

PICTOGRAPHS OF THE COSO REGION

Analysis and Interpretation of the Coso Painted Style



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PICTOGRAPHS OF THE COSO REGION
Analysis and Interpretation of the Coso Painted Style

Volume edited by
Robert A. Schiffman
David S. Whitley
Alan P. Garfinkel
Stephen B. Andrews

Series Editor
Robert A. Schiffman

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This volume is dedicated to the memory of Wolfgang Schiffman,
my friend and pal whose love of life touched all who knew him.

PREFACE

The following articles represent a collective effort by independent researchers to understand a pictographic rock art form in the southwest corner of the Great Basin and the adjacent areas of the eastern Sierra Nevada Mountains. There, painted sites have embodied stylistic forms similar to those found in petroglyphs of the same region. These papers were first brought together through the efforts of David S. Whitley who spent considerable time assembling the different articles and in some cases encouraging individual authors to write up their findings.

Particular thanks and appreciation on this project goes to Catherine Lewis for typing this volume; Alan P. Garfinkel, Stephen B. Andrews and David S. Whitley for their participation in editing the articles; Helen S. Schiffman, Veruschka, Bruiser and Wolfgang Schiffman for their overall assistance and encouragement to get this volume published; and to Bakersfield College for printing this collection of articles and their continued support in disseminating archaeological information.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

by

David S. Whitley and Robert A. Schiffman

Although the last ten years have witnessed an increased awareness of California rock art, few efforts have been made to offer systematic, regional analysis since Campbell Grant's research in the 1960's (Grant 1965, 1968) and Heizer and Clewlow's (1973) statewide synthesis. As a geographical region, California seems neglected in comparison to other regions, such as Baja California (cf. Meighan 1969; Grant 1974; Crosby 1975; Meighan and Pontoni 1978), Utah (Schaafsma 1971; Castleton 1978) and the Southwest (Schaafsma 1981; Grant 1978), although California rivals each of these other regions in terms of the quantity, variety and complexity of its rock art.

Recognizing a need for regional analysis of rock art sites, researchers brought the papers in this volume together. The present monograph attempts to bridge the gap between isolated data papers that typically appear independent from the interpretative papers on the same region or sites, published without the data upon which inferences are made.

As a collection of research papers resulting from an uncoordinated study by a disparate group of individuals, the contributions in this volume are eclectic in nature and do not constitute a regional analysis in the formal sense of a body of data, analysis and interpretations undertaken with the purpose of addressing a specific series

of research issues. Rather, reflecting the individuality of the specific contributors, they constitute an amalgam of recent research that has been conducted on a specific style of rock art, originally termed Coso-Style Pictographs by Alan P. Garfinkel (1978). The purpose in bringing these papers together is to provide, in one location, a series of descriptions and discussions concerning a single regional set of rock art data. (Figure I-1). The element bringing all of these articles together is the continuity of the rock art style over a particular region, which appears to be painted forms reminiscent of petroglyphs from the Coso area, hence the name Coso-Style Pictographs. These studies illustrate the variety of the regional rock art and the contribution rock art makes towards interpreting, explaining and reconstructing prehistoric cultures.

The first article (Chapter II) by Eric Ritter, Richard Brook and Nancy Farrel is concerned with the rock art of Panamint City, a late 19th century mining boom town. This article is a revised and updated version of an article first published in 1972. (Brook, et.al. 1977). At the three rock shelters in Panamint City, pictographs containing historic motifs (e.g. horses and riders) are located in association with historic items and aboriginal artifacts. Ritter's revised comments are a timely contribution relevant to a number of research interests in California and Great Basin rock art.

The second and third articles (Chapters III and IV), both by Theresa Whitley, recount in detail the rock art assemblages from two sites in Indian Wells Canyon, CA-KER-735 and CA-KER-736, which were first briefly described by Andrews (1977) and Garfinkel (1978). These articles provide complete descriptions and illustrations of all elements from these two sites located along the boulder strewn slopes of Owens Peak. Whitley's site reports stand as important primary data documentations and serve as

useful models for future rock art site reports.

The next two articles in this series are interpretative efforts aimed at providing an understanding and explanation of the Coso Painted Pictograph Style.

The fourth article (Chapter V) by Alan P. Garfinkel, discusses the various rock art styles of the Coso and Kern River areas, taking a traditional interpretative view of style. In this orthodox view, which is supported by ample ethnographic evidence (although cases to the contrary can also be found) style is treated as a product of a particular ethnographic group, made in a certain location, during a specific time period. If a style can be identified, it can be argued to be a surrogate indicator of a particular ethnic group.

Stephen B. Andrews and Robert A. Schiffman (Chapter VI) provide an iconographical treatment of the Coso Painted Style sites by interpreting individual elements to the symbolism of a major religious movement that occurred during the latter part of the nineteenth century: the Ghost Dance religious cult. An implicit, but very strong, aspect of their argument is that a symbolic disjunction in the meaning of the rock art elements occurred between the production of the petroglyphs and pictographs rather than a continuity in the exact (or same) meaning of the painted bighorn sheep, shaman figures and shields with the petroglyphs. They suggest that these element types were incorporated into a new symbolic system focused on the revival of traditional aboriginal culture.

The last article by David S. Whitley, Robert A. Schiffman and Stephen B. Andrews (Chapter VII) provides a concluding synthesis to the discussion of Coso Style Pictographs. Those concepts relevant to understanding the Coso Painted rock art sites and their cultural continuity are reflected upon, with an effort to develop an understanding of the cultural symbolism of this stylistic form. Included in this chapter is a review of other known "Coso" sites.

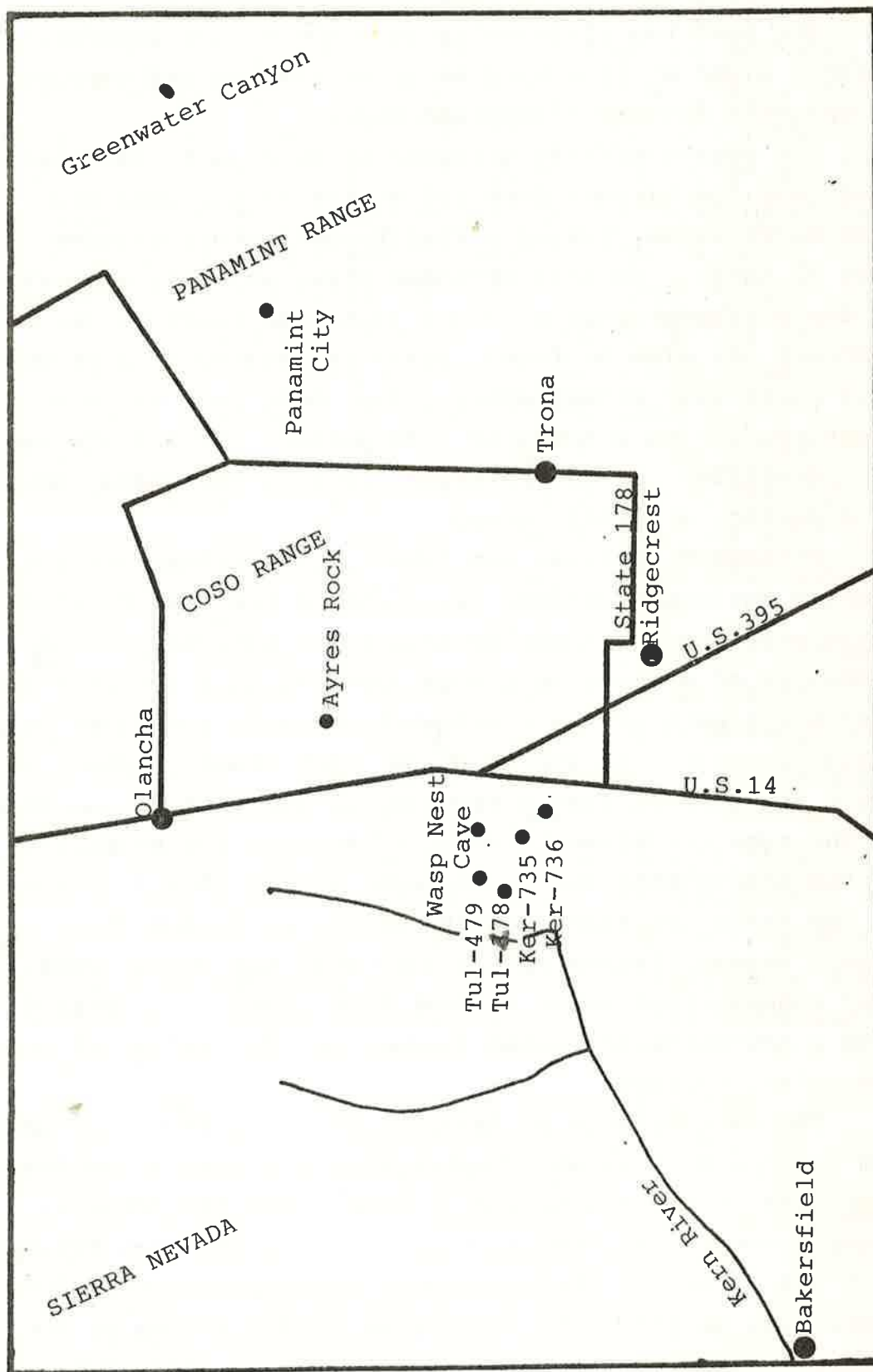


FIGURE I-1

Chapter II

THE ROCK ART OF PANAMINT CITY, INYO COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

by

Eric W. Ritter, Richard Brook and Nancy Farrell

Introduction

The archaeological community is becoming increasingly aware of the explanatory value rock art holds. While this value has been apparent all along to some workers, they found it difficult to get their ideas and interpretation incorporated into the mainstream of archaeological thought. Now, with more sophisticated approaches this is happening. Many models of aboriginal behavior now make full use of rock art research. Numerous sites are being re-studied and older ideas re-examined and tested. The end result has been better archaeology and greater understanding.

The rock art rich southern California deserts and fringing areas have been the focus of research for a number of decades. As each new site is studied and old sites re-examined new and often important information is forthcoming. This paper documents the results of a study of three closely associated late prehistoric painted sites in the southern California extremity of the Great Basin. As it turns out this site complex may prove to be an important link in elucidating prehistoric rock art styles (e.g. Coso) and understanding local and regional hunter-gatherer group behavior (e.g. subsistence-ritual).

Couched at an elevation of 2125m. (nearly 7000 feet) is the historic silver and copper mining boom town of Panamint City, located in the Panamint Range of Inyo County, California. These rugged mountains lie between Panamint Valley to the west and Death Valley to the east.

Within the limits of this historic community were found a series of andesitic and silty lime shelters containing numerous pictographs and a few possible petroglyphs. One contains greater than 150 elements, another approximately 50, and the third fewer than 10. For purposes of discussion, they are referred to as shelters A, B, and C in descending order based on the number of elements present. The rockshelters which are within a distance of 1.2 km of each other, are on the lower northern and southern slopes of Surprise Canyon in the pinyon-juniper vegetation zone.

Panamint City is a relatively obscure historic mining town which thrived between 1873 and 1876, following the discovery in late 1872 of rich copper and silver ores. Capital for the mining enterprise was provided by two Nevada senators, John P. Jones and William Stewart, who hoped the deposit would eclipse their investment in the Comstock Lode of Nevada. This never occurred, although the significant capital investment led to the construction of a 20-stamp mill and a smelter, in addition to the construction of many permanent structures.

The town of Panamint was laid out at the head of Surprise Canyon and is scattered over the canyon floor at elevations varying by 300 m from one end to the other. It consisted of a street 1.6 km long, flanked by over two hundred stone houses--in between were crowded merchants' tents and shacks. A few smaller canyons branch out from the main one, the most infamous of which are Martha's Camp and Sourdough Canyon. The former was the location of the local brothel, the latter the town graveyard. The butcher's cart was often converted into a hearse, a testament of rough times in the town (Wolle 1955:138).

Shelter A was brought to the authors' attention during a reconnaissance visit to Panamint City in January, 1977. During subsequent visits in the following spring and summer the smaller rockshelters B and C were discovered.²

Methodology

Recording the rockshelters involved drawing and mapping design elements found on the smoke-blackened roof and walls of the shelter, recording types and numbers of the various elements and cases of superimposition, taking standardized Munsell color readings on the pigments, and noting techniques of manufacture of the motifs where discernible. In addition, notes were taken on the features and artifacts associated with each of the rockshelters.

Mapping for rockshelter A was accomplished by laying out a 20 cm grid over the entire surface of the roof and walls. String was employed for the purpose and was carefully fastened with masking tape. Time limitations prevented detailed mapping of the design elements in rockshelters B and C but the motifs from the respective shelters were sketched, and measurements and Munsell color readings taken. A few select pigment samples were also procured for eventual trace element and amino acid dating tests.

Design elements present in each of the rockshelters are summarized in Table 1.

TABLE 1
Design Elements: Panamint City Rockshelters

Element Categories	A	B	C
Quadrupeds (unidentified)	33	1	
Bighorn sheep	26	4	
Horse or mule and rider	9	3	
Anthropomorphs	16	19	4
Anthropomorphs with weapons	8		
Sun-like symbols	3		
Deer	2		
Bird	1		
Ring	1		
Star	1		
Lines or series of lines	21	4	
Other elements*	32	14	5
TOTAL	153	45	9

* Other elements include connecting lines, obscure figures, scratchings, and geometrics such as X's, circles, and dashes or slashes of paint.

Site Content

Fifty-five instances of superimposition were recorded at rockshelter A; some examples are multiple (Figure II-1). Occasionally one finds a motif produced with two colors. There are five cases of superimposition in shelter B and none in C.

It was hoped that documenting the cases of superimposition would help establish whether certain colors or design elements occurred early or late. In shelter A, red and yellow motifs are more often superimposed over others, while white motifs are often covered. This indicates that many of the white motifs are earlier than several of the red and all of the yellow design elements. The white motifs are also larger, more centrally located and more conspicuous than red and yellow motifs which appear to be somewhat smaller and squeezed between the larger white motifs. At shelter B, black over red, red over black and white over black occur.

An attempt was made to separate light red elements from darker ones, but we were unsuccessful in establishing any pattern. Possibly the range of reds is a function of the varying hues of hematite or mixture concentrations. Whether this was done on purpose or not we cannot be certain. We do believe that the color differences are not a function of age, partly because the cases of superimposition do not support this contention. The range in whites, which vary from a gray to light gray to white, may be a function of differential sooting from fires built in the shelter at various times. White has been applied as paint smears but also as thin chalk-like lines.

Of the most common design elements present at the three rockshelters, only horse or mule and rider and anthropomorph categories are found to be executed in black (Table 2). In addition, only quadrupeds and bighorn sheep are drawn in yellow tones. We are uncertain as to the significance.

of this observation. Since there are no yellow anthropomorphs while there are at least 14 red sheep a clear functional or temporal distinction exists. No doubt certain figures were earmarked for a certain color or colors. Such choice-making bespeaks of purposeful selection of pigments and execution of the drawing within a ritual context. Placement was clearly important as well, so much so that the available space was utilized to the point where superimposition was necessary and/or desired.

TABLE 2

Design Element Colors: Panamint City Rockshelters

Element Categories	White ¹	Yellow ²	Red ³	Black ³
Quadrupeds (unidentified)	9	9	16	
Bighorn sheep	3	13	14	
Horse or mule with rider	8		2	2
Anthropomorphs	8		17	14
Anthropomorphs with weapons	3		5	
Sun-like symbols			3	
Deer	2			
Bird	1			
Ring	1 (with black)			
Star			1	
Lines or series on lines*				5
TOTAL	35	22	58	21

* Some lines or line series and other elements have been excluded from the count.

1. White includes Munsell designations gray tones and very pale brown.
2. Yellow includes Munsell designations yellowish brown and yellow.
3. Red includes Munsell designations weak red, reddish brown, pink and reddish yellow.

In terms of manufacturing techniques, many of the design elements could have been applied with the fingers, in a fashion similar to modern-day fingerpainting. Other techniques included the use of fine-pointed pieces of the appropriate rock. In rare cases brushes may have been used. Lineaments in the designs suggest brush strokes. Several examples from rockshelter C may be linear scratched designs.

Native American and historic Anglo artifacts are present in all shelters. Part of a possible rabbit snare, a few tiny scraps of paper with German Gothic print (perhaps brought in by woodrats-genus Neotoma), a few pieces of cloth, ironstone sherds, old bottle glass fragments, metal remnants, and numerous saw cut bones of domestic animals were recovered in shelter A. Schulz (1979) has published an article on the nature of these bones. He found the greatest number (92/101) were cattle (Bos taurus), with four pig (Sus scrofa), four domestic sheep (Ovis aries) and one chicken (Gallus gallus). Euro-American butchering patterns were present and the meat cuts represent those most desired (and affordable) by the miners (e.g. loin and sirloin steaks, rib steaks, short ribs, center cut roasts and round steaks). In shelter C, three buttons (two metal and one mother-of-pearl shell), metal strips, and quantities of saw cut bone were found. Two Cottonwood triangular projectile points were also recovered. According to Hester and Heizer (1973:10) the temporal range of Cottonwood Series points is from A.D. 1200 or 1300 to circa A.D. 1850. Rockshelter B yielded one button and some pieces of corn cob. Joseph Winter (personal communication 1978) has identified these corn cobs as probably related to Euro-American horticulture activities.

Rockshelters A and C have low rock walls that extend the full length of the shelter perimeter. Rockshelter C has a metate built into the wall. This suggests occupation of the shelter by miners, or individuals who did not employ milling implements. In addition, features which may be rock corrals are associated with rockshelters A and C.

Comparisons

The best comparative material includes Grant's (1968) Coso Mountain studies, Martin's (1977) Death Valley work, Crowley's (1977) material from Saline Valley, Garfinkel's

(1978) and Andrew's (1980) southern Sierra Nevada data, and Sutton's (1981) information from the Tehachapi Mountains. Other papers in this volume, of course, are key to an overall understanding of the regional rock art.³ Such comparisons can be examined categorically, beginning with bighorn sheep, a key element in interpretations and chronological placement.

Most Panamint sheep have bifurcating horns (Figure II-2A); only a few have the parallel horns (Figure II-2B) which in the Cosos are an earlier form according to Grant (1968:21). Bodies range from elongate (Figure II-2A) to lunate (Figure II-2C). Heads are usually well shown but are occasionally poorly illustrated. Tails are represented by a line almost the same size (Figure II-2D) or larger than the other appendages; some have pronounced embellishments (Figure II-2 E). These tail characteristics are not at all like those from surrounding areas. The co-occurrence of two separate forms of bighorn sheep at a site complex undoubtedly late (i.e. by reason of artifactual associations, illustration of horse-and-riders, hatted anthropomorph, clarity of paintings, etc.) indicates these forms are not mutually distinct temporally. Thus, at least with pictographs apparently only the boat-shaped, bifurcating horned sheep can be labeled strictly late prehistoric/protohistoric. ← !

Anthropomorphs are solid bodied, reminiscent of those from Petroglyph Canyon (Grant 1968, cf. Figure II-2F) Stick-like figures predominate in the Panamint shelters and the single and multiple cephalic projections (Figure II-2G) are similar to those illustrated by Grant (1968:22) attributed to their late period. The solid bodied anthropomorphs illustrated by Martin (1977:146) from Death Valley bear little resemblance to those from the Panamint shelters. ?

Quadrupeds are a veritable Noah's Ark. One can only speculate on the species. There is one bear-like animal (Figure II-2H); some may be hunting dogs, coyotes (Figure II-3A)

or mountain lions (Figure II-3B); some could be bighorn sheep, some horses, mules or burros (Figure II-3C). Most are represented by the elongate or lunate shape of the mountain sheep and equinine categories. Martin (1977:148) notes a similar occurrence of unidentified quadrupeds in the rock art of Death Valley. Deer motifs (Figure II-3D) appear uncommon in the entire area, possibly a reflection on their general scarcity in the desert mountains or perhaps their lesser significance in the mythology and ritual realm. The Panamint specimens are nearly identical to those illustrated by Martin (1977:147) and, as seen in Figure II-3C, at least one has the backward pointing "running" legs of the Coso example illustrated by Grant (1968:83).

Bowmen are an important element for the interpretation of the Panamint sites. Generally the arrow is depicted as an extension of the hunter's arm and the bow is represented by a curved line (Figure II-3E). Occasionally a second arm is present in front of the hunter. The few Coso bowmen more commonly have two arms shown, one behind or to the side of the hunter (Grant 1968:80). One motif depicting two opposing bowmen is reminiscent of a scene from the Coso's, but at Panamint the bowmen are more tightly adjoined (Figure II-3F).

On two sheep, projections which may be arrows are shown (Figure II-4A). These projections also could represent atlatls with finger grips, and, in fact, similar representations illustrated by Grant (1968:49) are of the latest type dated from around 200 B.C. to A.D. 300. However, our opinion, based on the bowmen, location, and luster of the pigment is that these motifs are much more recent and represent arrows.

Equine quadrupeds with riders (Figures II-4B and C) are relatively uncommon in the surrounding area. However, they do occur with enough frequency and in diverse localities

to suggest that initial "European" contact was influential enough to be depicted in the Native art and possibly even incorporated into the mythology.

