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# EXPRESSION

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**MYTHS AND BELIEFS  
UNVEILED BY ROCKS**

**PART II**

# EDITORIAL NOTES

## MYTHS AND BELIEFS UNVEILED BY ROCKS II

This issue of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal continues the topic of the previous issue, but from a different viewpoint. Rocks were used to build walls, and heaps of rocks are left behind when men destroy walls. Men modified the surface of rocks, making paintings and engravings on them, and also shaping them, sculpting statues and monuments out of rocks. And rocks preserve the myths and beliefs transmitted by the actions of hands led by human minds. The Discussion Forum nourishes the debate on similar themes, in particular the discoveries of cult sites at Har Karkom and related discussions.

The previous issue considered rocks as receptors and archives of human memories. This issue adds the additional roles of actors, protagonists, and revealers of memories. It takes us on a trip in the Negev desert and the highlands of Transjordan to verify what heaps of stones reveal about the reliability of the stories of the biblical exodus. The ruins of destroyed cities, funerary tumuli and other ancient monuments provide new elements for the historical background of what may be myth and what may be history in the biblical narration.

From the Near East, we move to northern Brazil, where rocks reveal the immense heritage of people in pre-Columbian times. Remains of settlements, rock-shelters covered with paintings, unveil the creativity and imagination of millenary traditions. The next paper takes us to the heart of Europe, in Greek Thrace, discussing what the natural shapes of rocks may have inspired people in the past in a context where the landscape unites mythology and history. And then we visit an area of the US, where native traditions are enriched by the testimony of the paintings and engravings left by the ancestors on the rocks of their traditional territories.

These reports about three continents offer the perspective of similarities and diversities among people facing similar concerns in different natural settings.



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### Front page image

The warrior of Shihan. This basalt high relief, about one meter high, was found east of the Dead Sea in 1851. Is it the image of Joshua? (see Anati, this issue, pag. 29)

## A NOTE FOR THE AUTHORS

**EXPRESSION** is a quarterly journal on conceptual anthropology addressed to readers in over 85 countries. The readers are cultured scholars and students in anthropology, archeology, the arts, and other sectors of the humanities, eager to keep alive the dialogue, to communicate, to learn, and to contribute in opening up new trends of humanistic studies.

This journal offers space for expression and communication to researchers and authors from all over the world. Published papers are intended to produce culture: they are addressed to a world of learned and open-minded people. If you wish to contribute a paper, make it also enjoyable to people who are not specialized in your research field. Articles are expected to be stimulating and pleasant to read. The 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, where over 250 authors from 50 different countries have published their research and their ideas. Papers should be conceived for an audience involved in various fields of the humanities, mainly anthropology, archeology, art, sociology, and psychology. Your ideas, even if related to a local or circumscribed theme, should awaken the interest and curiosity of an international and interdisciplinary audience. The visual aspect is important for communication with the readers: quality images and text should complement each other.

Authors should talk openly to the readers, avoiding long descriptions, catalogues, and rhetorical arguments. Please refrain from unnecessary references and excessive citations. They make reading discursive. And do not make the article too “scientific”. Excessive quotations may unveil an inability to express your own ideas. Consider that short articles are more read and appreciated than long ones. Avoid unnecessary words and sentences. Letters on current topics and short notes 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 the illustrations they present. Papers are submitted to reviewers, not to judge them but to help authors, if needed, to better communicate with their readers. Controversial ideas, if they make sense, are not censored. New thoughts and concepts are welcome; they may awaken debate and criticism. Time will be their judge. **EXPRESSION** is a free journal, independent and not submitting to formal traditional regulations. It offers space for ideas and discoveries, including controversial issues, healthy discussions, and imaginative and creative papers, if they contribute to research, are conceptually reliable, and respect the integrity, ethics, and dignity of authors, colleagues, and readers.

# DISCUSSION FORUM

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

## **PREHISTORIC ART: UNDERSTANDING BEYOND DESCRIBING**

The artworks of early men have been displayed, described, preserved, and admired but not always understood. Books are filled with their descriptions, recording methods, attempts at dating, detailed measures, and typologies. But what was their purpose, what did the art-makers wish to obtain by producing them? Why were they produced? What is their meaning? These queries rarely get satisfactory answers. These artworks are coded books, awaiting to be decoded, read, and understood. They are the records of the intellectual history of mankind, a stunning source of the core of the human mind, a major expression of the human spirit, and a paramount heritage to be understood and to become part of general culture. History starts when written documents are decoded. Decoded writing is usually considered to go back 5,000 years. The mostly undecoded picture-writing goes back 50,000 years. There are 50,000 years of prehistoric documents to make the history of mankind ten times longer. Prehistoric visual art, paintings and engravings on rocks, stelae and statues, and decorated or shaped objects, in stone, bone, ivory, and other materials, are found and studied in over 180 countries over five continents. The objects find their place in museums and collections. The large majority of this immense patrimony consists of rock art, which is preserved where it was produced, on unmovable rocks. It is part of the landscape. There are also three-dimensional statues, which may have a handy size or larger dimensions up to gigantic monuments. Early man devoted remarkable time and energy to producing these monuments.

A small part of them has been described and recorded, and just this part counts millions of graphemes, signs and images. A fraction of what has been recorded has also been tentatively decoded and understood. This is the core of a new history and a source for understanding the global identity of man, and is bringing back to history many forgotten

tribes and nations and people, with their events, stories, concerns, and beliefs. Every new detail is the addition of a little but important stone to a mosaic becoming more and more understandable, and yet far from complete.

Scholars and fans of prehistoric art have done an immense amount of work, devoting time and energy to making records. This documentation now has to be understood. In various countries researchers engaged in their passion, often suffer from inadequate communication and support. The information on their findings and decoding reaches only a restricted audience. This is one of the factors limiting the diffusion of information and the progress of research on this patrimony, which should be a source of culture, education, and the consciousness of identity. Making these efforts better known helps research to be more widely diffused, allows new progress in analysis and decoding, reaches researchers in isolated regions, gives researchers the gratification of contributing to culture and being more widely recognized, and, more important, it produces culture and awakens the public interest. What does art tell us about the notions and concepts of the makers? When understood, prehistoric art it is a source for understanding the primary roots of thinking, knowing, imagining, seeing, and believing. Understanding meanings and aims is the way to open up new windows on to the landscape of the human mind.

One of the major challenges of the human science and also culture at large, is recovering the knowledge, beliefs, and thoughts at the roots of the identity of man and our own identity.

Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology is encouraging and promoting innovative studies of prehistoric and tribal art by publishing and distributing them in five continents. The proceedings of nine years since its birth are recorded in 36 issues of **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal and 60 published volumes. Over 250 authors have so far joined this challenge. The publications are concerned with not only the specific papers and their authors, but they are also offering knowledge and ideas the world over. Research should reach beyond its academic boundaries, from the restricted circle of experts to the open access of broader audiences, producing interest and opinions, and contributing to culture and awareness. Without waiting for the grace of governments and international institutions, colleagues are invited to join in encouraging these horizons of culture and education. The Atelier editorial team welcomes newcomers, new papers, and new ideas, with the common goal of understanding, beyond describing, the recorded messages of 50,000 years ago from our own roots.

## THE FORGOTTEN SCHOLARS: KEEPING CONTACTS, PROMOTING COMMUNICATION

In a difficult time for culture, it is very important to help scholars in the humanities to overcome their sense of isolation. Communication is now more necessary than ever to keep alive the community of students and scholars.

The winds of war, pandemic, economic recession, and other calamities dominate the minds of many people. We share the burden of those who are personally sadly involved. All of us are deeply concerned, as we should be. But favoring involvement and interest in positive thinking and humanistic issues is a must. The many misfortunes should not stand in the way of the creative ability of colleagues and friends who persist in learning, teaching, and doing research all over the world. And it is necessary, now, to maintain contact with them, also with those living and working in silence, often in isolation, in various corners of the world. They are part of our big family. The human sciences are the core of the human intellect, philosophy, history, traditions and memories, and the identity of people and our cultural heritage.

Overcoming loneliness is important not only for scholars working in faraway lands, but also for those conceptually isolated in crowded urban centers. A revitalization of human sciences starts from the wish of the actors to share their passion for their own research. Let us work together to make academia go beyond the boundaries of its ghettos. Please invite colleagues and students to be active, and be an example. If you have something to say, participate openly in the debates, promote new information, share your ideas, your knowledge, and your wisdom. Join the efforts in encouraging a healthy renewal in conceptual involvement and keeping alive the professional dialogue.

Submission of articles are gladly considered. But even just expressing ideas, asking questions, proposing topics for debates, will contribute to awakening interest and uniting colleagues and friends, from over 85 countries in sharing common interests.

It would be a pleasure to see your name join those of the over 250 authors of the **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal. Please consider that not all the readers of this journal are specialists in your research field, but you can make them be interested in it; they are cultured scholars and students in anthropology, archeology, the arts, and other sectors of the humanities, eager to keep alive the dialogue, to communicate, to learn, and to contribute to opening up new trends of humanistic studies.

## DEFINING THE TERM 'PREHISTORIC'

A reader is asking for a definition for the word prehistoric. Several definitions may be found on Internet or in encyclopedias. They range between two extremes, on one side those claiming that history starts in Greece with Herodotus and other classic historians; on the other side, those claiming that history started with the first appearance of the human species. Others claim that history starts with the documentation provided by prehistoric art. Atelier Research Center is using the term in its literary meaning. History starts with writing. Pre-history means before history, therefore before writing. Proto-history is an old term used by French traditional archeology to define the metal-ages: Copper, Bronze and Iron ages. Atelier does not use it. Prehistory starts and ends at different times in New Zealand, Mexico, England, China, or Egypt. The beginning is determined by the first documentation about the presence of man, prehistory comes to an end when the historical documentation starts. The above definition, however, is awakening an additional query: when is writing starting? The topic has been faced already by **EXPRESSION** journal in connection to the deciphering and reading of Paleolithic art.

## ON HAND STENCILS IN SPANISH PALEOLITHIC CAVES

A reader asks us to comment on the following press communication she sent:

“New research is shaking up our image of art-making in Paleolithic times, arguing that children or even toddlers may have been behind some of the world’s earliest known art. The findings suggest that ancient rock painting was actually a family-oriented group activity, not a solitary male pursuit. For a study published in the *Journal of Archaeological Science*, researchers from Cambridge University and Spain’s University of Cantabria examined 180 hand stencils painted in Spanish caves some 20,000 years ago. The study used 3-D models of hand paintings in Spain’s El Castillo, Maltravieso, Fuente de Salín, Fuente del Trucho, and La Gama caves, created by the Handpas Project.

These prehistoric images would have been made by blowing pigments against a wall, a process that would have made the outlines slightly larger than the hands themselves. Accounting for that difference, the researchers found that up 25 percent of the hand marks were not large enough to belong to adults or teenagers. They guessed that they came from children between two and 12 years of age, with the majority of those likely made by three to 10-year-olds.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

1. The photogrammetry process of making measurements using photographs.
2. Experimental hand stencil.
3. Experimental hand stencil 3-D model.
4. Modern sample of scanned hands.

“Many more children’s hands came out than we expected,” lead author Verónica Fernández-Navarro told the *Telegraph*. “It would appear that artistic activity was not a closed activity closely linked to male individuals and the survival of the group, as had been thought until now.” Because the smaller children would not have been able to blow the pigment hard enough to create the markings, we can safely assume that their parents or other adults were helping them. Painting could have been an important communal activity for Paleolithic peoples. Fernández-Navarro is now working to further analyze the hand markings to determine if the gestures made in some images carry any meaning. She suspects that bent fingers in some of the hand silhouettes, which seem to appear in recurring patterns, could have been used as a form of non-verbal language. “We want to find out if it is a code that they knew how to interpret, in the same way that we today interpret a ‘stop’ sign,” she added. Children were also believed to be responsible for what could be the world’s oldest art, a set of ancient hand and foot prints found in Tibet last year that were made between 169,000 and 226,000 years ago”.

The above news was indeed announced by media and received extensive publicity. We were unable to contact the researchers mentioned, and our comment considers just the publicity and popularization of their announcement repeated by several sources. Hand stencils and intentionally shaped figurative paintings have different functions and are not necessarily associated with each other, even when the two expressions are found in the same localities.

As repeatedly stated already, even in several books published by Atelier and in articles in *EXPRESSION* journal, most of the Paleolithic hand prints are those of teenagers, slightly varying in size in different parts of the world, but usually attributed to youths between 10 and 14 years of age. They are related to *rites de passage* (prehistoric initiation rites similar to present day *bar-mitzvah* or first communion), they are signatures or oaths at the conclusion of initiation processes. By marking their hand on a specific rock, they accept the engagements and responsibilities of adulthood. The rock surface was a sort of archive preserving records of events and, often, prints of several different hands were concentrated on the same surface. In other cases, hand-prints may have been signs of other kinds of agreements.

Similar practices of hand prints as acts of initiation processes persisted in historical times, mainly among hunter-gatherers. They have a long duration, probably starting some



Fig. 1. Castillo Cave, Spain. Rock painting of Early Hunters. Two phases of paintings are present. The later represents associations of quadrupeds, mainly bison and horses. The early phase is an accumulation of hand stencils and of signs some of which represent tools. Likely, this phase is related to initiation rites. (Source: Tracing by H. Breuil, in H. Alcalde del Rio, H. Breuil & L. Sierra, 1912, pl. 46 ;W00176).

100,000 years ago. They are present among hunter-gatherers not only in Europe, from Ayers Rock in Australia to Indonesia, Southern Africa, the Cueva de las Manos Pintas in the Argentinian Pampas, and more. The practice survives among recent hunter-gatherers in various regions of Australia, the Sandawe of Tanzania, and the San people of southern Africa. Similar groups of hand prints related to initiation rites appear also in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, as in the cave of Porto Badisco, Italy, where most of the about 100 hand prints are rather small because of being those of adolescents aged 10 to 12 years of age. Figurative art with intentionally depicted images has dif-

ferent purposes and the two visual expressions should not be confused. The readers of **EXPRESSION** journal know of these studies that, as it seems, the authors of the article mentioned are not aware of. But even without the knowledge of the pertinent literature, elementary logic could have helped them better.

The dates and views proposed by that text for the hand stencils in Spain and the definition of those claimed to be art in Tibet are questionable, to put it mildly. So are the ideas expressed by this highly publicized announcement, which is full of data but, to our mind, lacking basic concepts.



Fig. 2. Painted surface of a sacred site in Arnhem land, Australia. At least 10 layers of paintings reveal the persistence in coming back to the same surface for thousands of years, each time adding different images. Handprints are present in several different periods. (Photo Anati, 2001, XLI-36).



Fig. 3. Porto Badisco Cave, Lecce, Italy. A concentration of nearly 100 hand prints from the Neolithic period. The size of the hands indicates their belonging to adolescents between 10 and 12 years of age. Different phases of hand prints appear in the same surface of the cave. (Photo E. Anati, DIA002511).

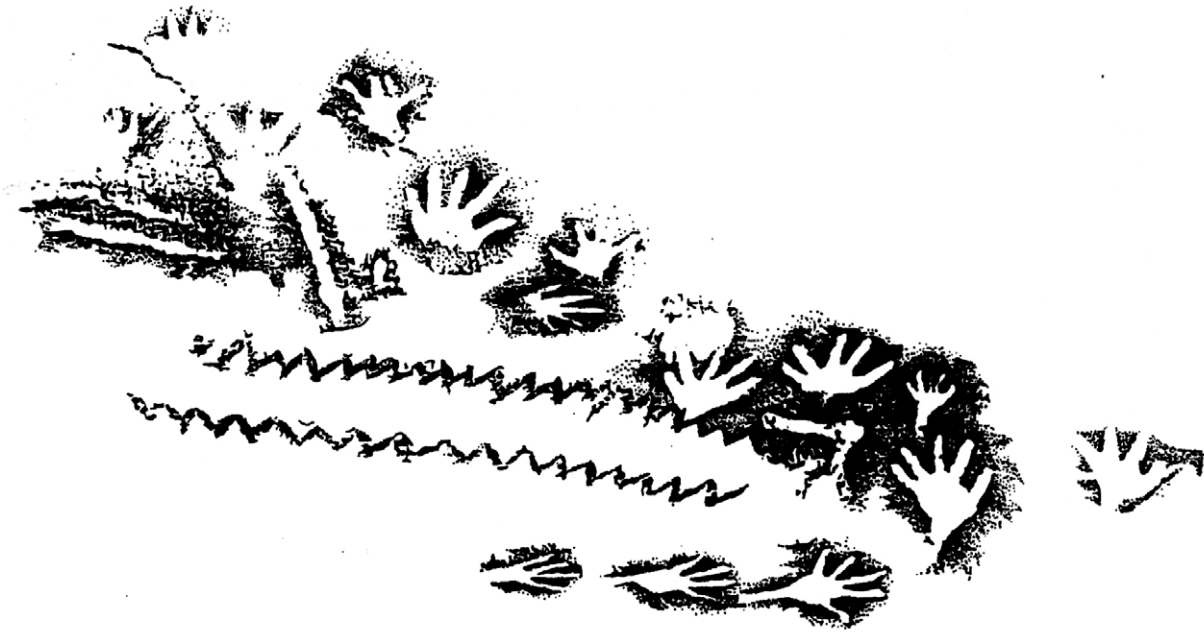


Fig. 4. Queensland, Australia. Rock paintings. Association of ideograms of Early Hunters. There are also engravings (omitted in the drawing). Stencils of human hands are associated with stencils of animal limbs, zig-zags and tools, likely to be related to initiation rites. Length of traced part, m. 1.50 (From Anati, World Rock Art, 2015).

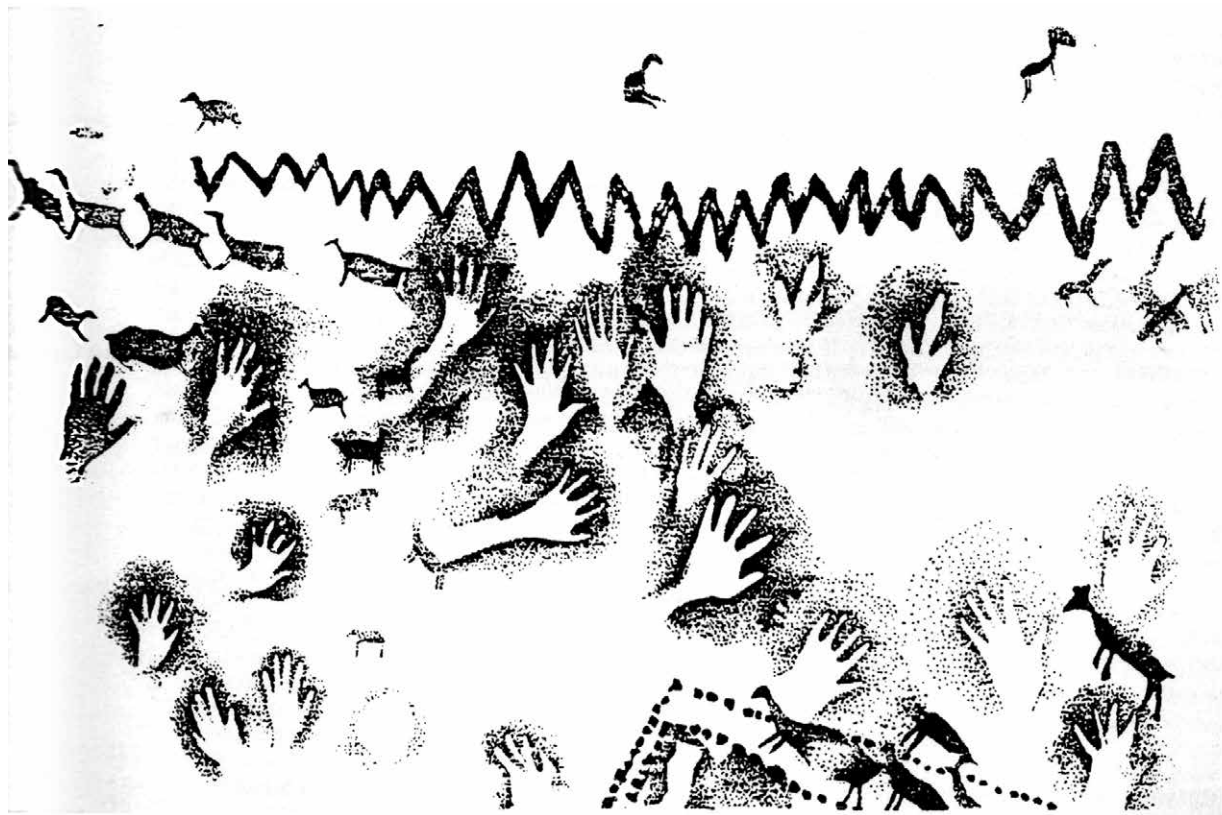


Fig. 5. Rio Pinturas, Santa Cruz, Patagonia, Argentina. Rock paintings of Early Hunters. Stencils of human hands and of animal feet are accompanied by a long zig-zag. The animal figures and the rows of dots are later additions. Length of traced part 2.60 meters. (From Anati, World Rock Art, 2015).

# THE DEBATE ON HAR KARKOM HIATUS

## Discussion Proposal About the Archeological Hiatus in Har Karkom and the Surrounding Area in the Second Millennium BCE

### DEAD SEA LEVEL VARIATIONS AND CLIMATE CONDITIONS

By Fabio Crosilla<sup>1</sup>

#### Introduction

As evidenced in my discussion proposal (Crosilla, 2022), Professor Anati (2016), taking inspiration from some scientific works present in the literature (e.g. Isaar, 1995) states that, because of prohibitive climate conditions due to extreme aridity, the Exodus could not have occurred in the second millennium BCE (Middle Bronze I, II, and III and Late Bronze). On the contrary, in a recent paper Langgut *et al.* (2015) affirmed that the regional conditions of humidity during the Middle Bronze Age allowed an increase in settlement activity in the Middle Bronze Age II-III and its re-expansion in areas such as the Ber Sheva Valley, only a few tens of kilometers away from places touched by the Exodus (e.g. Kadesh Barnea).

To assert this, Langgut *et al.* (2015) considered two correlated phenomena: the height level variations of the Dead Sea and the recorded variations of fossil pollen at the Dead Sea Basin. According to my professional experience, to contribute to the discussion, I can furnish some personal considerations about the Dead Sea level variations, starting from recent studies published in the literature correlated to the regional climate variations in the Middle Bronze Age, here summarized.

The paper introduction by Kagan *et al.* (2015) reports that during the Early Bronze Age (3500-2500 years BC), cities like Gerico and Arad (both touched by the Exodus) thrived and numerous settlements flourished in the northern Negev desert, as well as in the entire circum-Mediterranean (see e.g. Finkelstein, 1995). The climate was significantly more humid than in modern times (e. g. Litt *et al.*, 2012). The Intermediate Bronze Age (2500-2000 years BC) is described as a “nonurban interlude”, with low settlement activity. According to Langgut *et al.* (2015), this low settlement scenario continued into the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age I (2000-1750 years BC). Settlement activity increased in the Middle Bronze Age II-III (1750-1550 years BC) with a re-expansion in more southern areas (e. g.

Finkelstein and Langgut, 2014), linked also to a significant raising of the Dead Sea level. Instead, the Late Bronze Age (1550-1150 years BC) is characterized by low settlement activity with a collapse of the entire settlement system toward the end of the period, when many sites were completely abandoned.

This collapse is largely contemporary (1300-1100 years BC) with a significant drop of the Dead Sea level and an increasingly heavy aridity (e.g. Langgut *et al.*, 2014). The aridity affected all the regions of the Dead Sea watershed, as well as regions all over the eastern Mediterranean, e.g. the Hittite empire in Anatolia, Cyprus, the Syrian coast, and Egypt (e. g. Kaniewski *et al.*, 2010). At the beginning of the Iron Age, 1150 BC, the situation got better. A significant indicator of the climate variations for the entire area seems therefore to be the Dead Sea level variation. Many researchers have devoted their attention to these studies, based on the lacustrine sediment analysis, that have permitted reconstruction of the climate-hydrological change during the Quaternary of these regions (e.g. Bookman *et al.*, 2004).

#### Dead Sea Level Variation and Climate Conditions

Considering again the work of Kagan *et al.* (2015), it must be highlighted that a positive correlation between the registered rain values and the measured Dead Sea level was evidenced by some measurement records carried out during the past century (e.g. Enzel *et al.*, 2003). The reconstruction of ancient shorelines requires their identification according to the lithological composition of the sediments (e. g. Bookman *et al.*, 2004). For the dating of the ancient shorelines, this is usually carried out applying the <sup>14</sup>C method to the organic debris of seeds present on site.

In the work of Kagan *et al.* (2015), the sediments included in the sections of the Holocene age, settled in the Dead Sea at the Ze’elim Gully, on the southwest side of the north lake, were taken into account. The zone is currently characterized by an annual precipitation less than 100 mm/year and is classified from the phytogeographic point of view as Saharo-Arabian desert (Langgut *et al.*, 2015). The zone was already the research area of many others, including Bookman *et al.* (2004), Migowski *et al.* (2004), and Langgut *et al.* (2014).

To determine the Dead Sea paleo-contour lines, the heights of the paleo-shorelines at Ze’elim Gully were topographically connected with the heights and the <sup>14</sup>C measures of lacustrine sediments and paleo-shore lines sampled in other neighboring places (see Fig.1): Ein Gedi core (Migowski *et al.*, 2006), Ein Qedem outcrop (Stern, 2010), Ein Feshkha core (Migowski *et al.*, 2006), Ein Feshkha outcrop (Kagan *et al.*, 2011), Arugot outcrop (Bartov *et al.*, 2007),

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and Darga outcrop (Bartov *et al.*, 2007). The result from the analysis shows that the Dead Sea rose from its early Holocene low (6000-4500 years BC) to its mid-Holocene high at 4350 years BC. At this time, from the analyzed sediments at Darga and Arugot, the water level rose to the height of almost 370 m below mean sea level [bmsl] (Bartov *et al.*, 2007). The transition to the Early Bronze Age is marked in Ein Gedi by a lithological deposition showing a significant lake rise at 3250 years BC (Migowski *et al.*, 2006). This rise was sufficient to cause the lake to cross the sill between the north and south Dead Sea basins.



Fig. 1. Map of the Dead Sea and lithological sampling sites, modified from <judaism.stackexchange.com>.

At 2450 years BC the lake dropped to the height of 415 m bmsl, as appears from the gypsum precipitation in the Ein Gedi core (Migowski *et al.*, 2006). In the middle of the Intermediate Bronze Age, a short sequence of lacustrine detrital sediment represents a short lake rise. At 2150 years BC the lake level dropped again, as shown by gypsum layers and pebbles at Ein Qedem and shore sediments at Ze'elim Gully. The aridity at the end of the Intermediate Bronze Age is also recorded in the isotopic composition of tamarisk wood from Mt Sedom Cave (Frumkin, 2009). The low level of the lake was reached during the Intermediate Bronze Age and continued for a short time also in the Middle Bronze Age. Then, the level rose again reaching the height of 370 m bmsl. The shoreline that marks this height was documented at both Arugot and Darga sites; unfortunately, it was dated only at the Arugot site within the following calibrated age range 1680-1530 years BC (Bartov *et al.*, 2007). The presence of this shoreline was also confirmed by Kagan *et al.* (2015).

The Late Bronze Age begins with a severe drop in level of the lake, well documented in many lithological archives:

Ze'elim, Ein Qedem, Ein Feshkha, and Ein Gedi. The lowest value was measured at Ein Qedem (415 m bmsl) and dated within the period 1612-1485 years BC. According to Kagan *et al.* (2015), the highest value in the lake level occurred at the end of the Middle Bronze Age, while the greatest drop happened in the Late Bronze Age.

The recovery of the Dead Sea level began at the end of the Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by a beach ridge composed of aragonite crusts due to the supply of freshwater rich with bicarbonate (Bookman *et al.*, 2004), that shows rainy activity in the Dead Sea basin. The age ranging from 1520 years BC to 1290 years BC (Bookman *et al.*, 2004) marks the formation epoch of the beach ridge, just preceding the end of the Late Bronze Age.

The severe and long aridity in the Late Bronze Age may be the main reason for the sociopolitical collapse in the eastern Mediterranean area during the crisis years (e. g. Issar 1998). In the Levant, these years are represented by the destruction of urban centers, the decline of village life, and changes in settlement patterns (Kagan *et al.*, 2015). At 1150 years BC, at the beginning of the Iron Age, the Dead Sea level rose up to 414-408 m bmsl. Although the lake recovered from its extreme minima, low lake-level deposition continued at the Ze'elim site with silty debris and some aragonite laminae (Kagan *et al.*, 2015). Deeper lacustrine conditions returned only about a millennium later, at the beginning of the Roman period, when the lake level rose significantly (Bookman *et al.*, 2004).

## Discussion

The chrono-altimetric sequence just presented is synthesized in Fig. 2, modified from Kagan *et al.* (2015). In the figure, the Dead Sea paleo-levels measured with topographic instruments from a lithological analysis of the visible layers, dated by  $^{14}\text{C}$  method, are reported. For what concerns the argument of this discussion, the interest is devoted to the analysis of the central part of the figure, contained within the points A, B, and C. Points A and C define the values of minimal height of the lake in correspondence to the Intermediate Bronze Age (A) and Late Bronze Age (C). They match with the ages at the beginning and at the end of the millennium period identified by Anati, during which arid climate conditions were such as not to allow the Exodus. So, according to Anati's hypothesis, points A and C should be joined by a straight line, representing an extreme aridity period and a persistent minimal height of the lake (415 m bmsl).

But Fig. 2 shows also point B, belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, when the lake level reached its maximum value (370 m bmsl). The reconstruction of the shore line at 370 m bmsl changes, at least in part, the interpretation of arid

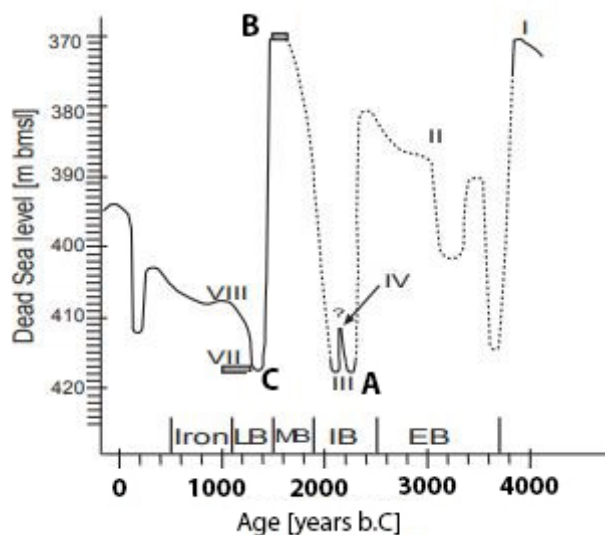


Fig. 2. Dead Sea level variations, modified from Kagan *et al.* (2015).

climate conditions for the entire millennium. The presence of this shore line implies a humid period, characterized by heavy rains over the Levant region, that also affected the climatic conditions of the north Negev (Langgut *et al.*, 2015) and, with good probability, at least the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula. Such a conclusion is also supported by the work of Morin *et al.* (2018), where, for the first time, the ancient level variations of the Dead Sea are correlated with the precipitation trend into the Dead Sea watershed by a stochastic modeling.

From these observations there clearly emerges the importance of the shoreline reconstruction at 370 m bsml height, as documented at both Arugot and Darga sites. Unfortunately, from the work of Bartov *et al.* (2007) the  $^{14}\text{C}$  age measure of the shoreline (1680-1530 years BC) was carried out only at the first site. In my opinion, to enhance the reliability of this result, before coming to a final conclusion about the age of the high level of the lake during the Middle Bronze Age, it would be necessary to continue with the field work and  $^{14}\text{C}$  measurements in order to definitely confirm or deny the dating of the transgressive geological phenomenon.

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## HAR KARKOM AND THE ORIGINS OF BIBLICAL RELIGION: AN ONGOING DEBATE

By Silvio Barbaglia<sup>1</sup>

### Har Karkom, about 40 years later (1983-2022): an overview

“In 1983, 30 years after the initial archeological discoveries and with the abundant information from four years of field surveys, we suggested the identification of Har Karkom with the biblical Mount Sinai,” wrote Emmanuel Anati in his monograph *The Riddle of Mount Sinai* (p. 10)<sup>2</sup> of 2001, and more recently he stated it again in the revised, updated and widened edition of the same book in its Italian version, *La riscoperta del Monte Sinai* (p. 12).<sup>3</sup>

In the course of these 40 years, Anati has sustained in manifold publications the identification of the holy mountain Har Karkom<sup>4</sup> with the Biblical Mt Sinai/Horeb. He has also proposed this hypothesis himself in the prestigious *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*.<sup>5</sup> However, in spite of the remarkable amount of essays, monographs and articles on this issue,<sup>6</sup> Anati’s hypothesis seems not to be given serious consideration by archeologists and scholars in their contributions to the his-

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1 Theology scholar, Novara, Italy.

2 Emmanuel Anati, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai. Archaeological Discoveries at Har Karkom* (Studi Camuni 21, Capo di Ponte (BS): Edizioni del Centro, 2001). For the book’s presentation, its data and the Anati’s theory, see [www.harkarkom.com](http://www.harkarkom.com) (copyright E. Anati 2001-2022).

3 Emmanuel Anati, *La riscoperta del Monte Sinai*. Ritrovamenti archeologici alla luce del racconto dell’Esodo (Padova, edizioni Messaggero, 2010).

4 Har Karkom, a mountain in the south region of the Negev desert, near to the border between Israel and Egypt, is the modern Hebrew name meaning Mount Saffron, but its old Arabic name was Jebel Idein, meaning mount of celebrations or mount of multitudes.

5 The scientific and archeological relevance of this excavation is confirmed by the articles on Har Karkom by Anati in the third (1993) and fifth additional volumes (2008) of the prestigious work by Ephraim Stern, Ayelet Lewinson-Gilboa and Joseph Aviram (eds), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Vol. III (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society & Carta, 1993), pp. 850-851; Ephraim Stern, Hillel Geva, Alan Paris, and Joseph Aviram (eds), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Vol. V, Supplementary Volume (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society & Carta; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2008), pp.1899-1901.

