

Hunters Shelter and White Oaks Spring Pictographs: Pecos Miniature Art in the Guadalupe Mountains of Southern New Mexico

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Two dynamic hunting scenes in the Guadalupe Mountains with figures as small as 5 mm led to recognition of a pattern of miniature figures at several sites here termed Pecos Miniature Art. These small fine-line paintings, with carefully executed detail and generally less than 25 cm tall, are stylistically and technologically similar to the definition of the Red Linear Style further downstream around the mouth of the Pecos River. The degree of stylistic similarity between the two regions of southeastern New Mexico and the Lower Pecos region of Texas suggests a shared cultural experience.

Recording of painted rock art at Hunters Shelter, a small rock-shelter high in the Guadalupe Mountains of southern New Mexico (Figure 1), led to a reexamination of the corpus of miniature, Late Archaic rock art known as the Red Linear Style (RLS) in the Lower Pecos River region of Texas, 400 km to the southeast (Mark and Billo 2009). Attributes of the Guadalupe imagery, such as size, body shape, hairstyles, tools, animals, nets, interaction between figures, general overall action, and technology of the paintings, show a strong similarity between pictographs at Hunters Shelter, White Oaks Spring, and other sites in the mountains. Likewise, the small fine-line figures have strong similarities to the Red Linear Style, but with notable differences. While the temporal relationship among the various sites and between the two somewhat distant regions is presently unknown, it appears useful at this point to describe the sites in terms of a more generic geographic terminology, Pecos Miniature Art. Examples of this miniature art are currently known in the Guadalupe Mountains and the Lower Pecos (around the Rio Grande confluence) and possibly occur also in the desert mountain ranges between those areas.

Mark and Billo's earlier research (2009) — at first in the Guadalupe Mountains and then with intensive comparison at sites throughout the Lower Pecos area — was the impetus for a Red Lin-

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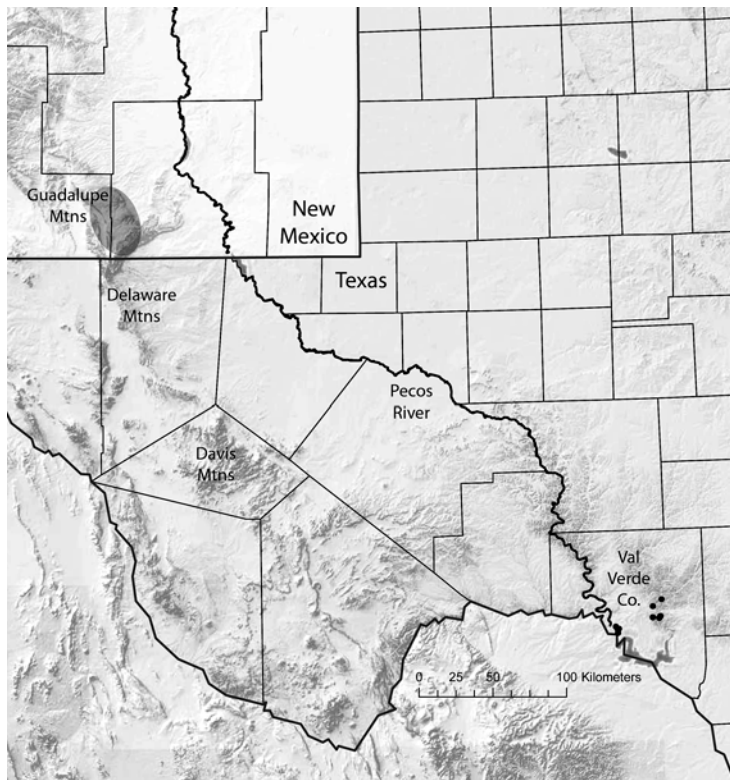


Figure 1. Pecos River region from the Guadalupe Mountain study area (shaded ellipse) of Eddy County, New Mexico, to the Lower Pecos area of the Rio Grande confluence in Val Verde County, Texas.

ear Style symposium at the 2010 annual ARARA meeting in Del Rio, with a number of papers discussing various aspects of on-going research and observations (some of those papers appear in this volume). Current attention to similar subject matter between the two somewhat distant regions is forcing a closer look at this particular kind of rock art and a reevaluation of previous explanations. As would be expected, a larger sample of sites and figures not only leads to greater recognized diversity in the art, but that increased variation also leads to greater scrutiny and inevitably new attempts to interpret those observations of the moment. The new attention includes attempted new absolute dates, new approaches to relative dating through identification of paint constituents, and of course new survey with an ever increasing number of sites. With the on-going attention toward these figures, their attributes, variation, age, distribution, and cultural implications, we are looking back on some

of the original data presented on Hunters Shelter and surrounding area (Mark and Billo 2009).

This aspect of renewed interest in the Guadalupe Mountains sites of southeastern New Mexico began with Mark and Billo's high-resolution photo documentation of Hunters Shelter, White Oaks Spring Pictographs, and other sites in the mountains, and evolved to include additional photographic documentation to help compare the Guadalupe miniature art with that of the Lower Pecos. Greer joined the team with his archeological background in both regions.

The two Guadalupe sites with similar hunting scenes are in very different settings. One is near the eastern escarpment of the Guadalupe Mountains, in a somewhat isolated location high on the wall of a deep canyon, and with an expansive view southeast out toward the Pecos River valley in the distance. The other site, more in the interior of the mountains, is topographically low and easily accessible from the intermittent streambed, just a short walk from a permanent spring and associated pool. This latter overhang faces north into the drainage. Both canyons eventually drain out the eastern escarpment of the range and into the open rolling country toward the Pecos River to the southeast. Many other similar sites of this tradition, not discussed in detail here, are scattered throughout the mountains, mostly (but not exclusively) in lower canyon-bottom settings.

In general terms, the high Guadalupe Ridge runs somewhat northeast to southwest along the west side of the mountains. The big canyons to the northeast drain mostly eastward along the back of the range and into the Pecos, while some of the southwestern areas drain into the massive salt flats at the Texas border. The canyons southeast of the ridge are impressively deep but with wide bottoms intensively utilized throughout human history for both habitation and food procurement and processing. To the north, the canyons open more gradually than they do along the southern escarpment, yet all drainages flow

generally southeastward to the Pecos River.

Archeologically there is a very long time depth of regional use, as indicated not only by work of professional archeologists for the last hundred years but also collectors, ranchers, and various visitors to the mountains. There was Paleoindian presence, a population-use increase through the middle Archaic, and then a dramatic increase in archeological sites at the end of the Archaic and into the Late Prehistoric Period. The major increase began probably around A.D. 1000 with what appears to be a florescence in site occurrence, density, and concomitant population size probably around A.D. 1300-1450. While some of the pictographs throughout the mountains are almost certainly the result of earlier Archaic production, the general themes, paint conditions, locations of sites, and intuitive impression (from walking through the mountains) suggest that most of the rock art density mirrors the general chronology of archeological site occurrence in the area. Thus, we think that painting increased significantly during the Late Archaic, or around 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., and then intensively blossomed during the period of most intensive upland procurement from perhaps 1000 A.D. to probably around 1450.

The mountains continued to be used through the Historic period, with people moving easily along ridges and down canyons along established trails and without unreasonable obstacles or complications. Historic Apache groups and early Army expeditions had no trouble accessing all parts of the range, showing that communication for purposes of group movement or passage of ideas was unimpeded by topography. Cliffs and seemingly impossibly steep, deep canyons, especially in the southern part of the range, are by-passed along established trails still used by animals. During Historic times the Apaches used the mountains for hunting, particularly deer, and for intensive gathering and processing of such edible succulents as sotol (e.g., *Dasyllirion texanum*), lechuguilla (*Agave lechuguilla* and similar subspecies), and the larger agave (*A. neomexicana* or *A. parryi*) known in Mexico as the source of mescal (and thus the ethnic Apache name, Mescalero). Historic Apache winter camps

raided by the army contained hundreds of deer and antelope hides, thousands of pounds of processed meat, and tens of thousands of pounds of processed agave (Rothman and Holder 1998:81; Wilson 1969:40), almost certainly representing a seasonal system going far back into the prehistoric past. Sites resulting from this intensive processing are best recognized as the ubiquitous ring middens (also known as roasting pits), a system in use over a very long period of time. Like most site types or recurring features, ring middens in the Guadalupe have distinctive characteristics or forms that change through time in a chronology that allows dating by casual observation better than most other site types (Greer 1965, 1966a, 1967, 1968, 1975). At present we do not know how the rock art relates to these sites, but we suspect that at least the miniature figures of interest in this paper probably equate with the early end of the ring midden chronology, or probably between A.D. 1 and 1000.

Miniature Art in the Guadalupe Mountains

Previous studies of rock art in the Guadalupe include such papers as Bilbo and Bilbo (1991), Clark (1974), Greer and Greer (1995, 1998), research papers from the 1930s (e.g., Mera 1938), and several reports and discussions published by the El Paso Archaeological Society in their publication *The Artifact* (also see references in Dillingham and Berrier 2011, this volume). Bilbo and Bilbo (1991:64) recognized a similarity between pictographs in the Guadalupe Mountains and the Lower Pecos site 41VV201, the Red Linear style type-site in Pressa Canyon. This fine-line miniature style in the Guadalupe is present through much of the mountains but is distinct from other pictographs in the range, including the presumably earlier Chihuahuan Polychrome Abstract style (Schaafsma 1992:43), the presumably later Jornada Mogollon style (Schaafsma 1992:60), and Apache protohistoric and historic rock art (Schaafsma 1992:78) — all of which are present in various parts of the mountains.

