FINAL REPORT ON A SURVEY OF

KOOTENAY LAKE PICTOGRAPH SITES

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By

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PREFACE

Dedication of this final report is made to all the native brothers of B.C. and to the National Native Brotherhood who continue their struggle to include safeguards for their aboriginal rights in our Constitution, as originally guaranteed by the Crown of England. The abrogation of the rights and cultural heritage of the native people through paternalism, current expediency, and errors of commission or omission will mark the epitome of abuse against the founding peoples of this land.

Special gratitude is also extended to all those pioneer informants of the Kootenay Lake region who generously shared their memories and experiences during my investigations for the pictograph survey, and especially during the many years previous in this area where I was raised. Their unselfish cooperation and genuine kindness in aiding a compilation of new data on our Kootenay heritage will always be remembered and appreciated. Archaeological records will be so much the richer by their timely outgoing concern and assistance.

Finally, much of this work at Kootenay Lake would not have been made possible without the timely assistance of Doris Lundy of the B.C.P.M., Mr. W.A. Fetterley, Curator of the Kootenay Museum at Nelson, B.C., and Mr. Tony Emery, Art Historian now at Concordia University. Their unhesitating support for a pictograph conservation project grant from the Canada Council allowed my inventory survey at Kootenay Lake to be completed under full employment. I will always be indebted to them.

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APPENDIX

I. KOOTENAY LAKE PICTOGRAPH SURVEY

The final report on the current inventory of pictographs in the West Kootenay can never be considered complete. As surveys continue in the future and as classification work of rock paintings progresses, the present report will serve as a summary of previous investigations, and as a basis for renewed research in an area little studied in B.C. archaeology. The synthesis of data gathered on Kootenay Lake pictographs will by its nature be an outline and a resume that may be subject to revisions and modifications.

The pictograph survey project at Kootenay Lake, begun in 1975 and continued from 1977 through 1980, was carried out under the authorization of the B.C. Provincial Archaeologist Office (Baravalle 1977, 1978a, 1979b, 1979c). As a volunteered service for the British Columbia Provincial Museum, field expenses were provided in part by Crown grants which were gratefully received in 1978, 1979 and 1980 from the B.C. Heritage Conservation Branch. In addition, two grants, 1979 and 1980, from the Canada Council Explorations Programme made possible a photographic conservation project at a number of deteriorating Kootenay Lake pictograph sites. That timely assistance was also much appreciated.

The 1980 season pictograph survey completed the inventory

of extant rock painting sites at Kootenay Lake, contained
within a 30,000 square kilometer area and with over 550 kilo-
meters of shoreline. Two new sites were discovered and three
others previously mentioned by informants (Baravalle 1979c:3, 9)
were verified.

Twenty-five pictograph sites have now been recorded. In
addition, one site at the Balfour Outlet and another at
Riondel were known to have once existed (Affleck 1978:107;
Mr. K. Sonnenberg, former resident of Shutty Bench, personal
communication, Dec. 1976). This total represents about 90%
of the pictograph locations found in the Lower Kootenay territory
which extends south along the Kootenai River through northern
Idaho to Libby, Montana (Baravalle 1979c:39).

Earlier site reports (Baravalle 1977, 1978a, 1979b, 1979c)
have dealt with the findings of the respective surveys, and
have provided data on the geography, climate and ethno-history
of the Lower Kootenay region. An overview of the geography
and archaeology of this area in B.C. as well as a detailed
analysis of designs types at Kootenay Lake will be presented
in the final report. Observations and comments derived from
an areal analysis of the local rock paintings will summarize
data concerning questions of ethno-linguistic territorial
boundaries, site distribution and function, and cultural
affiliation of the pictographs. Problems inherent in the
analysis will also be discussed. Incomplete data from
deteriorating pictograph sites will make a classification
and statistical analysis of design types generalized at best.

Appendices A through C in this report will include a
complete record of 1) aerial photographs of the site locations
at Kootenay Lake, 2) scaled drawings of pictograph designs from
the twenty-five sites, and 3) updated copies of the B.C.
Archaeological Site Inventory Forms which list all Munsell
colour readings. A separate supplementary volume to the final
report will contain a colour photographic record of the
Kootenay Lake rock paintings and sites.

II. GEOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE LOWER
KOOTENAY REGION OF B.C.

A. Kootenay Lake Geographic-Environmental Zone

Kootenay Lake is located in southeastern B.C. about 548 meters above sea level. It is the largest natural lake in the southern portion of the province, extending 210 kilometers from north to south and averaging five to six kilometers in width. The finger-like lake is situated within the latitudes of the 49th parallel and 50° 11' 00" north, and between the longitude coordinates of 116° 30' 00" and 117° 20' 00" west. This area is within the boundaries designated as the Lower Kootenay ethno-linguistic territory of B.C., according to most historical and archaeological reports (Teit 1930:258; Chalfant 1974:51; Affleck 1978:11-12, Notes on Chapter One).

As a region which is part of the Interior Western Hemlock Biogeoclimatic Zone of B.C. (Krajina 1959:20, 40), the floral resources are plentiful and well-supplied with many permanent water sources resulting from seasonal rainfall and melting, yet perennial snowpacks. In addition to the numerous large streams and creeks draining the watershed of the Purcell and Selkirk mountains which border respectively the west and east shorelines, Kootenay Lake is fed by two large rivers. The Duncan River enters the main lake from the Lardeau area in the north, and the Kootenai River passes through the Creston or Kootenay flats

in the south after looping through Montana and Idaho from the East Kootenay. At the southwest end of the West Arm near Nelson, the lake is drained by the Kootenay River which joins the Columbia River at Castlegar.

The well-timbered mountains, the fertile estuaries and flat lands, the sand and stone shorelines, and the many kilometers of granite bluffs formed by a Late Precambrian fault block with Post-Triassic intrusives (Map 603A, Nelson, 1940) have provided abundant resources. The permanent water supply and temperate climate have ensured the growth of a variety of plant life and a mixed deciduous-coniferous forest. These, in turn, have supported a large and varied wildlife population, as have the lake and rivers for the many fish varieties.

The salmon runs along the Kootenay River and the salmon spawning grounds of Kootenay Lake continued unabated until the hydro-electric dam constructions on the Kootenay River in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Even afterwards, the rivers, the estuaries and the lake narrows remained ideal locations for fishing the inland salmon as well as the other varieties. The Balfour Outlet was one such location for the Lower Kootenay Indians as late as the second decade of this century (Affleck 1978:107).

As the indigenous population realized, the Kootenay Lake region was well-endowed with large and small game, fish, birds, vegetable foods, and berries. These resources, together with the abundance of raw materials suitable for domestic industry, provided an excellent habitat for subsistence and material

needs (Baille-Grohman 1884; Farwell 1884; Chamberlain 1892; Ravenhill 1938; Turney-High 1941; Cottingham 1947; Flucke 1952; and others). In particular, at the southern end of Kootenay Lake where the Creston band made its home, the lush floral environment of the Kootenay flats teemed with wildlife and game birds, especially during the early spring (Choquette 1979).

Summer excursions for berry picking and for hunting and fishing ranged as far north as Kaslo and even the Duncan estuary (Mrs. Bain Oliver; Mr. E. Alexander, pioneer informants, personal and written communication, Nov. 1979 and June 1980). In addition to those subsistence activities, the Creston band frequented the Kaslo-Lardeau region on a permanent basis since much of the green chert or Kootenay argillite that they used came from a quarry in the vicinity of Milford Creek (Choquette 1980a).

Seasonal journeys extended southwest to the Kootenay-Slocan River confluence as well (Teit 1930:258). Kootenay settlements were known to have existed in the Slocan Lake region (Cottingham 1947:128), and a band of Lower Kootenay Indians is even said to have resided in an area near Castlegar along the well-known salmon runs (Chalfant 1974:51). Along the entire length of the Kootenay Lake West Arm, the distribution of large perforated Lower Kootenay net weights has also indicated the frequency and extent of seasonal fishing activities (W.A. Fetterley, Curator of the Kootenay Museum of Nelson, personal communication, Nov. 1979).

From the northern limits of the Duncan estuary through to

the southwest extension of the West Arm and the Kootenay
River, the abundant floral/faunal and raw material resources
were utilized seasonally in the various aspects of subsistence
and settlement activities. Although the Kootenay Indians are
supposed to have been in their region only since the beginning
of the seventeenth century (Johnson 1969:41), the economic
boundary of their ethno-linguistic territory became firmly
established and was defended when required (Teit 1930:258;
Flucke 1952:41-42; Affleck 1978:11-12, Notes on Chapter One).
Earlier dates have been suggested for their presence in the
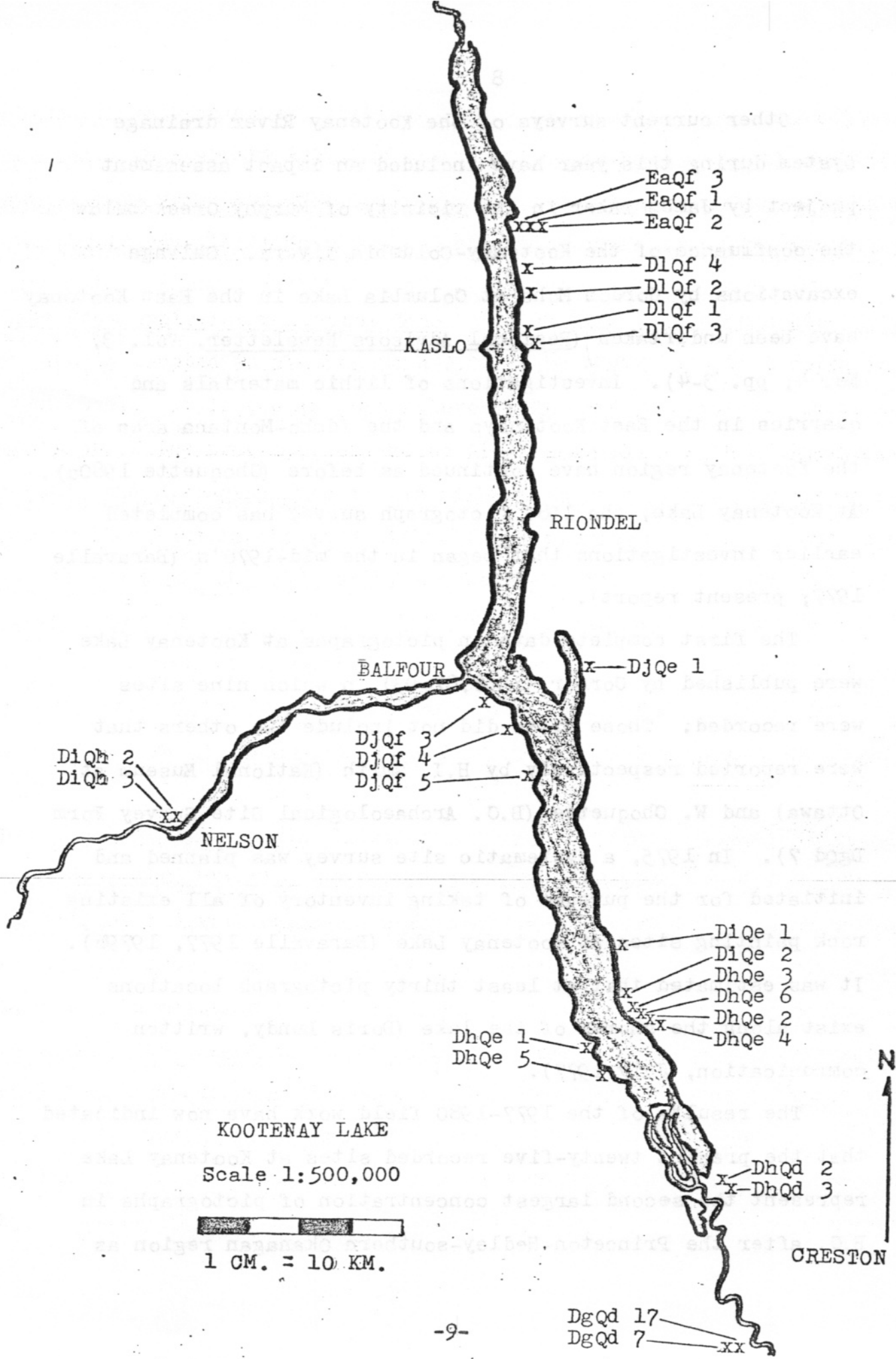East Kootenay (Choquette 1979).

B. Current Archaeological Investigations in the Kootenay Region

The prehistory of the Kootenay region has remained sketchy,
even though reports of archaeological sites (Teit 1930; Flucke
1952:41; Rohner 1966:194; local pioneer residents) have been
made over the years. While significant archaeological work has
been undertaken in the East Kootenay (Malouf 1952, 1961; Borden
1956; Taylor 1973; Choquette 1972, 1976, 1979, 1980a, 1980b; et al.)
systematic surveys and excavations in the Lower Kootenay region
of B.C. did not occur until the late 1960's when a few salvage
and assessment-related operations were carried out (Turnbull
1968; French 1973; Affleck 1978:12, Appendix 1). Throughout
the 1970's, inventory and assessment surveys continued to
monitor development and construction sites in the Kootenay
region. For the 1980 season, a Heritage Branch field crew
has concentrated on recording archaeological resources in the
Slocan Valley (Regional Advisors Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 5).

Other current surveys of the Kootenay River drainage system during this year have included an impact assessment project by James Baker in the vicinity of Murphy Creek below the confluence of the Kootenay-Columbia Rivers. Salvage excavations by Gordon Mohs at Columbia Lake in the East Kootenay have been undertaken (Regional Advisors Newsletter, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 3-4). Investigations of lithic materials and quarries in the East Kootenays and the Idaho-Montana area of the Kootenay region have continued as before (Choquette 1980a). At Kootenay Lake, the 1980 pictograph survey has completed earlier investigations that began in the mid-1970's (Baravalle 1977; present report).

The first complete data on pictographs at Kootenay Lake were published by Corner (1968:87-93) in which nine sites were recorded. Those sites did not include two others that were reported respectively by H.I. Smith (National Museum at Ottawa) and W. Choquette (B.C. Archaeological Site Survey Form DgQd 7). In 1975, a systematic site survey was planned and initiated for the purpose of taking inventory of all existing rock painting sites at Kootenay Lake (Baravalle 1977, 1979b). It was estimated that at least thirty pictograph locations exist along the shores of the lake (Doris Lundy, written communication, July 1977).

The results of the 1977-1980 field work have now indicated that the present twenty-five recorded sites at Kootenay Lake represent the second largest concentration of pictographs in B.C. after the Princeton-Hedley-southern Okanagan region as

EaQf 3
EaQf 1
EaQf 2
XXX

DlQf 4
x

DlQf 2
x

DlQf 1
DlQf 3
x x

KASLO

RIONDEL

BALFOUR   x — DjQe 1

x

DjQf 3   x
DjQf 4
DjQf 5   x

DiQh 2
DiQh 3
XX
NELSON

DiQe 1
DiQe 2
DhQe 3
DhQe 6
DhQe 2
DhQe 4
x
x
xx x

DhQe 1
DhQe 5
x
x

N

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

1 CM. = 10 KM.

DhQd 2
x
x — DhQd 3

CRESTON

DgQd 17
DgQd 7 — xx

illustrated in Corner (1968:31). Additional complementary
work in the form of a conservation project funded by the
Canada Council in 1979 and 1980 was undertaken as a continuation
of the pictograph inventory. The project results have recently
been reported (Baravalle 1980a, 1980c, 1981).

During the 1980 survey season at Kootenay Lake, five new
sites were recorded and photographed. Four of the five sites
are situated along the northeast shoreline within the grids
DlQf and EaQf, while the fifth is located at Crawford Bay
within grid DjQe in the south central section of the main lake.
Three of the new sites along the northeast shoreline had been
mentioned by two informants in the local area. The other two
pictograph sites were discovered during revisits in 1979 and
1980 to shorelines, where rock paintings ought to have been
present.

In all cases except those at Site DlQf 3, the pictographs
are badly deteriorated through the effects of spalling and
fading. The sites designated EaQf 2, EaQf 3, DlQf 4 and DjQe 1
are difficult to observe and are easily missed even when passing
close to the shore. Site DlQf 3 which is best preserved can
also be passed by unnoticed since the panels contain only three
small figures.

The pictographs at the five sites are all painted in red
ochre. Only Site EaQf 3 is multi-panelled with figures in
various degrees of preservation. The design types consist
of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometric figures. Further
information on the sites is reported in Appendix C on the B.C.

Archaeological Site Inventory Forms pertaining to those rock
paintings. Those design types which are identifiable from the
five new sites are illustrated in Appendix B.

III. METHODS AND PURPOSE OF PICTOGRAPH CLASSIFICATION

A. Salvage Archaeology

The Kootenay Lake pictograph site inventory for the B.C.
Heritage Conservation Branch and the photographic conservation
work sponsored by the Canada Council were basically salvage
archaeology. The collection and preservation of data from
this area had to be done immediately or not at all, since many
of the pictograph sites are in various stages of fading and
disintegration. Although specific research problems were not
the basis of the inventory project, queries into problems
relating to the rock painting sites did arise. Questions
concerning temporal-spacial aspects of pictograph locations and
their cultural affiliations became an integral part of the
survey strategy (Baravalle 1977:18-23, 1978a:5, 1979c:5).

This salvage approach in archaeology is in keeping with
the concern that has been expressed by the B.C. Heritage
Conservation Branch (Acheson 1979:6-7). Sound advice in this
regard was also put forward even as early as 1970 when many
people were stressing a rigid view of the positivist-deductive
trend of American archaeology which downplayed salvage operations
that did not have some type of research design proposal. In the
face of that perspective, it was stated by Chenhall (1971:372)
that "no archaeologist can ignore the fact that archaeological
data are rapidly disappearing and, in some areas at least, will

soon be gone." The increasing vulnerability of pictograph
sites to human and natural damage (Taylor 1978:21-24; Bock
1980:1; et al.) makes this more than evident today.

Even though pictograph and petroglyph investigations are
still developing, relevant arcaheology can be done with salvaged
data gathered without knowledge of their ultimate use. This
has been demonstrated in a number of cases, particularly by
Wellmann (1979) in his quantitative analysis of rock art in
California. The degree of how the pictograph data can be used
will depend mainly on the completeness of archaeological
inventories and the availability of relevant ethnographic
records.

B. Means and Methods

General classification of pictographs with the purpose
of computer comparisons and correlations of large number of
symbols has been attempted in areas where records of numerous
sites and ethnographic information are available (Maurer and
Whelan 1977; Whelan 1979). In the Lower Kootenay territory of
B.C. where twenty-five pictograph sites have been recorded, an
areal analysis as outlined by Steward (1927-30) would be better
suited for this investigation.

Due to the limited understanding about the meaning and
identity of many design elements, and the fact that the Kootenay
Lake region represents a contact area between the Lower Kootenay
and Lakes Salish Indians, the method of comparing similar
component designs is a safe procedure to correlate various sites.
In addition, a complementary analysis establishing the percentage

frequency of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric picto-
graph designs at the sites would aid in determining cultural
affiliations. Preliminary analysis has already indicated the
predominance of anthropomorphic and naturalistic zoomorphic
figures at definite Lower Kootenay Indian rock painting
locations (Baravalle 1979c:32-34, 36-39, 1980a:18).

