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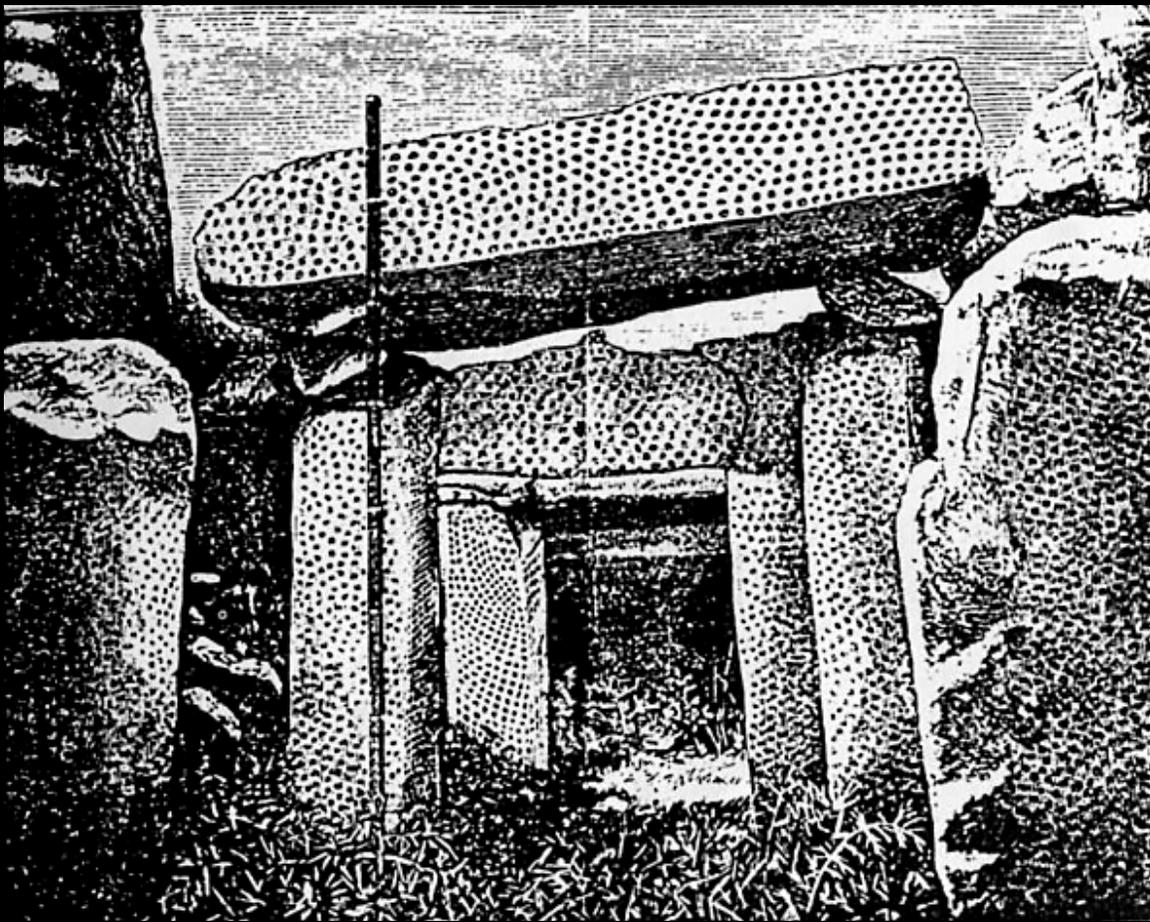
EXPRESSION

QUATERLY E-JOURNAL OF ATELIER IN COOPERATION WITH UISPP-CISNEP

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION ON THE INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

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**URBANIZATION
AND SEDENTARIZATION**

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF URBANIZATION

The article “Rethinking Jericho and the Birth of the World Earliest Town”, in *EXPRESSION* 30, has awakened a debate on the birth and development of urban settlements. As a cultural trend, urbanization developed very late, the first town is just 10,000 years old, out of over 4 million years since the emergence of the *Homo* species. Urbanization gradually spread over and, in some corners of the world, it arrived just a few years ago, as we learn from one of the articles in this issue. The time range of its development is related to its social and political functions. Urbanization is not a natural feature of our species, nor is it, as often claimed, a direct outcome of sedentarization. From the layers of human deposits, in caves and open-air sites, in Africa, Asia and Europe, we know that human nuclear clans maintained fairly permanent living sites in the last half a million years.

How did this new pattern of life come into existence? Probably economic and social reasons interplayed. Newly introduced means of food production and other economic activities demanding more manpower, may not be the only reason. The function of markets uniting socialization and commerce, the development of trade as a major economic resource and other factors may have had their role; religion and medicine healing, as we have seen at Jericho, may have had a function (*EXPRESSION* 30). Ceremonial and ritual gatherings also played their role, as documented at Gobekli Tepe and in other religious monumental sites faced in previous issues. An example of ceremonial urbanization is discussed in the following pages: the case of islanders building temples all over their living area.

From what we know, large settlements, hosting over 1,000 people, are a new event in cultural evolution: the earliest known case is going back some 10,000 years, but the first cases of urbanization as a pattern, are just 5,000 years old. New ways of socio-political management and new collective means of economic resources. One of the main implications is the task of coordination in leadership. Ever since, leaders have played a vital role in determining the success or failure of human groups and even of nations and civilizations. Urbanization has changed the social structure and the daily life of society. Understanding the collective, political and economic implications of this relatively recent trend is a fundamental part of research in the humanities. Now, urban centers have grown even in the most unthinkable areas of the planet, among the sands of the Arabian

desert, in the heart of the Amazonian tropical forest, or in the arctic frozen lands of Siberia.

Ever since the birth of Jericho, the pattern of urban settlement has expanded to constitute over three quarters of the world's population, an increase that awakens divergent opinions. Is this a permanent orientation leading to the globalization of an urban humanity, or can we foresee an inversion of tendencies, a turning point in the opposite direction? Could the evolving habit of communication and working by phone, television, internet and other digital ways change the trend?

Could there be a loosening of the metropolis's fatal attraction and a going back to living in the countryside? What are the factors that may lead one way or the other? Environmental conditions including pollution and climatic changes, social relations, means of communication, economic potential resources, concentration of manpower and other issues influence development, which may vary, from Shanghai or New York, to Cairo or Manaus, Doha or Brazzaville, to an oil-field or a mining site where towns spring out in the middle of nowhere. The first simple step is collecting data, including those which are not easily available. Samples and details are contributing to an overview.

Stories and histories about the birth and development of urban settlements, beyond statistics, are elementary facts and facts acquire a dimension, when their specific roots and their dynamics are defined. Knowledge goes one step further when it becomes understanding. The papers now appearing in this issue of *EXPRESSION* quarterly journal are offering various horizons of debate. Other articles will follow in coming issues. They are making up a basic raw material on the history of urbanization. Participants from various fields, archeologists and anthropologists, architects and town-planners, are welcome to share their experience. Myths and traditional stories, conceptual elaborations of submerged memories, contribute another dimension beyond dry facts, they are the alternative reality of human ambitions, emotions and imagination. Stories about the urbanization birth have been told ever since the beginning of history. The myth of the birth of Rome or the biblical account of the tower of Babel are traditional examples deriving from submerged memories. Archeological discoveries provide other examples where the boundaries between history and myth are not always well defined. The birth, social life and economy of sites like Gobekli Tepe (Anatolia), Banpo (China) or Machu Picchu (Peru) are still open to different hypotheses. Also, the origins of Jericho, the oldest known town in the world, as discussed in issue 30

of **EXPRESSION**, is arousing a fascinating discussion, trying to understand the roots of our culture and specifically the roots and development of urban settlements. The cases of urbanization presented in this issue are an invitation to other colleagues and friends to participate in this forum, sharing their knowledge, experience and ideas.

A NOTE FOR THE AUTHORS

EXPRESSION quarterly journal is a periodical on conceptual anthropology addressed to readers in over 80 countries. It offers a space of expression and communication to researchers and authors from all over the world. Your paper is intended to produce culture: tell your story to a world of culture, and make it readable and enjoyable also to people who are not specialized in your research field. In contrast to the trends of some other scientific journals, here articles are expected to be stimulating and pleasant to read. Please help the editorial team to reach this goal. The original target of **EXPRESSION** is to promote dialogue, knowledge, and ideas concerning the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate societies. It is an open forum in conceptual anthropology. Colleagues having something pertinent to say will find space in this e-magazine, which is reaching people of culture and academic institutions in five continents.

Papers should have precise goals, be concise and easily readable, conceived for this kind of audience involved in various fields of the humanities. Your ideas, even if related to a local or circumscribed theme, should stimulate curiosity and dialogue to an international and interdisciplinary audience. They should provide original information which is not available elsewhere on the internet or in encyclopedias. When pertinent, good illustration is important for communication with the readers: images and text should complete each other.

Authors should talk openly to the readers, not just to themselves. Avoid long descriptions, catalogs, and rhetorical arguments. Avoid unnecessary references and refrain from excessive citations. Avoid saying in ten words what can be said in two words. Consider that short articles are more read and appreciated than long articles. Letters on current topics and short notes are welcome and may be included in the Discussion Forum section.

Publication in **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal does not imply that the publisher and/or the editors agree with the ideas expressed. Authors are responsible for their ideas and for the information and illustrations they present. Papers are submitted to reviewers, but controversial ideas, if they make sense, are not censured. New ideas and concepts are welcome; they may awaken debate and criticism. Time will be their judge.

EXPRESSION is a free journal, not submitted to formal traditional regulations. It offers space to controversial issues, healthy debates, and imaginative and creative papers, if they are conceptually reliable and respect the integrity, ethics and dignity of authors, colleagues, and readers.

Front page image

Entrance of compartment B of the temple of Mnajdra (engraving from the book by James Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, 1872).

DISCUSSION FORUM

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

ENCOUNTER BETWEEN ART AND RELIGION: THE VISUAL SHAPES OF RITUALS AND BELIEFS

Art has represented the images of ideas and of supernatural beings, it is a source of knowledge about the conceptual visions of the invisible. Every society and culture that produced visual art has used it for fixing, memorizing and transmitting its intellectual and spiritual traditions. This is happening in Christian churches, Hindi temples, Buddhist monasteries, in decorated caves and in rock art sites, among literate and non-literate societies alike. Wherever human beings were present, they may have left behind cult figurines and statues, engravings and paintings on portable materials such as stone tablets, wood or bone, leaves and animal skins, images on the surfaces of rocks or on walls of caves. What survived of this heritage is recording 50,000 years of human creativity, imagination, memory and emotions as well as 50,000 years of religious experiences.

The relation between art and religion is the topic of a forthcoming issue of **EXPRESSION**, colleagues and friends concerned with prehistoric and tribal art, and those concerned with religious studies, are cordially invited to propose their papers.

Figurative art exposes aspects of beliefs which are offering chapters in the history of religion. Besides being in themselves an important source for the knowledge of art and religion, they provide relevant sources for the study of the conceptual identity of its makers, relevant for psychology, sociology and anthropology.

Visual art is not the earliest evidence of the presence of religion. Burial customs and the presence of burial goods in graves, express concepts and beliefs going back even earlier than the earliest known patterns of figurative art. However, visual art, since prehistoric times, is exposing a variety of images and concepts. Almost every rock art site may reveal the notions of their makers about their vision of mythic ancestors, spirits, gods, and other beings and powers of the invisible world.

The comparative outlook of the many facets of imagining

the invisible is enriched by the contributions of new documentation, new ideas and new thinking, considering a site, a culture, a period, a fashion or a style. Papers may focus on specific cases as well as on general trends, on the description of the images, on myths and traditions, or on rituals and religious beliefs as revealed by the images, in both prehistoric and historic cultures. Submission of papers is welcome, and their publication would allow your ideas and your discoveries to reach readers and institutions in over 82 countries.

ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

Comments on the article “Death: Eternal Confrontation Between Knowledge and Beliefs”, which appeared in the previous issue of *EXPRESSION* 31 (March 2021)

THE CONCEPT OF DEATH BETWEEN ANTHRO- POLOGY AND PSYCHOANALYSIS

by **Dr Luigi Baldari, psychologist and psychoanalyst**

The encounter between anthropology and psychoanalysis was promoted by Freud himself, starting with texts such as *Totem and Taboo* (1913), *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), *Civilization and its Discontents* (1929), and *Moses and Monotheism* (1938). It continued, with ups and downs, favoring the profitable expansion of the fields of analysis and of research.

The death theme is of considerable interest for anthropology and has been described variously as a cultural matter, a social event, an exchange or a passage. For psychology, death is not interesting as a physical, final event, but as anticipation, since man, unlike all other living beings, knows he has to die (Galimberti, 2018). Psychoanalysis tells us that this awareness is denied at the unconscious level (Freud, 1915), where the death drive is active as opposed to the life drive (Freud, 1920). Micro-psychoanalysis did not follow Freud in the antagonism of the two drives, but postulated their synergy by redefining them as the death-life drive. Epi-phenomena of this: life and death (Fanti, 1984).

The paper on “Death” is yet another contribution by Emmanuel Anati to the dialogue between conceptual anthropology and micro-psychoanalysis, a dialogue that started 50 years ago with Nicola Peluffo in the Valcamonica Symposia and continued for the past 20 years with other micro-psychoanalysts in Capo d’Orlando on the occasion of the Sicilian Days of micro-psychoanalytic training.

Other contributions by Anati to the meetings of micro-psy-

choanalysts in the last 20 years are: *Archetypes and elementary structure of prehistoric art* (2000), *Memory and oblivion: considerations by an archaeologist* (2001), *Style, conceptualization and states of alteration in prehistoric art* (2002), *Adolescence, rites of passage and initiation within some tribal groups of the Northern Territories, Australia* (2003), *Reflections of diet in the cognitive structure: notes of paleo-ethnology* (2004), *Taboo functions and dysfunctions* (2005), *Collective delirium and hallucination: considerations for an anthropological analysis* (2006), *Creativity and self-therapy in prehistoric and tribal societies* (2007), *The relationship between mother and children in primary societies* (2008), *Elementary structure of art and primary cognitive system* (2009), *The initiation rites and the discovery of identity* (2010), *Myth and truth* (2011), *The concept of time for the Australian aborigines* (2012), *On loneliness* (2013), *On the origins and structure of consciousness: for an analysis of conceptual anthropology* (2014), *The family structure in primary societies. Rites of Passage and Sexual Behavior of Australian Aborigines* (2015), *Dreamtime: the real and the imaginary among Australian aborigines* (2016), *Eroticism, lust and love life* (2017), *Social rules and their psycho-therapeutic function in primary societies* (2018), *Psychic reality and virtual reality at the origins of religions* (2019).

A profitable exchange of knowledge was therefore achieved in our interdisciplinary meetings, consisting of research on the human being and his behavior in the past and present. And his vision of the prehistoric man, with its culture and its conceptuality, has been integrated more and more into our training as psychoanalysts.

The appointment of Prof. Anati as honorary member of the Italian Institute of Micro-psychoanalysis was the formal but heartfelt acknowledgement of his precious scientific contribution.

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Dr. Luigi Baldari
Director of the Italian Institute of Micro-psychoanalysis

ANATI'S TEXT ON DEATH
by Dr Sandro Rodighiero, psychiatrist

I have read and reread Anati's text on death, which is very profound from the philosophical point of view. I really appreciated the ability of highlighting the human being's ambiguity towards death. Nothing is more certain than the impermanence of everything material and the fact that in biology everything that is alive dies. We start dying when we start living. This fact, however, clashes with the inability of the human mind to represent its own death. If we imagine we are dead we represent ourselves hidden by a cloud in the sky to observe what those who have survived us do and what happens at our funeral, but this way we are living undead, we are participating in the morning of others.

Also, according to Freud: "Our unconscious does not believe in the possibility of its own death and considers itself immortal. What we call our unconscious, that is, the deeper layers of our consciousness, those composed of instincts, generally knows nothing negative, ignores the negation (the opposites coincide and merge with it) and, consequently, death, to which we can only attribute a negative content."

As an anthropologist you have represented very well this state of mind proper to every human being. The funeral rites that serve to start the grieving process, make peace with the deceased and bring back to us the projections we had made on him, this restitution helps to fill that void that would remain in us with the loss. The deceased is buried, covered with a thick layer of earth and stones, if placed in a sarcophagus is covered by a heavy stone lid, if incinerated is then locked up in an earthenware container. I read that among the first terracotta objects were not cups or glasses – for that they used bovine horns – but funeral urns. The dead was kept away from the living for fear that he might return to claim his place. But, as you very well described, if biological death is certain, the lifeless body becomes a thing, a lifeless object. Why should he be able to come back?

After hundreds of thousand years of burial traditions, it is still difficult to accept dying (while being certain that we will never be able to meet Death because if she is there we are no longer there and vice versa), we feel a need for eternity with works of art, but they are impermanent (see the fate of Palmyra) we then imagine angels and paradise contrary to scientific reason. For this purpose, man has invented religions.

Freud in "*Beyond the pleasure principle*" written in 1920 deals with the themes of Eros and Thanatos, or respectively the life drive and the death drive, which tackles the theme of life and death and their intimate connection. "If we accept as a universal truth - Freud writes - the fact that

everything that lives dies of internal causes returning to the inorganic state, then we will also have to conclude that the purpose of all life is death ... "

I really like your article, and it fully responds, in my opinion, to the psychological and psychoanalytic vision.

Thanks Emmanuel,

Dr Sandro Rodighiero
Former Director of the Department of Mental Health
ULSS 17, Veneto

BEYOND PROFESSIONAL THINKING
by Dr Andrea Rocchitelli, psychologist

The reading of every text by Prof. Emmanuel Anati, and in particular the one on death as an eternal confrontation between the psyche and nature, entails the abandonment of one's own unilateral and specialized vision of the historical era we are going through.

The renunciation of the bottlenecks of one's profession opens up to a more complete view of the human being in his psychic processes and to research on the original elements at the base of human cognitive development.

Emmanuel, the friend, even for those who do not know him, because whoever is in the service of the search for knowledge always arouses a feeling of affection and friendship, never leaves you alone in approaching the mystery of life and that of one of its inhabitants, the human being.

By now I have got used to his evocative, descriptive, scientific, anecdotal style that I find original and winning even if it escapes any systematization, because in all his writing he has never fully explained his method and the theoretical premises.

I don't think it is a question of forgetfulness but rather a deliberate renunciation of the illusion that any authentic research must use constant points of reference that would inevitably reduce its scope. Knowledge manifests itself as eternal movement and in this path the scholar's predilection for loneliness allows a true relationship with previous generations, that thanks to their representations, starting with those of rock art, re-enact their existence even after centuries. Death, like birth, which is not its opposite, reveals itself as a passageway, a diaphragm that makes transformation possible, just a valve between different dimensions. When not hindered by one's narcissistic defenses, the end of life takes the form of a timeless device which, in the figurativeness of the art it arouses, loses its limitation to pass the torch to subsequent generations capable of inheriting life only if they know how to relate to previous ones.

However, the development of existence does not happen automatically and without the recapture of memory, in the same way as the preservation of the upright state in man

involves constant energy in opposition to the gravitational force of the earth.

The writings of the scholar who loves the desert unearth a wealth of ideas for us psychoanalysts but also for other scholars. However, in spite of my insistence, Emmanuel keeps this tendency not to verticalize his thoughts, and to create associative plots which do not lead to etiological explanations. I believe, for example, that it may be interesting to deepen the emotional factors that lead in the course of evolution from knowledge to belief or vice versa. Freud introduced the concept of resistance as the attempt by the psychic system to regulate the influx of psychic energy in excess that is likely to turn into distress and block man's creativity. Since the inventor of the new discipline, conceptual anthropology, touches on psychological themes, the mechanisms and motivations could be investigated further, but Professor Anati only alludes without ever getting holed up in an attempt to make a definitive answer or one without further dialectics.

I note that my longstanding friend with whom I have formed an eternal bond never uses the word *subconscious* which for psychoanalysts is a real memory with which information is transported through image packages from one generation to another and which everyone elaborates in an original and unique way. Nevertheless, there is a profound and precise affinity between micro-psychoanalysis and conceptual anthropology.

Dr Andrea Rocchitelli
Director of the Santa Crescenzia Clinic;
Micro-psychoanalyst of the Italian Institute
of Micro-psychoanalysis, Milan section

DECODING PREHISTORIC ART

Why did prehistoric people produce visual art? Researchers in prehistoric art may have different replies to this question. Did prehistoric art have the purpose of embellishing stone surfaces? Was it a mean of communication? And in that

case, what did it intend to communicate? In some cases, the function and meaning of recent native art may supply hints on the meaning of prehistoric art. However, comparative studies in prehistoric art indicate that the purposes of their production may differ in different kinds of societies. Until just the other day there was no clear evidence that Paleolithic people used a graphic system of writing to memorize and communicate everything that modern writing does. As discussed in various issues of **EXPRESSION**, and in a recent Atelier book, some of their messages can now be read and understood. The general concept that prehistoric art (that is, what is currently defined as prehistoric art) meant to communicate something has been repeatedly formulated but various attempts at defining exactly what did not provide conclusive results in over a century of research in prehistoric art. Recently, research has been progressing fast. Another question may be worthy of further thought: why rock art? What role did the rock play in the human wish of representing messages on it? What did the rock hide behind its surface? Tribal beliefs and practices give us some hints.

Some of the European Paleolithic art was considered to be related to hunting magic (Breuil); some assemblages of non-figurative markings have been defined as calendric recordings (Marshack). More than ten different hypotheses have been proposed for the purpose and meaning of Paleolithic art, some relying upon solid documentation, others upon theoretical assumptions. These attempts in the course of over a century provided the path for contemporary scholars to understand the numerous possible ways of reading the messages contained in the immense emporium of prehistoric art, both Paleolithic and later. One thing became clear: not all prehistoric art was executed for the same purpose. This discourse has to be broadened and contributions on the meaning of specific sites, periods or types of prehistoric art can contribute to enriching our knowledge. Colleagues and friends are cordially invited to propose their papers to **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal.

FORTHCOMING NEW DEBATES

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

1. **ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS**
2. **THE ORIGINS OF RELIGION AND THE ORIGINS OF ART.** Possible connections.
3. **RITUALS AND BELIEFS:** universal and local patterns.
4. **DECODING PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART:** meaning and purpose.
5. **WHERE DOES *HOMO SAPIENS* COME FROM?** Where, how and when.
6. **IS *HOMO SAPIENS* THE INVENTOR OF FIGURATIVE ART?** Is visual art the sign of his presence?
7. **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** Their commemorating role and their historical value.
8. **SEAFARING DEPICTIONS: RECORDING MYTHS AND EVENTS** Considering the story of seafaring and its earliest documentation.
9. **WHEN AND HOW DID PEOPLE FROM THE NEW WORLD (AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA) DISCOVERED THE PRESENCE OF THE OLD WORLD (AFRICA AND EURASIA)?** What did they know of the Old World before recorded contacts?
10. **MYTHS OF ORIGINS: WHERE DID THE ANCESTORS COME FROM?** Global and local versions.
11. **DEFINING THE CULTURAL IDENTITY OF *HOMO SAPIENS*.** Art, material culture, myths, beliefs, and conceptual trends.
12. **PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF ARTISTS.** Identifying the hands of a specific artist, school or tradition in prehistoric and tribal art.
13. **BURIAL CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES** as expression of beliefs in the afterlife. How was the world of the dead conceived?
14. **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** Their commemorating role and their historical value.
15. **REGIONAL PATTERNS IN ARTISITIC CREATIONS.** What generates local characteristics in artistic expression?
16. **VERNACULAR DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR SOURCES.** Decoration of objects, huts or rock surfaces as the expression of identity.

PROPOSALS FOR NEW DEBATES

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

CONTENTS

Emmanuel Anati (Italy) The Neolithic Temples of Malta: a Ceremonial Urbanization	9
Behrooz Barjasteh Delforoos (Sweden), Samira Narooyi, Safoura Kalantari (Iran) Newly Discovered Pictograms at Mil River Rock Shelter in Sistan and Baluchestan Province, Southeast Iran	31
Solange Macamo, Vitalina Jairoce, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimucuo (Mozambique) Urban Origins in Mozambique: Manyikení and Niamara, Two Divergent Architectural Styles of the Second Millennium AD	44
Mário Varela Gomes (Portugal) Castelo Belinho, a Pristine Neolithic Village on the Southwestern Iberian Peninsula: Spaces, Structures, Functions, and Symbols, at the Rise of Urbanization	58

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THE NEOLITHIC TEMPLES OF MALTA: A CEREMONIAL URBANIZATION

Emmanuel Anati

Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology (Italy)

A Ceremonial Urbanization

As in other regions around the Mediterranean Sea, the Maltese islands underwent urbanization in the Bronze Age. In the second millennium BC fortified citadels were flourishing near favorable anchorages; they are the expression of a seafaring population that fostered its fortune mainly from trade and marine navigation. Centuries before this urban development, a peculiar phenomenon occurred in the Maltese islands, when there was a proliferation of monumental structures. If indeed these megalithic constructions were temples, as it seems, religion received such an impulse to populate the islands with places of worship: a confessional urbanization. These building complexes, some of which covered 2,000 sq. m, are not of a family or clan habitation type. They represent a far-reaching socio-ceremonial phenomenon.

The Maltese islands were populated and repopulated several times over the past 8,000 years. The sequence of the archeological periods and of the various colonizing episodes that ensued are extensively described in several publications. Even the late Neolithic episode of the megalithic temples has been analyzed repeatedly for well over a century (Vassallo, 1872; Zammit, 1926; Evans, 1959; Trump, 1972; Bonanno, 1986; Fedele, 1988; Fradkin and Anati, 1988).¹

The present text intends to solicit new reflections about this episode, from the conceptual anthropological point of view, in an effort to explore this phenomenon. How should we understand the ceremonial urbanization of an archipelago? What social and conceptual conditioning was its cause? And how did it function?

The temples' epoch lasted about 1,500 years, in the fourth and third millennia BC. The monumental

megalithic constructions are examples of daring architecture, some of which are still well preserved after 6,000 years. These huge buildings have made the archipelago famous in archeology. There are 21 ascertained monumental structures and a at least further 10 hypothesized on the basis of the remains of megalithic walls referable to similar structures: an average one every 10 sq. km. Their real number could be higher. Out of the 21 confirmed ones 10, about half of them, are multiple, with two or more temples close to each other in the same compound.

In most cases the temples do not appear to be part of habitation areas with permanent buildings. Were they isolated structures? The considerable free spaces around them suggest that something could have existed there; there may have been gathering places, camping areas, markets or other temporary structures, even huts without permanent stone buildings. In any case it may have been something very different from the remarkable megalithic structures, and left behind little or no traces. The temples imply the presence of their builders and of their worshippers. Where did they live?

These temples were not located, like the more recent cathedrals, in the central square of the village, but something may have occupied the surrounding areas which now appear flat and empty.

The archipelago consists of three islands and some rocks. Malta is the largest island, followed by Gozo. Between them there is the islet of Comino in which no remains of temples are known. Although Gozo has a lower density of archeological sites, it has a greater density of confirmed temple compounds: 7 in 67 sq. km, compared with the island of Malta which counts double, in a territory about four times larger: 14 temple areas in 245 sq. km. In Malta, out of 14 temple compounds, 10 are located next to a harbor or anchorage, the others are within a short distance from the seashore. In Gozo, all of them are close to a landing place and three of them are directly

¹ Some define the age of temples as Neolithic, others as Chalcolithic (or Copper Age). Considering the lack of metal tools in the archeological finds, the context is that of the late Neolithic, although elsewhere in the Mediterranean area in the same age the use of metal was already present.

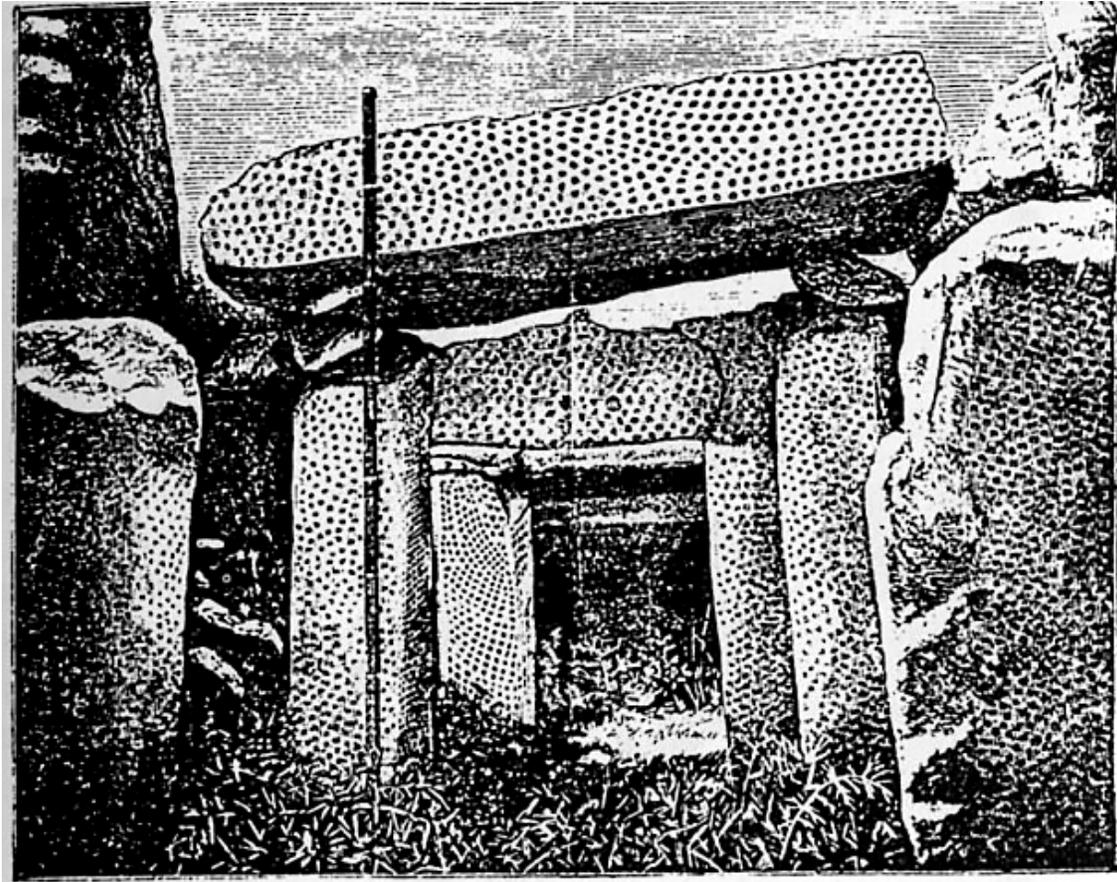


Fig. 1. Entrance of compartment B of the temple of Mnajdra (engraving from the book by James Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, 1872).

related to their anchorage.

The island of Malta has always had a much higher population density than Gozo, while the density of temples is higher in Gozo than in Malta. This might indicate that the location of the temples was not in relation to the needs of the local population, but of a wider audience; the island of Gozo, despite its modest size, practiced more intense functions related to the temples than the island of Malta. This consideration prompts hypotheses about the role of the temple compounds: who were the users? Were the Gozo temples attended just by the Gozo population? Or what? Who landed at the anchorages at the foot of the temple areas? Can we imagine this ceremonial urbanization as a center of worship and pilgrimage? Was Malta a prehistoric Mecca, or a Sinai, but not in the middle of the desert, in the middle of the sea?

The origins of the temples

How did the temple age start? Some researchers consider it to be a continuation of previous Neolithic phases, others, the expression of a new colonization. Some believe, with David Trump, that in the early stages of the Neolithic Age, the stratigraphy of the site of Skorba excavated by him and the discovery of the first non-residential probable temple structure indicate the origin of the ideologies that inspired the great temples (Trump, 1962, 1972, 1990). According to this hypothesis, the age of temples would mark a conceptual and regime change but not necessarily in the typology of temples, implying a continuity of the same ideology and the same population. Others, with John Evans, also one of the major scholars of Maltese prehistory, believe that the break is total and that new types of pottery indicate the arrival of new people (Evans, 1959).

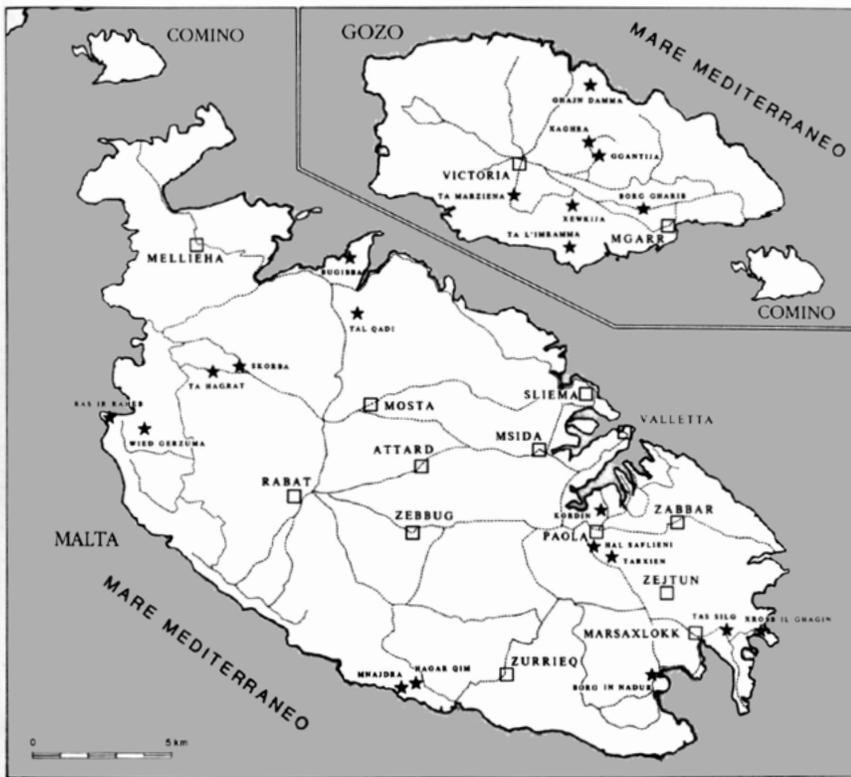


Fig. 2. Location of Malta in the Mediterranean.

Fig. 3. Malta. Distribution map of megalithic temples whose identity has been verified.

No traces of human presence are known for some centuries between the earlier traces of human presence and the age of temples. This hiatus would confirm, together with the diversity of material culture, that the previous inhabitants abandoned the Maltese islands, and then new people arrived, the builders of the temples (Bonanno 2020a, 2020b; French, 2020).

Can it be assumed that numerous temples, with a repetitive architectural structure implying ceremonial, ritual and conceptual habits, are the result of unified planning and programming ability of management and labor, of a regime with centralized power and specific ideological tendencies?

Who were these temple people, so devoted to the cult? Although there are hypotheses that define them as proto-Indo-Europeans and others that consider them proto-Semites, the question remains unsolved until their land of origin is identified, or until new light is shed on the customs, rites and beliefs that inspired the temples.

The literature on the material culture, mainly ceramics, has constantly referred to the Sicilian culture. Other similarities exist with Cretan pottery, others still show affinity with pre-Nuragic Sardinia, Cyprus

and the Near East (Sluga, 1988). Similarities and diversities exist within the general frame of late Neolithic and Chalcolithic pottery in the Mediterranean area. The megalithic architectural constructions provide other comparisons, near and far, even with the Atlantic coasts of Europe. But nothing like the Maltese temples is known in any of these regions. Obviously, the population of Malta arrived from somewhere but this generic assumption does not help to define their ethnic origin and identity.

Sicily provides similarities in the decorations of the ceramics, and in that of some tombs, but also in Sicily the creators of these decorations, or at least their cultural bases, came from overseas. Despite various hypotheses, there are no reliable data for now on the origins of the Maltese culture of the temples.

What was the conceptual formula that generated the development of the temples? A religion is hypothesized, based on factors that attracted multitudes of followers, at least as many as to justify the size and number of temples. The socializing aspect may have had a role, but what would have caused the socializing effect?

For now, there is no evidence of any cultivation to stimulate activities practiced in temples. We know



Fig. 4. The entrance to Dwejra Bay in Gozo (MLT 87 EA X-24).



Fig. 5. General view of Mnajdra temple and its natural harbor at its feet (MLT 87 DA XIII-4).

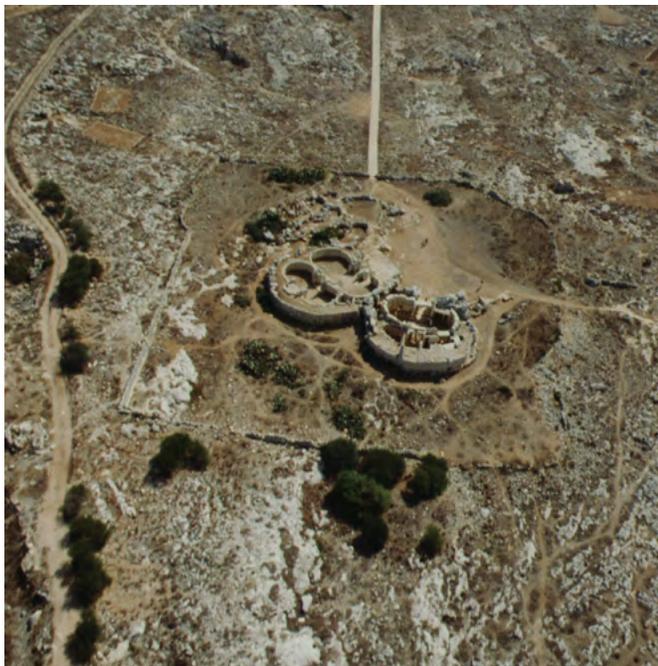


Fig. 6 (a, b). The temples compound of Mnajdra. Aerial view. (Mlt 87DA XII-12 , MLT 87 DA XIV- 25).

that some species of hallucinogenic mushrooms grow spontaneously in Malta. We know that in Cyprus, another island in the Mediterranean, the opium poppy was grown. There is no indication of a possible monopoly of Malta in any particular cultivation of the kind. It seems unlikely that the hallucinogens alone, if indeed they were used, could have been the cause of the success of the temples.

The theory that there were markets next to the temples should not be ruled out. In various parts of the world religious festivals are almost always accompanied by markets. What would be the merchandise of this trade? The idea that Malta in the Neolithic period was a meeting place for marauders, privateers and pirates of the sea and their markets does not currently find any contextual support. There is the same lack of evidence for the hypothesis that there was a slave market. Despite various theories about the type of commodity and its origins, for the moment the vision of the process that would have led to the proliferation of temples and their economy escapes us, though there must be some cause.

The function of temples

The plans of the temples, with a repetitive formula, display a large area in front of the entrance. The gate is narrow and leads into a sequence of spaces that decrease in size and capacity in succession. In the temples themselves there is room for a few dozen, not hundreds, of people. It is presumed that such structures indicate limits of access to the temples, compared with the people who might have been in front of the entrance. The imposing architecture of the facades also presupposes the capacity of the space in front of it and its social role. The grandiose facades contrast with the limited capacity of the internal spaces (Anati, 1988). No hygienic services have been identified to serve multitudes and neither wells or water reservoirs have been found in these temple structures and their vicinity. One wonders how essential services worked, both during their construction and during the functions and operations of the priests or other staff for whom the buildings were used.

In a review on the state of research of Maltese temples, Trump (1990) summarizes three issues: function, evolution and social implications.

Function. The presence of altars, structures used for sacrifices, the discovery of piles of animal bones assumed to be residues of sacrifices, the presence also of statuary works likely representing objects of worship, the size of the structures and the repetitiveness of the plans support the religious function, hence calling them temples. Trump also adduces a symbolic meaning for the decorations in relief in the temples. We add that the function of temples is plausible, but is not the only possible one.

Evolution. Trump presents a picture of the evolution of the architecture of the temples, which would have developed from a single room to the sequence of two and then three double apsidal rooms on either side of a central passage.

If this evolution is a reliable theory, it could indicate the growth of ceremonial formulae and the local evo-



Fig. 7. Mnajdra. The entrance portals seen from the inside (MLT 86 AA IX-8).



Fig. 8. Hagar Qim. In the temple there were reserved passages, presumably accessible only to a few. On both side of the corridor there are two so-called “Mushroom altars” in which a slightly concave plane rests on a vertical stone (MLT 87 EA VIII-18).

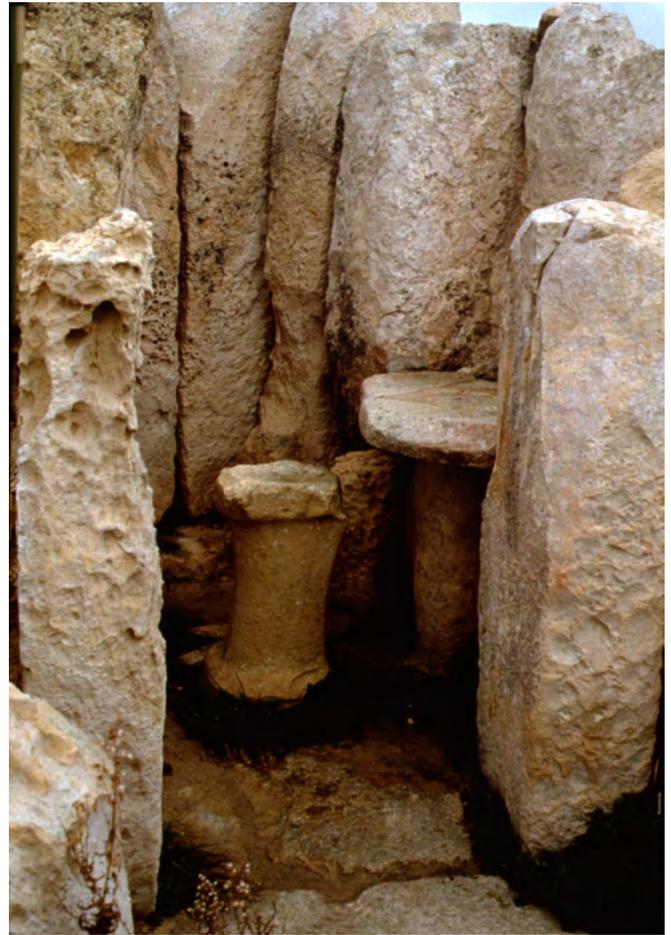


Fig. 9. Hagar Qim temple. A small cell with a seat and a table, all in solid stone. What was its function? Was it the seat of the accountant, of the scribe, or of the drug chemist? (MLT 86 EA VIII-20).

lution of ideology and practices. The architectural concept remains that of a modest entrance leading to one or more couples of apsidal rooms, to reach a receptacle that Trump defines as *sancta sanctorum*. As for the proposed architectural evolution, we should not exclude that simpler structures were in use simultaneously with more complex ones.

