

IN MEMORIAM GHEORGHE DUMITROAIA

(23 April 1949 - 6 April 2016)

Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici, Gheorghe Lazarovici



Gheorghe Dumitroaia was one of the most important directors of Complexul Muzeal Neamț (1993-2016). Through his entire activity he contributed a lot to the research and the capitalization of the patrimony of the Neamț County and beyond. A specialist in prehistory, Gheorghe Dumitroaia also approached other periods of history. He was editor-in-chief of the yearbook *Memoria Antiquitatis* (nos. XVIII-XXX) and of the collection *Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis* (nos. II-XXXV), and he also acted as founder and coordinator of the Publishing House Constantin Mătase.

In 1994 Gheorghe Dumitroaia created Centrul Internațional de Cercetare a Culturii Cucuteni / The International Center for Research on Cucuteni Culture, attached to the Muzeum of History and Archaeology in Piatra Neamț, thus opening new possibilities of collaboration with colleagues from all over the world preoccupied with aspects of that civilization.

Another outstanding achievement for the future was also the founding of Muzeul de Artă Eneolitică Cucuteni (2005), a world-class museum meant to enhance of the treasures of the same civilization. By his own means, and by showing both talent and enviable force, he created the most beautiful museum in Romania!

He would also show a permanent care for other museums, monuments, memorial houses, school museums, and his permanent watchword was "to build"!

In 1997, dynamic and energetic, Gheorghe Dumitroaia organized the first international exhibition on the Cucuteni culture in Thessaloniki. Besides, he was co-organizer/ or participant in other international exhibitions (over 10), in national (over 18), and temporary exhibitions (over 50), in international symposiums (11) as well as in national annuals gatherings.

As an archaeologist, Gheorghe Dumitroaia acted as a scientific coordinator or he participated as a member in the research teams of several archaeological sites (from Paleolithic to Middle Age), being concerned with the modernization of research and the application of the latest methods in the field. He was constantly involved in fieldwork, bringing to light more than 200 previously unknown points in Neamț County.

In acknowledging of his activity, and its highly valuable contribution to both science and development and the national cultural heritage, the Romanian Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs granted him the „Adrian Rădulescu” Prize in 2003 (for the exhibition and the volume Poduri-Dealul Ghindaru. O Troie în Subcarpații Moldovei) and the „Julian Antonescu” Prize in 2006 (for museum management and the project Primul Muzeu Cucuteni în România). Also, local authorities (Inspectoratul pentru Cultură al Județului Neamț), in appreciation of his merits in the research and reevaluation of the cultural heritage of the Neamț County, awarded him the "Constantin Matasă" Prize in 1992 and 1997.

He was a member of Comisia Națională de Arheologie (1995-1999, 2003-2015), Comisia Zonală a Monumentelor Istorice (2004-2007), and Comisia Națională a Muzeelor și Colecțiilor (2009-2013). At the same time, he was also a member of several doctoral commissions in Romania and in the Republic of Moldova.

Those who have known and appreciated him will always remember the passion, dedication, and the total involvement of the researcher and the custodian Gheorghe Dumitroaia, who left behind an immeasurable work and, like a soldier, fell on the battlefield...

For his work, for his special contribution to the study of local and national history, he deserves all our gratitude and admiration, as well as our deep regret about his untimely disappearance.

May he rest in peace!

DES PREUVES MATÉRIELLES DES MANIFESTATIONS DE SPIRITUALITÉ DANS LES SANCTUAIRES DU PALÉOLITHIQUE SUPÉRIEUR EUROPÉEN

Vasile Chirica,

Institutul de Arheologie, Iași, Roumanie

vchirica@yahoo.com

Valentin-Codrin Chirica

Institutul de Arheologie, Iași, Roumanie

codrinchirica@hotmail.com

***Mots clés:** art religieux; cérémonies culturelles; sacralité de la naissance; processions d'initiation; canons et thèmes artistiques.*

***Résumé.** Les études consacrées à l'époque paléolithique ont mis en évidence le phénomène de l'histoire et de l'évolution des communautés humaines: le caractère spirituel de toute la création artistique de l'Homme, comme entité supérieure du monde vivant. La création matérielle même (la taille des outils et des armes, en pierre, des matières dures animales, etc.) des communautés humaines préhistoriques (paléolithiques) était significativement chargée des éléments de spiritualité. Les découvertes archéologiques des sanctuaires constituent des preuves indubitables de la signification religieuse concernant la vie des hommes préhistoriques, du Paléolithique supérieur et de l'Épipaléolithique-Mésolithique.*

Nous apprécions qu'il existe un nombre suffisant de découvertes archéologiques qui démontrent le permanent penchant de l'homme préhistorique vers l'inconnu divin de la vie et de la mort, mais pour essayer à développer de manière cohérente l'existence des activités spirituelles des sanctuaires paléolithiques il faut que les vestiges archéologiques découverts de manière fortuite ou par des recherches archéologiques systématiques soient interprétés d'une manière si correcte que possible.

L'existence des cérémonies culturelles des communautés humaines paléolithiques résulte de la même nature des matériaux archéologiques découverts, de sorte que seules leurs analyse et interprétation correcte et cohérente s'imposent.

Les objets par lesquels on constate l'existence et le déroulement de certaines cérémonies culturelles à l'intérieur des grottes, ou à l'occasion des funérailles, mais qui étaient préservés à l'extérieur des grottes (habitations, autres structures d'habitat ou dans le périmètre des structures de combustion), doivent être pris en considération pour pouvoir estimer leur rôle dans le cadre des cérémonies religieuses ou à aspect de sacralité. En ce sens il est nécessaire de comprendre le phénomène du sacré individuel et, surtout collectif, des communautés humaines paléolithiques, mais aussi néolithiques, parce que toutes les manifestations culturelles étaient *publiques*, donc soit toute la communauté, soit seuls les *initiés*, qui ont dépassé les difficultés imposées par les cérémonies *d'initiation* y participait.

Pour comprendre le sens de notre démarche, nous utilisons l'exemple de l'enfant de Lagar Velho (Estremadura, Portugal) qui a été enterré à l'entrée dans la grotte, la fosse de la sépulture ayant été tout d'abord *purifiée* par la brûlure d'une branche de *Pinus silvestris*; donc, la respective communauté humaine connaissait (ou comprenait) le fait que le feu est la plus importante forme de purification. On connaît aussi le fait que certains groupes ethniques du territoire de l'Europe allument

un grand feu, lors de l'enterrement d'un membre de la communauté, dans le but de purifier l'âme du défunt, ou pour que les âmes des morts viennent se chauffer auprès de ce feu.

Plusieurs possibilités de réflexion s'ouvrent: quelles grottes peut-on prendre en considération comme des *sanctuaires* des communautés humaines paléolithiques? ou: où l'on a créé les impressionnantes offrandes mortuaires qui accompagnaient les trois squelettes de la sépulture de Sungir (Russie)? Peut-on introduire aussi d'autres interrogations, mais nous croyons qu'il faut avoir la disponibilité scientifique de faire les appréciations dues, en fonction de l'importance des découvertes archéologiques, en bases de leur évaluation cohérente. Évidemment, nous ne diminuons pas l'importance des découvertes archéologiques; encore plus, il faut prouver la cohérence des interprétations, car il ne faut pas qu'il nous intéresse d'une manière particulière l'endroit où l'on a créé les objets déposés comme offrandes mortuaires, mais plutôt la possibilité de l'existence des manifestations culturelles, des cérémonies organisées et déroulées par les communautés humaines dans des moments importants de leur vie (des membres de celles-ci).

La mort était considérée un moment réversible, c'est pourquoi dans la majorité des cas les morts étaient déposés vers la droite, ou vers la gauche, *dans la position du sommeil*.

Nous croyons qu'il est impossible de faire une distinction très nette entre les deux entités archéologiques: l'existence des pièces d'art mobilier dans les grottes ou dans d'autres sanctuaires et la place où elles ont été créées, car il serait difficile à expliquer les milliers d'offrandes funéraires, déposées dans les sépultures datées au Paléolithique supérieur du territoire européen, ou les très nombreuses pièces d'art mobilier, découvertes dans les sites de plein air ou dans les grottes de tout le territoire du Continent.

Pour souligner l'existence des matériaux archéologiques utilisés dans l'organisation des cérémonies culturelles, il faut prendre en considération au moins trois catégories principales de découverte archéologiques: 1, des éléments d'art pariétal, aurignacien et gravettien – des preuves principales, directes, concernant l'existence des cérémonies culturelles; 2, d'autres éléments à caractère archéologique – des empreintes de pas (des danses rituelles?), instruments de production du son, découverts dans les grottes à niveaux d'habitat aurignacien et gravettien; 3, pièces d'art et/ ou d'offrande, découvertes dans les sépultures datées au Paléolithique supérieur du territoire de l'Europe ou de l'extérieur de cet espace géographique, sans mettre en évidence l'endroit de la production de celles-ci. Nous précisons que, parfois, les deux premières catégories de manifestations de spiritualité sont associées dans le périmètre de la même grotte. Nous ne proposons de prendre en considération trois catégories essentielles: A, la création artistique des grottes paléolithiques; B, les objets à valeur artistique et spirituelle, déposés comme offrandes, dans le cadre du phénomène des funérailles de l'époque paléolithique; C, l'association de la création artistique aux structures de combustion, au feu, mais aussi l'association du feu aux funérailles, comme élément fondamental des cérémonies culturelles à caractère *public* (collectif).

Des plus de 200 sanctuaires existantes dans les grottes à activités artistiques ou funéraires du territoire de l'Europe, nous avons *trouvé* des preuves indubitables concernant l'existence des cérémonies culturelles, mises en évidence par les caractéristiques des matériaux archéologiques, dans seulement 54 de grottes à créations artistiques: peinture, gravure, modelage en terre glaise, représentations animalières ou anthropomorphes faites au doigt dans la couche superficielle molle des parois, ou à empreintes de pas, mains mutilées, preuves des cérémonies culturelles, consacrées à la chasse, à la sacralité de la naissance (surtout sur la relation chtonique = uranique), ou que nous avons considérées comme étant des preuves de la *substitution*, des masques anthropomorphes, peut-être toujours en liaison avec la chasse, ou des preuves des images fantastiques à référence à l'anthropomorphe masculin, des représentations de l'*image interdite*, des processions d'*initiation* et *passage - transmission*, y compris l'utilisation du feu dans le cadre de ces cérémonies, et aussi beaucoup d'autres, que nous n'avons pu identifier. Nous considérons que nous n'avons pas pris en

compte toutes les grottes-sanctuaires, ni les sanctuaires de toutes les grottes du territoire de l'Europe. De la sorte, dans les grottes de l'espace de l'Europe Centrale on n'a pas découvert de preuves archéologiques qui démontrent la certitude de l'existence de l'art pariétal, mais les nombreuses pièces d'art mobilier, ou l'existence des funérailles font la preuve du sacré collectif, avec des manifestations culturelles évidentes. Nous avons essayé de prendre en considération ces *territoires spirituels*, à manifestations propres de cérémonies culturelles, même si à ceux-ci l'on a apporté des précisions et des interprétations, certaines différentes de celles devenues *classiques* par l'ampleur de la création artistique, ou par l'existence du sacré collectif (funéraire, violence avant la morte ou *post-mortem*), ou la combinaison des cérémonies culturelles avec l'utilisation du feu. Là où, à l'intérieur de la fosse du sépulcre, dans la main du défunt ou près du corps de celui-ci, on a trouvé des os d'animaux, nous nous sommes abstenus de les attribuer au *festin funéraire* du type de celui pratiqué par les communautés chrétiennes actuelles.

Les exégètes de cet important domaine de l'époque paléolithique sont d'accord avec le fait que le phénomène rituel des funérailles, avec la déposition d'offrandes, quel qu'en soit le type, ou l'existence d'un autre phénomène – la sacralité de la violence pendant la vie ou après la mort, constitue non seulement la certitude du sacré, mais aussi l'identification du sacré collectif, comme trait spirituel de toutes les communautés humaines paléolithiques, compte tenu y compris de l'affirmation de René Girard selon laquelle *la violence constitue le vrai cœur et l'âme du sacré*, et que *la violence et le sacré sont inséparables*.

1. Généralités

Toutes les études consacrées de l'époque paléolithique ont mis en évidence la vérité transformée en *phénomène* de l'histoire et de l'évolution de l'humanité: la connotation spirituelle de la création matérielle et spirituelle de l'*Homme*, comme entité supérieure du monde vivant. Les exégètes de la spiritualité préhistorique ont argumenté, par l'analyse détaillée des découvertes archéologiques, mais surtout par leur interprétation, la capacité créatrice permanente des communautés humaines. Même si nous ne considérons pas l'idée, accréditée par certains spécialistes, selon laquelle la création matérielle (la taille des outils et des armes, en pierre, en matières animales dures, etc.) des communautés humaines préhistoriques (paléolithiques) était elle-même considérablement chargée d'éléments de spiritualité¹, les autres très nombreuses et expressives découvertes archéologiques restent sur place et constituent des preuves de la signification religieuse concernant la vie des hommes préhistoriques (surtout ceux du Paléolithique supérieur et de l'Épipaléolithique-Mésolithique). Quant à nous, nous avons accordé une attention particulière à la signification des diverses activités des communautés humaines paléolithiques, à commencer même par les aspects religieux de l'installation des campements. En introduisant dans la littérature roumaine de profil l'idée de l'existence des sanctuaires paléolithiques, surtout dans les grottes peintes du Paléolithique supérieur, nous nous sommes aussi préoccupés pour beaucoup d'autres aspects de la vie et de la mort dans la Préhistoire de l'humanité². Notre récente contribution concernait justement les aspects religieux de la vie des communautés humaines paléolithiques³, ce qui nous approche du thème choisi pour ce Colloque. De ce point de vue, nous considérons qu'il existe assez de découvertes archéologiques qui démontre le permanent penchant de l'homme préhistorique vers l'inconnu divin de la vie et de la mort, mais pour essayer à développer d'une manière cohérente les activités spirituelles des sanctuaires paléolithiques, il est besoin d'interpréter si correctement que possible les vestiges archéologiques découverts

¹ Eliade, 1991: 43.

² Chirica V. *et alii*, 2016; Chirica V., 2004: 103-127; 2004a: 4-9; 2004b: 187-194; 2006: 7-34, 145; 2011: 19-52; Chirica V. *et alii*, 2012: 47-73; Chirica V.-C., Chirica V., 2012: 1-19; Chirica V.-C. *et alii*, 2012: 5-80, etc.

³ Chirica V., Chirica V.-C., 2016: 9-42.

fortuitement ou par des recherches archéologiques systématiques. Nous essayons de ne pas faire appel à la création de *scénarios*, qui pourrait tomber en dérisoire, même si nous considérons comme absolument nécessaire de créer de scénarios concernant les multiples possibilités des communautés humaines pour le déroulement des propres manifestations de religiosité ou au moins de spiritualité. Certes, si nous prenons comme point de départ les découvertes archéologiques concernant les vestiges indubitables de spiritualité, il ne serait plus besoin de nos propres *scénarios*, car l'existence des cérémonies se déduit par la nature même des matériaux découverts, de sorte que seules leur analyse et leur interprétation correcte et cohérente s'imposent.

C'est à une question qu'il faut trouver une réponse si proche que possible de la vérité historique de la création matérielle à connotations religieuses, découvertes en dehors des grottes-sanctuaire, ou dans le périmètre des sépultures datées au Paléolithique: les objets qui ont contribué au déroulement de certaines cérémonies, à l'intérieur des grottes, ou à l'occasion des funérailles, mais qui étaient gardés en dehors des grottes (habitations, autres structures d'habitat ou dans le périmètre des structures de combustion), doivent-ils être pris en considération pour pouvoir estimer leur rôle dans le cadre des cérémonies religieuses ou à aspect de sacralité ? Selon nous, la réponse doit être affirmative, mais il faut fournir les explications et précisions nécessaires à la compréhension du phénomène du sacré individuel et, surtout collectif, des communautés humaines paléolithiques (mais aussi néolithiques).

Pour bien comprendre la signification de notre démarche, il faut donner quelques exemples: l'Enfant de Lagar Velho (Estremadura, Portugal) a été enterré à l'entrée de la grotte, à la profondeur de seulement 30cm, mais la fosse du sépulcre a été tout d'abord *purifiée* en brûlant une branche de *Pinus silvestris*¹; de la sorte, la communauté humaine respectivement connaissait (ou déduisait) le fait que le feu est la plus importante forme de purification. Nous avons aussi présenté le fait que certains groupes ethniques du territoire de la Roumanie mettent un grand feu, à l'occasion des funérailles d'un membre de la communauté, ayant pour but la purification de l'âme du défunt. C'est ainsi qu'on peut constater, sans avoir des preuves scientifiques (de paléoethnologie), la transmission de l'idée de purification par le feu à travers des espaces européens vastes, sans tenir compte du *facteur temps*, car il y a encore des localités où, le *Jeudi saint*, dans la cour ou dans le jardin, les femmes mettent le feu en utilisant des branches, etc. (provenant du «nettoyage de printemps»), pour que les âmes des morts viennent se chauffer auprès de ce feu; en outre, c'est au même moment, qu'au cimetière, on fait une grosse commémoration, avec des produits de jeûne, pour faciliter la participation des morts², ce qui nous fait penser, une fois de plus, qu'un nombre assez grands d'éléments ethnographiques se sont transmis (ou ont été créés) en différents endroits et dans des époques différentes, leur connotation de profonde spiritualité étant la seule importante. Revenant à l'enfant de Lagar Velho, nous retenons le fait qu'il a été enterré dans une grotte, qui n'a pas été pour autant interprétée et intégrée dans la catégorie des grottes-sanctuaires. Les exemples peuvent continuer et cet aspect crée beaucoup d'autres possibilités de réflexion: quelles grottes peuvent être prises en considération comme des *sanctuaires* des communautés humaines paléolithiques? Où l'on a créé les impressionnantes offrandes mortuaires qui accompagnaient les trois squelettes du sépulcre de Sungir (Russie)? Si les cérémonies d'enterrement n'ont pas eu lieu dans le périmètre du triple sépulcre de là-bas, où pourrait-on les localiser ? N'est-il pas possible qu'on ait tort de prendre en considération seules certaines découvertes archéologiques à traits artistiques et religieux dans les grottes, pour les transformer en *sanctuaires*? Certes, on peut créer et introduire beaucoup d'autres interrogations, mais nous croyons qu'il faut avoir la disponibilité scientifique de faire les dues appréciations, en fonction de l'importance des découvertes archéologiques, dans leur évaluation cohérentes. Évidemment, nous ne diminuons pas

¹ Zilhao, Trinkaus, 2002: 134-140; Arias & Alvarez-Fernandez, 2004: 221-234; Chirica V. *et alii*, 2016: 145.

² Bibescu (f. a.): 83-85.

l'importance des découvertes archéologiques; encore plus, il faut trouver des preuves sur la cohérence des interprétations, car il ne faut pas nous intéresser surtout à l'endroit où ces offrandes mortuaires ont été créées mais plutôt aux possibles manifestations culturelles, l'existence des cérémonies organisées et déployées par les communautés humaines dans des moments importants de leur vie (de la vie des membres de celles-ci).

2. Les communautés humaines et leur création matérielle et spirituelle

Plus d'une fois, nous avons apprécié la valeur de la création matérielle des communautés humaines paléolithiques et de leur valeur de spiritualité, même de religiosité. Que nous attribuons ou non de valeur spirituelle à toutes les créations matérielles des communautés humaines préhistoriques, celles-ci existent et les recherches archéologiques systématiques (ou même les découvertes fortuites) de tous les temps et de tous les espaces géographiques ont démontré le sens créateur de l'homme comme entité supérieure du monde vivant. Nous n'allons pas présenter ni au moins en quelques mots, les outils, les armes, les objets de parure ou d'art (pariétal, mobilier) obtenus à partir des plus divers matériaux – matières premières, ou dans les tout aussi divers micro-espaces des campements. Il a été démontré avec une maximale rigueur scientifique que les hommes ont dû s'adapter aux nécessités imposées par l'environnement) afin de survivre. Leur permanent mouvement à la recherche des plus adéquates zones écologiques, avec du gibier en abondance, des sources permanentes d'eau, des ressources de matières premières de bonne qualité dans le but de produire des outils, ont constitué le sens de l'existence et de l'évolution physique des communautés humaines, à partir des plus anciennes forme de vie et d'organisation sociale. L'organisation et l'emplacement des campements, mais surtout la chasse et les rituels funéraires ont imposé le caractère social de l'homme, de manière cohérente, conséquente et élaborée, parmi les autres *colocataires* des zones géographiques et de l'environnement. En ce sens, des relations sociales, un rôle très important a été, sans doute, l'utilisation du feu, devenu la plus significative création des communautés humaines, avec son rôle matériel, social et spirituel essentiel dans l'évolution de l'humanité. Nous ne pouvons pas (et d'ailleurs nous ne croyons pas qu'il faut) omettre quelques éléments de grande importance en ce que nous admettons comme valeur participative dans le déroulement des cérémonies culturelles: les artefacts qui produisaient des sons, la variété des offrandes (mortuaires, mais non seulement à ce but), les structures aménagées pour la production du feu (ou seuls les éléments de l'utilisation du feu dans le déroulement des cérémonies: la présence des charbons de bois ou des traces de brûlure, y compris les restes paléanthropologiques à traces de brûlure). Certes, nous devons prendre en considération aussi la place de leur découverte (dans des campements, dans les couches archéologique d'habitat, dans le périmètre de structures participatives aux possibles cérémonies culturelles, etc.).

3. Les découvertes archéologiques à valeur de sacralité

Une fois de plus, nous constatons que nous sommes dans la situation de ne pas pouvoir éviter le dilemme sur le facteur essentiel: nous prenons en considération les découvertes archéologiques ou celles-ci *et* l'endroit de leur découverte ? Nous croyons que du point de vue de notre démarche il est impossible de faire une distinction indubitable entre ces deux entités archéologiques, car il serait difficile à expliquer les milles offrandes funéraires, déposées aux sépulcres appartenant au Paléolithique supérieur du territoire européen, ou les très nombreuses pièces d'art mobilier, découvertes dans les sites de plein air ou dans les grottes de Belgique¹. Nous présenterons seulement deux exemples du territoire de la Roumanie: la bien connue amulette-pendentif de Mitoc-*Malu Galben* a été découverte dans le périmètre du complexe d'habitat no. 27, dans le carré B 3-5, à la profondeur

¹ Lejeune (sur la dir. de), 1987.

de 7,10 m (avec un atelier de taille et deux structures de combustion). La pièce d'art, en cortex, se trouvait dans un foyer, son rôle participatif à un cérémonial (de la chasse, selon nous) étant apprécié avec certitude, mais, lors des recherches systématiques nous n'avons pas eu l'occasion de constater si les foyers (datés à 26.700 ± 1.040 B.P. – GX-9418) et l'atelier de taille des outils (à 4.760 pièces en silex), étaient ou non protégés par un aménagement spécial, éventuellement à rôle cérémonial ou culturelles. Il est tout aussi intéressant que dans le cadre de ce technocomplexe, appartenant au Gravettien inférieur (I), nous avons identifié un racloir à aspect plus ancien, réutilisé et transformé en burin d'angle, et aussi un grattoir caréné sur lame moyenne (Fig. 1); le second exemple se réfère aux instruments à produire des sons, découverts à Piatra Neamț - *Poiana Cireșului* dans le niveau archéologique d'habitat, mais aussi dans d'autres sites ou niveaux d'habitat gravettien, sans aucun type de possible aménagements spéciaux, constructifs.

Pour mettre en évidence l'existence des matériaux archéologiques qui ont été entraînés dans les activités - cérémonies culturelles, il faut diriger notre attention vers trois catégories principales de découvertes archéologiques: 1, les éléments d'art pariétal, aurignacien et gravettien – des preuves principales, directes, sur l'existence des cérémonies culturelles; 2, autres éléments à caractère archéologique – des empreintes de pas (danses rituelles?), des instruments de production du son, découverts dans les grottes à niveaux d'habitat aurignacien et gravettien; 3, des pièces d'art et/ou d'offrande, découvertes dans les sépultures appartenant au Paléolithique supérieur du territoire de l'Europe ou d'ailleurs, sans essayer de souligner leur endroit de production. Nous précisons encore le fait que parfois, les deux premières catégories de manifestations de spiritualité sont présentes dans le périmètre de la même grotte. De la sorte, nous prenons en considération trois catégories essentielles: A, la création artistique des grottes paléolithiques; B, les biens à valeur artistique et spirituelle, déposés comme offrandes, dans le cadre du phénomène des funérailles de l'époque paléolithique; C, l'association des créations artistiques aux structures de combustion, au feu, et aussi l'association du feu aux funérailles, comme élément fondamental des cérémonies culturelles.

La Grotte de Roucadour constitue une situation spéciale dans l'art paléolithique de France par la représentation des mains en négatif, avec du noir et du rouge, et aussi des empreintes de mains, pour lesquelles on a utilisé une technique spéciale: le badigeonnage en rouge, appliqué sur la paroi et la rectification des doigts par des bandes de stries fines et verticales, mais on a découvert même des empreintes de mains sur la paroi de la grotte. On précise aussi le fait que les mains en négatif ont été obtenues par la préparation d'une place spéciale, par raclage de la paroi¹. Nous notons aussi le fait que les empreintes de mains appartiennent à l'habitat aurignacien, et les autres à l'habitat gravettien².

De ce que nous pourrions nommer *le monde des Aurignaciens* nous avons au moins deux découvertes – des créations artistiques, dont l'interprétation ne peut être que culturelle. Nous nous référons, tout d'abord, à la **Grotte Fumaine**, d'Italie. Dans ce cas nous avons en vue la célèbre peinture (pas très bien conservée, étant créée sur un bloc de calcaire, ultérieurement tombé du plafond de la grotte), qui, selon nous, constitue la plus importante création artistique. Elle contient la représentation du chasseur, dansant, le gibier dans la main: un contour à quatre pieds, suspendu au niveau de la tête; le personnage anthropomorphe est schématisé et sur sa tête semble avoir deux cornes, légèrement convexes, non terminées (ou effacées, car la peinture a été appliquée sur un bloc de calcaire, tombé du plafond de la grotte). Sa main gauche se trouve en position semi-horizontale, l'anté-bras en bas, les pieds en arcs de cercle (d'où notre interprétation concernant la position de danse). Donc, le caractère artistique de cette création aurignacienne est représenté par la scène de danse. Nous pouvons prendre aussi en considération la découverte de fragments de côte d'herbivores décorés par

¹ Lorblanchet, 1984e: 512.

² Lorblanchet, 1984e: 513.

des incisions, ou les incisives de cerf, décorés par des cannelures dans le tiers vers la racine, à l'intérieur de la grotte, de sorte à compléter l'image de la scène entière de cérémonial religieux¹.

Dans le même ordre chronologique, en France, **La Grotte Chauvet** contient la plus représentative création artistique préhistorique, sur la relation chtonique = uranique, c'est-à-dire femme=taureau². Les spécialistes considèrent qu'il y a eu deux périodes d'habitat: une dans l'Aurignacien, datée à environ 32.000 – 29.000 BP, et une autre, dans le Gravettien, datée entre 27.000 et 25.000 BP³. Certaines salles = espaces, selon la prépondérance des espèces d'animaux, ont reçu des noms spéciaux. Les caractéristiques de l'art de Chauvet sont: l'utilisation du noir et la prédilection pour les grands animaux rapaces à l'homme: 74 félines, 67 mammouths, 65 rhinocéros, 15 ours, en parallèle avec l'identification d'herbivores, bien que dans une moindre mesure: 45 chevaux, 31 bisons, 16 mouflons, 12 rennes, 9 aurochs, 7 *Mégacéros*, 2 cerfs, 4 cervidés, etc., mais 78 représentations n'ont pas pu être précisées comme espèce. On a identifié plusieurs représentations de mains en positif et seulement 5 en négatif, toutes peintes en rouge; on a identifié plus de 500 *signes*, dont certains formant des séries, faits à la paume (tel qu'on verra, dans la Grotte Gargas les mains ont été aussi peintes à la paume sur la paroi); on a identifié quatre triangles pubiens, gravés, un autre étant peint avec du noir; on a aussi identifié la partie inférieure d'une représentation féminine, avec le dessin de la vulve, mais aussi une représentation s'encadrant dans le type du *sorcier*, ou de la *divinité à masque*, moitié homme, moitié bison, qui peut être encadrée dans la catégorie des représentations que nous avons désigné comme représentations de la *substitution*, à l'intérieur des *canons* de l'art paléolithique. À travers un espace situé entre la *Galerie de la Croix* et la *Salle du Crâne* les traces de plus de 20 pas laissées par un préadolescent ayant la hauteur de 1,30 m ont été gardées; dans cet espace, on a planté dans le sol deux humérus d'ours, ayant une distance de 10 m entre eux. Mais le plus important achèvement artistique et religieux est constitué par la composition chtonique = uranique: sur un plancher en calcaire, on a tracé l'ample contour d'un *Ursus spelaeus*, sur lequel on a peint, toujours avec du noir, la zone sacralisée, féminine, de la procréation et de la naissance: la zone génitale et les hanches, mais toute la composition se trouve sous la protection régénératrice de la tête de bovidé, peint dans la partie supérieure du plancher, bovidé qui, pourtant, a des mains humaines⁴. De la sorte, on se trouve ici devant la représentation peinte du principe féminin, sur le plan chtonique, sous la protection du principe masculin, régénérateur, sur le plan uranique céleste (Fig. 2). Par conséquent, c'est ici qu'on a découvert la plus convaincante représentation du sacré et nous pouvons nous imaginer les multiples cérémonies organisées pour sacraliser les images des mains, de la danse du garçon (cérémonie spécifique à la transition à l'âge de la maturité et à l'inclusion dans la catégorie des hommes à droit de chasse -, mais aussi de l'idée de perpétuation de la communauté humaine, la femme – donnant vie à des enfants étant placée sous la protection de la divinité qui prenait soin de toute la communauté humaine.

La Grotte des Trois-Frères est un sanctuaire remarquable, par plusieurs éléments: son utilisation à partir de l'Aurignacien, ensuite, pendant le Périgordien et le Magdalénien. C'est pendant l'Aurignacien que semblent avoir été créés les graphismes de la Galerie des Chouettes, et aussi les mains en négatif. Aux communautés humaines périgordiennes on attribue, parmi autres, le célèbre *Sorcier*, nommé aussi le *Dieu cornu*⁵ (Fig. 3/3). D'ailleurs, on a aussi remarqué le fait que cette création artistique représentât « L'esprit régissant la multiplication du gibier et les expéditions de chasse »⁶, ou « l'assemblage, l'accumulation de tous les symboles mâles dont disposait celui qui

¹ Broglio *et alii*, 2005: 39-47, fig. 5; Chirica V., 2006a: 193-197; Chirica V. *et alii*, 2016: 110-111.

² Clottes (sous la dir. de), 2001, fig. 161-162; Chirica V., 2006b: 185-191.

³ Clottes, 2005a: 67-75; 2005b: 18-25.

⁴ Clottes (sous la dir. de), 2001: fig. 161-162.

⁵ Bégouën et Clottes, 1984a: 406.

⁶ Bégouën, Breuil, 1958: 86.

l'exécuta »¹. Nous avons nous-mêmes analysé cette création artistique dans le cadre de ces *thèmes importants*² de la création artistique préhistorique, en appréciant qu'il peut s'agir de la *substitution* de l'homme-démiurge, créateur d'images des animaux de chasse, mais aussi de la *substitution* de certains d'entre eux par l'homme-chasseur. De toute façon, nous voyons dans la création artistique de Trois-Frères un véritable sanctuaire, où l'on organisait des manifestations culturelles. Il n'est pas nécessaire de préciser le *scénario* de ces manifestations, car nous pouvons observer que même le *Dieu cornu* est présenté en posture de danseur, sans doute dans le cadre de la cérémonie à laquelle participaient tous les membres de la communauté, ou au moins les chasseurs, la cérémonie étant consacrée au succès de la chasse. En ce sens, nous croyons qu'on peut considérer que toute la création artistique de cette grotte, ou seulement celle de l'espace nommé *Sanctuaire* a des connotations religieuses, étant consacrées aux cérémonies culturelles de la chasse. L'existence d'une « Salle du Foyer » et d'une « Galerie aurignacienne » posent le problème de l'existence d'habitats plus anciens que ceux magdaléniens³. Cette grotte est très proche de celle Tuc d'Audoubert, c'est pourquoi A. Leroi-Gourhan les a présentées ensemble dans son célèbre volume⁴.

Dans la **Grotte Combarelles I**, qui a un couloir de 237 m, et qui est très riche en créations artistiques, on a identifié environ 300 figures humaines et animalières, parmi lesquelles: cent seize équidés, trente-sept bisons, sept bœufs, dix-neuf ours, quatorze rennes, treize mammouth, neuf bouquetins, neuf cervidés, cinq lions, un à quatre canidés, un à trois rhinocéros, un renard, un poisson, un serpent, une main, quatre tectiformes, trente-neuf figures anthropomorphes, quatre symboles sexuels, etc.⁵. Ce qui nous intéresse surtout est le grand nombre de représentations anthropomorphes et auxiliaires à celles-ci: les images sexuelles et les tectiformes. Nous constatons aussi la quasi-absence des animaux carnivores rapaces, ou la présence de ceux du climat très froid: rhinocéros, mammouth, étant connu le fait que pendant le Magdalénien de France on n'a pas remarqué l'existence du climat périglaciaire, lorsque les espèces froides furent absentes durant le Paléolithique supérieur⁶; évidemment, le grand nombre d'anthropomorphes est de nature à admettre la possibilité de l'existence de cérémonies de nature culturelle, surtout si elles sont associées à des tectiformes et à des images sexuelles⁷. De la sorte, la communauté humaine qui a accompli ces importantes créations artistiques a pu imaginer la grotte comme un possible campement par les images des tectiformes; à l'intérieur de l'espace sacralisé par l'habitat et par les créations artistiques, des cérémonies rituelles ont pu avoir lieu, dédiées à la chasse des herbivores, avec des créations anthropomorphes, y compris de nature sexuelle, liées à la continuité de la vie humaine. Il est tout aussi vrai que de *nombreux signes et félins douteux*⁸ laisse la possibilité d'identifications diverses, impossibles à établir avec certitude.

De la même manière, dans la suite des interprétations, nous constatons l'association du cheval à la main, perçue de manière statique ou animée (à ce sujet nous avons précisée que le rôle de celle-ci peut être considéré comme élément créateur ou de protection⁹), à Combarelles II¹⁰. Une analyse plus attentive des créations artistiques des sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur européen nous permet de constater l'existence d'autres nombreuses preuves de l'existence des pratiques culturelles par des cérémonies spécifiques, mais nous continuons la présentation des plus éloquentes preuves de l'art du Paléolithique supérieur européen.

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 309.

² Chirica, V. 2011: 19-52; Chirica V. *et alii*, 2016: 153-167.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 309.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 308-310.

⁵ Barriere, 1984a: 110.

⁶ Villaverde, 2005: 165.

⁷ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 290-292.

⁸ Barriere, 1984a: 110.

⁹ Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2012: 50-70.

¹⁰ Aujoulat, 1984: 116.

Dans la **Grotte de Comarque**, on a pu établir un inventaire artistique comprenant trois silhouettes féminines ou de moins gynoïdes et quelques bâtonnets¹, mais aussi deux représentations de têtes humaines vues de profil, dont l'une bestialisée par projection antérieure du massif facial, toutes traitées en gravure vigoureuse². Nous pouvons nous demander si ces images sont complémentaires entre elles ou par rapport aux représentations de la vulve, pour essayer à déchiffrer les sens culturels de ces créations. La représentation de la tête humaine bestialisée ne peut être due à la chance que si l'on admet l'existence de plusieurs étapes des habitats et des achèvements artistiques. De l'esquisse présentée³, il résulte que l'entière création artistique est groupée dans un espace bien défini, et les processions culturelles, dédiées aux achèvements artistiques peuvent être localisés dans le périmètre de la Salle de l'entrée dans la grotte, d'autant plus que les représentations artistiques (il n'y a que trois exceptions) sont effectuées en regardant vers l'entrée dans l'espace sacré. D'autre part, A. Leroi-Gourhan préfère considérer certaines représentations humaines comme étant des « personnages bestialisés »⁴.

Dans la **Grotte de Cournazac** on a identifié des représentations d'art mobilier: une petite plaque de terre glaise, de 4 x 3 cm, ayant au centre la trace verticale d'un doigt; une autre petite plaque de terre glaise, à l'empreinte horizontale d'un doigt; d'autres empreintes de doigts sur un sillon vertical; enfin, un signe tectiforme placé sur une plaque en terre glaise de 15 x 15 cm⁵. Tous ces aspects nous déterminent à voir la nature des processions spirituelles, par une cérémonie de caractère spécial, lorsque les participants portaient les plaques en terre glaise à *signes* marqués. L'entière création artistique, spirituelle est datée dans le Magdalénien moyen, donc à environ 15.000 ans B.P.

Dans la fameuse **Grotte de Font-de-Gaume**, qu'A. Leroi-Gourhan considérait un bon exemple de sanctuaire disposé en couloir⁶, l'abbé H. Breuil a enregistré pas plus de cent quatre-vingt-dix-huit figurations, parmi lesquelles un humain, quatre mains humaines en négatif, dix-neuf tectiformes, les autres étant des signes divers⁷. On peut constater la superposition de tectiformes au contour de bisons⁸, et la représentation du profil, ou seulement de la tête anthropomorphe bestialisée, peut faire le lien à d'autres grottes, constatant donc la répétition de cette notion artistique, mais aussi d'inconnue comme idée spirituelle, si nous n'acceptons pas notre idée concernant les grands thèmes religieux de l'art de l'époque paléolithique⁹. Revenant aux tectiformes représentées ici, car celles-ci pourraient constituer l'image de la maison, A. Leroi-Gourhan appréciait que « nulle part, (ils) ne sont aussi nombreux et aussi variés »¹⁰.

La représentation d'un saumon, d'une manière très naturaliste, à l'entrée même de l'**Abri du Poisson** (situé sur la rive droite de la Vézère) peut se justifier, selon nous, seulement au cas où les membres de la communauté de là-bas dépendaient essentiellement des résultats de la pêche dans les eaux de la rivière; dans ce cas, la représentation du saumon a, sans doute, un caractère cérémonial, car il a la longueur de 1,05 m, étant sculpté en bas-relief, sur la partie gauche du plafond; pour lui accorder une plus grande importance cérémoniale, la sculpture a été doublée par la peinture du poisson avec du rouge: « la couleur est abondante dans le creux qui court tout le long du corps »¹¹. Pour que *l'homme* puisse manifester sa présence (physique et cérémoniale), tout près du saumon on voit la représentation

¹ Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984: 121.

² Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984: 121.

³ Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984: 120.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 384, fig. 522.

⁵ Roussot, 1984a: 123.

⁶ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 293.

⁷ Roussot, 1984b: 130.

⁸ Roussot, 1984b: 133, fig. 8.

⁹ Chirica, V. 2011: 40-43.

¹⁰ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 294.

¹¹ Roussot, 1984c: 155, fig. 1, 5 A-D.

des mains, peint en négatif, avec du noir¹. Les achèvements artistiques de là-bas appartiennent au Périgordien supérieur français.

Le célèbre **Abri de Laussel** est surtout connu par les œuvres d'art mobilier, représentant la Grande Divinité Féminine en plusieurs interprétations: « Vénus à la corne », « Vénus de Berlin », « Vénus à tête quadrillée » et la non pas moins connue « Carte à jouer », sur laquelle nous avons déjà présenté nos opinions². Même si A. Roussot apprécie que la « Carte à jouer », « cette énigmatique gravure piquetée doit sans doute être dissociée des autres figuration humaines de Laussel »³, nous croyons que tous ces achèvements artistiques ont des significations culturelles et cérémoniales particulières, même si la plaque de calcaire qui représente la divinité en image doublée « proviendrait de la base de la couche solutréenne, donc d'un secteur plus central de l'Abri »⁴. Nous avons expliqué le fait que « Vénus à la corne » fait le lien et représente l'association de la Grande Divinité féminine, de nature chthonique, à la Grande Divinité masculine de nature uranique, le taureau céleste⁵, l'élément essentiel des conceptions préhistoriques qui constitue l'association des deux éléments ying et yang, masculin et féminin, dans le phénomène artistique et culturel de la reproduction et de la continuité de la vie. Cette célèbre création artistique doit être mise en liaison à « Carte à jouer »; on n'a pas pu trouver une autre interprétation de la représentations de la Grande Divinité féminine, en sa qualité d'auto-procréation, dans le sens de donner naissance à la vie terrestre par ses propres pouvoirs, sans l'implication de la Grande Divinité masculine; nous avons expliqué le fait que la plaque en calcaire et l'achèvement n'étaient pas de qualité médiocre, mais on a voulu la représentation de la Grande Divinité dans une manière spéciale, pour représenter *l'inconnu divin du phénomène de la procréation*, dans le sens de la *sacralité de la naissance*⁶. De la sorte, nous croyons que par les créations artistiques de Laussel nous pouvons identifier l'existence de cérémonies culturelles particulièrement importantes, liées à l'essence de l'existence de l'homme: la sacralité de la naissance, de la continuité de la vie. Nous apprécions que d'autres aspects des créations artistiques de Laussel: les seins développés, l'exagération de certaines zones anatomiques ou la négligence des autres (surtout du visage ou la déformation intentionnelle de celui-ci) peuvent être encadrés dans ce que nous avons nommé *l'image interdite*⁷, comme canon important et obligatoire de l'art paléolithique et préhistorique en général, constituant un *thème majeur* de la représentation de la Grande Déesse. En ce qui concerne la figure humaine, tronquée d'une partie de la tête et des bras, A. Leroi-Gourhan apprécie qu'on a identifié des scènes quasi-identiques à Laugerie-Basse et Roc-de-Sers⁸.

La **Grotte de Bernifal** est caractérisée par l'existence des 59 gravures et 51 peintures: 24 mammouths, 8 équidés (dont 1 asinien), 7 bovidés, 2 cervidés, 1 ours douteux, 9 animaux indéterminés, 2 humains (1 certain), au moins 3 mains, dont deux pourraient être seulement des signes gravés en éventail, 51 *signes*, dont, 13 tectiformes. Nous n'analyserons ni nous ne présenterons pas les possibilités techniques ou artistiques des œuvres d'art; nous constatons le fait que cette grotte a un grand nombre de mammouths gravés, raison pour laquelle elle a été comparée à la grotte de Font-de-Gaume. On a aussi constaté que les artistes magdaléniens ont été obligés à construire de véritables échafaudages pour peindre les mammouths et les autres animaux. Il faut noter l'importance de la présence des tectiformes gravés, dont le nombre et modalités d'accomplissement l'approche de Font-de-Gaume, et aussi de Rouffignac. En outre, leur association, dans des groupes de deux, peut créer l'impression que les artistes s'étaient assumés la *propriété* de la grotte, comme espace d'habitat. Nous

¹ Roussot, 1984c: 156.

² Chirica, V., 2004: 103-125; 2004b: 192-193, fig. 5/1.

³ Roussot, 1984e: 168.

⁴ Roussot, 1984e: 168.

⁵ Chirica, V., Văleanu, 2008.

⁶ Chirica, V., 2004b: 193.

⁷ Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2016: 130.

⁸ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 246.

n'excluons pas le fait que la peinture d'un tectiforme isolé, associé à des séries de ponctuations rouges très serrées, et sous cette *toiture* une guirlande de six demi-cercles, associées à d'autres *signes*, créent l'image du déroulement de processions culturelles. À ces créations artistiques on peut associer: un visage humain vu de face et un profil humain (la forme naturelle du rocher est complétée par la gravure d'autres détails humains; un œil, un sourcil et une bouche); une main négative brun-noir a été dessinée en association avec la silhouette d'un mammouth de la même couleur, et tout près, dans le même panneau, on observe les images de 2-3 mains, plus détériorées¹. Sans pouvoir détailler les caractéristiques des processions rituelles pour lesquelles on a créé les images humaines, animalières et des habitations, nous pouvons apprécier que cette grotte a constitué un important sanctuaire du Paléolithique supérieur de France. Dans la mesure où les fragments de crânes humains pourront être associés aux créations artistiques, nous avons la possibilité de connaître avec plus de certitude les créateurs et les utilisateurs du sanctuaire de Bernifal. De cette façon, pour la caractérisation de ce sanctuaire nous pourrions bénéficier de l'existence de créations artistiques, cérémonies culturelles et possibles éléments de funérailles (même sans les détails spécifiques).

Dans la petite **Grotte de Sous-Grand-Lac** (Aquitaine, Dordogne), les hommes ont été obligés à utiliser l'éclairage artificiel. La présence humaine est très bien mise en évidence par la silhouette humaine – un personnage debout, avec les membres supérieurs graciles, projetés en avant, les membres inférieurs fuselés, fléchis, avec le sexe masculin en érection², ce qui permet d'imaginer l'existence de cérémonies rituelles du culte de la procréation et de la continuité de la vie humaine.

La célèbre **Grotte Lascaux** représente l'un des plus riches sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur européen, par la richesse et la variété des créations artistiques. Parce qu'il existe de nombreuses peintures qui se superposent ou s'intercalent, les positions des animaux représentés (tout comme le fait que certains exemplaires sont rendus d'une manière statique, tandis que d'autres illustrent un mouvement intense) étant différentes, (les techniques de représentation sont, elles aussi, différentes) nous avons envisagé la possibilité qu'il s'agisse de plusieurs communautés d'artistes-créateurs, mais A. Leroi-Gourhan considère que toute la création artistique constitue un ensemble homogène: *l'exécution des quelque mille soixante-treize unités graphiques (décompte D. Vialou) est l'œuvre des mêmes hommes que l'exécution du décor général. Les œuvres sont le fait d'artistes qui jouent le rôle d'intermédiaire entre les mondes*³, même si l'on admet qu'on peut accepter l'idée de la fréquentation périodique de la grotte. Nous ne prenons pas en considération les détails anatomiques des créations artistiques, de chaque animal, mais nous voulons trouver des arguments concernant les significations de nature religieuse de la communauté humaine, y compris des artistes, comme éléments des *canons* artistiques, obligatoires⁴. De la sorte, si nous prenons en considération les caractéristiques de l'univers entier du monde animal de Lascaux: les techniques d'achèvement, les superpositions, la représentation statique ou par contre en mouvement accentué, la présence et l'association d'espèces d'herbivores, auxquels nous ajoutons aussi les images des flèches (par exemple, les flèches du corps du bison gravé, dans le *Cabinet des Félines*), nous obtenons une image très cohérente des manifestations rituelles concernant les cérémonies de la chasse. Nous ajoutons la bien connue peinture de *l'Ensemble de la scène du Puits*, réalisée dans une manière tellement difficile à interpréter: tout d'abord les possibilités accessibles aux artistes pour pénétrer et évidemment, pour sortir de cet espace sans l'aide des échafaudages sont encore inconnues, mais les traces de ces aménagements techniques n'ont pas été identifiées; nous ajoutons aussi le fait, apparemment non plausible, de la peinture de l'homme en train de tomber devant le bison blessé (qui semble perdre ses viscères, car il est éventré par une longue sagaie). On précise aussi la découverte de pointes de sagaies décorées, de fragments de

¹ Roussot, 1984d: 172-173.

² Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984: 178.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1984b: 195.

⁴ Chirica, V., 2004b: 193-194.

colorants, une quinzaine de lampes, de coquillages percés, ce qui pourrait conduire de nouveau à l'idée de cérémonies culturelles, même si les pièces d'art mobilier pourraient constituer des offrandes – des preuves sûres de la spiritualité paléolithique, surtout dans le cas des funérailles¹. Certes, il serait possible de prendre aussi en considération d'autres éléments artistiques: les *signes*, réalisés en différentes manières et à différents moyens techniques, par lesquels on arrive inévitablement aux mêmes interprétations culturelles. Davantage encore, si l'on admet les opinions d'A. Leroi-Gourhan concernant la *visite* de la grotte en plusieurs périodes, nous considérons que là-bas plusieurs cérémonies culturelles ont eu lieu, toutes en association à la chasse; dans ces conditions, les nouvelles créations artistiques, qui se superposaient aux anciennes, avaient une importance à part dans la reconstitution des cérémonies plus anciennes, peut-être à d'autres (nouveaux) ensembles animaliers. Regardant la scène de Puits dans son entièreté, on constate que l'espace est une diaclase colmatée par l'argile et dégagée sur une profondeur d'environ 5 m par rapport au niveau du sol de l'Abside au fond de laquelle il s'ouvre²; c'est-à-dire, un espace sacré, caractérisé par des conditions spéciales d'entrée – participation collective à la cérémonie respective – probablement l'accès étant réservé seulement à ceux *initiés*, qui avaient survécu aux processions *de passage*³. Nous retenons aussi les observations portant sur la complémentarité: de grands taureaux et bovines rouges accompagnés de signes masculins, des vaches et chevaux accompagnés de signes féminins⁴, placés à la droite et à la gauche du Diverticule Axial, ce qui explique les caractéristiques du sanctuaire et l'existence des cérémonies culturelles. Enfin, la datation des créations artistiques de la Lascaux correspond à l'intervalle 15.000 – 14.000 ans, donc à l'interstade Lascaux, caractérisé par un adoucissement climatique⁵.

La **Grotte de Rouffignac** a été aussi dénommée la *Grotte des Mammouths* ou la *Grotte aux Cent Mammouths*, à cause des 150 mammouths identifiés là-bas. On a aussi identifié d'autres espèces d'animaux: vingt-six bisons, quatorze chevaux, douze rhinocéros, douze bouquetins, six serpents, quatre figures anthropomorphes, treize tectiformes⁶, etc. Dans le cadre de notre démarche, nous apprécions le fait que les figures anthropomorphes n'ont pas une signification particulière dans le déroulement de la cérémonie de la chasse, ou que l'on ne leur a intentionnellement pas accordé une importance spéciale, et on ne peut trouver une explication de nature spirituelle. Nous notons aussi les treize tectiformes, qui pourraient constituer les symboles des habitations dans l'imaginaire collectif de la communauté humaine qui a réalisé les créations artistiques. En ce contexte, la présence de masques humains affrontés, donc face à face⁷, a une importance particulière. Comme il a été constaté, les œuvres d'art ont été réalisées par plusieurs procédés techniques: dessin au noir de manganèse, l'argile rouge, craie blanche, trace digital sur l'argile moule, gravure⁸. Dans tout le déroulement d'animaux peints ou gravés, on remarque un thème principal: l'affrontement entre deux animaux ou deux groupes d'animaux, d'habitude des mammouths; il y a aussi des frises où plusieurs animaux de la même espèce se retrouvent. Nous constatons donc l'existence de certains *spectacles* de la religion de la chasse, par le grand nombre d'animaux impliqués dans la réalisation de la composition des cérémonies: le Grand Plafond à soixante-trois mammouths, rhinocéros, chevaux, bouquetins, etc., disposé en cercles concentriques. Nous supposons que l'implication de la communauté de chasseurs se réduisait à celle de spectateurs, car on n'a pas identifié ni de traces de pas sur le sol d'habitat, ni d'autres possibles traces de participation collective; il est également possible qu'on n'ait pas accordé une attention particulière aux modalités de participation des initiés dans le *spectacle* de la chasse de la

¹ Chirica, V., 2004a: 5-8; Chirica, V.-C., Chirica, V., 2012: 7-15.

² Leroi-Gourhan, 1984: 194.

³ Chirica, V.-C., *et alii*, 2012: 7-78.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 255.

⁵ Leroi-Gourhan, 1984: 199.

⁶ Barrière, 1984b: 204.

⁷ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 297, fig. 543; 386.

⁸ Barrière, 1984b: 204.

Grotte de Rouffignac. Évidemment, nous ne nions pas le fait que d'autres éléments de l'imaginaire collectif puissent ne pas être en accord avec les interprétations des exégètes de l'art rupestre du Paléolithique supérieur européen, et que l'existence des cérémonies due à la magie ou à la religion de la chasse peuvent constituer les plus faciles tentatives de compréhension de ces créations artistiques de nature religieuse. De toute façon, nous accordons une importance particulière à la présence massive des herbivores, en association (sur le plan général de la création artistique) seulement à deux félins et un ours, ce qui suggère la préoccupation de la communauté humaine (possiblement à cause aussi des conditions climatiques, d'environnement) avec la chasse des herbivores, comme élément spécifique de l'art religieuse de la Grotte de Rouffignac.

La **Grotte de Gabillou** contient ces éléments par lesquels nous démontrons la pratique des cérémonies culturelles par les communautés qui y ont habité ou qui l'ont fréquenté. Il est vrai, nous nous référons à des créations artistiques, qui sont statiques, mais leur nombre suppose l'existence de nécessités religieuses qui les ont imposées. En outre, c'est ici qu'on a découvert les outils en silex local (lamelles à dos, représentant 67% du total de l'industrie lithique de là-bas), les armes en os-corne (neuf sagaies étroites à rainure longitudinale, autres objets en os), pierres de foyer, fragmentaires, qui démontrent l'existence des structures de combustion, comme éléments d'habitat), lampes en calcaire, une palette avec traces d'ocre et de manganèse¹. Les créations artistiques de la Grotte de Gabillou sont en grandes lignes représentées par cinquante-neuf chevaux, vingt-huit rennes, dix-huit bovidés, douze bisons, huit bouquetins, quatre félins, quatre ours (trois douteux), deux lièvres, une biche, un canidé (douteux), dix-huit animaux, quatre sorciers, quatre figures humaines ou anthropomorphes, soixante-douze signes, parmi lesquelles il y a signes tectiformes; on y ajoute des graffiti inintelligibles². Revenant à la présence des éléments artistiques, humaines, ou anthropomorphes, nous considérons nécessaire de les diviser en: féminins (*la Femme à l'anorak*), masculins (les sorciers) et incertains (les figures humaines ou anthropomorphes), auxquels nous ajoutons les tectiformes, lesquels dans l'idéologie des communautés humaines paléolithiques sont liés à une éventuelle présence humaine. Sans essayer de donner une interprétation à *la Femme à l'anorak*, car nous n'en connaissons pas les sens et la signification, nous sommes pourtant à même d'apprécier que les quatre représentations humanoïdes (*sorciers*) (Fig. 3/1) appartiennent à coup sûr à des processions culturelles de la chasse. Nous considérons que, pour la majorité des exégètes de l'art religieux paléolithique, il a été très facile de donner le qualificatif de *sorciers*, même à l'attribution idéologique, mais nous leur avons accordé le rôle de chasseurs déguisés en animaux, aux multiples significations des gestes symboliques, concernant la *substitution*, comme thème très important dans la création religieuse du Paléolithique supérieur européen³. De telles réalisations ont été identifiées aussi dans d'autres grottes-sanctuaires du territoire de l'Europe, mais à Gabillou quatre telles créations artistiques ont été réalisées. Sans chercher à identifier des détails qui peuvent être considérés comme insignifiants, nous apprécions le fait que dans cette grotte il y a eu des cérémonies culturelles spéciales, peut-être même spécifiques à l'espace géographique et temporel (la seule grotte-sanctuaire de la vallée de l'Isle, la présence humaine de là-bas étant datée dans le cycle Aurignaco-Périgordien ou dans le Magdalénien ancien). Il faut aussi noter qu'à Gabillou, les cérémonies culturelles se sont répétées pendant l'entière période: Aurignacien – Périgordien – Magdalénien ancien, avec la spécificité des dimensions petites de tous les sujets gravés sur les parois de la grotte. A. Leroi-Gourhan ajoute aussi le fait que *La structure générale du Gabillou est celle des grands sanctuaires comme Lascaux, Niaux, Les Combarelles, La Pasièga, dans lesquels on trouve toute une série de répétition du thème principal, organisée dans toutes les ressources de la topographie locale*⁴, d'où on peut constater, une fois de plus, l'indubitable

¹ Gaussen, 1984: 229.

² Gaussen, 1984: 231.

³ Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2016: 153-167.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 259.

organisation des communautés humaines en ce qui concerne le déroulement de la création artistique du domaine de la spiritualité religieuse.

Dans la **Grotte d'Erberua**, la figuration pariétale d'intérêt pour notre démarche se réfère à la tête d'une figure anthropomorphe gravée, mais il existe aussi une autre figure anthropomorphe, tout comme trois mains en négatif, dont deux de la couleur de l'ocre et une autre, noire¹. Cette grotte a un inventaire de plus de cent figurations, dont 53% gravures et 27% peintures. Les deux techniques ont été aussi utilisées en association, et on a créé aussi des sculptures dans l'argile de la grotte. En ce qui concerne la datation de cet ensemble artistique, on le considère d'habitude comme s'encadrant parmi les sanctuaires magdaléniens des Pyrénées². À cause de la faible représentation des éléments anthropomorphes, et aussi des zoomorphes, de l'absence de créations artistiques à caractéristiques bien déterminées, nous apprécions que cet ensemble artistique ne représente pas l'un des grands sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur européen. Pourtant, la représentation des mains, et aussi les deux créations anthropomorphes nous donnent des raisons pour les inclure parmi les endroits où l'on pouvait organiser des manifestations culturelles dédiées à la chasse des herbivores (chevaux, bovidés, cervidés, etc.).

Comme dans la **Grotte d'Isturitz**, dans la **Grotte Blanchard** on a découvert des pièces d'art mobilier de grande importance pour ce qui est des cérémonies culturelles, consacrées surtout à la chasse, mais aussi à d'autres processions d'importance dans la vie spirituelle de la communauté. Nous nous référons au bois de renne avec les représentations d'un bison sur une face et de trois biches sur la deuxième, un pendeloque qui représente deux files de personnages anthropomorphes se tenant par la main³ et d'autres pièces d'art mobilier à décor zoomorphe (Fig. 4). Il faut aussi ajouter le fait qu'à Isturitz, dans la Grande Salle, on a identifié des restes d'habitat du Paléolithique moyen jusqu'au Magdalénien final⁴. Mais, spécifiques à la Grotte d'Isturitz et dans des autres grottes sont les baguettes demi-rondes décorées⁵ (Fig. 5).

Dans la **Grotte Bayol** on a identifié des séries de mains en positif, dont certaines associées à des représentations peintes d'animaux, des signes noirs ou rouges. Il y a une main de l'homme à le rôle de rajouter l'image ocre d'un poisson ou d'une reptile, une représentation rare dans l'art pariétal paléolithique⁶. Il y a des mains d'adulte associées aux mains de l'enfant. Donc, on a ici des créations artistiques représentant des animaux (herbivores), poissons, *signes*: points, traits, claviformes, signes complexes, triangles (les 12 triangles rouges – le symbolisme féminin du triangle pubien ?), mains positives droites ou gauches⁷, etc. Selon A. Leroi-Gourhan, c'est le thème bœuf-cheval + lion + mains qui sont représenté ici⁸ dans une grande proportion. Nous considérons que ces créations artistiques ont été dédiées à des cérémonies culturelles, associées ou non à la chasse ou à la pêche.

Dans la **Grotte de la Baume-Latrone** on a découvert quelques-uns des plus significatifs éléments d'art paléolithique, consacrés aux processions rituelles. Nous nous référons aux empreintes des mains, entières ou incomplètes, mais qui démontrent, comme nous l'avons déjà constaté⁹, une certaine importance rituelle, un code symbolique de la communauté humaine qui visitait la grotte dans des buts encore inconnus. A. Leroi-Gourhan considère que le thème principal de la création artistique

¹ Larribau, Prudhomme, 1984: 277, 279.

² Larribau, Prudhomme, 1984: 279.

³ Allain, 1984: 301.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 268.

⁵ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 54, fig. 38-44.

⁶ Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984a: 324.

⁷ Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984a: 324.

⁸ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 329.

⁹ Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984b: 334.

est représenté par l'association mammouth-cheval + félin + mains¹. Une importance particulière est accordée au mammouth à la trompe repliée vers l'avant, à une seule défense, pour lequel on a représenté même trois flèches, qui avaient été utilisées pour abattre l'animal (probablement chassé avec prédilection, ou qui constitue, par la grande quantité de viande, l'essence même de la chasse par cette communauté humaine). Les trois flèches sont gravées sur le thorax. Trois autres (possible) flèches ont été gravées sous la queue du mammouth². Il faut y ajouter les gravures exécutées au doigt dans l'argile molle des parois, et aussi la manière, totalement inconnue, des créations artistiques, qui semblent avoir été réalisées par des artistes abstractionnistes de la contemporanéité. Ces créations et représentations sont les plus importantes, dans le sens de nos identifications concernant l'importance des mains, capables de représenter des éléments naturels ou de nature spirituelle. Tout aussi importantes sont les flèches ayant blessé le mammouth, ce fait constituant, selon nous, une indubitable preuve de la pratique de cérémonies spéciales, consacrées à la chasse. Nous considérons donc que les représentations respectives, peintes ou gravées, avaient un rôle déterminant dans le cadre des processions rituelles, organisées par les chasseurs gravettiens de la zone méditerranéenne, ou par les Solutréens du même espace géographique.

Des représentations des mains, d'une très grande valeur artistique, ont été réalisées aussi dans la **Grotte du Moulin de Laguenay**. Les deux mains, réalisées en négatif, cernées de noir³, Fig. 6, faisaient partie du cérémonial comportemental des communautés humaines solutréennes, étant le signe de la création ou bien de la protection des animaux de chasse⁴.

Dans la **Grotte de Bédeilhac** on a identifié plusieurs créations artistiques, représentant des herbivores (des bisons, chevaux), tandis que les carnivores sont complètement absents. Il est à remarquer le fait qu'on a représenté des animaux acéphales ou par contre des têtes dépourvues de corps, situation que nous avons rencontré dans d'autres grottes de France aussi, et que nous pouvons associer à un culte – avec des manifestations rituelles de la chasse. Nous avons précisé ailleurs le fait que dans la conception religieuse des communautés humaines paléolithiques, la tête représentait l'élément essentiel de la vie⁵, donc nous attribuons la même acception aux achevements artistiques acéphales ou aux seules têtes d'herbivores des grottes-sanctuaires à créations artistiques. Mais, dans la Grotte de Bédeilhac il existe aussi d'autres créations artistiques, intéressantes de ce point de vue, parmi lesquelles nous mentionnons: la présence seulement d'herbivores (chevaux, bisons et un seul renne, incertain); des *signes* rectangulaires complexes, des hachures gravées, des bas-reliefs en argile, modelées sur le sol, en argile, un bison qui présente deux perforations sur le flanc, de traces de doigts, des signes fléchés gravés, des animaux profondément incisés dans l'argile, réalisations artistiques – gravure sur l'argile, mains positives, un emblème phallique, une vulve, peinture monochrome et polychrome, même des combinaisons de ces techniques; cette création artistique se trouve en association avec des restes de foyer, ossements et charbons⁶. Tous les achevements artistiques appartiennent à l'époque magdalénienne française. De la sorte, dans cette grotte nous trouvons presque tous les éléments par lesquels nous pouvons identifier un réel sanctuaire. Il est difficile à préciser en détail les processions cérémoniales auxquelles les membres de la communauté de Magdaléniens ont pris part (d'autant plus que la majorité des créations artistiques ont été très effacées et il est difficile de se faire une idée exacte de la composition originale⁷), mais nous avons la certitude qu'on se trouve dans le cadre du sacré collectif, par la participation de la communauté entière, non seulement des

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 329.

² Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984b: 338.

³ Couchard et le Groupe spéléologique de la Corrèze, Mazière et Raynal, 1984: 356.

⁴ Chirica, V., *et alii*, 2016:116.

⁵ Chirica, V., 1982: 229-230.

⁶ Gailli, *et alii*, 1984: 371-373; Clottes, 1984a: 37-38.

⁷ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 320.

artistes-créateurs de l'esthétique religieux. L'image des flèches, des traces de blessure de certains herbivores sont des indices de cérémonies religieuses dans le domaine de la sacralité collective. En ce sens, même si P. Soulages croit que la Grotte de Bédeilhac « n'avait sans doute qu'une importance mineure »¹, il admet que l'entière création artistique du temps et de l'espace auxquels nous nous référons, « ait puissamment stimulé l'imagination et les sentiments religieux des Magdaléniens »². C'est probablement à ce but qu'on a modélé un petit bison, en association avec une figure triangulaire de caractère féminin³, mais il existe aussi « l'homme sans tête », qui a été peint dans le « Salon noir »⁴.

Comme certains spécialistes l'affirment, la **Grotte de Massat** est « un sanctuaire profond d'accès difficile, et même très difficile pour la seconde salle »⁵. C'est là-bas qu'on a identifié des créations artistiques d'une importante valeur, y compris religieuse, parmi lesquelles nous mentionnons ceux réalisés au doigt dans l'argile de la paroi, une tête humaine avec un fort prognathisme, la bouche ouverte et les dents visibles, une possible tête anthropomorphe, une autre tête humaine, avec l'indication des cheveux⁶, un bestiaire représenté par des bisons, chevaux, bouquetins, mais à des possibles liaisons techniques et typologiques avec les sanctuaires de cette zone géographique. On peut y ajouter un bâton percé, décoré par la tête d'ours, accompagne des signes abstraits⁷. L'ensemble entier peut être attribué à des communautés humaines du Magdalénien moyen et supérieur français. Les créations artistiques de là-bas semblent indiquer avec certitude y compris la présence humaine dans le cadre de certaines cérémonies cultuelles du sacré collectif. D'ailleurs, nous pouvons considérer que l'entière création artistique de cette grotte, mais surtout ceux de l'espace nommé *Sanctuaire* a des connotations religieuses, étant consacré aux cérémonies cultuelles de la chasse.

La **Grotte du Tuc D'Audoubert** se remarque surtout par des éléments qui attestent y compris l'organisation des cérémonies rituelles d'initiation des enfants, fait constaté par les nombreuses empreintes de pas humains, préservés dans le sol de celle-ci: surtout dans l'espace devenu rituel, dénommé la Salle des Talons, on a identifié de véritables *pistes*, préservées et visibles dans argile du sol, « faites par des enfants marchant délibérément sur leurs seuls talons »⁸. Cette grotte, à un étage inférieur et un étage supérieur, a été habitée pendant plus longtemps que la majorité des grottes de la France, par des communautés magdaléniennes et se remarque aussi par les nombreuses pièces d'art mobilier, de MDA, ce qui peut représenter, encore une fois, les relations homme=animal dans le Paléolithique supérieur européen. Nous nous référons aux thèmes importants de la création artistique préhistorique, par laquelle l'homme - démiurge a réussi en permanence à imposer son supériorité par rapport à l'environnement, par tous les moyens, non seulement matériels (la chasse, le feu, etc.), mais aussi par les valeurs spirituelles (les créations artistiques, les objets d'art mobilier de MDA, etc.). Le fait que dans la Salle des Talons on n'a gardé que les traces (les pas) des enfants, démontre soit le fait que les pas des adultes ont été effacés, soit que les adultes n'avaient pas d'accès à ces moments des cérémonies d'initiation⁹. Associées à d'autres découvertes: des canines perforées, des images et symboles phalliques, ou de vulves, elles démontrent avec certitude l'existence des cérémonies cultuelles, consacrées à la chasse mais aussi le phénomène de la procréation dans le cadre des communautés humaines qui ont fréquenté cet important abri naturel. Nous pouvons aussi prendre en considération la représentation tellement naturaliste du cheval, que nous considérons être le prototype de l'entière création animalière du peintre Fr. Delacroix (Fig. 7). La création artistique de là-

¹ Soulages, 2006: 97.

² Soulages, 2006: 99.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 320.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 320.

⁵ Clottes et Gailli, 1984: 398.

⁶ Clottes et Gailli, 1984: 398-399.

⁷ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 54, 104, fig. 216.

⁸ Bégouën, Clottes, 1984b: 412.

⁹ Chirica, V., *et alii*, 2012: 49-70; Chirica, V.-C. *et alii*, 2012: 7-75.

bas – les deux bisons en argile – le seul modelage en argile des bisons – représente un apogée de l’art magdalénien de tout le Continent, à connotations religieuses incontestables, autour desquelles amples cérémonies culturelles se déroulaient (Fig. 8). Enfin, selon nous, les images des animaux fantastiques complètent la série des éléments de nature spirituelle des cérémonies religieuses de la Grotte du Tuc d’Audoubert.

La **Grotte de Niaux** se caractérise surtout par la représentation artistique des animaux chassés: bisons, chevaux, présentant des flèches gravées sur leurs corps. Une possible silhouette humaine a le rôle de démontrer que l’Homme est aussi le créateur et le chasseur des animaux représentés sur les parois de la grotte; l’image, vague, de l’homme (de la silhouette humaine) peut constituer le *canon* obligatoire de l’art paléolithique: l’*image interdite*¹. Nous ajoutons aussi l’image du bison à flèches gravées, et aussi celle du «bison aux cupules», qui présentent des blessures sur le flanc² (Fig. 9). Selon nous, l’image du bison à l’œil droit et la bouche ouverte, symbolisant la blessure mortelle de l’animal chassé est non seulement spectaculaire, mais aussi naturaliste. Un personnage sans tête, tracé avec du noir, semble représenter une figure humaine, mais seulement le tronc et les jambes³.

Le Réseau René Clastres est une énorme galerie dont l’entrée actuelle est partiellement interrompue par un réseau de lacs, encore actifs. Dans la première partie de la galerie, à partir de la soi-disant entrée utilisée par les communautés humaines magdaléniennes, on a découvert d’importants témoignages sur certaines cérémonies d’initiation, car l’inventaire de la zone contient dix-sept plages d’empreintes de pieds, donc « plus de cinq cents empreintes d’adultes et d’enfants, dont un banc de sable dans la Salle des Peintures qui fut parcouru par trois jeunes enfants marchant côte à côte, prudemment, le long de la paroi »⁴. Donc, c’est toute la cérémonie qui est présentée ici, à laquelle participent les adultes et enfants (identifiés par les traces de pas), dont seuls trois enfants ont été des participants directs de la cérémonie d’initiation (Fig. 10). Cette découverte peut être considérée parmi les plus certaines représentations des processions d’initiation; dans d’autres zones géographiques, de telles cérémonies sont seulement considérées par les spécialistes, en bases des découvertes archéologiques spécifiques⁵. Par exemple, nous avons nous-mêmes considérés que les deux enfants de Sungir ont été les victimes d’une telle cérémonie, mais n’ont pas résisté à la dureté des épreuves qu’ils auraient dû dépasser, pour être reçus dans le cadre de la communauté, avec tous les droits d’un membre de celle-ci⁶. Aux découvertes présentées, provenant de Réseau René Clastres, nous ajoutons aussi « les traces longues traînées horizontales, sur 5,60 m de longueur, faites par la main de l’un des visiteurs préhistoriques à son passage »⁷, avec la précision que selon nous, ces traces auraient pu faire partie toujours du cérémonial rituel de la communauté humaine respective.

La **Grotte de Fontanet** consiste en une longue galerie, à espaces spéciaux, dans lesquels on a découvert des éléments de certaines cérémonies rituelles, trois foyers et de nombreux peintures et gravures d’animaux, surtout herbivores. Nous remarquons surtout les représentations humaines, la silhouette anthropomorphe noire, même gravée, une petite silhouette féminine gravée, deux grandes têtes humaines au trait noir, y compris l’empreinte de pied chaussé, les cupules imprimées au doigt, une autre empreinte de pied humain chaussé, même une main d’enfant dans l’argile du sol⁸. Selon nous, ces faits et représentations constituent des preuves des cérémonies culturelles des communautés

¹ Chirica, V., 2011: 25-50.

² Clottes, 1984: 420.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 306, fig. 602.

⁴ Clottes et Simonnet, 1984: 427.

⁵ Chirica, V.-C., Chirica, V., 2012: 8-20.

⁶ Chirica, V.-C., *et alii*, 2014: 30-55.

⁷ Clottes et Simonnet, 1984: 427.

⁸ Clottes, *et alii*, 1984: 434-435.

de Magdaléniens, qui ont créé non seulement les œuvres d'art, mais ont laissé aussi les empreintes de leur participations aux cérémonies rituelles.

Dans la **Grotte de Ganties-Montespan** on a trouvé d'autres éléments culturels, représentant la chasse, mais aussi des aspects de la relation chtonique=uranique. Nous nous référons tout d'abord au cheval gravé, qui présente aussi les traces des blessures faites par instrument conique, et aussi le bison associé à une figure féminine¹, image que nous retrouverons, beaucoup mieux représentée, à Magdelaine-Tarn, tout comme dans l'art énéolithique du territoire de la Roumanie². Nous ajoutons d'autres représentations anthropomorphes, masculines et féminines, des participants aux cérémonies religieuses organisées à l'intérieur de la grotte. Nous citons la description de la scène de chasse, représentant, sans doute, l'essence de ces créations artistiques: « *Nous y trouvons, pour la première fois, la représentation d'une véritable scène de chasse. Des chevaux poussés dans une palissade jusqu'à une fosse servant de piège et harcelés par les cris, les sagaies et les pierres des rabatteurs, tout cela est grossièrement représenté, tracé au doigt dans l'argile d'une paroi formant frise, ayant environ 30 cm de hauteur. Seul, le premier cheval est très finement et artistiquement traité, et cette petite gravure est une des plus belles que je connaisse. L'animal est en train de tomber; il roule, le dos rond, le cou tendu et la tête dressée; les naseaux frémissants expriment l'angoisse et la douleur. Les pieds de devant sont cachés par une plaque de stalagmite, mais ils devaient être repliés, car la plaque de calcaire serait trop petite pour recouvrir des pattes allongées. Après cet animal blessé, commence une série de trous faits par de gros doigts d'hommes, en grande partie recouverts, comme tout l'ensemble du panneau, d'une couche de calcaire qui en assure l'ancienneté et l'authenticité. Trois silhouettes de chevaux suivent, de plus en plus indistinctes à mesure qu'on avance vers le fond, car les animaux sont recouverts de larges traits verticaux représentant les palissades derrière lesquelles ils sont traqués, et les trous rageusement faits, sans aucun doute au cours d'une cérémonie d'envoûtement, figurent les traits et les pierres qu'on leur lancera. Les palissades s'arrêtent à un trou de 0,15 m de diamètre, fait dans l'argile, au bout de la galerie, et en partie stalagmite*³. Ces observations appartiennent à l'un des premiers chercheurs des grottes de France, et nous ne trouvons aucune raison pour le contredire en ce qui concerne la cérémonie de la chasse, pour laquelle le panneau entier a été créé. Évidemment, nous ne pouvons au moins supposer la manière dans laquelle les membres de l'entière communauté de Magdaléniens, ou le groupe de chasseurs ont participé, mais nous considérons que, du point de vue spirituel, ceux-ci ont eu un rôle bien établi, pratique, non seulement par la présence du symbolisme culturel (Fig. 11). Cette scène est tellement significative dans l'art religieux du Paléolithique supérieur, qu'A. Leroi-Gourhan a nommé la zone « la Galerie de la "Scène de chasse" »⁴.

Dans la **Grotte de Marsoulas** nous avons quelques découvertes très intéressantes: tout d'abord, du point de vue stratigraphique, on a identifié trois niveaux de foyers, qui semblent offrir des explications concernant les possibles étapes d'habitat, ou de création des œuvres d'art; c'est ici qu'on a découvert des œuvres d'art mobilier, gravées sur MDA et qui présentent les motifs décoratifs suivants: bison, cervidé, tête d'animal, tortue, pendeloque en forme de poisson, soit schématique, soit géométrique⁵; l'ensemble de la création artistique est représenté par trente-trois bisons, trente-trois équidés, une dizaine de ruminants (des bovidés, des caprines, des cervidés, mais même dix-sept figures anthropomorphes)⁶. En ce qui concerne la présence des figures anthropomorphes, nous pouvons identifier dans ce cas aussi le *canon* obligatoire de l'*image interdite*, que nous avons observé

¹ Rivenq, 1984: 442, 444.

² Chirica, V., Văleanu, 2008.

³ Bégouën, 1926, cité par Rivenq, 1984: 443-444.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 313.

⁵ Plenier, 1984: 447-448.

⁶ Plenier, 1984: 448.

aussi dans d'autres œuvres d'art pariétal ou dans l'art néo-énéolithique carpatobalkanique¹. Nous notons aussi qu'aucun animal n'est complet, bien que les têtes des animaux soient dessinées avec soin². Sans connaître les cérémonies qui se sont déroulées dans la Grotte de Marsoulas, nous voyons la certitude de telles manifestations culturelles, dans le domaine de la faune comme élément de la chasse, mais aussi en ce qui concerne l'homme-démiurge, celui qui a créé l'entier bestiaire de cet important sanctuaire du Paléolithique supérieur européen. Même la gravure de certaines figures anthropomorphes sur le flanc de quelques bisons ont leur importance particulière à l'égard du déroulement des images anthropomorphes et zoomorphes. A. Leroi-Gourhan précise que le thème principal de la création artistique est fourni par le bison-cheval, le signe féminin quadrangulaire ou claviforme, le signe masculin barbelés, alors que les visages d'hommes ne sont pas absents non plus³.

Dans le cadre de notre démarche, la **Grotte du Pech-Merle** se caractérise par de nombreuses empreintes de pas (une douzaine d'empreintes de pas de longueurs différentes sont conservés dans le fond d'un gour argileux à près de 200 m de l'entrée des communautés humaines paléolithiques, par les images humaines (Femmes-bisons, Homme blessé, «un chasseur pourtant un arc sous le bras», en total douze figurations humaines, des tracés digitaux, des mains en négatif, noirs ou rouges⁴. L'association femmes-bisons et mammoth nous semble intéressante, étant aussi identifiée dans d'autres grottes du Paléolithique supérieur de France, même si là-bas, à Pech-Merle, les images créées ne sont pas si exactes que celles d'autres créations artistiques. Comme on précise, Pech-Merle est le plus important sanctuaire paléolithique du Quercy⁵, existant des preuves archéologiques que cet espace n'a pas été habité par les communautés humaines. Nous n'avons pas accordé une grande attention aux représentations de poissons d'autres grottes, mais nous observons qu'à Pech-Merle à ceux-ci on a accordé une grande attention. La femme seule, dont on a très attentivement dessiné le contour, sur le Plafond des Hiéroglyphes, ou l'Homme blessé, portant un masque d'oiseau et ayant le corps percé de huit traits, sont des créations artistiques très bien réalisées. Nous nous trouvons de nouveau en présence d'images de cérémonies culturelles, organisées sur différents thèmes religieux: la procréation, donc l'association chthonique=uranique, l'homme blessé, que nous avons rencontré à Lascaux. Les cinq cent soixante-seize figurations peintes ou gravées peuvent être considérées comme autant de preuves certaines de cérémonies culturelles, d'autant plus qu'on a apprécié que la grotte n'a pas été habitée. De la sorte, nous pouvons supposer que toutes ces créations artistiques, auxquelles nous ajoutons les empreintes de pas ou les représentations des mains, démontrent l'ampleur des manifestations religieuses. Nous précisons qu'aux cérémonies d'initiation participaient aussi bien d'adultes que d'enfants, puisque les empreintes de pas appartiennent aux deux catégories d'âge (Fig. 12; Fig. 13).

On retrouve l'homme blessé aussi dans la **Grotte de Cognac** où il a été représenté, en plusieurs scènes, dont la première se trouvait en association à des herbivores (mégacéros, cerf, bouquetin, cheval), alors que la deuxième présentait l'homme tout seul, présentant les traces de plusieurs flèches en plusieurs parties du corps (Fig. 14). Nous précisons aussi le fait que la figuration humaine est rendue en plusieurs zones de la grotte, et le personnage anthropomorphe est créé en plusieurs images: sur le Panneau III apparaissent deux figurations noires, à tête arrondie, mais les yeux ne sont pas représentés (des «fantômes», comme à Combarelles, Trois-Frères, Gabillou, etc.⁶); la figure anthropomorphe est colorée en noir; sur le Panneau V, le corps humain est noir, sans tête, sans bras, mais il y a trois flèches (sagaies) fichées dans son postérieur; sur le Panneau VIII, l'image

¹ Besançon, 1996; Chirica, V., *et alii*, 2008-2009: 307-330; Chirica, V., 2011: 20-35.

² Plénier, 1984: 449.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 300, fig. 567, 568.

⁴ Lorblanchet, 1984a: 470-472.

⁵ Lorblanchet, 1984a: 467.

⁶ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 266, fig. 386.

humaine est même noire, avec tête et bras, avec deux jambes; sept traits sont fichés dans son corps¹. Celle-ci représentent des scènes de chasse, mais c'est le chasseur qui est blessé, et non les animaux chassés, ce qui avait un sens majeur dans les croyances et les pratiques religieuses de la communauté humaine, même si nous ne pouvons pas encore comprendre leur entier contenu.

Si nous prenons en considération seulement les représentations des mains, noires ou rouges, en positif ou en négatif, comme éléments rituels de certaines cérémonies spécifiques, il faut ajouter aussi la **Grotte des Merveilles**, où l'on a rendu l'image d'un nombre de six mains en négatif, dont quatre rouges et deux noires, sur les panneaux I, IV et VI de la grotte. On précise le fait que, sur le Panneau IV, le cheval est superposé de deux mains en négatif, tracés avec du rouge², ce qui, dans notre interprétation, suggère l'importance des mains de l'homme, de la création ou de défense des animaux³.

La **Grotte de Pergouset** doit être citée ici tenant compte du fait que c'est ici qu'on a créé la *première vulve gravée*, triangulaire (Fig. 15), tout comme la silhouette d'un homme, sans tête et qui, comme deux autres gravures, semble représenter une image fantastique⁴, mais la représentation d'éléments anthropomorphes, sans tête, comme les «queues de bison tronquées» pourraient s'identifier aux femmes-bisons de Pech-Merle. Nous considérons ces créations artistiques très intéressantes, parce que c'est pour la première fois que les communautés humaines ont rendu l'image sexuelle féminin, et aussi l'homme représenté comme image fantastique, qui pourrait représenter un nouveau *canon* des représentations anthropomorphes dans l'art paléolithique. La célébration de telles représentations était associée à des scènes culturelles que nous ne connaissons pas.

La **Grotte de Gargas** est le seul sanctuaire du Paléolithique supérieur dans lequel la représentation des mains est de très grande ampleur: deux cent cinquante connues maintenant⁵, même si A. Leroi-Gourhan compte seulement 150, réparties à l'entrée dans la grotte⁶. Notre avis est qu'il ne peut s'agir plus de petites cérémonies dédiées aux mains créatrices ou protectrices; nous considérons que ce sanctuaire a été entièrement dédié aux mains créatrices de l'homme-démiurge. Les mains de Gargas ont été peintes en négatif, avec du noir (la plupart) ou du rouge, une seule en blanc, quelques-unes en ocre; il y a des représentations de la main droite mais plus nombreuses sont les représentations de la main gauche; dans le même registre des mains peintes, nous voyons que celles aux doigts incomplets ou déformés sont plus nombreux; il existe le Sanctuaire des mains intérieures et extérieures; il y a des secteurs à un certain spécifique: le groupe no. 8, avec quarante-deux mains; il y a un Sanctuaire avec trente mains à l'intérieur et dix-huit mains à l'extérieur. On a soufflé de la couleur liquide sur la main appliquée sur la roche. La peinture a été réalisée surtout dans la moitié antérieure du niveau inférieur de la grotte, les mains étant groupées en plusieurs panneaux, où l'on rencontre aussi quelques empreintes, en argile. Nous pouvons proposer aussi une analyse quantitative des proportions: deux cent cinquante des mains peintes et cent quarante-cinq gravures d'animaux, concentrées toujours dans la partie inférieure de la grotte; on a découvert aussi des empreintes de doigts mutilés, qui pourraient appartenir aux mêmes *scénarios* des manifestations culturelles. Le fait que les mains ont été réalisées avec la paume vers le rocher, et non inversement, nous détermine à croire que cette dernière position des mains était interdite. Dans le Pavillon Chinois A et D il y a des empreintes de mains avec les doigts coupés, situation observée même à Lascaux; la mutilation est différente. Notre opinion concernant l'existence de *scénarios* spéciaux est soutenue aussi par les mesurages ayant enregistré un nombre relativement bas de participants: approximativement une

¹ Lorblanchet, 1984b: 486.

² Lorblanchet, 1984c: 492-494.

³ Chirica, V., 2011: 40-41.

⁴ Lorblanchet, 1984c: 505-506; Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 299.

⁵ Barrière, 1984c: 516.

⁶ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 250.

douzaine d'hommes, de femmes, d'enfants, de bébés¹, et aussi le grand nombre de mains représentées en négatif, fait qui nous mène de nouveau à l'idée de certaines restrictions culturelles. Une autre observation s'impose: les mains ont été peintes dans les espaces à illumination naturelle, comme à La Basume-Latrone, à Rocamadour, à Bernifal, et les animaux ont été gravés dans les espaces retirés, au fonds de la grotte; on a représenté seulement des herbivores, fait qui confirme nos opinions concernant les caractéristiques du sanctuaire de Gargas. D'ailleurs, A. Leroi-Gourhan a mis en évidence le caractère symbolique des représentations des mains².

Dans la **Grotte du Bois du Cantet** on a identifié une seule image féminine, stylisée, qui pourrait ou non représenter, véritablement, une femme³. Il y a aussi des représentations animalières, toujours gravées, dans un nombre relativement grand, de certains herbivores, mais nous considérons qu'il y a trop peu d'éléments culturels pour motiver l'existence de cérémonies spécifiques, mais nous n'excluons pas la possibilité que celles-ci aient existé.

La **Grotte de Labastide** se caractérise par l'existence des empreintes de doigts, par un masque anthropomorphe, de certaines figures anthropomorphes (sur le panneau 12), d'une figure féminine schématisée (panneau 8); en ce qui concerne les représentations animalières, on remarque celles de chevaux, raison pour laquelle la grotte a été aussi nommée la *Grotte des Chevaux*⁴. On apprécie l'existence d'un personnage fléchi et dansant dans une dépression médiane de la paroi, même de plaquettes gravées⁵, comme on a déjà rencontré dans la Grotte Fumaine, mais on a également représenté un signe ovale féminin, en parenthèse⁶. Tenant compte de ces images, de l'anthropomorphe qui danse, ou du masque anthropomorphisé, ou du signe féminin, nous aussi nous soutenons l'existence de certaines cérémonies culturelles, à danses et personnages déguisés par *substitution*, même si une telle substitution n'est pas claire.

La **Grotte de Tibiran** semble se caractériser toujours par l'abondance des images de mains: dans la *Grande Salle*, le plus grand panneau a neuf mains négatives rouges, à doigts mutilés ou absents; le second panneau de mains comprend trois mains, toujours en négatif, dont l'une à doigts mutilés⁷, comme les mains de la Grotte Gargas (Fig. 16). Dans d'autres espaces de la grotte on a identifié des mains, sans avoir des précisions supplémentaires qui nous permettent de comprendre la manière dont elles étaient peintes, ou par contre gravées. Nous remarquons seulement la réalisation des mains en négatif, peintes avec du rouge, fait qui de nouveau crée la possibilité des interprétations concernant certaines interdictions ou *canons* obligatoires pour les artistes – créateurs d'art religieux. De toute façon, nous estimons l'existence de cérémonies culturelles, spécifiques à cette grotte, ou, peut-être à la période de temps (Magdalénien) ou à l'espace géographique.

