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La Pintura

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Member of the International Federation of Rock Art Organizations

The Kokopelli Dilemma: The Use, Abuse, and Care of Rock Art

J. Claire Dean

The wisdom of the ages is written in the stones

May we see with the eyes of stones

—John Trudell, Santee Sioux

Petroglyphs (carved, pecked or abraded images) and pictographs (paintings on rock)—collectively referred to as rock art—can be found from coast to coast. Ranging in ages from many thousands of years to mere decades, its regional, cultural, and stylistic variations mirror the rich diversity of the indigenous peoples that have inhabited this part of the continent.

As there is no national register or other such catalog, an exact count of the number of known rock art sites in the USA does not exist. Recently, with the help of rock art researchers in Arizona, I calculated that there are approximately 2,500 known individual sites on publicly owned land in that state alone. It must be remembered that this does not account for sites on private land and the myriad of unknown sites. Remember too that a “site” is not defined as a single glyph. A site can vary in size and content from a single small image to an area including multiple panels, each panel being made up of hundreds of glyphs. Rock art images also range in size from tiny elements a few centimeters across to massive examples many meters in length (Figure 1).

If Arizona boasts more than 2,500 sites, it is readily apparent that nationally rock art represents a truly huge cultural resource in extent and diversity.

Window shopping in almost any location in the Southwest will reveal the acceptance of rock art as a decorative motif and therefore a symbol of the area. It could be argued that the hunchbacked, mischievous-looking “flute player” (often erroneously referred to as “Kokopelli”) may have now surpassed the ubiquitous “howling coyote” motif at the top of the list of the ten most popular Southwest images (Keith 1997; McCreery and Malotki 1994).

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Rock Art Attractions Abound for IRAC Congress

May 23 - 31, 1999

Ripon, Wisconsin

The venue for the International Rock Art Congress (IRAC) for 1999 is Ripon College, a small liberal arts college founded in 1851. The setting is picturesque, amidst the lush, flowering spring of scenic central Wisconsin. Extensive facilities are being provided by the college, several buildings of which date from the 1850s and are on the United States National Register of Historic Places.

ARARA will be the national host for this event. The local sponsor will be the Mid-America Geographic Foundation, a non-profit organization with extensive interests in rock art. The congress has also been sanctioned by the International Federation of Rock Art Organizations (IFRAO).

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IRAC Congress

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Other sponsoring and collaborating organizations are the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh, the University of Wisconsin Center—Fond du Lac, the Upper Midwest Rock Art Research Association, the Eastern States Rock Art Research Association, the Ho-Chunk (Wisconsin Winnebago) Nation, and the Wisconsin All-Tribal Council. Aboriginal groups will present opening and closing ceremonies. Other Native activities are planned, including vendors. Ample facilities are being provided by Ripon College.

Wisconsin has achieved significant attention in rock art research only within the last decade or so. David Lowe has discovered nearly 80 rock art sites in Southwestern Wisconsin where virtually none had been known before. Most are petroglyph sites in what is known as the driftless area, an area which escaped the glaciers and essentially produced the common landscapes of Wisconsin. As late as 1950 less than 15 sites were known of in the entire state. Further discoveries have been made by Robert Boszhardt and Cynthia Stiles in western Wisconsin. These include some exciting sites in rock shelters, with carved ceilings.

Dr. Robert Salzer of Beloit College in southern Wisconsin has contributed to regional rock art research through his decade of excavations at the Gottschall Rock Shelter near Muscoda. In his excavations Salzer discovered a series of rock paintings, and was able to suggest their dating by finding pigment traces from the paintings in the cultural deposits.

A unique aspect of Wisconsin's prehistoric symbolism is provided by effigy mounds in the form of animals, birds, and sometimes humans, found by the hundreds and once estimated to number over 20,000!

Field trips for the 1999 Congress will include rock art sites and effigy mounds, as well as a number of petroform sites in east central Wisconsin. Petroforms consist of boulders placed on the ground to form circles, lines, and sometimes human figures. Herman Bender, founder of the Mid-America Geographic Foundation, and Dr. Jeffrey Behm of the University of Wisconsin—Oshkosh are the pioneers in this research. Theories about petroforms center astronomical alignments, especially solstices. Star alignments are also suggested. Considerable inter-

est has been expressed by Native elders, especially of the Cheyenne.

Of interest to the international rock art community will also be petroglyph sites, many within two hours of the campus venue, and all but one located in relatively soft sandstone formations. A feature common to almost all of these sites is ritual grooving—a worldwide phenomenon, often overlooked because grooves appear to be natural. These features at Wisconsin sites provide impetus for active debate.

Besides rock art and effigy mounds, Wisconsin has a great deal to offer in the way of cultural attractions and events, including the Experimental Aircraft Association Museum, the U.S. National Railway museum, and the Circus World Museum—home of the Barnum and Bailey Circus—as well as numerous art galleries, historical museums, and endless outdoor beauty.

Ripon College offers a most favorable package of room and board in the college dormitories. Housing is very adequate, and meals are, by every standard, exceptional. The College will also arrange buses for the various tours and field trips and will provide a shuttle service to and from the airport at Appleton, Wisconsin—just 45 minutes away. In addition to the dormitory facilities, there are three motels in Ripon, several more at Green Lakes (7 miles away) and numerous accommodations at both Fond du Lac and Oshkosh (each about 18 miles away).

Reserve Now!

Registration, Lodging Forms in This Issue

The official Pre-Registration form for the 1999 IRAC Congress is included in this issue of *La Pintura*. **Deadline for pre-registration is April 20, 1999.** Be sure to register soon to take advantage of the reduced pre-registration rates for the congress. Details are found on the registration form in this issue. Please note that **IRAC Pre-Registration forms and payments are to be sent directly to the ARARA office** at the Arizona State Museum address

Reservations for dormitory accommodations for IRAC '99 are to be made directly with the college, beginning January 1999. Registrants may arrange for room and board, meals only, the IRAC banquet, and box lunches by using the official form included

in this issue of *La Pintura*. **Deadline for Room/Board/Meals Reservations is May 10, 1999. This form and payment are to be mailed to Lisa Stone at Ripon College.**

Ripon motel rooms have also been reserved in blocks (see article on page 3); reservations for these accommodations should be made directly with the motels after January 1, 1999.

