

PECKING AWAY THE BIAS: INCORPORATING CALIFORNIA ROCK ART INTO MAINSTREAM ARCHAEOLOGY

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Historically, California rock art research has played a marginalized role in mainstream archaeology. Researchers have been reluctant, largely based on the lack of reliable dating methods, to incorporate rock art into their research designs. Likewise, many rock art researchers have failed to place rock art in a broader archaeological context. Increasingly, these two avenues of study are converging, presenting us with the opportunity to form a newly contextualized view of archaeology. This paper will synthesize a selection of past and current archaeological projects to broaden our understanding of the potentially important benefits of including rock art as an integral site component. An historical look at rock art studies in California provides some insight into the development of the field.

INTRODUCTION

For generations, rock art specialists have dwelt somewhat on the margins of archaeology, not because some of them are not excellent scholars, but simply because “dirt” archaeologists have found it hard to relate the images on rock faces with the artifacts and other natural remains in the ground [Fagan 2003:193].

A reflective look at California archaeology and its intersection with rock art provides an interesting glimpse into the past, as well as sets the academic framework for contemporary studies. As the theoretical approaches to archaeology have advanced in the last several years, so have those of rock art studies. As will be noted below, current rock art research is focused on a more contextual approach. This direction moves rock art studies closer to mainstream archaeological investigation, and the Native community is playing a more active role as well. This gap will be further narrowed as new study methods are developed that encompass a more empirical approach as creditable dating techniques are developed and computer-related aids such as GIS, 3D scanning and photo-enhancing, to name a few, gain in use and acceptance.

AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF ROCK ART IN CALIFORNIA

The first recording (drawing) of rock art in California was completed by Joseph Goldsborough Bruff, on October 1, 1850. He discovered a panel as he journeyed into Snowstorm Canyon, Lassen County, California after crossing the Plains. As he drew the extensive petroglyph panel, he was guarded by companions from the “menacing” Indians (Bruff 1949). Heizer and Clewlow note that Bruff published his drawings in a report to the Smithsonian Institution (Bruff 1873), with images altered from the original 1850 drawings (Heizer

and Clewlow 1973:3). Plates of both drawings and a photo documentation of the site by Dale Ritter are included in the Heizer and Clewlow text. Heizer and Clewlow (Plates 21a,b,c) also mention sketches of petroglyphs at Paiute Pass in San Bernardino County in 1854 by Lt. A. W. Whipple (Whipple et al. 1856:56). This panel was later relocated and studied by Arda Haenszel (1971), who noted artistic liberties taken by Whipple in the combining of separate elements into a panel.

In 1879 Col. Garrick Mallery was appointed ethnologist to the newly formed Bureau of American Ethnology (Mallery 1972:vi). Mallery’s interest in petroglyphs began in 1876, while stationed at Fort Rice on the upper Missouri river. This macro survey/study of *Picture-Writing of the American Indians* was submitted as the *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution by J. W. Powell, in 1889. An earlier essay by Mallery, “Pictographs of the North American Indians: A Preliminary Paper,” was contained in the *Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. Mallery’s 1888-1889 report included the first attempt at a survey of rock art in California. This survey was compiled from information gathered from several individuals. According to Mallery (1972:56), Dr. W. J. Hoffman of the Bureau of American Ethnology, had “hastily examined” some of the sites in the Owens Valley in 1871 and returned for more study in 1884. Mallery (1972:57-60) includes the text of Hoffman’s report. While the number of individual sites is not included in that document, Mallery does identify sites occurring at Rocky Hill (near Visalia), Tule River, Owens Valley, Death Valley, Mojave Desert, San Marcos Pass, San Diego County, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and Susanville. Mallery was the first to recognize the petroglyphs or cultural markings that were later identified as PCNs (Pecked Curvilinear Nucleated) (Mallery 1972:69), on Porter Creek, in Sonoma County.

