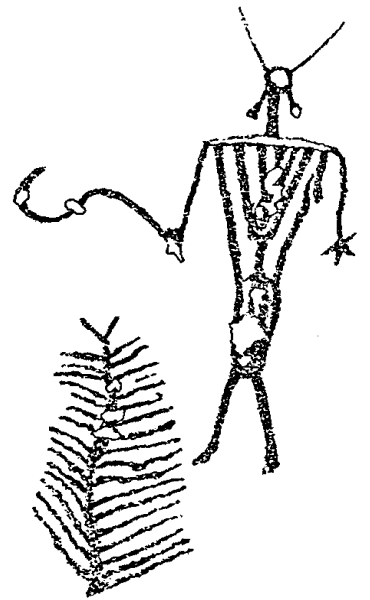


Liminal Animals in the Archaic/ Basketmaker II Rock Art Iconography of the Palavayu Anthropomorphic Style (PASTYLE), Arizona

Ekkehart Malotki



The rock art imagery of the Palavayu Anthropomorphic Style (Pastyle) of east-central Arizona shows a strong indebtedness to the shamanistic trance paradigm. One of the ideational ingredients associated with shamanistically produced rock art is the notion of liminality. It applies foremost to the shaman who, as the most likely executor of the art, functions as mediator between the everyday world and the realm of spirits.

To achieve their ends, shamans frequently draw on the powers attributed to certain animals. Regarded as spirit helpers, some of these animals, in their behavior, appear to echo the liminal status of these religious practitioners. In doing so, they become obvious metaphors or analogues for the shaman in an altered state. Among the liminal animals that appear in Pastyle art are birds, insects, and reptiles.

One of the clearly definable rock art complexes that can be ascribed to the Western Archaic Tradition is the Palavayu Anthropomorphic Style (Pastyle) of east-central Arizona (Malotki 1997:57). Created by hunting and gathering people during a period that is estimated to have lasted from the mid-Archaic into Basketmaker II times (approximately 4500 B.C. to A.D. 250), Pastyle imagery, when analyzed against a list of conceptual notions of and physiological reactions to altered states of consciousness, shows a strong relationship to the shamanistic trance paradigm as initially developed by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988).

One idea that is associated with various aspects of shamanistic rock art is the notion of "liminality" (van Gennep 1960 [1908]), which can be defined as the transitional phase or condition between two states. The state of liminality applies, among others, to shamans who, in my opinion, as the mediators between the everyday world and the realm of the spirits, were the most likely executors of the art. Liminality is also applicable to the rock face which bears the engravings or paintings. Viewed as the contact zone between the human and supernatural worlds, the rock "canvas" can be interpreted as the liminal interface between the two

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worlds. Finally, the term applies to the tutelary animals that shamans may ritually petition to achieve their ends. Regarded as spirit helpers, some of these animals, in their behavior, appear to echo the liminal status of the religious practitioners. As such, they become metaphors or analogues for the shaman in an altered state. Among the liminal animals that appear in Pastyle art are birds, insects, and reptiles.

SHAMANISM AND THE CONCEPT OF LIMINALITY

The concept of liminality, which enjoys great currency in the study of folklore, mythology, and religion, is also useful in the discussion of the shamanistic origin model of rupestrian art. Etymologically linked to the Latin word *limen* "threshold," liminality suggests a threshold or boundary between the profane realm and the sacred.

With the existence of boundaries comes the idea of transition from one bounded region of space or time, or from one state or mode of being to another, usually accompanied by ritual. van Gennep (1960 [1908]), who for these transitory situations or experiences first coined the term "rites of passage," distinguished three theoretical phases for any complete rite of passage: separation, transition, and incorporation or preliminal, liminal, and postliminal (van Gennep 1960 [1908]:11).

While separation involves the ritual removal of the individual from society, reincorporation refers to his or her reentering of the social structure, usually, but not always, on a new status level. The intervening, liminal period, which entails the isolation of the individual from society, is the most uncertain and dangerous of the three phases. It is also the one likely to be associated with supernatural forces, favorable or malevolent. It is in this interval that the state of the transient person "becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed points of classification; he passes through a symbolic domain

that has few or none of the attributes of his past or coming state" (Turner 1974:232).

Eliade (1958:xiii) likewise outlines three stages in initiatory ritual: separation from or death to the old life, the intermediary state of chaotic ambiguity and ordeal, and rebirth in a new life and return to society as a new being. For him the quintessential transient "passenger" or "liminar" (Turner 1974:232) is the shaman whose initiation and position in society can almost serve as an archetypal illustration of liminal practice and status.

In their role as liminars, that is "brokers" or "boundary players" (Bean and Vane 1978:127) between the world of mortals and the spiritual realm, shamans are believed to have been the principal creators of rupestrian imagery in hunter-gatherer societies. To them, the rock surface served not just as a neutral, meaningless canvas functioning solely as support for the art, but rather it constituted a kind of "veil" or membranous interface behind which lay the supernatural world (Lewis-Williams 1994:282). Shaman-artists, endowed with extraordinary power when undergoing trance or altered states of consciousness (ASC), were believed not only to be capable of coaxing the creatures and spirits of this otherworld through the rock (Clottes and Lewis-Williams 1998:33), but also of crossing the liminal space of this permeable divide and interacting with them in the sacred realm. The images, in turn, that are frequently found to be entering or leaving cracks, holes, or other imperfections in the liminal rock surface are probably "not 'art' in the sense of Western representation but the actual inhabitants of the spirit world" (Blundell 1998:8).

It is not surprising that shamans, as liminal operators between the supernatural and the natural world, claim animal familiars that are themselves considered to have liminal characteristics. What animal was selected for this purpose, however, differs from culture to culture. Pastyle shaman-artists, for example, apparently felt an affinity for birds, snakes, dragonflies, centipedes, and the turtle.

