

Are Numic Scratched Rock Art Drawings Women's Work?

A surprising number of scratched rock art designs are found throughout the Great Basin but are most abundant in the Coso Region of eastern California. Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) were some of the earliest scholars to identify this unusual style of prehistoric rock art images and forward hypotheses related to the meaning, function and dating of this enigmatic style of rock drawing. Recently a number of researchers have continued studies of this type of rock art rendering and have begun to develop models of its authorship. Several researchers have tendered tentative suggestions that this rock art style was crafted by women. In this presentation, we examine such a novel notion and the implications for such a model. Also, we consider how such a perspective might also be formally evaluated. Additionally, we reconsider the results of previous studies that have documented Coso Range Scratched Rock Art and provide new information bearing on the authorship issue from other sites in the Coso Region. Formal evaluation of the archaeological contexts and landscape associations for this type of rock art provide us with contextual evidence to further our understanding of this important rock art tradition.

INTRODUCTION

A surprising number of scratched rock art designs are found throughout the Great Basin area of the western United States, but perhaps the greatest concentration of these drawings are in the Coso Region of eastern California (Figure 1). Bettinger and Baumhoff (1982) identified this unusual style of prehistoric rock art imagery in the early 1980s and offered several controversial hypotheses relating to their function and dating e.g. that it was designed to obliterate the underlying images and was fashioned by a distinct ethnic group that replaced the earlier artisans. In the years following Bettinger and Baumhoff's research, other scholars continued researching this class of rock drawing and questioned earlier notions regarding its origin, meaning, and age (Ritter 1994). Several researchers tentatively suggested that Numic Scratched Rock Art was crafted by women (Ritter 1994; VanTilberg et al 2013).

In this presentation, we consider the notion that the scratched art was created by women and discuss the implications for such a model. Additionally, we reconsider the results of previous studies that have documented Scratched

Kish LaPierre, M.A., R.P.A.

*Archaeologist and Native
American Liaison
Naval Air Weapons Station
China Lake, California*

Alan Garfinkel, Ph.D.

*AECOM Technology
Corporation*



Figure 1. Coso Region of Southwestern Great Basin, eastern California

Rock Art and provide new information bearing on its creation from sites in the Coso Region. The new information is primarily from the authors' studies of the rock art drawings in Little Petroglyph Canyon, National Historic Landmark, Naval Air Weapons Station, China Lake, California (Figure 2).

Background and Previous Studies

The most rigorous and comprehensive study of Numic Scratched Rock Art has come in association with the long term study, ten plus years, and extensive inventory of the rich rock art corpus found at a site in eastern California. This is the Little Lake Site in Rose Valley on the western edge of the Coso Range. Joanne VanTilberg and her colleagues in association with the Cotsen Research Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles and their Rock Art Archive identified a total of 995 rock art panels from eight loci

all located at the Little Lake Ranch (VanTilberg et al. 2013). From that inventory, they identified 248 scratched rock art panels with 662 individual elements, almost twenty-five per cent, as being in the Scratched style (Figure 3).

The Numic Scratched rock art panels were distributed throughout all eight of the Little Lake study area's loci. The Little Lake rock art inventory includes panels that contained only scratching as well as those exhibiting both scratching and pecking. Almost sixty-five percent of the Scratched rock art panels in the entire Little Lake study area were concentrated in one area identified as "Pottery Slope".

From the 248 panels the researchers described, there were a total of 662 instances or elements of