Other factors which favour this type of general areal
analysis and univariate statistical investigation are the
problems of chronology and deterioration of the sites. Designs
found at a site may have been painted within the same or
different temporal periods. The example of Site DgQd 17 shows
overlapping figures and differential fading, "indicating at
least 3 distinct periods of painting" (Choquette, B.C. Archae-
ological Site Survey Form DgQd 17, 1974). At this time, there
are no means to establish accurate dates for pictographs,
except by figures that can be identified historically (Weisbrod
1978:5), or by a limited use of C-14 determinations from camp
sites directly associated with pictograph locations (Baravalle
1977:24-25; Pelshea 1979).

The deterioration of pictograph sites suggests caution for
any statistical analysis in rock art research. In the Kootenay
Lake region which represents about 90% of the existing rock
paintings in the Lower Kootenay ethno-linguistic territory,
incomplete data due to eroded and damaged pictograph panels
will affect the statistical calculations and their interpretation.
Even the simple procedure of establishing the percentage
frequency of similar design types (e.g. sun symbols) or design

classification groupings (e.g. anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric) will depend on the inventory record which, in turn, is conditioned by the degree of preservation of the pictograph sites.

A statistical analysis is only as good as the data that are available. Furthermore, generalizations subject to possible future revisions must be the rule at this stage of analysis. Complex statistical analysis will not make any more sense of archaeological data (Thomas 1978:238, 1980:345, written communication, June 1980; Salmon 1976:380).

The method and procedure of the areal analysis used in this study follows closely that which Steward (1927-30) outlined over fifty years ago, and which are quite applicable for today's research. In selecting similar rock painting components,

> The elements chosen by no means exhaust the design components. We have selected only those which seemed fairly definite and clearcut, and which are repeated a number of times at different sites. That the subjective element in this procedure (which is undoubtedly very great) is probably not serious is shown by the results obtained. There are many elements occurring at only two or three sites, which we have omitted. Such elements are useful in showing relationships of a detailed and special nature which are beyond the scope of this study (Steward 1927-30: 177).

For the Kootenay Lake study most of the design elements occurring at only two or three sites will be included because of the limited area of the analysis. The investigation is of a local and detailed nature.

Maps of the Kootenay Lake region which encompass the Lower Kootenay territory in B.C. will show the distribution of the elements selected. Where there is serious doubt concerning the

identity of a design type at a certain pictograph location,
the site will be omitted from the map. In questionable cases,
the design element will be indicated by a question mark.

What is known at Kootenay Lake is that the rock painting
figures are not meaningless haphazard doodlings. As suggested
in preliminary studies, the distribution of Kootenay Lake picto-
graph sites shows that there is a close relationship with the
geography of the region and settlement-subsistence patterns
(Boreson 1976:103, 116; Baravalle 1979c:35-40). Previous reports
(Baravalle 1977, 1978a, 1979b, 1979c) have indicated that the
site distribution reflects the north-south orientation of the
main lake, and, in most cases, the occurrence of light-coloured
Post-Triassic granite bluffs along the shore of the lake
(Baravalle 1978a:61, 1979c:29-30).   The range and number of
pictographs of similar types, from the Creston flats to the
Lardeau region, suggest mobility of the indigenous population
which had access to the waterways. Such mobility has been verified
from pioneer informants, as written in Part II, section A of
this report. Moreover, the proximity of pictograph sites to
fresh water sources (i.e. creeks and rivers) and beach camp
areas has also been documented (Corner 1968:6; Baravalle 1977:
19-21, 1978a:57-58). Hence, the connection of these Lower
Kootenay rock paintings with social, religious and economic
functions of their society cannot be overlooked.

Concerning the purpose of his own study, Julian Steward
had similarly noted that pictographs are not meaningless figures
made in idle moments by "some primitive artist." Steward (1927-30:

225) observed that:

> Since design elements and style are grouped in
> limited areas, the primitive artist must have made the
> inscriptions with something definite in mind. He
> must have followed a pattern of petrography which was
> in vogue in his area. He executed, not random drawings,
> but figures similar to those made in other parts of the
> similar area. The elements of design, then, must have
> had some definite significance which was the same over
> wide areas.
> We can probably never know precisely why many of
> the petroglyphs and pictographs were made. But we can
> guess that many of them were made for some religious
> or ceremonial purpose.

Studies of the Interior Plateau pictographs of the North-

west have arrived at the same conclusions (Erwin 1930:38; Malouf

1952, 1961; Baker 1955:12; Boreson 1976; Richard McClure Jr.,

Washington State University, written communication, August

1980). In the Lower Kootenay ethno-linguistic territory of

B.C. where almost all of the extant Lower Kootenay rock paintings

are situated, the proposed areal analysis, therefore, should

be of help in discovering some of the "patterns of petrography"

in this region.

The extent of penetration by the Kootenay and Interior

Salish Indians into the Kootenay Lake region, as well as the

prevailing animistic religious beliefs and the patterns of

settlement and subsistence to which Kootenay rock paintings

are closely associated (Baravalle 1977:19-21, 1978a:57-60, 1979c:

41-43, 47), will be important factors that must be considered

in this investigation. Due to the absence of archaeological

excavations at Kootenay Lake, the areal analysis of pictograph

designs, together with relevant ethnographic records, may prove

to be a valuable methodological approach in the study of two or

more overlapping indigenous ethno-linguistic territories.

C. Problems of Classification

The classification of elements of Kootenay Lake pictographs
is designed to order data for the areal analysis. Its scope
is regional and its aims are general with respect to comparison
of component designs. Its purpose is to be useful as a device
in constructing explanations of pictograph distributions, and
thereby capable of evaluation and susceptible to change.

The classification is simply an imposed construct that
functions to order data so that explanation is possible. There
can be no fixed taxonomy or typology since each classification
must suit its particular problem (Dunnell 1971:117-18). Attempts
to provide a generalized but fixed classification of pictographs,
as is being done for the Canadian Shield region (Whelan 1977,
1979), will eventually run into some serious difficulties.
The admonition for more classifications, and not fewer all-
encompassing ones, is just as true today in archaeological
research as it was when it was first written (Brew 1946:44-66).

Discrepancies in attribute analysis are one of many
difficulties encountered in archaeological classification
(Fish 1978). As mentioned by Steward (1927-30:177), the selection
of design components in classification is a subjective one.
The problems that arise in the numerous decision-making aspects
of classification reveal the extent of the difficulties in
pictograph analysis. Single figures found at rock painting
sites, for example, could have two possible group classifications.
The designs of DlQf 1 and DlQf 2 showing a canoe-like symbol

containing man-like figures could be classified as geometric as well as anthropomorphic. Stylized designs, such as the rectilinear-designed lizards at Site DlQf 3 and Site EaQf 2, could be classified as geometric and zoomorphic.

In Table 2 showing the percentage frequency of design types of Kootenay Lake pictographs, double asterisks are used in instances where there are two possible classifications for one design. In cases where figures described as tally marks (Corner 1968:128-29) occur, the series of geometric lines are considered as one unit, and are indicated as such by a single asterisk. Triple asterisks are used to suggest probable design type occurrences at sites with damaged or eroded panels.

Table 3 presenting an areal distribution of pictograph designs will correlate site designations with the design type occurrences. With respect to the identity of the design elements in the top column of Table 3, the proposed identification of the design types is based on earlier work done in the Interior Plateau, particularly that of Corner (1968:128-29).

The order of the Kootenay Lake pictograph sites presented in Tables 2 and 3 follow the one listed in Table 1 in which the sites are grouped according to their location. The pictograph groups are found on the Creston flats, the lower West Arm, and the east and west shoreline of the main lake.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF KOOTENAY LAKE PICTOGRAPHS

Site #	Anthropomorphic	Zoomorphic	Geometric	Subtotal
DiQh 2	17 (56.66%)	3 (10%)	10 (33.33%)	30
DiQh 3	4 (36.36%)	2 (18.18%)	5 (45.45%)	11
DjQf 3	67 (87.01%)	---	10 (12.98%)	77
DjQf 4	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	1 (20%)	5
DjQf 5	1 (100%)	---	---	1
DhQe 1	5 (20%)	20 (80%)	---	25
DhQe 5	17 (39.53%)	24 (55.81%)	2 (4.65%)	43
DgQd 7	3 (37.5%)	5 (62.5%)	---	8
DgQd 17	6 (21.42%)	19 (67.85%)	3 (10.71%)	28
DhQd 2	3 (15%)	10 (50%)	7 (35%)	20
DhQd 3	2 (22.22%)	7 (77.77%)	---	9
DhQe 4	1 (100%)	---	---	1
DhQe 2	9 (81.81%)	1? (9.09%)	1? (9.09%)	11
DhQe 6	8 (88.88%)	---	1? (11.11%)	9
DhQe 3	10 (33.33%)	14 (46.66%)	6 (20%)	30
DiQe 2	---	5 (55.55%)	4 (44.44%)	9
DiQe 1	---	1 (25%)	3** (75%)	4
DjQe 1	1 (50%)	***	1* (50%)	2
DlQf 3	1 (25%)	---	3** (75%)	4
DlQf 1	9 (25.71%)	6 (17.14%)	20 (57.14%)	35
DlQf 2	1 (7.14%)	4 (28.57%)	9 (64.28%)	14
DlQf 4	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	---	2
EaQf 2	---	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8
EaQf 1	---	2 (50%)	2* (50%)	4
EaQf 3	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	---	4
	170 (43.14%)	134 (34.01%)	90 (22.84%)	394

TABLE 3

DESIGN TYPES FROM

KOOTENAY LAKE PICTOGRAPH SITES

Site No.	Man/Anthropomorph	Human face/mask	Horned shaman	Lodge	Rake design	Headdress	Bison head/mask	Cross trails	Tally marks	Lightning	Rainbow	Sun	Eagle/Hawk	Duck/Grouse/Grouse	Deer/Moose	Mountain Goat	Bear	Dog	Fox	Muskrat	Turtle	Beaver	Fish	Sturgeon	Insect	Arrow/Spear	Animal struck by arrow	Human struck by arrow	Stripped fir branch	Fir branch/Tree	Unfinished basketry	Men in canoe	Man with lasso	Cattle/Livestock	Man climbing rope	Frog/lizard
Djoh 2	X									X	X	X									X								X							X
Djoh 3	X			X								X									X									X						
Djqf 3	X		X		X	X																							X	X						
Djqf 4	X							X				X																								
Djqf 5		X																																		
Dhqe 1	X												X													X						X	X			
Dhqe 5			X	X					X			X									X				X											
Dgqd 7	X											X									X						X									
Dgqd 17	X		X			X	X		X		X	X	X			X				X	X													X	X	
Dhqd 2	X								X			X						X	X		X															
Dhqd 3	X											X						X		X		X	X													
Dhqe 4																											X									
Dhqe 2	X																										X									
Dhqe 6	X																				X						X									
Dhqe 3	X		X			X		X		X	X				X	X					X															
Diqe 2	X			X																																
Diqe 1																X																				
Djqe 1	X							X																												
Dlqf 3	X																														X					
Dlqf 1			X	X	X	X			X	X		X				X					X	X										X	X			X
Dlqf 2	X			X								X																								
Dlqf 4	X																								X											
Eaqf 2			X									X														X							X			X
Eaqf 1								X													X								X							
Eaqf 3	X							X				X																								

IV. AREAL ANALYSIS OF KOOTENAY LAKE PICTOGRAPHS

The areal analysis will exhibit on a series of maps the distribution of common design types found at Kootenay Lake. A total of 268 identifiable designs have been grouped into similar traits, and have been classified as anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric.

This total does not represent all pictograph figures in this region, but only those which show similarities at sites along the shores of Kootenay Lake. With Lower Kootenay rock painting sites mostly in the vicinity of the Creston (Kootenay) flats and Interior Salish pictographs in peripheral areas, the map analysis would indicate common and dissimilar design traits used by these two indigenous groups. The occurrence and distribution of specific types of figures could reveal seasonal patterns of subsistence or other related activities as well.

Each areal distribution map, in the scale of 1 cm. equals 10 km., is preceded by a commentary which defines the selected figure and describes its possible function or meaning. From ethnographic and historical sources, only suggestions about design identity can be made since similar traits may have different uses depending upon the local context (Lundy 1980). Nevertheless, a common feature of many pictographs of the Interior Plateau is the association with a hunting economy (Boreson 1976). Hence, naturalistic zoomorphic figures and

anthropomorphic figures are more easily identified. Geometric
designs, which are common among Interior Salish pictography
but infrequent in that of the Lower Kootenay (Flucke 1952:41),
are less definitive as to function. Cultural inferences,
however, can be made from their occurrence or absence at
Kootenay Lake sites.

The order of presentation of the maps with the design
types to be discussed in connection with them will follow the
numerical occurrence of the pictograph sites. The maps will
be arranged according to their group classification into
anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric. All of the identi-
fiable pictograph designs from each site in this region are
illustrated in Appendix B for further comparison.

Man Figure

Man-like stick figures account for 21% of the designs of
the areal analysis. This figure is widespread throughout picto-
graph locations at Kootenay Lake, occurring at 15 sites or
60% of the total number of sites. The designs exhibit a
variety of possible functions.

At Site DhQe 4, a single man-like figure is depicted as
having been struck by a spear. Across the lake at Site DhQe 1,
a man figure with a lasso suggests a hunting-related activity
within recent times. Another man figure with a multi-feathered
headdress is portrayed at Site DjQf 3. The headdress is unlike
the customary single-feather trait used by the Kootenay as
shown by the figure with a poised spear at Site DhQd 2.

Other man-like stick figures, without these added features,
also appear in association with hunting-related activities as
well as possible rites-of-passage ceremonies. Hunting prowess,
coming-of-age rituals and animistic beliefs are all closely
connected in Lower Kootenay culture (Flucke 1952:28, 37-38).
Similarly, Lakes Salish figures (Corner 1968:79-85; Bell 1979)
show the same association.

The man figure with the right arm bent in a raised position
is peculiar in its scarcity. Only at Site DiQh 2 with two
identical figures posed one next to the other is this exhibited.
A badly faded single figure At Site DgQd 17 may be another
example of the design. However, the two man figures, each with an
up-raised arm, is said to be an Interior Salish trait (W.A.
Fetterley, Curator of the Kootenay Museum of Nelson, personal

communication, Nov. 1979).

The man figure under two concentric arcs at Site DlQf 3, also unlike any other anthropomorph design at Kootenay Lake, appears to exhibit a trait from the Western Plateau Style area, as defined by Richard McClure Jr. (Washington State University, written communication, Aug. 1980). That style area encompasses the Interior Salish ethno-linguistic territory, and hence indicates either an Interior Salish intrusion or a Lower Kootenay borrowing of a design trait at Kootenay Lake.

The two styles of man figures, namely the full-bodied design and the linear design (Lundy 1979:66), are represented in the Lower Kootenay territory.

Man Figure

x — EaQf 3

x — DlQf 2

x — DlQf 3

x — DjQe 1 ?

x
DjQf 3
DjQf 4
x

DiQh 2
DiQh 3
xx

DhQe 3
x
x x — DhQe 2
DhQe 4

DhQe 1 — x
DhQe 5 — x

MAP 1

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

x — DhQd 2
x — DhQd 3

DgQd 17 — x

"Fir Branch" Anthropomorph

The "fir branch" anthropomorph is exhibited at four sites in the southern section of Kootenay Lake. Questionable occurrences at Site EaQf 3 and Site DlQf 4 are due to the faded and damaged state of the designs.

Two variations of this "fir branch" design, which is a term used by Corner (1968:88), are the stick-like figure with a pointed or arrow-like top, and the thick-painted figure with a more rounded top. The arrow-like top figure occurs exclusively at Site DjQf 3, and is similar to those found at Slocan Lake (Bell 1979:31). The rounded top figure, on the other hand, occurs at Sites DhQe 5, DhQe 6 and DgQd 7 which are Lower Kootenay pictograph locations.

The two variations make up about 16.5% of the total number of designs in the areal analysis. Most of those are found at Site DjQf 3, and they are unassociated with solid naturalistic zoomorphic figures that indicate hunting-related activities.

The "fir branch" symbol is mentioned as anthropomorphic because of its human-like appendages. The designs at Site DhQe 5 seem to be dancing. Their "legs" are bent and their "feet" appear to be in motion.

"Fir Branch" Anthropomorph

x —— EaQf 2 ?

x —— DlQf 4 ?

x DjQf 3

DhQe 6

DhQe 5

MAP 2

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

DgQd 7 —— x

Shaman Figure

The man-like figure with what is described as a "horn
headdress" (Corner 1968:88) represents about 5% of the total
designs of the areal analysis, and is found at six sites or
24% of the total pictograph locations at Kootenay Lake.

The design could be defined as a shaman figure or a
hunting chief. While the man-like designs vary in style from
stick figures at Site DlQf 1 to rounded-torso designs at Site
DhQe 5, each has a common feature of two horns protruding from
the head. One figure at Site DgQd 17 seems to depict a shaman
with spirit-like beings surrounding the anthropomorph. Other
horned-headdress anthropomorphs, such as those at Site DhQe 3
and Site DhQe 5 could represent shaman figures or hunting chiefs
who were selected for communal hunts (Flucke 1952:16). These
figures appear on panels in connection with zoomorphic designs
(i.e. goats and deer).

The horned-headdress figure at DjQf 3 may represent a
tribal chief since it is found in context of many anthropomorphs,
including two falling man-like figures. The shaman or chief-
like figures at Site DlQf 1 across from Kaslo, on the other hand,
appear to be part of some initiation ceremony. They are grouped
in a line and seem to be holding hands. Two middle figures
have only one horn which protrudes from one side of the head.
The figures on either end have the customary two-horned headdress.

This particular horned-headdress figure may be a trait
that has come from the western plains. A horned bison head
design at Site DgQd 17 might suggest this.