Dans le cadre de notre démarche, la **Grotte de la Magdeleine des Albis** constitue le deuxième sanctuaire du Paléolithique supérieur de France, où les artistes magdaléniens ont créé l'ensemble chthonique=uranique. Nous nous référons à la célèbre scène dans laquelle l'élément céleste, le taureau, est rendu *en attaque*, et la femme, l'élément terrestre, est représentée en position sexuelle. L'entière scène est composée sur une surface de 1 x 0,76 m⁸, donc il s'agit d'une composition unitaire, en utilisant d'une manière intelligente la paroi de rocher de la grotte. On précise qu'une autre femme a été représentée, toujours par gravure, en faisant preuve du même réalisme extraordinaire, mais en association avec le cheval, réalisé lui aussi d'une manière très naturaliste. Mais la première scène

¹ Barrière, 1984c: 518.

² Leroi-Gourhan, 1984a: 6; 1965: 249-250.

³ Clot, 1984a: 526, fig. 6.

⁴ Simonnet, George, Louise et Robert 1984: 530.

⁵ Simonnet, George, Louise et Robert 1984: 532; Clottes, 1984a: 37-38.

⁶ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 302

⁷ Clot, 1984b: 536; Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 319.

⁸ Bessac et Lautier, 1984: 542.

présentée par nous se remarque par la candeur de la création, ce qui peut déterminer une meilleure compréhension du fait religieux, que nous mettons en liaison avec l'idée religieuse de la perpétuation de l'espèce humaine (Fig. 17). De notre point de vue il est assez facile à nous imaginer les cérémonies déroulées dans le cadre des deux scènes: la Femme au cheval et la Femme au bison, les deux ayant la même connotation religieuse. Une importance spéciale peut être considérée par le fait que le bison et le cheval sont gravés, tandis que les Dames sont plutôt traitées en bas-relief. Mais, si nous prenons en considération les avis des auteurs, selon qui, la jeune fille a été représentée au cheval, et en association au bison, c'est la mère – culte associé à la reproduction, nous pouvons identifier ici une complexe manifestation culturelle de l'évolution de la femme – de la jeune fille à la femme - mère¹.

La **Grotte de Gouy** se caractérise par la représentation des vulves, probablement dans le cadre d'un nombre de cérémonies destinées aux femmes – élément très important de la continuité de l'espèce humaine. Les huit représentations de vulves sont les images sexuelles féminines gravées. Près de l'entrée actuelle on peut voir deux vulves en forme d'écu; sur la paroi opposée, on a représenté une vulve en bas-relief, puis deux autres vulves en simple triangle avec cupules, mais accompagnées d'un signe penniforme; un peu à la gauche, une troisième forme triangulaire peut représenter une autre vulve. L'anthropomorphe est également présent – une silhouette humaine de profil, et aussi une autre représentation de la vulve: un signe ovale féminin, en forme de parenthèse²; d'autres éléments de décor gravé n'ont pu être interprétés. De la sorte, dans ce sanctuaire aussi, nous envisageons l'organisation de cérémonies culturelles dédiées à la femme-qui naît des enfants, donc aux éléments essentiels de la perpétuation de l'espèce humaine.

L'**Abri du Roc-de-Sers** représente un sanctuaire complexe, car on y a découvert même une sépulture avec trois squelettes incomplètes, repliés: un homme, une femme et un adolescent d'environ dix-huit ans; tout près on a observé une création en ronde-bosse représentant une figure anthropomorphe. Le complexe archéologique contient aussi des outils en silex local, des pièces d'art travaillées en MDA, toutes à aspect solutréen et magdalénien. On a découvert plusieurs blocs en calcaire à diverses gravures, parmi lesquelles on signale le bloc F, sur lequel on a tracé la silhouette d'un homme fuyant. On remarque aussi des animaux, surtout des femelles gravides, et aussi une image double, l'homme-chasseur et l'animal de chasse³. Dans cet abri nous identifions l'intérêt particulier de la communauté humaine de Magdaléniens pour la transposition artistique de sujets d'intérêt religieux, même si les possibilités d'environnement (parois à grands blocs tombés) étaient assez médiocres; l'importance réside dans leur transposition en art, avec des significations de spiritualité accentuée, où l'on pouvait organiser des cérémonies spécifiques.

L'**Abri du Roc-Aux-Sorciers** contient au moins deux espaces distincts: la Cave Louis Taillebourg et l'Abri Bourdois, chacun à œuvres d'art spécifiques. D'ailleurs, on précise que le nom Roc-Aux-Sorciers est un énorme rocher. Par des recherches archéologiques on a découvert une rotule et une tête de fémur humaines. On a identifié aussi des pièces d'art mobilier, en MDA: des incisives perforées et cochées, des os hyoïdes percés et cochés, contours découpés, même de pièces en ivoire et les restes d'un foyer, dans l'horizon D; on a découvert même des lampes, des matières colorantes sous forme de crayons, ou d'argile colorée. Il y a des plaquettes de calcaire ornées des gravures avec des figures animales ou humaines⁴. On a découvert des panneaux à noms spécifiques: le panneau des *Trois Vénus*, à riches représentations artistiques: au moins trois images féminines, dont on a accentué la zone génitale, de la procréation et de la naissance (Fig. 18). C'est ici qu'on a identifié plusieurs thèmes principaux: un groupe central est constitué de trois troncs de femme côte à côte; au-dessus du groupe on a vu un visage d'homme, puis un cheval et deux bisons, donc une composition très importante:

¹ Bessac et Lautier, 1984: 542.

² Martin, P., Martin, Y., 1984: 556-559.

³ Delporte, 1984: 581-582.

⁴ de Saint-Mathurin, 1984: 584.

femme-bison + homme-cheval¹. En dehors de ces créations, on a aussi identifié des restes énigmatiques, interprétées comme une autre *Vénus*, et une autre figure: une tête de félin face à une figure anthropomorphe de caractère léonin, donc une nouvelle interprétation du *canon de la substitution* dans l'art du Paléolithique supérieur. Cette création artistique est précédée d'une petite tête humaine en léger relief, mais aussi une réalisation singulière: un bloc portant un buste d'homme, vu de profil, grandeur nature, sculpté, peint et gravé², création unique dans l'art du Paléolithique supérieur européen. D'autres représentations humaines sont signalées sur plaquettes ou blocs mobiles. Nous revenons aux trois *Vénus*, réalisées en grandeur quasi naturelle: la première, en demi-profil, la hauteur, de la taille au cou-de-pied, étant de 1,20 m; la seconde a été exécutée de manière plus sommaire, de face; une autre *Vénus* surcharge un bison, réalisé sans détail, mais elle est masquée par ce bison; au-dessus de la seconde *Vénus* on peut voir une autre tête anthropomorphe, considérée la quatrième *Vénus*.

Nous sommes donc en présence d'une multitude de représentations anthropomorphes, féminines et masculines, dont certaines associées à des animaux, raison pour laquelle nous croyons que ce vaste *abri* a représenté l'un des grands sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur. Même si on n'a pas signalé d'empreintes de pas provenant des nombreuses cérémonies, celles-ci ont eu lieu, parce que nous savons très bien que les créations artistiques à connotations religieuses étaient accompagnées de manifestations culturelles. Il est possible que les empreintes de pas humains n'aient pas été pris en considération, tout comme l'on n'a pas pris en considération la petite statuette « *Vénus impudique* » de Laugerie-Basse. Ces découvertes magdaléniennes ont été datées à 14.160± 80 ans BP (Grn 1913)³.

L'inclusion des grottes paléolithiques à œuvres d'art dans la catégorie des sanctuaires n'est pas une règle; d'autre part, parfois, bien qu'on les ait classifiés comme des sanctuaires, nous n'avons pu trouver d'éléments qui puissent justifier l'existence de cérémonies culturelles, tel que c'est le cas de la grotte **La Mouthe**⁴. Il est plus facile à considérer que la représentation des bisons, ou d'autres animaux, *affrontés*, pourrait constituer les éléments de certaines cérémonies, parce que l'on sait (y compris les artistes des communautés humaines paléolithiques) que la lutte des mâles précédait, la plupart des fois, l'accouplement, donc la croissance du nombre des populations d'animaux de chasse.

Dans son célèbre volume, A. Leroi-Gourhan présente aussi d'autres grottes ou abris, de France ou d'autres espaces géographiques, où l'on peut établir l'existence de certaines œuvres d'art qui ont eu un certain traitement religieux⁵; pourtant, ces créations artistiques, ou au moins une partie de celles-ci étant datées au début du Paléolithique supérieur, n'ont pas la complexité des créations magdaléniennes. De la sorte, dans la **Grotte Pair-Non-Pair** (Gironde), on n'a identifié que de *signes*, lesquels pourraient être catalogués de figures sexuelles féminines et de bâtonnets masculins⁶; en ce contexte, nous ne saurions pas admettre avec certitude l'existence des cérémonies culturelles, quoiqu'il nous soit impossible de proposer leur élimination. L'auteur propose leur encadrement dans le Style I, daté dans l'Aurignacien proprement-dit, où ce sont les associations qui prédominent (même à certaines aspects douteux en termes d'expression artistique: cheval-vulve; bouquetin-vulve; phallus-vulve; vulve-bâtonnets, animal-vulve-bâtonnets⁷, d'où nous pouvons déduire le fait que les communautés humaines respectives étaient préoccupées avec les problèmes essentielles de la prolifération de l'espèce humaine.

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 285.

² de Saint-Mathurin, 1984: 585.

³ de Saint-Mathurin, 1984: 586.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 295.

⁵ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965.

⁶ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 247.

⁷ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 242.

La **Grotte Saint-Cirq** (Dordogne) n'a pas un grand nombre d'œuvres d'art mais quelques-unes d'entre celles-ci sont très susceptibles d'avoir eu un rôle important dans les manifestations culturelles de la communauté humaine. Nous essayons ne pas *chercher* d'éléments concernant l'existence des cérémonies culturelles, car comme l'affirme A. Leroi-Gourhan, il existe ... *une grande figure masculine baptisée le «sorcier», tant il est utile à quelques préhistoriens de chercher dans des mots vides*; les artistes magdaléniens ont représenté par la gravure plusieurs personnages masculins, dont certains ont des traits similaires à ceux de Gabillou, Trois-Frères, etc.; on peut donc déduire le visage d'un homme bestialisé; on peut voir encore d'autres figures masculines: l'homme aux prises avec un bison, l'homme cornu, associé à des signes quadrangulaires, des hommes isolés ou inclus dans des compositions, un buste humain cornu¹. Nous ne trouvons donc en présence de créations artistiques inspirées en partie par la réalité, en partie par l'imagination, et nous pouvons nous demander si ces réalisations ont eu le simple rôle de remplir des parois ou le plafond de la grotte, ou ont eu un rôle culturel suggéré par les associations indiquées. Il est très difficile à entrer dans la mentalité de cette (ces) communauté(s) humaine(s) pour pouvoir comprendre les circonstances réelles de leur vie, qui ont imposé, comme norme, comme *canon*, la transposition dans l'art de certains personnages imaginaires ou bestialisés, à l'aide desquels ils cherchaient à protéger les membres de la communauté qui y habitait. Nous considérons comme indubitable l'application dans l'art des nécessités strictement humaines ou spirituelles, mais nous sommes d'avis qu'on se trouve en présence de créations du sacré collectif, nécessaires à la communauté humaine entière.

La **Grotte Le Portel** (Ariège) est une cavité d'approximativement 150 m longueur, où l'on a identifié deux sanctuaires: le sanctuaire ancien et le sanctuaire récent. Le sanctuaire ancien, à œuvres d'art, peintes avec du rouge et du noir, semble être daté en Aurignacien, et celui récent, à figures animalières tracées avec du noir, appartient au Magdalénien. Un foyer a été aussi trouvé là-bas. Ce qui nous intéresse particulièrement est le sanctuaire ancien, à séries d'animaux: cerfs, chevaux, mais il y a des bâtonnets rouges, points rouges, deux petites figures masculines, en rouge, une vulve stylisée², etc.; dans le sanctuaire récent, on a constaté que, sauf quelques gravures, les figures sont tracées avec du noir, mais, dans la galerie 4 il y a un panneau à animaux tracées avec du rouge et du noir. On a aussi signalé l'existence d'un buste « fantôme » d'un homme aussi que l'esquisse d'une tête de félin. On a également identifié des séries d'animaux spécifiques aux grottes de France: bison-cheval, bouquetin-cerf complémentaires; sept bisons, très beaux, complètent la série des animaux représentés dans le sanctuaire récent³. Même si l'auteur précise que « *l'ensemble des figures noires du Portel est très homogène* »⁴, nous y voyons par contre un certain manque d'homogénéité dans le traitement des animaux, même des éléments anthropomorphes dans les deux sanctuaires et nous considérons que l'existence de deux sanctuaires ne saurait nous déterminer à y voir aussi des pratiques cérémoniales là-dedans. Pourtant, ces *signe femelle – signe mâle*, associés à figures animalières peuvent constituer des éléments de possibles manifestations culturelles, inconnues et difficiles à interpréter.

La **Grotte Las Chimeneas**, Santander, se trouve pas loin de la Grotte La Pasiéga, avec un sanctuaire à représentations animalières peintes ou gravées. C'est au Solutréen évolué ou au Magdalénien ancien qu'on a attribué les signes féminins du type quadrangulaire et les signes masculins figurés par le double bâtonnet. Il y a des similitudes avec les représentations de Lascaux, Gabillou, peut-être aussi de Niaux. À travers plusieurs espaces on a nivelé la base de certains panneaux par grattage. Le thème principal semble être le bœuf-cheval, accompagné par le bouquetin (comme à Lascaux), alors que l'association cheval-cerf est aussi présente⁵. Donc, conformément à

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 262.

² Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 267-268.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 302-303.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 303.

⁵ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 269.

notre démarche, nous ne pouvons pas trouver des preuves indubitables concernant l'existence de manifestations culturelles, mais nous croyons que la préparation des parois et la création d'œuvres d'art, peintes ou gravées, avait un rôle important dans les religions ou dans la magie de la chasse, surtout dans l'espace du Solutréen ancien et du début du Magdalénien dans la zone géographique où se trouve la grotte.

La Grotte La Pasiéga, Santander, est située dans la même zone géographique que les grottes Las Chimeneas, Altamira, El Castillo. Dans la Galerie A, le thème principal est l'association du bœuf-cheval avec cerf-biche et bison-cheval. La présence dans le même ensemble des signes féminin - le bison, comme symbole femelle par excellence, et la biche¹ n'est pas représenté par hasard, car elle a été remarquée aussi dans d'autres grottes de France et d'Espagne. Les artistes ont aussi créé un buste humain couronné par une oreille et par une encornure de bovidé, ce qui nous renvoie de nouveau au possible *thème de la substitution*. Certaines associations artistiques de la Galerie D aux créations artistiques de la grotte voisine, El Castillo, démontre qu'il est possible que les trois grottes, assez proches l'une de l'autre, aient été habitées, périodiquement, mais non simultanément, par les mêmes communautés humaines du Solutréen, respectivement du Magdalénien ancien.

Les associations aux créations artistiques de Lascaux, Gabillou, Las Chimeneas (par les ramures de cervidés) ou El Castillo, démontrent l'existence de certains *modèles* de représentation artistique des herbivores dans une aire géographique plus large ou plus limitée. On précise aussi l'existence de certaines *zones sacrées*².

La Grotte Altamira, Santander, fait partie de la même zone géographique des grottes de la zone de Castillo. Altamira se caractérise par de nombreuses gravures, même si sa célébrité est due aux peintures avec du rouge et du noir. L'entière création artistique de là-bas appartient, comme dans les autres grottes de la zone géographique considérée, au Solutréen et au Magdalénien récent, pour lesquelles on a obtenu une datation C14 à 13.500 ans av. J. Chr. Comme dans le cas d'autres grottes, il existe à Altamira aussi des signes barbelés, transformés en masques humains. La plus célèbre œuvre d'art paléolithique est le Plafond peint; il existe certaines similarités avec les peintures de Lascaux et Niaux. Le thème principal, le bison-cheval, présente aussi certaines associations: biches, personnages masculins, sangliers (uniques dans l'art pariétal), bouquetin, biche. Il y a même des gravures mais les figures sont simplement tracées au doigt. Le thème bison-cheval + mammoth a été rencontré aussi à Bernifal, Les Combarelles, Fon-de Gaume, Rouffignac³. Le manque explicite des éléments anthropomorphes pose certains signes d'interrogation concernant les possibles associations des représentations artistiques aux manifestations culturelles, mais elles ne pouvaient s'absenter de cet extraordinaire déroulement de la création artistique religieuse.

La Grotte El Castillo, Santander, a environ 150 m, étant constituée de deux galeries parallèles. Dans le labyrinthe entier on distingue la grande salle et des sanctuaires d'époques différentes. On a identifié des signes quadrangulaires, des mains, des animaux. On considère que la plus importante zone de ce sanctuaire est occupée par des mains créées en négatif, en association apparente avec le groupe bisons-biches-chevaux (dans la zone IV), qui se répète, partiellement aussi dans la zone V, avec des mains, des ponctuations (Fig. 19). Sur plusieurs panneaux on constate la répétition du thème bison-cheval-bouquetin-cerf. Dans notre opinion, c'est pour la première fois dans l'art paléolithique, qu'on a utilisé le relief naturel, dans le sens qu'une colonne de stalagmites a été transformée en bison vertical par l'addition de quelques taches noires; une tête de bison a été transformée par la même technique sur une autre stalagmite⁴. Dans une autre zone, on a découvert

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 274.

² Gonzales Echegaray et Bernaldo de Quiros, 1984: 42-43.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 272.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 276.

deux signes du groupe féminin, disposés en croix (Fig. 20). En l'absence de preuves indubitables concernant la représentation des éléments anthropomorphes, nous considérons que dans les sanctuaires d'El Castillo il existe des preuves suffisantes concernant l'existence de cérémonies culturelles: il ne faut que nous imaginer seulement la transformation des stalagmites en éléments zoomorphes, ou en signes féminins, disposés en croix, pour visualiser la participation de l'entière collectivité aux manifestations consacrées aux herbivores ou à l'élément anthropomorphe féminin (Fig. 21).

Covalanas, Santander, avec son couloir décoré, où l'on trouve même des signes féminins. À la différence d'autres grottes ou créations artistiques, celles de Covalanas se caractérisent par la simplicité des représentations. Le thème bison-cheval est remarquable, comme les créations des grottes de France: le mammoth-cheval à La Baume-Latrone, ou le bison-mammoth à Arcy-sur-Cure. À Covalanas, les animaux sont représentés avec du rouge¹.

Nous considérons que des cérémonies culturelles y ont aussi eu lieu, étant consacrées aux groupes d'herbivores, probablement les plus représentatifs de la faune locale, mais aussi les plus importants éléments d'environnement pour la survie des communautés humaines.

El Pindal, Oviedo, est une grotte qui se remarque par la qualité des réalisations des figures et par leur état de conservation. On observe le thème des blessures des animaux, sur le flanc ou sur l'épaule, comme deux écussons vulvaires en association à un petit cheval, gravé. On constate le couplage des signes masculins et féminins très bien représenté, mais la série féminine est représentée par des claviformes, et des signes schématiques du type triangle-ovale-blessure. On a même identifié une main en positif². De la sorte, nous constatons que dans cette catégorie il existe tous les éléments des manifestations rituelles, que nous les mettons en direct liaison avec le succès de la chasse, ou avec l'association masculin-féminin dans l'idée de la perpétuation de l'espèce humaine.

Las Monedas, Santander, est, selon A. Leroi-Gourhan, *un des exemples les plus claires d'organisation des thèmes*³. Nous avons pris en considération ce sanctuaire seulement pour les interprétations du célèbre exégète de l'art et des religions préhistoriques paléolithiques; nous ne sommes pas d'accord que les bâtonnets représentent, toujours, l'élément sexuel masculin, mais, lorsque ceux-ci sont en association avec des représentations féminines, même stylisées, ils peuvent être interprétés comme tels. De la sorte, le thème cheval-bison, en association au bouquetin et aux signes masculins et féminins, y compris de gros yeux, qui pourraient représenter un masque humain ou un élément de *substitution*, ou l'homme *bestialisé*⁴, peuvent être pris en considération aussi comme éléments artistiques à connotations spirituelles, même de magie associée à la chasse. Il est très difficile à trouver ici des preuves de processions culturelles, mais nous ne saurions les exclure non plus.

Santimamine, Bilbao, est représenté par un sanctuaire à accès difficile, par l'escalade d'une zone stalagmitique ayant la hauteur de 4-5 m. On a identifié des représentations animalières peintes ou gravées, surtout des bisons, parfois en association avec des chevaux, peut-être une tête de bœuf. Il y a au moins deux compositions, mais l'élément anthropomorphe est absent, ce qui ne justifierait pas une connexion entre ces créations artistiques et des possibles manifestations culturelles. Comme dans d'autres grottes d'Espagne ou de France, le thème du bison-cheval est présent dans plusieurs compositions, dont certaines à caractère spécial, étant associées à des *signes* qui ne sauraient être interprétées dans le sens de l'existence des représentations anthropomorphes. On a également identifié une autre composition où sont représentés deux bisons, puis trois bisons, deux chevaux et la tête de bœuf, donc une composition très homogène. Bien que nous n'ayons pas de preuves certaines, nous ne

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 277-278.

² Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 315-316.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 317.

⁴ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 316, fig. 678, p. 405.

saurions exclure l'existence de cérémonies cultuelles, que nous relierions à l'association bison-cheval ou bison-bœuf, très peu utilisée dans l'art du Paléolithique supérieur.

Los Hornos, Santander, a été introduite dans notre étude grâce à l'association bœufs-bisons, *signes*, même un personnage à aspect humain¹, ce qui nous fait croire que ces créations artistiques ont eu un but certain, des manifestations cultuelles dédiées à la chasse, surtout parce que là-bas deux sanctuaires y ont été identifiés.

La Pileta, Malaga, est une grotte où les animaux sont bien représentés dans les compositions, du type le cheval, le bœuf, le bouquetin, le cerf, le poisson, mais une représentation bœuf-cheval + cerf apparaît aussi, les animaux étant accompagnés par des *signes* sexuelles. On y retrouve aussi la composition avec la tête d'un taureau et une vache, mais au niveau de l'épaule de la vache il y a une blessure de deux traits convergents, associés à un double bâtonnet², et nous faisons la liaison culturelle avec la reproduction (chthonique=urannique) mais aussi à la chasse.

La grotte de Tito Bustillo, Asturies, se caractérise par plusieurs éléments spécifiques: l'existence de zones d'habitat, des foyers, l'existence d'une pierre plate considérée comme broyeur à ocre, les relations entre la zone d'habitat, située à l'entrée, et les «sanctuaires extérieurs», l'existence de la «salle des vulves» ou des empreintes de pieds ou de mains, de glissades ou de chutes, l'utilisation d'échafaudages, etc.³. En plus, la totalité des objets d'art mobilier d'ici se trouve dans les zones d'habitat. On a pu observer que les restes d'os pouvaient être des éléments de rituels propres à l'activité des artistes qui ont réalisé les créations artistiques par la peinture et la gravure. On considère que la grotte Tito Bustillo est l'une des peu grottes à vestiges artistiques bien conservés. De la sorte, nous avons ici les preuves de pratiques cultuelles indubitables, que nous mettons en liaison avec le besoin d'assurer la nourriture par la chasse, ou avec la sacralité de la procréation, par la «salle des vulves».

La Grotte Paglicci, d'Italie, a été habitée, tout comme d'autres nombreux sites, à partir du Paléolithique inférieur, mais le Gravettien de là-bas se remarque par l'art mobilier et pariétal⁴. Sur la base d'un fragment de tibia de bovidé, le niveau d'habitat a été daté à 22.600 ± 450 BP. Cette gravure représente un mouflon, et l'entière surface de la pièce est décorée toujours de lignes gravées, qui pourraient suggérer un paysage de prairie. Cette pièce d'art, à possible significations religieuses, représente l'une des plus importantes créations de l'art méditerranéen du temps. Pour notre démarche, l'association des représentations du cheval et des mains, celle-ci étant répétée aussi dans d'autres espaces de la grotte est tout aussi importante. Nous notons seulement le fait que dans l'Épigravettien de là-bas, daté à 16.030 ± 190 BP, sur un fragment d'os iliaque de cheval, on a figuré un cheval, à côté de deux cerfs, une véritable scène de chasse culturelle, l'espace libre étant couvert des flèches des chasseurs. D'autres gravures de bovidés et cervidés sont réalisés sur des blocs, mais apparaissent aussi des représentations d'oiseaux, toujours sur des blocs, qui complètent ce sanctuaire dédié à la chasse culturelle. Une importance particulière revient à la représentation des œufs dans un espace fermé – un Univers de la spiritualité de cette communauté.

X

Nous avons présenté 54 grottes à créations artistiques: peinture, gravure, modelage en terre glaise, représentations animalières faites au doigt dans la couche superficielle molle des parois, ou à empreintes de pas, preuves des cérémonies cultuelles, consacrées à la chasse, à la sacralité (surtout sur la relation chthonique = urannique), ou que nous avons considérées comme des preuves de la *substitution*, des masques anthropomorphes, possiblement toujours en liaison avec la chasse, ou des

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 318.

² Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 333.

³ Moure Romanillo et Gonzales Morales, 1984: 46-51.

⁴ Palma di Cesnola, 1988.

preuves de certaines images fantastiques concernant l'anthropomorphe masculin, des représentations de l'*image interdite*, des processions d'*initiation* et *passage-transmission*, y compris l'utilisation du feu dans le cadre de ces cérémonies, et de beaucoup d'autres, que nous n'avons pu identifier. Nous constatons que, des plus de 150 grottes-sanctuaires, connues dans l'art religieux du Paléolithique supérieur, seulement 1/3 pourrait être pris en considération comme éléments présentant un degré plus ou moins grand de certitude concernant les manifestations culturelles des communautés humaines paléolithiques. C'est pourquoi, nous pensons ne pas avoir pris en considération toutes les grottes-sanctuaires, ni tous les sanctuaires de toutes les grottes du territoire de l'Europe. De la sorte, dans les grottes de l'espace de l'Europe centrale on n'a pas trouvé des preuves archéologiques qui démontrent l'existence de l'art pariétal, mais les nombreuses pièces d'art mobilier, ou l'existence des enterrements font la preuve du sacré collectif, à manifestations culturelles évidentes. Nous avons essayé à prendre en considération ces *territoires spirituels*¹, à manifestations propres aux cérémonies culturelles, même si à l'égard de ceux-ci on a fait des précisions et interprétations propres, dont certaines différentes de celles *classiques*² (Fig. 22). Nous constatons ainsi que dans les grottes de l'Europe Centrale les pièces d'art mobilier ont été abondamment trouvées, tel que c'est le cas à: Mladeč, Mamutowa, Istalloskö, Szeleta, etc. où l'on a découvert des pièces en MDA, y compris des dents perforées, d'animaux, certaines de ces découvertes étant associées à des enterrements³. Nos préoccupations sont surtout concernant la région franco-cantabrique, car cet espace géographique occupe 80% de la totalité des grottes à peintures rupestre et 87% du total de celles à sujets figurés⁴. Certes, on pose aussi le problème du rapport entre la *qualité* ou la *catégorie* qu'il faut accorder aux blocs ornés: art pariétal ou art mobilier, à arguments pour leur encadrement dans les deux catégories⁵. Nous avons posé aussi ce problème parce que, dans la Grotte Fumane, mais non seulement là-bas, il y a d'importantes créations artistiques sur des blocs tombés du plafond de la caverne.

Nous considérons qu'il est nécessaire de présenter aussi d'autres découvertes, qu'on peut inclure sur le palier des cérémonies culturelles: des pièces d'art mobilier découvertes surtout dans le périmètre des grottes, des sépultures situées dans le même espace; nous essayons à ne pas omettre d'autres objets mobiliers, utilitaires, mais absolument nécessaire aux cérémonies culturelles: des objets à produire des sons. D'ailleurs, nous précisons le fait que le titre de notre contribution se réfère aux *sanctuaires* du Paléolithique supérieur européen. Une autre discussion s'impose à cet égard: pouvons-nous parler de l'existence des sanctuaires aussi à l'extérieur des grottes à éléments d'art religieux ? Nous croyons que la réponse doit être affirmative, parce que, si nous utilisons la notion de cérémonies, manifestations, nous constatons que, par exemple dans le domaine de la spiritualité des enterrements et de la déposition d'offrandes⁶, nous trouvons un très grand nombre d'éléments culturels; en outre, on a constaté qu'il existe aussi des «sanctuaires extérieurs»⁷, mais nous nous proposons à réaliser une autre contribution, détaillée, concernant l'étude de ces pratiques.

Selon nous, les plus sûrs éléments des cérémonies culturelles, rituelles, peuvent être trouvés à l'égard de la spiritualité des enterrements et des dépositions d'offrandes; nous n'entrerons pas dans les détails du problème et nous nous référerons seulement à certaines découvertes des grottes, donc provenant d'espaces fermés, que nous considérons être des sanctuaires par l'ensemble des découvertes archéologiques. En ce sens, il est nécessaire à fournir quelques exemples: dans la grotte de Salitre (Cantabrie), on a découvert la calotte crânienne d'un enfant d'environ six ans, et plusieurs restes d'os

¹ Otte, 2005: 159.

² Pigeaud, 2005: 179-189.

³ Svoboda, 2001: 45-58.

⁴ Delporte, 1984: 8.

⁵ Delluc, B. et G. 1984c: 21-23.

⁶ Chirica, V.-C., Chirica, V., 2012: 1-19; Chirica, V.-C. *et alii*, 2012: 5-80.

⁷ Moure Romanillo et Gonzales Morales, 1984: 47.

(mandibules, etc.) d'animaux: suidés, caprinés, en association à des fragments d'ocre¹. Nous croyons que cet enfant qui est mort là-bas a été la victime de ces *cérémonies d'initiation, de passage*. L'association à des os d'animaux, avec de l'ocre, prouve le caractère cérémonial de la manifestation culturelle. Il ne faut pas omettre la découverte de Lagar Velho (Estramadura, Portugal): le corps de l'enfant de 5 ans a été déposé près d'une fosse excavée près de la paroi de la grotte, mais dans le cadre du rituel spécifique, avec une branche de *Pinus silvestris* on a brûlée toute la cavité excavée, le reste de la branche de sapin étant déposé au fond de la fosse, car on sait que «le feu est la plus légitime forme de purification»². Évidemment, il y a beaucoup d'autres découvertes qui démontrent l'existence des manifestations culturelles, que nous considérons être en totale liaison avec l'utilisation du feu. En ce sens, A. van Gennep³ considère que dans le cadre des cérémonies supposées par les rituels *de passage*, l'inhalation de la fumée sacrée constituait la reconnaissance de l'importance du foyer et du feu.

Dans la grotte Paglicci on a découvert une sépulture d'enfant (garçon de 13 ans), couvert de poudre d'hématite, accompagné de meubles funéraires: à la tête, un arrangement de dents de cerf, perforées, un bracelet et un anneau à tige de suspension, et autour du corps, plusieurs outils en silex et en os. Donc, nous avons un sanctuaire complexe, à éléments funéraires et d'art, à indubitables connotations religieuses⁴.

On a établi qu'entre 1872 et 1905, en quatre grottes d'Italie: la Grotte des Enfants, Baouso da Tore, Barma Grande et Barma de Caviglione on avait découvert 12 sépultures, dont 10 étaient antérieures à la date de 15.000 ans BP. Dans des études plus récentes on précise l'existence de plus de 70 de sépultures, à plus de 60 individus⁵. Les spécialistes italiens affirment l'existence de deux périodes chronologiques: «la période ancienne», l'Aurignacien-Gravettien et une période récente, le Paléolithique supérieur récent, donc l'Épigravettien final, chacun à sépultures qui ont certains traits spécifiques et aussi des pratiques funéraires communes aux deux périodes⁶. À Grimaldi – Grotte des Enfants, (= GE) deux sépultures: GE 1 et 2 contenaient deux enfants (d'où le nom de la grotte), de 4 et 5-6 ans, allongés sur le dos, côte-à-côte, mais le bassin de chacun était entouré d'une «ceinture» formée de plus de mille coquilles perforées. GE 3 est représenté par les restes osseux d'une femme adulte, associés à de nombreux coquilles (*Trochus*), avec la précision que la femme avait été déposée avec un(e) adolescent(e) (GE 6); GE 4 correspondait à un homme adulte, allongé sur le dos, les mains pliées; les offrandes funéraires étaient formées de coquilles perforées, outils de silex, dents de cerf, perforées; la tête et les pieds étaient couverts de structures de pierre, selon nous, déposées pour ne pas permettre au mort de quitter «l'endroit éternel».

À Barma Grande (= BG) un sépulcre (BG1) a été aménagé près de l'entrée, à la profondeur de 8,40 m, l'autre, triple (BG 2-3-4) à quelques mètres distance du premier, à la profondeur de 8,00 m; deux autres sépultures (BG 5-6) ont été aménagées l'une près de l'autre, au fond de la grotte, à la profondeur de 6,40 m, sans avoir la certitude de la contemporanéité ou de certaines relations de parenté entre les défunts. La présence de certaines lames de silex, de 17, 23 et 26 cm longueur, des pendentifs gravés en os ou en ivoire de mammoth, de nombreuses coquilles perforées, des canines de cerf et des salmonidés, à BG 2-3-4 semble notifier leur appartenance au Gravettien⁷. BG 5 ne présentait pas des traces d'ocre rouge, mais le squelette était couvert de trois pierres de grandes dimensions.

¹ Moure Romanillo et Gonzales Morales, 1984: 49.

² Coelho, 2010: 154.

³ van Gennep, 1909: 79.

⁴ Palma di Cesnola, 2003: 131-137.

⁵ Giacobini, 1999: 29.

⁶ Palma di Cesnola, 2003: 131-139; Henry-Gambier, 2005: 213-229.

⁷ Henry-Gambier, 2005: 214.

À Baouso da Torre on a découvert trois sépulcres (BT 1, 2, 3), l'un à côté de l'autre, à des profondeurs contenues entre 3,70-3,90 m, ce qui indique qu'ils peuvent être contemporains; l'inventaire funéraire était formé de pointes «à base fendue», de type aurignacien, mais on considère que les défunts appartenaient à un groupe gravettien. Une autre sépulture de ce groupe a été découverte à Barma de Caviglione¹, ayant comme meubles funéraires des parures faites de coquilles. L'existence des fosses est certaine ou encore non dépistée. Les offrandes funéraires étaient formées de coquilles perforées, canines de cerf, perforées, parfois gravées, pendentifs en ivoire ou en os, et les vertèbres de salmonidés ornaient les vêtements des défunts. Nous croyons que la disposition des offrandes funéraires a une importance particulière, spécifique à des pratiques des rituels d'enterrement; des variantes locales, spécifiques aux communautés humaines respectives ont été aussi possibles. On signale aussi des dépositions de grandes lames de silex (dans la main gauche, dans le cas de BG 2 et 3; sous chaque épaule (BG 1), des cornes, dents de cervidés et de bovidés; d'autres fragments d'os étaient déposés autour du corps, à BG 2, 3, 4. L'ocre rouge accompagnait chaque défunt, étant abondamment déposé autour de la tête, et aussi sur le corps, surtout dans le cas de BT 3 et de BG 6, toujours dans le cadre des cérémonies funéraires.

La Grotte d'Arène Candide a offert, parmi les 16 sépultures paléolithiques², l'une qui appartenait à un adolescent, déposé dans une fosse aménagée, avec de l'ocre rouge à la base et partout à l'intérieur de celle-ci; il s'agit de la célèbre **sépulture du «Jeune Prince»**. Les offrandes étaient formées de coquilles de *Ciclope neritea* (surtout au niveau des genoux), et à la tête, des dents perforées, de cerf, des pendentifs gravés, en os ou en ivoire; un possible accessoire vestimentaire était orné d'une queue d'écureuil; 4 bâtons perforés, en corne d'élan, complétaient les offrandes. Une grande lame en silex, de 25 cm, était déposée dans la main droite. Le squelette était couvert d'ocre rouge. La fosse de la sépulture était située dans la première salle de la grotte, à la profondeur d'approximativement 7 m.

L'abri Tagliente a fourni une sépulture d'âge épigravettien, d'un adulte; un aspect intéressant réside en ce que le squelette était couvert (protégé ?) de pierres, dont deux à décor gravé, linéaire, respectivement, le profil d'un lion et la tête d'un *Bos primigenius*; on y ajoute, comme offrandes, un fragment osseux d'un bovidé³.

La Grotte Paglicci a fourni deux autres sépultures (Pag. 15 et Pag. 25). Pag. 15 correspondait à un jeune homme de 13-14 ans, enterré avec le corps protégé par une structure de pierres, avec beaucoup d'ocre rouge sur tout le corps, avec un «diadème» fait de 30 canines de cerf, perforées, déposée sur la tête, d'autres canines perforées étant déposées sur le corps, une coquille de *Cyprae* sur le thorax, les outils en os et en silex. Pag. 25 contenait les restes d'une jeune femme, déposés dans une fosse spéciale, avec de l'ocre rouge sur la tête, le bassin et les pieds, avec un «diadème» de 7 dents perforées, de cerf, sur la tête; deux burins, un grattoir, une lame, un éclat en silex et un fragment de *Pecten* complétaient les offrandes funéraires⁴.

Nous constatons que la déposition de grandes pierres sur le corps des morts enterrés, sur les pieds et sur la tête, ou sur le ventre, peut démontrer l'existence de cérémonies spécifiques, portant sur la peur du retour des morts parmi les vivants, ceux-ci prenant des mesures de «protection», surtout dans le cas des enfants de jusqu'à 2-3 ans, d'où l'on peut comprendre l'attention spéciale accordée aux *non-initiés*; la déposition des offrandes funéraires étaient extrêmement importante pour les communautés de Gravettiens et d'Épigravettiens, lorsque les dépositions mortuaires sont plus nombreuses et plus variées; *Cyclope neritea* est présente sur la plupart des défunts, quels que soient leurs âges et sexes; nous ne pouvons pas savoir si les dépositions d'offrandes étaient faites selon des *canons* obligatoires,

¹ Giacobini, 1999: 30.

² Broglio, 1996: 289-298.

³ Giacobini, 1999: 33; Henry-Gambier, 2005: 222.

⁴ Henry-Gambier, 2005: 217.

ou bien ils étaient aléatoires, peut-être aussi en fonction d'une certaine situation sociale de la communauté humaine respective ou des défunts.

En France, les découvertes ont été faites pendant la période de début des recherches paléolithiques, et les auteurs n'ont pas toujours accordé l'attention due aux complexes funéraires, ni n'ont toujours laissé des descriptions détaillées des observations. On remarque pourtant les découvertes de Combe-Capelle, Cro-Magnon, Roc de Sers, Cap Blanc, St. Germain, Bruniquel, La Madeleine, Laugerie-Basse, Chancelade, Le Figurier, Les Hoteaux, à 21 squelettes, sans d'autres découvertes funéraires, comme c'est le cas à Cap Roux, Marronnier, Isturitz etc. Il existe certains indices concernant l'existence du phénomène funéraire, de différenciations concernant les pratiques rituelles, surtout pendant la période magdalénienne, lorsque «l'inhumation se fait plus fréquemment et qu'elle gagne tout le territoire paléolithique»¹. Plus de détails ont été publiés à l'égard des sépultures des grottes du Figurier et de l'Abri du Cap Roux, en accordant une attention spéciale à la présence des offrandes funéraires en coquilles de *Glycymeris violacenses*, *Nassarius circumcincta*, *Nassarius gibbosula*, *Nassa (Arcularia) gibbosule*, *Nassa circumcincta*, *Nassa acrostyla*, avec la précision de l'un des découvreurs: «En effet, tandis que dans les Grottes de Menton nous avons découvert jusqu'ici six squelettes humains d'adultes et d'enfants – les premiers ornés de coquillages et de dents de cerfs percées, le seconds revêtus d'une sorte de pagne exclusivement composé de coquillages tous de la même espèce *Nassa neritea* – par contre nous n'avons trouvé au Cap-Roux d'autres restes humains que les quelques débris ... épars çà et là au milieu d'un foyer»². A. Leroi-Gourhan³ ajoute la découverte de Mas-d'Azil, Ariège, où le crâne d'une jeune femme, sans mandibule, dans les orbites de laquelle avaient été placées deux plaquettes en os, simulant les yeux, d'où nous déduisons l'existence de certaines processions funéraires bien établies.

Nous avons identifié certains éléments spécifiques dans le cadre des cérémonies du phénomène funéraire:

- L'enveloppement des enfants dans un linceul fait de la peau de l'animal chassé ou de possible textiles tissés (Lagar Velho et Kostenki 12, niv. I), ce qui nous mène à une activité domestique, inconnue par les communautés humaines paléolithiques: la préparation de certains éléments de vêtement, c'est-à-dire l'attention spéciale accordée aux enfants, l'explication pouvant en se trouver dans les *rituels de l'initiation*, dans le sens qu'on accorde une attention à part aux petits, qui n'ont pas eu la possibilité de passer par ces processions à cause de leur âge.
- C'est dans la même suite de processions cultuelles qu'on inscrit la déposition de grandes dalles de pierre sur le corps inanimé des enfants, toujours d'âge jeune ou même très jeune: Vado all'Arancio, mais aussi des adultes, enterrés aussi sous des blocs de pierre, déposés sur les différentes parties anatomiques du corps, ou ayant le corps entièrement couvert de pierres. Nos observations se réfèrent aux communautés humaines ayant enterré leurs morts selon des cérémonies spécifiques, déterminées par des croyances et pratiques propres.
- Nous avons constaté que dans la Grotte Continenza, le squelette se trouvait au centre d'un cercle de pierres, mais il avait été décapité, évidemment de manière intentionnelle, parce qu'on n'a pas trouvé la tête dans le contexte du sépulcre; à Cueva Morin I et III, on a observé l'amputation de certaines parties anatomiques du corps du défunt, sans préciser le moment de l'intervention anthropique sur l'individu. Mais il est possible qu'il s'agisse aussi de sacrifices humains⁴, comme éléments de responsabilité collective par rapport aux différentes perturbations de l'environnement. Nous pouvons considérer qu'au fond, chez les populations anciennes ou de l'aube de l'humanité, des manifestations de

¹ Quéchon, 1976: 730.

² Onoratini, Combier, 1995: 266.

³ Leroi-Gourhan, 1990: 41-42.

⁴ Hubert, Mauss, 1899.

cannibalisme, de mort violente, par le sacrifice humain, parfois suivi d'anthropophagie, tous ces rituels et encore beaucoup d'autres / comme manifestations cultuelles, pouvaient prendre des dimensions et variantes multiples d'actions, toutes au but de préserver et multiplier la sacralité. D'ailleurs, A. Leroi-Gourhan précise que *Le cannibalisme rituel est indémontrable pour aucune époque du Paléolithique. Les documents suggèrent seulement que beaucoup d'hommes étaient laissés sans sépultures et dévorés, les uns par leurs semblables, les autres par les bêtes*¹.

- La richesse et la variété des offrandes sont les éléments qui certifie soit l'existence de relations d'échange entre des communautés humaines se trouvant à de très grandes distances, soit l'intense mobilité de ceux-ci, peut-être même au but de trouver les supports nécessaires à la transformation en offrandes, telles les coquilles de *Nassa*, ou *Cyclope neritea*. Mais ce qui frappe est la déposition de «ceintures» faites de centaines ou même de milliers de coquilles perforées (Grotte des Enfants I et II), tout comme des très nombreuses canines perforées, de renard ou de cerf, ce qui démontre un effort très grand de la part des membres de la communauté, mais aussi l'essai de prouver la supériorité de l'homme dans le monde hostile qui l'entourait.

Surtout les jeunes pouvaient se trouver dans la situation de ces complexes procédures d'*initiation*, parfois si dures, que même la mort des personnes soumises aux rituels pouvaient survenir (car il était possible qu'il s'agisse de plusieurs rituels, ou d'un rituel complexe, à plusieurs étapes d'exécution). Nous croyons que nous n'exagérons pas en acceptant comme faits réels les cérémonies de *passage*. *L'initiation est une longue suite de cérémonies ayant comme objet l'introduction du jeune homme dans la vie religieuse: celui-ci sort pour la première fois du monde profane dans lequel il a passé son enfance, pour pénétrer dans la sphère des choses sacrées On dit qu'à ce moment le jeune homme se meurt, que l'être qu'il était cesse d'exister et qu'un autre s'y substitue instantanément. Il renaît dans une nouvelle forme*².

L'initiation, comme la mort, ou l'extase mystique, comme la connaissance absolue, comme la croyance, dans judéo-christianisme, équivaut à un passage d'un mode d'être à un autre et réalise une véritable mutation ontologique³. Les rites et rituels de l'initiation ont été multiples, et au début se basaient sur une idéologie commune des populations qui les pratiquaient⁴. Parfois il y avait des mutilations réelles (l'arrachement des dents, l'amputation des doigts coupés, même des mains déformées, lesquelles étaient «éternisées» sur les parois des grottes-sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur européen), parce que toutes ces formes sont chargées du symbolisme de la mort⁵. L'entier rituel était mis sous le signe du sacré, par lequel on décidait la renaissance mystique, mais en passant aussi par une ou plusieurs phases de la Mort, d'où l'homme nouveau est né, préparé pour la vie laïque, profane ou sacrée.

En ce qui concerne l'association des cérémonies cultuelles à la musique, nous savons que le parler articulé a précédé les autres manifestations sonores. Nous considérons que les premières formes d'expression sonore se sont produites à l'aide d'instruments à vent, du type des phalanges de renne, perforées, découvertes dans la grotte Aurignac. On a aussi démontré que les coquilles perforées peuvent produire des sons, donc celles-ci étaient déposées dans les sépultures comme des objets de parure, mais aussi avec le rôle d'«instruments musicaux». Dans la catégorie des instruments à vent, utilisant le souffle pour produire les sons, on inclut des tubes en os, à un ou deux orifices, mais à Isturitz (France) et à Geissenklösterle (Allemagne), dans le cadre de riches inventaires, considérés d'importance culturelle, on a identifié des tubes en os à plusieurs perforations longitudinales, du type des flûtes d'aujourd'hui. À Poiana Cireșului - Piatra Neamț, Roumanie, on a découvert plusieurs

¹ Leroi-Gourhan, 1990: 65.

² Durkheim, 1995: 47.

³ Eliade, 1992: 167.

⁴ van Gennep, 1909; Maureille, 2004.

⁵ Eliade, 1992: 179; Chirica, V., 2006: 25-28; Chirica, V., *et alii*, 2012: 45.

phalanges de renne, perforées, et à Cosăuți, sur le Dniestr, des tubes qui auraient pu avoir le même rôle, raison pour laquelle nous avons aussi inclus ces deux sites parmi les sanctuaires du Paléolithique supérieur européen.

Une autre modalité de produire des sons ont été les os de mammoth, peints à motifs géométriques, surtout ceux disposés circulairement dans l'espace d'une habitation de Mezin, Ukraine. En base de la répétition de motifs picturaux, Sergej Bibikov a créé une musique obtenue par percussion, que nous considérons être une modalité d'expression sonore dans le cadre des manifestations culturelles. On considère aussi¹ que dans le cadre des cérémonies religieuses des grottes peintes, la sonorité pouvait être obtenue aussi par la percussion des stalactites, en induisant même l'idée que les motifs picturaux d'animaux, les modalités de représentation (la tête tournée, la bouche ouverte etc.), pouvaient constituer des symboles du rituel religieux par des effets sonores.

Il est évident le fait que les processions culturelles à musique devaient comprendre aussi la danse, et de ce point de vue, si la statuette de Galgenberg représente une danseuse, son image est similaire à la représentation peinte, sur la céramique néolithique de Cărnăceni-Iași, Roumanie. La préservation des traces de pas en plusieurs grottes-sanctuaires, même la peinture de la grotte Fumane, pourraient constituer autant d'éléments de certitude de l'existence de danses rituelles dans le cadre des cérémonies religieuses.

En France, Espagne, Italie, Allemagne, l'existence des processions rituelles peut être prouvée par des pièces d'art mobilier, ou par des associations entre les peintures rupestres et les dépositions d'os, d'autres dépositions à caractère rituel étant mises en possibles liaisons avec certaines découvertes des grottes: Gargas, Enlène, Niaux, Lascaux, etc.². De fait, tous les spécialistes de l'époque paléolithique sont d'accord avec le fait que le phénomène rituel des funérailles, avec la déposition d'offrandes, de n'importe quel type, ou l'existence d'un autre phénomène – la sacralité de la violence pendant la vie ou après la mort, constitue non seulement la certitude du sacré, mais aussi l'identification du sacré collectif, comme trait spirituel de toutes les communautés humaines paléolithiques³, tenant compte y compris de l'affirmation de René Girard selon qui *la violence constitue le véritable cœur et l'âme du sacré*, et que *la violence et le sacré sont inséparables*⁴.

¹ Duvois, 1994: 19-22.

² Gorrotxategi Anieto, 2000: 280-283.

³ Chirica, V.-C. *et alii*, 2014: 27-58.

⁴ Girard, 1995: 37, 25.

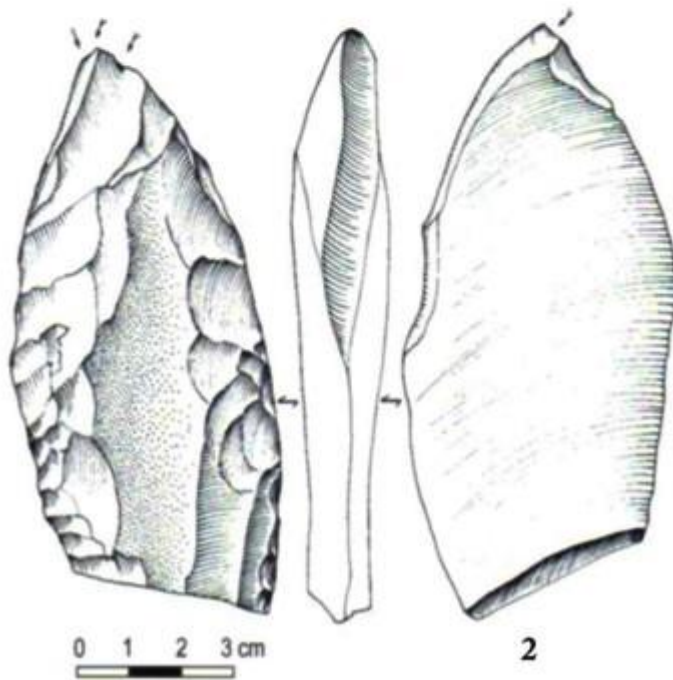
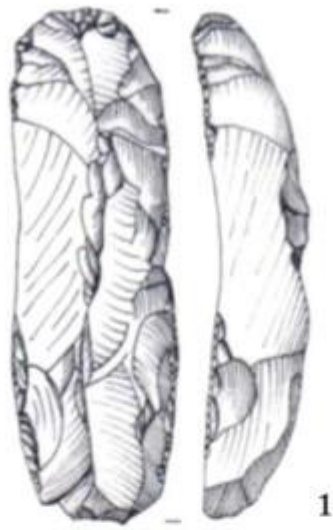


Fig. 1. Mitoc-Malul Galben, ensemble Aurignacien II: 1, grattoir caréné sur lame retouchée, 2, burin dièdre aménagé sur racloir moustérien, d'après V. Chirica, 2016: fig. 14.

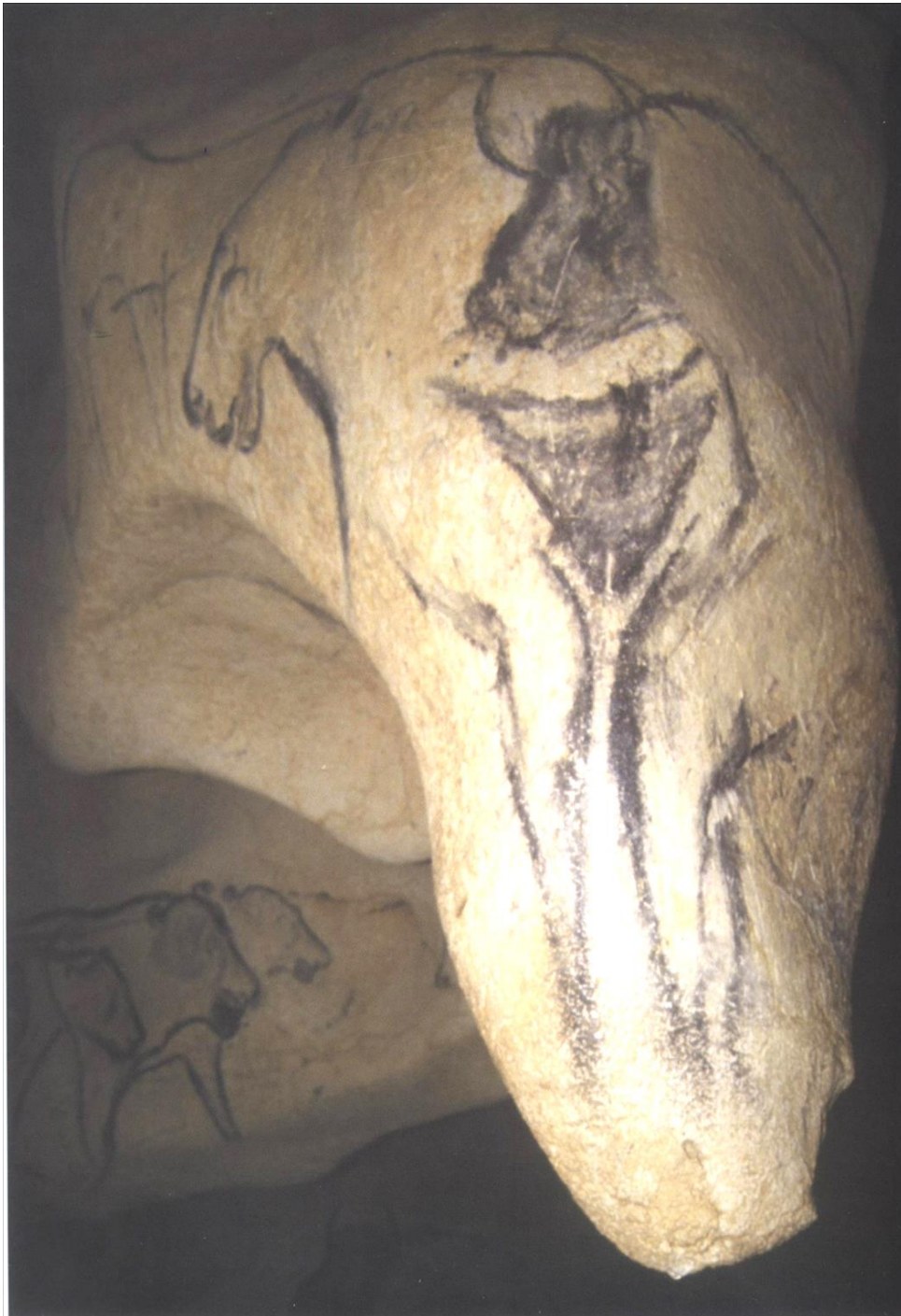


Fig. 2. Chthtonic – uranic. Grotte Chauvet, d'après J. Clottes, 2001: 169, fig. 162.

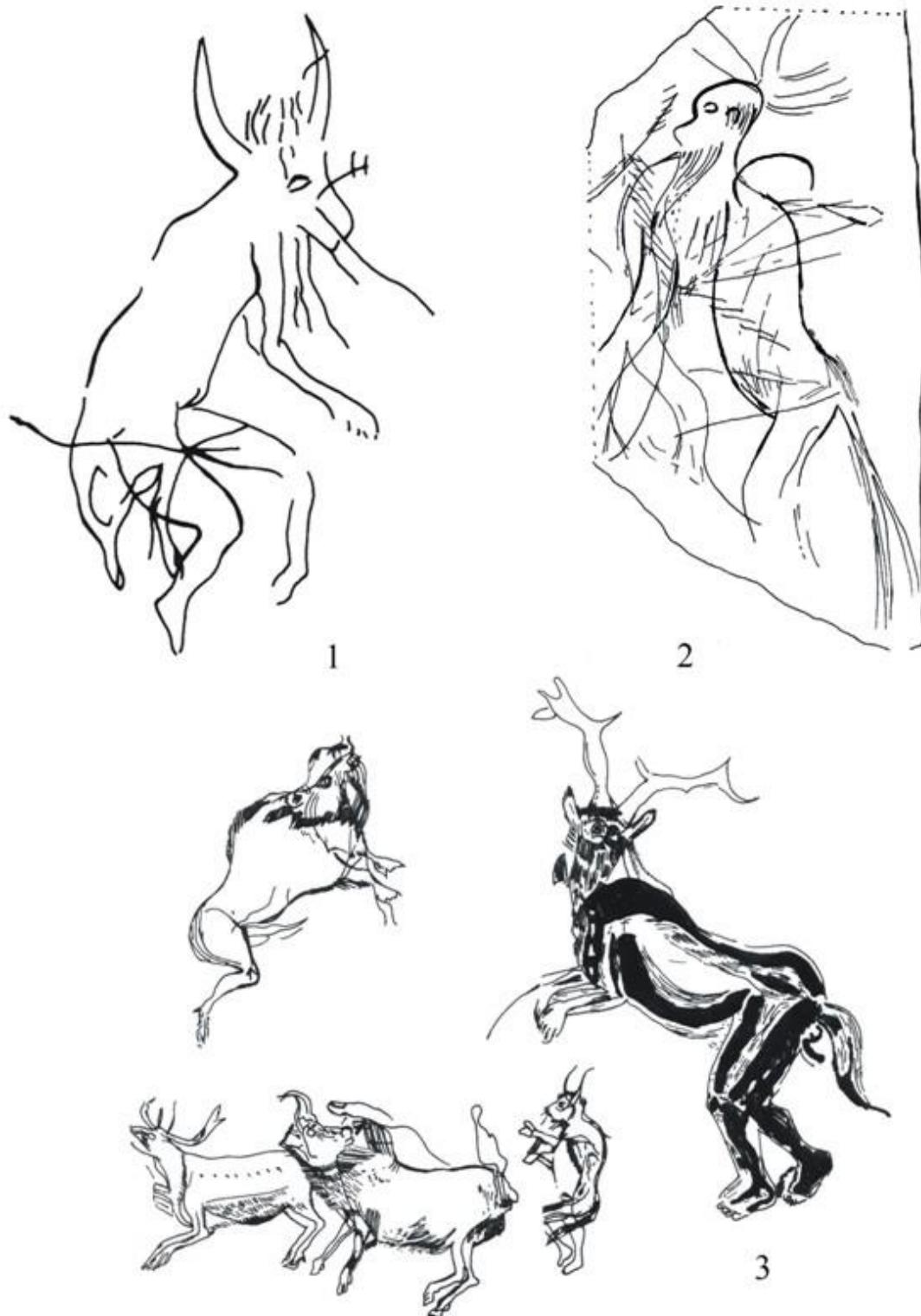


Fig. 3. Substitutions: les grands sourciers de grottes de France: 1, Gabilou; 2, Lourdes; 3, Trois Frères, d'après V. Chirica, C.-V. Chirica, G. Bodi, 2016: fig. 43.

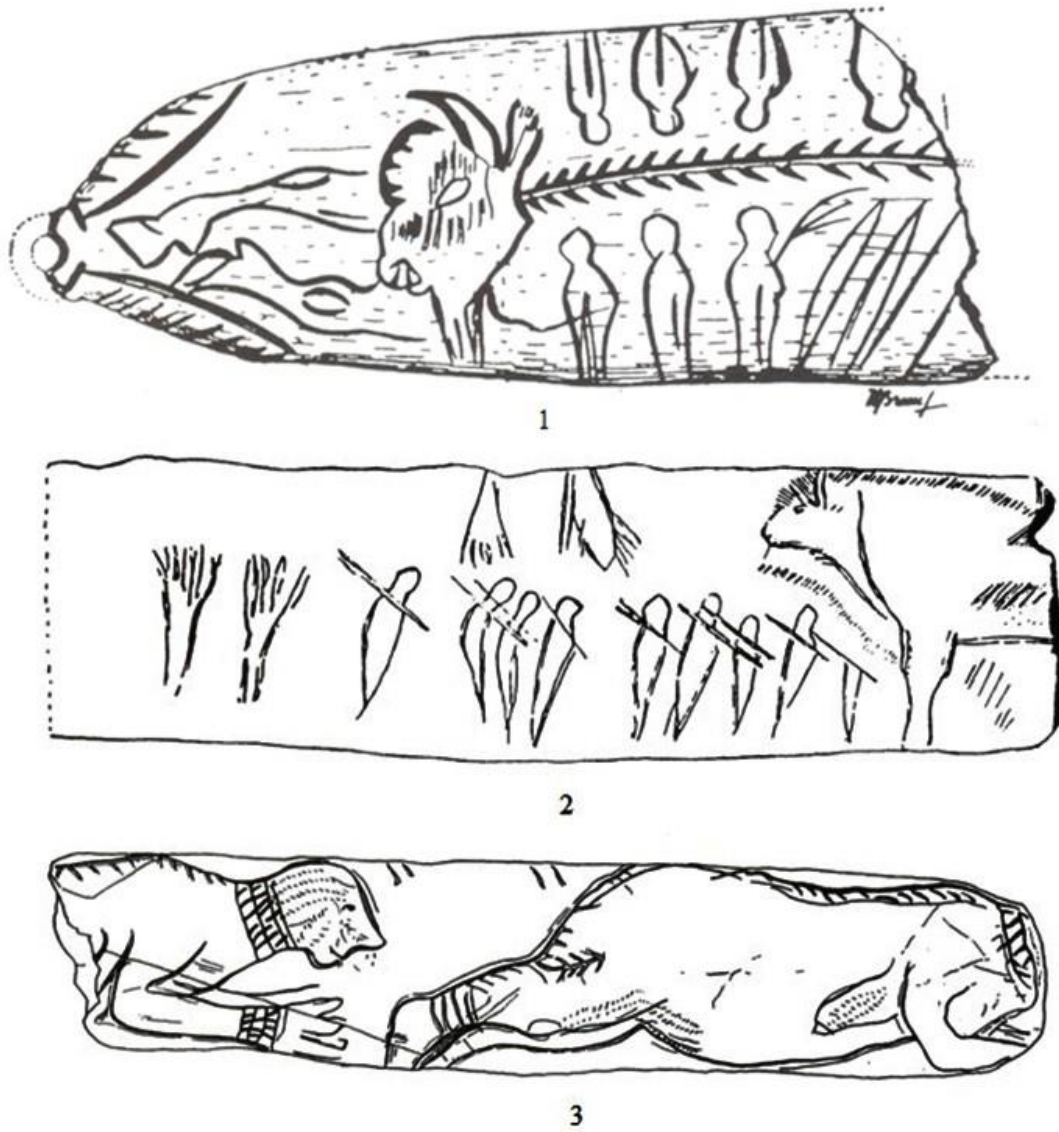


Fig. 4. 1, *Lame d'os, de Raymonden, simulant un cortège*; 2, *fragment de côte, de Château des Eyzies, simulant une procession*; 3, *femmes considérées comme orante, d'après F. Defrance, 2004.*

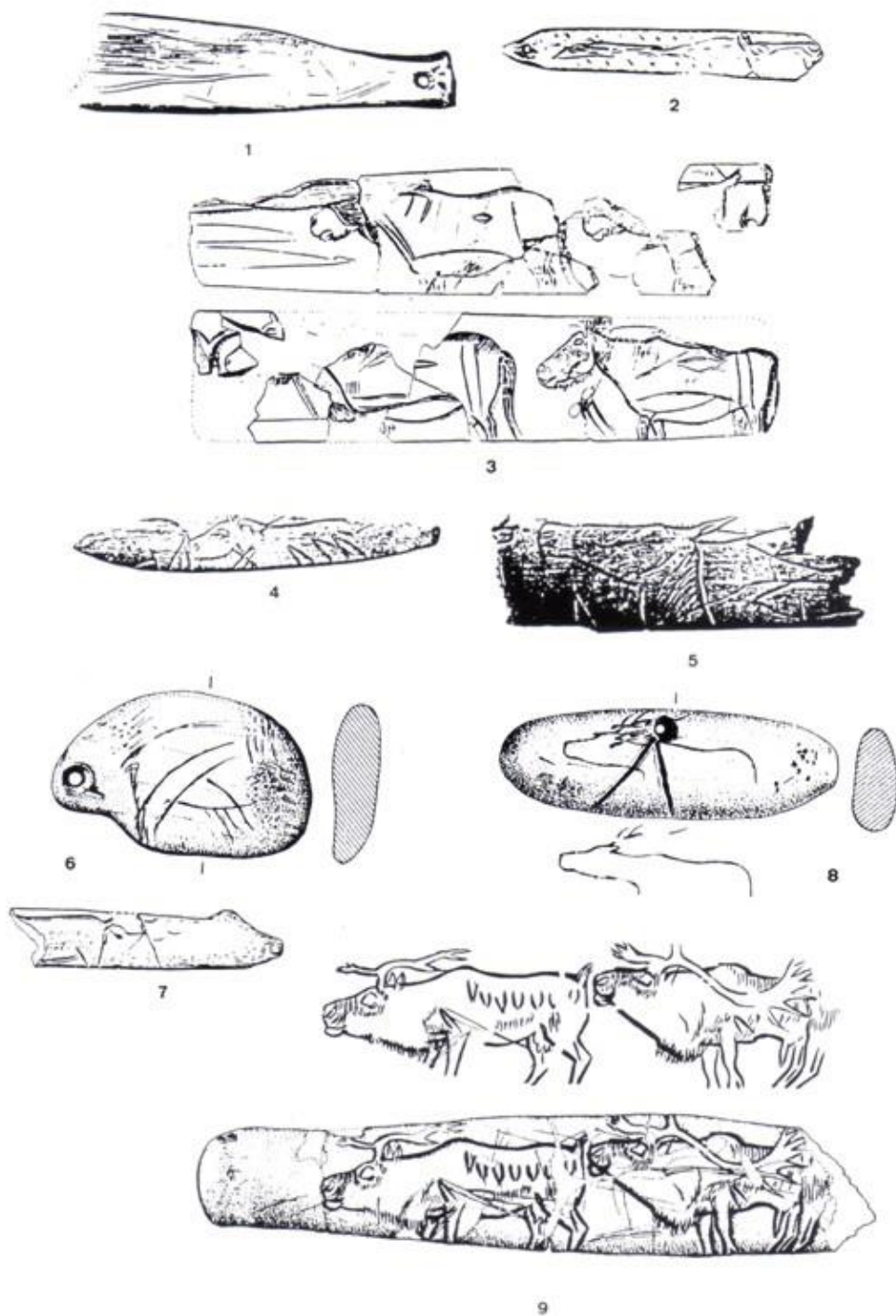


Fig. 5. 1-2, Isturitz; 3, les Eyzies; 4-5, la Vache; 6, Laugerie-Basse; 7, Fontalès; 8, la Madeleine; 9, la Vache, d'après Y. Taborin 1990: 24, fig. 1.

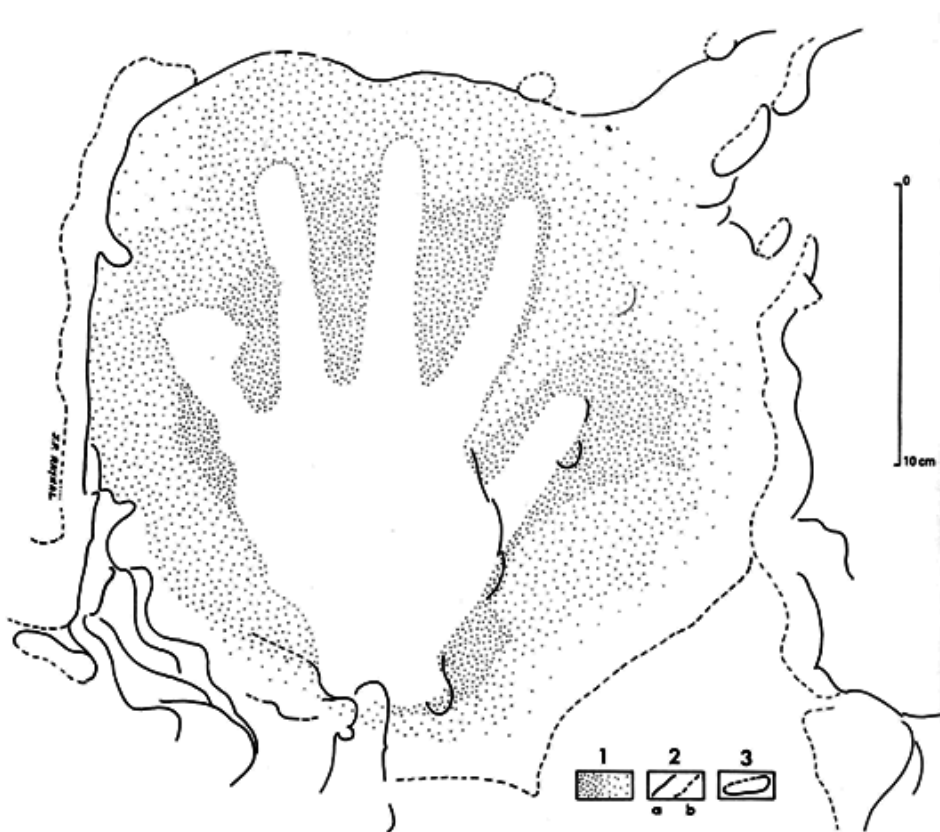


Fig. 6. Grotte du Moulin de Laguenay, main négative gauche: 1, peinture; 2, relief naturel fort (a), faible (b); 3, concrétions, d'après Jean Couchard, 1984: 356, fig. 2.

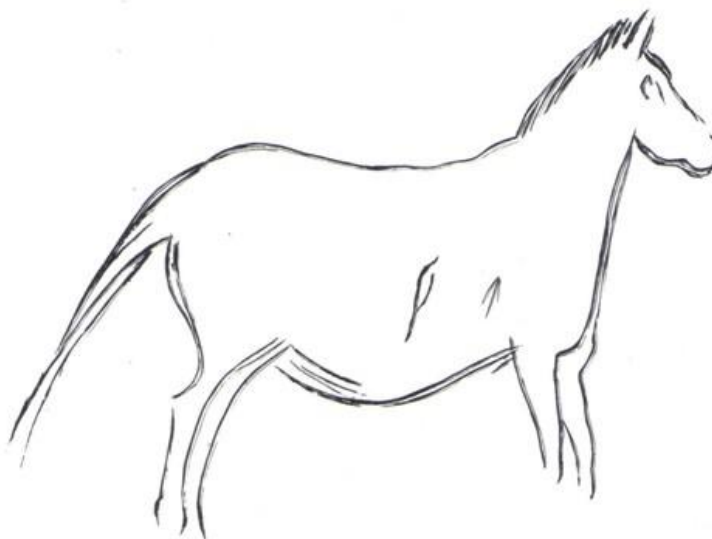


Fig. 7. Grotte du Tuc D'Audoubert, Galerie des Gravures, cheval, d'après R. Bégouen, J. Clottes, 1984: 412, fig. 4.



Fig. 8. Grotte du Tuc d'Audobert. Les bisons d'argile, d'après L'Art des Cavernes...: III, fig. 1.



Fig. 9. Grotte de Niaux, bison gravé, d'après J. Clottes, 1984: 423, fig. 11.

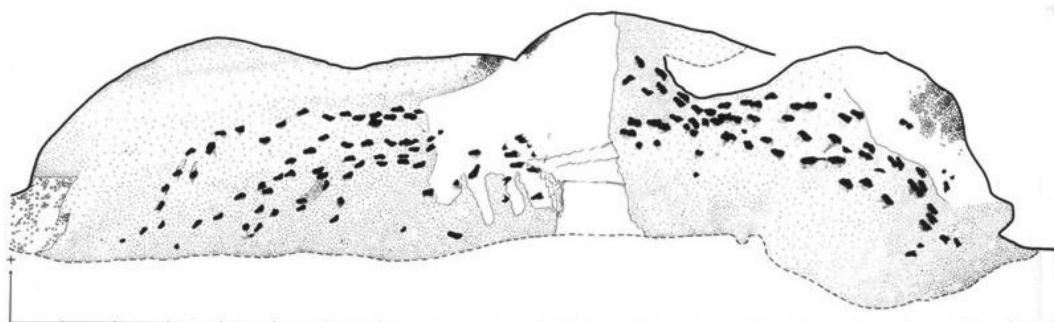


Fig. 10. Réseau René Clastres, répartition des empreintes, en plan, sur le banc de sable de la Salle des Peintures, d'après J. Clottes, R. Simonet, 1984: 424, fig. 1.

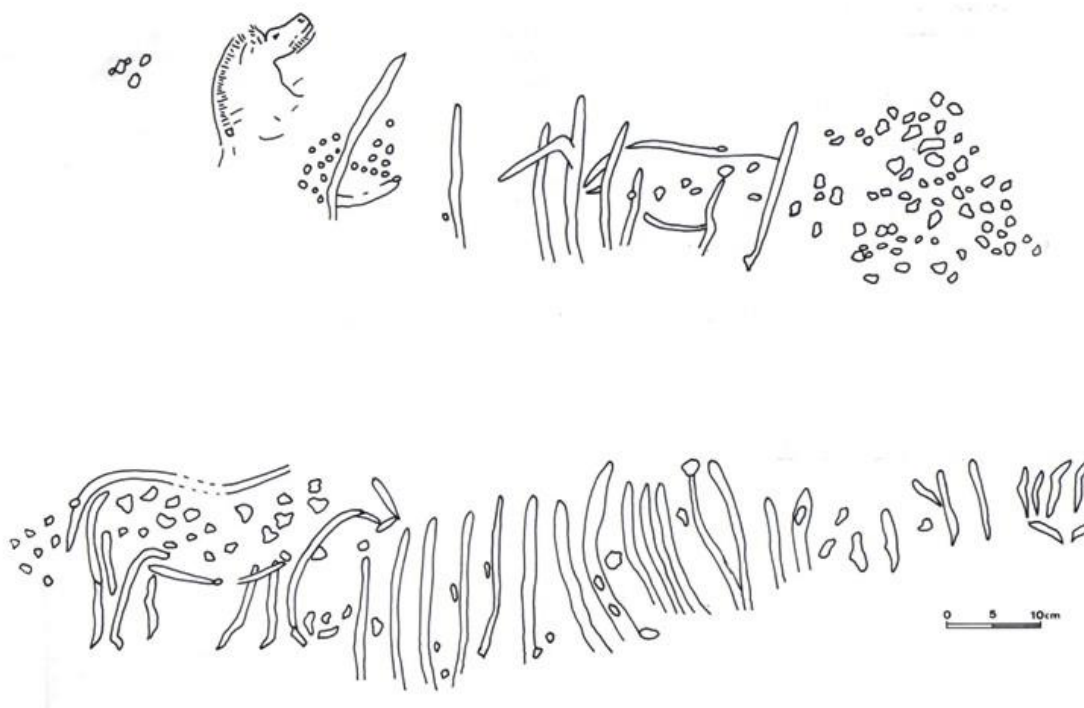


Fig. 11. Grotte de Ganties-Montespan, deux premiers chevaux schématiques tracés dans l'argile et percés de trous de là scène de chasse, d'après C. Rivenq, 1984: 442, fig. 7.

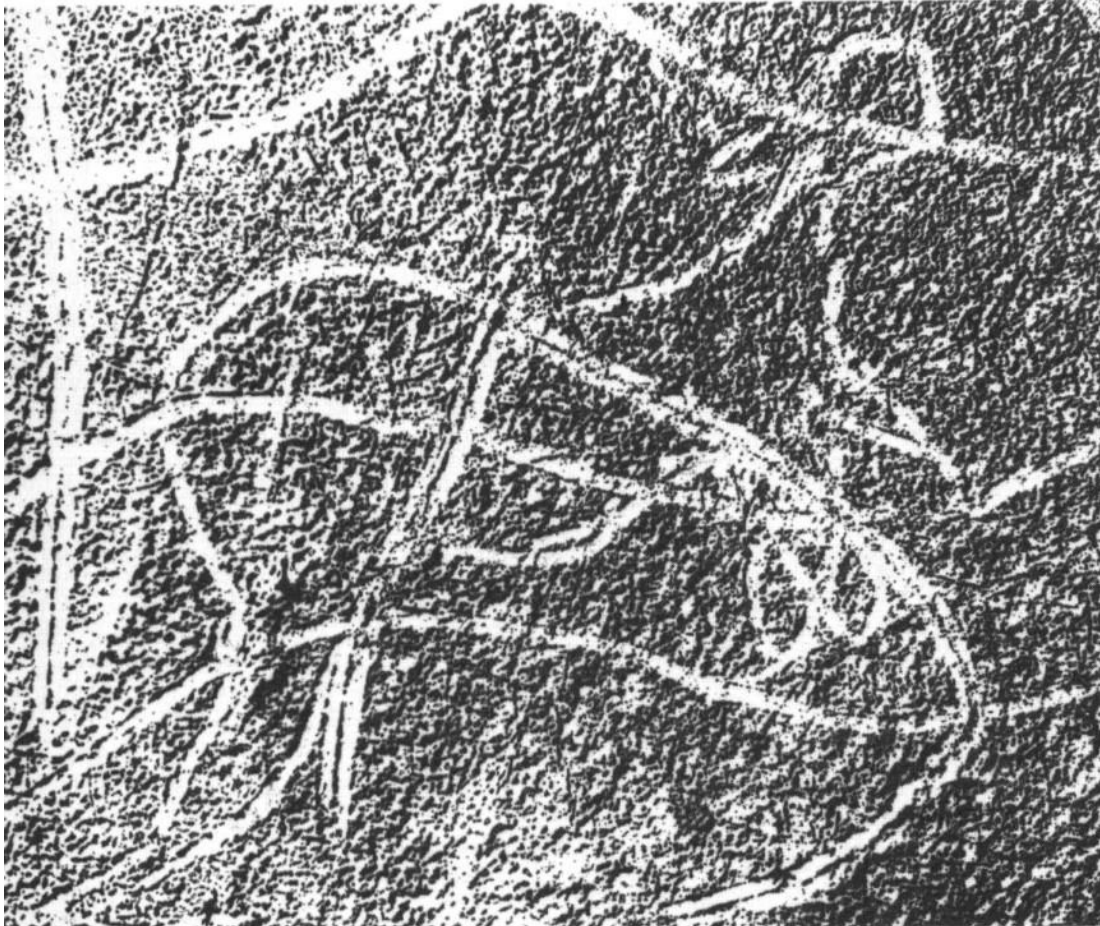


Fig. 12. Grotte Pech-Marle, créations artistiques: détail de figure féminine (1); Femmes-bisons et mammoth (2), d'après M. Lorblanchet, 1984: 472, fig. 6, 7.



Fig. 13. Grotte Pech-Marle, créations artistiques: L'homme blessé, d'après M. Lorblanchet, 1984: 473, fig. 10.



Fig. 14. Grotte de Cougnac, humain blessé, d'après M. Lorblanchet, 1984: 486, fig. 7.



Fig. 15. Grotte de Pergouset. La première vulve gravée, d'après M. Lorblanchet, 1984: 505, fig. 3.

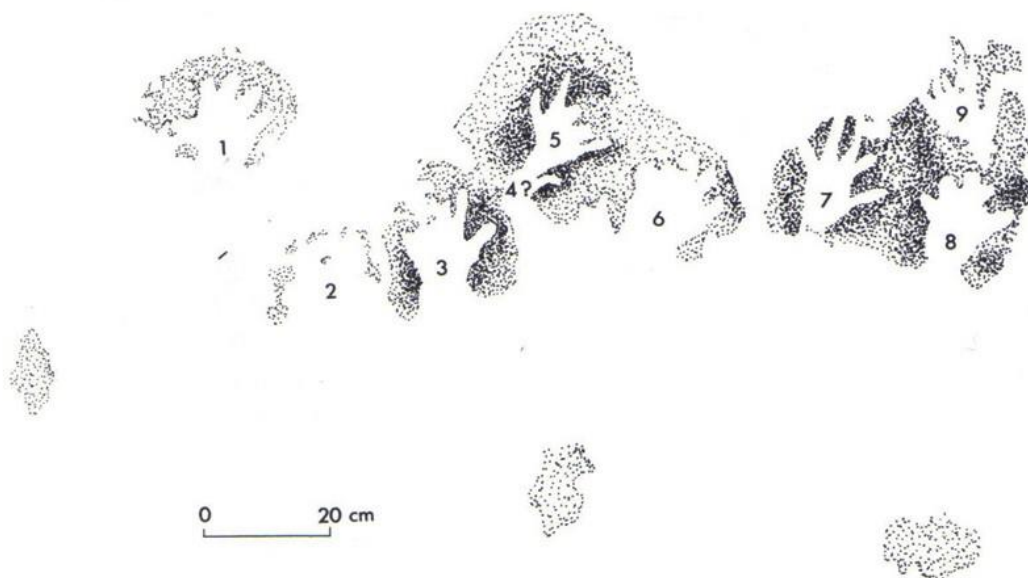


Fig. 16. Grotte de Tibiran. Grande salle, premier panneau de mains négatives rouges, d'après André Clot, 1984b: 536, fig. 1.



Fig. 17. Grotte de la Magdeleine des Albis. Femme associée au bison, d'après H. Bessac et J. Lautier, 1984: 542-543, fig. 4 bis, 5 et 5 bis.



Fig. 18. L'Abri du Roc-aux-Sorciers, le panneau des Vénus, d'après Suzanne de Saint-Mathurin, 1984: 587, fig. 5.



Fig. 19. El Castillo, main négative, d'après A. Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 368, fig. 422.

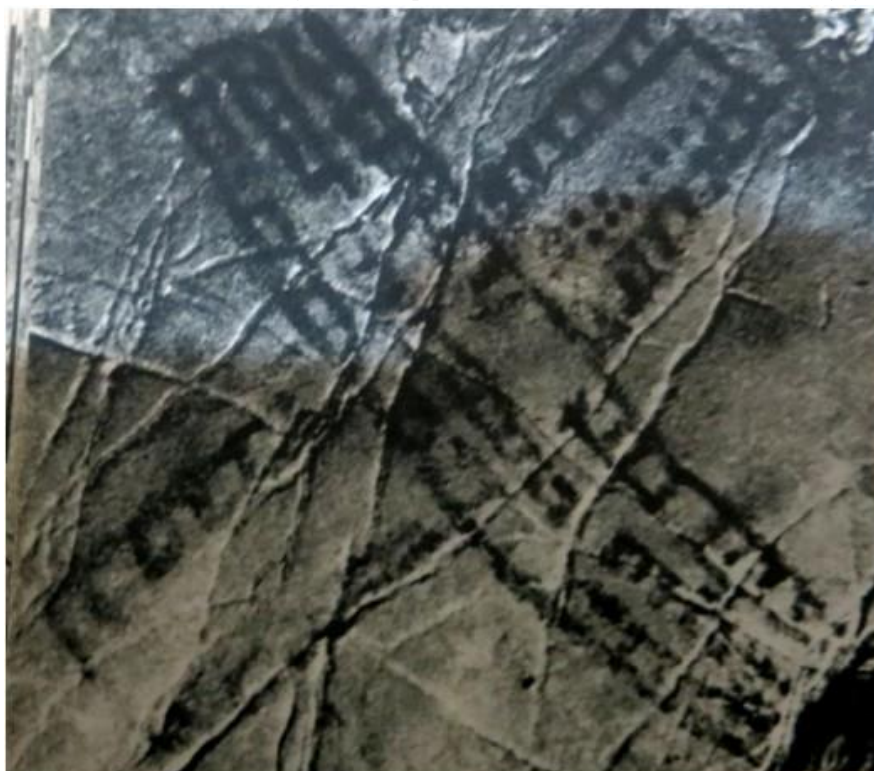


Fig. 20. El Castillo, signes quadrangulaires croisés, d'après A. Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 368, fig. 420.



Fig. 21. El Castillo, lignes de points croisés, d'après A. Leroi-Gourhan, 1965: 368, fig. 421.

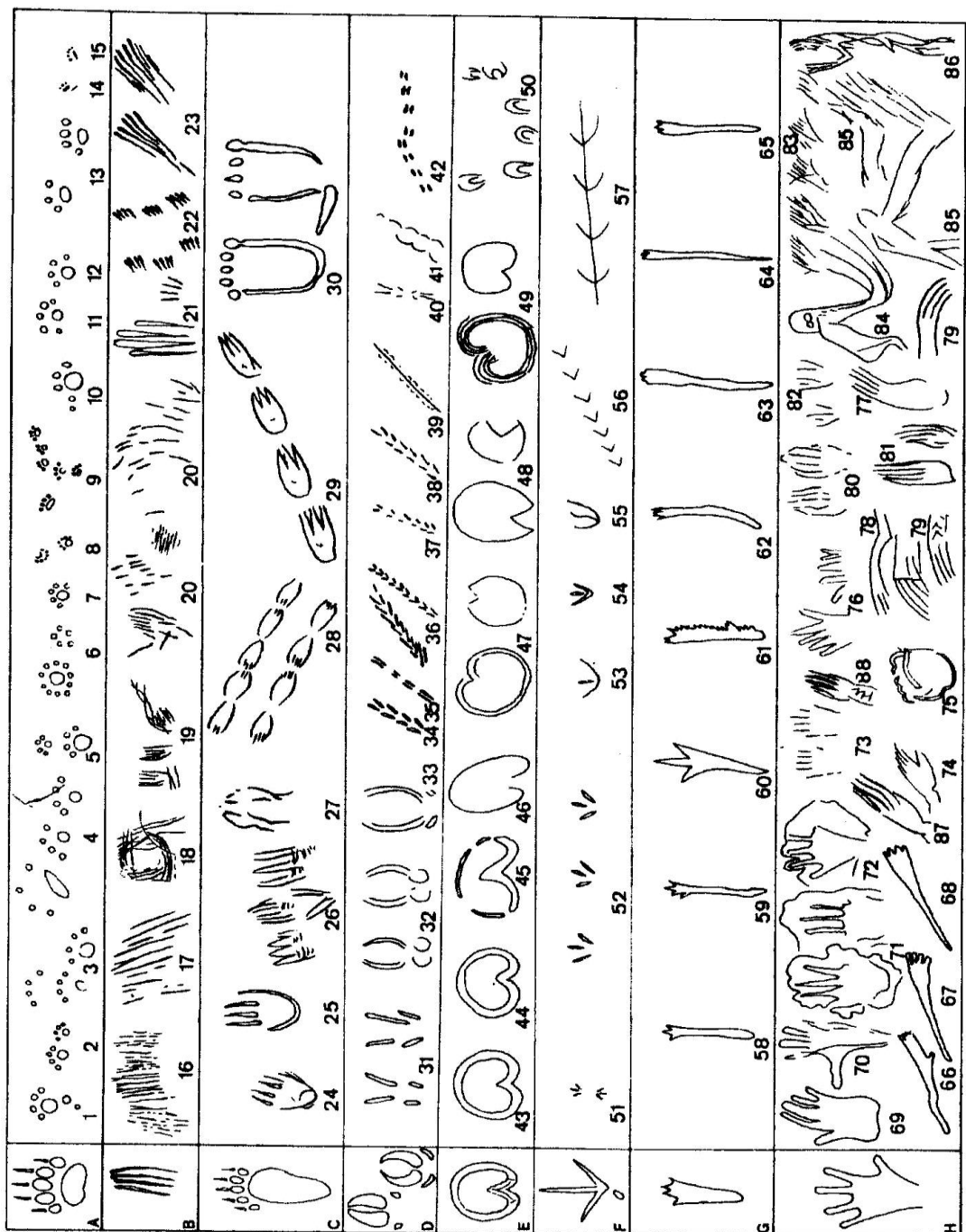


Fig. 22. Empreintes fictives animales et humaines dans l'art paléolithique (d'après R. Pigeaud, 2005:180, fig. 3).