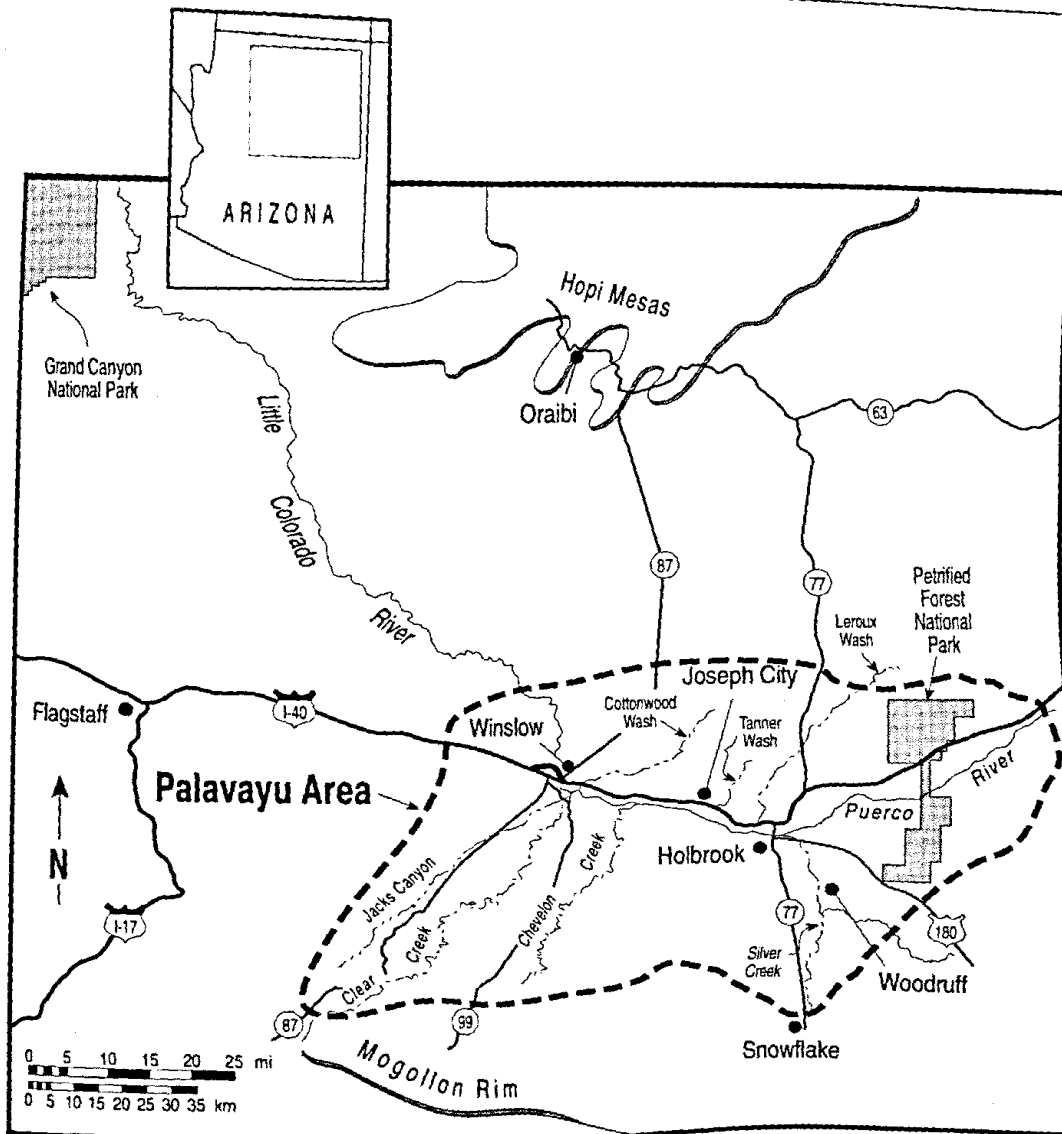


Figure 1. The rock art region of the Palavayu.

PASTYLE ROCK ART

With the exception of one possible Pleistocene mammoth engraved on a cliff site bordering the San Juan River near Bluff, Utah (Malotki and Weaver 2002:2), there exists currently no naturalistic evidence for a Paleo-Indian rock art tradition in North America. Nor are any absolute dating techniques available to today's researchers that might help verify or falsify claims for the existence of a pan-Western Paleo-Indian rupestrian horizon. All "oldest" rock art complexes attributable to a particular diagnostic style are, therefore, subsumed under an all-encompassing Western Archaic Rock Art Tradition (Hedges and Hamann 1992:46), whose initial phase is generally thought to have begun about 6000 B.C.

A recent addition to the principal regional manifestations within this Western Archaic tradition—Great Basin Abstract, Glen Canyon Linear, Grand Canyon Polychrome, Barrier Canyon, and Pecos River Style—is the Palavayu Anthropomorphic Style (Pastyle) centered in the region around Holbrook (Figure 1). Estimated to have been produced from early to mid-Archaic times into the Basketmaker II period, that is, approximately between 4500 B.C. and A.D. 250 (Malotki 1999:103), Pastyle rock art was apparently created by forager communities. The imagery they left behind, consisting exclusively of petroglyphs, is dominated by a multitude of anthropomorphic figures. At more than 250 sites, I have identified some 2,200 Pastyle anthropomorphs, which make up the major

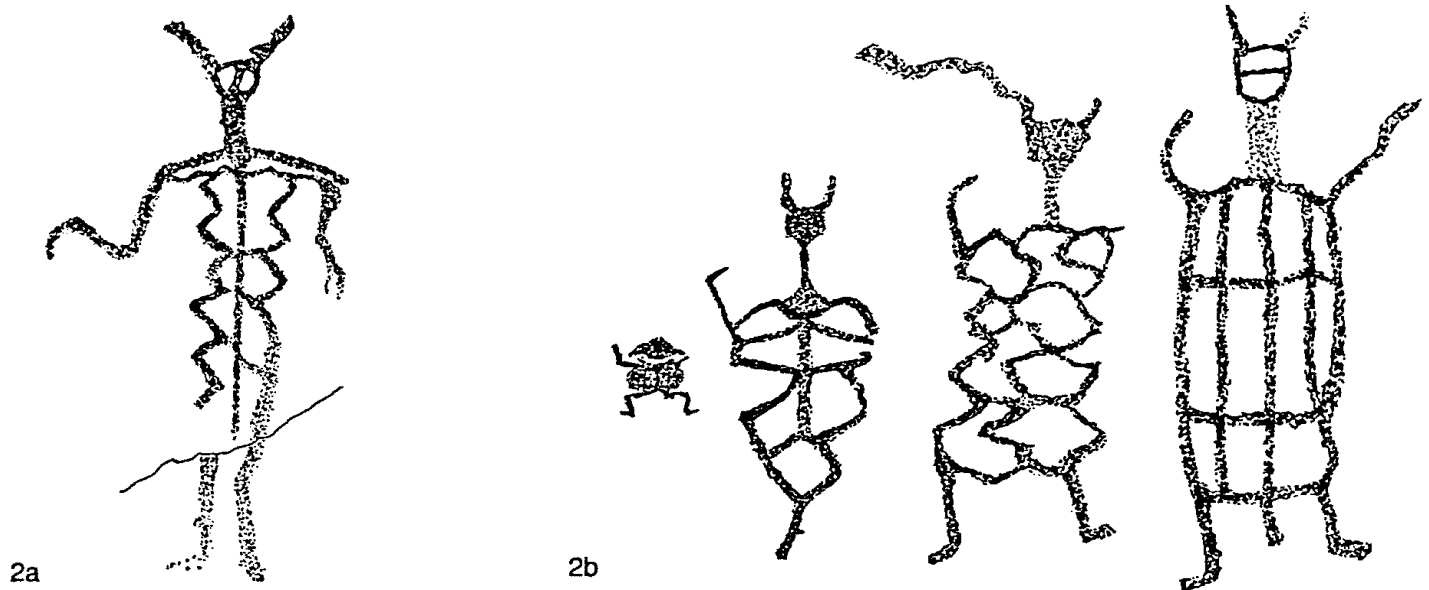


Figure 2. Pastyle (a) and Glen Canyon Linear (b) anthropomorphs.

portion of Pastyle elements. To my knowledge, none of the other Archaic styles in the Southwest can boast such a high count of anthropomorphs, even though the Pastyle region with no more than approximately 4,000 km² is significantly smaller than the areas taken up by them.

