Ethnographic information does have limitations because applying myths as explanations for rock art would apply, with any certainty, only for those paintings which are very recent. Finally, research has generally ignored women's activities. Much of rock art literature is biased towards explanations that feature men as the originators of rock art. However, Yokuts' rock art does not follow that pattern. Rock art in the foothills of the Central Valley is women's business.



Figure 1. Female with some Kokopelli attributes, Utah.

Yokuts lived in the San Joaquin Valley, a large inland basin rimmed by the Sierra Nevada and coast ranges. In late prehistory, Yokuts were the most numerous of California Indians with villages extending from the Sacramento-San Joaquin River delta in the north to the Tehachapi Mountains in the south. Chumash bordered the Yokuts on the southwest and west. Their neighbors to the east and southeast were the Monache or Western Mono (Figure 2). These groups spoke languages that were very different from the Yokuts.

While the Yokuts' groups have a number of traits in common, there are many differences. These differences are due in part

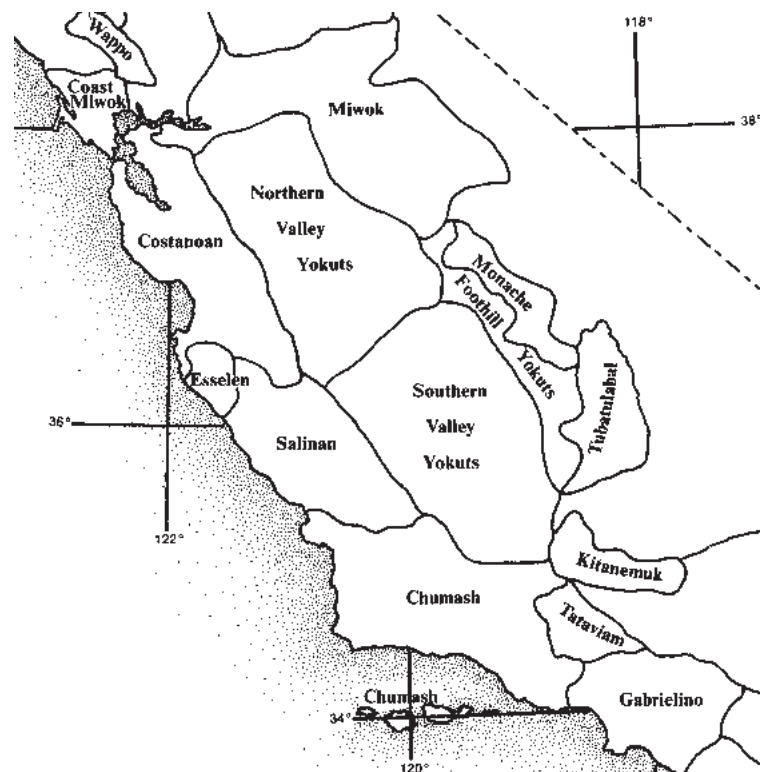


Figure 2. Native American tribes of Central California (After Heizer 1978:ix).

to the ecological zones in which they lived. The individual identity of each Yokuts group depended on the use of a specific dialect of the Yokuts language, residence in a recognized territory and a way of life slightly different than its neighbors. Foothill peoples lived at the base of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Woodland, grassland, and chaparral plant zones provided a wide variety of food sources (Spier 1978:426). In contrast to the valley floor, the rocky hills provided the canvas for several forms of rock art. The Yokuts are well known for their paintings in shades of red, black, white, and yellow. Cupule petroglyphs are common and generally found at habitation sites. A variation of cupule petroglyphs, cups and grooves, and petroglyph images are sometimes painted but they are not common (Gorden 1990).

When Cannon and Woody (2007) analyzed gender bias in the rock art in the northern Great Basin, they concluded that the role of women was seldom considered. They found rock art in direct association with habitation sites and groundstone at many sites. They believe that the archaeological context of the rock art is important to understanding the meaning of the art and to providing evidence of its production.

Tulare County has 207 recorded rock art sites. Data on the presence of milling features, ground stone, midden, and lithics was compiled from site records and checked using several sources. Table 1 compares the presence of milling features, such as bedrock mortars and slicks, ground stone artifacts, midden, and lithics at sites that have either pictographs or cupule petroglyphs, or both. One hundred-twelve sites have pictographs, of these

48 of the 112 sites had no other features recorded. Cupule petroglyphs sites, either alone or with pictographs, have a high probability of containing milling and habitation features. A 62 per cent correlation of milling features with pictograph and cupule sites is a good indication that rock art in Tulare County is an activity which is closely associated with women.

PETROGLYPHS, PICTOGRAPHS, AND PHYSIOGRAPHIC FORMATIONS

Yokuts tied their landscape and rock art to myth. Myths are not fanciful stories. They contain the blueprint of an entire belief structure (Solomon 1988:16). Landscape is the visual map of myth. It is sacred because of its significance in the mythic life of the tribe (Campbell 1969:16, 33; Patai 1972:23). The following discussion includes examples of women’s business in secular and sacred time.

California Indian groups and Great Basin people have explanations for physiographic formations or special rocks that are transfixed persons or things. The people associated unusually shaped rocks with myths that described their origin and explained their importance (Gorden 1990:230; Patai 1972:161).

Rock features and rock art relating to fertility appear in sites throughout North America and California has a number of examples (Begole 1984); Gorden 1990; McGowan 1982; Rafter 1990; Slifer 2000; Weinberger 1983, 1992). Sites on the Carrizo Plain and in the Sierra Nevada foothills display a number of features pertaining to

Table 1. Summary of Tulare County Sites with Rock Art and Habitation Features.

Rock Art	Site Total	Milling	Midden	Artifacts	Lithics
Pictographs only	112	38	26	24	21
Pictographs and Cupules	54	51	32	25	21
Cupules only	41	39	25	25	19
Total	207	128	83	74	61
%		62	40	36	30

Source: Gorden 1990:228-229; Marymor 1995: 215-224; Office of Historic Preservation 1988.

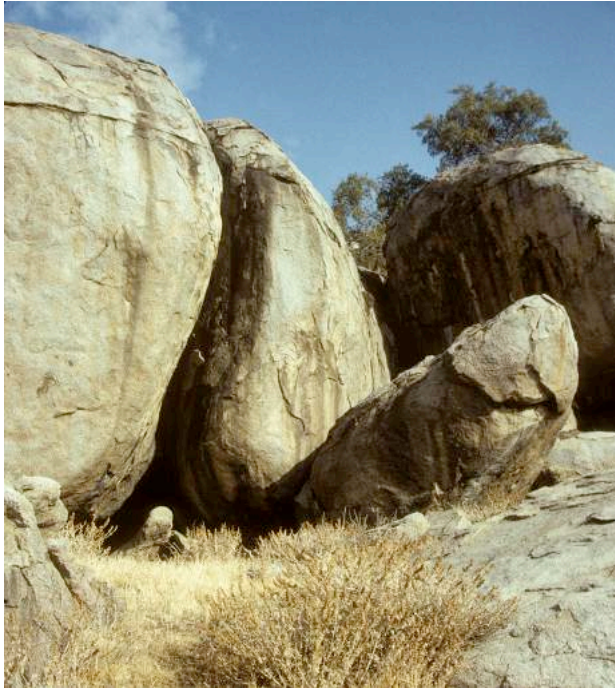


Figure 3. Physiographic formations embellished with paintings and cupules

women's business. Rock formations resemble breasts and female genitalia. One large habitation site has a small area that is removed from the main site. Pictographs and cupule petroglyphs enhance rock features that look similar to male and female genitalia (Figure 3), a basket rock, and several rock shelters. The interplay of the formations with artistic embellishments and myths make these areas very special places. Yokuts' informants identified areas with similar features as places reserved exclusively for women (Harrington 1915).

Cupule petroglyphs are the most common form of rock art in the foothills. They have a very complex symbolism and are one of the oldest forms of rock art (Giedion 1962:78, 126). Perhaps their longevity through time and countless cultures is because several senses are involved. They are tactile and involve hearing when they are made by pounding. Since cupule petroglyphs occur in a variety of situations in Tulare County, the same simple form serves functional, ritualistic, and aesthetic purposes (Fenenga et al. 1984; Gorden 1990).



Figure 4. Bedrock mortars with patterned cupules.



Figure 5. Painted cups and grooves.

Several sites in the foothills have patterned cupules on horizontal surfaces next to bedrock mortars. The women used cupules directly associated with bedrock mortars on horizontal surfaces to hull acorns, a utilitarian purpose (Latta 1949:105–115; 1977:400, 405–406). The two uses in these examples, utilitarian and sacred, are mixed (Gorden 1990) (Figure 4). Since mothers handed down their bedrock mortars to their daughters, it follows that women related to each other would also have made the cupules.

More than a dozen sites in the Sierran foothills have painted cups and grooves. Yokuts used the natural color in the granite for a particularly pleasing effect (Figure 5). Yokuts associated cups and grooves with fertility as did those in other Native American cultures (Slifer 2000:49, 51).



Figure 6. *Ahnusin, Place of the Basket Rock, with columns of cupules.*

At *Oioiu*, the place of the pregnant woman, the patterned cupules cover a vertical surface. Women who had difficulty conceiving came here and, with the help of a ritual specialist, delivered healthy babies in due time (Meighan et al. 1988; Witt 1960). Nearby was a large boulder called *Tòr'uju'*, or pregnant woman. When the informant was a child, the old women told the girls not to go to this area or they would become pregnant (Harrington 1915).

Rock formations such as *Ahnusin*, the basket rock, are examples where ethnographic material and myth tie cupules to specific places on the landscape. Basket rocks occur throughout the foothills. South of the Tule River one basket rock has columns of cupules on the vertical surface (Figure 6). In the 1970s a Yokuts elder at the site related the following story: A woman walked up the ridge with her carrying basket. When she set the basket down at the top of the ridge, it turned



Figure 7. *Mushroom-shaped rock with painted panel on side.*

to stone (Gayton and Newman 1940:97; Latta 1936:65; Weinberger 1983:73–75). Yokuts in the north part of Tulare County tell another basket rock story. As the relatives carried a corpse back home to be buried, it revived and everyone turned to stone. Among the relatives was a girl carrying a burden basket that was also petrified (Weinberger 1983).

The following is another example involving a myth, a woman, and a physiographic feature on the landscape. A Koyote Yokuts informant told Harrington (1915) about *T'awawatph*, a woman with a toothed vagina and *Mikiti*, a cultural hero, who kills her with a hot arrow straightener. The informant also identified a rock, called *T'awawatph*, along a trail south of Porterville, which can be seen to this day. Kroeber (1907:205–207) records a Gashow Yokuts version of this story.

Mushroom-shaped rocks with cupules and paintings occur in sites as often as basket rocks (Gorden 1990) (Figure 7). However, there is no ethnographic information specific to this shape. The Tule Elk with painted cupules (Figure 8) is on the mushroom rock shown in Figure 7. Connecting ethnographic material with the images reflects the social and spiritual life of the people that made them. Yokuts ethnography does not explain the symbolic or mythic connection the Tule Elk had with women.



Figure 8. Three columns of painted cupules with Tule Elk below. (D-Stretch, Jon Harmon 2008)



Figure 9. Female figure with Tule Elk horns.

In a nearby rock shelter the female figure is either in a birthing or sexually receptive position (Figure 9). She has Tule Elk horns and webbed feet. Frog Woman and the Tule Elk appear in



Figure 10. Abstract version of a figure with Tule Elk horns.

Yokuts' myths, but not as fertility figures (Harrington 1915; Rogers and Gayton 1944: 203). In Shoshonian and South-central California myths, Frog Woman is Coyote's wife. In one tale, she disguises herself and tricks her husband (Applegate 1978:44; Gayton 1948: 114; Lowie 1906:271; Riddell 1978:91; Smith 1993). Coyote and Frog Woman as imposters in the skin of their victim is another concept that occurs in California Indian myths (Kroeber 1963:223). The more abstract figure also has Tule elk horns and may represent the same mythic person (Figure 10).

Figures 11 and 12 show two versions of pregnant women. The woman in Figure 11 appears to be giving birth. Yokuts' women sat holding onto two sticks driven into the ground that helped them push (Gayton 1948:102). A stick figure with ears is with the women in each figure. According to Maria H., Harrington's Yokuts consultant, rabbits had significant astronomical and ritual associations (Hudson and Underhay, 1978:115). Maria also described a stuffed rabbit that people carried on a stick during festivals that represented a totemic animal (Hudson and Blackburn 1986:231–232). The couple wears what appear to be rabbit-eared headdresses as do the two women figures.



Figure 11. Rabbit-eared staff and pregnant women.



Figure 12. Two figures with rabbit-eared headdresses, one appears to be pregnant



Figure 13. Split Rock with cupules on the inside walls.

Large foothill sites have slides near the women’s work areas. Countless children formed these slick tracks on the rocks. Slides at four sites in Tulare County have cupules on them. This leads one to believe that slides have an additional symbolic meaning, but again, we do not have further ethnographic information (Gorden and Weinburger 1993).

EXCEPTIONS TO CUPULES AS WOMEN’S BUSINESS

Not all cupules in the foothills are related to food processing, fertility or other activities related to women. At least 12 split rocks contain paintings and cupules (Figure 13). Tribal groups gathered at a site in the southern foothills for mourning ceremonies that took place each fall (Latta 1977:5). Yokuts have an Orpheus myth of the man who followed his dead wife into the after world. The myth describes their journey and explains what happens after an individual dies (Gayton and Newman 1940:17–19,26,28–29,35,50; Kroeber 1907:228–229). This site was special because as the mourners walked through it, and they could experience the trials that the soul faced after death.

After a person died, his or her spirit took a three day journey to the west. One of the first tests the spirit encountered at the end of the trip was to pass through two clashing rocks. The spirit who knew the proper prayers avoided being crushed and went on to face the next trial (Gayton and Newman 1940:19). Yokuts prepared themselves for the inevitable journey by making or deepening a cupule and saying the proper prayer as they passed through the split.

Pahpawits, Sounding or Ringing Place, is beside a major north/south Indian trail along the foothills (Latta 1977:196–197). It is a basaltic rock with number of large cupules that co-occur with bedrock mortars on horizontal surfaces. The traveler used a small stone to ring the rock while saying a prayer for a safe journey (Gorden 1990:230; Weinberger 1980:4–5). Pahpawits and the Mourning Ceremony site are examples of the variety of meanings that cupules have depending on the context and, in this case, one not tied specifically to women. However, more sites have ethnographic material that tie cupules to women (Gorden 1990).

BASKET DESIGNS AND PAINTED SIGNS

Yokuts myth¹ tells of a girl who makes baskets as she wanders. As the girl creates basket patterns, she paints the corresponding symbol on the rocks in the Southern Sierra foothills. The story, which I recount in abbreviated form below, also de-



Figure 14. Painted panel with basket designs.



Figure 15. Yokuts basket with water snakes and rattlesnake designs.



Figure 16. Painted rattlesnake design.



Figure 17. Painted gopher snake design.

scribes several locations where rock art is found today (Gayton 1948:58–59; Johnstone 1975:41–59; Latta 1936:76–79). Great Basin mythology features a similar girl child who makes superior baskets as she travels (Lowie 1924:136, 192; Steward 1936:400).

Kadadimcha and her pregnant daughter, Nashush lived near the Kaweah River. They made plain baskets because in the beginning, no one made designs. One day while Nashush was eating sweet clover in the meadow, a bear killed and ate her. The one drop of blood remaining on a leaf called to the searching mother. Kadadimcha took the blood drop home, placing it in a covered basket. At dawn, a baby cried. Kadadimcha picked up the baby girl, clothed, and fed her. She named her granddaughter, Chuchancum. The young girl grieved for Nashush and crawled about looking for her. Chuchancum played with basket materials when she thought her grandmother was not watching.

One day Chuchancum disappeared. Kadadimcha dreamed that her granddaughter had traveled into the mountains. Kadadimcha walked up the South Fork of the Kaweah River where she found fresh paintings on the rock and a small basket with the same design woven into it. Chuchancum knew



Figure 18. Yokuts basket with lightning design.

that Nashush, her mother, had been a good basket maker, so she carefully wove a design into each basket (Figure 14).

As Chuchancum traveled she made a succession of baskets, each with a design, the duplicate of which she painted on a near-by rock. On the North Fork of the Tule River she wove and painted the design of the Water Snake (Figure 15). On the main fork of the Tule, it was the Rattlesnake (Figure 16). On Deer Creek she made the Gopher Snake design (Figure 17). She made Wild Goose, Caterpillar, Pine Tree, Lightning, King Snake, Arrow Head, and many others (Figure 18). She left a new basket by each painting, forming a trail for Kadadimcha to follow.



Figure 19. Painted digging sticks in red and new moons in white are also basket patterns.

Finally, way to the south at Tehachapi, Kadadimcha found her granddaughter. After much persuasion, Chuchancum returned with her grandmother to their home on the Kaweah River. Thereafter, they began making baskets, using all of the patterns the girl designed during her years of wandering and searching for her mother. The story ends with the two women teaching the other Indians how to make all the designs found on Yokuts baskets today.

In this story not only does the talented girl create basket patterns, but she paints the symbols on the rocks at sites where pictographs remain to this day. While the girl is supernatural, she is quite different from the male oriented theories believed responsible for creating rock art in much of the literature (Cannon and Woody 2007). The Yokuts do not have any myth or ethnographic material about men creating rock art. For the Yokuts, rock painting is also women's business.

Many sites throughout the foothills contain basket designs, such as digging sticks with the new moon (Figure 19). The Yokuts associated women

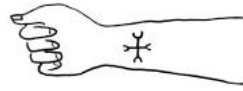


Figure 20. Drawing of tattooed religious symbol. (After Gayton 1948:69).

with the moon, as did many traditional people (Gayton 1948:101). Yokuts living near the San Joaquin River had clan totem design of two parallel oblique bars, which mimicked the two dark bars on the side of the Falcon's head. This design appears at a site near Terra Bella (Merriam 1908:562; Weinberger 1981:4).

Before marriage, women tattooed themselves as a permanent form of decoration. One design with religious significance was placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist (Figure 20). It marked the location of, or point of permeation of, one's supernatural power. When Anna Gayton, an ethnographer, asked a Tulamni Yokuts for a further explanation, the woman evaded her question (Gayton 1948:69–70). This symbol occurs as paintings and cup-and-groove petroglyphs over 100 miles of the Foothill Yokuts' territory (Gayton 1948:69, Witt 1960) (Figures 21 and 22).

The final two examples combine the concepts discussed in this paper. The two physiographic features are on steep slopes above habitation sites that contain a number of painted panels. Bedrock mortars are within a few meters of the rock formations.

The body hole (Figure 23) may be the ultimate cupule. Painted cupules surround the entrance. Peering into the hole, cupules lining the bottom and sides are visible. The hole gradually narrows to three red hemispheres marking the end. As you lay on your back and slide into the cupule, it envelops your body. Your head reaches the painted hemispheres that draw you deep into the earth. Your eyes view paintings on the ceiling. You slide out of the cupule reborn. The recounting of my experience in the body cupule reflects my cultural bias. We will never know what has changed in cultural meaning over time for a feature like



Figure 21. Engraved religious symbol.



Figure 22. Painted religious symbol.

the body hole, but we can realize its significance in current thought.

Tulare County sites contain a wide variety of cupules, including painted pits and grooves. The abraded cups are arranged in abstract patterns or aligned geometrically over horizontal, vertical, or sloping rock faces. Pitted boulders in the form of burden baskets, mushrooms, and split-rocks are common (Gorden 1990:227). Cupules are most commonly associated with fertility (Fenenga 1984:56–57; Harrington 1915; Witt 1960).

The final physiographic formation is a seat in the shape of a quail (Figure 24). Quail were a very useful animal. They were a common food item. Women wove the quail head pattern into many of their baskets and they decorated the baskets with quail topknots. Yokuts used quail feathers to make earrings and other ritual objects (Gayton 1948:102; Harrington 1915). In mythic times when animals were people, Eagle gave the animals their “choice of habitat and their future service to human beings” (Gayton 1946:261). Quail chose to help women in childbirth and it was also a woman’s dream helper. When Mollie Laurence’s daughter was in labor, Molly called on Quail, her spirit helper, to speed her grandchild’s birth (Gayton 1948:100, 102). Yokuts also believed



Figure 23. Body hole with painted cupules around the opening and on the floor.



Figure 24. Cavity resembles a Quail. The seat is on the right inside edge.

Quail was the champion of fair play (Latta 1977: 650).

In Yokuts' territory rock features resemble animals, familiar objects, or special body parts such as genitalia. The unusually shaped rocks often include cupule petroglyphs and paintings that have stories describing their origin or linking these rock features to myths. The stories and rock features formed a web of understanding that answered the timeless questions of who am I and how do I fit in the universe. These symbols demonstrate that in addition to their role in the religious life of ancient and modern groups, rock art is a historical and cultural record. The paintings, petroglyphs, and effigy rocks provide clues about the lives of Yokuts women and form a link to the past. Rock art images can tell us about the people and the culture. The better we understand the culture that made the images, the more meaning we will see in the rock art.

Many of today's people live in an artificial world of buildings that are designed to shut out the natural world. It is difficult for modern man to identify with people who were acutely aware of their surroundings. The identity and world view of traditional people was intimately tied to their natural environment. The landscape mirrored their world view. In addition to cupules, painted symbols connect women to rock art through ethnographic material and myths. Cupules and paintings are the symbolic interpretation of Yokuts' values. For the Yokuts, rock art was women's business.

END NOTE

¹ The Yokuts basket pattern myth is my retelling of the story, which is published by Johnstone, Latta and Lowie. Yokuts dialects are stately in cadence and form compared to English. The language is not metaphorical, certain refrains or story lines are repeated throughout the myths, and there are many other differences. I write and tell the myths in a way that is interesting to people outside the culture, but reflects some of the original cadence and succinct sentences. I have writ-

ten a number of the myths for our local teachers, but never formally published any.