Reference

- *** 1984. L'Art des Cavernes. Atlas des Grottes ornées paléolithiques françaises. Atlas Archéologiques de la France, Paris. On va citer L'Art des Cavernes...
- Ajoulat, N., Grotte de Combarelles II, in *L'Art des Cavernes...*: 114-118.
- Allain, J. 1984. Grotte Blanchard, in *L'Art des Cavernes...*: 299-301.

- Arias, P. & Alvarez-Fernandez, E., 2004. Les chasseurs-cueilleurs de las Péninsule Ibérique face à la mort: une révision des données sur les contextes funéraires du Paléolithique supérieur et du Mésolithique, in M. Otte (dir.), *La Spiritualité*. Actes du coll. de la comm. 8 de l'UISPP (Paléolithique supérieur), Liège, déc. 2003, Liège, ERAUL 106: 221-236.
- Bilan 1991-1996* (voir M. Otte, éd., 1996, Forli).
- Bilan 1996-2001* (voir P. Noiret, éd., 2001, Liège).
- Barrière, Cl. 1984a. Grotte de Combarelles I, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 109-113.
- Barrière, Cl. 1984b. Grotte de Rouffignac, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 201-207.
- Barrière, Cl. 1984c. Grotte de Gargas, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 514-522.
- Bégouën, H., Breuil, H., 1958. Les cavernes du Volp ..., cité par Bégouën R. et Clottes, J. 1984: 406.
- Bégouën, R., Clottes, J., 1984a. Grotte des Trois-Frères, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 400-409.
- Bégouën, R. et Clottes, J. 1984b. Grotte du Tuc d'Audoubert, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 410-415.
- Besançon, A. 1996. Imaginea interzisă. Istoria intelectuală a iconoclasmului de la Platon la Kandiski, Humanitas, București.
- Bibescu, M. 1923. *Isvor, le pays des saules*, Plon, Paris; și ed. românească: *Izvor, țara sălciilor*, Ed. "Adevărul" S.A. (fără an), cu o prefață de M. Sadoveanu.
- Brézillon, M. 1984. Le Paléolithique supérieur et l'Art pariétal paléolithique, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 25-37.
- Broglio, A. 1996. Le Paléolithique supérieur en Italie du Nord (1991-1996), in *Bilan 1991-1996*, Forli : 289-298.
- Broglio et alii 2005. A. Broglio, M. Cremaschi, M. Peresani, M. De Stefani, St. Bertola, F. Gurioli, D. Marini, G. Di Anastasio, *Le pietre dipinte dell'Aurignaziano*, in A. Broglio, G. Dalmeri (a cura di), 2005. *Pitture paleolitiche nelle Prealpi Venete. Grotta di Fumane e Riparo Dalmeri, Preistoria Alpina*, Numero Speciale: 38-63.
- Chirica, V. 1982. Amuleta-pendantiv de la Mitoc, jud.Botoșani. Notă preliminară, in *Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologice (SCIVA)*, 33, 3: 229-231.
- Chirica, V. 2004. Teme ale reprezentării "Marii Zeițe" în arta paleolitică și neolitică, in *Memoria Antiquitatis (MemAntiq)*, XXIII, 2004: 103-127.
- Chirica, V. 2004a. Identitatea unor semne în simbolurile artei paleolitice și neo-eneolitice, in *Elemente de spiritualitate în spațiul carpato-nistrean. Preistorie*. Simpozion internațional, organizat în cadrul Proiectului INTAS – réseau – 2000-0879, Iasi, iulie 2004: 4-9.
- Chirica, V. 2004b. La Grande Déesse et son interprétation dans l'art paléolithique, in M. Otte (éd.), *La Spiritualité*. Actes du colloque de la commission 8 de l'UISPP (Paléolithique supérieur), Liège, 10-12 décembre 2003, Liège, ERAUL, 106: 187-194.
- Chirica, V. 2006. Artă și religii preistorice. Sanctuarele paleoliticului superior european, in *Prelegeri Academice*, vol. V, Nr. 5: 7-34, 145.
- Chirica, V. 2006a. Les plus anciennes peintures paléolithiques d'Italie, in *Arheologia Moldovei (ArhMold)*, XXIX: 193-198.
- Chirica, V. 2006b. Opinions concernant l'art et les religions paléolithiques sur la base d'une grande découverte, in *ArhMold*, XXIX: 185-191.
- Chirica, V. 2011, Elemente de artă religioasă în sanctuarele paleoliticului superior, in *ArhMold*, XXXIV: 19-52.
- Chirica, V., Chirica, V.-C. 2016. Découvertes archéologiques concernant les manifestations cultiques dans les sanctuaires paléolithiques de l'Europe, in Constantin-Emil Ursu, Adrian Poruciu,

- Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven Symbols and Signs. Papers presented at the International Symposium "From Symbols to Signs. Signs, Symbols, Rituals in Sanctuaries*, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015, Ed. Karl. A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 9-42.
- Chirica, V., Văleanu, M.-C. 2008. Umanizarea taurului celest. Mărturii ale spiritualității comunităților cucuteniene de la Ruginoasa-Iași, BAI, XX, Casa Editorială Damiurg, Iași.
- Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2012. V. Chirica, G. Bodi, V.-C. Chirica, Teme iconografice, reprezentate în creația artistică religioasă preistorică, in *ArhMold*, XXXV: 47-73.
- Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2016. V. Chirica, V.-C. Chirica, G. Bodi, 2016. Viață și moarte în Paleoliticul superior, Epipaleoliticul și Mezoliticul Europei. Spiritualitatea înmormântărilor, BAI, XXVI, ed. a II-a, Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște.
- Chirica, V.-C., Chirica, V. 2012. Spirituality of paleolithic burials: offerings of decorative and body ornamenting items, in R. Kogalniceanu, R.-G. Curca, M. Gligor, S. Stratt (eds.), *Homines, Funera, Astra. Proceedings of International Symposium on Funerary Anthropology*, June 2011, BAR, Int. Series 2410: 1-19.
- Chirica, V.-C. *et alii*, 2012. V.-C. Chirica, G. Bodi, V. Chirica, 2012. Le phénomène funéraire dans le Paléolithique de l'Europe. La spiritualité de la déposition d'offrandes dans les tombeaux, in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica (SAA)*, XVIII: 5-80.
- Chirica V.-C. *et alii*, 2014. V.-C. Chirica, G. Bodi, V. Chirica, 2014. Eléments de sacralité de la violence en Préhistoire, in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. XIX, Supplement No. 2, 2010, *Worlds in Change II. Transforming East-Central Europe*: 27-58.
- Clot, A. 1984a. Grotte du Bois du Cantet, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 523-526.
- Clot, A. 1984b. Grotte de Tibiran, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 536-539.
- Clottes, J. 1984. Grotte de Niaux, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 416-423.
- Clottes, J. 1984a. Les découvertes et la conservation, in *Art pariétal paléolithique. Etude et conservation*. Colloque International Périgieux – Le Thot, Novembre 1984 : 7-18 (on va citer Coll. Int. Périgieux – Le Thot).
- Clottes, J. (sous la dir. de), 2001. *La Grotte Chauvet. L'Art des origines*, SEUIL, Paris.
- Clottes, J. 2005a. La Grotte Chauvet, près de dix ans après sa découverte, in A. Broglio, G. Dalmeri (red.), *Pittura paleolitiche nelle Prealpi venete. Grotta di Fumane i Riparo Dalmeri*, in *Preistoria Alpina*, nr. Speciale, Verona: 67-75.
- Clottes, J. 2005b. Spiritualité et religion au Paléolithique: les signes d'une émergence progressive, in *Religion & Histoire*, 2, mai-juin, Faton, Paris: 18-25.
- Clottes, J. et Gailli, R. 1984. Grotte der Massat, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 395-299.
- Clottes, J. et Simonnet, R. 1984. Le Réseau Rene Clastres, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 424-427.
- Clottes *et alii*, 1984. J. Clottes, Fr. Rouzaud, Luc Wahl, 1984. Grotte de Fontanet, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 433-437.
- Couchard, J. et le Groupe spéléologique de la Corrèze, Guy Mazière et Jean-Paul Raynal, 1984. Grotte du Moulin de Laguenay, in *L'Art des Cavernes....* : 355-357.
- Coelho, P. 2010. *Aleph*, Humanitas, București.
- Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles, 1984a. Grotte de Comarque, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 119-122.
- Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984b. Grotte de Sous-Grand-Lac, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 178-179.
- Delluc, Brigitte et Gilles 1984c. Les blocs ornés: Art pariétal ou Art mobilier ?, in Coll. Int. Périgieux – Le Thot: 21-31.

- Delporte, H. 1984. Abri du Roc-de-Sers, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 578-582.
- H. Delporte, 1984a. Rapports entre l'art mobilier et l'art pariétal, in Coll. Int. Périgieux – Le Thot: 7-18.
- Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984a. Grotte Bayol, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 323-326.
- Docteur Ed. Drouot, 1984b. Grotte de la Baume-Latrone, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 333-339.
- Durkheim, E. 1995. Formele elementare ale vieții religioase, Polirom, Iași.
- Duvois, M. 1994. Les témoins sonores paléolithiques extérieures et souterrains, in M. Otte (éd.), *“Sons originels”. Préhistoire de la musique*, ERAUL, 61, Liège, 1994: 19-22.
- Eliade, M. 1991. Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase. Ed. a II-a, vol. I: De la epoca de piatră la Misterele din Eleusis, Ed. Științifică, București.
- Gailli *et alii*, 1984. R. Gailli, N. Pailhaugue, F. Rouzaud, 1984. Grotte de Bédeilhac, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 369-375.
- Gaussen, Dr. J. 1984. Grotte de Gabillou, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 225-231.
- van Gennep, A. 1909. *Les Rites de passage*, Paris.
- Giacobini, G. 1999. Les sépultures du Paléolithique supérieur en Italie, in D. Sacchi (dir.), *XXIV-è Congrès préhistorique de France. Faciès leptolithiques du nord-est méditerranéen: milieux naturels et culturels*, Carcassonne, 1994, Carcassonne: 29-39.
- Giacobini, G., Malerba, G. 1995. Les pendeloques en ivoire de la sépulture paléolithique du «Jeune Prince» (Grotte des Arene Candide, Finale Ligure, Italie), in J. Hahn, M. Menu, Y. Taborin, P. Walter et Fr. Widemann (ed.), *Le travail et l'usage de l'ivoire au Paléolithique supérieur*, Actes de la Table ronde de Ravello (29-31 mai 1992), Rome: 173-178.
- Girard, R. 1995. *Violența și sacrul*, Ed. Nemira, București.
- Gonzales Echegaray, J. et Bernaldo de Quiros, F. 1984. *L'occupation des grottes ornées*, in Coll. Int. Périgieux – Le Thot: 41-43.
- Gorrotxategi Anieto, X. 2000. *Arte paleolitico parietal de Bizkaia*, Kobie, Bilbao.
- Henry-Gambier, D. 2005. Evolution des pratiques funéraires en Italie au Paléolithique supérieur, in D. Vialou, J. Renault-Miskovski, M. Patou-Mathis (dir.), *Comportements des hommes du Paléolithique moyen et supérieur en Europe: territoire et milieu*, Actes du Coll. Du G.D.R. 1945 du CNRS, 2003, ERAUL 111, Liège: 213-229.
- Hubert, H. et Mauss, M. 1899. Essai sur la nature et la fonction du « sacrifice », in *Année sociologique*, tome II: 29-138.
- Larribau, J. D., Prudhomme, S. 1984. Grotte d'Erberua, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 275-279.
- Lejeune, M. (sur la dir. de), 1987. *L'Art mobilier paléolithique et mésolithique en Belgique*, Artefact 4, Ed. du C.E.D.A., Treignes-Viroinval.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. 1965. *Préhistoire de l'Art Occidental*, Mazenot, Paris, 1965.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. 1984a. Avant-propos, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 3-7.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. 1984b. Grotte de Lascaux, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 180-200.
- Leroi-Gourhan, A. 1990. Les religions de la Préhistoire. Paléolithique, Quadrigé/PUF, Paris.
- Lorblanchet, M. 1984a. Grotte du Pech-Merle, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 467-474.
- Lorblanchet, M. 1984b. Grotte de Cougnac, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 483-487.
- Lorblanchet, M. 1984c. Grotte des Merveilles, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 490-494.
- Lorblanchet, M. 1984d. Grotte de Perrgouset, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 504-506.
- Lorblanchet, M. 1984e. Grotte de Rocadour, in *L'Art des Cavernes.....*: 511-513.

- Martin, P., Martin, Y. 1984. Grotte de Gouy, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 556-560.
- Maureille, B. 2004. *Les origines de la culture. Les premières sépultures*, Le Pommier/Cité des sciences et de l'industrie, Paris.
- Moure Romanillo, J.-A. et Gonzales Morales, M. 1984. *Le contexte de l'art pariétal: la technologie des artistes*, in Coll. Int. Périgieux – Le Thot: 45-62.
- Noiret, P (éd.), 2001. Bilan 1996-2001. Le Paléolithique supérieur européen. Bilan quinquennal 1996-2001, éd. par P. Noiret, ERAUL 97, Liège.
- Onoratini, G., Combier, J. 1995. Restes d'enfant et parure de coquillages du site gravettien du Maronier (Saint-Remèze-Ardeche): témoins de l'expansion occidentale de la culture de tradition noaillienne méditerranéenne, in M. Otte (éd.), 1995. *Nature et Culture*. Coll. de Liège, 1993, ERAUL 68, Liège: 259-271.
- Otte, M. (sous la dir. de), 1996. Bilan 1991-1996. Le Paléolithique supérieur européen. Bilan quinquennal 1991-1996, ERAUL 76, Liège.
- Otte, M. 2005. Territoires et styles, in D. Vialou, J. Renault-Miskovsky, M. Patou-Mathis (sous le dir. de), *Comportements des hommes du Paléolithique moyen et supérieur en Europe. Territoires et milieux*. Actes du Colloque du G.D.R. 1945, Paris, 8-10 janvier 2003. ERAUL 111, Liège: 157-161 (on va citer seulement ERAUL 111).
- Palma di Cesnola, A. 1988. *Paglicci. Rignano Garganico*, Foggia.
- Palma di Cesnola, A. 2003. Evolution des rites funéraires du Paléolithique Supérieur italien dans le temps et l'espace, in Elsz. Derwich (dir.), *Préhistoire des Pratiques mortuaires. Paléolithique – Mésolithique – Néolithique*, Actes du Symp. Int., Leuven, 1999, ERAUL 102, Liège: 131-139.
- Quenchon, G. 1976. Les sépultures des Hommes du Paléolithique supérieur, in *La Préhistoire française, T. I, Les civilisations paléolithiques et mésolithiques de la France*, Ed. du CNRS, Paris : 728-733.
- Pigeaud, R. 2005. Un Art de traces? Spontanéités et préméditations sur les parois des grottes ornées paléolithiques, in ERAUL 111: 177-191.
- Plénier, A. 1984. Grotte de Marsoulas, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 446-450.
- Rivenq, C. 1984. Grotte de Ganties-Montespan, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 438-445.
- Roussot, A. 1984a. Grotte de Cournazac, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 123-125.
- Roussot, A. 1984b. Grotte de Font-de-Gaume, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 129-134.
- Roussot, A. 1984c. Abri du Poisson, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 154-156.
- Roussot, A. 1984d. Grotte de Bernifal, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 170-174.
- de Saint-Mathurin, S. 1984. L'Abri du Roc-aux-Sorciers, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 583-587.
- Simonnet, George, Louise et Robert 1984. Grotte de Labastide, in *L'Art des Cavernes....*: 527-535.
- Soulaiges, P. 2006. *La naissance de l'Art*, La Recherche, Ed. Talandier, Paris.
- Svoboda, J. 2001. Mladeč and other caves in the Middle Danube region: early modern humans, late Neandertals, and projectiles, in J. Zilhão, T. Aubry, A.-F. Carvalho (eds.), *Les premiers hommes modernes de la Péninsule Ibérique*. Actes du Colloque de la Commission VIII de l'UISPP, 22-24 Octobre 1998, Lisboa: 45-60.
- Villaverde, V. 2005. Art paléolithique de la méditerranée espagnole: arguments contre son rattachement à une «Province artistique méditerranéenne», in ERAUL 111: 163-176.
- Zilhão, J., Trinkaus, E. 2002. Anatomie, contexte archéologique et sépulture de l'enfant gravettien de l'abri Lagar Velho (Lapedo, Leiria, Portugal), in *Praehistoria*, vol. 3, Miskolc: 131-145.

IMAGE AND IMAGINARY IN THE PALEOLITHIC – MEANS OF INTEGRATION INTO THE ENVIRONMENT

Mihaela Cazacu-Davidescu

Institute of Archaeology, Iași, Romania

cazacudavidescu@gmail.com

Key words: *Paleolithic, image, imagery, parietal and mobile art, communication system*

Abstract: *Homo sapiens remained unchanged biologically 40 000 years. Our wishes and ideas of adaptation to environmental demands and to integrate in it, led us to manifestations through images and mobilier art. The image can be considered a "language embryonic" addressed to a totem spirit or protector. The image, for the image creator, among others, as a way of integration into the imaginary world of the representation. By painting himself in the position of the hunter, or by drawing the game, the Paleolithic man identified himself with his environment. The characters disguised as masks encountered in artistic representations from prehistory are difficult to interpret, but we consider that substituting an animal with a mask, or the creation of artifacts with dual character human-animal or even the mask itself stand for man's attempts to be included in the surrounding reality, as - often depicted masterfully by rudimentary techniques of the cave art. A reality captured through masterpieces, which we transpose in a medium in which our ancestors wished to belong, to fit in it and master it.*

In order to understand the way of thinking, the imagination, the conscience and the intuition of the Paleolithic society, we must start from the seeds of humanity and, understand the crises, and the pressures they were under and the solutions they found in order to overcome them. We will analyze their artistic manifestations in this particular context.

In general terms, the concept of interpretation in archaeology refers to the construction of knowledge about the past from evidence surviving in the present¹.

For Paleolithic knowledge, expectations and observations form a binding connection with models found in nature. Interestingly, current scholars also base their thoughts on models found in nature, which are -named by some researchers as “a paradigm” (Kuhn²).

Even archaeology, according to Binford, provides “an interesting case of the traditional use of a paradigm, a model of what the archaeological record is like, what we can expect from it, and its significance”³.

Ideas, translated into an aesthetic creation, rock art or mobile artistic creations, transmit the ideas of life and activity of their creator, offering us an image of attitudes manifested under the influence of certain factors. We could interpret these representations as created in accordance with an affective relationship between their creator and real or imagined objects. The development of aesthetic knowledge and the assimilation of knowledge which led to their need represents a fundamental human necessity. Aesthetic creation forms a bridge between the object (or the image) and the “watcher” of creation. Therefore, creation becomes a cognitive act.

¹ Gavin, 2014: 4013.

² Cf. Binford, 1972: 109-110.

³ Binford, 1972: 110.

Archaeology, by which we expect to understand the Paleolithic creation and art, is defined according to one theory¹ as “the science concerned with the description and explanation of differences and similarities observed in the archaeological record”. In the context of this role, the archaeologist role may carry out three major kinds of activities summarized as exploration, explication and explanation.



Fig. 1a. Niaux cave (Ariège). Magdalenian art (after Nougier 1966: 121, pl. XXVI).



Fig. 1b. Niaux cave (Ariège). Magdalenian art (after Nougier, 1966: 122, pl. XXVII).

¹ Binford, 1972: 110-111.

Cultural history is reconstructed by archaeologists on the basis of “conventions”¹. After Clarke and Binford², the Archaeological theory is a mentalist theory. The concept of culture is a central theoretical concept which for archaeologists has been explained by reference to other primitive concepts such as ideas, values, mental templates, etc.

If we examine artistic creations with fantastic beings, zoo-anthropomorphic creatures or people wearing masks from the Les Trois Freres cave or from other caves such as: la Marsoulas, les Combarelles, Altamira or Lourdes, we can interpret them as being linked to prehistoric religious beliefs and rituals. Eliade, a great interpreter of the history of religious beliefs, affirms that the French-Cantabrian rock art (30 000 y BP) provides first archaeological directions regarding the religious, mystic universe of the Paleolithic hunter³.

Magic hunting ceremonies of the Paleolithic are interpreted also through archaeological finds and we refer here to the rock art engravings and sculptures in clay, with grooves and pierced holes representing wounds.

These pieces, by their cognitive impact and visual impression have drawn attention since the 19th century, as noted by C. Georgiade⁴, in quoting G. H. Luquet: “In the Montespan cave of the Pyrenees, Norbert Casteret discovered a clay statue (0.60 m high; 1.10 m long) representing a headless bear, between whose forepaws, on the ground, the skull of a young bear was found. The sculpture is riddled by spear marks. The statue's neck has a hole as though it had been pierced”. G. H. Luquet considers the statue of clay might have been completed with a true bear's head and covered with a skin during a magic slaughter ceremony⁵.

From the same period, there is another statue (from the Isturitz cave, in the Pyrenees) representing the body of a feline, made of reindeer antler, it is pierced in several spots, and it shows an arrow engraved on its foot⁶.

An image from the Niaux cave (fig. 1, a, b) shows animals wounded by arrows; and another image from the Les Trois Frères cave shows an act of hunting, interpreted as magic, in which the main character is a bear wounded by arrows, with the body showing multiple injuries and blood flowing abundantly from the animal's mouth⁷.

The same cave in Trois Frères is the scene of a ritual dance, executed by a wizard, with antlers on his head, long beard, and animal leather thrown over his shoulders⁸. After some archaeologists, the fulfilled rituals are considered totemic and the fantastic zoo-anthropomorphic beings, depicted on cave walls, are considered totemic ancestors⁹. The totemic ancestor's theory has always exercised fascination and not only among archaeologists. From Philosophy, Blaga comes with the interesting concept that totemic faith identifies all members of the tribe with totem, imagining as they take part in some way in its magical substance¹⁰.

According to V. Chirica and collaborators¹¹, by “wearing” an animal skin and covering oneself with its head, whilst keeping the human feet and hands visible (as often represented on cave walls), man identifies with the hunted animal and can symbolically take the essence of its existence.

¹ Clarke, 1972: 115.

² Clarke, 1972: 115.

³ Eliade, 1994: 5.

⁴ Georgiade, 1938: 42

⁵ Luquet, 1926: 118; Casteret, 1923: 533; Georgiade, 1938: 43-44.

⁶ Georgiade, 1938: 44.

⁷ Schmidt, 1936: 180-181; Georgiade, 1938: 43.

⁸ Tokarev, 1976: 46-47.

⁹ Tokarev, 1976: 146-153; Haitun, 1958: 104-106.

¹⁰ Blaga, 1996: 12.

¹¹ Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2012: 49.

The “mask” of the substituted animal can be a religious element. C.-M. Lazarovici appreciated that the mask on the face of human figures represented an attribute of deity¹ in numerous Paleolithic drawings and engravings.

We believe these representations may constitute an “embryonic” language of expression, addressed to a totemic spirit or patron, because: “the spirit it is shown wherever words,-wherever phrase, wherever forms, wherever songs, wherever beginnings...”² and “language associates the three elements: a Me, a You, a He/Her or It-as someone expressing to someone else about something”³, in this case, extrapolating the idea we think that: Me-it represents the person who performed the drawing, You - the person who looked at it, and He/Her or It - the spirit to which it is addressed.

The female anthropomorphic statuettes, such as those found in the Paleolithic sites of Dolni Vestonice or Willendorf, for instance, can be considered from the perspective of animism, to be lively artistic manifestations, interceding between man and the surrounding world.

Other theories, consider these female figurines to stand for priestesses who perform rituals as representations of the founding mothers of families (based on the fact that many were found near hearths), representations of a fire deity (or hearth deity)⁴, or representations of great female divinities⁵. We consider female anthropomorphic idols to exert an apotropaic function protecting the house that contains them or, as is the case of the Magdalenian pendant statuettes from Schweizersbild, Petersfels, Moosbuhl and Monruz, the person that wears them. There are theories related to ritual fragmentation of idols, but we will not dwell on this aspect. V. Chirica⁶ considers that “female statuettes can represent a female aesthetic ideal, women’s raising to the level of divinity, but the idea of fecundity, the perpetuation of the species”. All these theories are models that try to interpret Paleolithic image and imagery.

Returning to the idea mentioned above, that images of parietal art can turn into an act of cognition and learning, we will try to approach psychogenesis of the mental processes involved and to understand them.

The process of mental development of man is being conducted in the context of the specific interplay of the three development plans: phylogenies (as potentialities transmitted by the genetic code), acquisitions and values accomplished on the social-historical plane, and ontogenesis, the individual process of development into an organic, neuropsychic and psychosocial being. According to J. Piaget⁷, the last development involves two moments which are interrelated: 1. assimilation-the inward and active selection of information from the external environment and integrating it the individual’s own structures and 2. accommodation - the adaptation of cognitive motivational and affective structures according to environmental requirements. According to this, the evolution of the functional unit “assimilation-adaptation” is actually the evolution of individual potentiality of becoming of the human psyche. Each step or sequence of mental development must be seen as the result of the previous stage and a premise of the following.

Also, according to J. Piaget (psychogenesis theory of intellectual operations), thinking occurs first in real action plans (for instance observation in nature of a certain animal behavior) and then this can gradually be achieved mentally (i.e. the formation of perceptions concerning the behavior is followed by the formation of its inner mental representations).

¹ Lazarovici, 2006: 68.

² Valéry, 1989: 848.

³ Valéry, 1989: 851.

⁴ Tokarev, 1976: 48-49.

⁵ Chirica, V. *et alii*, 2012: 52.

⁶ Chirica, Boghian, 2003: 132.

⁷ Neculau, 1987: 40.

P. Galperin developed the research of J. Piaget as an operational theory of learning with the four phases of forming: orientation, real action, verbalization and the internalization.

The genetic-cognitive theory of J. Bruner highlights the dependence on intellectual development of a cultural environment that provides means of action, imagination, symbolization and communication. According to Bruner, a child discovers the surrounding reality by its action, through images or symbols (conventional words or signs). Extrapolating this idea, we consider that Paleolithic man was faced with the surrounding reality almost like a child, without the possibility of relying on a rich baggage of previous knowledge or clear patterns to be followed, discovering the reality by his own actions, through images or symbols. It is known that in order to satisfactorily explain the psychic development of the individual (modern or Paleolithic man), psychogenetic markers must be identified. A first mark would be the fundamental type of activity which the person perform – an activity which becomes increasingly comprehensible to his psychic system. The second mark would be the psychogenetic factors which express the evolutionary and adaptive structure and premise psychosocial integration, as established by the kind of relationships. The third psychogenetic mark results from a contradiction between socio-cultural requirements (external requirements) and the possibilities of the individual to achieve them or from the contradiction between subjective requirements (aspirations, ideals) and the possibilities of the society to achieve them¹.

As already mentioned, the archaeological theory, according to Clarke and Binford is a mentalist theory and archaeological cultures in their succession, have increasingly complex features. Each stage of their development constitutes a new stage, based on previous acquisitions and ancient knowledge, which reconfigures depending on the new dominant psycho-physical environment.

Returning to Paleolithic parietal and mobile art, we might consider “ways of communication” and messages of certain moods and experiences of their Creator, which for their “time” were optimally carried out, both from the point of view of consistency in their content and the expressiveness of their communication, which allows us, now, to decipher their messages.

References

- Binford, L. R. 1972. Contemporary model building: paradigms and the current state of Palaeolithic research. In David L. Clarke, *Models in Archaeology*, Methuen & Co Ltd, London: 109-110.
- Bлага, L. 1996. *Gândire magică și religie (Trilogia valorilor, II)*, Ed. Humanitas, București.
- Chirica V. et alii, 2012. V. Chirica, G. Bodi, V.-C. Chirica, Teme iconografice reprezentate în creația artistică preistorică, In *Arheologia Moldovei XXXV/2012*, București, Ed. Academiei Române: 47-74.
- Chirica, V., Boghian, D., 2003. *Arheologia preistorică a lumii*, vol. I-II, *Paleolitic-Mezolitic*, Ed. Helios, Iași.
- Clarke, D. L., 1972. *Models in Archaeology*, Methuen & Co Ltd, London.
- Eliade, M., 1994. *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, Ed. Universitas, Chișinău.
- Gavin, L., 2014. Interpretation in Archaeological Theory. In Smith C. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, vol. 6 I-K, Springer.
- Georgiade, C., 1938. *Originile magice ale minciunii și geneza gândirii* (Academia Română-Studii și Cercetări, XXXIV), București, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, Imprimeria Națională.
- Haitun, D. E., 1958. Totemizm, ego suščinost' i proisxoždenie, Stalinabad.

¹ Neculau 1987: 40-41.

- Lazarovici, C.-M., 2006. Semne și simboluri în cultura Cucuteni. In N. Ursulescu, C.-M. Lazarovici (coord.), *Cucuteni 120. Valori universale. Lucrările simpozionului național, 30 septembrie 2004*, Ed. Sedcom libris, Iași: 57-90.
- Liquet, G. H., 1923. *L'art et la Religion des hommes Fossiles*, Paris, Masson et C. Editeurs, 1926. Casteret Begouen, La caverne de Montespan. *Revue Anthropologique*, Paris.
- Neculau, A., 1987. *Comportament și civilizație: mică enciclopedie pentru tineret*, București, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București: 40.
- Nougier, L.-R., 1966. *L'art préhistorique*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (Collection <Les Neuf Muses> Histoire générale des Arts).
- Schmidt, R. R., 1936. *L'Aurore de l'Esprit Humain*, Paris.
- Smith, C., 2014. Smith C. (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, vol. 6 I-K, Springer.
- Tokarev, S. A. 1976. *Religia în istoria popoarelor lumii*, ed. a 2-a, Ed. Politică, București.
- Valéry, P. 1989. *Poezii. Dialoguri. Poetică și Estetică*, ed. îngrij. și pref. de Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, trad. de Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, Alina Ledeanu și Marius Ghica, Ed. Univers, București.

ABOUT THE CAVE ART FROM GROTA MARE – SOMEȘ RIVER CLIFFS AND SOME COMMENTS ON THE CAVE ART

Gheorghe Lazarovici

University Lucian Blaga Sibiu

ghlazarovici@yahoo.com

Radu Pop

Cluj-Napoca

diartis@diartis.ro

Key words. *Someș River cliffs, Grota Mare, symbols (mammoth, boar, bird), signs.*

Abstract. *In Grota Mare, shaped by the Someș river in the Rus area, in the point named La Văgăuni, several animal representations (mammoth, boar, bird), as well as geometric elements including circles and crosses have been discovered. Near the cave there was also an altar. We made a brief presentation of some of the discoveries here; we suggested some analogies and gave some assumptions about the interpretation of these representations and signs as well as about their possible timeline. In our opinion, the seven circles at Grota Mare could represent the seven or eight planets of the sun.*

Radu Pop has discovered a series of engravings and cave signs in more than 20 points on the cliffs of Someș, Someș Plateau, as cave art¹. In a recent study and some presentations we have made some references to art elements from the Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic, but also from other times². We insisted on some aspects related to hunting, mentioning among others: animals (mammoths, stags, roebucks, rabbits ? or something else), weapons, tents, enclosures (for holding captured animals), abstract signs, but also possible altars or hunting scenes, allegories, mythological scenes, etc.

We referred to only some of the more than 20 points with cave incisions in the Someș Cliffs, which reveal new engravings at each visit, depending on the vegetation (covering most of the cliffs) and sunlight (falls in different angles, illuminates or not the finer engravings)³.

For these, as for others, there are different opinions about dating or scene interpretation⁴.

¹ Pop, Ghemiș 2013.

² Lazarovici, Gh., Pop 2016; 2016a.

³ Lazarovici, Gh., Pop 2016; 2016a.

⁴ The opinions are different on the signs: some assign them to the Metal Age (they were not written, so we do not comment them), others to some older ages; most of them are based on analogies and comparisons, the opinions being different even at the authors of this study for some representations.

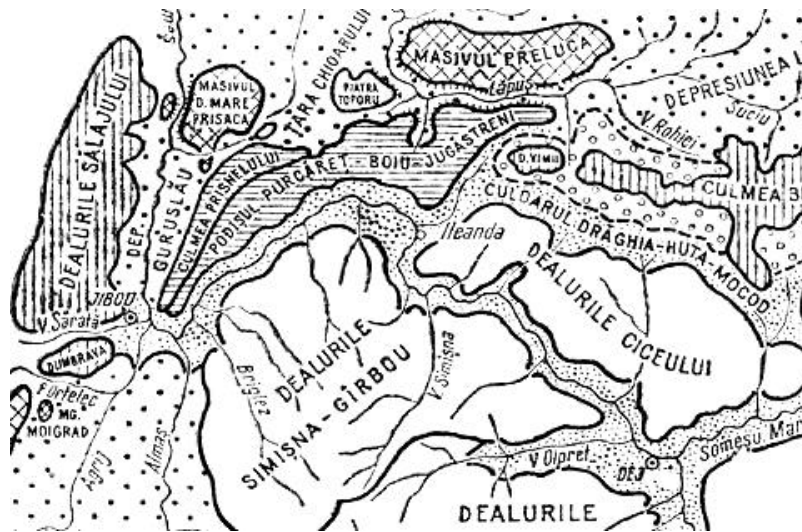


Fig. 1. The area of the Cliffs of Someș River between the Hills of Ciceu and Simișna – Gârbou.

We have to say from the beginning that our experience in this field is limited, especially with regard to engraving techniques and their dating. Also, the technical means of dating, at least at this stage, are missing. For these reasons, we will limit ourselves to presenting some comparisons and analogies and, wherever appropriate, some hypotheses about possible meanings.



Fig. 2. Grotta Mare (Great grotto), general view.



At Rus, in the Cliffs of Someș, related here to the hills of Simișna – Gârbou, there are several objectives, but we stopped at those called *Grota Mare* (the Great Grotto) (fig. 2) at the point called *Văgăuni*¹ where there are some cross-shaped signs and a cross with eight corners (octagonal); at the commune's border there are several points where such signs appear, but the ones we have selected are fewer and allow us to make some connections with those from the previously published studies.



Fig. 3: a, Grota Mare, the marks of the signs; b, other caves along the creek.

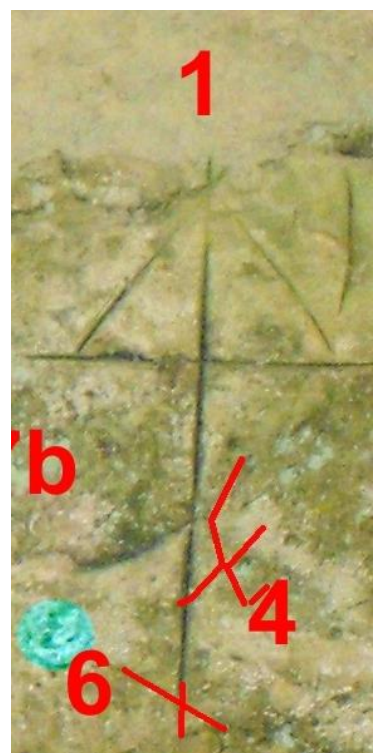
¹ Pop, Ghemiș, 2013: Area 5, fig. 17.18.



The place is mentioned in the archaeological literature under the name of *La Văgăuni*, being located in Buzaș, according to some¹, there are no archaeological traces there, although mural engravings and mural art are also archaeological traces.

It is a cave (fig. 2-3a) dug by the waters of a stream towards the mouth of the valley, on the right side, which dug upstream other caves too (fig. 3b). Apparently, as in other cases, none of the visited caves seems to have been inhabited. Several signs and images, marked by us with numbers from 1 to 19, were engraved on its front. Not all were obvious, being processed in different techniques, some deeper, some more superficial (fig. 3a).

In the area other archaeological sites are mentioned at *Răstoacă*, *Cetatea Pintii*, *Șesu Pietrii* (ceramic fragments) and a bronze deposit, *Rus*², which shows that at different times, from the Paleolithic to the present day, people have passed by or lived (permanently or temporarily) in these areas.



¹ Ferenczi, 1976: 48.

² Roska, 1942: 51, no. 239; Lakó, 1981: 48; Luca, Gudea, 2010: 34, cat. 41; Ferenczi 1976: 48; Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1977: 105, fig. 182.7-14; a.s.o.

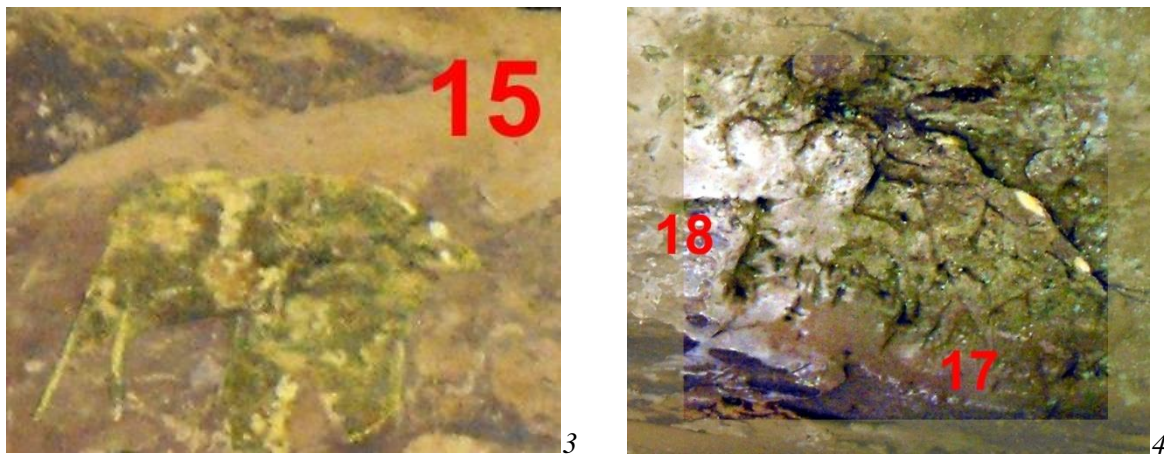


Fig. 4. *Grota Mare*: 1-2, engraving techniques; 3-4, state of conservation.

In regard to the engraving techniques, we have observed three or four periods in which various instruments were used: a) the engraving was done with a sharp metal object, the incision being deep and uneven (fig. 4.1); b) a fine shallow incision, older, overlapped by a deep one (fig. 4.2 mark 4); c) superficial, wide incisions (fig. 4.3 mark 15 and fig. 4.4 mark 17-18); d) circles, concentric circles made with or without compass (fig.5); e) strong blows with a stone or metal ax, except those of the Bronze Age, that have a narrower edge. For all of these techniques, castings must be taken to observe deep details, on which some features that are not obvious in the photos may be observed.

The first sign that attracted our attention was a cross, carved with a metal instrument (fig. 3, 1-2). Such crosses with a roof-like cover in the upper part one can find in the contemporary era at almost all crossroads. The long arm of the cross cuts two older, finer signs, worked in another technique (fig. 4.1-2).



Fig. 5. *Grota Mare*: concentric circles.

Animal engravings

The oldest and most faded representations are difficult to distinguish, especially since they were all overlapped by newer ones and they represent animals.

The mammoth/elephant

The shape, dimensions, and appearance of the cave show that it must have been suitable for a Paleolithic dwelling, although the sandstone-looking hardened sand can leave the impression that there

are no deposits, but without a verification survey, the opposite cannot be said. The cave is suitable even for seasonal inhabiting.

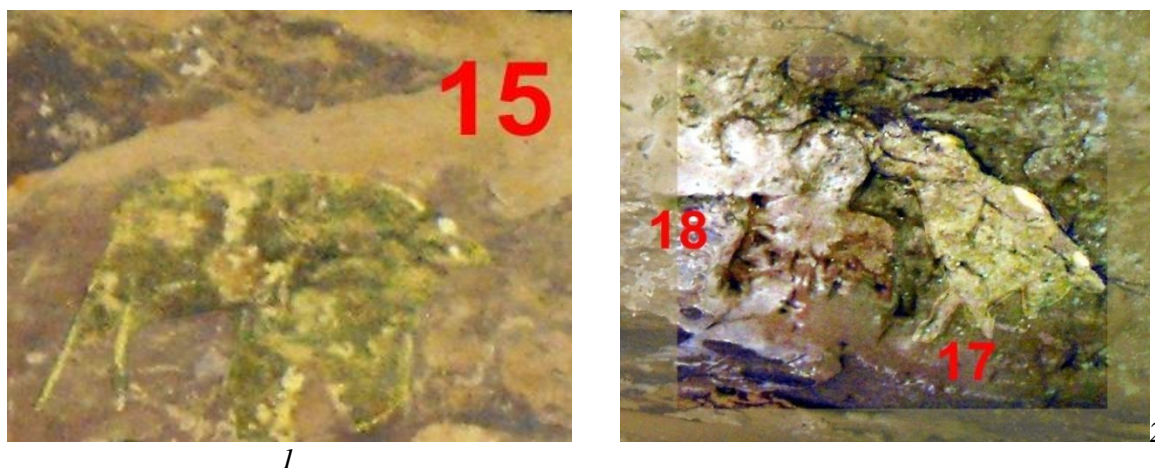


Fig. 6. *Grota Mare*: engravings of a mammoth, mark 15, 17; 18 boar.

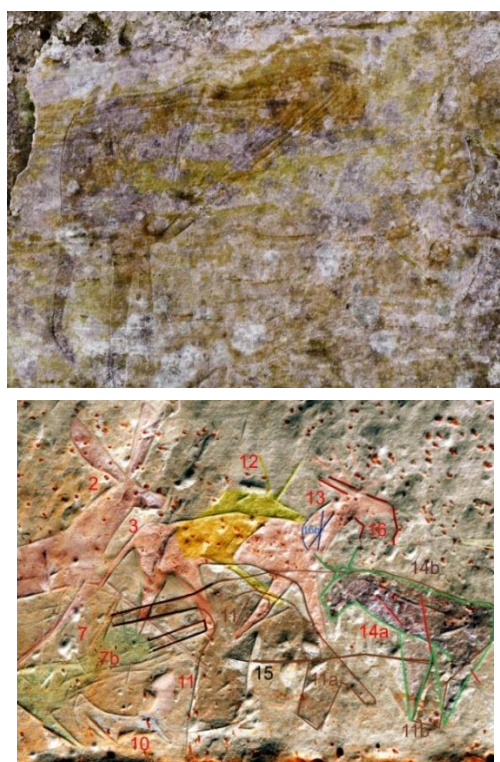


Fig. 7. *Animal representations in Area I, marks I.41 and I.14 and 14a.*

At other points on these cliffs there are two other mammoth representations (points Area I.61 and I.14 and 14a) ¹. Being some of the oldest representations, they are overlapped or faded.

According to data from the researches at Ripiceni, the mammoth was hunted by group of hunters mainly by the Musterians², but we also meet it in the Upper Paleolithic of Ripiceni or it appears in the C-type dwellings³.

It is possible that the mammoths lived in the cold periods of the last small Ice Age, if not in fact, at least in the collective mentality (the 12th - 10th millennia BC); we believe that our representations are also from the mentioned period (fig. 5, mark 15, fig. 6.a).

Different mammoth species⁴ or the elephant appear in many engravings around the world: in the frescoes of the Chauvet Cave, on an artifact from Lepenski Vir Ia (fig. 7c), in Egypt and others in warm areas⁵, but also later in renderings on vessels, at Donja Branjevina in the Early Neolithic⁶, as well as in the Copper Age, in

¹ See also: Lazarovici, Gh., Pop, 2016a: 88-89, fig. 29a. Mark 61, fig. 29a-b, mark 61.

² Păunescu, 1993: 33ff., fig. 9, 18; 71-99, 136, 212-213.

³ Păunescu, 1993: 212.

⁴ Chauvet *et al.* 1995: fig. 22, 30, 40.

⁵ Müller-Karpe, 1968, II: Taf. 318, R, Y, W, U.

⁶ Karmanski apud Srejić, 1988: 76.

the Precucuteni (fig.7d)¹ and Hvar² cultures.

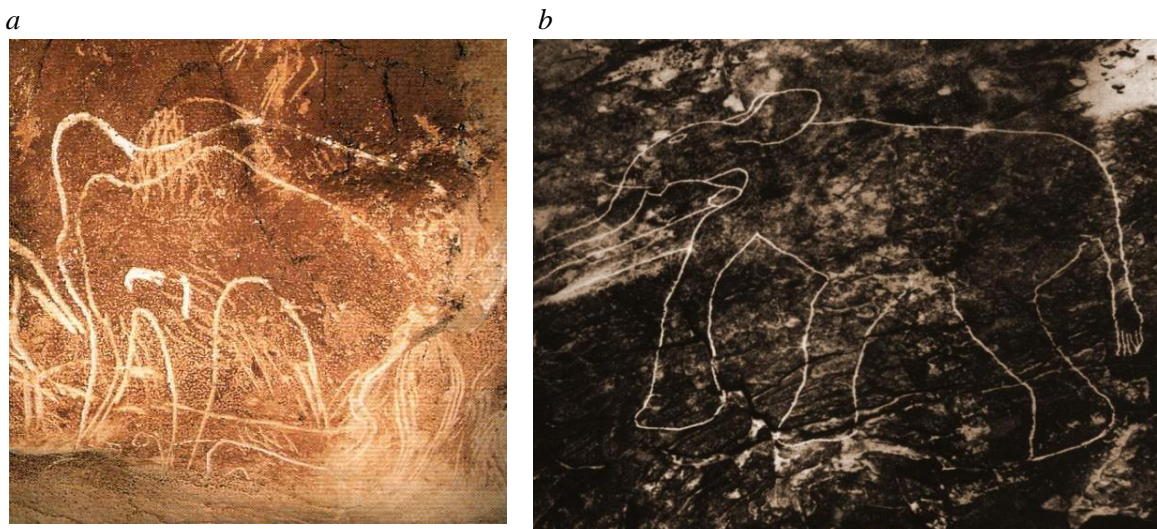


Fig. 7a-d. Mammoth: a, Rus; b, Chauvet Cave apud Chauvet et al. 1995, fig. 30; c, Tassili; d, Lepenski Vir elephants and human (apud D. Srejić); e, Isaiia, tablet (processing apud Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014).

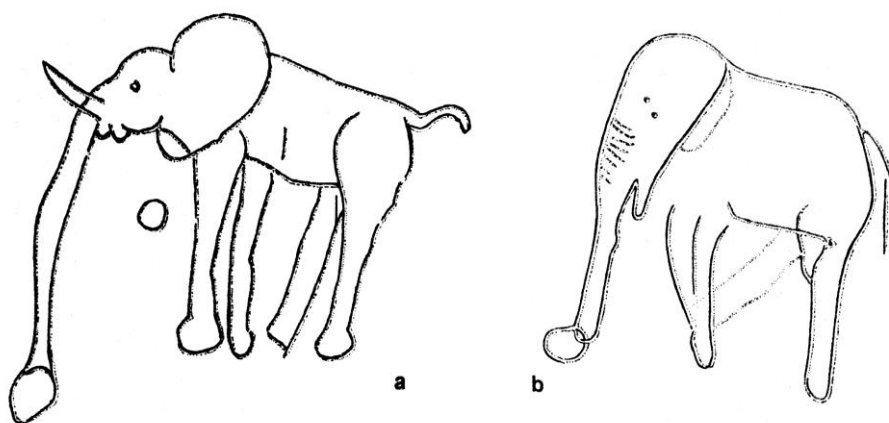
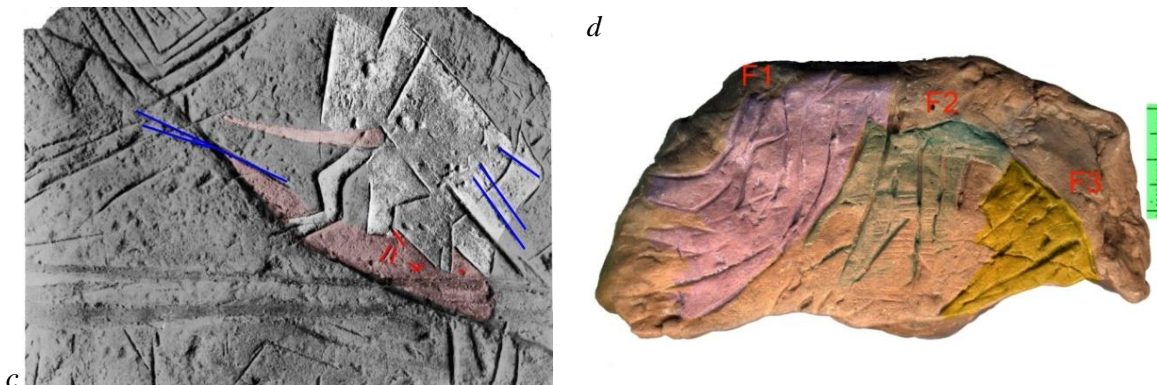
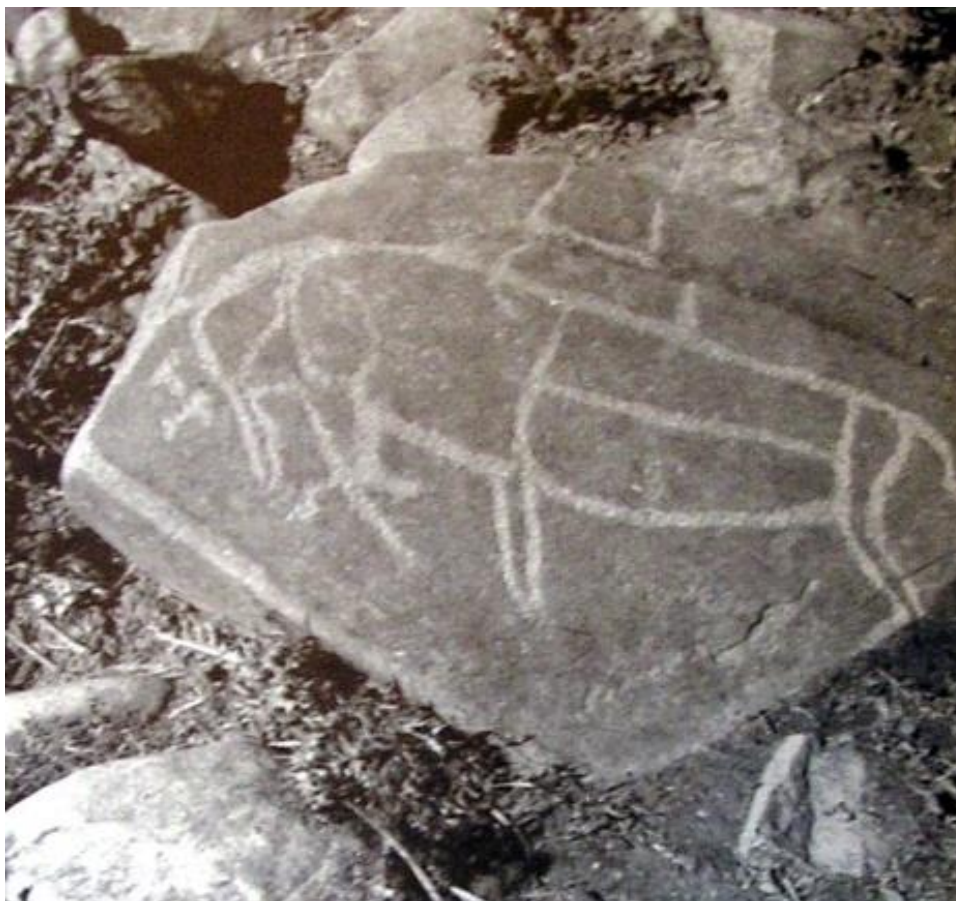


FIGURE 2. A comparison of an elephant figure associated with a circular sign in Wadi Buzna gallery (a) (Jelinek 1994) and Wadi Buzna mouth (b) (Le Quellec 1985).

a

¹ The tablet discovered by N. Ursulescu at Isaiia, interpreted by Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 206, 221, fig. 60c

² Dimitrijević, 1979: tab. 94.1.



b

Fig. 8. Elephant renderings: a, Wadi Buzna, apud Jelinek, 1994; Le Quellec, 1985; b, Kabn-l Melikân, Turkey, apud Uyanik 1970. fig. 144, p. 294

The collective memory retains not only the elephant in various myths - with a donkey mask (fig. 8/1.b) or as a fantastic animal (fig. 8/b)-, but also other animals that no longer existed in our areas, such as the dromedary or others in Banat at Ronaț, dating from the Neolithic¹.

The boar (fig. 9). Another animal whose exact meaning is difficult to decipher, but which we consider similar to the wild boar appears in the same place as one of the elephants at the Grota Mare (see fig. 5 mark 18); there is also a figure that seems to have elephant ears.

The images must be studied in different lights and seasons, the grazing light at night accentuated the deep signs, but the superficial ones are not clear.

It should be noted that the boar also appears in the area called *Haltă*, at *Grota Mică* (the Small Cave), preserved from head to belly. The position of the figure seems to suggest it was shot down under the cross. The boar is a resident of deciduous forests. Close-by there is a long-legged bird, a water-fowl, both suggesting warmer times, between the 8th millennium and the first half of the 6th millennium or after the 6th millennium BC.

Chevalier and Gheerbrant, in referring to myths about the wild boar, wrote that “... *it originates in the Hyperborean tradition and it covers most of the Indo-European world. The wild boar embodies the spiritual authority, through the withdrawing of the druid or the Brahman in the forest...*”; among the Christians the boar symbolizes the demon: greedy, rash, unstoppable, reminiscent of the onrush of passions”².

¹ Vlassa, 1976: 182, fig. 20.4; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 221, fig. 60a.

² Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 306-307, Wild boar.

b



c

Fig. 9b-e. The wild boar: b, Western Europe (apud Golan, 2003: 229, fig. 322.1); c, Cueva Remigia boar hunting (apud Cârciumaru, 2010: fig. 53.3); d, Girl riding a boar, Syria 2nd century AD (apud Golan, 2003: 412, fig. 499.2); Ruginoasa, Cucuteni culture, A3 phase (apud M. Lazarovici C.-M. et al., 2009).



e

d

In our opinion, a similar sense has the impudent virgin riding on the boar, suggesting temptation, sin, having the tables (probably referring to those of Moses) in the left hand (fig. 9d and bibl).

The circles

The most common sign from the top of the cave is the circle, which appears 7 times (sacred number). The circle appears doubled, with the center marked (fig. 10) or not (fig. 10.11). It is appreciated that the circles made with the compass are from the Metal Age - the case of the discoveries from Bulzeștii de Sus, from *Peștera Cizmei*¹. As Marin Cârciumaru extensively debated the issue of circles in mural art with many analogies from all over the world, we do not want to add other situations to this topic.

¹ Cârciumaru, 2010: fig. 8; Rîșcuția, 1996.



Fig. 10. Grotta Mare, representations of circles.



Fig. 9a. The boar of La Haltă – Grotta Mică.

otherwise known in geometry.

In our images from above the cave, the circles are close to the cross, on its right. For these reasons, we do not think they were done by chance. We must also bear in mind that the cave has a hemispherical shape, which reminds us that *“the Holy Tomb of Jerusalem was destined to evoke the great vault of the universe, symbolized by man itself through his skull”*¹.

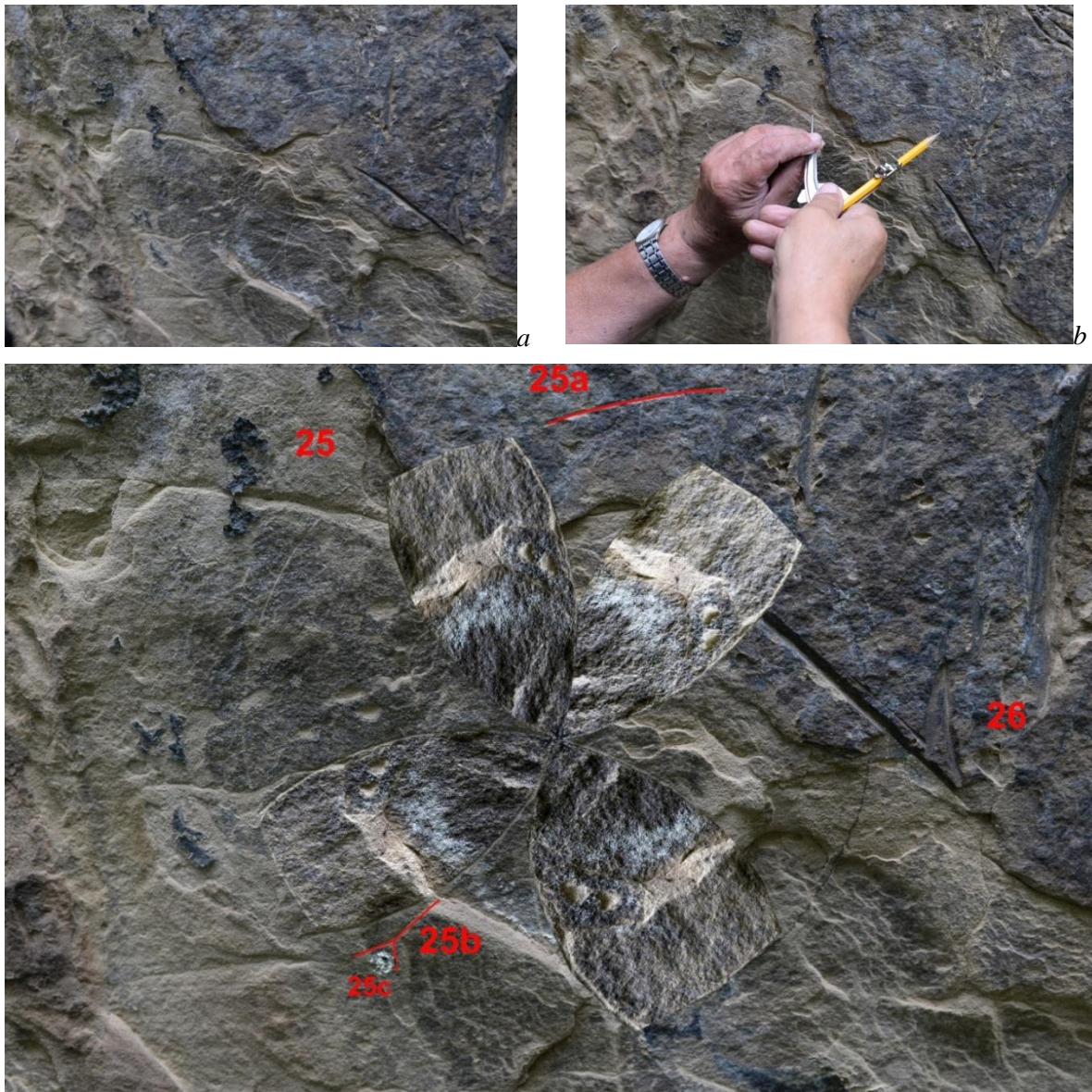
In our area, the circle also appears at the *Sun Stag*² or in Area IV³; according to the new mark, it has the code 2.25 (in 2016 we have identified new figures there, reaching no. 57). The circle does not have the center marked (fig. 11), but the arcs of circle inside are 4, forming a flower motif or a four-leafed clover in the circle.

Most of the time, the circle is automatically attributed to the Metal Age, considering that it was done by compasses. It is a possibility, but pair of compasses was not used only in the Metal Age, the best evidence is from the Cucuteni culture, when perfect circles are made, and moreover the spirals are also made with the help of compasses, starting from a right-angled triangle, the squared angle and others,

¹ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 297, Circle.

² Lazarovici, Gh., Pop, 2016a: 57 and following.

³ Pop, Ghemiș, 2013.



c

Fig. 11. Rus, La Haltă – the Sun Stag panel, the circles: codes 25a.b and the metal lance, code 26 cut the circle, which is older: a, the original drawing; b, tracing the arcs of the flower; c, the reconstruction of the flower and other signs, code 24b and 25c.

The flower-like decoration was obtained by tracing with the radius from the vertical and horizontal axes. Line 25a was obtained by drawing with the diameter from the diagonal axis starting in the lower-left-hand part. If we look carefully (fig. 11) we notice that the circle was cut by the lance (code 26) and it was made by another technique, similar to that of the stag. Unfortunately, the rock broke and we do not have a certain image (we have reconstructed the third petal from the top left).

For the four-petaled circle, we cannot miss to relate it with the four-leaf clover with its symbolism, but we do not wish to distance ourselves from the rosette. In many beliefs, among Romanians as well as in other European regions, the four-leaf clover symbolizes luck: at the Iclod excavations, when the German colleagues found it, they gathered it for luck; the same as we do. We also notice that the four-leaf rosette was oriented as an X, on the axis of the cross of St. Andrew.

A similar pattern is signaled by Herman Wirth, related to the measurement and specification of the seasons, in which the petals arranged in the shape of the *decussata* or St. Andrew's cross are

associated with a series of points ordered in the form of a cross, three groups of five and one of six points, arranged in the shape of a cross.

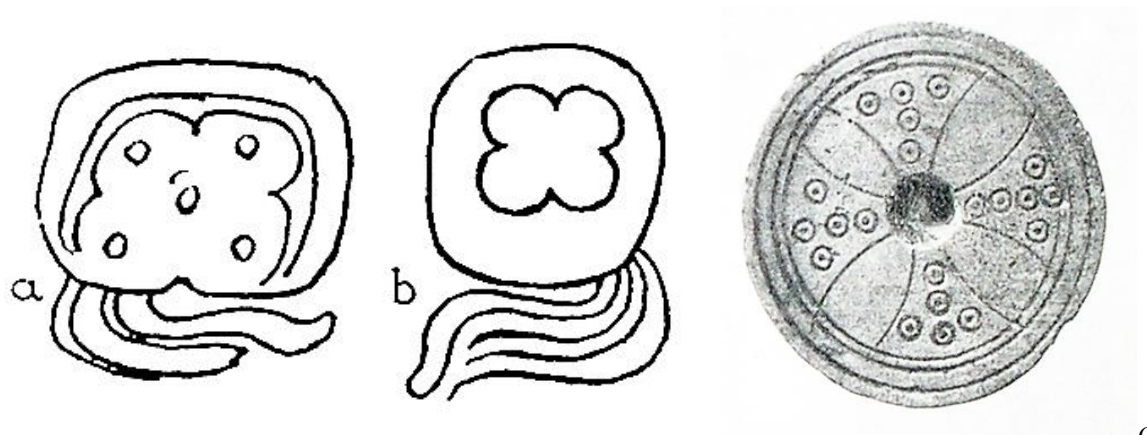


Fig. 12. a-b, Four-leaf clover; c, apud Wirth, 1931: 33a, b; 31.3.

In most religion of the world the circle represents a fundamental symbol¹: the divinity and its kindness, heaven, perfection, time, the continuity, harmony of time, and much more; the center of the circle also has a broad symbolic meaning: the remoteness from the center divides and multiplies, all the rays coexist, the proximity to the center indicates the privacy, the remoteness from the center indicates differences; concentric circles: the stages of interior refinement; the proximity to the center indicates privacy; the progressive harmony of the spirit.



Fig. 13. Rus – La Holoame, the altar, view towards: a, south, b, north.

In the immediate vicinity of the big cave, on the same side, on the edge of the cliff, cut into the rock, there is an “altar”, as we called it (fig. 14). Initially (also under the influence of our visits to churches and cells in the Buzău Mountains, as representative of the early Christian area), we thought it to be an early Christian construction, but its orientation is towards south (observation by John Nandriș). The altar was made with iron tools, it has places for rushlights, like the cells, but the

¹ Apud Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 294-295, Circle.

orientation makes us consider it earlier. On a path in its area there are numerous niches where icons or statues were mounted.



Fig. 14. a) *Gura Haitii*, the solar eclipse; b) foto Lazarovici mai 2017

At *Gura Haitii* we have represented the solar system. In the lower left is the Sun and the Moon, suggesting maybe a lunar eclipse, and above seven other planets of different sizes with the largest Saturn and Jupiter, and the nearest Mercury. A sign that escapes us is between the sun and the earth (we do not have the complete drawing, and our foto give other image fig. 14b).

We believe that the seven circles at *Rus - Grota Mare* could represent the seven or eight satellites of the Sun.

Also related to astronomy is a discovery from *Prigor - Dealul Miziei*¹ (fig. 15). On the megalithic block there are some holes that could come from some pillars that were inserted. There are several circles around them. There are other megalithic blocks in the area with signs and symbols, some related to numerology.

At *Bulzeştii de Sus in Peştera Cizmei* (fig. 16) there are incised circles, simple or double, with signs and symbols. Our attention is particularly drawn by the circle in fig. 16h, from the center of which there starts a shepherd's staff. We also notice a small stylized human figure (fig. 16.i).

¹ Rotaru, Bozu, 2016: 401.h.



PL.II.:Stone 1, from Mizzi Hill

Fig. 15. Megalithic block with incisions from Prigor - Dealul Mizzi, Caraş Severin county (apud Rotaru, Bozu, 2016: pl. II). The circle in astronomic contexts

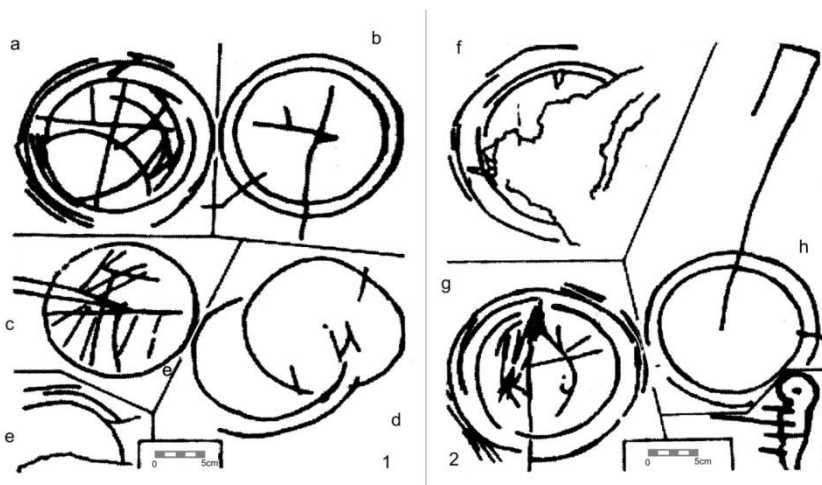


Fig. 16. Bulzeşti de Sus, Peştera Cizmei, simple and double circles with signs and symbols.

The other circles contain signs and symbols, circle arcs connected maybe to some knowledge of astronomy, representing orbits or others.

The circle and the circular motion have been used to measure or define time and seasons¹, linked to the sun, and to light. Herman Wirth (1931) wrote an ample work on

these issues, bringing information from the cave art of the world, related to measuring and dividing time, about symbols and signs, too little accessed and analyzed.

¹ Wirth, 1931: 1ff.; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1969/1973: 294, s.v. Circle.

References

- Cârciumaru, M., 2010. Contribution à la connaissance de l'art pariétal préhistorique de Roumanie. *Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Tome XII, Numero I: 39-83.
- Chauvet *et al.*, 1995. J.-M. Chauvet, E. B. Deschamps, Ch. Hillaire, *La Grotte Chauvet, à Vallon - Pont-D'Arc*, postface de Jean Clottes, Ed. SEUIL, Paris.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, Al. 1995. *Dicționar de simboluri*, Editura Artemis, București.
- Dimitrijević, S. 1979. *Praistoria Jugoslovenskih Zemalja*, Sarajevo.
- Ferenczi, I. 1976. Contribuții la topografia arheologică a văii Someșului în sectorul Vad-Surduc, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 13, 1976, p. 37-50.
- Golan, A. 2003. Prehistoric Religion, Jerusalem.
- Lakó, E. 1981. Repertoriul topografic al epocii pietrei și a perioadei de tranziție spre epoca bronzului în județul Sălaj. *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, V: 37-102.
- Lazarovici C.-M. *et al.*, 2009. C.-M. Lazarovici; Gh. Lazarovici, S. Țurcanu, *Cucuteni. A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World*, Iași, ed. L. Stratulat, Editura Palatul Culturii, Iași.
- Lazarovici, Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. 2014. Chapter 9. About the great religious themes of Vinča culture. In Ursu, C.-E. and Țerna, S. (eds.), *Anthroporphism and symbolic behavior in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe. Studies into South-East European Prehistory I*, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 187-248.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Pop R., 2016 Simboluri legate de vânătoare de la falezele Someșului, in *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, under print.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Pop R., 2016a. Hunting symbols from thee Someș cliffs. In E. C. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and signs. In Memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași* Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 57-106.
- Luca, S. A., Gudea, N. (eds.) 2010. *Descoperiri din județul Sălaj*, Arheologie și Istorie IV, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis, XXIV, Universitatea Lucian Blaga, Sibiu. Ed. Primus, Oradea.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1968. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte, Junsteinzeit*, München.
- Păunescu, Al., 1993. *Ripiceni - Izvor. Paleolitic și mezolitic, Studiu monographic*, București.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. 1977. *Depozitele de bronzuri din România*, București.
- Pop, R., Ghemiș, C., 2013. Contributions to the Knowledge of Parietal Art in North-Western Transilvania. The Discoveries from Ileanda (Sălaj County). *Ziridava*, 27: 7-20.
- Rișcuța, C. 1996. Repertoriul arheologic al depresiunii Brad. *Sargetia*, XXVI/1, 1995-1996: 265-317.
- Roska, M. 1942. A rézcsákányok (Über die Herkunft der kupferen hakken, Axthacken, Hammeraxte und Pickelnhacken von ungarischen Typus). *Kozlemények*, II, 1, Kolosvár –Cluj: 15-77.
- Rotaru, I., Bozu, O. 2016. Signs on stones at the edge of Prigor village, in Caraș-Severin County. In E. C. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and signs. In Memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași* Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 401-418.
- Srejić D. 1988. The Neolithic of Serbia: A review of research, in *The Neolithic of Serbia, Archaological Research 1948-1988*, ed. D. Srejić Belgrad 1988, p. 5-19.

- Uyanik Muvaffac 1970. Nuovi ritrovamenti di Tirisin-ALM in Valcamonica Symposium in *Actes du Symposium d'Art Préhistorique, Capo di Ponte, (Editione del Centro)*, 1970, p. 291-294.
- Vlassa, N. 1976. *Neolitical Transilvaniei. Studii, articole, note, Bibliotheca Mvsei Napocensis, III*, Cluj-Napoca.
- Wirth, H. 1931. *Die Heilige Urschrift der Menschheit. Symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchungen diesseits und jenseits der Nordatlantik*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang. Uhrschrift I. Text band.

AEGEAN-BALAKAN FEATURES IN THE MIDDLE NEOLITHIC OF ITALY.

DID THE ITALIAN MIDDLE NEOLITHIC COUNT WITH A SEXAGESIMAL SYSTEM?

Marco Merlini

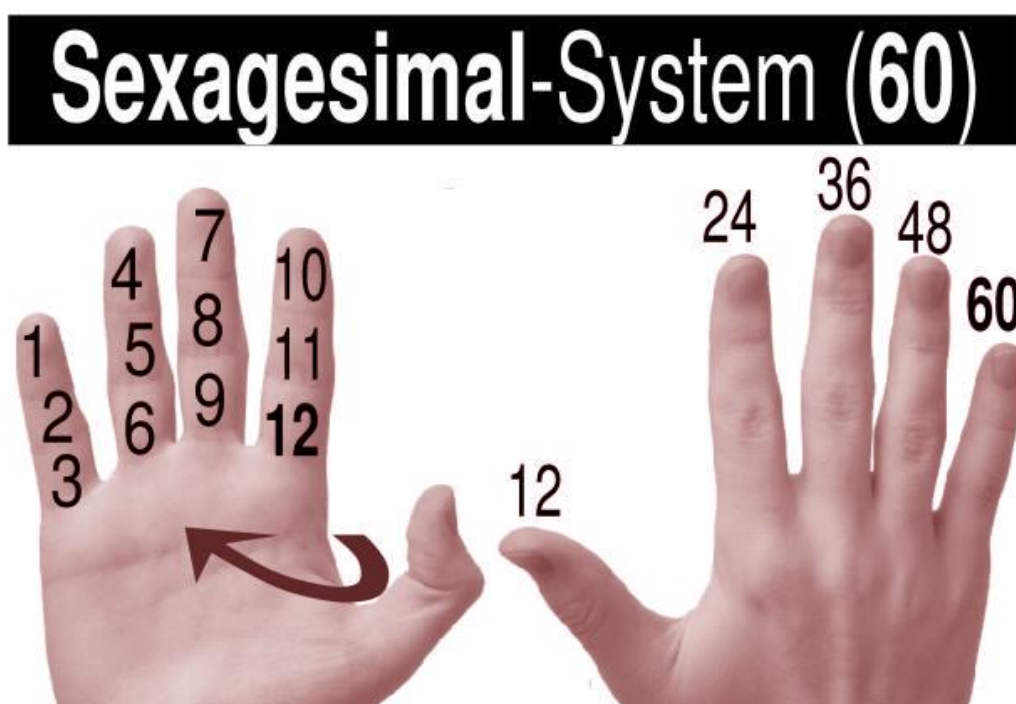
Institute of Archaeomythology, Sebastopol, USA

EURO INNOVANET, Rome, Italy

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, Romania

marco.merlini@mclink.it

Keywords: *Neolithic, Square Mouth Pottery Culture, Danube civilization, Finalese, pintaderas, figurines, sexagesimal system, numeric systems*



The sexagesimal numeric system is very effective, because it could be counted physically using the twelve knuckles on one hand with the five fingers on the other hand (12×5).

https://www.allgemeinbildung.ch/arb/arb=mat/w_LernPlakate_MAT_Zahlensysteme-Sexagesimal.htm. Graphic elaboration Marco Merlini.

1. An enigmatic artifact

The Pian del Ciliegio (Cherry-tree Plain) rock shelter is in the heart of the “Finalese” area (Western Liguria, Italy). The site has provided numerous and significant Middle Neolithic findings.



Fig. 1. The Pian del Ciliegio rock shelter is in the heart of the Finale area (Western Liguria, Italy).
From Google Maps.

The most remarkable discovery is a Middle Neolithic cylinder in clay with a diameter of 2.2 cm. and a height¹ of 8 cm. The radiocarbon analyses² on objects recovered from the shelter at the same stratigraphic level of this small artifact belong to the Square Mouth Pottery (SMP) culture dating between about 4700 BCE and 4300 BCE.

A series of rectilinear orthogonal incisions occur on the outer surface of the cylinder to form square boxes. The checkerboard pattern is made of the right-angled intersections between 12 vertical lines and 13 horizontal lines. The grid is thus composed of five columns, each with 12 squares: 60 square boxes in all (5 × 12). On the one side, the network is incomplete due to fracture of the object. A stroke was deeply imprinted with a triangular point in the middle of eight cells. Pattern and strokes have been engraved before cooking. There are other marks on the find, but they can be interpreted as random scratches, according to the direct survey carried out by myself.

This enigmatic object was recovered during the excavations carried on between 1992 and 1997 by the Archaeological Service (Superintendence) of Liguria, following the signalling of unauthorized excavations³.

The large quantity of ceramic fragments unearthed by the clandestine dig and the awareness that the deposit was intact triggered regular excavation campaigns.

¹ Capelli, Cabella, Del Lucchese, Piazza, Starnini, 2008: 115-124.

² Del Lucchese, 2009.

³ Del Lucchese, 2009.



Fig. 2. The enigmatic cylinder belonging to the Square Mouth Pottery (SMP) Culture.

Photo © Marco Merlini.

Currently, the cylinder is housed in the Archaeological Museum of Finale in the monumental complex of Santa Caterina. It has not been extensively studied yet.

The cylinder is until now a unique specimen in the Italian Neolithic. Which is the function of boxes and strokes? The working hypothesis is that an ancient numbering system was engraved on the artifact. It would then be the oldest numbering and calculation device found in Italy. Similar items occur in the coeval Middle East, Trypillia culture, and Danube Civilization. They consist of spherical, cylindrical, or conical small objects marked by incisions. They were devices to count (tokens) in their last development phase and, according to Denise Schmandt-Besserat and other scholars, the first stage towards writing technology.¹

However, which numbering system was exploited at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter? What was the rationale to numerate and calculate through a three-dimensional device nearly seven millennia ago in a Western Ligurian Neolithic site? Who was the accountant? Could this inscribed artefact and its visual code demonstrate the width of cultural influences and trade relations with populations from very distant areas of Eastern Mediterranean and South-Eastern Europe?

2. A human presence from the Middle Paleolithic to the present time



Fig. 3. The Pian del Ciliegio rock shelter hidden in the wood. Photo © Marco Merlini.

To answer the challenging questions we refer to the context of the discovery. Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter is a significant and complex archaeological site. It is c. 220 m. above the sea level along the northern slope of a small valley tributary of the Ponci valley, near the Manie Plateau, Municipality of Finale Ligure (Savona County, Western Liguria). The

¹ Schmandt-Besserat, 1978a: 5-12; 1978b: 20; 1989: 27-42; 1992a; 1992b; 1994; 1996; 1998: 109-117; 1999a; 1999b: 21-28; 2001a; 2001b: 493-1501; 2002; 2007. Videiko, 1987: 32-33; 2002; 2004a; 2004b: 469-471; 2004c. Merlini, 2009a: 27, 31 ff.; 2009b: 43. Dzhhanfezova inquiring the connections between similar patterns on pintaderas and ceramic cones-tokens (2013: 423).

shelter is positioned at the feet of a vertical porous Miocene limestone rocky wall and have been hollowed into it by fluvial erosion. The shelter is oriented toward East.

The Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter, as well as the whole area, is characterized by human presence for an extended period of time, from the Homo Erectus and Homo Neanderthal to present day, due to a distinctive geological landscape.

The area is geolo-gically characterized by a rare grey-pink rocky formation of Miocene bio-clastic origin: the 'Finale Stone'. It originated in the Miocene (from 20 million to 10 million years ago) in the warm, calm and not very deep waters of a tropical lagoon. Within a few million years, river sediments, sand, gravel, calca-reous skeletons and shellfish conveyed to the central eastern part of the basin. They formed the bio-clastic limestone of the Finale Stone, a *unicum* for permeability and fossil presence.¹



Fig. 4. The rare rocky formation of Miocene bioclastic origin known as Finale Stone.
<http://www.finalebythomas.com/geologia.html>

With the withdrawal of the sea, a large platform appeared. The Finale Stone was then subjected to intense surface (epigeal) and underground (hypogeal) erosion by meteoric agents and karst phenomena. The points of contact between this organogenic limestone and the less permeable rocks below originated deep valleys rich in shallow marine fossils, reddish earth deposits, large caves and hypogeal complexes.

The large natural cavities with huge entrances developed by the intense karstification favored the human presence since the Lower Paleolithic (around 350,000 years ago) up to nowadays. The cave network to which the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter belongs is characterized by long term habitation for an extremely extended period and without solution of continuity.

The “bifaces” and choppers from the deposits of the Manie Plateau and Caverna delle Fate sites date back to the presence of the Homo heidelbergensis.

¹ Vanossi, 1991. Colombi, 2009: 5.



Fig. 5. The Chopper (ca. 300,000 B.P.) discovered in the deposit of the Caverna delle Fate, Finale Ligure.
<http://www.noicomit.it/altervista/attivitanewslettersarcheologia/archeologia/chopper.jpg>



Fig. 6. The Mousterian mandible (82,000 B.P.) recovered in the deposit of the Caverna delle Fate, Finale Ligure. http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-j9d4nrBSc9c/TnWst75dHQI/AAAAAAAAABGg/bVsgxCtgb_A/s1600/mandibule+caverna+delle+fate.jpg

The Caverna delle Fate and Arma (a Ligurian term to indicate a Cave) delle Manie returned skeletal remains of Neanderthals (from 120,000 to 38,000 years ago). Caverna delle Fate site revealed the presence of 24 adult specimens of *Homo neanderthalensis*, mostly represented by isolated teeth. Until now, this assemblage is the most numerous of Neanderthal teeth excavated in Italy and, according to Giacobini,¹ it gives further support to the suggestion that a Mediterranean Neanderthal population may have existed. Two mandibles were found among the excavation material, not in their stratigraphic context. Thanks to a direct dating by spectrometry an age of 75,000 and 82,000 B.P. was attributed to them.² The Caverna delle Fate, the Arma delle Manie and the other Paleolithic sites are just 420 meters from the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter.

The *Homo Sapiens* appeared about 38,000 years ago, in the Upper Palaeolithic, throughout the last Great Ice Age that marked the extinction of Neanderthals also in the area under investigation. Many graves have been found in the Arene Candide Cave, among which the best known is that of the Gravettian "Young Prince", dated 23440±190 years BP. A robust juvenile male, presumably a skilled hunter, is so nicknamed for the very rich set of grave goods that accompanied him. He died prematurely, around 15-19 years old, probably for a tragic event, a hunting accident.

The corpse, which showed signs of disease, had been sprinkled with a veil of red ochre as well as clothes, ornaments and tools. He was buried with a headgear covered by shell ornaments, a necklace made of mammoth ivory and a bracelet made of shells.

¹ Giacobini et al., 1984: 687-707.

² Giacobini et al., 1982. Giacobini, de Lumley, 1983; 1984: 712-715. Giacobini et al., 1984: 687-707. Giacobini, de Lumley, 1988: 53-65. D'errico et al., 1989: 49-58. Echassoux et al., 1989: 49-58. Falguères et al., 1990. de Lumley, Giacobini, 2013a; 2013b.

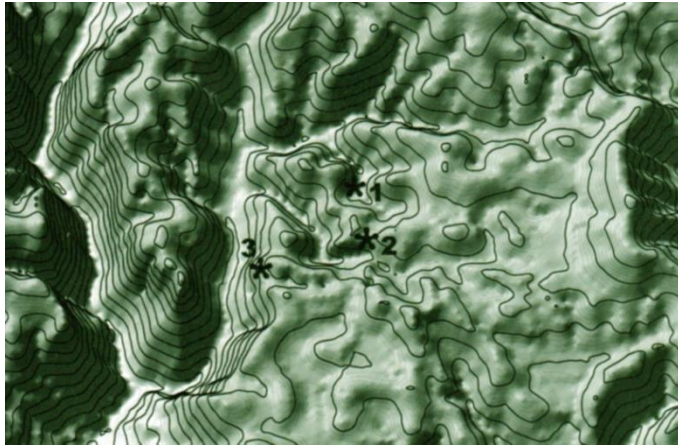


Fig. 7. Tridimensional representation of the Manie Plateau and surrounding area. 1 - Pian del Ciliegio rock shelter. 2 - Arma delle Manie. 3 - Caverna delle Fate. Graphic realization Guido Imperiale in Del Lucchese, 2009: 6, fig. 1. Graphic elaboration Marco Merlini.



Fig. 8. The "Young Prince" from the Arenne Candide Cave. Reconstruction by the Museo Preistorico dei Balzi Rossi. Graphic elaboration Marco Merlini.

The shells exploited as decoration were *Cypraea*, *Trivia*, *Nassarius* and *Mitrella*. The "Prince" was holding a flint blade in his right hand.¹ Arenne Candide Cave measures 70 m. in width and 15 m. in depth, is quite dry, luminous, and enjoys 3 different entrances.²

The Neolithic archaeological finds from Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter, Arenne Candide Cave, and Pollera Cave mostly belong to the Impressed Ware Culture (Ancient Neolithic, from 5800 to 5000 BCE) and to the Square Mouth Pottery Culture (Middle Neolithic, from 5000 to 4200 BCE). They show that the Neolithic Age developed in Western Liguria since 5800 BCE and that social and cultural changes were presumably connected to migration of new populations from Southern and Central Italy.³

Finally, two massive boulders possibly with the function of altars occur at the entrance of a neighboring cave to the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter. The slope of the ground, going along with small steps, seem to invite the visitor to go up from the area overlooking the cavern to the stone-altars, then to the entrance of the cavity, then inside it. "F 3", as it is labelled the little grotto in the cadastre of Ligurian Caves, is oriented N/S with opening towards N and is located just on the left of the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter.

¹ Cardini, 1942: 5-25; 1946: 29-37. Pettitt et al., 2003: 15-19. Borrello, 2005: 21, Fig. 2a. Formicola et al., 2005: 1598-1602. Mussi, 2006: 257. Winkelman, Baker, 2015: 19.

² Tinè S., 1986: 95-111. Maggi (ed.), 1997.

³ Bernabò Brea L., 1946; 1956. Tinè, 1974: 37-54. Tizzoni, 1975. Biagi, Nisbet, 1986. Tiné, 1999. Capelli et al., 2008: 115-124. Del Lucchese, 2009. Pirondini, 2011.



Fig. 9. The stone altars in front of the cave that is located just on the left of the Pian del Ciliegio rock shelter.



Fig. 10. The large ritual hole on the top of the higher, roughly squared altar.

The higher altar is roughly squared, about 120 cm high and 150 cm wide, and has a large ritual hole on the top. The lower altar is characterized by an oriented (N/S and E/O) cruciform.



Fig. 11. The cross-shaped petroglyph on the lower altar.

