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CULTURAL CHANGES

Part II

EDITORIAL NOTES

CULTURAL CHANGES: OLD-NEW TOPIC, OLD-NEW DEBATE

How does the dynamics of change emerge from ancient sites, building structures, objects of daily use, art, myths, beliefs, and other traces, both material and immaterial? It depends on the ability to understand them: findings become discovery when the human mind succeeds in decoding them. Cultural changes are an expression of the human conceptual pattern which is not static. They acquire meaning in the scenery of the context: place, time, type of culture, and intellectual abilities.

What are the causes of cultural changes? Nowadays it is fashionable to focus attention on climatic variations as sources of cultural changes. We live in an age of climatic changes and cultural change: to what extent are these two main types of changes related to each other?

Over 10,000 years ago, at the end of the Ice Age, a more temperate climate contributed to the birth of new patterns of economy and society in certain areas of the world. In other areas, due to the melting of glaciers, it was the time of sea level rises, inundations, and deluges, in which populated lands were submerged by water. In the course of tens of millennia, climatic changes caused adjustments of fauna, flora and humans all over the planet. Processes of desertification or increase in rainfall are no doubt factors requiring adaptation; they may cause modification of resources and daily habits, or even migrations. Climatic variations are certainly an important factor in cultural change, but it would be misleading to consider them as its only cause. Cultural changes may take place even where there are no substantial mutations in the environment. Climatic modifications are only one of the factors that influence life and development. Natural calamities like earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, plagues and epidemics or sudden lack of water or food resources, are other causes. For instance, Pompeii underwent a cultural change when it was caught by the eruption of the Vesuvius Vulcan: its life was simply cancelled. But migrations, changes in the geographical location of the human entity, conflict and peaceful confrontations with other human groups, changes in the size and composition of social units, changes in regime or leadership, new inventions, discoveries, developments in technology, social relations and events, conceptual inventions, the imagination, changes in religious beliefs and practices, and other factors play their role in cultural change. Man as actor of his own destiny is no

less relevant than man as spectator and victim of climatic changes.

ATELIER Research Center and EXPRESSION quarterly journal are concerned not only with recording the changes, they are stimulating research to understand processes and reasons that caused changes and development and the detection of trends in human intellectual, social, and cultural evolution. For conceptual anthropology, the decoding of common or isolated behavioral tendencies is a source of broadening the understanding of ethnic, regional or global identity and cultural patterns. Cultural change is a dynamic factor, ever since the production of the first manmade tool over 2 million years ago. It is the result of both innovative solutions of the human mind and adaptation to needs; it may be due or not due to changes in vital resources and environmental conditions.

Local cultural changes are the expression of processes that may contribute to a global overview. Regional cultural changes that took place in the last 100 years in the regimes, politics, economy, and social life of South Africa, Russia, China or Germany are cultural storms, strong indicators of local cultural trends. In each case the causes and the effects of a new regime and the further subsequent development are local evolutions that contribute to an overview of cultural processes.

Even more drastic cultural changes have taken place at the same time in the economy and social life of Pigmy populations of Central Africa and Aboriginal populations of Australia or Amazonia, or Eskimos of the Arctic. Such changes are just as strong indicators of cultural tendencies; probably they are even more meaningful for the definition of an epoch and for the understanding of world cultural changes, as they mark the end of an age and the beginning of a new age in cultural evolution. But they tend to be ignored or almost by the current versions of world history. Such limitations in overview are restricting the ability of conceiving cultural trends. Local cultural changes are essential for conceiving broader currents. A perspective of time, looking into events of different ages and social and economic structures, should contribute to a better ability to conceive the causes and effects of cultural changes.

Some major pertinent topics have been faced in back issues of EXPRESSION journal, like the function of fire in cultural evolution, the query of how an age of hunter-gatherers in Tanzania suddenly turned into a period of vegetarian food-collectors, or how the conceptual content and the syntactic structure of rock art changed with the introduction of

the bow and arrow: the acquisition of new mental abilities influenced different factors and caused different aspects of cultural changes.

In historic times, the arrival of new ethnic groups has changed the cultures of America, Australia, and other corners of the planet: the European colonization has changed the cultural mosaic of humankind. The Vedic penetration of India in the second millennium BC changed the ethnic and cultural identity of India. The colonization of Europe by the Neolithic extra-communitarians coming from the East changed its ethnic and cultural identity. The present growth of the extra-communitarian population in Europe could again mark changes in the ethnic and cultural identity of the continent.

In prehistoric times, the ancestors of men colonized the entire planet from a single place of origin. And cultural changes took place constantly in all the human colonies spread over the globe. Variations in living structures, such as cave dwellings, huts, tents or permanent habitation units, expose a relevant aspect of cultural horizons; and the typology of tools for daily use varies from period to period and tell patterns of cultural changes and evolution in technology. The changing size of the human co-living units is another variable indicator of cultural identity.

One of the most eloquent testimonies of cultural changes is provided by the succession of different styles and thematic horizons in rock art. In previous issues of *EXPRESSION*, examples of sequences of typological variations of rock art displayed the succession of cultural patterns in Tanzania, Spain, Azerbaijan, Madhya Pradesh (India), Arnhem Land (Australia, NT), Serra da Capivara (Brazil, Piauí), and other regions.

The shift from the art of hunters to that of food collectors, to pastoralists or tribal agriculturalists, reveals the dimension of cultural changes in human societies. What can we learn out of all that about the dynamics of cultural change? What are the causes and effects of cultural change? This is the intent of the present project and the call for articles. This issue is the second one on the topic. Others may follow.

Asking questions is as important as proposing their eventual solutions. Asking questions is the source of conceptual evolution. Proposing solutions to queries is the source of debate and clarification. Convincing solutions are the end of a debate. Until then, let us keep the debate alive.

Colleagues and friends are invited to contribute with specific themes, sharing their experience, knowledge, and ideas. When possible, consider the dynamic relations between cause and effect.

E.A.

EDITORIAL NOTE

EXPRESSION journal is published by Atelier Research Center in cooperation with UISPP-CISENP, the International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Peoples of the UISPP (*Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*, **International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences**). The goal of *EXPRESSION* is to promote dialogue, knowledge, and ideas concerning the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate societies. It is an open forum in conceptual anthropology. Colleagues having something pertinent to say will find space in this e-magazine, which is reaching people of culture and academic institutions in over 70 countries. Papers should have precise goals, conceived for this kind of audience, and possibly be well illustrated. Letters on current topics and short notes are welcome and may be included in the Discussion Forum section.

Authors are responsible for their ideas and for the information and illustrations they submit. Publication in *EXPRESSION* quarterly journal does not imply that the publisher and/or the editors agree with the ideas presented. Papers are submitted to reviewers for their evaluation, but controversial ideas, if they make sense, are not censured. New ideas and concepts are welcome; they may awaken debates and criticism. Time will be their judge. *EXPRESSION* is a free journal, not submitted to rhetorical and formal traditional regulations. It offers space to controversial issues, healthy realistic debates, and imaginative and creative papers, if they are conceptually reliable and respect the integrity and dignity of authors, colleagues, and readers.

Front page image: Foppe di Nadro, r. 27, Ceto. The Temple of Nadro, large construction with a series of smaller structures below. On the front of the temple, one can see a strange anthropomorphic figure, while the roof sports some axes. Above the central structure is a large cupmark, while other cupmarks are located below, in an ordered series at the sides of the composition. It was probably an *amar ai* or house of spirits. (Period IV, C, Early Iron Age).

DISCUSSION FORUM

The Discussion Forum invites readers to be active protagonists in debates of worldwide interest in Conceptual Anthropology.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL SOCIETIES

What can we learn from prehistoric and tribal art about the role of women in society? What do male and female images reveal to us about gender relations in the course of time? This topic will be considered in a forthcoming issue of *EXPRESSION* quarterly journal and submission of pertinent papers is welcome.

Human society has a variety of social structures, where crowded urban congregations exist along with tribal agricultural villages and nomadic clans of hunters. These three and other patterns of society can also live near each other. Near the town of Darwin in Australia, there are clans of semi-nomadic Aboriginal hunter-gatherers, near the town of Beer-Sheba in Israel there are tribes of semi-nomadic Bedouin pastoralists, near the town of Dodoma in Tanzania there are tribal farming villages and semi-nomadic clans of hunter-gatherers. Each society has its own behavioral habits and male and female roles vary.

Urban societies are a cultural pattern of the last 5,000 years and farming villages developed in the last 12,000 years; before that humanity was made up of hunter-gatherer semi-nomadic groups. These various patterns of societies have the common feature of being all composed of groups or families, nuclear or larger, where the actors are men and women. What kind of relations existed between men and women in these different societies in the past? Social structures, economic activities, and ritual and ceremonial performances usually allot different tasks to males and females. How can both rock art and mobile art contribute to this search for a vital aspect of human relations?

The roles of the two genders vary in different types of social assemblages or ethnic groups, but some functions are permanently assigned to one of the two genders. Men cannot become pregnant and have children; they cannot breast-feed newborns and in various societies they are considered unfit to take care of them. Pregnant or breastfeeding women are inadequate for fighting or heavy tasks. Among hunter-gatherers, women are considered to be unfit for ele-

phant or buffalo hunting. Following up the prey, killing it, cutting its meat, separating it from the carcass, carrying the pieces of meat for miles to the gathering place of the clan are the tasks of men. Each gender has its specific function in society, which may vary from society to society.

Other gender tasks may vary according to social patterns. Cooking food is a primarily male task among hunting societies and a female task among farming societies; building huts and other structures is usually a male task; decorating such buildings is frequently a female task. Every gender has its own ritual and ceremonial practices which vary in different ethnic groups. In art production in many regions of the world, distinctive typologies and types of decoration permit the recognition that the visual art produced by females is different from that produced by males.

Millions of images of men and women are present in the rock art and mobile art of five continents. They have been made by people, men and women, of distinct human societies in the course of millennia. What can we learn from all that about gender relations and in particular the role of women in various societies? In some prehistoric and tribal art female images are dominant, in others they are ignored. In some rock art, female divinities are represented, in others women appear as sexual objects; in others again, they appear in dancing and ritual scenes. Colleagues and friends, males and females, from different countries and different traditions are cordially invited to propose their notions, their experiences, and their texts, each about his/her areas of study or concern, in order to assemble a global overview on a fascinating theme, relevant for understanding ethnic, local, and universal trends. Please join in our trials of understanding patterns and traditions, and global habits and variabilities in a vital aspect of human relations: gender relations. One of the mottos of conceptual anthropology is: "Recover the past to discover the present," Submit your article, ideas and suggestions, or ask for additional information at <atelier.etno@gmail.com.

DEFINING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*

A forthcoming issue of *EXPRESSION* quarterly journal will face the identity of the common ancestor of entire present-day humankind: early *Homo sapiens*. Who is he? How to define? Palaeontologists rely on skeletal features to classify *Homo sapiens*. But are bones sufficient to define the conceptual sapience of *sapiens*? How may we classify the many skeletal materials of living populations today that show anatomical features not fully corresponding to the *sapiens* stereotype? Are Pygmies or Hottentots *sapiens*? Despite their distinct physical characters, they have the perti-

nent conceptual faculties and they are producers of elaborate visual art. Of course, they belong to *sapiens* societies. Conceptual anthropology considers that intellectual abilities define the *sapiens* identity. Among other tangible expressions of cultural identity, such as the refined typology of lithic industry, there is the habit of producing figurative art as a pattern of culture. Figurative art is testifying the ability of conceptualizing an image, leading the hand to reproduce or idealize it. This is a major trend of the *sapiens* identity, implying the talent for synthesis, abstraction, and conceptualization. It indicates the skill of a logical concept of reality, allowing the visual transformation of reality into image: the materialization of ideas and the idealization of reality. It is a unique ability of *sapiens* which opened up new horizons to cultural evolution. Despite the opposition of traditionalist tendencies, the terminology used by conceptual anthropology names *Homo sapiens* as the maker of figurative art. In Eurasia, this pattern is present in the Upper Palaeolithic as the production of what traditional terms label *Homo sapiens-sapiens*. The terminology of conceptual anthropology eliminates the second *sapiens*.

In Africa, Eurasia, Australia, and the Americas, there are traces of visual markings, in the form of non-figurative signs, lines, dots, cup-marks, and stencils of hands and other items copied, printed but not intentionally designed by the human hand. Such graphic markings are present before figurative art in the Middle Palaeolithic though persisting into the Upper Palaeolithic and later. Some tribal groups still perform this kind of non-figurative graphics nowadays, as a means of communication, memorization, and marking the territory. The producers of the Mousterian lithic industry, Neanderthal and other human groups of the Middle Palaeolithic, already performed this kind of graphic markings which is not yet figurative art. Conceptual anthropology defines them as *Proto-sapiens*. Figurative depictions intentionally shaped by human hands are the tangible expression of the conceptual rationality of *Homo sapiens*. They appear suddenly, fast becoming a widespread pattern of culture in different areas, such as Europe, the Far East and Australia, which are unlikely to have had direct contact at the time. They are the indicator of the presence of the mind of *Homo sapiens*. In Europe, the Near East, and Africa, *Proto-sapiens* graphic markings and hand stencils may go back over 70,000 years, while figurative art shaped by the hands of *Homo sapiens* is today considered to go back some 40,000 years.

According to available chronological dates obtained by laboratory analyses, such expressions of figurative visual art in

Australia and Borneo, representing animals and/or human beings, are considered to be 20,000 years earlier than in Europe, going back c. 60,000 years. Is *Homo sapiens* present in Australia so much earlier than in Europe? The earliest dates of figurative art as a widespread cultural pattern so far come from Australia. Where did figurative art first start? Is *Homo sapiens* a single racial stock or are there several different cores of *sapiens*? If indeed *Homo sapiens* derives from a single nucleus, as currently maintained, where does he come from? Where did he originate? So far, the origins of *sapiens* have been considered to be in Africa. As defined in a previous issue of *EXPRESSION*, early traces of his figurative art are present in Tanzania. A succession of varied features of animal figures and a rich sequence of different stylistic phases hint at a very early date for the earliest phases. But no precise dates are presently available.

What caused the dynamics of diffusion? How did early *sapiens* walk all over the planet (yes: walked!!) from the African Cape to the Tasmanian Cape and the Fuegian Cape? When the three capes were reached, the population density was most likely less than one soul per 100 sq. km. It was not overpopulation that caused migration. Other primates did not have the same diffusion. Our cousins the chimpanzees and other apes still survive in their piece of bush. *Homo sapiens* was most likely pushed on by his curiosity, another of his features, that is, the need to look beyond the horizon to discover the unknown.

Despite various opinions, some major queries seem to remain unsolved: where is the place of origin of *Homo sapiens*? What were the reasons for his diffusion? How did figurative art originate and why? What was the core of the conceptual heritage that *Homo sapiens* carried with his migrations out of his original homeland?

Many other questions arise from the daily fieldwork of archaeologists and anthropologists concerning the issue of the identity of *Homo sapiens*. The local features of art, material culture, social structure, typology of habitation sites, or economic resources could contribute details of both general trends and the specific local varieties of human expression. Issues on evolution and variations in art styles and subject matter, the diffusion and localization of cultural patterns, and regional specific characteristics may enrich our knowledge, open up new horizons of knowledge, and stimulate a wonderful debate.

A forthcoming issue of *EXPRESSION* will welcome articles on the many facets of the cultural identity of *Homo sapiens*. Colleagues and friends with ideas and something to say or to ask are welcome.

E. A.

FORTHCOMING NEW DEBATES

Readers are proposing themes for debate. When at least three articles are submitted on the same theme, the topic is considered for a forthcoming issue.

- 1 - **WOMEN: THEIR ROLE IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL SOCIETIES.** The changing patterns of dominance of male and female figures in the arts, the changing patterns of daily activities, the changing function of women in the economy.
- 2 - **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS REVEALED BY PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** How pictures reveal social relations and social organization.
- 3 - **DEFINING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*.** Art, material culture, myths, beliefs, and conceptual trends.
- 4 - **WHERE DOES HOMO SAPIENS COME FROM?** Where, how and when?
- 5 - **IS *HOMO SAPIENS* THE INVENTOR OF FIGURATIVE ART?** Is visual art the sign of his presence?
- 6 - **PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF ARTISTS.** Identifying the hands of a specific artist, school or tradition in prehistoric and tribal art.
- 7 - **BURIAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES** as expression of beliefs in the afterlife. How was the world of the dead conceived?
- 8 - **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** Their commemorating role and their historical value.
- 9 - **SEAFARING DEPICTIONS: RECORDING MYTHS OR EVENTS?** Considering the story of seafaring and its earliest documentation.
- 10 - **REGIONAL PATTERNS IN ARTISITIC CREATIONS.** What generates local characteristics in artistic expression?
- 11 - **THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION AND THE ORIGINS OF ART.** Possible connections.
- 12 - **VISUAL ART AS A MEANS TO EXPLORE THE HUMAN MIND.** The conceptual anthropology of prehistoric minds.
- 13 - **WHEN AND HOW PEOPLE FROM THE NEW WORLD (AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA) DISCOVERED THE PRESENCE OF THE OLD WORLD (AFRICA AND EURASIA)?** What did they know of the Old World before recorded contacts?
- 14 - **MYTHS OF ORIGINS: WHERE DID THE ANCESTORS COME FROM?** Global and local versions.
- 15 - **THE PRIMARY MYTHS AND THEIR COMMON ROOTS.** Archetypes and other widespread patterns
- 16 - **VERNACULAR DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR SOURCES.** Decoration of objects, huts or rock surfaces as the expression of identity.
- 17 - **THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE.** The process of the birth and diffusion of ideas.

PROPOSALS FOR NEW DEBATES

Readers are proposing themes for debate. When at least three articles are submitted on the same theme, the topic is considered for a forthcoming issue.

Proposals for papers and suggestions on these and other issues are welcome.

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RELIGIONS IN PREHISTORIC VALCAMONICA

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The rock art

This paper presents a synthesis of data about religious beliefs and practices recorded by rock art in the Camonica Valley (Italy) in the course of 10,000 years. Religion, though apparently conservative, appears to have undergone significant changes even in a small introverted tribe of a marginal geographical area. Each period produced variations and changes in religious patterns. The case study is evidence of substantial factors in the dynamic of change in conceptual and cult habits (Anati, 2015).¹

Rock art is an immense archive where events and ideas are recorded. It is a mirror of customs, beliefs, events, and worries. Valcamonica, a narrow valley in the Italian Alps, is the major rock art concentration in Europe, with over 300,000 engravings. Among other aspects of culture, its sequence of styles and periods is revealing a succession of variations in religious beliefs and practices.

Numerous superimpositions of different themes and styles of engravings on open-air rock surfaces permit the establishment of a succession of styles and patterns leading from the first groups of hunter-gatherers reaching the valley soon after the melting of its Pleistocene glacier some 14,000–12,000 years ago to the Roman conquest over 2,000 years ago. The weapons and tools represented in the rock art of each period can be compared with their material homologues from dated archaeological excavations of tombs and habitation levels. Fig.s include Neolithic axes, daggers of the Chalcolithic Remedello culture, swords of the Mycenaean type in the Bronze Age, helmets of the Etruscan type, and shields from the Celtic Iron Age.

1 This paper is a summary of chapters of the book: Anati, E. 2015, *The Rock Art of Valcamonica*, Capo di Ponte (Atelier). All the bibliographic references are cited in this volume, along with detailed and analytical descriptions which are not repeated in this paper.

Rock figures representing rituals and customs typical of certain cultural horizons, or indicating customs related to certain periods, such as funerary urns, particular forms of huts and *palafitte* (pile dwellings), specific types of wagons or ploughs, tools identifiable as typical of a defined culture, are indicators of the period to which the images belong, thus providing a chronological framework. The earliest phase has representations of Pleistocene extinct fauna. Later phases have inscriptions in datable Etruscan letters. All these chronological indicators are specified more in detail in Anati (2015).

The framework consists of six principal periods. The Proto-Camunian period corresponds to a cultural level of hunter-gatherers; the four periods of the Camunian civilization proper represent stages of a life-style with a complex economy and a relatively simple social structure. The Post-Camunian periods in Roman and medieval times correspond to the type of life that followed the contact of the Camunian population with the Roman world and consequent adoption of new customs and beliefs.²

The succession of periods

PROTO-CAMUNIAN (10000–5500 BC): Artists engraved large figures of animals in contour lines, in a style typical of hunting societies. An analogous style and similar themes are widespread over Eurasia, being expressions of a level of life and a way of thinking that is common at the end of the Pleistocene and in the initial phases of the Holocene. The mind of hunters is focused on the game, the fundamental daily confrontation for survival. The large-size depictions of the animals imply a sort of conceptual relation between animal and man. But men are not represented, just

2 The sequence of Camunian periods illustrates about 10,000 years of history: the Proto-Camunian period dates back to the first phases of the Holocene. The Camunian periods I and II correspond to the Neolithic and are currently dated 5500–3300 BC. Period III spans from 3300 BC to 1200 BC and includes the Chalcolithic (3300–2500 BC), and the Early (2500–1600 BC) and Middle Bronze Age (1600–1200 BC). Period IV includes the Later (1200–1000 BC) and Final Bronze Age (1000–900 BC), and the various phases of the Iron Age until the arrival of the Roman legions of Publio Silo in the year 16 BC. Finally, the Post-Camunian period concerns the historic phases of rock art, Roman, medieval, and recent. Further details are provided in Anati (2015, *The Rock Art of Valcamonica*, Capo di Ponte, Atelier).

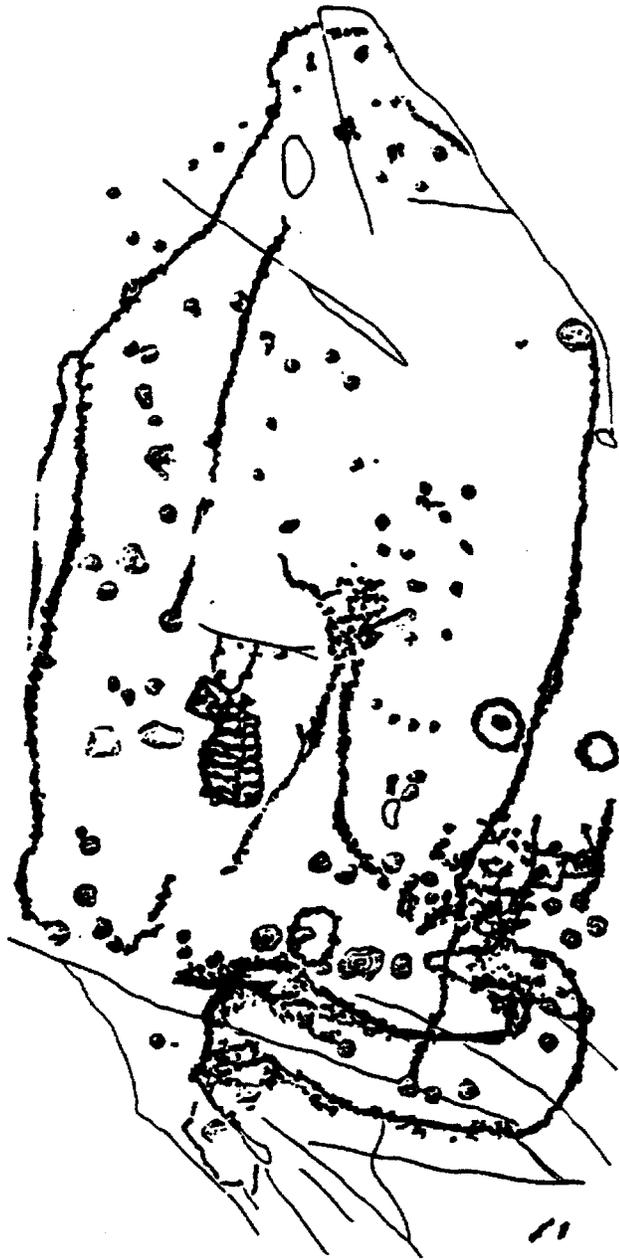


Fig. 1. Luine, r. 34-A, Darfo Boario Terme. Detail of the Proto-Camunian deer or elk and the great anthropomorphic figure (more than 2 m in length) from the end of Period II. The vertical lines of the anthropomorphic figure overlap the animal, crossing its horns, snout and back. Above the deer one can see a scutiform (shield-like) next to a smaller, squared figure. The scutiform is decorated with seven horizontal lines bisected by one vertical line and appears fresher and more recent than the great anthropomorphic figure. The stratigraphy of this group indicates: first phase, deer or elk; second phase, large anthropomorphic figure; third phase, scutiform and small rectangular sign: the numerous cupmarks are later than the anthropomorph and some overlap it.

animals. The conceptual relation is between the depicted animal and its depicter. Fig.s of elk are present. This animal does not appear in the rock art of later periods; it became extinct in the region during the early Holocene (fig. 1).

Periods I and II (5500–3300 BC)

The main theme is no longer the animal prey, but the human image; the dominant theme undergoes a drastic change. Animal images in their natural sizes are replaced by anthropomorphic figures of much smaller size; the outline tracing the profile of the animal is supplanted by solid pecking of the entire area of the body of the represented subject, and/or by linear schematic figures. The simple association and the isolated figures, which characterize the syntax of the Proto-Camunian period, is substituted by complex associations and scenes. The rock art represents sun worshipping and the cult of the dead (including burial rituals) (figs 2, 3, 4).

Towards the end of Period II the repertoire becomes richer with the evidence of animal worship, dogs that were the first domesticated animals and deer, believed to be messengers of the underworld. The image of a winged anthropomorphic being, referred to as the 'butterfly idol', is matched by similar figures in the Balkans. Some large size vaguely anthropomorphic figures may represent idols or ancestors. They are much larger than the anthropomorphic sketchy figures usually appearing in groups.

Scenes describe moments and situations implying a new cognitive system, compared with previous simple associations of a more generic and static vision. Human figures, absent earlier on, become the dominant theme and are almost ideograms. More than figures, they are anthropomorphic sketches. The mode of living also changes, from hunting clans of the Proto-Camunian period, likely to have been semi-nomadic, to small sedentary communities with a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, animal breeding, and incipient Neolithic agriculture.

Period III-A (3300–2500 BC)

At the beginning of Period III, in the Chalcolithic, complex compositions appear. The syntactic analysis shows a change in the association process that characterizes a broader view of compositions. The rayed solar disk, the square representing the earth and sometimes the triangle symbolizing the underworld are accompanied in these compositions by figures of objects probably of symbolizing attributes.

A wave of ideological-religious concepts reached some of the principal areas of rock art in the Alps: Valcamonica, Valtellina and Alto Adige, Swiss Valais, and Val d'Aos-

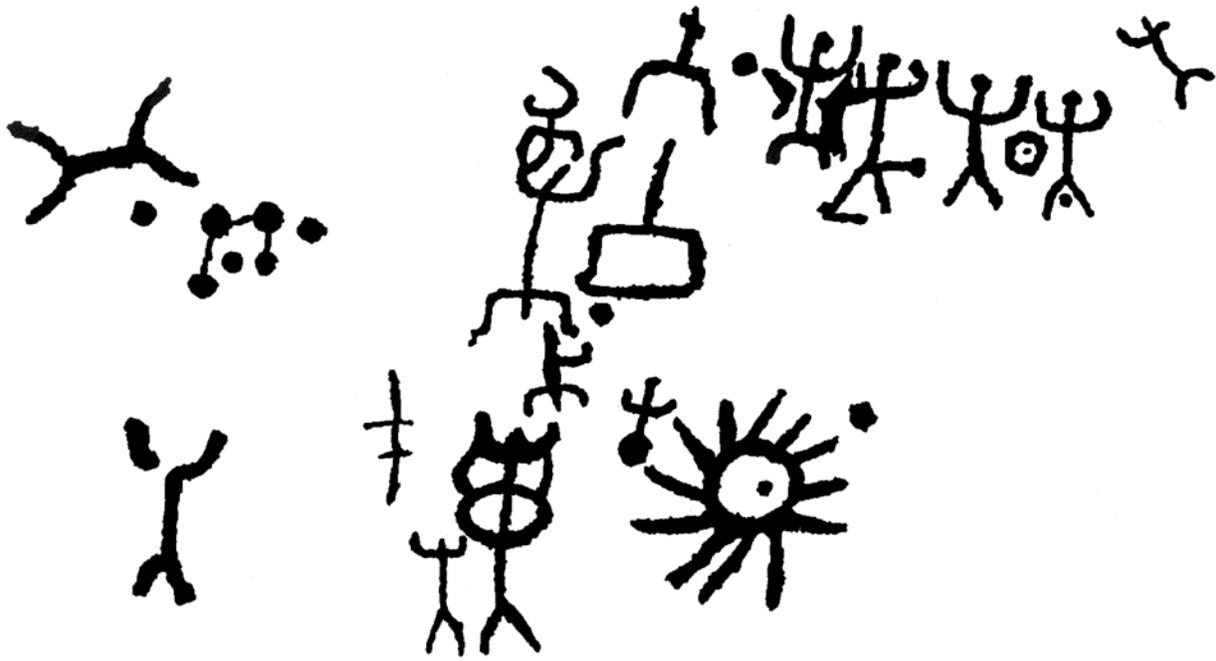


Fig. 2. Coren del Valento, r. 59, Capo di Ponte. Schematic tracing. Scene of solar cult (?). On the sides of the rayed disc are two smaller discs. Period II A-B. Size of tracing: 1.75 x 0.90 m.

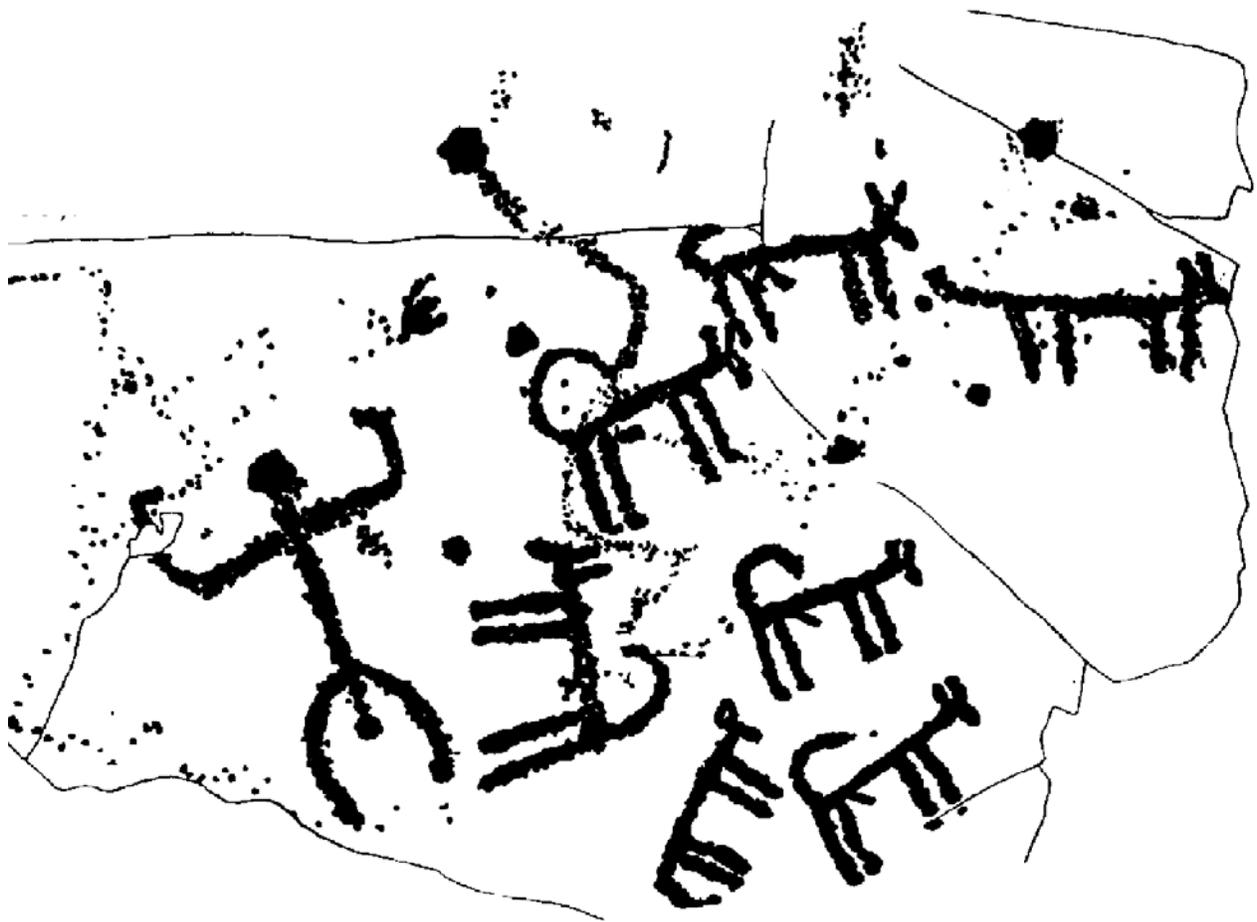


Fig. 3. Foppe di Nadro, r. 27, Ceto. Tracing of a figure of male worshipper with a group of dogs, the first animal known to be domesticated in Valcamonica. Period II.



Fig. 4. Foppe di Nadro, r. 27, Ceto. The 'butterfly idol', engraving of Period II

ta. Cult sites with related images are all over. The places of worship consistently grow in number and size, and priesthood is arguably acquiring a dominant role in a regime that looks like an oligarchic and theocratic system. A new type of monuments appears in the Alpine area, menhir statues, which are anthropomorphic monoliths decorated with symbols. Menhirs and menhir statues were already worshipped in various areas of Europe, but their peculiar decorations made the Alpine group a special case, as they reveal a specific ideological trend. The concept of a tripartite structure of society and of the world (sky, earth, underworld) carry the most ancient traces of an ideology that, already in the fourth millennium BC, expresses the core of tripartite Indo-European conceptuality and vision of the world (figs. 5, 6, 7).

The subdivision of the universe into three spheres, the sky, the earth, and the underworld, is a new element in the iconography. The universe is seen as the body of a giant, where the sky is the head, the earth is the body and the lower body, below the belt, is the underworld. These new iconographic elements indicate drastic ideological innovations that seem to reflect the emergence of a new religion. Using our modern terminology, one gets the impression that a revolution took place, a new regime came to power and a new ideology prevailed. Rock art suggests the presence of a more structured society, with a compact and united ideology, arguably a regime.

Fig.s of wagons, metalwork, the shape of new instruments, daggers and axes, necklaces and jewels, hint at new elements coming from eastern Europe. The very shapes of tools portrayed indicate a relationship with the culture of Baden of the central Danube valley. Probably the people of Valcamonica were influenced by external relations and indoctrination.

Period III-b-c-d (2500–1200 BC)

The stereotyped syntactic structures of rock art, menhir statues, and monumental compositions are characteristic of the Camunian period III-A and are discontinued at the end of this phase. Changes in the themes and style of art also herald changes in the social system. Canonical images in organized compositions become assemblages of less structured figures that reflect a much softer social discipline in subsequent phases. A change in rock art style and pattern indicates a change of regime which corresponds to changes in cult practices.³

The iconographic style is characterized by weapons and other objects, but also by compositions called topographical maps which persist and become more complex. They are considered to represent specific territories, either real or imaginary. Toward the end of this period, mythological scenes and anthropomorphic figures increase in number and variety. The most common weapons in rock iconography are sub-triangular daggers, battle-axes, spears, and shields. A good proportion of the numerous metal weapons depicted provide excellent chronological information thanks to comparable finds from datable excavations of archaeo-

³ Periods III-B-C-D correspond to the Early and Middle Bronze Age: Period III-B is Early Bronze Age, Period III-C belongs to the end of the EB, and the early MB and Period III-D correspond to the MB.



Fig. 5. Borno. Schematic tracing of face n. 1 of boulder I. It presents an almost complete iconographic repertoire of menhir statues on the same surface. This composition is the result of additions in at least four phases. In each phase symbols were represented that reflected the ideas and trends of the moment, of a particular school or a given holy man.

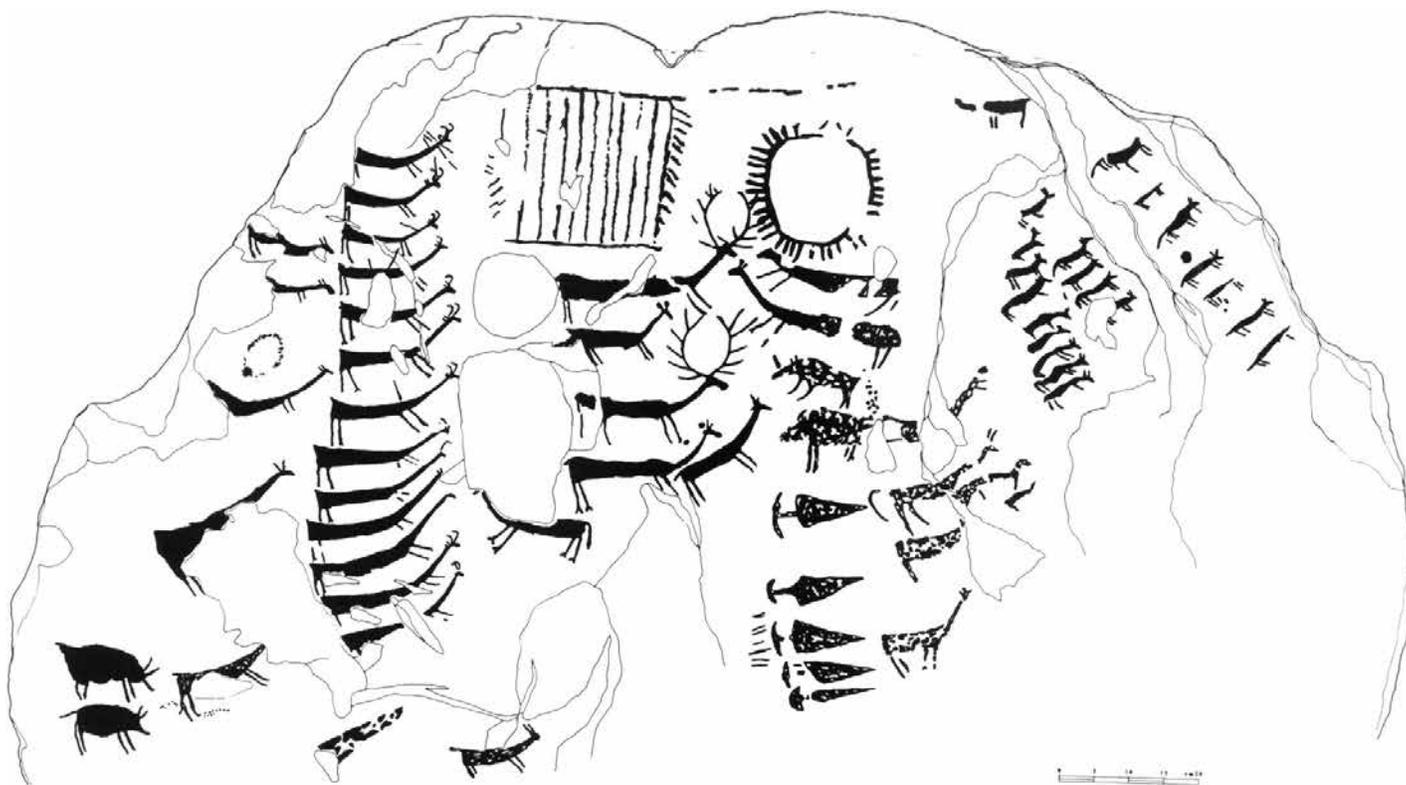


Fig. 6. Menhir statue Ossimo 7. Tracing of the engraving on the boulder. The circular radial element, called a solar disc and defined as an astral symbol, and the rectangular element, called a priest cloak or small carpet and defined as a sign of territory, are interpreted as a symbolism of sky and earth. Animals, daggers, and other graphemes were added at various subsequent phases as attributes or votive items.

logical levels (figs. 8, 9).

The socio-political structure is the tribe, whose authoritarian government is less pyramidal and centralized than in the previous Period III A. Beliefs and religion undergo another change. The evidence from rock art shows that the cosmological religion of the Chalcolithic also decays, and a new concern is addressed to the cult of objects and weapons. Metal weapons are divinized, as autonomous powers are attributes to them. Cults of fertility are evidenced both by ploughing scenes and by erotic scenes, often related to each other.

In later phases the cult of spirits and heroes also spread further. Understanding the significance of the process of modification of cults and beliefs is of general value also for the history of religion. Something interesting happened during the Bronze Age, a development from the cult and worship of cosmological entities defined by the power of the numerous weapons depicted as part of such entities, to the cult and worship of the tools and weapons themselves.

This is a peculiar development, evolving from the

broad cosmological concepts of Period III A to the cult of weapons and of their magic power of Period III B-C. Obviously something changed in the conceptual trends of these people. The cult of tools also implies the presence of the magic of tools (fig. 10).

Period IV (1200–16 BC)

In the Camunian Period IV, of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age, the range of subjects and interests increases: epic and mythical heroes, monsters, real and imaginary animals, figures of huts and other dwellings, some of which may be *marai* or temples. Specific places are evidenced as cult sites. Magic and sorcery occupy a space in the rock art figures, and probably play a more important role in beliefs and practices. Toward the end of the pre-Roman Camunian cycle a decrease of realism and dynamism of figures takes place, while the technique of execution becomes poor. In the last phase of Period IV, in the late Iron Age, both the figurative style and the quality of execution indicate the decadence of this art and likely of the

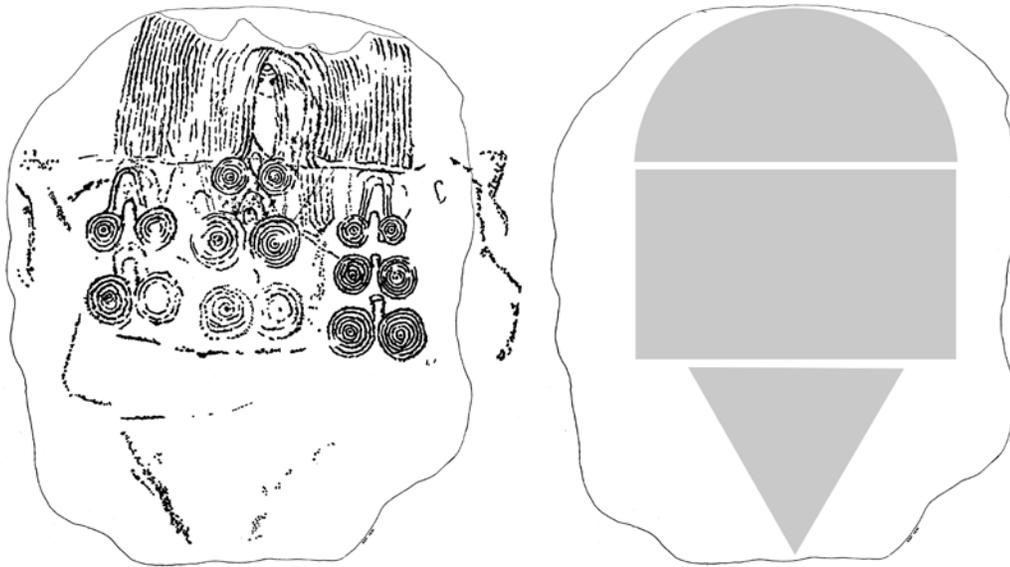


Fig. 7a. Boulder Ossimo I. An erratic boulder with a rounded and smoothed form was chosen as a divine body; man has engraved on it the soul, life, and attributes of the represented entity. A kind of lunar face is centrally located in the sector at the top. Below the motif of spectacles/spiral pendant, a fertility symbol is repeated eight times. The iconography is subdivided into three sectors. The one at the top has a kind of aureole of parallel lines around the face, the central one has the spectacles/spiral pendants, and the one at the bottom has a pubic triangle. On the sides some lines may indicate the arms of the anthropomorphic body.

