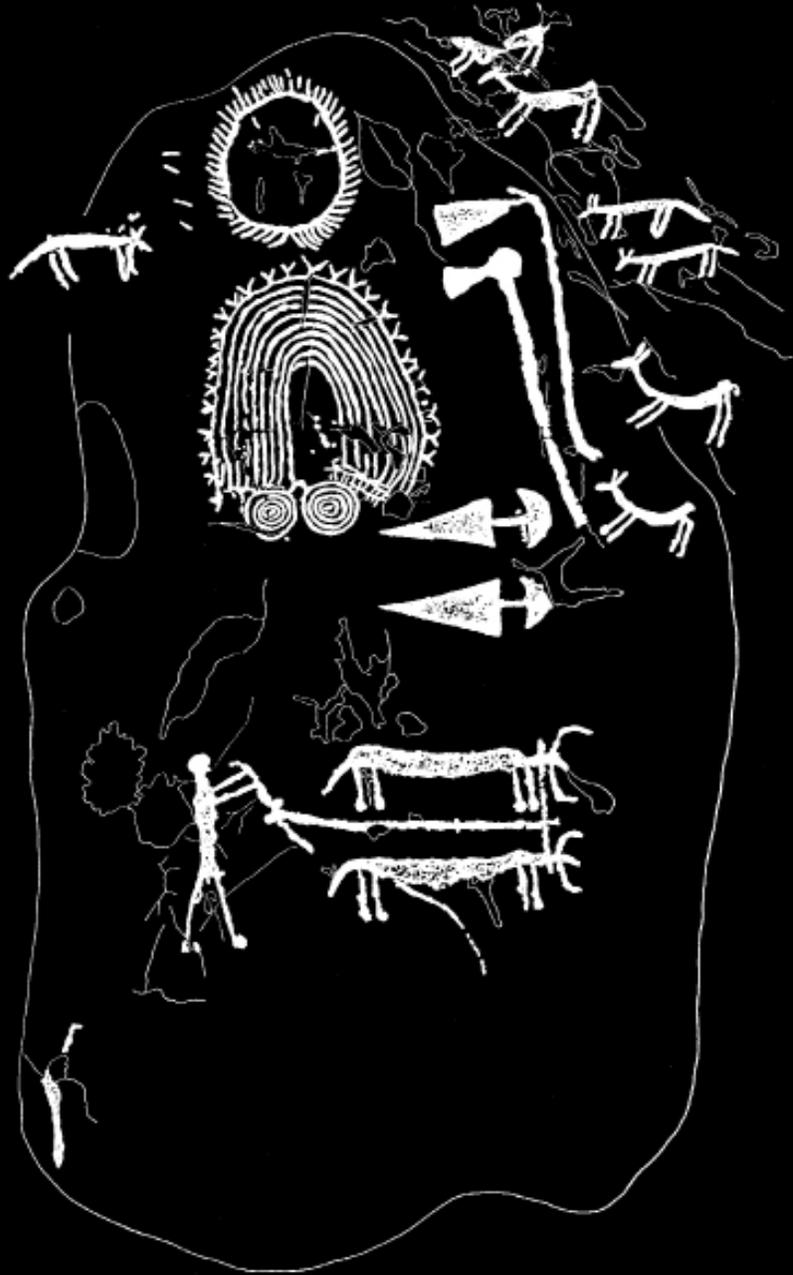


EXPRESSION

QUARTERLY E-JOURNAL OF ATELIER IN COOPERATION WITH UISPP-CISENP INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION
ON THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

N°20

JUNE 2018



**THE FUNCTION OF ART:
MEMORIZATION, COMMUNICATION, IDENTIFICATION AND WHAT ELSE?**

Part II

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE FUNCTION OF ART:

MEMORIZATION, COMMUNICATION, IDENTIFICATION AND WHAT ELSE?

Part II: The present issue presents additional contributions to the theme

Charles Mountford, a pioneer in native Australian studies, about 80 years ago, observed an Aboriginal man from Arnhem Land while he was painting the image of a kangaroo in a rock shelter. He asked him why he was making the painting and the reply was something like: "How can you catch a prey if you do not paint it first?" The artist's motivation was that of empathic magic: owning the image granted to own the prey. The same motivation was attributed by scholars like the Abbé Henri Breuil for the paintings of Altamira and other Paleolithic caves of Spain and France. But could such motivation concern all the artistic expressions of early man?

Some images, like those of the fat ladies in Paleolithic Europe, the Wandjina cloud-spirits in the Kimberley, (Australia), the Moai of Rapa Nui, (Easter Island), or the Ancestral Spirits of the Plain Natives of Arizona (North America), are unlikely to have been made for the same reason. What was their function? In places like Valcamonica, Italy, a number of Iron Age rock engravings turned up to have been produced for didactic purpose: they were used for teaching myths and traditional memories to prepare young candidates for initiation rites. Some painted surfaces of hunting-gathering populations in Tanzania look like depictions of literary tales, events or myths, accounts, and many rock art sites around the world appear to be receptacles of various motivations, to enhance the sanctity of the site, to have didactic functions, to represent cult images, myths, or to commemorate subjects or events. Prehistoric art appears to have had as many different purposes as those of more recent written literature, religious and not, historical or imaginary, aimed at memorization, communication, magic, commemoration, recording, affirmation of cultural or ethnic entity and more. The definition of such functions may vary from site to site and from one cultural background to another. Much has been written on the topic of motivation for art creation and in an

old book of mine I listed 12 major theories and hypotheses expressed by researchers in the last hundred years (Anati, 2003: *Aux Origines de l'Art*, Paris, Fayard). Contributions to this debate are welcome. Direct information from the field, by people having ideas about the sites they are studying, is useful for reaching an overview on an important question: What was the function of art for those that made it? Why did they produce art?

E.A.

EDITORIAL NOTE

EXPRESSION magazine is published by Atelier Research Center in cooperation with UISPP-CISENP, the "*International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate Peoples*" of the UISPP, *Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*.

The goal of EXPRESSION is to promote knowledge and ideas concerning the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate societies. It is an open forum in conceptual anthropology, welcoming contributions. Colleagues having something to say will find space in this e-magazine, which is reaching people of culture and academic institutions in over 70 countries. Papers should have precise goals, conceived for this kind of audience, and possibly well illustrated. Letters on current topics and short notes are welcome and may be included in the section "Discussion Forum." Authors are fully responsible for their ideas and for the information and illustrations they submit. Publication in EXPRESSION magazine does not imply that the publishers and/or the editors agree with the exposed ideas. Papers are submitted to reviewers for their evaluation, but controversial ideas, if they make sense, are not censored. New ideas and concepts are welcome; they may awaken debates and criticism. Time will be their judge.

DISCUSSION FORUM

The Discussion Forum invites readers to be active in debates of worldwide interest in conceptual anthropology

THE DOMINANT THEME

Each assemblage of prehistoric and tribal art has a dominant theme.

Some ethnic groups focus their visual art on anthropomorphic figures, others on animals, or even on a specific animal, and others again on signs, symbols or ideograms. Well-known concentrations of prehistoric art display millenary sequences of different phases showing changes in the dominant theme from one period to another. In regions like Gobustan (Azerbaijan), Arnhem Land (Australia) or the Konda Province (Tanzania), stratigraphic successions of rock art phases show flat changes in the dominant theme, from one phase to the other. What is the meaning and function of the dominant theme? Whatever the case, totemic, magic, economic or else, it reflects the concern of the artist.

Visual art is a mirror of the mind and soul of the artist, it is the expression of his/her concerns. Visual art follows common grammatical and syntactic rules, as elaborated in a recent monographic study (*World Rock Art*, Atelier.edit, 2015). The dominant theme is one of the X?factors defining the identity of patterns. It turns up to be a diagnostic element to define the conceptual, economic and social structure of the artist's society. It also awakens new indications on the issue of the "dominant concern", which is a recurring social pattern in every culture and every period. A practical example, regarding the rock art of Tanzania, is

presented in issue 18 of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal. Dominant themes are present also in urban societies. The dominant theme will not be the same in the frescoes of a Christian church and in those of a Buddhist temple, though in both cases the dominant theme will be that of anthropomorphic images. The ideograms associated to the pictograms will clarify the different identities. In the cases of hunters-gatherers, the dominant theme will not be the same in the paintings of bison hunters and in those of snail eaters and collectors.

A forthcoming issue of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal will focus on this topic: the dominant theme. What makes different cultures have different dominant themes in their visual art? Colleagues and friend are invited to elaborate this topic, either on specific cases or on general or comparative issues. The study of cases may help clarifying the cognitive system behind the choice of the dominant themes. A step further will be made in understanding the mind of the art-makers in different societies. Colleagues and friends having something to say are welcome to share their knowledge and ideas in this joint effort to go one step further. If you wish to share your ideas, please let us have the title and a short abstract of your proposed paper before the 20th of May 2018, to <atelier.etno@gmail.com>.

We look forward to hearing from you.

E.A.

PRESENTATION OF PAPERS

IN THE 2018 CONGRESS OF UISPP

The papers included in this issue may be presented in the above congress.

Front page:

The front side of the 'Masso di Borno' II, Valcamonica, Italy. 0,80x1,50. Period III-A, Chalcolithic 3200-2500 a.C.

THE EARLIEST EUROPEAN ART: NEANDERTAL OR PROTO-SAPIENS?

The “sensational” news reported by media on Neandertal art in Spain seems to indicate some confusion due to the lack of consideration of typology. An archaic phase of Paleolithic art was identified a few years ago and defined “La Ferrassie style” (*Acts of Valcamonica Symposium XXII*, 2007). It is present in France and Spain and it has a typology different from what followed later. It was considered to be the product of a Proto-sapiens, preceding the Aurignacian horizon. This style was defined typologically in my “*World Rock Art*” (2015, pp. 92-101). A similar style is known in other parts of the world, mainly in Australia and in Tanzania. In all cases it is the earliest phase of visual art. In Australia it is attributed to the earliest human presence there, the newcomers to a previously desert land arriving with their cultural heritage. According to tentative dates, they may have reached Australia around 60.000 BP. The dates now proposed for the European examples resemble those from Australia and, likely, can be in the same general chronological frame of the earliest “Early Hunters” rock art of Tanzania (EXPRESSION 18, 2017). Who were the makers? Similar outputs are issues of similar mental processes. Besides the common conceptual core, could these various similar patterns have something else in common? If the various localities of this stylistic pattern are somehow the issue of common roots, made by people from an early diffusion, how can we define them? Who were these people? Did they have a common core, expanding from an African homeland over 60.000 years ago? Considering the stratigraphic context at La Ferrassie, I had tentatively proposed that in Europe, this pattern of visual expression could be related to the Chatelperron material industry (“*Premiers Hommes en Europe*”, Paris,

Editions Fayard 2007, pp. 73-78). An old debate re-emerged: who were the makers of the Chatelperron early blade industry? Homo sapiens, Neandertal or Proto-sapiens? How old are they? Do we have to reconsider the old axiom according to which the Neandertal people were the sole inhabitants of Europe during the Middle Paleolithic?

If the expressions of this peculiar style are issues of the same core, for Australia or Tanzania the term Neandertal would be inappropriate. The relation of this stylistic and typological pattern with the Chatelperron material industry has to be verified. The cultural identity of the Chatelperron material culture has to be defined. The possible common cultural roots of this archaic pattern of visual art, found in various directions of probable early migrations, has to be clarified. One thing can be guessed: that in Europe, like in Australia, this pattern is an innovative cultural element likely to have been introduced by newcomers. For the time being, rather than stating its belonging to the Neandertals, or to the Sapiens, it might be wiser to keep the old terminology and, until further clarification, consider it the issue of a not better defined Proto-sapiens.

E.A.

Emmanuel Anati

MENHIR-STATUES: WHAT WAS THEIR FUNCTION?

Anthropomorphic monoliths have a long story and a wide diffusion over five continents, from the earliest known, going back over 40,000 years, at Har Karkom in the Negev Desert (Israel, Near East), to the Mohai of Easter Island (Oceania), just a few hundred years old, to Indian and Central Asian anthropomorphic monoliths still in function. Apparently they



Fig.1:
Har Karkom, Negev Desert,
Israel. Flint monoliths in the
Palaeolithic Sanctuary.

Fig.2 a/b:
Proto-Neolithic anthropomorphic
standing stone from Göbleki
Tepe, displaying details
similar to those appearing
in menhir statues, which are
three thousand years later.



have existed ever since human beings acquired the belief and consciousness of being the center of the universe, as they certainly are from their viewpoint. The anthropomorphic image or shape is the subject; the accompanying ideograms and pictograms specify its identity, attributes and faculties. Do these anthropomorphic monoliths, which are found the world over, have a common root? Are they part of the common heritage of the humankind, which followed the diffusion of the primary diaspora of *Homo sapiens*?

The basic conceptual structures are similar all over, but they developed specific regional features. In each corner of the globe the images are accompanied by different pictograms and ideograms that define their identity. In some areas their pattern is a sort of synthesis, being represented just by the attributes or the essential elements.

The patterns of the anthropomorphic standing stones (currently referred to as menhir-statues) are well known over large areas in Eurasia, from the Iberian Peninsula to China. But they are present also well beyond, in regions of Africa, the Middle East, Australia and America.





Fig.3: Feminine stele from St. Sermin (Aveyron), France. It has a tripartite body, in which the bust, in addition to the breast, has a frequent bucranium-like attribute.

The anthropomorphic monoliths are a global phenomenon.

A peculiar trend of accompanying symbols developed in the Mediterranean area, having as earliest known testimony the monoliths of Gobleki Tepe, in Anatolia, nearly 10,000 years old, and then appearing over Europe a few millennia later. Male and female ancestors are represented, males being adorned with images of weapons and tools symbolizing power and abilities, and females, being embellished by necklaces, bracelets and other items emphasizing femininity and grace. They are present along the Danube River, at Lepenski Vir, some 8,000 years ago; and on the shores of the Atlantic coast of Europe, in Portugal and France, 7,000 years ago.

They have major later concentrations in mountainous regions like the Italian and Swiss Alps and the French Massif Central, and in Mediterranean islands like Corsica, Sardinia and Malta.

Such localities appear often to be refuge areas, where older traditions acquired new trends reflecting local denominations. Is the diffusion of patterns a diffusion of ideas? If so, ideas, and likely the people carrying the ideas, arrived by seafaring on the shores of the Atlantic coasts of Europe, to the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea when they were a single sea, to the shores of the Danube River and the Mediterranean islands. Images, patterns and their concepts expanded through early colonization by seafaring, a fascinating story inviting further studies on both the phenomenology of diffusion and history of religions.

Later their presence appears to be mainly concentrated in mountainous regions, islands and other refuge areas, while new ideas spread over more appealing, fertile territories, more open to human transit and communication. Also in Asia, like in Europe, some patches of territory have major concentrations of such monuments, while other trends and other patterns characterize other zones. These monuments are the testimony of a multi-millenary movement of visual tradition reflecting widespread concepts that involved people almost universally. In Eurasia it had a period of vast diffusion.

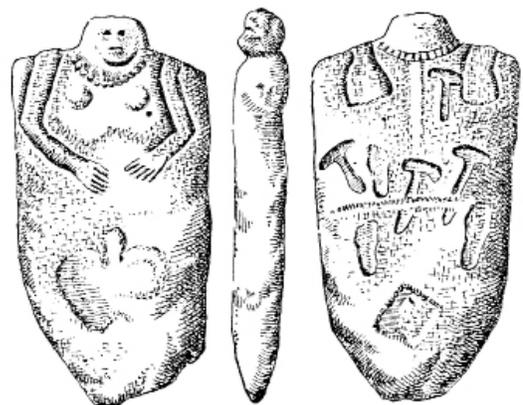


Fig.4: A stele from Hamagia, Romania. It seems to represent a bisexual being, feminine on one side and male on the other. The latter has a tripartite body with a collar separating the rounded form on top from the rectangular bust. Here battle axes are represented. In the lower part are represented two feet and a large cup-mark. The feminine side, which is likely to be later than the male side, has more naturalistic features face and necklace, breast and arms.



Fig.5: Tracing of the menhir-statue Bagnolo II, Valcamonica, Italy. 0,80x1,30. Period III-A. (Chalcholithic 3200-2500a.C.)

In its later phases the pattern appears to be concentrated in restricted areas before being totally abandoned or transformed.

The intellectual adventure it represents finds its origins in hunter-gatherer societies, further expanding with early pastoral and agricultural communities, acquiring main strongholds of regional concentrations in the Early Metal Ages, and then being replaced by new ideologies with the birth of nations and the spread of other conceptual experiences. In certain areas of Africa, Asia and Oceania these patterns still survive.

If cult traditions in surviving tribal societies may help in indicating the function of such monuments, in India, in Central Asia, as in Ethiopia and elsewhere, these menhir-statues are revered ancestors. Their souls found refuge in the standing stones, and the paintings and engravings on their surfaces indicate the peculiarities of the ancestor, his/her attributes and

power. Such monuments were worshipped, and some still are, as personally seen in India, Africa and Oceania. Offerings are left and fires are lit at their feet. In India, in recurring events, they are repainted and surrounded by flowers. In Papua New Guinea and other islands of the Pacific, in ritual occasions, sacred coats made of tapa cloth envelop them, following procedures similar to those practiced for the coronation of a king. The sacred coat is the medium of dignity and power and it is applied when required by connected ceremonies or events.

What can we say about the prehistoric monuments that left no traces of their cult functions? Some of these monuments are found in graveyards, like at Simferopol in Crimea, but most of them are not related to burials. Some of them, upon archaeological excavations, revealed traces of fire and offerings at their feet. Often they are found in groups, in places believed to be ceremonial or sacred areas, like in the Camonica Valley in the Italian Alps.

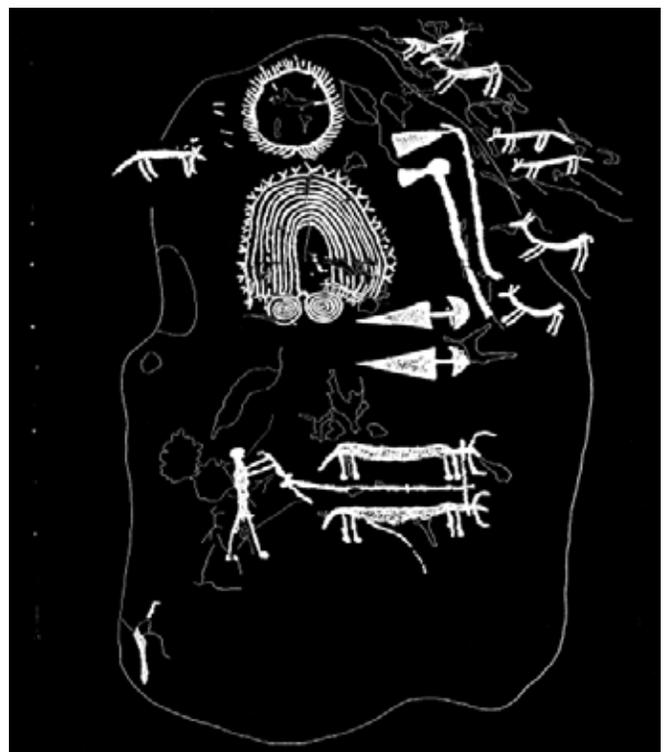


Fig.6: The front side of the 'Masso di Borno' II, Valcamonica, Italy., 0,80x1,50. Period III-A. (Chalcholithic 3200-2500 a.C.)



Fig.7 a/b: Anthropomorphic menhir-statue from Portela de Mogos, Evora, Portugal.

Fig.8: Menhir-statue from Corsica, France.



One possibility is that they had functions similar to those that are still in use.

Large concentrations of standing monoliths may represent the spirits of tribal ancestors: each generation added the souls (standing monoliths) of their deceased fathers, like at Carnac in French Brittany. Most of such stones appear to have been selected for their peculiar natural shape; some of them have been reshaped by human action. Recent such monoliths (and similar wooden monuments) in Africa, like in Oceania and in Central Asia, have been painted and repainted, and the painting fades in a short time. If the prehistoric ones were painted, traces of paint have been only rarely preserved.

A question is however emerging about these anthropomorphic monoliths: Do they all have the same function? Do they all represent ancestors to be honored and worshipped? What other possible functions may these menhir-statues have had?

THE DESTINY OF MUSEUMS:

CULTURE ON A WORLD BASE

How can museums get out of their walls? Most of the museums around the world are important sources of education, culture and research. Some small museums may display little known but important cultural, historical or artistic treasures. Many of those located out of major urban centers tend to have a poor affluence of visitors and could become the victims of the progressive reduction of government support. Specific topics interest specific visitors, but they must know where to find them. Museums with an internet website may join a world database of Virtual Museums.

As a project to save the patrimony at risk, a **World Databank of Virtual Museums (WMD: World Museums Data)** is being planned by **ATELIER Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology**. Indexes will enable millions of people to find and benefit of a patrimony that only a few were previously visiting. Each museum entry should include also a sector of "Museum shop"

showing and offering what books and gadgets can be purchased by email. And also Museums Shops will reach millions of potential clients.

Even the most crowded museums should have interest in reaching an audience that will learn and enjoy their patrimony without crowding the exhibition halls.

Also collections and collectors without a museum are invited to join: by creating their Virtual Museum. Virtual presentations of archeological sites are also considered. They would reach a worldwide audience and let people discover hidden treasures that never before had an access to a vast public.

Museums, scholars, art galleries and collectors wishing to contribute to this project are invited to provide elementary information and contact <atelier.etno@gmail.com> indicating: "Virtual Museums Project".

We look forward to world cooperation for the WMD, "Word Museums Data".

E. A.

FORTHCOMING DEBATES

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

1a. **WOMEN:** Can we detect the gender of the artist?

1b. **WOMEN:** their role in prehistoric and tribal art. The changing role of dominance of male and female figures.

2. **ART AND ECONOMY:** relations between economic conditions and artistic creativity.

3. **SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS REVEALED BY PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART:** how depictions reveal social relations and social organization.

4. **NEW HORIZONS OF RESEARCH:** the role of Conceptual Anthropology.

5. **DEFINING PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF ARTISTS** in prehistoric and tribal art. Can art reveal the identity of the artist?

6. **ART AS A SOURCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS OF PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES:** Is the choice of the themes to be represented and the associative system or syntax of the depictions revealing conceptual and social trends?

7. **BURIAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES** as expression of beliefs in afterlife. How did they imagine the world of the dead?

8. **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART: THEIR COMMEMORATING ROLE AND THEIR HISTORICAL VALUE.**

9. **SEAFARING DEPICTIONS: RECORDING MYTHS OR EVENTS?**

10. **REALITIES AND IMAGINATION IN MYTHIC TRADITIONS.**

11. **REGIONAL PATTERNS IN ARTISITIC CREATIONS**

12. **THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION**

13. **THE ORIGINS OF ART**

14. **ROCK ART AS A SOURCE OF HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION**

15. **VISUAL ART AS A MEAN TO EXPLORE THE HUMAN MIND**

16. **WHEN AND HOW PEOPLE FROM THE NEW WORLD (AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA) DISCOVERED THE OLD WORLD (AFRICA AND EURASIA)?**

17. **MYTHS OF ORIGINS: WHERE DID THE ANCESTORS COME FROM?**

18. **THE PRIMARY MYTHS AND THEIR COMMON ROOTS**

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

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THE HAR KARKOM ROCK ART FROM THE HELLENISTIC TO LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD: MAN AS THE CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE

Federico Mailland (Switzerland)

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Har Karkom, Negev, Israel*

Abstract

The paper focuses on the rock art of the classical period at Har Karkom in the light of the archaeological findings, and offers an interpretation of the philosophy and beliefs of this period, as opposed to the prehistoric engravings. The bulk of the rock art at the site belongs to the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age periods, the fourth and third millennia BC, consistent with a dense occupation of the area with numerous religious and burial sites on the mountain and dwelling encampments in the surrounding valleys. Scenes of spirituality, moon god worship, fertility rites and symbolic hunting prove intense cult activities. After a hiatus during the second millennium and a sporadic frequentation during Iron Age II, the area was repopulated from the Hellenistic period for over 1,000 years. The rock art style IV-C belongs to this period of occupation. Until then, the animal figure prevailed. But from style IV-C onwards, the human becomes the dominant figure. The horse image appeared when soldiers introduced the animal into the area. To that period belong figures of horsemen with dagger and shield, often in scenes of duel or combat, but also figures of dignitaries escorted by walking persons. Solar symbols do appear, which account for the introduction of new religious ideas by sun god worshippers,

likely the Nabataeans who settled the area starting from the fourth century BC. Camels also appear in rock art, which accounts for trading activities along the Silk Road and the Spice Road. Opposite to spirituality focused on superior entities and magic rites which had characterized the rock art of the Bronze Age, the Negev rock art of the classical period, under the influence of Greek and Roman philosophy, put man at the centre of the universe.

Introduction

Har Karkom is a mountain located in the southern Negev, a region that today is a desert, but it was peopled in specific prehistoric and historic periods with occupations of different densities according to climate fluctuations. The area was intensively occupied in prehistory. The Palaeolithic sites (including Lower Palaeolithic, Middle Palaeolithic and early Upper Palaeolithic sites) were located on top of the mountain and on the surrounding hills. Har Karkom was virtually abandoned in the late Upper Palaeolithic.

Around 10,000 years BP (¹⁴C dating), some seasonal agricultural sites were settled in the valleys during the Neolithic period (Mailland et al., 2009). Between 6,000 and 4,000 BP, the Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age (BAC) was a period of dense occupation by groups having a seminomadic lifestyle, with pastoralism and agriculture as economic sources. They left numerous religious and burial sites on the mountain and dwelling encampments in the surrounding valleys. During that period, Har Karkom was a place of intense cult activities, with tumuli containing secondary burials in which the human bones are not in anatomical connection. The BAC period includes most of the cult sites, both on the plateau and in the surrounding valleys. Dwelling sites were settled on the slopes and on the upper terraces of the *wadis*, but none of them was found on top of

Har Karkom during the careful survey of the plateau. In that period, the top of the mountain was a paramount worship site for the cult of the moon god (Bastoni and Mailland, 2016). Scenes of spirituality, moon god worship, fertility rites and symbolic hunting mostly characterized the rock art of styles III and IVA¹ (Mailland, 2015a and 2015b).