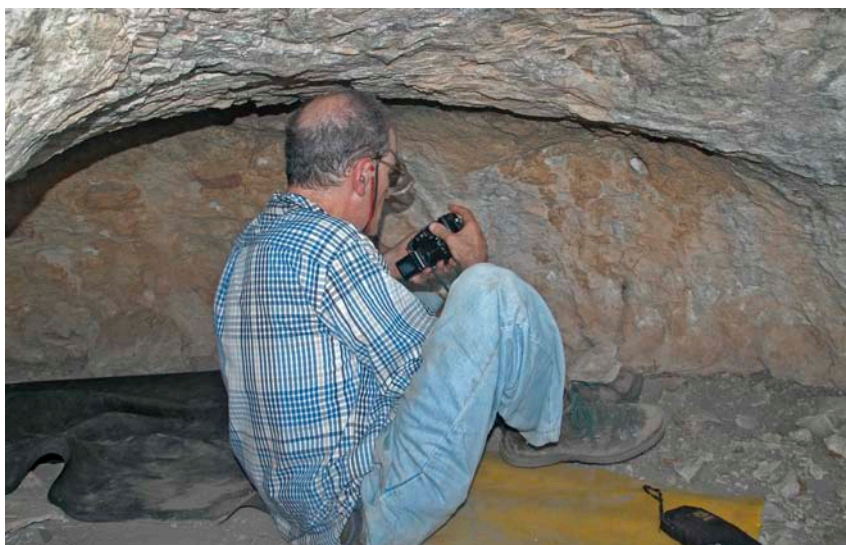
We have now examined miniature art elements in the Guadalupe Mountains at more



Figure 2. General view of Hunters Shelter, on the east side of the range.

than a dozen sites mostly in the central part of the range, and those sites collectively seem to represent a single tradition, or at least a nearly identical manner of expression. We think the concept of Red Linear Style in the Guadalupe at this point is more descriptive than a supported formal extension of a distant style or an attempted independent new one. In three small sites within our present sample of attention, including Hunters Shelter and White Oaks Spring, the miniature paintings are the only ones at the site. This is also the case at other sites in other parts of the mountains. In some more extensive sites, such as Ambush Two Hands (Dillingham and Berrier 2011), miniatures appear as a minor element within a plethora of other rock art. This pattern of occurrence is similar to that of the Lower Pecos, where Red Linear Style figures occur by themselves in small isolated sites, or as minor components within larger sites covered with Pecos River Style paintings. The main problem at this point is trying to identify how many actual technical styles are represented in our observations, and how many cultural periods and individual cultures may relate to those styles.

Figure 3. Robert Mark inside Hunters Shelter looking toward Panel C. Panel B, a lone deer, is visible above his left shoulder, and part of Panel A is at the far left shadow line. Photograph by LeRoy Unglaub.



In the Guadalupe Mountains, the Ambush Two Hands shelter contains small elements painted in black as well as red. At the recently revisited Lost Again Shelter (LA 164211) extensive miniature figures are painted in various shades of maroon and red, some similar to those at Hunters Shelter and some very different. Those two sites are discussed in this volume by Dillingham and Berrier (2011). Portable XRF (pXRF) measurements have been done in those two sites (Rowe et al. 2011) to help evaluate the number of paint recipes, and perhaps

the number of painting episodes and relative ages of the figures. Areas of paint also have been removed from those figures for attempted AMS radiocarbon dating (Steelman et al. 2010).

Hunters Shelter

Hunters Shelter is a 4 x 4 meter room-like shelter (Figure 2) high on a steep slope of an interior canyon back in from the eastern escarpment and commands a view of the valley below. The limestone shelter is about a meter from floor to ceiling and has an undisturbed flat floor of dirt and rocks (Figure 3). It is uncertain if the site contains a thin layer of cultural deposits, but there are no bedrock mortars, grinding slicks, abraded areas of bedrock, or other obvious cultural remains or indications of cultural use in the shelter.

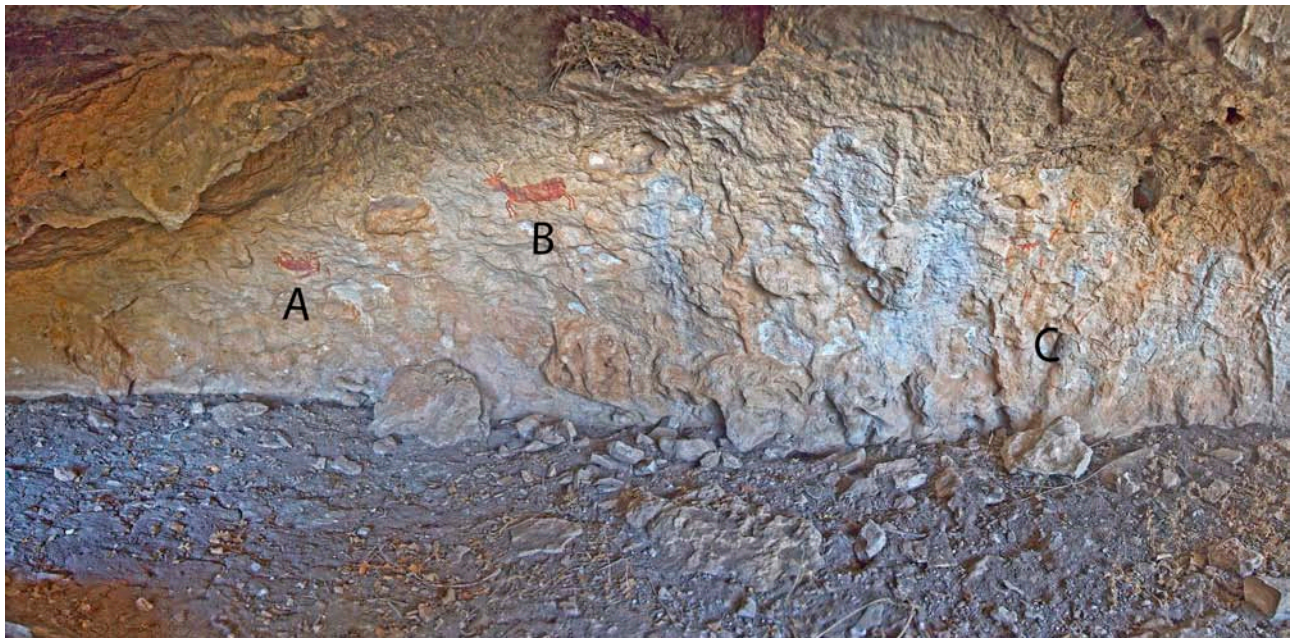


Figure 4. Back wall of Hunters Shelter, showing location of three panels. A, butchering scene; B, single deer; C, rabbit

During recording, a plastic floor covering was used to minimize disturbance to floor deposits.

Along two meters of the back wall are three panels of small red pictographs (Figure 4). From left to right, facing the back wall, are Panel A, a deer butchering scene (Figure 5), Panel B, a

lone alert deer (Figure 6), and Panel C, a rabbit-hunting scene (Figures 7-8). Between and below panels B and C are additional remnant red paint marks. The minute details of the small figures on all three panels indicate that paint was applied with a very fine brush, almost certainly a small frayed stick, an ethnographically reported (and personally observed) way to paint fine-line designs such as this.

Panel A, the deer butchering panel (Figure 5), is a unified scene that depicts a specific event or refers to a specific action, story, or concept. The scene covers an area 20 cm wide, 15 cm tall, and extends from 44 cm above the floor. Seven people surround a reclined deer on its back and presumably dead. Six of the people, with weapons set aside on the ground, work on the deer. Three hold the legs, one holds the tail, and the remaining two are in the body cavity apparently removing internal organs. The headdresses or hairstyles are all similar form, with a front-piece of various

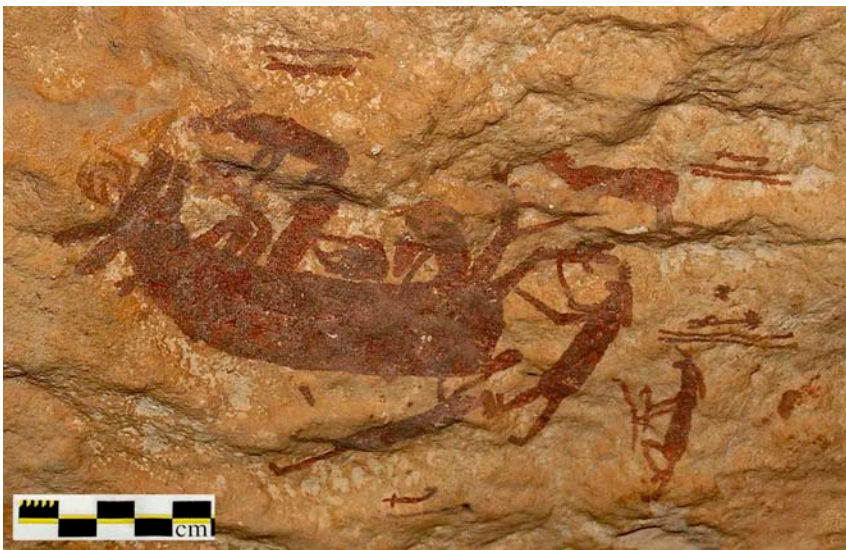


Figure 5. Hunters Shelter Panel A is a butchering scene with seven humans, with distinctive hairstyles, attachments, and tools, around a dead deer. The legs are being held apart while at least two people seem to be working in the body cavity. There are many implements, including groupings composed of a possible atlatl and darts lying on the ground. The lower-right human, in Nilotic Stance, holds at least one hooked club (possible atlatl) and another stick (possible dart). Photograph by LeRoy Unglaub.



Figure 6. *Hunters Shelter Panel B is a single deer (largest single element in the shelter), which is probably part of the overall message along the back wall. Photograph by LeRoy Unglaub.*

shapes and a long solid piece extending down the back, probably either an animal tail or a feather. All identifiable head ornamentations, however, are unique, with the frontal extensions and the back pieces in slightly different shapes, probably the result of personal preference and individual identification. From the shape and vertical extension of the pieces above the shoulders, it is possible that they are decorated hoods.