Shaman Figure

DlQf 1
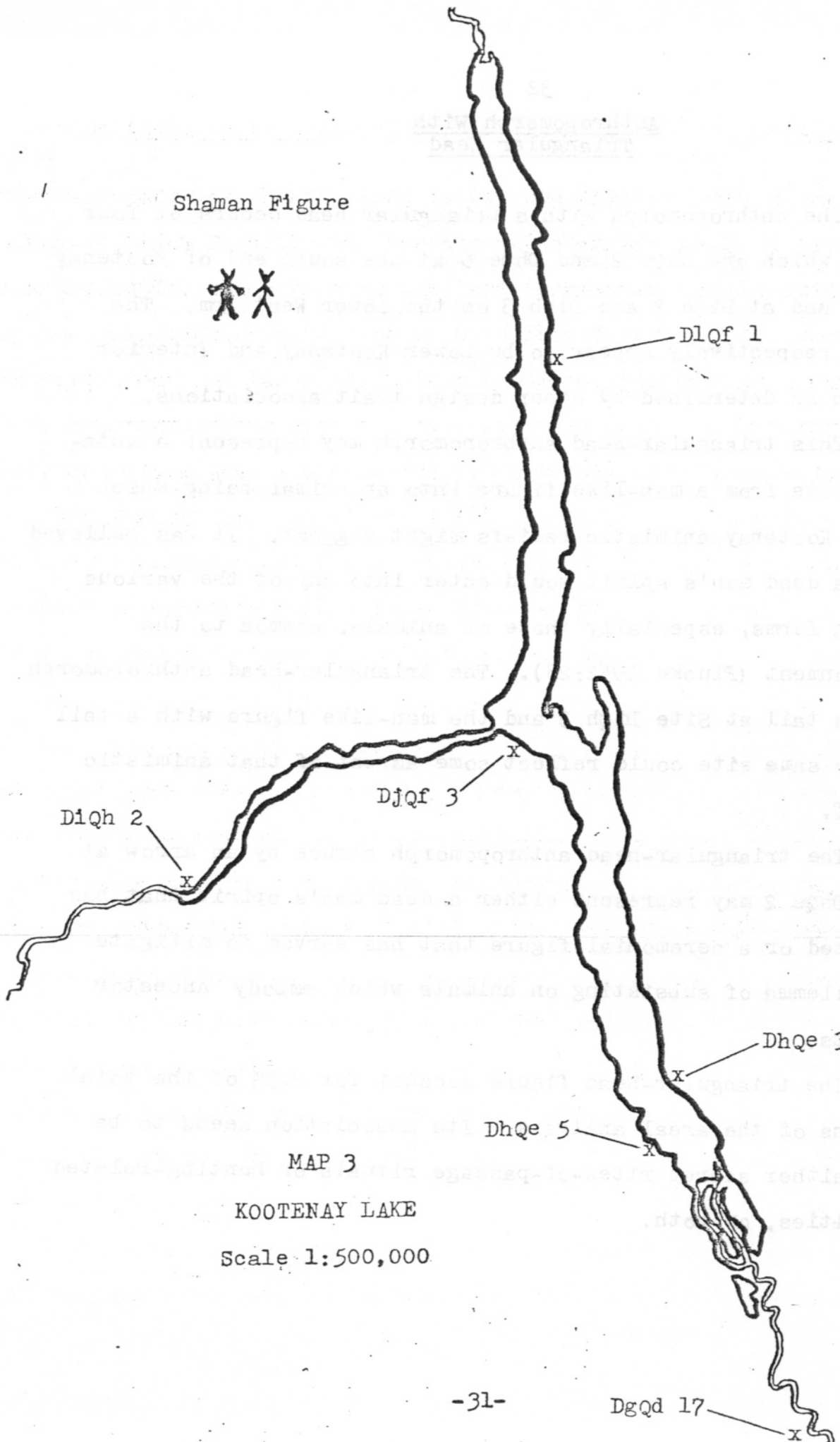
DjQf 3

DiQh 2

DhQe 3

DhQe 5

MAP 3

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

DgQd 17

Anthropomorph With
Triangular Head

The anthropomorph with a triangular head occurs at four sites which are DhQe 2 and DhQe 6 at the south end of Kootenay Lake, and at DiQh 2 and DiQh 3 on the lower West Arm. The sites respectively appear to be Lower Kootenay and Interior Salish as determined by other design trait associations.

This triangular-head anthropomorph may represent a meta-morphosis from a man-like figure into an animal being which Lower Kootenay animistic beliefs might suggest. It was believed that a dead man's spirit would enter into any of the various living forms, especially those of animals, common to the environment (Flucke 1952:28). The triangular-head anthropomorph with a tail at Site DiQh 3 and the man-like figure with a tail at the same site could reflect some aspect of that animistic belief.

The triangular-head anthropomorph struck by an arrow at Site DhQe 2 may represent either a dead man's spirit that has departed or a ceremonial figure that has served to mitigate the dilemma of subsisting on animals which embody ancestor spirits.

The triangular-head figure account for 2.5% of the total designs of the areal analysis. Its association seems to be with either secret rites-of-passage rituals or hunting-related activities, or both.

Anthropomorph with
Triangular Head
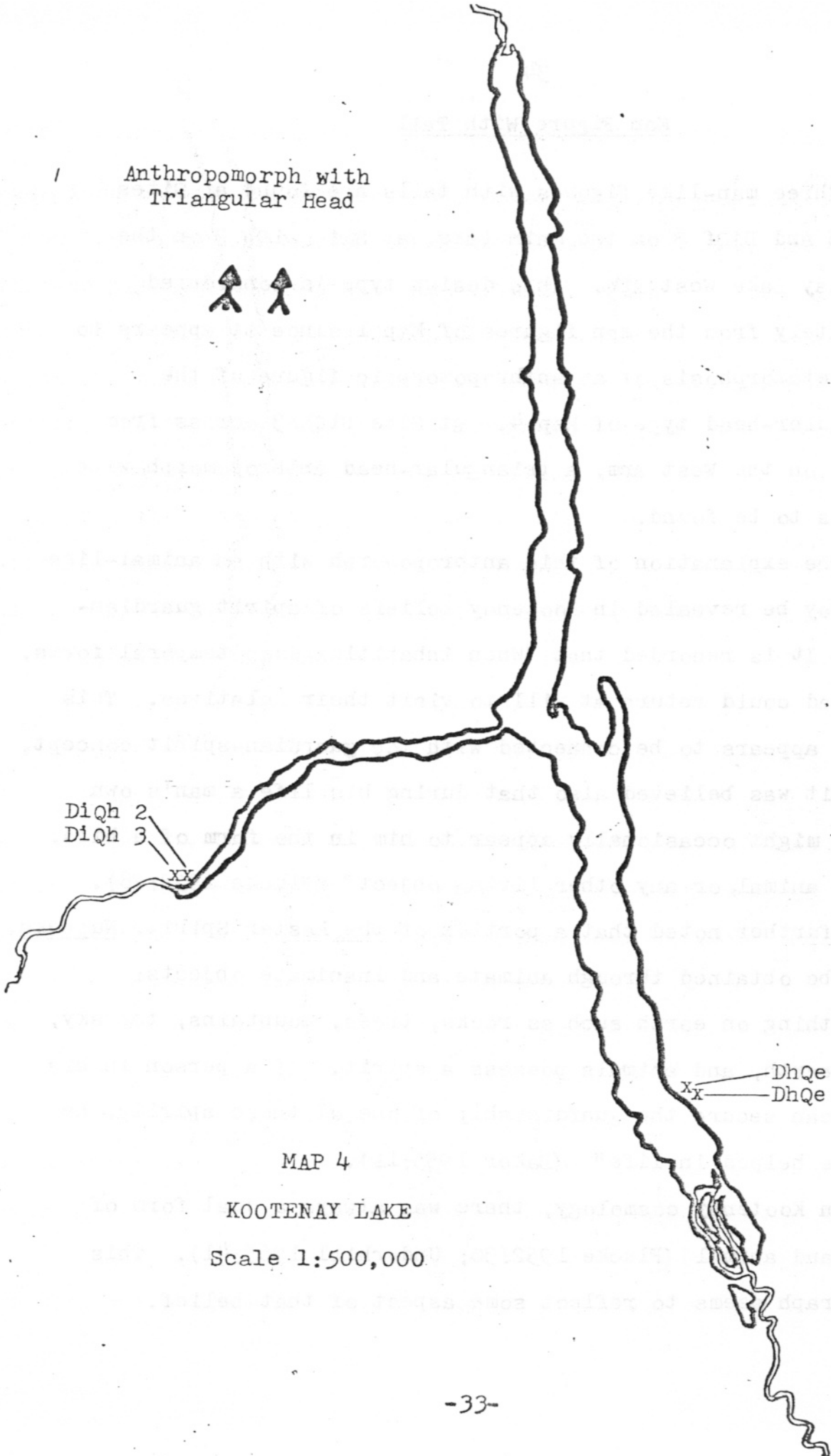
DiQh 2
DiQh 3

DhQe 6
DhQe 2

MAP 4

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Man Figure With Tail

Three man-like figures with tails are found at Sites
DhQe 5 and DjQf 3 on the main lake, at Site DiQh 3 on the
Kootenay Lake West Arm. This design type is considered
separately from the man figures of Map 1 since it appears to
be a metamorphosis of an anthropomorphic figure of the
triangular-head type of Map 4. At Site DiQh 3 across from
Nelson on the West Arm, a triangular-head anthropomorph with
tail is to be found.

The explanation of this anthropomorph with an animal-like
tail may be revealed in Kootenay beliefs of spirit guardian-
ship. It is recorded that "When inhabiting such temporal forms,
the dead could return at will to visit their relatives. This
belief appears to be connected with the guardian-spirit concept,
since it was believed also that during his life a man's own
spirit might occasionally appear to him in the form of a bird,
plant, animal, or any other living object" (Flucke 1952:28).
It is further noted that a portion of the Master Spirit, Nupeeka,
could be obtained through animate and inanimate objects:
"Everything on earth such as rocks, trees, mountains, the sky,
water, earth, and animals possess a spirit. If a person in his
youth can secure the guardianship of one of these spirits, he
will be helped in life" (Baker 1955:11).

In Kootenay cosmology, there was always a dual form of
human and animal (Flucke 1952:30; Underhill 1965:41). This
pictograph seems to reflect some aspect of that belief.

Man Figure With Tail

DjQf 3

DiQh 3

DhQe 5
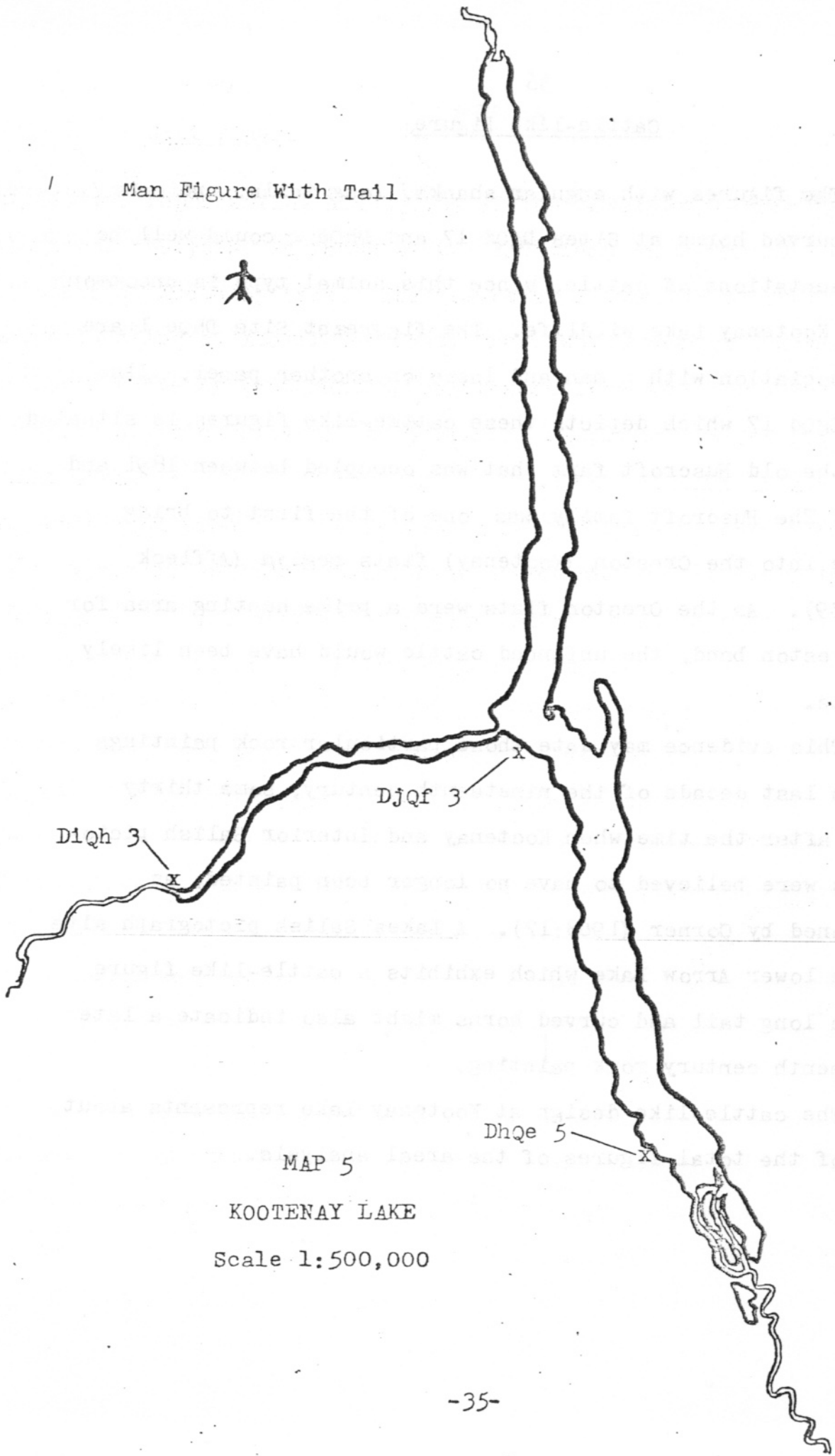
MAP 5

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Cattle-like Figure

The figures with angular shanks, long tails, and some
with curved horns at Sites DgQd 17 and DhQe 1 could well be
representations of cattle, since this animal type is uncommon
among Kootenay Lake wildlife. The figures at Site DhQe 1 are
in association with a man and lasso on another panel. Also,
Site DgQd 17 which depicts these cattle-like figures is situated
near the old Huscroft farm that was occupied between 1891 and
1894. The Huscroft family was one of the first to bring
cattle into the Creston (Kootenay) flats region (Affleck
1978:79). As the Creston flats were a prime hunting area for
the Creston band, the unfenced cattle would have been likely
targets.

This evidence may date those particular rock paintings
to the last decade of the nineteenth century, some thirty
years after the time when Kootenay and Interior Salish picto-
graphs were believed to have no longer been painted, as
mentioned by Corner (1968:17). A Lakes Salish pictograph site
at the lower Arrow Lake which exhibits a cattle-like figure
with a long tail and curved horns might also indicate a late
nineteenth century rock painting.

The cattle-like design at Kootenay Lake represents about
7.5% of the total figures of the areal analysis.

Cattle-like Figure
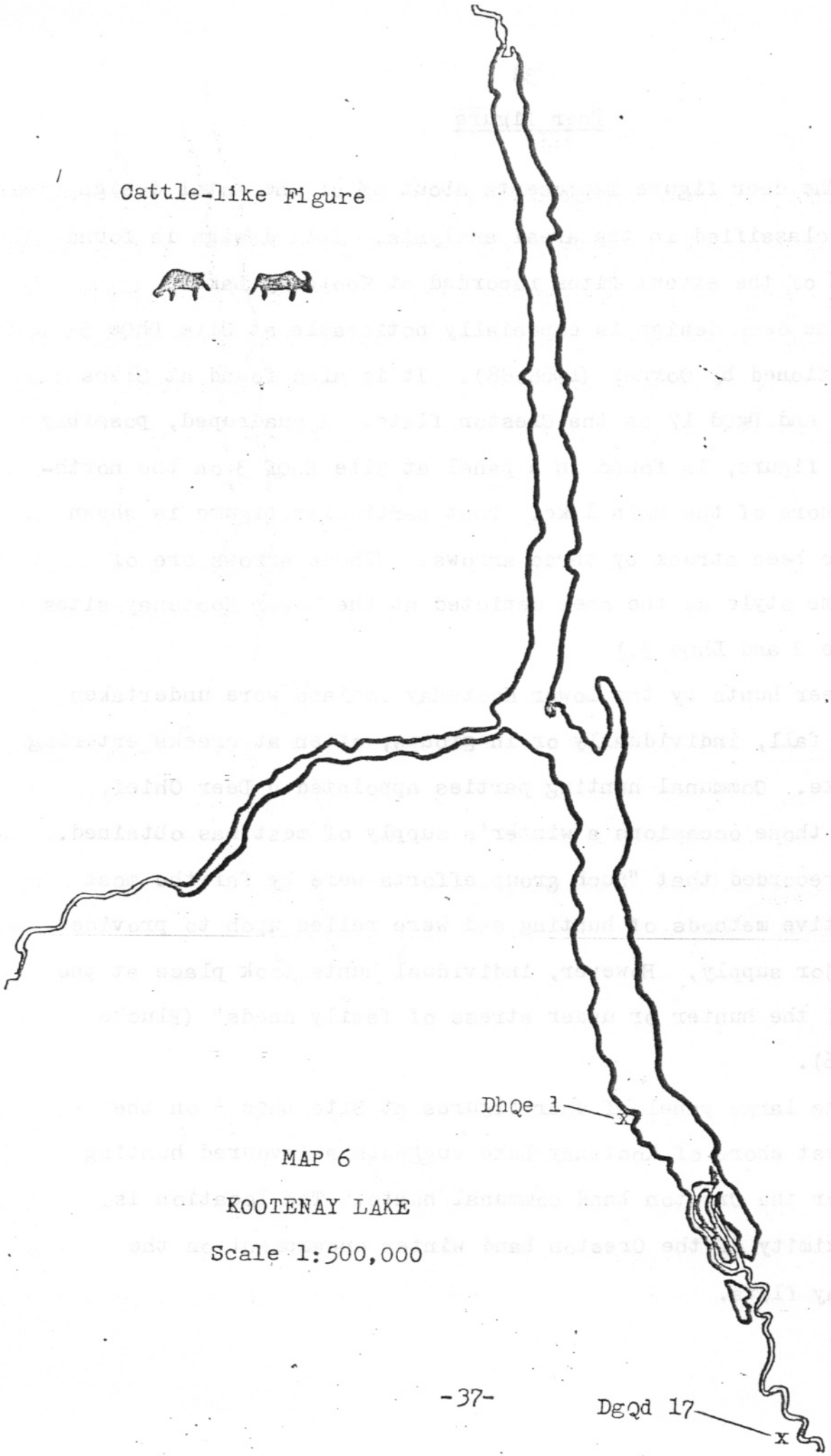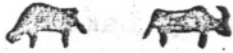
MAP 6

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

DhQe 1 ———→ x

DgQd 17 ———→ x

N ↑

Deer Figure

The deer figure represents about 8% of the total design
types classified in the areal analysis. This design is found
at 16% of the extant sites recorded at Kootenay Lake.

The deer design is especially noticeable at Site DhQe 5
as mentioned by Corner (1968:88). It is also found at Sites
DgQd 7 and DgQd 17 on the Creston flats. A quadruped, possibly
a deer figure, is found on a panel at Site EaQf 3 on the north-
east shore of the main lake. That particular figure is shown
to have been struck by three arrows. (Those arrows are of
the same style as the ones depicted at the Lower Kootenay sites
of DhQe 2 and DhQe 5.)

Deer hunts by the Lower Kootenay Indians were undertaken
in the fall, individually or in groups, often at creeks entering
the lake. Communal hunting parties appointed a Deer Chief,
and on those occasions a winter's supply of meat was obtained.
It is recorded that "Such group efforts were by far the most
productive methods of hunting and were relied upon to provide
the major supply. However, individual hunts took place at the
will of the hunter or under stress of family needs" (Flucke
1952:16).

The large panel of deer figures at Site DhQe 5 on the
southwest shore of Kootenay Lake suggests a favoured hunting
area for the Creston band communal hunts. The location is
in proximity of the Creston band winter encampment on the
Kootenay flats.

Deer Figure

EaQf 3 ?