A hiatus occurred for the whole of the second millennium BC, likely due to worsened climatic conditions. The area was settled again, with a few Iron Age II, Persian and Hellenistic findings. Notably, the most important IA-II site is BK/173, a settlement north of the mountain including living quarters, a shrine, orthostats, altar stones and a graveyard in the vicinity.

The Hellenistic site BK/480a-b has remains of over 100 stone structures extending in three parallel rows on a *wadi* terrace over an area of 300 x 100 m (Figure 1), with a burial area in the vicinity and watchtowers on the top of the surrounding hills. The site appears to have been well planned and was built all at the same time as a unit at the end of the fourth century BC. Dating is based on the pottery found in the site. It might have been a military camp. This settlement could illustrate a military adventure, consistent with the civil wars following the death of Alexander the Great.

The archaeological findings reveal the presence of Nabataean pottery in different sites of this period. Part of the agricultural terracing in the *wadis* north of Har Karkom is attributed to the work of Nabataeans, as is the sporadic finding of cisterns carved into the rock. One should not wonder about the presence of Nabataeans in the area. This is a people coming from north-western Arabia. In the fourth century BC the *Nabatàioi Àrabes* lived in the open air, with a nomadic lifestyle, according to the Greek

1. The identification of rock art styles in this article follows the very exhaustive classification of Anati, 2015.

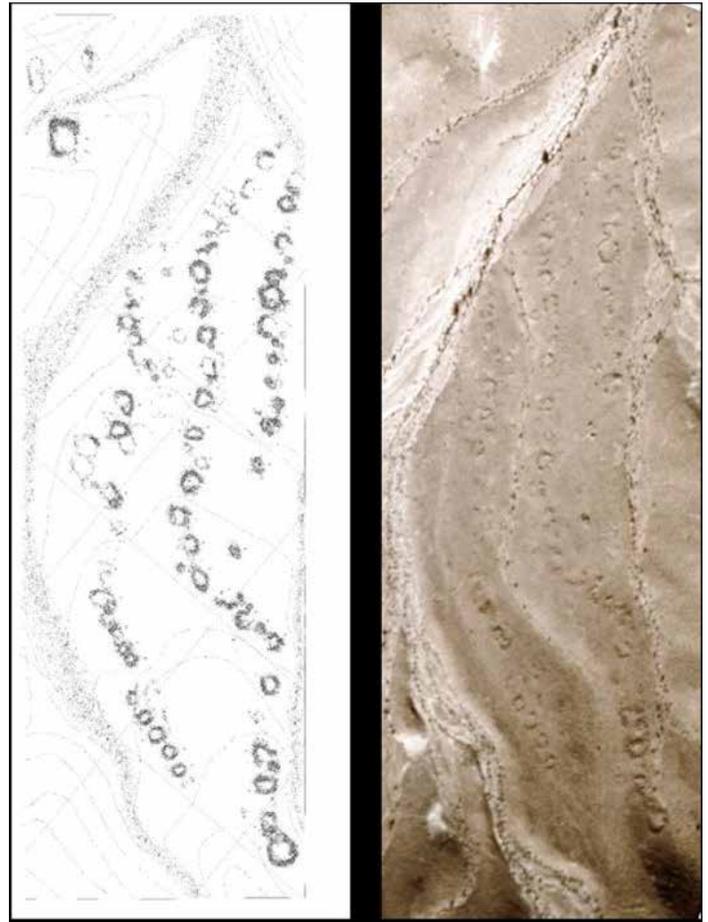


Fig. 1: HK/480: Site plan and aerial picture of the Hellenistic site, probably a military camp.

historian Diodorus Siculus,² while in the second and first centuries BC they were established in a large kingdom extending from modern Trans-jordan to the Mediterranean Sea and from northern Arabia to modern Damascus. They had sheep, oxen and camel, pasturing them in the desert, but

2. Diodorus Siculus lived in the first century BC, but his source of information was the historian Hieronymus of Cardia, whose writings are lost. Hieronymus was present in the Greek entourage during the events of 312 BC when Antigonos Monophthalmos entered into contact with the Nabataeans (Diodorus Siculus, XIX, 94–95).

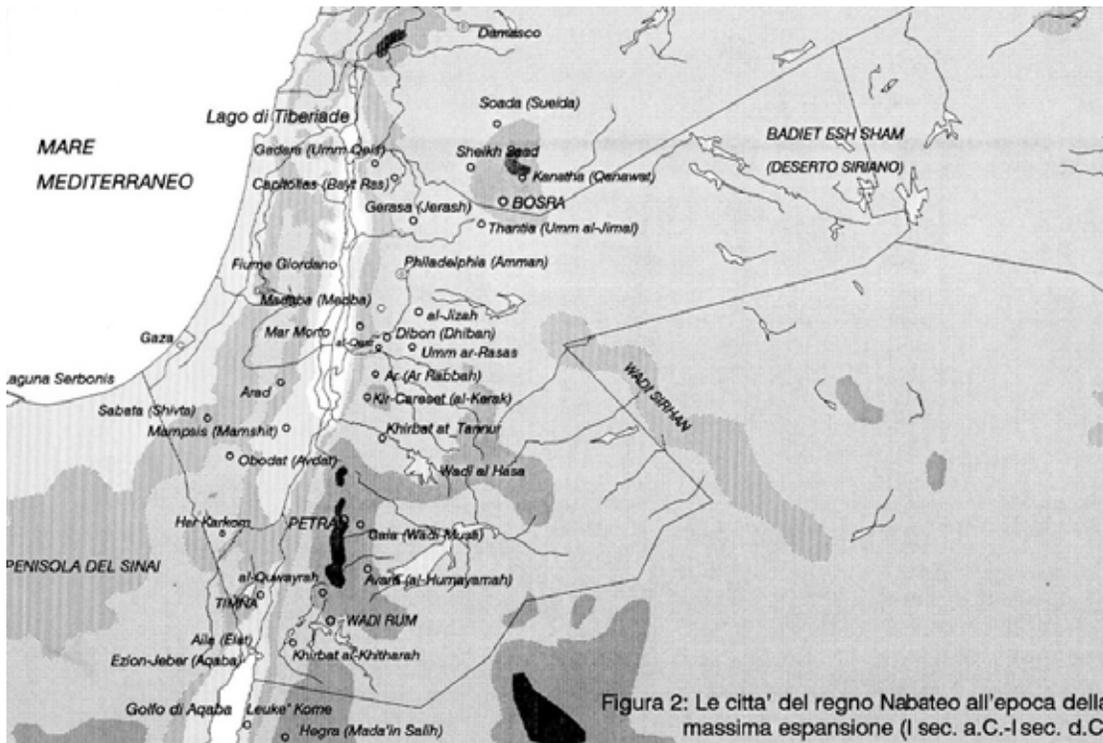


Fig. 2:
Map of the Nabataean kingdom between the second century BC and the first century AD. The location of Har Karkom is just at the west margin of the commercial routes between Petra and Gaza.

had no horses.³ Important Nabataean cities in central Negev were along the caravan tracks from the capital Petra to the Mediterranean port of Gaza. Their economy mostly consisted in trading, being along the Silk Road and the Spice Road, and brigandage. To avoid combat with enemies, they were used to take refuge in the desert.⁴ Har Karkom is part of the marginal desert area located just south of the Nabataean

cities of Obodat and Sabata (Figure 2). Their pantheon included the worship of Dushara, the sun god, together with minor deities. After the Roman conquest, the Nabataeans were assimilated into the Roman empire and an intense occupation occurred during the Roman and Byzantine periods, but the area always remained marginal to the cities of central Negev and to the commercial routes. In this period, the Nabataean sun god Dushara was identified with Zeus, as the result of assimilation of the Greek culture and philosophy by the Nabataeans and of the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. During the archaeological survey, several Roman-Byzantine villages were found, mostly in the area of Beer Karkom waterhole, north of the mountain. In this period, the dwelling sites were built up mostly on the lower terraces of the *wadis*, likely due to a reduced flow rate compared with the Bronze Age. Many sites of this period, characterized by rows of a few

3. Strabo, XVI, 4, 21-26: "The Nabataeans are a sensible people ... their homes, through the use of stones, are costly; but, on account of peace, the cities are not walled. Most of the country is well supplied with fruits except the olive; they use sesam-oil instead. The sheep are white-fleeced and the oxen are large, but the country produces no horses. Camels afford the service they require instead of horses."

4. "In this waterless region ... they have dug wells at convenient intervals ... and so they retreat in a body into this region out of danger" (Diodorus Siculus, IX, 100-101); "whenever a strong force of enemies comes near, they take refuge in the desert" (Diodorus Siculus, IX, 94).

single individual dwelling units, with a small bed and a cooking area inside, reflect the lives of *monazóntes*, monks and hermits who settled the Sinai peninsula during the early centuries of the Christian era (Cottinelli, 1998, 39–55). At that time, the mountain lost its holy character and dwelling sites of this period are present on the mountain plateau. Although the Nabataeans were among the first peoples converted to the Christian religion, until now there has been no or scarce evidence of the Christian cult in the structures and the rock art of the Har Karkom area.

Rock art findings

The discontinuity of the classical-period ⁵ engravings from Bronze Age rock art is mostly witnessed by the appearance of horse and camel images in the rock art. It is known from the historians that the Nabataeans introduced camels (dromedaries) into the Negev, mostly for trading purposes. It is also known that the Nabataeans did not have horses, in fact they used camels instead: the introduction of horses in the Negev area was due to the occupation by Greeks and later on, by Romans. From the Hellenistic period to the end of the Byzantine empire, the area of Har Karkom was peopled for about a millennium, and style IV-C, according to the classification of Anati (2015, 175–179), belongs to this period of occupation of the area. Until then, the animal was the dominant figure: from style IV-C, the human became the dominant figure. Solar symbols do appear, which tell us about the introduction of new religious ideas. Both camel and horse appear

5. Throughout the text, the term *classical period* is an overall term related to the periods of HK occupation from the Hellenistic to the end of Byzantine period. This simplification allows comparing the rock engravings object of this paper with those of the Bronze Age, which is also a simplification of the BAC rock art.

in the rock art. The character of society may be indicated by the presence of fighting scenes. Further on, Anati (2015, 187–190) describes style V as the expression of desert inhabitants under the influence of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine culture. It started when IV-C was at its peak, and its greatest development occurred during the Byzantine empire, a sort of intrusion under the Greek-Roman influence on the pastoral society of the desert.

The horses

Horse images appear in the rock engravings of the Har Karkom area, and the analysis of patina, superimposition and engraving style shows that they belong to the IV-C style. For the first time, images of mounted horsemen appear in the rock art of Har Karkom. The horse is often represented with long legs and empty circles at the paws. Notably, the horsemen are engraved as isolated figures, or they are part of scenes, represented in fighting, pilgrimage; often the rider holds the horse by the reins. In general, the rider is represented just as a vertical line on horseback, rarely are the arms evidenced, and often the rider has a spear for fighting or, less frequently, for hunting purposes. Rarely also, an anthropomorphic figure is represented with the legs near the horse, which has been interpreted as a walking figure, not a horseman. Occasionally, mounted horsemen are part of ibex hunting scenes, mostly as later addition to Bronze Age scenes. In this case, the hunter on horseback is armed with a spear, opposite to the Bronze Age hunters, always armed with bow and arrow. The fighting scenes may be referred to the incoming of Greeks – and later on, of Roman soldiers – in the area. Combat scenes include mounted horsemen with spears and sometimes the dead enemy is represented, lying down on the ground below the rider. In Figure 3,⁶ a horseman with a spear is fighting

6. Photographs are courtesy of Rosetta Bastoni



Figure 3: HK/56: Rock engraving of a horseman with spear, fighting a standing archer. Photo RB.



Figure 4: HK/56: A horseman helped by a dog is hunting an ibex with a spear. Photo WB.



Figure 5: HK/62c: Armed horseman and dead enemy on the ground.

a standing archer. The horseman appears to be in combat with another standing human figure in the background. Maybe the metaphor of Greek conquest over the local society? In Figure 4, a horseman helped by a dog is hunting an ibex with a spear. This scene is a clear classical transposition of the symbolic hunt celebrated in the Bronze Age, where the hunter is armed with bow and arrow. There, the symbolic hunt had been interpreted as the representation of a myth (Mailland, 2015b); in the classical period, the hunt is just the remnant of something common during the Bronze Age, having lost its original symbolic meaning. In Figure 5, a horse is mounted with a human figure represented as a vertical line with an object in his arms. A human figure (the dead enemy) is lying on the ground in front of the horse. The figure is very stylized and rendered just as a long line for the body and a perpendicular line for the arms. The ibex figure on the right is a later addition. Other scenes include dignitaries on horseback escorted by walking persons. In Figure 6a, two people on horseback and a walking person are

(RB), Candida Zani (CZ), Walter Baricchi (WB), Sergio Cottinelli (SC), Flavio Barbiero (FB) and Flavio Cambieri (FC). Photographs and drawings without citation belong to the author.

in a praying position, as a possible scene of procession of the Byzantine period (Anati, 2015, 177). In Figure 6b, another scene of pilgrimage shows two walking persons accompanying a lady riding side-saddle (Bastoni and Mailland, 2015, 28). Notably, despite the extreme stylization of the drawing, in both scenes the artists were capable of representing the movement as in a true procession and the position of the figures on different planes implies the search for a perspective and allows the perception of depth of the scene.

The camels

Camels⁷ were introduced into the Har Karkom area during the classical period, likely by Nabataeans, who used them for their trading activities. Several images of camels belonging to styles IV-C and V are engraved on the rocks, mostly in the valleys at the mountain foot, but also on the plateau. In general, camels are represented as isolated images, or later added to previous engravings, but camels are found also in life scenes. The rock engraving of Figure 7 at

7. Camels represented at Har Karkom and in the whole Negev belong to the species of *Camelus dromedarius*, according to Linnaeus, with few, doubtful exceptions.

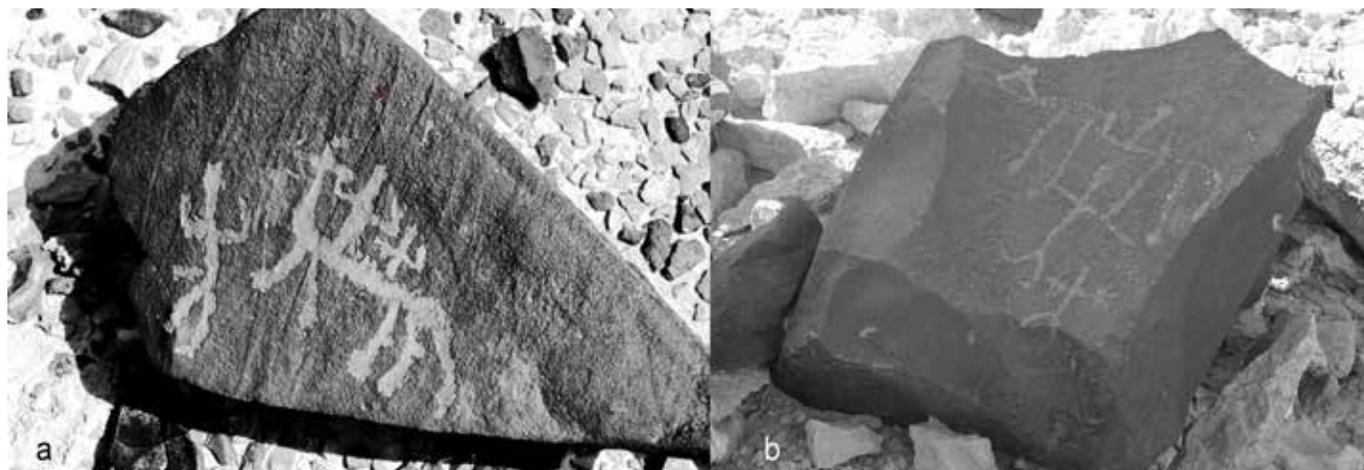


Figure 6a: HK/45: Horsemen and walking person in procession. Photo CZ, after Anati, 2015.

Figure 6b: BK/183: Riding lady escorted by walking persons. Photo FB, after Bastoni and Mailland, 2015.



Figure 7. HK/5: Engravings of ibexes, camels and horse from the classical period. Close-up in the box .

site HK/5, along the ancient path climbing the mountain from the northwest, is dominated by the images of two ibexes: the one in the centre is attacked by a dog; the ibex above is trapped by a leg-trap. Three camel images are present: a large figure on the right, with an exaggerated hump, and two more figures in the frame of the ibex horns: one engraved by pecking, the other by a thin incision (see close-up in Figure 7): both have a triangular hump, just a horizontal line for the body, four vertical lines for the legs, large paws, muzzle and tail are evident. Bottom left is a horse image in a very curious position, like preparing for jumping. Other figures in the bottom right part of the rock have a darker patina and a different style. In Figure 8, a camel rider holds a long spear on his left arm and reins on the right one: this is the use of camel instead of horse typical of Nabataeans, to confirm what was reported by

the historian Strabo (see footnote 3). Caravan images engraved mostly south of the mountain may mark the ancient routes of trading along the Way of Incense from southern Arabia to the port of Gaza (Figures 9 and 10). A very fresh life scene is reported in Figure 11 of site HK/7, at the entrance to the plateau from the western path: here, an anthropomorphic figure holding camel reins is accompanied by a child; the camel is nursing a puppy. The human is outlined and wears flat, large headgear. The camel is fully pecked, has a long neck and upright tail. The saddle is well evident.

Other human figures

Besides the human images involved in scenes with horses and/or camels, other anthropomorphic figures are evident in the rock art of Har Karkom. Again, they are featured with a freedom of expression, compared with the



Figure 8. HK/36: Engraving of a camel rider.

Figure 9. Scene of caravan with three camels and a walking person south of Har Karkom.

Figure 10. HK/110: Scene of caravan. Camel escorted by horsemen and a walking person. The two human figures on the right side have a lighter patina. Photo RB.

Figure 11. HK/7: Scene with an anthropomorphic figure holding camel reins, accompanied by a child. The camel is nursing a puppy.

Figure 12. Human figures of style IV-C from Har Karkom.

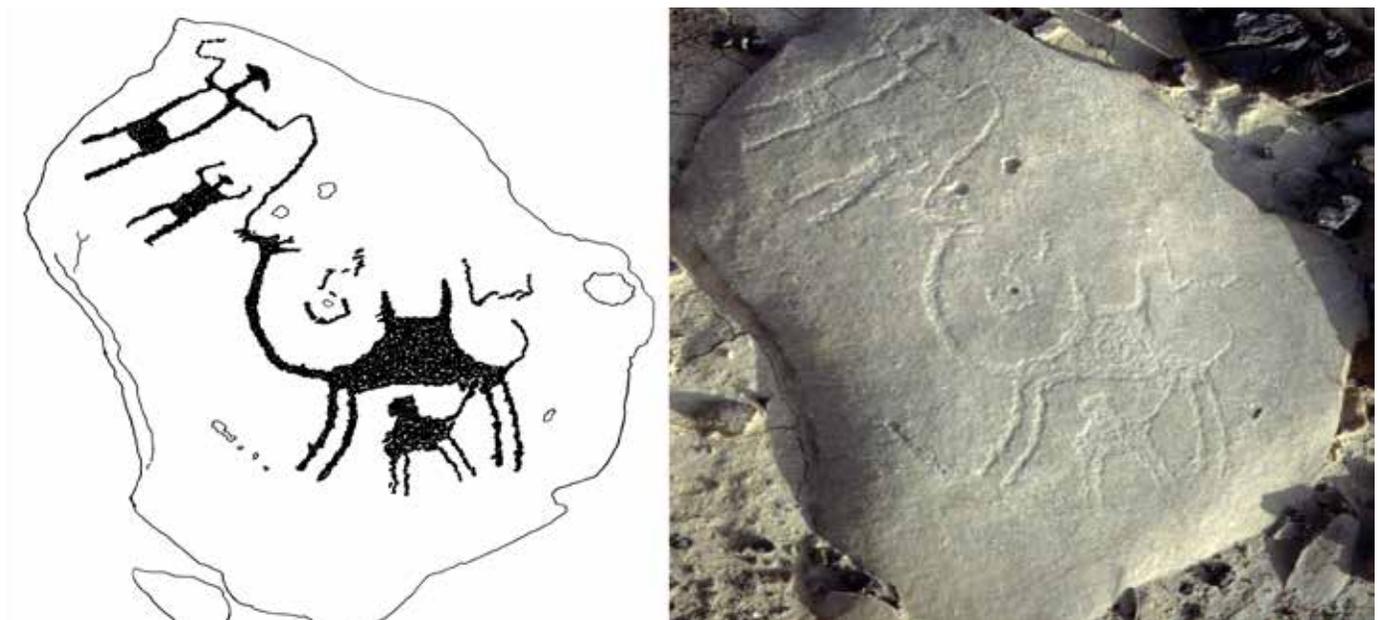




Figure 13. HK: Engraving of a pastoral scene.

fixed, static representation of human beings, which had characterized the rock art of the area during the BAC period. Examples of human figures in the rock incisions of the classical period are given in Figure 12. In Figure 12a, an adult and child are engraved, with the adult touching the head of the child, in a gesture of affection and protection. This is not the only image of adult and child in the classical period (see Figures 11 and 13), opposite to the Bronze Age engravings, where images of children are never apparent. In Figure 12b, an armed human being holds a round object (a shield?) above his head. In Figure 12c, an anthropomorphic figure with headgear characterized by two long feathers has extended arms and legs, like in a kind of dance. Movement and freedom from the schemes are characteristic of these images.

Uncommon scenes involving human beings in the rock art of the classical period include pastoralism.

In Figure 13, four human beings (two adults and two children) are engraved with a goat



and a camel. Some abstract signs bottom and right above have a lighter patina and appear to have been added later. Until now, this is the only scene of pastoralism described in the rock art of Har Karkom, despite the lifestyle of the nomadic and seminomadic peoples which would have characterized the presence of



Figure 14. HK/396: A man standing on a wagon fights a feline by the sword.



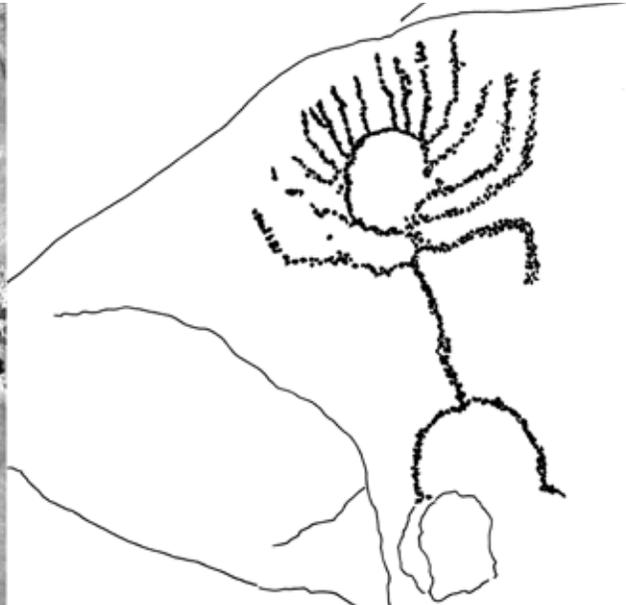
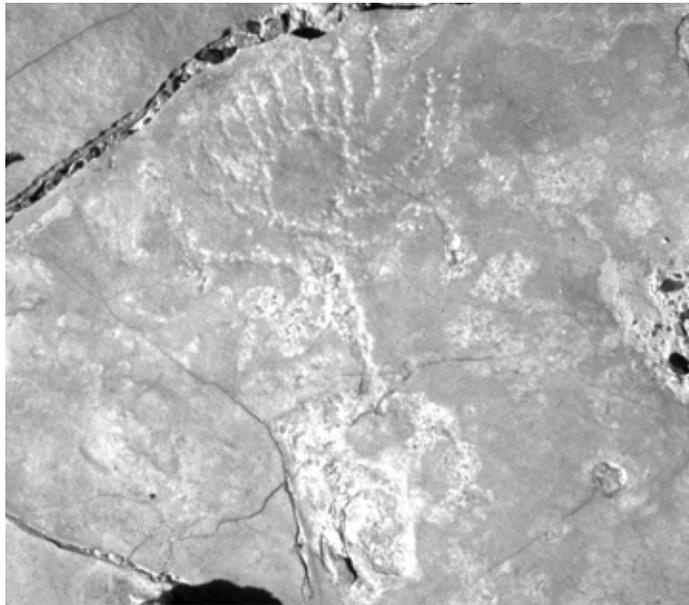
Figure 15. Engravings of sun symbols, style IV-C. Figure 15a, 15b: isolated figures; Figure 15c: sun symbol engraved on top of a Bronze Age prayer figure; Figure 15d: sun symbol added to a pre-existing ibex image. Figures 15a,b,c: HK/396 and 397, photo FC; Figure 15d: after Avner, 2017.



Figure 16, HK/234: Three sun symbols and abstract signs engraved on a rock, style IV-C.

Figure 17, HK/110: Sun symbol and later addition of a praying person, a horseman and an abstract sign.

Figure 18, HK/58b: Incision of an anthropomorphic figure with a radiated disk in the place of the head.



human activities in the last 5,000 years. Figure 14 is an engraving of a unique scene: a man with a sword stands on a wagon and fights a feline. Despite the patina of the human being appearing darker – and the scene may have been incised at different times – this scene may refer to a mythological tale and as such, it would be an exception to the rule of the rock art of the classical period.