The seventh person, again with a distinctive hairdo and holding hooked sticks, is at the right side of the scene, standing apart as if a kind of observer or instructor. He is in a distinctive pose very rare in rock art, the Nilotic Stance (see Hewes 1955:236). He is standing vertically — which would suggest he is not in trance or dancing — with one leg bent, and that foot resting against the opposite knee. In some places this stance is considered ritualistic and may have cultural inference beyond mere relaxation. Hewes mentions that it is known in the American Southwest and is considered relatively common among the Hopi. Its presence in these



Figure 7. *Hunters Shelter Panel C. This rabbit hunt scene depicts several hunters (carrying curved clubs), rabbits, nets, possible dogs, a deer, and a person (beneath the lowest net) in Nilotic Stance.*

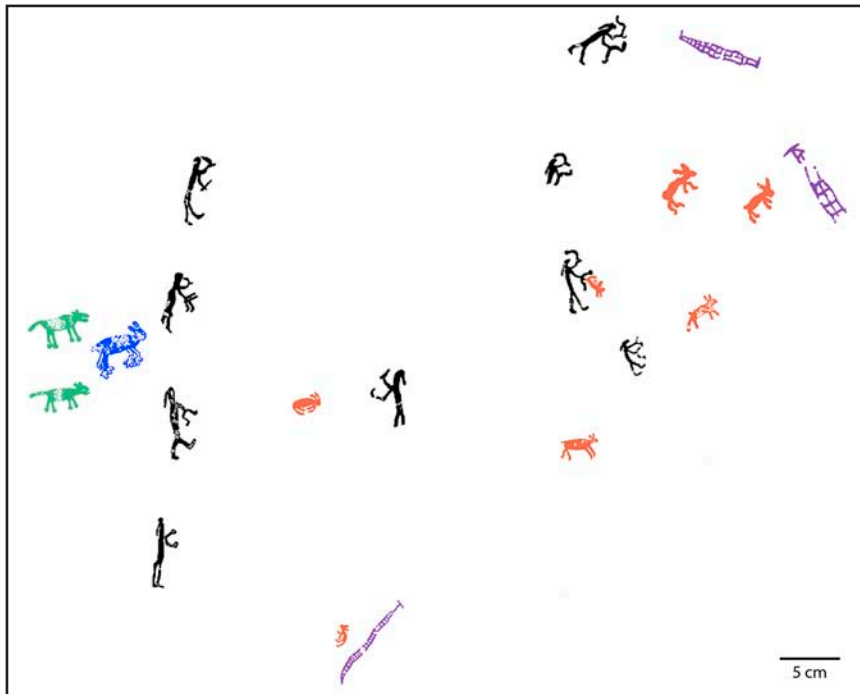


Figure 8. Drawing (by Margaret Berrier) of Hunters Shelter Panel C showing the two alignments of four hunters each, carrying various clubs and driving rabbits (shown in red) toward three nets (shown in purple) with the help of two dogs (shown in green) with open mouths and behind a deer (shown in blue) with bifurcated hoofs and dewclaws. What may be the drive shaman or director is in a central position.

panels is noteworthy for future consideration.

Implements on the ground are in positions consistent with hunters placing their tools down while performing another activity, such as butchering. We believe that depictions of butchering of deer, such as appears to be the case in the Guadalupe sites, are rare. The Panel B lone antlered deer (Figure 6) is 25 cm wide, 16 cm tall, and extends up from 54 cm above the floor. It is centrally located between and above the other scenes.

Consideration of animal activity and behavior is important for recognition of cultural patterning in archaeological interpretation, especially within the Trans-Pecos (Greer 1976), and this must begin with identification, often difficult in the case of rock art. The cervids at this site were previously considered as possibly deer or elk, but the figures have attributes that identify

them as deer and differentiate them from elk. The deer in Figures 5 and 6 are antlered males, fully mature (over two years old), and from the full body shape, large ears, and antler style are almost certainly mule deer (not whitetails) — which is consistent with the present and historical range of the species and with ethnographic accounts of local hunting. The developed antlers indicate seasonality between about May and February, and the thickened neck and clean antlers suggest late summer or fall. The converging antlers suggest depiction of a year in which the range was poor, that forage was relatively minimal — although antlers occasionally grow in this fashion even in good years, perhaps due to genetic deformity. The presentation of antlers in this relatively unusual fashion,

rather than the more common wide, open form, is likely an intentional portrayal or stylistic convention, although it could also be the artist's personal preference. If the antler form is a statement of



Figure 9. The rockshelter at White Oaks Spring Pictographs. Arrow points to the location of the red pictograph panel.

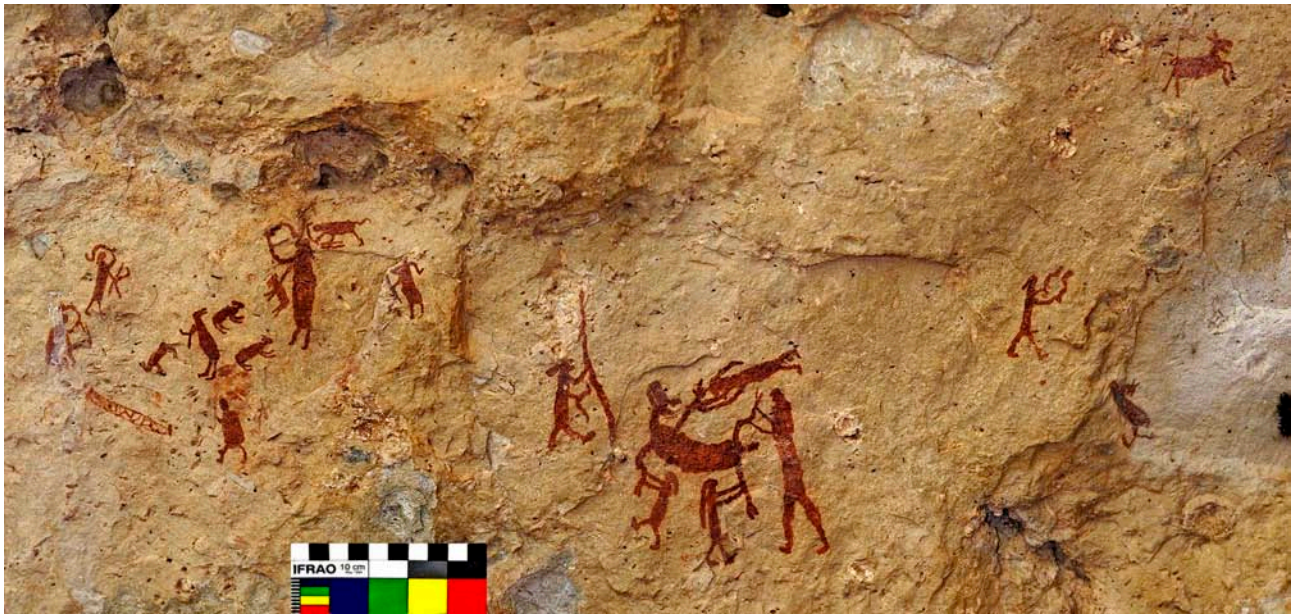


Figure 10. White Oaks Spring Pictographs (LA 157206) hunting and deer processing panel, very similar to Hunters Shelter, with the rabbit hunt to the left, deer capture in the center, and additional pursuit of deer to the right.

range conditions, or relative drought, this would support Turpin's central thesis that rock art in the Lower Pecos Archaic was most prevalent during times of environmental stress (Turpin 2011).

The deer foot style, with splayed toes and side-projecting dewclaws, is a fairly common portrayal, though distinctive — it is anticipated that future study of foot patterns may recognize cultural significance of various forms. The open mouth, while noteworthy, probably designates only that the animal had been running (in the case of the upright deer, Figure 6) or is dead (animal on its back, being butchered, Figure 5). The bent legs on the upright deer (Figure 6 and left side of Figure 7) indicate running, rather than standing or walking, while legs of the deer being butchered are bent in typical fashion for the butchering process. While we recognize certain biological or behavioral characteristics of these animals, they may be referencing mythological figures or serve as generic representations (or even spirits) as central to stories or myths. One indication of possible mythological importance is the relatively large size of the deer with respect to the humans. Alternatively, the size may be a personal artistic convention to depict important de-

tails such as removal of certain body parts. Also noteworthy are the tiny, undersized antlers (Figure 5), much smaller relative to the deer's head or ears than would occur in the real world — even considering genetic abnormalities — but perhaps a reasonable size relative to the humans. The antlers almost appear an aside to help identify the central concept of the mature male mule deer during rut. Interestingly, in the nearly identical capture-butcher scene in White Oaks Spring Pictographs (Figure 10), the deer is antlerless.

Panel C, the rabbit-hunting panel (Figures 7-8) at the far right near the floor, is 80 cm wide, 55 cm tall, and extends from only 28 cm above the floor. The panel contains two similar unified scenes next to each other depicting a specific event or story. Individual hunters hold one or more implements — simple-curved or double-curved rabbit sticks and straight lines probably representing a different form of club or other weapon. There are also two presumed dogs, a deer, three nets with anchoring sticks, several rabbits on the ground, and at least one rabbit held by a hunter.

Eight hunters are aligned in two vertical rows of four, all moving in the same direction in a logical position to sweep rabbits into nets.

Although this may be a single scene with layered action, the uniformity of content and arrangement between the left and right sides (with two dogs to the left, a vertical alignment or surround of human drivers, rabbits to the right, and the net to the right or lower-right) suggest the possibility of two separate, similarly organized drives.

The left-hand scene seems to center on one remaining rabbit lying down and another next to the lower net. To the left is the main vertical alignment of four drivers (facing right) with clubs. To the right of the central rabbit (essentially between the two scenes but clearly part of the left-hand drive) a central human faces backwards (to the left) and is likely the caller or director, as is often referenced in ethnographic literature pertaining to animal drives. Of course, he could simply be helping to keep the rabbits oriented into the nets and could club any strays. At any rate, he (or she) stands apart from the other people. He faces the central rabbit lying on the ground with its legs folded up. Below that animal are two unidentified figures mostly covered with calcite. The upright net used in rabbit drives is postured below the scene but positioned essentially on the right side of the drive. Two dogs behind (to the left of) the aligned drivers are chasing an antlerless deer. The dogs both are intentionally shown with elongated pointed muzzles and partially open mouths with teeth exposed in a menacing manner. Both also have ball feet, distinct from the other animals. The antlerless deer just in front of the dogs, and behind the alignment of drivers holding curved clubs, has typical deer feet with bifurcated hoofs and dewclaws.

At the bottom of the panel, just below the lower net, is another small human holding a curved club and in the Nilotic Stance, with one foot on the opposite knee and facing right (Figure 7, inset). His position just below the net places him outside the immediate drive area and thus outside the main focus of activity, which seems to suggest a special function for the individual. Interestingly, Hunters Shelter has two figures depicted in this rare stance, each observing and associated with different hunting activities — deer butchering in Panel

A and the rabbit drives in Panel C. This suggests that the pose is culturally noteworthy.

The right-hand scene is a somewhat similarly structured rabbit drive. A vertical to curved row of four hunters or drivers with curved clubs, moving to the right, surround and pursue three rabbits approaching two opened nets positioned to intercept the rabbits. Besides his two curved clubs, one of the drivers appears to be holding a dead rabbit. An unidentifiable animal and another unidentified figure (probably another animal) are together at the lower-left, positioned below and behind the line of drivers, a position similar to the dogs in the left-hand scene, which makes the two scenes similar in overall arrangement. All but two of the Panel C hunters have generally the same typical head ornamentation as people in the Panel A butchering scene, with either a pulled-back hairdo or an animal tail or feather at the back of the head and extending slightly down their backs. Some also have the frontal extension.