Other motifs are rare at the Panamint sites and appear relatively rare at regional sites as well. These include a star (Figure II-4D), spoked wheel-like symbol, sun burst (Figure II-4E) and hatched ring (Figure II-4F). Very similar elements are noted by Garfinkel (1978) and Andrews (1980) in some of the rock art of the southern Sierra Nevada. These sites are attributed to Coso Shoshone peoples. The hatched ring is similar to a figure which Andrews (1980:335) believes may be some type of enumeration. An interesting phenomena is the continuity line, thin red and white lines which meander throughout the panel at shelter A. Such lines are proposed as a shamanistic device, perhaps to indicate a temporal, spatial, natural or supernatural relationship of the components or to indicate that the panel was to be considered as a whole.

Conclusions

The rock art of Panamint City clearly falls within the Coso style pictographs discussed by Garfinkel (1978) and others in this volume. There is little doubt that it is late prehistoric/protohistoric in age. What is interesting is that the site complex may fall at the Shoshonean/Kawaiisu ethnographic interface (cf. Steward 1938:84, 109; Driver 1937:58), although Zigmond (1932) is less certain. A point germane to these conclusions, which will be further discussed below, is that Zigmond (1972:129) believes the Kawaiisu occupied their territory for a prolonged period of time, a point supported by the absence of a migration myth. It is significant to realize, however, that Zigmond (1980:162) does note a Kawaiisu myth regarding "Giant Grasshopper" who "invades" Coyote's cave "over at Panamint". Perhaps there is a relationship.

What effect, if any, this interface would hold for rock art depictions is uncertain. The two opposing anthropomorphs with bow and (possibly) arrow (Figure II-3F) could indicate some sort of hostility. Certainly, even for Coso pictographs this site complex is relatively unique because of its complexity, location and content.

Hunting magic and game fecundity may be emphasized at the Panamint City rockshelters. The use of the hunting magic interpretation of the rock art (or at least much of it) seems justified, what with bowmen and many zoomorphic figures (several of which appear pierced with arrows or darts). Whitley (N.D.) in an unpublished manuscript, however, cautions against unquestioning use of such a narrow interpretation. He believes that an examination of the etiological mythology of the Shoshonean speakers in the Coso Range may indicate that the hunting of bighorn sheep played an important symbolic role in the establishment of male success and virility. Thus, certain natural species were selected for rock art portrayals not because they were "good to eat" but because they were "good to think" (cf. Conkey 1981:17). Whitley's point is well-taken even though the Panamint City environs are in the heart of desert bighorn sheep and deer range.⁵ Still, there can be little doubt-based on various ethnographic accounts and other evidence (cf. Brook 1980)--that sheep were hunted during late prehistoric/protohistoric times and rock art was not necessarily at the hunt location.

Not all the rock art is clearly tied to game hunting and thinking. The presence of the many horse or mule and rider portrayals and the hatted anthropomorph suggests, in addition to magical and mythological connotations, recording of unique or influential events or personages. Celestial phenomena also may be portrayed relating to ceremonial practices.

It is worthwhile to consider briefly the discussion

of Bettinger and Baumhoff (N.D.) regarding the Numic spread and how Great Basin rock art might reflect on this spread. Basically, Bettinger and Baumhoff hypothesize that the evidence from Great Basin rock art supports the proposal that among Prenumic groups large game procurement and associated hunting ritual was of substantially greater importance than among Numic groups. They ascribe the Scratched style rock art and red pictographs to Numic peoples. Considerable other evidence is used to support their models regarding Numic expansion and adaptive changes and we are not arguing against their general model or that Scratched petroglyphs and (certain) red pictographs are Numic. But within the probable Numic homeland (of which Panamint City is considered a part) the generalities proposed by Bettinger and Baumhoff do not appear to readily apply. Whitley's arguments aside, clearly in the late prehistoric art of the region big game are being portrayed, sometimes with apparent arrowshafts, and bowmen present. Such depictions are relatively numerous at Panamint City at least, and hunting big game seems implied. Whether this is sympathetic magic or mythology or both being expressed we cannot be certain. And could the most recent petroglyph depictions in the Coso Range of a similar style (cf. Wellman 1979) be contemporaneous, or are the paintings a later "plagiarism"? Several of the large boat-shaped sheep petroglyphs within the Coso Range have red pigment applied, although this could be a later addition. All this might suggest a continuance (to some extent) in the Numic homeland (following expansion) of hunting magic and big game hunting with an intensification and localization of hard seed procurement/processing (cf. Bettinger and Baumhoff, N.D.) coupled with population increase.

Next, the reader's attention is turned to a discussion of the possibility of occupation of Panamint City by the Indians contemporaneously with the miners. Certainly

use of the Panamints by Shoshonean groups well into this century is well documented (cf. Ritter 1980), and mining and mining-related activities had to have had a profound effect on aboriginal culture. The historic remains in the shelters could be remnants from aboriginal use. However, based on Schulz's (1979) analysis,⁶ we believe they relate to post-art use by Anglo miners. Based on the depictions of Euro-Americans in the art it is probable the Native Americans were displaced from Panamint City (possibly even partially assimilated) by Euro-American miners.

In conclusion, that the rock art was within the realm of the shaman (or under his influence) seems probable, based on the cephalic projections, continuity lines, possible hunting magic or mythological relationships and the superimposition (cf. Ritter and Ritter 1977). The continued overlap of figures and designs can be attributed to locational reverence. This general area or at least the shelters were probably to some extent sacred; two good shelters nearby in the canyon, in fact, show no art yet perhaps could have served as well. The occupational debris seems incompatible with this interpretation, but this may be more a reflection on our own cultural biases. Alternatively, the debris may represent occupation before use as a sacred place, or afterwards, or both. Occupation use and ritual use could co-occur

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our appreciation to Suzanne Crowley for the art renditions and to both Suzanne and Dennis Gallegos for assistance in the field work. Judyth Reed graciously provided editorial guidance. Support by the Bureau of Land Management allowed us to undertake this project. We assume all accountability for the paper's contents.

FOOTNOTES

1. A previous version of this paper titled "Native American Rock Art in a 19th Century California Mining Boom Town" by Richard Brook, Eric W. Ritter and Nancy Farrell was published in American Indian Rock Art Volume IV, 1978, pp. 9-21, Ernest Snyder, A.J. Bock and Frank Bock, editors, American Rock Art Research Association, El Toro. The Association has kindly granted permission to reproduce portions of that article here.
2. After publication of the above article on this rock art complex it came to our attention through an examination of the University of California at Berkeley site records that this complex (at least the major rockshelter) had been recorded by archaeologists from the facility during the 1950's.
3. We are aware at the time of this re-write (3/82) that a number of scholars are working in the general region on rock art problems. Only some of their data has been made available to us.
4. The two forms of sheep have been noted together composing a single small petroglyph panel at Iny-2342, a habitation/milling/rock art site on a ridge between South Park and Middle Park above Pleasant Canyon within the Panamint Mountains.
5. Zigmond (1972:132) notes that for the Kawaiisu deer was their favorite meat.
6. Schulz (1979:61) notes: "The absence of local game species, the European butchering pattern, and especially the distribution of the (meat) cuts make its association with the miners almost certain. The haphazard nature of housing in boom towns such as Panamint City is well known, and it is not unlikely that rock-shelters like Iny-1378 might have been at least temporarily occupied by miners."

PANAMINT CITY
ROCKSHELTER
PICTOGRAPHS

COLOR KEY:
B - BLACK
Y - YELLOW
R - RED
W - WHITE
T - TAN
G - GRAY

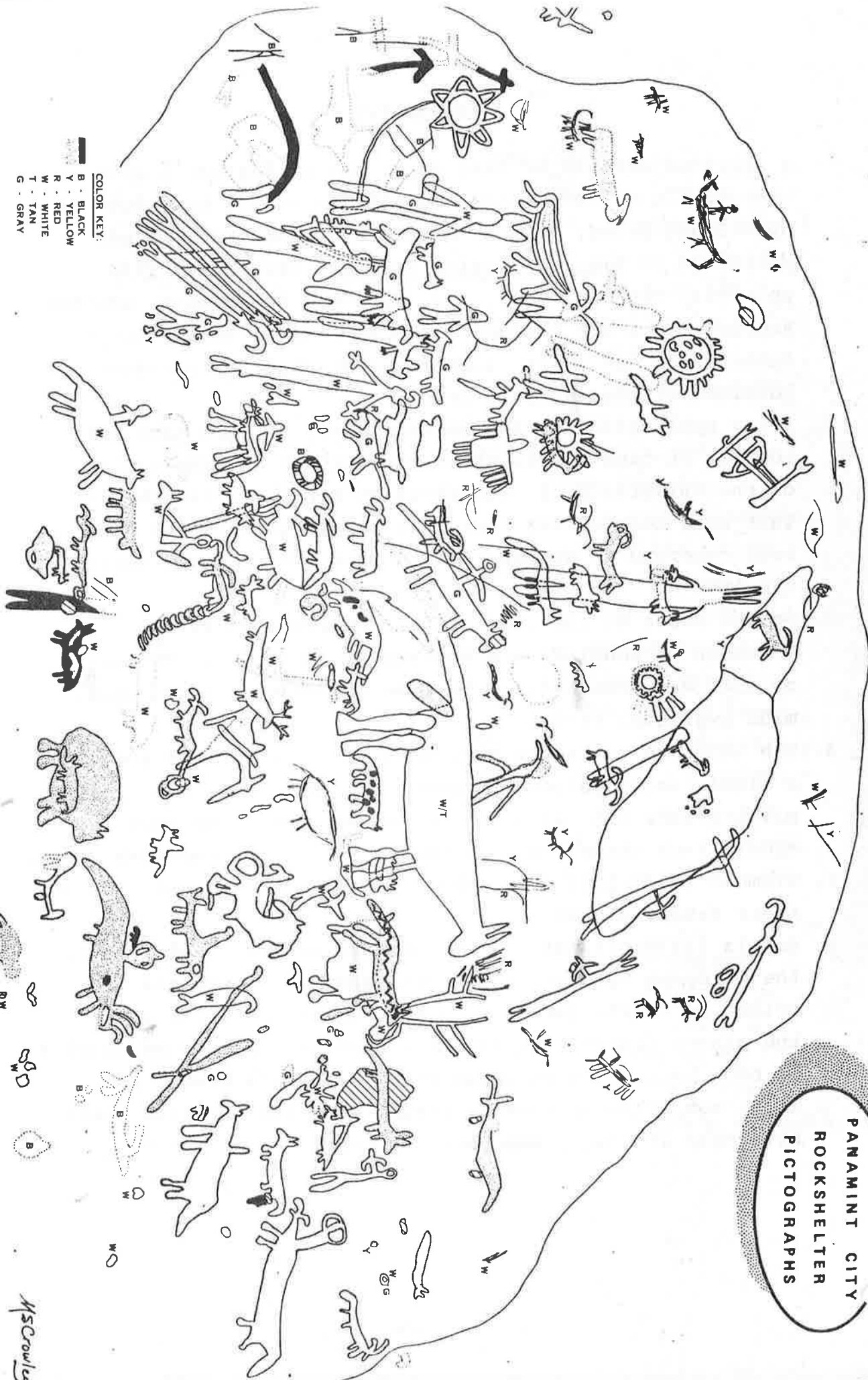
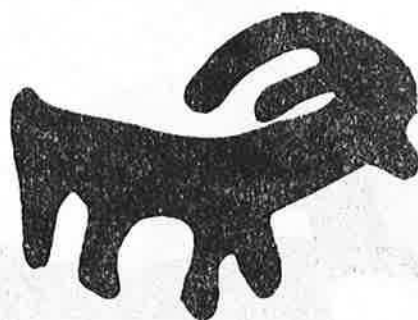


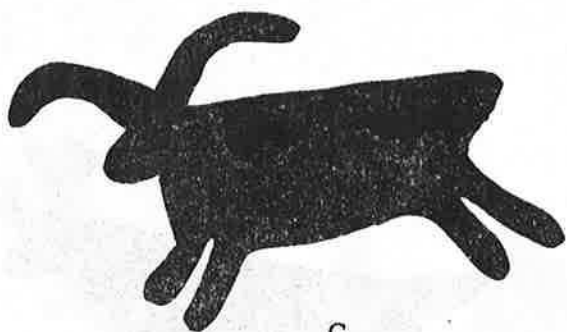
FIGURE II-1, Panel A, Panamint City



A



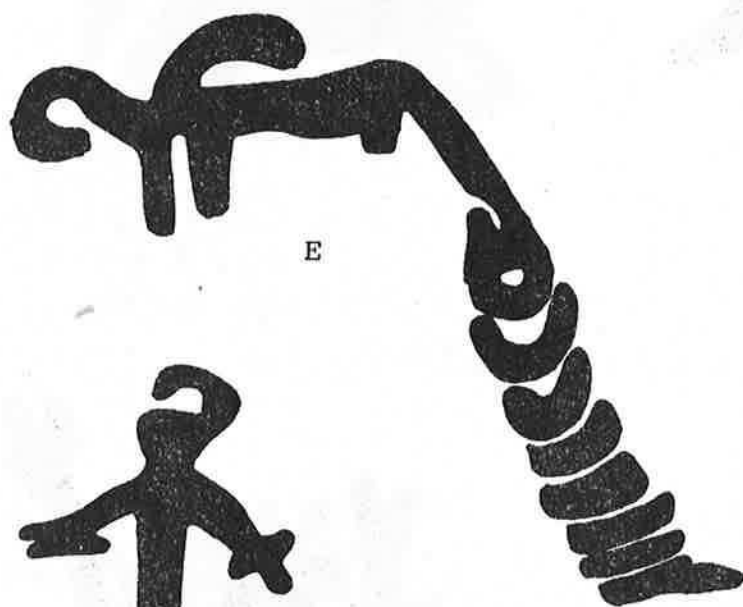
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C



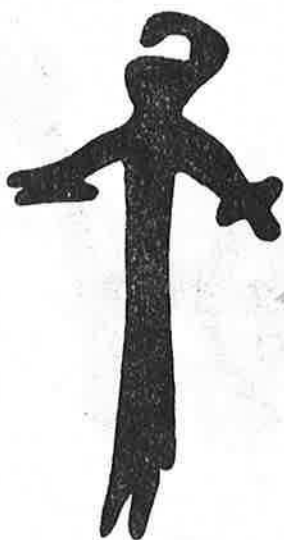
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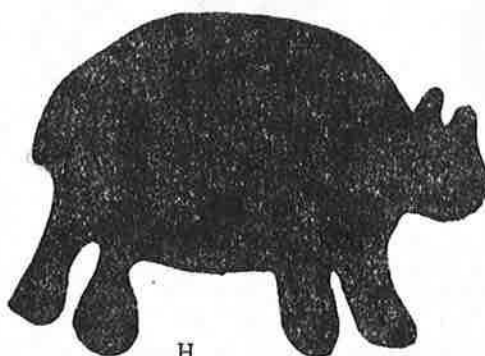
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F

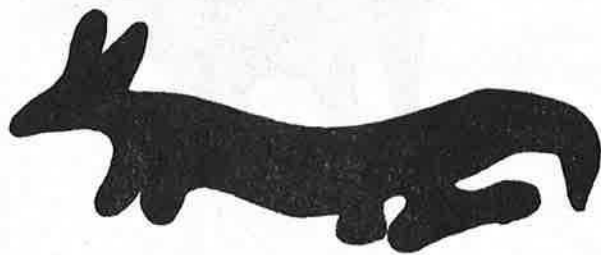


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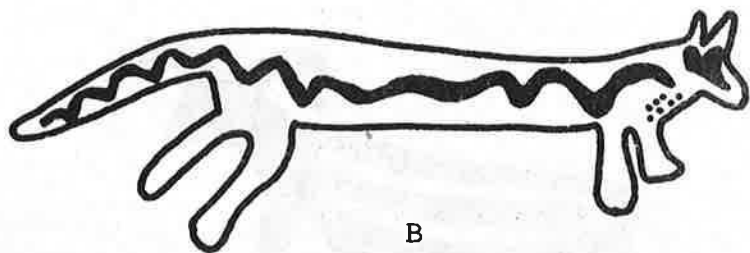


H

FIGURE II-2
Individual Elements from Panamint City



A



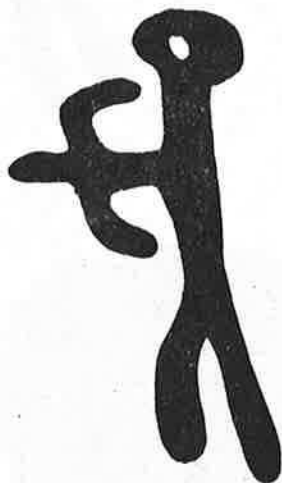
B



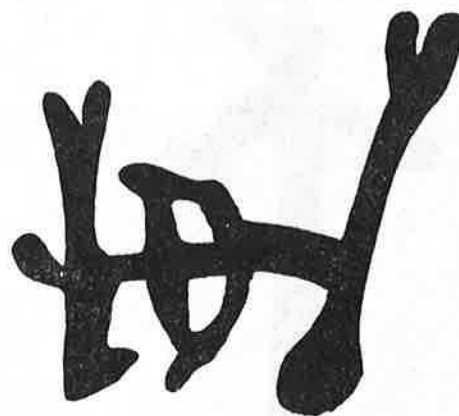
C



D

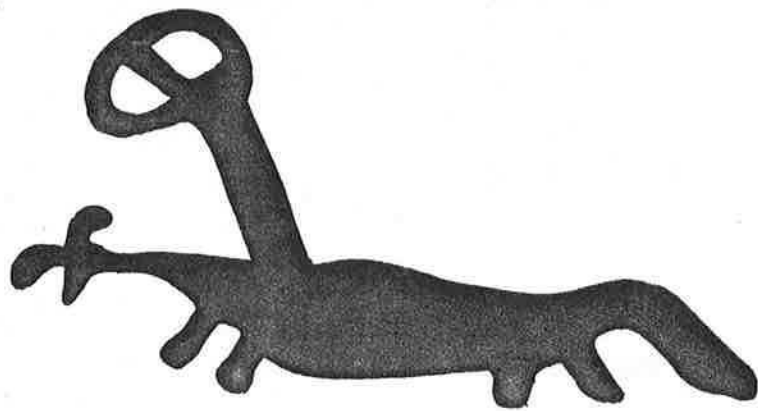


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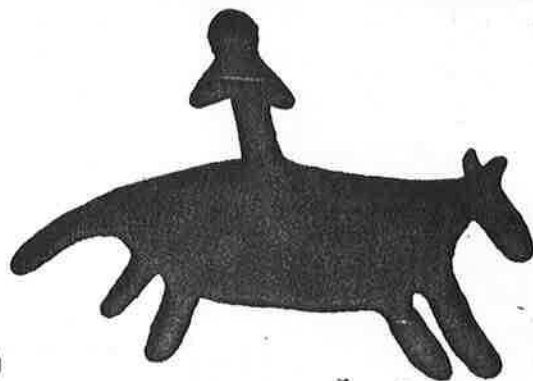


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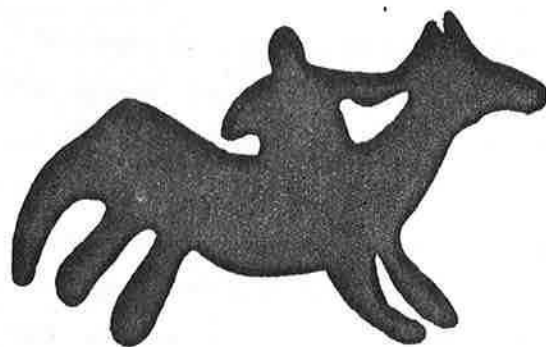
FIGURE II-3
Individual Elements from Panamint City



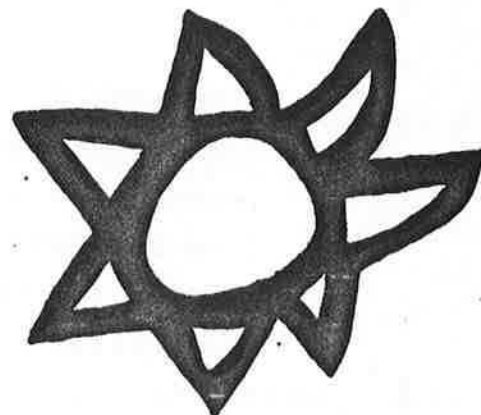
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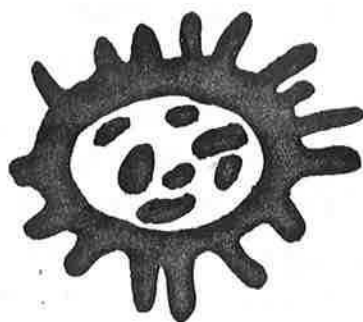
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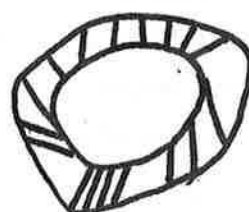
C



D



E



F



G

FIGURE II-4
Individual Elements from Panamint City

CHAPTER III

COSO STYLE PICTOGRAPHS OF CA-KER-735

by

Theresa C. Whitley

Introduction

Polychrome pictograph site CA-KER-735 is located at the upper end of Indian Wells Canyon approximately one mile southeast of Owens Peak in eastern California. Situated some 150 feet above Indian Wells Creek at an elevation of 6,000 feet, the pictographs can be found on a large granite boulder/rockshelter in a gulley at the western end of an extensive boulder field. The shelter faces east (70° East of South) but an alluvial fan obscures visibility of the shelter when approaching from that direction. The shelter, then, although large, can only be seen from a distance of 100 feet or less.