New Host Hotel Named for Ripon Congress

Due to a recent change of ownership of the AmericInn—which was named in the last issue of *La Pintura* as the host hotel—we have moved our Congress headquarters to the Best Western Welcome Inn in Ripon. The new ownership of AmericInn instituted a large increase in the rate that had been arranged with the previous owner.

The Best Western Welcome Inn is offering a special reduced rate for IRAC participants on reservations from May 21 through May 31, 1999. Single room rate is \$42 and double is \$49. Once the single rooms are filled, the double rate will be charged for all rooms. We urge our members to book a minimum of 7 nights for this special rate. Continental Breakfast is included. Be sure and mention that you are with IRAC. *Please make reservations directly with the local motel* at (920) 748-2821. Do not call the “800” number for Best Western.

The AmericInn will continue to hold a block of rooms for IRAC, but will not be available the week-end of May 21-23 due to a wedding. The price is not confirmed but will be approximately \$70 for a single. Their phone number is (920) 748-7578. Another option is the Lakeside Motel, located next to Green Lake at 488 South St., phone (920) 294-3318. All rooms are non-smoking, with rates of \$70-\$85.

Three campgrounds are available in the area:

Green Lake Campground, 8 miles from Ripon College at Highways 23 and 49, phone (920) 294-3543. Rates: \$21.50 tent, \$23.50 electric and water.

Hattie Sherwood Campground, located approximately 9-10 miles from campus in a nice setting next to Green Lake at 451 S. Lawson St., phone (920) 294-6380. Rates: \$15.00 tent, \$18.00 full hook-up.

Green Lake Conference Center, located 10 miles from Ripon College off Highway 23, phone 1-800-558-8898. Camping rates: \$15.00 tent, \$25.00 full hook-up. Rustic Cabins: \$73.00-\$115.00 (accommodates 4-9 persons). Lodge: \$93.00 for a double.

Call for Oliver Photography Award Entries

The American Rock Art Research Association is pleased to announce the annual Oliver Award for exceptional works that master the art and science of rock art photography with a degree of superior satisfaction. The winner receives a \$500 cash prize and recognition at the annual conference. The winning entry becomes part of the ARARA archive of rock art photography. The winner grants ARARA the right to exhibit and reproduce the winning entry, but all other rights to the use of the image(s) remain the property of the photographer or legal owner.

The Oliver Award is given for excellence in the art and science of photography in the service of the study and appreciation of rock art. Rock art photography serves two critical masters:

First, rock art photography must illuminate and educate people who have not had the opportunity to see a site first-hand. The art of rock art photography lies in capturing the experience of the site—not just reproducing what is painted or carved on a wall of stone, but also evoking sense of place and the feelings and emotions invariably experienced at a rock art site. Without acknowledging this master, we fail to educate and pass along a meaningful portrait of rock art and thus may fail to help others appreciate the rarity and beauty of this art form.

Our other master is science. Rock art photography must objectively evaluate and measure the subject so that judgments drawn from data obtained from photographs are valid and useful. In the absence of scientific criteria, we must follow convention as much as we can, but willingly discard it when it can no longer help us solve the problems facing us. We must acknowledge new, and often controversial, scientific work in photography that may lead to another way of understanding rock art.

The award may include conventional still or motion film media, scientific film media, video, and digital image captures done on location. It does not initially extend to lab or studio enhancement or to multimedia “productions” although the scope of the award may be expanded in the future.

There are no application forms; entries of a single image or a portfolio of images of a single site or cluster of sites must be accompanied by a cover letter that explains how the entry meets the criteria

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In Memoriam

Goodbye To A Gentle Man

John V. Davis, 1926-1998

A. J. Bock

The fax machine is a funny little instrument. It can bring all sorts of messages, some wanted, many unwanted. Some are fun, even joyful. Some are irritating and even a pain. The most painful that I have received came Friday, December 4, 1998, with the news of the passing of John V. Davis of Deming, New Mexico. He suffered a blood clot that took his life on November 22, 1998.

To many current ARARA members, this name will not even bring a glimmer of recognition. But to the founding members of the organization, there will be an instantaneous picture of a very gentle and caring individual. He was a founding member of the American Rock Art Research Association and Frank and I met him at the initial meeting of the 89 rock art fanatics in Farmington, New Mexico, in 1974. He later became Vice President of ARARA and was instrumental in helping to write the first by-laws, and in getting ARARA legalized as a non-profit organization.

John was born May 3, 1926, in Shelby, Nebraska, to Wirt and Iva Mae Davis. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy on a destroyer. He was proud to have served his country in this war-torn period of U.S. history.

After his service days were over, he moved to New Mexico and was employed as an electronic engineer at White Sands Missile Range for 30 years. His area of expertise was in programming missiles.

After his retirement, John moved to Deming, New Mexico, and spent his time in search of old and new rock art sites. He also adopted the little town of Juan Mata Ortiz, in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico. He was always taking the residents food, clothing, and other things that were needed, and was so impressed with the exquisite pottery that the local residents made that he would bring pieces back to the states to sell for the Mexican artists who created them.

When ARARA held its second meeting in El Paso, Texas, John was very generous in seeing that we not only got to rock art sites, but also accompanied him on a trip into Juarez, Mexico, where the most eventful incident was having the VW bus pulled aside and searched!

John hasn't been to very many of the meetings in the past few years, but those who knew and remember him are very saddened to hear of his passing. *Vaya con Dios*, dear friend. We know if you are there among the stars and missiles you helped make, you are probably looking for rock art on the planets. So long, it's been good to have known you!

ARARA Solicits Nominations for Wellmann Award

In 1989 at the business meeting of ARARA, members attending voted to establish the annual Klaus Wellmann Memorial Award for Distinguished Service in the field of rock art research, conservation, and education. The award was created both to honor the memory and service of the Association's first president and to honor the continuing and future service of the many fine members of ARARA.

Previous recipients have included Paul Steed, Stu Conner, Georgia Lee, Esther and Jack Schwartz, Helen and Jay Crotty, Helen Michaelis, Pat and Jack McCreery, Dr. John Cawley, Dr. Kenneth B. Castleton, and Frank & A.J. Bock.

ARARA seeks nominations for the presentation for this award for the 1999 meeting in Ripon.

Each year a call for nominations for the Wellmann Award is issued by the Officers. Written nomination shall be signed by no less than five members in good standing or a member of ARARA's Advisory Council. The Officers shall be free to consider any other names they deem worthy. Consideration is given to cumulative service to the association through membership on committees, in elected offices, or in volunteer service for association-sponsored activities such as the annual conference, recording projects, and educational activities. Consideration also will be given to a member's service outside the association, including such things as cumulative impact of scholarly research, outstanding paid or volunteer conservation work, or the cumulative impact of a member's contribution to public education.

