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EXPRESSION

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THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL SOCIETIES

Part II

EDITORIAL NOTES

ON GENDER RELATIONS

The present issue of **EXPRESSION** continues the topic of the previous one, on the role of women in prehistoric and tribal societies. Women are about 50% of each human group and everyday life is shared by women and men. Men and women cannot exist without each other, but the relations between the two genders may vary from one society to another. Since the work of Margaret Mead on social life in the Pacific, Samoa, New Guinea and elsewhere some 90 to 70 years ago, the way anthropologists look at the role of women in tribal societies has changed. It is now more technical, less idealistic and perhaps less human. Mead inspired two generations of researchers in social anthropology and a notable literature developed about gender relations in tribal societies, mainly between 1930 and 1960. More recently there has been a decline in interest in the topic, though some publications have appeared on the role of women for example, in specific regions of the Near East and North Africa, Chinese traditional society, the Inuit of the Arctic, Jewish conservative groups. Between 1970 and 1990 Marija Gimbutas pioneered studies on the religious role of women in Neolithic eastern Europe. More recently a few other valuable studies have appeared on the role of women in tribal and prehistoric societies but nothing, to my knowledge, to produce an overview.

The Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology has awakened a renewed interest in this topic by producing some books, so far in Italian, like *Iniziazione e riti di passaggio* (2011), *Nascere e crescere da nomadi* (2013), *Ordine e caos nelle società primarie* (2014) and *Amore e sessualità* (2018). But the study of the role of women in tribal societies is rather neglected at present and understanding the role of women in prehistoric societies is worthy of wider consideration. And yet an immense documentation is available. What was the role of women in the early Paleolithic phases of Atapuerca in Spain or the Neolithic village of Banpo in China? How did gender relations reveal the spirit of society in different periods and regions?

Males and females have different roles, not only among humans, but also among other primates, and all mammals. Humans have always been inquisitive about the causes of effects. The variability of gender roles in human societies derives from different experiences and social trends. The feedback of hundreds of thousands of years provided by prehistoric research is certainly useful for gaining a panoramic vision.

Remains of burials and habitation structures may teach us something, but a major source is art. What can we learn from prehistoric and tribal art about the role of women in society? What do male and female images tell us about gender relations over time? This second issue of **EXPRESSION** includes some very useful articles and others will follow on the topic, which may continue to develop interest in forthcoming issues.

Human society has a variety of social structures, in which crowded urban congregations exist along with tribal agricultural villages and nomadic clans of hunters. These three and other patterns of society can also live near each other, today and in the past. The perseverance of traditions and cultural influence interplay. Near the town of Darwin in Australia, there are clans of semi-nomadic Aboriginal hunter-gatherers; near the town of Beer-Sheba in Israel there are tribes of semi-nomadic Bedouin pastoralists; and near the town of Dodoma in Tanzania there are tribal farming villages and semi-nomadic clans of hunter-gatherers. Each society has its own behavioral habits and male and female roles vary. Humans maintain their own traditions till they are conditioned by the influence of neighbors or by internal evolutions.

What can we learn about past habits? Some 20 engraved stone blocks from different sites in La Ferrassie area and the surrounding countryside in Dordogne, France, reveal the habit of the exchange of women between clans some 40,000 years ago. Apparently, women were traded like goods (*Decoding Prehistoric Art*, Atelier.edit, 2015). Until 100 years ago some hunter-gatherer Aboriginal tribes in the Central Australian Desert used to perform the marriage of a girl by making her have sexual relations with all the totemic brothers of the husband to be (*Iniziazione e riti di passaggio*, Atelier.edit, 2011). Among the Bedouin tribes of the Sinai Desert, some 50 years ago, a virgin girl could be acquired with five camels; a non-virgin woman would cost one or two camels (*Amore e sessualità*, Atelier.edit, 2018). In some regions of Tibet, women may have several husbands at a time, while in Arabia men may have exclusive harems with many women. In an area of southern India, women are the owners of the house and the land, they may have guest-mates and men are either sons or guests (*Radici della cultura*, Atelier.edit, 2017). Gradually information is accumulating producing an overview on the variety of possibilities for the simplest and most natural relation ever: the relation between the two genders.

What happened in the past? Urban societies are a cultural pattern of the last 5,000 years and farming villages devel-

oped in the last 12,000 years; before that, humanity was made up of hunter-gatherer's semi-nomadic groups. These various models of society have the common feature of being all composed of groups or families, nuclear or larger, where the actors are men and women. But even in urban societies the relations between genders are not always the same. The variations of customs and habits between major towns like Kabul and Los Angeles are as big as maybe the difference between distinct human groups in one of these towns. What kind of relations existed between men and women in the different societies in the past? Social structures, economic activities, and ritual and ceremonial performances usually allot different tasks to males and females. How can both rock art and mobile art contribute to this search for a vital aspect of human relations?

The roles of the male and female genders vary in different types of social assemblages or ethnic groups, but some functions are permanently assigned to one of the two genders. Men cannot become pregnant and have children; they cannot breastfeed newborns and in various societies they are considered unfit to take care of them. Pregnant or breastfeeding women are considered to be inadequate for fighting or heavy tasks. Among hunter-gatherers, women are considered to be unfit for elephant or buffalo hunting. Following up the prey, killing it, cutting its meat, separating it from the carcass and carrying the quarters of meat for miles to the gathering place of the clan are the tasks of men. Each gender has its specific function, which may vary from society to society. Other gender tasks may vary according to social patterns. Cooking food is a primarily male task among hunting societies and a female task among farming societies; building huts and other structures is usually a male task; decorating such buildings is frequently a female task. Every gender has its own ritual and ceremonial practices which vary in different ethnic groups. In art production, in many regions of the world, distinctive typologies and types of decoration show that the visual art produced by females is different from that produced by males.

Millions of images of men and women are present in the rock art and mobile art of five continents. They have been made by men and women of distinct human societies in the course of millennia. What can we learn from that about gender relations and in particular the role of women in various societies? In some prehistoric and tribal art images of women are dominant, in others they are ignored. In some rock art, female divinities are represented, in others women appear as sexual objects; in others again, they appear in graceful dancing, ritual scenes or taking care of children.

Colleagues and friends, men and women, from different countries and different traditions are cordially invited to propose their notions, their experiences, and their texts

about their areas of study or concern, in order to assemble a global overview on a fascinating theme, relevant for understanding ethnic, local and universal trends of gender relations. One of the mottos of conceptual anthropology is: "Recover the past to discover the present."

Submit your article, ideas and suggestions, or ask for additional information at <atelier.etno@gmail.com>.

A NOTE FOR THE AUTHORS

EXPRESSION quarterly journal is published by Atelier Research Center with the cooperation of UISPP-CISENP, the International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Peoples of the UISPP (*Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*, International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences). The goal of **EXPRESSION** is to promote dialogue, knowledge, and ideas concerning the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate societies. It is an open forum in conceptual anthropology. Colleagues having something pertinent to say will find space in this e-magazine, which is reaching people of culture and academic institutions in about 80 countries. Papers should have precise goals, conceived for this kind of audience, and possibly be well illustrated. Letters on current topics and short notes are welcome and may be included in the Discussion Forum section.

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



Front page image

Association of totem (horse) with vulvar ideogram: A marriage contract of 40.000 years ago? Engraved stone block from Abri Collier, Le Moustier, Dordogne, France (Anati, this issue, p. 16).

DISCUSSION FORUM

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

ON THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE

Culture is identity; the dynamics of cultural changes and evolution reflect trends in patterns of shared human identity. From what we know, the ancestors of mankind evolved in a corner of Africa some 4 million years ago, along with other primate cousins. Their earliest traces out of Africa, in the Near East and parts of Eurasia, go back 2 million years. Men and women with their children, reached Australia 60,000 years ago, America 40,000 years ago and several islands of the Pacific less than 1,000 years ago. They conquered the planet. The primate cousins remained not far from where they were. This seems to define an essential trend in human identity.

Yes. Humans spread over the entire planet. How? Why? We could also ask how and why Magellan, Cook, Vasco da Gama, Bougainville and others went to discover new unknown lands. More recently explorations of Antarctica were followed by the explorations of the moon, which may soon be followed by explorations of the planet Mars. Human colonies are not yet present there, but plans for colonization may come and culture may expand beyond any previously conceived limits. Looking at the past is a step towards looking at the future and understanding the spirit of man. Human colonization never stopped, just like the development of human minds. Both are looking beyond the horizon.

The finding of a few manmade stone tools suddenly reveals that 100,000 years ago some humans stepped on an island. What caused them to arrive there? And what else did these people bring with them? Their knowledge and their beliefs, their traditions, their language and what else? And then what happened? Culture is dynamic. How come that beliefs, traditions and languages were modified and acquired regional and local patterns? How come that different cultures came to give specific identities to different human groups? How are human abilities, concepts and traditions born, and how do they travel and have their course?

These questions arise in almost all research in anthropology and archaeology. They may arise in every event, conversation, thought or daily habit. They may arise even when you

think about your meal: how was this dish invented, where is it from? Potatoes and maize did not exist in Europe 500 years ago, the classic Italian spaghetti was first produced in China, and the popular pizza is similar to a pizza-like food common among hunter-gatherer peoples both in Africa and Australia, who put on top of the dough different herbs and do not call it pizza napoletana.

After fire was mastered, grilled meat became the most widespread dish, and did not need a plate. When the first cooking pot was invented, boiled food permitted a much more diversified diet. Food today, apart from fire or heat, requires a plate, a cooking pot and a set of knife, spoon and fork. The knife was in use already in the Paleolithic. The spoon became common in the Neolithic. The use of the fork is just a few hundred years old and it is localized in areas of European culture or influence. How did these habits diffuse?

The first homeland of humankind is believed to be a corner of Africa. Other primates grew there as well and they are still there. Over 4million years ago, the ancestors of man shaped the first tools to enhance the abilities of their hands, and 2million years ago expanded their territory beyond Africa, reaching Asia and Europe. How? Why?

Human colonization never stopped. High mountain ranges and regions of thick forest and faraway islands were reached and settled much before the invention of wheeled vehicles and motor boats. Islands, like Crete, which has never been connected to continental land, have traces of the human presence already over 100,000 years ago. By then seafaring had developed enough to allow the landing of entire clans on islands where they settled down for generations.

From what we know, Australia was first peopled about 60,000 years ago. Some 40,000 years ago humans had crossed Beringia and were present already in five continents. How and why did this diffusion take place? In the course of the last four millennia, hundreds of islands were populated in the Pacific and seafaring people introduced and developed different habits and patterns of culture.

Major islands, like Greenland or Madagascar, became populated by different waves of migrants. The history of man is made up of many stories, many events, many adventures, and many acts of daring and courage that reveal the marvelous human experiences of curiosity and inquisitiveness. They reveal your heritage, whoever you are, the identity of your ancestors: explorers, discoverers and conquerors propelled by the biggest fault and the biggest gift of our species: curiosity. Monkeys and other animals are curious too. What is the difference between their outcomes of curiosity and ours?

The diffusion of cultures never stopped. Famous events like the diffusion of European culture in Australia totally

changed its ethnic identity; the diffusion of Christianity in Latin America or of Islam in parts of Asia and Africa introduced new values and changed beliefs, cult practices, behavior, concepts and social traditions. Society and human relations altered too.

The diffusion of culture imposes new patterns and discards previous ones. The colonization of new living spaces in deserts, isolated islands and almost inaccessible mountain ranges, the expansion of cultural patterns, the elimination of other cultural patterns, and the meeting and mingling of cultures and traditions resulted in modern humanity. This reality is made up of an infinity of adventures.

Small details may inspire big thoughts. Even specific and local cases of colonization or changing cultural patterns may contribute to a more general overview.

What is the story behind the diffusion of a certain kind of pottery or a type of sailing boat? How come wheeled vehicles reached the four corners of the world? Culture marks the destiny of humankind. Near Eastern Neolithic peasants penetrated into Europe. Probably the old population of hunter-gatherers and incipient farmers was disturbed by this incursion. It was an illegal invasion of extra-communitarians that changed the ethnic identity of Europe and created a new European civilization which in the course of time conquered the rest of the world.

The spread and conquests of the Chan agricultural people suppressed and submitted pastoralists and hunters and created the Chinese identity and civilization and the biggest nation on earth. The Roman empire suppressed the barbarians, conquered people in Iberia, Gallia, the Balkans, North Africa, and the Near East, and created a new cultural and social pattern. This was the basis of a conceptual background that favored the birth and growth of Christianity.

Many other events defined the diffusion of culture. Every story, every tradition and every archaeological testimonial find is relevant. Even small events of tribal migrations and cultural influences are part of global history. Questions about the roots of Aboriginal arrival in Australia, the diffusion of man in Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, the colonization and subsequent abandonment of early cultural adventures in the Tassili and other areas of the Sahara Desert, the early penetration of peoples in the tropical forest of Amazonia or the Congo, the process of colonizing some tough regions like the Tibet high ranges or the Kalahari, the Rub el-Khali, the Sinai or the Gobi deserts, are significant events revealing the spirit of man. Is it surprising that such tough, inhospitable regions as Tibet or Sinai produced major trends of conceptuality and spirituality?

Every story and every myth, like every archaeological find and every tradition, provides a chapter on the diffusion of culture. Much still remains to be discovered or even under-

stood in cultural processes. Often, the available information is scanty. The Azores Archipelago is considered to have been first inhabited some 700 years ago, but when the first recorded visitors arrived there, they found domestic goats pasturing on one of the islands. Somebody had been there before. Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci discovered a new continent for the Europeans, where recently traces are being revealed of previous visits by Vikings and probably also Phoenicians and others. Europeans had been there before.

Sometimes a piece of pottery, a rock painting, the introduction of a domestic animal or plant, or other relics of human action may reveal a story of migration, influence or cultural diffusion.

Colleagues and friends having stories, ideas, or documents to share are cordially invited to join and propose their papers. Please consider that **EXPRESSION** is not a periodical specializing in a specific sector or area of archaeology, it is a quarterly e-journal in conceptual anthropology, addressed to institutions and individual readers in 80 countries around the world. Make your text appealing to this kind of audience. Avoid dry technical reports. Tell your story to a world of culture, make it interesting to people eager to learn from you.

Proposals or drafts of texts are welcome for a forthcoming issue on cultural diffusion. Do not leave it to the last minute. Details on how to present your paper are specified in every issue of **EXPRESSION**.

DEFINING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*

A forthcoming issue of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal may address the identity of the common ancestor of the whole of modern humankind: early *Homo sapiens*. Who is he? Paleontologists rely on skeletal features to classify *Homo sapiens*. But are bones sufficient to define the conceptual sapience of the *sapiens*? How may we classify the many skeletal materials of living populations today that show anatomical features not fully corresponding to the *sapiens* stereotype? Are Pygmies or Hottentots *sapiens*? Is their bone osteological structure similar to that of the European Cro-Magnon? Despite their distinct physical characters, they have the pertinent conceptual faculties and they are producers of elaborate visual art. Of course, they belong to *sapiens* societies. By using the term *sapiens*, it seems logical to define the meaning of the classification.

Conceptual anthropology considers that intellectual abilities define the *sapiens* identity. Among other tangible expressions of cultural identity, such as the refined typology

of the lithic industry, there is the habit of producing figurative art as a pattern of culture. Figurative art testifies to the ability to conceptualize an image, leading the hand to reproduce or idealize it. This is a major trend of the *sapiens* identity, implying the talent for synthesis, abstraction, and conceptualization. It indicates the skill of a logical concept of reality, allowing the visual transformation of this reality into image: the materialization of ideas, the idealization of reality, and the visualization of the real and the unreal. It is a unique ability of the *sapiens* which opened up new horizons to conceptual evolution.

Despite the opposition of traditionalist tendencies, the terminology used by conceptual anthropology names *Homo sapiens* the maker of figurative art. In Eurasia, this pattern is present in the Upper Paleolithic as the production of what traditional terms label *Homo sapiens-sapiens*. The terminology of conceptual anthropology eliminates the redundant second *sapiens*.

In Africa, Eurasia, Australia and the Americas, there are traces of visual markings, in the form of non-figurative signs, lines, dots, cup-marks, stencils of hands and other items copied, printed but not intentionally designed by the human hand. Such graphic markings are a proto-art, present before figurative art already in the Middle Paleolithic, though persisting into the Upper Paleolithic and later. Some tribal groups still perform this kind of non-figurative graphics nowadays, as means of communication, memorization, and for marking territory. The producers of the Mousterian lithic industry, Neanderthals and other Proto-*sapiens* groups of the Middle Paleolithic, already performed this kind of graphic marking which is not yet figurative art.

Figurative depictions intentionally shaped by human hands are the tangible expression of the conceptual rationality of *Homo sapiens*. They appear suddenly, fast becoming a widespread pattern of culture in different areas in Eurasia, the Far East and Australia, which are unlikely to have had direct contact at the time. They are the indicator of the presence of the mind of *Homo sapiens*. In Europe, the Near East and Africa, Proto-*sapiens* graphic markings and hand stencils may go back over 70,000 years, while figurative art shaped by the hands of *Homo sapiens* is today considered to go back some 40,000 years.

According to available chronological dates obtained by laboratory analyses, if, as it seems, they are reliable, such expressions of figurative visual art in Australia and Borneo, representing animals and/or human beings, appear 20,000 years earlier than in Europe, going back c. 60,000 years. Is *Homo sapiens* present in Australia so much earlier than in Europe? The earliest dates of figurative art as a widespread cultural pattern so far come from Australia. Where did figurative art start first?

Is *Homo sapiens* a single racial stock or are there several different cores of *sapiens*? If indeed *Homo sapiens* derives from a single nucleus, as currently maintained, where does he come from? Where did he originate? So far, the origins of *sapiens* have been considered to be in Africa. As defined in a previous issue of **EXPRESSION** (issue no. 18), early traces of his figurative art are present in Tanzania. A succession of varied features of animal figures and a rich sequence of different stylistic phases hint at an early period for the earliest phases. But no precise dates are presently available.

How do we understand the discrepancies in dates? Various considerations are open to debate: any human ability necessarily precedes its material execution. Different conditions and different inspirations may cause its factual formulation. In other words, the mental ability of producing figurative art may be there in a latent form; its material realization may take place when conditions or events provoke it.

Another consideration regards the missing evidence. Theoretically, if paintings on animal skins or tree bark preceded the paintings on rock surfaces in Europe or Australia no evidence is available on materials that did not survive. Nevertheless, archaeology relies on findings and such discrepancies in the dates of the first appearance of figurative art remain an open question to be understood and explained.

What caused the dynamics of diffusion? How did early *sapiens* walk all over the planet (yes: walked!!) from the African Cape to the Tasmanian Cape and the Fuegian Cape? He did not have any means of transportation, not even a bicycle. When the three capes were reached, the human population density was most likely less than one soul per 100 sq. km. It was not overpopulation that caused migration. Other primates did not have the same diffusion. Our cousins the chimpanzees and other apes still survive in their piece of bush. *Homo sapiens* was most likely pushed on by his curiosity, another of his features, that is, the need to look beyond the horizon to discover the unknown. Among other acquisitions, curiosity produced beliefs beyond knowledge. Both successful and unsuccessful efforts of confirming beliefs and making them become knowledge have been a major factor in the conceptual evolution of humankind.

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

Many other questions arise from the daily fieldwork of archaeologists and anthropologists concerning the issue of the identity of *Homo sapiens*. The local features of art, ma-

terial culture, social structure, typology of habitation sites or economic resources could contribute details of both general trends and the specific local varieties of human expression. Issues on evolution and variations in art styles and subject matter, the diffusion and localization of cultural patterns and regional specific characteristics may enrich our understanding, open up new horizons of knowledge and stimulate constructive debates.

A forthcoming issue of **EXPRESSION** will welcome articles on the many facets of the cultural identity of *Homo sapiens*: art, material culture, burial systems, social structure, religion, myths, beliefs and what else. Colleagues and friends with ideas and something to say or to ask are welcome to participate and share this experience.

INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS ARTS, BELIEFS, RITUALS, MYTHS, TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS

XIX UISPP WORLD CONGRESS, Meknes, Morocco

Over 1,000 archaeologists and anthropologists will meet in Meknes, at the UISPP Congress, 1–6 September 2020. The Congress is planned to include general lectures, scientific sessions, visits to archaeological sites, social events, official dinners, press conferences and open debates.

You are invited to join the event as member of the scientific session on: “The Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate Peoples “ (CISENP session 20-2020). Please confirm to CISENP SESSION CONGRESS 2020, by email: <atelier.etno@gmail.com> indicating your suggested status. The session will present papers, debates and encounters on the sources and the expressions of culture: arts, beliefs, rituals, myths, traditions and customs, memories and what else inspires the human imagination and creativity.

Participants may have one of three possible statuses:

- 1- Active member presenting a paper (the title of the proposed paper and a short abstract should be included).
- 2- Student and/or voluntary member to help at the event (engagement to attend and actively help during the entire duration of the Congress should be included).
- 3- Observer, coming to listen (reservations are required to get seats during the lectures).

Colleagues, students and friends wishing to participate are kindly invited to submit a preliminary registration by providing their name, postal address and email, along with the copy of a document of identity, to CISENP SESSION CONGRESS 2020, email <atelier.etno@gmail.com>, in-

dicating the status desired, and adding the relevant statement.

For a limited number of participants, it might be possible to obtain special registration and lodging conditions.

The session is convened by CISENP: International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expression of Non-literate Peoples. The visual arts, music, dance, rituals, myths, traditions and other aspects of human conceptual expressions, including when pertinent passions, emotions, taboos or conceptual trends, reveal the peculiarities of each society and primarily the common intellectual and spiritual heritage that unites humanity. As in previous events, colleagues from various disciplines are invited to share experiences, ideas and scientific trends for a better understanding of human creativity and behavior, for a broad-minded study and understanding of the past.

Conceptual anthropology is a new academic approach for building up a solid future for the study of man. Archaeology, both prehistoric and historic, needs a constant and open dialogue with other disciplines. The study of man includes anthropology, sociology, psychology, human geography, semiotics, history, art history, and other sectors of the humanities to share experience and knowledge. New documentation and new ideas are welcome. Archeologists and anthropologists are invited to make their knowledge available to other disciplines.

Since the texts will be available to all participants, each oral presentation of papers may be allowed up to 20 minutes. The written text may join one of three categories: short notes, up to 1,000 words, articles, 1,000–4,000 words, leading lectures, up to 6,000 words. The papers are submitted to the evaluation of reviewers. High-quality illustration is recommended. CISENP intends to publish all the accepted communications to be presented at the Congress in September. Titles with summaries of 200–300 words should be submitted by April 20, 2020. Full text with illustrations should reach the editorial board before May 20, 2020, so that the volume may be available in time to be presented at the Congress. Please do not leave it to the last minute. Because of the limited time available for the editing, in order for the volume to be presented at the Congress, it may be necessary to exclude papers received beyond the deadline.

Note: The diffusion of the Coronavirus epidemic awakens concerns about the possibility that the congress may be delayed or canceled. Hopefully, by September, the epidemic should be over. In any case, papers submitted on schedule and accepted for the session will be published, even if the congress is canceled or the author is unable to attend.

ANALYSIS IN CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY: SELECTING RELEVANT DATA

A discussion has persisted for years among researchers in the human sciences between a school advocating the description of as much data as possible and a school advocating the need of selecting data. Can the descriptive school and the analytical school find agreement? The collecting of data is the elementary base of research. Collecting as much data as possible is a sound principle for research scholars. It is possible to collect an infinity of data on almost any subject today. And it is obviously helpful to have them handy. A major issue is the selection of data according to the type of research and its goal. Once the goal of specific research is established, it is vital to evaluate what are the data meaningful to reach conclusions. Out of thousands of available facts, figures, materials and statistics, it is important to select what is relevant and discard the rest. Archives may contain everything but analysis and logic have to concentrate on the relevant facts. This selection determines the results of research. The immense quantity of available information may turn out to be a handicap in decision-making. The information must be available as well as the ability of selection.

The debate developed in the course of a project studying the meaning of Paleolithic art. Millions of data are available about size and measurements, typology, defining subjects represented, style, colors of the paintings and methods used for the engravings, the process of preparation of the colors, their chemical analysis, the grinding and the binding materials of the colors, the source of the colors (were the paintings made of local raw materials or of exotic resources?), the tools used by the artist, the kind of surface selected, methods of dating, the kind of environment, the position of the artist while executing the work of art, and an infinity of other data.

The target was to discover the content, that is, the messages that the graphic works intended to convey. Sophisticated algorithms led nowhere. The breakthrough of decoding came from the repetitive syntax of association between figures and symbols. These sequences and associations permitted the identification of the logic of a metaphorical system of conceptual communication, which was the key to read the contents.

ROCK PAINTINGS AT SERIDO: A VIEW ON A PREHISTORIC SOCIETY IN BRAZIL

In the last issue of **EXPRESSION** (26), Santiago Guimaraes presented a series of rock paintings from Serido in northern Brazil, located in between the states of Rio Grande do Norte and Paraíba, proposing an age of between 5,000 and 4,000 years. For that time and in that area, it is most interesting to see the image of a sophisticated boat with a cabin, and an animal, a domestic animal, probably a dog, following a man. The typology of this art, according to the images included in the article, appears to be focused on human figures and the grammar, the typology of graphemes, the syntax and the association between graphemes, which is made up of scenes, indicate a way of life of food collectors or agricultural communities, not of hunters.

The presence of vegetalia, such as leaves and vegetal branches, points in the same direction. The art of hunters usually has animals represented as the dominant theme, which is not the case; they never or almost never represent vegetal items. If the age proposed is correct, these paintings are highly relevant: they depict the economic bases and way of life of a society in northern Brazil, relying primarily on vegetal resources in a period and in an area that, until now, was believed to have been populated mainly by clans of hunters.

The images represent neither hunters nor clans. Some of these images describe personal relations between men and women. They are represented in two kinds of interaction: having sexual relations and disputing. Were these the functions of women as seen by the makers of this art? The repeated representation of couples with children seems to indicate a society made up of nuclear families where the couple (both man and woman) is devoted to children.



In each scene the confrontation is between one man and one woman, likely describing a monogamic society. According to the paintings, women's standing seems to be at the same level as men's. There is no evidence of the superiority of one gender or another. This society is not made up of clans or collective enlarged families but of nuclear families.

The reader and observer would be tempted to describe the context as that of an idyllic society made up of happy couples in a sort of Garden of Eden where the abundance of fruits grants plenty of resources. The scenes contradict such an idealistic concept. They describe quarrels, men and women shouting at each other! They immortalize moments of disagreements, often involving the children. And... according to the proposed dates, the Europeans had not yet arrived!

These rock pictures provide a most interesting look at a past society of which we have little knowledge. Some big questions remain unsolved: what did they have to quarrel about? And another query may be even more interesting: why did they have to depict such disputes? Any idea? Perhaps, a psychoanalyst should join the archaeologist to find the answers. Perhaps some reader may contribute to the riddle.





Typology of gender relations? Rock paintings of Serodó, Brazil. Tracings by the editor from photos in the article by Santiago Guimaraes in EXPRESSION 26

FORTHCOMING NEW DEBATES

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

- 1 - **ON THE DIFFUSION OF CULTURE.** How are human abilities, concepts, and traditions born, and how do they travel and have their course?
- 2 - **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS REVEALED BY PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** How pictures reveal social relations and social organization.
- 3 - **DEFINING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*.** Art, material culture, myths, beliefs, and conceptual trends.
- 4 - **WHERE DOES *HOMO SAPIENS* COME FROM?** Where, how and when?
- 5 - **IS *HOMO SAPIENS* THE INVENTOR OF FIGURATIVE ART?** Is visual art the sign of his presence?
- 6 - **PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF ARTISTS.** Identifying the hands of a specific artist, school or tradition in prehistoric and tribal art.
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- 16 - **VERNACULAR DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR SOURCES.** Decoration of objects, huts or rock surfaces as the expression of identity.

PROPOSALS FOR NEW DEBATES

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

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RECONSIDERING THE VULVAR STONES OF LA FERRASSIE (DORDOGNE)

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Among the expressions of Paleolithic visual art in western Europe there is a group of engravings on small stone blocks in the region around Les Eyzies de Tayac in Dordogne, which have been considered by various scholars. They are about 80 items, of various types, most of them engraved, some painted, a few painted and engraved. Some were found during archeological excavations and have been related variously to levels with the Chatelperron and the Aurignacian material culture and anyway to an early phase of the Upper Paleolithic. Likely they all belong to the same cultural horizon, at the beginning of the Upper Paleolithic, as Abbé Henri Breuil proposed (Breuil, 1935, 1952).

These stone blocks have attracted the attention of the main protagonists of European prehistory, such as Breuil, Henri Delporte and André Leroi-Gourhan (Leroi-Gourhan, 1958, 1974). The first descriptions of some of these artefacts go back to the beginning of the 20th century, by Capitan and Denis Peyrony, who discovered most of them (Capitan and Peyrony, 1906, 1908, 1912, 1921; Peyrony, 1932, 1934, 1935). Some of them were described by Gaston Lalande and Jean Bouyssonie in their study of the site of Laussel (Lalande and Bouyssonie, 1946). A detailed description was published by Gilles and Brigitte Delluc (Delluc and Delluc, 1978). My first published consideration of this group of prehistoric art goes back to 2007 (Anati, 2007). I returned briefly to this theme in an earlier issue of *EXPRESSION* (Anati, 2017: EXP 15). Some new considerations take me back to this topic: what was the function of these engraved and painted stone blocks?

Most of the authors mentioned have discussed the chronology and typology of these artefacts, but little has been said about their meaning. According to their typology they are likely to have had different functions. We consider that all of them were produced for some purpose: different types of themes represented are likely to have different purposes. Twenty of these blocks have mainly cup-marks and may have had a purpose related to whatever may have been the func-

tion of the cup-marks. Several have animal figures and appear to constitute a different typology. Our tentative hypothesis is that the animals are totemic symbols representing clans and defining ownership of caves and rock shelters. Some have human figures, mainly female, others have abstract signs, others again carry the dominant theme of the vulvar ideogram and these are the concern of the present paper.

Among the diverse graphic representations, a group of 20 engraved blocks have figures normally defined as the vulvar ideogram as the dominant element. Vulvar signs or ideograms are U-shaped, circular or semicircular engravings that sometimes, but not always, have

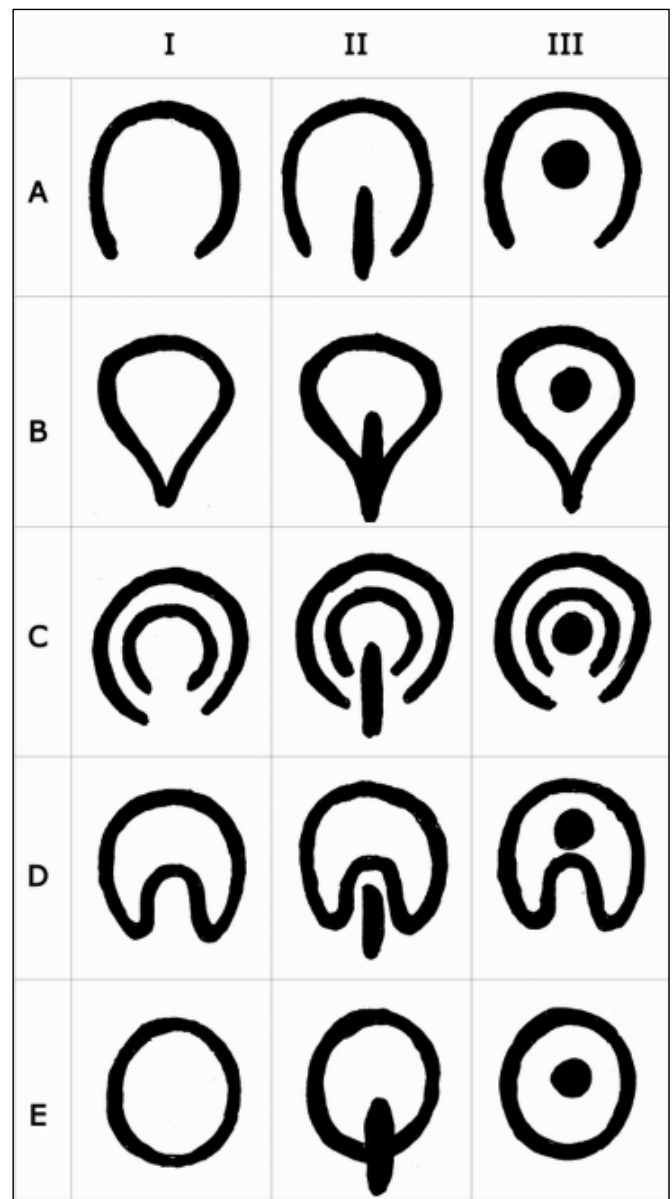


Fig. 1. A schematic typology of the *vulva* ideogram from the Paleolithic vulvar blocks of La Ferrassie group.

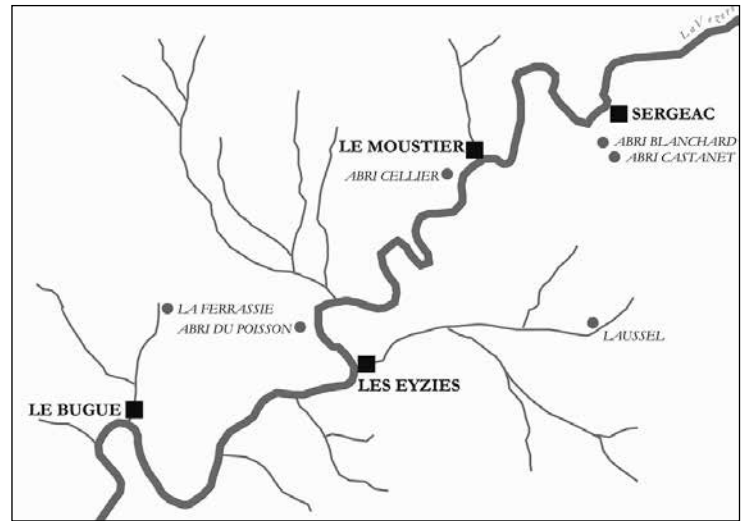


Fig. 2. Distribution map of the sites around Les Eyzies, Dordogne, showing the sites of the vulvar blocks.

a medial fissure (fig. 1). The iconography of the stone blocks in question includes small cupules or engraved dots and cup-marks (cup-shaped deep engravings). Engraved dots and deeply engraved cup-marks make two different types of engravings, not to be confused. The engravings also include *bâtonnets* (linear stick-shaped carvings), and show a frequent association of cup-and-*bâtonnet*. In recent studies on the decoding of rock art, engraved dots appeared to have the repetitive meaning of action, the verb to do. If three or four engraved dots are in a line, tentatively their reading could be the numeric value of three or four, or do or repeat it three or four times. Likewise, in frequent cases, cup-marks appear to have a female value and *bâtonnets* a male value (Anati, 2015: *Decoding rock art and the origins of writing*). At first sight, the engravings already appear to be concerned with the relation between genders.

