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# Water Jar Boy: A Petroglyph and Story from La Cienega Pueblo

CAROL PATTERSON-RUDOLPH

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The petroglyph discussed in this paper has the working title of "Water Jar Boy" because of the strong association between the symbols in the petroglyph panel found in La Cienega, near Santa Fe, New Mexico and the myth in Pueblo oral tradition called "Water Jar Boy." There is no doubt that the images in this panel are intended to represent an important story. In her studies of Zuni panels, Jane Young refers to petroglyph panels of this clarity and style as metonymic images "that evoke parts of tales and myths and the emotions associated with these vitally important 'texts.'" In her view, the petroglyphs "operate, then, as 'metonyms of narrative': the visual image stands for and calls forth the verbal recitation."<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this paper is not an "etic" comparison of data gathered from numerous sites to support individual symbol analysis, but instead is an "emic" perspective from the aspect of the myth itself, as a guide towards understanding the images as metaphors.<sup>2</sup> Shaafsma has concluded in her analysis of the frequent use of roadrunner tracks in association with carnivore tracks that the meaning goes well beyond that of hunting magic. Instead, the study of the ethnographic data and the myth allows a better understanding of the image. "This myth fixes the rela-

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tionship between the roadrunner and the Scalp Ceremony and by extension this bird's association with war" and its role in "confusing the enemies" in Pueblo society.<sup>3</sup>

The myth of "Water Jar Boy" contains obvious metaphors, including a water jar, a virgin birth and the hero seeking his spiritual father. The petroglyph panel may also contain the same elements, but only if they are viewed in a metaphorical sense as well. When the myth is used as a guide, these unusual symbols become meaningful and follow the mythical story line with remarkable consistency.

The petroglyph discussed in this paper is located on a cliff face near the ruins of La Cienega Pueblo in north central New Mexico. The petroglyph has been classified as "Rio Grande Style."<sup>4</sup> Although it is difficult to know exact dates, the close association between the panel and the pueblo site of La Cienega indicates that the panel was created between 1350 and the late 1600s. The pueblo was inhabited from the 1400s until the time of the 1680 Pueblo revolt against the Spanish. Don Diego DeVargas, who conquered the region in 1692, tried to persuade the Indians to re-establish the village of La Cienega. After two years, all attempts failed and the ruin was never reoccupied. Evidence suggests that both Keresan and Tanoan people lived at one time or another in the village of La Cienega. These people were in constant interaction with the villages of San Marcos (Tanoan) in the Galisteo Basin to the east, and Cochiti (Keresan) to the south.<sup>5</sup> The survivors of La Cienega after the 1680 Pueblo revolt are said to have fled to the village of Acoma, and to Laguna. During these unsettled times in Pueblo history, a group of southern Tewa people from the Galisteo basin migrated to Hopi and created the village of Hano.<sup>6</sup> But cultural contact with the Rio Grande villages has continued to the present day.

The myth, "Water Jar Boy," that is used to explore the symbology in this petroglyph panel comes from two sources: The first version was recorded by Voth in 1905 from the Hopi-Tewa village of Hano and was called "The Jug Boy."<sup>7</sup> The second and longer version, called "Water Jar Boy," was recorded by Elsie Clews Parsons and published in "Tewa Tales."<sup>8</sup> Parsons' version is presented here with certain elements italicized to help the reader identify the story elements that correspond to the symbols in the petroglyph panel at La Cienega.

### Water Jar Boy

They were living at Sikyat'ki. There was a girl living there, a fine girl, and she did not want to *marry* any of the *boys* living there. After a while boys in the other villages heard there was a fine girl living at Sikyat'ki but she did not want any boy. Her mother was all the time making water jars. One day when her mother was *mixing clay and using one foot*, she was watching her mother. *Her mother said she wanted to go for some water.* "You can keep on doing this for me," said her mother. So she (the girl) *stepped on the mud and began to mix it with her foot on top of a flat stone.* So she was trying to mix the mud for her mother. Somehow that *mud* got into the girl, it flew up. *She felt it on her leg, but not higher up* inside. Then her mother came back and asked her if she finished the mud. "Yes," she said. So her mother went on making the water jars. After some days the girl felt something was moving in her belly, but she did not think anything about *going to have a baby.* She did not tell her mother. But it was growing and growing. One day in the morning she was very sick. In the afternoon *she got the baby.* Then her mother knew (for the first time) that her daughter was going to have a baby. The mother was very angry about it; but after she looked at the baby, she saw it was not like a baby, she saw it was a *round thing with two things sticking out*, it was a little jar. "Where did you get this?" said her mother. The girl was just crying. About that time the *father came in.* "Never mind, I am very glad she had a baby," he said. "But it is not a baby," said her mother. Then the father went to look at it and saw it was a little water jar. After that *he was very fond of that little jar.* "It is moving," he said. Pretty soon that little *water jar* was growing. In twenty days it was big. It was able to go around with the children, and *it could talk.* "Grandfather, take me outdoors, so I can look around," he said. So every morning the grandfather would take him out and he would look at the children, and they were very fond of him and they found out he was a boy, Sipe'geenu (Tewa), Water Jar Boy. They found out from his talking. About the time of year (December) it began to snow, and the men were going out *to hunt* rabbits, and Water Jar Boy wanted to go. "Grandfather, could you take me down to the foot of the mesa, I want to hunt rabbits."