6 In the Italian edition of *La riscoperta del Monte Sinai* there are listed about 70 works, monographs, essays, and articles related to Har Karkom, all of them by Anati. There are also about 80 monographs, articles, and reviews by other authors on the same subject. To these bibliographic titles must be added another ten published in the last decade. The latest contribution is Emmanuel Anati, “The Har Karkom Cult Sites”, *Expression* 33, March 2022, pp. 15-34.

tory and geography of the Bible.

I would like to state that Anati's thesis has been well known for many years among scholars of Israel's origins, and among archeologists and Bible scholars; what is lacking, however, is that debate among the scientific community that validates a theory.

What conclusions can we draw after the 40 years since Anati's first publication? Has the hypothesis identifying Mt Sinai/Horeb with Har Karkom, his starting point, had any significant developments? What outcome did Anati's challenge to rewrite all the biblical history about Israel's origins and the ancient Near East receive? And finally, can Har Karkom really offer a contribution to the reconstruction of the history of the biblical religion?<sup>7</sup> These are questions which we will try to answer briefly. But the critical reviews of Anati's hypothesis converge essentially on one point, that his theoretical system appears as a kind of biblical concordance, where a direct overlapping or coincidence is found between the story told by the holy text and archeological discoveries. So his theory lays itself open to the charge of biblical fundamentalism; his interpretation of archeological data is accused of being too arbitrary and also shows a significant methodological weakness in the historical and exegetical interpretation of the Bible.<sup>8</sup>

### **Maximalists and minimalists, and the conflict between the Bible and archeology**

In the complex connection between the Bible and archeology, one debate is the methodological quarrel between maximalists (scholars, above all Bible scholars, who are looking for pieces of evidence that support a continuity between biblical facts and archeological results) and minimalists (scholars, above all archeologists, ancient Near East historians, and epigraphists, who are accumulating more and more discordant elements between history, archeology and the biblical text).<sup>9</sup> Within the two opposed positions

7 For a more extensive answer to some questions referred to here, see Silvio Barbaglia, "Har Karkom interroga l'esegesi e la teologia: Un primo bilancio della ricezione dell'ipotesi di E. Anati nei dibattiti sulle origini di Israele," *Liber Annuus* 61 (2011), pp. 499-517.

8 See first of all a short methodological consideration of the link between archeology and the Bible by Antonio Bonora in *Bibbia e Oriente* 26 (1984), pp. 215-217, and some reviews of Anati's position: Gian Luigi Prato, in *Civiltà Cattolica* I (1986), pp. 298-300; Gian Franco Ravasi, "Il dibattito su Har Karkom," *BCN* 4/3 (1987), pp. 22-29; William H. Stiebing, "Should the Exodus and the Israelite Settlement Be re-dated?" *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Jul/Aug (1985), pp. 58-69; Israel Finkelstein, "Raider of the Lost Mountain—An Israeli Archaeologist Looks at the Most Recent Attempt to Locate Mt. Sinai," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Jul/Aug (1988), pp. 46-50; James K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 123-124.

9 The distinction between maximalists and minimalists with reference

— in about 40 years of publications and researches — Anati's assumption seems to be ignored or opposed by both of them. And we ask why.

In spite of a natural interest in a close connection between the Bible and archeology, Anati's theory has been not accepted by maximalists, since suggests replacing the history of Israel's origins in the frame of the cultural, sociological, and historical systems of the Ancient East, dating it about 1,000 years earlier. The events linked with the flight from Egypt, the way through the desert, and the settlement in the Promised Land should be placed during the last centuries of a period that Anati defines as BAC (Bronze Age Complex),<sup>10</sup> i.e. the last 350 years of the third millennium BC, in the light of convergences that he has identified with the Egyptian culture of the VIth dynasty (2345-2181 BC).

<sup>11</sup> The archeological evidence that was recorded in sites as Jericho, Ai, Arad, Kadesh-Barnea, and Transjordan, together with connections to some texts of Egyptian literature, suggest to Anati that the biblical Exodus stories have a foundation that is absolutely historical and real. In this sense, the land's conquests by arms that is recounted in the Book of Joshua, could find archeological confirmation in the destruction of the sites recorded in the old Bronze age: thus, the embarrassing contrast could be overcome — that began with Jericho's excavation — between archeology and biblical chronology. This important chronological shift re-

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to ancient Israel's historiography is given by labels that have been coined by the opponents. This distinction is based on the link of continuity or discontinuity between the textual statements of the biblical tale and archeological confirmation. During the last 70 years, archaeological excavations in the Syro-Palestinian region have caused an about-turn if we compare the biblical archeological optimism of the first half of the last century. From an excavation's perspective that aimed to confirm the biblical story in a context of belief, we have got now an independent approach that has increasingly questioned the possibility of a realistic connection between the biblical story and history. In the last decades the minimalist school has produced contributions that aim to deconstruct systematically the classical view about Israel's origins, as it was established following faithfully the biblical text. Above all, among these authors, see Thomas Thomson, Neil Peter Lemche, Keith Whitelam (Copenhagen University), and Philip Davis (Sheffield University). See also the remark by Philip Davies, "Minimalists", 'Ancient Israel', Anti-Semitism" at <http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/Minimalism.htm>. A well-known version of this methodological line is the work by Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed. Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York: The Free Press, 2002).

10 The BAC period goes from the Chalcolithic Age to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (about 4000-2000 BC).

11 See Emmanuel Anati, *Esodo tra mito e storia. Archeologia, esegesi e geografia storica* (Capo di Ponte: Edizioni del Centro, 1997), p. 253. It must be noted that the Har Karkom site shows an absence of settlements from the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age until Iron Age I. During about 900 years the site appears as neglected owing to the massive desertification of these territories in the course of the second millennium BC.

quires from scholars a new way of thinking about all the traditional biblical chronology and compels Anati himself to suppose that the content of another vanished biblical book has been forgotten in the transmission process of the oral traditions: this book should be placed – according to Anati – among the tales concerning the land's conquest that are told in the Books of Joshua and Judges. Information that has not been kept would prevent us from filling the time gap created by an advance dating of about 1,000 years.<sup>12</sup>

On the other front, the minimalist school is radically opposed to Anati's assumptions, since they deny any possibility of a historical concrete reference for the biblical texts relating to Israel's origins in Exodus. These tales would be traditions which were recorded only much later, without any reference to ancient historical topography. The ideological function of such traditions should be read again in the context of definite recent historiographical operations in Israel's and Judea's history.<sup>13</sup>

### **Har Karkom is the biblical Mount Sinai: a contrasting or ignored equation**

Even though about 20 different interpretations have been proposed for the biblical Sinai,<sup>14</sup> as far I know, this one of Anati's is the only one that produces a kind of global revolution for all the history of Israel's origins. If we go back to the critical questions that have been demonstrated at the beginning of this paper, we are compelled to take note of the act that the scientific discussion has been developed only by those who together with Anati have taken part in and still today participate in the archeological missions at Har Karkom.<sup>15</sup> And since 1983 the archeological area of Har Karkom has been catalogued into 1300 sites, from the Paleolithic until the Islamic period, with 300 sites related to the BAC Age, and appears inseparably tied to the biblical question of the holy mountain of Exodus and Israel's history.

This connection, which was first made and strongly defend-

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12 See Emmanuel Anati, *Esodo tra mito e storia. Archeologia, esegesi e geografia storica* (Capo di Ponte: Edizioni del Centro, 1997), pp. 224-228, 253.

13 These problems are treated for instance by Lester L. Grabbe (ed.), *Can a "History of Israel" be Written?*, European seminar in historical methodology 1 (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement series 245, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

14 See Pietro A. Kaswalder, *La terra della promessa. Elementi di geografia biblica* (SBF Collectio minor 44, Jerusalem-Milano: Franciscan Printing Press - Edizioni Terra Santa, 2010), pp. 48-49; James K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai. The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 123-146.

15 Nearly all the publications quoted in the most updated bibliography on Har Karkom shows this datum.

ed by Anati, has provided the opportunity for a mass media scoop and an international diffusion of the idea, but at the same time it has been the fundamental reason for the exclusion of the Har Karkom site from scientific discussions. It is as though one were to say that if you speak of Har Karkom, you cannot discuss Mt Sinai/Horeb and the history of Israel's origins. The jealous protection of the symbiosis of the two correspondent systems of biblical history and archeology has produced this result for Har Karkom, an archeological site in the Negev desert and a holy mountain of the ancient Near East's nomadic people. Nobody, except Anati and his collaborators, so far as I know, has produced another hypothesis, which would interpret differently the system of the recorded traces.

If you only evoke the name of Har Karkom, this means today to refuse the identification of Mt Sinai/Horeb, to accept or deny the theory of the archeologist who has been frequenting that desert for 70 years. If we consider all the private sanctuaries, sacred symbols, anthropomorphic orthostats (stones that are put in an erect position by human hands for a symbolic function), altar stones, proto-temple structures, geoglyphs (designs on the ground only visible from above), nearly 40,000 petroglyphs (graffiti on the desert rocks), we must ask if it is right as well as intellectually honest to ignore such great archeological material, that is now available for prehistoric and historic research. In our opinion, the emancipation of Har Karkom from its close connection with the biblical Mt Sinai is a necessary way to go forward, in order to let start again a discussion that was immediately weakened 40 years ago, just at its birth.

As for the present situation, all the material identified and collected at Har Karkom and Beer Karkom has been classified and published;<sup>16</sup> this huge mass of material is ranked with direct reference to recent similar studies on the interpretation of Negev petroglyphs by D. Eisenberg-Degen of Ben Gurion University.<sup>17</sup> Therefore we believe that it is now possible to start up an interesting process of scientific comparison on the material culture and the religious and sociological aspects of the desert tribes through the understanding and interpretation of the signs that these ancient people have left us.<sup>18</sup>

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16 Emmanuel Anati and Federico Mailland, *Archaeological Survey of Israel. Map of Har Karkom (229)* (Sinai Project. Italian Archaeological Expedition to Israel, Génève: Éspirit de l'homme; Cemmo di Capodiponte: Centro Internazionale di Studi Preistorici ed Etnologici, 2009); Emmanuel Anati and Federico Mailland, *Map of Beer Karkom (226)* (Sinai Project. Italian Archaeological Expedition to Israel, Cemmo di Capodiponte: Centro Internazionale di Studi Preistorici ed Etnologici, 2010).

17 Davida Eisenberg-Degen, "Archaeological Views: The Archaeology of Scribbles," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Jul/Aug (2012), pp. 24, 61-62.

18 Some years ago, an orienteering guide to the great area of Har Karkom was published by Emmanuel Anati, *Har Karkom. A Guide to*

## The Negev and research space for the biblical religion

In what sense then can Har Karkom still offer a contribution to the reconstruction of the history of the biblical religion itself? How is it possible to return and again be interested in Mt Sinai and biblical history, after having made a distance from all these issues? The only way is to increase interpretations and hypotheses about Har Karkom. And the first contribution to be compared with is absolutely that of Anati's: it has to be known, weighed, and evaluated. Very often, on the contrary, it is criticized in a prejudiced way, without knowing it and without having ever visited and analyzed the site of Har Karkom on the field.

But it is necessary to admit that Anati's theory has put on the table many or perhaps too many disciplines, and let them interact within only one leading idea.

These disciplines vary from the archeology of primitive societies to the history of Israel's origins, passing through Egyptian literature, Negev, and Transjordan cultures, including also the interpretation of rock art, orthostats, and geoglyphs, and even reaching the different layers of the biblical text, which have been subject of infinite discussions during two centuries of the historical exegesis. The encyclopedic dimension of what is at stake in Anati's theory produces on the one hand a mass media curiosity, on the other a reluctant attitude. However, one cannot criticize without knowing: this is the golden rule of scientific research.

Scientific discussions often become fruitless, because they focus only on the arrival point, on the final thesis. In order to arouse interest, the best way is to go back to the starting point, to take again into consideration the fundamental supposition, to go to the origin of the problem. This return to the sources of the problems could produce the necessary purifying action and open the way to new and as yet untried aspects of the research.

Actually, a preliminary point of the Har Karkom excavations that should be discussed by experts is the hypothesis that this site is an important, sacred mountain of prehistoric man, since the period of the *homo sapiens* migrations, in the Upper Paleolithic age, 40,000-35,000 BC. The biblical theory about Exodus, that was previously discussed, was enriched in 1992 by the discovery and interpretation of the Har Karkom 86B site, a series of flint-stone orthostats, which were located on the top of a mountain at a point that offers an open view over the immense Paran desert. According to Anati, these orthostats were brought there in order to build a sanctuary. This would be in Anati's opinion the most ancient sanctuary discovered by archeology. If such a datum were to be validated and shared by the

scientific community, this would mean a very important anthropological and religious focus on his specific site. The shift from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age, a period of extreme concentration of finds, needs an even closer more careful comparison of the interpretation of the various graffiti carved on the rocks, as well as the buildings that often are understood like components of a religious architecture for the worship by people dwelling in and passing through this desert. And the whole of all that has to be seen within the complex and decisive problem of dating the recovered finds. A convergence towards some fundamental aspects, as result of comparisons between various scholars (archeologists, historians and biblical scholars) of the Ancient Near East would be a first decisive step in inserting the Har Karkom system into the wider context of research in the origin of yahwistic religion.<sup>19</sup>

If Har Karkom represents – as Anati has been upholding for decades – an important sacred mountain for the early populations of the Negev desert, this datum can become fruitful and will encourage new study paths for discussions of Israel's origins. The cultural memory of a mountain that was visited by the ancient peoples of the Negev desert as a worshiping place can actually contribute to increasing the documentation and a better understanding of the genesis of traditions that have given birth to the biblical religion. This is what can be exported from the Har Karkom system without particular prejudice and can be included in today's discussions that are more and more attentive in letting emerge the different theories or ideologies attested by biblical stories. But the peculiarity of Har Karkom being the most ancient and most important holy mountain of the whole Sinai peninsula and the Negev desert, a thesis that Anati has always upheld, but is contested, for instance, by I. Finkelstein, needs a documented comparison, based on the available data and on field experience, in order to evaluate how much this can be shared with the international scientific community<sup>20</sup>.

## A holy mountain in the desert: starting again from the foundations

To summarize, if even only a kind of sacred primacy of Har Karkom in the system of the Negev desert could be validated, this would be a good reason for starting research

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19 It is sufficient to think how such a hypothesis could be joined to the well-known Madianite and Kenite theory about the origins of Yahwism (see Hugo Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit. Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913).

20 See the already quoted review by Israel Finkelstein, "Raider of the Lost Mountain - An Israeli Archaeologist Looks at the Most Recent Attempt to Locate Mt. Sinai," *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Jul/Aug (1988), pp. 46-50.

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*Major Sites*, with the assistance of Federico Mailland, Rosetta Bastioni and Ariela Fradkin (Capo di Ponte: CCSP, 2006).

again and establishing a fruitful encounter between the sacred mountain Har Karkom and the biblical religion that is interested in placing in the desert the story of a deep experience of an encounter with the Holy, the God of Israel. Moreover, it is necessary that Har Karkom does not remain isolated as the single high ground in the Negev desert, as suggested by Anati, but rather it is necessary to consider the site within a systematic vision of a place where early people were passing, as a center of irradiation experiences that are to be re-read anthropologically in their sacred and religious dimension. We think indeed that if consent does not arise, at least on this nodal and founding point, it will be impossible to persuade the scientific community to believe that some petroglyphs represent scenes and contents of biblical texts, from the two tables of the Law with the Ten Commandments, to the snake and the staff, or that 12 stones at the foot of the mountain, disposed in two rows, represent the 12 pillars of Ex. 24,4. It is also impossible to think of making the Exodus theory believable through the exactness

of topographic distances, time indications and places where the Hebrew people made their stages in the desert, according to the tales collected in the books of the Torah.<sup>21</sup> We wish therefore, for the sake of more than 40 years of work in the field, that the restitution of such an impressive excavation activity should not be put aside because of ideological reasons, but returns to be an opportunity for new comparisons and discussion by the international scientific community, and that further hypotheses can be created.

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21 All these presumed comparisons between the Bible and Har Karkom, together with many others, are presented in the monograph by Emmanuel Anati, *Esodo tra mito e storia. Archeologia, esegesi e geografia storica* (Capo di Ponte: Edizioni del Centro, 1997).

## WHY DID PREHISTORIC PEOPLE PRODUCE ART

Why did prehistoric people produce visual art? What did they want to communicate and to whom? **EXPRESSION** journal is interested in your ideas and in specific cases. Short notes are welcome.

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4. **MIGRATIONS AND CULTURAL DIFFUSION, DID INDEED MAN ORIGINATE IN AFRICA?**
5. **IMAGES OF WARFARE AND FIGHTING IN PREHISTORIC AND TRIBAL ART.** Their commemorating role and their historical value.
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10. **VERNACULAR DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR SOURCES.** Decoration of objects, huts or rock surfaces as the expression of identity.

## PROPOSALS FOR NEW DEBATES

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



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# DATING THE BIBLICAL EXODUS, AN ENQUIRY IN CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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## 1. Time and the Environment

One of the most outstanding tales of the Old Testament is that of the exodus out of Egypt and the desert wanderings. Scholars have been debating the date of this narration for well over a century. The problem of dating the biblical exodus can exist only if we presume that in fact an exodus took place. Whether it did or did not, the context of the narration should determine when the story was devised. We assume that the biblical narration of the exodus as it has been preserved in writing for at least 2,500 years, was conceived beforehand, and the question is when.

To clarify our preliminary concept, notwithstanding different opinions, we maintain that the core of it relies on traditions transmitted orally for generations before its written formulation. Despite other tendencies, our working hypothesis is that the biblical narration refers to an exodus that indeed took place. This view requires us to define the time of the compilation, in any case, be it history or myth, or – as we assume – a combination of both.

The archeological survey of Har Karkom, an area which is in the geographical zone of the biblical narration, opened up a puzzling question. The research concession of 200 sq. km recorded 1,350 archeological sites, covering the sequence of archeological periods from Paleolithic to Islamic. Out of them, 362 belong to the BAC period.<sup>1</sup>

Not a single one of these 1,350 sites belongs to the Late Bronze Age (LBA) (or the beginning of the Iron Age). There are no traces of human presence between

c. 1950 BC and c. 1050 BC. Signs of life return sporadically during the Iron Age, in the first half of the first millennium BC, and then flourish anew in the second half. Such intermittence was recorded already in 1994 and then confirmed thereafter (Anati 1994; Anati and Mailland 2009, 2010; Mailland and Anati 2018).

Paleoclimatic studies seem to show that the Late Bronze Age was a period of drought, though different studies are not precisely in line with each other (Issar 1950; Luz 1982; Langgut *et al.* 2015). Also, paleoclimatic data available from the Dead Sea and from the Negev Highlands may not reflect the climatic conditions of this area, which still today has different climatic conditions. Further, this hiatus may derive not only from climatic reasons.<sup>2</sup>

Various surveys, including our own, provided a similar sequence in the region of Ein Kudeirat-Ein Kadis-Kuseime, in northern Egyptian Sinai, which, along with others, we maintain is the area of the biblical Kadesh Barnea: abundant Early Bronze Age remains, persisting till the early phase of the Middle Bronze Age; total absence of the Late Bronze Age; new human presence starting again in the Iron Age. Considering the wealth of water present today in this area of northern Sinai, the recorded lack of human presence in the LBA is surprising, mainly because it indicates the absence of tribal life in the presumed period of the exodus.

The Bible tells us that Midianites, Amalekites, and other populations met the children of Israel during their desert wanderings. Is it possible that such dynamic tribal activities occurred during a hiatus in human presence?

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1 BAC, Bronze Age Complex, is the cultural horizon corresponding to the Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age of the Fertile Levant. The BAC lithic industry is of a Chalcolithic tradition though the rare pottery that goes with it displays typologies spanning from the Chalcolithic to the Middle Bronze Age (Anati, 2017, 2021). While in the fertile regions of the Levant different cultural horizons succeeded each other, in this region of now deep desert, the BAC material culture persisted, with minor variations, from c. 4500 to c. 1950 BC. In this paper, we avoid entering into detailed definitions of phases within this period, which were considered in previous texts, and just look at the general age in which the biblical events, or their compilation, could realistically be considered.

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2 Despite our previous evaluations of the paleoclimatic context (Anati 2017; Mailland and Anati 2018), in the present study we avoid pertinent conjectures, just following an analysis of conceptual anthropology, concentrating on archeological and historical factors.



### The Merneptah Stele

The first clear indication external to the Bible confirming Israel as a political entity in Canaan is the stele of Pharaoh Merneptah in Thebes (c. 1210-1220 BC). Israel is mentioned as one of the nations defeated by the successful military campaign. This document, however, does not tell us for how long this Israelite territory had existed when it was defeated. We suppose that it was not founded the day before the mentioned event.

According to the Egyptian document, the defeat was such that it should have been mentioned by the Israelites, and yet the biblical texts ignore it. Other external historical events are not mentioned in the biblical narration. The period of the Amarna letters is ignored, thus supporting the hypothesis of a missing period in the biblical narration, between Joshua and Judges (Anati 2018).

The texts of Joshua and Judges are not the direct continuation of each other, as often maintained (Garstang 1931; Boling and Wright 1982). On the contrary, a long period separates them, that of the supposed missing book. This would be in line also with the different language and conceptual associative systems of the two texts.

If indeed an exodus took place, it should have happened before the Merneptah stele was set up. There is no consensus, though, on how long a time elapsed between the exodus and Israel's settlement to the west of the Jordan (apart from the possible early presence

in the Hebron area, unlikely to have been that of a territorial nation).

### The Departure from Goshen

"And the children of Israel journeyed from Raamses to Succoth ..." (Exodus 12:37). Thus start the desert wanderings. At the beginning of the Book of Exodus we are told of a regime change in Egypt, which worsened the situation of the children of Israel: "they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they [the children of Israel] built for Pharaoh store-cities, Pithom and Raamses." (Exodus 1:11) If the narration relies on historical memory, pertinent hints should emerge in ancient Egyptian literature about this change (See debate in Anati, 1918).

The biblical narration relates that Pithom and Raamses were built with the forced labor of the children of Israel. Raamses, in the Nile estuary, capital of Egypt from the Raamseside period (c. 1300 BC) to the 22nd dynasty (c. 945-715 BC), was thus named under Raamses II. The archeological excavations of various sites of the Nile delta revealed the building of cities in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties, on top of earlier levels going back all the way to the Chalcolithic period (Kroeper 1988; Anati 2017).

Exegetists assume that if the city of Raamses was built after 1300 BC, and if the Israelites built it, the exodus must have taken place after this date. This is the traditional chronological stalwart. Then how can the



Fig 2. Early Bronze Age settlement at Ain el-Maghara (Ein Hamearà), likely the Alush of the biblical narrative (Photo ISR84: XXVI- 33).



Fig. 3. The oasis of Ein-Kudeirat, presumed the biblical Kadesh Barnea (Photo EA92: CLV-7)

mention of Raamses in the Book of Genesis (47:11), in a context much earlier than the Raamsesides, be explained?

Raamses, in the context of the Books of Genesis and Exodus, is a geographical landmark, the place where according to tradition the Israelites as slaves built the town. It is not necessarily the name by which the place was known at the time of the Patriarchs or in Moses' time. Other names are used in the Bible anachronistically, like "the way of the Land of the Philistines" (Exodus 13:17), as the route which was not chosen during the exodus, which clearly refers to a time well before the Philistines settled the area. Simply, the way was so called when the text was put into writing. This is a normal narrative process, like "A Neolithic village was built in the area of Tel Aviv." It does not mean that the site was named Tel Aviv in the Neolithic period.

The name Raamses as that of the site of the Israelites' forced labor indicates the site but it is not the name it must have had when the Israelites built it. As a consequence of arguable assumptions, the chronology was fixed between Raamses and Merneptah, between 1300 BC and c. 1220 BC. Accordingly, the period of the building of the town of Raamses (how many years?) and the development of an Israelite territorial nation in the land of Canaan (how many years?), were supposed to have included, between these two dates, also the 40 years of desert wanderings.

### The Length of the Desert Wanderings

How to refer to the significance of numbers, such as 40 years, found in the Pentateuch? While even the most orthodox exegetist has doubts about the textual interpretation of 969 years of Methuselah (Genesis 5:27), or that Ham, Shem, and Japheth were born to Noah when he was 500 old (Genesis 5:32), the 40 years of the exodus are usually considered reliable.

The number 40 in Hebrew, *arbaym*, derives from the same primary root (*rb*) as *rav* or *harbe*, that mean many. *Arbaym* may mean many times many. Also, the name year (*shanah*) is open to argument: it can be a calendar term, or indicate just a period of time in the minds of people living over 3,000 years ago. But these details are secondary when faced with more definite facts.

### 3. The Context of the Desert

The Bible mentions populations who lived in the desert, the Amalekites, who dwelt in what today is the central Negev highlands and Kadesh-Barnea: "Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Refidim ..." (Exodus 17:8). It mentions the Midianites, relatives of Moses by marriage, first friends and then foes of the Israelites, who kept up contact during the exodus: "And Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness where he was encamped, at the mount of God ..." (Exodus 18:5); and it mentions other tribes. in short,



Fig. 4. Detail of a BAC settlement at Ein Kudeirat, likely the biblical Kadesh Barnea. (EA92: CLVI-5).

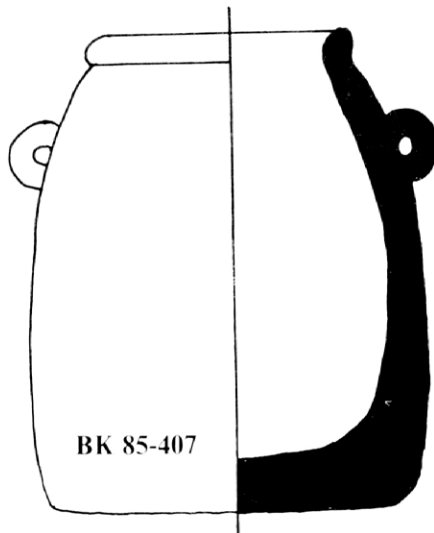


Fig. 5. Egyptian alabaster jug from site BK 407, Beer Karkom (From Anati, 1986).

the desert appears to have been inhabited by tribes or even small nations.

The entire area which the Israelites may have crossed, according to the biblical narration, contains findings from the BAC period, while no traces of tribal active presence were registered from 1950 to 1050 BC.<sup>3</sup> Even Ein-Kudeirat (likely the biblical Kadesh-Barnea) which, according to the narration, hosted a long permanent human presence during the exodus, first by the Amalekites, then by the Israelites, has no traces

<sup>3</sup> Apart from the exploitation of mineral quarries and other government or military stations, mainly Egyptian, in surrounding areas.

of the Late Bronze Age, whereas there are numerous findings from the BAC period, with settlements similar to those found at Har Karkom. The hiatus in the LBA is followed by the Iron Age fortress.<sup>4</sup>

Archeology shows unequivocally the absence of tribal life in parts of the Negev, the northwest Sinai, and Kadesh-Barnea throughout the Late Bronze Age (Anati 1994, p. 63). If the populations mentioned in the biblical narration, like the Midianites and the Amalekites, effectively lived in a tribal context in this territory before the Iron Age, considering the archeological records, this could have been only before the 20th century BC.

#### 4. Mythology, History, and the Temporal Dimension

The tale of the exodus begins with the flight from Egypt, then describes a period of nomadism in the desert, including stops of the tribes in different stations, long-term stays at the foot of Mount Sinai and at Kadesh-Barnea. The entire confederation of the tribes is said to have stopped in the named sites, both before and after the Sinai event. The text does not say how long each stop may have lasted. It then depicts a period of raids and wars. The war against the king of Arad is followed by several wars against the popu-

<sup>4</sup> The northern Negev, the area of the tells of Beer-Sheba and Arad, has different features, being on the edge of the fertile land, having remains of permanent stratified settlements. Also, the Negev central highlands had and still have different climatic conditions and patterns of settlements different than those of the vast lowlands.

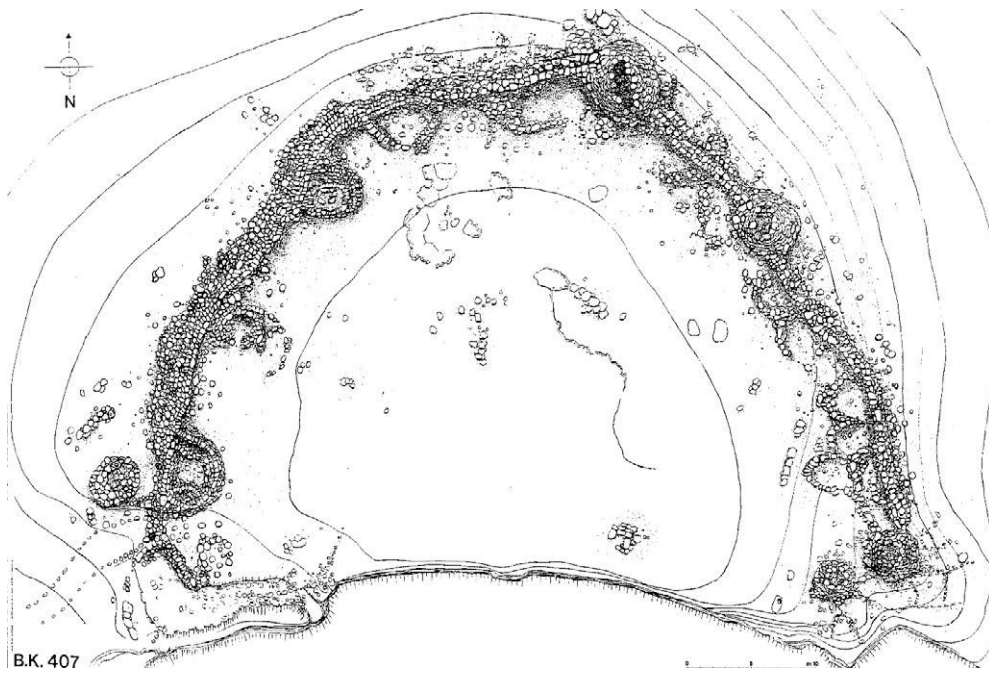


Fig. 6. The fortress overlooking the well of Beer Karkom (site BK 407), likely to be the biblical Refidim, supposed place of the battle between the Amalekites and the Israelites. An alabaster Egyptian jug and other findings belong to the BAC period, the jug appears to be from the Egyptian VI dynasty. The defense wall shows traces of repeated repairs, indicating its long functioning. The habitation quarters are attached to the internal side of the defense wall. (From Anati, 1986).



Fig 6. A BAC hamlet at Beerot Oded, in the Central Negev, in the land of Amalek. (ISR85: C / II-12).



Fig 7. A BAC rock engraving from Nachal Ezuz, in the Central Negev, land of Amalek. The warrior is armed with dagger and bow. Above his head there is a mark or a peculiar head ornament, indicating his status or name. By his side there are ideograms, likely a caption or a signature of the image-maker. (From Anati, 2017b).



Fig 8. A BAC rock engraving from Har Karkom in Southern Negev, land of Midian. It seems to represent a determined authority, a chief or a priest, wearing a ceremonial dress with a prominent collar. He appears to have horns or other protrusions on the head, which may be a mask or an adjective identifying the identity of the being. Below the left arm, the ideograms could be a caption or indicate the signature of the engraver. What did this eminent Midianite do in Har Karkom some 4 or 5,000 years ago? (Site HK 36; tracing HK Arch).

lations of Edom and Moab, leading to the conquests of vast areas in Transjordan. Two and a half tribes of the Israelite confederation shifted from nomadism to sedentarization or semi-sedentarization, including, for the first time, the attribution of defined territories. When the age of Moses comes to an end, some of the Israelite tribes were settled in Transjordan. The age of nomadism had come to an end.

Then follows the narration of Joshua's raids in the land of Canaan, west of the Jordan river, from its crossing at Gilgal. Then the settlement of the 12 tribes and their sedentarization are described in the Book of Judges. These appear to be different epochs of the formative phases of the Israelite nation.

The biblical narration presents a synthesis of the evolution of a population, in essential landmarks, from nomadism to the gradual sedentarization and agricultural colonization, to the formation of a proto-urban society. The archeology of the Near East indicates that this evolutionary process took ages. A legitimate question concerns the time span of the biblical story.

From the captivity of Egypt to the sedentarization in Canaan, the epic stories follow three ages, those of Moses, Joshua, and the judges. The mythical figure of Moses is the emblem of an age which encompasses a sequence of periods.

### **The formative period**

Moses growing up in Egypt in the royal environment; his escape to Midian; the covenant-matrimony between Israel's Moses and Midian's Jethro; raising a family; an age of pastoralism in the land of Midian; reaching the sacred mountain; the return of Moses to Egypt and the preparation for the exodus (Exodus 2:15; 12:36). How long might this period have lasted? Moses appears under four different personalities, the aristocrat rediscovering his roots, the shepherd, the diplomatic leader of an oppressed minority, and the head of nomadic tribes. Are they all comprised in the same period? Is there just one Moses or more leaders named Moses?

### **The nomadic period**

The departure from the land of Egypt; the fighting with the Egyptian army; the crossing of the Red Sea; the wandering in various named deserts; stops of the tribes in a series of stations, the Mount Sinai event,





Fig. 9, 10. Uvda Valley, Southern Negev, land of Midian. A BAC basement of hut and detail (tracing on photo) of engraved slab, inside the hut, representing footprint (worship) below the image of an ibex attacked by a dog. (Excavations by Department of Antiquities. Photos EA HK 93 IX-34; EA HK 93 IX-33).

a long journey in the Paran desert and in the Arava valley, moving from Mount Sinai and after moving from site to site finally reaching Kadesh Barnea; and then the long period at Kadesh-Barnea (Numbers 20:1; 20:22). Canaan is explored, contacts take place with neighboring people; there are attempts to penetrate into the land of Canaan from the south, and there were battles against Amalek and Arad (Numbers 21:1). During this period Moses almost disappears and then reappears again. How long might this period have lasted? Is Moses always the same person?

### **The peripheral colonization**

After having departed from Kadesh-Barnea, then the war against Arad is followed by the migration to Transjordan, and the military campaigns lead to the destruction of cities and the conquest of territories (Numbers 21). How long did this period last? We have suggested that the name Moses was the attribute ascribed to the leader, like Cesar for the Romans, synthesizing in a single being the several Moses through-



Fig. 11. Tell Arad. Fortified city in the south of the Land of Canaan. This photo shows one of the city gates, dating back to the Early Bronze Age, and the defensive tower next to it. In the background, the wall and the Iron Age fortress on the hilltop (Photo ISR87 EA: XIII-28).

out several generations (Anati 2017).