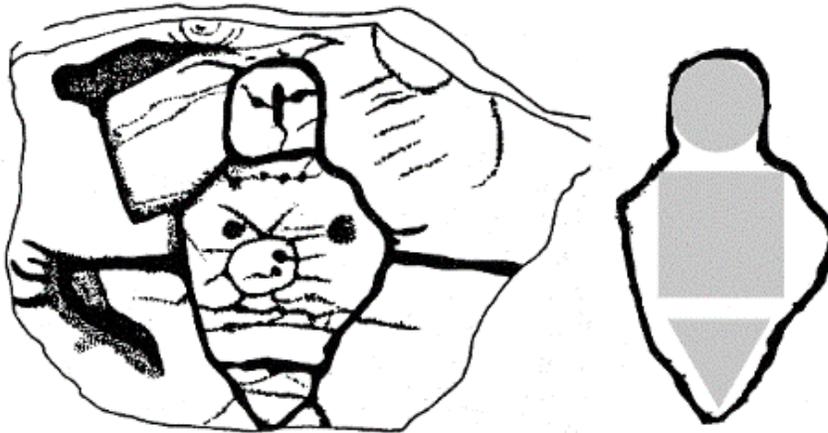


Fig. 7b. Miandassa, Pinerolo (Piemonte). Engraved block showing the same conceptual subdivision in three sectors: round on top, square or rectangular in the middle, and triangular below.

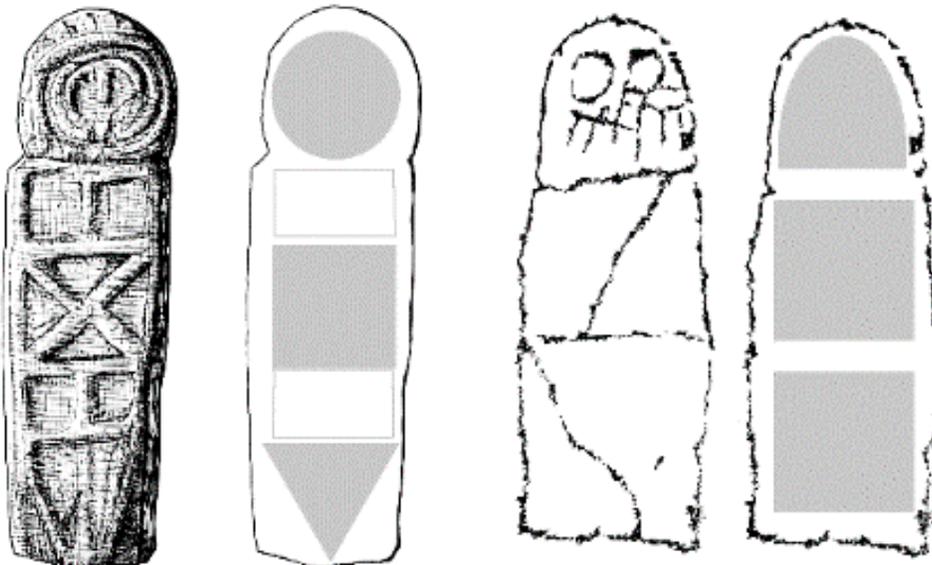


Fig. 7c (left). Troitoesende, Spain. A menhir statue shows the same tripartite subdivision.

Fig. 7d (right). Incanale di Rivoli, Veneto. Rock engraving showing the same tripartite subdivision, though in a more schematic way.



Fig. 8. Luine, r. 38, Darfo Boario Terme. Composition of weapons that form a vaguely anthropomorphic image. At the center, three axes are arranged to form two eyebrows and a nose. On the left-hand side, a lance, a small dagger, and a scutiform appear as the weapons or the attributes of the entity that emerges from the rock surface, a mythic hero with his image made of weapons.

minds of the makers. Human figures, mostly involved in small fighting scenes, remain the dominant, almost exclusive element. The exaltation of heroes, either mythical or real, reflects a sort of personality cult.

Different styles and patterns of rock art followed one another and no specific one lasted for a long time. Each style displays different religious habits. They illustrate the chapters of a 10,000-years-long history of art that occurred at the heart of Europe. What continues from beginning to end is the tradition of producing rock art, as well as the habit of engraving in specific places, in traditional localities, where artists went back again and again over millennia. The sites remain the collectors of figurative expressions of the changing religious beliefs and practices (figs. 11, 12).

Among the technological and cultural innovations represented in the iconography is the iron industry. During this period writing begins with a local language that was using the northern Etruscan alphabet.

The Camunians (Camunni for the Romans) learn how to write. Metalsmiths increase in number as a fundamental economic resource; trade becomes a major activity. Polytheism emerges with classes of heavenly and infernal divinities.

When compared with previous periods, conceptual innovations are considerable. Rock figures often represent pieces of epic events, sometimes similar to those of the Germanic mythology. The transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age seems to mark a shift from the worship of ancestral spirits to that of divinities, masters of war, of metalworking, of the animal world, of fertility, each god specialized according to the different human activities (fig. 14).

Post-Camunian (16 BC to present)

The Post-Camunian period concerns rock engravings produced after the year 16 BC, during the Roman, medieval and recent periods. The style's character is

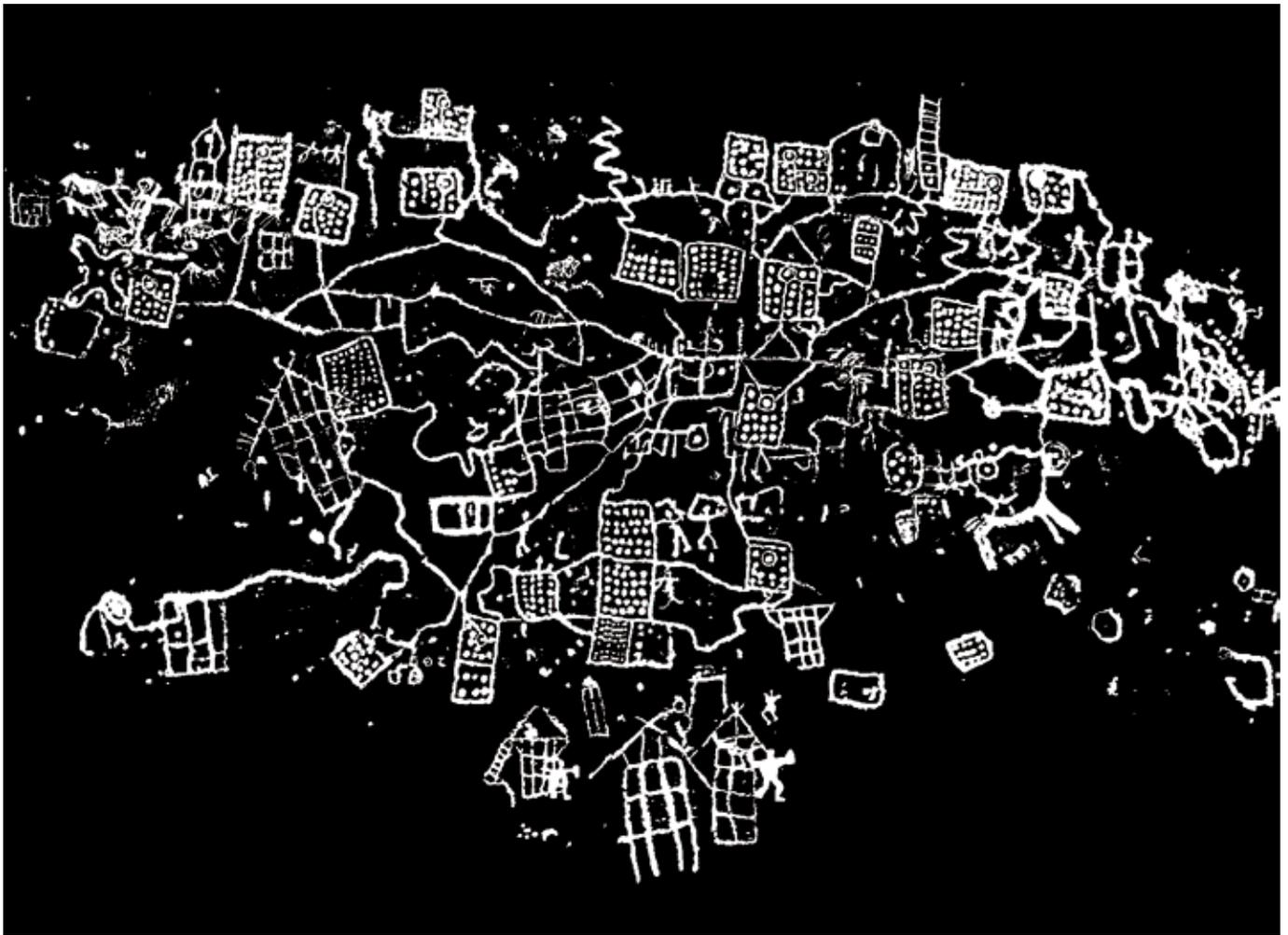


Fig. 9. Tracing of the Map of Bedolina, Capo di Ponte. A Bronze Age composition that was completed in the Iron Age with the addition of a few huts in the lower part.. The first map representations can be dated back to the Neolithic. This subject evolves in its typology and continues to be represented until the Late Bronze Age. Maps and ploughing scenes may be related to cults of fertility of the earth.

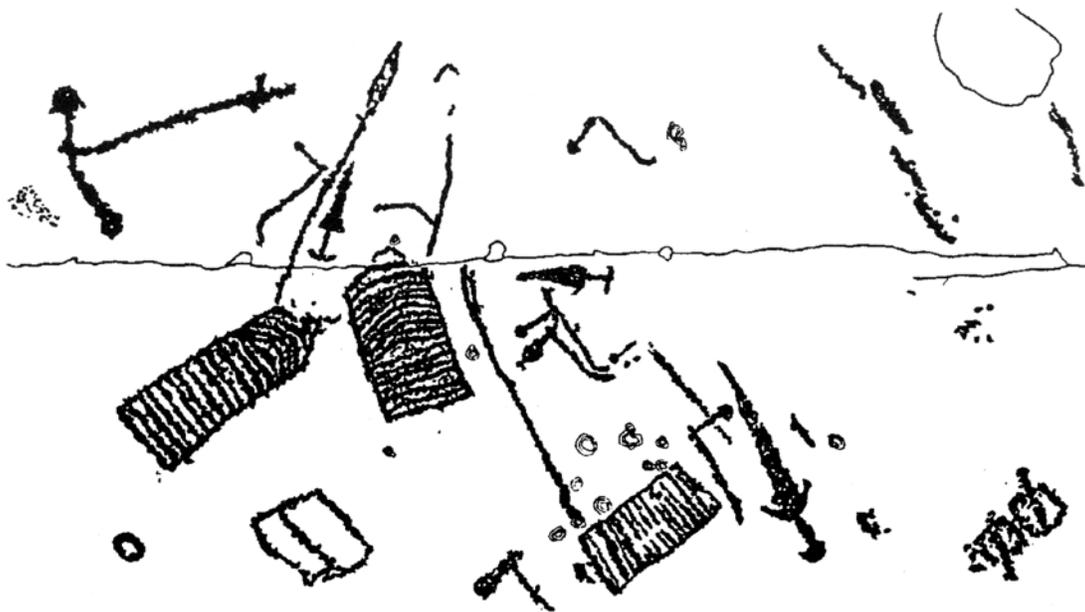


Fig. 10. Luine, r. 34, Darfo Boario Terme. Large composition of scutiforms and arms: battle-axes, spears, and daggers. Period III B-C. Dimensions: 1.80 x 0.90 m.



Fig. 11. Foppe di Nadro, r. 27, Ceto. The Temple of Nadro, large construction with a series of smaller structures below. On the front of the temple, one can see a strange anthropomorphic figure, while the roof sports some axes. Above the central structure is a large cupmark, while other cupmarks are located below, in an ordered series at the sides of the composition. It was probably *amar ai* or house of spirits. (Period IV, C, Early Iron Age).

schematic. There are simple scenes with people, inscriptions, arabesques, crosses, weapons, huts, and other structures.

During the Post-Camunian period waves of foreign influences follow one another: Religion changes even more frequently: Roman polytheism, the introduction of Christian monotheism, the input of new beliefs and practices by barbarian invasions, feudalism, monastic orders, frequent social, conceptual and political developments. Each change of regime introduced new religious beliefs and habits.

After the Roman conquest rock art lost its fundamental ritual and educational uses. The tradition of engraving on rocks persisted without its conceptual and religious contents.

An overview of religious patterns

How many different religious tendencies did a small Alpine tribe have in the course of 10,000 years? Images on the rock show how the particular interests and beliefs of society changed from one period to the next. In the initial phase of Camunian rock art the concern of hunters was directed toward their game, which was represented by large-size animal silhouettes. Some of the animal figures appear to be wounded by lines, representing spears or arrows. In the following period, the Neolithic, large-size animal figures are no longer represented, while the anthropomorphic figure, man, becomes the most represented theme. Images of anthropomorphic idols may indicate another new acquisition of the local religion.

In the next period, the Chalcolithic or Copper Age, a new kind of compositions appear, the monumental compositions, cosmological concepts focussing on the rayed disk of the sun, and the square or rectangle representing the earth, the land, or sky and earth. They are accompanied by figures of objects and tools likely to represent qualities or powers. These compositions express new visions about the cosmological order and natural powers. The world is a giant anthropomorphic being: the rounded head is the sky or the sun, the

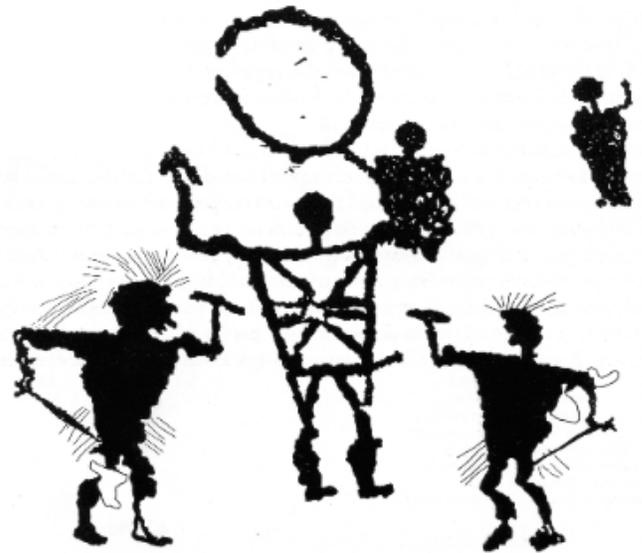


Fig. 12. Naquane, r. 50, Capo di Ponte. Scene of armed struggle. Between the two fighters, a figure of deity or spirit holds a disc. The warriors are armed with a sword and a small shield, with headdresses of feathers and maybe wearing a short skirt. At the top right, two anthropomorphic busts are executed by different tools and could have been added later. Period IV C (850–700 BC).



Fig. 13. Seradina S. Rocco, r. 1, Capo di Ponte. Rock art of the Iron Age reveals many aspects of mythology. In this tracing, two human figures, accompanied by their tutelary spirits, are fighting against two evil spirits.

square body is the earth, the land, the triangular lower part of the body is the underworld.

Then the focus changes again, with vaguely anthropomorphic images representing non-human beings, probably spirits. From 10000 to 4000 BC the dominant subject of rock art, and of worship and cult, changes from animal to human, to cosmic concepts, to spirits. The rocks upon which the images are engraved are the inaccessible containers of something to which some of the engravings are addressed.

Thereafter, from the beginning of the Bronze Age in the late fourth millennium BC, interest focusses on representations of metal tools, which caused a revolution in both the economy and daily life. Man-made objects acquire a sort of magic autonomy and power. A cult of objects with supernatural powers emerges as a major object of rock art and likely of cult. Religion is again focussing on new horizons.

In the late Bronze Age, from around 1200 BC, anecdotal scenes show hunting and fighting. Auspicious representations express success in the struggle against humans and animals. A cult of supernatural heroes is developing, exalting exceptional deeds. At the end of the Bronze Age and then in the Iron Age, after 1000

BC, gods are represented along with scenes of fighting and warfare. Images of gods and heroes reveal an elaborate mythology and a supernatural world of many imaginary beings. Ideology and spirituality vary from period to period, producing a succession of different religions.

In the Proto-Camunian (Final Palaeolithic) human figures are not known. The main theme is zoomorphic. In the Neolithic male and female figures are equally represented, while in subsequent periods male figures are far more frequent than female ones. These changes in the typology of human figures and their gender are unlikely to represent the demographic reality of the male and female percentages in the local population, but they reflect the artists' minds and illustrate conceptual and social changes.

This typological analysis leads to the reconstruction of conceptual evolution. Until a few years ago the official history of the Alpine region began with the Roman conquest, 2,000 years ago. By adding a further 8,000 years to these 2,000, we obtain a new perspective, through the substantial cultural heritage accumulated during the eventful times that accompanied the transition in human society from bands of nomadic



Fig. 14. Zurla, r. 70, Ceto. Tracing of the Celtic god Kernunnos, characterized by his deer horns, his torques, and his serpent. During the Late Iron Age, elements of the Celtic culture of La Tène penetrate into Valcamonica. Images of gods such as Kernunnos and Taranis are represented at Naquane, Campanine, and Paspardo.

hunters to urbanized society. In this context, religion appears as an omnipresent cultural element but following constant changes in beliefs and practices. Each culture and period needed both beliefs and practices, but their patterns were easily changed to adapt to contingent needs or fashions.

Conclusions: the evolution of Camunian religion

This short summary of a much more complex history, is stressing the adaptation of religion to the succession of cultural patterns of society. In spite of the apparently logical succession of styles, the evolution of Camunian art does not proceed in a linear and gradual way. The same can be said about religion. In each period and phase, changes in style, typology, and syntax illustrate the dynamic trends of a society, its fashions and concepts. In the course of 10,000 years, the degree and type of symbolism vary without any apparent rule guiding its development. From the wounded animals of the Proto-Camunian, to the worshippers

of the Neolithic, to the monumental compositions of the Copper Age, to the mythological scenes of later phases, to the appearance of gods, the character of the symbolism is variable from period to period, disclosing different psychological states, cognitive processes, and fluctuations in the conceptual, economic, social, and political context.

Stone Age clans of hunter-gatherers evolved into, or were replaced by, food-producing clans; they gradually became tribes with an increased variation of specialized activities and more complex structures. Two thousand years ago, after an evolution of 400 generations, when the Camunians became part of the rising Roman empire, they were a small nation, like other contemporary tribes, with their chiefs, their local religion and gods, their own economic and social structure, and a division of labor and classes, which has characterized European society ever since.

Modern society shaped itself in these millennia, which the Valcamonica rock art has restored to us. The Camunians disappeared as an ethnic group when they became assimilated into the empire of Rome. Medieval graffiti are the persistence of the traditions of engraving on the rocks that have maintained their appearance but lost the traditional content. Rock art was an essential part of cults and rites, an intellectual and spiritual expression, until the Roman conquest. After the Roman indoctrination, it lost its spiritual role and survived as a habit but void of its original content.

The attempt of levelling Europe, of subduing it to a dominant civilization, may have started with the Neolithic diffusion of agricultural peoples and the development of trade. The attempt was repeated by Julius Cesar, by Charles the Great, by Napoleon, and by more recent sad events. In spite of this, the local characteristics of each valley and area survived and is still surviving. But as we have seen, the local characters also change from period to period, from one regime to another, from one religious trend to another. Each age had its own religions. In each period, the followers of each religion probably believed that their religion was the sole, eternal truth.

This short story of the succession of different religious experiences, beliefs and practices of a small tribe during 10,000 years, may hopefully contribute a new chapter, and perhaps new thoughts and concepts, in the history of religions.

THE MYTHIC THEME OF THE FAWN WITH BIRD IN THE PYRENEAN MAGDALENIAN

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With time and thanks to new discoveries, certain themes of parietal or portable art appear to be more numerous and to have a much more extensive dispersion than was thought when research began. Beyond their intrinsic importance, this expansion renews their interest and opens up new perspectives on their meaning(s). Thus, in recent years, it has been noted that the Placard type geometric signs, initially only known in Quercy, at Pech-Merle and Cougnac, were also found in Charente (Le Placard) and Provence (Cosquer). The dates obtained in these last two caves made it possible to place them in the Solutrean, which is not incompatible with the data of the Lot caves (Clottes et al. 1990, 1991, 1996). In these cases, a sign attributed to a narrow value of an ethnic marker (Leroi-Gourhan 1981) would therefore belong to different contemporary groups spread over vast territories, which is yet another proof of the diffusion of beliefs and worship practices.

The bird fawn theme, also attested on several sites, poses problems of another order. Like the previous one, it seems well dated, in this case the Middle Magdalenian (Labastide, Le Mas-d'Azil, Saint-Michel d'Arudy). That of Bédeilhac is also Magdalenian, but it could also belong to the Final Magdalenian or the Middle Magdalenian, since these two stages are well represented in that cave. However, the distribution of this theme is much more homogeneous than that of the Placard type sign, because it is known so far only in the Pyrenees, where the most distant copies are only 250 km from each other.

It was the discovery of the Mas-d'Azil fawn with birds in 1940 by Marthe and Saint-Just Péquart which popularized this extraordinary theme: a fawn that turns its head to observe two birds perched on the matter coming out of its body (fig. 1).

In 1950, Romain Robert discovered the one at Bédeilhac, which had an amazing resemblance, with the same subject and a comparable position, apart

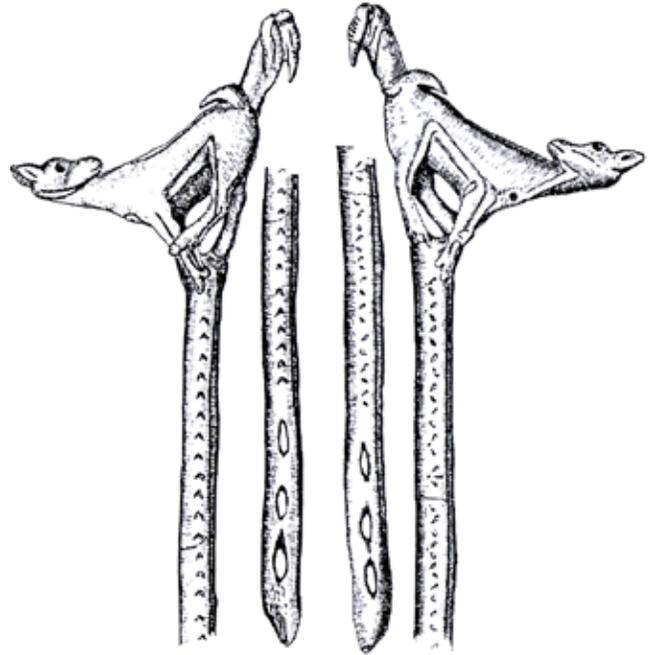


Fig. 1. The Mas-d'Azil fawn with birds. From Péquart, 1963: 297, fig. 204-205.

from the legs, which are folded at Bédeilhac but stretched at Mas-d'Azil. In addition, there was only one bird at Bédeilhac instead of two (fig. 2).

In 1988, Bandi remarked that, on a sculpture of Saint-Michel d'Arudy (fig. 3), unfortunately broken at its head, discovered by Félix Mascaraux at the beginning of the century (Mascaraux 1910), several times compared with the other two (Robert et al. 1953, Péquart 1963: 301, Camps 1979, Cattelain 1979), the material expelled from the body of the animal was located at the vulva and not the anus (Bandi 1988: 138). Cattelain (1979: 20) had already noticed that "the pudding of feces springs from a point below the anus of the ibex", but without drawing conclusions, because the hypothesis of an animal doing his needs was then commonly accepted.

Finally, in 1991, Robert Simonnet reported another one discovered by his father Georges at Labastide (Hautes-Pyrénées) in 1947 (fig. 4). The attitude of the body is very close to the others', but the absence of the head and an unfortunate break at the tail prevent an unqualified identification with the other three, despite many common details.

These four pieces share the following elements: iden-

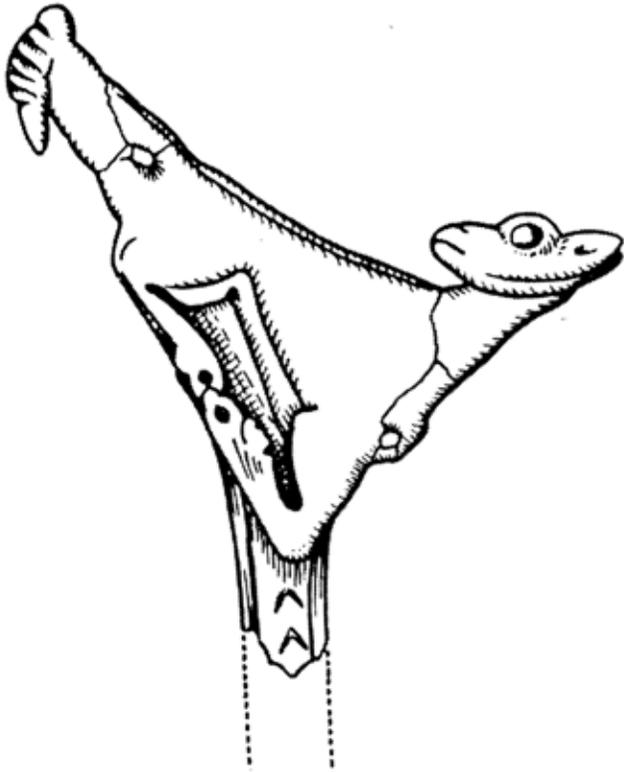


Fig. 2. The Bédeilhac fawn with bird. From Robert et al., 1953: 188, pl. VIII.

tivity of the support (reindeer antler) and of the object (end of a spear-thrower with hook on the hindquarters), technique (*ronde-bosse*), theme of a young animal (fawn), underlined back relief (by a line at Bédeilhac, Labastide and Mas-d’Azil, and by a guilloché at Saint-Michel d’Arudy and Labastide), parallel streaks on the hook (or on the birds). The excellent conservation of those of Mas-d’Azil and Bédeilhac made it possible to identify other common details that all the authors have highlighted: cabochons for the eyes; big pudgy matter coming out of the body; the presence of one (Bédeilhac) or two birds (Mas-d’Azil) perched on this matter; head of the fawn turned backwards.

The Saint-Michel d’Arudy piece was in the lower layer of the site (Mascaraux 1910). On the other hand, the fawn with birds of Mas-d’Azil was discovered intact at the entrance of a small nook of the Galerie des Silex; that of Bédeilhac had been deposited in a crawling passage directly on the clay soil (Robert 1953: 12), out of any archaeological context, even if it was “close to one of the many habitats” of this immense cave

(Thiault 1996: 75); finally, that of Labastide was “in a sanctuary context” (Simonnet 1991: 142). A special value seems to have been attributed to these objects. In addition, rightly or wrongly, their functional character has been questioned because of their slenderness (Robert 1953: 14, Péquart 1963: 295, Simonnet 1991: 142). That of Bédeilhac would have even been “a new object that has not or almost never been used” and which would have been “broken for unknown reasons and circumstances” (Thiault 1996: 79).

These discoveries open up perspectives on the Magdalenian conceptual universe, which makes them all the more interesting, and they pose a number of questions, which we are going to address now.

However, before dealing with these problems and to clarify our point, we will insist once more on the naturalistic character of Magdalenian art. Like their predecessors, the Magdalenians represented with their talent that we know about an animal reality of which they mastered all the subtleties. It has happened that, in some cases, for technical reasons of support constraints, or to exaggerate a differentiating character, or when they were victims of a universal optical illusion (for galloping horses, for example), they strayed from strict naturalism. But when certain details, which may seem strange at first glance, are reproduced on several occasions, the hypothesis of an error of observation is by far the least likely. It would have burst on the eyes of all contemporaries who knew perfectly well the anatomical particularities of animals and the gestures that reflected their behavior in the various circumstances of their lives.

Defecation or birth?

The problem arose from the outset. Péquart considered “perfectly inadmissible” the hypothesis of a farrowing, with two arguments: “the obvious youth of the fawn” and “his standing position” (1963: 296). This interpretation was accepted (Leroi-Gourhan 1965: 50, Camps 1984). However, Robert expressed his surprise at an apparent “error of observation” on the part of the Magdalenian artist, since, in reality, the droppings “of Antilopidae, Capridae and Cervidae are sub-spherical, small, numerous and separated from one another” (Robert 1953: 16; see also Thiault 1996: 77). He concluded that the artist, who could not make this sort of a mistake, had “acted deliberately, under the influence of a preoccupation that remains mysterious”

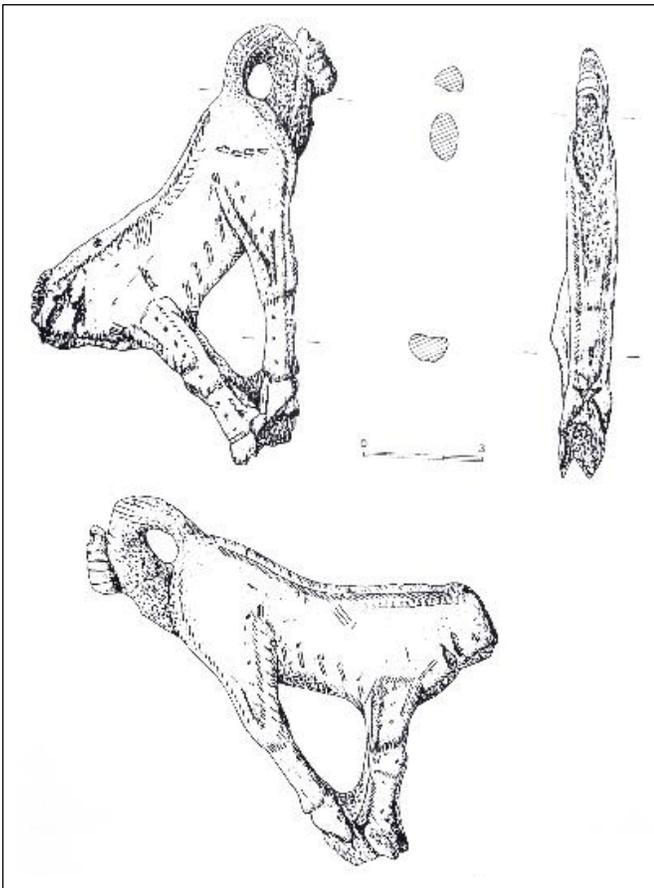


Fig. 3. The Saint-Michel d'Arudy fawn. From Cattelain, 1979: 19, fig. 5. Tracing C. Bellier.

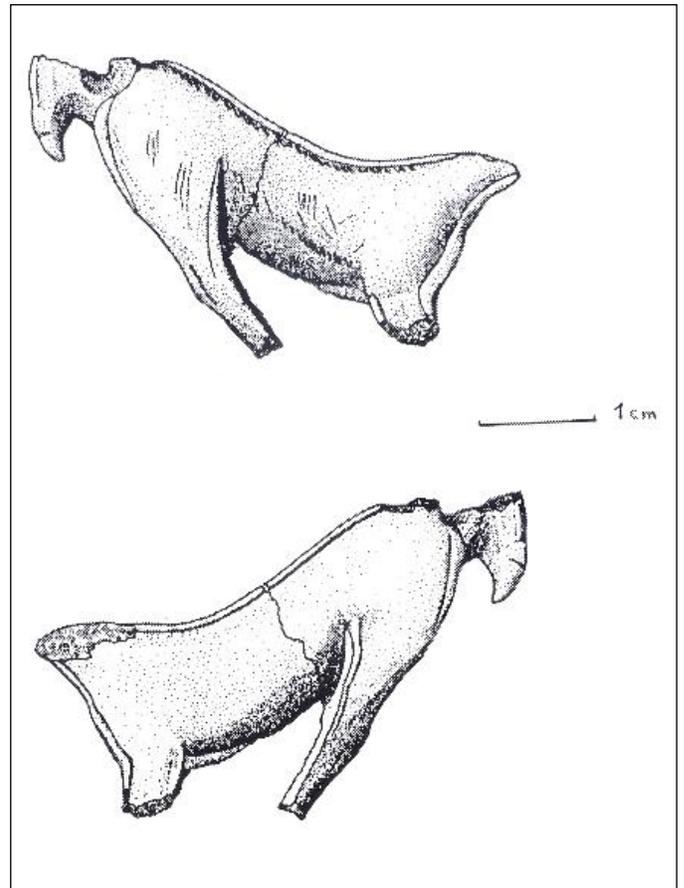


Fig. 4. The Labastide fawn. From Simonnet, 1991: 135, fig. 2.

(Robert 1953: 16). Camps (1984: 258) thought that the reason for “this monstrous aspect” could be simply practical, since it was easier to draw a “pudding” than a set of small balls and that the “pudding” ensured the balance of the scene. As for the bird, always in a practical and functional perspective, it would have been added so that the spear-thrower could be equipped with its indispensable hook (Camps 1984: 260).

Bandi (1988) rejected these arguments for four main reasons. If it were feces, the anus would have been disproportionate; moreover, for the Saint-Michel-d'Arudy animal, it “seems obvious that it is a vulva” (p. 140); “chamois (like ibex or deer) give birth to their young standing or lying on the ground” (Bandi 1988). This precision, which accounts for the differences in the position of the legs between the Bédeilhac carving and the others, contradicts the argument advanced by Péquart to rule out the hypothesis of a childbirth. Last but not least, “all specialists agree that defecation in animals, in general (except in cases of illness,

etc.) is never accompanied by a look. The rejection is brief and of no particular interest “ (p.143), while – and this is essential – females giving birth often look backwards to monitor the operation (figs. 5, 6). The pudding would then be, much more logically, the embryonic sac expelled after the birth of the baby. This interpretation responds much better than the previous one to anatomical, physiological and ethological observations. The problem seems solved.

Which animal?

The animals represented were, with equal conviction, interpreted as isards (Pyrenean chamois) or ibexes. Péquart, after seeing it as an isard, accepted the hypothesis of an ibex, because of the absence of the characteristic bumps formed by the early growth of horns in the isard (Péquart 1963: 296). This opinion was shared by Robert for the Bédeilhac object, because “the convex shape of the back of the nose ... is that of an ibex” (1953: 13). Many other authors adopted

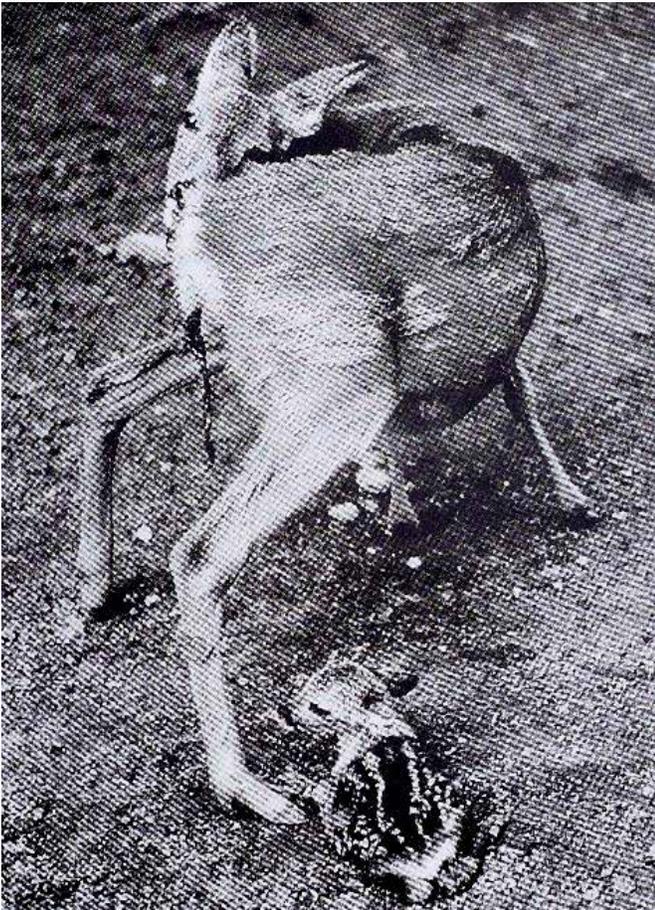


Fig. 5. A roe-deer giving birth. The mother turns her head backwards while standing. From Bandi, 1988: 141, fig. 4. Photo H. Sägemer.

the identification of ibexes in Mas-d'Azil, Bédeilhac and Saint-Michel d'Arudy (Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 50, Camps 1984: 254, Delporte 1990: 151-152, see also Simonnet 1990: 136 for Labastide).

Bandi, on the other hand, saw "rather a chamois" (1988: 135) at Mas-d'Azil because of the "convexity of the frontal bone". The same opinion applied to the Bédeilhac object, "because of the general morphology of the head" (1988: 135) and the one at Arudy, whose "body corresponds morphologically to that of the chamois described above" (Bandi 1988: 138), whereas Leroi-Gourhan was as formal to the contrary: "In spite of the absence of the head, the [Arudy] animal is identifiable, by its general outline and the conventional details of the coat, as an ibex" (Leroi-Gourhan 1965, caption to fig. 33). More recently, Thiault carried out a detailed analysis of the Bédeilhac animal to conclude unambiguously that it should be an isard (Thiault 1996: 76-77).

We retain from these divergent specialist opinions the difficulty, if not impossibility, of precisely determining the species, even if, after Thiault's analysis, the isard seems quite probable for the Bédeilhac spear-thrower. The only certainty concerning all the animals represented on these objects, be they ibexes or isards, is their character as animals of mountains and rocks, Pyrenean *par excellence*.

The unanimity was based, however, on their juvenile aspect, hence the name of "fawn", due to the morphology of the head and the gracility of the body. Bandi thinks that the body "may very well be interpreted as belonging to a young female," and he adds, "today's chamois can breed as early as the second year, although normally the first calving only takes place 'at the age of four'" (Bandi 1988: 143). In this respect, it should be noted that the ibex body is notably more massive than that of the chamois, from which it stands out in nature at a glance. However, if it was a female isard, even two years old, in good naturalistic logic the horns should have materialized in one way or another. Whatever the case may be, it is a very young, hornless animal which is shown giving birth.

The role of birds and the meaning of these objects

Whether there are one or more birds of indeterminate species, their repeated association with the calving scene is indisputable: they are represented in the direct extension of the pudding coming out of the body of the animal. It is true that this does not correspond to

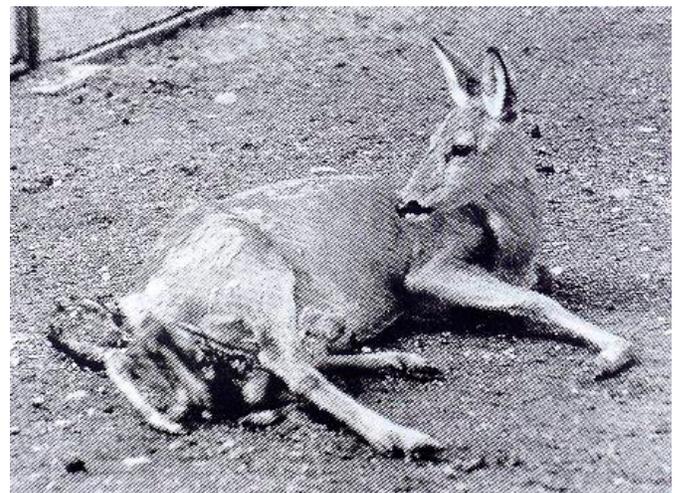


Fig. 6. A roe-deer giving birth. The mother turns her head backwards while lying down. From Bandi, 1988: 142, fig. 7. Photo H. Sägemer.

an ethological observation. This was the objection to the interpretation of a delivery scene: “Bandi claimed (1988) that animals are not defecating but giving birth; but he is unable to explain the presence of what he admits to be birds “ (Bahn and Vertut 1997: 217). Obviously, the same objection would apply to the hypothesis of a defecation, the birds having no more the habit of pecking the excrement balls of the ibexes and the chamois than their embryonic sac at the time of delivery. In both cases, therefore, it is a bizarre, non-naturalistic concept.

This quirk has given rise to a double reaction, sometimes even by the same authors. Robert (1953: 18) has summed them up very well. These would be “free” performances, where the acute observation of the rough hunter, tenderness, verve, even humor, blended with what we will later call “*gauloiserie*”, all things that are peculiar to the world of man. The free search for beauty and the feeling of tenderness in front of a graceful creature, full of life and harmonious forms, would therefore count among the major reasons that inspired the artists. Péquart evokes Snow-White and the Bambi fawns (1963: 299), a comparison that has since been taken up (Camps 1984: 260-261, Bahn and Vertut 1997: 96).

The other motive would be humor, laughter, gaiety. Péquart speaks of a “comical tableau” (1963: 296), “so comically realistic” (p. 303), “frankly cheeky” (p. 303); “the inventor wanted to do something amusing and gave in creating it only to the pleasure of entertaining himself, to cheer the happy recipient of the object and to incite the gallery ‘to applaud’” (p. 303); he therefore insists on the “already Rabelaisian taste of the somewhat fat joke” of the Magdalenians (p. 303). We know that, while laughter is a human characteristic, it is extremely different from one culture to another, and its objects vary with time, place, and circumstance. Consequently, it is not licit to take for granted that what amused some of our contemporaries in the 20th century must necessarily have had the same effect and the same goal 15 millennia earlier. In addition, if it is a calving and not a defecation, as all indicates, the scatological side, “scabrous” (Delporte 1990: 152), or “Gaulois” (Camps 1984: 261) of the scene disappears, and this hypothesis on motivation no longer holds. Finally, these positions lend the Magdalenians a feeling of tenderness towards certain animal species that are

abundantly found, of course, in urban societies cut off from nature, but which is much less common among those for whom animals are a trivial everyday reality. At this point in our analysis, we find that the scene is certainly that of a calving by a caprine or a rupicaprine; that its main character is a very young animal, which may seem contradictory to the previous observation; that the presence of the bird(s) does not correspond to an ethological reality either; that the interpretations calling upon the gratuitousness of the theme, tenderness or humor cannot be appropriate; that some of these objects, perhaps not utilitarian, were found in privileged places; finally, that this theme has been reproduced on several occasions, with some variations, but also with a surprising repetitiveness of detail (see, for example, the streaks on the bird).

The repetitiveness of the theme

This last finding is problematic in a number of ways. Since the discovery of these spear-thrower ends, our knowledge of taphonomy has progressed. We know that the vestiges recovered represent only a tiny proportion of the totality of prehistoric productions (see Delporte 1984). With regard to “fawns with the bird”, Péquart had considered the possible existence of other identical objects (1963: 300-301). Later, Bahn rightly pointed out that “it is obvious that these objects are only a tiny fraction of the tens – and perhaps hundreds – that were originally manufactured” (Bahn and Vertut 1997: 97). The fawn with bird was undoubtedly a Pyrenean theme well known in the Magdalenian, produced on many media in a more or less stereotyped form, from one end of the Pyrenean chain to the other. Given the frequent movements documented in the Magdalenian and influences among regions, it is not impossible at all to find another one elsewhere.

Does this mean that these objects are to be attributed to the same hand, even to the same group, that is to say that they had a very restricted origin, which would explain the originality of the theme? This hypothesis has sometimes been presented as a matter of course: “It can therefore be argued that there was a strong production by an individual artist or a small group of artisans on a favorite theme, since all the examples are attributable to the Middle Magdalenian “ (Bahn and Vertut 1997: 96-97). In the same book the authors went further: “Few people can doubt that the

spear-throwers of Mas-d'Azil and Bédeilhac ... were made by the same artist or, at least, by two artists one of which had studied the work of the other" (Bahn and Vertut 1997: 201).

Robert considered the same possibilities (only one artist or a copyist) and added a third: "It would have existed at the Paleolithic higher schools of art where several artists were practicing the realization of the same subject" (Robert 1953: 16, see also Robert et al. 1953), but he leaned – not without some chauvinism – for the anteriority of the one at Bédeilhac. The artist would have made enough progress to eventually make that of Mas-d'Azil, unless the latter was a copy more complete than the original made by another individual (Robert 1953: 16 *Ibidem*). This hypothesis was contested by Péquart (1963: 46) who defended the primacy of Mas-d'Azil and its gallery. As for the hypothesis of schools of art, it had no success.