The 20 blocks with *vulva* ideograms as the dominant theme are all concentrated in a region of a diameter of c. 25 km near the township of Les Eyzies in Dordogne (Fig. 2). They come from six sites (in alphabetical order): Abri Blanchard (4 specimens), Abri Castanet (2), Abri Collier (4), La Ferrassie (5), Laussel (4) and Abri du Poisson (1). All the 20 blocks from the different prehistoric sites display abstract, symbolic compositions and have an extremely limited repertoire: the vulvar sign, the zoomorphic profile, dots, cup-marks and *bâtonnets*. The syntactic associations are repetitive, which suggests that these artefacts had a specific function. Their concentration in a limited area where the

maximum distance between one site and another is no more than one day walk may indicate a local habit of a specific cultural group.

Considering thus that these blocks are concentrated in a limited area, all of them have a repertoire limited to the same repeated graphemes and the same associational syntax of *vulvae* associated with dots, cupules and *bâtonnets*, it can be deduced that all of them had the same meaning and function. All stone blocks were originally found in what the discoverers defined as habitational sites. Full descriptions and measures of these engraved blocks are recorded in my 2007a quoted paper. An obvious element was first reported in the same text. All previous authors had ignored the fact that most of the unbroken blocks have the general shape of the stone, frequently partly deliberately modeled, as an animal or an animal head. The stone blocks were selected by searching for specific features in the natural shapes. One block that does not show this feature, shows an engraved animal figure. The *vulvae* are engraved on top of animal shapes or are related to the animal shape.

Thus, the stone blocks were selected for their outline shape or deliberately shaped and given an animal form, mostly an animal head. The choice of a specific natural shape to become the base of engravings or paintings is a repetitive feature of the earliest iconography in various parts of the world. In the proto-figurative phase, the natural forms appear to be a basic motivation for the intervention of man-made graphic signs (Anati, 2015b: *World Rock Art*).

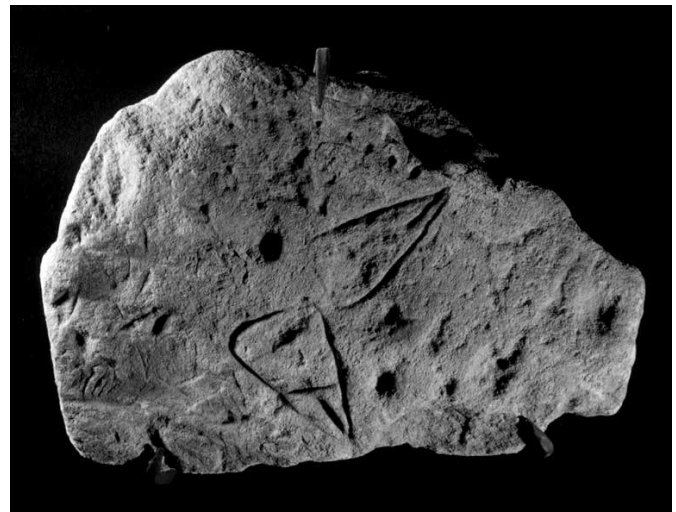
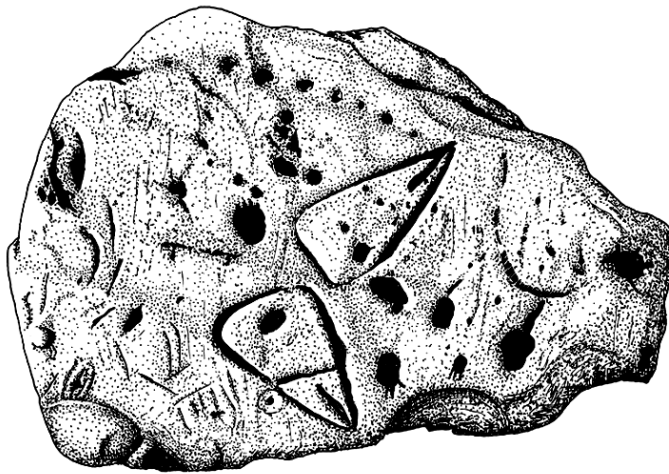


Fig. 3 a-b La Ferrassie, Dordogne, France. A block of stone with a partly intentionally shaped outline that evokes the body of a bison has the engravings of the horns and of an eye of the animal (left). On the surface there are two *vulva* ideograms, cup-marks, sequences of dots, and other ideograms. (After Anati, 2007b).

The animal shapes are quite elusive, often consisting of hints, just marks of what appears to be the horns or the eyes, the muzzle or other defining features of the animal. The shape of the block and its contour were planned and in almost all specimens the presence of the elusive animal was part of the shape of the block. In one case, the animal image is less elusive and, as mentioned already, is engraved overlapping the vulvar symbol.

I did not have the opportunity to examine one of the engraved blocks (White *et al.*, 2018). Out of the 19 specimens examined, five had only one phase of engraving, 11 had two phases and three had three phases. The surfaces of all the blocks were polished and prepared before engraving. At least in 16 cases out of 19 the contour of the block had clear signs of having been modeled. In at least 12 cases out of 19 the zoomorphic grapheme had clear signs of deliberate shaping, while in seven cases it was represented mainly by the natural shape. In at least 11 cases out of 19 the engraved block had been intentionally broken or partially scraped before being abandoned in the state in which it was found.

The *vulva* and the animal appear to be the two fundamental elements that are related to each other. They are associated with dots, cup-marks and *bâtonnets*, as well as with small groups of aligned notches that may have a numerical value (five cases). The impression is that nothing here is casual. All the engravings produced

by the human hand had a meaning. The secondary marks appear as additions or specifications of actions or agreements related to the main theme which is the relation of the *vulva* ideograms to the animal shape.

In 10 cases out of 19, traces attest to the elimination of previous compositions and reworking of the surface, although some traces of the older engravings remain in spite of the deliberate polishing and scratching. The same surfaces were reused, but every time the previous engravings were cancelled. In each phase the deliberate graphemes were redone. Even when intended to represent a *vulva*, the previous *vulva* was cancelled by scraping and another one was engraved on top.

In most specimens there are intentional, ancient break-ages. It is likely that the blocks – we would rather use the term documents – were broken once the function had been fulfilled or when the operation was concluded for some reason. Even in the case of a cancellation of a previous phase by scraping and polishing, it looks as if the vulvar compositions had a precise function and nothing was fortuitous. The association of *vulva* and animal appears to have a totemic character: the animal figure may have represented the ethno-totemic identity of a clan or of an individual, related to the signs of *vulvae*.

The fact that there are several *vulvae* associated with only one animal and the presence of notches and dots with a probable numerical value may be relevant in attempting to find a function for these findings.

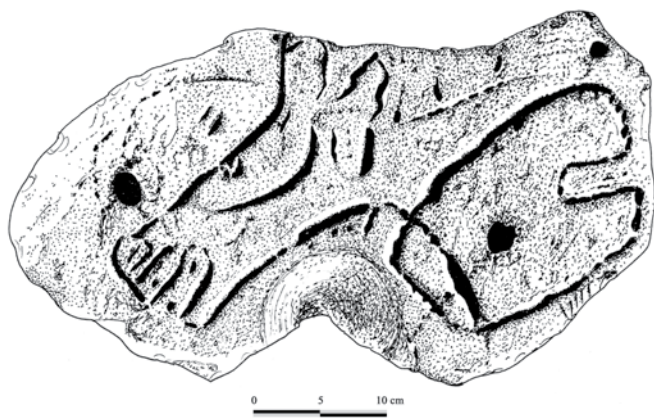


Fig. 4a-b. Abri Cellier, Block 2 (WARA DIS000491; DIA001871).

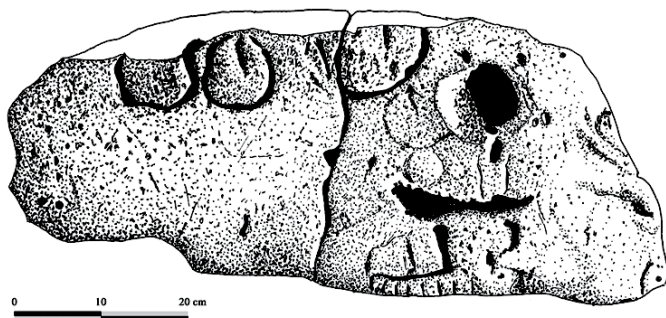


Fig. 5a-b. Abri Cellier, Block 3 (WARA DIS000492; DIA001870).

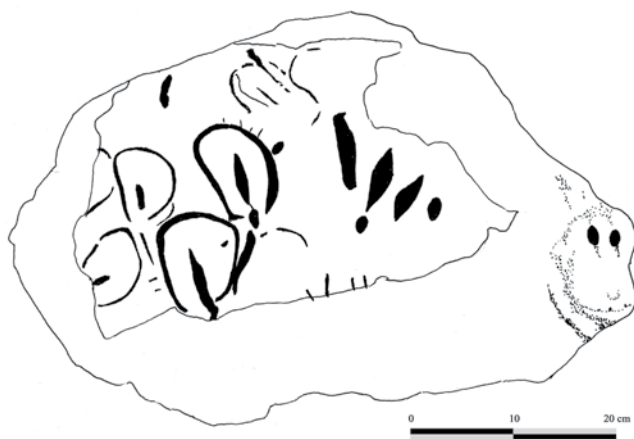


Fig. 6a-b. Abri Cellier, Block 6 (WARA DIS000493; DIA001869).

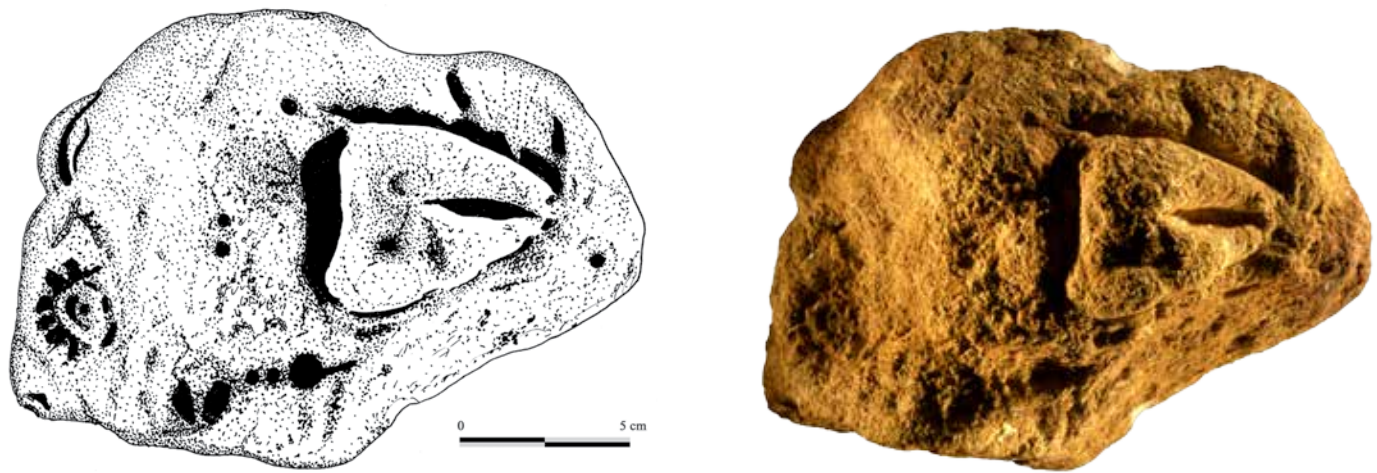


Fig. 7a-b. La Ferrassie, Block 8 (DIS000496; DIA001877).

The animal is always one, while the *vulvae* vary from one to four in each composition or phase. Without counting the possible traces of deliberately cancelled previous phases, out of the clearly readable assemblages, seven specimens have one *vulva*, seven have two, three have three and five have four *vulvae*.

In the specific case of La Ferrassie vulvar stones, as in other Paleolithic or later contexts, it is currently maintained that cup-marks have a female value and *bâtonnet* has a male value. Their presence and associations are likely to be significant. They appear to be accessories to the fundamental theme of the association between *vulva* and animal. The totemic animal can have different functions. It can indicate the totemic belonging of the *vulva* or it can indicate the totemic identity of the male or the clan claiming a right over the *vulvae*.

The syntax is very simple and archaic, just an association between two elements, the *vulva* ideograms and the animal, mostly represented by the artificially shaped contour of the stone and the intentional engraved details on its surface. The constancy of this association, together with the addition of the supplementary details of the presence of dots, cup-marks, lines and other ideograms, some of which may have a numeric or quantitative value, has led to the conclusion that they represent agreements between clans for the acquisition or exchange of *vulvae* (women). The animal figure indicates the name or totem of the individual or the clan and the signs for *vulva*, in number between one and four, indicate the number of women

in the operation. They are synthetic documents, sequences of ideograms that reflect a very simple, essential purpose, that of transmitting information or memorizing facts or agreements. They are documents whose system is similar, though much older, to trading documents from the beginning of formal writing in Egypt or Mesopotamia.

The reading is of the type 'horse (horse's clan) four *vulvae* (four women)'. The main difference is that the Near Eastern documents are concerned with wheat or other food products, timber, mining goods and other merchandise, whereas in these documents of La Ferrassie group, the goods are women. The registration and memorization concepts are the same. It is worth noting that the ideogram for woman is neither the face nor the profile of the body, but the sexual organ, an explicit indication of the function. Probably we shall never know what the feelings of the women involved in this kind of agreements were, likely to have been managed by the dominant males of the clan.

A major question arises: from what we know of European Paleolithic art, to what cultural context and age can this group of engraved stone blocks belong? Most authors have related these engravings to the Aurignacian culture. Their typology, consisting of the dominance of the *vulva* ideogram, the association of dots and lines, sketches of animal heads, the syntax made up of simple meaningful associations of two main elements, does not correspond to that of the Au-

rignacian. The same typology and the syntax of simple binary associations is also present in some early cave paintings in the Franco-Cantabrian region which, in my modest opinion, display a kind of conceptual association different from what we know as Aurignacian art. To my mind they are not Aurignacian.

Conceptually, this assemblage of engraved blocks represents a sort of proto-figurative horizon, where the figures of both the *vulvae* and the animal heads are more symbols (ideograms) than real figures (pictograms). Most of the pertinent early publications considered a type of flint industry as Aurignacian which in fact is Chatelperronian. Considering the typology of the engravings, the syntactic type of association of the graphemes and the context of material culture in the mentioned sites, to my mind they all belong to the Chatelperron cultural horizon (Anati, 2007b, chapter “Le problème du Chatelperronien”, pp. 73-78). This proto-figurative horizon is likely to precede the fully figurative horizon of the Aurignacian, at least conceptually.

In conclusion, the vulvar engraved blocks of La Ferrassie group appear to have been some sort of legal act regulating the man-woman relationship and functioned as a behavioral code for the clan. Probably they can be considered the earliest known marriage contracts. We do not know to what extent they may have benefited from the consent of the involved women.

The question arises of whether these stone blocks were the only material upon which such agreements were stipulated. Probably wood, bark, animal skins and even sacred trees may have been used for similar purposes. Who knows how many such agreements were carried out in Paleolithic times! Those on stone are the precious only ones that have survived, revealing a new chapter in gender relations, showing us glimpses of the daily life of over 40,000 years ago.

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- Note : Photos from Anati Archives ; all the tracings of the engravings are by E.A.

WOMEN IN INDIAN ROCK ART

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Introduction

Indian rock art has been studied since the 19th century. The pioneers of research on Indian rock art were two Englishmen, Archibald Carlyle (Carlyle) who first noticed rock paintings in 1867, and John Cockburn who visited painted sites in the Kaimur range (district of Mirzapur) in 1881. C.A. Silberrad (1907), C.W. Anderson (1918), B. Allchin (1958), D.H. Gordon (1939) and M. Ghosh (1932) also discovered and worked on Indian rock art sites. From 1957 to 1987, V.S. Wakankar discovered many such sites all over India. In particular, he discovered and excavated Bhimbetka and revealed stratified sequences from the Lower Palaeolithic to Early Historic (Wakankar 1975).

Madhya Pradesh is the largest Indian state. It is right in the middle of the country and it is the place with most rock art. It is crossed by two mountain ranges, Satpura and Vindhachal, with numerous rock forma-

tions with shelters favorable to painting.

Contrary to European Palaeolithic art where humans are so rare, human representations are very common in Indian rock art from early Mesolithic to modern times. Another huge difference is that in India they are detailed and well characterized: one can most times tell their gender and what they are doing. Their actions are diverse, whether men or women. Men are not always at war and women are not always dancing! We shall see all that, mainly in central India in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan.

Discussion

Women have been shown in Indian rock art since early Mesolithic times. In many images, a man will be a stick figure accompanied by rectangular-shaped women (fig. 1).

During the Mesolithic women and men both used to wear a single piece of cloth to cover their sexual organs. "Woven garments probably made with palm leaves or skin, thread made with fibery barks or shrub palms must have been manufactured. Awls were often obtained from the Mesolithic deposits" (Wakankar 1992: 332).

Their uses of ornaments reflect their aesthetic sense



Fig. 1. Man shown as a-stick shaped figure accompanied by rectangular-shaped women. Mesolithic. Belkhandar, Bori in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 2. Women and men with headgear, armlets, bracelets and knee bands. Mesolithic. Belkhandar, Bori in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.

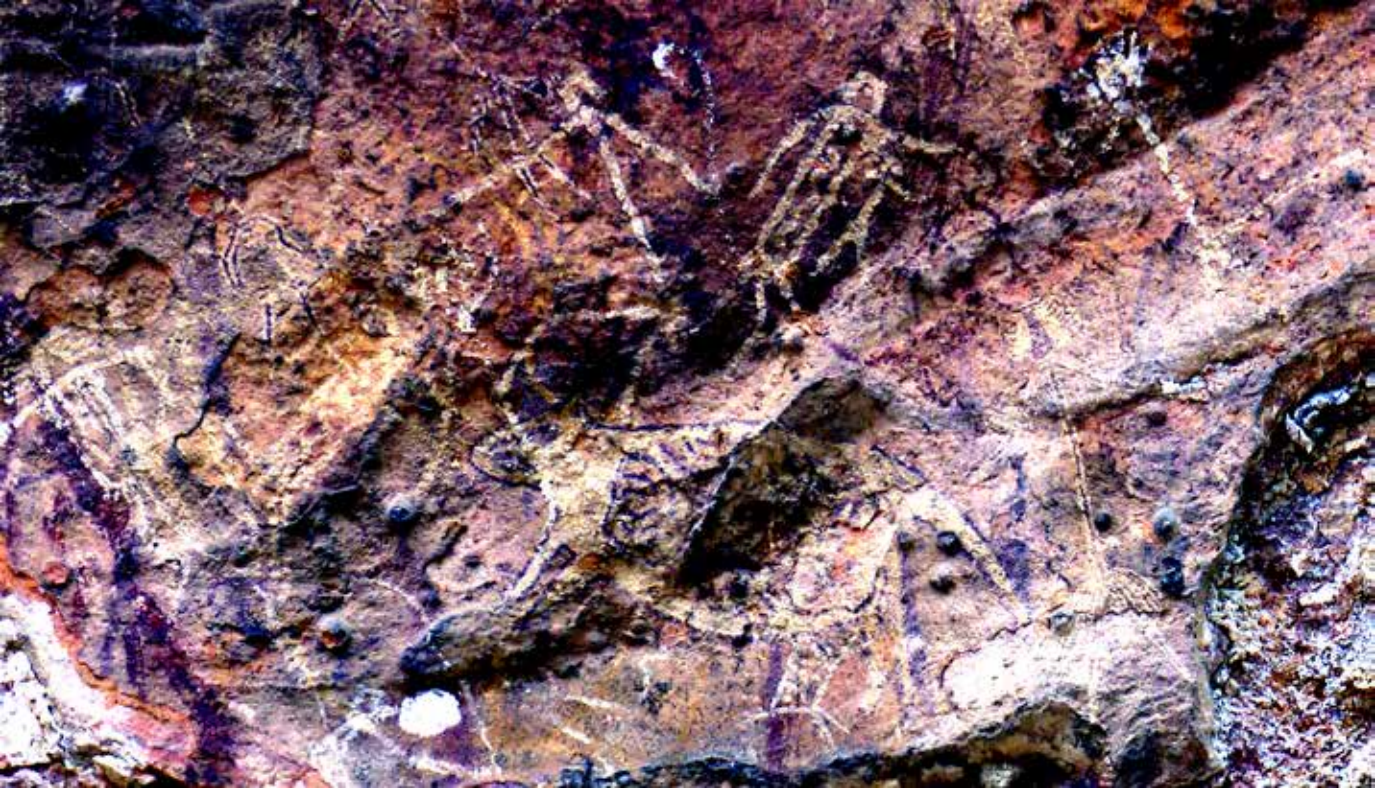


Fig. 3. Hunting scene: a wild boar is surrounded by men and women. Mesolithic. Belkhandar, Bori in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.

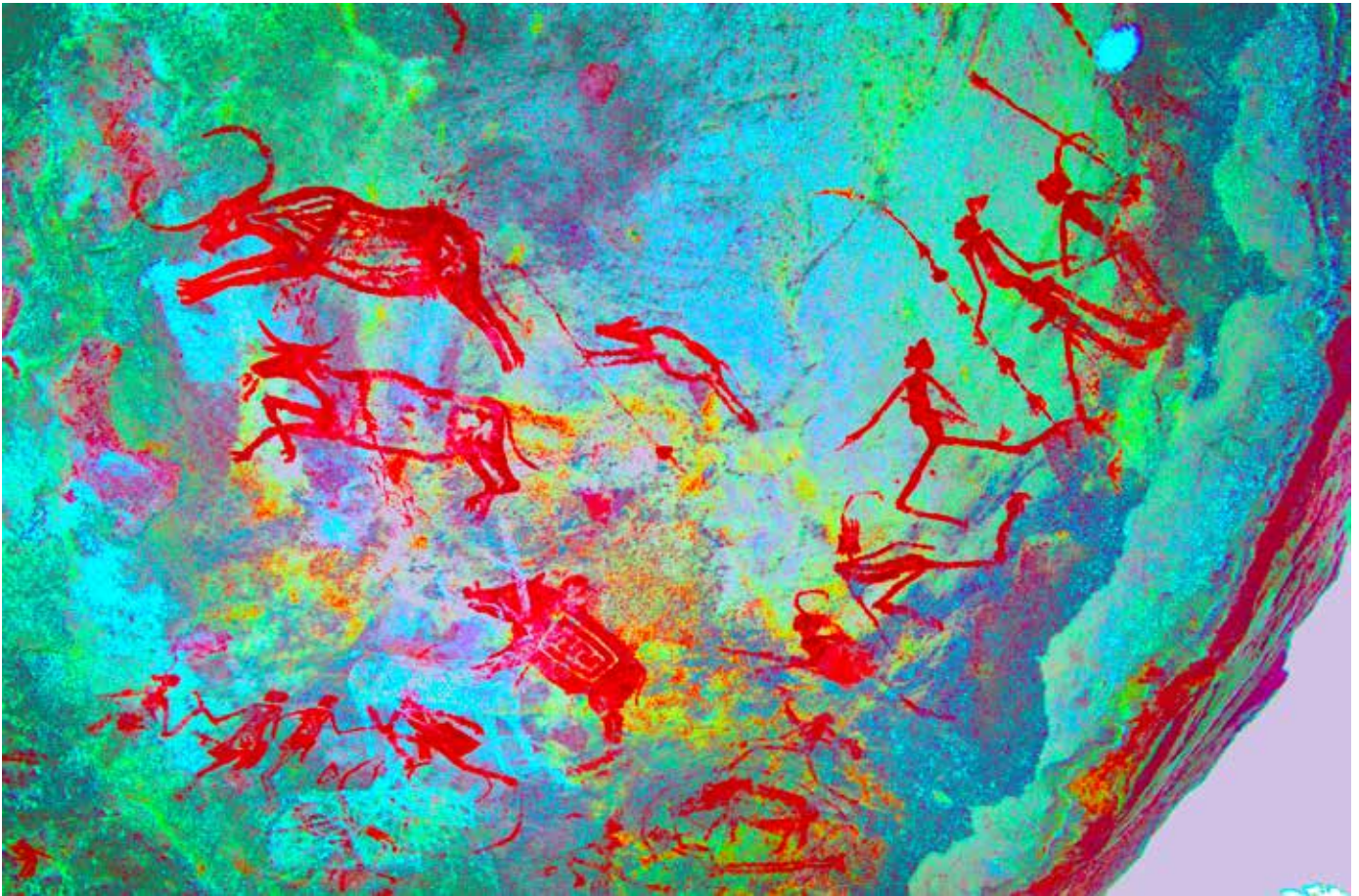


Fig. 4. Women and men chase animals during a hunt. Mesolithic. Urden in District Raisen. DStretched with Ire.

and creative minds. On their necks they wore necklaces made with bone beads. Armllets, bracelets and knee bands could be made with reeds or some kind of bamboo grass. Bird feathers were used to decorate headgear (fig. 2).

Women's roles in prehistoric societies can be guessed from their different activities shown in the rock art.

Hunting

Women actively participated in hunting during Mesolithic times. For example, at Pachmarhi (Bori site), a wild boar is surrounded by men and women (fig. 3). At Urden in the Raisen district, women are chasing animals during a hunt (figs. 4, 5). In another scene women and men are holding hands and dancing, two women are sitting and facing each other, one is playing a pipe and another is probably singing. On the lower side a small woman is stretching an arrow on a bow, while a man in front of her is holding a bow and arrow and dancing. Probably in that scene they are celebrating a

successful hunt (fig. 6). In Bhimbetka nine hunting scenes show women as hunters (Mathpal 1984).

Fighting

Women were also shown as fighters. At Adamgarh in the Hoshanabad district, four women are holding bows and arrows and running in the same direction, probably to fight against another group (fig. 7). In an interesting panel of conflict between two groups, men are holding the beheaded heads of enemies and two women are standing as guards holding hands, to stop people (fig. 8). In the same shelter, the next panel shows the celebration of victory. A man or a woman is donning a crocodile hide and mask and dancing, maybe after killing the crocodile. Next to it a couple of women are standing with bows and arrows, and two of them are playing a harp and singing at Rajat Prapat in the Pachmarhi hills (fig. 9). At Batki Bundal shelter, out of four archers three are women (MDP 2013: 135).



Fig. 5. Women chase animals during a hunt. Mesolithic. Urden in District Raisen. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 6. Hunters celebrate a successful hunt. Mesolithic. Urden in District Raisen. DStretched with Ire.

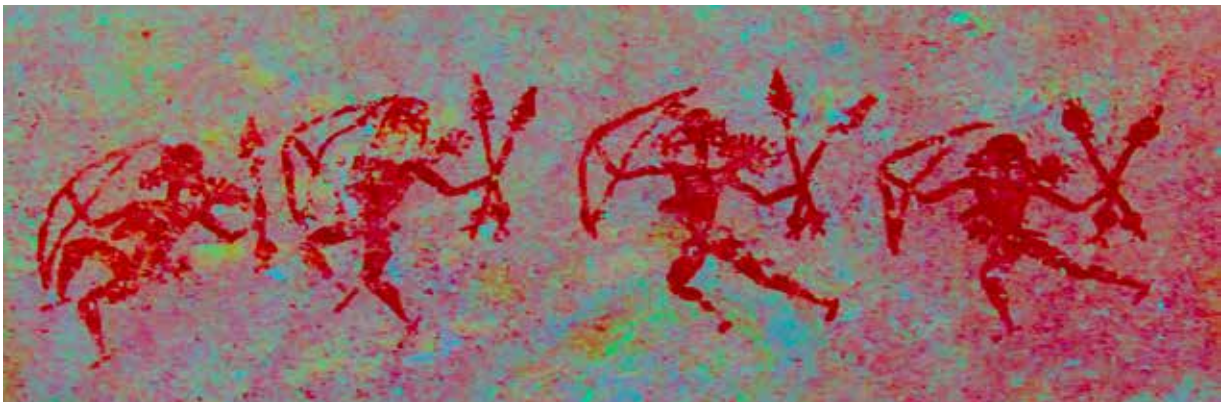


Fig. 7. Women holding bows and arrows and running in the same direction. Early Historic. Adamgarh in District Hoshanabad.

Gathering

Fruit, herbs and honey gathering were quite prominent activities among prehistoric people. In fact, Mesolithic people introduced the art of basket-making and rope-making with palm and bamboos.

Mesolithic women are more often shown carrying baskets on their backs. These baskets are in different shapes and sizes (conical, cylindrical, rectangular or cubical), and can easily stay attached on their backs with a flat strip or ribbon made with grass or leather, which is tied on their foreheads to keep fruit, herbs, fish, or babies. Such kinds of scenes are numerous in the Raisen and Sehor areas, particularly in Bhimbetka, Jaora and Kathotiya. At Kathotiya, a seated woman in white is holding a rectangular basket with many small fish (fig. 10).

Women participate in many scenes of honey collection in the Pachmarhi hills. At the Rajat Prapat shelter men are busy collecting honey, one man is fighting with a feline, while women are standing around the trees, some holding honey and one waiting for it (fig. 11).

Women holding baskets on their heads are numerous in the Pachmarhi Biosphere sites (MDP 2013: 169).

Mother Goddess

If women used to take part in the hunting games they were still responsible for taking care of their families. "This often developed into a sort of Mother cult. The bone figures of a Mother Goddess from Belan valley, the suckling Mother Goddess of Jaora Malkhar, the childbirth from the Mother's armpit (Bhanpura) are a concrete evidence of this. Female figures of highly



Fig. 8. Men hold the heads of enemies and two women stand as guards holding hands, to stop people. Historic. Rajat Prapat in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 9. Two women stand with bows and arrows. Historic. Rajat Prapat in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 10. A woman in white holds a rectangular basket with many small fish. Mesolithic. Kathotiya in District Raisen.



Fig. 11. A scene of honey collection. Women stand around the trees, some holding honey and one waiting for it. Early Historic. Rajat Prapat in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 12. Three pregnant women with their family. Mesolithic. Bhimbetka in District Raisen. DStretched with Ire.

stylised forms most probably indicate the Mother cult object” (Wakankar 1992: 333).

We have plentiful examples of mother goddesses in different periods. In the best example of the Mesolithic period from Bhimbetka, three pregnant women are shown with their family (fig. 12). Another example of the same period is found at Pachmarhi: “A highly stylised female figure has been depicted in the Astachal shelter. Milk is oozing and dripping from her breasts” (MDP 2013: 157). At Maradeo, a child is lying in its mother’s lap being breastfed (fig. 13). At Bhanwarahawa, Sidhi district, a very abstract figure with big breasts is raising both arms. She has no legs! Her lower part looks like a fish. It is probably a mythical figure or mermaid? (fig. 14). At Chaturbujnath nala a woman with a big belly and a big arm is shown from one side and her waist is connected to some big vertical object filled with small triangles. Her body is also filled with diamond-shaped patterns. Next to her two men are standing and one is playing a harp. Her face is smiling while her lower part is just like a fish. Could she be a mermaid? (fig. 15).

At Churna, in Pachmarhi, an image of the mother goddess, Lajja Gouri, is painted in one hidden corner, holding her legs apart (fig. 16). Lajja Gouri is a popular goddess among women, especially those who do not have children. In the Betul district, at Salbardi, the shelter’s wall is engraved all over with many vulvas, symbolic representations of women (fig. 17).

In Chhattisgarh, at the Jogdadeo shelter, on the upper sidewall, six figures have been drawn with long hair and three women have big bellies or are pregnant (MDP and JC 2017: 42-43). The same theme is present in the Khobar shelter, where a pregnant woman with three more women is performing some religious ritual (fig. 18). The shelter is painted with many geometric symbols, and, on the upper sidewall, a figure is shown with breasts. Another example from the same state, at Chitwadongri, is a big woman or a goddess coming out of a fire; her big belly is very well patterned with vertical lines and zigzags (fig. 19). In the Bhanwarkhol shelter a woman is shown with her two children (MDP and JC 2017: 103).



Fig. 13. A child lies in his mother’s lap being breastfed. Historic. Maradeo, in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 14. An abstract mythical figure or mermaid? Bhanwarahawa, District Sidhi.



Fig. 16. The mother goddess, Lajja Gouri, holding her legs apart. Historic. Churna in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 17. This wall is engraved all over with many vulvas. Salbardi in District Betul.



Fig. 15. A woman with a big belly and a big arm. Her body is filled with diamond-shaped patterns. Historic. Chaturbujnath nala in District Mandsaur. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 18. A pregnant woman with three more women perform some religious ritual. Historic. Khobar in District Koriya, Chhattisgarh. DStretched with Ire.

Couples

Scenes with a man and a woman sitting and chatting are not so frequent. Still, couples can be seen in daily life activities in various sites of central India. In the Umariya district at the Kumahlwa site, a couple is represented in the same style. A man is holding his bow in one hand, while his other hand is on a woman's shoulder, they seem to be together (fig. 20). In Jogi ki Gufa 2 (Chhattisgarh), late-period couples are shown together. At Golpur in Rajasthan a late-period couple is standing next to a bull (fig. 21). Sometimes they are shown in copulation scenes. At the Jhiri shelter four couples are having sex (fig. 22). Similar scenes have been drawn at many other sites, like Churna, Gaddi and Chaturbhujnath nala (JC and MDP 2013).

Dancers and Singers

Dancing scenes are quite frequent in all periods. Mostly women and men are shown dancing together. But sometimes only women dancers or solo woman dancers are also depicted. Green-style men and wom-

en are unique. They show an unusual band on the body between shoulders and hips that it must have been inspired by the quick movements during dancing. They are known as S-shaped dancers. Representations of women dancing are numerous, mainly in central Indian rock art. Particularly S-type dancers have been found only in Madhya Pradesh, e.g. at Bhimbetka (MDP 2014: 19). In Jaora, S-type dynamic figures are drawn in red and green colours (fig. 23). At Kathotiya duet dancers (woman and man) are painted in green (fig. 24).

Dances obviously played an important part in people's lives as they do in the art. The dancers are most often in a row, but sometimes they may be in a group (organized or not), or even alone or just two. Solo dancers probably reflect the talent and skill of the authors more than any other motif. At Garada (Rajasthan),



Fig. 19. A big woman or a goddess coming out of a fire. Historic. Chitwadongri in District Durg, Chhattisgarh. DStretched with Ire.

