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**THE DOMINANT THEME  
IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART**

# EDITORIAL NOTES

## THE CHANGING DOMINANT THEME

Like any other style or period of visual art, each assemblage of prehistoric and tribal art has a dominant theme. Some ethnic groups focus their theme on anthropomorphic figures, or even on a specific human figure, others on animals, or even on a specific animal, and others again on signs, symbols or ideograms or even on a specific set of signs. What is the meaning and function of the dominant theme?

Well-known concentrations of prehistoric art display millenary sequences of different phases, showing changes in the dominant theme from one period to another. The stratigraphic successions of rock art phases in regions like Gobustan (Azerbaijan), Arnhem Land (Australia) or the Kondo Province (Tanzania) demonstrates this assertion. Whatever the meaning of such dominant themes may be (totemic, magic, economic or else), they reflect the concern of the artist and of his/her social identity.

The term “artist” for the maker of rock art is not appropriate, as he or she did not consider art what they were making – they considered it recording or memorizing, but since the term “rock art” has been adopted, until a better term is shaped, their makers are named artists.

Visual art is a mirror of the mind and soul of the artist, it is the expression of his/her concerns. Visual art follows common grammatical and syntactic rules. The dominant theme is one of several factors defining the identity of patterns. It turns up to be a diagnostic element to define the conceptual, economic and social structure of the artist’s society. As elaborated in a monographic study (*World Rock Art*, Atelier, 2015), a reindeer hunter and a corn farmer will not have the same dominant theme. The dominant theme also awakens new indications on the issue of the “dominant concern”, which is a recurring social pattern in every culture and every period. It is a fundamental element in recent psychoanalytical studies.

A practical example, regarding the rock art of Tanzania, is presented in **EXPRESSION** journal, issue 18.

Various types of hunting-gathering societies, pastoral groups and agricultural communities, display different concerns and interests in their visual expressions. The style is changing, along with the dominant theme.

Another classical example is the rock art of Valcamonica, in Northern Italy (*The Rock Art of Valcamonica*, Atelier, 2015). It is characterized by a sequence of different styles, belonging to different periods: the first style focused on animal figures, the second on anthropomorphic figures, the third on monumental compositions reflecting supernatural beings or concepts, the fourth phase focused on the depiction of tools and weapons, and the last phase focused again on the anthropomorphic figures, in a succession of different phases (from anecdotal representations to mythical ancestral heroes or divinities). Each phase has a specific dominant theme reflecting the ideological and conceptual concerns of the time they represent. What is the succession of dominant themes revealing on the conceptual evolution of the Camunian Alpine tribe in the course of 10,000 years? The earliest phase is the product of a hunting-gathering society, followed by a sequence of different phases with different dominant themes, belonging to farmers and pastoral people. The dominant themes change as other aspects of life, like the dominant kind of food, the type of lodging or the way of getting dressed. We may recognize the age of a certain art style, like we can recognize the period in which a certain type of hat or of dress was fashionable. As elaborated in the above publication, Prehistoric and tribal art combines three types of graphemes: pictograms, ideograms and psychograms. The typology of the association between them makes the syntax of the visual art.

The elementary classification of Prehistoric and tribal visual art is recognizing five major categories, which reflect five different socio-economic lifestyles: Early Hunters (prevailing hunting of big game, carnivore diet, no use of bow and arrow, syntax of association and sequences, animals or symbols usually are the dominant theme); Gatherers (prevailing food-collecting, mostly vegetarian diet, its dominant themes are human figures and ideograms); Late Hunters (hunters of middle size

## EDITORIAL NOTE

and small game, mostly carnivore diet, use of bow and arrow, prevailing syntax of descriptive scenes); Pastoral societies (rearing domestic animals, diet mostly based on milk and other products from domestic animals, its dominant theme are pastoral scenes and domestic animals); Farmers and complex economy (sedentary agriculturalists, omnivorous agricultural diet focusing on cereals, variability in dominant themes). Other minor categories include fishermen and shell-midden collectors. The typology of the art output of each category, as described in the above-mentioned publication, is the description of ideas, concerns or events having an impact on the social entity. The dominant theme may vary, but a dominant theme is always present, in every category.

The dominant theme is present also in urban societies. It will not be exactly the same in the frescoes of a Christian church and in those of a Buddhist temple, though in both cases the dominant theme are anthropomorphic images. The ideograms and psychograms associated to the pictograms will clarify the different identities. The presence or absence of the cross ideogram, for example, will contribute to the identification of the ideological identity of the visual message.

In the cases of Hunter-Gatherer societies, the dominant theme will not be the same in the paintings of bison hunters and in those of snail eaters and collectors. The lifestyle is determining the art style: thus the art style is revealing the lifestyle.

In the present issue and, likely, in forthcoming ones, **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal will favor this topic: the dominant theme. What makes different cultures have different dominant themes in their visual art? Colleagues and friend are elaborating this topic, either on specific cases or on general or comparative issues. The study of cases may help clarifying the cognitive system behind the choice of the dominant themes. A step further will be made in the understanding of the minds of art-makers in different societies. Colleagues and friends having something to say are welcome to share their knowledge and ideas in this joint effort to go one step further.

**EXPRESSION** magazine is published by Atelier Research Center in cooperation with UISPP-CI SENP, the International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate Peoples of the UISPP, Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques. The goal of **EXPRESSION** is to promote knowledge and ideas concerning the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate societies. It is an open forum in conceptual anthropology, welcoming contributions. Colleagues having something 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 well illustrated. Letters on current topics and short notes are welcome and may be included in the section "Discussion Forum." Authors are fully responsible for their ideas and for the information and illustrations they submit. Publication in **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal does not imply that the publishers and/or the editors agree with the exposed ideas. 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 is pleased to offer space to controversial issues and to imaginative and creative papers, when conceptually reliable and respecting the integrity and dignity of the authors, their colleagues and their readers.

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### Front page:

Kichik Dash, Gobustan. The feminine representations, referred to horizon I/A, are superimposed by a large bovine figure of horizon II. (After Anati, 2001; cf. photo EA 2000 LXXVII-37).

# DISCUSSION FORUM

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

## **THE AGES OF MEMORY A forthcoming issue of EXPRESSION journal**

How old is our memory? Each nation or tribe remembers the story of its origins, its early fathers, its patriarchs, its heroes, its crucial events. The traditional stories of the inhabitants of a small Pacific island, the genealogical tales of an African chieftain, the cult of ancestors in a mountain village of the Andes, the myth of origin of Eskimo fishermen in the Arctic, are all chapters of the common heritage that makes up the identity of the human species, that gives us the dimension of being what we are. We must be aware of the dimension of our memory: our individual memory is part of the ethnic (or national) memories that, combined together, constitute the memory of our Species. The individual memory of each one of us, together with the collective memory of linguistic and ethnic groups, of tribes, nations and countries, make up the memory of Humankind: it is our common legacy, the core of culture. What would humanity be without such memory?

Memory has different ages, as expressed by an Aboriginal elder of Arnhem Land, and all the ages of the past make the present (*Guardare l'invisibile*, Atelier, 2018): "What white-men call myths are memories of the Dreamtime".

The mythologies of at least three continents tell the story of an Ice Age or of a Universal Flood which, likely, are the elaboration of memories of natural events that took place some twelve to fourteen thousand years ago. Myths about the ancestor that discovered how to light a fire are common in four continents and are likely to go back thousands of years. Myths about a great migration, that ended up when the people settled down in their "promise land", are present in at least three continents and often belong to populations that

have been in their land for ages. Bantu mythology, in southern Africa, includes the migration of ancestors, which took place some 2,000 years ago. The biblical mythology includes an exodus from Egypt to the land of Canaan, which may have taken place well over 3,000 years ago. It includes also tales on patriarchs that may go further back in time. For centuries, the memory of ancient episodes was transmitted orally, often enriched by generations of storytellers, before being put into writing. As any other historical source, they are not necessarily direct testimony of facts: they are offering us both the memories and their elaborations by human minds, probably inspired by facts. The core is hidden behind the tale and they are fundamental raw material for historical reconstruction. They reveal remembrances and the beliefs of their people.

In a rock art site in Northern Australia there is the figure of a totemic animal, in front of which several deep cups for offerings are carved on the rock floor. The animal figure consists of several painted lines completing the natural shapes of the rock surface. It is the image of an elephant, an animal that never existed in Australia. The painted lines have several coats of paint and repaint; the oldest may be over 40,000 years old. The cave is still considered to be a holy site and the image was still worshipped in the 1970s. This animal figure is the memory of something seen elsewhere, in another continent, before its makers' arrival in Arnhem Land. When did an Aboriginal ancestor see an elephant for the last time? The memory may go back thousands of years.

Historical memory is idealized and synthesized, thus turning into myths. And myths become part of the oral tradition, transmitted from one generation to another. Our individual memory follows similar processes, eliminating parts, magnifying others and idealizing certain aspects. Memory is accompanied by other mental operations, which reshape it.

Figurative art, both mobile and rock art, are the graphic records of memory, metamorphosed into visual concepts, attuned to senses and feelings. Pleasure and displeasure, joy and pain, grace and disgrace, wishes and hopes, all these sensations shape human memory. The graphic results, formed by memory plus other ingredients, are the testimony of the processes happening in the human mind. When Prehistoric art is decoded, it becomes an immense and invaluable

source in itself. But an additional step may be made, by attempting to use the effect, the document or depiction we dispose of, in order to reconstruct the cause of its creation: what did actually happen, which were the reasons that brought to the production of the document that reached us, and what story does it tell? Our memory is as old as the first graphic marks. The graphic heritage left behind by the hands and minds of peoples in five continents in the last 50,000 years is the unique and precious archive of the conceptual adventures of Humankind. It is the coffer of the yet unwritten history of what is still considered “Prehistory”. Each small story, each detail of an event, myth or concern, emerging from decoding a portion of this immense archive, is a step toward making History out of Prehistory. It is a chapter added to the recovering of the past. And recovering the past leads to the understanding of the present: to understand who we are.

We are the effect of what we were. We are the effect of our memory. Recovering details of the memories recorded in these ancient archives, that had been disremembered for ages, is the role of culture and also marks its progress. The future is built on the past. Wisdom is built on the understanding of the past. Scholars and students can make exceptional contributions to the building up of a still non-existent world history, covering all the periods of the human adventure since the earliest examples of figurative art. When there is figurative art, there is History: it is there, hidden in the graphic messages of the past, waiting to be decoded. And it has to be decoded.

A fundamental role of the scholar in human sciences is to offer new chapters of the past to culture. Each new acquisition is a step forward.

Friends and colleagues are cordially invited to elaborate specific or general pertinent topics and submit their papers to a forthcoming issue of **EXPRESSION** about: ‘*THE AGES OF MEMORY, THE MEMORY OF AGES*’.

Articles accepted by reviewers are published in the quarterly journal in the appropriate thematic context. For submission to the December issue the deadline is November 10. ‘How to conceive your paper’ is specified in a previous issue of **EXPRESSION**, which may be requested for free: atelier.etno@gmail.com.

Potentially, each student in Prehistoric and tribal art, or in mythology, religion, psychology, linguistics,

philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, archaeology, may have something to say on this topic. We are looking forward to hearing from you.

Emmanuel Anati  
(*President, Atelier Center for Conceptual Anthropology*)

## THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN ART

A topic faced in a previous issue is provoking a wide debate and is worth additional consideration. How did visual art start in Europe? As far as we know, the earliest traces of figurative art are in Africa and Australia, probably also in Asia. In Europe the presence of figurative art was considered to have started later than in these continents. It had been advocated that the reason for such delay was the presence in Europe of the Neanderthal man, who prevented the expansion of *Homo sapiens*. However, new data obtained by laboratory analyses of cave paintings are upsetting old concepts.

Recent reports are stating that the earliest figurative art in Europe was produced by Neanderthal men. Such preliminary conclusions demand further investigation. An archaic phase of Paleolithic art was identified a few years ago and defined “La Ferrassie style” (*Acts of Valcamonica Symposium XXII*, 2007). It is present in France and Spain and it has a different typology from later art forms. It was considered to be the product of a Proto-sapiens, before the Aurignacian horizon. This style was defined typologically in the book “*World Rock Art*” (Anati, English edition: 2015, pp. 92-101). A much similar style, using the same repertoire, is known in other parts of the world, mainly in Australia and Tanzania. In all cases it is considered to be the earliest phase of visual art. In Australia, it is attributed to the earliest human presence there. The newcomers to a previously desert land may have arrive there with their cultural heritage and their ability and need to produce visual art, around 60,000 BP. The dates now proposed for the European examples resemble those from Australia and, likely, can coincide to the same general chronological frame of the earliest “Early Hunters” rock art of Tanzania (**EXPRESSION** 18, 2017). Are these disconnected episodes? Similar outputs are issues of similar mental processes. Apart from the common conceptual core, could all these

similar patterns have something else in common? Could they be the issue of an early diffusion of a Proto-sapiens? If the different localities of this stylistic pattern are somehow the issue of common roots, made by people from an early diffusion, how can we define them? Who were these people? Did they belong to a common core, expanding from an African or Asian homeland over 60,000 years ago?

Considering the stratigraphic context at La Ferrassie, I had tentatively proposed that, in Europe, this pattern of visual expression could be related to the Chatelperron material industry (*Premiers Hommes en Europe*, Paris, Editions Fayard 2007, pp. 73-78).

An old debate re-emerged: who were the makers of the Chatelperron early blade industry? Homo sapiens, Neanderthal or Proto-sapiens? How old are they? Do we have to reconsider the old axiom according to which the Neanderthal people were the sole inhabitants of Europe throughout Middle Paleolithic?

If the expressions of this peculiar style are issues of the same core, for Australia or Tanzania the term Neanderthal would be inappropriate. Also, the relation

of this stylistic and typological pattern in Europe with the Chatelperron material industry still has to be verified. So far, its possible relation to the Chatelperron material culture is relying primarily on its stratigraphic position in the French site of La Ferrassie.

The possible common cultural roots of this archaic pattern of visual art still have to be clarified. One thing can be guessed: that in Europe, like in Australia, this pattern is an innovative cultural element, a revolutionary conceptual invention reflecting a new ability of the human mind, probably reflecting a new kind of mind. The primary core of figurative art is unlikely to be in Australia or in Europe, it may have been introduced by newcomers (by new waves of migrators?) from a yet unknown "Garden of Eden" of the birth of figurative art, probably located in Asia or in Africa.

For the time being, rather than stating its belonging to the Neanderthals or to the Sapiens, it might be wiser to keep the old terminology and, until further clarification, consider it the issue of a not better defined Proto-sapiens.

E.A.

## FORTHCOMING NEW DEBATES

Readers are proposing themes for debate. Some of them may be considered in the near future:

- 1 - **THE AGES OF MEMORY, THE MEMORY OF AGES:** tracing back the ages of myths and events
- 2 - **WOMEN:** their presence in prehistoric and tribal art. The changing role of dominance of male and female figures.
- 3 - **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS REVEALED BY PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART:** how depictions reveal social relations and social organization.
- 4 - **PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF ARTISTS:** Identifying the hands of a specific artist, school or tradition in prehistoric and tribal art.
- 5 - **ART AS A SOURCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS OF PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES:** Is the themes represented and the associative system or syntax revealing conceptual and social trends?
- 6 - **BURIAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES** as expression of beliefs in afterlife. How did they imagine the world of the dead?
- 7 - **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART: THEIR COMMEMORATING ROLE AND THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE.**
- 8 - **SEAFARING DEPICTIONS: RECORDING MYTHS OR EVENTS?**
- 9 - **REALITIES AND IMAGINATION IN MYTHIC TRADITIONS.**

- 10 - **REGIONAL PATTERNS IN ARTISITIC CREATIONS**
- 11 - **WHAT PUSHED HUMANS TO PRODUCE ART?**
- 12 - **THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION AND THE ORIGINS OF ART**
- 14 - **ROCKART AS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION**
- 15 - **VISUAL ART AS MEANS TO EXPLORE THE HUMAN MIND**
- 16 - **WHEN AND HOW PEOPLE FROM THE NEW WORLD (AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA) DISCOVERED THE OLD WORLD (AFRICA AND EURASIA)?**
- 17 - **MYTHS OF ORIGINS: WHERE DID THE ANCESTORS COME FROM?**
- 18 - **THE PRIMARY MYTHS AND THEIR COMMON ROOTS**

*Proposals for papers and suggestions on these and other issues are welcome. The Discussion Forum invites readers to be active in debates of worldwide interest in Conceptual Anthropology.*

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# DOMINANT THEMES IN THE ROCK ART OF AZERBAIJAN<sup>1</sup>

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## The context

Since antiquity Azerbaijan, on the border between Europe and Asia, has awakened the curiosity of travelers and historians. In classical times it was called Athropatena, and also Land of Fire, where the natural fires of emerging natural petroleum and gas still create peculiar choreographies. Ancient myths consider this area, between the Caucasus Mountains, the Caspian Sea and Iran, to be the site of the biblical Garden of Eden and a primary core of humanity. The archeological discoveries join the myths, testifying thousands of years of human occupation in the Azykh cave and other Paleolithic sites. Later, agricultural societies found their way to Europe from the Middle East and left their traces. From the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, the Kurgan funerary tumuli indicate Azerbaijan as being part of a vast cultural province,

extending from the Black Sea to central Asia. In the Metal Ages, the Scythian culture marked an age of opulence and creativity, connecting Azerbaijan to the world of traders over vast areas of Asia and Europe. Azerbaijan is a gate to Europe and its history and archeology are relevant to both Europe and the Near East. Such a historical background is causing a special interest in its rock engravings, one of the most spectacular aspects of Azerbaijan's prehistoric relics. The major concentration is in the Gobustan region, between the southern outcrops of the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea, some 60 km south of the capital, Baku.

## The sequence of rock art styles

A significant sequence of changes in the dominant themes of rock art is evidenced in the succession of stylistic periods. Early Hunter-Gatherers (without bow and arrow), Late Hunters (with bow and arrow), pastoral societies, farmers and traders left their patterns of rock art, each with its own dominant theme.

The early phases of Gobustan rock art representing anthropomorphic figures do not have clear parallels in western European rock art, while having conceptual similarities to the mobile art from eastern Europe. The phases representing wild animals have similar parallels in western Europe. With the beginning of food production, the Gobustan sequence acquired Middle

<sup>1</sup> This article is a summary of a few chapters of the book *The Rock Art of Azerbaijan* (Atelier Edit, 2015).

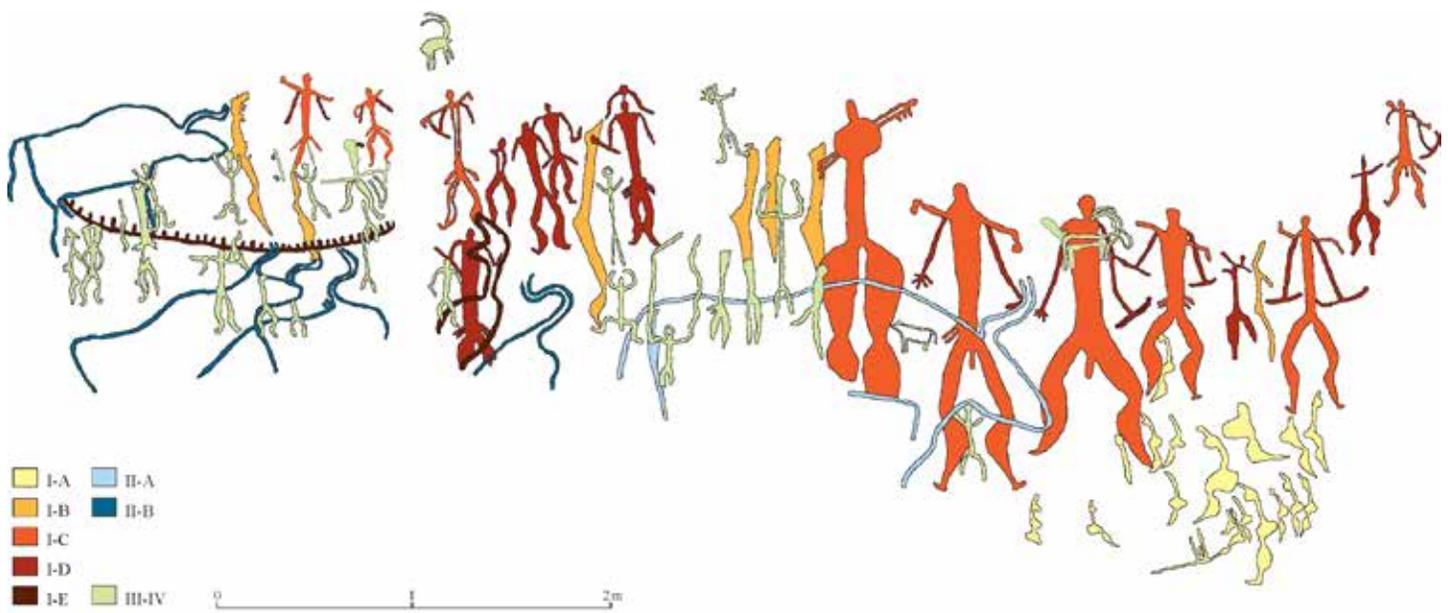


Fig. 1. Bujuk Dash, Ana Zaga Cave, Gobustan. Sequence of engravings of different phases. General tracing with indications of superimpositions. (After Anati, 2001).

Eastern stylistic trends. During the Metal Ages, the rock art displays features which are familiar to the cultures around the Black Sea and, especially, to a sector of the Kurgan culture. Later, it acquires typical features of the Scythian cultures. Each phase of the rock art has a dominant theme. All this is discussed in detail in a book (Anati, 2015), where references are provided. The present paper is mainly concerned with the peculiar changes that took place in the succession of phases of hunters and gatherers.

The sequence of rock art (horizontal stratigraphy) is characterized by several horizons of hunters and gatherers, some dominated by anthropomorphic images, others by zoomorphic images. The changes in the dominant theme, from human to animal, are both graphic and conceptual changes; their motivations are open to debate. The main question is: what causes the selection of the dominant theme?

### From female to male figures

The alternation between zoomorphic and anthropomorphic dominant images is accompanied by other changes in the sequence: the species of the dominant animal changes from one phase to another, and also the dominant gender in the anthropomorphic horizons changes from phase to phase, from female to male and then back to female. Faunal changes in rock art may simply indicate faunal changes in nature or in the selection of the hunter, or in the totemic values of the species; but what is the meaning of the changes in the dominant gender of the anthropomorphic figures,

shifting from female figures to male figures? Naked women, rather fat, with rounded shapes, are dominant in one phase while, in another phase, the dominant image is that of males, with slim elegant linear bodies. The horizon having dominant anthropomorphic images has at least five distinct phases with specific stylistic characteristics. Superimpositions showing the same succession sequence on different rock surfaces establish their relative chronological sequence. The sex and size of the figures, the idealization of the forms and technical characteristics change from phase to phase.

Starting from the earliest phase:

#### **I/A. Female figures in profile, of modest dimensions, with emphasized steatopygia and exaggerated breasts**

Breasts and buttocks appear to be more important than the face or feet, which are often omitted. Images may vary in size from 25 cm to 45 cm. Similarities to Paleolithic female figurines from eastern Europe and central Asia may indicate the presence of widespread conceptual contents.

Some of these female figures are associated with figures of boats. They are inside or above the boat, as if they are floating over it (figs. 3; 4). Elaborate figures of boats appear to be as old as the female figures. These “travelling ladies” seem to tell a story, a myth or an event, which is repeatedly memorized on the rocks. These boats could be among the earliest known boat figures.

#### **I/B. Large schematic anthropomorphic male figures in profile**

The dominant theme is changed from female to male figures. The size of the images is bigger, some reaching over 1 m. The male figures are tall and powerful: are they ancestors, mythical spirits or divinities, or something else? An ideological change took place, changing the icon from female to male.

#### **I/C. Large human figures in frontal view**

The size of figures is growing even more. The tallest are over 2 m high. They have elegant and

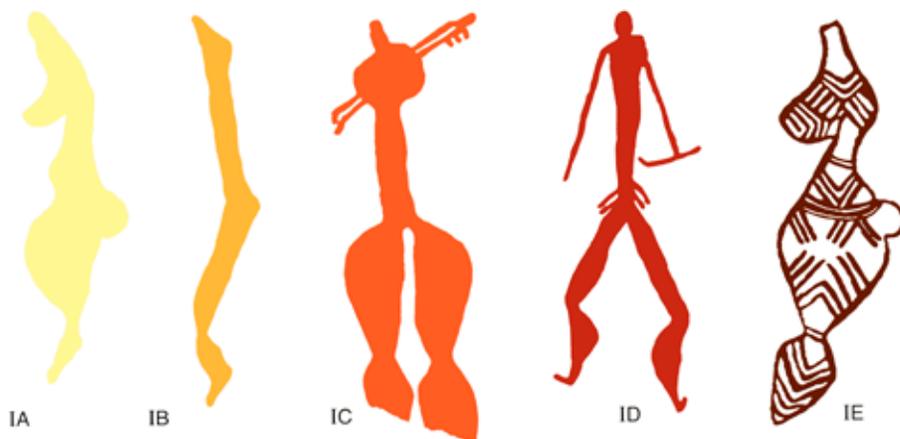


Fig. 2. A tentative synthesis of the evolution of anthropomorphic representations, indicating the different phases of horizon I of Gobustan. (After Anati, 2001).



