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# CLIMBING THE ROCKS

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Helen and Jay Crotty

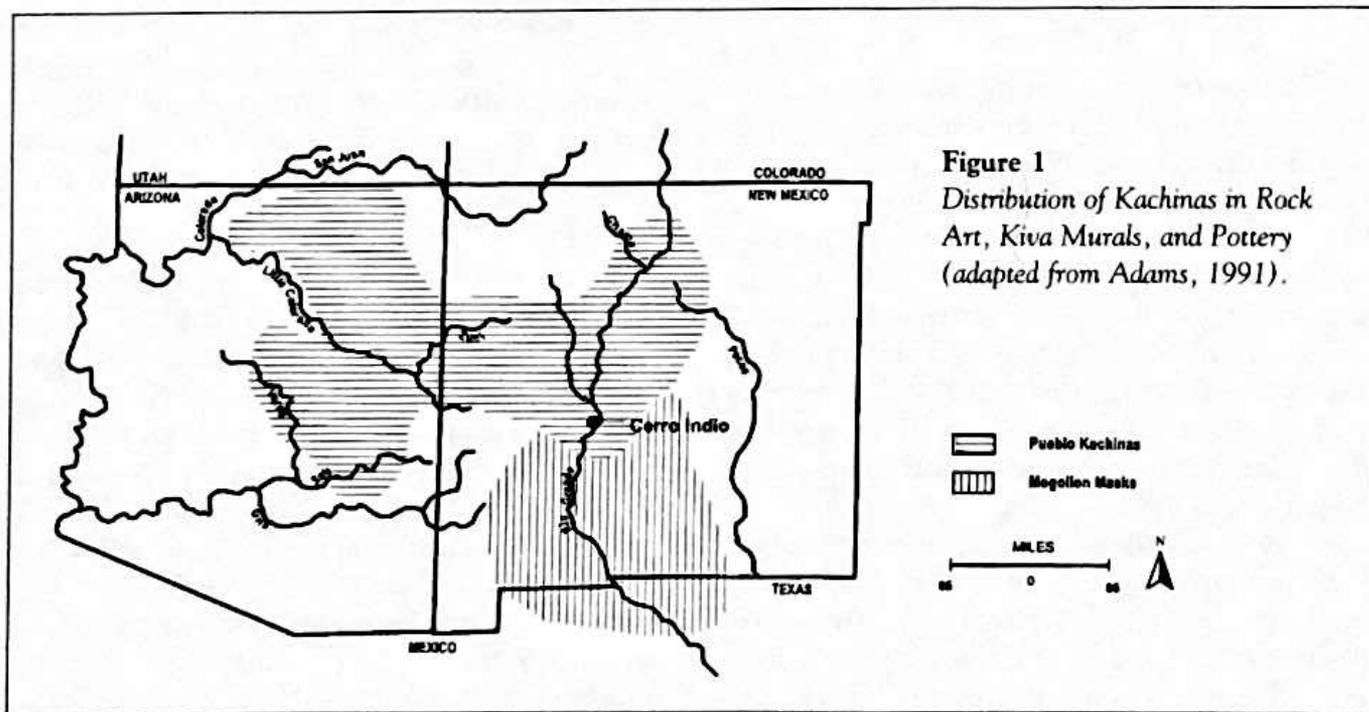
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## ROCK ART, KACHINAS, AND THE LANDSCAPE AT CERRO INDIO, NEW MEXICO

The Piro Pueblo site of Cerro Indio, located on San Acacia Butte in central New Mexico, is a powerful and unique place that has thus far received little academic attention. The occupants of Cerro Indio lived along the border zone of two major prehistoric cultural groups (Figure 1), the Pueblo and the Jornada Mogollon, at a time of mass migrations and significant change for the people of the American Southwest. They chose a place positioned high above the valley floor where the landscape could be surveyed with sweeping vistas in all directions. The rock art they carefully created to encircle their pueblo drew in the world around them, which served as the vital force behind the beings

it depicted. Distant landforms, migrating animals, seasonal phenomena, and natural rock formations were used to enhance pecked and painted depictions of supernatural kachinas and other elements of the surrounding landscape. In the following pages I will discuss the relationship of rock art, kachinas, and the landscape at Cerro Indio by providing an introduction to important terms and relevant background including the Pueblo and Jornada rock art traditions, which provided the foundation for rock art production at Cerro Indio. This paper will also examine the physical and cultural landscape of Cerro Indio, its kachinas and other rock art, and the dynamic interrelations of these features.