The solar symbols

The infrequent presence of rock incisions with radiated disks has been noticed. They are solar symbols, generally represented as individual figures, with some exceptions. In Figure 15, four solar symbols are represented with empty circumferences radiating energy rays. Figures 15a and 15b are isolated solar symbols in style IV-C, represented on rocks at the foot of Har Karkom, south of the mountain. In Figure 15a, the disk is represented with 11 rays; in Figure 15b, the image is similar, with 18 rays. In Figure 15c, the sun disk in style IV-C was engraved on top of the rock, above a pre-existing figure of an *orante* (praying person) in style IV-A, likely belonging to the Bronze Age. The solar incision has been evidenced by the artist by the engraving of an arrow indicating the sun symbol. In Figure 15d, the sun disk is represented in association with the ibex image, but the sun image has a lighter patina, indicating a later addition to the animal figure. The association may not be casual and the artist who drew the radiated disk was likely aware of the symbolic meaning of the ibex image, i.e. the moon god (Mailland and Bastoni, 2016, 135-142). By drawing the solar symbol on the side, the classical artist demonstrated respect for ancient worship, but also an update to the religious ideas of the new people who occupied the area.

In Figure 16, three solar symbols have been engraved on a rock along the path climbing

the mountain on the northeast from the Paran desert. As well as the sun symbols, a cruciform, a snake and other abstract signs are represented. All engravings appear to have the same patina. The three sun symbols are represented in different ways: the one bottom right is a full disk with eight rays; above this image, another radiated disk is represented as an empty circumference, with some lines inside, and nine rays. The third one on the left, in the shadow, but with a similar patina as per the field inspection, is represented as a flower, with a six-ray wheel in the centre, surrounded by as many petals. This is a typical rosette, a Hellenistic element of decoration, derivative from the six-petal daisy, which is a solar symbol well known in European and Alpine rock art since prehistoric times. It was probably introduced into the Negev after the Greek conquest and the assimilation of the Hellenistic culture by the local peoples.

Finally, a solar symbol engraved at the site HK110, together with several other later engravings of ibexes, horsemen, camels and anthropomorphic figures, may represent an exception. A particular of the rock engraving is reported in Figure 17, where an *orante* has been engraved with a lighter patina on the right side, and a horseman, also with lighter patina, was engraved below. The abstract sign on top has the lightest patina and may belong to the Islamic period.

In the middle of the Har Karkom plateau was found the incision of an anthropomorphic figure with a radiated disk in the place of the head (Figure 18), until now the sole finding in the whole Negev; it may be related to the Hellenistic period and the sun cult of the Nabataeans as well.

In the meantime, the cult of the moon god was not extinct, and the god Sin was probably still being worshipped by nomadic shepherds who lived in the same desert region as the

Nabataeans. It is witnessed by the presence of ibex images and ibex hunting scenes during the whole classical period. Interestingly, in a rock engraving of Wadi Rum (modern Jordan) there is an ibex hunting scene associated with the images of two big anthropomorphic deities, a pair of footprints and a Nabataean inscription. This is a proof of a religious syncretism, the deities being the sun god Dushara and his *paredra* Allat, i.e. the moon. There, the ibex figure apparently lost the meaning of the male moon god Sin, the symbolic hunting being remnant of the ancient cult (Mailland, 2015b).

Conclusion

Consistent with the human occupation of the area, which was a desert during long periods, and with the archaeological findings, Har Karkom rock art can be roughly subdivided into three main periods. The prehistoric art includes the archaic art and mostly the art of the Chalcolithic and early Bronze (BAC), which constitutes the bulk of the rock engravings; the art of the classical period lasted a millennium from the Hellenistic to the late Byzantine period; Islamic art includes engravings from the Islamic conquest to the mid-20th century AD.

BAC rock art was based on mythological subjects, responding to conventional themes and very static scenes. The few recurrent elements include symbolic hunting, ritual dance, totemic symbols, *oranti* (praying people) and shamanism, focused on superior entities and magic rites.

But the rock art of the classical period is rich with new elements, compared with BAC engravings. Classical rock art included freedom

of expression, unconventional schemes: motion, perspective, life scenes, trading, pastoralism, as well as imported ideas and lifestyles from Western countries. The Greek philosophy takes over, man is now at the centre of the universe, religious themes form a small minority of the engraved images and even the superior entities are anthropomorphic.

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ICONOGRAPHY AND ORALITY: MNEMONIC PATTERNS OF MEANING IN THE NEOLITHIC SOCIETIES OF SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

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Abstract

Symbolic artefacts preserved in the archaeological record represent fragments of the life-ways of once-living prehistoric communities. Culture is composed of both visible and non-visible elements. In prehistoric societies, pristine orality¹ functioned as a vehicle for the expression of invisible webs of meaning enabling ongoing articulation and preservation of collective knowledge according to culturally defined frames of lived experience. Current scholarship in orality recognizes that what is known is what can be recalled, and the preservation of communal knowledge and cultural memory rely upon repetitive communications. This paper posits that prehistoric visual imagery, preserved in durable media, functioned as mnemonic devices, evoking tacit knowledge of communally recognized meanings. Neolithic clay sculptures may have reflected familiar themes replicated over time through stories, songs, dramatic expressions and ritual enactments. The sedentary, food-producing societies of southeastern Europe, known for their remarkable outpouring of symbolically rich material, did not develop in a vacuum. Some of the roots of female symbolism that blossomed into thousands of Neolithic sculptures throughout southeastern Europe can be traced from the Balkan Mesolithic as well as from the core regions of Near Eastern domestication. The iconography explored here, within

1. "Pristine orality" refers to the expressive capacities of societies that have never been exposed to literacy.

the changing contexts of the living world, focuses on hybrid, woman-animal symbolism and women's ancient relationship with wild plants, transposed into the human life-world of Neolithic domestication.

Keywords: orality, iconography, Neolithic, figurines, cultural memory, domestication

Introduction

Numerous agrarian societies of southeastern Old Europe (c. 6500–3500 BC) developed into long-lived, mature culture systems. Their remarkable sustainability may not have been possible without the distillation and integration of deeply rooted ancestral knowledge, aligned with core beliefs, values and cohesive world views. Prehistoric societies were oral societies, relying upon the storage capacities of human minds to preserve and transmit cultural knowledge. The creation of meaningful signs, symbols and iconic images on durable material most probably functioned as mnemonic devices to extend the working range of human memory. In oral societies, what is known is what can be recalled, and the preservation of communal knowledge and memory is tied to communication through stories, proverbs, songs and recitations, as well as through non-verbal expressions, such as music, dance and the creation of visual images. "Thinking is done in mnemonic patterns, shaped for recall" (Ong 2002, 33–34). Orality promotes the repetition of cultural patterns, often imbued with mythical symbolism, expressed in ritual actions, transposed into tangible media serving long-term cultural communication. It is possible, in this way, that Neolithic figurines conveyed thematic concepts that retained their significance over extended periods of time. It is further possible that the visual repetition of recognizable themes, albeit in various styles and elaborations, served to transmit an invisible play of cultural ideas. This paper discusses possible evidence for Old European orality as reflected in several themes in Neolithic iconography.

Ancient roots: prelude to the Neolithic

The Early Neolithic food-producing societies in southeastern Europe did not develop in a vacuum. The cultural, ecological and evolutionary conditions that gave rise to the transformation from mobile foraging communities to sedentary farming units have deep cultural and environmental roots.

As Dena Dincauze informs us, human culture cannot be separated from the study of past environments. "As a species, we are what we are as the result of millennia of adaptation to unique, dynamic environments ... Plant environments are dependent not only on climate, soils, and topography; they have adapted to the influences of human and other inhabitants over millennia. The effects are subtle, pervasive, recursive, and ancient, reaching far beyond human awareness" (Dincauze 2000, 402).

Near the end of the last ice age, global atmospheric circulation and the latitudinal range of the jet stream changed, as did oceanic circulation and the monsoonal cycles. The Holocene

rise of atmospheric carbon dioxide concentration stimulated productivity in perineal C_3 grasses ... some of which became early domesticates in the Old World. This atmospheric factor may explain why domestication did not begin sooner in unglaciated areas at lower latitudes. Comparable changes probably happened during previous interglacial episodes as well but, this time, modern human beings were on the scene (Dincauze 2000, 393).

At the end of the last glaciation, Europe was unevenly inhabited, and the Danube Gorges (the Iron Gate region) was one of the few areas with a continual human presence from the end of the ninth through the middle of the sixth millennium BC (Srejović 2001, 390; Haarmann, Marler 2011, 73). There, in a unique micro-climate, sheltered from strong winds and extreme temperatures, a remarkable Mesolithic culture developed on the banks of the Danube (Srejović 1972, 15-34). In this protected environment, burgeoning with life, women's primordial relationship with plants, cultivated for millennia, intensified, not only through gathering, processing and utilizing wild species, but through cultivating, tending and preserving selected plants and seeds. An engraved bone sculpture of a woman, found near Cuina Turcului in the Iron Gates region, c. 8000 BC, expresses woman's ancient intimacy with plants by depicting her womb area sprouting with plant life (Figure 1).

By the ninth and early eighth millennia BC there is evidence of seasonal sedentism in the Danube Gorges. At the eponymous site of Lepenski Vir, Dragoslav Srejović and his team discovered more than 50 triangular/trapezoidal reddish foundations on a terrace facing a great whirlpool in the river. These constructions with identical features were used for ritual activities and subfloor burials for nearly 1,000 years between c. 7200 and c. 6300 BC (Bonsall 2008, 255ff.; Borić 2001, 102; Bánffy 1990, 205). Each foundation contained a central hearth with a large boulder stone at its head carefully engraved with symbols of regeneration: laby-

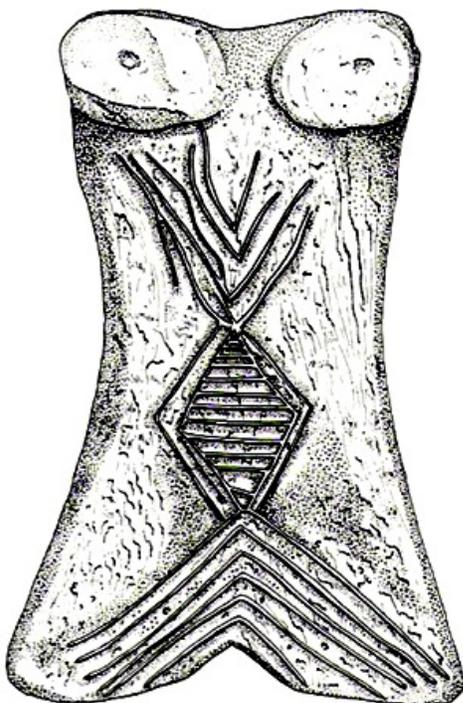


Figure 1. Iron gate bone sculpture

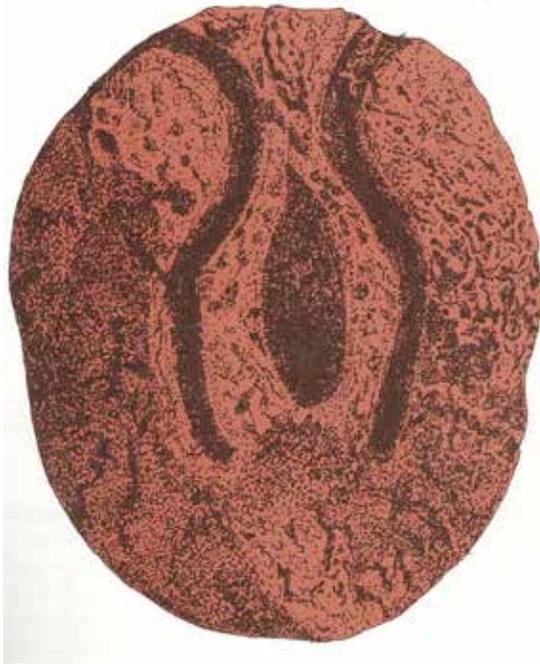


Figure 2. Lepenski Vir Boulder stone

rinths, spirals, nets and fish (Gimbutas 1991, 286). Srejšović describes the sanctuaries of Lepenski Vir and its entire riverine landscape as the site of “one of the most original of pre-historic religions”, as “laboratories in which the knowledge and skills essential for the future evolution of culture was acquired” (Srejšović 2001, 391; Radojčić, Vasić, 2003).

According to Srejšović, people’s methodical observation of the world of reality and their care for certain species of flora and fauna suggest that these species were considered sacred. Moreover, important roles were given to them in ritual procedures and in the supposed order of things in nature (Srejšović 2001, 391). Indigenous peoples throughout the world independently learned—through trial, error and arduous ingenuity—to treat poisons and allergens with care and to process toxic plants into nutritious food and medicine. Humans developed a necessary respect for the life-promoting and death-wielding potencies of plants in their natural states, often reflected in their symbolism. At Lepenski Vir, a large red-

stained egg-shaped stone found at the head of a hearth was carved with a womb-like shape that appears to be sprouting with life (Gimbutas 1989, 101) (Figure 2).

Another engraved boulder stone found at the head of a hearth combines the face of a fish, the claws of a bird of prey, and the breasts and vulva of a woman. In Gimbutas’s view, this composite image expresses the cyclic realities of birth, the inevitability of death and the regeneration of life (Figure 3). In the Mesolithic context, it is possible to assume that all aspects of the living world were perceived as spirited, expressing an animistic sensibility. Such hybridity between woman, bird and other creatures continued into the Neolithic period, suggesting a deeply rooted consciousness of mutual identities and permeable, metaphorical boundaries between species (Haarmann, Marler 2011, 78).

The Mesolithic people who populated the Danube Gorges represent a vibrant example of pristine orality, which was also true of the Neolithic societies that eventually developed



Figure 3. Lepenski Vir Fish Goddess

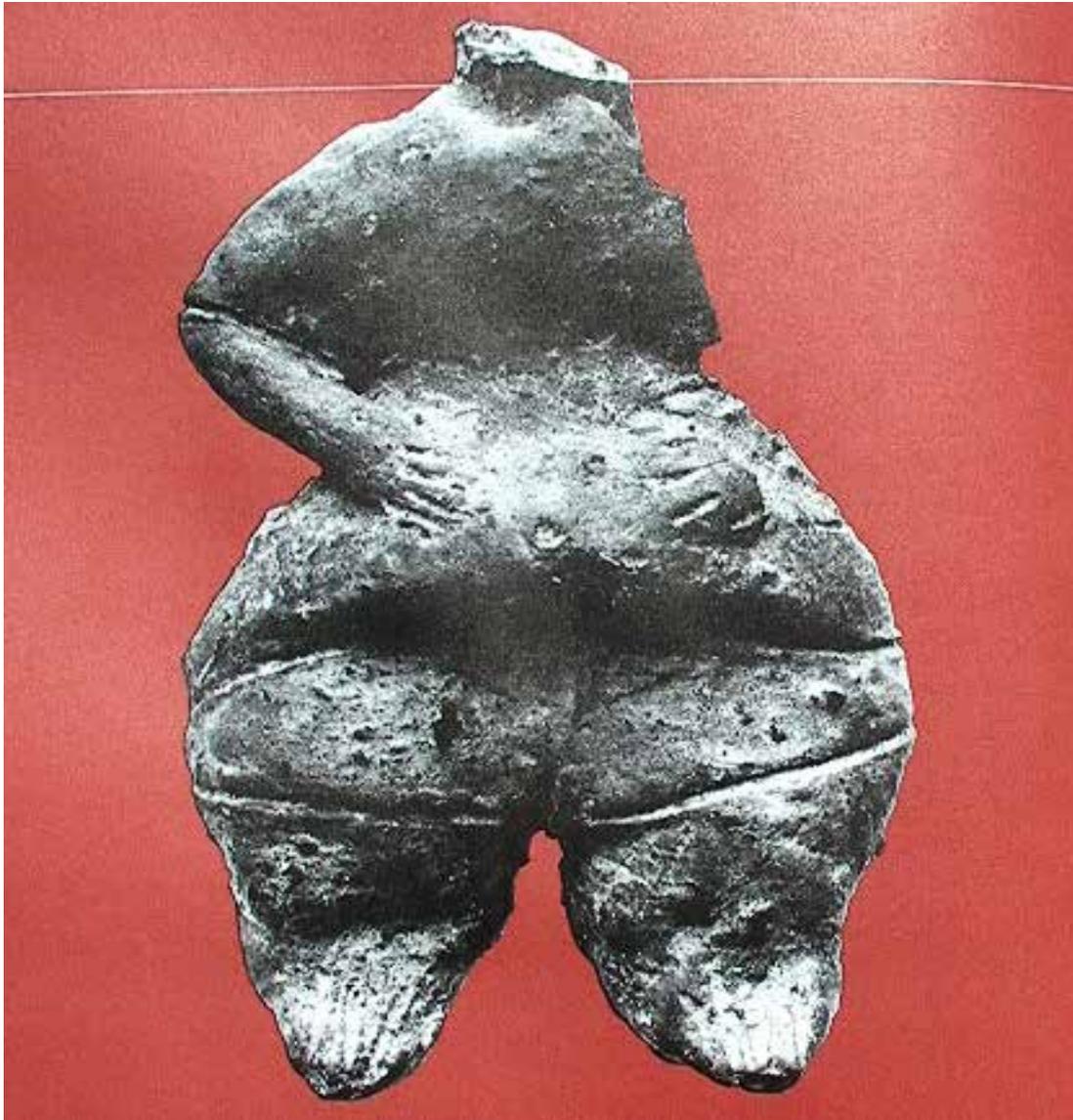


Figure 4. *Sesklo pregnant Goddess*

there c. 6200 BC. Systematic studies of orality indicate that “oral cultures produce powerful and beautiful verbal performances of high artistic and human worth, which are no longer even possible once writing has taken possession of the psyche” (Ong 2002, 13).

In oral cultures, thought that is worth remembering requires verbal communication in order to be sustained. The process, then, of creating cultural memory is highly communal. People with refined mnemonic capacities to remember and to recite poetic incantations, magical stories, and especially ritual performances of treasured mythological epics were highly

honored in all regions.

The persistent human presence in this ritual landscape must have amplified people’s relationships with each other and the living world. Alasdair Whittle comments that the way people conceive of themselves as related to nature and the land fundamentally affects the way they move around and use resources within a given area. He offers a model for hunter-gatherers as “dwelling in ‘giving environments’ in a ‘cosmic economy of sharing’” (Whittle, 2001, 447). Zvelebil notes that people’s activities “enculturate” the landscape by means of both symbolic and practical strat-

egies (Zvelebil 2003, 65). Neolithic transition immediately before the emergence of the earliest Neolithic societies in the Balkans, the Danube Gorges resembled “a vast beehive” of human activities and dynamic developments (Srejović 2001, 391). The spread of agriculture to the area of the Danube Gorges between c. 6200 and c. 5900 BCE is evidenced by the appearance of pottery and plant and animal domesticates (Borić, Dimitrijević 2007), resulting in the development of the Starčevo-Körös-Criș cultural complex, followed by the Vinča culture and a progression of Neolithic cultures throughout the region.

People’s relationship with the living world did not suddenly change due to the transition to Neolithic life-ways. In the Balkans, the influences of Mesolithic sensibilities blended with the new technologies. Wild plants continued to be ingested not only for food and flavorings, but for hallucinogens, analgesics and medication. The accumulated knowledge from a staggering degree of experimentation over thousands of years was informed by both successes and failures (Dincauze 2000, 393–397). Oral traditions perpetuated a wealth of hard-won knowledge about the life-promoting and poisonous aspects of plants.

The “Neolithic revolution”, a phrase coined by Gordon Childe, was not a rapid occurrence, and reductive explanations of this transition have been vigorously criticized (see, e.g., Zeder 2012). The domestication of plants and animals resulted from persistent processes of gathering, processing and experimentation that took place over thousands of years in ecological regions throughout the world (Watkins 2015, 3). “Well before domestication of plants can be recognized archaeologically, intensified utilization would have affected plant ecologies, blurring the changes attendant upon cropping” (Dincauze 2000, 394).

In the Near East, intensive gathering of luxurious stands of wild wheat and barley are discernible as early as the 11th millennium BC, although it took nearly 4,000 years before

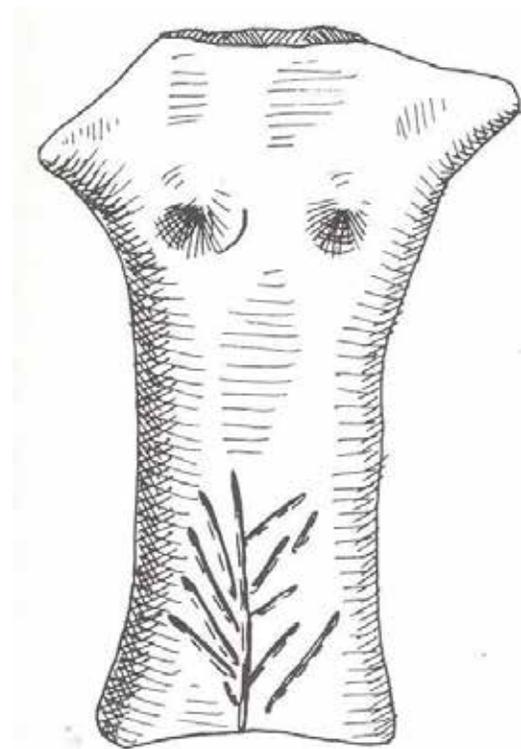


Figure 5. *Vinca sprouting womb*

the “Neolithic package” appeared in western Anatolia, the Aegean and the Balkans. Throughout this period the earliest agrarian people of the region freely shared their knowledge and new technologies, which quickly spread through extensive areas. Mehmet Özdoğan writes, «a social system that enchanted sharing and distributing knowledge, sharing common values, thus attaining a high pace, seems to characterize the Neolithic cultures of the Near East” (Özdoğan 2005, 19). This phenomenon resembles Whittle’s description of the “cosmic economy of sharing”.

According to Özdoğan, male images disappeared during the Neolithic in central Anatolia and in areas further to the west. The “Neolithic package” containing domesticated grains, animals and tools, and other useful items, including female sculptures, made their way toward Europe. “Together with this movement the female deity or goddess, which was more of a personal symbolic value, moved. Perhaps this

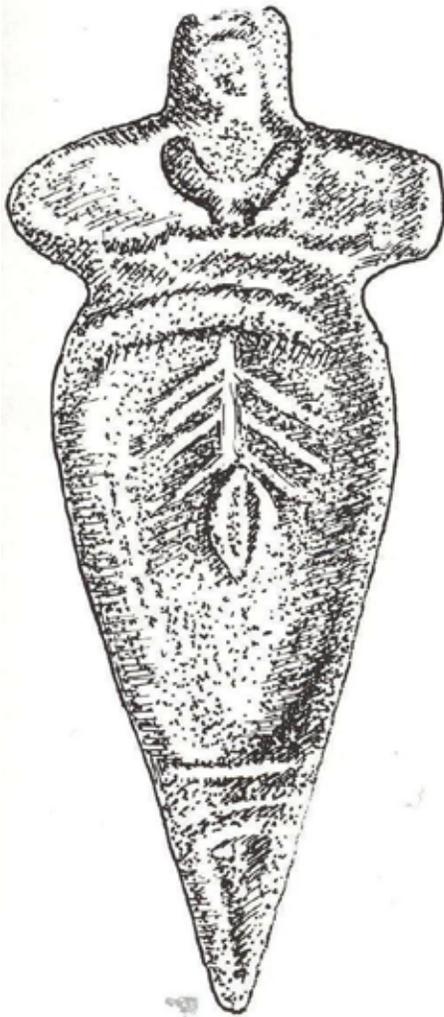


Figure 6. Bone figure Gabon cave

is the moment when the conventional image of the 'Mother Goddess' made her actual appearance" (Özdoğan 2001, 316-317).

Early Neolithic: the goddess and the grain
By the mid-seventh millennium BC, the earliest fully-fledged Neolithic villages were being established in the Balkan peninsula. The Sesklo culture sites in Thessaly were the most prevalent and productive. The Sesklo site of Achilleion in southeastern Thessaly (c. 6400-5600 cal BC) was excavated by Marija Gimbutas, as project director, with an international team of students and scholars. During two seasons of intensive investigations, 1973-

1974, the remains of nearly 200 figurines were discovered, carefully documented in terms of their contexts, physical attributes, symbolism and associated finds. The sculptural type of a pregnant woman with large buttocks and a huge pubic area, which Gimbutas calls the "Pregnant Goddess" (Figure 4) was found in outside courtyards between houses where grain was ground into flour and baked into bread. Multiple sculptures of pregnant women were rendered in various styles, wearing masks, sitting on specially created thrones, or standing

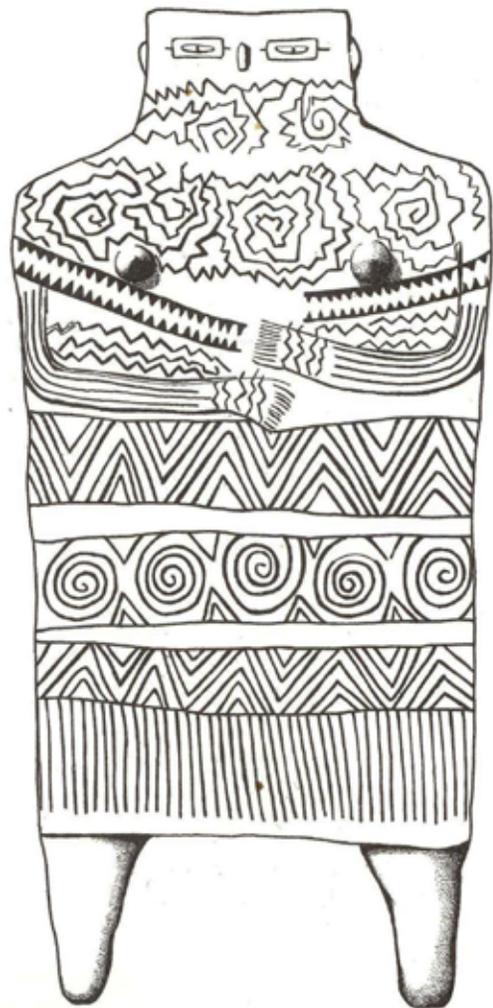


Figure 7. Toptepe vessel

on platforms near bread ovens and hearths. These images, as well as sculptures of women in birth-giving postures, were accompanied by anthropomorphic vessels with upraised arms, elegant ceramics, querns, grinding stones, blades and a multitude of other tools and ritual items. “The most exquisite vases and figurines speak for very special cult activities” (Gimbutas et al., 1989).