The shelter itself is approximately 25 feet long and ranges up to six feet in height. There are two distinct pictograph panels at the site. Panel A is located at the southern end of the rockshelter and consists of 30 geometric and representational elements painted in red, white, and black. This panel is painted 60 cm. above present ground level and can be seen at some distance outside the rockshelter. Panel B is located at the northern end of the rockshelter approximately 1.5 meters from Panel A. Panel B consists of 10 elements painted in red and white at a height of one meter above ground surface. A large boulder located directly in front of this panel obscures visibility of this panel from any distance.

Some fire blackening of the granite rock surface is evident on both panels. Inclination of the rock surface of Panel A is 26° from vertical, and that of Panel B is 5° from vertical.

Two bedrock mortars were found on the large boulder located directly in front of Panel B. The first measured 17 cm. in diameter and 13 cm. in depth. The second bedrock mortar was located 94 cm. from the other and measured 14 cm. in diameter and 7 cm. in depth. Andrews (1980) has noted "seven shallow bedrock mortars or cupules" on that boulder, although we only identified the two noted above. The only other archaeological remains noted in the immediate vicinity was a midden deposit located one mile downstream from the site at the terminus of the nearest jeep trail. Pictograph site CA-KER-736 is located approximately one and one-half miles east of CA-KER-735, and is also on the north slope above Indian Wells Creek.

The location of pictographic site CA-KER-735 has been known by local archaeologists for many years and is noted on the United States Geological Survey Owens Peak Quadrangle 7.5 minute series as "pictographs". The site was one of two discussed by Alan P. Garfinkel (1979) in his article "Coso Style Pictographs of the Southern Sierra Nevada", in which he notes similarities between painted motifs at these sites and pecked motifs at nearby Coso petroglyph sites. Andrews (1980) also provides a brief description of CA-KER-735 in Garfinkel, Schiffman and McGuire's (1979) Archaeological Investigations in the Southern Sierra Nevada: The Lamont Meadow and Morris Peak Segments of the Pacific Crest Trail. Garfinkel (1978:97) has already noted the fresh appearance of the pigment at CA-KER-735, particularly the white pigment. Although still highly visible, the white paint appears to have peeled off the surface of the rock in some places. Some of the red and black elements are more faded, and tend

to exhibit some absorption of color into the rock face. No intentional vandalism of the site was noted.

For purposes of this study site CA-KER-735 was recorded by a crew of three persons on October 24, 1980, with a subsequent visit on January 6, 1981. At this time photographs, field notes and clear plastic tracings were taken. Clear plastic tracings yield the actual size and configuration of each element and actual size and distance relationship to other elements at the site. Munsell color designations of individual elements were also taken in the field. Fading occurs along the line of hue, thus the brightest portion of elements were color coded and fading noted alongside the tracings.

Descriptions and drawings of individual elements at CA-KER-735 are provided below. Drawings are taken from xerox reductions of clear plastic tracings taken at the site. Individual elements in Panel A are depicted in Figures III-5 through III-8 and Panel B in Figures III-9 and III-10. Overall layout of Panel A is provided in Figure III-1 and III-2 and Panel B in Figure III-3 and III-4. All monochrome elements at the site have been drawn in black for maximum visibility. Two color elements have been rendered in black and grey. An outline is used to represent one element superimposed over another element. The brightest Munsell color designation for each element is provided directly beside each drawing. Scale is provided for each figure. Figures III-2 and III-4 provide keys to relate drawings of individual elements to the complete panel layouts of Panel A and B.

PANEL A:

Element 1: a red geometric figure consisting of two concentric circles (Figure III-5A). Diameter of the outside ring is approximately 15 cm. Line width of the outside ring averages 2.5 cm. and that of the inside ring averages

2.0 cm. This element is actually located on the outside surface of the rockshelter and is badly faded.

Element 2: consists of a red zoomorphic figure with outstretched arms and legs and a tail (Figure III-5B). This figure is reminiscent of pelt figures from the Southern Sierra Painted Style area. It measures 10 cm. in height and 7.5 cm. in maximum width. Element 2 is located on the outside surface of the rockshelter and is badly faded.

Element 3: a single red ring with a diameter of 7 cm. and average line width of 1 cm. (Figure III-5C). This element is located on the outside surface of the rockshelter and is quite faded.

Element 4: a white zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figure with outstretched upper limbs and downward sloping lower limbs (Figure III-5D). Quite faded, this figure is 10 cm. in height and 7 cm. in maximum width. It leans approximately 45° to the right.

Element 5: a white upturned zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figure with outstretched upper and lower limbs (Figure III-5E). This figure measures 7 cm. in height and 6 cm. in maximum width.

Element 6: a red and white star-burst-like geometric figure consisting of a central red disc surrounded by radiating white lines. This in turn is surrounded by two concentric rings of red (Figure III-5F). This figure measures 19 cm. in diameter, and average length of the white radiating lines is 6 cm.

Element 7: a large red geometric design consisting of six concentric circles (Figure III-5G). Lines or spokes connect the two outermost rings creating a starburst or pinwheel effect. The diameter of the outside ring is 37 cm. Average line width is 1.25 cm.

Element 8: a white geometric figure which consists of a crude ring of pigment with a thick line emanating upwards from the bottom of the ring (Figure III-5H).

Average diameter of the ring is 16 cm.

Element 9: a small white zoomorphic figure which is reminiscent of bighorn sheep elements (Grant 1968: 20- 21) of the nearby Coso petroglyphs (Figure III-5I). This figure appears to have front facing horns and one ear. Only the stubs of four legs remain and the pigment seems to have flaked away from the lower portions of the limbs. Height of Element 9 is 9 cm. and maximum width is 13 cm.

Element 10: a white geometric figure which is roughly trapezoidal in shape but which consists of a poorly formed disc connected to a series of interlocking lines or rings (Figure III-6A). This element is 30 cm. in length and 16 cm. in height. Element 10 is superimposed over Element 11.

Element 11: a red geometric figure consisting of a ring of pigment with fourteen lines radiating outward from this ring (Figure III-6B). Approximate diameter of this element is 25 cm. Portions of Element 11 are obscured by Element 10 which is superimposed over it.

Element 12: a white bighorn sheep element with front facing horns (Figure III-6C). This well executed figure is 12 cm. in height and 20 cm. in maximum length.

Element 13: a small white bighorn sheep element with front facing horns (Figure III-6D). Height of Element 13 is 5 cm. and maximum width is 8 cm.

Element 14: a white bighorn sheep element with front facing horns (Figure III-6E). Only two legs have been drawn and the tail end is bulbous in shape. Height measures 10 cm. and maximum width is 12 cm.

Element 15: a white bighorn sheep element with front facing horns (Figure III-6F) and only three legs drawn. Height measures 9 cm. and maximum width is 13 cm. This element is superimposed over Element 16.

Element 16: a red standing anthropomorphic figure with outstretched arms (Figure III-6G). This figure, which is partially obscured by the superimposition of Element 15,

is 12 cm. in height and 8 cm. in maximum width.

Element 17: a white bighorn sheep element with front-facing horns (Figure III-6H). The entire rear portion of this figure has exfoliated away and only one front leg is drawn. It measures 9 cm. in height and 13 cm. in maximum width.

Element 18 and 19: Although appearing as two elements these are interconnected (Figures III-F a and b). Element 18, on the left, is a white geometric figure consisting of a series of interconnected oval-shaped forms. Element 19, on the right, is a white geometric figure consisting of two vertical lines connected at the base by an upward, curving line. These two elements combined are 34 cm. in height and 55 cm. in maximum length.

Element 20: a black geometric figure consisting of a semi-circle with lines which radiate towards the center (Figure III-F c). This figure is 29 cm. in height and 13 cm. in maximum width.

Element 21, 22 and 23: a series of three distinct forms which are interconnected (Figure III-F d, e and f). Element 21, on the left, is a white horse and rider figure. The horse is well drawn but the riders, of which there appear to be two, are quite abstract and are rectangular in shape. Element 22, in the center, is a white, standing anthropomorphic figure with outstretched arms and wearing a wide-brimmed hat. Element 23, on the right, is a white geometric figure which consists of a series of triangular or diamond-shaped lines which form an ovoid chain-like pattern. These three interconnected elements measure 18 cm. in height and 59 cm. in maximum length.

Element 24: a white geometric figure consisting of a small, horizontal line intersected by three short, vertical lines (Figure III-F g). It measures 8 cm. in height 7 cm. in maximum width.

Element 25: a white bighorn sheep element with horns in profile (Figure III-F h) and four distinct legs. Interestingly, the body of this figure is hollow and boat-shaped like many of the Coso petroglyph bighorn sheep. This figure is 14 cm. in height and 20 cm. in maximum width.

Element 26: a white horse figure mounted by two riders (Figure III-F i). The horse is well drawn and has a hollow, boat-shaped body. The two mounted figures are also well drawn and are wearing wide-brim hats. This element is 17 cm. in height and 23 cm. in maximum length.

Element 27: a white zoomorphic figure which looks bovine in nature (Figure III-8A). It has an elongated, hollow torso with a horizontal line through the center, four legs, a long tail, and what appears to be horns or very long ears. Garfinkel (1978:100) has interpreted this to be a dog, coyote, or mountain lion based on similarities to Coso petroglyphs. This figure measures 22 cm. in height and 49 cm. in maximum width.

Element 28: a large red and white geometric figure consisting of a central red disc surrounded by five concentric rings which are alternately white and red in color (Figure III-8B). The outermost ring, which is white, is surrounded by hollow oval-shaped lines producing a sunburst or flower-petal effect. The diameter of this figure measures 50 cm. with average line width being 2 cm.

Element 29: a white geometric figure consisting of a triangular form with a vertical line extending through it (Figure III-8C). This figure is 12 cm. in height and 10 cm. in maximum width.

Element 30: a white geometric figure consisting of a series of interconnected lines and small, hollow circles (Figure III-8D). This figure is 26 cm. in height and 19 cm. in maximum width.

Element 31: a white geometric figure consisting of

two concentric semi-circles (Figure III-8E). This figure measures 14 cm. in height, and 9 cm. in maximum width. Average line width is 1.5 cm.

PANEL B:

Element 32: a red geometric element consisting of one long horizontal line with three lines extending downwards from it vertically and two more lines extending upwards from it diagonally (Figure III-9A). This element could be construed to be a badly exfoliated bighorn sheep element. However, the fact that it is red rather than white in color makes it doubtful since all seven other bighorn sheep at KER-735 are painted white. This element is 16 cm. in height and 27 cm. in maximum length.

Element 33: a red geometric figure consisting of a long horizontal line with three vertical lines extending downwards from it (Figure III-9B). Two more extraneous vertical red lines located adjacent to this form have been included as part of the element. This element is 8 cm. in height and 26 cm. in maximum width.

Element 34: consists of four white roughly horizontal lines (Figures III-9C). This figure is 24 cm. in height and 15 cm. in maximum width.

Element 35: a white geometric figure consisting of two interconnecting diamond shapes (Figure III-9D). This element measures 19 cm. in height and 10 cm. in maximum width.

Element 36: a white, overturned bighorn sheep with side facing horns (Figure III-9E). The body of this sheep is boat-shaped and hollow like many of the bighorn sheep depicted in the nearby Coso Petroglyphs. Height of Element 36 is 17 cm. and maximum width is 21 cm.

Element 37: a white geometric figure consisting of a single circle (Figure III-9F). Diameter of Element 37 is 6 cm. and line width averages 1.5 cm.

Element 38: a red geometric figure consisting of a series of interconnecting vertical and horizontal lines (Figure III-10A). This element measures 18 cm. in height and 10 cm. in maximum width.

Element 39: a white geometric figure consisting of three concentric circles (Figure III-10B). Lines connect the two innermost rings, creating a pinwheel effect. The diameter of the largest ring is 20 cm. and average line width is 2 cm. This element is superimposed over Element 40.

Element 40: a red geometric figure consisting of three vertical lines intersected by a series of smaller horizontal and diagonal lines (Figure III-10C). This figure measures 24 cm. in height and 27 cm. in maximum width. Element 39 is superimposed over this figure.

Element 41: a red geometric figure consisting of a single small circle (Figure III-10D). Diameter of Element 41 is 5 cm. and average line width measures 1.5 cm.

Discussion

A discussion of Panels A and B at KER-735 warrants a review of specific categories of the data and includes type, color, size, superimposition and overpainting of elements. Classification into types is a heuristic device which allows the artificial grouping of various elements based on certain similarities; in this case morphological. Different authors may not agree on classification of certain elements, and likewise, the typology itself is not absolute and is chosen to fit the need of the particular line of inquiry. In this case the author has chosen to isolate two major classes of elements as either representational or geometric figures. Subclasses of representational elements include generalized anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures, as well as more specific bighorn sheep figures, and mounted horsemen figures. Geometric elements have been sub-classified based on whether their

overall configuration is circular, radiating, or semi-circular in form or simply linear in form. No meaning per se is implied by this system of classification other than to provide smaller work units, based on recognizable morphological features, in a style area or substyle area of rock art which is as yet undefined.

Color is an aspect of the data recovered from pictograph sites that provides much room for conjecture. There are many who feel that the use of specific colors is significant in rock art. However, it should be remembered that only an in-depth review of the ethnographic literature coupled with careful use of ethnographic analogy can provide us with answers concerning the true interpretive value of color. In this data report the correlation between specific element types and colors of elements is reviewed. In certain cases this correlation is statistically significant, but again, no analytical significance is necessarily implied.

Size is often considered to be a concrete measure of significance in rock art analysis as it can be quantified. Many feel that size is an indicator of significance since larger elements require measurably greater amounts of time and ritual paraphernalia (i.e., pigment, etc.) in their creation.

Superimposition and overpainting are also considered to be more subtle indicators of significance when more important elements are ritually renewed whereas less important elements are ritually obscured or destroyed. At the same time this data is important in that it introduces the concept of chronology into the ritual behavior of rock art production. The span of time between the original painting and the superimposition or overpainting of elements, however, is not determinable in this region at this time.

Panel A

A total of 31 elements are identifiable on Panel A at CA-KER-735 consisting of 15 representational and 16 geometric figures. Of the 15 representational elements, 7 are classified as bighorn sheep, (element 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17 and 25); two are classified as mounted horsemen, (elements 21 and 26); one is clearly an anthropomorphic figure, (element 22); another clearly a zoomorphic figure (element 27); and the remaining four are indistinct anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures (elements 2, 4, 5 and 16). Of the 16 geometric figures, 9 are classified as circular, semi-circular, or radiating in form (elements 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11, 20, 28 and 31). The remaining 7 geometric figures are either linear or nondescript in form (elements 10, 18, 19, 23, 24, 29 and 30).

Three colors of pigment are found on Panel A at CA-KER-735 and consist of white, red and black. White is by far the most predominant with 22 elements rendered in that color and another two elements painted red and white. Six elements are painted solely red and one element is painted black.

There is a clear tendency for certain types of elements to be painted certain colors on Panel A at CA-KER-735. All 7 of the bighorn sheep elements and both of the mounted horsemen are rendered in white. In fact, all of the fifteen representational elements on Panel A are painted in white except for two, both of which are classified only as indistinct anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures (elements 2 and 16). Additionally, all of the linear geometric figures on Panel A are rendered in white. The disc-shaped elements showed the greatest variety in color on this panel. Of these, 4 are painted red (elements 1, 3, 7 and 11), two are red and white (elements 6 and 28), two are white (elements 8 and 31) and one is black (element 20).

There is a considerable range in size of elements on Panel A at CA-KER-735. The two largest elements are two circular elements, one of which is red (element 7) and the other red and white (element 28). By comparison, all of the anthropomorphic figures and most of the zoomorphic figures at the site appear quite small. The bovine-like element (element 27) is, however, noticeably larger than other representational figures at the site. The two series of interconnected elements are also large (elements 18, 19, 21, 22 and 23), partially because they are clusters, but also because elements 18, 19 and 23 are relatively large in themselves.

No evidence of overpainting is discernable on Panel A at CA-KER-735; however, two examples of superpositioning do occur. In both cases, a white element is superimposed over a red element. Element 10, a linear geometric element is superimposed over element 11, a radiating geometric figure. Also, element 15, a bighorn sheep is superimposed over element 16, an indistinct anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure.

A few comments as regards placement can be made concerning Panel A at CA-KER-735. Most of the elements are painted in one roughly rectangular zone of rock which is immediately visible upon approaching the rockshelter. Two circular or disc-shaped elements (elements 7 and 28) are immediately noticeable as a result of their size as well as the vividness of color on each. While the circular geometric elements at the site are somewhat widely dispersed, the zoomorphic figures at the site all occur within the rectangular zone which forms the major portion of the panel. Interestingly, all 6 of the bighorn sheep with front-facing horns are located in close proximity to one another and beneath element 7 in the lower left portion of the panel. Also worthy of mention is the fact that the 3 zoomorphic figures

located to the left and above element 28 all have hollow bodies. These include the one bighorn sheep with side facing horns, the large bovine-like creature, and one of the mounted horses. The two clusters of interconnected elements (elements 18 and 19, and elements 21, 22 and 23) are located in close association with one another beneath and to the left of element 28.

Panel B

Panel B at CA-KER-735 consists of 10 elements, only one of which is classed as representational (element 36). The remaining 9 elements at the panel are geometric in form. Three of the geometric figure can be said to be circular in form (elements 37, 39 and 41). The remaining 6 are classed as linear. The pigment on some of these elements is crudely applied and poorly preserved, making classification difficult.

Red and white are the two observable colors on this panel. Unlike Panel A where white predominates, there is an equal use of red and white on Panel B, with 5 elements painted in each color. Interestingly, the single bighorn sheep element (element 36) on Panel B is painted in white, as are the 7 bighorn sheep on Panel A. There does not seem to be a color preference for the linear or circular geometric elements. Two of the circular geometric elements are painted white (element 37 and 39) and the third is painted red (element 41). Likewise two of the linear geometric elements are painted white (elements 34 and 35) and the remaining 4 in red (elements 32, 33, 38 and 40).

Panel B at CA-KER-735 also differs from Panel A in that there is little range in the size of the elements. There are no large elements on Panel B and most fall into the median size range of elements on Panel A. The two simple circular elements (elements 37 and 41) are, however, quite small.

Superimposition occurs in one case on Panel B at CA-KER-735. Element 39, a white disc-shaped element, is superimposed over element 40, a red linear geometric element. Thus, like Panel A, white elements are consistently superimposed over red elements. No overpainting of elements occurs on Panel B.

In sum, pictograph site CA-KER-735 consists of two polychrome panels; Panel A with 31 elements and Panel B with 10 elements. At Panel A the number of geometric figures is roughly equivalent to representational figures, whereas at Panel B geometric figures far outnumber representational figures. Black, white, and red are the colors found on Panel A with white being predominant. An equal number of red and white elements are found on Panel B. All of the bighorn sheep on both panels are painted in white. Additionally, all of the mounted horsemen and linear geometric figures are painted in white on Panel A. No correlation between type and color was noted on Panel B, except for the bighorn sheep. The two largest elements on Panel A are both circular geometric figures. No large elements are found on Panel B. There are two cases of superpositioning at Panel A and one case at Panel B. In all three instances a white element is superimposed over a red element. No overpainting occurs at either panel.

Comparison between CA-KER-735 and CA-KER-736

The close proximity of pictograph sites CA-KER-735 and CA-KER-736 and the similarity in types of elements at each site warrants a closer comparison of the data from each. As discussed, a total of 31 elements are found at CA-KER-735 Panel A, 10 elements at CA-KER-735 Panel B and 20 elements at CA-KER-736. (See Chapter IV).

At all three panels, geometric figures outnumber the total number of representational figures. At CA-KER-736 there are 13 geometric and seven representational figures; at CA-KER-735 Panel A there are 16 geometric and 15 repre-

sentational figures; and at CA-KER-735 Panel B there are 9 geometric figures and only one representational figure. This makes for a combined sum of 38 geometric and 23 representational figures for the three panels. Among the geometric figures there is an approximately equal number of circular as opposed to linear geometric elements represented, with a total of 20 linear or non-distinct elements and 18 circular or radiating elements for all three panels. Bighorn sheep are the only representational figures found at all three sites. There are two mounted horsemen figures each at CA-KER-735 Panel A and at CA-KER-736. Three of the 4 have two persons mounted on each horse. Of the 9 bighorn sheep represented at the 3 panels, all but two have front-facing horns.

Red and white are the predominant colors at all 3 panels with a total of 35 white elements, 17 red elements, and three red and white elements. Black, orange, pink and purple/red comprise the remainder. All of the bighorn sheep and mounted horsemen elements at all 3 panels are painted white. These are the only element types for which there is an absolute correlation with color. It should be noted, however, that this color correlation does not hold true for bighorn sheep elements at Ayres Rock, Panamint City, or the Day-of-Freedom Rockshelter.

The largest elements at both sites are composed of either geometric figures or anthropomorphic figures. The same holds true for Ayres Rock where there are several large anthropomorphic figures. Also, there is a tendency for these large anthropomorphic figures to have headdresses. Alternatively, the mounted horsemen figures and bighorn sheep figures are small by comparison. This is unlike many panels of the Coso petroglyphs where bighorn sheep are often quite large.