During the various phases, from the land of Goshen to the crossing of the Jordan river, the tone of the narration changes; the myth-history is more mythical at the beginning and more akin to history at the end, it is also increasingly more precise and detailed. How many solar or lunar years may have counted the ‘40 years’?

A new era starts with Joshua. Having crossed the Jordan river, he makes a base at Gilgal, a megalith of standing pillars, likely an Early Bronze Age monument, near Jericho in the Jordan valley. The war and destruction of Jericho are followed by the destruction of Ai, followed by military campaigns against Canaanite cities. If the narration relies on historical memory, the sites mentioned should preserve traces of the described events.

After the Book of Joshua, a long obscure period follows, that of the missing book. A gap between the Book of Joshua and the Book of Judges concerns the age of the *Habiru* or *Apiru* and that of the Amarna letters (Bottero 1954; Albright 1975; Greenberg 1981). The main areas of the events are the Sinai Peninsula, the Negev, and Transjordan for the period of Moses, and the land of Canaan, west of the Jordan river, for the period of Joshua. Archeological findings indicate when such areas were intensely populated and when

they were not, periods in which fortified towns flourished in southern Transjordan and other involved areas, and periods in which the same regions had just the ruins of these sites. Is archeology of any use in the historical reconstruction? Can Arad, Jericho, Ai, and other sites fit the events of the biblical narrations? If the biblical stories rely on historical roots, they should. If not, the biblical text would turn out to be pure mythical imagination.

## 5. The Archeological Evidence

Secondary burials are reported in the Bible in connection with the narrations about the Patriarchs and Moses. According to the narrative, the bones of the Patriarchs were transported from Egypt and buried in the land of Canaan (Genesis: 49:29-30; Genesis 50:12-14; Exodus 13:19). From the archeological evidence, secondary burials, often under tumuli, mainly belong to the third millennium (Anati 2022a). Whether the specific events happened or not, they should indicate the age in which these biblical narratives were conceived. (Anati 2018, pp. 293-230). As described in a previous text, the references in both Genesis and Exodus to the *Gal'ed*, or testimonial tumuli, lead to ascribing the archeological remains to the third millennium BC. The same can be said about standing stones, pillars, the menhirs in archeological terms (Anati 2022 b).

An example of an archeological reference to the biblical narration concerns the city of Arad in the south of Canaan. According to Numbers 21:1-3, a city of the king of Arad was destroyed by the Israelites, hence it was called Hormah, which means, indeed, destruction. Again, Hormah and Arad appear as two different localities in the wars conducted by Joshua (Joshua 12:14). On different occasions the Israelites had to confront the kingdom of Arad and, according to the biblical narration, this lasted a certain length of time. The identification of Tell Arad with the biblical Arad is confirmed by its fitting location and also by the finding there of a jar from the 10th century BC, on which the name Arad is repeated seven times.

The Tell Arad excavations, about 30 km east of Beer Sheva, have uncovered an impressive fortified city of the Early Bronze Age. According to Ruth Amiran, who led the excavations, it flourished in the first half of the third millennium BC. (For details see Amiran, 1978.) The findings bear witness to wide trade relations, both with other Canaanite settlements and with Egypt and beyond. The site again shows no traces of human presence in the Late Bronze Age. An Iron age settlement was built in the 12th century BC on its acropolis, which was transformed into a walled city in the 10th century (Amiran 1978).

“And the Canaanite king of Arad, who dwelt in the South, heard that Israel came by the way of Atarim; and he fought against Israel, and took some of them captive. And Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said: ‘If Thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy their cities.’ And the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites; and they utterly destroyed them and their cities; and the name of the place was called Hormah.” (Numbers 21:1-3)

If the Bronze Age Arad is the biblical Arad, and if the biblical account relies on a minimal base of historical memory, this is supposed to have taken place when the town existed. If Amiran’s chronological evaluations are reliable, the related biblical events may have taken place during the first half of or in the middle of the third millennium BC.

After the description of Arad’s destruction in Numbers 21, no further mention is made of it until its mention as a region in the Book of Judges (Judges 1:16). Hence, we suppose that the archeological site

of this city should carry evidence of a hiatus, as it does, from the time of the exodus to the time of the judges. It is one of the territorial indications, in the southern part of the territory of Judah’s tribe (Joshua 12:14). Its name appears in the Egyptian list of the cities which were conquered by Pharaoh Shishak, in 926 BCE (Aharoni and Avi-Yonah 1993, p. 91).

All we can say is that if the biblical narration is indeed preserving traces of historical events, these should have taken place when the town existed and its defeat could correspond to the time that the archeological data attest to its abandonment, that is in the middle of the third millennium BC.<sup>5</sup>

The essential point is the concept that the pertinent Arad town ceased to exist around the middle of the third millennium BC. If the biblical narration of the exodus relies on historical memory, this is its date. And let us consider that if the biblical narration reflects the chronological sequence of events, the story of Arad may have taken place near the end of the ‘40 years’ of desert wanderings.

## 6. The Age of Joshua

When the age of Moses ends, that of Joshua starts. Again, the same question arises. What is the date of this period or at least of its biblical formulation?

### Jericho

According to the biblical narration, Jericho was destroyed by Joshua, as the first stage of his military campaign. “and the wall fell down flat ... and they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein ... and it was not rebuilt. Cursed be the man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this city, Jericho...” (Joshua 6: 20-26). This text must refer to a period in which the city did not exist, thus offering limited possibilities for the period of its compilation (see Anati 2018, p. 246).

As regards the correlation between archeology and the biblical description, if the latter relies on a minimal core of traditional memory, we may outline just one of several significant excerpts: “then she let them

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<sup>5</sup> We refrain from citing the radiocarbon dates which are amply recorded in this and other instances, because, if reliable, if not polluted, and if correctly calibrated, they indicate the date of a specific item, neither the beginning nor the end of a period, and in most cases, just a moment inside a period. Furthermore, in the present study, the general context of an age is historically more relevant than the specific date of an object.

down by a cord through the window; for her house was upon the side of the wall, and she dwelt upon the wall.” (Joshua 2:15) A private dwelling is described as being part of the city wall and having a window facing outside. Which one of the several excavated city walls of Jericho could fit this description? (Albright 1939; Garstang and Garstang 1940; Kenyon 1957).

The archeological excavations, so far, did not find the window. But as far as we know, windows of private homes facing outside the city wall do not seem to have existed in the Late Bronze Ages, either at Jericho or in any other Syro-Palestinian site. Whether the fact really happened or not, the very idea of such detail could have been conceived only when it was conceivable. Theoretically it could be earlier, but let us tentatively place it in the third millennium BC.

### **The Battle of Ai**

From the biblical narration, after Jericho, Joshua turned to the conquest of the mountainous area, and had to take over the city of Ai. The inhabitants are defined as Amorites (Joshua 7:7). A first attempt failed, and the Israelites were defeated and bore grave losses. Joshua realized the recklessness of his undertaking but renewed the attack: “And thou shalt do to Ai and her king as thou didst unto Jericho and her king.” (Joshua 8:2) After having tricked the dwellers outside, the Israelites had the upper hand at Ai “and smote it with the edge of the sword” (Joshua 8:24).

The tendency of the biblical tradition to use archeological evidence (ruins and monuments) repeats itself here. Already then, archeological remains were used as a witness to testify events. There is no doubt that a fortified Ai existed and that it was destroyed. What is the story behind the archeological testimony? Geography was important for the chroniclers, and the location of the site is well defined by the compilation. Even today, apart from a few portions excavated by the archeologists, the site appears as a heap of stones. Some scholars doubt the identification of the site mainly because the dating of its remains does not match their dating of Joshua’s period.

The site was excavated by three different expeditions from 1928 to 1972, which brought to light a sequence of Early Bronze Age strata. Two destructive events have been identified in the excavations led by Judith Marquet-Krause, and dated, one around 2720 BC and the

other in the 23rd century BC (Marquet-Krause 1949). The first of the two events (Ai, phase V) has been attributed to an earthquake. The city was then rebuilt and walled. The second destructive event (Ai, phase VIII) happened in a suggestive context. The site was protected by a strong wall, which reached a thickness of 8 m. Nonetheless, the excavations testify to signs of violent destruction. The site was abandoned before 2200 BC, about 300 years after Arad, and remained a heap of ruins for a millennium. Again, no remains of the Late Bronze Age have been found. It was resettled by the Israelites of the Early Iron Age. Are 300 years enough time to cover all the stories, from that of Arad, through the wars and conquests of Transjordan, to the destruction of Jericho and then to that of Ai?

If Et-Tell is, as we assume, the biblical Ai, and if the biblical tradition of its destruction has some historical foundation, the archeological findings link it to an episode which took place in the 23<sup>rd</sup> century BC (Ai, phase VIII), long before the conventional date of the epoch of Joshua, but perfectly in line with Jericho, Arad, the destruction of fortified towns in Transjordan, and other archeological testimony, related to what we would consider to be the ages of Moses and of Joshua.

The activities of three generations of archeologists should get their deserved recognition. The excavations of Arad, Jericho, Ai, and elsewhere are outstanding witnesses to the historical memory preserved in the biblical narrations. They are landmarks in the historical reconstruction of the biblical events.

### **The Tumulus of Akhan**

In the Book of Joshua, the story of Akhan son of Zerah tells of an episode of unlawful appropriation, followed by a harsh punishment and a death sentence. “And all Israel stoned him with stones; and they burned them with fire, and stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones, unto this day; and the Lord turned from the fierceness of His anger. Wherefore the name of that place was called the valley of Akhor, unto this day.” (Joshua 7:18-26)

Can archeology figure out the date of this description? Whether the story tells a historical event or a myth, the idea of burial under a tumulus and the entire narration concern concepts and kinds of monuments reflecting their date: most of these tumuli belong to the third millennium BC (Anati 2018, p. 259).

## The Spear and the Hero

In the Book of Joshua, the description of the weapon during the battle of Ai contributes to defining its date and not just the date of the battle, but also that of the text describing it. “And the Lord said unto Joshua: ‘Stretch out the spear that is in thy hand toward Ai; for I will give it into thy hand.’ And Joshua stretched out the spear that was in his hand toward the city.” (Joshua 8:16-18) The spear is the quintessential Early Bronze Age battle weapon. In the Late Bronze Age, a leader would be armed with a sword, an ax, or bow and arrows, and maybe also a war chariot.

A prototype of a warrior is the basalt high relief from Shihan, in Jordan, in the hills not far from the crossing of the river Jordan, portraying a mythical or revered hero which could be that of Joshua. On the basis of the typology of the spear, Olga Tufnell (1953) suggested a date in the late third millennium BC, the date of Ai’s fall. Is Joshua the hero of his time? The high relief shows several indicators accompanying the hero which could reveal his name. It might well be the earliest image of a biblical protagonist produced in his time.

## 7. The External Texts

During the New Kingdom, in the 18th and 19th dynasties (c. 1570-1185 BC), the Pharaoh’s court was crowded with bureaucrats and intellectuals, and the state’s archives were of a high level. We find no mention of the exodus or of the episode of the Red Sea in the Egyptian texts from the New Kingdom. An army swamped in mud, which fails to stop a group of fleeing slaves and which is not familiar with a place within its borders and under its authority, would seem an unlikely fact. If the episode, or just the conception of its mythical story, took place during the New Kingdom, the story of an army that was defeated or destroyed, would have been mentioned in the Egyptian texts of the time, in some sort of version, perhaps even claiming a victory. This lack of documentation has led scholars to conclude that the biblical narration lacks historical background.

If the events which took place in Egypt, are not pure imagination, they should have mentions in Egyptian texts; the presence of Asiatic groups in the Nile Delta and the political shifts which changed their social rank, if all this has a minimal historical basis, could



Fig. 12. The warrior of Shihan. This basalt high relief, about one meter high, was found east of the Dead Sea in 1851. Is it the image of Joshua? (From Anati, 2018).

have hardly been ignored by the Egyptians. And in fact, to our mind, it was not. The relevant texts do not belong to the Late Kingdom, but to the Old Kingdom, about one millennium before the dates maintained by some biblical exegetists.

To simplify, the following citations and their dates will be all taken from a single source, Pritchard (1969). During the VI dynasty, especially under the reign of Pepi I (c. 2332-2283 BC), the Egyptians led various military campaigns to expand their influence. A commander, named Uni, recorded his military actions against the Asians “living in the sand territory” and

describes situations similar to those narrated in the Book of Exodus (Pritchard 1969, p. 227). The narration brings to light a world which is conceptually and contextually close to the biblical narrations. The army of Uni destroyed cattle pens, burnt huts, cut down fig trees and vines and returned unscathed to Egypt. The description could refer to one of the biblical tribes such as the Midianites or the Edomites. The environment portrayed, the atmosphere, and the tone of the narrative, all sound familiar. Furthermore, the term sand territory is the literal translation of the biblical geographical name Havila, the land inhabited by the Edomites, south of Canaan.

The biblical ten plagues find a series of analogies in the Warnings of Ipuwer, an Egyptian text from the VI dynasty (c. 2345-2181 BC). This text also has in common with the biblical narration a system of allegories, concepts, and specific expressions, a way of assessing natural phenomena and of giving them precise meanings. The two tales seem to reflect the same conceptuality and, presumably, they are the products of the same epoch and may even have a common source. This text has other aspects worth mentioning. It will be enough to quote a few excerpts: "In the area of the Delta instability and violence reign and the foreigners have become its lords..." This is a reference to foreigners who have settled in what the Bible calls the Land of Goshen. "The Nile is overflowing, but nobody plows his field, because everybody thinks 'We know not what might happen'." The excerpt refers to a period of instability. "How did it happen that the poor people have become owners of riches and those who could not possess a pair of sandals have become a wealthy landowner?" The text here refers to social upheavals. "Some cities murmur 'Let us strive to chase those who are amongst us.' "This means, let us drive away the foreigners. "Foreigner barbarians have come to Egypt. The foreigners are adept in working in the Delta area. Serfs have become lords." The analogy is with the outcomes of Jacob's story, who received "a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Raameses" (Genesis 47:11). "People come and go to the royal storehouses and nobody defrays taxes anymore." The royal storehouses are mentioned also in the Book of Genesis, in the story of Joseph. The text, very long for its time, seems to be depicting an era of abundance for the Asians who settled in the area of the

delta, and the deep discontent of the Egyptians who feel robbed by the fearless foreigners. Could the time be near that of the exodus eve?

Analogies with the narration of the Egyptian plagues found in the Book of Exodus include, among the rest: "Women have become sterile, they do not conceive anymore ... the river has become full of blood ... many dead are thrown into the river..." When compared with the biblical narration, all this appears as the other face of the medal, similar events seen from the other side.

The teachings to Merikare, in the available version of the 22nd century BC, is aimed at educating a prince. The text contains commandments similar to the biblical ones: "Worship God; honor thy fathers and thy forefathers; do justice upon this earth; do not discriminate between the children of your equals and the children of the poor" (Pritchard 1969, p. 414).

The conception of the divinity as time finds its main expression in the narration of the revelation on Mount Sinai, where God presents Himself to Moses saying: "I am that I am" (Exodus 3:14). The divinity who descends from the mountain, and has in its name past, present and future, has a conceptual analogy with the Egyptian god Atum, who is above the primordial mountain and reveals himself: "I am the great god who created himself ... who created his own name ... I am the past but know the future ..." This dedicatory text comes from the pyramid of Pepi II, of the VIth dynasty, who reigned sometime between 2278 and 2184 BC.

Another Egyptian text, known as Neferrohu's prophecy, whose available text goes back to the 20th century BC (XIIth dynasty), says, inter alia: "The Asians will not be allowed to return to Egypt to beg for water and their cattle will not be allowed to drink" (Pritchard 1969, p. 444). The flight of the Israelites from Egypt finds analogies in other instances of Asians who, in order to leave, had to be ready to face the hardships of the desert. These texts reflect concepts and contexts similar to those of the biblical stories and all of them belong to the third millennium BC.

The story of Moses dwelling for years in Midian and having a family there is an exceptional anthropological document, replete with descriptions of tribal customs. The remains of the villages at the foot of Har Karkom and further south in the Uvda valley furnish

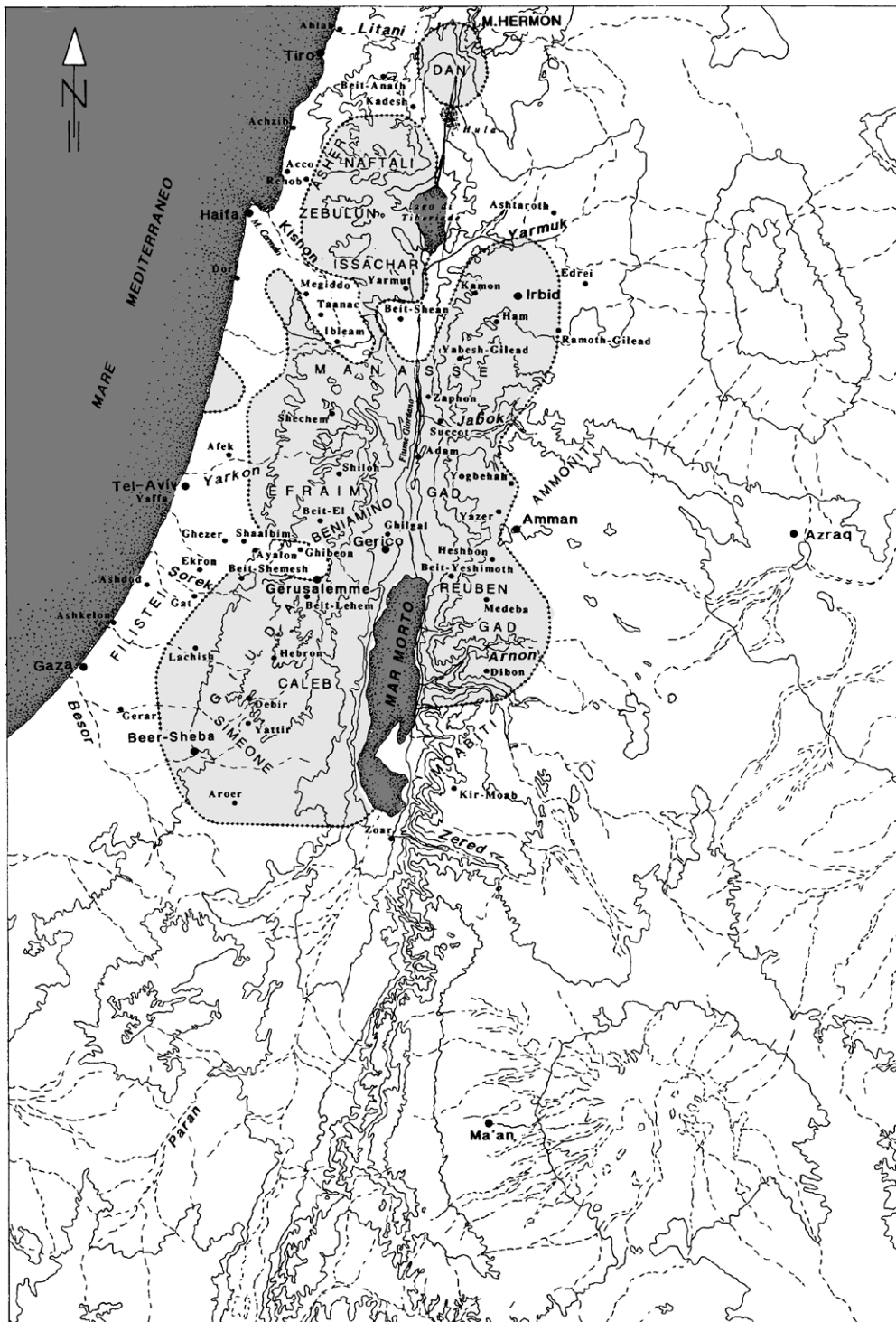


Fig. 13. Schematic map of the tribal territories of the Israelites, according to the books of Joshua and of Judges (From Anati, 2018).

impressive archeological evidence of this way of life, as described by the Bible, and give witness once again to the credibility of the texts.

The Midianite period of Moses shows analogies with the Egyptian story, whose available version refers to the 20th century (c. 1969 BC?). Sinuhe, an official in the court of Pharaoh Amen-em-het I, lives in the har-

em and waits upon the hereditary princess. He commits some misdeed and when the pharaoh dies, he fears his successor. He flies to Asia “in the land of Yaa (!), where figs and grapes grow, and where wine flows more abundantly than water.” There he is greeted by a local chieftain; he marries the chieftain’s daughter, has a family, receives cattle and lands from his father-

in-law, and is finally recalled back to Egypt and given an important position. Sinuhe's narration and the biblical story of Moses, who flees to Midian, and his father-in-law Jethro, are likely to share a common matrix, which cannot be later than the 20th century BC. It will suffice to quote one tale parallel with Mesopotamian literature. Sargon of Akkad, the charismatic leader of the Semites, led his people from the dry periphery towards the verdant Mesopotamia, around 2300 BC: "My mother conceived me, and kept me hidden. She put me in a basket coated with tar. She put me in the river, which did not drown me. The river carried me to Akki, the keeper of the waters ... Akki adopted me as his son..." (Pritchard 1969, p. 119). Both Moses and Sargon were saved from the river water, both led their peoples to the conquest of their promised land. The original myths of the two main figures at the base of the Semitic myth-history draw inspiration from a common narrative matrix which is either contemporary with or earlier than the earliest of the two narrations (23rd century BC). If there can be analogies between the biblical narration of Moses' period and the literary external sources, they unanimously lead us to the third millennium BC.

## 8. Conclusions

In various instances we have encountered biblical descriptions of megalithic structures: an altar and 12 steles at the foot of Mount Sinai, a circle of 12 stones at Gilgal, putting up memorial stones and setting up tumuli and standing pillars on various occasions. These types of monuments mainly belong to the third millennium. Moreover, the archeological documentation at Har Karkom, Beer Karkom, Ein Kudeirat (Kadesh Barnea?), and in the entire possible exodus area, excludes the presence of any intense tribal activity in the second millennium. Ethnic groups like the Midianites, Amalekites, Amorites, Horites, and other populations mentioned in the Bible, and also the hypothetical Israelites, if they are not pure invention, could not exist there in the second millennium.

In Transjordan, already in 1939, Nelson Glueck emphasized the presence of fortified cities in the third millennium, then suddenly destroyed or abandoned (Glueck, 1939). In Moab and Edom as well, the absence of LBA archeological documentation is followed by restarts in the Iron Age. Incidentally, the same ar-

cheological sequence fits also the area of Wadi Hasa in southern Jordan (MacDonald 1992).

Considering all these elements, it seems that the biblical narrations well reflect what archeology has brought to light at Har Karkom, Ein-Kudeirat, in Transjordan and likewise in Arad, Jericho, Ai, and other sites.

More detailed and additional arguments are to be found in the book on Exodus (Anati 2018). The concordance with Egyptian literature and the archeological documentation support the presence of a third millennium BC historical memory in the biblical narrations. The absence of the LBA in the 1,350 sites of the Har Karkom survey, which started this study, is not an isolated phenomenon.

At the onset of this text, we asked what is myth and what history, in the impressive literary work that is the biblical Exodus. The documentation gathered shows that the biblical text of Exodus, even if the compilation that reached us is Iron Age in date, is based on older narrations, going back to the third millennium BC. This enables us to acquire a new dimension, allowing us further progress in separating myth from history, though both are present in the biblical narration.

The outcomes of this enquiry allow us to propose going back in time over one millennium, in respect of the traditional age of the biblical exodus. The period of Joshua, relying mainly, but not only, on the Jericho and Ai (Et-Tell) excavations, is located in the 23rd and possibly also the 22nd centuries BC. The period of Moses preceded it and spans throughout a very long '40 years', lasting a few centuries. This would bring the age of the biblical stories concerning the Patriarchs (Abram, Isaac and Jacob), within the conceptual context of their way of life, in the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the Early Bronze Age.

The ethical contents and the literary values of the story have an enriched external support. If the present concept can be retained, what changes is the contextual testimony, their being now nearer to history than to myth, and placed in their archeological and historical setting.

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## SERRA DA CAPIVARA, BRAZIL

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Serra da Capivara National Park is located in the northeast of Brazil, in the state of Piauí (fig. 1), in a region characterized by large areas of dense thorny scrub (called *caatinga*) and, within deep canyons, by the remains of the extensive tropical forests that covered the entire area until the end of the last ice age, 12,000 years ago (fig. 2).

It is a region that borders two major geological formations, the Maranhão sedimentary basin and the depression of the São Francisco River, with landscapes of valleys, mountains, and plains of extreme beauty. In this environment of difficult access, around 1970 archeologists found important remains of prehistoric campsites, as well as many graffiti and cave paintings, discoveries that have given rise to a bitter scientific controversy regarding the dating of the population of the Americas by *Homo sapiens*.

Some of the cave paintings in the area in fact have been dated with internationally validated scientific

methods to over 20,000 years ago, while some organic finds from prehistoric camps have been dated up to 50,000 years ago, before the presumed arrival of *Homo sapiens* in Europe (about 40,000 years ago).

These findings were hotly contested by North American archeologists, who had pinpointed the passage of early human populations from Asia to the final phase of the last Ice Age.

During the last glaciation, and in particular at its maximum (about 22,000 years ago) in fact, the area of the Bering Strait was completely blocked by ice, which made it impossible to transit to America from Asia.

According to this theory, it was only with the opening of a passage corridor around 14,000 years ago, that the Siberian populations were able to reach North America and then spread to all parts of the continent.

This theory is based, in addition to geological and climatological data, also on important finds of lithic points, likely spearheads, and in particular on those found in 1929 at the site of Clovis in New Mexico.

These spearheads, recognizable by the tapering created using a percussion on both sides and by the presence of longitudinal grooves, have been dated to 13,500-12,800 years ago, and are widespread throughout North America, as well as in the northern part of South America.

For over 50 years, the “Clovis first theory” has been the dominant paradigm in the prehistoric archeology of the Americas. The discoveries of sites prior to Clovis, such as the Serra da Capivara in Brazil and Monte Verde in Chile, have, however, forced archeologists to rethink and rewrite the history of human population on the continent.

The protagonist of this extraordinary scientific adventure has been the Brazilian archeologist Niède Guidon, today almost nonagenarian, who for over 60 years has studied, inventoried, and protected the site, identifying thousands of archeological areas, traces of human passages and cave paintings that constitute the most important heritage of prehistory of the conti-



Fig. 1. The location of Serra da Capivara National Park in the state of Piauí.



Fig. 2. The canyons of Serra da Capivara.



Fig. 3. Archeologist Niède Guidon at Serra da Capivara.



Fig. 4. The site of Pedra Furada.

nent (fig. 3).

Thanks to her activity, in 1979 the Brazilian government established the Serra da Capivara National Park and in 1991 the site was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

No less than 300 archeological areas have been identified within the National Park, largely consisting of rock shelters with thousands of paintings which illustrate the life and activities of prehistoric populations, initially made up of hunter-gatherers, who over the millennia were replaced by sedentary groups, dedicated to agriculture, that produced and used ceramics.

One of the main sites is the Toca do Boqueira de Pedra Furada (fig. 4), where paintings dating back to about 12,000 years ago have been found, showing hunting scenes with the use of spears and traps.

Pedra Furada is a rock shelter 17 m deep; its walls are painted with more than 1,150 prehistoric images. Guidon has found thousands of artifacts here that could suggest human handwork, and discovered a structure

resembling a bonfire equipped with arranged logs and stones that she believes date back 48,700 years.

These paintings, which have been called the “Tradition of the Nordeste”, include, in addition to human figures, also elaborate geometric designs. Guidon estimates that this tradition lasted over 6,000 years, with a gradual evolution of the style and techniques of painting, from the use of fingers to brushes of animal hair or vegetable fibers.

As noted by Guidon:

The oldest rock paintings, ... is characterized by representations of a narrative nature, by compositions illustrating daily life and ritual scenes of the human groups that lived in the region. The paintings have a technical preciseness and refinement of detail that enables the identification of a real social communication system. The figures have features suggesting that over time they were made by succeeding cultural groups. They also represent very diverse themes, such as dancing, hunting, collecting, but also sex and violence depicted in the form of battle, capture and execution scenes. This richness of iconographic data is an



Fig. 5. A rock shelter at Serra da Capivara.



Fig. 6. Rock painting panel.



Fig. 7. Rock painting panel.

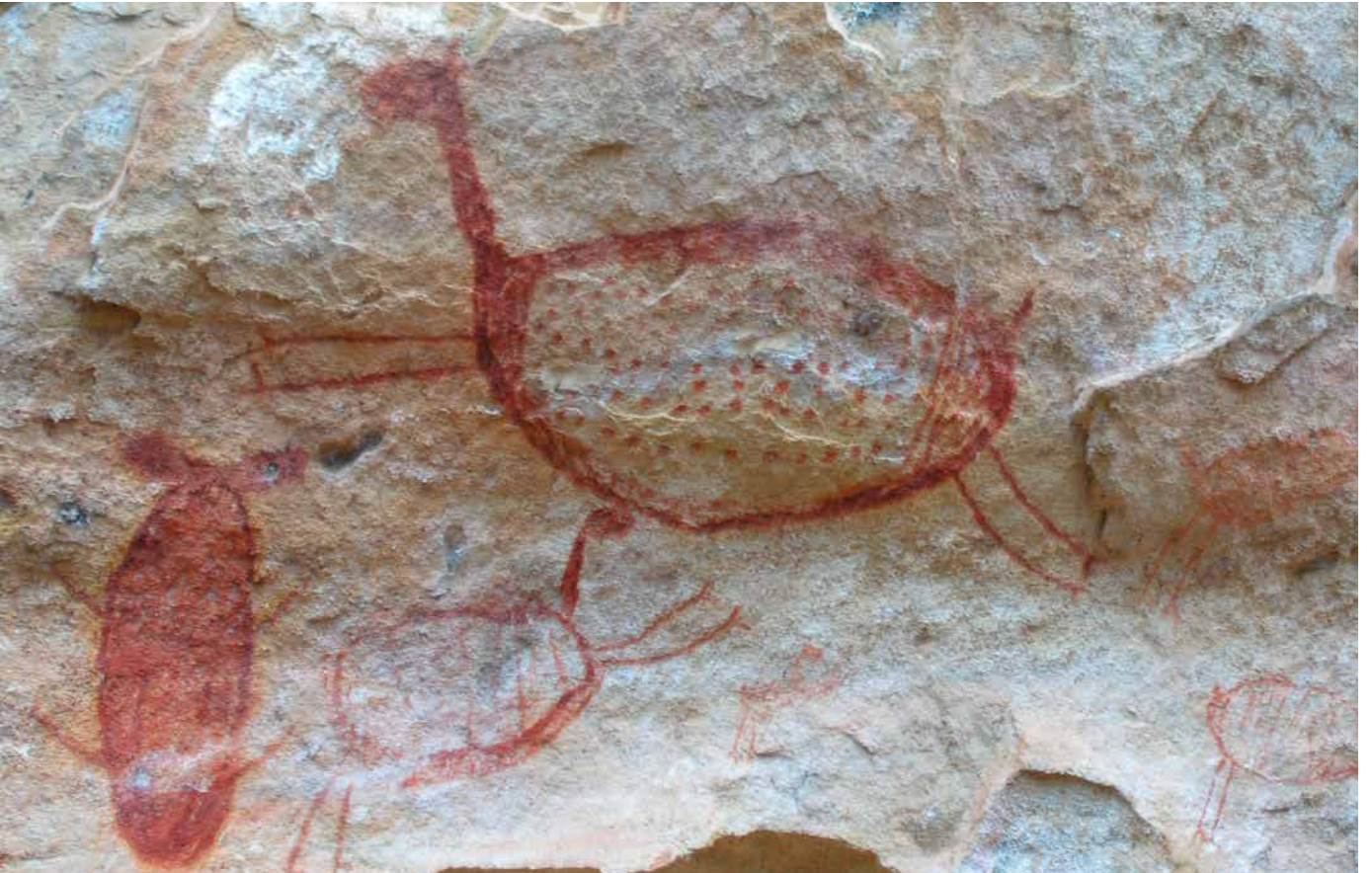


Fig. 8. Rock painting of local fauna.



Fig. 9. Rock painting of local fauna.

essential source of anthropological information, opening the way for the investigation of the life, beliefs and values of these groups, with a detail that is very rare in prehistory. Paintings belonging to other rock art traditions can also be seen, devoid of any narrative nature or of the possibility of identification, but prevalent in other regions of north-east Brazil.” (Anne-Marie Pessis and Niède Guidon (2007) *Serra da Capivara National Park, Brazil: cultural heritage and society*, *World Archaeology*, 39: 3).

The rock art is painted in various shades of red hematite, found in the surrounding areas, while occasionally yellow and grey pigments were also used. Each panel usually takes the form of a long linear block of images, arranged about 0.5–2 m above the original floor. Most images appear to be strategically placed, usually within natural depressions, either cutting into the rock surface or in eroded hollows (figs. 5, 6, 7). The majority of the rock art depicts animals and human figures in scenes of hunting, sexual activity, skirmishing, and dancing. The animals of the ancient brushwood forest are all present: red deer, armadillo, capivara (a large rodent), jaguar, lizard, tapir, and the

giant rhea (a type of ostrich, now extinct). Processions of human and animal figures are also often depicted (figs. 8-16).

Scientific research in the area has produced many other spectacular results, such as the discovery of a skull dated to more than 15,000 years ago, the oldest human remains known on the American continent, and another dated from 9920 years ago, the Zuzu skull (figs. 17 and 18).

In recent years, other archeologists have continued Guidon’s research, with the help of Brazilian and French funding that has amply confirmed the hypothesis of a population of the area before the end of the Ice Age.

In 2011 the French archeologist Antoine Lourdeau directed excavations that led to the discovery of materials incontrovertibly dated to 22,000 years ago. Of course, this has further revived the controversy between Latin American and North American archeologists, the majority of whom still supported the Clovis paradigm, recently undermined by discoveries of older sites in



Fig. 10. Rock painting of local fauna.



Fig. 11. Rock painting of hunting scene.





Fig. 12. Rock painting of gathering.



Fig. 13. Rock painting of hunting.



Fig. 14. Rock painting of processions.



Fig. 15. Rock painting of processions.



Fig. 16. Rock painting of gathering and processions.



### Crânio Zuzu | Zuzu skull

Esqueleto de 9920 anos

Crânio masculino, oval e alongado semelhante ao tipo africano

9,920-year-old skeleton

This male skull is oval and elongated like those from Africa

Fig. 17. The Zuzu skull.

the United States.