The association of grain processing, fire tending and bread-making – with the presence of pregnant and birth-giving sculptures and prolific evidence of ritual activities – were consistently similar in each habitation layer throughout the entire 800-year life of the site. The rhythmic, highly repetitive activities of grinding grain hour after hour and baking numerous loaves of bread were most probably



Figure 8. Sesklo bird goddess

Figure 9. Vinca Madonna from Gradac

accompanied by singing, chanting and verbal recitations typical of communal labors among women in oral societies throughout the world. It is tempting to interpret possible meanings from the practical and ritual contexts of the pregnant images found in production courtyards on all levels at Achilleion. Perhaps the new life within the pregnant sculptures was not limited to human births, but was also related to the grain that was prepared in their presence. It is instructive to recall the Mesolithic bone sculpture from the Danube Gorges depicting plants sprouting from the woman’s womb, as though, from a Mesolithic perspective, she is their source, as the Mother of Plants. This association, also suggested at Lepenski Vir, is continued in the Neolithic context in a terracotta figure from an Early Vinča image from Serbia, c. 5200 BC (Figure 5). Other Neolithic images also carry this theme, such as a miniature, stylized figure carved from bone with a spouting womb from northern Italy near Trento (Figure 6). A large anthropomorphic clay vessel, elaborately

painted as a goddess. used as a grain storage container. comes from a Neolithic tell near the Sea of Marmara in eastern Thrace, dated to c. 5000 BC (Figure 7).

Hybrid imagery and Neolithic shape-shifting Zoomorphic images combining birds or other animal features with a female body, found especially in the Sesklo and Vinča cultures, seem to continue a Mesolithic kinship between human and animal realms. The engraved boulder stone from Lepenski Vir combines the



Figure 10. Vinča Bird figure

head of a fish (possibly a huge river sturgeon), the breasts and vulva of a woman, and the claws of a bird of prey in a mythical shamanic composite of multidimensional shape-shifting. The earliest Neolithic Sesklo culture sites in Thessaly contain hybrid images of women as snakes, frogs, and birds. A black stone amulet representing a frog-shaped anthropomorphic female was found in a pit surrounded by stones next to a food production area, c. 6300 BC. In contrast, the bird and snake goddesses are only found on special platforms or altars in house shrines, associated with implements for weaving and spinning. Gimbutas comments that the presence of these hybrid figures, associated with cult equipment, reflects continuous ritual performances in house-shrines, common in the Sesklo culture, that was central to the vital functioning of human, animal and plant life (Gimbutas et al., 1989, 215–220). While the artefacts recovered from habitation mounds are mute, the repeated creation of these zoomorphic images indicates that their presence in the ritual lives of Sesklo people was well known, probably animated by stories and ritual songs so that they lived in people's imaginations as familiar beings.

The Sesklo sculpture of the bird goddess illustrated here (Figure 8) represents many others of her type, and is probably known as a character in mythical tales. She has the long neck of the water bird, a woman's tidy hairdo fixed on the top of her beaked mask. She presents her ample breasts in a nurturing gesture, and chevrons are engraved on her arm. The mythical formula here is that the woman is a bird, and the bird is a woman; and since she resides on an altar, she was most likely considered as a sacred being, possibly with magical, generative powers.

The Vinča culture, whose epicenter is in present-day Serbia (extending into Romania and Bulgaria), produced large numbers of bird figurines in various costumes and gestures. One Vinča sculpture shows a mother bird nursing her baby (Figure 9). Note the mother's bird claws and the baby's bird head. One can

imagine this image as an illustration for a story about a mother bird nursing her chick, as though she were human, highlighting a mutual identity between the bird and human worlds. A Late Vinča bird sculpture with a whimsical posture shows a bird-girl with a crown and duck mask, a fancy bolero jacket and designs on her lap and knees, possibly a character in a story or play (Figure 10). The Vinča figurine with owl mask and wings is of a more serious nature. The owl, as a bird of prey, hunts at night and her eyes see through the darkness to find her next meal. On her black burnished body, the white-encrusted engraving of a labyrinth that circles around her womb seems to suggest that whoever she devours will be regenerated (Figure 11). The tradition of Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age burial urns in the shape of owls, from central Europe to the Aegean and as far east as the Levant, continues the possibility that to be buried in the body of an owl can lead to regeneration. Gimbutas writes that Old

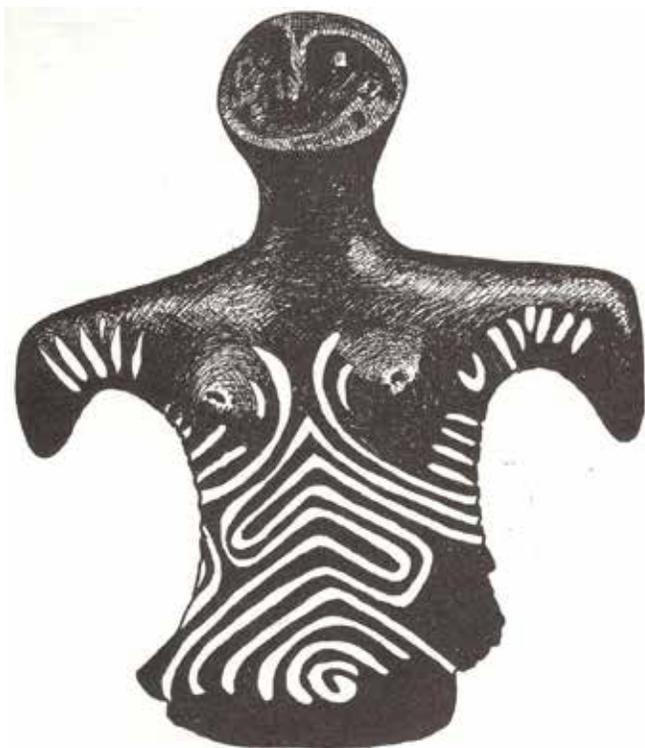


Figure 11. Owl Goddess Vinča

European symbolism is lunar and chthonic, reflecting the fact that life on earth is in constant transformation between creation and destruction, birth and death. “The concept of regeneration and renewal is perhaps the most outstanding and dramatic theme we perceive in this symbolism” (Gimbutas 1989, 316).

Conclusion

Old European societies that developed throughout southeastern Europe are typified by well-constructed settlements, elegant sculptural and ceramic art, craft specialization and evidence of widespread ritual traditions. These activities must have included story-telling, singing, dancing and ritual enactments, known in all indigenous societies, which harmonize the vitalities of all members by creating shared experiences of a profoundly relational dimension. The transition to Neolithic life-ways required the dedicated coordination of entire communities working together, united through their intense ritual lives and vibrant orality. Local knowledge, obtained by empirical means, was shared and reproduced within society, which over time determined traditional practices. People’s relationship with the living world also influenced their symbolism and the imagery they considered sacred.

The success of collective efforts, amplified and strengthened by each culture’s systems of vital communication and imagination, made it possible for Old European farming cultures from the Balkan peninsula to the Ukraine and throughout southeast and central Europe to become, in the words of Alasdair Whittle, “old histories of tradition, renewal and reaffirmation” (Whittle, 1996, 121).

In an oral tradition, conceptualized knowledge that is not repeated aloud soon vanishes. Therefore, the need to repeat what is known—verbally, as well as through creatively visual means—establishes strong traditions and unites people in a shared community of understanding and mutual identity. “Knowledge is hard to come by and precious, and society

regards highly those wise old men and women who specialize in conserving it, who know and can tell the stories of the days of old" (Ong 2002, 41).

This investigation acknowledges that an abiding dedication to deeply held Neolithic beliefs and ritual practices are inseparable from the primary orality and expressive cohesion of the Neolithic societies of southeastern Europe. The sacred dimensions of Old European life-ways were informed by the ancient sensibilities of Mesolithic ancestors who lived in sensitive and respectful reciprocity with the living world.

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“CELESTIAL DEER” THE FLIGHT FROM THE STONE AGE TO THE MIDDLE AGES

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The plot of the pursuit of the deer is common in the mythology, folklore and art of Eurasia from Stone Age till the Late Middle Ages. We propose to investigate the origin and development of this mythological motif, using archaeological, ethnographical and mythological sources.

The depictions of a hunter chasing a deer are widespread in the rock art of northern Europe, the Urals, Siberia, Altay and Mongolia. All images relate to the Neolithic and Bronze Age times. K. Laushkin (1962), A. Okladnikov (1950), V. Ravdonikas (1936, 1938) V. Kubarev (2006), E. Okladnikova (1984) E. Devlet and M. Devlet (2005) and E. Ernits, 2010 all analyzed the images of the deer and the hunters.

The images of the humans or fantastic zooanthropomorphs pursuing deer are known in Peri-Nos (fig.1, 1) (Devlet, 2005, p. 65); Besov Nos (Karelia) (fig. 2) (Ravdonikas, 1936, p. 220, Zalavruga (fig. 3) (northern Russia) (Savvateev, 1980), as well as Ust-Tuba (Sher, 1980, p. 155), Maya (Siberia) (Fig. 1, 2) (Devlet, 2005, p. 24). There are images of a deer with solar signs in the rock art of northern Asia around the Aldan River (Okladnikov, 1976, pp. 129, 130, 134), the Ural River (Chernetzov, 1964, pp. 13–14, Tab. XXII; Kotov, 2004, p. 222), Altay (fig. 4) (Kubarev, 2006, p. 42) and Mongolia (Okladnikova, 1984, Tab. 108).

The cult of the deer dominated in the mytho-ritual complex of the people of Europe and north Asia in Mesolithic and Neolithic times. According to ethnographical dating, the totemic and cosmological myths and rituals of deer reproduction were the main elements of the cult (Mykhailova, 2009, 2016).

We analyzed the mythology of the peoples of Eurasia in order to better understand the pristine rock art motifs. The reindeer chase was reflected in the earliest mytho-ritual system, which is represented by the mythology of northern Eurasia's ancient people. The impressions of the pursuit of the deer were combined with the idea of the regeneration of the deer (the motif of the the beast that dies and is resurrected) and projected to the sky world. As a result, the heavenly hunting mythological subject was formed. This motif is the root of the solar and astral myths: chasing a deer – the deer's death – recovery.

Obviously, the deer/elk cult was combined with the sun cult. The Evenks have a legend about how an elk stole the sun. The hunter shot the elk and returned the sun to the people. Sometimes it was a bear stalking the elk (Mazin, 1984, p. 9). There is a very impressive Dolgan myth: the boy saw elk bones on the shore of the ocean. He gathered the bones up completely, and they turned into the living elk-sun (Okladnikov, 1950, p. 295). In the Saami legend, the god of thunder pursues

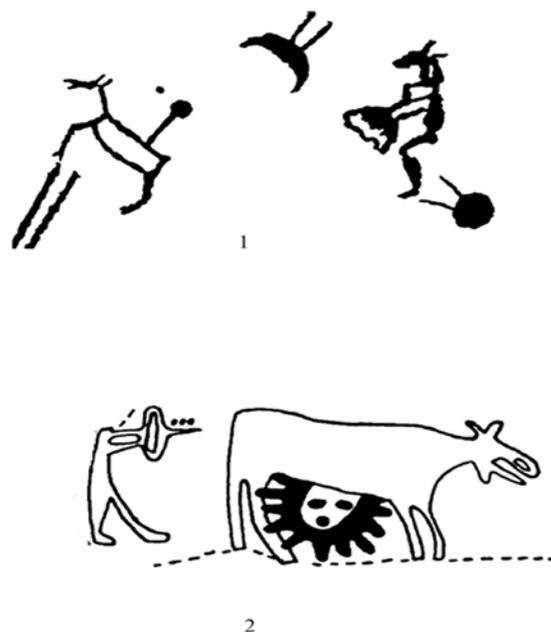
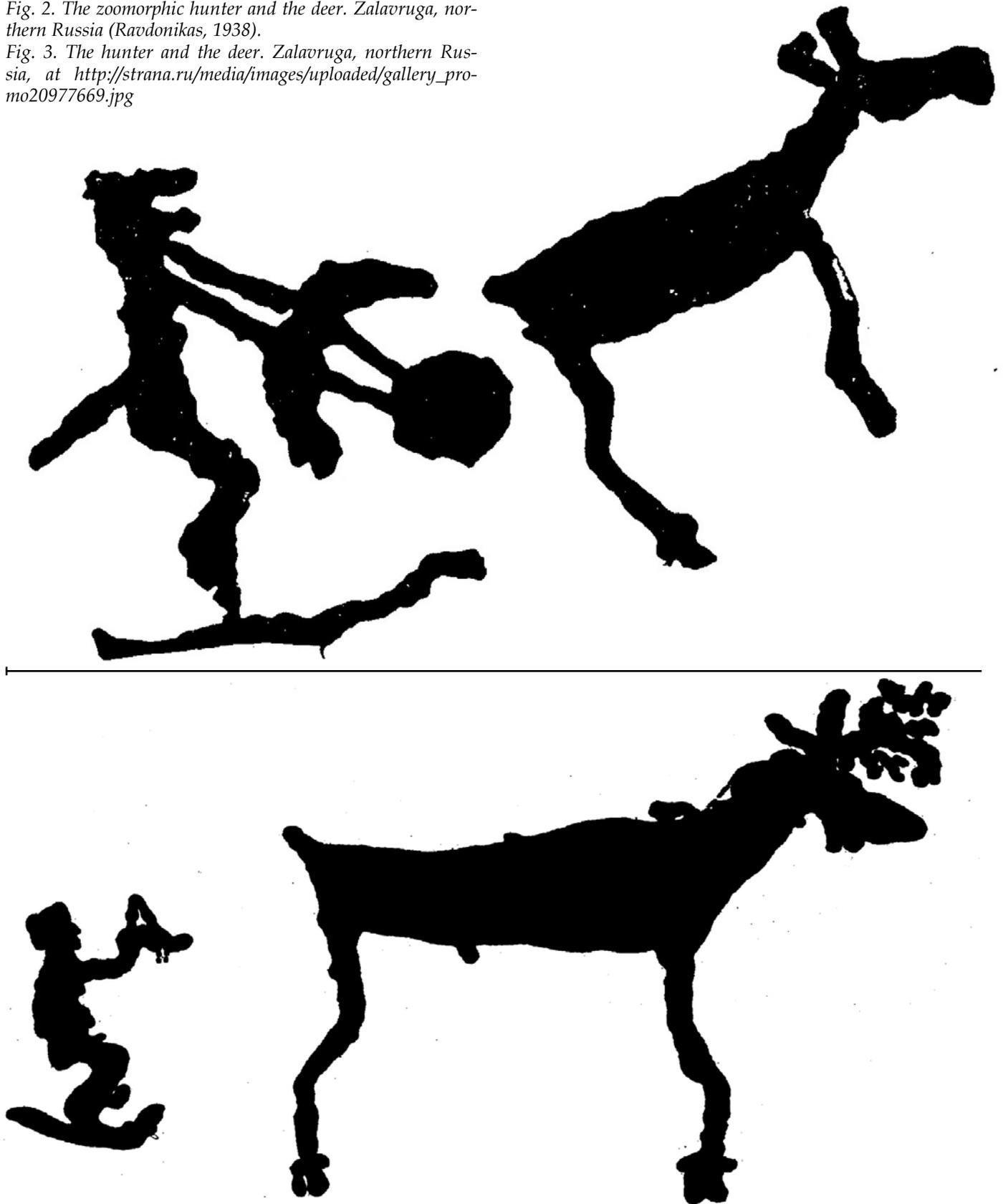


Fig. 1. The motif of celestial hunting in the rock art of northern Eurasia, Neolithic–Bronze Ages. 1 – Peri-Nos, northern Russia (Ravdonikas, 1937); 2 – Maya, Siberia (Devlet, 2005).

Fig. 2. The zoomorphic hunter and the deer. Zalavruga, northern Russia (Ravdonikas, 1938).

Fig. 3. The hunter and the deer. Zalavruga, northern Russia, at http://strana.ru/media/images/uploaded/gallery_promo20977669.jpg



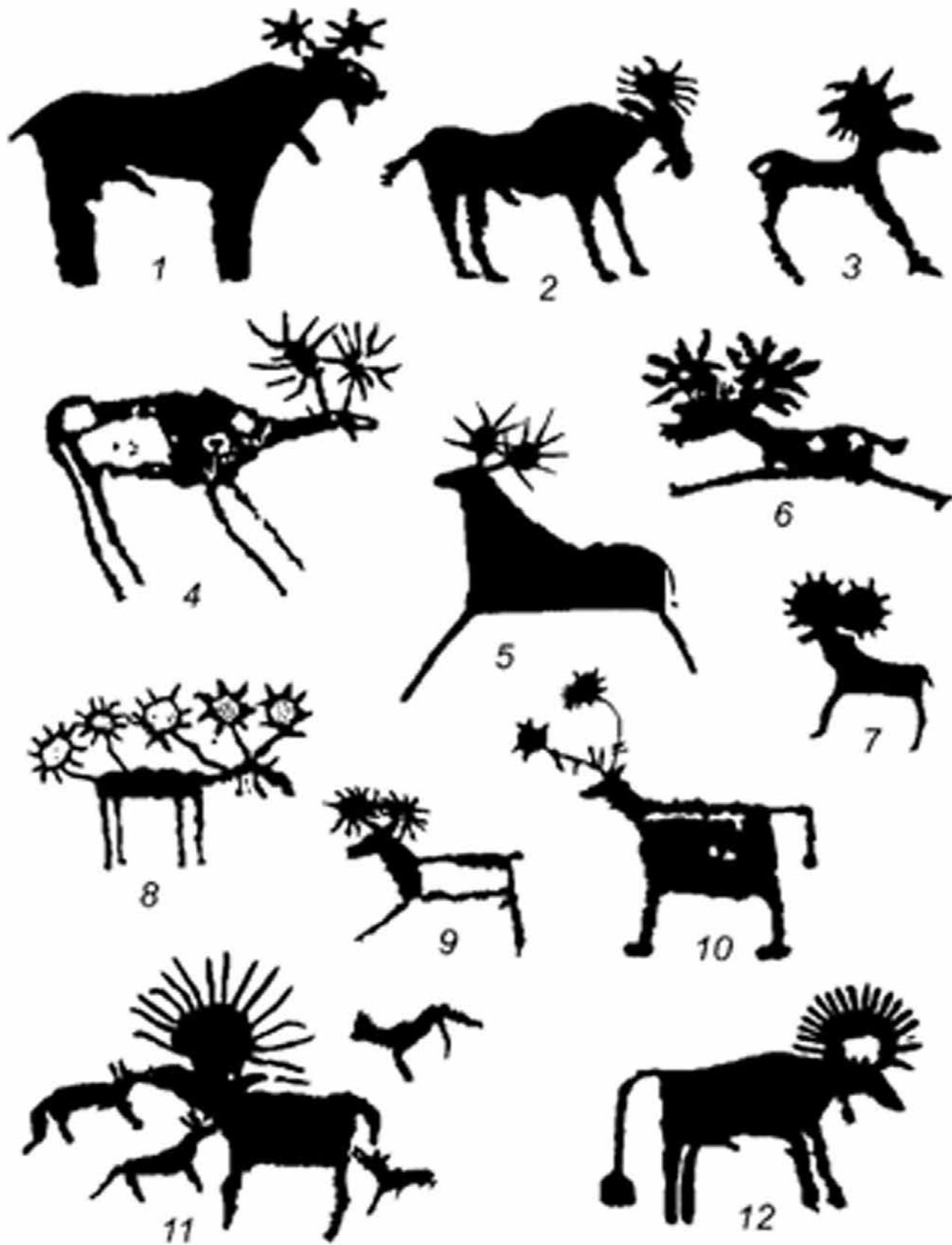


Fig. 4. Depictions of deer with solar and astral signs. Central Asia, Bronze Age (Shvets, 2005).

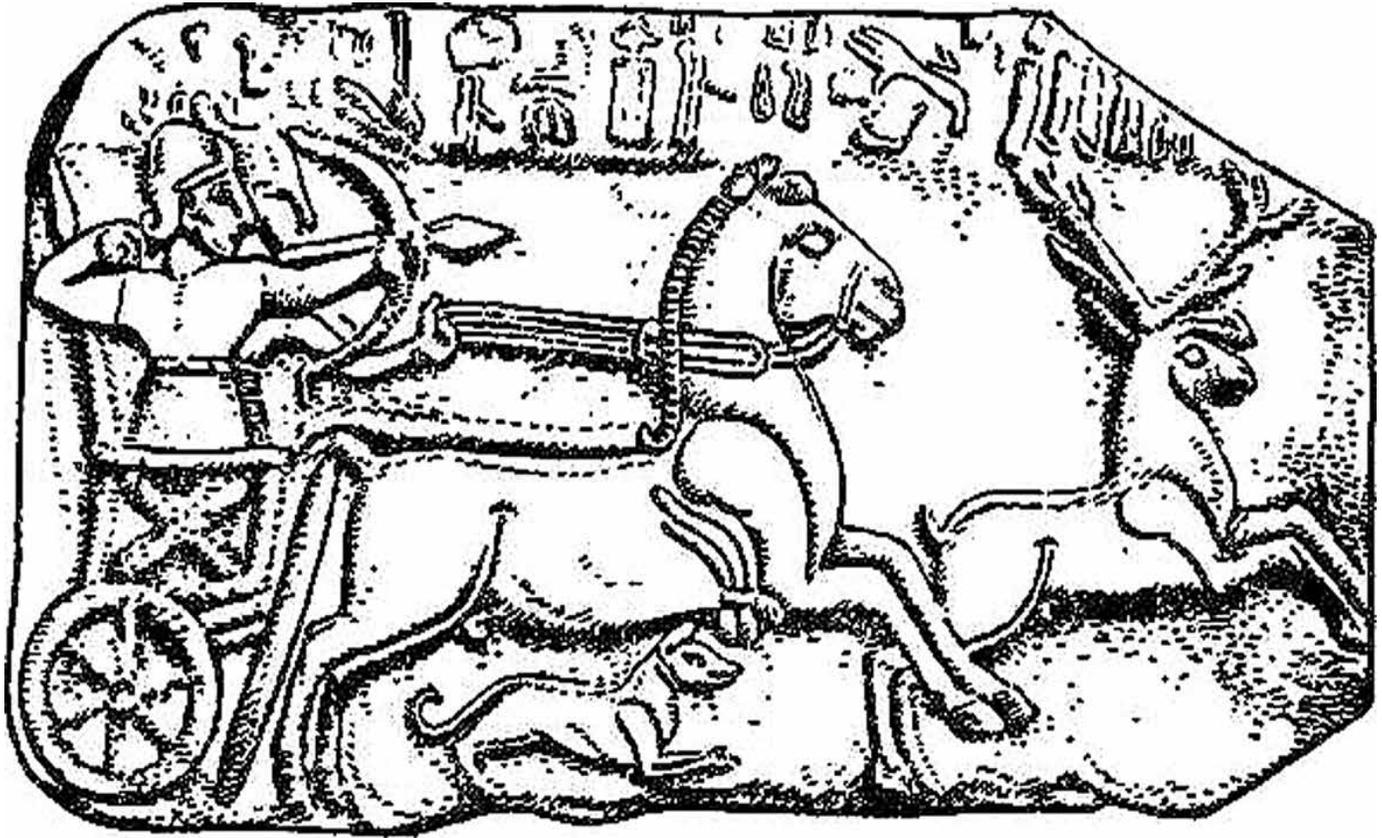


Fig. 5 . Mythological motif of royal deer hunting. Malatta, Hittite kingdom (Gerni, 1987).

Myandash-Pyrre, the deer-sun (Charnoluski, 1969, p. 80).

So, with the help of the comparison of mythological materials and rock-art images, we can assume that the deer-sun mythological motif originated in the prehistoric hunter societies of Eurasia. The deer-sun motif remained in the societies with reproduction economies. Deer was considered as a sacred animal of the sun deity in Hittite mythology and ritual. Deer were connected with the sun goddess of Arinna city. In the Hittite kingdom's state religion the image of the sacred deer-sun was included in the dynastic cult and ritual (Areshyan, 1988, p. 98; Ardzinba, 1982, p. 3).

The motif of the deer-sun is preserved in contemporary folklore. The magic deer has solar signs in Bulgarian, Russian and Georgian songs (Bernshtam, 1990, p. 32; Virsaladze, 1969).

Heavenly hunting semantic series continues

in astral myths, in which there is a chase of a deer-elk associated with the constellations, usually the Big Dipper. Khanty call the Big Dipper the elk, Koryaks the wild reindeer. The old Russian name of the constellation was the Elk (Okladnikov, 1950, pp. 296–297). According to the classification of Yu. Beryozkin, the Big Dipper hook was associated with a hoofed animal throughout western Siberia (Beryozkin, 2001–02, pp. 196–250). The people of Central Asia from southern Siberia to India have a myth about three female marals (Caspian red deer), which embodied the constellation of Orion (Okladnikov, 1950, pp. 296–300). The legend about the Orion constellation as three deer was included even in Buddhist literature (Nekludov, 1988, p. 235). The grounds of heavenly hunting are spread around the American continent too, although the objects of hunting in most cases have been replaced by other animals (Beryozkin,



Fig. 6. The plate from the Giunivka Scythian mound. Ukraine, Iron Age, at <http://www.dis.konflib.ru/dissertatsiya-istoriya/2493-78-pogrebeniya-zahoroneniya-mi-koney-predmetami-uzdi-severnogo-prichernomor'ya-nizhnego-povolzh'ya-yuzhnogo-priural'ya-gornogo-altaya.php>

2001-02, pp. 196-250).