In fact, we have no certainty about the presumed contemporaneity of these pieces or the anteriority of some compared with others, even if they all belong to the Middle Magdalenian (which is not 100% assured for Bédeilhac), because they can spread easily over several hundred years.

It seems much more likely to consider that this particular theme corresponded to a myth or a legendary story of the Pyrenean Magdalenians (hypothesis envisaged by Camps 1984: 258), and that it has independently materialized in places and perhaps at different times by artists who did not know each other, but who drew on the same sources of oral tradition. The deposit of some of these objects in special places shows that they were given a certain importance.

The fawn bird myth

The basis of this myth is the story of a young animal, a fawn, apparently too young to give birth, and yet doing so. With this first break with reality, there is another: the bird(s). The scene actually suggests that the product of parturition would be the bird. In this case, the whole scene takes on a meaning that goes far beyond a joke or a supposed tenderness. A very complex history is present, as it exists in all traditional cultures, where the transformations of species are abundantly attested. Recently, for example, a Tuareg from Niger told us that owls do not lay eggs because they were cursed from the beginning by the Creator. To repro-

duce, they steal eggs from other birds and even snakes, they hatch them and eventually small owls come out. We know that composite beings, with human and animal characters, are attested many times in Palaeolithic art, including with bird heads (Lascaux, Pech-Merle, Cougnac), and that there also are composite animals. In this context, the birth of a bird from a fawn is no stranger. The role of the soul-bird or the bird-destiny has been evoked, whether as symbols of death and rebirth, as shamanism or something else (Bandi 1988: 144).

Whatever their precise meaning, and waiting for new discoveries, we must consider these objects for what they are, namely, the privileged exemplars of a sophisticated thought, a world of the imagination, which is rarely and not easily seen, where the relations of animals with each other and with men far exceeded the long-assumed simplicity of the hunter's elemental relationship with his prey or the servile reproduction of scenes of everyday life.¹

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MUSIC AND DANCE IN ROCK ART FROM SOUTHEASTERN KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN

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Introduction: rock art and music, an antinomy?

As an art of sounds, music should be an antinomy to rock art. However, the creation of engravings implies the pecking of rocks, which engenders sounds. Furthermore, rock art sites are in an environment full of sounds: running water, locusts and birds, the mooing and bleating of livestock, wind, and thunder. Rock art sites may also have been cultic places with ceremonies involving dance and music. It is impossible nowadays to prove it, but the presence of dancing scenes and of musicians on some rock art panels lets us suppose it.

If depictions of musical instruments can be identified, it is more difficult to interpret the action of some anthropomorphs: are they dancing or worshipping? The depiction of dancers raises the matter of the representation of movement in rock art. For this paper, anthropomorphs are interpreted as dancers when they have at least one folded leg and one arm away from the body, a position which cannot be explained by a hunting activity or another activity. People with folded arms to the sky could be interpreted as worshippers, but not automatically as dancers. If their legs are also folded, we consider them dancers and worshippers. Both activities are not antinomic: a ceremony is a worshipping activity, and eventually includes dance within the ritual. Some panels show anthropomorphs in a line, holding hands. Due to the fact that there

is no representation of movement, such scenes are not considered dancing scenes, even if some authors consider them a kind of chain dance (Clodoré-Tissot and Kersalé 2010: 95; Fossati and Ragazzi 2001: 48-49; Ragazzi 2012: 232).

In this paper, we will also not speculate about cup marks and pecked stones which could perhaps be interpreted as a lithophone. A lithophone is a rock which is used as a kind of drum, and is covered with cup marks due to the percussion of another stone on it in order to produce sounds. An example still in use is known in the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania (Clodoré-Tissot and Kersalé 2010: 29). Many undetermined impacts on rocks with petroglyphs in central Asia could be explained as having been made to produce sounds, but also as a technique used by an artist to verify the quality of the rock before engraving a drawing. The topic is large and would need further analyses, including verification *in situ* whether these rocks really produce relevant sounds.

The aim of this paper is to provide an initial inventory of music and dance depictions in rock art from



Fig. 1. Main sites; in Kazakhstan: 1. Akterek; 2. Kulzhabasy; 3. Akkainar; 4. Karakyr; 5. Tamgaly; 6. Degeres; 7. Eshkiolmes; 8. Bayan Zhurek; 9. Kaishi; in Kyrgyzstan: 10. Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2; 11. North shore of Issyk-Kul Lake (Tamchi, Baet and Ornok); 12. Barskoon; 13. Karakol Valley; 14. Kenkol Valley (Tchatchikei, Obo, Tchatchoi, Terek); 15. Ur-Maral Valley; 16. Kara-Too; 17. Suuk-Döbö.

Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan, and to try to interpret them by their associations with other drawings.

The presence of musicians and dancers among rock engravings in central Asia is very scarce. Usually, in the Bronze Age petroglyphs in Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan, 15–20% of drawings are depictions of anthropomorphs (Hermann 2017: 232), mainly hunters and worshippers. Up to now, the author has documented more than 14,000 Bronze Age petroglyphs. However, only seven panels with ten musicians and 55 panels with 162 dancers are inventoried.

Southeastern Kazakhstan

Our prospections and systematic documentations of sites are focussed on southeastern Kazakhstan in the provinces of Almaty and Zhambyl. In this area, 12 sites were documented, though some of them are currently not completely prospected (Eshkiolmes and Kaishi).

Five panels with seven musicians were found at three sites (two in Bayan Zhurek and in Kulzhabasy; one in Tamgaly), and 14 panels with 55 dancers were found at seven sites: six panels in Kulzhabasy, two in Akkainar, and in Tamgaly; one in Akterek, in Bayan Zhurek, Eshkiolmes, and Karakyr. Observing the regional distribution of the dancer depictions, 11 of 14 panels are located in the region of Kulzhabasy-Tamgaly. Adding the musicians, 14 panels are in the region of Kulzhabasy-Tamgaly, four in the region of Bayan Zhurek-Eshkiolmes, and only one in the region of Akterek. For this last site, we should mention that this site is peculiar in southeastern Kazakhstan: only the site of Degeres is in its direct vicinity, but its Bronze Age engravings seem thematically influenced by Tamgaly (located 60 km north) and Akkainar (50 km northwest), and stylistically by Eshkiolmes (290 km northeast) (Hermann and Zheleznyakov 2016: 18-19).

Kyrgyzstan

24 sites were prospected and documented in Kyrgyzstan. A few parts of the Kara-Too region have yet to be prospected. Some of the sites do not present Bronze Age petroglyphs (Tamchi) or only in a limited number (Barskoon, Zhaltyrak-Tash, and other sites in the Ur-Maral region).

Two panels with three musicians were inventoried in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2 and 41 panels with 107 dancers were documented at eight sites: 22 panels in Saimaluu-Tash 1; eight in Saimaluu-Tash 2, five in Tchatchikei; two in Ornok; one in Baet, Obo, Tchatchoi, and Terek. One panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1 showing a musician

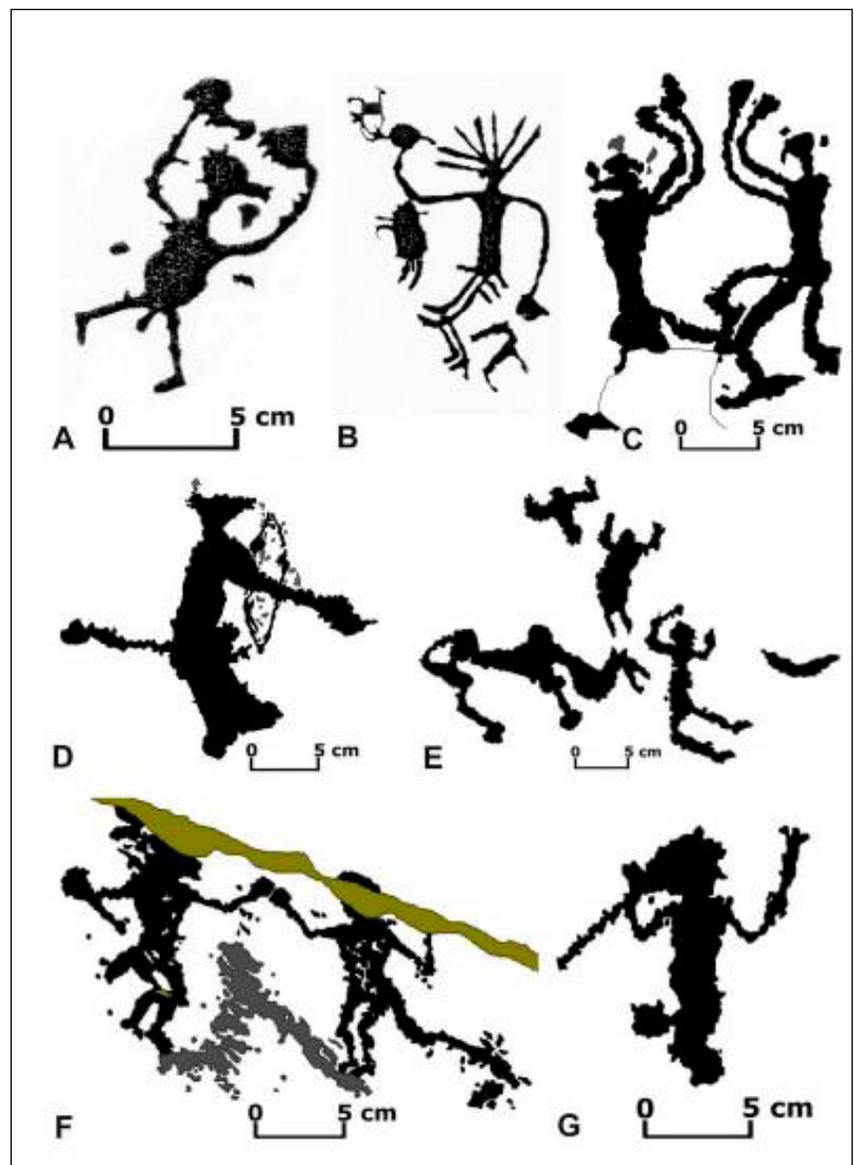


Fig. 2. A-B: Bayan Zhurek (Baipakov and Maryashev 2008: 103ff.) ; C, E: Saimaluu-Tash ; D: Tamgaly-Sunkarsay ; F-G: Kulzhabasy, Valley 3, same panel.

with two dancers and one panel in Saimaluu-Tash 2 depicting two dancing musicians are numbered among the musicians and in the dancers.

The spatial distribution of the panels shows that 31 of 41 are located in Saimaluu-Tash, eight in the Kenkol valley, and three on the northern shore of the Issyk-Kul Lake. The style of the Bronze Age drawings in the Kenkol valley seems to be influenced by the style of Eshkiolmes and Saimaluu-Tash (Hermann 2018: 28).

Rock engravings of musical instruments (fig. 2)

Only seven panels depicting ten musicians are inventoried in Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan. In Kyrgyzstan, there are probably two panels with three musicians in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2; and in Kazakhstan, five panels: two in Bayan Zhurek, two in Kulzhabasy, and one in Tamgaly. In Saimaluu-Tash 2, the arms of two dancers are longer than usual and their hands are depicted by two massive fists as if forming a musical instrument like a kind of maracas (Figs. 2C and 16). However, this representation could also be interpreted as a specific hand glove for a shamanic ritual (Shvets 1999: 107).

Gender of the musicians

Only four musicians have a phallus: the two dancers of Saimaluu-Tash 2; a man with two maracas in Bayan Zhurek, and an anthropomorph with the head of a wolf in Tamgaly (fig. 2D). Furthermore, one anthropomorph in Bayan Zhurek has clothes

and a headdress (fig. 2B) and three musicians on the same panel in Kulzhabasy also wear clothes with an animal tail (fig. 2F-G).

Typology of the musical instruments

The anthropomorph with a wolf's head in Tamgaly carries a kind of a bow (fig. 2D). Instead of an arrow, there is a large stick ending in a massive head. Furthermore, this bow is not used in a hunting scene. For these reasons, this bow and this stick with a head are interpreted as a *kylkobyz*, a traditional Kazakh instrument similar to a violin.

In Kulzhabasy, three anthropomorphs are associated with a bull being attacked by a dog (fig. 3). One of the human beings carries an ax. The second one also carries an instrument. Due to the presence of the human with an ax and due to the general composition with the bull, the second human being was also interpreted as a hunter. However, the instrument in his hand is not an ax. The grip is smaller than the instrument, which forms a 90° angle with the grip. Furthermore, this instrument has the same width the whole length and does not end with a point. For this reason, this instrument could be a musical instrument like a ratchet.

The eight other musicians carry a round instrument in their hands, which looks like maracas (fig. 2A-C, E-G). In Kazakhstan, there is a similar traditional musical instrument called an *asatayak*. Only in four cases (once in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and three times in Kulzhabasy) is the grip visible.



Fig. 3. Anthropomorphs with ax and ratchet, and a bull, Valley 3 in Kulzhabasy.

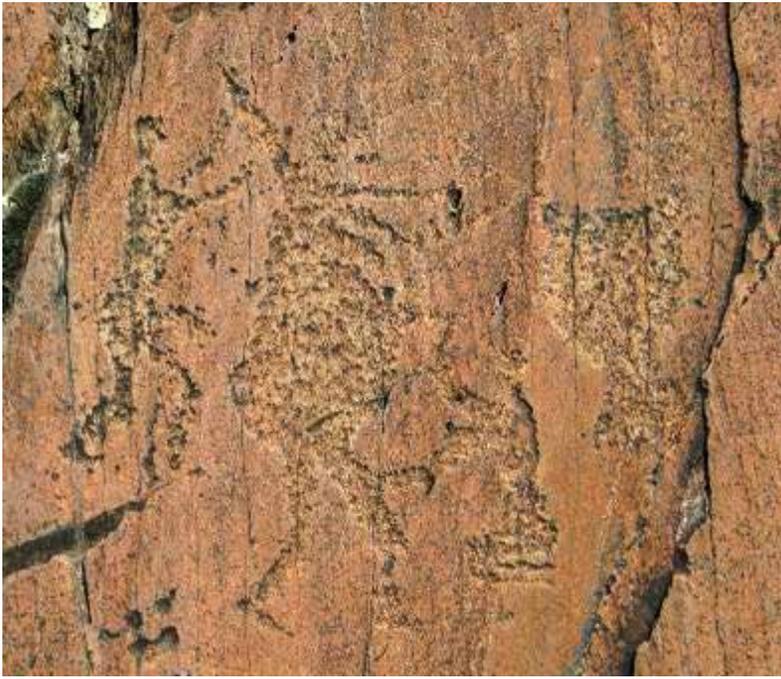


Fig. 4. Cultic scene (detail), Valley 5 in Kulzhabasy, 13.5 x 13.5 cm.

Due to the uncertainty of the interpretation, we do not include the following scene in our inventory but it is worthy of note. In Kulzhabasy, a panel shows a woman going to a supposed cauldron (fig. 4). A man is behind her and seems to pierce her with a lance, and another anthropomorph kneels in front of her and hits her with an ax. The cauldron could also be interpreted as a drum. Some similar examples of drums are known in the Bronze Age in Germany (for example in Horn-Halle and Hornsommern; see Clodoré-Tissot and Kersalé 2010: 49-50).

Chronology of the engravings

These engravings can be dated by stylistic analogies and by the presence of other drawings on the same panels. Six panels are from the Bronze Age, but the only panel with a musician in Saimaluu-Tash 1 should be dated back to the Early Iron Age due to the presence of a camel with the same patina and made with the same technique as the musician (fig. 2E). This animal offers similarities with the Saka Siberian style from the Early Iron Age.

Associations

The small number of musicians does not allow us to make relevant inferences about associations with other petroglyphs. In Saimaluu-Tash 2 and in

Kulzhabasy, the musicians are associated with a bull, whereas in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and in Kulzhabasy, it is with a camel. For this last association, it is a Bronze Age panel in Kulzhabasy and an Iron Age panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1, however.

The main surprising conclusion is that the musicians are not associated with petroglyphs of dancers, with the exception of a panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1 depicting a musician with two dancers (fig. 2E), but also of the two musicians in Saimaluu-Tash 2 which are themselves dancers (fig. 2C).

Rock engravings of dancers (figs. 5-11)

162 dancers are depicted on 55 panels at 15 sites: 55 dancers on 14 panels at seven sites in Kazakhstan and 107 dancers on 41 panels at eight sites in Kyrgyzstan.

In Kazakhstan, the percentage of dancers is higher in the region of Kulzhabasy-Tamgaly (21 dancers in Kulzhabasy; 16 in Tamgaly; eight in Akkainar, and two in Karakyr, viz. 85%) than in the region of Bayan Zhurek-Eskiolmes (9%; four dancers in Eshkiolmes and one in Bayan Zhurek). Three dancers are also present in Akterek (5%).

In Kyrgyzstan, the spatial distribution of the dancers is as follows: 75% in Saimaluu-Tash (56 dancers in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 24 in Saimaluu-Tash 2); 15% in the Kenkol valley (12 dancers in Tchatchikei; two in Obo, one in Tchatchoi and Terek); 10% for the two sites of the northern shore of the Issyk-Kul Lake (nine dancers in Ornok and two in Baet).

Gender of the dancers

Among the 162 dancers, 43 have a phallus and two women are identified by their breasts and longer hair (fig. 18). Furthermore, two human beings in Saimaluu-Tash have only one leg, but have a kind of a dress around their pelvis (figs. 5D and 11A). They could also be women.

Men with a phallus are inventoried six times in Kazakhstan (four in Tamgaly, one in Karakyr and Kulzhabasy) and 37 times in Kyrgyzstan (23 in Saimaluu-Tash 1; 10 in Saimaluu-Tash 2; two in Tchatchikei and one in Obo and in Tchatchoi).

The percentage of men with phalluses largely varies

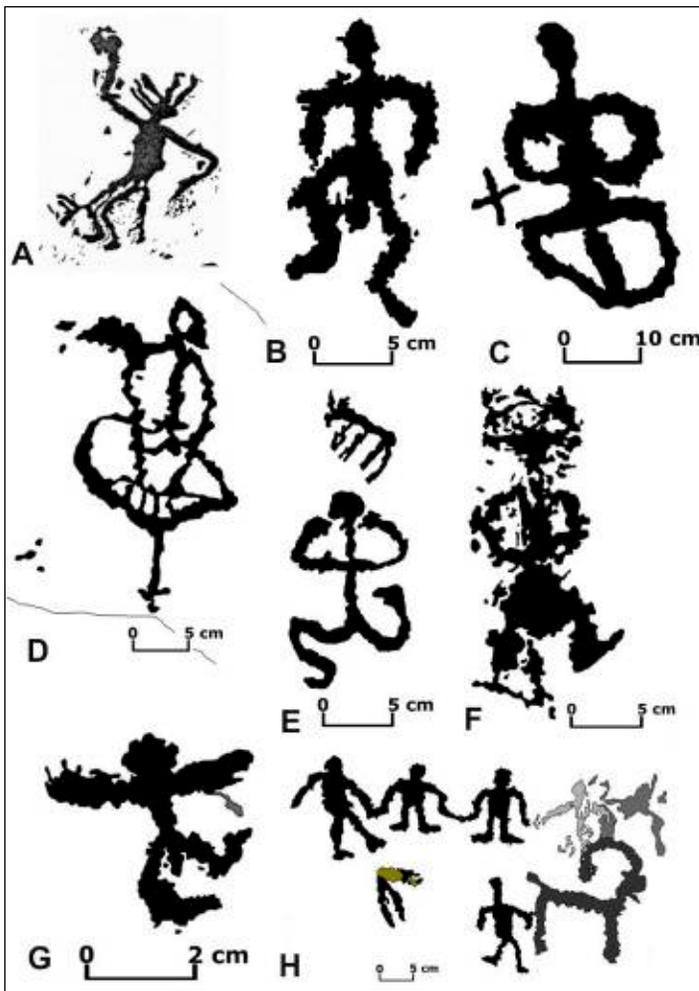


Fig. 5. A: Bayan Zhurek (Baipakov and Maryashev 2008: 103); B, H: Kulzhabasy; C-D, F: Saimaluu-Tash; E: Terek; G: Tchon Tchatchoi.

from one site to another: 41% in Saimaluu-Tash 1, and also in Saimaluu-Tash 2; 25% in Tamgaly; 17% in Tchatchikei; less than 5% in Kulzhabasy and none in Akkainar or Ornok (for the sites where there are more than five engravings of dancers). In Tchatchikei, if we include the two women, 33% of the human beings have a sexual attribution.

Typology of the dancers

Eight panels show a single dancer (three panels in Saimaluu-Tash 1; one in Bayan Zhurek, Kulzhabasy, Saimaluu-Tash 2, Tchatchoi and Terek). In Bayan Zhurek, the single dancer is probably a shaman due to its headdress (fig. 5A). On a panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1, a dancer is with a chariot and with another anthropomorph (fig. 7D). The second anthropomorph is not dancing. A goat was added in the Late Iron Age

to this panel. On another panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1, the single dancer is associated with goats, canids, and lines. In Tchatchoi, the dancer is also associated with goats, and in Terek, with a canid (fig. 5E). Only the dancers in Kulzhabasy and in Tchatchoi have a phallus, whereas a single dancer in Saimaluu-Tash 1 could be a woman (fig. 5D).

19 panels show a couple of dancers. Both dancers are mainly in front of each other, with their arms raised to the sky and with their hands touching the hands of the other dancer (fig. 6A-B). In Kazakhstan, they were found twice in Kulzhabasy and once in Karakyr; in Kyrgyzstan, ten times in Saimaluu-Tash 1, three times in Saimaluu-Tash 2, once in Baet, Obo, and Tchatchikei. 11 of the 38 dancers have a phallus (seven in Saimaluu-Tash 1, two in Saimaluu-Tash 2, one in Karakyr and in Obo). On a panel in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (fig. 10B), one dancer has three legs, probably in order to depict the movement of the foot by dancing.

23 panels depict a group of dancers, that is, at least three dancers together. In six cases, the groups of dancers constitute of at least two couples. A total of 115 dancers have been counted for these groups. The biggest groups are in Tamgaly (one group with ten dancers, the second one with six people (fig. 8H-I)), in Kulzhabasy (nine people dancing with weapons (fig. 9B)), in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (three groups each with seven worshippers (figs. 7E and 10H)) and in Saimaluu-Tash 2 (one group with four couples of worshippers). Smaller groups are in Kazakhstan in Akkainar (twice with four people), in Akterek (three dancers), in Eshkiolmes (four people) (fig. 9H), in Kulzhabasy (once with four dancers, a second with three people); in Kyrgyzstan, in Ornok (one group of five, a second of four (fig. 9 F-G)), in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (two of four people and two of three), in Saimaluu-Tash 2 (two of four dancers) (fig. 8D) and in Tchatchikei (two of four people) (fig. 18). 29 of the 115 dancers have a phallus: four in Tamgaly, 15 in Saimaluu-Tash 1, eight in Saimaluu-Tash 2, and two in Tchatchikei.

19 of these 50 panels represent 62 dancers as *worshippers* (fig. 7C, E-F): in Kazakhstan, both panels with five of the 16 dancers in Tamgaly and one panel with two of the three dancers in Akterek; in Kirghizstan, 12 panels with 43 dancers in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and

four panels with 12 dancers in Saimaluu-Tash 2. These dancing worshippers are in a group of dancers in ten cases, and nine times are forming a couple. 28 of the 62 worshippers have a phallus: two in Tamgaly in Kazakhstan, and in Kyrgyzstan, 20 in Saimaluu-Tash 1, and six in Saimaluu-Tash 2. We observe that the dancing worshippers are concentrated at three sites: Tamgaly and Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2.

Five panels show an anthropomorph standing on an animal (fig. 11): four times on a horse in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2 (fig. 12), and in Tchatchikei, and once on a bull in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (fig. 11A). Even if the human being does not show any kind of movement in these cases, we consider these engravings to depict a peculiar kind of dance. In Saimaluu-Tash 1, the human on a bull could be a woman, whereas the one on a horse is a man due to the depiction of a phallus. We observe that they are only at two sites directly related to each other (Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2), and at another site (Tchatchikei) at which some stylistic and thematic similarities with Saimaluu-Tash have already been observed (Hermann 2018: 28).

Chronology of the petroglyphs

Thanks to the association of the dancers with other drawings or panels it is sometimes possible to suggest a dating for these engravings.

In Kazakhstan, 9 of 14 panels are from the Bronze Age and one panel in Akkainar is from the Early Iron Age. On this last panel (fig. 7A), the four dancers are associated with a deer and a dog, which can be dated from this epoch. In four cases, a dating between the Bronze and the Iron Age is not possible, in Akterek, in Eshkiolmes and two panels of Kulzhabasy, due to the fact that the dancers are not directly associated with other drawings or are associated with drawings of both periods.

In Kyrgyzstan, 39 of 41 panels are from the Bronze Age, but two panels are without the shadow of a doubt from the Early Iron Age: a depiction of a human on a horse in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (fig. 11C) and a panel with a musician with two dancers on the same site (fig. 2E). We also observe that these two

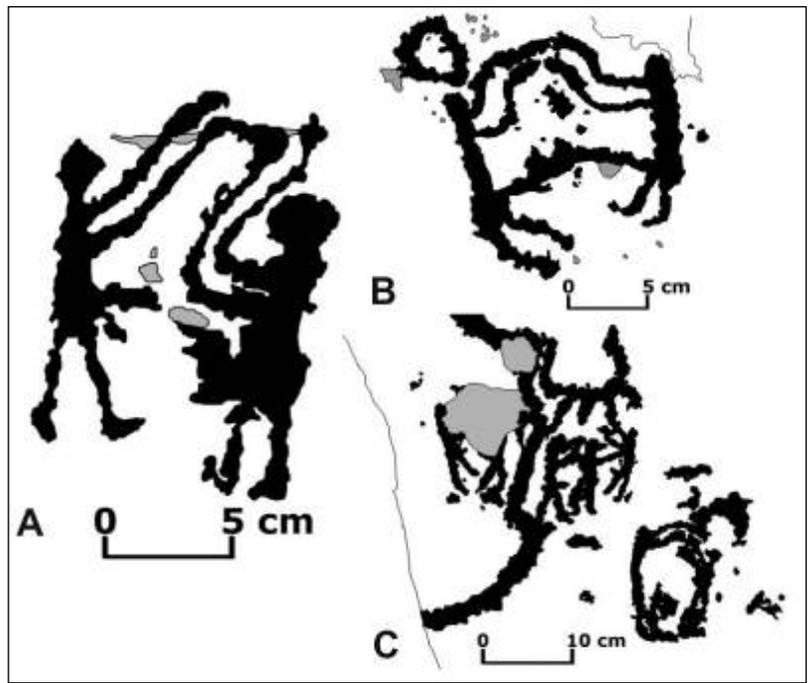


Fig. 6. A-C: Saimaluu-Tash 1.

panels from the Late Iron Age constitute a kind of exception in the general theme of the panels with dancers: one is the only panel with an association of dancers with a musician, and the second belongs to a small group of five depictions of an “acrobat” on an animal.

Associations

27 panels show an association with an animal (two of them with a hunting scene); nine panels have an association with a so-called sunhead (an anthropomorph with a head like a sun, and considered as a divinity (about this topic, see Hermann 2019b) (fig. 10H), and four panels with dancers are associated with a woman giving birth. One panel associates dancers with a solar symbol.

On 16 panels, the dancers are not associated: six panels in Kulzhabasy, five in Saimaluu-Tash 1, one in Akterek, in Bayan Zhurek, in Karakyr, in Saimaluu-Tash 2 and in Tchatchikei.

With animals

Dancers are mainly associated with goats (13 panels) and bulls (8 panels). In other cases, they are associated with horses (four panels, but three of them depict an acrobat on a horse), with canids (twice) and with camel and deer (only one panel for each of them).

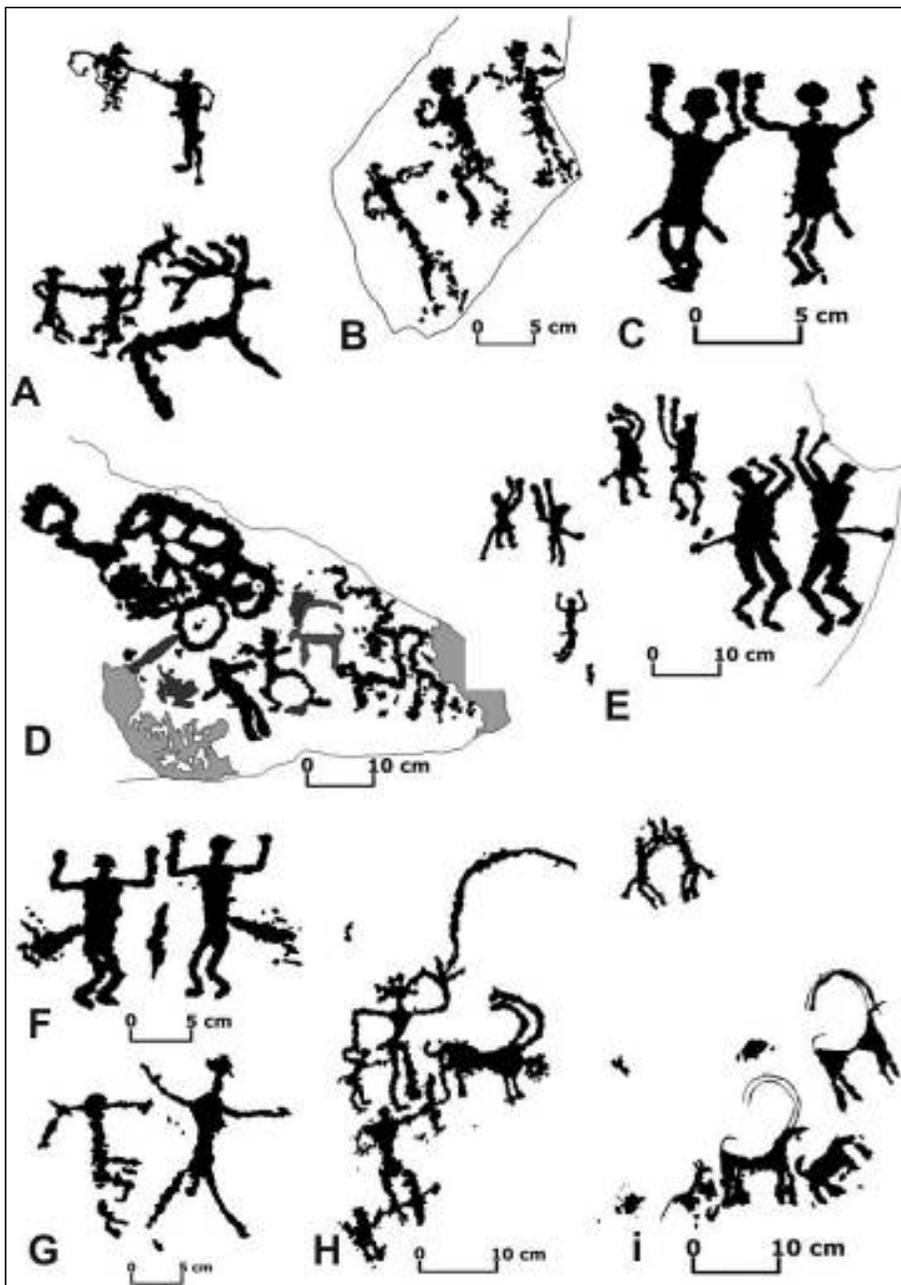


Fig.7: A: Akkainar ; B: Akterek ; C-F, H-I: Saimaluu-Tash ; G: Karakyr.

A panel in Saimaluu-Tash associates dancers with a camel, and a panel associating dancers with deer is in Akkainar. Both are dated back to the Iron Age. The associations with a horse occur twice in Tchatchikei and Saimaluu-Tash. In Saimaluu-Tash 1, two dancers are associated with a hunter, but the animal could not be determined due to the frost wedging of the rock (fig. 10G). In Tchatchikei, another dancing and hunting scene shows a bull as prey (fig. 17). There are 38 dancers associated with a goat. Among

(seven panels with 26 dancers) and in Saimaluu-Tash 2 (one panel with four dancers). One of the panels of Saimaluu-Tash 1 shows two dancers like worshippers and a sunhead leading a plough (fig. 13). In this case, the dance could be considered as part of a ritual for a fertility cult due to the fact that the sun uses the plough. The only panel with a solar symbol (so-called “glasses”, two circles joined by a line, see Hermann 2019b) and seven dancers is also located in Saimaluu-Tash 1.

the 13 panels with dancers and goats, one in Tchatchikei depicts sexual intercourse between a man and a goat on the same panel as four dancers. In Kazakhstan, one panel is in Kulzhabasy and in Eshkiolmes. In Kyrgyzstan, four panels were found in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and three in Saimaluu-Tash 2. The four other depictions are located in the Kenkol valley (two in Tchatchikei, one in Tchatchoi and one in Obo).

There are 23 dancers on the eight panels associated with a bull: one panel in Akkainar and in Tamgaly in Kazakhstan, and in Kyrgyzstan four panels in Saimaluu-Tash 1, and one panel in Saimaluu-Tash 2 and in Tchatchikei (about the panel in Saimaluu-Tash 2, see 4F below and regarding Tchatchikei, see 4G). In Akkainar, the four dancers are in the prolongation of the bull’s horns. In Tamgaly, the dancers are not directly on the same panel as the bull, but in direct relation to it.

With sunheads and solar symbols

Nine panels with 40 dancers show an association with a sunhead. One scene with ten dancers and a parturient is under a composition with two sunheads in Tamgaly. The eight other panels are situated in Saimaluu-Tash 1

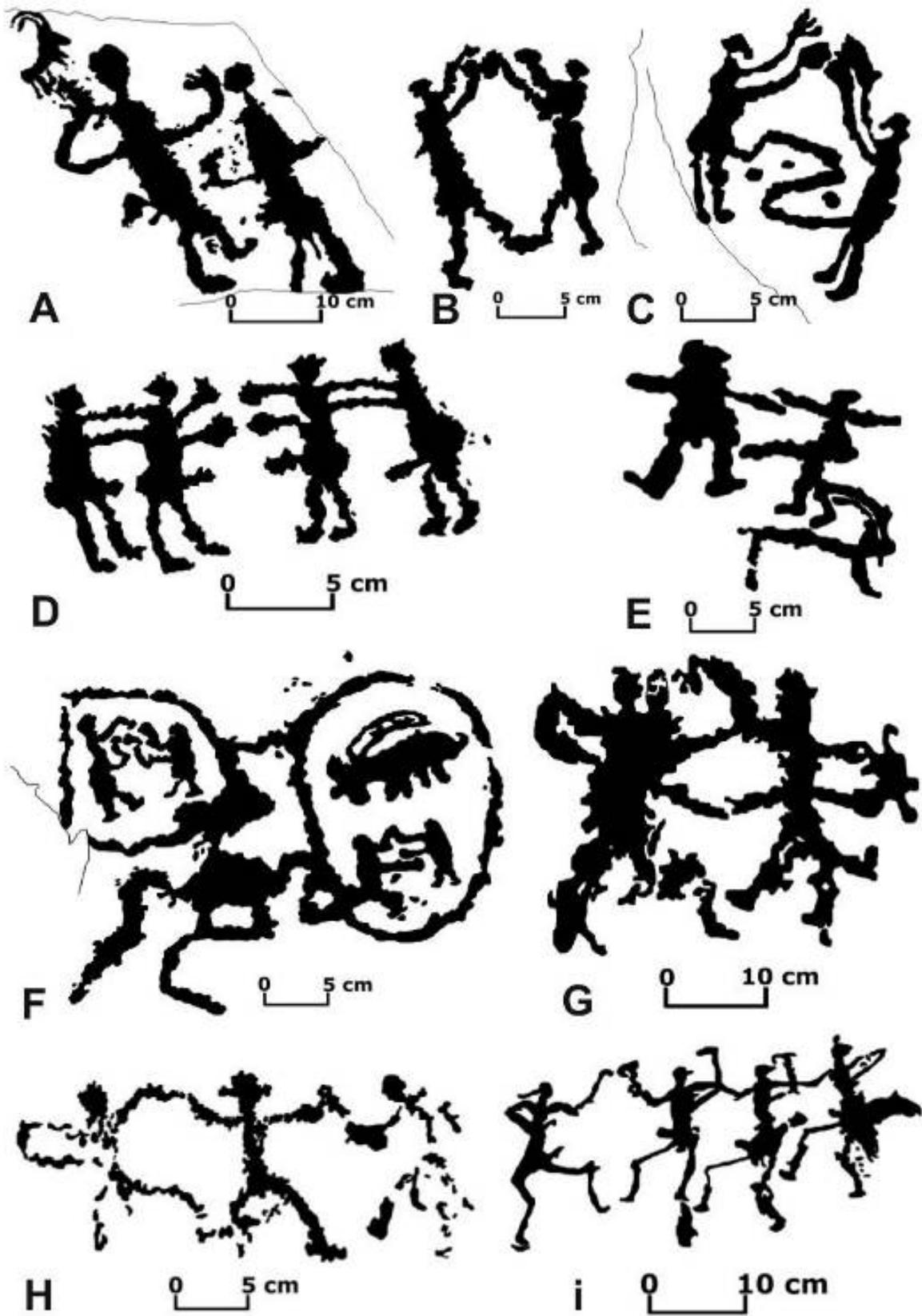


Fig. 8. A-D, F: Saimaluu-Tash 2; E: Tchon Tchatchikei; G: Baet; H-I: Tamgaly, same panel in group III.

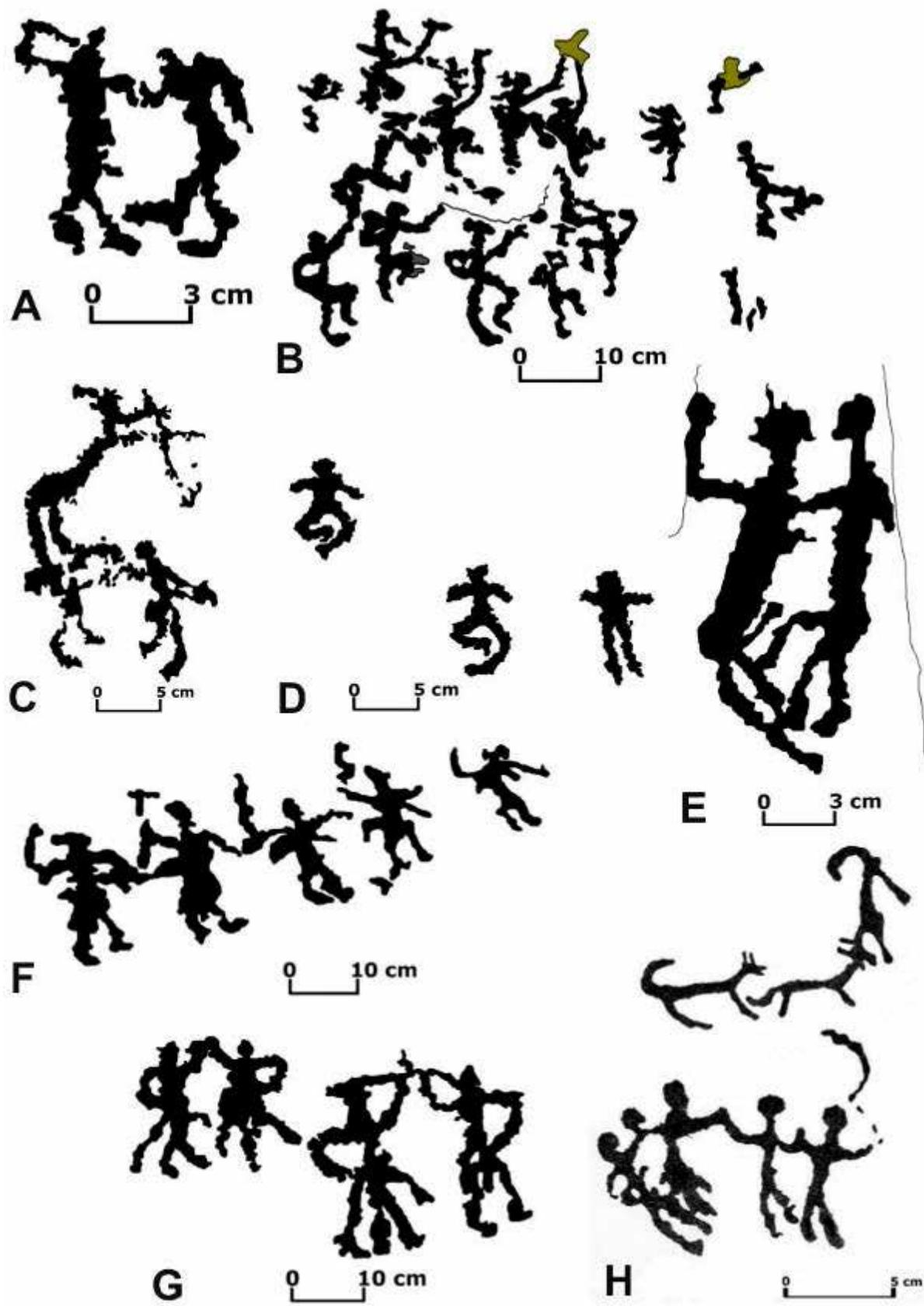


Fig. 9. A-D: Kulzhabasy; E: Obo; F-G: Ornok; H: Eshkiolmes (Baipakov et al. 2005: 126).

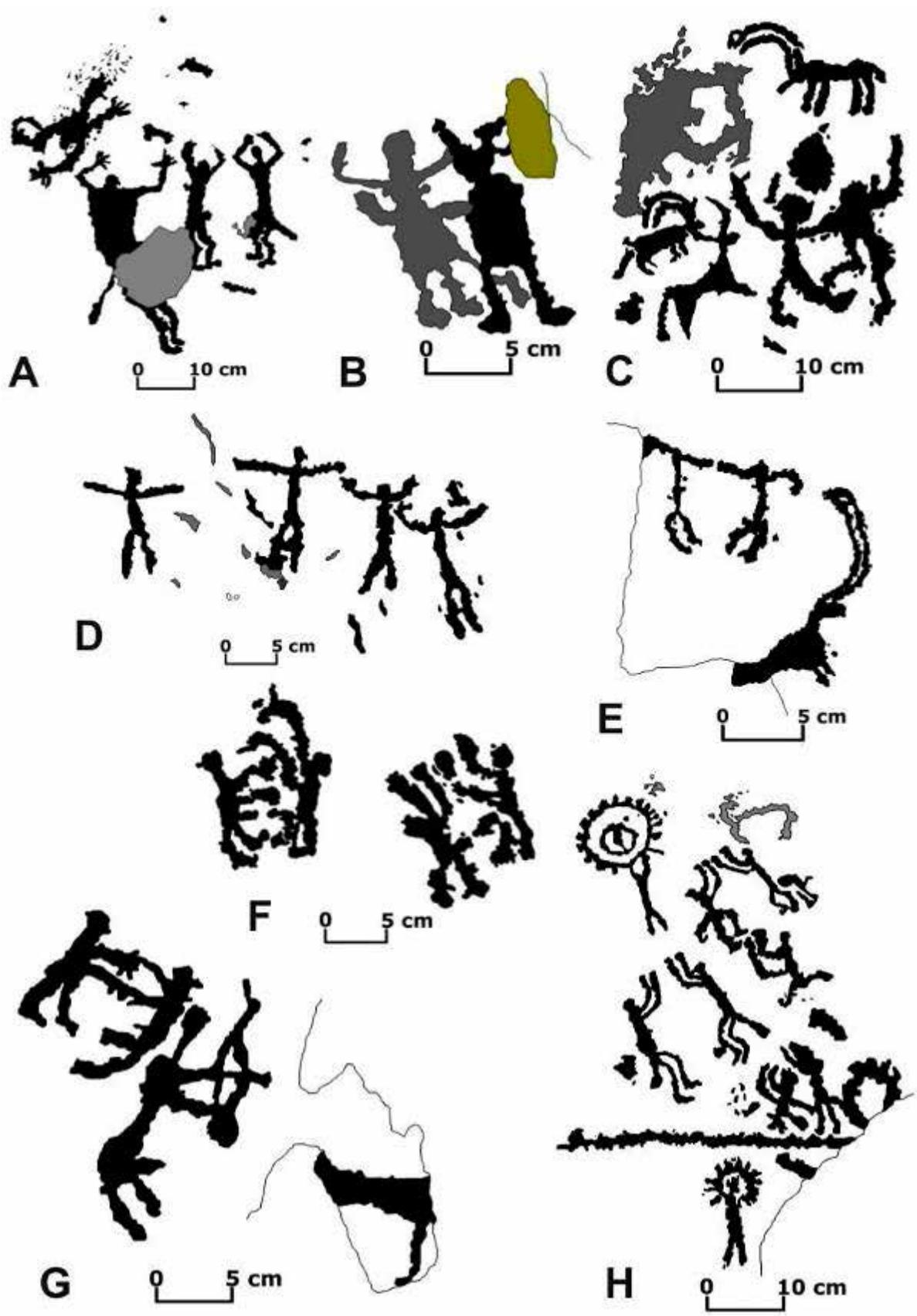


Fig. 10. A-H: Saimaluu-Tash 1.