X

DhQe 5 — X

MAP 7

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

-39-

DgQd 17
DgQd 7 — XX

N
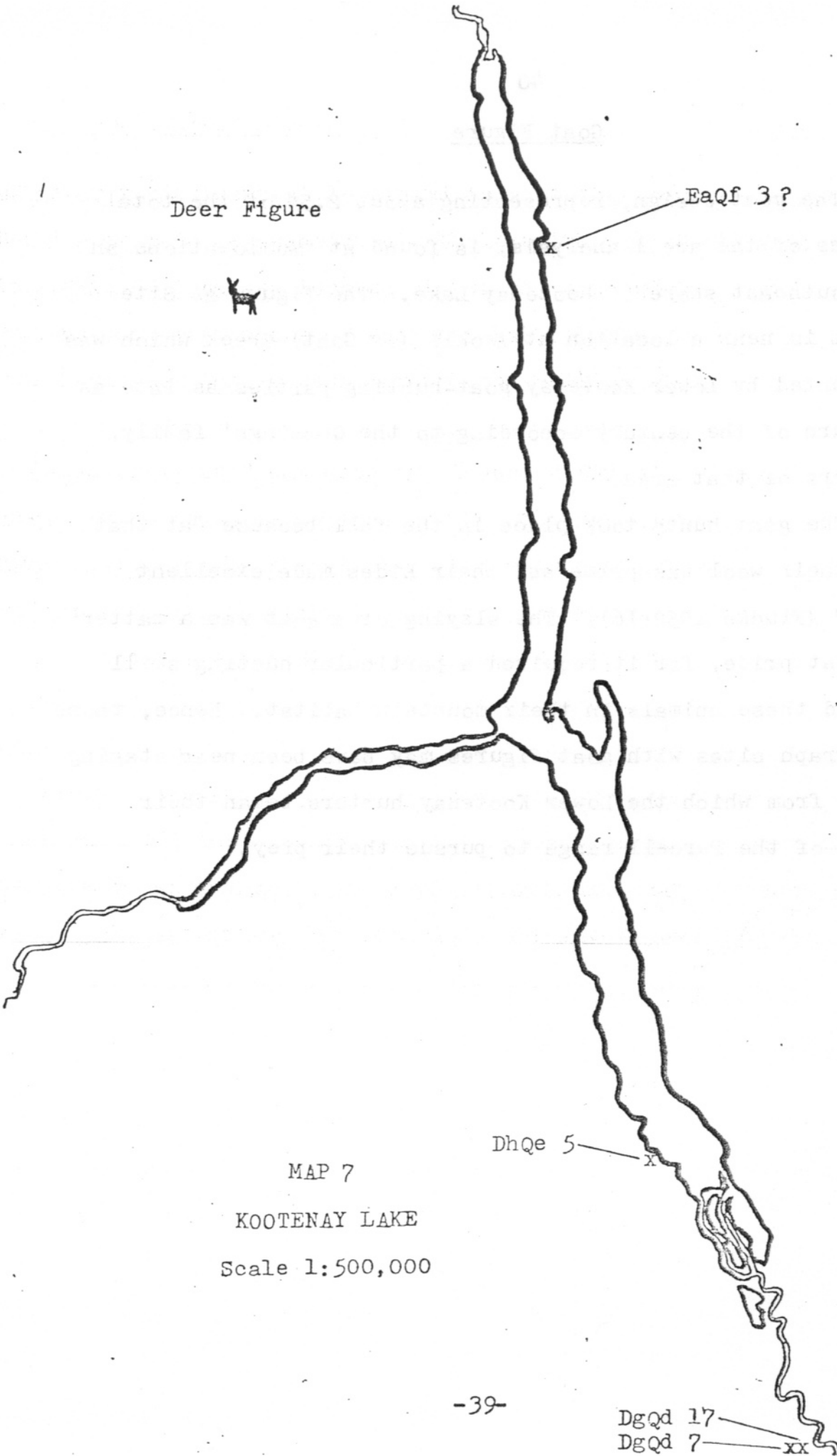
Goat Figure

The goat design, representing about 2.5% of the total
figures of the areal analysis, is found at two locations on
the southeast shore of Kootenay Lake. The figure at Site
DiQe l is near a location at Akokli (or Goat) Creek which was
frequented by Lower Kootenay goat-hunting parties as late as
the turn of the century according to the Cummings' family,
pioneers of that area.

The goat hunts took place in the fall because "at that
time their wool was prime and their hides made excellent
robes" (Flucke 1952:16). The slaying of a goat was a matter
of great pride, for it required a particular hunting skill
to find these animals in their mountain habitat. Hence, those
pictograph sites with goat figures may have been near staging
points from which the Lower Kootenay hunters began their
ascent of the Purcell range to pursue their prey.

Goat Figure

x — DiQe 1

x — DhQe 3

N
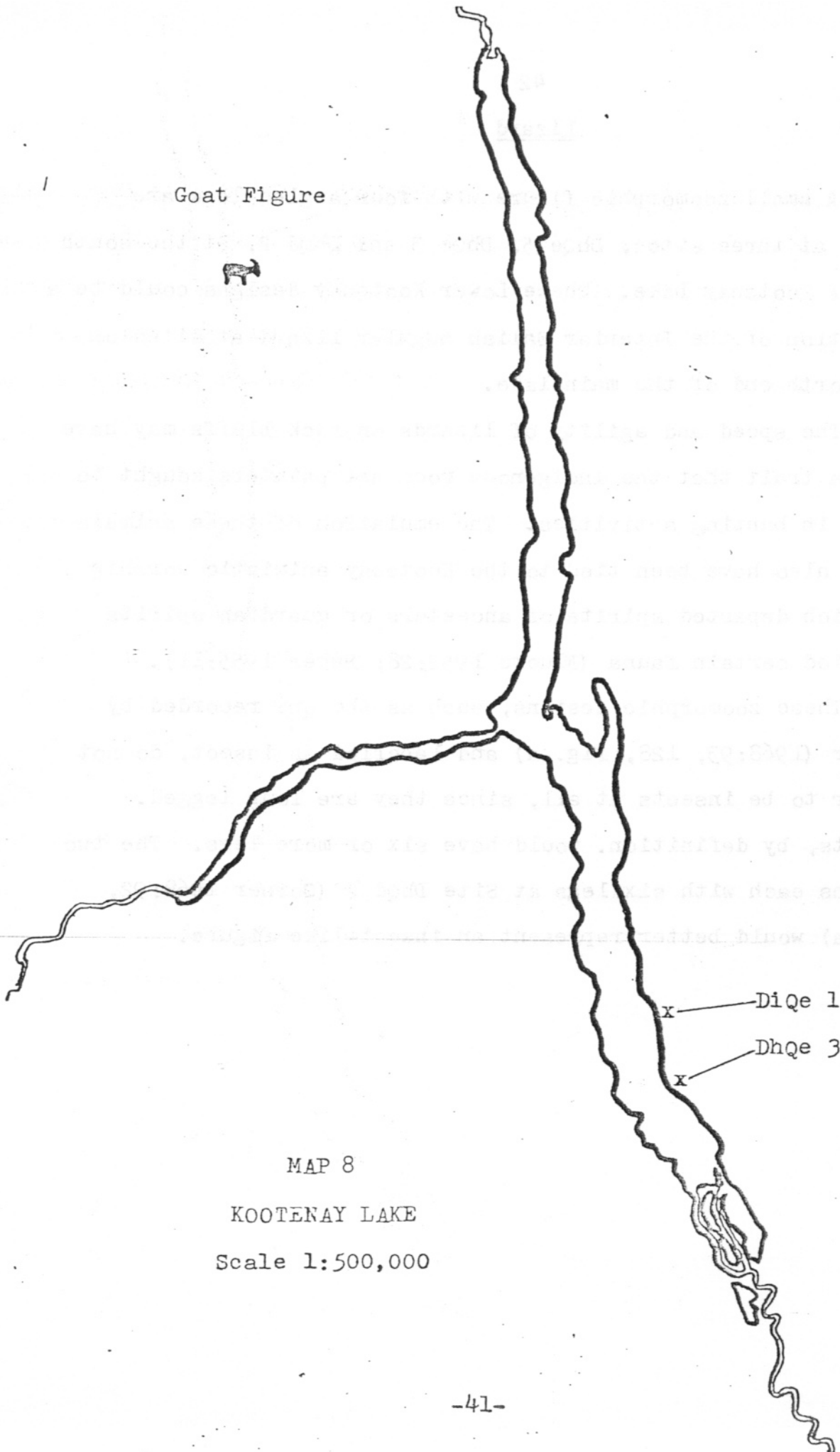
MAP 8

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

Lizard

A small zoomorphic figure with four angled legs are
found at three sites, DhQe 5, DhQe 3 and DhQd 2, at the south
end of Kootenay Lake. These Lower Kootenay designs could be a
variation of the Interior Salish angular lizard at sites on
the north end of the main lake.

The speed and agility of lizards on rock bluffs may have
been a trait that the indigenous rock art painters sought to
equal in hunting activities. The emulation of these animals
could also have been tied to the Kootenay animistic worship
in which departed spirits of ancestors or guardian spirits
occupied certain fauna (Flucke 1952:28; Baker 1955:11).

These zoomorphic designs, such as the one recorded by
Corner (1968:93, 128, fig. a) and labelled an insect, do not
appear to be insects at all, since they are four legged.
Insects, by definition. would have six or more legs. The two
designs each with six legs at Site DhQd 2 (Corner 1968:92,
fig. a) would better represent an insect-like figure.

Lizard
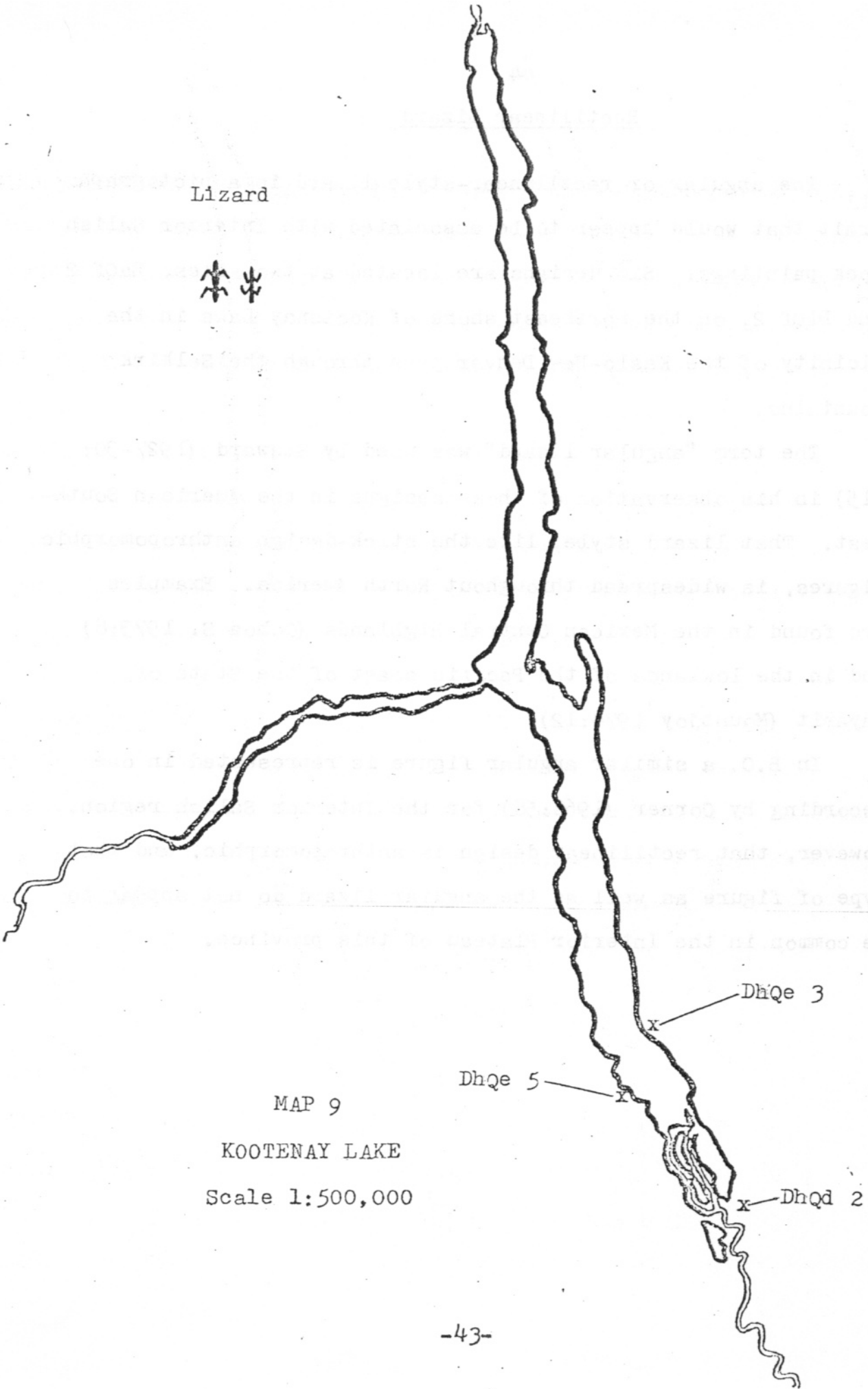
MAP 9

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

DhQe 3

DhQe 5

DhQd 2

N

Rectilinear Lizard

The angular or rectilinear-style lizard is a pictograph trait that would appear to be associated with Interior Salish rock paintings. Six designs are located at two sites, EaQf 2 and DlQf 2, on the northeast shore of Kootenay Lake in the vicinity of the Kaslo-New Denver pass through the Selkirk mountains.

The term "angular lizard" was used by Steward (1927-30: 215) in his observation of those designs in the American Southwest. That lizard style, like the stick-design anthropomorphic figures, is widespread throughout North America. Examples are found in the Mexican Central Highlands (Ochoa S. 1973:8) and in the lowlands of the Pacific coast of the State of Nayarit (Mountjoy 1974:12).

In B.C. a similar angular figure is represented in one recording by Corner (1968:58) for the Interior Salish region. However, that rectilinear design is anthropomorphic, and that type of figure as well as the angular lizard do not appear to be common in the Interior Plateau of this province.

Rectilinear Lizard

x —— EaQf 2

x —— DlQf 2
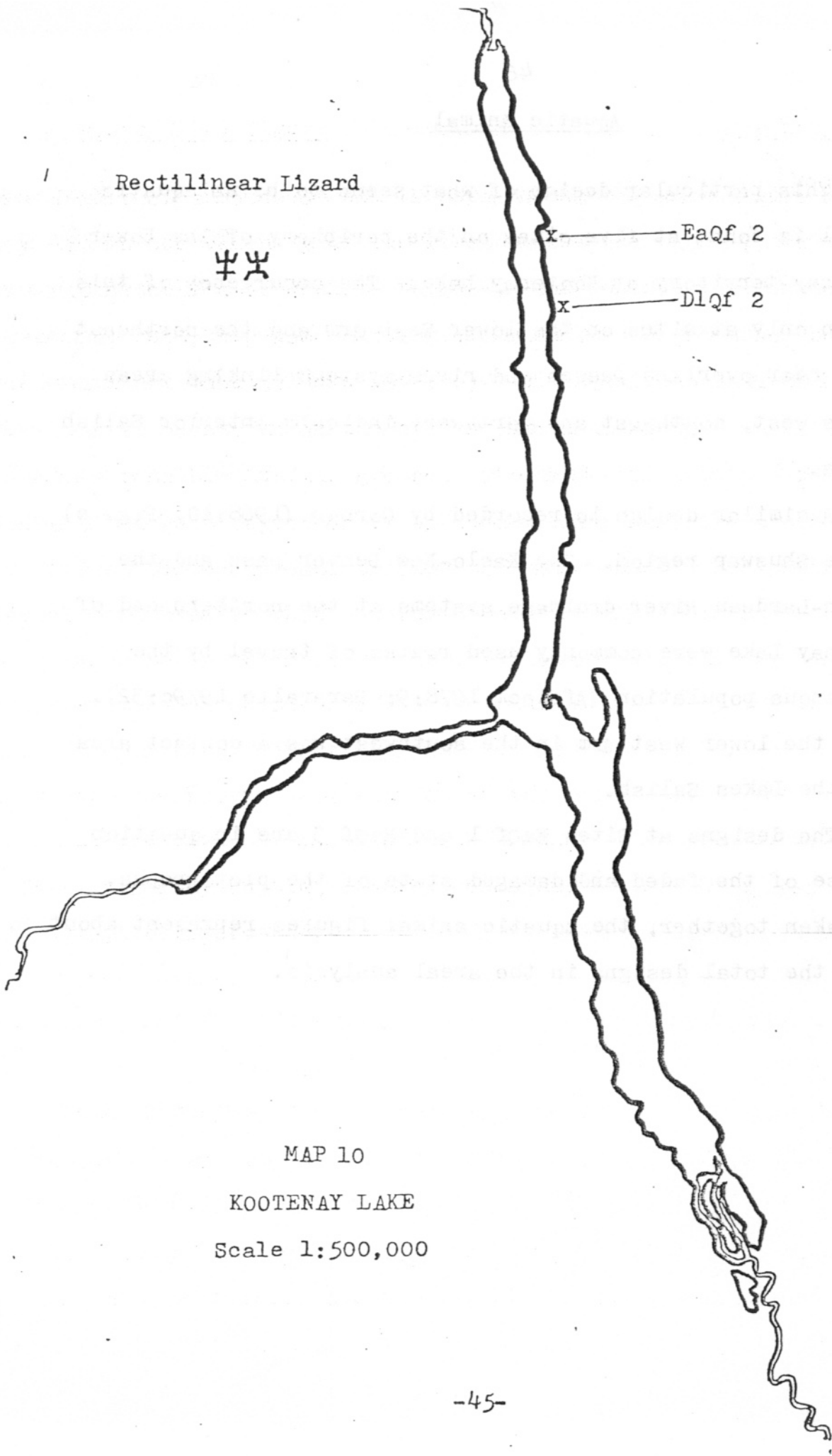
MAP 10

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Aquatic Animal

This particular design of what seems to be an aquatic animal is found at five sites on the periphery of the Lower Kootenay territory at Kootenay Lake. The occurrence of this design only at sites on the lower West Arm and the northeast shore near overland passes and river systems linking areas in the west, southwest and northwest indicates Interior Salish origin.

A similar design is recorded by Corner (1968:10, fig. e) in the Shuswap region. The Kaslo-New Denver pass and the Duncan-Lardeau River drainage systems at the northern end of Kootenay Lake were commonly used routes of travel by the indigenous population (Affleck 1978:9; Baravalle 1979c:32). Also, the lower West Arm in the southwest was a contact area with the Lakes Salish.

The designs at Sites EaQf 1 and EaQf 3 are in question because of the faded and damaged state of the pictographs. Yet taken together, the aquatic animal figures represent about 2% of the total designs in the areal analysis.

Aquatic Animal

EaQf 3
EaQf 1

DlQf 4

DiQh 2
DiQh 3

MAP 11

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Fish/Sturgeon Figure

The fish symbol is not a common design at Kootenay Lake or elsewhere in the Interior Plateau (Corner 1968:127, 129), although fish were an important supplement in the Lower Kootenay seasonal diet (Flucke 1952:18). The fish design, representing about 1.5% of the total figures of the areal analysis, are found at Site DlQf 1 in the north across from Kaslo and at Site DhQd 2 near Duck Lake on the Creston flats. Even today the Kaslo area is known by anglers as an excellent fishing location for the large fish varieties. The fish design at the Kaslo site is curiously almost identical to the one at Shuswap Lake (Corner 1968:108, fig. b).