Social implications. Trump estimates the prehistoric population to be at least 10,000; and he believed that this number permitted the construction of the temples without external input. Since the first clan landed in Malta, the population presumably increased, and it is likely that it was not been numerically the same from the beginning to its maximum development. It is unclear whether Trump’s demographic assessment is based on Malta’s accommodation capacity or on calculating what manpower would have enabled the

temples to be built. His estimation does not seem to be confirmed by the modest traces of inhabited areas, nor by the small number of known human skeletal remains attributable to the period of 1,500 years, which are fewer than the number of elapsed years, at an average of less than one individual per year. However, assuming and not granted that this assessment is reliable, a generation includes disabled people: the elderly, the infirm, children and pregnant or breast-feeding women. Daily activities included tillage and agricultural production, livestock farming, fishing, navigation, construction and maintenance of huts and other structures. It is also likely that there were, if not soldiers, guardians and sentinels for harbors and boats. Presumably there were also leaders and a caste or ruling class. Even assuming that the numerical assessment of the population had reached at its maximum



Fig. 10. Tarxien. Just at the entrance of the temple there is this group of five holes displaying smooth, polished edges. They are likely to have been related to some space below them. (MLT 86 EA II-21).

the size proposed by Trump, how many adults could have devoted themselves to building the temples?

The architectural shape of the temples is suitable for different levels of confidentiality, leading up to the small room, called *sancta sanctorum*. It is also suitable for a kind of palace, with a waiting room, audience hall and throne area. One hypothesis does not exclude the other. Whether it be, the high priest, the chief or captain of fortune, the divinity in flesh and blood or the sacred relics, whether it be a court or a place of worship, or both, undoubtedly the “temples” had a ceremonial and/or ritual function.

Whatever the case, these buildings, despite the millions of tons of stones transported and planned, despite the size of the labor involved, despite the standardized forms of their plans which presuppose conceptual canons, were not made to house a large crowd of worshippers, but only a small number of attendants. If indeed they are temples, the bulk of the public did not have access to them and may have been gathered, not inside the temple but in the big square or area that these buildings had in front of them. Multitudes may have gathered and even camped in the large spaces surrounding the temples.

The temples functioned for 1,500 years. The longevity indicates the success of the formula. What could they

have offered to the followers to achieve such a success? The architecture of the Maltese temples and the subterranean andrios of the Hal Saflieni hypogeum form a remarkable chapter in the history of architecture. It is not always evident what is structural or functional in the buildings and what reflects aspects of ideology or aesthetics. The plans of the temples also seem to show a kind of social structure where not all spaces were accessible to everyone (Cottinelli, 1988; Pirelli, 1988).

The temples era has left us a wonderful set of statuary art. The dominant subject is that of fat beings, to whom various authors have attributed the doubtful term of “mother goddess”. What is the identity of these images? Do they represent female, male or androgynous beings? Only the fat shape of the body could seem to infer deliberately asexual female images or eunuchs. Are they deities, spirits, ancestors, chiefs, priests, or prophets? The fact that they have interchangeable heads, separate from the body and adaptable to fit it, raises doubts about the most widespread trend, namely that they represent divinities.

Avoiding showing the sexual characteristics of an ancestor or of a high priest, like the cancellation of the sex of angels in more recent religions, would locate these images as standing above the normal human beings. If these images were females, as is possible, a

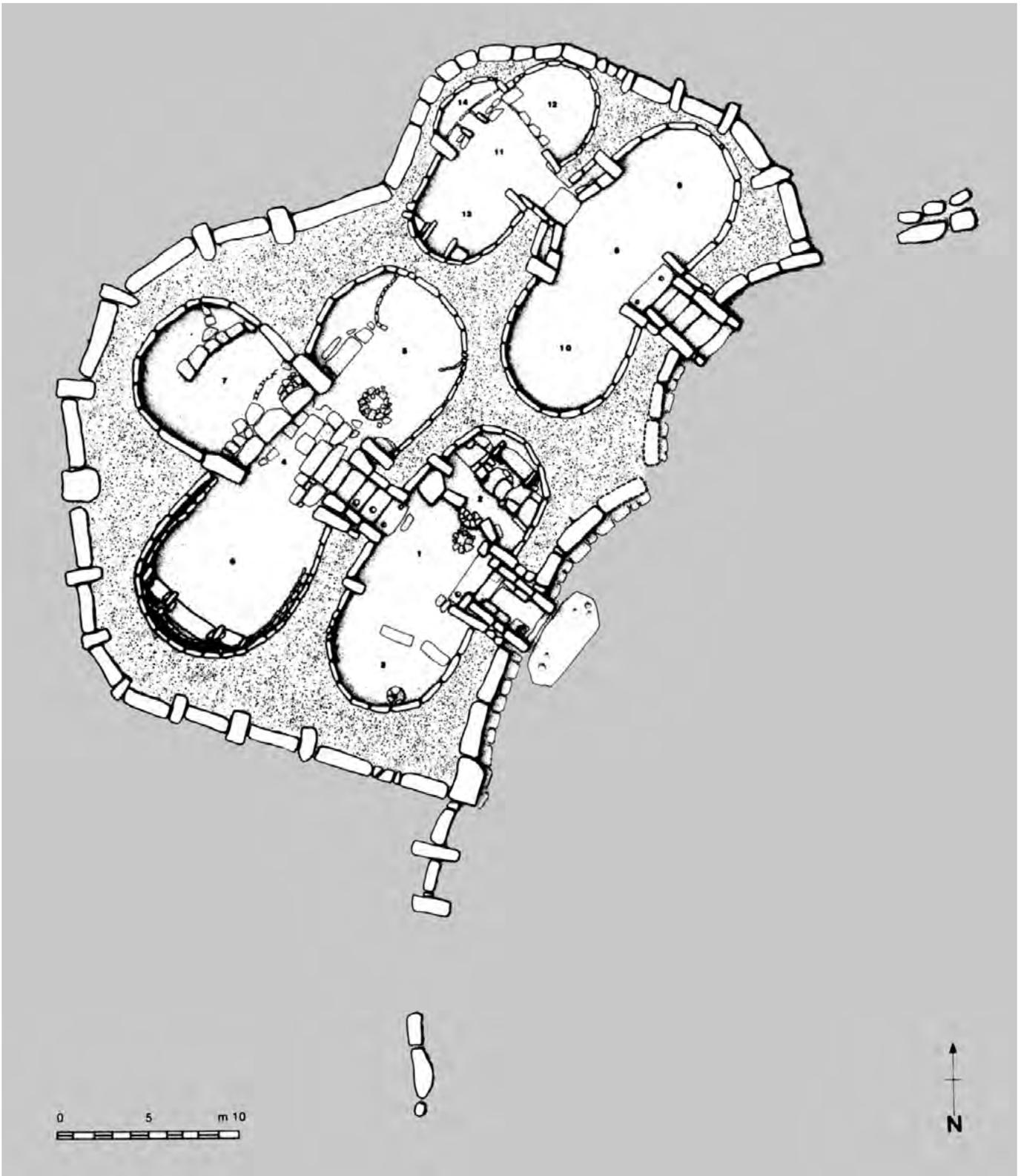


Fig. 11. Plan of the temple of Ggantija on the island of Gozo (redrawn from aerial photographs, relying on the reliefs of J.D. Evans, 1971. Anati Archives).

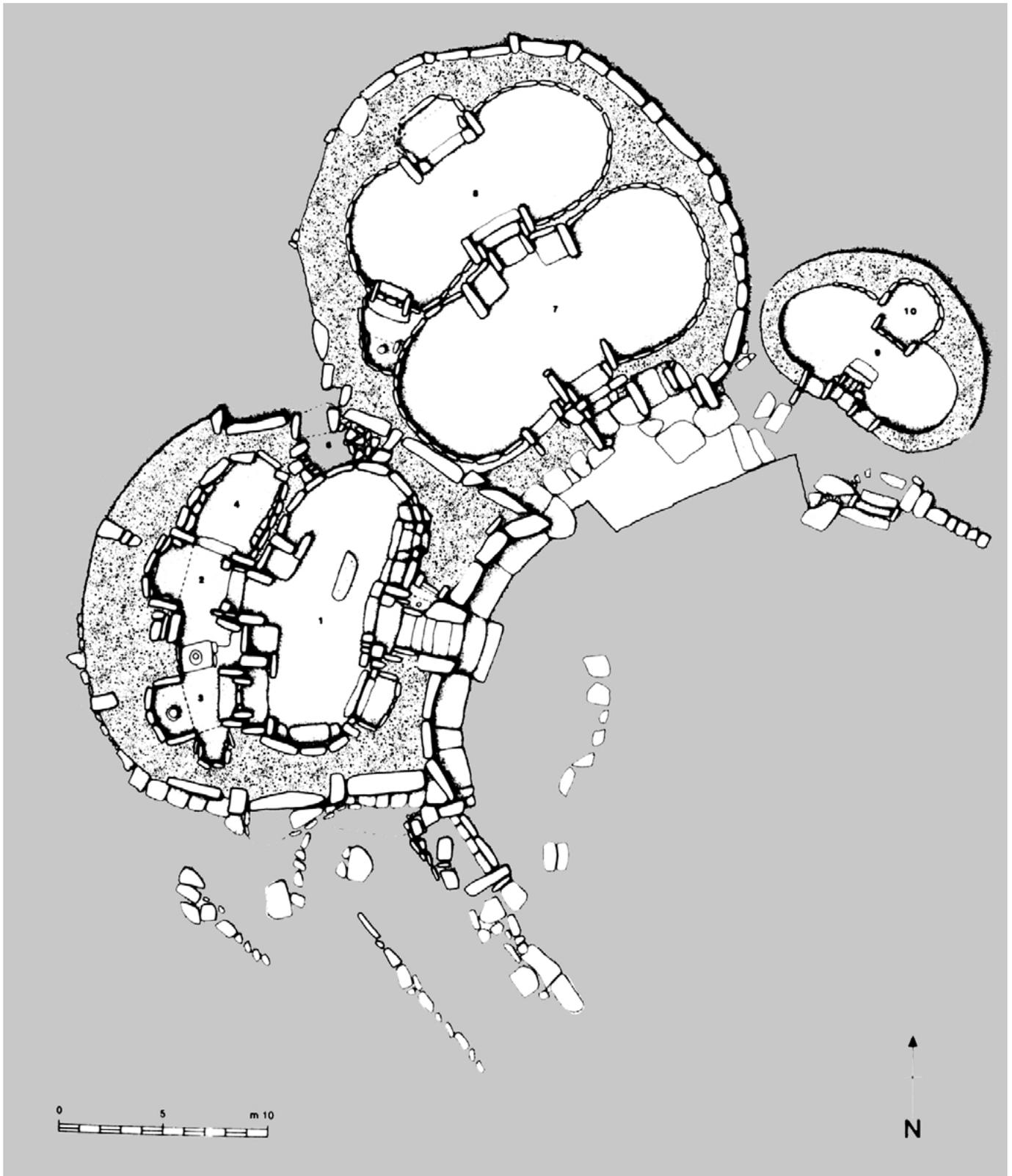


Fig. 12. Plan of the temple of Mnajdra on the island of Malta (redrawn from aerial photographs, relying on the reliefs of J.D. Evans, 1971. Anati Archives).



Fig. 13. Ggantija, Gozo. The central corridor (MLT 87 EA IX-2).

regime could be conceived where officials were acting in the name of one, two or more living or mythical prophetesses.

As already highlighted in previous texts, the hypothesis arises that there may be a link between the plan of the temples and the pattern of the shapes of the statues of the seated fat being, the dominant image. The sequence of rooms with decreasing dimensions responds to the scheme of the statues of the fat image, that is, the lower part of the body, bust and head.

The similarity between the architectural plan of the temple (or chieftain palace or mansion as it may be) and the widespread statuary images of the fat being, cause us to think about the possible meaning of the tripartite structure in these monuments. The first compartment would be equivalent to the lower part of the human body, the second to the bust and the third, the most hidden and smallest, to the head of

this being or spirit personified by the form of the temple: that is, a tripartite function that unites material, conceptual and spiritual.

The problem of manpower

How many people were needed when a block of stone weighing many tons was isolated from the mother rock, extracted, transported for hundreds of meters, and then hoisted to form part of the temple being built? What does this act, repeated hundreds of times, tell us? Temples are structures that required an army of workers. They imply huge manpower. Who were their builders? Were these many temples indeed the self-sufficient work of the islanders?

A systematic study of the manpower employed for the construction of the temples, conducted by an engineer, Enrico Pollini, poses the problem of the resources that the Neolithic builders had to dispose of. Assuming that the organization of work had allowed the operational presence of 100 workers on a construction site, Pollini's estimate is that: "with 100 workers working 10 hours a day for 300 days a year, it would have taken from 11 to 14 years to build a temple" (Pollini, 1988, p. 144). We leave it to the reader to consider the social, managerial and economic scope of the workforce: how many working days, on average, should be estimated, according to Pollini, for the construction of a temple and what this entailed logistically (100 workers x 300 days x 14 years = 4,200,000 working days)? And if there are at least 30 temples, we need to multiply the figure by 30 or more. If these calculations are reliable, or at least not too far from reality, how could the workforce be found? How to provide food and services for this army, considering that the population also had to live their economic, social and family lives?

What kind of regime could have had such a workforce, and what impetus led to the construction of the temples? This is one of the most difficult dilemmas of the prehistory of the Maltese islands. Doubts arise about the reliability of the hypotheses of researchers, who have seen the temples as exclusively the work and function of the autonomous and autarchic islanders.

Temples appear as an expression of a conceptual and socio-political system that held up for at least 1,500 years. Each of the temples needed years to be built and probably had an active life of centuries. Even consid-

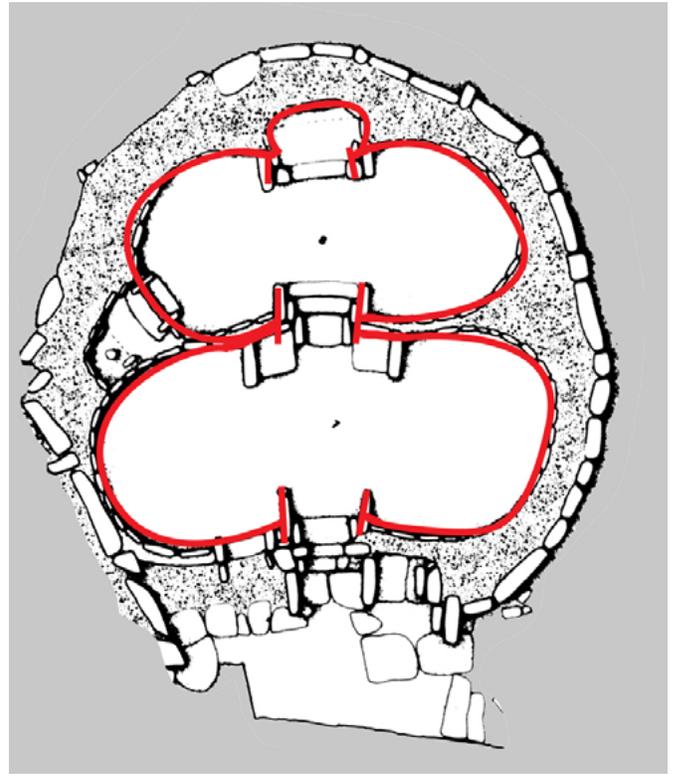


Fig. 14. Mnajdra temples, showing the basic structural concept of its plan.



Fig 15. Stone image of the “Seated fat lady” and the scheme of its three-sectors concept. (Malta MLT-88 Ia16).



Fig. 16. A statue of the fat being with the location for the changing head. National Archaeological Museum, Valletta (MLT 88 Ia-15).

ering the hypothesis of the presence of slaves, prisoners, participation in the work of pilgrims, volunteers or other external resources, what surplus and what resources of food would have supported the construction of these gigantic works? What would these people eat? What system organization could have allowed to feed daily hundreds of workers, constantly, for so many years?

The socio-economic context

The hypogeum of Hal Saflieni is also part of the cultural context of this period. It is an underground compound of many levels, which reveals aspects of rites connected with burials, ceremonies and beliefs concerning mainly the cult of the dead.

There are also indications of the existence of a crypt under the temple of Ggantija, an entrance of which came



Fig. 17. The Statuette of the “Sleeping Fat Lady” from Hal Saflieni, National Archaeological Museum, Valletta. (MLT 88 M.CA 44 XLIV-3) .

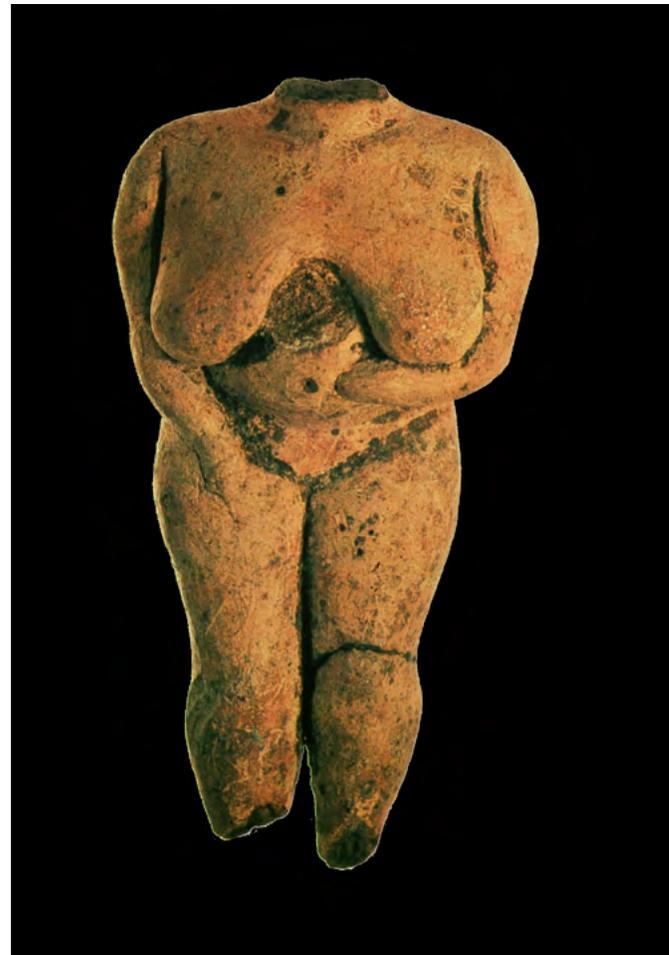


Fig. 18. Feminine Statuette from Hagar Qim, National Archaeological Museum, Valletta. (MLT 88 Ia13).



Fig. 19. Temple of Tarxien. The lower part of a statue of the so-called “Fat Lady” (Archives Anati).

to light during old excavations. It is presumable that next to some temples, or under them, there are underground areas used for worship, the burial of the dead and perhaps also the preservation of precious relics.

The traces of settlements are rare and modest, while conspicuous public buildings were built with stone blocks of cyclopean dimensions, extracted from quarries, transported and erected in an era in which the builders do not appear to have made use of the wheel, nor of metal tools.

In 1987, during a thorough exploration conducted around the temples of Hagar Qim and Mnajdra, we identified traces of modest possible quarters in the vicinity of the temples, but their function is not clear, residences of so-called priests and attendants, commercial market structures, services for operators and pilgrims, or other things. Traces of real villages have not yet come to light (Fradkin and Anati, 1988). Some vast open areas around the temples give the impres-

sion if having been intentionally flattened. Could it be that they were used for temporary camping grounds? A group of boats, engraved on a stone in the Tarxien Temples might indicate the relation of the temples with people coming from the sea.

Despite various hypotheses, we do not know what the real local survival resources were, but the vestiges indicate a period of economic well-being, and material and conceptual wealth, even if the question of what their sources were remains open. From the monumental aspect we can perhaps hypothesize that the temples were not only an expression of opulence, but also a source of opulence.

The fact that in all the numerous excavations not a single piece of metal has yet been found, at a time when various metals, especially copper, silver and gold, were already in use in the Mediterranean area, may raise speculations about the possibility of a central monopoly in metal objects, which would have been guarded



Fig. 20. Plan of the temple of Hagar Qim (redrawn from aerial photographs, after the reliefs by J.D. Evans, 1971. Anati Archives).

by the regime, like weapons of war in many countries today. But if so, their deposits have not been found. Each temple entailed a huge investment as, in addition to requiring thousands of working days to build it, it had to be managed. The buildings were made to operate. The hierarchy that conducted ceremonies and other activities, in addition to a strong political

and social power, had to have a remarkable economic power. It is conceivable that there was a hierarchy of leaders, actors, performers, workers, servants, guardians, procurers of food and various services. The question arises whether autonomous self-management of the local tribe is conceivable, considering the building, maintenance, and functions and services involved.



Fig. 21. Ggantija. The external walls. The stone in the foreground has an external face of about 10 square meters (MLT 87 DA IV-10).



Fig. 22. Hagar Qim. External chapel and votive area (MLT 87 EA XXXI-36).



Fig. 23. Hal Salieni. Red paintings (Malta 87 III-2).

If there were pilgrims and devotees, one of their main roles would always have been to bring riches to the temple coffers. When there are many temple constructions, it is conceivable that the system had its own advantages and its own success. It is difficult to imagine that the temples did not have their own treasure and if they did, it was probably carefully guarded – so scrupulously that so far, since archeologists have cleaned up and excavated these temples, nothing of the kind has emerged.

Jean Quintin d'Autun's description of Malta, published in Lyon in 1536 under the title of *Insulae Melitae Descriptio*, refers to traditions still existing half a millennium ago. The memory of treasures that would have been stolen in one of the temples is of particular interest. Among other things, the text tells us that these included ivory tusks of incredible size. The treasures themselves would have been accumulated thanks to the religiosity of the congregations, which seems to indicate that it

was believed that the temples were places of pilgrimage for overseas faithful believers. The presence of ivory suggests contacts with the African continent.

The entire surface of Malta was urbanized by these monuments. What conceptual, social, economic or political needs or motivations can explain this phenomenon?

The temples and their distribution appear to be the effect of a pre-established plan, of a conceptual vision expressed by the repetition of the same architectural formulae, with the common commitment over the two main islands. They reflect a precise territorial coordination and related socio-political and economic implications.

Temples are widespread on the islands and highly visible, but where did people live? With the exception of the modest remains around the temple of Skorba, only sparse and sporadic remains of possible settlements are known. How can we explain a population which devoted so much energy to building immortal

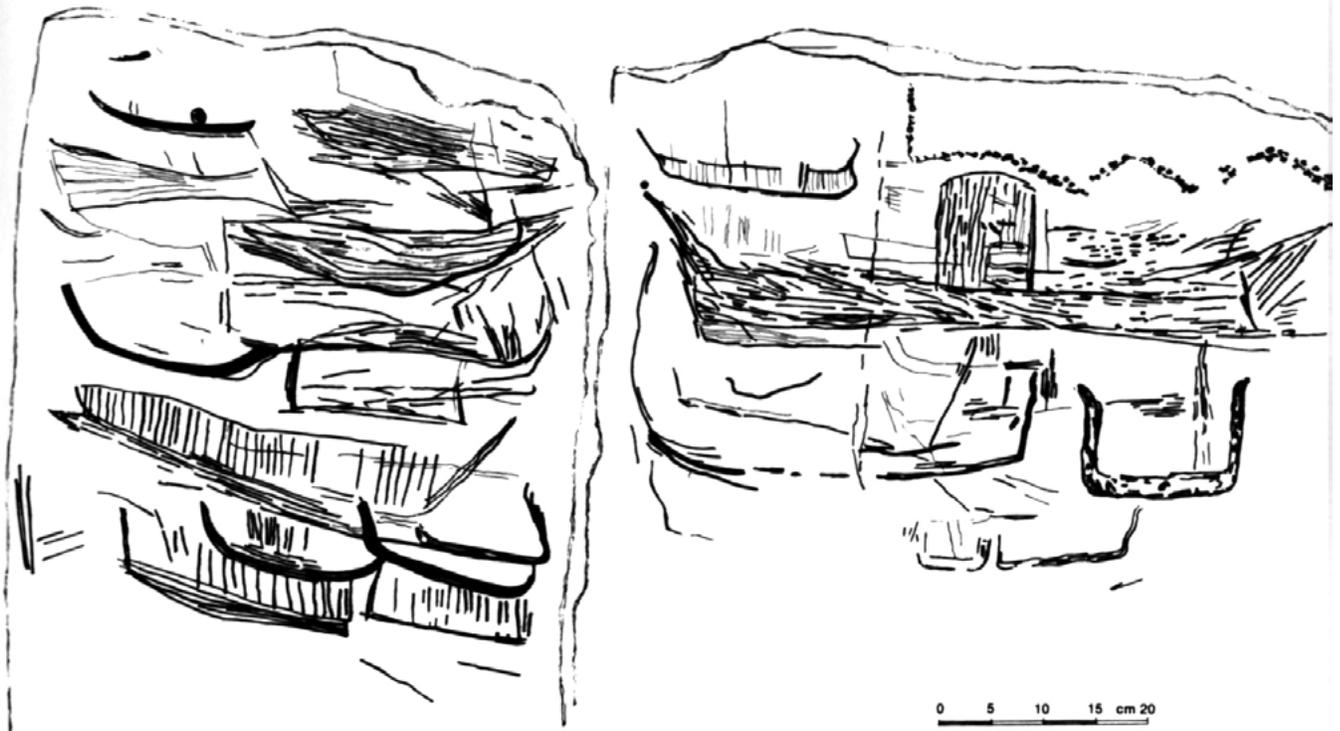


Fig. 24. Tarxien Temple. Engravings of boats (from Fradkin and Anati, 1988).

monuments for worship and was so sparing in providing their earthly homes?

Who owned the temples? To conceive the background of the temple phenomenon it is relevant to figure out what was the concept of ownership of the territory, harbors, agricultural land, and homes. Can we conceive of a regime where private property did not exist?

Population demography

The builders and users of the temples reached the Maltese islands by sea: it was the only possible way to reach an island. One might follow examples of the known colonization processes of islands in the Pacific or in the Arctic regions. From what we know of colonization of previously desert islands, usually, the newcomers are not big armies. The common standard is that of clans or a few families migrating to find their own living space. How many could have been the new colonizers of the temple age landing in Malta? Could their initial number be contained in one or a few

boats? Assuming that the Neolithic population grew beyond measure, without epidemics or other traumas, how many inhabitants could the Maltese islands have had at the time of the rise of temples? Assuming the number of the first settlers disembarking from a couple of boats as forming a group of 30-50 people, what demographic growth can we hypothesize? How many generations would it take to multiply that Neolithic population tenfold? And how many to increase it a hundredfold? Even risking an apex of demographic development multiplied 100 times from arriving, to 5,000 people, how many temple builders would be active in the entire territory of the islands?

From the very presence of the temples, we can deduce that the social structure was not only made up of food producers. It was a stratified society with various levels of activity, including those related to the function of temples. There must have been a ruling class, perhaps a house or a dynasty, or a caste of high priests, that is, religious and/or secular hierarchies. The various duties had to include, in addition to this category of leaders,



Fig. 25. Plan of the Tarxien Temple (drawn from aerial photographs based on the reliefs of J.D. Evans, 1971, Anati Archives).

officiants, soldiers and guards, navigators, land workers, cattle and sheep ranchers and other producers of resources and the needs for daily survival. They must also have included planners, stoneworkers, transporters, and builders. Where did the labor to build and manage dozens of megalithic monuments come from? The question is whether the archipelago could have at that time a sufficient population and local resources to support the workforce involved in the construction and operation of the temples. Could the creators of the temples have other types of resources, such as slaves, prisoners, and volunteers? What could Malta offer? How and why did the resources that allowed the construction and management of temples accumulate? To receive, it is also necessary to give.

Pollini's (1988) calculation of the use of labor for the construction of temples seems to reveal a particularly important fact: the temples could hardly have been built with only the workforce of the islanders. How, then, would the workers be found and with what resources were these temples built and maintained?

The end of the temple age

When the Bronze Age people arrived, the temples were already deserted, as vestiges of a ghost population. It was once more a matter of colonizing an uninhabited territory. In Tarxien, the temples were covered by sand dunes, a windborne layer that overlapped the temples, which the newcomers used to bury their dead. What had happened to a civilization that had created some of the most impressive architectural works of its time?



Fig. 26. Aerial view of the Ggantija temples (MLT 87 XLIV-33).

What caused the end, the abandonment of the Maltese islands? We do not know the exact causes but it was something against which the civilization of the temples had no defense. The hypotheses may be a period of extreme drought, as the sand dunes would indicate, a pestilence, an epidemic transmitted by the very assemblies that gave life to the temples, or perhaps the weariness of society due to a regime discipline that had become more and more intrusive, to which the subjects no longer wanted to submit. The hypotheses may be many, but for now the mystery remains unsolved. The system, the conceptual, economic and political function of the time of the temples had come to an end, it had stopped. What happened?

Function of ceremonial urbanization

Pilgrimages of the faithful to places deemed sacred are a globally widespread tradition that continues to attract multitudes to the monasteries of Tibet, the

sacred city of Varanasi in India, Mecca in Arabia, Lourdes or Santiago de Compostela in Europe. These places of pilgrimage and social gathering have contributed significant developments in urbanization thanks to the influx of devotees. Pilgrims undertake journeys, even long and tiring ones, by land. To reach Malta, the journey was necessarily by sea. The tradition of the itinerary to the place of revelation, wrapped in myth, dates back to prehistoric times (Anati, 2020).

The case of Mount Sinai in the middle of the desert in the Bible stories, where the tribes led by Moses would have come, camping at the foot of the sacred mountain, is a mythical example of the function that sacred places had over 3,000 years ago, in attracting human groups (Anati, 2017).

The tradition exists among hunter-gatherer peoples, such as some Australian aborigines, who cross deserts, undertake journeys on foot that last weeks, to gather in the sacred place, or the Saami of Lapland, in the

north of Scandinavia, who visit ancestral spirits and dedicate sacrifices to them in traditional sacred places, including islands. In the Canary Islands, there is a saga of a sacred islet where pilgrimage gatherings took place on the occasion of particular anniversaries. Can we imagine pilgrims coming to the Maltese temples? Elsewhere, in the European and Mediterranean area, there are prehistoric megalithic constructions that imply processes of ceremonial behavior, from the temple constructions of Göbekli Tepe in Anatolia, to Rujum Hiri in the Golan Heights, to Har Karkom in the Negev desert, to the numerous large megalithic constructions of the Atlantic area from the Iberian Peninsula to Ireland, to Stonehenge (Anati, 2007). Each of these zones exhibits different structural characteristics, which highlight local developments of common archetypal concepts. This is also repeated for the Maltese megalithic temples.

The ceremonial center of Göbekli Tepe, in Anatolia, about 10,000 years ago in a proto-Neolithic socio-economic horizon, preceded every urban center in the same area (Schmidt, 2010, 2011). It too is a phenomenon of ceremonial urbanization. The same occurs with the megalithic monuments of Morbihan, France or the Boyne Valley in Ireland, where the ensemble of monumental buildings of the cult of the dead, ancestors or spirits, are far more evident than the remains of the inhabited centers for the living. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that somebody built the monument, and somebody worshipped there. Their presence is attested by the monuments. They are large ceremonial centers, where the dead rest, and the living meet and practice ceremonial activities, seeking an encounter with ancestors, spirits, divinities or other conceptual entities conceived or recorded by the human mind (Anati, 2007). Similar phenomena occur in America in Aztec and Maya centers of worship, also an effect of ceremonial urbanization, the traces of which consist of monumental buildings with ritual functions. In these cases, the cult structures have made up the urban environment, where there are few traces of homes for family life. The inhabitants are of two kinds, the living worshippers and the ancestral imaginary ghosts. The phenomenon of ceremonial urbanization appears to have a worldwide distribution, and is not just a local trend. Their presence counts among the earliest manifestations of urban agglomerations. Even Jericho, the oldest known urban

settlement, 10,000 years ago, was probably founded for ceremonial functions (Anati, 2020b).

Conclusions

The dissemination of the Maltese Neolithic temples over the archipelago highlights a far-reaching phenomenon, that of ceremonial urbanization. The present paper has explored the historical bases, the beginning and end of this episode, the economic and social function of the temples' ceremonial function, the role of religion as a binding and socializing factor and its role in urbanization.

The case of the Maltese islands, like the other cases mentioned, represents a phenomenon that is repeated in various corners of the planet by different populations, with no apparent relationship between them, but with a common denominator: that of agglomerations of monumental constructions that imply the concentration of human nuclei, due not to agriculture or other direct economic activities, but to worship and ritualistic activities, that is, to ceremonial urbanization. This widespread trend requires further research in sociology, psychology, theology and, of course, the history of urbanization.

These manifestations dating back to prehistoric times are similar to the agglomerations of ceremonial Tibetan monastic sites, Christian monasteries and abbeys, and Hindu holy cities. The fortunes of places of worship were a reason for urban and economic expansion, from the Maltese Neolithic temples and even earlier from the Göbekli Tepe proto-Neolithic temple compound and from Jericho, to sacred Indian cities such as Khajuraho or Varanasi, to Mecca and Lourdes. According to recent studies, even the gigantic geoglyphs of Nazca in Peru are expressions of people meeting for ceremonial purposes, that is, a conceptual urbanization of the territory (Orefici, 2020).

Several major queries are unsolved. The economic background remains a riddle. In addition to the generic vision described above, what were the financial, political, and social functions of the temples? How was the workforce to build them found, fed and organized, and how were they managed? What did the beliefs and rituals practiced consist of? The ceremonial urbanization is evidenced by the monuments. More should come to light about their ceremonies and functions.

A provocative question remains that of what has not

yet been found in these temples. Each temple had to accumulate donations and fortunes, and so some of them had to have their own treasure chests. Perhaps these were underground, still hidden or in walls that reach a thickness of 5 m. Some hiding places may have been there for millennia.

This text proposes new areas of research to be based on the traditional archeological. The new horizons of analysis stimulate wide possible conceptual landscapes and offer hints for further work on the cases all over the world of ceremonial urbanism phenomena in the last 10,000 years. What was the major factor that was the origin of urbanization? What was the role of ceremonial assemblies?

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NEWLY DISCOVERED PICTOGRAMS AT MIL RIVER ROCK SHELTER IN SISTAN AND BALUCHESTAN PROVINCE, SOUTHEAST IRAN

Behrooz Barjasteh Delforoos

Department of Linguistics and Philology, Uppsala University, Uppsala (Sweden)

Samira Narooyi, Safoura Kalantari

Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization of Zahedan (Iran)

*“Toros, toros— Bulls, bulls! Father, come and look at the bulls!”
Twelve-year-old Maria de Sautuolo’s cry from deep inside the cave
reached her father as he dug in the rubble at the cave’s front.*

Marcus 1968: 3

Introduction

One hundred and forty years have passed since the Altamira cave in northern Spain revealed its treasure from more than 15,000 years ago to the world. Since then, other cave paintings have been discovered in southwestern France, such as Les Eyzies, Les Combarelles, Font-de-Gaume, and Lascaux, and also in other parts of the world such as Mexico, Africa, Asia, Australia, and America (Ghasimi, 1398/2019). The most recently (November 2020) discovered rock paintings, reported by *The Guardian*, is an eight-mile wall covered with tens of thousands of items of prehistoric rock art on the northern edge of the Colombian Amazon rainforest. They were created up to 12,500 years ago. Such examples demonstrate that rock art has been an artistic medium of communication for much longer than any writing system, and as such, is considered as “one of the most notable artistic cultural remains in different fields of study, such as archaeology, history of art, social sciences, etc.” (Hemati Azandaryani *et al.*, 2015: 61).

Numerous rock art sites, most of which are petroglyphs, have been discovered all over Iran, especially in the western part of the country, e.g., the Zagros Mountains. Here, many pictogram sites have also been found. The first report on Iranian rock art, which is also the first one from Baluchestan, was published by an Italian geologist (Dessau, 1960). The petroglyphs were discovered during a geological expedition in December 1958 near Gazu village in Khash county. For the next three decades, there were just three reports on pictograms in Lurestan (Izad-

panah, 1969; Mc Burney, 1969) and petroglyphs in Tuyserkan in Hamadan Province (Sarraf and Bashshash, 1366/1987). During the past three decades, Iranian rock art research has gained a prominent place among the archeological subjects that scholars survey and study. As archeologists have been drawn to this early human art, more searches for rock art sites have taken place throughout Iran, and many sites were discovered. The result has been an astonishing number of papers, MA theses, and even a few book publications.

Iranian Baluchestan is very rich in rock art. There are petroglyphs engraved in many valleys, but the documentation has been slow so far. The number of sites containing pictograms, on the other hand, can be counted on the fingers of one hand. The main concentration of pictograms in Iranian Baluchestan is located in the Saravan area, and no reports have been received from other regions. The Mil River rock shelter is, so far, the only example of such a site that has been discovered and documented after a report given by a local student.

A good summary of Iranian rock art previous research is provided in Ghasimi and Mohammadi Ghasriyan (1391/2012). Since then, there have been several discoveries and new reports on previously discovered sites all over Iran, some of which are mentioned by Ghasimi (1398/2019: 30-37). As the aim of this paper is to introduce a newly discovered rock shelter with pictograms in Iranian Baluchestan, we have only named some of the articles about pictograms, such as Sarhaddi (2013), Karimi (2014), and Hemati Azandaryani, *et al.* (2015).

Research objective and method of recording

In this paper we aim to identify, document, and describe Mil River pictograms, around Gerdak village,

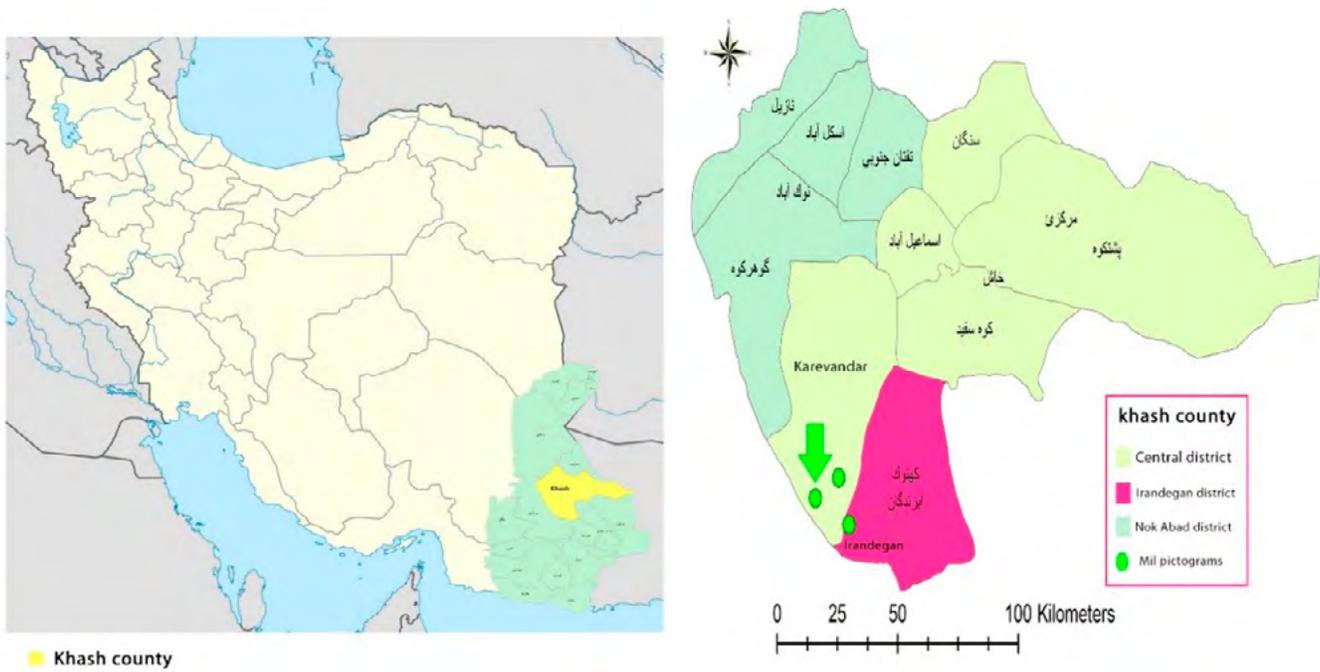


Fig. 1. Maps showing the location of Mil River pictograms in Khash county, Sistan and Baluchestan Province.