The main point of the controversy is the absence of an alternative interpretative model to the Clovis theory. If *Homo sapiens* arrived in America before the end of the glaciation, where did it come from?

The hypotheses of a coastal transit, that would be in any case quite difficult to achieve, have not found any proofs, because the sea level rose by more than 100 m after the glaciation, making archeological findings impossible.

An arrival of prehistoric populations directly from the Pacific or the Atlantic seems also very difficult to accept, in view of the navigational skills of the time (although Guidon supported the possibility of an African migration).

Genetics has entered the field in recent decades, find-

ing connections between Siberian, North American, and some South American populations, but the results are still too insufficient to draw conclusions. The archeological data are, however, now incontrovertible and scientific research will have to focus on that in the years to come.

The site of Serra da Capivara is not exempt from management problems, related to the growth of tourism, the difficulty of protecting such a vast area, and the actions of local populations, who do not consider cave paintings as part of their culture. After the inscription of the site in the World Heritage List, several education and conservation programs were started, in collaboration with the Brazilian government, aimed to enhance conservation practices for this extraordinary cultural heritage.

# THE GEO-ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES OF THE PREFECTURES OF XANTHI AND RODOPI: KÖROVA, LIVADI, ISMARA, ALONIA (SYNAXIS), AND KLISSETZIK (PETROTA), IN THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPES OF GREEK THRACE

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Megalithism is a phenomenon of prehistoric civilizations, it overwhelms the human imagination, that finds it difficult to comprehend the mysterious aura emitted by it. Its spread, however, is enormous, and it is impossible to attribute it to a single area of origin. Indeed, these large stone works are present everywhere. Some common elements confirmed by scholars are that the genesis of the megalithic phenomenon, in all the areas where it occurs, is directly related to the introduction of agriculture in the Neolithic period; of course, in some cases it extends into the historical period.

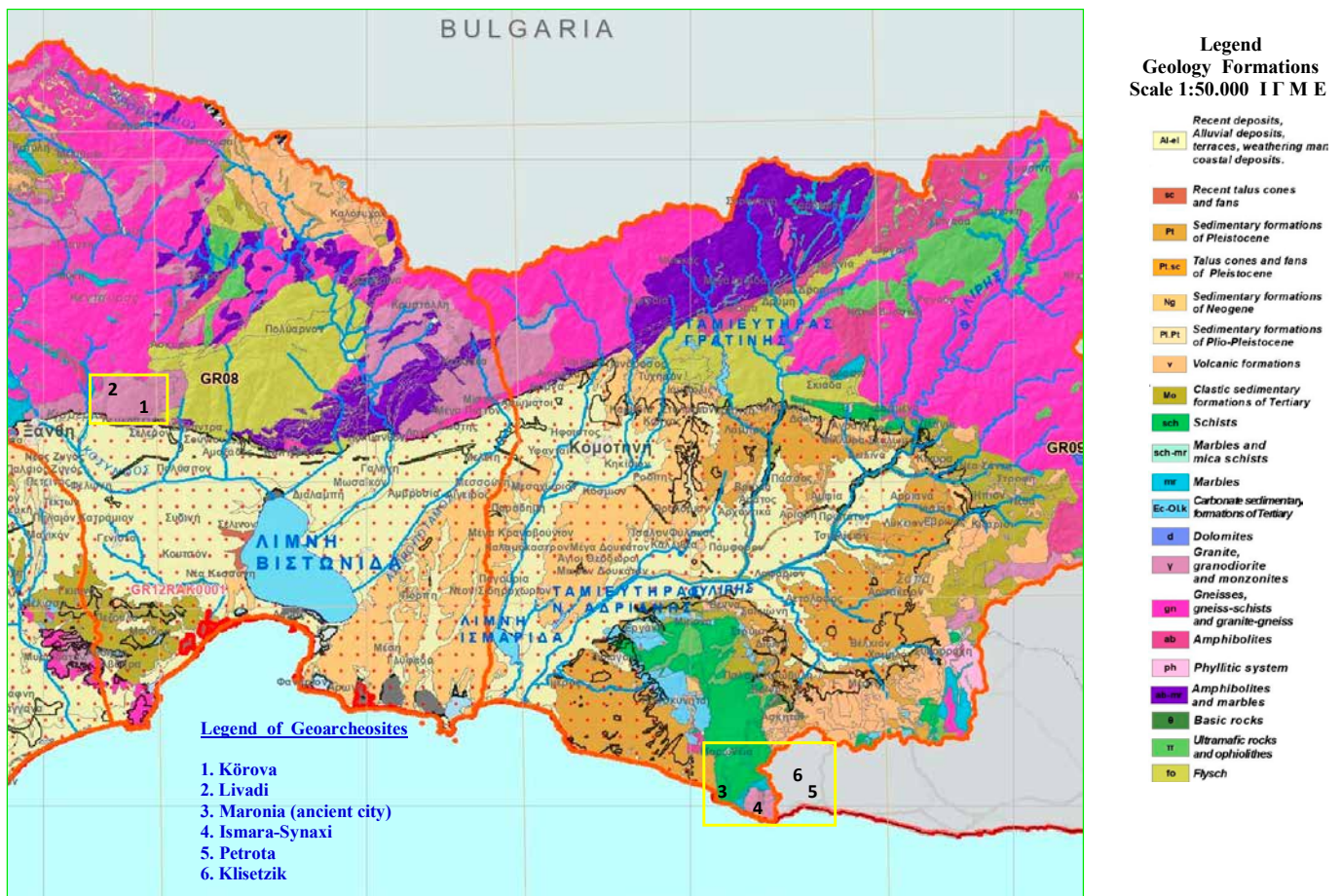
The need for a term that describes and unifies the diversity of the large stone structures found in Europe arose in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, the term megalithic monuments was introduced as a neologism in the scientific language in the 1870s, and today still indicates constructions from raw or coarse processed stones, elongated stones, slabs, and monolithic structures.

There are three main megalithic fields in Europe: first, the megalithic monuments of western Europe (United Kingdom, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, North Germany, France, Portugal, Spain, the Balearic Islands, and Sardinia), for which a long period of construction is accepted (between 4000 and 2000 BC); second, the megalithic monuments of the Caucasus (western Caucasus and Armenia), dating from the middle of the 3rd millennium to the middle of the 2nd millennium BC (2500-1500 BC); and third, the megalithic monuments of the Balkans (Bulgaria, European Turkey, Greece), to which the megalithic monuments of Thrace belong, dated to the period between

the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (Tsonev and Kolev 2012: 18). The study of western European megaliths started long before the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Fergusson 1872), and research in the Caucasus began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the Balkans in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tsonev *et al.* 2012: 182, 183).

*Megalithos* (μέγας λίθος) means “large stone” and in general, the word is used to identify any huge, man-made or prefabricated structure or collection of stones or boulders. Typically, however, the term megalithic monument refers to the monumental architecture which was created between 6,000 and 4,000 years ago, in Europe, during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages. That we know only a few megalithic monuments to be located in Greece (Prefecture of Evros, Prefecture of Rodopi, Ismara, Thassos, Soufli Magoula, Larissa, Mykonos, Naxos, dragon houses of South Euboea, and pyramids of Peloponnesus) is mainly due to lack of research or willingness to undertake research on megalithic culture monuments and not because of the lack of monuments that in reality abound in Greece. One such example is the area north of the Pomak villages of Selero, Lefkopetra and Kimmeria (Archeological Map B). It is a cultural landscape that reconciles the most dominant dualism in western thought, that of nature and culture.

In summary, landscape is the imprint in the environment of the processes of nature and man throughout the centuries. With no human intervention the landscape is natural, rich in ecosystems; when man intervenes in a balanced way then the landscape acquires cultural characteristics and becomes a cultural landscape. The cultural landscape is formed by a natural



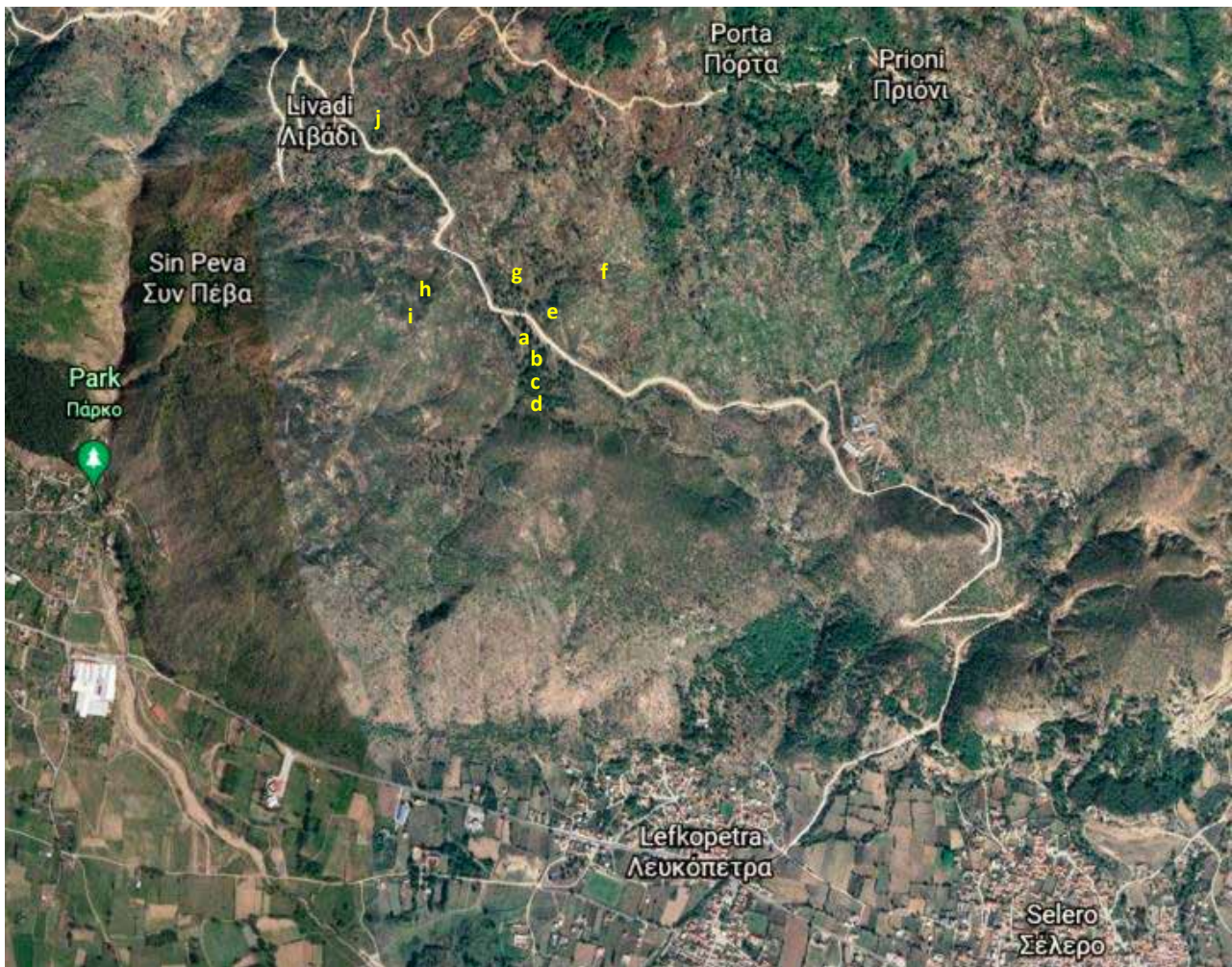
**GEOLOGICAL MAP A, of the Prefectures of Xanthi and Rodopi with Georcheosites**  
[https://floods.ypeka.gr/egyFloods/gr12/maps/GR12\\_P01\\_S4\\_geology.jpg](https://floods.ypeka.gr/egyFloods/gr12/maps/GR12_P01_S4_geology.jpg) (09-03-2022)

Map 1. Geological Map.

landscape and a cultural group. Culture is the factor, natural elements are the messenger, cultural landscape is the result (Denevan and Mathewson 2009; Mercadante 2016: 75).

The natural environment of the research area, particularly north of the villages of Selero, Lefkopetra, and the town of Kimmeria, presents the geological formations as we observe them in the Geological Map A (fig. 1). The underlying rock ranging from plutonic (granite, granodiorite, monzonite) to intense tectonized metamorphic (gneiss, schist, phyllite) is exposed at the slopes of the hills. Due to intense tectonism, the metamorphic rocks present a significant secondary permeability that permits the creation of springs. This natural geological landscape obviously aroused human interest for exploitable raw material, because stone was for primitive man the first material he caught with his hands and tried to learn its secrets and how to pro-

cess it. The close relationship between man and stone we observe in the construction of tools and the building of structures for housing or religious and burial monuments. The geological and geomorphological features of the landscape north of Selero, Lefkopetra, and Kimmeria present special natural structures, recognized by man over time as terrestrial points of strength. He adapted them to his social and cultural needs, by turning them into monumental constructions. A landscape that was dominated by natural stone formations, a product of natural geological and geomorphological processes, gave man the stimulus to intervene. The result was severe anthropogenic pressure on the landscape, which changed its face from antiquity. This nature-culture interface imprints the interaction of man with nature over the years and creates a new narrative for understanding our environment and culture. Human activity leaves marks on na-



**Legend**  
**a.** Geoarchaeosite: **Körova**, B 40° 56' 25'' A 24° 52' 19'' **b.** Ruined building and ritual throne, **c.** Menhir, **d.** Menhir, **e.** Balanced rock, **f.** Ruined construction in a demarcated area, **g.** Homes, **h.** Ritual throne, **i.** Dolmen, **j.** Geoarchaeosite : **Livadi** B 41° 09' 32'' A 24° 57' 52'' functional throne. (Google Map)

Map 2. Archeological Map.

ture, traces of human meaning that man writes in the world, changing a natural into a cultural landscape. These are geo-archeological sites inextricably linked to the geo-archeological history of the area, as man lived it. The megalithic Thracian heritage, in its geomorphological physiognomy between natural and man-made structures, despite the identification of several stone monumental structures – isolated or in groups – has hitherto been ignored or downgraded in the scientific research of certain archeological and university circles due to a curious subjectivity, exclusivity and a guilty silence.

Cultural landscapes are living landscapes, that change at the same rate as culture, climate, and natural en-

vironment change in and around them (ICOMOS 2004, 2011). In other words, they depict the evolution of human society over time, under the influence of the natural limitations or potential of their natural environment, as well as of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. The character of the landscape thus reflects the values of the people who shaped it and who continue to live in it. Culture itself is the shaping force (Stergiouli *et al.* 2012: 1-9).

The presence of megaliths in the cultural heritage of Greek Thrace is of great importance, because they inform us about Thracian society, and the behavior and manifestations of their spiritual, social, and moral life.



Fig. 1. Geological formations north of the villages of Selero, Lefkopetra, and Kimmeria.

Some megaliths are considered the abodes of deities or otherworld persons, some are burial memorials to mythical heroes and historical kings. Also, the megalithic monuments create a unique network of invaluable cultural geo-archeological sites, that release a unique mysterious aura, stimulate the imagination and often evoke a sense of communication with the supernatural (Eliade 1981).

A geosite (the geological monuments or features of a place) under the influence of human action becomes a geo-archeosite, or geo-archeological site, a real place of transition between naturalness and technicity, which requires respect, the preservation of knowledge, and protection for proper use. The megaliths are permanently present in landscapes around the world, and for years have been attracting tourists with their mysterious character (Mercadante 2016: 75).

**Geo-archeological site: Körova (Geological Map A1, Archeological Map Ba; Coordinates: B 40° 56' 25'' A 24° 52' 19'')**

The site of Körova (in Turkish Körova, blind plain), as Sali Dourali from Kimmeria called it, is 3 km away, as the crow flies, from the villages Celero and Lefkopetra, located next to the road that was rebuilt for the installation of the wind turbines. At this site, I located

with my companion Apostolos Tsakridis, megalithic monuments and the existence in the past of a sparsely populated settlement, which was supplied from antiquity with the water of continuously flowing springs (Archeological Map Ba). The springs (fig. 2.a.) have been turned today into a recreation space by the local people living in this sparsely populated area, with stone tables and seats.

The specific geological features of the site were enhanced by human intervention because when man recognized the result of terrestrial forces, he adapted these features to his social and cultural needs. By carving the boulders, he shaped them into monumental structures, creating geo-archeological sites that remain inextricably linked to the geo-archeological history of the land he lived in.

About 50 southeast of the first spring, lies a ruined building (Archeological map Bb), the semi-finished structures of which do not have any cementing material (fig. 2.b). This is a modern construction. To the east of the building there are two natural elongated monoliths, one of which ends in a carved throne oriented precisely towards the east with a ritual designation (fig. 3.a., 3.b.). A second continuously flowing spring is located northeast of the throne. The locals turned the area of the spring into a recreational space





Fig. 2.a. Körova geo-archeological site. Spring and recreation area; see Archaeological Map Ba.



Fig. 2.b. Semi-finished structures of the ruined building (see Archaeological Map Bb)

using local stone and cement to create a stone table and seats. About 20 m west of the ruined building runs a small stream that flows to the south. The waters of the spring and the runoff from the nearby hills drain into it (fig. 4). East of this stream, two columns-menhirs are located. The first column (see Archaeological Map Bc) was formed by human hand that carved the rock into a phallus-shaped column (fig. 5), while the sec-

ond orthostat-menhir (Archaeological Map Bd) was secured in an upright position by the use of stone supporting structures at its base (fig. 6.a., 6.b.). Ritual cavities were carved on that base (fig. 6.c.). South of the orthostats we see some enclosures fenced with stones, that probably show areas for keeping herds in check (fig. 7). The orthostats remain outside the demarcated enclosures.



Fig. 3.a. Natural elongated monoliths, the right of which ends in a carved throne (see Archaeological Map Bb).

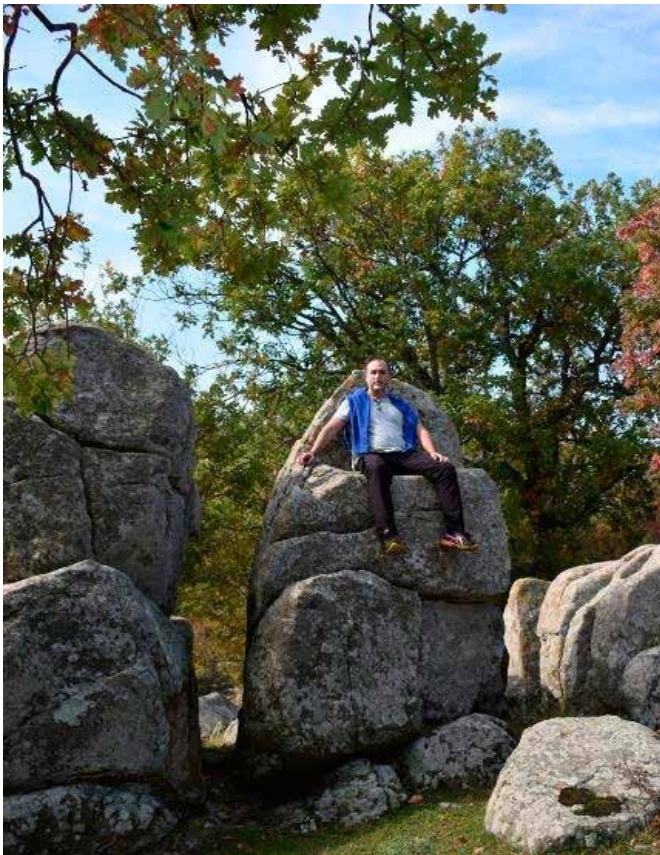


Fig. 3.b. The independent researcher Apostolos Tsakridis on the throne he located.

Above the road, northeast of the Körova site springs, there is a 15-tonne boulder (Archaeological Map Be), that is balanced on a rocky base, the result of human collective activity (fig. 8.a., 8.b.). and 8 m away to the southeast, a circular altar was carved on the surface of another rock (fig. 8.c.).

About 100 m northeast of the balanced boulder, on a low hillside, there is a megalithic enclosure with stone slabs placed perpendicular to the ground (Archaeological Map Bf, fig. 9.a.), apparently a work of antiquity, that surrounds a ruined building or a house, 10 x 5.40 m, built with semi-processed stones without any cement (fig. 9.b.). This ruined building is a work of modern times. During winter a small stream draining the area runs between the megalithic enclosure and the ruined building.

To the north of the site (see Archaeological Map Ba), on a slope facing Lake Vistonis, we located the ruins of houses (Archaeological Map Bg), quite destroyed by illegal excavations, their walls built with oversized stone slabs (fig. 10.b.) placed perpendicular to the ground. The entrance to the houses looked south, as is evident from the remaining pillars that framed the entrance of a house (fig. 10.a.). Pottery sherds on the surface, that the poachers were indifferent to, show both handmade and wheeled pottery. It is noteworthy that the use of the wheel in Thracian pottery makes its appearance in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (AAVV 1989: 135). About 300 m northwest of the Körova Geo-archeological site (Ba) at the slope of the hill, among the many natural rocks, I found a dolmen burial monument (Archaeological Map Bi, fig. 11.a.), with coordinates B' 40° 56' 07'' A' 24° 58' 09''. Two natural stone pilasters hold a double horizontal plate that balances with the help of wedges, creating a burial monument (dolmen), characteristic of the megalithic Thracian civilization. The dolmen has a north-south orientation. The elevated position of the burial monument makes Lake Vistonis and the surrounding hills (fig. 11.b.) completely visible from it. This is a culturally privileged position for a burial site and corresponds to the understandably prominent social position of the dead. A monolith dominates the area near the burial monument (Archaeological Map Bh). Its upper part was carved into a throne looking east with a ritual designation (fig. 11.c.).

The site of Livadi (Archeological Map Bj), coordinates



Fig. 4. Stream-torrent.



Fig. 5. Column-menhir (see Archaeological Map Bc).

B' 41 ° 19' 29'' A' 24 ° 57' 58'', is a nearly level depression (fig. 12), with continuously flowing springs. Its boundary is set in the elevated northeast side by a megalithic enclosure (fig. 12.b.) that ends on the also elevated rocky southeast side. A throne (fig. 12.c.) with a northwest orientation is carved at the base of

the southeast boundary, which commands an amphitheatric view over Livadi (fig. 12.a.). The throne at Livadi had a functional designation, signified also by the placing of raw stones in the natural amphitheater that the throne overlooks (fig. 12.c.). This practice (stone placing) shaped the need to acquire and confirm a group consciousness, emphasizing the conceptual reduction of the distance between the scattered inhabitants of the area (Pangkalou 2018: 66). The location of Livadi marked a gathering place of people, where a seated hegemonic figure was heard by the crowd of subjects. The concept of the carved throne was used as a prominent tool of power, sovereignty and gaining the obedience and respect of the subjects to the ruler or king-priest, The literary sources present this in the case of the ruler or king-priest Maron in his meeting with Odysseus (*Od.* 9, 197-206; Fol and Marazov 1985: 67). It was the meeting place for the mountain-living Vistons (Wellmann 1897: 504-506), showing the characteristics of a society with a tribal monarchical organization like the others we meet between the second and first millennia BC in the Balkans and Asia Minor.

Arthur Evans's hypothesis that the throne in the famous Throne Room in the Knossos Palace was used only as part of the civic administration (the seat of Minos) is at odds with another based on the literature, that it functioned like a sanctuary. During a ceremony a priestess sat on the alabaster throne who was con-



Fig. 6.a. Ortholith-menhir, south side (see Archaeological Map Bd).

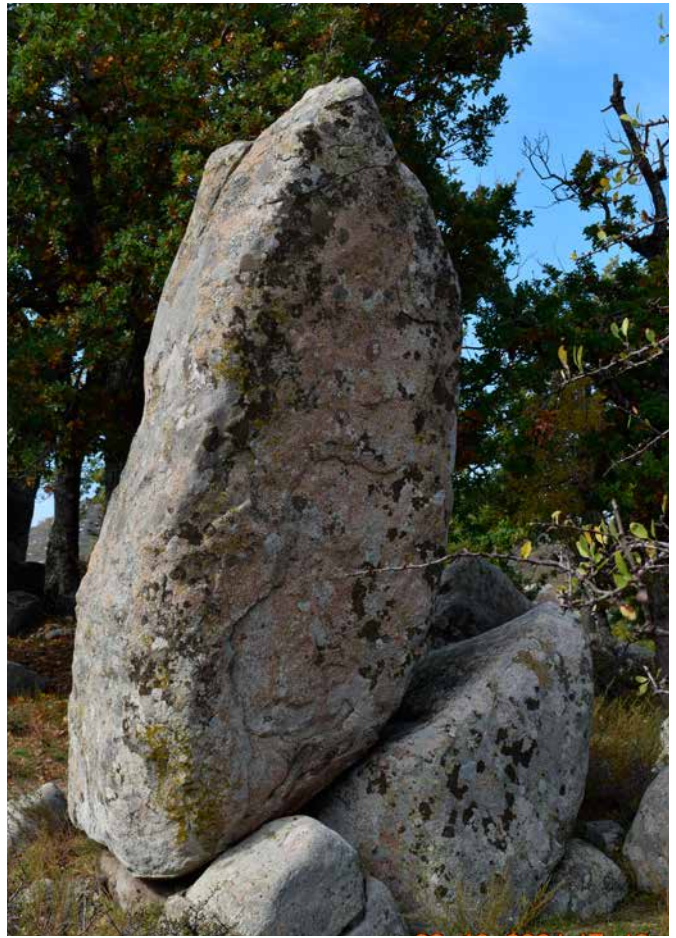


Fig. 6.b. Ortholith-menhir, southeast side (see Archaeological Map Bd).



Fig. 6.c. Carved ritual cavities for liquid offerings at the base of the orthostat (see Archaeological Map Bd).



Fig. 7. Enclosures fenced with stones, that probably show areas for keeping herds in check.

sidered to be a reincarnation of the deity. According to texts, similar ceremonies were performed in Mesopotamia, where the kings were considered to have a divine status. Thus, at the beginning of the new annual cycle, they came to a sacred marriage, that is, the ritual union of the central female deity with the ruler. In this ceremony the king and the high priestess had the role of deities (Jacobsen 1976: 125; Hägg 1986: 48-55, 61). Most likely, a similar ceremony took place at Livadi, starring the great mother goddess and the Thracian ruler or king-priest, as the throne in fig. 12.c. is easily accessible, while climbing is necessary for access to the thrones of figs. 3.a. and 11.c.

### **The conceptualization of the sacred**

The phallic column-menhir (fig. 5) intertwined with the natural rock form is formed by carving by the Thracians and has a devotional designation. The second orthostat-menhir is also a cult monument (figs. 6.a., 6.b.). There are ritual cavities on its base (fig. 6.c.). The orthostat-menhirs functioned as an indication of the sanctity of the space, in which the

worshippers could experience the manifestation of the deity.

The symbolism of the empty throne has a salvation dimension and signifies an invitation to the deity to sit, or refers to the visually invisible and omnipotent presence of the seated mother goddess on an empty throne for ordinary worshipers, as the deity cannot be seen by anyone. The eastern orientation of the thrones (figs. 3.a., 11.c.), with an accuracy of 90°, confirms the worship beliefs and ceremonies of the region's Thracian Vistons, who believed that the earthly great mother goddess welcomed the ascension of the solar male god who fertilized her. The illumination of the throne by the light of the sun is the true sacred marriage, the seventh stage of the cosmogenic cycle which, according to Alexander Fol, documents Thracian orphism. The faithful offer sacrifices and gifts to this non-iconic seated deity, as the throne acquires the function of an altar in worship (Fol 2007: 370; Francovich 1990: 69 footnote 642). The above fertilizing ritual of hierogamy is confirmed by the throne carved in a marble rock, with a scaphoid altar and a



Fig. 8.a. Balanced boulder (see Archaeological Map Be).



Fig. 8.b. Boulder equilibrium point (see Archaeological Map Be).



Fig. 8.c. Altar next to the balanced boulder (see Archaeological Map Be).



Fig. 9.a. Megalithic enclosure with stone slabs placed perpendicular to the ground (Archaeological Map Bf).

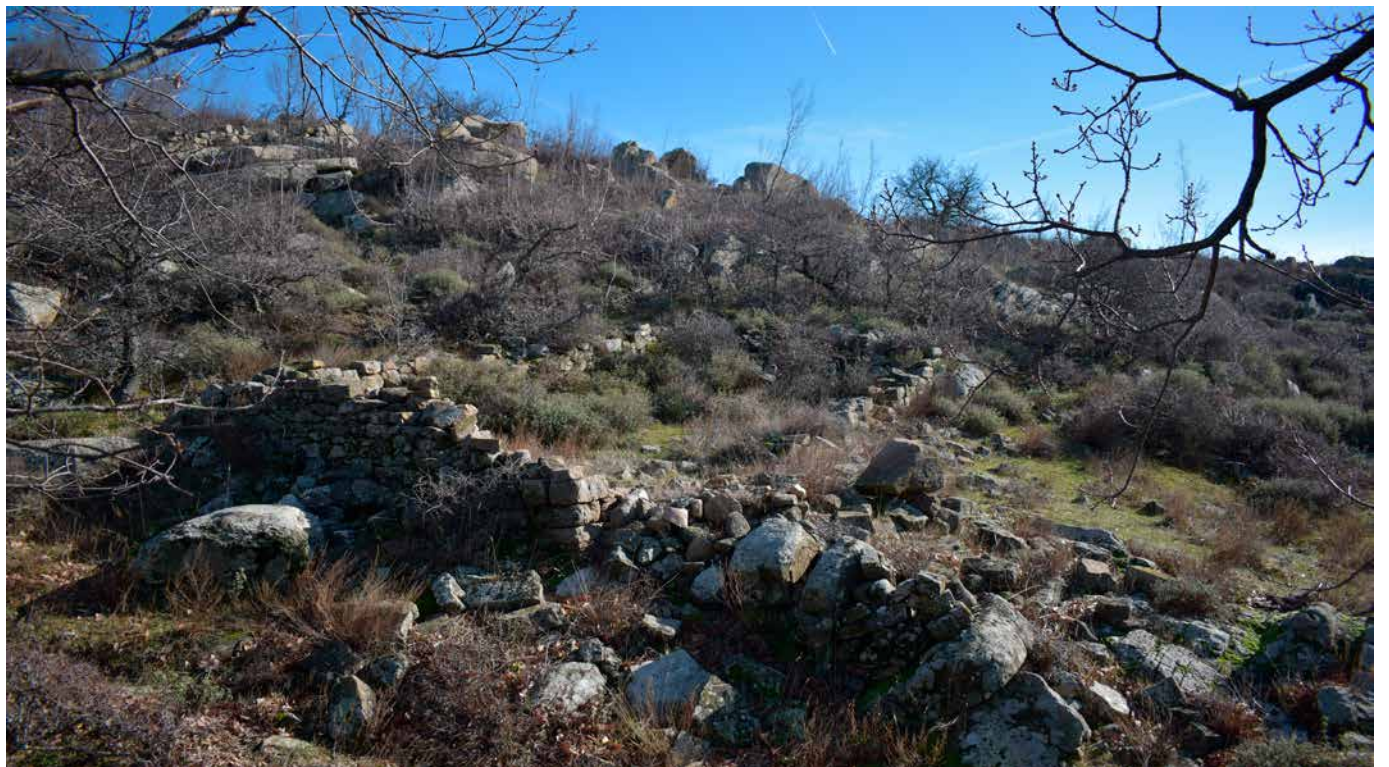


Fig. 9.b. Ruined building, possibly a modern house (see Archaeological Map Bf).

solar disk, found by Apostolos Tsakridis in the area of Marmaritsa, near the dirt road between Maronia and Ismara (figs. 13.a., 13.b.), coordinates B'  $40^{\circ} 52' 24''$  A'  $25^{\circ} 31' 55''$ .

Known as the sacred marriage or marriage of the gods, this cosmic faith played a deeply spiritual role in religious devotion and ritual throughout the known

protohistoric world, as for instance in the images of Ireland and Britain and writings of the Middle East, Near East, Egypt, and India of the third millennium BCE, later in the Hebrew Bible, and subsequently in the first-millennium BCE classical literature of ancient Greece (Meaden 2021:42ff).

The report of the examination of the balancing boulder



Fig. 10.a. Remaining pillars that framed the entrance of the house. (Archeological Map Bg).



Fig. 10.b. Ruins of an ancient house with southeast entrance. (Archeological Map Bg).

at the Körova geo-archeological site (Archaeological Map Be, figs. 8.a., 8.b.) by the geologist Spyros Pagkalis is as follows: “the boulder presents scales weathering (exfoliation) characteristic of plutonic rocks and no sign of tectonism, in contrast to the basement rock that presents intense tectonism with two characteristic sets of fractures at angle. Because of the absence of any tectonism in the sitting boulder in contrast to the base, we conclude that the boulder is not in situ but it was moved to its current position from another point, either naturally, by falling or by transporting it (human activity).”

I think that we find a drop of 15 tonnes of boulder

from an adjacent place and its natural balance on one of its sides, without human intervention, only in mythology and legends, as the only logical explanation that can be given is collective human activity.

Boulders in balance on a different supporting rock, the result of collective human intervention, are found in Ismara within the megalithic enclosure on the path before the wine press (λινόζ) (fig. 14.a.). This balanced boulder sits on rock and there is a carved convex altar-eschára near it on an adjacent rock.

In the geo-archeological site of Alonia (Synaxis), coordinates B' 40° 51' 51'' A' 25° 33' 28'', a horizontal boulder balances on two elevated rocky





Fig. 11.a. Megalithic burial monument of the mountaineering Vistons. (Archaeological Map Bi).



Fig. 11.b. Lake Vistonis from above.



Fig. 11.c. Monolithic adjoining rock, the upper part of which was carved on a throne. (Archaeological Map B h).



Fig. 12.a. Geo-archaeological site of Livadi. Panoramic view of the north-west side. The carved throne dominates this location on the southeast side (see Archaeological Map B j, fig. 12.c).



Fig. 12.b. Geo-archaeological site of Livadi. The northeast side, bordered by a megalithic enclosure (see Archaeological Map B j)



Fig. 12.c. Carved throne on the rocky elevated southeast side of the geo-archaeological site Livadi, (see Archaeological map B j).



Fig. 13.a. Throne carved in a marble rock, with a scaphoid altar and a solar disk.