A sturgeon-like design (Corner 1968:93) with a man holding a spear are seen at Site DhQd 2. The scene portrays that which is described by Flucke (1952:18): "Sturgeon were not uncommon in the Lower Kootenay River, but since they were powerful enough to snap the light hemp lines, considerable care was required in fishing for them...In the morning each [hook and line] was tugged gently so as not to arouse the fish, and if the feel of the line indicated a catch, a second person came and stood by with ready spear."

The West Arm of Kootenay Lake and the Kootenay River to Castlegar were frequented by the indigenous population for fishing purposes (Teit 1930:210, 258; Affleck 1978:7, 107). There are no extant pictographs with fish designs along the West Arm to indicate that fishing activity, however. Lack of suitable rock bluffs near the fishing camps may be an explanation.

Fish/Sturgeon

x— DlQf 1
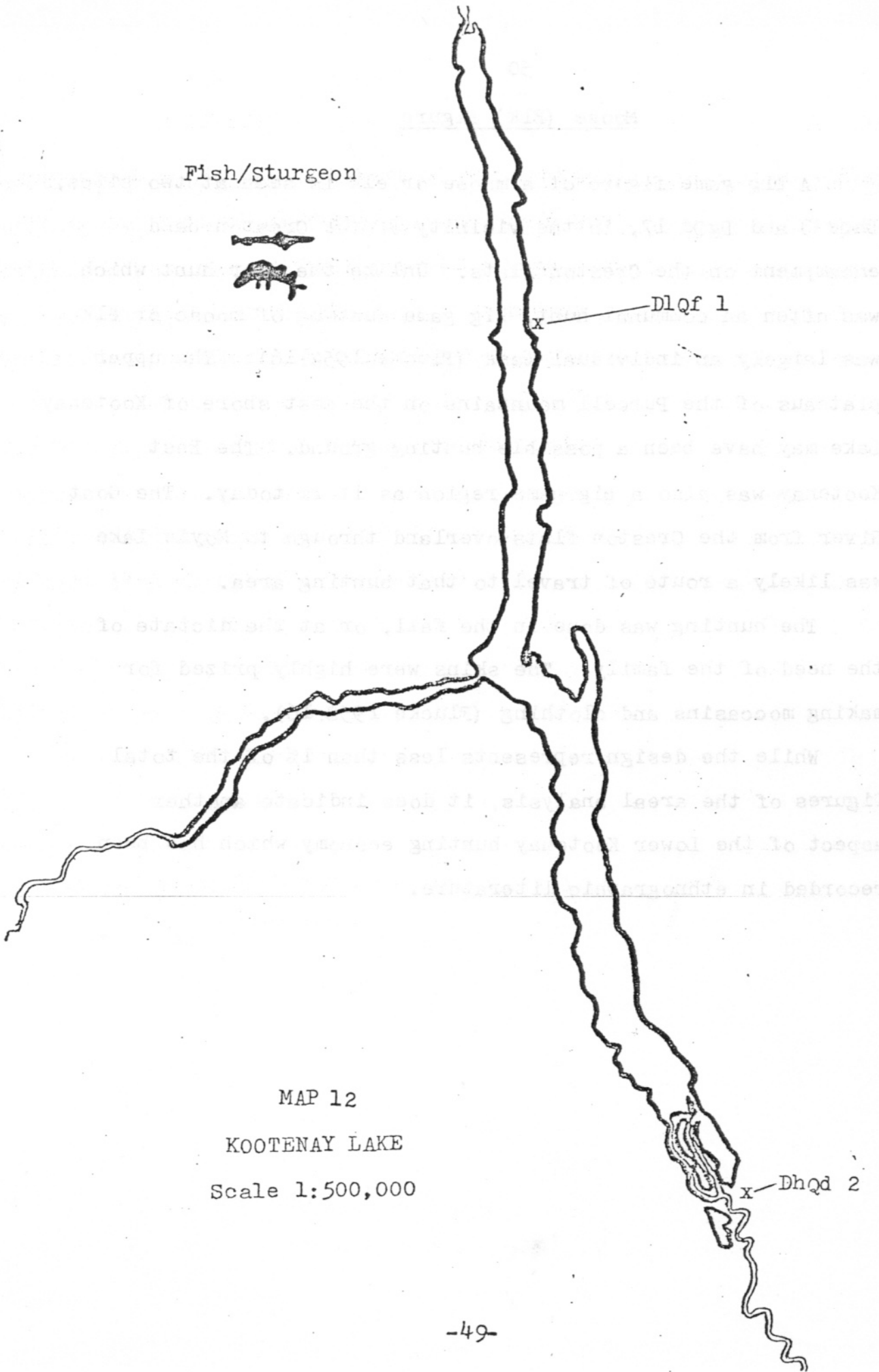
MAP 12

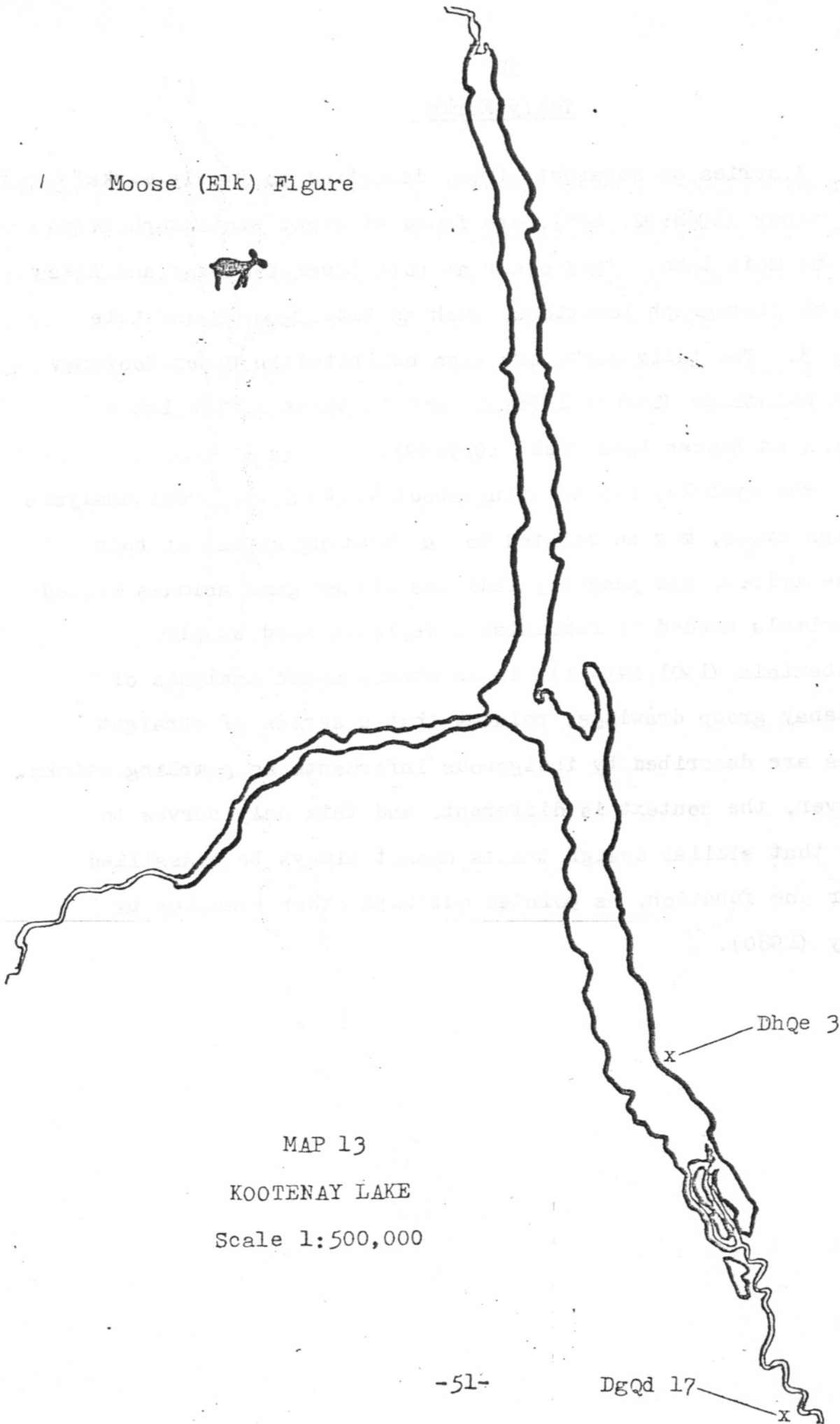KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

x—DhQd 2

N

-49-

Moose (Elk) Figure

A big game figure of a moose or elk is seen at two sites,
DhQe 3 and DgQd 17, in the vicinity of the Creston band
encampment on the Creston flats. Unlike the deer hunt which
was often an communal hunt, big game hunting of moose or elk
was largely an individual task (Flucke 1952:16). The upper
plateaus of the Purcell mountains on the east shore of Kootenay
Lake may have been a possible hunting ground. The East
Kootenay was also a big game region as it is today. The Goat
River from the Creston flats overland through to Moyie Lake
was likely a route of travel to that hunting area.

The hunting was done in the fall, or at the dictate of
the need of the family. The skins were highly prized for
making moccasins and clothing (Flucke 1952:16).

While the design represents less than 1% of the total
figures of the areal analysis, it does indicate another
aspect of the Lower Kootenay hunting economy which has been
recorded in ethnographic literature.

Moose (Elk) Figure

MAP 13

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

DhQe 3

DgQd 17

N

Tally Marks

A series of straight lines, described as "tally marks"
by Corner (1968:92, 128), are found at eight pictograph sites
on the main lake. They occur at both Lower Kootenay and Lakes
Salish pictograph locations, such as Site DgQd 17 and Site
EaQf 3. The tally marks are also exhibited in Upper Kootenay
rock paintings (Corner 1968:95) and in those of the Lakes
Salish at Slocan Lake (Bell 1979:39).

The symbols, representing about 4.5% of the areal analysis
design types, may be related to a hunting ritual of both
these tribes, and possibly indicate either game animals killed
or animals needed to replenish a depleted food supply.
Chamberlain (1901:249-51), in an ethnographic analysis of
Kootenay group drawings, relates that a series of straight
lines are described by indigenous informants as gambling sticks.
However, the context is different, and this only serves to
show that similar design traits cannot always be classified
under one function, as pointed out with other examples by
Lundy (1980).

Tally Marks

IIIII
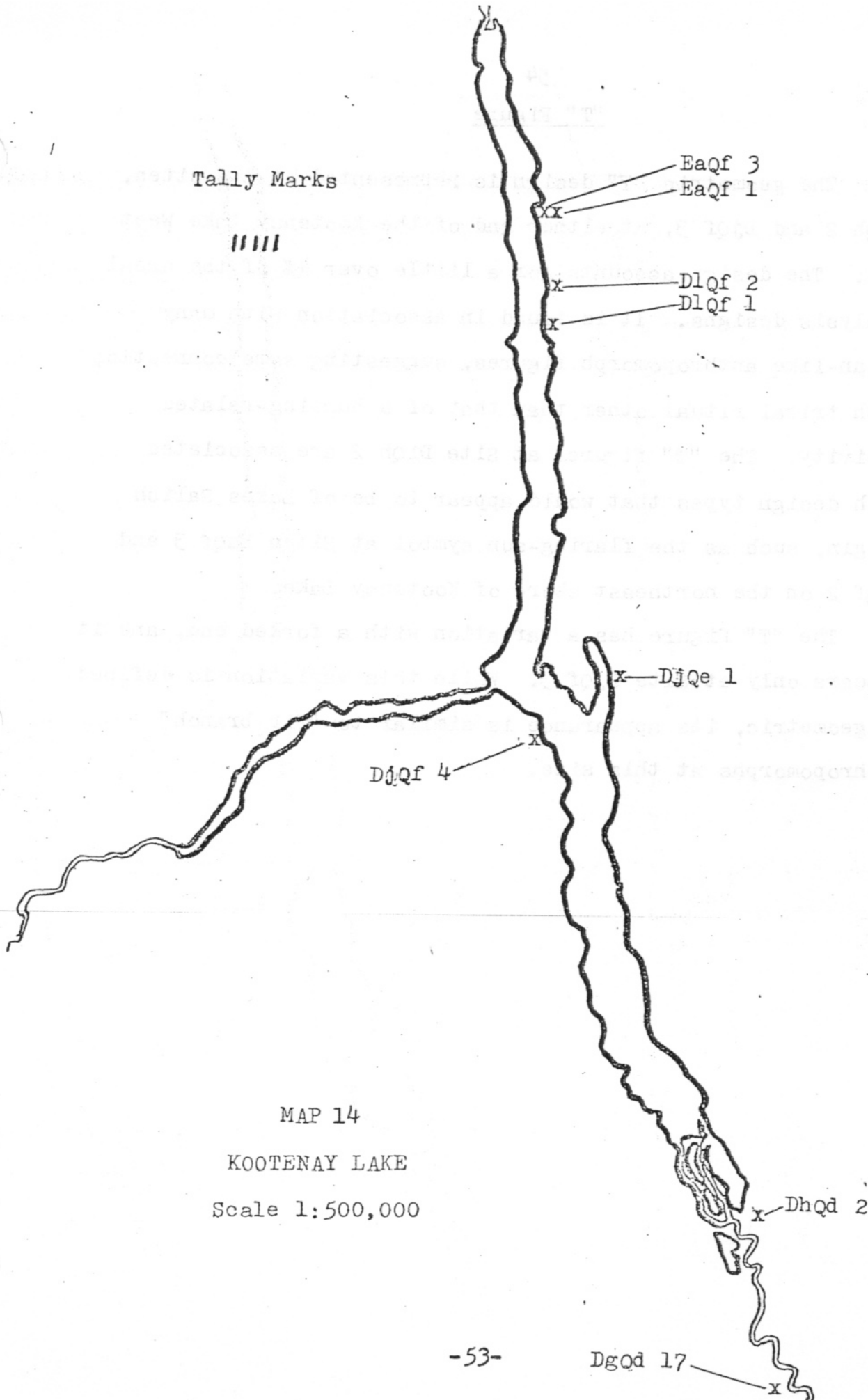
EaQf 3
EaQf 1

DlQf 2
DlQf 1

DjQe 1

DjQf 4

MAP 14

KOOTENAY LAKE
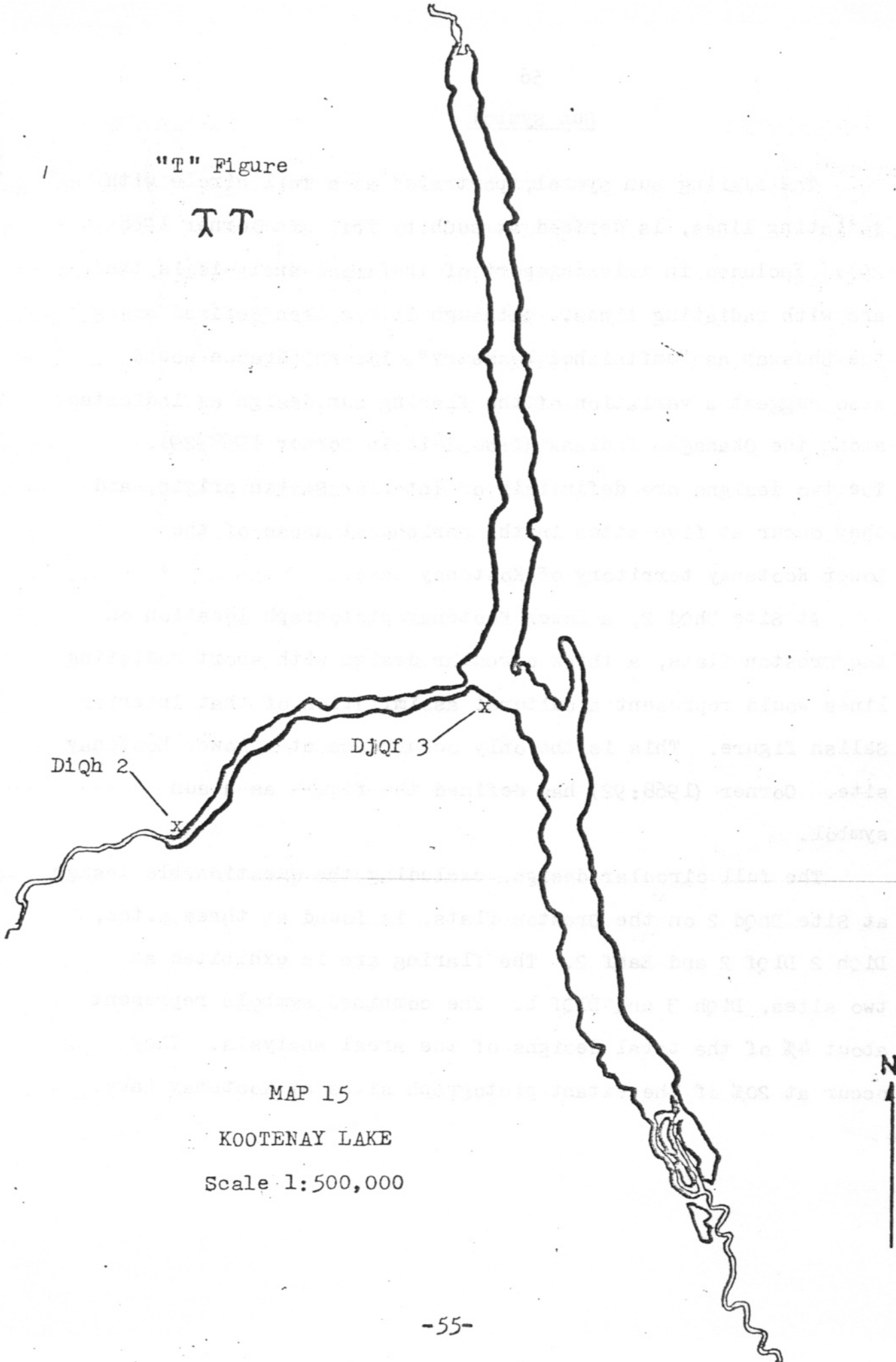
Scale 1:500,000

N

DhQd 2

DgQd 17

-53-

"T" Figure

The geometric "T" design is represented at two sites,
DiQh 2 and DjQf 3, at either end of the Kootenay Lake West
Arm. The design accounts for a little over 4% of the areal
analysis designs. It is found in association with many
human-like anthropomorph figures, suggesting some connection
with tribal ritual other than that of a hunting-related
activity. The "T" figures at Site DiQh 2 are associated
with design types that would appear to be of Lakes Salish
origin, such as the flaring-sun symbol at Sites EaQf 3 and
DlQf 2 on the northeast shore of Kootenay Lake.

The "T" figure has a variation with a forked end, and it
appears only at Site DjQf 3. While this variation is defined
as geometric, its appearance is similar to "fir branch"
anthropomorphs at this site.