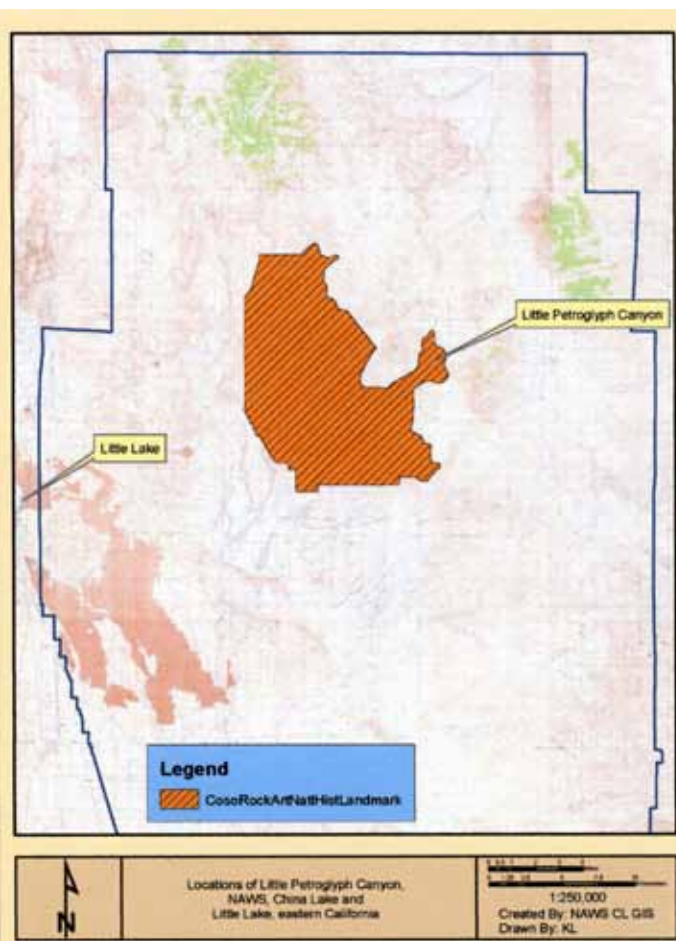


Figure 2. Location of Little Petroglyph Canyon and Little Lake, California.



Grid pattern overlaying abstract pecked

Figure 3. Example of Scratched Overlaying Pecked Rock Art at Little Lake, California.

scratched rock art. This scratching does not appear as random marks, but consistently exhibit recognized patterns of linear and curvilinear light scratches. However, it must be admitted, most scratched designs are fashioned in a somewhat random pattern appearing as rather simple or schematic presentations. VanTilberg argues that these scratched images are actually “formalized conceptions that should be considered as a form of symbolic communication.”

Eric Ritter (1994:55) discusses the scratched rock art at Massacre Bench in northwest Nevada. His studies display a view similar to VanTilberg’s as he identified many recurrent patterns. He classifies these patterned elements as figures that he terms ladders, rakes, feather designs, and curvilinear motifs with several more elaborate and complex compositions.

INTERPRETATIONS

The initial proposals dealing with Numic Scratched emphasized that the production of these rock art elements were attempts to obliterate earlier rock art images. These early hypotheses emphasized that Numic Scratched artisans were defacing the former pecked glyphs. Such efforts imply there was an earlier culture of a different ethnolinguistic tradition. An alternate hypothesis is that the Numic Scratched artisans were attempting to embellish the prior rock art images. Additionally, this activity of add Scratched art over or in conjunction with existing older imagery could be an effort to somehow tag these images to aid the new immigrants in identification with their novel landscape (cf. Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982; Quinlan and Woody 2003).

More recent proposals differ somewhat in their functional attributions and suggest that these scratched images have more to do with female gender associations rather than an effort at self identification or eradication of earlier symbolization (Eerkens and VanTilberg 2012).

VanTilberg notes that,

...“we suggest that females, some of whom were probably “doctors”, participated in activities that produced rock art. ...There are tantalizing hints in Little Lake Ranch rock art suggesting that at least some of the motifs are associated with, or reflective of, intimate events in the lives of girls and women.”

In that vein, Fowler and Dawson (1986:710-724) discuss the possibility that angular designs similar to those adorning Native basketry, seed beaters, and cradle boards, might have distinctively gender related significance.

Recent studies by VanTilberg and Ritter both indicate that the overlapping or superimposition



Figure 4. Scratched with Pecked Rock Art at Little Petroglyph Canyon.



Figure 5. Scratching Overlaying Abstract Pecked near Coso Peak, Coso Mountains, California.

for the majority of the scratched elements overlay earlier Great Basin Pecked Style petroglyphs. This was not necessarily of central importance to the task or even necessarily intentional. When this overlapping occurs, the overwhelming majority of Scratched rock art appears to be associated or paired specifically with older Great Basin Pecked Abstract petroglyphs (Figures 4 and 5). However, recent work in Little Petroglyph Canyon in the Coso Range has identified a number of scratched panels superimposed over Great Basin Pecked Representational rock art imagery (Figure 6a and 6b).