Overpainting occurs only at CA-KER-736. Of the four overpainted elements, 3 are geometric elements and 3 are

overpainted with white pigment. There are 6 examples of superpositioning at the three panels. In 5 of these cases, white is the color of the element which is superimposed over another element. No correlation between types of elements superimposed over other types of elements can be discerned.

Thus, the overall similarities between sites CA- KER-735 and CA-KER-736 suggest that they fall within a single style or substyle area and should be classed as such.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank David Whitley for his help in the field and otherwise. Thanks to Sandra Uchitel for her help in the field. Thanks to Carolyn and Jim Shepherd for the use of their vehicle.

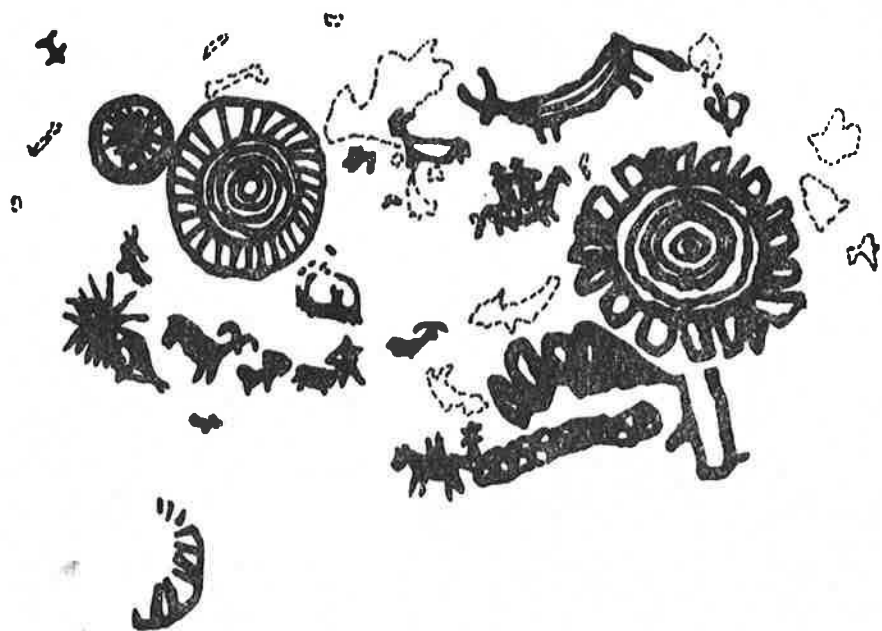


FIGURE III-1
CA-KER-735, Panel A layout. All elements 11% of original size.

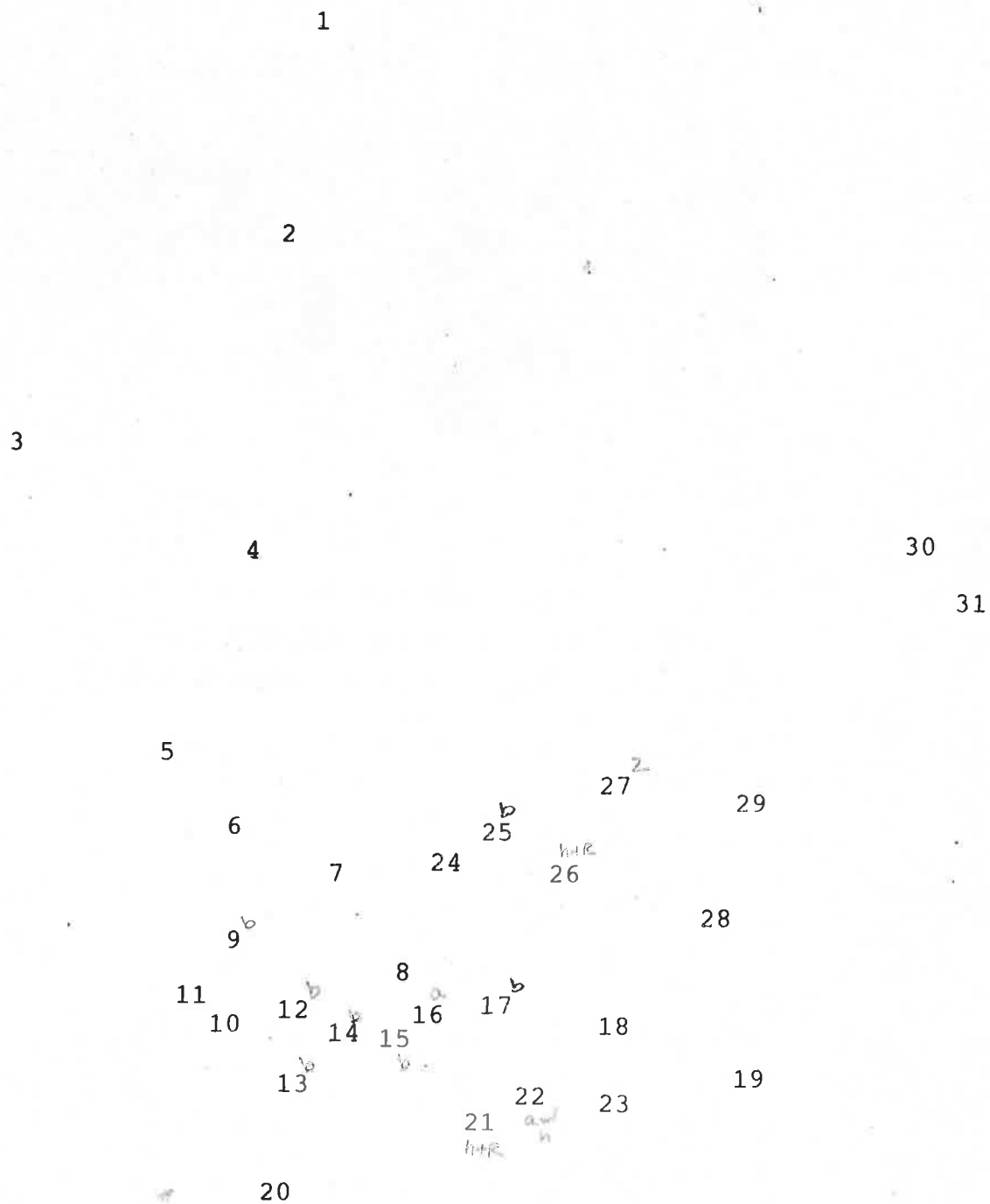


FIGURE III-2
CA-KER-735, Panel A, key to Figure III-1.
Numbers refer to element numbers in text.



FIGURE III-3
CA-KER-735, Panel B, layout.
All elements 11% of original size.

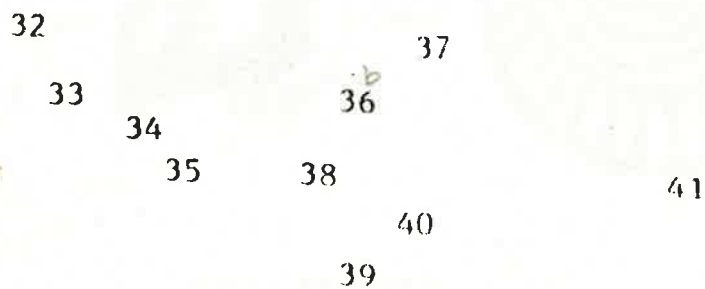


FIGURE III-4
CA-KER-735, Panel B, key to Figure III-3.
Numbers refer to element numbers in text.



10R4/8

A



10R4/8

B



10R4/8

C



white

D



white

E



■ 10R4/8

■ white

F



10R4/8

G



white

H



white

I

FIGURE III-5

Individual elements, numbers 1 through 9, CA-KER-735, Panel A.

Munsell color designations to right of each element.

All elements 21% of original size.

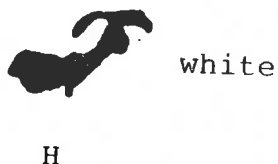
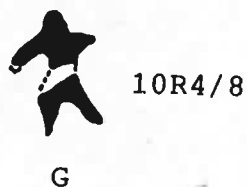
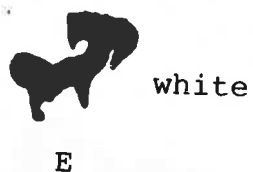
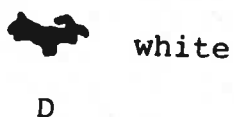
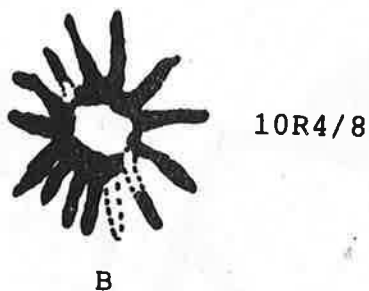
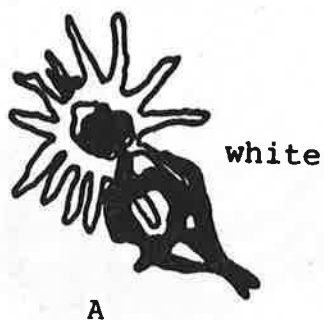


FIGURE III-6
Individual elements numbers 10 through 17, CA-KER-735, Panel A.
All elements 21% of original size.

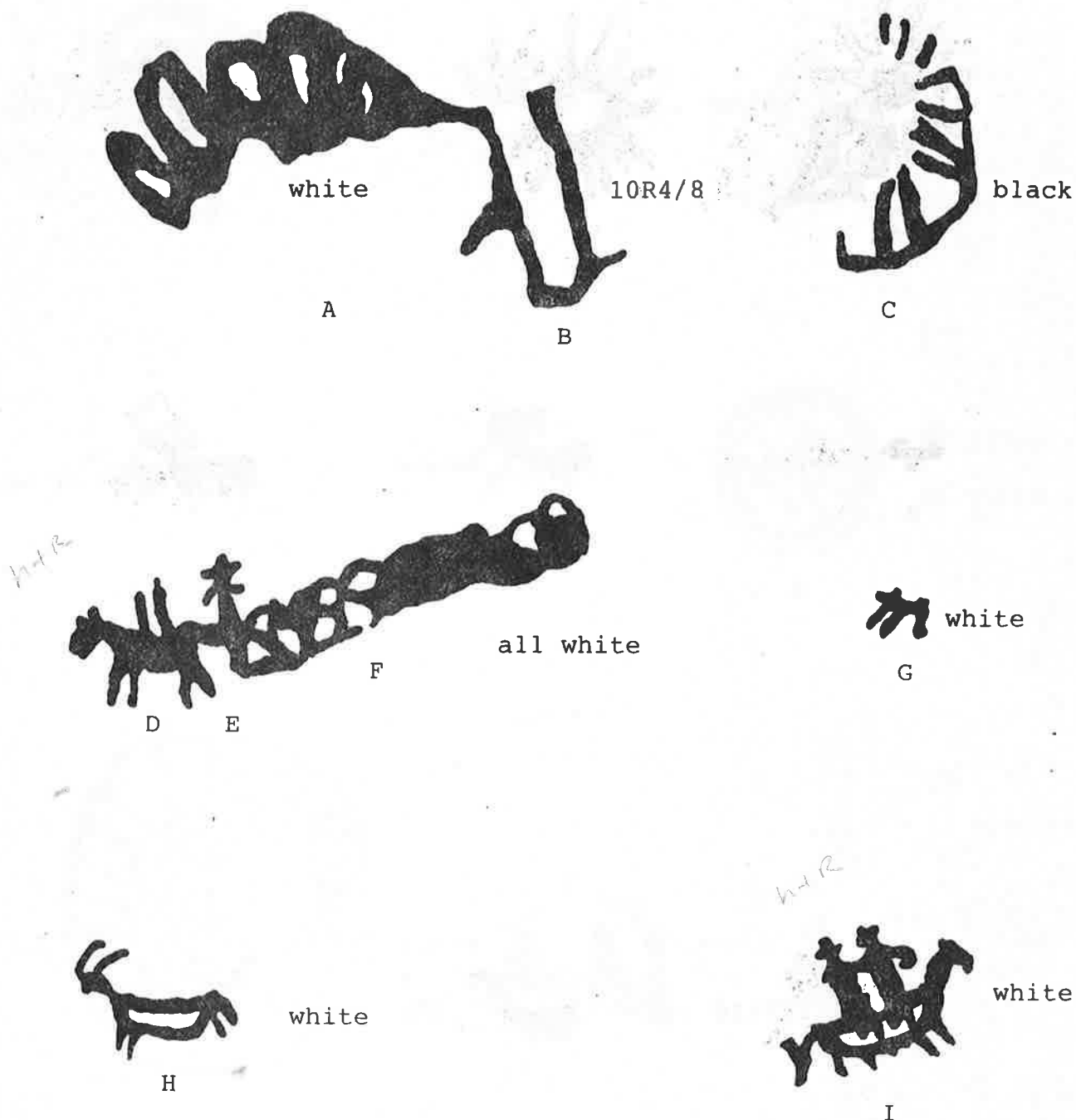
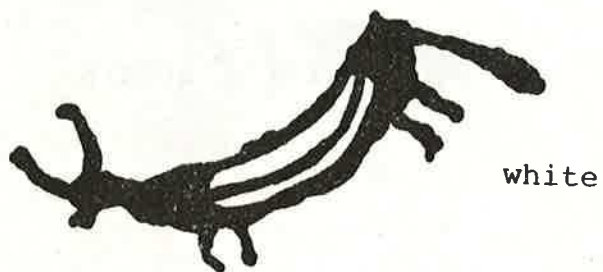
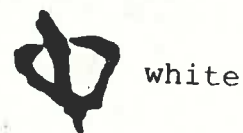


FIGURE III-7
Individual elements numbers 18 through 26, CA-KER-735, Panel A.
All elements 21% of original size.



A



C



D



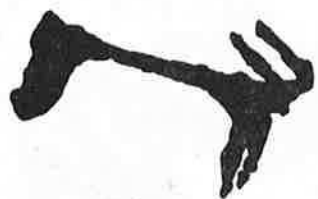
B

■ white
■ 10R4/8



E

FIGURE III-8
Individual elements numbers 27 through 31, CA-KER-735, Panel A.
All elements 21% of original size.



10R4/8

A



10R4/8

B



white

C



white

D



white

E



white

F

FIGURE III-9

Individual elements numbers 32 through 37, CA-KER-735, Panel B.
All elements 21% of original size.

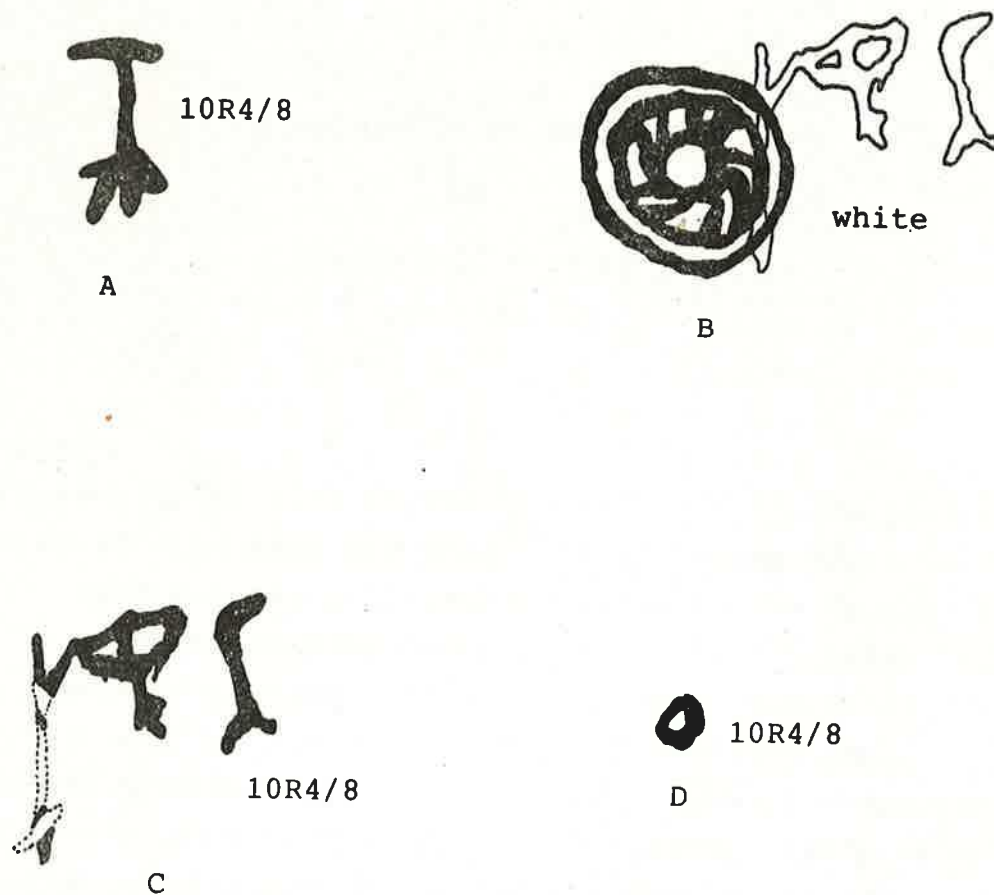


FIGURE III-10
 Individual elements numbers 38 through 41, CA-KER-735, Panel B.
 All elements 21% of original size.

CHAPTER IV

ROCK ART OF CA-KER-736

by

Theresa C. Whitley

Introduction

Archaeological site CA-KER-736 is a polychrome pictograph site located near the upper end of Indian Wells Canyon in Kern County, California. Noted on the United States Geographical Survey Owens Peak 7.5 minute quadrangle, the site is approximately 5 miles northwest of the point where the Los Angeles Aqueduct crosses the lower end of Indian Wells Canyon. Owens Peak lies approximately two miles west/northwest of the site. The pictograph panel is rendered on the largest granite boulder situated directly above a fenced corral on the steep north slope of Indian Wells Canyon. The granite overhang can be seen from a distance of two miles and lies at an elevation of 5800 feet.

The shelter itself measures 15 meters in length, 6 meters in depth and faces due south. Inclination of the rock face is 34° from vertical. A small obsidian lithic scatter was noted just above the creek bed below CA-KER-736. Approximately one-half mile upstream a small midden deposit was encountered. Pictograph site CA-KER-735 is located one and one-half miles to the west of CA-KER-736.

There are 20 elements still recognizable at CA-KER-736, consisting of 7 anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures and

13 geometric or abstract figures. Two large anthropomorphic figures, connected by a zig-zag and diamond chain element, comprise the central portion and focal point of the panel. A large shield-like element to the left of these is also visually dominating. Six of the elements at the site can be described as a series of concentric rings of disc-like elements. Also notable are two distinct horse and rider figures and one bighorn sheep figure, all found in the lower left quadrant of the panel. Colors used at the site include red, orange, pink, white, and red-purple. While the colors at the western end of the shelter are still relatively bright and well preserved, elements are considerably less well preserved towards the eastern end of the panel. The figures at the far eastern end are quite faded, apparently from sun and wind erosion. In addition, at that end of the panel, there are several barely visible zones of color which might have been recognizable elements at one time. Some differential fading of colors at CA-KER-736 seems to have occurred. White pigment is most visible at the site, followed by orange and pink. The red and the purple-red elements in particular seem to have faded to the greatest degree. No intentional vandalism is evident at the site.

The only known published reference to site CA-KER-736 is a brief summary of its attributes by Stephan B. Andrews (1980) included in Garfinkel, Schiffman and McGuire's Archaeological Investigations in the Southern Sierra Nevada: The Lamont Meadow and Morris Peak Segments of the Pacific Crest Trail (1980).

Pictograph site CA-KER-736 was recorded by a crew of four persons on November 16, 1980 and on January 1, 1981. At that time photographs, field notes and clear plastic plicofilm tracings were taken. Clear plastic tracings provide the actual dimension of individual elements

and their spatial relationship with other elements on the panel. Munsell color coding of individual elements were taken in the field and noted on the pliofilm.

Description of the Elements

The following is an element-by-element description of site CA-KER-736. Individual elements are depicted in Figures IV-3, 4 and 5 and an overall layout of the panel is provided in Figures IV-1 and IV-2. Drawings are made from xerox reductions of actual pliofilm tracings. All monochrome elements have been rendered in black to maximize visibility of various features. Two-color elements and some overpainted elements are rendered in black and grey. The Munsell color designation for each element is provided directly beside each drawing. A hollow outline is used to represent an element which overlaps the particular element depicted. Scale is provided for each figure. Note that Figure IV-2 provides a key to relate the individual elements in Figures IV-3, 4 and 5 to the panel layout in Figure IV-1. Again, to maximize visibility, all elements where possible have been depicted in black in the Figure IV-1 panel layout. Refer to the individual element drawings and descriptions for the specific Munsell color designation of each element.

Element 1: a red and white shield-like design, reminiscent of shield designs on nearby Coso petroglyphs (Grant 1968:23); 62 cm. in length and 36 cm. in maximum width (Figure IV-3A). Most of the red pigment on this element has been absorbed into the granite rock surface, whereas the white pigment has not. Different lines of red pigment, however, are darker than others and may indicate overpainting at some point after the original painting of the red. There are two locations on the element where red pigment has been clearly painted on top of white pigment, thus indicating differential weathering and/or painting of the two colors.