## TERMINOLOGY

Before an in-depth discussion regarding rock art, kachinas, and the landscape at Cerro Indio can begin, a number of terms and their usage in this paper must be clarified. First, usage of the term *rock art* will be briefly addressed. Second, the various *kachina* concepts and their manifestation in the rock art record will be introduced. Third, an explanation of the *landscape*-based approach will be offered.

In essence, the term *rock art* refers to images created upon rock surfaces in a natural setting in the form of *petroglyphs* and *pictographs*. Petroglyphs, the most common form of rock art among the Rio Grande Pueblos, are images created by means of pecking, abrading, incising, scraping, or scratching. Pictographs often occur under rock overhangs and are painted with natural pigments. Usage of the term *rock art*, although commonly accepted, may have various implications beyond those described above and is often coupled with debate. The term *rock art*, as applied in this paper, refers to a form of human expression with dynamic purpose and meaning that appears on rock surfaces in the landscape.

*Kachina* (also spelled *katchina*, *kacina*, and *katsina*) is another concept that requires some discussion and clarification. The *kachina* movement is a complex socio-religious pan-Pueblo phenomenon that manifests itself differently from community to community. It promoted harmony and the integration of the larger pueblo settlements, is associated with fertility and rain, and in many pueblos is also connected with the spirits of the ancestors (Adams, 1991). The word *kachina*, borrowed from the Hopi, is associated with three interrelated concepts--the doll, the dancer, and the deity--and have been discussed at length by numerous authors over the years (e.g., Brody 1994; Bunzel 1932; Colton 1959; Dozier 1970; Eggan 1994; Fewkes 1903; Ladd 1994). The mask associated with all three forms is not simply a facial covering

or disguise; it is a living being with the power to transform the dancer into the *kachina* it resembles. The spirit of the *kachina* and the man are essentially joined when the mask is worn. The man as *kachina* is then able to carry prayers to the appropriate god.

Representational forms of *kachinas* appear frequently at rock art sites across the Greater Pueblo Province of New Mexico and Arizona and may have served a variety of functions. Images associated with the *kachina* movement can be found in the general archaeological record in the upper Rio Grande Valley, the upper and middle Little Colorado River Valleys, the Hopi Mesa region, the Mogollon Rim, and in rare instances in the Verde Valley (see Figure 1). Similar mask-like images are also found in the Jornada rock art of the middle Rio Grande Valley but may not be part of the *kachina* movement. *Kachinas* emerge (or become recognizable as such) in Eastern Pueblo rock art, kiva murals, and pottery before Spanish contact, early in the Pueblo IV Period (1300-1600 AD) (Schaafsma 1992a). *Kachinas* may be in the form of a dancer depicting the entire body with clothing and adornments or, conversely, representations may be only the head, face, or mask image. These latter depictions, described by Schaafsma (1980) as masks, are the focus of this paper. Given that little, if any, distinction can be made between the deity and the mask, the mask-like images studied will be referred to as *kachinas* in this text.

*Landscape* was defined in the early part of the twentieth century by geographer Carl Sauer as "an area made up of a distinct association of forms, both physical and cultural" (1925:321). A landscape-based approach focuses on the interrelation of the physical and cultural layers of a space. Rock art is a unique form of human expression in that it represents a total integration of these landscapes. In most cases, rock art is found in the place where it was created, on the surface of the landscape. As Sauer pointed out, "the objects which exist together in the landscape exist in interrela-

tion...they constitute a reality as a whole that is not expressed by a consideration of the constituent parts separately..." (1925:321). As such, rock art images must be viewed not only as individual forms, but also as part of a system of features that make up a particular space. As noted landscape essayist J.B. Jackson (1980) observes, an emphasis on the usage of space by the local community has several advantages; it facilitates identification of the occupant, identification of the neighboring groups, and identification of that group's cultural values.