Fig. 3. Gobustan. Boats and anthropomorphic figures. (Tracing of photo EA 2000 CLXXXI-19).



Fig. 4. Gobustan. Boats and anthropomorphic figures. (Tracing of photo EA 2000 CLXXXI-16).

exaggerated, stylized rounded shapes. This third phase includes mainly male images, but also a few female ones. Several figures are carrying an object on their shoulder as a repetitive attribute. It does not seem to be a bow, which will clearly appear in later periods. It may represent an axe-like tool, a spear or propeller, a walking stick, a throwing stick, a symbol of power, or something else. It might be an ideogram indicating the identity or the role of the holder.

The association of human figures with boats persists. The story may be about an epic seafaring on large boats. These boat figures have many vertical sticks on them; if, as supposed, they represent human beings, they must have been large boats. Do they tell us a myth or a story of a migration?

**I/D. Human figures, mainly male, holding bow and arrow**

Arms and hands holding bow and arrow are added to the earlier figures. The systematic addition of bows correcting existing images indicates the sudden importance of the bow and arrow, likely to be a new acquisition. The figures are more schematic, more compact, smaller in size than those of the previous phases, and their outlines are less precise.

**I/E. Human figures, mostly female, with decorations, tattoos or elements that may indicate clothing, body decoration or attributes**

Changes in style indicate a new concept of reality. Female figures have decorated bodies, showing similarities to Neolithic female figurines from the Balkans. Apparently, this phase marks a new archeological period. The dominant theme is shifting again, from males to females (fig. 5a, b).

Female figures dominate at the beginning and at the end of this sequence. In one phase only male figures are present. In the middle phases, males are dominant but also females are represented. The quantitative

variations of male and female beings indicate the alternation of conceptual changes from one phase to the other. Could that hint at the varying social role of genders?



Figs. 5a, b. Bujük Dash, Gobustan. A feminine figure of horizon I/E. The body decorations could be interpreted as attire or tattoos. (EA 2000 LXXXVIII-1; tracing after Anati, 2001).

The early phases display similarities to Upper Paleolithic anthropomorphic figures from both central Asia and eastern Europe, especially to the so-called Venuses attributed to early phases of the Upper Paleolithic. The last phase has parallels with Neolithic figurines. The intermediate phases lack significant comparative material. All this may or may not provide hints for their dating.

One of the most tantalizing problems concerns the date of the beginning: how old are the Gobustan oldest figures? As discussed elsewhere (Anati 2015), the various dates proposed so far are open to debate. As a working hypothesis, we consider the possibility that the rock art of Gobustan may cover the entire duration of the presence of *Homo sapiens* since his first arrival in the area.

Another element of interest is the sudden appearance of the bow and arrow at a certain phase of the sequence. When did the bow and arrow become a tool of current use in Azerbaijan? As a working hypothesis, we have considered that it may have happened in the Late Pleistocene, 16,000–12,000 years ago. It is legitimate to wonder about the precise dating, but it is not relevant in establishing this sequence of events. The bow and arrow came into use shortly before or

along with the change of fauna represented in the rock art, when antelopes and wild goats outnumbered the traditional depictions of bovines and horses.

### Change in the dominant theme: from human to animal

The stratigraphy of rock art phases indicates a surprising fact: the intercalation of horizons dominated by anthropomorphic figures and others dominated by animal figures. The dominant theme changes and then, in a successive phase, it comes back. For analytical reasons, we have named the succession of phases with anthropomorphic dominant images as Horizon I and the succession of phases with animal dominant images as Horizon II.

Animal figures of large dimensions, some over 2 m long, engraved with contour lines, are the main subject of the sequence of phases of the latter horizon. All of the depicted animals are wild, the dominant species being wild bovines (auroch) and equines (various kinds of wild horses); in the later phases, the fauna sees an increasing number of caprines.

The horizon can be divided into three stylistic groups, each appearing to have one of these three species as dominant.

The average size of the figures is different in each group. Bovines are the majority in the large-sized group, equines in the middle-sized group and caprines in the group with smaller figures. Along with the faunal changes, the figurative approach of the depictions also undergoes modifications of progressive schematization.

The images are traced in a sure and well-shaped contour line. The group of large bovine figures displays naturalistic, sinuous, harmonious outlines. The group with equine dominance is more synthetic, displaying generalized yet harmonious outlines of animals. The group dominated by caprines is far more schematic, forms are



Fig. 6. Kichik Dash, Gobustan. The feminine representations, referred to horizon I/A, are superimposed by a large bovine figure of horizon II. (After Anati, 2001; cf. photo EA 2000 LXXVII-37).



Fig. 7. Büjüük Dash, Gobustan. The large bovines of horizon II/A of Gobustan show similarities with the most ancient Palaeolithic engravings of Foz Côa (Portugal) and Siega Verde (Spain). Such parallels reflect an extraordinary unity of the conceptual and artistic universe of Early Hunter-Gatherers at the opposite end of Europe in the Upper Palaeolithic. (Tracing I.M. Djafarsade in Anati, 2001).

sometimes generalized and less naturalistic (fig. 7).

In the figurative art of hunting populations, the intentional association between two different species of animals is a widespread pattern, likely to reflect totemic practices, as still in use by Central African tribes and by groups of Australian Aborigines. The association of bovine and equine is as frequent here as in the Paleolithic art of western Europe. Here the bovine is the auroch; in the Franco-Cantabrian area the dominant bovine is the bison.

Figures of fish are also frequent and some are of large proportions. One is the image of a large cetacean, over 4 m long (fig. 8). This figure was superimposed by later figures of bovines, belonging to different phases. Much later, two human figures were added, likely in Neolithic times.

Such huge fish, engraved in a rock shelter overlooking the Caspian Sea, may refer to a period during which these animals existed in what today is a large lake with different fauna. The Caspian Sea was then connected to the Black Sea, thus forming a large sea, and such animals could arrive there from the open ocean.

The rock shelter, now located about 150 m above sea level, less than 1 km from the present coast, may have been much nearer to the water at that time.

The early figures are related by a simple syntax of association between two or more static figures. The association had a symbolic or metaphorical concept of its own. The addition of hunting human beings using bow and arrow, depicted in dynamic postures, transforms the simple association into a scene, which implies a different syntax, a different conceptual transfer from the idea to its visual depiction (fig. 9). The addition of human figures of smaller dimensions, using a different engraving technique, indicates a new way of thinking. For societies of hunters the act of engraving is a magic, powerful action involving the soul of the depicted animals or their totemic or metaphorical significance. In several different regions, the association between two animals has a totemic meaning of connection or union between the two animal totems or spirits. Creating a hunting scene of them brings us to a different period and a different way of thinking. The kind of syntax shifts from association to scene. The dominant theme remains the animal. For the Early Hunters the animal figure represents a soul, a complex conceptual concern; for the Late Hunters, it is prey.

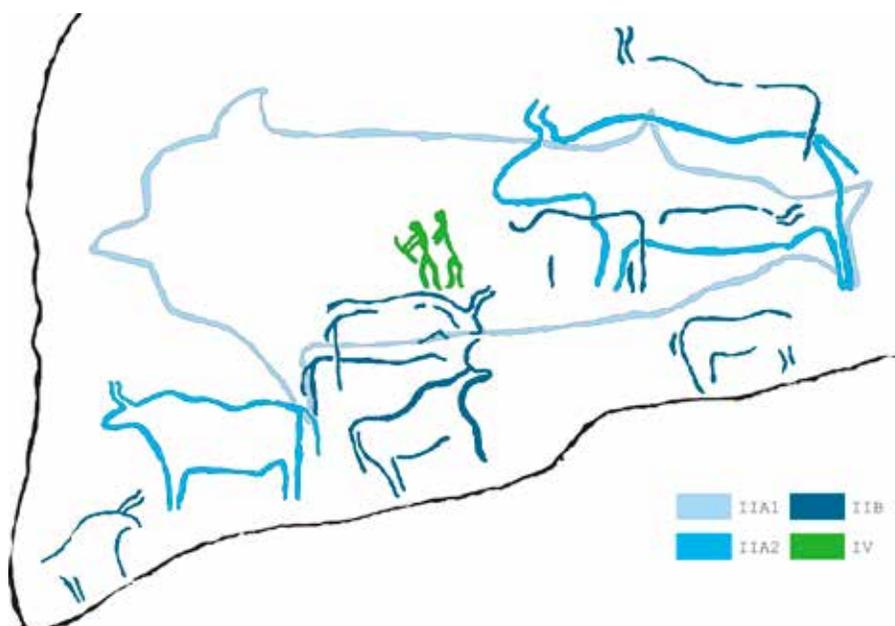


Fig. 8. Kichik Dash, Gobustan. A large figure of a cetacean (length over 4 m) is superimposed by more recent animal figures. Two human figures are still later. A multi-millennial persistence of the use of the same rock surface is marking the succession of ages and cultures. (After Anati, 2001).

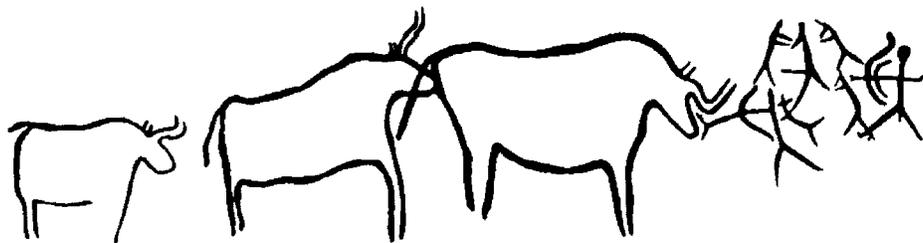


Fig. 9. Three figures of bovids, deeply engraved, executed by arcaic hunters, constitute an associative sequence. On the right, some anthropomorphic images with bow and dog have been added by Late Hunters, with a different style, forming a scene that employ previous figures. Length: 250 cm. (tracing by I.M. Djafarsade after Anati, 1989).

The dominant animal species changes from one phase to the next:

**II/A. The oldest phase** is characterized by large animal figures in an elegant naturalistic style, which is typical of the Early Hunters. The dominant theme is the auroch or wild bovine.

**II/B. More stylized animal figures of large and medium sizes**, engraved with a contour line. The images are characterized by schematization, fewer details and more synthesis. The pairs of legs may appear as a single entity, muzzles are schematized, less sinuous lines and other stylistic characters display a conceptual variation from the previous phase. The dominant theme is the horse (fig. 10).

**II/C** includes several sub-phases. **The dominant**

theme gradually shifts, from bovids and equines, to the wild goat.

The syntax is changing: the scene is replacing the sequence and the conceptual association. The hunter is now facing the prey, pointing the arrow. The engravings tend to further schematization: they are less elegant, sketchier and more superficial than in the previous phases. Both human and animal

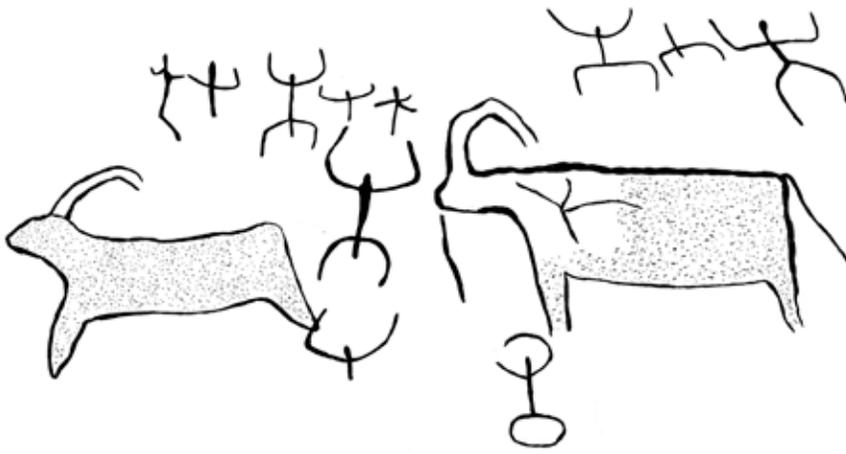
figures are present and interplay in the scenes. Human figures appear in a dynamic, realistic style, in action and in relation to the hunted prey (fig. 11).

The three phases of Horizon II are intercalated by late phases of Horizon I, characterized by anthropomorphic figures. There is an alternation in the dominant theme. If, as it seems, style and subject matter are the expression of a way of thinking and a way of life, such succession must have relevance.

While Horizon II/A illustrates, as mentioned, what may be defined as a fully Paleolithic concept, characterized by metaphorical associations of animals and showing stylistic analogies similar to groups of western Europe, Horizon II/B can be defined as subnaturalistic, with parallels in the Epipaleolithic rock art of Anatolia,



Fig. 10. Bujuk Dash, Gobustan. Rock n. 43. Accumulation of engraved figures (tracing after Djafarsade, 1973).



Figs 10. Dyubandy, Absheron. Shelter on the beach. Figures of caprines surrounded by schematic anthropomorphic figures added in subsequent phases. Likely to indicate the worship of caprines. (tracing by S. Carafa).

central Asia and the Alps in western Europe. While phases II/A–B may be classified as Early Hunter, with a syntax of simple associations, several cases of phase II/C have a syntax of scenes. Such a change in syntax, along with the tendency to schematization and generalization, indicates changes in the way of thinking and, likely, in the socio-economic structure. The three phases of Horizon II illustrate the different cultural and conceptual realities of hunting societies, respectively defined as Early Hunters (II/A), Late Early Hunters (II/B), and two different kinds of syntax groups representing Final Early Hunters and Late Hunters (II/C a, b).

The association between different animal species of phases II/A–B fits a system of metaphorical binary concepts where the main association is that of the auroch and the wild horse. Such associations are characteristic of the art of Early Hunters in Asia, Africa and Europe.

The two-phased images, like hunting scenes reusing previous animal figures, are the expression of a conceptual change: while the previous phases illustrate a universal view and a metaphorical approach, the scene describes specific moments and events and represents a new way of thinking, inherited by the modern world. The presence of scenes implies a new type of logic and mental process.

The fluctuation of horizons between those with prevailing anthropomorphic figures and those characterized by zoomorphic figures raises a major

question about understanding the artists' concerns.

From analyses of other regions where such alternation of prevailing images was recorded, for instance in the rock art of Tanzania, a far-reaching hypothesis has emerged. It appears that these two figurative approaches may reflect two different kinds of diet and economy. The alternation of prevailing zoomorphic and anthropomorphic themes has been studied in central Tanzania, the Tassili and other oases of the Sahara in North Africa, the Kimberley in Western Australia, the Pecos region of Texas and in Mexico, Baja California.

The dominant animal styles appear to be expressions of a society of hunters, while the anthropomorphic styles could be primarily related to an economy mainly based on food-gathering (fig. 12).

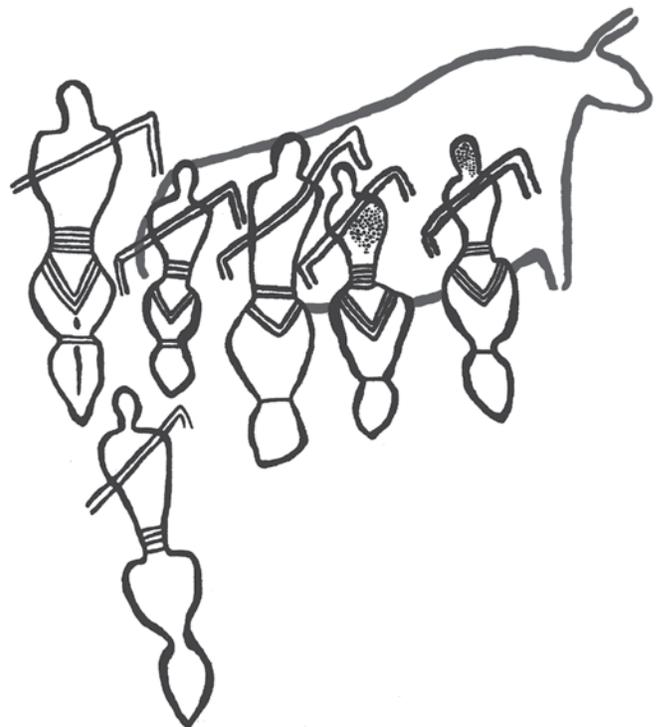


Fig. 12. Bujuk Dash, Gobustan. Tracing of incised anthropomorphs, presumably feminine, holding objects on their shoulders and decorated with motifs which are probably represent attire (I/E). These images are superimposed over a large bovine in a late style of Early Hunters (II/B). The anthropomorph below measures around 120 cm ( tracing adapted after I. M. Djafarsade in Anati, 2001).



Fig. 13. Kichik Dash, Gobustan. Rock n. 15. Figures of ovine attributed to pastoralist groups. The zig-zag motifs inside the bodies and the stylisation of the horns into spiral shapes are propitiatory ideograms commonly found among pastoral populations. The dimension of the tracing is about 150 cm. (Tracing by I. M. Djafarsade in Anati, 2001).

In Horizon III the assemblage represents a new fauna, likely reflecting what happened in nature, the effect of climatic changes or of a new life style or both. First, there are changes in the wild fauna: caprines replace bovines and horses. And next, images of a domestic fauna gradually replace those of the wild fauna: domestic goats, bovines and equines replace the wild ones of the previous phases.

The engraving of an early bovine, over 2 m long and outlined with deeply engraved lines, may have required days to produce. Finishing the engraving of a roughly sketched schematic small animal figure may have required a few minutes (fig.13).

### Conclusions

The succession of phases illustrates changes in the dominant theme. Changes in the animal species may indicate parallel changes in the existing and/or hunted fauna, thus suggesting synchronism with climatic changes. Some glimpses emerge about beliefs, myths and traditions, revealing the intellectual and spiritual life of the rock-art makers.

The long sequences of hunters and gatherers in the rock art of Azerbaijan are followed by a succession of stylistic horizons with different conceptual patterns, from pastoralists and early food-producers to the structured society of the Kurgan people, to the Scythian traders, to classical times, to the Islamic age. The rock art covers a remarkable range of periods and cultures, displaying relevant changes in the dominant theme. Such changes may indicate variations in the

social and economic life and may become a relevant research subject. However, hunting continues to be well represented in the rock art of the Neolithic and Metal Ages and probably remained an important economic resource until historic times. Other activities, like animal-rearing, trade and agricultural complex economy, are added to the records provided by rock art. Erotic scenes and scenes of warfare in historic periods clearly indicate other drastic changes in the rock art themes. In the course of the succession of rock art horizons, new domestic animals appear, like the dog, the sheep and the tamed horse. Detailed descriptions of the typology of rock art in the Neolithic and Metal Ages are described in Anati, 2015. The present article is mainly aimed at considering the changes of the dominant theme in the phases of Hunter-Gatherers and, in particular, the puzzling alternation of humans and animals as dominant themes.

The succession of different dominant themes raises major queries: how is the dominant theme conceived and what is its conceptual background? And what are the causes of change in the dominant theme? Gobustan rock art may help to consider such questions in more general terms.

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## UNDERSTANDING THE ART OF ROCK WRITING

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The art of rock writing is poorly acknowledged and understood by non-native societies. I was taught by my tribal elders and by those of many other tribes that the rock writings are directly linked to the Indian sign language. It was a second language that many tribes used and understood, but now it is not practiced anymore due to the predominance of the English language.

People cannot truly understand a text if they do not understand its authors and their culture. It is important to know that the Indian world view does not separate culture from religion. Each event of everyday life, whether it be hunting, war, harvesting, dancing, etc, is preceded and concluded by prayers and ceremonies, so knowledge of Indian culture and sign language are required in order to understand the signs of rock writing.

### **Indian sign language**

An Indian's second language was the universal Indian sign language, known throughout the Americas. It was the means of communication used by all tribes to converse with the deaf and the neighboring tribes, when trading goods and in times of peace. It is hard for some to believe that an Indian could travel without a horse or wagon. Why would they leave their territory to travel to strange lands that would take many days, weeks or even months to reach? There are numerous stories of runners covering 50–100 miles in one day, so why would there not be runners traveling hundreds of miles to trade their goods in this same way?

The universality of Indian sign language has already been attested by Mallory, when in 1880 he brought seven Ute Indians to the Smithsonian Deaf-mute Institute and it was found out that they could converse with deaf-mutes of European origin. This enlarged its scope far beyond the Americas and demonstrated how early explorers were able to communicate with the first Indians they got in contact with. He also attested its use among desert, woodland, Alaskan and non-

equestrian tribes, including some who his critics said did not use it.

Any picture writing system based on this sign language would therefore have to be similarly universal. If you signed for a deaf Indian child to draw a picture of something he wanted, such as a drink of water, would not that child draw himself drinking with a water sign/symbol? If his name was Bear, he would draw a bear drinking from a stream. Most people find this writing concept hard to believe because they do not understand the Indian mindset. Some people were experts at writing the signs in shorthand because it was the simplest form for chiseling on the rocks, saving both time and energy, while others chose to carve more elaborate full pictures, depending on how great or important the history, legend or topic was. Some panels were harder to read, almost like going from print to cursive, and that is why my father had trouble deciphering some panels, as it was a completely different style of writing.

The term doodling, often applied to this kind of thing, implies that the writings have no meaning and were created by an Indian who had nothing better to do. It seems ethnocentric: since non-native people cannot read them, then they must have no meaning at all. Yet if the sun aligned with their shadows in certain seasons, all of a sudden, the doodling becomes archaeo-astronomy and they can relate to it. But then it is no longer labeled as art. However, even if they cared about sun alignments, there is no attempt to understand the Indian culture at all, because in most cases people think that this information was not useful in their culture.

### **LaVan Martineau**

My Father LaVan Martineau understood the Indian culture and mindset, despite not being one of them. His European ancestry would never have broken the code of picture writing if he had not grown up as an Indian. He was raised by a Paiute Indian named Edrick Bushhead, who had one arm and lived in a sheep wagon. LaVan's father died when he was a young boy, and Edrick came to him and said: "If your relatives don't want you, I will take you in and you will be my son." Edrick Bushhead was a relative of my mother's and my father met her through him. LaVan learned to speak their language, lived the culture and learned

from the elders, who treated him as their own: Indians do not allow a child to be called an orphan. He lived among the many who still used sign language; some of his acquaintances could still read the signs written on many rocks throughout southern Utah, which he came to know like his backyard.

His curiosity about what was written on the rocks soon became a passion, and deciphering them became his life mission. From the 1950s he spent the remainder of his life hiking, recording data and talking with the many tribes he visited in the United States, Canada and Mexico, asking if they could still read the petroglyphs. I could never understand how he could sit every night at his desk and stare at a picture of a petroglyph for hours, but that was one of the many ways his devotion to deciphering this writing system manifested itself. My sisters and I would have to hike with him on his many travels to sites: we were either taking pictures, writing down the information in his log book, or scouting the terrain for more petroglyphs. This was our nomadic life: during the summer months we travelled to various locations throughout the states and during the winter months in Arizona, recording as many sites as we could. I have never counted all the photos and site maps, but there must be at least several thousands of them.

In 1973 my father wrote a book, *Rocks Begin to Speak*, which was designed for the average reader: he did not get to the technical comprehensive version he wanted to publish one day. He did not seek out a publisher for his first book, but a publisher came to him. However, he felt that his book was not ready for publication without more groundwork. It took him 17 years of studying to compile what he had back in the 1970s to publish his first book, and it took him another 27 years to compile what I have in my possession today, which he stated was about 75% deciphered.

He always said he was still not ready to publish a complete technical dictionary and never mentioned to me his intentions of turning the materials he had compiled into a dictionary.

When my father died in 2000, I placed all his material in a storage facility that was not climate-controlled and the summer heat, an average of 105 degrees Fahrenheit outside, did not help in the preservation. I felt guilty: I was letting my father's work of a lifetime gather dust. About seven years later, I went through his work and

found the dictionary in several different binders and I thought what a task it would be to retype all those pages and scan his sketches into a digital format. I then put all those valuable photos and original text into a safer environment and boxed them accordingly. Another ten years later, when I got off the Tribal Council, I finally decided to dust off his archives and devote my life, just as my father had done, to educating the world on the true meaning of the Indian writing system and to preserving his work and archives.