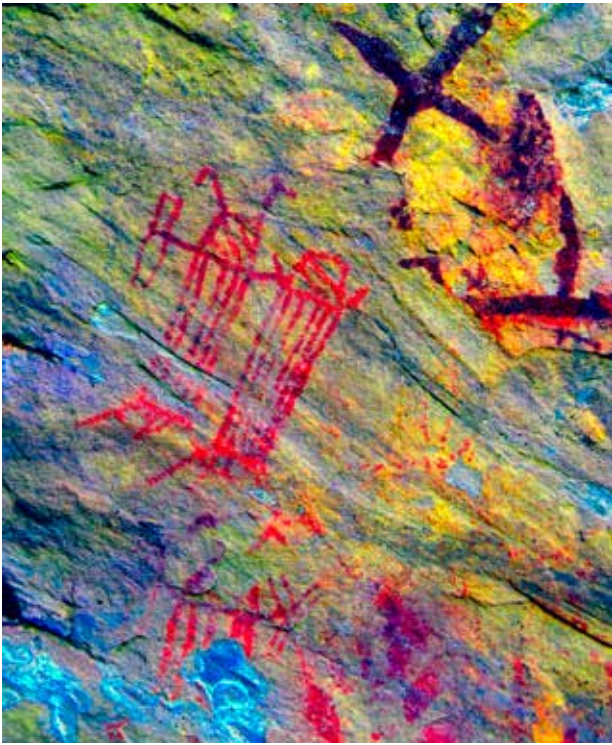


Fig. 20. A couple is represented in the same style. Mesolithic. Kumahlwa in District Umariya. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 22. Four couples are having sex. Mesolithic. Jhiri in District Raisen. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 21. A couple stands next to a bull. Late Historic. Golpur in District Boondi, Rajasthan. DStretched with Ire.

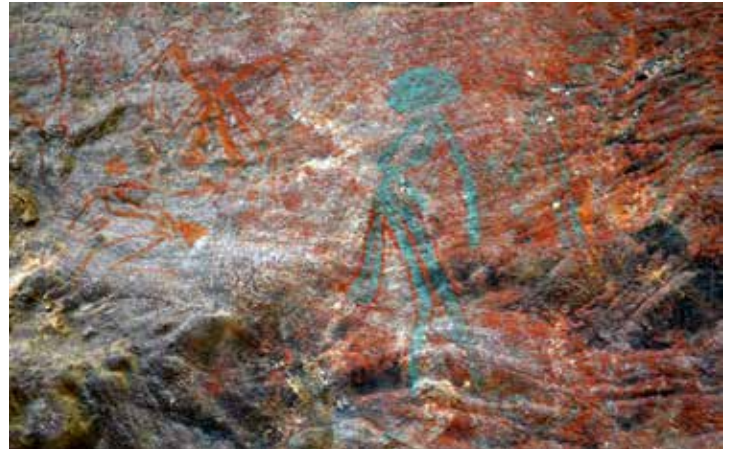


Fig. 23. S-type dynamic figures in red and green colors. Early Mesolithic. Jaora in District Raisen.

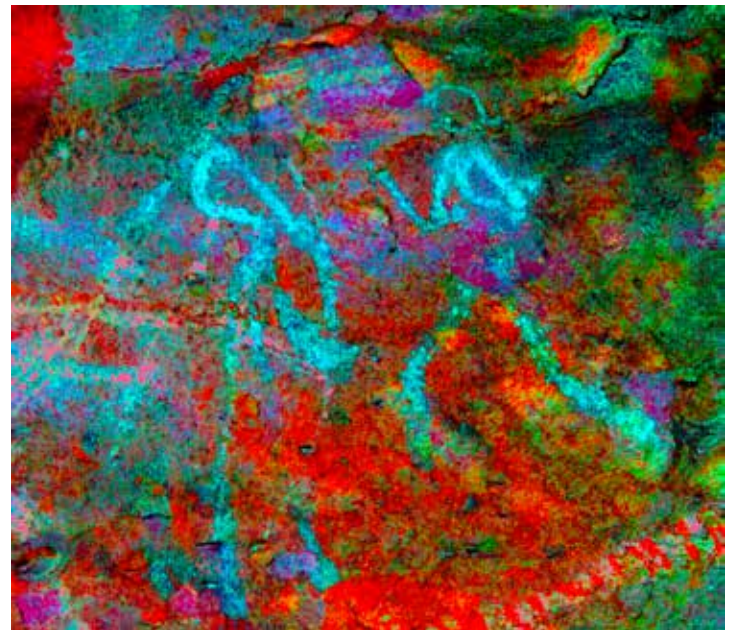


Fig. 24. Duet dancers (woman and man) in green. Early Mesolithic. Kathotiya in District Sehor. DStretched with Ire.



Fig. 25. A solo woman is dancing. Historic. Garada in District Boondi, Rajasthan. DStretched with yrd.

a solo woman is dancing between two bulls, but the bulls are from a different period (fig. 25). In Badra 2 (Chhattisgarh), a rectangular woman is dancing all alone (fig. 26). Also, in a long panel at Sitalekhni 4, men, women and children in three rows are dancing in the same pose and posture, moving in one direction in what could be a ceremonial dance (MDP and JC 2017: 136-137).

At Bori 11 beautiful dancers were painted, each with two big eyes. They are framed by white lines, which could represent an open tent. Among them are at least three women, identifiable by their small breasts and long dresses. Three dancers are lying down. All the dancers' outlines are drawn in brown-red and their bodies in off-white. The tops of the bodies are naked. From the waist down, women (with breasts) wear long skirts while men have shorter garments. All have hair buns. Six isolated quivers are hanging from

the tent (fig. 27). At Belkandhar 2, two off-white figures include an adult woman with a long dress and long headgear turned to the right, and a much smaller figure (child) next to her on her right (JC and MDP 2013).

At Kharilane, two male and one female figure are dancing putting their hands around each other's waists. Another male figure is also shown in a dancing pose, probably holding an unidentified instrument, which may be a bagpipe (MDP 1996, 2000, 2013: 170).

Many of the dancers have a kind of clothing at the waist, looking like a skirt or a long dress, often with a band, sometimes with inside decoration. Some dancers are represented with an open mouth, i.e. singing while dancing (Bhurburi Lane, Nimbu Bhoj, Belkandhar 1, Nishan Garh, Rajat Prapat, Chaturbujnath nala). At Belkandhar 1 there is a woman (with breasts) turned to the left, with a stole round her neck, one arm raised and the other down. Her mouth seems to be open, perhaps singing. In the next panel a solo woman in white is sitting with her mouth open and



Fig. 26. A rectangular woman dancer. Mesolithic. Badra 2 in District Korba, Chhattisgarh.



Fig. 27. Dancing scene. Late Historic. Bori in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.

with stretched arms. probably singing and enjoying nature next to peacocks (fig. 28).

At Nimbu Bhoj Shelter are five humans: a man, three women and a child. The male figure is playing a harp; the position of hands and open mouth of the female figure in the left upper corner suggests that she is a singer. Another female dancer in a standing position is attractive. The singer, harp player and other dancers are facing her, and she, at a distance from the group, seems to be the central figure in the panel, while others are accompanying her. Bow and arrows have been kept next to them (fig. 29).

In the Tapka Pani shelter seven figures include five dancers, two females and three males, with hands on each other's shoulders. The rhythmic action depicted through the movements and postures of the legs and

hands are remarkable. The dancer on the left end is also holding a pipe.

In the Sambhar Jhil shelter a beautiful musical depiction shows the relaxed mood of the people. A woman is playing a long pipe in a half-lying posture. The other two figures are dancing; one of them is wearing an animal hide over her whole body.

A very interesting musical scene is depicted in a mural of Kanji Ghat shelter I. It shows six figures in light yellow ochre, four males and two females. Two prominent figures, one male and one female in the center of the panel, facing each other, appear to be the singers from the poses of their hands and necks, their sitting posture and the higher seats accorded to them. Such duet singing was a common practice from very ancient times in the classical and traditional music of India.



Fig. 28. A woman in white sits next to peacocks. Belkhandar Bori in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 29. Harper, singer and dancers. Nimbu Bhoj in Pachmahi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 30. Dancing women. Historic. Golpur in District Boondi, Rajasthan. DStretched with Ire.

Other female figures suggest that time-keeping is accorded considerable importance in this scene. Besides this female figure, a male figure is playing a four-string harp in a sitting posture, accompanying the singers. Another figure seems to be dancing to the music being played (MDP 1996, 2000: 23).

In an interesting group of dancers from Golpur (Rajasthan), one man and four women with decorated headgear are dancing (fig. 30).

Domestic Scenes

In the south of Madhya Pradesh, Pachmari is a vast region with many well-preserved rock art sites that I have particularly studied (Dubey 1991, 1992, 1996, Dubey-Pathak 2013). Domestic scenes are more numerous in that area than in many other rock art complexes in other Indian regions. Several huts are represented at Sadari 2, and others at Maradeo 1, Astachal 1, Baba Garden 2, Tapka Pani and Nimbu Bhoj (MDP 2013). The huts are shown in cross-section with people, mostly women, engaged in various tasks inside and outside. One of them is next to a pot boiling on a fire close to a grain vat that is perhaps in a different room (Sadari 2) (fig. 31). In one case, also at Sadari 2, four women are sitting in two rooms separated by a vertical line. One is reclining on a bed and two are on small stools, one of them cooking and holding a big

spoon in her hand. Cows are tied to small posts just outside the hut. Inside it, pots and a quiver are hanging from the roof. A big grain vat identifiable because of the many dots inside is in an adjacent room (fig. 32). Sitting women may also be combing their hair or looking at themselves in a mirror outside a hut (Sadari 2) (JC and MDP 2013).

The Maradeo 1 hut is less complex but very similar, with two sitting women and a child between them, and pots close to the roof. In the next panel, a mother is feeding her child (MDP 1992, 2013: 137). In Astachal 1, the hut is used for animals: a goat is tied inside while a cow; a buffalo and a woman are outside (MDP 1992 and 2013: 2).

Other than in the Pachmarhi hills, we see many Mesolithic family scenes inside huts or tents. At Urden, a Mesolithic family is shown inside a well-decorated tent with at least six women. Some are chatting, and six children are playing inside. Four to five women are working outside the tent, a baby is hanging on her mother's back (fig. 33). In another scene just next to it, a woman is probably starting to skin a dead wild boar.

Jhiri, Jaora and Kathotiya also have similar examples of Mesolithic family life with women, such as grain pounding, cooking, taking care of children. Young mothers with their babies usually stay in the huts.



Fig. 31. Huts shown in cross-section with people, mostly women, engaged in various tasks inside and outside. Late Historic. Sadri 2 in Pachmarhi. District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 32. Four women sit in two rooms separated by a vertical line. Late Historic. Sadari 2 in Pachmarhi. District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 33. A family shown inside a well-decorated tent with at least six women. Mesolithic. Urden in District Raissen. DStretched with Ire.

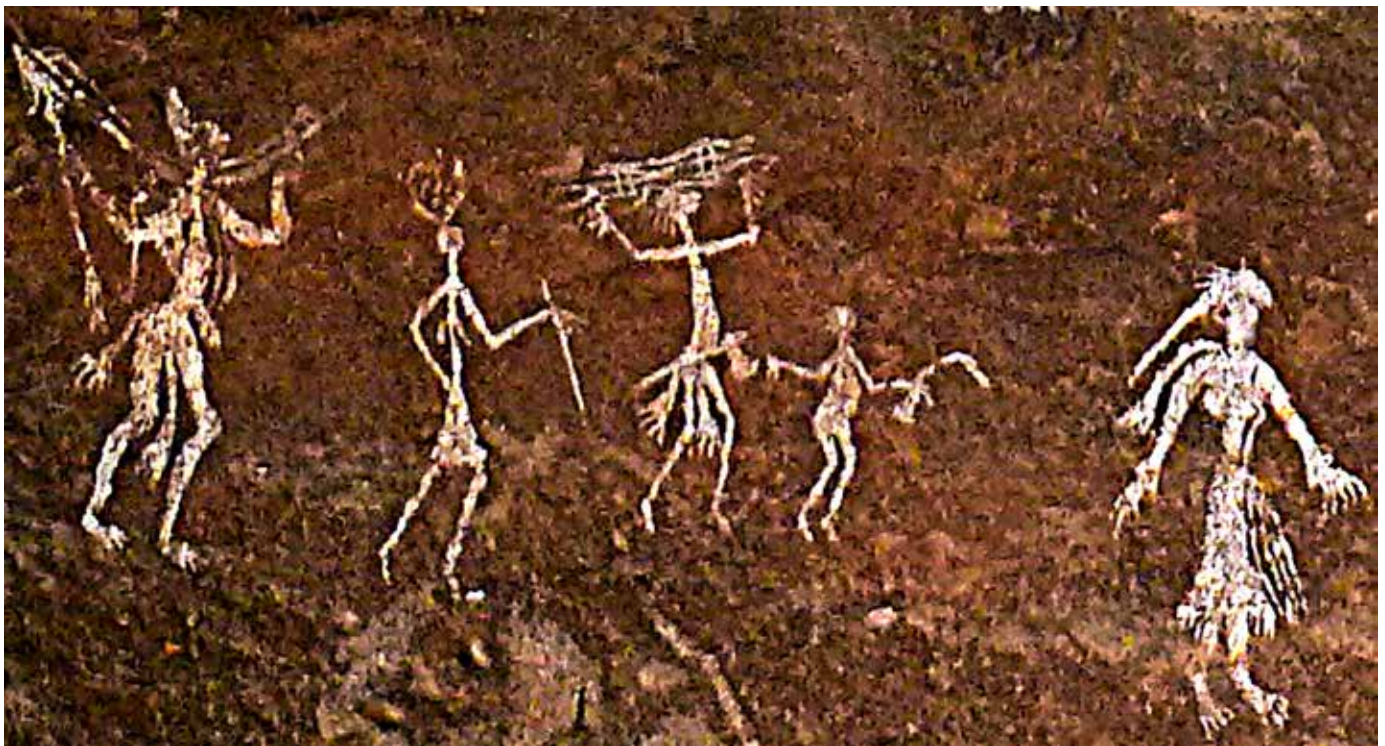


Fig. 34. A family group of five is led by a woman holding a basket. Khari Lane in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad.



Fig. 35. Women celebrating a tree worship ceremony. Badkachhar in Pachmarhi, District Hoshangabad,



Fig. 36. A big group of men and women participate in a ceremonial event. Early Historic. Putli Karar in District Raizen. DStretched with Ire.

Traditional tasks, such as carrying wood, baskets or pots, are among the domestic scenes represented. At Khari Lane, a family group of five is led by a woman followed by a child holding a sickle-like object, right ahead of a man carrying firewood on his head and an axe on his belt; then comes a woman holding a basket balanced on her head and a stick in her hand. Another man carrying a bow, an arrow and a quiver ends the group (fig. 34). Sometimes, two or three people of both sexes are sitting together, apparently chatting.

Ceremonial Scenes

Ceremonies around trees, common in contemporary tribal life, were painted at Dhana Boi, Baniya Beri, Khari Lane, Pareba, Swemaam/Badkachhar and As-tachal in Pachmarhi. At Dhana Boi, the trees, crowned with branches sticking out, may be bearing a man with an axe on his belt, with wood on his head, while a woman bears a honeycomb on the right. Below, nine persons in a semicircle seem to be facing the tree as they do these days for their worship of banyan trees. At Badkachhar, women celebrate a tree worship ritual with drummer and dancer (fig. 35). Depictions of trees are popular in central Indian rock art.

At Putli Karar in Raisen, a big group of men and women seem to be participating in some ceremonial event. They are in two rows: women are in the upper row, carrying some pots (could be local liquor) and with one hand probably holding torches. Men are hunting bison (fig. 36).

Conclusion

From Mesolithic to Medieval times, the roles of women were quite hard. In my opinion, during Mesolithic times, women faced all kinds of challenges in their lives, from hunting, gathering, dancing, singing, pregnancy, childbirth, taking care of the family, collecting fruits, skinning animals, pounding grains, cooking food, weaving baskets and making ornaments, above all, actively participating in the frequent ceremonies and rituals in their prehistoric societies.

Surprisingly, in Chalcolithic times women seem to have a very inferior part. They are not shown so frequently in the rock art. Mostly they are associated with music and dance, sometimes performing rituals. But in Historic times they appear frequently again, sometimes participating in group conflicts, a victory celebration and ceremonial dances, but mostly involved with domestic chores and the raising of children. Surprisingly, I did not find anyone riding an elephant or a horse, or maybe such scenes are not defined clearly. Overall, women had a better status during Mesolithic times than in later periods.

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Note

All the images belong to the author

SEXUALITY IN ROCK ART FROM SOUTHEASTERN KAZAKHSTAN AND KYRGYZSTAN

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Introduction

Between 15% and 20% of the drawings on the Bronze Age petroglyphs from Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan are depictions of anthropomorphs (Hermann 2017a: 232), mainly hunters and worshippers, some of them ithyphallic. In contrast, depictions of sexual acts are very scarce and often attributed to a fertility cult without further analysis or consideration of their context (Baipakov *et al.* 2005: 103-104; Samashev *et al.* 2014: 330; Shvets 2012: 185).

This paper updates an earlier publication on the same topic (Hermann 2015). In the previous paper, only 36 scenes could be analyzed. New prospections have increased the number of erotic scenes to 67. This paper therefore provides a new inventory of erotic depictions in rock art from Kyrgyzstan and southeastern Kazakhstan and interprets them by their associations with other drawings. Within the erotic scenes, sexual intercourse between two or more anthropomorphs as well as between animals is considered. While ithyphallic anthropomorphs are not counted as erotic depictions, they will also be discussed in this paper.

The prospected region corresponds to the country of Kyrgyzstan and to the provinces of Almaty and Zhambyl in Kazakhstan. The sites located in the Karatau Mountains in the Zhambyl province are not accounted for in this research, even if one erotic scene is known in Arpa-Uzen (Sala and Deom 2005: 79) and seven in Sauyskandyk (Samashev *et al.* 2014: 233, 313-317). Unfortunately, there is too little information (and too few publications) about these sites and the context of the engravings to be able to make reasonable interpretations. The erotic depictions of Moinak (at least five: see Samashev *et al.* 2011: 118-126) will also not be considered as there is not enough information and furthermore the site is located in the province of East Kazakhstan.

In order to analyze the petroglyphs in their global con-

text, a statistics-based methodology was used. Unfortunately, many sites in both countries are unpublished or only partially published. This inventory is based on the author's own field prospections and documentation, and in a few cases on some publications of sites in Kazakhstan.

The petroglyphs are also attributed to a chronological period. This is a kind of interpretation, but based on a chronology of the rock art of this region as established by many Russian and Kazakh archaeologists (Baipakov *et al.* 2005; Beisenov and Maryashev 2014; Kasanov *et al.* 2017; Rogozhinskii *et al.* 2004; Rogozhinskii 2011; Samashev 2012; Sher 1980; Shvets 2012). All erotic depictions in this region have been attributed to the Bronze Age up to this point, but this paper posits that a few of them could be from the Early Iron Age.

Location of the Sites (fig. 1)

The author has documented more than 19,000 Bronze Age petroglyphs in southeastern Kazakhstan and around 5,500 Bronze Age panels in Kyrgyzstan. However, only 57 panels with 67 erotic scenes were inventoried.



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

Southeastern Kazakhstan

Our prospections and systematic documentations of sites are focused on southeastern Kazakhstan, that is, in the provinces of Almaty and Zhambyl. In this area, 13 sites were documented, even if some of them are currently not completely prospected (Eshkiolmes and Kaishi).

Twenty-three panels with 23 erotic depictions were found at eight sites: one in Akkainar (Hermann 2016), Akterek (Hermann and Zheleznyakov 2016), Karakyr (Potapov 2007) and Kaishi; two in Kulzhabasy (Hermann and Zheleznyakov 2012); four in Bayan Zhurek (Samashev 2012) and Tamgaly (Hermann 2012); nine in Eshkiolmes (Baipakov *et al.* 2005).

Observing the regional distribution of these depictions, eight of 23 panels are located in the region of Kulzhabasy-Tamgaly and 14 panels are in the region of Bayan Zhurek-Eshkiolmes. Only one panel is in the region of Akterek. This last site is peculiar in southeastern Kazakhstan: only the site of Degeres is in its direct vicinity, its Bronze Age engravings seem thematically influenced by Tamgaly (located 60 km

north) and Akkainar (50 km northwest), but stylistically by Eshkiolmes (290 km northeast) (Hermann and Zheleznyakov 2016: 18-19).

In Kulzhabasy, Karakyr and Akkainar, there are only depictions of intercourse between men and animals, but no engravings of sex between a man and a woman. These three sites are within 25-40 km distance from each other. In Bayan Zhurek, there are three depictions of bestiality and one with intercourse between two men and a woman, but no erotic scenes strictly between a man and a woman.

Kyrgyzstan

Twenty-four sites were prospected and documented in Kyrgyzstan. A few parts of the Kara-Too region still have to be prospected. Some of the sites do not present Bronze Age petroglyphs (Tamchi on the northern shore of the Issyk-Kul lake) or only in a limited number (Barskoon, Zhaltyrak-Tash and the other sites on the northern shore of Issyk-Kul).

Thirty-four panels with 44 erotic depictions were doc-

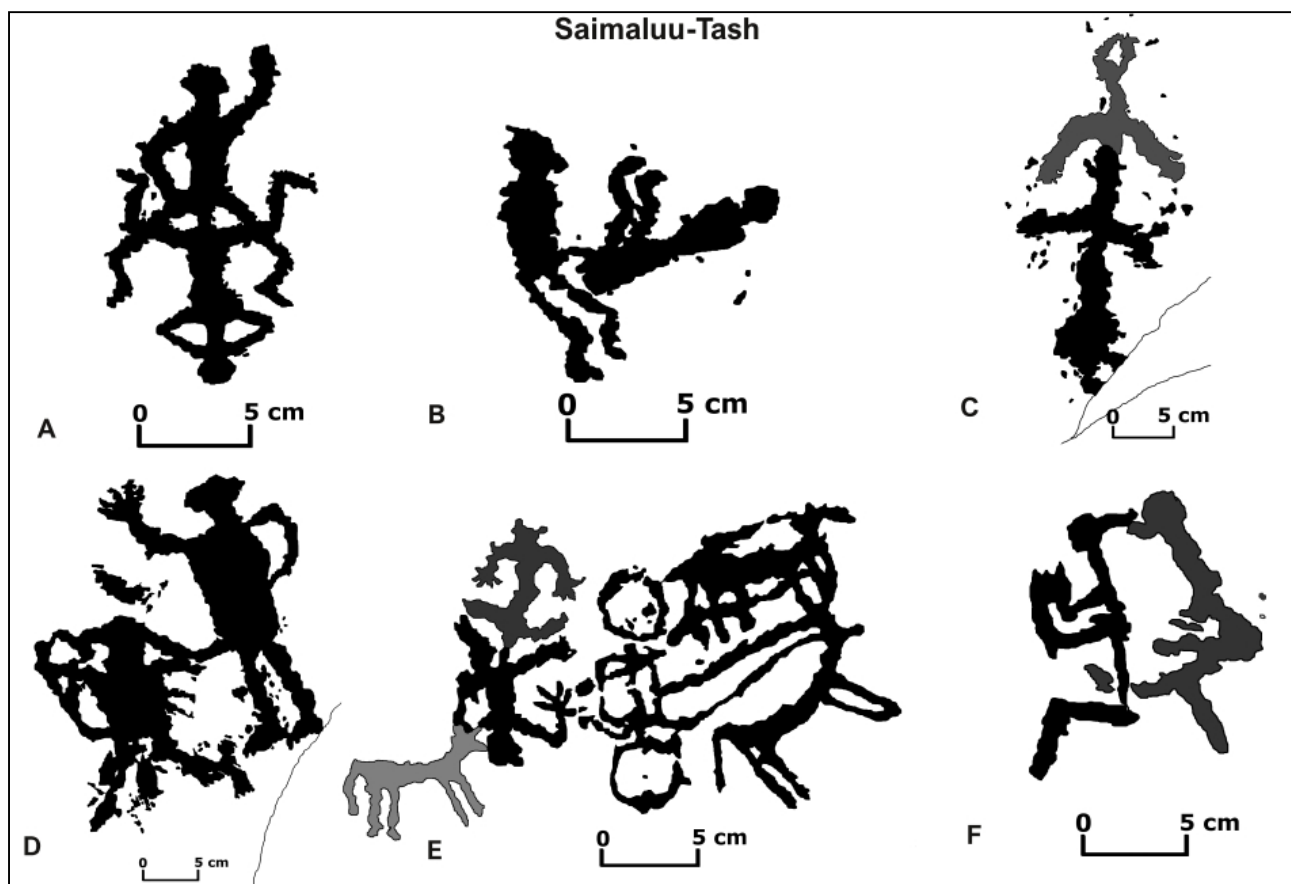


Fig. 2. Saimaluu-Tash 1.

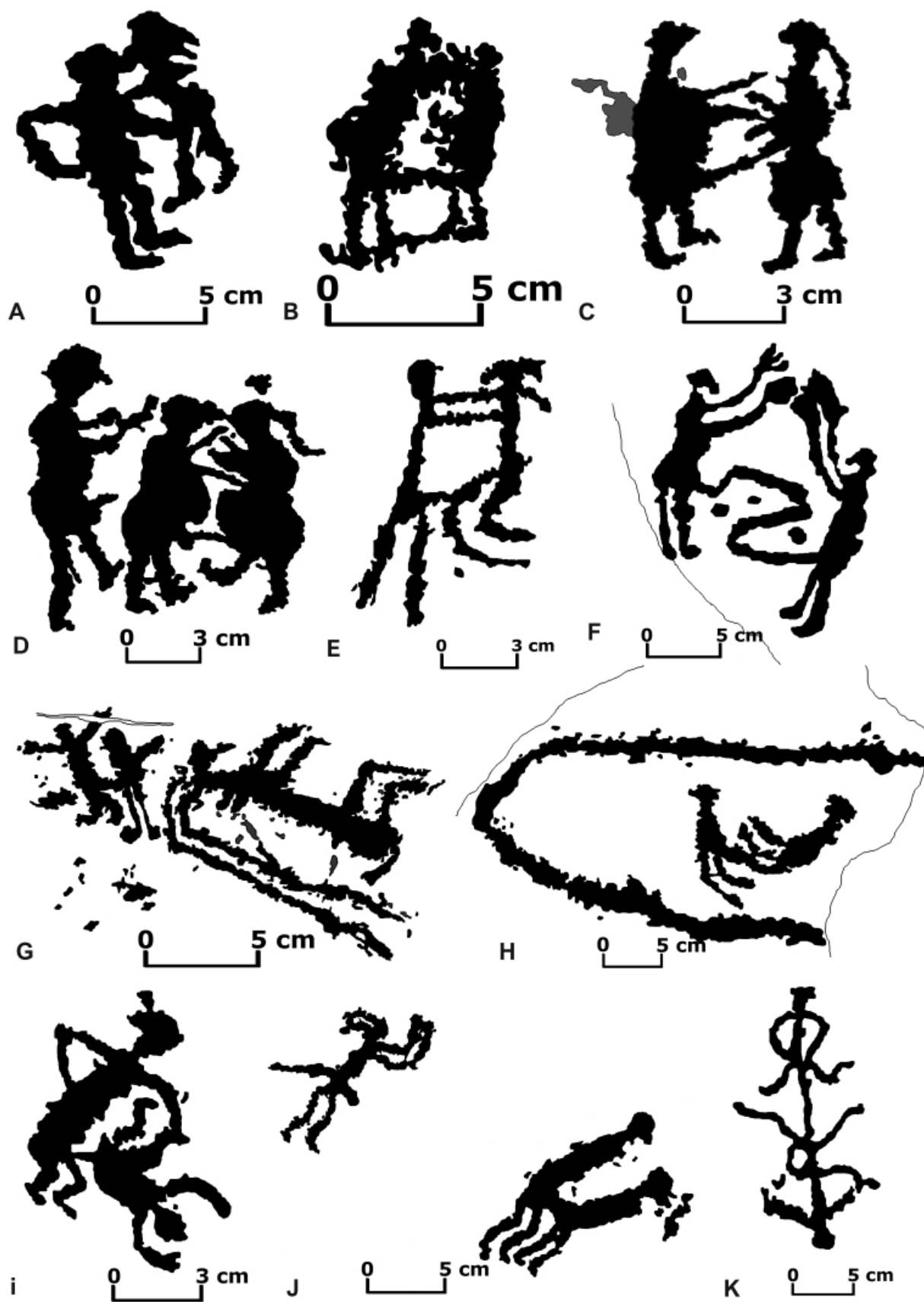


Fig. 3. A: Akterek; B: Kaishi; C-E, G: Kara-Too; F: Saimaluu-Tash 2; H-J: Saimaluu-Tash 1; K: Ornok.

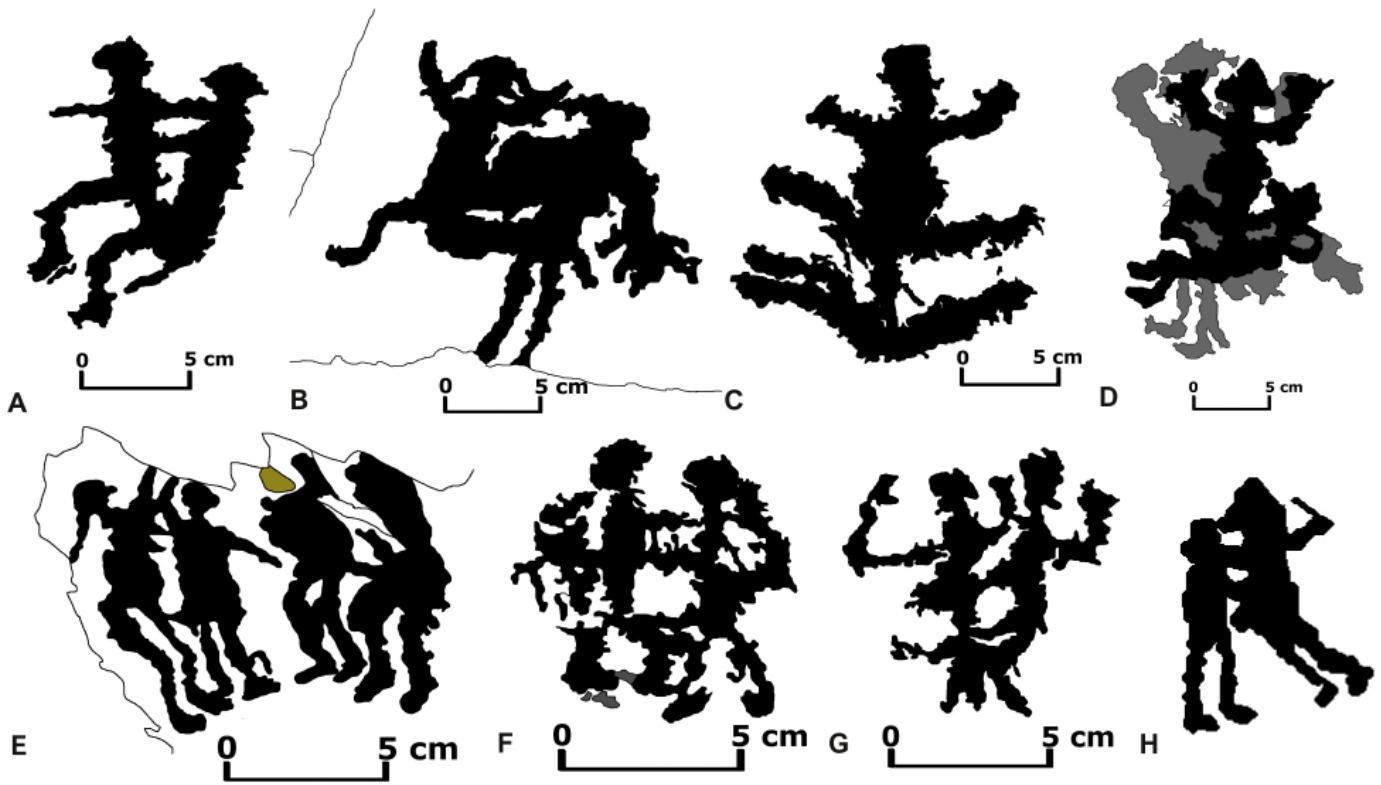


Fig. 4. A-D: Tamgaly; E: Tchon Tchatchikei; F-G: Eshkiolmes; H: Zhaltyrak-Tash.

umented at nine sites: one in Ornok, Tchatchoi (Hermann 2018) and Zhaltyrak-Tash; two panels with three depictions in Tuyuk-Tor (Hermann 2017b); three panels with three scenes in Tcholpon-Ata; three panels with four engravings in Tchatchikei (Hermann 2019b); four panels with five depictions in Kara-Too (Hermann 2019c) and 19 panels with 26 depictions in Saimaluu-Tash. Note that Saimaluu-Tash 1 has 16 panels and 23 depictions, and Saimaluu-Tash 2 has only three panels and three drawings.

The spatial distribution of the panels shows that 18 of 34 panels are located in Saimaluu-Tash, five in the region of Talas (Tchatchikei and Tchatchoi in the Kenkol Valley and Zhaltyrak-Tash in the Ur-Maral), four in the region of Kotshkor (Kara-Too) and four on the northern shore of the Issyk-Kul Lake (Ornok and Tcholpon-Ata).

There are also depictions of couples at the sites with threesomes and bestiality scenes.

Depictions of Couples (figs. 2-7)

Thirty-eight depicted acts of intercourse or foreplay between a man and a woman were found at 12 sites:

ten at four sites in Kazakhstan (one in Akterek and Kaishi; four in Eshkiolmes and Tamgaly) and 28 at eight sites in Kyrgyzstan (one in Ornok and Zhaltyrak-Tash; two in Tchatchikei and Saimaluu-Tash 2; three in Tuyuk-Tor and i Tcholpon-Ata; four in Kara-Too; 12 in Saimaluu-Tash 1). In Kazakhstan, erotic depictions of couples are not found in any one specific region, and it is surprising that none of them was found in Kulzhabasy, where more than 6,000 Bronze Age drawings are documented. In Kyrgyzstan, they were mostly found in Saimaluu-Tash (14) and in the Talas region (6). In the region of Kotshkor, there are four depictions in Kara-Too, but that is the only site documented in this region at present and its prospection is not yet finished.

The depicted positions are diverse:

- standing: eleven times (one in Kaishi, Saimaluu-Tash 1, Tchatchikei and Zhaltyrak-Tash; two in Eshkiolmes and Saimaluu-Tash 2; three in Kara-Too). In Kara-Too, one of the three scenes shows a second man directly behind the man having sex, but it is not clear what his role is (figs. 3D and 10).