Fig. 13.b. Solar disk, context of the throne.

support points, depicting the shape of a megalithic mushroom (fig. 14.b.). The lack of stony hills around the megalithic monument negates the hypothesis of a natural fall, confirming the transport of the boulder as a result of collective human activity (figs. 14.c.). This stone-plant worship complex is a display of the ancient symbolism of the sacred site and in Greek Aegean Thrace this combination of stone and mushroom was the expression of immortality. The mushroom-like shape of the monument is imposed on the religious consciousness of the Thracians, due to the hallucinogenic properties and phallic form of the mushroom, which refers to Dionysus-Savazios. Wine was the traditional symbol of Dionysus from classical times onwards. Homer is silent about the Dionysian wine relationship because the institutional religious establishment at that time had nothing to do with wine. The primary entheogenesis of Dionysus was through the mushroom, which became a religious taboo due to its psychedelic properties, which they deliberately tried to hide by uniting the two symbols of mushroom and wine, giving emphasis to the second, as it created a sense of joy due to intoxication, that covered the influence of the first, the entheogenic mushroom (Samorini and Camilla 1994: 322-323, fig. 4). The coins of Maronia (located west of the prehistoric citadel of Ismara) give



Fig. 14.a. Ismara. Balanced rock in the background on the left and in the foreground a deep altar-eschára.

striking examples and even clear ways of interpreting the double reading representation (fig. 14.d.), where the religious taboo mushroom is hidden within a non-religious symbol (bunch of grapes), resulting in a union of the two symbols, the mushroom and the bunch of grapes, that are both symbols of Dionysus (Ruck 2014; Samorini and Camilla 1994: 322-323, fig. 4; Kiotsekoglou 2012: 131-132; Kiotsekoglou 2020: 30-40).

Similar mushroom rocky outcrops are also found in southern Italy at the site of Albano di Lucania (Kiotsekoglou 2020) and Spain in the area of Extremadura (Gorbea *et al.* 2021: 152ff).

Boulders in balance on a rock basement are also found in the Klisetzik Petrota in Rodopi (figs. 15.a., 15.b., 15.c., 15.d.), always connected with the presence of carved altars (fig. 15.e.). The altar is, in fact, a gateway that man builds to communicate with the divine and that is why the altar itself takes its holy character. The presence of the altar and the boulders in balance are used by the Thracians to express their religious and metaphysical beliefs, adding holiness to their place of worship or indicating a sacred location.

The process of seeking in life the natural balance of

the boulders is reflected in the mind, and thus frees the body from thoughts in those that perform the practice. In this way, they get rid of negative thoughts. The body and the mind merge with the object of creation, seeking and finding the same harmony, achieving the same inner stability. Practicing the balance of rocks or boulders helps a person to feel good about himself. Developing harmony requires patience and concentration. For this reason, the activity is mainly restrained and meditative.

Vistons and Kikones Thracians (Oberhummer 1921: 381-382) chose to signify the sacred location with boulders in balance. This promotes a healthy environment for healing their mind, body and spirit and had a positive effect on the collective consciousness of the community. It is obviously a meditative way to approach and feel the sanctity of a site, using one or more balanced boulders they have designated as sacred.

In conclusion, sanctity for the Vistons and Kikones Thracians means contact with their subconscious and distancing from the passions of the mind, acquiring inner harmony (Ierodiakonou 2014: 7ff). Democritus, a Greek philosopher of the fifth/fourth centuries BC from the city of Abdera, in his main views rejected all kinds of extremism, tending towards a symmetrical organization of life, moderation, balance and symmetry, order and peace, taming the passions, refining pleasure with a well-balanced way of acting and a life dedicated to spiritual deepening and philosophical reflection (Kroh 1996: 134). He praises the balance with this quote: «Καλόν ἐν παντί τό ἴσον. Ὑπερβολή δε καί ἔλλειψις οὐ μοι δοκεῖ» (Απ. 102) (To have balance is good thing for everything, while exaggeration or lack is not, I think).

### Stone worship in literary sources and ancient iconography

Baetylos or stone worship is often depicted in the Bronze Age Aegean on seals, in which male and female figures appear to kneel, rest, and support their arms and body on an oval or round object (stone or baetylos, *βαίτυλος*), calling for the manifestation of the deity. Homer refers (*Il.* 18, 504) to the sanctity of the sacred circle of polished stones. Orthostatic columns are mentioned also in other verses of the *Iliad* (*Il.* 17, 370-372, 434-435). Lykophron, in his

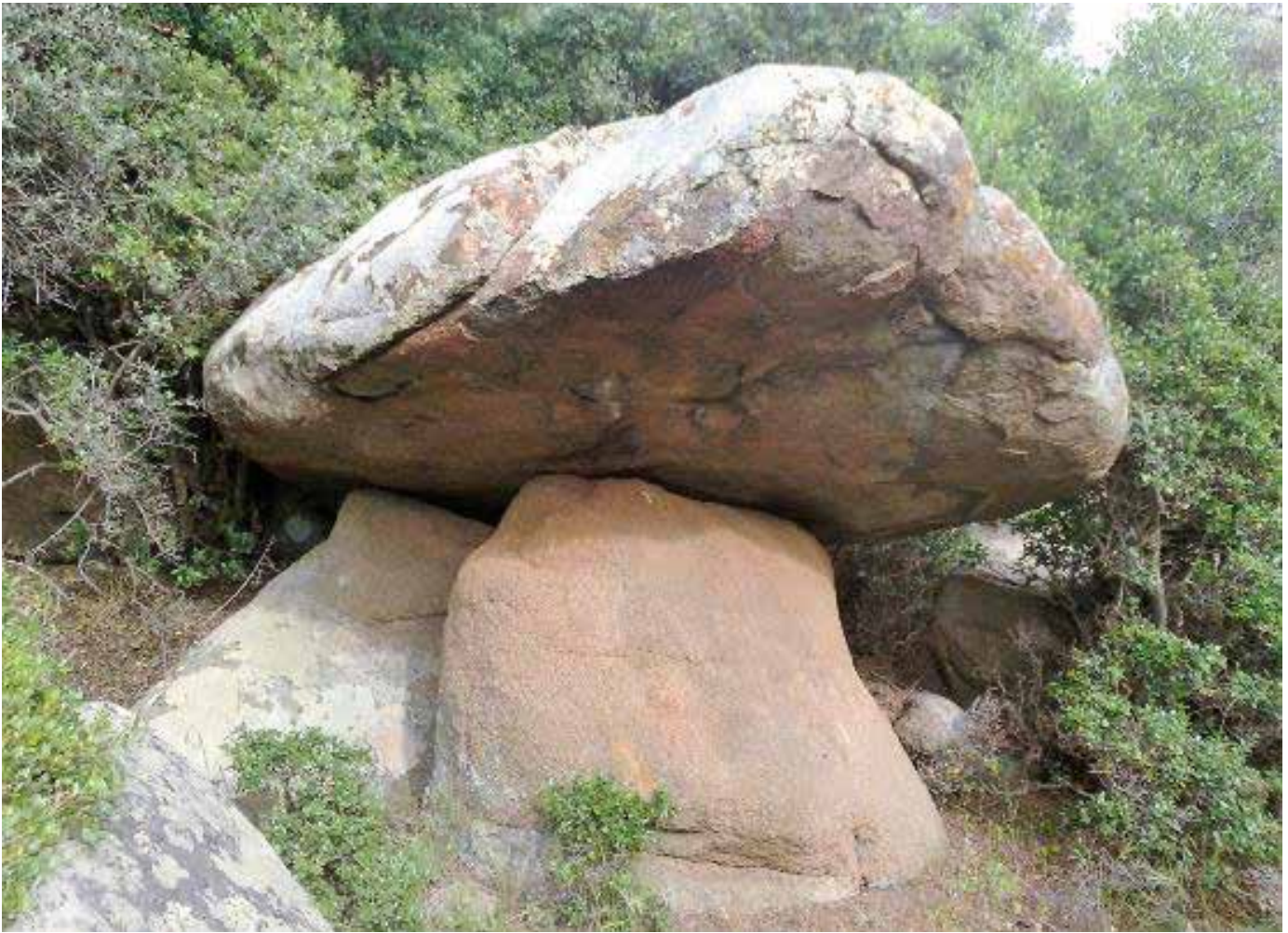


Fig. 14.b. Threshing floors (Synaxis). A horizontal boulder balances on two stone uprights depicting the shape of a megalithic mushroom. Located by naturalist researcher Alexander Hennig

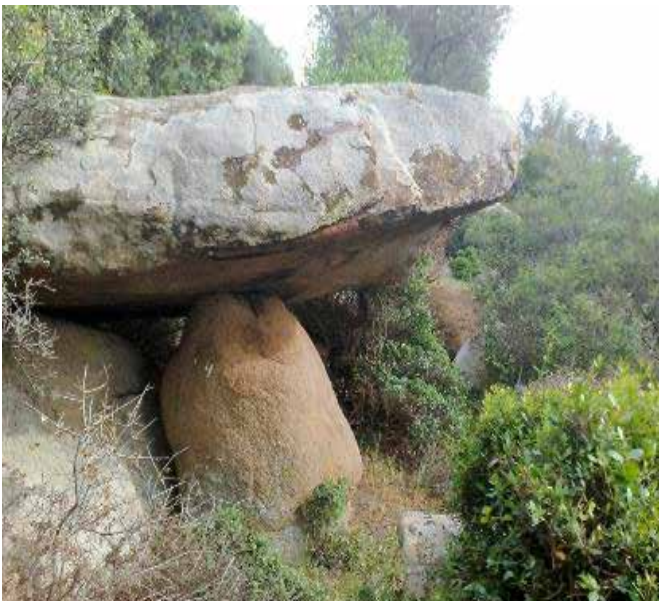


Fig. 14.c. Threshing floors (Synaxis). West side of a boulder balancing on two stone pillars, depicting the shape of a megalithic mushroom. Located by Alexander Hennig.

mysterious poem *Alexandra* sang about the settler Diomedes, connecting the columns of Puglia with the achievements of Diomedes in the heroic era (Lykof. *Alex.*, 625-627).

In the Bible (Genesis, ch. KH/28, 10-22), we find in Jacob's dream the first descriptive reference not only of the sanctity of the stone and the ladder, as a link for contacting the deity, but also of the symbolism of the sacred place associated with the priesthood and the house of God, symbolized by the stone. It is a Hebrew version of stone worship that highlights the pagan background of Judaism. Baetylos ceremonies are depicted in six seals, three of them from Minoan Crete, one from Mycenae and two of unknown origin, that are on display at the Museum of Berlin and the Ashmolean Museum (Stefanakos 2016: 78-85).

The body of the Sellopoulos ring (fig. 16.a.) depicts a scene with a kneeling half-naked man rendered with



Fig. 14.d. Triovolos Maronia 398/97-386/85 BC. Bunch of grapes with mushroom shape. (<http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?>) (5-2-2009).

a slender and well-crafted body, in contrast to the relatively sketchy head. He seems to rest his right hand on a large stone or baetylos, while he turns his upper torso and head sharply to the opposite direction to the rest of his body. His left hand is outstretched in the same direction. These movements give a strong dramatic sense to the scene. The kneeling man looks to the left and makes a call or greeting gesture to a large unidentified bird, which rushes towards him. It probably has a chrysalis in its beak. The action takes

place outdoors, with a tree to the right of the human form that grows in a rocky landscape. It is probably a life experience or a kind of vision of the form, which may be the dead person himself. It is considered to depict a scene of idolatry stone worship and tree worship (Stefanakos 2016: 23-28; Popham 1974: 217). The body of the ring in the Ashmolean Museum from Chania, Crete (fig. 16.b.) depicts a stone-worshipping representation of a kneeling adoring woman resting her left hand on the stone, while being watched by a second woman in an upright position, with a floating manifestation of divinity between the two forms (Kyriakidis 2005: 145).

The British academic and archeologist Peter Warren dealt mainly with the subject of the baetyli in Minoan ritual, and studied related depictions on seals, seal impressions and seal rings. He argued that those who take part in such actions should be considered worshipers, who through their contact with the stone and after having entered a state of ecstasy, try to communicate with the deity, that they probably believed to live in the stone. According to Warren, the baetylos or stone is a non-iconic representation of the deity, while the birds, pupae and butterflies depicted



Fig. 15.a. Klisetzik Petrota. Balanced rock above a cave.

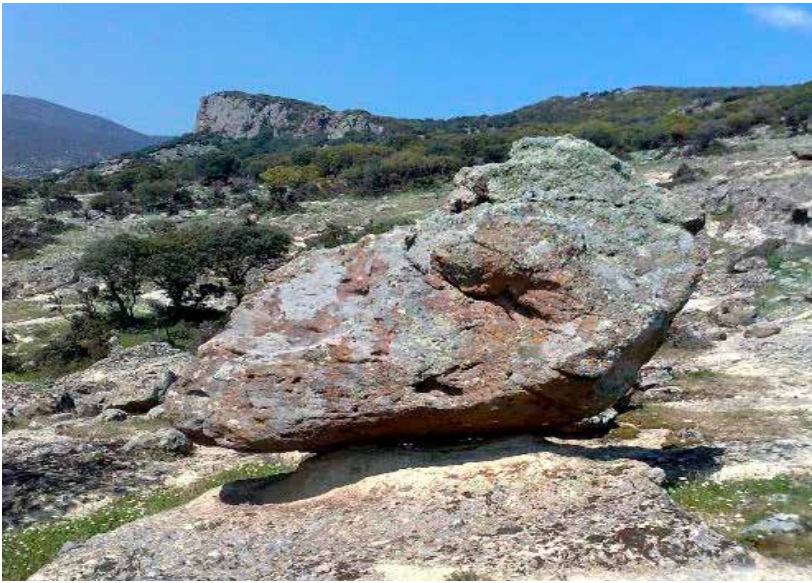


Fig. 15.b. Klisetzik Petrota. Balanced rock above a cave



Fig. 15.c. Klisetzik Petrota. Balancing rock in the shape of a mushroom.



Fig. 15.d. Klisetzik Petrota. Balancing rock in the shape of a mushroom.



Fig.15.e. Klisetzik Petrota. Altar with three carved cavities, which converge in a common outlet groove.

in the compositions are manifestations of the deity (Warren 1990: 193,196, 206; Stefanakos 2016: 80, 81; Tully and Crooks 2015: 129-158). According to Spyridon Marinatos (Marinatos 1990: 89-90), these stones functioned as an indication of the sanctity of the space in which worshipers could experience the manifestation or epiphany of the deity. His bold assumption was that the baetyli did not only declare the sanctity of the site but as the worshipers not only touched them but also slept on them (fig. 17), they were used as a means whereby the deity appeared to them during sleep, as in the process of divination in antiquity (Marinatos 2004: 34-36; Marinatos 2009: 88-89; Marinatos 2010: 80-81).

In the pillar crypts of Bronze Age Crete, the pillars of the dark underground rooms (fig. 18) resembled a kind of totem, as the respect for them is consistent with a place often affected by earthquakes. Their presence in crypts and rooms suggests the function of these specific areas as “building sanctuaries where probably ceremonies were held to protect the building from unfavorable chthonic forces, which could be fatal for the life of the building. The pillar possibly was the semantic focus of these ritual practices, which seem to reflect specific metaphysical notions of stone worship (Papadaki 2018: 88-101).

## Epilogue

The presence of stone features adjacent to sanctuaries and the depictions of Minoans embracing them in a worshipful mood refer to stone worship idolatry. Obviously, the same beliefs and the same worship practice towards the local orthostats of the regions of Greek Thrace were embraced by the Thracians both on the coast and in the hinterland, as is evident from the cavities of offerings and the altars in the megalithic monuments of the area.

The worshiper’s concept of the divine world actually accepts that the gods can live and manifest their presence simultaneously in many places. The moment the human separates from the cosmic and the consciousness realizes its limits, the two spaces among which human history takes place are established: nature and culture. The simplest model of human existential space is a horizontal plane through which a vertical axis passes. On the plane, the ancient Thracian selects and creates settlements near springs, paths, demarcated areas, fortifications, houses, and cult or burial megalithic monuments, which form the space of his everyday world and satisfy his metaphysical and eschatological concerns. The expression through symbols is the social denominator of all the events in the life of a Thracian, constituting his mythology in the context of his megalithic civilization.





Fig. 16.a. Seal from burial I in Tomb 4 in Sellopoulos (Knossos), 15<sup>th</sup> century BC (Stefanakos 2016).



Fig. 16.b. Ring from Chania, Crete (Kyriakidis 2005: 145).



Fig. 17. Sealing with a representation of idolatry stone worship from the palace of Knossos. Contexts 15<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> BC (Warren 1990: Plate 9).

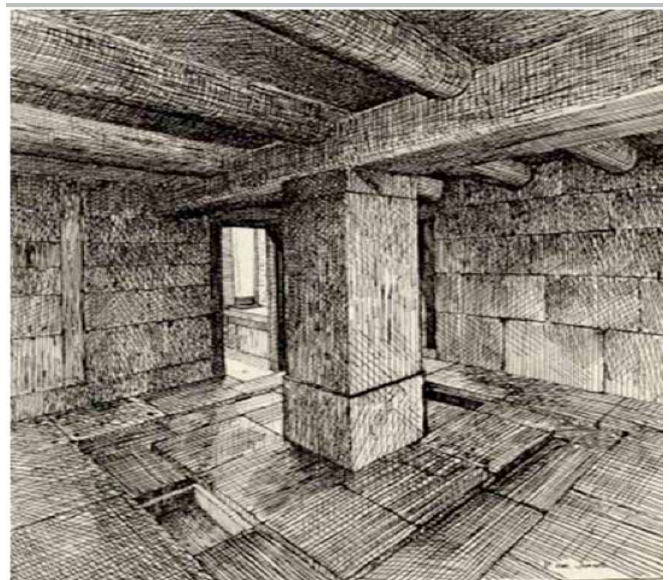


Fig. 18. Pillar crypt at the Royal Villa of Knossos (Papadaki 2018: 98)

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# ATHAPASKAN CULTURE HEROES: KILLER-OF-ENEMIES, AND CHILD-OF-THE-WATER

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## Introduction

The Fremont petroglyphs of the Uinta Basin in eastern Utah, (c. AD 600-900) contain sites that represent the cultural heroes of the Athapaskan people. Their identification is based upon the mythic text of the Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and White Mountain Apache. The Jicarilla have more details in their mythic text that finds common elements in these selected petroglyph panels. The following discussion demonstrates the cultural continuity of Athapaskan authorship of these petroglyphs and the historical photographs and

museum collections.

Fremont petroglyphs have appeared in many popular publications but have never been subjugated to the ethnographic analogy. Many American Indian cultures have the war twins culture heroes each with their own distinguishing characteristics such as feather arrangements, dress attire, and unique personalities. The Athabaskan groups have twin brothers; one associated with fire and fathered by the sun and one representing water and fathered by the moon. The Athabaskans have a way of organizing a narrative with an

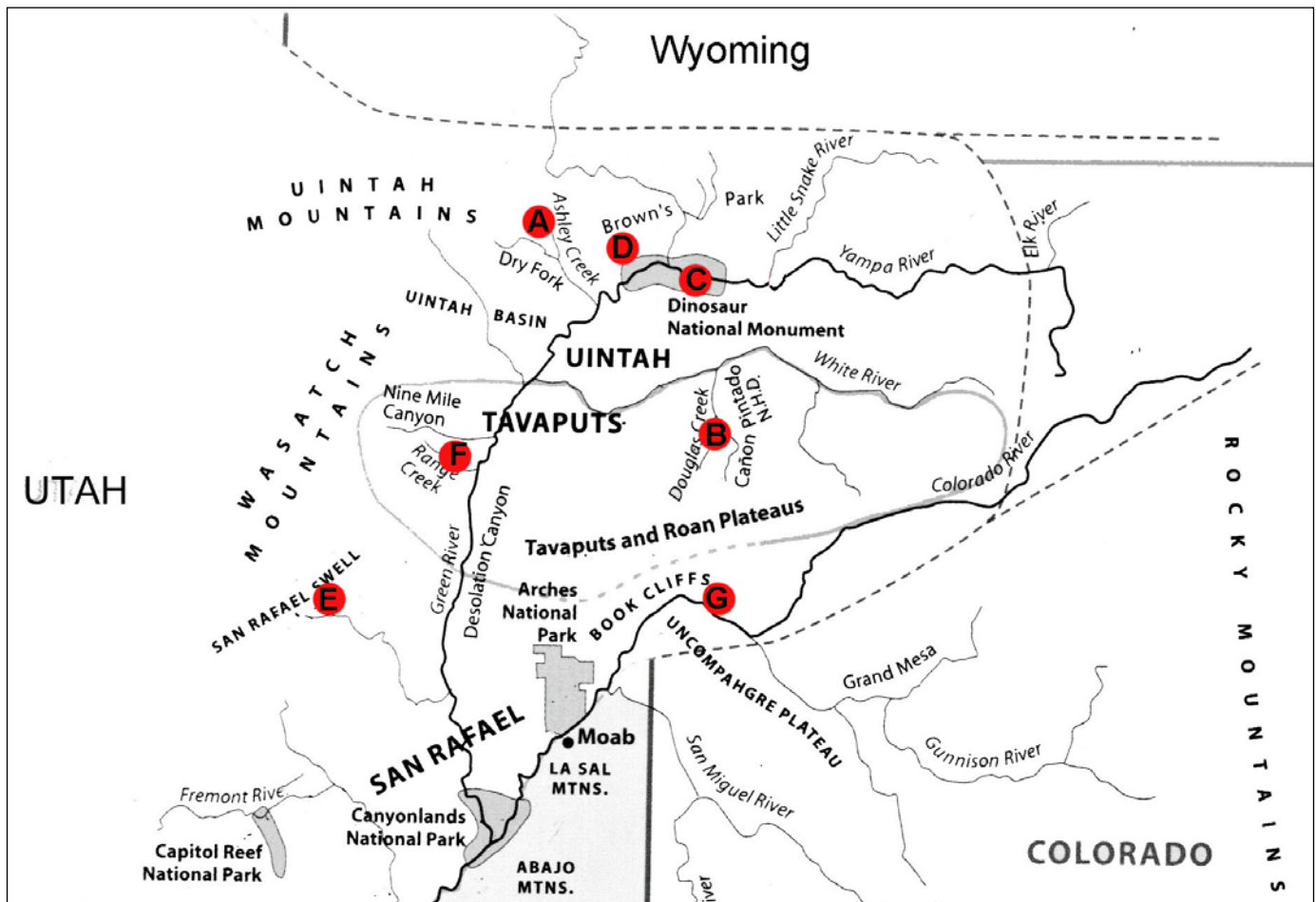


Fig. 1. Map (after Cole 2009) shows petroglyph locations depicting the cultural heroes, Killer-of-Enemies, and Child-of-the-Water. (A), Ashley Fork; (B), Douglas Creek; (C), Green River; (D), McConkie Ranch; (E), Ferron Box; (F), Range Creek; and (G), Thompson Springs.

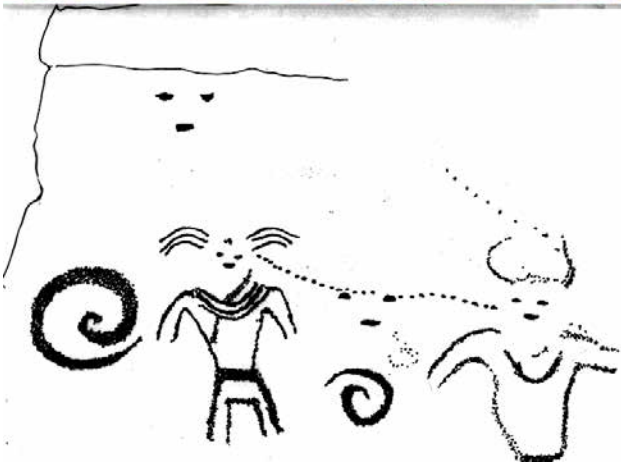


Fig. 2. Site (A), on Ashley Creek, has depictions of Wind who knows everything and speaks from the point on the inner margin of one's ears. Wind is the little face between the two figures. His symbol is a whorl. His tracks go into the ear of Killer-of-Enemies on the right, into the ear of the Child-of-the-Water on the left. The text describes the passing of Wind's information from one boy's ear, into the other's. The larger symbol and face of Wind on the left may indicate dominance of Child-of-the-Water towards the end of the tale.

asymmetrical composition, using color preferences of black, blue, yellow, and speckled for the cardinal directions. Their geocentric reference is to the east with a clockwise rotation that contrasts Pueblo, Plains, and Numic culture groups.

The Apachean culture hero twins bring into balance the extrovert and introvert, the fire and water, the one who does battle and the other that keeps the scalp as a record. For the Jicarilla, Killer-of-Enemies who dominates and often, with the help of Child-of-the-Water, can overcome drowning, boiling, or freezing to death.

But for the Chiricahua and Mescalero, it is the Child-of-the-Water who is the dominant hero and protector. Figure 1, is a map with the documented sites that unquestionably portray Killer-of-Enemies, with his distinctive headdress and war jacket. Child-of-the-Water is beside him or nearby, with a symbol of water on his shield or on his body.

All of the southern, western, and eastern Apache groups including the Navaho have similar myths of the two War Gods. Their names vary with the firstborn; Enemy-Slayer, Killer-of-Enemies or Monster-Slayer; and second-born; Child-of-the-Water, and Born-of-the-Water. For this study within the Uintah Basin, the Jicarilla name for the child of the sun is Killer-of-Enemies and Child-of-the-Water is the second born. Their birth and journey to the sun are reproduced here with some parts paraphrased from Morris Opler, an early anthropologist who recorded many volumes of Apache myths and lifeways. (from Opler 1938, 47-57). It contains essential details that shed light on the symbols depicted in the petroglyph panels.

At first, all the animals and plants were still talking at that time. The stones and the trees and all other things talked to...

There were two girls who went out somewhere and were lost during their travels. The people were looking for these two, but they could not be found. The two girls had gone up a mountain. They lived there on the fruit of all kinds. Those girls stayed there a long time. They were not afraid of anything.

One day while one of them was sleeping, Sun came and slept with her... the same night Water came to the other girl and slept with her. .... soon the girls learned that they were with child.

The girl that spent the night with Sun became known as White-Painted Woman. The sun dressed her up as the pubescent girl is dressed now, with white paint on her dress and yellow ochre on her face. The other girl was White-Shell Woman, the mother of Child-of-the-Water. She must not look up at the sky when she has her ceremony, to do so might bring rain.

For three days the girls carried their children, and on the fourth day, the children were born. The two children were boys, and they began to grow rapidly.

Holy Boy knew what was going on at the mountain. "Those girls have become White-Painted Woman and White-Shell Woman," he told the people.

Wind always finds out what is happening and brings the message to Holy Boy. That is how he knew. Holy Boy was with the Jicarilla Apache at this time and didn't do anything about it, for he was protecting the Jicarilla on their journey.

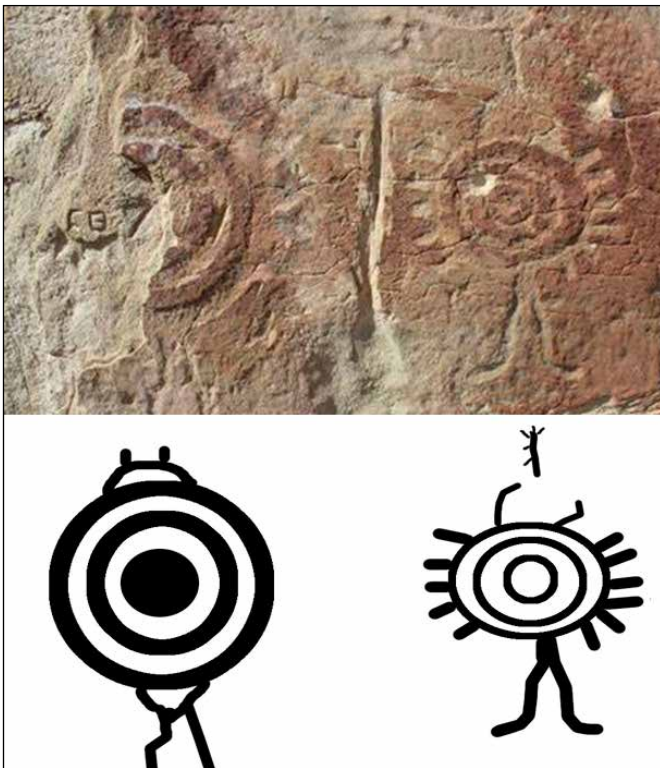


Fig. 3. Site (B), Shield figures of Killer-of-Enemies on the right, son of the Sun with rays around his shield. Child-of-the-Water on the left, son of the Moon, with smooth concentric circles, a symbol of water. The panel is badly damaged by vandals. Rangley, Colorado.

Wind, is an important figure that appears on the emergence panel in Cub Creek. His symbol is an interlocking double whorl, and sometimes just a simple whorl. He represents the life-breath and wisdom that is always present during the important events of the Emergence and the journey-to-the-Sun that the two boys undertake.

Figure 2 from the Uinta Basin depicts Wind and his role transmitting information through the ear to first Killer-of-Enemies and then to Child-of-the-Water.

So, the two little boys were born and began to play around, but they had no playthings. They asked their mothers for something of which to play with. Their mothers told them, "You must go to your fathers; they will give you something to play with."

"Where are our fathers?"

Wind spoke to them and told them, "Your father is living towards the east."

Each mother said to her son, "Go to your father and ask him for something with which to play."

A petroglyph near Rangley in western Colorado de-

picts two shield figures, one with the symbol of the rayed sun and the other shield with the symbol of water. They have legs that indicate they are warriors holding a shield. Though badly damaged, one can see the characteristics of each symbol (fig. 3).

### The Journey to the Sun

The two boys began to travel. There were all sorts of obstacles that the boys had to pass before they could reach the Sun. They became very hungry and thirsty, but Wind told them, "Your stomach is like a living person. Tell it why you came." So the boys said, "We are going to visit the Sun." The Wind said, "Give it a present." So, the boys gave their stomachs pollen and passed on with less hunger and thirst. After a while, their legs began to ache.

The Wind said, "Talk to your legs,... tell them why you have come so far."

So, the boys said, "Legs, we came so that we might visit the Sun and ask for playthings." So, the legs grew strong and carried them on.

Then their throats began to ache. The Wind said, "Tell your throats why you have come." So, the boys talked to their throats too and offered them pollen, and then their throats grew well.

Then they became hot and sweaty. Because of this they also spoke and offered pollen. The Wind told them, "Put pollen on top of your head and tell this heat to go away." They did so and were relieved. Then they were seized with weariness. They both said, "Oh this journey is difficult!" But to this, too, they offered pollen and went on refreshed.

Then they met Night. He was so dark they could not pass. Their eyes turned against them and would not pierce the darkness. Their eyes became heavy, sleepy. The Wind told them, "You must sleep for a little while," They slept a little while, and then they started again. But the darkness made them imagine all sorts of things and frightened them. Sticks looked like snakes and all sorts of things seemed ready to harm them.

Then the light came, and dawn brought dew and cold. They suffered from the cold. The dew made them wet. Again, Wind told them to speak and tell Dew of their errand. They did so and were relieved.

Then they met Big Rain-Storm. They were soaked by the rain. Thunder came and frightened them too. Wind told them not to fear, and they would not be harmed. So, they went on. In every danger that was connected with the water in any way, Child-of-the Water heard from Wind. So, he learned about Thunder-Storm and Lightning.

Before this, Killer-of-Enemies was first to hear from Wind about the dangers and how to evade them. Now Wind told Child-of-the-Water to go on. When they were confronted by Heat Waves, it was Killer-of-Enemies who knew what to do. "I'm going to take care of it," he said, for he was the child of the Sun, and the heat waves came only when the sun was out.

Then they met Winter. They had to pass through cold, frost, and snow. Child-of-the-Water spoke now. "I'll take care of this; this is nothing but frozen water."

"What makes it freeze?" asked Killer-of-Enemies. "The wind," answered Child-of-the-Water. "Oh."

Child-of-the-Water offered pollen to Winter, and then it was not so cold. Then they arrived at ice. It was so slippery that they could hardly stand up. Child-of-the-Water's ear (Wind) spoke and told them what to do. They met Big Hail, with hailstones very large and they were hit in the head and hurt. But Child-of-the-Water brought them safely through this.

Then they met a bear coming out of hibernation. He was about to swallow them up, but Killer-of-Enemies threw pollen in his direction, and he let them pass.

They passed Snake, Mountain-lion, and Wildcat, who each stopped them, but Killer-of-Enemies offered pollen and they let the boys pass. They came to a large river they did not know how to get over. But Child-of-the-Water was told by his ear, to walk right on top of the water. So they did.

They came to Fright. They met him there because they began to be afraid of seeing their fathers. Their journey was nearly over now. But they gave Fright pollen in his mouth and passed. Soon they were at the door of the Sun's house.

The hero stories of the Mescalero, White Mountain and Chiricahua Apache describe a sharing of power between the two boys, yet these tribes favor Child-of-the-Water in later periods of their oral traditions. The symbols for Child-of-the-Water become dominant in their iconography found on shields, baskets, and ceremonial clothing. An example of the dominance of Child-of-the-Water through subtle gestures is found on a large boulder overlooking the Green River in Dinosaur National Monument. Killer-of-Enemies is on the right and Child-of-the-Water on the left. Only this time, it is Child-of-the-Water who is wearing horns denoting his strength.

A large concentric circle is between them. Concentric circles are associated with water. They represent the ripple effect when a stone is dropped into a pool of water. The rings travel outward from the center. The concept being conveyed is like that of water, being "dispersed", "cleaned out" or "emptied out". The culture heroes indeed rid the land of monsters and enemies, each with their own special powers. They stand like sentinels for all travelers approaching from the south to see before entering the enclave of settlements along Cub Creek. (fig. 4).

The story continues when the Sun comes out of his

house and meets the twins. He is not sure the boys are really his children, so he puts them through several tests. He closes them in four rooms, the first one is filled with ice. Child-of-the-Water says, "Oh, this is alright. I can take care of this." They did not freeze because Child-of-the-Water was from water and Killer-of-Enemies was the real child of the sun and had heat within him.

The Sun threw them into a second room full of fire. Their feet and hands were tied, but when the Sun returned to the room the boys were still living. The third room was full of boiling water, but Child-of-the-Water could stand any kind of water so both came out unharmed. The last room they were thrown into was the heat of the sun, but they still survived.