During those 18 years since his passing, I received many calls, asking if I could come and speak about my father's work on his behalf. The first time I spoke about this field of work I didn't know what I was going to say, but when I stood there for the first time it all came back to me: what I had learned from my father and the elders throughout my growing years. I always said I never listened to anything about sign language or the rock writings, that it went in one ear and out the other, but here it was, coming out of some dusty files in my head that I never knew I had.

My father was a very dedicated man when it came to the Indian people. They did not care if the white men knew about their written language or not. In their eyes, the less they knew about the Indians, the better. But my father had a different opinion. He thought that all the books written on the rocks would be forever forgotten, unless he made the public aware of their decipherment process. He hoped that one day someone would take over what he had started and make it common knowledge. He had to endure hate mail, people yelling into his face and asking him to leave a meeting if he wanted to hear what they had to say about this kind of rock art. He was not educated in a modern social sense: he did not have a college degree in Native American studies, but he had lived his entire life among the real Indians, he did not simply learn the language from the bones found in the ground.

All this harassing and criticism never broke his spirit, because he believed in what he was taught and in the countless studies he conducted for over 43 years of decipherment, using the science of crypto-analysis which has been proven time and time again. As my father once said: "It doesn't take extensive examples to convince the open minded, but a thousand examples will never convince those with closed minds."

I am a Southern Paiute Indian and proud of it, but

this does not define my entire identity: my mother was a full-blooded Indian, yes, but my father was of European descent and thus I cannot choose which side of a culture or race I shall live in. My skin color, my eyes and hair are dark, therefore society tells me that I can only be Indian. I do not fear going through what my father went through, all the negative comments or taunts, because certain people will never admit that the “savage” Indian had a written language. They can put me down because I do not have a degree in Native American studies, because I am “uneducated” in their eyes. But, since birth, I have lived in this culture and I was taught everything I know today about my people.

I will stand proud and speak for the past generations who can no longer speak and educate those who do not come from the Indian country on how intelligent my people were, on how they left so many libraries that are still on the stones, having endured through countless generations and kept the record of our history, traditions and way of life. My father opened the door for me and I will gladly step in and carry on his legacy of educating those who do not understand the art of our written language.

What I will be presenting in the following illustrations is a small sample of my father’s interpretations and some of the future publications of his work.

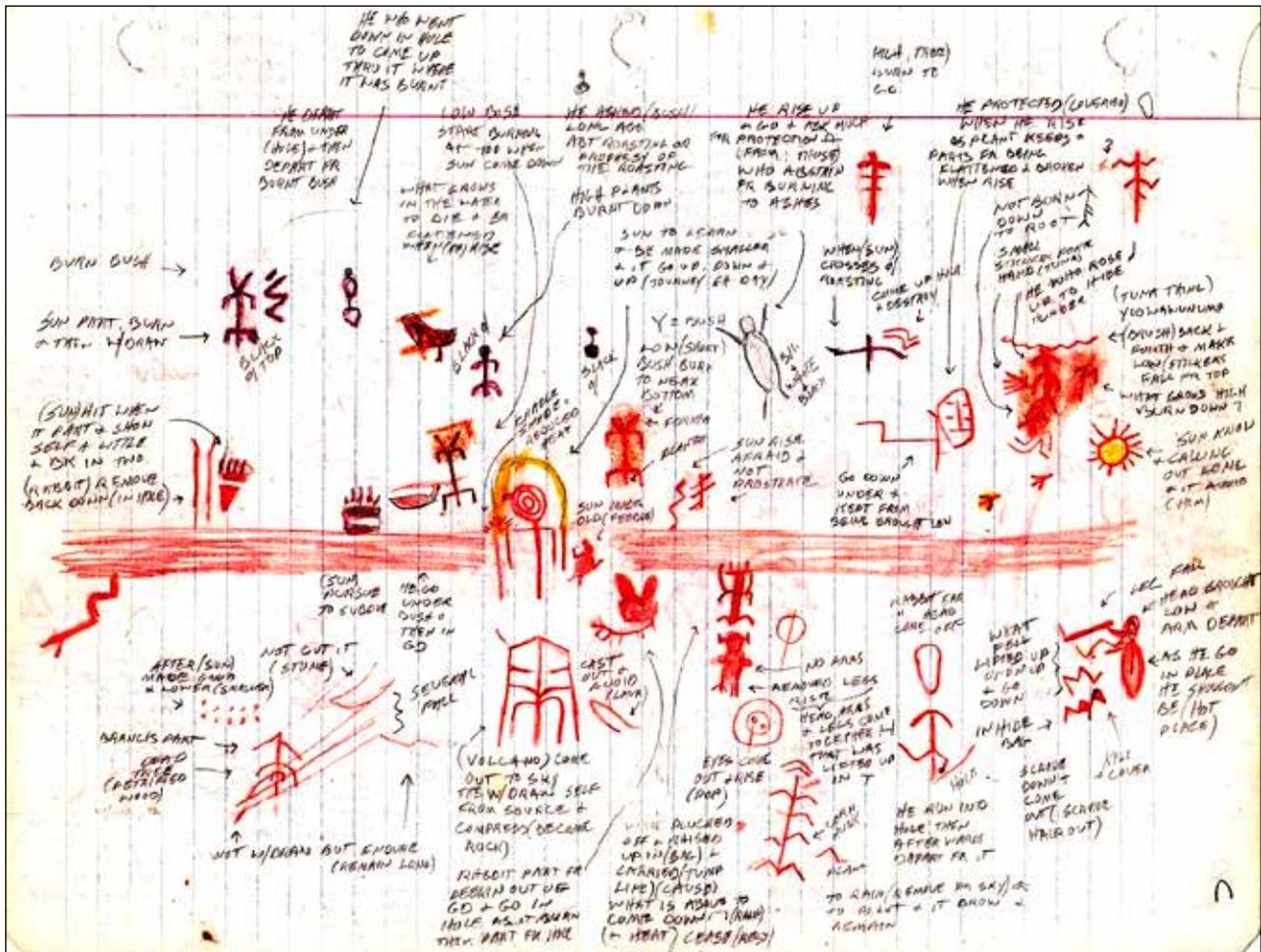


Fig. 1. Paiute legend on “How Cottontail Punished Nature.” This panel is a small part of a longer panel painted in an overhang, telling a legend which is still told to this day. The Paiute youths are brought to this location and told the story, to show them how legends were preserved on stone. Legends could only be told during the winter months.

### SYMBOL CHART

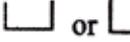
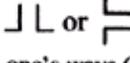
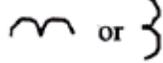
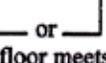
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1.  To go down into, to plant.</p> <p>2.  To poke up out, coming up out, to grow, birth.</p> <p>3.  To depart (leg &amp; foot).</p> <p>4.  To rise (upraised arms).</p> <p>5.  To go down, die (horizontal leg with foot pointing down).</p> <p>6.  To rise overhead (upside down leg with foot pointing to left).</p> <p>7.  To rise to the top.</p> <p>8.  To withdraw, back away (arm &amp; bent hand).</p> <p>9.  High (top corner of anything).</p> <p>10.  To remove, wipe away.</p> <p>11.  To go down, descend (toe pointing downward).</p> <p>12.  To be or come close (arm &amp; hand bent towards body).</p> <p>13.  To be narrow, passing through a canyon.</p> <p>14.  Passing through a long narrow place.</p> <p>15.  To depart, to go astray.</p> <p>16.  To separate, divide.</p> | <p>17.  To bind, bound, held prisoner, trade (crossed wrists).</p> <p>18.  To hold in one place, to hold back.</p> <p>19.  A basin, river, lake.</p> <p>20.  To return or retreat, to change one's ways (feet going in opposite directions).</p> <p>21.  To separate.</p> <p>22.  To be long, a long ways, a long time.</p> <p>23.  Negation, no, to reject (an arm pushing away or refusing).</p> <p>24.  A cavity, hole (the cavity of eye).</p> <p>25.  To get ahead or above someone, to conquer.</p> <p>26.  A transition (passage) from one place, state, stage, or type to another, to cross over, overrun, conquer.</p> <p>27.  To rise up.</p> <p>28.  To descend, to go down.</p> <p>29.  To remove from within, to come out, a hollow place, nothing in it.</p> <p>30.  To come up out, to grow, to sprout.</p> <p>31.  To be down low, low (where a floor meets a wall).</p> |
|---|--|

Fig. 2. Symbol chart interpretations by LaVan Martineau.

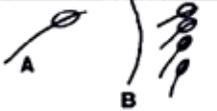
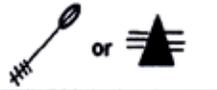
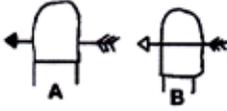
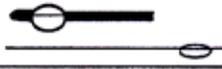
Weapons					
Panel #	Symbol	Sign Language Definition	Definition	Location-site	H #
1.			A. Arrows cannot penetrate. B. Bouncing off (many arrows).		
2.			To prostrate (knock down) with arrows run.	Texas	
3.			H5462 Surrendering delivering up, giving over handing over your weapons.		5462
4. P627			H3772 Cut off, destroy, knife, sword, to cut off, punish, give judgement, justice. H914 divide. H2351 Sevier, (separate by wall).		3772 914 2351
5.			A. Escaped from captivity. B. Guarded and unable to escape. Missed and hot behind him, hit in front of him.		
6.			Throwing spear at a protruding target.		
7.			An idle atlatl. Not hunting.		
8.			Arrow falling (hitting good).	Rush Lake	
9.			Many arrows flying fast.		
10.			A. quiver full of arrows. B. A quiver stuffed full of arrows, many arrows.		

Fig. 3. Illustration of the symbol dictionary that is in the editing process for future publication, from the LaVan Martineau archives. This sample is an excerpt from the chapter about weapons.

11.			War club. B. Stone hammer, hammer, stone roaring rapir. Lyon Point.	Rush Lake Lyons Point	
12. #3243			Four arrow flights in distance.		
13.			Hit a protected target.		
14.			Killing the evil spirit.		
15.			Making arrowheads, arrowhead quarry.		
16.			Shoot a bow. Threatening to shoot someone at point indicated by arrow.		
17. #1820			Shot twice.		
18. P2487E			Afflicted by an arrowhead (in body) a long time.		
19.			Spearing, jabbing with a spear.		
20.			Throwing a spear at a protruding target.		
21.			Shot dead while running. Shot while getting up.		
22.			Hit while running. Hit but ran away, dragging self away.		

Fig. 4. Illustration from the chapter about weapons.

## **WE, THE DEER!?** **ASSESSING A NONLINEAR VISUAL SYSTEM IN THE** **TAGUS BASIN, PORTUGAL**

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### **Initial considerations**

When discussing the dominant theme in a large major rock art complex, such as the one from the Tagus basin, in Portugal and Spain, one is confronted with many difficulties. First, there is a need to establish a refined chronology of the artistic periods, i.e., to which period certain themes belong to, and whether they remained operational after their initial carving, the site itself being a palimpsest compressing several millennia of non-continuous reuse of rock surfaces. Second, it is necessary to ascertain the geographic distribution of the complex within each of the identified moments, i.e., to understand the boundaries of the visual system at each moment, in order to understand what was the perceived “canvas” for the artistic elements. Third, another difficulty is to assess which visual elements should be included in the interpretation of the system, namely which non-artefactual elements (e.g. landscape features, such as meanders or mountains) might be relevant in the visual system.

The awareness of these difficulties often leads scholars to give up interpreting the rock art complexes, arguing that in absence of written or oral narratives, and given the potentially transformative nature of the meanings of any visual system, any attempt to decode them is condemned to over-speculation. While it is necessary to be aware that the major danger is to impose one’s own preconceptions on to archaeological evidence (expressions like “sacred valley”, “prehistoric religion” or even “rock art” were born from such an approach, even if the concepts evolved and no longer reflect such naivety), several authors tried to design rigorous

descriptive methods, allowing for a structural reading of the rock art complexes (e.g. Leroi-Gourhan, 1964; Anati, 2002). The authors agree that once a rock art complex is identified it operates as a system, i.e., its different components are interdependent and the visual system is coherent with other subsystems. However, these are living nonlinear systems, since modifications in their significance are not proportional to changes in their components: quantity and quality are not directly related.

Style is a clear indicator of this nonlinear dimension. The definition of style in prehistoric art, as in all other periods of art history, is often neglected but remains a fundamental element of analysis (Anati, 2017). Stylistic analyses, figurative stratigraphy and stylistic comparisons are still important methodological components of rock art analysis, especially in the absence of direct dating methods, but also when these are available.

### **Materials and methods**

The rock art complex of the Tagus valley was identified in the 1970s, following the construction of a dam and the announcement of the submersion of a large area of the valley by the water reservoir. A team of archaeologists recognized several clusters of art, and identified them as a single complex (Serrão et al., 1972a, 1972b): they produced latex casts of a large number of these, this being the bulk of the available material evidence, apart from few sites still visible in the areas of Ocreza (Mação), Fratel (V.V. Ródão) and São Simão (Nisa); the last two sites are nowadays recurrently flooded.

For the sake of the definition of the spatial distribution of the evidence, the research used the following criteria to identify motifs, scenes, panels and clusters. According to the IFRAO Glossary, a motif is considered to be an anthropic mark or connected arrangement of marks on rock, perceived by contemporary humans as forming a single design; a scene is a presumed depiction of a real or imagined episode involving more than one rock art motif; a panel is a group of rock art motifs occurring in very close proximity on a rock surface of reasonably uniform orientation; and a cluster is a configuration of elements gathered or occurring closely together.

Once the whole ensemble was recognized as a

complex, non-metric criteria were used, privileging the convergence of three elements: the stylistic similarities (artistic morphologies), the similar topographic locations (geomorphology) and the homogeneity of the remaining contextual archaeological evidence (burial and settlement sites).

For the sake of the definition of the time span of the artistic complex, several methods were used: stylistic analyses, figurative stratigraphy and stylistic comparisons, which permitted the identification of three main chronological periods. The Instituto Terra e Memória undertook a systematic work of tracing all the latex casts and the still reachable sites, building for the first time a comprehensive, systematic corpus of all the sites in the complex (Garcês, 2017). A total of around 7,000 motifs was traced and integrated in a database.

Several techniques were used following a rigorous and well-applied methodology. The method of using plastic sheets to record engravings was applied, with some modifications, to register the latex molds. The plastic sheets had a standard size (84 x 59 cm) and they were arranged on top of the latex molds in a strict sequence (left to right; top to bottom) and following rules that were defined by the team. After turning all the plastic sheets into a digital format, it was necessary to reconstitute the rock designs using an image editing program. Each mold also had a record of its characteristics as well as a description of its state of conservation on a formatted follow-up paper sheet. The *in-situ* tracings of engravings followed the same methodology and the same protocol of work that were used in the molds. All molds were professionally photographed and used as a complementary element in their tracing.

### **The Tagus rock art complex: deer in motion**

In the Tagus Valley rock art complex, central Portugal, stylistic analyses, figurative stratigraphy and stylistic comparisons allowed researchers to identify three main chronological periods: figurative Paleolithic rock art; pre-schematic Holocene pre-Neolithic Late Hunters' rock art; and schematic Neolithic/Chalcolithic/Bronze Age rock art (Garcês, 2017).

The rock complex of the Tagus Valley is composed of twelve rock art sites along 120 km. It is located along the first section of the river Tagus in Portuguese

territory, between the mouth of the Ocreza river and the right bank of the Erges river, both tributaries of the Tagus river. Some carvings still occur on the left bank of the Erges river, in Spain, and the whole carvings complex should not be disconnected from the schematic paintings identified in the quartzite ridges that cut across the valley.

Since Paleolithic art is only clearly represented by a single figure, a small acephalous horse in the Ocreza tributary river, from the beginning of the Holocene we may recognize the construction of a coherent visual system of a figurative landscape, along the Tagus valley and its tributaries.

The overwhelming majority of the 7,000 engravings of the complex are to be considered schematic rock art, since they include thousands of circles, concentric circles, spirals, lines, dots, figures of suns, etc. However, it is in the second chronological period that a first relevant dominant theme can be recognized.

From the stratigraphic recording of Tagus rock art engravings, this style precedes references to an agropastoral economy, with a very clear repertoire of zoomorphic figures, among which the deer clearly stand out.

During the Ruptejo project, during which the engraved figures of the Tagus valley were recorded (Oosterbeek et al., 2012), researchers realized that between the end of the Upper Paleolithic period and the beginning of the Neolithic period there was, in fact, a set of stylistically different figures, already pointed out by other authors (Gomes and Cardoso, 1989; Gomes, 2010), but which predominantly represented this wild species.

The Mesolithic/pre-schematic figures did not look like the usual art by the Early Hunters (Paleolithic style): the depictions of animal figures did not fit into the naturalism of Paleolithic art, nor the schematic art that arises in the Iberian Peninsula during the early Neolithic (Beltrán, 1989; Collado Giraldo, 2004, 2006; Bueno Ramirez et al., 2009). They also differ from deer representations in later periods (Santos Estévez, 2004; Costas Goberna and Novoa Álvarez, 2004; Silva and Alves, 2005; Alves, 2013), their closest parallels being in the Guadiana valley rock art complex, some 100 km to the east. Despite the lack of naturalism, this being a typical feature of Paleolithic art, this style still reflected the Hunter-Gatherers'

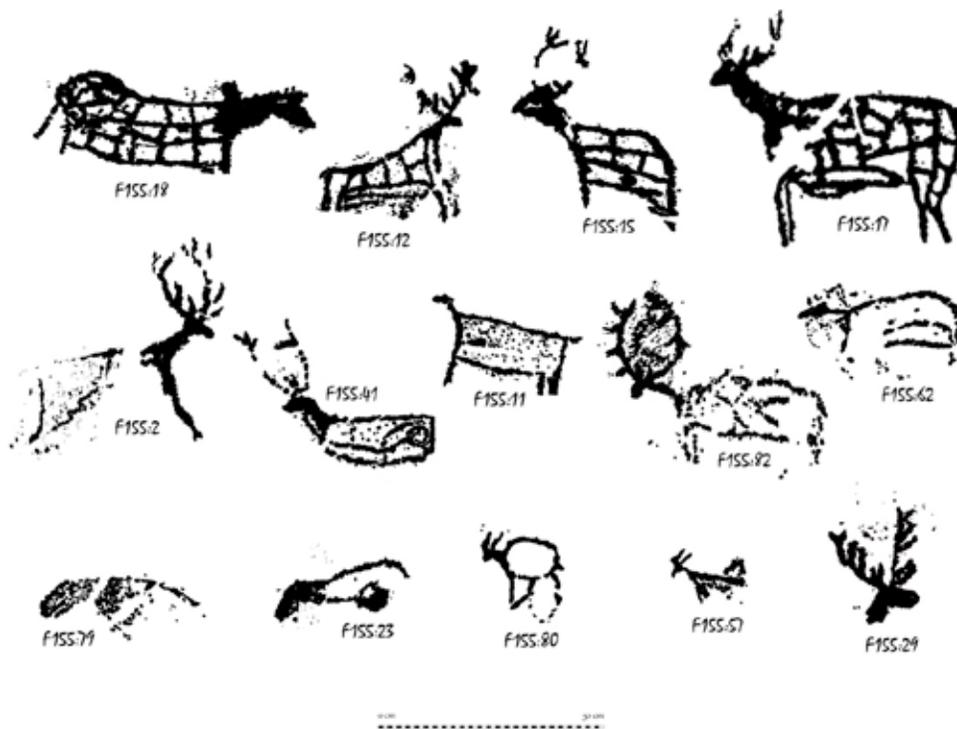


Fig. 1. Representation of the Mesolithic/pre-schematic animals of Fratel site, rock no. 155. The graphic scale represented is 50 cm. © Sara Garcès, 2017.

realistic outlook and concern for animals, and the stratigraphic superimpositions clearly indicate that they are likely to be earlier than the first examples of rock art by farmers and shepherds (Neolithic period) of the Iberian Peninsula.

Even if the literature on the subject does not systematically value a Mesolithic art phase, several authors recognized a specific figurative style, which was considered post-Paleolithic and likely preceding the beginning of the Neolithic (Beltrán, 1989; Guy, 2003; Roussot *apud* Bueno Ramirez, Balbín Behrmann and Alcolea González, 2009; Collado, 2004, 2006; Collado and García, 2009, 2012). Such a hypothesis for the Tagus valley was first raised by Anati (1975).

The deer theme, evidenced in both style and motifs, is characterized by impressive groups of cervids, distributed in seven of the twelve rock art sites: there are a total of 96 cervid figures scattered on 60 rocks, accounting for 29.9% of all the fauna recorded in all stages of the rock art of the Tagus valley. While the deer theme clearly dominates the pre-schematic phase (79 representations, i.e., over 53% of all motifs), it is still present in the schematic phase (nine representations,

but still 7.38% of the total).

Table 1. Quantity and percentages of the pre-schematic and schematic fauna in the Tagus valley, emphasizing the percentage that cervids occupy in the statistics.

Fauna typology	Pre-schematic	%	Schematic art	%
Bovine	5	3.38	1	0.67
Birds	1	0.68	4	2.68
Sheep	17	11.49	3	2.01
Horse	4	2.70	3	2.01
Snake shape	0	0.00	100	67.11
<b>Buck</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4.73</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1.34</b>
Boar	1	0.68	0	0.00
?Dog/Wolf	4	2.70	0	0.00
Non-identified species	27	18.24	21	14.09
?Reptile	1	0.68	1	0.67
?Bear	0	0.00	2	1.34
Lagomorph	2	1.35	0	0.00
<b>Deer</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>53.38</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6.04</b>
Comb shape	0	0.00	3	2.01
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>100.00</b>

The dominance of the deer theme is not only statistical. The distribution of the cervid figures is fairly regular in places such as São Simão, Alagadouro, Cachão do Algarve and Chão da Velha, but there is a strong presence of cervids mainly in the site of Fratel. Although not present in all the clusters, this distribution evidences a simultaneous occupation of the fords in the middle Tagus, suggesting that the boundaries of the complex were defined at this earlier stage.

It has been possible to identify the species and sex of the depictions. These identifications were based on three criteria: the physiognomy represented (in the case of the representation of the females, “males and females” stems),

the dynamics between larger figures and smaller figures (to identify females with offspring) and the ethology of the animals, that is, a combination of the latter criterion together with the knowledge about the behavior of cervids. For instance, in rock OCR13 it was possible to identify a harem of females (it is typical behavior of females to join in groups with the offspring, without any male being part of the group). Males are the easiest to identify: the representation of the antlers is the most obvious and the easiest way to identify the male, hence we do not believe that there can be representations of males without antlers, since the antlers are the strongest criterion of presenting the sex of a deer.