Dancers with parturients

In this region of central Asia, only 16 parturients are documented, but three of them are associated with dancers. In Tamgaly, ten dancers are in a line with a woman giving birth in the center of it (fig. 14). In Baet, two dancers are on a rock near a parturient. In Ornok, the panel of a woman giving birth is on the same rock as four dancers. Another rock with five dancers is also in the direct vicinity of it. No dancer in these four panels has a phallus.

Even if only four panels of dancers are associated with a parturient, we observe that three of them are at two sites on the northern shore of the Issyk-Kul Lake, whereas the fourth panel is in Tamgaly, 180 km northwest of the lake. Furthermore, due to the small number of depictions of parturients, it is remarkable that some of them are accompanied by dancers which are not directly related to gender due to the fact that they are without a phallus.

Relations between the gender of the dancers and the associated petroglyphs

Among the 43 dancers with phallus, six are not associated.

Among 40 dancers associated with a sunhead, there are 17 men. However, these 17 men constitute a group of 21 dancers which are not directly on the same panel as the sunhead. No dancer on the same panel as a sunhead has a phallus, but 80% of the dancers associated with a sunhead without being on the same panel as the divinity have phalluses.

There are also ten men among 38 dancers (26%) associated with a goat, and nine among 23 dancers (39%) are with a bull. Furthermore, four men are associated with glasses and only one is with a horse. It seems that the presence of dancers with a phallus is mostly associated with goats, bulls, and sunheads, but in this last case only if they are not on the same panel.

Study case no. 1: rock 1234 in Saimaluu-Tash 2 (figs. 15 and 16)

Three different panels are on this rock, but the relation between them is difficult to establish. A first

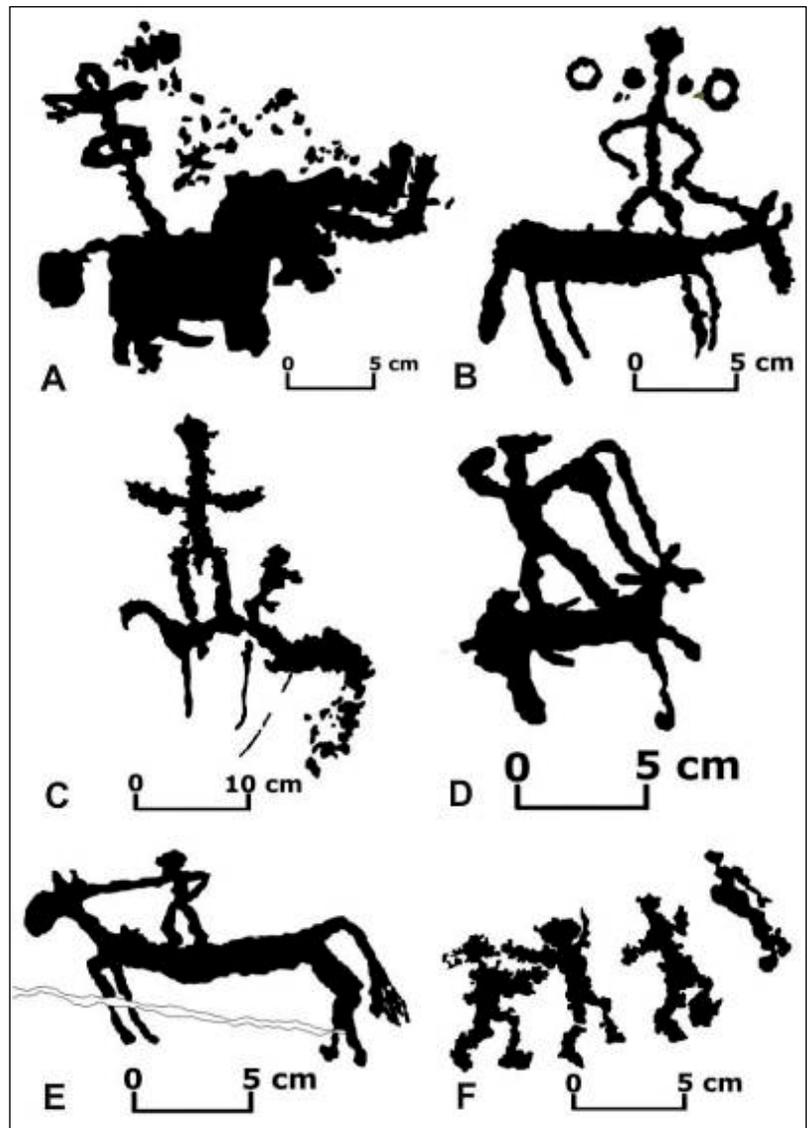


Fig. 11. A-C: Saimaluu-Tash; D-F: Tchon Tchatchikei.

panel at the top of the rock, oriented to the north, shows a human being with bird-head behind a bull and with an object like a mace in its left hand. The anthropomorph and the animal stand on a line. The second panel, oriented to the west, is c. 60 cm away from the first panel and 25 cm below it. Two anthropomorphs with vulture-heads (Hermann 2019a), a big phallus, and a tail as part of a cloth, are dancing in front of each other, with their hands raised to the sky in a worshipping attitude. Their arms end in two massive and irregular circles, which are too big to be fists. For this reason, we interpret them as a musical instrument like maracas. The third panel is also oriented to the west, but is c. 70 cm to the south of the first and second panels. A bull is followed by a snow



Fig. 12. Anthropomorph standing on a horse, Saimaluu-Tash 2, rock 1173, 15 x 16 cm.



Fig. 13. Dancing worshippers with a sunhead leading a plough, Saimaluu-Tash 1, rock 124.



Fig.14: Dancers with a parturient, group IV in Tamgaly, 88x15 cm.



Fig. 15. Man with bull, Saimaluu-Tash 2, panel 1 on rock 1234, 25 x 17 cm.

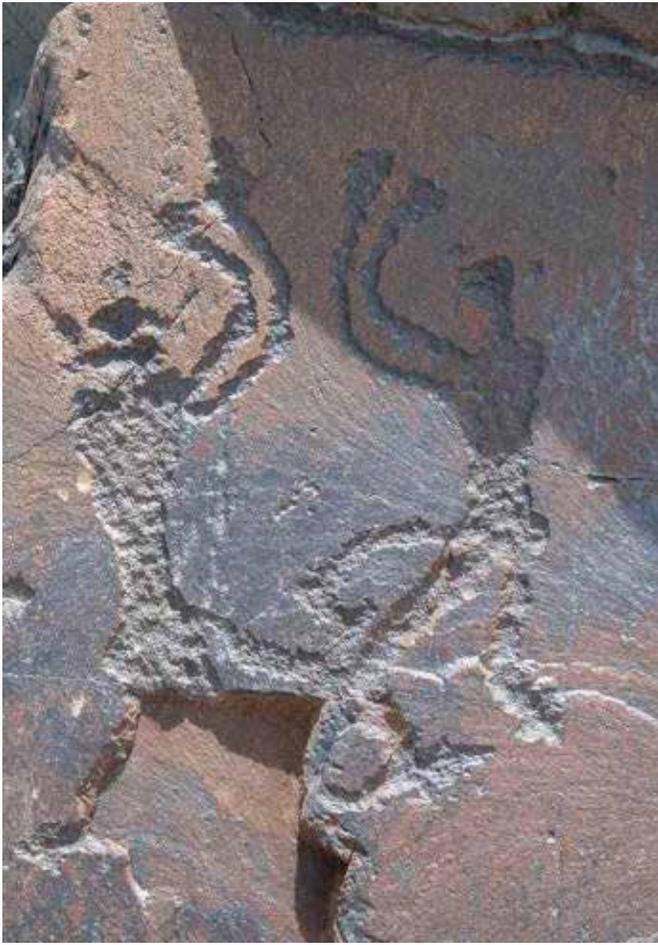


Fig. 16. Dancers with vulture-head, Saimaluu-Tash 2, panel 2 on rock 1234, 16x22 cm.

leopard. The solar symbol called glasses is under them. It is the only case showing two dancers who could also be musicians. Furthermore, their dancing attitude permits the supposition that they are worshipping something. Two bulls are present on this rock. One is followed by an anthropomorph, whereas the second is followed by a feline, even if the predator does not seem to threaten it. The three anthropomorphs have a bird-head, that is, a vulture-head. What is the relation between both dancers and the other human being? Is the dance part of a ceremony during which the bull will be killed by the human being with a mace? And what is the relation with the solar symbol?

Study case no. 2: rock 351 in Kitchi Tchatchikei (Figs. 17 and 18)

The site of Tchatchikei in the Kenkol valley is divided in two groups which correspond with the division of the

Tchatchikei River into a large affluent (Tchon Tchatchikei) and a smaller stream (Kitchi Tchatchikei). The main part of the Kitchi Tchatchikei group with rock 351 is located in cliffs on the right shore of the river.

The panel is divided in three parts mainly corresponding to the cracks in the rock. Four dancers are in the left part. Two men with phalluses and two women with breasts and long hair are tied by a rope. The men are facing each other, as well as the women. Their arms are folded to the sky and the hands of each dancer touch the hands of the dancer in front of him or her. Below them, a hunter with a phallus shoots with a bow at a bull located in the central part of the panel. This bull is pierced by four arrows. Three other arrows are near the bull as if they did not reach it. Above the animal, another hunter with a spear also pierces it. Above this hunter, a goat is in front of a hunter with bow. In the right part of the panel, a hunter with bow shoots at the bull, and below him, another hunter with bow standing in a chariot shoots at the bull. In the left part, a camel was added later to this composition, most probably in medieval times.

This panel is unique in associating dancers with a hunting scene. Furthermore, the gender of the four dancers is clear, and it is the only example with two women perfectly identifiable. The men dance together, as do the women, but the four dancers are tied by a rope (or a line) coming from the phallus of a man at its extremity to reach the belly of the woman at the other extremity of the group. Does it mean that this dance has a sexual significance or is it a dance to celebrate the victory of the hunters against the bull?

Conclusions

Music and dance in rock art reveal many antinomies. Petroglyphs are sounds by essence, because pecking a rock to draw something on it automatically includes the production of sounds. However, the depictions of musicians are quite absent and dancers are very rare. Furthermore, it is surprising that the dancers are mainly not associated with musicians. Or should we interpret other depictions of anthropomorphs as musicians? Were singers depicted? Dancers and musicians are mostly located at a few sites: Bayan Zhurek, Kulzhabasy and Tamgaly in Kazakhstan, and Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2 in Kyrgyzstan. It could signify that these sites were cultic places with ceremonies including music and dance. The other petroglyph sites



Fig. 17. Hunting scene with dancers, Kitchi Tchatchikei (Kenkol Valley), rock 351.



Fig. 18. Dancers, Kitchi Tchatchikei, rock 351 (detail), 24 x 15 cm.

had perhaps other aims in which music and dance play no role or only a secondary one.

About the chronology, these depictions are mainly from the Bronze Age, but some are also from the Early Iron Age. The few engravings from the Early Iron Age are located in Saimaluu-Tash 1, where we could suggest that the thematic tradition of the Bronze Age subsisted in the next period. A few other panels in Kazakhstan cannot be attributed due to the lack of stylistic evidence. No depictions were found for the Turkic medieval era.

Dancers are sometimes associated with animals, mainly with goats and bulls, but also with sunheads and parturients. 25% of the dancers have a phallus and dancers associated with a sunhead (but not on the same panel) almost always have a phallus. However, no dancer associated with a parturient has a phallus.

These results suggest that dancers were partly tied to a fertility cult: if it is evident with parturients, it could also be the case with sunheads, as the worshipping of the sun was perhaps tied to agriculture. So, in Saimaluu-Tash 1, two dancers are associated with a sunhead leading a plough. However, dancers with phalluses are not associated with this fertility cult: dancers with a woman giving birth and on the same panels as sunheads have no gender. It suggests that the presence of a phallus has nothing to do with fertility, but much more with power.

Dancers worshipping a woman giving birth or a sunhead are asexual, because it is the woman and the sunhead who have the power to bring life. On the contrary, dancers with goats and bulls have quite often a phallus, as if the virile attribute should rival the animals' horns. 80% of the dancers with sunheads, but not on the same panels, have also a phallus, as if they rival the deity's sunrays. However, they are not on the same panels, perhaps because the power of the divinity cannot be directly rivalled on the same rock.

The five dancers on an animal also symbolize power: a human being stands on an animal as if humanity is dominating nature.

Music and dance in cultic ceremonies are a double representation of power: their aim is to gain power over deities and nature by influencing them (for example through a rain dance), because nature and deities have power over human life. The presence and absence of the phallus in dancers seems to be a manifestation of this ambiguity of dance and music:

humans are aware of the power of natural elements and the animals, but they are also conscious that they can partly dominate nature and animals through agriculture, and the world of sounds and silence through musical instruments.

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CULTURAL AFFILIATIONS OF THE WESTERN BASKETMAKER II-PIII STYLE: PETROGLYPHS OF THE AMERICAN SOUTHWEST: ZUNI

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Introduction

This is Part 2 of a study of Western Basketmaker II petroglyph panels in the northern San Juan River basin study area. From style we can identify likeness in form and apply arbitrary labels. From direct observation we can see differences and variants of form within a style, depending upon a very large database of rock art panels in the sampled area. From the ethnographic record, oral traditions, and linguistic studies, we can draw analogies of the meaning of form. From deep research of the myths, metaphors, and idioms, the structures and patterns within the myths become apparent in the compositions and iconic forms in the panels. From spatial arrangements in the compositions, coupled with directional preferences (left-right or right-left), we can ascertain temporal and spatial sequence of form (past and present). From gestures and postures of the body, we can anthropomorphize the forms and decipher intentions, emotions, and phys-

ical conditions, otherwise known as the body politic (Lakoff and Johnson 1988). Anthropomorphic forms encode information in narrative sequences that find consistency in meaning across stylistic boundaries.

The Basketmaker II rock art discussed in *Expression 22* examines the cultural affiliations of Group 1, with Keres cultural affiliations. This paper looks at Group 2 of the Western Basketmaker III-Pueblo III rock art that is found superimposed over Group 1 located in the northern San Juan River basin (fig. 1). These petroglyph motifs find identity within the ceremonial and ethnographic context of the Zuni Katsina sodality. Basketmaker II rock art is believed to be dated from 1000–400 BCE to 550 CE and represents the beginning of the ancestral Pueblo tradition (Cole 2009: 116). Basketmaker II archaeology is characterized by pre-ceramic people who wove baskets, sandals, and bags along with turkey-feather robes and rabbit-skin blankets. They lived in small pit houses and hunted with atlatls. They fought with spears and clubs. While they grew some maize and squash, they relied heavily on wild seeds like rice grass, *Chenopodium* and amaranth, pine nuts, and multiple varieties of wild berries and fruits. Towards the end of this period they began to construct pit-house villages and produce the first pottery.

Basketmaker III archaeology is marked by the addition of the bow and arrow (c. AD 450–750), more substantial villages with four-post roof-supported pit houses, and the introduction of simple low-fired grey-

ware pottery with simple geometric designs. The people of this period grew maize and squash along with beans. They traded for turquoise and marine shells through trading networks over great distances from the Pacific coast to the Sea of Cortez. The Basketmaker III rock art panels contain images of the bow and arrow, and geometric designs are found in BMIII pottery and basketry.

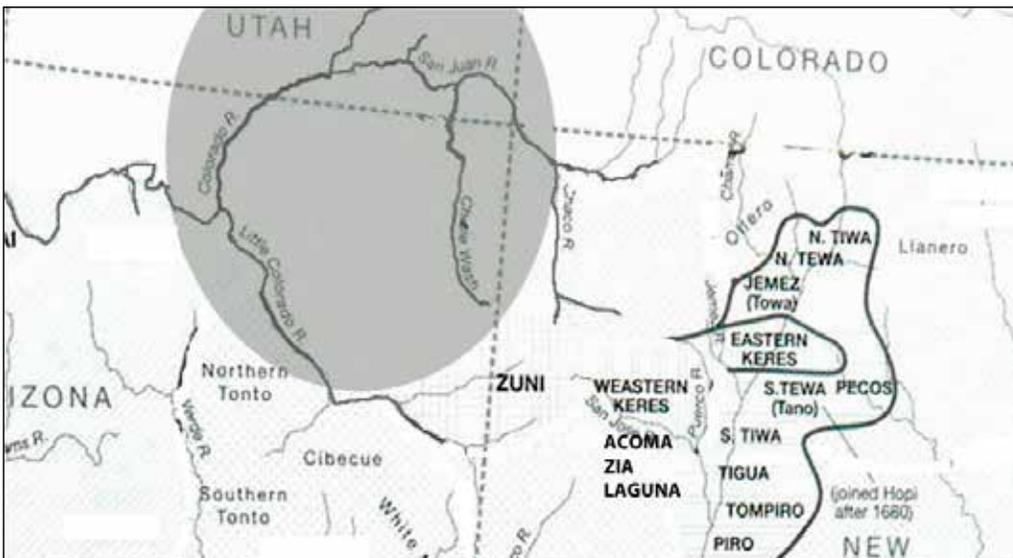


Fig. 1. Northwestern San Juan basin study area.

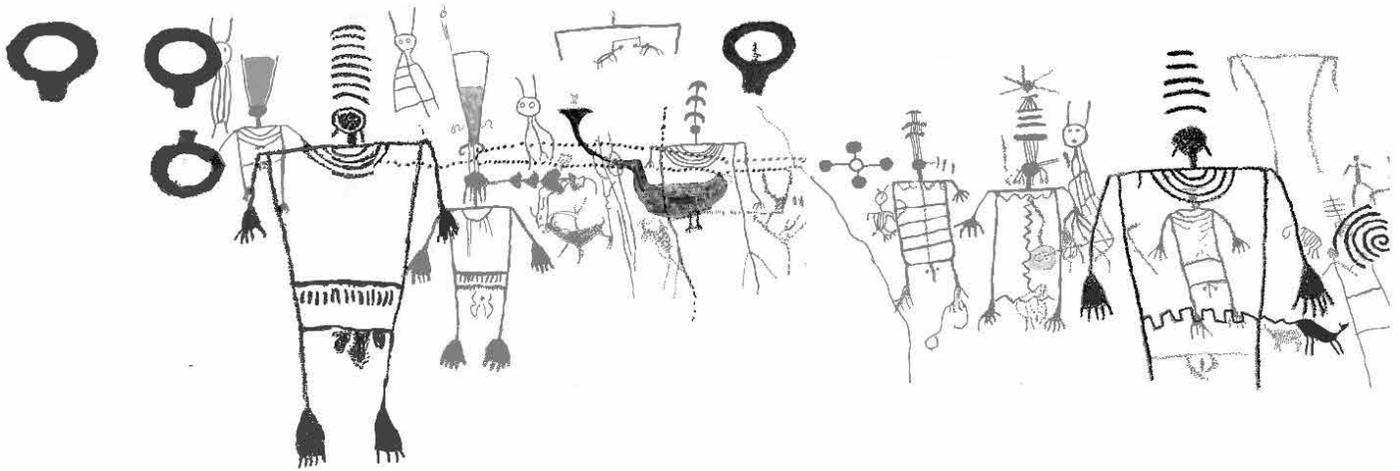


Fig. 2. The superimposition sequence of BMII early horizon (Group 1) and later horizon (Group 2) over the top of Group 1. The anthropomorphic figures of Group 1 have four hair strands, while Group 2 have only one hair strand.

Basketmaker II rock art is thought to last from 1000 BCE to 550 CE. Schaafsma (1980, 1992) first described the San Juan Anthropomorphic style and Basketmaker II-III style (Charles and Cole 2006). Robins (1997) and Robins and Hays-Gilpin (2000) identify two broad horizons in western San Juan area rock art. The first (Group 1) is estimated to date approximately 1500 to 1000 BCE (500 BC to AD 50) and is associated with the arrival of maize and shares style attributes of Glen Canyon Style 5. Basketmaker III, the second (Group 2) dates approximately 1000 BCE to 400 CE (AD 500 to 750) and is associated with the appearance of the San Juan Anthropomorphic style. (Cole 2009) The rock art cannot be directly dated, but the superimposition sequences support this claim (see Fig. 2). The San Juan anthropomorphic style is a broad category that Cole (2009) labels, but is really two variants, defined in this paper.

Table I shows the approximate dates of BMII– IV archaeology that roughly coincides with the rock art styles.

Table I (From *Crow Canyon Archaeological Center*, 2018)

Basketmaker II: 500 BC to AD500
Basketmaker III: AD 500–750
Pueblo I period: AD 750–900
Pueblo II period: AD 900–1150
Pueblo III period: AD 1150–1300
Pueblo IV period: AD 1300–late 1700s

The panel in Fig. 2 is on the same cliff face as the Katsina panel (c. 500 BC) previously discussed in Part 1 of this study. It shows the older images in grey, superimposed by the later images in black. The panel is very weathered but it is clear that the lobed circles are placed over the top of the earlier Basketmaker II and Glen Canyon 5 figures.

The panels are visually calibrated through gray shades to illustrate the two broad horizons during the Basketmaker II period that occur in this region. The BMII (Group 1) assemblages have anthropomorphs with four hair strands and are associated with Glen Canyon 5 figures. They are both of the BMII early horizon. The later BMII horizon (AD 50–500) evidences the appearance of a different assemblage of motifs including lobed circles, twined bags, duck-headed anthropomorphs, and bent-knee figures with lobed circle heads, atlatls with large fletching, cranes, ducks, turkeys, yucca plants, corn plants, and prairie-dog skin bags. They are found along the San Juan River and down Chinle Wash and in the Canyon De Chelly drainages. They appear on panels throughout Cedar Mesa, Grand Gulch, and Montezuma Canyon (fig. 1 map). Motifs from the early horizon of BMII assemblage, including the Koshari, the K’oBictaiya, and the Shiwana’discussed previously in Part 1, have Keres cultural affiliation, and do not appear in this assemblage, nor are they found in the regions mentioned above. The motifs from the late BMII horizon continue into Pueblo III period. Dating the panels by association

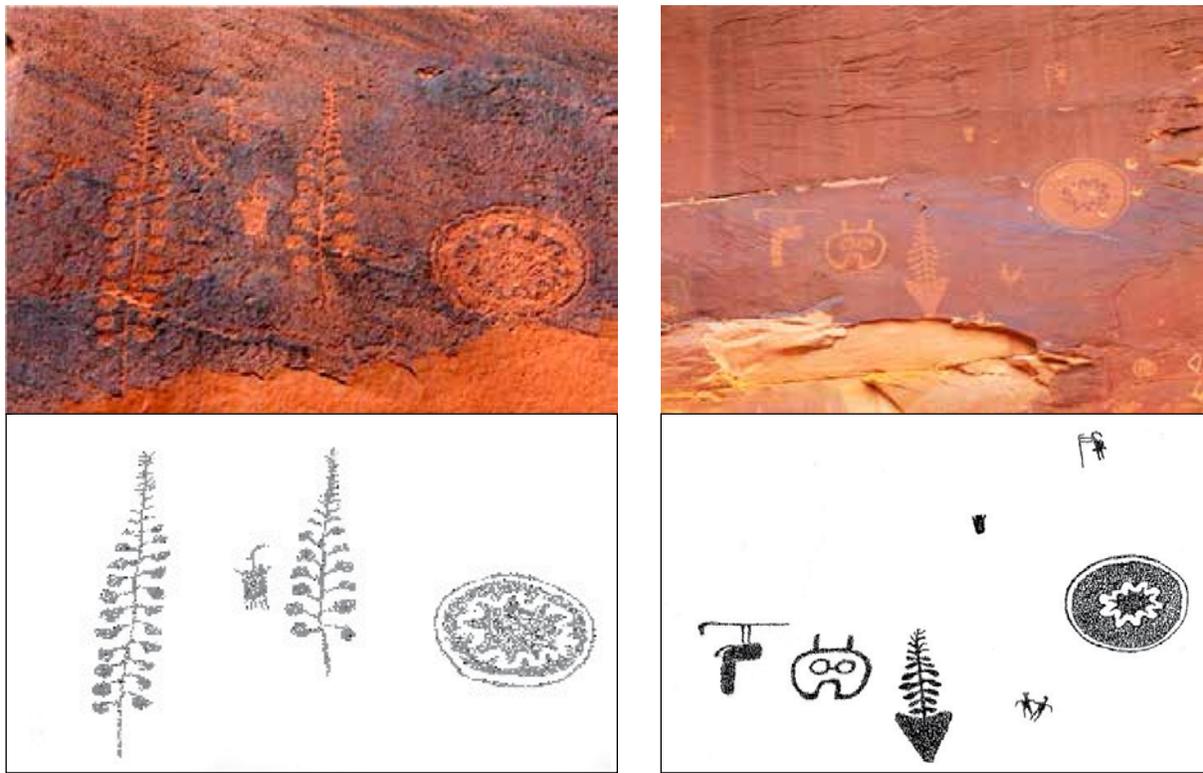


Fig. 3. BMII late horizon (AD 50–500) panel from the San Juan River, and PIII (AD 1150–1300) panel from Butler Wash, both containing the same iconography from Group 2.

with archaeological sites is very problematic. But one can formulate an educated guess by evaluating the appearance of the panels.

The following example (fig. 3) shows depictions of a yucca plant from early BMIII and repeated in a PIII panel. Through ethnographic analogy, from deep research, it is not only the yucca plant used for many utilitarian products such as baskets, sandals, ropes, and soap, but represents the highest religious value due to its use in creating prayer wands, or *pahos*. It is named “Grandfather Yucca,” and is associated with the Katsinas, since only yucca *pahos* are given to the Katsinas (Benedict 1932). Fig. 3 displays the yucca plant along with the round dish-like object that contains a wavy line inside and a ring around the outside. This symbol is believed to represent the *Ko’thluwala’wa* (dance village) home of the Katsinas. The Katsinas live in this home under water, and they emerge from it when they visit, and return to it when they ‘go home’ (Benedict 1932, Cushing 1891, Stevenson 1915). Fig. 3 is only one example but clearly shows the consistency of Group 2 assemblages, a BMII panel along the

San Juan river, and a PIII panel in Butler Wash on Comb Ridge. Each element in these panels is within the same context of the Zuni Katsina sodality (Benedict 1932).

The panel on the left is BMII c. AD 50 -500, while the one on the right dates to around the PIII period, AD 1300. There could be 1,000 years difference in age, demonstrating how style categories can be misleading as time markers, because preferences in religious iconography can continue through many centuries.

Ethnographic documentation of creation myths during the 19th and 20th centuries remain the most detailed source for identifying specific cultural concepts of the Western Pueblo that may be represented in the rock art. For the Zuni and the Keres, the “beginning” themes are similar. They emerged through the sipapu from the underworld, through four lower worlds, to reach this one. The Keres have specific colors assigned to each world, beginning with yellow for the first, blue-green for the second, red for the third, and white for the fourth. The Zuni underworlds grow lighter and lighter in shades of gray rather than by color (Wright

1985: 111). The emergence through the sipapu is also embraced by the Hopi much later, who admittedly were instructed by the Keres for their ceremonies and creation of Katsinas (Parsons 1939; Polinguyama pc 2018).

But the Creators of life and people in the Beginning stories differ in their gender among language speakers. For the Keres, the creator is female, *Tsichtinako* (spider woman). She created two female beings underground at a place called Shipapu. These sisters in turn created everything living, including corn and ceremonies for bringing rain and imparting medical knowledge (see *Expression* 22: 43).

The Zuni have two boy war gods who lead the people out of the underworld and protect them during their migrations and in battles with their enemies. The boy war gods are called the *Ahayu'ta*, the sons of the sun father. They were "sprouted" when the sun's rays struck the alkaline foam of a waterfall. They are warriors, hunters, athletes, and gamblers. They guard the Zuni from hilltop shrines in six directions. The flute player, *Payatamu*, is also a son of the Sun and belongs to summer. He carries a flute and produces flowers and butterflies. He takes the *Napayatamu* (clown) form and wears his hair knot on his forehead and says the opposite of what he means (Tedlock 1979: 449, 501). The deceased always go first to *Ko'thluwala'wa*. They bring rain when prayers are in earnest. They are represented by the hanging arms and feet posture of a dead person, an ancestor who is in a spirit form. They too can appear as clouds cloaked in rain and mist. They too, come down the water steps in answer to prayers by people.

Unlike the Keres, the Zuni boy war gods, recounted in mythology, are children which are represented in the rock art by bent knees, a posture associated with youth and children. They have the ability to see in all directions at once, as they are protectors against enemies that might harm the Zuni. They are often depicted with lobed circle heads. Their emblem is the pair of lobed circles.

The Katsinas always travel in the form of a duck. (Stevens, Bunzel, Parsons, Cushing). The duck-head anthropomorph form is a metaphor for Katsinas traveling, and when they arrive, they take off the duck form 'in the manner of a shirt' (Cushing 1988: 14).

The Keres seems to have the oldest tradition for

rain-bringing Katsinas. They have basically two Katsina sodality societies, one for rain making and one for making medicine. In the beginning Itatiku created the first man, the Koshari, who was already a self-proclaimed expert in rain, teaching people rain-making ceremonies with dance and song accompanied by a drum and rattle. He was equally confident in knowing everything about medicine. These two societies are represented in the early Koshari figure with a drum and rattle for rain making, and having bear claw feet, the iconic emblem for medicine making (see *Expression* 22: 46).

The Zuni have a similar but more complex Katsina sodality called the *A'tacina.we*, or society of the ancestors. Bunzel writes that men do not have a special relationship towards ancestors, but pray to all ancestors, not just their own. They are "keepers of the roads," as Beings who guide, protect, and nourish human life. The masked gods or Katsinas are called *koko* and are bringers of clouds and rain. They are prayed to as "those who have attained the blessed place of waters," and when they return, they come "clothed in rain." (Bunzel 1992: 510)

Rain is brought by other supernaturals, called the *U'wanami*, storm clouds, the counterpart to the Keresan *Shiwanna*. Stevenson (1881: 20) writes:

The Zunis believe that the earth is supplied with water by their dead, of both sexes and all ages above infancy and infants soon reach maturity after going to the undermost world whence the Zunis came. The deceased always go first to *Ko'thluwala'wa* (dance village) abiding place of the Council of the gods and they often return there to dance in a great dance house. The deceased *Api'lashiwanni* (Bow priests) are an exception' they join the *Ku'pishmaya*" becoming lightning-makers.

Bunzel (1992: 511) distinguishes six major sodalities of Katsina societies that comprise their religion and ceremonies. 1, that of the sun, moon and stars; 2, that of the Uwanami, clouds; 3, that of the Katsinas, rain bringers; 4, that of the priests of the Katsinas (a distinct but closely related sodality); 5, that of the *A'hayuta*, Gods of War, (the Twins, The Divine Ones, the Boy War Gods); 6, and that of the Beast Gods. The rock art discussion that follows is presented from these six categories. Many panels depict Katsinas of two or more sodalities.

Zuni cosmological beliefs

Bunzel (1992: 512) writes:

The earth is circular in shape and is surrounded on all sides by ocean. Under the earth is a system of covered waterways all connecting ultimately with the surrounding oceans. Springs and lakes which are always regarded as sacred, are the openings to this system. On the shores of the encircling ocean live the *Uwanami* or rain makers. They have villages in the four world quarters.

Near the mouth of Chinle Wash and the San Juan River is a painted panel of red, white, blue green, and yellow. The style is late Basketmaker or PII more likely. White is a fugitive color that does not remain on a panel for more than 500–800 yrs. The shoulders, head, and body shape depicted in this panel would place it closer to the PIII era.

This panel may represent through ethnographic analogy something similar to that of the Zuni world surrounded by oceans. A colored anthropomorph stands in each of the three quadrants with the white one in the center. These may represent the villages in the four world quarters (fig. 4).

Although the disk is the central feature, the anthropomorphic figures in the cardinal directions are also painted in the traditional colors for each direction. Bunzel writes: “The earth is round. Toward the north, west, south and east are the oceans which together mound the earth with a circular coastline” (Bunzel 1932a: 487). These metaphors used in Zuni ritual po-

etry are culturally specific, and are not used by other Pueblo groups.

The sky is like an ocean too. Cushing writes that the “Sky Ocean upon which rests the Sky World, just as the earth is supported by its underlying ocean of waters and clouds.” And Bunzel writes: “The sky is like an inverted stone bowl (*a’po’yan’ē*, stone cover) that is solid and rests upon the earth (Bunzel: 487). This metaphor is significant in identifying the arcs that appear over the head of anthropomorphic figures representing “Cloud Beings” that dwell in the sky. For the Keres, these beings come from many skies above, usually 5, 7 or 9. For the Zuni, it is one thick solid bowl that rests above their head.

Tedlock summarizes: “Toward the zenith and beyond the inverted stone bowl of the sky, are a multicolored mountain and the four upper worlds. The first is the home of crows, the second of Cooper’s hawks, the third of nighthawks, and the fourth of eagles (Benedict 1935,1: 131). In all there are nine stories with the familiar world in the middle (Tedlock 1979: 449). The stone bowl of the sky is represented in panels discussed in Fig. 3/4. The large thick head covering for “The sky (*a’po’yan’ē*, stone cover) is solid in substance, rests upon the earth like an inverted bowl” (Bunzel 1932: 487).

The sodality of the sun, moon and stars

The sun and (his wife) the moon are pictured in Fig. 5. Bunzel (1932: 487) writes: “The sun has two houses,

in the earth and in the sky. In the morning he ‘comes out standing to his sacred place’, in the evening he ‘goes in to sit down’ at his other sacred place. The sun also travels north and south, reaching his ‘left hand’ (ie southernmost) sacred place at the winter solstice rising (right hand side reaching the summer solstice). The change in the length of days passes unnoticed.” (fn. 14)

Fig. 5 is a solid disk representing *yätokyä*, Father Sun and his wife, *tsita yá’onan’ē*; Mother Moon also a white disk with two eyes unpainted. This picture was taken to show the alignment of the sun directly over the doorway notch in the stone wall, that may have been

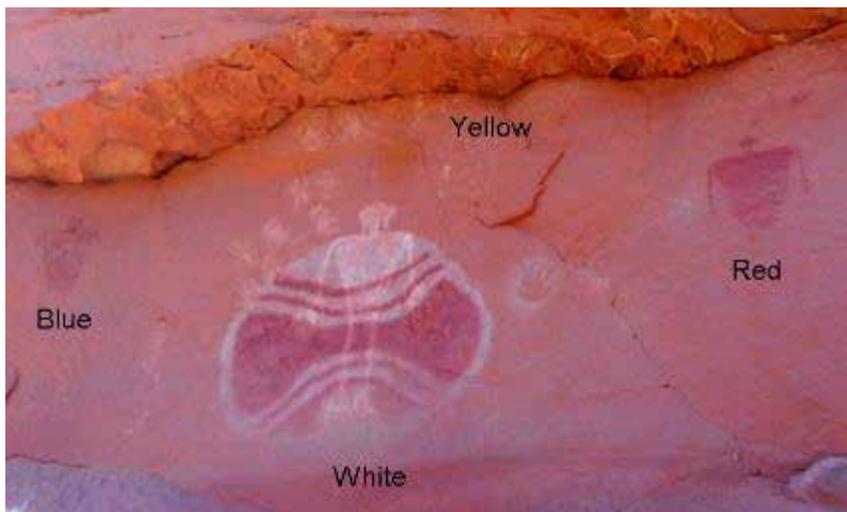


Fig. 4. Zuni world with water around the land. Yellow man at the top, blue man at the left, red man at the right and white man in the center (Photo by C. Patterson).

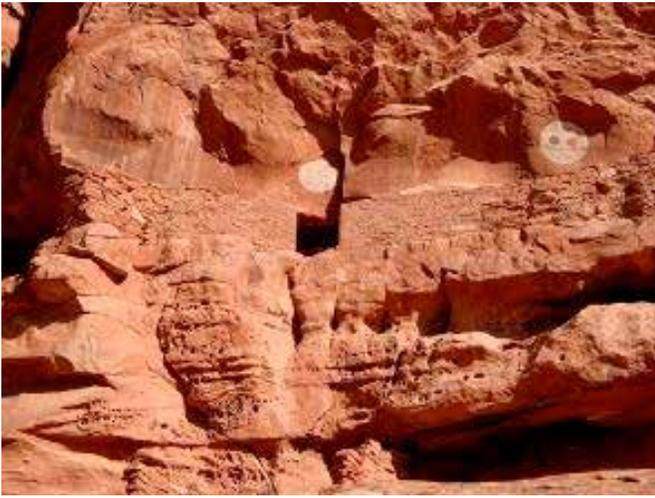


Fig. 5. Grand Gulch, painting of the sun above a notch in the wall and the moon off to the right. Close-up of the sun with foot prints going up and coming back down the face of the sun. Close-up of the moon (Photographs by Bill Tracy 2015).

deliberate. A close-up of the sun shows the tiny blue green foot prints on the right side, going up across the face of the sun to the top, and then back down on the left side of the face. These are the tracks of the sun in his journey to his house in the sky, where he sits and rests, and then journeys back down to the earth at the end of the day.

A second panel of an earlier date is found along the San Juan River. This BMII panel depicts the sun with its round face and body covered with evenly spaced dots that may represent its brilliance (fig. 6).

The spatial positioning of the sun high on the panel is consistent with its identification. It is associated with other icons of Group 2 including the twin boy war gods, and a depiction of them with lobed heads.

It is curious why sun rays are not depicted in the earliest sun iconography. But later, in the PIII era, the rayed sun symbol comes into use (fig. 7).

The panel reads from right to left. The movement of the sun is low down with only a few rays, and as it emerges higher in the sky the full rays are shown. The

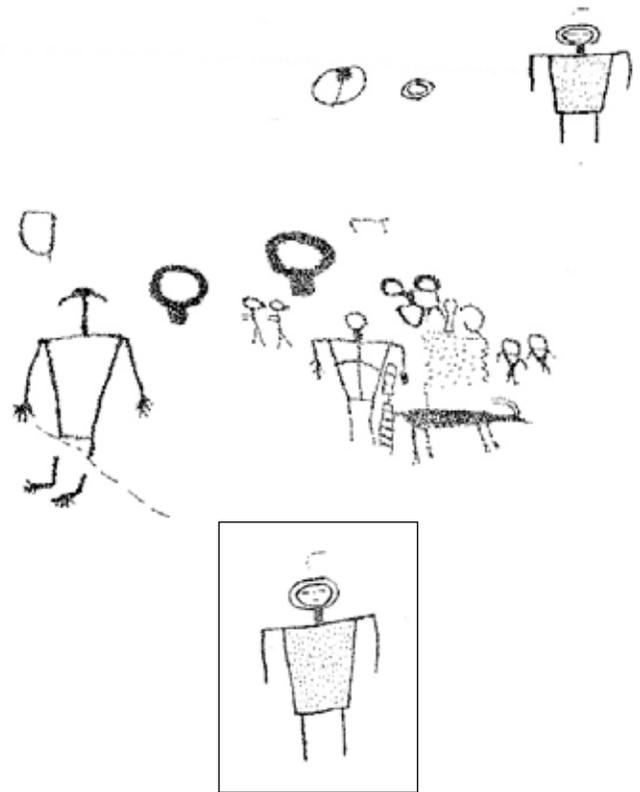


Fig. 6. Drawing of a BMII panel along the San Juan River with proposed Sun Father located at upper part of the panel. Close-up with tiny dots evenly distributed over the body.

twins fly in disguised as ducks, on the right, and seat themselves opposite each other, on the left. Their bent knees are the gestures of youth. Their head profile is that of their masks shown on the right. The rare portrait of the twin war god Katsina mask has the same profile with down-swept feathers as that of the twin's profile.

The sodality of the *Uwanami*

The *Uwanami* are rain beings associated with the six regions and are the Zuni equivalent of the Keresan *Shiwana*, or storm clouds.

Cumulus clouds are their houses; mist is their breath. The *Uwanami* are rain makers or “water spirits.” They live in all the waters of the earth, the four encircling oceans and the underground waters to which springs are gateways. Cumulus clouds are their houses; mist is their breath. The frogs that sing from every puddle after the drenching summer rains are their children. The ripple marks along the edge of ditches washed out by heavy rains are their footprints (Bunzel 513; fn. 42).



Fig. 7. PII-PIII panel from Cedar Mesa with twin War Gods playing flutes to their father, the Sun “Coming out Standing” (photo by Jim Shultz). Mask of the Boy War God from Stevenson (1890).

Cloud beings, water steps and lightning makers are all part of the sodality of the *Uwanami*. The panel in Fig. 8 shows both the cloud and the lightning entities as part of this sodality. It appears that both the Zuni and the Keres name these supernatural beings and render them slightly differently for cultural identity. Fig. 9 illustrates the Zuni version of water steps. This panel includes the yucca plant and scapula rattle, elements from Group 2 (Zuni). Bunzel (1932: 699, fn. 13) writes about the water terrace, a bundle of twigs, “these are three esoteric names for a large bundle of prayer sticks, the common name of which is *Ḳä*’etcine, ‘water steps,’ so called from the

fact that it is arranged like a terraced house, with the longer sticks in the center. With characteristic Zuni double entendre, it might mean also the steps by which the rain gods descend from heaven. The cloud beings or *Uwanami* rain spirits are found grouped with other icons of the Group 2 paradigm including the yucca plant, scapula rattle, and twine bag. Like the Keres *K’oBictaiya* of Group 1, the Zuni have what are called *Kupletaiya*, lightning makers, by Mrs Stevenson (in Bunzel 1992: 664). They are found with other elements of Group 1 in Montezuma Canyon and along the San Juan River. They differ from the Keres *K’oBictaiya*, (Glen Canyon 5 style figures) in

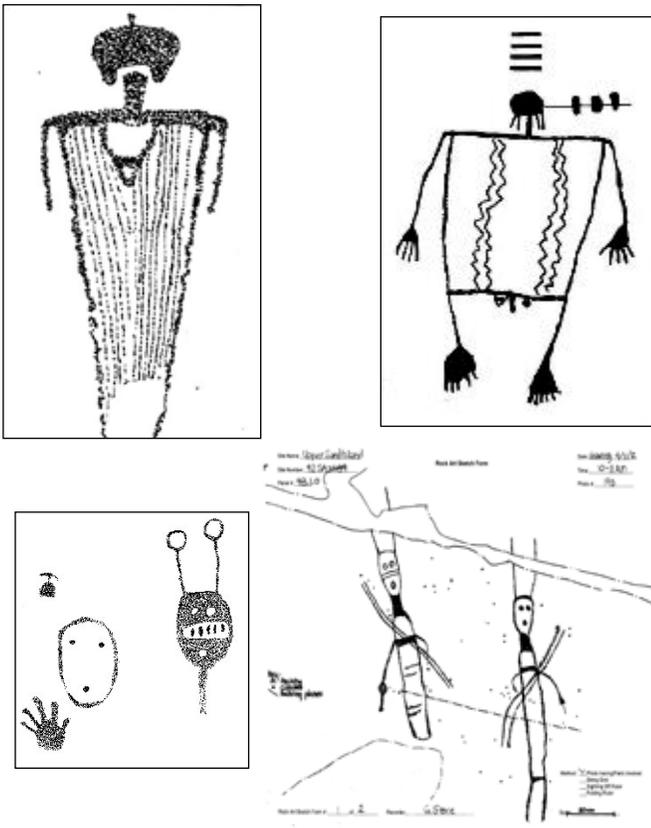


Fig. 8. The *Uwanami* rain spirits from the east bank of the San Juan River wearing a suit of rain clothes and positioned under the stone bowl of the sky. The second panel is the Keresan *Shiwana*, rain spirits of the west. The third panel is the Zuni *Kupletaiya* lightning makers, and the fourth panel shows the Keresan *K'oBictaiya* rain spirits of the east.

that they lack the full body with interior lines. Instead they have a more balloon-like physic and their tails may represent lightning (fig. 10).