"Poor grandson, you can't hunt rabbits, you have no legs nor arms," said the grandfather. "Well, grandfather," he said, "I am

very anxious to go. Take me anyway. You are too old and you can't kill anything." His mother was crying because her boy had no legs or arms or eyes. But they used to feed him in his mouth (i.e., in the mouth of the jar). So next morning his grandfather took him down to the south on the flat. Then he rolled along, and pretty soon he saw a rabbit track and he followed the track. Pretty soon the rabbit ran out, and he began to chase it. Just before he got to the marsh there was a rock, and he hit himself against it and *broke*, and a *boy jumped up*. He was very glad his skin had been broken and that he was a boy, a big boy. He was wearing lots of beads around his neck and turquoise earrings, and a dance kilt and moccasins, and a buckskin shirt. Then he chased the rabbit, he picked up a stick and ran. Pretty soon he killed it. Then he found another rabbit and chased again. He was a good runner. So he killed four rabbits, jackrabbits. About that time the sun was setting, so he went home, carrying the rabbits on his back. His grandfather went down to the place where he had carried him and waited for him. While his grandfather was waiting there, somebody was coming. Then came a fine looking boy, but his grandfather did not know who it was. "Did you see my grandson anywhere?" said the grandfather to that boy.

He said, "No, I did not see your grandson anywhere."

"Well, I am sorry he is late."

"Well, I did not see anybody anywhere," said the boy. His grandfather was looking so bad, the boy said, "I am your grandson."

"No, you are just teasing me, my grandson is a round jar, without arms or legs," said the grandfather. He did not believe it was his grandson.

But the boy said, "I am your grandson. I am telling you the truth. This morning you carried me down here. I went to look for rabbits near here. I found one and chased him just rolling along. Pretty soon I hit myself on a rock and my skin was broken and I came out of it and I am the very one who is your grandson, and you must believe me." So he believed and they went home. When they came back and the grandfather was bringing in a good-looking boy, the girl was ashamed. The grandfather said, "This is my grandson, this is Water Jar Boy," and the grandmother asked how he became a boy, and he told them how it had happened to him, and they believed it. Then after that he went

around with the boys. One time he said to his mother, "Who is my father?" he said.

"I don't know," she said.

He asked her again, "Who is my father?" But she just kept on crying and did not answer.

"Where is my father's home?" he asked. She could not tell him.

"Tomorrow I am going to find my father."

"You cannot find your father," she said. "I never go with any boys, so there is no place where you can look for your father."

But the boy said, "I have a father, I know where he is living, I am going to see him." The mother did not want him to go, but he wanted to go. So early next morning she fixed a lunch for him, and he went off to the southeast where they call the *spring Waiyu powidi*, Horse Mesa Point. He was coming close to that spring, he saw somebody walking a little way from the spring. He went up to him. It was a man. He asked the boy, "Where are you going?"

"I am going to this spring."

"Why are you going?"

"I am going there to see my father," he said.

"Who is your father?" said the man.

"Well, *my father is living in this spring.*"

"You will never find your father."

"Well, I want to go into the spring, he is living inside it."

"Who is your father?" said the man again.

"Well, I think you are my father," said the boy.

"How do you know I am your father?" said the man.

"Well, I know you are my father." Then the man just looked at him, to scare him. The boy kept saying, "You are my father."

Pretty soon the man said, "Yes, I am your father. I came out of that spring to meet you," and he put his arm around the boy's neck. His father was very glad his boy had come, and he took him *down inside of the spring.*

A lot of people were living down inside of the spring, women and girls. They all ran to the boy and put their arms around him, because they were glad their child had come to their house. Thus the boy found his father and his aunts, too.