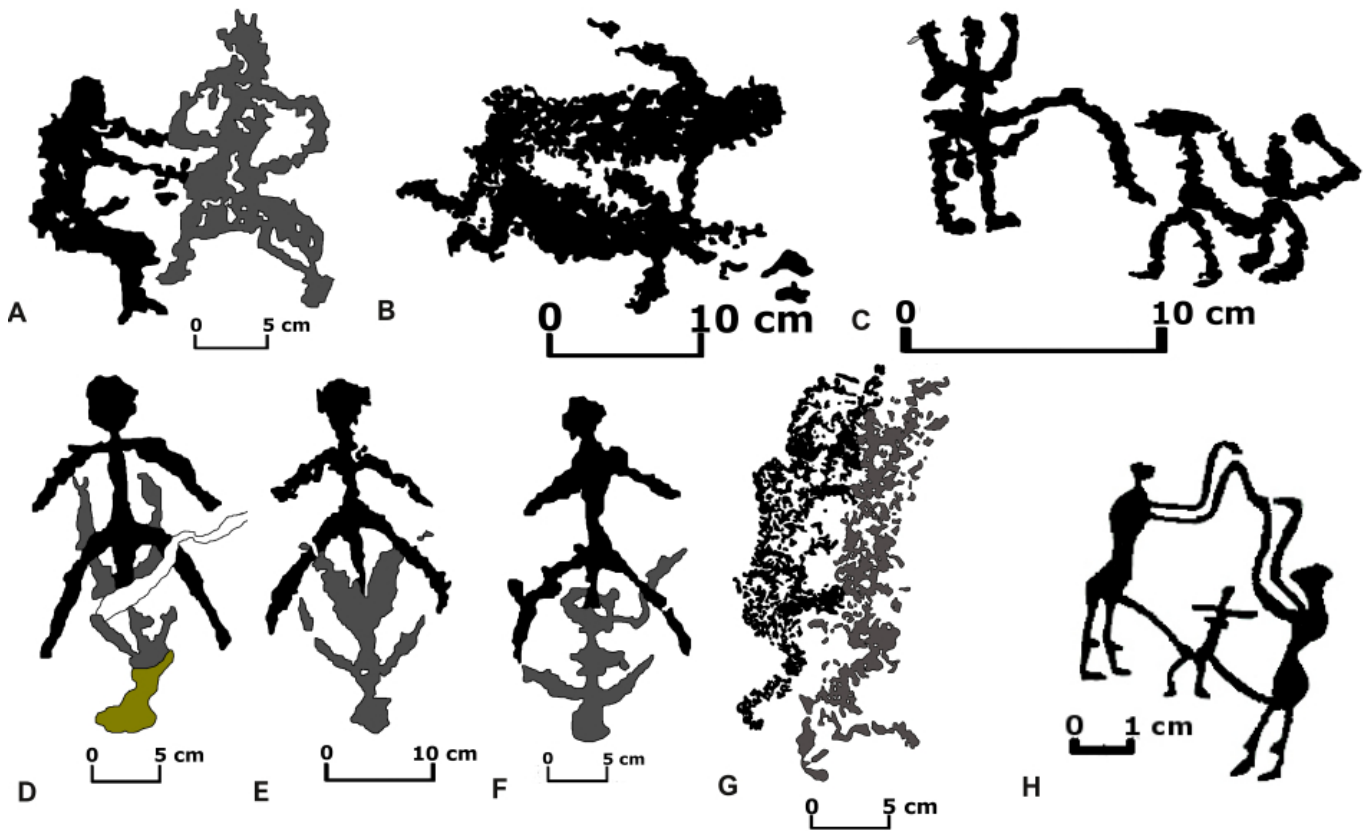


Fig. 5. A, B, G: Tcholon-Ata; C: Eshkiolmes; D-F: Tuyuk-Tor; H: Eshkiolmes (Baipakov *et al.* 2005: 153).

- standing from behind: three times (one each in Eshkiolmes, Saimaluu-Tash 1 and Tchatchikei) (figs. 4E and 6F).
- lying down with open legs: seven times (one in Eshkiolmes and Ornok; two in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and three in Tuyuk-Tor) (figs. 2A and 5D-F).
- lying down with raised legs: three times in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (fig. 2B).
- doggy style: three times (one in Tamgaly; two in Tcholon-Ata) (figs. 4A and 5B).
- a woman riding a man lying down: three times (twice in Tamgaly and once in Saimaluu-Tash 1) (fig. 4C).
- a woman riding a standing man: twice (once in Tamgaly and Saimaluu-Tash 1) (fig. 4B).

Furthermore, a few depictions show foreplay.

We do not observe any distinct features for a specific site or region. On the contrary, a variety of positions are present at the main sites (Saimaluu-Tash and Eshkiolmes). This diversity of sexuality is also increased at both sites, as well as at other sites, by the presence of threesomes and zoophilia.

Depictions of Threesomes (figs. 5-7)

A threesome depicts intercourse between two men and a woman. There are only nine scenes of this type at three sites: three panels in Kazakhstan at two sites (one in Bayan Zhurek and two in Eshkiolmes) and six in Saimaluu-Tash 1 in Kyrgyzstan. At this last site, four threesomes were engraved on one rock on which there are also three other scenes of couples having intercourse. We observe that such scenes are very rare and occur at only one site in Kyrgyzstan. Both Kazakh sites are in the same region (Bayan Zhurek is 70 km northeast of Eshkiolmes, while Saimaluu-Tash is 500 km southwest of Eshkiolmes).

A woman is between two men in Bayan Zhurek and on one panel in Eshkiolmes (figs. 5H and 6D). The threesome is not very clear on a panel in Eshkiolmes (fig. 5C). A woman is also between two men, but one man is at some distance from the woman. A line goes from him in her direction, but we observe that he also has two other lines by his pelvis: if the line between the legs depicts the end of his clothes (a kind of ani-



Fig. 6. A-D: Bayan Zhurek (Baipakov and Maryashev 2008: 103ff.); E-G: (Baipakov *et al.* 2005: 112, 149, 150); H: Eshkiolmes.

mal tail), the other line seems to be an erect phallus. In this case, the line going from him to the woman would be a kind of a rope, which is also observed on other petroglyphs from Kyrgyzstan (Hermann 2019a: 40-41). Another scene of Eshkiolmes was rejected although it is often interpreted as an erotic scene with four people (Baipakov and Maryashev 2008: 196). The published drawing is unclear, however, and would need new documentation *in situ* to clarify it.

In Saimaluu-Tash, a woman is between two men in only one case (fig. 7C). In four other scenes, a man, behind a woman, has intercourse with her, while the woman has oral sex with a man in front of her (fig. 7B). At this site, there is also a man having intercourse with a woman while he fellates another man (fig. 7A). In Bayan Zhurek, one of the two men has his arms raised like a worshipper. This is also the case with three of the four men in Eshkiolmes, and with three men in Saimaluu-Tash.

The three panels of Saimaluu-Tash 1 are in the direct

vicinity of sun-head depictions, at between 1.5 m and 15 m, but without any visual contact: the rock with the three couples and the four threesomes is only 1.5 m from another rock with three sun-heads and six worshippers (fig. 7A). Both rocks are isolated in the middle of a moraine. However, the panel showing intercourse is oriented to the north, while the panel with sun-heads and worshippers is oriented to the south, so that there is no visual contact between both panels. The worshippers are asexual.

Depictions of Intercourse Between Men and Animals (figs. 6, 8 and 9)

Seventeen depictions of intercourse between a man and an animal were documented at eight sites: nine at five sites in Kazakhstan (three in Bayan Zhurek, two in Eshkiolmes and Kulzhabasy, one in Akkainar and Karakyr) and eight at three sites in Kyrgyzstan (two in Tchatchikei, five in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and one in Saimaluu-Tash 2).

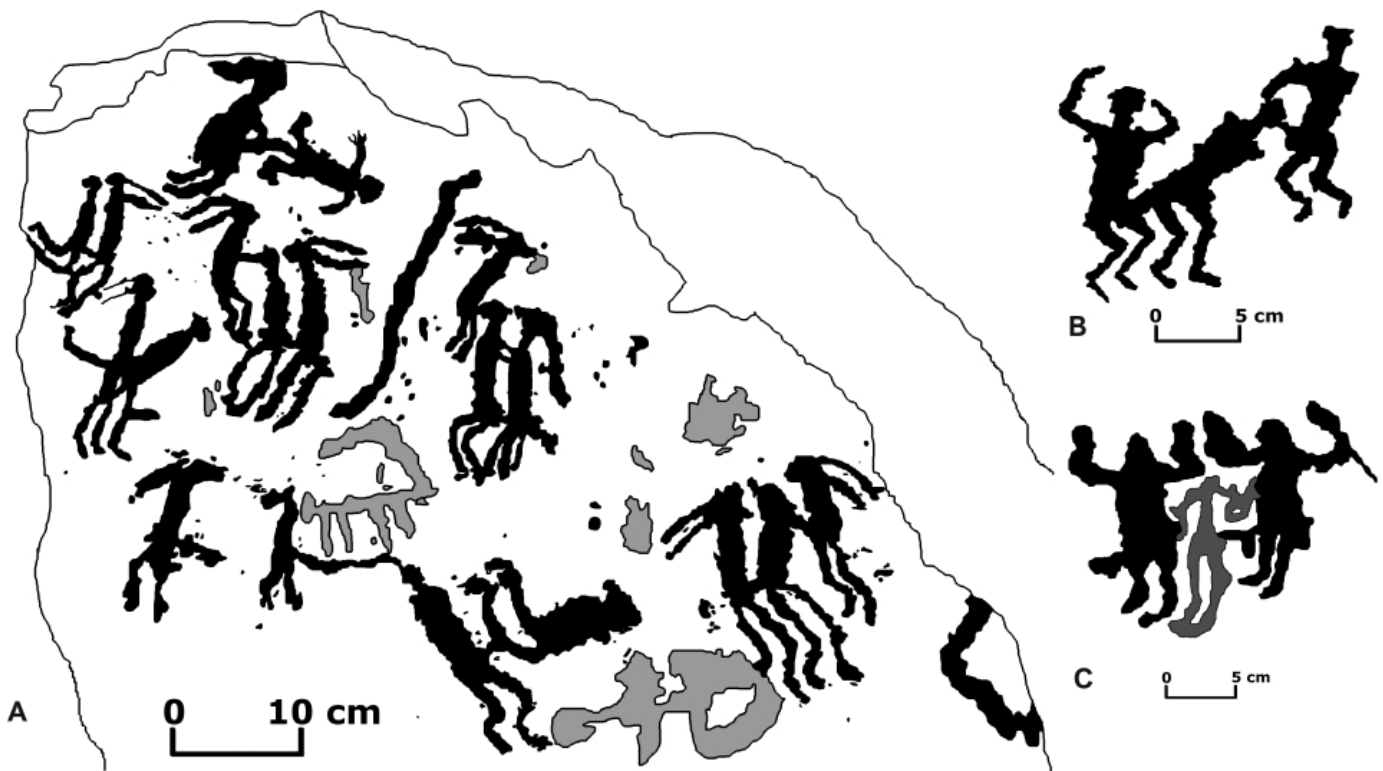


Fig. 7. Saimaluu-Tash 1.

In Eshkiolmes, a man has sex with a cow while a second man with an erect phallus is in front of the animal's head (fig. 6H). In Saimaluu-Tash 1, a man having sex with a canid is penetrated by another man (fig. 8C). The other scenes only depict one man with one animal. Six times men are shown having sex with a canid (Bayan Zhurek, Eshkiolmes, Tchatchikei and Saimaluu-Tash 1), five times with a goat (Karakyr, Kulzhabasy, Saimaluu-Tash 1 and Tchatchikei), three times with a horse (Akkainar, Bayan Zhurek and Saimaluu-Tash 2), twice with a cow (Eshkiolmes and Bayan Zhurek, fig. 6B) and once with a feline (Kulzhabasy, fig. 8B). For this last scene, it is a feline and not a canid due to its round ears and the fairly round and shortened head. The penetrated animals have no phallus, but the depiction of animals' phalluses is very rare in any case.

Depictions of Two Animals Copulating (figs. 6 and 9)

Only three panels depict copulation between two animals: in Kara-Too in Kyrgyzstan between two goats (fig. 8E); in Tchon Tchatchoi in the Kenkol Valley in Kyrgyzstan between two horses (fig. 8F) and in Eshkiolmes

in Kazakhstan also between two horses (fig. 6E). In our previous paper (Hermann 2015: 64), we mentioned copulation between two canids, but this scene was re-interpreted as intercourse between a man and a canid (see above, fig. 9D). Furthermore, in Kulzhabasy in Kazakhstan, a scene with two bovids is sometimes interpreted as copulation (fig. 11) (Baipakov and Maryashev 2004: pict. 72). We reject this interpretation: the two bovids are tied by a line, but for copulation one bovid should be behind the other, climbing on it. Here, the bovid behind is littler and not on top of the bigger bovid. Furthermore, we see that the line is not at the right place for a phallus. For these reasons, we interpret this scene as a calving and not as a copulation.

The animals are depicted in profile; in Kara-Too and Eshkiolmes, they are facing to the right, while in Tchon Tchatchoi they are facing to the left.

Ithyphallic Anthropomorphs

Ithyphallic anthropomorphs, and particularly ithyphallic worshippers, are numerous, but not present at every site. In Kazakhstan, they were found in Kulz-

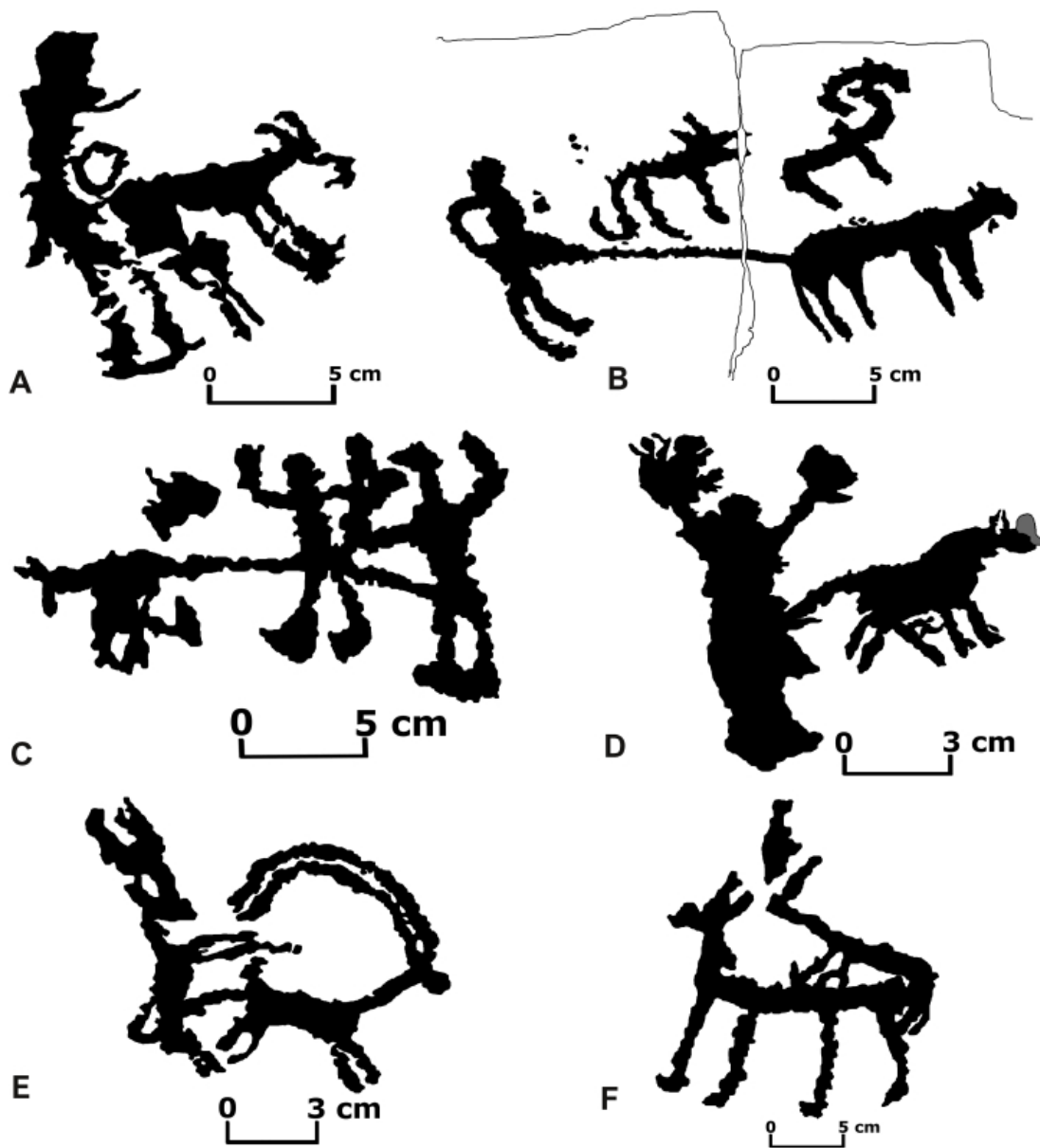


Fig. 8. A-B: Kulzhabasy; C: Saimaluu-Tash 1; D: Eshkiolmes; E: Kara-Too; F: Tchon Tchatchoi.

habasy (at least 18), in Tamgaly (six), in Akkainar (nine), in Eshkiolmes (at least 16 depictions, after Baipakov *et al.* 2005: 110ff.) and in Karakyr (11 cases, after Potapov 2007: 10, 19, 25); in Kyrgyzstan, they are in Saimaluu-Tash (c. 100), in Baet (two cases), in Tchatchoi (one), in Tchatchikei (four) and in Kara-Too (eight) (fig. 12).

The phalluses are often disproportionately sized and do not correspond to reality. They are a symbolic way to emphasize virility.

These anthropomorphs are often depicted as worshippers with their arms raised. In some cases, two of them

are in front of each other, with their hands touching the hands of the other man, but also with their sexual organs in contact (fig. 13). However, there are slight differences between the men, so that it is clear that it depicts two individuals. These worshippers with their phalluses in contact are often isolated, and it is difficult to put them in relation with another panel in their vicinity, so it is at all not clear what they are worshipping. In Kulzhabasy, ten ithyphallic anthropomorphs are associated with bulls, one with a goat and another with a horse. In one case, the bull was being hunted. In Akkainar, one is associated with a bull and four with

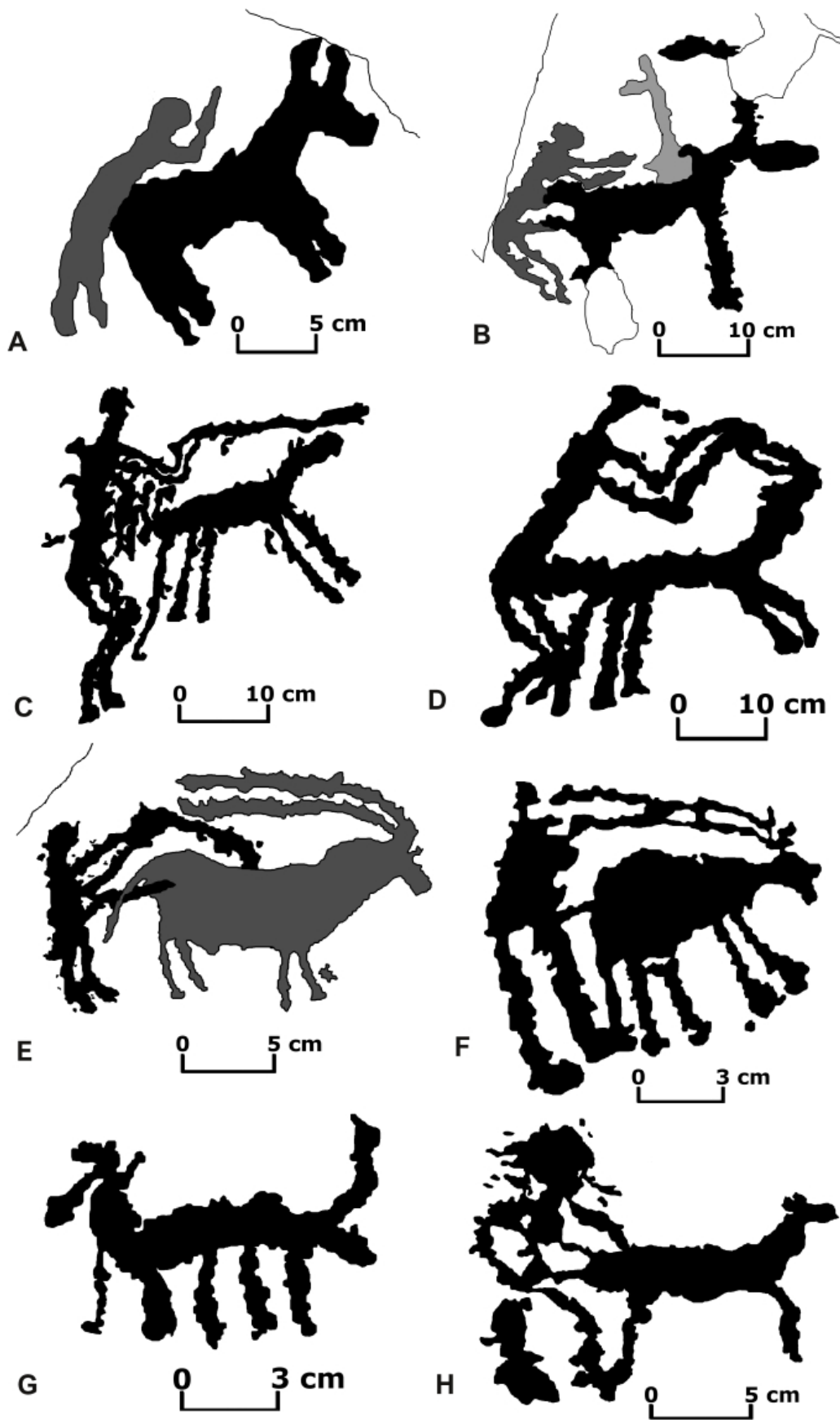


Fig. 9. A: Akkainar; B: Karaky; C-F: SaimaluuTash; G-H: Tchatchikei.

goats. In Eshkiolmes, they are present in battle scenes in eight cases, twice with a chariot and twice with a camel, and three times with a horse. In Kitchi Tchat-chikei, the four ithyphallic worshippers are present in two hunting scenes: twice with a bull and twice with a goat. In Kara-Too, five are on the same panel associated with goats and a chariot, a sixth one is with a goat and a last one in a battle scene.

In Saimaluu-Tash, there are more associations: 24 ithyphallic anthropomorphs are with goats, 12 with bulls, eight with solar symbols (wheels and so-called glasses), five are in a battle scene, three with canids, two with a horse, one with a bird, another one with a plough and a last one with a couple having sex. Only one is with a sun-head deity. Some of them associated with goats are in fact present in hunting scenes.

It seems that ithyphallic anthropomorphs are frequently associated with bulls and goats, sometimes in hunting scenes. In Eshkiolmes, Kara-Too and Saimaluu-Tash, they are also present in battle scenes. In a few cases (Eshkiolmes, Kara-Too and Saimaluu-Tash), they are associated with a plough, a chariot or wheels.

However, we observe that a large majority of anthropomorphs in general and worshippers in particular are not ithyphallic, and that all worshippers associated with sun-heads (except for one in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and Eshkiolmes) have no indication of a phallus.



Fig. 10. Erotic scene, Kara-Too.

Homosexuality

As seen earlier, some depictions of worshippers show two men with their phalluses in contact (fig. 13). Should we interpret this as a kind of homosexuality? We observe that these worshippers have not only their phalluses in contact but also their raised hands. Is it homosexuality or a symbolic depiction in which two different parts of the body are in contact: the hands and the phalluses? Furthermore, their phalluses are erect in the same way as their arms.

However, we should not exclude the possibility of homosexuality due to the fact that in one of the threesomes depicted in Saimaluu-Tash, a man having sex with a woman is also having oral sex with another man (fig. 7A). At the same site, a man has intercourse with another man who copulates with a canid (fig. 8C). Both depictions, even if symbolic, show that homosexuality played a role in the Bronze Age and was not taboo in rock art (see also Nash 2001 on this topic).

Gender Differentiations

Women are almost similar to men, even if men are easily recognizable by their phalluses. In few cases, we observe, however, that men are taller than women (fig. 5H, in this case the woman also has a visible breast). A woman on a panel in Kara-Too has longer hair and a breast (fig. 10), but some men in Saimaluu-Tash 1 also have longer hair (fig. 7A).

Chronology of the Engravings

The chronological attribution is a kind of interpretation, but based on a chronology of the rock art of this region as established by many Russian and Kazakh archaeologists (Baipakov *et al.* 2005; Beisenov and Maryashev 2014; Kasanov *et al.* 2017; Rogozhinskii *et al.* 2004; Rogozhinskii 2011; Samashev 2012; Sher 1980; Shvets 2012). The erotic engravings can be dated by stylistic analogies and by the presence of other drawings from the Bronze Age on the same panels. However, the three erotic scenes in Tcholpon-Ata pose a challenge (figs. 5A, B and G). These depictions are surrounded by rocks that have Early Iron Age petroglyphs only, except for one Bronze Age goat. For this reason, we tend to date them to the Early Iron Age, even if all other erotic depictions are dated to the Bronze Age. Some copulations between two animals in Siberia and in the Mongolian Altai are in fact also dated to the Early Iron Age (Polidovitch 2011).



Fig. 11. Calving scene, Valley 4 in Kulzhabasy.

Associations with Animals

Nine couples are associated with goats (one in Akterek, Eshkiolmes and Ornok, three in Kara-Too and Saimaluu-Tash) (fig. 14).

One couple is associated with a bull in Tamgaly, but there is also one couple in Kaishi associated with a hunting scene of a bull. Furthermore, 33 ithyphallic worshippers are also associated with this animal.

Another couple is also associated with a hunting scene of a bear in Saimaluu-Tash 1 (figs. 15 and 16). Behind the couple is a worshipper and two other worshippers are also present over the hunter and the animal. Due to the patina and the style, all drawings seem to be from the same epoch.

Except for the hunting scene of a bear, goats and bulls are the only animals associated with erotic depictions, and only with couples (never with threesomes). Both associations only constitute 29% of the scenes with couples and 16.4% of all erotic scenes. However, these associations are intentional. Furthermore, the regular presence of ithyphallic worshippers with bulls shows that a parallel exists between sexuality (or the phallus, in the case of the worshippers) and both animals. These animals are characterized by horns which are also overdeveloped in the depictions of the bulls as if the power of the animal lies in its horns. Should we see a symbolic association of goats' and bulls' horns with the phalluses of the worshippers and of the men having intercourse?

This relation between phallus and power may also be seen in hunting scenes. The predation of an animal has nothing to do with fertility, but with the power to dominate nature, analogizing the domination of the phallus over the non-phallic.

Associations with Sun-Heads

So-called sun-head deities are present at many sites in south-eastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. However, it is difficult to see if there is a relation between their depictions and the erotic scenes. In Akkainar, there are 31 sun-heads, but only one erotic panel which is more than 3 km

from the sun-heads. On the contrary, there are four erotic depictions in Bayan Zhurek but no sun-head.

Among the 17 sites with erotic scenes, there is no sun-head in Bayan Zhurek, Kara-Too, Tcholpon-Ata, Tchatchoi, Tchatchikei, Tuyuk-Tor and Zhaltyrak-Tash. It means that 21 of the 67 erotic scenes cannot be associated with a sun-head, or another solar symbol.

At the 10 sites with erotic and sun-head depictions, a clear association is only perceptible in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and Tamgaly. At the other sites, sun-heads and erotic scenes are up to 10 km apart.

In Tamgaly, the four erotic panels are in the main group II which was dominated by a sun-head (destroyed by an earthquake between 1960 and 1980), so that two panels were approximately 8 m away from this anthropomorph and a third panel was 30 m distant. The fourth panel is associated with another sun-head deity and a bull 2 m away.

In Saimaluu-Tash 1, 12 of the 16 panels are directly associated with sun-heads, either by visual contact through a maximal distance of 50 m (usually 3–10 m) or by being depicted on two rocks less than 2 m distant from each other and without any other rock in their direct vicinity.

For all the sites, 15 of 38 couples, six of nine threesomes and perhaps three copulations between man and animal (two in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and one in

Saimaluu-Tash 2) are associated with at least one sun-head. None of these depictions was, however, on the same rock as the solar anthropomorph.

In fact, it seems that there is a negative correlation between sun-heads and erotic panels: where there are sun-heads, there is no erotic depiction (Akkainar, Akterek, Kulzhabasy) and where there are erotic scenes, there is no sun-head (Bayan Zhurek, Eshkiolmes, Kara-Too, Tuyuk-Tor). The cases of Tamgaly and Saimaluu-Tash 1 are more complex: in Tamgaly, all erotic depictions are concentrated in group II where there are only two sun-heads, while 22 sun-heads are present in group IV and V where there is no erotic panel. In Saimaluu-Tash 1, if 12 of the 16 erotic panels are associated with sun-heads, these are never on the same rock and, in some cases, there is intentionally no visual contact despite the direct vicinity.

If there is a kind of relation between couples, threesomes and sun-heads in Saimaluu-Tash 1, the sexual acts between a man and an animal are in contrast rarely associated with a solar deity and the copulations between two animals are never associated with it. Furthermore, the scenes with animals (man and animal and two animals) are mainly at sites without sun-head depictions (Bayan Zhurek, Kara-Too, Tchatchoi, Tchatchikei) or in zones far away from this kind of anthropomorph (Akkainar, Kulzhabasy, Saimaluu-Tash, Eshkiolmes).

Associations with Parturients

Only 16 parturients are documented in this region of central Asia, (four in Tamgaly, two in Akkainar, Tchatchikei and Ornok, one in Baet, Chiim-Tash, Eshkiolmes, Kara-Too, Kulzhabasy and Saimaluu-Tash 2), but none of them is directly associated with intercourse. Furthermore, there is a calving in Kulzhabasy (see the above section about copulations of two animals) and, in Tamgaly, a calf is shown inside the body of a cow. This panel, as well as two panels with a parturient at this site, is located directly under a sun-head.

In Tamgaly, the four erotic depictions are in the vicinity of one of the panels of parturients but not directly associated with it. If it seems logical to tie parturients to a fertility cult, it is surprising to observe that none of them is directly associated with intercourse, even if there may be some doubts about the related panels in Tamgaly.

Associations with Ploughs

Only two associations of an erotic depiction with a plough are known in Saimaluu-Tash 1. In one case, a couple has intercourse behind a plough (fig. 2E) and in the other case, an ithyphallic man leads a plough (fig. 16). The association of a plough with a sexual scene is also known in Valcamonica (Seradina I rock 12, see Marretta 2017: 117). It is tempting to interpret these associations as a kind of fertility cult. However, this is not documented at other sites and these are the only examples from approximately 70 depictions of ploughs in Saimaluu-Tash 1 and 2, even if two other erotic panels are in the direct vicinity of six panels with ploughs in the main part of Saimaluu-Tash 1. The three erotic scenes in Tuyuk-Tor are about 50 m distant from two ploughs, but without visual contact between these panels.



Fig. 12. Ithyphallic man, Kara-Too.

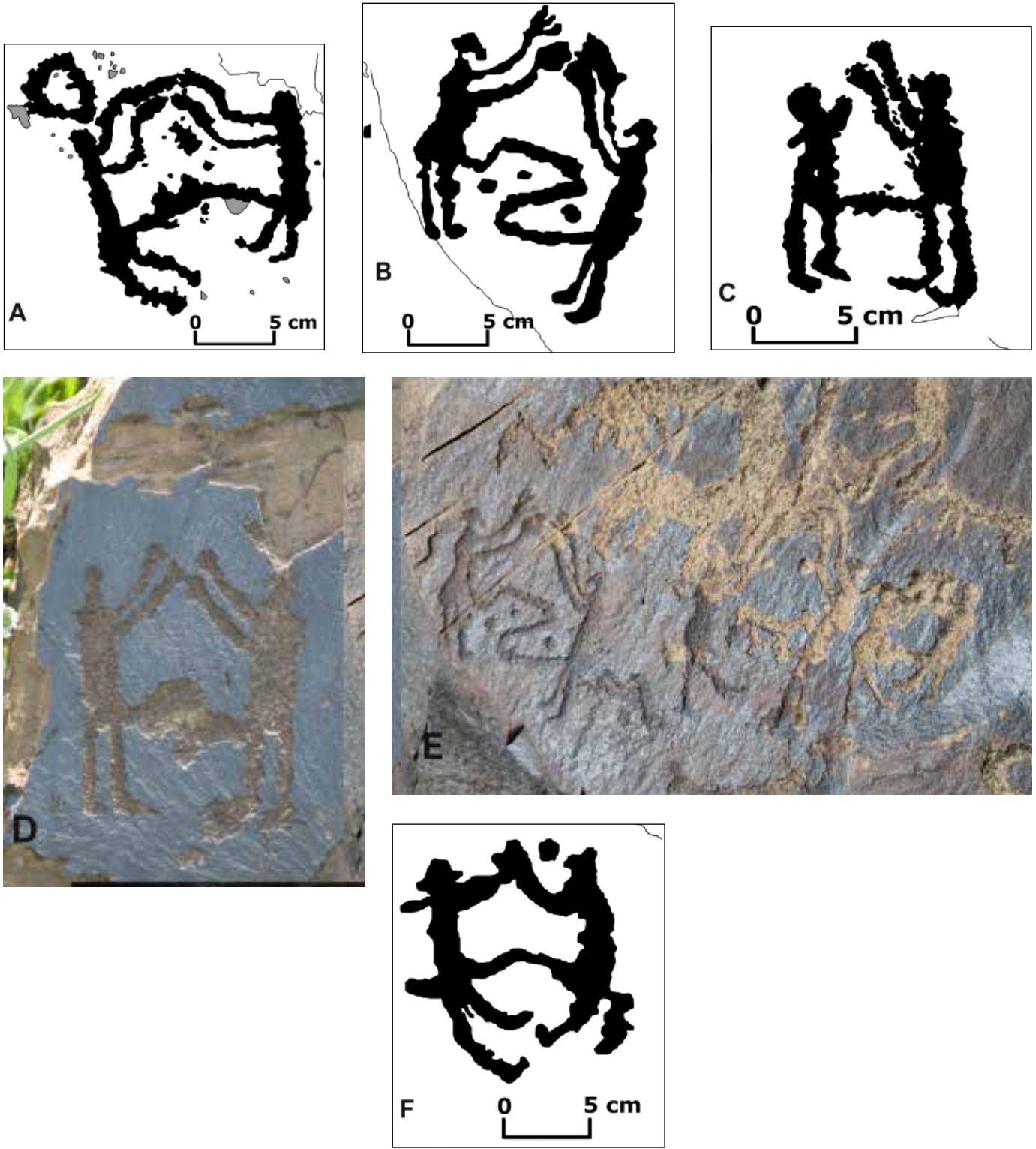


Fig. 13. A-E: Saimaluu-Tash; F: Akkainar.



Fig. 14. Erotic scene and goat, Saimaluu-Tash 1.

If ploughs are essential for agriculture and can be seen as tied to a fertility cult, they could also be interpreted as the power of humanity to dominate nature.

Associations with Weapons and Battle Scenes

Depictions of weapons are very unusual in central Asia and are mostly located at few sites (Eshkiolmes, Kulzhabasy and Saimaluu-Tash). Battle scenes from the Bronze Age are a little bit more frequent, but also located at only a few sites (Eshkiolmes, Saimaluu-Tash, Tchatchikei and Kara-Too). There are no battle scenes in Tamgaly.

In Eshkiolmes, an arrow is depicted over a couple (fig. 6G) and another scene with a couple is associated with an anthropomorph shooting a “giant” with an arrow (fig. 6F). In the main part of Saimaluu-Tash 1, two erotic scenes are near panels with weapons (axes).

In some cases, we observe that warriors in battle scenes

are ithyphallic, as if in addition to the axe, the mace or the bow, their phallus is also a weapon (fig. 17).

Bows and arrows are also used in hunting scenes associated with couples. The rare associations of intercourse with weapons and battle scenes seem to have much less in common with themes of fertility, and much more with those of power.