There are clear stylistic similarities between the Pastyle and Glen Canyon Linear rock arts, notably in regard to their anthropomorphic motifs (Figure 2), but they are also evident in

the depiction of quadrupeds (McCreery and Malotki 1994:15-17). Graphic parallels can also be detected in the Barrier Canyon Style, both in its painted and its engraved manifestations (Figure 3). These similarities immediately give rise to several questions: What is the chronological relationship between these three Archaic complexes? Is there archaeological evidence that Pastyle people were the seminal group, or are the forager bands that created Pastyle iconography splinter groups that

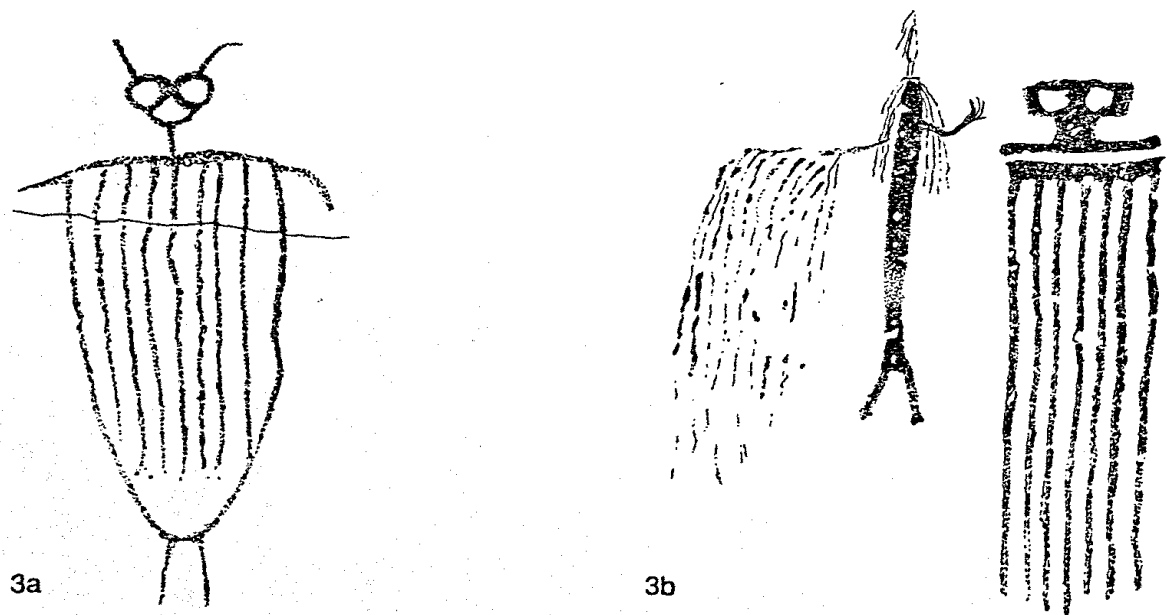


Figure 3. Pastyle (a) and Barrier Canyon Style (b) rake-bodied anthropomorphs.

moved out of Glen Canyon Linear and Barrier Canyon Style territory and headed south? Applying the same terminological and classificatory "morph"-ology I use to analyze Pastyle imagery (Malotki 1998:7) to Glen Canyon Linear and Barrier Canyon Style art should go a long way in drawing some preliminary conclusions.

Pastyle art shows great ideological continuity in its iconography and consistency of motifs. Summarily, the non-ordinary reality of its imagery is dominated by a wide range of neuropsychological manifestations (Malotki 1999:107). It is on this "circumstantial" ASC evidence that I base my claim that the majority of Pastyle art was shamanistically inspired.

PASTYLE LIMINAL ANIMALS

The zoomorphic branch of the Pastyle motif index consists of four classes of animals: mammals, birds, reptiles, and insects. All of them, with the exception of the mammals, contain several species that can be classified as liminal because they commute between such antipodal environments as earth and sky, land and water, beneath ground and above ground. Specifically, the class of birds contains owls, herons, eagles, several unidentified "songbirds," and one hummingbird. The insects feature dragonflies and centipedes; the reptiles include snakes and one turtle (Figure 4). The individual animals are discussed in detail below.

Liminal Birds in Pastyle Iconography

The concept of liminality, as perceived by me in Pastyle iconography, is embodied most frequently in bird depictions, specifically owls, but including some herons, eagles, and a hummingbird. A few birds, at two sites, portrayed as tiny, fluttering creatures, are not identifiable.

Generally, the above-mentioned birds are not thought to have played a significant role in nomadic hunter-gatherer subsistence

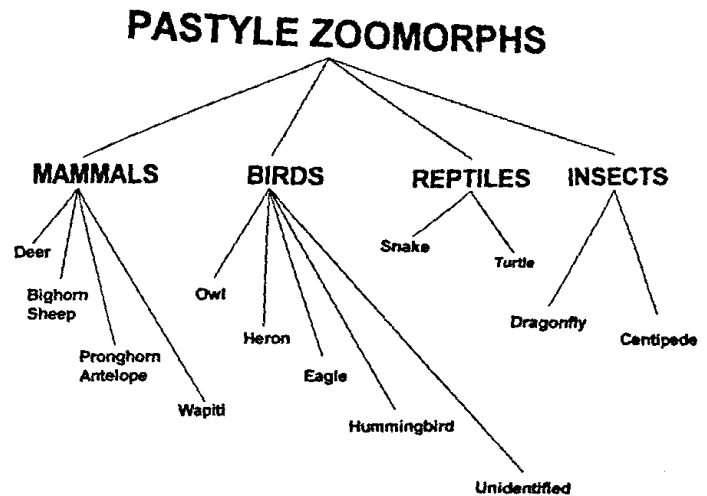


Figure 4. Tree diagram of Pastyle animals.

economies. It is therefore highly unlikely that they were incorporated into the art as potential food items in the context of a hunting magic hypothesis. Rather, most ornithological symbolism—feathers, wings, three-toed bird tracks, winged or bird-headed anthropomorphs—seems to be linked with ecstatic trance. Hence, imagery resulting from altered states of consciousness is often replete with avian motifs. The feeling of spatial displacement that the trancing shaman experiences is tied to the core belief that the soul leaves the body and embarks on a voyage to an otherworld. In the context of shamanistically conceived cosmology, this otherworld is typically located in a netherworld or some celestial region. Birds thus constitute metaphors for soul-loss and, worldwide, tend to become part of the symbolic vocabulary that the shaman-artist draws on to communicate the sensation of magical flight (Hedges 1985).