Element 2: an orange, geometric element consisting of a diagonally trending line which is crossed by an upward curving semi-circle approximately one-third the distance from it's bottom end. Another curving line intersects it at the bottom end (Figure IV-3B). This element is 20 cm. in length and 14 cm. in maximum width with line width varying between .5 and 1.5 cm.

Element 3: a pink circular element consisting of four concentric rings (Figure IV-3C). The innermost ring has a small gap on the left side, and the right side is connected to the next ring by a line of pigment. This element is still relatively bright in color and is well preserved. The diameter of this element measures 16 cm., with line width varying between 1 cm. and 1.5 cm.

Element 4: a large red anthropomorphic figure apparently with headdress. This element measures 75 cm. in height and 37 cm. in maximum width. Spots of white pigment have been overpainted over the legs and feet of this element (Figure IV-3D) and are shown in grey. The outline of a portion of element 8 is shown here where it intersects with element 4,

Element 5: a purple-red circular element consisting of three concentric rings surrounding a central solid disc (Figure IV-3E). The diameter of the largest ring measures 25 cm. across and the line width of the rings averages 1 cm. This element is badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed into the rock surface.

Element 6: a purple-red circular element consisting of two concentric rings surrounding a central solid disc (Figure IV-3F). The diameter of the largest ring measures 15 cm. across, and the line width of the rings averages 1.5 cm. This element is badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed into the rock surface.

Element 7: a large purple-red anthropomorph figure with outstretched arms which leans slightly to the right (Figure IV-4A). It measures 72 cm. in height and 38 cm.

in maximum width. The shaded outline of a portion of element 8 is shown here where it is overpainted over element 7. Element 7 is badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed in the rock surface.

Element 8: an orange zig-zag and diamond shaped horizontal trending chain which extends along the major length of the painted panel at CA-KER-736 (Figure IV-4B). It measures 94 cm. in length to the left of element 4 and 130 cm. in length to the right of element 4. Height varies between 3 and 8 cm. Dotted areas in Figure IV-4B show white over-painting over the original lines of a portion of this element as well as superpositioning of a large white paint smear. The outlines of elements 4 and 7 are shown where they intersect element 8.

Element 9: a purple-red circular element consisting of a central solid disc surrounded by three concentric rings (Figure IV-4C). The diameter of the largest ring measures 23 cm. across and the line width of the rings averages one cm. This element is badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed into the rock surface.

Element 10: these two red zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figures are painted very closely together and so are drawn together here (Figure IV-4D and E). Element 10, on the left, is a hollow-headed, upright, standing figure with two upper limbs, two lower limbs and a tail-like appendage which extends downward from the torso. Element 11, on the right, has a pointed appendage or headdress which extends upward from the top of the head. Also an upright standing figure, it has two upper and two lower limbs which extend downward from the torso. Element 11 is 20 cm. in length and 6 cm. in maximum width. These two elements are very badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed into the surface of the rock.

Element 12: a red element which is geometric in form and consists of four vertical lines (Figure IV-5A).

The left two vertical lines and the right two vertical lines are each connected at the bottom by a horizontal line. Another short horizontal line is painted directly beneath the two central vertical lines. This element is 13 cm. in height and 16 cm. in width with line width averaging 1 cm. This element is badly faded and all pigment has been absorbed into the rock surface.

Element 13: a white circular shaped element consisting of an irregularly shaped central figure which is surrounded on three sides by a crude semi-circle or partial square (Figure IV-5B). This, in turn, is connected to a crude circle which forms the outermost portion of the element. This outermost ring has an approximate diameter of 14 cm. and an average line width of 1.5 cm.

Element 14: a white circular element consisting of three roughly concentric circles which intersect one another along the right and top sides (Figure IV-5C). The diameter of the outermost ring is approximately 12 cm. and line width averages 1.25 cm.

Element 15: referred to as a horseman, this element is rendered in white (Figure IV-5D). While the horse is clearly portrayed, the two forms which sit astride the horse are considerably more abstract. It is difficult to determine if this is meant to portray two riders, or a single rider with some sort of baggage. Somewhat delicately painted, this element is 19 cm. in height and 20 cm. in width with line width averaging 0.5 cm.

Element 16: Element 16 is another horseman painted in white (Figure IV-5E). Both horse and rider are clearly portrayed in this element. Grey areas on Figure IV-5E indicate where white has been superimposed over red pigment giving these areas a pinkish cast and indicating a superpositioning over a portion of element 17. This element measures 18 cm. in height and 23 cm. in width.

Element 17: a red geometric, diamond-shaped chain pattern which measures both 25 cm. in height and in width (Figure IV-5F). This element is delicately painted, and the paint appears to have been applied in small strokes which run perpendicular to the overall configuration of the lines drawn. Line width averages 0.5 cm. The top portion of this element may have been obscured by the superimposition of element 16.

Element 18: an orange geometric element consisting of interconnecting circles which form a chain-like pattern, measuring 27 cm. in height and 8 cm. in width (Figure IV-5G). The lower portion of this element is somewhat faded and may have lost some of it's original form or may represent pigment run-off.

Element 19: a red geometric element which has been overpainted in white. It consists of one horizontal line with two vertical lines extending downward from either end, and another one or possibly two lines extending downward from the center (Figure IV-5H). This element measures 8 cm. in height and 12 cm. in width.

Element 20: a white bighorn sheep figure reminiscent of nearby Coso petroglyphs (Grant 1968:20-21). This element has front-facing horns and appears to be two-headed (Figure IV-5I). It measures 7 cm. in height and 14 cm. in length.

Overall Layout of CA-KER-736: All elements have been rendered in black for visual clarity except for element 1. The figures outlined in broken lines represent either splashes of color which appear to have no form at all, or areas where pigment has faded beyond recognition. Note that all of the pigment areas to the left and below element 1 are white. These pigment areas are still quite visible and the paint appears to have been randomly painted or thrown onto the rock surface. The areas beside and below the two large anthropomorphic figures (elements 4

and 7) are orange in color and are highly faded. It is possible these were once portions of elements at some point in the past. The large zone of color to the right of element 12 is purple-red and also highly faded. This too might have been part of an element at one time.

Discussion of CA-KER-736

A discussion of the painted panel at CA-KER-736 demands that certain parameters of the medium be addressed, including type, placement, size, color, superpositioning and overpainting of elements. While this is by no means intended to serve as a formal analysis of this particular pictograph site, it is generally accepted that some or all of these factors were contributory in communicating ritual ideas in rock painting. Cultural affiliation and chronology are of course important on a much wider scale, but for any in-depth discussion extensive use of ethnographic materials would be required which will not be presented here.

As described, site CA-KER-736 consists of 20 extant distinctive elements consisting of 7 anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures and 13 geometric figures. The fact that the geometric figures at the site outnumber realistic figures by almost two to one indicates a possibly greater significance of some or all of these geometric patterns. By far the most numerically significant type of element at the site consists of concentric circles. Although there is some variation amongst them, there are 6 present.

The size of elements may indicate ritual significance based on the greater outlay of pigment and drawing time. Four of the elements at the site are significantly larger than other elements. These include the two largest anthropomorphic figures (elements 4 and 7), the shield-like element (element 1) and the extensive chain element (element 8). The two concentric circles located above the two large

anthropomorphic figures (elements 5 and 9) are also noticeably large, both in comparison to the other concentric circles and to the other elements.

Color may have ritual significance in communicating certain ideas in rock painting. Ethnographic accounts have much to contribute in this vein and are still relatively untapped. A look at types of elements painted at CA-KER-736 and colors used unfortunately reveals little. Most notable is the fact that both horse and rider elements are painted in white, as is the bighorn sheep element. This is more significant when viewed in relationship to nearby site CA-KER-735 where all horse and rider figures and bighorn sheep figures are also painted in white. However, looking at Ayres Rock one finds bighorn sheep painted in orange. Thus, the predominance of white for these elements may simply mean those colors were more readily available at these two sites. This is born out by the fact that red and white are the two most commonly used colors at CA-KER-736 and CA-KER-735. At CA-KER-736 7 elements are red and 6 elements are white, with an additional 3 large concentrations of white pigment on the panel. At CA-KER-735 all but one element was painted in either red or white. However, the fact that no horse and rider or bighorn sheep elements were painted in red at either site may be significant.

Both of the concentric circles above the two large anthropomorphic figures (elements 5 and 9), as well as the concentric circles between these two figures (element 6) are painted in purple-red. Also, it might be noted that there are no white elements to the right of the large anthropomorphic figure with headdress, and likewise no purple-red elements to the left of this element. This cannot be considered significant in itself, however, since all of the purple-red figures at the site are badly faded. While a differential rate of erosion may be indi-

cated, it may also mean that these were painted at different points in time with greater emphasis on a certain portion of the panel at different times. Overall, the significance of color cannot be determined by looking at the quantities of elements painted a particular color. The significance of particular colors rather can only be ascertained from ethnographic data and analogy. The fact that all of the horse and rider and bighorn sheep elements at these two sites are painted in white may be of importance. But unless it can be determined what the color white signifies, this fact is of little use in interpretations.

Superpositioning of elements may be indicative of the relative ritual significance of different elements as well as their chronological order of painting. Wellman (1979) has suggested that only a more powerful figure can be superimposed on top of a less powerful one. Very little superpositioning of elements occurs at site CA-KER-736. The horse and rider element 16 was painted on top of the uppermost portion of element 17. The extensive chain element 8 also appears to have been painted over portions of the two large anthropomorphic figures (elements 4 and 7). And finally the large smear of white paint located directly beneath the shield-like element (element 1) is superpositioned over the extensive chain element (element 8). If the concept of ritual ranking as indicated by superpositioning is valid, then this paint smear may be an unrecognized element, or it may mean that a smear or splatter of paint can be significant within a ritual system of communication. Such an argument, however, seems intuitively unlikely.

Overpainting is also frequently studied in rock art analysis since, as with superpositioning, chronological order of painting is indicated by this phenomena. There is clear evidence of overpainting on four of the elements at CA-KER-736 (elements 1, 4, 8 and 19). The large shield-like element (element 1) is by far the most interesting

of these. On this red and white element the white pigment is the best preserved color. The red pigment is faded, yet there is differential fading between specific lines of the red, which suggests that portions of this red paint were repainted at some later date. The occurrence of some red pigment on top of white pigment in certain areas also tends to indicate repainting at some later time.

The large red anthropomorphic figure (element 4) with headdress has been overpainted with white spots all along the legs and feet. Portions of the extensive chain element (element 8) have been overpainted in white specifically within the lines of the original orange pigment. And finally, the geometric figure element 19 has been overpainted in white exactly within the bounds of the original red pigment.

Thus, there is clear evidence at CA-KER-736 that overpainting of four elements has occurred at some time later than the initial painting of them. It cannot be determined what that span of time was, but the differential fading of specific lines of red pigment on element 1 indicates that there may have been some length of time in the overpainting of that element. On the other hand, it may simply represent two closely spaced paintings but with different paint batches resulting in differential weathering.

Overpainting also indicates that the specific element or symbol itself is significant enough to have been renewed or repainted. While the shield-like element appears to have been overpainted with the same color, the other three elements were not. This could mean that the form itself was most important in repainting and that the original color was not significant. On the other hand the color white may be significant, thus those three elements were overpainted in white. Whatever the reason, it is interesting that three of the four overpainted elements also consist of three of the four largest elements

at the site. The significance implied by greater size has already been touched upon in this section and bolsters the argument that overpainting occurs on more significant elements.

Generally in rock art research one assumes that the placement of each element on a panel is significant. Still, while the apparent relationship between the physical placement of various elements on a panel is observable, any interpretation of these associations remains conjectural. In looking at the overall placement of elements at CA-KER-736, however, a number of observations can be made. Initially, the overall size of the two large anthropomorphic figures (elements 4 and 7) at the site demands the greatest attention. These are located very close to one another, and are similar in size as well as in the configuration of arms and legs on each. The two large concentric circles above the head of each serves to further underscore this association (elements 5 and 9). Also, it is interesting to note the faint pigment smears which trail downward from the right side of each of these large anthropomorphic figures. These might simply represent pigment run-off, or they may have been significant at one time. Certainly a shadow effect is created by these smears, which also serves to emphasize this association at present.

The large zig-zag and diamond shaped chain element (element 8) is also visually commanding by virtue of size. The fact that it runs nearly the length of the panel, and that it is superimposed over the two central anthropomorphic figures, lends added weight to its overall significance. Chain-like patterns have been noted on pictographs in other style areas in California (Heizer and Clewlow 1973).

The large shield element (element 1) is also immediately noticeable, based both on size as well as intricacy of design. This was by far the most difficult element to trace onto clear plastic pliofilm, and gave us some idea

of the time and effort involved in painting this element.

These, then are the most noticeable elements as one approaches the site. Unfortunately elements 7 and 9 are now badly faded, so they no longer have the visual impact which was clearly intended. All of these large elements are placed in the upper half of the panel and are located on the granite rock face where visibility is greatest on approaching the site from the hillside.

Next, one is inclined to notice the cluster of smaller elements located at the lower left portion of the panel. Five out of eight of these smaller elements are painted in white (elements 13, 14, 15, 16 and 20), one is overpainted in white (element 19), and one is partially located under a white element (element 17). The two large elements which flank this area (elements 4 and 8) have been partially overpainted in white specifically in the zone adjacent to this cluster. Additionally, two of the large white paint smears fall within this zone. As previously mentioned, the white pigment is the best preserved at CA-KER-736, making this whole section stand out against some of the more faded red pigments. It should be noted that this section is located lower on the rock face and can only be well seen from a kneeling or sitting position directly in front of the panel. All of this suggests that this might represent a smaller panel within the overall panel at CA-KER-736, since one must change one's physical point of view to look at it. Also, the predominance of white elements and smears in this area coupled with the fact that all of the white overpainting occurs in this area suggests that these smaller white elements were painted simultaneously with the white overpainting; that is, sometime after the initial painting of those other three non-white elements in that area of the panel.

A general pairing of elements does seem apparent at CA-KER-736. The association between the two large

anthropomorphic figures (elements 4 and 7) and the two large concentric circles above them (elements 5 and 9) has already been noted. The two horse and rider elements also are in close proximity to one another and are comparable in size and configuration (elements 15 and 16). Also paired are the two smaller anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures located at the far right of the panel (elements 10 and 11). Thus six of the seven realistic elements painted at the site appear paired. Also, the two small concentric circles in the lower left corner of the panel fit into this pattern (elements 13 and 14). It should be noted that of these five pairs, the color of each element in the pair is the same except for the two large anthropomorphic figures (elements 4 and 7). Thus, elements 5 and 9 are both purple-red, elements 15 and 16 and both white, elements 10 and 11 are both red, and elements 13 and 14 are both white.

In sum, site CA-KER-736 in Indian Wells Canyon, California is a polychrome pictograph site which consists of twenty extant elements. Of these twenty, seven are anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures, and the remaining thirteen are geometric in form. Six of the geometric elements consist of concentric circles. Of the five colors used at the site, white and red predominate. There is a significant pairing of types and colors of elements at the site. Three pairs of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figures were noted at the site, and the elements in two of these pairs are identical in color. There are also two pairs of concentric circles noted at the site and each element in the pair is matched in color. There is evidence, based on the overpainting which occurs at the site, that CA-KER-736 was visited and painted on more than one occasion although the time between its use cannot be determined. Interestingly, three of the four elements which were overpainted at the site are also

three of the four largest elements at the site. Size has been suggested as an indicator of significance based on greater outlay of pigment and time to produce a larger element. Likewise, overpainting of specific elements has been suggested to indicate significance in terms of time and pigment outlay in renewing symbols which already exist. Thus, at CA-KER-736 there is a significant correlation between size of elements and overpainting. On the other hand, most of this overpainting is done with white pigment and occurs in the lower left portion of the panel where there is a significant use of white paint overall. The fact that one must change one's vantage point to view this portion of the panel indicates that area may have been another, smaller focal point at a time in which white pigment was either more available or more significant.

Acknowledgements

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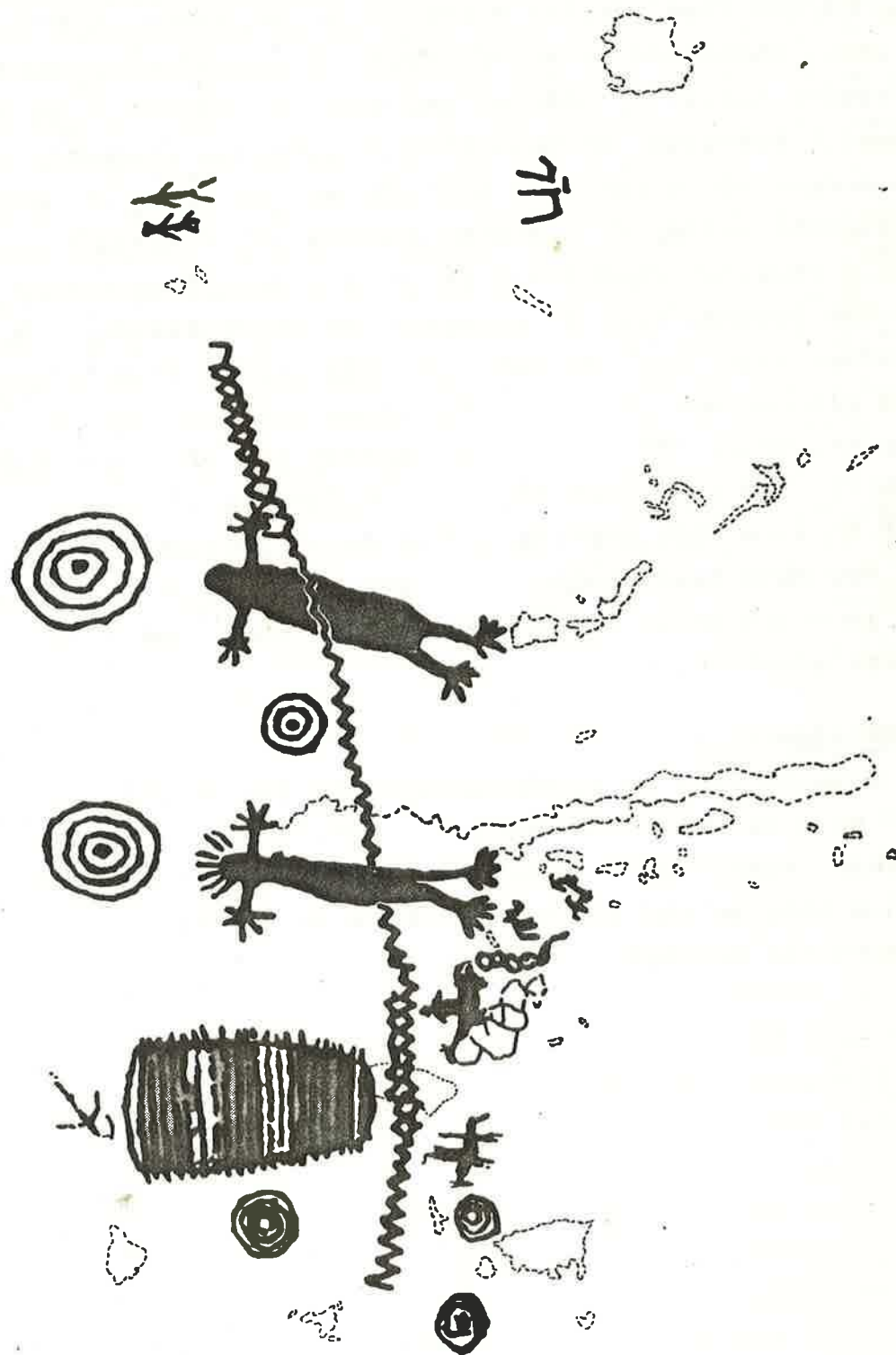


FIGURE IV-1

2	5 ✓	9 ✓	10 11
3 ✓	1 5		a a
4	2	6a	7 ✓
8	8		8
13	14	15	16
✓	✓	✓	17
			18 19
			20
			12

FIGURE IV-2

CA-KER-736, key to Figure IV-1. Numbers refer to element numbers in text.