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SACRED LANDSCAPE AND NATIVE AMERICAN ROCK ART - PART II

For Native American tribes of North America, all lands are sacred and certain places have powerful spiritual forces associated with them. The sacredness of impressive petroglyphs along Ashley Creek, near Vernal in Utah, is enhanced by a Summer Solstice Sunset observation point. Water sources are also sacred, and the Three Finger Canyon petroglyph site has a sequence of bedrock water tanks. Destinations for pilgrimages have sacred meaning, as is the case with the Holy Ghost Group and the Great Gallery in Horseshoe Canyon. Other sacred sites in Southeastern Utah, and in Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas are presented, along with efforts to protect Native American sacred places.

The struggle to safeguard Native American sacred sites is continuous across the United States. Each site must be defended, purchased if threatened, monitored, and litigated. It is an on-going battle, and each fight needs to be won, for losing is too often final and irreparable. "Saving Sacred Places" was the caption on the cover of *Native Peoples* magazine for May/June 2007. The Table of Contents announced "Sacred Ground: Landscapes as Living Spirit," with the commentary: "American Indians consider the land a living entity and believe certain places have powerful spiritual forces associated with them. Many sacred places are threatened by inappropriate development today, while some have been permanently protected." In the article on "Sacred Ground," Jake Page notes that there is a long history of heedless despoliation of sacred Native Lands. Indeed, for most Native Peoples of this continent all land is sacred... Tens of thousands of such holy places are gone, but thousands no doubt remain...hidden in canyons, sitting atop high mountains and fronting our oceans." Page (2007:3, 26) surveys such sacred places and the efforts to recover and protect the sacred.

This paper on Sacred Landscape begins with the Ashley Creek site, located northwest of Vernal, Utah. It is privately owned by Doug Murphy, who deserves credit for his efforts to protect and preserve the rock art on his property. The extensive site begins with petroglyphs along the base of the cliffs, and climaxes high on upper cliffs. Of particular note are solar sites. Most impressive are panels associated with a summer solstice sunset site. When viewed from in front of the panel shown in Figure 1, the point of the overhanging surface marks the solstice sunset (Figure 2). In addition to the imposing cliffs and magnificent rock art, solar interactions are often indicators of sacred places.

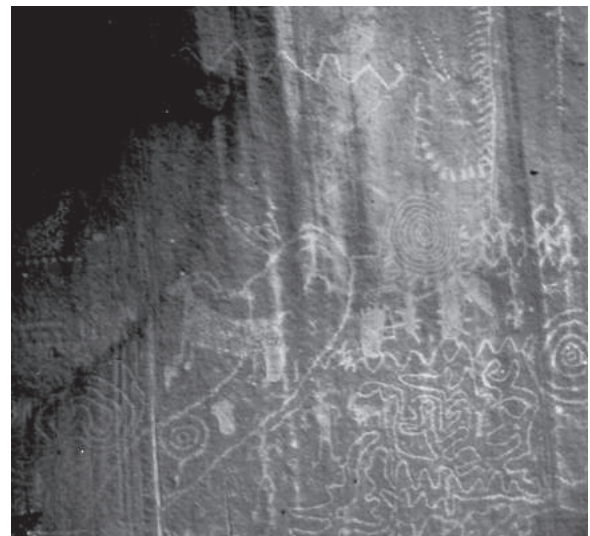


Figure 1. Panel at Ashley Creek.



Figure 2. Summer solstice pointer.



Figure 3. Three Finger Canyon panel.



Figure 4. Holy Ghost pictographs.

Springs and water sources for desert peoples were regarded as sacred, and the series of tanks at Three Finger Canyon southeast of Green River are marks of such a sacred place. Another water tank is at the canyon entrance with petroglyphs to the right. The main panel appears to have rain symbols and at the top is what appears to be a water rattle with gourd disks on a wooden stick (Figure 3), such as described and pictured in *Tapamveni*, by McCreery and Malotki (McCreery and Malotki 1994:148). Water sources and rock art suggesting rain-making ceremonies, in such spectacular settings, are marks of landscape deemed sacred.

Sacred sites were also the destination for pilgrimages, and the Great Gallery and Holy Ghost panel (Figure 4) in Horseshoe Canyon,



Figure 5. Red Barrier Canyon style pictographs at Thompson Wash.

located in Canyonlands National Park south of Green River, provide a dramatic example. Up around to the left of the Holy Ghost panel is a long line of processional figures to indicate the site was the destination for pilgrimages. It still is, for I was privileged to go there with a group led by David Sucec, and we met a stream of other hikers going and coming. As we approached we saw the Holy Ghost panel through an opening in the cottonwood trees. Then the full glory of the 300 foot long arched, overhanging cliff walls with some 50 painted figures, including the Great Gallery as well as the Holy Ghost panel, filled us with awe. Truly they are *Sacred Images*, as the title of the splendid book with text by Kelen and Sucec suggests (Kellen and Sucec 1996:11, 23–24). Later I saw pictures presented by Dr. James Farmer (2008), taken of this sacred setting during a rainstorm with waterfalls coming down from the surrounding cliffs, making the whole scene magical. Certainly this sacred place inspired the processional figures and subsequent pilgrimages through the centuries.

The same Barrier Canyon style of rock art that is found in Horseshoe Canyon is repeated in the Book Cliffs east of Green River, in Thompson Wash near the junction with Segó Canyon. The large panel of red Barrier Canyon style pictographs (Figure 5) faces east above a shelf on the canyon wall. Nineteen figures with large eyes and tapered bodies, some six to seven feet tall or



Figure 6. Fremont style petroglyphs superimposed on faint earlier red Barrier Canyon figures.

more, with snakes, birds, and other shamanic helpers, make an impressive panel. Though previously vandalized, BLM restoration efforts have recovered much of the original splendor. Around the corner to the left, superimposed on faint earlier red Barrier Canyon style figures, are Fremont style petroglyphs, with broad shouldered tapered bodies (Figure 6). Necklace designs dominate the panel. On the west cliff wall still farther back is a Ute panel with horses from the historic era, and across the canyon near the corral are other designs of mixed style, some of which have bullet holes and other damage. This long-visited site, with successive styles of rock art, has the aura of sacred place.

The Moab area has a wealth of rock art with rain motifs, birthing scenes, dancing ritual themes, and the famous Moab Man with elbow medicine pouch, but I am particularly impressed with the awesome Lower Courthouse Wash panel. Not far from where the wash empties into the Colorado River, the panel is located high on a sandstone cliff overlook. Prior to vandalism to the panel, Castleton (1984:Vol I,180) described the two large white circles, one with a vertical blue line through it and appearing to be held by a stylized figure with U-shaped head and tapered body. Pictures of the panel, the first before vandalism, the second when vandalized with steel brushes and chemical



Figure 7. Newspaper Rock petroglyphs.

solvents, and the third after partially successful restoration efforts, are placed in succession in a delightful book for young readers, entitled *Native American Rock Art: Messages from the Past* (La Pierre 1994:44). La Pierre, in his book, states that “the paintings will never be the same.” Such vandalism illustrates the vulnerability of sacred places, and the need for site monitors, protection and, as needed, skilled repair. The white discs are no longer so prominent after restoration, but the complex panel with the many spirit figures with decorated torsos, towering so high up the canyon walls, make the site truly sacred.

Located on the road to the Needles District of Canyonlands National Park, Newspaper Rock is near the head of Indian Creek, and features hundreds of petroglyphs on a dark patinated surface (Figure 7). Several styles of well-fashioned petroglyphs, covering centuries from Anasazi to historic Ute horse and rider figures, and with superimposition of later symbols over earlier ones, attest to visitation over a long period of time. The spoked circle, abstracts, big horn designs, six-toed footprints, and hunters with deer, with successive travelers leaving their marks, gives the panel the feel of being a trail shrine for passers-by.

Shay Canyon empties into Indian Creek from the south side, about two miles downstream from



Figure 8. Shay Canyon petroglyphs.

Newspaper Rock. A long sequence of panels makes the canyon special, with lines entirely across a large panel inviting research (Figure 8). Other sites along Indian Creek, especially across the canyon to the south, make visiting each site in succession a sacred journey. Moving south from Indian Creek into Cottonwood Canyon, there are several rock art sites. The most imposing has cliff structures and pictographs, with rock art to the north culminating with a high boulder covered with petroglyphs.

The Cottonwood Canyon jeep trail continues south to Natural Bridges National Monument, where there are five rock art sites. The hike down to Katchina Bridge is rewarded with pictographs and petroglyphs, with figures on the east side and the west side. High above Katchina Bridge is the Rock Ruin site, with crooks among the petroglyphs suggesting that the area is a place of shamanic power.

Another sacred site, this one with a pilgrimage theme, is the Procession Panel, located in southeastern Utah high on Comb Ridge. It is generally approached by a scenic hike from lower Butler Wash to the towering Comb Ridge overlook, though there are footholes in the steep cliffs leading up from the Comb Wash side. Because of shamanic figures holding crooks and the prostrate figure appearing to be carried, the many figures in a row may represent a funeral procession (Figure 9), in the context of a religious understanding which makes this towering site

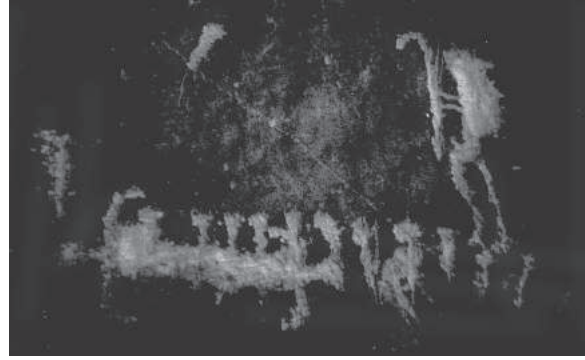


Figure 9. Procession Panel figure.

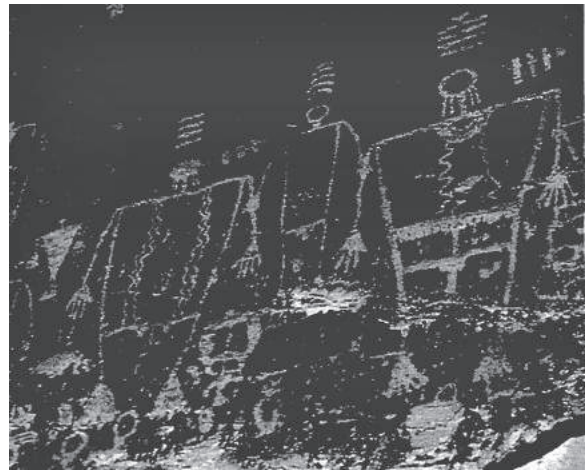


Figure 10. Imposing anthropomorphs along the San Juan River.

a sacred place. Following Butler Wash down to the confluence with the San Juan River, there are spectacular petroglyph panels to the west for half a mile, and along the cliffs to the east all the way to Sand Island. Many hundreds of petroglyphs, ranging from big horn sheep to large, imposing anthropomorphs, with power symbols (Figure 10), line the cliffs by the river.

Moving now to special sacred sites in Arizona, the water sources at Warm Springs, located in the Black Mountains about 21 miles northeast of Topock on the Colorado River, create an oasis of foliage and attract big horn sheep and other wildlife. Down the major wash from the springs, on cliffs and boulders on each side, are hundreds of petroglyphs. The presence of the warm springs in a landscape otherwise mountainous and desolate must have inspired the exultation



Figure 11. Warm Springs "exultation."



Figure 13. Shaman holding a wicket

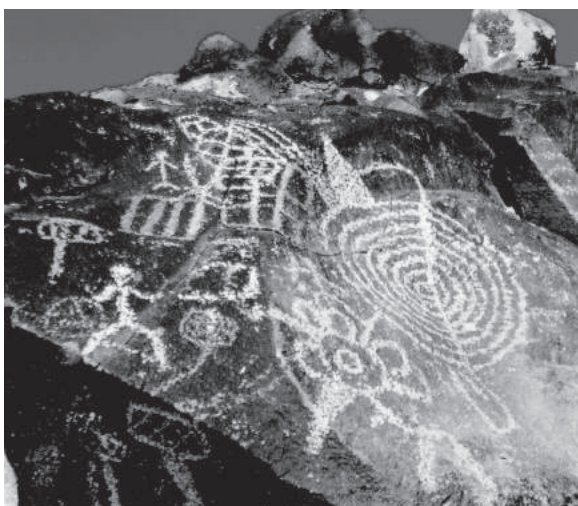


Figure 12. More Warm Springs petroglyphs.

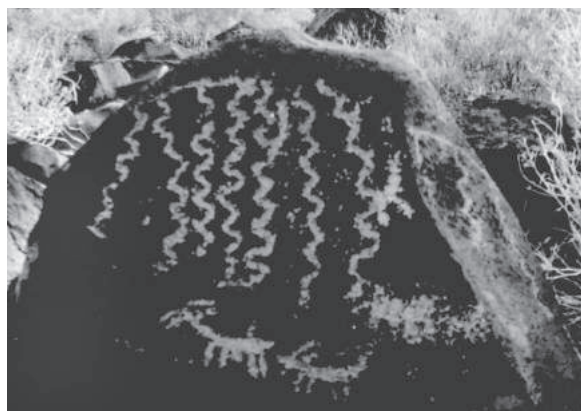


Figure 14. Rain fringe and big horn.

evident in a splendid small panel (Figure 11). Possible crook, sun and rain symbols, and other powerful motifs, with varying degrees of repetition (Figure 12), bear witness that the petroglyph makers regarded Warm Springs as a sacred place.

The Dripping Spring site is located about 12 miles east southeast of Quartzsite, and the availability of water again made the area sacred for native peoples. Two intersecting cliff walls come together at an angle, and water seeps down at the juncture. Petroglyphs on boulders and the cliffs radiate out in both directions from the spring. A shamanic figure holding a wicket or reversed U bracket, perhaps a healing instrument, is on one boulder (Figure 13). An anthropomorph with prominent digits, along with apparent water lines, is also characteristic of the Dripping Spring petroglyphs.

Farther to the east, and south of Interstate 10, are the New Water Mountains. The window or eye, high on the mountain ridge, is an identifying feature. Several miles east of the window, along the base of the mountains, is the New Water petroglyph site. A large drainage area converges just under a slope where petroglyphs by the hundreds were fashioned on dark basaltic boulders. While there are deer, big horn sheep, possible sun symbols, anthropomorphs, and abstract designs in the Western Archaic Tradition, the most frequent design of all is the apparent rain fringe, attesting to the crucial need for water to sustain all living creatures, hunter and hunted alike (Figure 14).

The Sears Point site is located along the Gila River to the south, near Exit 78 on Interstate 8. A



Figure 15. *Sears Point boulder panel.*

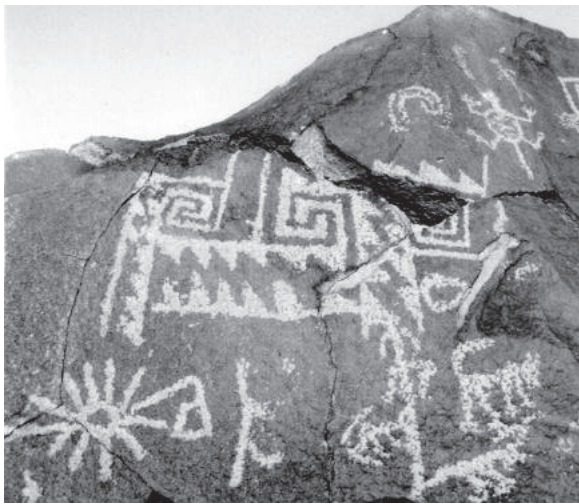


Figure 16. *Hohokam rock art panel at Sears Point.*

major portion of the Sears Point site is on an isolated lava mesa, with a majority of the petroglyphs on sides facing the river. Along the cliffs and on boulders below are prehistoric Patayan style petroglyphs. One panel on a boulder includes a zoomorph with an elongated tail (Figure 15). Trails lead up to the top of the mesa, where there is a summer solstice marker and small clusters of petroglyphs and cupules. Behind the mesa are the remains of rock alignments, and to the east on the point of a lava flow are excellent examples of Hohokam rock art (Figure 16).

The Painted Rocks site is about 10 miles north of Exit 102 on Interstate 8. The site involves a

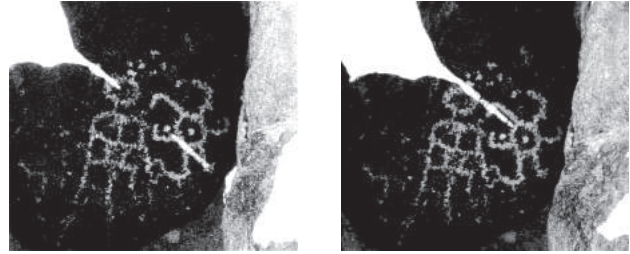


Figure 17. *Winter solstice interaction at Painted Rocks: left, dagger intersects head of anthropomorph; right, dagger moves on toward the sun symbol.*



Figure 18. *Gillespie Dam "visionary" images.*

concentration of petroglyphs on a low rocky hill, with a number of the glyphs having solar and lunar symbolism. Of special interest is a grotto on the left side of the hill where, in early afternoon on the Winter Solstice, a dagger of light comes through a window on the left or south side. At 1:20 p.m. the point of the light dagger touches the center of the head of a petroglyph anthropomorph (Figure 17, left). Then the dagger point moves toward the possible sun symbol (Figure 17, right), which it intersects at 1:43 p.m. Solar and lunar interactions are again a characteristic of sacred places.

The Gillespie Dam sites on the Gila River are about 22 miles north of Gila Bend. After crossing the bridge, the first major petroglyph sequence is on the cliffs to the north, facing east above the Gila River. Several prominent possi-



Figure 19. South Mountain dancers.

ble sun symbols mark the eastern exposure, along with lizards, zoomorphs, and geometric patterns. But the most famous panels have “visionary” images (Figure 18). Then for one and a half miles south of the bridge there are thousands of petroglyphs on the edge of the lava flow, overlooking the river. Various styles suggest that the diverse petroglyphs were created over centuries, but Hohokam elements are by far the most numerous.

Approaching the Phoenix area, the White Tank Mountains are located north of Interstate 10 and west of Glendale. A large number of petroglyphs are along the Waterfall Trail, with a concentration at Petroglyph Plaza. One of the unique features of the Celestial Site at Mesquite Canyon in the White Tank Mountains is a possible double sun, which a Ranger Interpreter felt was similar to depictions found in many places representing the supernova witnessed in A.D. 1054.

In South Mountain Park, at the southern border of Phoenix, there are over 14,000 petroglyphs on the mountain range that rises 1,500 feet above the desert valley floor. The desert dwellers who farmed the valley are called Hohokam, a Pima word for “those who have gone” as translated by ethnographer Frank Russell in 1975 and referred



Figure 20. Pima Canyon dancers.



Figure 21. Hieroglyphic pipettes.

to by Todd Bostwick, Phoenix City Archaeologist (2002:16), in his *Landscape of the Spirits*. His book is the definitive work on the South Mountain petroglyphs, with a map showing the location of major sites and trails, and detailed analysis of the life forms and geometric images depicted by the petroglyphs of South Mountain. His description (Bostwick 1994) of the dancing human figure holding a crook and connected to other dancers (Figure 19) in Box Canyon, along with the bird glyphs there, inspired me to visit South Mountain. The dancers in upper Pima Canyon (Figure 20) are famous among South Mountain petroglyphs, and a recent hike into Hieroglyphic Canyon enabled me to photograph the impressive pipettes (Figure 21). Certainly the rock art of South Mountain presents the powerful images characteristic of sacred landscape.



Figure 22. *Cave of Life sun dagger in Petrified National Forest. Painting by Janet Edwards, commissioned and owned by author.*

The Chevelon Steps site is located on the Rock Art Ranch about 15 miles south of Holbrook. In a canyon formed by Chevelon Creek, there are hundreds of petroglyphs, with powerful shamanic figures. A birthing scene, numerous zoomorphic creatures, and many animals, including the deer with accompanying unique human figures, are characteristic of this site. But it is the many majestic anthropomorphs with exotic headgear and ornaments, high on the canyon cliffs in almost inaccessible places, which suggest supernatural or shamanic power, and mark Chevelon Steps as being a sacred place.

In the Petrified Forest National Park many rock art sites have been surveyed, having both human and animal images. Directly accessible years ago, Newspaper Rock is now protected and can be seen from the overlook. The Cave of Life is now completely off-limits, for fear that the surfaces creating the solar light dagger might be compromised. Robert Preston found and photographed many solar interactions in the Petrified Forest, including the Cave of Life

example. Because his pictures in *Arizona Highways* (Dedera 1983:24) did not include the total petroglyph design, I commissioned an artist, Janet Edwards, to paint the interaction based on Preston's photos and a sketch of the total petroglyph design by Hans Bertsch (1982:30). The result (Figure 22) is an awesome vision of the light dagger passing through the shaman's powerful wand and on through Kokopelli's fertile seed-bearing hump to the center of the enclosed cross, releasing the germinative elements to descend on the copulating couple to make possible the miracle of conception, birth, and new life. The Puerco Ruin site also has a solar interaction involving a spiral, along with a great number of petroglyphs, with seemingly supernatural beings with headdresses (Figure 23).

Near the entrance to Canyon de Chelly there is a shelter with rock art on the back wall and both sides. Many other rock shelters and ruins, including White House ruin, are present in the canyon, giving evidence of occupation over long periods of time. Many handprints in the canyon,



Figure 23. "Supernatural beings" at Puerco Ruin site.