Nominations will be accepted any time prior to the annual conference in May. To nominate an individual or individuals for this award, just write to ARARA giving the name and reasons for the nomination. The address:

ARARA—Wellmann Award
Arizona State Museum
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ 85721-0026

In Review

A New Edition of a Rock Art Classic

The Cave Paintings of Baja California
by Harry W. Crosby. Sunbelt Publications, Inc., San Diego, California, 1997. Foreword by Polly Schaafsma. Numerous color and black-and white photographs, line art, and maps; 246 pages; \$39.95.

Reviewed by Steven M. Freers

For anyone who has journeyed for extended periods into the remote reaches of the Great Mural Region of Baja California, the field reflections within Harry W. Crosby first edition of *The Cave Paintings of Baja California* resonate in a more deeply personal way than those in most other rock art books. Indeed, the majority of those who have had this privilege have shared a fundamentally similar experience—arduous travel, remoteness, camaraderie, spectacular settings, phenomenal rock art, and a close reliance on a group of guides who are revered by the rock art community. Crosby's first edition (1975, slightly revised in 1984) served as the cornerstone for many of these adventures. It is the seminal work on Great Mural cave art. The book is part documentary and personal retrospection, and part descriptive analysis. Now, 22 years later, Crosby (1997) offers us a rich revision of his first edition.

During the intervening years between Crosby's editions, the Great Mural art has been exposed to significant amounts of exploration, research, and discussion (social, academic, and political). Crosby's update manages to preserve the charm and style of his earlier work while integrating new sites and research. Modern press values have greatly improved his presentation. The most noticeable upgrade is the improved layout design and inclusion of additional photography. A wonderful component of the new volume is the pictorial gallery of "guides" distributed throughout the text. Those who travel to the Baja Peninsular galleries come away with a deep appreciation and respect for the lives and character of these individuals. This additional acknowledgment serves as a tribute to their skill and contributions—a great touch.

There is a significant number of "new" sites discussed in the text, such as Cueva Obscura (pp. 54-57) and Cueva del Corralito (pp. 39-41). Crosby

divides each of the mid-peninsular mountain ranges into separate chapters. Color and black and white maps keep the reader well oriented to major land features, ranches, and, of course, rock art. This edition better utilizes subheadings to effectively differentiate each site as its principal features are discussed. Chapter seven has been expanded into a general theoretical overview of "The Practices and Puzzles of the Painters." As with the text in general, it is a descriptive piece containing both objective and subjective observations, not a thorough analytical review—there are no in-text reference citations. The bibliography section has been updated, though given the quantity of subsequent work in the region, I found it to be a little thin. The Index section uses a clever solid semicircle symbol to help the reader quickly find the sought after painted site.

The photography in the new edition presents better perspectives of the art and physical settings. This gives the reader improved contextual imagery and clearer views of the art's salient features (e.g., Cueva Pintada, pp. 67). The photography has significantly better contrast, and the color photos are definitely richer—perhaps too much so in some cases (e.g., El Cajón del Valle, pp. 138), giving them a "digitally color saturated" appearance. The maps are superior in the new edition and contain new finds and other important historic data points. One minor complaint is the absence of north directional makers on the black and white maps. The new layout works very well integrating text and graphics, and I found it much easier to read and process information than in the first edition.

This book is a terrific update of the original and definitely worth obtaining. It is a comprehensive work that gives the reader a genuine sense of adventure and discovery that is absent in many other works. It is a comfortable read and will serve rock art researchers and enthusiasts alike as a vital reference in their personal libraries.

IRAC '99 Vendors Sought

Vendor guidelines for the IRAC '99 conference have been announced. Full information and a Vendor's Application form are included in this issue of *La Pintura*. Please note that **applications for Vendor space are due by March 1, 1999**. If the form is missing from your copy, contact Evelyn Billo at (520) 526-3625 or e-mail EBillo@aol.com to obtain further information or copies of the Vendor form.

Kokopelli Dilemma

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The way in which this design of a stooped, often potbelled figure has become so popular perfectly illustrates the ease with which we will adopt images that visually appeal to us, while at the same time ignoring their spiritual significance to their originating communities. In fact, as a character, the flute player is not always the cute, fun loving guy so readily displayed on t-shirts, switch plates, tote bags, night lights, wind chimes, and endless items of personal jewelry.



Figure 1. A petroglyph panel close to a later homestead site in southeastern Colorado. The panel shows a group of animals above which is a line of stick-like anthropomorphic figures. Piñon Canyon Maneuver Site, Department of the Army, Fort Carson, Colorado.

Among many other activities, he is associated with the seduction of young girls, and indeed some of the most potent and powerful versions of this image, when found in their original contexts on sites, display in full erected state just how powerfully male this character can be. But like strategically placed Victorian fig leaves and covered piano legs, you are only likely to find the emasculated version of him adorning contemporary Southwest kitsch.

This sort of familiarity with rock images coincides with increasing demands on public land for recreational use and an apparent ignorance of the significance of sacred places. It is therefore no wonder that we have seen a similar increase in reported damage to rock art sites through both general wear and tear and—more alarmingly—deliberate vandalism and theft. Along with pottery and other artifacts, rock art has joined the lucrative and often illegal business of collecting and trading ancient artifacts, turning up as items for garden landscaping and occasionally as interior decoration for private homes.

Deterioration at rock image sites can be split into two categories. First there is the natural deterioration from the normal forces of nature that cause archaeological sites to breakdown. These include wind, dust, ice and water erosion, seasonal variations in temperature and sun exposure,

plant overgrowth, animal activity, and so forth (Figure 2). The origins of the sites themselves can often be attributed to these actions. Commonly, rockshelters and shallow caves (favored locations for many types of rock art) were formed by natural erosion and continue to alter under the impact of these forces.