A focus on landscape is particularly useful when dealing with the Pueblos because of each community's intimate relationship with the land and its resources. As Anschuetz and Scheick (2000:2.6) point out, landscape plays a central role in all aspects of Pueblo life and "has come to occupy a revered place in community cosmologies." Because this paper involves a Pueblo landscape, it is of great import to adapt traditional academic views of landscape by integrating aspects of the Pueblo worldview. The Pueblo landscape perspective is not limited to what the eye can see; it incorporates all that can be perceived including the thoughts and feelings of those who enter or have entered the landscape (Anschuetz and Scheick 2000). This idea is elaborated upon by Leslie Marmon Silko, who explains that "Pueblo [people]..., the creators of petroglyphs and oral narratives, never conceived of removing themselves from the earth and the sky. So long as the human consciousness remains *within* the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term *landscape* as it has entered the English language, is misleading" (1986:84, emphasis in original). For the purposes of this paper, the traditional notion of landscape, as described above, will be expanded to reflect Pueblo landscape concepts. Therefore, the term *landscape* will be used in this text to refer to an area made up of a dynamic association of forms that includes surfacial features (such as, landforms, water sources, rock art images, and dwellings) as well as Pueblo thought and being.

## ROCK ART AND KACHINAS OF THE EASTERN PUEBLO PROVINCE

The majority of rock art found within the Rio Grande Valley and Eastern Mountains between Taos and San Marcial is believed to have been produced during the Pueblo IV Period (A.D. 1300 to 1600) and is commonly referred to as the Rio Grande Style. The early Pueblo IV Period marked the rise of representational forms and new horizons in all forms of art as Pueblo People and their southern neighbors, the Jornada Mogollon, began to migrate and exchange ideas on a larger scale. The region as a whole is noted for its great quantity of images, (some sites contain thousands of figures) as well as diverse subject matter and innovative forms. It remains unclear whether this increase in complex and diverse figures is due to a more important role of rock art production or is simply a result of the new aggregated settlement pattern. Significant creativity in form is evident through the rare occurrence of duplication (Schaafsma 1992a). Subject matter includes large decorative shields and shield bearers, terraced designs, four-pointed stars, quadrupeds, birds, insects, snakes, horned serpents, and various anthropomorphs including the continuing tradition of the humpbacked flute player. Human figures, or anthropomorphs, tend to be depicted frontally with boxy torsos, legs bent at the knee, and large feet facing the same direction. Special attention was given to heads, which are often depicted with detailed facial features, particularly in the southern and eastern areas. Kachina mask forms are perhaps the most diagnostic trait within the Rio Grande Style and display enormous variety across the Eastern Pueblo Province.

Despite underlying similarities that unite this artistic tradition, spatial variations in rock art occur as one moves through the cultural and physical subdivisions of the Eastern Pueblo Province. As a hallmark figure of the Rio Grande Style,

kachinas serve as an indicator of regional variations. Rock art north of White Rock Canyon (Los Alamos) among Northern Tiwa and Northern Tewa settlements is characterized by the near absence of kachina masks, while shields are the dominant feature. Further south in the Albuquerque Basin, Eastern Keres and Southern Tiwa kachinas become a defining element but are simpler in design compared to those found in other areas. Southern Tewa sites of the Galisteo Basin are characterized by their large quantity of war-related imagery such as large decorated shields, stars, and eagles as well as an abundance of horned serpents, and kachinas (particularly warrior kachinas) (Schaafsma 1992b). Bold outlines and facial features distinguish kachinas found at sites in this region. Southern rock art sites near the Jornada/Pueblo transition zone are known for their diverse element inventory including large numbers of kachinas, which are highly varied and detailed. Located along this transition zone, Cerro Indio exhibits an astounding array of kachina masks unmatched by any other Pueblo site. East of the Manzano Mountains, rock art associated with the Tompiro and Eastern Tiwa is also recognized for its abundance of kachina masks with fine detail, many of which are painted in various colors.