Alfred Kroeber, in his *Handbook of the Indians of California*, included petroglyphs (which he called “Pictured

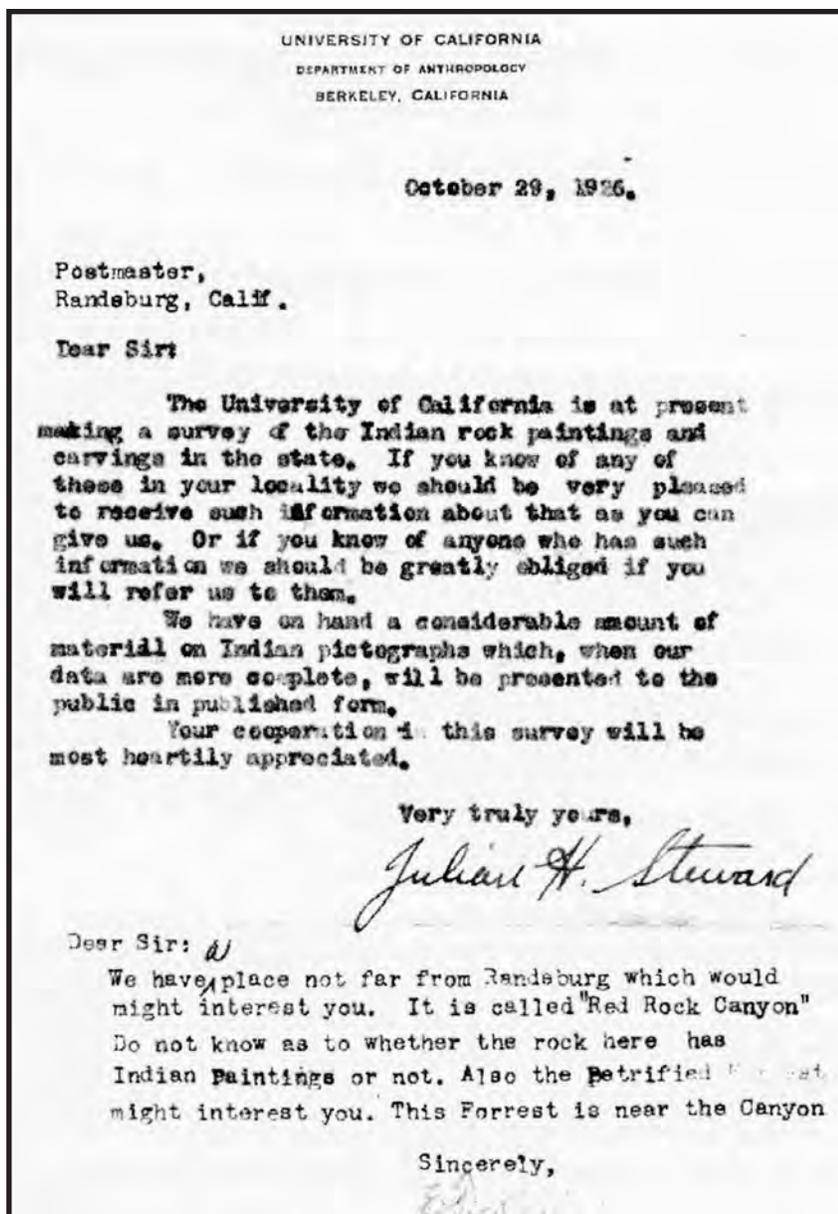


Figure 1. 1926 letter from Julian Steward to the postmaster of Randsburg, California (courtesy of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California).

Rocks") in the final pages of his text (Kroeber 1925:936-939). His short general discussion was accompanied by a map that identified 23 painted sites (pictographs) and 27 carved sites (petroglyphs), noting that the majority of sites were either within historic Shoshonean territory or adjacent to it. Observing that rock art is common in the Great Basin, Kroeber drew a strong inference that the rock art of California was the direct work or influence of the Great Basin Shoshonean people.

The first systematic survey of California rock art was completed by Julian Steward and published in 1929. Initially

planning to include just the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Steward expanded his survey to include adjoining states to avoid the political boundaries and to include similar styles. Most of his material came from the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, primarily from private contributors. During the two years prior to the publication of this volume, Steward solicited site information through correspondence. Steward sent inquiries to the local postmasters of small towns throughout California in search of known rock art sites. Some of Steward's original letters and responses were discovered while browsing through an unpublished manuscript folder