All the deer species known in the archaeological

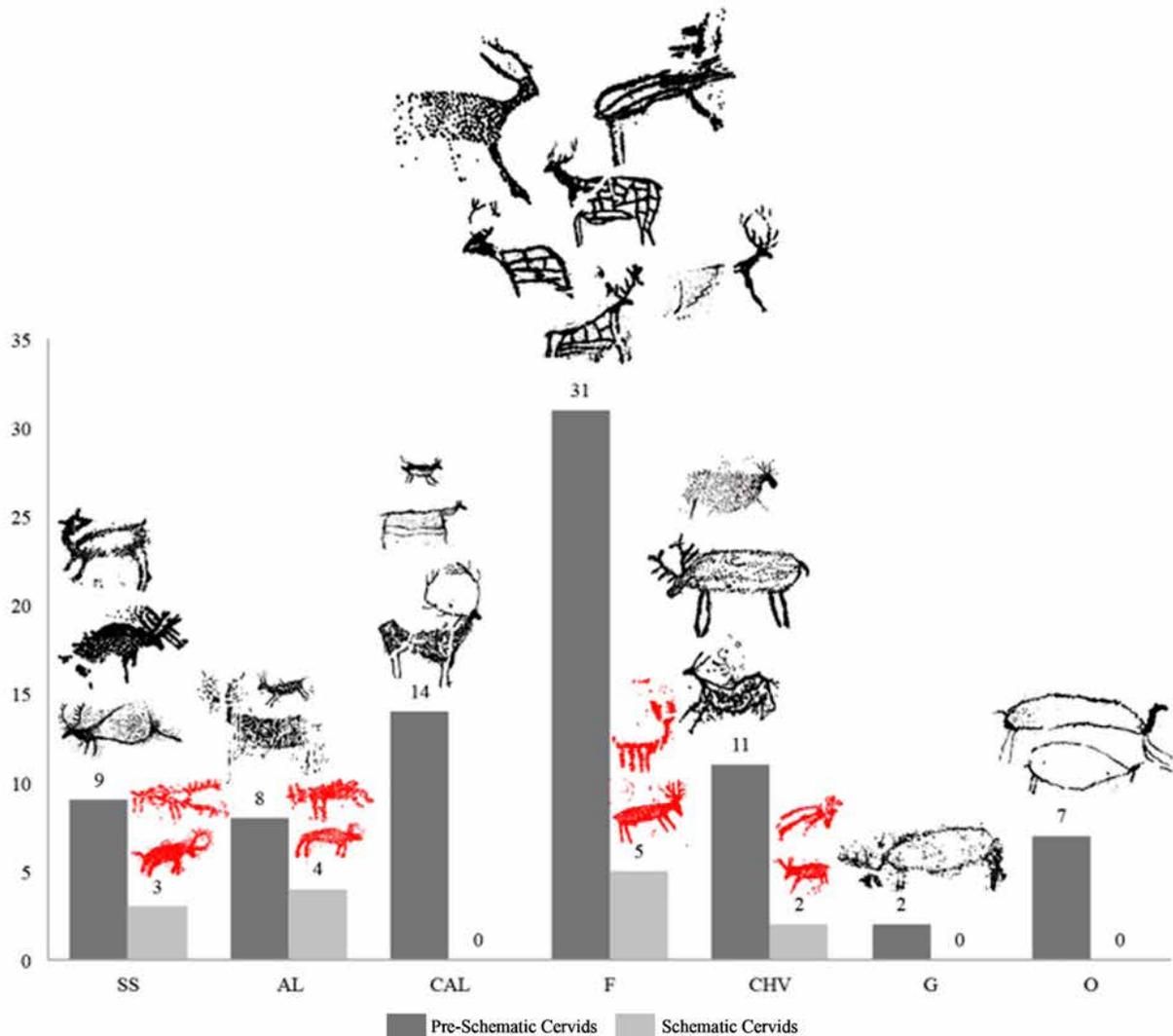


Fig. 2. Distribution of pre-schematic deer (in black) and schematic (in red) by the seven sites of the Tagus valley: São Simão (SS); Alagadouro (AL); Cachão do Algarve (CAL); Fratel (F); Chão da Velha (CHV); Gardete (G); Ocreza (O). © Sara Garcês, 2017.

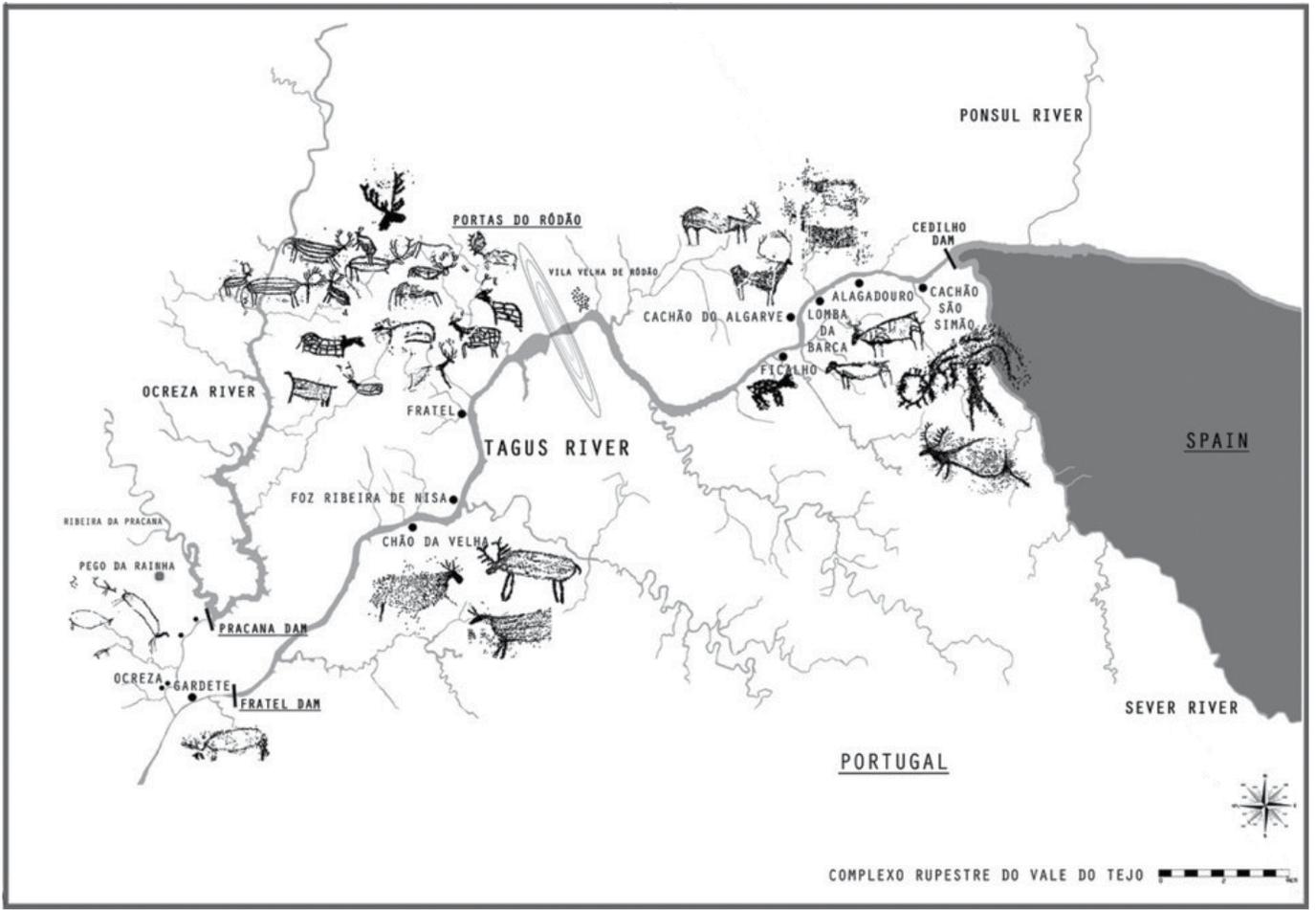


Fig. 3a, b. Distribution of cervid figures among the rock art sites in the Tagus valley. © Sara Garcês, 2017.

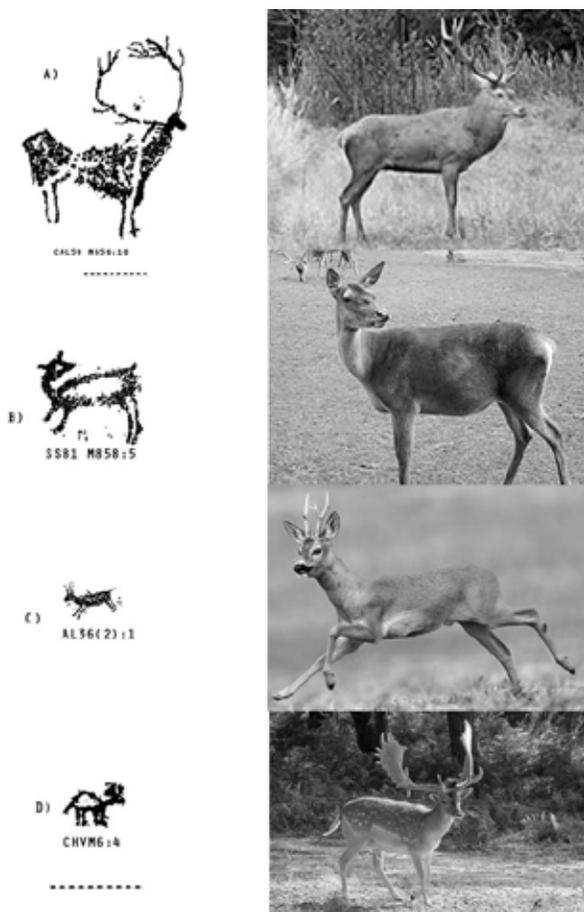


Fig. 4. Example of the difference between species and sex of cervids from the Tagus valley rock complex: A) Male red deer (*Cervus elaphus*); B) Female red deer (*Cervus elaphus*); C) Roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*); D) Possible fawn deer? (*Dama dama*).

records are depicted: red deer (predominant), roe deer (strongly present) and possibly fawn deer, too.

The scenes revolve around two sets of subthemes: behavior scenes (portraying observations of deer behavior) and hunting scenes (portraying man–deer interaction).

Behavior observation scenes include depictions of solitary males, confronting males, pairs or groups of males and groups of females with their offspring.

Hunting scenes include two types of evidence: actual depictions of spears piercing deer and “symbolic” hunting. Among the four animals represented with spears stuck in their back, three are deer figures. While these scenes do not depict any human figure, their presence is assumed through the evidence of the spear, suggesting a depiction of hunting at a distance. In this sense, these scenes still fall within the category of observation, like behavior depictions.

A different type of symbolic hunting is depicted on just one occasion, the representation of a human figure carrying a dead deer on his shoulders. This depiction is extremely realistic: the drooping head and limbs of the cervid clearly show that it is a carcass and not a living animal. However, it is an unlikely scene: given the weight of a large dead male deer, it would be hard for a single man to carry it by himself. Although we may include this in the subtheme of hunting



Fig. 5. Representation of deer struck by spear spikes.

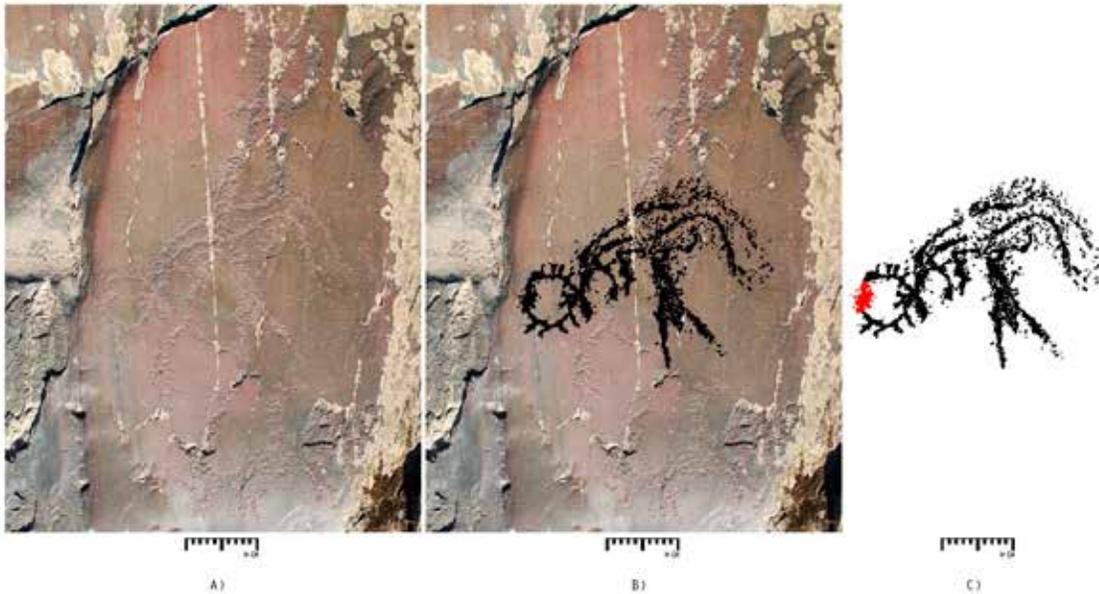


Fig. 6. Rock 158 of São Simão rock art site: Human figure carrying a dead deer on his shoulders.

scenes, it is not a mere observation category, since it evidences an exceptional, possibly supernatural, dimension. Carrying the deer represents the ultimate triumph over the Cervidae: it is a representation of power, strength, exaltation and efficacy. But the way it is portrayed suggests a further dimension, possibly related to a symbiotic relationship between man and deer, which we will go back to below.

The incorporation of human figures in direct association with animal figures seems to have been rare in Tagus rock art and it probably happened in the transition period leading to the dawn of agro-pastoralism, when the human figure becomes the dominant theme of rock art. One interesting element that confirms this hypothesis is the fact that, in a subsequent moment after the original representation, a line of new carvings unites the dead stag's stems in order to represent the sun, an important theme of Neolithic art, also recognized in pottery decorations. Moreover, other similar anthropomorphic figures were identified no longer carrying a deer, but the sun itself.

### Understanding the dominant theme

Although hunting and getting food may seem to be the main concern of the artists, pre-schematic representations actually suggest much more than that. The importance of focusing only on the representation of

behavior of deer and no other animals shows a concern that goes beyond simple economy.

At the beginning of the Holocene, the main species identified in the archeological contexts of central Portugal are deer, buck, wild boar, mountain goats, aurochs and horses, indicative of a temperate climate (Brugal and Valente, 2007: 19). The Pleistocene/Holocene transition also corresponds to a period of change in human behavior. Over 250 archaeological sites dating from the beginning of the Holocene are now known between the areas of Extremadura and Alentejo and the collected data suggest a highly diverse pattern of site types and locations, chronologies, technology and subsistence models (Araújo, 2009; Araújo and Almeida, 2006;

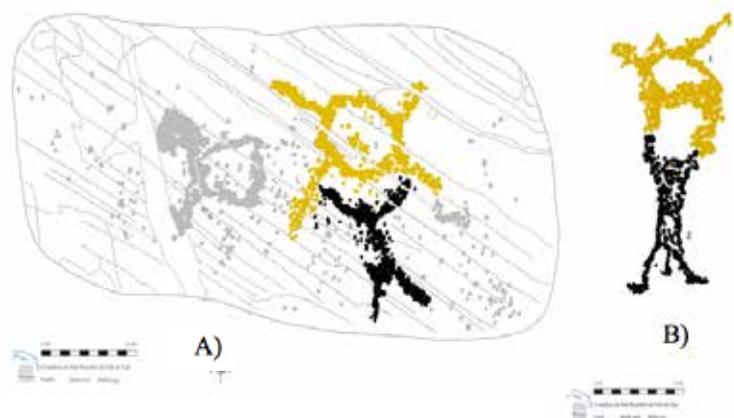


Fig. 7. Anthropomorphs carrying sun-shaped figures. A) Rock FIC 12(1) M1554; B) Rock F126A M372.

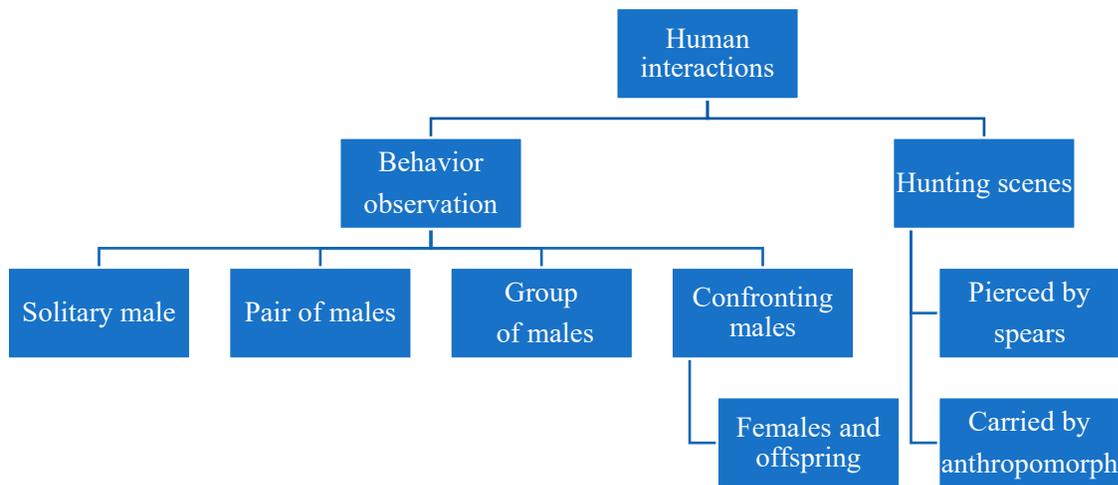


Fig. 8. The variations of the dominant theme.

Carvalho, 2007; Valente, 2008; Bicho et al., 2010). Recently, it was observed that in the Mesolithic rock art of central Portugal the representation of certain *taxa* (bovines, deer, wild boar) show decreases in their size. While the natural size of these species seems to have increased only during the Chalcolithic period, the explanation that some authors (Davis and Detry, 2013) offer for this phenomenon converges with the interpretation that indeed deer would play an important role in the transition stage of the last Hunter-Gatherer communities of central Portugal. According to these authors, prior to the introduction of domesticated animals, deer, wild boar, bovines, wild goats and horses were the main source of meat in Portugal. The period prior to the transition from hunting to domestication was characterized by a more pronounced pressure on natural resources. The hypothesis under discussion is the possibility that excessive hunting caused a decrease in the size of bovines, deer and wild boar. However, it is hard to see how this could have happened. The subsequent return to a normal size in the Chalcolithic (that perhaps had already occurred in the Neolithic period) may have been a consequence of a decrease in the hunting pressure exerted on these animals, since people had access to domesticated animals that provided much of the meat they needed (Davis and Detry, 2013). The faunistic data of the archaeological contexts of central Portugal, with chronologies from the Early Neolithic, seem to corroborate this hypothesis (Almeida, 2017). Although several wild species contributed to the diet

of human groups, the Cervidae were unequivocally the most important zoomorphic representation of the Tagus rock art complex, since first, from the beginning of the second phase of recording, the pre-schematic, this figure is the most used to delimit the figurative territory of the entire complex; second, because even in later periods, when the figurative set consisted essentially of geometric and abstract figures, there is an entire set of depictions of the deer. Most of these were already there when the schematic style of rock art began in the first agro-pastoral communities of the Tagus valley; this new set of representations enveloped, surrounded or superimposed new symbols and meanings on the zoomorphic figures of earlier times, or simply spatially respected them by not even touching these engravings. A question arises whether the importance and the significant role of the deer within the last Hunter-Gatherer communities continued to be preponderant in the first agro-pastoral communities. We consider that although its economic role declined, the deer kept a symbolic status, thus continuing to be depicted in the Tagus valley during the schematic phase, albeit in much smaller numbers.

M. Eliade (1999) argues:

the symbolisms and cults of the Mother Earth, of human and agrarian fecundity, of the sacredness of women (*evidenced in the solar eyes that will dominate portable art and ceramics in later Neolithic contexts*), etc., could not develop and constitute a religious system widely articulated before the dawn of agriculture; it is equally evident that a pre-agricultural society, specialized in hunting, would have different systems of belief as those of a farming society. However, the survival of deer

representations into the schematic-agro-pastoral phases suggests that, although the dominant theme changes (from deer into the human figure and geometric motives), the motifs remain and participate to a transformative process of replacement, through which the deer, originally captured as a main element of the zoonosis, becomes the Sun, itself becoming part of the new anthropocentric cosmovision.”

This transformation is made possible due to the symbiotic relation between humans and cervids. Within such a context of transformation, the dominant theme is not so much the deer itself, but the human–deer interactions, first as distance observation of deer behavior, then as hunting observation, and finally as symbolic empowerment of anthropomorphic representations over transformed deer solar symbols.

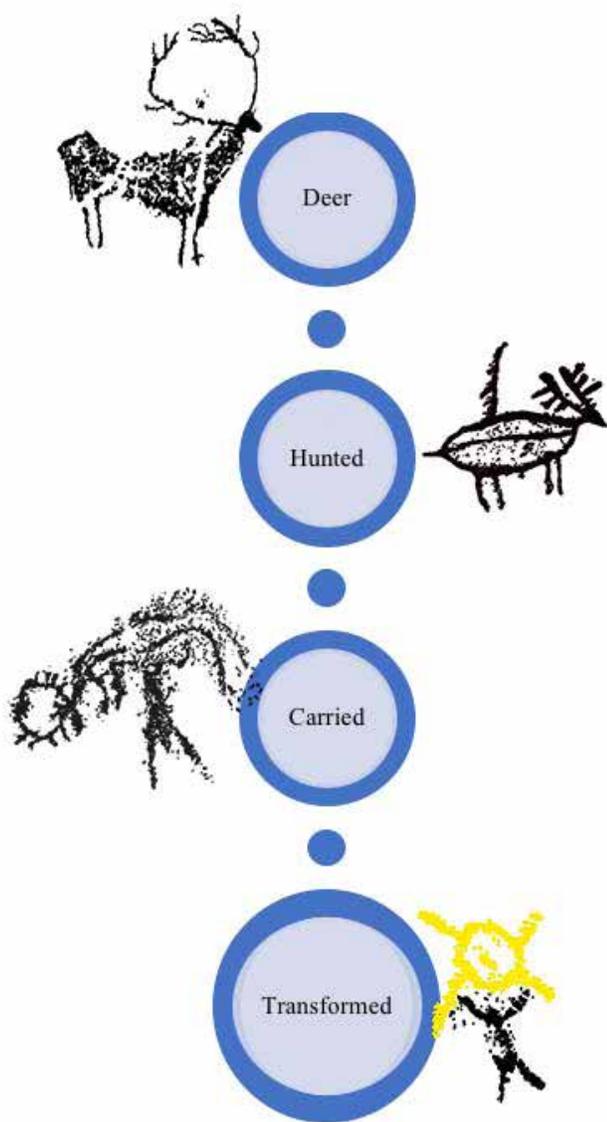


Fig. 9. Stages of the transformation of the deer.

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# THE DOMINANT MORPHOLOGICAL ROCK ART THEME IN 47 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN THE NATIONAL PARK OF THE SERRA DA CAPIVARA, PIAUÍ, BRAZIL: A CASE STUDY

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Federal University of Sergipe, Brasil

## Introduction

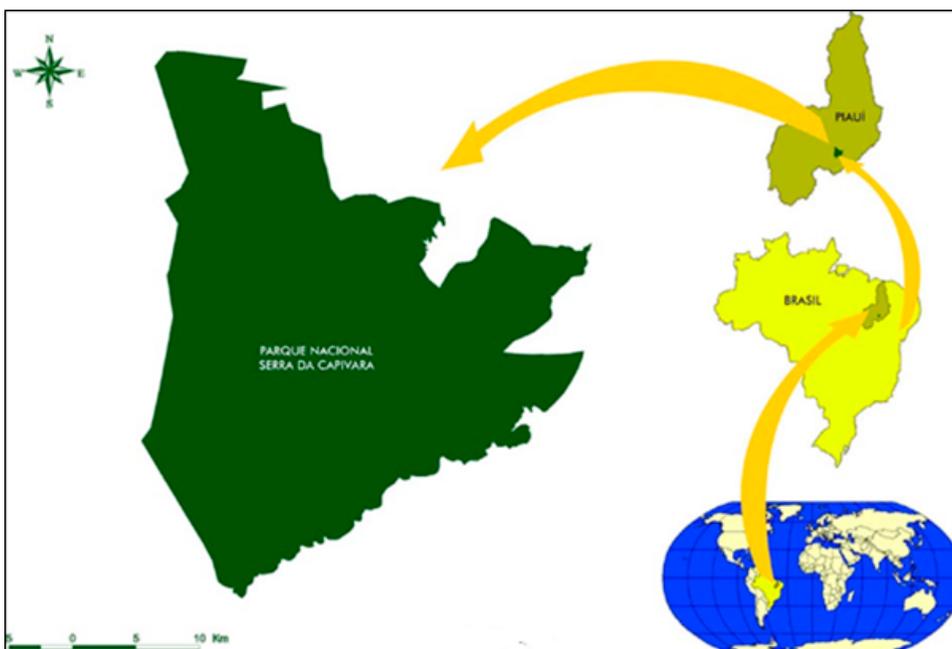
This article considers the dominant morphological theme in the rock art of 47 archaeological sites in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara (Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara, or PNSC), in order to perform a survey among the morphologies of the depictions of these sites, through a comparative and quantitative analysis. The National Park of the Serra da Capivara<sup>1</sup> is delimited by the municipalities of João Costa, Coronel José Dias,

São Raimundo Nonato and Brejo do Piauí, in the southeast region of the Brazilian state of Piauí, covering an area of almost 130,000 hectares with a perimeter of 214 km<sup>2</sup>. It was created in 1979, during the presidency of João Baptista Figueiredo (Araújo et al., 1998).

The PNSC was created to protect the archaeological, paleontological and environmental heritage of the region, in order to contribute to the management of the ICU. Here the Museum of American Man Foundation (Fundação Museu do Homem Americano, FUMDHAM) was established in 1986, under the direction of Professor Niède Guidon and other Brazilian and French researchers. FUMDHAM was intended to support scientific research in the region, to contribute to the preservation and conservation of the environment, and to support sustainable development and educational actions.

The PNSC was recognized as a World Cultural Heritage by UNESCO in 1991 and a National Heritage by IPHAN in 1993 (Guidon, 2014a). The scientific research carried out in the region presented important results in the construction of the knowledge of Brazilian Prehistoric archeology. At present, 1,335 archaeological sites have been cataloged: 184 sites with ceramic remains, 946 cave painting sites, 206 painting and engraving sites, and 80 sites of engravings (Guidon, 2014a, 2014b, Maranca, Martin, 2014).