"T" Figure

T T

DiQh 2

DjQf 3

MAP 15

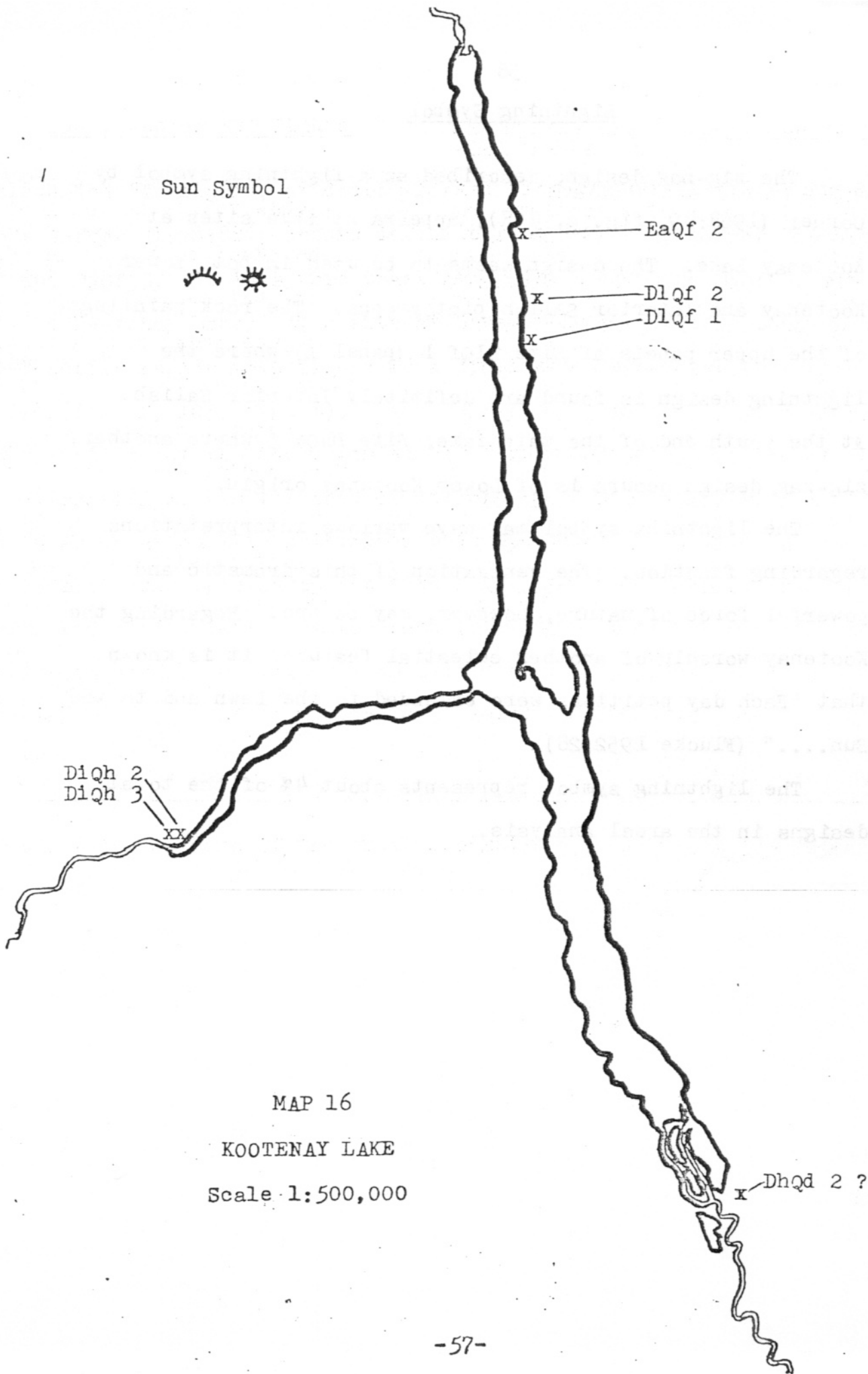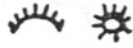KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Sun Symbol

The flaring sun symbol, portrayed as a full circle with radiating lines, is defined as such by Teit (in Corner 1968: 29). Included in this category of the areal analysis is the arc with radiating lines. Although it has been defined among the Shuswap as "unfinished basketry", its appearance would also suggest a variation of the flaring sun design as indicated among the Okanagan Indians (from Teit in Corner 1968:29). The two designs are definitely of Interior Salish origin, and they occur at five sites in the peripheral areas of the Lower Kootenay territory of Kootenay Lake.

At Site DhQd 2, a Lower Kootenay pictograph location on the Creston flats, a thick circular design with short radiating lines would represent a cultural assimilation of that Interior Salish figure. This is the only occurrence at a Lower Kootenay site. Corner (1968:92) has defined the figure as a sun symbol.

The full circular design, excluding the questionable design at Site DhQd 2 on the Creston flats, is found at three sites, DiQh 2 DlQf 2 and EaQf 2. The flaring arc is exhibited at two sites, DiQh 3 and DlQf 1. The combined symbols represent about 4% of the total designs of the areal analysis. They occur at 20% of the extant pictograph sites at Kootenay Lake.

Sun Symbol

⚏ ☀

x —————— EaQf 2

x ——— DlQf 2
x ——— DlQf 1

DiQh 2
DiQh 3
xx

MAP 16

KOOTENAY LAKE

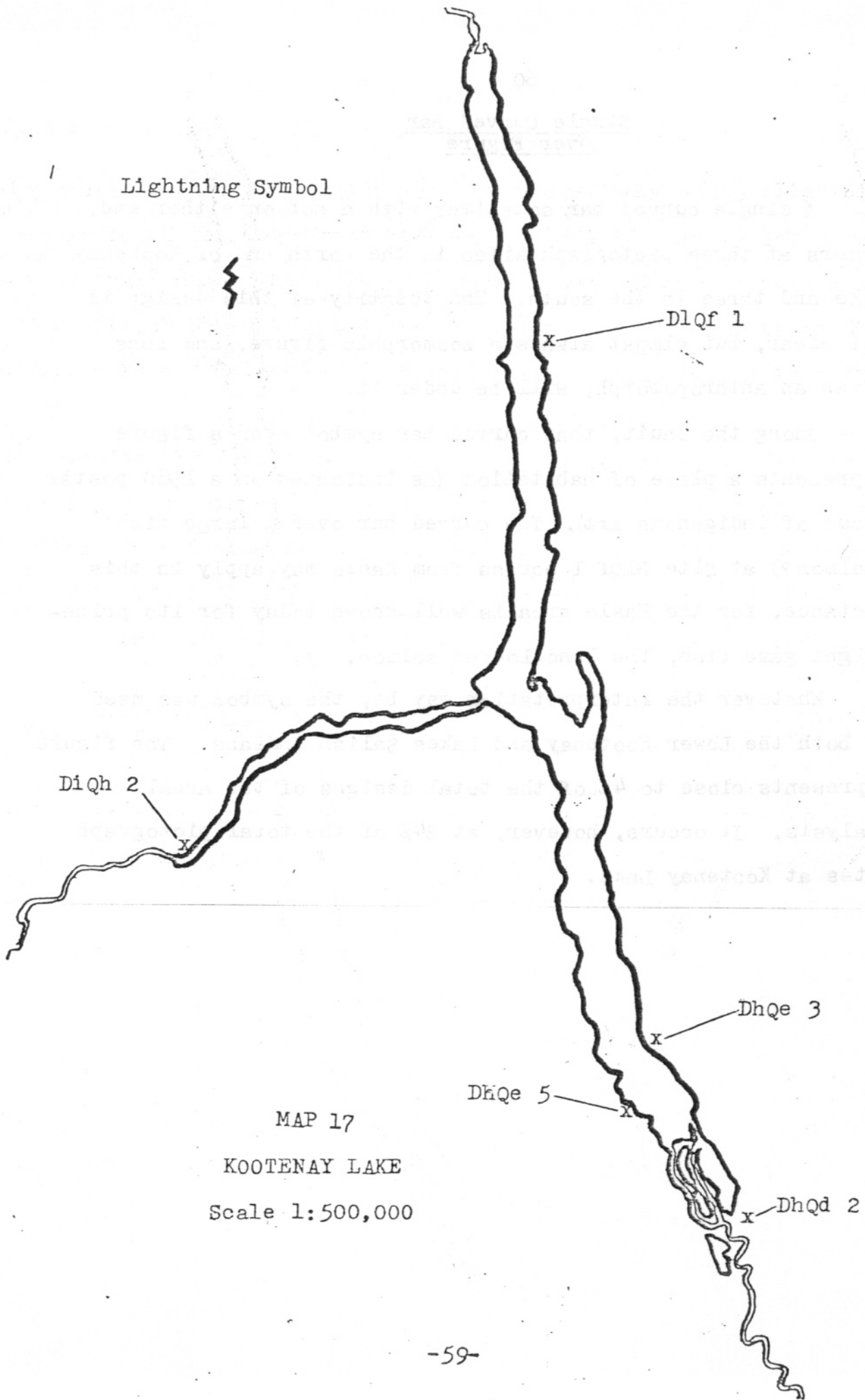Scale 1:500,000

N

x — DhQd 2 ?

Lightning Symbol

The zig-zag design, described as a lightning symbol by Corner (1968:89, fig. s, 128), appears at five sites at Kootenay Lake. The design seems to be used in both Lower Kootenay and Interior Salish pictographs. The rock paintings of the upper panels of Site DlQf 1 (panel A) where the lightning design is found are definitely Interior Salish. At the south end of the main lake, Site DhQe 5 where another zig-zag design occurs is of Lower Kootenay origin.

The lightning symbol may have various interpretations regarding function. The veneration of this dramatic and powerful force of nature, however, may be one. Regarding the Kootenay worship of another celestial feature, it is known that "Each day petitions were extended to the Dawn and to the Sun...." (Flucke 1952:28).

The lightning symbol represents about 4% of the total designs in the areal analysis.

Lightning Symbol

DlQf 1

DiQh 2

DhQe 3

DhQe 5

DhQd 2

N

MAP 17

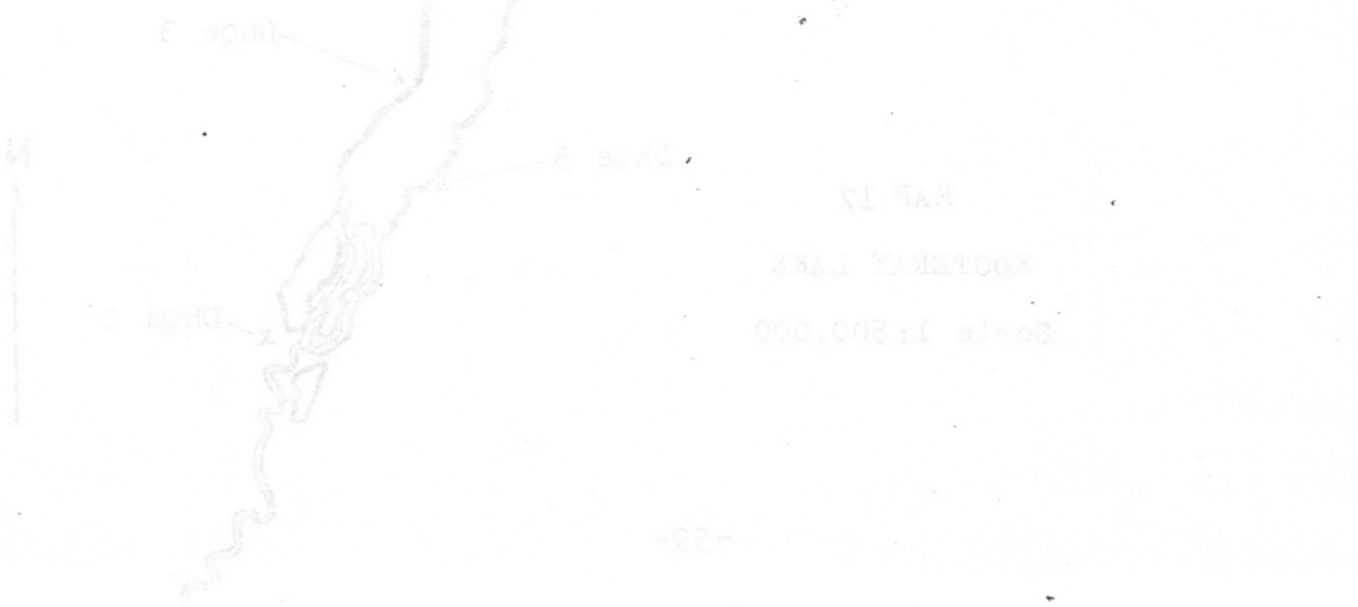KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

Single Curved Bar
Over Figure

A single curved bar, sometimes with a nob on either end, occurs at three pictograph sites in the north end of Kootenay Lake and three in the south. The identity of this design is not clear, but almost always a zoomorphic figure, and less often an anthropomorph, will be under it.

Among the Inuit, that curved bar symbol over a figure represents a place of habitation (as indicated on a 1980 postal issue of indigenous art). The curved bar over a large fish (salmon?) at Site DlQf 1 across from Kaslo may apply in this instance, for the Kaslo area is well-known today for its prize-weight game fish, the land-locked salmon.

Whatever the interpretation may be, the symbol was used by both the Lower Kootenay and Lakes Salish Indians. The figure represents close to 4% of the total designs of the areal analysis. It occurs, however, at 24% of the total pictograph sites at Kootenay Lake.

Single Curved Bar
Over Figure
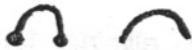
x————— EaQf 2

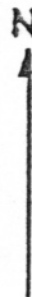x————— DlQf 2
x————— DlQf 1

DiQe 2
DhQe 3
x
x

DhQe 5 ————— x

MAP 18
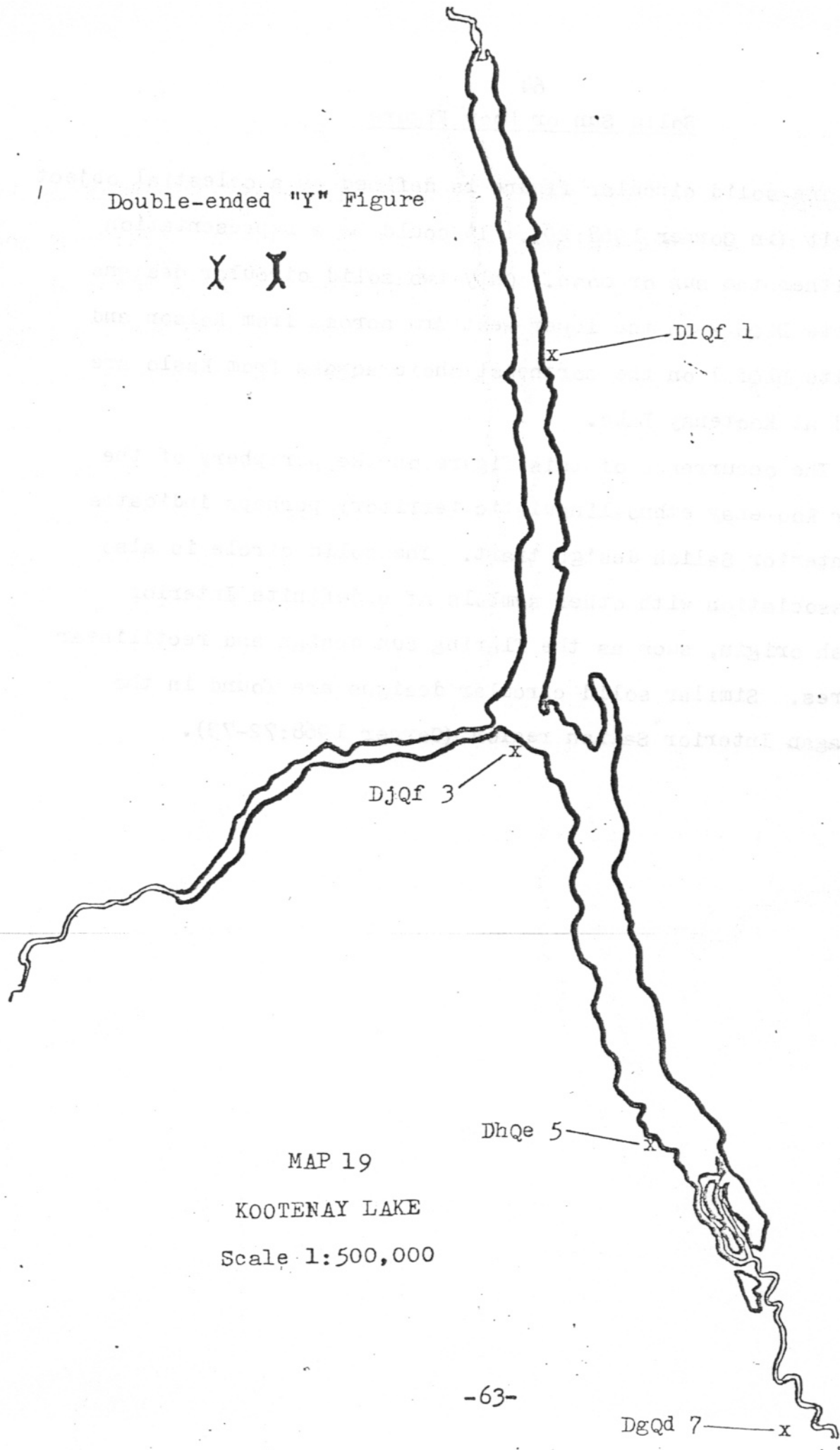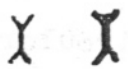
KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

Double-ended "Y" Figure

The double-ended "Y" figure, or double-forked pictograph as mentioned by Corner (1968:88), occurs definitely at two sites, DgQd 7 and DjQf 3. It is a rare trait among the other rock paintings at Kootenay Lake. At a site at Shuswap Lake in the Interior Salish region this figure is a prominent feature (Corner 1968:104, fig. f, 105, fig. t).

Possible variations of the double-ended "Y" figure appear at Sites DhQe 5 and DlQf 1. In the case of the one at Site DhQe 5, it is in association with anthropomorphic and man figures. The double-forked pictograph at Site DlQf 1 is a part of a design group of Interior Salish rock paintings, and is much different in appearance than the ones in the southern portion of Kootenay Lake. That figure has additional "elbows" on the upper "Y".

The double-forked figure and its variations represent about 2.5% of the total designs of the areal analysis.

Double-ended "Y" Figure

Ⅹ Ⅹ

DlQf 1 ——— x

x ——— DjQf 3

DhQe 5 ——— x

N ↑

MAP 19

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

DgQd 7 ——— x

Solid Sun or Moon Figure

The solid circular figure is defined as a celestial object by Teit (in Corner 1968:29). It could be a representation of either the sun or moon. Only two solid circular designs at Site DiQh 2 on the lower West Arm across from Nelson and at Site DlQf 1 on the northeast shore across from Kaslo are found at Kootenay Lake.

The occurrence of this figure on the periphery of the Lower Kootenay ethno-linguistic territory perhaps indicates an Interior Salish design trait. The solid circle is also in association with other symbols of a definite Interior Salish origin, such as the flaring sun design and rectilinear figures. Similar solid circular designs are found in the Okanagan Interior Salish region (Corner 1968:72-73).