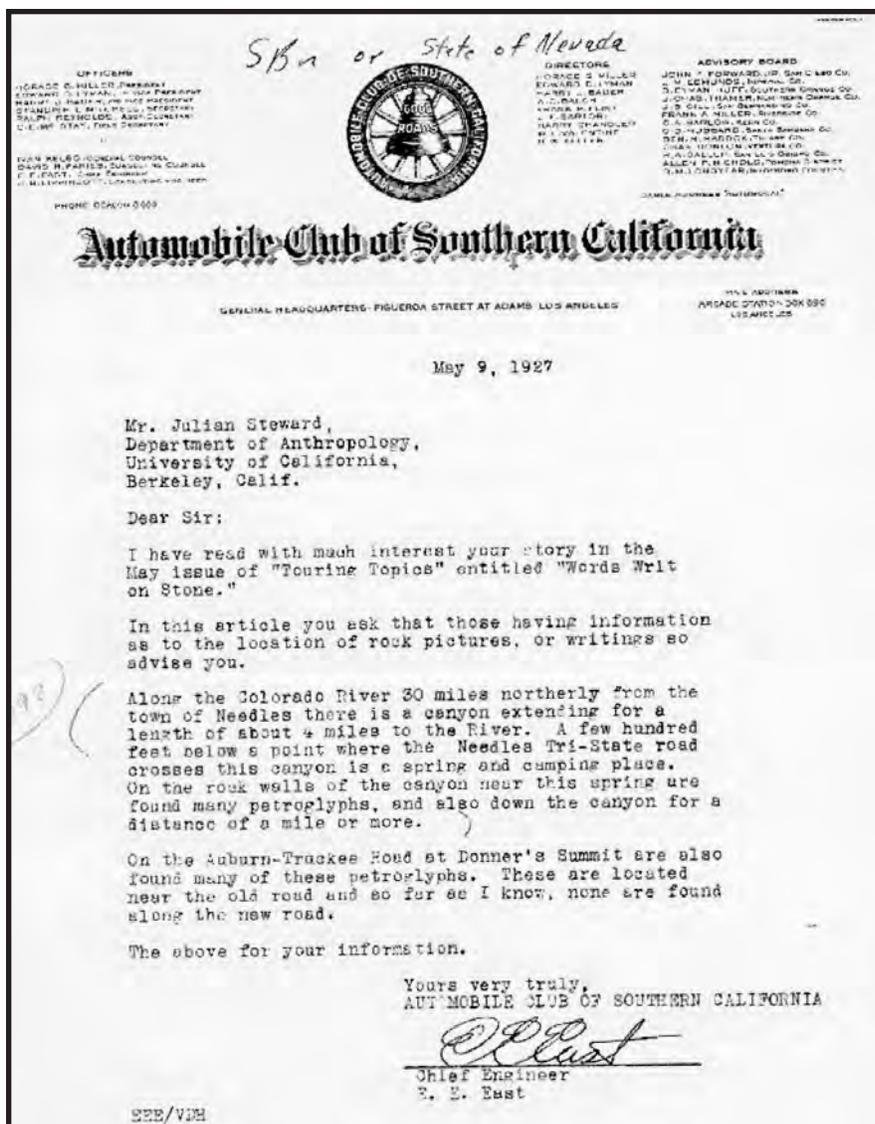


Figure 2. 1927 Letter from the Automobile Club of Southern California to Julian Steward (courtesy of the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California).

in the Hearst Museum several years ago (Figure 1). These very intriguing notes (which provide fascinating insight into Steward's work) are now identified as Manuscript #230 of the *Collection of Manuscripts for the Archaeological Archives of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*. Despite collecting all this information, Steward only made personal visits to a few of the sites.

Steward also published an article in *Touring Topics* (1927) – entitled “Words Writ on Stone” – in the Automobile Club of Southern California publication. In it, he requested that anyone with any knowledge of rock art in California fill out a form included at the end of the article (Figure 2). This popular magazine also published a number of other articles on rock art to encourage drivers to explore the west's roadways (Hager and Hager 1961).

Steward ultimately identified 293 sites (129 within California) and characterized them as “Pt.” (petroglyph) or “Pc.” (pictograph). Steward was the first to place petroglyphs in California in style areas and the first to use the terms “petroglyph” and “pictograph” (Bahn 1998:65). In 1946 C. E. Smith prepared a supplement to Steward's work, which is found as Manuscript #61 in the *Collection of Manuscripts for the Archaeological Archives of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology*.

In 1946, R. M. Tatum published an article in *American Antiquity*. Tatum identified 130 sites in California and noted that the survey was complete, and it was not expected that additional sites would be identified (sites now number in the thousands). Additionally, he commented that his study “only deals with petroglyphs” (eliminating pictographs), and that

Figure 3. University of California Archaeological Survey petroglyph record developed by Franklin Fenenga (1949).