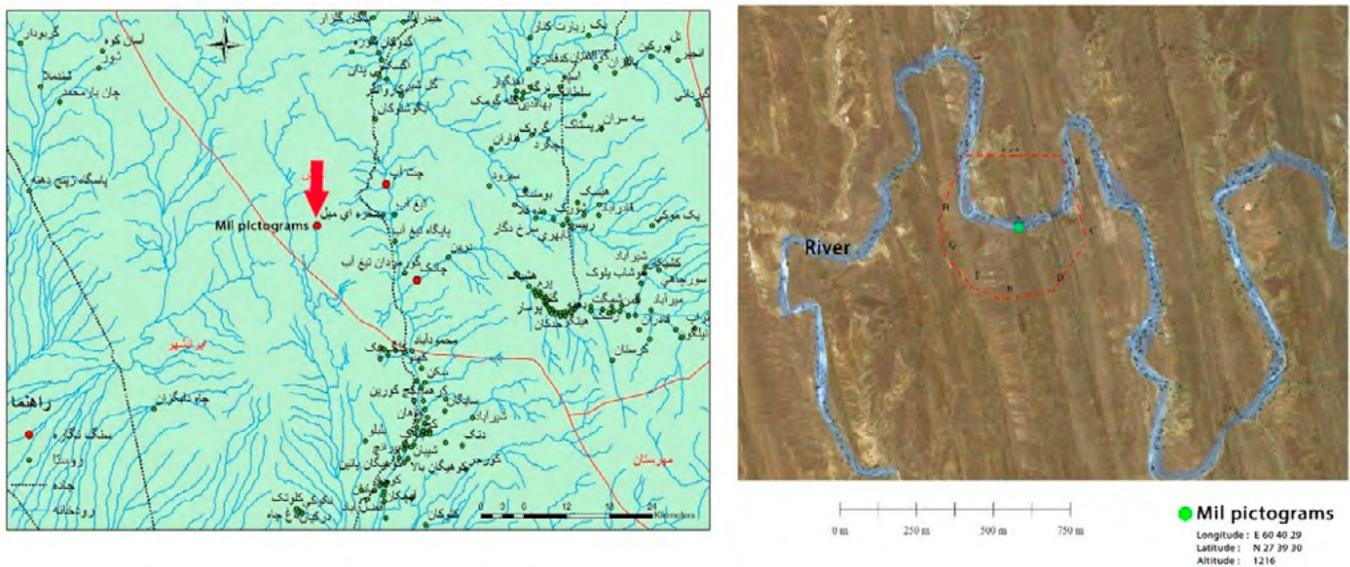


Fig. 2. Maps showing the location of Mil River pictograms (Google Earth, www.google.com/earth/).

Karvandar district, Khash county, Sistan and Baluchestan Province, situated in the southeast of Iran. Our data were collected during fieldwork carried out in February 2018. The remoteness and isolation of the area and lack of financial and logistic support are the main reasons that prevented us from doing more fieldwork in adjacent valleys, where more rock art

sites had been reported. After identifying the pictograms, we named them after the region and the river, both of which are called Mil. Pictograms on the shelter wall were photographed from a position directly in front of the figures. The IFRAO standard Scale (10 x 4 cm) was also used to measure the pictograms in the study. Later,



Fig. 3. Valley's entrance.



Fig. 4. Top of a mountain (1,410 m asl).



Fig. 5. Sūr kurtin.

the digitalized photos were treated with Corel Draw and Adobe Photoshop graphics software.

Site description

Access to the site

In 2017, a student informed us of some rock paintings somewhere inside a mountainous area in the central district of Khash county (figs. 1 and 2). She had heard about the pictograms from one of her relatives who had heard from a shepherd who sometimes grazed his flocks in those valleys. In February 2018, due to the importance of finding any pictogram in the province, we planned a quick survey, and then we drove to the area called Tighāp.

From the main road, a dirty road nearly 3 km long led us to the valley's entrance where the first temporary settlement (called Gazz-e Heidari, 1,100 m asl.) of semi-nomadic Baloch herdsmen had been established on a flat terrace. We had to leave the car there and walk through the valley to continue our way up and down the hills in the mountainous area (fig. 3). It took us about four hours to reach the Mil River rock shelter.

On the way, after travelling a long distance through the valley, we ascended a mountain (fig. 4) and then descended to reach to another settlement (the area is called Sūr kurtin, 730 m asl) in the middle of the valley where we visited a Baloch herdsman who was living alone in a hut built from the stones that lay scattered everywhere along the valley and inside the dried riverbed. The Baloch herdsman told us about an old leopard that had attacked his herd the night before.

There were also three wicker shelters to house the flocks and store belongings (fig. 5).

After a short rest, we started to move again towards the rock shelter. Finally, we arrived at an open area covered with thick river sediments (fig. 6), behind a bottleneck (fig. 7). Here, the rock shelter appeared on the right after a couple of meters.

The rock shelter

The rock shelter is located 3.5 m above the riverbed in a narrow gorge on the north side of the Mil River¹

¹ “Mil” in Balochi is a pit that is dug naturally on the foot of a rock by intense water flow.



Fig. 6. The area with a thick deposition of sediment behind the bottleneck.



Fig. 7. A bottleneck, a couple of meters on the left side of the rock shelter.



Fig. 8. Rock shelter containing pictograms (1,216 m alt.).



Fig. 9. Illegal digging.

(fig. 8) with the GPS coordinates of 27° 39' 3" N and 60° 40' 2" E at an altitude of 1,216 m above sea level. The front part of the shelter's ceiling had collapsed long ago, and there were signs of illegal excavation and other disturbances (fig. 9). The rock shelter is 4 m deep, 2 m wide, and 4 m tall, and opens southwards.

On the shelter's west wall, the latest natural floor trace can be seen 110 cm above the present floor (fig. 10).

The pictogram collection is painted on the surface of the slanted rock shelter's west wall. It covers an area about 120 cm length and 270 cm width of the whole area of the rock surface. In total, 14 motifs are depicted on this panel.

Pictograms

The panel, which can be divided into two parts, consists of 14 zoomorphs, anthromorphs, horse-riding scenes, and plant figures. They were created using red pigment, which was presumably available in the local region (figs. 11 and 12). The paintings can be classified into two styles: a naturalistic style and a schematic abstract style, which belong to two distinct periods. The schematic paintings consist of two scenes on the lower part on the right and one in the middle of the panel. However, these paintings are not as lifelike and realistic as those of the second part. The second part represents two beautiful monochrome scenes with images of a naturalistic style in the panel's upper left side. It seems that there are two different formulations of red pigment, which correspond to the colors observed, the red and dark red of the schematic paintings, and the light red or henna color of the naturalistic ones. These lighter colors have changed to light brown, maybe due to a thin layer of calcium oxalate that has made the red seem pale. There is no sign of cutting and outlining the shapes of the ibexes, deer, zoomorphs, anthromorphs, and trees before they were painted in.

Scenes on the panel

Scenes on the lower right side of the panel in the schematic style

Five human figures riding horses, an anthromorph, and two unknown zoomorphs have been painted on this part. Scene 1: The first scene (fig. 13), which is



Fig. 10. The trace of the latest floor on the west wall.



Fig. 11. The western wall of the rock shelter with pictograms.

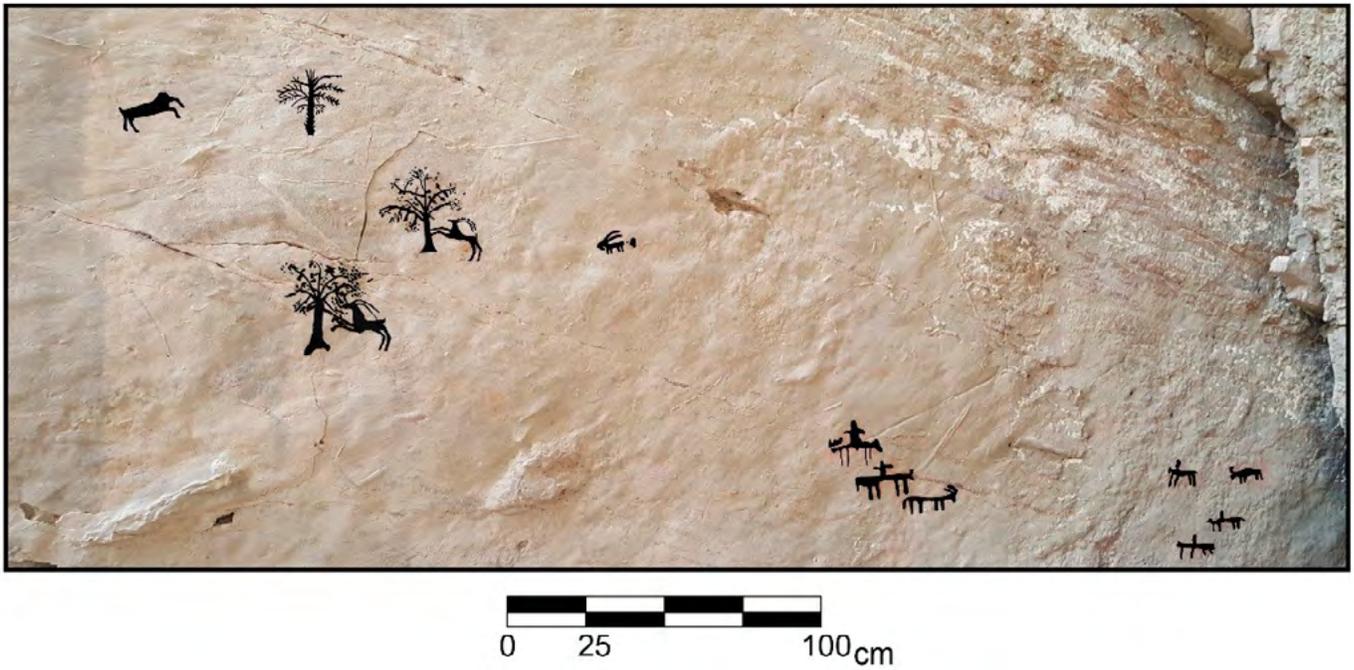


Fig. 12. Design: Safoura Kalantari.

located at the end of the right side of the panel, near the end of the shelter, consists of three horse riders who are moving towards the left. The first painting presents an unknown zoomorph (an ibex or a dog); on its right, an anthromorph-like creature is standing, and they are both facing left. It seems that once another rider was depicted under the lower horse rider on the scene.

Scene 2: The second scene (fig. 14) is located 40 cm away, on the left, from the first scene. It contains a horse rider above, a horse rider in the middle and an unknown creature below with a rather long tail and horns, or ears. The color of the above horse rider is different to some extent from the two lower ones. It also faces left while the lower horse rider and zoomorph are looking towards the right. The trace of color under the zoomorph is probably evidence of another painting.

Scene 3: The third scene (fig. 15) is located 60 cm above and to the left of the second scene, nearly in the middle of the panel. It shows only one zoomorph with long horns (probably an ibex) and an unknown figure behind it. This zoomorph faces left.

Scenes on the upper left side of the panel in the naturalistic style

Scene 1: The first scene (fig. 16) shows two lotus/mastic trees with fruit and two zoomorphs (gazelles) standing on their hind legs eating the fruit and leaves of the trees from the right. The upper zoomorph is 25 cm to the left of the ibex from the third scene. It is leaning its front legs against the tree. Seven knots are visible on its right horn. The lower zoomorph is 20 cm away, on the lower left of the above one, and seems to have knots on its horn, but the knots' size is smaller and cannot be counted.

Scene 2: This scene, or the last scene (fig. 17), is located at the end of the left side of the panel and 20cm above the first scene, near the shelter entrance. It consists of a palm tree towards which a zoomorph is jumping from the left while standing on its hind legs. The body is visible, but its head is missing. We are sure that the shape was once complete, but the head gradually faded and disappeared, probably due to exposure to natural factors such as air, sunlight, and rain.



Fig. 13. Three riders and a dog.



Fig. 14. Two riders and a zoomorph.



Fig. 15. An ibex.

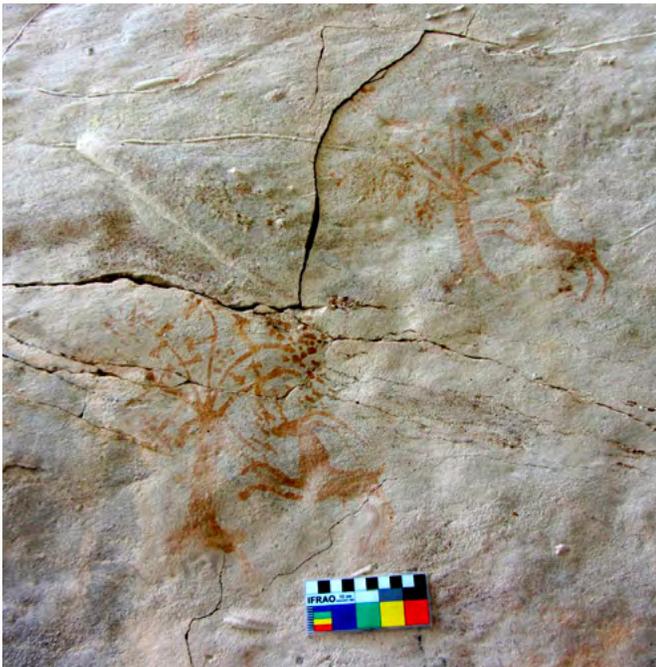


Fig. 16. Two zoomorphs (gazelles) eating leaves of the trees.

Discussion

The pictograms on the panel's left side are relatively high on the wall because the soil and stones have been removed from the latest floor since the pictograms were drawn. The trace of the latest floor level can be seen on the wall (fig. 10). In contrast, the pictograms on the lower right part of the panel are much older, and when they were drawn, the floor was probably equal to the existing ground surface, about 110 cm below the lowest pictogram on the right side. This site has been fully exposed to weathering and vandalism for hundreds, perhaps thousands, of years. Thus, some of the figures are already faint or have even faded

away, as can be seen.

Although there are two methods of dating rock art, i.e., direct dating methods and traditional dating methods, it is not an easy task to estimate the exact, or even relative, age of petroglyphs and pictograms. Direct dating methods are those of "obtaining absolute or relative numerical ages for rock art from a feature or substance that is physically relatable to the rock art" (Bednarik 1998: 411). In the case of pictograms, "this can include organic pigment or binder, microscopic biota, lipids, proteins, carbohydrates, vegetable remains such as brush fibers, airborne debris and so forth" (Bednarik 2002: 12). For example, ^{14}C carbonate precipitates obtain absolute or relative numerical ages from a feature or a substance that is physically relatable to the paintings, the paint residue (Bednarik 1998: 1; 2010: 217). The life of radiocarbon 14 in wood and plant material gives relatively accurate dating, especially for the samples from more than 20,000 years ago (Marcus 1968: 80-81). As the Mil River pictograms are in the open air and a couple of meters above a watercourse, which still flows following rainy seasons, calcium oxalate coating must exist on the panel. AMS (Accelerator Mass Spectrometry) ^{14}C dating of calcium oxalate crusts both underlying and overlying the paintings is another direct method that may help establish dates for the Mil River pictograms, which may not otherwise be dated directly (Ruiz *et al.*, 2012: 1). To identify the physicochemical properties of the paint and the surface of the wall, we suggest the combined techniques that Mas (*et al.* 2013) used for Minateda rock shelter in Spain. It may also be possible to use the same multi-technique approach that Bonneau (*et al.* 2012) used to study the pigments in San rock, South Africa.

Direct dating methods cannot be carried out in Iran since we do not have access to the necessary technologies. Therefore, traditional methods of rock art dating are used, which "can broadly be described as falling into the categories of iconographic determination, stylistic claims, presumed technique of execution, association with archaeological finds by excavation, topographic proximity, weathering, and patination study, superimposition of motifs, and a combination of two or more of these approaches" (Bednarik 2002: 1).



Fig. 17. A headless zoomorph.

In brief, concerning the iconography and style, some of the pictograms at the Mil River can be compared with those of Kuh-e Donbeh (Karimi 2014: 122, 126) in Esfahan Province (figs. 18, 19), and some with those of Shamsali and Gorgali rock shelters in Kohgiluyeh and Buier Ahmad Province (Hemati Azandaryani *et al.*, 2015) to estimate their age. So, some of them can be dated to no later than the Achaemenid period (according to two pieces of evidence: Fravahar, the symbol of Ahuramazda, and an Old Persian cuneiform inscription) or at least to the second half of the first millennium BC. However, some probably date back to a prehistoric period.

In this regard, we have to mention that no such theme has been found in petroglyphs so far. Furthermore, the Mil pictogram images, i.e., ibexes standing on their hind legs eating fruit or leaves of the trees, are similar to an image in a goblet with five pictures of a goat jumping toward a tree eating the leaves found in Shahr-e-Sokhta, Sistan, Iran. The goblet is from the latter half of the 3rd millennium BC, and it is considered to be the first animation in the world (figs. 20, 21). In petroglyphs and on pottery, the goats and

ibexes are mostly shown with a long beard; however, at least, in our pictograms on the upper left (figs. 11, 12), those two zoomorphs do not have any beard, which makes us sure that they should be gazelles rather than ibexes.

Conclusion

This paper presents the Mil River pictograms for the first time. The geographical and environmental conditions of that mountainous area imply that a hunter-gatherer or a pastoral community presumably made the paintings. The small number of identified pictogram sites in Iran makes studying the pictograms of this rock shelter quite important. We identified 14 motifs on the wall of this rock shelter, all in red. The motifs in this rock shelter are mostly zoomorphic (ibexes or gazelles), anthropomorphic horse riders, two kinds of trees, and some unknown zoomorphs. According to comparisons of the motifs' iconographic and art style comparisons, the Mil River pictograms can be classified and dated in two different periods, probably not later than the first millennium BC. The naturalistic images on the up-

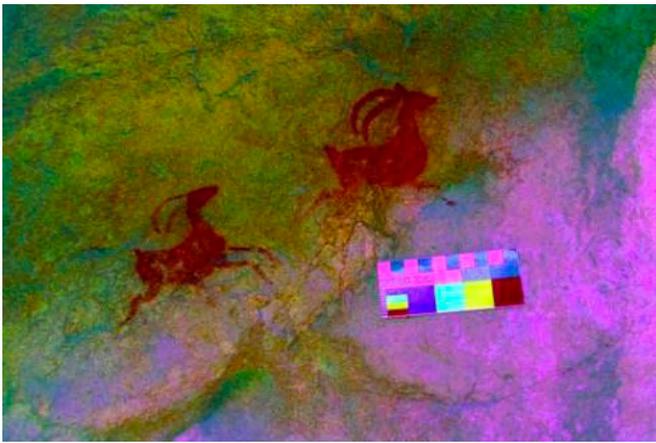
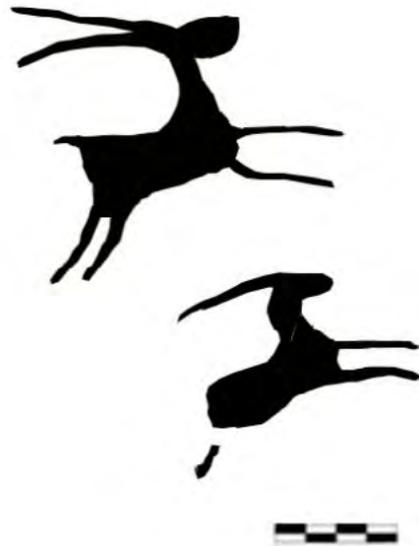


Fig. 18. Kuh-e-Donbeh, site I (Karimi 2014: 122) (Design: Safoura Kalantari).



Fig. 19. Kuh-e-Donbeh site IV (Karimi 2014: 126) (Design: Safoura Kalantari).



per left side of the panel were depicted later than the schematic images on the lower right, and they have been exposed to a higher level of weathering since they have been nearer to the entrance of the rock shelter. As a result, some parts of the motifs have faded or even disappeared over time.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all of our Baloch friends who accompanied and guided us to visit the site. Their help made it possible to record and document the Mil River rock shelter pictograms and write this paper.

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Fig. 21. Animation of drawing on the above pottery vessel (reproduced by Safoora Kalantari).



Fig. 20. Animation pottery vessel found in Shahr-i Sokhta, Iran (Wikimedia Commons photo by Emesik).

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URBAN ORIGINS IN MOZAMBIQUE: MANYIKENI AND NIAMARA, TWO DIVERGENT ARCHITECTURAL STYLES OF THE SECOND MILLENNIUM AD

Solange Macamo

Corresponding Author, Associate Professor in Archaeology and Built Heritage,
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo (Mozambique)

Vitalina Jairoce, Hamido Atuia, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimucuo

Archaeologists and Heritage Managers, graduates of the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology
Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo (Mozambique)

Introduction

In 1986, Paul Sinclair initiated a research program on urban origins in eastern Africa at a meeting in Stockholm at the Swedish Central Board of National Antiquities (Sinclair 1998: 57). One of the results of this was the investigation of the Manyikeni stone enclosure in the scope of the program and consequently the Niamara one, both located in Mozambique.

The location of Manyikeni relatively near the Indian Ocean favoured early trade contacts and this also initiated urbanism. However, a different geographical position was observed for Niamara, since the distance from either a major river or the coastline is large, although in the highlands of central Mozambique (Macamo 2006). The monumentality of these sites has been taken as a key indicator of urbanism, but they also diverge in terms of architecture that was the origin of what we define as complexity in the Zimbabwe-Khami tradition. Great Zimbabwe (Garlake 1973), the major Zimbabwe tradition type site located in present Zimbabwe, represents a complex society, “based on its monumental architecture and rich material culture” (Pikirayi 2018: 84). Paul Sinclair (quoted by Pikirayi 2018: 83-4) largely influenced the common approaches to researching Great Zimbabwe, in understanding not only the stone-walled settlements, but also the landscape that it directly affected. This will be discussed further, in combination with the *dhaka* element, or clay building material, used by both the elite and the commoners in their dwellings.

According to Sida (1998: 9), “Urban heritage is an irreplaceable element of local tradition, without which the meaning of locality and specific references to sites and their history are lost”. We are also aware of the

new concept of the urban mind that challenges traditional objectivism of urbanism (Sinclair 2010: 12). That said, this paper will focus on urban origins, based on some of the most spectacular stone enclosures of the Zimbabwe-Khami tradition found in Mozambique. It is identified based on its distinct pottery style but also using architectural characterizations: free-standing walls and retaining walls (Ndoro 2001). To stress this, we have selected the examples of Manyikeni (1200 to 1700 AD) on the coastal plain in Inhambane province, and Niamara (15th century AD), in the highlands of Manica province in Mozambique. They will be interpreted in terms of architectural style, to further understand why they were built and what function they may have carried. The architectural differences observed between the two is discussed, in order to further understand the Zimbabwe-Khami tradition in Mozambique.

The builders of the Zimbabwe stone enclosures were the Shona-speaking society, one of the Eastern Bantu languages, spoken in modern Zimbabwe, bordering with western Mozambique (for discussion see Huffman 1996: 1-4). He observed that the linguistic overview, together with the Portuguese records and settlement chronology establishes the Shona origins of the Zimbabwe culture. He also stressed that; scholarly attention has shifted from questioning of who were the builders of the Zimbabwe stone enclosures and when to the nature of Zimbabwe society. This also concerns Mozambique where a significant number of Zimbabwe stone enclosures are found. Based on archeological and linguistic evidence, David Beach (1993) analyses the environment, the location of the speakers of the Shona language and their neighbours, to explain

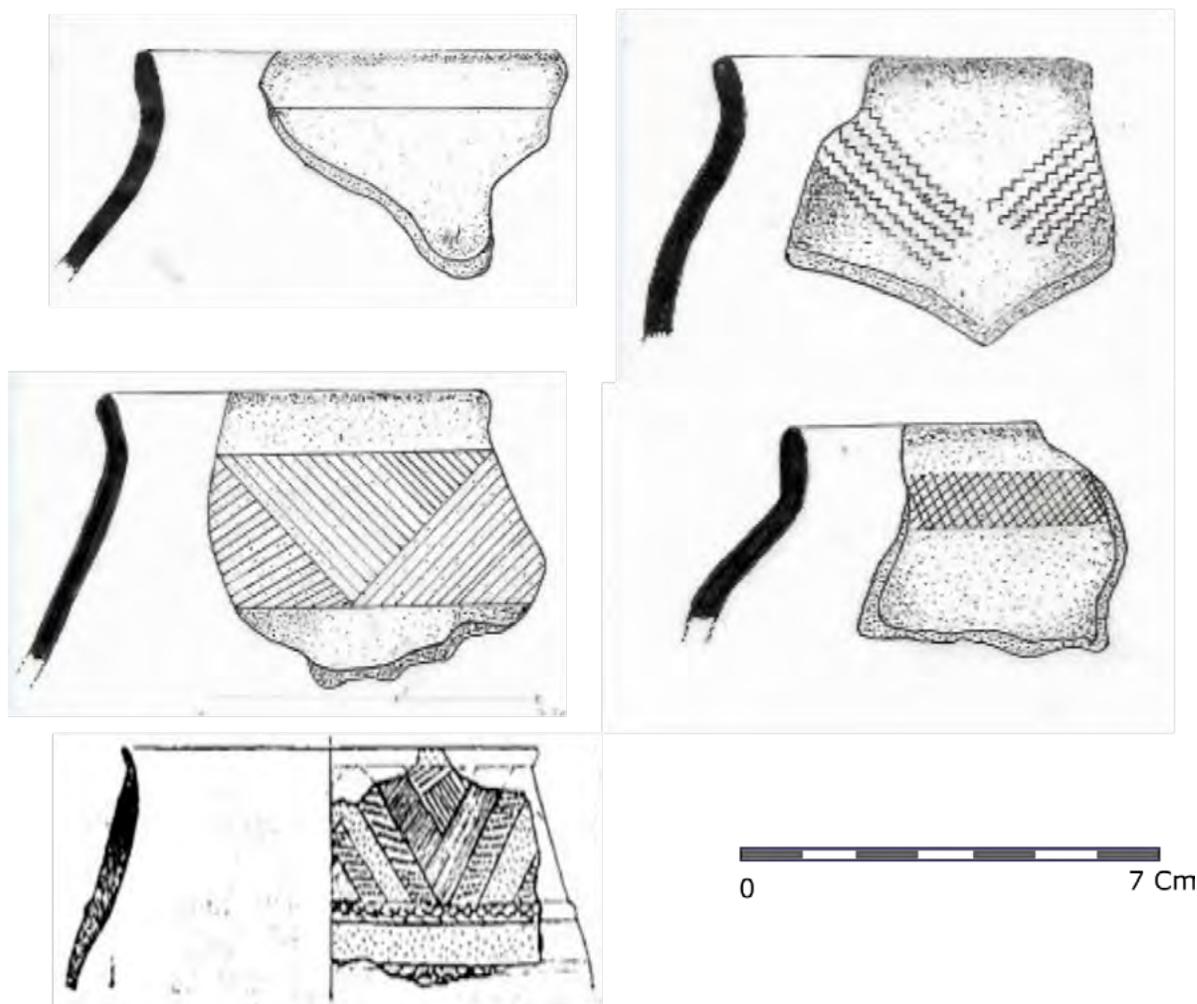


Fig. 1. The heterogeneity of pottery styles at the site of Manyikeni.

how the people became established.

The pottery tradition analysis has shown to be useful to elucidate the relationship of the Shona and their neighbours. In Mozambique, the heterogeneity of pottery, particularly at the site of Manyikeni (Atuia 2019; fig. 1) can be useful for interpreting cultural groups and identities (Morais 1992), as part of urban complexity. However, the use of pottery analysis to compare with people has its own limitations. Additional information is necessary, based on ethno-historic and linguistic data as a key solution to this (Macamo 2011: 251, quoting Morais 1999).

These cultural groups may have been subordinated to the Shona ethnic group or played specific roles that need to be further understood, but this is beyond the focus of this paper.

Scope of the paper and methods

The scope of this paper is to define the Zimbabwe-Khami tradition, using the sites of Manyikeni and Niamara with divergent architectures, to further understand urban origins in Mozambique. They represent the monumental stone buildings used by the ruling elite, as a symbol of prestige, in many parts of the Zimbabwe plateau and in Mozambique, during the precolonial time. Following Huffman (1996: 1), the distribution of these stone buildings marks what can be called the Zimbabwe culture.

The stone buildings of Niamara and Manyikeni will be assessed in this paper, using the archaeological evidence and architectural features, by means of comparison with other studied examples in the southern African region (see also Maculuvu 2019).

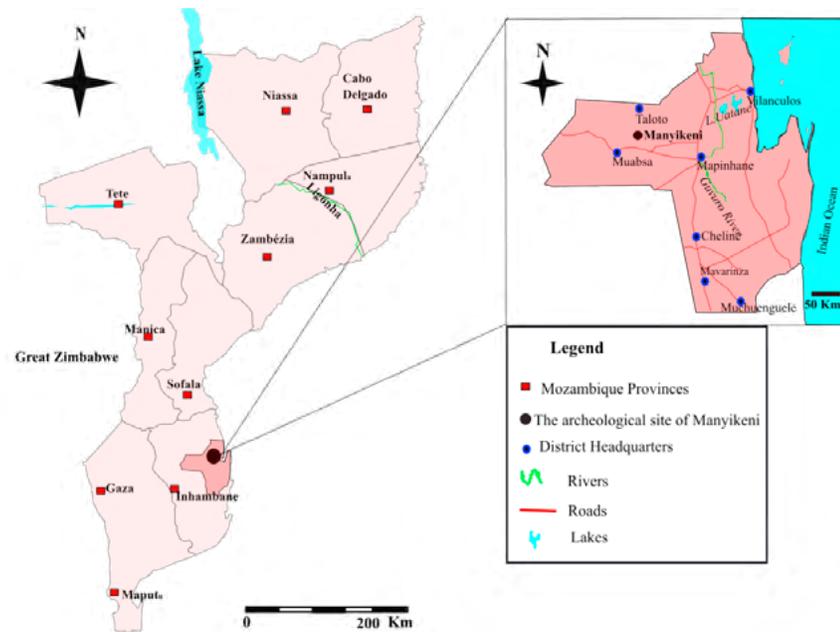


Fig. 2. Location map of Manyikeni (created by Hamido Atuia).

The art of building in stone to surround residential areas was lost, but *dhaka* houses are still common mainly in rural areas of Mozambique and they are assessed here through the ethnographic record from Inhambane province¹.

Manyikeni

Site location and the history of investigation

It is situated on the coastal plains of the Indian Ocean, in Inhambane province, in Vilankulo District (fig. 2). It is recognized by the presence of baobab trees (*Adansonia*) as part of the local environment (fig. 3). Until recently, it was the only Zimbabwe-tradition stone enclosure found relatively near the coast. However, in 2014 a new one was identified in the same region, much closer to the sea compared with Manyikeni and located in the village of Nhanimela (fig. 4). It was given the name of Zimbabwe of Ngomeni, meaning

masonry house in the local Xitswa language spoken in Vilankulo District (Macamo et al. forthcoming).

Manyikeni is the only Zimbabwe type site in Mozambique that received a greater research attention from the colonial times. In 1961, Lerenó Barradas, a member of the National Colonial Commission on Monuments and Relics visited the site and called it a Zimbabwe trading emporium of Portuguese origin (Macamo 2006: 149 quoting Garlake 1976: 25; Morais & Sinclair 1980: 351). After National Independence, João Morais, archeologist from Eduardo Mondlane University initiated systematic excavations in the stone enclosure at Manyikeni with the participation of the archeologists Peter Garlake and Graeme Barker from the British Institute in Eastern Africa. In 1977 the investigation of Manyikeni was extended to the area outside the stone enclosure by João Morais and Paul Sinclair who established the parameters of behavioural archeology (a spatial method of analysis, to help to understand how the site was occupied). After a break, the site was again investigated within the scope of Urban Origins in Eastern Africa, Follow-Up Programme sponsored by the Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation (SAREC). This included also heritage management.

¹ The following descriptions of Niamara and Manyikeni were updated from Solange Macamo's PhD thesis, published in Uppsala, Sweden, in 2006. Vitalina Jairose made the ethnographic records to understand the construction process of *dhaka* houses in the province of Inhambane. Hamido Atuia has demonstrated the variation of pottery styles at the site of Manyikeni. Arlindo Zomba visited the site of Niamara in 2017 to further understand what it looks like. Laurinda Mutimucuiu updated the concept of central places as applied to Niamara (see also Macamo et al. 2018).



Fig. 3. The baobab tree (*Adansonia*) at Manyikeni with an artificial hole, probably for storing water from the rain (after Macamo 2006).

Architecture

The stone enclosure has an elliptic shape in Manyikeni (fig. 5). It is about 50 m wide and 65 m long. Originally, there were probably walls, which were 1.50 m high. It has three entrances, one of which is round (Garlake 1976; Morais and Sinclair 1980, quoted in Macamo 2006). The stone enclosure has six internal divisions, also designated radial walls (Pikirayi, pers. comm. 1996), similar to those found on the Songo site in the form of remains. In Manyikeni, remains of huts made of *dhaka* were also found (Morais and Sinclair 1980: 350), some of which were restored in 1979 for educational purposes (Sinclair 1987: 91-9). This verification as well as the spatial organization also enabled researchers to estimate the number of people living at Manyikeni to be 150-200, but this indicator, in isolation, is not enough to make any conclusions about urban origins.

In Manyikeni, the stone enclosure was built of limestone as well as in the other one of Ngomeni (fig. 6; fig. 7; fig. 8; fig. 9). The use of limestone in Manyikeni resulted in a relatively low quality construction, compared with granite. The stone enclosure in Manyikeni is identified based on a single stone enclosure, which

has an alignment of stone layers, which call to mind class “P” of Great Zimbabwe (Garlake 1976: 27). This represents, however, the Zimbabwe tradition, even though it was not built from granite (Pwiti 1990a: 204-10 quoted in Macamo 2006). The radial walls in Manyikeni dividing the ruling elite houses can justify this. It is likely that there might have been also a conical tower inside the stone enclosure, as seen at Great Zimbabwe stone enclosure, but this is hard to prove given the collapsing state of the enclosure.

Urban origins interpretation

As stated by Paul Sinclair (1987: 96), the evidence for exchange is exemplified by several finds from Manyikeni, indicating outside contacts. For example, a considerable collection of glass beads was obtained. He adds that “many more beads were recovered from the enclosure area than from outside and this is reflected in the occurrence of gold which was only found on the enclosure platform”. This also reinforces the position stressed in this paper about the appropriation of trade goods by the ruling elite for power and social differentiation, a fundamental element of urban origins.



Fig. 4. Location map of the newly identified Zimbabwe stone enclosure of Ngomeni in relation to Manyikeni (after Macamo et al. forthcoming).

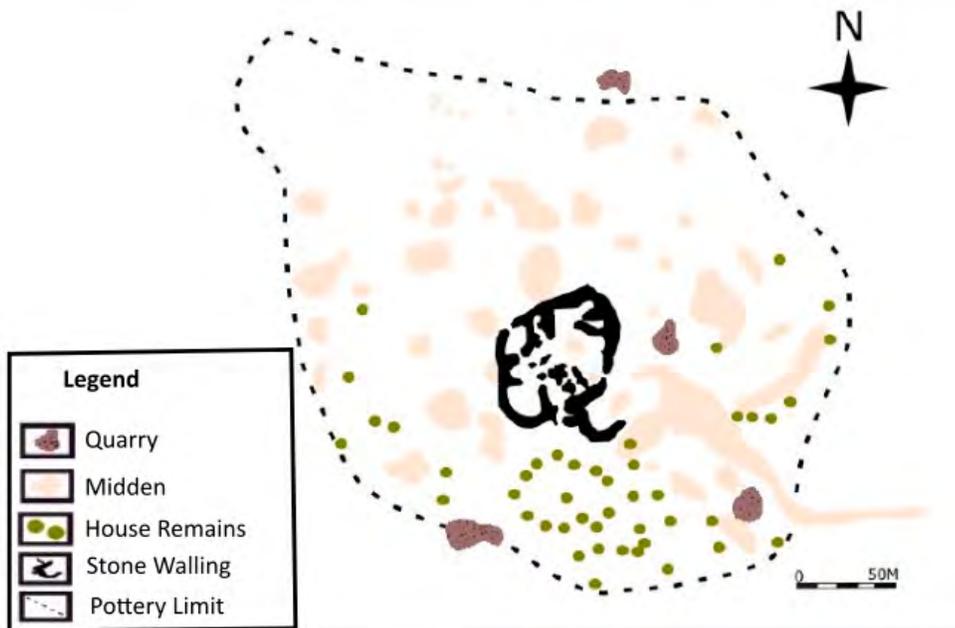


Fig. 5. The site plan of Manyikeni stone enclosure (after Sinclair 1987).

Niamara

Site location and the history of investigation

It is in the province of Manica, in central Mozambique at the peak of the Choa mountain range (fig. 10; fig. 11). The difficult access of the site situated at the peak of the mountain made it less investigated compared with Manyikeni. The site was first excavated by H.A. Wieschhoff when he was taking part in Frobenius' ninth expedition to Africa from 1928 to 1930 (Macamo 2006: 133). In 1996 the site was visited again by a team from Eduardo Mondlane University led by Solange Macamo, in a research project funded by Sida SAREC-Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation.

The site was visited once again by Arlindo Zomba, in 2017, for the oral history record.

Architecture

Niamara was probably a small town of about 30 huts, in which 9 or even 10 were located inside the main enclosure (fig. 12; fig. 13; fig. 14). The length of the Niamara stone enclosure is about 130 m, i.e., more than twice as long as Manyikeni. The width is c. 25 m. Like Manyikeni, Niamara was not isolated. In the valley, another related stone enclosure of Magure was identified, ca 13 km south-east of Niamara (Macamo 2006: 144; fig. 15).



Fig. 6. The Manyikeni stone wall (photo by Amós Caliate).



Fig. 7. Entrance at Manyikeni stone enclosure (photo by Amós Caliate).



Fig. 8. Face of buttress at Manyikeni stone enclosure. The low quality construction can be observed due to the use of limestone compared with granite.

The topographic location of Niamara favoured the control of the surrounding landscape. Schist, rich in mica, was used for the construction of the stone enclosure. This contrasts with the coastal plain, in Manyikeni, where the building material consists of dolerite. The platform inside the stone enclosure rests on uneven bedrock, where the depressions have been filled

with shaped stones (Wieschhoff 1941). This technique for platform construction can also be found at the Songo stone enclosure (Macamo 2006). The longitudinal axis of the stone enclosure follows approximately the summit of the mountain. Its nucleus in the northern part constitutes the major construction area, which also displays scattered stones. This part is integrated within a system of platforms and walling (Gerharz 1973: 205).

The platform type is evidence of the later Zimbabwe-tradition style, founded in Khami. (Robinson 1959) recognized here the Khami platform retaining walls (Ndoro 2001). Owing to the weathering properties of schist, the Niamara walling consists of a relatively large number of small stones. They were arranged irregularly side by side and, when necessary, locked into place with small stones (Gerharz 1973: 205).

This type of construction differs from the ones in Great Zimbabwe and Khami, where the stones have been placed in layers forming courses.

The building technique of the Niamara stone enclosure shows some similarities with Mapungubwe, where the stone layers are not arranged following a regular pattern (Fouché 1937, quoted in Macamo 2006). Like in Niamara, spaces between the larger stones are filled with smaller ones.

Remains of *dhaka*, which was used to cement the wall, are visible in Niamara (Wieschhoff 1941; Gerharz 1973: 205; fig. 16). Oliveira (1963: 86) disregards this aspect and considers the construction technique



Fig. 9. Part of the best preserved stone enclosure in Ngomeni (a courtesy of Leonardo Adamowicz).

at Niamara identical to the Zimbabwe-type site. At least six monoliths were placed on the top of the wall in the northeast part of the stone enclosure. Similar monoliths are also found at the Great Zimbabwe stone enclosure, signifying a symbol of power². In Niamara, a first impression is that the houses are built like clay Zimbabwe since the stone walls were plastered using *dhaka*. Following Wieschhoff (1941: 42), it should be said that their use is limited in time. He argues that ethnographic studies indicate that *dhaka* houses should be renovated every ten years. Ndoro (2001: 34) has shown that *dhaka* structures can partially survive in various forms for 500-900 years. Since the Niamara stone enclosure was inhabited for more than a century it is assumed that such clay Zimbabwe houses could not have been preserved at the time of our survey, in 1997 and in 2017. Following Wieschhoff (1941: 18-19) it is also true that the *dhaka* forms of clay are more easily subject to destruction compared with granite or other sand, because the clay is more easily washed away by rain, while the heavier

2 Most of the known *dhaka* structures in southern Africa were made from grey or brown material (Ndoro 2001: 34). In Niamara, the *dhaka* color's composition is reddish. This is consistent with the schist rock, which transforms into red soil because of its natural decomposition (Gerharz 1973: 204). The mineralogical constituents of *dhaka* were given in Ndoro (2001: 35). Gerharz (1973: 205) states that the Niamara stone enclosure architecture was complemented by horizontal and vertical *dhaka* structures. There are also the so-called clay Zimbabwe like that of M'Bire Nhantekwe, that was found in Tete province, Mozambique (Macamo 2006).

particles of granite are more likely to remain in their original positions.

Urban origins interpretation

The analytical basis founded on the architecture of Niamara described above combined with archeological evidence provides elements towards interpreting urban origins. Urbanism in Niamara may have originated from a linear urban pattern linked with fluvial routes, using the Púngué River to Sofala Bay, in the Indian Ocean (Bannerman 2012). This is indicated by the existence of imported items, such as glazed ware of Chinese provenance, that were found in Niamara. The appropriation of these exotic items by the elite reinforced their leading position and social differentiation as a phenomenon of urban origins and central places.