The rock art depicting the Zuni *Kupletaiya* belong in Group 2 for three reasons. First, they are found in association with other icons from Group 2 not found in Group 1. Second, they are younger in appearance, lacking the weathering and patination of those of Group 1. And third, they do not have full bodies like those in Group 1. They are simple head/tail, like balloons, with a trailing line or stick figure limbs. Although they look similar, Group 1 *K'oBictaiya* are located high on the cliff face at Sand Island, while Group 2 *Kupletaiya* are found low down near the ground or on the ground in Montezuma Canyon. They belong in the second horizon as BMIII and as late PI-PIII era of Group 2 *Kupletaiya* and are characterized by the Zuni tradition (fig. 11).

They are also part of the Katsina sodality in a very important way. Stevenson writes: "The deceased always go first to *Ko'thluwala'wa* (dance village) abiding place of the Council of the gods and they often return there to dance in a great dance house. The deceased *A'pi'lashiwanni* (Bow priests) are an exception' they join the *Ku'pishmaya*"[*Kupletaiya*] becoming *lightning-makers*." (1890: 68)

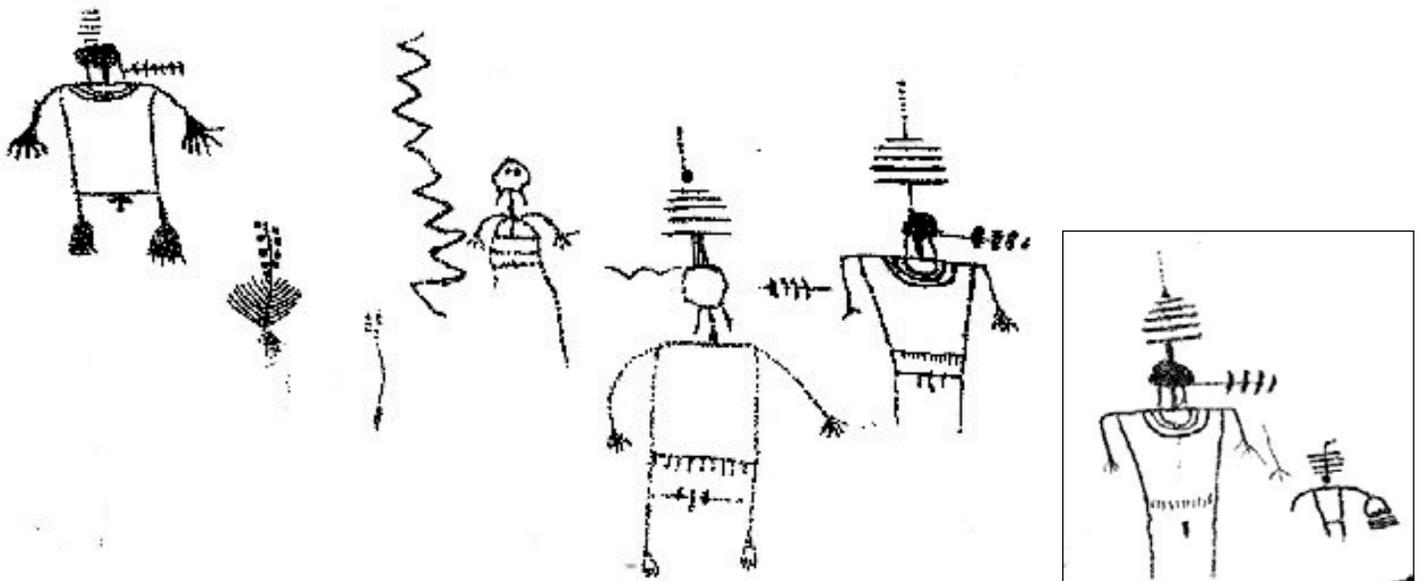


Fig. 9. San Juan River panel, mouth of Butler Wash with terraced water steps above their heads. Elements of Group 2 include the yucca plant and the scapula rattle, not found in Group 1.

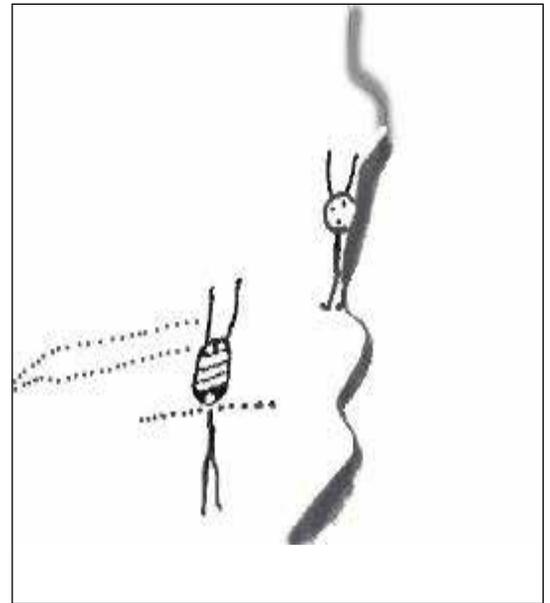
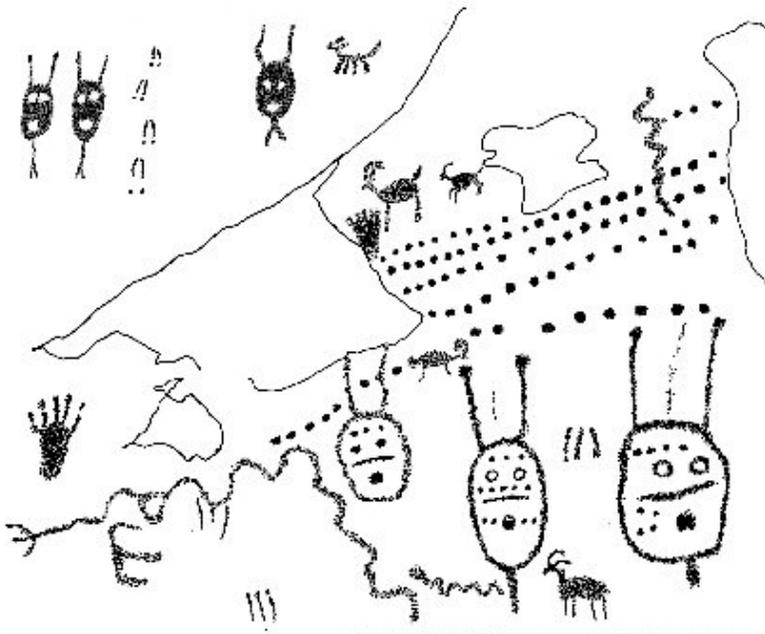


Fig. 10. PII-PIII depictions of the *Kuptletaiya* found in Montezuma canyon. *Kuptletaiya* with rock incorporation resembling lightning. Montezuma Canyon.

Sodality of the Katsinas (masks)

That of the Katsina masks is the third solidarity of the Katsina societies. Here, the mask is used to hide the identity of the wearer, yet announces the presence of a Katsina. Bunzel writes: “The mask is the corporeal substance of the god and in donning it the wearer, through a miracle akin to that of the Mass in Roman catholic ritual, becomes the god” (1992: 517). The Katsinas are masked, so to speak, by taking the form of a duck when they travel. The Katsina duck identity is found in the text many times. “It will be borne in

mind that *A’wan ta’ehu*, *Koyemshi* and *Pau’tiwa* had assumed the form of ducks” (Stevenson 1891: 52 fn. b). The most descriptive yet comes from Cushing; “When Pautiwa (or any ancestor) travels about the country, he assumes the appearance of a duck, putting on its shape and taking it off in the manner of a shirt.” (Cushing 1988: 14) The Katsinas are represented in the rock art by the duck-headed figures in the Group 2 assemblage (fig. 12).

Even more revealingly, Bunzel writes: “The identification of the dead with the katsinas is not complete.

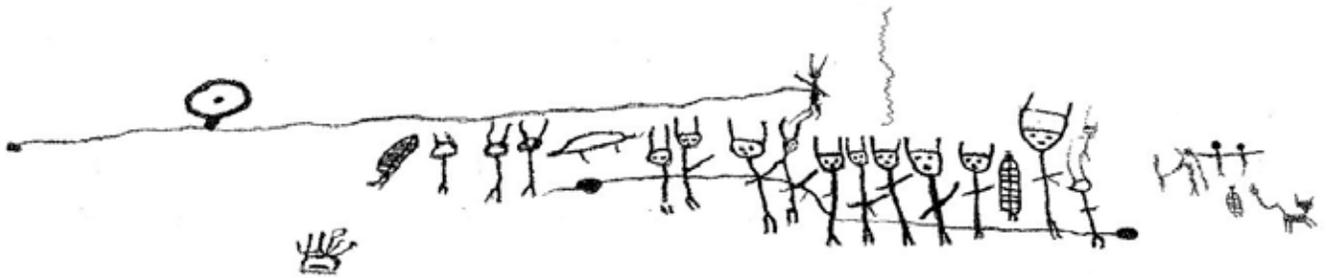
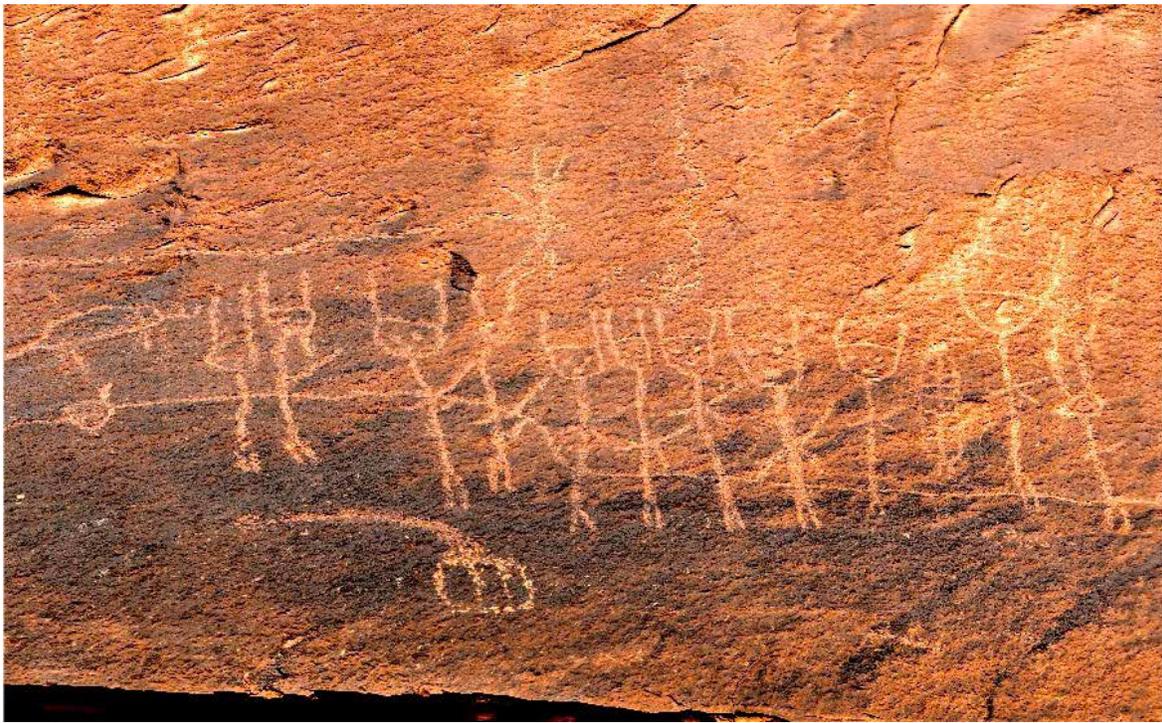


Fig. 11. *Kupletaiya* overlooking the San Juan River with stick, along with the Zuni emblem of the boy war gods.

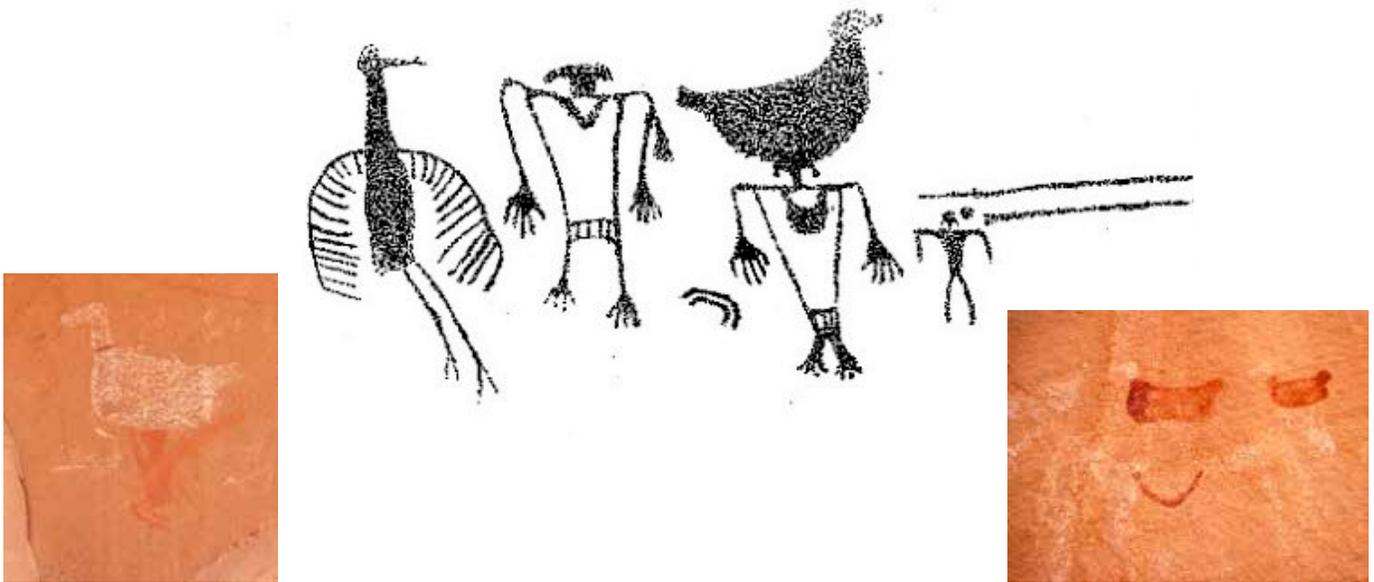


Fig. 12. Panels showing duck-headed figures representing Katsinas traveling in the form of a duck. Basketmaker III panels from Grand Gulch, Butler Wash and Grand Gulch (photos and drawings by C. Patterson).

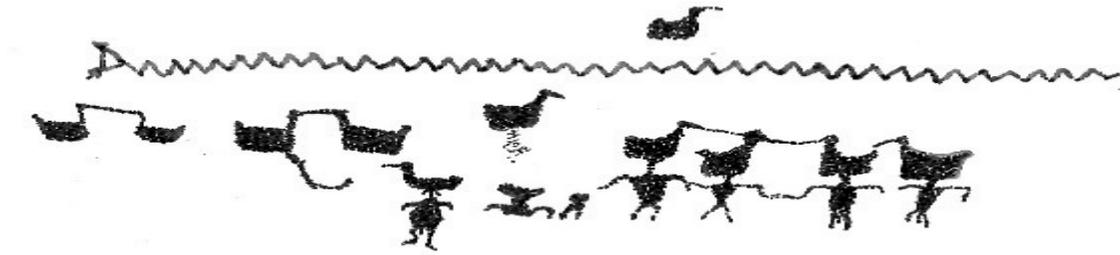
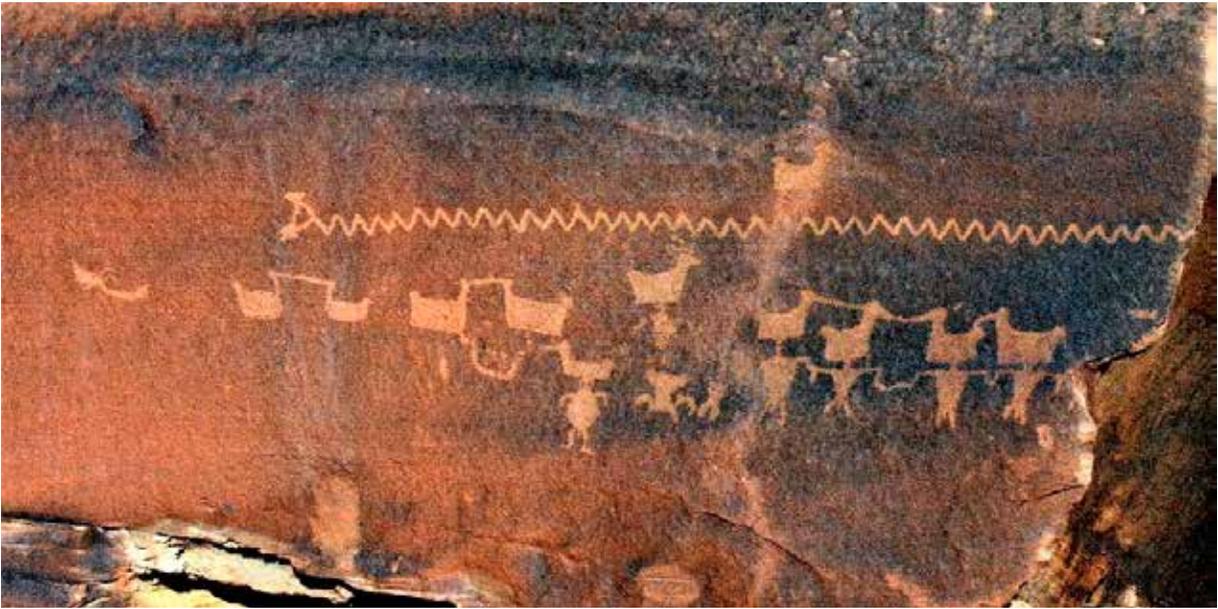


Fig. 13. PII-PIII panel from Cedar Mesa shows Katsinas arriving as ducks and exchanging Katsina breath through their beaks, called *A'wonawi'ona* (life breath) (photo by Jim Shultz and drawing by author).

When men offer prayer sticks, they offer to the ancients *and* to the katsinas, and their sticks are different. Those of the katsinas contain an addition to the turkey feather, that of the duck, for the katsinas travel between their village and the village of their fathers in the form of ducks.” (Bunzel 1932: 516–17)

The kissing ducks in this panel (fig. 13) show the duck-headed figures (Katsinas) arriving and returning, with their duck beaks joined. They are exchanging their breath. This is described in the oral traditions of the Zuni by Stevenson (1915: 88): “Breath of life will meet you on the road. You will meet together. They (Katsinas) will come and will give to all your children more of the great breath; the breath of *A'wonawil'ona*; the breath of the light of day. Inhale.”

Katsinas as ducks can be seen in pottery vessels of the PI-PIII pottery of this region. The necks are wide and open, painted with designs of seeds, rain. They are

vessels which may have been used to hold and scatter seeds for planting, blessed by the masked Katsinas in the shape of ducks (fig. 14).

Sodality of the priests

The priests of each Katsina group are in charge of controlling the supernatural through the use of masks. They impersonate the different Katsina priests who live at *Ko'huwala.wa*. They are definitely individuals, and may be the figures holding a crooked staff of authority leading each group of people in the procession panel (fig. 15).

Zuni colleagues have identified this panel as the migration panel and identified certain clan leaders with their clans following behind as they are migrating to the center place. The figure on the left may represent Pautiwa, the and the second figure with a bird on his head may represent the eagle clan (Lewis, pc, 2018).



Fig. 14. Basketmaker II-PIII duck effigy pots from museum collections at the Canyon of the Ancients Cultural Center.

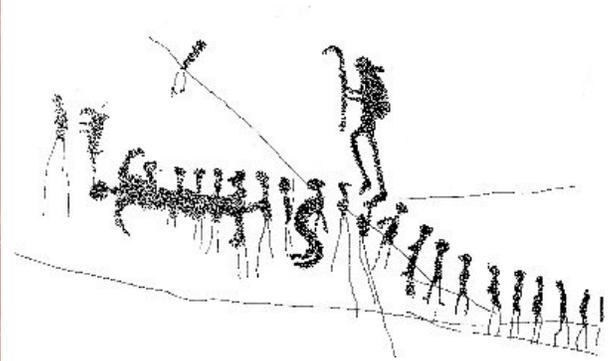


Fig. 15. A small portion of the procession panel illustrating the migration of people following their Katsina priest holding a crooked staff of authority. He is also pictured at the top of the Wolfman panel.

Medicine priests

The Ne'we-kwe are the most powerful. They are clowns also. They serve as clowns and medicine priests (like the Koshari of the Keres).

Cushing writes:

The Ne'we-kwe ... are the most ridiculous of clowns when they appear in public, the most serious of sacred personages when gathered into the secret councils. They are the medicine-men par excellence of the tribe, whose special providence is the cure of all diseases of the stomach – the elimination of poisons from the systems of the victims of sorcery or imprudence. They are exempt from all fasts, thought denied for life the use of two or three kinds of delicacies, such as water cress, and the flesh of birds sacred to their order. (Cushing 1920: 620)

As medicine men, Cushing writes:

The Ne'we-kwe of whom the God of Dew, or Pai-a-tu-ma, was the first Great Father, are a band of medicine priests belonging ... to one of the most ancient organizations of the Zunis. Their medical skill is supposed to be very great, in many cases, and their traditional wisdom is counted even greater. Yet they are clowns whose grotesque and quick-witted remarks amuse most public assemblies of the Pueblo holiday. One of their customs is to speak the opposite of their meaning, hence, too, their assumptions of the clown's part at public ceremonials, when really their office and powers are to be reversed. (1920: 632).

Fig. 16 shows representations of the Ne'we-kwe photographed by Stevenson and a petroglyph panel on Alkali Ridge that shows a similar image of the Ne'we-

kwe with medicine animals, the bear and the mountain lion. These three images suggest a place where doctoring and medicine ceremonies took place. See fig. 27 for more details.

Bow priests

These were the leaders in war and defenders and protectors of the people. They play an even more important role in maintaining religious order. Bunzel writes: they police the town, in the religious sense, not the civil sense ... they must wage constant warfare against the insidious inner enemy – witches – whose secret power causes sickness and death. They are defenders and the executive arm of the religious hierarchy. They protect their altars from desecration, carry their messages, and execute their orders. To perform these duties two bow priests are assigned to the priestly hierarchy, two to the katsina society, and two to each of the medicine societies. (Bunzel 1992: 526)

Membership in the bow priesthood requires killing an enemy in battle. If successful, the candidate is initiated with the scalp dance, that adds the necessary protection against the ghost of the slain victim. Bunzel writes: The sodality of the A'hayuta, the gods of war, and leadership of war parties is delegated to the bow priests, and several less important groups, the priests who keep *pa'eton.e*, a war fetish, the priests of the great shell and the scalp chief, who takes care of the scalps in the scalp house, and the men who carve and decorate the idols of the war gods." (1992: 526)

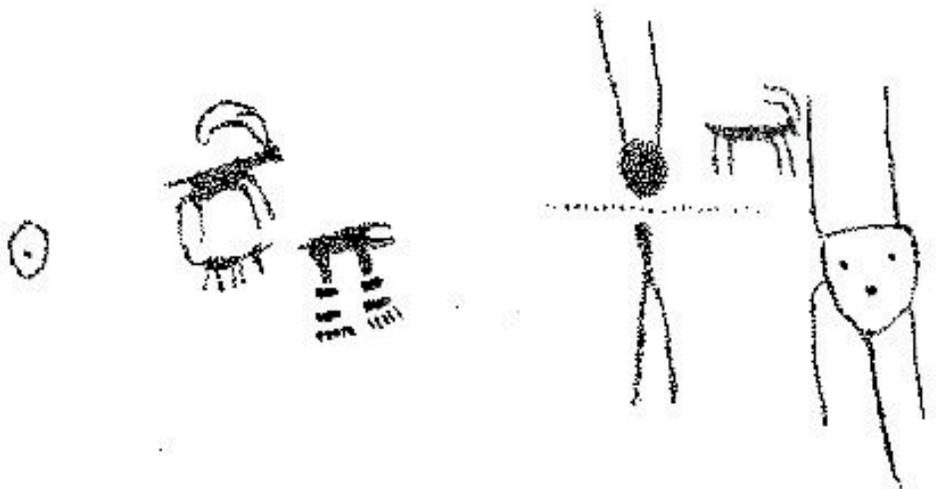


Fig. 16. Photograph of the Ne'we-kwe by Stevenson, and petroglyph panel with bear, mountain lion and possible representation of the Ne'we-kwe priest. Alkali Ridge.



Fig. 17. From the procession panel showing the great shell and war twin emblems being carried in the procession. (Photograph and drawing by C. Patterson)

The “great shell” also has its own priesthood. It is brought out for all war ceremonies.

Fig. 17 shows the procession of figures carrying items with them, thought to represent the great shell and a figure carrying the carved statue of the war twin idols represented by the emblems of the lobed circles.

The scalp chief and his associates are in charge of the scalp from when it is brought into the village and eventually put in the scalp house. The scalp dance idols of the boy war gods are carved during the winter solstice (Bunzel: 1992, 526). A scalp is referred to as

a water cap or rain bringer. The scalp is represented in many of the panels in Group 2 and illustrated in Fig. 18. The scalp ceremony is necessary for rain making. Bunzel writes: “The scalp dance is held at irregular intervals whenever an enemy is killed. Its purpose is to induct the scalper into the Bow Priesthood for his own protection, to strip the dead enemy of his power and develop his capacities as rain maker, and to celebrate fittingly with all manner of festivity the destruction of the enemy. (Bunzel 1992: 527)

Fig. 18 shows examples of scalps shown in the San Juan

region, illustrating the different aspects of the scalp society. It is associated with the bow clan and protection from the evil forces of the enemy that is killed. It is known as a rain bringer when all is done properly and the Katsinas are pleased. The scalp is ritually washed 'until they weep' by the women. They are kept in a special place called a scalp house, until they are taken out for ceremony and ritually speared with arrows by young

warriors. Depictions of arrows are shown associated with the scalps in Fig. 18a, and scalps with the carrying loop are shown in Figs. 18b and 18c. The scalp in 18c has ritual spearing cut marks across it. Scalps that have been washed 'till they weep' and ceremonial sanctified by the Katsinas are then shown with a curved feather called a 'Katsina feather' along with vertical lines representing rain falling down.

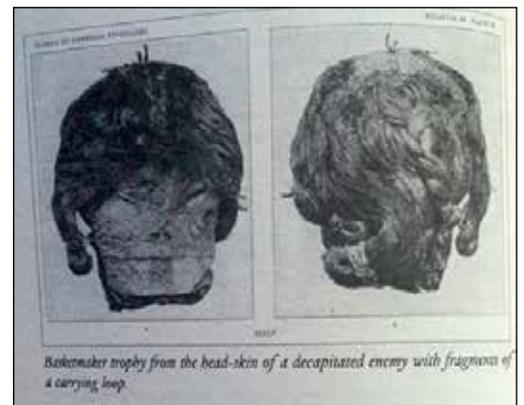
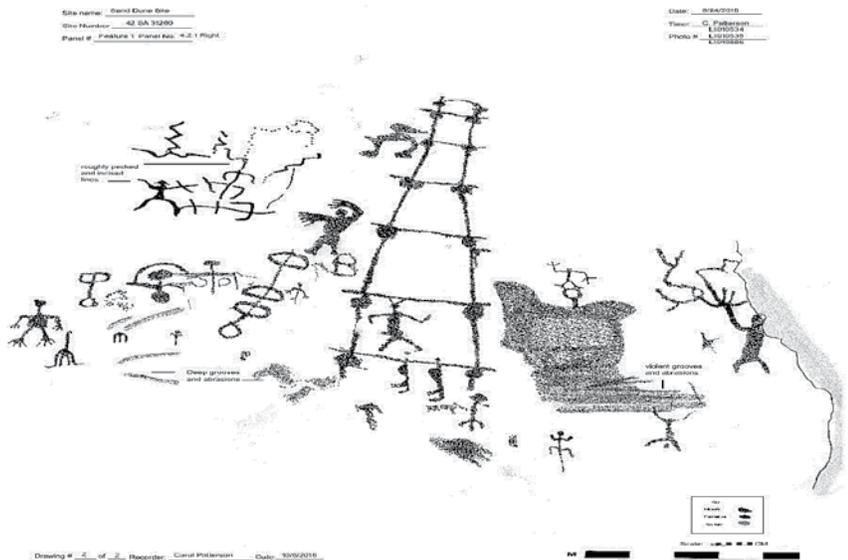


Fig. 18; scalp with carrying loop and ritual spearing slashes, from the Sanddune site. Drawings by author.

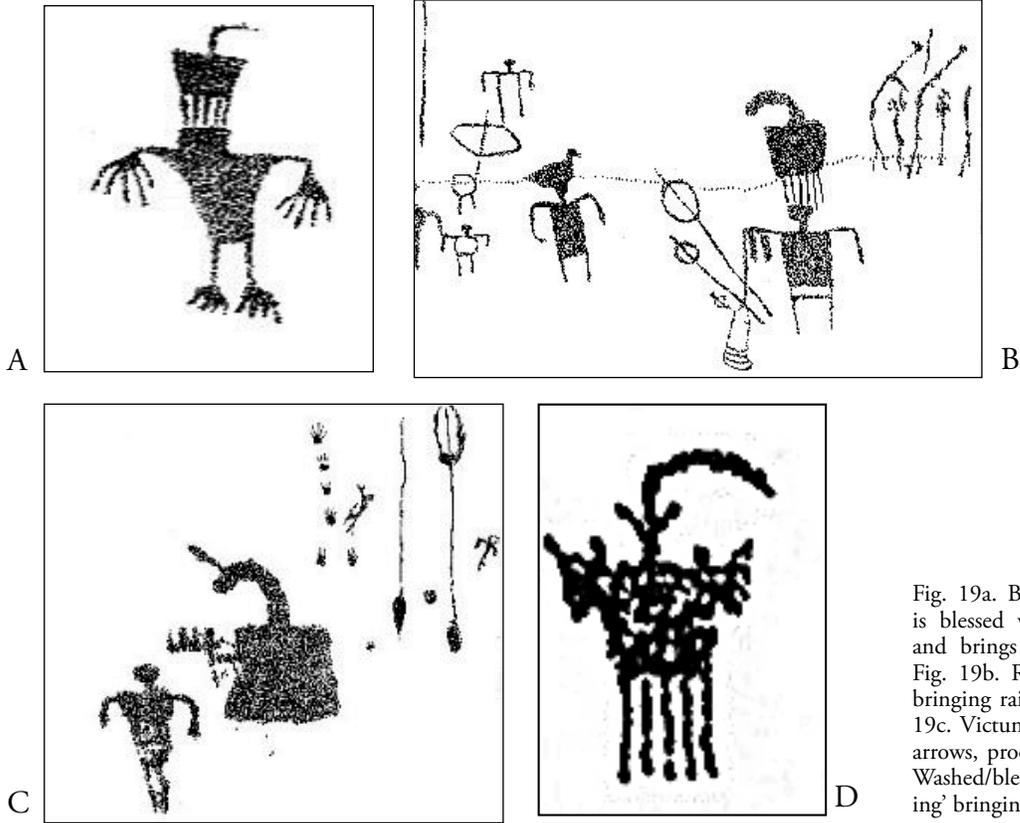


Fig. 19a. Being scalped, but scalp is blessed with a Katsina feather and brings rain, San Juan River. Fig. 19b. Ritual arrows and scalp bringing rain, San Juan River. Fig. 19c. Victim and scalp with ritual arrows, procession panel. Fig. 19d. Washed/blessed scalp that is 'weeping' bringing rain, wolfman panel.

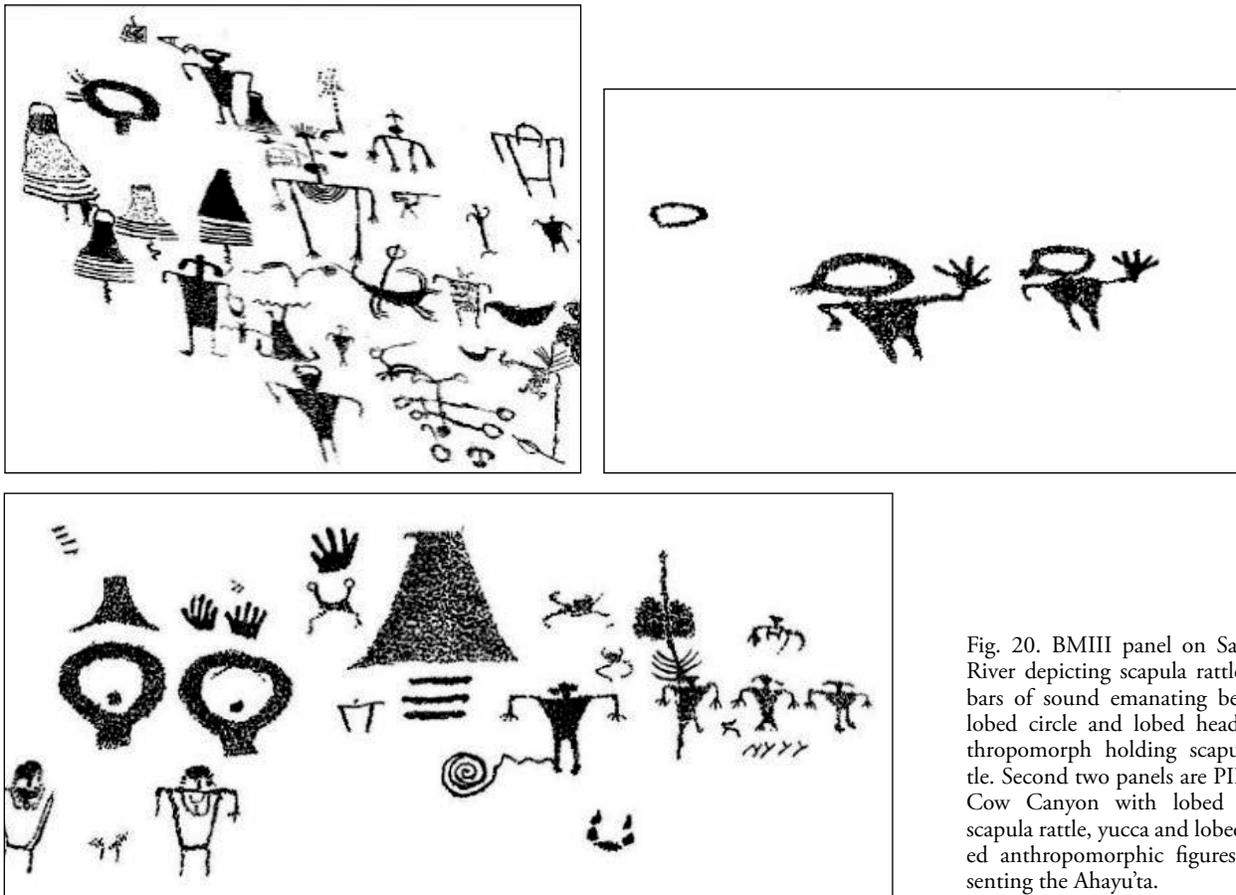


Fig. 20. BMIII panel on San Juan River depicting scapula rattles with bars of sound emanating below it, lobed circle and lobed headed anthropomorph holding scapula rattle. Second two panels are PIII from Cow Canyon with lobed circles, scapula rattle, yucca and lobed headed anthropomorphic figures representing the Ahayu'ta.

Scapula rattles from the PI–PIII era are found along Cow Canyon, in Montezuma Canyon, and along the San Juan at River House. Emblems of the boy war twins and scapula rattles with sound bars are seen in Fig. 20.

Dan Simplicio, a Zuni, and cultural specialist for Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, identified the trapezoidal element in many of these BMIII–PIII panels as scapula rattles. They are made from the scapula of a sheep or deer. They are hung in pairs, so they bang against each other and make a unique sound of bone-on-bone percussion (Simplicio pc 2017). Scapula rattles are worn on the wrist of the left arm by the Salimopia and held in the right hand by *Siayatashia* and his deputy. See Fig. 21.

The great feather or Katsina feather is often shown on anthropomorphic figures as a distinguishing icon for Group 2. It identifies an initiated person who has received this feather from a Katsina. It is the breath of life from a Katsina. Bunzel writes:



Fig. 21. Two Salimopia (a, yellow; b, blue) with scapula rattles. Siayatashia (long horn Katsina) c), with thin striped scapula and his deputy Hututu, d), with wide striped scapula rattles. (From Wright, 1985).

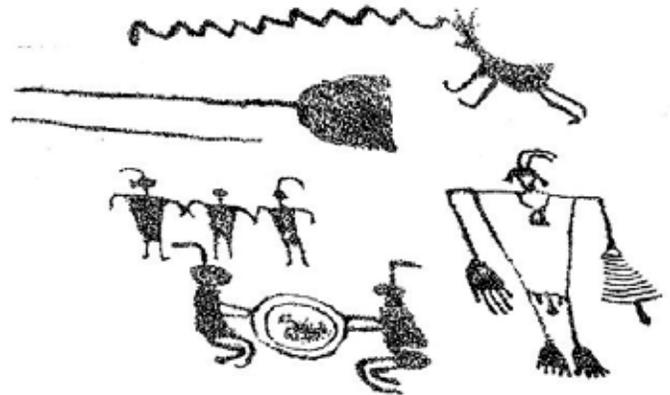
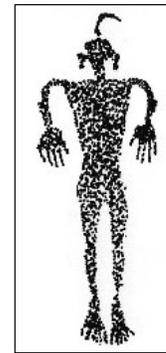


Fig. 22. Zuni Katsina father, of the Council of God, with red Katsina feather. Main figure with Katsina feather from the Wolfman site. The boy war gods holding a shield, and other figures wearing the Katsina feather, from Butler Wash.

Breath is the symbol of life. It also is the means by which spiritual substances communicate and the seat of power or mana. Inhaling is an act of ritual blessing. One inhales from all sacred objects to derive benefit from their mana. At the end of any prayer or chant all present inhale; holding their folded hand before their nostrils, in order to partake of the sacred essence of prayer. The feather is the pictorial representation of the breath (Bunzel 1939: 481).

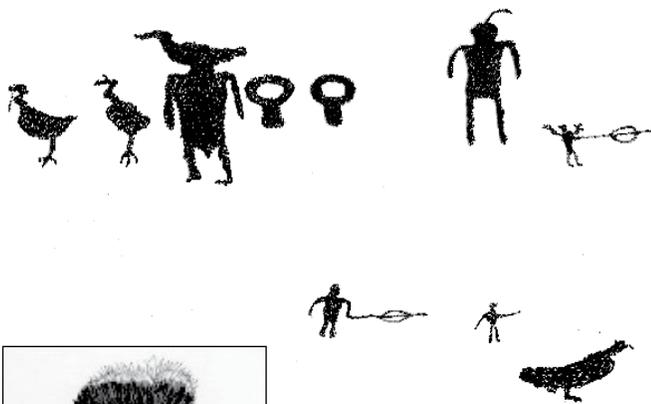


Fig. 23. Right to-left, emblem of the twin war gods, a Katsina traveling in the form of a duck, and two turkeys. Panel from the San Juan River. A turkey feather is special because the white tip represents clouds (rain) and the horizontal bars represents a ladder going up to the clouds. All prayer *pahos* for Katsinas have turkey feathers.

Fig. 23 showing objects found along the San Juan river depicts the emblem of the boy war gods, a Katsina and turkeys (emblem of their feathers). Turkey feathers are used in making prayer sticks called *pahos*. The dark horizontal bars form a ladder that reaches up to the white tip of the feather. The white represents a cloud. The Zunis believe that prayers travel up the ladder to the clouds to bring the rain.

The sodality of the gods of war

The boy war gods are called the A'hayuta. They are often referred to as twin war gods, or gods of war, but they are children and represented as children in the rock art.

They are twin children of the Sun begotten of a waterfall when the Zunis, wandering in search of the middle, were in dire need of military leadership ... They led the people to victory and gave them the rites of war. They are the patrons of contests of all kinds, including foot races and games of chance ... they live on the mountain tops, they are lords of the high places, and their shrines are on all the prominent mountains about Zuni. (Bunzel 1992: 521)

The bent knee gesture represents these uniquely Zuni war gods, and is not used with the Keresan, Hopi or

Tewa war twins. Among native people, it is assumed that children are to be seated in the presence of adults. This is represented by the bent knee gesture signifying children. The Zuni have boy war gods, not adult war twins as do other pueblo groups. The bent-knee gesture is found in conjunction with the lobed circle near them or as their heads. It is a reference to their ability “to see all around” (Lewis 2018 pc). The thick lobe may represent a broad field of vision all around, for it is their duty is to protect the people and always know where there is danger. Cushing (1892: 336 fn, 11) writes:

Two favorite figures are the twin war gods, *Abaiyuta* and *Matsaillema*, otherwise known as “Our Beloved,” the “Terrible Two” and the “Boy-gods of War. Fathered by the Sun and brought forth out of a patch of foam floating on the waters of the world, these two figures in the origin myth as the guardians and guides who lead the people out of the underworld wombs into the light and later protect them in their struggles and wanderings. Armed “with the rainbow for their weapon and thunderbolts for their arrows – swift lightning-shafts pointed with turquoise – they were the greatest warriors of all in the days of new.

The emblem for the boy war gods is a pair of lobed circles (fig. 24). The boys are shown in pairs and their emblem is usually shown in pairs. Occasionally one is shown as a reference to the theme or subject of the panel.

Fig. 24 a) shows the two facing each other with dots from their ears, a reference to suggest looking or hearing behind as well as in front. Fig. 24b is a line with alternating pairs of boy war twins and children wearing Katsina feathers. It suggests a theme of an initiation ceremony conducted by the twins. Upon completing the initiation, the young boys are given a Katsina feather, emblem of initiation into the Katsina society. Fig. 24c is another example of the twins with lobed heads, and fig. 24d shows the emblems from a PIII panel called the ‘Wolfman’.