University of California		California Archaeological Survey	
PETROGLYPH RECORD			
1. Site	2. Cross reference survey record		
3. Face	4. Dimensions of decorated area		
5. Horizontal location			
6. Kind of rock			
7. Position of rock			
8. Method of decoration: pecked (); rubbed grooves (); painted () other ().			
9. Colors			
10. Design elements			
11. Superimposition			
12. Natural defacement			
13. Vandalism			
14. Associated features			
15. Additional remarks			
16. Published references			
17. Sketch		18. Scale of sketch	
19. Photo nos.			
20. Recorded by		21. Date	

pictographs may represent a “higher stage of development” – a “stage” or evolutionary (Darwinian) approach to prehistoric development common to the period.

Up to this point, rock art had been subjectively reported, often noted as little more than “markings on rocks nearby” or other similar descriptions. In 1949, Franklin Fenenga prepared a report to the California Archaeological Survey on “Methods of Recording and Present Status of Knowledge Concerning Petroglyphs in California.” Included in this report was the first Petroglyph Record Form (Figure 3), with explicit directions for recording a rock art site.

In 1962, Robert Heizer and Martin Baumhoff reported results of a three-year rock art study of the western Great Basin in a publication of *Prehistoric Rock Art of Nevada and Eastern California*. This major work differed from previous studies in two ways. First, it was based mainly on investigations that were undertaken specifically for inclusion

in that volume. Second, it was theoretical, linking rock art sites by content, location, and social function (Clewlw 1998:13). It concluded that the rock art of the study area was the result of the “economic pursuit of hunting large game,” and magical or ritual events (Heizer and Baumhoff 1962:239). During this period, hypotheses were introduced that presented the broadly held interpretation of rock art as representing “hunting or sympathetic magic.”

This era of rock art studies focused mainly on hunting magic theories, and coincides with the time of great interest in the archaeological world in man as a hunter (Lee and DeVore 1968). Indeed, the “hunting magic” theories proposed by Heizer and Baumhoff provided stimulus for numerous academic debates on function for years to come; they continue to garner attention today. Among those arguments are the notions of “destination sites” (Parkman 1986) and “prestige hunting” (McGuire and Hildebrandt 2005). These are discussed further, below.

Another contributor of note during this period was Campbell Grant, a professional artist, naturalist, and (in some instances, with others) author of several books and articles on rock art (Grant 1965, 1967, 1971, 1978, 1981; Grant, et al. 1968). While he produced one volume on the *Rock Art of North America*, much of Grant's work was directed toward Chumash rock art and that of the Coso Range. Grant visited his first painted cave, near Santa Barbara, as an avid hiker and naturalist in 1960, when only 17 such caves had been identified. Spending three years of intensive fieldwork, he eventually identified more than 80 prehistoric painted caves (Grant 1967:vii). His work expanded throughout California and surrounding areas through a grant from the National Science Foundation. Grant's work included extensive text related to all facets of rock art research and interpretation, including the designation of style areas. Although never a formally trained archaeologist, and thus considered an avocationalist by many, it is hard to regard the work of Grant as anything but that of a professional.

Ten years later Heizer again published on the *Prehistoric Rock Art of California* (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). Heizer and William Clewlow noted that this two-volume publication was a culmination of work completed by the Archaeological Survey of California (now the Archaeological Research Facility [ARF]) at the University of California, Berkeley from 1948 up to the present time. The rock art portion of the survey was meant to resume where Steward's 1929 monograph left off. The work represents the explanatory approach of the "Processual" or "New Archaeology" of the period, with research designs, hypotheses, and rigorous testing.

Much controversy surrounded this publication and the professional relationships between the authors and Tom King, then at the University of New York at Buffalo, and Michael Moratto of California State University, San Francisco. The basis of the controversy appears to have coincided with the newly defined field of Cultural Resource Management (CRM). With the rapid population growth in California beginning in the 1960s, archaeological sites, including rock art sites, were being obliterated at a brisk pace. Rapid changes took place in the field of archaeology. Salvage archaeology gained footing, with much of the work being done by volunteers. Avocationalists also became very active in rock art recording. The Society for California Archaeology welcomed both professional and avocational archaeologists to unite in ethics measures (Moratto 2004:xl-xliii). Many of the rock art site reports and manuscripts were completed and written during this period.