Ethnographic observations on the construction of *dhaka* straw houses in Inhambane Province

Huts, also known as clay houses, are houses made of straw, which are usually built in the countryside (Ribeiro 2015: 37). In the various forms of construction of houses made with *dhaka*, in Inhambane province (fig. 17), they can be understood through the ethnographic record, most of which, mainly in southern Africa and until the middle of the 20th century, were characterized by the presence of circular plans. According to Bruschi (2005: 45), quoted by Ribeiro (2015), the first style of this construction was the

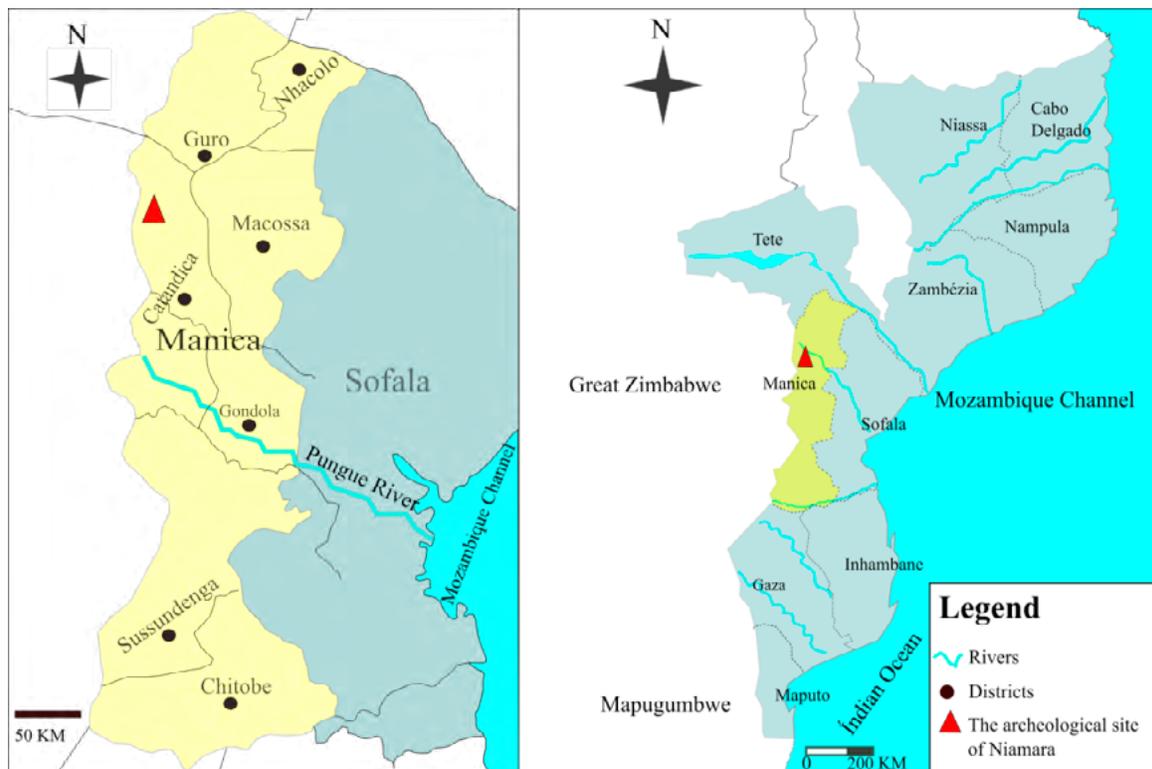


Fig. 10. Map location of Niamara (created by Hamido Atuia).

Kraal type since the seventh century AD. It is based on the cattle breeding of the ancient Bantu-speaking peoples, where, in addition to the centralization of the cattle, the most important families were also inside the enclosure (walled) and peasants were outside the enclosure, in the area that corresponds to modern Mozambique. In this place, the houses were cylindrical with a diameter greater than the height and a with

conical cover or roof.

In Mozambique, *dhaka* houses are still found inland in small villages, but their use is being neglected, and they are being rapidly replaced by houses of burnt bricks and cement (lime) and the straw roof by slabs of zinc or lime.

The shapes of the houses can be also square or rectangular, but in most cases are circular. The performed ethnographic study in Inhambane province is important for the reconstruction of the architecture of the *dhaka* houses whose remains were found in Manyikeni. The material used includes stakes, *laca-laca*, straw or stems of grass, grass, clay, sand, green grass and water, most of which are found in the mangroves.

The greater the depth of the pit to bury the pile the better and the durability is after up to two years of its existence. However, the roofing material can be replaced at any time, depending on the state of its conservation (Nguirazi 2008).

Generally, *dhaka* houses lack windows. Apart from the entrance door, they may have also a balcony surrounding the house (fig. 18), as part of the building construction.



Fig. 11. The Choa mountain range where Niamara is located (Photo by Arlindo Zomba, in 2017).

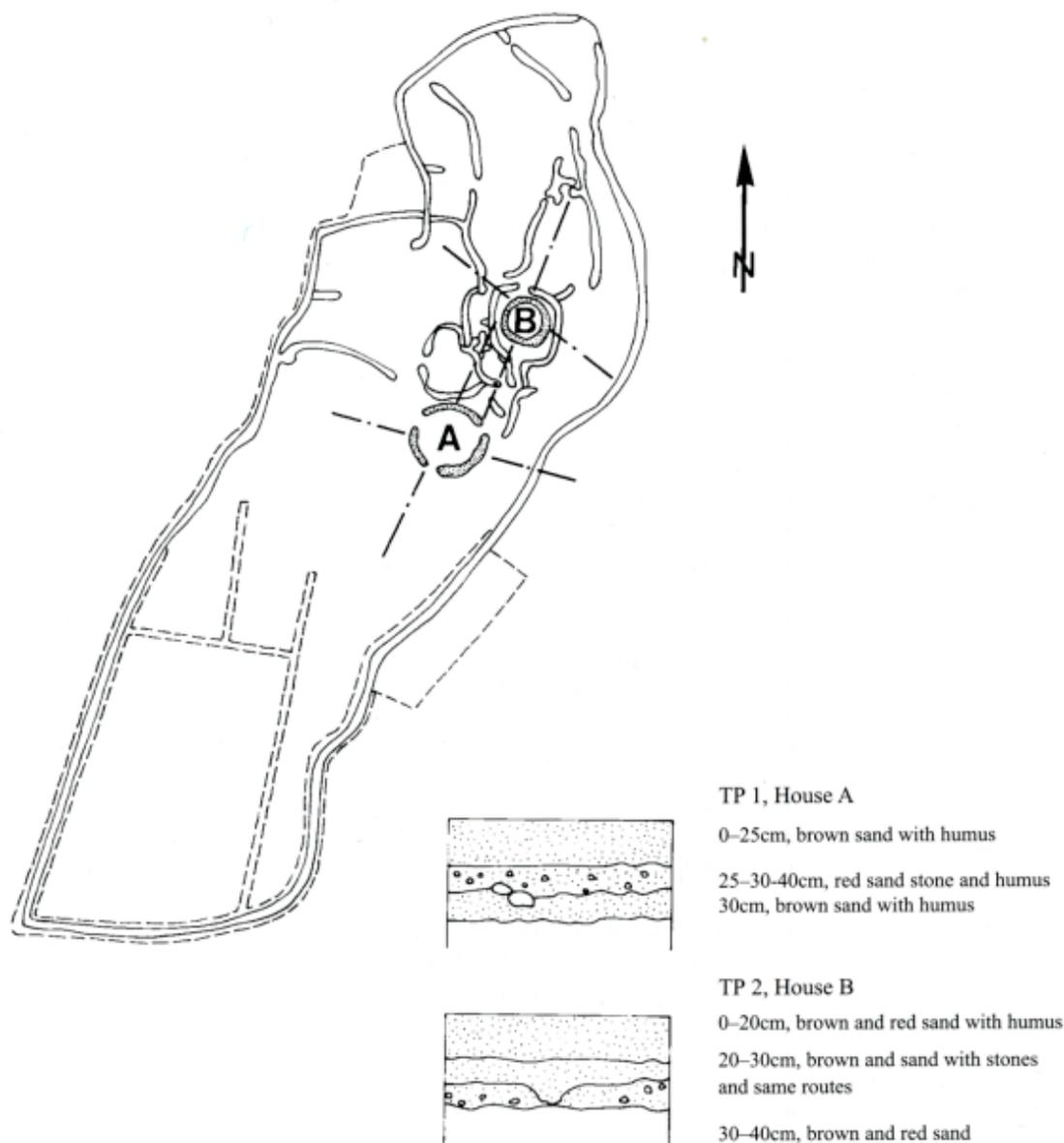


Fig. 12. The site plan of Niamara (after Wieschhoff 1941) and the location of the excavated test pits, in 1997 (after Macamo 2006).

The dimensions of a house are drawn out with small sticks on the sides of a traced circle, which is the interior of the house. Deep pits are then opened to bury the foundation poles, using a machete or a very sharp pole.

The skeleton of the house which is the most complex work is then laid out, which is done gradually, from the process of tying the *laca-laca* with a mat line on to the measurement sticks to the production of the roof. This in turn is made separately (in its conical shape) and then lifted to be supported on a very thick stick in

the center of the structure, followed by plastering the house with *dhaka* to make the final product.

Usually, dark clay is mixed with sand and green grass. The mixture is then used to cover the walls of the house, by hand, to keep them soft and smooth.

Finally, we have the *dhaka* house which, in the Nda language similar to Shona spoken in Zimbabwe, that, according to Mr Cossa, a local informant, is called *Nhumba ya Mauchua* or *Ndumba* (in Xitsua language). The size of the hut varies from a small to a big one, from two to five people, respectively. *Dhaka*



Fig. 13. The walling of Niamara covered with dhaka (after Macamo 2006).



Fig. 14. The walling of Niamara covered with vegetation (Photo by Arlindo Zomba in 2017).

houses are only for sleeping. Most of the activities are done outside the house (fig. 19; fig. 20).

Gender separation is not considered, and men, women, the elderly, and children produce this housing, but there is always a small division of tasks, the men making the framework and the women, elderly, and children plastering the house with *dhaka*.

The time duration of the building construction of a *dhaka* house is two weeks.

Discussion

Following Bruschi (2001: 5) urbanism in southern Africa originated south of the Zambezi, at the end of the first millennium AD within a restricted area of the Limpopo. Until recently the capital of the Zimbabwe culture was considered Mapunguwe, south of the Limpopo. However, this position was challenged recently, with the suggestion that Mapela Hill preceded it, between 1055 and 1400 AD, in the confluence area of the Limpopo-Shashe rivers (Chirikure *et al.* 2014), while Mapungubwe is dated 1220-1290. These origins are, however, disputed in the region (see discussion in Forssman 2020).

It is possible that urbanism expanded and consolidated through a settlement pattern originating in cattle breeding, mining, and trade (Bruschi 2001: 5), in a special long-distance trade with the Indian Ocean. By the 13th century AD, the major town of Great Zimbabwe emerged because of this, but it collapsed in the 15th century probably due to its fragile economic basis and resource exhaustion (Hall 1987; Bruschi 2001: 6). Several capitals of Great Zimbabwe state continued until much later, as is the case of Manyikeni and possible also Niamara, in Mozambique. One explanation for that is the religious role of the king, since it defined power relations and ideology associated with symbolism in the Zimbabwe culture pattern (Huffman 1996, 2000). Bruschi (2001) argues that in the Zimbabwe culture, when the king dies, the state must move to another place, aiming probably to reinforce cohesion among the people.

Scholars often depart from Great Zimbabwe itself to construct a narrative of the Zimbabwe capitals, to discuss pottery styles and architecture. In the case of Niamara and Manyikeni a new approach was proposed that interprets the differences between the two in terms of architectural styles, to further understand urban origins in Mozambique.

Huffman (1996) used the term Zimbabwe culture pattern to define stone walling that symbolically delineates elite spaces. But this represents a generalized definition, since *dhaka* houses were inhabited both by the elite and commoners, as seen in Manyikeni. Previous spatial analysis at Manyikeni by Morais and



Fig. 15. The stone enclosure of Magure (Photo by James Bannerman, a courtesy of Décio Muianga).

Sinclair (1980) have demonstrated that the difference was in the size of *dhaka* houses. Even so, *dhaka* houses were naturally used by everyone. It is important to recognize that Indian ocean trade, accompanied by wealth accumulation by the elite (Wood 2011: 42), may have only reinforced their power position in the society, as seen in Manyikeni. This explains why *dhaka* houses in Manyikeni were bigger inside the walls where the elite lived and smaller outside where the commoners lived. We are also aware that the dichotomy of elite and commoners is debatable. Following Chirikure (*et al.* 2018), within our African context the differentiation between the elite and commoners cannot be seen in a linear form, as both the elite and commoners could well practice activities on an equal footing, such as hunting, opposite to the situation in European early urbanism.

Furthermore, while the duality of stone walling and *dhaka* houses can be generalized within the Zimbabwe culture pattern, there are differences when it comes to considering urbanism. In Niamara *dhaka* material was used both to cement stone walling and for the houses (Macamo 2006). In Manyikeni stone to build *dhaka* houses was absent, but in Niamara it was the opposite.

Nowadays, *dhaka* houses are still common in many rural areas of Mozambique, but the rapid development of modern towns and the exhaustion of environmental resources have limited their use. Therefore, local people tend to abandon them to replace them with modern cement and zinc building material for their houses, as a symbol of social status and prestige.



Fig. 16. Niamara *dhaka* floor remain from a picture taken by Wieschhof in 1929 (Courtesy of the Frobenius Institute, after Macamo 2006).



Fig. 17. The complete *dhaka* house. (Photo by Gerónimo Jairosse).



Fig. 18. The complete *dhaka* house with a balcony (Photo by Vitalina Jairosse).

The modern cement and zinc roofed houses are associated with development, while *dhaka* houses are associated with rural areas, considered to be underdeveloped. According to Sinclair (2010: 13-14), “Crucially, urban living began at least in part as a mental process which acquired physical substance, and in this sense, towns are ideological constructs: as we invent them, so we believe in them.” As correctly pointed out also by Anna Karlstrom (2010: 553), the urban mind is influenced by outside forces, including cultural and social constructed perceptions. This also leads to the wrong idea of superior cultures being from the west, a mentality derived from the colonial system. To challenge this, Nguirazi (2008) in his MA, based on empirical observations of the *Macuti* palm-roofed houses on the island of Mozambique, found that they are more naturally fresh compared with modern zinc houses and that they can resist cyclones. The ethnographic record of *dhaka* houses in Inhambane Province, south of Mozambique, helps to preserve the art of building *dhaka* houses and to value them, as demonstrated in this paper.

Concluding remarks

To draw a model of urban origins for the two sites, one can conclude that they diverged in terms of architecture, but the *dhaka* clay houses united them. This demonstrates urban origins founded in complex relations within the general Zimbabwe culture in Mozambique. Both the elite and commoners in Niamara

and Manyikeni lived in *dhaka* houses, the difference being in the size of the houses. The bigger the size of the house the bigger the power of their occupants, as shown in Manyikeni. This was thanks to the Indian Ocean trade, resulting in the accumulation of wealth by the elite.

Despite the differences in architecture the study has once again shown the importance of trade for the emergence of urbanism in both Niamara and Manyikeni, but this was not fully discussed in this paper since it deserves a more analytical basis.

Dhaka house construction is poorly investigated compared with the stone walling in the Zimbabwe culture. This paper has contributed to challenging this situation.

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Fig. 19. Outside the *dhaka* house (Photo by Gerónimo Jairosse).



Fig. 20. Cooking outside the *dhaka* house (Photo by Gerónimo Jairosse).

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CASTELO BELINHO, A PRISTINE NEOLITHIC VILLAGE ON THE SOUTHWESTERN IBERIAN PENINSULA: SPACES, STRUCTURES, FUNCTIONS, AND SYMBOLS, AT THE RISE OF URBANIZATION

Mário Varela Gomes

Retired Professor of Prehistory and Cognitive Archaeology, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (Portugal)

‘A city is a certain number of citizens’
Aristotle, *Politics*

Introduction

Since antiquity much has been written about cities, particularly about the dichotomy between the urban world and the rural world that is more apparent than true. Cities are, in fact, what drives man away from nature, but also what most divides individuals within different human societies. They are spaces with different dimensions, where various activities, mainly of the secondary and tertiary economic sectors, are carried out; where human communities with a complex economy, consisting of people with different functions, social statuses, and ideologies, both religious and political, live and work. However, there are cities specialized in specific areas: the industrial, technological, military, sports, university, cultural, or religious, and the suburbs of larger ones, the dormitory cities; then there are the metropolises, heirs of the old commercial empires or built from *ex novo*. A strong common trait among all of these is the centralization of powers, whether political, administrative, or religious, or at least the harboring of some of their main mechanisms.

Nowadays, villages and cities are organic spaces that are born, have a longer or shorter life, and die. In them, new neighborhood and social relations develop and identifier-spaces of districts, streets or quarters arise in large metropolises, giving rise to new kinds of tribalization and social ranking.

Today, while millions of human beings search for cities as a way to achieve better lives, work, and social assistance, despite an expected proletarianization, others, who were born in the cities and buried their ancestors there, abandon them, motivated by the search for pristine forms of a countryside existence, in a kind of mythical return to origins.

Archeology found the material testimonies of the genesis of large urban agglomerations, first in the great ancient civilizations of the Old World, then in those of the American continent. Later it undertook the study of the beginnings of that phenomenon, starting with the sedentary lifestyle required by the adoption of a new attitude toward nature, reflected in the creation of a food production economy through the gradual domestication of animals and plants, i.e., agriculture and animal husbandry. It was the sedentary lifestyle, the greater social solidarity, and the mutual help required by the agrarian economy, such as the subsequent exchange of economic surplus, which led to the agglomeration of people and their residential spaces, constituting the first villages.

Archeology, ethnology, geography, sociology, semiology, and other social sciences demonstrate that a village is much more than a set of housing units, huts or houses, where people live, but rather it is a planned and organized place, resulting from the social, economic, and ideological structures of a community, with important areas of collective use, alongside private areas, where there is an intense material, intercommunion, interdependence, and religious interaction between its inhabitants, with a view to optimizing the individual and collective well-being, both material and spiritual. Our case study is the village of Castelo Belinho (Portimão, Algarve), in the extreme southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, where the testimonies of its material culture and chronometric analyses indicate that it existed in the second half of the fifth millennium B.C., that is, historically during the Middle Neolithic period of the region where it is located.

Identification

The excavation of a ruined Islamic structure, called Castelo Belinho, corresponding to a large rural aris-

tocratic dominion house (*al-munya*), conducted by the author and Rosa Varela Gomes in 2004 and 2005, led to the identification and excavation of 960 m² of the southwesternmost Iberian Neolithic village in the western Algarve.

The Islamic building, protected by a strong military earth wall, was unfinished, perhaps due to political and religious causes occurring during the mid-12th century. However, under those remains several Neolithic devices were identified, most of which were excavated in the ground, as well as a large variety of stone, shell, and ceramic artefacts, as well as carbonized plants, mammalogical and malacological faunal remains, resulting from daily human activities and cognitive living practices.

It was possible to complete the archeological excavation of the entire area, a work entirely funded by the Imoreguengo Society, the site owner at the time.

Half a dozen papers, published in English and Portuguese, address the main issues of the Castelo Belinho Neolithic village (Gomes, 2008, 2008–2009, 2010, 2012, 2013; Gomes and Gomes, 2013).

Settlement strategy

The village was built *ex novo*, likely corresponding to certain required specifications. It was located on the southern side of a long Miocene limestone ridge, 105 m above sea level, naturally defended, where paths and a vast area of territory could be controlled, and was surrounded by productive agricultural lands and pastures of Mediterranean red soils with fields of crops and herds. Located 5 km from the seashore, a distance an individual could travel in under two hours, it was not far from two important estuary areas (Arade and Alvor Rivers).

The site is bordered on the north by the slopes of the Monchique mountain range and on the south by the coastal plains and the Atlantic Ocean. The eastern side is protected by steep slopes and by the valley of the Boina Stream, tributary of the Arade River, and to the west by the Torre Stream valley, running to the sea.

The proximity of the Neolithic village to the ocean and to two large estuarine areas, with their food resources, and to freshwater streams, were not underrated by its inhabitants. However, the geographic and archeological testimonies found in Castelo Belinho make it possible to go further, beyond the traditional

interpretations, which only take the economic exploitation of such ecological niches into account.

One cannot doubt the importance of the food provisions for every living being and the adjustments and instinctive reactions that the need for food cause. Nevertheless, human groups are defined by their aptitude to construct and manipulate symbols, to live and create social groups and societies around those commodities, and survival itself integrates the semiological world. As we have found, Belinho's Neolithic population developed mainly sensorial and mythological conceptions with the sea, as evidenced by the isotopic values ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$) obtained from osteological human remains of its inhabitants, that indicate a diet predominantly supported by proteins of terrestrial origin (>80%) (Gomes, 2013; Carvalho and Petchey, 2013, 366, 367, 375–378).

Empirical information: structures and material culture

Due to the construction of the Islamic structures, only a thin layer of sediment corresponded to the Neolithic occupation, although the levelling of the soil carried out at that time in some areas, with a mass containing earth, lime, and small stones, helped to preserve Neolithic remains. The best conserved structure remains were excavated in the substrate.

The identified structures, negative or dug in the ground, were mainly post-holes opened in the bedrock, some of them aligned for supporting wooden posts, but there were also grain storage pits, ritual pits for offerings or symbolic depositions, and shallow and deep ritual pits for human inhumation or graves. These architectural elements display a variety of forms and shapes. Oval or sack-shaped negative structures, narrower at the top and wider in the middle, may have been used as storage pits for conserving cereals or dried fruits for the long or middle term. The aerial structures were limited to the cobbled hearths, perhaps for smoking fish and/or meat. Living floors were difficult to detect given the medieval and modern use of the ground in agriculture.

The settlement's occupation level and negative structures revealed knapped and pecked/polished stone artefacts, pottery, as well as shell adornments.

Identified among the abundant remains of different color and origin from knapped quartzite and more

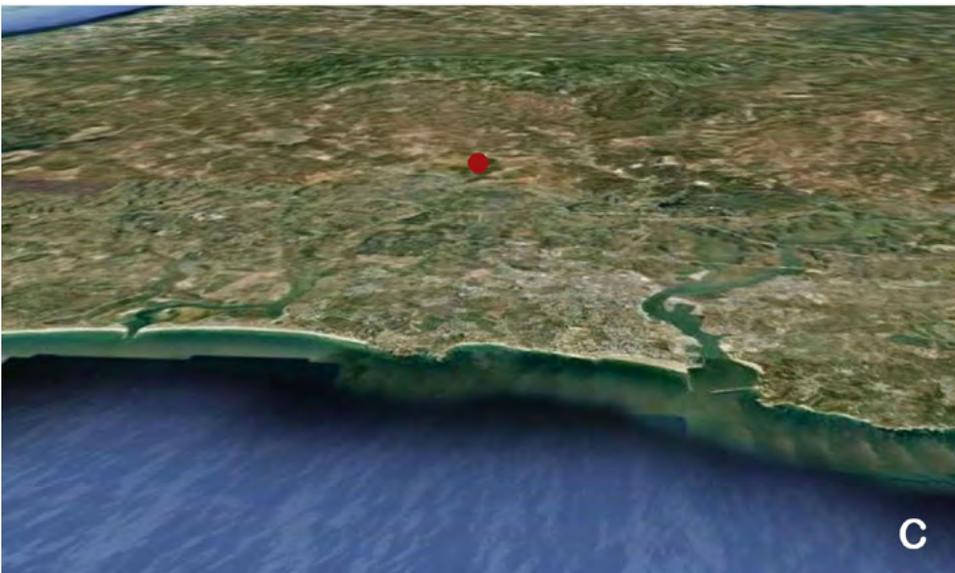
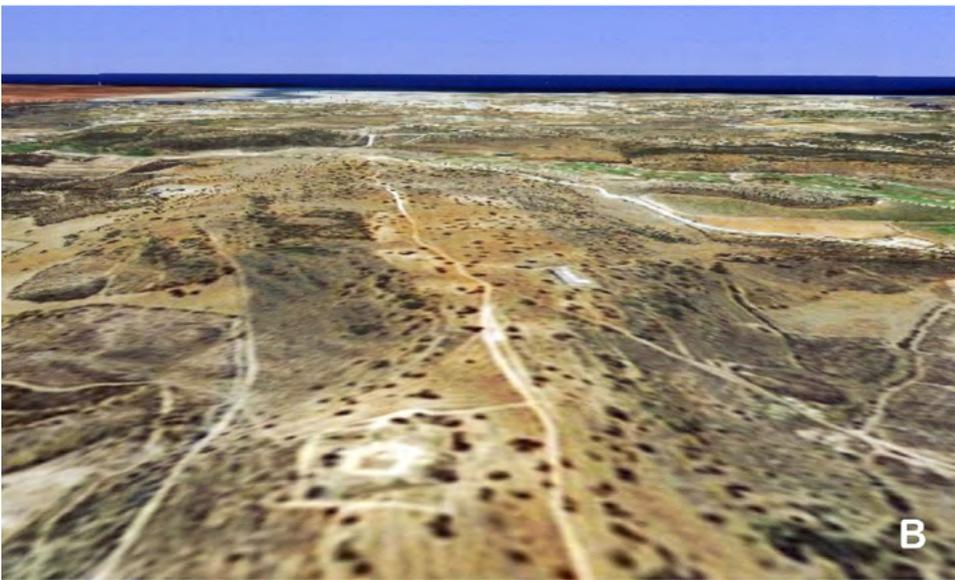
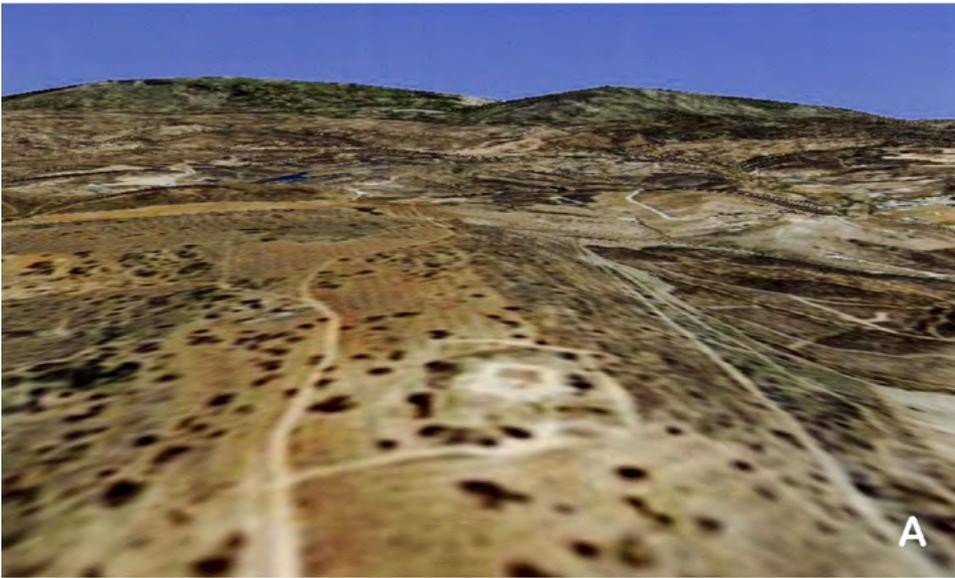


Fig. 2. Castelo Belinho. Overview to the Monchique mountain (A); view to the sea (B); location near two important estuarine areas and the sea (C).

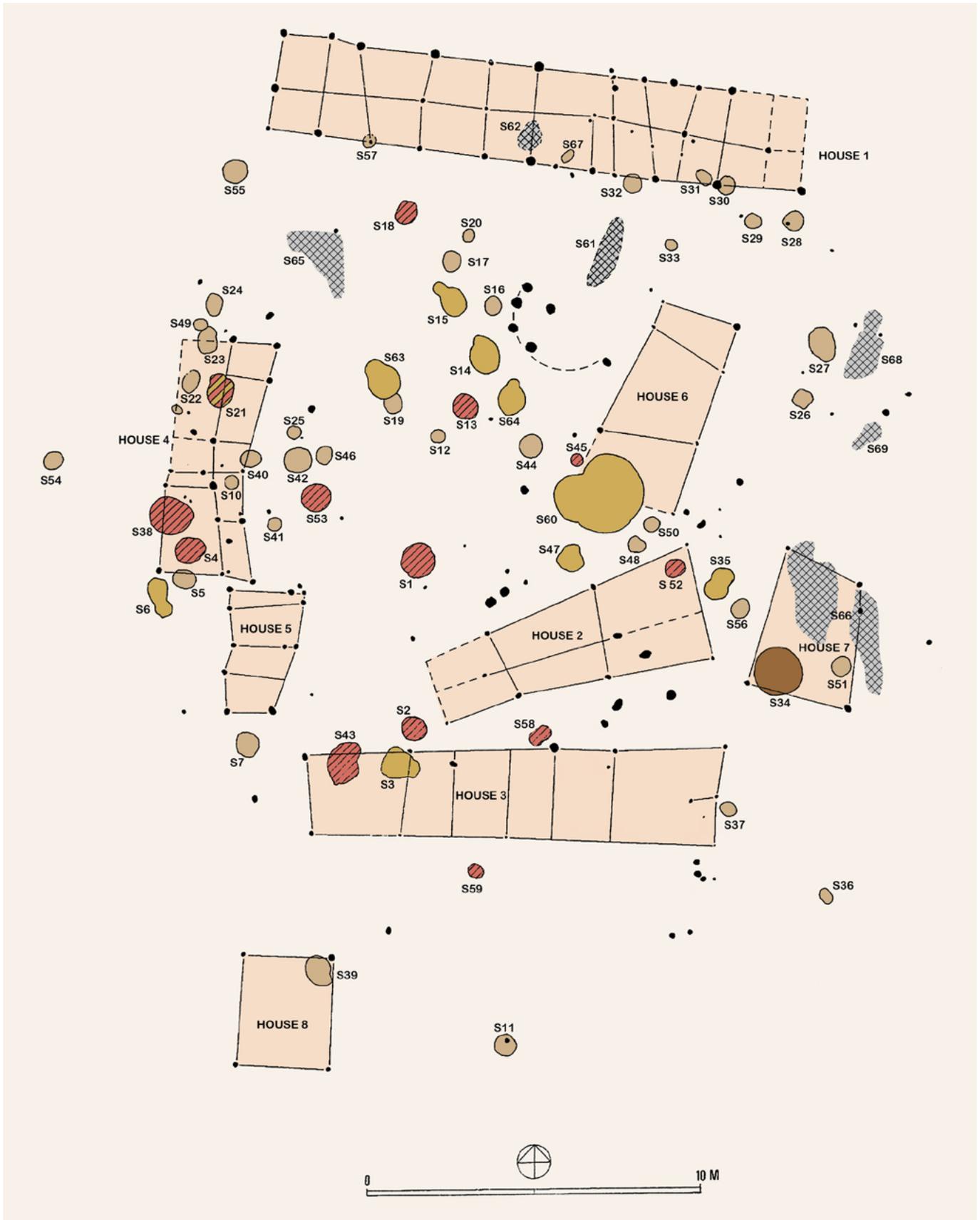


Fig. 3. Castelo Belinho. Archeological structures (post-holes; graves; cobbled hearts; ritual pits; eight-shaped or embryo-shaped ritual pits).

commonly flint industries, were cores and artefacts: blades (7%), trapeziform microliths (4%), denticulates (2%), bladelets (68%) (perhaps used in sickles and *tribulae*), backed bladelets (4%), borers (4%), and blade or flake scrapers (11%). Flaking residues were found indicating intense flint tool production. This raw material is known along the Algarve coast, although some of the types identified were obtained from more distant sources, reflecting long-distance economic exchanges.

The pecked/polished amphibolite, greywacke and syenite stone artefacts found were grinding stones (querns and hand stones), hammers, axes, adzes, and gouges, all linked to agricultural work or woodworking technology. Three smaller adzes registered should perhaps be interpreted as votive artefacts, the only tools bearing this classification. In fact, the absence of clear ritual or ideotechnic stone artefacts must be noted.

The pottery receptacles show a wide variety of shapes and sizes, from small open forms, like hemispheric bowls, to large spherical vases, some sack-shaped, called storage vessels. The main ceramic vessels do not have decorated surfaces, but despite being uncommon there are some impressed, incised, plastic or red-painted decorations, sometimes combining two or more of such decorative and symbolical techniques. At least three ceramic sherds show *cardium*-impressed decoration, an Early Neolithic legacy.

Glycymeris glycymeris (Linnaeus, 1758) and *Glycymeris bimaculata* (Poli, 1795) shells were used as pendants and in 22 bracelets, but shell beads and a pin or a piercing in the same raw material were also found. These reveal one of mankind's most ancient symbolic behaviors, which goes back in Europe to at least the Middle Paleolithic.

In the Neolithic settlement's occupation level, the distribution of finds occurred both inside and around the houses.

Latent house structures

Having identified the post-holes, some of which still contained stone wedges helping to fix the vertical wooden posts, and beaten earth areas or living floors, the layout of at least eight rectangular modular long-houses, primitively constructed with strong wooden posts and rafters, could be delineated. Note that the

possibility of some posts being supported only by an earth hole or stone rings should not be ignored. No porches, elaborate entrances or pavements were detected, but these structures demonstrate highly skilled knowledge of carpentry.

The best-preserved post-hole group belonged to a house that was 16.00 m long by 2.90 m wide (House 1). Three lines of post-holes with an east-west orientation and approximately 1.60 m apart supported the walls and the gabled roof, possibly thatched with straw or rushes. In the northeast corner, this structure was reinforced using a small wall made of stones and clay. The door would have been in the center of the southern façade, permitting maximum sunlight penetration. Inside, in the central area, near the entrance, a cobbled floor and a pit fireplace were found.

On the east side of the house, the excavation offered plain and decorated pottery sherds (one from a storage vessel), complete and broken flint blades, bladelets, flakes, and two pendants of *Glycymeris* shells, pierced at the umbo.

On the opposite side (western), a sherd of plain pottery and a stone polisher for large axes, two wasted flint cores, flint bladelets, flakes, a borer, and knapping debris were found.

The functional differentiation of the finds may indicate that the house area found on the east side might have been predominantly or even exclusively used by women in their daily activities (pottery, adornments), while the other, on the west side may correspond to a space used mostly by male individuals (axe polisher, flint cores).

The cobbled floor discovered inside the house, which had a sub-circular plan and 0.90 m diameter, filling a small ground depression and showing signs of fire, reveal another fireplace intended to prepare food. Around it, other economic activities clearly took place. This hearth provided illumination allowing the household's occupants to work at night, giving heat, and keeping wild animals away, and was a social aggregation center for them.

The artefact polisher finds parallels in a similar object, but with two layers, also found in Castelo Belinho village (Structure 27), perhaps indicating the presence of a craftsman specialized in the production of such polished artefacts, axes, and adzes.

House 3, 12.40 m long by 2.90 m wide and also ori-

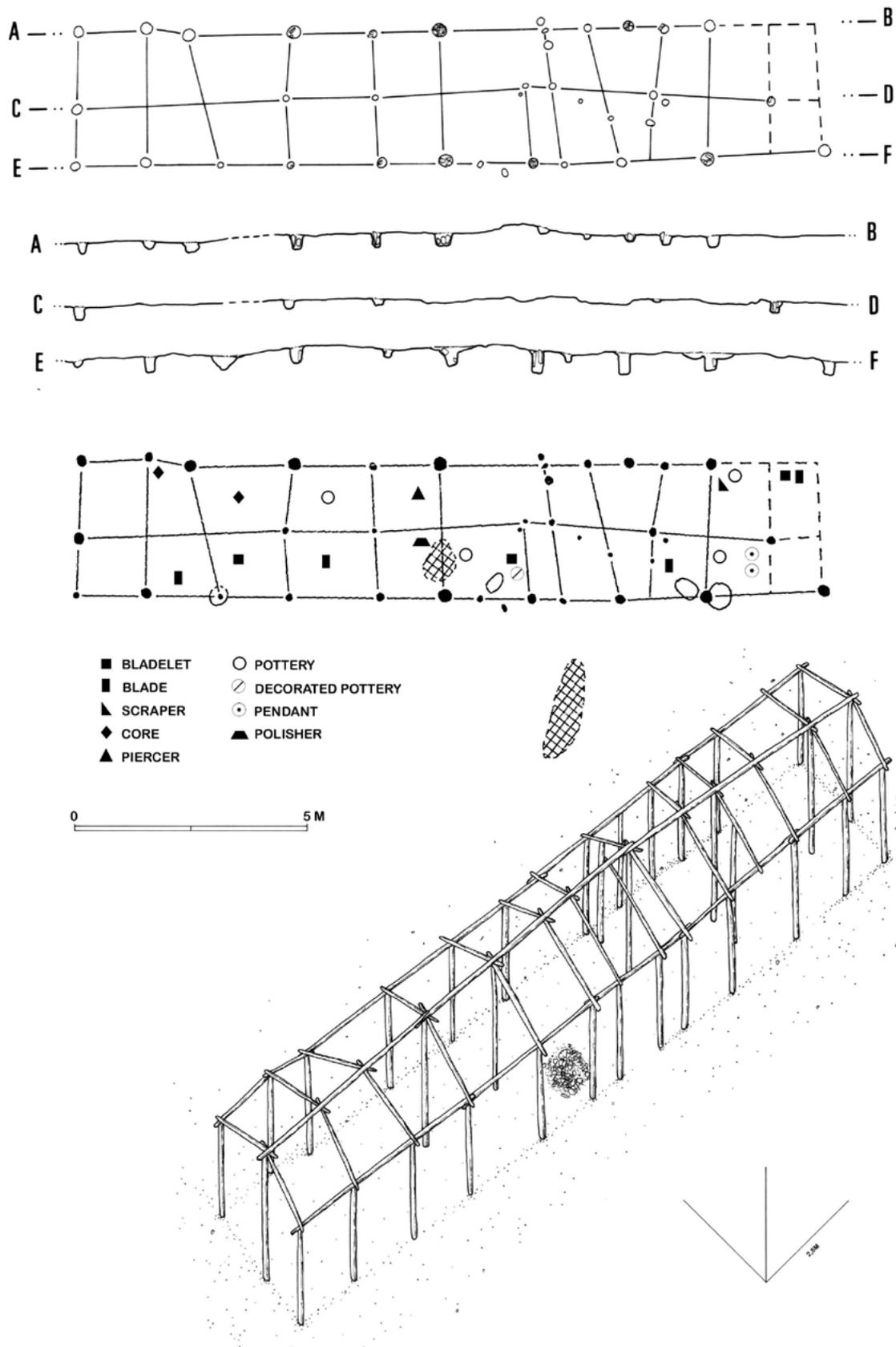


Fig. 4. House 1. Plan, post-holes' alignment section, finds distribution and reconstitution of the wooden structure (draw J. Gonçalves, after M. V. Gomes).

ented east–west, shows no clear evidence of a central post line to support the roof’s central ridgepole, so a simple sloping roof must have covered it. This building was superimposed on two depositional pits and we highlight the discovery of ten bladelets, concentrated in the interior central area.

Two houses showing a more irregular layout and a trapezoidal plan were 7.20 m and 8.30 m long, by 2.90 m and 3.20 m wide, respectively, with three rows of postholes indicating gable roofs. One of them (House 4) was oriented north–south while the other (House 2) was located at an oblique angle to the first. Another trapezoidal-shaped house with a sloping roof was smaller, measuring only 3.60 m long by 2.20 m wide (House 5). House 6 was oriented almost north–south, with a trapezoidal shaped plan, was 6.00 m long by 2.80 m wide.

Two houses (7 and 8) correspond to four-post houses, oriented north–south, measuring 4.00 m and 3.40 m long by 3.00 m and 2.80 m wide.

The location of some of the post-holes leads us to believe that these structures were rebuilt and enlarged as well as being superimposed on each other over time. All these aspects relate to the dynamics of the site occupation during the Neolithic, which must have lasted some two centuries.

Functional areas inside the houses such as storage, sleeping, and working/living areas were difficult to recognize, owing to the destruction of the archeological levels. However, as we have already mentioned, some economic and social information was detected in Houses 1 and 3.

The house dimensions permit us to calculate that if each individual needed a living space of at least 5 m², then the village would have had some 40 inhabitants. A. Coudart (1998, 79) and S. E. Casselberry (1974) calculated the living space for each person in the Danubian longhouses as *ca* 6 m².

Four larger post-holes were detected almost in the center of the settlement, arranged in a semi-circle with a diameter of 3.00 m. This certainly corresponds to a non-habitable structure, the function of which we have not yet discovered, perhaps consecrated to some kind of cult.

The settlement marked its site-catchment area rights (including the tilled plots) through the visibility of the wooden longhouses.

Some archeologists found a visual and cognitive connection between Atlantic rectangular long and large cairns, the ‘houses of the dead’, and the European longhouses for the living (Childe, 1949; Bradley, 2011, 50). Longhouses in central Europe would disappear *ca* 4000 B.C. (Brophy, 2007, 94; Gomes, 2008–2009, 140), and the first stone tombs or proto-megalithic tombs and passage graves would be built in south Portugal around 4500 B.C., this time marking a distinct socioeconomic strategy and reflecting a different ideology.