So, the mythological motif of heavenly hunting was formed in the pristine deer hunting societies. The ideological meaning of this mythologeme was so strong that by superimposing on other mythological subjects it forms the myth complex about the deer guide that played a crucial role in the mythological systems of European peoples up to the Late Middle Ages (Mykhailova, 1999, 2008).

There is the synthesis of the cosmological views and the archaic myths connected with the age initiations in the foundation of the Eurasian mythological cycle of the deer guide. It should be recalled that the basis of age initiation rites of the indigenous people includes the obtaining of the first deer, which resulted in the formation of a class of young men and the right to marry (Simchenko, 1963, p. 171). Thus, the chasing of the cosmic deer in the ancient hunter's world

view assumed a feature of marriage initiation. There is the Turanian legend about Imo-Sheli, the spirit of the sun. His marriage test was to follow and to kill the white deer with the golden antlers (Kotov, 2006, p. 176). In a Karelian-Finnish epic, the chasing of a demonic Hiisi elk is a marriage test of the Lemmikeinen. The motifs of heavenly hunting, totemic myth and age initiation are combined here (Meletinskiy, 1963, p. 101). Deer hunting as age initiation is reflected in Ukrainian and Moldavian songs (Mykhailova, 2017).

The later versions of the story about the pursuit of a deer take features of the totemic myth about the marriage of a human with a female deer. The deer attracts a man to follow him, and is transformed into a woman, or leads a man to a woman. The deer woman appears as the mistress of animals in Caucasian folklore. Marriage usually leads to death (which is typical of totemic myths) (Virsaladze, 1969, p. 34;



Fig. 7. *St Eustace and the deer. The gongfalon, Ukraine, 18th century (Zabashta, 2014).*

Fig. 8. *Tsagan Ebugen and the deer. Mongolian painting, at <http://www.globalfolio.net/hermitaje.com/hermitaje-library/tokarev-mifi/index1073.php>*

Myikhailova, 2009, y2017]. There are numerous depictions of women with deer in Dagestan and Azerbaijan (Markovin, 2006; Rzaeva, 2011). In southern Slavic songs, a deer leads a young man to his bride (Smirnov, 1974, p. 121).

In the mythology of the historical era, deer hunting symbolizes the highest degree of initiation, the inauguration ceremony of royalty and religious consecration (fig. 5) (Vasilkov, 1988, p. 99). The deer chase is treated as a test for the future king in Indo-European mythology. A deer leads a hero to the royal power in Celtic mythology. The pursuit of a deer is a part of the king's trial in the Indian epics (Vasilkov, 1988, pp. 90, 94, 100). The relationship of the deer with the royal power was recorded in archaeological and historical sources (royal rod of Sutton Hoo, England) (Ambrosiani, 1982, p. 27). A deer had been the emblem of the French royal dynasties since Charles VII (Hall, 2007).

The myth about the Ceryneian hind which

showed Heracles the way to the Hyperborean country, is known in ancient tradition (Graves, 1992, p. 354). At the time of the great migration, a wonderful deer points the way to a new land. Legends with this sort of content are known to Hungarians, Huns and Moldavians (Borgoyakov, 1976, p. 55). King Clovis I considered as a divine sign the appearance of a huge deer which showed where the army could pass the river Vienne (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deer_in_mythology).

The image of hunting deer is one of the most favorite in the art of the Bronze and Iron Ages and the Middle Ages (fig. 6) (Miykhailova, 2009). The deer became an intermediary between people and their god with the appearance of the world religions. In Christianity deer turn into saints or led heroes to faith, or pointed out a place to build a temple (Kaloyanov, 1992, p. 81).



The Roman general Placidus, while hunting a stag, saw a vision of the stag with the crucifix lodged between his antlers. He was baptized and changed his name to Eustace. The image of St Eustace is very popular in many countries of Europe, particularly Ukraine (Fig. 7) (Zabashta, 2014). This story was repeated in the legend of St Hubert (Hall, 1966, pp. 175, 403). Like these saints, two Hungarian kings were hunting in a forest, and a deer with numerous candles on its antlers appeared to them. They built a cathedral in the place where the deer appeared (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deer_in_mythology).

The deer pointed the Mongolian hero Tsagaan Ebugen the way to Lamaist doctrine (Fig. 8) (Zukovskaya, 1988, p. 611).

Mythological subjects based on the motif of heavenly hunting spread across almost all Eurasia. This could be explained by the convergent emergence of stories among people who hunted deer and lived in similar natural conditions. However, the subject of cosmic hunting is known also on the American continent, where it could not appear convergent, as deer hunting did not play a significant role among America's population.

Therefore, in studying mythological subjects and rock art, we can assume that in primeval Eurasian hunter societies' cosmological conceptions, which became the basis for further mythological constructions were formed. It was the heavenly hunting mythological motif of the chase of the celestial deer, the symbol of the sun or the constellations. The idea of the beast that dies and is resurrected is the meaning of these myths. This subject was so important, that it was preserved in the mythology of later societies. It was the basis for the deer guide mythological cycle, which was widespread in Eurasia. The hunted deer led the hunter to a woman, royal power, new land and, finally, to faith.

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PREDOMINANT RITUAL AND CEREMONIAL TRENDS IN THE ROCK ART OF EASTERN INDIA, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SOUTHERN BIHAR AND ADJOINING JHARKHAND

Dr. Awadh Kishore Prasad (India)

Introduction

Rock art is one of the most important, evocative and exciting forms of evidence that our ancestors have left for us. It reveals the existence and the intellectual adventures of people who would have remained unknown had they not left behind their rock art. Rock art describes economic and social activities, ideas, beliefs and practices, and provides a unique insight into the intellectual life and cultural patterns of man. While even the most ancient conventional script is just over 5,000 years old, rock art provides a record of the way man lived and thought many thousands of years earlier. No other source so far provides such a broad, universal, uninterrupted expression of the human cognitive system (Anati 2015: 14, 27). Rock art is a global phenomenon and during the last seven decades rock art has been recorded in most of the countries in the world. Efforts have been made by various scholars researching rock art to answer the very pertinent question of what motivated early man to produce rock art. Scholars have come up with their own interpretations. Most of them have dismissed the idea that rock art was produced to embellish the rock surfaces, but they proposed different motivations for making rock art. Hunting magic, shamanism, picture writing for communication purposes, initiation tutoring, worship of animals and other roles were all advocated and defended. Most of them had a role in the making of rock art but none of them provides a complete answer. While dealing with this important issue we must keep in mind that the frequency and

the kind of association of subjects allow us to construct a hierarchy of the artists' values. The gamut of subject matter is always well defined and consistent within specific cultural and tribal patterns. There have always been defined impulses to paint, draw or engrave in a certain way, and both subject matter and style are reflections of deep motivations (Anati 2015: 12, 28-29).

While undertaking an in-depth study of the rock art of southern Bihar and adjoining Jharkhand, which I discovered during the 1990s (Prasad 2003-04), I observed that it has some very special and unique features particularly in respect of subject matter, style and location of the painted rock shelters. The subject matter

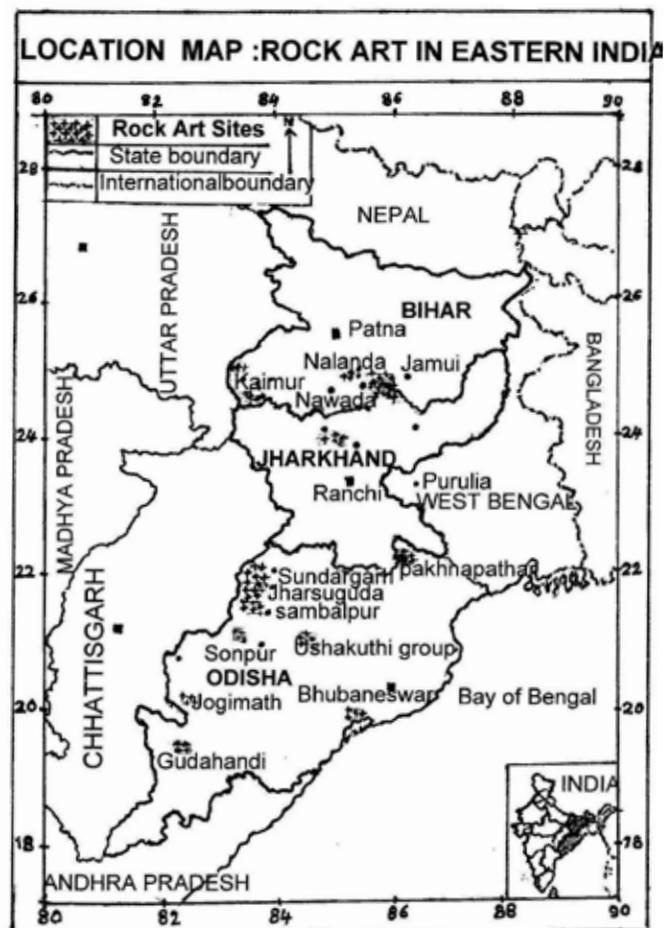


Fig. 1: Location map: rock art sites in eastern India.

Some Symbols and Intricate/Geometric signs in the Rock Art of southern Bihar and adjoining Jharkhand

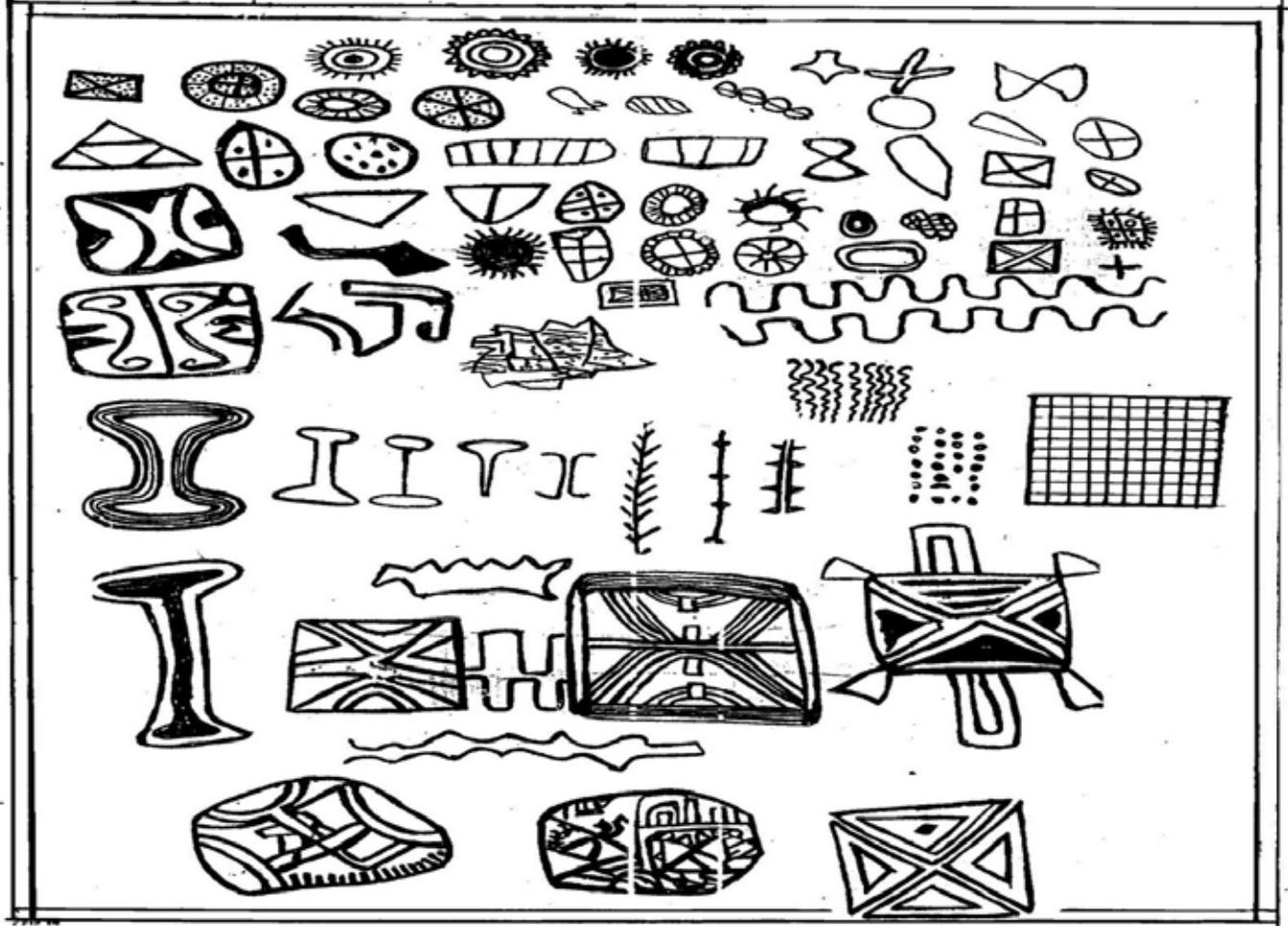


Fig. 2: Some symbols and geometric signs/intricate designs in the rock art of southern Bihar and adjoining Jharkhand.

mainly consists of symbols, geometric signs, intricate designs and images related to ritual and ceremonial religious activities. Stylistically also rock art of this region differs from other regions. The painted figures are comparatively simple and stiff unlike the vigorous and dynamic central Indian "S" type figures. These unique features and also some other available evidence give a clear indication that the painted rocks and caves were treated as sacred spaces and the primary motivation for producing rock art in this region was ritual and ceremo-

nial in nature.. This trend is observed more or less in the entire eastern Indian rock art region, comprising the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha. In the present paper it is my endeavor to describe the special features observed in the rock art of eastern India which support this premise.

India is one of the major rock art regions in the world. Rock art has been reported throughout the country from the southernmost tip of the Agastya mountains to the high-altitude deserts of Laddakh and Zanskar in the north, from

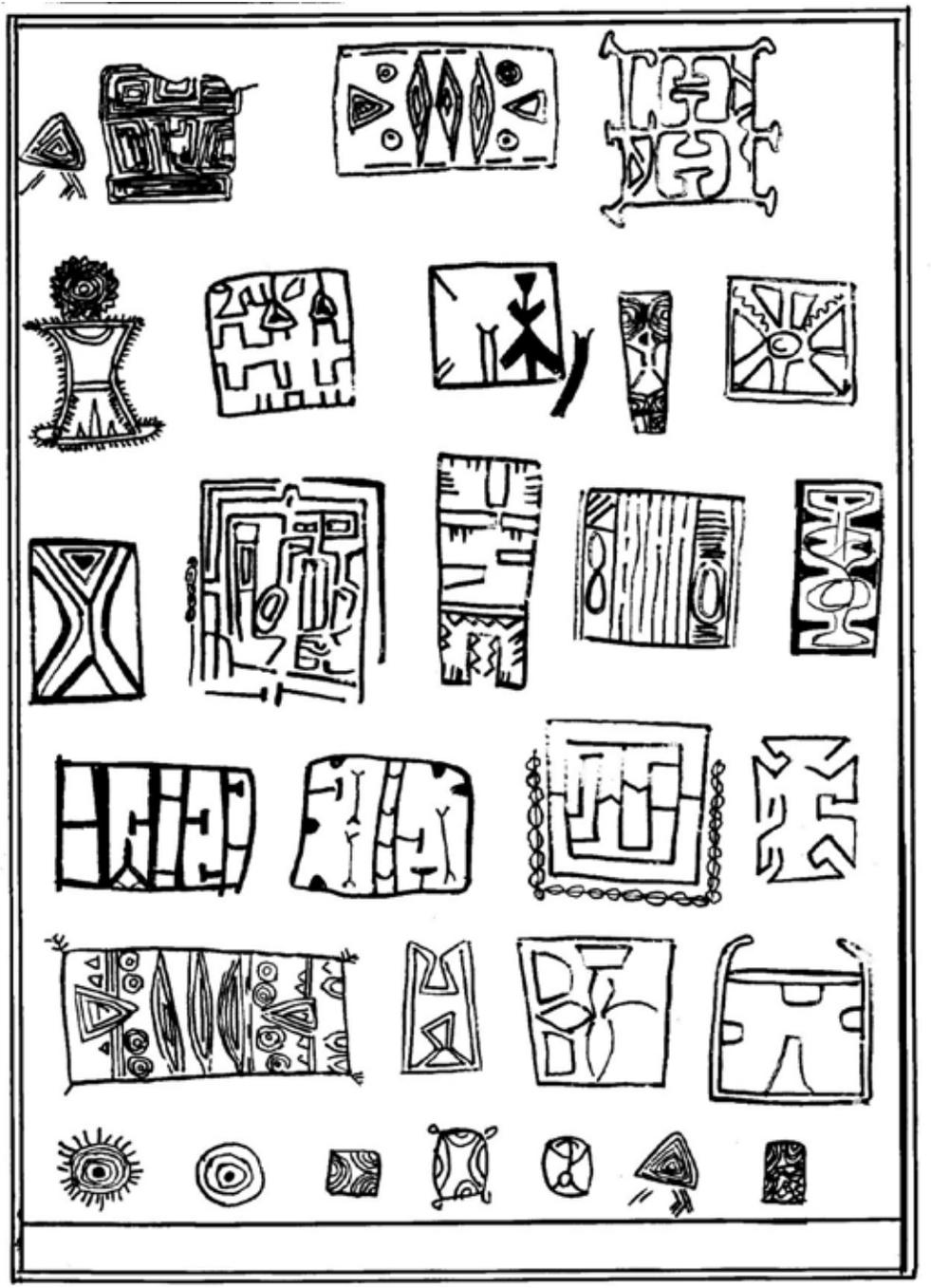


Fig. 3: Some symbols and geometric signs from the rock art of Hazaribag and Chatra in Jharkhand.
 Source: E. Neumayer, 1994-95: 104 (Puratatto).

Gujarat and the deserts of Rajasthan in the west to the large hilly tracts of central India, the Chotanagpur plateau to the far eastern regions of Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. Rock art sites in eastern India are located in the wide and geologically divergent region of the Chotanagpur plateau, a northeastern projection of

the Indian peninsula. It is heavily forested and home to many tribal societies, who have been able to maintain their traditional languages and lifestyles till very recently. This mineral-rich region is politically divided between the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Odisha. Out of these

states Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal form part of eastern India.

Chotanagpur plateau is mainly composed of Archaean granite and gneiss rocks with patches of Dharwar rocks. In the structural trough of the Damodar valley occur Gondwana rocks consisting of sandstone of great thickness with some slate and clay. The Pat land on the western margin is covered with Deccan trap which has been converted into laterite and bauxite due to weathering. Although much of the original vegetal cover has been depleted by reckless felling, some pockets of valuable forest still lie intact in the inaccessible parts of Chotanagpur. The number of wild animals has gone down considerably due to illegal poaching and destruction of the forest cover. Still some of them are found in good numbers especially in the foothills. These include bear, wild boar, swamp deer, blue bulls, monkey, rabbit, etc, and occasionally leopard, tiger and elephant. The area



Pl. 1: Rock shelter XI.B.1, Devasthan hills, Bihar, India. Rock painting in ochre red; art of the early hunters. The entire front wall of the rock shelter (measuring 18 x 3.4 x 7 m) is mainly covered with a very large number of symbols, geometric signs and intricate designs. Other figures include three anthropo-zoomorphic beings with very large bellies denoting a fertility cult, a few animals and humans, some tools, a labyrinth, a snake and a Chakra. A large number of Palaeolithic tools were also found in and around the shelter.



Pl. 2: Rock shelter Isco, Hazaribag, Jharkhand, India. Rock paintings in red and white; art of the early hunters. The entire front wall is covered with a large number of symbols, geometric patterns with intricate designs in many variations. Depictions of humans are virtually absent, save four or five showing the basic features of an anthropomorph, with arms and rudimentary legs. Zoomorphs are also very few but well executed. Area code: A-III; Cat. A-I, A-III.

is also infested with various types of snakes such as python, cobra, karait and viper, as well as scorpions. The majority of the population in the Chotanagpur rock art region is rural, including a considerable tribal population in the different parts. There are some 25 different tribes having their own respective dialects and distinctive ways. The main tribes are Munda, Oraon, Santhal, Ho, Kharia, Birhor, Paharia and Asur. The Birhors are at the verge of extinction, who still lead the life style of hunter-gatherers, shifting frequently from one location to another. Orissa also has a considerable tribal population comprising of 62 tribes. The Sauras and Juangs are two important tribes known for their paintings and engravings respectively.

Rock art sites are generally located in the remote, difficult and very dangerous forested hills, mostly in tribal areas. In Bihar rock art has been reported from Nawada, Jamui, Kaimur, Rohatas, Nalanda and Gaya districts. In Jharkhand the main concentration of rock art is in the districts of Hazaribag, Chatra, Giridih and Kodarma. Recently some rock art



Pl. 3: Rock shelter Lekhamoda II, Sundargarh, Odisha, India. Rock painting; art of the early hunters. A long stretch of the wall is covered with a large number of geometric signs and intricate designs, including some vulva signs painted in red and white. Area code: A-III; Cat. C-II.

has also been reported from Latehar, Palamau, Ranchi and Ramgarh districts. Rock art with a majority of petroglyphs in Odisha is located in its western districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Suvarnapur (Fig. 1).

The special features indicating predominant ritual and ceremonial trends in the rock art of eastern India First, one of the most distinctive features of the rock art of southern Bihar and Jharkhand is that only one rock shelter or cave out of the entire cluster of numerous rock shelters and caves was selected for making paintings. This was considered a sacred space, a "temple" or a "community hall" for performing ritual, ceremonial and other important groups of activities. This trend is also observed to a great extent in the neighboring state of Odisha where the painted rock shelters or caves are locally called either "Lekhamoda (a rock shelter with writing) or Ushakuthi, meaning a worship or ritual chamber or Ushakupa, meaning ritual cavity (Pradhan 2001:

26). In Bihar and Jharkhand as well as several other regions in India the painted rock shelters are known as Kohabar, meaning a cave or rock shelter for a newly-wed couple. In such areas even now the newly-wed couples are required to perform certain rituals in front of a specially painted Kohabar on the wall of the house.

Second, the predominance of symbols and geometric signs from the Upper Palaeolithic down to the early historic era is another very special feature of this rock art region (Fig. 2). In this respect the rock art of eastern India differs from the cave art of Europe, which is mainly zoomorphic and the rock art of the Spanish Levant, South Africa and Central India which have an almost equal percentage of human and animal figures. It also differs from the rock art of the Chambal valley, where animals are the most frequent subject matter (Kumar 1992) and that of Mirzapur (Tiwari 1990: 17, 44) and Kumaon Himalayas (Mathpal 1995: 61), where human figures constitute the main body of the painted motifs. In south Bihar each and every painted rock shelter or cave invariably contains some symbols and geometric signs and intricate designs (Pl. 1). Neighboring Jharkhand is similar (Pl. 2). Here too the most eye-striking features of the paintings are the overwhelmingly geometric patterns with intricate designs (Fig. 3) and many variations (Neumayer 1994-95). In Odisha also the subject-matter is by and large non-figurative and non-thematic (Pl. 3). What is seen is a host of intricate and enigmatic geometric and non-geometric patterns made of a multitude of spiral lines, cross-hatches and zigzag lines (Pradhan 2001: 26-27). Such an obvious predominance of symbols and geometric signs clearly points towards the dominant ritual and ceremonial trends in eastern Indian rock art.

Third, the frequent depiction of ritualistic scenes pertaining to hunting, dancing, and religious and magical rites is another special feature, especially in southern Bihar and Jharkhand (Pls. 4a and 4b). Here even the hunting scenes are primarily symbolic and ritual in nature,



Pl. 4a: Rock shelter II.C.2, Jharanwa, Bihar, India. Rock painting; art of the late hunters. The main focus is on symbols, geometric signs and intricate designs, around which two anthropozoomorphic figures are depicted doing ritual hunting, two humans are dancing together and one human figure is shown holding a symbol on his head. There are several dots around. At the bottom are shown naturalistic figures of a dog and a disc.



Pl. 4b: Cave 1.A.8, Bardauni, Jharkhand, India. Rock painting; art of the £fers. A human figure shown holding a symbolic bow and arrow in his right hand and standing on a bird-like creature. Area code: A-III; Cat. C-I.



Pl. 5: Cave I.A.8, Bardauni, Jharkhand, India. Rock painting. An anthropozoomorphic being in the world of early hunters. This painted figure, surrounded by geometric signs and intricate designs, has a human erect posture with human arms and feet and a big phallus, but the head is of a bird. Area code: A-III; Cat. A-III.

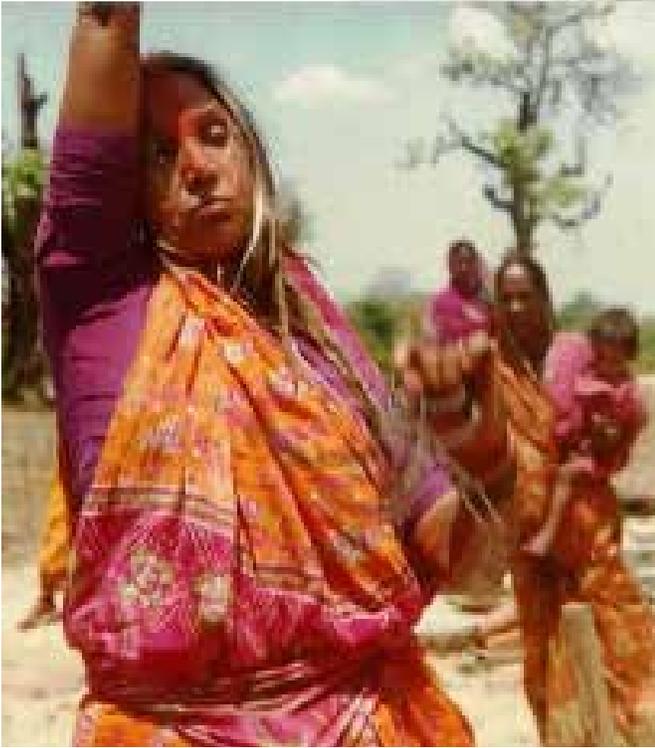
in which the archers are generally not shown engaged in an actual hunt. It is a clear indication of the ritualistic and ceremonial nature of the rock art in this region.