White Oaks Spring Pictographs

A second site, White Oaks Spring Pictographs site (LA 157206), has more recently been discovered further west in the mountains. Rather than a relatively obscure site situated at the top of a high dry canyon (like Hunters Shelter), this small shallow rockshelter (Figure 9) is in a relatively protected recess in the canyon bottom, near a stream channel with permanent water nearby. Paintings are located about 1.6 meters above the bedrock floor in an area 60 cm wide and 30 cm tall. The arrangement of very small red painted figures forming scenes of active hunting of rabbits (Figure 10 left) and deer (Figure 10 far right) and the apparent butchering (or subduing) of another deer (Figure 10 center) is nearly identical to the Hunters Shelter scenes. Most of the humans have the typical head ornamentation of either a pulled-back hairdo or an animal tail or feather at the back of the head and extending slightly down their back. This ornamentation is essentially identical to Hunters Shelter and is repeated in at least one other shelter (NPS A209) in the central part of the range.



Figure 11. Mimbres bowl showing a rabbit hunt scene similar to those in the Guadalupe Mountains. Drawn by Margaret Berrier from a photograph (with permission) from Brody (1977:171). Mimbres scenes such as this often portray myths and stories based on celestial relationships and what appear to be daily activities.

To the left is the hunting scene with rabbits, an erect game net (with end poles or stakes), and hunters with curved rabbit sticks and clubs. The humans appear to be wearing full-body clothing, which might indicate women, and they appear to have a variety of hairstyles. They also carry at least three kinds of weapons — simple-curved rabbit stick, double-recurved club, and a straight stick (possibly a piercing implement or short digging stick). The small human on the far right, with what initially appears to be a bighorn sheep headdress, is instead probably holding the multi-curved club above his or her head, like the other humans on the left (and also those at Hunters Shelter), and he holds at least a straight club (and perhaps another curved club) in his lower hand, again almost exactly like the facing figures on the left. The largest human, somewhat centrally located, appears to be holding a captured rabbit, like at Hunters Shelter, but from the shoulder rather than the tail or rear legs, as if during the act of clubbing. Just above the large human is another smaller person again holding a curved

club above his head and two straight clubs in the other hand. This figure is horizontal, which duplicates the convention at Hunters Shelter with a horizontal person at the top of the rabbit drive scene essentially completing the surround. Thus, people somewhat surround the rabbits and face toward the center of the drive, which places some people vertical, one in Hunters Shelter at an angle, and the top-most person horizontal. Clubs are nearly all in an upright position of active use, and most people hold multiple clubs, some of two forms (either curved or double-curved, plus straight). The vertical figure in the middle of the rabbits appears to be human, with a straight club and exaggerated feet (larger than those the butchering scene to the right), but also possible it is a large jackrabbit standing on its rear legs in a position of observation when viewing something of curiosity, with its front legs seemingly crossed, and with ears typical of the other rabbits.

In the center is the deer capture or processing scene with hunters holding the four legs of an antlerless deer and an overseer with a long staff (perhaps a typical digging stick for agave extraction) and the same kind of double-recurved club as in the rabbit scene. To the right is a male hunter — in a separate activity — carrying two recurved clubs and apparently pursuing two more antlerless deer — upper-right and lower-right. Two humans associated with captured deer are clearly males, with the penis shown, suggesting that portrayal of gender was important, and the individuals perhaps were not wearing pants or loincloths. The figures in the deer scene and two in the rabbit scene have the long pulled-back hairdo or added attachment such as an animal tail or feather.

Overall, across this panel, the humans carry an assortment of curved, recurved, and straight clubs or sticks mostly in an upright position of active use. The three deer are antlerless (whether male or female) and have open mouths (indicating extended pursuit or death), bifurcated hoofs, and no obvious dewclaws. The far lower-right deer has highly bent front legs, and the rear legs are unrealistically extended and splayed. More importantly it is looking back over its shoulder in a posture — which

almost always includes the distinctively folded front legs — that recurs in rock art throughout the Americas, sometimes in traps, in flight, but almost never while being speared or shot. It is not clear what this posture indicates although it may depict falling or just an individual looking back over its shoulder during pursuit.

Scenes that depict active capture, butchering, dressing, or processing of game animals are rare, and we know of no other examples in rock art or on pottery of butchering actually in progress. The examples at these two shelters, which almost certainly have the same referent and tell the same story, are essentially unique in this extended region.

Rabbit hunting was an important activity throughout prehistoric North America (Shaffer 1995). Although the activity is somewhat rarely depicted in rock art, hunting scenes with nets have been recorded on petroglyph panels in southeastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico (Loendorf 2008:112-121, 126-131) and also in Archaic panels on the Northwestern Plains (Sundstrom 1989; Tratebas 2000). Other rabbit drive scenes probably dating from this same general Archaic period are known in north-central Wyoming and probably other parts of the western Great Basin. Rabbit drives using nets and clubs are adequately represented in ethnographic and contemporary literature for the western U.S., and rabbit and antelope drives are still done in much of that area, as well as similarly publicized rabbit drives in Australia.

A similar scene showing rabbits, humans with clubs, an elongated net staked to the ground, a flag, grass, and trails is pictured on a Mimbres Bowl from southwestern New Mexico (Figure 11; Brody 1977:171). The decoration has elements similar to Hunters Shelter Panel C and the scene at White Oaks Spring and thus appears to be a rabbit hunt. The design has two rabbits somewhat facing each other, as if in opposing postures or positions. The four decorated humans, in dance or ritual costume, hold curved sticks and/or a hooked implement. The grass, tracks, and flag are elements not seen in the Guadalupe shelters.

Because of its similarity with the Guadalupe painted scenes, this bowl's design elements and general composition deserve some attention.

We note that rabbits (in this case black-tailed jackrabbits) often refer to or represent the moon to Pueblo peoples and adjacent Mexico (Thompson 1999) as well as throughout the rest of the Americas and much of far eastern Asia. Brody (1977:201) mentions a likely Mesoamerican moon reference on pots with lunate designs. Although the net is vaguely lunate in shape, colleagues (e.g., Marc Thompson, personal communication 1988) have pointed out the general celestial storytelling nature of Mimbres designs and linear similarity of the net with the Milky Way (except for the vertical stakes holding it to the ground). What the tracks refer to presently is not clear. The humans are clearly in ritual decoration with masks and body paint, and the curved clubs are decorated more like dance wands or pahos than utilitarian rabbit sticks, which almost invariably have narrow parallel longitudinal grooves.

As Thompson (1999) has suggested for Mimbres iconography in general, the scene may not represent an actual rabbit hunt at all, or it may have multi-layered reference to both real hunts (either specifically or the general concept) and metaphorically to a mythological event or explanation. For instance, Moulard (1984:xxv) discusses meaning of decorations on Mimbres pottery:

Seemingly mundane activities are fraught with symbolism. The depiction of types of scenes on prehistoric vessels should be thought of as paradigms for these activities. They are not so much paintings of rituals as they are symbolic of the event as it was set forth by the ancestors. Just as Kachinas from the Pueblo are not thought of as masked impersonators, images that appear to be masked in Mimbres scenes were probably depictions of the actual other-than-human beings or events. Paintings may have functioned as symbolic prototypes for everyday cultural activities, just as myth relates these acts as they were set forth in the beginning of time. A composition that appears to be genre thus exists on two levels: it refers at the same time to the secular and sacred nature of the scene (Moulard 1984:xxv).



Figure 12. Lower Pecos Red Linear anthropomorphs at the Red Linear Site (41VV201) in Pressa Canyon. Most of the males are in what has been described as a seated posture, and the female is in the common sexually receptive position, neither of which is observed in the Guadalupe Mountains sites. Possible dogs (inset, lower-left) are from another part of the shelter wall. based on celestial relationships and what appear to be daily activities.

Moulard (1984:156-157) further discusses pertinent points of Mimbres design relative to the work of other researchers. She notes that rabbit hunts are often organized for ritual occasions by Pueblo war societies (Parsons 1939: vol. 1, pp. 126-127) and for rites of passage and rituals of transition, such as solstice events (Bradfield 1973: vol. 2, pp. 35-36). Clown societies act as important attendants in these hunts (Parsons 1939 vol. 2, pp. 788-789), as seems to be portrayed on the Mimbres bowl. Such figures are often symbolic of liminality and transfiguration (Heib 1972). Moulard mentions that ethnographic observations indicate that rabbits are treated with reverence and are ritually fed to fetishes and scalps (Parsons

1939: vol. 2, pp. 825-826) as well as eaten by members of the community. Rabbit pelts also are often treated as scalps, or the spirits of dead enemies (Parsons 1939: vol. 1, pp. 474, 482).

Thus, following Moulard's discussion of dual meaning, as well as the ritual role of rabbits in general, the Mimbres decoration of the rabbit hunt would warn not necessarily to interpret too literally observed rock art scenes. But it also shows that the story represented in the Guadalupe rock art scenes is essentially duplicated in the western New Mexico ceramics and thus represents a recognized, repeated, culturally accepted part of regional history and ritual.

Miniature Art in the Lower Pecos

Fine-line red miniature figures are most commonly identified in the Lower Pecos as belonging to the Red Linear Style (Figures 12-14). Gebhard (1960:53, 1965:33) first discussed the style from his work on rock art sites in this area before the impoundment of Amistad Reservoir (previously Devils Reservoir). Newcomb (Kirkland and Newcomb 1967:92-95) further refined the definition and general concept, and Turpin (1984, 1990a, 1990c:103-106) has done most to discuss the concept in terms of stylistic typology and cultural meaning or purpose. Specifically, she characterizes Red Linear as, "a representative art style which often clearly reproduces the distinguishing characteristics of animals, weapons, and human figures. ... The miniature monochrome Red Linear style is characterized by diminutive stick figures [usually ≤ 10 cm tall] engaged in animated group activities" (Turpin 1984:182). Boyd (2003) and others also have contributed to the concept, and most recently Boyd and Rowe (2010) have introduced other considerations as sample size increases the number of known sites and painted figures, together



Figure 13. Lower Pecos Red Linear figures at the Rough Canyon Red Linear Site (41VV1000). Note the black figures and various implements. The receptive female position, sexually active couple, pregnant women, and the long-bodied males with widely splayed legs are thematic elements not seen in the Guadalupe Mountains, and what appear to be daily activities.