Although the ongoing, natural alteration of sites can cause rock art to decay and be lost, therefore qualifying normal weathering as a threat to the “object,” these natural actions may be seen by some Native American communities as normal and a necessary part of the life of a site. With that in mind, can we truly call this deterioration? Trying to lessen



Figure 2. Part of the Jeffers Petroglyph Site, southwest Minnesota. Not all sites are caves or cliffs; this site consists of a gently sloping quartzite outcrop approximately 900 feet long and 180 feet wide at its widest point. Thousands of petroglyphs are carved into the rock along its length, many of them covered by a thick layer of lichen. This makes them difficult to see and may be causing damage to the glyphs. A long-term environmental monitoring project is planned for this site in order to better understand the impact of the local environment on the glyphs—including the lichen.

the impact of natural forces of deterioration is an uphill struggle, and as a species we have not done well in our attempts to control Mother Nature. We can sometimes slow down the rate of decay, but attempting to stop it is rarely successful and can often cause or exacerbate other problems. In light of what we know about traditional use of sites and concerns of Native Americans, we also have to ask: should we interfere?

The second category of deterioration is that caused by human actions, both deliberate and unintentional. It is arguably the most destructive form of decay, damaging sites very rapidly and aggressively. The spray paint, scratched graffiti, and theft we so quickly associate with urban living finds its way all too commonly to rock art sites (Figure 3). With the efforts to control graffiti by legislation limiting the availability of spray paint, an increase in the use of permanent ink markers and Liquid Paper®-type correction fluids



Figure 3. This is an unusual combination of natural and man-made deterioration. Here, the scratched graffito "ZERO" has been highlighted by preferential efflorescence of natural soluble salts in the scratches. Pictograph Cave State Historic Park, Montana.

seems to have occurred at rock image sites. Gunshot damage is a common feature especially in more rural locations, presumably the result of using the glyphs for target practice (Figure 4). This kind of deliberate and premeditated activity on the part of a few visitors spoils the sites for all of us and for future generations. It is worth bearing in mind that these problems are not unique to the USA. A recent article in *Time* magazine (Jaroff 1997) gives an example of similar problems occurring to Bushmen rock art sites in Africa.

Unintentional damage to sites is also widespread. Rock art has a tactile appeal and people are drawn to touch it, perhaps to gain some kind of physical connection to the ancient past, or maybe simply out of curiosity—after all, the sense of touch is a primary method by which we continuously and instinctively explore our immediate environment. Most people see their visit to a site as an isolated act. They forget that thousands of people have visited the site before them and thousands will come after them. If each of those persons touches the images, the result is excessive amounts of wear and tear. Over time the buildup of natural oils from skin and the additional residue of sunscreen, or maybe the picnic just enjoyed along the trail, cause the stain-



Figure 4. The round spalls that disfigure these petroglyphs of hands are gunshot damage. Petroglyph National Monument, New Mexico.

ing and darkening of images, and their physical erosion.

The spiritual nature of rock art sites has also led to abuse. Although the religious significance of these places is well known and accepted, it seems that their sanctity often is not—or at best it is misunderstood. Petroglyph and pictograph sites have been freely adopted as places for the ritual practice of various non-Native American belief systems, often described as New Age religions. Such activity has involved either the use of materials and practices that bear little resemblance to any known Native American ceremonies or the selective adoption of a variety of indigenous religious customs. These amalgams of religious practices often involve spiritual elements of indigenous cultures from other regions of North America and even components from other countries.

For example, Plains Indian-type medicine wheels and miniature European-style dolmens have been found constructed within Southwest rock art sites. These activities have involved the introduction of stone and other materials from outside the site and the rearrangement of existing rocks. Both of these activities may alter the spiritual condition of the site for the Native Americans, and archaeologically they represent the gross introduction of foreign materials and the disturbance—if not destruction—of existing elements. Candle wax has been found dripped over images, and the use of fires within sites is also widespread. Evidence of the use of sites by satanic cults has also been recorded.

Legally, any of these practices causing physical alteration of a site located on public lands can be classed as vandalism, therefore open to prosecution. However, prosecuting in these cases is difficult as the culprits have to be all but caught in the act of altering the site. The very nature of these practices (calling for the use of natural and secluded places) makes such apprehension almost impossible. In some extreme situations, surveillance cameras and other remote detection equipment have been used in an effort to control unauthorized site access and vandalism.

From a Native American viewpoint, these activities

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represent yet another assault on the remaining integrity of their already battered cultures and religions. A possible analogy might be the appearance of a group of uninvited “New Agers” in a church, synagogue, or temple where they proceed to carry out ceremonies and rituals that might be described as “pagan.”

My strangest personal experience with rock art involved the unauthorized use of a pictograph site in Arizona. While carrying out a condition assessment of the site, located in the Coconino National Forest near Sedona (arguably the center of current New Age activity), I found myself surrounded by a group of approximately a dozen people intently following the progress of a blindfolded man who was dressed in a theatrical bright green leprechaun outfit and speaking in an atrocious fake Irish accent. One of his followers led him along the length of the site, while he “channeled” some form of spirit from the images. In the gaps between panels of images, he seemed to babble or talk in tongues. Miraculously, he appeared to know exactly where each image was located despite the blindfold; however, I must have been at best a benign force on the site, as he walked past me, apparently totally unaware of my presence or that of my environmental monitoring equipment. Bringing up the rear of the troop was another follower self-consciously beating a hand drum, the head of which was painted with designs popularly associated with Native American arts and crafts.

Being British and having Irish connections, I found this performance to be at first unbelievable (I thought my Forest Service colleagues had set me up) and then insulting. If this upset me, heaven knows how Native Americans must feel.

I later found out from people in the Sedona area that this person regularly took groups to the site, charging them large sums of money for a couple of hours of spiritual experience. Commercial activities of this type are legal only under a use permit issued by the Forest Service. Issuing permits helps provide the Service with some control of the concentration and kind of activities that take place, and recently provisions have been made for collecting fees which can be used for conservation and general maintenance of sites.

Petroglyphs and pictographs have attracted our attention for centuries. In the USA the earliest published attempt to record rock art is probably that of Cotton Mather, who in 1690 published an account and illustration of Dighton Rock, Massachusetts, in a tome entitled “Wonderful Works of God Commemorated.” This continued fascination has led to many techniques aimed at documenting images that have actually caused extensive damage to rock art. Methods of recording, such as taking rubbings, plaster casts, latex peels, or wet paper impressions of petroglyphs, have led to staining, surface erosion, and actual loss of images. In addition, we have found that the application of certain materials compromises the use of newly developed dating techniques on these sites.