It has been argued that Numic Scratched rock art was intended as a means of obliterating earlier Pre-Numic pecked designs (Bettinger and Baumhoff 1982:494; Garfinkel 2007; Schaafsma 1986:217). However, if it was the intention of the artisans to fully obliterate a design then superimposing overlapping grids, hatch marks, and angular criss-crossing are not really effective tools for doing so. Nevertheless, such grids do

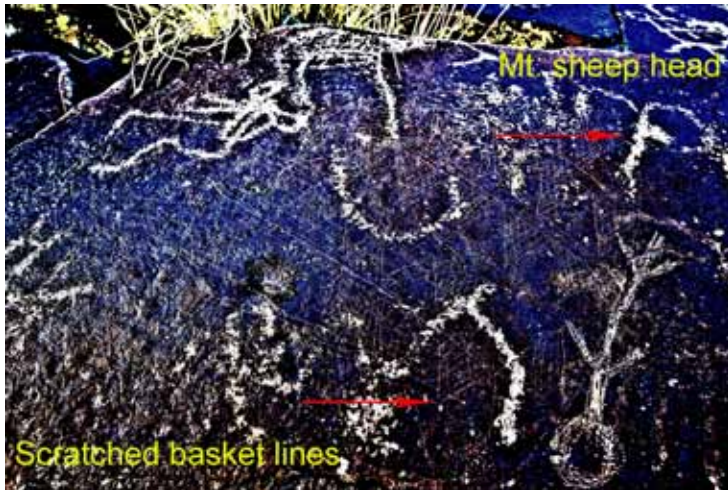


Figure 6a. Intricate scratched design overlaying representational pecked rock art at Little Pet.

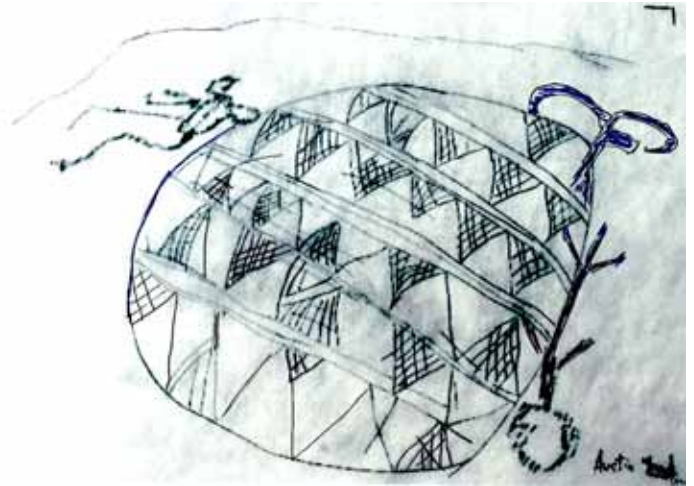


Figure 6b. Artist rendition of elements in Figure 6a (courtesy of Austin 2012).

not exhibit a consistent pattern in being superimposed on earlier Great Basin pecked petroglyphs as a large portion of the Scratched Rock Art is not superimposed over older Great Basin Pecked but is rather associated with panels of this earlier art perhaps as an embellishment.

In that light, growing evidence supports the idea that obliteration was most likely not the primary purpose for crafting these images. VanTilberg offers an alternative hypothesis that Numic Scratched was a means to capture the power from the former imagery and also to contribute additional strength to an older drawing.

A problem with all of this discussion is the difficulty in precisely determining the order or sequence of superimposition at sites with Numic Scratched associated with Great Basin Pecked petroglyphs. At the Massacre Bench rock art site Ritter asserts that despite using a 10x hand lens, he was unable to securely identify whether scratched was earlier or later than pecked and ended up finding that many compositions were ambiguous and could not be confidently sequenced. Yet, he does note that when he was able to discern the sequence he was confident that most of the scratched definitely overlays

the pecked and not the reverse situation. (Ritter 1994:55)

In contrast to the VanTilberg and Ritter studies, Gilreath and Hildebrandt, (2008:12) using macroscopic field observations on 163 rock art panels, identified over 500 instances of scratched rock art located almost exclusively in the upland pinyon forests of the Coso Range within the China Lake Naval Air Weapons Station. They conclude that the majority of the panels have scratching over pecked designs, and that scratched rock art was most highly concentrated in the pinyon zone rather than the lowland areas (Figure 7; Table 1).

Gilreath and Hildebrandt (2008) argue that scratches are evident over the pecked imagery and consistently extend over the edges of the older designs. They found that the shallow, thin hairlines of the Numic Scratched are clearly more recent and overlay all the older pecked style rock art. They assert that they never observed a single incident of pecking over scratched elements. They conclude that the Scratched Rock Art was always crafted later than and after the pecked petroglyph elements.