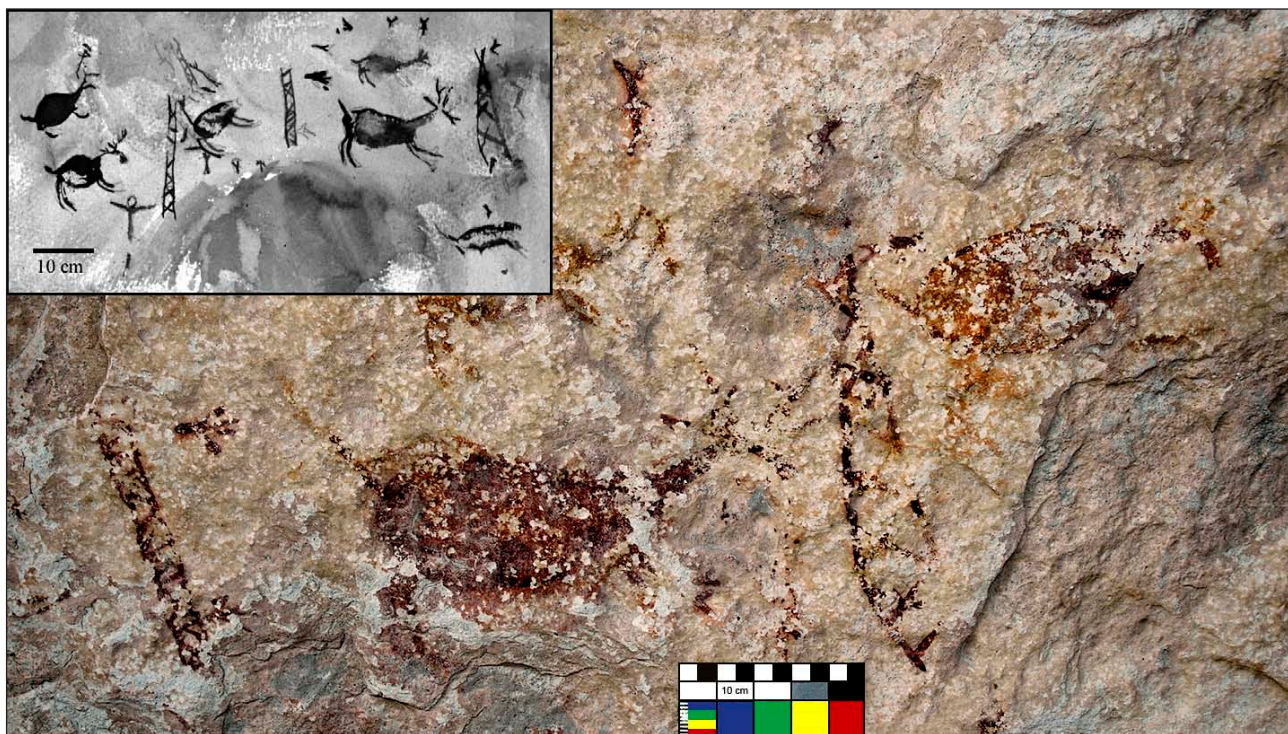


Figure 14. Lower Pecos deer hunting scene at Seminole Canyon site 41VV75. The nets are very similar to those in the Guadalupe Mountains at Hunters Shelter and White Oaks Spring Pictographs and in this case show three nets of different styles being used for trapping deer. Photograph by Angel Johnson; impressionistic watercolor inset by Nola Montgomery.

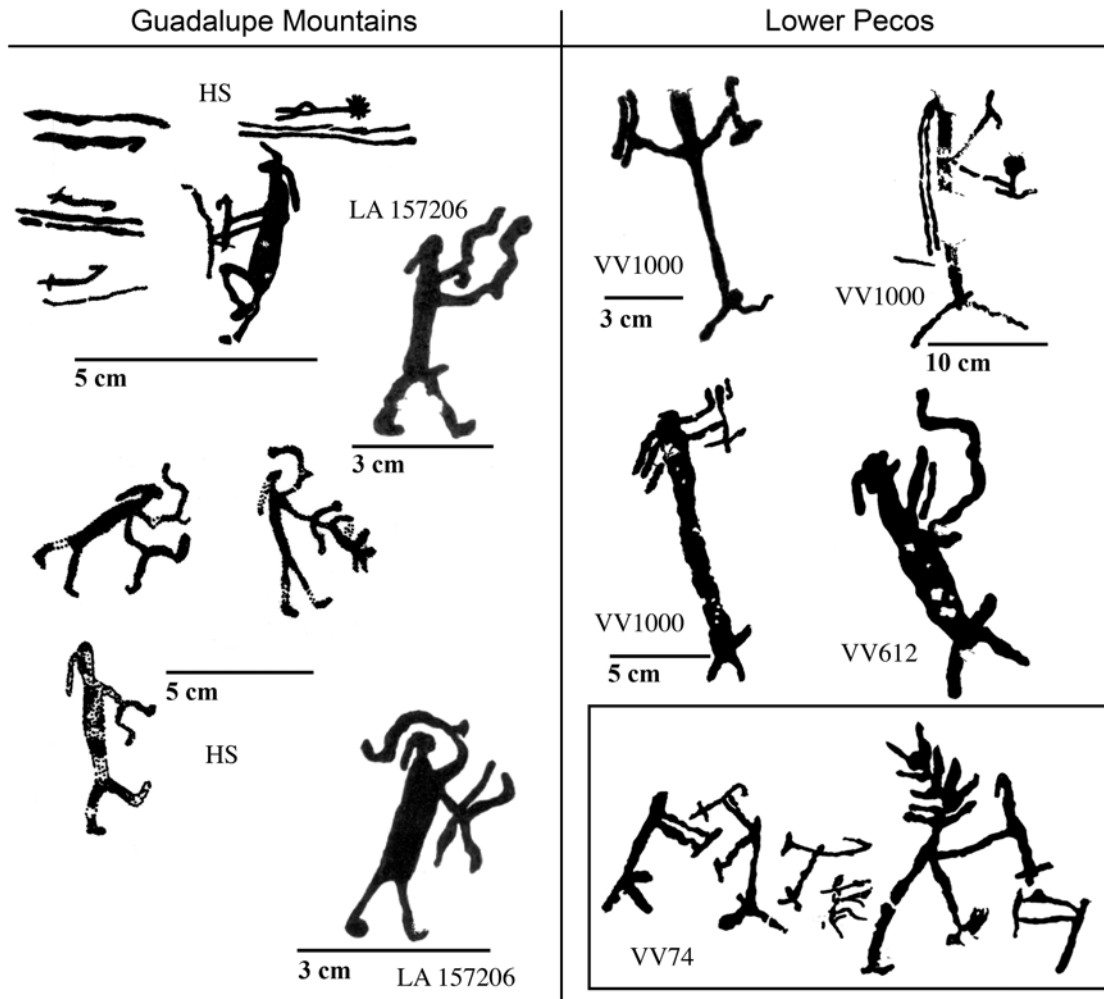


Figure 15. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: implements. Lower Pecos sites are in Val Verde County, Texas (41VVxxx).

with the realization that not all small red figures necessarily represent a single cultural pattern.

As part of this study and more long-term interest, we have visited most sites in the Lower Pecos with known RLS miniature art. Additionally, we have visited many sites in the Guadalupe Mountains that appear to represent the same or similar fine-line miniature tradition, or at least very similar manner of expression (Figures 15-20). As Turpin has noted (1984:182), the RLS appears intrusive in the Lower Pecos, following the Middle Archaic monumental Pecos River Style art. Our study in the Guadalupe Mountains, Lower Pecos, and other parts of the Trans-Pecos suggest the possibility that the Guadalupe Mountains may be a source, or at least

related transit area, for people promoting the RLS and their ideas, customs, beliefs, and history.

In the Lower Pecos, the Red Linear Style has been defined as a regionally, temporally limited, and morphologically recognizable style. It includes small, fine-lined figures in various activities, usually occurring in rockshelters or overhangs and executed with liquid red paint. According to Turpin (1984:182), the Red Linear Style (at that time based on eight known sites) has consistent motifs related to "sex differentiation, phallacism, hand-held implements, companion animals, feather headdresses, dancing or marching groups, and the use of S-shaped humans to convey the impression of motion" (Figures 11-12). She also notes that artists secluded their

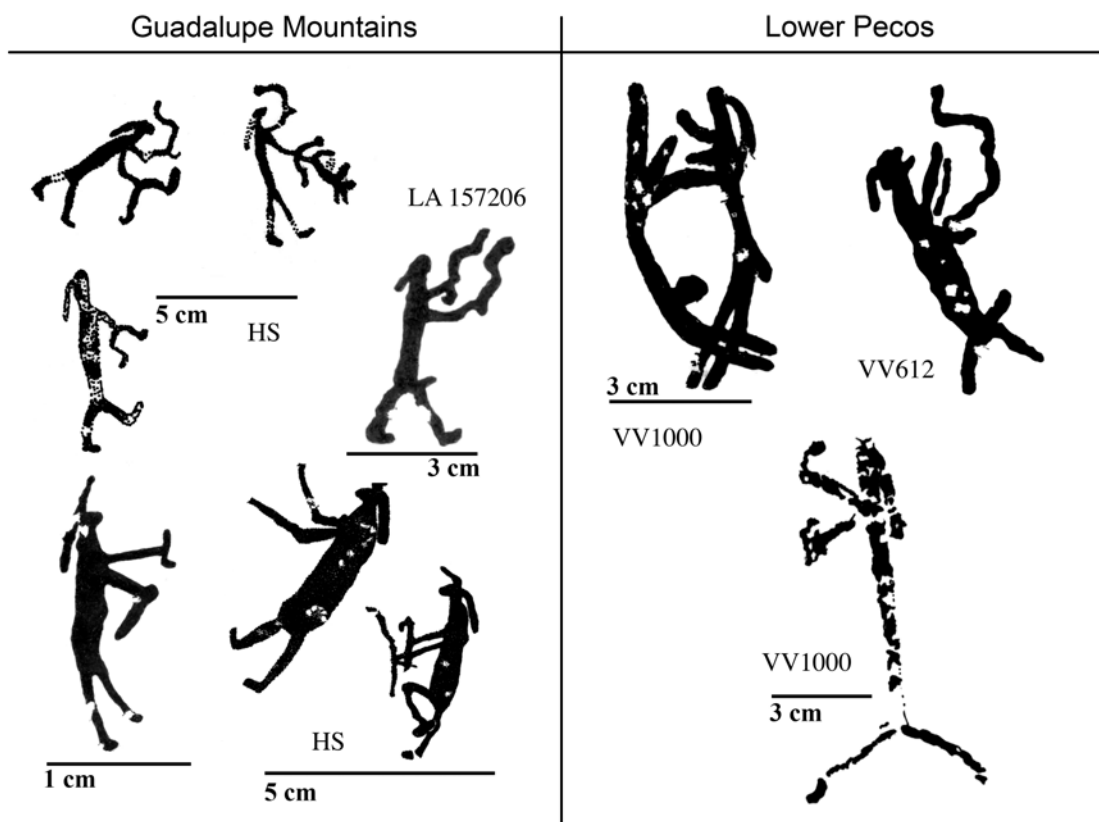


Figure 16. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: hairstyles or headdresses.