Highlighting rock art in order to make it easier for visitors to see and to allow for “better” photographs to be taken has

been a widespread practice in the past. Outlining petroglyphs and pictographs with chalk, crayon, marine varnish, charcoal, and paint; throwing water or other liquids on pictographs to enhance their colors; and lighting fires immediately below panels to provide atmospheric light have all taken their toll on sites (Figure 5). If not being regularly reapplied to aid visitor interpretation, many of these materials have been left in place after use rather than cleaned up in the mistaken belief that the rain and other elements will remove them quickly.



Figure 5. The dark color that highlights these petroglyphs from the Jeffers Petroglyph Site, Minnesota, has been caused by the aging of marine varnish that was applied to the glyphs to make them easier for visitors to see. This practice was discontinued five years ago.

In the desert Southwest, chalk not only stays in place, but can actually mineralize in a very short time to become hard and virtually impossible to remove safely. Likewise, aged paints and crayons become insoluble, leaving an almost permanent record of the well-intentioned documentation effort. All of these methods are now considered to be inappropriate techniques for recording rock images, as is the practice of invasive enhancement of images to make public viewing easier. Indeed, as with unauthorized site use, under the terms of much of the legislation that protects these resources on public land, the use of these methods and materials without permission of the managing agency can be prosecuted as acts of vandalism.

These activities, intentional or otherwise, show a total lack of understanding and respect with regard to the cultures that created the images and the significance of sites as spiritual and religious places. Although Native American belief systems are as diverse as the individual cultures represented within the indigenous peoples of the USA, there are some traits common to most. Perhaps the one of most relevance to rock art sites is the concept that everything in this world has life within it.

Rocks are not dead, inanimate, spiritless masses of chemical compounds. They are alive and have power. To begin to understand this you do not have to study ethnogra-

phy and anthropology, or follow a course in comparative religion. Just take the time to sit silently at a site and watch the never-ending activity that goes on there; the animals and insects living in and around the rock, the wind and light changing the sound and appearance of the place. Revisiting a site at different times of the year will reveal how the seasons radically change the appearance and environment, the life within the site.

Better yet, if you are fortunate enough to spend time at a site with a Native American elder, allow your mind to open, and refrain from asking the kinds of material-based questions conservators are trained to ask, you will have the best chance to start to understand these places from the point of view of the creators of the sites and their living descendants. Then it is easier to understand why it is so important to consider the traditional beliefs associated with a site when working there.

Legislation exists to protect archaeological sites, areas recognized as sacred, and the rights of Native Americans to practice their religion. However, a problem exists in that this legislation has been written by a culture whose background is primarily Eurocentric. Yet these laws are being applied to places that originate from other cultures, cultures whose concepts and definitions of time, space, and location are totally different.

For instance, the problems of appropriate facilitation of access are difficult and contentious. Who should be allowed to use sites and in what manner? This is of particular concern to Native Americans regarding the use of places that they hold as sacred. With a greater awareness of indigenous peoples' concerns and needs, the federal land-managing agencies are making efforts to accommodate them, but the task is not easy.

This is demonstrated by the response to National Park Service actions to manage access to Devils Tower, Wyoming. The geological formation known as Devils Tower (the focus of Devils Tower National Monument) is a sacred place to Native Americans, but more familiar to most people as the landing place for the Mother Ship in the movie *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*. It is a popular tourist destination, attracting almost 500,000 visitors a year, most between Memorial Day and Labor Day (National Park Service n.d.), and it is also a popular destination for recreational climbers.

In 1995 the Monument initiated a Climbing Management Plan, part of which stated the request, "In respect for the reverence many Native Americans hold for Devils Tower as a sacred site, rock climbers will be asked to voluntarily refrain from climbing on Devils Tower during the culturally significant month of June" (National Park Service 1995). This produced a storm of protest from members of the climbing community, who felt that their First Amendment rights had been violated, and inevitably law suits have ensued. This situation illustrates the general need for tolerance and understanding between the many groups vying for use of land that is (regardless of any opinions

challenging the validity of the situation) now owned by the federal government, which is trying to manage it for all members of our society.

So, what can we do as conservators to preserve and protect these sites? Working with rock art is not for all conservators. As with every object that conservators have the privilege of working with, each poses its own particular problems and challenges. With rock art, these demands tend to be large, immobile, exposed, and sometimes remote. Unlike more traditional artifacts found in collections, rock art sites cannot be moved indoors for convenient, comfortable treatment.

It was once common practice to gather rock art for museum collections, regularly explaining this activity as an attempt to protect the images from vandalism and theft. However, the fact that the collection process (often involving the use of dynamite) could itself be described as vandalism and theft was overlooked, as was the importance of the images as part of the larger entity represented by the whole site. Taking chosen rock art images from a site is like selectively removing the heads of saints from a Byzantine wall-mosaic and placing them on the walls of a gallery, leaving the original with visual and spiritual voids that cannot be truly repaired.

The collection of rock art for museums is no longer accepted as a normal practice. The only time when it is considered as necessary is when a site is threatened with destruction due to development, road building, reservoir construction, or similar activities. Even in these circumstances we have seen a trend towards saving the sites, rather than destroying them. A recent case in point is the halting of the construction of a major hydro-electric dam project in the C6a Valley of northeastern Portugal, after an international outcry regarding the pending loss of over a hundred Paleolithic petroglyphs representing some of the oldest examples of rock art in Europe. The area has now been turned into an archaeological national park.

Rock art conservation treatments have to be designed to be applied on-site, often in areas where access to vehicles is either impossible or restricted, meaning that all equipment and supplies must be carried to the site. Electricity and running water may be available only via the use of a portable generator and by backpacking in containers of water. Issues of health and safety, and the environmental suitability of treatments, raise a large number of problems as sites do not come furnished with laboratory-standard safety equipment, controllable ventilation, hazardous waste disposal systems, or a convenient hospital (Figure 6).

You have to be prepared to work outdoors in all extremes of weather, at all times of the year, and in physically challenging locations (Figure 7); to really understand the way water drains from a site you should be there watching it at the height of a storm, and to figure out the impact of ice in a flooded cave you must visit it when it is frozen.

—continued on next page



Figure 6. A field laboratory set up at Pictograph Cave State Historic Park, Montana, during conservation fieldwork in 1996. This lab was the facility that supported our work: assessing various methods for the possible consolidation of a collapsing cave wall below a panel of pictographs, and the removal of mineral deposits forming over the paintings due to changes in the local hydrology.