Well, the boy stayed there one night and next day he went back home and told his mother he had found his father. Then his

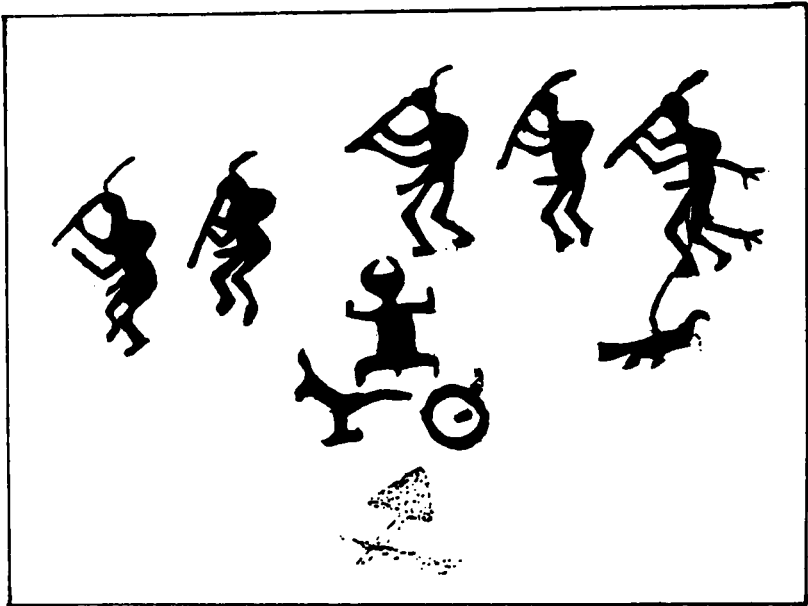
mother got sick and she died. Then the boy said to himself, "No use for me to live with these people." So he left them and went to the spring. And there was his mother. That was the way he and his mother went to live with his father. His father was Avaiyo' pi'i (Water Snake Red). He said he could not live with them over at Sikyat'ki. That was the reason he made the boy's mother sick so she died and "came over here to live with me," said his father. "Now we will live here together," said Avaiyo' to his son. That's the way that boy and his mother went to the spring to live there.

#### THE PANEL OF WATER JAR BOY: IDENTIFICATION OF THE SYMBOLS

The story begins with a description of a fine girl who did not want to marry any of the boys in her village nor of any other village. This is expressed in pictography with "wife hunters," a flute player variant shown in Panel 1. These figures are shown with backpacks, playing flutes and having rabbit ears. They all are elements associated with courting, wooing and prolificacy in connection with "wife purchasing."<sup>9</sup> The figure relates to "a hunter and moccasin maker who in the tales appears with a buckskin on his back from which to make moccasins for a bride."<sup>10</sup>

The name *Kokopelli*, which commonly is used for all kinds of flute players, comes from a mythical locust-like insect character who is able to bring rain and fertility to the people of Zuni. It is referred to in Hopi mythology as well. The insect Kokopelli has a hump that is a continuous part of its back; it also has insect antennae and an insect head. This type of flute player is also found near La Cienega, at Cienegilla, but not here in this panel. (See Chart 1.) In Panel 1, the flute players are not insects with humped backs, but men with packs, playing flutes and walking in one direction. In prehistoric Pueblo culture it was customary for young men to go "wife hunting" to other villages, carrying gifts for a bride and playing a flute to court her. As part of their appeal, they are portrayed as phallic and "prolific as rabbits." They are easily identified by their human bodies and hands and feet, their backpacks and their rabbit ears.

With careful attention to the details and multiple variations of the flute player figure, one may determine the identity of these

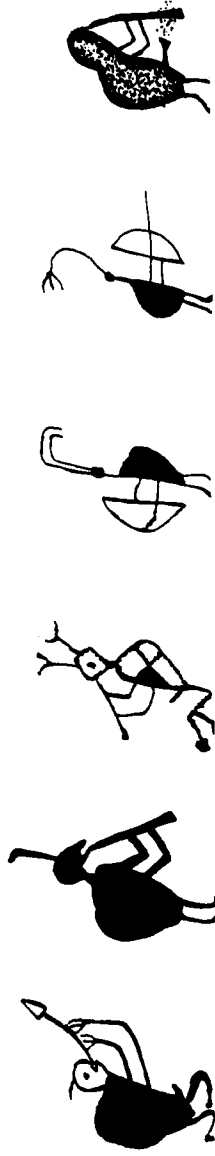


Panel 1



CHART 1

FLUTE PLAYER VARIATIONS



Locust Kokopelli  
Bandelier

SW Pueblo

Zuni

Cienegilla (all three)