drawings in small obscure alcoves or high at the ends of major rock art panels, a setting that we now know is not exclusive. Turpin (1990a, 1990b:272) further identifies scenes relating to human reproduction, and Boyd (2003:79, 100) identifies datura and peyote themes. The presently known Red Linear sites (now about 20) in the Lower Pecos (or Amistad Reservoir area) are along the Pecos, Devils, and Rio Grande rivers. Some elements have been executed in black, as well as various shades of medium to dark red, maroon, and purple (e.g., 41VV1000, Figure 12).

The Red Linear Style has generally been considered Late Archaic age, based on superposition and content (Turpin 1990a:376, 1990b:271-272, 2004:272). Only two experimental AMS radio-carbon dates are reported from what appear to be Red Linear elements (Ilger et al. 1994:337, 1995:305; Rowe 2003:85). These reported uncorrected dates are both A.D. 670 for 41VV162A (1280±150 B.P.) and 41VV75 (1280±80 B.P.).

Although rich in weapons and other implements, the Red Linear Style does not appear to depict the bow and arrow and thus is considered earlier. The bow is thought to have entered the Lower Pecos region probably between A.D. 500 and 1000, and some have suggested it did not arrive in the Trans-Pecos until around A.D. 1000 (Shafer 1981:130; Wiederhold et al., 2003:90), although that seems unlikely. Certainly the bow was in use during the time of the earliest arrowpoints (presumably some of the stemmed or even early corner-notched forms), but there is considerable — presently undated — evidence that the technology was present during use of late Ensor (side-notched), Figueroa (side-notched), and miniature Edgewood (corner-notched) dart points in the Lower Pecos or the similar period of Guadalupe style small dart points in southeastern New Mexico and adjacent parts of Texas. Some open sites (especially ring middens) also contain early Mogollon ceramics in

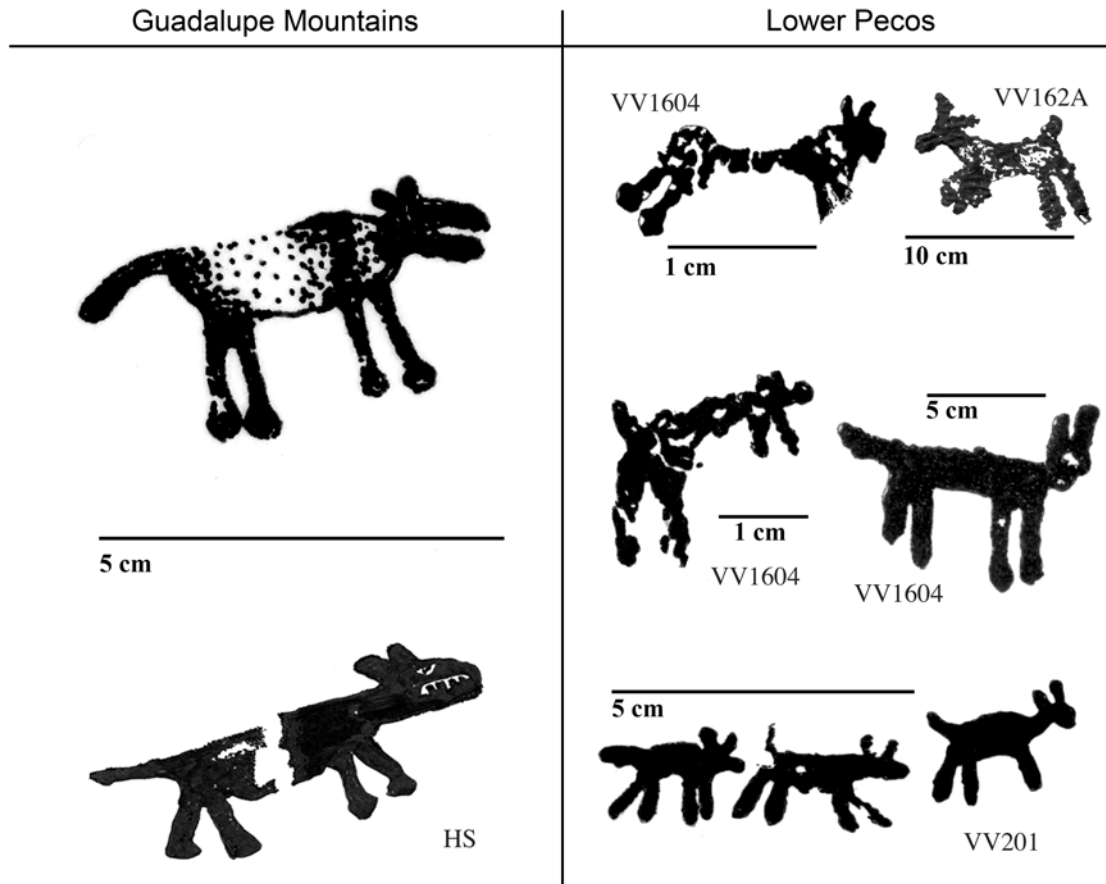


Figure 17. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: possible canids (dogs).

contemporary context. Thus, the Red Linear Style would appear to equate within the archeological record to the general Ensor-Guadalupe dart point period of the terminal Archaic, presumably A.D. 500-1000, or perhaps somewhat earlier. Turpin (1995:548, 550) places the introduction of the bow and arrow about A.D. 600-900 but favors earlier use of the Red Linear Style to the Cibola Subperiod of 1200-350 B.C. This would place the paintings earlier within the Late Archaic projectile point chronology of early basal-notched (Marshall and even the early Shumla-like types) to the subsequent corner-notched dart points (Marcos and larger Edgewood types).

Boyd and Rowe (2010) have reported (and we have observed) that there are dark purplish fine-line elements, presently classifiable as Red Linear, both over and under Pecos River Style elements at several Lower Pecos sites. The Pecos River Style is almost certainly associated with

the general Langtry (dart point style) developmental tradition that probably began with the early twisted-beveled Pandale points, continued through the beveled expanding-stem Val Verde type and various forms of contracting-stem points, and finally terminated with late "Classic" Langtry contracting-stem dart points, often with distinctive stem-beveling (see general archeological chronology in Dibble 1967; Greer 1966b, 1966c; Johnson 1964; Shafer 1986). This tradition, which in the Lower Pecos represents advanced technology and associated ritual, demonstrates the finest degree of chipped-stone production, a wide variety of ritual objects, increased use of human-hair cordage, deposition of ceremonially associated objects, increased population, larger sites, greater site density, and greater access to all kinds of natural resources. The period and the direct archeological deposits present a cultural association of — and basis for — the Pecos River Style elabo-

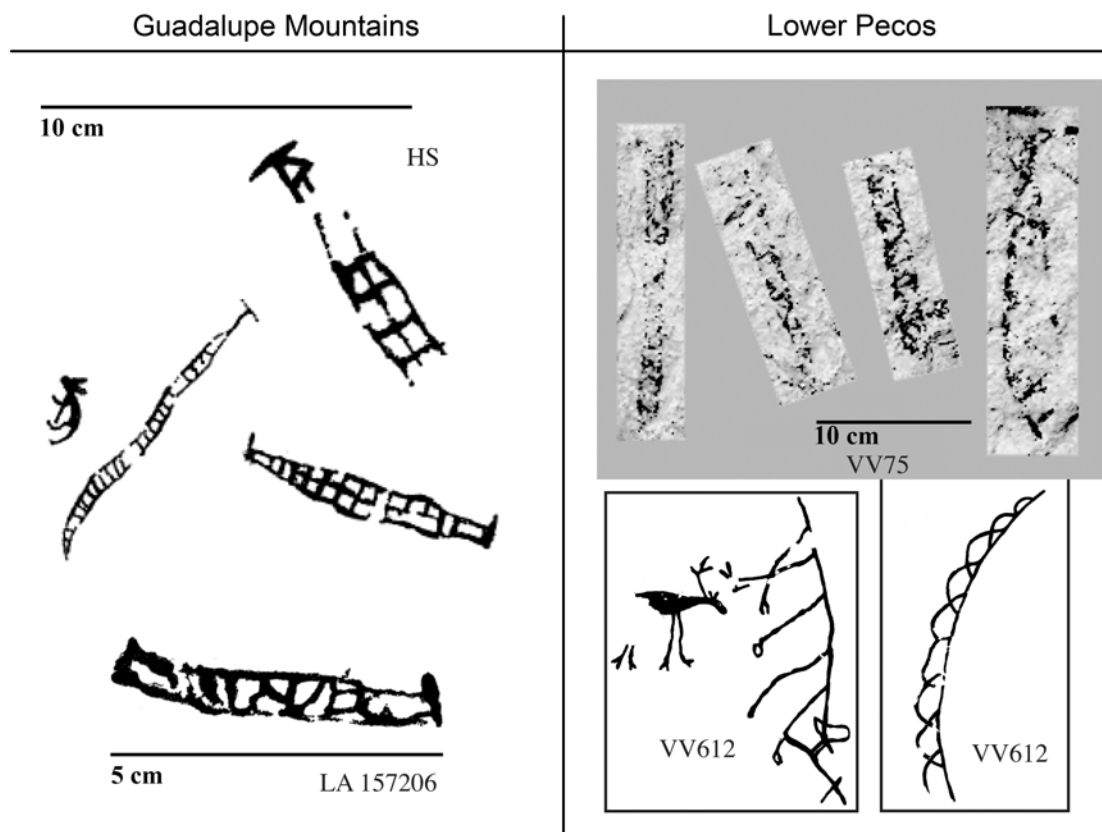


Figure 18. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: nets.

rately painted rock art of the Middle Archaic.