From Basketmaker II to Pueblo III and beyond, the boy war gods represent one of the most prominent societies in the Zuni Katsina sodality. The emblem of the society permeates all of the upper San Juan basin and appears as far north as the confluence of the Dolores and La Sal Creek. Fig. 25 gives some examples. The panels in fig. 25 contain more images of both the boy war gods and their emblem the lobed circles rep-

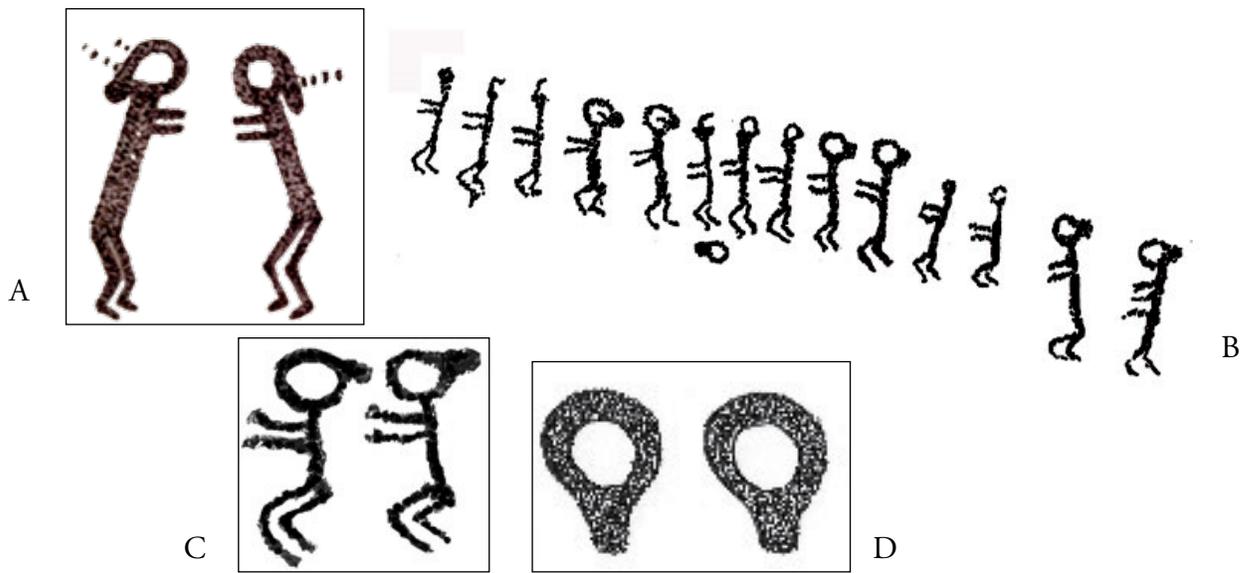


Fig. 24a. From Grand Gulch (Cole, Earthwatch Project 1987). Fig. 24b. Cedar Point. Fig. 24c. Cedar Point. Fig. 24d. Wolfman site. These are several examples of bent-knee figures with lobed heads, representing the boy war gods

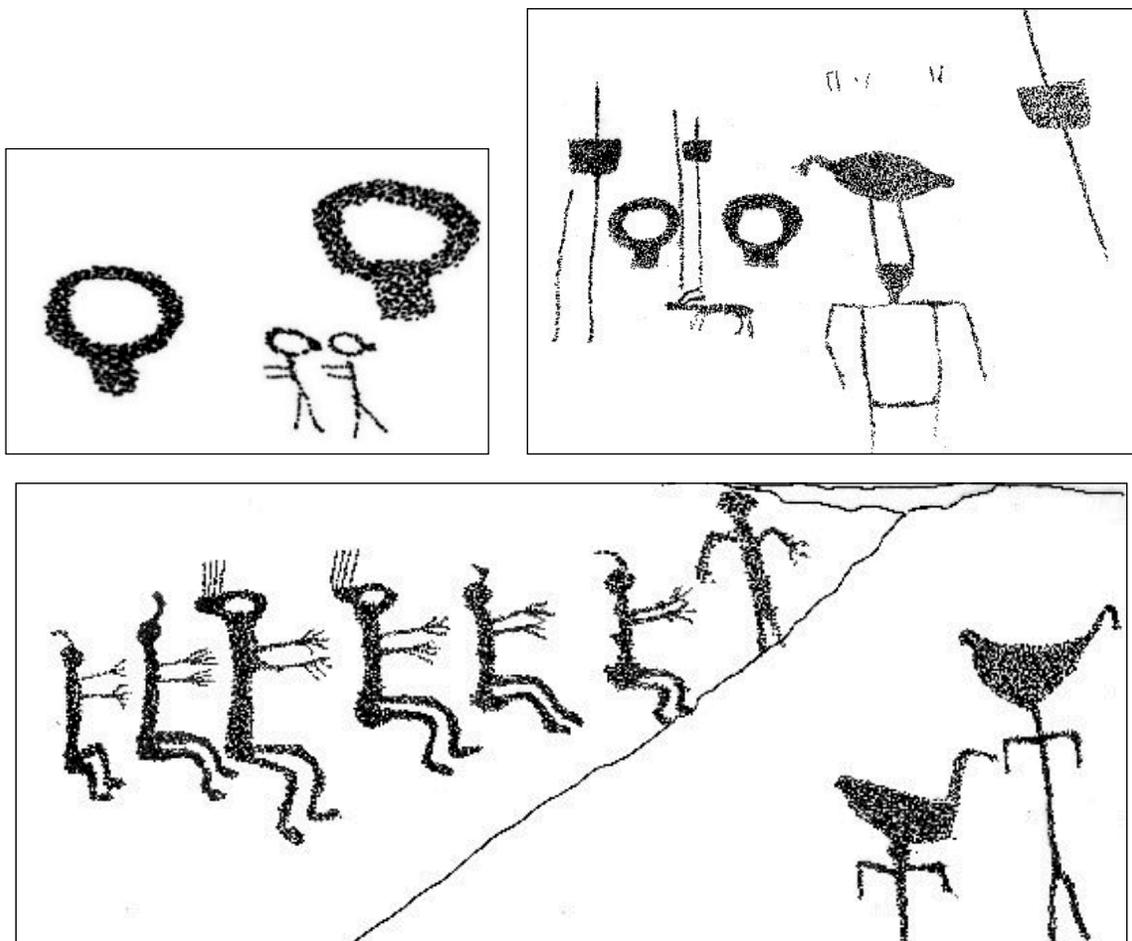


Fig. 25. Boy war gods with their lobed circle heads and their emblems.

resenting the Ahayu'ta. Boy war gods and their shield, called *k'ia-al-lan*, or water-shield, is shown in several panels along the San Juan River and side canyons that depict the bent-knee figures holding a disk between them. See fig. 26. Cushing (1896: 4) writes:

Among the devices given the Twin War Gods by their Sun Father was a fog-making shield that would turn all weapons and yet let the rain drop through ... to have been spun from clouds and wind-driven spray, the shield could both hide and defend the two (ibid.: 382).

Because the shield was made from the clouds which supported the Sky Ocean upon which rests the Sky World, just as the earth is supported by its underlying ocean of waters and clouds, it possessed the power of floating. When turned upward the shield rose and if reversed it sank downward (Cushing, 1892, 52, n. .1)

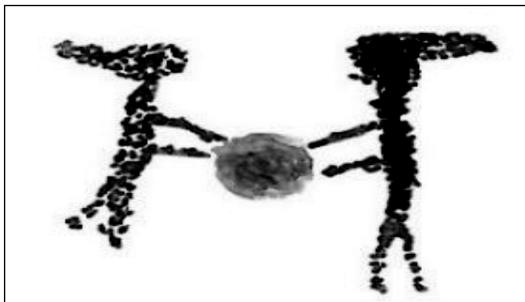
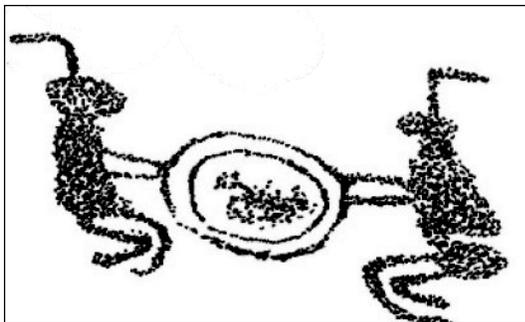


Fig. 26. War gods and their shields, from Butler Wash, the San Juan River, and Cedar Mesa.

... the shields could be used to go up or down depending upon which side the Twins sat or could make them invisible when the shields were placed over their heads (ibid., 1892: 52).

In a footnote, Cushing writes:

Then the Ancient Sun pitied the children of the Earth. That they might speedily see his light, he cast a glance upon a foam cap floating abroad on the great waters. Forthwith the foam cap became instilled with life, and bore twin children, brothers one to the other, older and younger, for one was born before the other. To these he gave **k'ia-al-lan, or "water-shield,"** that on it they might fly over the waters as the clouds – from which it was spun and woven – float over the ocean that they might blind with its mists the sight of the enemies, the clouds darken the earth with rain-drops. Cushing (1979, 348, fn. 12)

The Zuni magic shield of the war gods is empowered to turn back any weapon. Spun out of clouds (cotton), like clouds this water-shield will carry its possessor through the air and will send down water (Cushing 4: I).

The sodality of the beast gods

The beast gods live in the east at Cipapolima. They are the priests of long life and givers of medicine both with plants and the magic power for curing. Their leaders are associated with the six directions; north, mountain lion; west, bear; south, badger; east, wolf; above, knife-wing; and below, gopher. The bear is the most powerful and is summoned during curing ceremonies for his power. "The symbol of his personality (emblem) is the bear paws, which are drawn over the hands and have the same properties as the masks of the gods" (Bunzel, 1992: 528). Mountain lion is second and called in for help in difficult cases. Each animal has special qualities that are called upon for curing illnesses: "one cures sore throat, another epilepsy, another has efficacious medicine for delaying parturition, yet another cures bullet wounds, and so forth" (ibid.: 529). Bunzel writes: "The combined body of esoteric knowledge and ritual held by these groups is enormous, and this is genuinely esoteric. ... no knowledge is more closely guarded than this" (1992: 528).

Bear images including a simple bear paw print signal the theme of medicine or a curing ritual. Bear paws are drawn flexed and enlarged, referring to their ferocity and strength in medicine power: see fig. 27.

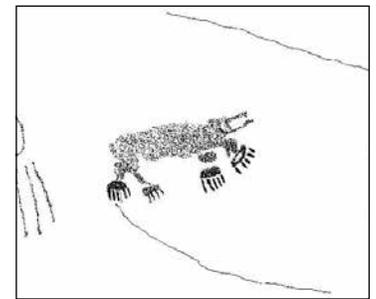
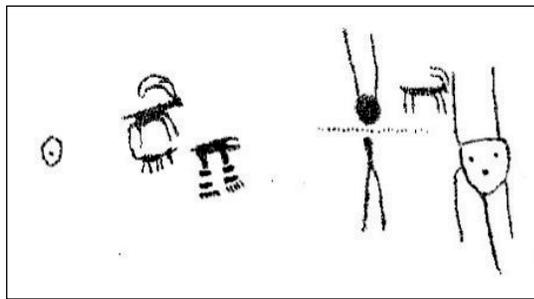
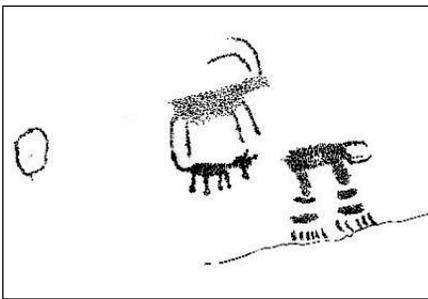
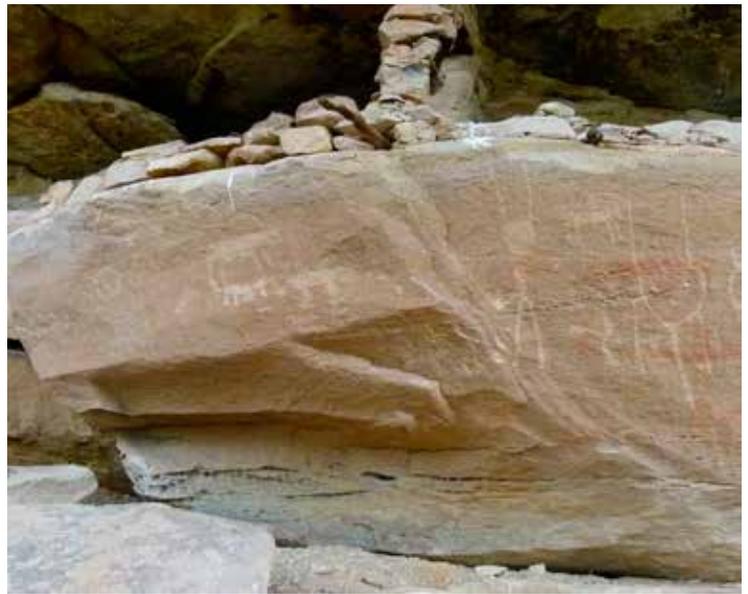


Fig. 27. Panel depicting first the bear, then the mountain lion, at a secluded site on Alicki Ridge above Montezuma Canyon.

Bunzel (1992: 529 (fn.78) writes: “the Beast Gods live in the east. Therefore, all ceremonies of the curing societies are oriented toward the east, in contrast to ceremonies for the ancients and the katsinas, which are oriented toward the south and west.” This site is located southeast of a large ruin on top of the ridge. More research is needed to study the locations of other bear petroglyph sites and their spatial location with associated archaeological sites to see if there is a pattern and consistency with an eastern orientation.

The beast gods dominate the procession panel with great beasts of claws like lions’, but sacred feathers from their heads: see fig. 28.

The beast gods are a variety of animals that possess power of various kinds. They are represented by the animal and bird fetishes of the six directions. In sickness one prays to the beast god that brings health and can overpower the illness. When hunting, one might pray to the beast god talented in finding prey. In war,

the beast gods may help in overpowering the enemy, as is found in this Zuni ritual poem:

The ones who are our fathers,
 Beast bow priests
 With their claws,
 Tore from the enemy
 His water-filled covering [scalp]
 (Bunzel, 1932)

In the center of the panel there is a limp figure with its scalp and claw attached. Large arrows or spears represent the ceremonial spearing of the enemy’s scalp, that is done ritually by members of the bow society.

Synopsis of the Zuni Katsina sodality

The wolfman panel (fig. 30) is located in Butler Wash just west of Bluff, Utah. It displays the Zuni emergence and emblems of the Zuni Katsina societies during the PII-PIII era. Here the icons are laid out in chronological

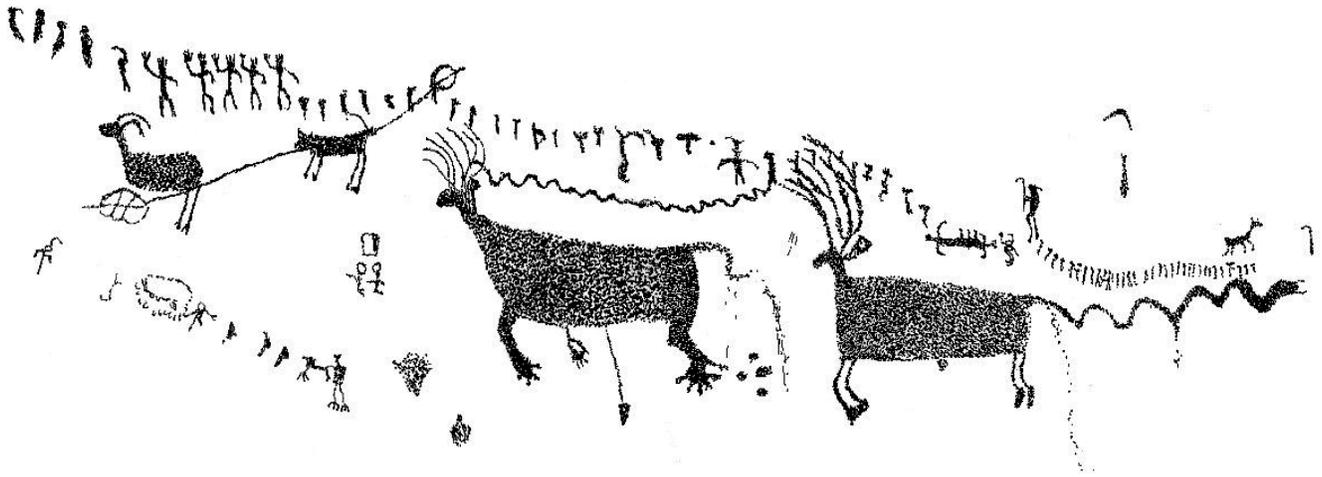


Fig. 28. Procession panel with large beasts associated with the beast god, solitary of the Zuni.

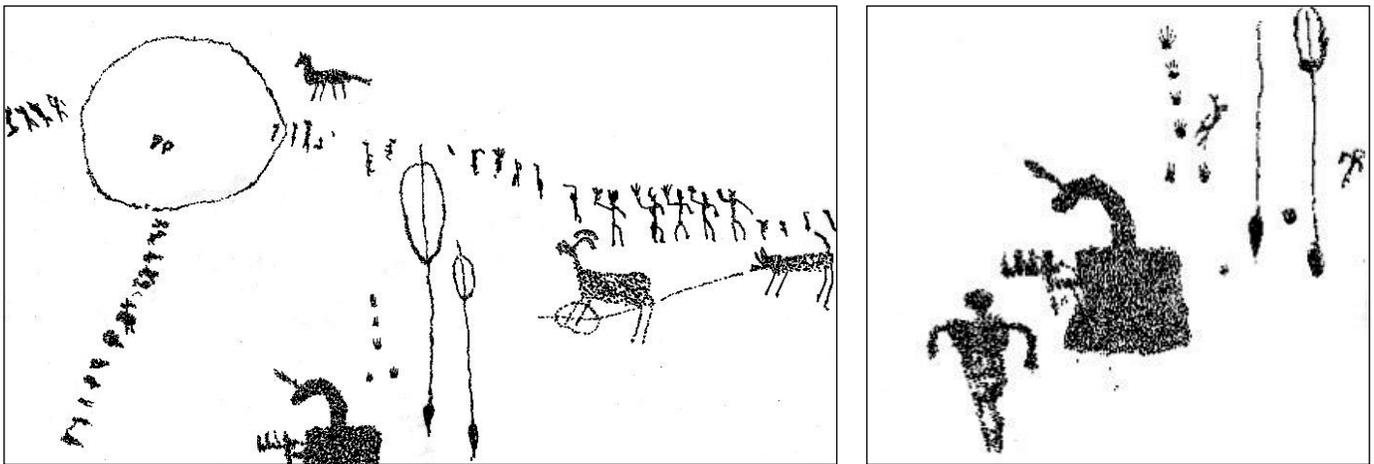


Fig. 29a. Scalp and ritual arrows. 29b. Center circle with emblems of the idols in the center. From the procession panel.

order, as it happened in the beginning. It was renamed the emergence panel by a Zuni colleague, Chris Lewis, who told me that it begins on the far right with a small concentric circle identified as the Si'papu, The Keresan name is Shi'papu, the place of emergence for their people. Zia (also Keresan) use the form Shi'papo. Among the Zuni, the name is Shi'papolima. As the people emerge, they are led (to the left) by the Ahayu'ta (war twins) who always protect them. They carry with them the sacred seed (corn) in the twine bag with four alternating dark and light stripes and a thin strap to hang on.

The next image is a scalp, known as a water cap, when it is on the head, and rain bringer when it has been ritually cleaned and washed 'till it weeps'. It is a scalp of an

enemy that constitutes the proper ceremony, cleansing, and adherence to ritual. The intensive scalp ceremony is conducted to appease the Katsinas, who in return bring rain (Stevenson 1881; Bunzel 1889; Parsons 1917); "the scalp ceremonial is necessary in order to please the gods that they will send much rain" (Stevenson 1894). The scalp ceremony is conducted by the coyote clan represented by the pawprints on either side of the panel. The bow priest (identified by his bow guards and wearing a Katsina feather) is directly associated with the scalp ceremony that brings rain. Touching his leg is a duck, the form he takes when he travels as a Katsina. The next bird is the crane, bird of winter, that brings hail and snow (Cushing 1897: 350).

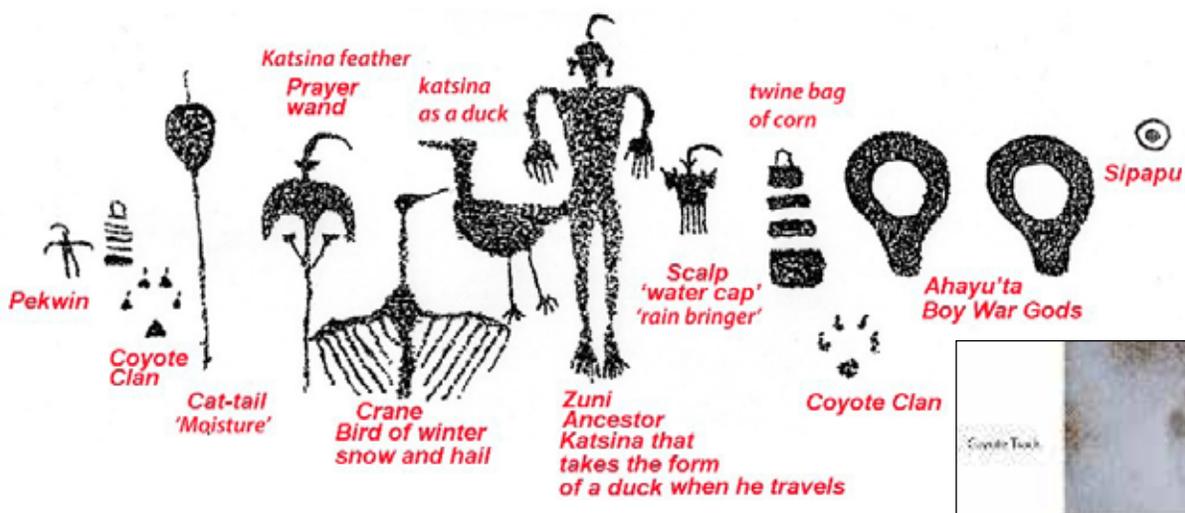
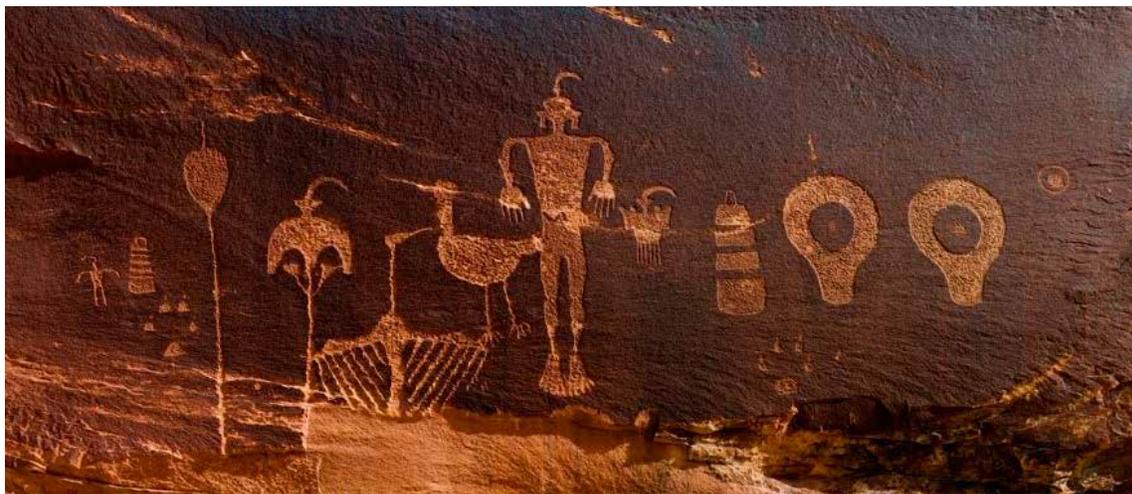


Fig. 30. Late PIII panel from Butler Wash, annotated through ethnographic analogy with Zuni identification for known icons and the emblems of the Ahayu'ta, boy war gods.

The next emblems may be the grass feather wand of the scalp ceremony. The next is a cat-tail, emblem of moisture because the white fluff it produces is associated with clouds and rain. Next is the track of the coyote, an emblem of the coyote society that brackets both sides of this panel. Coyote clan members are custodians of the scalp ceremony (Parsons 1917: 327). Following this is another twine bag, followed by possibly the Pekwin with Katsina feather. Fig. 31 shows the second panel at this site, separated by a large irregularity in the rock surface. It may be intentional, in that the second panel contains icons that are associated with events that follow the fight with the Katsinas. The second part of the beginning story relates a dramatic fight with the Katsinas and

many humans and Katsinas are killed. The Katsinas were able to come back to life, but not so the humans. After the fight, the Katsinas leave forever, but they give instructions to the humans to wear masks to impersonate them and continue to pray for rain and health. The figure at the top (A), may be Pautiwa the Katsina Priest with his crooked staff called the *telnawe* (Bunzel 1932a: 909). She writes: "Pautiwa brings to Zuni crooks '*telnawe* of appointment' for the principal participants in all major ceremonies to be held during the coming year." The Katsinas are summoned from Ko'thluwala'wa, believed to be represented by (B), a large disk with the symbol of water revolving around the center. Below (C), are two stick figures in the gesture of departing or breaking away from each other.

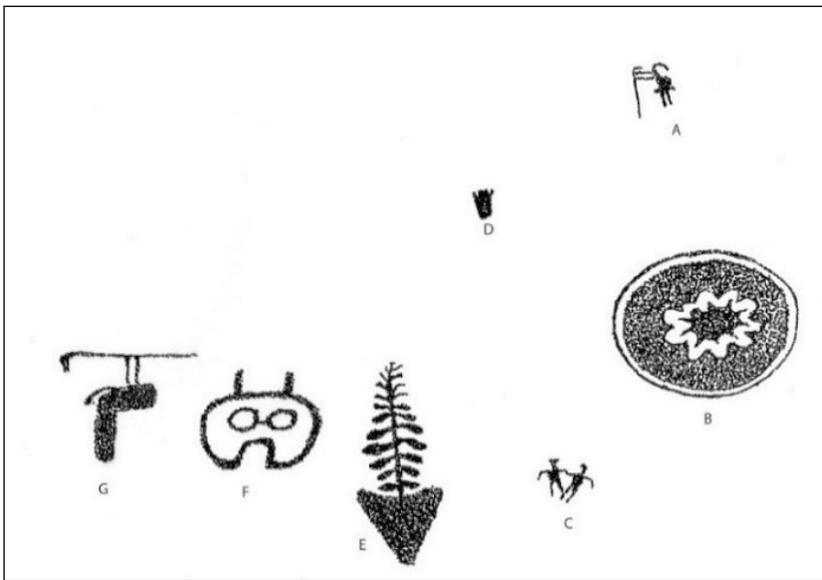


Fig. 31, right to left. 31a. Pautiwa. 31b. Ko'thluwala'wa, 31c. Fig.s departing. 31d. Foot track. 31e. Grandfather Yucca. 31f. Mask. 31g. Crook of authority and seed bag skin.

One is stationary while the other is off-balance, as if departing, reminiscent of the departing Katsinas after the fight. (D) is a foot track, and (E) is a yucca plant, emblem of the prayer wands made from the flesh of Grandfather Yucca. (F) is a mask, another emblem that may represent the transition from Katsinas to masked impersonators that is discussed in the myth. It is a simple mask, not decorated to represent any one Katsina, but just the concept of the Katsina mask itself. (G) is a crook that represents long life. Below

it hangs what looks like a skin bag. A similar image appears in the writings of Cushing. 'From it hangs a fawn skin that holds the sacred seeds that are planted with prayers every spring' (Cushing 1979: 206).

The Zuni migration south to present-day Zuni is marked by the distribution of iconography in the rock art. Group 2 assemblages appears in Chinle Wash and south down through Canyon DeChelly, and date well into the late PIII era. The Zuni myth of the great fight with the Katsinas, that results in the creation of masks to continue their

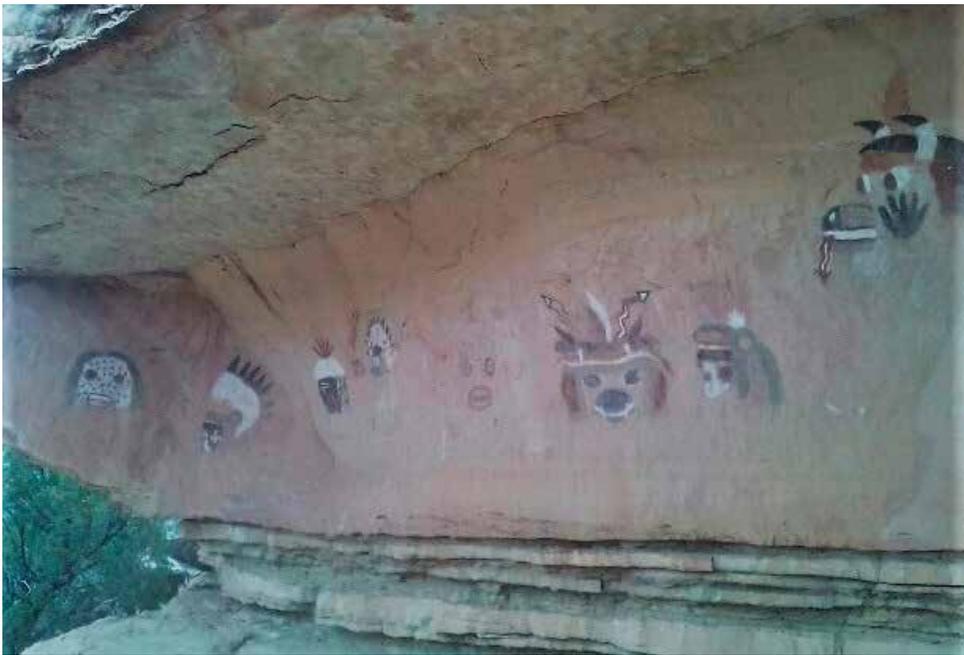


Fig. 32. Zuni paintings of Katsina masks at Village of the Great Kivas, at Zuni. The masks face straight on or to the left, traditional direction. (Photo by Chris Lewis.)

dances and prayers, can be seen in the sudden appearance of Katsina masks around the location of Pueblo IV villages of ancestral Zuni (see fig. 32).

Events that transpired after the fight with the Katsinas find representation in a completely different style of rock art in their present location. The modern Katsina masks of Fig. 32 represent the concepts, personalities, and responsibilities of Katsina spirits that find their roots in the northern San Juan Basin. The continuity can be traced through the consistency of concepts, represented in emblems and pictographic narratives of mythic events over centuries of time.

Summary

This was Part 2 of this research comparing Group 1 with Group 2 through direct observation and grouping of diagnostic elements into two distinct assemblages or paradigms. The superimposition sequences define one group from another in a temporal sequence. The direct historical approach using ethnographic analogy demonstrates the consistency with the sequence of events in the ethnographic beginning story, with the progression of images in the petroglyph panels.

The key figures in Group 2 include the square trapezoid figures with straighter edges, a single feather, and only two hair strands. The twin bent-knee figures, sometimes

holding a round disk between them, and sometimes with lobed heads, represent the Zuni war gods. Their emblem is the lobed circles (Lewis 2018). The yucca plants (*pa-hos*), beast gods (medicine), Katsina priests, Katsinas, rain priests, bow (war) priests, and the sun father are represented as well. Ethnographic analogy finds comparisons with six major Zuni Katsina sodality societies represented in the second horizon of BMII through PIII panels in this region. And let us not forget the most conspicuous are the duck-headed figures found in the same context that are known only to the Zuni as

Katsinas traveling in the form of a duck.

Conclusions

This preliminary research needs further investigation and hopefully there will be collaborating evidence from archaeologists and tribal members that may clarify questions and contradictions found herein. It is my hope that this research will start a conversation as to the cultural association of these images based on oral tradition that do serve as diagnostic elements specific to each tribe. In order to deepen our understanding of what is illustrated in the Western Basketmaker petroglyphs, we need to know much more about the Pueblo ethnopsychology and how they express social, political, and gender relations through gestures, postures, and proxemic arrangements in their picture writing (Monaghan 1994: 96). This research lays out a trajectory to the origin of the Katsina sodality of both the Keres and Zuni, and later the Hopi and Tanoan Pueblos.

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A REVIEW OF ROCK ART STUDIES IN SRI LANKA

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Introduction

Sri Lanka is an island situated in the Indian Ocean and lies 28 nautical miles south of the southern tip of mainland India. The terrestrial extent of 65,610 sq. km consists of six different ecozones forming a diverse arena of human and environmental interactions since prehistoric times. The island was colonized by anatomically modern humans in the last interglacial period dating back to c. 125,000 BP (Abeyrathne 1996; Deraniyagala 2007). Earliest evidence of the colonization was secured from the southern coastal area, and during the subsequent periods the immigrants penetrated into the hinterland and reached the upland which rises 2,100 m above mean sea level (MSL). The material repertoire of the early immigrants has been unearthed

from the implementiferous gravel deposits in the dry zone areas that cover the north, north-central, and south-eastern parts of the island. The other source of information for the early prehistory is the deep pits excavated by the local gem miners in the regions where the rich precious stones are available in wet lowlands. Lithic implements unearthed show the characteristics of the Mousterian tradition in Europe which is more representative of mid- or upper Palaeolithic technology (Deraniyagala 2007: 40). None of those sites has reported visual representation in the form of either rock paintings or any other kind of symbolic expression which could have implied the advance of cognitive fluidity in upper Palaeolithic hunter gatherers. However, some of the recent findings suggest that the thinking of the traditional hunter-gatherers was markedly affected by the changes of the dawn of the Holocene. Apart from technology and subsistence strategy, the emerging symbolic artefacts manifest the advanced conceptualization of themselves and the surrounding world through a new perspective.

Rock art studies in Sri Lanka

The study of rock art in the archaeological research in Sri Lanka is very singular. This is observed by its discontinuity from the agenda of the mainstream archaeological research in the country, as well as its monolithic focus, shown in art historical studies (Gunasinghe 1978; Manjuri 1977; Somatilleke 2004). This field of study in Sri Lanka still suffers from a lack of a deep and high-resolution research program consisting of a deliberate focus on documentation and theoretical perspective in analysis. But the work carried out by different authorities to document the rock painting and other representation-bearing sites is abundant and is of great importance, in order to increase familiarity with such sites. Sri Lanka has a number of rock painting sites (fig. 1) scattered over four specific ecozones: (i) semi-arid lowlands; (ii) dry lowlands; (iii) wet lowlands; and (iv) intermediate

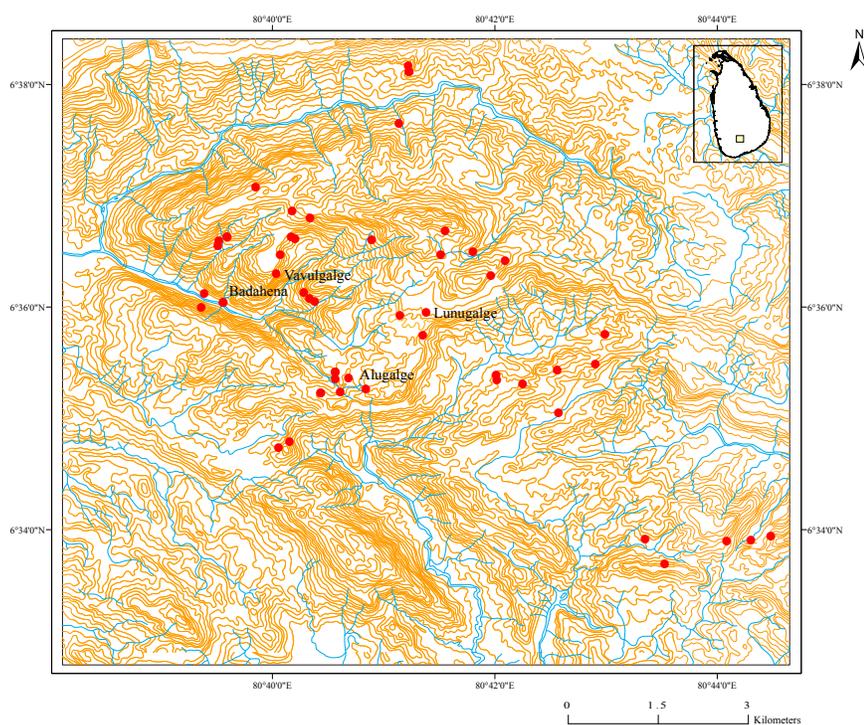


Fig. 1. Map showing the distribution of the RPE sites in Sri Lanka within the major climatic zones.



Fig. 2. A scene depicting the rock paintings at Konattegodalge rock shelter in the Polonnaruwa District (after Bell 1904).

dry lowlands (Bell 1904; Still 1910; Lewis 1914; Seligmann and Seligmann 1911; Browning 1917; Deraniyagala 1951; Rambukwella 1963; Karunarathne 1970; Nandadeva 1986). The first attempt at recording Rock Painting and Engraving sites (RPE) in Sri Lanka goes back to the last decades of the 19th century CE. H.C.P. Bell reported his observations on the painted rock surface of two sites in the Polonnaruwa District (Konattegoda Galge) (fig. 2) and the Batticaloa District (Arangoda Galge in the village Kohombalava) in 1897. He observed some 'quaint outline drawings (men, animals, &c.) of the most primitive execution made in white ashes' (Bell 1904: 15). Bell was the pioneering force in reporting and commenting on the rock painting sites in the country. Till the end of 1904, 13 RPE sites were reported by him. The conclusion he made on the authorship of this tradition as 'the most primitive execution drawn by *Vedda* (existing aboriginal community) artists' (1904: 94) has remained as one of the key conceptual formulations among the students of art history and prehistory in Sri Lanka this day (Deraniyagala 1992a).

The work of C.G. Seligmann and B.Z. Seligmann (1911) on the subject has remained a path-breaking venture. During their research on the Vedda commu-

nity and as a part of their fieldwork, a number of important RPE sites were reported. The photographs of the Konattegoda Galge which they produced in the course of their fieldwork especially depict the use of such rock shelters by the Vedda community and are of priceless anthropological value. The most impressive scientific aspect of the work of the Seligmanns is the direct information they produced about the creation of RPEs through interviews with some of the elders of the Vedda community. Their work could be assessed as of a true ethnological nature which stands parallel to the work of Sarasins (1926), Pole (1907), and Green (1887), who surveyed prehistoric origins in Sri Lanka in the late 19th century.

The RPE site index in Sri Lanka was further enhanced by the work of John Still, an enthusiastic antiquarian, who traveled extensively across the country. Still (1910) reported three sites, namely Billeva (fig. 3) Tantirimale (fig. 3a), and Andiyagala (fig. 3b), situated in the north central province, consisting of a series of rock paintings with remarkably diverse individual characteristics. Until the 1950s, further activities on the RPE sites moved at a very slow pace. Work of two other scholars, Frederick Lewis (1914) in Navgala in the Ampara District and G.F.R. Browning (1917) in

Dorawakakanda in the Kegalle District, should be noted during this period.

The period after the 1950s saw a change in the study of RPE sites. This difference was marked by the capture of the field by native Sri Lankan scholars. Notable figures among them are P. E. P. Deraniyagala (1951; Kaduarupokuna in the Batticaloa District) (fig. 4); S. Karunaratne (1970; Dimbulagala in the Polonnaruwa District); L. A. Aditya (1971; Budugala in Ratnapura District), and A. T. Rambukwella (1963; Kudumbigala in Ampara District). There were also recordings of RPE sites in the works of Punchiheva (1982), Rev. Dharmasiri (unpublished, quoted from Nandadeva 1986: 174), Karunaratna (1985), Haturusinghe (2006). A recent engagement with the subject is shown in B. D. Nandadeva's work. He made an important attempt to gather the existing basic literature of the RPE sites in a comprehensive manner (1986), which enables the student to get a holistic view of the subject. His later papers (1992; 1996) have focussed on varying aspects of the RPE sites in Sri Lanka.

All these survey reports and indexes are not comprehensive research endeavors. However, in a broad perspective, all such efforts have influenced the formation of an intellectual platform which helps one to initiate further study on this important visual tradition in Sri Lanka.

A prolonged pessimism

As discussed above, for a period of nearly a century, work in the subject was confined to basic recording, including copying and providing descriptions based on optical observations. A deeper analysis of the subject matter of this significant visual tradition was not considered to be of much relevance or importance.

Information pertaining to the RPE sites and the nature of their contents as embodied in the curricula of the secondary and tertiary education in Sri Lanka had the entire RPE folk designated as a primitive art having no generic relationship with the classical tradition of paintings of the subsequent historic periods in the general cultural evolution of the country. Only a few sites are frequently mentioned in these books and they have been assessed in contrast to the Franco-Cantabrian tradition in Upper Palaeolithic Europe which is far beyond their time-space contexts. What is still taught in schools and universities about the RPE tradition in Sri Lanka is confined to elaborating the characteristics of what has been designated as the limiting factors of representation (colors, lines, proportions, subject matter, etc) in comparison with those of the upper Palaeolithic polychrome images in Altamira and Lascaux (Ruspoli 1986) and elsewhere. As a result of working closely with more than half of the RPE sites in Sri

Fig. 3. Some of the images painted on the interior wall of the rock shelter in Billeva of Anuradhapura District. Images are badly deteriorated.



Lanka, the present project has established that this is not only inadequate but is also a misleading approach to the subject in its wider sense.

The prolonged sustenance of this underrated assertion seems intellectually inspired by the scholarly perceptions of the 20th century in the country, which grew on the fabric of the colonial domination and the post-colonial resistance. The colonial view of the RPE tradition had a tendency towards pessimism and it was not very favorable to understanding its true nature. For instance, the short description provided by Bell (1897) about the rock paintings at Arangoda Galge in the eastern province demonstrates the view that the British colonial officers commonly held about these earliest examples of visual culture.

Rock wall of one cave was adorned with quaint outline drawings (men, animals, &c.) of the most primitive execution, made in white ashes by Vedda “artists”.



Fig. 3a. ‘The archer’, a human figure painted in rock shelter 1 in Tantarimala in Anuradhapura District.

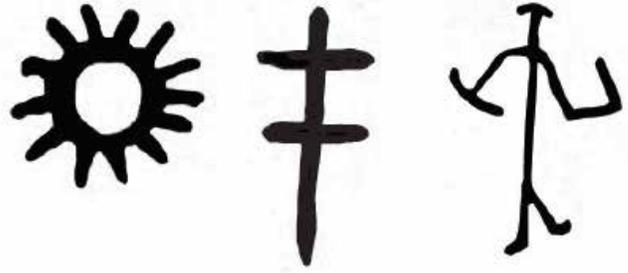


Fig. 3b. A sketch of the rock paintings in Andiyagala rock shelter in Anuradhapura District. This was drawn by John Still in 1910.

These unsophisticated art pictures were photographed for reproduction (ASCAR 1897: 15).

The two words primitive and unsophisticated which Bell used in his description reflects his own perception, which is inspired by his own idiosyncrasy. Eurocentric dogma on art and aesthetics has been considered as a phenomenon which was essentially and aesthetically pleasing human visual expression. Primitivism is a notion that was inherited as an unconscious and ambivalent involvement with the colonial transaction of defining Europe’s others as primitives (Rhodes 1994: 11). Since the late Renaissance, art historical analysis has been constructed upon an idealistic sphere rather than a consideration of its realistic sociocultural domain. Coutts-Smith has commented on this issue;

ultimately little more than a scholarly elaboration of myths inescapably engendered by the twin concepts of the essential sublimity of the creative process (which logically defines art as an experience located in the sphere of the ideal rather than the actual) and the centrality of style (which predicates the sequential development an art whose central subject matter is restricted to its confrontation with previous art rather than with real experience taking place in history (Coutts-Smith 1991: 16).

It is clear that the statement given by Bell on the painted images in the Arangoda Galge is not specifically his personal opinion but is one of his conscious attempts to sequence Sri Lanka’s RPE tradition within the wider global context. Rock paintings and petroglyphs of the old world came to light as far back as the 17th century. Literature on the individual rock painting sites was widely available in the mid-19th century. For example, George Grey’s publication on northwestern

and western Australian rock paintings was published in 1841. Carl Georg Brunius, the pioneering Scandinavian rock art explorer, did his magnificent work before 1869. The famous Upper Palaeolithic polychrome paintings in Altamira were recovered in 1879 (Bahn 1998).

Bell's identification of the primitive and unsophisticated spirit of this visual tradition may have been influenced by at least three things: the first, his limited knowledge of the diversity of the rock art tradition in Sri Lanka at that time; the second, his conscious ambition to elaborate the backwardness of this visual tradition explicitly and the primordial state of the beginning of the artistic tradition of the society that they colonized; and the third, his understanding of what is art, which was disciplined by a post-Renaissance and bourgeois point of view on the subject.