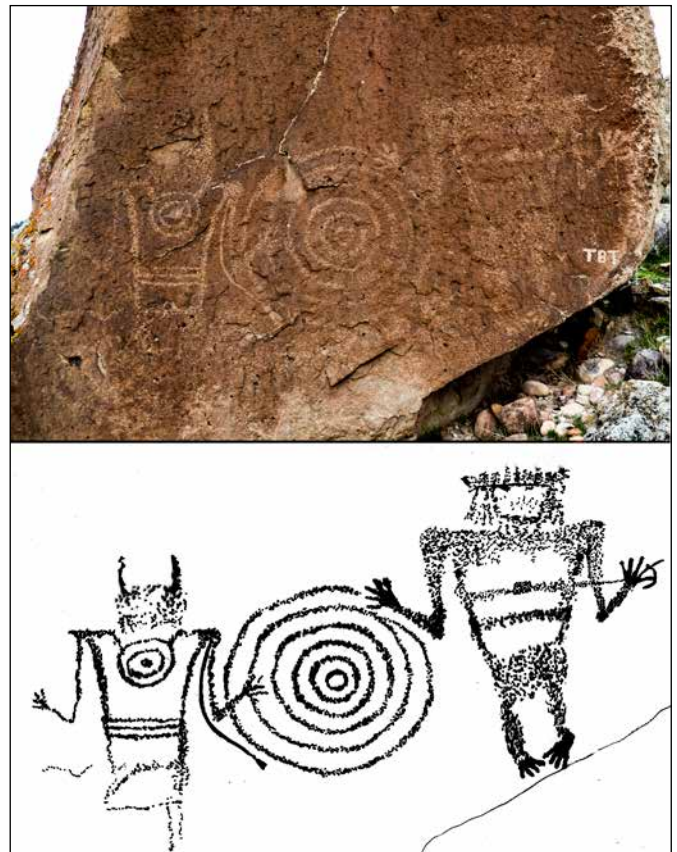


Fig. 4. Site (C), along the Green River near Cub Creek. The panel reads from right to left, beginning with Killer-of-Enemies who is wearing a flicker-feather headdress. His feet are pointed inward, a gesture for "difficult or dangerous" footing or travel. "One has to walk carefully through rough terrain, or dangerous enemies." (Duncan 2010). They are both touching the concentric circle symbol in the center, associated with water rings that disperse outward. The large symbol with many rings emphasizes their ability to 'disperse' their enemies and monsters throughout the dangerous terrain. Child-of-the-Water on the left and is wearing horns that denote 'strength'. He has the symbol of water on his chest and from his armpit dangles a sash like those worn by Gaan dancers, impersonators of the Mountain Spirits.

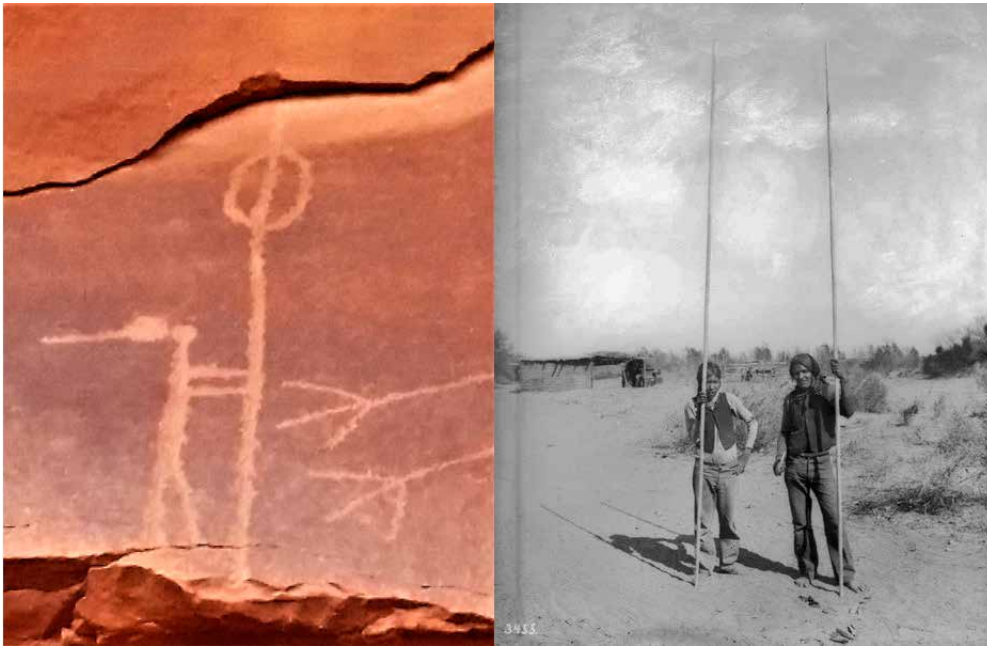


Fig. 5. Petroglyph is southeastern Utah showing the pole held upright according to tradition. It is too tall for an atlatl, and with closer inspection, the large round hoop, is not small finger loops of an atlatl. An historic photograph shows the Apache pole and hoop players from southern New Mexico.

“All right, come to my house,” the Sun said. “You are really my children. What do you want?”

“Our mothers told us, ‘Go and see our father,’ and he will give us something with which to play.”

The Sun gave them the hoop and pole game. He gave them two poles and the hoop. He took the ring from around himself and this was the hoop. He already had the poles to give them.

The hoop and pole game is very popular among the Apache as with other tribes. Historic photographs show how the game was played, the length of the poles, and the construction of the hoop. (figs. 5, 6, and 7).

Opler writes; The same informant who told this origin story later said, “When they sing hoop and pole game songs, they sing to the sun and the moon, for both helped to make the hoop. Both gave their rings;” This would indicate that the moon, a symbol of water, is often considered the father of Child-of-the-Water and that in the story Sun stands for both of the heavenly bodies, in order to eliminate the male-female confusion which attaches to the moon.

The Sun gives the boys bows and arrows

The Sun asked; “What else do you want?” Then he thought for a while and said, “I believe you came to save your people. There are monsters around your home now.” So, he gave each of them a bow made of the rainbow and arrows made of lightning. He gave each a quiver and bow carrier of mountain-lion skin. They put them on their backs.

The famous ‘Three Kings’ panel on the McConkie ranch depicts Killer-of-Enemies with the symbols of the sun represented in the shield of the sun that he holds and the red/yellow flicker feather headdress he wears that is the colors of the sun. He is dressed in a traditional Apache buckskin war jacket (figs. 8 and 9). The red-shafted flicker feather appears in the headband of Apache dolls of 1880. A silver stud and two pieces of eagle down are also affixed to the back of the headband. The significance of the red-shafted flicker feathers is not clear, but an informant noted that “Long ago, when they went to war, men used to stick a tail feather of red flicker in their headband or hat. It is also placed on the child’ carrying-jacket and serves “to keep away all sickness and misfortune” (Goodwin 1942:440-441 in Goodwin 1988, 89).

The buckskin war jacket is like many shown in historic photographs of Apache warriors and depicted in the petroglyphs of the Three King’s panel, and Ferron Box (fig. 9).

Killer-of-Enemies and Child-of-the-Water are portrayed in a detailed pictograph in the San Rafael Swell area of Utah, site E on the map. The central figure wears the flicker-feather headdress and war jacket with a rounded yoke and an opening from neck to waist. The color red and yellow of the feather headdress emphasizes the association with the sun. On the right side is Child-of-the-Water surrounded with several



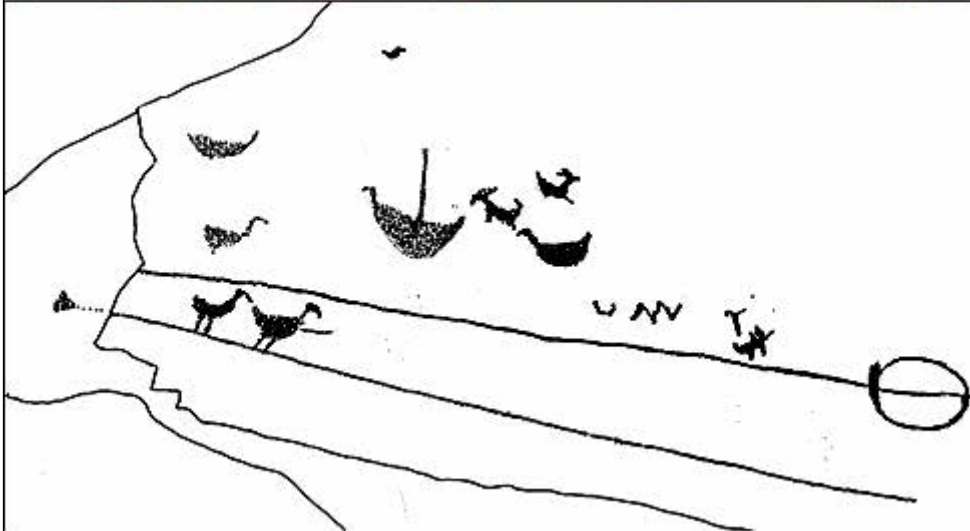
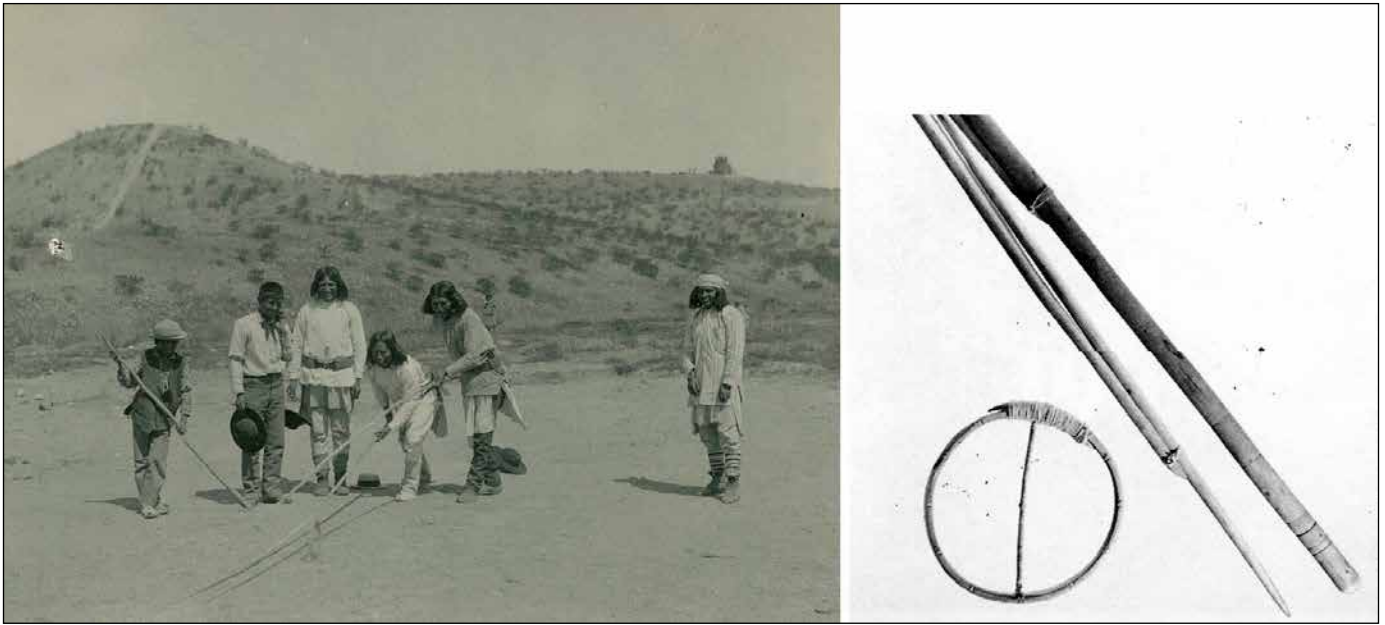


Fig. 6. Historical photograph of two players with poles and an illustration of the hoop construction and the jointed poles. Opler writes: "For this game, a pole with incised bands at the butt end and a hoop upon which bands have been carved are used. The hoop is first rolled along the ground and when it is about to fall the two players slide their poles after it in an attempt to cause the incised bands of the hoop to fall upon the bands at the butt end of the pole. A count is made according to the relative positions of these bands. Women are not allowed to approach the playing grounds or see the game played." Opler, 1938, 54).

Fig. 7. Photograph of a petroglyph of the hoop and pole with a person to show the scale is life size.. The petroglyph clearly shows the binding of the hoop and the tradition of always having two players. The two poles and hoop are life size.



Fig. 8. Site (D), the Three Kings panel from McConkie Ranch, depicts 'Killer-of-Enemies' wearing a flicker-feather headdress and holding his sunshield and scalp staff. A red and yellow flicker feather headdress that was found in Mantle Cave, in Dinosaur National Monument, dated around AD 996 to 1190 (Truesdale 1993). More than 370 feathers are in the headdress. Six feathers at the center of the crest are from the yellow-shafted flicker and the rest are from the red-shafted flicker. Long wing feathers adorn the ends. This headdress is also depicted in the portraits of Killer of Enemies at Green River, McConkie Ranch, Ferron Box, Range Creek, and Thompson Springs.



Fig. 9. Western Apache war jacket, with the opening down the front, similar to that worn by Killer-of-Enemies at McConkie Ranch in the Uinta Basin, and Ferron Box in the San Rafael Swell, (from Ferg, 1988). The historic photograph shows San Carlos Warriors with similar jackets. The man on the right wears a beaded concho-decorated buckskin war shirt and a war amulet strap in his hair.



Fig. 10. Site (E), is a portrait of Killer-of-Enemies identified by his war jacket and red and yellow flicker feather headdress with a long wing feather on each side. His hand is joined with that of his brother, Child-of-the-Water with symbols of water and lightning attached to him. Killer-of-Enemies is also touching the shoulder of a figure on the left with a square body. This figure has a red strap going across his chest and over his shoulder to the parcels he is carrying. "two strips of buffalo are used to carry provisions for the journey. They need to be the right size to carry across the shoulders with the package hanging down the back," (Opler 1938b;10). (Ferron Box in central Utah).

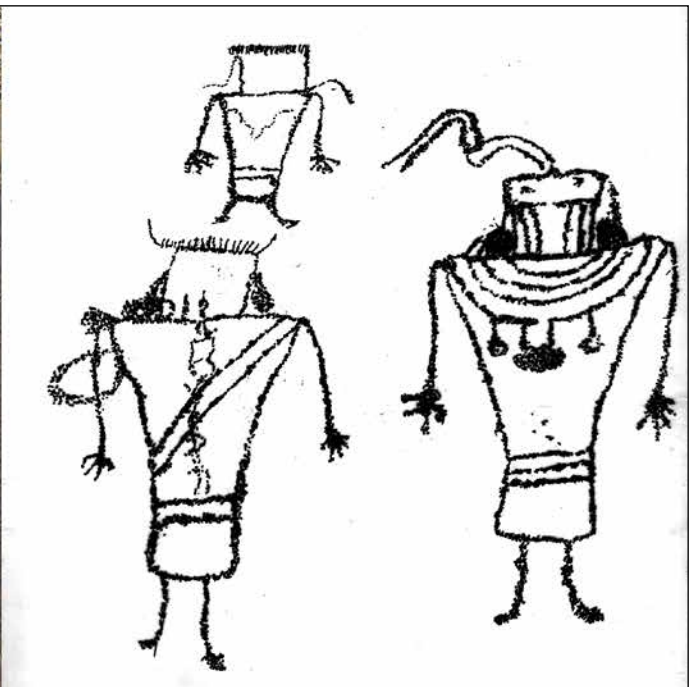
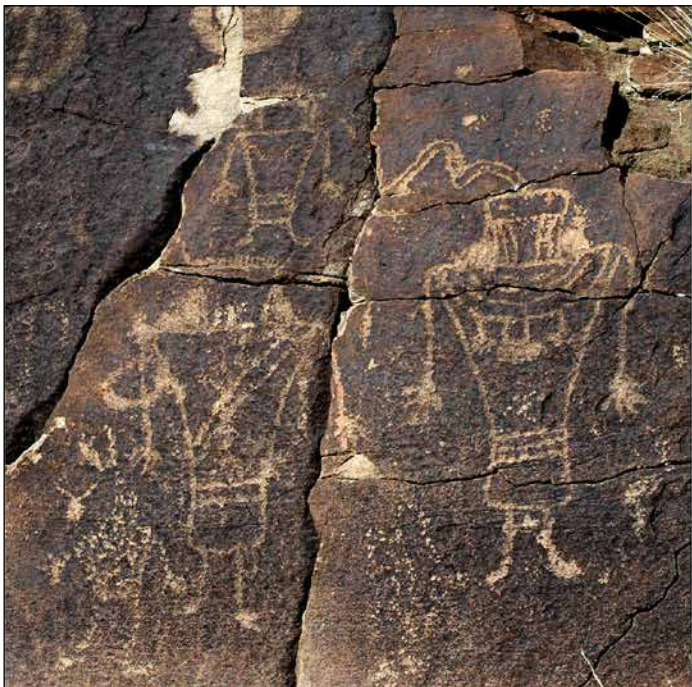


Fig. 11. Site (F). Range Creek, with Killer-of-Enemies on the left indicated by two figures with flicker feather headdresses. The smaller one is approaching, growing larger and then standing in the foreground. The two are actually one. On the right is Child-of-the-Water with a wavy line attached to his head, another common symbol of water.



Fig. 12. Site (G). In Thompson Springs, Killer-of-Enemies is large and forefront with his red and yellow flicker feather headdress like the headdress from Mantle Cave. He has two red shoulder straps. Below him is Child-of-the-Water, a diminutive figure with a torso and head. From him are two horizontal double wavy lines, symbols for water. (Black and white photograph by Dave Manley)

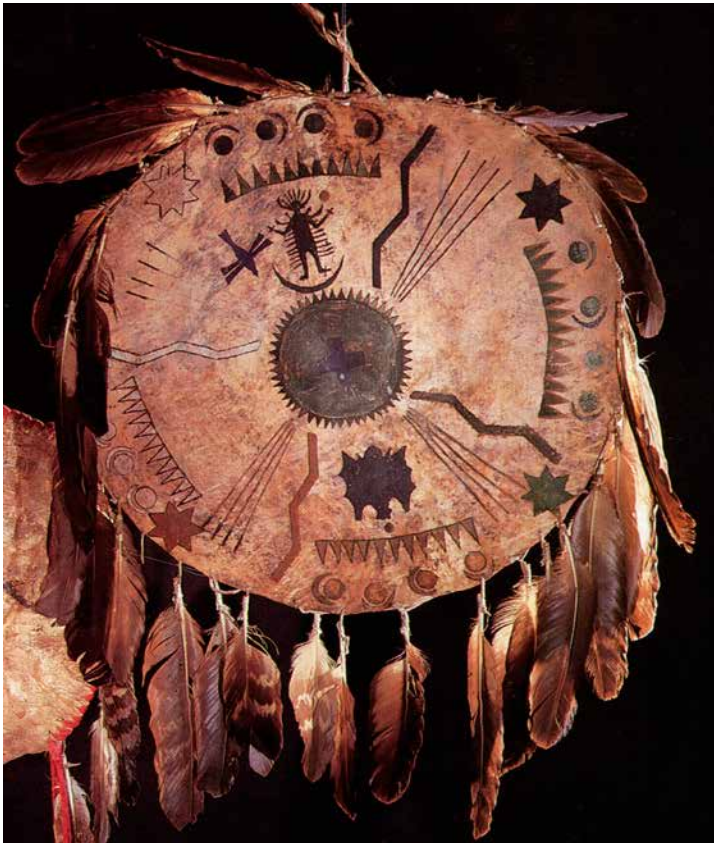


Fig. 13. Rawhide war shield (ASM Neg C-15131). The Western Apache shield depicts Killer-of-Enemies with his feather headdress and the Sun in the center. Child-of-the-Water is represented by the bat, creature of the night, and the moon symbols encircling the shield. (Ferg 1988, *The Goodwin, and Guenther Collections*).



Fig. 14. Child-of-the-Water with a water symbol on his cap and Killer-of-Enemies with the red stripe in his headband and the sun symbol on his shield. There are four sacred mountains, home of the Mountain Spirits where the Mescalero Apache live today. Painting on display at The Inn of the Mountain Spirits, in Ruidoso, New Mexico

concentric circles painted in white, the symbol of water and the color of the moon (fig. 10).

There is another portrait of the culture heroes in Range Creek, in central Utah. The flicker feather headdress identifies Killer-of-Enemies, while the wavy line touching the head of the larger figure identifies Child-of-the-Water. The smaller figure also has the flicker feather headdress. He is one and the same, Killer-of-Enemies, but he is shown small to represent the distance from which he was traveling and now has arrived (fig. 11).

The wavy line is also a symbol of water and is used on a pictograph found in the Book Cliffs further to the south at Thompson Springs (fig. 12).

### Conclusion

Fremont petroglyphs studied in the context of Athapaskan culture and mythology has never been attempted. Every culture has a canonical text that defines their culture distinct from other traditions. The continuation of Apache traditions through time and great distances can be traced through the religious iconography depicted in these panels and direct comparisons to historic photographs and illustra-

tions. Figure 13 shows a historical Western Apache shield with the image of Killer-of-Enemies with his flicker feather headdress and sun symbol along with Child-of-the-Water with symbols of the bat and the moon. One can see the cultural continuity from the petroglyph depictions and the mythic text describing the Apache culture heroes (fig. 13).

The Apache culture heroes function as mentors for raids and warfare, initiation ceremonies and purification rites. They play important roles in the social structure and lifeways of the Apache people. They provide guidance for young people who idolize them. The heroes have complementary powers able to overcome the monster *Fear* with something as benign as pollen that pacifies everything. It is said among Apaches, 'pollen is the path of life,' meaning that through ceremony and prayers, all things evil will be overcome. This asymmetry is also found when true wisdom and knowledge come from the unseen wind speaking in the ear. And when one hero is unable to conquer the threatening monster, the other hero twin provides special powers to complete the task. Their ultimate goal is to protect the people (fig. 14).

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# NOTES AND NEWS

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## NEW BOOKS, NEW TRENDS

New trends in conceptual anthropology are marked by the books published by Atelier since January 2021. Visual art is emerging as an outstanding mean to transform prehistory into history and to open up new landscapes on the minds and souls of early man. They also contribute new chapters in the history of religion, in the elementary roots of what philosophers call elementary logic, and in the social relations and habits of primary societies. These twelve books that appeared in one and a half year are a landmark of the new archeology. They stimulate alternative thinking and propose wide new horizons in the human sciences. Another good news is that by acquiring the entire series of the twelve volumes, a discount of 20% is granted.

*Décoder l'art préhistorique et l'origine de l'écriture.* In French (January 2021)

*Cult Sites and Art.* In English (February 2021)

*Myths and Memories.* In English (March 2021)

*La morte - Eterno confronto tra psiche e natura.* In Italian (March 2021)

*The Function of Art.* In English (March 2021)

*The Dominant Theme.* In English (April 2021)

*The Ages of Memory, the Memory of Ages.* In English (May 2021)

*Cultural Changes.* In English (June, 2021)

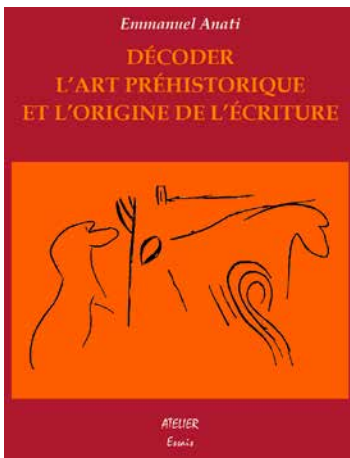
*Incontro tra antropologia e psicoanalisi.* In Italian (July 2021)

*The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies.* In English (October 2021)

*The Bronze Age Sacred Sites of Har Karkom.* In English (April 2022)

*Malta preistorica. Appunti per la ricerca di 8.000 anni di storia.* In Italian (July 2022, in press)

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



## Décoder l'art préhistorique et l'origine de l'écriture

Anati, E.

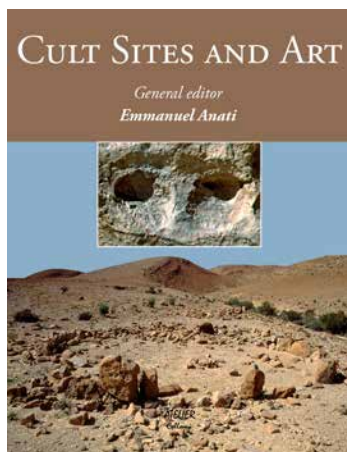
2020, *Décoder l'art préhistorique et l'origine de l'écriture*

Essai VIII (in French)

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 196 pp. 76 figg. € 20

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.

1. Préambule
2. Les origines de l'écriture: quand?
3. Écritures sémio-graphiques et écritures phono-graphiques
4. Fonctions de l'art préhistorique
5. Le point, la ligne et d'autres signes répétitifs
6. Grammaire de l'art primaire
7. Les pictogrammes
8. Association entre pictogrammes et idéogrammes
9. Les idéogrammes
10. Les psychogrammes
11. La syntaxe: le processus associatif et le rôle de la scène
12. Les codes iconographiques et leur lecture
13. Les messages masqués des chasseurs paléolithiques
14. Quelques documents préhistoriques d'intérêt historique
15. Conclusions
16. Bibliographie



## Cult Sites and Art

Anati, E. (ed.)

2021, *Cult Sites and Art*

Colloqui XVI

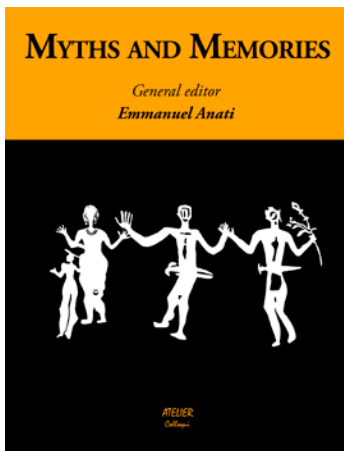
Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 84 pp., 74 figg. € 20

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. To what extent is religion inspiring art, and to what extent is art inspiring religion?

1. *Emmanuel Anati*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Shrines in the Desert
3. *Jaâfar Ben Nasr (Tunisia)*  
Aïn Khanfous (Jebel Ousselat - Central Tunisia): a Symbolically Chosen Rock Art Site
4. *Kenneth Lymer (UK)*  
Rock Art and Local Religious Practices in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan
5. *Nataliia Mykhailova (Ukraine)*  
Cult Sites and Art
6. *Abdorreza Naser Moghadasi (Iran)*  
Neuromythology: Relationship between Brain, Evolution, and Mythology
7. *Gregori Vahanyan (Armenia)*  
The Impact of Ancient Armenian Traditions and Worldview on the Cognitive Core of Nordic Culture





## Myths and Memories

Anati, E. (ed.)

2021, *Myths and memories*

Colloqui XVII

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 92 pp., 54 figg. € 20

Was the mind of early man much different from ours? Decorated caves, megalithic monuments, early shrines, sites of rock art, are the containers of 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.

1. *Emmanuel Anati*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Forgotten Myths and Memories: the Art of Early Gatherers from Tanzania to a World Pattern.
3. *Margalit Berriet (France)*  
Memories: Grounds for Myth
4. *Jerzy Gąssowski (Poland)*  
Early Medieval Slavs in their Myths and Archaeology
5. *Stephan F.J. Kempe (Germany), Ahmad Al-Malabeh (Jordan)*  
"Circular Paths" a New and Enigmatic, Ancient Geoglyphs of the Jordanian Basalt Desert
6. *Terence Meaden (UK)*  
Paired Megaliths with Sculpted Images Facing Sunset at the Summer and Winter Solstices and the Implication of Paradisiacal Belief
7. *Kalle Sognnes (Norway)*  
Rock Art At Bardal in Trøndelag, Norway. Myths and Memories?
8. *Sachin Kr. Tiwary (India)*  
Ethno Rock Art: Beliefs, Rituals and Experiences. The Study of Ferocious Depictions Inside Khoh in Light of the Beliefs of Kaimur Inhabitants
9. *Gregori Vahanyan (Armenia)*  
New Perspective on the Theory of the "Main Myth".
10. *Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães (Brazil)*  
The Neanderthal Construction in Bruniquel Cave, France. The Origin of Myths Trough a Discussion of Anthropological Structuralism



## La morte, eterno confronto tra psiche e natura

Anati, E.

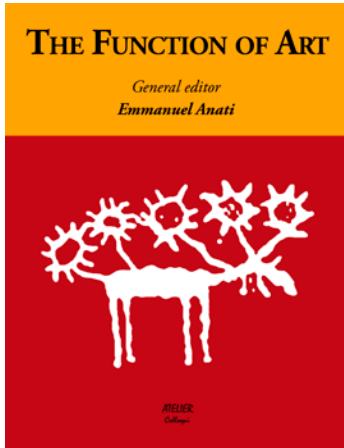
2020, *La morte, eterno confronto tra psiche e natura*

Saggio XV (in Italian)

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 94 pp. 28 figg. € 20

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. Analogies and varieties of concepts about the afterlife highlight intuitive and speculative tendencies of the human mind, right from the earliest records dating back to prehistoric times.

1. Tra psiche e natura
2. È la morte la fine dell'esistenza?
3. Primordi del culto dei morti
4. Implicazioni concettuali
5. Anima, animale e animismo
6. Concetti sull'aldilà
7. L'immaginario nell'arte figurativa
8. La visione dualistica
9. Conclusioni
10. Riferimenti bibliografici
11. Commenti recensori



## The Function of Art

Anati, E. (ed.)

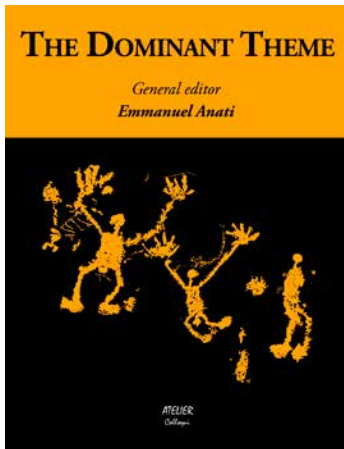
2021, *The Function of Art*

Colloqui XVIII

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 154 pp., 129 figg. € 40

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 collection of articles in this volume presents a variety of types of prehistoric art from various periods and corners of the world, reflecting a gamut of aims and roles played by art.

1. *Emmanuel Anati*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Menhir-Statues: what Was their Function?
3. *Imam Bulu (India)*  
Changing Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of the Nomadic Birhor in Jharkhand
4. *Ekaterina Devlet (Russia)*  
X-Ray Style Anthropomorphs in Rock Art: the Challenge of Interpretation
5. *Shemsi Krasniqi (Kosovo)*  
The Use of Ancient Symbols Through the Ages
6. *Cristina Lopes (Portugal)*  
Ataegina, a Peninsular Deity
7. *Federico Mailland (Italy)*  
The Har Karkom Rock Art from the Hellenistic to Late Byzantine Period: Man as the Centre of the Universe
8. *Joan Marler (USA)*  
Iconography and Orality: Mnemonica Patterns of Meaning in the Neolithic Societies of Southeastern Europe
9. *Dieter Maurer (Switzerland)*  
Why our Understanding of the Emergence and Early Development of Pictures in Ontogeny Must Undergo a Revision, and what Revision May Offer for the Understanding of Early Prehistoric Pictures
10. *Susan Moulton (USA)*  
Unbridling the Past: the Visual Language of Animacy in Palaeolithic Cave Painting at Chauvet
11. *Nataliia Mykhailova (Ukraine)*  
“Celestial Deer” the Flight from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages
12. *Awadh Kishore Prasad (India)*  
Predominant Ritual and Ceremonial Trends in the Rock Art of Eastern India, with Special Reference to Southern Bihar and Adjoining Jharkhand
13. *Gregori Vahanyan (Armenia)*  
Sixteen Wonders of World Visual Art
14. *Domenico Nisi, Marta Villa (Italy)*  
New Interpretative Hypotheses on a Fresh Interpretation of the Venus à La Corne, a Palaeolithic Bas-Relief Figurine
15. *Jacinta Warland (Australia)*  
The Answers Are Living in the Stones... A Discussion on the Transfer of Common Community Knowledge, Environmental and Spiritual Knowledge, by Using Visual, Oral and Memory Cues Within Totemic Symbols and Natural Features Within Photography



## The Dominant Theme

Anati, E. (ed.)

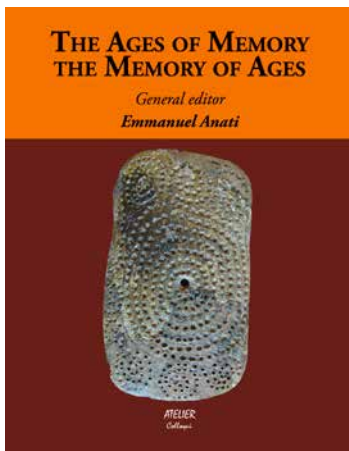
2021, *The Dominant Theme*

Colloqui XIX

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 136 pp., 102 figg. € 40

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 dominant theme is one of the factors defining the identity of patterns of visual art. It turns up to be a diagnostic element to define the conceptual, economic and social structure of the artist's society.

1. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Changing Themes in Valcamonica Rock Art
3. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Dominant Themes in the Rock Art of Azerbaijan
4. *Shanandoah Anderson (USA)*  
Understanding the Art of Rock Writing
5. *Amélie Bonnet-Balazut (France)*  
The Animal Mirror of Humanity
6. *Margalit Berriet (France)*  
The Arts and Society
7. *Bulu Imam (India)*  
The Dominant Theme in Prehistoric and Tribal Art in Jharkhand, India
8. *Sara Garcês, Luiz Oosterbeek (Portugal)*  
We, the Deer!? Assessing a Nonlinear Visual System in the Tagus basin, Portugal
9. *Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Suelly Amâncio Martinelli (Brasil)*  
The Dominant Morphological Rock Art Theme in 47 Archaeological Sites in the National Park of the Serra da Capivara, Piauí, Brazil: a Case Study
10. *Carol Patterson (USA)*  
Cultural Affiliations of the Western Basketmaker II Style Petroglyphs of American Southwest: Keres
11. *Vahanyan G., Vahanyan V. (Armenia)*  
Linguistic Data on Old Armenian and Norse Intercultural Communication and The House of Being
12. *Jessie Van Cauter, Marc De Bie (Belgium)*  
Settlement Spatiality Reflecting Spirituality: Searching for High-Order Cultural Expressions of Final Palaeolithic Communities in Northwestern Europe



## The Ages of Memory, the Memory of Ages

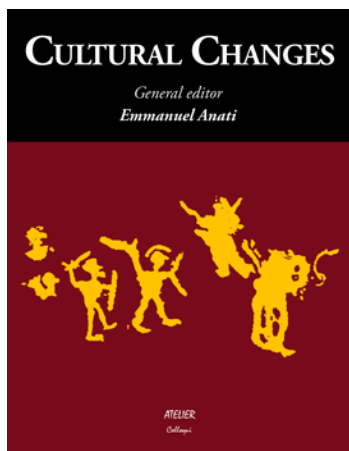
Anati, E. (ed.)