Birds often function as psychopomps and auxiliary spirits to shamans. In addition, due to their unique ability to transcend the limits of the earth and rise to the sky, they ultimately become analogues for the shaman who crosses the threshold to another plane of existence (Furst 1976:154). Birds are thus metaphorical boundary markers or liminal creatures with which the shaman can easily identify.

Of all the birds the owl appears to be exceptionally suited to capture the various shamanic concepts. Many of its behavioral traits have immediate relevance for the shaman. The owl is nocturnal, and shamans often prefer the dark of the night to practice their craft. Owing to the bird's legendary ability to hunt most effectively in the dark, it is easy to understand that the owl might have come to represent, in the minds of Pastyle hunter-gatherers, a sort of supernatural ability to "see into" the other, hidden world of spirits or "see beyond" the ordinary, visible world. A liminal creature that is at home in the realms of both light and dark, just like the religious specialist who commutes between the secular and sacred world, the owl is singularly predestined to become the metaphor par excellence for the shaman. Pastyle owls can thus be regarded as self-portraits or alter egos of the shaman.

A close analysis of Pastyle owl portrayals shows that all of them are rendered in rigid, frontal posture. None are shown in profile or with spread wings. With the exception of two quite realistic renditions (Figure 5; also see

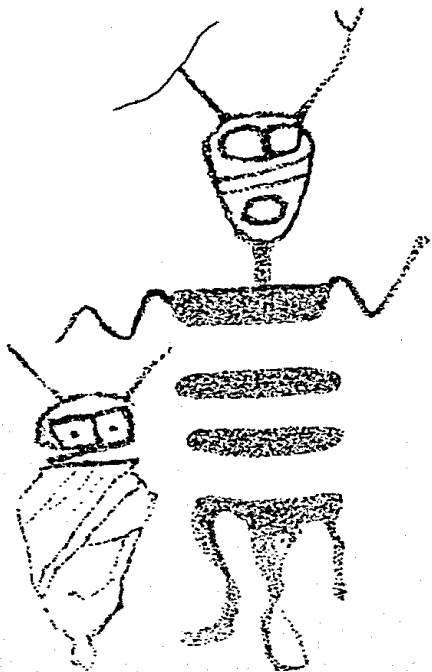


Figure 5. Pastyle owl and anthropomorph with owl-like head.

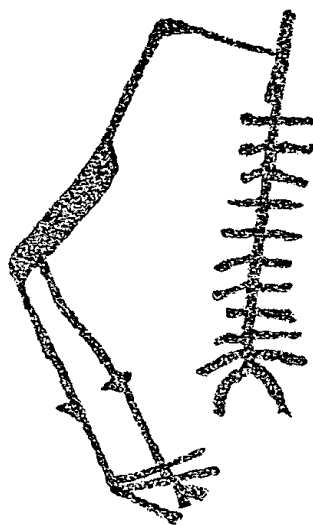
Malotki 1998:Figure 4), all are executed in rather abstract fashion (Malotki 1998:Figure 8). Many have faces with large, prominent eyes and equally striking circular mouths in place of expected longitudinal marks for the beaks. The large, prominent eyes I consider part of the circumstantial evidence I have assembled to make my case for the use of hallucinogenic datura by Pastyle shaman-artists (Malotki 1999). One of the physiological symptoms that have been observed in victims of datura intoxication is pupil dilation. Extreme pupil dilation causes photophobia (Millspaugh 1974:502) to the point that a patient will gain the ability to see clearly at night, but be abnormally intolerant of daylight (Cooper 1997:35). If, indeed, Pastyle shaman-artists ingested psychotropic Datura to induce ASCs, this factor too may have contributed to their selection of the owl as one of their alter egos.

The high percentage of owls in Pastyle imagery—86 in all—is a noteworthy fact in itself considering that owl images are extremely sparse or nonexistent in the other Archaic rock art traditions of the Southwest. It becomes even more remarkable when compared to the relative paucity of the remaining bird species in Pastyle iconography—herons, eagles, one hummingbird, and a few unidentifiable "soul birds." In the context of a shamanistically grounded motif selection that I posit for Pastyle art, all of them are part of the symbolic vocabulary for altered states of consciousness and could have functioned as helping spirits for individual shaman-artists. As such, they convey the notions of magical flight, soul-loss, transcendence, and the status of liminality so intrinsically a part of shamanic ideology.

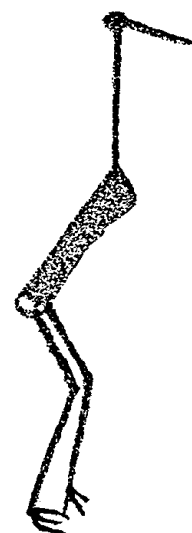
Altogether, some 15 heron images have been counted to date, and ethnographic information regarding the bird is quite sparse. In the non-ornithological literature, they are generally referred to as cranes, a common misnomer. Thus, Stephen (1936:185) in his Hopi Journal refers to crane tracks, crane wing



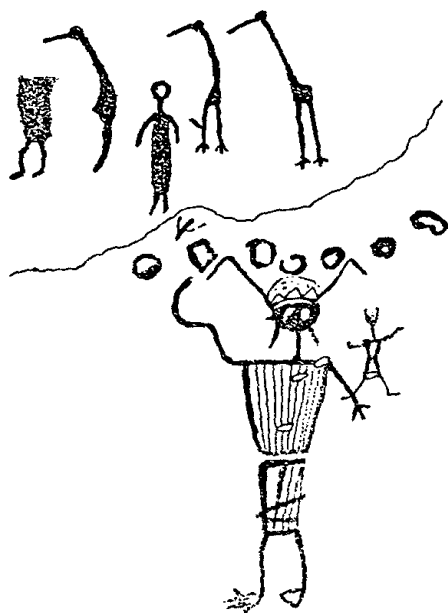
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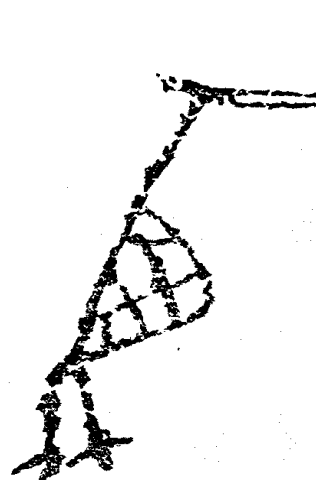
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Figure 6. Pastyle herons from four separate panels (a, b, c, and d) at Baird's Chevelon Steps site.