The basis for the latter assertion is that their

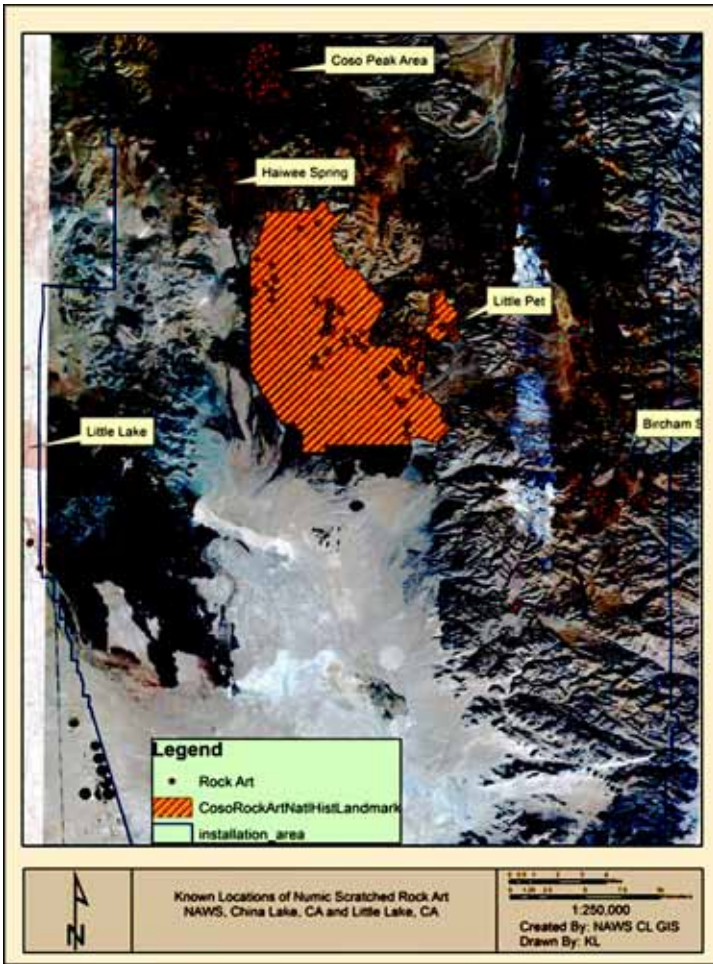


Figure 7. Areas where Scratched Rock Art has been recorded.

study showed them that pecked and scratched forms of rock art are dissimilar in their spatial distribution, as did the VanTilberg Little Lake Ranch study. The spatial variation in pattern distribution and the correlates of these differing concentrations might be explained as a product of different segments of the Native population using the landscape differently and having differential access to it. Studies at Little Lake Ranch indicate to VanTilberg and her associates that Numic Scratched might be in part related to the production of pottery.

VanTilberg and her research associates noted that similar designs akin to the Scratched patterns, both in style and technique, can be found on Incised Slate Pendants recognized at Little

Lake and in the western Great Basin in general. Recently, we have found an Owens Valley Brownware potsherd, discovered at Little Petroglyph Canyon, which bears similar incised scratching. Such an analogous set of markings on different classes of materials provide another data link to the characterization of the Numic Scratched rock art as having cultural associations with women and their subsistence activities (Figure 8).

VanTilberg has remarked that the Numic Scratched rock art exhibits some unique qualities. One characteristic that is most readily apparent from a kinesthetic or sensory standpoint is that Numic Scratched rock art is elusive. What this term implies is that Numic Scratched is difficult to see. In fact Campbell Grant and his colleagues in their landmark study of Coso Range rock drawings (Grant et al. 1968) make absolutely no mention of it anywhere. In their rather thorough documentation of Coso Region



Figure 8. Pottery with Scratching Design from Little Petroglyph Canyon (courtesy of NAWS, China Lake curation facility).

Table 1. Characteristics of specific areas where scratched rock art has been found.