<sup>1</sup> The distance from the PNSC to Teresina city is 530 km and 300 km from Petrolina (Araújo et al., 1998).



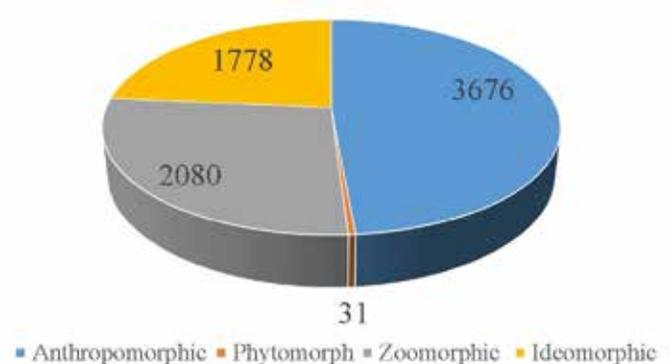
Map 1. The location of the National Park of the Serra da Capivara. Source: FUMDHAM. Available at [www.fumdhm.org.br](http://www.fumdhm.org.br). Access: October 2013.

No.	SITE NAME	SITE CODE	Nº	SITE NAME	SITE CODE
1	Toca da Areia Grande	3	25	Toca Caldeirão do Sítio Do Meio	128
2	Toca do Barro	4	26	Toca do Baixão do Perna III	134
3	Sítio do Meio	22	27	Toca da Ponta da Serra	141
4	Toca Pitombi I	36	28	Toca da Entrada do Sítio do Meio de Cá	159
5	Toca Da Roça do Sítio da Fumaça I	24	29	Toca do Canoas VI	177
6	Toca da Invenção	39	30	Toca da Fumaça II	258
7	Toca da Roça do Rafael do Sítio do Mocó	40	31	Toca da Ema do Sítio do Bras II	276
8	Toca do Baixão das Mulheres I	41	32	Toca da Canoas IV	270
9	Toca da Ema do Sítio do Brás I	42	33	Toca do Baixão do Perna II	272
10	Toca da Roça do Brás I	47	34	Toca do Carlindo II	282
11	Toca da Boca do Sapo	539	35	Toca do Chiadeiras III	284
12	Toca do Pajau	5	36	Toca da Serrinha II	289
13	Toca do Caldeirão do Canoas I	43	37	Toca do Carlindo III	386
14	Toca da Serrinha I	44	38	Toca do Martiliano	476
15	Toca do Baixão do Perna I	46	39	Toca da Escadinha do Baixão do Sítio do Meio de Cá	492
16	Toca do Angelim	179	40	Toca de Cima do Fundo da Pedra Furada	515
17	Toca do Caldeirão dos Rodrigues I	72	41	Toca do Vento	26
18	Toca do Fundo do Baixão da Pedra Furada	73	42	Toca do Extrema Ii	33
19	Toca dos Coqueiros	90	43	Toca do João Arsená	51
20	Toca da Roça do Clóvis	91	44	Toca do Estevo II	109
21	Toca da Roça do Zeca I	149	45	Toca da Onça or Estevo III	110
22	Toca do Baixão das Mulheres II	92	46	Toca do Veredão VIII or Macabeu II	255
23	Toca do Boqueirão do Pedro Rodrigues	94	47	Toca do Veado	53
24	Toca do Elias - Setor Cerca	125			

Table 1. List of sites searched with their respective codes.

## Development

The pictographic records are divided into paintings, stencils and drawings. Rock paintings can be made in different ways: 1) use of the brush to paint the rocky wall, sketching designs and forms by using an ink made from a raw material (goetite, hematite, charcoal, kaolinite, burned bones and others) associated with a fixer (Lage, 2007); 2) stencil, the reproduction of similar forms in the rocky wall by using a liquid paint; 3) use of positive and/or negative finger and hand prints, using a liquid paint on the rocky wall, usually called naturalistic prints (Sanchidrián, 2005). Drawing is when raw mineral is used to paint shapes and figures on the rocky wall, having the effect of a sort of crayon. The selected archaeological sites are located in the Serra da Capivara, Serra Talhada, Veredão and Congo



Pie chart 1. Survey of cave paintings of the surveyed sites.



Fig. 1. Anthropomorphs on a rocky wall, Toca do Paraguaio. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 2. Sequence of anthropomorphs on a rocky wall, Toca da Entrada do Baixão da Vaca. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 3. Open contour zoomorph on a rocky wall, Toca Entrada do Baixão da Vaca. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 4. Zoomorph on a rocky wall, site Toca do Boqueirão da Pedra Furada. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 5. Ideomorphic figures on a rocky wall, Toca do Caldeirão dos Canoas I. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).

and in the Serra Branca region, including a total of 47 archaeological sites.

The survey of the cave paintings of the archeological sites recorded, photographed and verified resulted in the pie chart, Pie chart 1, excluding the sites already surveyed (Toca do Paraguaio, Boqueirão da Pedra Furada, Toca da Entrada da Baixão da Vaca and Toca da Entrada do Pajaú), totaling 7,565 rock paintings.

Most of the cave paintings at these sites were anthropomorphs, with 3,676 images in total. The depictions represent scenes of hunting, ceremonies of religious character, scenes of violence, scenes of the ritual of the tree, isolated graphic forms and others in frontal form and in profile, scenes of captivity, scenes of sexual relations, with some whose biomorphic recognition was difficult (see figs. 1, 2).

The zoomorphic figures also represent a significant proportion of the rock art records of the researched

sites, with 2,080 figures representing the fauna and paleofauna of the region, both small and large animals (see figs. 3, 4).

The ideomorphs registered in the course of the research totaled 1,778 images, which are difficult to interpret: these forms include sketch traces, dotted lines, circles, squares, lozenges, zigzags and concentric shapes. The identification of this type of graphics is complex and the biological technical schema applied to anthropomorphs (head, trunk, upper and lower limbs), zoomorphs (head, trunk, lower limbs, tail) and phytomorphs (root, stem, leaf and fruit) sometimes is not helpful (see figs. 5, 6).

The phytomorphic figures were found in lower numbers, with a total of 31 images; they are associated with tree scenes. In the scenes in question there are several anthropomorphs around what might be a tree, in a supposed magic or shamanistic ritual (see figs. 7, 8).

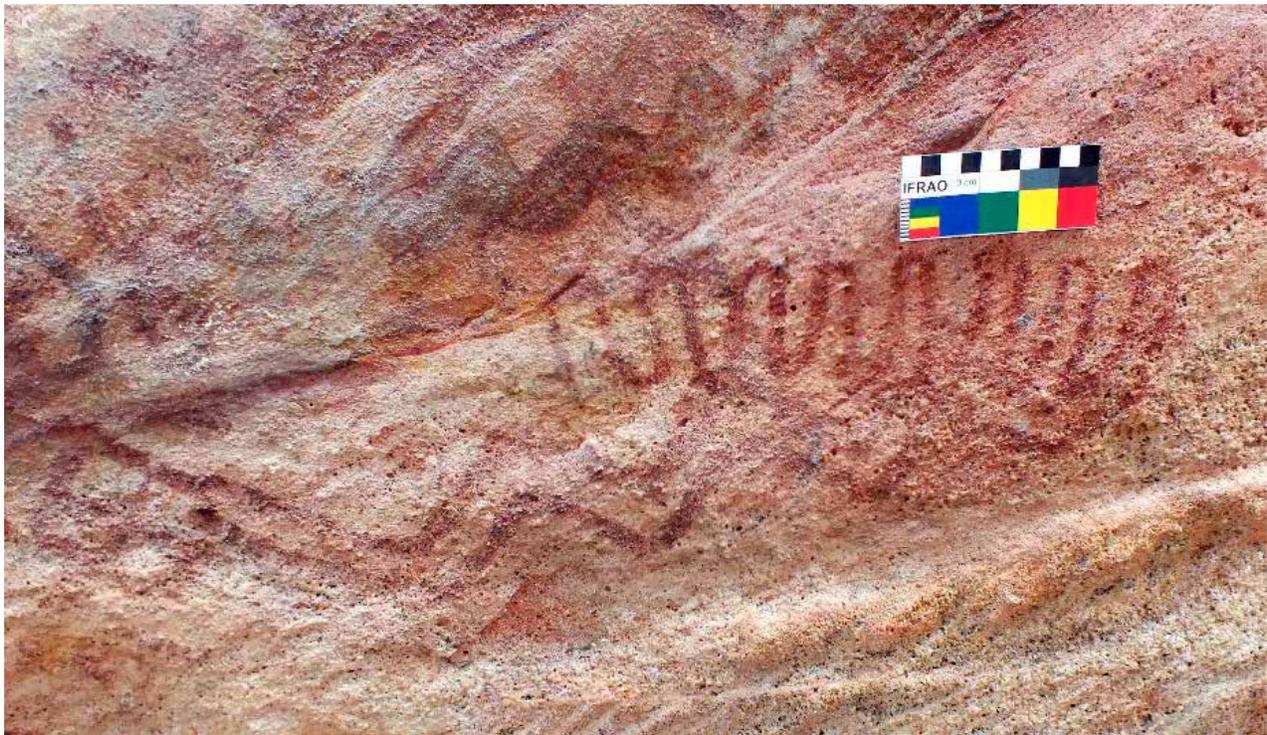


Fig. 6. Ideomorphic figure without filling, Toca da Roça do Sítio do Brás I. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 7. Described as “scene of the tree”, in the style of Serra Branca in the Extrema II site. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).



Fig. 8. “Tree scene” on rocky wall. Source: Gabriel Oliveira (2017).

### Final considerations

The present work demonstrated the predominant morphological theme of anthropomorphs in the rock art of the 47 archaeological sites surveyed in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, pointing to a preference in the representation of this type of image by the ancient societies that inhabited the southeast region of Piauí.

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# LINGUISTIC DATA ON OLD ARMENIAN AND NORSE INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND THE HOUSE OF BEING<sup>1</sup>

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Being is the authentic existence ... Thought does not form or develop this relation. It simply refers to being what is given by being itself. Thought gives the word to being. Language is the house of being. Man inhabits the home of language. Thinkers and poets are the inhabitants in this dwelling. Their sphere is ensuring the openness of being, as a word is given in speech, thereby preserving it in a language.  
(Martin Heidegger)<sup>2</sup>

With the development of linguistic movements at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st centuries, a change in scientific paradigms will inevitably occur. Language is now presented as a global poly-paradigmatic system; its study and description is undergoing new demonstrations. The comparative analysis of historical, mythological, religious, linguistic, archaeological and art history data allows authors to identify the range of related persistent cognitive keywords and notions (more than 100) in the Swedish and Armenian languages (the most common units are presented in Table 1).

These words and notions come from different thematic ranges, which reflect the cognitive abilities, the experience and knowledge, the skills and abilities, the power and wisdom of the Aesir and the Vanir. It convincingly implies the accuracy of some historical data provided by Norse sagas describing the Aesir and the Vanir and it can be a factual and cognitive-linguistic illustration of the common characters of Old Armenian and Norse cultural values.

In the Yngling Saga Snorri Sturluson tells the stories of the ancient leaders and kings, the Aesir and the

Vanir. According to the Edda,<sup>3</sup> the autochthonous population thought that the Aesir and the Vanir were heroes and gods, who resettled throughout the country of the Saxons and brought there their language and cultural traditions from Asia. The study of the data provided by ancient Armenian historians allows the authors to substantiate the hypothesis that the Aesir and the Vanir are the descendants of the two sons of Tiras, the father of Askanaz [Ashkenaz], Riphath, Torgom [Togarmah] and Javan. The Aesir are the descendants of Askanaz, while the Vanir descend from Torgom. The land of Vanheimr/Vanaland is located in the Old Armenian Kingdom of Van, near Lake Van (in present-day Turkey). Asaland, ruled by Askanaz<sup>4</sup> after his resettlement, was located in the territory of Sarmatia.

**Table 1. Basic keywords and notions**

N.	Swedish	Meaning in Swedish	Meaning in Armenian
1	älv	river	*ali ( <i>wave, oscillation</i> ), *al(q) ( <i>deep</i> )
2	Asaland	country of the Aesir	*as ( <i>god</i> ) + *land ( <i>country</i> )
3	asar	Aesir	*as ( <i>god</i> ) + *sar ( <i>mountain, peak</i> )
4	Asgardr (Asgard) (Heimder Asen)	enclosure of the Aesir; the country of Aesir gods; the habitat of the Aesir	*as ( <i>god</i> ) + qar ( <i>stone</i> ) + dir ( <i>found</i> ); <i>city founded by the Aesir</i> , cf. dr/dur ( <i>door</i> ), art ( <i>plain, field</i> )
5	åsna	donkey	*esh ( <i>donkey</i> )
6	berg	mountain, rock	*burg ( <i>pyramid, tower, peak</i> )
7	Bohuslän	historical area in Sweden	*boh ( <i>bah, vah, Vahagn</i> ) ( <i>divine</i> ) + *us ( <i>shoulder, support</i> ) + *lain ( <i>wide</i> ), cf. Armenian cities <i>Bahavan, Bagarat</i>
8	brasa	fire (brought by the Aesir)	*b(e)r ( <i>bring</i> ) + *as ( <i>god</i> , cf. <i>Askanaz</i> ), cf. bur ( <i>handful, fistful</i> )
9	budskap	news	*putal ( <i>haste, rush, hurry</i> ) *kap ( <i>link</i> )
10	borg	castle	*burg ( <i>pyramid, tower, peak</i> )
11	dörr	door	*dur ( <i>door</i> ), cf. "depi ur" ( <i>leading to, direction of an action</i> )

1 Continuation of the article entitled "The Impact of Ancient Armenian Traditions and Worldview on the Cognitive Core of the Culture of the Nordic Countries". available online at: <http://www.iatp.am/vahanyan/articles/scandinavia-ru.pdf>

2 Heidegger Martin, *Letter on Humanism*, [please complete the reference]

3 Sturluson S., *Prose Edda*. Editor: Steblin-Kamenskiy M. I. Leningrad: "Nauka" Publisher, 1970.

4 Before his resettlement to Sarmatia, Askanaz had passed his house (Askanazi Tun) to his brother Torgom, who later renamed it the house of Torgom (Torgomi Tun).

12	du	you	*du ( <i>you</i> )
13	dumbom	fool, stupid	*dmbo ( <i>fool, stupid, silly</i> )
14	ek	oak tree	*eg ( <i>female, feminine</i> )
15	gå (old Norse)	walk, go	*ga(l) ( <i>come</i> )
16	gravhög	kurgan/tumulus	*grav ( <i>sign, confirmation</i> ) + *hogh ( <i>ground</i> )
17	häckar	nest	*kar ( <i>stone, cave, home</i> ), cf. <i>Askanaz</i>
18	hakkors	swastika	*hak ( <i>oblique, opposite</i> ) + *kor ( <i>crooked, bent</i> )
19	hår	hair	*her ( <i>hair</i> )
20	häst	1. horse; 2. rush, hurry	*has ( <i>arrive, reach</i> ), cf. *hast ( <i>enduring, stable</i> )
21	havet	sea	*havet ( <i>everlasting, eternal</i> )
22	hat	hatred	*at(ē) ( <i>hate</i> )
23	helvete	hell	*hel ( <i>rise, come up</i> ) + *vet ( <i>cleft, gap, crack, hole</i> )
24	herre	man, owner, master	*her (hayr) ( <i>father</i> )
25	hjärta	heart	*jar ( <i>beloved</i> )
26	hjort	deer	*hort ( <i>calf</i> )
27	hövding	ataman, chief-tain, leader	*hoviv ( <i>shepherd, leader, pastor</i> ) + *inqn ( <i>self, identity</i> )
28	hustru	wife, spouse	*dustr ( <i>daughter</i> )
29	hem/hus	home	*himk ( <i>base, ground</i> )
30	jord	land, ground	*hord ( <i>trampled, straight [way]</i> )
31	kar	container	*kar ( <i>1. stone, rock, cave; 2. might, ability, possibility</i> )
32	klok	smart, clever	*xeloq ( <i>clever, intelligent</i> )
33	ko	cow	*kov ( <i>cow</i> )
34	kod, caudex	1. stem, core, tree trunk, stump, ash tree; 2. code, sequence, queue, line (runic code – cryptography)	*Kadm (Cadmus)!; *hatsi ( <i>ash tree</i> , cf. *hatsut – <i>ash forest</i> ), *hatsabekor – <i>slice of bread</i> )
35	kokpunkt	boiling point	*kok ( <i>root</i> )
36	konung	king	*k(i)n ( <i>living, life-giving</i> ) + *ung (inq) ( <i>self, identity</i> ), cf. unq ( <i>brow</i> ), akunq ( <i>source</i> )
37	krux	stumbling block	*kr ( <i>stone</i> ) + *us ( <i>shoulder, support</i> )
38	kyrka	church	*kerel ( <i>scrape, rasp, scratch [rock]</i> )
39	kust	coast, shore	*ust/est(i) ( <i>place, here, near</i> )
40	lär/lära	teach	*larel ( <i>tune, adjust</i> )
41	lava	lava	*lav ( <i>good, high-quality, fine, useful</i> )
42	lera	clay	*lerd ( <i>thick, dense, clot</i> )
43	lerkruka	clay pot	*lerd ( <i>thick, dense, clot</i> ) + *kr ( <i>stone</i> )
44	ljus	light	*luys ( <i>light</i> )
45	lur	news	*lur ( <i>news, information, rumor</i> )

46	lustgård	paradise	*luys ( <i>light</i> ) + *art ( <i>plain, field</i> )
47	lycka	happiness, bliss	*lich ( <i>lake</i> ) + *ka ( <i>be, exist</i> ), life-giving water
48	måne	moon	*man ( <i>crooked, bent</i> )
49	modig	masculine	*martik ( <i>fighter, warrior</i> ), cf. *motik ( <i>near, adjacent</i> )
50	mor	mother	*mer/mor ( <i>mother</i> )
51	mot	near, nearby	*mot ( <i>near, nearby, close</i> )
52	Njord	leader, chief, leading, going ahead	*nord ( <i>leading, prevailing, superior, predominant</i> )
53	Noatun	ship enclosure	*nav ( <i>ship</i> ) + *tun ( <i>home</i> )
54	norr	north	*nor ( <i>new</i> )
55	Norge	Norway	*nor ( <i>new</i> ) + *get ( <i>river</i> ), cf. Armenian *gegh ( <i>village, population</i> )
56	nyår	New Year	*nor ( <i>new</i> ), *navasard/nor tari ( <i>New Year</i> )
57	Odin	supreme deity	*v(w)an (trans. form *odin – <i>first, one, unified</i> )
58	öga	eye	*ak/achq ( <i>eye, source, water spring, wheel</i> )
59	ord/glosa	word	*vordi ( <i>son</i> )
60	öst	east	*ast ( <i>god, light</i> )
61	runes (runor)	runes (literally: bloody, colored in red)	*arun ( <i>blood</i> )
62	Scandinavia (Skandinavien)	huge ship	*hska ( <i>huge, giant</i> ) + *nav ( <i>ship</i> )
63	Skadi	giantesse/goddess	*hska ( <i>huge, giant</i> )
64	slag	fight/battle	*slaq ( <i>arrow</i> )
65	spjut	spear	*spyut ( <i>scar</i> ), cf. *spi ( <i>scar</i> )
66	svärd	sword	*svin ( <i>bayonet</i> ) + *hart ( <i>plain</i> ), cf. *sur ( <i>sharp</i> )
67	Sveigdir (Sveigder)	founder of Sweden from Yngling dynasty (ruler, leader)	*shve + *dir ( <i>found, put</i> )
68	tal	speech	*tal ( <i>give</i> )
69	tänder	light/burn	*tonir ( <i>oven, built in the ground, hearth</i> )
70	Tanum	name of a town in Sweden	*tun ( <i>home, country</i> ), cf. *tanel ( <i>lead</i> )
71	tar <sup>1</sup>	touch	*tar ( <i>letter</i> )
72	tar <sup>2</sup>	take away, bring	*tar' ( <i>take away/carry</i> )
73	target	target	*tar/tanel ( <i>lead, carry</i> ) + *get ( <i>river</i> ), cf. *targel ( <i>quit</i> )
74	teckning	picture, drawing	*kniq ( <i>seal, imprint</i> )
75	Teyvaz	rune	*tir ( <i>god of writing</i> ) + *as ( <i>word, narration</i> ), cf. tev ( <i>wing</i> )
76	Tor (Thor)	god of thunder	*tor ( <i>grandchild</i> ), cf. Tir ( <i>god of writing, wisdom, knowledge and prophecy in the Armenian pantheon</i> ), cf. <i>Thorgom</i>

77	torg	square	*tor ( <i>flow, stream</i> ), *tur ( <i>give, sell</i> )
78	utvandarland	homeland of an emigrant	*ut ( <i>vot - leg</i> ) + *van ( <i>country of the Vanir</i> ) + *d(i)r ( <i>found, put</i> ) + *land ( <i>country</i> )
79	våg	1. road, 2. traveling wave	*nvag (1. <i>music, motif</i> , 2. <i>time, turn</i> ), cf. *vaz ( <i>run</i> )
80	vagn	cart	*vahagn ( <i>bringing light</i> )
81	Vanadis (Freja)	daughter of Vanir	*van/a ( <i>from Van</i> ) + *dis ( <i>*dustr - daughter</i> ), cf. *dits ( <i>divine</i> )
82	Vanaheimr	country of the Vanir	*van/a ( <i>from Van</i> ) + *him(q) ( <i>base, foundation</i> )
83	Vanakvisl/ Tanakvisl	river name	*van/a ( <i>from Van</i> ) + *visl ( <i>river, leading to home - Van</i> )
84	Vanlandi	konung from Van	*van ( <i>inhabitant of Van</i> ) + *land ( <i>country</i> )
85	vår	spring	*var ( <i>lighted, burning, inflamed, bright</i> ), cf. varel ( <i>plow</i> ), artun ( <i>awake, aware, cautious</i> ), zvalt ( <i>joyous, merry, bright, lighted</i> )
86	vård	householder	*vard(apet) ( <i>teacher, leader, master</i> )
87	värld	life	*var ( <i>lighted, burning, inflamed, bright</i> )
88	varg	wolf	*vargil/vagel ( <i>run, skip, leap, invade</i> ), cf. vagr ( <i>tiger</i> )
89	vorts	continuation	*vordz ( <i>male, masculine</i> )
90	Yggdrasil	tree of life	*ig(eg) ( <i>feminine</i> ) + *dir ( <i>found, put</i> ) + *as ( <i>life-giving</i> )
91	Yngling (Ynglingaätten)	dynasty of konungs	*inqn ( <i>self, identity</i> )

The comparative analysis of the cognitive meanings of related Armenian and Swedish keywords and notions, as presented in Table 1, enables us to identify and model the semantic core of intercultural communication and the different stages of transformation of the cognitive abilities of the Nordic people into knowledge perception, brought there by the Aesir and the Vanir. Moreover, the contrastive semantic analysis of these words and notions in the Armenian and Swedish languages allows the revealing of the main lexical-semantic and thematic groups, characterizing the concept of cultural, historical and religious relations between the Aesir and the Vanir and the local population. The authors present the lexical structure of the identified lexemes as an integer system, a complex of elements connected with intralingual and interlingual relations, which can be considered as the

so-called house of being, the dwelling of language.<sup>5</sup> The classification of words into lexical categories (Table 2) is carried out according to the following two principles: part of speech and factors of component analysis.

Part of speech:

1. nouns – 79; 87.8% of the considered units,
2. verbs – 7; 7.8% of the considered units,
3. adjectives – 2; 2.2% of the considered units,
4. pronouns – 1; 1.1% of the considered units,
5. prepositions – 1; 1.1% of the considered units.

The majority of the units are nouns, which have the marker of primacy in language. Among them there are conceptual rows denoting genetic relations, body parts, celestial bodies, animals, territories, abstract notions, as well as main notions and phenomena connected with thinking, the speech and writing systems, time, the four forces of nature and the four parts of the world (Table 2).

Factors of component analysis:

1. geographic zone – 23, of which:
  - waterbodies – 3,
  - land – 9,
2. proper nouns – 9,
3. animals – 5,
4. vegetation – 2.

It should be mentioned that most of the lexemes (Table 2) are related to the cognitive notion of “position/arrangement”, with the concept of “home”.<sup>6</sup> Most of the verbs denote direction leading home. The component analysis of the lexical units reveals certain lexical-semantic groups as well as their category features. Thus, the nominative lexical meaning is considered as a complex of certain semes. The characteristics of the studied lexemes reflect the features of historical, cultural and mythological phenomena and of worldview characteristics of the Nordic and Old Armenian native speakers, referring to their outer linguistic nature.