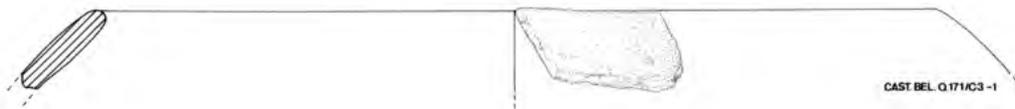
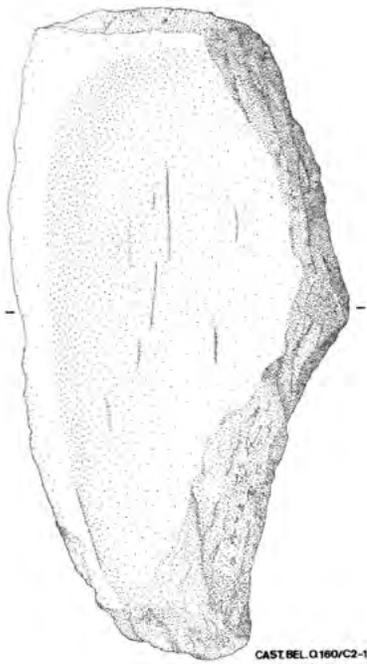
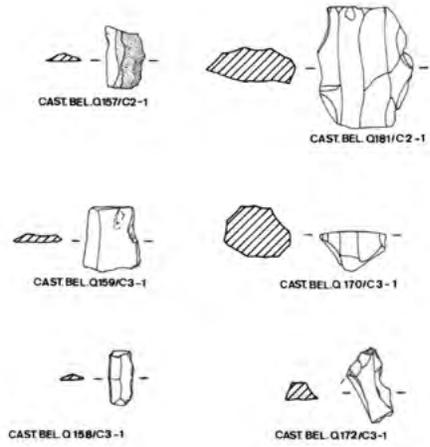
The Castelo Belinho successful food production economy and sedentary life were supported by agriculture and animal husbandry. This is not only revealed by the settlement’s location, but also through the quantity of polished stone tools (axes, adzes, and gouges), some broken due to intensive labor, which were found along with dozens of grinding stones (handstones and saddle querns), sickles and/or *tribulae*, flint blades, pottery containers of considerable size for provisions, and grain storage pits. The pits are not associated with specific houses and some of the larger ones could be for communal use, thereby reflecting a strong cooperative lifestyle, linking the multi-family householders. The goat and sheep husbandry is well documented by the quantity of osteological remains recovered. Also recovered, but in smaller quantities, were those of bovines. Summarizing, the evidence presents an Early Neolithic settlement where freestanding timber buildings associated with mainly single graves containing anthropological remains indicate a new habitat concept with a stable social life.

The archeological data presented here show hitherto unknown aspects of southwest Iberian prehistory, namely the existence of an Early Neolithic village with wooden longhouses built with posts, and also uncovered ritual aspects.

Chronology

Twelve ¹⁴C determinations, traditional and AMS, processed at the Waikato Radiocarbon Laboratory, New Zealand (Wk), Beta Analytic, USA (Beta), and Instituto Tecnológico e Nuclear, Portugal (Sac), indicate the second half of the fifth millennium BC as the time period during which Castelo Belinho was occupied. The material culture corresponds to an evolved Early Neolithic and mainly to the Middle Neolithic cultural

HOUSE 1
WESTERN SIDE



EASTERN SIDE

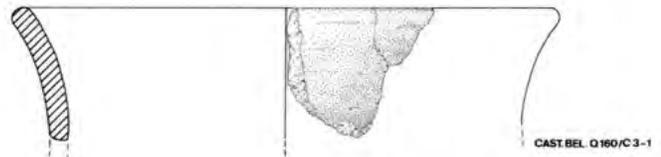
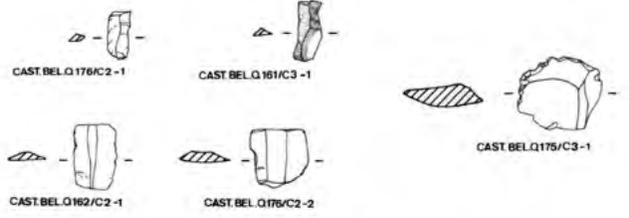
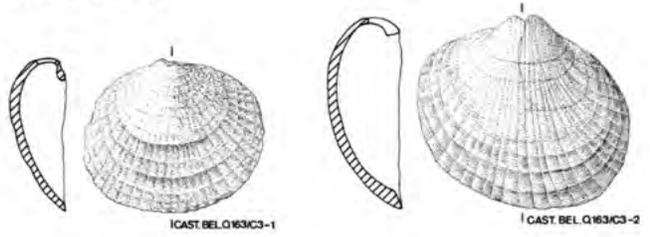


Fig. 5. House 1. Western side and eastern side finds (drawn by J. Gonçalves).

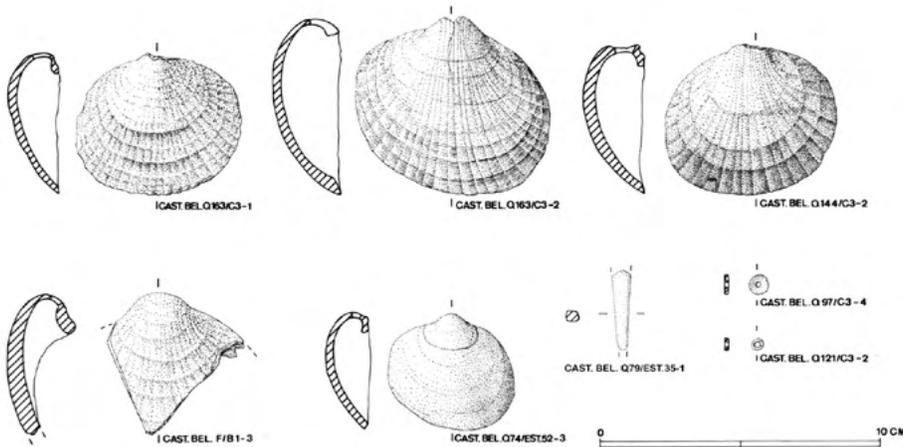
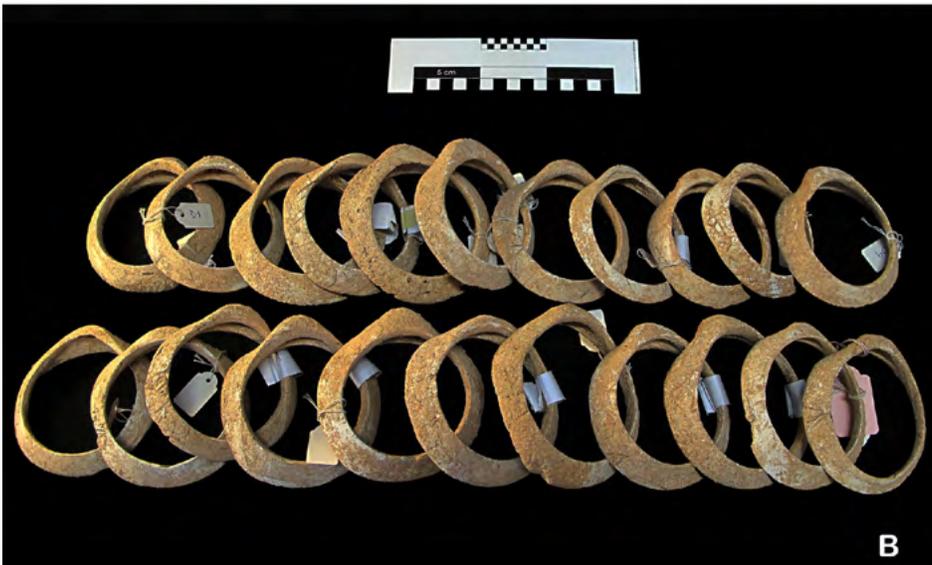


Fig. 6. Castelo Belinho. A. Structure 4. Grave with 20 *Glycymeris* bracelets *in situ*. B. Bracelets. C. Other marine shell molluscs' adornments (A. and B. photos by M. V. Gomes; C. drawings by J. Gonçalves).

chronology in the southwestern Iberian Peninsula and is therefore in good agreement with the radiocarbon results. Moreover, the obtained datations also demonstrate the existence of a single period of occupation for the village.

Ten samples correspond to human bones, from different grave types, and only two were obtained from marine shells (*Venerripis* sp. and *Mytilus* sp.).

The village space

The houses of the village of Castelo Belinho that we can identify will have been enlarged and redone over the years, in some cases perhaps overlapping pre-existing structures, and it is not known if they all coexisted at some point. Their layout shows a predominant orientation identical to that of the cardinal directions, three of them arranged east–west, or close, and five others built in the north–south direction. However, in addition to the astral connotation, what needs to be pointed out is the fact that the distribution of those structures on the ground delimits a central space or square, measuring about 100 m² in area.

The open space was not to be built on (*non aedificandi*), because we did not detect any post-holes there, but other underground structures appear, both graves and ritual pits. However, in the central area, which is oval in shape and 7 m on the longest axis, there are no structures at all.

The central square, which was most certainly for collective use, would perhaps have been reserved for certain economic activities, such as the threshing of cereals, since we found about two dozen small lithic items, from scythes or *tribulae*, in addition to other chipped implements, but also for ritualistic purposes, inhumations, and depositions of artefacts in small pits, certainly with a votive character.

Those structures had a circular or oval shape, and some of them had an attached smaller circular element, giving it the shape of a figure 8 or embryo. This last name was given by G. Van der Leeuw (1938) to the graves of Ancient Egypt with that shape.

The nine 8-shaped pits, one of them large, have in truth, a vaguely anthropomorphic outline, with an ovoid body and a spherical head. In two-thirds of them, the area of the ‘head’ faced northwest. Only one of such structures (S21) contained anthropological remains. Other contained pottery sherds, flint ar-

tefacts, and flakes, as well as abundant grinding stone fragments.

That shape may correspond to a kind of *eidolon*, a double phantasmatic figure or an earthly representation of a supernatural being, a divinity or the idea of an ancestral human being.

Vaguely anthropomorphic-shaped depictions are personifications of transcendent entities or divinities in their material form, which are present even in their absence (Godelier, 2015, 162, 176).

A 0.23-m high stone idol, with cup-marks aligned in three vertical series from Relvas (Arganil) presents the same kind of shape, with an ovoid body and a spherical head (Nunes, 1956).

An ovoid-shaped stone, measuring approximately 1 m high and placed in the Delphos sanctuary close to the golden statue of Apollo, was considered the navel, the *omphalos*, or the center of the world.

The square was clearly the center of the village, with the inhumations of adults on its west side and children on the south side. The connotation of the west, where the sun sets, with death is a very old tradition, still followed today in many villages and towns in different parts of the world.

We cannot but assume that, in addition to the economic activities that took place in the square, some of which were surely linked to myths and beliefs, it would be a performing space, par excellence, where important socio-religious activities would take place, particularly of a ritual nature, as evidenced by the pits without economic or funerary use. These are mainly concentrated on the north and west sides of the space, although the embryo-shaped pits mainly occupy the east side of the square, facing the sunrise.

The organization of the village around a central area is an indication of a concentric or hierarchical system concept according to primacy degrees of importance and meaning, in a previously planned space. That organization counters the organic growth of some urban centers, sometimes more apparent than real, and has cosmic connotations, like a large part of the circular representations.

The coexistence of areas of habitation and graves in modern Portugal dates back to the Mesolithic, as illustrated by the shell-middens of Moita do Sebastião (Muge) and Samouqueira (Sines), demonstrating solidarities and kinship ties. In the former site, a hut was

Origin	Lab.	Sample	C:N	$\delta^{13}\text{C}^{\circ}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}^{\circ}$ (‰)	^{14}C Age (BP)	% Marine C	cal BC (68.2% prob.)	cal BC (95.4% prob.)
Structure 1	Sac-2031	Sea shell: <i>Venerupis</i> sp. + <i>Mytilus</i> sp.	-	-	-	5790 ± 70	100	4202-3926	4308-3770
Structure 1	Wk-28634	Human bone	3.5	-18.90	9.20	5267 ± 34	23	4038-4013 4001-3798	4222-4210 4156-4132 4067-3662
Structure 2	Beta-199912	Human bone	-	-18.80	-	5500 ± 40	24	4321-4221 4211-4147 4135-4053	4352-3963
Structure 3	Sac-2030	Sea shell: <i>Venerupis</i> sp.	-	-	-	6260 ± 45	100	4672-4424	4772-4311
Structure 4	Beta-199913	Human bone	-	-19.10	-	5720 ± 40	21	4525-4341	4651-4640 4618-4220 4197-4173
Structure 4	Wk-27998	Human bone	3.3	-18.60	10.70	-	-		
Structure 38	Wk-28635	Human bone	3.3	-19.20	9.60	5441 ± 34	20	4310-4041 4261-4041	4337-3943
Structure 43	Wk-28636	Human bone	3.3	-18.90	10.40	5529 ± 35	23	4340-4218 4207-4155 4131-4072	4363-3975
Structure 52	Wk-27999	Human bone	3.3	-19.30	10.30	5444 ± 30	19	4303-4297 4263-4044	4337-3956
Structure 53	Wk-28000	Human bone	3.4	-17.82	11.03	5662 ± 32	35	4450-4223 4201-4173	4496-4036
Structure 58	Wk-28637	Human bone (child)	3.3	-19.40	10.10	5485 ± 35	18	4326-4223 4209-4155 4132-4066	4347-3982
Structure 59	Wk-28001	Human bone	3.3	-18.90	9.50	5436 ± 32	23	4251-4038 334022-3997	4336-3911 3851-3844
Structure 59	Wk-28002	Human bone (child)	3.4	-18.02	10.86	5536 ± 32	-	4310-4286 4280-4051	4362-3947

* Precision = ± 0.2‰

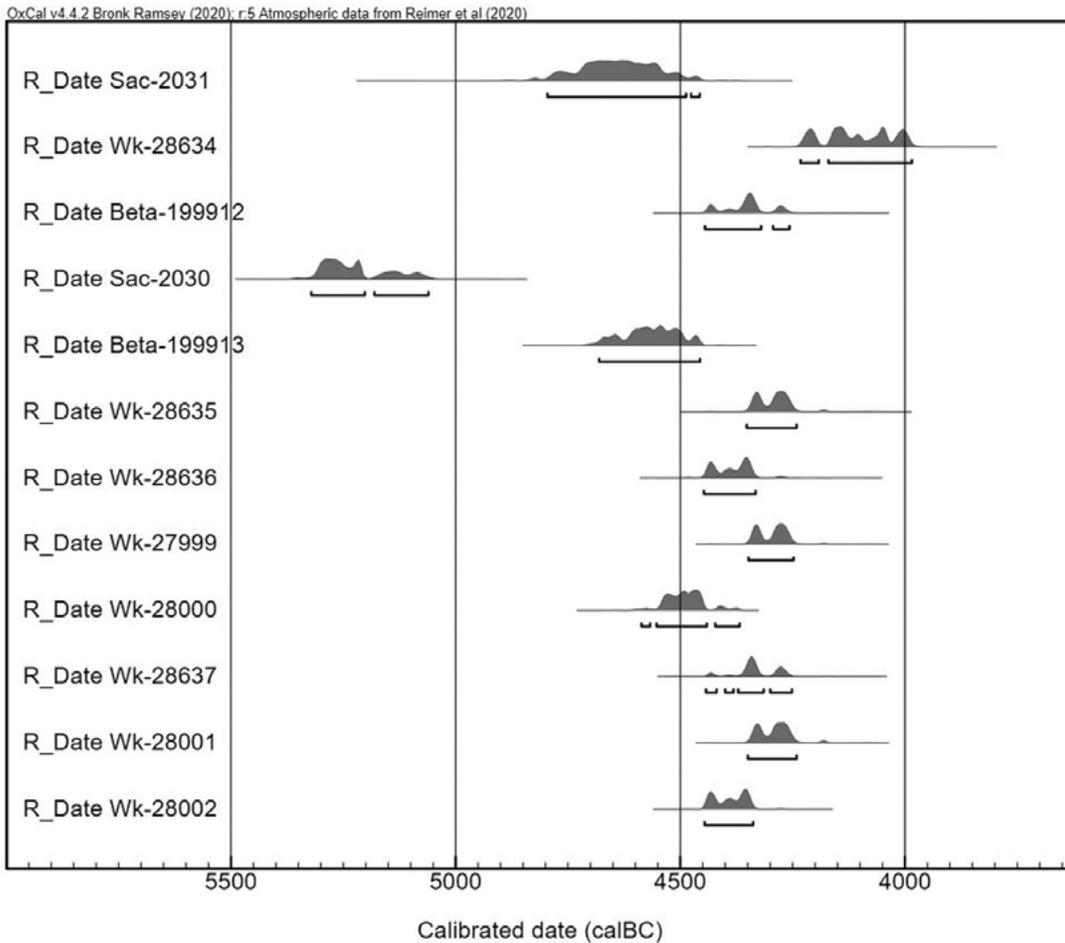


Fig. 7. Castelo Belinho. Radiocarbon dates and ^{13}C / ^{15}N isotopic values, and calibrated dates.

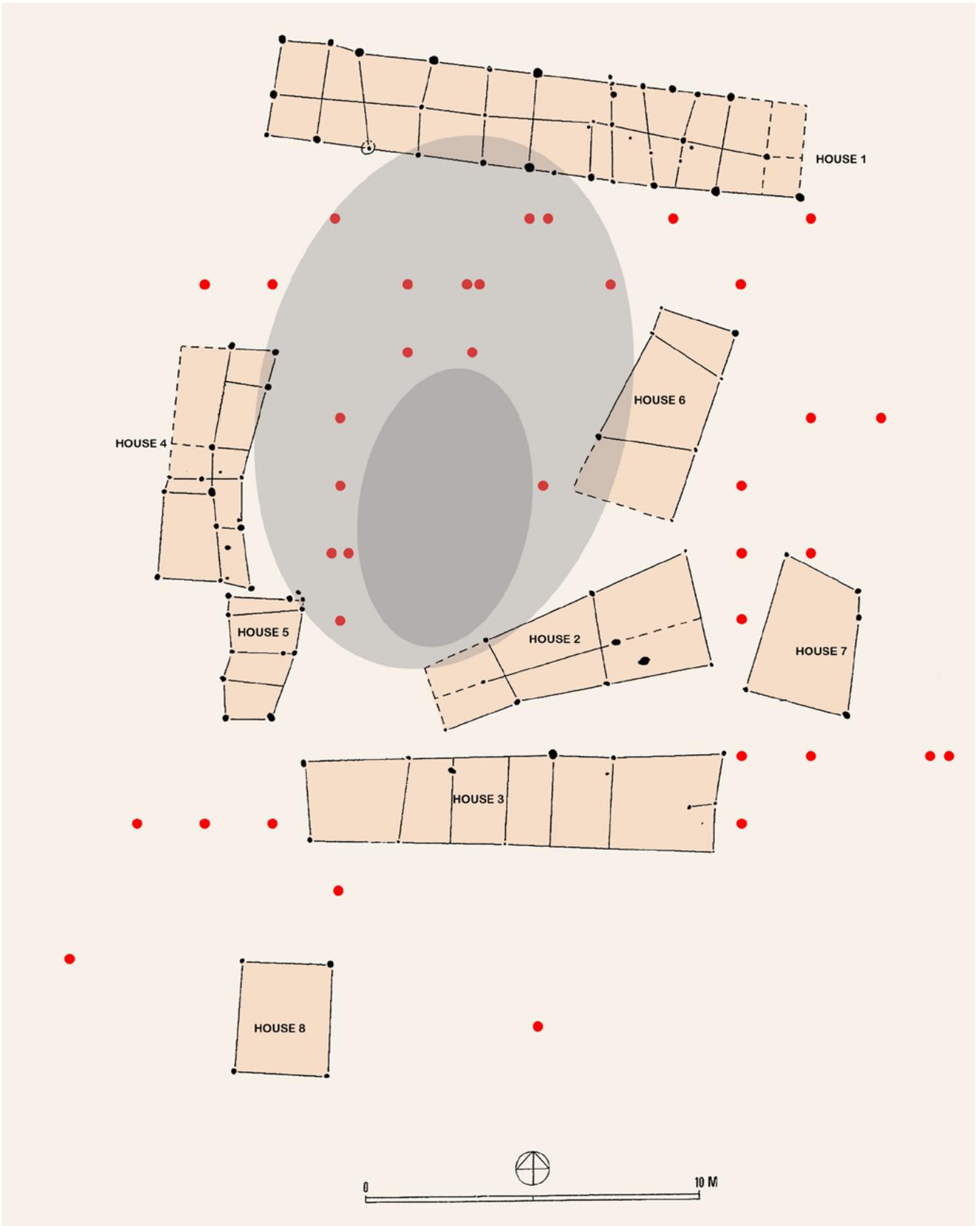


Fig. 8. Castelo Belinho. The central square, surrounding houses and bladelets distribution (after M. V. Gomes).

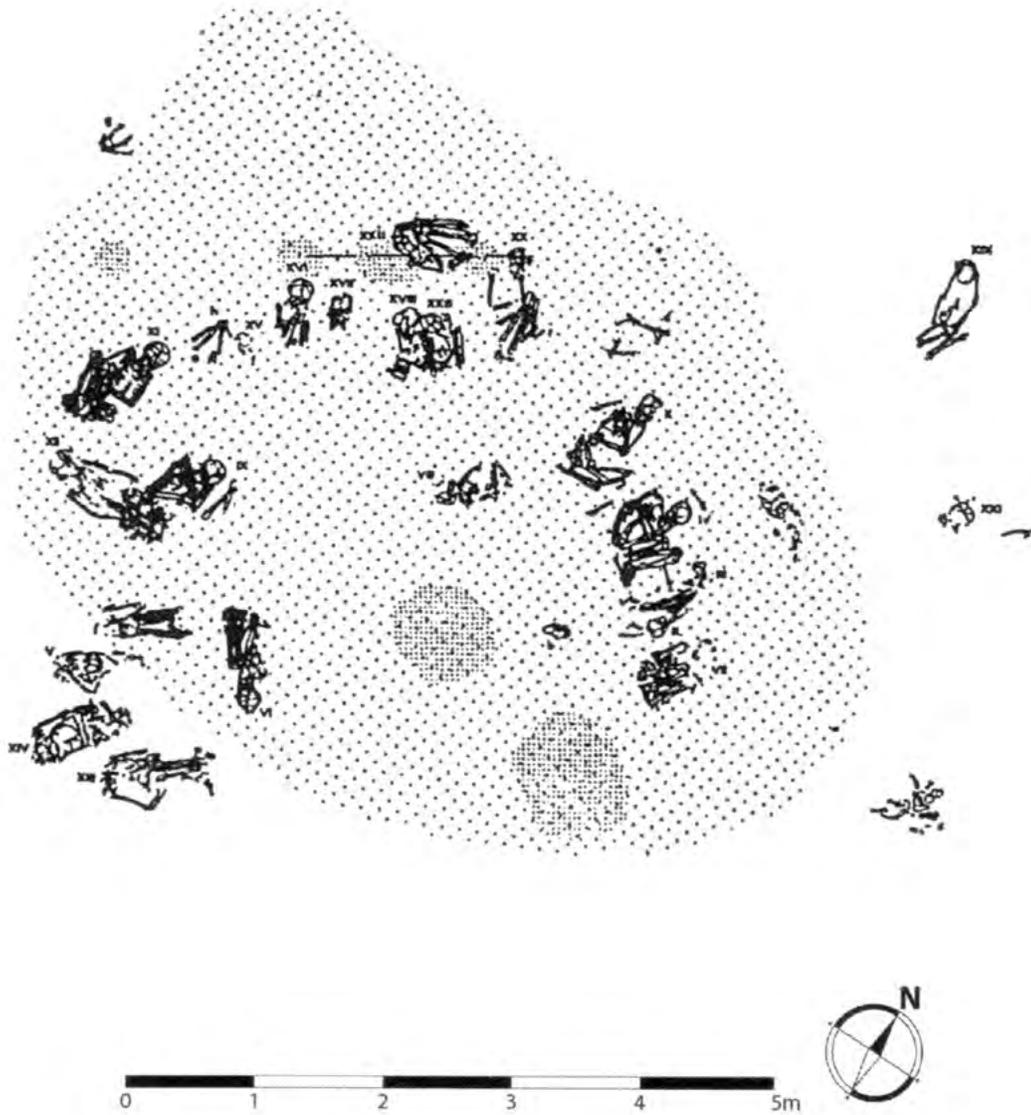


Fig. 9. Vale de Romeiras shell-midden radial necropolis, with central empty space (after Soares, 2013, fig. 9).

identified with an adult necropolis on its east side, while on the opposite side there was a child necropolis next to structures related to economic activities, such as storage facilities, cobbled pavements, perhaps smoking structures and similar to those found at Castelo Belinho. In the Vale de Romeiras Mesolithic shell-midden, the graves, where the inhumated bodies are in a foetal position, are laid out in a radial orientation around a central empty space (Soares, 2013, 34, fig. 13). And it was during the Middle Neolithic that the round and elliptic-plan cromlechs appeared on the Iberian Atlantic façade (Gomes, 1994).

Later on, during the Middle Bronze Age in south Portugal, there were small habitation sites located next to their graveyards, as is the case of the Castelo Belinho village, Pessegueiro (Sines) or Vale da Telha (Aljezur). These examples show continuities and various recurrences throughout time, which are mostly due to the performance or participation of the ancestors' remains and memories during the socio-religious activities of the societies mentioned. Death segregation is a behavioral practice that began in some regions in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Neolithic and developed in subsequent times with specific spaces, the graveyards.

Conclusions

Castelo Belinho's settled population was completely Neolithized and sedentary, practicing a successful food production economy, based on agriculture and animal husbandry, primarily of ovicaprids but also of bovids, and had a stable social life. Weapon remains are almost non-existent (three trapezoidal microliths were used as arrowheads) and the implements linked to agriculture are dominant, like large stone axes and adzes, *tribulae* and sickle stone elements, grinding stones, and large ceramic storage vessels as subterranean structures for medium- or long-term cereal conservation (cereal pits or silos). Some silos have a typical egg shape but one, of larger dimensions, was cylindrical, able to receive 2,000 kg of cereals, enough to feed ten people during one year, estimating that the consumption of each individual was *ca* 200 kg per year. The rectangular-plan longhouses are proper to the farming communities, because they can grow easily, becoming larger by addition of spaces at both extremities.

Significant social differences and hierarchies are mainly detected through the house and mortuary pit dimensions or through the commodities placed with the deceased.

Fourteen graves, twelve of them single, some in pits and others in silos, display a clear polymorphism. Nine of the inhumed bodies were adults and three were children aged between five and eight. It was not possible to ascertain the ages of the others. Three of the adults were males.

Some graves contained evidence of material culture, artefacts of flaked or pecked/polished stone, ceramic fragments and shell body ornaments and gear, highlighting gender and status differences.

The exceptional collection of 22 bracelets, made from *Glycymeris bimaculata* (Poli, 1795) shells, worn by a grown individual over 35 years old, buried in a pit grave, with eleven on each arm (Structure 4), hitherto a unique case in Iberian archeology, constitutes an incontestable example of social, political, and/or religious rank. Other individuals bore no artefacts or grave goods.

The treatment of the dead – or at least of some of them – conducted by the population settled at the Castelo Belinho village corresponds to a time when the visibility of the graves was not yet a social necessity, even in the case of those with recognized higher so-

cial status. Their symbolism would still have a marked private character, restricted to the household and the community, without graveyards but evidencing strong ties of solidarity, given the proximity to the houses and the central square. We must remember that an open empty space of this kind attracts and irradiates. As R. Arnheim (1984, p. 82) stated: *'The central position was used through the times, and in most cultures to give expression to the divine or to some other high authority'*. An empty space is proper to the conceptualization of the supernatural or the encounter with the divinity, as happens today in some religions. In European tradition, the central square of a village or town brings together the political, civil, and religious powers. The solidarity ties, expressed in the existence of structures, functions, and site organization, with the strong interactions they enable in the Castelo Belinho settlement, lead us to consider it an example of the existence of a genuine pristine village, with room for both the living and the dead at the beginning of urbanization.

I would like to thank Prof. E. Anati for his kind invitation to participate in the seminar *'How Humans Became Urban'*.

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NOTES AND NEWS

ATELIER, RESEARCH CENTER FOR CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Director: Prof. Emmanuel Anati

Capodiponte 25044, BS, Italy

< atelier.etno@gmail.com >

FORTHCOMING CONGRESS: PAPERS ON INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS

**XIX UISPP WORLD CONGRESS, Meknes, Morocco,
2-7 September 2021**

Thanks to those considering joining the CISENP Session at the UISPP XIX Congress planned for this coming month of September. A letter (enclosed), by Pr. Larbi Boudad, Secrétaire-général du congrès UISPP 2021, dated the 6th of May 2021, tells us that because of the Corona Pandemic, the Congress will be digital, held via the internet.

No physical presence is necessary. Some of you have already presented the full text of your paper, others, just a summary. Some of you rightly enquire about the destiny of the papers that have already been submitted to the session and the others you are preparing. Our engagement in publishing them is confirmed.

The papers should be in English and are submitted to the evaluation of reviewers. The theme of the session is that of the Commission and is the same of previous congresses: "The Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate Peoples".

As it looks at present there may be two sections of our session, one on urbanization and way of life and the other on art, myth and religion. Due to the new orientation of the congress, written texts for publication and oral presentation will take two different shapes. Each accepted paper will be published in an issue of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal, according to the time of submission, from now till the 60 days before the Congress (July 1st, 2021).

The published texts will be available to all participants of the Congress session. For the oral presentation, each title of the session will dispose of up to 20 minutes, followed by 5 minutes of questions and debate. The texts to be published may be longer and join one of three categories: short notes and posters, up to 1,000 words, papers 1,000-4,000 words, leading articles up to 6,500 words.

Each written text may include a rich illustration, up to a maximum of 25 images. Texts should be in word, illustrations, separate from the text, should have a definition of 300 dpi. Each illustration should have a caption. All the material presented, text and illustration, should be free from copyright and any other limitation. The authors are responsible for what they submit. Each paper should have a short title. Your summary of up to 200 words will introduce the text as abstract and, at the same time, will be published in the general book of abstracts of the Congress. If the Congress will confirm the intent of publishing the full length of the presented papers, your article will be published again in that context. Please do not leave it to the last minute. Confirm your participation, make sure that your summary has reached us and send the final version of the paper as soon as possible, in any case before the above-mentioned deadline. And last but not least, make sure that you are registered as a participant in the Congress, according to the following letter.

Letter by the General Secretary of the Congress, the 6th of May, 2021

Dear all, first of all, we thank all those who organized sessions and/or sent communications despite the uncertainty that has reigned over the mode of organization of the 19th UISPP Congress for over a year now. We want to keep this momentum while restructuring the work of this great scientific event. To achieve this objective, we are counting on the mobilization of everyone and especially that of the scientific commissions of the UISPP. We are currently going through difficult times globally, because of the pandemic which has direct repercussions on the organization of the 19th edition of the UISPP Congress.

The postponement of this congress, last year, from 2020 to 2021, was initially a wise and useful decision to have a chance to succeed in the organization of this great scientific event, unfortunately the pandemic left us hardly the chance to finalize our great dream, which is to host, for the first time,

this congress in Africa. Following the meeting of the organizing committee of the 19th edition of the UISPP congress, on May 5, 2021, and after a long and fruitful discussion, the question of postponing the congress to 2022 was raised but ruled out by the fact that in 2023 the 20th edition will be held in Timisoara and that it would not be practical to organize two major events successively. Maintaining preventive health measures on a global scale hardly allows us short- or medium-term visibility on the modalities of organizing such a congress only less than four months from its holding. The uncertainty of obtaining authorization to organize a face-to-face event from the local authorities is great and remains dependent on the evolution of sanitary conditions in the world and in Morocco in particular.

For all these reasons and to mark this event and allow, to a lesser extent, the members of the UISPP to benefit from the scientific exchanges between the various participants, the only possible and certain solution is to keep this activity at bay. At this crucial moment in the organization of the congress, the support of the committees is fundamental and their presidents are requested to mobilize the members of their committees in order to make this event a success under such conditions.

The proceedings of the congress will be published in coordination with the session organizers and the heads of the committees. Thus the 19th edition will be completely remote, people who have already sent the registration fees will be reimbursed on their request (the congress fees), the 75 euros for membership of the UISPP will of course be retained and transferred to UISPP. For those who have not yet paid their contributions, they are requested to pay the UISPP membership fees (75 €) directly to the UISPP account in Paris, which will allow them to participate in the congress and in the publications of its proceedings.

Each committee is therefore requested to send us its program with a list of communications, specifying the name and email of the presenter of the communication. The organizing committee will ensure a final program with opening and closing sessions of the congress. We will communicate to you very soon the practical details of the organization of the sessions. Best regards,

PO du Comité d'organisation de la 19^{ième} édition de l'UISPP
Larbi BOUDAD
Secrétaire général du congrès UISPP 2021

ON COLONIZATION, RELIGION, AND REVIVALIST MOVEMENTS

A reader of *EXPRESSION*, a retired university professor from Australia, expressed criticism on a sentence published in *EXPRESSION* journal and awakened reactions from

members of native communities of Australia and Canada. The sentence, appeared at p. 5 of issue 29 (September 2020) was: "Native Australians and native Americans alike have lost most of their beliefs, their traditions, and their memory, and have acquired the beliefs, traditions and memory of the colonizers." (*EXPRESSION* 29, p. 5). The reasoning behind such sentence was further defined in the editorial notes of *EXPRESSION* 31 (March 2021, pp. 2-3) and by a letter of Professor Anati to the commentators, which follows.

The question of the function of religion on colonization is worth further analytical consideration and an additional text is following Anati's letter. Revivalist movements can do what they can to preserve a precious and most important heritage: time and events have to be taken into consideration an ultimately they will decide their destiny. Colleagues and friends are invited to participate in a debate of deep cultural and historic meaning.

Anati's Letter, 26 March 2021: TRADITIONS AND BELIEFS

Dear friends, greetings from the Negev Desert where research on the past is casting new light on the present. I have followed with interest the discussion on an allegedly scandalous sentence published in *EXPRESSION* quarterly journal. Being over 90, please allow me to share my ideas and concerns.

Half a century ago, for several years, I was visiting Australia, meeting and sharing very meaningful dialogues with clans in the bush. Since then I visited the bush again a few times. Some of my friends there had never seen a house, and their survival was based on hunting and gathering. They had a wealth of beliefs and rituals which I learned, recorded and studied. Their English was no better than mine, but we had no problems in understanding each other. The gathering of this firsthand information has been a precious gift.

Theories often overcome facts. Things are changing but there is no reason to be offended or afraid of facing facts. Let me say that, to the best of my knowledge, a large majority of indigenous today, both in Australia and America, have modified the traditional way of life, they did not go through initiation learning processes and ceremonies. They do not practice the traditional rituals, they miss the input of a considerable part of the traditional memory. There is no reason to be offended by reality. There is no way to go back, but there must be ways not to forget an inspiring and deeply spiritual heritage.

Traditions are an immense cultural patrimony, for all of us, that should be known and preserved. To my modest opinion, forgetting might be an easy solution but it is not the best one: it does not do a service to culture. Let us reconsider the scandalous sentence: "Native Australians and native Amer-

icans alike have lost most of their beliefs, their traditions, and their memory, and have acquired the beliefs, traditions, and memory of the colonizers.” It is regrettable that the incriminating sentence was considered, by somebody, to be offensive. It should not and it was not its intention. Are you really sure that the situation mentioned is non-existent in the world, and specifically in Australia and America?

When we see natives in the mission, going to church and praying to the god of the Europeans (in English!) we cannot avoid a sense of uneasiness: what remains of the Ancestral Spirits? What remains of millenary traditions? What remains of a wonderful way of conceiving the world and its powers? What remains of a deep philosophical way of thinking that hardly still survives in a few people of my age? How to transfer the deep meanings of initiation to younger people that did not grow with those values and beliefs? A strong stomach is needed to mix the Dreamtime Ancestors with the divinity imported by colonizers.

The Camonica Valley, in Italy, where we have our base, was once the home of a tribe, the Camunni, that left behind the major European record of rock art: hundreds of thousands of graphemes are forming the archives of ten thousand years of their history. Beliefs, rituals, myths, fights, and happy and sad events are recorded there. With decades of fieldwork and study we are bringing back to life ten thousand years of forgotten history, beliefs and ways of being. Similar works are being done also elsewhere.

Decoding is not just recording, dating and describing: decoding is understanding. The results of our work have earned the recognition of “World Cultural Patrimony” by UNESCO. The Camonica Valley is the first rock art site in the world to have received that recognition. The conquest of the alpine tribes by the Roman army, 2,000 years ago, changed their traditions and beliefs, which luckily, they had recorded on the rocks. An immense patrimony of culture is being recovered after 2,000 years, thanks to the rock art. How many rock art sites have not yet been properly decoded and understood? And how many similar tribes did not leave behind, on the rocks or by other means, the testimony of their culture? Their memory has been erased.

This story is an example of what has been happening around the world for ages: stronger identities are overcoming the weaker ones, imposing their ideology, beliefs, customs and leadership. A relevant part of world culture has been removed. It is a loss for the whole of humanity, not just for the minorities involved. We risk having increasingly a one-track view of history.

Our historical memory, that of the entire world, is dictated by the most powerful groups, by the winners, often forgetting the remarkable contribution to world culture, of people that have been conceptually eliminated in the course of ages.

Archeologists do what they can for past ages, but much of this cultural heritage is lost forever. Can we do something to modify this trend, to preserve and grant the memory of traditions, beliefs and experiences, at least of present-day minorities risking extinction? We are aware of the fact that some topics are sensitive and undesirable. In some countries, and in some societies, people who mention controversial topics have their mouths shut, and even their very being shut... or shot. If some ways of thinking do not follow the beaten track, would it be more constructive to see where they are leading to, before easily dismissing them?

Let us not be afraid of facing uneasy realities. Research does not need frontiers. Let us be open to debate, in order to clarify ideas and grant healthy freedoms to the various pathways of the human mind, research and understanding. Cordial regards and best wishes, Emmanuel

Prof. Emmanuel Anati

President, Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology

Director, CISPE,

Centro Internazionale di Studi Preistorici ed Etnologici

ANATI'S VIEW ON RELIGION

Some readers have recently asked what is the standing of Prof. Anati on religion and on revivalist movements. His book “*The Origins of Religion*” (2020) is a broad summary of his previous publications on religion. Regarding revivalist movements the following text may provide an answer.

ON RELIGIOUS FAITH AND IDENTITY

Emmanuel Anati

During a trip to Egypt I had a fine guide who knew how to drive the Jeep and how to show me archeological and historical sites in the Sinai Peninsula. He knew the stories of every site. I thought he might like a book, in English which somehow he spoke, on the history of the Sinai Peninsula. He declined the present, showing me his prayers book, stating that he was always reading only one and the same book that contained all the wisdom, adding: “It is not good to have other books”. By just one act and one sentence he revealed both, his faith and his identity.

Faith, religious or other, is an expression of the human mental process which tends to transform belief into knowledge. Faith is a source of both personal and social identity. This applies to both believers in religious faiths and non-believers. Faith may be transmitted for generations as part of the cultural heritage and may also spring up as a conceptual experience. Faith contains expectations, and may focus on beliefs, ideals, dreams, plans or actions. Faith may or may not be related to spirituality.

Ethnic and national entities usually have a dominant faith

professed by a majority of its people, while the rest may follow different ones, which may be religious, social or political. Faith relies on components due to traditions, events, emotions and personal experiences; it derives from both knowledge and beliefs, and may determine habits, traditions and other components of behavioral and conceptual attitudes. In tribal and in urban societies alike, religious faiths are diverse, varying according to social and economic settings, and modifying over time, but religion as a conceptual trend is persistent.

Despite official statistics, the true percentage of humanity actively practicing a religion is not known, since the percentages vary in different cultures and different ways of compiling them. However, considering together non-theistic religions like Buddhism, polytheistic religions like Hinduism, monotheistic religions like Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and the many cults of ancestral spirits and supernatural powers, the number of devotees includes today – and likely has included in the last 50,000 years – the large majority of human beings. Faith, religious or not, is a conceptual mindset of the entire species. To stress the psychological weight of faith, people totally lacking faith, of any kind, appear to be a minority, possibly affected by a pathological depression.

Each believer considers his or her own faith as the truth. Thus, the different religions represent different truths. Agnostics, who do not identify with specific religious denominations, develop other means of evidencing their laic faiths that, just like the religious, determine both, social relations and the sense of belonging, and individual identity, two elementary expressions of the self, strictly related to each other. Man is a social animal, and personal identity is part of a larger identity, like family, clan, team, social status, club, party, religion, country, language, profession, skills or hobbies. Sharing faith, interests, and concerns is part of the human conceptual and social nature. Kneeling down all-together or shouting a slogan all-together, or worshipping, adoring or hating something, all-together, combine acts of faith and of socialization.

Faith may display external emblems: the cross, the crescent, the star, the rising sun, the swastika, the hammer and sickle, and more symbols, flags, coats-of-arms, specific ways of getting dressed, ritual amputations, ways of speaking and behaving to other people, the kind of food consumed, daily habits and other behavioral expressions. Faith is often related to rituals and ceremonial deeds confirming the sense of belonging, which generate internal solidarity among the faithful and separate them from the non-faithful and the followers of other faiths. In many societies, performing together gathering, dancing, shouting, sharing dope, or even bathing in the sacred waters of a river, are exterior expressions of faith

socializing. And expressions of socializing may take place in the streets, in the bush, in a sacred cave, in temples or monasteries. Today it also takes place by internet.

Each person and each community may follow and practice specific faiths, and emphasize the belief in such faiths, a cultural manifestation of identity. The various patterns of religious faith grew over the course of generations and new denominations developed as different branches of Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, sects, guru cults, messianic movements, and so on. They may rely on myths of origins, revelations, and real or mythical prophets. They are an essential cultural patrimony defining ideological and ethical patterns and constitute a paramount source for the understanding of social and conceptual trends, and psychological and emotional mental processes.