Rock art images relating to this ideographic system were strongly developed among the southern and eastern pueblos, suggesting that this socio-religious phenomenon once played a significantly more important role among these groups than is indicated today. (Note the abandonment of the Southern Tewa, Eastern Tiwa, Tompiro, and Piro pueblos after the Pueblo Revolt and a comparatively minor role of kachina ceremonies among modern Southern Tiwa communities.) Although no consensus has been reached regarding the relationship between the Jornada and Pueblo groups, Schaafsma (1994) suggests that the proliferation of kachina masks in the southern and eastern areas (and their existence throughout the Pueblo region) is due to Pueblo acceptance of ideologies from the Jornada culture with which the southern

and eastern Pueblos were spatially and temporally contiguous. While some degree of influence seems likely due to obvious similarities in particular images, more research is needed in order to determine the extent of Pueblo/Mogollon relationships.

## ROCK ART AND THE MASKING TRADITION OF THE JORNADA MOGOLLON

The Mogollon were another prehistoric farming culture who made their homes across the northern stretches of the Chihuahuan Desert in the modern-day regions of southeastern Arizona, southern New Mexico, and adjacent areas of Texas and Mexico. According to Schaafsma, the rock art in this region displays such great variability both temporally and geographically that "no single description will circumscribe what is meant by Mogollon" (1980:183). This vast region is divided into the western Mountain and eastern Desert Mogollon branches, with different rock art styles described for each group (Schaafsma 1980). For the purposes of this paper, only the Desert Mogollon and the affiliated Jornada Style (approximately A.D. 1050 to AD 1400) of rock art in southern New Mexico will be discussed due to their likely relationship with the site of Cerro Indio.

The Jornada Style is characterized by several elements with an emphasis on masks and ceremonial figures. Formal qualities of the Jornada Style include the usage of an entire rock face for a single composition; bilateral symmetry; continuous line composition often incorporating life forms; animals with internal geometric patterns, bent legs, and nucleated circles as eyes; human figures depicted frontally with feet turned outward; and stylized human faces or masks, described in detail below (Crotty 1990). Common elements include large blanket designs, horned serpents, birds, spread-winged eagles, turtles, fish, insects, tadpoles, corn, terraces, rainbows, and stylized

quadrupeds. As noted by Schaafsma, east of the Rio Grande Valley in southern New Mexico "masks and ceremonial figures are among the most diagnostic and striking designs here. They are highly individual and diversified, no two figures being exactly alike" (1980:203). Although masks in this region "exhibit a bewildering number of attributes" (Schaafsma 1980:210), characteristics which typify masks in the Jornada region can be identified. Such characteristics include rounded or flat-topped outlines, occasional ears or earrings, and depiction of eyes, nose, and mouth. Eyes are typically shown as almond shaped, although some are square or round. A central dot or line is usually added to depict pupils and eyebrows are common. Noses tend to be triangular in shape, placed high on the face, and are sometimes a linear extension of the eyebrows. Mouths, head-dresses, and facial decoration are highly varied (Schaafsma 1980). Frequent variations in mask design include those without an outline and those incorporating rock corners for a three dimensional effect. According to Schaafsma, "from an aesthetic point of view, some of the finest designs in the entire style are the mask paintings in the rock shelters at Hueco Tanks" (1980:201). The abundance of greatly varied and colorful Jornada masks found at Hueco Tanks have been thoroughly documented, described, and illustrated by Kirkland and Newcomb (1967). Some masks found at Hueco Tanks and at other sites across the Jornada region bear a striking resemblance to Pueblo kachina masks, particularly in the Mogollon-Pueblo transition areas, such as Cerro Indio. Much debate exists as to whether these images indicate a continuing artistic tradition or expressions associated with distinct socio-religious phenomena.

Aside from masks, the Jornada Style exhibits another ceremonial figure, which may be considered the "hallmark" (Schaafsma 1980) or "quintessential Jornada image" (Crotty 1990). This figure, variably referred to as a "blanket kachina" (Davis and Toness 1974), "kachina blanket" (Wellmann 1979), "bug-eyed kachina" (Steed

1979), "classic Tlaloc" (Schaafsma 1980), and "goggle-eyed figure" (Crotty 1990), is represented at nearly every Jornada site (Schaafsma 1980). The most prominent attribute is the pair of large round eyes staring from a flat-topped head. The body is trapezoidal shaped with geometric designs. Schaafsma (1999) confirms the presence of this image in southern New Mexico by A.D. 1000-1150 through its depiction on a Mimbres black-on-white bowl. It is important to note that the associations of this image with Pueblo kachinas or the Mesoamerican rain god Tlaloc also remain speculative and highly debated.