The comprehensive approach to the study reflects not only the individual linguo-cognitive characteristics of the studied concept, but also the general linguistic

<sup>5</sup> Term introduced by M. Heidegger..

<sup>6</sup> M. Heidegger. studies language as “the house of being”.

representation – the so-called “common home”. The concept “home” is studied within the conceptual frames of “house/dwelling”, as well as “homeland”, “district/place”, “family”, etc. It is a core and systematically important unit in a language system, reflecting the structure of a house, dwelling, country, city, district, kingdom and their various forms.

The purpose of the present research is to study not a particular national linguistic worldview, but its impact and influence and future transformations in inner and outer forms. During the study, all lexemes and the identified common concept “home” did not acquire the form of a fixed linguistic fact, but of a bearer and phenomenon of intercultural relations, worldview formation and culture development. The concept “home” from the paradigm of the Old Armenian language transformed into the concept “home” in the Nordic languages and became their basis. It is presented in the form of a bearer of the main information-intensive and informative archetypal knowledge, which refer to the source, the ideological culture of the ancient concept of the house of Askanaz and the house of Torgom.<sup>7</sup>

The construction of lexical-semantic fields using interdisciplinary data and the analysis of the characteristic features of the identified archisemes, differential semes and semantic parameters outline the full picture of ideological features of native speakers and its figurative implementation in the main motifs of the studied cultures. Thus, the identified lexical-semantic field, represented by the lexeme “home”, possesses an intensive cultural and ideological value in studying the features of knowledge possessed by the “inhabitants” of the house of Askanaz, the house of Torgom and the house of the Nordic people. It should be mentioned that this concept, “home”, is represented in the common Armenian-Swedish words, which are marked with a particular invariant cognitive insensitivity.

Another characteristic of this concept is that the lexemes denoting “house/alien” do not imply the features of conscious opposition/contradiction, which is peculiar to the category of “us-them” (“friend or foe”, “typical-

foreign”), but they are represented through the prism of the group of people holding this knowledge and the group of people perceiving it. Usually, a particular semantic marker is implemented in one of the rows: archiseme – differential seme – semantic parameter, but in this case it is identified in all the three layers in the majority of lexemes. Another typical feature is its occurrence in both central and peripheral parts of the concept.

Thus, a unit occurs, combining the data in the paradigm of particular scientific fields simultaneously: history, mythology, linguistics, archeology, cultural studies, art, ethnopsychology, etc. Speech objectification of these cultures’ worldview is represented here not only as a process, an abstract representation in the collective consciousness, but also as a result, presented in a number of tangible forms of culture, such as architectural monuments and artifacts of rock decorative-applied and ornamental arts.

**Table 2. Component analysis**

N.	Lexeme	Archiseme (generic seme)	Differential seme	Semantic parameter
1	älv	geographic zone	waterbody	liquid
2	Asaland	geographic zone	country name	disposition
3	Asar	group of gods, nation	old knowledge holders	race/alive
4	Asgardr (Asgard) (Heim der Asen)	geographic zone	country name	disposition
5	äsna	animal	mammal	alive
6	berg	geographic zone	stone object	relief form
7	Bohuslän	geographic zone	country name	disposition
8	brasa	a classical element	of burning character	temperature
9	dörr	building element	portal/conducting element	open/closed
10	du	pronoun	demonstrative	-
11	dumbom	human type	lack of literacy	negative marker
12	ek	compound of vegetation	tree genus	vegetation

<sup>7</sup> Hayastan (Armenian “home to all the Armenians/speaking Armenian”) is the old name of the country of the Armenians. The house of Askanaz was renamed the house of Torgom (Khorenatsi M. History of Armenia).

13	gå (Old Norse)	movement	action direction	direction/ change of location
14	gravhög	a type of a monument	funeral	cult marker
15	häckar	occupy a particular territory	acquiring home	acquired room/place
16	hakkors	ideological marker	symbol	form
17	hår	body part	-	form
18	häst	animal	mammal	alive
19	havet	geographic zone	waterbody	liquid
20	hat	sense	disgust, hostile marker	perception
21	helvete	territorial zone	territory name	disposition
22	herre	human	father	race
23	hjärta	body part	figurative marker	function
24	hjort	animal	mammal	alive
25	hövding	human	leading, regu- lating	function
26	hustru	human	woman	race/function
27	hem/hus/	territorial zone	abode/dwelling	room/place
28	jord	part of the earth	layer of the Earth crust	-
29	kar	vessel/con- tainer	for keeping/ transportation	repository
30	klok	human type	literate	positive marker
31	ko	animal	mammal	alive
32	kod	type of a writing system	cipher	information substitution
33	kokpunkt	state	boiling	finite/ completeness
34	konung	ruler	man of royal origin	race
35	kruks	type of a barrier	-	figurative
36	kyrka	architectural structure/ space	Christianity marker	cultic
37	kust	territorial zone	located at the shore	-
38	lär/lära	mode of knowledge transfer	-	bilateral direction
39	lava	alloy	rocks	fluidity/vis- cosity

40	lera	material	rocks	viscosity
41	lerkruka	vessel/con- tainer	for keeping/ transportation	repository
42	ljus	optical radi- ation	electromagnetic wave	-
43	budskap	information/ message	-	urgent
44	lustgård	territorial zone	territory name	extraterrestrial disposition
45	lycka	human state	joy	positive marker
46	måne	celestial body	satellite	form
47	modig	virtue/feature	overcoming fear	positive marker
48	mor	a parent	woman	gender
49	mot	pointing at location	not far/adjacent	location
50	Njord	proper name	leader	leading
51	Noatun	territorial zone	territory name	position
52	norr	a cardinal direction	-	disposition
53	Norge	territorial zone	territory name	disposition
54	nyår	holiday	new start	time marker
55	Odin	proper name	supreme deity	start/first
56	öga	body part	-	function
57	ord/glosa	language unit	-	particular meaning
58	öst	a cardinal direction	-	disposition
59	runes (runor)	a writing system	cipher	information substitution
60	Scandinavia (Skandina- vien)	territorial zone	territory name	ship
61	Skadi	proper name	giantess/goddess	size
62	slag	collision	armed	location restriction
63	spjut	weapon	-	sharp
64	svärd	weapon	-	sharp
65	Sveigdir (Sveigder)	proper name	founder	-
66	tal	form of com- munication	information transfer	oral/ written
67	tänder	directed action	burning	-
68	Tanum	territorial zone	territory name	disposition
69	tar <sup>1</sup>	directed action	-	contact

70	tar <sup>2</sup>	action	movement	direction/ change of location
71	target	object	target, aim	-
72	teckning	depiction	-	imprint
73	Teyvaz	rune	-	-
74	Tor (Thor)	proper name	god of thunder	-
75	torg	space	-	purposeful- ness
76	utvandar- land	territorial zone	territory name	disposition
77	våg	way	leading	movement
78	vagn	mode of transport	-	movement
79	Vanadis (Freja)	proper name	woman	-
80	Vanaheimr	territorial zone	territory name	disposition
81	Vanakvisl/ Tanakvisl	territorial zone	territory water zone	liquid
82	Vanlandi	proper noun	konung	disposition of the homeland
83	vår	season	-	bright
84	vård	leader	man	-
85	värld	form of existence	-	life
86	varg	animal	mammal	living
87	vorts	action	-	continuity
88	Yggdrasil	universe model	world tree	cult marker
89	Yngling (Yn- glingaätten)	generation/ race	-	identity

Table 3 shows verbal representation of the notion “home”, which was formed on the basis of the semantic study of this concept both in some related (Indo-European) and unrelated languages, which implies sustainability and invariance of the paradigm identified in the concept “home”.

**Table 3. Verbal representation of the concept “home”**

	Language	Nomination
Indo-European languages		
1	English	home
2	Armenian	տնիւ <sup>2</sup> (tun)
3	Belorussian	дом (dom)
4	Bengali	ghôr <sup>3</sup>

5	Bulgarian	къща (k'sha)
6	Greek	σπίτι (spíti), οίκος (oikos), διαμονή (diamoní)
7	Dutch	bo, eijendom, hjem, hus
8	Hindi	गृह, इमारात, माकान, स्ट्रान, hāuc
9	Icelandic	hús, heimili
10	Spanish	casa, inmueble
11	Italian	casa, edificio, stabile, palazzo
12	Latin	domus, nidus, tectum, aedes, lar, penates
13	Macedonian	дом (dom), куќа
14	German	haus, heim, gebäude
15	Netherlandish	huis
16	Norwegian	hus, hjem
17	Ossetian	агъуыст, бæстыхай, хæдзар
18	Persian	ха:не-уе
19	Polish	dom, budynek
20	Portuguese	casa, lar
21	Russian	дом (dom)
22	Serbian	кућа, дом
23	Ukrainian	будинок, дім, хата, оселя
24	French	maison
25	Czech	dům
26	Swedish	hem
Finno-Ugric languages		
27	Finnish	talo
Kartvelian Languages		
28	Georgian	sakhli
Japonic languages		
29	Japanese	家 (transliteration ie)
Afroasiatic languages		
30	Akkadian	abūsu, arahḫu, arū
Sino-Tibetan languages		
33	Chinese	fángzi, fángwū, lófáng, jiāwù, jiāshi
Isolated languages		
34	Korean	집 (transliteration jib)
35	Sumerian	e, ḡa e ekas <sup>5</sup> (road house), eš <sup>6</sup> (home-sanctuary)
Turkic languages		
36	Kazakh	үй
37	Tatar	йорт, өй, уст. йорт, нәсел
38	Turkish	ev
Nakho-Dagestanian languages		
39	Avar	мина, рукъ
40	Dargin	хъали
41	Lak	къатта

42	Chechen	ɫla (transliteration <i>cla</i> )
Ethiopian semitic languages		
43	Amharic	(transliteration <i>bēti</i> )

1 Grandson of Hayk and the creator of the Phoenician and Greek alphabets.

2 Hayastan – home to all the Hays (the Aesir and the Vanir).

3 From Sanskrit *gr̥ha* or *gārha*. Compare to Hindustani *ghar/ghar*.

4 Cf. Urartian Biainili (the Kingdom of Van); Armenian “buyn” (nest, cradle, home).

5 In Armenian reading - \*ek (come) + \*as .

6 Cf. Tushpa (Urartu).

The formation of the linguistic picture of the world is predetermined by the particular way of thinking of a tribe, race or nation. Still, some features of national worldview are identified in the cultural space of other nations (both close and distant), implying the first “intercultural communications” among old races and the transition of the linguistic, cultural and worldview values preserved in the archetypes.

Language, as a system functioning in a particular group of people, has an aspect of “subordinate reality” (from the historical, cultural, worldview and artistic point of view). As a result, a concept is formed, which is “material” but not abstract: it is materialized in the different manifestations of national consciousness. These external manifestations (history, worldview, culture, art) allow us to model the evolution of a particular concept and to identify its features. As a result, a conceptually integer worldview is modeled. In scientific literature there are diverse approaches to the study of concepts.<sup>8</sup> It is not a reality, but a group of particular representations that are absorbed

8 Marr N. identified a specific regularity (“functional semantics”), which implies that the meaning of a word changes depending on the transition of a name from one object (or action) to another, its substitute in an identical or similar function (Marr N., *Modes of transport, defense and production weapons in prehistory*. On linking linguistics to history of material culture, see Marr N., *Language and society*. L., 1934; “Origin of the terms “book” and “writing”). The observations by Marr N. are confirmed by archaeological data and data on rituals. Stepanov Y. determines concept as a “clot of culture” (Stepanov Y., *Constants: Dictionary of Russian Culture*: 3rd edition) - M.: Academic project, 2004, p. 42-67). According to Karaulov, concepts are presented as groups of super-notions, which are “constants of consciousness” (Karaulov Y., *Role of human factor in language. Language and worldview*. M.: Nauka, 1987. p. 247).

in a concept. It is not an abstract entity, either. Concept is always concrete and specific, social and historical; though perceived as a universal truth by the contemporaries, it is transitive and fixed in time.

### Concept of “home”

The identified concept “home” is of particular cognitive value as a mental unit and as a complex of corresponding frames. It is not an element from the semantic pattern of a particular nation, but an archetypal frame which represents the basic, universal concept in a language. Undergoing a particular cultural-ideological prism of ethno-thinking of a particular tribe, race or nation, the concept “home” acquires a specific marking. Particular, profound layers, peculiar to both related and unrelated languages, are represented within it. The lexical and semantic representation of the archetypal form of “home” combines worldview, culture and thinking characteristics of both ancient and new inhabitants of this “house”.

A specific expression form of the concept “home” in the Armenian language, which should be mentioned: the distinctive character of verbalization of the concept “tun” (Armenian, *home*) is its preserved transitional forms *wan* → *ban*<sup>9</sup> → *bun*<sup>10</sup> → *tun*<sup>11</sup>. The notion “home” is represented as an initial point of space exploration: thus, home is opposed to the outer world. The bilateral capacity and nature of this concept should be stated, expanding it to the notion “world” and narrowing it to the notion “man” or a particular social unit: “family”. As a result, a contradiction “us-them” is formed within the conceptual system: home as “self, human” is opposed to the “outer” home.

Cosmogonic representation of the concept “home” initially acquired geometric shape and, later, an ornamental form in Armenian rock art. With the development of the notion “home”, the previously unlimited macrocosm and microcosm acquired certain limits of “enclosed, protected habitats” (self and strange).<sup>12</sup> Still, these concepts’ early forms in the Armenian language are not only the convergence

9 Armenian \*ban (pɯŋ) – word, deed, action, labor, thing.

10 Armenian \*bun (pɯŋ) – genuine, authentic, real; bun<sup>2</sup> – trunk, stem; bun<sup>3</sup> – nest, cradle, hearth.

11 Armenian \*tun (tɯŋ) – home, dynasty, race.

12 In religious representation – “heavenly home”, “earthly home”, etc.

of semantic components of the expression plane, but also in terms of their semantic content, which alternates with related concepts as the initial word (*ban*), the original abode (*bun*<sup>13</sup>) and the original area of settlement of *Homo sapiens* (*avan*, *wan*<sup>14</sup>). Interdisciplinary analysis of this concept identifies intersystemic cognitive relations between the concept “home” (in its archetypal representation) in the Armenian language and the notions “family”, “homeland”, “language”, “reason”, “soul”, “labor”, etc. *Tun* (home) is a verbalization not only of “home” as abode/dwelling of a man, but also as a knowledge repository. Thus, the concept “home” exceeds the limit of denoting macrocosm and microcosm (material), expressing the “spiritual” aspect of the notion “abode/dwelling” and, thus, correlating to the notion “soul”. Home of this knowledge is the dwelling of God, built by Hayk (cf. Armenian *vank*, temple).

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13 Cf. Armenian *bnutyun* (nature), *bnakan* (natural).

14 Cf. the names of Armenian houses, old settlements, city-*avans*: Ijevan, Nakhijevan, Vanadzor, Yerevan (Erebuni), Van, Tatvan, Bagavan, etc.

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# SETTLEMENT SPATIALITY REFLECTING SPIRITUALITY: SEARCHING FOR HIGH-ORDER CULTURAL EXPRESSIONS OF FINAL PALAEOLITHIC COMMUNITIES IN NORTHWESTERN EUROPE

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## Introduction

Throughout western Europe, marvelous examples of artistic and spiritual expression are known from the Upper Paleolithic, most notably the Magdalenian. With the exception of some rare figurines and simply decorated pebbles, evident expressions of high-order cultural performance seem to overall disappear from the archaeological record during the subsequent Final Paleolithic period (fig. 1). In the same vein, Final Paleolithic *Federmesser* (German for “pocket knife”, meaning “knife blade”) and Azilian lithic industries are simplified, less structured and generally of lesser complexity compared with Magdalenian and other late Upper Paleolithic industries (Valentin 2008). Final Pleistocene intensified climatic and ecological changes presumably influenced Hunter-Gatherer subsistence strategies and hunting techniques as well as the related material culture (Bosinski 1989) and social systems (Grimm 2016). But what about imagination and beliefs? Did art, ritual and spirituality simply disappear? Or is high-order cultural behavior just less easily visible archaeologically than during the previous period? This paper explores and demonstrates how hitherto little acknowledged patterns of spatiality in *Federmesser* sites, with well-defined areas of projectile piece production isolated from the overall encampment activities, likely reflect ritualistic behavior. Preparing equipment that was eventually destined to kill was presumably connected with a set of ritual prescriptions and spiritual experiences. We further explore whether more aspects of spiritual life may be perceived through the spatial layout of artifact discard in settlement sites and landscapes.

## A research gap?

Dominant themes of debate in Final Paleolithic northwestern archaeology, addressed for more than half a century now, concern topics like spatiotemporal distribution, raw material handling, material culture development and environmental changes. Firmly rooted in a processual paradigm, they mostly emphasize the economic behavior of these hunters and gatherers: how did they survive (subsistence), what functional activities were they carrying out in order to survive (technology), what made them occupy certain areas at certain moments in time (environmental constraints) and how were they organized socially? These are of course basic questions and necessary conditions for any population to survive, but they are hardly specific to humans: other beings also behaviorally respond to changing conditions.

If you compare these research themes with topics concerning other periods in European Prehistory, a strikingly different list of themes appears: issues dealing with ideas, with what was on people’s minds, with typically human concerns, not only with survival. There are vivid discussions going on about what people thought in the Middle or Upper Paleolithic (e.g. Hoffmann et al. 2018), as well as in the Mesolithic or Neolithic. It seems that northwest European Final Paleolithic archaeology somewhat missed the broad developments in theoretical archaeology of the last decades, especially in relation to the advances in cognitive archaeology. The question arises: why are topics like ritual behavior, spirituality, self-consciousness, worldviews or religion so scarcely addressed with regard to these Final Paleolithic societies? Does a lack of thought-provoking finds (in comparison with the abundance of the Upper Paleolithic) imply that we cannot find thoughts, nor any clue of what was on their minds? It is almost as if we cannot consider questions like “How did they situate themselves in the world?” or “What did their mental world look like?”.

Does the spectacular ecological change during the Pleistocene-Holocene transition perhaps make us blind towards other research questions? Or does the available archaeological record explain why we are not dealing with these questions? Are we not investigating them due to an overall lack of surviving art, burials or other expressions of mental concepts that are generally

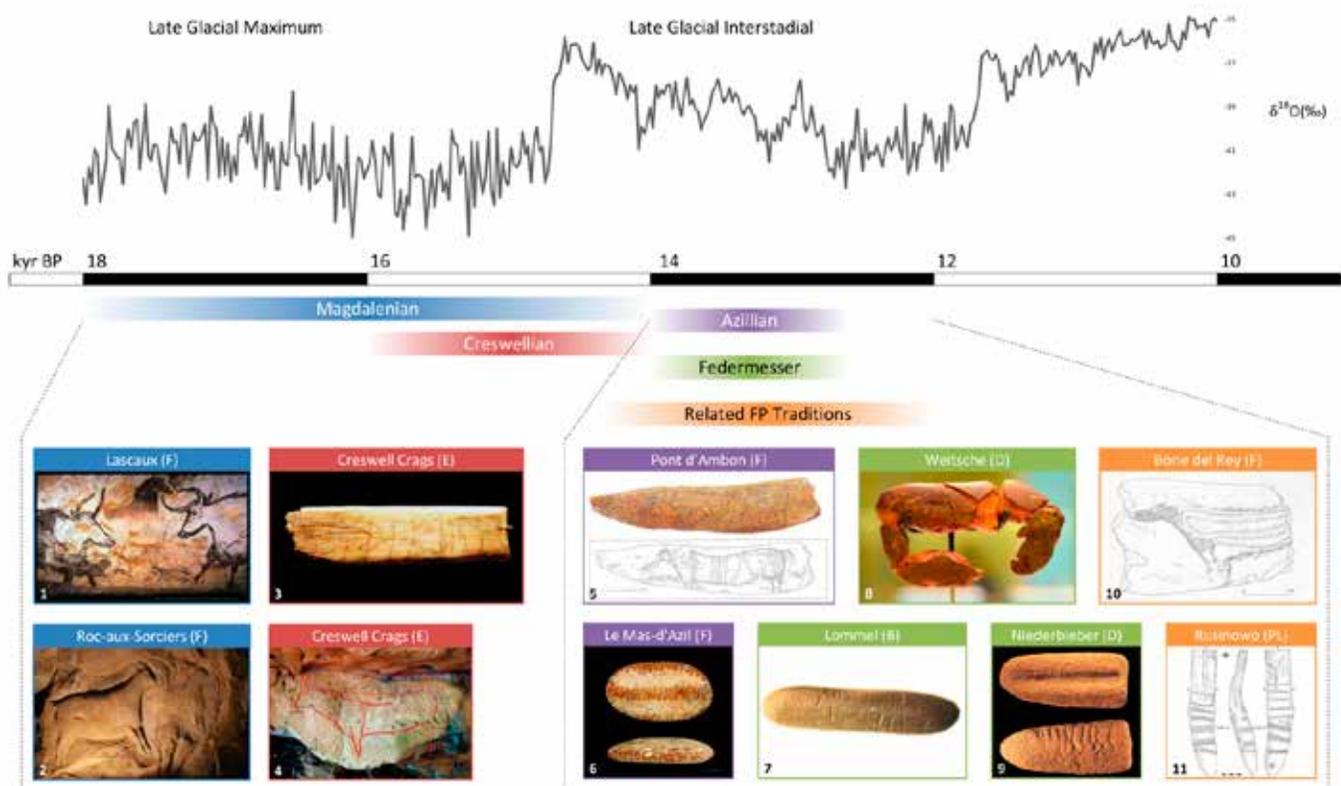


Fig. 1. Representative examples of Late Upper and Final Paleolithic art showing decline in complexity (composition by K. Van Crombrugge and J. Van Cauter; climate data: NGRIP record of climate change). 1: Lascaux – Wikimedia Commons; 2: Detail of female ibex, Roc-au-Sorciers by Geneviève Pinçon; 3: Ochre horse, Creswell Crags – Creative Commons; 4: Ibex engraving, Creswell Crags – Creswell Heritage Trust; 5: Engraved artifact, Pont-d'Ambon – photographer unknown; 6: Painted pebble, Le Mas-d'Azil, by Didier Descouens; 7: Engraved pebble, Lommel, by Hans Denis; 8: Amber elk figurine from Weitsche, by Axel Hindemith; 9: Decorated sandstone arrow shaft polisher from Niederbieber – Monrepos, RZGM; 10: Engraved bovid on stone, La Borie del Rey, published by C. Farizy; 11: Decorated elk antler, Rusinowo, drawing by T. Demidziuk.

used in considerations of the human mind, for instance in the Upper Paleolithic, the Mesolithic or the Neolithic? Though not completely absent, we do have little material in comparison with these types of sources in the Final Paleolithic archaeological record. As stated above, Final Paleolithic hunter-gatherers did produce some portable art. Well-known examples are the painted and engraved pebbles in the Azilian tradition (D'Errico 1994, fig. 2). Recently, there have been some acknowledgements of animal figurines (Veil et al. 2012, fig. 3) and decorated animal remains, e.g. the bovid metatarsus recently recovered from the North Sea floor (Amkreutz et al. 2018, fig. 4) and the interpretation of an ornamented elk antler artifact found in Rusinowo, Poland (fig. 5) as having “a symbolic rather than ... strictly utilitarian” function and “a relatively extended use-life” (Diakowski and Kufel-Diakowska 2017, 53). These finds confirm

our supposition that so-called high-order cultural behavior, the collective phrase we use to describe the amalgam of art production, rituality, spirituality and the potential but not necessarily material expression of all these, did not just simply disappear. The use of pigments, stone engravings, animal figurines and antler ornaments seems to have continued, though faintly and with a general loss of naturalistic representations. Provocatively, Humphrey linked the disappearance of naturalistic figurative art around 11,000 years ago to the progressive development of language, citing the remarkable similarities between the drawings of a young autistic child and those found in the Upper Paleolithic caves (Humphrey 1998). In general, such explanations are rare and often highly contested (see e.g. Spikins et al. 2018; Guthrie 2005). Furthermore, they should not impede the scientific community looking for clues as to how Final Paleolithic people



Fig. 2. Left: painted pebble from Le Mas-d'Azil, France (photograph by D. Descouens); Right: engraved stone from Lommel, Belgium (courtesy of Museum De Kolonie, Lommel, Belgium).

experienced their world in a spiritual, “high-order” cognitive way. We thus began to explore whether it was possible to find other ways to start addressing these themes in the study of Final Paleolithic as well.)

### Exploring new ways

Our claim is that indications of ritual or spiritual behavior may indeed be revealed in other remains, for instance in the spatial distribution of camp site activities.