The area around the petroglyph shows a number of little cups and some deteriorated, unreadable, engravings. The dating of the cross-shaped petroglyph is not univocal, being in horizontal and in open air. According to Pirondini, its sharp edges, despite deterioration due to meteoric exposure, points to the exploitation of metal tools and comparison with similar occurrence suggest it belongs to the Iron Age that, in Liguria, developed

between 900 BCE and 180 BCE.¹

The two ritual and engraved boulders recall the structure of the megalithic altars typical of the Finale Ligure Area, possibly connected with solar movements marking the change of the seasons.² They can be dated throughout a period of time from the end of the fifth, to the end of the third millennium BCE, i.e. from the end of the Middle Neolithic to the Bronze Age.³

However, we cannot exclude the possibility to inscribe the cross-shaped sign within the Christian signage system, postponing its dating to the Roman-Christian period or the Post-Roman

¹ Melli, 1983: 83-88. Del Lucchese, 2004: 143-147. Venturino, Gandolfi (eds.), 2004. Gambari, Venturino, 2004: 29-48. Del Lucchese et al., 2004: 289-299. Ferrero et al., 2004: 51-80. Pirondini, 2011.

² Codebò, 1997; 1999.

³ Giuggiola, 1984; 39. Pirondini, 2010a; 2010b.

period. This option is supported by the long lasting religious function of the area and in particular to the cult of the dead, as demonstrated by the ruins of a tomb in the neighborhood of the shelter.¹

3. The Neolithic frequentation

The excavation campaigns explored most part of the intact Neolithic deposit (c. 40 sq. m.), clustered in a depression due to the erosion of a watercourse, running into a vent, and then covered. The stratigraphic sequence is more than 4.5 meters. The stratigraphy is characterized by a sequence of anthropic levels: beaten paths, backfills of land, beds of ashes, and dark grey levels of use that are impregnated with organic substances and coal. Unfortunately, on the top it was cut off and disturbed by some recent dry walls to fence pastoral frequentation. If Neolithic groups exploit a natural shelter dig out by the fluvial erosion, during their frequentation the anthropic levels are spaced out by levels of infertile slit and sediments due to occasional floods of the stream in front.²

The most significant and numerous findings from the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter belong to the Neolithic (5800-3600 BCE). The stratigraphy of the site attests a sequence of frequentations starting from the end of the Early Neolithic. However, the traces of occupation are concentrated in the Middle Neolithic (5000-4200 BCE). They belong to a small, permanent community.³

Coals and pollen have been radiocarbon dated. The deepest layer has provided a date of 6000 ± 60 UNCAL BP (Beta-109796 AMS: 5038-4728 cal. BCE, hearth), an intermediate level UNCAL 5810 ± 70 BP (Beta-77356; 13181 ETH), and a sample located near the top of the series 5560 UNCAL ± 130 BP (Beta-77355, layer attendance). More precisely, the finds coeval to the cylinder under examination belong to the end of the earliest phase and/or the second phase of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture, with radiocarbon dating between about 4700 and 4300 BCE.⁴

4. The Square Mouth Pottery Culture

In Northern Italy, the 5th millennium cal. BCE documented the full development of Middle Neolithic groups and the progressive transformation of their economic and social oecumene.



Fig.12. Graphited vessel and glasses from the Square Mouth from the Fimon valleys.

Museo Naturalistico Archeologico di Vicenza.

<http://www.museicivivicenza.it/file/foto2g-6647.jpg>.

¹ Codebò, 1999. Pirondini, 2010c.

² Colombi, 2009: 5-7.

³ Arobba Caramiello, 2009: 129.

⁴ Capelli et al., 2008; 32:115-124. Del Lucchese, 2009.

The Middle Neolithic Square Mouth Pottery Culture developed along the Po and Adige valleys (Venice Trentino, Emilia, Lombardy) and even as far away as Liguria (Finale facies), systematically replacing the different traditions of the Padanian–Alpine Early Neolithic groups¹. The denomination “Square Mouth Pottery Culture” originates from the vessels distinct typology, with a characteristic square or quadrilobate opening. The shape of the mouth was manifestly not due to any convenience in use, since it was applied to items having different functions.

The design and exploitation of this geometrical structure occurred for over a millennium as a conceptual and artificial preference to be completely distinct from all previous and coeval pottery traditions. It was conceived as a marker of a deeply felt and shared cultural identity.² However, the square shape design occurred within an extremely varied cultural matrix, as reflected by different pottery styles. This was due to some distinct features of the Square Mouth Pottery communities: large territorial extension in very varied ecosystems, cultural and social dynamism, high adaptability to environment changes, and longevity for around a millennium. Different *habitats* induce dissimilar economic strategies. On the Ligurian Square Mouth Pottery coastal sites, fishing, hunting and shellfish gathering prevailed despite the agriculture and livestock development.

Research on the high homogeneity but also versatility of the pottery style identifies three decorative classes, which are divided over and combined in the different regional areas: 1. Linear-geometrical style, or Finale-Quinziano, or Rivoli-Chiozza phase; 2. Meander-spiral style or Rivoli-Castelnuovo phase; 3. Incisions and Impressions style.³

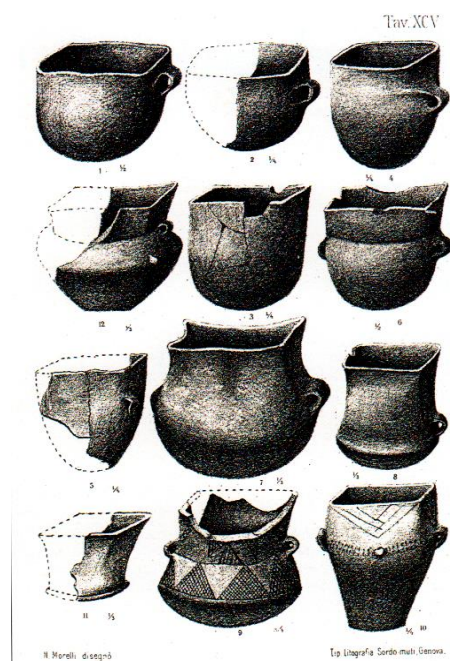


Fig. 13. Square Mouth Pottery unearthed in the Finalese caves. After Morelli, 1901: fig. XCV.



Fig. 14. Synthetic table of pottery repertoire of the three styles of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. After Pessina, Tine, 2008.

¹ Gimbutas, 1991: 190. fig. 6-5B. de Laet 1994: 516.

² Bernabò et al., 2010: 126.

³ Barfield, 1973: 393-8. Bagolini et al., 1979. Bagolini, 1980: 132-141. Bagolini, 1984: 402. Bagolini, Cremonesi, 1985: 21-30.

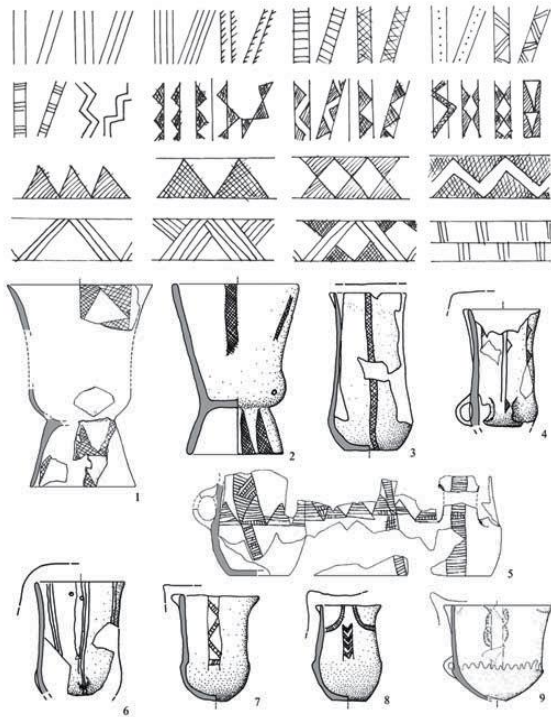


Fig. 15. Square Mouth Pottery phase 1: fine-ware pottery decorated with geometrical scratched patterns (4900 – 4500 cal. BCE). After Bernabò Brea et al., 2010: 126, Fig. 1.



Fig. 16. Square Mouth Pottery phase 2: pottery with incised spiral pattern and meander-spiral pattern (4500 - 4300 cal. BCE). After Bernabò Brea et al., 2010: 126, Fig. 2.

The final period of the first and the second phase, coeval with the incised cylinder from the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter, are respectively characterised by fine-ware pottery (with quatrefoil mouth in Liguria) decorated with fine geometrical graffiti patterns (4900 – 4500 cal. BCE); and pottery with incised spiral pattern and meander-spiral pattern (4500 - 4300 cal. BCE). The latter phase relates to the acme of this culture.

SMP communities were very active in agriculture, breeding, and trade. Every community had a farmer-shepherd-warrior as a leader, who managed and supervised the activities of the group.¹ This organization supported the spread of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture.

Concerning farming, micromorphological analyses reveal climatic stability during the 5th millennium cal. BCE, which allowed the development of soils stable in structure and rich in nutrients.² The pollen cores show a tree cover of deciduous mixed oak forest in the settlements surroundings. It progressively decreased due to human impact with a correspondent development of open areas exploited for legumes, cereals, and pasture.³ Cereal cultivation included barley, emmer, cf. einkorn, and naked wheat. Counting of the caryopses suggest that barley had considerable importance.⁴

Meat was provided mostly by domesticated animals. Cattle and sheep/goats were prominent. A wide wealth of flocks and herds conferred mobility, resources and adaptability to the communities. Wild animals are sparsely represented in the faunal assemblage.⁵

¹ Bagolini, 1980: 131.

² Bernabò Brea M. et al., 2010: 128.

³ Marchesini et al., 2014. Arobba, Caramiello, 2009: 117-130.

⁴ Mottes et al., 2009: 110.

⁵ Regarding the Arene Candide Cave and Casalnoceto (Piedmont), see Aimar, 1998: 155–161. Concerning Casatico di Marcaria (Lombardy), see Barker, 1983: 45–67. With reference to La Vela (Trentino), see Bazzanella, 2002: 245–250.

The trading network was wide since the debut of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. It included several raw materials such as flint from the Alpine foothills (Monti Lessini), vitreous quartz from Alpine regions, green stones from western Alps, obsidians from Sardinia, Lipari island and in a smaller quantity, from Ponza island. The exchange network involved also artifacts such as fine buff (figulina) pottery painted with darker colors from the southern regions of the Italian peninsula.¹ The diffusion of spiral patterns in the pottery decoration throughout the second phase of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture is probably due to Balkan influences, while the funerary rituals show a resemblance to those of central Danube cultures.²

In the Finale area of the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter, the replaced Impressed Ware Culture by the Square Mouth Pottery Culture introduced entirely different cultural and symbolic points of reference. They refer to the Padano milieu and farther on to the center of the Italian peninsula and the Dalmatian-Balkan area. Indicative is the appearance of Danube civilization elements unknown to the previous Tyrrhenian Impressed Ware. These are pintaderas, figurines, and calculation devices such as the engraved cylinder under examination.³

5. Pintaderas to identify and communicate

Pintaderas (stamp seals with a handle, shaped body, and "decorated" base)⁴ are one of the most visually striking but problematic categories of Neolithic communication media. At the moment, 160 clay stamps have been published from several Neolithic sites all over Italy. Among them, 45 are from Liguria. They all belong to the Square Mouth Pottery Culture and were discovered in the Finalese caves.⁵ The first pintadera found in Europe was discovered in 1876 by Arturo Issel in the Arene Candide Cave.⁶ Throughout the Neolithic Period, the cave was utilized as dwelling as well as a shelter and forage space for animals.⁷

Elliptical shaped and quite elongated, this stamp was made out of a black clay. A short, conical, perforated handle occurs on the upper face. The lower face is sectioned into four parallel strips by three long longitudinal carved lines. The two lines in the middle are smooth, while the ones on the sides are decorated with small equidistant carved lines perpendicular to the longitudinal divisions.

The Finalese pintaderas from the Square Mouth Pottery Culture share the same ovoid shape, more or less oblong. They are provided with a short, flap handle and are incised with geometrical patterns on the face. The most common indentations are made of intersecting lines in relief, more or less uniform and deep (26), and sequences of dots, different in size, more or less aligned in uniform longitudinal rows (9).⁸ Traces of red ocher occur on the face to make prints of four pintaderas from the Arene Candide Cave⁹ and one pintadera from Arma dell'Aquila.¹⁰ Remains of a white substance occur

¹ However, the analysis on the composition of the mixtures has documented the Ligurian origin for a high number of these vessels.

² Bernabò Brea et al., 2010: 127.

³ Bernabò Brea L., 1946; 1956. Bagolini, 1980: 128. Capelli et al., 2008: 115-124. De Pascale, 2014: 203-210.

⁴ Dzhanzevova, 2003: 97, note 1.

⁵ Serradimigni, 2012: 181-188. De Pascale, 2014: 203.

⁶ Cornaggia Castiglioni, 1956: 162. The pintadera is kept at the National Prehistoric - Ethnographic Museum Pigorini in Rome (Inv. 5584).

⁷ Tinè S., 1974: 37-57.

⁸ De Pascale, 2014: 204.

⁹ Bernabò Brea, 1946: 118-119, pl. XIX.1b; 1956: 97, pl. XXVII.6a/b. Odetti, 1999: 428-429, cat. 380. De Pascale, 2014: 204.

¹⁰ Bernabò Brea, 1946: 206, pl. XLIX.1, 2; Richard, 1941-42: 89, pl. XI.12a/b.

within the dots of another find from Arene Candide Cave. It is similar to that used to decorate graffite lines on Square Mouth Pottery vessels.¹ Excavations at the Arene Candide Cave yielded also clear evidence of preparation and exploitation of ochre, such as fragmented and pulverized pieces of this dye, pebbles used as mortar for their crashing, and vessels stuffed with pigment.



Fig. 17. The first pintadera found in Europe was discovered in 1876 by Arturo Issel in the Arene Candide Cave. It is kept at the National Prehistoric - Ethnographic Museum Pigorini in Rome (Inv. 5584). Photo © Marco Merlini.



Fig. 18. Middle Neolithic pintaderas from the finale Ligure area. Archaeological Museum of Finale. Photo © Marco Merlini

In literature, there is no agreement about the function of pintaderas. The Finalese finds were objects of everyday use to reproduce in several ways copies of emblematic graphic images on the surface of different cultural materials: at most stamps for impermanent body tattoo and especially face tattoo for decorative, magical, therapeutically, or prophylactic aims.² They were exploited also as matrix to beautify textile, tools to decorate pottery, and seals to mark the property of objects to be baked in communitarian ovens (vessels, bread...). The effect would be better and precise than painting with a brush.

Clay stamps were a distinct feature of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture, where they last throughout its development and vanished with its disappearing.³ These devices did not occur in the subsequent Late Neolithic Chassey-Lagozza Culture. They were used to transmit information from generation to generation. The best parallels of the SMP pintaderas are with finds from the Early Neolithic of the Danube civilization and in particular from the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) cultural complex that blossomed in the Danube valley from c. 6100 BCE. Here, these hand-held printing and impressing tools were developed as a new media to

transmit information, reflect status, improve group identity, display property identification, and enact political authority within farmers' social structures and cultural milieu. The exploitation of clay stamps started in Western-Central Anatolia. In the Danube civilization, the earliest finds date to the seventh

¹ Bernabò Brea, 1956: 96, pl. XXVII.10.

² Issel, 1886: 131-132; 1908: 120. Pessina, Tinè, 2008: 260.

³ Cornaggia Castiglioni, Calegari, 1978: 21.

millennium BCE, but motifs are quite different.¹ Small in size and easy to move, they formed part of the systems of visible communication in the Danube civilization. In the symbolism of the pintaderas, one can easily detect parallels with the sign inventory of the Danube script.²



Fig. 19. Comparing the different typology of pintaderas found in the Finalese caves with their stamps on textile. After De Pascale, Arobba (eds.), 2008: 83.

Systematic association of pintaderas with the Square Mouth Pottery milieu and analysis of their typology (profile, base form, patterns)³ induce to search their origin in the Balkan-Danube ideological world.⁴ The relationships between these populations encompassed the simple trade exchange and exploited the same communicative and decorative tools to express shared conceptual beliefs, symbolic approach, cultural filters, and aesthetical parameters.⁵ While conforming to that model the SMP stamp-seals remained a peripheral phenomenon.

According to Marco Serradimigni, pintaderas appeared in Northern Italy only from the Middle Neolithic period (in the Square Mouth Pottery Culture, phase I) probably due to the long distance from the Balkans. Whereas, in Southern Italy, they arrived earlier (in the final part of the Early Neolithic) through the Aegean and the stretch of sea that separates the Greek/Albanian coastline from Puglia, as attested by the finds of Ripa Tetta, Rendina and Perriere Sottano.⁶

To complete this paragraph, I present a partially reconstructed lid from the Parmorari Cave, in the area of Verezzi in the Finalese, which excided spiral-meander design apparently descends from models widespread within the Danube civilization.⁷ The patterns on the lid depict symbolically the lunar month and phases. The spiral-meander signs are six as the phases of the Moon: Black/New Moon; First Quarter; Waxing Gibbous; Full Moon; Waning Gibbous; Last Quarter. They

¹ Makkay, 1984. Çilingiroğlu, 2005: 6.

² Haarmann, 2008: 37. Merlini, 2009.

³ See the typology organized by Dzhanezova, 2003: 97. It would be necessary to add the graphical coding. i.e. the culturally filtered range of abstract designs. For a survey concerning the relationship between this type of object, its probable use and the type and placement of inscriptions, see Lazarovici Gh., 111 ff.

⁴ Cornaggia Castiglioni, Calegari, 1978: 21. Pedrotti, 1990: 218.

⁵ Pedrotti, 1990: 224.

⁶ Serradimigni, 2012: 181.

⁷ It is held in the Archaeological Museum of Finale.

corresponded to the six phases of the menstrual cycle. The triangles on the rim are 30, as the days of a lunar cycle. The spiral-meanders are whirling from East to West along the days of the cycle embedded in a circular cosmos.

The lid divides the Moon cycle into six sectors corresponding to six phases, as a number of Copper Age Lunar time-keepers of the Danube civilization do: for example, a spindle from Dikili Tash, a Sălcuța-Krivodol pintadera from Peklyuk.

A number of subsequent ancient cultures operated the same six partition of the lunar rhythm. Babylonian astronomers started the month with the New Crescent of the Moon and divided the cycle into six phases, each of them was characterized by an archetypal meaning and symbolism.

Numerous folk traditions operated the same division of the lunar monthly journey in six. Since long time ago, the Lithuanian peasants' practice divides the two main lunar phases into six periods. They are: *Tuščias* 'empty' (New Moon); *Jaunas* 'young' (the Moon before the first quarter, Waxing Crescent); *Priešpilnis* 'almost full' (Moon after the first quarter, Waxing Gibbous); *Pilnas* 'full' (Full Moon); *Senas* 'old' (the Moon before the last quarter, Waning Gibbous); and *Senagalys* 'old-end' or *Delčiagalys* 'wane-end' (Moon after the last quarter, Waning Crescent).¹



Fig. 20. Broken lid excided with spiral-meander motive from the Parmorari Cave. Archaeological Museum of Finale. Photo

□ Marco Merlini.

Between November 30 and December 18 1609, the Italian scientist Galileo Galilei looked at the moon through his hand-made telescope. His sketches illustrate the six phases of the Moon he detected.

All over the ancient world, the fertilizing and fecundating light of the moon was regarded as favorable to vegetal grow and human/animal reproduction, as reassumed by Plutarch. According to Eliade, the connection between moon, rain and plant life was established before the discovery of agriculture.²

6. A comparison between SMP figurines from the Finalese and anthropomorphs from the Thessalian and Balkan Neolithic

SMP figurines are characterized by seated pose, hip size, arms folded under the breasts, prominent bird bill nose, realistic hairstyle, and absence of mouth.³ The figurines placed in burials reproduce all the features of those found in settlements, but they have also some distinct characteristics. Firstly, they are kept intact and not intentionally broken during ritual manipulations. Secondly, the pubic triangle is well depicted, underlining the re-life implication. Finally, they are

¹ Merlini, 2015: 172, see the paragraph "5.B The six phases of the Moon periodicity and its three key days".

² Merlini, 2011b: 321.

³ Bernabò Brea M., 2006: 37–47. Bernabò Brea M., Cultraro, 2007. For a general overview, see Bagolini, 1978. Giannitrapani, 2002. Fugazzola Delpino, Tinè, 2006.

sprinkled with white colouring, whereas the figurines from the settlements are painted in red.¹ It is worth noting the widespread use of colour symbolism: red to express life, and white as the non-colour of death and bones.²

I present three naked clay figurines from the Square Mouth Pottery Culture discovered in the Finalese to attest how femininity was perceived and to indicate the similarity of their features with those of Neolithic statuettes from the Danube civilization. Unfortunately, they were discovered out of any stratigraphical context.

In their illustration, one should have in mind that the main emphasis was not on the realism of presentation, but on coding information. For example, the occurrence of a mask is an attribute shared by all the statuettes from the Finalese.³ The first three pieces depict a second face on the obverse and a concave depression on the reverse, it appears that the mask could slip on and off the pillar-like necks.⁴ Marija Gimbutas argued, among others, that a number of Early and Middle Neolithic figurines, principally from Thessaly and the Balkans, portray masks that are permanently affixed to a cylindrically-shaped head.⁵

The first statuette was discovered in the Arene Candide cave in residual deposits, not in context.⁶ It is small, schematically but naturalistically rendered whereas the mask has a non-realistic shape.⁷ It is fragmented, actually a head and upper half of body, intentionally broken off in horizontal just below arms. The head is truncated at top. It merges with a sturdy and quite long cylindrical neck.



Fig. 21. Typical female figurine in clay from the Square Mouth Pottery culture (Arene Candide cave). It has bird bill nose and arms folded under the breasts. The mouth is absent. Archaeological Museum of Finale. Photo © Marco Merlini.

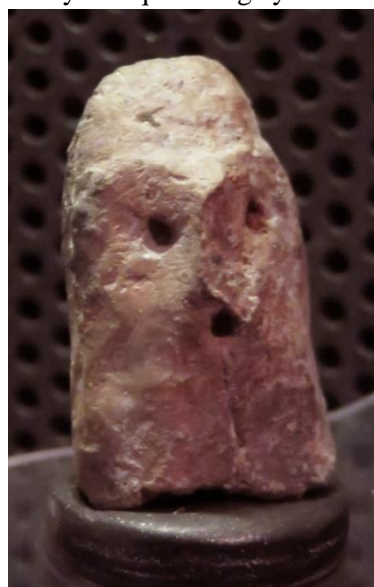


Fig. 22. Head of a fragmented figurine in clay from the Square Mouth Pottery culture (Arene Candide cave). On the rear, hair flowing over its shoulders have been incised. Archaeological Museum of Finale. Photo © Marco Merlini.

¹ Bernabò Brea M., Mazzieri, 2009: 7-41.

² Turner, 1967.

³ There is a large literature on the exploitation of masks in the Neolithic. Inspecting it is not one of the purposes of the present article. On the topic, see Comşa 1991: 125-131. Monah, 1997: 202. Lazarovici C.-M., 2003; 2004. Hansen, 2005. Lazarovici C.-M., 2005.

⁴ Talalay, 2004: 150.

⁵ Gimbutas 1974/1982: 57-66. Gimbutas et al. 1989: figs. 7.20, 7.50; Gallis, Orphanidis 1996: pls. 43, 47, 49, 77-79.

⁶ Graziosi, 1973. Whitehouse, 2016.

⁷ It follows the category M12c according to Lazarovici's classification (Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C-M, 2014: 198: tab. 15).


The anthropomorph is masked. It is underlined by the flat head and the clear differentiation between the shape of the head and that of the mask. The “second face” is schematically modelled, ovoid and widest at the eyes level. Two deep, thin, long incisions depict horizontal eyes. They seem to be close. However, they focus on the observer. A long nose is in relief. The mouth is absent, the ears too. Long flowing hair frame her head and descend over her shoulders as single unit in relief.

Well modelled arms are folded one over the other (left arm on right) under her breasts. The right hand firmly holds the belly. The left hand is positioned on the heart.

The Arene Candide cave yielded another very similar statuette, but with loose hair falling softly on the shoulders as indicated by deep vertical groves. It is also very similar to a statuette from Pollera cave. These figurines are prototype of the variant “with arms gathered at breast and long flowing hair” of the more general cluster of “figures with crutch-like torso” that is typical of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. It is characterized by elementary facial details, cylindrical neck, atrophic shoulders/arms, and very flattened bust. The early and frequent occurrence of this cluster of SMP figurines in the Finalese caves induced some scholars to maintain its origin in Liguria.¹

The second SMP baked clay anthropomorphic figurine was unearthed in the Arene Candide cave in the Middle Neolithic deposit associated to SMP pottery with organic elements that were radiocarbon dated to the 5th millennium CAL. BCE.² It is a small, stylized, tall, conical and not-pointed head. It was intentionally broken off at neck. A pentagonal-ovoid mask has been incised on the face below the forehead. Eyes and mouth are the most pronounced facial feature, three small circular holes have been deeply drilled as open or opening eyes and mouth. The well-defined, wide and circular mouth appears to be full-throated speaking or singing.



Fig. 23. A female figurine in clay from the Square Mouth Pottery culture (Pollera cave). Archaeological Museum of Finale. Photo  Marco Merlini.

Eyebrows and nose are shown in relief. The nose is slightly protruding, but it was broken off. Long hair flows on the nape in deep irregular vertical striations. Sex is unknown.

The third SMP terracotta statuette was discovered in the Pollera cave. The body is roughly modeled, but naturalistically represents a sitting female. The female attributes - hips and breasts - are strongly accentuated. It is small, depicted naked with exaggerated curves and huge buttocks. It is masked with owl facial features.³ The “second face” is down gazing and has prominent beak-nose. The mouth is absent. The rounded head merges with neck. Hands and feet are lacking. Well modelled arms

¹ Pessina, Tinè, 2008: 250.

² Whitehouse, 2016.

³ Regarding attributes and meanings of idols with animal mask, see Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 204 ff.

joint directly to make pressure on the protruding belly and at the same time, curve around underneath the buxom and milk-giving breasts to support them.

The double action (vertical to apply gentle pressure on the lower abdomen and horizontal to cradle the breasts) evokes the biological power of procreating and regenerating as well as the function of supporting and giving nourishment to the new life.

Her legs are melt together in a circle thus becoming an hyperbolic vulva. Feet are not depicted.¹ Arms and legs shape two circles: a vertical, and a horizontal one. The figurine is leaning forward, her head in particular. Pose and features evoke childbirth.

Gheorghe Lazarovici² suggests that the antropomorphs under inquiry recall Early Neolithic figurines from Thessaly and Macedonia and almost coincide with figurines from the Early Neolithic Balkan-Pannonian and Carpathian area.

6.1 A masked statuette suspended between this world and another world

The flat, schematically modelled mask on the first statuette is typical of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. However, it recalls some ovoid "second human faces" depicted on Early Neolithic figurines from the Greek settlements of Achilleion³ (including a tiny face mask set on a stand)⁴ dating to ca. 6200-6000 BCE and Halai,⁵ as well as from sites of the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) culture such as Donja Branjevina⁶ and Endrőd.⁷

Achilleion, near Farsala, developed between 6500/6350 and 5500 BCE.⁸ It was one of the earliest Neolithic stratified tells on the Thessalian Plain southern edge. Research on Achilleion (6500-5600 BCE) was key for understanding chronology, pottery evolution, architecture, and religion of the Neolithic Aegean.⁹ Halai was a settlement at the beginning of the Neolithic on the Greek sea coast of East Lokris.

Donja Branjevina was an Early Neolithic Starčevo site near Deronje, in Vojvodina (Republic of Serbia), which blossomed between c. 6200/6100 and 6000 cal. BCE.¹⁰ The latter figurine is a very famous artifact, named the "Red Haired Goddess" due to remains of red paint that covered her elaborate hairstyle. In 1989, it was found intentionally broken and buried in a context associated with a column in some type of shrine. The statuette is standing and monumental. According to Gimbutas, its oversized hips and exaggerated buttocks reveal their symbolic importance as regenerative symbol related to double-egg meaning. Its carefully engraved pubic triangle is marked with two lines to focus on generative organs.¹¹ The hands are laying on the lower side of the belly. The "Red Haired Goddess" incarnates motherhood and specifically attests the belief that there was a circular strict link between female fertility, soil and vegetation.¹²

¹ The statuette is not cross-legged as maintained by Grifoni Cremonesi, Pedrotti (2012: 126).

² Lazarovici, personal communication 2017.

³ Gimbutas, 1974/1982: 61, fig. 18. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 87.2, 87.4. Unlike the figurine under analysis, they show a pointed nose and a incised mouth.

⁴ Gimbutas, 1974/1982: 61, fig. 18. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 87.8. Hamilton et al., 2007: 97.

⁵ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 94.2.

⁶ Karmanski, 1996: Fig. 4. Tasić 1997: 79–81. Karmanski, 2005: 83, tab. 1. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 115.1.

⁷ Makkay, 1992: 179, fig. 29. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.1. Makkay, 1993: 77, fig. 2.1. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 117.

⁸ Souvatzi, 2008: 169.

⁹ Gimbutas et al., 1989. Gimbutas, 1991: 13-23. Elster, 2004: 226- 228.

¹⁰ Karmanski, 1996: Fig. 4. Tasić 1997: 79–81. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 115.1. Merlini, 2009a: 497. The excavations carried out in this area during the second half of the 20th century by Sergej Karmanski unearthed the remains of one of the oldest agricultural sites in Europe.

¹¹ Gimbutas, 1999: 7, fig. 2.

¹² Karmanski, 2005: 83, pl. I. Balj, 2008: 9.

The site of Endrőd belongs to the Early Neolithic Körös Culture in South-eastern Hungary, in the Great Hungarian plain. Remarkable is the steatopygic “idol” included in the cluster, with long neck and long flowing hair that descend over her shoulders.

Concerning the hairstyle of the SMP figurine under investigation, it finds strict parallels with the Aegean coiffures from Sesklo,¹ Zappeio 1,² and Corinth.³

Sesklo, near Volos in Thessaly, developed the eponymous culture between 5900 – 5500 cal. BCE.⁴ It constitutes, with Dimini, the foundation of Thessalian prehistory and one of the Neolithic settlements highly documented due to two factors. Firstly, it enjoyed a remarkable long lifetime of 5,000 years, covering the entire Neolithic, although with some breaks. Secondly, it is the Greek Neolithic site that has been subjected to the longest lasting investigation.⁵

Zappeio 1 (in eastern Thessaly) was one of the first farming communities in Europe.⁶ The Neolithic at Corinth, strategically located on the isthmus, was inhabited for long period: c. 6000-3250 BCE. The settlement produced figurines mainly at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic (ca. 5800-5300 BCE) throughout the Late Neolithic (ca. 5300-4500 BCE).⁷ The statuette used for comparison has long flowing hair that descend on the back of the elongated neck and by two separate locks in front. It is rendered by deep irregular zigzag and diagonal striations. A similar hairstyle occurs at Agios Petros, in the Northern Sporades.⁸

In the Danube civilization, arms folded one over the other under the breasts occur not so frequently. In Greece, one can find correspondence on a number of fragmented torsos from Achilleion.⁹ A Middle Copper Age seat statuette from Rousse (Bulgaria) is inscribable within this cluster.¹⁰

Eyes and nose apart, no other features of the face or head of the SMP figurine from the Arene Candide cave are described. The mask is clearly human. However, although a penetrating gaze through horizontally incised eye-slits and the transmission of calm and serenity, it is impersonal and hides any emotion. The best considerable comparanda is from Early Neolithic figurines of the Aegean Neolithic and the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) cultural complex. According to the idealized “second faces” hold by the figurines of the Danube civilization, it is not simply either a blank canvas or a life-less. The facial type with covered facial expressions is consonant to a severe and solemn frontal pose in a hieratic fixity. They made the image appear to be suspended somewhere between this world and another world. The absence of mouth does not underline the inability to speak, as in other statuettes acting in the world of the dead,¹¹ but the occurrence of extra-vocal means of communication. The dramatic gesture of the arms indicates the focus of her supernatural protective power. Sacred potency is not personal expression but impersonal expression. We are at the presence of a strictly ritualized composition-scheme: hieratic, ceremonial, and symbolic.

¹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 99.1.

² Gallis, Orphandis, 1996: 82, fig. 14. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 98.2.

³ Talalay, 1993. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 85.2.

⁴ Merlini, 2009a: 467. 5800-5200 BC, according to Souvatzi, 2008: 76 ff.

⁵ Souvatzi, 2008: 76. For example, the twenty-two complete and twelve partial structures uncovered at Middle Neolithic Sesklo compose one of the largest architectural assemblages of the Greek Neolithic and offer a good basis for understanding the processes of structuring and restructuring of space and household practice over time (Id. 2008: 77).

⁶ Perlès, 2001: 127.

⁷ Feagans, 2013.

⁸ Efstratiou, 1985: Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 96.2.

⁹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 88.13; pl. 89.10. In this instance, the right arm is on the left.

¹⁰ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 383.6. In this specimen, the right arm is on the left.

¹¹ Bernabò Brea M., 2006: 37–47. Bernabò Brea M., Cultraro, 2007.

6.2 The speaking or singing head

The second fragmented SMP anthropomorphic figurine has a conical not-pointed head that merges with a quite long neck. These features are typical of many schematic statuettes from the Danube civilization, since the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) cultural complex.

A cone-like head and a very elongated neck characterize the above mentioned Starčevo "Red Haired Goddess" from Donja Branjevina as well as other finds from the Starčevo assemblage such as those found in Serbia at Obrež –Beletinci (district of Sremska Mitrovica).¹

The SMP statuette from the Arene Candide cave closely recalls Early and Developed Neolithic finds belonging to the Körös assemblage of Central-Eastern Hungary.² They have been discovered at Szolnok – *Szanda Szarvany*,³ Szolnok – *Szanda Szöny*,⁴ Endrőd,⁵ Nagykörű,⁶ Szentpéterszeg,⁷ and Dévaványa – *Atyaszeg*.⁸

In the Early Neolithic of the Aegean, this anthropomorphic cluster is present at the Early Neolithic Serbia,⁹ and at Sitagroi.¹⁰ In Southwestern Bulgaria, a cylindrical statuette with wide open mouth and signs of the script on the top was unearthed at the Early Neolithic site of Mursalevo - *Deve Bargan* (Kyustendil region), built between two ravines on the bank of the Struma River.¹¹

In the Republic of Macedonia, Anzabegovo has to be mentioned.¹² Statuettes with conical head form and a quite prolonged neck occur in Southern-eastern Albania at the Middle Neolithic site of Dunavec (Korçe District, at the edge of Greece): at Dunavec I level¹³ (5000-4800 BCE),¹⁴ and at Dunavec II level¹⁵ (4800-4600 BCE).¹⁶ The Dunavec group shared with the Vinča A culture common elements that were spread throughout a wide area of South-eastern Europe.¹⁷

The typology of the mask of the SMP anthropomorph under enquiry is quite unique. However, it shares shape and relevant attributes with a number of statuettes from the Thessalian site of Achilleion,¹⁸ round deep hollow eyes and mouth included.¹⁹

In the coeval cultures of the Balkans, statuettes whose mouth is open like in the act of singing or speaking are quite frequent. However, in search of parallels with the SMP anthropomorph we have to restrict the research to masked conical or cylindrical terracotta heads with a wide open circular mouth. Typical specimens are from the Hungarian Körös sites on alluvial mounds above the flood plan of the River Tisza. Among the numerous finds, we can mention a conical speaking/singing head

¹ Galović, 1968.

² This assemblage developed between 6100 and 5300 BCE (Merlini, 2009: 467).

³ Kalicz, Raczky 1980 – 1981: 13 ff. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 111.1. Merlini, 2011: 144.

⁴ Kalicz, Raczky, 1980-1981: 13 ff. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 110.2, 111.2, 111.3.

⁵ Makkay, 1992: 179, fig. 29. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.1. Makkay, 1993: 77, fig. 2.1. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 117.

⁶ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.6.

⁷ Hajdú-Bihar county, in the Northern Great Plain region of Eastern Hungary. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.7.

⁸ Oravec, 1995. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.5.

⁹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: 155.2.

¹⁰ Renfrew, Gimbutas, Elster, 1986. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 201.14. Sitagroi developed from the Middle Neolithic up to the Early Copper Age (Merlini, 2009a: 467).

¹¹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 167.3.

¹² Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 136.1.

¹³ Korkuti, 1995. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 157.1.

¹⁴ Merlini 2009a: 309.

¹⁵ Korkuti, 1995. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 159.4.

¹⁶ Merlini 2009a: 309.

¹⁷ Korkuti, 1995: 33-59. Merlini 2009a: 553.

¹⁸ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 87.2, 88.3, 88.5.

¹⁹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: Pl. 87.6. Id., Vol. II, 2007: pl. 90.6.

from Nagykorü.¹ We have to list also the speaking/singing heads with truncated cone or cylindrical shape from Kunszentmárton - *Erport*,² Szajol - *Felsőföld* (around 5500 BCE),³ from the already mentioned sites of Szolnok - *Szanda Szarvany*,⁴ Szolnok - *Szanda Szöny*,⁵ and Dévaványa - *Atyaszeg*,⁶ as well as from Zăuan (situated north of Barcău River, in Sălaj county),⁷ and Grădinile (in Oltenia, Romania).⁸ However, in all the mentioned instances the eyes are horizontally slit or absent.

In the Early Neolithic Starčevo assemblage, conical heads with wide open mouth and eyes occur at Mihajlovac - *Knjepište* on the Iron Gate Gorge,⁹ at Cârcea - *La Hanuri*,¹⁰ and at Cârcea - *Viaduct* (Dolj county, Romania).¹¹ A conical loom weight in shape of a human-bird head with emphasized rounded open mouth was discovered in the coeval Bulgarian settlement of Pernik.¹²

In the Developed/Middle Neolithic, two Vinča A cylindrical-phallic figurines among the thirty-two objects found in the ritual-funerary complex of Tărtăria together with the sacred tablets, exhibit a straight and perfectly round hole positioned on the far lower area of the mask or under it, upon the chin, resembling an open or opening mouth. The indentation was always made before firing. In a third case, the craftsman started to drill on the far lower area of the mask, but then changed his/her mind and the cavity became only a hint. Still under inquiry is the reason for the presence of speaking or singing figurines in a ritual grave as the ritual pit of Tărtăria was.¹³

Kapitan Dimitriev collects a Late Neolithic fragmented head with a widely open mouth.¹⁴ It belongs to the Bulgarian Karanovo IV - Kalojanovec culture and is dated c. 5100-4800 BCE.¹⁵

In conclusion, taking into account the general shape of the second SMP anthropomorph and the key features of its mask, it is possible to notice significant parallels with figurines belonging to the early and central periods of the Danube civilization. The best similarities are with the Early Neolithic of the Aegean area and, in particular, with the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) IIIB-IVA communities that around 5600-5500 Cal BCE developed in the Romanian Oltenia on the border with Bulgaria.¹⁶

6.3 The parturient giving birth wearing an owl-like mask

The third SMP figurine is very emblematic: a sitting, buxom and generous mother giving childbirth. Its owl-like mask is neither frightening nor cheering, but maternal. As noticed by Marija Gimbutas, from Upper Palaeolithic to folklore in present days the owl has been considered the bird of death. Its appearance portends the end of life, as the crone in later mythology. However, it seems to surpass all other creatures in visual acuity up to the point of having the sacred power to penetrate (spiritual) darkness. Therefore, in spite of the gloomy aura that surrounds it, the owl is credited with profound wisdom, oracular powers, and the ability to avert evil. The ambivalent projection made by

¹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 116.6.

² Makkay, 1993: 78, fig. 3. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 128.4 = 129.1.

³ Raczky, 1980-1981. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 110.7, 110.8.

⁴ Kalicz, Raczky 1980 - 1981: 13 ff. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 111.1. Merlini, 2011: 144.

⁵ Kalicz, Raczky, 1980-1981: 13 ff. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 110.2, 111.2-3.

⁶ Kalicz, Raczky, 1980-1981: 13 ff. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 111.3.

⁷ Lakó, 1977: fig. 2.1.

⁸ Nica, 1981: 36, fig. 5.1.

⁹ Stanković, 1986. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 132.2.

¹⁰ Nica, 1977: 28, fig. 12. Lazarovici Gh., 1980: 22, fig. 4, 5. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 132.5 = 133.4. Id., pl. 133.3.

¹¹ Nica, 1984. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 171.2.

¹² Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 163.

¹³ Merlini, 2009a: 537. Id., 2011: 139, 142, 144 (Fig. VII B.18), 220.

¹⁴ Nikolov, 2000. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 180.15.

¹⁵ Merlini, 2009a: 466.

¹⁶ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh. 2006: 83.

humans on owls throughout time, played a pillar role in the its mythization. It drove it into a psychopomp and, according to Gimbutas, “an incarnate manifestation of the fearsome, Goddess of Death. She was revered as a divinity and perhaps respected for her grim but necessary part in the cycle of existence”.¹

Large numbers of owl artifacts, objects suggestive of owls, owl representations, portrays of owls, and anthropomorphized owls were found in various regions of the Neolithic Europe, from Portugal to Ireland, from Hungary to France, from Romania to Spain. A long inscription of the Danube script is incised on an owl-shape Vinča statuette.² It was recovered in the eponymous settlement by Vasić's excavation in 1924. The figurine possibly belongs to the Vinča C culture. The distinct signs of the long inscription are very difficult to identify, because they are arranged along a chain rounding anticlockwise and surrounding the strongly underlined sexual barycenter (a fertilized egg?) in order to tie concepts or sounds. The last sign is an isolated inverted chevron. The shape of the inscription is rendered as a wing of the bird and shows an identification mark instead of the beak.³

Female naked figurines with owl-like facial contours, as the SMP statuette under examination, are much less recurrent. The oldest one was discovered at Catal Höyük (Anatolia). Here the grim owl-faced image associated to a vulture possibly represents the divinity of death.⁴

A standing statuette with owl's mask and hands-on-belly was unearthed at the Neolithic Eleusis in Attica (Greece).⁵ A pot with an owl's mask in relief comes from the already mentioned Middle Neolithic site of Dunavec I, in Albania.⁶

A number of Late Neolithic fragmented heads from the wide, single-level settlement of Nova Zagora - *Hlebozavoda* (Bulgaria) are characterized by masks that remind some features of this bird of prey.⁷ The Late Neolithic settlement of Rast (Romania) yielded throughout the Vinča C culture large numbers of masked statuettes with some owl's attributes.⁸

Similar owl-like masks were frequently modelled on Late Neolithic and Early Copper Age pot lids. They were recovered from Northern Serbia down to the Middle Mureş basin. Emblematic are those recovered at Zorlenţu Mare and Turdaş.⁹ In the former instance, the owl mask is positioned on the head-lid of a pot with an empty belly, then transformed into a spoon.¹⁰

A black polished statuette from the Early Copper Age site of Gradeşnica (Bulgaria) wears a schematized owl's mask and has arms-wings ready to fly (folded in the elbows with a right angle and pointing downwards).¹¹ It is dated 4800-4700 BCE.¹² The front is dominated by an encrusted in white design with labyrinthine and meandering symbols twisting from the vulva, toward the heart region up to encircling the breasts. It is possibly a tattoo. It symbolizes “the Goddess' regenerative power”,

¹ Gimbutas, 1989: 190 ff.

² Vasić, *Handscrift 1 911-1934*, 1924: 08 21 str40-3. Merlini, 2009a: 563, fig. 9.72.

³ Merlini, 2009a: 564.

⁴ Mellaart, 1967: 82.

⁵ Mylonas, 1932: 138, pl. 115-116. Weinberg, 1976: 59, fig. 8. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.8.

⁶ Korkuti, 1995. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 157.12.

⁷ Kancheva, 1989. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 185.14, 185.15, 185.16, 185.17.

⁸ Dumitrescu, 1980. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 298 = 289 (statuette n. 2). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 300 (statuette n. 1). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 301 (statuette n. 3). Dumitrescu 1980: Pl. LVIII/4. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 302 (statuette n. 4). Merlini, 2009a: 231, fig. 5.92. Dumitrescu 1980: Pl. LVIII/5. Merlini, 2009a: 231, fig. 5.93. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 303.1, 303.2 (statuette n. 6). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 303.3, 303.4 (statuette n. 7). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 304 (statuette n. 13). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 305 (statuette n. 9). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 309.1, 309.2, 309.3, 309.4 (statuette n. 10).

⁹ Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 204, fig. 24.4.

¹⁰ Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 205.

¹¹ Nikolov B., Stančeva, 1974. Gimbutas, 1989: 194, fig. 300. Merlini, 2009a: 227, 228, fig. 5.85.

¹² Merlini, 2009a: 466. It is dated 5000-4500 BCE by Gimbutas.

according to Gimbutas.¹ A Danube script inscription could be observed under the right armpit.² Gradešnica settled on the plateau of Northwestern Bulgaria according to three Chalcolithic levels. It was characterized by an extensive utilization of the Danube script as well as engraved abstract geometric ornaments forming spiral-meander motives often incrustated with white or red paint.

Rounded heads carrying owl-like masks have been found on female statuettes from the same Gradešnica – Brenica culture at the sites of Borovan³ and Sădievo.⁴ The Gradešnica – Brenica communities established the key culture for the development of the system of writing during the Early Copper Age throughout two centuries: 4800-4700 BCE.⁵ It has been contended by some scholars to be a regional aspect of the Vinča culture.⁶ Most often, it has been associated with the Vinča C phase.⁷ Other scholars consider it as a distinct culture, born at the outskirts of the great and dynamic Vinča area, but strongly influenced by it.⁸ According to this point of view, the Gradešnica – Brenica culture is the southern neighbor of the Vinča C – Rast culture of Northwestern Romania.⁹ Despite the contended historical anchorage to the communities that established the Gradešnica – Brenica culture, several authors have noticed signs and pictograms of the Danube script belonging to it.

In western Lithuania, owl-faced schematized anthropomorphic figurines carved in amber are probably talismans or amulets from the 4th millennium BCE. They were exchanged as symbol of wisdom, intelligence, and wealth (Narva culture along the eastern Baltic littoral).¹⁰

The Middle Copper Age site of Rouse (Bulgaria) was not less significant for statuettes with somatic traits that suggest owls.¹¹

A number of marble figurines deposited in Cycladic graves wear masks with owl features.¹² Owl's head characterized Athena in pre-Greek times, as it is represented in over a thousand artifacts excavated by Heinrich Schliemann from the prehistoric city of Troy, where she was the tutelary goddess.¹³ An owl-like faced idol of Athena was found in Boeotia and is dated around the 6th century BCE.

The second key feature of the SMP figurine under examination is the childbirth sitting posture with hands joined on the belly and arms holding prominent breasts. The Arene Candide cave yielded a statuette with the same pose. It is the antropomorph that we have illustrated above as very similar to the first one under our analysis, but with loose hair that falls softly on the shoulders as indicated by deep vertical grooves. A female clay figurine found at Vicofertile (Parma, Italy) has the same posture. It also belongs to the Square Mouth Pottery Culture (phase II, 4330-4050 BCE – 95.4%¹⁴), but was related to a burial (grave 3). The statuette was exploited to protect the body of an inhumated adult

¹ Gimbutas, 1990: 231, fig. 11.13.

² It is made up of a four-parallel line, a V, and a six-parallel line as well as another inscription under the left armpit consisting of a bi-line, a three-stroke, and a five-line sign. The accompaniment of the text to the curved contour of the armpits, and the highly symmetric left-right location of the inscriptions, reveal that they also had an ornamental function. See Merlini, 2009a: 227.

³ Nikolov B., 1979: 11-31. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 328.1, 328.2, 328.3, 328.4.

⁴ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 327.

⁵ Merlini, 2009a: 618.

⁶ Gimbutas, 1991: 313, caption fig. 8-12.

⁷ Lazarovici Gh., et al., 2005.

⁸ Winn, 1981: 210-211.

⁹ Todorova, 2003: 288.

¹⁰ Gimbutas, 1990: 191, fig. 1, 2, 3.

¹¹ Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 384.1, 384.4, 384.7.

¹² Gimbutas, 1981: 18.

¹³ It was called *Glaukopis Athena* by Homer, which signifies, according to Schliemann 'with the face of an owl' (Schliemann, 1980).

¹⁴ Cannavò et al., 2014: 214, note 2.

woman who played in her life a role strictly related to the ritual sphere.¹ It is rigid with sharp edges. It is characterized by a seated pose; body tilted forward; broad and squared shoulders; sub-triangular and rather thin bust; flat, triangular and pendulous breasts; slender waist; large hip size; arms folded under the breasts with joined hands; and legs united and bent at knees. The face is covered by an oval and flat mask. It has prominent nose with triangular profile, eyes depicted by two light horizontal lines, absent mouth, and long hair with realistic and elaborate coiffure. A chevron sign is engraved on the right thigh; a vertical inscription (made of T and V signs joint by a ligature) is incised on the left thigh.

Complete lack of mouth, body rigidity, and flat, drooping breasts probably refer to the world of dead² and/or emphasize the age of the dead person. The pointed bird-bill nose symbolizes a bird's beak, to indicate a syncretism between the human and animal sphere, and in particular, between the woman and birds, which are often related to each other in Neolithic cosmogonic mythologies.³ The typology of the burial and the associated statuette are consistent to a settlement in which the social connotation was linked both to age and lineage, male and female roles were well separated, male dominance was not to the detriment of women's autonomy, and a woman could sometimes be central within the community.⁴ On a comparative base with the anthropomorphic representations of the Aegean and Balkan Neolithic, Maria Bernabò Brea and Massimo Cultraro, interpret the Vicofertile figurine as the image of a divine being placed in the burial to protect the body of a woman who in her life played a role within the sphere of the sacred, perhaps a priestess/shaman. They also make an association between the Vicofertile burial and the ritual–funerary complex with the inscribed tablets discovered at Tărtăria.⁵ The clustering of the funerary contexts exclude cults limited to the household level.⁶ According to the evocative reconstruction of W. Bailey, Milady Vicofertile and Milady Tărtăria managed their villages' ceremonies connected with birth, driving women along the process of conception, pregnancy, contractions of childbirth, and delivery.⁷

The typology of female appearance as in the third SMP statuette under investigation is widespread since the Palaeolithic iconography. See for example statuettes from Mal'ta (Siberia), Willendorf (Austria), Menton, and Lespugue (France). In the extra-European Neolithic, they occur at Catal Höyü and Hacilar in Anatolia, in the Halaf period, , in the early levels of Tell es-Sawwan in 6th millennium Iran, in the Naqada period of Egypt, up the Nile in the Neolithic Sudan, and in the early Canaanite Neolithic.

Modelled from clay with exaggerated curves, depicted naked and sitting with arms folded around their breasts in a pose of childbirth, the realistic female figurines of the Neolithic culture of Halaf are very similar to the SMP statuette. They were retrieved in the area spreading from northern Mesopotamia to Syria from circa 6000 BCE to 5100 BCE.⁸

In the Danube civilization, formal features of the figurine from the Pollera cave and its posture are comparable to the female image type on stool, chair or throne distinctive of early communities of Neolithic farmers settled in the central and northern regions of Greece. In particular, a number of

¹ Bernabò Brea, Cultraro, 2007.

² Bernabò Brea M., 2006: 37–47. Bernabò Brea M., Cultraro, 2007.

³ Bernabò Brea M. et al., 2010: 130-131.

⁴ As indicated by the burial of the mature woman among four young males as well as her funerary set.

⁵ Bernabò Brea M., Cultraro, 2007: 192. For a detailed analysis and interpretation of the Tărtăria ritual burial as a consecrated grave of a novel ancestor, see Merlini 2011: 314-337.

⁶ Grifoni Cremonesi, Pedrotti, 2012.

⁷ Bailey, 2000: 103. The interpretation of one upper quadrant of the circular tablet from Tărtăria as a lunar menstrual chronogram is consistent with this view (Merlini, 2011 in Lazarovici Gh. et al. 2011).

⁸ See the finds from the Tell Halaf (Oppenheim, 1943. Parrot, 1981: 92, pl. 86. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 42.1, 42.2, 43.3, 43.4), Tell Arpachiya (Mallowan, Cruikshank Rose, 1935. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 43.5, 43.6, 43.9), Tepe Gawra (Tobler, 1950. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 44.3, 44.4), Höyücek, southwest Turkey (Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 67.1, 67.2, 67.3, 68.2, 68.4, 70.4, 70.5, 72.1, 72.2, 73.7).

realistic giving birth anthropomorphs from Achilleion II have to be listed within this cluster. They are Early Neolithic statuettes made of clay discovered during excavation directed by Marija Gimbutas in the early 1970s.¹ One is particularly remarkable for comparison with the SMP parturient. It was unearthed near a circular hearth in phase IIa of the site and dates to c. 6200 BCE. The most obvious feature of the body represented is its genitalia. The legs are upraised; the vagina is swollen and clearly exposed; labia are modelled out of proportion to any anatomically correct size and are separated by a deep incision.² It is depicted in a normal birth-giving position. She is ready to give birth. However, her mask is anthropomorphic and not owl-like.

Figurines that fit the typology under inquiry, but squatting with legs in yogic position were discovered at Patissa,³ Naxos,⁴ and Amorgos.⁵

In the Aegean Neolithic, figurines with arms without hands that joint together by forming a circle are numerous as well. Their circle-arms press a bulging belly and at the same time hold voluminous breasts. However, they are standing and do not fit exactly the typology of the seat parturient under analysis.⁶ A Late Neolithic statuette from Franchthi is sitting but hands are holding breasts.⁷

A sitting figurine with arms proper to the standard under analysis was discovered in the fairly large mound settlement of Vrbjanska – Čuka, south of the modern road Prilep-Krušev (Southwestern Republic of Macedonia). The site belongs to the Neolithic Pelagonia valley and is famous for a monumental ‘sacrificial altar’ discovered in a village house-shrine, a complex system of libation receptacles, and a vessel with totemic tortoise form.⁸ A comparable statuette was found in the Middle Neolithic Albanian site at the site of Dunavec II.⁹

In Late Neolithic Tisza-Herpály-Csöszhalom culture, figurines giving birth with hands-joined-on-belly and arms holding prominent breasts were unearthed at Öcsöd-Kováshalom (Hungary).¹⁰ They are dated c. 5000-4600 BCE.¹¹ The Copper Age parturients from Krivodol (North-western Bulgaria) that fit this cluster seat on an imposing delivery chair, a sort of throne.¹² Their heads are rounded, but they are too roughly modelled to show somatic traits. They belong to the Salcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj Hum assemblage (4600-4200 BCE).¹³ Through his research on the stylistic qualities of fractured and

¹ Gimbutas et al., 1989. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 87.1, 87.7, 90.2.

² Gimbutas et al., 1989: cat. n. 32. Gimbutas 1991: fig. 7.2. Bailey, 2005:181.

³ Talalay, 1993. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.5.

⁴ Talalay, 1993. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.6.

⁵ Talalay, 1993. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.9.

⁶ See for example an Early Neolithic standing figurine made of marble discovered at Sparta (Orphanidis, 1998: Peloponnese section), a Middle Neolithic clay painted statuette from Chaeroneia (Orphanidis, 1998: Peloponnese section), a Middle Neolithic clay standing statuette from Lerna (Orphanidis, 1998: Peloponnese section), a Late Neolithic figurine from the Sarakinos Cave at Akraephnion in Boeotia (Orphanidis, 1998: Mainland Greece and Euboea section), a statuette from Agios Mamas (Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 96.1), a steatopygic stone figurine from Aigina (Orphanidis, 1998: Mainland Greece and Euboea section. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.1, 108.2), and a statuette from Kouphouvouno, just south of Sparta (Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 108.3)

⁷ Orphanidis, 1998 (Peloponnese section). Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 84.2. For a general view of the site and its importance, see Hansen, 2004: 179-183. Regarding the Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, see Talalay, 1993.

⁸ Kitanoski, 1987: 47-48. Kitanoski et al., 1990. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 84.2.

⁹ Korkuti, 1995. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 159.8.

¹⁰ Raczky, 1990. Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 236.5.

¹¹ Merlini, 2009a: 468.

¹² Hansen, Vol. II, 2007: pl. 340, 341.1, 341.2, 341.3, 342, 343.1.

¹³ Merlini, 2009a: 467.

broken figurines in the Gradesniča-Krivodol complex along with their archaeological contexts, Peter Biehl concluded that they depict individuals acting within the society rather than a given deity.¹

The only sitting statuette of the Danube civilization described by both an owl's mask and hands-joined-on-belly plus arms shoring up breasts is the so called "Lady of Pazardzhik"² from the eponymous settlement in the Maritza valley, the westernmost area of Thrace (Bulgaria). The Early/Middle Copper Age figurine belongs to the Karanovo VI - Gumelnița B – Kodžadermen assemblage (4500-4100 BCE).³ The owl-like mask is flat, stylized. The statuette seats on a round chair or throne. Incised decorations are aligned on the back of the naked body, probably representing tattoos. They are As, circles, spirals and rhombus.⁴ However, unlike the SMP statuette from the Pollera cave the "Lady of Pazardzhik" has little breasts, stylized representation of sex, and almost closed legs. The parturient is ready for labor and delivery: she is about to open her legs and to make pressure on her belly with her arms.

The abovementioned assemblages of the Sălcuța-Krivodol-Bubanj Hum complex in Bulgaria and Romania, the Tiszapolgár culture in the Eastern Hungarian plains, and the Karanovo VI – Gumelnița – Kodžadermen complex in Bulgaria and Romania were coeval, as well as the Vinča D culture in Central Balkans and the Petrești culture in Transylvania.⁵

Unfortunately, we have not enough contextual information concerning the discovery of the SMP statuette, which is an unstratified find. However, comparative analysis with previous and coeval figurines of the Danube civilization makes us confident to interpret it in a position that is suggestive of childbirth: it is depicted naked, seated, and with her arms folded under her breasts to act a perpendicular force on the pregnant belly.

The compresence of a realistic style to represent the parturition process, the abstract symbolism of the swollen circular vagina, and the owl-like mask makes this figurine quite enigmatic. According to the animistic religion of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture, which were power and role of the spirit of this predatory bird into the act of giving birth to a new life?

Due to the ambivalent reputation of the owl, the ancient world split in two opposite credo: whether this bird of prey acted positively or negatively within the human sphere during labor and delivery.

Neolithic materials provide evidence that the mysterious owl was credited to be a harbinger of death, also of the newborn.⁶ A frightening hunting owl fixed in the action of seizing with gaping wings-arms was discovered at Výčapy-Štěpanovice (Moravia, distr. Trebič). It belongs to the late Moravian culture of painted ceramic (4700-3700 BCE).⁷ In Mesopotamia, the owl was sacred to Lilith, the Near Eastern female demon.⁸ In old Jewish traditions, Lilith was imagined as a long-haired and winged vampire especially dangerous for infants. Consistently, the name Lilith acquired the meaning 'owl'.⁹ The Egyptian hieroglyph resembling an owl symbolized death, because it was believed that it protected spirits as they passed from one world to another.¹⁰ The ancient Egyptians honoured owls.

¹ Biehl, 1996: 170-171. Figurines, he maintains, represented individuals as they participated in "life's most pivotal moments: birth, the need for food and death".

² Angeli, 1976. Todorova, 1981.

³ Merlini, 2009a: 466.

⁴ Merlini, 2009a: 252: fig. 5.156.

⁵ Bánffy, 1997: 7. Merlini, 2009a: 648.

⁶ Gimbutas, 1985; 1989: 190.

⁷ Kruta, Lička, 2000: 128, fig. 258. Merlini, 2006.

⁸ Golan, 2003: 320.

⁹ Golan, 2003: 435.

¹⁰ Golan, 2003: 419.

The Roman goddess Minerva had the owl as her sacred creature, but Romans also believed that witches would turn into this nocturnal creature to suck the blood of newborns.

In contrast, in several ancient societies, from the Neolithic Narva culture or eastern Baltic culture to Babylon in ancient Mesopotamia, owl amulets protected women during childbirth. The ancient Saxons believed that birth process would be easier in presence of an owl.

Still nowadays, that mixed feeling recurs in traditional cultures. In many European folk tales, owl is a demonic creature.¹ According to a number of traditional beliefs, as in the Romanian folklore, another name for this nocturnal creature was the bird of death and its hoot announces the imminent death of a baby. Germans supposed that if an owl is heard during childbirth, the baby will carry a miserable life. According to the ritual of childbirth in southeastern coast of Albania² it implied short life. In the ancestral Swahili culture owls make the newborns sick, and complex practices to safeguard them and to be not recognized by owls³ are put in practice. Conversely, rural Welsh believed that the fetus will be blessed if a pregnant woman hears an owl at night just outside her house and that childbirth would be easy.⁴ In English rural areas, the custom of nailing an owl to a barn door to ward off evil persisted into the 19th century.

The SMP mother from the Pollera Cave is portrayed in a seated dramatic posture, ready to give birth. It is wearing a mask with no facial attributes other than owl-like features to protect childbirth from suffering and life-threatening complications. Owl amulets and owl-like masks were probably worn when in labor and delivery. The features of the statuette also represents a fertility principle in the form of a "divine mother at labor". To guarantee the regular renewal of life, she had a key role to play in caring the parturient woman and the fetus and in positively solving the risky and stressful action-ritual of passage for the mother, the infant, the family, and the community.

In conclusion, despite the missing stratigraphic data, the figurines from the Finalese caves belong to the blossoming phase of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. Starting from the second half of the 5th millennium, the production of statuettes ended concomitantly with the introduction of elements of Western origin.⁵ The figurines from the Finalese caves largely share numerous features (style, production procedures, symbolism, and utilization criteria) with specimens from the large corpus of anthropomorphs of the Danube civilization as far as the Eastern Mediterranean Neolithic. They recall figurines from Thessalian and Macedonian plains,⁶ the Aegean richest Early Neolithic agricultural lands. Many of their features coincide with figurines from the Early Neolithic Balkan-Pannonian and Carpathian region of the Starčevo-Criș (Körös) cultural complex. Similitudes are distinct and punctual, not generic. However, specific classes of the Danube figurines cannot be directly applied to the Finalese finds.

7. The context of the discovery

The archaeological excavations revealed human occupation of the shelter starting from the early phase of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture. It is documented by the presence of pottery and material culture remains distinctive of this period. It is confirmed by calibrated radiocarbon dates that indicate a human presence for some centuries around 5000-4800 BCE (earliest period of the first phase of the SMP culture), 4800-4600 BCE, and 4600-4300 BCE (around the end of the first phase of the

¹ Golan, 2003: 419.

² Hasko, 2013: 6.

³ Poblete, 2007: 217.

⁴ Eason, 2008: 71.

⁵ Grifoni Cremonesi, Pedrotti, 2012: 127.

⁶ Bernabò Brea, 1946. Tinè, 1999.

SMP culture and at the beginning of the second one).¹ Several phenomena of flowing water and erosion by a neighboring stream generated the intermittent occupation of the site, as documented by the occurrence of thin layers of intercalated sterile alluvial sediment in the anthropogenic deposit.

The archaeological excavations evidenced that accumulation of Neolithic materials was present only in an ancient, natural depression of the ground produced by the erosion of a stream that led into a sinkhole, and then covered. The karstic nature of this brook later moved it to the current bed of Rio Voze.² The anthropic deposit is located in the central area of the shelter and measures about 40 square meters and is 4.5 m. deep. The other areas of the shelter and the space in front of it were occupied by human activities, but were periodically deeply affected by the stream overflow and do not keep any anthropogenic strata. The periodic overflows of the stream that flowed in the vicinity have repeatedly removed the external deposit, redepositing a part of it in the mold of the erosion. To sum up, the Neolithic deposit of the Pian del Ciliegio is the residue of a wider area of human frequentation that has not been preserved up to us.³

The study of the bio-archaeological remains evidenced that the early SMP community living at Pian del Ciliegio practiced cereal cultivation and animal husbandry. Carbonized remains of seeds and fruits have been identified. They refer to cereals (barley, spelt, wheat) and forest resources (elderberry, raspberry, hazelnut, and wild plum). Numerous acorn cotyledons occur too, which could have been exploited as food. Among the domesticated species, caprovines prevailed, in particular during the early phase of the human occupation. Pigs follows in quantity. Cattle, always represented by adults, were rare during the early stage, but they increased in the later period. Dogs are well recorded in the early phase. Gathering of wild herbaceous and hunting were also performed. Red-deer and roe-deer were the most hunted wild species.⁴

The micro-morphological analysis of the excavation levels at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter documented different types of site occupation throughout the Square Mouth Pottery Culture and the utilization of the space for different types of activity, which all contributed to the formation of the 4.5 m thickness of the archaeological deposit. The occurrence of domestic fireplaces with daily use ceramics of different shape and function,⁵ fabrics, burnishers and axes made of local limestone and green stone pebbles,⁶ ground stone tools (grinding stones, handstones, pestles, pumice stones, and ochre)⁷ indicates residential exploitation of the place by a small, impermanent community.

The presence of some layers composed of ashes with massive traces of caprovinic coprolites and intermittence of utilization levels corroborate the hypothesis of a seasonal frequentation mainly for stabling activity. The ash layers document that the ground of the site was carefully cleaned up by burning the residues of fodder amassed during the previous season and from garbage accumulated during abandonment.

The shelter had also a funerary exploitation, as indicated by SMP burial remains belonging almost to four individuals.⁸ Recent research have proposed a reconstruction of the health status and life style of Neolithic groups in Liguria. They are characterized by low stature (an average of 159 cm. and 151 cm. respectively for men and women), quite strong upper and lower limbs, and appreciable sexual dimorphism between males and females. About 77% of adult males was affected by

¹ The data is according to the radiocarbon chronology of the Arene Candide Cave. Del Lucchese (ed.), 2009: 24.

² Pirondini, 2011.

³ Del Lucchese, 2009: 40.

⁴ Sorrentino, 2009: 107-115.

⁵ Del Lucchese, Scotti, 2009: 37-58.

⁶ Vicino, 2009a: 59-74.

⁷ Del Lucchese, 1996. Vicino, 2009b: 59-74.


⁸ Canci, 2009: 101-105.

biomechanical stress due to frequent and abrupt upper limb movements.¹ It was probably related to the use of axes, a tool widely used in the Neolithic for timber harvesting and to procure forage from trees shredding.²



Fig. 24. The excavation area within the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter. Photo © Marco Merlini.



Fig. 25. The stratigraphy of the site with several evidences left in situ. Photo  Marco Merlini.

¹Canci, Dini, 1997-1999. Canci, Marini, 2003.

² Maggi, Nisbet, 2000.

However, it was mainly utilized as a workshop to produce ceramics. A high number of very thick deposits of dumped ash were found within a firing area. They are characterized by small pottery fragments, which probably broke away from the vessel surface during the cooking process. They can be interpreted as residues of furnaces for the production of ceramics. This inference is confirmed by the discovery of small lumps of clay ready for shaping vessels, remains of stack ovens, and stone artifacts for smoothing pottery.¹

In conclusion, the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter was exploited for about 400-500 years throughout the early phase of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture in Liguria and since the emerging formative phase of it. The shelter was organized mainly as a ceramics workshop.²

The activities carried on in the site, as evidenced by the anthropic deposit, the engraving on the cylinder and the fact that it was incised before firing let us to assume that the artifact could have been used as a device to keep track of the number of vessels produced (or to be produced) on the site and/or to be send away. It evidences a social organization characterized by ceramic manufacturing, commercial attitude, and concept of property.

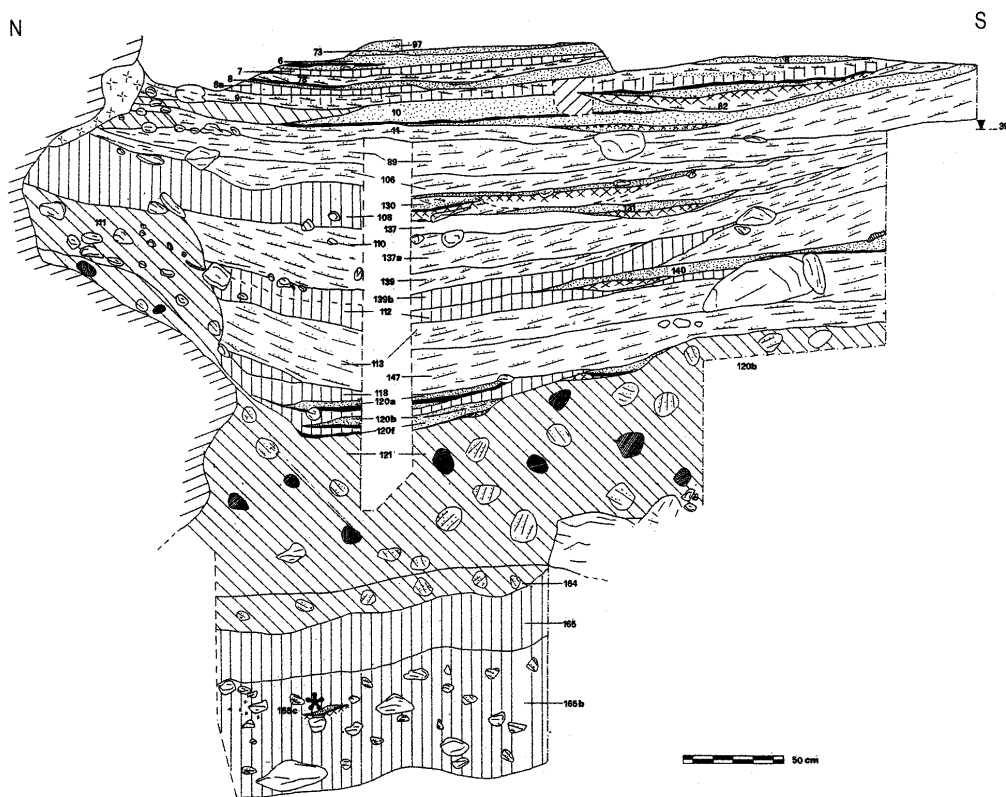


Fig. 26. Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter. Stratigraphy of the section B, from which the sample was extracted for the radiocarbon dating. After Del Lucchese A., 2009: 30, pl. V.

Few potsherds belonging to imported vessels from the Early Neolithic Impressed Ware Culture were discovered in a secondary context within the Middle Neolithic layers. They document the existence of a wide range of long-distance cultural contacts (beyond the Italian peninsula) since the Early Neolithic.³

¹ Arobba Caramiello, 2009.

² Del Lucchese (ed.), 2009.

³ According to Del Lucchese, Scotti, the occurrence of potshards from the Impressed Ware Culture indicates an at least occasional occupation of the area in front of the shelter throughout the Early Neolithic (2009: 42).

8. The engraved cylinder based on a sexagesimal numeric system

The inscribed cylinder was found in US (Statigraphic Unit) 108. The division into 60 cells, among which eight marked by a stroke, suggests that the Square Mouth Pottery Culture had an advanced numeral and arithmetic system with 60 as its base. A sexagesimal numeric system is very effective, because it can be physically counted by using the thumb touching the twelve knuckles on one hand and keeping track of each cycle of twelve with the five fingers on the other hand (12×5). The cylinder follows the same method: the grid is composed of five columns, each with 12 squares.

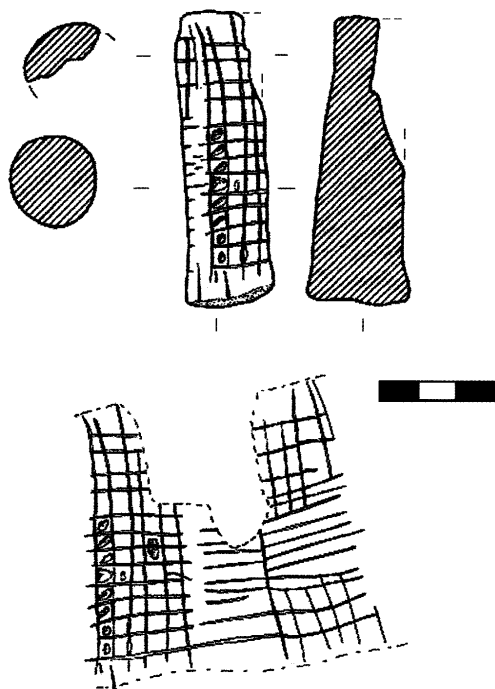


Fig. 27. Net and marks on the cylinder discovered at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter. After Del Lucchese A., 2009: 58, pl. X.

The sexagesimal calculation system was utilized by the Mesopotamians (Ur period, Sumerian Ur period, Old Babylonian period) and other Middle East populations since the fourth millennium BC. Their advances in mathematics were probably facilitated by the quality of 60 which has many divisors (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 20, 30, and 60). Indeed, 60 is the smallest integer divisible by all integers from 1 to 6.

Cylinder seals were 'invented' by members of bureaucracy that administrated the earthly estate of Inanna, 'Queen of Heaven'. They were discovered at Uruk-Warka in that compound of monumental buildings excavated since the early years of the XX century by the German expedition.¹ The temple was one of the institutions that dominated the economy of the Fertile Crescent. The archaic texts reveal no fewer than thirteen different numerical systems falling into five major categories: sexagesimal (1-10-60-600-3600-36,000), bi-

sexagesimal (1 / 2 -1-10-60-120-1200-7200), ŠE, GAN2, and EN. Bureaucratic needs used them to list and operate quantitative notation of goods (objects as well as *naturalia* e.g. barley, oil, wool, etc.) to be distributed to members of household, personnel, slaves, donations, animals rations, containers, area measurements, weights, calendrics, and volume.² The temple administration encompassed a wide range of productive sectors such as herding, weaving, pottery manufacture, agriculture, metalworking, stoneworking, woodworking, gardening, forestry, fishing, beer production and baking.³

Sumerians invented the sexagesimal system to develop accurate calendars to chart turning of seasons and predict the appropriate time for farming tasks and religious festivals. The belief that a year has 360 days (lunisolar calendar) formed the basis of their numerical system. Then they divided this into degrees to represent the sun daily movement around the sky. Subsequently they transferred this into measuring circles by dividing degrees into minutes. Our entire system of astronomy, geometry, and division of day into hours, minutes and seconds hails from this period of history.

¹ Potts, 1997: 237. Merlini, 2009a: 33.

² Nissen, Damerow, Englund 1990: 64-65. Damerow, Englund, 1987: 117-66.

³ Potts, 1997: 237.

The sexagesimal numeric system was later adopted by Hellenistic, Islamic and European scholars for expressing angular measures and intervals of time.

It was maintained that the cylinder discovered at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter recalls Ancient Near Eastern tokens: miniature geometric clay objects with variegated shape (pyramids, spheres, cylinders, tetrahedrons, cones, etc.).¹ Denise Schmandt-Besserat rebuilt a chain of trade-administrative events in order to emancipate the origin of *ars scribendi* from sign-drawings carved on the Sumerian seals or from the design of ceramics – architraves of the traditional vision – to retrace it in the evolution of an early registration accounting systems based on clay tokens that started in the Neolithic period around 8000 BCE.² She assumed that the Neolithic populations were culturally evolved enough to develop a complex information and communicative system and backdated the beginning of counters registration systems to the initial stages of the stable agricultural settlements in Syria (Level III of Tell Mureybet) and in western Iran (Level E of Ganj Dareh).³ Urban centers built common storage areas for grain. The innovation obviously led to the issue of who does and how much is stored. Thus, between 8000 and 7500 BCE farmers were given a clay token for each basket of grain placed.⁴

The earliest three-dimensional tokens were simply modeled and plain (without carvings). Each shape was given for a distinct product: a cone shaped token meant, for example, a small measure of wheat.⁵ Tokens had two main functions: they served as counters to calculate quantities of goods and as mnemonic devices to store data.⁶ The Neolithic accounting system was essential. According to the simple principles of tangibility and one-to-one correspondence, which consisted in matching each unit of a set to be recorded with a token, an animal was indicated by a cylinder, two by a couple of cylinders, etc. In this manner, the abstract concept of five, for example, could not be freed from the physical accumulation, one by one, of the objects that had been counted.⁷

Tokens were contained in solid and oblong bullae. Here they were preserved from any tampering, but the container had to be broken to check the record content. This system was not a very effective “bill of lading”. A farmer or a shepherd could insert tokens in a bulla for a wide range of reasons. After a while, information was missed, because the bulla was sealed. Schmandt-Besserat assumed that some clever traders began impressing the tokens also on the outer surfaces of bullas (a pure pictographic system) to make counters immediately visible and easy to remember.⁸ Transformation of three-dimensional tokens into two-dimensional symbols had an important role to support the formation of the first city-states, generating an impulse to develop counting and numbering systems and establishing a historical transition towards writing. In the 4th millennium BCE, public buildings that produced tokens took the form of citadels or temple precincts.⁹

A turning point happened when the outlines of the tokens started to be incised on much more practical clay tablets. The three-dimensional devices disappeared, being transformed into independent signs permanently fixed to allow reading, comparing, and calculating. This was the beginning of the purely written accounting. Most of the archaic tablets, in particular those from Uruk IV (ca. 3100 BCE), contain a surprisingly large percentage of symbols which are abstract and standardized at a very

¹ Del Lucchese, 2009: 47.

² Schmandt-Besserat, 1978a; 1978b; 1989; 1992a; 1992b; 1994; 1996; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 2001a; 2001b; 2002; 2007. For the socioeconomic development in the Mesopotamian Neolithic, the utilization of tokens, and the origin of writing, see Merlini, 2009a: 31, ff.

³ Schmandt-Besserat, 2001b.

⁴ Senner, 1989: 23.

⁵ Schmandt-Besserat, 1992: 161.

⁶ Schmandt-Besserat, 2001.

⁷ Merlini, 2009a: 32.

⁸ Schmandt-Besserat 1996: 128.

⁹ Merlini, 2009a: 33.

early date. They also hold many numerical notations and a relatively limited number of ideographic signs (i.e. not phonological signs). The prototype of the numerical signs can clearly be seen in certain simple types of tokens.¹ It is still under investigation if tokens represent the starting point of cuneiform writing by mutation of the three-dimensional mini objects into two-dimensional graphic symbols.

Perhaps, bookkeeping through tokens and writing systems developed in parallel, crossing and influencing each other only in certain moments and in certain regions. The roots of *ars scribendi* has to be widened. Symbolic images and all the other kinds of information-storage systems such as seals played a pivotal role as the tokens did.²

The Danube civilization used clay counters to compute like in Mesopotamia, though to a much lesser extent.³ The numbering and accounting system via token was sporadically employed during the Neolithic period and much more frequently during the Copper Age.

Several hundred rounded and ovoid 'roundels' in clay of unknown function were discovered at the Greek Nea Nikomedeia, in an Early Neolithic building that was called 'shrine'.⁴ Fragmented disks were found in phases Ia-IVa of Achilleion. They were usually assembled in groups of five to fourteen on the bench or in the corner of houses.⁵ Nea Makri yielded several disks of unknown function.⁶

In the Bulgarian Late Neolithic, Samovodene⁷ and at Usoe⁸, clay tokens in form of zoomorphic miniaturize figurines were in use – like in Mesopotamia. They belong to the Karanovo IV - Kalojanovec horizon. Late Neolithic tokens from Sitagroi have been considered clay “gaming counters”.⁹

In the Early Copper Age, miniature clay counters were discovered in quite significant numbers in different Cucuteni-Trypillia sites since the end of the Precucuteni - Trypillia A phase. Some small Cucuteni A3 circular, rectangular or conical objects discovered at Scânteia (Moldavia, Romania) might belong to the clay token category.¹⁰ Other inscribed mignon circular and spheroid artifacts seem to be related to cult purposes.¹¹ A rounded object from Truşeşti is filled with a net design and has edges with aligned notches.¹² A round disk was discovered at Toflea - Dealul Tănăsoaia (municipality of Brăhăşeşti, Galaţi district). It is characterized by the pattern of the four directions like similar pieces from Scânteia, Okopi and Cucuteni-Cetăţuia.¹³

At Hăbăşeşti, a series of globular or rounded artifacts have been recovered. They are plain, without signs or symbols.¹⁴ Two Cucuteni B discoid objects incised with a complex and emblematic design were recovered at Ghelăieşti – Nedeia, Neamţ District, Romania.¹⁵ Other comparable mini

¹ Englung, 1998: 48-50, 214. Glassner, 2000: 146-157.

² Merlini, 2009a: 6, 37-38.

³ Merlini, 2009a: 6.

⁴ Pyke, 1996: 23, fig. 2.10.

⁵ Gimbutas, et al., 1989: 254, fig. 8.8-8.11.

⁶ Marangou, 2001: 19, note 13.

⁷ Stanev, 2002: 366, fig. 219. Merlini, 2009a: 594.

⁸ Todorova, Vajsov, 1993: fig. 189. Merlini, 2009a: 594.

⁹ Renfrew, 1987: 367, fig. 9.

¹⁰ Marangou, 2001: 16.

¹¹ Lazarovici C.-M., 2005; 2008a: 67, fig. 5.2, 5.3.

¹² It was interpreted as a miniaturize tablet by the discoverers (Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, et al., 1999: 104, 540, fig. 381/5).

¹³ Cucuş, 1999, 139, note 535. Lazarovici C.-M., 2008b.

¹⁴ Dumitrescu Vl., et al., 1954: 466, fig. 49/1, 5, 7-8.

¹⁵ The discoverer presented them as bearing iconic signs relating with cult practices and not signs for communication (Cucuş 1999, 139, fig. 68/10, 13). See also Lazarovici C.-M., 2006, 60, fig. 6/2-3.

objects have been discovered in sanctuaries and altars at Verbovka I, Tronstyanchyk (together with clay cones, anthropomorphic statuettes, skulls and animal horns), and in cult pits.¹

Larger amounts of tokens were unearthed during the excavations of many Trypillia settlements dated between 4700-3000 BCE, such as Voroshylivka (Trypillia BII, ca. 4000-3800 BCE), Konivka (Trypillia BII), and Maydanets'ke (Trypillia CI, ca. 3700-3500 BCE)² They have geometric forms as cones, spheres, semi-spheres, cylinders, and so on.

A hoard of tokens was not a unique wonder in a settlement, but distinguished a number of households. Maydanets'ke case is emblematic. Here tens of balls, cones and other mignon clay objects were discovered with clay zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines - in total about 140 artifacts - in a pit excavated during the explorations of the house 'E'. Miniature cones and balls were found with figurines and bones of animals in the 'Pit VI', near the complex of dwellings located in the central part of the settlement. Several cones and balls were found among the remains of several houses.³

Videiko compared clay counters of the Trypillia culture with those from Mesopotamia. He observed for example that the village of Maydanets'ke yielded a mini disc incised with a cross, which in Mesopotamia indicates "sheep".⁴ According to him, the Trypillia recording system based on tokens included "numerals" (cones, balls, semi-spheres, etc.) and "substantives" (miniaturize figurines and some symbols such as the mentioned disc with a cross). The concentration of tokens in cult places made him suppose their use in computation associated with cult ceremonies and calculation of donations.⁵

To summarize, in the Danube civilization tokens were employed as recording devices for concrete counting that in a number of instances was related to objects or actions within the magic-religious sphere.

The cylinder from the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter belongs to the transitional phase from tokens to sexagesimal counting numbers. Computation refers to 8 vessels on a grid of 60. It is the number to be produced or to be traded for a thriving pottery business. The employed system still counts one by one, but encases it within a sexagesimal frame and separates quantities, amount (8, 60) and items (vessels). The eight numeral strokes were engraved before firing. Therefore they are fixed and impossible to be changed, if the role of the cylinder was to list vessels within a series.

Pottery is a complex and time-consuming process. It requires an efficient organization and the knowledge of all the necessary, numerous and regularized stages of production. The potter exercises decision at each phase according to social and material constraints/possibilities and technological traditions: selecting the appropriate clay, surveying sources and quarrying the raw material; choosing the different tools; removing impurities (manually or by sieving); preparing the clay with or without tempering; modelling the vessel; secondary forming (beating, scraping, and shaving); decorating the surface (quite lacking at Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter); polishing and smoothing the surface with finishing tools (well documented at the rock shelter under investigation); and firing at a temperature

¹ Gimbutas, 1991: 114. Makkay, 1984. Id., 1990, fig. 18.2 a-c. Tsvek, 2001: 27; Lazarovici Gh., 2003: 72-73, fig. 9-14.

² Bibikov, 1953: tab.71. Šmagli, et al., 1979: 425. Zaet, Râjov, 1992: fig. 135. Gusev, 1995: 227, fig. 70. Šmagli, 2001:18, 48, 96, fig. 7. Videiko, 2004b: 470-471.

³ Videiko, 2005: 61-62.

⁴ Videiko, 1987: 32-33.

⁵ Videiko, 2004; 2005: 62. Among scholarship there is not consensus concerning the utilization of tokens in the Precucuteni-Ariușd-Cucuteni-Trypillia cultural complex and their role toward early experiments with writing technology. Passek hazarded to compare the discovered mignon cones with Egyptian pintaderas-seals (Passek, 1949). Bibikov and Markevich considered them as just toys (Bibikov, 1953: 201; Markevich, 1981: 20). According to Chernysh the tokens were used during rituals (Chernysh, 1982: 248). The liturgical hypothesis was resumed by Balabina who, on the basis of the examination of the tokens found at Konivka, reconstructed the hierarchy of sacral personages (Balabina, 1998: 165-166, 227).

up to 850-900° C. The last stage is well recognizable at Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter by the massive use of deciduous oak and heath in stack ovens as revealed by charcoal remains. This wood is well suited to fire the pottery.¹

The occurrence of a dedicated workshop at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter evidences that pottery was produced locally at community level and probably exported and/or exchanged. This manufacture possibly manufactured and traded cooking vessels, consumption pottery (plates-bowls, spoons, cups) and storage (jars) for food. Grouping objects in order to count them was an important progress, the process being done by ordering them in series. The symbolic representation of these progressive groupings led to the earliest symbols of numbers. Systems of 'early' or row numerals like the Egyptian and Roman numerals,² were formed according to this rule,

The *modus operandi* is completely different from the abstraction process developed in Near East according to which a figure conventionally assumed the meaning of the depicted object (pictographic method) and determined the appearance of tools – stylus and tablets – that made possible the development of the cuneiform writing. In place of reproducing the same mark 10 times as to express for example 10 vessels, the scribes placed a vessel before a conventional sign that corresponded to an abstract number.³

The cylinder challenges the traditional division between civilized cultures (so defined as they employ a writing technique) and primitive cultures (considered being illiterate). It demonstrates that the traditional idea that Neolithic populations were not sufficiently advanced to develop a complex communicative and accounting system is not reliable. Who was the local accountant at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter? Where did he/she learn the sexagesimal registration system and how to fix it on a device?