Fourth, the equally frequent depiction of shamans or therianthropes is another special feature. They are generally shown with animal or bird-like heads, spread-out unusual legs, hands and very big phalluses (Pl. 5). Like the rock art of the San tribe of South Africa, eastern Indian rock art also reflects the overwhelming role of the shamans. The images of the San art were the product of shamans in a state of trance: the images were a connection with a shamanistic spirit world and were depictions of what the shaman saw during his hallucination (Leakey 1996: 114-117). In southern Bihar and Jharkhand male and female shamans (locally called Bhagat and Bhaktini respectively) still play a very important role in the performance of various religious and social ceremonies in the tribal communities (Pls. 6a and 6b). It was interesting to find out that the frequently depicted grid figure in rock art is still used by the local shamans for locating missing animals

or other items.

Fifth, frequent depictions of snakes in the painted rock shelters in eastern India and especially the southern Bihar and Jharkhand (rock shelters IV. A. 1, I. A. 8, X. B.1, II.D.2, etc) also point to the ritualistic aspects of the rock art of this region. Snakes have been worshipped in many parts of India since ancient times. Their frequent depictions in the rock shelters of this region may have remote links with the development of the Naga cult in Bihar and subsequently in the whole of India (Prasad 2006). A large number of terracotta figurines found at the Chalcolithic sites of Chirand, Sonapur and some other sites in Bihar also support this premise.

Finally, a large number of rare and extremely important Kharoshti, Kharoshti-Brahmi, Brahmi and Shankh rock inscriptions found in the painted rock shelters and caves in southern Bihar and Jharkhand (Prasad 2010) depict the performance of various rituals such as magical rites (Rock shelter II.A.2) for harming opponents (Pl.7), sri-vrata (Rock shelter III.A.2.) for getting the favor of the goddess of



Pl. 6a: A village in Giridih, Jharkhand, India. A female shaman (Bhaktini), having entered into a state of trance, performing a ritual for improving the health of a sick child. Area code: A-III; Cat. E-III.



Pl. 6b: The spot in front of painted Rock shelter III.A.1, Ranigadar, Bihar, India. The local tribal communities use it for celebrating their annual religious ceremonies. The pair of new and old wooden sleepers and spiked planks used by the shamans during the performance of such religious activities are seen in the above photographs. Area code: A-III; Cat. E-III.



Pl. 7: Rock shelter II.A.1, Jharanwa, Bihar, India. A panel on the wall of this rock shelter depicts a circle with six spokes. Outside and along the rim of the circle appears an ornamented Kharoshti inscription palaeographically datable to around the second century AD, which can be read as *Naha Saga Aminashenam madhatre*. (translation: *Naha, the Saka, injures Aminashena*). It appears that Naha of a Saka family, who apparently hailed from the northwestern part of the subcontinent or homeland of Kharoshti, performed a local ritual in order to harm his enemy while passing through this area. Area code: A-III; Cat. E-IV.

wealth (Pl.8) and the depiction of Garuda-dhvaj, related to the worship of Vishnu (Rock shelter III.A.2). Datable from around the first century BC to the 9th and 10th centuries AD, these inscriptions provide ample evidence that some of the painted rock shelters were used for performing rituals and religious rites, not only by the indigenous people but also by the itinerant traders and travelers from the distant northwestern section of the Indian subconti-

ment. These rock inscriptions have important bearings on the history of India (Mukherjee 1997).

Conclusion

The eastern Indian rock art sites are mostly situated in remote and difficult tribal areas of the Chotanagpur plateau in the states of Bihar, Jharkhand and Odisha. Rock art of this region contains some very special features which

indicate that the painted rock art shelters were considered as sacred spaces and the prime motivation for producing rock art in this region was ritual or ceremonial. Selecting only one rock shelter out of many for making rock art, the predominance of symbols, the intricate designs, geometric signs and frequent depictions of ritual scenes, including images of snakes, shamans or therianthropes and also the rare epigraphic-cum-pictorial evidences of performing rituals and religious rites as well as some existing ethnic practices clearly support this premise. The prevalence of these predominant trends in the rock art of eastern India can be observed right from the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods down to the early historic period. Even today the ancient tradition of treating rock art sites as sacred spaces survives in some of the tribal communities in eastern India.



Pl. 8: Rock shelter III.A2, Ranigadar, Bihar, India. A portion on the wall displays a painted human figure standing facing front holding up a wheel with his upraised left hand. Above the diagram there is a Kharoshti-Brahmi inscription (datable to around the second century AD) painted in white which can be read as *Sri-vrata*. The term *Sri-vrata* denotes a religious vow concerning the worship of Sri or Laxmi (the goddess of wealth). Area code: A-III; Cat. E-IV



Pl. 9: Painted rock shelter Isco, Hazaribagh, Jharkhand, India. The local tribal communities still consider the painted rock shelters as sacred places and perform rituals and religious rites inside some of them. Area Code: A-III; Cat. E-III.

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THE ANSWERS ARE LIVING IN THE STONES...

A DISCUSSION ON THE TRANSFER OF COMMON COMMUNITY KNOWLEDGE, ENVIRONMENTAL AND SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE, BY USING VISUAL, ORAL AND MEMORY CUES WITHIN TOTEMIC SYMBOLS AND NATURAL FEATURES WITHIN PHOTOGRAPHY

Jacinta Warland (Australia)

Introduction

The space between the places

There are very few places left in Australia that can reveal the clan moiety knowledge and therefore existence of connection through totemic landforms. This is largely due to the consistent removal policies of post-colonial settlement practices, that of massacres and removals, of sending Aboriginal peoples away from their country, losing touch with their ritual Elders and their tribal lands. Mostly it appears that colonization has succeeded in erasing the spiritual and cultural connections so often misunderstood as pagan rituals and rites and inherent in the godless peoples' practice of the unknown. So, you may ask, how can we talk on these cultural practices if they have vanished into the past, with few talking the language or knowing the cultural protocols of their forefathers?

The cultural reality of knowledge transfer in a metaphysical sense, in spite of the aforementioned impacts on their descendant collective knowledge. I will expand on the theme of non-literate societies by illustrating the rich and diverse forms of metadata that were a part of the ceremonial enrichment for the young initiate participants. The 'civilized' creation of art, stories and songs that interwind to mimic and call forth the ancestral powers of Dreamtime Beings into a natural tangible force, to be revered, utilized and protected in the same breath. There is one such place, Dak Djerait, Werat Goanna country, Litchfield

National Park, Northern Territory. Traditional knowledge transfer in this nonliterate society occurred in a very complex and multisensory way, and fortunately for the people still living that cultural way, it exists even without the owners of that knowledge being allowed back onto 'country'. We will also discuss another example, the Manbarra people from sea country, and its associated 12 islands and seascapes, off the coast of Queensland, having similar dispersal policies, being moved off their cultural homelands, through economic pressures, and finally returning home to country through forced Aboriginal reserve policies, by the paternalistic early century Queensland Government.

My paper will explore the relationship of the transfer of cultural knowledge through absorbing oral histories, and practicing timeless rituals, finding the similarities in systems of this transferal, rather than a visual mirroring of their cultural practices. Much of the transfer of knowledge was enabled through the continuation of ceremony and retouch obligations on many of the sites and landscape features, which all hold spiritual and mythological values. Memory is plastic and needs to be expanded to ensure it is retained and continued. Deprived of country, memory (read cultural practices) had to find a new way to be transferred.

A small number of studies were completed



Figure 1. Emu dreaming from the Werat lands

over the last half century in these remote and therefore less explored area of Northern Australia, situated in the Northern Territory, and Eastern Queensland. These studies have, to some extent, validated the theory that identity and therefore connection to country, the premise for Native Title rights in Australia, is maintained by the knowledge of and continued performance of ritual obligations. These validations of cultural knowing include customary retouching of art and the performance of ceremonies associated closely with physical totemic values.

Lynne Kelly (2016) writes of her understanding of the ancient's memory code, a system of attaching knowledge to layers of underlying or embedded concepts that are triggered by either a portable memory aide, or visual cues in the rock art, using natural features or standing monoliths. I found her work fascinating, and to some extent easily assimilated into the information I have been given by the Elders in each group I work with.

All the Elders hail from very different countries within Aboriginal Australia, so they have no similar language or rituals, dance or totems, yet are similar in retention of genealogies into the far distant past. One point Kelly makes which is salient, is this.

"we cannot know what they were trying to convey, the meaning of the symbols, the actual content of the ceremonies or the knowledge they transmitted..." Kelly 2016:175.

But I ask you, what if we could know what it meant, understanding the art from thousands of years ago, petroglyphs dating back to 13000 BP? What if the systems of learning and the validation of the information within the art or petroglyphs holding story on these sites across the county, could be unlocked by developing a pre-literate approach to the information, learning the systems from the Elders, the ritual memory keepers?

I will draw on several authors, including my Indigenous co-authors, Elders Grandfather Walter Palm Island, Elder Nathaniel Surha and

of course Grandfather Ray Petherick Snr, who made the great leap forward in explaining the transition of information in a cultural system to everyday knowledge. They showed me that this could be unlocked, understanding that memory was transferred through a multiple approach of oral histories, dance, song, art, weaving, repetition and physical immersion into ones' country.

Ray Petherick Snr was told by his Werat ritual elders about this key element of identity, matching their understanding of the social standing and value that each small totemic symbol represented as a much deeper knowledge and connection than the scientific mind could see. By finding connections through how the totemic values were placed in their positions in, on, or under the physical features for each clan group, Ray Petherick Snr was able to demonstrate knowledge hidden within these totems relative to their position. The small seemingly unimportant anamorphs served as the front cover of a very complex story.

For the Werat group, this layered knowledge was transferred as they grew into it, in childhood they received some of the story, then after a time they would be given more, much like some stylized entry into western universities of knowledge. Therefore, their increase in knowledge would be enshrined into their standing within the group.

He offers his insight, through his families' stories about the people, their creation stories, their ancestors, their familial connections and their lasting knowledge of the land they lived on. This is more a narrative of understanding of what it meant to unveil the 'story within the stone', and how societies created a transfer of ritual knowledges and obligation to family and acceptance, than an anthropological summary. It is a journey into knowing why they continued this practice for millennium and celebrating a 'way of knowing' that has survived and transferred the systems of knowledge for millennium. (Pers Comm, N Surha 2017)



Figure 2. Werat elders dance the ceremony for the emu and sugar glider clans.

Through a concerted effort spanning some 65 years of research, Ray Petherick Snr, and his extended Aboriginal family have memorized and recorded accessible rock art sites, ceremony grounds, increase sites and kept a vigil of these ritual ceremonies and connections.

This research, based primarily on the lived experiences with his Aboriginal family, has enabled him to recover the identity of W.E.H Stanner's 'Lost Tribe' (1933). Stanner asserted the tribes found in the Daly River region, far from Litchfield National park, who had song, dance and ceremony, but no physical land on which to perform these ceremonies, were a LOST TRIBE. By brining the Elders bck to country, he illustrated that the songs and ceremonies of the residents of the non-traditional Port Keats people belonged to the Werat Goanna, Dak Djerait tribal area. Ray Petherick Snr had in fact, found their homelands. Werat were no longer lost.

Aboriginal Elders continue this connection through their nonliterate expressions, using unique systems of transferal, that resonate through the Elders to the younger Dak Djerait peoples. In 2017, Ray Petherick Snr released these very intimate and bona fide records,

wanting to demonstrate the complexity of each moiety and clan group within the region, collectively called the Dak Djerait nation. They spoke the Guwe language with 22 different clan groups dispersed over a range or homeland that is now encapsulated in the surroundings of the Litchfield National Park.

Using primary sources and many anecdotal discussions, we will be exploring the assumption that non-literate societies continued the transfer of knowledge through a complex system of art, ritual and ceremony. As observed by R Petherick Snr

"Many of the songs and dances used at the corroborees represent their geological features with matching rock art totems, painted in Litchfield National Park. The knowledge is imbedded in the songs, not just the music and the dance, they all have meaning, but mostly song lines, which tell of landscapes".

D Guse wrote of the history of these groups in the Northern Territory, in 2005. He suggested that European economic and social invasion into the traditional lifeways of those people had a major impact into their capacity to continue cultural practices in a way they would not have recognised pre-colonisation.

He goes on to state that the context is important to demonstrate the various impacts and influences on Aboriginal, traditional, social organisation and the ability of various local Aboriginal descent groups to cope with change. This influences the ability of Aboriginal families to disseminate traditional knowledge concerning places of significance according to Aboriginal tradition.

Guse came to understand through conversations with Werat ritual Elders and Ray Petherick Snr, that unlike the transmission of knowledge In Western society through institutionalized education, the transformation of knowledge with the Werat is deeply interwoven with spiritual, and social obligations.

The arrival of the British in the Northern Territory brought two fundamentally different, economic and religious systems into contact,

and subsequently into conflict. Guse 2005
This impacted in many ways, with a historic recount of the removal of the Werat from their traditional lands in late 1800's. One incident became a catalyst for the relentless removal of Werat people from their country.

The infamous Copper Creek attack occurred in September 1884 when a group of local Aborigines killed four European miners, John Lander, Thomas Schollert, Henry Souschildt, and Johannes Noltenius. These attacks were made after women were taken and raped then murdered by the miners. The aftermath of this attack resulted in a 2-year reign of terror in the Daly River region, homelands of the Werat peoples. In Guse's words

"The ensuing campaign of terror resulted in massive depopulation of Aboriginal groups in the Pine Creek region. Many Aboriginal families sought shelter and protection from the relentless persecution at the newly established missions on the Daly River." Guse 2005.31

Symbols that mean more

The totemic symbols, cyphers and signs represented Werat sacred sites and associated country on the Finnis/Reynolds River wetlands. This was the memory code for the Werat Dak Djerait countrymen. Much of the knowledge was taken with them, in song and rituals and dance, as they escaped the brutality of the invasion of white settlers. This was the time of unparalleled massacres occurring around the region, when gold and timber were the economic drivers for settlement in Northern Territory.

It is known that spirituality is tied to being on country for Aboriginal Australians, so like many other groups, Werat and Manbarra lost that connection and their access to their totems that were painted, inscribed and waxed onto the physical landscapes and associated with their creation stories. When they were forced off country, these physical cues were not able to be removed. Alternative memory systems would have to be adapted to ensure they kept their cultural stories and knowledge systems

intact. We do know Werat kept their songs and rituals, and performed them when they returned to country in the early 1980's.

That maintenance of language, song and dance kept the knowledge of their totemic spirits alive and they were able to go directly to performance or ritual sites through reciting songlines for that moiety. It showed unequivocally that for the Werat, songs would impart the description of the totemic animal, the natural actions it may have, like a turtle swimming in the water holes, and its value as an ancestral spirit of the land. The song taught the young person about the season to hunt the turtles, and the times that taking the eggs or females was forbidden. It had layers of information, and as the child learnt these songs, they become aware of the environment that surrounded them. They connected to the knowledge about this animal, its role in the creation of places and how to maintain the right environment to ensure it stayed in abundance.

This system of recall also had so many layers of genealogy, and the narratives that connected these people to their physical features within country again demonstrated the value of that inculturation through the songlines and dance.



Figure 3. Elders recall songs that tie them to the painted images on their sacred shelters, having been away from country for many generations they were able to find and identify these sites through song.



Figure 4.
Ray Petherick with
his children

as many as 24 recognised individual Aboriginal clan groups. Prior to European settlement, the clans and families that made up the Werat Aboriginal language group were part of this extensive complex and obviously social, spiritual, and economic network.

Ray Petherick, a white man, and Rosie Nangalagku, a goanna clan Maranunggu woman, who spoke the Guwe language, met when Ray Petherick Sr came to Walker Creek in 1948 after he was discharged from his army service in the south Pacific. From 1951, Ray began shooting crocodiles for the year. Crocodiles produced more profit than timber and offered a better way of life on the billabongs and swamps of the Reynolds and Finnis River. Through his marriage to Rosie Nangalagku, Ray and their family continued utilising the traditional bush foods of the billabongs and swamps. Ray was a well taught bushman, learning survival and hunting and identification of trees, medicine plants and potential food sources from the inherited family that he shared the landscape with.

Ray learnt about the expectations of being married to a Maranunggu woman. He was immersed into the cultural landscape as no

other white man had been privileged to do so. Much research was scientifically and objectively recorded of the Northern tribes, however no one had the daily lived experiences combined with the intimate cultural acceptance of Ray Petherick Sr. His story was invaluable.

He talked of the complexities of the groups he interacted with, suggesting Aboriginal cultural reality is highly structured through kinship, ceremony, and access to knowledge based on gender, initiation level and maturity. He was able to connect with the male Elders in a very intimate way, realizing very late in his life that his early circumcision as a child had afforded him profound respect culturally.

The damage wrought by the dispersal of clans through Daly River and Finnis River districts, made claiming for land rights very difficult, as continued normative rules of society and unbroken connection could not be proven. Land, language and cultural identity were systematically subjugated amongst the surviving groups including the Werat Aboriginal people, though not entirely lost.

Guse maintains that the language, used daily and sung frequently, kept the mythology and therefor the stories, and memory and connections alive. We can now see that the systems for learning complex packages of information could indeed be ascribed to a single activity, eg singing the ritual songlines, that hold multiple meanings. What is this cultural maintenance, and how was it maintained if their homelands, which is the spiritual cornerstone of Aboriginal existence, was not accessible?

The Werat are an example of an Aboriginal group that has maintained cultural autonomy but have changed to accommodate Western goods, policies, legislation, and societal change. Cultural and spiritual affiliation with the land is significant to the Werat. Each physical place had its own set of mythical totemic associations with spirits and ancestors, information that was imbedded into the stories recounted and songs and dance performed at different gatherings.

How knowledge is transferred and kept whole

Reinforcing the knowledge through oral histories was a process that became the cornerstone of embedding complex societal narratives spanning millennium of years, telling individual family history interwoven with daily lessons, science, abundance through environmental caretaking, and their ancestral beings. Another aspect of traditional knowledge transfer used extensively by the Werat was portable art, on bark, cloth and small stones. Abstract designs were often used, as they could be ascribed multiple layers of meaning, and be read by the initiated Elder differently to the less initiated or less senior in the clan group. Guse(2005) and MCWilliam(1993) both state the values that are transferred are still culturally acceptable as part of the changing reality for that language group. They maintain that although Aboriginal cultural reality has changed, cultural maintenance continues. This supports Lyn Kelly's (2017) assumption that learning systems were radically different from western understanding, yet able to contain and maintain deep historical knowledge and useful practical survival knowledge in layers of information embedded into the songs.

The main language the Werat now speak is Madngela, which originated south of the Daly River around the Hermit Hill area (MCWilliam 1993 :13). The last known speaker of the Werat language died in the late 1960s (MCWilliam,1993). English is a language that is spoken in addition to multiple Aboriginal languages. Western education is valued, and younger children are encouraged to attend school. The Werat know much the mythology of their region. The creation story includes six clans, one of those being the Werat. Two major players of the area are the cycad tree clan and the sugar glider possum clan, and the story delights young people as it explains creation in a very vivid way. Sugar glider ate the seeds of the cycad tree, he ate them wrong way, got very sick and vomited up the country. He flew everywhere vomiting as he went making

mountains and valleys and rivers. The story helps them to understand poison and right way to prepare the seeds, so they don't get sick. The relationship between ecology, seasonality and Aboriginal use of the landscape and implications for sustainable use, and long term security of tenure in a cultural context, are inseparable. It is sufficient to state that the ecology of the wetland environment is intimately known to the Werat Aboriginal people who lived there. This is passed through stories and ritual , so each animal has its value, each plant its story and each season its right time.

The cultural communication and ritual connections expressed over the many years to Ray Petherick, revealed a landscape full of multiple values, often unseen but known because of the social and community knowledge of that area. Places were significant to the Werat because of events and activities that no longer occurred at these locations. Some places or activities were defined as fighting and ceremony places where the Werat would regularly meet with their neighbors.

Another category that has been included in this group of memory places is historic places. This is defined as places or areas that had been significant in the lives of the Werat community and their ancestors.

These places or areas can be defined as dreaming places, dreaming tracks, sacred and dangerous places. This includes areas that are known as men and women's sites. Guse suggested these sites have various rules about who can visit these places and the level of information that can be conveyed.

As we ponder the question of cultural extinction, as this example of research clearly shows, we should also look for the positives and know that by ascribing the system of learning as the Werat and Manbarra nations did over millennia, we can resurrect the knowledge, values and associations with country, and possibly develop new messages to pass on.

Lyn Kelly suggested that memory aides in the form of oral narratives provided lessons on



Figure 5 Elder showing Irukandji lily to stop sting from jelly fish

all aspects of human endeavor, and morality. Her elaborate reconstruction of her personal historical song line using pathways and house blocks to anchor timelines and historical events helped to imitate the potential for learning through that ritualised system of integrated information.

As an example of this integrated learning that Lynne Kelly identifies as one of the memory processes used by Aboriginal groups, rituals performed before hunting often termed 'hunting magic', were usually looked as superstition by the early European onlookers. However, they often carried with them cues to assist the hunter, in terms of the behavior of the animal, the food it eats, or places it might hide, or the best way to approach it for a successful hunt. These are performed to enhance the potential of the hunter, not to entertain the uninitiated.

The Manbarra group had similar removal and dispersal histories, being removed from their idyllic island homes and pushed into the hinterland of the mainland through a concerted effort to claim the Islands for the service of the church initially as a leper colony, then subse-

quently as the last gazetted penal colony in Australia. There was also an economic value to the islands known as the Palm group of Islands. They had cypress and cork wood forests, abundantly strewn across the larger islands in great towering forests.

When asked about the potential of learning the bush tucker of the places on Palm Island, Elder Walter Palm Island simply said, "We know it from our grandfathers".

As he walked through the plants and shrubs close to the water's edge, he pointed to a low wide leaved ground lily, and said "That one cures jelly fish sting".

This advice was quietly offered, and I wondered if the marine scientists staying two islands over on Orpheus, had even asked these professors of the country, if they had any cures for the sting of the Irukandji which was prevalent in the waters around the populated beaches of Townsville and Cairns. As I followed him, taking in the key values of each plant he stopped to caress or offer to me, I was humbled by this profound knowledge that he held with such humility.

Manbarra passed their rituals and dance, art and knowledge through a blood system. The

genealogy of each family held the core information for certain things, one example being the plants across the island that held values that either helped cure ailments or could be poisonous in the wrong hands. Morality, 'right way' and proper use were all aspects of the learning that was passed on through story and art to the younger ones.

Each clan was responsible for their own totem, the stingray was particularly important in creation stories, so all children knew the dance of the stingray, and knew to respect and not harm the stingrays they saw on their walks through the sandy beaches on Palm.

The islands are part of the creation story of the stingray who flapped his wings and pushed up the ground to form the twelve islands. The shape of the sea country that is called Manbarra is a stylized stingray, encompassing the full body of the stingray and the last outer islands are the tail.

Blood was key to knowing who was who, genealogy was kept alive in stories and songs, certain people held their clan stories and when it was time, they handed on or "gave" that story to the next in line. It was considered an honor to be asked to carry story. Manbarra kept the 'Murri Lore' alive, citing the first principle of respect as their cornerstone to the continuation of all that made them Manbarra.

The knowledge that these elders hold now is still able to be distilled and passed on, although our western view of learning needs to take a back seat and encourage the memory codes of the oral specialists of the last millennium to come out and be celebrated once again.

DISCALIMER: According to standards set by the (Queensland Government) in Australia, the restrictions individual researchers have when recording and reproducing images from sites that hold Traditional images of art or petroglyph inscription, must include a respect for authorization of that reproduction. Due to the spiritual and ceremonial connections with the 'Dreaming', the art of Aboriginal people should

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NOTES AND NEWS

ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

WHAT IS CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY?