The presence of diverse religions indicates that all of them are products of human minds. Revelations, as other conceptual acquisitions, if related to religions different from the professed one, are seen as products of the human creative intellect. Understanding the psychological processes at the roots of this global cerebral syndrome is a source of social awareness and a major goal for the humanistic sciences. The ideological changes that take place in society may have different traces and different leading figures. The role of prophets was essential in the biblical texts related to the Iron Age of the Near East. Shamans and elders have a powerful leading role in tribal traditions. In the European Middle Ages, and in some recent societies, the orientations were dictated by the philosophies of spiritual leaders. In contemporary occidental societies, these trends are either led by religious high priests, guides and gurus, or by socio-political leaders developing non-religious faiths.

The conversion from one faith to another is a change of identity which may happen by social relations, developing a particular emotional or conceptual attraction for a different faith or orientation, or by the wish to acquire spiritual or material benefits: wealth in this world or paradise in the other. It may be caused also by social pressure, the wish to belong to a social status or foreseeing security, protection or better living, or just adaptation to social trends.

Religious persecutions and inquisitions in the last two millennia have caused eliminations and conversions and also their opposite, the strengthening of faith. Both have been seen as the effect of persecutions against Christians, Jews, Buddhists, Tibetans, Armenians, Kurds, and others. Some were converted, some were killed, and some strengthened their faith and their ethnic or conceptual identity.

This is true also for agnostic people living under theocratic regimes: they may submit or not to the ruling religion. And every case may have two faces: the apparent, public formal one and the personal, reserved, conceptual one. Be-

cause of social pressure or imposed laws, or just the wish to conform, in every society there may be people performing rituals without sharing the beliefs and people privately performing their rituals without publicly exposing their faith. Losing faith in traditions and memories is a loss of the primary identity. It may be looked at as a negative loss or as a route to evolution and the attainment of new beliefs. It may be looked at as liberation from old-fashioned traditional concepts and the acquisition of the freedom of new values, which in fact may also be a new bondage. Usually, conversion to a religion different from that acquired by birth means a conceptual change.

Trying to keep the previous faith and the newly acquired one, mixing them, may mean the loss of the old one and psychological problems in conforming to the new one. Such a scenario may also provoke the birth of new faiths and sects. In traditional religious patterns, primarily in tribal societies, in Africa as in Australia, the gathering of experience, erudition, and awareness, grows through teaching, imitation, and initiation processes, by which the individual gradually absorbs knowledge and behavioral habits, acquiring a conceptual heritage, and becoming owner of insights into the processes of relations with the supernatural domain. The pertinent behavioral totemic rules are acquired, along with the canons of taboos, regulations, tasks, obligations, and much more. It is a patrimony accumulated for generations and its acquisition takes one's entire life.

Having followed for over 70 years the social and conceptual evolution of different human groups at sites repeatedly visited in Italy, France, Israel, China, India, Northern Australia, East Africa, and other regions, allowed me to verify that in every one of them, beliefs and rituals have changed even during the short period of a lifetime. In theistic religions and in ancestral cults alike, traditions are not static. Faiths are changing, as other habits, as the individual and the social terms of identity. Dogmas are a risky option for religions in a fast-changing world.

Everywhere aspects of faith have been lost, other new ones acquired. What is newly acquired may be temporary or more durable. What is lost can hardly come back as it used to be. Once lost, many details, states of mind, concerns, feelings, associations, hidden and intuitive knowledge are no longer the same or have vanished, despite efforts to recuperate them. Rituals and traditional performances are easier to preserve than their intimate meanings and concepts. Some may consider it progress, an expression of modernization, others a loss of the intellectual original patrimony. In fact, they are both.

Each major revolution has to deal with religion. The protagonists consider the loss of previous traditions as a success, as it happens in revolutions of modern times. Both

the Russian and the Chinese revolutions caused religion to suffer a drastic loss of relevance. Religious faith decreased and socio-political faith became dominant. On the other hand, the Iranian revolution deposed a laic dynasty and replaced it with a theocratic religious regime. Religion played a determining role in two opposite directions.

Colonial conquests, as in Latin America, besides ethnic cleansing, provoked the eradication of local traditions and religions. The conquest was primarily a religious conquest. Like in other subjugations, wars, crusades or invasions, religion was the prominent task. The colonization of large parts of Africa was mainly a sequence of campaigns to convert people to new faiths, Christian or Muslim, a practical method of subdual which caused the effacement of beliefs, traditions, and cultural patterns, and the colonizing faiths' acquisition of new souls.

Knowledge is the basis of understanding and understanding is the basis of culture. The canceling of traditions, the elimination of cultural patterns, the assimilation of subdued people to the patterns of colonizers, have effaced an immense wealth of myths, rituals, beliefs, and patterns of the human creative impulse and imagination. The past is the core of the future and culture was deprived of wealthy parts of precious knowledge. Some consider it a success. It is a loss for culture, a loss of memory and a loss of wisdom, even for those taking into little consideration the violation of other minds and cultures, and those seeing conversion as a conquest for progress. Part of the collective memory has been erased.

Revivalist movements, which are developing where newly introduced faiths spread, are searching for a way back to traditional rituals and beliefs, trying to face the crises of identity. This process may be successful if no interruption takes place in the conceptual heritage, if traditional elders are active in encouraging the persistence of the transmission of the knowledge and the initiation processes. If what remains of initiation concepts is partial or vague, rituals risk becoming meaningless, just a performance; and new concepts are not the same as the old ones.

Changes in the economy and the way of life make it difficult to go back to previous traditional behavioral and conceptual concerns, initiation procedures, and ideological indoctrination. The conceptual meaning of food being obtained by hunting and gathering and being acquired by a short visit to the supermarket is not the same. When wisdom is conveyed by an elder in a secret initiation site in the bush, and when it is taught by a government teacher in a school room, its conceptual and psychological notations are not the same. When traditions are acquired through family or clan behavior since birth, and when they are acquired through new indoctrination by an alien, missionary, or else, their conceptual impact is not the same.

Both the traditional faiths and the colonizing faiths are the product of human minds, both of which are relative truth reserved for those believing in it. Both have the value of being cultural assets, human treasured creations, and expressions of identity and belonging. But the old and the new ones do not speak the same language and trying to combine them may cause their reciprocal degradation.

The need to affirm an identity and the risk of losing an identity are the concern of both revivalist movements and conversion movements, and they are those of many people, both religious and laic. In psychologically unstable societies, as today some are, there is a strong need to affirm both, individual and collective identities. The process requires thoughtful consideration, to avoid individual and collective psychic confusions.

Once lost, a traditional concept will have disappeared or become deformed, and it will be hard recovering it as it used to be. In any way, it will never be as it was when people were born and grew up with it, when some of their characteristics were apprehended in the course of one's entire life, from the first day newborn open their eyes, acquiring new insight from everyday experiences, from the natural setting of daily routine from parents and elders, before and after each stage of life and initiation training. Recuperation should consider adapting to newly acquired life conditions. Africa, land of a thousand tribal religions, has become land of conceptual conquest disputed by Islam and Christianity. Missionary activities are colonizing, aimed at modifying the identity of individuals and communities. Their operators are usually persuaded of the beneficial effects of their actions, considering them a positive mission. Trying to convince other people of the truth of one's beliefs is part of human nature. And attracting people to adhere to a way of thinking which is alien to them is part of political submission. The conquerors suppress the ways of thinking and the behavioral habits of the defeated. Missionary activities, with all their good intentions, deprive the converted people of their original identities, offering them to become followers of the winners. This cancels out part of the intellectual patrimony of mankind. Each age and each society follows the process of both, being enriched by new conceptual acquisitions and being deprived of part of their memory. Each age and culture has always been enhanced by the acquisition of knowledge about what is different. Awareness of diversities is a fundamental element of consciousness of one's identity and also a way of enhancing human integration and understanding. The process of cultural evolution, creativity and intellectual perception, is fed by the encounter between different conceptual trends. Homogenizing the minds and canceling the memory of traditional knowledge does not seem to be a healthy recipe. Memory is consciousness and a patrimony to be treasured.

A society should include people who are aware of their past and the wisdom of their own ancestors as a source of identity. Traditions, even if considered to be obsolete, should lead to an ethical act of faith: respect others' faiths and ideas as a condition of having your faith and ideas respected. In any case, each faith, as said already, is not static, it evolves and should be left to evolve without impositions and brainwashing.

Religious faiths adapt themselves to the changing world. Their history is a fundamental aspect of the human intellectual adventure, an immense source of the identity of people and of the entire humanity, as well as a conceptual patrimony to be preserved and remembered. It is a story of wisdom and of ignorance, of peace and war, of generosity and aggressiveness, a story reflecting the entire kaleidoscope of human abilities and disabilities.

Faith may or may not produce ascetic and monastic tendencies; it may or may not produce fanaticism and suicide bombers. It may or may not be the cause of wars, massacres and ethnic cleansing. Awareness of the fact that humans have different faiths, confronting yours with the others, is a fundamental element of common sense. Blind faith, of any kind, is putting the individual into a state of dreaming that inevitably ends, either in the waking up or in a trail without issue. Faith is a source of identity, and identity may act as a balance to accompany faith with logic and wisdom. But the ability to compare different alternatives, is a source of wisdom which is not always welcome.

I felt sorry when my Egyptian guide declined my gift of a book. He refused it even if it did not deal at all about faith or identity. It was just a book on geography and archeology. But he did not want to know its content. He saw it as a danger for both his faith and his identity: precious treasures he did not want to risk compromising. Rethinking this episode, many people around the world keep that same fear of whatever may threaten to rise doubts about their faith and identity.

WHAT IS "ATELIER"?

Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology is a workshop for research, experiment, and debates on intellectual and spiritual expressions: traditions, art, religion, and other social and conceptual aspects of human society. It is a meeting place for the human sciences, where artists, philosophers, anthropologists, semioticians, psychologists, and students of other disciplines find a common language. Atelier organizes meetings, seminars, and exhibitions; it has a space for exhibitions, a laboratory and meeting place in Valcamonica in the Italian Alps. It has a publishing department producing books and the quarterly journal ATELIER. It is open to all those wishing to participate and share knowledge, ideas, and debates.

WHAT IS CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY?

In a previous issue of *EXPRESSION* (29) a detailed description was presented of conceptual anthropology, which interested readers may consult. Here is a short summary.

Conceptual anthropology is the discipline that looks at the meaning, motivations, and effects of human expressions. It analyzes the bases and drives of social and mental manifestations, behavioral habits, beliefs, rituals, and artistic creativity. How to consider thoughts or actions to be rational or irrational? A behavior pattern retained to be rational in one society, can it be considered to be irrational in a different society? Having 10 wives or 10 husbands may be considered to be rational in one society and irrational in another. Retaining dreams to be messages from supernatural beings may be considered to be rational in one society and irrational in another. Believing in miracles may be considered to be rational in one society and irrational in another. How can the understanding of different orientations help in human relations?

The target of conceptual anthropology is to acquire a broader consciousness of human behavior, actions and reactions, cultural processes, socialization factors, their roots, their potential progress or regression, and the outcomes. Initiated in order to be applied to archeological matters, to prehistoric and tribal art and to religious behavioral patterns, conceptual anthropology is fast expanding to other social issues.

Every human expression has its connotations that contain hints of its roots, motivations, and potential consequences. Arts, behavioral traditions, social ethics, rituals and beliefs are cultural sources of information on behavioral trends. Rituals and beliefs derive from memory and influence behavior; arts reveal immaterial and emotional trends. Intellectual and spiritual expressions define the identity of cultures and the many traits of social and intellectual orientations. The objective of conceptual anthropology is cultural consciousness, increasing the capacity for the perception of human behavior, social trends, and the ability to appraise them. Evaluations are concerned with potential ranges of evolution and change, not only in their social, economic, and technological aspects, but also in ethical, psychological, esthetic, and spiritual conditioning and consequential effects.

Faced with the fashion of extreme specialization, which risks reducing scholars to technicians and operators to robots, conceptual anthropology goes against the current. It relies on a broad cultural humanistic outlook and wide overviews. Technicians are useful and necessary, but conceptual anthropology proposes a new, albeit ancient, logic disposition, based on panoramic humanist and social perception and broadminded overviews, backed by dynamic and practical analytical methods.

The multidisciplinary approach is a source for stimulating awareness, a beneficial enrichment of the intellect for young people of all ages. Each discipline has its memory as a basis for the advancement of research and of the discipline itself. The free use of a combination of disciplines accumulates knowledge and balances concepts, in order to make a healthy and broader base of enquiry and thought. Every social, economic or political issue may be analyzed following the methods of conceptual anthropology.

Today, the media accumulate technical and historical memory and indoctrination. Artificial intelligence is a valuable consulting source. But the insights and associations of the human mind, uniting memory with emotions and intuitions, are still irreplaceable. Our being and our actions are rooted in memory, which is an immense multi-millenary accumulation of stored experiences, not necessarily conscious, but nevertheless active and reactive in our minds. Human behavior is based on memory. When mistakes are made, they often derive from memory fogging. On the other hand, positive results come from the good use of logic dictated by intuition deriving from memory, may it be conscious or subconscious.

Digital memory is a useful tool, but we consider that the type of memory that turns into intuition and rediscovery, coming from the deep well of human minds, is a fundamental element for decision-making which is still an irreplaceable individual resource. Conceptual behavior derives from the emotions of the moment, ages ago, in which the first man-shaped tools were produced to enhance the abilities of human hands. The same emotion recurs in the mind of a baby when his/ her hand succeeds in holding an object for the first time. Human actions are caused and accompanied by premeditations based on evaluations of ability, the challenges of trials, and emotions of achievement. This applies both to individual beings and to individual societies. By using the concepts and traditions of various disciplines and analytical systems, conceptual anthropology facilitates broad ranges of decision-making. Let the technicians and conceptual anthropologists be aware of their different roles, let them do their jobs and then enrich each other through the results of their commitment.

Research has a real social function and full gratification, when it produces culture. When culture is creative and innovative, it promotes intellectual growth and stimulates new thought. Conceptual anthropology, by its wide-ranging orientation, opens up the mind to broad ways of thinking.

This new discipline took shape during a congress of the International Union of Prehistoric Sciences in Florianopolis, Brazil, in 2011, in the meeting of a session planned and chaired by Professor Anati. It was first named New Archeology and then Conceptual Anthropology. Atelier

Research Center, based in Valcamonica, Italy, is its world center. Further development led to the creation of an editorial sector dedicated to conceptual anthropology. In eight years, the output consisted in some 60 books, printed in Italian, French and English, and the first 30 issues of the e-quarterly journal **EXPRESSION**, in English, which reaches researchers, institutions, and other motivated readers in over 80 countries. More than 200 authors are located in 45 countries of five continents.

Our world today, searching for its uncertain tomorrow, has a profound need for this kind of humanist orientation. Atelier Editing presents studies and research on conceptual anthropology which are pleasant to read and help learning without the feel of studying.

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EXPRESSION quarterly e-journal was founded and is directed by Professor Emmanuel Anati. It is produced by Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology, and has the cooperation of UISPP-CISENP, an organ of the

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EXPRESSION

GENERAL INDEX OF AUTHORS: VOLUMES 1 TO 32

Acevedo Agustín

Vol.8, pp. 63-68, *Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art in Two Regions of Central-Southern Patagonia: Contrasting Visual Themes, Techniques and Landscapes* (with Dánae Fiore)

Al-Malabeh Ahmad

Vol.18, pp. 33-41, *Cult Sites and Art* (with Stephan F.J. Kempe)

Alves Da Mota Leidiana

Vol.14, pp. 54-64, *First Americans: Changes of Places, Changes of Theories* (with Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimaraes)

Amâncio Martinelli Suely

Vol.21, pp. 33-39, *the Dominant Morphological Rock Art Theme in 47 Archaeological Sites in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, Pauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani De Oliveira)

Anati Emmanuel

Vol.6, pp. 3-24, *Decoding Prehistoric Art: the Messages behind the Images*

Vol.14, pp. 7-10, *Travel and Migrations Tales in European Paleolithic Art*

Vol.15, pp. 7-13, *Decoding Prehistoric Art: Meaningful Examples of Gender Relations*

Vol.16, pp. 9-23, *Decoding Paleolithic Engravings on Bone*

Vol.18, pp. 8-20, *Forgotten Myths and Memories: the Art of Early Gatherers from Tanzania to a World Pattern*

Vol.20, pp. 4-8, *Menhir-Statues: What Was their Function?* (Discussion Forum)

Vol.21, pp. 7-9, *Dominant Themes in the Rock Art of Azerbaijan*

Vol.22, pp. 9-20, *Changing Themes in Valcamonica Rock Art*

Vol.23, pp. 7-23, *The Typology of Rock Art*

Vol.25, pp. 8-19, *Religions in Prehistoric Valcamonica*

Vol.26, pp. 8-18, *Male and Female Variability in the Rock Art of Azerbaijan*

Vol.27, pp. 13-19, *Reconsidering the Vulvar Stones of La Ferrassie (Dordogne)*

Vol.28, pp. 10-31, *Cultural Diffusion and Cultural Introversion in the Alps. Rock Art as a Source of History*

Vol.29, pp. 12-15, *Decoding Paleolithic Art and the Origins of Writing*

Vol.30, pp. 10-19, *Rethinking Jericho and the Birth of the World Earliest Town*

Vol.31, pp. 8-26, *Death: Eternal Confrontation Between Knowledge and Beliefs*

Vol.32, pp. 9-30, *The Neolithic Temples of Malta: a Ceremonial Urbanization*

Anderson Shenandoah

Vol.21, pp. 16-22, *Understanding the Art of Rock Writing*

Arroyo Joaquín

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracabi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemia Santos, Beatriz Menéndez, Quijada César, Antonio Hernanz, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Arsenault Daniel

Vol.4, pp. 3-4, *Canadian Shield Rock Art and its Spiritual Dimension: an Informed Approach to the Tangible and Intangible Dimen-*

sions of Rock Art Sites in the Canadian Shield

Vol.7, pp. 5-13, *The Canadian Shield Rock Art and Its Spiritual Dimension: Finding Some Tangible and Intangible Aspects of Rock Art Sites in the Canadian Shield through a Contextual Approach*

Arzarello Marta

Vol.14, pp. 11-15, *The Bifacial Phenomenon across Time, Space and Variability*

Baghdasaryan Vard

Vol.21, pp. 40-48, *Linguistic Data on Old Armenian and Norse Intercultural Communication and the House of Being* (with Vahan-yan Vahan, Gregori Vahanyan)

Banerjee Ruman

Vol.26, pp. 42-50, *The Women of Central Indian Rock Art: Discovery, Documentation and Interpretation* (with Somnath Chakraverty, David W. Robinson)

Basile Mara

Vol.8, pp. 8-14, *Images in Time: an Overview of Rock Art Manifestations in the Fiambalà Region, Catamarca, Northwestern Argentina* (with Norma Ratto)

Bednarik Robert G.

Vol.12, pp. 8-10, *Questions and Answers about Art and Rock Art*

Vol.14, pp. 16-21, *Pleistocene Maritime Colonizations*

Vol.16, pp. 24-29, *Reading Messages into Palaeoart*

Vol.24, pp. 7-8, *No Greener Grass in the Arctic*

Belarmino, da Silva Vanessa

Vol.26, pp. 28-34, *Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raimundo Nonato-PI, Brazil* (with Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Michel Justamand, Pedro Paulo Funar)

Belfer-Cohen Ana

Vol.5, p. 20, *A Natufian Mask Face Figurine: an Insight into the Nature of the Supernatural Being*

Bender Herman

Vol.28, pp. 32-45, *Sacred Numbers in Plains and Woodland Indian Cultures and Cosmologies*

Ben Nasr Jaâfar

Vol.8, pp. 15-20, *The Rock Art of Tunisia: When, Why and to Whom?*

Vol.10, pp. 7-9, *Sandal Engravings in the Village of Guermessa (South-east of Tunisia): a Graphic Memorizing of a Forgotten Berber Ritual?*

Benavente Martha E.

Vol.5, pp. 16-17, *The Set of El Arroyo de las Flechas Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in the Sierra El Alamo; Caborca in Sonora, Mexico*

Vol.6, pp. 109-120, *The Set of El Arroyo de las Flechas Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in the Sierra El Alamo; Caborca in Sonora, Mexico*

Berriet Margalit

Vol.5, p. 6, *Arts and Cultures are a Journey in the World of Mankind*

Vol.6, pp. 24-29, *Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Societies: Art and Culture, a Journey through the World of Mankind*

Vol.11, pp. 7-12, *Male + Female: Humanity: Male and Female in Prehistoric and Tribal Art*

Vol.13, pp. 16-21, *Abstract Signs and Symbols in Prehistoric to*

- Modern Art*
Vol.18, pp. 21-28, *Memories: Grounds for Myth*
Vol.22, pp. 21-23, *The Arts and Society*
- Berrocal Emilio G.**
Vol.16, pp. 30-33, *The Forgotten Perception*
- Bertilsson Ulf**
Vol.4, p. 4, *Carved Footprints and Prehistoric Beliefs: Examples of Symbol and Myth - Practice and Ideology*
Vol.6, pp. 9-46, *Carved Footprints and Prehistoric Beliefs: Examples of Symbol and Myth - Practice and Ideology*
- Bettencourt Ana M. S.**
Vol.5, p. 7, *Grid Patterns in the New Iberia Rock Art Iconography, Context and Interpretations*
- Binant Pascale**
Vol.6, p. 46-56, *Sexual Human Representations of the Paintings of Serra da Capivara, Brazil: Relations in Action, Narrative Relations?*
Vol.11, pp. 17-20, *Men, Women, Children, Anthropomorphs and Animals*
Vol.13, 9, Discussion Forum
- Bjork Carl**
Vol.11, pp. 13-16, *Not Always the Male*
- Bo Cao**
Vol.5, p. 8, *Research and Study on the Guizhou Rock Art Heritage*
- Bo Xiao**
Vol.5, pp. 26-27, *Discussion of Reproduction Worship in Chinese Rock Art* (with Zhang Jiaxin and Wang Zhaohui)
- Bonanno Anthony**
Vol.14, pp. 22-30, *The First Inhabitants of Malta*
Vol.28, pp. 46-55, *Hiatus or Continuity in Prehistoric Malta? From Early Neolithic to Temple Period*
- Bonnet-Balazut Amélie**
Vol.22, pp. 24-32, *Understanding the Art of Rock Writing*
Vol.30, pp. 20-29, *Paleolithic Art: the Animal Beginnings of History*
- Boro Luigi J.**
Vol.8, pp. 21-24, *Lluta Valley, Atacama Desert, Chile*
- Bouissac Paul**
Vol.4, p. 6, *Patterns and the Dawn of Cosmological Knowledge*
Vol.6, pp. 57-61, *The Stargazers: the Evolution of Knowledge, Beliefs and Rock Art*
- Braun Ingmar M.**
Vol.10, pp. 10-14, *Interdisciplinary Interpretations of Anthropomorphic Composite Beings in European Upper Palaeolithic Cave Art: an Approach*
- Britten Brian**
Vol.11, pp. 21-25, *Bedford Barrens Petroglyphs*
- Buco de Andrade Cristiane**
Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matteus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)
- Burley Paul D.**
Vol.4, p. 7, *The Stonehenge Sacred Landscape, Pathway to the Stars*
Vol.7, pp. 14-25, *As Above, So Below: Unveiling the Truth about Stonehenge's Sacred Landscape*
- Bury Rick**
Vol.13, p. 8, Discussion Forum
- Chakravarty Kalyan Kumar**
Vol.12, pp. 11-15, *Is Art Necessary for Human Survival?*
- Chakravarty Somnath**
Vol.7, pp. 26-39, *Pre-literate Art in India: a Source of Indigenous Knowledge, Ethnohistory and Collective Wisdom*
Vol.26, pp. 42-50, *The Women of Central Indian Rock Art: Discovery, Documentation and Interpretation* (with Ruman Banerjee, David W. Robinson)
- Chies Monia**
Vol.9, pp. 13-17, *Celebrating Three Hundred Years of Mani Stone Carving at the Tibetan Buddhist Site of Gyanak Mani, Yushu TA P(PCR)*
- Chippindale Christopher**
Vol.8, pp. 25-28, *Meaning in the Axe-Carvings on Stonehenge*
- Christie Jessica Joyce**
Vol.8, pp. 29-33, *Layered Messages Through Time: a Case Study of Blue Bull Cave, Canyon De Chelly, AZ, United States*
Vol.11, pp. 26-32, *Gendered Stone Cults in Pre-contact O'ahu, Hawai'i*
- Coimbra Fernando**
Vol.6, pp. 62-70, *Archaeology, Rock Art, Archeoacoustics and Neurosciences: What Kind of Relation?*
Vol.8, pp. 34-36, *Semiotics in the Rock of the Signs (Barcelos, Portugal)*
Vol.13, p. 8, Discussion Forum
Vol.23, pp. 24-28, *Rock Art as a Mnemonic Process among Non-literate Societies*
- Clottes Jean**
Vol.13, pp. 22-24, *The Lascaux Shaft*
Vol.13, p. 8, Discussion Forum
Vol.25, pp. 20-26, *The Mythic Theme of the Fawn With Bird in the Pyrenean Magdalenian*
- Da Fonseca Azizo**
Vol.13, p. 9, Discussion Forum
- Dahl Ivar**
Vol.8, pp. 37-38, *Danish Viking Marks on Stone?*
- Dash Jagannath**
Vol.13, pp. 25-32, *Text, Context and Symbolism in Saora Art: an Anthropological Analysis*
- De Bie Marc**
Vol.21, pp. 49-55, *Settlement Spatiality Reflecting Spirituality: Searching for High-order Cultural Expressions of Final Palaeolithic Communities in Northwestern Europe* (with Jessie Van Cauter)
- De Figueiredo Sofia Soares**
Vol.8, pp. 39-43, *Paintings from Northeast Portugal: beyond Script and Art*
- Delferooz Behrooz Barjasteh**
Vol.32, pp. 31-43, *Newly Discovered Pictograms at Mil River Rock Shelter in Sistan and Baluchestan Province, Southeast Iran* (with Samira Narooyi, Safoura Kalantari)
- Delnoy David**
Vol.9, pp. 18-20, *The Petroglyphs of Huancor, Peru: Form and Meaning* (with Marcel Otte)
- de Oliveira Gabriel F.**
Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Matteus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)
- de Oliveira Matteus Freitas**
Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)
- Devage Dinesh**
Vol.25, pp. 70-85, *A Review of Rock Art Studies in Sri Lanka* (with Raj Somadeva, Anusha Wanninayake, Resta Fernando)
- Devage Nandadeva Bilinda**
Vol.9, pp. 67-71, *Rock Art of the Vedda People of Sri Lanka: When, Why and to Whom?*
- Devlet Ekaterina**
Vol.16, pp. 34-44, *The Skull Motif in Rock Art of Far East: Symbol of Death, Rebirth and the Link Between the Generations*
Vol.19, pp. 18-24, *X-Ray Style Anthropomorphs in Rock Art: the Challenge of Interpretation*
- Dieter Maurer**
Vol.13, pp. 33-41, *In Picture Genesis, the "Abstract" Precedes and Enables Depiction and Coding, Some Arguments and Speculations*

Based on the Investigation of Early Pictures in Ontogeny
Vol.19, pp. 33-47, *Why Our Understanding of the Emergence and Early Development of Pictures in Ontogeny Must Undergo a Revision, and What This Revision May Offer for the Understanding of Early Prehistoric Pictures*

Domingo Sanz Inés

Vol.8, pp. 44-49, *LRA? (Levantine Rock Art)*

Dos Santos Gomes Filho Antoniel

Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matheus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)

Drabsch Bernadette

Vol.8, pp. 50-57, *The Wall Art of Teleilat Ghassul, Jordan: When, Where, Why, to Whom and by Whom?*

Dubey-Pathak Meenakshi

Vol.27, pp. 20-37, *Women in Indian Rock Art*

Vol.29, pp. 16-25, *Ancient Myths Narrated by the Rock Art of Chhattisgarh State in India*

Dubal Léo

Vol.6, p. 71-77, *Heralding the Sun*

Vol.23, p. 29-31, *Tracing Back the Ages of Myths behind Calendar Eras*

Vol.31, pp. 27-33, *Coinage, the Coin Age and Creeds*

Faradzhev Arsen

Vol.6, pp 78-83, *The Treasures from the Russian City of Zaraysk*

Farruja De La Rosa José

Vol.14, pp. 31-37, *Neighbouring Lands ... Neighbouring Cultures? The North African (Amazigh) Roots of the Canary Islands*

Vol.16, pp. 45-53, *Reading the Message? The Problem within the Interpretations of Rock "Art" in the Canary Islands*

Felding Louise

Vol.8, pp. 58-62, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom? Two Danish Examples*

Ferraro Lorena

Vol.11, pp. 82-88, *Engraving Gender in Talampaya Rock Art, Argentina* (with Aixa Vidal and Maria Teresa Pagni)

Filho, dos Santos Gomes Antoniel

Vol.26, pp. 28-34, *Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raimundo Nonato-PI, Brazil* (with Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Michel Justamand, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Pedro Paulo Funar)

Fiore Dánae

Vol.8, pp. 63-68, *Hunter-Gatherer Rock Art in Two Regions of Central-Southern Patagonia: Contrasting Visual Themes, Techniques and Landscapes* (with Agustín Acevedo)

Fradkin Ariela

Vol.6, pp. 3-24, *Decoding Prehistoric Art: the Messages Behind the Images*

Fradzhev Arsen

Vol.4, p. 9, *The Treasures of the Third Millennium from the Russian City of Zvenigorod*

Franklin Natalie R.

Vol.8, pp. 69-73, *The Venus of Hohle Fels and Mobiliary Art from Southwest Germany* (with Phillip Habgood J.)

Frechiani De Oliveira Gabriel

Vol.21, pp. 33-39, *The Dominant Morphological Rock Art Theme in 47 Archaeological Sites in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (With Michel Justamand, Suely Amâncio Martinelli)

Vol.24, pp. 18-25, *The Climate Change Occurring in the National Park Serra Da Capivara -Pi, Brazil, Seen Through the Rock Art of Pre-Colonial Human Societies: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Pedro Paulo Funari)

Vol.26, pp. 28-34, *Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raimundo Nonato-PI, Brazil* (with Michel Justamand, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Pedro Paulo Funar)

Funari Pedro Paulo A.

Vol.15, pp. 26-35, *Sexual Scenes in Serra Da Capivara Rock Art, Brazil* (with Michel Justamand)

Vol.24, pp. 18-25, *The Climate Change Occurring in the National Park Serra Da Capivara -Pi, Brazil, Seen Through the Rock Art of Pre-Colonial Human Societies: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira)

Vol.26, pp. 28-34, *Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raimundo Nonato-PI, Brazil* (with Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Michel Justamand)

Furter Edmond

Vol.9, pp. 21-25, *Göbekli Tepe, Between Rock Art and Art*

Vol.10, pp. 15-21, *Art is Structural Magic, Not Illustration*

Vol.13, pp. 42-53, *Abstract Signs in Art are Shorthand for Cultural Structure*

Vol.14, pp. 38-47, *Colonial Artists Re-style the Same Characters*

Vol.15, pp. 19-24, *Pregnant is the Most Consistent Typological Gender*

Vol.16, pp. 54-62, *Recurrent Characters in Rock Art Reveal Objective Meaning*

Garcês Sara

Vol.21, pp. 22-32, *We, the Deer!? Assessing a Nonlinear Visual System in the Tagus Basin, Portugal* (with Luiz Oosterbeek)

Garfinkel Alan P.

Vol.13, pp. 54-70, *Patterned Body Anthropomorphs of the Cosos: How Might Concentric Circle Psychograms Function in Ethnographic Schemes* (with Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay)

Vol.16, pp. 126-144, *Neuro-ethological Messages from Rock Pictures* (with Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay and Merchan Villalba Luis Ramon)

Gassowski Jerzy

Vol.18, pp. 28-32, *Early Medieval Slavs in their Myths and Archaeology*

Ghilotti Francesco

Vol.6, pp. 84-95, *Earth and Subterraneity in Early Sumerian Sources*

Giorgi Marisa Dawn

Vol.8, pp. 74-78, *Chalawong: a Forgotten Site*

Habgood Phillip J.

Vol.8, pp. 69-73, *The Venus of Hohle Fels and Mobiliary Art From Southwest Germany* (with Nathalie R. Franklin)

Hayden, Brian

Vol.24, pp. 8-18, *Why Ideologies and Values Changed: the Role of Aggrandizer Strategies and Secret Societies*

Hameau Philippe

Vol.8, pp. 79-82, *A Commemorative Schematic Iconography in the Neolithic Period*

He Biao

Vol.5, pp. 13-14, *Survey of the Status and Protection Strategy for the Ancient Rock Paintings in Guizhou*

Hegg Chris

Vol.9, pp. 26-28, *My First Petroglyph Language Symbols Deciphered in West Central Nevada*

Hermann Luc

Vol.25, pp. 27-42, *Music and Dance in Rock Art from Southeastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan*

Vol.27, pp. 38-55, *Sexuality in Rock Art from Southeastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan*

Vol.28, pp. 56-78, *Depictions of Felidae in the Rock Art of Kyrgyzstan and Southeastern Kazakhstan* (with Annik Schnitzler)

Hernanz Antonio

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracahí River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemia Santos, Beatriz Menéndez, Quijada César, Joaquín Arroyo, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Hodgson Derek

Vol.12, pp. 26-47, *Why is Rock Art so Evocative? Affective Depic-*

- tion of Animals from Coso Range Petroglyphs, Southwest California, and Isco, Hazaribagh, India* (with Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay)
- Hochroth Lysa**
Vol.4, pp. 10-11, *From Survival to Conatus: Comparative Axiology from Engraving to Painting*
- Holt Deb**
Vol.11, pp. 39-46, *Sex and Gender in Wanjina Rock Art*, Kimberley, Australia
- Honoré Emmanuelle**
Vol.9, pp. 29-33, *Pastoralists' Paintings of Wg35, Gilf El-Kebir: Anchoring a Moving Herd in Space and Time*
- Hua Qiao**
Vol.4, p. 15, *Research on File Construction System of Rock Art* (with Hui Liu and Li Bin Gong)
- Huang Yaqi**
Vol.5, p. 27, *Agricultural Worship in the Rock Art of Jiangjunya, Lianyungang City, East China* (with Zhang Jiaxin)
- Imam Bulu**
Vol.4, pp. 11-12, *Changing Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of the Nomadic Birhor in Jharkhand*
Vol.7, pp. 40-44, *The Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of a Nomadic Tribe, the Birhor (of Hazaribagh, Jharkhand, Eastern India)*
Vol.9, pp. 34-38, *What Kind of Society Produced the Rock Art of My Region (Hazaribagh, Jharkhand, East india)? Why Was It Produced, and to Whom Was the Rock Art Addressed?*
Vol.19, pp. 12-17, *Changing Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of the Nomadic Birhor in Jharkhand*
Vol.22, pp. 33-38, *The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art in Jharkhand, India*
- Iriarte Mercedes**
Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracabi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemia Santos, Beatriz Menéndez, Quijada César, Joaquín Arroyo, Antonio Hernanz and Ramon Vinas)
- Jairoce Vitalina**
Vol.32, pp. 44-57, *Urban origins in Mozambique: Manyikeni and Niamara, Two Divergent Architectural Styles of the Second Millennium AD* (with Solange Macamo, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimucio)
- Jin Yanqing**
Vol.5, p. 21, *Research of Classification and Staging of Rock Art on Lusen Mountain in Qinghai* (with Zeming Shi)
Vol.7, pp. 101-108, *Research of Classification and Stages of the Rock Art on Lusen Mountain in Qinghai* (with Zeming Shi)
- Justamand Michel**
Vol.15, pp. 26-35, *Sexual Scenes in Serra da Capivara Rock Art, Brazil* (with Pedro Paulo A. Funari)
Vol.21, pp. 33-39, *The Dominant Morphological Rock Art Theme in 47 Archaeological Sites in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Gabriel Frechiani De Oliveira, Suely Amâncio Martinelli)
Vol.24, pp. 18-25, *The Climate Change Occurring in the National Park Serra Da Capivara -Pi, Brazil, Seen Through the Rock Art of Pre-Colonial Human Societies: a Case Study* (with Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Pedro Paulo Funari)
Vol.26, pp. 28-34, *Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raiumundo Nonato-PI, Brazil* (with Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Pedro Paulo Funar)
Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matheus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)
- Kalantari Safoura**
Vol.32, pp. 31-43, *Newly Discovered Pictograms at Mil River Rock Shelter in Sistan and Baluchestan Province, Southeast Iran* (with Samira Narooyi, Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz)
- Kempe Stephan F.J.**
Vol.18, pp. 33-41, *Cult Sites and Art* (with Ahmad al-Malabeh)
- Khan, Majeed**
Vol.24, pp. 25-35, *Deities and Gods: a Perspective on Prehistoric Religions in Arabia*
Vol.26, pp. 35-41, *Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies of Arabia*
- Kiotsekoglou Stavros D.**
Vol.30, pp. 30-40, *Parallel Lives of Two Districts' Cultural Landscapes: Albano di Lucania (Italy) and Lagyna (Greece)*
- Kolber Jane**
Vol.13, p. 10, Discussion Forum
- Lambert Arnaud F.**
Vol.8, pp. 83-85, *The Olmec-Style Rock Paintings of Oxtotitlán Cave: New Insights and Interpretations*
Vol.10, pp. 22-28, *Sorcerer-Kings in the Olmec Rock Art of Preclassic Mesoamerica*
Vol.11, pp. 47-52, *Exploring the Symbolic Expression of Gender Fluidity among the Potbelly Sculptures of Southeastern Mesoamerica: a Sociological Approach*
Vol.13, p. 13, Discussion Forum
- Lambert Georges-N. (Joel)**
Vol.9, pp. 124-129, *Elements to Approach the Magdalenians' Motivations, Who Lived in the Fontales' Rockshelter* (with Anne-Catherine Welté)
- Lbova Liudmila**
Vol.12, pp. 16-25, *Anthropomorphic Figurines of Ice Age Art in Siberia: New Data and Perspectives on the Function of Prehistoric Mobile Art (Tarn-et-Garonne, France)*
Vol.23, pp. 35-44, *Ornamental Artefacts as a Way to Transfer and Store Information in the Upper Palaeolithic: the Malta Collection (Siberia)* (with Tatyana Rostyazhenko)
- Lenoir Michel**
Vol.15, pp. 43-51, *Roc-de-Marcamps (France-Gironde): Sexual Human Representations* (with Anne-Catherine Welté and Marc Martinez)
- Leone Maria Laura**
Vol.10, pp. 29-35, *Meanings of the Deer Cave (Porto Badisco, Italy): Neolithic Art*
Vol.27, pp. 56-66, *The Woman in Ancient Daunia (Apulia, Italy): Considerations Inferred from Steles, Sources and Ceramics*
- Lewis-Williams J. D.**
Vol.8, pp. 91-96, *San Rock Art*
Vol.10, pp. 36-40, *Art, Religion and Myth: Were They Interrelated in Upper Palaeolithic Times?*
- Li An**
Vol.5, pp. 3-4, *Primitive Religious Information Embodied in Human-face Images of Rock Art of Zhuozishan Mountain, Wuhai, Inner Mongolia* (with Wu Junsheng)
- Li Gang**
Vol.4, p. 13, *Several Understandings on the Cave Paintings on the Turtle Stone in Anshan* (with Ni Xifeng)
Vol.5, p. 13, *Discovery and Pilot Study of the Jinsha River Chiselled Rock Art in Shangri-La*
- Li Hao**
Vol.5, pp. 13-14, *Survey of the Status and Protection Strategy for the Ancient Rock Paintings in Guizhou*
Vol.5, p. 25-26, *Research on the Development and Utilization of the Guizhou Ancient Petrography Research* (with Wu Xiaoping)
- Lødøen Trond**
Vol.9, pp. 43-47, *Rock Art as Mortuary Practice in the Late Mesolithic of Western Norway*
- Lopes Cristina**
Vol.9, pp. 48-51, *The Rock Art for Art's Sake: an Aesthetic Approach*
Vol.16, pp. 73-78, *Symbolism in Navajo Rock Art*
Vol.19, pp. 25-32, *Ataegina: a Peninsular Deity*
- Lu Xiaohong**
Vol.5, pp. 28-29, *Image Classification and the Symbolic Structure*

of the Rock Art at the Zuojiang River, Guangxi (with Zhang Yasha and Wang Mingshui)

Luo Xiaoming

Vol.5, pp. 23-24, *Manipulation Tactics: Cultural Interpretations of Rock Art Images Massed in South-west China* (with Wang Liangfan)

Lymer Kenneth

Vol.8, pp. 97-101, *The Prehistoric Petroglyphs of Terekty Aulie in Central Kazakhstan*

Vol.17, pp. 32-36, *Rock Art and Local Religious Practices in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan*

Macamo Solange

Vol.32, pp. 44-57, *Urban origins in Mozambique: Manyikeni and Niamara, Two Divergent Architectural Styles of the Second Millennium AD* (with Vitalina Jairoce, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimuciuo)

Magnotta Angelina

Vol.9, pp. 52-54, *Rock Art in High Lunigiana (Ms, Italy) Rock Art Park of Lunigiana*

Vol.10, pp. 41-47, *The Myth of Cycnus and Ancient Carvings of the Archaic Apuan Ligurian People Near Pontremoli (MS, Italy)*

Vol.11, pp. 53-57, *Moon Worshipping in Prehistory: Fertility God or Goddess?*

Vol.15, pp. 40-42, *Male and Female in Symbolic Depiction in High Lunigiana*

Mailland Federico

Vol.5, pp. 14-15, *Lifestyle of Human Groups during Palaeolithic at Har Karkom*

Vol.9, pp. 54-56, *Rock Art and Pebble Drawings: Different Ways to Communicate the Same Message?*