The dominant eurocentric art critics had developed two intellectual notions which expressed extra-historicity and the centrality of art around its spirituality, the sublimity of its creative process, and the passion of the genius of the artistic productions (Coutts-Smith 1991: 14). This conception refers to the faith that art

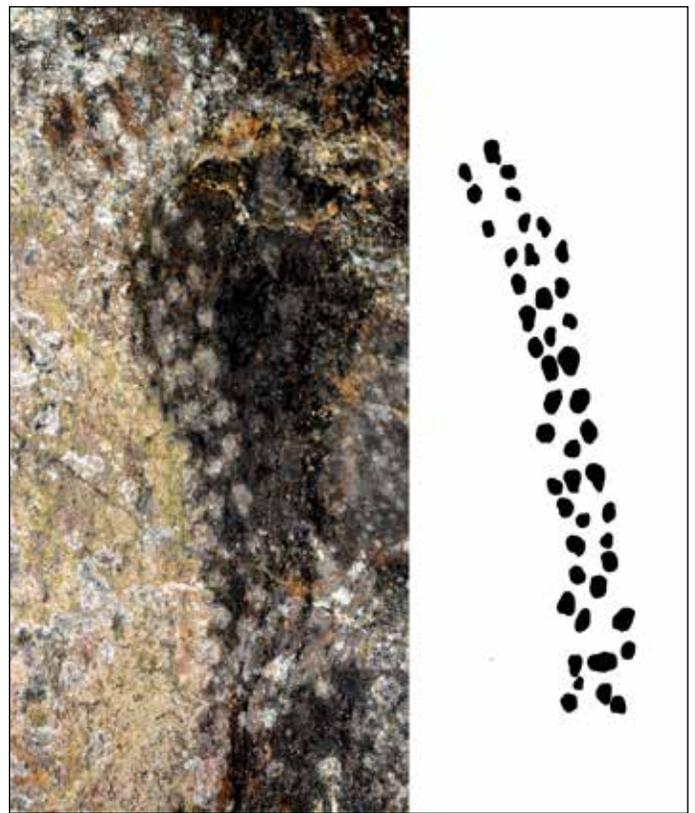


Fig. 5. Two parallel dotted lines drawn in the Alugalge rock shelter in Ampara District, probably signifying a meandering water flow.

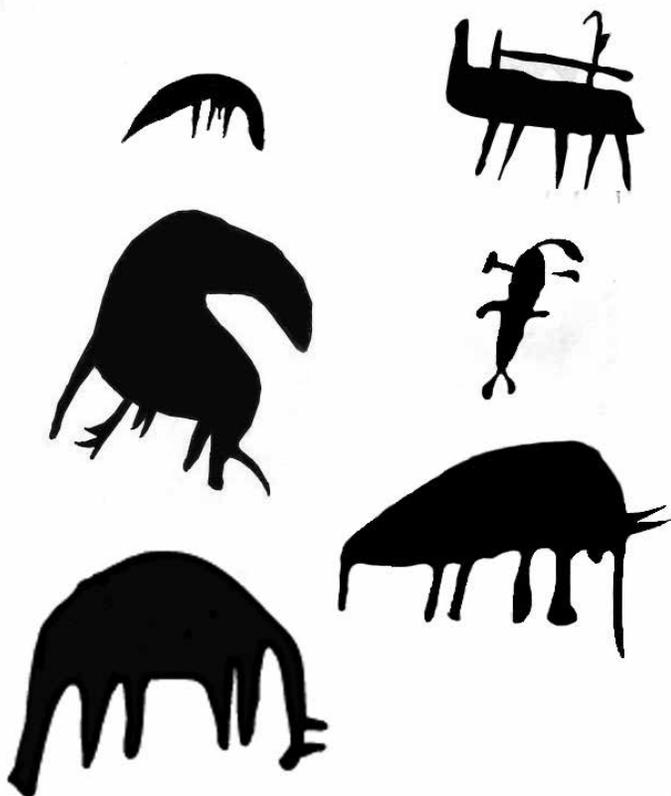


Fig. 4. A flock of animals illustrated in Kadurupokuna in the Batticaloa District (after Deraniyagala 1955).

exists outside of history, which means external to contemporary sociopolitical and economic realities. The second emphasizes the sequential development of art whose central subject-matter is restricted to its interaction with previously held artistic traditions. The later concepts (spirituality and sublimity) have always been described as the explicit characteristics of high cultures, which produce fine art largely restricted to the European experience. Bell's assessment of the RPE in Sri Lanka seems trapped within this rigid eurocentric intellectual notion about art and therefore he failed to add his energy to studying the RPE tradition in Sri Lanka with his own exceptional academic spirit.

During the post-colonial era, local scholarship has shown a neutral interest towards studying the REP tradition. More elaborated in that period was the classical art tradition of the nation (Paranavitana 1971; Manjusri 1977; Gunasinghe 1978; Bandaranayake and Jayasinghe 1986; Somatilleka 2004). It was an imperative social need at that time for Sri Lankan society to seek a new sociocultural as well as politi-



Fig. 6. A creature identified as a crocodile and a color patch painted in close proximity seen on the wall of the rock shelter in Hulannuge of Ampara District.

co-economic reawakening. The history of the nation was placed in a space between two polar ends, that is, the story relating to the arrival of Vijaya in the sixth century BCE as told by the fifth-century Sri Lankan chronicle of *Mahavamsa* and the gaining of administrative independence from the British empire in 1948 CE. Everything beyond the lower limit of this scheme was considered as not historically inherited and therefore classified as of less significance.

Bandaranayake's synthesis on the evolution of the pictorial tradition in Sri Lanka is the first account in art historical studies that acknowledged the probability that there was some relationship between RPE and the prehistoric practice of image-making. Beside the Vedda authorship of most of the paintings, he concludes:

The early rock art and the associated lifestyle of the Veddas make a tangible contribution to our understanding of artistic activity in prehistoric times, even though we know hardly more about the paintings themselves than that they are extremely rare and of uncertain date and origin (1986: 9).

On stylistic grounds, in comparison with the rock paintings in mainland India, the prehistoric genre of the Sri Lankan RPE tradition could be inferred with-

out much doubt. Some of the very rare occurrences of zoomorphic figures and spiral designs in Sri Lankan RPEs show the stylistic resemblance to Mesolithic image-making, in particular that of the hunter-gatherers in southern Deccan. Engravings carved on the bare rock surfaces which were filled with color pigments, as seen in Dorawakakanda and Piyangala, were also practiced by the Mesolithic hunter-gatherers as depicted in the prehistoric sites in the Sambalpur and Sundergarh Districts of Orissa (Jayaswal 1933). In a general sense Neumayer has suggested a time-frame for the rock paintings in mainland India that could be placed between 2500 BCE and 200 BCE (1993: 30ff).

Physiographic context

A consideration of the physiography of the regions, to which the RPE sites be-

long is of vital importance to the analysis within an environmental frame of reference. The scheme followed in this study to discuss the ecozones is adapted from the method by Gaussen (et al. 1968) and Mueller-Dombois (1968), and later by Deraniyagala (1992a) (fig.5). Except for zone E, the other ecozones have at least a single RPE site.

Zone A contains very few RPE sites and it consists of semi-arid lowlands below 900 m in the northwest and the southeast of the island, where the rainfall averages 700 mm and 1,270 mm per year. Zones B and C are important in a sense for the distribution of the RPE sites. Over 50% of the sites so far identified lie within the greater part of these two zones and fall into the dry lowlands where the maximum MSL does not exceed 900 m. Zone C is intermediate-dry lowlands where a thick distribution of RPE sites could be observed. Three sites lying in zone D1 consist of wet lowland. In a geological sense the area covered by those four ecozones consists of a complex of plateaus, mountain chains, massifs, and basins. The relief is developed on khondalite rocks and igneous intrusions (Spate and Learmonth 1972: 814).

The vegetation regime of zone D1 is dominated by both montane and sub-montane rain forests and the

other zones mentioned here fall into dry-lowland type vegetation in which the tropical thorn forests and dry monsoon forests predominate. Individual exploitable faunal elements in these forests are numerous. Some of the faunal species such as the porcupine and the spotted deer are common to most of the physiographic zones in varying degrees (Deraniyagala 1992a: 509). Contrary to this, some restricted animal species reflect the faunal existence within the wet/dry dichotomy. Clear examples are the spotted deer (*Axis axis*), the water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), the sloth bear (*Ursus ursinus*), the star tortoise (*Geochelone elegans*), which is exclusive to the dry zone, and the hog-deer (*Hyelaphus porcinus*), which is confined only to the wet zone. The biomass differentiation in each zone depicts a marked diversity that would have crucially influenced the distribution of the prehistoric hunter-gatherers and their descendants. For instance, zone D shows a greater biomass differentiation than zone A. It has 48 mammalian species compared with 32 in zone A (Eisenberg and Lockhart 1972). Zone D's high diversity is a reflection of its floral and faunal diversity (Eisenberg and McKay 1970: 70). However, the availability of the exploita-

ble faunal biomass is highest in zones A and B, while zone C shows itself as being intermediate (Deraniyagala 1992a). It is interesting to note that the distribution of the prehistoric hunter-gatherer sites and the RPE sites overlap within B and C zones (fig. 1).

55 individual RPE sites have so far been reported in Sri Lanka. A list of these is shown in Table 1.

The content

There are some subtle differences in content between the painted sites and the engraved sites: the painted sites carry a narrative form of manifestation, the engraved sites not so. The geometric markings are confined only to the engraved sites, while the painted sites consist of iconic and symbolic representations. Except for such delicate distinctions, all of our RPE registers comprise simple but, to a certain extent, rationalistic visual expressions.

Animals and the association between animals and humans form the subject matter of the majority of the painted sites. On rare occasions, particular events related to the surrounding environment have also been manifested in visual form. For instance, the water

course (Fig. 5) depicted at Alugalge in the Ampara District and the manner in which a crocodile living in a water pool has been painted in the cave in Hulannuge (fig. 6) could be cited. The depiction of the water-retaining structures such as natural ponds (fig. 7) is common in some of the pictures. The magnificently painted register containing nearly 100 individual figures of elephants in the Vettambugala cave is probably the largest single rock painting (fig. 8) in the country (40 m in length) and could represent the most sensitive characteristic (the wild elephant) in the wilderness of the day. The pictures that elaborate the way humans carry water (fig. 9), which is narrated in the cave at Hulannuge, could be considered an attempt to express one of the strategies involved in resource exploitation.

As Nandadeva (1992) has pointed



Fig. 7. An image showing a circle filled with dots, probably illustrating a natural water pool, painted in the rock shelter at Hulannuge.

Table 1.1. RPE sites recovered so far in Sri Lanka within their physiographic and the respective administrative zones. This list is an enhancement of the data published by Nandadeva (1992). Newly recovered sites are indicated by an asterisk.

No.	Site name	Physiographic zone	Administrative district	Reference
1	Alugalge*	B	Ampara	AC 6 1986
2	Andiyagala	A	Anuradhapura	JRAS (CB) 22 (63) 1910
3	Arangoda	B	Polonnaruwa	ASCAR 1897/AC 6 1986
4	Bambaragasalava	B	Ampara	ASCAR 1957/AC 6 1986
5	Billäva	A	Anuradhapura	JRAS(CB) 22(63), 1910
6	Bogoda*	A	Anuradhapura	Somadeva 2012
7	Budugala	C	Ratnapura	AC no 1 1971/AC 6, 1986
8	Budunnehela	A	Monaragala	unpublished
9	Dikgalge	B	Ampara	WC 1924
10	Doravakakanda	C	Kegalle	AC 6, 1986
11	Gamakanda	C	Ampara	Seligmann and Seligmann 1911
12	Ganegama	B	Monaragala	ASCAR 1957/AC 6, 1986
13	Gonagolla	B	Ampara	AC 6, 1986
14	Hakbelikanda	C	Kurunegala	Haturusinghe 2006
15	Havala Eliya	A	Hambantota	ROAM 1972/AC 6, 1986
16	Henanegala	C	Ampara	WC 1924
17	Hingurana	B	Ampara	SZ 30(1)
18	Hulannuge	C	Ampara	AC 6, 1986
19	Kadurupokuna	A	Ampara	ASCAR 1957/AC 6, 1986
20	Kandegama	C	Polonnaruwa	ASCAR 1897: 15
21	Konagarayankulam	A	Vauniya	AC (6), 1986
22	Kiripokunahela	B	Ampara	SZ 26(1)
23	Komarikalena	A	Anuradhapura	SZ 26 (1) 1951
24	Konategodagalge	B	Batticaloa	ASCAR 1897/AC 6, 1986
25	Kongalagalge	B	Ratnapura	unpublished
26	Kotiyagala	B	Ampara	unpublished
27	Kudumbigala	B	Ampara	JRAS(CB) 8(2) 1963
28	Lenama	B	Ampara	JRAS CB 8(2) 1963/AC 6, 1986
29	Lihiniyagala*	C	Nuwareliya	AC 6, 1983
30	Lunuathugalge	A	Monaragala	SZ 30(1) 1963
31	Mahalenama	B	Ampara	ASCAR 1957/AC 6, 1986
32	Malayadikanda	B	Ampara	ROAM
33	Mandagalage	B	Ampara	AC 6, 1986
34	Magulmaha viharaya*	A	Monaragala	Unpublished
35	Minademugalge	C	Ampara	SZ 30(1) 1963
36	Molagoda	C	Kegalle	ASCAR 1933
37	Mudunalavagalge	A	Monaragala	SZ 30(1) 1963
38	Neelagirikanda	B	Ampara	unpublished
39	Nella	A	Monaragala	Shimada and Sirisoma 1999

40	Navgala	B	Monaragala	JRAS(CB) 23(67) 1914/AC 6, 1986
41	Pihillegodagalge	C	Ampara	Seligmann and Seligmann 1911/AC 6 1986
42	Piyangala	B	Ampara	unpublished
43	Pulukunavakanda	B	Batticaloa	unpublished
44	Punchikiriammagalge	C	Monaragala	Seligmann and Seligmann 1911/AC 6 1986
45	Rajagala	B	Ampara	ASCAR 1959/AC 6 1986
46	Samangala	B	Ampara	unpublished
47	Sangamankanda	B	Ampara	ASCAR 1929
48	Panama galge*	B	Ampara	Manatunga 2005
49	Tantirimale	A	Anradhapura	JRAS (CB) 22(63), 1910
50	Thelambukemagalge	A	Monaragala	Seligmann and Seligmann 1911
51	Umagekanda	B		<i>The Island</i> 1982 Feb. 14, AC (6), 1986
52	Urakanda*	C	Kegalle	AC 6, 1983
53	Ussagala	C	Monaragala	unpublished
54	Valagampura	B	Ampara	unpublished
55	Vettambugala*	B	Ampara	Somadeva 2012

Table 1.2. This shows the types of the manifestations of the RPE sites visited during the survey with reference to their associated terrain and the content included in the total register.

Site	Zone	Type	Terrain	Human	Animal	Symbols	Lines	Other
Doravakakanda	Wet	Engravings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	X	-
Hakbelikanda	Wet	Engravings	Elevated (cave)	-	-	-	X	-
Lihiniyagala	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	-	-	-
Urakanda	Wet	Engravings	Elevated (cave)	-	-	-	X	-
Billäva	Dry	Paintings	Valley (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Gonagolla	Dry	Paintings	Valley (cave)					-
Kondagala	Wet	Engravings	Elevated (open-air)	-	-	-	X	-
Tantirimale	Dry	Paintings	Valley (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Rajagala	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Piyangala	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Hulannuge	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Malayadikanda	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	-	-
Vettambugala	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	X	-
Alugalge	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	X	-
Sangamankanda	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	X	X	X	X	-
Mangul maha viharaya	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	-	-	-	-	X
Panama galge	Dry	Paintings	Elevated (cave)	-	-	X	X	-

Table 1. Dates of some of the sites excavated. Except Dorawakakanda, the other 3 sites have yielded as assemblage of symbolic artefacts.

Site	Period	Date (14 C BP)	Date (calibrated BC)	Lab reference	Source
Dorawakakanda	Phase I	6310 ± 70	c. 5300C	Beta 57692	Wijepala 1997
	Phase II	4490 ± 50	c. 3100	Beta 46904	Wijepala 1997
	Phase III	4450 ± 70	c. 3000	Beta 46904	Wijepala 1997
Alugalge	Phase I	4630 ± 30	c. 3505–3452	Beta 448329	Somadeva et al. 2018
Lunugalge	Phase I	5060 ± 30	c. 3955–3780	Beta 422152	Somadeva et al. 2018
Vavulgalge	Single phase	7130± 30	c. 6061–5980	Beta 477631	unpublished

out in an earlier instance, no hunting scenes were depicted in any of the sites. Instead of elaborating such an aggressive exploitative act, the common expressions are the views which illustrated the friendly associations that existed between humans and animals. The scene of a man standing beside a spotted deer that was painted in cave no. 1 at Tantirimale and the view of a man who accompanied an unidentified animal (probably a deer cub) (fig. 10) in the same cave are two examples. Several other identifiable wild animals in the paintings are the peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) (Billäva and Alugalge) (fig. 11), the sambhur (*Cervus unicolor*) (Piyangala) (fig. 12), the monitor lizard (*Varanus* sp.) (Lahugala, Dorawakakanda) (fig. 13), and the crocodile (*Crocodylidae* sp.) (Lahugala) (fig. 6). A single motif of a fish (fig. 14) in our RPE sites, probably a freshwater species, had been engraved at Dorawakakanda. Such scenes may illustrate the familiarity that the contemporary communities experienced after they had turned to the increased exploitation of floral resources (foraging).

The picture of a man accompanying an elephant (fig. 15), depicted in several sites, gives a rather different meaning. Normally the elephant has no economic value in foraging practice, but the depiction of a man and elephant together may be endowed with social significance in the rising contemporary foraging economy. Apart from such figurative images, the rest of the content includes geometric icons, dots, lines, and angular forms (Hakbelikanda and Malayadikanda, (Fig 16), intricate linear compounds (Panama), and circles (Vettambugala and Malayadikanda) found with them.

Our RPE site index consists of a single location that has imprints of the palms of males and females. In a natural rock shelter situated at an elevation of about 30 m above the surrounding plain at the Magul maha viharaya in the Yala forest reserve are found several pairs of positive (but with inverse symmetry) polychrome handprints which could be classified as mirror images (fig. 17).

Mirrors are distinguished from signs, symbols, and metaphors due to the rigidity of transmission of its meanings. Eco (1988: 212) argues that people use mirrors as catoptrics to reflect the self or their personal identity. The palm print, whether it is a silhouette or a positive imprint, is considered a freeze mirror image. The palm print is frozen because the imprinter no longer remains with it and the image is to be static for ever. The identity of the imprint is idiosyncratic and only signals a presence of a being at the location at a certain time. The communicative mode of such an imprint is not linguistic but stands to communicate a single solid meaning, which is grammatically a first person singular pronoun (I or me). Mirror images function in communication in a manner similar to modern personal signatures.

Gaining insights from the nature of mirror behavior in semiotics, one could make an attempt to look at the palm imprints in the Mangul maha viharaya cave. Some regularities of registration could be observed among the individual palm -prints imprinted on the cave wall. Notable among them is the organization of the prints in pairs: 32 individual prints remain in the total register and 24 of them were organized in



Fig. 8, A herd of wild elephants painted on the interior wall of the rock shelter in Vettambugala in Monaragala District.



Fig. 9. A human figure depicted as carrying water, painted on the interior wall of the rock shelter in Hulannuge.

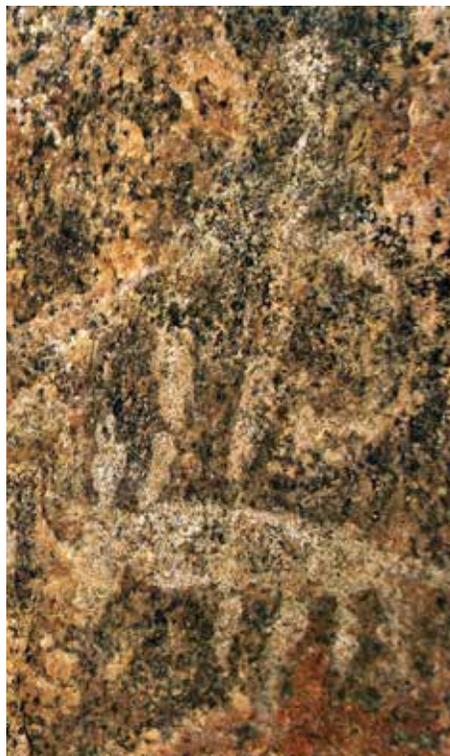


Fig. 10. An image showing a man standing behind an animal (probably a deer cub) painted in rock shelter 1 in Tantirimale.



Fig. 11, A figure of a bird (probably a peafowl, *Pavo cristatus*), illustrated in the rock shelter in Billeva.



Fig. 12. A badly deteriorated figure of a sambhur (*Cervus unicolor unicolor*) painted on a wall of the cave in Piyangala in Ampara District.



Fig. 13. A figure of a land monitor (*Varanus* sp.) engraved on the interior wall in Dorawakakanda in the Kegalle District.

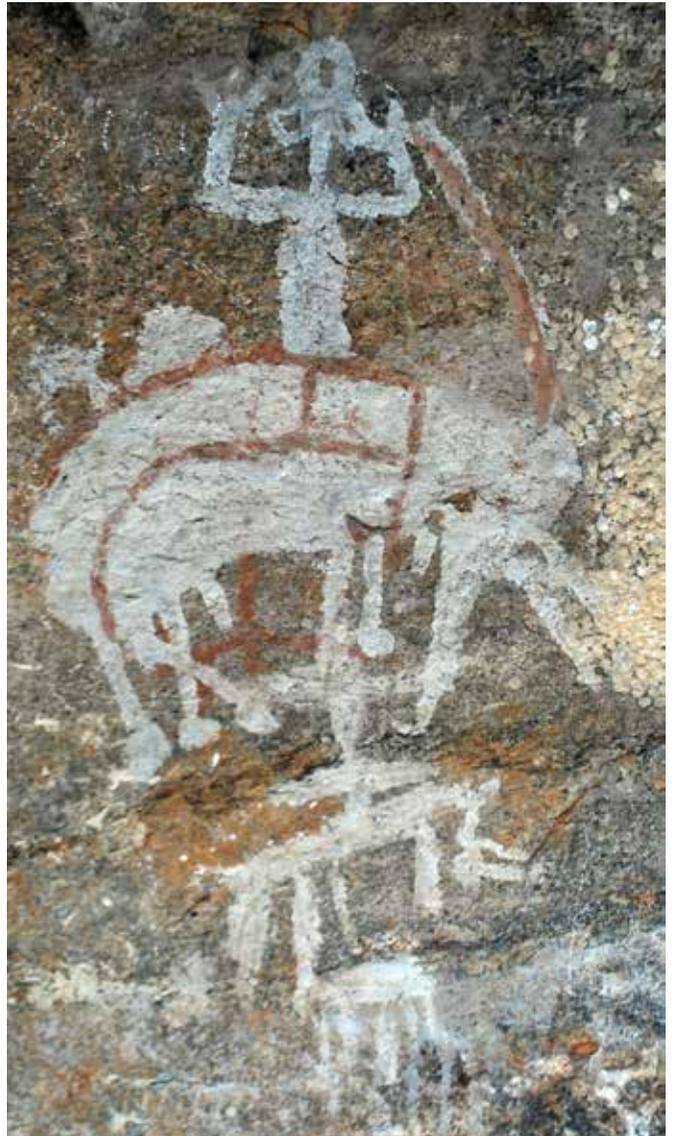


Fig. 14 (Up left). Two fish figures engraved on the interior rock wall of the rock shelter in Dorawakakanda.

Fig. 15 (Up right). A cluster of 'man and elephant' triplicated by different hands at the rock shelter in Hulannuge.



Fig. 16 (Down left). Some of the intricate symbols painted on the interior wall at the rock shelter in Streepura in Ampara District.



Fig. 17 One of the pairs of polychrome hand imprints registered on the interior wall of the rock shelter at Mangula Maha Vihara in the Yala wildlife sanctuary of Hambantota District.

12 pairs (forming 12 male-female couples). Each pair of palm prints has individual representations in two separate colors confined to red and yellow. The analysis of the size and form suggests that each pair was imprinted by a male and a female. The yellow color palm prints are slightly elongated and have a gentle appearance in their total formation. On the contrary the other print in each pair is invariably robust in its appearance. They are nearly oblong in shape and indeed the masculinity of the fingers is explicit. In most instances yellow prints are placed to the left of the red prints. The purpose of this visual syntax is defined by the internal organization of optical frequency delineated by the use of the color spectrum.

Summary

As discussed briefly in this essay, the lack of academic interest in the RPE tradition in Sri Lanka for a period of more than a century was due to various reasons for which the sociopolitical arena of the late 19th century and the 20th century has provided the background. Very few enthusiastic academics and laymen were involved in this period with reporting RPE sites in different parts in the country on an *ad hoc* basis, which is far beyond having a rigid programmatic frame of refer-

ence. The marked theoretical deficiency discernible in the views and the perspectives presented by the precursors is connected to the absence of an appropriate context for their academic footing.

The main argument we could raise is grounded on the assumption that the RPE tradition is a meaningful expression of preliterate society in the country, that broadcast the life experiences of its members, which has a collective social significance. We also have made an attempt to provide a historical trustworthiness for this visual tradition while attempting to place it within an archaeologically sensible relative

time-frame. The emergence of image-making practice in Sri Lanka has been discussed as a parallel event to the assumed technocultural transformation triggered off in the mid-Holocene. It was a trajectory development from a Mesolithic hunter-gatherer subsistence economy to a blossoming foraging economy, which was stimulated by a series of climatic oscillations that occurred in the late mid-Holocene. This approach is exclusively opposed to the dominant ideas held in 20th-century academia about the RPE tradition.

If future archaeological research produces more evidence to substantiate this development of the Mesolithic hunter-gatherers, then it will provide a firm empirical base to infer that their changing behavioral patterns under the aegis of the new subsistence economy appeared to be the main functional stimulant of the emergence of fresh cognitive approaches, one being the rock paintings and engravings. It could be argued that the probable novel relationship developed focussed on elaborating the interaction between man and the land as well as the concern about the change of climatic events, such as seasonality. Theoretical underpinning of this argument is not intended to isolate either the thinking of the preliterate people who made the RPE tradition or the functional aspects they

maintained with the land. In a broader perspective, it provides 'a framework for analysis which is neither a mindless ecology nor a glorification of mind divorced from the land' (Flannery and Marcus 1976: 383). Finally, we forecast the potential of further studies on this important visual tradition to open up a new vista in understanding, partially at least, the cognitive dimensions of the prehistoric communities in Sri Lanka.

Abbreviations

AC	Ancient Ceylon
ASCAR	Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports
JRAS (CB)	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)
ROAM	Register of Archaeological Monuments in Sri Lanka
SZ	Spolia Zeylanica
WC	Wild Ceylon

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NOTES AND NEWS

ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

WHAT IS CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY?

Conceptual anthropology is the discipline concerned with human conceptual expression: arts, rituals, beliefs, and other intellectual and spiritual manifestations. It combines various sectors of human and social sciences to consider the meaning of behavior, habits, and other cultural indicators, using the past to understand the present and conceive of the options for the future. The idea of a common roof for specialists in art, religion, and other intellectual and spiritual aspects gestated for some time until it was formalized during the UISPP Congress in Florianopolis, Brazil, in 2011. The participants in the CISENP session, “International Scientific Committee on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate Peoples”, decided to make the newly proposed discipline, conceptual anthropology, the concern of the committee. Further developments led to the establishment of **EXPRESSION**; a quarterly e-journal devoted to conceptual anthropology.

The goal of this new discipline is to understand human behavior and cultural trends, recurring and isolated phenomena, predictable and unpredictable evolution and change, not only in economics and technology, but also in social, intellectual and spiritual life, relying on a vast assemblage of knowledge and concepts from various disciplines, from psychology to history, from archaeology to sociology. Archaeology and anthropology, the history of art, and the history of religions can benefit enormously from cooperation with sociology, psychology, semiotics, and other sectors of human and social sciences.

Each discipline has its own memory as the basis of research and the advancement of the discipline itself. Combining disciplines is also a union of memories and concepts for a broader base of research and culture. Today media replace technical and historical memory. But the human mind's insights and associations are still irreplaceable. Our being and our actions are

rooted in memory. Human behavior relies on memory. When mistakes are made, they often derive from the darkening of memory. On the other hand, positive results come from its good use. Here we are not talking about electronic memory, but the kind of memory that turns into intuition and rediscovery, the memory that comes from the deep well of human minds.

Every being, like every discipline, focusses on certain aspects of memory and neglects others. Together, various disciplines share wider dimensions of memory. As it becomes clear from the contributions of over 200 authors from 40 countries in the issues of **EXPRESSION** magazine in the last six years, the approach received a keen response: it is opening up the gates of scientific ghettos and offers a much broader dimension to the study of intellectual and spiritual expressions. One of the purposes is the common commitment to understanding intellectual and spiritual expression, with the shared support of multidisciplinary research. As students of various disciplines, anthropologists and archaeologists, psychologists and psychoanalysts, educators, sociologists, semioticians, philosophers and historians, we all wish to face questions which a shared commitment can help clarify. The meeting of different disciplines offers a new dimension of knowledge and a greater capacity for analysis and synthesis.

Faced with the fashion of extreme specialization, which risks reducing scholars to technicians, conceptual anthropology goes against the tide. No doubt technicians are needed, but we seek a cultural vision and a broad overview in the common work of the humanities and the social sciences. Let technicians and intellectuals be aware of their different roles, let them do their own jobs and then enrich each other through the output of their efforts. Technicians provide the raw material for research; humanists give them a conceptual sense.

Conceptual anthropology is aiming at a new educational method of formation and training of students and

scholars in archaeology and prehistory, giving them the wisdom of cultured people before becoming specialized, if they so wish, in the denticulation of a blade tool, or the method of mixing colors in a certain period of art at a certain site. Understanding the souls and brains of people is as important as understanding the capabilities of their hands. Both are aimed at acquiring the perception of the range of human faculties, though in different sectors of human skills and talents.

Research has a real social function when it produces culture. When culture is creative and innovative, it promotes the growth of the intellect and stimulates new thought. The dialogue is open to all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences as well as to those who do not identify themselves with any specific discipline or who just want to listen. Each listener is a potential transmitter of ideas: ideas grow and spread not only through those who produce them, but also through those who listen. The dialogue does not stop and is a source of growth and enrichment, and also of cooperation and friendship. Research is a provocative, stimulating, and inspiring source of awareness.

The present world crisis is a cultural crisis, a crisis of values and wisdom that has economic, social, and political consequences. Economic problems may find solutions but without strong cultural bases society will not solve the cultural crisis and the long-range problems of social and economic stability. Reviving the role of culture could be a modest joint effort to contribute to overcoming the crisis.

KNOWLEDGE VS. IMAGINATION

“The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination.” This strange quotation found on the internet is attributed to Albert Einstein. It is hard to believe that a genius may have articulated something so stupid. What will one do with imagination without a base of knowledge? The true sign of intelligence is using knowledge while disposing of imagination.

Imagination without knowledge and knowledge without imagination are the two extremes of dullness.

Knowledge is not the goal of research, it is the raw material for research. The goal of research is understanding, which needs both knowledge and imagination. Students may try to contribute to the advancement of research by using their imaginations while lacking the necessary knowledge, or displaying erudition without

proposing possible outcomes deriving from pertinent imagination. The results would be limited and often useless for culture and the advancement of research. The formation of analytical minds is favored by the kind of input provided by the educator, person or system. Movement in the orientation of educators and educational institutions is vital for the progress of culture and research. Imagination is producing the dynamics of knowledge. It needs knowledge to perform, obtaining creative results.

Imagination can develop in misleading directions and in such cases students are told: “You have too much imagination!” This sentence reflects the shortcomings of the teacher: it displays his or her lack of both knowledge and imagination. In fact, what the teacher should have said is: “Your imagination is affected by the shortage of knowledge,” Imagination and knowledge have to accompany each other. Some boring theses, studies or articles providing erudition without innovation may have the opposite fault: inefficiency or inadequacy of knowledge caused by the shortage of imagination.

In conceptual anthropology, as in history, sociology or philosophy, the present is an effect of the past and the future is an outcome of the past. The present is the last instant of the past; as soon as it becomes present it is already past, and is the line joining the past to the future. The understanding of conceptual processes of the past allows the perception of the insight of the present and the aptitude to conceive the future. All this requires a balance between knowledge and imagination. Much of the knowledge conventionally taught by educational institutions is available on the internet and in books; it is handy even if partial or incomplete. In any case knowledge is never complete. The ability of the imagination is not available on the internet; it is a natural mental gift that may be enhanced by stimulating conceptual awareness.

Knowledge and imagination are the body and soul of the human mind.

E. A.

POSITION OF ASSISTANT CURATOR OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Graduate students in anthropology and ethnography are given the opportunity to train as a curator of ethnography. The engagement consists in classifying old ethnographic collections of art objects from Oceania and Af-

rica. The expected result is the compilation of catalogues of given collections, eventually to be published under the name of the compiler. Besides the skill acquired by practical work, the successful experience gives the apprentice two important additions to his/her curriculum vitae: the publication of a scientific work; and the position of Assistant Curator of Ethnography for the period of time of his/her engagement. The experience takes place in the Camonica Valley, northern Italy, and is expected to last a minimum of three months. Candidates should have a perfect knowledge of the English language and possess a university degree in human sciences. During their active presence, the accepted candidates have access to self-catering accommodation on campus at a student fee. Applications should include a letter expressing motivation, a record of studies, a copy of an identity document, and any other document worthy of consideration. Applications should be addressed by email to: <atelier.etno@gmail.com>

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UISPP

EXPRESSION, this e-journal, is produced by ATELIER Research Center in Conceptual Anthropology, in cooperation with the UISPP-CISENP (International Scientific Committee on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Societies), an organ of the UISPP (International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences). UISPP also offers other facilities, including participation in its World Congress. Membership of the UISPP will ensure your status as a UISPP Active Member of CISENP. If you are a member of UISPP, please confirm your status to <atelier.etno@gmail.com>. If you are not yet a member, and wish to attend the World Congress, you should become a member of the UISPP. For further information contact the office of the General Secretary at: loost@ipt.pt.

WHAT IS CISENP?

The International Scientific Commission on Research into the Intellectual and Spiritual Expression of Non-literate Peoples

Commission Internationale Scientifique pour la recherche des Expressions Intellectuelles et Spirituelles des Peuples sans Écriture

A commission of UISPP: Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques

Visual arts, music, dance, rituals, myths, other traditions and other aspects of the conceptual expressions of humankind reveal the particularities of each society and, at the same time, the common intellectual and spiritual heritage that unites humanity: this is the field of Conceptual anthropology. CISENP welcomes people from different disciplines to share their experiences, ideas, and scientific approaches for a better understanding of human creativity and behavior and for a broad-minded study of what forms the conceptual roots of the present. Conceptual Anthropology is a new academic approach for building up a solid future for the study of man. Archaeology, both prehistoric and historic, needs a constant and open dialogue with other disciplines. The study of man includes anthropology, sociology, psychology, human geography, semiotics, art history, and other disciplines that should unite their efforts. Interdisciplinary cooperation in research is an aim and a habit of conceptual anthropology.

What will the image of prehistoric sciences be in the future? What are their role in culture and education? How can we convey to a large public the notions and wisdom accumulated by generations of scholars in the study of the roots of human societies? Understanding the past is necessary to build up a future. And not only for that: it is also necessary for understanding the present, our present. Knowing one's roots is the elementary base of understanding history, traditions, habits, mythology, beliefs and other cultural expressions of our life and identity.

In the tribal world, young people have been and still are being initiated into the knowledge of their past. The knowledge of the origins, ancient traditions and myths is, and has been for ages, the elementary knowledge for acquiring the status of adulthood. The study of prehistory, in modern urban society is likewise important to acquire a consciousness of human identity and should be an element of basic education. It should contribute to an acquisition of a vision of humankind and a consciousness of the identity of the individual. And it is a topic of interest and passion for young people of all ages: there is nothing more fascinating than discovering the roots of our behavior, the emotions and passions that have caused human evolution: ages of marvelous intellectual and spiritual adventures. The knowledge of the past should be presented in a new realistic and intense way. This is a message to convey to our society. Let us join efforts to develop public aware-

ness, education, engagement and research for a broader understanding of our past and our present. We can convey this passion only if we share this passion.

CISENP is a partner in the editorial project of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal, which is distributed to subscribers; members of CISENP receive this journal for free, for the years of their membership.

HOW TO BE A MEMBER OF CISENP

Very simple! Be active and you are a member. Express your ideas, participate in debates, and develop dialogues with other members orally, by email, or through the pages of **EXPRESSION** journal. Contributions of articles, papers or notes, that are accepted and published in **EXPRESSION** and contribution in other ways are the main confirmation of active presence. Authors having published articles in **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal are members if they confirm their wish to be. Membership of CISENP is free of material charges; no fees are requested, no formalities; it just implies your active presence. Membership is not exclusive to prehistorians; it is open to all human and social scientists and students. It is advisable, but not compulsory, for prehistorians to be members of UISPP. CISENP is a free association, and is free also from bureaucratic procedures. You become a member if you decide to be and ask <atelier.etno@gmail.com> to be included in the list of members. Members receive **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal for free. Membership ceases after being inactive for two years.

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they are addressed. The recommended average length of each paper is 1,500–3,000 words. Illustrations should be pertinent to the content. They should be calibrated to the resolution of 300 dpi, with a base of 14 cm. Each illustration should have a pertinent, explanatory caption, including its source when relevant. Illustrations should be presented separately from the text. All the material presented, text and illustrations, should be free from copyright and any other obligation, and possibly not yet published elsewhere. Authors are fully responsible for the submitted text and illustrations.

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EXPRESSION
NUMBER OF AUTHORS PER COUNTRY
VOLUMES 1 - 25

211 AUTHORS from 41 COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS
Argentina	7	Kosovo	1
Armenia	3	Malta	1
Australia	9	Mexico	4
Austria	3	Morocco	1
Belgium	6	Namibia	1
Botswana	1	Netherlands	1
Brazil	8	Norway	2
Bulgaria	1	Poland	2
Canada	5	Portugal	8
China	29	Russia	4
Colombia	1	Saudi Arabia	1
Denmark	2	South Africa	4
France	12	Spain	8
Germany	1	Sri Lanka	5
Hungary	1	Sweden	1
Israel	3	Switzerland	4
India	9	Tunisia	1
Italy	14	UK	9
Japan	1	Ukraine	4
Jordan	1	USA	16
		Zimbabwe	1

EXPRESSION

N°25 September 2019



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September 2013

An Introduction to Conceptual Anthropology and topics to be discussed in the following issues of Expression Magazine



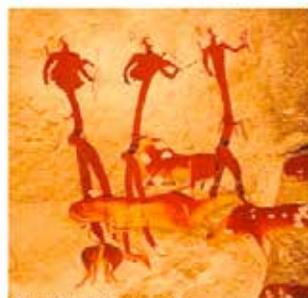
Maori chief with moko, Captain Cook expedition.

Expression 2

November 2013

What Caused the Creation of Art?

Conclusions of the XXV Valcamonica Symposium. With papers by Massimo Minini (Italy), Fernando Coimbra (Portugal), Johannes Loubser (USA), Tang Huisheng (China), Claudine Cohen (France), Michael Francis Gibson (Belgium), Robert Bednarik (Australia), Emmanuel Anati (Italy).



Sow Rock Art (South Africa)

Expression 3

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Discussion about the Targets of Expression Research Group



Figure 1. Toca do Salitre, Serra de Capivara, Piauí, Brazil. Symbolic male character with his acroty character, a pregnant woman.