Courting  
Cienega; panel 1

Phallic  
panel 2

Flute playing  
panel 2

Cloud blower  
nearby panel

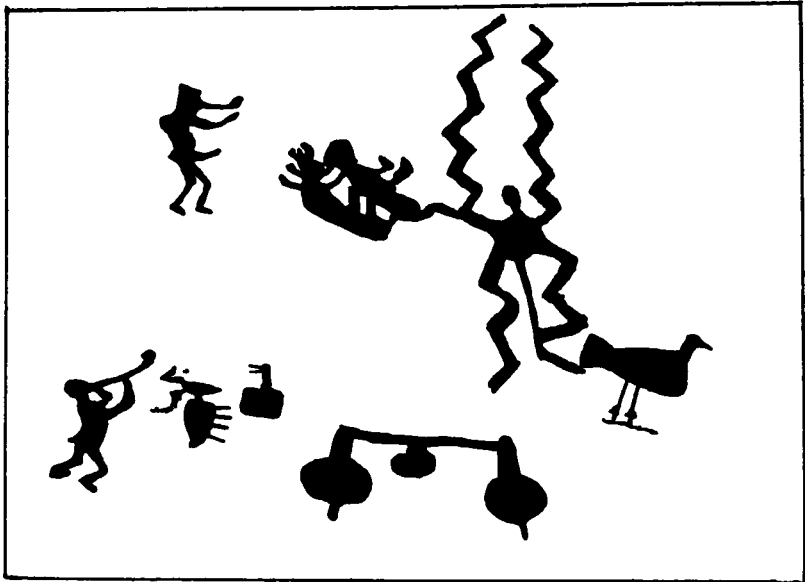
Wife hunters  
nearby panel

figures. It would be misleading to interpret "rain" and a "fertile seed pack," so often associated with the insect Kokopelli, into the context of this panel. The flute players' association with a female figure giving birth provides further evidence that these flute players are related to wife hunting rather than seed germination.

In contrast, Panel 2 contains a figure playing a flute but not carrying a pack. The meaning of this figure has changed with the context. In the same Panel 2 is a second figure with a hump on his back and a phallus, but no flute. All of these three figures are variations of the flute player, having specific meaning within the context of symbols around them. A generalized statement labeling them simply as Kokopelli figures does not do justice to the meaning of these symbols.

In Panel 1 the five figures with ceremonial belts, packs (of bridal goods), flutes (for courting) and rabbit ears (prolificacy) are used in context with a figure (female) in a birthing position. The birthing position is characterized by flexed knees and outspread legs, with a second image positioned below and between the legs. The symbol below the legs represents what was born; in this case, it is something not clearly identifiable. Within the mythical context, the maiden is giving birth to a "round thing with two things sticking out." The petroglyph presents two symbols to emphasize two qualities of this "something." The first symbol is a circle with a dot inside, indicating a round object with something in it—a container of some kind. The second image has foot-like appendages that may represent the quality of mobility.

In the story, the question is, who of the males is the father? The petroglyph shows the suitors, or wife hunters, going on their own way, in one direction. There are no figures turning back, or returning. A returning figure might indicate that he had been chosen by the maiden. This is an important detail from the standpoint of symbol analysis. The positioning and formation of these pack-carrying, flute-playing, wife-hunting suitors, traveling in one direction without returning, indicate a continuing search going away from home. There are no indications of a suitor touching her to indicate a marriage or a relationship to the birth. Within the context of the myth, this *question* is a basic element in the story: "Who is my father?" One can tell from the panel alone that the suitors were not responsible for the birth. The maiden in the petroglyph reinforces this theory; she is portrayed wearing a



Panel 2

horned headdress, which indicates extraordinary strength or powers. Horned figures are usually associated with shamans, or persons having strong medicine. Male and female deities are symbolized in kiva art and pottery designs wearing a horned headdress that denotes special strength or ability, medicinal power or divinity. Within the context of the myth, the horned female figure is identified as the maiden who gave birth from a supernatural conception. Thus she has been elevated to the status of a deity. (See Chart 2.)

There are many stories in Pueblo mythology that describe pregnancies resulting from supernatural events. This supernatural conception is illustrated in Panel 2. The hump-backed phallic figure near the top is positioned in association with two figures copulating. Further to the right is the symbol for water (☿☿), two zigzag lines.<sup>11</sup> The copulating figures are connected to the water symbol by a line that indicates a direct association between the conception process and the water. These three symbols in context with each other convey the ideas of copulation and of fertilization in association with the water.

Within the water symbol is a figure with the arms and legs incorporated into the zigzag lines, to indicate a connection with water. The act of "mixing the water and mud" is illustrated here by symbol incorporation, using the water symbol and the hands and feet of the figure.<sup>12</sup> (See Chart 3.)

The long tail that attaches the center figure to the water symbol may refer to the "mud splashing up her leg," causing the conception. The symbols together describe the act of the girl mixing the clay with the water and stamping it with one foot, as described in the story. From the viewpoint of the myth, these symbols clarify the idea that the pregnancy was caused by something in the mud or water, and not by one of the suitors in the previous panel.