Location	Environmental Setting	Modern Botanicals, Water Sources, and Fauna	Site Types	Previous Investigators for this Area
Little Lake	Riparian	Tule, cattails, creosote; prehistoric lake; variety of water fowl and avian species, <i>Lepus sp.</i>	Permanent habitation with milling stations and lithic scatters; rock art on large basalt outcrops.	Van Tilburg, J.; Pearson, J.
Bircham Springs	Table Mountain	Rice grass, Mariposa lily's, wild rye; several springs; wild horses and burros, <i>Lepus sp.</i> , rodents, reptiles, and a variety of avian species.	Extensive milling stations with evidence of regular but temporary habitation; rock art on low basalt boulders and large basalt outcrops; obsidian and chert lithic scatters.	ASM Affiliates Inc.
Little Petroglyph Canyon	Foothills of the Coso Mountains, volcanic basalt outcrops	Joshua tree woodland; springs occur in Little Pet Canyon; <i>Lepus sp.</i> ; wild horses and burros.	Extensive rock art on large basalt lava flows and small boulders; obsidian and chert lithic scatters; milling stations; cache pits; rock walls; house/windbreak foundations	Far Western Anthropological Research Inc.
Coso Peak (8, 160 ft)	Mountainous	Pinyon-Juniper woodland; several springs; mule deer, <i>Lepus sp.</i> , avian species, rodents, reptiles; wild horses and burros.	Habitation sites; pinyon processing camps; hunting camps; rock art on large granite and basalt outcrops; extensive obsidian and chert lithic scatters; burials; historic Euroamerican charcoal processing camps	Far Western Anthropological Research Inc.
Haiwee Spring	Foothills of Coso Mountains	Creosote bush; burrobush; spring; mule deer, <i>Lepus sp.</i> , avian species, rodents, reptiles, wild horses and burros.	Habitation sites; rock art on large granite boulders and small basalt boulders; milling stations; obsidian and chert lithic scatters; historic rock cabin; possible burials; swept area for housing	Far Western Anthropological Research Inc.

rock art, Grant and his colleagues (Grant et al. 1968) fashioned a comprehensive book running almost 150 pages, and documented over 14,000 individual glyph elements without a single mention of any individual Scratched elements or panels.

The authors of this paper have visited the same rock art locations in Little Petroglyph Canyon over a forty year period and have often over-

looked the light scratches on the rocks instead focusing on the more dramatic pecked and heavily etched images. The lightly scratched rock art may be virtually invisible at certain times of the day. VanTilberg remarks that it is extremely difficult to relocate scratched panels even when placed on low level, well-worn paths. Significantly, it is nearly impossible to locate Scratched elements on cliff faces. However,

Scratched is most evident and can be most easily seen during times of changing light conditions or when the faces of the rocks are moist. Such elusiveness leads VanTilberg to conclude that Scratched rock art was not the result of an organized and well established public ritual, communal gathering, or religious ceremony. Rather, she holds that most Scratched markings were a singular task done alone and in an almost meditative, self-reflective state.

Garfinkel et al. (2007:99) have argued that an unusual scratched bighorn sheep image, rendered in a style akin to the hallmark Coso petroglyph style, at the Stahl Site rockshelter at Little Lake, may be an intermediate or transitional stage between Numic Scratched and the historic Coso Style paintings (Garfinkel 2007; Garfinkel et al. 2007). Recent research in Little Petroglyph Canyon has also revealed what appears to be a Classic Coso style Great Basin Pecked bighorn sheep petroglyph that may be superimposed over an earlier Numic Scratched design. If that sequence is correct, then this circumstance would have chronological and cultural considerations.

First, this could be an unusual situation where there was no intention for there to be any superimposition, but what transpired is that the Representational Pecked element was fashioned after the Scratched rock art was crafted. This would be one of those rare circumstances supporting the notion that there were two different populations fashioning rock art nearly simultaneously. Alternatively, two different segments of the same ethnic group might have been using the area at roughly the same time. If the former situation is accurate, roughly simultaneous use from different ethnic groups, then this might be an example of conflicting landscape use (cf. Garfinkel 2007:130-133).

If the Scratching was crafted by a different segment of the same society, perhaps this is a situation of gender stratification with women were using the same areas traditionally employed in the past by men. A fascinating further

element of this interesting conflation of rock art elements is that that age of this Coso sheep petroglyph element was dated by Farrel Lytle. He employed an experimental method using portable XRF dating of the Coso petroglyph elements. Significantly, of all the Coso rock art pecked petroglyph elements that were dated by Farrel Lytle throughout two field visits at forty-five locations, this pecked bighorn sheep element exhibited the most recent date. It provided an age estimate of only 700 years old, dating about AD 1300.