Figure 24. Canyon de Chelly handprint types.

including negative and striated designs (Figure 24), also illustrate a repeated type of rock art design through the centuries. In addition to the spectacular beauty of Canyon de Chelly, the Ceremonial Cave and the healing ritual at the Shaman site would also indicate a sacred place. At the latter site, there is a figure holding a wicket-shaped object, and to the right, a shaman with a headfeather holds a wicket over the pelvis of a reclining woman, suggesting a healing ritual or perhaps a ritual to enable the woman to have a child (Grant 1978:185). Certainly ceremony and ritual are characteristic of the sacred.

Moving into New Mexico to the Zuni Village of the Three Kivas, the star and crescent moon

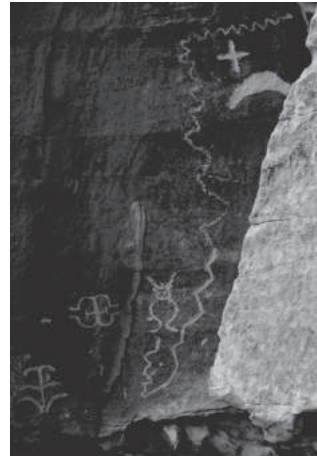


Figure 25. Zuni star and crescent.



Figure 26. Rock art behind ruins at Chaco Canyon.

symbols high above the other glyphs (Figure 25) reveal an interest in astronomical phenomena, similar to features in Chaco Canyon and other sites, which some believe represent the Supernova of A.D. 1054. Another panel nearby has anthropomorphs, serpents, hand prints, and spirals. Our Zuni guide to the site made an offering, expressing his regard for the sacredness of the site. Also, around the corner, there were twentieth-century masks painted with multiple colors, which our guide felt were made by shepherders.

A thousand years ago Chaco Canyon had become the flourishing center of Anasazi culture, with a network of roads, irrigation ditches, and masonry pueblos, the most famous being Pueblo Bonito. Rock art is found on the cliffs behind many of the ruins (Figure 26), as well as along trails and



Figure 27. Bird with a human head in Rinconada Canyon.



Figure 29. Macaw in Boca Negra Unit.



Figure 28. Bird and abstract design in Rinconada Canyon.



Figure 30. Star-being with claws on West Mesa.

isolated boulders. Unfortunately, the solar alignment on Fajada Butte has been compromised, due to excessive visitation, but the star, crescent and handprint features on an overhang below Penasco Blanco are a most famous archaeoastronomy panel, thought by many to represent the Supernova of A.D. 1054.

The Petroglyph National Monument to the West of Albuquerque, across the Rio Grande along the 17 mile West Mesa escarpment, has over 15,000 petroglyphs. The designs depict human and animal forms, as well as snakes, horned ser-

pents, birds, and many other representational and abstract designs. Kachina figures, star faced beings, flute players, mask, and shields are also featured. Rinconada Canyon to the south, and Piedras Marcadas to the north, each have over 3,000 petroglyphs. A petroglyph of a bird with a human face in Rinconada Canyon seems to have a ceremonial purpose (Figure 27), and also at the western end of the canyon there is an attractive abstract design with a bird figure (Figure 28). A cove in Piedras Marcadas Canyon has several flute players.

The macaw is especially found in Boca Negra Canyon, formerly Indian Petroglyph State Park



Figure 31. Plumed serpent design at White Rock Canyon.



Figure 32. One-eyed horned serpent.

(Figure 29). These brilliantly colored birds were brought from Mexico in trade, and were sometimes called Sacred Rain Birds (Slifer 1998:229). Numerous depictions of star-beings are found on the West Mesa (Figure 30). Ceremonial figures are associated with sacred places along the escarpment, and some shrines and sacred sites are still used by Pueblo people today.

One of the spectacular petroglyph hikes in New Mexico is down from the White Rock Overlook to the Rio Grande. The descent into White Rock Canyon has side trails to water seeps and springs, with serpent designs being common (Figure 31), and a horned serpent with one eye and a shield



Figure 33. La Cieneguilla rock art.

(Figure 32) is especially unique. Serpent figures by water sources along the trail seem to be guardians of the springs. Over 2,000 petroglyphs have been recorded, and a large “Bird Rock” with several styles of bird glyphs is located near the river.

The La Cieneguilla site is located southwest of Santa Fe, and has over 4,000 petroglyphs. It is on the west side of the Santa Fe River, along the escarpment and up side canyons. One of the panels along the escarpment is of particular interest, because a figure on the left side is holding a possible medicine bag (Figure 33). Another figure overlaps two rock surfaces, with the juncture of the surfaces dividing the figure. Locals call the La Cieneguilla site Petroglyphs “Por Los Ninos,” perhaps because of the fertility symbolism on several panels along the escarpment.

The Galisteo Basin, about 20 miles south of Santa Fe, has many excellent sites. On a volcanic ridge which is immediately north of the little village of Galisteo, there is a half mile of petroglyphs. It is located on private property, but the owner, given proof of insurance coverage and documents explaining our purpose, gave my caravan permission to photograph the petroglyphs along the ridge. A large ogre mask, similar to others at the San Cristobal site in the Galisteo Basin, was located on top of the ridge. Many hundreds of



Figure 34. *Galisteo Ridge panel.*

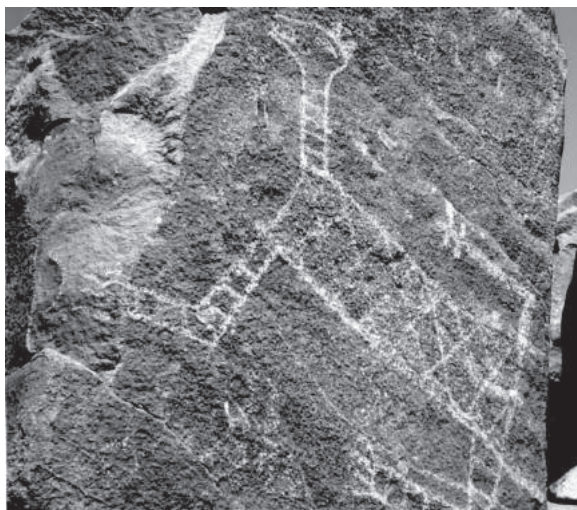


Figure 35. *Stylized mountain lion at Three Rivers.*

petroglyphs, with masks, birds, animals, shields, and ceremonial figures continue for a half mile. A panel on the ridge, right above the owner's house, has a human figure, quadrupeds, a horned creature, and many bird symbols (Figure 34), certainly signs of the diversity of life.

Farther to the south, the Three Rivers site is on a ridge extending to the west from a partially excavated village. A trail 1,400 yards long links many of the thousands of Jornada Style petroglyphs. Stylized animals, birds, faces, masks, and abstract designs predominate. An unusual mountain lion on a tall standing boulder (Figure 35) was featured on the cover of the February 2007 *New Mexico* magazine. Another

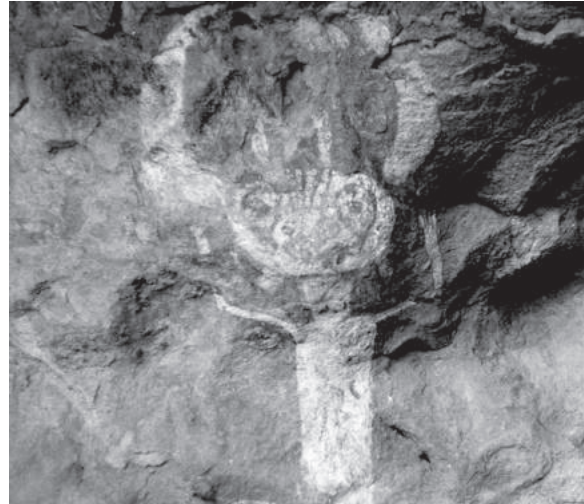


Figure 36. *White horned dancer.*

patterned body animal illustrates the astonishing variety of highly creative and stylized life forms. More abstract designs suggest the power and mystery of this profoundly sacred site.

In Texas, Hueco Tanks State Historical Park is located about 30 miles east of El Paso. Over 3,000 rock paintings are in caves and overhangs in the huge granite outcrops. A white pictograph of a horned dancer, which our guide called a White Buffalo Kachina dancer (Figure 36), is in a shelter where there are deep bedrock mortars. A large number of painted masks (Figure 37) adorn shelters and crevices, with some near cisterns and tanks. The many water tanks at Hueco Tanks attracted Native Americans in pre-historic times, and provided water for stagecoach and wagon trains in the historic era.

The Big Bend National Park, at the extreme western border, has an extensive rock art site, named after the Indian Head monolith passed on the way to the park boundary. Huge boulders, which fell from the cliffs above, form rock shelters, with metates and mortars showing occupation for long periods of time. Handprint and shield pictographs are on the shelter ceilings. Petroglyphs are also on the exterior walls of shelters, and hundreds of petroglyphs on the cliffs above make the site truly awesome.



Figure 37. Hueco Tanks painted mask.



Figure 39. Pictographs in Fate Bell Shelter.



Figure 38. Paint Rock pictographs.



Figure 40. White Shaman pictograph.

A mile northwest of Paint Rock, Texas, there are hundreds of pictographs on cliffs, just north of the Concho River. Most of the pictographs are red (Figure 38), though a few are black, white, and orange. A winter solstice interaction draws annual visitors, and adds to the sacredness of the site.

Many rock sites are located throughout the Lower Pecos River area, and it is appropriate to conclude this survey of sacred sites with a tribute to Jim Zintgraff, who did so much to protect the sacred places. While hunting in Seminole Canyon, Jim came across Fate Bell Shelter and the pictographs there (Figure 39). He put his gun away and got out his camera to start capturing the ancient paintings on film. It became the passion of his

life, and he was utterly devoted to photographing, recording, and protecting the Lower Pecos rock art. The Rock Art Foundation he established purchased the White Shaman's Shelter (Figure 40) to protect it. He passed away on March 5, 2006, but will ever be remembered for his dedication to saving sacred sites (see Turpin and Zintgraff 1991).

Acknowledgements. Appreciation is certainly due for the labors of Diane Orr and David Sucec for their efforts and guidance as Abstract Coordinators and Symposium Chair. Ann Fulton encouraged me to press on to finish this paper, and by phone and letter Anne McConnell helped

me with my aged computer and limited skills, wondering, I am sure, what faced her when I sent in the completed paper, with such a long survey of sacred sites. Doug Murphy, owner of the Ashley Creek property, provided the picture of the summer solstice interaction.

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Speakers at the Twenty-Seventh Annual Symposium of the Utah Rock Art Research Association in Moab, Utah, October 5–8, 2007

Arthur R. Cloutier THE TWINS AT PARIA CANYON ARCHEO-OBSERVATORY

At Paria Canyon Archeo-Observatory there is a split boulder on a high bench overlooking the Paria River. Its downstream face has a depiction of a shaman and assistant, guiding a parade of spirits, to the abysmal split in the rock. Beyond the split, on the left side of the panel, is a drawing composed of wavy lines, circles, a dumbbell figure, a tree at the center, and many other design elements.

This research paper compares a modern sky map with a three to five thousand year old, pecked design. The portion of the sky depicted is at the intersection of the Milky Way and the ecliptic, in the vicinity of the constellations, Cancer and Gemini. Old world ancients saw a star cluster (M44) in Cancer as a portal through which souls could pass. This new world petroglyph depiction, at Paria Canyon Archeo-Observatory, seems to convey the same idea in the same celestial setting.

Larry R. Evans AN EQUINOX MARKER SITE IN THE NEEDLES DISTRICT,
CANYONLANDS NATIONAL PARK

In 2005, I discovered a site with an anthropomorph with a large set of concentric circles in one hand and a possible Hopi like rain symbol in the other. On equinox, a sun dagger covers the center circle. The days before and after equinox, I think the dagger hits the other circles consecutively providing a window of several days to mark equinox if the weather does not cooperate with sunshine on the day of equinox.

Ben Everitt THE BIRDS OF THUNDERBIRD POINT

This talk will continue the theme of art as a window to a farther reality. It is possible that the art at Thunderbird Point is not only illustrating the legends of creation, or of gods and heroes, but actually marks the existence of a portal to the spirit world.

James Farmer BARRIER CANYON AND ART HISTORY: THE HONEYMOON IS OVER

Though long-regarded by Southwestern rock art enthusiasts as one of the most significant rock art traditions in the world, comparable to more famous traditions from Europe, Africa or Australia, Utah rock art styles, specifically that known as the Barrier Canyon Anthropomorphic Style, have routinely been overlooked or ignored by general survey texts on the history of world art. For the first time in 2007, however, images of Barrier Canyon style pictographs are now included in a major art history survey textbook, meaning that Utah rock art will now be widely available for comparison on a global basis to the other major rock art traditions, and that thousands of college art students will be exposed for the first time on a national scale to one of the great rock art traditions in

the world through a formalized educational process. The implications of this exposure are significant for future studies of Utah rock art, as well the impact on site management, conservation and visitation.

***Phil R. Geib* WAR AND STATUS DURING THE BASKETMAKER II PERIOD**

When the dust settled after Richard Wetherill and his band of dilettantes shoveled through the deposits of the now infamous Cave 7 in Whisker's Draw of southeastern Utah in the late 1800s, a new culture had been found. Their work at the site demonstrated the existence of a preceramic population that underlay the cliff dwellers or Puebloans, an earlier culture designated as Basketmaker. They also uncovered evidence of a prehistoric massacre, the first record of such in the Southwest. It is ironic that discovery of the Basketmakers was based on an obvious slaughter, because they are the undisputed ancestors of the Puebloans, including the Hopi, long championed in idealistic light as the "peaceful people." If Cave 7 is any indication, the roots of Puebloan society extend deep into a war ridden past, like they do for all humans. What is the evidence? Why should this be the case? And what does the Basketmaker II situation have to say generally about the proximate causes of war—was it competition over resources or competition for status and dominance in an aggressive, male-centered society? Rock art provides at least part of the evidence and each of these issues will be examined in turn.

***Brenda Elizabeth González Leos and Juan Ignacio Macías Quintero*
ROCK ART SITES IN NORTHWEST MEXICO: IDENTIFICATION, PRESERVATION
AND MANAGEMENT ISSUES**

Conservation issues in rock art sites are among the most important concerns for those who study them. Unfortunately, in Mexico, these issues have not received proper attention. To illustrate the problems of deterioration and destruction of rock paintings and carvings, we present, as a case study, a number of recently discovered sites in Northwest Mexico. We propose a management and conservation program of these archaeological features basing our analysis on several variables that affect them. A key aspect of this proposal is the application of a methodology that takes into consideration the significance of the landscape, past and present, as the best path toward the conservation of cultural heritage. In addition, it aims at promoting awareness of the value that these remains have on local history.

***Mary Gorden* WOMEN'S BUSINESS**

Ethnographic material and myths link women to rock art in the Central Valley of California. Cupule petroglyphs are common near milling stations where women spent much of their time. Two cupule boulders, *Ahmusin*, the basket rock, and *Oioiou*, place of the pregnant woman, are two examples described in the literature. One myth tells of a young girl who paints basketry symbols on the rocks in the foothills of the Southern Sierra. Other paintings depict pregnant women or connect to women in other ways. This discussion focuses on rock art symbols associated with woman and the meanings that can be derived from ethnographic sources and myths.

***Rev. Galal Gough* SACRED LANDSCAPE AND NATIVE AMERICAN
ROCK ART – PART II**

For most Native American tribes of North America, all lands are sacred and certain places have powerful spiritual forces associated with them. The sacredness of impressive petroglyphs along Ashley Creek, near Vernal in Utah, is enhanced by a Summer Solstice Sunset observation point. Water sources are also sacred, and the Three Finger Canyon petroglyph site has a sequence of bedrock water tanks. Destinations for pilgrimages have

sacred meaning, as is the case with the Holy Ghost Group and the Great Gallery in Horseshoe Canyon. Other sacred sites in Southeastern Utah and in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas will also be presented, with their special features; along with efforts to protect Native American sacred places.

Richard Jenkinson RARELY SEEN ROCK ART ON THE NAVAJO RESERVATION

The Navajo Reservation contains a wealth of rock art images that are rarely seen by visitors. This presentation will include images from Tsegi Canyon, Poncho House and several other locations.

Steve Manning AN EXAMINATION OF VIRGIN AND KAYENTA ANASAZI BASKETMAKER
ROCK ART WITH THE GOAL OF UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL ORIGINS AND INTERACTIONS

A report on the discovery of Kayenta Basketmaker rock art in the Virgin Anasazi area of eastern Utah and the implications of this discovery.

Dr. Reinaldo Morales PASSION, POSTERITY AND PROPAGANDA IN AMERICAN ROCK ART

Rock art comes in many forms here in the Americas. With this in mind, shouldn't we expect a considerable diversity of meaning and function? This paper examines issues of sex, the mythical past, and the politics of display, using examples of rock art from North, Central and South America. From Brazil's *Nordeste* ("Northeast") region, sex imagery in archaic rock paintings invite us to question our ability to discern play from aggression. The stoic figures of the Barrier Canyon Style in Utah inspire attempts to reconcile their ghostly, otherworldly appeal with evidence of American Indian usage of imagery to connect the past with the present. And in this age of media saturation, where every turn in a violent war is met with new theme music and splashy graphics on Fox News and CNN, we must remain keenly aware that the images of politics and the politics of images are as much a part of our addiction to power as they ever have been. Antillean cave art offers us a view of art as a means of both advertising and replenishing political power. That we can reasonably infer sophisticated issues such as these from a sampling of American Indian rock art speaks to both the complexity of the rock art, as well as to the obligation we as responsible researchers have to allow a diversity of methodological approaches the chance to inform our discourse.

Jamie Palmer COSTLY SIGNALING AT MCCONKIE RANCH

Uinta Fremont rock art has graced the pages of dozens of popular magazines, but what did these symbols really mean? Why would the Fremont have craft specialists spending inordinate amounts of time creating these images? At McConkie Ranch, the petroglyphs depict very specific individuals who may have been vying for more prestigious positions within an intragroup. In order to better understand the Fremont use of rock art at McConkie Ranch, the Costly Signaling Theory will be applied. This theory may help us grasp why rock art was such an important part of the Uinta Fremont culture.

David Sucec INTIMATE RELATIONS: ASSOCIATIONS OF ANIMAL, BIRD, SNAKE, AND PLANT
IMAGES WITH SPIRIT FIGURES IN BARRIER CANYON STYLE ROCK ART

At some Barrier Canyon style rock art sites, representations of quadrupeds, birds, snakes and plants are seen in close association with spirit figures. Whether bird, snake or quadruped, they are seen hovering over the heads,

off the shoulders or flanking certain spirit figures. Some can also be seen moving toward and around spirit figures. In their apparent intimate association, these compositions differ significantly from the animal/anthropomorph compositions that are seen in other Utah rock art styles and exhibit a remarkable similarity to the images of some hunting/gathering cultures such as the Huichol and Inuit—with representations of shamans and associated zoomorphs identified as “spirit helpers”.

Jesse Warner WHEN IS HUNTING NOT AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE?

Many hunting scenes are far more complex than what would seem to simply represent an ordinary hunt. Even though there is probably no such thing as a simple symbol, many of these representations are far more complex than what could also be assumed to be examples of “hunting magic”. For some time I have considered what I call “mystical hunters” as a category of mystical symbolism, with many subcategories. Several examples of hunting scenes from Moab illustrate some of these categories. There are several possibilities for why most of these are abnormal in nature. This presentation will consider some of those possibilities. There are some interesting examples that shed a new light on this problem to support what the most logical considerations seem to be. Along with some ethnographic evidence, it seems that there can be little doubt that many of these seem to represent an attempt to gain enlightenment.



Anne Carter

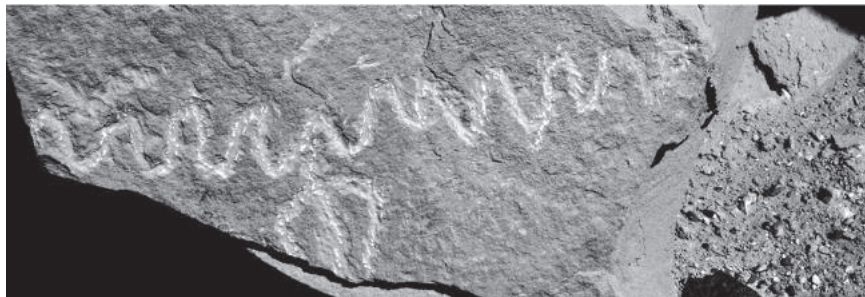
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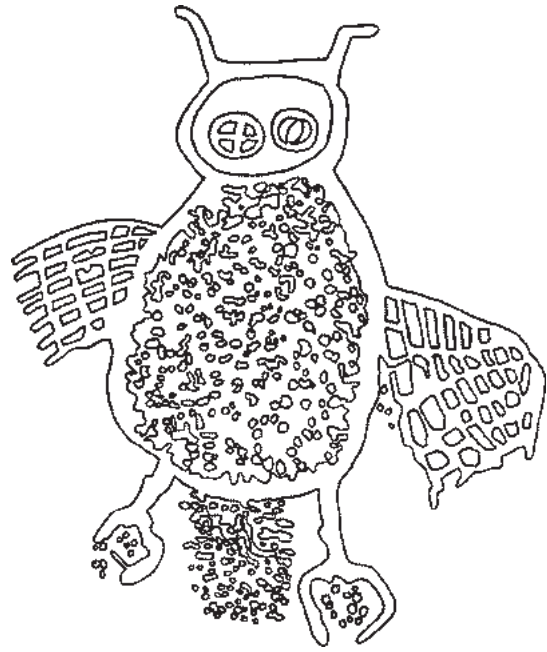


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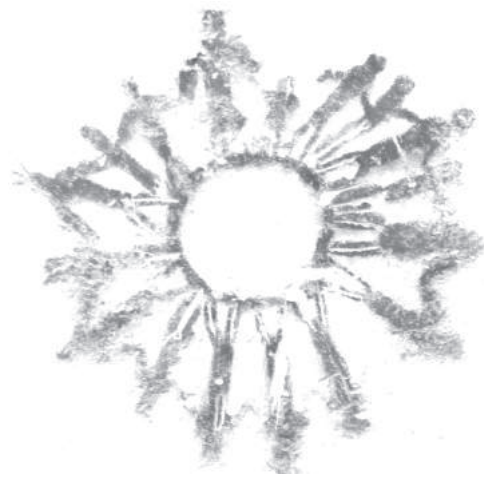
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CONTENTS

Richard Jenkinson	Landscape, Metaphor, and Meaning in the Experience of Rock Art	XXVIII-1
François Gohier	Historical Individuals in Fremont Rock Art	XXVIII-15
Elaine Holmes and Anne Carter	The Dynamic Duo: Superheroes of Pahrnagat Rock Art	XXVIII-25
Pamela Baker	Another Look at 19SJ1156, Atlatl Cave, in Chaco Culture National Historical Park, New Mexico	XXVIII-33
Charles W. Bailey	It's About Time	XXVIII-41
Abstracts of the Twenty-Eighth Annual Symposium of the Utah Rock Art Research Association in Escalante, Utah, October 10–13, 2008		XXVIII-47



LANDSCAPE, METAPHOR, AND MEANING IN THE EXPERIENCE OF ROCK ART

When I visit rock art sites I often hear people say, “I wish I knew what it meant.” Rock art scholarship usually strives to be empirical and scientific, leaving meaning aside as too subjective for analysis. This essay, however, will approach rock art from the perspective of the humanities, examining the meaning of rock art and what it tells us about the human condition. As an English teacher for the past 28 years, I work every day in the realm of meaning and metaphor in relation to literary art. Much of what applies to literary art can apply to visual art as well. I will look closely at the experience of rock art, paying attention to the art’s context—the landscape it appears in—and also to the way Archaic artists used techniques like metaphor to express their ideas. Meaning will be examined from the perspective of the engaged observer.