2021, *The Ages of Memory, the Memory of Ages*  
Colloqui XX

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 80 pp., 37 figg. € 20

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 archeology!" Right! It is the task of conceptual anthropology. Archeology has the important role of providing the raw material for conceptual anthropology.

1. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
The Typology of Rock Art
3. *Fernando A. Coimbra (Portugal)*  
Rock art as a Mnemonic Process among Non-Literate Societies
4. *Leo Dubal (France)*  
Tracing Back the Ages of Myths Behind Calendar Era
5. *Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães (Brazil)*  
Human Memory as Archetype: Implications for Rock Art
6. *Tatyana Rostyazhenko, Liudmila Lbova (Russia)*  
Ornamental Artefacts as a Way to Transfer and Store Information in the Upper Palaeolithic: the Mal'ta Collection (Siberia)
7. *Aixa Vidal (Argentina)*  
Memories of the Ocean



## Cultural Changes

Anati, E. (ed.)

2021, *Cultural Changes*  
Colloqui XXI

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 182 pp., 160 figg. € 40

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.

1. *Emmanuel Anati*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Religions in Prehistoric Valcamonica
3. *Robert G. Bednarik (Australia)*  
No greener grass in the Arctic
4. *Jean Clottes (France)*  
The Mythic Theme of the Fawn with Bird in the Pyrenean Magdalenian
5. *Brian Hayden (Canada)*  
Why Ideologies and Values Changed: the Role of Aggrandizer Strategies and Secret Societies
6. *Luc Hermann (Belgium)*  
Music and Dance in Rock Art from Southeastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan
7. *Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira, Pedro Paulo Funari (Brazil)*  
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
8. *Majeed Khan (Saudi Arabia)*  
Deities and gods: a perspective on prehistoric religions in Arabia
9. *Carol Patterson (Colorado, USA)*  
Cultural Affiliations of the Western Basketmaker II-PIII Style: Petroglyphs of the American Southwest: Zuni
10. *Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay, Armando Pérez Crespo (Mexico)*  
The Tlaloc prototype: Depictive Practices in Rain-Praying Cultures of Del Bajío, the Southern Fringe of Aridoamerica
11. *Simon Radchenko, Dmytro Nykonenko (Ukraine)*  
Rock Art from the Western Edge of the Steppe: Engravings Inside the Bull Grotto at the Kamyana Mohyla Site
12. *Raj Somadeva, Anusha Wanninayake, Dinesh Devage, Resta Fernando (Sri Lanka)*  
A review of rock art studies in Sri Lanka



## Incontro tra antropologia e psicoanalisi. Conferenze tenute ai convegni di micropsicoanalisi 2000-2020

Introduzione di Luigi Baldari

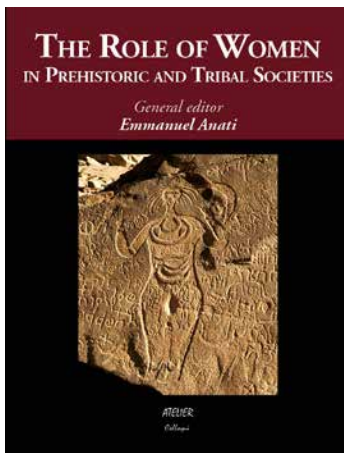
Anati, E. 2021, *Incontro tra antropologia e psicoanalisi*

Colloqui XXII (in Italian)

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 302 pp. 1 pl. € 50

In the introduction to this book, Prof. Baldari writes: «Anati talks about the interaction between anthropology and psychoanalysis. For him, the synergy of the various disciplines related to the human and social sciences opens up new horizons to humanistic research. “Each discipline - he writes - has its own memory which is the basis of research and progress of the discipline itself. The union of disciplines is also the union of memories for a broader basis of research and culture”». The volume collects 16 lectures by Anati at conventions of psychoanalysts on his conceptual system to overcome the frontiers that separate different disciplines, for a new vision of research in the human and social sciences.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| Introduzione: incontro tra antropologia e psicoanalisi di Luigi Baldari  |  |
| 1. Stile, concettualizzazione e stati di alterazione nell'arte preistorica                                       | 9. aborigeni australiani   |
| 2. Adolescenza, riti di passaggio e iniziazione presso alcuni gruppi tribali dei northern territories, Australia | 10. Sulla solitudine   |
| 3. Funzioni e disfunzioni del tabú   | 11. Sulle origini e la struttura della coscienza Per un'analisi di antropologia concettuale                                  |
| 4. Delirio e allucinazione collettiva considerazioni per un'analisi antropologica                                | 12. La struttura familiare nelle società primarie Sui riti di passaggio e comportamento sessuale degli aborigeni australiani |
| 5. Creatività e autoterapia nelle società preistoriche e tribali   | 13. Epoca dei sogni il reale e l'immaginario nella concettualita' degli aborigeni australiani                                |
| 6. La relazione tra madre e figli nelle società primarie . Nascere e crescere da nomadi                          | 14. Erotismo, libidine e vita amorosa  |
| 7. Struttura elementare dell'arte e sistema cognitivo primario   | 15. Regole sociali e loro funzione psico-terapeutica nelle società primarie  |
| 8. Il concetto di tempo presso alcune comunità di  | 16. Realtà psichica e realtà virtuale alle origini delle religioni   |
|  | La morte   |
|  | Eterno confronto tra psiche e natura   |



## The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies

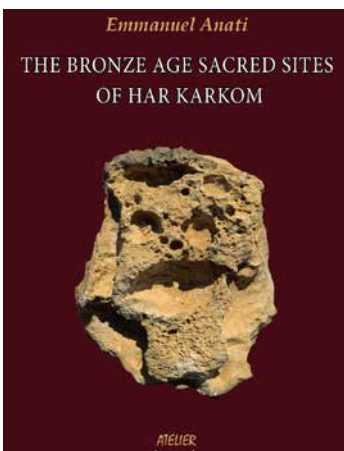
Anati, E. (ed.)

2021, *The Role of Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies*, Colloqui XXIII

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 170 pp., 164 figg. € 40

The social roles of women, as those of men, are subject to biological, social, economic and cultural factors. Such roles are not the same among clans of hunters, tribes of rice growers, or complex urban societies. They are not the same in urban Kabul and in urban Las Vegas. Some societies allow more variability than others. A collection of papers facing thousands of years and different societies, by authors from various parts of the world, is provoking a healthy thinking on variable realities.

1. *Emmanuel Anati*  
Introduction
2. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Male and Female Variability in the Rock Art of Azerbaijan
3. *Emmanuel Anati (Italy)*  
Reconsidering the Vulvar Stones of La Ferrassie (Dordogne)
4. *Ruman Banerjee (India), Somnath Chakraverty (India), David W. Robinson (UK)*  
The Women of Central Indian Rock Art: Discovery, Documentation and Interpretation
5. *Santiago Wolnei Ferreira Guimarães (Brazil)*  
Gender in Prehistoric Rock Art: the Case of Seridó, Brazil
6. *Luc Hermann (Belgium)*  
Sexuality in Rock Art from Southeastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan
7. *Michel Justamand, Gabriel Frechiani de Oliveira*  
Introduction
8. *Antoniél dos Santos Gomes Filho, Vanessa Belarmino da Silva, Pedro Paulo Funari (Brazil)*  
Female Representations in Rock Art Scenes, São Raiumundo Nonato-PI, Brazil
9. *Majeed Khan (Saudi Arabia)*  
Women in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies of Arabia
10. *Maria Laura Leone (Italy)*  
The Woman in Ancient Daunia (Apulia, Italy): Considerations Inferred from Steles, Sources and Ceramics
11. *Meenakshi Dubey-Pathak (India)*  
Women in Indian Rock Art
12. *Carol Patterson (USA)*  
Mythical Women in the Prehistoric Art of Southeast Utah
13. *Jitka Soukopova (Czech Republic)*  
Women and Prehistoric Rituals in The Round Head Rock Art of the Sahara



## The Bronze Age Sacred Sites of Har Karkom

Anati, E.

2022, *The Bronze Age Sacred Sites of Har Karkom*

Monograph XVIII

Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 124 pp., 118 figg. € 20

The Har Karkom Bronze Age cult sites, found on the mountain and in the surrounding valleys, the types of altars, ritual platforms, private sanctuaries, shrines, temples, anthropomorphic cult-stones, menhirs and standing pillars, tumuli, geoglyphs and rock art, disclose the vast dimensions of rituals, traditions and beliefs of the tribal world in the desert, related to the narrations of the biblical book of Exodus.

- Introduction
1. The Context
2. Fallen Boulders and Ceremonial Trails
3. Private Shrines
4. Anthropomorphic Stones
5. Menhirs and Stone Circles
6. Testimonial Tumuli
7. Platforms
8. Temples and Sanctuaries
9. The Summit and the Empty Spaces
10. Conclusions
11. Bibliography

## WHAT IS CONCEPTUAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Conceptual anthropology is the discipline studying the spirit of culture, arts, beliefs, traditions, and other intellectual and spiritual expressions. It is the subject topic of **EXPRESSION**, a quarterly journal published in English, and of books issued by ATELIER, Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology. ATELIER is an experimental laboratory created and directed by Prof. Emmanuel Anati. The headquarters are in the Alpine village of Capodiponte, Camonica Valley, Italy, a major center of prehistoric rock art, which is on the UNESCO list of the world's cultural heritage, and where the scientific discipline of rock art research was conceived and implemented over half a century ago.

The idea of creating a unique base for the study of art, religion, social relations, and other intellectual and spiritual aspects of human culture had been maturing for some time. It took a first formal step during the International Congress of Prehistory at Florianopolis, Brazil, in 2011. The debate at first concerned the need to change the basic orientation of prehistoric studies. Traditional archeology is a discipline mainly based on recording, describing, and dating. The new archeology had to go further, treasuring the findings recorded by the old archeology, using them to understand their spirit, motivation, and conceptual context. But was it easier to change the orientation of a traditionally well-established discipline or to create a new discipline?

In the fields of prehistoric archeology and anthropology, the presence of different orientations is a healthy factor to be preserved. Within this frame, a new discipline was born. First it was proposed to name it new archeology and in fact this is what it is. However, ultimately, the name of conceptual anthropology was agreed upon. Participants at the session of CISENP (International Scientific Commission on the Intellectual and Spiritual Expressions of Non-Literate Peoples) chaired by Prof. Anati decided to recognize the fledgling discipline of conceptual anthropology as a commitment of the commission. With CISENP support, the ATELIER research center started operating in 2013, organizing meetings and debates, with an editorial section producing books and **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal. To date, over 250 authors from 50 countries in five continents have contributed texts in the 36 issues of **EXPRESSION** and in the 60 books published so far by Atelier. They form the basis of the new discipline, conceptual anthropology, alias the new archeology. For additional details, description of aims, methods and results, see **EXPRESSION**, vol. 34, 2021, pp. 72-74.

## DEFINITION OF RELATED INSTITUTIONS

### 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 facilities in the Camonica Valley, in the Italian Alps. It has a publishing department producing books and the quarterly journal **EXPRESSION**. It is open to all those wishing to participate and share knowledge, ideas, and debates.

### WHAT IS CISENP?

CISENP is the International Scientific Commission on Research into the Intellectual and Spiritual Expression of Non-literate Peoples, an organ of UISPP, the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences. Being a UISPP commission, UISPP members are the main core of the commission. However, CISENP is a free association. Anyone may join by asking <atelier.etno@gmail.com> to be registered as associate. Associates receive the **EXPRESSION** quarterly journal for free. They are contributing papers and/or editorial activities to the **EXPRESSION** journal and the books of Atelier. Their membership ceases if they are inactive for a second consecutive year. Membership is free: no formal charges or fees are imposed. Donations are welcome.

### MEMBERSHIP OF THE UISPP

UISPP is the International Union of Prehistoric Sciences. It is the organ of professional operators in this sector. **EXPRESSION** quarterly e-journal is produced by Atelier Research Center for Conceptual Anthropology, with the cooperation of UISPP-CISENP, an organ of the UISPP. UISPP also offers other facilities, including participation in its World Congress. For membership application contact the office of the General Secretary at: rzmrt@unife.it. For the description of aims, methods and results see a fuller text in **EXPRESSION** 34.

## HOW TO SUBMIT YOUR PAPER FOR **EXPRESSION** JOURNAL

**EXPRESSION** quarterly journal is addressed to readers in the human and social sciences. Your paper will reach ac-

ademic institutions, libraries and cultured people in over 85 countries of five continents. Both, your text and your illustration should appeal to these readers, also to people who may not be specialists in the same field as yours. If you wish them to enjoy your writing you should be the first one to enjoy it. Be simple, direct, and express clear goals and innovations. Be stimulating and awaken curiosity and queries. Make sure your text is supported by reliable documentation. Articles should have a specific topic, understandable from the title. Avoid irrelevant references and other unnecessary displays of erudition. Tents of unnecessary references do not make you more scientific but makes your article heavier and less fluent to read. Avoid dry technical reports or inventories. The journal does not publish purely

descriptive chronicles and tries to avoid theoretical general disquisitions. The publishing language is English (American spelling). Articles are submitted to reviewers. The recommended length of a paper is 1,500 to 5,000 words. Articles counting less than 1,500 words may be considered for the Notes and News or for the "Discussion Forum". Illustrations should be pertinent to the content. They should have the resolution of 300 dpi, with a base of 14 cm. Each illustration should have an explanatory caption, including its source when relevant. Illustrations should be presented separately from the text. Both text and illustration should be free from copyright and any other obligation, and preferably not yet published elsewhere. Authors are fully responsible for the submitted text and illustrations.



# EXPRESSION

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**VOLUMES 1 - 36**

**258 AUTHORS from 47 COUNTRIES**

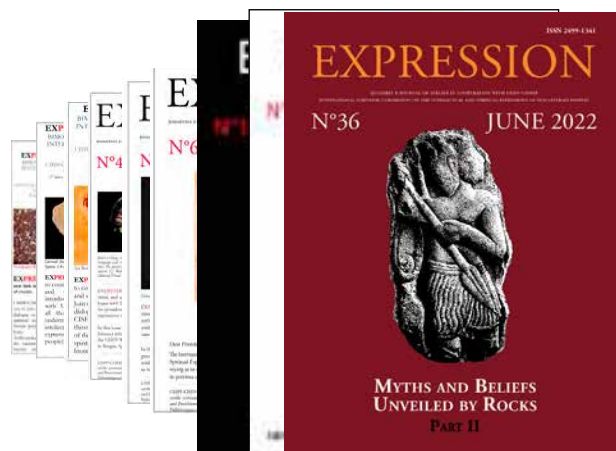
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Armenia	3	Malta	1
Australia	9	Mexico	7
Austria	3	Morocco	1
Belgium	6	Mozambique	4
Botswana	1	Namibia	1
Brazil	19	Netherlands	1
Bulgaria	1	Norway	2
Canada	5	Perù	1
China	31	Poland	2
Colombia	1	Portugal	9
Czech Republic	1	Russia	5
Denmark	2	Saudi Arabia	1
France	13	South Africa	4
Germany	1	Spain	10
Greece	4	Sri Lanka	5
Hungary	1	Sweden	2
Israel	4	Switzerland	5
India	12	Tunisia	1
Iran	3	UK	9
Italy	19	Ukraine	4
Japan	1	USA	17
Jordan	1	Zimbabwe	1
Kyrgyzstan	1		

# EXPRESSION

N°36 June 2022

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ISSN 2499-1341

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

*UISPP-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, UISPP-CISENP: Emmanuel Anati*



**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

*UISPP-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, UISPP-CISENP: Emmanuel Anati*



**EXPRESSION** invites us to consider the human mind and spirit. Join our interdisciplinary dialogic 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 20<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> of September, 2013 in Capo di Ponte, Italy. Many speakers participated in increasing understanding about “*Art at a Source of History*”. Many plan on submitting papers for the Burgos meeting at the “*Atapuerca*” UISPP World Congress in 2014.

**EXPRESSION** is herein publishing the Valcamonica Symposium conclusions as well as excerpts from the new *Atelier* 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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**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 Desert 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 we 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



**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 “*Atapuerca*” to be held in Burgos, Spain from 1-7 September 2014.

UISPP-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, UISPP-CISENP: Emmanuel Anati

As always, we are interested in your comments and look forward to an exchange of questions, comments and suggestions on the CISENP Discussion Forum blog, which will help prepare fruitful discussions for the congress. To be sure, some time before we meet, we will publish contributions on the future or blog: [www.ciseNP.com](http://www.ciseNP.com).

A publication overview: CISENP will be presenting on all geographical regions and from a number of disciplines and interdisciplinary perspectives. The spiritual and intellectual expressions of non-literate peoples constitute a particular focus in the research of such as and encompassing research, anthropology, the cognitive neuroscience, psychology, and genetics – we would see perhaps the enrichment of the emerging field... on the interdisciplinary field of “*Conceptual Anthropology*”.

We seek to investigate cultural and spiritual expressions as they are a fundamental which to discover the human mind. Decoding the significance and purposes of visual images, signs and symbols, means decoding our collective memory both our thousands of years to the present. CISENP will discuss past questions and topics regarding our own research contributions. Let us know what path you are on, on your way to Atapuerca.

Cordiale salutes.

## 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 Tsonov (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<sup>a</sup> 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).*

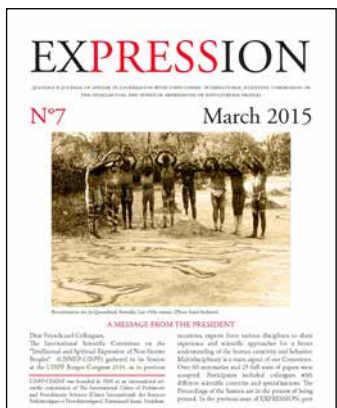


**Expression 6**

*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)*

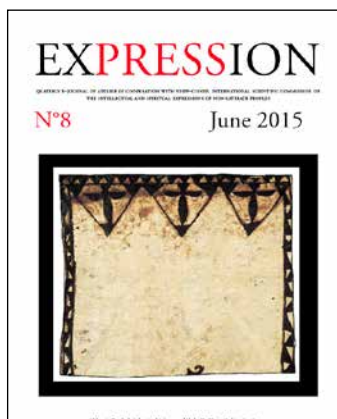


**Expression 7**

*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).*

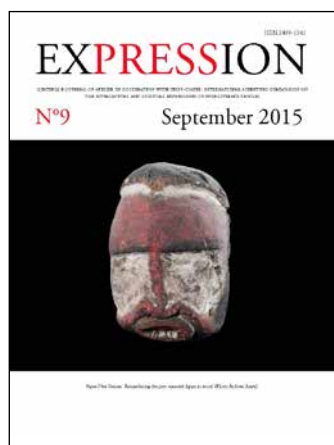


**Expression 8**

*June 2015*

**Rock Art: When, Why and to Whom?**

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

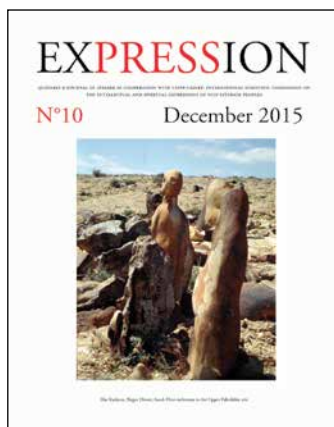


**Expression 9**  
*September 2015*

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

*Presenting the WWW Project.*

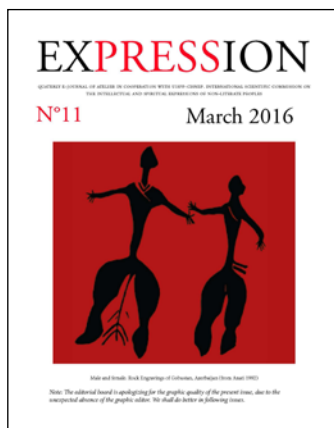
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**Expression 10**  
*December 2015*

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

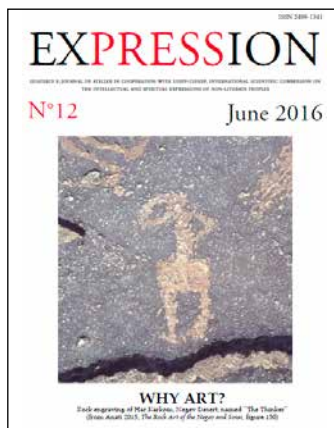
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**Expression 11**  
*March 2016*

**Male and Female in Prehistoric and Tribal Art**

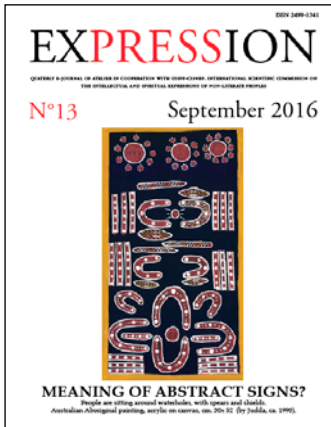
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**Expression 12**  
*June 2016*

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*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).*

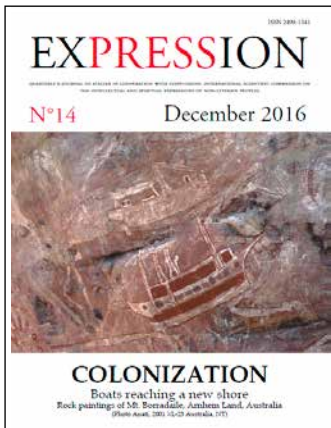


**Expression 13**

*September 2016*

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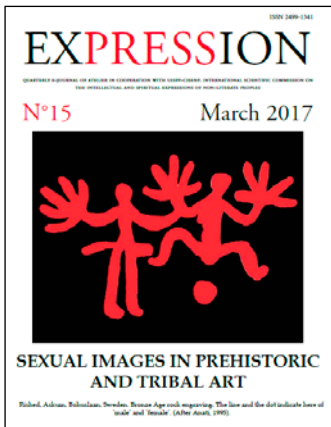


**Expression 14**

*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).*



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*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).*

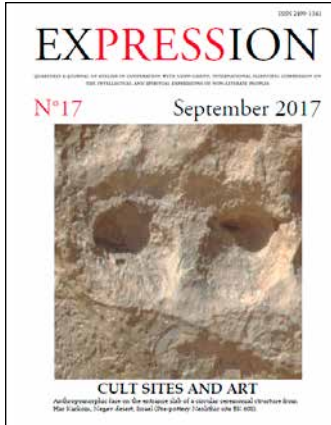


**Expression 16**

*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).*

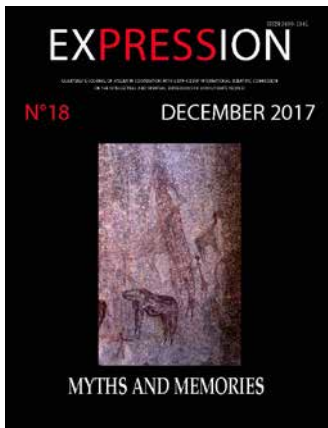


**Expression 17**

*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).*

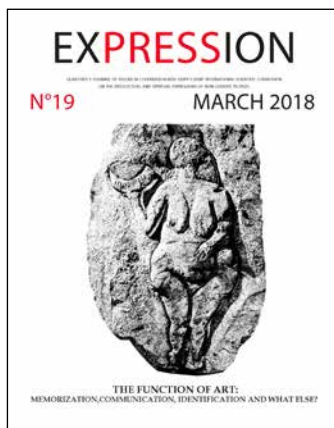


**Expression 18**

*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**

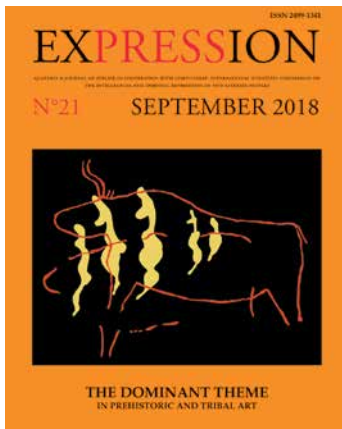
*June 2018*

**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).*

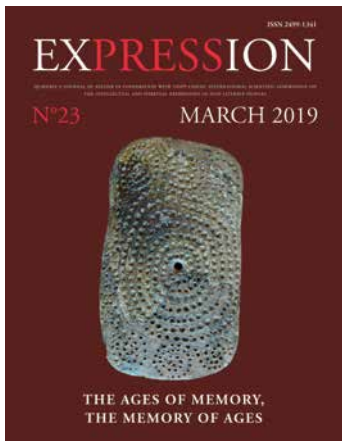


**Expression 22**

*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).*

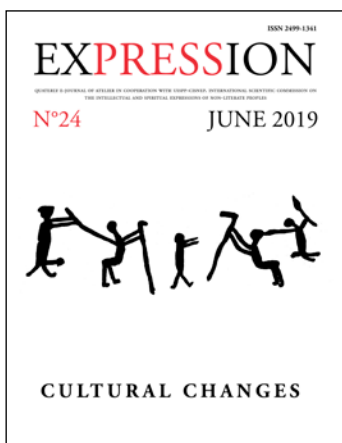


**Expression 23**

*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)*

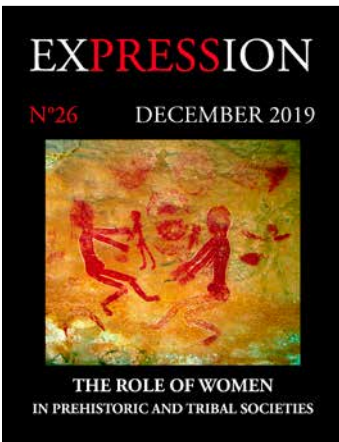


**Expression 25**

*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)*

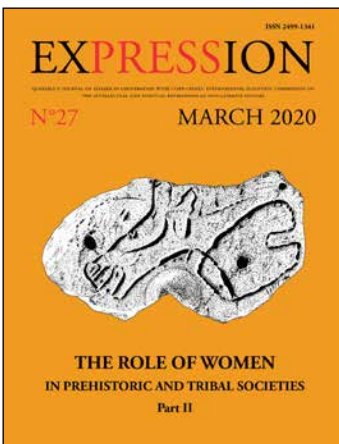


**Expression 26**

*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)*

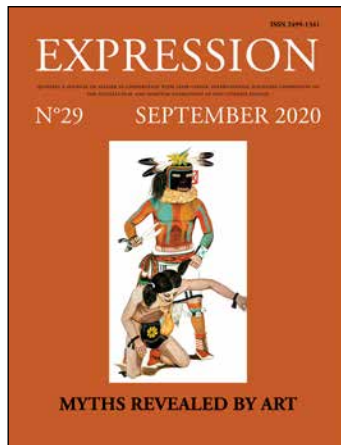


**Expression 28**

*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**

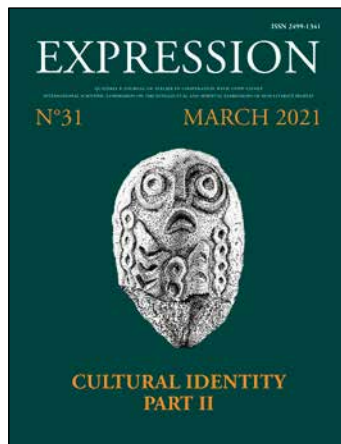
*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Meenakshi Dubey-Pathak (India), Terence Meaden (UK), Alessandro Menardi Noguera (Italy), Carol Patterson (USA)*



**Expression 30**  
*December 2020*

**Cultural Identity**

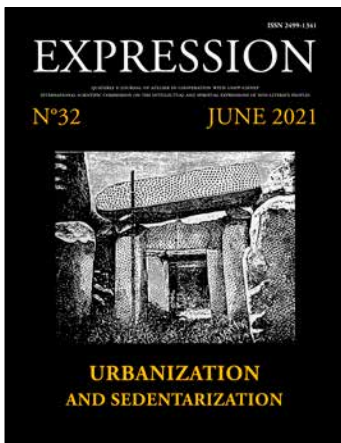
*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Amélie Bonnet Balazut (France), Stavros D. Kiotsekoglou (Greece), Giuseppe Orefici (Perù), Jitka Soukopova (Czech Republic)*



**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, Matteus 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 Delforooz (Sweden), Samira Naroyi, Safoura Kalantari (Iran), Solange Macamo, Vitalina Jairoce, Arlindo Zomba, Laurinda Mutimucuo (Mozambique), Mário Varela Gomes (Portugal)*

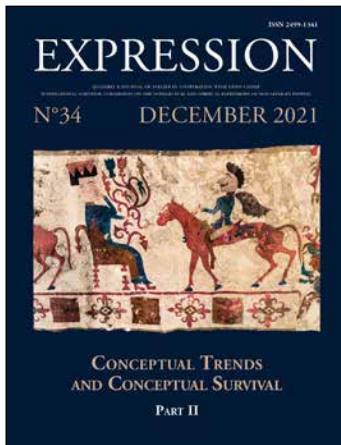


**Expression 33**

*June 2021*

**Cultural Trends and Conceptual Survival**

*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Terence Meaden (UK), Carol Patterson (USA), S. Rama Krishna Pisipaty (India)*

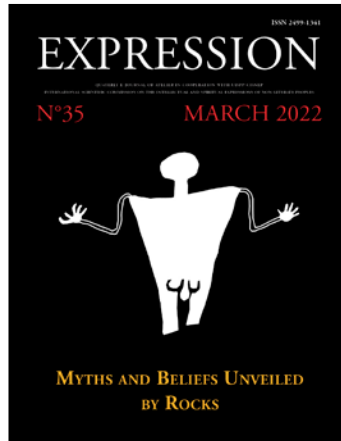


**Expression 34**

*December 2021*

**Cultural Trends and Conceptual Survival - Part II**

*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Michel Justamand (Brasil), Ana Cristina Alves Balbino (Brasil), Vanessa da Silva Belarmino (Brasil), Vitor José Rampaneli de Almeida (Brasil), Gabriel F. de Oliveira (Brasil), Matteus Freitas de Oliveira (Brasil), Cristina Lopes (Portugal), Ioannis Papadimitriou (Greece)*

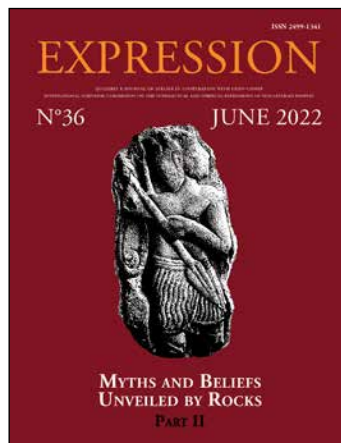


**Expression 35**

*March 2022*

**Myths and Beliefs Unveiled by Rocks**

*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Luc Hermann (Belgium), Amadeus DeKastle (Kyrgyzstan), Carol Patterson (USA), Tirtha Prasad Mukhopadhyay (Mexico), Armando Perez Crespo (Mexico), Reynaldo Thompson (Mexico)*



**Expression 36**

*June 2022*

**Myths and Beliefs Unveiled by Rocks, Part II**

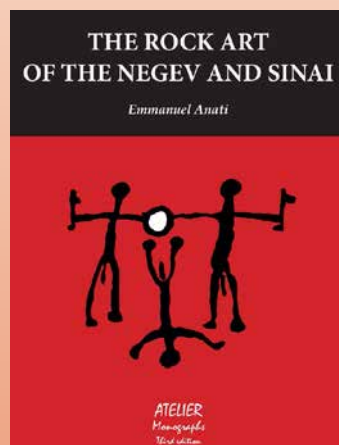
*With articles by: Emmanuel Anati (Italy), Francesco Bandarin (Italy), Stavros D. Kiotsekoglou (Greece), Spyros P. Pagkalis (Greece), Apostolos Th. Tsakridis (Greece), Carol Patterson (USA)*

# ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE

Atelier is pleased to present

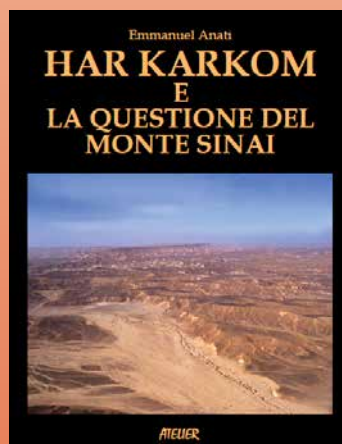
## ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE DESERT EXODUS: NEW DISCOVERIES RELATED TO BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY

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



Anati, E., 2015, *The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai*, Third English edition  
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.



Anati, E., 2020, *Il santuario paleolitico di Har Karkom*

Monografie XVI (in Italian)

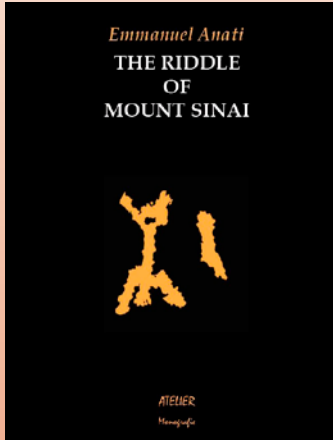
Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 104 pp. 54 figg. € 20

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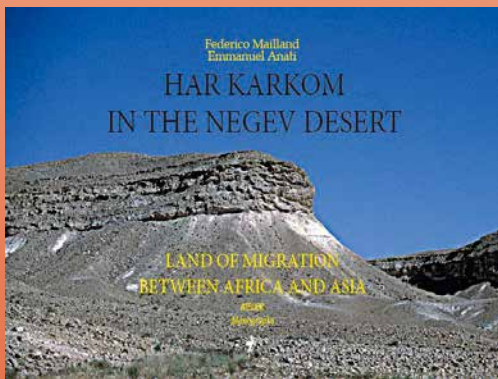
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Anati, E. 2017, *The Riddle of Mount Sinai*, Second English Edition

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

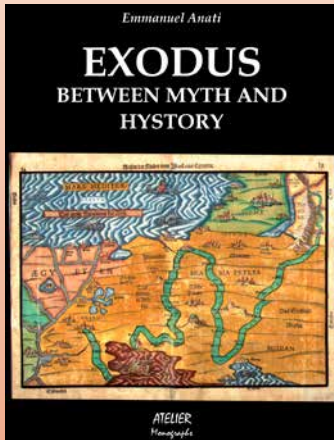
A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa. The archeological discoveries tell us of two million years, from the earliest stations of archaic Pebble Culture, to 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.