Figure 7. Working in the confined spaces of the caves at Hueco Tanks State Historic Park, Texas. Besides cramped working locations, Hueco Tanks also provides challenging weather; in the summer it can be so hot that work can take place only in the early hours of the day or in the evenings. The sites are also very slippery as the rock floors, most of them sloping, have become polished to an ice-like finish by thousands of years of use and visitation.

Rock art sites are alive both literally and spiritually. They consist of not just the visible images themselves; the very landscape they are situated in is an integral part of the site—or “object.” Indeed, ethnographic records and contemporary Native American accounts tell us that the images (which we tend to focus on literally and metaphorically) are not necessarily the most important feature of the place. The most significant part of the site may be an aspect of the site’s environment or indeed something not visible or tangible, but it is there, and it is connected to the images, and therefore we must take it into consideration when working with the visible parts of a site. This goes to underline the importance

and necessity of consulting and involving native peoples whenever working with rock art.

Classifying which specialty within conservation best meets the demands of conserving rock art is difficult. Aspects of stone, architecture, site, wall painting, and of course archaeological conservation are all relevant. In addition, due to the fact that the sites exist as integral parts of the natural world, rock art conservation involves working with many other specialists including geologists, hydrologists, biologists, structural engineers, botanists and archaeologists, to name a few. This can be both frustrating and greatly rewarding all at the same time.

Funding for the protection and ongoing care of sites is always a constraint. Agencies such as the National Park Service, Forest Service, and Bureau of Land Management (the federal agencies that protect the majority of rock art sites located on public lands in this country) are facing shrinking budgets and cuts in human resources. Trying to manage several hundreds—possibly thousands—of sites, many separated from each other by miles of roadless terrain, is a challenge. And this is especially so when a limited staff has multiple responsibilities—ranger, law enforcement officer, interpreter, cultural resource manager, natural resource manager, and administrator. As a conservator coming into this, you have to be prepared to recognize the limits and realities of the situation. You have to be able to compromise and have the ingenuity to find workable solutions to problems that ordinarily would be straightforward in the “normal” world of a museum.

Along with the skills just mentioned and the attributes of patience, precision, and attention to detail that all good conservators must cultivate, working with rock art sites also demands that you can cope with being away from home for extended periods of time and enjoy traveling.

On average I drive 25,000 to 30,000 miles a year—I fly the rest of the time. I have two homes; my house in Portland, Oregon, and my truck. It is a close call as to which I spend more time in each year. Last year it was the truck that was decorated for Thanksgiving and Christmas, and this year I didn’t bother planting my vegetable garden, much to the disappointment of my friends and neighbors who normally enjoy its produce on my behalf. Meanwhile, I am trying to figure out why I haven’t been given honorary shares in Motel 6® yet.

Common conservation tasks at rock image sites include trying to remove or repair vandalism, studying and mitigating the impact of natural weathering action, and working with land managers to improve the way in which people visit sites; for example, by helping to plan the re-routing of trails, helping to draw up etiquette guides for visitors, or helping to provide interpretation of sites. It is not unusual for me to be driving around with a generator, air compressor, work lights, ladders, camping equipment, various conservation supplies, and smaller tools, along with less robust equipment such as relative humidity and temperature data

loggers, several cameras, and my laptop computer and modem—two pieces of equipment I cannot imagine trying to do my job without.

Rock art conservation—especially in North America—is relatively undeveloped. We need to put some effort into helping land managers and archaeologists understand the principles of good conservation and provide them with options for the treatment of sites. In a desperate attempt to do something about vandalism at a site, it is still common practice for land managers to use proprietary graffiti-removal products designed for cleaning bus stops, park benches, and the like. Industrial sandblasters, wire brushes used in combination with all manner of solvents, acids, and paint strippers have been employed, and Easy-Off® oven cleaner has a long and favored history of service, especially in the Southwest.

As conservators we must try to improve this situation, while at the same time recognizing the practical and financial resource limitations under which these people work. For example, after four years of working with the staff at Petroglyph National Monument, Albuquerque, New Mexico, helping them come up with solutions to the graffiti problems at the Monument, I carried out a training session for selected members of the staff, instructing them in the use of a series of techniques (including the correct operation of a low pressure airbrasive system) that they could utilize to clean up graffiti not directly associated with petroglyphs.

Prior to learning how to apply the treatments, the participants were instructed in the principles of conservation and standards of professional practice, and given instruction on the importance of understanding the material science of both the “artifact” and the graffiti (in this case the artifact is the petroglyphs and the basalt substrate into which they are carved—knowledge most of them possessed, but had not necessarily considered when trying to deal with graffiti). As a result of this training I am confident that the Monument staff, should they leave the Monument for posts elsewhere and be faced with a graffiti problem at their new location, will not be tempted to simply use the specific treatments provided for Petroglyph National Monument without consideration for the unique characteristics of the new location. All training was carried out with the understanding that these particular treatments are specific to the Monument and should not be adopted elsewhere without first consulting a conservator.

An additional understanding was that no treatment of graffiti directly in contact with petroglyphs would be undertaken by the staff under any circumstance. These areas are to be treated only by an experienced conservator. It was also understood that if this agreement was breached by the staff, I reserved the right to publicly disassociate myself with their actions. So far this arrangement has worked well, and graffiti is being taken care of in a timely and informed manner.

In October a small part of the Western Association for Art Conservation (WAAC) annual meetings in Phoenix focused

on the issues of rock art conservation. To my knowledge, this is the first time a meeting held by a conservation organization in the United States has shown such interest in this topic. For many years the issues of conservation and preservation have been addressed only by the American Rock Art Research Association (ARARA) and the Society for American Archaeology (SAA), both of whom have, for many years, held symposia dedicated to rock art studies.

ARARA was founded in 1974 on the principles of promoting education, research, and conservation within rock art studies, and by 1981 it had established an energetic Conservation and Protection Committee, a group of members prepared to volunteer time to advocate and support efforts to protect sites. In its early years, committee and general ARARA members were actively treating rock art in the field—especially graffiti removal—in a desperate attempt to preserve a resource that they could see being rapidly destroyed. These practices no longer take place under the sanction of ARARA; instead, the committee has returned to its avocational approach to conservation issues, although they remain frustrated by the amount and rate of damage and destruction that occurs. To date I am the only professional conservator who has served as a committee member, and I continue to do so.

ARARA held its first meeting dedicated to conservation issues in 1987 (Crotty 1989), and in 1988 they published “Conservation Guidelines of the American Rock Art Research Association” (ARARA 1988). The interest in conservation issues amongst the membership of ARARA is such that I have been able to organize sessions dedicated to this topic at the last four annual meetings.