Below and to the right of the water symbol is a large bird, with a large, pointed breast. The bird is turned away from the other symbols, but the tail is touching them, indicating a relationship of some kind. In fact, the bird represents the girl's mother. In the myth, the mother instructs her daughter how to mix the mud and the water and stamp it with her feet. "You keep on doing this for me," she says. She then turns away and leaves to get more water. In the petroglyph, the bird is walking away from the figure mixing the mud and water. This bird has an unusually

CHART 2

HORNED DEITIES














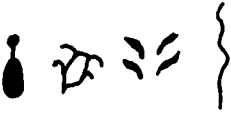
Strong medicine

Apache

Navajo

Pueblo

La Cienega

CHART 3	SYMBOL INCORPORATIONS	
		<p>“Mixing water”: Water + person + splash</p>
		<p>“Wet boy”: moisture + boy</p>
		<p>“Spring”: moisture + descend, snake, spring + center place</p>
		<p>“Growing up”: moisture + dry + horn + quadruped moving upward</p>
		<p>“Descend to place”: turkey tracks down + place or land + person</p>
		<p>“Iariko, Corn Mother”: head and body + ear of corn + feathers + pathway.</p>

large breast, to identify it as the mother.<sup>13</sup> The feet are touching a crack in the rock that leads down and away to the right. The mother bird appears again, drawn with the same enlarged breast, in the appropriate mythical context in Panel 4.<sup>14</sup>

The object at the bottom of Panel 2 has two lobes connected by a crossbar and is similar to double-lobed pottery found in the Southwest. (See Figure 1, pottery from Chaco Canyon, dated around 1100 A.D. [Chaco Culture National Historic Park, New Mexico], from San Ildefonso, dated around the 1900s [Millicent Rogers Museum, Taos, New Mexico], and from Kayenta, dated around 1400 A.D. [private collection]). The myth relates how the boy is born and grows up inside the water jar and is fed through the mouth of the jar. Double-lobed jars are considered highly ceremonial in Pueblo society.

Near the double-lobed jar on this panel is the symbol of a flute player. It does not have a hump back nor a phallus, but is merely playing a flute. In many Pueblo genesis stories, life forms are *sung* into being by a flute player commissioned by the Creator for music that brings things to life. Here the flute player is playing toward the copulating couple, to promote life from the strange conception. He also is in association with another symbol, a goat.

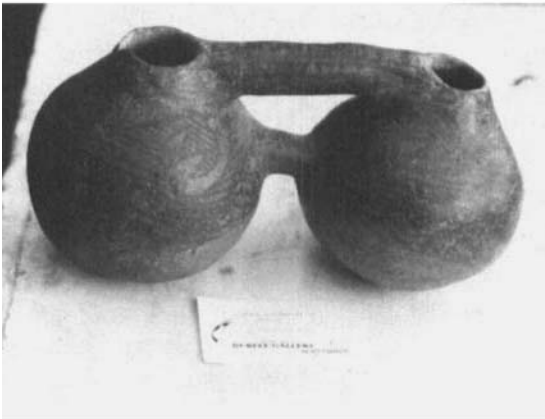
The goat to the right of the flute player is positioned vertically. This indicates "moving upward" or straight up, as in "growing up." One horn of the animal is pecked in with dots, which are symbolic of particles of water in some contexts, or corn meal in others.<sup>15</sup> The other horn is sharp and clear to indicate "dry," the opposite of "wet." The goat is moving upward, away from the "wet" horn, toward the "dry" horn. In the context of the myth, the goat represents the boy, born in a water jar or "wet" place and growing up towards an adult life in the "dry" place. This goat is a sign vehicle, as is evident from its unusual position, body form and oddly shaped and textured horns. As a sign vehicle, the goat fills in important information about the condition and status of the main character, without the cultural contexting that other images require to permit viewers to understand their meaning. (See Chart 3.)

The concept of animals as metaphors, as demonstrated in Panel 2 with the use of the bird to represent the girl's mother, is further demonstrated in Panels 3 and 4 with the use of a mountain lion and birds. The exercise of transcending our fixation on the animal or bird identification in order to understand the meaning

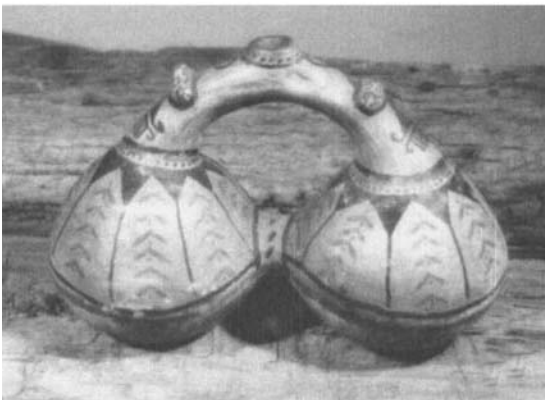
FIGURE 1



Chaco Canyon  
(1100 A.D.)