King and Moratto were instrumental in the development of CRM in California, but Heizer adhered to academic structure. Heizer was also very "secretive" with his site records. This "tit-for-tat" appears to be the motive for censure of *Prehistoric Rock Art of California* by the SCA for

revealing site locations (Society for California Archaeology 1974). (This was a violation of the SCA ethics code at the time, although presently Section 3.2, *A Code of Scientific Ethics* "d" states: "An archaeologist shall not:...Publish or make available to the public the precise locations of cultural sites where there is a reasonable potential for vandalism of the sites to occur as a result of that action.") This censure was retracted two years later and reported to the membership in the 1974 Newsletter.

Despite the rise of CRM and the ever-increasing development of many areas of California, rock art studies still remained on the sidelines. The Smithsonian volume (Handbook of North American Indians Vol. 8) on California (Heizer 1978) included a six-and-a-half page chapter on rock art (Clewlow 1978). In this short article Clewlow reiterated the style areas that he had earlier defined in his book with Heizer (Heizer and Clewlow 1973). The article includes a very short historical introduction to California rock art and reflects the continued marginalization of rock art studies.

Since the 1960s, rock art studies slowly began to gain momentum as a legitimate subfield of anthropological study, yet many still failed to place them in a broader archaeological context. As an indication of an increase in the academic acceptance of rock art studies, a growing number of Master's theses have been submitted that focus on California rock art studies and/or include rock art as a significant component of their research. These include the work of Louis Payen (1966), Ken Hedges (1970), Teresa Miller (1977), Kay Sanger (1987), Jeffrey Fentress (1992), Leigh Jordan (1995), Richard Star Shepard (1996), Donna Gillette (1998), Tim Jones (2004), Brett Rushing (2004), Linda Sickler-Hylkema (2005), and Kelly Larsen (2006).

Teresa Miller's 1977 Master's thesis is particularly relevant, as it offered a predictive model for locating PCN (Pecked Curvilinear Nucleated) elements. This important contribution is based on the observation that this type of element occurs on high-talc-content blue-green schist-like boulders adjacent to earthquake fault zones. This study also refuted Heizer's claim that Marin, Sonoma, and Mendocino counties were void of rock art (Heizer and Clewlow 1973; Kroeber 1925).

Using Miller's study as a partial basis for her research, Gillette's thesis identified the geographical distribution of PCN sites and addressed whether they represented a technological or ideological aspect of the culture. This study was basically an inventory of sites with no attempt at serration or placing the PCN tradition in a greater archaeological context, a traditional approach in rock art research at the time. In a subsequent effort, Gillette and Haslem (1998) presented a stylistic analysis of the rock art CA-SBN-12 comparing PCN elements found at the site with other similar neighboring sites.

Four Ph.D. dissertations also focused on California rock art. These included research by David Whitley (1982), who completed a case study which was directed on South Central California and set the foundation for his continuing plethora of work. The second, by Karen Nissen (1982), encompassed far-eastern California (Great Basin), and included the analysis of rock art as it pertained to the hunting magic hypothesis. A third dissertation, by A. M. McDonald (1992) studied the Indian Hill rock shelter and aboriginal cultural adaptation in Anza-Borrego State Park. Currently, Gillette is engaged in dissertation research with a cultural and geographical landscape approach on the PCN tradition found in over 100 sites in the Coastal Ranges of California.

As another indication of the increasing “legitimization” of rock art studies, the American Rock Art Research Association (ARARA) was formed in 1974 with the purpose of linking together “archaeologists, anthropologists, artists and laypersons dedicated to the preservation of rock art, to further research, and to inform the general public of the

beauty and significance of rock art” (Bock 1976). Klaus F. Wellman, Clinical Professor of Pathology, State University of New York, and an avocational rock art researcher, was its first president. In 1979, Wellman made a substantial contribution to California rock art when he published (in Austria) a comprehensive reference and source book of North American rock art. In the California section, Wellman includes 30 pages of his own high-quality photographs, which provided valuable material for future comparative studies.

A plethora of articles and studies were published in the 1980s and 1990s in various journals. A complete list is far too extensive to mention here, but suffice it to say that efforts to incorporate rock art into scholarly studies have been increasingly undertaken by a number of dedicated individuals. These include attempts at seriation, identifying materials composition and stylistic differences, and representations of social and/or organizational behavior. Following is a review of a selected number of them.

	Entoptic Forms		San Rock Art		Palaeolithic Art			
			engravings	paintings	mobile art		parietal art	
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								

Adapted from Lewis-Williams and Dowson, 1988, pages 206 and 207

Figure 4. Entoptic element forms, adapted from Lewis-Williams and Dawson, 1988:206-207; reprinted from Whitley 1988.