The popularity of rock art is an indication that it also has relevance today, and it is meaning at this level that I want to investigate. There are many people, myself included, who are trying to gain insight into who they are by coming to grips with where they are, and an art style rooted in the landscape provides us with many clues regarding how people have lived in this land, clues that can enlighten us today. I will use Barrier Canyon Style rock art from the Desert Archaic Culture for my examples, not because I think it is the only rock art relevant to the topic, but because I find it fascinating and intriguing.

LANDSCAPE

The land is always stalking people. The land makes people live right. The land looks after us. The land looks after people [Annie Peaches [Apache] quoted in Basso 1996:38].

Sense of place roots individuals in the social and cultural soils from which they have sprung together, holding them there in the grip of a shared identity, a localized version of selfhood [Basso 1996:146].

Annie Peaches’ comment shows how even today the Native American view of man’s relation to the land is radically different from the Anglo view. Natives have a cooperative relationship to the land rather than a dominating one. The land can be both threatening and nurturing. One way that Native Americans anchored their relationship to the land through which they traveled was through the art work that they left on the rocks.

In his recent doctoral dissertation, Michael Firnhaber (2007) used anthropological theory to examine the rock art experience, looking closely at the art’s context in the landscape and at the experience of the observer. This approach sheds light on the aesthetic experience of those who see the art. While the artists have been gone for centuries, people have been encountering their images from the time they were made until the present. Today, rock art is often experienced through pictures in books. The difference between encountering rock art in a book as opposed to seeing it in person in the landscape is like the difference between looking at sheet music and attending a live performance. Both experiences have some value, but by far the richer experience involves the entire context of the art. Rock art was made to be experienced in place, not taken away to a museum, and fortunately this experience is still available to us. The point I want to make here is that rock art was part of the effort to humanize the landscape, to close the gap between human culture and the natural world. An

appreciation of the Native American view of the land and how they lived in interaction with it will help us to better understand how rock art was experienced and how that experience continues on today.

Barrier Canyon Style (BCS) rock art provides us with an example. It is found in the northern half of the Colorado Plateau, concentrated around the Canyonlands area and the San Rafael Swell. BCS panels have been dated from more than eight thousand years old to two thousand years old. (Tipps 1995:156; Watchman 2005:10). They were made by the Desert Archaic Culture, about which little is known. A basket was recently found in Cowboy Cave upstream from the Great Gallery. It is dated at nine thousand years old and attributed to the Early Archaic culture, so the Archaic presence in the vicinity of the Great Gallery extended for at least six thousand years (Geib and Jolie 2008).

While little is known about the details of Desert Archaic lifeways, much can be surmised by examining ethnographic accounts of hunter and gatherer tribes who lived in a similar environment. For example, the Southern Paiute material culture has much in common with what is known of the Desert Archaic. A work like Isabel Kelly's *Southern Paiute Ethnography* (1964) can help us to understand what it would be like to try to live on the Colorado Plateau without agriculture. Groups stayed at a home base when food was plentiful in the fall, but were on the move much of the rest of the year when food supplies had been exhausted. These travels tended to follow a pattern, the seasonal round. When I look at the locations of major BCS sites, I see patterns that might have reflected patterns of movement through the landscape. For example, a person could travel from the head of Horseshoe Canyon all the way to the Green River, cross the river, proceed up Hell Roaring Canyon to its head, through the Dubinky country, through Seven Mile Canyon to Courthouse Wash, cross the Colorado River at present day Moab, and go up Mill Creek

to the La Sal Mountains. That route would provide life zones ranging from desert to riparian to mountain environments. Along the way, the traveler would never have to go more than two or three consecutive miles without water, and probably not much more than that without encountering a BCS rock art site. My point is that the rock art made this corridor for travel very familiar and intimate, a cultural experience, not just a natural one. The experience of the rock art was part of the experience of the landscape.

A hunter-gatherer culture does not try to coerce the landscape to produce, as does an agricultural culture. It accepts what the land offers from place to place and from year to year. While this may seem risky to us, it was apparently quite stable. Agriculturally based cultures, like the Anasazi and like ours, tend to flourish rapidly and become unstable. The Desert Archaic, on the other hand, kept a fairly consistent life way for 6,000 years. Their relation to the landscape maintained a sustainable consistency that endured for millennia. Considering how long the Desert Archaic culture remained in the landscape, there really aren't many rock art sites at all. We have all seen rock surfaces that would be perfect sites for rock art but were apparently never used for reasons we cannot know. Steven Waller has documented the heightened acoustical qualities of sites in Horseshoe Canyon, indicating that reasons for selection of a site for rock art involved other factors beyond a good surface for painting (Waller, 2000, 2005). I think rock art sites were special, powerful places, meant to be visited for reasons we will probably never know, but not mere decorations. They were meant to provide visitors with an experience of some sort. Some sites, like the Great Gallery, Buckhorn Wash, or the Harvest Scene, were "billboard" sites, demanding the attention of anyone who came through the canyon. Others were more isolated and demanded an intentional visit for some reason.

My random musings about the landscape and its relation to Native American cultures and their rock

art may seem ungrounded and disjointed, but I hope these ideas will come together more fully below when I address meaning in relation to rock art. I will close this section with another quote from one of Keith Basso's Apache informants, Dudley Patterson:

Wisdom sits in places. It's like water that never dries up. You need to drink water to stay alive, don't you? Well, you also need to drink from places [Basso 1996:127].

To Native Americans and to others who live more closely with the landscape than we, the land provides wisdom and direction through interaction with it. I believe that rock art sites provided, and still provide, this type of humanizing link between people and the land.

METAPHOR

Most people think of metaphor as the fancy language that poets use to dress up sonnets. That is metaphor at its artistic extreme. But our language is loaded with common metaphor. (For example, in the preceding sentence, the words "our," "loaded," "with," and "common" are metaphors.) Metaphor is the way humans think. The following quote from Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* will get us oriented: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:1).

Metaphor is about relationships. We can grasp new concepts by relating them to things we know. This concept is nothing new. Aristotle identified it in his *Rhetoric*. "Ordinary words convey only what we know already. It is from metaphor that we can best get hold of something fresh" (quoted in Lakoff and Johnson 1980:190).

All painting is metaphor at one level. Markings on a two dimensional surface are being compared to a three-dimensional image that we see in front of us or that we carry in our minds. The closer the two-dimensional image resembles our image of



Figure 1. BCS citizen figures. Great Gallery.



Figure 2. Ascending Sheep Panel. San Rafael Swell.

the three-dimensional original, the more skilled we consider the artist to be. This realism is a hallmark of representational art, but we are going to concern ourselves here with a deeper level of metaphor in non-representational images of BCS rock art.

David Sucec of the BCS Project identifies three types of BCS anthropomorphic images (1997:61). Citizen figures (Figure 1) look somewhat like ordinary people and are usually depicted in active poses. These are very close to representational images. Composite figures have body parts from other creatures. Spirit figures lack arms and legs and are often very large, commonly as large as seven feet tall. I will look at metaphor as it appears in the composite and spirit figures.

The Ascending Sheep Panel (Figure 2) in the San Rafael Swell contains one of the most fascinating

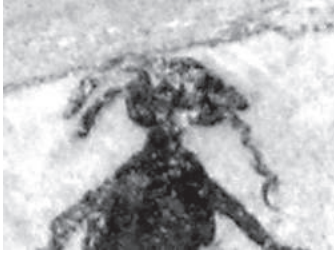


Figure 3. Detail of the head.

BCS composite images. The main image is a hybrid figure with the torso and arms of a human, the head of a female bighorn sheep, a snake for a tongue, the tail of a canine, and the feet of a bird. She is approached on both sides by realistically painted but very small bighorn sheep. There appears to be a small bird in one hand and something snake-like hanging from the opposite elbow. To the right are two tall enigmatic anthropomorphs which lack proper heads, but have antennae-like appendages protruding from where the head should be. From the bottom of these figures bighorn sheep depart, some towards the main figure and the others in the opposite direction.

Remember, metaphor involves understanding one thing in terms of another. The hardest task often involves deciding which aspect of one thing should be applied to the other in comparison. For example, we would assume that a sports team named the Lions is so named because its members fight like lions, not because they smell like them. Not all metaphors are this easy to explain, however. All metaphors are meant to bring out certain characteristics in comparison, and also to hide other characteristics which are not applicable or desirable. Now let's look at the Ascending Sheep Panel with these ideas in mind.

Because of the torso, posture, arms and legs, the main figure is meant to be human-like. I will discuss the other characteristics as they relate to the human form. The head is the head of a female bighorn sheep (Figure 3). The head is the seat of intelligence. In my own experiences with bighorn, they have never impressed me with their intelligence, so what is going on here?

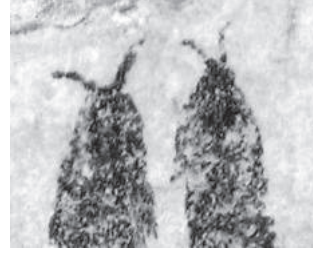


Figure 4. Detail of the figures to the right of the hybrid female in Figure 2.

The sheep on both sides of the figure are ascending towards the head or hands. They are not down at the level of her feet where they naturally should be. It seems that she is in control of the sheep or they are paying respects to her in some way. So her intelligence, and the intelligence that she brings to the entire figure, is an animal intelligence. She is the Mistress, so to speak, of the normal sheep around her, and in being so her intelligence is central to the well being of the humans in the area. The bighorn are constantly depicted in rock art of the Colorado Plateau and were certainly vital to the Native Americans of the area, and having the female bighorn head on a human body is an indication of the bighorn's importance to the culture.

What about the snake? Is it being held in her mouth, or is it a tongue? I see it more as an exaggerated tongue. Snakes and tongues obviously have some things in common, like general shape and a unique type of movement. If someone said, "She has a snake for a tongue," it would imply a biting, dangerous vocal ability. The Navajo equate snakes with lightning, and there is no greater or more miraculous power than lightning.

The tail appears to be from a wolf, coyote, or fox. These animals are known for their intelligence and trickery. They are ubiquitous in Native American myth for their intelligence, foolishness, and creativity.

The feet? Birds are universally seen as a symbol of freedom because they are able to effortlessly function in a three-dimensional world, whereas we are limited by gravity to the earth's surface.

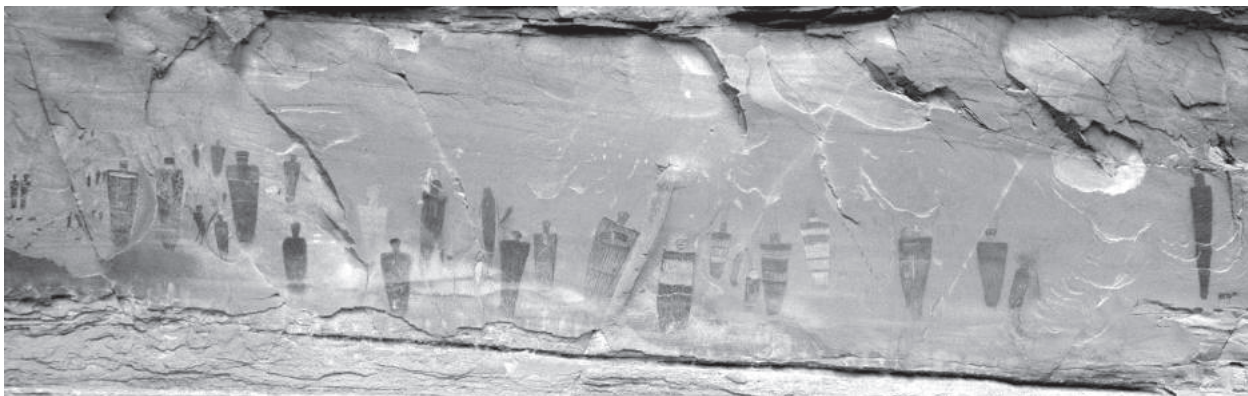


Figure 5. Part of the Great Gallery. The larger figures are about five to six feet tall, with the figure on the far right closer to nine feet tall.

But that is symbolized by wings, not feet. The artist could certainly have put wings on this figure—some BCS figures have wings—but instead the bird is represented by its feet. Birds’ feet leave tracks that indicate that they have been here, but perhaps the power and threat of the raptors’ talons is at work here.

The enigmatic figures to the right of the hybrid female in Figure 2 (Figure 4) are as large and prominent as the figure I have been referring to as the main figure, but they seem to be more reserved because they don’t relate to us in any way. They don’t have the gesture or the presence of our Mistress; they don’t even have anything that we can recognize as a head. If the head is the seat of intelligence, all intelligence is withdrawn from us here. But on top of where the head should be are what appear to be antennae, which could relate these figures to the insect world and its level of intelligence, which is totally foreign to us.

We will return to this panel below when we discuss meaning more fully. Now we will examine some figures from the Great Gallery (Figure 5) that exhibit metaphor in much more abstract forms than the Ascending Sheep panel.

The Great Gallery is located in Horseshoe Canyon in the western part of Canyonlands National Park. It was formerly called Barrier Canyon, and the Great Gallery is the site from which Barrier

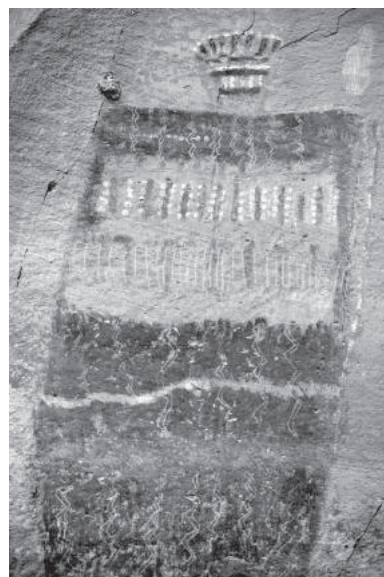


Figure 6. A large anthropomorph from the Great Gallery.

Canyon Style rock art gets its name. The site is about 300 feet long. Firmhaber lists 112 figures, of which 67 are anthropomorphs (2007:354). Most of the anthropomorphs are armless and legless. The typical figure has a static posture and a stoic demeanor. They fit into Sucec’s category of spirit figures (1997:61). Here we will look at metaphor in relation to a few of these figures, focusing on their heads. It’s not that the rest of the figure doesn’t offer valuable information; it’s just that the heads are rich sources of metaphor.

In Figure 6 we see a large anthropomorph, five to six feet tall, from the Great Gallery. When we



Figure 7. Detail of the head.

look more closely at the details of the face (Figure 7), we see that, with the exception of the eyes, facial features have been replaced by abstractions, mainly lines and bars. Note also that the rock surface outside the face on both sides is abraded and was originally outlined by a painted white or gray border. To me this gives the head a feeling of three-dimensional depth. I see the following metaphors here.

- The eyes are holes gouged into rock. A dark red horizontal line passes through the level of the eyes but does not cover them.
- The forehead (or hair or hat) is represented by eight dark red vertical stripes which fan out from the head. The stripes are topped by thirteen white dots.
- The nose is absent. The nose area contains a horizontal white line topped by four gray dots that connect the white line to the dark red line that passes through the eyes.
- The mouth area has upper and lower horizontal dark red lines that are connected by white vertical lines that hint at something toothlike and give the head a ghastly, almost silly grin.
- The neck area consists of three gray vertical lines which don't quite reach to the top of the torso. These are lined up with three of the white lines above. The outer outline of the neck is comprised of the gray lines on the edge of the abraded area on either side of the head.

So what do we make of all this? Obviously it could represent a mask, with the inset eyes peering out from holes in the mask. But that only begs the question. If it is a mask, why did the artist choose these particular abstractions to take the place of human features? Remember that when the artist made this painting, he or she had total choice of how to present this head, but these particular features were chosen. Consciously or unconsciously, a choice was made to replace the human features with lines and dots and colors. Unlike the main figure of the Ascending Sheep panel, the head is not replaced by features of other animals, which give us a chance to relate one set of ideas to another. Instead, by using an abstract design, the human head is transformed to a pattern, something that is in many ways beyond the boundaries of life.

The metaphors of the Ascending Sheep panel kept us in the realm of ideas. How does a human relate to a bighorn sheep, snake, or bird? But the abstract metaphors of many of the Great Gallery figures move us into the realm of emotions. It's like the difference between songs with words and instrumental music. Without words to grab onto, the experience is more in the realm of emotion. I feel the same is true here. The abstract patterns bring out a response in me, but not a comparison between living things. Compared to the other figures at the Great Gallery, this is one of the most engaging ones. First of all, there are eyes. Eyes draw you in and reveal something of the interior. These eyes are crude, just gouged holes, but they always draw my eye contact, as if I were looking a person in the face and making a connection. The eyes are inside the rock, not on the surface. The mouth area is much more abstract, but still I see both a threat and a ghastly smile. I think the eyes make me look hard for other facial features. This figure is up high on the wall and is looking down on you. I feel like it's my superior and it is above and beyond me, but it is still making a connection and not completely aloof. The rest of the patterns on the head, mostly perpendicular lines, take this face beyond the realm of living shapes into



Figure 8. Another anthropomorph from the Great Gallery

something different, some sort of supernatural place.

Our next figure (Figures 8 and 9) is a few yards upstream from the last one. It is roughly the same size as the last figure. Again we have some facial features that are recognizable to some extent and others that are absent and replaced by abstractions. The following features stand out.

- The eyes are holes dug into the rock. The holes are much more shallow than those in the last figure. They are bare rock, containing no paint.
- The head in general is almost a rectangle, just slightly wider at the top than at the neck. It does not have the shape of a human head.
- The top of the head is flat. Above the head are twenty-three short vertical white lines that may or may not represent hair.
- The forehead is proportionately very narrow from top to bottom.

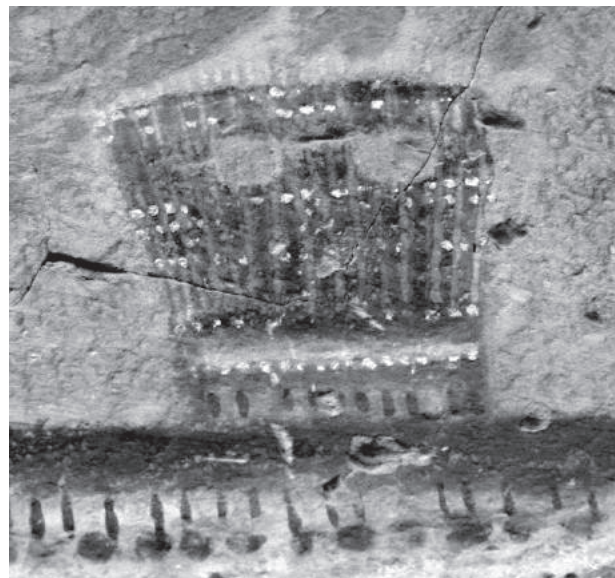


Figure 9. Detail of the head.

- The nose is absent, replaced by the abstract pattern of vertical stripes and horizontal dots that cover the entire face.
- The mouth goes all the way across the face. It is gouged into the rock deeper than the eyes and appears animated. The figure appears to me to be in the act of speaking. Like the eyes, there is no paint in the mouth.
- There is no real neck, but the mouth is separated from the torso by a rectangle containing ten short vertical dark red lines.
- The entire face except the eyes and mouth is covered by an abstract pattern of gray vertical lines and horizontal white dots organized into lines. Many of the white dots seem to have been lost over the years, but there appear to have originally been two lines of dots on the forehead, three lines below the eyes and a line both above and below the mouth. It appears that originally there was a white dot in between each of the vertical lines, except the row of white dots at the top of the mouth, which appear at the bottom of each vertical line.
- There are 15 vertical gray lines. There are three vertical lines to the left of the figure's left eye and five to the right of the figure's right eye. The lines on the right side are also closer together, which makes it look like we are seeing this figure from an angle, not straight on. This gives the face a slightly three-dimensional feel, making it a little more lifelike.



