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Heizer and Clewlow: *Prehistoric Rock Art of California*

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when judged against its own goals, is a significant contribution. I hope that it will be widely read outside the small circle of scholars who specialize in the study of California Indians.



Prehistoric Rock Art of California. Robert F. Heizer and C. W. Clewlow, Jr. 2 vols. Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1973. 149 pp., maps, tables, appendices, bibliography, 23 plates, 384 figures. \$12.50.

Reviewed by POLLY SCHAAFSMA
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In 1948 the University of California Archaeological Survey was established in the Department of Anthropology of the University of California at Berkeley. Rock art data were collected by the Survey from the start, with the aim of eventually publishing a general survey which would continue from the point at which Julian Steward (1929) had left off 20 years earlier. The recent publication by Heizer and Clewlow is based on a compilation of data from 400 sites collected by the Survey since its beginning. *Prehistoric Rock Art of California* is a two volume work. The first consists of 64 pages of text, 21 maps, 5 tables, 2 appendices, and 23 plates. The second is a collection of 384 drawings, sensitively rendered and representing complete panels. Previously published illustrations have not been repeated in the current work, unless a better or more accurate record has been obtained by the Survey.

Four major petroglyph styles and five pictograph styles are described. Style areas were determined by subjecting the material to an analysis based on five major element categories: Human, Animal, Circle and Dot,

Angular, and Curvilinear. Counts were made of each element for each site, petroglyphs and pictographs being treated separately. The results were then plotted according to county, and the percentage of each element category in the total number of elements in the entire county was then calculated. This information was further reduced by rounding off the percentage of each element to the nearest 20% unit, assigning a number to it on a 1-5 scale. The data thus abstracted, along with a heavy reliance "upon subjective evaluation," led to the stylistic divisions described in the text. These are further elucidated by a series of maps on which the element counts for each county are indicated. Heizer and Clewlow point out that some of the style areas so defined correspond with those described by previous investigators, thus lending support to their own findings. In the course of discussion, several regional studies by other scholars are mentioned, and some of the more detailed stylistic analyses delineated. The various functions that might be attributed to the different California styles are considered in turn. Big game hunting magic, fertility, weather control, shamanistic ritual and puberty ceremonies are the major purposes listed, information being derived from both the archaeological record and, where possible, ethnographic sources. In the final chapter there is a summary statement on rock art studies in general which includes many bibliographic references to rock art literature, both within the United States and from countries throughout the world, a useful adjunct to the primary focus of the book.

In regard to Heizer and Clewlow's stylistic analysis, there are several problems imposed by their methodology. It has already been well demonstrated by a number of studies in both the Southwest and in California that rock art styles specifically correlate with former cultural systems. Consequently, the spatial distribution of a given style corre-

sponds with that of the culture which produced it. Following the older procedures involving element counts, however, this fact has been overlooked in Heizer and Clewlow's research design. Their five element categories are insensitive, leaving no room for typological variation and other important stylistic indicators which may be equally or even more significant in style determination than the categories that they employ. Secondly, plotting element counts according to modern political boundaries, i.e., county lines, is equally arbitrary. This method of data organization becomes increasingly suspect when one notices that as a result there is only one petroglyph style or pictograph style (as they are treated separately) possible per county, which suggests that stylistic and cultural boundaries have been distorted by this approach. Also, stylistic changes through time are not taken into consideration. This oversight is significant when one considers that potentially up to 2500 years of rock art are being included in some areas of this study (p. 55). An examination of the illustrations for several style areas will readily show that these are not merely abstract objections, as in several cases two or more graphic styles have been included in a single so-called style area. In the final analysis, the approach taken by these authors tends to obscure the relationships between rock art styles and prehistoric cultural systems.

On the other hand, the authors do stress that the California style divisions that they describe are to be regarded as first approximations only, with regional studies needed in the future in order to refine the bold outlines that they have drawn. Some of the regional studies undertaken to date by other California rock art scholars (for example: Campbell Grant's [1965] Chumash study; Payen's [1966] paper on the Northern Sierra Nevada; and Hedges' [1973] report on southern California) indicate that there is a great deal to be

accomplished on this level, and as well, manage to avoid the pitfalls described above.

Also to be questioned is the advisability of publishing site locations in Appendix II. As the authors themselves readily admit, there is an increasing amount of deliberate vandalism of rock art sites every year (p. 48). It would seem that the publication of site locations would only contribute to this problem. Although locational information is listed to assist fellow scholars of rock art in their research, since it is obviously available to qualified investigators through the Archaeological Research Facility, successor to the Archaeological Survey (p. 2), there does not seem to be any justification for making it public, although perhaps the psychology involved in doing so eludes me.¹

Other problems are merely technical. Although ample illustrations are provided, it is difficult to relate them to the text, a situation which is unfortunate where visual material is so important. This is particularly true in regard to the photos which virtually lack captions, inasmuch as one must refer to the plate list in the beginning of the volume for information. Style classifications are not given for the figures nor the plates, and this information must be sought out in the text via county affiliation.

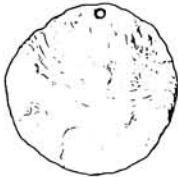
In spite of these problems, the attractive volumes are an important contribution to the data available on California rock art, and a welcome addition to the library of any rock art scholar. They are useful as a preliminary guide to organization, which is what the authors intended, and the prolific illustrative material will be of considerable value for further research purposes.

NOTE

1. Editor's Note: Heizer has responded to this criticism, which has been voiced by others. See Heizer and Hester (1974).

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Co-traditions and Convergent Trends in Prehistoric California. Bert A. Gerow. San Luis Obispo: *San Luis Obispo County Archaeological Society Occasional Papers* No. 8. 1974. v + 57 pp., 3 figs. \$3.00 (paper).

Reviewed by WILLIAM J. WALLACE
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The aim of this monograph (or perhaps two monographs, for the publication consists of two self-contained parts, each with its own bibliography) is to present an alternative interpretation to the generally accepted

schemes of California's past. To this end a detailed analysis is made of the physical and cultural attributes of the prehistoric populations of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta and the Santa Barbara Coast. What emerges from the discussion is a hypothesis of initial heterogeneity in the two regions followed by a trend toward more homogeneity.

On the basis of a re-examination of the anthropometric data collected over the years, much of it uneven and/or of questionable validity, biological variability between the lower Sacramento Valley and Southern Coast peoples, as reflected in measurements and indices, is seen as being greater at an earlier date than in later times. From this it is concluded that a model of convergence involving interrelation between two somatically distinct populations rather than the prevailing theory of microevolutionary change better fits the evidence. The entry and expansion of Penutian speakers is suggested as a possible explanation for hybridization in the Delta.

A comparison of selected material items and burial practices leads to the parallel conclusion that in the two regions the cultural diversification was greater and more fundamental on an earlier time level. Two separate traditions are assumed to have existed, with subsequent converging trends. This leads to a questioning of the current interpretations, labeled as unilineal or neo-evolutionary by the author.

It is not difficult to find fault with this publication. For one thing, the title is misleading since the work does not treat the whole state. Often, too, the argument seems one-sided and the facts as presented susceptible to other interpretations. Nonetheless, the points raised are provocative and deserve a thorough examination.