The number-taking cylinder for practical accounting purposes is the result of radical changes that occurred around the middle of the 5th millennium. They were due, according to the majority of authors, to the arrival of new populations in Liguria by sea,⁴ rather than to the result of an economic and technological crisis of autochthonous Mesolithic groups.⁵ No formative aspects of the SMP culture have been found.⁶ Conversely, processes of assimilation/interaction or transformation of Early Neolithic communities moving towards Middle Neolithic features of the SMP, are instead recognisable.⁷

The counting device demonstrates that the Finale Ligure area was a crossroad of cultural influences, trade relations and possibly population among distant regions of the Mediterranean area, the Balkans the Danube basin, the Italian peninsula, and Transalpine Europe.⁸

This object is unique among the Italian Neolithic finds. However a question remains: why the cylindrical device is one-off, also in the shelter?⁹

Conclusions

Pintaderas, figurines and tokens belonging to Square Mouth Pottery Culture and found in the Finalese area have been compared with several specimens from previous and contemporary contexts

¹ Arobba Caramiello, 2009.

² Menninger, 1969: 42, 240. Marangou, 2001: 12.

³ Schmandt-Besserat, 2001. Merlini, 2009a: 34.

⁴ Bernabò Brea L., I, 1946; II, 1956. Bagolini, Cremonesi, 1987: 21-30. Tinè S., 1974: 37-54. Capelli et al., 2008: 115-124. Del Lucchese (ed.), 2009. Pirondini, 2010c. Pirondini, 2011.

⁵ Biagi, Nisbet, 1986.

⁶ Maggi, 1997. Bernabò Brea M., et al., 2000: 269-87. Ferrari, et al., 2006: 103-128 and the bibliography cited there.

⁷ Ferrari, 2009.

⁸ Pirondini, et al., 2013.

⁹

of the Aegean and Balkan area. The assessment was related to formal features, typology, and function. It evidences close relationship in material culture as well as ideological sphere, included the spiritual domain. The connection is emphasized by the emblematic spiral-meander decoration found at Rocca di Rivoli (Verona), La Vela in Trento, and Isera La Torretta (Trento) and belonging to the main and final phase of the culture. The patterns mirror that ones on model houses of the Karanovo VI - Gumelnița B - Kodžadermen assemblage,¹ which belong to the Early/Middle Copper Age and is dated from c. 4500 to c. 4100 BCE.²

However, it has to be underlined that if the Finalese Middle Neolithic was profoundly influenced by Aegean-Balkan traditions,³ it employed caves and shelters while the Danube civilization developed in general through open space settlements.

The Square Mouth Pottery Culture spread widely in the northern area of the Italian peninsula when this population penetrated deeply the Early Neolithic local communities and replaced the previous facies. It was not always a peaceful process. Typical features of this culture (grave goods with polished axes, use of bow and arrow, cylindrical frames) suddenly supplanted the marks of the pre-existing cultural groups with Epicardial pottery,⁴ even if sometimes assimilating some autochthonous traits, such as graffiti decorations of impressed pottery.

In the Finalese cave-dwellings and specifically at the Pian del Ciliegio Rock Shelter, the change of the cultural and symbolic points of reference from the previous cultures makes implausible the hypothesis of a direct evolutionary transition from the Impressed Ware Culture to the Square Mouth Pottery Culture (suggested by V. Tiné, 1999).⁵ A caesura is most likely, with the arrival of new populations from the Padano basin and beyond.⁶ Subsequently, in several instances the layers of the Square Mouth Pottery Culture were overlain with layers typified by the Late Neolithic Chassey-Lagozza Culture.

References

- Aimar, A. 1998. "Analisi archeozoologica e tafonomica dei resti faunistici di Casalnoceto (Alessandria)". In *Preistoria e protostoria in Piemonte. Proceedings of the XXXII Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria* (Alba, 29 September – 1 October 1995), Florence: 155–161.
- Angeli, W. 1976. "Kupferzeitliche Idole aus Thrakien in der Prähistorischen Sammlung". *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums*, 80: 815-818 .
- Arobba, D., Caramiello, R. 2009. "Indagini archeobotaniche sul deposito neolitico del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio (Finale Ligure, Savona)". *Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale*, 5: 117-130.
- Bagolini, B.1978. "Le immagini femminili nell'arte neolitica dell'Italia settentrionale". In Aspes A. (ed.), *L'arte preistorica in Italia settentrionale, dalle origini alla civiltà paleoveneta*. Exhibition catalogue, Verona: 41-47.

¹ Pedrotti, 2001, Barfield, 2006. Grifoni Cremonesi, Pedrotti, 2012.

² Merlini, 2009a: 466.

³ Bagolini, Biagi, 1986: 53.

⁴ Bagolini, 1980: 127.

⁵ Tiné V., 1999: 142-180.

⁶ Del Lucchese, Starnini, 2015: 27-37.

- Bagolini, B. 1980. Introduzione al Neolitico dell'Italia Settentrionale nel quadro dell'evoluzione delle prime culture agricole europee, Società Naturalisti "Silvia Zenari", Pordenone.
- Bagolini, B. 1984. "Neolitico". In Aspes A. (ed.), *Il Veneto nell'antichità. Preistoria e Protostoria* vol. 1, Banca Popolare di Verona, Verona: 323-447.
- Bagolini, B., Barbacovi, F., Biagi, P. 1979. Le Basse di Valcalaona (Colli Euganei). Alcune considerazioni su una facies con Vasi a Bocca Quadrata e sulla sua collocazione cronologico-culturale, Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Brescia, 3.
- Bagolini, B., Biagi, P. 1986. "Balkan influences in the Neolithic of Northern Italy". *Preistoria Alpina*, 22: 49-57.
- Bagolini, B., Cremonesi, G. 1985. "Il processo di Neolitizzazione in Italia". In *Il Neolitico in Italia*, vol. 1, Istituto italiano di preistoria e protostoria, Florence: 21-30.
- Bailey, D. W. 2000. *Balkan Prehistory*, Routledge, London - New York.
- Bailey, D. W. 2005. *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*, Routledge, London.
- Balabina, V. I. 1998. *Figurki shyvotnykh v plastike Kukuteni - Tripol'a*, TOO "Staryi Sad", Moskow.
- Balj, L. 2008. "Crvenokosa boginja kao symbol / Red-haired. Goddess as a Symbol". In *Work of Museum of Vojvodina*, Vojvodinas Museum's Annually, 50, Novi Sad: 9-24.
- Bánffy, E. 1997. Cult objects of the Lengyel culture. Connections and interpretation. *Archaeolingua SM*, Budapest.
- Barfield, L. H. 1973. "The Square-Mouthed Pottery Culture in the Veneto and its Adriatic Connections". In *Actes du VIII Congres UISPP (Belgrade)*: 393-8.
- Barfield, L. H. 2006. "The reconstruction of the Neolithic house at Rivoli veronese". In *Preistoria dell'Italia settentrionale. Studi in ricordo di Bernardino Bagolini*, Proceedings of the Conference, Udine, September 2005: 187-192.
- Barker, G. W. W. 1983. "Neolithic subsistence in the central Po Plain". In Biagi P., Barker G. W. W., Cremaschi M. (eds.), *Casatico di Marcaria (Mantova) nel quadro paleoambientale ed archeologico dell'Olocene antico della Val Padana centrale*, Studi Archeologici 2, Istituto Universitario, Bergamo: 45-67.
- Bazzanella, M. 2002. "La fauna de La Vela: analisi preliminare". In *Preistoria e Protostoria del Trentino-Alto Adige/Sudtirol, in ricordo di Bernardino Bagolini*, Proceedings of the XXXIII Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria (Trento, 21-24 ottobre 1997), vol. I, Florence: 245-250.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1946. *Gli scavi nella caverna delle Arene Candide*, Parte I *Gli strati con ceramiche*, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
- Bernabò Brea, L. 1956. *Gli scavi nella caverna delle Arene Candide*, Parte I *Gli strati con ceramica*, Vol. 2: Campagne di scavo 1948-50, Collezione di Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche, 1, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
- Bernabò Brea, M. 2006. "Una statuina neolitica da una sepoltura VBQ a Vicofertile (Parma)". *Origini XXVIII*: 37-47.

- Bernabò Brea, M., Cultraro, M. 2007. “La statuette femminile di Vicofertile (PR) nel contesto neolitico italiano e transadriatico: confronti tipologici e significati simbolici”. In *L'arte preistorica in Italia*, Proceedings of the XLII Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria (Trento, 9–13 October, 2007).
- Bernabò Brea, M., Mazzieri, P. 2009. “Oggetti e contesti rituali nella cultura VBQ dell'Emilia occidentale”. *Padusa XLIV*: 7-41.
- Bernabò Brea, M., Mazzieri, P., Micheli, R. 2010. “People, dogs and wild game evidence of human-animal relations from Middle Neolithic burials and personal ornaments in northern Italy”. *Documenta Praehistorica*, XXXVII, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana University Press, Ljubljana.
- Bernabò Brea, M., Battiston, C., Mazzieri, P., Ottomano, C. 2000. “Un gruppo di figurine fittili dal sito di Ponte Ghiara (Parma)”. In Pessina A., Muscio G. (eds.), *La Neolitizzazione tra Oriente e Occidente*, Atti del Convegno di Studi. La neolitizzazione tra oriente e occidente Udine, 23 April 1999, Museo Friulano di Storia Naturale, Udine: 269-287.
- Biagi, P., Nisbet, R. 1986. “Popolazione e territorio in Liguria tra il XII e il IV millennio b.c.”. In AA.VV., *Scritti in ricordo di Graziella Massari Gaballo e di Umberto Tocchetti Pollini*, Edizioni ET, Milano: 19-272.
- Bibikov, S. N. 1953. “Poselenie Luka - Vrublevetskaja na Dniestre”. *Materialy i Issledovanija po Arkheologii SSSR*, 38, Moskva-Leningrad.
- Biehl, P. 1996. “Symbolic Communication Systems. Symbols on Anthropomorphic Figurines in Neolithic and Chalcolithic Southeast Europe”. *Journal of European Archaeology*, Vol. 4: 153-176.
- Boni, P., Mosna, S., Vanossi, M. 1968. “La Pietra di Finale (Liguria Occidentale)”. *Atti dell'Istituto di Geologia della Università di Pavia*, XVIII: 102-150.
- Borrello, M. A. 2005. “Le conchiglie nella preistoria e nella protostoria”. *Preistoria Alpina*, Suppl. 1, vol. 40, 2004, Museo Tridentino di Scienze Naturali, Trento: 19-42.
- Brukner, B. 1968. *Neolit u Vojvodini*, Arheološko društvo Jugoslavije, Belgrade - Novi Sad.
- Brukner, B., Jovanović, B., Tasić, N. 1974. *Praistorija Vojvodine*, Institut za Izucavanje Istorije Vojvodine, Savez Arheoloskih Drustava Jugoslavije, Novi Sad.
- Canci, A. 2009. “I resti scheletrici umani del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio”. In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, 5, Finale Ligure: 101-105.
- Canci, A., Dini, E. 1997-1999. “I resti scheletrici umani del Neolitico ligure: una sintesi paleopatologica”. *Bollettino dei musei civici Genovesi*, n. 55-63: 39-44.
- Canci, A., Marini E. 2003. “La suddivisione dei ruoli nelle attività di sussistenza durante il neolitico medio: I risultati di uno studio paleobiologico”. In *Atti XXXV Riunione Scientifica dell'Istituto Italiano di Preistoria e Protostoria*: 1103-1107.
- Cannavò, V., Levi, S., T., Mantini, S., Bernabò Brea, M., 2014. “Analisi esplorativa della statua neolitica di Vicofertile”. In Bernabò Brea M., Maggi R., Manfredini A. (eds.), *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, Proceedings of the Conference 5000–4300 a.C. *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, (Finale Ligure, 8–10 June, 2009),

Rivista di Studi Liguri, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri sezione Lunense, Bordighera.

- Capelli, C., Cabella, R., Del Lucchese, A., Piazza, M., Starnini, E. 2008. "Archaeometric analyses of Early and Middle Neolithic pottery from the Pian del Ciliegio rock shelter (Finale Ligure, NW Italy) *ArchéoSciences*, 32:115-124.
- Cardini, L. 1942. "Nuovi documenti sull'antichità dell'Uomo in Italia: reperto umano del Paleolitico superiore nella Caverna delle Arene Candide". *Razzi e Civiltà*, III: 5-25.
- Cardini, L. 1946. "Gli strati paleolitici e mesolitici della Caverna delle Arene Candide". *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, 12: 29-37.
- Chernysh, E. K. 1982. "Eneolit Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy i Moldavii". In *Eneolit SSSR*, Nauka Moskow: 165 -252.
- Çilingiroğlu, Ç. 2005. "The concept of Neolithic package". *Documenta Praehistorica*, XXXII, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana University Press, Ljubljana: 1-13.
- Codebò, M. 1997. "Prime Indagini Archeoastronomiche in Liguria, in Memorie della Società Astronomica Italiana". *Journal of the Italian Astronomical Society*, 63 (3).
- Codebò, M. 1999. "Archaeo-astronomical hypotheses on some ligurian engravings". In *Proceeding NEWS95 - INTERNATIONAL ROCK ART CONGRESS, North East West South*, 1995 Turin, by Ce.S.M.A.P. & I.F.R.A.O., Survey supplement, Pinerolo.
- Colombi, N. M. 2009. "Inquadramento geologico e geomorfologico dell'area del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio (Finale Ligure, Savona)". In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, Finale Ligure: 5-7.
- Comşa, E. 1991. "Masques des figurines de la culture Vinča du sud-ouest de la Roumanie et leur sens symbolique". *Banatica*, 11: 125-131.
- Comşa, E., Răuţ, O. 1956. "Figurines anthropomorphes appartenant á la civilisation de Vinča, découvertes á Zorlenţul Mare". *Studii şi comunicări de istorie veche (şi arheologie)*, 20, Bucureşti.
- Cornaggia Castiglioni, O. 1956. "Origini e distribuzione delle pintaderas preistoriche "euro-asiatiche". *Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche*, XI: 109-192.
- Cornaggia Castiglioni, O., Calegari, S. 1978. "Corpus delle pintaderas preistoriche italiane. Problematica, schede, iconografia". *Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano*, 22,1: 7-30.
- Cucoş, Şt. 1974. "Un complex ritual descoperit la Ghelăieşti". *Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche şi arheologie*, Bucureşti, 25, 1: 207-215.
- Damerow, P., Englund R. K 1987. "Die Zahlzeichensysteme der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk". In Green M.W., Nissen H.J. (eds.), *Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk*, ATU 2, Berlin: 117-66.
- Del Lucchese, A. 1996. "Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio (Finale Ligure, Savona)". *Guida archeologica* n. 6, Toscana e Liguria, XIII Congresso U.I.S.P.P., Forlì: 199-202.
- Del Lucchese, A. 2004. "Il Bronzo Finale e l'inizio dell'età del ferro in Liguria (XII-VIII secolo a.C.)". *Liguri*: 143-147.

- Del Lucchese, A., Scotti, G. 2009. “La ceramica neolitica del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio”. In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, 5, Finale Ligure: 37-58.
- Del Lucchese, A. 2009. “Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio. Campagne di scavo 1992-1997: Descrizione del sito e interpretazione della stratigrafia”. In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, 5, Finale Ligure: 9-36.
- Del Lucchese, A. (ed.) 2009. *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, 5, Finale Ligure.
- Del Lucchese, A., Gambaro, L., Ricci, M. 2004. “Aspetti della seconda età del Ferro nell’estremo Ponente ligure”. In Venturino M., Gandolfi D. (eds.), Proceedings of the International Conference *Ligures celeberrimi*, 26-28 February, 2002, Mondovì, Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, Bordighera: 289-299.
- Del Lucchese, A., Starnini, E. 2015. “Aggiornamenti sulla fase antica della Cultura dei Vasi a Bocca Quadrata in Liguria, da una revisione dei materiali ceramici in corso”. In Conventi M., Del Lucchese A., Gardini A. (eds.), *Archeologia in Liguria*, Vol. V, 2012-2013, Sagep, Genova: 27-37.
- De Lumley, M. A., Giacobini, G. 2013a. “Les néandertaliens de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale Ligure, Italie). II – Les dents”. *Anthropologie*, 117, 2013: 305–344.
- De Lumley, M. A., Giacobini, G. 2013b. “Les néandertaliens de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale Ligure, Italie). I - Chronostratigraphie, restes squelettiques”. *Anthropologie* 117, 2013: 273–304.
- De Pascale A., “Le pintadere neolitiche nelle collezioni del Museo Archeologico del Finale”, in Bernabo Brea M., Maggi R., Manfredini A. (eds.), *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, Proceedings of the Conference 5000–4300 a.C. *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, (Finale Ligure, 8–10 June, 2009), Rivista di Studi Liguri, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri sezione Lunense, Bordighera, 2014: 203-210.
- De Pascale, A., Arobba, D. (eds.) 2008. *Le Guide del Museo Archeologico del Finale - Il Neolitico*, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri - sezione Finalese, Finale Ligure.
- Dumitrescu, Vl. 1980. *The Neolithic Settlement at Rast*, BAR - British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 72, Oxford, 1980.
- Dumitrescu, Vl., Dumitrescu, H., Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Gostar, N. 1954. *Hăbășești. Monografie arheologică*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, București.
- Dzhanfezova, T. 2003. “Neolithic Pintaderas in Bulgaria: typology and comments on their ornamentation”. In Nikolova L. (ed.), *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, British Archaeological Reports International Series, vol. 1139: 97-109.
- Dzhanfezova, T. 2004. “Towards the meaning of the Pintaderas' ornamentation”. In *Signs of civilization: international symposium on the Neolithic symbol system of southeast Europe*, The Institute of Archaeomythology and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad.

- Dzhanfezova, T. 2013. "Prehistoric Pintaderas – Study Questions or a Question of Studies / Pintadere preistorice – Probleme ale studiului sau studiul problemelor". In Comşa, A., Bonsall, C., Nikolova, L. (eds.) *Facets of the Past. The Challenge of the Balkan Neo-Eneolithic*, Proceedings of the International Symposium celebrating the 85th birth anniversary of Eugen Comşa (6–12 October 2008, Bucharest, Romania), Editura Academiei Române, Bucureşti: 416-432.
- Eason, C. 2008. *Fabulous Creatures, Mythical Monsters, and Animal Power Symbols: A Handbook*, Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport.
- Echassoux, A., D'errico, F., Giacobini, G., Del Lucchese, A., de Lumley, H., de Lumley, M.-A., Perpère, M., Vicino, G. 1989. "Les nouvelles fouilles dans le gisement moustérien de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale, Ligurie Italienne)". In Otte M. (ed.), *L'Homme de Néandertal, vol. 6: La Subsistance*, Études et Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Liège (ERAUL), Liège: 49-58.
- Efstratiou, N. 1985. *Agios Petros: A Neolithic Site in the Northern Sporades. Aegean relationships during the Neolithic of the 5th millennium BC*, British Archaeological Reports International Series n. 241, Oxford.
- Elster, E. S. 2004. "Achilleion". In Bogucki P., Crabtree P. J. (eds.), *Ancient Europe 8000 B.C.–A.D. 1000 : encyclopedia of the Barbarian world*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York: 226- 228.
- Englund, R. K. 1998. "Texts from the Late Uruk Period". In Bauer J., Englund R. K., Krebernik M. (eds.), *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Universitätsverlag, Freiburg.
- Falguères, C., Yokoyama, Y., Bibron, R. 1990. "Electron spin resonance (ESR) dating of hominid-bearing deposits in the Caverna delle Fate, Ligure, Italy". *Quaternary Research*, 34:121-128.
- Feagans, C. T. 2013. *A study of anthropomorphic figurines in the Neolithic of southwest Asia and southeastern Europe*, Dissertation for the for the Degree of master of arts in anthropology, the University of Texas at Arlington, December, 2013.
- Ferrari, A. 2009. "Esordi e stabilizzazione della Cultura dei vasi a bocca quadrata di stile geometrico-lineare". In *Atti del Convegno di studi "Vasi a bocca quadrata. Evoluzione delle conoscenze, nuovi approcci interpretativi"* (Riva del Garda, 13-15 maggio 2009).
- Ferrari, A., Mazzieri, P., Steffe, G. 2006. "La fine della Cultura di Fiorano e le prime attestazioni della Cultura dei vasi a bocca quadrata: il caso del Pescale (Prignano sulla Secchia, Modena)". In Pessina A., Visentini P. *Atti del Convegno "Preistoria dell'Italia settentrionale. Studi in ricordo di Bernardino Bagolini"* (Udine, 23-24 September 2005), Museo Friulano di Storia Naturale, Udine: 103-128.
- Ferrero, L., Giaretti, M., Padovan, S. 2004. "Gli abitati della Liguria interna: la ceramica domestica". In Venturino M., Gandolfi D. (eds.), Proceedings of the International Conference *Ligures celeberrimi*, 26-28 February, 2002, Mondovì, Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, Bordighera: 51-80.

- Florescu, C., Florescu, M. 1961. "Șantierul arheologic Trușești". *Materiale Cercetari Arheologice*, 7.
- Florescu, C., Gligor, M., Mazare, P. 2007. "Plastica". In Ciută B., Florescu C., Gligor M., Mazăre P., Șuteu C., Varvara S. (eds.), *Ceramica neolitică. O lecție de istorie*, Ed. Aeternitas, Alba Iulia: 94–105.
- Formicola, V., Pettitt, P. B., Maggi, R., Hedges, R. 2005. "Tempo and mode of formation of the Late Epigravettian necropolis of Arene Candide cave (Italy): direct radiocarbon evidence". *Journal of Archaeological Science*, Volume 32, Issue 11, November: 1598–1602.
- Fugazzola Delpino, M. A., Tinè, V. 2006. "Le statuette fittili femminili del neolitico italiano". *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, nuova serie XI-XII, 93-95: 19-51.
- Gallis, K., Orphanidis, L. 1996. *Figurines of Neolithic Thessaly*, Vol. I, Academy of Athens Research Centre for Antiquity, Monograph 3, Athens.
- Galović, R. 1968. "Die Starčevo Kultur Jugoslawien. Die Anfänge des Neolithikums von Orient bis Nordeuropa". *Fundamenta*, F, Reihe A, Band 3, Köln.
- Gambari, F. M., Venturino, M. 2004. "La medio-tarda età del Ferro (V-II secolo a.C.) nella Liguria interna". In Venturino M., Gandolfi D. (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference Ligures celeberrimi*, 26-28 February, 2002, Mondovì, Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, Bordighera: 29-48.
- Giacobini, G., de Lumley, M. A., Venturino, M. 1982. "Les restes humains néandertaliens de la "Caverna delle Fate" (Finale, Ligurie Italienne)". *Rivista di Studi Liguri*: 1-4.
- Giacobini, G., de Lumley, M.-A. 1983., "Restes humains néandertaliens de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale, Ligurie italienne)". *Anthropologie*, 87: 142–144.
- Giacobini, G., de Lumley, M.-A. 1984. "Les Néandertaliens de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale, Ligurie Italienne)". In *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences*, Paris, 2, 298 (4): 712-715.
- Giacobini, G., de Lumley, M.-A., Yokoyama, Y. A., Nguyen, H.-V. 1984. "Neanderthal child and Adult remains from a Mousterian deposit in Northern Italy (Caverna delle Fate, Finale Ligure)". *The Journal of Human Evolution*, 13: 687-707.
- Giacobini, G., de Lumley, M.-A. 1988. "Les fossiles humains de la Caverna delle Fate (Finale, Ligurie Italienne) et la definition des caractères Néandertaliens au debut du Würm". In Otte M. (ed.), *L'Homme de Néandertal, vol 3: L'Anatomie*, Études et Recherches Archéologiques de l'Université de Liège (ERAUL), Liège: 53-65.
- Giannitrapani, M. 2002. *Coroplastica neolitica antropomorfa d'Italia*, British Archaeological Reports International Series n. 1020, Oxford.
- Gimbutas, M. 1974. *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe: 6500–3500 B.C.*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press [1982 republished as *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*].
- Gimbutas, M. 1976. *Neolithic Macedonia: as reflected by excavation at Anza, Southeast Yugoslavia*, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Gimbutas, M. 1981. "The "Monstrous Venus" of Prehistory of Goddess Creatix". *Comparative Civilizations Review*, Volume 7, Number 7.

- Gimbutas, M. 1985. "Pre-Indo-European Goddess in Baltic Mythology". In *Mankind Quarterly*, Washington D.C.
- Gimbutas, M. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess*, Harper & Row, San Francisco.
- Gimbutas, M. 1919. *The civilisation of the Goddess. The World of Old Europe*, Harper, San Francisco.
- Gimbutas, M. 1999. *The Living Goddesses*, edited and supplemented by M. R. Dexter, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles.
- Gimbutas, M., Winn, S., Shimabuku, D., "Achilleion: a Neolithic settlement in Thessaly, Greece, 6400-5600 B.C.", *Monumenta archaeologica*, 14, University of California.
- Giuggiola, O. 1984. "Una costruzione megalitica a Finale". *Rivista Ingauna ed Intemelia*.
- Glassner, J. J. 2000. *Ecrire à Sumer l'invention du cunéiforme*, Seuil, Paris.
- Graziosi, P. 1973. *L'arte preistorica in Italia*, Sansoni, Firenze.
- Hamilton, S., Whitehouse, R. D, Wright, K. I. 2007. *Archaeology and women: ancient and modern issues*, Left Coast Press.
- Hansen, S. 2007. *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit* (Teil I-II), Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts, Eurasien Abteilung, Mainz.
- Hasko Bezo, B. 2013. "Ritual of childbirth in southeastern coast of Albania", The 1st International Conference on Research and Education—Challenges Toward the Future (ICRAE2013), 24-25 May 2013. In *Qendra e studimeve albanologjike*, Center of Albanian Studies.
- Golan, A. 2003. *Prehistoric Religion, Mythology. Symbolism*, Ariel Golan, Jerusalem.
- Grbić, M., Mačkić, M., Nadjš, P., Simoska, D., Stalio, B. 1960. *Porodin, kasnoneolitsko naselje na Tumbi kod Bitolja*, Narodni muzej, Bitolj.
- Grifoni Cremonesi, R., Pedrotti, A. 2012. "L'arte del Neolitico in Italia: nuove acquisizioni e stato della ricerca". *Preistoria alpina*, 46: 115-131.
- Gusev, S. O. 1995. *Trypil'ska kulture Seredn'ogo Pobyzhzhya*, Anteks ULTD, Vinnitsya.
- Haarmann, H. 2008. "The Danube Script and Other Ancient Writing Systems: A Typology of Distinctive Features". *The Journal of Archaeomythology*, Volume 4, Number 1, Winter Issue.
- Hansen, J. M. 2004. "Franchthi Cave". In Bogucki P., Crabtree P. J. (eds.), *Ancient Europe 8000 B.C.–A.D. 1000 : encyclopedia of the Barbarian world*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York: 179- 183.
- Hansen, S. 2005. "Neolithische Figuralplastik im südlichen Karpatenbecken". In Schier W., (ed.), *Masken, Menschen, Rituale. Alltag und Kult vor 7000 Jahren in der prähistorischen Siedlung von Uivar, Rumänien: Katalog zur Sonderausstellung*, Lehrstuhl für Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie, Universität Würzburg, Würzburg: 19-25.
- Hansen, S. 2007. *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur antropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, Archäologie in Eurasien Band 20, Verlag, Mainz.

- Hiller, S., Nikolov, V. 1989. *Tell Karanovo; Vorliuufiger Ausgrabungshericht*, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Salzburg, Salzburg.
- Ignat, D. 1998. *Grupul cultural neolitic Suplacul de Barcău*, seria Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, XVI, Timișoara.
- Issel, A. 1886. "Scavi recenti nella caverna delle Arene Candide in Liguria". *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, XII: 112-133.
- Issel, A. 1908. *Liguria Preistorica*, Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Genova.
- Kancheva, T. 1989. "Kultplastik und Schmuck aus der spatneolithischen Siedlung bei Nova Zagora". In Heger N. (ed.), *Tell Karanovo und das Balkan Neolithikum*, Gesammelte Beiträge zum Internationalen Kolloquium in Salzburg, 20-22- Oktober 1988, Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Univ. Salzburg, Salzburg: 139-163.
- Karmanski, S. 1996. *Boginja je pronađena*, Odžaci.
- Karmanski, S. 2005. *Donja Branjevina. A Neolithic Settlement near Deronje in the Vojvodina (Serbia)*, Società per la Preistoria e Protostoria della Regione Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Quaderno 10, Trieste.
- Kitanoski, B. 1987. "Vrbjanska Čuka, neolithic settlement". *Arheološki pregled*, Ljubljana: 47-48.
- Kitanoski, B., Simoska, D. and Jovanović, B. 1990. "Der kultplatz auf der fundstätte Vrbjanska Cuka bei Prilep". In Srejšević D., and Tasić N. (eds.) *Vinča and its World. International Symposium The Danubian Region from 6000-3000 BC*. Serbian Academy of Science and Arts, Centre for Archaeological Research, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade: 107-112.
- Korkuti, M. 1995. *Neolithikum und Chalkolithikum in Albanien*, P. von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein.
- Kruta, V., Lička, M. 2000. *Prime terrecotte dal cuore dell'Europa. Ceramiche dei cacciatori e dei primi agricoltori di Boemia e Moravia (27 000 - 4 000 a. C.)*, Kronos, Castelvetro.
- Laet, S. J. de (ed.) 1994. *History of Humanity: Prehistory and the beginnings of civilization*, Routledge, London.
- Lakó, E. 1977. "Piese de cult din așezarea neolitică de la Zăuan (județul Salaj)". *Acta Musei Porolissensis*: 41-46.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2003. "Pre-writing signs on neo-eneolithic altars". In Nikolova L. (ed.), *Early Symbolic System for Communication in Southeast Europe*, BAR International Series 1139, Oxford, vol. I: 85-96.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2004. "Sanctuarele Precucuteni-Cucuteni". *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXV/2002, 2004: 47-67.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2005. "Anthropomorphic statuettes of Cucuteni-Tripolye: some symbols and signs". *Documenta Praehistorica*, XXXII, Ljubljana: 1-10.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2006. "Semne și simboluri în cultura Cucuteni-Tripolie". In Ursulescu N., Lazarovici C.-M. (eds.), *Cucuteni 120 – Valori universale*, Sedcom Libris, Iași.

- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2008. "Symbols and Signs of the Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture". In *The Journal of Archaeomythology*, Volume 4, Number 1, Winter Issue: 65-93.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006. *Arhitectura Neoliticului și Epocii Cuprului din România, vol. I Neoliticul*, Editura Trinitas. Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae IV, Iași.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 1979. *Neoliticul Banatului*, Cluj-Napoca, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2003. "Sacred Symbols in Neolithic Cult Objects from the Balkans". In Nikolova L. (ed.), *Early Symbolic System for Communication in Southeast Europe*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 1139, Vol. I, Oxford: 57-64.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2008. "Database for Signs and Symbols of Spiritual Life". *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Volume 4, Number 1, Winter: 94-125.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Gilot E., Maxim, Z. 2005. "Absolute Chronology of the Banat Culture". In Spinei V., Lazarovici C.-M., Monah D. (eds.), *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița oblata*, seria 5 Honoraria, 1, Romanian Academy, Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Editura Trinitas, Iași.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M. 2014. "About the great religious themes of Vinča culture". In Ursu C.-Em., Țerna S. (eds.), *Anthropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe*, Suceava: 187-248.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., Merlini, M. 2011. *Tărtăria and the sacred tablets*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca.
- Luca, S. A. 2006. *A Short Prehistory of Transylvania (Romania)*, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XVI, Institutul pentru Cercetarea Patrimoniului Cultural Transilvănean în Context European (IPTCE), University of Sibiu, Sibiu.
- Luca, S. A., Diaconescu, D., Suciu, C. 2007. "The Vinča Culture in Transylvania". In *14th Neolithic Seminar*, 9th - 11th November 2007, Department of Archaeology Faculty of Arts Ljubljana University, Ljubljana.
- Maggi, R. (ed.) 1997. *Arene Candide: a functionale environmental assessment of the Holocene sequenze (Excavations Bernabò Brea – Cardini)*, Memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Paleontologia Umana, Nuova Serie, 5, Il calamo, Roma.
- Maggi, R., Nisbet, R. 2000. "Alberi da foraggio e scalvatura Neolitica: nuovi dati dalle Arene Candide". In Pessina A., Muscio G. (eds.), *La Neolitizzazione tra Oriente e Occidente*, Atti del Convegno di Studi. La neolitizzazione tra oriente e occidente, Udine, 23 April 1999, Museo Friulano di Storia Naturale, Udine.
- Makkay, J. 1984. *Early stamp seals in South-East Europe*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Makkay, J. 1990. *A tartariai leleteck*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Makkay, J. 1992. "Excavations at the Körös culture settlement of Endrőd-Öregszőlők 119 in 1986-1989". In Bökönyi S. (ed.), *Cultural and landscape changes in south-east Hungary*, Archaeolingua, Budapest: 121-193.
- Makkay, J. 1993. "Eine prachtvolle Frauenfigur der Körös- Starcevo-Kultur". In Nikolov V. (ed.), *Sbornik v pamet na prof. Georgi I. Georgiev*, Bulgarskata Akademiya na Naukite, Sofia: 73-78.

- Mallowan, M., Cruikshank Rose, J. 1935. "Excavations at Tall Arpachiyah", 1933. *Iraq*, vol. 2: 1-178.
- Marangou, C. 2001. "Evidence for counting and recording in the Neolithic? Artefacts as signs and signs on artefacts". In Michailidou A. (ed.) *Manufacture and measurement Counting. Measuring and Recording Craft Items in Early Aegean Societies*, Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 33, Athens: 9-43.
- Marchesini, M., Gobbo, I., Martelli, S. 2014. "La ricostruzione del paesaggio vegetale nel Neolitico medio nella Pianura dell'Emilia Romagna attraverso le indagini palinologiche". In Bernabò Brea M., Maggi R., Manfredini A. (eds.), *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, Proceedings of the Conference 5000–4300 a.C. *Il pieno sviluppo del Neolitico in Italia*, (Finale Ligure, 8–10 June, 2009), Rivista di Studi Liguri, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri sezione Lunense, Bordighera.
- Markevich, V. I. 1981. *Pozdnetripolskie plemena Severnoi Moldavii*, Shtiinca, Kishinev.
- Mellaart, J. 1967. *Catal Hüyük. A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Melli, P. 1983. "L'età del Ferro nella Liguria di Levante". *Preistoria Liguria Orientale*, 1983: 83-88.
- Menninger, K. 1969. *Number Words and Number Symbols*, M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Merlini, M. 2006. "The Neo-Eneolithic gold ring shaped amulets as a best-seller design". In *International Symposium on the Earliest Gold in the Karlovo Valley*.
- Merlini, M. 2009a. *Neo-Eneolithic Literacy in Southeastern Europe: an Inquiry into the Danube*, Biblioteca Brukenthal XXXIII, Ministry of Culture of Romania and Brukenthal National Museum, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia, 2009.
- Merlini, M. 2009b. "An inquiry into clues of literacy in Neolithic and Copper Age Southeastern Europe". *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis VII*, "Lucian Blaga" University - IPCTE, Sibiu, 2009: 89-166.
- Merlini, M. 2011a. "The other evocative objects from the pit-grave". In Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., Merlini M., *Tărtăria and the sacred tablets*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
- Merlini, M. 2011b. "A comparison between the signs from Tărtăria, the Danube script and other early writings". In Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., Merlini M. (ed.), *Tărtăria and the sacred tablets*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.
- Merlini, M. 2015. "Lunar Menstrual Chronograms from the Danube Civilization to procreate a Child of the Moon". In Ursu C.-E., Poruciuc A., Lazarovici C.-M. (eds.), *From Symbols to Signs*, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 133-200.
- Minichreiter, K. 2002. "Altars and Idols of the Starčevo Settlement on Galovo in Slavonski Brod". *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, Vol. 19, 1.
- Monah, D. 1997. *Plastica Antropomorfă a Culturii Cucuteni Tripolie*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis, 3, Muzeul de Istorie, Piatra Neamț.
- Morelli, M. 1901. *Iconografia della Preistoria Ligustica*, Atti della R. Università di Genova, Municipio di Genova, Genova.

- Mottes, E., Petrucci, G., Rottoli, M., Visentini, P. 2009. "Evoluzione della Cultura dei vasi a bocca quadrata tra Trentino-Alto Adige, Veneto e Friuli: aspetti culturali, cronologici, paleoeconomici e ambientali". In *Gortania. Proceedings of the Museo friulano di storia naturale* (1979), Museo friulano di storia naturale, Udine: 97-124.
- Mussi, M. 2006. *Earliest Italy: An Overview of the Italian Paleolithic and Mesolithic*, Springer Science & Business Media, New York.
- Mylonas, G. E. 1932. "Proistorike Eleusis". In Kourouniotis K. (ed.), *Eleusiniaka* Athens.
- Nica, M. 1977. "Nouvelles données sur le néolithique ancien d'Olténie". *Dacia N.S.*, XXI: 13-53.
- Nica, M. 1980. "Reprezentări antropomorfe descoperite în așezarea de la Hotărani-Fărcașele, județul Olt". *Oltenia*, II, Craiova: 27-57.
- Nica, M. 1981. "Grădinile, o nouă așezare a neoliticului timpuriu în sud-estul Olteniei". *Arhivele Olteniei, N.S.*, 1: 27-39.
- Nica, M. 1984. "Noi descoperiri arheologice în așezarea neolitică de la Cîrcea (jud. Dolj)". *Arhivele Olteniei, N.S.*, 3: 37-45.
- Nikolov, B., Stančeva, R. 1974. *Gradechnica*, Sofia-Press, Sofia.
- Nikolov, B. 1979. "Praistorichesko selishte pri s. Borovan, Vrachansko". *Izvestija na Muzeite v Severozapadna Balgarija*, 3: 11-31.
- Nikolov, V. 1993. "Die neolithischen Kulturen Karanovo I, II und III im Kontext ihrer Beziehungen zu Anatolien". In Roodenberg, J. (ed.), *Symposium Anatolia and the Balkans on the Pre-Bronze Age relations, Istanbul 18-22 Nov. 1991*, *Anatolica*, 19: 167-172.
- Nikolov, V. 2000. "Kapitan Dimitriev tell sequence and cultural characteristics". In Nikolova L., (ed.), *Technology, Style and Society. Contributions to the Innovations between the Alps and the Black Sea in Prehistory*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford: 51-63.
- Nikolov, V. 2002. "Die wichtigsten Siedlungen der Perioden Karanovo I-V". In Lichardus-Itten M., Lichardus J., Nikolov V. (eds.), *Beiträge zu jungsteinzeitlichen Forschungen in Bulgarien*, Habelt, Bonn: 85-94.
- Nissen, H. J., Damerow, P., Englund, R. K. 1990. *Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung im alten Vorderen Orient: Informationsspeicherung und -verarbeitung vor 5000 Jahren*, (2. Aufl.), Franzbecker, Bad Salzdetfurth.
- Odetti, G. 1999. "Livello 12d: Neolitico Medio - Catalogo". In S. Tinè (ed.), *Il Neolitico nella Caverna delle Arene Candide (scavi 1972-1977)*, Bordighera: 396-449.
- Oppenheim, M. F. von (ed.) 1943. *Tell Halaf I. Die prähistorischen Funde*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Oravec, H. 1995. "Dévaványa-Atyaszeg". *Folia Archaeologica*, 44: 61-69.
- Orphanidis, L. 1998. *Introduction to Neolithic Figurine Art. Southeastern Europe and Eastern Mediterranean*, Academy of Athens Research Centre for Antiquity, Monograph 4, Athens.

- Orphanidis, L., Gallis, K. 2011. *Figurines of Neolithic Thessaly*, Vol. II, Academy of Athens Research Centre for Antiquity, Monograph, Athens.
- Orphanidis, L., Malakasiotis, Z. 2011a. *Figurines of Neolithic Thessaly*, Vol. III, Academy of Athens Research Centre for Antiquity, Athens, 2011.
- Orphanidis, L., Sampson, A. 2015. Neolithic Figurines of Boeotia from the Sarakenos Cave at Akraephnion, Athens.
- Parrot, A. 1981. *Sumer*, Gallimard, L'univers des formes, Paris.
- Passek, T. S. 1949. "Periodyzacia tripolskikh poselenii". *Materialy i issledovania po arkhologii SSSR 10*, Moskow-Leningrad.
- Pavúk, J., Cohadžiev, I. M. 1984. "Neolithische Tellsiedlung bei Gălâbnik, in Westbulgarien". *Slovenska Archaeologia*, X XII-1: 195–228.
- Pedrotti, A. 2001. "Il Neolitico". In Lanzinger M., Marzatico F., Pedrotti A. (eds.), *Storia del Trentino La Preistoria e la Protostoria*, Il mulino, Bologna: 119-181
- Pedrotti, A. 1990. "L'insediamento di Kanzianiberg: rapporti culturali fra Carinzia ed Italia Settentrionale durante il Neolitico". In Biagi P. (ed.), *The Neolithisation of the Alpine Region*, Proceedings of the Conference: The Neolithisation of the Alpine Region, 29 April - 1 May 1988, Monografie di Natura Bresciana, Museo Civico di Scienze Naturali, Brescia.
- Perlès, C. 2001. *The Early Neolithic in Greece: The First Farming Communities in Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pessina ,A., Tinè, V. 2008. *Archeologia nel Neolitico*, Carocci Editore, Roma.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Florescu, M., Florescu, A.C. 1999. *Trușești. Monografie arheologică*, Editura Academiei Române, București-Iași.
- Pettitt, P. B., Richards, M., Maggi, R., Formicola, V. 2003. "The Gravettian burial known as the Prince ("Il Principe"): new evidence for his age and diet". *Antiquity*, Volume 77, Issue 295, March, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 15-19.
- Pirondini, A. 2010a. "Osservazioni su un sito di interesse archeologico nei pressi del Castelliere delle Anime (Rocca di Perti - Finale Ligure)", in *TRACCE - The Online Rock Art Bulletin*, 2010, http://www.rupestre.net/tracce_php/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=43.
- Pirondini, A. 2010b. "A Site near Finale Ligure". In Andy Burnham (ed.), *The Megalithic Portal*, 2010, <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=26588>.
- Pirondini, A. 2010c. "Castelliere of Verezzi - Hillfort in Italy in Liguria". In Andy Burnham (ed.), *The Megalithic Portal*, 2010, <http://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=26775&mode=thread&order=0>.
- Pirondini, A. 2011. "Il Riparo Sotto Roccia di Pian del Ciliegio: un Sito Neolitico del Finalese". In *TRACCE - The Online Rock Art Bulletin*.
- Pirondini, A., Bocca, G. P., Pirondini, F., Pirondini, C., Villa, C. 2013. "Finalese (Western Liguria) and Prehistoric exchanges between Mediterranean and Continental Europe". *Fieldnotes of Archaeological Institute of America*.

- Poblete, M. A. H. 2007. "This is traditional, this is not Islamic": Perceiving some Swahili childbirth and child-rearing beliefs and practices in light of mila (custom) and dini (religion), Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, ProQuest.
- Potts, D. T. 1997. *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY.
- Pyke, G. 1996. "Stratigraphy". In Wardle K.A. (ed.), *Nea Nikomedeia I: The Excavation of an Early Neolithic Village in Northern Greece 1961-1964. The Excavation and the Ceramic Assemblage*, The British School at Athens, Supplementary Volumes n. 25, London: 9-34.
- Raczky, P. 1979-1980. "A Körös kultúra újabb figurális ábrázolásai a Közép-Tiszavidékről és történeti összefüggéseik (New figural representations of the Körös Culture from the Middle Tisza region and their historical connexions)". *Szolnok megyei Múzeumi Évkönyve*: 5–33.
- Raczky, P. 1982. "The Prehistory of Szolnok County through Archaeological Finds. Crossroads of many Races". In Raczky P. (ed.), *Szolnok megye a népek országútján. - Szolnok megye a régészeti leletek tükrében. (Szolnok County: The Crossroads of many races. - The History of Szolnok County through Archaeological Finds)*, Damjanich János Múzeum, Szolnok: 96-98.
- Raczky, P. 1990. "Öcsöd-Kováshalom - Eine Siedlung der Theiß-Kultur". In Meier-Arendt W., (ed.), *Alltag und Religion. Jungsteinzeit in Ungarn*, Frankfurt am Main: 71-95.
- Renfrew, C. 2001. *Archaeology and Language*, Jonathan Cape Ltd, London, 1987 (modified in 1999 and 2001).
- Renfrew, C., Gimbutas, M., Elster, E. A. 1986. *Excavations at Sitagroi: A Prehistoric Village in Northeast Greece, I*, Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Richard, C. 1941-1942. "Scavi nell'Arma dell'Aquila a Finale Ligure". *Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana*, V-VI: 43-99.
- Roska, M. 1941. *A Torma Zsófia Gyűjtemény*, Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet R.-T, Cluj.
- Schliemann, H. 1880. *Ilios: the city and country of the Trojans: the results of researches and discoveries on the site of Troy and through the Troad in the years 1871-72-73-78-79. Including an autobiography of the author, J. Murray*, London.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1978a. "Vom Ursprung der Schrift". *Spektrum der Wissenschaft*, December 1978: 5-12.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1978ab. "The Earliest Precursor of Writing". *The Scientific American*, June 1978: 20.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1989. "Two Precursors of Writing: Plain and Complex Tokens". In Senner W. M. (ed.), *The Origins of Writing*, University of Nebraska Lincoln, NE: 27-42.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1992a. *Before writing. From Counting to Cuneiform*, Vol 1, University of Texas, Austin, 1992.

- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1992b. *Before Writing. A Catalog of Near Eastern Tokens* Vol. 2, University of Texas, Austin, 1992.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1994. "Oneness, Twoness, Threeness". *The Sciences*, 27, 1987: 44-48. Reprinted (with much more appropriate figures) in Swetz F. (ed.), *From five fingers to infinity*, Open Court, 1994.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1996. *How Writing came about*, University of Texas, Austin.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1998. "A stone metaphor of creation". *Near Eastern Archaeology*. Vol. 61, 2: 109-117.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1999a. *The History of Counting*, New York, 1999.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 1999b. "Tokens: The Cognitive Significance". In *6th Neolithic Seminar, Documenta Praehistorica XXVI*, Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Ljubljana: 21-28.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 2001a. "Accounting with tokens in the ancient Near East". In *Numerals Project*, 2001.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 2001b. "The Personal Name in Mesopotamia: Its Impact on the Evolution of Writing". In *Proceedings of the 1st international Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Rome, 2001: 493-1501.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. 2002. "Dal contabile allo scrittore". *Le Scienze dossier*, 12.
- Schmandt-Besserat D. 2007. *When Writing Met Art: From Symbol to Story*, University of Texas Press, Austin TX.
- Senner, W. M. (ed.) 1989. *The Origins of Writing*, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE.
- Serradimigni, M. 2012. "Le pintaderas nel quadro del Neolitico italiano: arte, simbolismo e funzionalità". *Preistoria Alpina*, 46, I, Museo delle Scienze, Trento: 181-188.
- Sorrentino, C. 2009. "Il materiale osteologico animale del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio". In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, 5, Finale Ligure: 107-115.
- Šmagli, M. 2001. Velyki trypil'ski poselennya i problema rannikh form urbanizacii, MP "TYRAZH", Kyiv.
- Šmagli, M., Ryzhov, S. N., Shumova, V. A. 1979. "Raskopki tripol'skogo poselenia u s.Konovka". *Arkheologicheskie otkrytia 1978 goda*, Moscow.
- Souvatzis, S. 2008. *A Social Archaeology of Households in Neolithic Greece. An Anthropological Approach*, Cambridge Studies in Archaeology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stanev, P. 2002. Samovodene. Neolitna selishtna mogila (Summary: Samovodene Neolithic Tell), Faber, Veliko Turnovo.
- Stanković, S. 1986. "Localité Knjepište - une station du groupe de Starčevo". *Derdapske sveske*, 3: 447-452.
- Talalay, L. E. 1993. *Deities, Dolls, and Devices. Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece*. Excavations at Franchthi Cave, Greece 9, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, IN/Indianapolis, IN.

- Talalay, L. E. 2004. "Heady Business: Skulls, Heads, and Decapitation in Neolithic Anatolia and Greece". *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 17.2: 139-163.
- Tasić, N. 1997. *Hronologija starčevačke kulture*. PhD thesis. Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade University, Belgrade.
- Tinè, S. 1974. "Il Neolitico e l'età del Bronzo in Liguria alla luce delle recenti ricerche". In *Atti XVI Riunione Scientifica Istituto Italiano Preistoria e Protostoria*: 37-57.
- Tinè S. 1986. "Nuovi scavi nella caverna delle Arene Candide". In Demoule J.P., Guillaune J. (eds), *Le Neolithique de la France*, Picard, Paris: 95-111.
- Tinè, S. 1974. "Il Neolitico e l'età del Bronzo in Liguria alla luce delle recenti scoperte". In *Proceedings of the XVI Riunione Scientifica I.I.P.P.*: 37-54.
- Tiné, S. (a cura di), 1999. *Il neolitico nella caverna delle Arene Candide: scavi 1972-1977*, Collezione Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche, X, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera.
- Tiné, V. 1999. "Transizione tra Neolitico Antico e Neolitico Medio: le ceramiche dello stile Pollera. Strato 13". In Tinè S. (ed.), *Il Neolitico nella Caverna delle Arene Candide (scavi 1972-1977)*, Collezione di Monografie Preistoriche ed Archeologiche, X, Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, Bordighera: 142-180.
- Tizzoni, M. 1975. "Incisioni all'aperto nel Finalese, Liguria". *Bollettino del Centro Camuno Studi Preistorici* 12, Capodiponte (Brescia).
- Tobler, A. J. 1950. *Excavations at Tepe Gawra*, Volume 2., University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Todorova, H. 1981. "Das Äneolithikum in Bulgarien". In *Jungsteinzeit in Bulgarien (Neolithikum und Äneolithikum) Katalog der Ausstellungen*, Wolfenbüttel, Braunschweig Komitee für Kultur der VRB/Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum, Sofia: 25-29.
- Todorova, H. 2003. "Prehistory of Bulgaria". In Grammenos D.V. (ed.), *Recent Research in the Prehistory of the Balkans*, Publications of the Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, Nr. 3, Archaeological Institute of Northern Greece, Thessaloniki: 182-204.
- Turner, V. 1967. *The forest of symbols. Aspect of Ndembu ritual*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca-London.
- Tsvek, E. V. 2001. "Certain Aspects of World View of the Tribes of the East Tripolian Culture". *Interacademica* II-III, București: 14-23.
- Vanossi, M. 1991. *Alpi liguri*, Guide geologiche regionali, Società geologica italiana, Milan.
- Vasić, M. 1911-1934. *Handscript*.
- Vasić, M. 1932-1936. *Preistoriska Vinča I-IV*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Centre for Archaeological Research, Faculty of Philosophy Belgrade, Belgrade.
- Vicino, G. 2009a. "L'industria litica scheggiata del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio". In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, Finale Ligure, 2009: 75-86.

- Vicino, G. 2009b. "L'industria su pietra abrasiva del Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio". In Del Lucchese A. (ed.), *Il Riparo di Pian del Ciliegio*, Quaderni del Museo Archeologico del Finale, Finale Ligure, 2009: 59-74.
- Videiko, M. 1987. "Glinyanye znaki-symvily tripol'skoi kul'tury". In Aktual'nye problemy istorikoarkheologicheskikh issledovani. Tezisy dokladov VI respublikanskoj konferencii molodych arkheologov, Kyiv: 32-33.
- Videiko, M. 2002. Trypillian Civilization in the prehistory of Europe, Kyiv.
- Videiko, M. 2004a. Trypillian Civilization vol. I and vol. II, Kyiv, 2004.
- Videiko, M. 2004b. "Ob'yemni glynyani symvoly trypil'skoi kul'tury", in *Encyklopedia Trypil's'koi Civilizacii*, Ukrpoligrafmedia: T.1.-Kn. 1, Kyiv, 2004: 469-471.
- Videiko, M. 2004c. "Signs and Sign Systems of the Trypillya Culture (5400-2750bc)". In *Signs of civilization: international symposium on the Neolithic symbol system of southeast Europe*, The Institute of Archaeomythology and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad, 2004.
- Venturino, M., Gandolfi, D. (eds.) 2004. Proceedings of the International Conference *Ligures celeberrimi*, 26-28 February, 2002, Mondovì, Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, Bordighera.
- Weinberg, S. 1976. "Neolithische anthropomorphe Stein idole aus Griechenland". In Thimme J. et al. (eds.), *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladen im Jahr 3000 v. Chr.*, Ausstellungskatalog Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum: 54-59.
- Whitehouse, R. D. 2016. *Gender & Italian Archaeology: Challenging the Stereotypes*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Winkelman, M., Baker, J. R. 2015. *Supernatural as Natural: A Biocultural Approach to Religion*, Routledge.
- Winn, S. 1981. *Pre-writing in Southeastern Europe: The Sign System of the Vinča Culture ca. 4000 BC*, Western Publishers, Calgary, Alberta.
- Zaet, I. I., Râjov, S. N. 1992. *Poselenie Tripolskoi Kulturâu Klišcev na iujnom Bughe*, Kiev.

THE COLUMN IN CULTIC SPACES.

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENT, FUNCTIONALITY AND SYMBOL

Adela Kovács

County Museum Botoșani

adelina_ab@yahoo.com

Keywords: Sanctuaries, South-East Europe, columns, Neolithic, Copper Age

Abstract: *The column is a specific element of temples and sanctuaries of every age and from every historical and prehistoric period, being the architectural basis for monumental buildings, from Antiquity to the Present. The pole, the pillar or the column is the axis of a construction, which unites several building plans. Given the importance of this architectural element and the diversity of forms that we find in the prehistoric sanctuaries, we have developed a typology of them. The basic principle on which we realized the typology was the building material used and the overall geometric shape of the column. We also discussed the decorative elements and symbols associated with columns.*

Introduction

The architecture of a cultic place, sanctuary or temple, is dependent on a number of factors, such as volume of building materials available, technical capacity, architectural customs of the community, all directly related to the welfare and the level of ostentation of the leaders and the community. The size and decoration are conditioned by the image which a specific community projects on its own gods¹. The column is a defining architectural element of the religious and social buildings, regardless of the time and space to which we refer, constituting a basis for monumental buildings, from Antiquity to the Present times.

The column is defined in architecture as a cylindrical pillar of marble, stone, wood or any other material, intended to support a part of a building or to ornament it, consisting of base, body and capital². Certainly, for the prehistoric periods we can discuss about pillars acting as columns, without necessarily being characterized by the three elements. In the Ancient Greek architecture columns gradually become more sophisticated and complex, to the point where they came to define specific architectural styles.

In this study we analyze the columns as a functional, decorative and symbolic element in the temples and sanctuaries in south-eastern Europe, in several Neolithic and Eneolithic civilizations. The earliest columns to which we refer are those in distant times of human history. We mention two unusual situations, considered as symbolic behaviors. In Stellmoor Lake, Hamburg, Germany, 12 complete reindeer were found, which had been immersed in the lake with stones intentionally placed inside. Alongside their bodies were discovered wooden arrows, bone tools and axes carved of reindeer antlers, possible offerings, all framed in the Epipaleolithic. In the same place a pine pole with a reindeer skull attached to the top was discovered, interpreted as an offering or a representation of a deity³. In the Mesolithic site of Ahrensburg-Hopfenbach, Germany, a willow trunk is mentioned, 3.50 meters long, sunk to the bottom of a lake⁴. The trunk had anthropomorphic sculptures, with a head,

¹ Ferguson, 1983: 185.

² Nodex, 2002.

³ Boghian, 2003: 128; Eliade, 1992: 38.

⁴ Boghian, 2003: 128.

neck, and incisions which suggest the arms. The lack of other habitation evidence makes Eliade believe that it is a cultic statue, the representation of a supernatural being¹, although Müller-Karpe is reserved regarding the interpretation of the trunk as an idol².

Of course these are some isolated situations, which cannot indicate a rule, being rather exceptions to the behavioral norms of the time. Instead they challenge us to ask ourselves about the possibility of totem poles, probably made of wood, which have left no traces at all.

The beginnings of cultic architecture and the use of columns

The Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) period brings into discussion the decorated columns and the pillars with functional role, which may also have had a symbolic role, given their associated contexts. At Jerf el Ahmar, Syria, the central area of building EA 53 was left clear, framed by a bench that follows the circular line of the walls (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Jerf el Ahmar, Syria. Decorated column from Building EA53 (after Stordeur, 2015: fig. 7).

The width of the bench is between 0.80 m and 1 m, and it describes a perfect hexagon, with a length of 2.50 m, harmoniously following the circle of the building³. At each angle of the hexagon there is a wooden post, which was meant to support the roof. The bench was decorated in front with limestone slabs very cleverly cut on the edge, then polished, so that they form a frieze of triangles in relief⁴. The column was decorated with a band and wavy incisions⁵. During the early PPN there were wood pillars supporting the roof of buildings, such as at Mureybet⁶ or Tell 'Abr 3⁷. The B2 sanctuary of Tell 'Abr 3 (Public Building B2) has a circular plan (Fig. 3), with a diameter of 10-12 m, with a single room. It was dug to a depth of 1.55 m from the ground surface. The walls were covered with clay and then decorated with hand imprints. On the inside of the walls there was a 55 cm high and 1.48 m wide bench, demarcating a wide central space (Fig. 2-3). The vertical pillars supporting the roof were inserted into the bench, the building thus has a honeycomb-type structure⁸.

¹ Eliade, 1992: 39.

² Müller-Karpe, 1974: 497.

³ Roux et alii, 2000: 38-39.

⁴ Stordeur et alii, 2000: 37-38.

⁵ Stordeur, 2015; Stordeur et alii, 1996; Stordeur, Abbès, 2002: 576.

⁶ Roux et alii, 2000: 31.

⁷ Yartah, 2013, I: 100.

⁸ Yartah 2005: 4.

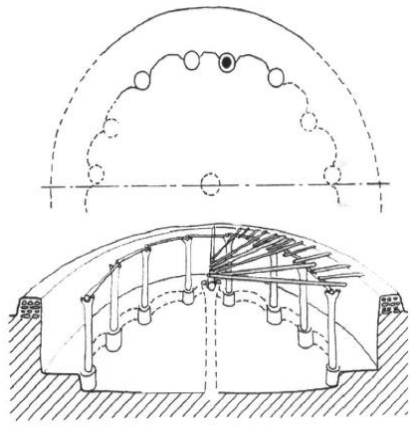


Fig. 2. Tell 'Abr 3. Public Building B2-plan and graphic reconstruction (after Yartah, 2004: 147, fig. 8/2).



Fig. 3. Tell 'Abr 3. Public Building B2-photography (after Yartah, 2013, II: 127, Fig. 111/1).

The columns from Qermez Dere, northern Iraq, are a special type. Made of clay, they were discovered in three buildings, called RAA, RAB, RAD (Fig. 4), actually a series of successively superimposed constructions. The rooms have an area between 18 and 24 square meters¹. Each of the buildings had in the center one column without any architectural function (Fig. 5)². The columns were modeled at the top with “capitels” shaped as shoulders and arms, suggesting anthropomorphic features.

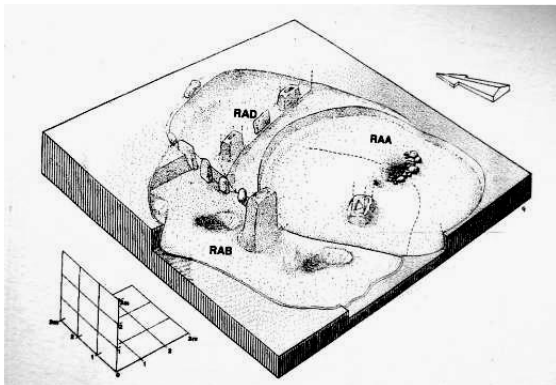


Fig. 4. Qermez Dere. The underground circular buildings with columns – isometric plan (after Nashef, 1990, 286, fig. 30).



Fig. 5. Qermez Dere. Clay columns (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/28803198@N06/7415490452/in/photostream/>).

The buildings were restored and renewed periodically, and the latter incorporated parts of the original pillars. The aim of this approach can only be guessed, being related, perhaps, to the preservation of a cultic meaning of the original building³.

The stone columns as symbols of eternity

There are well known monumental stone columns discovered at Göbekli Tepe Nevali Çori and Çayönü Tepe, PPN sites in Turkey. The megalithic buildings were placed chronologically between approx. 9100-8500 B.C.⁴. The bibliography on buildings, columns and what they might represent, both

¹ Nashef, 1990: 286.

² Hayden, 2003: 208.

³ Hayden, 2003: 208.

⁴ Schmidt, 2001: 49.

architecturally and symbolically, is extremely large¹. We will mention further only some ideas about these columns.



Fig. 6. Göbekli Tepe. Stone anthropomorphous columns from Enclosure D (after <https://tepetelegrams.wordpress.com/tag/symbolic/>).

At Göbekli Tepe are known seven monumental buildings from excavations, named from A to G (eng. *enclosures*/germ. *Anlage*), but geomagnetic surveys revealed at least 20 buildings². The architecture of the site is diverse and it includes a number of art works, starting from stone statues to sculptures and zoomorphic reliefs that decorate the megalithic columns inside the buildings³. The circular architectural structures are distinguished by *T-shaped pillars* with a height of up to 5 m. Each building comprises at least 10, but typically 14 or more columns⁴. They are grouped around two central columns (*twin pillars*), with emphasized importance and size (Fig. 6).

Until 2014, 43 monumental T-shaped columns were discovered (Fig. 7-8). On one column there are up to seven symbols. Building B is distinguished by the fact that on its columns there are correlations between the various symbols illustrated. Other images might appear on the columns, given that most of them are integrated into building walls and they were not fully released yet⁵.

¹ Schmidt, 1998; Becker, Clare, 2014: 7; Dietrich *et alii*, 2012; Dietrich *et alii*, 2014; Dietrich *et alii*, 2014a; Dietrich, Schmidt, 2010, 82-83; Köksal-Schmidt, Schmidt, 2010: 74-76; Pustovoytov, 2002: 3-4; Schmidt, 1995: 9-10; Schmidt, 2000: 45-54; Schmidt, 2001: 45-54; Schmidt, 2001a: 9-11.

² Schmidt, 2007a: 84.

³ Schmidt, 2003: 3.

⁴ Schmidt, 2007a: 84.

⁵ Verhoeven, 2010: 17.

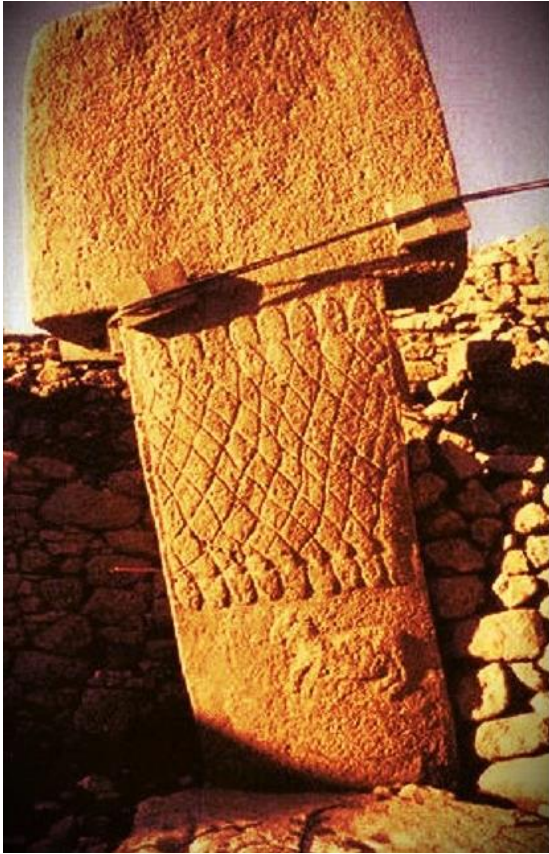


Fig. 7. Göbekli Tepe. Snake pillar (Pillar 1) from Enclosure A (after Schmidt, 2007: 92).

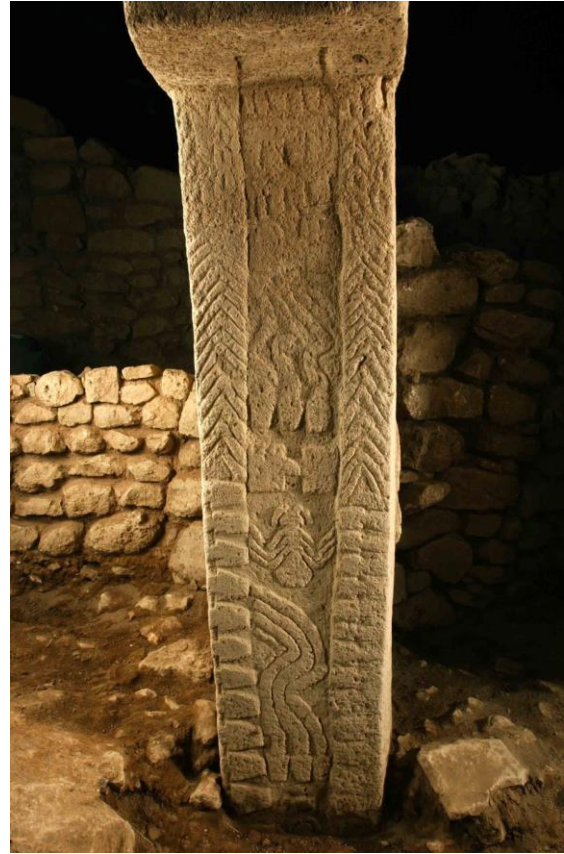


Fig. 8. Göbekli Tepe. Column 33, Enclosure D—decor in relief (after Schmidt, 2007: 91).

At Çayönü Tepe, in Turkey, we observe the stone columns looking like buttresses, in the Flagstone Building, on the northern wall (Fig. 10). Just in front of the columns, in the center, there are two large stone slabs, in upright position. These could have had either a cultic role (steles) or a functional one, supporting the roof¹. A third monumental stone slab was in front of a bench, located on the eastern side². The Skull Building was named like this because of more than 400 bones from different individuals, among which ninety skulls, discovered inside it³. In the third and last stage of building evolution, the monumental stone-steles were replaced by rectangular columns⁴ (Fig. 9).

The analysis of residues on various flint tools and the large stone slab deposited on the floor revealed that this building was a sacrificial one. The stone slab had several types of traces of blood (human and sheep). It is possible that here were held sacrifices, since there are traces of decapitation⁵.

The same manner of fixing the columns just like inside the Flagstone Building can also be seen in the Terrazzo Building, measuring 11.75 x 9 m⁶. They are connected to the northern wall and had a monolith, rectangular shape. In a corner was preserved a round alveole, not covered with *terrazzo*. We note in this building, too, the presence of a horizontal stone slab, on which is carved a human face, with traces of blood⁷.

¹ Özdoğan, M. 2007: 58.

² Hole, 2002: 200.

³ Hole, 2002: 199.

⁴ Hole, 2002: 200.

⁵ Hole, 2002: 201.

⁶ Özdoğan, A. 2007: 59.

⁷ Hole, 2002: 201.

One of the most important features was the stone bench surrounding the area along the wall. It was fixed in clay and supported by 13 *T-shaped columns*, buried to about one meter deep (Fig. 13). In the central area of the perimeter there were two more columns¹ (Fig. 14).

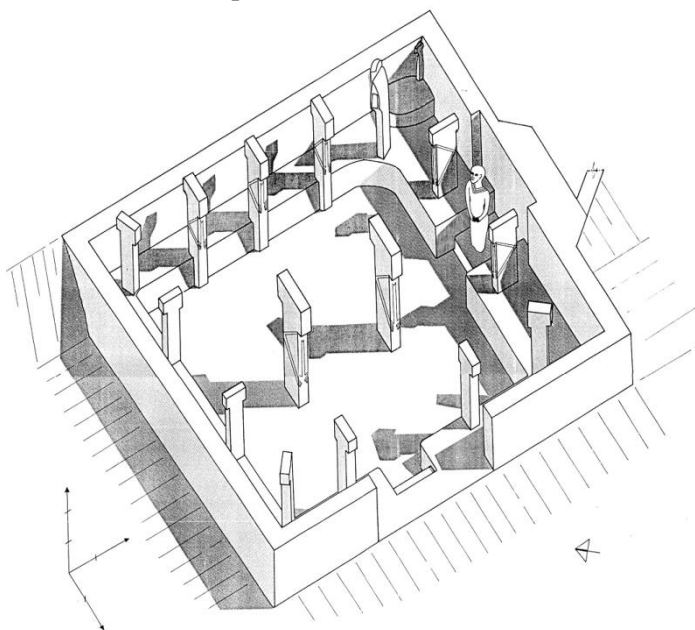


Fig. 13. Nevali Çori. Axonometric reconstruction of the Building 13 (after Lichter, 2010: 587, fig. 3).

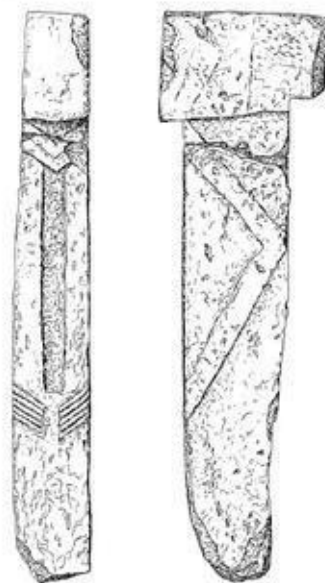


Fig. 14. Nevali Çori. Drawing of one central column from Building 13 (after Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80).

On the wide parts of the columns can be seen arms in relief, and on the belly hands joining from opposite directions. The top of the T may be interpreted as a stylized human head. The “T” shape may represent a standing person seen in profile (Fig. 14). In this case, the chin and the back of the head stand out from the line of the body. The face is longer than the back of the head².

At 'Ain Ghazal, in the small sanctuary, are traces of columns in the inner space³. The presence of three stones placed vertically, an altar at the floor level, a hearth painted in red, surrounded by seven stones, and an anthropomorphic stone block approx. 80 cm high, on the eastern wall, highlight the cultic purpose of the building (Fig. 15). The sanctuary in the eastern part of the site, belonging to Pre-Pottery Neolithic, phase C, is rectangular and comprises two large rooms.

The northern, eastern and southern walls are preserved to a height of about 75 cm and they may never have been higher. The interior arrangement and other elements suggest at least two phases of use and organization of the interior space⁴. In the eastern room there was an elevated altar, consisting of two massive limestone slabs, supported by three pairs of stone blocks arranged vertically. This altar is positioned on the eastern wall, in the central part. In front of the altar was found an unpainted hearth marked by 7 flat stones⁵. At the door between the two rooms was a panel-wall that could obstruct the view on some of the activities carried out in the eastern chamber, of whoever stayed in the western room⁶.

¹ Hauptmann, 1993: 37-69; Hauptmann, 1999: 86.

² Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 79.

³ Rollefson, Kafafi, 1997: 32-35.

⁴ Rollefson, 2002: 176.

⁵ Rollefson, 2005: 8.

⁶ Rollefson, Kafafi, 1997: 43.



Fig. 15. 'Ain Ghazal. The apsidal building (after Rollefson, Kafafi, 2013: fig. 22).



Fig. 16. 'Ain Ghazal. The rectangular building with columns traces (after Rollefson, Kafafi, 2013: fig. 5).

In a later stage the door on the eastern wall was closed with limestone blocks, comprising a vertical monolith of white limestone. The monolith has a highly stylized, anthropomorphic appearance. The tip of the monolithic column rises above the walls, suggesting that the enclosure was open to the sky, at least in this phase of use¹. This type of monolith, not very tall columns, correspond to discoveries from the site of Kfar HaHoresh, Israel².

In the series of totem poles from Nevali Çori or Göbekli Tepe we could include a sculpture discovered in 1956, by chance, in the settlement of Kilisik, near Kahta, Turkey (Fig. 17). Later it was taken to the museum in Gaziantep. The column is 80 cm high and was carved in gray limestone, initially taller, the base being now broken. The elongated T-shaped head represents visibly a human skull, with no forehead and a long nose.

The facial features are almost absent. On the wide laterals are represented arms, like at Nevali Çori, and the hands are placed on a front bulge. Below the navel are a series of elements that Hauptmann interpreted as two feet and possibly a large penis, ending just above a circular perforation. He considered the statue an "ithifalic man"³. Verhoeven instead believes that what should be a penis is in fact a second character, and the navel above is a head⁴. This sculpture resembles morphologically the T-shaped columns⁵.

The "Totem pole" from Nevali Çori was discovered in the foundation of Building 13 (Fig. 18-19). The artistic composition is unique at this moment in the sculptures register. The bird seems to grasp with both feet the human heads by the cheeks, but these parts are destroyed and no one knows for sure what they looked like (Fig. 19). At the top of the human head is rendered the hair held by a hair net, with a net-like pattern.

Both heads are connected to two opposing bodies, placed back to back, which, through the arched belly and the representation of the vulva, suggest pregnancy. Below, the sculpture contained a part of which the length and composition could not be identified.

¹ Rollefson, 2002: 177.

² Goring-Morris, Horwitz, 2007: 903; Rollefson, 2005: 6.

³ Hauptmann, 2000: 6-9.

⁴ Verhoeven, 2001: 8.

⁵ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80.

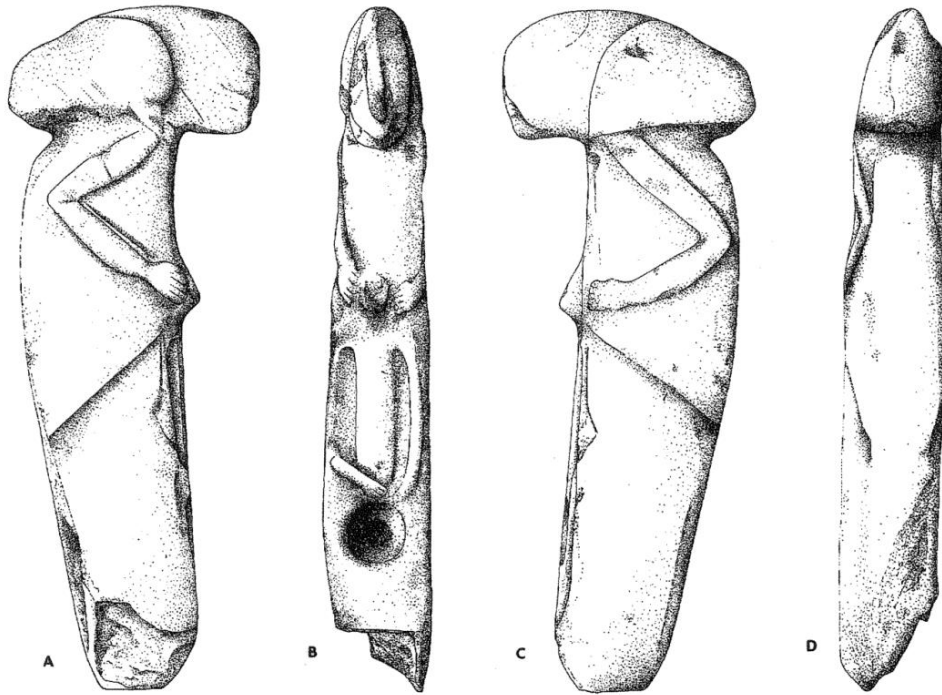


Fig. 17. Kilisik. Limestone anthropomorphous column (after Hauptmann 2000, fig. 9).



Fig. 18. „Totem pole” from Nevalı Çori-fotografie (after Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: Kat. 101).

The fifth fragment of sculpture is much damaged. On the narrow part there was a bird's tail, with the plumage suggested by engraved lines. Both birds are represented on the narrow profile.

On each surface was found a leg with the tail corresponding to the rear part of the body. Thus, the sculpture represents two opposing, antithetical birds. The front of the two bodies is missing¹. It is clear that these human heads did not belong to a single or independent statue, but were used as a connecting element of a composition consisting of several parts².

The T-shaped anthropomorphic columns are specific to a narrow area, with similar architectural features, which clearly shows a unitary vision on the world, possibly a common mythology. The columns of stone, especially in the cases submitted, where they have not only a meaning and a story, but also are related to a space destined for cultic activities; carry a perennial component, both through the nature of the material, but especially through the sculptures that were preserved until today.

The mental universe of the people who built

¹ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 67.

² Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 68.

and lived in the Neolithic Aceramic settlements is a fascinating one, through the way they chose to make their worship places, and in this way they remained immortal.



Fig. 19. „Totem pole” reconstruction drawing
(after Schmidt, 2010: 248, fig. 17).

“Goddess” statue (*Crvenokosa boginja*) from Donja Branjevina was discovered in 1989 and it comes from a pit on a small platform at the end of a complex (*feature 1*) (Fig. 20). Alongside the platform was a pole that had been fixed west of the statue, interpreted as a possible sacred column. In the same pit, along the statue, towards east, were some fragmented vessels and two bull horns (*Bos taurus*) (Fig. 21). Along with the statuette is mentioned an elliptical altar, probably part of the system of presenting the statuette. *Bos taurus* horns are commonly found in this site buried beneath hearths or inside pits⁶.

The column as landmark

There are some situations in which the column is used for marking off a certain place. Located near the entrance, the column marks and delimits at the same time the space of transition¹. The megaron, a type of building often used for rituals or other cult activities, is defined exactly by this architectural feature, the entry being flanked by pillars, with the columns arranged on the long sides². The megaron is characterized by a rectangular room, later with the end shaped usually as an apse, with the side walls outwards, forming an exterior porch, which is supported by columns. Most times, inside were discovered a series of large hearths, in the main hall or in adjacent rooms³.

Both megaron-like religious buildings from Sesklo and Dimini have imposing columns at the entrance. At Sesklo in Room 2 were three columns, located relatively symmetrical to the entrance and a fireplace. In front of the entrance were two more columns at the entrance, set symmetrically from the access inside⁴. At Dimini the column is also an architectural element of demarcation of the space: the entrance to the megaron is flanked by two wood pillars⁵.

In the Serbian area we find elements of religious architecture, and their manner of realisation, although slightly changed, gains gradually more advanced shapes. The “Red-haired

¹ Lloyd, Mellaart, 1958: 103-105.

² Leuven, 1981: 14.

³ www.archaeologywordsmith.com.

⁴ Bánffy, 1990-1991: 207; Nanoglou, 2001: 315.

⁵ Matz, 1969: 50.

⁶ Karmanski, 2005: 27.

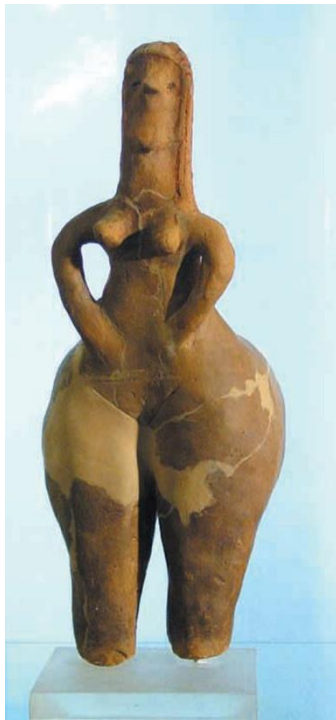


Fig. 20. Donja Branjevina. „The Red Haired Goddess” after restoration (after Balj, 2008: 10).



Fig. 21. Donja Branjevina. Context of discovery of „The Red Haired Goddess”. Markings on the drawing-23: pit with totem; 33: medieval tomb; 34: Bos taurus horn in secondary position; 35: Bos taurus horn in situ; 36: medieval tomb; 38: fragmented statuette in situ (after Karmanski, 2005: 25, fig. 16/3).

In the site of Topolnica-Promachon there are several interesting situations related to the use of columns¹.

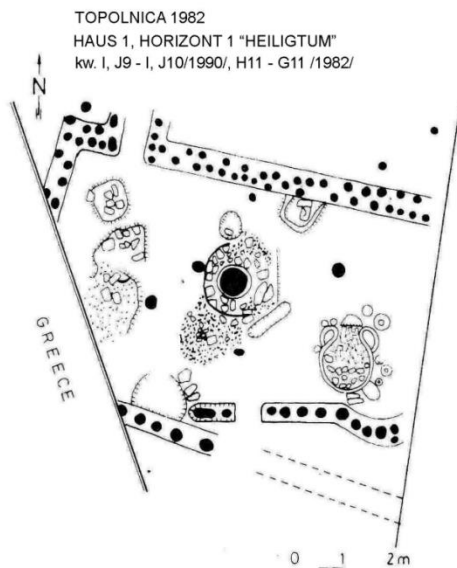


Fig. 22. Topolnica-Promachon. Plan of the sanctuary discovered in 1982 (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki et alii, 1996: 749, fig. 3).

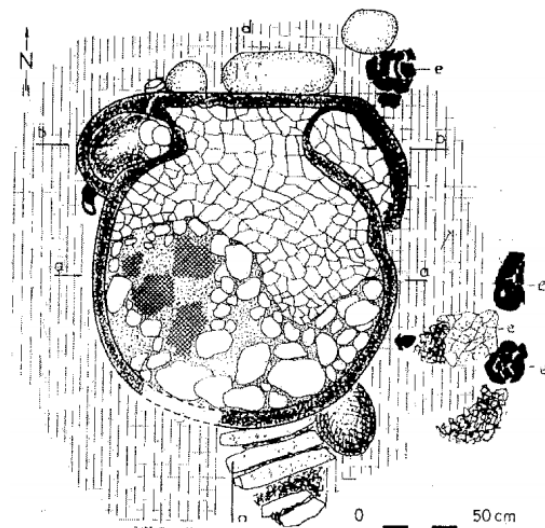


Fig. 23. Topolnica-Promachon. Close view of the oven's plan (after Koukouli-Chrysanthaki et alii, 1996: 750, fig. 4).

¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki et alii, 2003.

In the Topolnica area, in 1982 was investigated the sanctuary that had a size of 8x5 m, oriented east-west (Fig. 22-23). It is not excluded that the building had a second floor. In the center was a pillar, serving either as a column or supporting the roof. On the bench located along the western wall were found three fragments of feminine statues, which may have fallen off the wall¹. There is also mentioned a series of statuettes, interpreted as a votive deposit².

The situation at Slatina Sofia is special considering that the center of the building was marked by three central pillars (Fig. 24). Even though it was considered a house, the building belonging to the Karanovo I level is one with multiple items with no direct utility. Along the western column was a pit of 35 cm diameter and 45 cm in depth. It was carved into the rock during the construction of the house. The edge of the pit is round, regular, shaped in the clay floor, and the walls were coated with clay. The pit was considered an offering one. We take into account that it is associated with a column and it is assumed that ritual activities were connected to the cult of the column³. The stele-type column has a trapezoidal shape with the point downward. Its' dimensions are quite impressive: preserved height: 80 cm, almost complete; width at the top: 27 cm, width at the bottom: 16 cm, thickness: 9 cm. In the first stage it was shaped with the sides almost parallel on a split trunk with a diameter of 9 cm. By adding clay the top became larger. The front of the column is decorated with embossed and painted triangles. There are at least 16 triangles in relief, 3 on the upper part, 5 + 8 on the sides. The latter 2 groups of ornaments in relief are placed in such a manner (with some missing at the height of the column) that they form between them a wide, winding band (Fig. 25). The space between the triangles was painted white and red successively. In the third phase of painting appear three oblique lines from right to left, parallel, white or light yellow colored. The bottom left part is incomplete and uneven on the side. The column was once connected to another vertical element on the left side or to the right side of the platform (Nikolov 2001, 135).

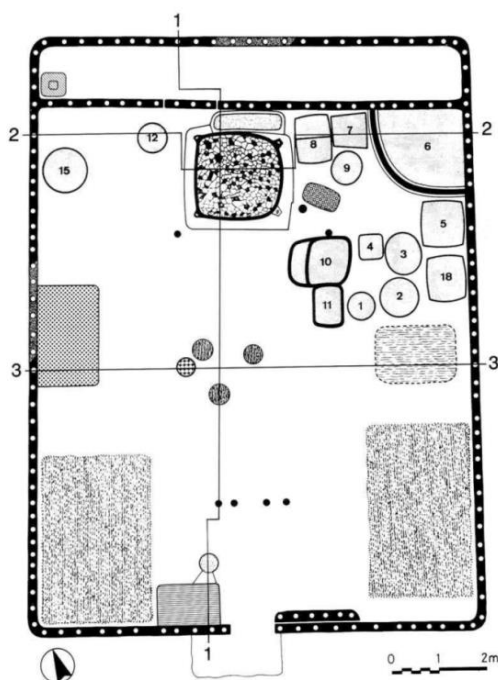


Fig. 24. Slatina Sofia. Plan of the building (after Nikolov, 1989: 44, fig. 24).

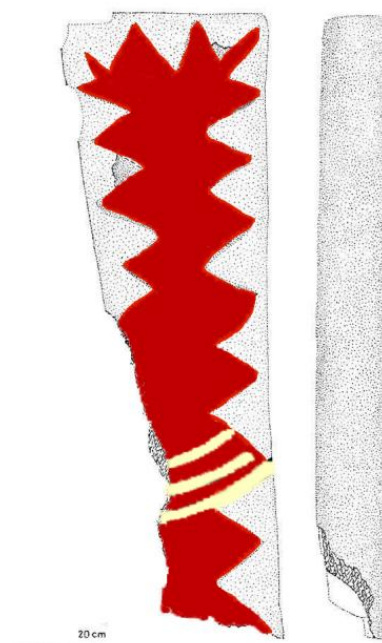


Fig. 25. Column from Slatina Sofia (after Nikolov, 2001: 136, fig. 2).

¹ Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et alii*, 1996: 761.

² Koukouli-Chrysanthaki *et alii*, 2007: 48.

³ Nikolov, 2001: 133.

The developed Neolithic brings additional data on the cultic architecture and spatial planning, considering the cultural differences specific to the period. We refer to Building 4 from Zorlențu Mare (Caraș-Severin County), level 7, belonging to A3/B1 phase, of Vinča culture. The sanctuary is distinguished by the remains of a monumental statue, which had been initially fixed to the wall or on a column; later it fell off. A fragment of statue, with head and neck, was found. The torso alone was 16 cm, which justifies its inclusion in the category of monumental statues. The physiognomy is typical for the period: triangular face, often interpreted as a mask, with the nose as a small protrusion. On the forehead and at the front of the head the statue was decorated with double incisions shaped “^”¹.

The entrance to the cultic place is marked in several cases through particular architectural elements. Where it marks the entry in the temple or sanctuary, framing the door, the column aims to stimulate the visual impression of the worshipper².

We discuss some features from Parța, Timiș County. The entry to Temple 1 is on the southern side. The door was guarded by two massive pillars, with a large anthropomorphic vessel, located close-by (Fig. 26)³. In front of the entrance were the remains of a small, clay, column stuck into the floor⁴.