Kayenta  
(1400 A.D.)



San Ildefonso  
(1900 A.D.)



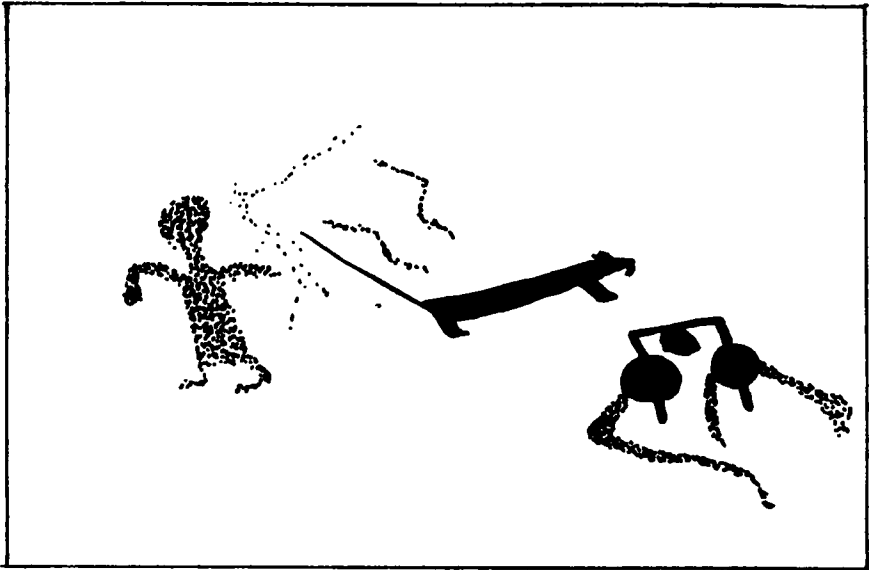
intended is essential in the reading of a myth or a visual representation of a myth. Joseph Campbell writes, "The distinguishing function of a properly read mythology is to release the mind from its naive fixation . . . on material things as things-in-themselves. Hence the figurations of myth (and in symbolic art) are metaphorical in two senses simultaneously, as both psychological, and at the same time metaphysical."<sup>16</sup>

In the myth, Water Jar Boy asks his grandfather to take him hunting. In Panel 3 of the petroglyph is the image of a mountain lion, identified by its long body and tail, and facial whiskers. In Pueblo cosmology, the lion symbol can express the whole concept of "going hunting with the power and ability of the great mountain lion." The Pueblos use the mountain lion as a symbol of the supreme hunters, who "have power to attract deer, antelope, and the power to be lucky (succeed)."<sup>17</sup> Pueblo hunters carry their arrows in a mountain lion skin quiver. They make shrines in the mountains to the north of their villages for the mountain lion spiritual power to assist them in their hunting seasons. They may even "feed" a mountain lion fetish blood from fresh game to encourage the lion to attract more game in the future.

In the myth, when Water Jar Boy goes hunting with his grandfather, he spies a rabbit and rolls along in pursuit. In the panel, the mountain lion symbol represents the boy in the act of hunting. This idea is supported by the other images in the panel. During the hunt, Water Jar Boy accidentally hits a rock and breaks open. This is illustrated with an image of the water jar breaking open and dots in a stream coming out of both lobes of the jar. The dotted particles refer to water leaking out the sides, not the top, clarifying that the jar has been broken.

To the left of the water jar is a very sparsely pecked (dotted) human figure. His legs are positioned to show him still on one knee and rising on the other leg. The dotting indicates "wet" and associates the figure with the substance leaking out of the water jar. Together, these symbols relate the mythic incident of the water jar breaking and the boy emerging. The sequence of events—the boy going hunting, hitting a rock, then breaking open and emerging covered with water and broken pottery—are in agreement with the events in the myth.

The mountain lion symbol is carried over to Panel 4, where it is placed next to a coil. A short coil gesture is used in sign lan-



Panel 3

guage to denote going down or up, ascending or descending, as an eagle does when it spirals around to catch updrafts.<sup>18</sup> The coil in the petroglyph is known to the Pueblos to represent a whirlwind, a descending direction, and is associated with springs and with snakes who live in or near springs. The two ideas, snake and spring, are interchangeable in some contexts.