## THE SITE OF CERRO INDIO

The Cerro Indio site (LA 287) of Rio Abajo is located on a privately owned basalt butte along the western bank of the Rio Grande about 35 miles north of Socorro, New Mexico (Figure 1). A Pueblo IV settlement atop the butte is encircled by elaborately designed petroglyphs along the crest of the butte and is afforded a commanding view of the surrounding area. Several small pictograph shelters with fine-line paintings are also found on the slopes of the butte. A smaller companion Piro settlement and rock art site, known as San Acacia (LA 1999), is situated across the river. Despite a bulldozed road on the western slope and a quarry area at the base of the eastern slope, the rock art appears to be in good condition. The site is recognized for its abundance of kachinas, many of which are highly stylized and carefully executed.

There is a notable paucity of published research pertaining to the Cerro Indio petroglyphs and pictographs. The Rio Abajo archaeological survey conducted by Marshall and Walt (1984) provides the most complete site analysis to date. However, the time-consuming task of rock art recording was not the primary objective of that survey. Consequently, the petroglyphs are only briefly addressed. Schaafsma (1992, 1994) has discussed the Cerro Indio petroglyphs, particularly the masks, as an extension of Jornada culture by not-

ing stylistic similarities among images in both regions. Like the Rio Abajo survey, some documentation is provided, but no comprehensive survey has yet been undertaken. Due to the absence of thorough documentation, this author conducted a partial survey for the purpose of a larger research project (Saville 2001).

The Cerro Indio landscape includes a variety of important features that undoubtedly influenced settlement patterns and rock art production. The site is located on a basaltic andesite outcrop well into the Mexican Highlands Section of the Basin and Range Province at the eastern periphery of the Datil-Mogollon volcanic field (Weber 1963) and the southwestern end of the Albuquerque Basin. The flow that created the butte was created from locally derived materials during the early Pliocene (4.5 mya) and is interbedded with the Sierra Ladrones Formation of the Santa Fe Group (Machette 1978). The outcrop is bisected by the waters of the Rio Grande, which originally flowed west of the basalt barrier, with wide open alluvial deposits from the Rio Salado and Rio Puerco on both sides. Advantages inherent to this site's location include the vistas across the Rio Grande Valley and the numerous cloud-bearing fault-block mountains that rise along its margins. Landscape incorporation is common at Cerro Indio and these vistas and landforms often form clear relationships with individual petroglyphs. (This concept will be addressed in more detail in the Discussion section.) To the northwest are the rugged Sierra Ladrones with Ladron Peak rising to over 9,000 feet. To the northeast are the Los Pinos mountains, reaching over 7,500 feet. Polvadera Mountain, Socorro Peak, and the Magdalena Mountains all rise to similar heights on the southwestern horizon. This riparian corridor provides habitat for the massive migration of sandhill cranes, whooping cranes, and other birds, a seasonal phenomenon that also influenced petroglyph production at this site. Another advantage to the site's location is its proximity to fertile agricultural fields. The Rio Salado, which originates in the Datil Mountains and flows along the

southern foothills of Ladron Peak, is a tributary that joins the Rio Grande just upstream from Cerro Indio. Due to this confluence and the fertile silt deposited here, the area from La Joya to San Antonio has been a valuable spot for agriculture since prehistoric times (Gossett 1984). Despite a yearly average precipitation of a mere 9.13 inches (Western Regional Climate Center 2000), this valuable resource undoubtedly encouraged the new settlements that developed early in the Pueblo IV Period.