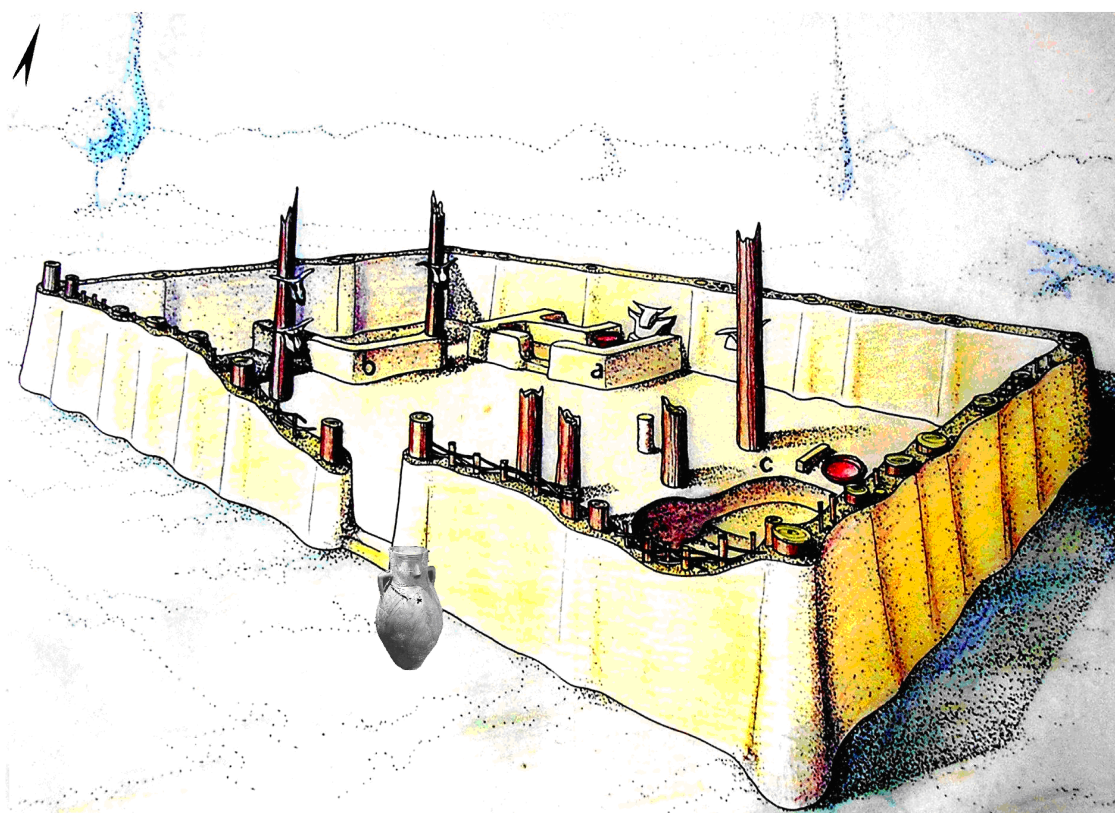


Fig. 26. Parța. Temple 1 – graphic reconstruction (after Lazarovici Gh. et alii. 2001: 205, fig. 166).

Temple 2 from Parța had above the eastern entrance a recess, with a bust-idol and perhaps a skull of a bull (Fig. 28). Also, on the same wall was performed an opening in the shape of a window that is directly in front of the double monumental statue, which was probably used on special occasions⁵.

¹ Lazarovici, C. -M., Lazarovici, Gh., 2006: 157, Fig. IIIa.36 – 38.

² Foster, 2007: 168.

³ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 211.

⁴ Lazarovici, C. -M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 309.

⁵ Lazarovici, C. -M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 313.

Other situations of area demarcation are mentioned at Petru Rareș, Giurgiu County. Inside the building belonging to the transition phase to Gumelnița culture is mentioned a hearth; next to it, a bench of clay, with two rows of splice and painted surface, a column fragment and a portal¹.

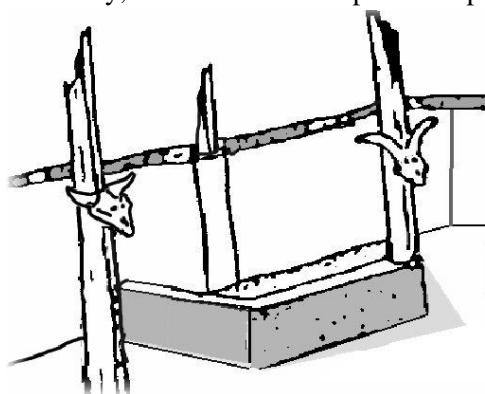


Fig. 27. Parța-altar B with column (after Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 208).

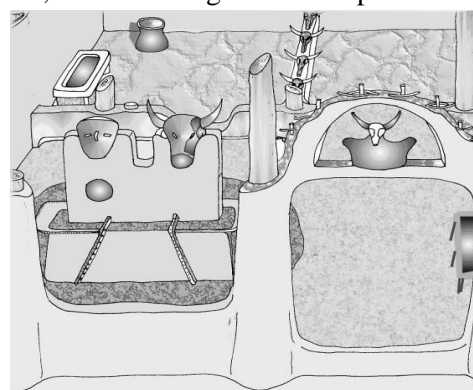


Fig. 28. The monumental entrance in the Temple 2 at Parța, with door, niche with bucranium and window (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., 2006: 321, fig. IIIb.143).

The center is a landmark in cases of relating to a specific space. Some of the earliest evidences of marking the center can be found in the settlements from Gura Baciului and Cristian I, both belonging to the Starčevo-Criș culture. In both sites are mentioned traces from wooden totem poles, possibly marking the center of the settlement. At Gura Baciului was found in the central part of the settlement a central pole with a diameter of 50-70 cm. At the base of the column were placed stones, with a functional purpose, the one of making it steady. The column was fixed even from the first stage of habitation, so this must have been here from the beginning of the human occupation of the space. Next to it was a small hole, maybe a smaller column².



Fig. 29. Balta Sărată. Dwelling 28 (after Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 170, Fig. IIIa.50).



Fig. 30. Balta Sărată. „Water Column” (after Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2004: fig. 10/a-b).

¹ Comșa, 1974: 157.

² Lazarovici, Maxim, 1995: fig. 33.

At Cristian I three columns were arranged in triangular formation, one of which had a *Bos primigenius* skull attached¹. In Starčevo-Criș culture is placed also Blagotin site, where it was discovered a large pit, in the settlement center, that included thousands of pottery fragments. We mention also the sanctuary from Lyubimets - Dana Bunar 2, from Bulgaria, a site dated to the final phase of the Neolithic. The central pit was the largest from the site, circular, and its center has a small hole, a possible trace from sticking, in the middle of the pit, a column. It were discovered several ceramic materials inside, and pieces of flint, a small altar, a bone awl, an axe and fragments from two grinders. This pit was interpreted as the central place where rituals were performed, related to fire and where sacrificed food was consumed, for a fertility cult. Along to the central pit, other 110 pits were investigated, each with its own inventory².

Several columns associated with cult contexts were found at Parța. The small column was made of unburnt clay and it is a non-functional element, made only for symbolic purpose³. The altars from Temple 1 was related with the skull cult or the cult of the column with bucranium, since skulls from bulls were found, placed on the columns surrounding the cult platforms and contexts (Fig. 27)⁴. We mention also an unburned clay column in Dwelling 24 from Parța, close to the north wall⁵.

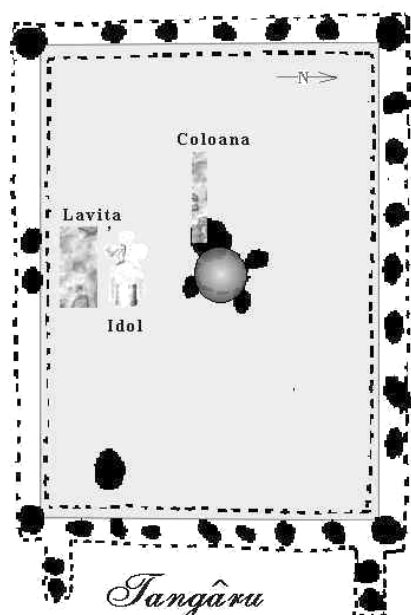


Fig. 31. Tangâru. Plan of the sanctuary (after Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M. 2006: 95, fig. 34)



Fig. 32 Tangâru. The sanctuary – graphic reconstruction (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2007: 137, fig. Vc.76b).

A special type of column is the „Water column” discovered at Balta Sărată, inside Building 28 (Fig. 29). The column was discovered at the eastern end of the building, stuck into the ground for about 10 cm. The base was made of stones. In the middle of the stones was discovered a goblet base, a polisher, remains of charcoal, all interpreted as foundation offering (Fig. 30). The

¹ Luca, 2015: 24.

² Nikolov, 2011: 93.

³ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 309; Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: fig.165-166; I.2, pl. 82-85, 90/1-3.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 209.

⁵ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 64.

building was interpreted as related with the presence of a high social status person, possible with religious functions (priestess, adviced old women, etc.)¹.

The column from Tangâru discovered inside Building L2 is related with a monumental statue (Fig. 31-32). Unfortunately there are no details about the position of the sanctuary inside the settlement². Fragments of walls with paint were found, sometimes forming geometric patterns. In the report is mentioned a bench and a clay column in the shouthern part of the building. Next to the column there were fragments from the statue³.

What we conclude in this case is that the columns had sometimes a symbolic role, made for marking a central or a transition area, inside the building or within a settlement. Often these columns show no architectural role, and there is no functional purpose for the architecture of the building. In these cases the columns included ideas and concepts related to special places that require a specific landmark, in order to present a memorable space.

The column as idol or the idol as column: Substitute of divinity's image?

Besides the functional role of supporting the roof elements and marking the spaces, the column has also the role of representing the image of the god, or even possibly to substitute a divine image. This occurs in many situations, but it was documented rarely and imprecise.

Some of the earliest traces from columns possibly used as idol or god substitute can be found also in Pre-Pottery Neolithic. The column from Jericho sanctuary was discovered in level XII⁴. The inner space has no household inventory. Original floor was removed and another one was fixed, solid-12 cm thick, made of yellow-green bricks. The entrance was on the eastern side, made through a narrow corridor⁵. Inside there was the recess in which round rock (0.24 x 0.20 x 0.9 m) was fixed, with traces of yellow plaster around. This served as base for the worship object (Fig. 33-34).



Fig. 33. Jericho. Photo of the sanctuary from level XII (after Tushingham, 1952: 13, fig. 5).

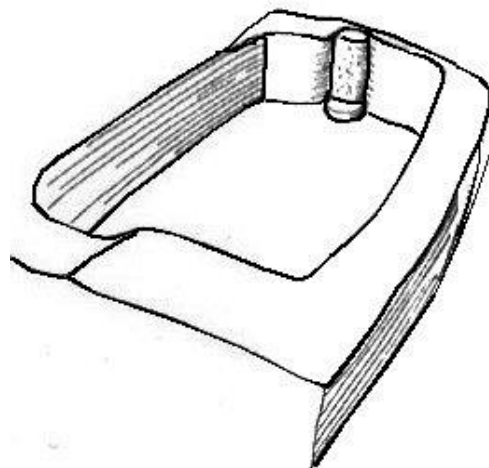


Fig. 34. Jericho. The isometric plan of the sanctuary (after Hayden, 2003: 204).

¹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 171.

² Berciu, 1961: 420-421.

³ Berciu, 1961: 421.

⁴ Tushingham, 1952: 12; Mellaart, 1975: 37.

⁵ Müller-Karpe, 1968: 314; Jack, 1936: 138.

For Early Neolithic in Turkey we mention the discovery from Aşağı Pinar (Fig. 35). Inside chamber 8a from level 6 were found several column-shaped objects, all made of clay, some of them fragmentary, some complete. Similar objects occurred in Room 2b, on the floor. Excepting the altars and columns in these rooms, there were not discovered elements very common in other buildings, like anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations, or pots and tools. This led to the conclusion that the southern area was reserved for „special” activities¹.



Fig. 35. Aşağı Pinar. Building 8 (Room 8)-the southeast corner with fragments of an altar-table (after Özdoğan, E. 2009: 218, fig. 9).

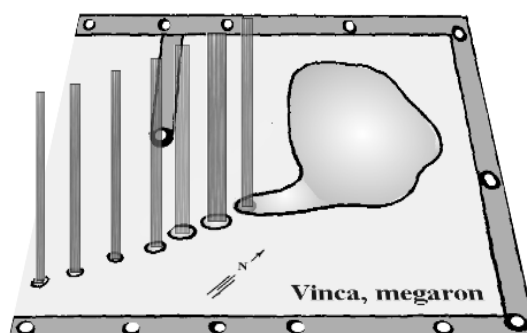


Fig. 36. The megaron from Vinča. Reconstruction on the position of columns (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 196, fig. IIIa. 79).

From earlier investigations is mentioned at Vinča the discovery of a megaron (Fig. 36). Unfortunately are missing important data on its inventory. It was published the plan of the building with a monumental fireplace inside, from which was placed a row of seven columns, in its extension, towards the exit door².



Fig. 37. Isaiia. Clay column from Dwelling 6 (after Ursulescu, Tencariu, 2006a: Pl. VIII/3).

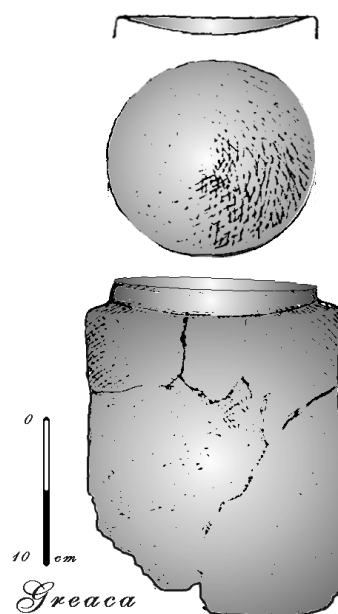


Fig. 38. The column from Greaca (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 541, Fig. IVc.26).

¹ Özdoğan, E. 2009: 217.

² Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006:196.

The discovery of a moulded bucranium is possible to come from this building¹.

Several interesting situations were noted in the Precucuteni site from Isaiia. A clay truncated cone shaped column with the top like a mushroom, was discovered in House 6 (Fig. 37), near a hearth. The preserved length is 35 cm and the diameter of the base is 15 cm. Also at Isaiia was discovered a similar column inside Pit 40. The capitel was flat, slightly concave. The preserved length is 23 cm. The column was actually coating a wooden pole, and the remains of charred wood, on its inner side, is attesting this². The situation is similar to the sanctuary from Căscioarele, which we discuss below³.

Other interesting elements, like steles and columns⁴ and a horseshoe-shaped hearth, in other buildings or contexts were observed in the same site, respectively Buildings L6 and L7⁵.

One of the most discussed columns discovered inside a sanctuary, interpreted as a substitute for divinity, are the ones found at Căscioarele – Ostrovel, Călărași County. Framed in Spanțov phase, the building was only partially investigated. Relatively of large size (10 x 16 m), rectangular shape, the building was separated by a partition wall into two rooms. One of the two chambers has at least three walls painted⁶ (Fig. 39).

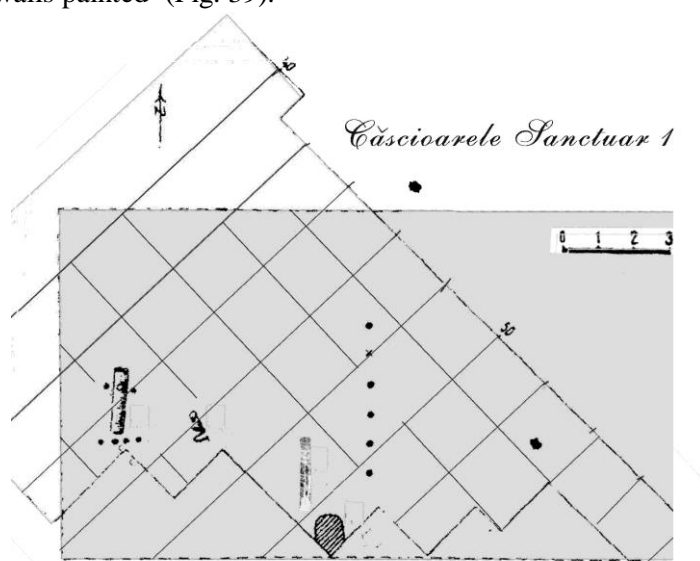


Fig. 39. Căscioarele. Plan of the sanctuary (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 538, fig. IVc.24).

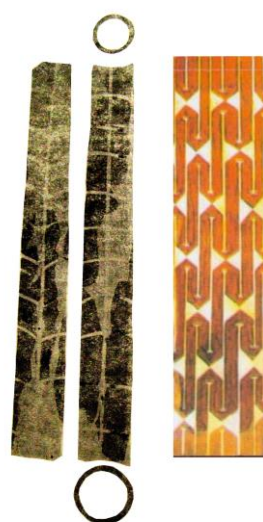


Fig. 40. Căscioarele. Painted columns (after Dumitrescu, VI. 1986: 72).

This specific room was equipped with some very interesting elements: two columns of clay and an altar table - painted. On the western side of the room, probably hung on the wall is a medallion of clay, painted with red and white, with spiral motif.

The altar table was about 30-40 cm high and was painted yellow with white stripes and curve pattern, in the same manner like the walls⁷. The two painted columns of various sizes were moulded of clay on the outside and were coating a wooden pole. In the absence of an anthropomorphic representation of divinity, it was considered that these could have been the worship objects (Fig. 40).

¹ Bradáč, 2005: 190, fig. 7.

² Ursulescu, Tencariu, 2006: 69; Ursulescu, Tencariu, 2004: 139, 143.

³ Dumitrescu, VI. 1970: 9-12.

⁴ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 567, Fig. IVd.23/b.

⁵ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 567, fig. IVd.23/c-d; Ursulescu, Tencariu, 2004: 139; Ursulescu, 2001.

⁶ Dumitrescu, VI. 1970: 9-12.

⁷ Dumitrescu, VI. 1970: 10.

In this particular case the building could have been dedicated to a ritual meant for „*axis mundi*”, heavenly tree, or the column as representation of a phallic symbol¹.

Columns, regardless of what they symbolize inside of a building, they define, by their monumentality, the building as being one meant for worship².

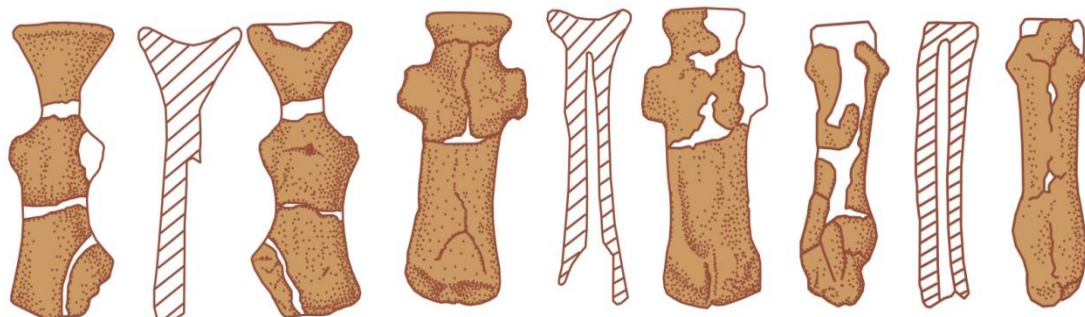


Fig. 41. Trușești. Clay anthropomorphic statues found inside the building L60 and L61 (redrawn by Sebastian Ciupu, after Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii, 1999: 291, fig. 1, 3, 5).

In Cucuteni culture we see diverse ways of representation for columnar elements. Some of the most suggestive ones were found at Trușești-Țuguieta, Botoșani County. Building L.60 (Dwelling LX) is one with cultic purpose, considering its entire inventory and features. The building dimensions are 12.5 x 8.5 m (106.25 m), the orientation in VSV-ENE. The description of this particular building is an interesting one. The discoverer noted that in the northwest side of it were many fragments of wall, with one or two layers of clay coating, painted with yellow, brown or red. Some pieces from the floor were painted black or dark brown.

Decorative mouldings are mentioned in the north-east area. A hearth was found inside and next to it was an anthropomorphic column, with the head in the shape of a goblet (46 cm in length), hollowed, which was probably fixed on one of the building's columns (Fig. 42). The altar in this case was made of two unequal compartments, separated by a thick wall. On the eastern side was a small hole, of 2 cm diameter³.

The same type of column of anthropomorphous shape, in two copies, was found inside Building L.61 (Dwelling LXI) associated with two tables and an altar, for which it was considered communitarian building⁴. The surface of the building is 60 sqm (12 x 5 m), oriented ENE-VNV with some disturbances in the eastern area. The building has two chambers; a partition wall is identified in the central part, oriented N-S (Fig. 43).

The two columnar idols were located at 1,5 m away from each other, and these could have been located at a certain distance from the ground if these were fixed on poles. At 1.1 m towards west of the statues is mentioned an altar fragment on the ground, near fragments from a worship table. Neither of these features have a minimum description. It is mentioned though the discovery of a partial perforated plaque from an oven, near the north wall of the building⁵.

¹ Dumitrescu, Vl. 1970: 9; Monah, 1997: 33.

² Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 538.

³ Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii, 1999: 117-121.

⁴ Maxim-Kalmar, Tarcea, 1999: 670.

⁵ Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii, 1999: 121.

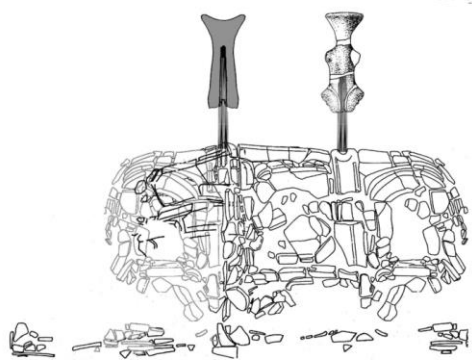


Fig. 42. Trușești. Graphic reconstruction of the altar in L.60 (after Lazarovici C.-M. et alii, 2009: 60, fig. 5/b).

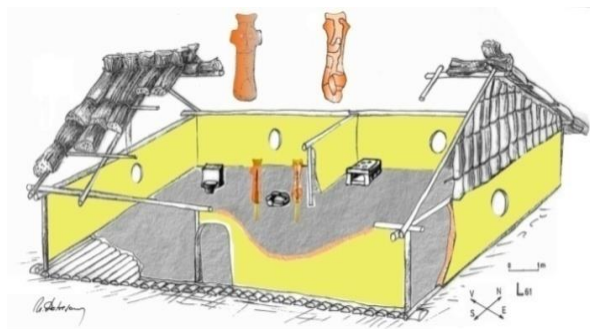


Fig. 43. Trușești. Building L.61, graphic reconstruction with statues on the column (after Lazarovici C.-M. et alii, 2009: 62, fig. 7).

The double statue from Building L.24 is one of the most popular objects discovered at Trușești, considering that it is unique by embodiment and representation (Fig. 44).



Fig. 44. Trușești. The monumental statue from L.24 (foto C.-M. Lazarovici).

The statue has in the upper part the heads from two characters, of different heights, connected in the body and the shoulder areas, with the heads moulded as chalices. The details can be seen even in the making of the jewelry around their necks¹.

The statue was originally published as “temple facade”²; then it was considered to represent a divine couple³, and later on there can be found the interpretation of a pair of goddesses¹.

¹ Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii, 1999: 67.

² Petrescu-Dîmbovița et alii, 1999: 529.

³ Dumitrescu, VI. 1974: 78-79.

Scholars C. M. Lazarovici and Gh. Lazarovici considered that the altar represents a divine couple, the Great Goddess and acolyte, connected with fertility and fecundity by the manner of moulding the belly². Regarding idols in shape of the column from the monumental altar, it is noteworthy that they are nine, grouped: three under each figure and three above the belly, which shows that these communities already had knowledge about conception and pregnancy³. D. Monah believes that the images on the statue suggest the heavenly columns, or the trees of the sky⁴. The chalices were interpreted as related to deposition or retention of liquid offerings⁵.

The column and the bucranium

In many cases, in the Neolithic religious buildings we observe a high frequency of association of the column with the bucranium, either molded over a cranial structure, or molded from clay only. Sometimes the bucrania practically form the head of the column. The bucranium from Dikili Tash was achieved by molding the clay over the cranial structure. It seems that initially it was placed on a column⁶.

We can not overlook the fact that many buildings at Çatalhöyük exhibit rectangular columns, placed against the wall, looking like buttresses, standing slightly out of the wall. Between these columns are demarcated areas which were often filled with paintings or other decorations⁷. In Building 49 the column on the northwest wall was decorated with painted circular motifs. The circular decoration had been covered with white clay and repainted with geometric motifs in red and black, in several stages⁸. The horns inserted into the top of the columns of clay basically signify a “pars pro toto”, using not the whole skull of the bull, but only the symbol of its strength. This type of situations was documented in the following buildings: A.II.1-two instances⁹; E.VI.14-three instances¹⁰; E.VI.44 - 1 column¹¹; in E.VI.8-four instances each in phases 3 and 4¹²; one instance in VII.8, phase 2¹³ and VI.B.70¹⁴. From recent research we mention Buildings 52 and 77, which present the same morphological types in realising the columns with horns as those resulting from the research by J. Mellaart¹⁵. Mellaart interpreted the buildings at Çatalhöyük as a “district of priests”. The reasons for this interpretation come from the exotic elements discovered here, such as the bucrania on the walls or integrated into columns, the large anthropomorphic representations carved on the walls, the mythological scenes with bulls or eagles, painted on the walls¹⁶.

We discuss the special situations in Temple 2 of Parța or other buildings discovered in this site, especially because here were noted such situations. We note that the eastern entrance to Temple 2 had inside, on each side of the entrance, a column, on which was placed a bull's head and horns, probably at the same level as the monumental statue (Fig. 45).

¹ Monah, 1997: 212.

² Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: 58.

³ Lazarovici C.-M., 2004: 47.

⁴ Monah, 1997: 206.

⁵ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., 2006: 598; Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: 63.

⁶ Sfériadès, 2005: 99; Marangou, Gramennos, 2005: 12.

⁷ Farid, 2003: 51.

⁸ Eddinsford, 2008: 34.

⁹ Mellaart, 1963: 45.

¹⁰ Mellaart, 1963: 76, fig. 17.

¹¹ Mellaart, 1964: 44, fig. 5.

¹² Mellaart, 1963: 62, fig. 8; 1963: 64, fig. 10.

¹³ Mellaart, 1964: 62, fig. 18.

¹⁴ Mellaart, 1966: 174.

¹⁵ Çamurcuoğlu, 2008: 251.

¹⁶ Brosius, 2005: 2.

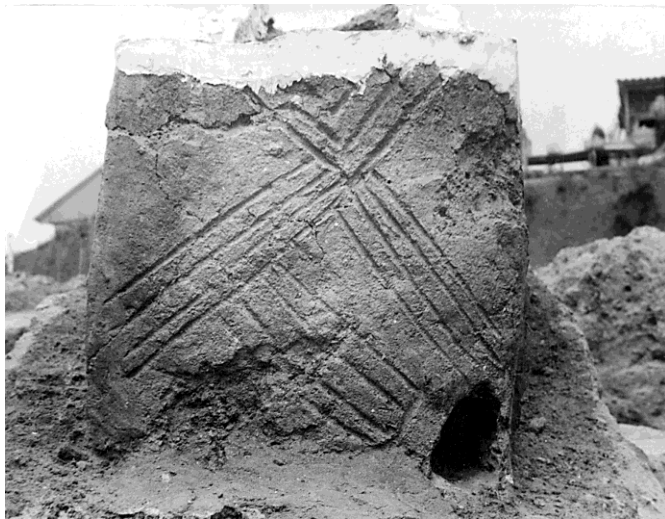


Fig. 45. Parța. Temple 2-incised ornamentation on the southern side of the pedestal – close view (after Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 319, Fig. IIIb.141).



Fig. 46. Parța. Temple 2-column with bucranium in front of the monumental double statue (foto Gh. Lazarovici).

The reconstruction of the area in front of the monumental statue was made possible by the discovery, in the immediate vicinity, of two pieces of bull's head with traces of horns, coming from columns that lined the eastern entrance. The prints and the position of the horns were very clear¹. At the top the columns ended with bulls' heads made of clay, in which the original cranial fragments had been incorporated. On the forehead and the nose, in the crude paste were incised strips inlaid with yellow paste; in the spaces formed red painting was laid. There also is red paint on the muzzles of the bulls' heads². The bulls' eyes were figured by two angular incisions. Over the forehead was placed a protrusion of clay³. The decoration of these column heads is a significant one, possibly referring to a representation of the male-female divine couple. The southern column has a protrusion of clay above the forehead⁴ (Fig. 46). This could represent the Sun associated with the day, the light and the heat. The northern column could be the Moon, as a symbol of the night⁵. The presence of the meandric decoration, incised and inlaid, with the space between the lines painted in red, is linked to a possible symbolism of the sacrificed bull⁶.

An interesting situation is related to the domestic altar of Dwelling P.126 from the same site⁷. An oven constructed initially in this building was disaffected and turned into an altar by fixing a totemic pole or column with square section and the construction of a hearth (Fig. 47). Around the column and on the hearth was found the edge of a clay cassette (1.75 x 0.75 m) with a height of approx. 30-70 cm, with elements taken from elsewhere. The column was carved out of wood; it was square with rounded edges. On the column had been fixed a bull's head made of clay, stylized, made using the same technique as in Temple 2. The inventory of the cassette, associated with this column, consists of 30 large sling balls. The items found behind the cassette were interpreted as objects of worship, dishes with traces of offerings, heavily burned. A very rich inventory is mentioned, consisting of storage vessels, miniature vessels, anthropomorphic vessels, pans. Most of the vessels

¹ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 313; Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 225, 236.

² Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M. 2006: 85; Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 233.

³ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 236; fig. 197, 198.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 236.

⁵ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 85.

⁶ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 233.

⁷ Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001: 157; Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2001, I.2: fig. 29/2-4.

had decorations. The sling balls were of two types: large for war or small for hunting. There were also several stone tools such as grinders, axes, and bone tools, such as a fragment of spatula, two bone chisels, a pig astragalus, a spoon¹.

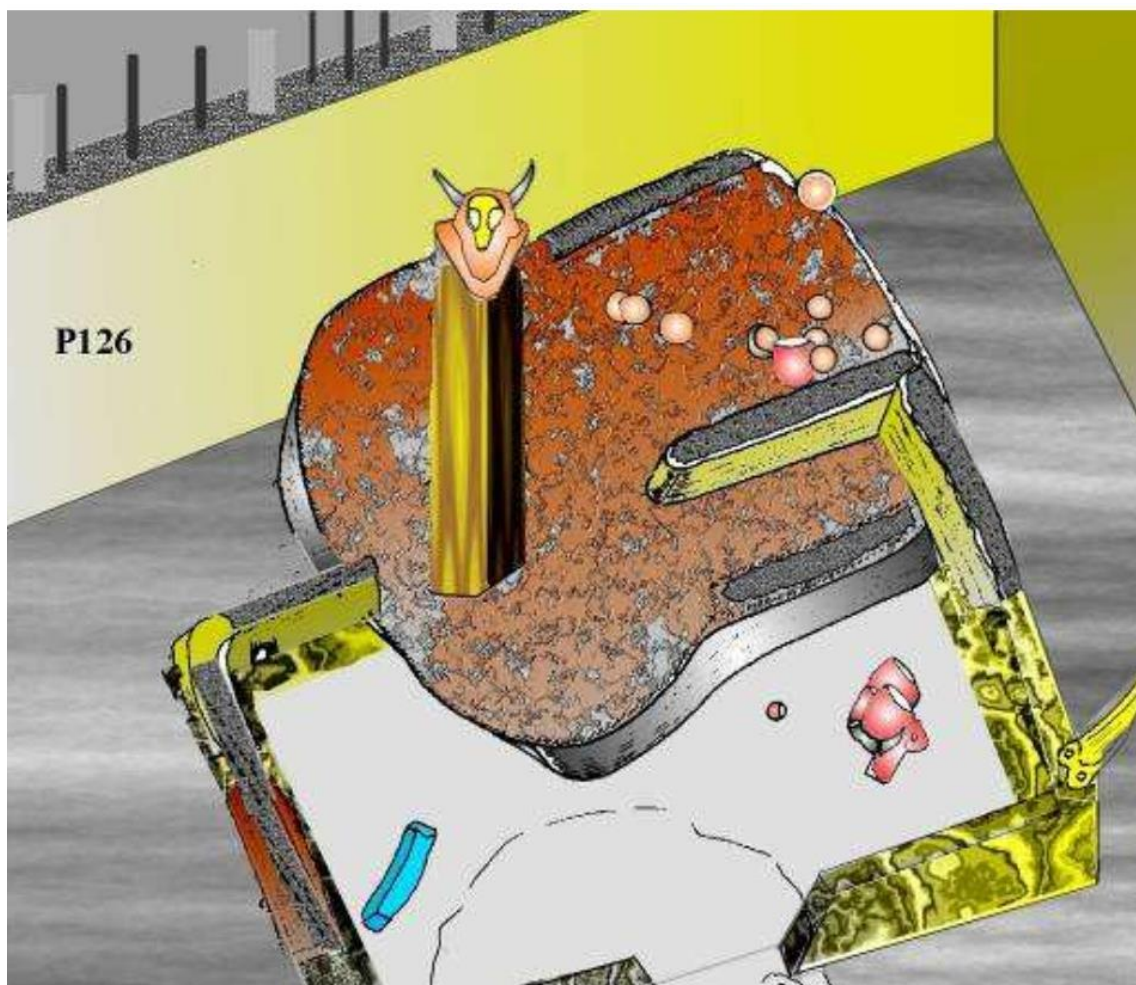


Fig. 47. Parța. Household altar from Dwelling P.126 (after Lazarovici Gh. 2009a: fig. 4).

The typology of columns in cultic spaces

The column is one of the basic architectural elements, regardless of the age to which we refer. As a component widely used both in time and in space, over time columns of various types were built. We introduced in the typology only the types identified in Neolithic sanctuaries from southeastern Europe, without referring to the more elaborate ones in subsequent periods.

Given the importance of this architectural element and the diversity of forms that we find in the prehistoric sanctuaries, we have developed a typology of them. The basic principle to achieve the typology was the material used and the general geometric shape of the column. We also observed the decorations and reliefs on the column's body.

We have identified four major types, designated A, B, C and D. Type A is characterized by a rectangular shape and has 13 variations (Fig. 48), type B consists of a small, quadrangular column, ending with bull (variant B1) or ram horns (variant B2) (Fig. 49). Type C refers to monolithic columns, with four variants identified so far (Fig. 50). Type D is represented by circular columns of various sizes, with or without a base, which has seven variants (Fig. 51). Subtype D7 is a circular column, like D6, but it has a bucranium located on the body. In this case, as in the case of the

¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 158-159.

quadrangular columns from Çatal Höyük, that have one or more bucrania on the body, they are actually shrines, places of worship and ways of representing deities.

The type A column

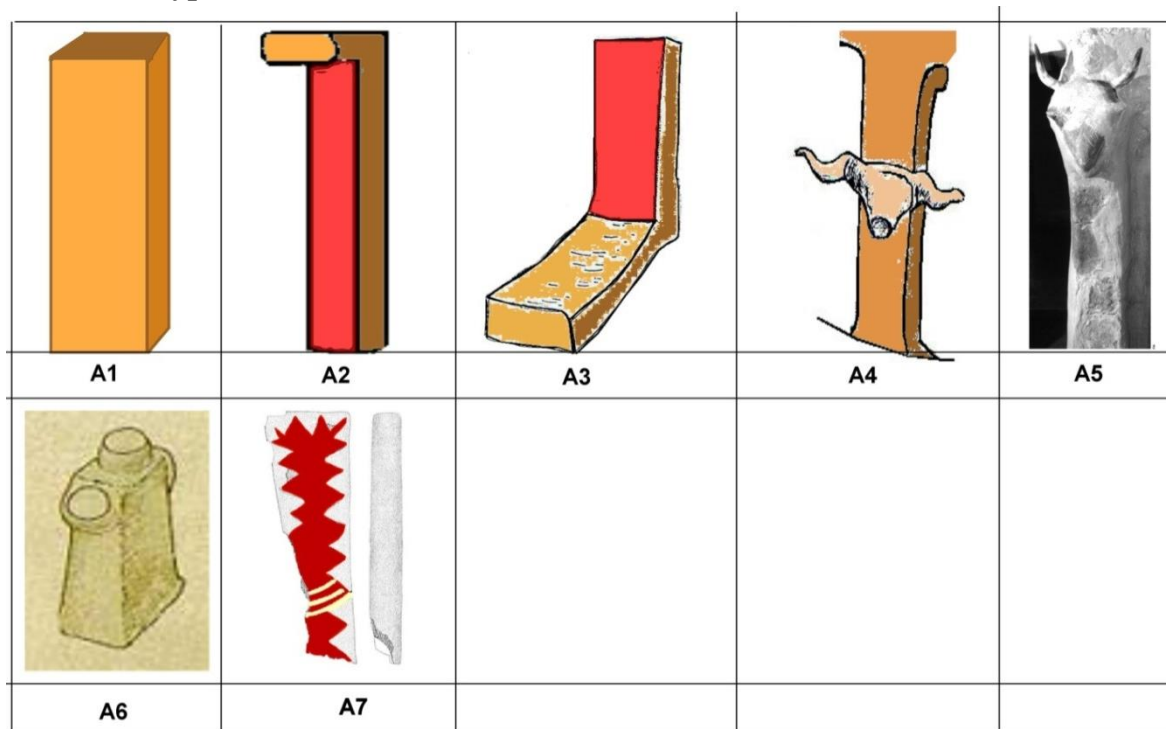


Fig. 48. Type A column.

It is the rectangular clay column, attached to the wall (Fig. 48)

A1- Simple rectangular column, attached to the wall

A2- Rectangular column. Upside-down L-shape, attached to the wall

A3- Rectangular L-shaped column attached to the wall

A4- Rectangular column with a bucranium on its body

A5- Quadrilateral column ending with a bucranium

A6- Anthropomorphic column with arms

A7- Narrow, rectangular column

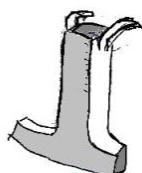
The type B column

This type of column comprises the low, quadrilateral columns, ending with either bull (B1) or ram horns (B2) (Fig. 49).

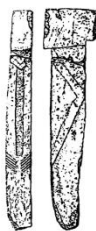
The type C column



1



2



1



2



3



4



5

Fig. 49. Type B column.

Fig. 50. Type C column.

The third category of columns, called C, include the monolithic forms. They have different shapes (Fig. 50).

- C1- T-shaped, monumental, anthropomorphic monolith column
- C2- Schematic anthropomorphic monolith column
- C3- Small, oval-shaped monolith column
- C4- Cylindrical monolith column
- C5- Small, stone quadrilateral column

The type D column

The fourth and final category that we identified is the cylindrical, wooden column of various sizes, sometimes decorated, single or doubles (Fig. 51).

- D1- Small, cylindrical column
- D2- Simple column
- D3- Double circular column
- D4- Two columns placed side by side, with a distance between them
- D5- Medium height cylindrical column, as a statue support
- D6- Medium height cylindrical column
- D7- Cylindrical column with a bucranium placed on the body
- D8- Cylindrical column made of clay with a top cavity (possibly a cup)

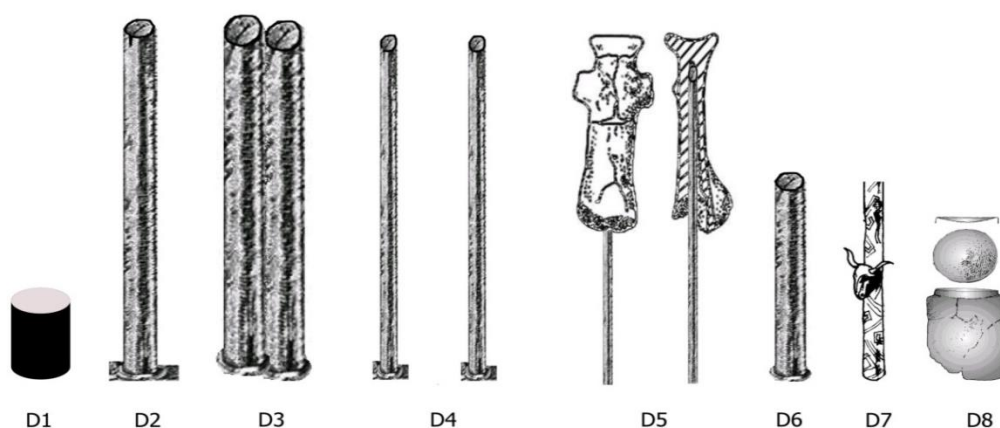


Fig. 51. Type D column.

So far we have 181 entries in the category “column”, indicating for each the type and the location, according to the type of building where it appeared.

From the point of view of positioning, the preferred location of the column is in the center (42%), followed by the eastern wall (24%). The proportions are relatively close for the northern (11%), southern (8%) and western walls (9%). The entry or the corners of the building are preferred in 1 to 2% of the cases (Fig. 52). The most common types are A1, which is the simplest rectangular type, followed by column D4 and D6. The columns of type B, although they are numerically consistent, are not relevant, since they are specific to a single site, namely Çatal Höyük.

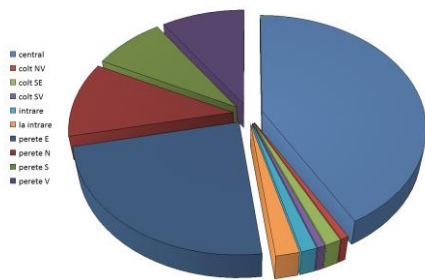


Fig. 52. Chart of the columns' location.

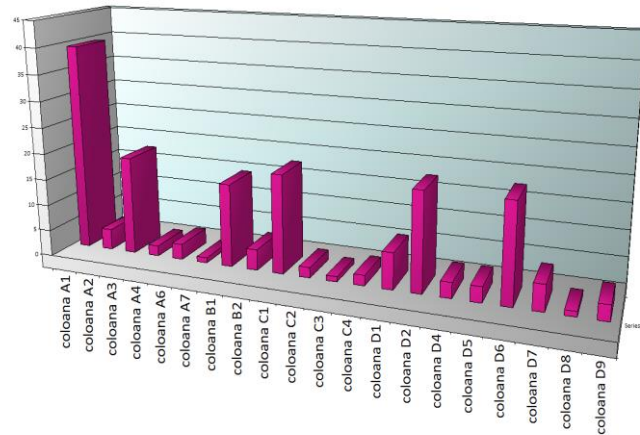


Fig. 53. Chart of the most frequent types of columns.

We also observed what type of column is preferred in sanctuaries (Fig. 53). We see below that the rectangular type (A) appears frequently, closely followed by the cylindrical type (D). The monolithic type C is used, but not widely spread, as well as the type B columns, with horns embedded at the top (Fig. 54).

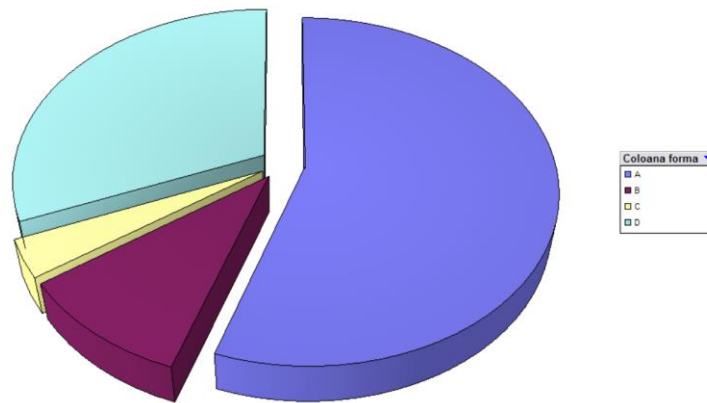


Fig. 54. Column types frequency in sanctuaries.

The type A column

In the first category we grouped the rectangular columns, from the simple to the complex (Fig. 48). This type of column is often found at Çatal Höyük (A1-A4) and Parța (A5). Type A6, although mentioned in the typology, is yet specific to the site of Qermez Dere and it appears only once. Type A5 is specific to the site of Parța, although it may have been used in several sites¹ (Fig. 56). The earliest occurrences of the rectangular type (A1) are at Basta² and Dhra', early PPN sites from the Jordan Valley³.

¹ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., 2006: 228, Fig. IIIb.157.

² Kuijt, 2000: 90.

³ Mithen, 2005: 47, fig. 7.

Sanctuary name	S wall	W wall	N wall	E wall
sanctuar E,VI,10	1			
sanctuar VII,9		2		
sanctuar A,VI,1	1		2	
sanctuar E,VI,8		4		
sanctuar E,VI,14		1		
sanctuar VII,1		1	2	2
sanctuar E,VI,44		1	2	
sanctuar VII,35			2	1
sanctuar X,1			1	1
sanctuar E,VI,B,1			1	1
sanctuar A,VI,1		2		3
sanctuar E,VI,10		1	1	3
sanctuar VII,10			1	2
sanctuar VII,21			1	2
sanctuar E,VI,8			1	3
sanctuar E,VI,14				2
sanctuar E,VI,A,50				2
sanctuar E,VI,7				2

Fig. 55. *Çatal Höyük*. The frequency of quadrilateral columns in relation to the sanctuaries' walls; (sanctuar = sanctuary).

We introduced the columns of *Çatal Höyük*, being a substantial sample of buildings, depending on the wall where they are positioned, given the fact that the entry into these buildings is through the roof, using a ladder.

The most common locations of the columns are close to the bucrania, perhaps to emphasize the cultic and veneration function the bucranium has in these sanctuaries. Other elements associated with the columns are the breast and the niche. We see from the table below that in most cases the columns are on the eastern wall, the worshipper looking towards east, towards the morning sun (Fig. 55).

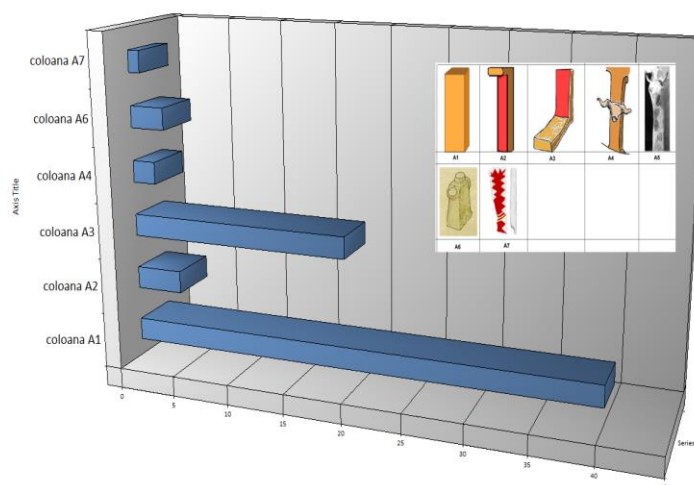


Fig. 56. Chart of frequency of type A column.

Column A4 is linked to a number of elements from the shrines, such as bucrania, niches or painted panels, located indoors. The presence on the eastern wall is predominant, but it is documented on the northern wall too. This arises particularly in the shrines belonging to levels VI and VII. On several occasions one can see that this type of column appears doubled, as in sanctuaries E.VI.7¹, VII.1², E.VIB.1³. In sanctuaries X.1⁴ and VII.10⁵ it appears only once.

In order to analyze the position of the type A columns on the walls of the shrines, we applied the grid of positioning on the walls of sanctuaries. Thus we observe a high concentration in the central area and on the walls (Fig. 57).

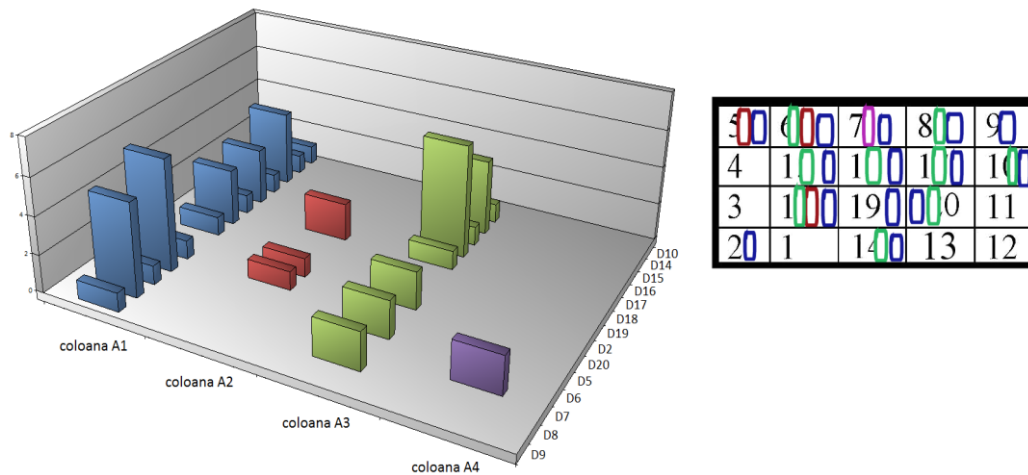


Fig. 57. The location of type A columns inside the rectangular buildings.

The type B column

To type B we have included a special kind of columns that may actually represent a cultic element in itself, given the context of its appearance. The column in question has a reduced height, but instead of a “capitel” it has horns at the end, either from a bull (B1) or a ram (B2) (Fig. 59).

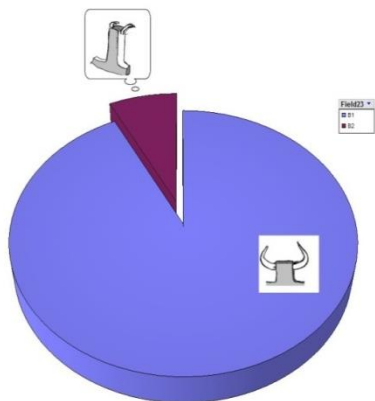


Fig. 58. Frequency ratio between the two subtypes of type B columns.



Fig. 59. Çatal Höyük. Columns with bull horns in Building 77 (after House, Yeomans, 2008: 40, fig. 24).

¹ Mellaart, 1963: 74, fig. 16.

² Mellaart, 1964: 58, fig. 15.

³ Mellaart, 1964: 59, fig. 16.

⁴ Mellaart, 1964: 72, fig. 25.

⁵ Mellaart, 1964: 60, fig. 17.

The situations in which this kind of column occurs singularly are extremely few. In sanctuary E.VI.10¹ it is isolated, however in sanctuaries E.VI.14² and A.VI.1³ it occurs three times. In sanctuary E.VI.8 it forms a row of four columns⁴ delimiting the inner platforms. The ratio between the two types is conclusive, most frequently being used the type B1. The type B2 appears sporadically, but it is not generalised (Fig. 58).

The type C column

In category C we have included the monolithic categories. Overall, during the period under discussion, this is the least used type of column, except the areas with stone buildings, mainly from the PPN period.

One type of column which under certain circumstances could be regarded as a massive stone stele is the T-shaped column (type C1). This is a distinctive type for the PPN sites and most often it presents decoration carved in relief (Fig. 50). The sites where this type of column has been identified are those in Göbekli Tepe⁵, Kilsik⁶ and Nevalı Çori⁷.

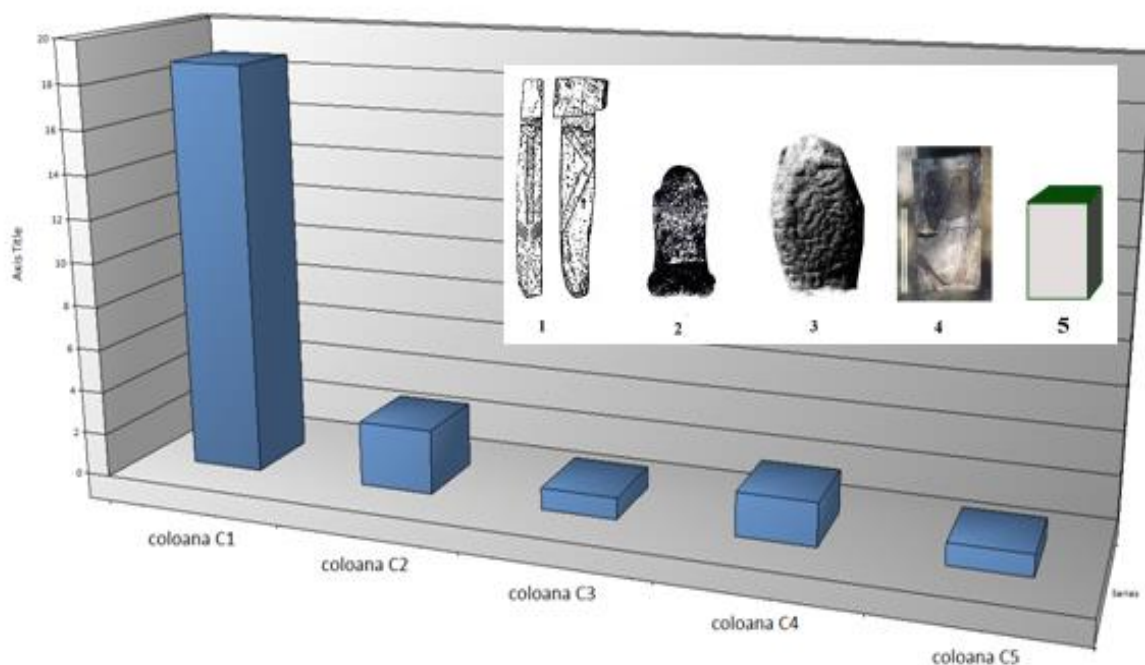


Fig. 60. Chart of frequency of type C column.

In the middle of the circular buildings of Göbekli Tepe is a column, around which are arranged the other⁸. The interior arrangement of the spaces of Göbekli Tepe led to the hypothesis that this is not a common settlement, but rather one with a regional cultic role⁹. In terms of numbers, in

¹ Mellaart, 1963: 72, fig. 15.

² Mellaart, 1963: 77, fig. 18.

³ Mellaart, 1963: 53, fig. 4.

⁴ Mellaart, 1963: 62, fig. 8.

⁵ Schmidt, 2001: 49.

⁶ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80.

⁷ Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61-62.

⁸ Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61.

⁹ Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61.

buildings A and B were fewer columns, and in building D there are 12 columns, but the number is accidental, because it is not constant, so there is no rule or mental pattern (Fig. 60). In building C were two circles, but probably there were more¹.

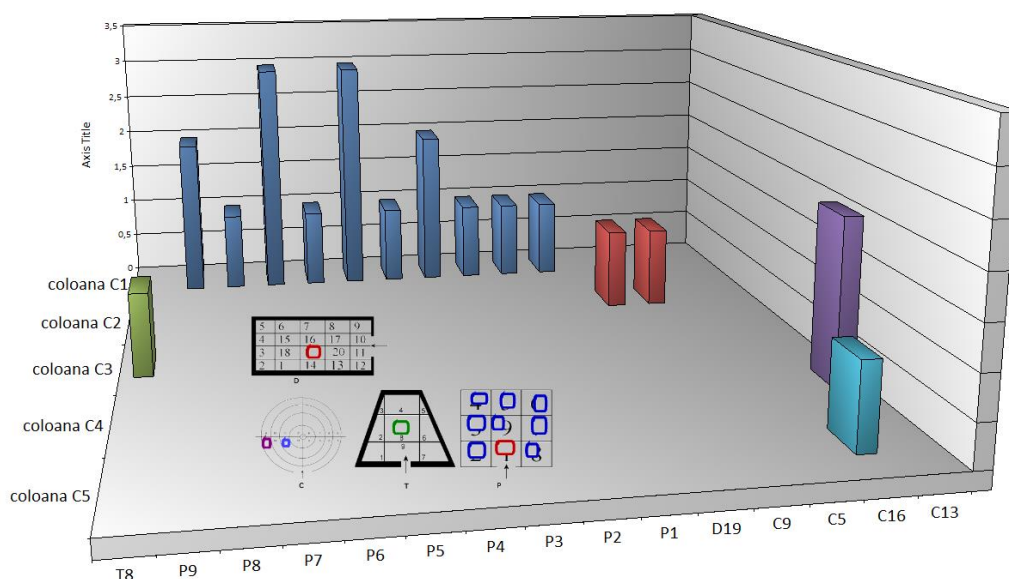


Fig. 61. Chart of the type C columns' location in relation to the type of buildings where they are found.

At Nevali Çori the columns “looked” to the south-west, towards the valley of the Kantara stream and the entrance. The cultic building had multiple stages of reconstruction, but there was constantly a pair of T-shaped columns in the center of the building, surrounded by the other columns². At the same site, a unique variant of the T-shaped column has been found, where the head is not cubic but is often reduced to a rounded lump shaped like the Greek letter “gamma” (Γ). They have the same symbolic value as the T-shaped columns³. An open question remains why these beings' stone head is rendered geometrically, without physiognomy details. On multiple columns at the middle, on the “belly”, two vertical parallel lines can be seen, which have no anatomical explanation. It was hypothesized that they represent pieces of clothing similar to the priest's robe. Both lines end above the hands placed on the belly. At chest height the two lines form a V, thus representing a piece of clothing that would hang round the neck and on both sides of the body⁴.

The most common occurrences of column C1 are in quadrilateral buildings, in all areas of the buildings, both central and along the walls, especially when they are interspersed with benches of stone (Fig. 61).

The type D columns

In the D category of columns we have included the cylindrical columns. So far we have identified eight primary subtypes and one secondary subtype for the columns D6 and D7 – the column with bucranium (Fig. 51). This is a special type, given the cultic element placed on the body.

¹ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80.

² Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80.

³ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 79.

⁴ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80.

The most often used type is D2, the simple monumental column. The next columns in order are the type D7, with bucranium, and D6, a medium-sized column without pedestal. The type D1 small column is encountered in some cases and most often it functions as a pedestal (Fig. 62).

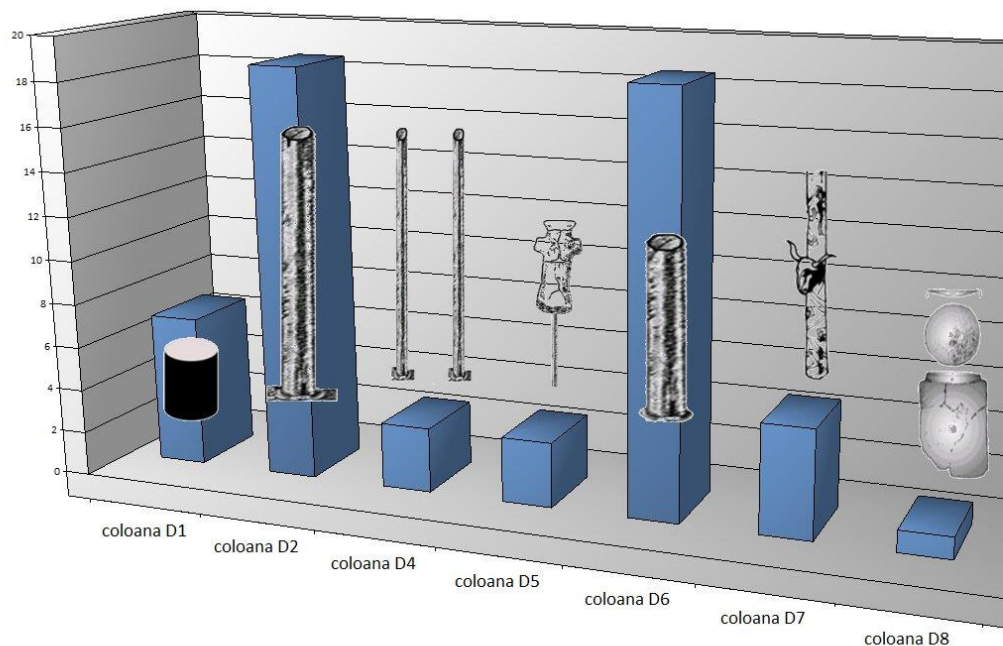


Fig. 62. Frequency of the subtypes of type D columns.

The D2 column appears in several contexts, being particularly well represented at Beycesultan. In the Megaron from Vinča it has an obvious cultic significance, being related to the sacred number seven (Fig. 63).

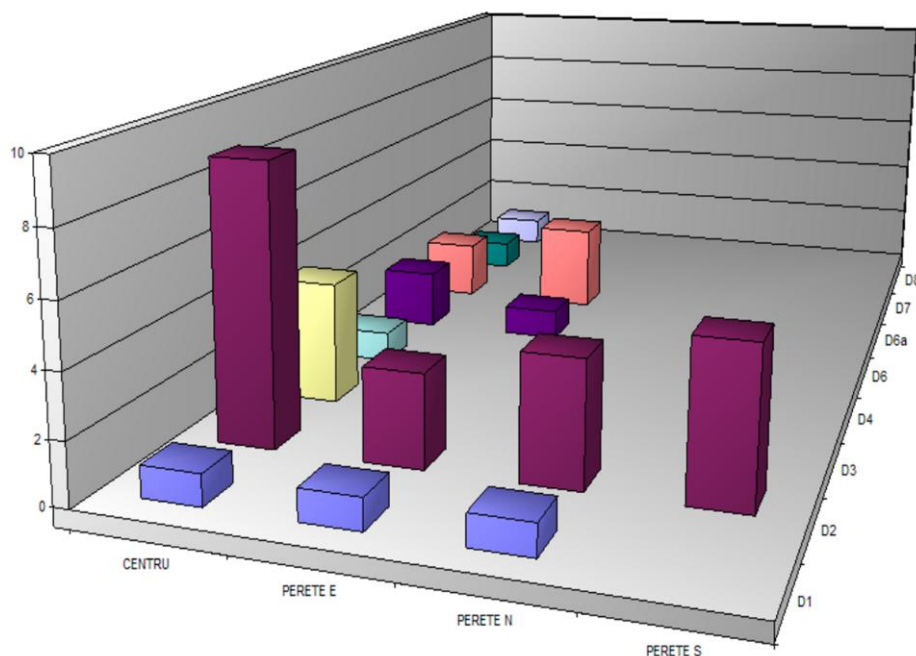


Fig. 63. The ratio between type D column and their location within the rectangular building.

In terms of location, we notice that most columns are positioned in the center of the cultic rooms. Here is also the greatest variety of columns. Regarding the walls of the sanctuaries, only column D2 is located near the southern wall. On the northern wall are preferred columns D2 and D1, and on the eastern wall four column types were used. The western wall does not have columns attached to or next to it (Fig. 63).

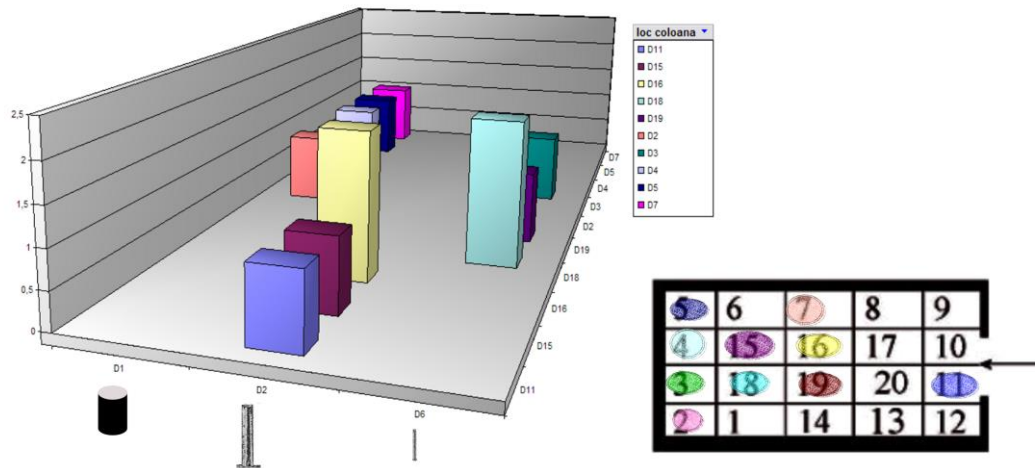


Fig. 64. The location of D1, D2 and D6 columns within the rectangular buildings.

Inside rectangular buildings, with the entry on the short side, we analyzed the positioning of three types of columns from category D, all types having a high positioning variation. Thus, we found that in this type of building are used most often columns D1, D2 and D6. The variation in height between columns makes us think about the possibility that they had each a specific role. The graph shows that the central positions are preferred in the building, the highest frequency being opposite to the entrance (areas D16, D19, D15) (Fig. 64).

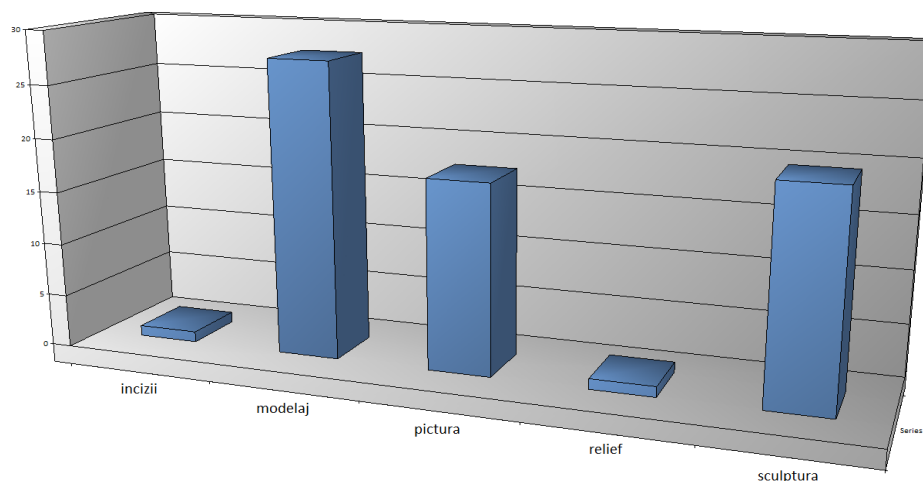


Fig. 65. Types of ornamental techniques used on the columns.

From the point of view of the decoration, we note the same techniques used on the walls: the relief (often in the form of bucranium), painting with red, sometimes white, and incision and inlay of

geometric motifs, such as spiral, meander, triangle, rhombus and so on (Fig. 65). We integrated modeling too, although it is not a decorative technique.

Also, the columns decorating technique varies according to building and the wall where it is located, as well as the message, allegory or metaphor they carry. We followed this aspect in the sanctuaries of Çatal Höyük.

Building name, the wall	Relief	Paint	Insertion
E.VI.10;N	1		
VII.9; V	2		
E.VI.14;V	1		
VII.10; N	1		
X.1; N	1		
E.VI.10;V	1		
E.VI.10; E	1	1	
E.VI.44;N		2	
E.VI.8; E		2	
E.VI.B.1;E		1	
E.VI.B.1; N		1	
E.VI.B.12 E		1	
E.VI.B.12S		2	
VII.1;		1	
VII.1; E		1	
VII.1; N		1	
VII.21; E		2	
E.VI.7; E		2	
E.VI.A.50 E		3	1
A.VI.1;E			1
E.VI.10; S			1
E.VI.14;			3
E.VI.14; E			1
VI.7;			1
E.VI.8;V			4
VII.21; N			1
A.VI.1; N			2
A.VI.1; S			1

Fig. 66. Çatal Höyük. The technique for column ornamentation in relation to the building and the wall where they are found.

We note that the technique of embedding horns has a huge diversity, instead painting columns is found mainly on the eastern wall. Also, the decoration on columns is used mainly in the levels VI and VII (Fig. 66).

A special type of decoration on columns is chalice, so far found in a single case, at Greaca (Fig. 38) (type D8). The purpose of this column probably was keeping liquids¹. This type of column must be associated with idols placed on the column, discovered at Trușești in L.60² and L.61³ (Fig. 41), and the double statue with open-ended heads in the form of cups from building L.24⁴ (Fig. 44). We cannot fail to notice that the anthropomorphic idol with chalice head from Mărgineni-Cetățuia might have had the same role of keeping/offering liquids⁵.

The bucranium and the columns are tightly connected in the shrines, appearing in various contexts joined or assimilated. The first evidences of connections between columns and bulls' horns come from the Middle East, specifically from Mureybet, where in level III of dwelling (PPNA) appear the first evidences of a cult of the bull⁶.

Most platforms at Çatal Höyük have at their end columns finished with bull horns or bucrania, but the situations where we encounter them are quite numerous. At Yasa Tepe a column head bucranium is found in the culture Karanovo II; a monumental bucranium column head appears at Stara Zagora⁷, at Porodin⁸, at Kotchati, in the Neolithic of Cyprus⁹.

At Parța the bucrania on the columns are designed to mark the eastern entrance to Temple 2¹⁰. In Temple 1 it has a special role, to mark the three altars found inside¹¹ (Fig. 211). The bucranium often occurs in the position of "capitel" (column head) in Temple 2 and at the domestic altar P.126¹² (Fig. 47).

In the area of the Vinča culture there are similar examples to the situations of Parța at Kormadin¹³ and Gomolava¹⁴. Sanctuary 1 is provided with a central pillar, which has bucranium joined to its' decorated body¹⁵. Sanctuary 2 has a monumental altar flanked by two parallel columns upon which was placed a massive bucranium¹⁶.

The sanctuaries from Kormadin, like those from Parța or Crkvine, are interesting mostly because many of the main elements of composition and structure are similar, belonging to the same cultural area, and some cultic or architectural elements are common to these three sites¹⁷. The placement of the bucrania on the columns may be connected religiously to the life force of the body of the bull, as well as to the energy of the sacred animal, the bull¹⁸.

¹ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 538, 598.

² Petrescu-Dîmbovița *et alii*, 1999: 117-121.

³ Petrescu-Dîmbovița *et alii*, 1999: 291, fig. 1, 3, 5.

⁴ Petrescu-Dîmbovița *et alii*, 1999: 529.

⁵ Monah, 1997: 257, fig. 5.

⁶ Mellaart, 1975: 47.

⁷ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 279.

⁸ Kalicz, Rączky, 1981; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 1981: 278-279, fig. 255.

⁹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 1981: 278-279, fig. 256

¹⁰ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001, I.1: fig. 249.

¹¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 268, 275, fig. 165-168, 170.

¹² Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 275.

¹³ Jovanovič, 1991.

¹⁴ Brukner, 1988: 33, 3/7-8; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 1985: 40.

¹⁵ Jovanovič, 1991: 119.

¹⁶ Jovanovič, 1991: 120.

¹⁷ Jovanovič, 1991: 119.

¹⁸ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 278.

Name	Place-context	Bibliography
Column	Parța-P4	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p. 116.
Column	Parța – Sanctuary 1	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p. 268, 275, fig.165-168, 170
Column with a bull head	Parța – Sanctuary 2	Lazarovici et alii 2001, I.1, fig. 249
Column with a bull head	Parța – Sanctuary 2	Lazarovici et alii 2001
Column with bull heads	Parța – Sanctuary 1	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p. 268, 275, fig.165-168, 170
Wooden column with clay head and a forehead fragment	Parța –P126.3	Lazarovici 1998, cat 9, p. 14, fig. 8; C.-M. Lazarovici & Gh. Lazarovici 2006, p. 352-355.
Square unfired column	Parța-P4a domestic altar	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p.112-113, 116, 88-89, Pl.2, fig. 60/4.
Square unfired column	Parța-P4b domestic altar	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p.112-113, 116, 88-89, Pl.2, fig. 60/4.
Small unfired column	Parța – Sanctuary 1	Lazarovici et alii 2001, p. 268, 275, fig.165-168, 170

Fig. 67. Parța. List of column types and the related bibliography.

Considerations on the column's significance and meanings

The column is an immobile feature which is very often seen into the sanctuaries from south-eastern Europe. This one has several meanings especially if it is related to other elements, such as deposits or the bucranias on their body. Repeatedly associated with bucrania it actually became a worship object or a symbol of „world tree”¹. Depending on the different elements placed around the columns, they lose their functional role, becoming themselves an altar, a place of worship and way of communication with superior forces².

In Crete there is some evidence on the cult of sacred trees and by extension it was reached to column cult, representing the god, or the place where he displays himself, during processions and giving offerings³. The pillar or column is symbol of the divine presence in a temple or a sanctuary⁴. Finally the column was a symbol of power and later was seen as divinity representation, or even the God himself⁵. We believe that the origins of such a concept originated in the Neolithic Age.

The discotions on stone columns from Mesopotamia are very large and which highlight not only their anthropomorphic, unusual, shape, but also the symbols or signs associated, carved on their body⁶. Monumental monolith pillars are carved vertical, with reliefs and repetitive themes derived one from another⁷. The feminine representation at Göbekli Tepe is rare and inconsistent⁸.

¹ Vulcănescu, 1987: 353.

² Dumitrescu, VI. 1979: 73.

³ Matz, 1969: 120.

⁴ Dudley, 1846: 373.

⁵ Dudley, 1846: 381.

⁶ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 79.

⁷ Özdoğan, A. 2007: 63.

⁸ Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 73; Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: Fig. 31.

The columns of „T” shape might present supernatural beings or ancestors of the clan, characters protected by the ferocious animals. It was carved snakes, foxes, wild boars, wild cattle and gazelles. Sometimes they appear in coherent arrangements. Very often the images of wild and dangerous animals have open mouths, sharp teeth, recalling the Cerberus of the ancient mythology. The animals probably had the role of guardians of the stone world¹.

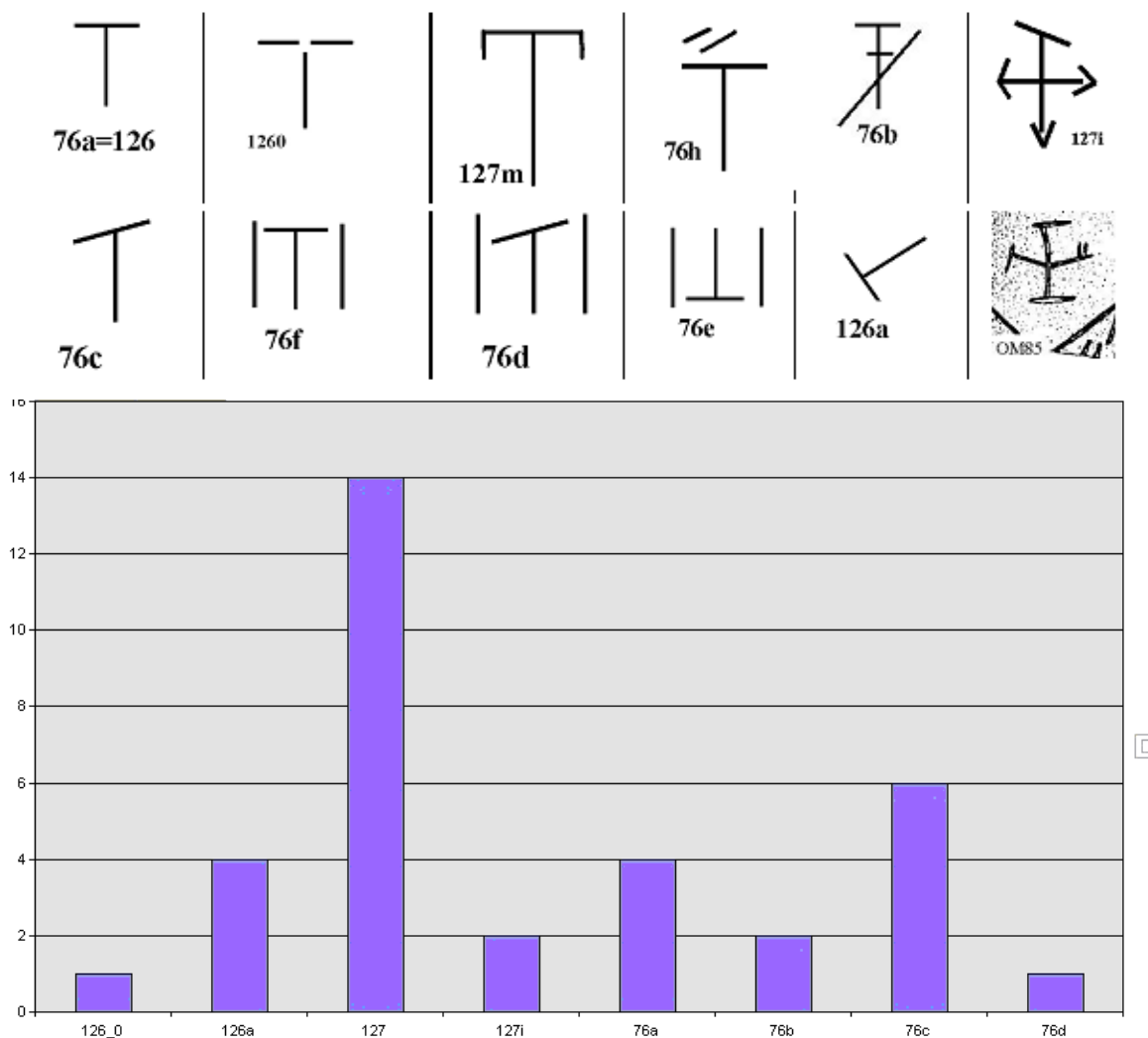


Fig. 68. The signs of the Danube writing depicting “T” with various significations.

A zoomorphic motif used is the fox that appears on some columns from Göbekli Tepe and engraved on stones at Jerf el Ahmar. Regarding this particular evocation, it raises many questions, given the fact that the fox has not fierce features². Images are large, sometimes in natural size. In general the semi-naturalistic style prevails³. The signs from the columns could be interpreted as transmitting an apotropaic message or a mythical story, now lost⁴. The buildings and the role of large sculptures are still debated and are far from being definitively stressed. K. Schmidt suggested that Göbekli Tepe would be a central place for hunter-gatherer communities, where rituals for the dead were held, probably under the guidance of a shaman⁵. In the absence of evidences of household or

¹ Schmidt, 2007: 75.

² Stordeur, 2010: 124.

³ Schmidt, 2003: 3.

⁴ Schmidt, 2003: 7.

⁵ Verhoeven, 2010: 16.

domestic activities, as well as on the base of the constructions' monumentality, one can hypothesize that the site served to regular community activities, undergoing yet difficult to decipher rituals.

The discussion of this type of column cannot be easily exhausted, but we will take a look at it, given the overwhelming importance of the column in the sanctuaries of the PPN sites already mentioned. We must not forget that the first form of the cross was in the form of "T" and in the Danube Script the sign "T" appears in many combinations¹. We find that the inclined T signs have different variants: 76b-woman with child, OM85-invocation from Heaven to Earth (Fig. 68).

Another aspect generally visible at the columns is their arrangement. The buildings are generally circular, and the columns were arranged in a circle with the front side facing the center². In two cases, arms and hands are represented suggesting a column in anthropomorphic position. The others have representations in relief that do not seem to relate to anthropomorphic statues. Most of them have zoomorphic decorations, and some columns have abstract signs, whose meaning is hard to discern³.

The two buildings of worship from Nevalı Çori, through their features, give a strong impression of monumentality. The shape of the religious buildings is rectangular and they have an elaborate architectural technology (Fig. 11-12). Building 13 has 15 monolithic T-shaped columns of impressive size, made in the same style as those of Göbekli Tepe⁴. The central column shows on the entire surface a stylized human figure represented in relief⁵.

The arms and hands represented sometimes in relief on the T-shaped columns appear to be stylized, anthropomorphic beings, interpreted as super-natural beings or images of ancestors, characters protected by the wild animals carved on the columns (Fig. 14). At the end of their use, the buildings were intentionally buried and filled with earth and gravel⁶. The anthropomorphic pillars were seen as "gatekeepers" of the world of stone, that could symbolize ancestors or demons⁷.

We do not want to insist too much on the stone statues, but they are important both due to their size and the material they were made of. Besides the large-size stele-columns in the temples, at Göbekli Tepe were discovered several life-sized anthropomorphic heads made of limestone. They show cracks at the neck, so it is likely they were larger, or they had bodies attached. Some heads were discovered in the filling of the structures, or were intentionally placed under the central pillar, during the filling and burying of the buildings⁸.

Regarding the foundation deposits of columns, the data are from different eras and cultures. One of the buildings at Balta Sărată has in the eastern corner of the northern room the remains of a column of unburned clay, suggestively called the "Water Column" with a structure of river stones at the base (Fig. 30). In the midst of the stones were located the remains of a cup leg. Unfortunately, the height of the column could not be estimated, as it was destroyed⁹. A similar situation was discovered in Temple 2 from Parța, in the foundation pit of the southern pillar, located near the entrance. A zoomorphic statuette and a small vessel, both with apotropaic role, had been deposited at its' base¹⁰. The deposits in the pillar pits are meant to mark and at the same time to delimit a specific point of space, with the purpose to transcend beyond the temporal limits of those using the space. The various

¹ Lazarovici Gh., 2003; Lazarovici Gh., 2009; Merlini, 2009: 98-163.

² Hauptmann, Schmidt, 2007: 80; Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61.

³ Schmidt, 2007a: 85.

⁴ Hauptmann, 1999: 86.

⁵ Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61.

⁶ Verhoeven, 2010: 16.

⁷ Hauptmann, 1999: 87.

⁸ Dietrich *et alii*, 2012: 45.

⁹ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 172, Fig. IIIa. 51/b-d.

¹⁰ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 1985: 38.

objects deposited at the base of columns are placed in this specific point, to highlight a metaphorical relationship between two key elements: the life cycle of the settlement and the goodwill of the deity. The outstanding deposits in the column pits, particularly those in foundations, find their origins in the beliefs about the animation of certain buildings, and the deposits in certain pits in sanctuaries are based on beliefs about the inhabitation and animation of the sanctuary by obtaining a bond with the protective divinity¹.

In most situations the columns appear grouped in sanctuaries, in various situations. When it is not located alone in the center of the building, the column comprises several forms of representation. At Çatal Höyük the column has multiple forms. One that attracts attention is the quadrilateral clay column, which in many cases appears doubled, bordering certain cultic panels, or at Beycesultan, circular wooden columns, used in the contexts of sanctuaries, to emphasize the monumentality thereof².

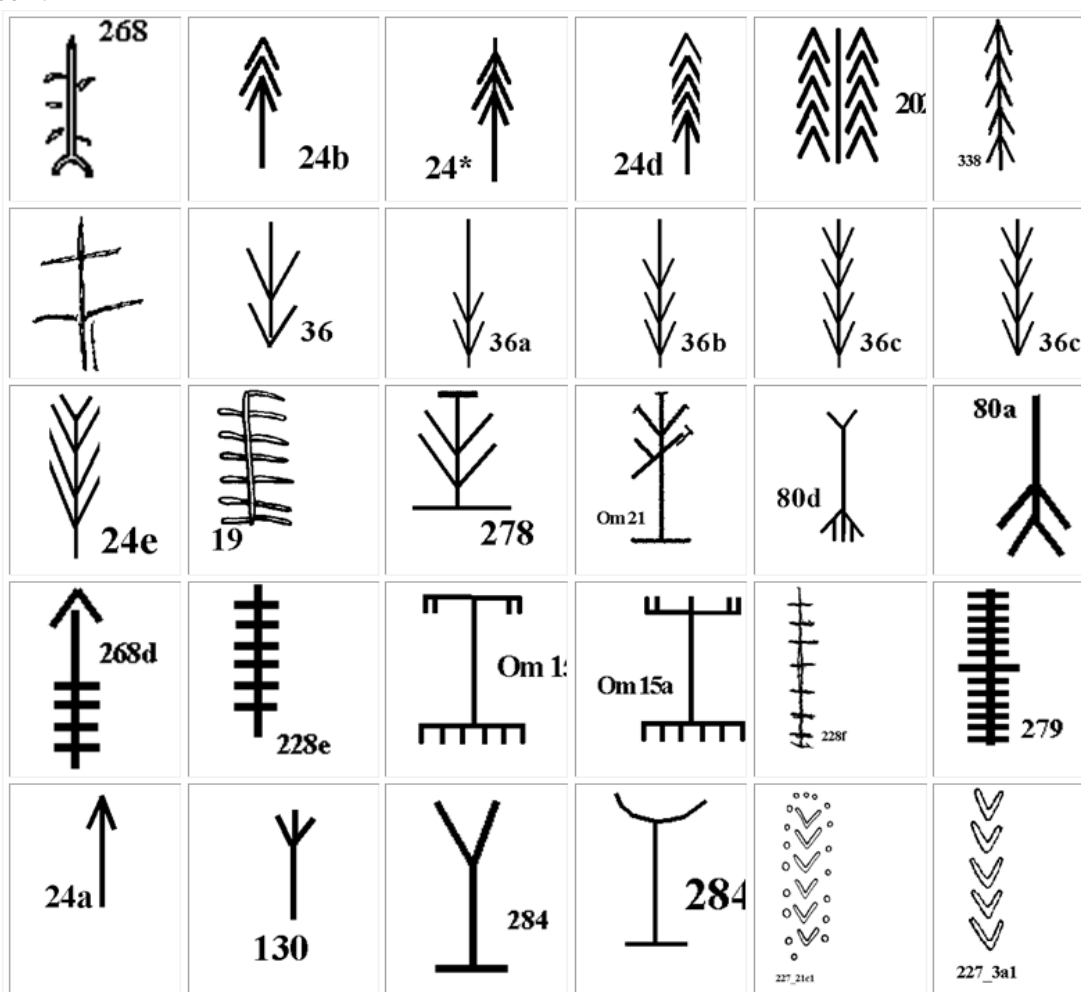


Fig. 69. Types of signs depicting the sacred tree and plants (after catalogue Lazarovici Gh., 2002).

The double column or two columns arranged side by side represent the bipolarity, the dual aspect of divinity. The earliest type of arrangement of columns in pair appears at Nevalı Çori. In Building 13 are placed two anthropomorphic columns in the center of the sanctuary³.

The double column is at the same time “The Tree of Life” and “The tree of knowledge and death”, the opposite sides completing one another, representing the balance of the forces. The column on the right is the male concept, while the column on the left is feminine, symbolizing space and

¹ Brück, 1999: 333.

² Mellaart, 1975: 101.

³ Hauptmann, 1993; Hauptmann, 1999: 86; Özdoğan, M. 2007: 61.

temporal power (Fig. 69). The adjacent columns signify the supports of the Heaven, so that they form the “Gate of heaven”, the mandatory entry to the sacred space¹.

In the case of three columns grouped together, a situation encountered in prehistoric times, the middle column signifies strength and balance. Three columns are an iconless representation of the “mother goddess”, the lunar goddess. The column triad marks wisdom, beauty, and spiritual force².

A situation encountered in religious buildings, but not very frequently, is the grouping of seven columns or poles. The arrangement of seven items is not random. The seven columns of the Megaron from Vinča³, the seven poles from Căscioarele⁴, the external columns on the model of Střelice⁵, all are connected to the worship of the column in several ways.

The number seven has many connotations in all parts of the world, being considered a number that includes the universe, the macrocosmos and the totality. It represents perfection, security, reintegration, synthesis, purity, and it is a number of the “great mother”, of associations connected to her cult and her priestesses⁶. Several elements were represented as seven: the cosmic stages, the heavens, the steps down to inferno, the planets, the essential metals, the circles of the universe, the rays of the sun, the stages of human life, the pillars of wisdom, the days of the week, and others (7 eagles, the bread with 7 signs, the 7 holes, etc.)⁷. In the Buddhist faith this number has a substantial symbolic load, the most important being related to the *Pasada* building of Borobudur, which has seven floors and it represents the sacred mountain and *axis mundi*, culminating in the transcendent area, in the realms of Buddha. At the Egyptians the seven cows with bulls represented fertility, and the number is an attribute of Osiris⁸.