Conceptual Anthropology is the discipline concerned with the arts, rituals, beliefs and other intellectual and spiritual expressions; it combines various sectors of the human and social sciences to consider the meaning of behavior, habits and other cultural expressions, using experiences of the past to understand the present and conceive the options for the future. The concept gestated for some time until it was formalized during the UISPP Congress in Florianópolis, Brazil, in 2011, setting new horizons for human sciences. The participants in the session CISENP “International Scientific Committee on the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples” decided to make of the newly proposed discipline, Conceptual Anthropology, the concern of the Committee. The goal of this new discipline is to understand human behavior and cultural trends, recurring and isolated phenomena, predictable and unpredictable evolution and change not only in economy and technology, also in social, intellectual and spiritual life, relying upon a vast assemblage of knowledge and concepts from various disciplines, from psychology to history, from archeology to sociology. It is a permanent journey of discovery and emotions. Archaeology and anthropology, the history of art and history of religion, can benefit enormously from cooperation with sociology, psychology, semiotics and other sectors of the human and social sciences. Each discipline has its own memory as the basis of research and the advancement of the discipline itself. Combining disciplines is also a union of memories and concepts for a broader base of research and

culture. Today media replace technical and historical memory. But the human mind’s insights and associations are still irreplaceable. Our being and our actions are rooted in memory. Human behavior relies on memory. When mistakes are made, they often derive from the darkening of memory. On the other hand, positive results come from its good use. Here we are not talking about an electronic memory, but that kind of memory that turns into intuition and rediscovery, the memory coming from the deep well of human minds. Every human being, like every discipline, focuses on certain aspects of memory and neglects others. Together, various disciplines share wider dimensions of memory. As it becomes clear from the contributions of nearly 200 authors from about 40 countries, in the issues of **EXPRESSION** magazine of the last five years, such an approach offers an immense contribution to the study of the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples. One of the purposes is the common commitment to the understanding of intellectual and spiritual expressions, with the shared support of multidisciplinary research. As students of various disciplines, anthropologists and archaeologists, psychoanalysts, educators, sociologists, semioticians, philosophers and historians, we all wish to face questions which a shared commitment can help clarify. The meeting of different disciplines offers a new dimension of knowledge and greater capacity for analysis and synthesis. Faced with the fashion of extreme specialization, which risks reducing scholars to technicians, Conceptual Anthropology goes against the tide. No doubt technicians are needed, but we seek a cultural vision and a broad overview

in the common work of the humanities and social sciences. Let technicians and intellectuals be aware of their different roles, let them do their own jobs and then enrich each other through the output of their efforts. Research has a real social function when it produces culture. When culture is creative and innovative, it promotes the growth of intellect and stimulates new thought. The dialogue is open to all disciplines of the humanities and social sciences as well as to those who do not identify themselves with any specific discipline or who just want to listen. Each listener is a potential transmitter of ideas and ideas grow and spread not only through those who produce them, but also through those who listen. The dialogue does not stop and is a source of growth and enrichment, and also of cooperation and friendship. Research is a provocative, stimulating and inspiring source of awareness. The world crisis is a cultural crisis, a crisis of values and wisdom that has economic, social and political consequences. Economic problems may find solutions but without strong cultural bases society will not solve the cultural crisis and the long-range problems of social and economic stability. Reviving the role of culture is our modest joint effort to contribute to overcoming the crisis.

RETHINKING EINSTEIN KNOWLEDGE VS. IMAGINATION

"The true sign of intelligence is not knowledge but imagination" (Albert Einstein).

May we claim that both of them are needed? Imagination without knowledge and knowledge without imagination are the two extremes of dullness.

E.A.

APPRENTICESHIP IN CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The apprenticeship, under the guidance of Prof. Emmanuel Anati, the founder of Conceptual Anthropology, may last from a minimum of two months to a maximum of one year. It grants the apprentice the title of Research Assistant. The apprenticeship is oriented to the acquisition of practical operational abilities and conceptual formation; it includes participation in research, editorial activities, compilation, organization and layout of exhibitions and publications, the arrangement and cataloguing of ethnological collections, and the planning of cultural and scientific projects. It is a way to touch with your hands and your mind the practical work of producing culture. Traditional learning as an accumulation of theoretical notions is enhanced by applying the notions in practical activities, learning to do by doing. During their stay in the Camonica Valley, the student will have 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 vita; a copy of record of studies; a copy of 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.

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Graduate students in anthropology and ethnography are given the opportunity for training as 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 a catalogue of a given collection, eventually to be published under the name of the compiler. The successful experience gives the apprentice two important additions to his/her curriculum vitae: the publication of a scientific work, and the position of Assistant Curator of Ethnography for the 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 mastered the English language and possess a university degree in human sciences. During their active presence the accepted candidates have access to self-catering accommodation on campus at a student fee. Applications should include a letter expressing motivation, a record of studies, a copy of an identity document and any other document worthy of consideration. Applications should be addressed by email to: atelier.etno@gmail.com.

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF THE UISPP

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

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Very simple! Be active and you are a member. You express your ideas, participate in debates, develop dialogues with other members orally, by email, or through the pages of EXPRESSION magazine. If you have something to say this is your home. Membership to CISENP is free of material charges, no fees requested; it just implies your active conceptual presence. Membership is not exclusive to prehistorians; it is open to all the human and social sciences. It is advisable, but is not compulsory, to be a member of UISPP. CISENP is a free association, free also from bureaucratic procedures.

THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

SESSION XXIX AT THE UISPP

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

Paris, 4-9 June 2018

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

(President Prof. Emmanuel Anati)

The visual arts, music, dance, rituals, myths, traditions and other aspects of the human conceptual expressions, reveal the peculiarities of each society and, at the same time, the common intellectual and spiritual heritage that unites humanity. The CISENP (International Committee on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expression of Non-literate Peoples) is conveying its session at the forthcoming UISPP Congress 2018. As in previous occasions, colleagues from various disciplines are invited to share experience, ideas and scientific approaches for a better understanding of the human creativity and behavior, for a broad-minded study and understanding of what makes the roots of the present. Prehistoric archaeology is in urgent need of this new landscape of "Conceptual Anthropology", for a step forward. It is a new academic approach for building up a solid future for the study of man. Archaeology, both prehistoric and historic, needs a constant and open dialogue with other disciplines. The study of man includes anthropology, sociology, psychology, human geography, semiotics, art history, and other disciplines that have to join efforts. This is the aim of Conceptual Anthropology. What is to be the image of prehistoric sciences in the future? How can we convey to a large public the notions and wisdom accumulated

in the study of the roots? Understanding the past is necessary to build a future. And not only: it is necessary to understand the present, our present. The knowledge of the roots is the elementary base of culture. In the tribal world young people have been and still are being initiated to the knowledge of their past. The study of prehistory has to awaken interest and passion in the public: there is nothing more fascinating than discovering the background of human behavior, the emotions and passions that have caused the intellectual and spiritual adventures of humankind. This is the message that we can convey to our society. Let us join efforts to develop public awareness, education, formation, engagement, research, for a broader understanding of our past and our present. We can convey this passion only if we have this passion. You are welcome to join: atelier.etno@gmail.com

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VOLUMES 1 - 20

177 AUTHORS from 40 COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS
Australia	9	Kosovo	1
Austria	3	Malta	1
Argentina	7	Mexico	3
Armenia	2	Morocco	1
Belgium	3	Namibia	1
Botswana	1	Netherlands	1
Brazil	6	Norway	2
Bulgaria	1	Poland	2
Canada	4	Portugal	7
China	29	Russia	3
Colombia	1	South Africa	4
Denmark	2	Spain	8
France	11	Sri Lanka	1
Germany	1	Sweden	1
Hungary	1	Switzerland	4
Israel	3	Tunisia	1
India	9	UK	9
Italy	14	Ukraine	2
Japan	1	USA	14
Jordan	1	Zimbabwe	1

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Expression 1

September 2013

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

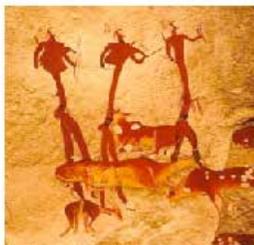


Expression 2

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).



Expression 3

January 2014

Discussion about the targets of EXPRESSION research group



Expression 4

April 2014

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

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

Expression 5

June 2014

Additional abstracts for the UISPP World Congress "Atapuerca", Burgos, Spain

With articles by Li An and Junsheng Wu (China), Aoyungerile and Ying An (China), Beatriz Menéndez/Quijada César/Vinas Ramon/Albert Rubio and Santos Neemias (Mexico, Spain), Margalit Berriet (France), Ana M.S. Bettencourt (Portugal), Bo Cao (China), Chakravarty Somnath (India), Manuel Edo/Ferran Antolín/Pablo Martínez/M^a Jesús Barrio, Elicinia Fierro/Trinidad Castillo/Eva Fornell/Georgina Prats/Remei Bardera and Concepció Castellana (Spain), Pengcheng Hu (China), Yanqing Jin and Xiaoxia Zhang (China), Fei Li (China), Gang Li (China), Hao Li and Biao He (China), Federico Maillard (Switzerland), Xiaomei Mu and Li-Na Zhang (China), Dana Shaham and Anna Belfer-Cohen (Israel), Zeming Shi/Xiaoxia Zhang and Yanqin Jing (China), Xiaoyong Sun and Jiaying Zhang (China), Viktor Vetrov (Ukraine), Liangfan Wang and Xiaoming Luo (China), Jiakai Wu (China), Qiuping Zhu (China), Liefeng Zhu and Xu Wang (China).

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N°5 June 2014



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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)

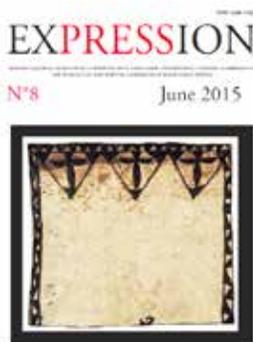


Expression 7

March 2015

Spiritual dimensions of rock art

With articles by Daniel Arsenault (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 Tanda (Italy), Zeming Shi and Yanqing Jing (China).

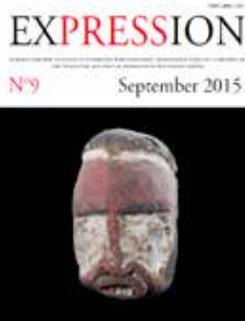


Expression 8

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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).



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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), Shensi 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).

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MEANING OF ABSTRACT SIGNS?
People are using abstract symbols, with signs and death.
Austrian Aboriginal painting, article on signs, on 30-32 by Tsoni, in 1982.

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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).

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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).



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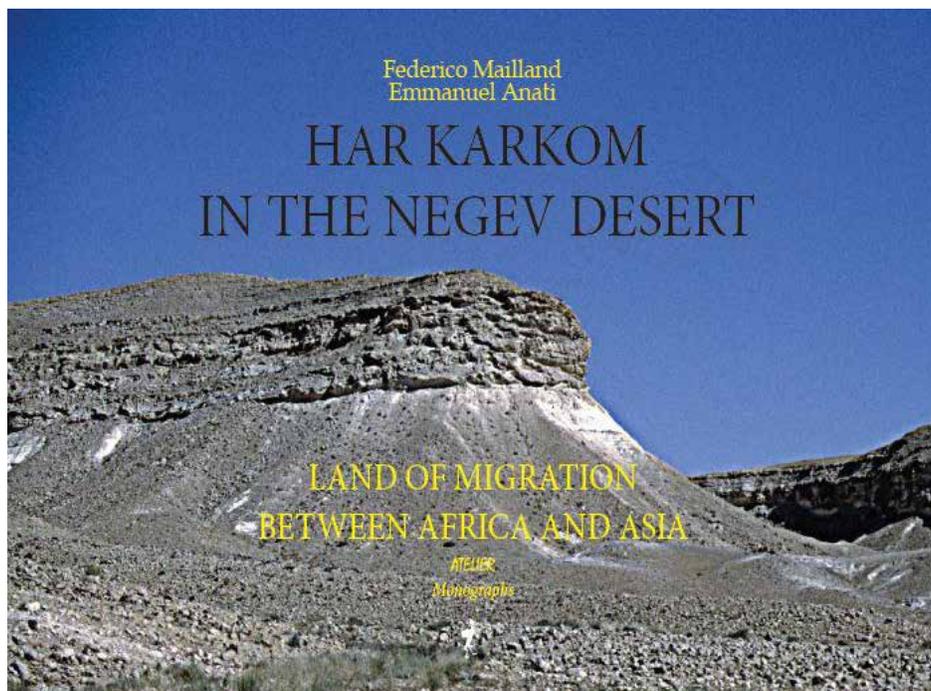
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NEW BOOKS

Mailland F., Anati E.

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



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. 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. Camping sites at the foot of the mountain reveal the presence of multitudes. 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.

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 - III. Lower Palaeolithic
 - IV. The late lower Palaeolithic
 - V. Middle Palaeolithic
 - VI. Early Upper Palaeolithic
 - VII. Upper Palaeolithic
 - VIII. Late Upper Palaeolithic
 - IX. Neolithic Period
 - X. BAC, Bronze Age Complex
 - XI. Iron Age
 - XII. Persian and Hellenistic Periods
 - XIII: Roman-Byzantine Age
 - XIV: From RBY to Islamic
 - XV: Rock Art
 - XVI. Conclusions
- Bibliography

Orders: atelier.etno@gmail.com

NEW BOOKS

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.

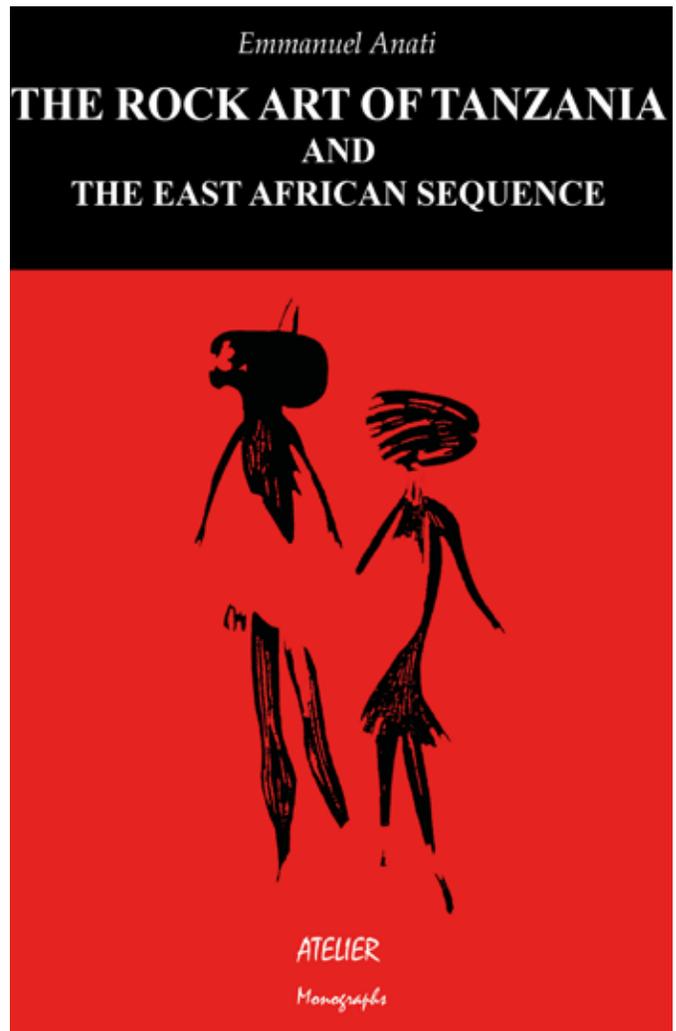
Stylistic phases and periods are covering millennia.

Each phase is defined, revealing the variations of memories and beliefs. Chapters of a newly discovered history describe the art of the Bantu farmers, and that of previous human groups, of Nilotic pastoralists, of different groups of hunters and of peculiar vegetarian food gatherers. New light is shed on the most explored and least known continent.

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3. THE CULTURAL SEQUENCE
4. REVIEW OF ROCK ART IN EASTERN AFRICA
5. HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY
6. HOW OLD IS THE ROCK ART OF TANZANIA?
7. THE STYLISTIC SEQUENCE OF TANZANIA
 - 7.1 THE LATE 'WHITE BANTU' STYLE
 - 7.2 THE PASTORALISTS STYLE
 - 7.3 THE STONE-BOWL-CULTURE STYLE
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 - 7.5 THE ART OF THE EARLY GATHERERS
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8. THE HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL SEQUENCE
9. SOME PARALLELS WITH THE SOUTH AND NORTH OF THE CONTINENT
10. THE ROCK ART OF TANZANIA IN THE EAST AFRICAN CONTEXT
- BIBLIOGRAPHY

2018, Anati Emmanuel, *The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence*, Capo di Ponte, Atelier, 142 pp. 107 tavv. 20€



Orders: atelier.etno@gmail.com

NEW BOOKS

GUARDARE L'INVISIBILE RELIGIONE, MITI E SPIRITI DEGLI ABORIGENI AUSTRALIANI UNA ANALISI DI ANTROPOLOGIA CONCETTUALE

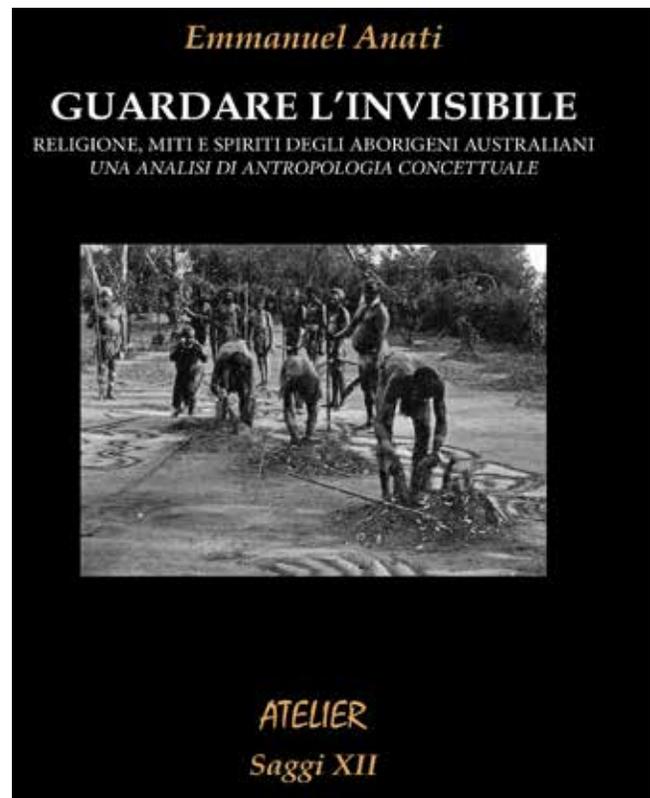
(SEEING THE INVISIBLE: RELIGION, MYTHS AND SPIRITS OF ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIA: A STUDY IN CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Italian edition)

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. Religion is as old as Homo sapiens, if not earlier, but how was their religion? This book tells us even more: not only on the origins of religion, also on the origins of philosophy. The immense wealth of myths, the vision of genesis, the search of reasons, of cause and effect in life and nature, bring us back to the oldest roots of beliefs and way of thinking. It is surprising how primal beliefs resemble those of some modern religions.

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- II- Religione e magia (Religion and magic)
- III- Concettualità e ideologia (Conceptuality and ideology)
- IV- Dreamtime, l'epoca dei sogni (Dreamtime, the epoch of dreams)
 - 1. La genesi (Genesis)
 - 2. Dinamica dell'evoluzione (Dynamics of evolution)
 - 3. I tre tempi del passato (The three tenses in the past)
 - 4. Senza inizio nulla può esistere (Nothing can exist without a beginning)
- V- Il totemismo e il concetto dell'eterna rinascita (Totemism and rebirth)
- VI- Il churinga, sintesi dell'identità (The churinga, a synthesis of identity)
- VII- L'animismo e la mito-storia (Animism and myth-history)
- VIII- Gli spiriti ancestrali (The ancestral spirits)
 - 1. Il primo uomo: Dara-mulun (The first man: Dara-mulun)
 - 2. Gli spiriti curiosi: Ngurunderi (The inquisitive spirits: Ngurunderi)
 - 3. Il mito delle sorelle Djanggau che fecero molti figli (The myth of the Djanggau sisters, who gave birth to many sons)
 - 4. La matrona Kunapipi (Kunapipi the matron)
 - 5. Il Serpente Arcobaleno: Nga-lyod (The rainbow snake: Nga-lyod)
 - 6. I gemelli lanciafulmini (Lightning Brothers)

2018, Anati Emmanuel, *Guardare l'Invisibile; Religione, miti e spiriti degli aborigeni australiani. una analisi di Antropologia Concettuale*, Capo di Ponte, Atelier, 140 pp. 29 tavv. 20€



- 7. Gli spiriti Mimi, folletti della foresta (The Mimi spirits)
- 8. Gli spiriti del vento che impongono disciplina: Nadjurlum e Nagorrgho (The wind spirits, who impose a discipline: Nadjurlum e Nagorrgho)
- 9. Gli spiriti delle nubi, i Wandjina (Wandjina, the cloud spirits)
- 10. Gli spiriti malefici: Nam-arrordo e Nam-ornde (The evil spirits: Nam-arrordo e Nam-ornde)
- 11. La grande madre vegetariana: Warra Mara Ngundj (The ancestral vegetarian mother: Warra Mara Ngundj)
- IX- Genesi dei miti (Genesis of myths)
 - 1. A quando risale l'attuale mitologia aborigena? (When was the actual aboriginal mythology born?)
 - 2. L'archivio della memoria e il meccanismo della concettualità (The archive of memory and the dynamic of conceptuality)
- X- Conclusioni (Conclusions)
- Bibliografia (Bibliography)

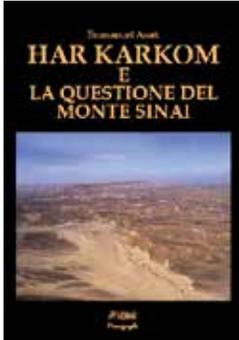
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ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

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

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



Anati, E., 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

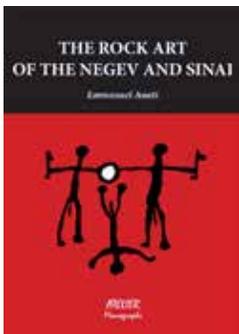
The findings of shrines and encampments of the Bronze Age at Har Karkom, a mountain located in one of the driest places and inhospitable parts of the Negev desert, in the north of the Sinai Peninsula, arouses a global debate on the hypothesis that this mountain can identify with the biblical Mount Sinai.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



Anati, E., 2016: *Esodo tra mito e storia* (*Exodus between myth and history*), Italian edition

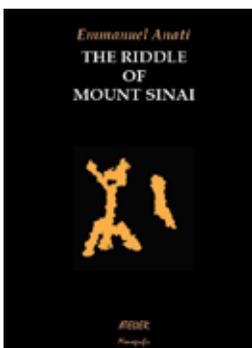
Capodiponte (Atelier) pp. 340; 138 ill., Analytical Appendix., € 40,00

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.



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

The book deals with a new theme of Near-eastern archeology: the rock art of the Negev and Sinai. It presents new discoveries and reconsiders content 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.2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English

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

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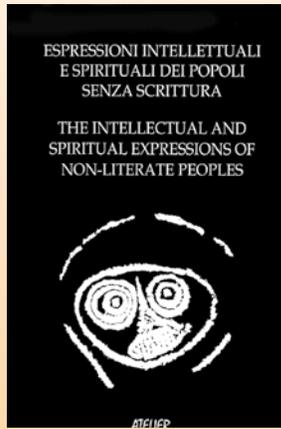
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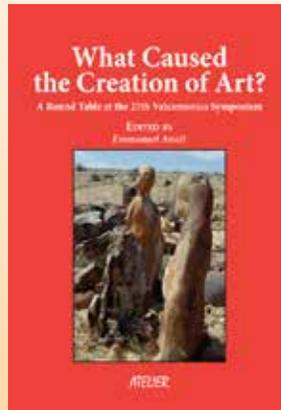
The Original Signs of Visual Art. Semiotic reflections from Anati's works (in Italian)

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 and Sociology.



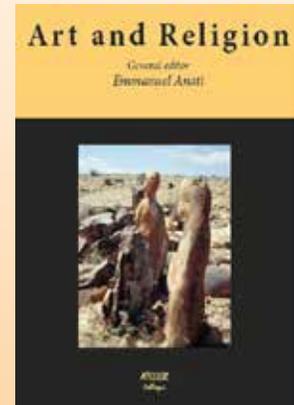
The intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples (in Italian, English and French)

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 Edited by Emmanuel Anati

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 generations.



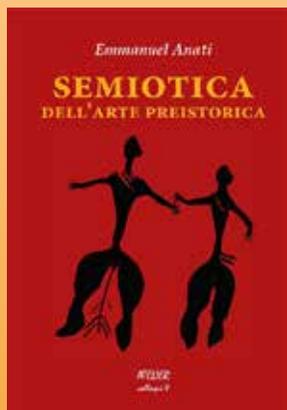
Art and religion

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. The confrontation of different ideas and methods is contributing to a reconsideration of some past simplifications.



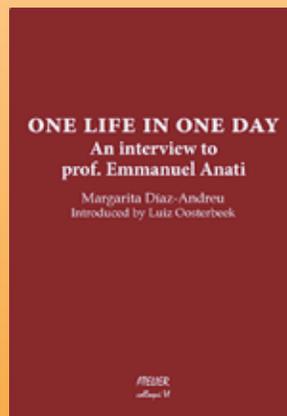
Sogno e memoria (Dream and Memory: for a Psychoanalysis of Prehistory) (in Italian and French)

A series of papers presented at Congresses of Sociology, Psychology and Psychoanalysis. The analysis of human behavior and of graphic art expressions is opening new perspectives to the social sciences and multidisciplinary cooperation. The meeting attended by scholars of various disciplines, promoted the exploration of unusual trails in the forest of the humanities.



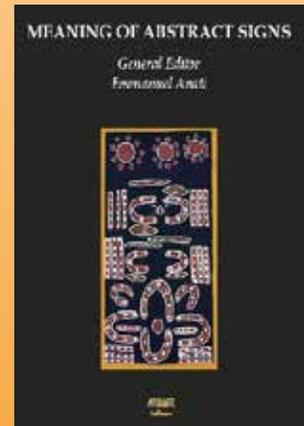
Semiotica dell'arte preistorica (Semiotics of Prehistoric Art) (in Italian and French)

The conceptual definition of forms, the metamorphosis of shapes into sounds, and of sounds in forms, of ideas into images, of thoughts into words, and other intellectual processes, are present from the early times of human evolution. These recurring patterns stimulated, over the years, some of the author's papers and lectures in congresses and conferences of semiotics, sociology and psychology.



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 Diaz-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. It is a story full of messages that should interest every young scholar intending to devote his/her life to the humanistic sciences.