The SAA annual meetings represent one of the largest gatherings of archaeologists and anthropologists in the country. Rock art papers have been a regular feature of these meetings for at least 15 years. In 1987 two sessions were dedicated to rock art studies, since 1993 there have been annual sessions devoted to the subject, and at the 1995 meetings a special interest group was formed within SAA dedicated to promoting the study and general awareness of rock art-related issues including conservation. No SAA session has been dedicated to conservation, but sessions have included papers addressing the topic. Although it is encouraging to finally see a conservation association interested enough to highlight this subject as the WAAC meeting will do, it is sad that other organizations whose primary focus is not conservation have led the way in promoting the need for the appropriate treatment of this resource.

There is, not surprisingly, a need for both research into specific conservation problems posed by rock art and for the adaptation of existing treatments from other fields of conservation. Petroglyph National Monument has been a leader in efforts to research and support innovations in rock art conservation. I am currently working there with John Griswold, of Wharton & Griswold Associates, Santa Barbara,

—continued on next page

California, researching and field testing methods and materials for the reintegration of scratched graffiti. We hope this work will enable us to find a treatment that will not only be visually acceptable, financially feasible, and have low maintenance demands, but one that can endure the very exposed location of the Monument and the extremes of the local environment.

With approximately 17,000 known glyphs located on a 17-mile-long escarpment, much of which shows varying concentrations of scratched graffiti and gunshot damage, the importance of finding a practical solution to this problem is obvious. Of course the results of this work will also be of use to many other sites facing these sadly common problems.

Training is also an issue. Currently there are people conserving rock art sites who have little or no training in what we consider to be professional conservation methods, materials, and ethics. This puts the sites at risk and does little to further our efforts as a profession to promote sound conservation practice.

Ultimately we should ask why conserve these images and sites, and for whom? Protection and preservation of these sites provide all of us with a resource from which we can learn about the history of this land, and about the communities that have lived here before us. Rock art represents a visual reminder of past activities and a connection to past and present spiritual beliefs. These efforts help some Native American communities reconnect or maintain their cultural connections, help reinforce traditional beliefs, and provide their children with a stronger sense of cultural identity. This is not conserving art for art's sake.

How can we help as visitors to rock art sites? We all need to learn to look with our eyes, not our hands. Vandalism to sites should be reported promptly to the relevant land management agency. Educating ourselves and others about the significance of petroglyphs and pictographs will help us all understand and respect this remarkable and often fragile example of cultural heritage. However, we also have to accept that we will never know the true meaning of these places, and that the traditional owners of the sites have the right to retain that knowledge and not share it if they so choose.

It is now the common policy of land-managing agencies not to give out the locations of rock art sites (other than those on developed and patrolled trails), in order to protect them from concentrated visitation and vandalism. The visitor can no longer expect to be told where the "best sites" are, and we must accept this until such time as resources are available for the agencies to control access appropriately. We hope that general education and learning to respect the sites as sacred landscapes, as well as places of history and examples of human expression, will lead to behavior that will naturally prolong the intended life of these extraordinary places.

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Conservation. Thanks are also due to various members of ARARA and the SAA for confirming details of the history of the organizations, and to Dave Hatch for encouragement and some wicked but needed editing, most of which I accepted.

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In my opinion...

Promoting Visitation to Rock Art on Public Lands

Leigh Marymor

In the Preface to *A Guide to Rock Art Sites: Southern California and Nevada* (Whitley 1996), archaeologist and author David Whitley makes the case for publishing detailed directions to 38 rock art sites located on public lands by citing the argument put forward by State Archaeologist for the Bureau of Land Management, Russ Kaldenberg, that “the simple presence of responsible and informed visitors, especially at remote sites, will serve as a deterrent to vandals who may intentionally or inadvertently harm the art” (p. xiii). Throughout the text, Whitley offers the general audience to whom this guide is directed an interpretive framework from which to view Native American rock art, provides education regarding threats to rock art sites, and suggests appropriate behavior when visiting them. There is an appeal to his readership that “people concerned with the preservation of rock art sites broadcast their feelings to the agencies charged with caring for the sites” (p. xiii). Finally, Whitley assures us that of the 38 rock art sites he has chosen in consultation with “numerous archaeologists and land managers” (p. xiii), all are on public land, are open to the general public, and “generally have ongoing management and preservation programs in place” (p. 47).

Close on the heels of Whitley’s publication comes the Bureau of Land Management’s new web page (<http://www.ca.blm.gov/caso/Recreation/archtour/rockart.html>, 1998), prepared by Russ Kaldenberg, which includes detailed directions to 24 rock art sites on Bureau of Land Management lands in California. Clearly, the publication of directions to so many rock art sites represents a new trend, one which upsets the prior status quo which frowned heavily on publishing maps and directions to any but a few well-managed public sites (Chaw’se, a.k.a. Grinding Rocks, State Park in Amador County, California comes to mind). In his contribution to *Coso Rock Art: A New Perspective* (Younkin 1998), William Clewlow, Jr., reflects back on the 1973 publication of *Prehistoric Rock Art of California* (Heizer and Clewlow 1973), in which “...In keeping with the suggestions of Steward as well as Heizer and Baumhoff, the descriptive [locational] information presented by Grant, von Werlhof, and many others was not repeated” (p. 14). Clewlow acknowledges his harsh critics when he relates, “...Incredibly

as it may seem, Heizer and Clewlow were publicly rebuked and expelled from the Society of California Archaeology in 1974 on the grounds that their rock art monograph encouraged destruction of petroglyphs by describing site locations, thus giving potential vandals instant lists of places to plunder. In retrospect, the literature debates are standard expressions of typical academic tribal warfare, while the latter incident may be seen as a particularly painful birthing companion to the new cultural resource management subdiscipline” (p. 21).