Solid Sun Or Moon Figure

DlQf 1

X

DiQh 2

X
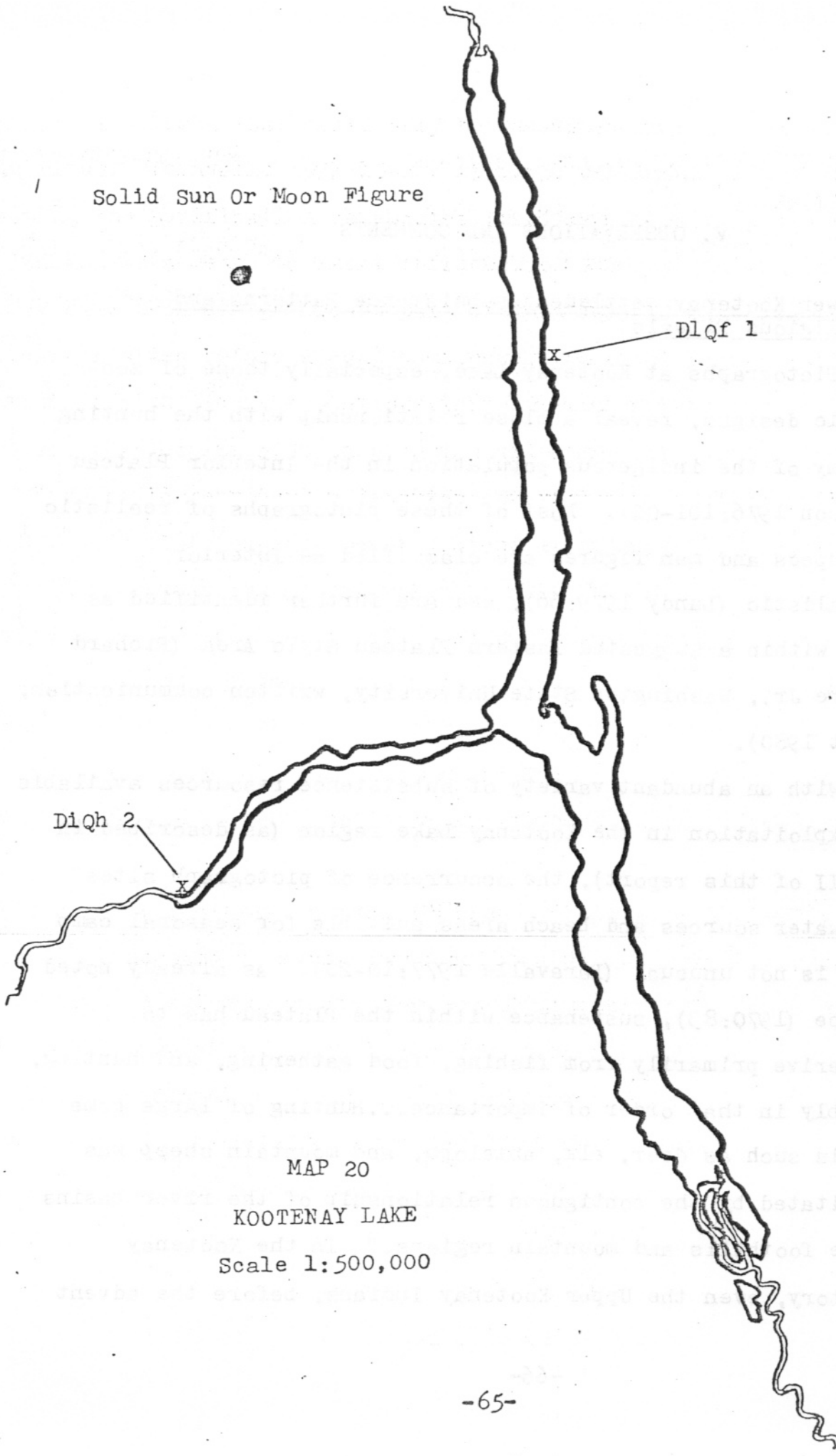
MAP 20

KOOTENAY LAKE

Scale 1:500,000

N

V. OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

A. Lower Kootenay Settlement-Subsistence Patterns and Religious Rituals

Pictographs at Kootenay Lake, especially those of zoo-morphic designs, reveal a close relationship with the hunting economy of the indigenous population in the Interior Plateau (Boreson 1976:101-02). Most of these pictographs of realistic quadrupeds and man figures are classified as Interior Naturalistic (Lundy 1979:66), and are further identified as being within a suggested Eastern Plateau Style Area (Richard McClure Jr., Washington State University, written communication, August 1980).

With an abundant variety of subsistence resources available for exploitation in the Kootenay Lake region (as described in Part II of this report), the occurrence of pictograph sites near water sources and beach areas suitable for seasonal camp sites is not unusual (Baravalle 1977:10-20). As already noted by Rice (1970:83), sustenance within the Plateau has to "...derive primarily from fishing, food gathering, and hunting, probably in that order of importance...Hunting of large game animals such as deer, elk, antelope, and mountain sheep was facilitated by the contiguous relationship of the river basins to the foothills and mountain regions." In the Kootenay territory, even the Upper Kootenay Indians, before the advent

-66-

of a horse economy around 1750-1775, were like their Lower
Kootenay kin with a riverine culture depending largely on
fish and local hunting (Chalfant 1974:97).

The concentration of similar styled pictographs
at the south end of Kootenay Lake indicates a much used and
favoured settlement area on the Creston (Kootenay) flats
where the Lower Kootenay Indians continued to make their winter
home in historic times (Baillie-Grohman 1884). Fishing, food
gathering and hunting, especially in replenishing a post-winter
food stock, would easily be undertaken on the Creston flats
and peripheral regions during the spring (Choquette 1979;
Baravalle 1979c:42-43). Later seasonal journeys moving north
along the main lake or south along the Kootenai River to
traditional hunting, fishing and berry picking locations would
have been made throughout the summer and early fall. These
journeys continued into the second decade of the twentieth
century at Kootenay Lake, according to pioneer informants of the
area (Baravalle 1977:6, 21, 1978a:58, 1979c:32, present report
Part II).

Chalfant (1974:102) describes some of the seasonal sub-
sistence patterns of the Lower Kootenay Indians who resided
along the Kootenai River southeast of the Creston band:

> In the mid and late nineteenth century, agiyinik
> fishing patterns show a direct relationship to the Lower
> Kutenai, in that some groups moved down the Kootenay
> River each spring after the winter camps broke up to set
> fish traps in the tributaries of the Kootenay in the
> vicinity of Bonner's Ferry. In this function they were
> most likely guests of the Lower Kutenai, who aboriginally
> occupied the Kootenay River from a point somewhere between
> Troy and Libby, down to Kootenay Lake in British Columbia.

After the winter camp breakup, late spring and summer activities of fishing/hunting, camas collecting/drying, and berry picking in other areas were recurrent subsistence patterns (Chalfant 1974:106). Even in historic times fishing activities by members of the Creston band at the Balfour Outlet were a common occurrence (Affleck 1978:107).

The seasonal camp sites on the shores of Kootenay Lake were established by small family groups from the larger band of the winter camp. Sometimes re-banding for deer hunts was undertaken for organized drives. This was more frequently done in the fall when large game was needed for a winter's food supply. The communal hunts were the most productive method of hunting, and were therefore relied upon to provide the major supply of food (Flucke 1952:16). For the Lower Kootenay Indians,

> The organization of the deer hunt was similar in many respects to that of the bison-hunting expeditions...
> In the fall of the year a "Deer Chief" was appointed, the best hunting area chosen, and teams of men and boys selected. The banks of the streams were inspected for signs of game, and when these were found, the teams were spread out in a long line with individuals spaced about 20 yards apart. The best archers were stationed at certain posts, and at a given signal the whole line moved forward shouting and yelling. As the line moved ahead, it tightened and curved to form a semi-circle, gradually taking the shape of a horse-shoe. The deer were driven toward the narrow opening between the two wings, where they provided easy targets for the bowmen (Flucke 1952:16).

Other fall hunts for big game, such as moose, elk, and mountain goat, was largely an individual task. Duck hunts in the spring and fall, on the other hand, were often communal efforts under the guidance of a "Duck Chief" (Flucke 1952:16, 18).

In all aspects of subsistence, Kootenay religious beliefs
were an integral part of food gathering activities (Baravalle
1979a:2-3). Vision quests for guardian spirits and super-
natural power are often described in Kootenay ethno-history.
Kootenay legends relate a belief of a Supreme Being, kwilka
nupi'ka, who created spirits which were manifested sometimes
in human form or animal form and which prepared a way for the
Kootenay to live (Taylor 1973:8). The power of the spirits,
referred to as nupeeka, was "obtained through spirits, such as
elk, deer, bear, bluejay...[and] even...obtained from rocks,
trees, spiders and inanimate objects" (Malouf 1954 notes, in
Baker 1955:11). Young people of the Kootenay tribe were encouraged
by their elders to seek or aquire spiritual help and power to
cope with the difficulties of life (Malouf 1961:8) which often
centered on one's status and prowess as a hunter (Flucke 1952:
36-37). Success in a hunt, especially under the stress of
family or tribal needs (Flucke 1952:16), was a prevailing
concern on which collective survival depended. Hence, the
painting of pictographs, preceded by fasting and other cleansing
ceremonies, were employed in many instances by the Kootenay
in connection with their vision quests (Baker 1955:12; Malouf
1961:5-6, 8).

Another view held by the Kootenay Indians was that a
dead man's spirit would enter various living forms common to
the environment (Flucke 1952:28). This respect for spirits of
ancestors inhabiting animal or even plant forms, together with
the need to subsist on that local fauna and flora, undoubtedly

resulted in a social dilemma that could only be mitigated by some religious ritual (Baravalle 1977:19-21, 1978b:3, 1979a:6, 1980c:7). Fasting and purification ceremonies practiced by the Kootenay Indians as a means to exert influence on the spirit world may have been a significant part of hunting rituals at pictograph sites before a hunt commenced. Many of those rock paintings situated near hunting/fishing beach camps were possibly used as a medium of communication with the hunted animal which could represent a departed ancestor (Flucke 1952:28), as well as nupeeka power (Malouf in Baker 1955:11) or even the hunter's own spirit which is said "might occasionally appear to him in the form of a bird, plant, animal, or any other living object" (Flucke 1952:28).

Subsistence, religious animistic beliefs, and rites of passage are closely connected with one another in Kootenay culture. Food gathering and one's abilities and success in subsistence, particularly with hunting, was of primary interest and importance among the Kootenay Indians (Flucke 1952:16, 18-19). A general assessment of subsistence activities of native people in North America suggests that any food eaten was in fact the embodiment of a departed ancestor (Walen 1979), and even a partial manifestation of the spirit and power of the Supreme Creator or Master Spirit (Underhill 1965:41; Taylor 1973:8). In casual daily activities the Kootenay Indians would offer petitions "to the spirits of the roots, fish, deer, etc." (Flucke 1952:39), indicating that appeals to the spirit world and possibly other related rituals, such as the

painting of pictographs, were not necessarily restricted to the shaman or special hunting chiefs.

Food scarcity occurred not infrequently during long winters (Curtis 1911:131; Boas 1918:179-83). Mass dances invoking guardian spirits were undertaken in the winter (Wherry 1969:228), and in times of economic distress a special Fir Tree Dance was performed (Flucke 1952:39). In the early spring the Creston flats, with the lush environment teeming with game animals and fowl (Choquette 1979), would have provided the initial hunting area for the Creston band.

Many of the lake shore hunting sites, mostly at creeks and beaches in the south end of Kootenay Lake were apparently used for communal and individual hunting activities in the spring and fall, and for familial training experiences for the younger generation (Baravalle 1979c:42-43). Flucke (1952: 38) writes that:

> By the age of 6, a [Kootenay] boy was given miniature hunting weapons and often accompanied his father on short hunting trips. His father and other male relatives taught him...the best methods of making the various pieces of hunting and fishing equipment. The desire to be physically strong...and to be able to withstand hardship of many kinds without complaint was imbued in him at every turn by actual as well as by verbal example.

Whatever the seasonal activities, the socialization process from early childhood through adolescence and manhood was inseparable from the desire for status as an able hunter. That ambition, in turn, was nurtured and aided by a guardian animal spirit petitioned by a worthy individual who honoured and held in high regard all flora and fauna as the embodiment of departed ancestor spirits. Many pictographs of Kootenay

Lake reflect this aspect of Lower Kootenay society and in some cases that of the Lakes Salish since both relied upon a hunting-fishing-gathering economy. The frequency of occurrence and absence of certain design types reveal some insight into these subsistence-settlement patterns and animistic religious beliefs.

B. Observations of Statistical Analyses of Kootenay Lake Design Traits

The order of occurrence of specific design types at a site tends to indicate what was of concern to the painters of pictographs at Kootenay Lake. The percentage frequency of identifiable design groupings from the twenty-five Kootenay Lake pictograph sites have been calculated for six categories of designs which have a high degree of occurrence. The selected design groupings make up a little more than 60% of the total identifiable recorded rock painting figures in this region. These groupings include:

1) Linear and full-bodied man figures (together with horned-headdress shaman-like designs) which represent 17% of the total designs and occur at 68% of the sites.

2) Anthropomorphs ("fir branch" symbols and stylized man-like figures)---16.7% of the total designs and occur at 40% of the sites.

3) Big game quadrupeds (deer, goats, elk or moose, and cattle)---12% of the designs and occur at 32% of the sites.

4) Celestial symbols (lightning zig-zag figures, and sun and moon symbols)---5.58% of the designs and occur at 32% of the sites.

5) Tally marks (symbolizing game killed or game needed for subsistence?)---3% of the designs and occur at 32% of the sites.

6) Curved bar over zoomorphic figure (symbolizing a place of habitation?)---2.5% of the designs and occurs at 24% of the sites.

The man figures and the other man-like designs (anthropomorphs as described in the commentaries for Maps 2, 4 and 5) taken together account for 32% of the total identifiable designs, and they occur at 84% of the pictograph sites at Kootenay Lake. The percentage frequency of occurrence of this grouping and that of the big game quadrupeds reflects the importance of the hunting economy and related rites-of-passage ceremonies among the indigenous population. The tally marks and curved bars over zoomorphic figures appear to be additional symbols in the subsistence-related pictography. Even the occurrence of celestial designs, whatever meaning they might have, are always in association with hunted game animals or groups of man figures.

These groupings fall within the style of Interior Rectilinear and Interior Naturalistic (Lundy 1979:66), and are found in the vicinity of the Eastern and Western Plateau Style Areas (Richard McClure Jr., Washington State University, written communication, August 1980). The Western Plateau Style Area exhibits characteristic arcs and circles with rays. Those figures also appear in peripheral regions of Kootenay Lake which lie within the Eastern Plateau Style Area. Stylistic boundary areas are seen, therefore, to overlap, while the hunting-related concerns in much of the pictography of both areas remain a common factor for analysis in the Interior Plateau.

Although certain sites reveal a function indicating a pre-hunt ritual in which animal spirits were petitioned
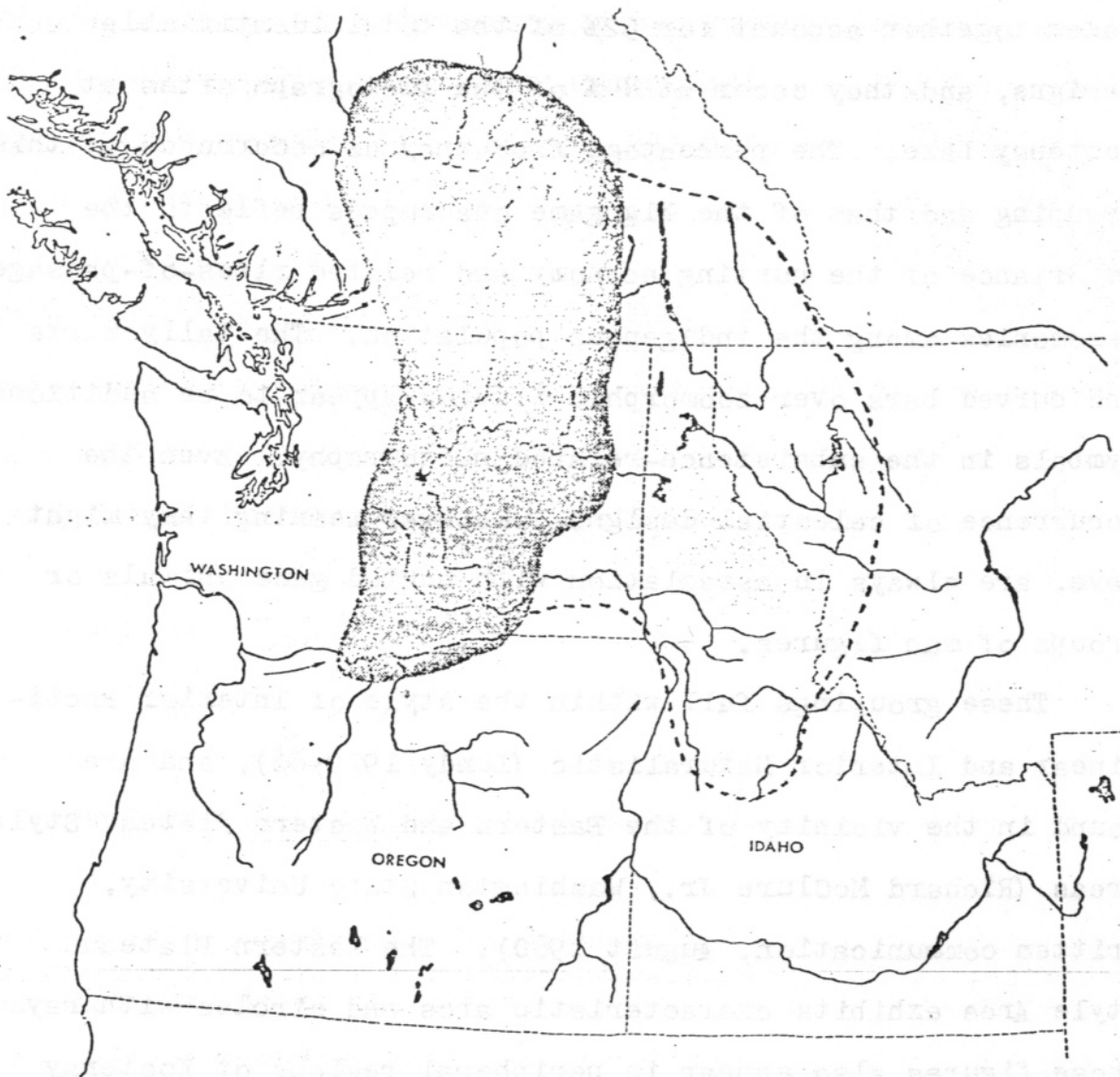
FIGURE 1. Dark shading: Western Columbia Plateau Rock Art
Style, light shading: Eastern Columbia Plateau Rock Art
Style. Arrows indicate intrusions from other style areas.
(From Richard McClure Jr., Western Washington University
conference paper, spring 1980.)

(Baravalle 1978a:58), some further distinctions of Kootenay
Lake pictographs are also apparent through design occurrences.
From observations of Table 2, the presence and absence of
anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and geometric figures at the
pictograph sites show some definite patterns of rock painting.
Anthropomorphic figures, for instance, do not occur at 12% of
the sites, and in all cases zoomorphic figures predominate at
those sites. Zoomorphic designs, on the other hand, do not
occur at 20% of the sites at Kootenay Lake, and in all cases
anthropomorphic figures predominate. (Two of those sites,
however, have only single designs which are anthropomorphic.)
Geometric figures, basically Interior Rectilinear excepting
linear man figures, are not exhibited at 20% of the sites,
and in most cases zoomorphic figures predominate at those same
sites.