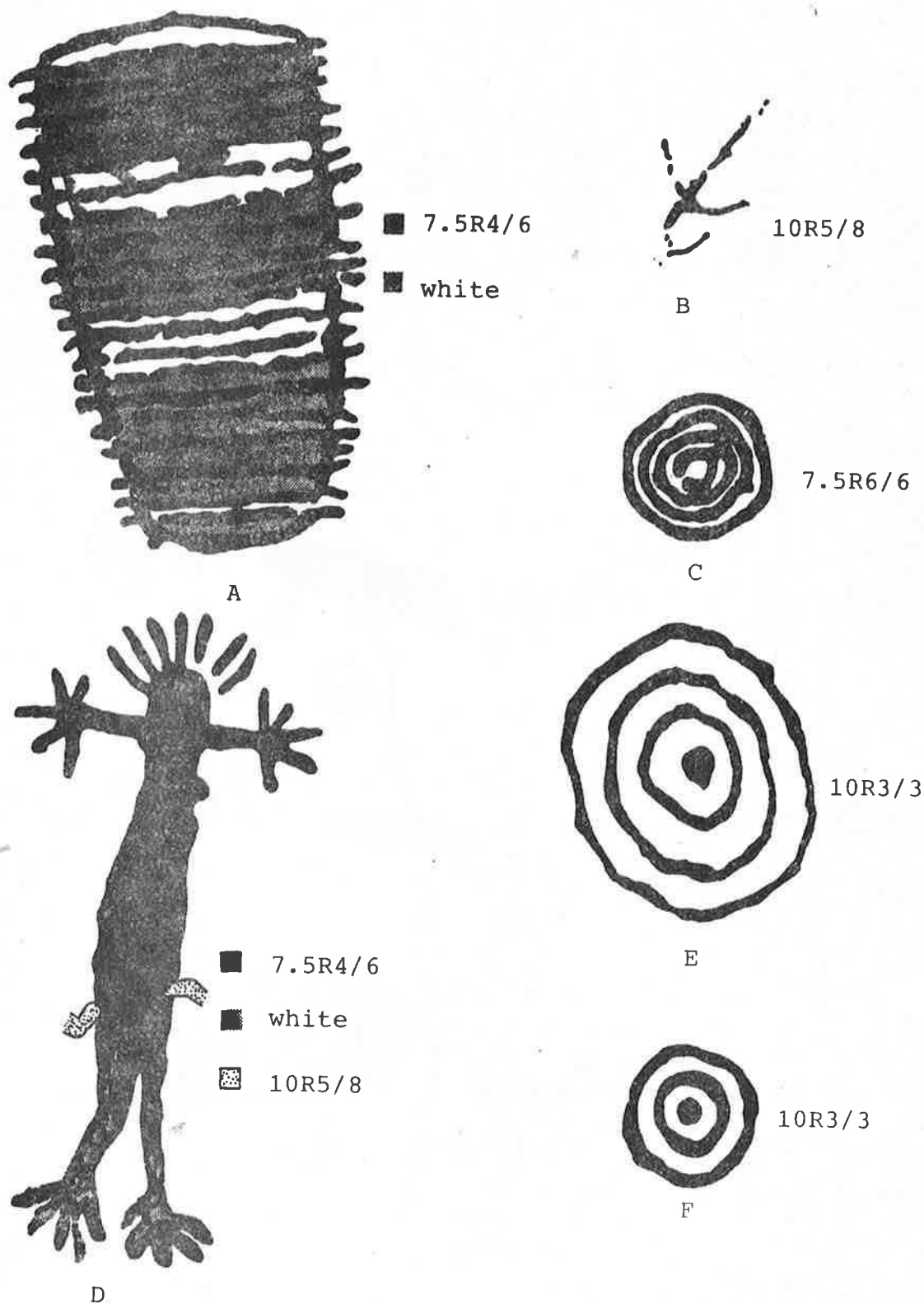
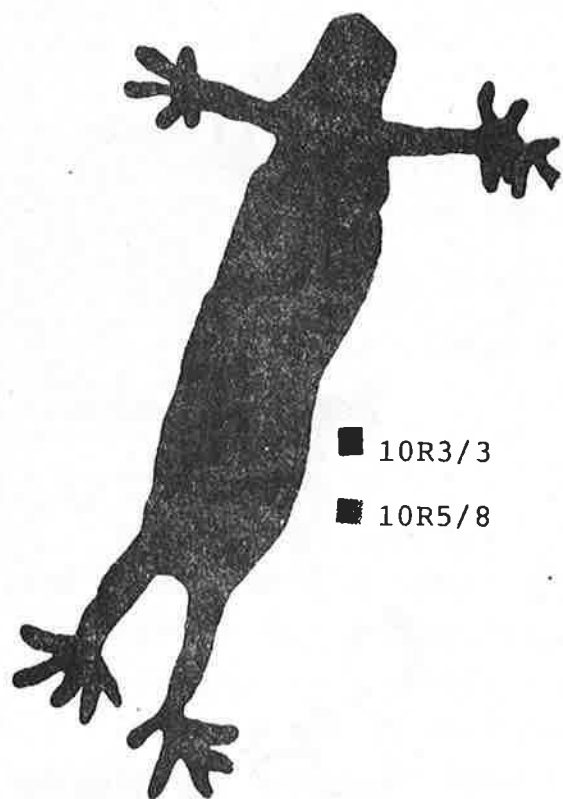


FIGURE IV-3

Individual elements numbers 1 through 6, CA-KER-736.
Munsell color designations to right of each element.

All elements 21% of original size.



■ 10R3/3
■ 10R5/8



10R3/3

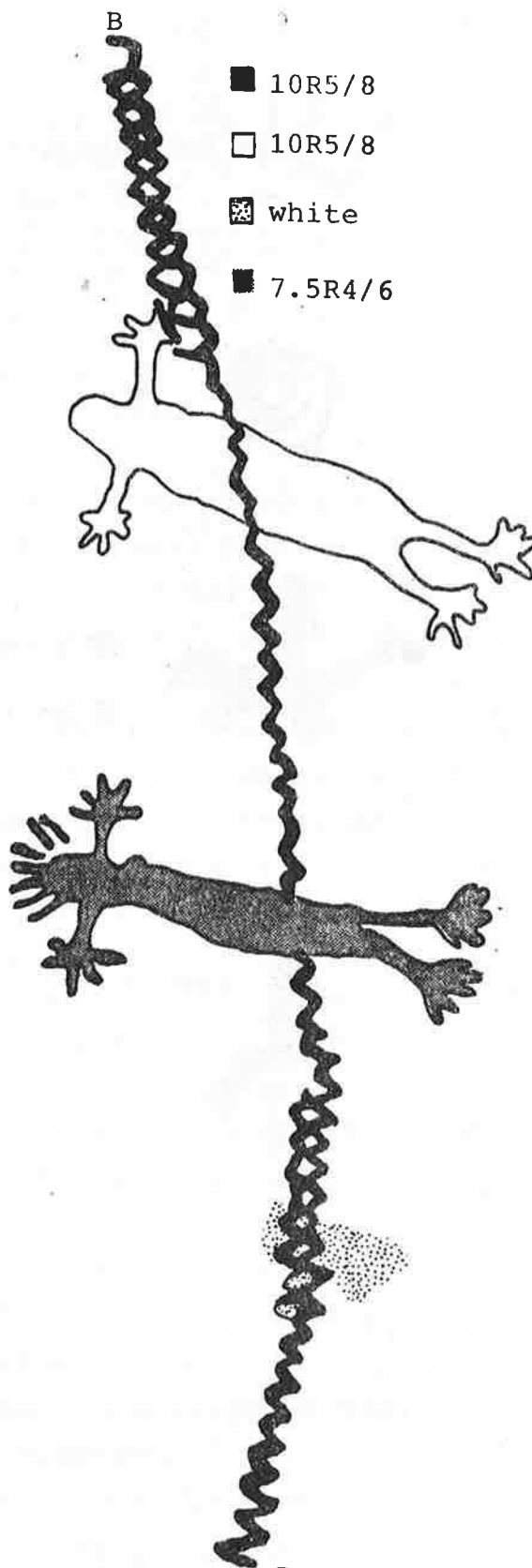


D



E

both 7.5R4/6



■ 10R5/8
□ 10R5/8
■ white
■ 7.5R4/6

FIGURE IV-4

Individual elements numbers 7 through 11, CA-KER-736.
Elements A, C, D and E 21 % of original size.
Elements B 17% of original size.



7.5R4/6

A



white

B



white

C



white

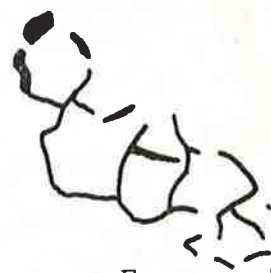
D



■ 7.5R4/6

■ white

E



7.5R4/6

F



10R5/8

G



7.5R4/6

H



white

I

FIGURE IV-5

Individual elements numbers 12 through 20, CA-KER-736.
All elements 21% of original size.

Chapter V

THE IDENTIFICATION OF PREHISTORIC ABORIGINAL GROUPS THROUGH THE STUDY OF ROCK ART

by

Alan P. Garfinkel

Examples of rock art found in the southern Sierra Nevada and western Mojave Desert of eastern California provide evidence for an archaeological distinction between two linguistic/cultural groups: The Tubatulabal and Numic speakers.

Rock art can be an especially sensitive indicator of group affiliation and group identity when it serves as a method for symbolizing group boundaries. Also in many archaeological situations, rock art is the only data useful to the study of the stylistic elements characteristic of a particular prehistoric cultural group. Rock art functions, in some instances, as a manifestation of ritual/religious systems and exhibits elements (imagery) which serve as a response to stimuli from the natural and social environment. If these stimuli differ between particular ethnic units we can expect this to be physically manifested in the drawings painted and engraved upon the rock surfaces within their respective territories.

In this light, Hodder (1979) has determined that certain elements of material culture have a cultural-symbolic dimension for human behavior. His ethnographic work suggests that material culture may act as a "language" which expresses within-group cohesion. Bennett (1975) has also found that cultural symbols often play a part in ethnicity. It has been discerned that even when human groups have parallel economies, with close interaction and cooperation

and even intermarriage, there may exist patterning in their material culture indicative of major cultural differences (Hodder 1979:447). If there appear to be certain traits which are distributed in a manner with sharp declines not explainable by a normal distance-decay falloff nor for environmental-functional reasons then we might suggest that such elements held importance as traits differentiating a social group. I would assert that in the present instance rock drawings are one such trait.

With the area of the southern Sierra Nevada and western Mojave desert, peopled aboriginally by the Tubatulabal and Panamint Shoshone, there exists a large variety and great abundance of rock art. This area, which includes Walker Pass and the region north of the pass to Mt. Whitney and east to Death Valley, contains several of the major concentrations of rock art to be found in California and the greatest concentrations of rock art to be found in the Great Basin. Further, this region contains major concentrations of three of the five rock art styles to be found within California (Grant 1971:240-241). These are: Abstract Polychrome painted, Great Basin Abstract pecked, and Great Basin Representational pecked. Also located within this area are isolated examples of the Pit and Groove style (Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser 1958; Heizer and Baumhoff 1962).

Walker Pass itself is a natural corridor for travel, being the southern-most and lowest pass within the Sierra Nevada. This pass has been termed a "gateway" to the Kern River and the lower San Joaquin Valley and it is logical that this pass facilitated human interaction between the Central Valley and the Great Basin probably for thousands of years (Grant 1971:241).

Such a large concentration and diversity of rock art within such a small region suggests that the pro-

duction of rock art here is of long standing. The elaboration of the Great Basin Representational pecked style, reaching a climax within the Coso Range, may suggest a greater age for the production of rock art within this region than that of other areas (cf. Sapir 1949). Grant believes that the production of rock art containing realistic imagery and the elaborate depiction of bighorn sheep spread out of this heartland to other areas of the Great Basin after A.D. 1000 (Grant 1968). He cites other rock art concentrations featuring bighorn sheep, notably on the Columbian-Fraser Plateau, southeastern Utah, southern Nevada and the four-corners area of the Southwest as being the products of diffusion. This data appears questionable for all but the southern Nevada area since few intervening examples exist to indicate such a spread existed.

It can be argued here that two design traditions exhibited by the rock art in this region correspond to two linguistic entities identified as the Numic and Tubatulabal speakers. The former were ethnographically identified as the Panamint Shoshoni and are thought to have produced a Coso Style rock art variant to be identified here as Coso Painted Style. Their predecessors are the postulated manufacturers of the peculiarly unique Coso petroglyph style. The Tubatulabal, on the other hand, are suggested to be the manufacturers of another painted tradition, a variant of the Southern Sierra Painted style.

The Coso petroglyph style has been identified by Grant (1968) as occurring in the Coso and Argus Ranges of the western Mojave Desert. The author has also located examples in the northern El Paso Mountains. Generally located on patinated basalt cliffs and talus boulders, petroglyphs in this area contain many images rendered in a realistic or representational fashion, although abstract images are also present. Bighorn sheep are the most dominant element de-

picted in these drawings. They are invariably drawn with front-facing horns, a feature that is extremely rare in other parts of the Desert West and must be considered a unique development of the Coso artisans (Grant 1968:18; Steward 1929:187). Also characteristic of this art are the representation of shield-like patterns, atlatls, solid and patterned bodied anthropomorphs, some having horns, headdresses, or earrings, hunters with atlatls or bows and arrows, dogs, "medicine bag" motifs, processions of stick figures, and spear and arrow point foreshafts. This rock art style is suggested to date from approximately 3000 years ago and to have enjoyed an in situ elaboration of remarkable stability until ca. A.D. 1000 (Grant 1968). The tradition is marked by increased elaboration in style over time with quality of execution improving and a general trend toward greater stylization.

Three periods are identified by Grant (1968): Early, Transitional and Late. Early period glyphs contain atlatls but no bows; the Transitional period sees the continued presence of atlatls and the bow and arrow appears for the first time; and finally, in the Late Period, the bow and arrow replaces the atlatl. An increase in the number and elaboration of sheep drawings is seen throughout the sequence and in the Late Period larger than life-size boat-shaped bodied bighorn sheep are drawn with great care.

This speculative chronology for the Coso rock art tradition is tentatively supported by archaeological data presented by Timothy Hillebrand (1972:117-129). Data from his archaeological investigations indicate that occupation in the Coso Range began some 5000 years ago and continued to historic times. He suggests that the petroglyphs are no older than 3000 to 5000 years old and that their manufacture may have been discontinued at ca. A.D. 1000.

As to the identification of the manufacturers of these glyphs it is of course often difficult to establish with certainty the cultural identity of the artists responsible for rock art but some researchers have assigned certain motifs to specific cultural groups (Grant 1965; Conner and Conner 1971; Schaafsma 1971; Keyser 1977). By applying the direct historical approach (Heizer 1941; Steward 1942) and by comparing the known distribution of rock art motifs with the distribution of aboriginal peoples the artisans may be generally identified.

Grant states:

"The drawings in this country cover a very long time span and for the whole period the art tradition remained remarkably stable. We are certain that they are the work of the same people" (emphasis added). (Grant 1968:16-17).

He argues that the prehistoric artisans of the Coso Range were probably Western Shoshone who spoke a Numic language. Historical linguistic studies indicate that this area was part of the original Numic homeland from which a later emigration took place and that the ancestors of Numic Shoshoneans would have been living in this area some 2000 to 3000 years ago (Fowler 1972; Goss 1968; Lamb 1958; Miller 1966, but see Goss 1977 for a different interpretation). Grant further supports this contention in another paper by identifying the fact that there is a remarkable coincidence between the distribution of the major concentrations of rock art sites featuring bighorn sheep, the aboriginal territory of the Shoshoneans, and the former range of desert bighorn (Grant 1971:23-28, Figure 3).

Miller (1972) refines Grant's statement by remarking that it is the distribution of Numic-speaking peoples which closely corresponds to the reconstructed distribution of

desert bighorn prior to Euro-American disturbance as reported by Buechner (1960:Figure 1). There are, of course, exceptions to the fit of both distributions, such as the area of southern California and southern Arizona into Mexico where sheep were present and a southern extension of Comanche territory outside of the southeast range of sheep. But the similarities are most apparent with reference to the traditional distributions of the Western and Central Numic language groups.

Grant (1980) identifies the boat-shaped bighorn sheep having stick-like legs and horns as characteristic of Shoshonean rock art. The boat-shaped zoomorph is a predominant form within Coso rock art and is not commonly found outside the Great Basin rock art region. Keyser (1977) also considers boat-shaped zoomorphs to have been the product of Shoshonean peoples. He links certain figures found at the site of Writing-on-Stone, in the northwestern Plains, in southern Alberta with Shoshonean hunters and raiders using the area in the 1800s.

Archaeological materials from the Junction Ranch Site (CA-Iny-1535) directly associated with rock art of the Coso style within the Coso Range have been identified as Shoshonean materials (Hillebrand 1972:126). These remains consisted of late prehistoric materials including arrow points, slate pendants and pottery. No earlier material was recovered and it was argued that the archaeological materials would date the petroglyph site no earlier than ca. A.D. 500.

Warren and Crabtree (n.d.:23) share the same opinion as the latter researchers in that they see a strong cultural continuity represented in the petroglyphs of the Coso Range. They believe that the characteristic assemblage of the late prehistoric period ca. A.D. 1000 to historic times is representative of the development and dispersion of Numic peoples across the Mojave Desert. This assemblage is

found from Rose Spring in the west to Las Vegas in the east and consists of Owens Valley Brown Ware, Desert Side-notched points, Cottonwood Triangular points, unshaped manos and metates, triangular knives, incised stones, slate pendants, pestles, bedrock mortars and shell beads.

Archaeological data for an in situ development of Numic speakers can be further attributed to the remains recovered from the Rose Spring site (CA-Iny-372; Lanning 1963). A sequence spanning the period from ca. 1950 B.C. to the protohistoric has been confirmed by a number of radiocarbon determinations (Clewlow, Heizer and Berger 1970). Most artifact types recovered at the site show only gradual change through time. Projectile point styles evolve gradually from the large Elko series to the smaller Rose Spring series with the addition of Desert Side-notched and Cottonwood points during the last 1000 years. No stratigraphic discontinuities that would be indicative of major settlement disruptions occur within the subsurface deposits. Given this cultural continuum it may be suggested that only one or a few closely related groups made use of the Rose Spring site.

A second rock art tradition has been identified within the same general area as that of the Coso ~~petro-~~ ^{petro-} petroglyph style (Garfinkel 1978; Grant 1968:106-107; Brook et al. 1977 and Ritter et al. this volume). It contains many similar elements to that of the Coso Range petroglyph style but is quite distinctive in many aspects including its technique of manufacture and most likely its dating. This rock art style consists of polychrome and monochrome paintings found on caves, shelters and open boulder faces of basalt and granite rock. The subject matter includes bighorn sheep, shield patterns, stylized anthropomorphs, deer, hunters with bow and arrows, men on horseback, sometimes with hats, cattle, mountain lions or dogs, and sunburst symbols. This inventory is remarkably similar to

that identified for the Coso petroglyph style. Further similarities to Coso petroglyphs are exhibited by these paintings including the rendering of sheep many times having full front-facing horns, a hallmark of the Coso style, and the boat-shaped body forms of zoomorphs, suggested previously as typical of Shoshonean rock art. The execution of these paintings is, in some cases, surprisingly elaborate but certainly less so than the exaggerated, larger than life-size, bighorn sheep figures of the late period Coso petroglyphs. Paintings of this type have been found in Indian Wells Canyon and the Kern Plateau (CA-KER-735, -736, CA-TUL-478 and possibly -479; Garfinkel et al. 1980; Garfinkel 1978), the Coso Range (CA-Iny-a; Grant 1967:89-90), (Ayres Rock; Uchitel 1980), the Panamint Range (Panamint City Rockshelters A, B and C; Brook et al. 1977 and this volume), and in Greenwater Canyon, Death Valley (Grant 1968:106-107; Don Martin: personal communication 1980).

Based on the subject matter, associated archaeological material, and relative freshness of the imagery an estimated date for these paintings can be suggested. The representation of "Europeans" on horseback and the depiction of what appear to be cattle at several of these sites would indicate a date contemporaneous with the time of historic European contact in this area initiating in the early to mid 1800s.

A Coso style painting (CA-TUL-478) in the southern Sierra Nevada just west of the crest of this range is directly adjacent to a small locus of aboriginal activity, a midden area containing fire-affected rock, obsidian flaked stone artifacts, several manos, and several fragments of Owens Valley Brown Ware pottery. These remains are suggestive of a late prehistoric date for the rock art site.

The Panamint City Rockshelters all contain aboriginal and historic artifacts. At the Shelter C site two Cottonwood Triangular points were recovered which have an established temporal range of A.D. 1300 and A.D. 1850.

This archaeological data suggests that these paintings date from the late prehistoric, perhaps as early as A.D. 1300, and were manufactured into the protohistoric and historic eras.

Lastly, it has been commented that these paintings all appear very fresh and that in some cases it seems the pigment is quite thick and "smeared" on the rock surfaces (Brook et al. 1977:12-13; Garfinkel 1978:97; Don Martin: personal communication 1980). This fresh appearance would be indicative of a quite recent date for these sites.

These paintings all occur within or just outside the aboriginal territory of the Panamint Shoshone and are most likely the work of these people. Historic occupation of this region by the Panamint Shoshone has been amply documented (Kroeber 1925; Steward 1938; Irwin 1980). I would like to suggest that this rock art tradition be labeled as the Coso Painted Style.

It is surprising to see such a continuity in the rock art tradition of Numic speakers. The similarity in forms, subject matter, and style of the Coso paintings and the Coso petroglyphs may derive from a similar world view, cosmology, and physical environment. They could as well be indicative of a common cultural thread. Although it is known that aboriginal peoples will "copy" earlier imagery of their ancestors without knowledge of its meaning, the similarities in style are somewhat startling. It is possible we are dealing here with a religious cult or revitalistic movement comparable to that of the Ghost Dance, which was aimed at resurrecting the old way, bringing back an age of plenty, the traditional values shared, and pre-contact economic/subsistence practices (Robert A. Schiffman: personal communication 1979).