Associations with Cup-Marks

In Eshkiolmes, an ithyphallic anthropomorph seems to be associated with a cup-mark (fig. 18). The phallus of the man ends at the beginning of a cup-mark. Is the hole of the cup-mark a metaphor for the woman’s vagina in this case? A sun-head is also present on the same panel. This association is the only documented example in southeastern Kazakhstan and in Kyrgyzstan.

Conclusions

These results suggest that sexual depictions need not be tied to a fertility cult: homosexual scenes and intercourse with animals cannot be tied to fertility. In the case of threesomes, one man is superfluous for reproduction purposes. Even if 57% of sexual intercourse depicted shows a man and a woman, 43% of the panels do not depict a strict reproduction scene. For this reason, it seems difficult to interpret erotic panels as tied to a fertility cult.

We suggest that the presence of a phallus has nothing to do with fertility, but much more with power. Dancers worshipping a sun-head are asexual, because it is the sun-head who has the power to bring life (Hermann 2019a). By contrast, sexual scenes are associated with goats and more rarely with bulls, as if the virile attribute should rival the animals’ horns. We also observe that ithyphallic worshippers are often associated with bulls, participating in the same rivalry for power.

If worshippers of and with sun-head are asexual, erotic scenes in Saimaluu-Tash (and partly in Tamgaly) are in direct proximity to sun-heads, but never on the same rock, as if the power of the divinity cannot be directly rivalled by any depiction on the same rock. However, we observe that sun-heads and erotic panels are in negative correlation, as if the presence of sun-heads would exclude erotic depictions (Akkainar and Akterek). Rather the absence of sun-heads sees the



Fig. 15. Erotic scene, worshippers and hunting scene with a bear, Saimaluu-Tash 1.



Fig. 16. Ithyphallic man leading a plough, Saimaluu-Tash 1.



Fig. 17. Battle scene, Saimaluu-Tash 1.



Fig. 18. Ithyphallic man and cup-mark, Valley 10 of Eshkiolmes.

flowering of erotic scenes (Bayan Zhurek, Eshkiolmes, etc). It also suggests a kind of rivalry between these particular depictions.

Some sexual depictions are also associated with weapons and battle scenes and the warriors are often ithyphallic (at least, their phalluses are clearly visible). This also suggests a correlation between the phallus and power.

The association of a plough with a phallus is only known twice in Saimaluu-Tash 1. The quasi-absence of this correlation shows that the phallus may not need to be tied to fertility. In this region, there are more drawings of couples of males joining their sexual organs than of parturients. More than a fertility cult, it seems that this references a phallus cult as a symbol of power.

In sexual intercourse between a man and a woman, the man shows his power with his phallus, but also becomes the equivalent of a god by being able to create life, so that men are identified with the deities during the Bronze Age: they have a power of

life (through sexuality and pregnancy) and death (an association between war and the phallus). It implies that men are in symbolic rivalry with the sun-head deities and it is this rivalry which can be apprehended by the associations and the structural distribution of the erotic panels. Furthermore, it means that men dominate the society and that the role of women was almost inexistent. The few parturients should be considered in relation to the number of erotic depictions. Phallus seems to have been more powerful for giving birth, or at least giving birth is less depicted, perhaps because it was taboo in the depictions or because engravings were made by men who only considered men activities as valuable to be depicted (such as hunting or war).

If it will remain unclear why Bronze Age people engraved erotic subjects, many interpretations are possible: was it to commemorate a cultic ceremony in which sexuality plays a role, the depiction of myths or to celebrate the virility of some men? But

the diversity of sexual depictions, with threesomes and zoophilia does not allow us to have a clear interpretation.

With the exception of three scenes of sexual intercourse in Tcholpon-Ata which we date to the Iron Age, during the Iron Age we observe a disappearance of sun-heads, bulls (except some copies from the Bronze Age), erotic scenes (except between animals), war scenes and isolated weapons. A new conceptual world appears after the Bronze Age.

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THE WOMAN IN ANCIENT DAUNIA (APULIA, ITALY): CONSIDERATIONS INFERRED FROM STELES, SOURCES AND CERAMICS

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The Dauni and the Anthropomorphic Steles

The Daunian civilization is placed between the Early Iron Age and the age of Romanization (between the ninth and the first centuries BC), when about 20 inhabited areas arose in a geographic area bigger than the current province of Foggia (Fig. 1). The steles were produced between the eighth and the early sixth centuries, during an EARLY archaic cultural phase, in which artists and artisans expressed themselves by producing very creative artefacts, especially the steles. The Dauni loved geometry, colors and shapes, especially those used in pottery, and, since they did not use alphabet letters, they told their stories and myths by means of pictures, most of them on anthropomorphic steles. These sculptures, carved in limestone and colored red, black and white, represent one of the main tools we can use to reconstruct the female role in Daunia at that time. Women are well documented on them, in fact, the total number of female steles is higher than the male ones. Out of 1,210 finds, there are 470 female specimens and only 85 male ones. Also, most of the remaining 655 finds can be ascribed to the first group.¹

Like in the oldest stele statues and menhir statues of the Copper Age, the Daunian steles can be divided into two categories, men and women, always similar to one another. They might be a sacred couple with divine features, repeated dozens of times and, in simple words, comparable to a “great warrior”, with armor, a sword and a shield (Fig. 2a), and a “great priestess”, dressed in a cassock, covered with ornaments like jewels, *fibulae*, amulets, long triangle-shaped “VVVV” and symbolic pendants similar to the opium poppy plant (Fig. 3, etc.).² Most of the artefacts recovered so far, that is, over 2,500 pieces including rare whole ste-

les, are kept in the Museum of Manfredonia (Foggia). Almost all of them come from two ancient villages located on the shores of an old lagoon, which became a swamp, near the Gulf of Manfredonia, called Cupola-Beccarini and Salapia Vetus (also called Salpe). Some images of descriptive actions, rich in characters and animals, are inserted in the free spaces in addition to the attributes of recognition and the clothes, rigorously decorated with geometric patterns.

The analysis of the figures, the great quantity of finds and the ways they were discovered, as well as the stele dimensions, which range from 30 cm to 120 cm in height, suggest that these sculptures were meant for religious rather than funerary worship, as widely believed. They are propitiatory sculptures, *ex voto*, acts of prayer, made to glorify the “warrior” or the “priestess” on special occasions. The arrangements for cult* and the relationship between the worshippers and the worshipped were most probably controlled by a priest elite, very similar to a noble brotherhood, probably with a great number of women.

It must be said that the monuments repeat each model, either the warrior or the priestess, and include characters and stories that continuously change; on one stele there may be figures of women carrying pottery

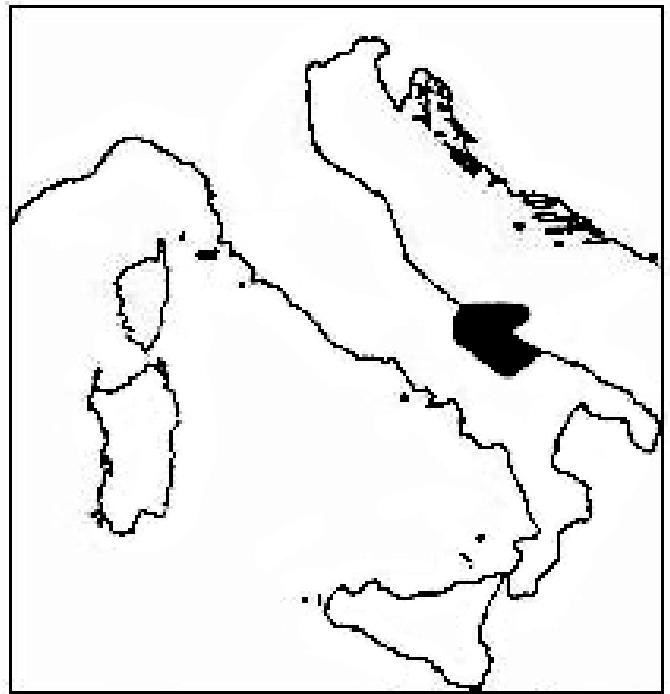


Fig. 1. The geographical area of ancient Daunia.

1 The calculation is based on the finds catalogue published in Nava 1980.

2 Leone 1995, 1996a-c, 2003, 2004, 2007.

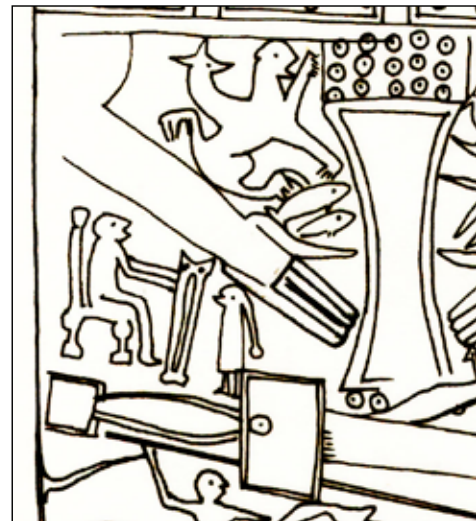
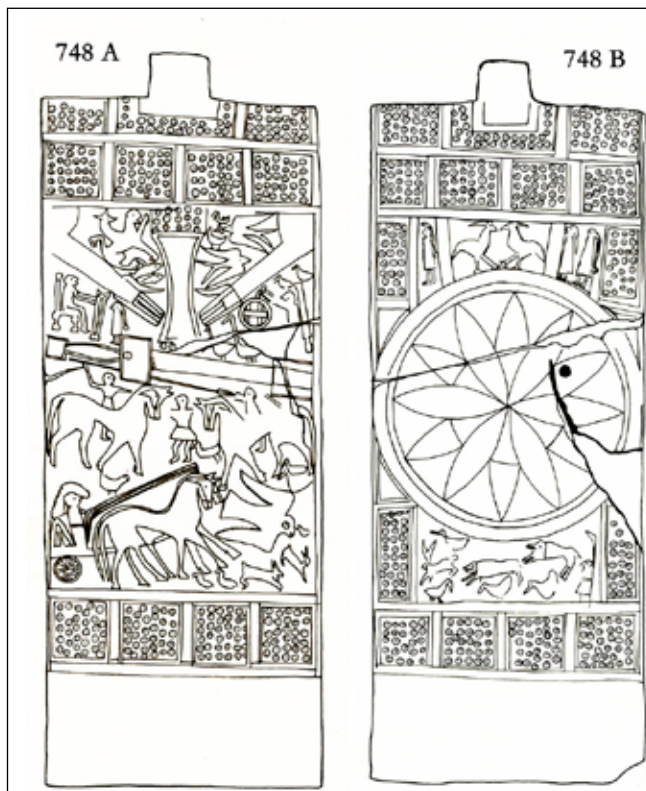


Fig. 2a. Male stele complete with a panoply and with military, hunting and environmental depictions. On the A-side at the top, a chimera and some fish are symbolically associated with a probable oracular scene (tracing, M. L. Leone).

Fig. 2b. Detail of the oracular scene. The character sitting on the throne seems to be speaking, while the acolyte woman in front of him seems to be questioning him (tracing, M. L. Leone).

during a procession, on another there may be scenes of hunting or fishing. However, some actions and narrations are frequently repeated in the whole corpus of steles. In this case they reflect daily habits, rituals, ceremonies and the folklore of that time, often with many women present in the scene. On the other hand, the unusual scenes seem to depict the worshipper or the person who commissioned the stele. The scenes dedicated to the “warrior” mainly represent fights, attacks and defense as well as hunting; they are populated mainly by men with very few women recalling the ritual world, which is predominant in the steles dedicated to the “priestess”. Here, indeed, fewer men are depicted, usually engaged in hunting, fishing, boat trips and armed duels, while women are involved in various complex situations. Sometimes they attend to the scenes where men act, they often carry pottery on their heads, which can be recognized thanks to the typical funnel-shaped ollas, very similar to giant poppy capsules (Figs. 5, 8), or they parade in procession led by a musician playing the lyre (Figs. 3, 6), where they talk to each other as well as to men, perform therapy sessions and are engaged in probable oracular sessions (Fig. 10). The link with the supernatural is clear in some scenes showing fabulous figures, but also with

important characters sitting on the throne with their mouths half open, who are seemingly pronouncing magic formulae, while a female acolyte is waiting for a response in front of them (Fig. 2b). It is implicitly clear that the prevalent role played by women in the scenes on the steles is linked to the esoteric sphere.

The “menstruating priestess”

There is an extremely small number of steles among the decorated female steles which have their hair tied up in a ponytail ending in three spherical pendants. Some women in the scenes have the same ponytail and are dressed like the priestess herself (Fig. 10b-c). According to M. Luisa Nava, the scholar who (like Silvio Ferri) claims that the Daunian steles are *semita sepolcrali* (tombstones), this ponytail distinguishes the female steles, calculating that out of 187 of the most legible finds, those with ponytails number four, i.e., 2.12% of the total. Furthermore, she counted 23 steles of uncertain attribution plus a further 56 steles with weapons and 103 with ornaments but with no ponytail.³ According to her, the last belong to notable men. In total, 159 steles belong to deceased notables and warriors, while only four steles belong to deceased

³ A comprehensive collection of Silvio Ferri’s studies is in Nava 1988; the calculation of the percentages is in Nava 2014, p. 159.

women. If so, why are the notables decorated like the steles with ponytails and why are there so many women in them? Furthermore, what is the meaning of the “VVVV”-shaped triangles on the notables’ pelvises? The distinction between male and female steles is still being debated. Those with weapons are clearly male steles, but, if compared with the female ones, their small number does not convince some scholars. In this regard, I believe that the “VVVV”-shaped signs placed on the pelvis area no doubt represent pubic triangles, similar to those documented in prehistoric art and depicted on some vessels (Figs. 3, 6, 9). The triangles are numerous, large and highly emphasized and their number ranges between three and six units. In the middle of the triangles there are sometimes small bubble-like circles that refer to the blood drops of the menstrual flow (Figs. 6, 9). For this reason, we can suppose that the number of triangles corresponds to the days of the menstrual cycle (between three and six) and might be interpreted as a sort of metaphorical

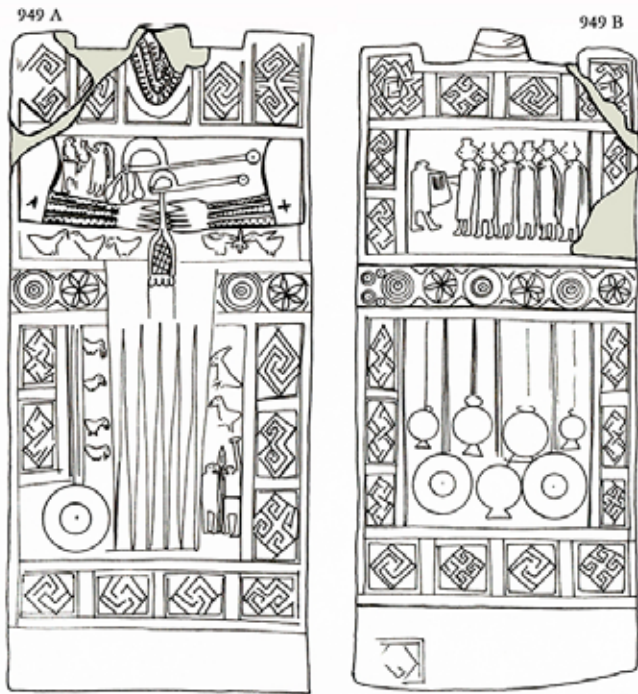


Fig. 3. Female stele with ornaments and dress decorated with geometric patterns. On the A-side at the top, there are two *fibulae* in the middle of the chest and a man and a woman share an unknown object. Six long triangles descend from the pelvis and birds are flying beside. To the right two men also appear, one with a spear and the other with a hammer; to the left appears a pendant-disc. On the B-side, a procession of women is led by a musician with a lyre. Five large poppies, combined with two discs, hang from the belt (tracing, M. L. Leone).



Fig. 4. Typical Daunian olla-funnel with zoomorphic protome, whose shape resembles that of an opium poppy capsule. Ceci Macrini Collection, Andria, fifth century BC (photo, M. L. Leone).

fertility stop.⁴ A similar metaphor can be seen in the large *fibulae* placed on the chest, which might stand for a sort of breast closure or a suspension of its primary function, i.e., breastfeeding. This symbolism refers more to the chastity and virginity of religious women, priestesses and female shamans, which was imposed by their duty, for short or long periods. And this has little to do with the funeral sphere.

According to Camilla Norman, who supports the idea that the stele was destined for funerals, the “VVVV”-shaped motifs rather represent an apron, which identifies a woman ready for marriage and motherhood.⁵ However, this scene also does not belong to the sphere of the deceased. The author insists on this image of women ready for marriage, because of the scenes where they are at the loom and weaving (Fig. 8).⁶ The apron surely refers to the female world, but in a religious sense rather than marriage, since the world reflected in the steles is a cultic one. In this sense also the act of weaving must be understood as the creation of a precious and maybe magical fabric, that was destined for the great priestess and for women dressed in the same way. In this case, weaving is not just a ritual aimed at the passage towards the marital status. It is a rather more important practice, as suggested by the

4 Leone 1996c, p. 57.

5 Norman 2018.

6 Norman 2011.

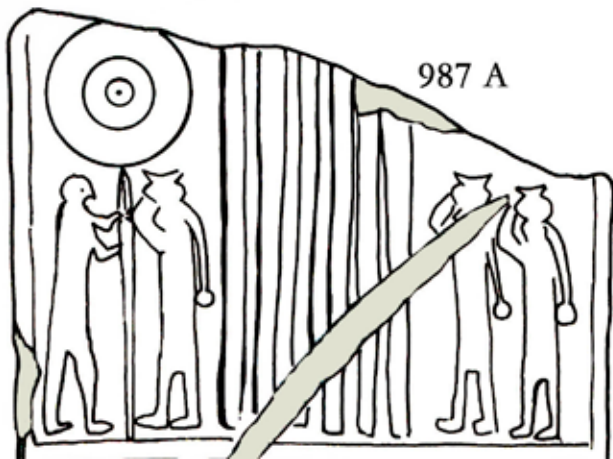


Fig. 5a. (left) Female stele showing women carrying olla-funnel pottery. Their hair is tied in a pony-tail with a poppy capsule braided in it (tracing, M. L. Leone).



Fig. 5b. (right) Green capsule of *papaver somniferum*. The cut allows opium to seep.

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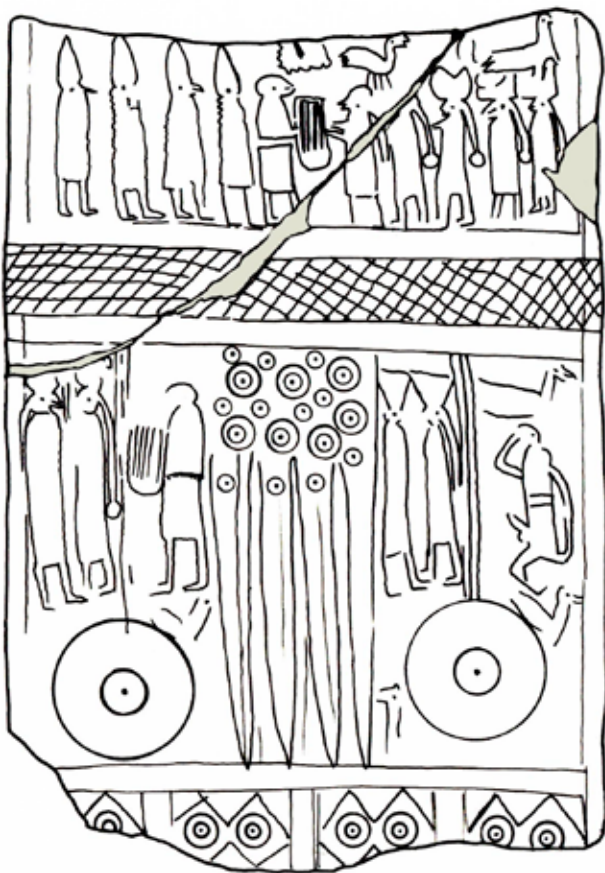


Fig. 6. Female stele, A-side. At the top, female characters moving towards a musician playing the lyre. The four women on the left are the most important. They are dressed like the steles, have the same cone headgear and seem to be receiving the other women carrying gifts on their heads. Four long triangles combined with small circles and two large discs descend under the belt. In this case the triangles are clearly pubic, since they show some segments in the middle (tracing, M. L. Leone).

birds hovering over the weavers' heads as guardians of an ongoing magical practice (Fig. 8). In my opinion, these weavers on the throne are singing or reciting a magical *nenia* (singsong) while the female acolytes bring them poppy-ollas full of precious contents.

The presence of the opium poppy plant
The female stele, exalted as a goddess, with a sumptuous dress and covered with symbolic ornaments, amulets and *fibulae*, is also the “lady of the opium poppy”, because of her main attributes, the circular and spherical pendants that are linked to the narcotic plant. These spherical pendants are close to the pubic triangles and are similar to the rare ivory discs found in some female burials. Along with these discs, opium-pendants were also found. Discs and poppies are in close association; in some cases they overlap, standing for each other and seeming to share the same meaning (Fig. 3). Poppy capsules are a sort of distinguishing feature for the women portrayed in the scenes, the poppy acolytes, who can be distinguished by the poppy capsules braided in their hair (Figs. 5, 6, 9a, 10b). There is a repertoire of scenes where they hold the dried capsule like a command stick, and it is easy to understand that the plant has a therapeutic power, since it is symbolically represented also in the therapy scenes (Figs. 10b-c). These acolytes serve the *stelae*, the *potnia*, the goddess who cures, the one to rely on in order to heal and to contact the world of the spirits, reigned over also by teriomorphs, monstrous and imaginary animals. All this shows that women were well integrated into the esoteric and medical sphere of early archaic Dauni-



Fig. 7. Vessel with hourglass figures and long triangles, alternating with “tremulous” patterns. The symbolism of these decorations is of womanly and menstrual inspiration. Chiusazza (Syracuse), 3500-3000 BC (Gimbutas 1989, p. 243, fig. 379).

an society, and maybe it was their prerogative. This would explain the greater number of steles with ornaments, therefore feminine. But both steles were also invoked for concrete everyday matters, such as good hunting, profitable fishing or an armed duel. There are also scenes of conversation between a woman and a man, perhaps love scenes and marriage notes, like in the scene where a couple is involved in a probable (sexual) embrace (Figs. 9a, b).

In analyzing this busy life, we come to understand that there is a hierarchical society or, at least, a separation of roles: the figures sitting on the throne, the vase bearers, the enchanter playing the lyre, the noble characters with cone-shaped hair, normal people, the bidders and the recipients of gifts (Figs. 6, 8). However, by looking at the burials coeval to the steles we deduce that social rank was not very stratified and only a few individuals, mainly women, had richer burials.⁷ These women were probably connected to the steles and to the characters depicted on them, religious members with high office. Unfortunately, this kind of burial is rare, so the sculptures are the only tool we have with which to shed light on the social genre of the early archaic Daunia.

⁷ Bottini 1982; AAVV 1992; Mazzei 2020.

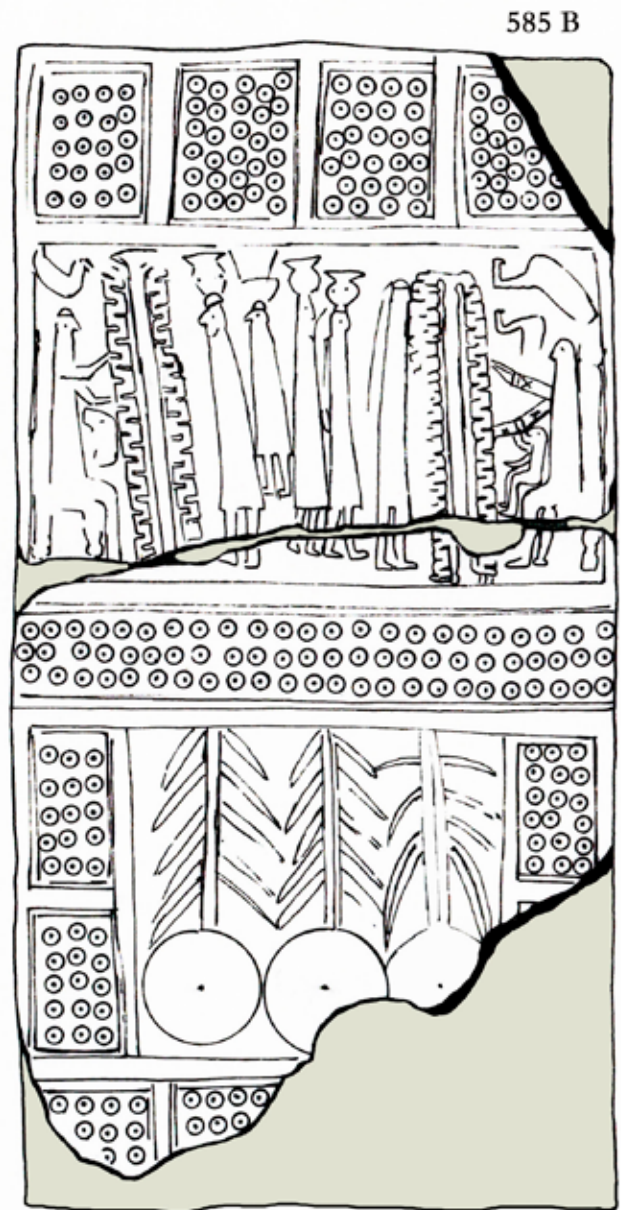
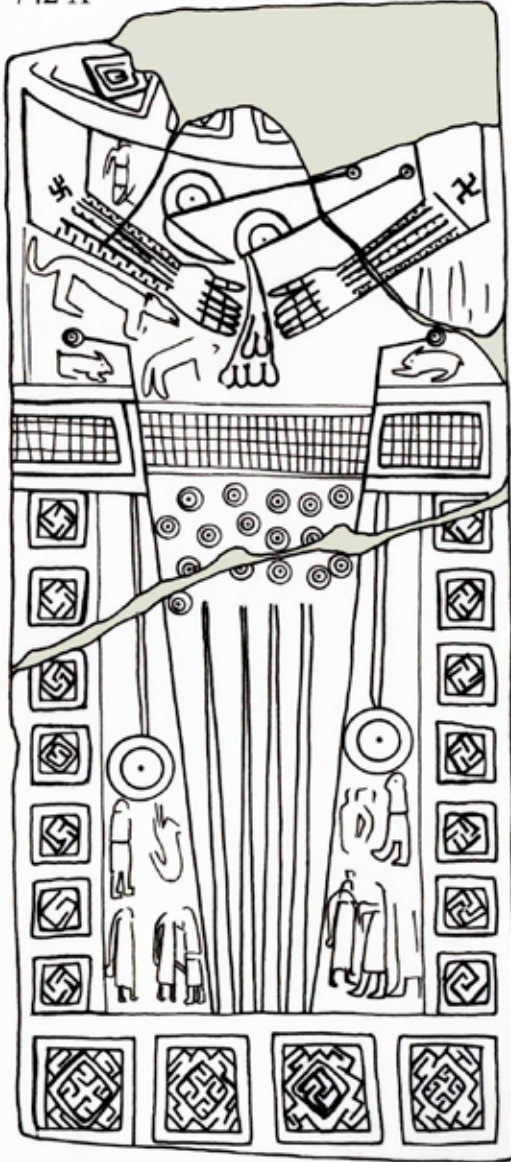


Fig. 8. Female stele, B-side. At the top, five acolyte women bearing ollapots move towards characters sitting on the throne, weaving a cloth with geometric decoration. Below, three large poppy capsules with leaves take up the whole lower half of the stele (tracing, M. L. Leone).

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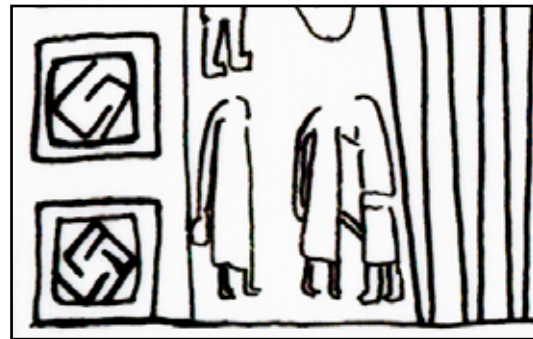
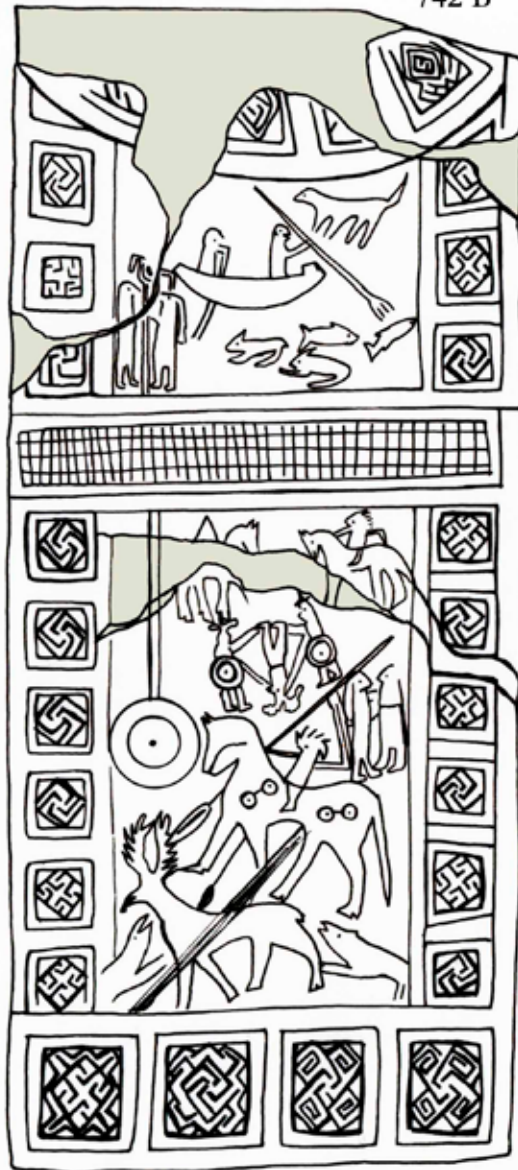


Fig 9. Female stele, A-side. Under the belt there are five long triangles with their circles placed in the pubic area. Among the characters, a man and a woman are connected in a symbolic embrace, which probably indicates a marriage. B-side. At the top there is a fishing scene with harpoon, where two characters carry a stick or a banner. Below, in a complex scene, two people are holding an upside-down man by his feet and hands. The sexually connected couple appears again at the side. Beneath, a man with a spear is hunting a deer (tracing, M. L. Leone).

Details of the scene with the symbolic embrace (tracing, M. L. Leone).

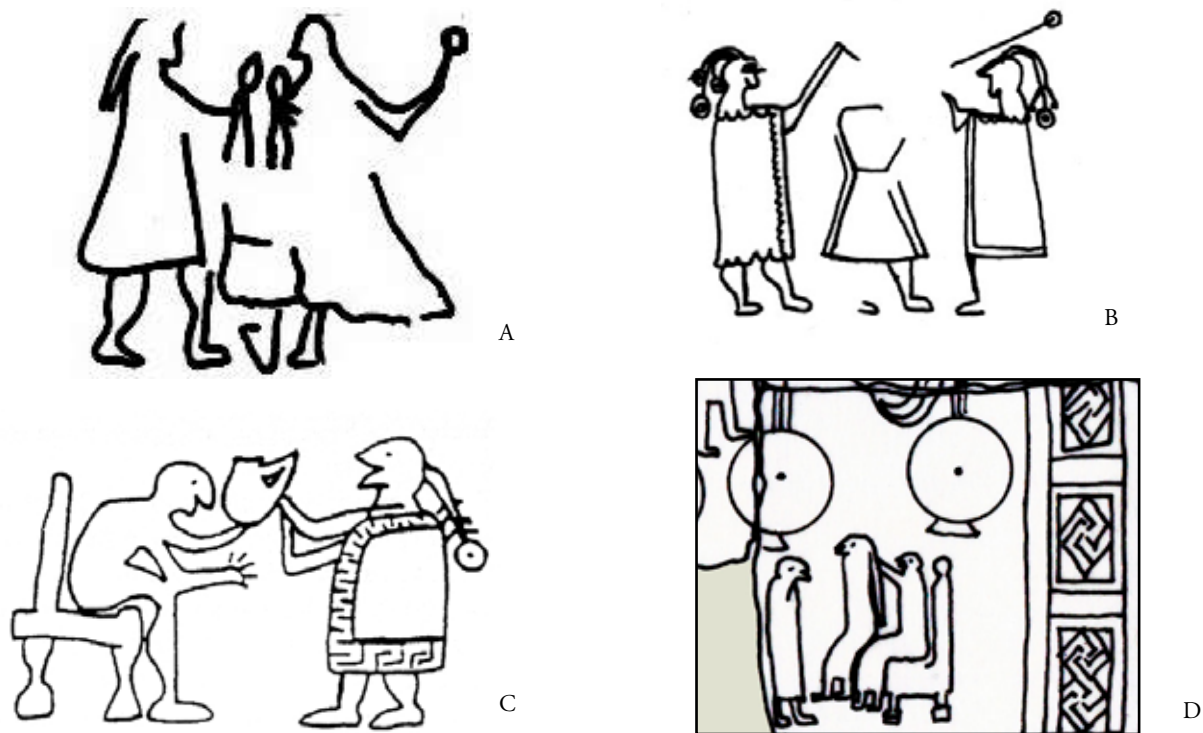


Fig. 10. Scenes that can be interpreted as magical-therapeutic. Some medicine-women hold opium poppy capsules in their hands (a, b) and are dressed like the female stele (b, c). The women in figure B also have the three-pointed tail and some small circles, exactly like in some female steles. Two of them hold an upside-down person (a) by the feet. Such a scene might indicate a ritual of exorcizing evil or shamanic status. Another woman hands an *askos* to a suffering character who is sitting (c). Another one is massaging the nape of a woman resting on her knees (tracing, M. L. Leone).

Written Sources

Some sources between the fourth and the third centuries talk about Daunian women.⁸ Timeo di Taormina describes them as wearing dark clothes, wide bands and high shoes, with their faces colored red and carrying a stick in their hands. To the Greeks they look like Erinyes. The author is clearly describing uncommon women like witches or female shamans, who scare those men who cannot approach them. However, the source that refers mostly to Daunian women is Licofrone's *Alessandra*, where the author describes in detail what Daunian girls do when they do not want to get married: they take refuge in the temple of the virgin Cassandra, the prophetess-priestess, located near the swamp of Salpe – this indication can be found in the *Scholia* in Licofrone – where they embrace her statue, dress in black like the Erinyes, paint their faces with

the juice of evil herbs and carry the stick.⁹ Dressed like this, Cassandra will welcome them and protect their virginity. It is surprising to note how this description corresponds to a virgin priesthood and the stick held in their hands by several characters resembles the dried poppy plant, maybe the same plant that produces evil juices. Together with this folkloristic information, Licofrone's passage shows the free will given to women not to marry men they do not want to, but at the same time this freedom requires a religious dedication to Cassandra and the sacrifice of motherhood.