As eloquently stated half a century ago by André Leroi-Gourhan, one of the founders of the so-called paleo-ethnographic approach, the spatial configuration of a settlement is not only conditioned by primary subsistence activities. The daily routine of manufacture, use, repair and discard is also steered by social structure and ideology (Leroi-Gourhan 1965). During the latest few decades, several well-preserved Final Paleolithic sites have been discovered, surveyed and excavated on a large scale. Integrated approaches of extensive refitting, usewear determination and spatial analyses often revealed high-

resolution patterns of past human activities. After arriving at a state of research where the sequence of the daily activities had been quite rigorously established, the question arose whether aspects of social structure or spiritual life can also be perceived through this daily pattern of artifact manufacture, use, repair and discard. Does the spatial layout also partly reveal a symbolic expression of this human society?

In this regard, one category of tools (the projectile points), displays a special type of distribution within the camp area. The manufacture of projectile points – the distinct arch-backed pieces of the contemporary traditions of the *Federmesser*, Azilian and other associated Final Paleolithic cultures throughout Europe – in more or less complete isolation from the rest of the site has been explicitly noticed in Rekem (fig. 6). In this thoroughly studied 1.7-hectare settlement site along the river Meuse (Belgium), refits established the contemporaneity of a cluster of loci (De Bie and Caspar 2000). While less explicitly emphasized, similar patterns of relatively secluded manufacture



Fig. 3. Amber elk figurine from Weitsche, Germany (Veil et al. 2012).



Fig. 4. Decorated bovid metatarsus from North Sea floor (courtesy of National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden; Amkreutz et al. 2018).

of arch-backed pieces and the associated lithic waste were also found in the extensively investigated sites of Niederbieber and likely also in Le Closeau and Reichwalde (Gelhausen 2011, 271; Bodu et al. 2006; Vollbrecht 2005, 381).

After observing this modestly recurrent pattern on several sites, we may wonder why the manufacture of projectile points occurred in complete isolation, heavily contrasting with the production of other tool types, like scrapers or burins, which were generally made in the large communal areas. As we may reasonably assume that projectile points were made by hunters, we can speculate about possible gender patterns or social rules, for example certain ages. However, can that explain the isolated preparation of the equipment destined to kill?

What about the mindset? What about spiritual aspects and rituals? Animals were certainly not only considered as food or economic resources. They also were part of the mental world. In most contemporary and historic hunter-gatherer societies, the act of hunting is or used to be connected with a set of ritual prescriptions, taboos and symbolically appropriate actions, including mediation between person and animal. These include various ritual treatments of animal remains after the hunt, e.g. the removal of sensory body parts (Irimoto 1994; Grøn et al. 2008; Jordan 2001),

offerings made to the animal after death (Black 1973; Nelson 1983; Ray 1988; Fienup-Riordan 1994; Hallowell 1926) and the special handling of the remains after consumption (Paulson 1963; Tanner 1979, Brightman 1993). The fact that these rituals transcend individual hunter-gatherer groups and appear in a multitude of geographical regions (Van Caueren 2013), might indicate similar ways of experiencing animals as “other-than-human” people among Prehistoric (in this case Final Paleolithic) groups. Given these rules and taboos that must have accompanied hunting, the preparation of arrows and hunting gear may also have been part of rituals surrounding the death and regeneration of the hunted prey. Prey animals would only give themselves up to the hunter if due respect was shown to them; even more so, given that the ethology of open forest game is fundamentally different from that of the Pleistocene megafauna which populated Europe before the fairly swift warming during the Late Glacial Interstadial. Indeed, both groups of prey must surely have required wholly separate ways of hunting. We can assume that one-on-one hunting tactics applied to unpredictable, fearful and solitary natural forest game in a mixed and deciduous forest, which obfuscated the hunter’s gaze, must have required a complex mental connection



Fig. 5. Ornamented elk antler artifact from Rusinowo, Poland (Left: drawing by A. Rys; Right: modification of photograph by P. Kula; both courtesy of T. Płonka).

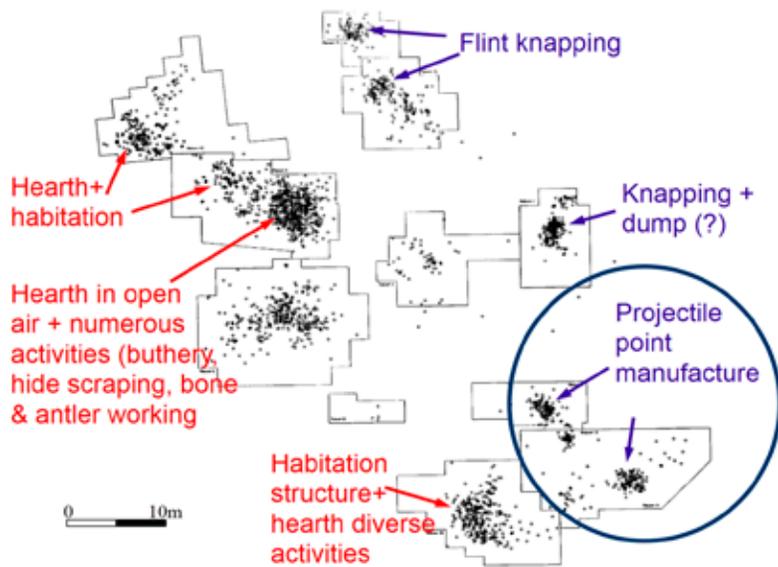


Fig. 6. Spatial distribution of loci at Rekem, Belgium, habitation zone 1 (after De Bie and Caspar 2000). Note how projectile point manufacturing in preparation of the hunt occurred in isolation from the general living areas.

and empathizing with the “other-than-human” prey. A need for this mental state would very adequately explain the necessity of seclusion preceding the hunt (fig. 7). Other conceivable practical reasons do not necessarily exclude this very real possibility.

### A wider picture

What if we look on a larger scale and consider settlement in the landscape? Can the way landscape was used reveal glimpses of the Prehistoric mental world? Are settlement patterns perhaps related to their belief systems, too? Intensive research in the last decade has shed a new light on the mobility behavior of Late Glacial and Early Holocene societies. With adapted approaches, sites were recorded in specific locations, and especially by the source of the river network where fens and also dry Late Glacial sand ridges along the open water were found. An association of finds with these more elevated areas along the open waters recurs at all comparable sites in sandy regions. The site complexes stretch along the wet depressions, over a length of sometimes several kilometers, and contain at least several hundreds of thousands if not millions of artifacts (e.g. De Bie et al. 2009).

Traditionally, such rich complexes were seen as so-called aggregation sites, where hunter-gatherer groups occasionally gathered in large numbers to feast and celebrate, to exchange partners or perform cultural

activities and ritual practices. Given their abundance in this area (they seem to be the standard rather than an exceptional situation), these site complexes rather seem to represent common practice. They may also have formed through repeated visits by rather small groups in the course of centuries or even millennia and represent so-called persistent places. Returning to the same preferred location, people gradually littered the entire ridge with their lithic production, eventually creating a huge site complex. Although the economic attractiveness of these locations with a diversity of rich biotopes may have been a prime mover for their selection as habitation sites, a socio-cultural tradition may also have started to grow around these spots as this revisiting continued. Revisiting would

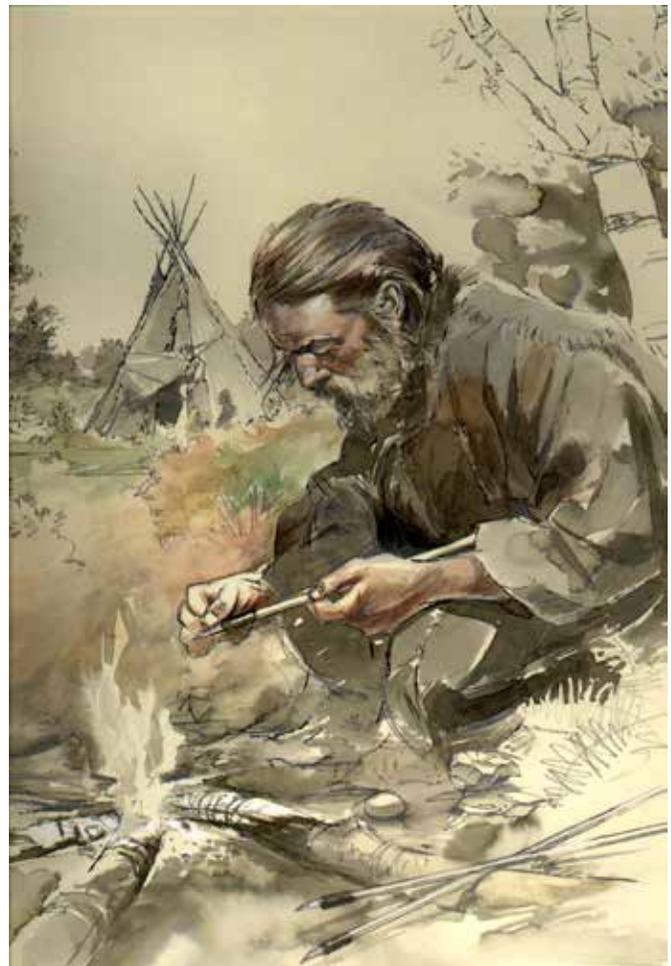


Fig. 7. Evocation of a Final Paleolithic hunter preparing for the hunt at Rekem, Belgium (drawing by Benoît Clarys; De Bie and Caspar 2000).

then not be a random act, but premeditated movement and mobility within a familiar landscape. Through a constant re-engagement with them, these particular places would gradually acquire meaning, eternalized into stories, myths and narratives, progressively making them locations with social significance related to group biographies. As waste accumulated in these locations, so did memories and social attachment. They became *lieux de mémoire* within the social landscape, ancestral locations that lived in people's hearts and minds. One of our future challenges could be to look for intentional depositional practices or other activities that may be associated with ancestral testimony or place-value experiences in general.

### Conclusion

While they have so far remained somewhat invisible, symbolic religious minds were of course present among northwest European Final Paleolithic populations. We started to investigate how we can make them archaeologically visible. For one, we argue that the material record of the spatial manifestation of high-order cognitive behavior relates to a quest for spiritual experience and reveals a symbolic expression of these human societies.

Other diverse sources of our archaeological record may reveal spirituality, if approached properly. We would like to open the debate on what can be done to understand more aspects of spiritual life, and to invite the research community to further explore, test and debate ideas and to search for additional avenues in the cognitive archaeology of the western European Final Paleolithic.

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# NOTES AND NEWS

ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

## WHAT IS CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY?

Conceptual Anthropology is the discipline concerned with the arts, rituals, beliefs and other intellectual and spiritual expressions; it combines various sectors of the human and social sciences to consider the meaning of behavior, habits and other cultural expressions, using experiences of the past to understand the present and conceive the options for the future. The concept gestated for some time until it was formalized during the UISPP Congress in Florianopolis, Brazil, in 2011, setting new horizons for human sciences. The participants in the session CISENP “International Scientific Committee on the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples” decided to make of the newly proposed discipline, Conceptual Anthropology, the concern of the Committee.

The goal of this new discipline is to understand human behavior and cultural trends: recurring and isolated phenomena, predictable and unpredictable evolutions and changes not only in economy and technology, but also in social, intellectual and spiritual life, relying upon a vast assemblage of knowledge and concepts from various disciplines, from psychology to history, from archeology to sociology. It is a permanent journey of discovery and emotions. Archeology and anthropology, history of art and history of religion, can benefit enormously from a cooperation with sociology, psychology, semiotics and other sectors of the human and social sciences.

Each discipline has its own memory as the basis of research and of 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 insights and associations of the human mind are still irreplaceable. Our being and 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 an electronic memory, but that kind of memory that turns into intuition and rediscovery, the memory coming from the deep well of human minds. Every human being, like every discipline, focuses on certain aspects of memory and neglects others. Together, various disciplines share wider dimensions of memory. As it becomes clear from the contributions of nearly 200 authors from about 40 countries in the issues of **EXPRESSION** of the last five years, such an approach offers an immense contribution to the study of the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples. One of the purposes of the magazine is the common commitment to the understanding of intellectual and spiritual expressions, with the shared support of multidisciplinary research.

As students of various disciplines, anthropologists and archaeologists, 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 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. Research has a real social function when it produces culture. When culture is creative and innovative, it promotes the growth of 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 and 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.

## **ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

The 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 a strong cultural basis society will not solve the cultural crisis and the long-range problems of social and economic stability. Reviving the role of culture is our modest joint effort to contribute overcoming the crisis.

**RETHINKING EINSTEIN:  
KNOWLEDGE VS. IMAGINATION**  
*“The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination”* This strange quotation found on internet is attributed to Albert Einstein. May we claim that both of them are needed? **Imagination without knowledge and knowledge without imagination are the two extremes of dullness.**

E.A.

**APPRENTICESHIP IN  
CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY**  
**Atelier** research center for Conceptual Anthropology is a workshop for researching, experimenting and debating on the intellectual and spiritual expressions of cultures. It is a meeting place for the arts and sciences. The apprenticeship, under the guidance of Prof. Emmanuel Anati, the founder of Conceptual Anthropology, may last from a minimum of two months to a maximum of one year. It grants the apprentice the title of Research Assistant. The apprenticeship is oriented to the acquisition of practical operational abilities and conceptual formation; it includes participation in research, editorial activities,

compilation, organization and layout of exhibitions and publications, the arrangement and cataloguing of ethnological collections, and the planning of cultural and scientific projects. It is a way to touch with your hands and your mind the practical work of producing culture. Traditional learning as an accumulation of theoretical notions is enhanced by applying these notions in practical activities, learning how to do things by doing.

During their stay in Camonica Valley, the student has access to self-catering accommodations on campus, at a student fee. Preference is given to graduates and other seriously motivated young people with knowledge of the English language and operational abilities on a database. Applications for the apprenticeship should be sent as an informal letter, specifying the motivations and skills of the candidate. The candidate should also attach to the letter their curriculum vitae, a copy of their record of studies, a copy of their identity card or passport, a recent passport-standard photo and a letter of presentation or recommendation from a university professor or a previous employer. Applications should be addressed by email to: atelier.etno@gmail.com.

## **LEARNING HOW TO BE AN EDITOR**

Readers interested in learning editorial work may apply for three months' editorial training at **EXPRESSION** Quarterly Magazine. Skills required: perfect knowledge of the English language; ability to manage various relevant computer programs; ability in public relations; special interest in anthropology and archeology. For applications or further information, please send us a letter expressing your interest and motivation, including a copy of an identity document, to: atelier.etno@gmail.com.

## **POSITION OF ASSISTANT CURATOR OF ETHNOGRAPHY**

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

and Oceania. The expected result is the compilation of a catalogue of a given collection, eventually to be published under the name of the compiler. 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 duration of his/her engagement.

The experience takes place in Camonica Valley, Northern Italy, and is expected to last a minimum of three months. Candidates should have mastered the English language and possess a university degree in human sciences. During their active presence, the accepted candidates have access to self-catering accommodations on campus at a student fee. Applications should include a letter expressing motivation, their record of studies, a copy of their 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 is produced by ATELIER, the Research Centre 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 by sending an email to the address <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: loost@ipt.pt.

## HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF CISENP

There are no formalities. It is very simple! Being active is enough to be a member. You express your ideas, participate in debates, develop dialogues with other members orally, by email, or through the pages of the

EXPRESSION magazine. If you have something to say, this is your home. Membership to CISENP is free of material charges, no fees required; it just implies your active conceptual presence. Membership is not exclusive to prehistorians, it is open to all the fields of human and social sciences. It is advisable, but is not compulsory, to be a member of UISPP. CISENP is a free association, free also from bureaucratic procedures.

### **CISENP: Commission Internationale Scientifique 'Les expressions intellectuelles et spirituelles des peuples sans écriture'**

Visual arts, music, dance, rituals, myths, traditions and other aspects of the conceptual expressions of humankind reveal the peculiarities of each society and, at the same time, the common intellectual and spiritual heritage that unites humanity. CISENP, *Comité Internationale Scientifique pour la recherche sur les Expressions Intellectuelles et Spirituelles des Peuples Sans-écriture* (International Committee on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expression of Non-literate Peoples), welcomes peoples from different disciplines to share their experiences, ideas and scientific approaches for a better understanding of human creativity and behavior, for a broad-minded study of what makes the roots of the present. Prehistoric archeology is in urgent need of this new landscape, "Conceptual Anthropology", in order to take a step forward. It is a new academic approach for building up a solid future for the study of man. Archeology, 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 have to join their efforts. This is the aim of Conceptual Anthropology. What is going to be the image of Prehistoric sciences in the future? 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 to understand the present, our present. Knowing one's roots is the elementary base of culture. In the tribal world, young people have been and still are being initiated to the knowledge of their past. The study

of Prehistory has to awaken interest and passion in the public: there is nothing more fascinating than discovering the background of human behavior, the emotions and passions that have caused the intellectual and spiritual adventures of humankind. This is the message that we can convey to our society. Let us join efforts to develop public awareness, education, formation, engagement, research, for a broader understanding of our past and our present. We can convey this passion only if we have this passion. You are welcome to join: atelier.etno@gmail.com.

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**VOLUMES 1 - 21**

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COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS
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Argentina	7	Mexico	3
Armenia	3	Morocco	1
Belgium	5	Namibia	1
Botswana	1	Netherlands	1
Brazil	8	Norway	2
Bulgaria	1	Poland	2
Canada	4	Portugal	8
China	29	Russia	3
Colombia	1	South Africa	4
Denmark	2	Spain	8
France	11	Sri Lanka	1
Germany	1	Sweden	1
Hungary	1	Switzerland	4
Israel	3	Tunisia	1
India	9	UK	9
Italy	14	Ukraine	2
Japan	1	USA	15
Jordan	1	Zimbabwe	1

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



Maori chief with moko, Captain Cook expedition.

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### What caused the creation of art?

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Saw Rock Art (South Africa)

## Expression 3

January 2014

**Discussion about the targets of EXPRESSION research group**



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

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### A selection of abstracts for Session at the UISPP World Congress "Atapuerca",

**Burgos, Spain** With articles by Emmanuel Anati and Ariela Fradkin (Italy), Daniel Arsenault (Canada), Ulf Bertilsson (Sweden), Pascale Binant (France), Paul Bouissac (France), Paul D. Burley (UK), Fernando Coimbra (Portugal), Léo Dubal (France), Arsen Faradzhev (Russia), Francesco Ghilotti (Italy), Lysa Hochroth (France), Bulu Imam (India), Shemsi Krasniqi (Kosovo), Gang Li and Xifeng Li (China), G. Terence Meaden (UK), Louis Oosterbeeck (Portugal), Hua Qiao/Li Bin Gong and Hui Liu (China), Marcel Otte (Belgium), Andrea Rocchitelli (Italy), Umberto Sansoni (Italy), Tsoni Tsonev (Bulgaria), Gregor Vahanyan (Armenia), Huiling Yang (China), Yuan Zhu and Zhuoran Yu (China).

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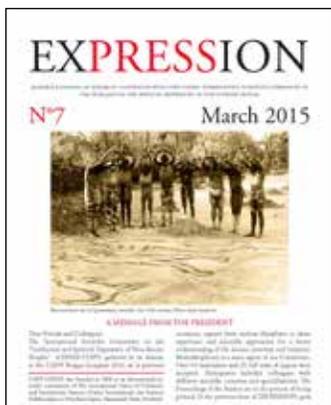


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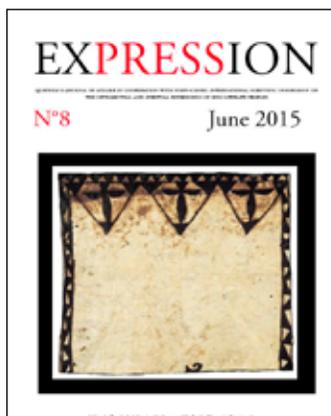


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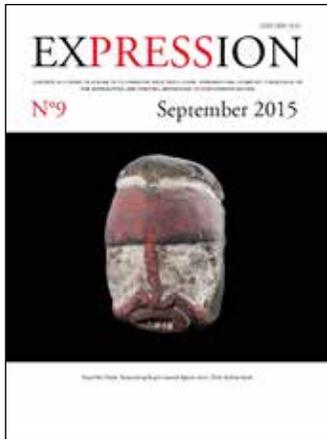
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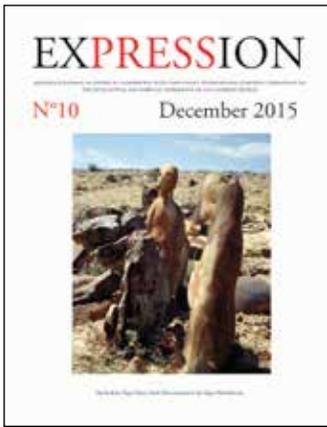
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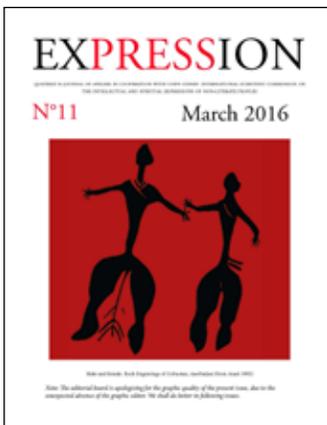


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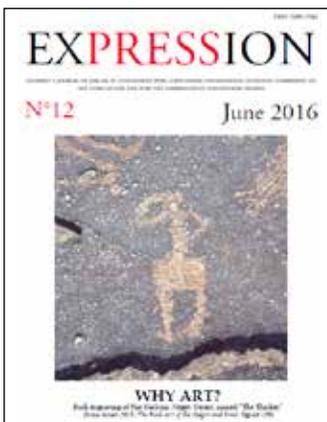


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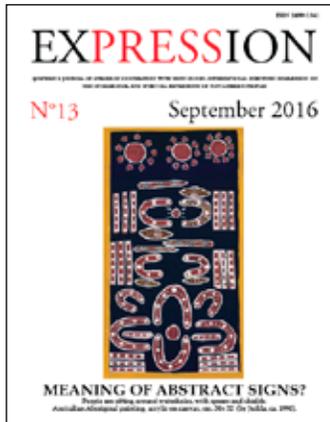
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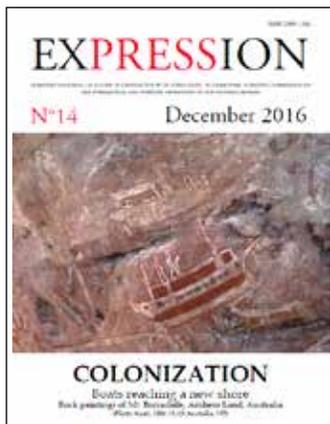


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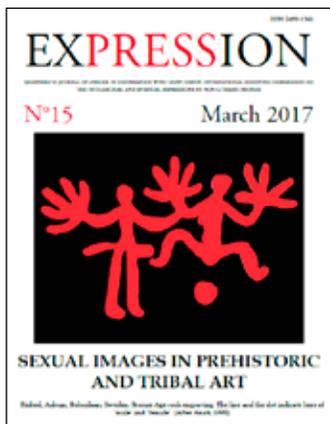


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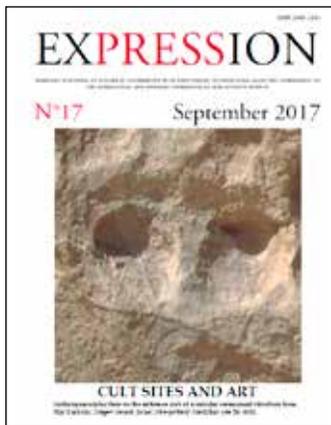
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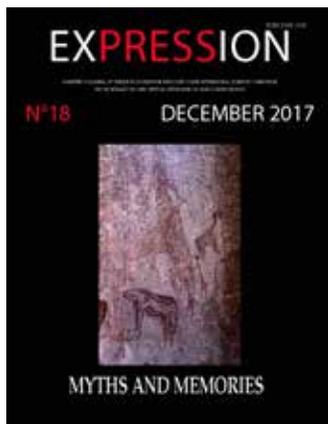
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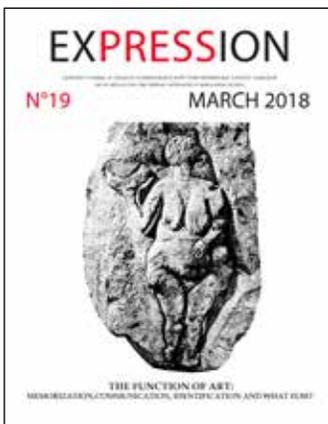
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# EXPRESSION