Moreover, in the Egyptian area was also the theory that the sky is shaped like a quadrilateral plate of iron supported by the mountains surrounding the earth or on pillars⁹. Originally, in Crete Zeus was worshiped as a pillar of stone, a column containing the spirit or the earthly representation of the spirit¹⁰. The Hebrews have the seven pillars of wisdom, and the number represents the occult intelligence. In the Islamic area the number seven represents the perfect number, the skies, the seas and the lands, the colors, the prophets, the active powers, the attributes of Allah¹¹.

The tree of life, painted or incised, represented mainly on ceramics, associated with other symbols, such as the column or pillar, the crescent, the spiral, the snake, the egg, is present on some statuettes. Several versions of the tree of life could be related to natural regeneration (Fig. 69). For this type of decoration, which often appears on ceramic, was realized a catalog of representations of plants, where the symbolic meanings are discussed¹².

From ancient times, trees have represented a central point of worship of many nations. As the largest plant on earth, the tree was one of the main sources of mythical imagination, often invested with a special spirituality. Over time, cultic trees or some forest were worshiped, at different times, almost everywhere¹³. Most times the column should be linked to a series of beliefs and practices

¹ Cooper, 2004: 130.

² Cooper, 2004: 131.

³ Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006: 195.

⁴ Dumitrescu, Vl. 1974: 478; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 246, 286, 292.

⁵ Müller-Karpe, 1968, II: taf. 208.

⁶ Lazarovici, Gh. 2000: 61; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 2009: 884-890.

⁷ Lazarovici, Gh. 2000: 57-68.

⁸ Cooper, 2004: 117.

⁹ Mackenzie, 1918: 283.

¹⁰ Mackenzie, 1918: 184.

¹¹ Cooper, 2004: 118.

¹² Lazarovici, Gh. 2002.

¹³ Cooper, 2004: 176.

involving an upward movement, aided by the heavenly tree, as a link¹. A number of defining features for columns appear repeatedly in the contexts of Neolithic sanctuaries, elements that we classified according to several criteria: shape, material of construction, functionality, size and symbolic significance.

Thus from the point of view of raw material, there are columns made of stone, unburned clay, wood, wood covered with clay, clay. Each material resulted in a different form of the column, from the monolithic block of stone, to the rectangular columns made of unburned clay, to the circular, round column. There are testimonies regarding non-architectural column, which takes the shape of sacrifice, such as the column of smoke that transmits messages to the gods, or the burning stake which is sometimes a manifestation of the presence of the divinity².

From the point of view of functionality, the column supports the roof of the building or delimits the space, either at the entry, or separating it inside. The symbolic significance of the columns is not easy to define. One of the views about the cultic purpose of the column is an analogy between the support of the celestial vault and the support of the roof. Another interpretation is that the column makes contact with higher spheres, with other planes of existence of the community. The column would thus have the role of placing the construction in the “center of the universe”³.

The column is the one linking the sacred and the profane, the link between heaven and earth. In the Minoan civilization the column represents the god himself and it marked the sacred space. The column of Crete is a manifestation of the cult of the column that represents the Great God, the source and symbol of power, the place where there god appears⁴, but it is also a representation of the *phallus*, of the totemic pole, *columna universalis*, *axis mundi*, the column or pillar of punishment⁵.

Most often, the sanctuary or the community cultic building marks the center of the settlement. The central location has many explanations and meanings with reference to the importance of spiritual life in the community. Often the entry of the sanctuary is flanked by columns. The flanking is intended to warn the uninitiated that he is about to enter in a certain area, different from the secular life that he lives⁶.

Remnants of the cult of the column in historical periods are recorded in Ireland and Scotland. Some communities still celebrate the “*Maypole*” or the “*Pillar of Flower*”, which is usually made of oak and decorated with ribbons. It is a symbol of fertility that occurs in spring. People used to dance around this pole on the 1st of May, a subsisting practice of the ancient rite of worshiping trees⁷. In the Scandinavian mythology is found “*Yggdrasil*”, the evergreen cosmic tree, fountain of eternal life and immortality. It was believed that the gods gather and hold council under its branches. Its roots extend into the underworld, the trunk passes across the world of men and its branches extend into *Valhalla*, the realm of the gods⁸. In this case, the cosmic tree is meant to unite the three planes of natural and supernatural existence⁹. In Romanian folklore we notice the presence of fir-tree in several situations, such as wedding and funeral (decorated for procession)¹⁰, but also to invoke in different situations, often as a character and posture of brother¹¹.

¹ Vulcănescu, 1987: 352.

² Cooper, 2004: 178.

³ Eliade, 2005: 380.

⁴ Matz, 1969: 121.

⁵ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 209-210.

⁶ Gimbutas, 1984: 80.

⁷ Mackenzie, 1918: 60.

⁸ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 2009: 93.

⁹ Cooper, 2004: 196.

¹⁰ Florea-Marian, 1892.

¹¹ Poruciuc, 2010: 23, 79.

References

- Bánffy, E. 1990-1991. Cult and Archaeological Context in Middle and South-East Europe in the Neolithic and Calcolithic, in *Antaeus*, nr. 19-20, Budapest: 183-250.
- Becker, J., Clare, L. 2014. New Radiocarbon Ages from Göbekli Tepe. In *Our Place: Our Place in the World*, John Templeton Foundation - Newsletter September 2014: 7.
- Berciu, D. 1961. Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări, București.
- Boghian, D. D. 2003. *Începuturile istoriei omenirii*, Ed. Bucovina Istorică, Suceava.
- Bradač, M. M. 2005. The Transfer of Symbols and Meaning: the Case of the “Horns of Consecration”, in *Documenta Praehistorica*. Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolitika, neolitika in eneolitika v Sloveniji. Neolitske študije/ Neolithic studies, Ljubliana, 32: 187-196.
- Brosius, B. 2005. From Çayönü to Çatalhöyük Emergence and development of an egalitarian society. http://www.urkommunismus.de/catalhueyuek_en.html.
- Brück, J. 1999. Ritual and Rationality: Some Problems of Interpretation in European Archaeology, in *European Journal of Archaeology*, 1999, 2: 333-338.
- Brukner, B. 1988. Die Siedlung de Vinča-Gruppe auf Gomolava. In *Gomolava International Symposium*, Novi Sad: 31-38.
- Çamurcuoğlu, D. 2008. *Conservation. Çatalhöyük 2008 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project: 249-256.
- Çamurcuoğlu, D. 2010. *Conservation. Çatalhöyük 2010 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project: 113-117.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 2009. Dicționar de simboluri, mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere, ed. Polirom, București.
- Comșa, E. 1974. *Istoria comunităților culturii Boian*, Editura Academiei, București.
- Cooper, J. C. 2004. An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols, Thames and Hudson, Londra.
- Dietrich, O., Schmidt, K. 2010. A Radiocarbon Date from the Wall Plaster of Enclosure D of Göbekli Tepe, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2/10, *Special Topic on The Domestication of Water*: 82-83.
- Dietrich *et alii*, 2012. Dietrich, O., Köksal-Schmidt, Ç., Kürkçüoğlu, C., Notroff, J., Schmidt, K., Göbekli Tepe – A Stone Age ritual center in southeastern Turkey, in *Actual Archaeology*, 2: 35-51.
- Dietrich *et alii*, 2014. Dietrich, O., Notroff, J., Schmidt, K. (†), Recent Research 2013/14: Insights into a new Enclosure at Göbekli Tepe, in *Review. Our Place: Our Place in The World*. John Templeton Foundation - Newsletter September 2014: 5-6.
- Dietrich *et alii*, 2014. Dietrich, O., Köksal-Schmidt, Ç., Kürkçüoğlu, C., Notroff, J., Schmidt, K. 2014. Göbekli Tepe. Preliminary Report 2012 and 2013 Excavation Seasons, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 1/14: 11-17.
- Dudley, J. 1846, Naology: or, A Treatise on the Origin, Progress, and Symbolical Import of The Sacred Structures of the Most Eminent Nations and Ages of the World, London.
- Dumitrescu, Vl. 1970, Édifice destiné au culte découvert dans la couche Boian-Spanțov de la station tell de Căscioarele, in *Dacia*, NS, XIV: 5-24.

- Dumitrescu, Vl. 1974, *Arta preistorică în România*, București.
- Eddinsford, D. 2008. Building 49-4040 Area. *Çatalhöyük 2008 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project: 30-37.
- Eliade, M. 1992. *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*. vol. I, ed. Științifică, București.
- Eliade, M. 2005. *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*. Ed. Humanitas, București.
- Farid, S. 2003. South area. *Çatalhöyük 2003 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project: 50-53.
- Ferguson, E. A. 1983. An Investigation of The Relationships between the Physical Organisation of Religious Shrines and the Perceived Malevolence or Benevolence of the Gods, in *Cross-Cultural Research*, vol. 18, no. 3: 185-194.
- Florea-Marian, S. 1892. *Inmormântarea la români - Studiu etnografic*, Ed. Academiei Române, Lito-Tipografia Carol Göbl, București.
- Foster, B. R. 2007. Mesopotamia. In J. R. Hinnells, *A Handbook of Ancient Religions*, Cambridge University Press, New York: 161-213.
- Gimbutas, M. 1984. *The Goddesses and Gods of old Europe. Myths and Cult Images*. Thames and Hudson, Londra.
- Goring-Morris, N., Horwitz, L. K. 2007. Funerals and feasts during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Near East, in *Antiquity*, vol. 81, issue 314, December: 902-919.
- Hauptmann H. 1993. Ein Kultgebäude in Nevali Çori. In Frangipane, M. M., Hauptmann, H., Liverani, M., Matthiae, P., Mellink, M. (eds.), *Between The Rivers And Over The Mountains: Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri Dedicata*, Universita di Roma La Sapienza: 37-69.
- Hauptmann, H. 1999. The Urfa Region. In Özdoğan, M., Başgelen, N. (eds.), *Neolithic in Turkey. The cradle of civilization, new discoveries*, Istanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları: 65-86.
- Hauptmann, H. 2000. Ein frühneolithisches Kultbild aus Kommagene. In Wagner, J. (ed.), *Gottkünige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, Mainz, Philipp von Zabern: 5-9.
- Hauptmann, H., Schmidt, K. 2007. Die Skulpturen des Frühneolithikums. In Hauptmann H., Schmidt K., (eds.), *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Ausstellungskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe: 67-82.
- Hayden, B. 2003. *A Prehistory of the Religion. Shamans, Sorcerers and Saints*, Smithsonian Books, Washington.
- Hole, F. 2002. Function and Hierarchy in Neolithic Settlements. In Kuijt I. (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities. Social organisation, Identity and Differentiation*, Kluwer Academic Publishers: 191-209.
- House, M., Yeomans, L. 2008. Building 77. *Çatalhöyük 2003 Archive Report*, Çatalhöyük Research Project: 38-48.
- Jack, J. W. 1936. Recent Biblical Archaeology. In *The Expository Times*, vol. 47, Issue 6, Sage Publications.
- Jovanović, B. 1991. Die Kultplätze und Architektur in der Vinča-Kultur, in *Banatica, Revista Muzeului Banatului Montan*, Reșița, vol. 11: 119-124.
- Kalicz, N., Ráczky, P. 1981. The precursors to the „Horns of Consecration” in the Southeast European Neolithic, in *Acta Archaeologica*, 33/5: 5-20.
- Karmanski, S. 2005. Donja Branjevina, A Neolithic Settlement near Deronje in the Vojvodina (Serbia), Ed. Paolo Biagii, Venezia, Quadermo 10.

- Kenyon, K. 1981. *Excavations at Jericho III*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, London.
- Köksal-Schmidt, Ç., Schmidt, K. 2010. The Göbekli Tepe „Totem Pole”. A First Discussion of an Autumn 2010 Discovery (PPN, Southeastern Turkey), in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 1: 74-76.
- Koukouli – Chrysanthaki, *et alii*, 1996. Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, C., Todorova, H., Aslanis, I., Bojadžiev, J., Konstantoupoulou, F., Vajsov, I., Valla, M., The Promachonas-Topolnica settlement, in *To Arhailogika ergo xti Makedonia kai Traki*, 10B: 745-771.
- Koukouli – Chrysanthaki, *et alii*, 2006. Koukouli – Chrysanthaki, C., Aslanis, I., Vaisov, I., Valla, M., Promachon-Topolnica: A Greek-Bulgarian archaeological project, in *Αρχαιολογικό έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη (ΑΕΜΘ) 17*, Thessaloniki: 91–110.
- Koukouli – Chrysanthaki, *et alii*, 2007. Koukouli-Chryssanthaki, C., Todorova, H., Aslanis, I., Vajsov, I., Valla, M., Promachon-Topolnica A greek-bulgarian archaeological project. In Todorova, H., Stefanivic, M., Ivanov, G. (eds.), *The Struma/Strymon River Valley in Prehistory*, Vol. 2, Sofia: 43–78.
- Kuijt, I. 2000. Life in the Neolithic Farming Communities. An Introduction. In I. Kuijt (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities, Social Organization, Identity, and Differentiation*: 3-18.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2004. Sanctuarele Precucuteni-Cucuteni, in *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXV/2002, București: 47-67.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2006. *Arhitectura neoliticului și epocii cuprului din România*. Vol. I, Neoliticul, BAM IV, eds. V. Spinei, V. Mihailescu-Bîrliaba, Ed. Trinitas, Iași.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., *et alii*, 2009. Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., Țurcanu, S., *Cucuteni. A great civilisation of the prehistoric world*, Palatul Culturii Publishing House, Iași.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2000. The Eagle-The Bird of Death, Regeneration-Ressurrection and Messenger of Gods. Archaeological an Ethnological Problems, in *Tibiscum*, Caransebeș, vol. X: 57-68.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2002. Sacred Symbols on Neolithic Cult Objects from the Balkans. In Nikolova L. (ed.), *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, British Archaeological Reports International Series: 57-64.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2009. Are the Tărtăria Tablets a „Enigma?”. In Luca, S. A. (ed.), *The Danube Script*, ed. Altip, Alba Iulia: 41-57.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lako, E. 1981. Săpăturile de la Zăuan. Campania din 1980 și importanța acestor descoperiri pentru neoliticul din nord-vestul României, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj-Napoca 18/1: 13-44.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M. 2007. Despre construcții neo-eneolitice de cult din sud-estul Europei: tehnici de construire, organizare spațială, scurte interpretări. Partea I-a. In Ursulescu N. (ed.), *Dimensiunea europeană a civilizației eneolitice est-carpătice*, Editura Univ. Al. I. Cuza, Iași: 63-103.
- Lazarovici Gh., Maxim Z. 1995. *Gura Baciului. Monografie Arheologică*, Cluj-Napoca, 1995.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 1985. Lazarovici, Gh., Kalmar, Z., Drașoveanu, Fl., Luca, A. S., Complexul Neolitic de la Parța, in *Banatica*, 38: 7-71.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2001. Lazarovici, Gh., Drașoveanu, Fl., Maxim, Z., *Parța. Monografie arheologică*, Vol. 1.1; vol. 1.2, “Waldpress”, BHAB, 12.
- Leuven, J. C. van 1981. Problems and Methods of Prehellenic Naology. In Hägg R., Marinatos N. (eds.), *Sactuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Stockholm: 11-25.
- Lloyd, S., Mellaart, J. 1958, Beycesultan Excavations, Fourth Preliminary Report, in *Anatolian Studies*, 8: 93-125.

- Luca, S. A. 2015. Viața trăită sub zei. Situl Starcevo-Criș I de la Cristian, județul Sibiu, România. Living under the Gods. The Starcevo-Cris I site from Cristian I, Sibiu County, Romania. SEEP II, Suceava.
- Mackenzie, D. A. 1918. *Myths of Creete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*, Gresham Publishing Company LTD, London.
- Marangou, C., Grammenos, D. 2005. Monumentality, Functionality, Animality: On an Unusual Prehistoric Clay Head from Central Macedonia, Greece, and Its Implications, in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 100: 1-40.
- Matz, F. 1969. *Creta, Micene, Troia*, Ed Științifică, București.
- Maxim-Kalmar Z., Tarcea L. 1999. Analiza matematică și statistică a ceramicii și plasticii civilizației Cucuteni de la Trușești-Țuguieța. In *Trușești. Monografie arheologică*, 1999: 647-670.
- Mellaart, J. 1963. Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, second preliminary report, 1962, in *Anatolian Studies* 13: 45-97.
- Mellaart, J. 1964. Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, third preliminary report, 1963, in *Anatolian Studies* 14: 40-113.
- Mellaart, J. 1966. Excavations at Çatal Hüyük, fourth preliminary report, 1965, in *Anatolian Studies* 16: 165-191.
- Mellaart, J. 1975. *The Neolithic of the Near East*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- Merlini, M. 2009. *An Inquiry into the Danube Script*, Alba Iulia – Editura Altip, Sibiu.
- Mithen, S. 2005. *Neolithic Beginnings in Western Asia and Beyond*, in Research Awards, London.
- Monah, D. 1997. *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis III, Piatra Neamț.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1968. *Handbuch de Vorgeschichte*, I, Jungsteinzeit, München.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1974. *Handbuch de Vorgeschichte*, II, Jungsteinzeit, München.
- Nanoglou, S. 2001. Social and monumental space in Neolithic Thessaly, Greece. In *European Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 4, no. 3, December 2001, Sage Publications: 303-322.
- Nashef, K. 1990. Archaeology in Irak, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 94, no. 2, April: 259-290.
- Nikolov, V. 1989. Das frühneolithische Haus von Sofia-Slatina. Eine Untersuchung zur vorgeschichtlichen Bautechnik, in *Germania*, 67: 1-49.
- Nikolov, V. 2001. Neolithic Cult Assemblages from the Early Neolithic Settlement at Slatina, Sofia. In Biehl P. F., Bertemes F., Meller H. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*, Arheolingua, Budapesta: 133-138.
- Nodex 2002: ****Noul dictionar explicativ al limbii române*, Ed. Litera International, București.
- Özdoğan, A. 2007. Çayönü. In Hauptmann H., Schmidt K. (eds.), *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Ausstellungskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe: 58-65.
- Özdoğan, E. 2009. Settlement Organization and Architecture in Aşağı Pınar. In Krauß R. (ed.), *Beginnings - New Research in the Appearance of the Neolithic between Northwest Anatolia and the Carpathian Basin*: 213-223.
- Özdoğan, M. 2007. The Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and Bronze Age Archaeology: an Archaeological Predicament. In Stefanovich M., Angelova C. (eds.), *PRAE in Honorem Henrieta Todorova*: 203-214.

- Petrescu-Dîmbovița *et alii*, 1999. Petrescu-Dîmbovița M., Florescu M., Florescu A. C., *Trușești, monografie arheologică*, Edit. Academiei Române, București- Iași.
- Poruciuc, A. 2010. Prehistoric roots of Romanian and southeast European traditions, Vol. 1, Institute of Archaeomythology.
- Pustovoytov, K. 2002. 14 C Dating of Pedogenic Carbonate Coatings on Wall Stones at Göbekli Tepe (Southeastern Turkey), in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2: 3-4.
- Rollefson, G. O. 2002. Ritual and Social Structure at Neolithic 'Ain Ghazal. In I. Kuijt (ed.), *Life in Neolithic Farming Communities. Social Organisation, Identity, and Differentiation*, Kluwer Academic Publishers: 165-190.
- Rollefson, G. O. 2005. Early Neolithic Ritual Centers in the Southern Levant, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*: 3-13.
- Rollefson, G. O., Kafafi, Z. 1997. The 1996 Season of 'Ain Ghazal, in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, 41: 27-48.
- Roux *et alii*, 2000. Roux J. C., Der Aprahamian G., Brenet M., Stordeur D., Les bâtiments communautaires de Jerf el Ahmar et Mureybet Horizon PPNA (Syrie), in *Paléorient*, Vol. 26, No. 1: 29-44.
- Schmidt, K. 1995. Investigations in Upper Mesopotamian Early Neolithic: Göbekli Tepe and Gurcutepe, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2/95: 9-10.
- Schmidt, K. 1998. Beyond Daily Bread: Evidence of Early Neolithic Ritual from Gobekli Tepe, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2/98: 1-5.
- Schmidt, K. 2000. Göbekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. A Preliminary Report on the 1995-1999 Excavations, in *Paléorient*, Vol. 26, No. 1: 45-54.
- Schmidt, K. 2001. Göbekli Tepe, Southeastern Turkey. A Preliminary Report on the 1995-1999 Excavations, in *Paleorient*, Vol. 26, No. 1: 45-54.
- Schmidt, K. 2001a. Göbekli Tepe and the Early Neolithic Sites of the Urfa Region: a Synopsis of New Results and Current Views, in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 1: 9-11.
- Schmidt, K. 2003. The 2003 Campaign at Göbekli Tepe (Southeastern Turkey), in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2/03: 3-8.
- Schmidt, K. 2007. Göbekli Tepe. In Hauptmann H., Schmidt K. (eds.), *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Ausstellungskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe: 74-75.
- Schmidt, K. 2007a. Die Steinkreise und die Reliefs des Göbekli Tepe. In Hauptmann H., Schmidt K. (eds.), *Vor 12000 Jahren in Anatolien. Die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Ausstellungskatalog Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe: 83-96.
- Séfériadès, M. L. 2005. Note Shamanique: à propos du buchrane néolithique de Dikili Tash (Macédoine Orientale Greque). In *In Honorem Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu, Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, vol. XXII, Călărași: 97-114.
- Stordeur, D. 2010. Domestication of plants and animals, domestication of symbols?. In Bolger D., Maguire L. C. (eds.), *The development of pre-state communities in the ancient Near East*, Oxbow Books: 123-130.

- Stordeur, D. 2015. Le village de Jerf El Ahmar (Syrie, 9500-8700 CAL BC). Ou comment interroger l'architecture pour comprendre la société qui l'engendre, ArchéOrient – Le Blog Hypotheses.org, 10 Avril 2015.
- Stordeur, D., Abbès, F. 2002. Du PPNA au PPNB: mise en lumière d'une phase de transition à Jerf el Ahmar (Syrie), in *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*, 2002, tome 99, No. 3: 563-595.
- Stordeur *et alii*, 1996. Stordeur D., Jarmous B., Helmer D., Willcox G., Jerf el Ahmar: a New Mureybetian Site (PPNA) on the Middle Euphrates. In *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 2/96: 1-2.
- Stordeur *et alii*, 2000. Stordeur, D., Der Arahamian G., Brenet M., Roux J. C., Les bâtiments communautaires de Jerf el Ahmar et Mureybet horizon PPNA (Syrie), in *Paléorient*: 29-44.
- Tushingham, A. D. 1952. The Joint Excavations at Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 127, October: 5-16.
- Ursulescu, N. 2001. Dovezi ale unei simbolistici a numerelor in cultura Precucuteni, in *Memoria Antiquitatis*, XXII, Piatra Neamț: 51-69.
- Ursulescu, N., Tencariu, A. F. 2004. Aménagements de culte dans la zone des foyers et des fours de la culture Precucuteni, in *Memoria Antiquitatis*, XXIII, Piatra Neamț: 129-144.
- Ursulescu, N., Tencariu, A. F. 2006. Noi date privind arhitectura locuințelor din cultura Precucuteni. In N. Ursulescu (ed.), *Dimensiunea Europeană A Civilizației Eneolitice Est-Carpatice*, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași: 133-158.
- Verhoeven, M. 2010. Social complexity and archaeology: A contextual approach. In Bolger D., Maguire L. C., *The development of pre-state communities in the ancient Near East*, Oxbow Books: 11-21.
- Vulcănescu, R. 1987. *Mitologia română*, Ed. Academiei, București.
www.archaeologywordsmith.com.
- Yartah, T. 2005. Les bâtiments communautaires de Tell 'Abr 3 (PPNA, Syrie), in *NEO-LITHICS, The Newsletter of Southwest Asian Neolithic Research*, 1/05: 3-9.
- Yartah, T. 2013. Vie quotidienne, vie communautaire et symbolique à Tell 'Abr 3 – Syrie du Nord. Données nouvelles et nouvelles réflexions sur L'horizon PPNA au nord du Levant 10 000-9 000 BP, Volume I – Texte, Lyon.

ORNAMENTS AND SIGNS ON THE SLEDGE MODELS FROM TALIANKI (EXCAVATION 2012) – ART DECOR OR A SOURCE OF INFORMATION ?

Mila Shatilo

Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel,
Institute of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Archaeology,
milashatilo@gmail.com

Key words: Tripolie, sledge models, décor, animal draught transport.

Abstract: The question of what kind of information is contained in ornaments, symbols and signs on the pottery of early farmers of South-East Europe is still under discussion. Often, the authors are mostly interested in such aspects as their possible sacred meaning, reflecting ideology of the early communities or their probable relation to a writing system. In contrast to this I would like to analyze a few ornament elements and signs, as a source of information for the reconstruction of some aspects of everyday life or to show functions of certain objects.

Clay models of sledges belong to the category of small finds and are typical of Tripolie sites of B II – C I stages mainly from the region of South-Buh – Dnieper interfluvium. Different kinds of miniature objects such as models of houses, furniture, vessels and others, are often found in South-East Europe, making up a group of small artifacts to which sledges belong as well. These objects can be an important source for our understanding of ideological aspects of the communities that created them. Also, they can help us to reconstruct the technological development and serve as an indicator of time and place of the appearance of some innovations in South-East Europe such as, for example, transport by means of draft animals. Both aspects (ideological and technological) are connected with each other.

In general, the sledge models can be divided into two categories: the so called "schematic" one, mainly representing a wagon with either one or two sculptured draft oxen in front, and the "realistic" one (rectangular in shape) that shows only a "wagon" without animals¹. These objects are quite numerous in Tripolie (c.130 pieces) but most of them were found on the Talianki site (c. 80 items)².

In 2012 two more sledge models, practically unbroken, were found in Talianki (house N47, next to the "podium")³. Both models have representations of a pair of oxen pulling a wagon. One model represents an "open" cart type, and the other one – a "closed" wagon type. The last one is the only known find of such type. Both pieces were decorated with a complex system of ornaments and signs. Below is the more detailed description of these models.

Description of two models of sledges from Talianki

The models were made of fine-structured clay with small admixture of sand. The manufacturing technology was traditional for such items – the body of the sledge (which was made by a ribbon technique, with the vertical walls attached to the thick even bottom) was joined to massive

¹ Kruts *et alii*, 2001: 61.

² I would like to thank Natalia Chub, for the information.

³ Kruts *et alii*, 2013: 53-60; 78-82.

runners that had been made separately. Representations of a pair of oxen were attached to the front part of the body. The surface of the models was well smoothed, engobed and painted. Today the models retain the shades of terracotta color.

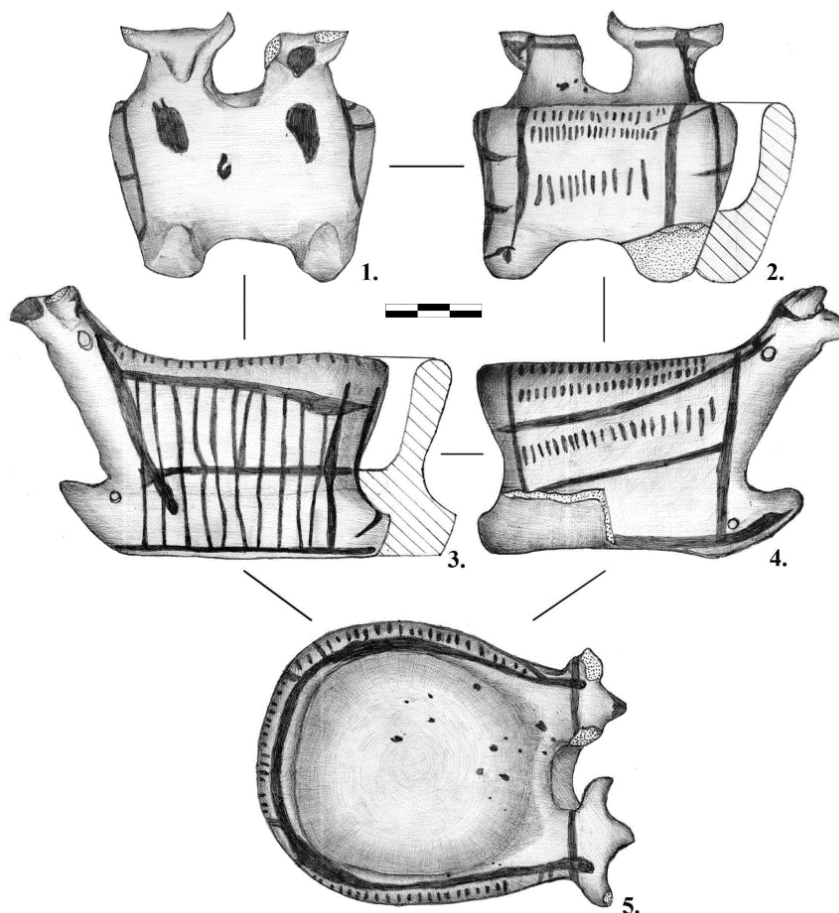


Fig. 1. "Open" model of sledge from Talianki, house 47 (Kruts et al. 2013). 1, front view; 2, rear view; 3, left side; 4, right side; 5, view from the top (graphics O. Kargalik).

The first model ("open" type) represents a deep, oval shaped wagon, the massive runners of which are turned up in the front and two heads of bulls are attached to the body. The total height of the sled is 8.6 cm and the length is 11.9 cm (Fig. 1).

The "body" of the model is oval in shape and it was not decorated inside. It has two massive runners with holes of small diameter (0.3 cm) that were made in their front part. Such openings are typical for models of sledges; they could have been used for running a rope through them in order to move the object¹. Another pair of through-holes, which was made on the "neck" of oxen (diameter 0.4 x 0.7 cm) and could have been used for threading a rope, is not typical.

Sculptural images of the heads of "bulls" are attached to the front part of the sled body. Their "necks" are almost identical and symmetrical, but their heads are different. They differ in their size, decor, and angle of inclination of heads (Fig. 1.1). On the right head there are pinpointes that represent the "eyes" of the animal. On both heads of oxen there are also pinpointes to show their mouths. On the right head there is a black line from the tip of the "nose" to the "eyes". The left head is decorated in a different way – the entire front part of the muzzle is painted in black. At the front part of the object, just below the "neck", there are two oval "elements". They are almost symmetrical, but were painted

¹ Gusev, 1989.

carelessly. Besides, there is a sign in the shape of a hook near the right "element", which had probably been made accidentally.

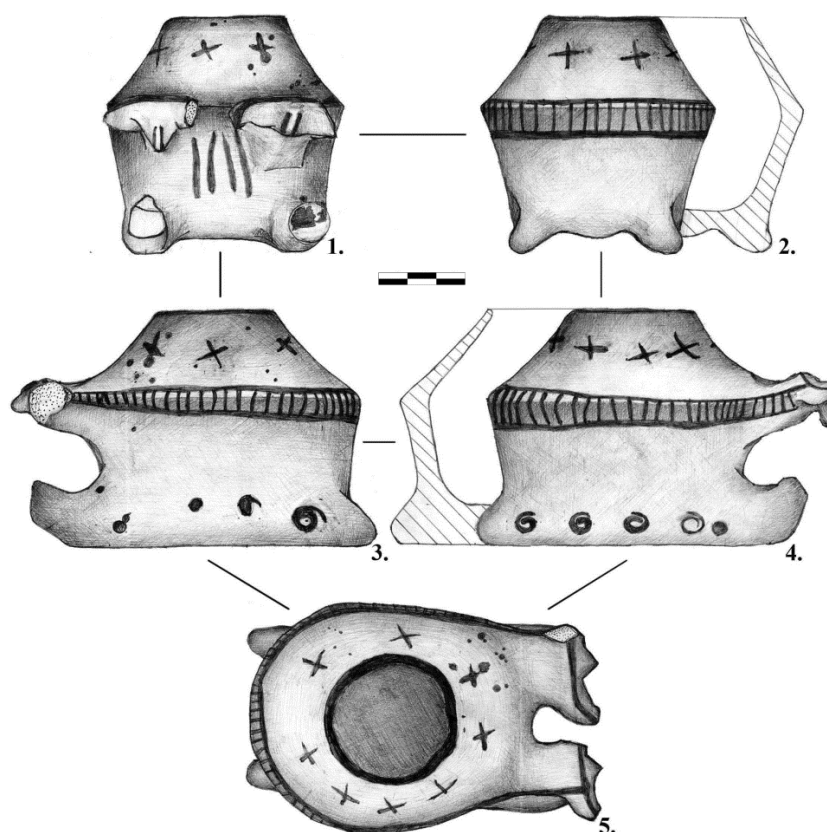


Fig. 2. "Closed" model of sledge from Taliانki, house 47 (Kruts et al. 2013). 1, front view; 2, rear view; 3, left side; 4, right side; 5, view from the top (graphics O. Kargalik).

The entire outer part of the body of the model (except the front part described above) was decorated with paintings in black. The composition can conventionally be divided into two parts. The first one is the main drawing, representing the scheme of thick long vertical and horizontal lines. The lines are drawn around the "corolla" of the body almost encircling it and reach the heads of the oxen. On the sides of the model there are three horizontal stripes (except the line along the crown) that are intersected by two vertical ones, forming rectangles (Fig. 1.3, 1.4). On the left side the line on the ox's head was painted at an angle, and probably that is why the potter did not paint it completely. The second line on the same side does not reach the top either. In general, the right side of the sled was painted more accurately (the main pattern). Two vertical strips decorate the rear of the sled. The horizontal lines of the main composition almost touch them. A slightly drawn black line, which does not fit into the concept of the ornament, can be seen in the upper right corner of the same part, and may have been another mistake of the ancient potter.

The other part of the composition is represented by vertically drawn thin lines that have different character in contrast to the main drawing. They were made carelessly, have different heights and are not arranged in a perfectly parallel way. Most likely, these lines were used to fill the contour of the main composition, which was drawn more carefully, though far from being perfect. The lines decorate the back part of the model (arranged in three rows with 11, 21 and 17 dashes) and the sides. The right side contains a series of bars (21) at the bottom arranged in a "rectangular" and two rows of dashes above (23 and 21 respectively). On the left side of the sled the strokes make up vertical lines (10 altogether) that fill two "rectangles". In the upper rectangle there is one more line made at an angle

probably by accident. Besides these lines, on the same side of the model along the crown there are 23 lines.

The second model, a "closed" one, represents a "closed" oval body and two runners turned up at the front, as well as two heads of bulls attached to the body. The overall height of the sledge is 8.2 cm and the length - 12.4 cm (Fig. 2).

The body of the model is an interesting and rare element for a sleigh body in Tripolie. Whereas the lower part (below the edge) is rather typical, the upper part of a closed type is similar to upper parts of vessels (for example cups). Two runners are attached to the body, in the front part of which there are holes that are similar to the holes of the previous model. The hole on the right runner is through and on the left one it is not.

Two heads of oxen are attached to the body of the sledge (Fig. 2.1). The heads look different – with different width of their "necks" but with the same height. In contrast to the open model, here the oxen look down. In the center of the front part of the "body" below the "shoulders" one can see four painted vertical lines. Next to it on the left runner there is a black spot, apparently made by accident. The muzzles of the oxen are also decorated with paintings – two lines on each of them emphasize the noses of the animals.

The other three sides of "vehicle" are decorated too. Four spiral-shaped signs decorate the outer edges of both runners. The symbols on the right side of the sledge were painted more carefully, they are about the same size (diameter - 0.7 cm) made in a parallel way with their coils "twisted" in different directions (Fig. 2.4). The signs on the other side of the model are a bit different – two of them are spirals while the other two are points (Fig. 2.3).

In the center of the "wagon" there are two horizontal lines – one is above the "shoulders" and another is below them. The lower line is painted beginning from the outer horn of one ox following around the model to the outer horn of the other ox. The upper line, above the "edges", is painted in a similar way linking the upper parts of the horns. Between these two long lines there are 65 vertical strokes.

In the upper part of the model between the "edge" and the "collar" of the body there are eight interesting cross-shaped signs (their size varies from 0.9 to 1.3 cm). They are painted rather carelessly and asymmetrically – five crosses on the right side, and three crosses on the left (Fig. 2.5).

There is one more interesting detail. The "closed" model was found next to a miniature jug decorated with cross-shaped signs as well. But, in contrast to the model, where the signs represented "Greek" crosses, the three crosses on the jug were of the so-called "Latin type" (Fig. 3).

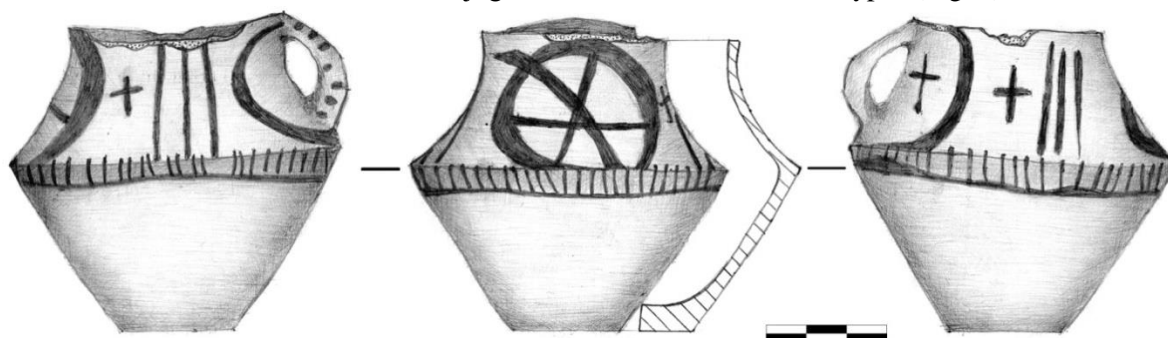


Fig. 3. Miniature jug from Talianki, house 47 (Kruts et al. 2013, graphics O. Kargalik).

It should be mentioned that the sledges were manufactured quite carefully and are of high quality. The decor was also painted carefully, but the potter might have been untidy. In addition to carelessness in applying the ornamentation there are some drops of black paint (which are not décor elements) inside the body. Similar drops can also be seen on the other model (on its "closed" body),

and on other artifacts from the house on the site¹. All this, hypothetically, can indicate that all these things were made by one potter. And it can be seen that on the right side of both models the decor was applied more carefully. Perhaps, the potter began painting the sledges from this side.

Interpretation & discussion

It can be seen that both Talianki models were decorated with a complex system of ornaments and signs which can be interpreted as ideological representations. However, they could be analyzed from the technological point of view as representing constructive elements of the wagon and the system of implements for draught animals.

The fact that models of sledges show real devices was convincingly demonstrated by V. Balabina² who compared their constructive elements and their proportions. As a result she came to the following conclusions: 1) Tripolian models represent real **sledges** (and not other types of draught vehicles); 2) sledge design remained unchanged for a long time; 3) sledges were used as a means of **transporting goods**³.

V. Balabina described constructive elements of sledges – runners, “stanchion” or “sledge posts” (bars fixing the upper part of the sledge to runners), “side rails” or “stringers” (horizontal bars with which sledge posts are connected), “traverse bars” (bars that connect stanchions from right and left sides, and make a base for the transportation platform), and proper body or wagon. There could be a different number of stanchions, that could be arranged in a straight, slanted or arched position, the number of traverse bars depends on the number of sledge posts (one for each pair of stanchions), and there are only two runners.

The décor on the models from Talianki is in accordance with the constructive elements of sledges described above. The main décor of the “open” model (entire outer part of the body) shows the following elements of design: runners in the lower part (2 pairs), above them on both sides (left and right) there are two more horizontal lines that represent side rails. These horizontal lines together with thick vertical lines form two rectangular shapes, and with two lines painted on the back side of the model this design could show stanchions (Fig. 4). The holes in the front part of the runners could show some elements of traction fixture (attaching animals to sledges).

The decorative elements of the “closed” model (which has got massive clay runners and wagon) might show some design elements of sledges as well although they are not so distinctive as in the previous model. Two horizontal lines painted in the middle of the “wagon” above and below its “shoulders” might represent side rails (in the more stylistic way than in the previous model).

The “closed” model has also got two holes in the front part of the runners that could also be interpreted as traction fixture. In addition, eight signs on the sides of the model – four spiral-shaped on the right and two spiral-shaped with two point-shaped on the left side may be associated with an attempt to show the movement of sledge or carrying in the wagon too heavy loads, using rollers. However, they could also show elements of fixations of stanchions to the runners.

Constructive elements of the sledges described above have analogies with the other Tripolian models⁴. Most of them have got sledge posts, runners and their connection units. On some of the models, they are shown by means of plastic (Fig. 5), and on the others they are painted.

¹ Kruts et alii, 2013.

² Балабина, 2004: 180-213.

³ Балабина, 2004: 190, 200.

⁴ Балабина, 2004: 180-213.

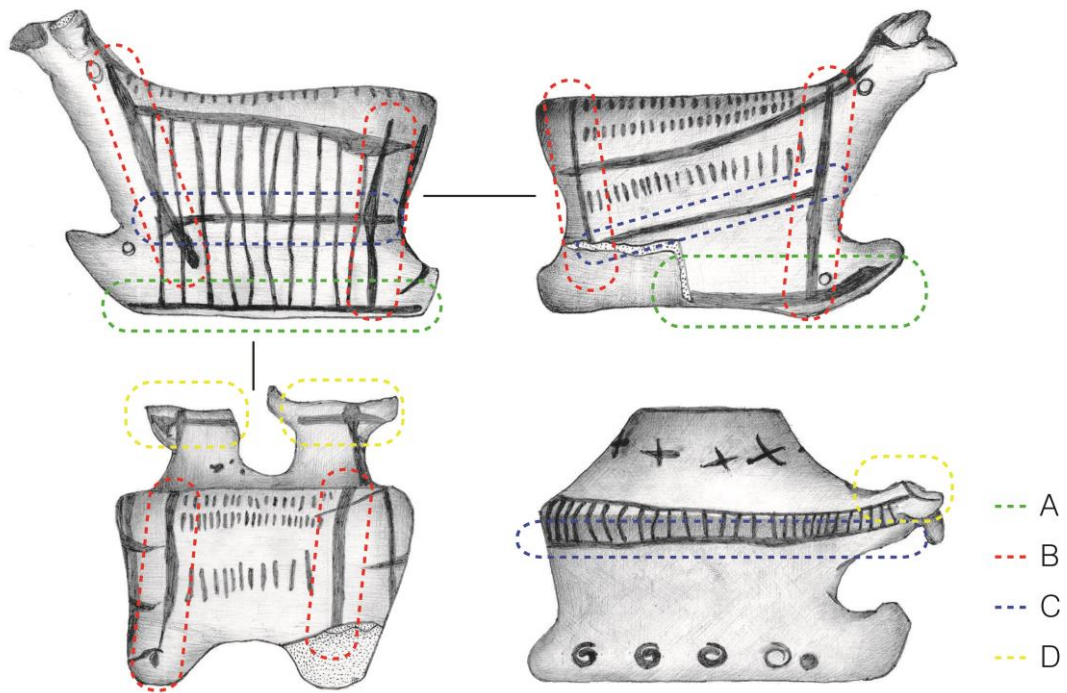


Fig. 4. Elements of sledge construction shown on models from Taliانki. A, runners; B, stanchion or sledge posts; C, side rails or stringers; D, yoke.

Except constructive elements of sledges the models from Taliانki also show the harness tackles for fastening animals (Fig. 4.D). On both models there are two lines on the heads of the oxen that could be interpreted as yoke. In a similar way the system of tackles for fastening animals is shown on numerous other models of sledges that have sculptures of oxen in their front part.

In general, we can presume that animal draught transport was the result of development of two different activities 1) moving things from one place to another (carrying goods or dragging) 2) domestication of animals and beginning to use their traction for carrying out different kinds of work (including agricultural).

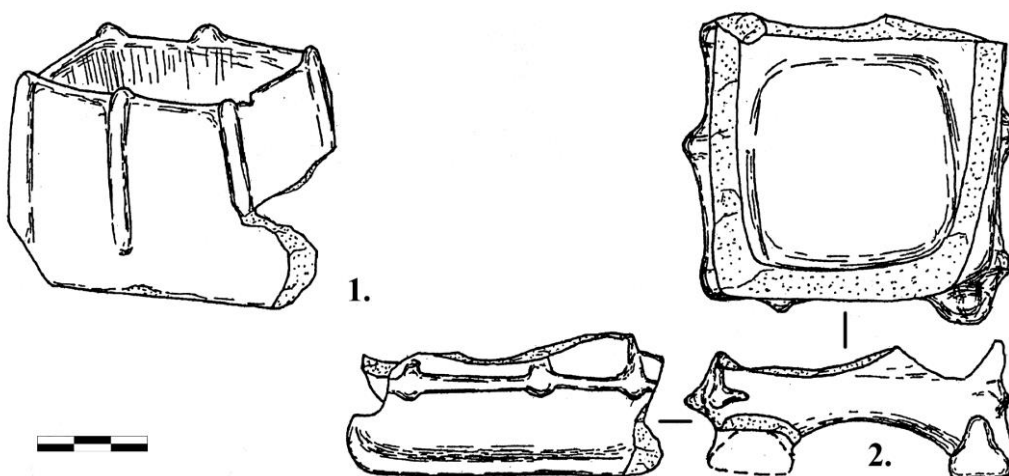


Fig. 5. Sledge models from Maydanetskoe (1) and Taliانki (2) (Балабина 2004).

Land transport (for moving cargo or people by means of special equipment) was probably developed in all societies. The most ancient types were the simplest ones with the use of human power only without animals. Transporting could have been performed by carrying things by people (one or few persons) or by dragging. No doubt some special equipment was used as a container (baskets, fabrics, stretchers made of wood, branches etc.). A simple transport type such as a “slide-car” or “volokushi” (toboggan type of sled without runners) was probably developed from dragging activities¹.

Domestication of animals came chronologically later. People started to use animals for different purposes – working in the fields, on farms (threshing, ploughing etc.) and transport (pulling a vehicle as draught animals or carrying things on their backs). Only certain types of animals (e.g. dogs, deer, bulls, oxen, donkeys, horses, mules, camels, elephants, llamas) could be trained to provide tractive force.

These two prehistoric developments could be traced in a lot of sources – rock art, sledge models, flint for threshing boards, zoological changes on bones of animals, and of course finds of remains of real transport.

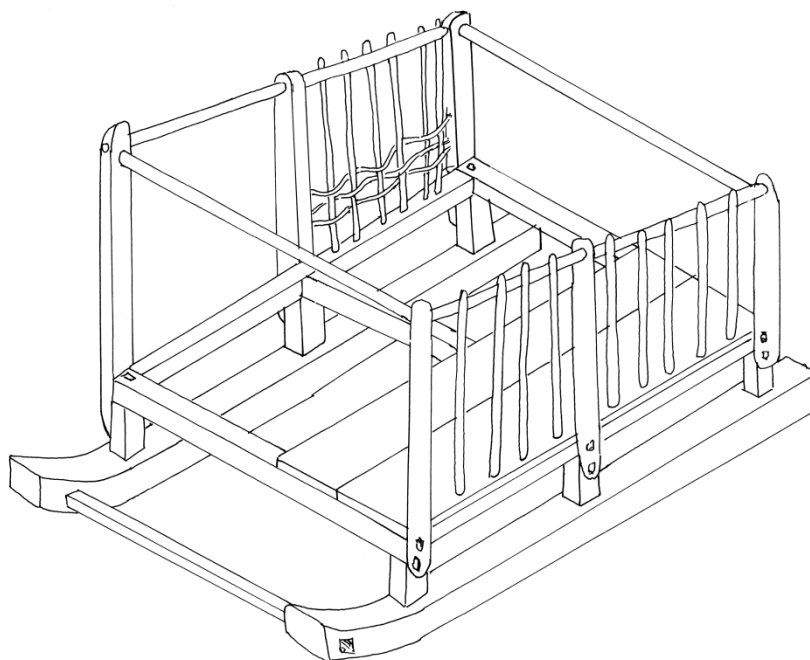


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of a Tripolian sledge based on models (graphics R. Hofmann).

Apparently land transport and using animals for performing tasks developed independently. At some point they were combined to carry out a common task – transportation. It is not possible to say what was first – using animals for field works or for transport (or it happened at the same time). But in any case it was an extremely important innovation since it resulted in a number of improvements – it made possible fast transportation of heavy cargo, and facilitated communication. However, in Tripolie speed could not be very high as both oxen and sledging (on sand or grass) are slow forms of transport.

As we have seen, Tripolian models of sledges testify to the fact that the community knew and used both technologies described above – moving things in a container and using animals. And more than that, they both were combined for a single purpose using oxen as draft animals. So this is what we can call a **technological innovation**, the models of sledges demonstrate that the community were already using it. It is necessary to emphasize that most of these models were found on mega-sites, mostly in Talianki. We can presume that there was a special need for them, because of the size of the

¹ Berg, 1935.

settlements. They might have been used to carry harvest from the fields that could have been located at some distance from houses (not for transporting people).

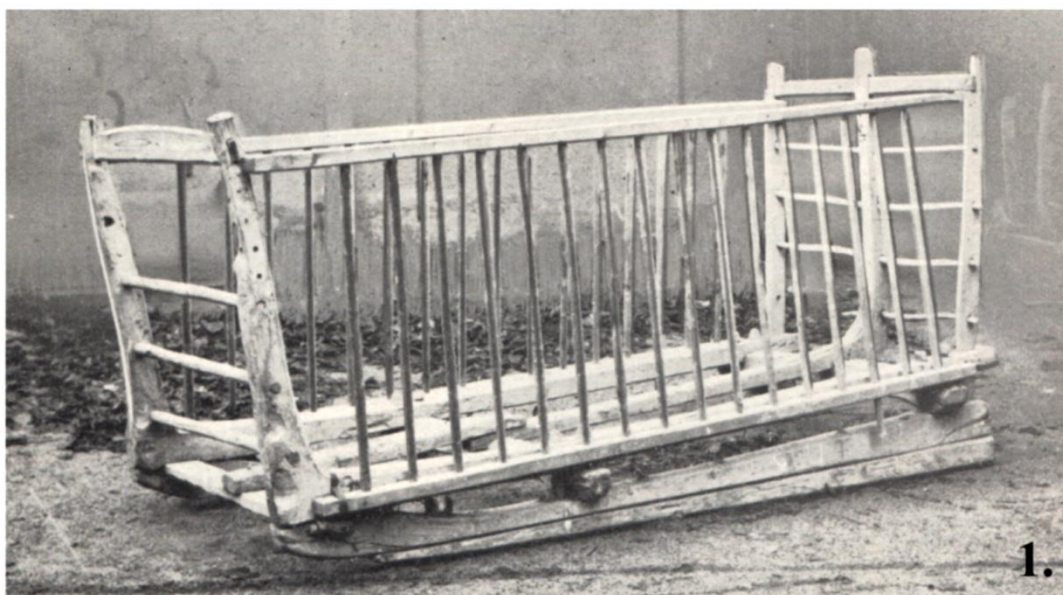


Fig. 7. Sledges from: 1, Tjörn and 2, Vejan (Berg 1935).

Conclusions

To sum up, it can be seen that both models of sledges and their decoration are an important source for our understanding of the introduction of such innovation as animal draught transport and perhaps some ideological aspects of Tripolie societies.

These clay objects are miniature copies of real vehicles for carrying cargo showing their detailed design (sledge with three pairs of straight stanchions) that has not changed much since then (Fig. 6- 7). On the other hand, they also attest to the fact that animals were widely used for pulling sledges. It can be presumed that they were also used for field works.

On the whole, the décor of miniature objects (models of sledges, houses, ovens, furniture, figurines) is an important indicator for reconstructing everyday life, technological development,

informing us about introduction of certain innovations and showing design of real things/facilities used by ancient societies.

In addition to these “constructive” elements of the décor sometimes there are elements that cannot be interpreted that way. They could be either purely decorative (sometimes representing the décor of real objects) or they have ideological implications. For example, the symbols on the sledge models such as crosses, could be as well a part of system of self-identification of smaller groups in a big community.

Models can also reflect changes in the ideology of the population that could be observed at the beginning of the transition to agriculture, when some major changes in the life-style became possible due to the changes in self-consciousness. While domesticating plants and animals, people began to change nature to suit their needs. At that time there was a manifest tendency to create some artificial living space when man tried to stand out of “nature”, and somehow to create his own “man-made world” in contrast to the world of “wild nature”. Making miniature models of things that surrounded people - buildings, stoves, chairs, vessels, sleighs, and so on – might have been one of the manifestations, of these agricultural communities. With the collapse of these early agricultural communities the phenomenon of miniaturization ceases to exist on the territory of Tripolie.

Such finds as miniature models of sledges point to the fact that the innovation (draught transport) started in the middle Tripolie period which was reflected in the inclusion of this new type of models into the system of miniature things (and not earlier, although V. Balabina thinks that earlier models were not preserved since they were made of wood). At earlier sites (e.g. Volodymyrivka) such finds are few in number but later they become more numerous reaching climax at the Talianki stage, where these models become really important. In late Tripolie (CII) such small objects disappear.

References

- Балабина, В. И. 2004. Глиняные модели саней культуры Кукутень-Триполье и тема пути // Памятники археологии и древнего искусства Евразии. Памяти Виталия Васильевича Волкова. - М., 2004: 180–213.
- Гусев, С. 1998. К вопросу о транспортных средствах трипольской культуры // Российская археология № 1, 1998: 15–28.
- Шатіло, Л. О. 2015. «Геометрія» в ранньоземлеробських спільнотах Південно-Східної Європи. Деякі аспекти // Геометричне мистецтво від преісторії до сучасності, IV французько-українська археологічна конференція. – Київ, 2015: 1–7.
- Berg, G. 1935. Sledges and Wheeled Vehicles. Ethnological studies from the view-point of Sweden. Stockholm, 1935.
- Kruts *et alii*, 2001. V. Kruts, A. Korvin-Piotrovskiy, S. Rizhov, Talianki - settlement-giant of the Tripolian culture. Investigations in 2001, Kyiv, 2001: 60–62.
- Kruts *et alii*, 2013. V. Kruts, A. Korvin-Piotrovskiy, V. Chabanyuk, L., Shatilo, Talianki - settlement-giant of the Tripolian culture. Investigations in 2012, Kyiv, 2013: 45–83.
- Piggot, S. 1983. The earliest wheeled transport from the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea, London, 1983: 36–39.

SAME SHAPE, DIFFERENT MEANINGS?

ORIGINAL AND IMITATION AMONG BODY ORNAMENTS OF THE ARIUȘD-CUCUTENI-TRIPOLYE CULTURAL COMPLEX

Senica Țurcanu

”Moldova” National Museum Complex of Iași –
Moldavia’s History Museum, Romania
senicat2000@yahoo.com

Keywords: Cucuteni-Tripolye, ornamental items, imitations, behavioral determinations, social symbols

Abstract: In order to nuance the multiple valences involved by the presence of ornamental items in prehistoric societies, the main objective of the paper is represented by the identification and systematization of various types of imitations existing among ornamental items belonging to the Cucuteni-Tripolye communities.

By analyzing both the exceptional artifacts within hoards and the isolated finds within sites, in the wider theoretical framework provided by the anthropological approaches, the paper points out the presence of these imitations – which were used at the same time as the originals and by the same communities – as a reflection of most types of behavioral determinations, indirectly covering a different symbolism.

Introduction

The topic of imitations as used in prehistoric societies has been tackled in the archaeological literature ever since the second half of the 19th century. The gradual accumulation of information, the correlation of archeological data with the sociologic ones and with those of fields related to other social sciences, allowed new and gradated interpretations, revealing a complex phenomenon. Therefore, on the verge of the 3rd millennium, at the meetings of the European Association of Archaeologists, several symposia were organized (2002: Thessaloniki; 2003: St. Petersburg) having as central topic the imitations that existed in the pre- and protohistoric societies¹. Some of the presentations made in such contexts were published in the volumes of proceedings². In general lines, discussions on this topic were related to the theme of imports, the two aspects being considered as interdependent. Moreover, the presence of “exotic” items and the attempt to imitate them was interpreted as having a non-economic (or not necessarily economic) role and as representing important markers of prestige and/ or legitimacy.

A more nuanced approach to the topic was the one of Alice M. Choyke who analyses the imitations of the original items made of hard animal raw materials³. She identifies five primary types of imitations (fig. 1). The first two express the status change with conserving the shape of the artifact, while changing its raw material. These can occur within and between societies. The following two indicate the change of symbolism or the context of use expressed by the shape or material of the artifact. They were identified as having only intra-societal prototypes. Finally, in the case of the last

¹ Biehl, Rassamakin, 2008b: 3.

² Biehl, Rassamakin, 2008a.

³ Choyke, 2008: 5-21.

type, only the shape of the artifact is copied, while it has already lost its original meaning; for this type of imitations there are only examples from late prehistory and even later¹.

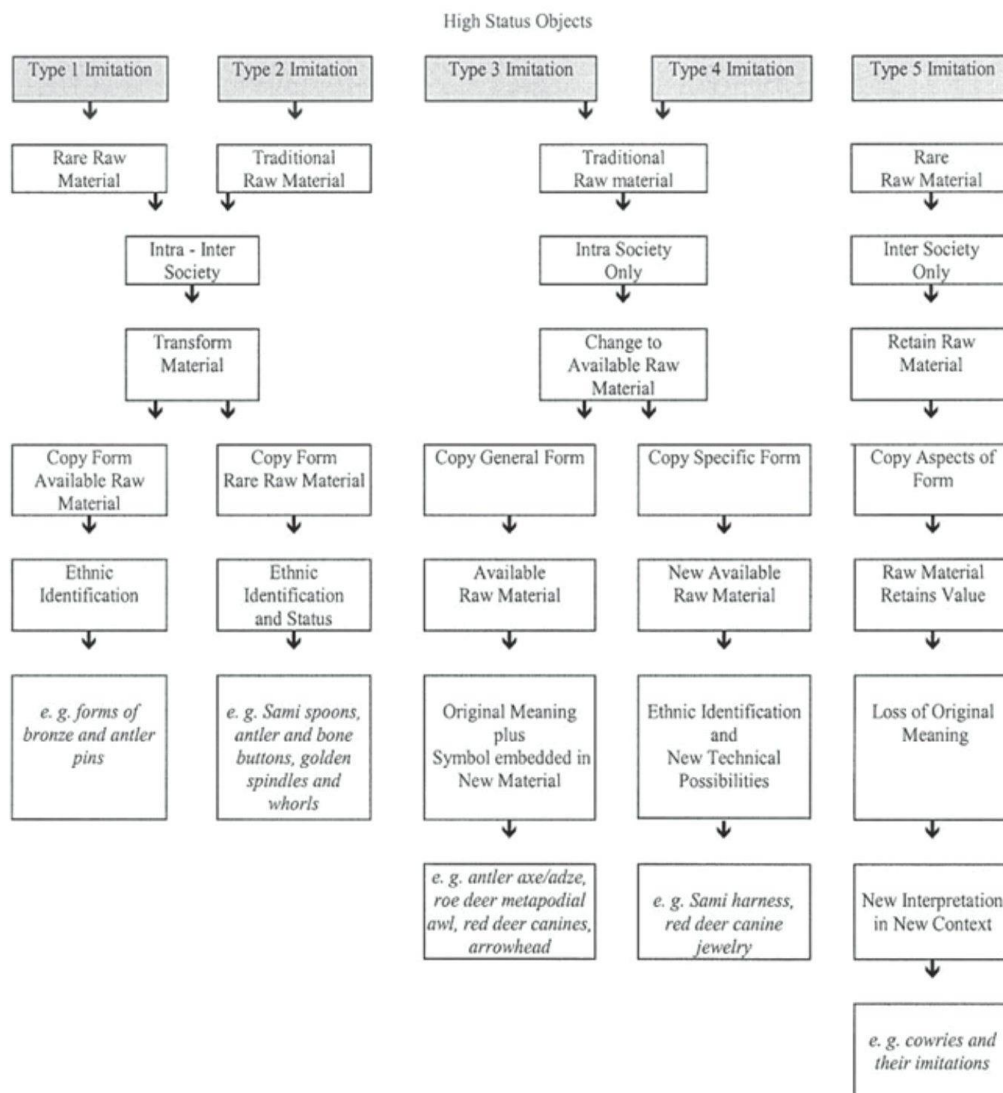


Fig. 1. Imitations related to status change and to alter embedded symbolism or for use in different contexts (after Choyke 2008).

Allowing the decryption on several interpretation levels of the presence of the imitations in different cultural areas, the scheme proposed by Alice M. Choyke facilitates a more nuanced approach and, at the same time, a more comprehensive one for this phenomenon, including its existence as a social fact manifested both within a society (intra-societal), and between contemporary and even subsequent societies (inter-societal). This is the reason which determined us to consider as a reference in our attempt to classify the types of imitations used by the communities of the Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolye cultural complex (hereinafter ACTCC). We specify that, terminologically, *imitations*, in the case of body- ornamenting items and vestment accessories, designate locally manufactured artifacts of identical or quasi-identical shapes in comparison with the original items, but using other types of raw materials than those of the prototype.

Generally speaking, there have been only rare studies as for ACTCC, focusing on the identification and analysis of the meanings corresponding to the presence of the imitations in any of

¹ Choyke, 2008, 5-21.

the domains of manifestation of the material civilization so far¹. An approach from this perspective of the body ornamenting items and vestment accessories is lacking. In this context, in this study, we propose to identify the main types and draw up several directions in interpreting the imitations within the body ornamenting items known and used by the communities belonging to ACTCC. An attempt of deciphering the meaning of the presence of imitations can prove to be extremely useful as, except the items in hoards that can benefit from a more nuanced interpretation, in an overwhelming proportion, the other analyzed artifacts are, in the absence of funerary finds, with no associations (to other types of items, with individuals known by sex and age) which would allow us, based on the analysis of the funerary behaviors, nuanced remarks regarding the social “destiny” of certain body ornamenting items.

Archeological data. A first type of imitations identified by us is represented by the imitation items made of rare/ exotic or difficult to procure, though the usage of easily accessible raw materials.



Fig. 2. Imitations in easily available materials (Imitations type 1, after Choyke 2008): imitations (in wild boar tusks) of certain items made of *Spondylus*. The hoard of Ariuşd (after Sztancs, Beldiman 2014).

To exemplify, we should mention the brackets of quasi rectangular shape with rounded corners, which show one perforation at each of the narrow ends, and which belong to the hoard of Ariuşd² (fig. 2). Of the 40 items of this type which have been preserved so far, 31 are made of *Spondylus gaederopus* shells, 6 of *Unio* shells and 3 of wild boar defenses³.

Most probably, they were integrated through the vestment accessories of a costume or they formed, together, a certain type of composed ornament. About the items made of *Spondylus* we can undoubtedly say that they reached Ariuşd from a great distance, through exchange networks⁴.

For the items made of *Unio* shells wild boar defenses, the

aria of origin of the raw material is local. The similar aspect of the artifacts made of the three types of raw materials determine us to appreciate that the respective items indicate the repairing of a type of ornament of which they were part, rather than their separate/ independent usage.

For reasons pertaining probably to prestige, when destroyed / broken – following their wear – the items made of *Spondylus* were locally imitated, of raw materials available in the site (considering the preservation of the general aesthetic aspect).

¹ Tkachuk, 2008.

² Laszlo, 1911: 258; Sztáncsuj, 2005: 95-96, fig. 7/16-18, 20-24; 8/1-21; 9/1-10; Sztancs, Beldiman, 2011: 132-133, 142-143, pl. 14-15.

³ Sztáncsuj, 2005: 95-96, fig. 7/16-18, 20-24; 8/1-21; 9/1-10; Sztancs, Beldiman, 2011: 132-133, 140, 142-143.

⁴ Sztáncsuj, 2005: 97; Sztancs, Beldiman, 2011: 134; Ţurcanu, 2013b: 181-183.

The identified situation is even more interesting that it is known that the Ariuşd-Cucuteni-Tripolye civilization has never been integrated into the cultural areas where the items made of *Spondylus* had a symbolic meaning¹. Worth pointing out is the attention shown in maintaining and “repairing” the ornaments that reached Ariuşd, most probably, through a ritual exchange of prestige items performed between neighboring communities (of *kula* or *potlatch* type)², through locally made items.

It is on the same line of behavior - consisting in the imitation of artifacts made of materials that are hard to find, by using raw materials locally available - that one should also place the particularly well designed imitations made of bone, having as models the deer canines that are part of the jewelry hoards³. In most cases, they are so well executed that their existence could be identified only within archeozoologists’ investigations⁴.

In our opinion, their presence within hoards, in percentages varying from 9 to 35%, represented an attempt of repairing composed jewelry items and at extending their lifetime, by filling in gaps as part of compounds where their absence would have been noticed. In our current language, such examples are, in fact, fakes – extremely well designed – whose model had been original items made of raw materials hard to obtain. As a matter of fact, except for the owner and the craftsman that made them, for everyone else, their existence might have remained unknown, being mistakable for the originals.



Fig. 3. Imitations in easily available materials (Imitations type 1, after Choyke 2008): bone imitations of the deer canines within the hoards of prestigious items. Brad, 65 items out of 183 unbroken.



Fig. 4. Imitations in easily available materials (Imitations type 1, after Choyke 2008): bone imitations of the deer canines within the hoards of prestigious items. Cărbuna, 12 items out of the 125.

Within ACTCC, these items illustrate the type 1 imitations, as defined by Alice M. Choyke⁵. As already pointed out, they may copy items manufactured in a raw material of local origin but hardly accessible (the case of deer canines) and also some resulting from contemporary communities, living

¹ Schuster, 2002; Séfériadès, 2010; Ţurcanu, 2013b: 181-183.

² Mauss, 1997.

³ Deer canines are found in pairs on the upper maxillary of the animal, male or female. Procuring tens or even hundreds of deer canines does not represent an easy operation. According to Monah 2003, out of the six treasures with prestige items known so in the ACTCC area, on the current territory of Romania (Ariuşd, Hăbăşeşti, Brad), Republic of Moldova (Cărbuna, Chetroşica) and Ukraine (Horodnica II), five of them (the exception is represented by Horodnica II) contain pearls/ pendants made of deer and other mammals molars and of bone imitations hereof. For an exact situation of the number of canines and of their bone imitations see: Beldiman, Sztancs, 2008: 89-107 (and the bibliography).

⁴ Beldiman, Sztancs, 2008.

⁵ Choyke, 2008: 7-9.

in other geographic areas (the case of artifacts made of *Spondylus*, procured through various exchange relations). They illustrate the scarcity or inaccessibility of the original raw material.

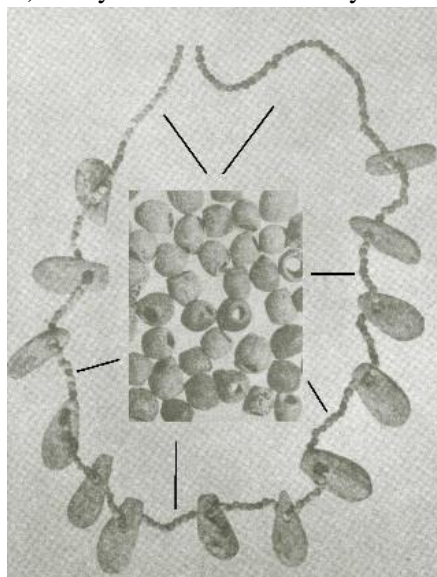


Fig. 5. Imitations and material transformations across intra societal boundaries (Imitations type 3, after Choyke 2008): bone imitations of deer canines & clay imitations of the nutlets of *Lithospermum purpureo coeruleum*, Izvoare (after Marinescu-Bîlcu, Cârciumaru 1992).



Fig. 6. Imitations and material transformations across intra societal boundaries (Imitations type 3, after Choyke 2008): bone (3-4) and clay (1-2, 5) imitations of the deer canines. 1, Ruginoasa; 2, Hăbășești; 3, Poduri; 4, Păuleni; 5, Giurgești. 1, after Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2012; 2, after Dumitrescu et al. 1954; 3, after Monah et al. 1982; 4, after Lazarovici et al. 2009; 5, after Boghian et al. 2014.

Yet, we cannot precisely know -whether the same argumentation can be applied in the case of singular finds, not always as successfully¹, or in the case of compounds containing only bone imitations of deer canines². Regarding this last direction, as a general observation, it is possible to provide one single find, the one of Izvoare³ (fig. 5). We consider that the 12 items of the necklace, all imitations, intercalated with clay pearls (which in their turn could be imitations of the nutlets of *Lithospermum purpureo coeruleum*, whose presence is surprising and hard to explain, in the conditions of the existence in the same deposit of real fruits)⁴, illustrate a completely different behavior mechanism which required from the start another status for those displaying these body ornamenting items, another message which these artifacts would transmit.

The same statement can be made, even with a higher degree of certitude, as for the clay imitations of the same type of items, the deer canines⁵ (fig. 6).

¹ Replicas made of bone having as model pearls made of perforated animal teeth, as separate items, are those of: Poduri (Monah et al. 1982, pl. V/9), Cucuteni-Cețățuie (Țurcanu 2013a, 68), Scânteia (Mantu, Țurcanu, 1999: 144, cat. no. 366), Păuleni (Beldiman, Sztancs, 2011: fig. 2/2) and Costești (Boghian et al. 2014: 58, pl. LII/1).

² Our statement is supported by the detailed observations made within certain necropolises. Thus, for the necropolis of Polgár-Csöszhalom which belongs to the first phase of the Tisza culture (dated to the 5th millennium BC) it was noticed that bone imitations of deer canines occur only in women's tombs (Choyke, 2001: 255).

³ Marinescu-Bîlcu, Cârciumaru, 1992: 70-88.

⁴ Solcan et al. 2014: 66.

⁵ Clay imitations of deer canines were found at Hăbășești (Dumitrescu et al. 1954: 449, 459, fig. 43/11), Giurgești (Boghian et al., 2014: 63-63, pl. LVIII/1c), Scânteia (unpublished item). A similar item, more

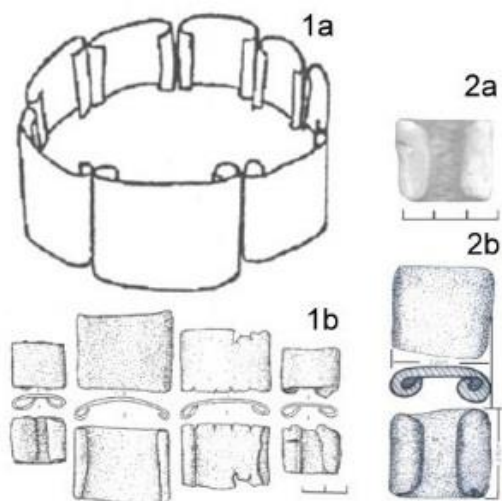


Fig. 7. Imitations and material transformations across intra societal boundaries (Imitations type 3, after Choyke 2008): Clay imitations of items with a metal prototype. 1, Cărbuna hoard (copper); 2, Hoisești (clay). 1, after Dergacev 1998; 2, after Bodi 2010.

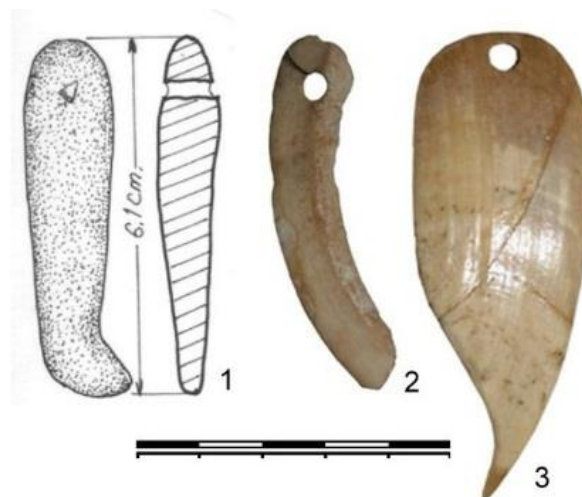


Fig. 8. Imitations and material transformations across intra societal boundaries (Imitations type 3, after Choyke 2008): clay imitations (1) of items made of tough materials of animal origin (2-3, boar tusk). 1-3, Scânteia (after Țurcanu 2013a).

Extending the examples of this second type of imitations that we identified within the body ornamenting items belonging to the ACTCC communities, we should mention the clay replicas of items whose prototype was undoubtedly made of metal. Thus, rectangular plates (slightly convex, with inner bent edges of the small sides), made of copper, which form composed bracelets that we find both as compounds (in the hoard of Cărbuna¹ (fig. 7/1), and as individual items (at Scânteia² and Târpești³), were imitated by using clay, as shown by the find of Hoisești⁴ (fig. 7/2).

It is in the same type of imitations that we also include the clay items that seem to be replicas of a particular type of pendant made of roar tusk, both exemplified by the finds of the site of Scânteia⁵ (fig. 8). We consider that the same type of imitation could also be manifest in the clay replicas of tubular bone beads.

In all of these last cases, it is possible that a part of the symbolism of the original artifact was included also in its copies made of other materials but, the message itself they transmitted was, undoubtedly, distorted. These items can be considered as representing the type 3 imitations, as defined by Alice M. Choyke⁶.

They involve the copying of the general shape of the original artifact by using available materials. The symbolism incorporated in the original item suffers a transformation determined by the new material the replica is made of, its artificial aspect being obvious. This type of imitation has been interpreted as representing a way of signaling social differentiations, of transferring or transforming

clumsily achieved, could also be considered one of the ceramic pearls of Ruginoasa (Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2012: fig. VIII.21/7).

¹ Dergacev 1998: 41, fig. 14/49-56.

² Mantu, Țurcanu, 1999: 186, cat. no. 281.

³ Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1981: fig. 199/15.

⁴ Bod,i 2010: 216, pl. 65/9=66/9.

⁵ Unpublished items. We also use this opportunity to thank Mrs. dr. hab. C.-M. Lazarovici for allowing us to use some of the materials resulting from the researches performed under her coordination.

⁶ Choyke, 2008: 10-12.

the meaning of an object for different groups within the same social system. It incorporates additional data, signaling differences of rank, age and/or sex, thus expressing— in fact — a multitude of new valences which could be read, unfortunately, only by the “target group”.



Fig. 9. Imitations as enhancement of original meaning (Imitations type 2, after Choyke 2008): tubular beads. 1-2, cooper, 3, bone. 1, Cărbuna hoard; 2, Târpești, 3, Vorniceni (after Țurcanu 2013a).

societies⁵.

In fact, this type of imitations involve the shapes and types of traditional items whose symbolic statute is being amplified, through their replication, using as support materials that are rare, valuable or hard to obtain.

A third type of imitations we could identify within the body ornamenting items belonging to the ACTCC communities is based on the imitations as enhancement of original meanings, items theoretically defined by Alice M. Choyke as type 2 imitations¹. A certain artifact can be replicated in various materials, which are more difficult to find and/ or process, fact that determines the enhancement of its valences. It was considered that this type of replicas occur in a new social context, within the communities that by then were undergoing a stratification process which determines the occurrence of sophisticated new symbols².

Like the first type, such enhancement of meaning may occur both within one and the same society and between neighboring societies.

As examples of this type of imitations we specify first of all, the tubular bone beads having identical replicas among the copper items³ (fig. 9). Moreover, we include here several types of clay pearls/ beads which were copied in metal⁴ (fig. 10), knowing the high status raw material as well as its role in the emergence of hierarchical

¹ *Ibidem*, 9-10.

² *Ibidem*, 9-10.

³ No one doubts the anteriority of tubular bone items, as compared to the metal ones. Tubular bone beads were discovered in the sites of Târgu Frumos (Ursulescu *et al.* 2002: 42, 50, fig. 8/3; 2005, 232, fig. 8/4-6)), Izvoare (Vulpe, 1957: 260, fig. 263/2), Târpești (Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1981: fig. 200/4), Scânteia (Mantu, Țurcanu, 1999: 143-144, cat. no. 363; 367), Costești (Boghian *et al.* 2014: 58, pl. LII/3), Păuleni (Beldiman *et al.* 2012: 88-90), Vorniceni (Țurcanu, 2013a: 68) and also as part of the hoard of Ariușd (Sztáncsuj, 2005: 96, fig. 12). According to the centralization made by I. Mares (Mares, 2012: 219), tubular metal pearls were discovered in the sites of Ariușd, Brad, Cucuteni, Târgu Frumos, Târpești, Traian-Dealul Fântânilor, Vorniceni, Bernovo-Luka and Luka Vrubleveckaja.

⁴ Most relevant examples are spheroid beads in the hoard of Cărbuna (Dergacev, 1998: 42-43, fig. 15, 77, 86, 89, 109-113). Undoubtedly they imitate anodyne clay items found in numerous sites belonging to ACTCC.

⁵ Hansen, 2011; 2013.



Fig. 10. Imitations as enhancement of original meaning (Imitations type 2, after Choyke 2008): clay (1, Traian – Dealul Viei) and copper beads (2, Cărbuna hoard).



Fig. 11. Imitations as enhancement of original meaning (Imitations type 2, after Choyke 2008): boar tusk, (1, Frumușica) bone (2, Vorniceni), 3, clay (Costești) pendants (1-3, after Țurcanu 2013a).

We consider that it is also within this type that one should also include the metal imitation of a deer canine found in Cucuteni A-B level of Traian-Dealul Fântânilor¹.

It is difficult to consider the symbolic value of stone beads that “seem to imitate animal teeth”². Are they an illustration of type 1 (according to Choyke) representing imitations of items made of materials hard to obtain, through the usage of raw materials easily accessible or, rather of type 3, which involved the amplification of the status of animal teeth items, through their replication by using as support minerals that are hard to obtain and also hard to shape?

Equally difficult to reveal is the situation of several items which, based on our current level of knowledge, cannot be included in a “hierarchy” in terms of raw material and we cannot indicate any prototype. In this context, mention should be made of the existence of items with similar shapes made of bone (boar tusk or antler) and clay (fig. 11) or of clay and stone. The most relevant examples in this direction are the pendants “*en violon*” themselves with their variants, the pendants with longer slightly toothed upper part (of the Cărbuna type) and circular pendants.

We will point out the fact that this type of items is specific to a limited time lapse (Cucuteni A₂-A₄)³.

If for the pendants of the Cărbuna type, there are earlier finds, such as those of Isaiia⁴ (Precucuteni II) and Florești (Republic of Moldova)⁵ (Precucuteni III) which place the bone items before the metal ones, in the case of circular pendants and the idols “*en violon*” the situation is much more difficult to settle.

The metal disks (made of copper or of gold) are present in the inventory of the hoards of Cărbuna, Brad and Hăbășești⁶ (fig. 12). Are they replicas of clay items (whose value is thus enhanced) or, as the numerous ceramic clay decorated “*au repoussé*”⁷ seem to indicate, are they the prototype of similar clay items?

¹ Mareș, 2012: 220, 350.

² Marinescu-Bîlcu, 1981: 70, fig. 200/5.

³ Monah, 2012: 157-165.

⁴ Ursulescu *et al.* 2003.

⁵ Dumitrescu, 1957; Dergačev, 1998; Ursachi, 1990; Monah, 2003: 129-140.

⁶ Sztancs *et al.* 2010: 130.

⁷ Marinescu-Bîlcu, Bolomey, 2000: fig. 179, 16-18, 26-27.

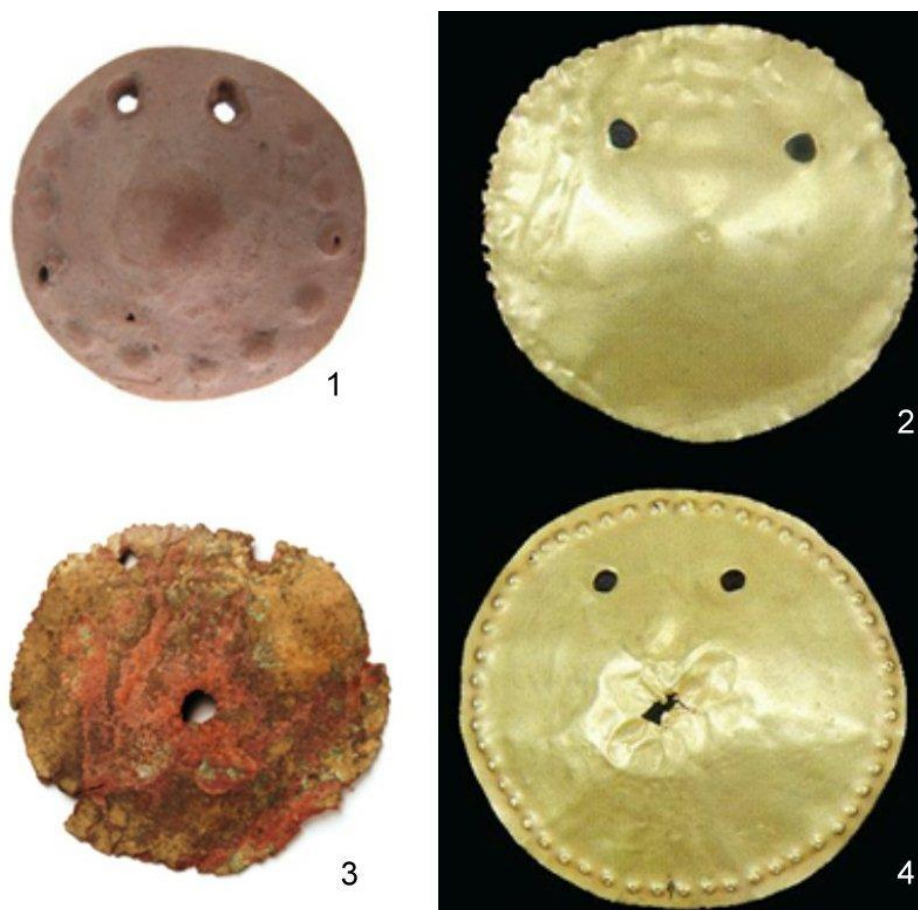


Fig. 12. Imitations as enhancement of original meaning (?) (Imitations type 2, after Choyke 2008): disks. 1, clay; 2, 4, gold; 3, copper; 1, Cucuteni-Cetățuie; 2, 4, Brad hoard; 3, Cărbuna hoard. 1-4, after Lazarovici et al. 1999.

The same questions can be asked about the pendants “*en violon*” themselves (fig. 13). Regarding the latter ones, we should point out several aspects that are relevant for the direction of our analysis: 1) among the archeological finds, the metal items are quasi-absent; 2) having stone, bone and even horn variants, clay items remain the most numerous though; 3) only some of them show the small pits that imitate items with “*au repoussé*” ornamentation; 4) skillfully designed with a lot of talent, they indicate, according to us, the valorization of these copies for themselves; 5) the rather low frequency of these items in the archeological inventories – although they are made of a locally available raw material (clay) – and their absence from the numerous sites equally suggest the fact that they were ornaments having special valences, meant to be used only by certain persons and even communities.

The situation is extremely complex and involves multiple research directions which exceed the limits of our concerns within this study. In the direction of our approach, we keep in mind that the existence of replicas of the same shapes using different raw materials can be connected to a social “command” which supposes a status differentiation, be it according to a specific rank, age, sex or belonging to certain social groups. These reflect an interest in the symbolic dimension of material culture in the wake of the structuralist interpretation of archaeological remains¹. Attention is devoted to raw material not only as functionally useful in subsistence activities but also as significant for the value attached to them in the specific cultural context.

¹ Hodder, 1982.



Fig. 13. Imitations as enhancement of original meaning (?) (Imitations type 2, after Choyke 2008): "en violon" pendants. 1-2, clay; 3, antler; 4, stone. 1, Trușești; 2, Hoisești; 3, Păuleni; 4, Murgeni. 1, after Lazarovici et al. 1999; 2, after Bodi 2010; 3, after Beldiman et al. 2012; 4, after Țurcanu 2013a.

Discussions and final considerations.

It has been considered that body ornamenting items are the social symbols with the highest meaningful load for the humanity. Beyond shape and color, their intrinsic symbolism and, the raw material they were made of was essential and invested with social valences. In our world, few people can distinguish between ivory, amber, half-precious or even precious gems and their glass, resin or plastic imitations. This derives from the fact that people do not refer to their magic, symbolic or ritual properties, focusing only on their aesthetic role. On the contrary, all body ornamenting items worn in prehistoric societies had a symbolic meaning, sensibly nuanced according to a multitude of aspects. Their manner of execution and the type of used raw material were implicitly or explicitly prescribed, having standardized shapes and colors. In Mesopotamia, there is written evidence pertaining to a slightly later historical period, documenting cases where technology and even the moment when the body ornamenting items are strictly regulated and, in certain cases, only certain persons were allowed to make, sell and wear certain types of such items.

Out of what we presented above, it comes out that the shape of a rather high number of body ornamenting items was imitated, especially in the first evolution phases of ACTCC (i. e. Precucuteni III=Tripolie A and Cucuteni A=Tripolie BI) using various supports. The behavioral grounds of their occurrence were, as we pointed out, varied. The attempt to decipher them leads to a variety of interpretations, sometimes reported even to a single type of item. We can however remark the existence of a common denominator. Except the "fakes" whose role was to serve as completion or repairing of a compound or a series, in most cases the purpose of such executions is the opening of new channels of non-verbal communication that were accessible according to numerous variables

involving the “emitters” and “receivers”¹, the individuals / human groups who use or observed/ interacted with the respective artifact. In tight correlation with these messages, their wearers were acknowledged and appreciated by the members of a community.

We do not exclude the possibility of the existence also of other types of items that could have been the object of our study but which, nowadays, for various reasons are no more (friability, perishability for shells, seeds, fruits, wood, tissues, hair, skins, furs, and re-usage for metals).

It was appreciated that imitations are more frequent during the periods when the social structures and in tight connection with them the economic and even religious ones, are undergoing change².

The period of the 5th – 4th millennia B.C. covered by our analysis is characterized by intensive transformations and technological innovations that required of the social structures a higher degree of hierarchization and complexity. The situation is reflected, as in a mirror, *also by/ or especially by* the body ornamenting items. Stone, shells, bone, teeth and clay are important raw materials that continue to be used³. They were though the subject of imitations which, taken individually, represent the illustration of different behavioral mechanisms: the traditional types of body ornamenting items are imitated with rare, valuable or difficultly procurable materials, that amplify their statute; imitations of metal items witness an equal or even wider spread than the originals (the case of the “en violon” and circular pendants), a fact which indicates that metal was a high status raw material, a situation also revealed by the study of other types of artifacts and social behaviors⁴; replicas of deer canines or even of boar tusks indicate an obvious enhancement of the symbols connected to masculinity, courage, force and physical strength.