Figure 10. Another anthropomorph from the Great Gallery.

Again we have some realism in the eyes and mouth, but abstraction beyond that. Like the last figure, this one is engaging the viewer, this time more through the mouth than through the eyes. I don't feel looked down to quite as much, but I am receiving an oral message, one that I cannot hear, from a superior being from a nonhuman realm where heads are rectangular and faces patterned with lines and dots. I feel that I can relate to this figure and it is trying to relate to me.

The next anthropomorph (Figures 10 and 11) is close to the last one, and about the same size, five to six feet tall. Here we have no human features to relate to. I see the following features in the head.

- The top of the head is slightly curved, higher at the top than on the sides, but is still much flatter than a human head.
- The head is wider at the top than at the bottom, but instead of curving from top to



Figure 11. Detail of the head.

bottom like a human head, it narrows in straight, slanted lines.

- Across the forehead or perhaps where the eyes might be there is a narrow horizontal line of unpainted rock.
- Further down the face where the eyes or nose might be are two narrow parallel lines of unpainted rock which contain short, slanted white stripes.
- At the bottom of the face where the neck should be are two parallel horizontal lines of white dots. Because some of the dots appear to have not survived the years, it is difficult to determine how many dots there were originally.
- The remainder of the face is solid dark red paint.
- Because the upper lines curve down on the figure's right side, it appears as though we are looking at the face from an angle, not straight on. This gives the figure a more animated appearance. It's like it is or has been in motion and we are encountering it as it comes towards us.

This face is different from the other two. I used the word "engaging" before, but this figure is only engaging in that it appears to be moving in our direction, but to our right. The face is completely opaque. There are no eyes to let us in, no mouth with which to communicate an emotion. It is aloof, beyond our knowledge. We are in its presence, but we are alien to one another. It makes no



Figure 12. The Holy Ghost and accompanying figures.

attempt to enter our realm and we have no way to enter its realm. This figure is actually like most of the anthropomorphic figures at the Great Gallery in that it lacks facial features through which we can relate, and it stands aloof and stoic, apart from our consciousness. The lines across the face hint at some sort of personality or internal consciousness in this figure, but it is totally out of our grasp.

And now we examine the most famous image of the Great Gallery, the Holy Ghost (Figures 12 and 13). The Holy Ghost is a bit of a misnomer, because certainly there is no hint of Christianity here, but the word “Holy” does point to the figure’s aura of spirituality and “Ghost” implies a being that appears in some ways to be beyond death. Let’s look at some of the characteristics of this head.

- The head is rounded and comes down to something like a neck. Rather than an abstract, non-human shape, this head is much closer to being realistic in shape.

- There appear to be two antennae-like appendages, badly eroded, coming out of either side of the top of the head.
- There are huge eyes rimmed in dark red paint. The two eye rims are separated by a straight line of unpainted vertical rock.
- To the left of the figure’s right eye is a vertical line of dark red paint which once again makes it look like we are seeing the figure from an angle rather than straight on. As with the others, this makes the figure look



Figure 13. Detail of the head.



Figure 14. BCS anthropomorph with painted eyes. Canyonlands area.



Figure 15. BCS anthropomorph with painted eye. Moab area.

somewhat animated, like it is or has been moving. The surrounding dark figures are in various sizes which makes the whole group look like it is moving towards the viewer, coming out of the rock.

- There is no nose, but the vertical line between the eyes gives the face a vertical feel in the middle that would normally be provided by a nose.
- There are two parallel horizontal bars in the area where the mouth would be, but they do not seem to represent a mouth or lips.
- There are five parallel vertical lines at the base of the neck. The dark red outline of the head joins with these lines to make them look like seven.



Figure 16. BCS anthropomorph with large empty eyes. Sege area.



Figure 17. BCS anthropomorph with large empty eyes. San Rafael area.

There is much that can be said about this figure. For most viewers it is the focal point of the entire gallery. It is the largest figure in the carefully composed group in which it appears, and the only one with much detail. It is out in front of the others in the group, and its large, hollow eyes engage the viewer. This figure is far more engaging than the others that we have looked at so far, and the primary reason is the large eyes. Its upward gaze does not make eye contact with us, but still we make a connection with its consciousness through the eyes. A quote from anthropologist Alfred Gell brings out the connection of the eyes and the mind.

Eyes are, of all body orifices, those which signify 'interiority' (i.e. possession of mind and interiority) most immediately. The

particular attention paid to the eyes of these idols arises, not from the need to represent the body realistically, but from the need to represent the body in such a way as to imply that the body is only a body, and that a much more important entity, the mind, is immured in it [Gell 1998:135–136].

Gell was writing about Oceanic art, but his ideas are applicable here. The eyes invite us to look into the consciousness of a being that is quite different from us, seemingly superior to us, but also trying to engage our minds in some sort of communication.

Many BCS anthropomorphs don't have eyes. They are completely closed to us. Others have crude eyes, as in Figures 7 and 9. A few relatively rare figures have painted eyes that seem much more inviting (Figures 14 and 15). There are also quite a few that have the extremely large eyes or eye sockets that the Holy Ghost has (Figures 16 and 17). What should we make of these large eyes? Some people describe them as bug-eyed, but I don't see them as insects. To me these are eye sockets, not eyes. They are images of death, or more specifically life in death, for these figures are clearly not dead. The Holy Ghost is moving towards us at the head of the group. There is an alert presence in his (or her) bearing, and the face communicates a consciousness which eludes us but is present nevertheless. We usually think of death as an end, the closing of a linear sequence. But death is also part of a cycle repeated every year in nature. A culture that was dependent on what the natural world offered during its seasonal round would be very aware of the constant presence of death in both the plant and animal worlds. The fact that our culture has given this figure the label of "Ghost" is an indication that its death-like nature is still easily recognizable. For a conservative culture like the Desert Archaic, time is a cycle, not a progression, and death is one part of that cycle. The Holy Ghost is coming to us from beyond death. It is the only one of the 67 anthropomorphs at the Great Gallery with the large eye sockets and it is the most dominant

figure of the entire panel. The exact message might be lost to our culture, but what remains is an image of life continuing through death, bearing some sort of message for those in its presence.

MEANING

Meaning is always subjective. It is always personal. Even if the artist had a very precise message that he or she wanted the viewer to get, no two people would have the exact same interpretation. We each bring our particular life experiences with us, and we see things from our own perspectives, each of them unique and independent. Certainly the same is true with rock art. There is no one correct meaning; there is only subjective interpretation.

In the realm of literary studies there are a few scholars who look at what Shakespeare's plays meant in his time. They study contemporary reviews and writings regarding Shakespeare and write articles for scholarly journals which are read only by a few like-minded scholars. What people in London in 1605 thought about Shakespeare's plays isn't very relevant today. What makes classic artists like Shakespeare, Mozart, and Michelangelo have lasting value is not the meaning that they had in their time, but the meaning that they continue to have today. Millions of people still enjoy the classics not out of curiosity about the past, but because of insights the arts provide about the human condition in the present. The classics are still popular because they are still alive. The popularity of rock art today is an indication that it too still has relevance in people's lives.

So what can rock art mean to us today? We can't know much regarding what it meant to the people who made and experienced it centuries ago. It is the art of the landscape that we live. The people who made it of necessity lived much closer to the land than we do. The Desert Archaic culture that made Barrier Canyon Style rock art lived a sustainable lifestyle for a few thousand years

without major changes. Their artwork reflects their values, values that might provide us with insights, considering that our lifestyle is unbalanced and unsustainable. The Archaic peoples left little material culture behind and their artwork is the best window that we have into their philosophy and world view. If we engage this art in the landscape, we can perhaps gather insight that will help us live in a more sane and sustainable way in the same landscape that the Archaic people lived in two to nine thousand years ago. With these concepts in mind, we will look back at the Ascending Sheep panel and at the Holy Ghost group of the Great Gallery to see what they have to tell us.

The Ascending Sheep panel (Figure 2) is located near the head of a small, nondescript canyon. I can't imagine that it was along any commonly traveled route. This was a site that people must have sought out intentionally for the information and experience that it provided. The figures are small, just a few inches high, and located about nine to ten feet above the ground. The viewer is always looking up at the artwork, trying to focus in on details that are difficult to make out from below. Unlike many other BCS figures, there is no eye contact with the figures in the artwork and no feeling of direct connection. We are observing something, not participating in it. So the question is, what have we come here to learn or experience?

In the section on landscape I quoted Keith Basso's informants as they told us that "the land stalks us" and "wisdom sits in places." The wisdom that this site offers is depicted in painted images of a hybrid human/animal figure, two strange anthropomorphic figures with what appear to be insect-like antennae and over twenty-five tiny bighorn sheep. There are a couple more images on the rock face, but they are in very different styles and they were probably made at different times, so I will not include them in my analysis of the panel. The main figure—I called her the Mistress before—has a human torso, arms and legs, the head of a female bighorn sheep, the tail

of a canine, and the feet of a bird. The sheep go to her from both directions. It feels as if she is in control of them or at least that she is their superior in some way. She is reminiscent of the Lady of the Beasts described by Johnson (1981). What she embodies is the intelligence of the human and animal worlds combined. That's what it takes to keep the natural world stable, to ensure that it will produce what is needed for all to survive. So the theme I see is that we are all in this together, where "we" refers to all the creatures, not just humans. That is the wisdom that sits in this place, the message that the viewer gets when he or she seeks out the experience that this place and its artwork have to offer. The two obscure anthropomorphs with antennae add the enigma, the idea that much of the intelligence of the world is beyond ours, but it exists nevertheless and is deserving of our respect and reverence.

Now let's look at the Holy Ghost group of the Great Gallery (Figure 12). To take on the entire site would be the subject of a large and very fascinating book, but here I will only try to interpret this one group of images. Unlike the Ascending Sheep site, the Great Gallery is located in what must have been a major highway for the Archaic people, Horseshoe Canyon. It is what I referred to earlier as a billboard site—meant to be seen by many people as they traveled through the area. Most of the anthropomorphs are very large, five to seven feet tall, and they can be seen from more than a hundred yards away as the viewer approaches. The area in front of the panel is large and relatively flat, capable of containing very large groups of people at a time. This could have been the site of large ceremonial gatherings, although there is no way to verify that possibility. So rather than speculate on what might have been, let's look closely at the images to see what they convey.

What is most striking to me about the Holy Ghost Group is that they are moving. As I approach them, they are coming to greet me. The different sizes of the anthropomorphs give a three-dimensional

feel to the scene. The Holy Ghost is in front of the pack, and he (or she) has far more detail than the others. If the group is coming towards us, where are they coming from? The answer seems obvious enough to me. They are coming out of the rock, coming to meet us at the interface between the rock and the world outside of it. That might seem to be odd to us. We don't see any life in a rock, but in historic times Native American tribes throughout North America saw mountains and other natural features as being alive and sacred. There's no reason to believe that the people of the Archaic didn't feel the same way. If this group is coming from the rock, what message are they greeting us with? The Holy Ghost figure seems conscious, alert and intelligent. The eyes attract ours, even though they gaze above and beyond us. As I discussed above, the message is one of death and its relation to life. The Holy Ghost and his more mute, opaque companions are coming to the viewer from the realm of rock, bringing a message about the interconnectedness of life and death.

These are my interpretations. Yours might be completely different but equally valid. Again, meaning is subjective and personal. Art is human expression that offers meaningful experiences. I expect that the interpretations that Archaic people would have of the Ascending Sheep panel and the Great Gallery would have been much deeper. They would have brought to these panels cultural information that is lost and irretrievable. But still the panels can speak to us if we are willing to engage them as works of art. The one thing that has not changed so much is the surrounding context, the landscape. The experience of traveling to and from the artwork, of being in the place in the presence of the art, is a crucial part of what it is. Rock art humanizes the landscape, providing a link between the natural and human worlds.

PRESERVATION

Many excellent reasons are put forth to defend rock art, but one that is usually left out is meaning.

Rock art is not only important for what it *was*; it is equally important for what it *is*. We cannot let rock art go anymore than we can let go of a Shakespeare play or a Rembrandt. Works of art carry information about the human condition that help us live and appreciate our lives. That rock art has a link to the landscape makes it especially valuable, because we have left so few human links to undomesticated landscapes.

The importance of experiencing the art in the landscape implies that we need to protect the context of the art as well as the art itself. So often rock art is protected by simply putting a fence in front of it, while the surrounding area is left vulnerable to all sorts of abuses. To properly preserve the artwork, we need to preserve the surrounding area as well, for it is an integral part of the experience of the artwork and of the meaning that it has to offer us.

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HISTORICAL INDIVIDUALS IN FREMONT ROCK ART

The prehistoric people known as the “Fremont” lived in what is now the State of Utah and in adjacent areas of Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, and Wyoming. Archaeologists assign dates for the Fremont Culture from approximately A.D. 400 to 1300 but in some areas traces of the Fremont Culture disappear as early as A.D. 1000.

The Fremont left one of the most impressive rock art records of the Southwest. Scholars have discerned several regional styles. One unifying element is a conventional representation of the shape of the human body. Over most of the Colorado Plateau the Fremont anthropomorphs are characterized by a trapezoidal, broad-shouldered body with a narrow waist, and a trapezoidal or square head that often rests directly on the shoulders (Figure 1). At some sites the body takes an hourglass shape. The face is either left blank, or the mouth and eyes are indicated. The hands have outspread fingers and the feet are turned sideways even though the figures are almost invariably shown from the front. These anthropomorphs are generally very static, facing the viewer. It’s only in a few hunting scenes that the artists have attempted to depict some action.

Sometimes an anthropomorph is represented alone or sharing a panel with animal figures, but most often the human figures are arranged in a row. Typical examples are found at Capitol Reef National Park, Dinosaur National Monument, and McConkie Ranch.

In general the human figures wear some form of clothing and personal ornamentation (Figure 1). The degree of detail varies. At McConkie Ranch life-size anthropomorphs arranged in distinct groups are richly adorned with jewelry, belts, and headdresses. Some of them carry a shield, a weapon, and what appears to be a severed human head.



Figure 1. Fremont anthropomorph, Range Creek, Utah.

These panels have been illustrated and described in the rock art literature but relatively little attention has been directed to their possible meaning. Noel Morss, who in 1931 defined the Fremont as an original culture, did not see the panels of the Vernal area but heard about them from other people. He was therefore aware of their existence and of their similarities to the rock art found in his study area, the Fremont River drainage. He suggested the figures were “representations of gods or of priests or dancers personifying the gods.” He wrote they vary in



Figure 2. The Sun Carriers panel, McConkie Ranch, Utah.

height “from 8 inches to heroic size” (Morss 1931:34).

In her 1971 paper (republished in 1994) “The Rock Art of Utah,” Schaafsma listed the main attributes of Fremont anthropomorphs of the Dinosaur-Vernal area. She coined the name “Classic Vernal Style” (Schaafsma 1994:6) and declared that “it is impossible to know if the human figures depicted in these panels are supernatural or human beings in ceremonial gear...” (1994:148).

In a later work Schaafsma noted that “in the classic Vernal Style... figures... most commonly carry what may be interpreted as either human heads or masks” (Schaafsma 1980:175). She remarked that “the shields, arrows, and animals in Fremont work suggest warfare or hunting... In the Uinta region, heroic human figures are shown carrying either human heads or masks, depictions that suggest warfare or ritual or both” (1980:179). Schaafsma concluded that the elaborate human

figures suggest “beings of special significance, and the horns on the Barrier Canyon Style and Fremont figure are thought to indicate their shamanic or supernatural powers” (1980:181).

Cole (1990:175) took note of “heroic and supernatural-appearing anthropomorphs.” In her study, warfare is mentioned as one of the possible themes in Fremont rock art: “Warriors are possibly signified by shield-figures and by figures holding shields, large blades, spears, bow and arrow, and possible scalp or head” (1990:186).

McConkie Ranch lies in a flat-bottomed valley limited on the north side by a long, tall cliff. For hundreds of yards west of the ranchhouse, and hundreds more east of it, the clean, hard rock layer that forms the base of the cliff is covered with Fremont rock art. About half a mile east of the house the cliff is interrupted by the mouth of a short canyon. Just beyond the canyon a semidetached pillar juts out from the cliff and here is found the most spectacular of all petroglyph

panels in the region. Originally known as “The Sun Carriers,” it was arbitrarily renamed “The Three Kings” by the editors of a magazine; this name has stuck but is both less accurate (there are seven figures on the panel, not three) and less poetic than the original. I will use the “Sun Carriers” name in this paper (Figure 2).

A large number of life-size anthropomorphs are depicted at McConkie Ranch, but tight groups (such as the “Sun Carriers”) are shown on only four major panels. Elsewhere the figures are either alone or, when sharing a rock face with others, don’t give the same strong impression of being part of a coherent group. The four distinct groups never fail to create a powerful impression on the viewer. That is not a coincidence, it was the intention of the artists.

The Sun Carriers panel is carved almost one hundred feet off the ground on its rock pillar, above a narrow ledge which must have been an uncomfortable and dangerous place for the artist to stand (Figure 3). Yet seven life-size

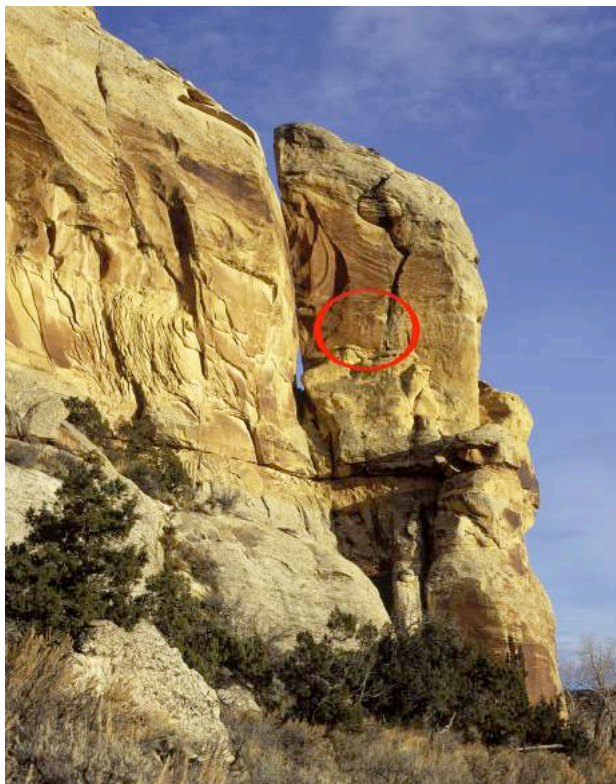


Figure 3. Location of the Sun Carriers panel.



Figure 4. McConkie Ranch, main trail.



Figure 5. McConkie Ranch, main trail.



Figure 6. McConkie Ranch, main trail: Bigfoot panel.

anthropomorphs are carved there, with a level of detail in their ornamentation unmatched in all Fremont rock art. Clearly, this scene is extremely important.

West of the ranch house, along the “main trail,” three elaborate panels are found in close succession along a section of cliff that offered wide, clean and smooth natural canvases (Figures 4, 5, 6). On these panels, as well as on the Sun



Figure 7. Single individual, west of the Bigfoot panel (McConkie Ranch).

Carriers, not two figures are alike (with one interesting exception discussed below). Each anthropomorph differs from the others in its overall appearance and in important details. The headdress, necklace, and other ornaments are unique to each figure and shown with great precision of detail. A figure shown with disproportionately large feet was dubbed “Bigfoot” by the owners of the ranch. Was “Bigfoot” for real? Was there once, in a Fremont village, an individual who needed a moccasin size well above average? Was he the object of friendly jokes; does this representation denote a touch of humor on the part of the artist and (or) the community?

About 100 feet west of the Bigfoot panel a single individual is shown, life-size, on a smooth and narrow surface (Figure 7). Proudly facing the viewer, he wears a headdress, a necklace, and holds what seems to be a long knife. He is nearly identical to an anthropomorph found next to “Bigfoot.” In fact the two figures are so similar



Figure 8. Compare the individual outlined in red with the lone anthropomorph shown in Figure 7.



Figure 9. Selected portraits from panels along the main trail at McConkie Ranch.

that they can only represent the same individual (Figure 8). If he were a real person, he would have been particularly important in the community. His image was recorded twice: once as part of a group, and once alone, in greater detail.

I propose that these panels show historical Fremont individuals (Figures 9, 10). Who were



Figure 10. Selected portraits, McKee Springs Wash, Dinosaur National Monument.

these individuals? The fact that they are represented with so much care suggests that they were the dignitaries of the group. We may also note that on each panel, one individual occupies a dominant position. This is evident in the Sun Carriers panel where one figure is taller than the others and centrally positioned. It holds a beautiful shield and all its personal ornamentation is shown with great precision. This figure commands attention and admiration. There is little doubt that he was the chief of the village, or its most distinguished warrior.

On the panel where he is shown, Bigfoot attracts so much attention that he seems at first to be the dominant individual. In reality, the figure next to him, on the left as we look at the panel, is taller and placed slightly higher on the rock face. He is the most important figure here, and this is consistent with the fact that he was also portrayed separately, as noted above.

The idea that historical individuals are represented on some Fremont rock art panels has been offered by other authors. In a paper presented at the 2007 URARA Symposium in Moab, Utah, Jamie Palmer said: “At McConkie Ranch, the petroglyphs depict very specific individuals...” (Palmer 2009:XXVII-51).



Figure 11. Trophy head with dripping blood.

But is there more information in these panels than the image of the most important people of the time? We need to look again at the details. Among the most interesting ones are the representations of severed heads that have been called “scalps” or “masks,” and that I’ll call here “trophy heads.”

The evidence that these objects are severed heads was once clearly present on a panel along the main trail at McConkie Ranch. One of the heads was shown with blood dripping from the neck and forming a pool below (Figure 11). To erase any doubt about the accuracy of the representation, the artist had not only pecked the head and neck into the rock, he had added red paint to the blood. There was nothing symbolic here; on the contrary, it was a realistic depiction of what you would

expect to happen when, for whatever reason, you cut someone's head.