Where zoomorphic figures are absent and anthropomorphs
are present at the same sites, as at Sites DjQf 3, DjQf 5,
DhQe 4, and possibly DhQe 2 and DhQe 6, the pictographs tend
to record specific events such as personal tragedy and possible
tribal conflict, spirit being appearances, and rites of passage.
At Site DhQe 4, a single man figure is struck by a spear and
a glyph or spirit extends away from the head of the figure.
At Site DjQf 3, group anthropomorphs with fallen man figures
together with "chiefs", one wearing a horned-headdress and
another a multi-feathered headdress (uncommon among the Kootenay),
are exhibited on the panels. A single curvilinear Tsagaglalal
humanoid face design of Interior Salish origin is portrayed

at Site DjQf 5. At Sites DhQe 2 and DhQe 6, which are
twenty meters from one another, linear man figures and
triangular-head and "fir branch" symbols are depicted,
possibly indicating some aspect of Kootenay cosmology or
rites of passage.

In the case where anthropomorphs are absent and zoomorphic
figures are present together with geometric designs at the
same sites, as at DiQe 1, DiQe 2, EaQf 1, and EaQf 2, the
pictographs tend to record hunting-related activities,
exhibiting rectilinear and curvilinear style designs of an
Interior Salish origin or traits that appear to be borrowed
by the Lower Kootenay Indians. Site DiQe 1 is an example of
a definite Kootenay site with a naturalistic goat figure near
a much-frequented goat hunting area of theirs at Akokli (Goat)
Creek (Baravalle 1977:39). Above the goat figure is a probable
stylized Tsagaglalal design with two eye-like circles and an
upcurving bar possibly representing the grin of the humanoid
face design. Site DiQe 2, on the other hand, is apparently a
site used by two different tribal groups at different times,
since the geometric designs on one panel are very faded through
weathering while the zoomorphic designs on another panel are
painted on calcite deposits covering earlier designs. Sites
EaQf 1 and EaQf 2 exhibit hunting-related pictographs, with the
latter site being of definite Interior Salish origin as seen by
its characteristic rectilinear style designs.

At rock painting sites where geometric designs are absent
and zoomorphic figures predominate with accompanying

anthropomorphs, the pictographs also indicate hunting-related activities where pre-hunt rituals took place. When those sites, such as DhQe 1, DhQd 3, DgQd 7, and DlQf 4, display naturalistic zoomorphic figures, in contradistinction to rectilinear ones, the pictographs are likely to be of Lower Kootenay origin. Site EaQf 3, which is badly faded and damaged and therefore incomplete regarding data, may exhibit both Interior Salish rectilinear designs and Lower Kootenay traits on different panels.

Geometric stylized designs were a late occurrence in Kootenay culture, appearing around the 1800's according to ethno-historical sources (Flucke 1952:41). Hence, sites in the vicinity of the Creston flats, which have naturalistic zoomorphic figures predominating over anthropomorphs but including geometric designs, tend mostly to display late Lower Kootenay pictographs. With a concentration of over 80% of Lower Kootenay rock painting sites at the south end of Kootenay Lake, Sites DgQd 17, DhQd 2, DhQe 3, and DhQe 5 are clear examples of this pattern. Although certain pictographs may have been painted at different time periods at the same site, the occurrence of naturalistic zoomorphic figures in group context with a limited number of geometric or stylized designs would still tend to indicate a Kootenay site. Site DgQd 17 with its obvious overlapping figures and differential fading is one instance of this. It is known that associated designs (i.e. cattle-like figures) were painted as late as the 1890's (Baravalle 1979c:33-34; 1980b:3-4).

If the temporal range of pictograph sites were uniform and all sites were unique in having a single cultural affiliation (as many would seem to have), then a method for distinguishing between Lower Kootenay and Interior Salish pictograph sites with a hunting-related function could be derived from the data of Table 2. Using Site DlQf 2 with clear Western Plateau Style Area designs, Interior Salish rock paintings would portray a large percentage of rectilinear figures. In hunting-related pictographs as determined by the presence of zoomorphic designs suggesting pre-hunt rituals, Interior Salish rock art have tended to show a high frequency of geometric designs with zoomorphic figures equally predominant or next in frequency.

Lower Kootenay pictographs with a hunting-related function, on the other hand, display a predominance of realistic zoomorphic figures with anthropomorphs next in order and geometric designs of a limited occurrence. Many rock paintings on the Creston flats and in the vicinity of that area are identified as Lower Kootenay through ethno-historical reports and local pioneer informants (Baravalle 1978a: 57-58). Sites reflecting a hunting-related function by the portrayal of numerous zoomorphic figures fit the pattern of Lower Kootenay sites. These include Sites DjQf 4, DhQe 1, DhQe 3, DhQe 5, DhQd 2, DhQd 3, DgQd 7, and DgQd 17 where naturalistic zoomorphic figures, mostly quadrupeds, predominate while anthropomorphic and geometric designs follow respectively in frequency.

In cases where sites do not fit one or the other pattern, then a variety of factors may affect the analysis of pictograph site affiliations. Damage to a site resulting in incomplete data, multi-functional use of sites as sometimes occurs at multi-panelled pictograph locations, possible temporal differences of rock paintings at the same site, and common use of a single site by two indigenous bands are some considerations that make this method of categorization of rock painting sites generalized at best. Even where the Interior Salish pictograph pattern of hunting-related sites is apparent, such as at DlQf 1, the multi-panelled and possibly multi-functional use of that site by both Interior Salish and Lower Kootenay Indians (Baravalle 1979c:37, 1980c:5) demonstrates the risky nature of analyzing pictographs through any fixed statistical classifications. Nevertheless, statistical analysis, together with an analysis of the vagaries of each individual site, may serve to point to cultural affiliations of pictographs.

The thirteen Slocan Lake pictograph sites that have been recorded (Bell 1979; written communication, Nov. 1980) and which are located in a region of contact between the Lakes Salish and Lower Kootenay Indians (Teit 1930:258; Cottingham 1947:128; Bell 1979:44) would be better analyzed by the occurrence of style of design types rather than by frequency of zoomorphic, anthropomorphic and geometric patterns. This would be necessary because only two of the thirteen sites, namely DkQi 12 and DlQi 6, reflect some aspects of a hunting-related function. The particular traits common to the Eastern

Plateau Style Area (Richard McClure Jr., Washington State
University, written communication, August 1980), for instance,
are found at virtually all of the Slocan Lake sites, suggesting
Interior Salish origin.

The Interior Naturalistic style (Lundy 1979:66), common
in both Kootenay and Interior Salish pictographs but more
prevalent in those of the former, is not a determining
factor in discovering site affiliation, except with a corres-
ponding analysis of design type relationships and frequencies.
Site DkQi 12 of Slocan Lake which depicts a hunting-related
scene (Bell 1979:39) fits the Interior Salish pattern of that
site's function with geometric designs predominating and
zoomorphic figures next in frequency. The hunting scene of
Site DlQi 6 at Slocan Lake, however, exhibits a number of
man figures with a single zoomorphic design. That site's
function tends not be hunting-related as in connection with
pre-hunt rituals, but rather a record of a personal tragedy
that occurred during a hunt (Bell 1979:40-42).

As a final note, it can be seen that the areal analysis
of certain design components in Part IV of this report adds
to the investigation of design type frequencies and site
affiliations. With most Lower Kootenay pictographs concen-
trated in the south end of the main lake and with some
Interior Salish sites located on the periphery of the Lower
Kootenay territory of this lake region, the distribution of
design elements common to both tribal groups can be observed.

Design types common to both the Lower Kootenay and Interior

(Lakes) Salish Indians include linear man figures (Map 1), triangular-head anthropomorphs (Map 4), tally marks (Map 14), lightning zig-zag symbols (Map 17), and curved bars or arc over zoomorphic figures (Map 18). The rectilinear-style flaring sun symbol (Map 16), while a characteristic Interior Salish figure, is found as a modified thick-painted design at the Lower Kootenay site of DhQd 2. An arrow design, which is not shown on the areal maps but illustrated in Appendix B for Sites DhQe 1, DhQe 2, and EaQf 3, demonstrates either a common pictograph feature of one of the tribal groups in this region or a borrowed design trait. The arrow type, striking a quadruped at Site DhQe 1 and an anthropomorph at Site DhQe 2, would appear to be a Kootenay rock painting style for arrow designs. Its occurrence at Site EaQf 3, where a quadruped is struck by three of the same arrow types, strongly points to Lower Kootenay hunting activities at the northern end of Kootenay Lake where they are known to have occurred. The cultural affiliation of Site EaQf 3 is not certain as the site has three widely separated panels that may exhibit figures painted at different times by different tribal groups.

As already mentioned, naturalistic zoomorphic figures are prominent at Lower Kootenay pictograph sites reflecting a function of pre-hunt subsistence rituals. Maps 6, 7, 8, and 13 show the range and location or staging points for big game hunts by individuals or by communal expeditions according to the season, the need, and the type of quarry (Flucke 1952: 16, 18).

V. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present analysis of the Kootenay Lake pictographs has served to shed more light on seasonal subsistence/settlement patterns and the territorial range of the local indigenous populations. In this region where little archaeological work has been undertaken, the classification and analysis of design types become a valuable method in anthropological archaeology for cultural reconstruction. This has already been recognized in areas of California and Mexico concerning the study of aboriginal cosmology. It is mentioned in that regard that "rock art offers the best, if not the only, access to information on the extent of celestial knowledge and its ritual development...." (William Clewlow Jr., Introduction in Strecker 1979:iv). The study of Kootenay animistic beliefs and hunting economy is equally enhanced by such pictograph investigations.

The Kootenay Lake pictograph classification ranged from the general to the particular, and utilized a combination of style comparisons, design type frequencies and areal distribution analyses. Each was used in conjunction with the other to discover patterns that otherwise might not be apparent in an attempted all-encompassing system of classification.

The idea that results in pictograph studies will be forthcoming "once a system of classification and distribution

of rock art styles has been established" (Strecker 1979:9,
emphasis my own) will prove to be unfounded. Each classifi-
cation must suit a particular problem (Dunnell 1971:11-18),
as well as the local context where similar design types may
signify different meanings within the same style area (Lundy
1980). The need for more classification "systems" rather
than fewer all-encompassing ones is just as true today in
archaeological research as it was when first recommended
(Brew 1946:44-46).

A preliminary tripartite group classification into
anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and geometric figures of existing
Kootenay Lake pictographs was undertaken in Table 2. This
generalized division of rock paintings overlapped an
established style classification of pictographs of the
Interior Plateau. Interior Naturalistic and Interior Recti-
linear styles (Lundy 1979:66), for example, encompassed the
anthropomorphic designs (e.g. full-bodied and linear man
figures), zoomorphic designs (e.g. solid realistic and
angular stylized figures such as the two style types of
lizards), and geometric symbols (e.g. stylized curviform
figures as with bear paws and bison heads, and abstract
and celestial symbols such as "rake" designs and flaring
suns). The Interior Curvilinear style, which is not common
in the Kootenay Lake region, was represented solely by an
anthropomorphic humanoid face called the Tsagaglalal
(Strong 1959:108-09) at Site DjQf 5.

These overlapping classifications of design components

and style groupings, in turn, were compared with an East-West Plateau Style Area classification in which certain rectilinear and naturalistic designs were shown to be characteristic of cultural or ethno-linguistic areas (Richard McClure Jr., Washington State University, written communication, August 1980). Within the Kootenay Lake region, the areal analysis of design components (Steward 1927-30) enabled the observation of common and dissimilar traits among sites identified as Lower Kootenay and Interior Salish, and thus added further insight into the various systems of classification.

It was noted that Lower Kootenay pictographs exhibited realistic solid zoomorphic figures, although both full-bodied and linear anthropomorphic designs occurred interchangeably. Geometric figures were limited in Kootenay pictographic designs due to the late assimilation of this design trait (Flucke 1952:41). Interior (Lakes) Salish rock paintings, on the other hand, displayed a characteristic rectilinear style which includes abstract geometric and celestial symbols, and linear anthropomorphs. Realistic zoomorphic figures of the naturalistic style were also apparent, even though not as prominent as in the Lower Kootenay rock paintings.

At identifiable Lower Kootenay and Interior Salish picto-graph sites, the portrayal of a large percentage of zoomorphic figures in association with other anthropomorphic and/or geometric designs tended to indicate a particular site function. With a similar subsistence economy and animistic beliefs, Lower Kootenay and Interior (Lakes) Salish rock art

painters at Kootenay Lake tended to paint designs with a particular pattern of frequency at sites that would be used for pre-hunt functions involving ritual petitions to the spirits and the honouring of the hunted quarry.

Patterns of design type frequency at these hunting-related sites have revealed definite differences of design trait occurrences between the Lower Kootenay and Interior (Lakes) Salish pictography. Lower Kootenay rock painting sites of a hunting-related function show a predominence of zoomorphic figures, with anthropomorphic designs following next in numbers. Geometric designs are limited, if occurring at all. Interior (Lakes) Salish pictograph sites of a hunting-related nature, however, exhibit a high frequency of geometric designs with a nearly equal number of zoomorphic figures, while anthropomorphic designs occur third in order.

Some sites reflect the recording of specific events rather than pre-hunt subsistence rituals. In certain cases, these are indicated by the presence of one design group, such as anthropomorphic figures, and the corresponding absence of one or the other or both design group symbols (i.e. zoomorphic and geometric). Sites DjQf 3, DjQf 5 and DhQe 4 are examples of this pattern.

The difficulties of eroded or damaged sites resulting in incomplete data, and dual site affiliation and multi-functional site uses including composite paintings especially at multi-panelled sites (e.g. DlQf 1 and DhQe 5) are some factors which make even the simplest statistical analysis of rock

paintings extremely generalized. Hence, there is always
a continued need for many flexible classifications of picto-
graphs, together with detailed analyses of style, frequency
and distribution, to apply to specific local situations and
problems.

The ethno-linguistic territory of the Lower Kootenay
Indians which has been defined by historical and archaeological
literature is not clearly delineated or agreed upon by the
various authors. For the western boundaries of the Kootenay
region, Duff (1964:14) illustrates Slocan Lake, the Kootenay
Lake West Arm and Arrow Lakes as belonging to the Interior
(Lakes) Salish area. Nevertheless, Lower Kootenay seasonal
encampments and permanent settlements are recorded for the
West Arm (Teit 1930:258; Affleck 1978:11-12, Notes on Chapter
One), Slocan Lake (Cottingham 1947:128; Bell 1979:44), and
even as far as the confluence of the Kootenay and Columbia
rivers (Chalfant 1974:51).

Except for one water-damaged site at Thrums on the Enewold
property, any evidence of rock paintings which may have corrob-
orated the ethno-historical accounts has unfortunately dis-
appeared under the waters behind the hydro-electric dams that
were constructed along the Kootenay River between Nelson and
Castlegar. The rectilinear style of many pictographs at
Slocan Lake, however, reveal a strong presence of the Lakes
Salish Indians in that area. Only Site DlQe 6 across from
New Denver and in the vicinity of the Kaslo-New Denver pass
would be one site that might be of Kootenay origin.

The eastern and southeastern boundaries of the Lower
Kootenay territory are roughly defined as including Kootenay
Lake (Boas 1890), particularly with large encampments on the
Creston flats and at Bonner's Ferry (David Thompson 1808, in
Tyrell 1916:xci), and the Kootenai River through Idaho
(Chamberlain 1892; Curtis 1911) as far as Libby, Montana
(Chalfant 1974:102). The northern end of Pend d'Oreille
Lake in Idaho is also included by Curtis (1911:118), while
Boas (1890:54) mentioned the religious importance of that
lake to which periodic communal pilgrimages of the Lower
Kootenay Indians were made. It was believed by the Kootenay
that all departed spirits would eventually return at Pend
d'Oreille Lake.

Pictograph evidence in this area is limited mainly to
the concentration of Lower Kootenay rock paintings at the
southern end of Kootenay Lake. For northeastern Idaho, called
the Boundary Country, "No rock writing in Idaho has been
reported in the Kitunahan [Kootenay] territory" (Erwin 1930:
37), and apparently the assessment for that area has not
changed (Keo Boreson, written communication, May 1980). In
the Kootenai Falls locality of Montana near the southeastern
territorial boundary of the Lower Kootenay Indians, three
pictograph sites, two of which are designated 24LN234 and
24LN1012, have now been recorded (Wayne Choquette, written
communication, Dec. 1980).

At the north end of Kootenay Lake, seasonal journeys of
Lower Kootenay Indians have been recalled by pioneer informants.

Certain pictographs on the northeast shore, such as the
realistic zoomorphic figures on the lower panels of Site
DlQf 1 and on an upper panel of Site EaQf 3, are charac-
teristic of Kootenay rock paintings. While the northern
boundary of the Lower Kootenay territory is shown to extend
up to Duncan Lake (Guide to the B.C. Archaeological Site
Inventory Form, Appendix D), no pictographs are known to
exist along the Duncan-Lardeau River estuary (E. Alexander,
pioneer informant of Meadow Creek, written communication,
Nov. 1979). Nevertheless, large village sites in the vicinity
of Argenta (Barlee 1977:107) and Johnson's Landing (Craig
Weir of Johnson's Landing, personal communication, Nov. 1979)
are recorded at the north end of the lake. Moreover, an
important quarry for Kootenay argillite which was commonly
used by the Lower Kootenay Indians is located in this area
near Milford Creek (Choquette 1980a).

Interior Salish intrusion into the Kootenay Lake region
is indicated by the characteristic rectilinear designs that
are particular to the Western Plateau Style Area. These
designs occur at sites in peripheral regions of Kootenay
Lake near overland passes and near old salmon runs on the
Kootenay River. Site DjQf 5 with a single Tsagaglalal
design is the only rock art evidence pointing to the
penetration of the Interior Salish into southern portion of
Kootenay Lake which is noted by Teit (1930:253). Its
occurrence could possibly be dated to the mid or late 1800's
(Baravalle 1980b:5; 1980c:3-4).

The antiquity of Kootenay Lake pictographs has been placed with a 90 to 300-plus year range. Cattle-like figures at Site DgQd 17 have been identified to a definite historical context around the early 1890's (Baravalle 1979c: 34-35, 1980b:3-4). Furthermore, it is believed that the Kootenay Indians had been in their territory only since the beginning of the seventeenth century (Johnson 1969:41).

The Kootenay Lake pictograph site distribution tends to corroborate that temporal range to a large degree. The concentration of over 80% of Lower Kootenay pictograph sites is found at the south end of the main lake in proximity of the Creston band winter encampment which was part of the winter village pattern common in the late prehistoric and early historic periods in the Northwest Interior (Nelson 1969; Boreson 1976:114). That would suggest a range from the early 1600's to the late nineteenth century.

While dating techniques of pictographs will continue to be an important part of rock art research, the preservation of this rapidly vanishing heritage must always take priority. Dating techniques will be of no avail if there is nothing to date in the future. Any recommendations for future investigations will be determined by the contingencies of salvage operations which are of vital importance in preserving a record of our non-renewable resources.

As mentioned in the introduction, the data provided in this report are presented as a consolidation of my previous surveys of a salvage nature, and are meant to aid further

research in the West Kootenay region where little archae-
ological work has been undertaken. Even though pictograph
and petroglyph investigations are still developing, relevant
archaeology can be done with salvaged data gathered without
knowledge of their ultimate use, as demonstrated in particular
by the late Dr. Klaus Wellmann (1979:546-555, et al.).

The degree of how the pictograph data can be used will
depend mainly on the completeness of archaeological inventories
of existing rock art sites. It has been the purpose of the
Kootenay Lake pictograph surveys to provide such a record for
the Lower Kootenay ethno-linguistic territory of British
Columbia.