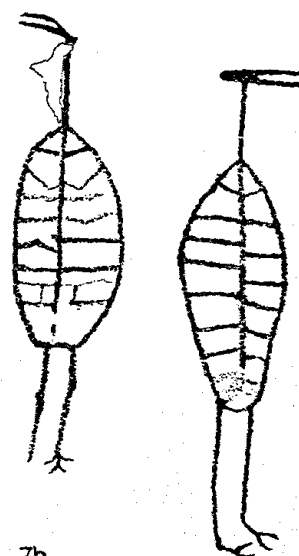
feathers (1936:960), and the existence of a Crane Clan for Zuni (1936:713). Fred Eggan (1950:74), likewise, reports that such a clan once flourished at Hopi. According to Tyler (1979:145), for the Pueblo Indians, it was the quality of "guardianship" that attracted them to the bird.

Twelve of the heron depictions are found at Baird's Chevelon Steps, by far the largest Pastyle site on record. As far as discernible—several images are heavily eroded or show signs of repecking—they all are distinguished by super-elongated legs, long necks and bills,

and solidly pecked bodies (Figure 6). The three other heron depictions, located at two sites in Silver Creek, differ stylistically in that they have large gridded torsos and much shorter necks (Figure 7). As transient water birds herons are obviously related to the theme of water and rain, in my view one of the major concerns of Pastyle shamans. Additionally, with their long legs, herons may symbolize the bodily feeling of attenuation, one of the prime physiological results of trance (Klüver 1966:73).



7a



7b

Figure 7. Pastyle herons from two separate sites (a and b) in the Silver Creek area.

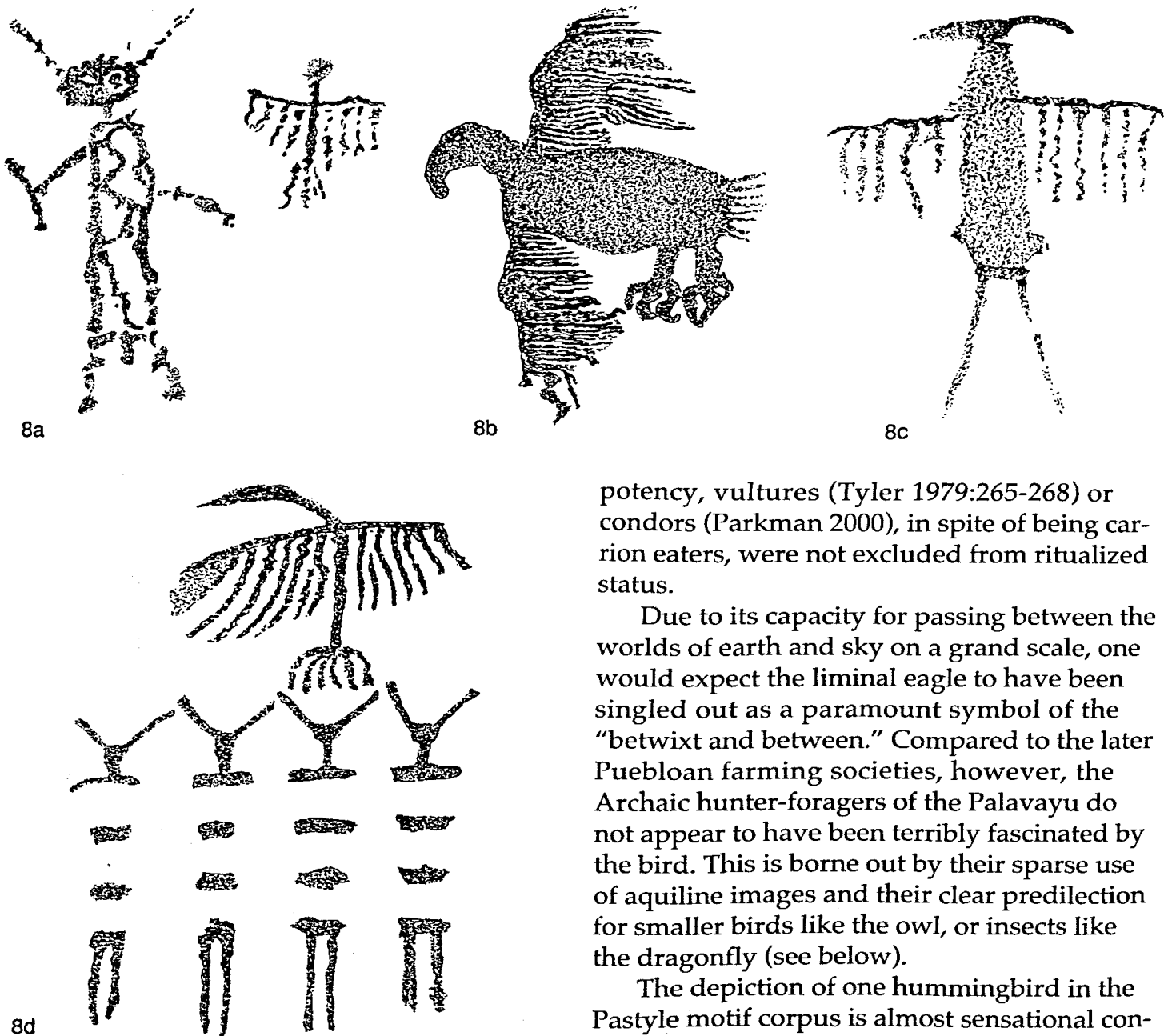


Figure 8. Pastyle birds suggestive of eagles from four separate sites (a, b, c, and d).

Four spread-winged creatures, three of which feature powerful curved beaks (Figure 8), are tentatively identified as eagles in the Pastyle art corpus. Obviously, there is no knowing for certain if this or another bird species with equally large wingspan is portrayed. While there is abundant ethnographic information that indigenous cultures found the eagle particularly charged with supernatural

potency, vultures (Tyler 1979:265-268) or condors (Parkman 2000), in spite of being carion eaters, were not excluded from ritualized status.