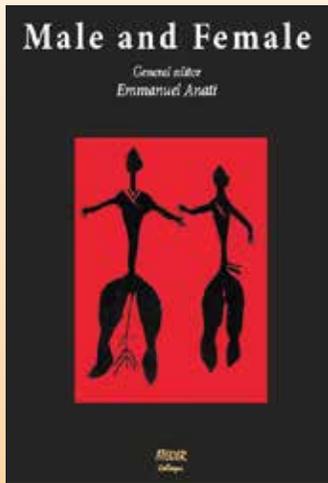


Meaning of Abstract Signs

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

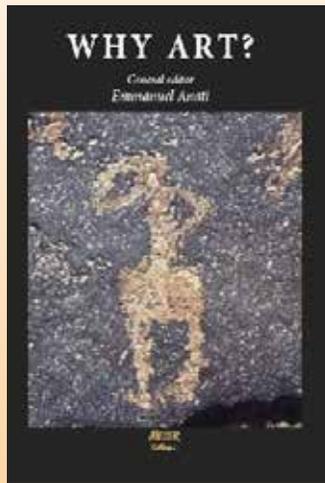
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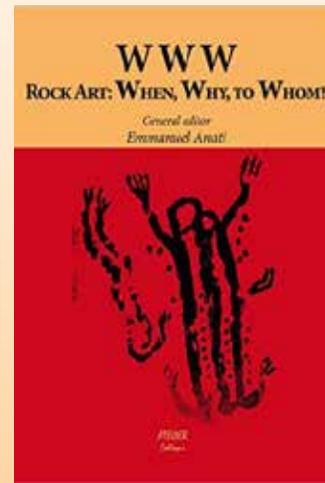
Male and Female

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



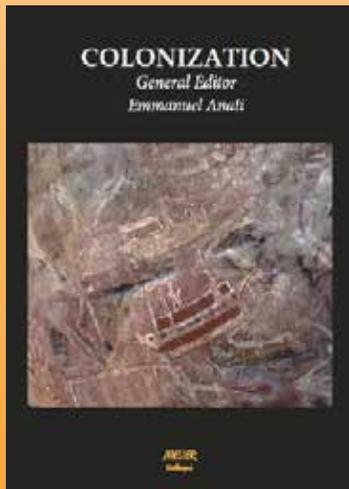
Why Art

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



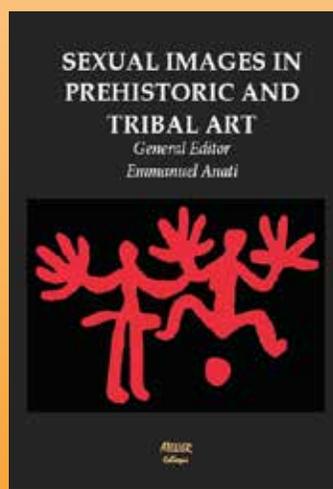
WWW - Rock Art: when, why and to whom

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? Fifty authors from five continent face the query: when, why and to whom



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



Ethnogastronomy. The kitchen of peoples (in Italian)

Among the 10,000 people who live in more than 200 countries around the planet, the cuisines of eleven points of the globe were selected, describing them in their essential habits and characters, providing acceptable recipes from western taste, and achievable with readily available products. This book has a dual purpose: 1) to introduce the ethnogastronomy as a research topic that arouses the interest and sympathy of many people, to allow the reader to gain an overview of the similarities and differences, and 2) to experience cuisines and different tastes, for an expansion not only of their own taste, but also the knowledge and appreciation of others. By understanding the different taste, you discover how to appreciate not only the food, but also the smiles of the people.

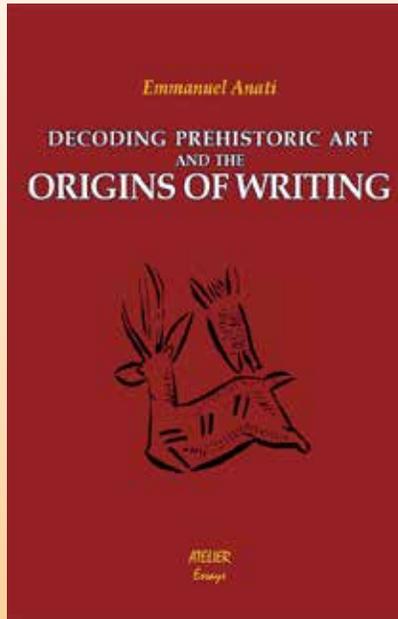
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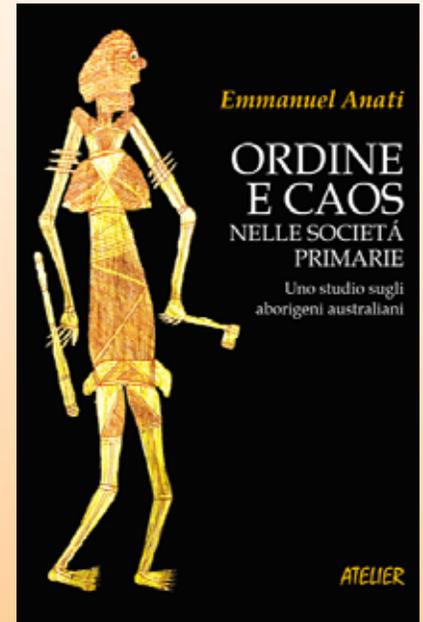
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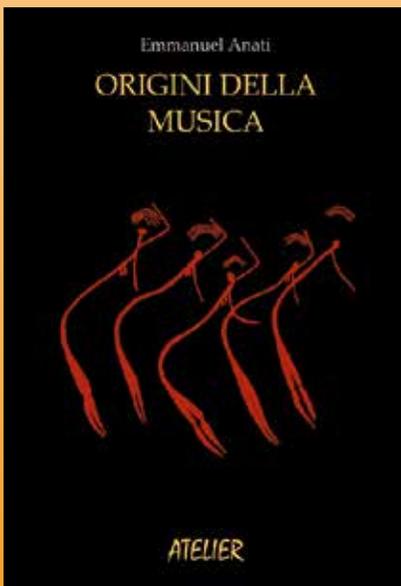
Nascere e crescere da nomadi.
La relazione madre-figli nelle società primarie
(Living as Nomads, the Relation Mother-Child in Primary Societies) (in Italian)
A study of constants and variants between human societies of hunters-gatherers and urban societies in the mother-child relationship reveals archetypes and variants.
The mother-child relationship is the backbone of all species of mammals and acquires special rules in primates.
Humans developed peculiar trends. In human societies variations of such roles are affected by economic and social roles taken by the mother and by her social status in the various cultural setting.



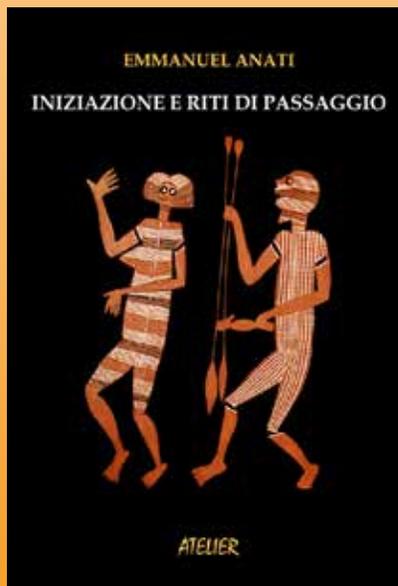
Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing
This text examines the cognitive process that led to the invention of writing and highlights constants of memorization and associative synthesis held in the mind of *Homo sapiens* for thousands of years.
Some examples of decoding prehistoric art give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



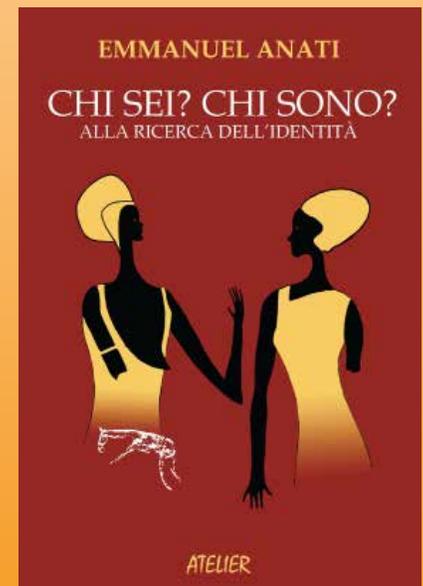
Ordine e Caos nelle società primarie. Uno studio sugli aborigeni australiani. (Order and Chaos in Primary Societies. A study on Australian Aborigenes)(in Italian)
Order and chaos are compared as a principle of the binary concept that characterizes the search for an elementary logic of what man is able to hypothesize about the behavior of the world around him. To what extent does the order of nature determine social order in primary societies?



Origini della Musica
(The Origins of Music) (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
(Initiation and Initiation Rites) (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.

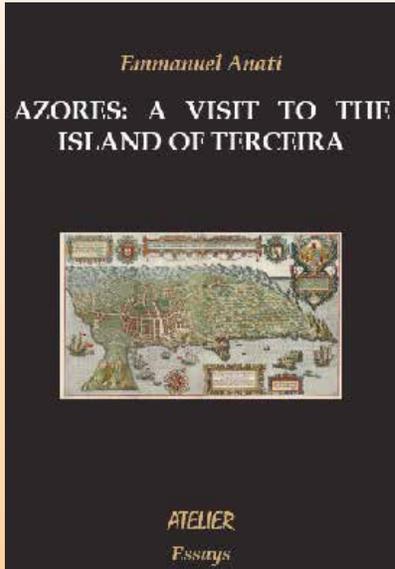


Chi sei? Chi sono?
Alla ricerca dell'identità (Who are you? Who am I? A search for identity) (in Italian)
The problems arising from the search for identity begin in the infant and accompany the human being to the last breath. Defining the identity of the person, of the nation or "race", concerns all 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?

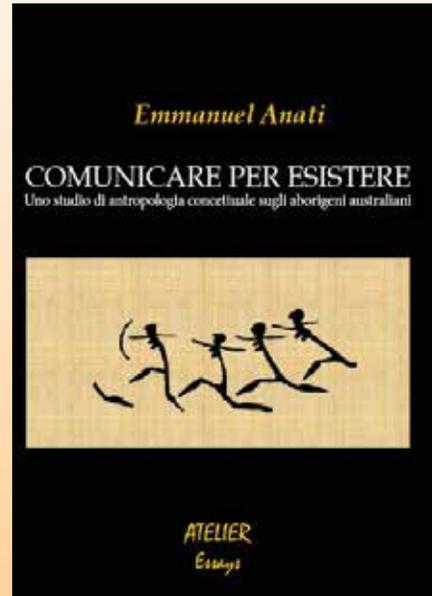
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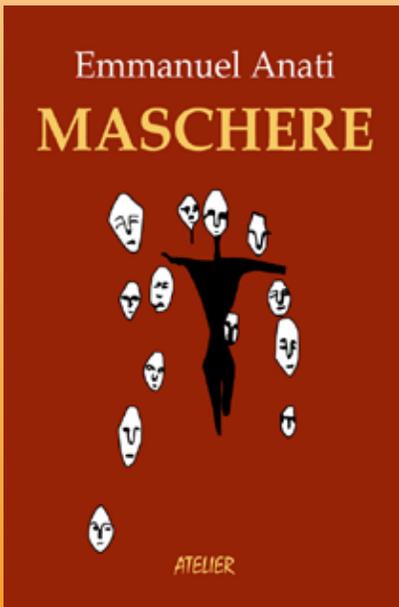
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Azores: a visit to the Island of Terceira
When did man first arrive to the Azores islands? The Portuguese colonization in the 15th century marked the beginning of the official history. Is there a history before this history? The controversy, between 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.



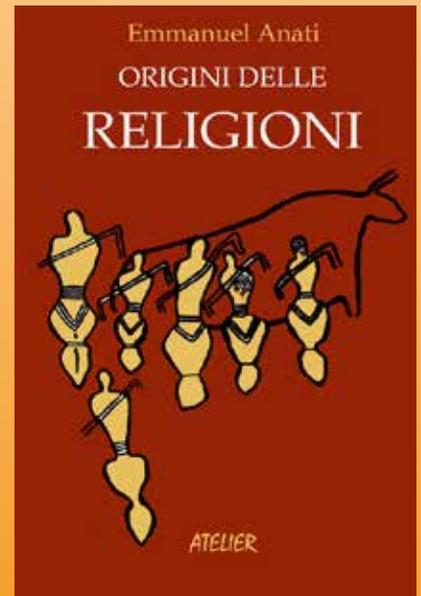
Comunicare per esistere
Uno studio di antropologia concettuale sugli aborigeni australiani (Communicate for survival. A study of conceptual anthropology of Australian Aborigens) (in Italian)
This text, inspired by travel notes of about 40 years ago, seems now to refer to prehistory. Aboriginal people 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. Then we could still meet small clans moving from a bivouac to a bush camp, naked, holding their spears and their boomerangs, hunting and gathering day to day what nature offered.
They lived in a boundless Garden of Eden that is no longer the same. Communication was as essential to survival yesterday as it is today.



Maschere (Masks) (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.



Mito tra utopia e verità (Myth between utopia and truth) (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.

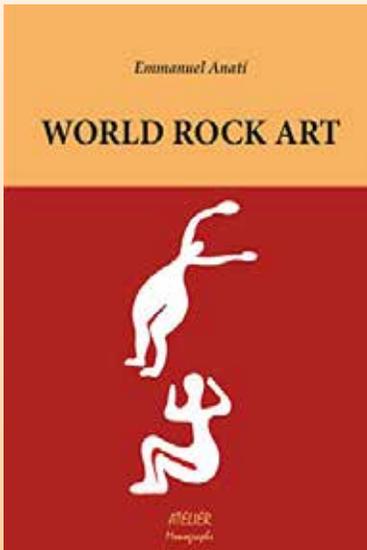


Origini delle religioni (The Origins of Religions) (in Italian)
How and when did religions originate? The study of prehistoric art is bringing a revolution to our knowledge of the origins of religious thought. Rock art sites have held for millennia the function of places of worship and tribal identity, 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.

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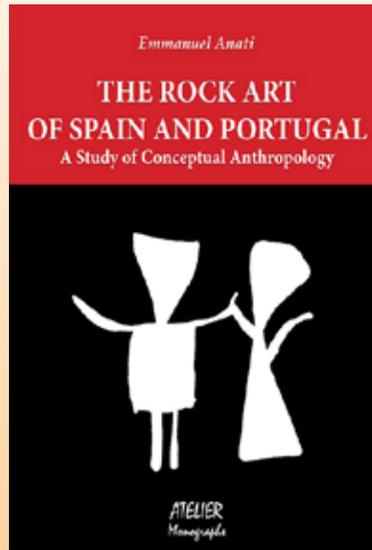
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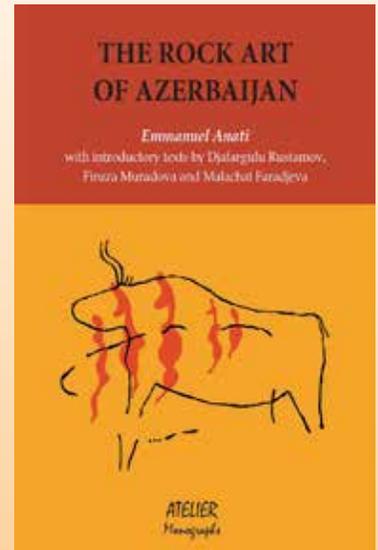
World Rock Art

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



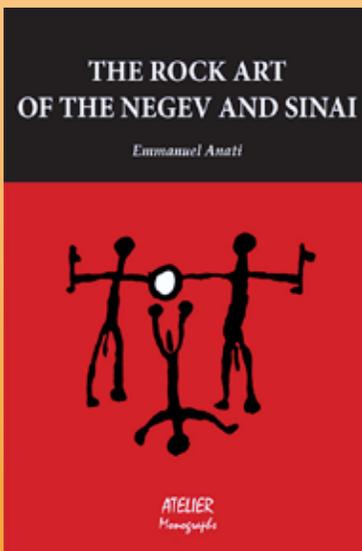
The Rock art of Azerbaijan

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.

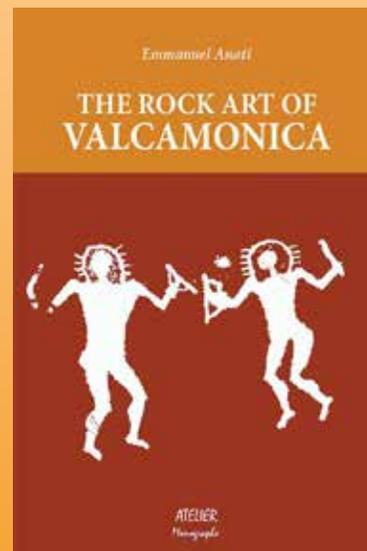
Showing influence and connections with both Europe and the Near East, the succession of phases of rock art illustrate the movements of cultures and ideas from Paleolithic to recent times, shedding new light on the early movement of *Homo sapiens*.

New chapters in the history of art are revealed by beautiful design and stylization.



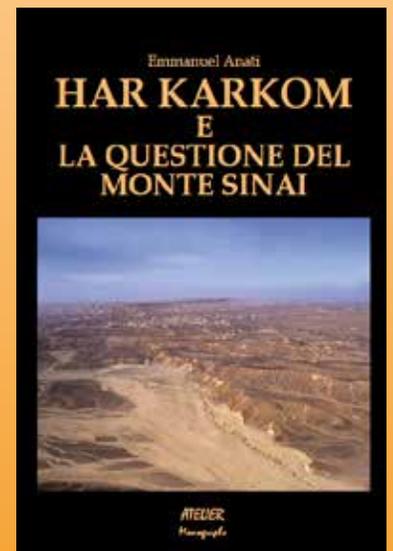
The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai

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



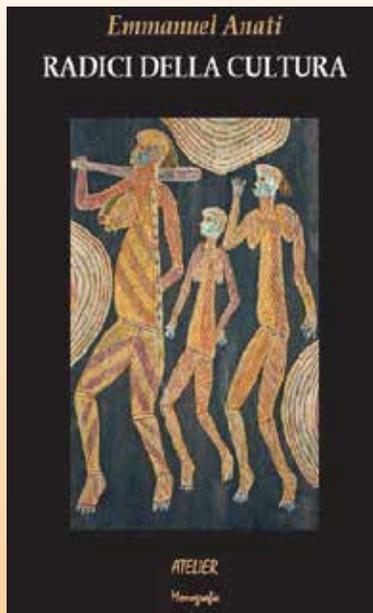
Har Karkom and the Question of Mount Sinai (in Italian)

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. 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 illustration. It updates on recent discoveries, analyzing their possible historical significance, and suggesting a new vision of the events narrated in the Bible.

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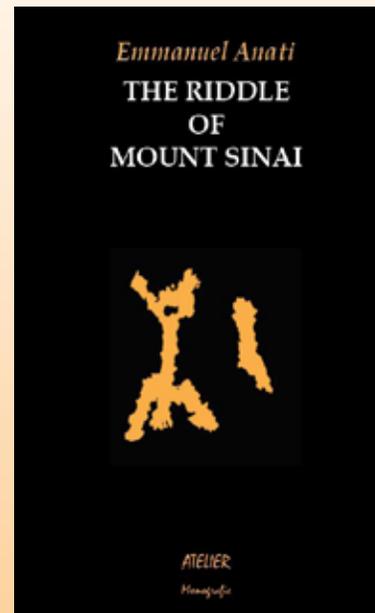


Radici della Cultura (Roots of Culture) (in Italian)

The history of culture is the history which unifies 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 projects us to the future.

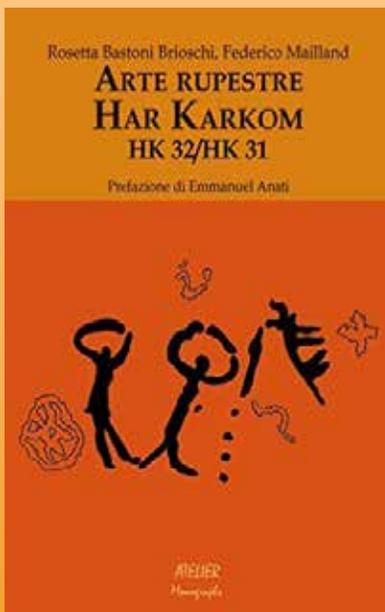
This book is a synthesis of the wonderful conceptual evolution of our species, which sets the actual reality in the evolutive dynamic, defining the identity of this species, of which we are sons and protagonists.



The Riddle of Mount Sinai

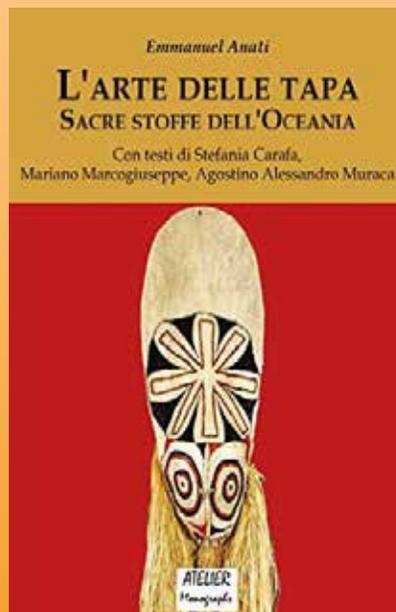
What is the true story behind the biblical narration of Exodus? The discoveries of the Italian archaeological expedition at Har Karkom, in the Negev Desert, tell the hitherto unknown story of the sacred mountain in the heart of the desert of Exodus, reflecting surprising similarities to the events and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

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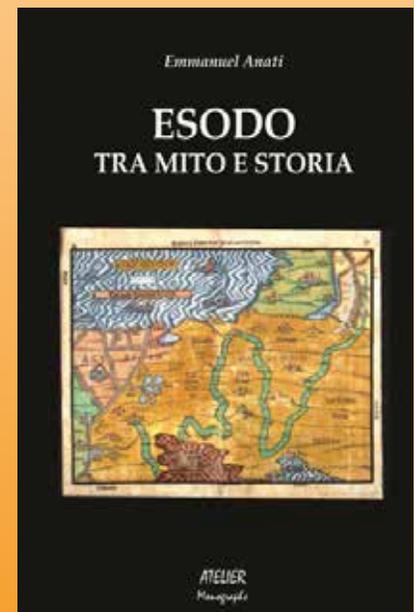
Rock Art - Har Karkom HK 32/HK 31 (in Italian)

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.



The Art of Tapa Sacred Clothes of 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. The manufacture of tapa is an art that has been passed down for thousands of years and survives nowadays, although incorporated in social systems that are adapted to modern society.



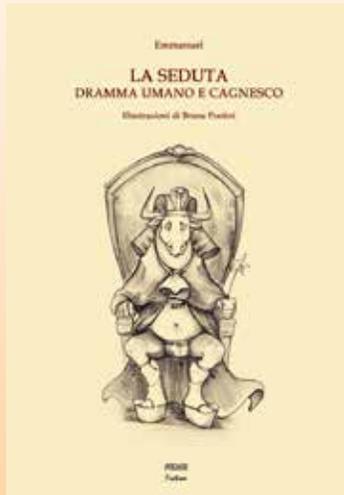
Exodus Between myth and history (in Italian)

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. The location near the Saint Catherine's monastery is a Byzantine proposal that many scholars believe baseless. New archaeological discoveries suggest a reconstruction of the route of exodus and its historical context.

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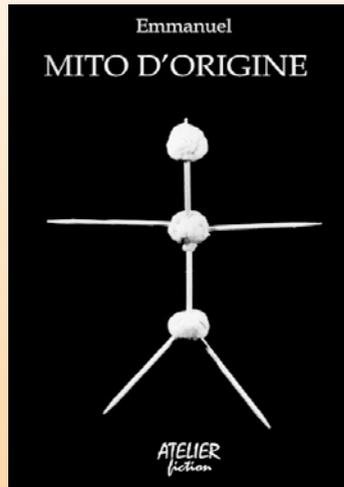
fiction



La Seduta (The meeting) (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.

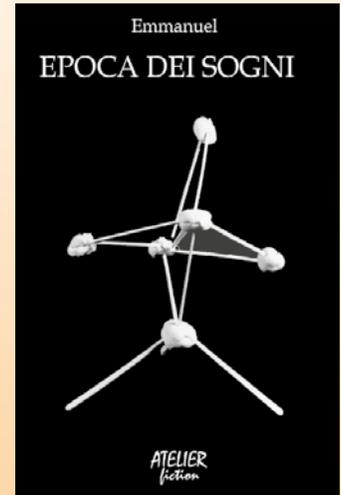


Mito d'origine Epoca dei Sogni (Myth of Origin/ Epoch of Dreams) (in Italian)

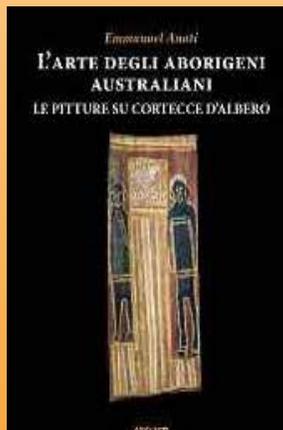
The first works of Atelier Fiction, Mito d'Origine and Epoca dei Sogni, tell stories that at first sight seem to come from another world.

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

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



exhibition

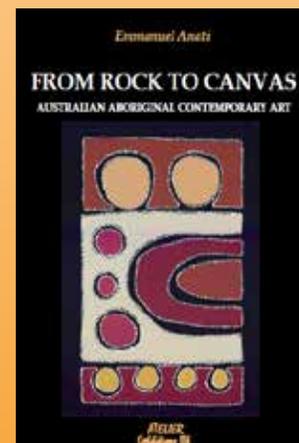


The Art of the Australian Aborigines Bark Paintings (in Italian)

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.

It constitutes a direct contact with a way of thinking, seeing and believing, of the last surviving Paleolithic people and provides an immense amount data on mythology, conceptualism that sometimes is philosophy, and the search for contact with the natural and supernatural world in which they are immersed.



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.

This volume presents works with great artistic value, made by Aboriginal artists. How is it possible to explain that in the turn of a single generation, styles, themes, goals, all has change?

It is an extraordinary case for art history, while for psychology it is a window opened on mental processes. These spiritual changes are reflected in their art, which is the mirror of their changing soul.

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