In the 1979 *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology*, Georgia Lee (1979:295-305) examined the possibility that at least portions of a particular Chumash rock painting site were executed in historic times. Her hypothesis was based in part on the unique colors and opaqueness of the paints, which are similar to imported pigments used in Mission frescoes.

In 1981, Clement Meighan hosted a seminar on rock art, the participants at which reported on the descriptions and analysis of six rock art sites in California. The database consisted of manuscripts in the Rock Art Archive at UCLA, collected in the past by various field workers who were acknowledged in the various papers. This database is important because it reflects the various perspectives and includes records and photographs—many of which have been edited into publishable manuscripts. The resource is continually maintained and available for scholarly study.

Willis Gortner (1984, 1994) completed detailed regional studies of the Martis culture area in the central Sierra Nevada, and suggested that an archaic cult association with ritualistic bear hunting and bear shamanism was represented by the “bear paw” glyphs concentrated within the region. This study seeks to directly correlate the distribution of this glyph type with specific artifact traits attributed to the Martis culture region. Another effort to correlate rock art as a marker to define cultural boundaries was introduced by Lee and Hyder (1991:15) in south-central California; they noted that it was not the elements themselves that were culturally distinctive, rather it was the ways they were presented and embellished that constitutes a geographic “style.”

In a 1986 article, Breck Parkman explored the function of cupules in the Central Coast Ranges as trail offering-places, ritual “destination sites” to induce individual or group fertility, weather control, fishing, and hunting ventures. In a subsequent article, Parkman (1994) elaborated on the function of cupules and their relation to rainmaking rituals, also incorporating shamanism and altered states of consciousness. Foster and Jenkins (1990) also wrote of the cupules of the Coast Ranges, noting that they appeared as a component of two different styles, the “Coalinga Upland” and the “Western San Joaquin Cupule,” both of which tentatively date to the Late Period. They further suggest the idea that two distinct groups produced them simultaneously, and that they may have been made by coastal rather than interior people. However, they acknowledge that further evaluation and archaeological testing are necessary to further these assumptions.

In the 1980s, a movement mainly embraced by David Whitley drew on the work of South African researchers David Lewis-Williams and Thomas Dowson (1988:202). They recognized the universality of many rock art elements based on the “entoptic” phenomena or their “neuro-

psychological model.” This model held that many rock art elements represent subjective visual phenomena that were perceived during an altered state of consciousness (ASC), or trance, and thus all people who enter ASC, regardless of cultural background, are liable to perceive the same images (Figure 4).

Lee and William Hyder also attempted to establish a relative chronology for rock art at the Lava Bed National Monument sites using the absence of red ocher and lakeshore fluctuations (Hyder and Lee 1990). Similarly, Frank and Alice Bock (1990) stressed the need for a refined methodology for rock art recording and its inclusion as an integral part of data collected from archaeological sites.

Rock art research increasingly focused on diverse regions and continued to gain in momentum and complexity. During this period, the Great Basin, with its amazing array of rock art, had been the specific focus of many studies that generated its own set of players with specific interpretive theses. Robert Bettinger and Martin Baumhoff (1982) addressed Numic spread in the Great Basin, and proposed a new model that contrasted Pre-Numic and Numic adaptations in terms of the relative reliance on large game and small seeds. Of pertinence here is that they were two of the first scholars to mainstream rock art into these studies by including it as one of three lines of evidence – the others being projectile point distributions and seed harvesting technology.

In 1982, David Whitley disputed the hunting magic hypothesis previously proposed by Heizer and Baumhoff, and questioned the symbolic Coso images as representative of the Bighorn Sheep cult for lack of archaeological evidence, noting instead that the bighorn sheep images are symbolic of male success in hunting and sexual activities in a general sense. More recently, Whitley (2000) uses ethnographic evidence and metaphor to identify the bighorn sheep as symbolizing the ritual of weather control shamans.

Amy Gilreath (2007b) has integrated her studies of the Coso area rock art with her mainstream investigations of the archaeology of the region, comparing temporal changes in the reliance on particular faunal resources in both lowland and pinyon upland settings with trends in rock art motifs.