Due to its capacity for passing between the worlds of earth and sky on a grand scale, one would expect the liminal eagle to have been singled out as a paramount symbol of the "betwixt and between." Compared to the later Puebloan farming societies, however, the Archaic hunter-foragers of the Palavayu do not appear to have been terribly fascinated by the bird. This is borne out by their sparse use of aquiline images and their clear predilection for smaller birds like the owl, or insects like the dragonfly (see below).

The depiction of one hummingbird in the Pastyle motif corpus is almost sensational considering how rarely these colorful fliers are seen in the rock art of the American Southwest. Juxtaposed to a skeletal bighorn sheep reminiscent of split-twigg figurines, the tiny bird, only 6 cm in length, is instantly recognized by its elongated beak (Figure 9). I know of only two additional hummingbird portrayals, one in the Palavayu along the Little Colorado, the other in Mill Creek near Moab, Utah (Figure 10). Both, however, are of a non-Archaic provenience. Why hummingbirds were not singled out more frequently in Southwestern rupestrian art is not known. After all, Hopi culture embraced the bird and

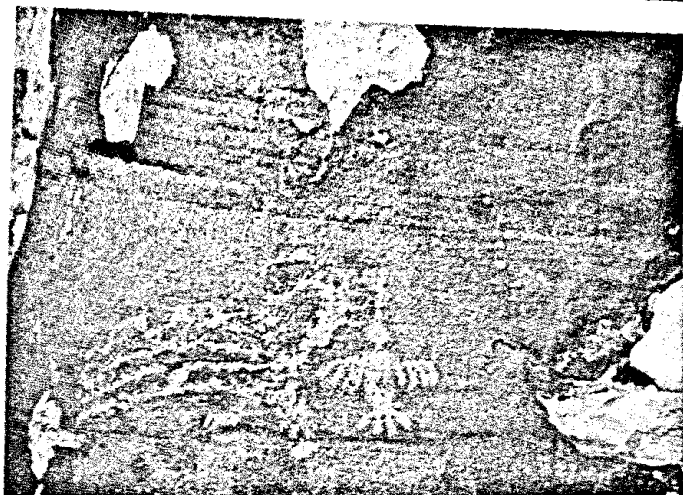


Figure 9. Pastyle bird resembling a hummingbird.

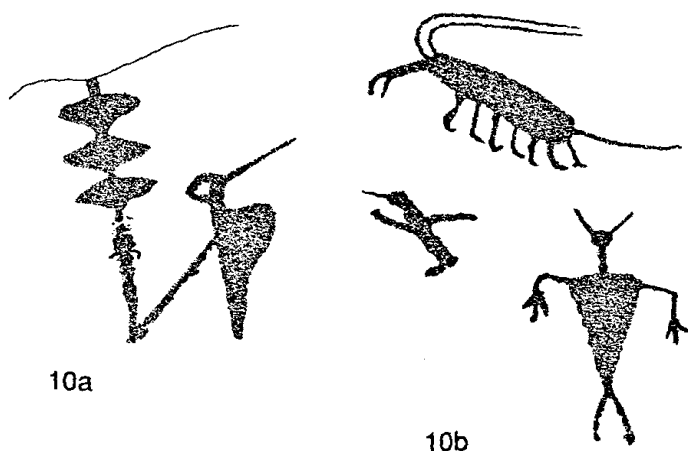


Figure 10. Hummingbirds along the Little Colorado River (a) and in Mill Creek, Utah (b).

deified it as a kachina (Fewkes 1903:95). Interestingly, as Dobkin de Rios (1977:242) reports, hummingbirds are in wide use in Moche art of South America where hallucinogenic rituals are commonplace. She attributes this to the homologous behavior of the flower sucking bird and the healing practice of shamans in many New World societies who symbolically extract pathogenic objects from their patients by sucking. Healing patients by sucking the disease-causing object from their body was also widely prevalent in the Native-American Southwest and was still practiced in the 1890s by members of the Hopi *povoswimi* or "shamans' society" (Stephen 1936:862). However, the rock art in the Southwest is basically devoid of hummingbird depictions.

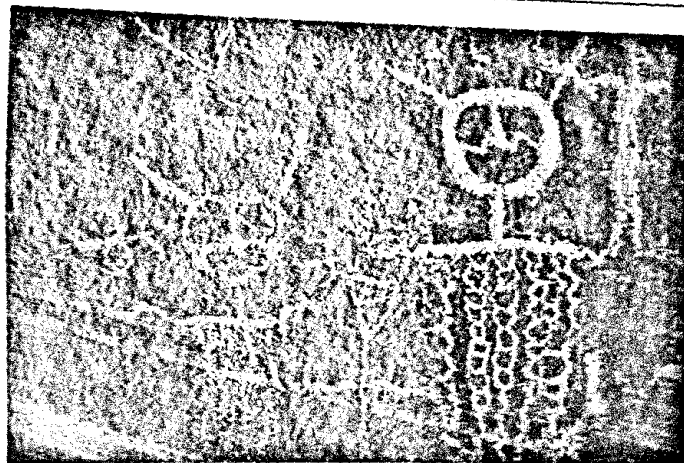


Figure 11. Pastyle "soul birds" from the Slim Jim site.

Finally, two Pastyle panels feature several birds without the slightest pictorial hint as to what species they might represent. Depicted as tiny winged creatures fluttering about the adjacent anthropomorphs, they may have been conceived as "soul-birds" symbolizing the idea of soul-loss, that is, the universally encountered belief that the shaman's spirit leaves his body on his skyward mystical journey. Alternatively, it can be argued that they represent the ancestral souls of the dead, shamans undergoing symbolic death, or shamans transformed into their tutelary animals (Schaafsma 1994:50). Figure 11 shows two of the birds at the "Slim Jim" site. See also Malotki (1997:Figure 8).

Liminal Insects in Pastyle Iconography

The insects most abundantly depicted in Pastyle art, readily identified by their "phone-pole" configuration, are dragonflies (Figure 12). They constitute the second largest group

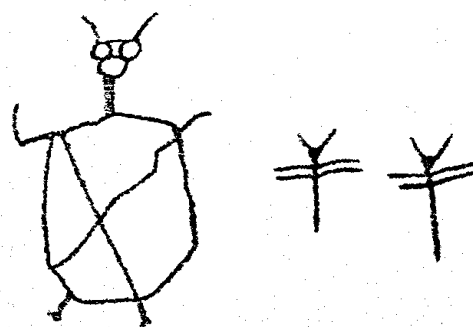


Figure 12. Pastyle dragonflies from the Helmsway site.

of liminal creatures in Pastyle iconography. My current head-count amounts to 53 specimens, found exclusively at riverine sites. Whether engraved singularly or in multiples, they are usually encountered in the vicinity of anthropomorphs, other zoomorphs, and geomorphs that are the hallmark of Pastyle iconography (Malotki 1997).