At the center of the Cerro Indio landscape are the plaza and habitation units that surround it. The site includes about 117 rooms that enclosed the plaza and a single kiva. Cerro Indio Pueblo was occupied by Piro people primarily during the Glaze A pottery period in the early 1300s with a minor reoccupation period in the 1500s (Glaze E and F) (Marshall and Walt 1984). The primary occupation period is a time marked in part by significant population growth (approximately a seven-fold increase) and colonization of new riverine areas such as Cerro Indio (Marshall and Walt 1984). The beginning of the Pueblo IV period is characterized by large-scale migrations and the mixing of diverse populations to create large new settlements and regionally diverse artistic expressions. It is also a time associated with an artistic florescence in the Pueblo region. At Cerro Indio, Mogollones likely mixed with neighboring populations from the Colorado Plateau to create a new type of settlement and a rock art system unlike that of any other known Pueblo site. Schaafsma (1994) observes many Jornada design characteristics among the estimated 300 to 400 masks at the site. Such characteristics include flat top outlines, horizontal facial striping, almond eyes, vertical line pupils, chin markings, down turned mouths, terrace patterns, and asymmetrical design (Schaafsma 1994). However, many mask designs at Cerro Indio are also found at other Pueblo IV sites throughout the Rio Grande Valley to the north, suggesting the widespread importance of particular kachinas among Pueblo communities of this time. These designs, such as the

bloody hand kachina, are unique to Pueblo communities and are not known to occur in the Mogollon region to the south. Other images, such as the fine-line polychrome kachina paintings that are found in the small isolated rock shelters along the slopes, are reminiscent of paintings at Abo Pass (part of Salinas Pueblo Missions National Monument). Despite some commonly repeated designs, the Cerro Indio kachinas are carefully rendered, intricately designed, highly individualized, and more numerous than at any other site of its size. Attributes of the Jornada artistic tradition that occur in Cerro Indio rock art are not surprising given its location along the Jornada/Pueblo transition zone and their production during a time of population reorganization.

## RESULTS OF THE KACHINA INVENTORY

Results of the kachina inventory at Cerro Indio confirm that kachinas are an important part of the rock art landscape. The methodology and classification system used in the inventory is described in detail by Saville (2001). A total of 79 individual kachinas (mask designs only) were identified in the sample area, making up 16.12% of the total inventory. The sample area includes a large portion of the eastern slope concentration. Kachinas occur on both basalt (90%) and caliche (10%) surfaces and are both pecked (79.75%) and painted (20.25%). Of those pecked, 65% were densely pecked, a technique that is far more common at Cerro Indio than at other sites in the Eastern Pueblo Province (Saville 2001). Facial features common at Cerro Indio include dot and absent eyes (50.5% and 19% respectively), absent nose (98.5%), absent and dot mouth (44.25% and 27.75% respectively), flat topped and circular outline (62% and 33% respectively), absent and feathered headdresses (54.25 and 22.75% respectively), and absent teeth and ears (91.5% and 97.5% respectively). Facial decoration for kachinas at Cerro Indio is highly individualized (Figure 2) and consequently the "other" category received

59.5% of the total, while 33% had no decoration at all. Many of the facial designs are elaborate and detailed, with nearly equal occurrences of both symmetrical and asymmetrical designs (47% and 48% respectively). Rock incorporation was not common with kachinas at Cerro Indio (96% absent). Kachinas were found isolated (15.25%), as part of a panel (30.25%), and in conjunction with other kachinas (54.5%). Kachinas here face all directions except down, with many facing south (22.75%) and southeast (25.25%). However, at Cerro Indio there are also a sizable number of kachinas that face east (20.25%).

## DISCUSSION: RELATIONSHIPS IN THE LANDSCAPE

The kachinas of Cerro Indio can be examined quantitatively, as in the preceding section, and can also be described in terms of their relationships with other landscape elements. It is the interactive quality of petroglyphs and pictographs