The dating for this element would then provide a minimum age for the underlain Numic Scratched elements. This date is in close agreement with Gilreath's research for the chronological positioning of Numic Scratched rock art in the Coso Range. In Gilreath's study of upland pinyon forest Numic Scratched rock art, she avers that obsidian hydration dates, radiocarbon determinations, and temporally diagnostic projectile points all support a Marana Period age. This places the Numic Scratched rock art within a time span from ca. AD 1300 to the historic era, post calibrated 650 years Before Present.

Another recent discovery in Little Petroglyph Canyon is a 15 cm long oval basket-like Numic Scratched design superimposed over a Coso style bighorn sheep head and horns (See Figures 6a and 6b). The design is fashioned as an ovoid circle with six bands of zigzags or interconnecting chevrons very lightly incised over the older pecked glyphs. The triangles are alternately cross-hatched or left devoid of design. The pattern, style, and character of this panel is strikingly similar in overall character to those designs identified on incised stones found in eastern California and the general Coso Region. The design is also very similar to Numic patterns on their traditional basketry.

Incised stones appear to have a slightly different chronological frame from the Numic Scratched rock art panels as they date from ca. AD 600 to the historic period. Over 1,000 such incised stones have been discovered in southern



Figure 9. Incised green slate pendent from Bircham Springs area appears to represent a female carrying a child.

Nevada, and a more limited number have been identified throughout eastern California including the Coso Range, Death Valley, Rose Valley, and Owens Valley. Some studies have suggested that women artisan's also crafted the incised imagery on these portable stone canvases (Santini 1974; Van Tilberg et al. 2012) (Figure 9).

Santini (1974) proposed that such talismans represent expressions of gratitude or supplications. These designs would be interpreted as requests or prayers for future help through communication with the spirit world. Santini suggests that the intended message of the deco-

rated stones is a request for continued abundance from the Creator and a desire for a rich and fertile harvest of plant resources.

Van Tilberg and her colleagues (2012) come to a similar conclusion to Santini's analysis. They argue that incised stones from eastern California exhibit scratched designs of the same form, angular and diagonal lines, as those designs stitched and woven into the hoods or sunshades of Numic infant cradleboards. The sun shade designs indicate a child's gender and are an immediately recognizable expression of group affiliation and membership. On these cradles zigzags, diamonds and chevron symbols indicate the female gender of a child. Parallel lines on the cradleboard sunshade indicate a male child (Figure 10).

Van Tilberg and her associates suggest that the angular or linear rock art motif categories, both on the portable incised rocks and the Numic



Figure 10. Mono Paiute cradleboard basket circa 1930s-1940s with parallel lines, a male design (courtesy of Sargosa 2013).



Figure 11. Overview of Study Area at south face of Upper Part of Little Petroglyph Canyon. Flags demark pottery.

Scratched rock drawings, imply certain inherent symbolic values including gender, prophecy, child bearing, fertility and fecundity. Additionally, Van Tilburg and her colleagues conclude that females most likely produced the angular and linear designs identified with Numic Scratched and those similar designs identified on incised stones from eastern California and southern Nevada. Hence, the scratched designs, crosshatches, chevrons, triangles, and grid motifs are inferred as graphics referencing meanings and values embodied in the process of weaving Numic baskets.

Thomas (1983a:351) posits that the smaller, portable engraved stones found in Central Nevada were associated with plant gathering activities of women and that the non-portable rock drawings might have been more related to a masculine set of activities associated with hunting.

Ritter (1994) agrees with respect to the scratched portable stones being related to gathering activities but feels that similar designs on rock faces had more to do with a shamanic-power place association.

Intensive Plant Processing Above Little Petroglyph Canyon

A recent three month study conducted by the senior author, Kish LaPierre, on the terrace above the entrance to Little Petroglyph Canyon in the Coso Range within the National Landmark has revealed a great number of examples of rock art outside of the well known petroglyph concentration within the drainage itself (Figure 11). On this terrace site recording activities led to the discovery of 135 new rock art panels with approximately ten per cent of these being identified as Numic Scratched. Caches of rocks and cache pits containing milling equipment were also identified. Further, prepared rock alignments appearing to serve as walkways, and rocks, most likely serving as the bases for sunshades surrounding bedrock milling features, were common. Bedrock mortars and milling slicks, numbering in the hundreds, were identified, as well as over thirty portable metates and twenty handstones (Figures 12 and 13). Some of the bedrock milling slicks feature Numic Scratched designs directly in association, overlaying or embellishing, these milling areas composed of grinding slicks (Figures 14 and 15). Finally, twenty-three sherds of Owens Valley Brownware were also discovered, and one of these potsherds was incised with a scratched design similar to the designs found on Numic Scratched rock art panels and portable incised stones. See Figure 8.