The inclusion of purple fine-line linear figures within the early Pecos River Style tradition suggests that there is a complexity — both morphologically and temporally — within Red Linear art that we presently do not fully understand. We believe, however, that the mostly bright red examples of the Red Linear Style, especially with the highly curvilinear human forms, are later, certainly post-Langtry period, and appear to be part of a fairly cohesive Late Archaic tradition (for lack of a better term). This use of darker paint, possibly an earlier tradition, is represented not only in the Lower Pecos area of initial definition of the style, but also is present up the river in some sort of related cultural process. Use of the dark paint is common in Guadalupe Mountains sites, and fine-line dark red to maroon miniature figures may be the most common painted art. Superpositioning and paint condition show this dark paint also to be earlier

than much of the more elaborate monochrome medium to light red large broad-line figures and various forms of large multi-colored paintings also common throughout the mountains. The miniature fine-line figures are obviously dominant within the Guadalupe Mountains during an early period, presumably early within the Late Archaic (though perhaps earlier). As consistently pointed out by Turpin, they are relatively minor within the Lower Pecos and obviously represent a style introduced into that area presumably during the Late Archaic. It is tempting to suggest a direction of movement, but there presently is insufficient data to determine any kind of cultural relationship between the two regions — other than similarity of paint characteristics, kind of paint application, and general approach to art.

Thus, we now see — after a considerable increase in number of known sites and recognized diversity in the art — a high likelihood that the fine-line miniature figures of the Lower

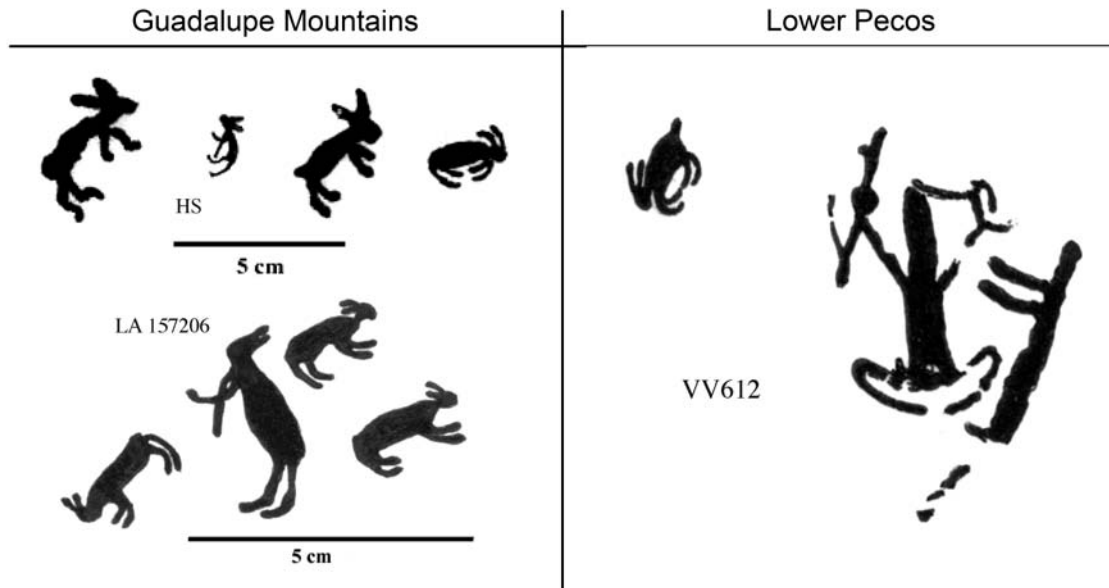


Figure 19. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: rabbits.

Pecos began as a late Middle Archaic association with late Langtry (contracting-stem) dart points that designate a very complex, local Lower Pecos cultural entity with widespread stylistic influence. Similar figures — especially those providing the foundation for the original style definition — either continued or were reintroduced during the late or terminal Archaic. This suggests a longer and certainly more complex history than previously envisioned for what is currently, obviously incorrectly referred to as a single style, with the Red Linear appellation now used in terms of technological similarity more than conforming to Turpin's original definition based on content, manner, and geographic extent. Archeologically such an unreasonably long history and probably unreasonable amount of technological or stylistic diversity within a single rock art style is unlikely. Clearly, there is a need to reevaluate the terminology, especially relative to the associated technology and age.

Comparisons

Each of the 30 or more known sites containing miniature paintings along the Pecos River corridor from the Guadalupe to the Lower

Pecos is different from each other with respect to what the particular elements and scenes depict, with the exception of the two hunting scene sites in the Guadalupe Mountains, which are remarkably similar. Several of the Lower Pecos sites have internally shared elements also (and some with identical forms between sites), especially showing sexual intercourse, receptive women, pregnant women, dancing figures (especially males associated generally with sex themes), and tall male stick figures seemingly associated with hunting. As an intuitive aside, it seems that within the Lower Pecos, there may be a significant cultural and temporal difference between the curvilinear sex-dancing scenes (of mostly medium to somewhat darker red paint) and the rectilinear tall skinny males with short widely splayed legs (of mostly very dark red, maroon, purple, and black paint) associated with hunting, but definition of any formal difference will have to await further scrutiny.

While there is some overlap in subject matter and figure form between the two regions, what is most similar is the general approach to art, the manner of expression, manner of execution, technical details of paint thickness and color, application of the paint, general balance of scenes, action

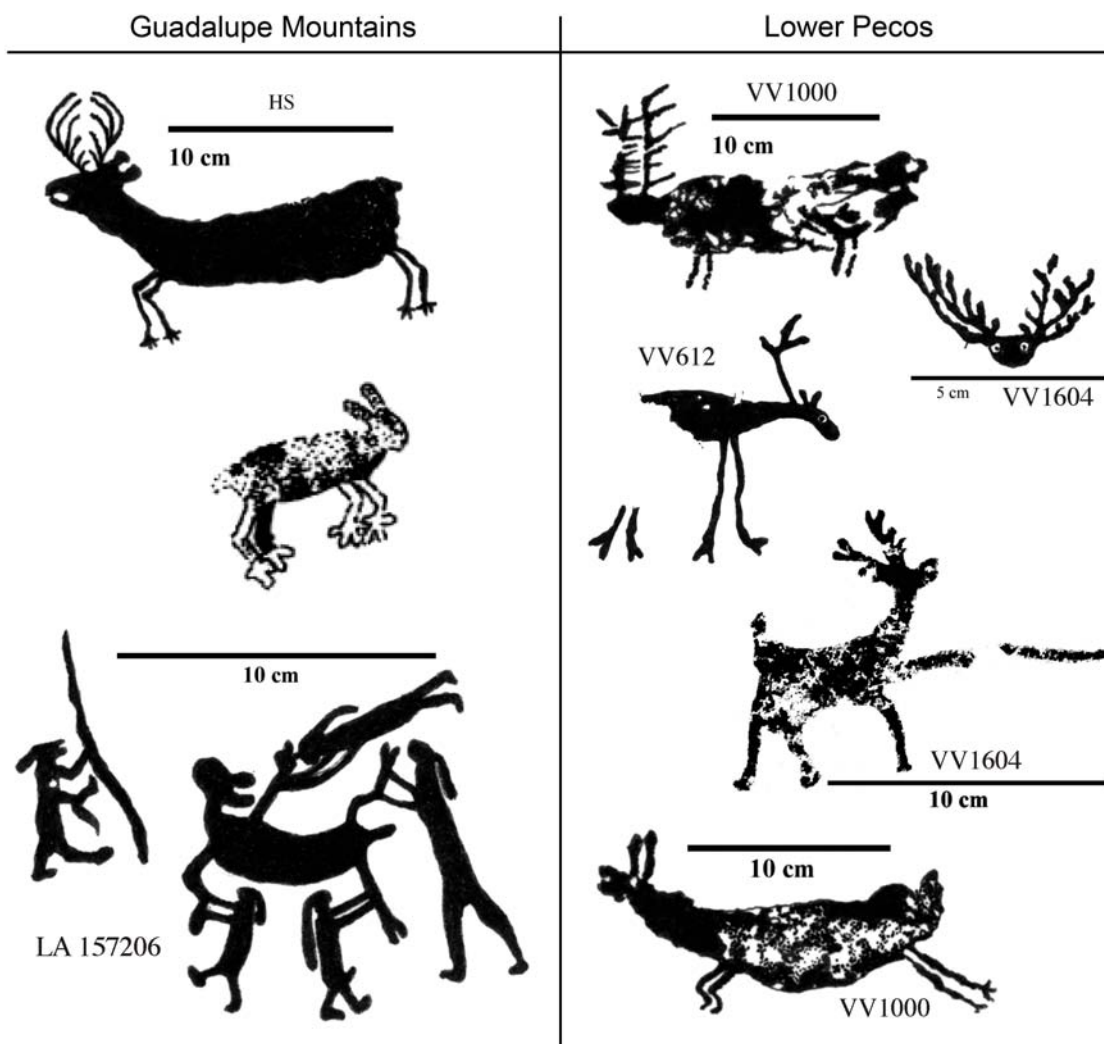


Figure 20. Guadalupe and Lower Pecos elements compared: cervids (deer).

of the actors, size and general shape of the actors (although stick figures are more common on the Lower Pecos, and full bodies in the Guadalupe), humans in profile position, body decoration, hairstyles, tools, and weapons — pretty much the attributes Turpin used to define the style and her subsequent considerations for the Lower Pecos Red Linear. The differences, however, are noteworthy and may turn out to be, with more study of more sites — the cumulative database — more significant for defining a separation between the regions than the presently envisioned similarities seem to be for suggesting a cultural relation.