Taking the discussion further, McGuire and Hildebrandt (2005) note that the florescence of rock art and material culture in the Middle Archaic may be no coincidence: that “prestige” hunting may be directly reflected in the style and amount of rock art elements as well as technical and stylistic elaborations on other aspects of material culture. In the case of the Coso rock art, the rise of prestige hunting is illustrated via symbolic expression depicting the hunters, weaponry, and prey in the hunt (McGuire and Hildebrandt 2005:706-707). Also discussing the link between the Coso rock art and hunting activities is Alan Garfinkel’s (2006) article in which

he postulates that the Coso area would have functioned as a locale for “hunting magic” ceremonies. In this recent *North American Archaeologist* publication he argues that the Coso Range served as the center of a “distinctive” sheep cult.

The interpretation of rock art sites has recently been accused of being marginalized because it has been “left to amateurs” (Stewart 2007:25). We strongly disagree and believe that rock art studies would not be where they are today without the contributions made by dedicated avocationalists, many of whom laid the early foundations for the discipline as it now known. (See also Hyder and Loendorf 2005.)

One avocationalist whose work is worth noting is that of the late Bill Sonin, a San Francisco Bay Area Volkswagen repairman and rock art enthusiast. Sonin always appeared to have all bibliographic rock art information at his fingertips. Following his untimely death in 1993, a search of his computer files revealed a 1,300-page annotated rock art site inventory and bibliography for the state of California. Unknown to his family and fellow rock art friends, Sonin had spent years searching records at the Archaeological Research Facility, communicating with researchers, and visiting sites. His goal was to complete the rock art site inventory where Heizer left off with his 1973 publication with Clewlow. Sonin’s work was published with Leigh Marymor as editor by UCLA Rock Art Archives and the Bay Area Rock Art Research Association, with topographic map coordinates removed (Sonin 1995). In the rush to publish, Santa Clara County was omitted from the publication. One of the fascinating aspects of Sonin’s work was a list of questions at the end of each county listing, directed to certain researchers on local sites. The following notations were found in his personal effects:

When I began compiling my list, it was intended as an update on Heizer and Clewlow. Accordingly I titled by files “H&C#1, #2, etc.” It wasn’t until the number of new sites exceeded the original 400 that I dared retitle (sic) my files. It is now apparent that the current rate of rock art investigations would require a ticker tape, like [that of] the New York Stock Exchange, to keep track of the prolific new reports. It is inevitable that some day the individual repositories of rock art files will be plugged into a common network, the master switch pulled, and all of California will be on line, real time, all the time. While waiting for that pie in the sky, I think we deserve one more published résumé of our state’s rock art.

Any accomplishment I may have attained is only by standing on the shoulders of such giants as Mallery, Stewart, Heizer and Clewlow, Grant, as well as dozens of individuals throughout California whose dedication makes up our recorded rock art heritage.

Thanks to the Native Americans. If we pry into their private legacy, and violate the sanctity of their sites, and misunderstand even the spirit behind their works, all I can say is I hope my awe and admiration serve to compensate for my unintentional infringement.

I eagerly invite your correction of any mistakes or omissions in this list [Sonin 1995: vii].

All the Sonin materials are now curated at the Bancroft Library. The bibliographic database has been expanded by Marymor to now include nearly 15,000 entries, worldwide. The database consists of searchable rock art papers and manuscripts – both published and grey literature – accessed worldwide through the Bancroft web page: <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/collections/rockart/search.html>.

Today, rock art research increasingly embraces a contextual approach that includes recordation and systematic surveys that incorporate geographic and cultural landscapes, as well as excavations to identify rock art as part of a larger archaeological setting. Several such excavations at rock art sites have recently taken place. Jeff Fentress (1999) led a field school from San Francisco State University at a site in the Bay Area. This project entailed the excavation of a PCN boulder, uncovering additional elements below the ground surface as well as several possible tools used for making the PCN elements. California State University, Hayward conducted an excavation at site CCO-152 in Canyon Trail Park, in the East Bay, which was continued the following year by additional excavation by Donna Gillette under the auspices of the Archaeological Research Facility at UC Berkeley (Figure 5). The research design for Gillette’s project was to determine the extent of marks on portions of the boulder that had been covered by a landslide at an unknown time.

A book beautifully illustrated with color photographs on the rock art of California was published in 2000 by Whitley. Designed in a “coffee-table” format, the publication contains



Figure 5. Excavation of CA-CCO-152, Canyon Trail Park. Photo courtesy of Garry Gillette.

much scholarly content ranging from types and dating of rock art images to rock art traditions and the use of ethnography in interpretation with an emphasis on the role of the shaman in the creation of California rock art. While the title *The Art of the Shaman* leads one to believe that all California rock art was shamanistic, Whitely does acknowledge that a limited amount of prehistoric rock art was created during puberty rites by young girls.