SYNTHESIS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Growing evidence suggests that a multifaceted, female gendered, culturally-specific, Numic; artistic complex prominently featured scratched and incised designs. These designs are most



Figure 12a. Bedrock mortar holes at Little Petroglyph Canyon study area.



Figure 12b. Portable metate at Little Petroglyph Canyon study area.

frequently nonrepresentational. They commonly include cross-hatches, linear arrays, chevrons, diamonds, circular bands or ovals, but most often are simply angular and linear scratches. Individual designs may depict homes, trees, leaves, plants, and baskets (Table 2).

These designs are found on a wide variety of

artifactual materials and in several contexts. The designs appear to overlay and commonly embellish older Great Basin Pecked Abstract petroglyphs. In rare instances Numic Scratched is found superimposed over Great Basin Pecked Representational petroglyphs. Similar design forms to those represented in the Scratched rock



Figure 13a. Handstone.



Figure 13b. Deflated windbreak with associated milling gear.

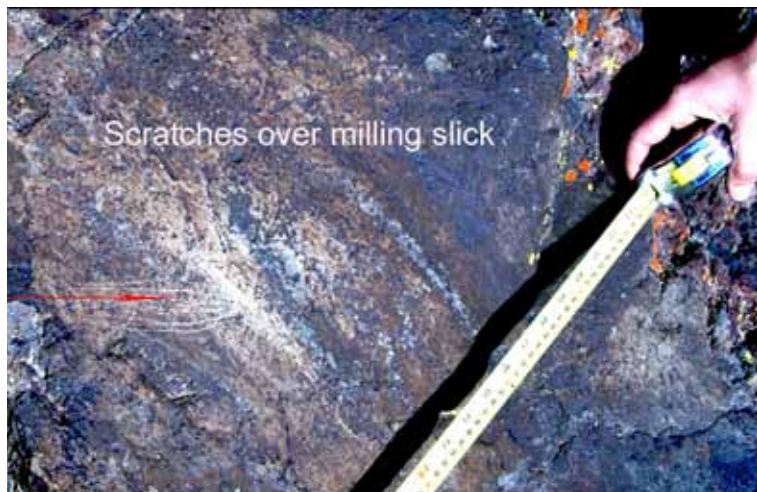


Figure 14. Scratched Art Overlaying Milling Slick at Little Petroglyph Canyon.



Figure 15. Scratched Art Overlaying Milling Slicks at Little Petroglyph Canyon.

art depictions can be found on mobiliary art, such as incised stones, or slates, and pendants. Such designs are also identified on potsherds, and in association with bedrock milling slicks. Concentrations of Scratched rock art designs

have been identified as having spatial discontinuities. Scratched rock is spatially associated with locations typically considered to be subsistence areas for women. These areas include riparian zones near rivers, springs, and lakes. These areas also were employed as places

Table 2: Numic Scratched: An Overview.

Character	Chevrons, cross-hatching, triangles, grids, light scratching, ephemeral images, difficult to see and document. Hypothesized as gendered imagery fashioned by girls and adult women.
Age	AD 1300 – historic
Meaning and Function	Increase, child bearing, femininity, propitiation, prayer, abundance, gender, prophecy, fertility / fecundity.
Spatial Associations	Plant gathering areas, pinyon zones, riparian areas, pottery production areas, collection areas for basketry materials. Where women would conduct subsistence activities or other traditional work space.
Ethic Affiliation	Numic
Artifactual Associations	Incised on pottery, incised on portable stones or slates, overlay or embellishing Great Basin Abstract and Representational petroglyphs, incised on pendants and potsherds, scratched on milling features (bedrock milling slicks).
Possible Naturalistic Depictions	Homes, plants, leaves, baskets, and trees.
Cultural Associations	Weaving, textiles and basketry, scratching sticks, baby rattles, plant procurement, pottery manufacture, pinyon harvests, feminine gender symbology represented on cradleboard sunshades.

where basketry construction material was gathered and where sedges, rushes, and various plant foods were harvested. Other areas where Scratched rock art is found are especially important sites for the gathering and processing of pinyon nuts. In other instances Scratched rock art appears to be highly correlated spatially with areas identified as sites for manufacturing pottery. Additionally, plant harvesting and processing areas where large numbers of portable milling implements and bedrock features are identified also spatially correlate with concentrations of the Scratched rock art.