The lower part of the neck and the pool of blood are no longer visible. A piece of rock has broken off and fallen sometime during the past 80 years. But the evidence had been recorded: a photo taken around 1920, and now in the Donald Scott Collection of rock art images at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, shows the panel when it was intact. In those days the photographers delineated the petroglyphs with white chalk to make them more visible. And while this practice is no longer condoned, in this particular case it helped to record important information (this photo is reproduced in Schaafsma's 1994 edition of *The Rock Art of Utah*, page 11, Plate 1).

Individuals holding a trophy head are shown on the major Fremont panels at McConkie Ranch, and at several panels at the McKee Spring Wash site in Dinosaur National Monument. The representation of the head itself varies from naturalistic—as in the case of the one with dripping blood and facial features—to more stylized shapes (Figure 12). I believe this to be the result of a stylistic evolution, the desire of the artists to show the same object in different ways. (The Fremont artists followed a number of conventions in their creations, especially and primarily the shape of the human body. But they showed their creative personality and technical mastery in the manner in which they used many different techniques. With few tools at their disposal, they pecked, abraded, drilled, polished, painted their rocky canvas, often mixing all these techniques on one figure).

The true nature of the trophy head representations was not immediately accepted by the early students of rock art. Both Schaafsma (1971, republished in 1994) and Cole (1990) cautioned against interpreting these objects as actual trophy heads and suggested they may be symbolic objects. By 1994 however, in her preface to the new edition of *The Rock Art of Utah*, Schaafsma,



Figure 12. *Stylistic evolution of trophy heads. Top row: McConkie Ranch, main trail. Bottom left: Sun Carriers panel. Bottom right and center, McKee Springs Wash.*

prompted by “substantial evidence from the San Juan Basketmaker region,” recognized that “the fetish heads in the hands of the imposing Classic Vernal style figures are in fact just that—scalps that include the face (1994:xii, xiii).”

Let's now turn our attention once again to the “Sun Carriers” panel. As noted, it was carved in a nearly inaccessible location, high above a Fremont village that occupied the valley floor. There is no doubt that the panel was intended to be seen from near and far. What message did it convey?

All the figures are perfectly executed (although one of them was added over a preexisting one, introducing some confusion in that area). The artist used incised lines, lines of pecked and drilled dots, abrasion and polishing of the rock surface. Red paint was added to some areas. The panel is a beautiful example of the ability and creativity of an artist who knew how to use the various techniques at his disposal to achieve a stunning effect.



Figure 13. Sun Carriers panel: dominant anthropomorph and possible captive.

What does this panel represent? All except one of these figures are classic Fremont anthropomorphs with broad shoulders, narrow waist, and feet turned sideways when they are represented (only on two figures). In the Fremont manner, the arms hang alongside the body, slightly bent at the elbows which, like the knees, are indicated by small knobs. They all wear typical Fremont jewelry and waistband and a headdress of a type that can be found on other Fremont panels.

One figure is, in all aspects, strikingly different. As we face the panel, it is on the right of the dominant anthropomorph (Figure 13). It was made by pecking out the rock around it, and so has the color of the surface patina, which happens to be black in that area, whereas it is brown-yellow over the rest of the cliff. The body is rectangular instead

of trapezoidal and wears a minimum of decoration: three vertical lines on the chest, and a belt. No headdress, mask, or jewelry. The head is round, the eyes and mouth are indicated. The shape of the head is made complete by a line pecked in the patina to visually separate the chin from the neck. The legs hang straight down, as do the well-defined feet. The most bizarre elements associated with this figure are the two black rectangles under the armpits. The upper arms of the figure seem to rest on these rectangles; at the elbows, the lower arms and hands hang limp, straight down.

This figure is totally different from the Fremont anthropomorphs that surround it. If anything, it is reminiscent of the Basketmaker figures of the San Juan region—at least in its general body shape—but there is no evidence that it would actually be a Basketmaker individual. Given the ability of the Fremont artists to show clearly and convincingly what they set out to represent, there is no doubt that this figure shows a different type of individual—different in its origin, and in its status among the group.

What comes to mind is that this figure represents a captive, suspended above the ground over two poles (which are correctly seen in cross-section from the front). The feet are hanging down because they don't touch the ground. The arms and legs are limp. The head is upright and the eyes open: the captive is alive. He does not have any of the attributes dear to the Fremont, such as headdress or jewelry. He is placed near the "chief," who holds a trophy head in his right hand.

Could this scene represent victory of the local Fremont group over outsiders—whether they were Fremont people from a nearby village, or non-Fremont invaders? Such an interpretation seems coherent with what has been carefully illustrated on the panel. We may be looking at the chief and main warriors of the village, shown with their best jewelry and headdresses, trophy heads, and a captive. The panel was located well above the valley floor in order to be seen. It is the



Figure 14. *Fremont anthropomorphs, Ivie Creek, Utah.*

group photo of the victorious party, a monument in the best tradition of warriors around the world.

What about the other group panels of McConkie Ranch? Aside from the lack of a “captive” figure, their content seems identical to that of the Sun Carriers. These remarkable panels are a very careful representation of dignitaries of the time.

The fact that there are only four such panels at McConkie Ranch raises interesting problems. These scenes probably represent different generations, rather than the same persons in various disguises. So in addition to showing specific individuals, the panels may also show a succession of important people of Dry Fork Valley: the historical record gets bigger.

Not too far away, at McKee Springs Wash in Dinosaur National Monument, we find panels sharing strong similarities with those at Dry Fork. Here, too, the figures shown in small groups are clearly distinct from one another and several of them carry a trophy head. The McKee Springs Wash scenes do not reach the complexity and richness of detail of those at McConkie Ranch, but they come close.

Panels showing groups of people arranged in a row are present at Fremont sites outside the Uinta region (for example, at Capitol Reef



Figure 15. *Fremont anthropomorphs, Capitol Reef National Park, Utah.*

National Park and in the San Rafael area). A variety of headdresses, jewelry, and other personal ornamentation is represented. In some instances even the facial features clearly differ from one figure to the next, again suggesting that we are looking at specific individuals. But there is a big difference with the Uinta region: there are no trophy heads (Figures 14, 15). The McConkie Ranch panels and those at McKee Springs Wash therefore stand out in at least two important aspects from the rest of the Fremont rock art of the Colorado Plateau: a high level of detail, and the presence of trophy heads, which indicates a preoccupation with warfare and power.

CONCLUSION

As amateurs or students of rock art we have been cautioned not to take rock art “at face value.” I certainly agree with that; the world rock art record is extremely diverse and was made by people we’ll never know or be able to understand, and trying to find meaning can easily lead to misinterpretations. But after spending several years photographing the rock art of the Fremont, I have come to the conclusion that it sometimes contains factual information.

In particular a strong case can be made that the great panels at McConkie Ranch represent historical individuals.

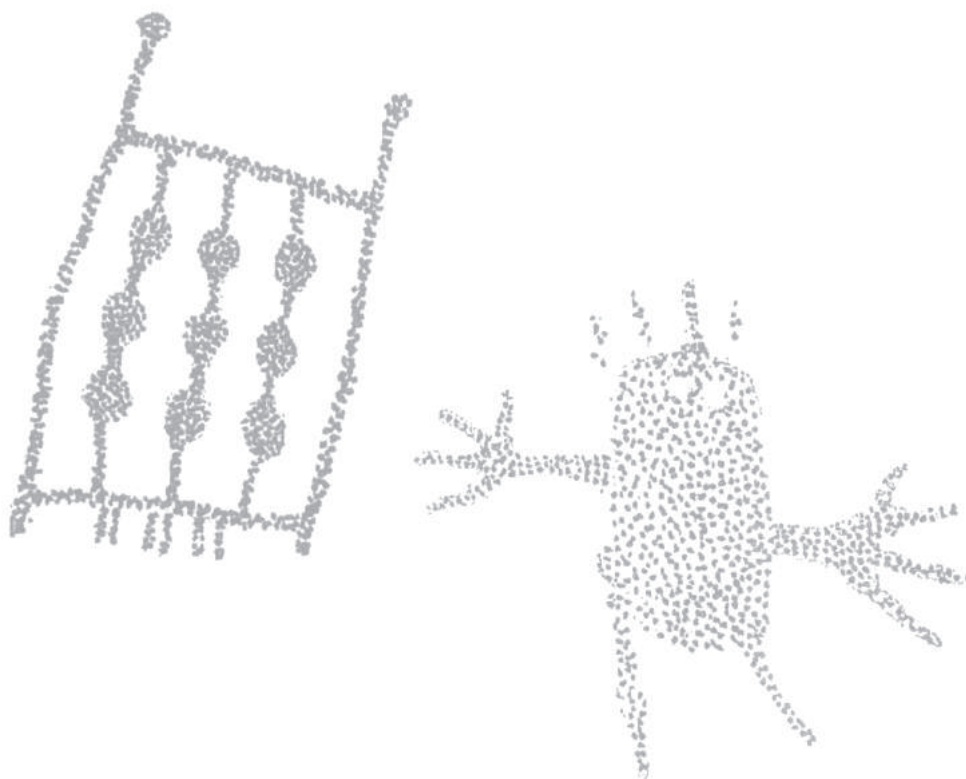
The panels commemorate historical events and are a display of power. They were made to be plainly visible and convey a clear message.

The panels discussed here seem to have been created over only a few generations. At that time some form of conflict was taking place in the area and became an important theme in the rock art. The artists did not depict the action of battle; they could not escape the conventions of their culture which favored a very static style and they only showed the ensuing formal celebrations. The most important people were immortalized on the cliffs and a sense of material power emanates from the panels.

Has anything changed? Think of a meeting of world leaders: when today's dignitaries pose for a group photo, they are lined up in one or two rows, facing the camera. The ancient Fremont artists used the same timeless concept which, it turns out, was well suited to represent the warriors of the Uinta region in all their magnificence.

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THE DYNAMIC DUO: Superheroes of Pahrnagat Rock Art

People are familiar with the dynamic duo of Batman and Robin from comics, movies and television. Pahrnagat rock art in southern Nevada provides its own dynamic duo in the forms of the Pahrnagat Man and the Pahrnagat Patterned Body Anthropomorph (PBA). It is easy to distinguish which hero is Batman and which is Robin, but establishing which is the hero and which the minion is not as simple for the 294 figures represented in the rock art. Perhaps because the Pahrnagat Man is such an arresting, eye-catching motif, other researchers (Green 1985, Stoney 1991, and White 2008) have emphasized him and mentioned only in passing his sidekick, the Pahrnagat PBA. We thought perhaps the emphasis may have been misplaced and set out to determine which figure might actually be the more important of the two.



Figure 1. Two styles of Pahrnagat Men. Photo by Anne Carter.

The Pahrnagat Man shows little variation in body decoration or style and is easily recognizable (Figure 1). Usually he has a trapezoidal, solidly pecked body; a square or round head; a headdress resembling a feather; two round, unmodified eyes; two arms with hands; and two legs. The arms may be straight, angled or sloping and usually end in hands with digitate fingers. At a couple of sites he has a male appendage, at least one of which may have been added at a later time.

The Pahrnagat PBA, while just as recognizable, has an infinite number of variations (Figure 2). This representation never has a head, often has an arm or two and has legs approximately 77 percent of the time. Sixty-six percent of these PBAs have two of what we are calling “extensions” of the vertical upper body line (150 have two extensions, 28 have one and 44 have no extensions). Occasionally these extensions end in a knob (Figure 3). The PBA bodies bear embellishments 97 percent of the time and fringe at the bottom complements this decoration 42 percent of the time. Twenty-two percent of the



Figure 2. Pahrnagat Patterned Body Anthropomorph. Photo by Anne Carter.

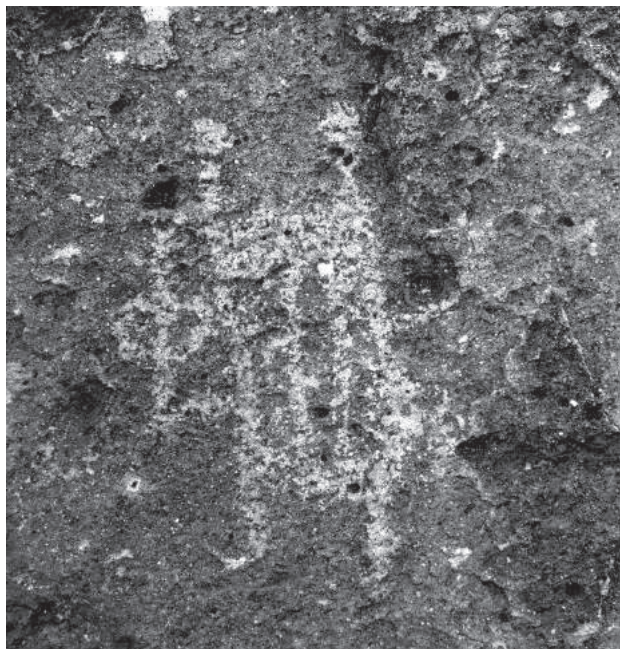


Figure 3. *Pahranagat PBA with “extensions.” Photo by Anne Carter.*

time the PBA appears to carry an object in its hand. The right hand was favored for carrying 67 percent of the time. (All numbers quoted should be regarded as minimums as there are probably yet undiscovered sites and extensive spalling at some sites has precluded our ascertaining precise data.)

A deviation from the classic Pahranagat Man form occurs at the Red Hands site, where the bodies were only partially pecked and the arms and feet are different than the prototype. This led us to the idea of a combination Pahranagat Man/Pahranagat PBA. Other possible combination figures occur at the Spaceman site, the Gathering site, the Kyle site, the Mt. Irish complex and the Shooting Gallery complex (Figure 4). In our research, we found only two percent of the total figures (294) could be considered combinations.



Figure 4. *Possible combination figure. Photo by Anne Carter.*

In the media Batman wears a form-fitting uniform, a black mask and a long, dark cloak, often with bat-like wings. Robin is more colorful with a red and yellow outfit and black half-mask. In the search for “importance,” color was not a distinguishing feature for the rock art figures. Both glyphs appear in a range from deeply repatinated black to a lighter brown to gray, depending upon the surface into which they are etched.

We needed a method to categorize and quantify importance of a figure as it appears in rock art, and we relied heavily on Perlmutter’s *Visions of War* (1999), parts of which deal with Stone Age depictions of warfare. Perlmutter’s attributes fit into our search for importance. “Bigness,” he says, has long been recognized as a sign of power (1999:3). So we tried to determine which of the two Pahrana-gat figures is “bigger.” With these glyphs, size seems random—both the Pahrana-gat Man and the PBA range in size from slightly less than a foot to six feet tall. Perlmutter (1999:57) also says the “leader” will be first in line, or of different headdress or raiment. This was of no help either because these are frontal, static figures, one with a different headdress, while the other has different raiment. Perlmutter (1999:66) states that the figure covering more surface area would denote the leader. Since there are relatively few instances of togetherness and surface area of both varies, we discounted this as a measure of leadership. He also states, “In art, the leader needs to dominate the symbolic landscape” (1999:73). Does one of the two rock art figures seem subservient to the other? Is one higher than the other on the panel? Although there are few instances of the glyphs portrayed together, there seems to be no preference for one, literally, over the other. The two seem to have equal billing on positioning.

Finally, two qualifications surfaced to help us decide the leader/follower issue. Perlmutter (1999:72) states that dress often distinguished ancient war commanders—the greater the warrior,

the more elaborate the adornment. Such adornment was probably meant to confer fear, reward, and awe. Most of the Pahrana-gat PBAs have very intricate patterning, the construction of which would have been more time consuming and required more skill than the pecking on the Pahrana-gat Man. However, the Mt. Irish complex is an exception to this as the PBAs there simply do not display the elegance of those at Black Canyon or the Gathering. Although there are 51 PBAs at Mt. Irish and only 12 Pahrana-gat Men, the PBAs are not on prominent panels and do not have distinguishing characteristics or embellishments. Mt. Irish notwithstanding, if we use intricacy of production to judge importance, there is no doubt that the much and variously decorated Pahrana-gat PBA is the more important.

And lastly, as Perlmutter (1999:33) states, ancient people put on their walls what was important to them. If sheer numbers are any indication of importance, then the answer to the leader/follower question is clear-cut—the PBAs win, hands down. The number of Pahrana-gat PBAs compared to Pahrana-gat Men in the area is 227 to 67. This is a ratio of nearly 3.5 to 1.

One of the most interesting things about the Pahrana-gat PBAs is their interior design. In fact, of the 227 PBAs, only six did not have interior markings. Geib (1998:62), attempting to identify geographical boundaries of past societies says, “...there is hardly a more significant means for differentiating people than appearance, both physical traits and cultural trappings.” Dress and adornment may encode cultural clues to people living in a specific area and probably specified an in-group.

The PBA has been called “blanket man” and we would like to discourage use of that term. Although finger weaving was practiced before loom weaving was introduced, circa 700–900 A.D. (Teague 1998:116, 117), the limitation was size. Consequently, we do not think the apparent size and variety of designs shown on the

Pahranagat PBAs could have represented finger weaving. Even after looms came into use, fringe was not a normal part of a blanket. One explanation for the fringe may be a garment made from hide and fringed at the bottom. Such a garment could not only have been fringed but may also have been decorated with quills or paint.

Another more probable option, is that such rich, riparian areas as the Pahranagat Valley with numerous lakes fed by springs from the underground White River and the now dry Delamar Valley provided reeds and marsh plants necessary for textiles. Textile expert Kate Peck Kent (1957:617) says, “Breech coverings of string—worn either as clouts or with free-hanging fringe—had a wide distribution in the prehistoric Southwest. They were apparently a standard article of dress from very early until historic times....most were made of coarse apocynum or yucca fiber, and...they have no relationship to loom weaving.” In northern Nevada fiber aprons were discovered in Lovelock Cave and were believed to have been worn in the Late Lovelock Phase—1 B.C. to 900 A.D. (Grosscup 1960:64, 66), which would be a time period consistent with the petroglyphs in the Pahranagat area. The long, pendant fringes may also have represented rain as does the fringe on a modern Hopi ceremonial sash (Webster 2007:172).

Body painting, tattooing and piercing may be other methods of adding body decoration. Early explorers in Texas mentioned “ritual painting [by the Indians] for ceremonies and raids, or tattooing to denote group affiliation” ([http://](http://www.texasbeyondhistory.net/.../index.html)

www.texasbeyondhistory.net/.../index.html). We propose that the Pahranagat PBAs’ body decorations, whether paint or tattoo, did serve as group affiliation or clan identifiers. With that in mind, we classified the motifs into nine categories:

- just vertical lines comprise 14% of the total
- just horizontal lines 14%
- just dots 11%
- lines with dots 7%
- line combinations 33%
- “rain pattern” 6%
- checkerboard or net 4%
- other 6%
- nothing 3%.

The category of line combinations seems to be the unifying interior motif since all the larger sites reflected this in high percentages.

Our study area extends from White River Narrows in the north to Bomber Wash in the south and from the Mt. Irish complex and the Shooting Gallery complex in the west to the Gathering in the east—approximately 1100 square miles. Using the motif clusters, we then matched the top two design percentages to the five largest sites: Mt. Irish complex, Petroglyph Village complex, the Gathering, Black Canyon, and the Shooting Gallery complex. As seen in Table 1, the line combination category unifies all sites. Although the Mt. Irish complex line combination pattern was secondary, it also showed a preference for 35 percent of just horizontal lines. The Petroglyph Village complex split their secondary preference with 18 percent in both categories of just horizontal lines and lines with dots. The Shooting

Table 1. Percent of interior designs by major sites.

	Mt. Irish	Petroglyph Village	Shooting Gallery	The Gathering	Black Canyon
Line combinations	31%	35%	46%	32%	30%
Just vertical lines				19%	
Just horizontal lines	35%	18%			
Just dots					24%
Lines with dots		18%			
Rain pattern			38%		
Checkerboard				17%	

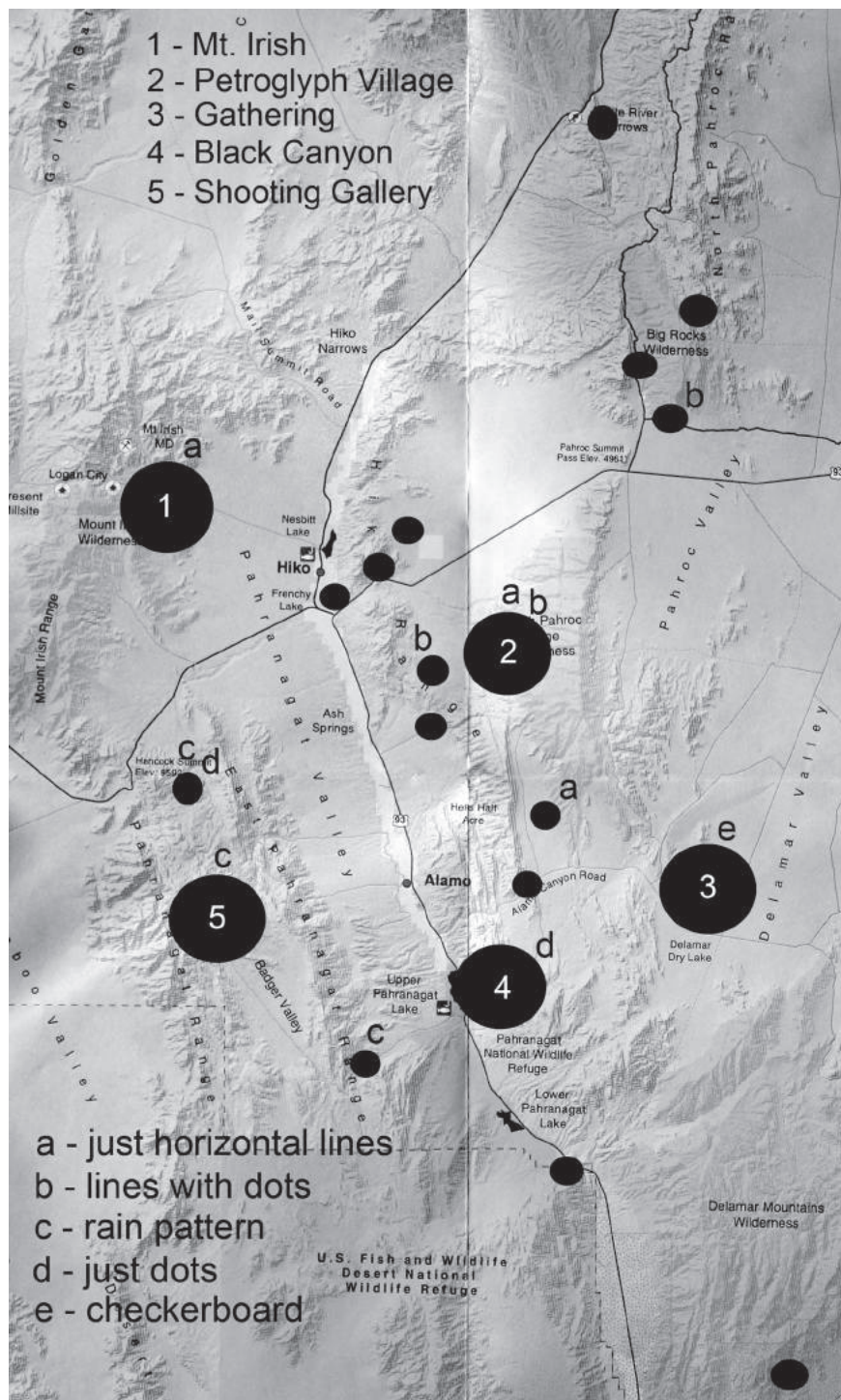


Figure 5. Sites affiliated by patterns. Big circles represent large site complexes, small circles represent smaller sites.