Once again, Pastyle imagery differs radically from the zoomorphic inventories of other Archaic styles on the Colorado Plateau. Presently, I know of only two sites where depictions of the dragonfly can be found; one located at the Courthouse Wash site near Moab, Utah (Schaafsma 1994:70), and the other in a shelter in Moqui Fork, also in Utah (Malotki and Weaver 2002:22). Both belong to the Barrier Canyon Style. None seem to exist in the Glen Canyon Linear or the Grand Canyon Polychrome Styles.

In Pastyle imagery I see the dragonfly first and foremost as a shamanic spirit helper. Pictorial evidence for this role is available at two rock art panels showing the insect standing on the shoulders of rake-bodied anthropomorphs (Malotki 1997:66-67). With the latter perhaps denoting symbolic rain-shamans or anthropic rain deities, their intimate juxtaposition with a dragonfly seems to underscore the insect's significance as an aquatic or pluvial icon. Thus, the insect may have been petitioned in rain-making rituals or revered as a guarantor of life-sustaining moisture.

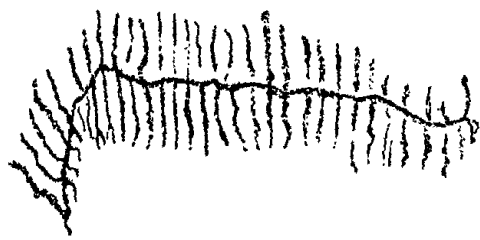
But there is more to the dragonfly than its obvious symbolic connection with water. The insect must have attracted the attention of early peoples with its iridescent eyes and glistening wing membranes. Vivid, shimmering colors of this kind may have reminded the shaman-artist of the scintillating phosphene designs characteristically experienced in altered states of consciousness. As an embodiment of these luminous percepts that occur in incandescent, shimmering, moving and rotating patterns (Lewis-Williams and Dowson 1988:202), dragonflies appear to have

fascinated Pastyle hunter-gatherers and instilled in them an attitude of awe toward the insect.

As a master aerialist with great maneuverability that can reach speeds up to 60 miles an hour and can hunt on the wing (Linsenmaier 1972:348), the dragonfly's suitability as a metaphor for the shaman's extracorporeal experience was obviously not lost on the Pastyle artists. Fitting quite naturally into this symbolic vocabulary, its liminal status, too, must have been readily recognized. Just like the religious practitioner who acts out two roles, dragonflies go through two successive stages in their lives that are radically different (Needham and Westfall 1955:4-5). During their nymphal stage, they live an aquatic life. Then, after shedding their nymphal skins, they embark on an adult aerial life. This miraculous transformation from a stiff-legged existence under water to one as a soaring flying machine above water beautifully parallels the shaman's position as a liminar between two worlds and qualifies the insect to graphically summarize his boundary status.

A second insect that is part of the Pastyle pictorial vocabulary is the centipede. Only three examples are attested in clear association with Pastyle anthropomorphs (Figure 13). Nine others occur either isolated or on panels covered predominantly with geometric designs (Figure 14). They are therefore not ascribable to the Pastyle tradition with the same certitude.

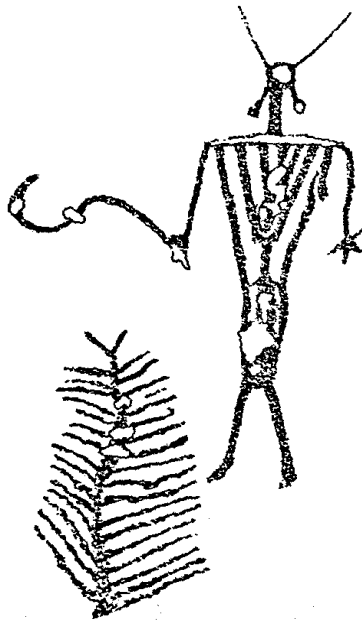
Easily recognized by its multiple body segments, each of which is equipped with a pair of legs, the insect is at home on the earth's surface, as well as below it. In rupestrian iconography the wormlike invertebrate is often configured in straight or sinuous fashion, with V-shaped antennae marking the external mouth part and two projections its posterior appendages. Believed to be dangerous because of its supposedly venomous biting organs, the centipede is fraught with negative connotations of death and decaying vegetation and is essentially considered a vile



13a



13b



13c

Figure 13. Pastyle centipedes from three separate sites (a, b, and c).

creature (Conway 1993:106). In Hopi culture, for instance, where it was strongly linked with witchcraft, it was the favorite injurious object that sorcerers would shoot into their victims (Stephen 1936:862; Titiev 1942:551).



Figure 14. Centipede from a Palavayu site not attributed to the Pastyle tradition.

Due to the multilegged insect's fundamental ability to cross boundaries by ascending from its subterranean abode to the terrestrial above and vice versa, it becomes an ideal metaphor for the shaman who also is believed to move from one level of existence to another. By straddling the line between the world of the living and the world of the dead, or by freely commuting between the world of light and the world of darkness (Conway 1993:106), shamans may have seen themselves as mirror-images of the insect. The centipede thus acquired a prominent liminal position and, for this reason, also seems to have functioned as a suitable spirit helper.

Liminal Reptiles in Pastyle Iconography

The only reptiles found in Pastyle art are snakes and one turtle. Notably absent are lizards, encountered in Puebloan rock art in great numbers. Convincing depictions of snakes, typified by winding bodies and headlike appendages, are surprisingly sparse in Pastyle iconography. My count to date does not exceed two dozen. In Barrier Canyon Style rock art, on the other hand, snakes are probably the most commonly represented zoomorphs. While in my study of Pastyle serpentine imagery (Malotki 2001), I included "headless" geomorphs of sinuous configuration as less realistic symbolic renditions of the reptile, only ophidian-type imagery with obvious headlike terminations is considered here. Equally excluded here are snakelike therianthropes.

As I have discussed elsewhere (Malotki 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000), I believe the vast majority of Pastyle rock art bears all the hallmarks of shamanistic visionary imagery. I am convinced that this is also true for all the serpentine images. Within the hypothetical framework of the three-tiered neuropsychological model developed by Lewis-Williams and Dowson (1988), Pastyle snakes can easily be interpreted as mental products from all three progressive stages of the shamanistic trance experience (Malotki 2001:Figure 21).

Polysemic, like many rupestrian symbols, the image of the serpent is commonly held to symbolize such diverse themes as water, regeneration and renewal, vitality and energy, human fecundity, and sexual potency. As an embodiment of the life force, the reptile's most fundamental associations with water and such meteorological phenomena as rain and lightning seems to apply also to Pastyle snakes. This theory is corroborated by the body of moisture symbolism that pervades much of Pastyle art. Obviously, a hunting magic hypothesis provides no answer, for it is unlikely that the reptile would have been regarded as a major food source.