N°21 September 2018

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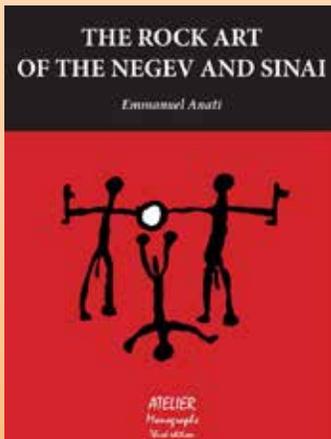
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# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

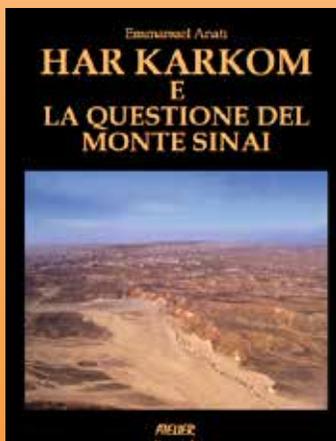
## **ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DESERT EXODUS: NEW DISCOVERIES RELATED TO BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY**

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

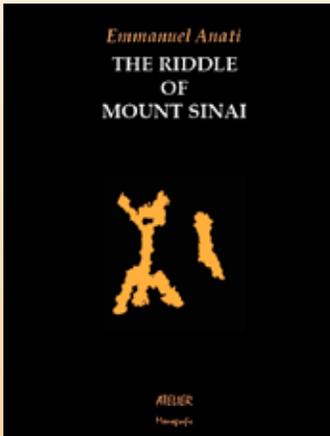
The findings of shrines and encampments of the Bronze Age at Har Karkom, a mountain located in one of the driest places and inhospitable parts of the Negev desert, in the north of the Sinai Peninsula, arouses a global debate on the hypothesis that this mountain can identify with the biblical Mount Sinai.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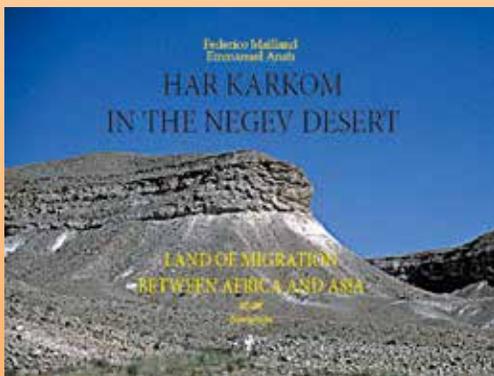
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# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE



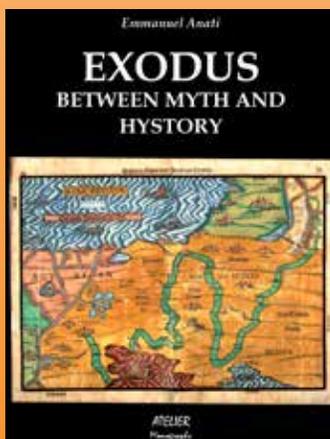
Anati, E. 2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English Edition  
Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 260 pp. 141 pls. € 40

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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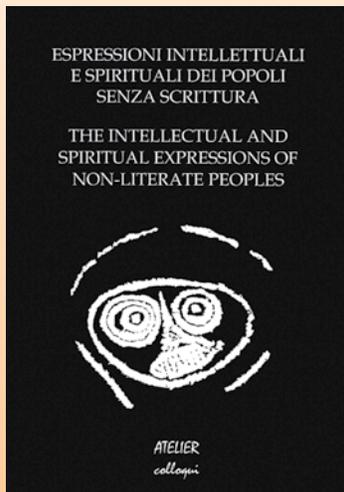
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## colloqui



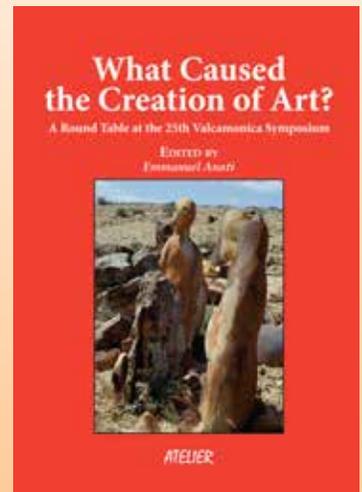
### Il segni originari dell'arte (In Italian)

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.



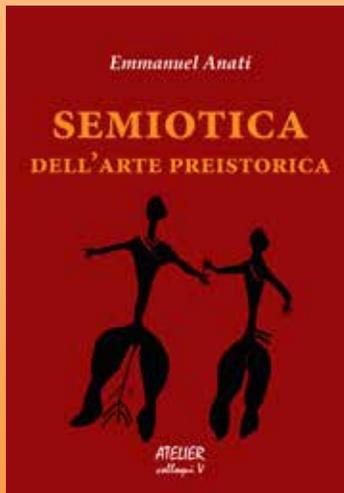
### What caused the creation of art? A round table at the 25th Valcamonica Symposium

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



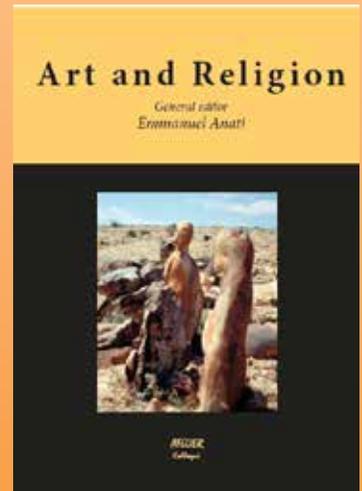
### Sogno e memoria: Per una psicoanalisi della Preistoria (In Italian)

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.



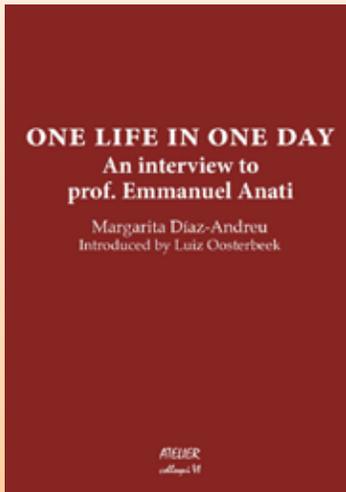
### Art and religion

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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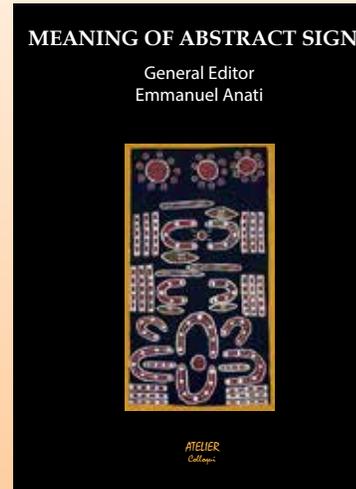
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## colloqui



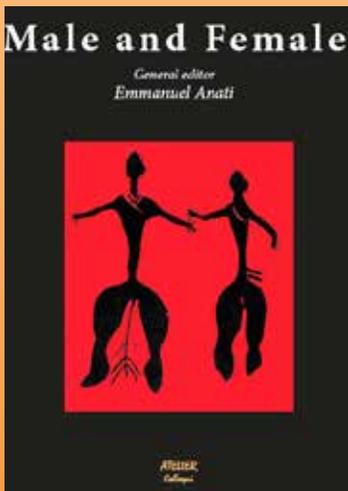
### **.One Life in One Day An interview to prof. Emmanuel Anati**

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.



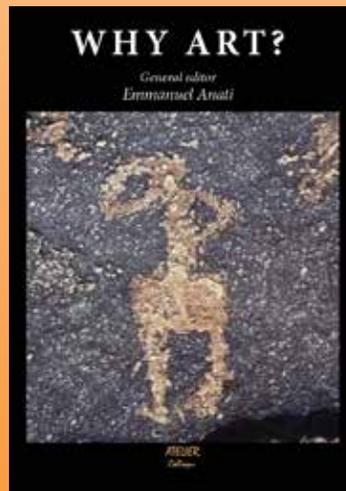
### **Meaning of Abstract Signs**

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.



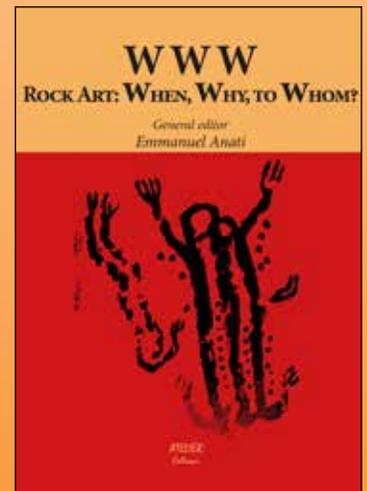
### **Male and Female**

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.



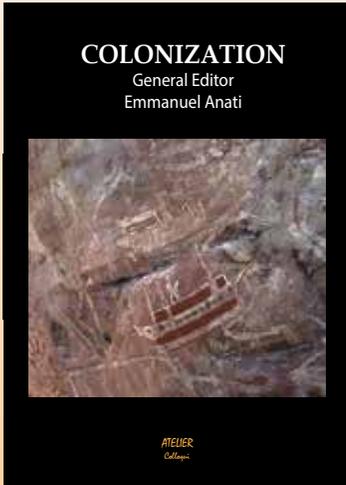
### **WWW - Rock Art: when, why and to whom**

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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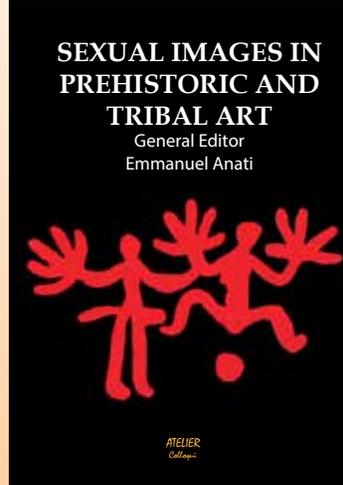
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## 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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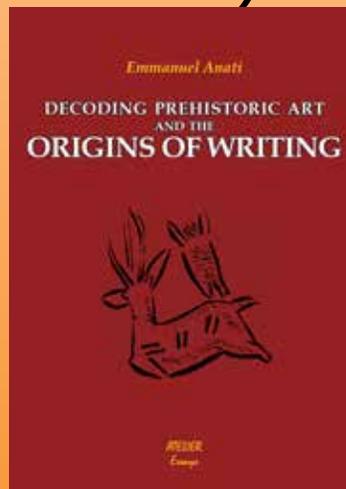
## essays



### 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.



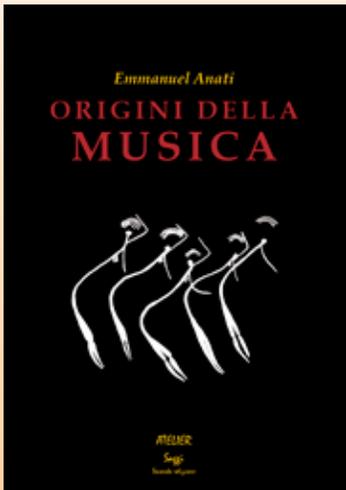
### Ordine e Caos nelle società primarie. Uno studio sugli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

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' 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.



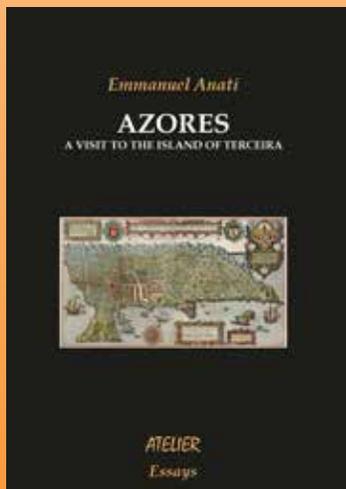
### Iniziazione e riti di passaggio (in Italian)

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.

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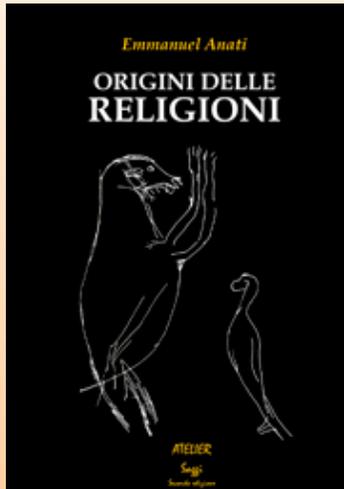
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## essays



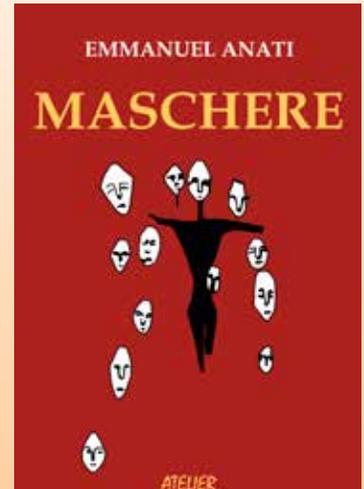
### Mito tra utopia e verità (in Italian)

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.



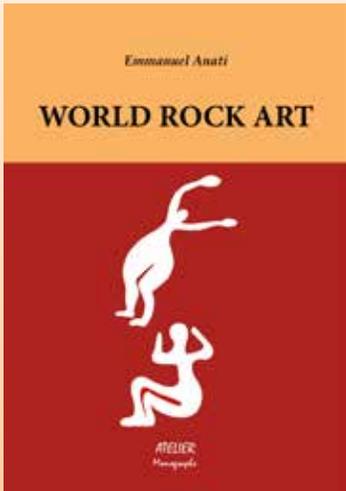
### Amore e sessualità (In Italian)

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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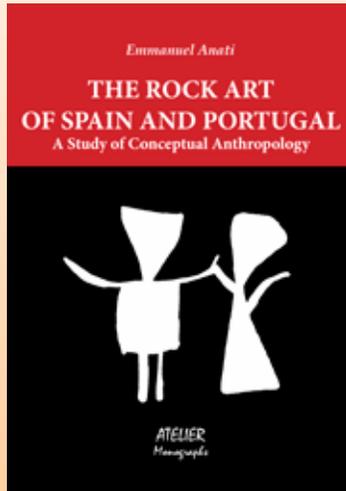
# ATELIER'S PUBLICATIONS

## monographs



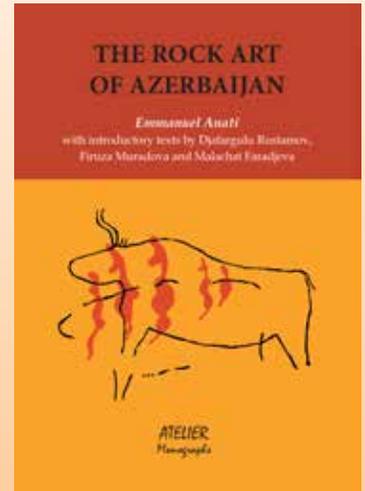
### World Rock Art

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.



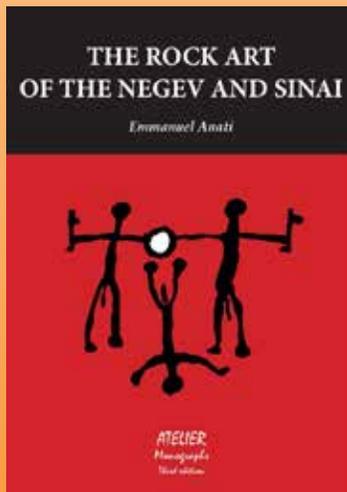
### The rock art of Spain and Portugal

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



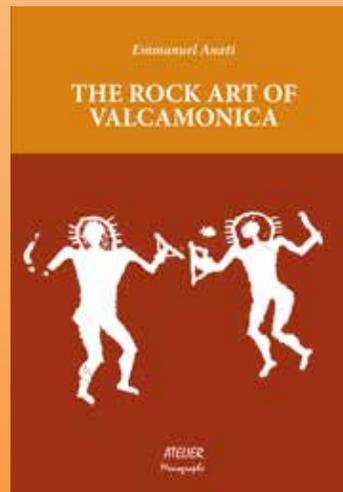
### The Rock art of Azerbaijan

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

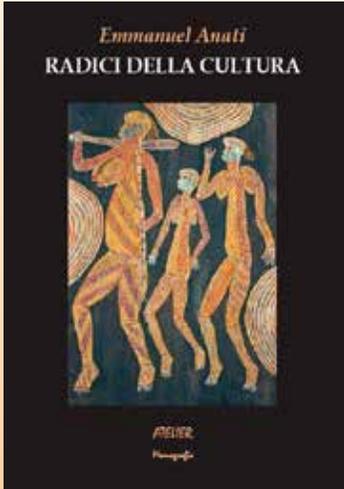


### The Rock Art of Valcamonica

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

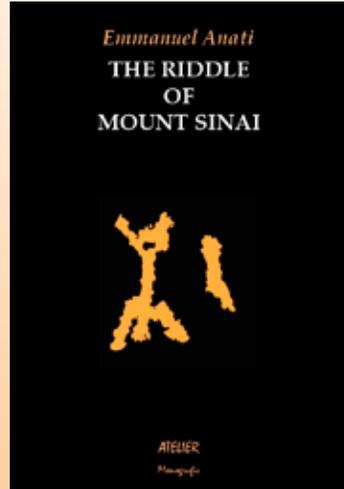
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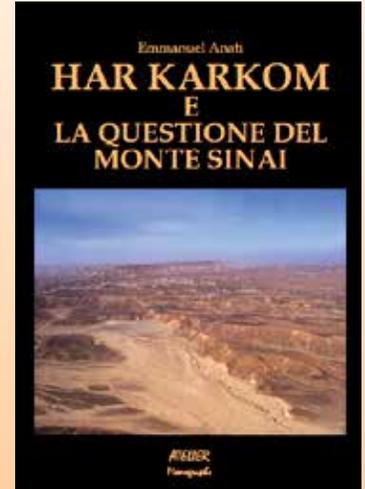
**Radici della cultura**  
(in Italian)

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.



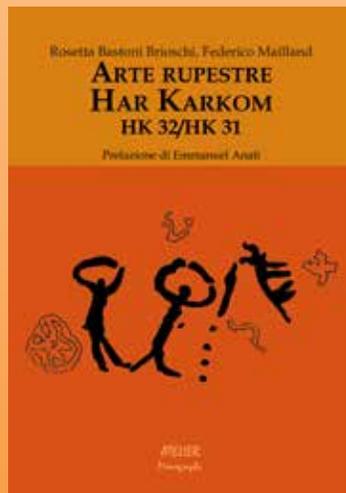
**The Riddle of Mount Sinai**

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.



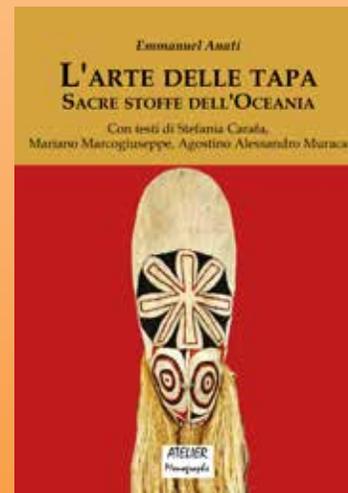
**Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai**  
(in Italian)

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.



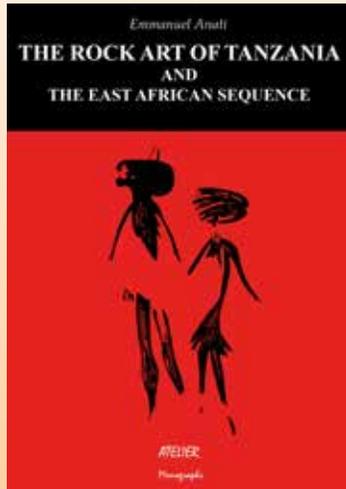
**L'arte delle tapa. Sacre stoffe dell'Oceania**  
(in Italian)

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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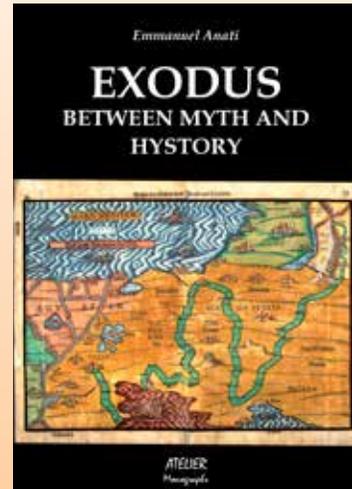
# ATELIER'S PUBLICATIONS

## monographs



### **The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence**

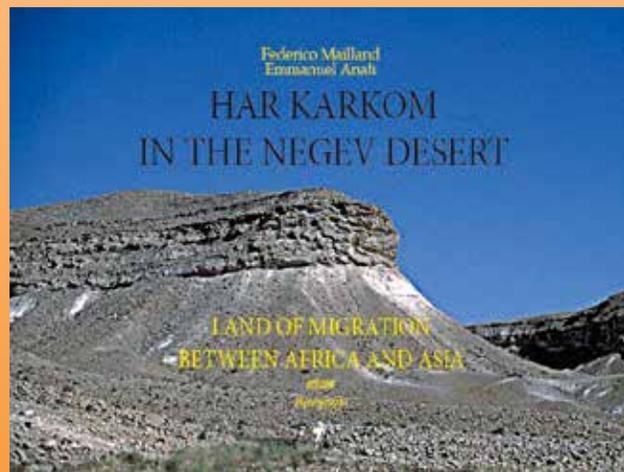
The rock art of Tanzania, in over 200 caves and rock shelters, is presented in this book using the analytical method of Conceptual Anthropology. Stylistic phases and periods are covering millennia.



### **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**

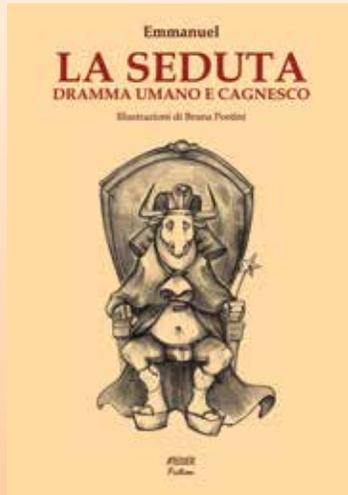
A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa.

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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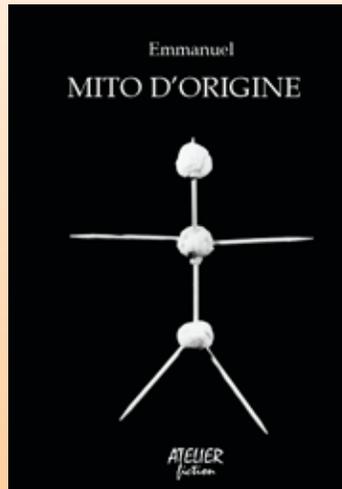
## fiction



### 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.

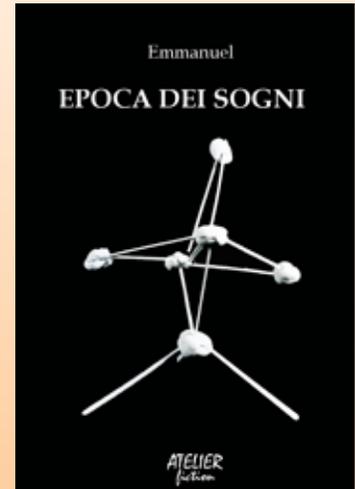
It was written in the 60s of the last century, in the climate of postwar youth revolt. It was published for the first time in 1979 in a bi-monthly magazine. It now comes out in a revised edition.



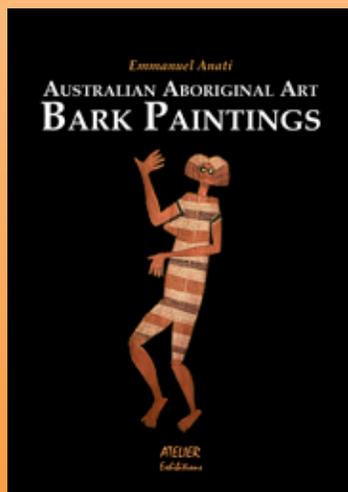
### Mito d'origine Epoca dei Sogni (in Italian)

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.

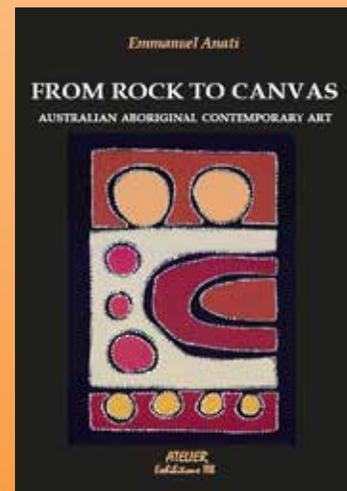


## exhibition



### 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.