Gallery complex showed a 38 percent secondary preference for the rain pattern; the Gathering split secondary preferences—19 percent for just vertical lines and a 17 percent preference for checkerboard; finally, Black Canyon showed a secondary preference for just dots with 24 percent.

Some interesting patterns emerged when mapping this information (Figure 5). Since the unifying motif for all Pahranaगत PBA sites was the line combination pattern, we did not put this on our map. Instead, we noted the five main sites with large black circles and the peripheral sites with small black circles and associated the two by

secondary motif clusters. Secondary motifs are represented by an “a” for just horizontal lines, a “b” for lines with dots, a “c” for rain pattern, a “d” for just dots and an “e” for checkerboard. If these are indeed *clan markings*, then Red Hands and Starvation Rock are affiliated with the Petroglyph Village complex, which may in turn be affiliated with Joshua 1 and the Mt. Irish complex. The Shooting Gallery complex is affiliated with two others in this theory, the Kyle Site in the west and Spaceman in the south. The Kyle Site also has ties to Black Canyon whereas Spaceman does not. The Gathering has no affiliates.

Twenty-two percent of the Pahranaagat PBAs hold an object in their hand, 80 percent of which appear to be atlatls. Atlatl usage in the area is usually dated up to approximately A.D. 500 when the bow presumably took over. However, Grosscup (1960: 32, 64) pushes the date of the introduction of the bow back to about 1 B.C. (There are few bows represented in the rock art of the area, <10, but these petroglyphs are of a different style and not associated with either of our study figures.) No matter which date is used, the Pahranaagat boys appear to be pre-“Numic spread.”

Another held object is what appears to be netting, which would be a logical tool to use in the riparian areas for fish, birds, or other small game. So it would appear that the PBA represents a hunter utilizing atlatls and nets.

Atlatls may also serve another purpose, that of warfare. We think the inhabitants of the Pahranaagat area would have been very protective of their choice hunting and fishing locations. In fact, most of the Pahranaagat Men and PBAs overlook trails or are on high vantage points where distant intruders could be easily spotted.

There is another accoutrement grasped by the PBA occasionally, only four percent of the time, which looks like a stick. White (2008) has suggested

these are darts for atlatls, but we think these may be fending sticks. Fending sticks are indisputably weapons of war used to repel darts thrown by opponents’ atlatls. LeBlanc (1999:95, 106) describes fending sticks as short, often slightly curved having a thong to hold as a wrist strap. An artifact found by Alvin McLane at the Shooting Gallery resembles a fending stick. Not only does it appear to be the proper length but has a hole drilled in it, possibly for a thong. It is now in the Nevada State Museum and it would be interesting to get some dating on this. In addition, a repeated motif at the Gathering is that of opposing triangles, which, in the Puebloan world, represent warfare (Slifer 1998:97). So, with what appears to be a symbol of war, along with the atlatls and fending sticks, we can add warrior as well as hunter to the PBA’s role.

Using the atlatl and fending stick statistics, we superimposed the distribution of these by sites on our map, an “X” shape representing approximately 15 percent of atlatls in a zone (Figure 6). Mt. Irish complex is unique—of its 51 PBAs, only one holds an atlatl and there are no fending sticks. Eighteen percent of the PBAs in the Petroglyph Village zone hold atlatls and one fending stick, 19 percent at the Gathering hold atlatls with one fending stick. The results at the Shooting Gallery complex and Black Canyon were surprising and unexpected. Sixty-two percent of the PBAs at the Shooting Gallery complex grip atlatls and 15 percent of them bear fending sticks. Twenty-nine percent of the PBAs in Black Canyon grasp atlatls and eight percent also hold fending sticks. Why the disparity of atlatls and fending sticks in the south and west? Were the inhabitants of these areas in frequent conflict with outsiders attempting to move into a rich resource area? Or, could this be a tally of internecine contests to exploit nearby resource areas?

In conclusion, it can be seen from the evidence we have collected from the rock art that the Pahranaagat PBAs were more important than the

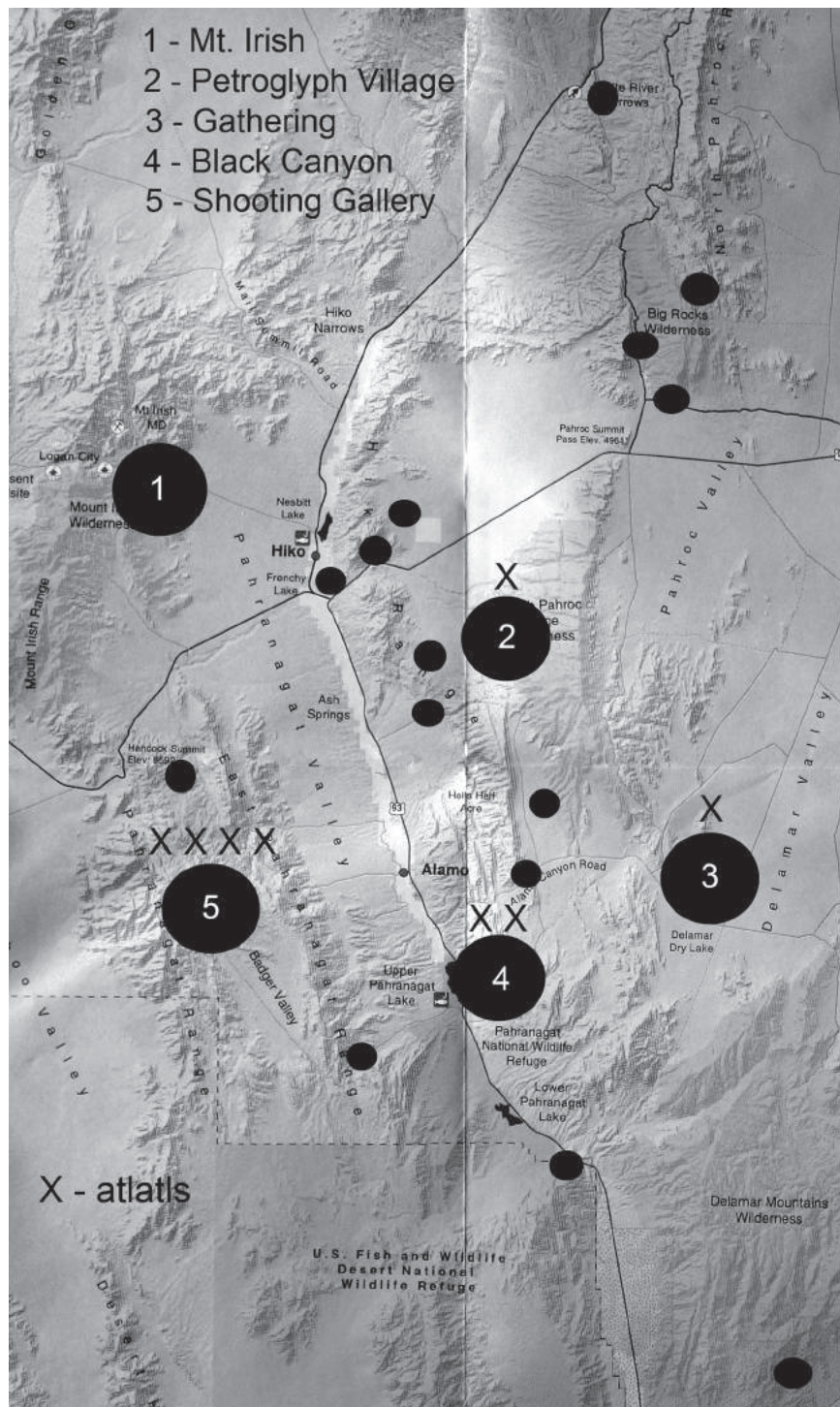


Figure 6. *Atlatl/fending stick distribution by large site complexes.*

Pahrnagat Men. Our theories regarding clan identity and warfare were also derived from analyses of the rock art, and we would like to challenge the archaeological community to prove or disprove them. Moreover, because of the web of interconnected data and the questions raised by it, we would like to recommend that the whole

Pahrnagat area be given greater state and federal protection. Pahrnagat rock art is unique not only in Nevada. Nowhere else in the United States can one find a pair of anthropomorphs replicated repeatedly in such a large area. These are truly—heroes of the Pahrnagat.

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ANOTHER LOOK AT 29SJ1156, ATLATL CAVE, IN CHACO CULTURE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, NEW MEXICO

Chaco Culture National Historical Park lies in the northwestern portion of New Mexico. Within the park, the drainage of Chaco Wash trends southeast to northwest. Atlatl Cave is located north of Chaco Wash at the head of a rincon in the western end of the park. The site, not a cave but rather an alcove at the base of the cliff, features four rock art panels placed at the back of the overhang (Figure 1). The National Park Service restricts access to the area due to the fragile nature of the midden traversed when approaching the panels.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH AT ATLATL CAVE (29SJ1156)

Atlatl Cave was excavated in 1975–1976 by Mathews and Neller. Unfortunately, their only report about that excavation appeared as one page from the First Conference on Scientific Research in the National Parks in 1979. In that report they mentioned the pictographs. “Atlatl Cave (29SJ1156) is a small sandstone rockshelter with characteristic Basketmaker II paintings on the



Figure 1. Overview of Atlatl Cave, 29SJ1156. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)



Figure 2. The “broad-shouldered man.” Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

back wall including a triangular, broad-shouldered man” (Mathews and Neller 1979:873) (Figure 2). The midden they excavated in the shelter contained “...characteristic Basketmaker II remains including corn, beans, squash, a broken atlatl, a yucca fiber sandal, several kinds of small seed beads made from juniper, *Ephedra* and Gromwell seeds, hematite pigment, fragments of rabbit fur fabric, coiled basketry, and no pottery, no turquoise, and no Pueblo projectile point types” (Mathews and Neller 1979:873). One of two ¹⁴C dates obtained from the site came from charcoal in this midden and was 950–910 B.C. ±82 years. The only other date reported came from charcoal in an Archaic midden and this earlier date was 2900 B.C. ±136 years. The Archaic midden also contained San Jose type projectile points made from obsidian from the Jemez Mountains in New Mexico, as well as Alibates chert from Texas.

The first published drawings of the site appear in Steed’s summary of the work done by the New

Mexico Archaeological Society Field School (Steed 1980:5–6). He summarizes the situation thus:

The rock art literature seems to agree that the broad-shouldered figures are Basketmaker in origin. As there are many Basketmaker ruins in Chaco Canyon, I expected to find many of these broad shouldered figures. In reality there were very few, and these the only definite ones. This is in contrast to the more numerous examples we found in the earlier survey in Carrizo and Delgadito Canyons in the Four Corners area, not far away [Steed 1980:4].

Judge cited Atlatl Cave as Basketmaker II in a 1984 publication stating “The Basketmaker II people were semisedentary hunters/gatherers who may have begun to cultivate squash and particularly corn as early as 1000 B.C.” (Judge 1984:3). In the same publication Schaafsma concurs saying “The first Chacoan art we can date with any certainty consists of Basketmaker II paintings from Atlatl Cave. These plain, triangular-bodied people and myriad handprints are similar to Basketmaker figures found elsewhere in the east San Juan region” (Schaafsma 1984:59).

However, Vivian, in 1990 raised the possibility that Atlatl Cave could be at least in part more a Late Archaic site based on the early radiocarbon dates and lack of any structural features other than one hearth in the rockshelter. He pointed out that Mathews and Neller considered the site Basketmaker II based on the material artifacts they excavated (Vivian 1990; Vivian and Hilpert 2002).

In 1992 Schaafsma suggested that the paintings could be Basketmaker III, although she acknowledged the presence of the Basketmaker II artifacts (Schaafsma 1992).

Mathien in 1997 pointed out the fundamental difficulty of making an association between the pictographs and the pigment found in the midden:



Figure 3. Location of pictograph panels in Atlatl Cave. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

Pictographs at 29SJ1156 include a limonitic yellow animal, hematitic red hands, and dark red human figures as well as some white figures. The lack of evidence of later occupation at this site may indicate that these figures could be associated with the 950 to 910 B.C. midden, but there are difficulties with this assumption. Although the presence of pigments that match colors in the rock shelter is suggestive, the human figures are similar to those attributed to Basketmaker people (Guernsey and Kidder 1921:34). At present, however, there is no way to date with certainty any of the rock art at 29SJ1156 [Mathien 1997:1138].

In 2004 the rock art reassessment team headed by Jane Kolber and Donna Yoder visited Atlatl Cave to re-record the pictographs. At that time, they were accompanied by Marvin Rowe, a

chemist at Texas A&M University and expert at AMS radiocarbon dating of pictographs. Dr. Rowe took samples of the rock surfaces surrounding the pictographs in an attempt to assess whether direct dating of the rock art would be possible. The background rock contained too high a carbon content to assure an accurate date for the paintings so the attempt was discontinued (Kolber and Yoder 2004).

THE IMAGERY

Four panels of pictographs appear on the back wall of the shelter (Figure 3). Each panel will be discussed below in more detail going from left to right (west to east) across the wall.

1. The realistic elements on the most western panel consist of two groupings of



Figure 4. Overview of western panel showing two groups of anthropomorphs. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)



Figure 6. Right side of western panel showing close-up of one group of anthropomorphs. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

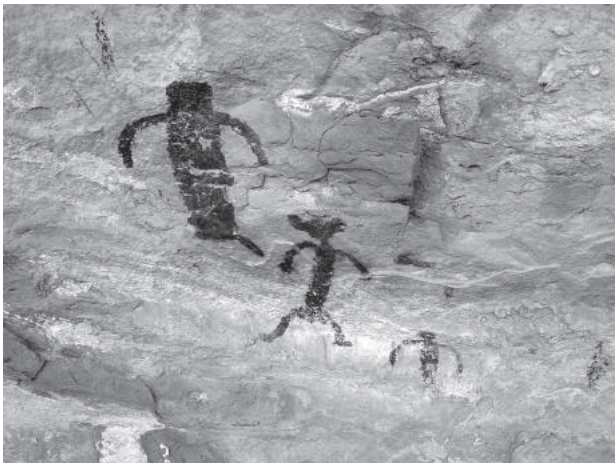


Figure 5. Left side of western panel showing close-up of one group of anthropomorphs. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)



Figure 7. West-central panel showing one anthropomorph, one stick figure, and one paint splotch. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

anthropomorphs and a quadruped (Figure 4). The left side of this panel (Figure 5) has three anthropomorphs—one with only one leg, one with hair whorls, and one partial figure. On the right are four more anthropomorphs (Figure 6)—one with hair whorls. There are also one quadruped and several paint smears. Due to the heavy, solid appearance of the paint, the pigment was probably applied to this panel in liquid form.

2. The next panel, west of center, has one anthropomorph, one stick figure anthropomorph, and a paint splotch (Figure 7). The first anthropomorph appears to have been applied with the same pigment and

technique as the anthropomorphs on the previous panel. The stick figure, however, appears to have been drawn with dry pigment because only the high areas of the rock surface have color as would happen with something more like a crayon. The splotch looks like pigment that was thrown on the wall and ran down. Whether this was intentionally done prehistorically or occurred with subsequent weathering is impossible to determine.

3. The next panel, east of center, has the “broad-shouldered” man mentioned by Mathews and Neller (Figure 8). There are also two red hands, and many areas of



Figure 8. East-central panel showing the “broad-shouldered man,” two drawn hands, and surrounding elements. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

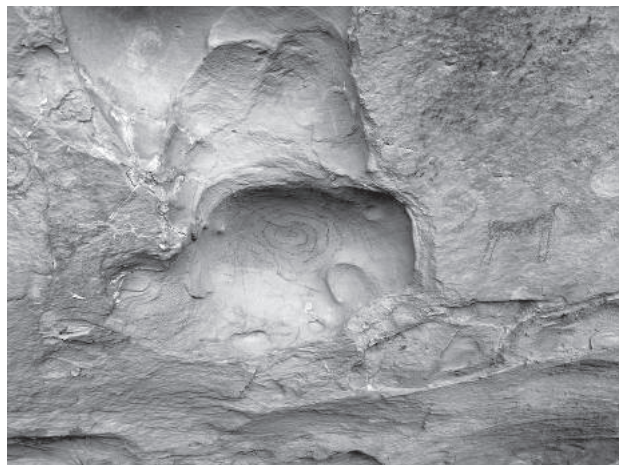


Figure 9. Eastern panel showing the painted spiral and a quadruped. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)

paint which cannot be identified as specific elements. Much of the pigment on the panel also appears to have been applied dry because only the high areas of the rock surface have pigment.

4. The fourth and most eastern panel has a spiral, a quadruped, a red zig-zag, and more unidentified pigment areas (Figure 9). Spirals, the most common petroglyph element at Chaco according to Kolber and Yoder (Kolber and Yoder 2008) are rare as painted elements. This is one of only three painted examples that have been recorded to date.

DISCUSSION

Basketmaker II under the original Pecos Classification has been considered to include the presence of corn, atlatls, and basketry with an absence of pottery (Matson 2006). This is certainly the suite of traits found at Atlatl Cave, although to my knowledge the basketry has never been analyzed to determine construction techniques. That information would provide clues to possible affiliations with Eastern or Western Basketmaker II populations. However, the ¹⁴C date reported by Mathews and Neller is earlier than most Basketmaker II chronologies suggest. This raises

important questions as to whether Basketmaker II should be extended farther back, whether there were problems with the dating, or whether the rock art is associated with the charcoal in the midden or not.

Matson (2006) suggests that Basketmaker data in the northern southwest has now sufficiently pushed back the timeframe so that it is reasonable to discuss a “Preformative” stage such as that originally defined by Willey and Phillips in 1958 as “...the stage of emerging agriculture prior to its successful integration into well-established sedentary village life” (Willey and Phillips 1958:145). Matson further says that the Basketmaker I or Early Basketmaker category established with the original Pecos Classification would “...include those Basketmaker II-like manifestations in the northern Southwest that date circa 2500–3800 RCYBP” (Matson 2006:159). This fits the Mathews and Neller date of 950–910 B.C. obtained from charcoal in the Atlatl Cave midden.

Returning to the rock art, the “triangular, broad-shouldered man” on which Mathews and Neller (1979:873) originally based their Basketmaker II attribution, appears surrounded by handprints, parallel lines, and pigment swipes. Body form does suggest affinity to other Basketmaker sites.



Figure 10. Close-up of drawn hands on east-central panel. Photo by Quentin Baker. (Enhanced)



Figure 11. Detail of panel in Canyon de Chelly showing an anthropomorph with hair whorls superimposed by mud containing datable organic material. Photo by Robert Mark. (Enhanced)

Imagery from a Basketmaker II site reported by Kidder and Guernsey near Marsh Pass (Charles and Cole 2006:187), a Basketmaker II site near Bloomfield, New Mexico (Schaafsma 1980:120), and from Broken Flute Cave, a Basketmaker II site in northeastern Arizona (Morris 1980:14) shows a similar body shape with more elaborate interior body decoration as well as a greater variety and number of surrounding elements. The literature agrees that handprints are a common element found in association with other Basketmaker iconography (Cole 1990, Schaafsma 1992). In Atlatl Cave there are only two clear handprints, although others could have originally been present where only smears of color remain today (Figure 10). The handprints at Atlatl Cave are also drawn rather than stamped with direct application of the pigment to the hand. The differences between the Marsh Pass, Bloomfield, and Broken Flute Cave sites and the Atlatl Cave site lie in the greater elaboration of the former anthropomorphs and the presence of greater numbers of elements on the panels at the three example sites.