Based on these considerations, it seems reasonable that Scratched Rock Art designs are derived from and intimately connected with the embellishments on female cradleboards. Such patterns are also likely related to designs featured on Native Numic basketry. Further other items of material culture including baby rattles, women's scratching sticks, pottery, and bedrock milling overall appear to exhibit largely equivalent designs.

Recently a number of researchers have independently arrived at a similar interpretation for these designs. This interpretation centers on a cultural complex relating to increase, child bearing, femininity, propitiation, prayer, abundance, gender, prophecy, child bearing, fertility, and fecundity. Finally, this complex appears to correlate in time and space with Numic people during the late prehistoric, perhaps as early as AD 600. However, this complex appears most intensively and commonly from AD 1300 to the historic era.

It is possible that Numic women have continued this Scratched rock art tradition of incising on rocks and that this practice may even be taking place in a contemporary setting in the 21st century. Russ Kaldenberg (personal communication 2012) confidently asserted that a group of Native Indian women of Numic heritage, Owens Valley Paiute and Panamint Shoshone, with ancestral ties to the Coso Range, were incising on the rocks using small obsidian flakes during

a field trip to harvest pinyon nuts.

Admittedly, this synthesis, research overview, and summary are based on scattered, largely non-related and unsystematic studies. However, the assemblage of so many diverse lines of evidence create an increasingly persuasive case for the possible role of women as the artisans of Numic Scratched rock art and perhaps other related imagery.

REFERENCES

- Bettinger, Robert L. and Martin A. Baumhoff
1982. The Numic Spread: Great Basin Cultures in Competition. *American Antiquity* 47(3):485-503.
- Fowler, Catherine S. and Lawrence E. Dawson
1986. Ethnographic Basketry. In *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 11, Great Basin*, edited by Warren L. d'Azevedo, pp. 705-737. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.
- Garfinkel, Alan.
2007. Archaeology and Rock Art in the Eastern Sierra and Great Basin Frontier. *Maturango Museum Publication* No. 22. Maturango Museum, Ridgecrest.
- Garfinkel, Alan P., Geron Marcom, and Robert A. Schiffman
2007. Culture Crisis and Rock Art Intensification: Numic Ghost Dance Paintings and Coso Representational Petroglyphs. *American Indian Rock Art* Vol. 33, Don Christensen and Peggy Whitehead, editors, pp. 83-103. American Rock Art Research Association, Tucson, Arizona.
- Gilreath, Amy J. and William R. Hildebrandt
2008. Coso Rock Art within its Archaeological Context. *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 28(1):1-22.
- Grant, Campbell, James W. Baird, and Kenneth Pringle
1968. Rock Drawings of the Coso Range, Inyo County, California: An Ancient Sheep-hunting Cult Pictured in Desert Rock Carvings. *Maturango Museum Publication* 4. China Lake, California.

Quinlan, Angus R. and Alanah Woody
2003. Marks of Distinction: Rock Art and Ethnic Identification in the Great Basin. *American Antiquity* 68(2):372-390.

Ritter, Eric W.
1994. Scratched Rock Art Complexes in the Desert West: Symbols for Socio-Religious Communication. In *New Light on Old Art: Recent Advances in Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art Research*. Edited by David S. Whitley and Lawrence L. Lowendorf, Monograph 36, pp. 51-66. Institute of Archeology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Santini, James D.
1974. A Preliminary Report on the Analysis of Incised Stones from Southern Nevada. *Nevada Archaeologist* 2(1):4-15.

Schaafsma, Polly
1986. Rock Art. In *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 11, *Great Basin*, Warren L. d'Azevedo, editor, pp. 215-226. Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution.

VanTilberg, Jo Anne, Gordon E. Hull, and John C. Bretney (editors)
2012. *Rock Art at Little Lake: An Ancient Crossroads in the California Desert*. The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.