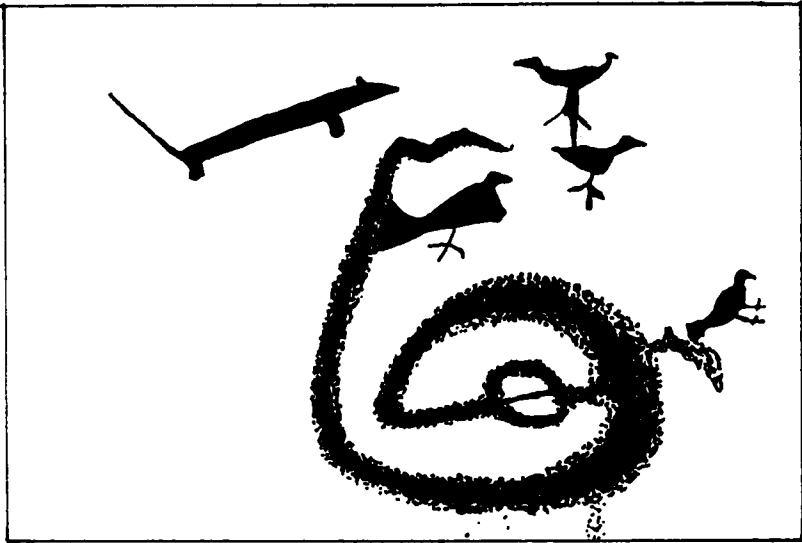
On another level, the longer spiral represents the journey of the people to the center place. Since most lines refer to trails, a line spiraling inward represents the "journey in search of the center." The center place, then, is represented by the central point of the spiral. When the coil is pecked with dots, the reference to water has been added. (See Chart 3.) In this case, the coil refers to a spring, rather than a long migration.

The myth recounts how the boy goes to the spring in search of or "hunting" his father. Water Jar Boy insists on knowing who his real father is. His strong intent is again represented by the mountain lion, the hunter and seeker, positioned near the spring. The father meets the boy at the spring, and together they travel down into the spring. There the boy is greeted by his sisters and aunts. In the panel, the center place inside the spring is represented by the circle with a line through it, indicating "passed through the center," or the "center place."<sup>19</sup>

The birds, like the mountain lion, are carried over from previous panels. They represent the relatives of the boy, the sisters and aunts whom he meets inside the spring. The myth states that the boy's mother dies but rejoins him in the spring. She is symbolized again by the large-breasted bird located near the top of the spring. The boy's father is identified as Avaiyo', the water serpent, who lives inside the spring, and is represented also by the coil.

## CONCLUSION

The interpretation of this petroglyph depends on the understanding of metaphors used in the Pueblo myth, and on the shift of etic perception away from the notion of representational objects or animals towards the emic meaning found in the myth itself. In reading a myth, one must go well beyond the literal imagery, to that which is psychologically intended. By using the myth as a guide, I have attempted to transcend literal interpretations of



Panel 4

the images in the panel as things-in-themselves, to the metaphorical meaning intended, thereby drawing a direct correlation between the images in the panel and those in the myth.

An interpretation of the Water Jar Boy myth is presented by Joseph Campbell in his book, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*. Although he never knew of the visual representation of this myth, the images in the petroglyph support Campbell's interpretations. He writes of Water Jar Boy,

The child of destiny has to face a long period of obscurity. This is a time of extreme danger, impediment or disgrace. He is thrown inward to his own depths or outward to the unknown; either way, what he touches is a darkness unexplored. . . . After a long period of obscurity his true character is revealed. This event may precipitate a considerable crisis; for it amounts to an emergence of powers hitherto excluded from human life. Earlier patterns break to fragments or dissolve. . . . The creative value of the new factor comes to view. . . . The adventure of the second is the going to the father—the father is the invisible unknown. . . . Where the goal of the hero's effort is the discovery of the unknown father, the basic symbolism remains that of the tests and the self-revealing way. . . .

The hero blessed by the father returns to represent the father among men. . . . Since he is now centered in the source, he makes visible the repose and harmony of the central place. He is a reflection of the World Axis from which the concentric circles spread—the World Mountain, the World Tree—he is the perfect microcosmic mirror of the macrocosm. To see him is to perceive the meaning of existence. From his presence boons go out; his word is the wind of life.<sup>20</sup>

The petroglyph image of the coil spiraling inward to a center point and circle is consistent with the Pueblos' use of the symbol of the middle or center of the cosmos, represented by a *sipapu*, an earth navel or an entire village.<sup>21</sup> This sacred space is visually represented by a small circle in the center of a sand painting, a ring of rocks in the village plaza or a hole in the floor of a kiva. Ortiz states, "The elaboration of the notion of the center has the further implication that the dominant spatial orientation, as well

as that of motion, is centripetal or inward. That is to say, all things are defined and represented by reference to a center."<sup>22</sup>