That the bighorn sheep figures so prominently in both Numic rock art traditions is notable. Fowler (1972) has reported that the term for bighorn sheep differs in the

three Numic subbranches. She suggests that such may be the case as a result of the terms being subjected to linguistic taboos. Of further note is the fact that the word for bighorn sheep is derived from the word to beat or kill, or from the term for meat or flesh. Such associations indicate an intimate connection with hunting and emphasize the ritual importance of this animal to Numic speakers. In contrast, there is a notable absence of ethnographic data regarding the exploitation of sheep by the Tubatulabal (Voegelin 1938; Smith 1978). This seems to point to a general lack of economic importance for this animal. Apparently, mountain sheep were uncommon in the territory of the Tubatulabal and deer were plentiful. As such the latter animal was afforded primary emphasis in hunting practices. Since this is the case it would follow that the bighorn sheep would not play as significant a role in the cosmology of the Tubatulabal.

The third rock art tradition is concentrated to the west of the Numic rock art traditions and is mainly confined to the mountainous areas of the southern Sierra Nevada and along the valley of the south fork of the Kern River. These rock art sites consist of paintings chiefly on open or semi-protected granite boulders with subject matter showing virtually no influence from the Great Basin. Very few petroglyphs (two) are known in this area of the Sierra Nevada. The paintings contain elements identified as spoked wheels, "pelt" figures, semicircular designs, rayed circles, and phallic stick figures (Grant 1968:108; Andrews 1977). These images are rendered in polychrome or monochrome fashion, the latter predominating. Zoomorphs are notably absent and abstract imagery predominates in the paintings found in the aboriginal territory of the Tubatulabal (Andrews 1977:41). Lacking are the common renderings of bighorn sheep found just a short distance to the east. These sites share many qualities with those further west in

the aboriginal territories of the Yokuts and Chumash and fall within the Southern Sierra Painted Style as characterized by Heizer and Clewlow (1973:43-46).

This style is not easily dated but Grant (1965:40) writes that they "may be much older than the oldest (paintings) in Santa Barbara County". Heizer and Clewlow (1973:46) state that they "do not feel that 1 A.D. or around the time of Christ would be an unreasonable suggestion as a base date for these paintings." They further feel that a terminal date of A.D. 1600 is a reasonable one as suggested by the presence of horse figures in some paintings.

These paintings are found within the aboriginal territory of the Tubatulabal. Linguistic data suggest an in-place development for the Tubatulabal language on the order of 3000 years ago or more (Lamb 1958; Fowler 1972). Hence, it would seem most reasonable to identify these people as the manufacturers of the polychrome and monochrome abstract paintings of the southern Sierra Nevada. Other orders of archaeological data evaluated in association with this study of rock art also support a distinction between Tubatulabal and Numic populations. Information presented elsewhere (Garfinkel et al. 1980; McGuire and Garfinkel 1980), characterizing the archaeological assemblages of 34 sites located in the upland pinyon forests of the Kern Plateau, has allowed the archaeological definition of cultural patterns coincident with the linguistic boundaries of the Tubatulabal and Numic speakers. It was discerned that most Numic sites contained increased frequencies of chalcedony debitage ranging from 5 to 75 percent by weight. In contrast, sites hypothesized to have been used by the Tubatulabal rarely exceeded 5 percent chalcedony debitage by weight and were composed almost exclusively of obsidian. It was also found that Numic sites contained ground stone artifacts manufactured of stone only available in the desert areas to the east; basalt, andesite and scoria. No such

items have ever been identified at sites attributed to the Tubatulabal. Both archaeological patterns appear to date most substantially from ca. 500 B.C. to the historic period. Very little evidence has been recognized for earlier occupation in this area.

From this discussion, it can be concluded that there exists archaeological evidence for the distinction of several rock art styles and associated archaeological materials which are apparently coincident with two aboriginal linguistic/cultural groups. These groups spoke distinctive languages which it is believed differentiated approximately 2500 years ago. This estimate is fairly close to that identified for the archaeological patterns represented in the southern Sierra Nevada (500 B.C.) and the hypothesized beginnings for the rock art traditions of the Coso style petroglyphs (1000 B.C.), and Sierra painted style (A.D. 1). The degree of correspondence between archaeological and linguistic data is significant. An apparent lack of convergence between these sets of data has traditionally handicapped research aimed at such a synthesis within the Great Basin area (Hopkins 1965:50). In the present case we have evaluated the degree of correspondence between a linguistically-derived model of population movement and expansion and a model developed independently using archaeological data. The general fit between linguistic and archaeological chronology and the important role in which rock art research can play in the identification of prehistoric ethnolinguistic groups suggests a profitable interplay for historical linguistics and archaeological research which has been generally absent in the past.

Chapter VI

PICTOGRAPHS OF THE GHOST DANCE MOVEMENTS OF 1870 AND 1890

by

Robert A. Schiffman and Stephen B. Andrews

Introduction

The impact of European culture upon the aboriginal societies of the world has often resulted in the appearance of nativistic movements, wherein these societies reacted against domination by European cultures. These movements were organized attempts to revive or perpetuate select aspects of their traditional culture in the face of outside pressure to change. Since religious systems of aboriginal societies typically incorporated the central themes and values of their culture, nativistic movements generally revolve around religious and/or magical phenomena (Lessa and Vogt 1979:425).

Two nativistic movements that occurred in California during the latter half of the nineteenth century were the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890. Both of these nativistic movements were reactions against the subordinate position of Indians, and the destruction of their traditional values and lifestyles. From 1850-1870 conditions deteriorated for the California Indians. Disease and chronic illness, complicated by severe social, moral, and political disintegration, severely weakened their social framework. In addition, from 1870 through the 1890's the Indians witnessed the decimation of many food resources, the reduction

of many natural resources, the defacement of their landscape, and the loss of traditional homelands. As a result of these impacts native culture declined (Castillo 1978:113).

Under these conditions the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890 were born. In brief, these two nativistic movements envisioned the return to a traditional lifestyle. Tavibo, a Walker River Paiute from Nevada and the messiah for the 1870 movement, prophesized that the earth would be destroyed. After the destruction of the world, the game animals, fish, and pinenuts, along with the Indian, would return to earth. Included would be the return of their dead ancestors, hence the name Ghost Dance. Life would be rich and fulfilling, and the Europeans would vanish from their lands (LeBarre 1970:227). Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 movement and reportedly the son of Tavibo, stressed similar principles while encouraging all Indians to live in peace and harmony with each other and with the whites (Mooney 1973). And, in order to improve the status of their culture's existence and in anticipation of the coming golden age, believers were to return to their traditional form of life (Wallace 1965: Lessa and Vogt 1979:430).

These two religious movements effectively revitalized many aspects of native culture. One area of expression which we feel was substantially revitalized was that of aboriginal graphics. And, since rock art is a reflection of a culture's feelings, beliefs, and experiences and can be an historical record of significant events, we believe that some aspects of the Ghost Dance religion have been recorded at many rock art sites.

The purpose of this paper is to establish a connection between some aboriginal graphics sites, attributed to the Panamint Shoshone, and the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890. This theory is based upon the association between pictographic elements and ethnographic data on the Ghost Dance movements. Emphasis is on the Ghost Dance of 1890.

The supportive evidence comes from an examination of several principal sources of information. These include:

1. The style of elements depicted;
2. The temporal placement of sites;
3. The evidence supporting the Panamint Shoshone as Ghost Dance participants;
4. The analysis and interpretation of pictographic elements from five sites; and
5. The selected use of pigments at these sites. ←

Reference is made to the name Panamint Shoshone and Koso (Coso) Shoshone. Kroeber (1925), Voegelin (1938) and others have used the name Koso to refer to these people. Recently, Irwin (1980) distinguishes between the Panamint Shoshone and the Koso Shoshone. The name Panamint Shoshone has been applied by Steward (1941) who preferred Panamint Valley Shoshone over the name Koso. Recent publications (Garfinkel 1978; Ritter 1980) have chosen to use Panamint Shoshone for this culture. Due to the increased usage of this name we have selected to use Panamint Shoshone for these people.

Commentary on Style

Instrumental to understanding the relationship between several pictograph sites and the Ghost Dance are the depictions of bighorn sheep at these sites. We believe these painted graphic elements are the direct result of Ghost Dance participation among the Panamint Shoshone rather than the adherence to a central painted style practiced by this culture. While there is sufficient similarity between these pictograph sheep and their petroglyph counterparts in the Coso Range, there is, however, enough variation in the painted graphics to defer the application of a narrowly defined "Coso style" classification to these pictographs. The term Coso usually refers to the Coso Range and should not be confused with Koso, a term referring to the people presently being referred to as the Panamint Shoshone. ←

Coso
Canon

Grant (1968) in discussing the Coso Range petroglyphs suggested the emergence during the Transitional and Late periods of a characteristic style of bighorn sheep. These sheep, depicted with boat shaped bodies (flat black, round belly), front facing horns, thin legs, and a tiny head, are generally referred to as the "Coso style" sheep. However, it should be noted that all variations of sheep, including round and square shaped bodies and side facing horns were found in all periods, making precise period distinction difficult. Grant (1968) suggested that the need to accurately picture the animal became increasingly important to the sheep cult developing in the Transitional period. To facilitate this accuracy the finer and more realistic examples of sheep were formed by incising the outlines of the sheep, and then abrading the inside areas. This method of production probably contributed to the emergence of the dominant trend.

The application of paint does not present the same problems encountered by engraving, leaving the painter more freedom of choice. The pictographs under evaluation do not, however, represent a drastic departure from the sheep forms found in the petroglyphs of the Coso Range; nor, do they indicate strict adherence to the dominant "Coso style". A review of the sites currently under evaluation illustrate this. The two sheep at CA-TUL-478 (Figure VI-1) are both boat shaped with front facing horns and patterned bodies. However, neither have heads nor ears and only one has legs. In fact, none of the painted sheep examined had ears. The sheep at CA-TUL-479 (Figure VI-2) has a head with side facing horns, legs and a tail curved back towards the head. At CA-KER-735 (see Chapter III, this volume), two sheep have solid boat shaped bodies with front facing horns, one with head and legs, the other without either. Two sheep have boat shaped bodies, which are outlined, and have side facing horns with head and legs. Another sheep has side facing horns with a solid or filled boat shaped body. Four of the

sheep at this site have rounded bellies with front facing horns, a head and legs. Additional variations in sheep depiction are evident at the Panamint City site (see Ritter et al., this volume).

It is our belief that an effort was made to depict the sheep in a manner reminiscent of those in the Coso ← Range. Grant (1968) has theorized that the production of the petroglyphs and the reduction of the sheep herds occurred around 1000 A.D. Therefore, it is unlikely that a "Coso Style" would have been handed down from generation to generation. In addition, there is no ethnographic evidence for a sheep cult among the Panamint Shoshone. It is more likely that the similarity in forms is the result of an effort to revitalize hunting and rejuvenate the sheep herds. } yes
An event or belief system more recent in time should be credited with stimulating the painting of sheep. We believe this event and belief system was the Ghost Dance. The obvious variation in painted sheep is due, in part, to the individuality of the artisans, and the lack of an actual visual model when producing the pictographs (see sections of this paper on the Depiction of Sheep and on Dreamers, below).

Temporal Placement of Sites

The temporal placement of pictographs in general has been discussed by numerous researchers with dates from as early as 1 A.D. to the early or mid 1800's being suggested (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). While we do not dispute the antiquity of various pictograph sites, it is our belief that Coso style pictograph sites are late manifestations representing a time period from the early 1870's through the early 1890's. We attribute these late dates to the resurgence of native graphics brought about by participation in the Ghost Dance. With an emphasis on revitalizing traditional culture, its values, and practices, it is logical to conclude that the manufacturing of pictographs would occur as a result of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

At least three sources of evidence support attributing a late date to various sites. First is the presence of blue faceted glass trade beads at many pictograph sites in Kern and Tulare Counties (Archaeological Information Center, Bakersfield College). These beads were still in use during the late 1800's (Stephen B. Andrews: personal communication). Second are the depictions of riders on horseback found at several sites. Previous researchers have attributed dates of ca. A.D. 1600 (Heizer and Clewlow 1973) to the 1860's (Garfinkel 1978) for these riders, and have generally assumed that these riders represent Europeans.

We believe that most of these paintings are of Indians and date to post 1870 (see section on Riders, below). The third source of information are the artifacts found with the pictographs at the Panamint City rock art site. At these sites artifacts of Indian manufacture were found in direct association with objects of Anglo manufacture linking the pictographs to the occupation of Panamint City during the 1870's.

Evidence of the Ghost Dance

A prerequisite to associating the various pictographic elements with the Ghost Dance religion is the establishment that the Panamint Shoshone were followers of this nativistic movement. Evidence supporting their participation comes from the ethnographic record. Mooney (1973:802), in his work on the Ghost Dance of 1890, stated that the movement spread to all scattered bands of the Paiute and later goes on to say that a Shoshonean band living along the eastern slope of the Sierras, and closely akin to the Paiute, came to the Walker River Reservation and participated in the Dance. It is conceivable that he was referring to the Panamint Shoshone.

Kroeber (1925:872), in evaluating Mooney's work, and the effect this movement had on California Indian populations, concluded that "the Koso (Panamint Shoshone) could hardly have escaped participation". Steward (1941) verifies the

participation of the Shoshone, stating that the Dance influenced the general area. And Irwin (1980) presents historic data on the Shoshone from Inyo County which suggests these Indians would have welcomed the Ghost Dance and participated eagerly. This reference included information on the forced march in 1863 from their homes to Fort Tejon, and the continued mistreatment and occasional killing of Indians.

Also considered here is that during the late 1870's sheep ranchers in Kern County began a transition from sheep herding to cattle herding (Latta 1976). In The Saga of Rancho El Tejon, Latta (1976:251-254) described how, in 1879, 15,000 sheep were marched in bands of approximately 2,000 from the Tejon Ranch to Wyoming. The route taken by the drovers took them through Grapevine Canyon, Haiwee Meadows, Olancho, Death Valley, along the Owens River, and into Owens Valley before heading towards Nevada. In other words, the journey passed through the heart of Panamint Shoshone territory. Of interest is what effect or impression, if any, this may have had on the Panamint Shoshone.

It is conceivable that the Indians were impressed by the large numbers of sheep, and concerned that these animals were being taken away. This event could have inspired and stimulated some of the pictographs and riders on horseback, and the desire to bring back these animals through the Ghost Dance. While acknowledging that the domestic sheep are noticeably different from the wild bighorn sheep, the Panamint Shoshone were knowledgeable of both varieties. The depiction of all pictograph sheep in an earlier style would have been a matter of preference, perhaps reflecting their traditions and heritage.

Although there is no positive correlation between the pictographs or Ghost Dance and the driving of sheep through Panamint Shoshone territory, the timing of these events suggests a possible relationship between them.

Analysis and Interpretation of Pictographic Elements

Important to our argument which credits the Ghost Dance with both revitalizing an interest in producing traditional graphics as well as affecting the nature, form and meaning of the elements depicted, is the ability to establish a positive connection between some pictograph sites and elements, and the Ghost Dance and it's philosophy. This connection can readily be seen through the examination of many graphic elements, the ethnographic record, and the Ghost Dance itself. The following analysis includes a discussion of:

1. Riders on horseback;
2. The depiction of sheep;
- 3. Concentric circles and rejuvenation of the dead; and
- 4. Fertility.

The pictographic evidence is taken from five sites attributed to the Panamint Shoshone: CA-KER-735 and -736, CA-TUL-478 and -479 and Ayres Rock at Panamint City.

Riders on Horseback

Whereas previous descriptions of riders on horseback have generally interpreted these riders to be Europeans, we believe that the majority of them are Indians, more specifically Ghost Dance messengers. There are several factors supporting this. First, four of the five sites being dealt with here have riders. This common theme suggests the importance of the riders beyond merely recording seeing men on horseback. The arrival of Ghost Dance messengers, however, would have been a celebrated occasion worthy of a pictograph. Also, drawing two individuals on a single horse more realistically represents Indians sharing a ride since Indians owned fewer horses than Europeans who had greater access to having individual horses (see Figure III-7I and IV-5D). Bean and Vane (1978:670) support this interpretation when they state that the spread of the Ghost Dance was made easier

◁ "by the adoption of the horse as a mode of transportation." ▷

Additional evidence is provided by the presence of a hat on many of the riders and the pigment selected to paint these figures. A review of the five sites examined identified 17 horses with one or more riders. Twelve (70 percent) of these were in white pigment, three (18 percent) were in black and two (12 percent) were in red. The use of white as the dominant color is interpreted as symbolizing Wovoka, the messiah of 1890, who wore a "broad brimmed white felt hat" (Mooney 1973:769). "This sombrero was an important part in this spiritual stock in trade" (ibid.:775). One of Wovoka's magical powers was to place his sombrero in front of him and then pass an eagle feather over the empty hat. By doing this he, and other believers, could look into the hat and see the entire spirit world (ibid.:776). We believe that the riders, wearing what appears to be a broad brimmed hat, were painted in white to symbolize Wovoka and his white hat (see Figure III-7I). It is also possible that messengers wore white hats as a means of emulating their messiah.

The color white was also associated with the Ghost Dance of 1870. The name of the prophet of this movement, Tavibo, means 'white man' in the Walker Paiute language. Furthermore, Mooney (1965) reported that informants in Utah told him that in 1875, "two mysterious beings with white skins had appeared among the Paiute far to the west and announced a speedy resurrection of all dead Indians, the restoration of game, and a return of the old time primitive life" (Mooney 1965:4). He also notes that both races, Indians and whites, were to be white in the reorganized world to come.

Possible explanations for the riders painted in black and red could be a temporary shortage in white pigment, or that the artisans were making a distinction between Ghost Dance followers and others. These other riders may have been Europeans who were ideological targets of the Ghost Dance, and would not have been painted in white.

Depictions of Bighorn Sheep

One of our initial questions, that led to conclusions connecting these pictographs with the Ghost Dance, concerned the depiction of bighorn sheep. We questioned why, after 800 years, would the Indians of the area start painting designs similar in form to the petroglyphs in the Coso Range? As stated, while these paintings are reminiscent of those in the Cosos, considerable variation does exist.

Our answer came from an examination of the Ghost Dance doctrine which promoted a return to traditional ways and prophesized the rejuvenation of the game herds. To the Indians occupying the southern portion of Inyo County, petroglyphs would be visible symbols of a past lifestyle belonging to the world of their ancestors, especially panels depicting large numbers of bighorn sheep. After all, what symbol could be more appropriate to revitalize the past than bighorn sheep, which hopefully would actualize the return of these animals. This could be accomplished through an increase in fertility, a concept incorporated into some of the sheep at Panamint City (see Figure II-1). Heizer and Baumhoff (1962) interpret similar motifs in petroglyphs as conceptualizing fertility and hunting magic.

The diversity of bighorn sheep depicted at the five sites under review may be due, in part, to local group variation in the practice of the Ghost Dance, or to individual dreamers and artisans. These dreamers and artisans, while expressing common and consistent themes in their drawings, painted their own unique visual or dream (trance) experiences. Another factor for the variation in sheep designs is that the artisans based their drawings from the memory of sheep petroglyphs in the Coso Range and did not have an actual visual model to follow when they painted these elements.

Concentric Circles

It should be expected that graphic elements dealing with Ghost Dance subject matter would represent all phases

of the movement, from the carrying of the news of the dance, and the dance itself, to the representation of ideas promoted by this nativistic movement. Depiction of the dance does not easily lend itself to a naturalistic representation as do individual anthropomorphs and zoomorphs unless the people are drawn enacting the dance. This would be a complex undertaking on a limited surface. Instead it is more likely that an abstract representation would have been used. It is our belief that the concentric circles appearing at CA-KER-735 and -736 are representations of the Ghost Dance (see Figures III-1 and IV-1). The Ghost Dance was performed as a circle dance (Mooney 1973; Steward 1941). Steward recorded that the Ghost Dance or the Father Dance variation of the Ghost Dance was performed for five nights, during which time the dance leader stood by the center pole. Dead ancestors were supposed to appear by the pole, but could only be touched by the dance leader (Steward 1941:267). One speculative possibility is that the centers in the concentric circles represent this pole and that filled centers represent this pole after the dead spirits have returned.

The presence of the two large anthropomorphs in conjunction with the concentric circles with filled centers at CA-KER-736 suggests the interpretation given above (see Figure IV-1). These anthropomorphs are much larger than the others in this pictograph, indicating their special significance. The large figure with lines protruding from the head is reminiscent of the petroglyphs in the Coso Range which portray anthropomorphs with similar headdresses and similar thin lined appendages for arms and legs. Mooney (1965:28) indicated that sacred dance feathers were worn during dances, which might explain the headdresses on the figure at this site. This is viewed as a reference to the attempt to bring back their ancestors, in this case represented by Coso Range-like anthropomorphs.

Several interpretations are offered for the number of rings in the concentric circles. These rings could represent

the number of nights that the dance was held. As previously mentioned, Steward (1941) recorded the dance as being held for five nights. This was in reference to the Shoshone on the Snake River to the north. He also indicated other groups held circle dances lasting from two to five nights. At the two Kern County sites are concentric circle designs having two to five rings. It must be kept in mind that the Ghost Dance usually adopted the local dance forms (Steward 1941:265; Mooney 1965; Spier 1978). Mooney indicated that the dance was most commonly held for four or five nights. It is possible that the Panamint Shoshone held dances of various durations which might explain the different concentric circle patterns. They may also represent other round dances which the Shoshone held to bring rain, to make the seeds grow, to make deer plentiful, to bring good harvests, and for courting, all themes reinforced in the Ghost Dance doctrine. One variation of the circle dance consisted of the men dancing in one circle with the women dancing in a smaller circle inside that of the men's, thus creating the form of a concentric circle (Steward 1941).