Daunian Pottery

The social visibility of women in ancient Daunia is clearly reflected in the world described on the steles, but there is also a rare repertoire of pottery and ceramic fragments painted with scenes, where most of the characters are women. They are not coeval with

⁸ A complete and annotated collection of the sources referring to Daunian can be found in Notarangelo 2008.

⁹ Licofrone, *Alessandra*, 126/141; Notarangelo 2008, pp. 38/44.



Fig. 11. Fragment of an olla-pot painted with a hiero-botanical scene. A woman with a giant poppy plant behind her is delivering a sacred plant to a man wearing a helmet. Behind him there are three knights armed with a lance. Three triangles hang behind the great poppy plant, Salapia (Foggia), fourth century BC (photo, M. L. Leone).

the steles, as they were produced between the sixth and third centuries, but their features are comparable. The sacred couple also appears on these finds, but here the two are portrayed while exchanging a plant (Fig. 11). The man usually receives it, sometimes he is armed, sometimes he is not, in one find he carries a lyre in his hand and is eating the plant with the lady in front of him. Maybe he is the same musician who leads the women in procession on the steles, but here he carries a poppy capsule hanging from the lyre. Further poppy capsules are depicted on this and other similar pottery, a prove that the symbolism concerning its healing power continues over time.

If we exclude this small sample, the Daunian pottery is geometric, colored red and brown and with very peculiar shapes, like the duck-shaped *askos*, the dipper cups and the filter-pots rich in suggestive protomes portraying hands, feet, zoomorphic faces, birds, wolf-dogs, bucranium or even anthropomorphic figures with open arms and rings instead of hands.¹⁰ These features reflect the great complexity of the symbolic thought. Clay statues of characteristic women may appear on the filter-pots (Fig. 12a-b), dressed up in fibulae, jewelry, long braids and *polos*-shaped headgear.¹¹ They clearly express

their influence on the filter-pots used to filter herbs, herbal teas, medicinal infusions, and possibly even more sophisticated or magical potions. The other typical Daunian pot is the one carried in balanced on the head by the female acolytes. It is an olla-pot with a large funnel-shaped expanded lip, whose spherical form reproduces and sublimates a giant capsule of *papaver somniferum*. In addition to the two handles, there may be two small hands on the discoid body in a gesture of prayer or two zoomorphic heads reproducing a bucranium (ox head) similar to a wolf-dog with hallucinated eyes. Even here, it is a vase with a ritual function connected with the power of the narcotic plant, praised by the hands in prayer and connected to a zoomorphic guardian spirit (Fig. 4). We can make assumptions about its use thanks to its shape, which is suitable for harvesting, as its funnel-shaped lip is perfect to beat the poppy capsules and let all the seeds fall inside it. This vessel was a unique object and was part of a tomb set, handed down for generations for its preciousness.¹²

The end of the Matrifocal World

The Daunian steles belong to the Iron Age, but they are also the last expression of the anthropomorphic stones of the Copper Age, the time when the Indo-European cultures arrived in Europe and in the Mediterranean area.¹³ This was the time when the reign of the goddess, i.e., the queen, the one who healed, defended and welcomed, which belonged to the Neolithic, declined. By the end of the Metal Age, the Mediterranean pantheons were full of male deities, often despotic and dominant.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the importance of the female cult did not decline immediately, but it took some time and there were some forms of resistance or oases, such as those in the Egyptian and Cretan culture. In the Mycenaean era this centrality progressively diminished and dramatically decreased in the Hellenic world: Greek women were excluded from any political role and remained trapped in the bride-mother syndrome. Sardinian and Etruscan women in Italy enjoyed a

10 Mayer 1914; De Juliis 1977; Yntema 1985.

11 Maes 1975.

12 De Juliis 1991.

13 Anati 1977, 1990.

14 Gimbutas 1989; Percovic 2007, 2009.



Fig. 12. Filter-pots with female clay figurine. Bari, private collection (a). Female clay figurine of the same type appearing on the filter-pots. Private collection (b) (tracing, M. L. Leone).

freedom in the first millennium denied to Greek and Roman women: there is some evidence that women in Etruria took part in banquets and public events and were not subject to the protection of their fathers or husbands.¹⁵ Among the Dauni, who were contemporary with the Greeks and Romans, women were highly thought of and it is an increasingly common opinion among many scholars that traces of a matrifocal structure can be found in many societies among Italic populations before the Hellenic and Roman ages, when they were terminated or modified. In Sardinia the central role of women in society was partially preserved until the last century, compared with a strongly patriarchal climate in southern Italy.

On the basis of the written sources and iconographic evidence described here, we can deduce that in

Daunia women fully participated in social activities and were as active in esotericism as in craft production. On the steles we also see them engaged in weaving, but they also made pottery and played an active role in creating or designing the steles, since they were often portrayed or even protagonists of the stories engraved on them. These are deductions, but it is no secret that the ideative language used for the creation and decoration of pottery, huts and tattoos was an exclusive female domain among some tribes. The recent studies by the researcher Makilam also show how Berber craftswomen play a decisive role in the transmission of magical-symbolic knowledge in their society.¹⁶ Why, then, not assume that Daunian women also played this role and that the originality and creativity of Daunian art originated from them too?

¹⁵ Rallo 1989.

¹⁶ Makilam 2007.

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MYTHICAL WOMEN IN THE PREHISTORIC ART OF SOUTHEAST UTAH

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Introduction

The southeastern portion of Utah State, in the US, is the location of prehistoric art dating back to 900 BC to AD 1300. It is found in alcoves and cliff faces depicting what I believe to be the “beginning stories” that are still recited and represented in the oral traditions of Indian tribes today. These tribes include the Keresan, Zuni and Hopi Pueblo people, who now live in northern Arizona and New Mexico. Other painted sites in this area are associated with the Ute and Paiute tribes that still live in southern and eastern Utah.

Foundation myths or “beginning stories” are canonical texts, passed down orally and through pictography from generation to generation without changing, thus ensuring the preservation of the culture through centuries. Today, the Hopi, the Keres and the Zuni insist these stories attest to their cultural continuity that they have preserved in ritual poetry (in their ancient language), and ceremonies in their kivas away from

foreign influences. What is available in early ethnographic text are but fragments of the entire corpus of the emergence and migration stories that are retained in oral traditions preserving their cultural continuity to this day. What follows is a simple correlative hypothesis of what appear to me to be representations of these very important mythical women within the corpus of sacred texts that define each culture.

This paper features the mythical women who are creation beings. They are natural givers of life and nourishment. For agricultural people such as the Hopi, Zuni and Keres, “the earth is our Mother” from which all life is born and flourishes. For hunter-gatherers such as the Ute and Paiute, the sky is the home of “Father Sun”, that fertilizes Mother Earth for the plants and animals that humans depend upon. Southeast Utah is the very early homeland for ancestral Pueblo people, the agriculturalists (Pueblo I-III, AD 700-1300). After a century-long drought, (AD 1125-1250) this area was slowly abandoned by ancestral pueblo people and nomadic tribes moved in. These included the Ute and Paiute people beginning around AD 1100 and still living there today. They followed game animals and lived off wild seedy plants and grasses, nuts and berries and did not rely on rainfall for maize gardens.

Within this large canyon-laced landscape are painted images of the Cloud Women, Earth Mother, Water



Fig. 1. Five Faces panel in Davis Canyon, Canyonlands National Park, Utah, AD 1100-1300 (photo by Randy C. Brown).



Fig. 2. Five Faces Panel, from Right to Left, Sun-wise: White Woman (East), Yellow Woman, (north) Sun Youth, Blue Woman (west), and Red Woman, (south) (photo by Randy C. Brown, 2017).

Grandmother, the Dawn Mothers and the dual representations of Spider Woman. These mythical women play important roles in the creation stories, as Native peoples sought to form a harmonious partnership with the environment through songs, prayers and ceremonies. Clouds, lightning and thunder were animate beings with names and characters that were addressed, prayed to and mythologized in oral traditions and re-enacted within formalized rituals and cyclical ceremonies. As environmental conditions deteriorated, there seems to have been a resurgence in larger depictions of these spirit beings in an effort to balance the fluctuations of rainfall and drought in this desert environment.

Southeast Utah is the ancestral homeland for Keresan Pueblo people (Patterson-Rudolph 1997; Patterson 2018), who now live in New Mexico in the villages of Acoma, Zia and Laguna pueblos. The Keresan “beginning stories” feature a female creator being called Tsichtinako, translated as “creative thinking woman”. She is small like a spider and hard to see. Her daughters create all the living plants and animals that populate the earth. The oral traditions tell of the Mythical Women, granddaughters of Spider Woman, who represent the clouds of the four directions that bring the

rain. The clouds, namely Yellow Woman, Blue Woman, Red Woman and White Woman, are collectively called “the Yellow Women”, who are the first and original clan mothers. Today, in Keresan villages, the women’s corn-grinding ceremonies re-enact the roles of the Yellow Women for young women. The prehistoric art dates within the Pueblo II-III era (AD 900-1300).

This area in southeast Utah is also home to the ancestral Zuni (Patterson 2019). Among many of the prehistoric art sites of male-dominated themes, I have selected the paintings of the Dawn Mothers who are ritually prayed to at dawn. Their breasts distinguish their ages as grandmothers, matrons and maidens who stand alongside a female figure in labor with a breech birth, of the Pueblo II-III era.

Several of the ancestral clans of the Hopi migrated through this region from the northern part of Utah to their present location in Arizona. They have long revered Spider Woman, a double figure, Gogyeng Sowuti of the east and Huruing Wuhti of the west, who assisted them through their emergence into the fourth world. Her dual image (AD 1100-1300) is found throughout the state of Utah. The cultural continuity of Spider Woman is evidenced by the Spider Woman



Top of the cloud
 Face of the cloud
 Dark line under the cloud
 rain falling below

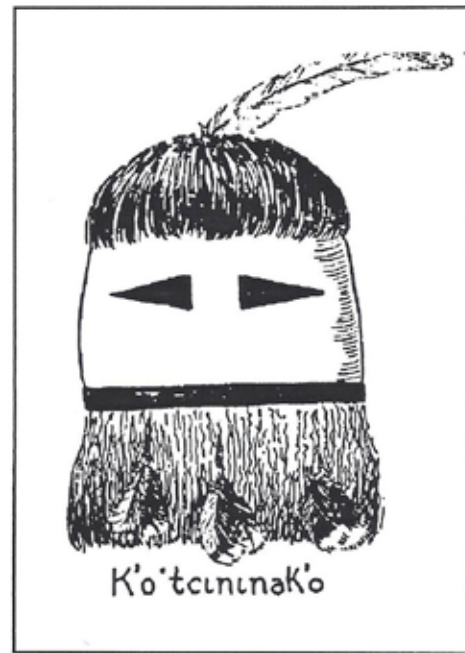


Fig. 3a. Storm cloud illustration. Fig. 3b. Yellow Woman katsina mask from Zia Pueblo (1930).

katsina masks, and scattered across the landscape are shrines for her known to Hopi today.

Finally there are the Numic travelers, a branch of the Uto/Aztec language group from southern California, moving north and east across the Great Basin and on to the Colorado Plateau over the centuries, fanning out into cultural groups known today as Ute, Paiute and Shoshone people. Their oral traditions feature Water Grandmother (Earth Mother), the one who provides nourishment for all life, and her faithful companion, Sinavi, a canine creator, who made the trails for these people to follow (Hultkrantz 1986). I am an archaeologist and cultural anthropologist who looks for the beginning stories that every culture has. These stories describe the place and the events that occurred at the beginning of history. The place in relation to where they live now is a geocentric reference that anchors each culture in the landscape and defines their mythical universe. For the Hopi, the Keres and the Zuni, this place is northwest from where they live now. For the Ute and Paiute it is south of where they live now. From this anchor, the Pueblo (and Plains) tribes refer to the sunwise rotation from east to west as a right-to-left cultural direction. They name their colors of the cardinal directions beginning at the north and proceed to the west, the south, the east. This cultural direction is evident in all their forms of picture

writing and prehistoric art where narrative events are displayed, that is, kiva murals (Dutton 1963) and Plains ledger art (Green 1996).

In contrast, the Uto/Aztec groups including the Numic (Ute and Paiute) have their beginning stories anchored in the land to the south. Their geocentric reference dictates a cultural preference for a sunwise direction, rotating clockwise from left to right (Goss 2002).

Keres and Yellow Woman (Kotsininako)

According to Keresan Pueblo mythology, Spider Woman's granddaughters, the Yellow Women (or Mythical Women), were created by her daughter, Ut'set (also spelled Iatiku or Uretsete) to reside in the four directions. Although they appear as stylized clouds named by the color that designates the direction to which they belong, they are collectively called the Yellow Women. Ut'set sends Yellow Woman to the north, Blue Woman to the west, Red Woman to the south, White Woman to the east. "She tells the people that in a time of need they should ask these women to be mediators with the Cloud People in order to bring rain" (Stevenson 1890: 41).

Sun Youth rises every morning carrying his great sun shield across the sky and arouses the Mythical Women (clouds) from the four directions. It his job to bring



Fig. 4. Corn grinding grooves at the base of the Five Faces panel (photo by Joe Vinyard).

them altogether and produce rain. Through his interactions with the Yellow Women (marriage in one version, punishment for not marrying in another), the result is the continuation of life through rain.

The Five Faces site in Davis Canyon, Utah is a painted site, contemporary with the shield figure of Sun Youth in Salt Creek not far away that has been radiocarbon dated at AD 1295 (Schroedl and Hogue 1994) and a second date of AD 932 (Watchman 1998 pc; 2001) In this panel one can see how the faces seem very placid as they look outward (see the entire analysis in Patter-son-Rudolph 1997) (see fig. 1).

Each face was created by abrading the sandstone, exposing a pinkish white surface. Then paint was applied to only the outlines of the faces, ornaments, hair ties, chin and throat elements, and body decor. Each figure has a slightly different color scheme and ornamentation, yet each has the characteristic mask-like face with a dark line under the face, a light “beard” with dots, and vertical stripes or dashed lines on the torso (see fig. 2).

Four of the figures are female, two on either side of the central male figure. The females have hair buns wrapped in cotton twine lying on their shoulders and a throat ornament, while the male figure has

earplugs and a quiver strap across his chest. “The hair buns are an archaic style of wrapping the hair around a thin piece of wood and tying it with colored cord or string” (Bunzel 1932: 867). Their eyes are similar to the eyes painted on Keresan K’otcinak’o masks. A dark line encircles each chin, representing the dark line under a storm cloud. From this line falls the rain, decorated with white breath-feathers used for prayers. Yellow Woman is the most striking figure. Her rain cloud face with the broad band under her chin is more yellow-brown than black like that of the others. Blue Woman has blue ear ornaments, Red Woman has red hair ties, and White Woman has white body markings like snow falling down her front.

Figure 3a shows a comparison of an actual storm cloud in profile, and 3b) a mask of the Yellow Woman katsina from Zia Pueblo. One can see the abstraction of the storm cloud in the face of K’otcinak’o.

The faces of the Yellow Women are placed over a very large row of prehistoric grinding bins used by young women to grind corn during their initiation ceremony (see fig. 4). The Keresan Pueblo corn grinding ceremony recorded in historical times describes maidens grinding corn for several days to prove their stamina

and efficiency. Their faces are smeared with corn pollen to purify them as they grind their corn. Similarly, the faces at this site have been abraded and appear as if they had been smeared with corn pollen that partially obscures the eyes and softens the details of the faces.

The Yellow Woman stories go along with the katsina masks of K'otcininako, and Yellow Women are from the Keres Pueblos of San Felipe, Zia, Acoma and Laguna (Parsons 1939; Stevenson 1890; Stirling 1942; White 1932) (fig. 5).

The importance of the Yellow Women and their ability to bring rain is also recognized by the Hopi and Zuni cultures. These sacred deities are called Kokoshi by the Zuni, the Good or Beautiful katsinas that bring rain. The Hopi refer to them as Angak China, Long-haired katsina. In both tribes, these katsinas are male and sometimes have female counterparts. These deities are the favorites of both tribes because they are gentle and bring rain.

Zuni Dawn Mothers

Deep in a canyon within Cedar Mesa, situated beside a flowing spring, is a prehistoric painted site with four pairs of female figures. It is a very long panel and shown here are close-ups of selected panels I believe are representative of the following Zuni prayer:

“Prayers to the Sun begin like this: “Dawn Old Women; Dawn Matrons; Dawn Girls, have risen standing to their sacred place saying, “Let it be now” four times, drawing up our grandmothers making them arise,” (Bunzel 1934: 640).

The left end of the panel is shown in fig. 6. The first and second pair of figures are shown on the left. They have hanging hands and feet that indicate they are spirits. (Patterson 2019). The first two have red triangles in their heart area. The ghostly-white shadows of bodies, arms and legs and their heads are visible only in digitally enhanced photos. The white arc shape above their heads is an emblem of the sky world where they reside (Patterson 2019). It stems from the metaphor, stone bowl of the sky, the Zuni way of describing the sky (Bunzel 1934; Tedlock 1979).

The next two figures have bare panels on their upper chests and a pair of flattened low hanging breasts with the nipples depicted in red. These are the large flat breasts of Grandmothers. The rest of their bodies are dabbed with red fingerprints.

Further to the right along the panel are a pair of figures with their nipples or areolas in red paint. These women are painted in white also and they have remained more visible. The red painted hands in sup-

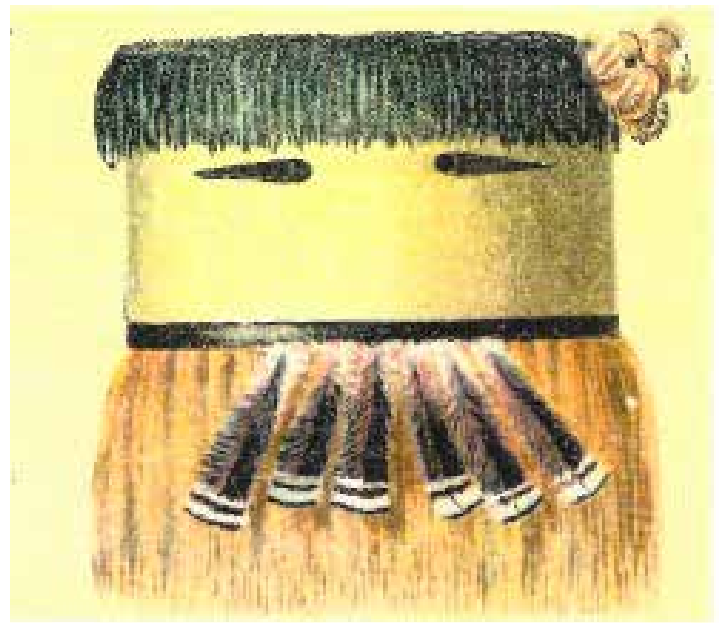


Fig. 5a. Yellow Woman at the Five Faces site (photo from Randy C. Brown). Fig. 5b /Zia Yellow Woman mask (from Stevenson 1890, Plate 31).



Fig. 6. The first pair has red triangle painted torsos with the rest of their bodies white; head and sky above are emblems. The second pair is Grandmothers with flat breasts.

plication to them may suggest prayers to these ancestral women. They appear to be mature fertile matron women (fig. 7).

The fourth pair of women are painted with their breasts on a slightly rounded surface of the sandstone cliff. The rock incorporation using a natural bulge in the surface adds to the portrayal of young girls' breasts.

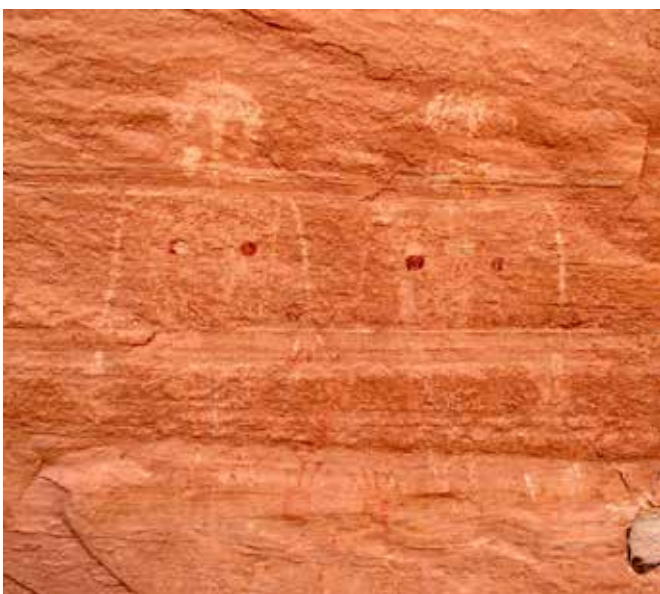


Fig. 7. Third pair of matron women with red painted breast areolas.

Their tiny nipples are barely visible. They are Dawn Girls, not yet mature females (fig. 8).

The final panel shows a female in labor with the baby in a breech birth position. The little central figure with breasts may be a midwife (fig. 9).

As noted earlier, the relationship of Zuni men and women is reflected in the importance of the Yellow Women and their fertility and ability to bring rain. They are recognized by the Zuni and called the Kokoshi, the Good or Beautiful katsina (*k'okshi* with the prefix *ko-* from *kokko* or gods), and are considered the oldest and most sacred katsinas. These values are evident in the attitudes of Zuni men toward women today. Dennis Tedlock writes that a Zuni informant admonished him by say:

Didn't I know that the bodies of women are *tehya* -- precious, valuable, guarded? No, it wasn't just a matter of sex: "That's secondary. It's their bodies that are *tehya*." Finally, in one last effort to make me understand, he crossed the horizon of my own mythic world and said, "It's like Eve. She found she wanted to be *tehya* at that spot, so she put a big leaf to it." And so there she was, Eve as a Zuni saw her, not discovering evil and shame, but choosing to make a part of herself precious, valued, and guarded (Tedlock 2011: 293).

Hopi Spider Woman, Gogyeng Sowuti and Huruing Wuhti

The Fremont-style petroglyphs of Nine Mile Canyon and Range Creek in the Tavaputs Plateau in Utah were created by people known to the Numic (Ute and Paiute) arrivals as the Mu:kwitsi/Hopi (1000–1300 AD). Recent linguistic and mtDNA analysis show these people had a mixture of Pre-Hopi (Uto-Aztecan) and Tanoan (Jemez) ancestry (Saul 2014). Early ethnographers referred to them as the Moki people which was later changed to “Hopi”.

Several Hopi clans have oral traditions that claim they lived in the north and northwest before migrating to their present location in northern Arizona. These clans include the Bear, Reed, Horn, Crane and Snake (Courlander 1971; Yava 1978). These migrations occurred over the 13th and 14th centuries. As they migrated, some groups adopted new clan names and left their clan emblems on cliff faces along the way.

A Hopi author, Albert Yava, writes: “You have to remember that a good many of those clan groups that arrived here weren’t Hopis as we know them today. They came in with different customs, different traditions, even different languages. They brought ceremonies that the Hopis didn’t know about, and they brought whatever guiding spirits, or deities, they happened to have” (Yava 1978: 49).



Fig. 8. The fourth pair of young girls with budding breasts.

Hopi is a religion, not a single group of people. As Courlander says, “The Hopi themselves acknowledged that different stocks have been absorbed over the years. The Snake and Horn Clans which came from the north land, that figure importantly in Hopi tradition, are said to have spoken a dialect related to the Paiute.” (Courlander 1971: 204). “The group that became the Bear Clan went too far north in its jour-



Fig. 9. Two female figures, one in labor with a breech birth.

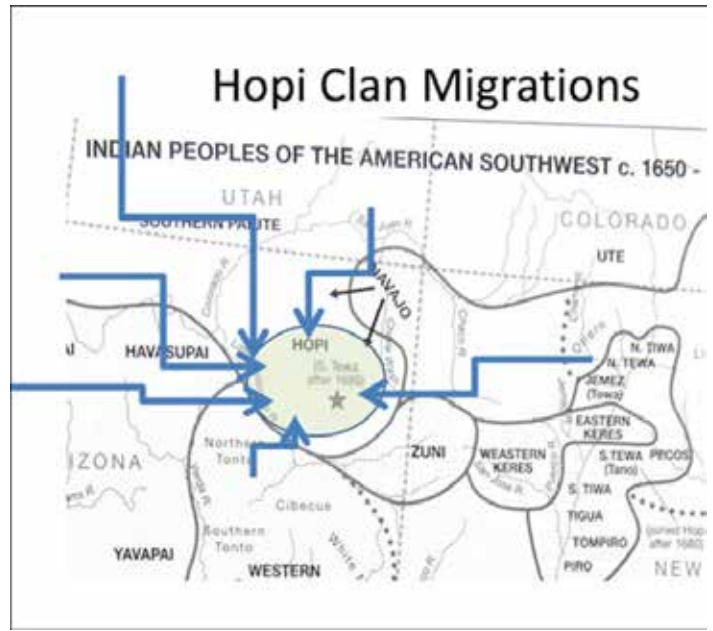
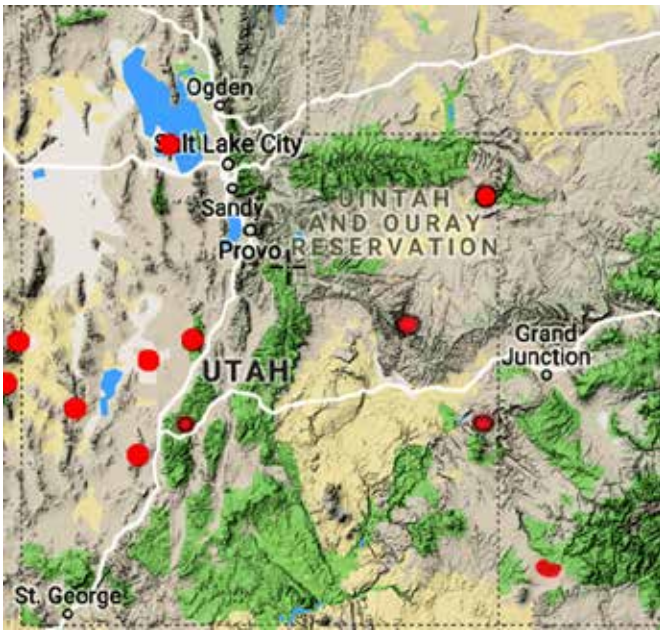


Fig. 10a. Map of Utah with locations of Spider Woman images. Fig. 10b. Hypothetical map of Hopi Clan migrations from all directions.

ney into Colorado. It made some villages there and stayed for a while, but their corn didn't mature and eventually they came south again" (Yava 1978: 50). Besides clan emblems, there are numerous double images of Spider Woman found throughout Utah. A few panels are presented here, along with the Hopi explanation of this complex mythical woman. The northern Hopi clan settlements in Utah are marked by diagnostic iconography of Hopi beginning stories featuring Gogyeng Sowuti and Huruing Wuhti, dual aspects of Spider Woman (fig. 10).

Huruing Wuhti is the same as Mother (Grandmother) Spider. She is called Huruing Wuhti because she is in possession of things like corals and shells and hard things. Gogyeng Sowuti, Spider Grandmother, is also called Huruing Wuhti. There are two names for her. She is really Mother Earth. They call her Spider Grandmother because the spider makes a hole in the ground and lives in the earth. They use different names to distinguish the direction. Gogyeng Sowuti refers to the direction of the rising sun, Huruing Wuhti refers to the west. But it is really Mother Earth they are talking about, the spirit of female fertility. Whatever is planted, Mother Earth takes care of it (Courlander 1971: 244).

The popular panel in Nine Mile affectionately called the Fremont Family has two full-bodied figures that

may represent the dual aspects of Spider Woman. Her Hopi name is Gogyeng Sowuti, of the east, and Huruing Wuhti, of the west (fig. 11).

The geocentric reference for the Hopi is to the north that would put the east on the viewer's right and the west on the left. The sun would rise on the right and travel counterclockwise overhead to the west on the left. Gogyeng Sowuti helps the sun rise in the east and Huruing Wuhti helps it go down into the kiva in the west. Huruing Wuhti has additional symbols of the kiva on her head with the ladder going down into the earth on her side. Both figures have six legs and with the addition of arms there are the eight appendages of the spider. "Gogyeng Sowuti is called Spider Woman because she lives in a hole in the earth. She is the Earth Mother" (Courlander 1971).

Located in Fremont State Park, in Clear Creek Canyon further to the south, is a similar panel to that of Range Creek discussed earlier (fig. 12).

The two mythical women deities, identified by their horns that denote strength, are joined together to indicate they are united in their creation activities. Overhead is the path of the sun god Tawa, moving across the sky from right to left as the sun does from east to west when oriented to the north. It is shaped like a serpent, with a head and tail that identifies the direction in which it is traveling. The cross reinforces

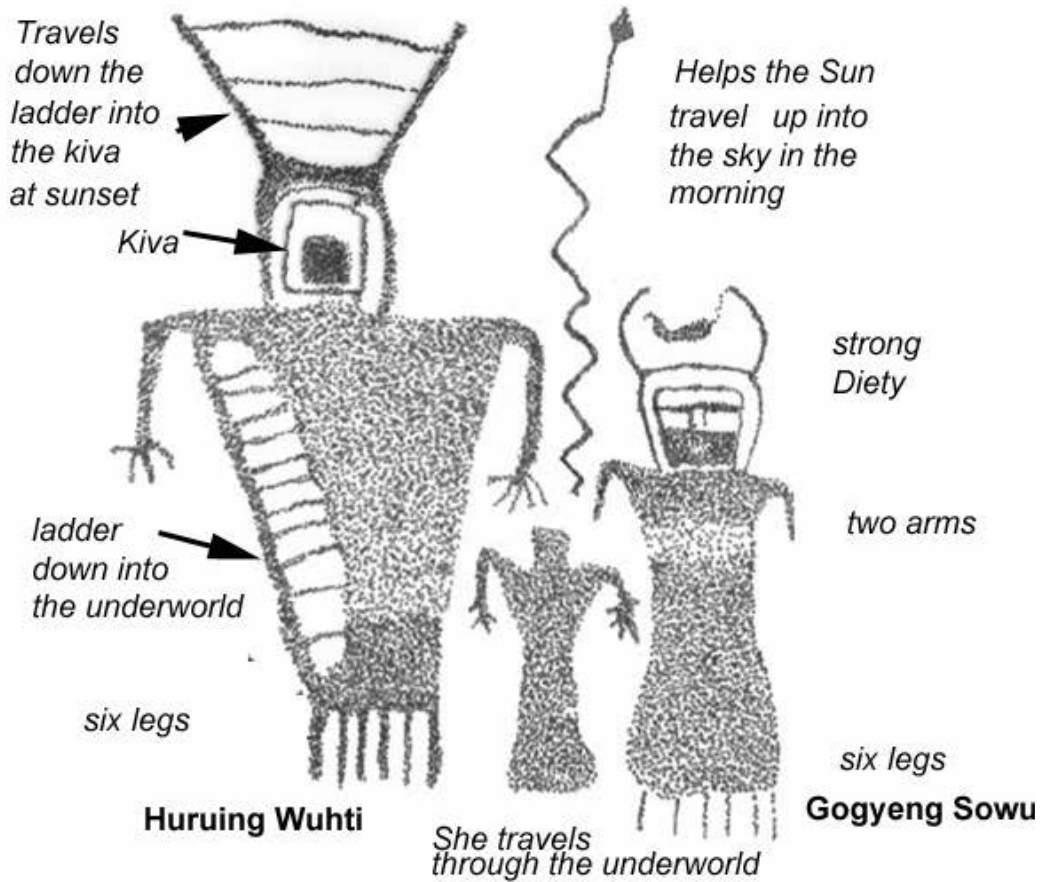
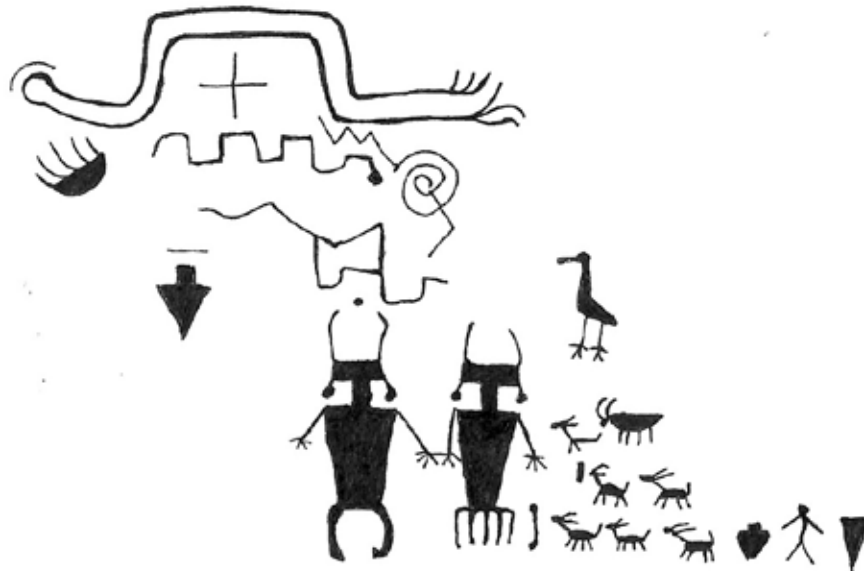


Fig. 11a. Photograph of a Fremont panel from Nine Mile Canyon depicting the Hopi Spider Woman duplexity, Gogyeng Sowuti of the east, and Huruing Wuhti of the west. Fig. 11b. Drawing of the panel with annotation of both deities (photo by C. Patterson).



Fig. 12. Photograph and drawing of a panel in Clear Creek, Fremont St. Park, Utah. This panel reads from right to left: Gogyeng Sowuti of the east on the right, and Huruing Wuhti of the west on the left.



the concept of crossing over the sky.
 A single portrait of Gogyeng Sowuti is found further on down the canyon (fig. 13). Notice that someone has placed a feather in a crack above her. Hopis still visit these sites and often leave prayer feathers at Spider Woman Hill and other sites in Clear Creek Canyon. Albert Yava writes:

Some people say that Huruing Wuhti – Hard Substances Old Woman – is claimed by the Water Coyotes who came from the north, but to the best of my knowledge she’s accepted by all Hopis. She is supposed to be the owner of all coral, turquoise and things like that. Usually when a person makes or strings beads, he sings a song to Huruing

Wuhti. ...Gogyeng Sowuhti, or Spider Grandmother – she represents the earth, which gives us everything we need to live – is claimed by the Bear, Spider and Spruce clans and all their affiliated clans” (Yava 1978: 48).