The double-lobed jar represents the duality of the earthly world in which the boy was born and the watery, dark abyss he goes to live in. It is a metaphor for the dualism that exists in every aspect of Pueblo life, reflected in the society and social structure. It is the reality of life that the boy eventually breaks out of, in order to find the unity of spirit. Ortiz emphasizes this concept: "The grand dualities of the cosmos also serve to unify space and time and other, lesser dualities that reverberate through Pueblo life. . . . The basic level of dualities that in nature, winter and summer, provide the fundamental principle of organization for the ritual calendar. . . . Other dualities cut across all of existence, from the hot and the cold to the raw and the cooked and the ripe and the unripe, sometimes all at once."<sup>23</sup> Levi-Strauss writes that the action of the unconscious mind expresses itself through social forms. "A moiety system . . . makes a visible representation of the mind's natural proclivity to divide and subdivide."<sup>24</sup>

The mountain lion image in the panel may be interpreted as a symbol for "hunting," "seeking," or "pursuing with great intent," whether to hunt rabbits or seek and find the true father. The theme occurs over and over in Pueblo mythology, when the son of a virgin birth asks the question, "Who is my father?" and sets forth seeking his father, be it the sun, the wind, or the water. The mountain lion is a metaphor for the hero's determination and intuitive power.

Based on the above description and the accordance between the drawings and the myth, it is probable that this petroglyph represents the Water Jar Boy myth of Pueblo oral tradition. Investigations made by Martineau (1973), Dutton (1965), Parsons (1939), Cushing (1979), Young (1985), Shaafsma (1989), and others who have studied traditional visual art of the Pueblo Indians conclude that there was little concern with realistic representation of actual animals or people. Olsen summarizes: "When the meanings are restored to form and context, documented evidence of social categories emerges such that animals, birds, reptiles, and amphibians are used exclusively to refer to man-made situations, such as clan symbols, as representatives of power for curing, as assistants to spirits and Kachinas, and as messengers for the People. In the emic view, animals have power to travel between men and spirits/kachinas to mediate

between them. The natural abilities of an animal or bird are interwoven with their powers in myth and histories."<sup>25</sup>

What Campbell has suggested about myth also holds true in visual art: the stylistic or simplified gesture figures in the petroglyph panels are metaphors used to transmit the meaning or essence of character imbued in these beings. Animals used as metaphors have a metaphysical and psychological meaning. They enable the viewer to transcend aspects of the physical realm to that of greater complexity and spiritual meaning within the context of Pueblo cosmology and world view.

#### NOTES

1. Jane Young, *Signs from the Ancestors: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and Perceptions of Rock Art* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 122.

2. Nancy Olsen, "Social Roles of Animal Iconography: Implications for Archaeology from Hopi and Zuni Ethnographic Sources," in *Animals in Art*, ed. Howard Morphy (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 418.

Nancy Olsen's similar approach clarifies the purpose of this paper. "To do this in a manner satisfactory to both Pueblo people and science, a cross-cultural perspective will be used that recognizes differences between an insider's 'emic' perception of their iconography and the outsider's 'etic' view. In doing so, oral tradition is separated from scientific analysis in order to appreciate the value of each."

3. Polly Schaafsma, "Supper or Symbol: Roadrunner Tracks in Southwest Art and Ritual," *Animals in Art*, 264-67.

4. Schaafsma, *Indian Rock Art of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980), 254-59.

5. C. Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1970), 37.

6. Michael Stanislawski, "Hopi-Tewa," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 9 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 600.

7. Henry R. Voth, "The Traditions of the Hopi," *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology Series 8* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1905), 155.

8. Elsie Clews Parsons, "Tewa Tales," *American Folk-Lore Society Memoirs, Vol. 19* (New York: American Folk-Lore Society, 1926), 193.

9. La Van Martineau, *The Rocks Begin to Speak* (Las Vegas, NV: KC Publications, 1973), 53.

10. Parsons, "The Humpback Flute Player of the Southwest," *American Anthropologist* 40 (1938): 337.

11. Garrick Mallery, *Picture Writing of the American Indians* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972), 642.

12. Martineau, personal conversation with author, 1988.

13. Martineau, conversation.

14. Martineau, conversation. The bird is used at Cochiti to represent the

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mother of the people. In a personal conversation in 1988, a Cochiti elder told the author that, in more specific images, such as the "bird with the one-cross-foot," the association with the Cochiti "Corn Mother" is implied.

15. Burtha Dutton, *Sun Father's Way, Kiva Murals of Kuaua* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963).

16. Joseph Campbell, *The Inner Reaches of Outer Space* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 56.

17. Parsons, *Pueblo Religion, Vol. 1 and 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), 335.

18. Martineau, *The Rocks Begin to Speak*, 19.

19. Jane Young, *Signs from the Ancestors*, 423.

20. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, Bolling Series 17 (New York: Princeton University Press, 1949), 326-47.

21. Alfonso Ortiz, *New Perspectives on the Pueblos* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1972), 142.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, 144.

24. Claude Levi-Strauss quoted in Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 165.

25. Nancy Olsen, "Social Roles of Animal Iconography," 423.