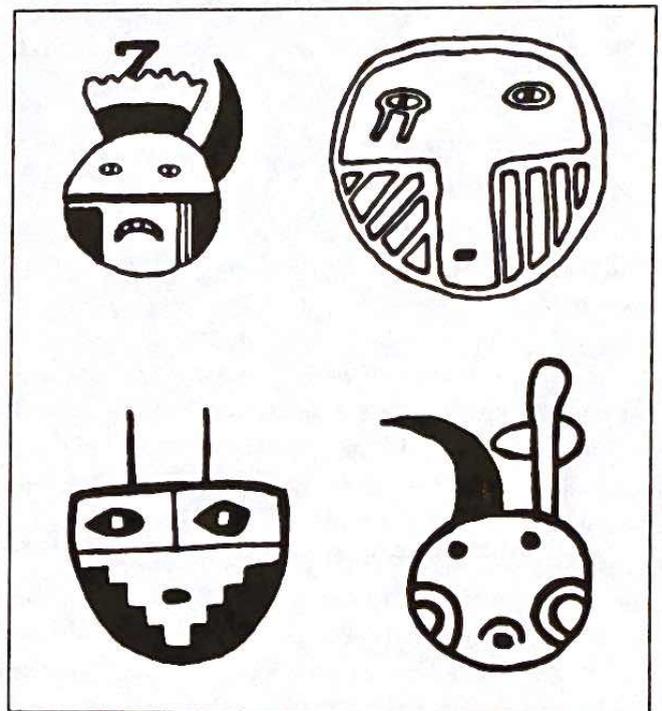
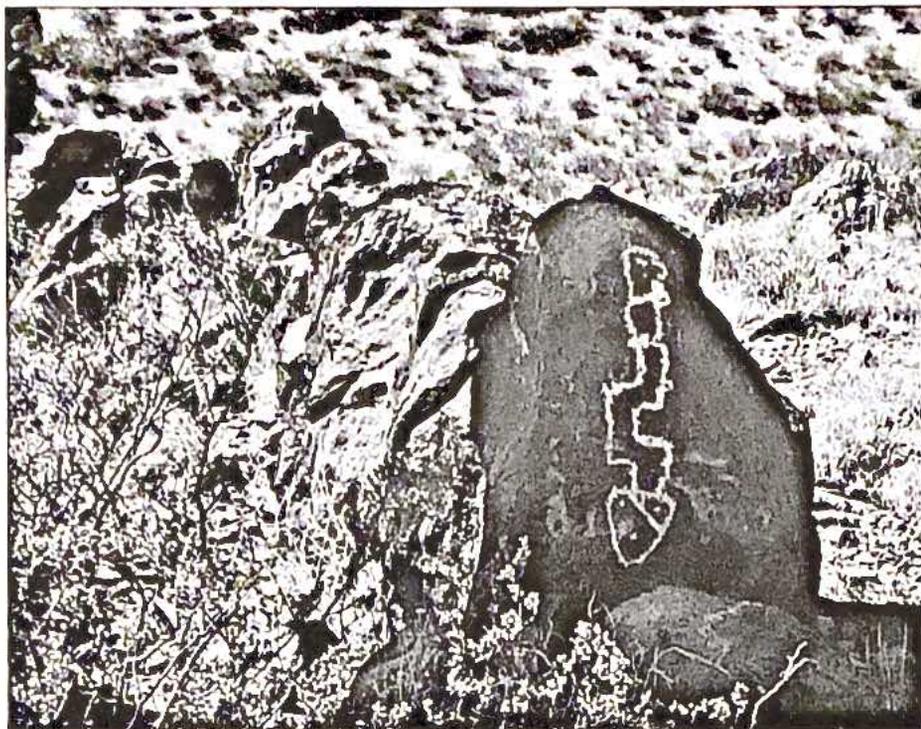


Figure 2  
A selection of individual pecked kachinas  
from Cerro Indio.



**Figure 3**

*Photograph of masked serpent petroglyph on the head of a boulder alignment. The petroglyph is given three-dimensional qualities through its placement on a natural rock formation (contrast enhanced).*

and the nature of their surroundings that provides a meaningful context for the images and alters the way we view them and the entirety of the landscape. Meinig has commented on the various ways that any landscape can be viewed. He notes that landscape perceptions "are concerned ... with the essence, with the organizing ideas we use to make sense out of what we see" (Meinig 1979:34). With this in mind, a landscape interpretation of Cerro Indio will describe the kachinas that are present as well as provide some insight regarding the context in which kachinas and other rock art images occur at this location.