Vol.10, pp. 48-52, *Ibex, Crescent and Swastika as Symbols of a Lunar God in the Rock Art of the Ancient Near East and Central Asia*

Vol.11, pp. 53-57, *Moon Worshipping in Prehistory: Fertility God or Goddess?*

Vol.20, pp. 11-23, *The Har Karkom Rock Art from the Hellenistic to Late Byzantine Period: Man as the Centre of the Universe*

Marler Joan

Vol.20, pp. 24-33, *Iconography and Orality: Mnemonic Patterns of Meaning in the Neolithic Societies of Southeastern Europe*

Martin Michel

Vol.9, pp. 62-64, *Comparative Study Megaceros-Rennes*

Martinez Marc

Vol.15, pp. 43-51, *Roc-de-Marcamps (France-Gironde): Sexual Human Representations* (with Anne-Catherine Welté and Michel Lenoir)

Meaden Terence

Vol.6, pp. 96-108, *Aspects of the Nature and Purpose of Specific Symbols and Images in the Non-literate World of Neolithic and Bronze Age Britain and Ireland, including Stonehenge*

Vol.15, pp. 52-57, *Phallic and Vulvar Petroglyphs at Drombeg Stone Circle, Ireland, together with a Proposed Explanation Involving the Hieros Gamos*

Vol.16, pp. 79-91, *Shadows of Stone, Shadows of Ancestors - Studies Unveiling the Planned Sexual Drama of the Hieros Gamos, the Sacred Marriage*

Vol.18, pp. 42-47, *Paired Megaliths with Sculpted Images Facing Sunset at the Summer and Winter Solstices and the Implication of Paradisiacal Belief*

Vol.29, pp. 26-41, *The Sunrise Planning of 50 Irish Stone Circles and Comments on the Summer Solstice at Avebury and Stonehenge*

Vol.31, pp. 42-61, *The Hieros Gamos Worldview and Its Expression by Sunrise Drama at Irish and British Stone Circles of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages*

Menardi Noguera Alessandro

Vol.29, pp. 42-58, *Anoa-1 and The Body Proportions of the Niola Doa Corpulent Figures (Ennedi, Chad)*

Vol.31, pp. 62-78, *Idiosyncratic Paintings From a Distant Past in Sivré I (Ennedi, Chad)*

Menéndez Beatriz

Vol.6, pp. 109-120, *The Arroyo De Las Flechas' Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in Sierra El Alamo (Ahorca, Sonora, Mexico)* (with Ramon Vinas, César Quijada, Albert Rubio, Alejandro Terrazas and Neemias Santos)

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracahi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemias Santos, César Quijada, Albert Rubio, Joaquin Arroyo, Antonio Hernanz, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *A Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Caborca, Sonora, Mexico* (with Ramon Vinas, César Quijada, Albert Rubio and Neemias Santos)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *A Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Caborca, Sonora, Mexico*

Merchan Villalba Luis Ramon

Vol.16, pp. 126-144, *Neuro-ethological Messages from Rock Pictures* (with Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay and Alan P.Garfinkel)

Monamy Elisabeth

Vol.9, pp. 65-66, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom? The 'King' from Jubba (Saudi Arabia): a New Interpretation*

Mooketsi Cynthia Ontiretse

Vol.16, pp. 92-97, *"This Is a Butterfly and It Identifies a Water Container": the Relevance of Indigenous Knowledge in Archaeological Interpretations*

Moulton Susan

Vol.19, pp. 48-62, *Unbridling the Past: the Visual Language of Animacy in Palaeolithic Cave Painting at Chauvet*

Munoz Fernandez Emilio

Vol.7, pp. 45-56, *Colonization of the Upper Miera and Asón Valleys (Cantabria, Spain) in the Late Pleistocene and the Early Holocene* (with Mercedes Perez Bartolomé)

Mutimuciuo Laurinda

Vol.32, pp. 44-57, *Urban origins in Mozambique: Manyikeni and Niamara, Two Divergent Architectural Styles of the Second Millennium AD* (with Solange Macamo, Vitalina Jairoce, Arlindo Zomba)

Mykhailova Nataliia

Vol.10, pp. 53-58, *Deer Offerings in the Archaeology and Art of Prehistoric Eurasia*

Vol.15, pp. 58-68, *Sex as Transition Between Worlds in Deer Hunting Society (Mythology and Rock Art)*

Vol.20, pp. 34-41, *"Celestial Deer" – the Flight from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages*

Nankela Alma

Vol.9, pp. 72-77, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom? Rock Art of Omandumba Farm on Erongo Mountain, Namibia*

Narooyi Samira

Vol.32, pp. 31-43, *Newly Discovered Pictograms at Mil River Rock Shelter in Sistan and Baluchestan Province, Southeast Iran* (with Behrooz Barjasteh Delforooz, Safoura Kalantari)

Nash George

Vol.9, pp. 8-81, *Secret Signs: Mechanisms behind the Construction of Later Prehistoric Rock Art in Western Britain*

Navarro Alexandre Guida

Vol.16, pp. 63-72, *The Feast of Animals: Art and Images on Prehistoric Eastern Amazonian Stilt Houses*

Neumayer Erwin

Vol.13, p. 10, Discussion Forum

Nezar Moghadasi Abdorreza

Vol. 17, pp. 49-51, *Neuromythology: Relationship between Brain, Evolution, and Mythology*

Nhamo Ancila

Vol.9, pp. 82-85, *Encoding Identity: Spatial Motif Variation as an Answer to When, Why and for Whom Rock Art was Produced in Zimbabwe*

Vol.12, pp. 48-56, *Male Versus Female: Variation in Representations of Males and Females in the Hunter Gatherer Rock Art of Southern Africa*

Nisi Domenico

Vol.19, pp. 78-82, *New Interpretative Hypotheses on a Fresh Interpretation of the Venus à La Corne, a Palaeolithic Bas-Relief Figurine* (with Marta Villa)

Ni Xifeng

Vol.4, p. 13, *Several Understandings on the Cave Paintings on the Turtle Stone in Anshan* (with Li Gang)

Nykonenko Dmytro

Vol.24, pp. 49-62, *Rock Art from the Western Edge of the Steppe: Engravings Inside the Bull Grotto at the Kamyana Mohyla Site* (with Simon Radchenko)

Ogawa Masaru

Vol.9, pp. 86-87, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom? Rock Art from Temiya and Fugoppe Caves*

Oosterbeek Louiz

Vol.4, p. 15, *Symbols as Persona in the Dawn of Food Production in the Alto Ribatejo, Portugal*

Vol.21, pp. 22-32, *We, the Deer!? Assessing a Nonlinear Visual System in the Tagus Basin, Portugal* (with Sara Garcês)

Orefici Giuseppe

Vol. 30, pp. 41-57, *The Geoglyphs: Open Spaces and Collective Ceremonies in the Nasca World*

Otte Marcel

Vol.4, p. 16, *The Prehistory of the Portrait*

Vol.7, pp. 57-60, *The Portrait in Prehistory*

Vol.9, pp. 18-20, *The Petroglyphs of Huancor, Peru: Form and Meaning* (with David Delnoy)

Vol.12, pp. 57-60, *Duality in Arts*

Vol.14, pp. 48-53, *The Chauvet Masks*

Pagni Maria Teresa

Vol.11, pp. 82-88, *Engraving Gender in Talampaya Rock Art, Argentina* (with Aixa Vidal and Lorena Ferraro)

Paiva Leandro

Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matteus Freitas de Oliveira)

Palma Dias Jacinto

Vol.16, pp. 98-111, *Circular Architectures and Cyclical Eternities in Archaic Portugal*

Palonka Radosław

Vol.16, pp. 112-125, *Shamans, Spirals and Warriors - Rock Art in Castle Rock Pueblo Community, Colorado, USA through Native American Oral Traditions and Archaeological Interpretations*

Patterson Carol

Vol.22, pp. 39-49, *Cultural Affiliations of the Western Basketmaker II Style Petroglyphs of American Southwest: Keres*

Vol.25, pp. 43-69, *Cultural Affiliations of the Western Basketmaker II-PIII Style: Petroglyphs of the American Southwest: Zuni*

Vol.27, pp. 67-82, *Mythical Women in the Prehistoric Art of South-east Utah*

Vol.29, pp. 59-71, *Katsina Runners in the Prehistoric Art of the American Southwest, 1000 BCE-CE 1300*

Pengcheng Hu

Vol.6, pp. 121-134, *Review of Guangxi Cliff Drawing Research*

Pérez Crespo Armando

Vol.24, pp. 35-49, *The Tlaloc Prototype: Depictive Practices in Rain-Praying Cultures of del Bajío, the Southern Fringe of Arido-america* (with Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay)

Pérez Bartolomé Mercedes

Vol.7, pp. 45-56, *Colonization of the Upper Miera and Asón Valleys (Cantabria, Spain) in the Late Pleistocene and the Early Holocene* (with Fernandez Emilio Munoz)

Prasad Awadh Kishore

Vol.9, pp. 88-96, *Rock Art of Southern Bihar and Adjoining Jharkhand in Eastern India: When, Why and to Whom?*

Vol.20, pp. 42-51, *Predominant Ritual and Ceremonial Trends in the Rock Art of Eastern India, with Special Reference to Southern Bihar and Adjoining Jharkhand*

Qian Sheng You

Vol.5, p. 26, *Using the Montage Technique to Read Various Cave Painting Sites in Guizhou Plateau*

Queiroz Albérico

Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matteus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)

Quijada César

Vol.6, pp. 109-120, *The Arroyo De Las Flechas' Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in Sierra El Alamo (Ahorca, Sonora, Mexico)* (with Beatriz Menéndez, Neemias Santos, Albert Rubio, Alejandro Terrazas and Ramon Vinas)

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracachi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemias Santos, Beatriz Menéndez, Albert Rubio, Joaquin Arroyo, Antonio Hernanz, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *A Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Sonora, Mexico* (with Beatriz Menéndez, Neemias Santos, Albert Rubio and Ramon Vinas)

Radchenko Simon

Vol.24, pp. 49-62, *Rock Art from the Western Edge of the Steppe: Engravings Inside the Bull Grotto at the Kamyana Mohyla Site* (with Dmytro Nykonenko)

Radhakant Varma

Vol.9, pp. 120-122, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom?*

Rampaneli de Almeida Vitor José

Vol.31, pp. 34-41, *Rock Art Representations and Possible Zoophilia Themes at Serra Da Capivara National Park, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study* (with Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matteus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva)

Ratto Norma

Vol.8, pp. 8-14, *Images in Time: an Overview of Rock Art Manifestations in the Fiambalà Region, Catamarca, Northwestern Argentina* (with Mara Basile)

Rebay-Salisbury Katharina

Vol.11, pp. 58-62, *Male, Female and Sexless Fig.s of the Hallstatt Culture: Indicators of Social Order and Reproductive Control?*

Resta Fernando

Vol.25, pp. 70-85, *A Review of Rock Art Studies in Sri Lanka* (with Raj Somadeva, Anusha Wanninayake, Dinesh Devage)

Rifkin Riaan F.

Vol.9, pp. 97-101, *Pleistocene Figurative Portable Art from Apollo 11, Southern Namibia*

Robertson John H.

Vol.16, pp. 5-6, Discussion Forum

Robinson David W.

Vol.26, pp. 42-50, *The Women of Central Indian Rock Art: Discovery, Documentation and Interpretation* (with Somnath Chakraverty, Ruman Banerjee)

Rocchitelli Andrea

Vol.7, pp. 61-63, *The Dynamics of Mental Movements as a Base for the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-literate People and the Origin of Development of the Human Being*

Ronen Avraham

Vol.9, p. 102, *Why Art?*

Ross Jane

Vol.11, pp. 39-46, *Sex and Gender in Wanjinna Rock Art, Kimberley, Australia*

Rostyazhenko Tatyana

Vol.23, pp. 35-44, *Ornamental Artefacts as a Way to Transfer and Store Information in the Upper Palaeolithic: the Malta Collection*

(Siberia) (with Liudmila Lbova)

Rubio Albert

Vol.6, pp. 109-120, *The Arroyo De Las Flechas' Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in Sierra El Alamo (Aborca, Sonora, Mexico)* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Ramon Vinas, Alejandro Terrazas and Neemias Santos)

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracabi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Neemia Santos, Beatriz Menéndez, Quijada César, Joaquin Arroyo, Antonio Hernanz, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *a Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Caborca, Sonora, Mexico* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Ramon Vinas and Neemias Santos)

Sachin Kr Tiwary

Vol.11, pp. 73-75, *Are Men only Active in the Post War? Truth in Light of the Folklore of the Kaimun Tribes*

Vol.18, pp. 56-63, *Ethno Rock Art: Beliefs, Rituals and Experiences, the Study of Ferocious Depictions inside Khoh in Light of the Beliefs of Kaimur Inhabitants*

Sansoni Umberto

Vol.7, pp. 75-89, *The Rock Art of Indo-European Cultures: Concordances, Logics and Possible Common Values*

Santos Estévez Manuel

Vol.9, pp. 103-106, *Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom? Atlantic Rock Art in Galicia and Northern Portugal*

Santos Neemias

Vol.6, pp. 134-146, *The rock art of Saracabi River Basin: the El Arco and Blanca de la Pulsera caves, Sonora (Mexico)* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Albert Rubio, Joaquin Arroyo, Antonio Hernanz, Mercedes Iriarte and Ramon Vinas)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *A Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Sonora, Mexico* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Albert Rubio and Ramon Vinas)

Schnitzler Annik

Vol.28, pp. 56-78, *Depictions of Felidae in the Rock Art of Kyrgyzstan and Southeastern Kazakhstan* (with Luc Hermann)

Searight-Martinet Susan

Vol.9, pp. 107-108, *Oum La Leg, a Rock Art Site in the Moroccan Anti-Atlas: Who Did the Engravings, When and Why?*

Vol.10, pp. 59-61, *Engravings of Sacred, Ideological or Symbolical Signs in Imaoun, a Prehistoric Tribal Meeting Place in Southern Morocco*

Vol.11, pp. 63-67, *The Representation of Males and Females in the Rock Art of Moroccan High Atlas Mountains*

Shaham Dana

Vol.5, p. 20, *A Natufian Mask Face Figurine: an Insight into the Nature of the Supernatural Being*

Sharpe Kate E.

Vol.9, pp. 109-115, *Connecting the Dots: Cupules and Communication in the English Lake District*

Shems Krasniqi

Vol.4, p. 13, *Some Aspects of the Contemporary Use of Ancient Symbols*

Vol.5, p. 21, *Investigation and Research into Dahongyan Rock Art in Zhenfeng County, Guizhou Province* (with Zhang Xiaoxia)

Vol.5, p. 21, *Research of Classification and Staging of Rock Art on Lusen Mountain in Qinghai* (with Jing Yanqing)

Vol.7, pp. 101-108, *Research of Classification and Stages of the Rock Art on Lusen Mountain in Qinghai* (with Jing Yanqing)

Vol.9, pp. 39-42, *The Reflection of Social Structure through Rock Art: the Case of Zatriq, Kosovo*

Vol.15, pp. 36-39, *Symbols of Fertility and Protection*

Vol.19, pp. 63-67, *The Use of ancient Symbols through the Ages*

Smith Benjamin

Vol.13, p. 9, Discussion Forum

Sognnes Kalle

Vol.12, pp. 61-66, *From Where to Why: Some Examples of Rock Art Locations in Scandinavia*

Vol.18, pp. 48-55, *Rock Art at Bardal in Trøndelag, Norway: Myths and Memories?*

Somadeva, Raj

Vol.25, pp. 70-85, *A Review of Rock Art Studies in Sri Lanka* (with Anusha Wanninayake, Dinesh Devage, Resta Fernando)

Soukпова Jitka

Vol.9, pp. 116-120, *Tassili Paintings: Ancient Roots of Current African Beliefs?*

Vol.11, pp. 68-72, *Leading Role of Male Hunters in Central Saharan Prehistoric Rituals*

Vol.12, pp. 67-72, *Saharan Rock Art Sites as Places for Celebrating Water*

Vol.15, pp. 69-76, *Penis only for Gods? Sexual Imagery in the Earliest Central Saharan Rock Art*

Vol.26, pp. 51-64, *Women and Prehistoric Rituals in the Round Head Rock Art of the Sahara*

Vol.28, pp. 79-90, *Rain and Rock Art in the Sahara: a Possible Interpretation*

Vol.30, pp. 58-73, *Prehistoric Colonization of the Central Sahara: Hunters Versus Herders and the Evidence from the Rock Art*

Steiner George F.

Vol.12, pp. 73-94, *The Goddess and the Copper Snake: Metallurgy, Star-Lore, and Ritual in the Rock Art of Southern Levant*

Subhash Chandra Malik

Vol.9, pp. 57-61, *Rock Art: a Universal Creative Act*

Sun Xiaoyong

Vol.5, p. 22, *Field Survey and Analysis of Mask Worship in the Xiliaohe River Basin* (with Zhang Jiaxin)

Tanda Giuseppa

Vol.7, pp. 90-100, *The Use of Burial Space and Social Relations between the Late Neolithic Age and the Copper Age in Sardinia*

Terrazas Alejandro

Vol.5, pp. 109-120, *The Arroyo De Las Flechas' Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in Sierra El Alamo (Aborca, Sonora, Mexico)* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Ramon Vinas, Alberto Rubio and Neemias Santos)

Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay

Vol.12, pp. 26-47, *Why is Rock Art so Evocative? Affective Depiction of Animals from Coso Range Petroglyphs, Southwest California, and Isco, Hazaribagh, India* (with Derek Hodgson)

Vol.13, pp. 54-70, *Patterned Body Anthropomorphs of the Cosos: How Might Concentric Circle Psychograms Function in Ethnographic Schemes* (with Alan P. Garfinkel)

Vol.16, pp. 126-144, *Neuro-ethological Messages from Rock Pictures* (with Alan P. Garfinkel and Luis Ramon Merchan Villalba)

Vol.24, pp. 35-49, *The Tlaloc Prototype: Depictive Practices in Rain-Praying Cultures of del Bajío, the Southern Fringe of Aridoamerica* (with Armando Pérez Crespo)

Tsoni Tsonet

Vol.6, p. 146-158, *3D Reconstructions of the Sculptured Emotions in the Copper Age Eastern Balkans*

Vol.12, pp. 95-100, *Art and "Primitive" Cultures*

Vol.13, pp. 71-77, *Conceptualizing the Nature of Abstract Representations in Prehistory*

Ulbrich Hans-Joachim

Vol.10, pp. 62-65, *Communicating with the Gods: Superstition on Fuerteventura and Lanzarote*

Vahyanan Gregori

Vol.6, p. 158-164, *Beginning of Natural Philosophy and Metaphysics in the Rock Arts of Armenia*

Vol.10, pp. 66-68, *The Role of Rock Art Clusters in Mythology, Religion and Magic: the Concept of the Knowledge Spiral*

Vol.16, pp. 145-156, *Frigg, Astghik and the Goddess of Crete Island*

Vol.18, pp. 64-70, *New Perspective on the Theory of the 'Main Myth'*

Vol.19, pp. 68-77, *Sixteen Wonders of World Visual Art*

Vol.21, pp. 40-48, *Linguistic Data on Old Armenian and Norse Intercultural Communication and the House of Being* (with Vahan Vahyanan and Vard Baghdasaryan)

Vahanyan Vahan

Vol.16, pp. 145-156, *Frigg, Astghik and the Goddess of Crete Island*
Vol.21, pp. 40-48, *Linguistic Data on Old Armenian and Norse Intercultural Communication and the House of Being* (with Gregori Vahanyan and Vard Baghdasaryan)

Van Caüter Jessie

Vol.21, pp. 49-55, *Settlement Spatiality Reflecting Spirituality: Searching for High-order Cultural Expressions of Final Palaeolithic Communities in Northwestern Europe* (with Marc De Bie)

Van Gelder Leslie

Vol.13, pp. 78-86, *Finger Flutings, Tectiforms, and the Audacity of Hope*

Van Hoek Marten

Vol.11, pp. 76-81, *It's all about the Head. Morphological Basis for Cephalic Differences in Male and Female Anthropomorphic Imagery in Desert Andes Rock Art*

Varela Gomes Mario

Vol.32, pp. 58-73, *Castelo Belinho, a Pristine Neolithic Village on the Southwestern Iberian Peninsula: Spaces, Structures, Functions, and Symbols, at the Rise of Urbanization*

Vetrov Viktor

Vol.5, p. 23, *A Complex Research of Paleolithic Art in Ukraine*

Vialou Denis

Vol.13, p. 8, Discussion Forum

Vidal Aixa

Vol.11, pp. 82-88, *Engraving Gender in Talampaya Rock Art, Argentina* (with Lorena Ferraro and Maria Teresa Pagni)

Vol.23, pp. 45-48, *Memories of the ocean*

Villa Marta

Vol.19, pp. 78-82, *New Interpretative Hypotheses on a Fresh Interpretation of the Venus à La Corne, a Palaeolithic Bas-Relief Figurine* (with Domenico Nisi)

Vinas Ramon

Vol.5, pp. 109-120, *The Arroyo De Las Flechas' Rock Art Engravings: Symbolic Associations in Sierra El Alamo (Aborca, Sonora, Mexico)* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Albert Rubio, Alejandro Terrazas and Neemias Santos)

Vol.7, pp. 64-74, *A Ritual Space with Paintings and Engravings in the La Calera Rock Art Set, Caborca, Sonora, Mexico* (with Beatriz Menéndez, César Quijada, Albert Rubio and Neemias Santos)

Waller Steven J.

Vol.9, p. 123, *Communicating with the Spirit Artists Who Pre-date Sound Wave Theory Selected Echoing and Reverberant Environments to Depict Echo and Thunder Spirits in Attempts to Communicate with These Spirits*

Vol.10, pp. 69-72, *Thunder Gods in Prehistoric Art, Mimicking Thunder for Rainmaking Rituals and the Psychoacoustics of Reverberation*

Wang Liangfan

Vol.5, pp. 23-24, *Manipulation Tactics: a Cultural Interpretations of Rock Art Images Massed in Southwest China* (with Luo Xiaoming)

Wang Mingshui

Vol.5, pp. 28-29, *Image Classification and the Symbolic Structure of the Rock Art at the Zuojiang River, Guangxi* (with Zhang Yasha and Lu Xiaohong)

Wang Xiaokun

Vol.5, pp. 27-28, *Research on Face Rock Carvings in Northern China* (with Zhang Wenjing)

Wang Xu

Vol.5, pp. 30-31, *Petroglyphs on the Pacific Rim: the Rock Art of the Xiliaohe River and the Amur River* (with Zhu Lifeng)

Wang Zhaohui

Vol.5, pp. 26-27, *Discussion of Reproduction Worship in Chinese Rock Art* (with Bo Xiao and Zhang Jiabin)

Wanninayake Anusha

Vol.25, pp. 70-85, *A Review of Rock Art Studies in Sri Lanka* (with Raj Somadeva, Dinesh Devage, Resta Fernando)

Warland Jacinta

Vol.20, pp. 52-61, *The Answers are Living in the Stones*

Welté Anne-Catherine

Vol.9, pp. 24-129, *Elements to approach the Magdalenians' motivations, Who Lived in the Fontalès Rockshelter, Tarn-Et-Garonne, France* (with Lambert Georges-N. Joel)

Vol.15, pp. 43-51, *Roc-De-Marcamps (France-Gironde): Sexual Human Representations* (with Michel Lenoir and Marc Martinez)

Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães Santiago

Vol.11, pp. 33-38, *Feminine Sexuality in Prehistoric Rock Art: a Path toward Structures of Mind*

Vol.14, pp. 54-64, *First Americans: Changes of Places, Changes of Theories* (with Leidiana Alves Da Mota)

Vol.18, pp. 71-76, *The Neanderthal Construction in Bruniquel Cave, France: the Origin of Myths through a Discussion of Anthropological Structuralism*

Vol.23, pp. 32-34, *Human Memory as Archetype: Implications for Rock Art*

Vol.26, pp. 19-27, *Gender in Prehistoric Rock Art: the Case of Seridó, Brazil*

Wu Jiachi

Vol.5, pp. 24-25, *Discovery and Study of Two Groups of Writing on the Cliff in the Hongshan Culture Area*

Wu Junsheng

Vol.5, pp. 3-4, *Primitive Religious Information Embodied in Human-face Images of Rock Art of Zhuozishan Mountain, Wuhai, Inner Mongolia* (with Li An)

Wu Xiaoping

Vol.5, pp. 25-26, *Research on the Development and Utilization of the Guizhou Ancient Petrography Research* (with Li Hao)

Yu Zhuoran

Vol.4, p. 20, *On the Disciplines of Taking Images in Chinese Rock Art* (with Zhu Yuan)

Yuan Zhu

Vol.4, p. 20, *On the Disciplines of Taking Image in Chinese Rock Art* (with Yu Zhuoran)

Zeming Shi

Vol.7, pp. 101-108, *Research of Classification and Stages of the Rock Art on Lusen Mountain in Qinghai* (with Janqing Jing)

Zhang Jiabin

Vol.5, p. 27, *Agricultural Worship in the Rock Art of Jiangjunya, Lianyungang City, East China* (with Huang Yaqi)

Vol.5, pp. 26-27, *Discussion of Reproduction Worship in Chinese Rock Art* (with Bo Xiao and Wang Zhaohui)

Vol.5, pp. 27-28, *Field Survey and Analysis of Mask Worship in the Xiliaohe River Basin* (with Sun Xiaoyong)

Zhang Li-Na

Vol.5, pp. 17-18, *The Special Characteristics of the Zhenfeng Rock Art in Guizhou*

Zhang Xiaoxia

Vol.5, p. 21, *Investigation and Research into Dahongyan Rock Art in Zhenfeng County, Guizhou Province* (with Shi Zeming)

Zhang Wenjing

Vol.5, pp. 27-28, *Research on Face Rock Carvings in Northern China* (with Wang Xiaokun)

Zhu Houqiu

Vol.5, pp. 29-30, *An Ancient Sacrificial Place: Research into Rock Art in Xianju*

Zhu Lifeng

Vol.5, pp. 30-31, *Petroglyphs on the Pacific Rim: the Rock Art of the Xiliaohe River and the Amur River* (with Wang Xu)

Zhu Qiuping

Vol.5, p. 31, *Significance of the Stabilization Works Which Protect the Rock Art Painting in Ningming District*

Zomba Arlindo

Vol.32, pp. 44-57, *Urban origins in Mozambique: Manyikeni and Niamara, Two Divergent Architectural Styles of the Second Millennium AD* (with Solange Macamo, Vitalina Jairoce, Laurinda Mutimucui)

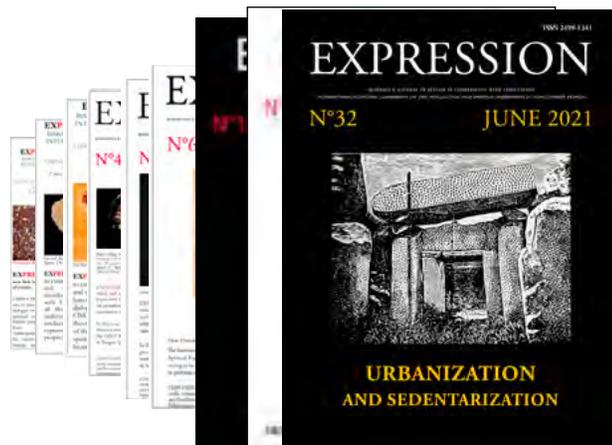
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NUMBER OF AUTHORS PER COUNTRY
VOLUMES 1 - 32

236 AUTHORS from 46 COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS	COUNTRY	NUMBER OF AUTHORS
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Armenia	3	Malta	1
Australia	9	Mexico	6
Austria	3	Morocco	1
Belgium	6	Mozambique	4
Botswana	1	Namibia	1
Brazil	17	Netherlands	1
Bulgaria	1	Norway	2
Canada	5	Perù	1
China	31	Poland	2
Colombia	1	Portugal	9
Czech Republic	1	Russia	5
Denmark	2	Saudi Arabia	1
France	13	South Africa	4
Germany	1	Spain	10
Greece	1	Sri Lanka	5
Hungary	1	Sweden	2
Israel	3	Switzerland	4
India	11	Tunisia	1
Iran	3	UK	9
Italy	16	Ukraine	4
Japan	1	USA	17
Jordan	1	Zimbabwe	1

EXPRESSION

N°32 June 2021



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ISSUES OF EXPRESSION: CONTENTS

ISSN 2499-1341

EXPRESSION, No. 1, September 2013
 BIMONTHLY E-LETTER OF THE COMMISSION ON INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

UIIPP-CISENP was founded in 2006 as an international scientific commission of The International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques) President: UIPP-CISENP: Emmanuel Anati



Newspaper Rock, Utah

EXPRESSION is a new link in the human chain of events.

UISPP-CISENP is now inviting you to join our interdisciplinary dialogue on the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-

CISENP aims at debate and creative discussion – to encourage comparative study. The idea is to invent together new ways of sharing insight and consider issues emerging from this burgeoning, interpretative field of research.

EXPRESSION is first focusing on *human expressions* – all traces emanating from ancient, modern, and contemporary non-literate peoples to unlock the nature of human language, cognition and spiritual thinking. Pre-literate children, prehistoric *homo sapiens*, and traditional tribes

Expression 1

September 2013

An Introduction to Conceptual Anthropology

and topics to be discussed in the following issues of Expression Magazine

EXPRESSION, No. 2, November 2013
 BIMONTHLY E-LETTER OF THE COMMISSION ON INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

UIIPP-CISENP was founded in 2006 as an international scientific commission of The International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences (Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques) President: UIPP-CISENP: Emmanuel Anati



Cave art, Atapuerca, near Burgos, Spain. 14 million years old

EXPRESSION invites us to consider the human mind and spirit. Join our interdisciplinary dialogue with UISPP-CISENP and all those thirsty for an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate

We note with pleasure the productive discussions held at the **XXV Valcamonica Symposium**, from the 20th to the 26th of September, 2013 in Capri di Ponte, Italy. Many speakers participated in increasing understanding about “*Art as a Source of History*”. Many plan on submitting papers for the “Atapuerca” UISPP World Congress in 2014.

EXPRESSION is excited publishing the Valcamonica Symposium conclusions as well as excerpts from the new *Andor* publication in English “**What caused the**

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, No. 3, January 2014
 BIMONTHLY E-LETTER OF THE COMMISSION ON INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

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San Red, Art (hand) - Africa

EXPRESSION invites us to consider the human mind and spirit. Join our interdisciplinary dialogue with UISPP-CISENP and all those

We note with pleasure the birth of the new *Center for Diarr Archaeology and Anthropology* in the Negev, in Mitzpe Ramon, about 100 kilometers from the site of Har Karkom. Take a look, in this issue, at Emmanuel Anati's announcement and call for collaboration from international researchers.

In this, our third issue of **EXPRESSION**, we seek to clarify that are the **NON-LITERATE PEOPLES** referred to in

Expression 3

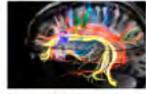
January 2014

Discussion about the Targets of Expression Research Group

EXPRESSION

BIMONTHLY E-LETTER OF THE COMMISSION ON INTELLECTUAL AND SPIRITUAL EXPRESSIONS OF NON-LITERATE PEOPLES

N°4 April 2014



As always, we are pleased to meet comments and look forward to an exchange of questions and responses on the UISPP World Congress blog, which will help prepare fruitful discussions for the congress. In the next issue, the next before we meet, we will publish conclusions on the future of this interdisciplinary one.

The preliminary committee (CISENP) will be presenting an all geographical region and from a number of disciplines and interdisciplinary perspectives. The spiritual and intellectual expressions of non-literate people constitute a particular focus in the research, of which we are addressing, and which includes the cognitive structures, psychology and genetics – we could see perhaps the evolution of the early mind... on the interdisciplinary field of “spiritual anthropology”.

We seek an innovative methodological and spiritual expression, as well as a theoretical study to discover the human mind. Decoding the significance and purpose of ritual images, signs and symbols, besides the using one collective memory built over thousands of years in the present. CISENP will be inviting your questions and input regarding your own research activities. Let us know what path you are on, our way to Atapuerca.

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EXPRESSION invites us to consider the human mind and spirit. Join our interdisciplinary dialogue with UISPP-CISENP and all those thirsty for an understanding of the intellectual and spiritual expressions of non-literate peoples.

In this issue of **EXPRESSION**, we present a preliminary selection of the abstracts of participants to the UISPP World Congress “*Diarr*” to be held in Burgos, Spain from 5-7 September 2014.

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Expression 4

April 2014

A Selection of Abstracts for Session a the Uispp World Congress “Atapuerca”, Burgos, Spain

With articles by Emmanuel Anati and Ariela Fradkin (Italy), Daniel Arsenault (Canada), Ulf Bertilsson (Sweden), Pascale Binant (France), Paul Bouissac (France), Paul D. Burley (UK), Fernando Coimbra (Portugal), Léo Dubal (France), Arsen Faradzhev (Russia), Francesco Ghilotti (Italy), Lysa Hochroth (France), Bulu Imam (India), Shems 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 Tsonay (Bulgaria), Gregor Vahyanan (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 Antolin/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 Shabam 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).

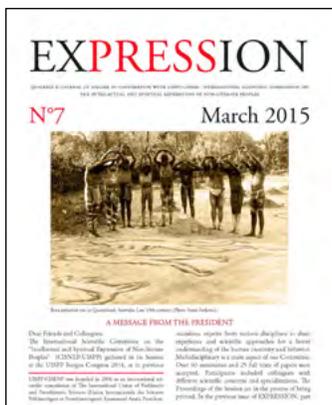


Expression 6

August 2014

Summaries of the Session at the UISPP Burgos Congress

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



Expression 7

March 2015

Spiritual Dimensions of Rock Art

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



Expression 8

June 2015

Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom?

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

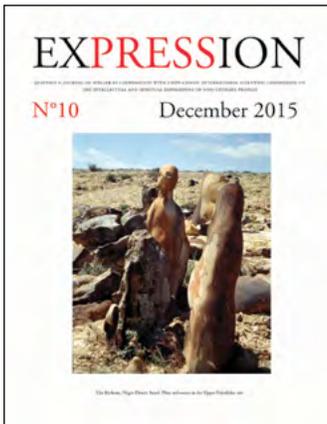


Expression 9
September 2015

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

Presenting the WWW Project.

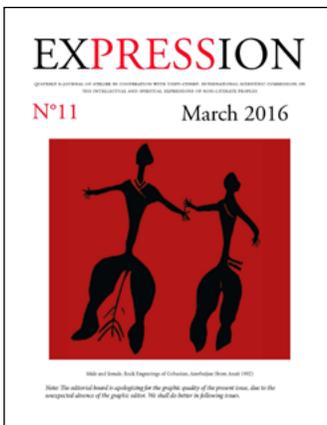
With articles by Monia Chies (Italy), David Delnoy and Marcel Otte (Belgium), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Chris Hegg (USA), Emmanuelle Honoré (UK), Bulu Imam (India), Shemsi Krasniqi (Kosovo), Trond Lødøen (Norway), Cristina Lopes (Portugal), Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Federico Mailland (Switzerland),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



Expression 10
December 2015

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

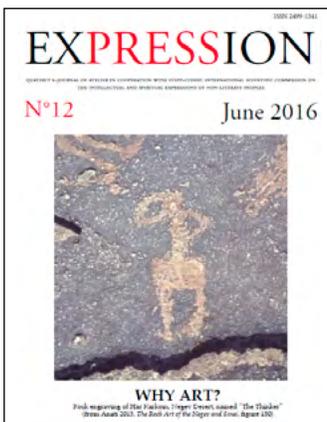
With articles by Jaâfar Ben Nasr (Tunisia), Ingmar M. Braun (Switzerland), Edmond Furter (South Africa), Arnaud F. Lambert (USA), Maria Laura Leone (Italy), J. D. Lewis-Williams (South Africa), Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Federico Mailland (Switzerland), Nataliia Mykhailova (Ukraine), Susan Searight-Martinet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



Expression 11
March 2016

Male and Female in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

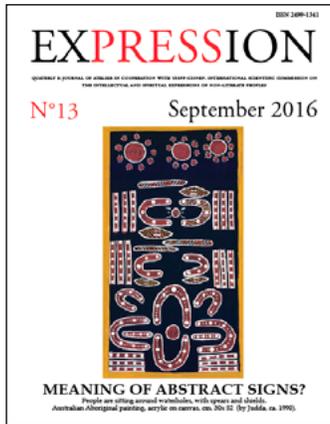
With articles by Margalit Berriet (France), Carl Bjork (Usa), Pascale Binant (France), Brian Britten (Canada), Jessica Joyce Christie (Usa), Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimaraes (Brazil), Deb Holt and Jane Ross (Australia), Arnaud F. Lambert (Usa), Federico Mailland and Angelina Magnotta (Italy), Katharina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



Expression 12
June 2016

Why Art?