In 2001 the Society for California Archaeology asked Brian Fagan to write a book about the archaeology of California for the general public (Fagan 2003). One of the 15 chapters (22 pages) in this interesting and well-written narrative is entitled “Art on the Rocks.” While presenting a basic understanding about rock art to the reader, most of the emphasis of the chapter is directed to the elaborate (and colorful) images of the Chumash, the interesting petroglyphs of the Coso Range, and much emphasis on shamanism. There is a short section on earth figures (geoglyphs). While much of California rock art is “glossed over,” this is consistent with the book being written for the public, not the scholar. Yet, in this publication, rock art receives more consideration than in any other general archaeology book.

The Society for California Archaeology, in 2004, culminated the annual meeting with an all-day symposium to mark the 20th anniversary of the publication of what are regarded as the two most scholarly books on California prehistory, those of Michael Moratto and Joseph L. and Kerry Kona Chartkoff. The presentations were directed to honor the authors and to show the progress made in the study of California archaeology since the original publications. One of the final presentations of the symposium was presented by Amy Gilreath who made a plea for the mainstreaming of rock art in archaeological studies. The presentations made at that meeting served as the foundation for the very recent edited publication on *California Prehistory* (Jones and Klar 2007). Although the cover of the 1984 Moratto volume featured rock art images, there was little mention and no specific chapter on the rock art of California. This omission was addressed in the *California Prehistory* publication, with an entire chapter dedicated to rock art (Gilreath 2007a). Although the chapter addresses a selection of rock art sites located within the boundaries of what is now California, there is an imbalance – as also noted above in the Fagan publication (Fagan 2001) – of emphasis placed on the colorful Chumash paintings, and extensive Coso Range petroglyphs. Decorated pebbles also receive an inordinate amount of attention. Despite its shortcomings, the chapter does succeed in its stated objectives, which are to show how integral rock art was in prehistoric times, to cultivate the reader’s appreciation for the varied rock art created within California, and to stimulate further rock art research that links findings to mainstream archaeological studies.

Finally, a recent and very timely publication of academic rock art studies featuring student papers has been published by the American Rock Art Research Association (Huang and Culley 2005). This book highlights several scholarly articles from papers presented at the Society for American Archaeology meetings, offering new methodological approaches to the interpretation of prehistoric imagery from around the world, including dating, chronological development, spatial analysis, contextualization, and conservation efforts. Although none of the articles pertain to California, it is nonetheless a valuable addition of academically supported research that reflects current directions in the field, and as such, is a valuable reference tool.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, early California archaeology was driven by culture history, and what Moratto (2004:xxix) called “a classification obsession of Californianists.” In many ways, an historical look at the theoretical approach to rock art studies mirrors the development of the general field of archaeology. Early rock art studies consisted of a mere collection of sites, and were similar to the early archaeological collection and cataloging of artifacts that determined taxonomies. Similar to the developments in the field of archaeology, rock art research has in the last two decades moved through the Post-Processual phase, and is engaging in contemporary approaches that contextualize rock art. Many use a landscape epistemology, and incorporate multi-disciplinary studies. Researchers are consulting with Native people, researching ethnographies and oral histories, and investigating with multiple lines of inquiry. It is interesting to note that Kroeber had, early on, warned researchers in California that they needed to concentrate their efforts on gathering ethnographic information while Native speakers were still around who had a recollection of the times before contact and the introduction of non-Native ways. Federal and State agencies integrate rock art resources into their studies and policies. Some Native American tribal cultural affairs officers are also beginning to take an active interest in rock art. Volunteers from many fields continue to contribute their relevant skills and endless hours to recording this vanishing heritage. Many current research designs include GIS (Global Information Systems) mapping. The advent of the digital age has also introduced new technologies that can be applied in the area of photographic recording, including 3-D imaging and photo enhancement. In many cases, these digital methods enhance the ability to identify images that are not discernable to the naked eye.

We have offered just a brief look at the intersection of rock art and California archaeology, and we acknowledge

that many others have made substantial contributions that have not been included here. Please do not think that the exclusion of these works is any reflection on the notion of having "lesser" significance than those included herein. Nothing could be further from the truth. We offer but a small sample of the progress of rock art research which is advancing and bringing the long marginalized sub-field of such research into the mainstream of archaeology.

This is an exciting time to be engaged in rock art studies!

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