The Cerro Indio rock art landscape may be viewed as a reflection. Here, the center reflects the periphery. At the center of the landscape is the pueblo of Cerro Indio, which sits atop an elongated basaltic butte with clear distant vistas in all directions. Rock art concentrations along the crest of its slopes are aligned with the four directions. Two small concentrations are found on the north and south points and two large concentrations are located along the center portions of the long east and west slopes. All concentrations show a major focus on kachinas as evidenced by

the 175 kachinas (not including ceremonial dancers) that were found on the slopes beneath the pueblo. Cerro Indio kachinas are likely the most diversified and individualized of any site in the Eastern Pueblo region. Although it is difficult to characterize kachinas at this site, most are densely pecked and commonly have flat-topped or circular outlines, elaborate facial decoration, and some kind of facial features. Painted kachinas at the site are often more abstract in design and may not have obvious facial features. Perhaps this concentration of various personages, so carefully depicted, was meant to summon the presence of kachinas from places within the surrounding landscape.

The rock art of Cerro Indio mirrors what surrounds it not simply by choice of subject matter, but also through landscape incorporation. Relationships with landscape features including animals and landforms are apparent in the placement and content of the imagery. The seasonal migration of cranes and other birds, whose route passes over the butte, is represented in the rock art. An abundance of mule deer tracks pecked into the boulders lead the animals to natural water

retaining depressions in the rocks. Near and distant landforms are also reflected in the rock art. The placement of a terrace design on the edge of a rock on the west slope appears to reflect the contours of the distant Sierra Ladrões, which serve as the backdrop for the petroglyph. The masked serpent pictured in Figure 3 is given three-dimensional form by the rock formation on which it was created. The natural rock alignment behind it creates the illusion of a snake slithering up the side of the butte. In the sample area a natural canvas is made of caliche deposits and rock shelters are used as discrete locations for fine-line paintings of kachinas and supernatural beings. At Cerro Indio, the physical landscape is drawn into the rock art to enhance its expression and the images become animated as if they were three-dimensional living parts of the landscape.

## CONCLUSION

The rock art of Cerro Indio is dominated by images of kachinas and other elements derived from the surrounding environment. These images reflect not only a close relationship with the landscape, but also reveal the interconnectedness of the Pueblo and Jornada Mogollon artistic traditions at this frontier location. Kachinas are a major element of the rock art record throughout the Pueblo region and occur in particularly dense concentrations at Cerro Indio. Here many kachinas display signs of the Jornada masking tradition including flat-topped masks, horizontal facial banding, almond-shaped eyes or eyes with pupils, rainbow chin markings, and down-turned mouths (Saville 2001). The Cerro Indio kachinas and other rock art elements engage the landscape of which they are a part through their interactive

qualities. The sight and song of the migrating sandhill cranes, the rugged contours of mountains on the horizon, the three-dimensional form of natural boulder alignments and rock shelters, smooth white caliche surfaces, and many other features of the landscape are evoked by rock art images to give them a level of vitality beyond that of an ordinary two-dimensional image.

The settlement and rock art of Cerro Indio were likely the result of an intermixing of diverse peoples, who came to have an intimate relationship with the landscape in which they lived. The rock art shows clear connections to both Pueblo and Jornada traditions and thus raises many questions about how the pueblo of Cerro Indio came to be and whether the rock art was a product of primarily Pueblo or Jornada traditions. Perhaps the Piro people developed a unique type of ceremonial center that served the needs of a cross-cultural population living along the Pueblo frontier. Jornada influence in the rock art could have been limited to stylistic expressions or particular personages rather than a wholesale adoption (and adaptation) of social and religious beliefs and practices as suggested by Schaafsma. Also the possibilities of Anasazi artists inspired by (or copying) Jornada works, Jornada artists residing at Cerro Indio, or Cerro Indio as a settlement founded by Jornada people who became Anasazi cannot be excluded. Regardless of the origins of the kachina iconography at Cerro Indio, the rock art suggests that these people conceived themselves as part of the landscape. The images they created to encircle their community reflect this intimate relationship by harnessing various sensations from the landscape and using it to bring life to images pecked and painted on stone.

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