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

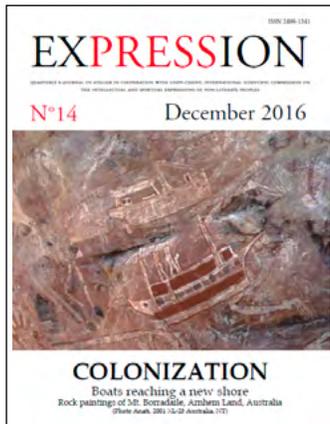


Expression 13

September 2016

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

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

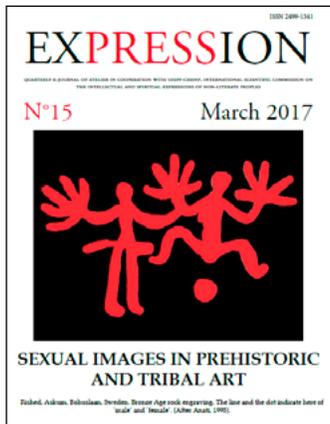


Expression 14

December 2016

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

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



Expression 15

March 2017

Sexual Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

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

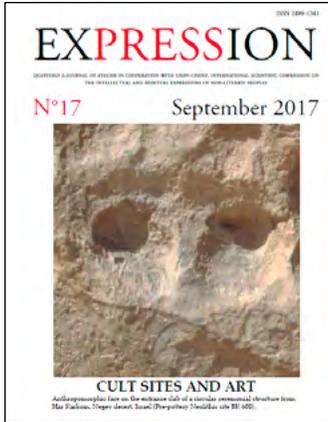


Expression 16

June 2017

The Message Behind the Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

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

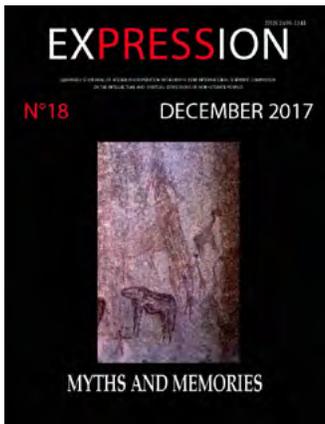


Expression 17

September 2017

Cult Sites and Art

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

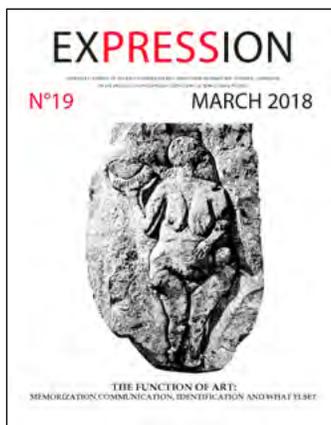


Expression 18

December 2017

Myths and Memories: Stories Told by Pictures

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



Expression 19

March 2018

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

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



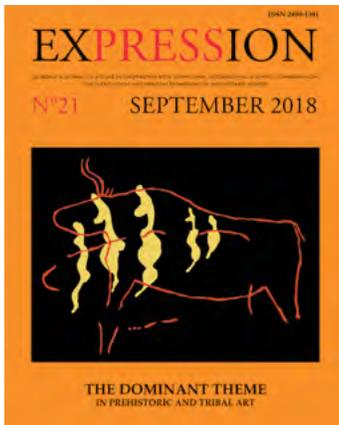
Expression 20

June 2018

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

Part II

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



Expression 21

September 2018

The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

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

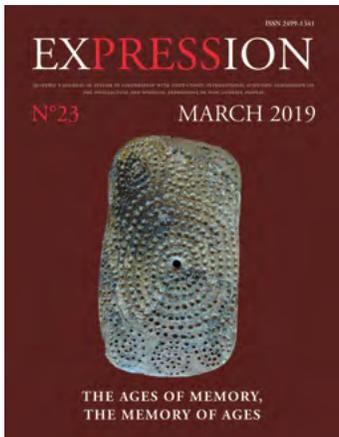


Expression 22

December 2018

The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art - Part II

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



Expression 23

March 2019

The Age of Memory, the Memory of Ages

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

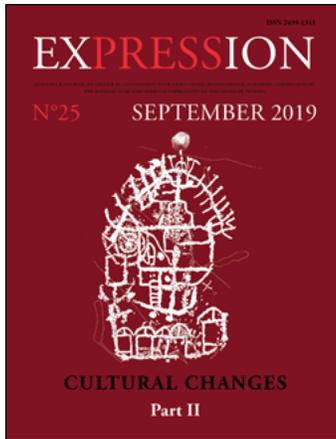


Expression 24

June 2019

Cultural Changes

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

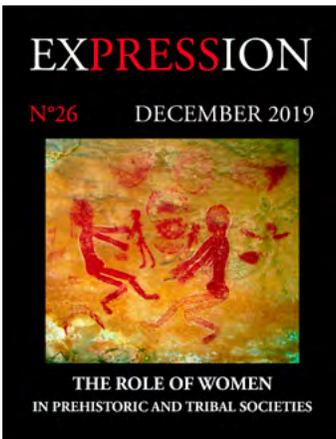


Expression 25

September 2019

Cultural Changes - Part II

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

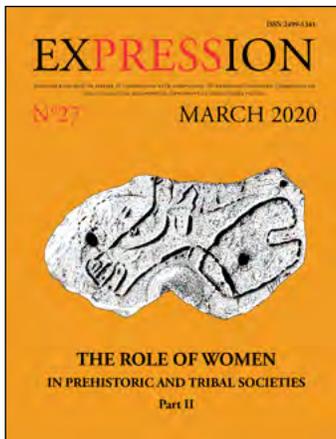


Expression 26

December 2019

The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies

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

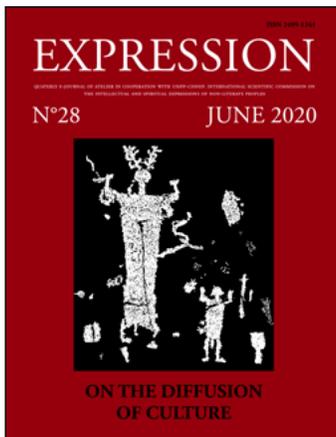


Expression 27

March 2020

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

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

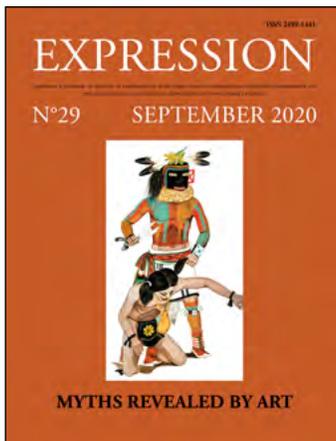


Expression 28

June 2020

On the Diffusion of Culture

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Herman Bender (USA), Anthony Bonanno (Malta), Luc Hermann (Belgium), Annik Schnitzler (France), Jitka Soukopova (UK)



Expression 29

September 2020

Myths Revealed by Art

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Meenakshi Dubey-Pathak (India), Terence Meaden (UK), Alessandro Menardi Noguera (Italy), Carol Patterson (USA)

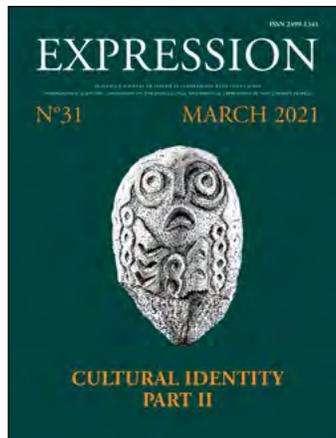


Expression 30

December 2020

Cultural Identity

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Amélie Bonnet Balazut (France), Stavros D. Kiotsekoglou (Greece), Giuseppe Orefici (Perù), Jitka Soukopova (Czech Republic)

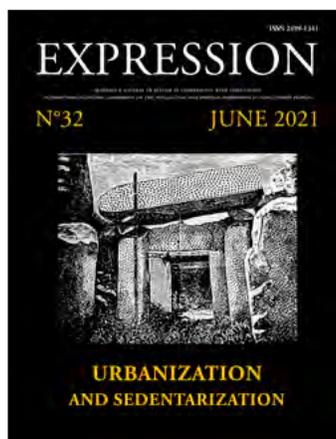


Expression 31

March 2021

Cultural Identity - Part II

With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Léo Dubal (France), Michel Justamand, Cristiane de Andrade Buco, Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida, Antoniel dos Santos Gomes Filho, Albérico Queiroz, Gabriel F. de Oliveira, Matheus Freitas de Oliveira, Leandro Paiva (Brasil), Terence Meaden (UK), Alessandro Menardi Noguera (Italy)



Expression 32

June 2021

Urbanization Origins

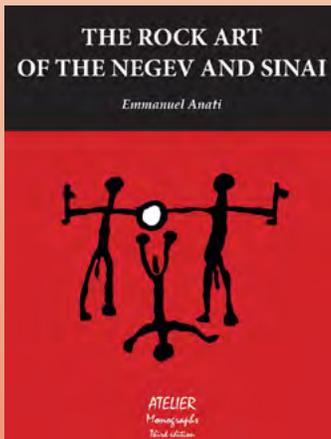
With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Behrooz Barjasteh Delferooz (Sweden), Samira Narooyi, Safoura Kalantari (Iran), Solange Macamo, Vitalina Jairoce, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimucuo (Mozambique), Mário Varela Gomes (Portugal)

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

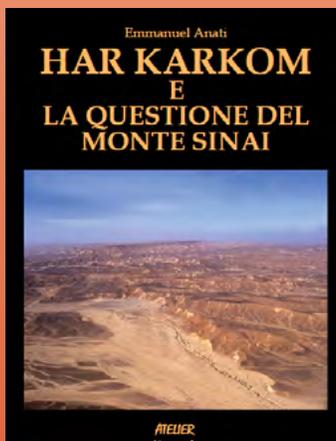
ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DESERT EXODUS: NEW DISCOVERIES RELATED TO BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY

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



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

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



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

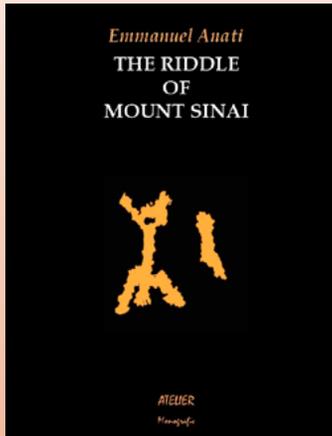
Capo di Ponte (Atelier), pp 220; 138 ill., €30,00

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

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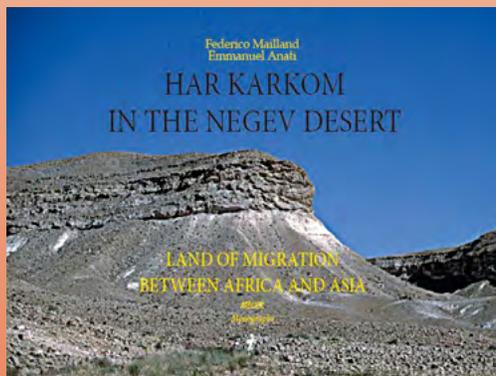
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Anati, E. 2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English Edition
Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 260 pp. 141 pls. € 40

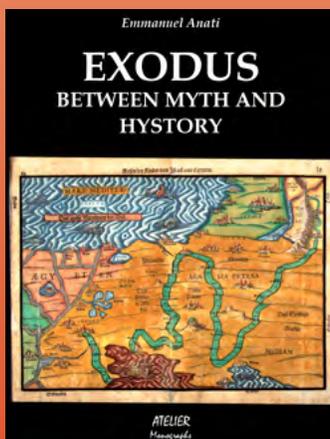
What is the true story behind the biblical narration of Exodus? The discoveries of the Italian archaeological expedition at Har Karkom, in the Negev Desert, tell the hitherto unknown story of the sacred mountain in the heart of the desert of Exodus, reflecting surprising similarities to the events and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



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

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

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



Anati, E., 2018: *Exodus Between Myth and History*, English edition
Capodiponte (Atelier) pp. 388; 138 pls., Analytical Appendix., € 40,00

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

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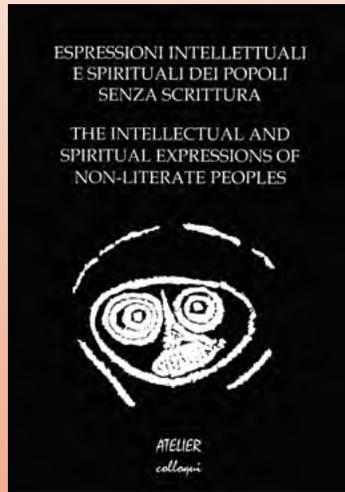
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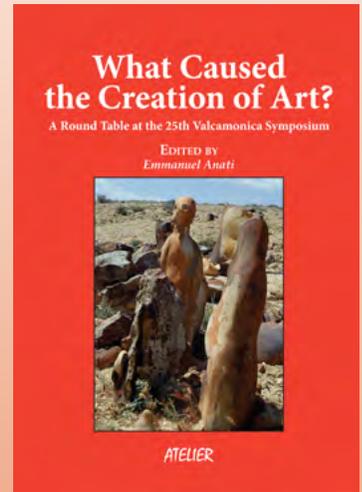
Il segni originari dell'arte (In Italian)

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



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

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



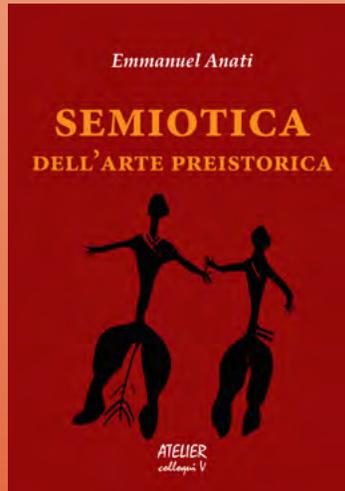
What Caused the Creation of art? A Round Table at the 25th Valcamonica Symposium

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



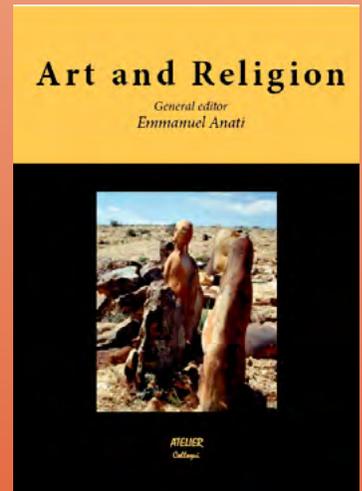
Sogno e memoria: Per una psicoanalisi della Preistoria (In Italian)

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



Semiotica dell'arte preistorica (In Italian)

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



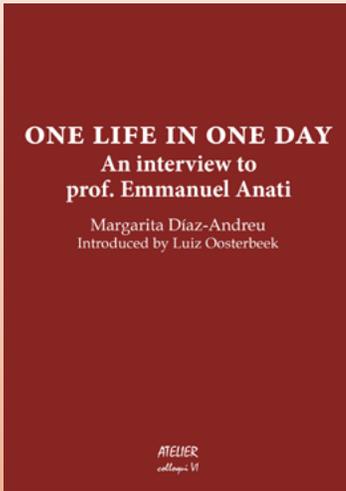
Art and Religion

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

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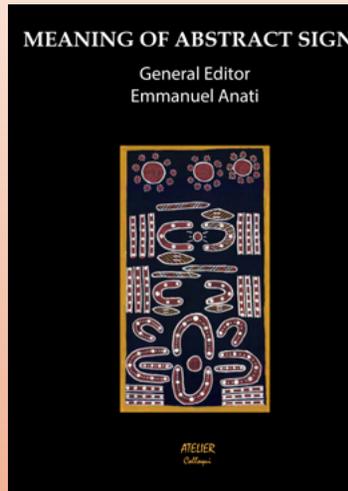
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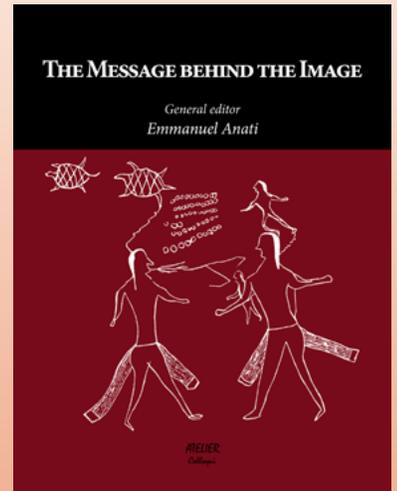
One Life in One Day. An interview to prof. Emmanuel Anati

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



Meaning of Abstract Signs

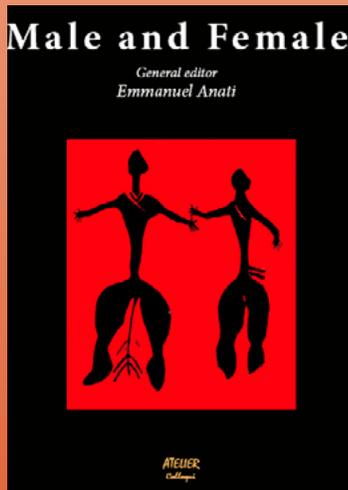
The clan was planning a fight against another clan that had abused hospitality hunting kangaroos in a reserved ground. The painter recorded the gathering of the elders to decide the expelling of the guest clan. He represented the elders and the warriors by standard signs. The art-dealer sold the painting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



The message behind the image

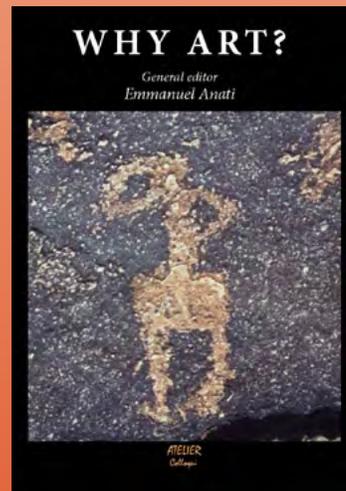
Prehistoric and tribal people have left behind millions of images, in Africa, America, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Was their purpose just that of embellishing rock surfaces? What pushed people from all over the world to record their memories throughout the ages?

This immense heritage, whether intentional or not, is full of messages to be read and understood.



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.



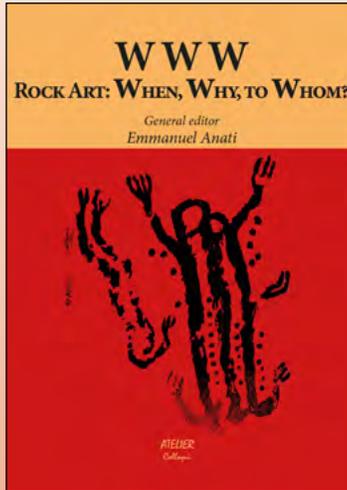
Why Art

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

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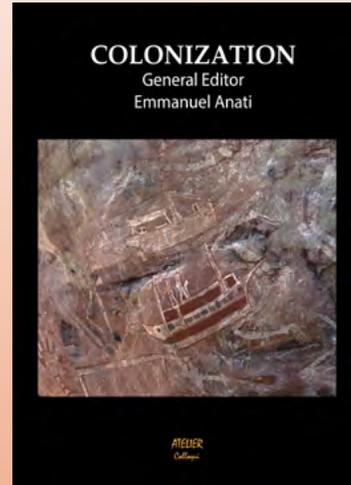
Colloqui



WWW - Rock Art:

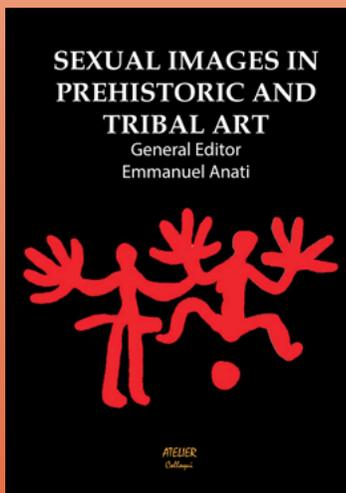
When, Why and to Whom

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?



Colonization

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



Sexual Images in Prehistoric and Tribal Art

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

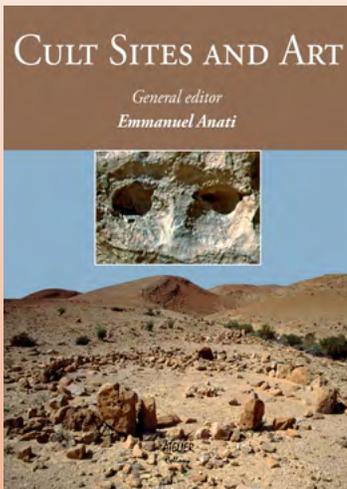


Etnogastronomia La cucina dei popoli (In Italian)

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

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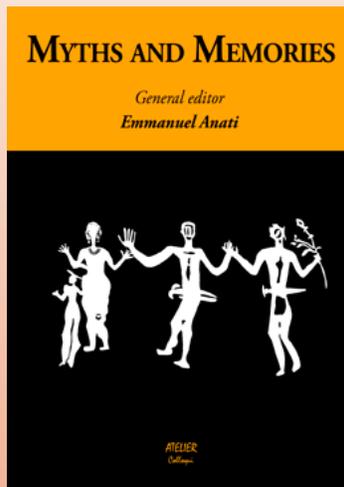
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Cult Sites and Art

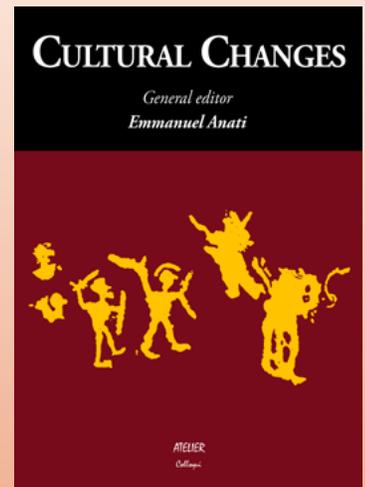
The volume is the printed version of number 17 (2017) of *EXPRESSION*, the quarterly online journal on conceptual anthropology. Sites of worship have had religious images and symbols since prehistoric times.

The relationship between religion and art emerges in its variants and in its purposes. Significant examples are presented by the authors, in Israel and the Middle East, in Armenia, Tunisia, Europe, Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, showing a conceptual archetype that has persisted since distant prehistoric times.



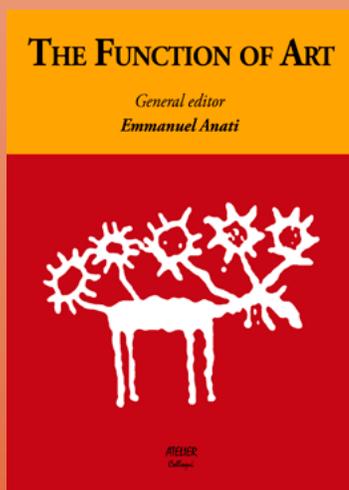
Myths and Memories

Was the mind of early man much different from ours? Decorated caves, megalithic monuments, early shrines, sites of rock art, are the containers of the myths and memories, the testimony of the immense variety of beliefs and habits, the source for an as yet unwritten history of mankind: the existential expressions of people's real and imaginary, myths and memories. Different facets of the theme are considered by nine authors of nine different countries of three continents.



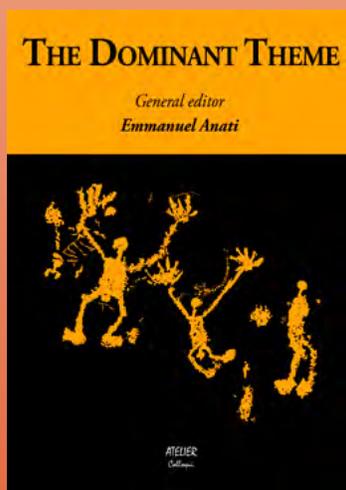
Cultural Changes

By its own nature culture moves and changes. The reasons that led to these changes are not always evident. When available, the causes help us to conceive what the past can teach us about understanding the present and attempting figuring out the future. Eighteen authors from ten countries in five continents present different aspects of cultural changes. Each article contributes a small but meaningful tessera of the fascinating mosaic of cultural changes in a world perspective.



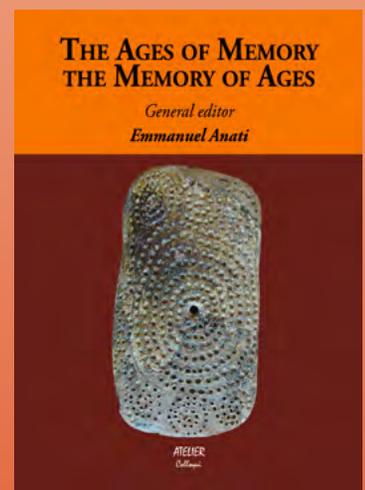
The Function of Art

Recent studies are stressing that prehistoric art 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 identity and much else. Such functions may vary from site to site and from one culture to another.



The Dominant Theme

Like any other style or period of visual art, each assemblage of prehistoric and tribal art has a dominant theme. Some focus on anthropomorphic figures, others on animals, others on signs, symbols or ideograms. Well-known sites of prehistoric art display millenary sequences of different phases showing changes in the dominant theme from one period to another. What is the meaning and function of the dominant theme? Visual expressions are a mirror of the mind and soul of their makers.



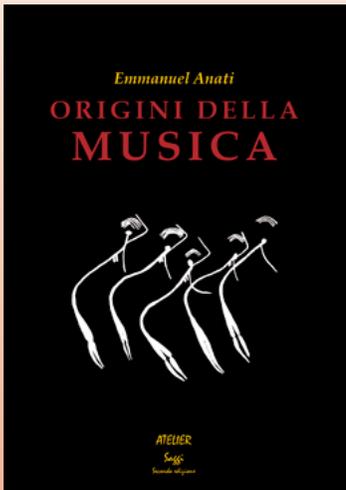
The Ages of Memory The Memory of Ages

When prehistoric art is decoded it becomes an invaluable cultural source in itself. An additional step is attempting to use it as a document to reconstruct the cause of its creation. What did actually happen, what were the reasons that brought about the graphic production that has reached us, and what story does it tell? "This is not the task of archaeology!" Right! It is the task of conceptual anthropology.

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Essays



Origini della Musica (in Italian)

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



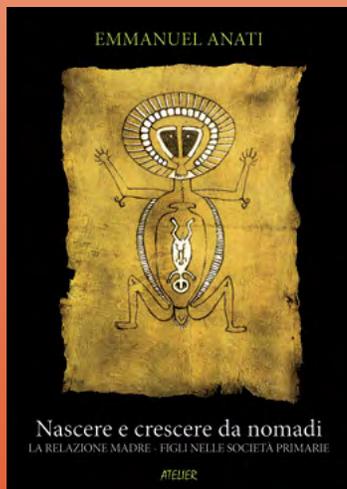
Iniziazione e riti di passaggio (in Italian)

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



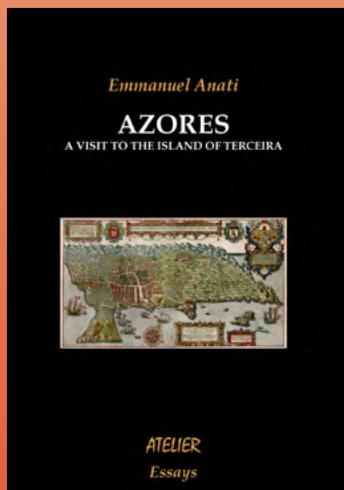
Chi sei? Chi sono? Alla ricerca dell'identità (in Italian)

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



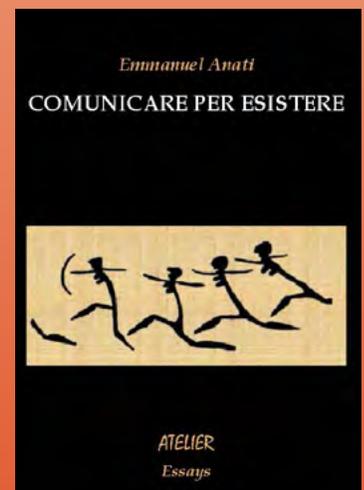
Nascere e crescere da nomadi. La relazione madre-figli nelle società primarie (in Italian)

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



Azores: a Visit to the Island of Terceira

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



Comunicare per esistere (in Italian)

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

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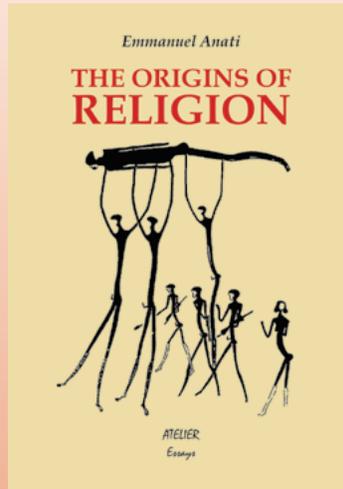
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Essays



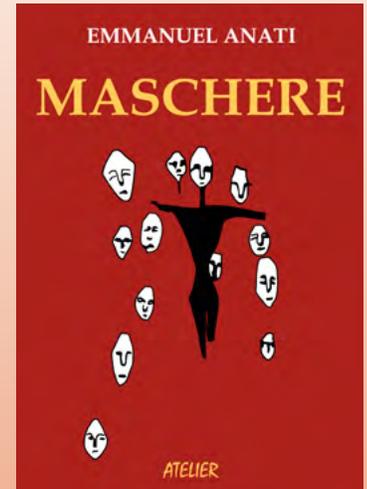
Mito tra utopia e verità (in Italian)

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



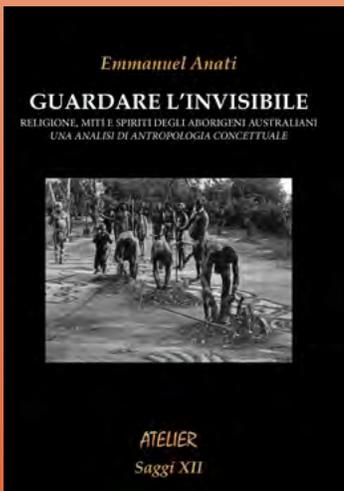
The Origins of Religion

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



Maschere (in Italian)

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



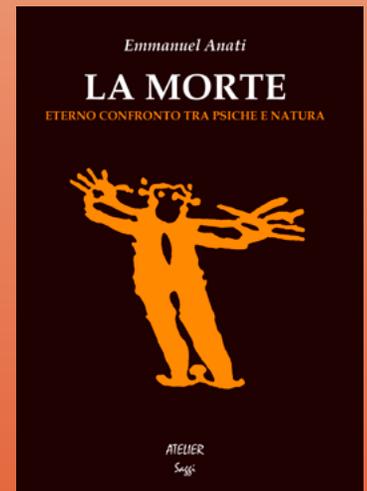
Guardare l'invisibile. Religione, miti e spiriti degli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

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



Amore e sessualità (In Italian)

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



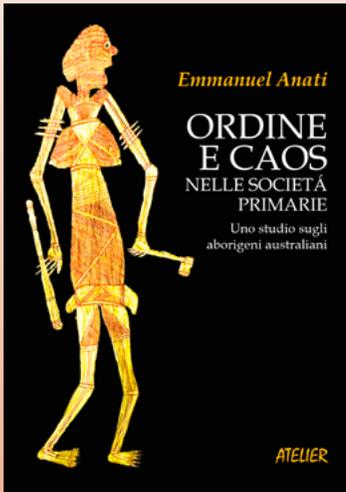
La morte (In Italian)

Knowledge and beliefs about death and the afterlife generate the formation of similar conceptions in different cultures and populations. Similar anxieties and fears cause similar speculative effects in combining the real with the imaginary. The idea of the soul's survival after the death of the body turns out to be at the origins of both religions and philosophy. Conceptual analysis defines elementary processes of cognitive logic, in the constant confrontation between knowing and believing.

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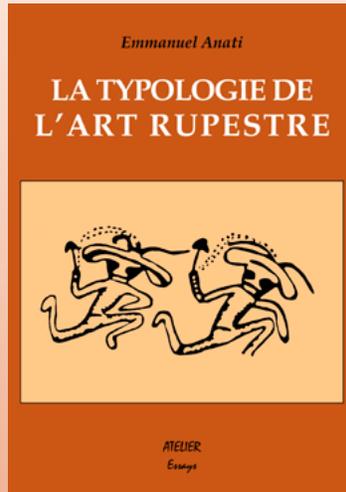
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Essays



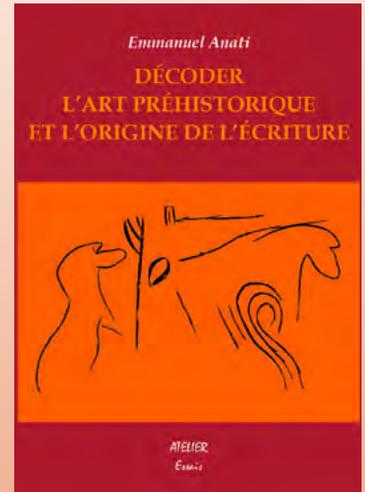
Ordine e Caos nelle società primarie. Uno studio sugli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

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



La typologie de l'art rupestre (In French)

Rock art is a human expression, produced over the millennia, on five continents. In the frame of the UNESCO "World Report on Rock Art: the state of the art" (2008), the author presented a typological structure of rock art, which has since been updated and revised.

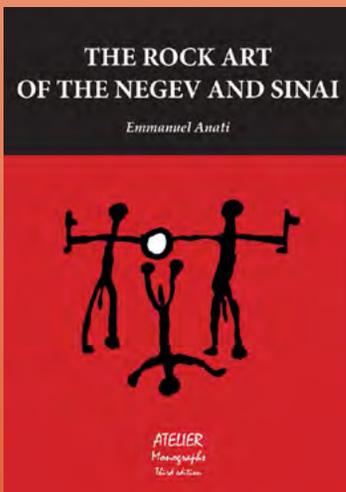


Décoder l'art préhistorique et l'origine de l'écriture (In French)

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.

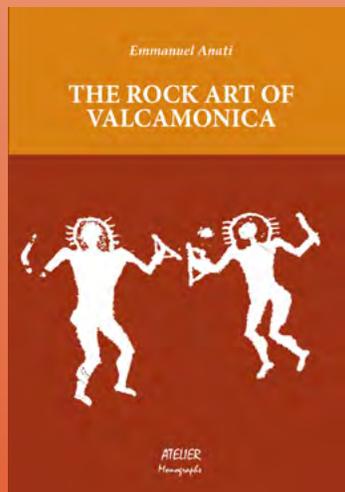
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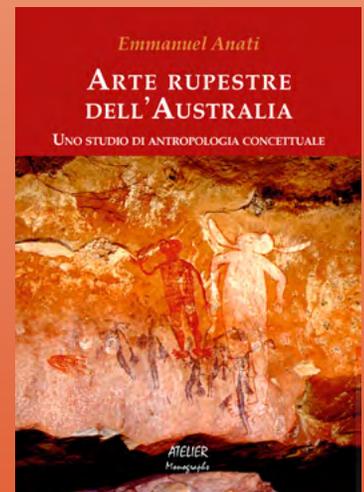
The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai

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



The Rock Art of Valcamonica

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



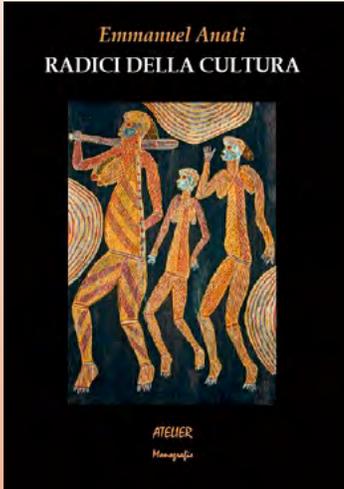
Arte rupestre dell'Australia (in Italian)

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

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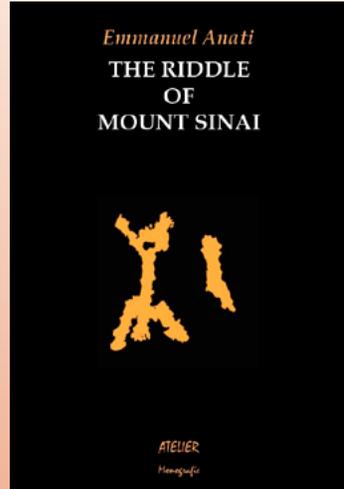
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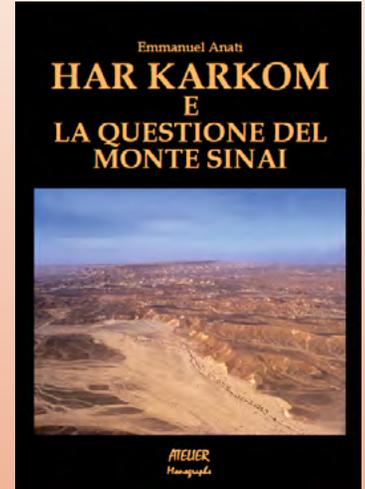
Radici della cultura (in italian)

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



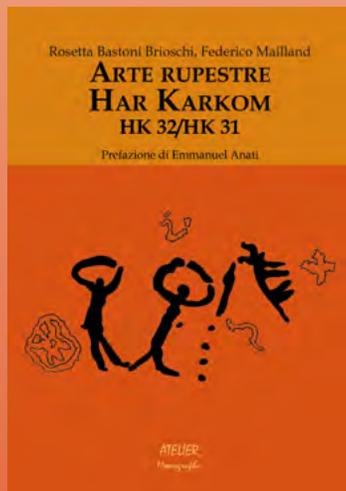
The Riddle of Mount Sinai

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



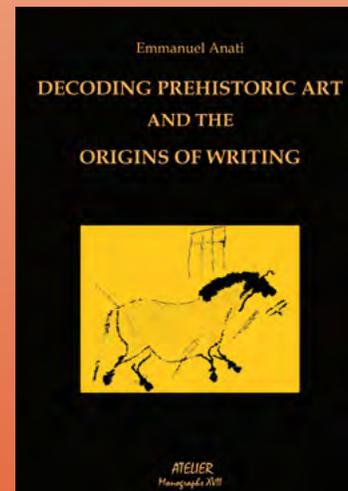
Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai (in Italian)

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



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

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

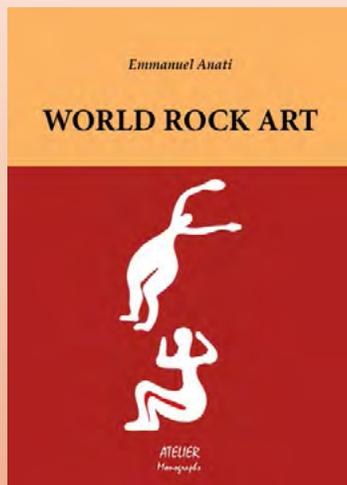


Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing

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.

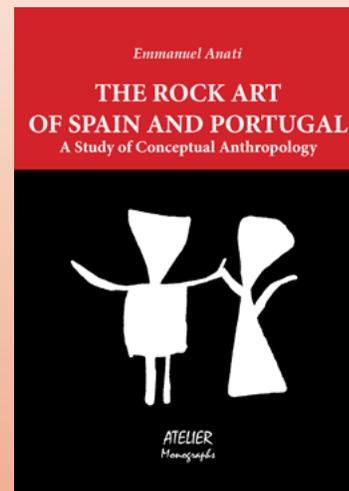
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World Rock Art

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.



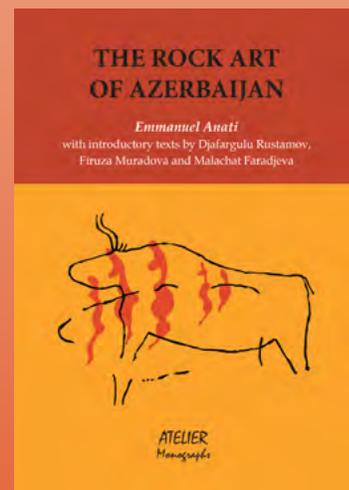
The rock art of Spain and Portugal

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.



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

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



The Rock art of Azerbaijan

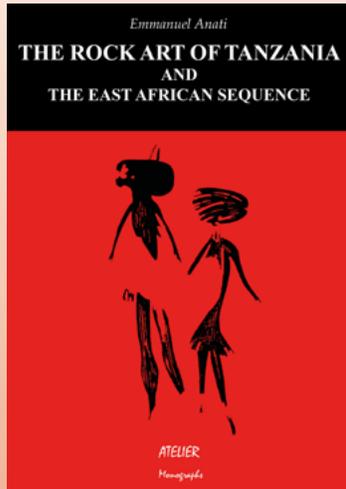
Over the course of centuries, Azerbaijan, was a great centre of rock art.

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*.

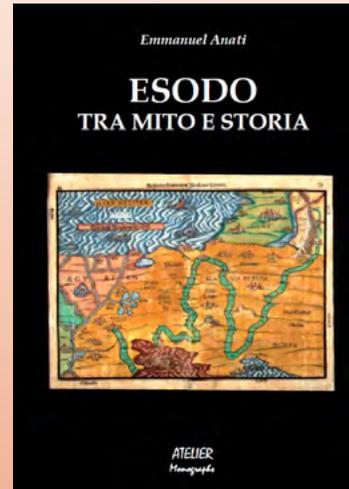
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The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence

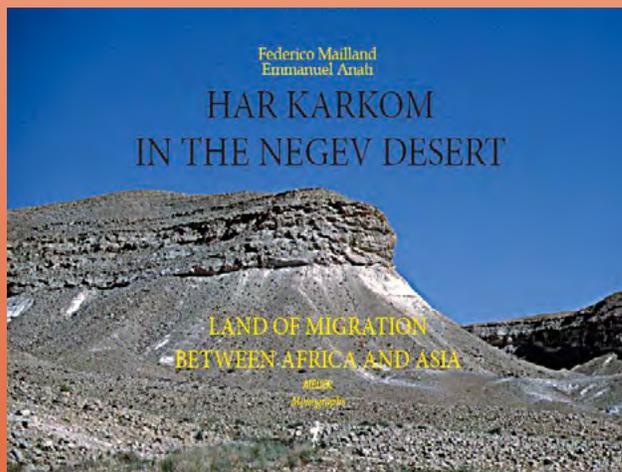
The rock art of Tanzania, in over 200 caves and rock shelters, is presented in this book using the analytical method of Conceptual Anthropology. Stylistic phases and periods are covering millennia.



Exodus

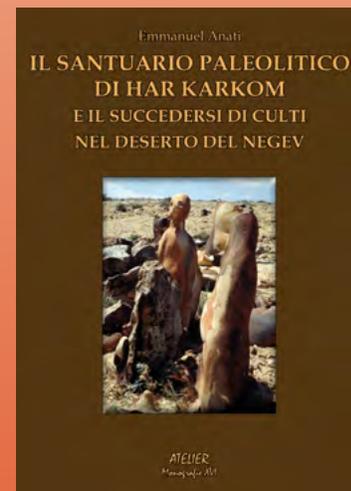
Between Myth and History

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



Har Karkom in the Negev Desert

A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa. The archeological discoveries tell us of two million years, from the earliest stations of archaic Pebble Culture, to recent Bedouin camping sites.



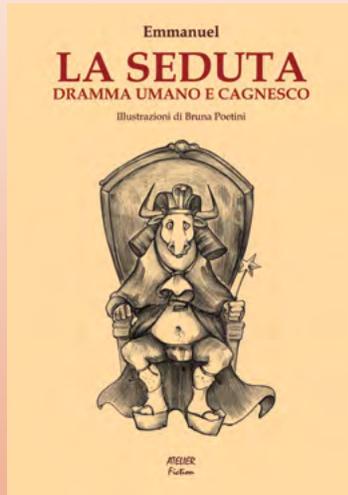
Il santuario paleolitico di Har Karkom (in italian)

The discovery of a Paleolithic sanctuary, the oldest known, in the middle of the desert, and right in the desert of the biblical Exodus and the perennial exodus, along the great migratory route between Africa and Asia, awakens questions about the spiritual and conceptual world of the origins of religion. The surprise of this volume is that it reveals how and why. Concepts and beliefs emerge that gave rise to one of the oldest religious expressions in the world: it adds a new chapter in the history of religions.

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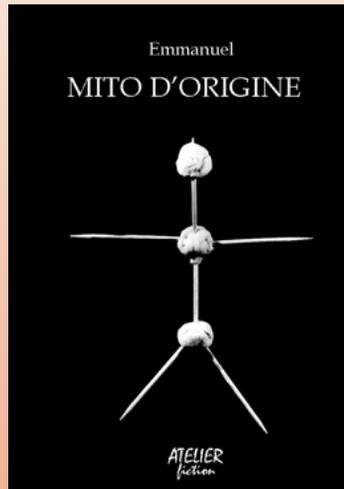
Fiction



La Seduta (in Italian)

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

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



Mito d'origine Epoca dei Sogni (in Italian)

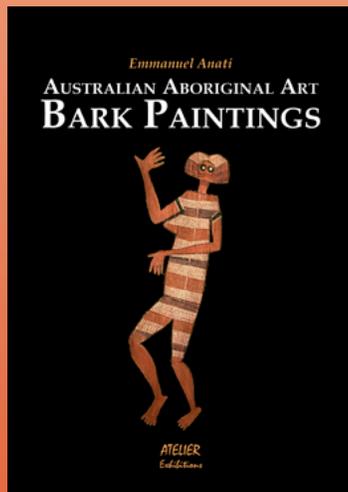
The first works of Atelier Fiction, Mito d'Origine and Epoca dei Sogni, tell stories that at first sight seem to come from another world.

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

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

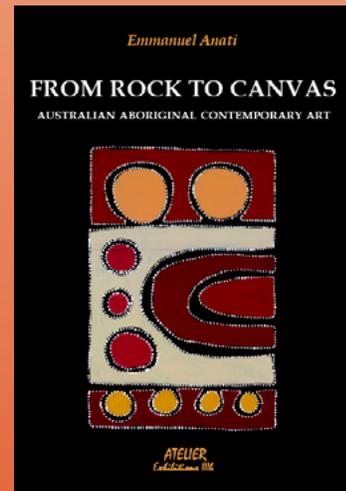


Exhibitions



The Art of the Australian Aborigines Bark Paintings

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



From Rock to Canvas Australian Aboriginal Contemporary Art

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

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