On the eastern edge of Utah and part of Colorado is another depiction of Spider Woman (fig. 14). Here Gogyeng Sowuti, Spider Woman, is shown with curled legs and several eyes that are quite convincing. It is Spider Woman who leads the people out of the *Sipapuni*. “Nevertheless, the tradition that the people emerged from the underworld with the guidance of Gogyeng Sowuhti is accepted by most Hopis. The emergence through the *Sipapuni* is commemorated in



Fig. 13a. Portrait of Gogyeng Sowuti in Clear Creek Canyon. Fig 13b. Drawing of her (photo and drawing by author). Note the feather stuck in the crack above her.

a great many ceremonies.” (Yava 1978: 41)
 This special mythical woman is the guiding voice during the long migrations of the Hopi clans. “Spider Woman told her people: ‘Now that you have been brought to the upper world, remember that I guided you here. I’ll be with you all the time. Listen to me. Listen to your conscience, that is my voice. I’ll be inside you. I’ll be everywhere. If you want to do something and you hear that voice inside you.’” (Yava 1978: 50)

The Numic Water Grandmother and Sinawavi

During the Proto-historic era (AD 1300-1700) Numic (Paiute and Ute) iconography appears in this canyon-land region of southeast Utah. There are representations of two key figures, Water Grandmother and her helper Sinawavi, the sacred canine known in most dialects as Wolf. Water Grandmother creates the earth and sends out Sinawavi to see if it is ready for people. He returns to her to report that it is ready (fig. 15).

James Goss, an ethnolinguist who worked with the Southern Utes for 50 years, recounts the myth about the Nuutsiyu people (southern dialect):

In the beginning there was only water. Water Grandmother floated in her basket in the midst of the wa-

ters. She thought and created the land from her own body. She thought, and sang, and stretched the land. She circled in the sun-wise direction, and bit by bit, she added to the land.

When the land was so large that she could no longer see the waters, she sent *Sin-a-wavi* to see if it was large enough. *Sinawavi* ran from center to edge, again and again, checking and rechecking. Finally, *Sinawavi* returned, all out of breath, Shouting, “It fits!” “It fits!” (Goss 2003).

During a conversation we had in 2010, I showed Goss pictures of this painted site and he immediately identified “Water Grandmother and her companion Sinawavi” (Goss PC 2010). Through the years I have added more sites to the collection that are consistent with the canine and the large female figure (fig. 16). Always there is the use of white paint that is fugitive and will not last more than five or six centuries. For this reason I believe these images are not archaic and fall within the time period of Ute and Paiute occupation of this region.

This large form of Earth Mother with a crown of clouds on her head and rivers running down her body is consistent with the Ute belief that the land nourishes us, feeds us, and we roam all around on her body

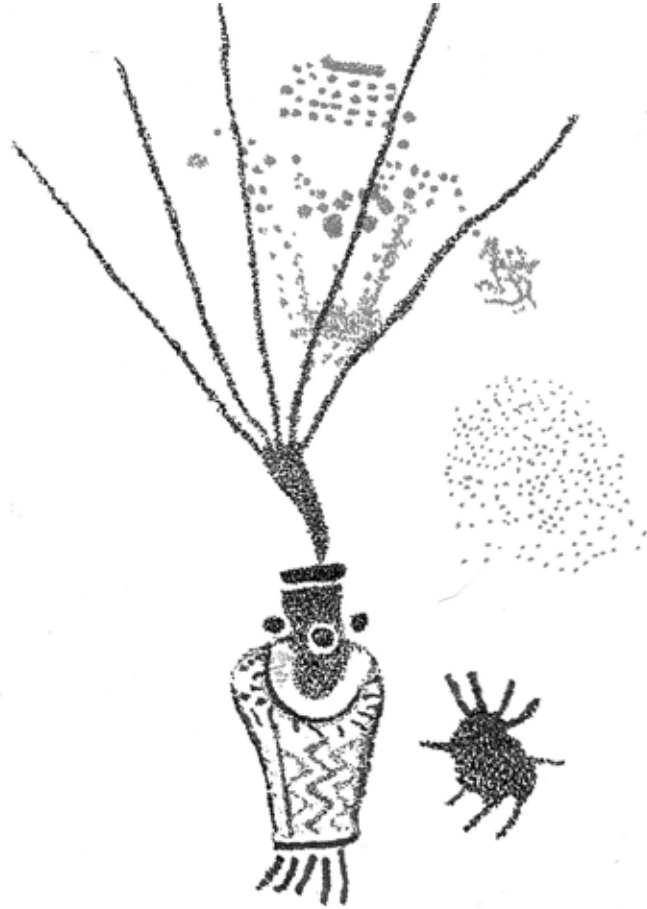


Fig. 14a. Portrait of Gogyeng Sowuti in Dinosaur National Monument (photo by Michael Griffin). Fig. 14b. Drawing of her.



Fig. 15. The painted site of Water Grandmother (Mother Earth) with her companion Sinawavi reporting back to her. (photo by author).

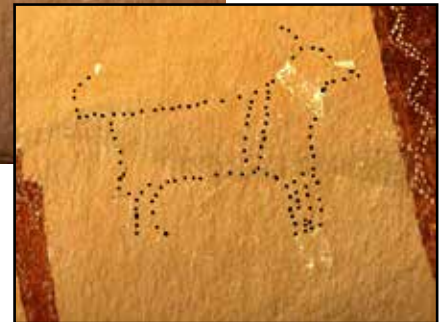


Fig. 16a. Water Grandmother from Hog Springs. Fig. 16b. Water Grandmother from White. Fig. 16c. Water Grandmother from White Canyon.



Fig. 17a. Water Grandmother and Sinawavi in a site called the Perfect Panel by some.

Fig. 17b. the “lost dog” by old-timers re-drawn to show where it is between the two large figures.



on the sacred trails that Sinawavi made. A Ute elder, Clifford Duncan, said, “I don’t own the land, the land owns me. That is the way of looking at life prior to the Europeans. How could you own something that owns you?” (Duncan 2013).

Figure 17 has several depictions of Water Grandmother and her companion Sinawavi. Beginning on the left, she stands with her arm out to receive Sinawavi who whispers into her ear (see also fig. 18. This panel shows the “lost dog” where only the white areas remain, and I have added dots to complete the canine that has disappeared (or was never meant to be seen). The diagnostic traits of Sinawavi are the white-tipped ears, feet and tail, and the white band around his neck and belly. Water Grandmother has a crown of snow or stars on her head, and rivers running down her body. “He measured the earth so that it had the proper proportions for the people to come. The earth was created to “fit” the pattern that Mother Earth thought into being. Only *Sinawavi* has the power to make the trails or measure the earth. No mere man can presume to make trails, to measure the earth, or to cut up Her Flesh. To do so would be the direst sacrilege.

This is a fragment of the origin myth of the *Nuutsiyu* (The Ute People). It helps us understand Ute perspectives on their lands, their trails, their cultural landscape. In Ute traditional belief, Water Grandmother

is Mother Earth and *Sinawavi* is her helpmate, created to become the steward of Her body. He made the trails from the mountain center of the earth to the edges where the earth meets the sea and surrounds us.” (Goss 2003).

John Wesley Powell (1971) remarked that the Utes will never ask another Indian what tribe they belong to. Instead they ask “What land do you belong and how are you land named?” Ute bands in eastern Utah and western Colorado include the Water Elk People (Parianuche), lizard people (Weeminuche), Sagebrush people (Sheberetch), Red Lake people (Uncompahgre) and the Sunny slope people (Tabeguache). This is the Ute world view of a mother-and-child relationship with the earth, Water Grandmother, and the trails made by Sinawavi. The trails over the body of mother earth are considered sacred. The Utes, being oriented to the south, always travel clockwise, going somewhere and returning on a different trail. “The Ute call this a ‘right-handed’ direction” (Duncan 2010). Although the Ute and Paiute do not have masked dances, nor do they re-enact mythic sequences of their beginning stories, they still live in a close relationship with their mother, the earth, the land that owns them. This relationship dictates how they care for the land and travel upon it, and the affinity towards memory places is recorded in their petroglyphs.



Fig. 18. Sinawavi climbing up her thumb and standing on her shoulder talking into her ear. He has a white band around his middle, white legs, a white tip on his tail and ears and nose.

Conclusion

This essay is only an interpretation based on what little ethnographic documentation is available. The sacred myths of the beginning time do not conform to the Western ways of logic any more than Bible stories do to non-Christian cultures. The moral code of ethics for survival are embedded in the metaphors of each story. English is not adequate to translate the meaning from Native languages, describing a reality that existed centuries ago in the minds of prehistoric people. This discussion is formed around the patterns of similarity that I perceive between the prehistoric art and the passages in the oral traditions and ritual poetry, along with statements from the Natives themselves.

It is important to note that the dynamic role of the female spirit beings acts in harmony with the male spirit beings. For the Hopi, it is Spider Woman who helps the male Sun god Tava rise out of the east and journey across the sky, and down into his kiva at night. For the Zuni, the male Sun Father and his wife the Moon regulate the germination and nourishment of plant and animal life. The War Twins rely on Spider Woman who hides behind the ear of one twin and whispers directions to help him out of life-threatening situations. Zuni ritual prayers call upon Cotton Woman, Black Clay Woman, Salt Woman and the popular Warrior Woman for guidance. Their masked impersonations (katsinas) attest to their key roles in Zuni ceremonies today.

The Utes have many tales that address spirits that

dwell in the land, on water and on high mountain tops. During many years working with Clifford Duncan, Ute elder, we always addressed them by name, calling out to them as we passed and announcing that our intentions were peaceful. The landscape is alive, and as part of this network of relationships within an animate universe, people conduct themselves with respect and vigilance against any transgressions. All the tribes discussed here view the petroglyphs as message boards of the spirits living within the rock, or the spirits that still reside nearby. Clifford viewed himself as a spiritual advisor, one who could counsel non-Native people (like me) on the presence of spirits at these sites, where we would leave offerings of tobacco. The prehistoric art and the mythology of Native people today demonstrates the cultural continuity of these canonical texts that mold the Native world view towards their environment, which is alive with spirits in every part of it. “The People, as part of the larger ecosystem, blended the religious with the pragmatic side of survival in an austere land” (McPherson 2000: 230).

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NOTES AND NEWS

From ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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INTRODUCING CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY A NEW DISCIPLINE OF HUMAN SCIENCES

PREMISE

What is conceptual anthropology? It is an emerging discipline dedicated to the spirit of culture, dealing with the expressions of the cognitive system, arts, beliefs, traditions, and other intellectual and spiritual expressions. It is the subject of **EXPRESSION**, a quarterly journal published in English, and of several series of books issued by Atelier-edit, the publishing sector of ATELIER, Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology. ATELIER is an experimental laboratory dedicated to the new discipline, created and directed by Prof. Emmanuel Anati. The headquarters of this center are in the village of Capodiponte, Camonica Valley, Italy, a major center of prehistoric rock art in the UNESCO list of the cultural world heritage where the scientific discipline of rock art research was born over half a century ago.

HOW CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY WAS BORN

The idea of creating a unique incubator for the study of art, religion, social relations, and other intellectual, emotional and spiritual aspects of human culture had a long gestation. It took a first formal step during the International Congress of Prehistory of Florianopolis, Brazil, in 2011. The debate at first concerned the need to change the basic orientation of prehistoric studies. A discipline mainly based on description had to change into a discipline that used descriptions of findings to understand the spirit and the context that produced them. But... was it easier to change the orientation of a traditionally well-established discipline or to create a new discipline? Within the fields of prehistoric, archeological and anthropological studies, the presence of different orientations is a healthy

factor to be preserved. Within this frame, a new orientation, a new sub-discipline, was born. Participants at the session of CISENP International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Peoples, chaired by Prof. Anati, decided to recognize the fledgling discipline of conceptual anthropology as the commitment of the commission. With CISENP collaboration, the research center ATELIER for conceptual anthropology started operating, publishing **EXPRESSION** quarterly magazine. To date, over 200 authors from 43 countries on five continents have published their articles in **EXPRESSION**. In seven years, the Atelier publishing sector has published over 50 books that form the basis of the new discipline. The global interest shows that conceptual anthropology is filling a gap: it appears to be a positive step in the evolution of human sciences.

THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW DISCIPLINE

The purpose of this new discipline is the understanding of human behavior, the processes of changes and development, recurrent and isolated phenomena, cultural changes and developments, and predictable and unpredictable events. It combines the experiences and methodologies of different disciplines, from psychology to history, from archaeology and anthropology to sociology, art history, and the history of religions. These are all aspects of culture intimately connected to each other, expressions of the human spirit that lead to the discovery of the mind that produced culture: motivations, influences, emotions, and causes of what remains as effect. It adds a fourth dimension to traditional archaeology. Each discipline of the humanities is a source of conceptual enrichment for the others. The multidisciplinary comparative research is proving to be a source of thought and innovation for each one of the single traditional disciplines. Aimed at first at studying prehistoric and tribal societies, conceptual anthropology is opening up to new sectors such as the trends in contemporary societies and the social and cultural phenomena that characterize them, which is already being noted in recent books from Atelier.

THE CONCEPT OF CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Conceptual anthropology studies the concepts and motivations of cultural expression and human performance brought to light by archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, history, customs, and popular traditions, the sociological reality of human behavior and other areas of the humanities. From this vast emporium of spiritual and conceptual expression there emerge the tendencies of man and society; the aim is to understand trends and become sources of scientific research, education, vocational training, and new guidelines of rational thought. Every event and every detail express part of a larger reality. Humanity is the set of individuals that form it, culture is the set of cultures. Conceptual anthropology opens up vast landscapes in the dynamic vision of culture that is evolving and changing, but always remains the core identity of the human species. Knowing the processes of change in culture, in its various aspects, art, religion, behavioral tendencies, and social processes, opens up perspectives for understanding evident and also less evident tendencies in society and a new type of social consciousness.

Each discipline has its own memory that is the basis of identity, research, and the advancement of the discipline itself. The combination of disciplines is also the union of memories on which to draw for a new base and more extensive research and culture. Today the media and encyclopedias take charge of technology. But the human mind is still irreplaceable in its instincts, intuitions, associations, and emotions. Conceptual anthropology also explores aspects that are not provided by technical databases. Every discipline and every expression of culture, like every being, focusses on certain aspects of memory and neglects others. The memory of the various disciplines has a wider dimension than that of a single discipline. For conceptual anthropology the union of various disciplines of the humanities is opening up new areas of analysis and comparison, avoiding myopia and sectarianism. This new trend promotes joint commitments to multidisciplinary research. From anthropologists and archaeologists to psychoanalysts, educators, semiologists, sociologists, philosophers, and historians, there is a need for everyone to answer questions that joint effort can help clarify.

In the face of extreme specialization which reduces researchers to technicians, conceptual anthropology goes against the current. It tends to encourage the acquisition of broad humanistic culture and to train intellectuals, a derogatory term for experts but relevant to conceptual anthropology. Technicians and intellectuals have different backgrounds, different roles, and different orientations. No doubt technicians are needed and this is the trend of higher education in many

cases: to create specialists, trained with technical knowledge to be employed in a given functional sector. The conceptual anthropology scholar is also a specialist but with different criteria and different views. Vast knowledge opens wide horizons and promotes a panoramic cultural conception in order to understand the spirit of man in its conceptual and decision-making expressions, its emotional aspects, human imagination, feelings of love and hate, friendship and animosity, relations with others and with oneself, psychological attitudes, cultural conditioning, and insights. The function is to understand, to acquire existential consciousness and use it to find new horizons of research, to understand the events and the guidelines at the roots of human behavior from the distant past to the present.

Knowledge is the antechamber of understanding. The broader knowledge is, the wider is the understanding. The orientation of conceptual anthropology is towards specialization in a widely cultural vision and overview, intelligent, open, and not limited by sectoral indoctrination.

EDUCATIONAL TOOLS AND LEARNING

1- Specialized publications as a means of formation

EXPRESSION journal comes out every three months. In four issues a year it carries out a continuous discourse, an accumulation of data and concepts, in a global overview. It is the main educational tool currently available to conceptual anthropology. Over 200 authors from five continents and from various disciplines of the humanities make it an educational means, and also a spontaneous and natural encyclopedia that is enriched with each number: it produces culture, collaboration, dialogue, and intellectual progress, connecting 80 countries.

Other **ATELIER** publications are expressions of this new discipline that involves students, scholars, and others, without geographical limits. They also reach tribal societies in Africa, Australia, and the Pacific. Education and training are carried out through an open formula, available at world level: reading. The traditional lecture in a classroom affects at most a few dozen students; education through publications, both printed and online, can reach multitudes and be accessible everywhere in the world. Surely there are many thousands of potential acolytes. An important target is reaching them and let them discover that we exist. The publications, in English and Italian, are designed for the level of university students, but they are deliberately easy to read for everyone. For conceptual anthropology, all of us, members of the human species, are potential students. Publishing is the main educational and training means, accessible to everyone in all countries, free from the dependence on the four walls of the classroom. Being aimed at the conceptual aspects of anthropology, this publishing, which

comes at a time of a publishing crisis, proposes new horizons of teaching and dissemination of culture.

2 - Acquiring practical experience in conceptual anthropology

In addition to the slow but expanding process of education through the diffusion of publications, training in conceptual anthropology is carried out with practical work: learning by applying the discipline effectively. Compared with education in the classroom of university courses, the new trend goes against the current. The concept of apprenticeship is based on the individual training of each student, a personalized school to guide each student to discover not just the practical application of research but also her/his potential identity. Being a new discipline, there are no teachers for now except for its inventor, Prof. Emmanuel Anati. Today's students are the teachers of tomorrow. Since there are no faculty or university courses in conceptual anthropology, the training is based on the individual practical work of each candidate. Graduate students in anthropology, archaeology and other disciplines of the humanities are the preferred type of candidate. In addition to the individual practical training, there can also be group activities: seminars, conferences, and joint research projects.

3 - Seminars: Specific issues are addressed, with written contributions from various participants, some of which find space for publication and dissemination in **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal. The common language of 80 different countries is English. Local matters like local trends, local artistic expressions like rock art or local social and cultural issues, are used as experimental topics for both research and teaching. The protagonists, students, researchers, and authors come from five continents. It is necessary to bring them together even without the appropriate travel and reception resources. Despite the absence of such support, meetings and seminars are organized to stimulate debate on specific issues. But the main means of cooperation remains the call for specific topics that attracts authors to contribute articles in **EXPRESSION** journal. Each issue is a sort of seminar, opening debates and relations between authors and readers without frontiers.

4 - Conferences: To facilitate meeting and keeping alive the dialogue between followers of the new discipline, specific sessions are organized on the occasion of international congresses in archaeology and anthropology, that bring together participants from the entire world, where topics of world interest and innovative studies may be presented and discussed. World congresses on conceptual anthropology might soon become actual.

5 - Research teams: Researchers joining in team research have access to laboratories, databases, and other resources of the ATELIER Research Center. Topics suitable for

teams bring together researchers from various disciplines with common targets. Purely theoretical research is not excluded but as of the present, the tendency is to prefer specific practical themes.

6 - Exhibitions: Organization of exhibitions has the aim of involving the general public. The cultural-educational slant of exhibitions refers to the principle of knowing the past in order to discover the present. Themes in anthropology or archaeology unite in common effort different disciplines of the humanities as well as graphic designers, architects, artists, educators, communications experts, to provide a deep conceptual penetration for the public.

ATELIER, the international center for conceptual anthropology, has until now been geared towards an autonomous identity, in a constant confrontation between academia and anti-academia, aimed at the renewal of research, teaching, and also proposing a new type of concrete cultural tendency, sustainable, active, open and conscious, without barriers. It makes culture by producing culture; teaching is done by spreading knowledge and awareness. The classroom teaching is the planet earth. What matters is the results.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

The research carried out is published and disseminated worldwide. Results are not meant to be stored in the academic cellars. They reach institutions and researchers from five continents and produce culture. Several themes are of world cultural relevance.

Some multidisciplinary research projects in progress:

- Making history of prehistory*
- Decoding prehistoric art*
- The role of women in prehistoric and tribal societies*
- Analysis of the conceptual processes in cultural changes*

Some of the specifically monographic research projects:

- Variable characteristics and functions of the decorations on the tapa cloths in the Pacific islands, Melanesia and Polynesia*
- The significance of the monuments related to the cult at Har Karkom in the Negev desert, Israel*
- The meaning of changing dominant pictograms in the periods sequence of prehistoric rock art of Valcamonica, Italian Alps*

Planned future research projects:

- The roots of culture*
- Cultural trends: yesterday, today, tomorrow*
- Defining the identity of Homo sapiens*
- The conceptual roots of writing*
- The origins of religions*

Some of the research projects are quickly concluded, others can last longer, others again may awaken rethinking and become actual once more. In any case dialogues and

debates are kept alive and produce culture. The research results, often considered as in progress, are published in **EXPRESSION** journal and Atelier monographs. Discussions and insights, further progress in research and further contributions provoke the constant movement and confrontation of ideas.

MAKING HISTORY OF PREHISTORY: DETAILS ON ONE OF THE TOPICS IN PROGRESS

One of the research projects in progress concerns the acquisition of historic notions on prehistoric times: making history of prehistory. The method is a new system of analyzing prehistoric art to decode the intents of the early artist behind his/her depiction. The new method is producing surprising results. And the outcomes promote discussion and produce written texts. It is a dynamic system that combines research and teaching and leads to concrete results, publishable, diffusible and accessible to the public. In this line, various effects of research are already available.

A conceptual analysis of Australian Aboriginal art has led to the reconstruction of the cultural evolution processes, events, migrations, the arrival of new populations, changes in cultural and historical influences in millennia previous to the Australians' rediscovery by Europeans. The results, though so far partial, are presented in the book *Australian Rock Art: A Study in Conceptual Anthropology* (Atelier.Edit, 2019, 234 pp.) (actually available in the Italian edition only).

Other research in conceptual anthropology, on the rock art of Valcamonica, has collected data and conclusions of half a century of research and publications to reach a reconstruction of 10,000 years of European history. Each rock engraving has behind it a *raison d'être*, a motivation, a purpose and therefore also different depths of reading. The new framework is decoding. For ten millennia the Camunni peoples recorded their history through rock art: what did they want to convey? And what is the history of the ages that they are conveying to us? The purpose of the new trend is to transform the archaeological findings into historical documents, to reconstruct the history of what until now had been prehistory. Valcamonica offers Europe 10,000 years of newfound history, through the conceptual decoding and reading of rock art. Today's research becomes tomorrow's culture and enters textbooks across Europe. Europe is discovering 10,000 years of its own history. The results are presented in the book *The Rock Art of Valcamonica* (Atelier.Edit, 2015).

Other research with a similar vision concerns decoding Paleolithic art, which was brought back to light for over a century. The methods of conceptual anthropology permitted the decoding, deciphering, and reading of what had been considered mute beauties. This research led to a result

of exceptional importance by decoding certain paintings and engravings that contained messages in a pictographic writing system 30,000 years before the invention of the alphabet. They are documents that open up new light on ages in which no one imagined the possibility of obtaining historical documents. They reveal trading systems of exchange not only of edible products but also of women! Other documents report on travels and migrations, and even personal records that include sexual relations. In addition to the great interest and disruptive information capacity of these innovations, they open up new chapters of history of many millennia before what was previously considered the beginning of history and writing. The first attempts at writing are millennia earlier than previously thought. New chapters are being added to the history of humanity. The first results are published in the book *Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing* (Atelier.Edit, 2015). Conceptual anthropology concretely begins to give its first tangible results as well as awakening considerable interest and provoking far reaching innovation. The resulting publications clarify the discovery of new aspects of human conceptual evolution and of human mental processes.

SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

How to encourage and facilitate this scientific and intellectual enterprise of vast proportions and predictable resonances? Conceptual anthropology has been born and now grows. So far, activities have been held as private enterprises with no public participation. Institutional intervention could be justified if deemed in the public interest. Certainly, this research brings conceptual values and a new dimension to historical research. It is also a source of prestigious innovation, international relations and cultural development. An important operation would consist of the diffusion of information, making the publications available in research centers, and public and university libraries.

No less important is the availability of scholarships for apprentices and students to repopulate the gap due to the brain drain and attract new recruits from different backgrounds. This is, however, an initiative requiring planning. The operators in the new discipline should have the possibility of jobs by applying what they are learning.

Tools and research facilities need to be updated. The present base of Capodiponte is particularly favorable thanks to the remarkable concentration of rock art of world renown which is not only a cultural patrimony, but also a cultural laboratory. The presence here of a well-equipped library, specializing in prehistoric and tribal art, is probably the most complete in Italy.

A major issue concerns the updating of the databank, a basic resource, which for lack of staff cannot keep up with

worldwide information and the daily flow of data and documents. The Atelier database can be a reference tool and contain very important information if constantly updated. It could also become a source of income, providing documentation, information, photographs, and analyses. The delays in the updating of the database curb the use by the public but does not cause delays in research, since the discoveries and innovations are constantly and globally followed, despite the delays in processing them in a database accessible to the public.

Private initiative has worked so far, and can continue to operate. But it does not rule out the participation of public or private bodies, and the ability to give birth to an experimental academic sector based on new criteria that adhere to the conceptual notions of anthropology.

For further information: <atelier.etno@gmail.com>

APPRENTICESHIP IN CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology is a workshop for research, experiment and debates on the intellectual and spiritual expressions of cultures. It is a meeting place for the arts and sciences. The apprenticeship in conceptual anthropology 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 in Conceptual Anthropology**. 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 be involved with the practical work of producing culture with your hands and your mind. Traditional learning as an accumulation of descriptions, dates and theories is enhanced by applying the theories to practical activities, learning to do by doing. During their stay in the Camonica Valley, the student has access to self-catering accommodation 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. Application in an informal letter should specify the motivations and skills of the candidate, and be accompanied by a curriculum vitae, a copy of a record of studies, a copy of an 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 TO BE AN EDITOR

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

WHAT IS CISENP?

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

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

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

Why? is one of the first words used by children and is a word that accompanies us from birth to death. The next step of archeology and prehistory is moving from "What?" to "Why?". Beyond findings there should be discoveries, findings produce the physical raw material, discoveries are their conceptual understanding. The goal of CISENP is looking for meanings in terms of motivations and human behavioral trends. This orientation opens up new landscapes of research in the humanities and also awakens public interest and conveys to the public the importance of notions and wisdom accumulated by generations of scholars in the study of the roots of human societies. Understanding the past is essential for building up a future. And not only

for that: it is also necessary for understanding the present, our present. Knowing one's roots is the elementary base of understanding history, mythology, habits and other cultural traditions upon which to build the future. We have to recover the past to discover the present.

Humanity was not born yesterday. Our reality today is the effect of millions of years of trials and experiences that led to progress and innovations. Culture is the union of an immense mosaic of different cultures, different identities, revealed by art, traditions, beliefs and other conceptual outputs of human behavior. In the tribal world, young people have been and still are initiated into the knowledge of their past. Europeans consider myths what they consider history. In any case that is their heritage and their reality of the past. They have to know their past to become adult members of their society. Understanding means initiation. Initiation about our past is the source of consciousness of the present reality. It is a source of interest and passion: there is nothing more fascinating than discovering the roots of our behavior, the emotions and passions that have caused the intellectual and spiritual adventures of humankind. The understanding of our past and our present is the goal of CISENP. We follow this goal with passion and we can convey this passion only if we share this passion. CISENP has members from all over the world who meet at the CISENP sessions which take place at the UISPP congresses and on the occasions of themed conferences. But the communication means of today allows a practically permanent meeting, transmission of information, new findings and new discoveries, and new debates.

The official organ of communication is **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal, edited by Atelier-edit. This journal is distributed to subscribers; members of CISENP receive this journal free.

HOW TO BE A MEMBER OF CISENP

Very simple! Be active and you are a member. Express your ideas, participate in debates, and develop dialogues with other members orally, by email, or through the pages of **EXPRESSION** journal. Contributing articles, papers or notes that are accepted and published in **EXPRESSION** actively contributing voluntary work, and contributing in other ways are the main confirmation of active presence. Authors having published articles in **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal are members if they confirm their wish to be. Membership of CISENP is free of material charges; no fees are requested, no formalities; it just implies your active presence. Membership is not exclusive to prehistorians and anthropologists; it is open to all human and social scientists and students. It is advisable, but not com-

pulsory, for prehistorians to be members of UISPP. CISENP is a free association, and is free also from bureaucratic procedures. You become a member if you decide to be and ask <atelier.etno@gmail.com> to be included in the list of members. Members receive **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal free. Membership ceases by being inactive for two years.

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UISPP

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

POSITION OF ASSISTANT CURATOR OF ETHNOGRAPHY

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

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Australia	9	Mexico	4
Austria	3	Morocco	1
Belgium	6	Namibia	1
Botswana	1	Netherlands	1
Brazil	10	Norway	2
Bulgaria	1	Poland	2
Canada	5	Portugal	8
China	29	Russia	4
Colombia	1	Saudi Arabia	1
Denmark	2	South Africa	4
France	12	Spain	8
Germany	1	Sri Lanka	5
Hungary	1	Sweden	1
Israel	3	Switzerland	4
India	11	Tunisia	1
Italy	14	UK	10
Japan	1	Ukraine	4
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N°27 March 2020



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September 2013

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



Maori chief with moko, Captain Cook expedition.

Expression 2

November 2013

What Caused the Creation of Art?

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



Sow Rock Art (South Africa)

Expression 3

January 2014

Discussion about the Targets of Expression Research Group



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

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April 2014

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June 2014

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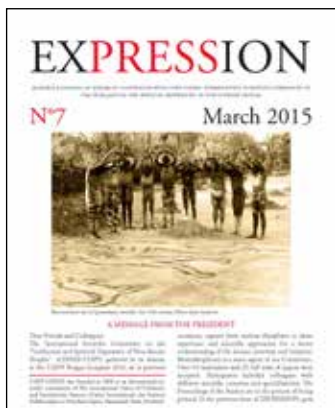


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August 2014

Summaries of the Session at the UISPP Burgos Congress

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Joaquín Arroyo (Mexico), Martha E. Benavente (Mexico), Margalit Berriet (France), Ulf Bertilsson (Sweden), Pascale Binant (France), Paul Bouissac (Canada), Fernando Coimbra (Portugal), Léo Dubal (France), Arsen Faradzhev (Russia), Ariela Fradkin (Italy), Francesco Ghilotti (Italy), Antonio Hernanz (Spain), Mercedes Iriarte (Spain), G. Terence Meaden (UK), Beatriz Menéndez (Spain), Hu Pengcheng (China), César Quijada (Mexico), Albert Rubio (Spain), Neemias Santos (Spain), Alejandro Terrazas (Mexico), Tsoni Tsonev (Bulgaria), Gregor Vahanyan (Armenia), Ramon Viñas (Spain)



Expression 7

March 2015

Spiritual Dimensions of Rock Art

With articles by Daniel Arsenaault (Canada), Paul D. Burley (UK), Somnath Chakraverty (India), Bulu Imam (India), Mercedes Pérez Bartolomé and Emilio Muñoz Fernández (Spain), Marcel Otte (Belgium), Andrea Rocchitelli (Italy), Ramon Viñas/Albert Rubio/César Quijada/Joaquín Arroyo/Beatriz Menéndez and Neemias Santos (Mexico, Spain), Umberto Sansoni (Italy), Giuseppa Tànda (Italy), Zeming Shi and Yanqing Jing (China).

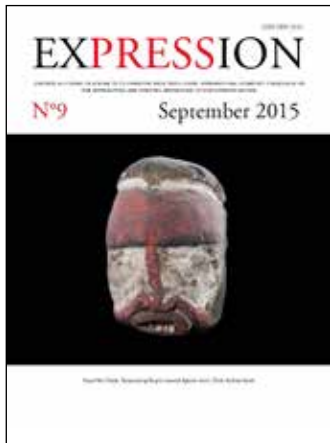


Expression 8

June 2015

Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom?

With articles by Mara Basile and Norma Ratto (Argentina), Jaâfar Ben Nasr (Tunisia), Luigi J. Boro (USA), Christopher Chippindale (UK), Jessica Joyce Christie (USA), Fernando Coimbra (Portugal), Ib Ivar Dahl (DK), Sofia Soares de Figueiredo (Portugal), Inés Domingo Sanz (Spain), Bernadette Drabsch (Australia), Louise Felding (Denmark), Dánae Fiore and Agustín Acevedo (Argentina), Natalie R. Franklin and Phillip J. Habgood (Australia), Marisa Dawn Giorgi (Australia), Philippe Hameau (France), Arnaud F. Lambert (USA), Arnaud F. Lambert (USA), J. David Lewis-Williams (South-Africa) and Kenneth Lymer (UK).



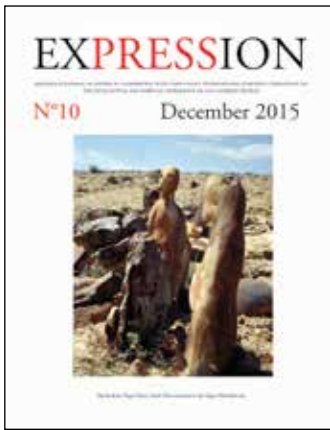
Expression 9

September 2015

Tribal and Prehistoric Art: When, Why and to Whom?

Presenting the WWW Project.

With articles by Monia Chies (Italy), David Delnoy and Marcel Otte (Belgium), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Chris Hegg (USA), Emmanuelle Honoré (UK), Bulu Imam (India), Shemsi Krasniqi (Kosovo), Trond Lødøen (Norway), Cristina Lopes (Portugal), Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Federico Mailland (Switzerland), Subhash Chandra Malik (India), Michel Martin (France), Elisabeth Monamy (France), Bilinda Devage Nandadeva (Sri Lanka), Alma Nankela (Namibia), George Nash (UK), Ancila Nhamo (Zimbabwe), Masaru Ogawa (Japan), Awadh Kishore Prasad (India), Riaan F. Rifkin (South Africa), Avraham Ronen (Israel), Manuel Santos Estévez (Portugal), Susan Searight-Martinet (Morocco), Kate E. Sharpe (UK), Jitka Soukopova (Italy), Radhakant Varma (India), Steven J. Waller (USA), Anne-Catherine Welté and Georges-N (Joel) Lambert (France).

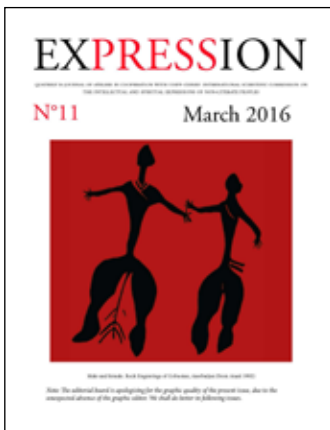


Expression 10

December 2015

The Role of Religion, Magic and Witchcraft in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

With articles by Jaâfar Ben Nasr (Tunisia), Ingmar M. Braun (Switzerland), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Arnaud F. Lambert (USA), Maria Laura Leone (Italy), J. D. Lewis-Williams (South Africa), Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Federico Mailland (Switzerland), Nataliia Mykhailova (Ukraine), Susan Searight-Martinet (Morocco), Hans-Joachim Ulbrich (Austria), Vahanyan Gregori (Armenia) and Steven J. Waller (USA).