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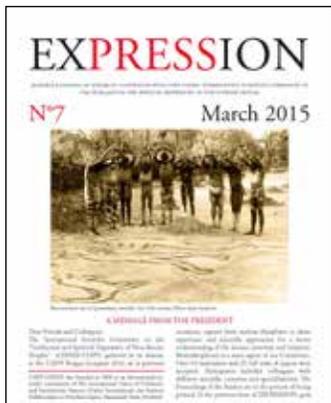


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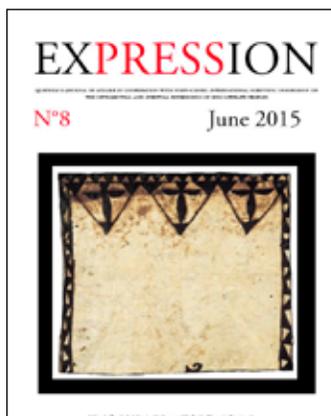


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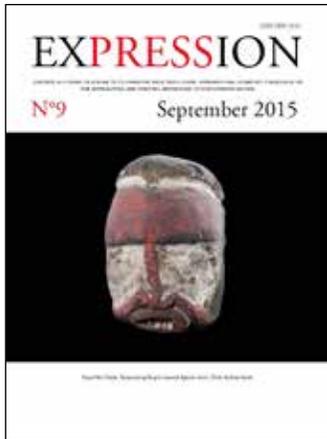


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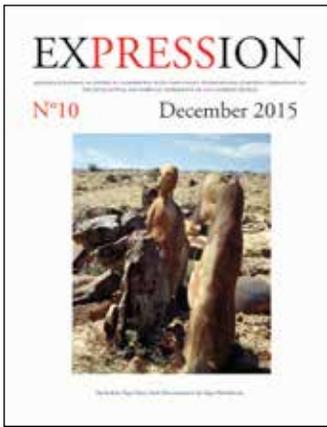
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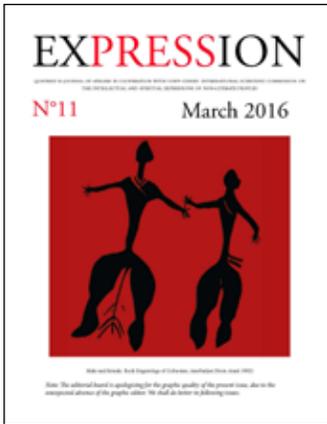


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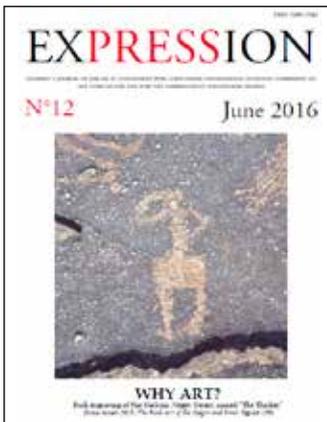


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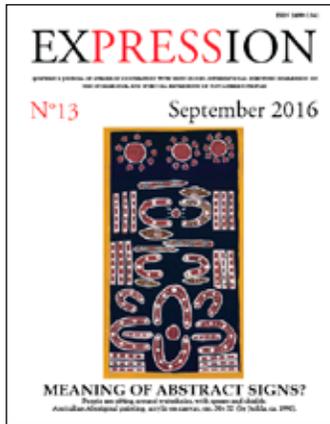


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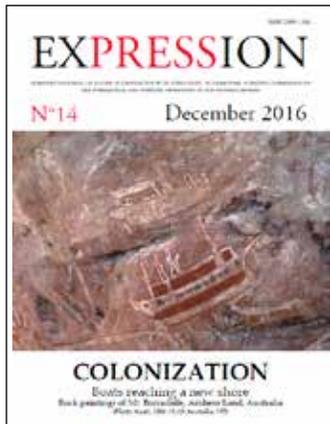


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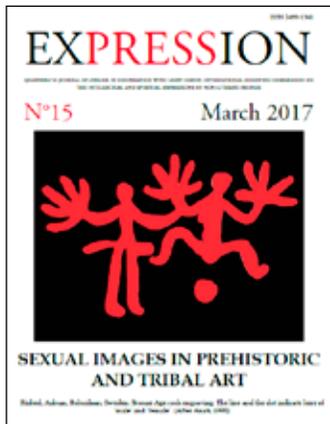


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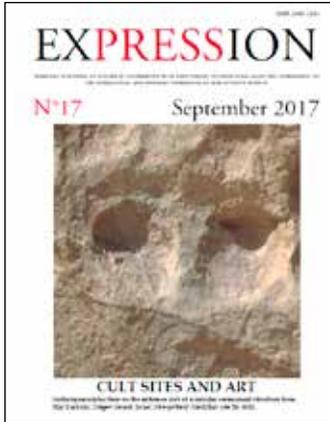


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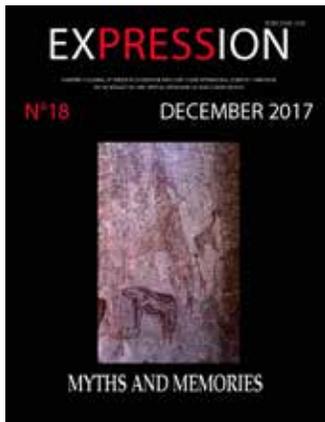


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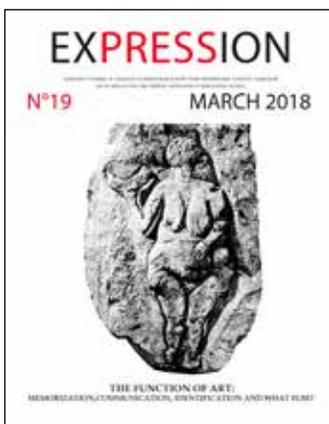


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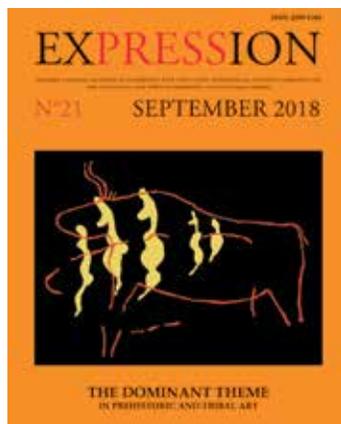
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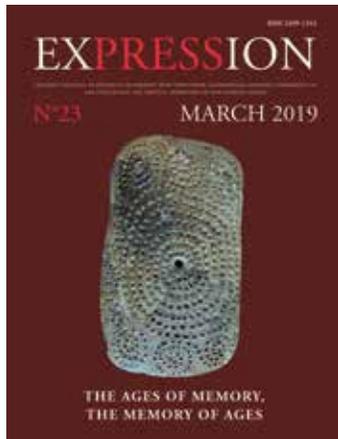


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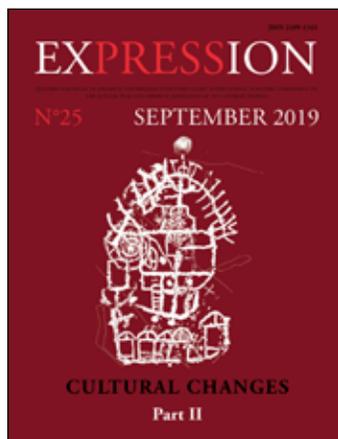


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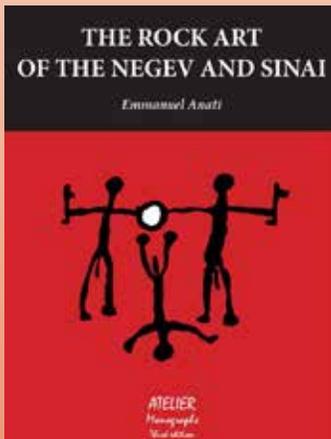
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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

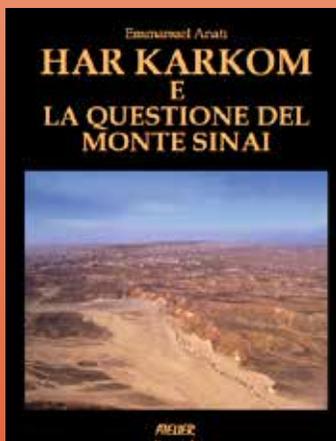
ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DESERT EXODUS: NEW DISCOVERIES RELATED TO BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY

From excavations and explorations in the deserts that separate the land of Canaan from Egypt, Emmanuel Anati, the scholar who for half a century is exploring these deserts, sums up new discoveries in the following volumes. Richly illustrated books bring new light on the events that inspired the Biblical narrative.



Anati, E., 2015, *The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai*, Third English edition, Capodiponte (Atelier), 248 pp.248; 196 ill., €20,00

The book deals with a new theme of Neareastern archeology: the rock art of the Negev and Sinai. It presents new discoveries and reconsiders contents and assumptions of previous articles and of a book by the same author that dates back to 1979. The richly illustrated book is offering a new vision of this immense archive engraved and painted on rocks that reveals events and beliefs of the desert. The rock art of the Negev and Sinai illustrates stories and customs of the Sinai Peninsula over the past 10,000 years. Some depictions of the Bronze Age may refer to people mentioned in the Pentateuch. Others, of Roman-Byzantine times, illustrate life and customs from the age of early spread of Christianity.



Anati, E., 2016: *Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai* (*Har Karkom and the Question of Mount Sinai*), Italian edition

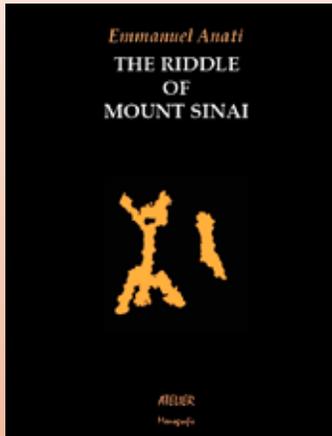
Capodiponte (Atelier), pp 220; 138 ill., €30,00

The findings of shrines and encampments of the Bronze Age at Har Karkom, a mountain located in one of the driest places and inhospitable parts of the Negev desert, in the north of the Sinai Peninsula, arouses a global debate on the hypothesis that this mountain can identify with the biblical Mount Sinai. The book presents a summary of the discoveries; it calls into question previous assumptions about the reliability of the Exodus Biblical narrative, both on the location of the mythical Mount Sinai, and on the chronological discrepancies proposed by various researchers. The book is richly documented by photographs, maps and other illustrations, it updates on recent discoveries, analyzing their possible historical significance, suggesting a new vision of the events narrated in the Bible.

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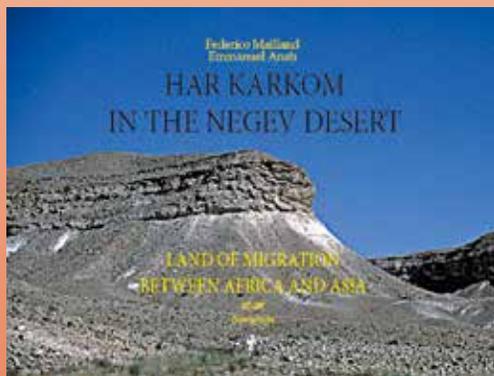
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Anati, E. 2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English Edition

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 260 pp. 141 pls. € 40

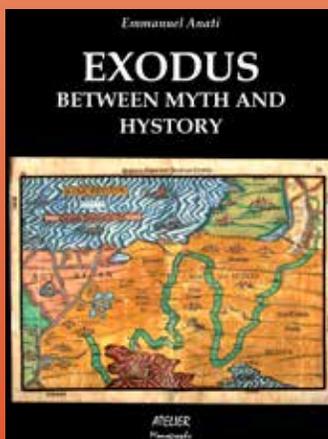
What is the true story behind the biblical narration of Exodus? The discoveries of the Italian archaeological expedition at Har Karkom, in the Negev Desert, tell the hitherto unknown story of the sacred mountain in the heart of the desert of Exodus, reflecting surprising similarities to the events and conditions described to us, albeit in mythicised form, in the Old Testament. The mountain was a paramount cult site and the archaeological discoveries go far beyond the expectations. This well documented volume also helps to clarify a major question: to what extent may we consider the biblical narration as a source of historical documentation.



Anati, E.; Maillard F., 2018, *Har Karkom in the Negev Desert. Raw Material for a Museum on Two Million Years of Human Presence*

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 130 pp., 534 pls., € 110, English Edition

A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa. The archeological discoveries tell us of two million years, from the earliest stations of archaic Pebble Culture, to recent Bedouin camping sites. The site became a holy mountain with shrines and other cult structures already in the Paleolithic; it developed into an immense cult site in the Bronze Age, likely to be the biblical Mount Sinai. The present book is displaying the results of over 30 years of fieldwork, the raw material of the sequence of ages, for a museum on Har Karkom in the Negev Desert, presenting the story of humankind as concentrated in a mountain of a few square miles in the middle of one of the most arid and nowadays most inhospitable spots in the Near East.



Anati, E., 2018: *Exodus Between Myth and History*, English edition

Capodiponte (Atelier) pp. 388; 138 pls., Analytical Appendix., € 40,00

Different opinions divided the academic world about the historic reliability of the biblical narrative of Exodus. The events in Egypt, the wanderings in the desert under the leadership of Moses and the events at the foot of Mount Sinai are they based on facts or are they just legend? Broad and systematic explorations on the ground and new archaeological discoveries open up the possibility of tracing back the geographical and environmental context, by providing elements that bring new insight on the historical roots of this magnificent epic passed down from the Bible.

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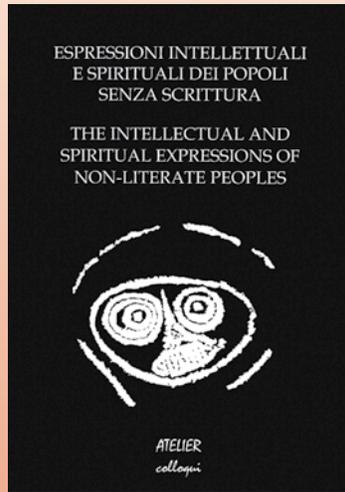
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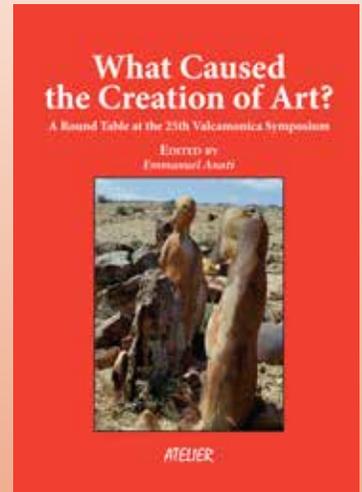
Il segni originari dell'arte (In Italian)

Proceedings of the Colloquium held at the University of Urbino in 2010. Essays by nine authors who deal with the theme seen from various disciplines: Anthropology, Archaeology, Art History, Semiotics, Psychology, Psychoanalysis, Sociology.



Espressioni intellettuali dei popoli senza scrittura (In Italian, English, French)

Proceedings of the Colloquium organized in Valcamonica by the International Union of Prehistoric Sciences in 2012. Essays by 30 authors from 11 countries on the intellectual expressions of the primary societies.

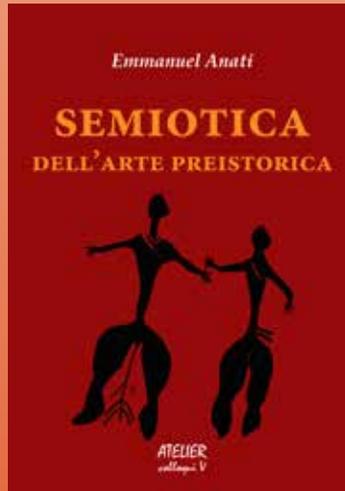


What Caused the Creation of art? A Round Table at the 25th Valcamonica Symposium
What caused the creation of art? People from different disciplines and different cultural backgrounds present contrasting views. And yet, the same question has bothered thinkers for generation



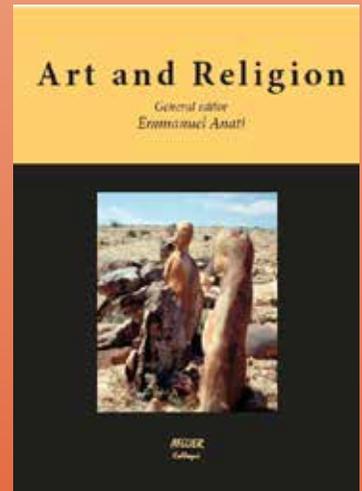
Sogno e memoria: Per una psicoanalisi della Preistoria (In Italian)

A series of papers presented at Congresses of Sociology, Psychology and Psychoanalysis concern. The analysis of human behavior and of graphic art externalizations is opening new perspectives to the social sciences and multidisciplinary cooperation.



Semiotica dell'arte preistorica (In Italian)

The conceptual meaning of the forms, the metamorphosis of shapes into sounds, sounds in forms, ideas into images, thoughts in words, it is the very basis of identity of the intellectual being, of 'Homo intellectualis'. This mechanism stimulated, over the years, some of the author's papers and lectures in congresses and conferences of semiotics, sociology and psychology.



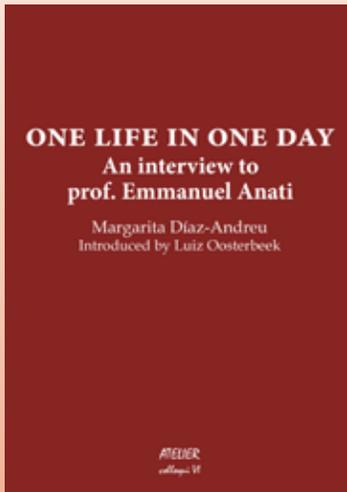
Art and Religion

What is the role of religion, magic and witchcraft in prehistoric and tribal art? The intellectual and spiritual motivations of art produced various theories since the first attempts to explain prehistoric art over a century ago. Recent research is revealing more complex conceptual connections. In this book, authors of different backgrounds and countries, from four continents, present examples of specific aspects, providing first-hand data.

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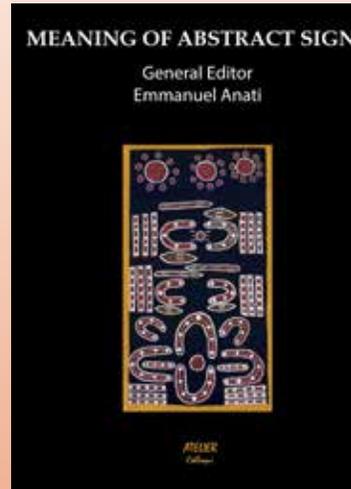
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One Life in One Day.

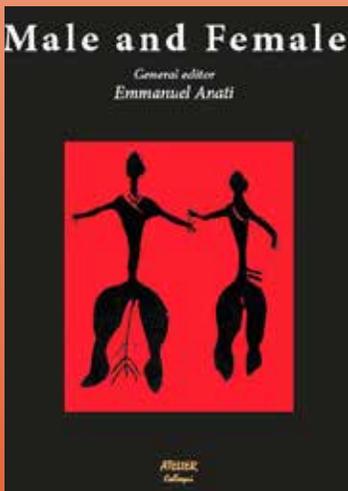
An interview to prof. Emmanuel Anati

In the gardens of the campus of Burgos University, while delegates were moving from sessions and lectures to coffee breaks and back, Margarita Díaz-Andreu recorded, for hours, the words of Professor Emmanuel Anati. It was the 5th of September 2014 and when the electric lights of the evening replaced the sunlight, a life-long story was drafted. It concerned just one aspect of Anati's life, that of his experiences as a scholar in the human sciences.



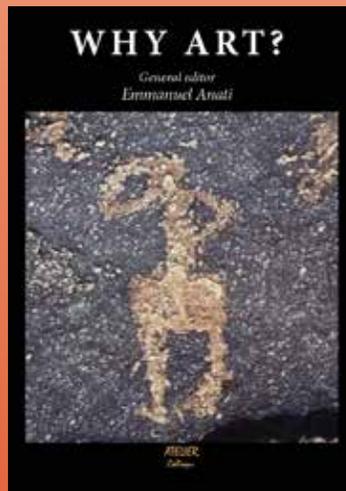
Meaning of Abstract Signs

The clan was planning a fight against another clan that had abused hospitality hunting kangaroos in a reserved ground. The painter recorded the gathering of the elders to decide the expelling of the guest clan. He represented the elders and the warriors by standard signs. The art-dealer sold the painting as an "Aboriginal abstract composition". The meaning came from the people of the clan who saw the painting explaining the recorded event. Other examples and studies attempt at defining the meaning of abstract signs.



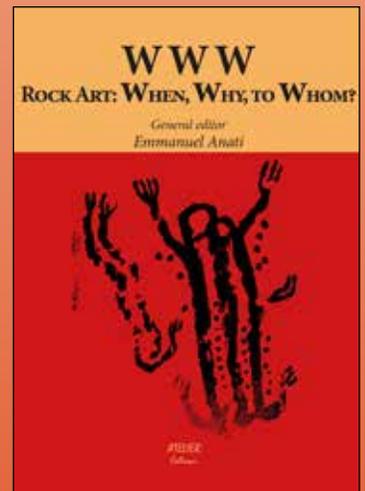
Male and Female

The book includes papers of 20 authors from five continents. It considers human representations in prehistoric and tribal art presenting a broad landscape of different views and cases. In each age and culture a specific choice is emerging in the visual arts, between preferring male or female images, and between having or not the human figure as the main concern. The book presents different cases and views from experts of five continents.



Why Art

The volume presents a search of contents by scholars from different continents with different experiences. Prehistoric art is like the literature of more recent times, some depictions may concern science, others religion, some may be school textbooks and others fiction. The decoding of prehistoric art helps to approach the understanding of contents and motivations



WWW - Rock Art:

When, Why and to Whom

How come that Rock art is widespread in five continents? Some sites, in South Africa, Australia or Brazil, count well over one million figures. They were produced over centuries and millennia. What made generations persist in this tradition of marking the stone surfaces with the records of their minds? Why did they invest on it such immense time and energy?

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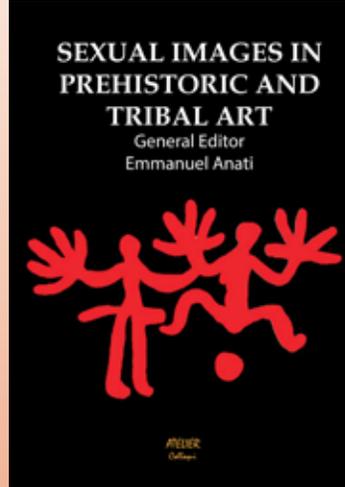
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Colloqui



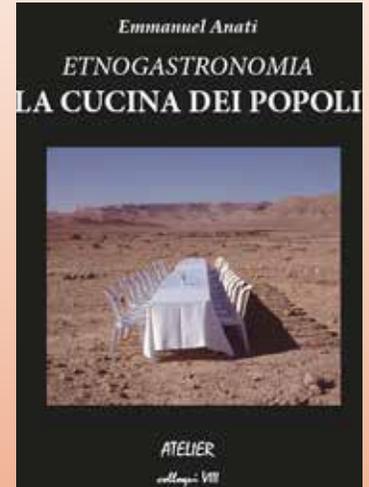
Colonization

From an original land of origins, likely to have been in Africa, the ancestors of humankind colonized all corners of the globe. Other primates still survive in their limited habitat; humans live in the equatorial regions as well as near the Arctic pole. How did such colonization take place? Authors from five continents replied to this question: a selection of their papers appears in this volume.



Sexual Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

Since the earliest figurative art, sex appears to be a theme of primary concern in every corner of the world. Why were such depictions made? In some cases oral traditions allow us to identify the cause or the inspiration. Can we trace back the stories behind the images? Sharing knowledge is favoring an overview on images, myths, rituals and customs related to sex, in prehistoric and tribal art.



Etnogastronomia - La cucina dei popoli (In Italian)

Tra le 10.000 popolazioni che vivono negli oltre 200 Paesi del pianeta Terra, abbiamo scelto le cucine di undici punti del globo, descrivendole nelle loro caratteristiche essenziali, fornendo ricette accettabili dal gusto occidentale, e realizzabili con prodotti facilmente reperibili. Capire il sapore del diverso, è saper apprezzare non solo i cibi, ma anche i sorrisi dei popoli.

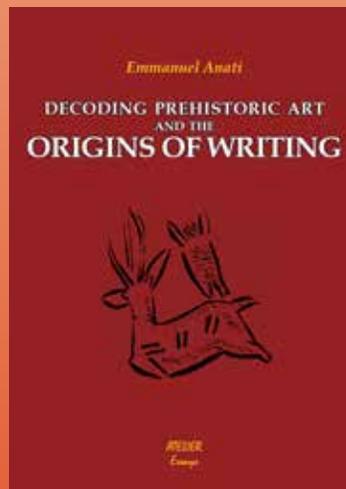
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Essays



Nascere e crescere da nomadi. La relazione madre-figli nelle società primarie (in Italian)

A study of constants and variants between human societies of hunters-gatherers and urban societies in the mother-child relationship reveals archetypes and variants. The mother-child relationship is the backbone of all species of mammals and acquires special rules in primates.



Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing

This text examines the cognitive process that led to the invention of writing and highlights constants of memorization and associative synthesis held in the mind of *Homo sapiens* for thousands of years. Some examples of decoding prehistoric art give a new vision for the beginning of writing.



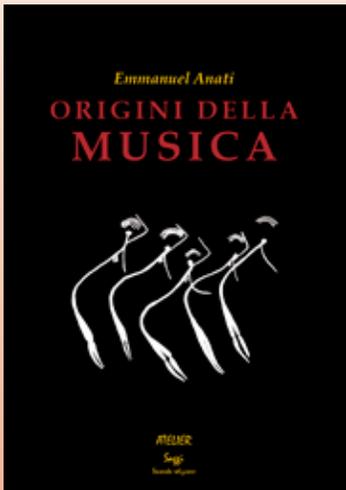
Ordine e Caos nelle società primarie. Uno studio sugli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

Order and chaos are compared as a principle of the binary concept that characterizes the search for an elementary logic of what man is able to hypothesize about the behavior of the world around him. To what extent does the order of nature determine social order in primary societies?

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ATELIER's PUBLICATIONS

Essays



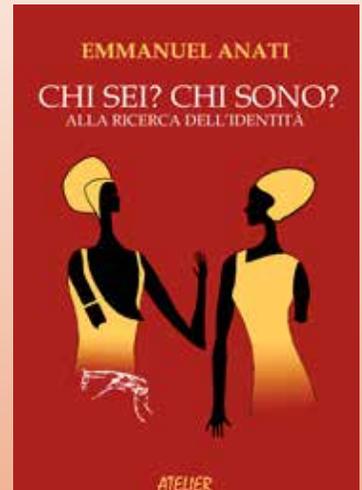
Origini della Musica (in Italian)

How and why did music originate? What function did it hold for the individual and for society? The book presents the oldest documentation of prehistoric art and archeology on the presence of music, dance and musical instruments. The text is accompanied by figures of the oldest musical instruments known to date and images depicting music and dance.



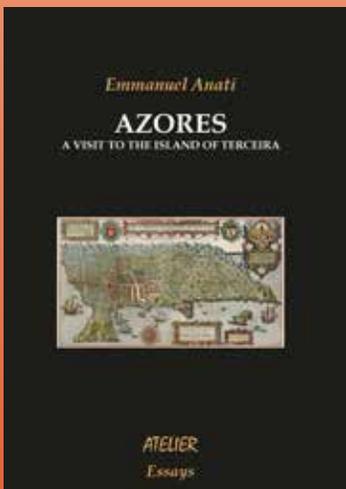
Iniziazione e riti di passaggio (in Italian)

What are the origins of baptism, circumcision, marriage and burial? The practices of initiation and rites of passage of certain Aboriginal clans of Arnhem Land, Australia, reveal the archetypes of accepted practices which are still common to many peoples of the world. The ritual has the dual role of educating and socializing. It has maintained stable their life of clans for millennia, serving as the glue between individual and group.



Chi sei? Chi sono? Alla ricerca dell'identità (in Italian)

The problems arising from the search for identity begin in the infant and accompany the human being to the last breath. Defining the identity of the person, of the nation or "race", concerns all people from the Early Hunters to the most advanced urban, literate cultures. The present study is proposing a historical dimension to an archetype of the cognitive system. When does the need to define the identity start, and why?



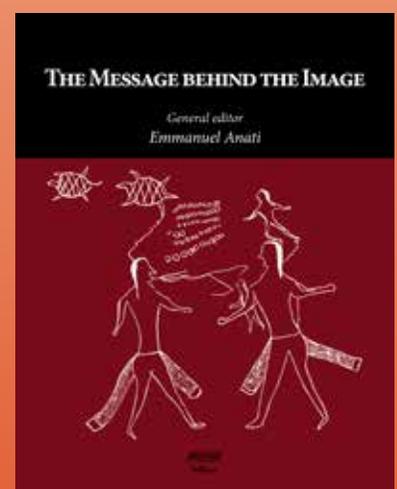
Azores: a Visit to the Island of Terceira

When did man first arrive to the Azores islands? The Portuguese colonization in the 15th century marked the beginning of the official history. Is there a history before this history? The controversy, between the traditional history and the advocates of a previous human presence, finds partial solutions in the dating and decoding of traces indicating ancient human presence.



Comunicare per esistere (in Italian)

This text, inspired by travel notes of about 40 years ago, seems now to refer to prehistory. Aboriginal people have made a jump of millennia in two generations. Today they speak English, live in houses, drive cars and use the shotgun. Their lives changed since the 70s of the last century.



The message behind the image

Prehistoric and tribal people have left behind millions of images, in Africa, America, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Was their purpose just that of embellishing rock surfaces? What pushed people from all over the world to record their memories throughout the ages? This immense heritage, whether intentional or not, is full of messages to be read and understood.

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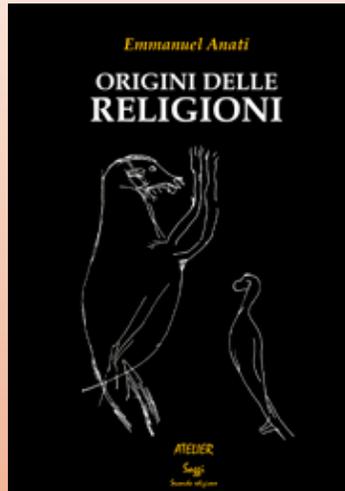
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Essays



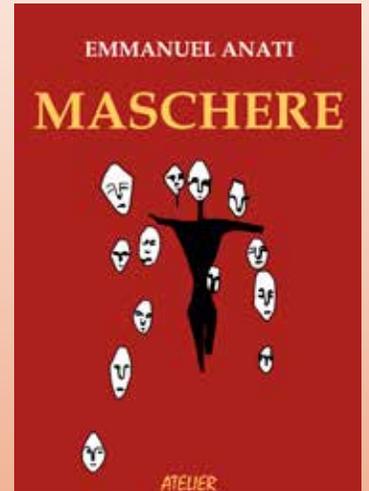
Mito tra utopia e verità
(in Italian)

How do myths originate? The production of myths proves to be a constant of the cognitive process of all human societies. Parameters of this process are examined: the roots of a distant memory, the itineraries of idealization, sublimation and structuring. Similar myths from different cultures reveal recurring conceptual criteria. From the beginning man feeds the myth and the myth feeds the man. Myths feed myths.



Origini delle religioni
(in Italian)

How and when did religions originate? The study of prehistoric art is bringing a revolution to our knowledge of the origins of religious thought. Rock art sites have held for millennia the function of places of worship and tribal identity, serving as archives of myths, beliefs and rituals. Visual art, however, is not the oldest evidence of the presence of religion. Burial customs and other material traces are bringing us further back to the origins of religious behaviour.



Maschere
(in Italian)

What is behind the mask? The mask can hide the identity, but can also reveal an identity submerged, both as an object-mask or a conceptual-mask. Going back to the roots, an aspect of the cognitive process of the mask awakens questions on the comparison of human tendencies, between globalization and individualism. Tracing the history of the mask reveals recurring phenomena of man's relationship with his own identity.



Guardare l'invisibile.
Religione, miti e spiriti
degli aborigeni australiani.
(in Italian)

Some scholars in the history of religions affirm that religion was born in the Neolithic age. People coming directly from the Paleolithic bluntly contradicts this preconception.

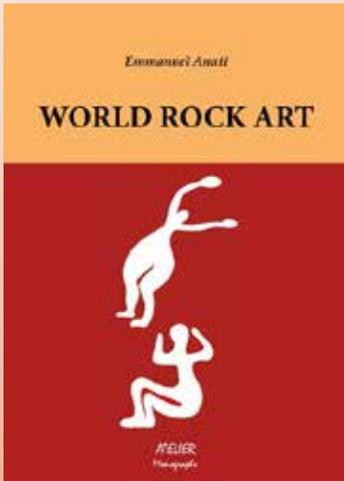


Amore e sessualità
(In Italian)

Love and sexuality, a theme of all lives and many books, is considered under the aspect of conceptual anthropology. Biological impulses, cultural rules and individual feelings meet in different cultures, in different formulas and lead to a vision of how they work and interact socially, psychologically and emotionally on the human being and on the social context.

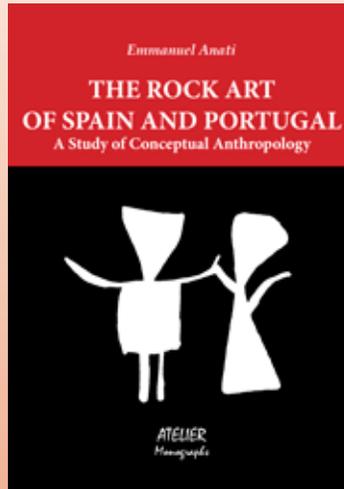
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Monographs



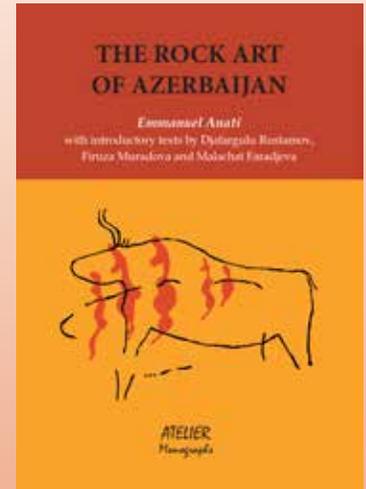
World Rock Art

This book is a fundamental introduction to rock art studies. It marks the starting point of a new methodology for rock art analysis, based on typology and style, first developed by the author at the Centro camuno di Studi Preistorici, Capo di Ponte, Brescia, Italy. It can be seen at the beginning of a new discipline, the systematic study of world rock art.



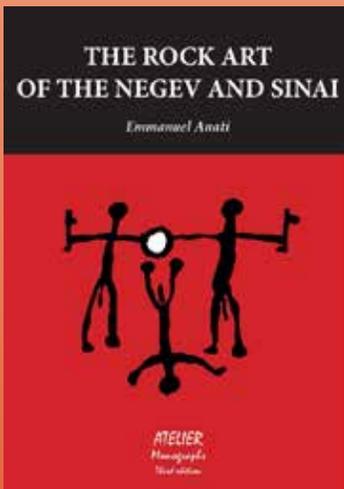
The Rock Art of Spain and Portugal

An analytical synthesis of the rock art in the Iberian peninsula from the conceptual anthropology approach. The major concentrations of rock art are considered as expressions of their different cultural and social patterns



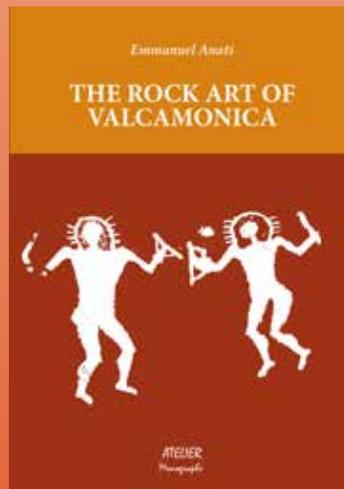
The Rock art of Azerbaijan

Over the course of centuries, Azerbaijan, was a great centre of rock art. This gateway of Europe, between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea, was a major way of migrations from Asia to Europe. Showing influence and connections with both Europe and the Near East, the succession of phases of rock art illustrate the movements of cultures and ideas from Paleolithic to recent times, shedding new light on the early movement of *Homo sapiens*.



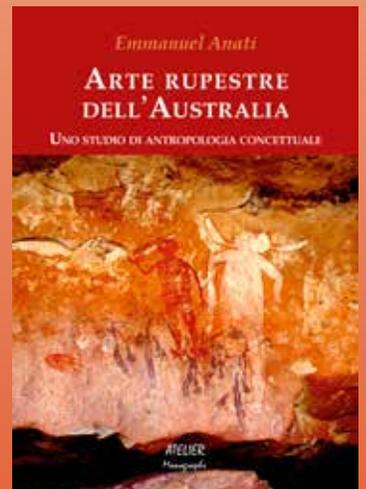
The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai

The present volume is concerned with a new theme of archeology and anthropology: the rock art of the Negev and Sinai, which never had before a general analysis in English. It elaborates on articles and a book written in the last 60 years, to produce a synthesis and an overview



The Rock Art of Valcamonica

Valcamonica, in the Italian Alps, with over 300,000 images engraved on rocks, is the major rock art site in Europe. It is the first 'World Heritage Site' listed by UNESCO in Italy and the first rock art site listed in the world. Its study reveals the largest archive left behind by the ancient inhabitants of Europe

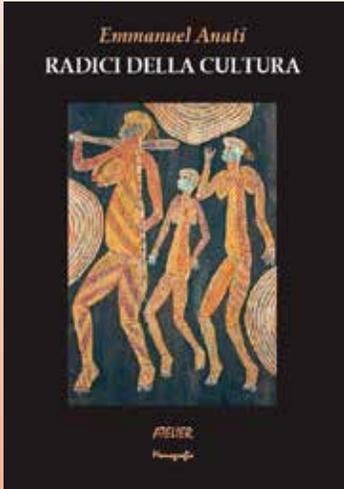


The Rock Art of Australia

The Australian aborigines until yesterday were hunter-gatherers, creators of visual art according to ancient traditions and beliefs. The rock art tells their story and the history of art of 50,000 years.

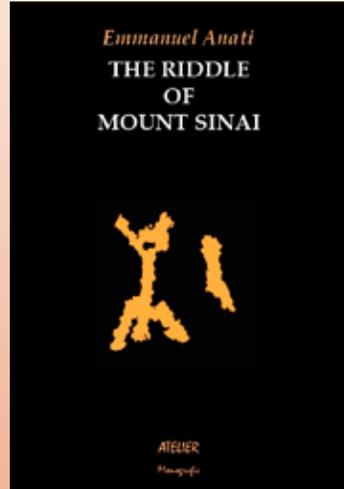
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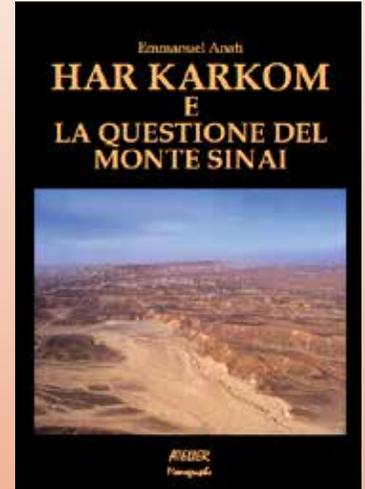
Radici della cultura
(in Italian)

The history of culture is the history which unify the whole humankind. As Yves Coppens wrote in the preface, from the very first flint tool four million years ago to the conquest of space, the human adventure shows an hyperbole, which from the beginning of history, through the ages, builds the reality of present and project us to the future.



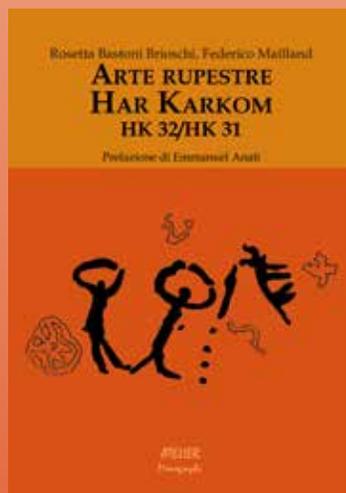
The Riddle of Mount Sinai

What is the true story behind the biblical narration of Exodus? The discoveries of the Italian archaeological expedition at Har Karkom, in the Negev Desert, tell the hitherto unknown story of the sacred mountain in the heart of the desert of Exodus, reflecting surprising similarities to the events and conditions described to us, albeit in mythicised form, in the Old Testament.



Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai
(in Italian)

The findings of shrines and encampments of the Bronze Age at Har Karkom, a mountain located in one of the driest places and inhospitable parts of the Negev desert, in the north of the Sinai Peninsula, arouses a global debate on the hypothesis that this mountain can be identified with the biblical Mount Sinai.



Rock Art - Har Karkom
HK 32/HK 31
(in Italian)

Within the frame of the Archaeological Italian Expedition in Israel, the present book is a record of rock art in two adjacent sites on the plateau of Har Karkom. The rock art is in the same area with tumuli, altar stones, stone circles and other megalithic structures. Some of the rock engravings are on these monuments. The rock engravings are described and illustrated by numerous photos and tracings.

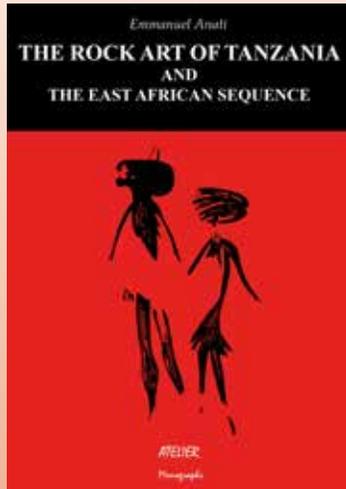


L'arte delle tapa.
Sacre stoffe dell'Oceania
(in Italian)

The tapa is a non-woven fabric, a kind of felt produced from the bark of some species of trees. Their origins are much earlier than the invention of weaving. Their roots go back to the Old Stone Age. Indirect testimony of their antiquity are provided by the discovery of tools used for the manufacture of tapa in archaeological layers and by figures of tapa cloths in the rock art.

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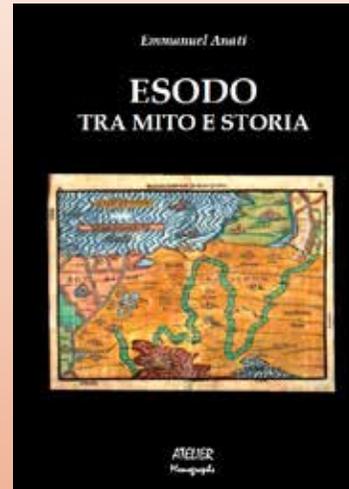
Monographs



The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence

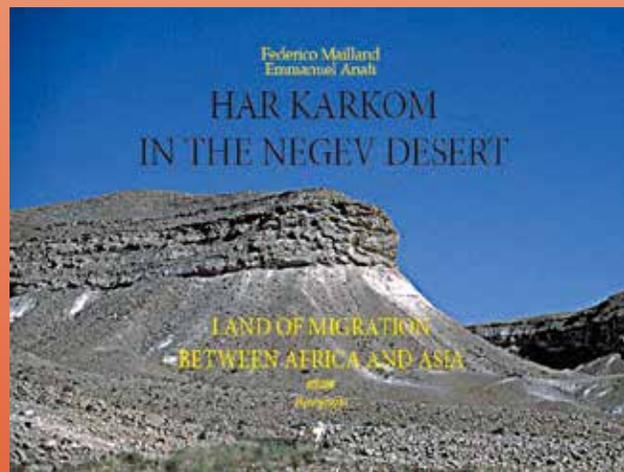
The rock art of Tanzania, in over 200 caves and rock shelters, is presented in this book using the analytical method of Conceptual Anthropology.

Stylistic phases and periods are covering millennia.



Exodus Between Myth and History

The epic of Moses: is it myth or history? The Biblical narrative of the exodus and the revelation of Mount Sinai are a monumental literary work that has been passed down for well over two millennia, after being transmitted orally for centuries. What would have really happened during the Exodus? How did monotheism emerge? Who were the mentioned people of the desert met by the children of Israel? The central episode of the epic is the revelation at Mount Sinai.



Har Karkom in the Negev Desert

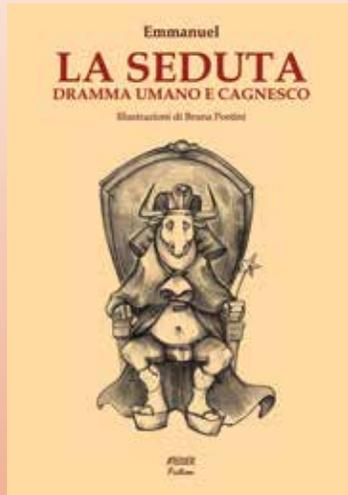
A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa.

The archeological discoveries tell us of two million years, from the earliest stations of archaic Pebble Culture, to recent Bedouin camping sites.

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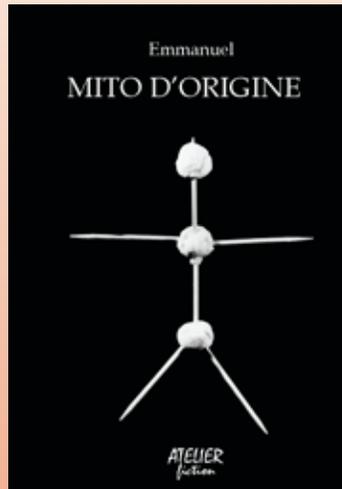
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Fiction



**La Seduta
(in Italian)**

This work of the author's youth reflects a biting social commentary that after half a century seems to have not lost its charge. It was written in the 60s of the last century, in the climate of postwar youth revolt. It was published for the first time in 1979 in a bi-monthly magazine. It now comes out in a revised edition.



**Mito d'origine
Epoca dei Sogni
(in Italian)**

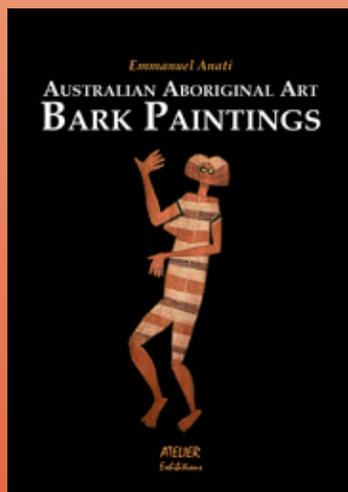
The first works of Atelier Fiction, Mito d'Origine and Epoca dei Sogni, tell stories that at first sight seem to come from another world.

Between reality and dream, realism and myth, symbols and metaphors, they accompany us in the space of flooded memories. Balls and sticks wander, meet and multiply in black space, always accompany the shadows and the lights of thought.

They are works created by the author at a young age now published for the first time, a few decades after since they were first conceived.

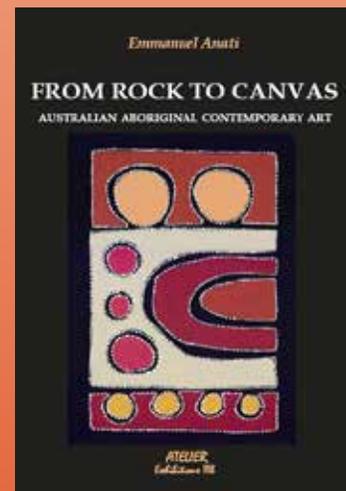


Exhibitions



**The Art of the Australian Aborigines
Bark Paintings**

Australian Aborigines have produced paintings on tree bark that, in addition to being remarkable artworks, store myths and memories, emotions and human relations. What remains today of authentic bark paintings, made by Aborigines for themselves, is an extremely small group.



From Rock to Canvas

Australian Aboriginal Contemporary Art
Turning from the Stone Age to the age of air-conditioning in a generation is an experience which leaves its mark on artistic expression. The canvas paintings made by contemporary Aboriginal artists, whose fathers painted on rocks or tree bark, display a momentous revolution in the spirit of a generation that has leapfrogged millennia.

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