At this point of comparing the two regions, it seems productive to consider similarities and differences between element forms, or details within

element motifs, rather than just scenes or whole sites. Figures 15-20 show comparisons of anthropomorphs, implements, and animals between the Guadalupe Mountains and the Lower Pecos. In particular, correspondence in implements and hairstyle (or headdresses) seems similar between the regions. The hooked stick with crossbar, which could represent an atlatl, appears in both regions (and, to our knowledge, rare elsewhere), along with deer, rabbits, presumed dogs, and nets. Both areas lack depictions of the bow and arrow in this fine-line style. Most Lower Pecos nets appear as linear grids or looplines (cf. Sundstrom 1989:153; Tratebas 2000:67-69), similar to the loopline at Lost Again Shelter but different from the easily recognized grids of Hunters Shel-

ter and White Oaks Spring. Other nets similar to those in the Guadalupe Mountains appear in the Lower Pecos at 41VV75 in Seminole Canyon (Figure 14; in this case associated with trapping deer) and 41VV76 in nearby Pressa Canyon (Carolyn Boyd, personal communication 2010).

In addition to similarities between the Guadalupe and the Lower Pecos in some important aspects (such as implements and hairstyles), there are some notable differences. Both of the Guadalupe sites reported here have excellent state of preservation and fine detail of the hunting scenes. The preservation may be due to their well-protected locations, as most other fine-line sites examined so far in the Guadalupe Mountains are not so well preserved. Sites in the Lower Pecos are generally in an intermediate state of decay, and many are increasingly weathering and flaking off the wall. Another difference may be complexity, with the elaborate, well executed hunting scenes of the Guadalupe not matched in such detail in the Lower Pecos. Humans in the Guadalupe Mountains are typically (though not always) depicted with feet, which are lacking in the Lower Pecos. Dogs at Hunters Shelter have fine detail, while those assumed to be dogs in the Lower Pecos are cruder by comparison, lacking paws and teeth. So far, scenes that in the Lower Pecos relate to reproduction, active dancing, datura, and peyote have not been recognized in the Guadalupe Mountains (although an alignment at Lost Again Shelter may refer to a communal dance).

Discussion

Panels at Hunters Shelter and White Oaks Spring are so similar that they — and some other nearby sites — appear likely to have been painted by the same artist. Such images at several sites in the Guadalupe Mountains are strongly similar in content and manner of expression to much of the Lower Pecos Red Linear Style. Turpin (1984:195, 1994:76) suggests that the Red Linear painters were intrusive into the Lower Pecos region and likely represent a different population from the earlier Pecos River Style (Turpin 2011). Boyd and

Rowe (2010) have recently reported a temporal overlap of the styles based on technology (paint appearance, application, and line width), and they suggest a long time span for small, fine-line figures in the Lower Pecos area. How the Guadalupe Mountains sites, and this fine-line portion of the art sequence, equate with the Lower Pecos art sequence is not certain and must await greater scrutiny in both areas, as well as intervening regions. At this point it seems that the two areas are stylistically and technologically similar but topographically distinct and regionally distant, and their temporal relationship is not known. The physical similarity suggests a cultural connection of some sort, and it appears that the Pecos River could have been a natural corridor, or perhaps conduit, for the movement of people and ideas between the two areas.

New research is underway, but much more survey and site recording are needed along the Pecos corridor and nearby mountains of the Trans-Pecos. A site with small paintings has been reported in the Delaware Mountains (Broughton 1999:161-170; Prewitt 2007:105) although the figures do not appear, from available site information, to be related to the miniature fine-line tradition of either the Guadalupe or Lower Pecos sites; similar small finger-painted figures occur throughout the Trans-Pecos. If additional sites can be identified, especially along the Pecos corridor, and perhaps dated (without destroying the art), it could add significantly to our knowledge of the movement of an early hunter-gatherer population who left this intriguing, generally carefully executed imagery on rock walls over such a great distance. We have proposed the term Pecos Miniature Art to encompass in a descriptive sense this kind of small, fine-line rock art along the greater Pecos River corridor from southeastern New Mexico to the Lower Pecos region of Texas.

This brings up an unending question of terminology. In rock art “style” should be equivalent to “type” in studies of archeological materials. At a minimum there should be a consistent form with definite morphological limits, made up of both diagnostically important and time constrained attributes. Essentially a type is

an attribute configuration that has geographic and temporal limits. So a type, and by extension a style, must be geographically limited and occupy a relatively short time span. The concepts should pertain as nearly as possible to a culture or a specific cultural group. Finer divisions, usually referred to as “varieties” in artifact groupings, have equally limiting morphological, geographical, and temporal qualities and with further study hopefully will be assignable to even finer, more useful cultural entities.

More to the point with the Red Linear question, however, is our preference for the term “tradition” to mean something like “a bunch of stuff that looks similar.” In archeology, “tradition” refers to something of definable form and limited geographic extent (though usually more widespread than local) that persists through time. The complement to this would be “horizon,” again of definable form, that is widespread in space but exceedingly limited in time — it blitzes across a region, like a volcanic eruption leaving ash in its wake, and serves as a time marker in the archeological record.

Unfortunately, the real world does not fit concisely into pigeon-holes of hierarchical constructions or theoretical idealism. Beyond the big three of stylistic definition — form, distribution, and age — there is intrinsic variation based on gender differentiation, age of the painter, social partitioning, specific function, actual use, seasonality, religious affiliation, effects of raw material characteristics, and a plethora of other considerations that could affect materials, form, and content. Thus, within styles, there will be differences in form based on artistic ability, personal subject interest, personal preferences in manner of application, degree of attention to detail, gender, seasonal differences related to specific ceremonial association, and so on.

As already stated, we recognize that the Guadalupe art seems to represent a cultural manifestation that is recognizable and definable as fine-line miniature usually in very dark red paint. The figures occur in numerous sites through the mountains, and the configuration

of technological application and physical attributes — the general style, as it were — have been recognized as something noteworthy to the area, at least informally, since archeological work began in the Guadalupe. Thus, this particular kind of art, which is distinct from several other kinds in the mountains, seems to be limited in geographic extent, and it appears almost certainly to be rather limited in time. It presently is not known what its social, religious, gender, or functional roles may be — and how those may influence form or distribution — or what the art actually refers to. Because of the possibility that it may have a greater geographic extent than is now known, and because it seems to be widely distributed throughout the mountains, we often refer to this as a tradition in some sort of geographic sense. Although technically incongruous with the archeological connotation of tradition, it somehow fits for us. In the meantime, we will more formally lump the Guadalupe art of this kind with the very similar Lower Pecos Red Linear Style into the descriptive term Pecos Miniature Art and await future terminological improvement. And during such immersion into evaluation, researchers may ponder the intrinsic concepts of John Clegg’s “manner” (the personal attributes of how something is drawn) and Reinaldo Morales’ “style” (simply the way something is done) and how those relate to the more stringent, but somewhat open-ended application of style in mainstream archeological theory.

There are also some negatives to consider, which we will just touch on here. First, there is nothing about the fine-line Guadalupe art discussed here that remotely suggests affiliation with Apache groups, and it is clear that this fine-line style (or tradition) of miniature figures, so common throughout the Guadalupe Mountains, is clearly pre-Apache. Apache art appears in the same canyons, but almost always at different sites and never in any context that suggests association or reuse. It seems likely that fine-line miniatures could be associated with early Mogollon development, but nowhere (that we know of) in the Guadalupe are masks of any kind, or

Mogollon type decorative forms or symbols, associated with the fine-line red miniature figures. Thus, we must conclude that either the fine-line figures are the result of a different cultural group unaffiliated with the ceramic-using Mogollon, or the art is considerably older, or both.

Relative to the idea of time, it is our general impression these dark red fine-line pictographs in the Guadalupe could even be considerably older than Late Archaic, as suggested especially by the clear edges on the lines and the very dark red paint. They are almost certainly Archaic (or earlier), but there are no characteristics of either content or technology that presently limits possibilities of greater age. Except for a few sites, such as two reported here and another with calcite deposition over the miniature figures, the degree of spalling at most Guadalupe sites is at least as bad as the older Archaic art in the Lower Pecos, and the degree of erosion and spalling intuitively suggests time depth greater than Late Archaic. Hopefully, future dating will eventually answer the questions of age and duration.

As one last consideration, painted pebbles occur in rockshelters all through the area of the Lower Pecos. Nearly all are relatively small, smooth river pebbles, usually somewhat flattened and oval or egg-shaped (or rarely elongated) in outline, and they are painted on one face or all around. They have a very long history of use — actually forming a continuing tradition — from at least Early Archaic to terminal Archaic, and likely into the early part of the Late Prehistoric, with patterns changing through time and probably function (Davenport and Chelf 1941; Parsons 1965, 1986; Mock 1987). Many, if not most, were secondarily used as small hammerstones for final edge-retouch during flaking of stone tools, leaving areas of characteristically curved scratches on parts of the stones. Thus, the people who occupied these shelters had walls to paint on and smooth pebbles to decorate, and they exploited both to the fullest. With the Red Linear, however, painters utilized only shelter walls, and usually limited areas of those walls. Although there is obvious temporal overlap be-

tween the pebbles and the Red Linear, there have never been — to our knowledge — any painted pebbles with Red Linear type figures. We have viewed hundreds of such pebbles in private collections and from professional excavations, many with elements made up of various kinds of fine-line designs, but none with anything approaching Red Linear motifs or application. The general concept of painted pebbles, or usually small flat pieces of spalled shelter wall, continues throughout most of the Trans-Pecos and into southern New Mexico, and again, we have never seen any of the miniature art of either the Guadalupe or Lower Pecos kind on these portable pieces. The reason for this exclusion is just one more subject for future research.

Consideration of red linear figures along different parts of the Pecos and the concepts they embody seems to indicate that the more sites we find and the more we learn, the greater the diversity becomes apparent in all aspects of the art, more interpretive problems become evident, we realize increased and unanticipated complexity in the sample, and there is a greater need to reevaluate our previous interpretations and positions. These are universals in scientific enquiry, particularly all aspects of archeology. They are not unique to attempted organization of rock art along the Pecos River corridor.

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information about known Red Linear Style in general, theory in particular, specific sites across the Lower Pecos, access to her seemingly unlimited publications, and has greatly assisted in providing freely of ideas, personal observations, interpretations, research directions, and general suggestions; we cannot thank her enough. Teddy Stickney, long term regional rock art recorder, brought to our attention the panel of miniature figures in Seminole Canyon 41VV75 and has additionally provided years of comments on rock art of the Lower Pecos and beyond. We thank Margaret Berrier for her drawings and unlimited assistance in the field, Angel Johnson and LeRoy Unglaub for their field assistance and outstanding photography, Eric Dillingham for site access, regional information, and so much more, and many other colleagues who have provided comments on this and other papers and have helped in so many ways. Our work in general and this paper specifically are the collective contribution of our friends and colleagues.

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