Turning to the first panel with multiple anthropomorphs, clearly the grouping of anthropomorphs on this first panel is distinct both stylistically and in technique from the “broad-

shouldered man” panel. Of the seven figures, two have possible hair whorls. Kelley Hays-Gilpin states that the hair whorls appear in rock art images at least by A.D. 200 (Hays-Gilpin 2004). These are found in Canyon de Chelly. The photo by Bob Mark (Figure 11) shows the anthropomorph with hair whorls at de Chelly which was dated to no later than A.D. 200 on the basis of a radiocarbon date on organic material in the mud which superimposed it. Fingers, toes, and multiple handprints are also visible on this panel. Once again, the images in Atlatl Cave are less elaborate than Basketmaker II images from the surrounding area.

CONCLUSION

Atlatl Cave has the full array of Basketmaker II traits—corn, atlatl, basketry, and no pottery—however the early ¹⁴C date is problematic. Although the rock art in Atlatl Cave is clearly related stylistically to Basketmaker II sites found elsewhere in the northern southwest, based on the early date, lack of habitation structures, and simplification of the pictographs, I would suggest that it would be appropriate to consider the Atlatl Cave pictographs part of a Preformative or Basketmaker I stage argued by Matson as being placed “...before Formative and after Archaic, but

without any change to either of these more established stages” (Matson 2006:159).

Clearly distinct areas of the alcove were painted in discrete episodes based on their stylistic and technical differences. It is not possible at this time to say anything definitive about their relationship to each other. No similar pictograph sites have been found at Chaco Culture National Historic Park. To my knowledge, rockshelters with datable cultural material in association with similar pictographs have also yet to be located in the surrounding area. Are the pictographs and the ¹⁴C date from the midden contemporaneous? Is Chaco Canyon a unique area with its own variation of early Basketmaker art? Does this imply a limited Preformative use of the area? Due to the small sample size, the origins of Basketmaker rock art await future research.

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IT'S ABOUT TIME!

When I first began researching and recording rock art sites in the 1970s, I was intrigued by the individuality of each site. With few exceptions, no two sites were alike. Similar symbols might be found at more than one location, but not arranged in the same way. And the symbols themselves, while similar in design, were seldom of the same size or configuration.

After studying pictures and sites for many years and noting various horizon features and solar effects at their locations, it slowly dawned on me that the uniqueness of each site was being dictated by something other than the whims or personal tastes of the artists who made them.

WHY IS EVERY SITE UNIQUE?

One fundamental aspect of motivation, learned through a life-long study of human tendencies and behavior, has been that we humans usually behave in a rational manner. We do not expend considerable time and energy to create something unless we have a very good reason for doing so. Our ancestors were no different. In fact, it is supposed much more of their time had to be spent finding and hunting or collecting the bare necessities of life. Therefore the time spent in planning and making a rock art site must have been considered very important.

I believe the motivation required was often their need to mark the passage of time in order to remain in touch with the “heavenly powers”—powers which they believed controlled the events affecting their lives here on earth.

To accomplish this, they needed to keep track of the sun, which produced seasonal changes in their environment, and to fix dates for the celebration of sacred events within their communities. To do

this, they made sites to observe the heavens, and particularly the solar and lunar cycles, using features on the landscape at their locations.

The megalithic sites which still exist appear to facilitate this study of the heavens. Once it became clear that stars, constellations, and planets did not remain fixed in their locations in the sky, it became necessary to construct observatories to support “naked eye” astronomy. Larger and more sophisticated structures were later constructed to pinpoint precise observations of the heavenly bodies related to the myths of their societies.

An excellent article in the June, 2008, *National Geographic* (Alexander 2008), presents the results of years of archaeological research at Stonehenge—which start with the remains of the earliest structures on the site and go through the stages which finally resulted in construction of the gigantic stone columns and capstones, some of which still exist today. The emphasis appears to have been to achieve greater and greater precision in forecasting the arrival of important dates.

In fact, one of the sacred powers and privileges of rulers as the first great civilizations developed was to fix calendars which controlled the lives of their communities. In effect those who made the sites appear to have acted as “intermediaries” for their gods in setting forth worship dates and festivals (Aveni 1989).

And so, astronomy became the world’s first “science.”

MAPPING THE SKY

Thousands of years ago, records of moon phases and solar positions were being scratched on sticks

and bones. In Europe and Asia, records of star and planetary positions were also being recorded and maps were being drawn of star positions. For purposes of mapping, the sky was divided into sections—first six, and then twelve. Each section was given the name of the major constellation of stars. The entire map was called the zodiac (zoo-di-ak) since it was originally composed of constellations or groups of stars named after animals.

Open ocean voyagers used these star maps to navigate out of sight of land across the open ocean highways to other continents. Along these ocean and river highways flowed trade and also ideas and knowledge which contributed to the growth of the great civilizations all over the world.

The methods for designing sites to calculate time and dates varied, depending upon land features. Mountains provided excellent landmarks which could be used for keeping track of the position of the sun on the horizon. All one had to do was observe various peaks and valleys through which the sun rose on the important times and dates of the year from a fixed point.

Flat prairies and deserts, however, offered few distant landmarks which could be used. At these locations, stone cairns, standing stones, or other markers were needed to provide lines of sight to sun, moon, and star positions throughout the year. Stone circles, raised mounds, and walls of standing stones were constructed to mark positions of the sun, moon, and stars whose risings and settings coincided with or heralded festival dates.

Why were these sites different from each other? Every site had to be oriented to its specific longitude and latitude on the earth. This made each site unique because no two landscapes are ever exactly alike.

Jesse Warner's studies of petroglyphs and pictographs, reported over a period of several years in papers published in journals of the Utah

Rock Art Research Association, point to some very interesting features of southwestern rock art sites (Warner 1982, 1983, 1985, 1993, 1995).

While symbols and elements of individual glyphs at different sites appear similar, there are differences in size and configuration. The glyphs appear to embody a symbolic meaning but also have been configured to take advantage of the conditions and features at an individual site. A site's characteristics related to the movements of heavenly bodies, as they appeared to observers at that specific location were planned and constructed using the features of the landscape.

A large number of ancient sites all over the world—sites consisting of standing stones, earthworks, or rock outlines—also exhibit these same features. Alignments of a site's features to prominent points on the horizon, or to standing stones, rock cairns, or symbols inscribed at the site allowed observation of the rising and setting of the sun, moon, or other heavenly bodies at significant dates and times throughout the solar or lunar year.

These sites appear to have been built to reflect and support a sky-based religion which explained human events in terms of interactions between heavenly bodies. Movements of the stars and other heavenly bodies were thought to be able to foretell the future of kingdoms, communities, and individuals. Records kept at these sites mapped these interactions and also noted changes observed in the risings, settings and interactions of heavenly bodies (Barber and Barber 2004, Brennan 1994, De Santillana and von Dechend 1977, Marshack 1971).

It had to have taken many centuries to accumulate data to support this knowledge of the heavens. How was this done?

Groups of "wise men" or astronomer/priests kept track of heavenly movements. Working from places devoted to observing heavenly movements,

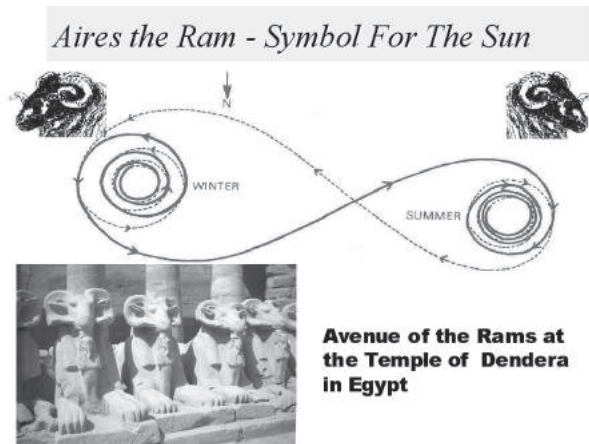


Figure 1. The double helix traces the path the sun's shadow cast by a vertical pole or obelisk makes on the earth throughout the 365 day year. The ram zodiac symbol with its spiral horns was the "ruling constellation" in the sky from 2000 B.C. to A.D. 1. This pattern was known as the "horns of the solstices" in the ancient world and gave rise to use of many symbols with clockwise and counter-clockwise spirals representing the sun's position during the year.

they began making maps of the ancient skies which noted the location and movements of prominent heavenly bodies. Notations and symbols on these "charts" appear to have fostered the development of alphabets in which many symbols appear to have become the letters used to represent vowels and consonants as writing developed (Barber and Barber 2004, Brennan 1994, De Santillana and von Dechend 1977, Marshack 1971).

Long before this, even, information about the movements of stars, planets, sun, and moon had already been encoded and preserved in myths which tied interactions in the heavens to stories of mythical gods and events as outlined by De Santillana and von Dechend (1977) in their book, "Hamlet's Mill."

These myths, symbols, and "gods" appear to be what has been inscribed at many "rock art" sites all over the ancient world. Many were inscribed in such a manner that light from the sun or moon



Figure 2. Symbols used throughout the ancient world used to mark panels and locations related to observation of the sun and other heavenly bodies.

from positions on the horizon would highlight relevant symbols at specific times during the year, thus assuring the community of the "god's" continuing presence with them.

The power exercised by the community's rulers and their wise men thus depended upon their ability to convince their people that they could foretell events and "knew the will" of their gods and/or were acting as their intermediaries. They also controlled the life of their communities through the establishment of religious events designed to please the gods, thus exercising the "power of the calendar" to set aside specific dates for these events which all in the community had to observe.

Many observation sites probably were used for this instructional purpose also. Rock art at observation sites pictured mythological gods and heroes as well as symbolic representations of heavenly bodies and their movements.

Figures 1 and 2 show how one group of symbols was derived through observation of the 365 1/4 day sun cycle and how this led to the term "horns of the solstice."

Their symbols were particularly interesting for what they tell us about what was going on at these sites. We are just beginning to learn about their intellectual capacities through the recording and study of their art, alignments and symbols at the observation sites they left behind.

As a result of these studies, and based on new evidence which continues to come to light, several theories about the development of civilizations and ancient trade and migration patterns all over the world, are being re-examined. In many ways, on-going recording of rock art sites and images is contributing to this improved understanding."

This paper began by referring to the ancient community's need to construct places where they could observe the heavens to divine the will of their gods and to support worship of them. Also indicated was that the timing of these worship practices played a large role in the life of their communities. It is these factors which appear to have led to the construction of many of the rock art sites we find today. Some are very simple, maybe only a few glyphs. Others are very elaborate and speak to us over long periods of time.

Of course, some of these "observatories" may have become "inactive sites," due to the precession of the equinox and other changes in the heavens which made the original alignments to stars and planets they incorporated no longer observable. Some sites also provide evidence that changes had to be made to them to preserve alignments. Sites based upon observation of the solar cycle, on the other hand, can still be seen to function much as their early makers intended.

Those who are recording sites may wish to keep the following factors in mind:

1. No two sites are alike. Landscape features including alignments to features which may cast shadows on the glyphs should be recorded.

2. Light and shadow patterns on the glyphs will change with the position of the sun and should be recorded together with the time of year they were recorded.
3. Certain symbol glyphs (see Figures 1 and 2) often provide clues to the time of year the site will be "activated" by sunlight and shadows.
4. Unusual site features such as rock cairns, overhangs, etc., which may act as "shadow-casters" as well as lines-of-sight to distant landscape features should also be recorded.

To the often heard question, "Why were these sites made?" I believe our answer should be: "It's About Time!"

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Speakers at the Twenty-Eighth Annual Symposium of the Utah Rock Art Research Association in Escalante, Utah, October 10–13, 2008

Chuck Bailey IT'S ABOUT TIME

Demonstrates how many rock art sites were used by ancient peoples to determine dates and times for celebrations which were important to their communities. A number of sites in Utah, Arizona and elsewhere are examined for markers, images and symbols related to seasonal solar effects which were observed at specific locations. The ingenuity of those who made the sites, using only their natural surroundings, certainly helps us understand and respect their intellect and culture.

Pamela Baker ANOTHER LOOK AT 29SJ1156, ATLATL CAVE, IN CHACO CULTURE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, NEW MEXICO

Atlatl Cave, now located within the boundaries of Chaco Cultural National Historical Park in northwest New Mexico, has been the focus of intense archaeological interest as one of the few “cave” sites excavated in the area. Painted rock art images on the back wall have been attributed to the Late Archaic/early Puebloan time periods. This presentation will examine the history of research at the site and examine the rock art imagery.

Craig Child, Keynote Speaker TOUCHING THE SKY

The Southwest is a landscape of stark and complex horizons, a visual clock recording the passage of seasons, the annual swing of sun, moon, and stars. It is no wonder the land was once used as a calendar, rock art positioned to note the increments of time. What do these sites mean? Why were they made? For decades scholars and field researchers have sought to answer these questions. Author Craig Childs has been living among these sites, watching season after season pass across them. From a lifetime of traveling on foot in this country, he has his own answers. Childs brings us a narrative journey across the land, examining these places where the earth was once marked to apprehend the sky.

Arthur Cloutier THE HORIZON CALENDAR AT PARIÁ CANYON ARCHEO-OBSERVATORY

This paper features the biggest panel at the observatory with counting dots tallying sunsets by the annual, ninety-nine phases of the moon. Constellations and asterisms which appear at the solstices and equinoxes are depicted on the panel. These are discussed as frequently used symbols in the rock art of southern Utah and northern Arizona.

Dr. James Farmer ROCK ART AS “HISTORY”: ARCHAIC INFLUENCE OR CONTINUITY IN HISTORIC PUEBLOAN IMAGERY

The prehistory of the American Southwest is traditionally interpreted, or reconstructed, through scientifically verifiable or testable methods, such as geological, climatological or archaeological techniques. This presentation offers an alternative approach to interpreting ancient Southwestern culture by treating certain examples of ancient rock art imagery as essentially “historic” documents, reflecting ideas and aspects of ancient Archaic cultures which persist or reappear in later historic Puebloan cultures. Specifically, numerous motifs, objects and gestures appearing in the Barrier Canyon Anthropomorphic Style, dated @5000-1500 BCE, bear strong visual similarity to numerous images associated with historic and modern Puebloan tribes. Horned-headdresses, black-and-white stripped costumes, or figures holding snakes in their mouths are some examples of distinctive, yet shared motifs. This suggests a degree of historic cultural continuity reaching far into the distant past for modern Puebloan peoples, but the specific nature and significance of this continuity is difficult to ascertain. Modern rock art specialists and artists have long been intrigued and influenced by the oldest of Utah’s rock art styles, but ancient and modern Puebloan inhabitants in the region must surely have also been aware of these images and responded accordingly.

Verl Frehner A DETAILED HISTORY STORY OF A MIGRATING CLAN OF BASKETMAKER II INDIANS

This work was accomplished by systematically decoding four panels of petroglyph symbols. Each symbol or picture represents or expresses an idea, concept something that the object picture is supposed to suggest. When these symbol ideas and concepts are identified it then becomes possible for them to be understood by others.

I have four stories, but this presentation will include only one story and will utilize three supporting methods of delivery. The first will be the identification of the “Ideas or Concepts” associated with the petroglyph symbols used in the first story. I will end the presentation with an exposure to those used in the three other stories. The second method will involve a “Story” factor. It will concentrate on that story which the Basketmakers wished to communicate to those who would later decipher their petroglyphs. The third will be a “Geographical” factor. We will follow the route taken by this migrating Basketmaker Clan of Indians to get to their new and distant home. We will take brief note of the abbreviated movements identified in the other “History Stories.”

Elaine Holmes and Anne Carter THE DYNAMIC DUO: *Superheroes of Pahrnagat Rock Art*

People are familiar with the dynamic duo of Batman and Robin through comics, movies and television. Pahrnagat rock art of southern Nevada provides its own dynamic duo in the forms of the Pahrnagat Man and the Patterned Body Anthropomorph (PBA). It is easy to distinguish which hero is Batman and which is Robin, but establishing which is the hero and which the minion is not as simple for the figures represented by the rock art. Perhaps because the Pahrnagat Man is such an arresting, eye-catching motif, other researchers including Green (1987), Stoney (1991) and White (2008) have emphasized him and mentioned only in passing his sidekick, the PBA. We thought perhaps the emphasis may have been misplaced and set out to determine which figure might actually be the more important of the two.

Richard Jenkinson LANDSCAPE, METAPHOR AND MEANING IN THE EXPERIENCE OF ROCK ART

Rock art is experienced in the landscape in much the same physical context in which it was originally created. This presentation will examine the meaning of rock art from two perspectives: first by using the analysis of metaphor to better understand rock art images, and second by looking at the experience of rock art in the landscape and how this experience gives meaning to the art. Along the way we will look at what rock art can tell us about the human condition and about our human relationship to the landscape. The Great Gallery and other Barrier Canyon Style images will be used as examples.

Dr. Ekkehart Malotki, Featured Speaker THE 'DEEP STRUCTURE' OF EARLY ARCHAIC ROCK ART: HUMAN UNIVERSALS

On a global scale, all earliest mark-making traditions consist of abstract-geometric motifs and non-figurative patterns, regardless of whether they occur on portable objects or on rock surfaces. This is also true for the American West which houses a wealth of non-representational images, both painted and engraved. To shed light on this most enigmatic yet fascinating imagery, which to many rock art researchers is of little interest since it seems to offer no insights into the minds of its creators, I resort to human universals and cutting-edge ideas gleaned from neuroscience and evolutionary psychology. In addition to presenting novel ideas, I hope to heighten awe and respect for the area's rock art legacy through striking photographs.

Steven J. Manning BLACK ROCK MAN: AN EASTERN GREAT BASIN ANTHROPOMORPH

Archaeologists use inherent characteristics called attributes to define cultures. Rock art is one of these attributes. It has not^obeen used to its full potential in defining cultures or regional^odivisions of cultures. In the eastern Great Basin, which principally encompasses western Utah and eastern Nevada, is an anthropomorph that has attributes that distinguish it from others in^osurrounding areas. This image is an integral part of the^oprehistoric Fremont Culture. Its defining features are not so much the form of the anthropomorph, which are typical Fremont variations, but are the objects it holds in its hands. It ranges from near the^oIdaho border in the north to near Cedar City in the south. The highest density of this image, as of this date, is in the Black Rock Desert west of Fillmore, Utah, suggesting the name: Black Rock Man. The limited range of this figure shows that the Fremont in western Utah had significantly different cultural beliefs than the Fremont in eastern Utah. I propose that the Wasatch Mountain Range, which runs from north to south through central Utah, formed a line dividing the Fremont Culture into two regional ideological variants. Examples of this image and their locations are discussed.

Robert Mark, Ph.D., Evelyn Billo, and Donald Weaver, Jr., Ph.D. SEARS POINT, ARIZONA: BLM RECORDING PROJECT PROGRESS REPORT

During four weeks of fieldwork in 2008, we mapped and documented almost 700 petroglyph panels with volunteer help. In addition, we map and document other archaeological features including rock alignments and prehistoric trails. Innovations include creating overnight "just in time" printed panel forms using sub-meter GPS coordinates and color digital panel photograph, and mug boards created to use magnetic letters. ArcView GIS is used for cartography and Portfolio is the image database. Panel forms are generated from FileMaker Pro and printed on a color laser printer. Experienced volunteers with good knees are needed to continue the project next winter.

Dr. Lynda McNeil BEHIND “SMOKING MIRROR” PENDANTS AND POWAMU: HOPI-FREMONT CULTURAL AFFILIATION

By synthesizing linguistic (The Hopi Dictionary Project, 1998), ethnoarchaeological, and rock art evidence (Basketmaker II and Fremont), this paper offers a testable hypothesis, proposing that Hopi oral history and Fremont archaeology represent complementary pieces of a puzzle, which when linked, help to construct a fuller understanding of both Hopi origins and migrations and Fremont cultural affiliation and ethnic identity. The empirical evidence presented corroborates “common threads” in Hopi oral accounts regarding return clan migrations to and from central Mexico, the acquisition of Mexican dent corn, ceremonial shell, and the Alósaka Cult with its rainmaking ceremonies, ideology, and thematically-related rock art iconography.

David Sucec IT’S ELEMENTARY—STYLE, THAT IS: A GROUP OF PECKED FIGURES IN THE GRAND STAIRCASE / ESCALANTE NATIONAL MONUMENT

There is a group of pecked figures at a large panel in the Grand Staircase/Escalante National Monument and they are popularly attributed to the Fremont or to the Fremont style. However, when carefully considered, their visual elements, which constitute style, appear to be much more similar to those of the Barrier Canyon style.

Archaeological work, in the Escalante/Glen Canyon area by Phil Geib (*Glen Canyon Revisited*), suggests that roots of the Fremont “culture” lie in the indigenous Archaic of the region west and north of the Colorado River—the “culture” of the individual image-makers, who painted and pecked the Barrier Canyon style figures.

Does this group of mixed-style pecked figures represent the efforts of individuals whose cultural group inhabited the region during the transitional period between the classic Barrier Canyon and classic Fremont styles?

Richard K. Talbot COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND LAND USE IN THE SOUTHERN FREMONT AREA, AD 900-1300

Within the 12,000 years of human occupation in Utah, no single period is more striking in complexity and intensity of population than the late Formative. Within this ca. 400 year period groups of farmers we label as Fremont were spread across the landscape in settlements of varying size. Land use was intensive, with a primary focus on agriculture but with logistical exploitation of a wide variety of environmental niches. The southern Fremont area, inclusive of sites from the canyonlands of the Colorado Plateau to the mountain-desert fringes of the eastern Great Basin, best documents this period of intense social change and adaptation. Recent investigations in this region are changing our perceptions of native farmer lifeways

SPECIAL SESSION—CAN WE PRESERVE ROCK ART ON OUR PUBLIC LANDS?

Troy Scotter URARA and the RMPs for 11,000,000 acres of Utah’s public lands

Mike Bies The Long Struggle to Preserve Legend Rock

Jon Gum Report from St. George

This program received funding from the Utah Humanities Council. The Utah Humanities Council promotes history and heritage, literature, and literacy, and public discussion of issues important to our communities.