Fertility

One of the tenets of the Ghost Dance was increased fertility. This included the prosperity to come in the future from an increased food supply, an increase in the Indian population through a return of their ancestors, and by an increased birth rate. Within the graphics of CA-KER-735 and -736 are elements suggestive of birth and fertility. One is the shield-like "cradle" at CA-KER-736 found in the upper left portion of the pictograph (see Figure IV-3A; see also cradle patterns in Steward 1941). A "cradle" is only one possible interpretation. The other elements are the zig zag lines found at both sites and the diamond chains found at CA-KER-736 (see Figures III-7E and IV-4B). These patterns were often used on the hoods of cradleboards to designate a child's sex: zig zag lines for boys, diamond chains for

girls (Steward 1941:296). It is further speculated that the figure with the headdress is a male and the anthropomorph without the headdress is a female, this suggested by their proximity to the zig zag lines or diamond chain patterns (see Figure IV-1). The concentric circles between these two figures could represent a round dance used for courtship and mating. The diamond chain under the cradle may have been intended to indicate the association between cradles and childbirth.

Use of Pigments

Consideration has been given to the selection of pigments in these pictographs. Red was used extensively in pictographs throughout the general region, as elsewhere. White, though not uncommon, was used much less than red. In connection with the Ghost Dance both colors could have symbolic meaning in themselves.

Both red and white paint were given by Wovoka to the delegates from the various groups that came to receive instruction in the Ghost Dance doctrine. The paint was to be taken back to their own tribes and mixed with larger quantities of paint made by them at home. The red paint was often referred to as medicine paint and was supposed to ward off sickness, contribute to long life, and assist in producing visions when in a trance (Mooney 1973). During the Ghost Dance red paint was intended to be used to decorate the faces of the participants. Irwin (1980:34) reports that ca. 1875, an individual "observed Indians in the Panamints whose faces were painted varying colors including white and red." The use of paints for pictographs, in addition to self adornment, is an example of a local variation in Ghost Dance practices. A similar variation occurred among some northern plains Indians who painted designs on their tipis and Ghost Dance shirts. White paint, discussed previously under riders, was equally as important as red.

Additional Evidence and Considerations

During the course of this research we investigated many possible pieces to our interpretative puzzle. While some of these are still under evaluation, and others have been subsequently discarded, a few additional sources of information have provided important contributions to our research. These include an examination of:

1. Shoshone mythology and the Father Dance;
2. The effect of individual dreamers on pictograph elements; and
3. The location of Ghost Dance pictographs.

→ Mythology and the Father Dance

In the pictograph at CA-KER-735 a large zoomorph dominates the upper portion of part of the pictograph (see Figure III-8A).

[This element has been interpreted by Garfinkel (1978) as a dog, coyote, or mountain lion. Garfinkel reports from personal communication with Grant that the figure could be a dog which is sometimes shown attacking sheep in the petroglyphs in the Coso Range. In most cases, however, the dogs are not larger than the sheep, or as much out of proportion to the sheep as in this case. Therefore, another interpretation for the "dog" was investigated. We suggest that this canine-like zoomorph may in fact be a wolf, or more precisely, Wolf from Shoshone mythology.

→ Steward (1941:267) recorded a role for Wolf among the Shoshone. "Ija" (Wolf), the Father, was responsible for telling the dance leader to call a dance in the early spring so that food plants would grow. Wolf is also reported as a main character in creation myths throughout the area.

What is being suggested here is the possibility that the painting of a canine could have been included for it's spiritual-mythological role, rather than being a dog ready to attack sheep. Additional support for this comes from

↳ [Steward (1941:267) when he reported on the Ghost Dance, also known as the Father Dance, among the Shoshone. The

Father Dance, which has a world renewal theme, included a round (circle) dance, and was held for five nights. During the dance the dance leader or Father impersonator stood by the center pole. Dead ancestors were supposed to return by the pole. There was no belief in world destruction but it was believed that the world would be turned inside out and be remade. It is interesting to note that the figure, in the pictograph, representing Wolf is located between two concentric circle patterns having five concentric rings. ←

The Father Dance is said to antedate Wovoka's Ghost Dance (1890), and that of Tavibo (1870), and may account for the acceptance of these movements by the Panamint Shoshone.

Effect of Individual Dreamers on Pictographs

One effect of the Ghost Dance is that it "legitimized the authority of the individual dreamer ..., and it was this feature that was directly responsible for the innovative offshoots of the Ghost Dance" (Bean and Vane 1978:670). We believe this explains many local variations to these movements including the varied forms of bighorn sheep depicted at the five sites under review. While some of these elements have been loosely ascribed to the Coso style, individual dreamers could reflect, in paint, their own impressions, feelings, and unique visions. The stylistic license employed by these dreamer-artisans would account for the variability in bighorn sheep pictographs. It should be kept in mind that the paintings, regardless of style, reflect consistent themes of the Ghost Dance as practiced among the Panamint Shoshone, here indicated by the riders on horseback and the bighorn sheep (each found at four of the five sites).

If this is correct we would expect to find that outside the area of the Coso petroglyph style, that other cultures following the Ghost Dance would reflect, in their pictographs, motifs typical to their area, and meaningful to their culture. It is also probable that the Ghost Dance messengers, and visitors to other Ghost Dance groups, could influence the local pictograph forms.

Location of Ghost Dance Pictographs

This last area for which our data is at best fragmentary, deals with the locations of Ghost Dance pictograph sites. Wovoka advised his messengers and delegates not to tell the whites of their Ghost Dance activities. The locations of CA-KER-735 and -736, and CA-TUL-478 and -479 would certainly subscribe to this principle. The two Kern County sites are located in the upper end of Indian Wells Canyon, a good distance from the mining activities that took place in this canyon. The two Tulare County sites are located in the upper end of a meadow offshoot of Lamont Meadows. These pictographs are near seasonal camps in the pinyon zone and away from areas of European activity.

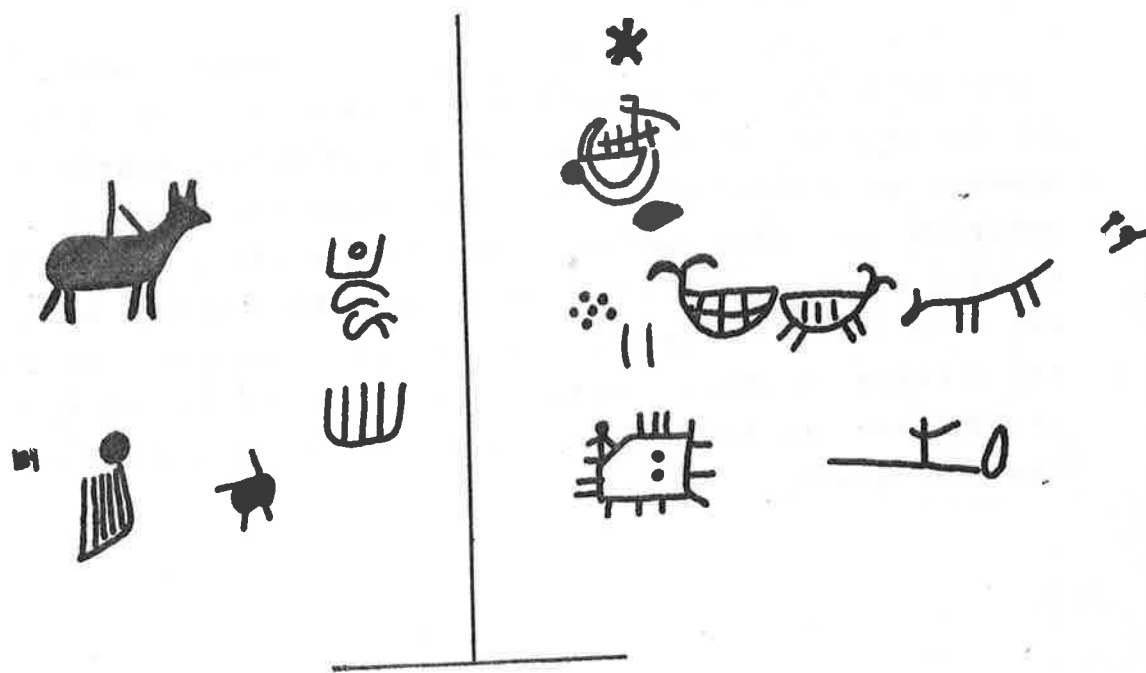
The pictographs located within the city limits of Panamint City are an enigma considering Wovoka's philosophy. It is speculated that the pictographs were so situated as to symbolically express their discontentment with the whites, what the whites were doing to their lands, and to assist in the removal of these trespassers through the Ghost Dance. Another possibility is that these paintings date to the Ghost Dance movement of 1870, where there may not have been the required secrecy. It is also very likely that the miners in Panamint City did not understand the significance, or the meaning of the paintings.

Conclusion

What this paper is proposing is that the painting of pictographs by the Panamint Shoshone was revitalized as a direct result of this culture's participation in the Ghost Dance movements of 1870 and 1890. Furthermore, we believe there is a connection between certain pictographic elements and the beliefs promoted by these two nativistic movements, whereby the pictographs symbolize and express aspects of these religious philosophies. We have been encouraged, in this research endeavor, by the numerous correlations between many pictographic designs and the Ghost Dance movements,

as presented herein.

This treatise is a product of ethnographic and archaeological evidence, and is seen as a beginning to our understanding of the impacts of European culture and Native American belief systems on pictographs. We acknowledge the need for further research into this subject, including a close examination of many additional pictograph sites. Admittedly, much of our data is preliminary and speculative; however, we believe the attempt to apply interpretations to pictograph sites is important in the continuing effort to understand Native American graphics.



Panel A

Panel B

FIGURE VI-1 CA-TUL-478



FIGURE VI-2 CA-TUL-479

Chapter VII

PERSPECTIVES ON THE PAINTED ROCK ART OF THE COSO REGION

by

David S. Whitley, Robert A. Schiffman and Stephen B. Andrews

Essential to understanding the Coso Painted style and to assert that such a regional variant exists beyond the few sites presented earlier in the volume, a review of the known Coso style pictograph sites is in order. Already mentioned in detail are three site areas, CA-KER-735 and CA-KER-736 in Indian Wells Canyon (Chapters III and IV) and the three panels in Panamint City (Chapter II). In addition to these, there are seven other known sites that exhibit elements herein attributed to the Coso Painted style.

Starting to the east of the Coso Range is the Greenwater Canyon site, located in the southeastern section of the Death Valley National Monument, and hence the furthest known Coso Painted style site to the east. Judging from a line drawing provided by Grant (1968:107, g) this site contains front and side facing horned sheep, a deer or elk, and several anthropomorph figures rendered in red, black, white and blue.

Within the environs of the Coso Range, some six miles northwest of Coso Hot Springs, is the site known as Ayres Rock, the northernmost manifestation of rock art in this hypothesized style. Based on an oral presentation by Uchitel (1980), discussions with C. W. Clewlow, Jr. who has recorded the site and is currently analyzing it, and a series of personal visits to this site, the various elements at Ayres

Rock can be reasonably well described. The site contains three panels. The easternmost facing panel consists of two large (ca. 1.1 meters in height) anthropomorphic figures painted in red, orange, blue and black. Each is depicted with a headdress and both wear what is apparently ceremonial dress or elaborate body paint. Grant (1968:89-90, 108) has described these figures as typical Tubatulabal "pelt" figures.

Surrounding these human figures are a number of smaller painted elements, including a red and orange zoomorphic figure, two handprints and two smaller anthropomorphic figures. Also present are at least six geometric forms. Overpainting and fading may have obscured an equal number of these drawings.

The northern facing panel at Ayres Rock contains a number of large and small figures, some of which are obscured by overpainting and/or fading. Most notable are four hollow bodied anthropomorphic figures, the largest of which is 54 centimeters high; two side facing horned sheep approximately 30 centimeters in length; and two boat-shaped body antlered zoomorphic figures, about 54 centimeters in length. Also present are a variety of smaller sheep, stick figure humans and geometric forms. Of these last element types, it has been argued that one of these depictions is a horse and rider. Figures on this panel are predominantly orange and white.

The final panel at Ayres Rock, facing approximately northwest, consists of a small, digitate zoomorphic element, surrounded by some random geometric blobs or faded elements. This panel is rendered entirely in black..

In sum, Ayres Rock could be argued to have a stylistic eclecticism, with the large anthropomorphic figures reminiscent of the pelt "figures" that characterize the parietal art of the Tubatulabal and Yokuts region, and the boat-shaped bodied zoomorphic figures characteristic of the Coso Painted style itself.

It is worth noting that while some of the painted elements at Ayres Rock may be reminiscent of the rock art of other portions of the state, the majority are counterparts of the Coso petroglyphs, of which the Coso Painted style is thought to be derivative.

Several sites attributed to the Coso Painted style are located in the eastern Sierras and include CA-TUL-478, CA-TUL-479 and Wasp Nest Cave. CA-TUL-478 and -479 have been described by Andrews (1979). (See Chapter VI, Figures VI-1 and VI-2.) Elements at CA-TUL-478 are painted in black, pink, red, white and orange, a variety of colors that brings to mind CA-KER-736 discussed in this volume. Elements present at this site include a horse and rider motif, two bighorn sheep drawings and a variety of geometric forms. CA-TUL-479 consists of a single bighorn sheep rendering, depicted in orange with side-facing horns. Both sites are located in an extension of Lamont Meadows, immediately west of Indian Wells Canyon, where CA-KER-735 and -736 are found.

Wasp Nest Cave, so named for the large numbers of wasps nests present there, is located towards the upper end of Sand Canyon in Inyo County. In a small natural cave are two anthropomorphic stick figures, five small shield like patterns, a sun symbol and a single round bodied bighorn sheep with two legs and side facing horns. The remaining ten plus elements are geometric forms, badly faded and/or exfoliated. The figures are painted in red, white, orange-gray, gray and black. The aspects linking this site to the Coso Painted style is the presence of several shield-like symbols and a bighorn sheep. This sheep is poorly drawn as are the shield-like elements.

A second site in Sand Canyon, in Kern County, is a collection of abstract designs, faded and partially exfoliated. None of the elements are identifiable as relating to the painted Coso forms. Figures in this small rock shelter are painted in red, white and black. This panel does not

exhibit characteristics typical of Tubatulabal rock art and is believed to be an earlier art style practiced by the Panamint Shoshoni or perhaps a style that served a different function from the Coso style pictographs. Both of these sites are situated along a trail that leads from the desert to Lamont Meadow directly past CA-TUL-478 and -479.

The remaining known pictograph sites attributed to this style are all located in the Coso Range in the vicinity of the Coso petroglyphs. We must emphasize that this listing is not the result of a thorough survey of the study region, hence the number of sites attributable to this style, will undoubtedly increase as research continues. Additionally, as knowledge of painted sites grows for this general region, new data concerning this style, its variants and variability, and its derivatives should also appear. For example, Alan Garfinkel (Chapter V) discusses the possibility that a cultural continuity existed between the production of the Coso petroglyphs and the Coso Painted style sites. A pictograph site recently recorded and currently under analysis by Theresa Whitley, Karen Buehler and David Whitley provides information on this continuity. This site, located within the confines of Lower Renegade Canyon (Little Petroglyph Canyon) contains a series of small polychrome painted anthropomorphic figures, large human figures painted in red, and boat-shaped bodied sheep, rendered with side-facing horns, drawn in black. Of significance as regards this site is the notion that a continuity in the choice of ritual locations existed between the petroglyphs and pictographs, as well as a continuity in subject matter. Additionally, and not incidentally, in the immediate vicinity of this pictograph site it has been noted that traces of red pigment are present in a number of the petroglyphs, indicating that at some time in the past the petroglyphs were both pecked into the basalt canyons and sometime thereafter painted with pigment. The presence

of red pigment within petroglyphs has also been noted in a number of pecked elements at Big Petroglyph Canyon.

Another painted site within the Coso Range, the Day of Freedom Rockshelter located in Wilson Canyon, also provides some information on the nature and variety of Coso Range pictographs. This site, recorded and under analysis by C. William Clewlow, Jr., can be characterized as falling within the realm of the Great Basin Painted style, as defined by Heizer and Baumhoff (1963). The predominant element types are monochromatic rakes and circles in red or white. Also present, however, is a painted bighorn sheep rendered with side facing horns in red pigment (Uchitel 1981).

There can be no question of a relationship between the Coso petroglyphs and the painted art of this same region. Yet, what must be addressed is the nature of this relationship. Given the similarities and the differences between the Coso petroglyphs and pictographs, several logical questions can be raised: What is the connection between these two rock art forms?; What caused the resurgence of the petroglyph forms in a later painted style?; Can we attribute the pictographs to a continuity in the groups who produced the two forms of art? Or, is the painted form a conscious attempt to revitalize the aspects of the older (i.e. petroglyph) symbolic system.

Efforts to answer these questions are provided by Garfinkel (chapter V) and Schiffman and Andrews (Chapter VI). Garfinkel attempts to associate the Coso Painted sites with the Panamint Shoshoni as part of a continuum linking these people with the earlier Numic culture credited with producing the petroglyphs of the Coso Range. The catch in using such an interpretation of style in archaeological inference is that real uncertainty exists concerning the exact nature and scale of the ethnographic group represented in the extant record of stylistic behavior (which, in this case, is rock art). Does the concentration of a certain style of rock art

in one region, for example, result from a particular kinship group, a religious cult or sect, a craft guild or an ethno-linguistic group? Based on the correspondance between the distribution of rock art sites of particular styles and the historic distribution of language groups the Coso/Southern Sierra region, Garfinkel argues for the latter interpretation of the symbolic significance of rock art, and the continuity in symbolism between the petroglyphs and the pictographs which he believes can be viewed as a continuity in the population that created them.

A dissenting view is voiced by Schiffman and Andrews (Chapter VI) who do not see the relationship between the petroglyphs and pictographs forming a continuum or representing any direct continuity between them. Rather than a continuity in the meaning of the painted bighorn sheep elements, shaman-figures, shields, and so forth, with those of the petroglyphs, they believe that these element types were incorporated into a new symbolic system: the Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance movement is in every sense a classic example of an anthropological revitalization movement: an organized harkening back to the old days and with ways to combat the destruction of traditional organization resulting from too rapid culture change. The notion that certain of the petroglyph motifs of the Coso region might have been incorporated into the local symbolism of a variant of the Ghost Dance cult is, then, very much in keeping with the general pattern of revitalization movements. The resurgence of painting in the late period could suggest a renewed need for the power contained in pictographs, and explain the selective duplication of symbols from the Coso petroglyphs and the omission of others in the painted form.

One figure conspicuously missing from all known Coso painted sites is the atlatl found in abundance in the Coso Range. If the later Panamint Shoshoni were copying the petroglyphs, why leave out such a predominant theme? Schiffman

and Andrews explain this by suggesting that the Shoshoni only copied forms understandable within their own culture, such as sheep, deer, people and the bow and arrow. The atlatl, out of use for over 1,000 years would have had little or no meaning to them. Also offered is an explanation for the painting of some petroglyphs as an attempt to enhance particular symbols important in the Ghost Dance in a medium familiar to the Shoshoni.

What conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of the Coso Painted style based on the existing data base as presented in the papers comprising this volume? Three qualities are apparent that characterize pictograph sites found in the Coso region. These are:

- 1) the re-use of earlier symbols as represented by depictions of bighorn sheep, anthropomorphs with headdresses, and shields, with sheep being the dominant theme linking the various sites together.
- 2) the use of standardized, contemporary symbols in use by the people of that period of time. Examples include concentric circles, anthropomorphic figures, and geometric patterns. And,
- 3) the use of new symbols associated with the contact (historic) period including riders on horseback wearing broad brimmed hats.

While all motifs are not present at every site ascribed to the Coso Painted style, each of the above themes is consistent with this pictograph form. And although considerable attention has been focused on the presence of sheep painting, it should be kept in mind that sheep are only part of each site and that it is a combination of all three qualities that make up the Coso Painted style. Perhaps this focus is due to the name Coso, which brings to mind the petroglyph forms of the Coso Range.

Perhaps too much emphasis has been placed on this term with all that it implies. These sites are not duplicates of an earlier incised art form. Only a select few elements

have been revived in the paintings.

It has been suggested by Andrews and Schiffman that a more appropriate name for this style is Neo-Coso in that the forms depicted are not exact duplicates of, nor do they serve the identical function as, their petroglyph counterparts. Instead of a continuous Coso art form, the pictographs are imitative of past symbols in combination with the current standardized and historically influential themes. The term Neo-Coso may better describe this painted style.

It should be apparent by now that we cannot fully answer all questions at this time. It is possible that the explanation lies in the dynamics of the Native American religious movements of the protohistoric and the historic periods, as discussed by Schiffman and Andrews. Truly we have probably opened up more issues than we have resolved in this volume, in our attempt to provide some of the data and some interpretations of the Neo-Coso Painted style sites. This monograph is not, and should not be viewed as, the last word on this pictograph style. As more data is systematically collected new interpretations are likely. It is hoped that this collection of papers will serve as a model upon which substantial additions can be made, that will induce archaeologists working in the other general regions to band their efforts together and give a greater breadth to their individual research efforts concerning the enigma that is North American Indian rock art.

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