The notable prominence of what I interpret as water-related symbolism in much of Pastyle imagery also strengthens my assumption that anthropomorphic figures primarily represent rain deities or rain shamans. The snakes that are directly or indirectly linked with them, then, may be understood as their animal familiars. They allowed the shaman to harness their supernatural powers, both to achieve trance and influence the weather, to mention but two of their many objectives.

In addition to conceiving of the reptiles as auxiliary spirits, they can also be thought of as visual metaphors of the shaman-artist. Roving back and forth between a below-ground and above-ground world, snakes can be regarded as liminal creatures. As such they mimic the shaman's journey from the profane world to the sacred world.

With the exception of two anthropomorphized serpents that are equipped with clearly defined rattles, there are no visual clues that would allow one to identify any of the other Pastyle snakes as rattlesnakes. It is much more likely, therefore, that they depict the garter snake that commonly inhabits the many stagnant pools encountered, during the summer months, adjacent to many of the riverine Pastyle sites. Known as the Narrow-headed garter snake (*Thamnophis rufipunctatus*), it makes its abode on solid land, but is often seen traversing the water, where it typically feeds on tadpoles and tiny fish. Commuting between a terrestrial and aqueous domain, the snake thus becomes an excellent metaphor for the shaman's spiritual journeys.

So far, the only other reptilian species encountered in the entire Pastyle rock art corpus is a single turtle. Pecked into the cliff face in the Linear style variant of Pastyle art, the squat-bodied creature is partially superimposed by a petroglyphic mountain lion that, judged by its mild degree of repatination, is probably several millennia younger than the turtle (Figure 15). In the immediate vicinity of the turtle are engraved several rake-bodied anthropomorphs, also of great age.

CONCLUSION

As amphibians, turtles in Northern Arizona are usually encountered in the riparian zones along the larger rivers and the perennial pools located in their side canyons. For example, there is ethnographic evidence (Parsons 1939:384) that even into modern times the Hopis captured turtles along the Little Colorado River to use their shells as ritual rattles. As Lewis-Williams (1980:472) has pointed out, turtles and other aquatic species, when depicted in the rock art, may suggest the subaquatic experience of trance: "the struggle, gasping for breath, sounds in the ears, a sense of weightlessness, inhibited movement, affected vision and final loss of consciousness."

Whether to Pastyle shaman-artists the engraved turtle suggested a metaphor for trance by drawing on the analogy of trancing/"dying" and being under water/"drowning," we will never know, of course. Rather, the liminal status of the amphibian reptile may have been what motivated the shaman, who saw himself as operating in two worlds. Perceiving the turtle to be leading a "double life" on both land and water, he chose it as his subject.



Figure 15. Pastyle turtle from the Carapace site.

Considering the visual primacy of rock art imagery, it is tempting for the modern viewer to succumb to an interpretation that is centered in literalism. As Ouzman (1998:30) has pointed out, it is necessary to go beyond the mere descriptive and observable and move towards an exploration that tries to fathom the non-material, cognitive mindscape of the art's creators. Acknowledging the widely held consensus today that hunter-gatherer cognition was strongly, but not exclusively, associated with shamanistic belief systems, I have interpreted much of Pastyle imagery in this tradition. In the context of this interpretation, the animal images discussed in this paper are not seen as wall ornaments, gastronomic items from the local fauna, didactic devices, hunting spells, or totemic signatures, but as the product of shamanistically oriented ideologues who enculturated their environment according to their forager world-understanding.

Among the many clues pointing to a shamanistic genesis of much of Pastyle rock art is the concept of liminality, especially with regard to liminal animals. However, the concept is also applicable to the art-bearing rock face as the nexus between two worlds, the material one of the living and the supernatural one of the spirits. Closely linked to a stratified cosmovision of upper, middle, and lower world, the concept is finally most strongly identified with the shaman who, as liminal extraordinaire, has the ability to transcend the three interlinked realms. Unlike in Judeo-Christian religion where the notions of heaven and hell have lost much of their impact, for hunter-gatherers the trance-generated otherworlds—in the sky as the home of gods and supernaturals, under ground as the abode of the spirits of the dead—were real and carried great force (Ouzman 1998:34). To commute in this three-tiered cosmos, shamans ritually petitioned certain animals that they found to be imbued with powers useful to them.

Understandably, the sets of symbolic associations attached to individual animals will fluctuate considerably from one society to the next. Equally varied will be a culture's motivating reasons for integrating one animal over another in its pictorial worldview. These reasons may range from considerations of an animal's nutritional value to its use as totemic emblem, and from its suitability as a metaphorical symbol to its usage as a term of ridicule or insult.

Based on their relative frequencies, no definitive conclusions can be drawn about the cultic significance of those animals that do occur. There may simply have been a taboo against the depiction of certain animals. Dogs, for instance, have multiple depictions in Barrier Canyon rock art, but none in Pastyle. Lizards, too, occurring in large quantities in Puebloan iconography, are completely absent from Pastyle iconography. Yet by darting in and out of cracks in the rock they are clearly liminal creatures and could have served shaman-artists as metaphorical images for their ready access to the supernatural world.

With the exception of deer, pronghorn antelope, bighorn sheep, and elk, I believe that all other members of the rather limited bestiary that Pastyle people shared at a cultural level were probably relatable to the liminal role of shaman practitioners, whom I consider primarily responsible for the art. Thus, the birds (owl, heron, eagle, and hummingbird), insects (dragonfly and centipede), and reptiles (snake and turtle) occurring in Pastyle imagery can all be interpreted as "in-between" creatures standing in isomorphic relationship with the shaman. Poised between two modes of existence, the shaman typically experiences the "betwixt and between" in two ways. First, in connection with the initiatory ritual that transforms him into a religious specialist and, second, in the context of trance when he symbolically undergoes periodic death and rebirth by crossing the threshold from normal life to the spirit realm.

These essentially ineffable boundary experiences were expressed through graphic analogues of zoological behavior. In the case of Pastyle art, we see that the shaman's liminal status is depicted metaphorically in the transcendent characteristics associated with a series of animals: from earth to sky in the case of birds, from a life in the water to one in the air in the case of dragonflies, from water to land in the case of turtles and aquatic garter snakes, and from below ground to above ground in the case of all other snakes and centipedes. In this way, the above-mentioned animals, in addition to their roles as tutelary spirits, alter egos, or symbolic metaphors of the shaman, not only define the shaman's societal status as liminar but constitute an important piece of circumstantial evidence for a shamanistic interpretation of the Pastyle hunter-gatherer petroglyphs.

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