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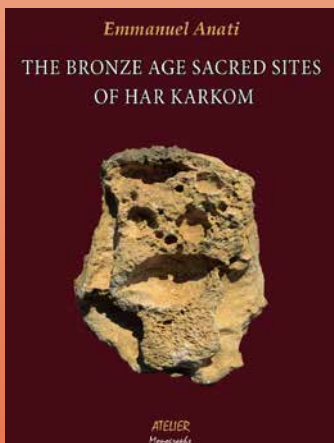
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## ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BIBLE



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.



Anati, E., 2022, *The Bronze Age Sacred Sites of Har Karkom*  
Monograph XVIII, Capo di Ponte (Atelier), 124 pp., 118 figg. € 20

The Har Karkom Bronze Age cult sites, found on the mountain and in the surrounding valleys, the types of altars, ritual platforms, private sanctuaries, shrines, temples, anthropomorphic cult-stones, menhirs and standing pillars, tumuli, geoglyphs and rock art, disclose the vast dimensions of rituals, traditions and beliefs of the tribal world in the desert, related to the narrations of the biblical book of Exodus.

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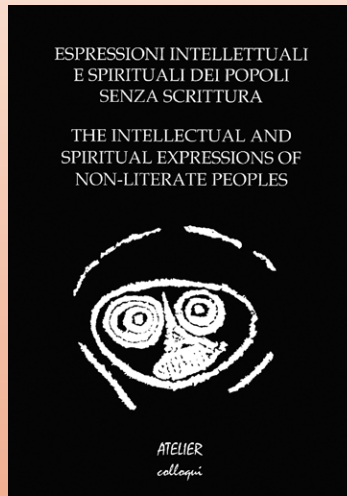
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## colloqui



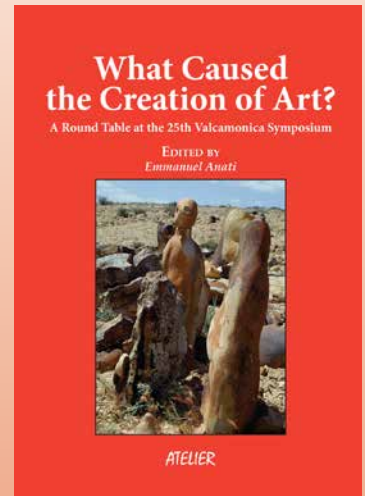
### Il segni originari dell'arte (In Italian)

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



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

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



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

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



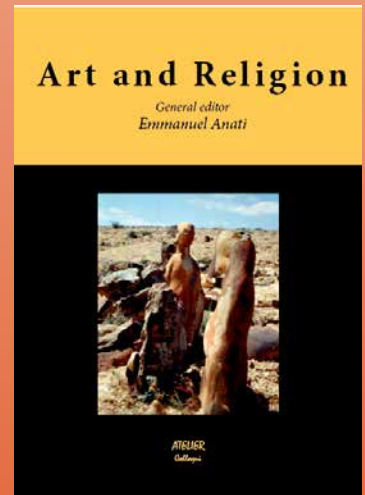
### Sogno e memoria: Per una psicoanalisi della Preistoria (In Italian)

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



### Semiotica dell'arte preistorica (In Italian)

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



### Art and Religion

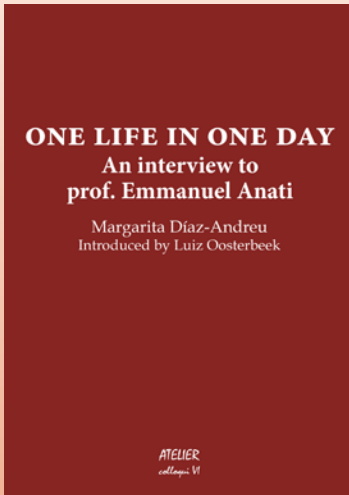
What is the role of religion, magic and witchcraft in prehistoric and tribal art? The intellectual and spiritual motivations of art produced various theories since the first attempts to explain prehistoric art over a century ago. Recent research is revealing more complex conceptual connections. In this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

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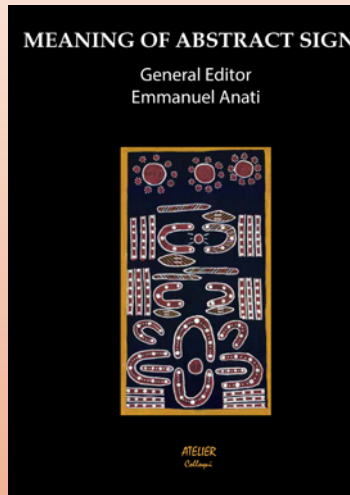
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## colloqui



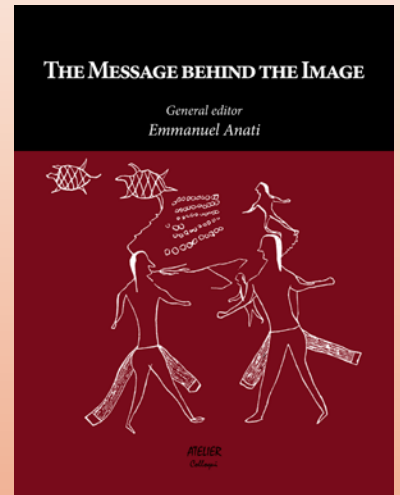
### One Life in One Day. An interview to prof. Emmanuel Anati

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



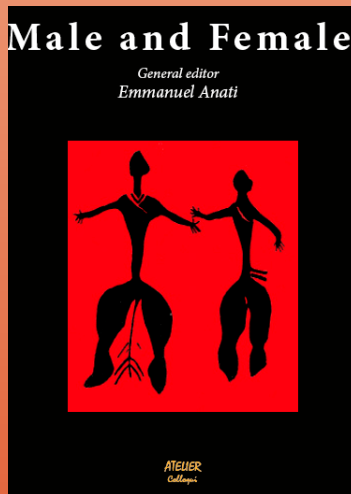
### Meaning of Abstract Signs

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



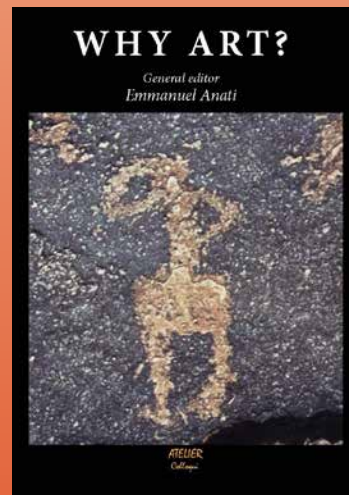
### The message behind the image

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.



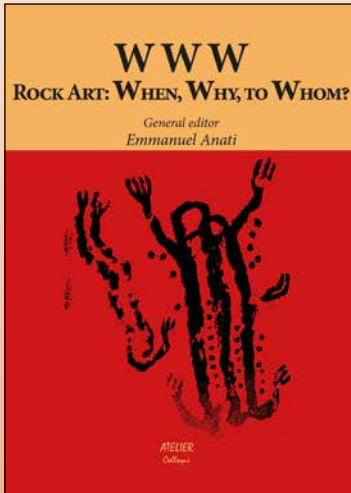
### Why Art

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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# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

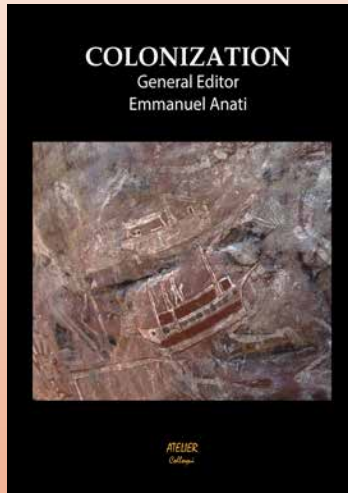
## Colloqui



### WWW - Rock Art:

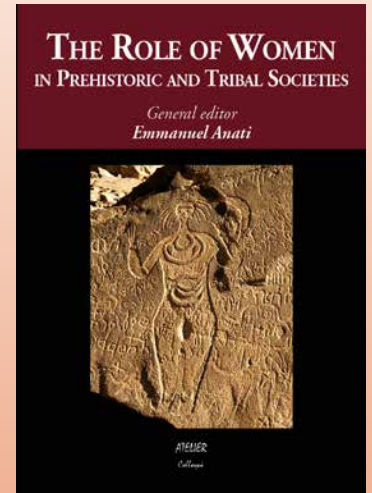
#### When, Why and to Whom

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

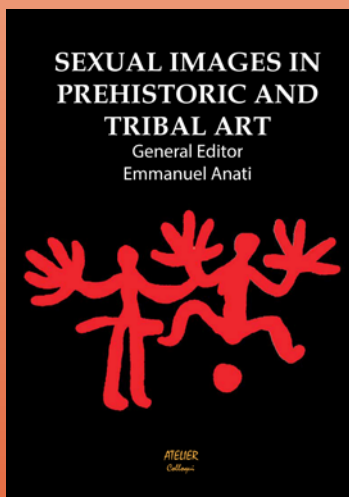
From an original land of origins, likely to have been in Africa, the ancestors of humankind colonized all corners of the globe. Other primates still survive in their limited habitat; humans live in the equatorial regions as well as near the Arctic pole. How did such colonization take place? Authors from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



### The Role of Women

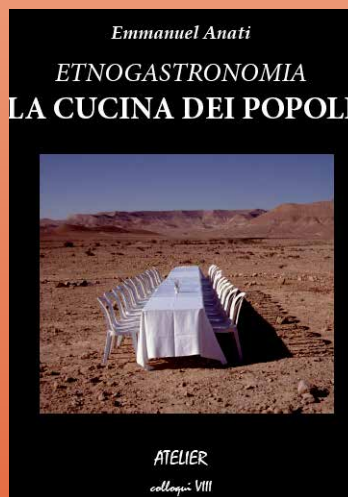
#### in Prehistoric and Tribal Societies

The social roles of women, as those of men, are subject to biological, social, economic and cultural factors. Such roles are not the same among clans of hunters, tribes of rice growers, or complex urban societies. They are not the same in urban Kabul and in urban Las Vegas. Some societies allow more variability than others.



### 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.

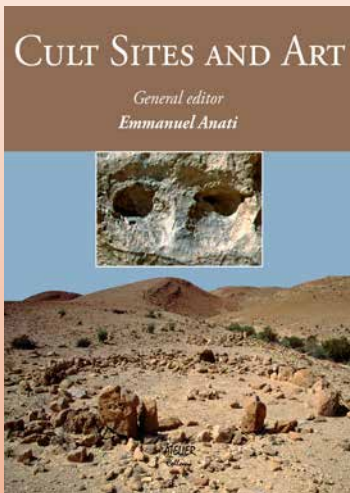


### Incontro tra antropologia e psicoanalisi (in Italian)

The volume collects 16 lectures by Anati at conventions of psychoanalysts on his conceptual system to overcome the frontiers that separate different disciplines, for a new vision of research in the human and social sciences.

# ATELIER' s PUBLICATIONS

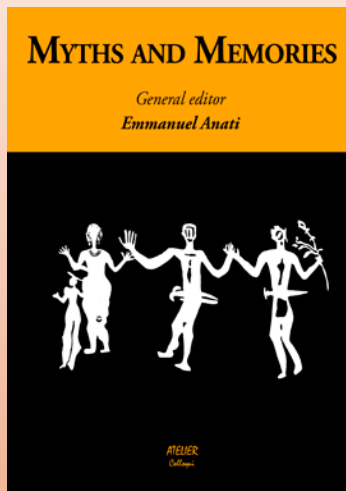
## Colloqui



### Cult Sites and Art

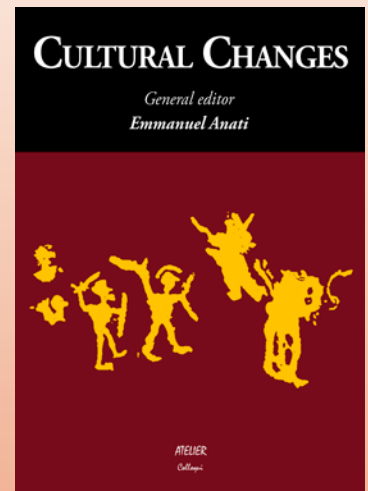
The volume is the printed version of number 17 (2017) of EXPRESSION, the quarterly online journal on conceptual anthropology. Sites of worship have had religious images and symbols since prehistoric times.

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.



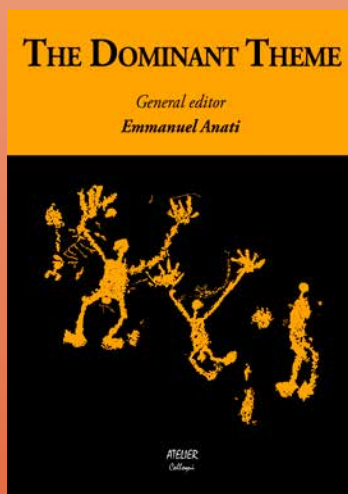
### Cultural Changes

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.



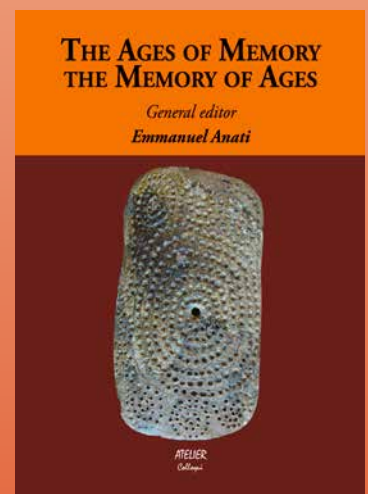
### The Function of Art

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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# ATELIER's PUBLICATIONS

## Essays



### Origini della Musica (in Italian)

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



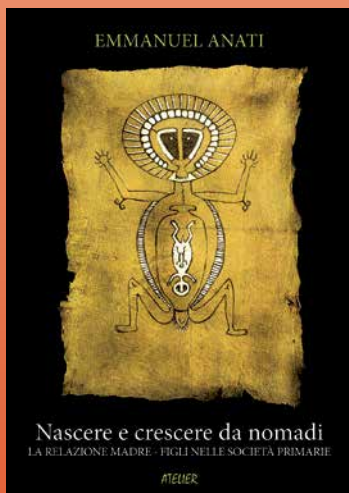
### Iniziazione e riti di passaggio (in Italian)

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



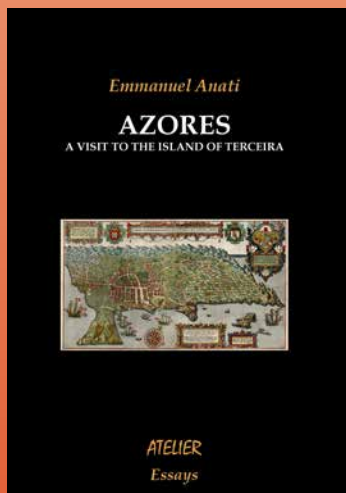
### Chi sei? Chi sono? Alla ricerca dell'identità (in Italian)

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



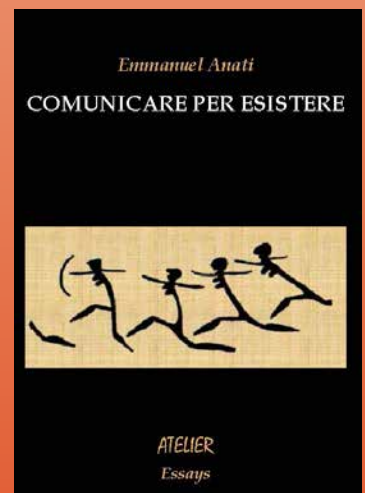
### Nascere e crescere da nomadi. La relazione madre-figli nelle società primarie (in Italian)

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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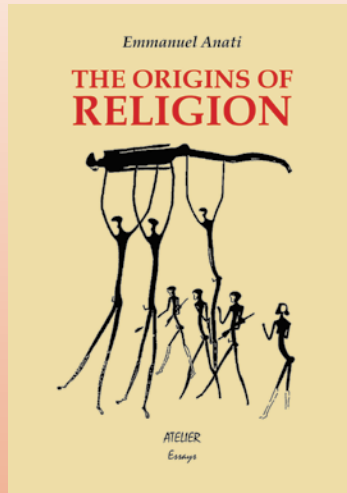
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## Essays



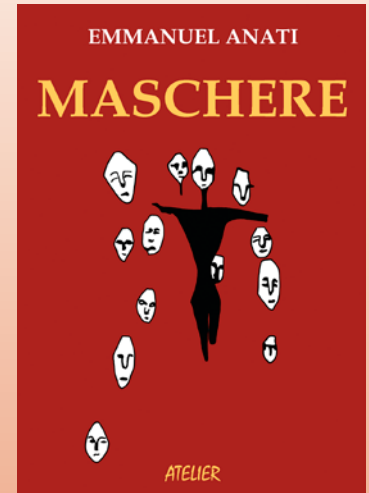
### Mito tra utopia e verità (in Italian)

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



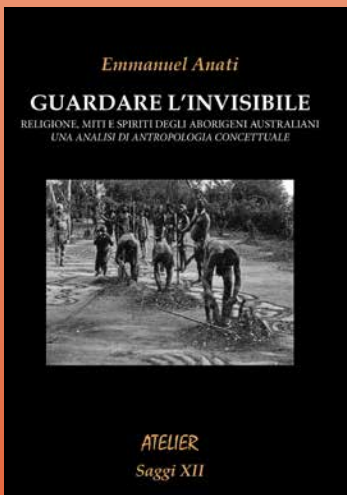
### The Origins of Religion

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.



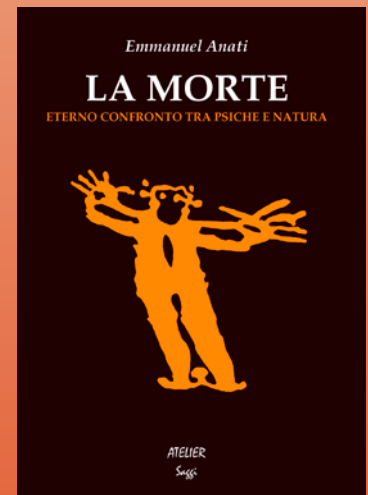
### Guardare l'invisibile. Religione, miti e spiriti degli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

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.



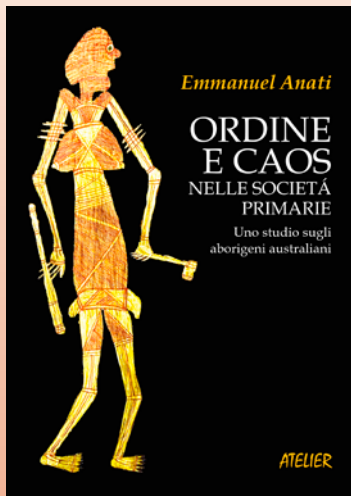
### La morte (In Italian)

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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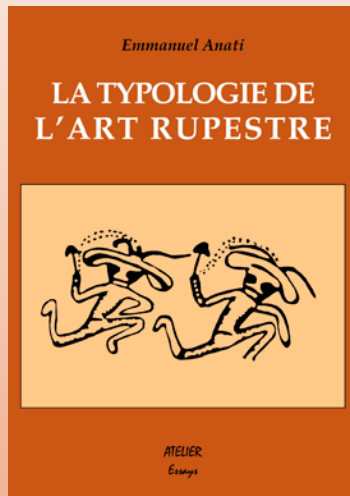
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## Essays



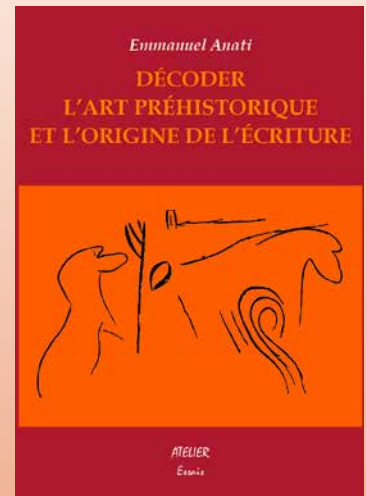
### Ordine e Caos nelle società primarie. Uno studio sugli aborigeni australiani. (in Italian)

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.

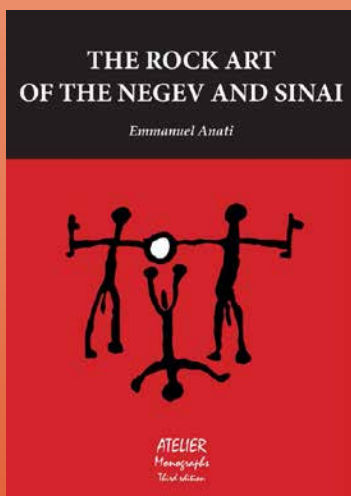


### Décoder l'art préhistorique et l'origine de l'écriture (In French)

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.

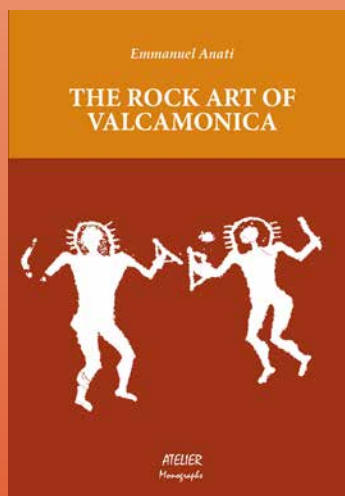
# ATELIER' PUBLICATIONS

## Monographs



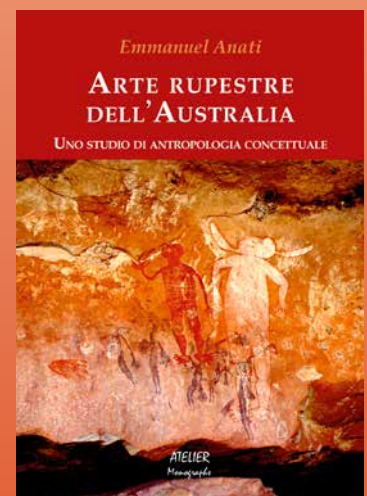
### The Rock Art of the Negev and Sinai

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.



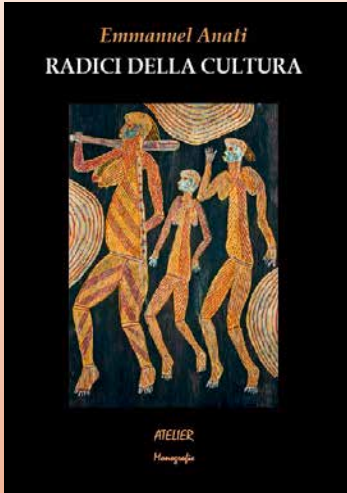
### Arte rupestre dell'Australia (in Italian)

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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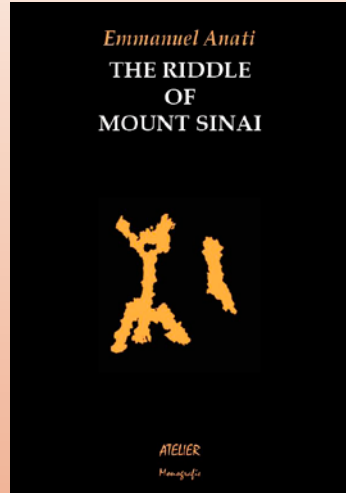
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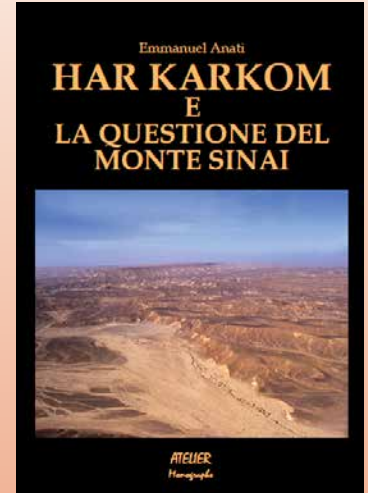
### Radici della cultura (in italian)

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.



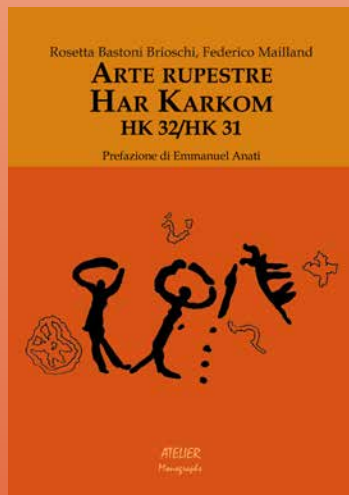
### The Riddle of Mount Sinai

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.



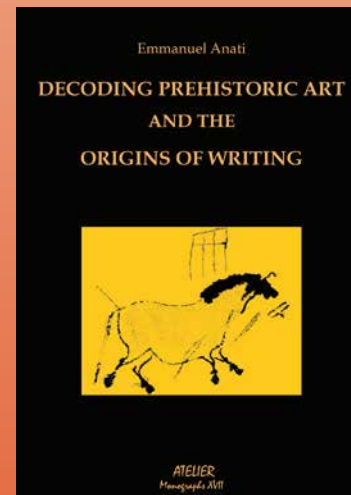
### Har Karkom e la questione del Monte Sinai (in Italian)

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.

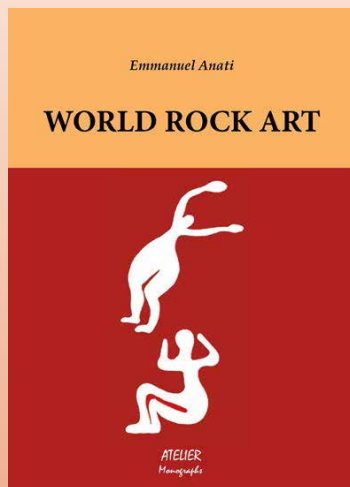


### Decoding Prehistoric Art and the Origins of Writing

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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## Monographs



### World Rock Art

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



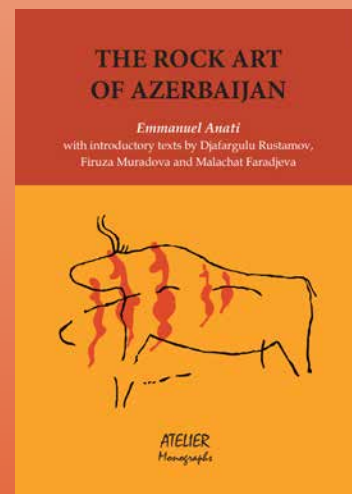
### The rock art of Spain and Portugal

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



### 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.

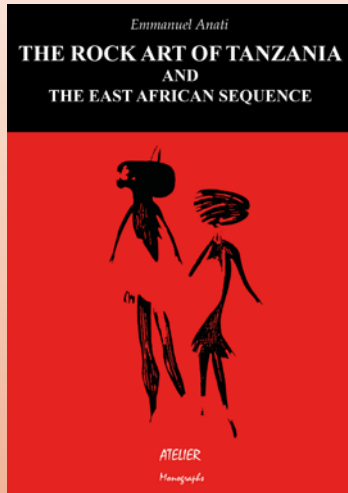
This gateway of Europe, between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea, was a major way of migrations from Asia to Europe.

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*.



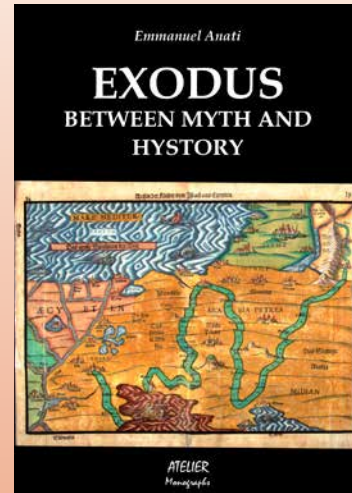
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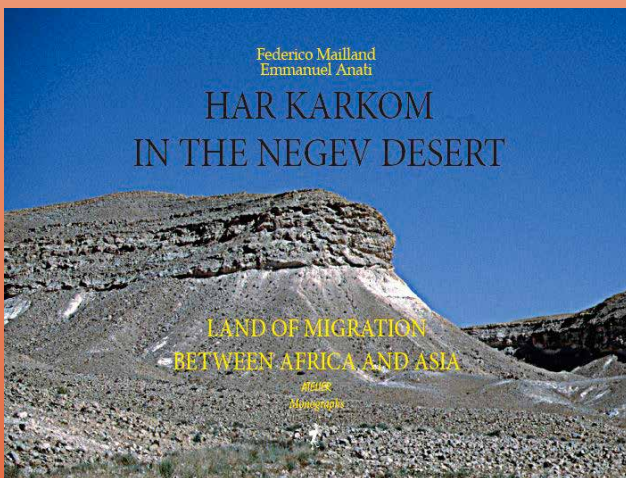
### The Rock Art of Tanzania and the East African Sequence

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

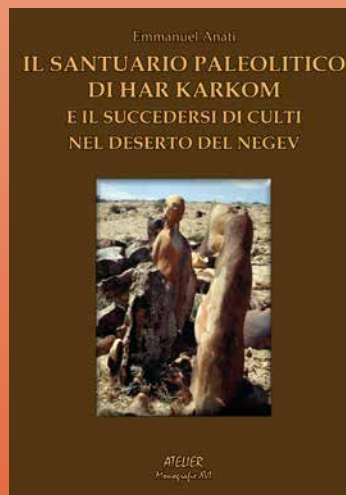
The epic of Moses: is it myth or history? The Biblical narrative of the exodus and the revelation of Mount Sinai are a monumental literary work that has been passed down for well over two millennia, after being transmitted orally for centuries. What would have really happened during the Exodus? How did 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

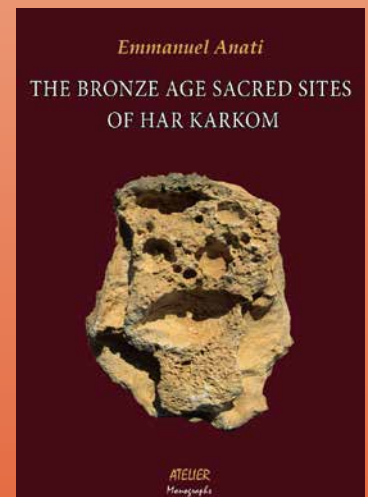
A mountain located in the land-bridge between Africa and the rest of the world yielded traces of ages of human presence ever since the first steps of the human ancestors out of Africa.

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.



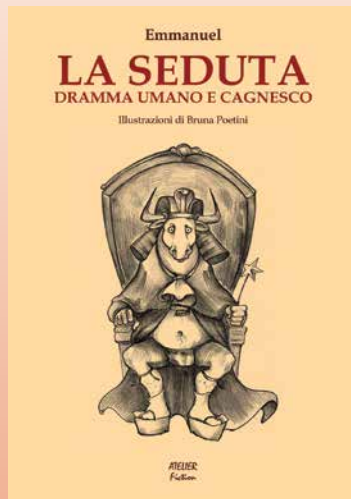
### The Bronze Age Sacred Sites of Har Karkom

The Har Karkom Bronze Age sites, found on the mountain and in the surrounding valleys, the types of altars, ritual platforms, private sanctuaries, shrines, temples, anthropomorphic cult-stones, menhirs and standing pillars, tumuli, geoglyphs and rock art, disclose the vast dimensions of rituals, traditions and beliefs of the tribal world in the desert, related to the narrations of the biblical book of Exodus.

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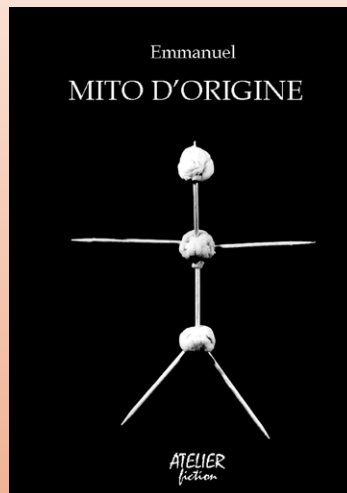
## Fiction



### 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.

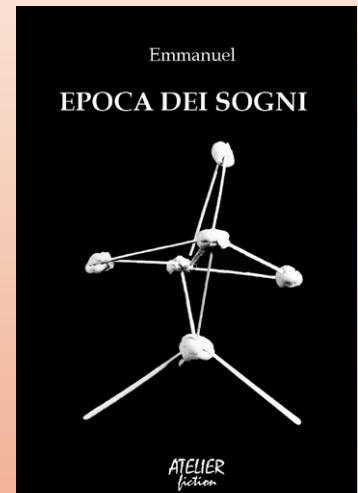


### Mito d'origine Epoca dei Sogni (in Italian)

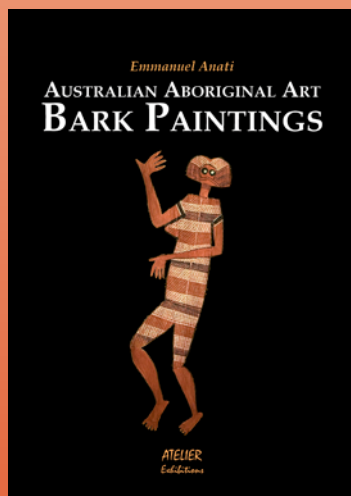
The first works of Atelier Fiction, Mito d'Origine and Epoca dei Sogni, tell stories that at first sight seem to come from another world.

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.

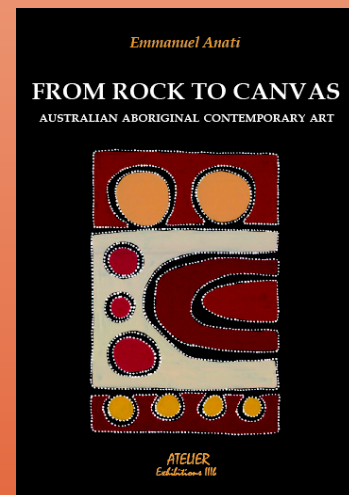


## Exhibitions



### 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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