Clearly, the issue of publication of rock art site maps and directions is, and has been, a touchy issue—one that has the potential for giving rise to heated debate. There is a natural polarization of interests between those people who would like to have all rock art sites restricted from public access in order to protect them from intentional and unintentional harm, and those who favor open visitations by all as a right of citizenship and public ownership of public lands. Between these two extremes lie numerous opinions. Carl Bjork, a rock art conservation activist from Central California, insists that directions to unprotected sites on public lands must be closely held. “Do not advertise or give the exact directions to rock art sites. If the general public is interested in rock art let them find it on their own. We did, didn’t we...If we are to open sites, then build trails and the rest of the stuff that goes with good protection planning...create a park with staff. Or, keep the site location secret, but create a protection plan, use monitors, educate the public, and involve the local community” (personal communication 1998). Bill Hyder, ARARA Past-President, voiced a much more tolerant view concerning the publication of directions to sites which are on public lands and locally known. In reviewing David Whitley’s *Guide to Rock Art Sites*, Hyder (1997) supported the publication of the directions to the 38 sites and cited the basis for his support: “All the sites included in this guide are included on ARARA’s own list of ‘public’ sites, although that list has not been published for general public consumption. Each site included in this guide is located on public property and in each case the responsible land manager approved its inclusion or selected it over others for inclusion. While it is true that not all of the sites are well known to the general public or well protected by the responsible public agency, all are well known to locals and some have already experienced destructive vandalism... Some of the sites Whitley has been criticized for including, I have visited in the past based on informa-

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Promoting Visitation

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tion contained in archaeological publications, including ARARA publications.”

What, after all, are the accepted criteria for promoting visitations to rock art sites on public lands to the general public?

In my opinion, a few basic tenets of cultural resource management planning should guide us in making the decision regarding whether or not to promote a rock art site for public visitation, even if the site is already well known locally. First, prior to opening or promoting a site for public visitation, land managers should document the site in detail, providing a baseline document of existing conditions which can be compared to changing site conditions over time. Second, a cultural resource management plan should be developed for the site which should include management goals, methodology and evaluation protocols. B.K. Schwartz, Jr. (1997), has stated emphatically that “Rock art should not be publicly noted...until a permanent curatorial commitment is made by the institution responsible” (p. 10). The planning process should encourage community involvement of professionals and those with avocational interests. The most likely Native American descendants of those who left the cultural resources should likewise be included in the planning process. Finally, interpretive texts which are developed for these sites should be sensitive to the archaeological record, and to Native American world views, which often are at odds with each other. Interpretive texts, when presenting explanations related to the meaning of the images, should always be provisional in nature.

As we in the rock art community witness a changing trend toward developing rock art sites “through tourism and other means” (Schwartz 1997:10), it becomes imperative that we embrace some consensual criteria on what constitutes responsible management of this irreplaceable resource and advocate for their adoption by land managers. The rock art community must call on archaeologists and land managers to hold to a rigorous standard in their decisions to promote rock art sites to the public. We should lend our support for public visitations to rock art sites on public lands which adhere to these standards, for example those which are included in the BLM’s site steward partnership program which is in place at Painted Rock in the Carrizo Plain, San Luis Obispo County, California (SSAS/BLM 1997). However, we should withhold our support for the publication of directions to rock art

sites on public lands until one can show that, *prior to publishing directions to each individual rock art site*, the responsible land manager has: documented the site, developed a sound cultural resource management plan for the site in consultation with a wide representation of all interested members of the community including the most likely Native American descendants, and offered to the public interpretations of the rock art that reflect the tentative nature of our knowledge. Where archaeologists and land managers fall short of these standards, as David Whitley entreats us, “...people concerned with the preservation of rock art sites [should] broadcast their feelings to the agencies charged with caring for the sites.”

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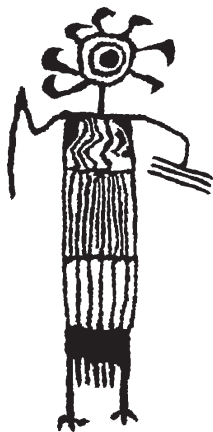
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of providing new information or a new appreciation of the site(s). This is particularly necessary in scientific studies where techniques used may be unfamiliar to the judges. The letter should also summarize the applicant’s previous work in rock art (a copy of a résumé or curriculum vitae is acceptable).

A panel of judges will be selected by the ARARA Executive Board. Decision of the judges is final and only those entries accompanied by an appropriately stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned.

To enter the competition, send one letter of application and the entry in time to be received by February 15, 1999 to:

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The **Association** strives to promote non-destructive utilization of rock art for scientific, educational, and artistic purposes. This is accomplished through a wide-ranging program to inform and educate the members as well

as the general public regarding the rock art heritage of the United States as well as worldwide. These goals are communicated through the quarterly newsletter, *La Pintura*. Annual three-day conferences give both members and others interested in rock art the opportunity to share professional papers, slide presentations, and informal discussions.

Membership in the **American Rock Art Research Association** is open to all who profess an active interest in research, non-destructive utilization, and preservation of rock art, regardless of their nationality or country of residence. Membership fees are as follows:

Donor	\$100.00
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Membership runs from July 1 through June 30 of each year. Although the Association is concerned primarily with American rock art, membership has become international in scope. The benefits of membership include yearly subscriptions to *La Pintura*, reduced conference fees, and information on current publications in the field of rock art.

But more importantly, membership means a shared concern for the ongoing conservation and preservation of one of the most significant elements of our heritage. Memberships may be sent to:

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The **American Rock Art Research Association** subscribes to the following Code of Ethics and enjoins its members, as a condition of membership, to abide by the standards of conduct stated herein.

1. All local, state, and national antiquities laws will be strictly adhered to by the membership of **ARARA**. Rock art research shall be subject to appropriate regulations and property access requirements.
2. All rock art recording shall be non-destructive with regard to the rock art itself and the associated archaeological remains which may be present. No artifacts shall be collected unless the work is done as part of a legally constituted program of archaeological survey or excavation.
3. No excavation shall be conducted unless the work is done as part of a legally constituted excavation project. Removal of soil shall not be undertaken for the sole purpose of exposing sub-surface rock art.
4. Potentially destructive recording and research procedures shall be undertaken only after careful consideration of any potential damage to the rock art site.
5. Using the name of the **American Rock Art Research Association**, the initials of **ARARA**, and/or the logos adopted by the **Association** and the identification of an individual as a member of **ARARA** are allowed only in conjunction with rock art projects undertaken in full accordance with accepted professional archeological standards. The name **ARARA** may not be used for commercial purposes. While members may use their affiliation with **ARARA** for identification purposes, research projects may not be represented as having the sponsorship of **ARARA** without express approval of the Executive Committee.

The **ARARA** Code of Ethics, points 1 through 5, was adopted at the annual business meeting on May 24, 1987. The Code of Ethics was amended with the addition of the opening paragraph at the annual business meeting, May 28, 1988.

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