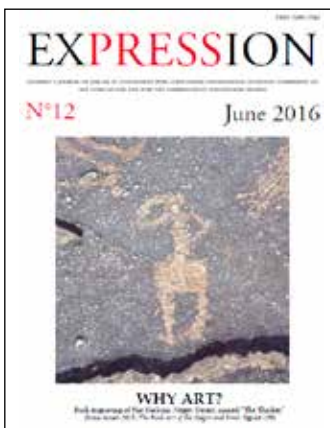


Expression 11

March 2016

Male and Female in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

With articles by Margalit Berriet (France), Carl Bjork (Usa), Pascale Binant (France), Brian Britten (Canada), Jessica Joyce Christie (Usa), Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimaraes (Brazil), Deb Holt and Jane Ross (Australia), Arnaud F. Lambert (Usa), Federico Mailland and Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Katharina Rebay-Salisbury (Austria), Susan Searight - Martinet (Morocco), Jitka Soukopova (Italy), Sachin Kr Tiwary (India), Maarten Van Hoek (Holland), Aixa Vidal/Lorena Ferraro and Maria Teresa Pagni (Argentina).

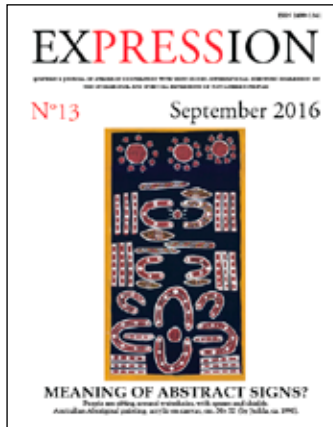


Expression 12

June 2016

Why Art?

With articles by Robert G. Bednarik (Australia), Kalyan Kumar Chakravarty (India), Liudmila Lbova (Russia), Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay (Mexico) and Derek Hodgson (UK), Ancila Nhamo (Zimbabwe), Marcel Otte (Belgium), Kalle Sognnes (Norway), Jitka Soukopova (UK), George F. Steiner (Switzerland) and Tsoni Tsonev (Bulgaria).

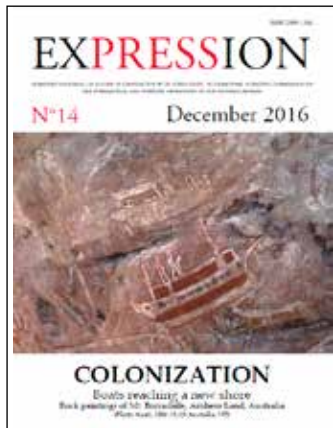


Expression 13

September 2016

Abstract Signs in Prehistoric and Tribal Art: Meaning and Problems of Interpretation

With articles by Margalit Berriet (France), Jean Clottes (France), Jagannath Dash (India), Maurer Dieter (Switzerland), Edmund Furter (South Africa), Thirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay and Alan P. Garfinkel (Usa), Tsoni Tsonev (Bulgaria) and Leslie Van Gelder (Usa).

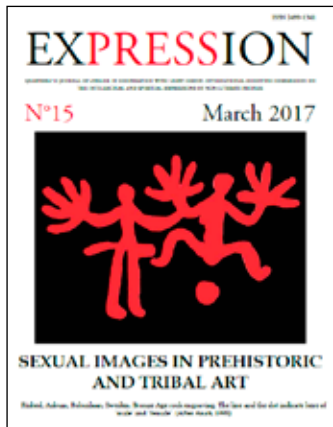


Expression 14

December 2016

Colonization: How Did Humans Reach All the Lands of the Planet?

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Marta Arzarello (Italy), Robert G. Bednarik (Australia), Anthony Bonanno (Malta), José Farruja de la Rosa (Spain), Edmund Furter (South Africa), Marcel Otte (Belgium), Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimaraes and Leidiana Alves de Mota (Brazil).



Expression 15

March 2017

Sexual Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Leo Dubal (France), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Michel Justamand and Pedro Paulo A. Funari (Brazil), Shensi Krasniqi (Kosovo), Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Marc Martinez/Michel Lenoir and Anne-Catherine Welté (France), Terence Meaden (UK), Nataliia Mykhailova (Ukraine) and Jitka Soukopova (UK).

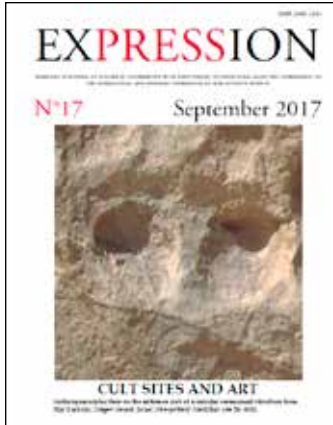


Expression 16

June 2017

The Message Behind the Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Robert G. Bednarik (Australia), Emilio G. Berrocal (Italy), Ekaterina Devlet (Russia), A. José Farruja de la Rosa (Spain), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Alexandre Guida Navarro (Brazil), Cristina Lopes (Portugal), Terence Meaden (Uk), Cynthia Ontiretse Mooketsi (Botswana), Jacinto Palma Dias (Portugal), Radoslaw Palonka (Poland), Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay (Mexico), Alan Garfinkel (Usa), Luis Ramon Merchan Villalba (Colombia), Vahan Vahanyan and Gregori Vahanyan (Armenia).

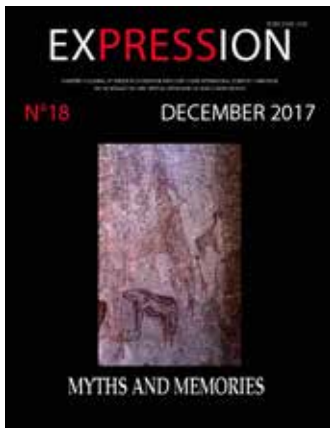


Expression 17

September 2017

Cult Sites and Art

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Margalit Berriet (France), Jerzy Gassowski (Poland), Kempe Stephan F.J. and Al-Malabeh Ahmad (Germany, Jordan), Terence Meaden (UK), Kalle Sognnes (Norway), Sachin Tiwary (India), Gregori Vahanyan (Armenia), Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães Santiago (Brazil).

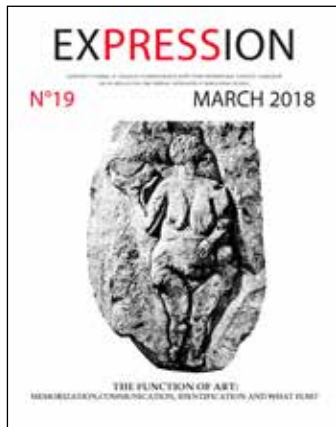


Expression 18

December 2017

Myths and Memories: Stories Told by Pictures

With articles by Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Margalit Berriet (France), Gassowski Jerzy (Poland), Kempe Stephan F.J. and Al-Malabeh Ahmad (Germany, Jordan), Terence Meaden (UK), Tiwary Sachin (India), Kalle Sognnes (Norway), Gregor Vahanyan (Armenia) and Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães Santiago (Brazil).



Expression 19

March 2018

The Function of Art: Memorization, Communication and What Else?

With articles by Bulu Imam (India), Devlet Ekaterina (Russia), Kraniqi Shemsi (Kosovo), Lopes Cristina (Portugal), Maurer Dieter (Switzerland), Moulton Susan (USA), Vahanyan Vahan (Armenia), Villa Marta and Nisi Domenico (Italy).



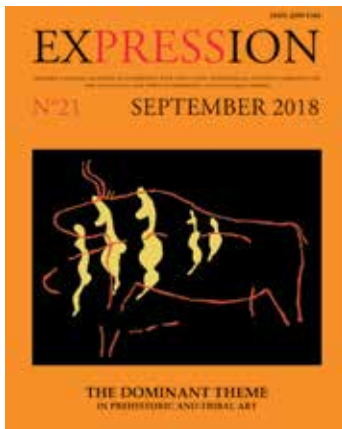
Expression 20

June 2018

The Function of Art: Memorization, Communication and What Else?

Part II

With articles by Mailland Federico (Switzerland), Marler Joan (USA), Mykhailova Nataliia (Ukraine), Prasad Awadh Kishore (India), Warland Jacinta (Australia).



Expression 21

September 2018

The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Shanandoah Anderson (USA), Sara Garcês, Luiz Oosterbeek (Portugal), Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Suely Amâncio Martinelli (Brazil), Gregori Vahanyan, Vahanyan Vahan, Baghdasaryan Vard (Armenia), Jessie Van Cauter, Marc De Bie (Belgium).

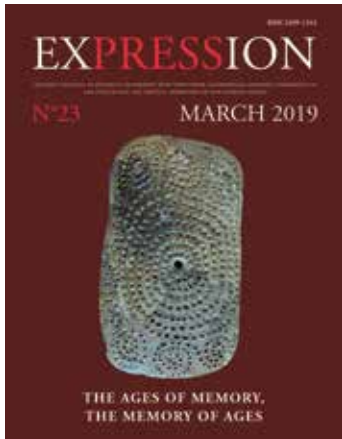


Expression 22

December 2018

The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art - Part II

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Margalit Berriet (France), Amélie Bonnet-Balazut (France), Bulu Imam (India), Carol Patterson (USA).

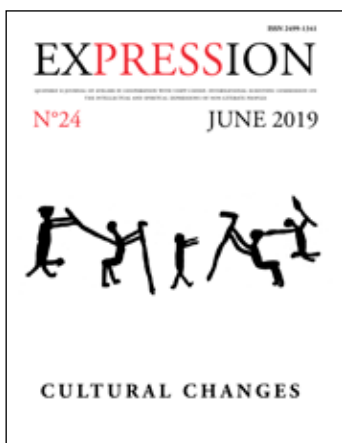


Expression 23

March 2019

The Age of Memory, the Memory of Ages

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Fernando A.Coimbra (Portugal), Leo Dubal (France), Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães (Brazil), Liudmila Lbova, Tatyana Rostyazhenko (Siberian Federal District, Russia), Aixa Vidal (Argentina)



Expression 24

June 2019

Cultural Changes

With articles by: Robert G. Bednarik (Australia), Brian Hayden (Canada), Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Pedro Paulo Funari (Brazil), Majeed Khan (Saudi Arabia), Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay, Armando Pérez Crespo (Mexico), Simon Radchenko, Dmytro Nykonenko (Ukraine)

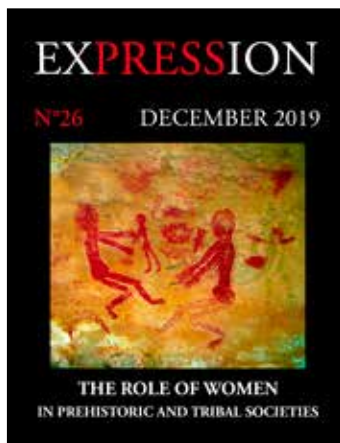


Expression 25

September 2019

Cultural Changes - Part II

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Jean Clottes (France), Luc Hermann (Belgium), Carol Patterson (USA), Raj Somadeva, Anusha Wanninayake, Dinesh Devage, Resta Fernando(Sri Lanka)

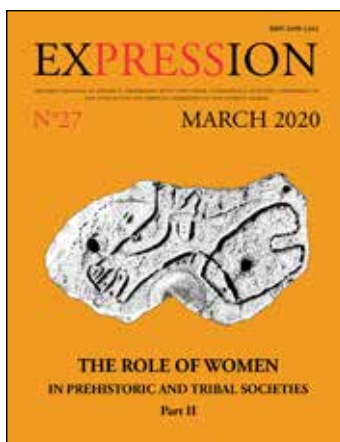


Expression 26

December 2019

The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), JSantiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães (Brazil), Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Pedro Paulo Funar (Brazil), Majeed Khan (Saudi Arabia), Ruman Banerjee (India), Somnath Chakraverty (India), David W. Robinson (UK), Jitka Soukopova (UK)



Expression 27

March 2020

The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies - Part II

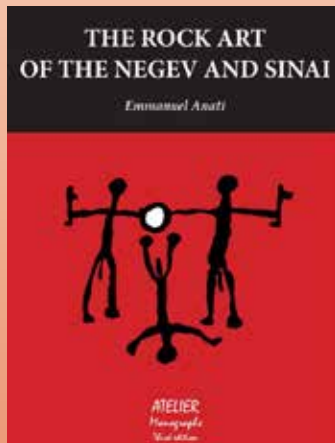
With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Meenakshi Dubey-Pathak (India), Luc Hermann (Belgium), Maria Laura Leone (Italy), Carol Patterson (USA)

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

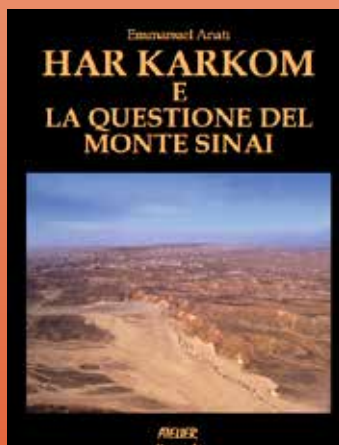
ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DESERT EXODUS: NEW DISCOVERIES RELATED TO BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY

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



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

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



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

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

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

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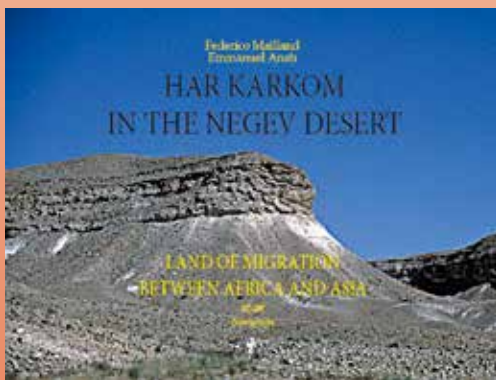
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Anati, E.2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English Edition

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

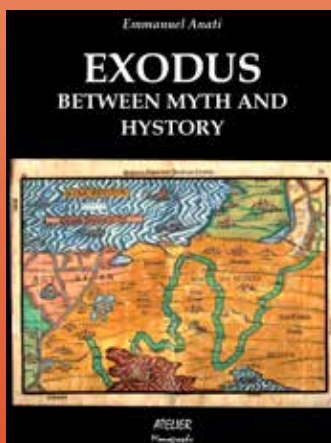
What is the true story behind the biblical narration of Exodus? The discoveries of the Italian archaeological expedition at Har Karkom, in the Negev Desert, tell the hitherto unknown story of the sacred mountain in the heart of the desert of Exodus, reflecting surprising similarities to the events and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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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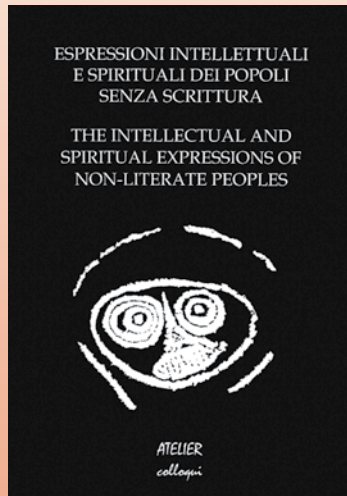
ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

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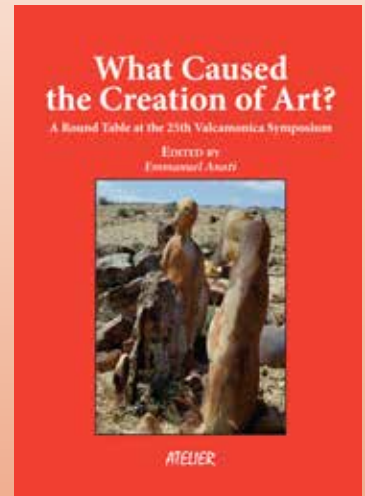
Il segni originari dell'arte (In Italian)

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



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

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



What Caused the Creation of art? A Round Table at the 25th Valcamonica Symposium

'What caused the creation of art?' People from different disciplines and different cultural backgrounds present contrasting views. And yet, the same question has bothered thinkers for generation.



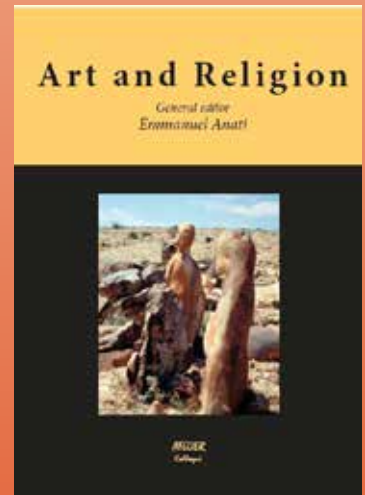
Sogno e memoria: Per una psicoanalisi della Preistoria (In Italian)

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



Semiotica dell'arte preistorica (In Italian)

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



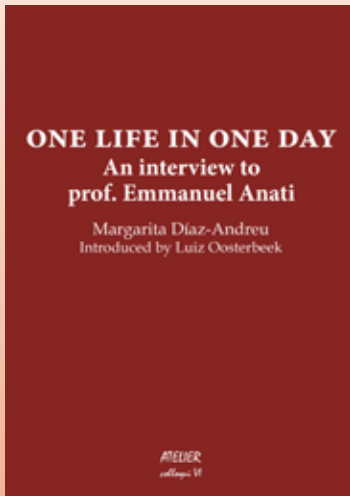
Art and Religion

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

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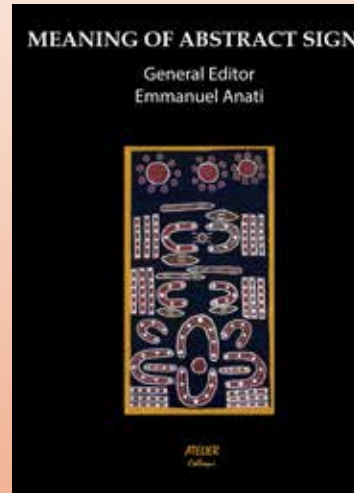
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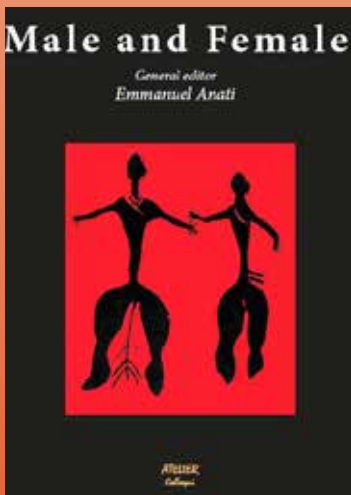
One Life in One Day. An interview to prof. Emmanuel Anati

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



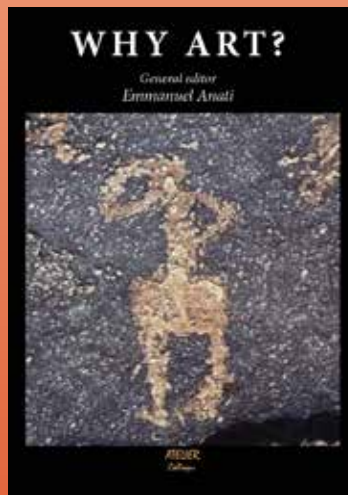
Meaning of Abstract Signs

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



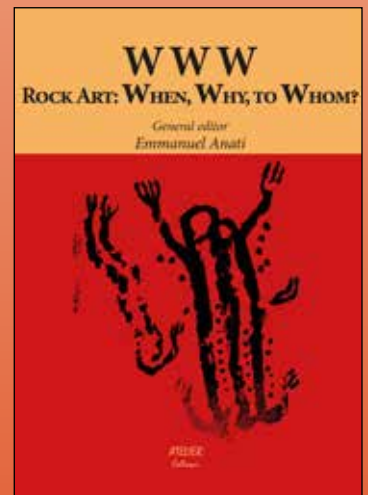
Male and Female

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



Why Art

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



WWW - Rock Art:

When, Why and to Whom

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

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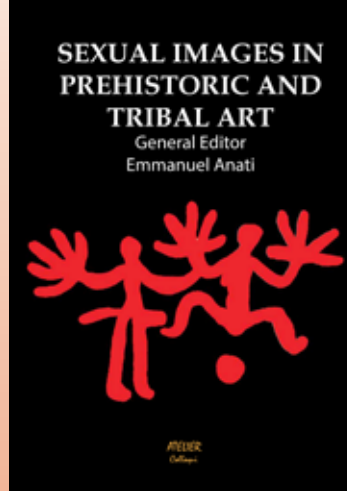
ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

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.

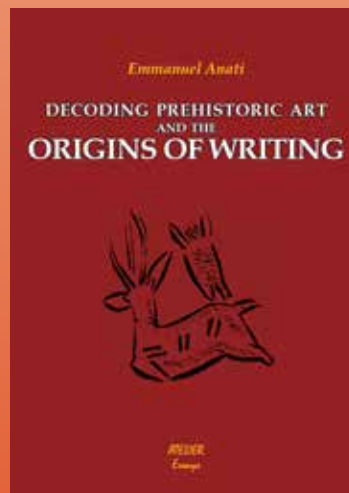
ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

Essays



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

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



Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing

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



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

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

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ATELIER's PUBLICATIONS

Essays



Origini della Musica (in Italian)

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



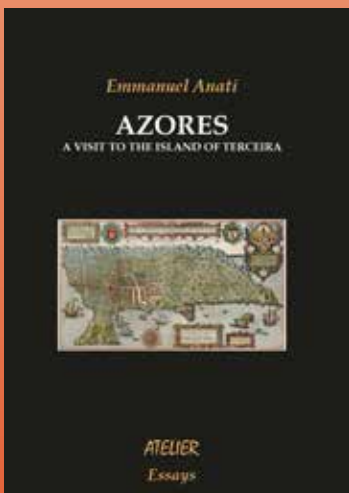
Iniziazione e riti di passaggio (in Italian)

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



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

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



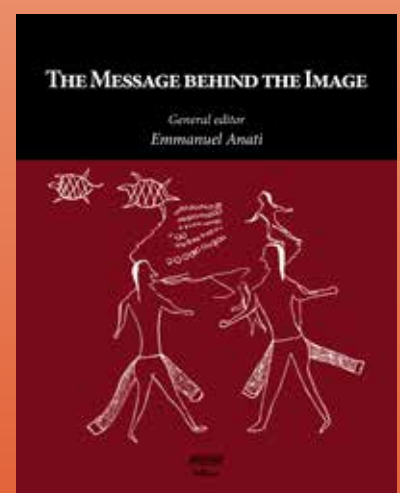
Azores: a Visit to the Island of Terceira

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



Comunicare per esistere (in Italian)

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



The message behind the image

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

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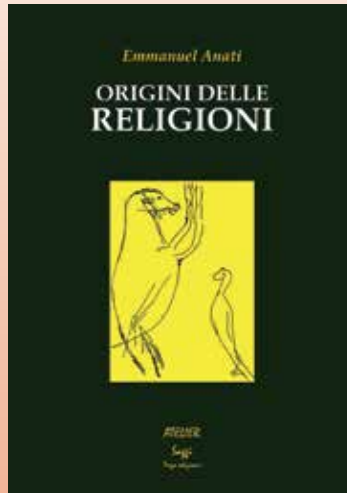
ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

Essays



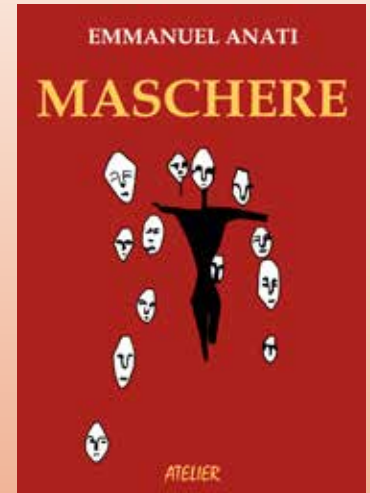
Mito tra utopia e verità (in Italian)

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.

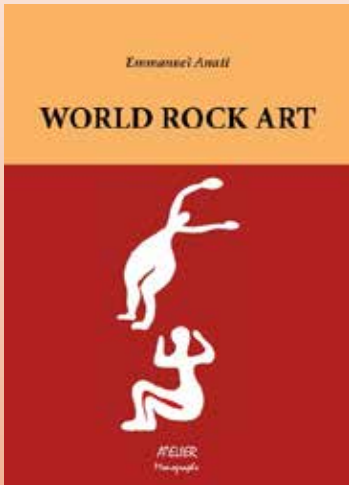


Amore e sessualità (In Italian)

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.

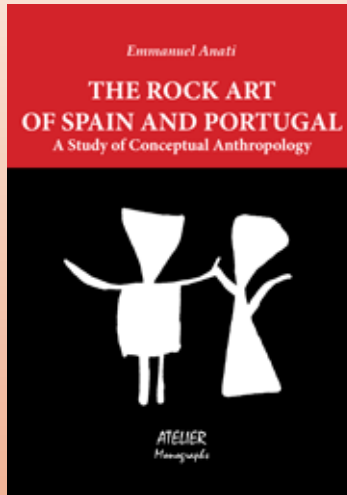
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Monographs



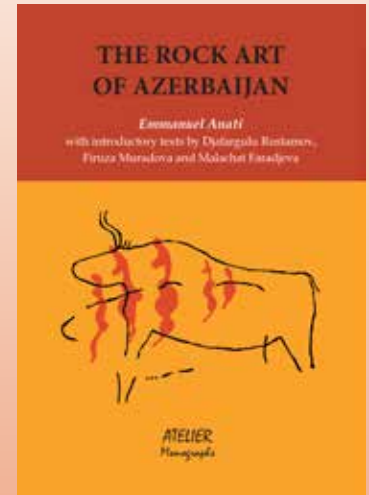
World Rock Art

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

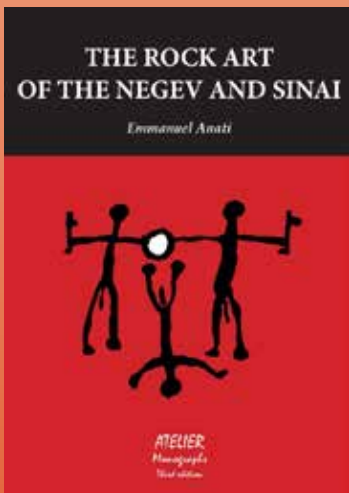
An analytical synthesis of the rock art in the Iberian peninsula from the conceptual anthropology approach. The major concentrations of rock art are considered as expressions of their different cultural and social patterns.



The Rock art of Azerbaijan

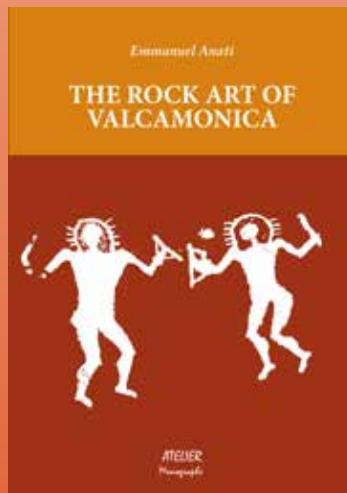
Over the course of centuries, Azerbaijan, was a great centre of rock art.

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

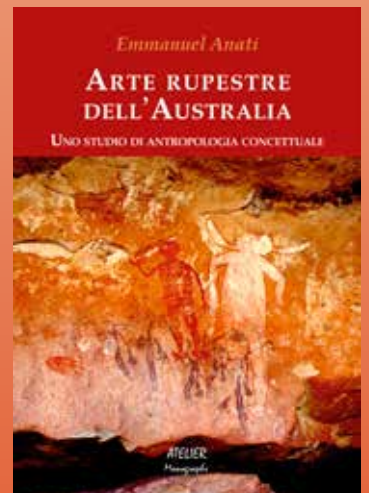
The present volume is concerned with a new theme of archeology and anthropology: the rock art of the Negev and Sinai, which never had before a general analysis in English. It elaborates on articles and a book written in the last 60 years, to produce a synthesis and an overview.



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.



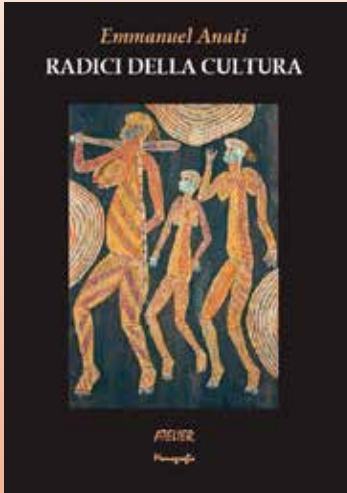
Arte rupestre dell'Australia (in Italian)

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

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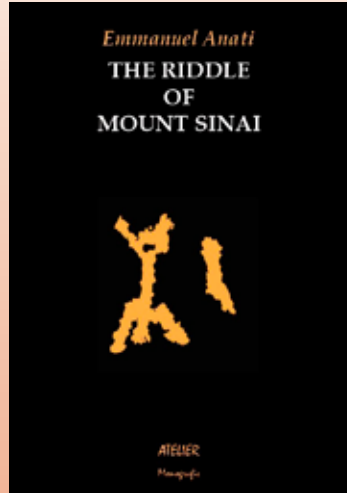
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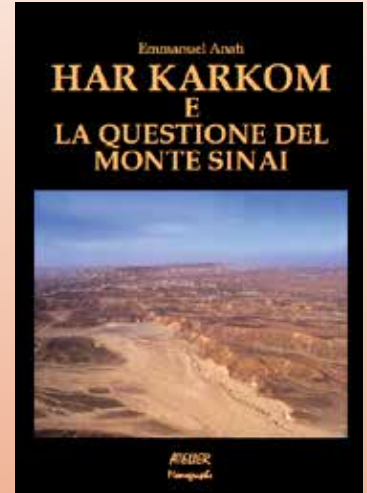
Radici della cultura (in Italian)

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



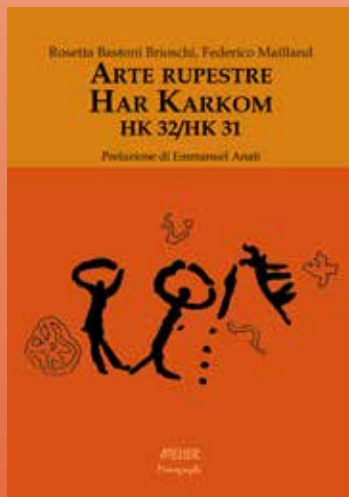
The Riddle of Mount Sinai

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



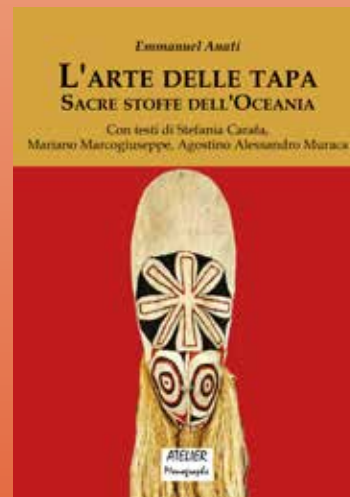
Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai (in Italian)

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



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

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

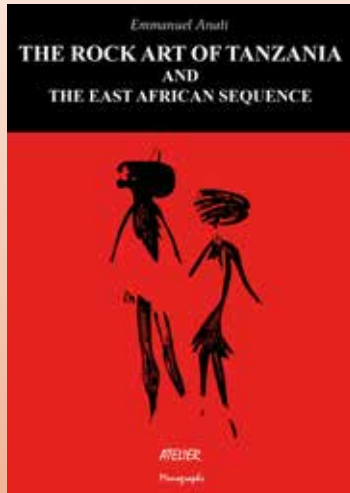


L'arte delle tapa. Sacre stoffe dell'Oceania (in Italian)

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

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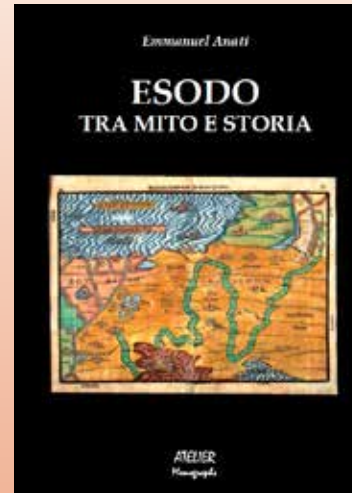
Monographs



The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence

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

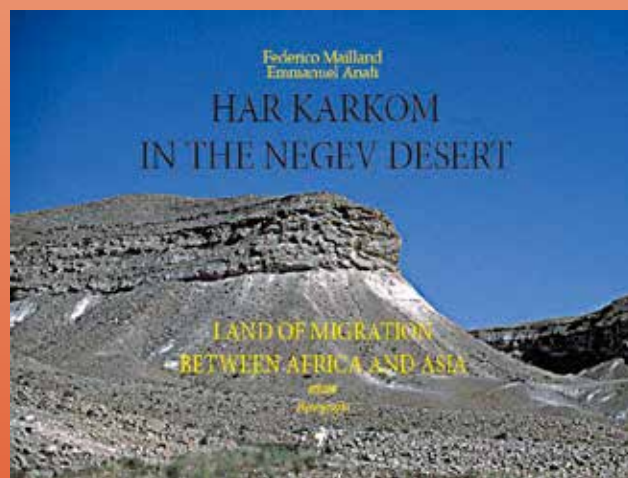
Stylistic phases and periods are covering millennia.



Exodus

Between Myth and History

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



Har Karkom in the Negev Desert

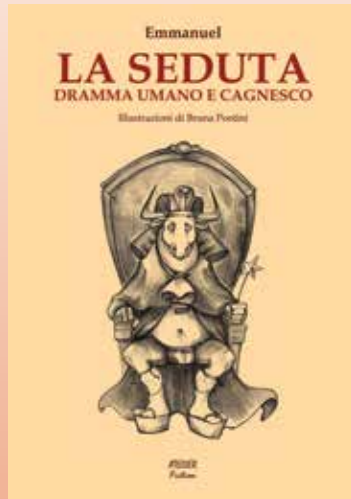
A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa.

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

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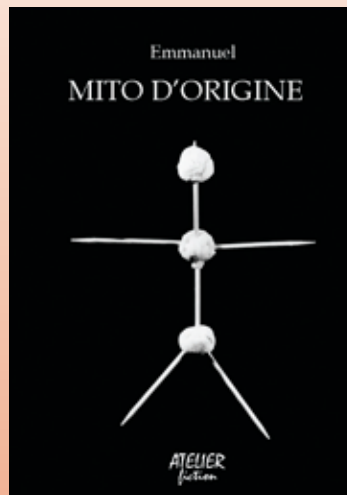
Fiction



La Seduta (in Italian)

This work of the author's youth reflects a biting social commentary that after half a century seems to have not lost its charge.

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



Mito d'origine Epoca dei Sogni (in Italian)

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

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

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

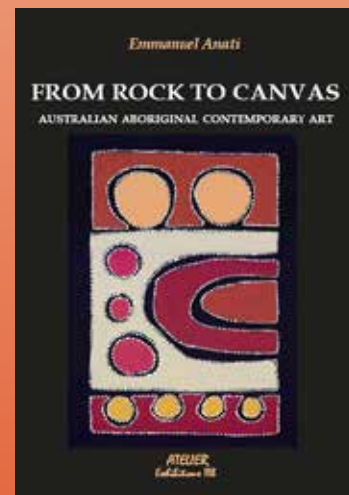


Exhibitions



The Art of the Australian Aborigines Bark Paintings

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



From Rock to Canvas Australian Aboriginal Contemporary Art

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

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