From these examples there result essential data on the society within which these imitations were used: the increase of social inequality reflected in the access to certain categories of raw materials; the development and spread of metallurgy with all its economic and social implications; the possibility of the existence of certain conflicts, of belligerent episodes during which the warrior – hunter specific attributes are enhanced. Neither the symbolic aspects pertaining to the animals associated to these items (deer, boar) nor the enhancement of their valences should be neglected. Ethnological analogies allow us to suppose that their presence in the ritual life of human communities involve multiple facets⁵.

Interpretation directions are numerous and open to certain approaches⁶.

Acknowledgements

This research was financed by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0885.

References

Beldiman, Sztancs 2008. Beldiman C., Sztancs D.-M., Matière, artefact, symbole. Dents percées et imitations en os dans le dépôts d’objets de prestige de la culture Cucuteni, StudPreist, 5, 2008: 89-107.

¹ Taborin, 2004.

² Choyke, 2008: 6, 13.

³ Turcanu, 2013a.

⁴ Hansen, 2013.

⁵ Sidéra, 2001: 222; Choyke, 2001: 252-253; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 2009.

⁶ A variant of this paper was presented in the International Symposium “From Symbols to Signs. In the memory of Klaus Schmidt”, Suceava, Romania, 2-5 September 2014.

- Beldiman, Sztancs 2011. Beldiman C., Sztancs D.-M., Șoimeni (Ciomortan), com. Păuleni-Ciuc, jud. Harghita. Punct: Dâmbu Cetății. Industria materiilor dure animale și podoabe litice aparținând culturilor Cucuteni-Ariușd și Wietenberg, in CCAR. Campania 2011, București, 2012, on line: <http://cimec.ro/arheologie/cronicaca2012/rapoarte/077.htm>, fig. 5-7.
- Beldiman et al. 2012. Beldiman C., Sztancs D.-M., Buzea D.-L., Animale, tehnologie și artefacte preistorice din materii dure animale descoperite la Păuleni-Ciuc, jud. Harghita. Catalog, Sfântu Gheorghe.
- Biehl, Rassamakin 2008a. Biehl P. F., Rassamakin Y. Ya (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, Langenweißbach.
- Biehl, Rassamakin 2008b. Biehl P. F., Rassamakin Y. Ya., *Import and Imitation in Archaeology. An Introduction*, in P. F. Biehl, Y. Ya. Rasamakin (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, Langenweißbach: 3-4.
- Bodi 2010. Bodi G., Hoisești – La Pod. O așezare cucuteniană pe valea Bahluiului, *BAM XIII*, Iași.
- Boghian et al. 2014. Boghian D., Enea S.-C., Ignătescu S., Bejenaru L., Stanc S. M., Comunitățile cucuteniene din zona Târgului Frumos. Cercetări interdisciplinare în siturile de la Costești și Giurgești, Iași.
- Chevalier, Gheerbrant 2009. Chevalier J., Gheerbrant A. (coord.), Dicționar de simboluri. Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere, Iași.
- Choyke 2001. Choyke A. M., *Late Neolithic Red Deer Canine Beads and Their Imitations*, in A. M. Choyke, L. Bartosiewicz (eds.), *Crafting Bone: Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space*, Proceedings of the 2nd meeting of the (ICAZ) Worke Bone Research Goup, Budapest, 31 August-5 September 1999, BARIntSer 937, Oxford: 251-261.
- Choyke 2008. Choyke A. M., Shifting Meaning and Value through Imitation in the European Late Neolithic, in P. F. Biehl, Y. Ya. Rasamakin (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, Langenweißbach: 5-21.
- Dergačev 1998. Dergačev V., *Karbunskij klad*, Chișinău.
- Dumitrescu 1957. Dumitrescu Vl., Le dépôt d'objets de parure de Hăbășești et le problème des rapports entre les tribus de la civilisation de Cucuteni et les tribus des steppes pontiques, in *Dacia*, N. S., 1, 73-96.
- Dumitrescu et al. 1954. Dumitrescu Vl., Dumitrescu H., Petrescu-Dîmbovița M., Gostar N., *Hăbășești. Monografie arheologică*, vol. I, București.
- Hansen 2011. Hansen S., Metal in South-Eastern and Central Europe between 4500 and 2900 BCE, in Ü. Yalçın (Hrsg.), *Anatolian Metal V*, Bochum: 137-149.
- Hansen 2013. Hansen S., Innovative Metals: Copper, Gold and Silver in the Black Sea Region and the Carpathian Basin during the 5th and 4th Millenium BC, in S. Burmeister, S. Hansen, M. Kunst, N. Müller-Scheeßel (eds.), *Metal Matters. Innovative Technologies and Social Change in Prehistory and Antiquity*, Leidorf.
- Hodder 1982. Hodder I., *Symbols in Action. Etnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*, Cambridge.
- Iațcu et al. 2016. Iațcu I., Țurcanu S., Solcan L., Bejenaru L. (eds.), *De la Natură la Cultură. Arta prelucrării osului și cornului*. Catalog de expoziție, Iași.
- Istina 2015. Istina L.-E., Cercetări în situl cucutenian de la Fulgeriș, jud. Bacău (2003-2013), in V. Spinei, N. Ursulescu, V. Cotiugă (eds.), *Orbis Praehistoriae. Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița – in memoriam*, Honoraria 11, Iași: 379-427.
- László 1911. László F., Háromszék vármegyei praemykenaei jellegű telepek, in *Dolgozatok*, 175-259.

- Lazarovici, Lazarovici 2012. Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., *Ruginoasa – Dealul Drăghici. Monografie arheologică*, BAM XX, Suceava.
- Lazarovici et al. 2009. Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., Țurcanu S., *Cucuteni. A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World*, Iași.
- Mantu, Țurcanu 1999: Mantu C.-M., Țurcanu S., *Catalog*, în V. Chirica, C.-M. Mantu, S. Țurcanu (eds.), *Scânteia. Cercetare arheologică și restaurare. Catalog de expoziție*, Iași.
- Mareș 2012. Mareș I., *Metalurgia aramei în civilizațiile Precucuteni și Cucuteni*, Suceava.
- Marinescu-Bîlcu 1981. Marinescu-Bîlcu S., *Tîrpești. From Prehistory to History in Eastern Romania*, BARIntSer 107, Oxford.
- Marinescu-Bîlcu, Bolomey 2000. Marinescu-Bîlcu S., Bolomey A., *Drăgușeni. A Cucutenian Community*, București/ Tubingen.
- Marinescu-Bîlcu, Cârciumar 1992. Marinescu-Bîlcu S., Cârciumar M., Colliers de Lithospermum purpureo-coeruleum et de „perles” de cerf dans l’énéolithique de Roumanie dans le contexte central et sud-est européen, in *PrehistEur*, 2, 1992: 70-88.
- Mauss 1997. Mauss M., *Eseu despre dar*, traducere de S. Lupescu, Studiu introductiv de N. Gavriluță, Iași.
- Monah 2003. Monah D., Quelques réflexions sur les trésors de la culture Cucuteni, in *StAntArch*, IX, 2003: 129-140.
- Monah 2012. Monah D., *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, ediția a doua revăzută și adăugită, BMA XXVII, Piatra-Neamț.
- Monah et al. 1982. Monah D., Cucuș Șt., Popovici D., Antonescu S., 1982, Săpăturile arheologice din tell-ul cucutenian „Dealul Ghindaru”, com. Poduri, jud. Bacău, in *CercArh*, V: 9-18.
- Sidéra 2001. Sidéra I., Domestic and Funerary Bone, Antler and Tooth Objects in the Neolithic of Western Europe: A Comparison, in A. M. Choyke, L. Bartosiewicz (eds.), *Crafting Bone: Skeletal Technologies through Time and Space*, Proceedings of the 2nd meeting of the (ICAZ) Worke Bone Research Goup, Budapest, 31 August-5 September 1999, BARIntSer 937, Oxford, 221-229.
- Solcan et al. 2014. Solcan L., Danu M., Irimia I., Bodi G., 2014, Use and possible significance of two species of Boraginaceae family in Prehistory – a review of the Cucuteni Culture finds, in *AȘUI*, s. II a. Biologie vegetală, 60, 2: 63-75.
- Schuster 2002. Schuster C., *Zu den Spondylus – funden in Rumänien*, in *ThrDac*, XXIII, 1-2, 2002: 37-83.
- Séfériadès 2010. Séfériadès M. L., Spondylus and Long-Distance Trade in Prehistoric Europe, in D. W. Anthony, J. Y. Chi (eds.), *The Lost World of Old Europe. The Danube Valley, 5000-3500 BC*, New York: 179-189.
- Sztancs, Beldiman 2011. Sztancs D.-M., Beldiman C., Artefacte din materii dure animale aparținând culturii Ariușd-Cucuteni în colecția Muzeului Național Secuiesc, in *ActaSic*: 127-167.
- Sztancs et al. 2010. Sztancs D.-M., Beldiman C., Buzea D.-L., Fiches typologiques de l’industrie osseuse de Roumanie. I. Préhistoire. 1. Idole/ Pendeloque/ Amulette antropomorphe énéolithique en bois de cerf de Păuleni-Ciuc, dép. de Harghita, in *ActaTS*, IX: 121-150.
- Sztáncsuj 2005. Sztáncsuj S. J., *The Early Cooper Age Hoard from Ariușd (Erősd)*, in G. Dumitroaia, J. Chapman, O. Weller, C. Preoteasa, R. Munteanu, D. Nicola, D. Monah (Eds.), *Cucuteni 120 ans des recherches. Le temps du bilan/120 Years of Research. Time to Sum Up*, BMA XVI, Piatra-Neamț: 85-105.

- Sulimirski 1961. Sulimirski, T., Copper Hoard from Horodnica on the Dniester, in *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XCL Band, Wien: 91-97.
- Taborin 2004: Taborin Y., *Langage sans parole. La parure aux temps préhistorique*, Paris.
- Tkachuk 2008. Tkachuk T., Ceramic Imports and Imitations in Trypillia Culture at the End of Period CI – Period CII (3900-3300 BC), in P. F. Biehl, Y. Ya. Rassamakin (eds.), *Import and Imitation in Archaeology*, Langenweißbach: 35-50.
- Țurcanu 2013a. Țurcanu S., Cucutenian Body Ornamenting Items: A Raw Materials Perspective, in *ArhMold*, XXXVI: 61-78.
- Țurcanu 2013b. Țurcanu S., Considerații privind obiectele de podoabă realizate din cochilii de moluște în cadrul complexului cultural Cucuteni-Tripolie, in G. Bodi, M. Danu, R. Pîrnău (eds.), *De Hominum Primordiis. Studia in Honorem Professoris Vasile Chirica, Scripta archaeologica et historica Dacoromaniae VII*, Iași, 2013: 169-193.
- Ursachi 1990. Ursachi V., Les dépôts d'objets de parure énéolithiques de Brad, com. Negri, dép. de Bacău, in V. Chirica, D. Monah (eds.), *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, BAI IV, Iași: 335-386
- Ursulescu et al. 2002. Ursulescu N., Boghian D., Haimovici S., Cotiugă V., Coroliuc A., Cercetări interdisciplinare în așezarea precucuteniană de la Târgu Frumos (jud. Iași). Aportul arheozoologiei, in *ActaTS*, I: 29-54.
- Ursulescu *et al.* 2003. Ursulescu N., Merlan V., Tencariu A.-F., Văleanu M., Chirilă L., Popa M., Ionică D., *Isaia, com. Răducăneni, jud. Iași. Punct: balta Popii*, in CCAR. Campania 2002 (on line: <http://www.cimec.ro/arheologie/cronicaca2003/cd/index.htm> (accesat 15 octombrie 2016)).
- Ursulescu et al. 2005. Ursulescu N., Boghian D., Cotiugă V., 2005, Problèmes de la culture Précucuteni à la lumière des recherches de Târgu Frumos (dép. de Iași), in V. Spinei, C.-M. Lazarovici, D. Monah (eds.), *Scripta praehistorica. Miscellanea in honorem nonagenarii magistri Mircea Petrescu-Dîmbovița oblată*, Honoraria 1, Iași: 217-260.
- Vulpe 1957. Vulpe R., *Izvoare. Săpăturile din 1936-1948*, București.

Abbreviations

- ActaSic – Acta Siculica, Sfântu Gheorghe, Romania.
- ActaTS – Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Sibiu, Romania.
- ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași, Romania.
- AȘUI – Analele Științifice ale Universității „A. I. Cuza” Iași, Iași, Romania.
- BAI – Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassiensis.
- BAM – Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae.
- BARIntSer – British Archaeological Reports. International Series.
- BMA – Bibliotheca Musei Antiquitatis.
- CCAR – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din Romania.
- CercArh – Cercetări Arheologice, București, Romania.
- Dacia – Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
- Dolgozatok – Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum Érem-és Régiségtárából, Kolossvár, Romania
- PrehistEur – *Préhistoire Européenne* Liège, Belgium.
- StAntArch – *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași*, Romania.
- StudPreist – Studii de Preistorie, București, Romania
- ThrDac – Thraco-Dacica, București, Romania.

LES LIEUX DE MEMOIRE IN NEOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE LESSER POLAND

Slawomir Kadrow

Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology,

Polish Academy of Sciences, Poland

slawekkadrow@gmail.com

Key words: *les lieux de memoire, Neolithic, Bronze Age, Lesser Poland, cemeteries, cultural memory, cultural analysis*

Abstract: *The paper describes briefly some examples of les lieux de memoire ('sites of memory'), a concept borrowed from Pierre Nora (1996). The sites include cemeteries or settlement complexes consisting of settlements and cemeteries which were used for a very long time (more than one thousand years). Their study, carried out according to Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory and Robert Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis, may give insight into continuing cultural traditions and identity irrespective of the chronological frames of particular archaeological cultures. Consequently, the paper suggests limited usefulness of the normative concept of archaeological culture.*

Introduction

The idea of *les lieux de memoire*, 'places for recalling memories' or simply 'sites (realms) of memory' has been conceptualized by Pierre Nora: 'A *lieu de memoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community'¹.

Sites of memory represent various phenomena, such as real or mythical figures, events, dwellings and monuments, institutions and concepts, books and works of art. They serve many generations as the points where collective memory and identity can crystallise. They are part of social, cultural and political customs².

The most basic form of memory is remembrance of the dead. The farther we go back into the past, the greater attachment to ancestors we can find. Remembering the dead creates the community, and it is through the relationship with the dead that the community confirms itself³.

Cemeteries as sites of memory, therefore, have a special function in every community, as they are particularly helpful in making the people remember (store) and transfer key phenomena from the past, thereby defining their identity⁴.

A survey of several Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeological sites functioning as 'sites of memory' in Lesser Poland (Fig. 1) may reveal their potential for cultural analysis. In order to show their centuries-old transcultural role, the paper describes only those sites which have been excavated and published to a greater extent.

¹ Nora, 1996: XVII.

² Schulze and François, 2001: 686.

³ Assmann, 2008: 76-79.

⁴ Minta-Tworzowska, 2015: 16.

Sites of memory

Zagaje Stradowskie, 'Mogiła Stradowska' site, Świętokrzyskie province (Fig. 2).

The 'Mogiła Stradowska' site is located at the watershed between the Nida and the Nidzica, left-bank tributaries of the Vistula river¹. Its earliest archaeological elements come from a small settlement established by post-Linear Band Pottery (post-LBK) communities. Later, two barrows, 20 m and 40 m long, were erected by the Funnel Beaker culture (FBC) on the loess plateau. The barrows, identified by excavators as ditches with post holes forming trapeze-like structures, consisted of wooden palisades and earthworks. Beneath the shorter barrow, there was an FBC grave dug into the ground².

In the next stage, groups of the Corded Ware culture (CWC) constructed a tumulus (kurgan), 20 m in diameter, covering the earlier barrows in that place. The central grave under the kurgan has not survived. A few CWC graves, including male niche ones, were dug into the already existing kurgan mound or somewhere near it³.

In the last phase of the site, communities of the Mierzanowice culture (MC), dated to the early Bronze Age, dug two graves into the mound of the CWC kurgan⁴.

The 'Mogiła Stradowska' site in Zagaje Stradowskie was used for at least 2000 years, including 1700 years as a burial place of the three consecutive cultures: FBC, CWC and MC (ca. 3700–2000 BC).

Malice Kościelne, site 1, Świętokrzyskie province (Fig. 3).

Site 1 in Malice Kościelne lies on a gentle slope of a loess plateau above the Opatówka river valley⁵. First, two megalithic trapeze-like barrows, 27 m and approx. 30 m long, with their foundations made of limestone and mounds of earth, were built there by FBC communities. The wider eastern part of barrow 1 covered two central graves; barrow 2 contained three graves. Many other FBC graves were subsequently dug along the walls of the barrows; later on, a small cemetery of flat graves was established in front of their eastern parts. Finally, a large round mound (23–25 m in diameter) was erected over the long barrows. All the described features have been linked with the FBC⁶.

In the next phase, CWC groups dug a few graves at the foot of the round mound. The same was done by MC population at the final stage of the burial ground at the site⁷.

The use of site 1 in Malice Kościelne as a burial ground lasted probably approx. 2000 years (ca 3700–1700 BC).

Kichary Nowe, site 2, Świętokrzyskie province.

Site 2 in Kichary Nowe is located at the top of a high loess promontory above the Opatówka valley⁸. The site was occupied since the Neolithic (by a post-LBK Samborzec-Opatów group) till the Bronze Age (by the Trzciniec culture, TC). Our focus here is on the period when the location was used as a burial ground⁹.

¹ Burchard, 1998: Fig. 1, 2.

² Burchard, 2006: 301-303, Fig. 1.

³ Burchard, 1998: 151, Fig. 2.

⁴ Burchard, 2000: 137, 138.

⁵ Bargieł and Florek, 2006: 385, 386, Fig. 1.

⁶ Bargieł and Florek, 2006: 365-379.

⁷ Bargieł and Florek, 2006: 380-382, Fig. 16.

⁸ Kowalewska-Marszałek *et alii*, 2006: 341, 342, Fig. 1.

⁹ Kowalewska-Marszałek, 2000a.

First, FBC communities constructed a pseudo-megalithic barrow (Kowalewska-Marszałek et al. 2006, Fig. 3-4) with at least six graves. The pits were built from stones and covered with stone pavements¹.

Next, at least two CWC graves were dug into the ground close to the FBC barrow². Finally, some MC communities buried a dozen of their dead where the FBC barrow had been erected earlier³.

Site 2 in Kichary Nowe was used as a burial ground for less than 1500 years (3000–1700 BC).

Miernów, mound II, Świętokrzyskie province (Fig. 4).

Mound II in Miernów is located on the loess plateau of the Lesser Poland Upland, a few kilometres west of the Nida river valley⁴.

In the first phase, CWC communities built a relatively small earthen mound (12 m in diameter) over the central grave, grave 2, which was dug below the ground. Afterwards, grave 1 was built at the edge of the mound⁵.

In the next phase, a few MC graves (3, 6, 8) were located at the edge the CWC mound⁶.

Finally, TC communities constructed another mound, considerably larger (19 m in diameter), over the earlier one. There was a wooden structure (pit 7) in the centre beneath it⁷. Later on, some TC graves were dug at the edge of the mound⁸.

The whole burial complex lasted approx. 1500 years (2800–1300 BC).

Żerniki Górne, site 1, Świętokrzyskie province.

Site 1 in Żerniki Górne includes graves built by the CWC, MC and TC, as well as a large TC mound (26 m in diameter), a local landmark, located at the southern edge of the loess plateau⁹.

First, CWC communities built a cemetery of 64 flat graves forming several clusters, which they used for several centuries. It is the largest CWC cemetery in Poland¹⁰.

Next, a MC community buried their dead in the same place, leaving 37 graves altogether¹¹.

Then, TC population built four stone circles as a complex cult area. Soon after that, the place began to be used as a cemetery¹².

Finally, the TC community erected the mound.

The location was used for ritual and sepulchral purposes for approx. 1500 years (2750–1300 BC).

Gródek Nadbużny, site 1C, Lublin province.

Site 1C in Gródek Nadbużny has a very long history of occupation, consisting of several successive settlement episodes¹³, from the oldest Neolithic to the Middle Ages. The paper focuses on the phases when the site was used by the Lublin-Volhynia culture (L-VC – Danubian III) and the FBC.

¹ Kowalewska-Marszałek et alii, 2006: Fig. 5-8, 10-14.

² Kowalewska-Marszałek, 2000; Kowalewska-Marszałek et alii, 2006: Fig. 4.

³ Kowalewska-Marszałek, 2000; Kowalewska-Marszałek et alii, 2006: Fig. 4.

⁴ Kempisty, 1978: 11, Fig. 1.

⁵ Kempisty, 1978: Fig. 2-5.

⁶ Kempisty, 1978: Fig. 2-5.

⁷ Kempisty, 1978: Fig. 4.

⁸ Kempisty, 1978: Fig. 2-5.

⁹ Kempisty and Włodarczak, 2000: 7-10, Fig. 1, 3.

¹⁰ Kempisty, 1978: 265-288, Fig. 37; Kempisty and Włodarczak, 2000: 151-161.

¹¹ Kempisty, 1978: 319-322.

¹² Kempisty, 1978: 328-331; Fig. 199.

¹³ cf. Gumiński, 1989; Kadrow, 2015: 201-204.

Excavations centred on the Roman period¹ have revealed an important relationship between relics of those two cultures. Some graves from the younger phase of the L-VC were destroyed by settlement structures (pits) built by the FBC². FBC communities occupied the area for several centuries.

The L-VC cemetery functioned from 3900/3800 to 3700/3600 BC. The FBC population came to Gródek Nadbużny in 3700/3600 BC. They built and then inhabited the settlement till the early 3rd millennium BC³.

Bronocice, Małopolska province (Fig. 5).

The chronology of the Neolithic settlement stages (3900–2400 BC) in Bronocice has been published in several papers⁴ and monographs⁵. The most recent publication presents the newest version of its radiocarbon chronology and the most detailed description and interpretation of sepulchral sources from that site⁶.

The beginning of the site should probably be linked with modest traces of the Malice culture (Danubian II), i.e. with a few pottery redeposits and human bones (possibly from destroyed graves) which have been recovered from settlement pits built by the oldest FBC community in part C of the examined area⁷. The Malice episode occurred before 3900 BC.

Phase 1 (the FBC BR I phase, dated to 3900–3800 BC) has only left traces of a small settlement in part C of the site. No burials from that period have been identified⁸.

In phase 2 (3800–3700 BC), the site was settled by an L-VC (Danubian III) community. The settlement was fortified with a ditch, earthen ramparts and a wooden palisade. Some of L-VC settlement pits contained human bones, possibly redeposits from destroyed MC graves. There was also an L-VC double skeleton grave in the settlement area⁹.

In phases 3 and 4, an FBC cemetery was built and used in part C of the site, while settlement concentrated first in part A and then in parts A and B. The cemetery (part C) and the settlement (parts A and B) coexisted for several centuries, from 3700 to 3300 BC¹⁰.

In phases 5 and 6 (3300–2900 BC), the cemetery ceased to function and an enclosure for cattle was built in that area (Fig. 5). The style of ceramics changed at the same time: classic FBC pottery was replaced with Baden-like ware. Graves, scattered throughout the settlement, reflected a different set of funeral traditions¹¹.

In phases 5 and 6, after the Bronocice settlement had ceased to exist, two more graves were built in that area, one representing the Baden culture (BC), the other representing the CWC.

Iwanowice, Babia Góra site, Małopolska province (Fig. 6).

The Babia Góra and the Góra Klin sites in Iwanowice and the whole Iwanowice microregion were first settled by LBK population in the early Neolithic. Later on, the Babia Góra site was inhabited by various post-LBK Danubian groups and Baden culture (BC) groups¹². A CWC cemetery

¹ Kokowski, 1989; Kokowski, 1995.

² Kokowski and Zakościelna, 1988; Zakościelna, 2010: 248-257.

³ Bronicki *et alii*, 2003: 28-32, Fig. 4.

⁴ e.g. Kruk and Milisauskas, 1981.

⁵ e.g. Kruk *et alii*, 1996; Kruk and Milisauskas, 1999.

⁶ Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016.

⁷ Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016: 59.

⁸ Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016: 60, 61.

⁹ Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016: 89-92, Fig. 2, 3.

¹⁰ cf. Kruk *et alii*, 1996: Fig. 4; Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016: 62, 63.

¹¹ Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016: 63, 64.

¹² Furholt and Machnik, 2006; Kadrow, 2015: 204-208.

was built at the Góra Klin site in the late Neolithic¹. The most intensive settlement traces, however, were left by Mierzanowice population in the early Bronze Age². Subsequently, the Iwanowice microregion was settled by the TC and by the Lusatian culture (LC)³.

At the turn of the early (MC II) and classic (MC III) phases, ca. 2050 BC, inhabitants of the Babia Góra site decided to divide the area into two separate parts: the cemetery and the settlement⁴. The division was accompanied by changes in the style of ceramics, funeral rites etc.

The sites in Iwanowice provide an example of different cultural behaviour within the same archaeological culture in two adjacent locations. Since the late Bronze Age, the LC community at the Góra Klin site continued to use the cemetery which had been built by the CWC population in the late Neolithic and then used by MC groups⁵. This means that the Lusatian community respected the division of the area into the sepulchral and the settlement parts as demarcated by their predecessors.

At the Babia Góra site, another Lusatian group, dated to the Hallstatt C and D, ignored the division made by the MC and TC communities who had built a cemetery there and used it for many centuries. By locating their settlement on the previous burial ground⁶, the Lusatian people⁷ consciously rejected the existing tradition and ignored the MC decision of demarcating the realm of the cemetery and the settlement.

The prehistoric settlement stages in Iwanowice spanned the period between 5300 BC (LBK) and 500 BC (LC in its Hallstatt phase). The most intensive MC settlement (2300–1600 BC) lasted there several hundred years.

It seems that the replacement of the Danubian cultures by the FBC in Lesser Poland (Fig. 7) was a landmark in the discontinuation of cultural tradition and identity. In Gródek Nadbużny, FBC settlers entered the area used previously by the L-VC, destroyed the L-VC cemetery and established their settlement in its place. Gródek Nadbużny, therefore, may be considered as an example of ‘hostile’ takeover of territory occupied by Danubian (L-VC) communities. It is difficult to say whether land belonging to one culture was acquired by another culture in a similar way elsewhere, but it is probable. Analogous acquisition appears to have taken place at the Zimne site⁸ and, above all, in Bronocice (Fig. 7).

The example of Bronocice, where the entire sequence of mutual discontinuations of Danubian and FBC traditions has been recorded in part C of the site, confirms the thesis formulated above. The MC (Danubian) community was probably the first to settle this place and to bury their dead there. At the beginning of the 4th millennium BC, an FBC group established a small settlement in Bronocice part C and destroyed the graves built by their Danubian predecessors (‘hostile’ takeover = discontinuation of tradition and identity). Later, in 3800–3700 BC, another Danubian III (L-VC) group moved into the place and constructed a fairly large fortified settlement (possibly ‘hostile’ takeover). The site was taken over again by the FBC in ca. 3700 BC, and the last Danubian III (L-VC) settlement episode came definitely to an end (Fig. 5). The FBC settlers replaced the Danubian III fortified settlement with their cemetery (possibly ‘hostile’ takeover).

Burial and cult practices continuing for more than two thousand years in specific locations (megaliths, kurgans, burial grounds, i.e. at ‘sites of memory’: Zagaje Stradowskie, Malice Kościelne,

¹ Machnikowie, Kaczanowski, 1987.

² Dzeduszycka-Machnik and Machnik, 1974; Kadrow 1991; Kadrow and Machnikowie, 1992; Machnikowie and Kaczanowski, 1987.

³ cf. Suder, 2000.

⁴ Kadrow and Machnikowie, 1992.

⁵ Machnikowie and Kaczanowski, 1987.

⁶ Kadrow and Machnikowie, 1992.

⁷ Suder, 2000.

⁸ Bronicki *et alii*, 2003.

Kichary Nowe, Miernów or Żerniki Górne) irrespective of the changing archaeological cultures indicate that archaeological taxonomic units may not have determined the continuity of tradition or various kinds of identity. Memory sites seem to be evidence of the continuation of traditions and identities regardless of the chronological boundaries of particular archaeological cultures. This continuity is noticeable in Lesser Poland from the FBC, through the CWC, MC, TC, to the older phases of the LC.

The next landmark in the discontinuation of long-lasting tradition and identity was the arrival of Hallstatt-like LC communities in western Lesser Poland, as proven by the site in Iwanowice, where LC settlers built their settlement on the former MC and TC cemetery in the early Iron Age ('hostile' takeover; Fig. 7).

In the light of Robert Wuthnow's theory of cultural analysis¹, changes in the space organization in Bronocice at the turn of phases 4 and 5 (3300 BC) and at the Babia Góra site in Iwanowice at the turn of phases MCII and MCIII (2050 BC) may signify internal social conflicts resulting in changes in culture and culture changes. In many cases, such changes were not caused by external influences or hostile attacks, but by internal conflicts². The conflicts took place within certain settlements and not within entire archaeological cultures or culture groups.

The examples mentioned above point conclusively to the necessity of parting with the normative concept of archaeological culture proposed by Gustaf Kossinna (np. 1911), defined later by Gordon V. Childe (1929). The normative concept equates archaeological culture with culture in general³. This interpretation has retained its popularity with many archaeologists to this day.

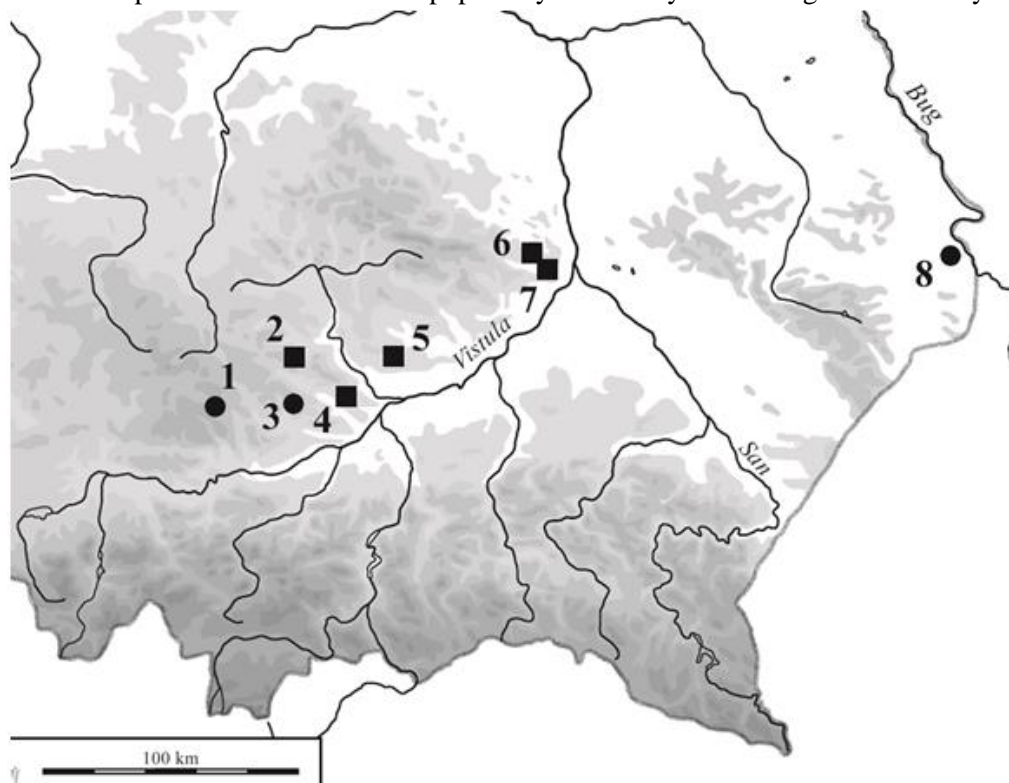


Fig. 1. Location of selected 'sites of memory' in Lesser Poland: 1 – Iwanowice; 2 – Zagaje Stradowskie; 3 – Bronocice; 4 – Miernów; 5 – Żerniki Górne; 6 – Malice Kościelne; 7 – Kichary Nowe; 8 – Gródek Nadbużny; black circles – settlement complexes; black rectangles – sepulchral complexes.

¹ Wuthnow, 1987; Kadrow, 2016.

² cf. Kadrow, 2016.

³ cf. Johnson, 2010.

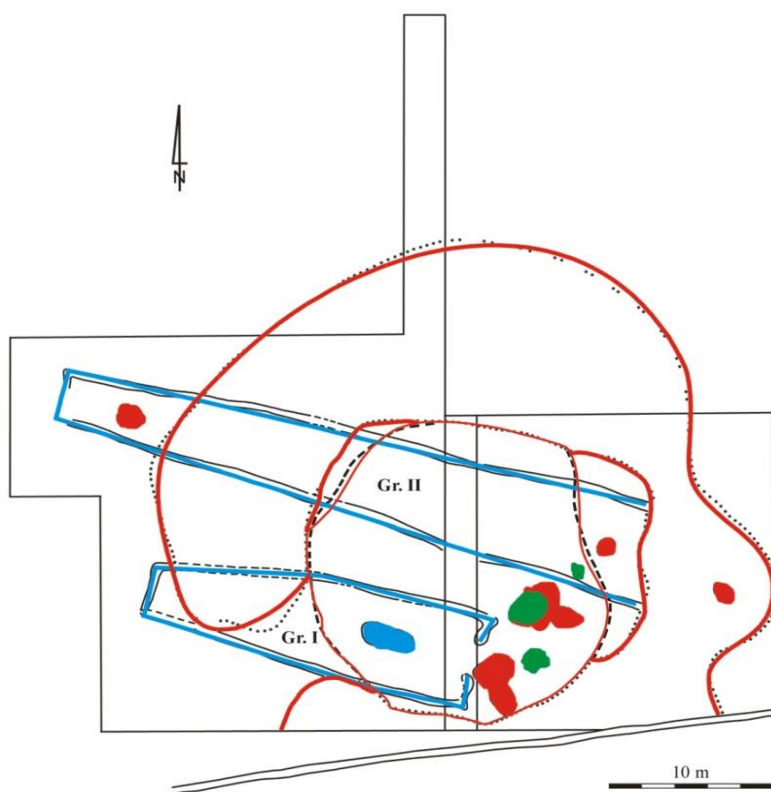


Fig. 2. Zagaje Stradowskie, 'Mogila Stradowska' site, świętokrzyskie voivodeship. Sepulchral complex; structures in blue – FBC long barrows and grave pit; structures in red – CWC kurgan mound and grave pits; structures in green – MC grave pits (acc. to Burchard 2006 – simplified).

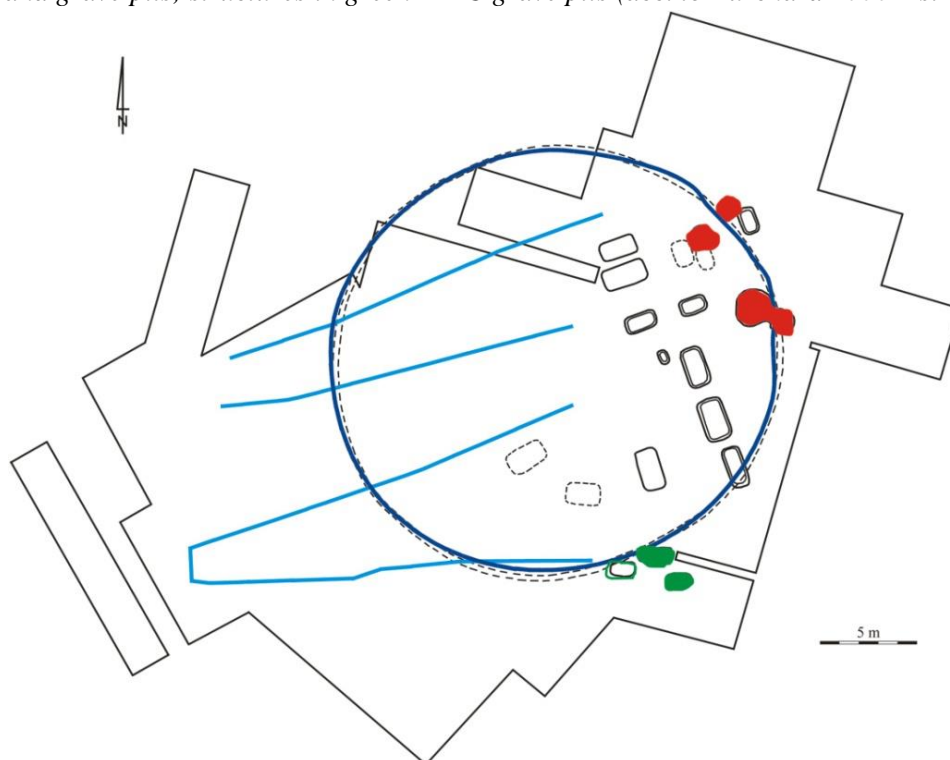


Fig. 3. Malice Kościelne, site 1, świętokrzyskie voivodeship; Sepulchral complex; structures in blue – FBC long barrows; structures in dark blue – FBC kurgan mound; structures in red – CWC grave pits; structures in green – MC grave pits (acc. to Bargiel and Florek 2006 - simplified).

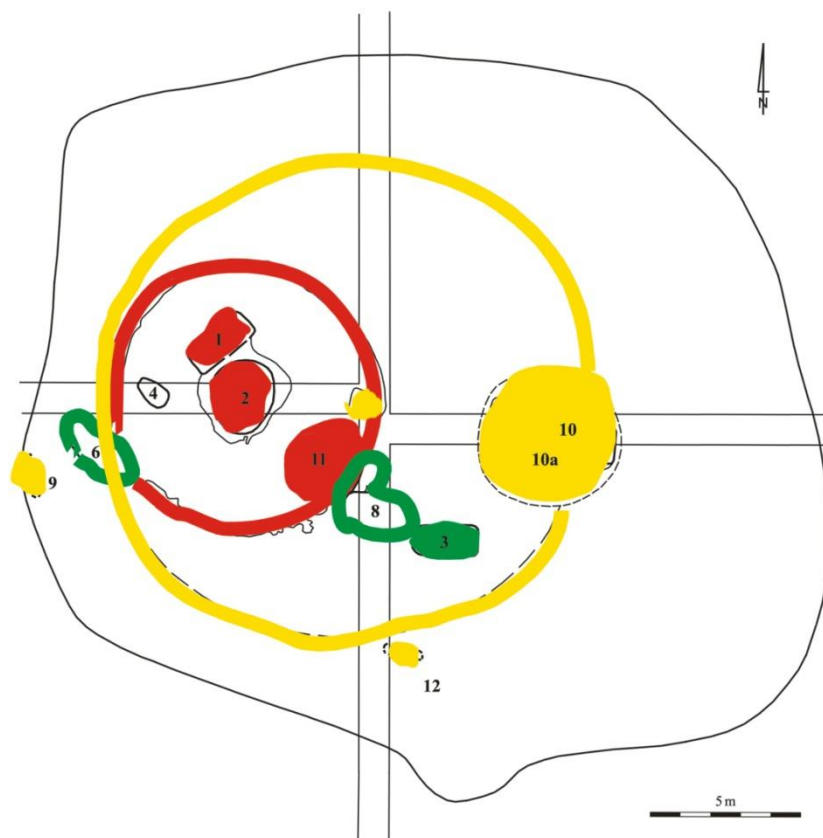


Fig. 4. Miernów, mound II, świętokrzyskie voivodeship; Sepulchral complex; structures in red – CWC kurgan mound and grave pits; structures in green – MC grave pits; structures in yellow – TC kurgan mound and grave pits (acc. to Kempisty 1978 - simplified).

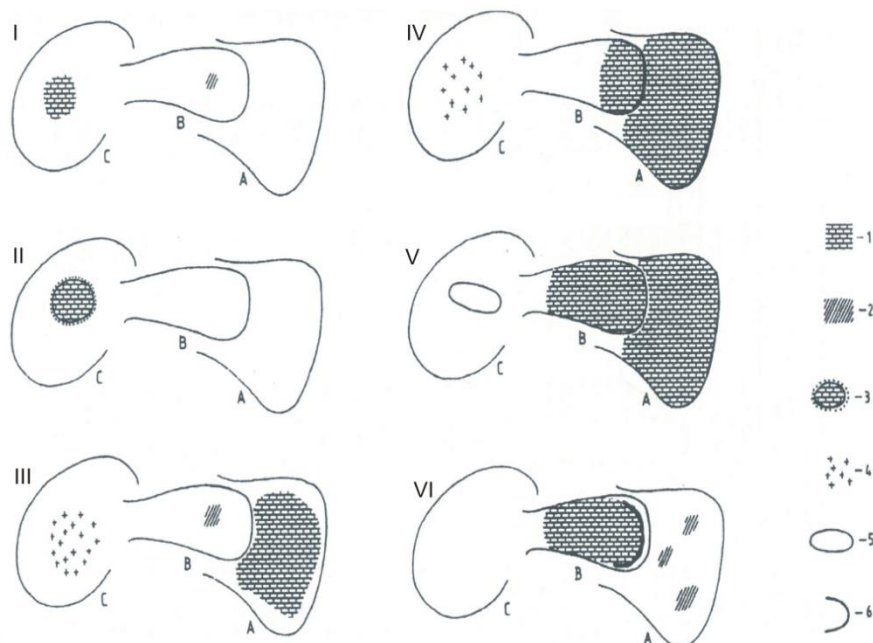


Fig. 5. Bronocice, małopolskie voivodeship. Settlement complex; I – VI – settlement phases (1-6); A – C – main parts of the site; 1 – settlement areas; 2 – places of various economic activities; 3 – fortified settlement; 4 – cemetery; 5 – kraal for cattle; 6 ditches (acc. to Kruk et al. 1996).

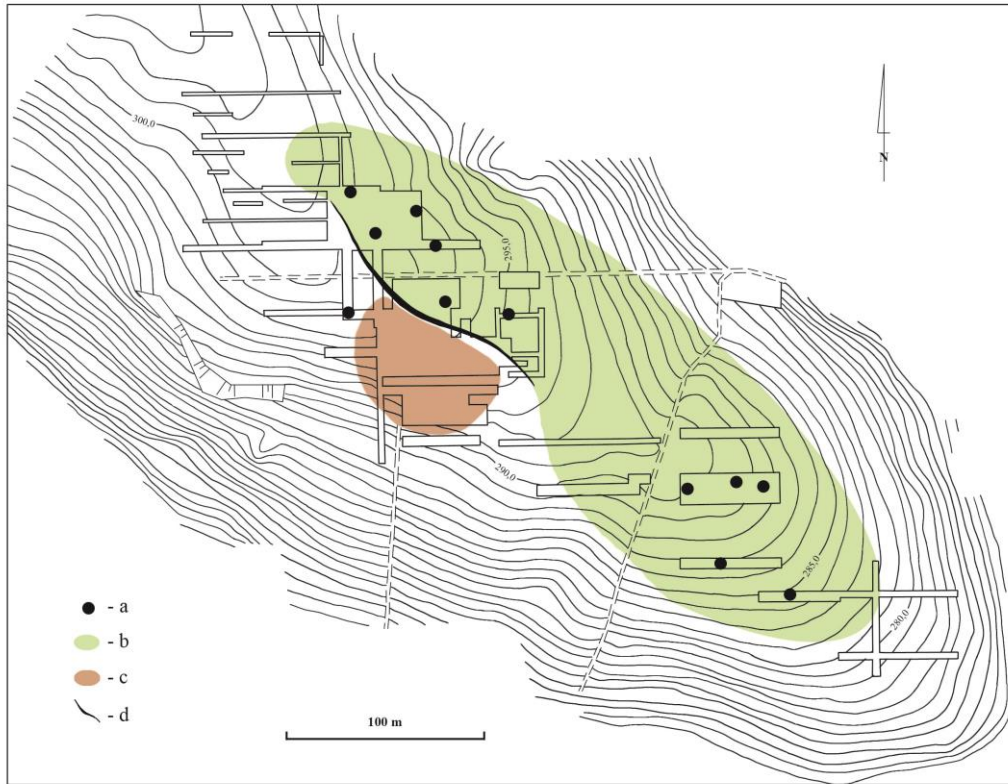


Fig. 6. Iwanowice, Babia Góra site, malopolskie voivodeship. Settlement complex in 3rd building phase; a – househlds; b – settlement area, c – cemetery, d – ditch - dirt road (acc. to Kadrow 1991 - simplified).

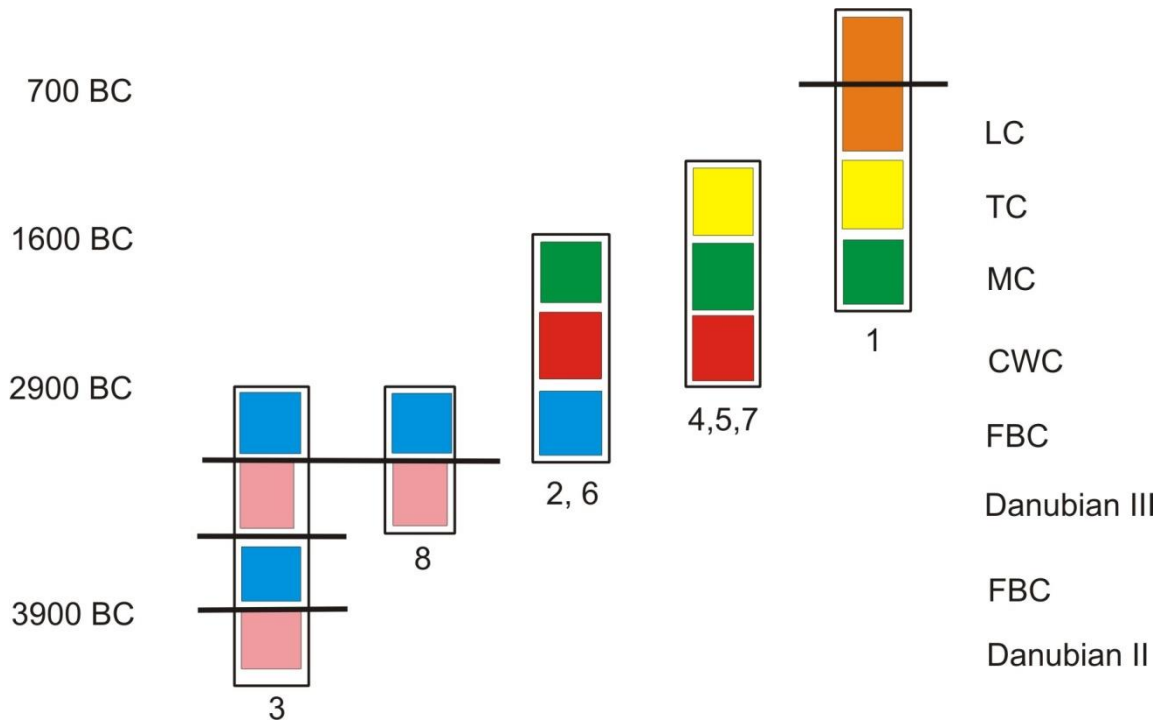


Fig. 7. Chronology of settlement (1, 3, 8) and sepulchral (2, 4-7) complexes in Lesser Poland; black lines – ‘hostile’ takeovers (Danubian II = Malice culture; Danubian III = Lublin-Volhinia culture).

References

- Assmann, J. 2008. Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Bargieł, B. and Florek, M. 2006. Cmentarzysko w Pawłowie, pow. Sandomierz, na tle innych podobnych stanowisk kultury pucharów lejkowatych. In J. Libera and K. Tunia (eds.), *Idea megalityczna w obrządku pogrzebowym kultury pucharów lejkowatych*. Lublin-Kraków: Instytut Archeologii UMCS & Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Oddział w Krakowie: 361-484.
- Bronicki *et alii*, 2003. Bronicki, A., Kadrow, S. and Zakościelna, A., Radiocarbon Dating of the Neolithic Settlement in Zimne, Volhynia, in Light of the Chronology of the Lublin-Volhynia Culture and the South-Eastern Group of the Funnel Beaker Culture. In A. Kosko and V. Klochko (eds.), *The Foundations of Radiocarbon Chronology of Cultures between the Vistula and Dnieper: 4000-1000 BC (= Baltic-Pontic Studies 12)*. Poznań: Institute of Prehistory, Adam Mickiewicz University: 22-66.
- Burchard, B. 1998. Badania grobowców typu megalitycznego w Zagaju Stradowskim w południowej Polsce, in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*, 50: 149-156.
- Burchard, B. 2000. Das Grab der Mierzanowice Kultur auf dem Fundplatz Mogiła Stradowska. In S. Kadrow (ed.), *A Turning of Ages. Im Wandel der Zeiten. Jubilee Book Dedicated to Professor Jan Machnik on His 70th Anniversary*. Kraków: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch: 137-141.
- Burchard, B. 2006. Grobowce typu megalitycznego w Zagaju Stradowskim, pow. Kazimierza Wielka. In J. Libera and K. Tunia (eds.), *Idea megalityczna w obrządku pogrzebowym kultury pucharów lejkowatych*. Lublin-Kraków: Instytut Archeologii UMCS & Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Oddział w Krakowie: 301-305.
- Childe, V. G. 1929. *The Danube in Prehistory*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dzieduszycka-Machnik, A. and Machnik, J. 1974. Frühbronzezeitlicher Siedlungskomplex in Iwanowice (Kleinpolen) und seine Verbindung mit dem Karpatenbecken, in *Preistoria Alpina* 10: 57-66.
- François, E. and Schulze, H. 2001. *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Vol. 2*. München: C. H. Beck Verlag.
- Furholt, M. and Machnik, J. 2006. Iwanowice Babia Góra I and the settlements with Baden ceramics in Little Poland. Questiones concerning their duration, in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*, 58: 325-354.
- Gumiński, W. 1989. Gródek Nadbużny. *Osada kultury pucharów lejkowatych (= Polskie Badania Archeologiczne 28)*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Johnson, M. 2010. *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Kadrow, S. 1991. Iwanowice, stanowisko Babia Góra, cz. I. Rozwój przestrzenny osady z wczesnego okresu epoki brązu. Kraków: Instytut Historii Kultury Materialnej PAN.
- Kadrow, S. 2015. Miejsca szczególne w neolicie i w epoce brązu – Iwanowice, Gródek Nadbużny. In B. Gediga, A. Grossman and W. Piotrowski (eds.), *Miejsca pamięci: Pradzieje, średniowiecze, współczesność*. Biskupin-Wrocław: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Biskupinie, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN: 201-216.
- Kadrow, S. 2016. Ritual, Meaning and Moral Order. Social and Symbolic Significance of Copper Artifacts. A Case Study of an Early Eneolithic Settlement in Poland. In C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc and C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven. From Symbols to Signs*. In

- Memory of Henrieta Todorova* (= *Ethnoreligion Series 2*). Suceava: Editura Karl. A. Romstorfer: 107-124.
- Kadrow, S. and Machnikowie, A. J. 1992. *Iwanowice, stanowisko Babia Góra, część II. Cmentarzysko z wczesnego okresu epoki brązu*. Kraków: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.
- Kempisty, A. 1978. Schyłek neolitu i początek epoki brązu na Wyżynie Małopolskiej w świetle badań nad kopcami (= *Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis 121*). Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- Kempisty, A. and Włodarczak, P. 2000. Cemetery of the Corded Ware Culture in Żerniki Górne (= *Światowit Supplement Series P: Prehistory and Middle Ages 5*). Warszawa: Institute of Archaeology, Warsaw University.
- Kokowski, A. 1989. Południowa część osady kultury pucharów lejkowatych na stanowisku 1Cw Gródka na Bugiem, woj. Zamość (badania lat 1984-1986), in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne* 40: 35-56.
- Kokowski, A. 1995. Stratyfikowany obiekt kultury pucharów lejkowatych w Gródku nad Bugiem, woj. Zamojskie, in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*, 47: 137-156.
- Kokowski, A. and Zakościelna, A. 1988. Grób kultury wołyńsko-lubelskiej ceramiki malowanej z Gródka na Bugiem, stan. 1C, gm. Hrubieszów, in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*, 39: 59-68.
- Kossinna, G. 1911. Die Herkunft der Germanen. Zur Methode der Siedlungsarchäologie (= *Mannus Bibliothek 6*). Würzburg: Kabitzsch.
- Kowalewska-Marszałek, H. 2000. Spiral rings from Kichary Nowe – the most ancient gold objects of Poland? In S. Kadrow (ed.), *A Turning of Ages. Im Wandel der Zeiten. Jubilee Book Dedicated to Professor Jan Machnik on His 70th Anniversary*. Kraków: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow Branch: 347-361.
- Kowalewska-Marszałek, H. 2000a. Das neolitische Gräberfeld von Kichary Nowe in Klempolen. das Phänomen der Kontinuität und die Frage des Kulturwandels, in *Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas*, 22: 133-141.
- Kowalewska-Marszałek *et alii*, 2006. Kowalewska-Marszałek, H., Duday, H. and Pyżuk, M., Kichary Nowe: „Megalityczne” konstrukcje grobowe w świetle badań archeologicznych i antropologicznych. In J. Libera and K. Tunia (eds.), *Idea megalityczna w obrzędzie pogrzebowym kultury pucharów lejkowatych*. Lublin-Kraków: Instytut Archeologii UMCS & Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, Oddział w Krakowie, 341360.
- Kruk, J. and Milisauskas, S. 1981. Chronology of Funnel Beaker, Baden-like, and Lublin-Volhynian settlements at Bronocice, Poland, in *Germania*, 59: 1-19.
- Kruk, J. and Milisauskas, S. 1999. *Rozkwit i upadek społeczeństw rolniczych neolitu*. Kraków: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.
- Kruk *et alii*, 1996. Kruk, J., Alexandrowicz, S. W., Milisauskas, S. and Śnieszko, Z., Osadnictwo i zmiany środowiska naturalnego wyżyn lessowych. Studium archeologiczne i paleogeograficzne nad neolitem w dorzeczu Nidzicy. Kraków: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN.
- Machnikowie, A. J. and Kaczanowski K. 1987. Osada i cmentarzysko z wczesnego okresu epoki brązu na „Górze Klin” w Iwanowicach. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Milisauskas *et alii*, 2016. Milisauskas, S., Kruk, J., Pipes, M.-L. and Haduch, E., *Neolithic Human Burial Practices. The Interpretation of funerary behaviors at Bronocice, Poland*. Kraków: Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology. Polish Academy of Sciences.

- Minta-Tworzowska, D. 2015. O „użyteczności” rozważań nad miejscami pamięci i krajobrazami pamięci w archeologii. In B. Gediga, A. Grossman and W. Piotrowski (eds.), *Miejsca pamięci: Pradzieje, średniowiecze, współczesność*. Biskupin-Wrocław: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Biskupinie, Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN: 13-30.
- Nora, P. 1996. From lieux de mémoire to realms of memory. In P. Nora and L. D. Kritzman (eds.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past. Vol. 1: Conflicts and divisions*. New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press: XV-XXIV.
- Suder, W. 2000. Osada kultury łużyckiej na stanowisku Iwanowice-Babia Góra II, in *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne*, 52: 171-219.
- Wuthnow, R. 1987. *Meaning and Moral Order. Explorations in Cultural Analysis*. Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: University of California Press.
- Zakościelna, A. 2010. Studium obrządku pogrzebowego kultury lubelsko-wołyńskiej. Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS.

SYMBOLS AND SIGNS IN THE POTTERY DECOR OF THE ADÂNCATA – „İMAŞ” BARROW CEMETERY (SUCEAVA COUNTY, ROMANIA)

Ioan Ignat

Dumeni, Botoşani County, Romania, ignatioan1981@gmail.com

Bogdan Petru Niculiã

Bucovina Museum, Suceava, Romania, niculicab@yahoo.com

***Key words:** Middle Bronze Age, Komariv Culture, cemetery pottery, symbols, solar cult*

***Abstract:** The prehistoric man was accompanied every step and in any domain of his activity by a multitude of beliefs and superstitions, reflected in his material culture too. Thus, the ceramic decorative elements, for example, can be related to a number of rites and rituals and to certain cultural and religious aspects. Although we might never completely know these beliefs and superstitions, we can offer as many interpretations as possible based on the existing archaeological discoveries and on the analogies offered by the ethnographic data. On the Adâncata – “İmaş” barrow cemetery pottery, belonging to the Middle Bronze Age, Komariv Culture, the incised ornamentation, such as circles, triangles, diamonds etc. indicates aspects of the solar cult.*

The prehistoric man’s life was one particularly complex, as it was both to the natural environment and the human factor; the individual was accompanied at every step and in every area of his/her activity by a multitude of beliefs and superstitions, leading to various rites and rituals. There was the belief, as in the periods before and after, that the deities exist everywhere and that a permanent spiritual contact must be maintained, hence various attitudes towards it resulting.

Perhaps we will never know the totality of these beliefs and superstitions, nor all the complex rituals that took place for each of them, the archeological traces being, in many cases, scarce, incomplete or missing altogether. But what archaeologists can do is to try to provide, first, a correct description and as thorough as possible of the context of discovery, not to overlook even the smallest detail, and to include in its synthesis as many interpretations as possible based on existing archaeological material and analogies offered by ethnographic data. However, in some cases, the interpretations might be closer or further away from the “prehistoric truth”.

Some beliefs can be deduced by analysis of the ceramic production, particularly through analysis of the decorative motifs existing on the external or internal surface of the vessel. Thus, we will try below to understand the meaning, and motivation of applying certain types of decors existing

on the pottery discovered in the tumuli of the necropolis at Adâncata – *Imaş* (Suceava county) belonging to the Middle Bronze Age – Komariv culture¹.

The decors existing on the Komariv-type vessels from Adâncata – *Imaş* were made, in most cases, by incision technique, but there are also items decorated with grooves or by relieving technique.

The simplest decorative motifs observed consist of simple incised lines or bands of incised lines, that surround the body of the vessels, especially around the mouth of the vessel or on the shoulders, at the limit between the neck and body. Also, there are more complex decorative patterns, such as the above-mentioned bands, correlated with bands of downward facing triangles, filled with incised oblique hatching, as well as diamonds carried out in the same manner.

From the many pottery fragments obtained from the excavations in the necropolis of Adâncata – *Imaş*, few have a ceramic decor that draws the attention through the richness and combination of different ornamental motifs. Also, only few vessels could be reconstructed, pointing out that the clay used had a poor quality and it was crumbly.

However, a few reconstructed or fragmented vessels more conspicuous, through their decorations, and they are significant for the theme of this study. We tried to reconstruct the ornamentation of the vessels starting from portions of decoration, since in many cases the vessels are fragmented, and the decoration is not entirely legible. The decor of the missing portions was presumably based on what can still be seen today; therefore, it is possible that in some situations, the reconstruction is not entirely in line with the reality, due to the lack of portions of the decorative registers. In addition, in some cases, the ceramic decorations, especially those incised, were traced in a careless manner, although in the reconstruction the same decorations were drawn with more care, with lines straighter or more accurately curved.

Thus, a first, richly ornamented vessel is a cup with two elevated handles, discovered in T2, showing an incised decoration as follows: immediately below the rim there is a band composed of two incised lines, parallel and horizontal, between which there are oblique incised lines, tilted to the right; a similar band is situated on the shoulder of the vessel, being broken only in the area of the handles; below this band, below the shoulder and down to the maximum curvature of the body of the vessel, there is a register consisting of triangles hatched obliquely to the right, positioned peak to peak; this registry is also interrupted in the area of the handles, where it is replaced by a decor consisting of two lozenges, filled with oblique crosshatch tilted to the left (Pl. I/1-2)².

The ornamentation of the vessels with registers made of incised triangles pointing downwards, filled with oblique crosshatch tilted to the left or right is a common practice on the pottery of the Komariv culture in Romania, even though the triangles mentioned are not always duplicated by another string of triangles face-to-face or there are other types of bands at their base. Decors with bands, identical to those on the cup from T 2, located on the rim and shoulder area, continued by simple strings of triangles pointing downwards, crosshatched towards the right, are generally encountered on cups; worth mentioning are artifacts from the sites of the Komariv culture in the eastern-Carpathian area, such as Prăjeni – *Lutărie*³, Mihălăşeni – *Şesul Başelui* (in this case the decoration is realized through successive thrusts)⁴, Truşeşti – *Movila din Şesul Jijiei*⁵, all in the Botoşani county. A decoration more similar to that discussed above is reported on a pottery fragment

¹ Niculică, 2005: 61-68; 2015: 160-201.

² Niculică, 2015: 164, Pl. LXIX, fig. 9.

³ Ursulescu, Şadurschi, 1998: fig. 4/1, 5/1; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 114/1; Dumitroaia, 2001b: Pl. 55/3.

⁴ Ionomu, Şovan, 1999: fig. 1/6; Batariuc, 2001: Pl. 57/4.

⁵ Petrescu-Dîmboviţa *et alii*, 1953: fig. 22/2, 5; 1954: fig. 16/9; Petrescu-Dîmboviţa, 1960: fig. 1/1; Vulpe, 1961: fig. 7/6; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 115/5, 10.

found in Corlăteni – *Dealul Cetății* (Botoșani county), consisting of a band made up of incised, oblique crosshatch, sloped left, bordered by two incised, parallel, horizontal lines; below is positioned a register of incised triangles placed face-to-face, filled with hatching tilted to the right. Unlike Adâncata – *Imaş* (T 2), where there is a small space between the triangles, at Corlăteni the triangles form in the space between them geometrically correct diamonds¹.

None of the examples above shows any decoration in the form of incised diamonds (lozenges). Diamonds realised by the incision technique, in the Komariv culture, in Romania may be mentioned at the site from Corlăteni – *Dealul Cetății*. It is a decoration placed on a raised vessel handle, consisting of two superposed incised diamonds, filled with oblique incised hatches, somewhat curved and tilted to the right inside the top triangle and tilted to the left in the lower². Diamonds arranged like those on the vessel T2 from Adâncata – *Imaş* are found on the body of a Ciomortan-type vessel from Zoltan – *La Nisipărie* (Covasna county)³. Smaller diamonds, alone or in groups, can be mentioned in the sites of the cultures Costișa or Komariv at Târpești – *Râpa lui Bodai* (Neamț)⁴, Lunca – *Poiana Slatinei* (Neamț county)⁵, Iași – *Dealul lui Peretz* (Iași county)⁶.

Another interesting decor is the one visible on pottery fragments from small containers, probably cups, discovered in T 6 at Adâncata – *Imaş*. It is a decor located on the shoulder of the vessel, consisting of a strip made of parallel, incised, horizontal lines, with a horizontal interrupted line between them (on the basis of analogies, a similar band can be assumed to have existed under the rim, because, in most cases, the two bands are if not identical, at least similar), under which there is a register of vertical grooves, which likely reach toward the middle of the bowl (Pl. II/3-4)⁷.

Also from T 6 comes another bowl with a somewhat asymmetrical shape, with the neck decorated with a band consisting of five parallel horizontal lines, interrupted here and there by two vertical rows of rounded pokes. In places, without a specific pattern, below this band there are other rows of pokes, realized in an identical manner as described above, forming asymmetric semicircles (Pl. II/1-2)⁸.

Bands of five or more incised parallel horizontal lines, traced more or less carefully, in combination with other decorative patterns, are common on the vessels of the Komariv culture, especially on the neck of the vessel, and in Costișa culture. We mention, among others, the pots and the fragments of pots found at Corlăteni – *Dealul Cetății* (Botoșani county)⁹, at Mihoveni – *Cahla Morii* (Suceava county)¹⁰, Lunca – *Poiana Slatinei* (Neamț county)¹, Târpești – *Râpa lui Bodai* (Neamț county)².

¹ Nestor *et alii*, 1952: 90, fig. 5; Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1960: fig. 2/5; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 111/10; Munteanu, 2001b: pl. 56/6.

² Nestor *et alii*, 1952: fig. 5; Petrescu-Dîmbovița, 1960: fig. 2/2; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 111/8; Munteanu, 2001b: pl. 56/4.

³ Cavruc, 2001: Pl. 80/2.

⁴ Florescu A. C., 1991: fig. 45/4.

⁵ Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 103/10; 2001a: Pl. 47/10.

⁶ Zaharia, Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Zaharia, 1970: Pl. LXXV: 2; Dascălu, 2007: Pl. 5/193.1. In other sources, the same pottery fragment was mentioned as discovered at Holboca – *Peste Baltă* (Iași county) (Florescu A. C., 1991: fig. 47/2; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 115/1).

⁷ Niculică, 2015: 168, Pl. LVII, fig. 3.

⁸ Niculică, 2015: 168, Pl. LXIX, fig. 4.

⁹ Dascălu, 2007: pl. 5/83.4,5; Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 106/1-2; Munteanu, 2001b: Pl. 56/1, 2; Dascălu, 2007: Pl. 5/83.4-5.

¹⁰ Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 105/2, 6, 106/6-8; Batariuc, 2001: Pl. 54/1, 3.

Another unique decor from the barrow cemetery at Adâncata – *Imaş* is signaled on the cup with one raised handle discovered in T 8. The decor blends the techniques of incision and grooving, being represented, under the rim, by a band of incised parallel horizontal lines with a row of oblique incised hatches between them, sloping to the right (these hatches do not touch the horizontal lines, as do the ones on the cup from T 6, described above). A similar band, but with incised hatches inclined to the left, is on the shoulder of the vessel. Immediately below it, but without touching it, a grooved decor can be seen consisting of registers composed of three concentric semicircular grooves, interspersed by registers composed of three vertical grooves. The grooved decor reaches the bottom of the vessel (Pl. II/5-6)³.

Regarding the grooved decor, we can say that it is present in other archaeological points with Komariv-type ceramic too, although not always the same decorative motifs are obtained. Using the grooving technique, variable motifs were obtained: vertical, oblique – tilted to the right or left, circular and semi-circular. We can mention the discoveries of the Komariv culture at Truşeşti – *Movila din Şesul Jijiei*⁴ and Brăeşti⁵ (Botoşani county), Siret – *Ferma Sinăuți* (Suceava county)⁶, Lunca – *Poiana Slatinei* (Neamţ county)⁷ or those belonging to the Costişa culture at Siliştea – *Cetăţuia* (Neamţ county)⁸.

On other ceramic fragments from the discussed necropolis, “ladder” decorative motifs could be recognized (two incised parallel vertical lines with horizontal incised parallel lines connecting them), located under the handles of the vessels (Pl. I/5.), as well as ornamental motifs in the shape of “wolf’s teeth” (triangular indentations pointing downwards, made by hollowing or impression), just below the shoulder of the vessels (Pl. I/3-4). We must not forget the relieved girdles positioned below the lip of the vessels, creating circles in relief.

“Wolf’s teeth” decorations, but pointing upwards, were seen on ceramic fragments from the Komariv site of Mihoveni – *Cahla Morii* (Suceava county)⁹, Lunca – *Poiana Slatinei* (Neamţ county)¹⁰, but also in sites belonging to the Costişa culture, such as Borleşti – *Dealul Runcu* (Neamţ county)¹¹.

Each of the decorative elements obtained by incision, grooving or relieving: simple line, circle, triangle (including the “wolf’s teeth” decor) or diamond, reflects, according to ethnographic analogies, from a unique symbolism; as certain interpretations suggest, they are sometimes similar even to the point of identity.

Thus, the straight vertical line has been associated with the spiritual world, the solar rays and the axial, active, and male principle, and even the rain falling from the sky. The straight horizontal line is symbolically connected to the line of the horizon, being at the same time, a female and passive

¹ Dumitroaia, 2000: fig. 95/1-10, 96/1-2, 4-9, 97/2-4, 7, 9-10, 98/1-2; 2001a: Pl. 43/1-3, 5-6, 44/1, 4-5, 9, 45/1-8, 11; Munteanu, 2010: fig. 76/1-2, 4-6, 13, 15, 77/9-10.

² Munteanu, 2010: fig. 78/1-2.

³ Niculică, 2015: 170-171, Pl. LXI, fig. 6.

⁴ Petrescu-Dîmboviţa *et alii*, 1953: fig. 22/1; Dascălu, 2007: Pl. 6/366a.1.

⁵ Munteanu, 2001a: pl. 58/6.

⁶ Ursulescu, Andronic, Hău, 1987: fig. II/8.

⁷ Dumitroaia, 2001a: Pl. 51/3-5, 7.

⁸ Bolohan, Munteanu, 2001: Pl. 39/4.

⁹ Batariuc, 2001: pl. 53/6.

¹⁰ Dumitroaia, 2001a: Pl. 45/10.

¹¹ Florescu M., 1970: fig. 1/9.

symbol, a representation of still waters. The presence of these two lines together is, in most cases, linked to male-female duality or the connection between the earth and heaven; the line can represent the division, the separation, the unit of measure, the limit, the boundary¹.

But the incised lines and the embossed girdles on the body of the Komariv vessels from Adâncata are not straight, but they go around the body of the vessels forming simple or concentric circles. The circle has its own symbolism, leading to the idea of perfection, homogeneity, a representation of the eternal, immutable movement, without beginning and end. The circle is also a symbol of totality, simultaneity, time, but also of the sky and the sun. The circular plane is assigned to the worship of fire, heroes, and divinity. In many religious processions, old or recent, the circle is used to delimit a magical, sacred space of protection, which cannot be trespassed/exceeded; the concentric circles are connected, at the same time, to the sun and the moon, and to different stages of existence².

On the shoulders of some vessels bands were observed consisting of triangles pointing downwards or upwards, filled with oblique crosshatch, tilted to the right or left. Regarding the symbolism of the triangle, it was linked to the symbolism of the number three, also a symbol of divinity, harmony and proportion. The triangles pointing downwards (including the “wolf’s teeth”) seem to symbolize the rays of the sun, but they could also be lunar symbols, the feminine principle, the universal matrix, while the triangles pointing upwards are compared to flames. In other cultures, the triangles pointing up are a symbol of fire, a male principle, while those pointing down are related to water and the triangle of the female sex; they are magical signs with mystical powers, representing the perfect geometrical figure, like the circle. It can also symbolize the mystic mountain (at the Hittites); also, the triangles filled with dots or parallel lines can represent the rain and the sown field. The triangle is a sacred symbol, complex, multivalent, and might therefore represent heaven, earth, man; the mother, the father, the child. Thus, we find that the duality of opposing triangles expresses the opposing principles of feminine-masculine, earth-sky, water-fire³.

Moreover, on the body of some vessels were observed incised decorations in the form of horizontal diamonds, filled with oblique crosshatch, joined two by two, in the area of the handles of the vessel. Other diamonds, simple and without hatches, have been obtained in the space between the rows of triangles facing each other mentioned above on the decorated cup discovered in T 2. Given the fact that, in many cases, it is believed that diamonds are obtained from joining two triangles at the base, the symbolism of the triangles was transferred further to this geometric figure, the diamond becoming a representation of the female-male, earth-sky, water-fire dualities. The diamond, as a figure of its own, is considered a feminine symbol, of love and fertility, of harmony; symbol of the earth, of the cultivated soil; the diamond is related to the four universal directions⁴.

Regarding the “ladder”, this seems to be a symbol of ascent or descent, the link between heaven and earth or between the earth and the underworld; passing from one plane to another, overcoming an existing ontological level, communication between heaven-earth⁵.

Finally, we consider that on the Komariv-type ceramic from Adâncata – *Imaş* the four universal directions are well represented. Thus, in the case of the cup from T 2, one can see that there are four decorative registers, composed of diamonds and triangles (Pl. I/2); also, on the vessels from T 6 and T 8 one can see the embodiment of the four directions, represented by the point-shaped incisions and the vertical and semi-eggshaped grooves (Pl. II/2, II/6). The four directions, associated to the

¹ Cooper, 1978: 98; Evseev, 2007: 230-231.

² Cooper, 1978: 36-37; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1994: 294-299; Evseev, 2007: 79-80.

³ Cooper, 1978: 179-180; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 382-383; Golan, 2003: 210-216; Evseev, 2007: 417.

⁴ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 169-170; Golan, 2003: 218-219; Evseev, 2007: 354.

⁵ Cooper, 1978: 94; Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 201-202; Evseev, 2007: 370.

sacred number *four*, represent the four elements, the four winds, the four seasons, four components of the divinity (which rules over everything), of the sky¹.

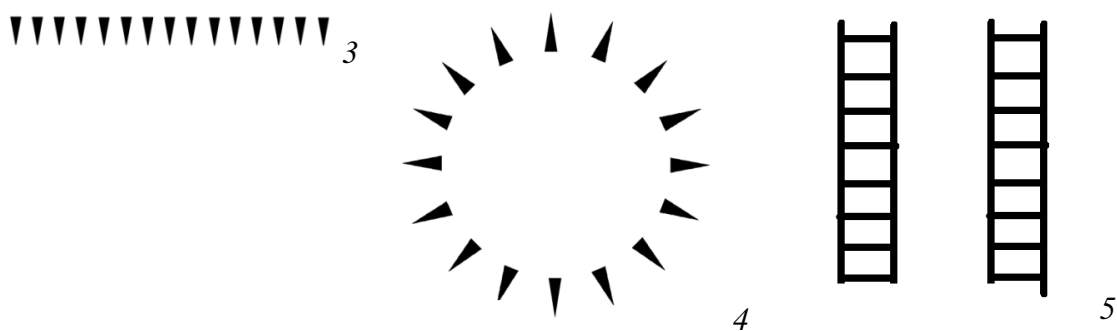
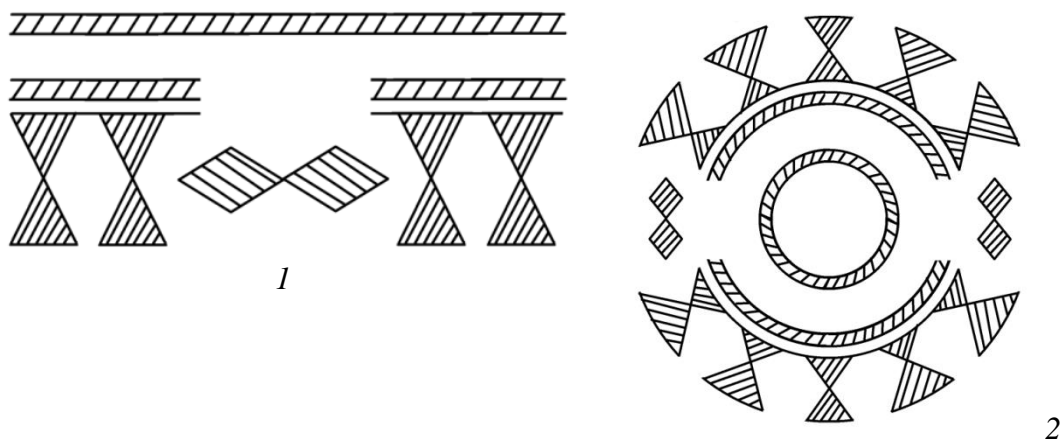
Analyzing these decorations present on the Komariv culture ceramic from the barrow necropolis at Adâncata – *Imaş*, we can specify that they were not created randomly, but their achievement observed the beliefs and customs specific to the Bronze Age, the people of that time considering that the divinity exists in everything and that any area of daily life must be reported to it. The vessels from the necropolis of Adâncata – *Imaş* thus gained a spiritual significance (beyond any practical nature) out of the desire of the community, according to burial practices of the time, to position itself (living and deceased), as close as possible to the divinity/deities and to put itself under a certain protection, to mediate and establish a contact with the plane of another existence, different from the terrestrial one. A model of understanding the prehistoric man's spiritual universe, by transposing in the ceramic production, through various signs, symbols, decorations, can be the one specific to the precucutenian/cucutenian world² or to the Bronze Age³.

Thus, all the ornamental motifs mentioned above refer to a series of religious beliefs specific to the heavenly plane, to the solar cult, the cult of fire, in duality with elements that still belong to the earthly plane, thus emphasizing the relationships and permanent links between the human, earthly plane, and the transcendental, divine, heavenly plane. Also, these decorations reflect the dualities existing between the two worlds, independent, but at the same time, interdependent and inseparable dualities. First, one can speak of the existence of duality between, on the one hand, the heavenly world – specific to which are the sun, its' rays and the rain, and on the other hand the earthly world – specific to which are the fire and the living creatures. Second, one can glimpse the water-fire duality, both the solar fire, mentioned above, and the earthly fire, both the rainwater that falls from the sky, and the water that evaporates from the ground and rises again to heaven. Third, there is a male-female duality, a duality which propagates life on earth, but that would not be possible without the dual elements mentioned earlier. So, we can talk about mixed elements, creating a bridge between terrestrial and celestial, between life and death, elements which are not surprising in the context of a funeral monument specific to the Bronze Age, such as the barrow necropolis at Adâncata – *Imaş* (Suceava county).

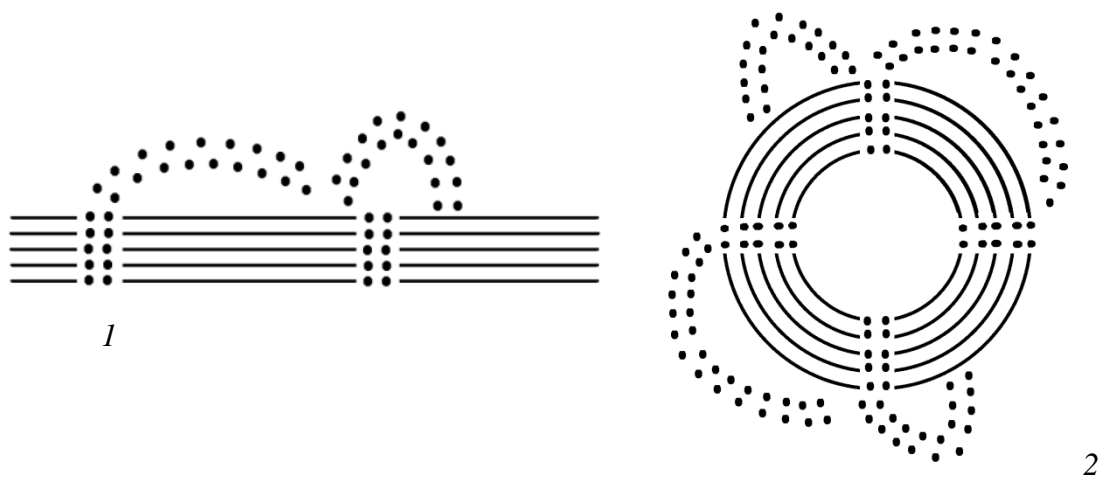
¹ Cooper 1978: 115-116; Golan 2003: 259-267.

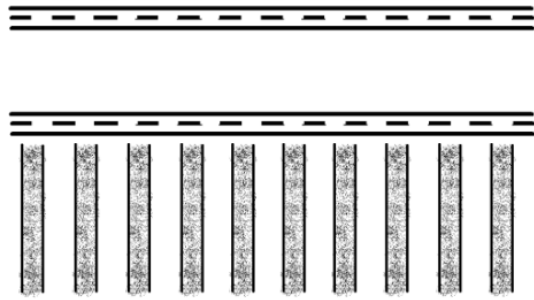
² Lazarovici 2004: 57-92, with bibliography; Ursulescu, Tencariu 2006.

³ Ling, Skoglund, Bertilsson 2015, with bibliography.

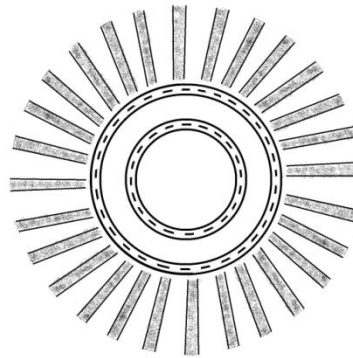


Pl. I. Decorations found on the ceramics from the Komariv-type barrow necropolis from Adâncata – Imaș (Suceava County, Romania). 1-2, decoration on the cup with two raised handles from T 2; 3-4, decoration (“wolf’s teeth”) from a ceramic fragment from T 3; 5, “ladder”-type decoration from a fragment from T 3.

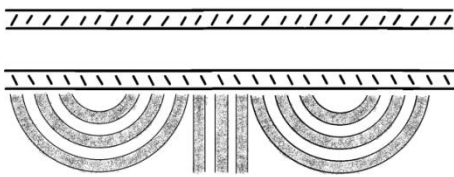




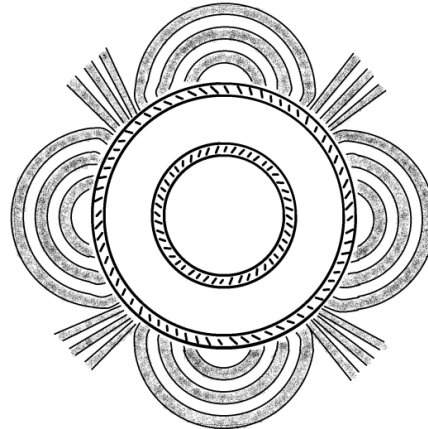
3



4



5



6

Pl. II. Decorations found on the ceramics from the Komariv-type barrow necropolis from Adâncata – Imaș (Suceava County, Romania). 1-2, incised decoration on a cup from T 6; 3-4, decoration on a cup from T 6; 5-6, decoration of a cup from T 8.

References

- Batariuc, V. P. 2001. Sat Mihoveni, com. Șcheia, jud. Suceava. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț : 40-41.
- Bolohan, N., Munteanu, E. R. 2001. Sat Siliștea, com. Români, jud. Neamț. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 44-49.
- Cavruc, V. 2001. Sat Zoltan, com. Ghidfalău, jud. Covasna. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 71-75.
- Cavruc, V., Dumitroaia, Gh. (coord.) 2001. *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România*, Muzeul de Istorie Piatra Neamț.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1994. *Dicționar de simboluri. Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere*, vol. I (A-D), București: Editura Artemis.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1995. *Dicționar de simboluri. Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere*, vol. III (P-Z), București: Editura Artemis.
- Cooper, J. C. 1978. *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*, London.
- Dascălu, L. 2007. *Bronzul Mijlociu și Târziu în Câmpia Moldovei*, Iași: Editura Trinitas.
- Dumitroaia, Gh. 2000. *Comunități preistorice din nord-estul României. De la cultura Cucuteni până în Bronzul Mijlociu*, BMA VII, Piatra Neamț.

- Dumitroaia, Gh. 2001a. Sat Lunca, com. Vânători-Neamț, jud. Neamț. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 31-40.
- Dumitroaia, Gh. 2001b. Sat Prăjeni, com. Prăjeni, jud. Botoșani. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 44.
- Evseev, I. 2007. *Dicționar de simboluri*, București: Editura Vox.
- Florescu, A. C. 1991. Repertoriul culturii Noua-Coslogeni din România. Așezări și necropole, CCDJ, IX, Călărași.
- Florescu, M. 1970. Problèmes de la civilisation de Costișa à la lumière du sondage de Borlești, in *Dacia*, NS, XIV: 51-81.
- Golan, A. 2003. Prehistoric religion. Mythology. Symbolism, Jerusalem.
- Iconomu, C., Șovan, O.-L. 1999. Noi descoperiri arheologice ale culturii Corlăteni-Chișinău la Mihălășeni, jud. Botoșani, in *ArhMold*, XX: 13-25.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2004. Semne și simboluri în cultura Cucuteni-Tripolie. In N. Ursulescu, C.-M. Lazarovici (coord.), *Cucuteni 120 – valori universale*. Lucrările simpozionului național. Iași, 30 septembrie 2004: 57-92.
- Ling, J., Skoglund, P., Bertilsson, U. (editors) 2015. *Picturing the Bronze Age*, Oxford.
- Munteanu, E.-R. 2001a. Alte descoperiri. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 51-54.
- Munteanu, E.R. 2001b. Sat Corlăteni, com. Corlăteni, jud. Botoșani. In *Cultura Costișa în contextul Epocii Bronzului din România* (coord. V. Cavruc, Gh. Dumitroaia), Piatra Neamț: 24.
- Munteanu, E.R. 2010. Începutul bronzului mijlociu în depresiunile marginale ale Carpaților *Orientali*, BMA XXIV, Piatra Neamț.
- Nestor, I. et alii, 1952. Campania de săpături arheologice din anul 1951. Rapoarte preliminară, in *SCIV*, III: 19-119.
- Niculică, B. P. 2005. Considérations sur la période moyenne de l'Âge du Bronze dans le Plateau de Suceava. Le complexe culturel Komarów-Costișa-Biały Potik, in *SAA*, X-XI (2004-2005), Iași: 61-68.
- Niculică, B.P. 2015. *Epoca Bronzului în Podișul Sucevei*, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. 1960. Koneț bronzovogo i naciolo rannejeleznogo veka v Moldove v svete poslednih arheologiceskih raskopok, in *Dacia*, NS, IV: 139-159.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. et alii 1953. Șantierul Trușești, in *SCIV*, IV, 1-2 : 7-44.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M. et alii 1954. Șantierul arheologic Trușești (r. Trușești, reg. Suceava), in *SCIV*, V, 1-2: 7-33.
- Ursulescu, N., Șadurschi, P. 1988. Mormintele de înhumație, de tip Costișa, descoperite la Prăjeni (jud. Botoșani), in *SCIVA*, 39, 1 : 45-52.
- Ursulescu, N, Andronic, M., Hău, F. 1986-1987. Contribuții la cunoașterea așezărilor de pe teritoriul Siretului înainte de constituirea orașului medieval, in *Suceava*, XIII-XIV: 85-101.
- Ursulescu, N, Tencariu F. A. 2006. Religie și magie la est de Carpați acum 7000 de ani. Tezaurul cu obiecte de cult de la Isaiia, Iași.
- Vulpe, Al. 1961. K voprosu o periodizacii bronzovogo veka v Moldove, in *Dacia*, NS, V: 105-122.
- Zaharia, N., Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Zaharia, Em. 1970. *Așezări din Moldova din Paleolitic până în secolul al XVIII-lea*, București: Editura Academiei.

SYMBOLIC HORNS – IN IMAGES AND WORDS

Adrian Poruciuc

Institutul de Arheologie Iași

aporuciuc@yahoo.com

Keywords: *horned animals, archaeological finds, symbolic representations, stylization, script, substratal words.*

Abstract: *Representations of horned animals – or of horns only – belong to the earliest manifestations of man’s ritual-religious practices. No wonder that archaeologists, anthropologists and specialists in history of religions have written much on such representations, whether they belong to Neolithic temples of the Near East and of Southeast Europe, or to Bronze-Age China, or to Minoan Crete. What this author wants to add to the opinions of outstanding predecessors is that the impressive persistence of horn-symbolism went hand in hand with the remarkable persistence of folk traditions about mythical bovines and of certain terms for horn in Indo-European and Semitic languages. Such signs of prolonged continuity also appear to have much to do with the transformation of horn-representations into alphabetic signs.*

Finds and interpretations

The present article is based on the talk I gave at the International Symposium *From Symbols to Signs*, Suceava, 2016. The direction (“from things to signs”) which I adopted for that occasion was the same as the one I had propounded at a similar symposium (2014)¹. Hereby I will continue to sustain the idea that before dealing with symbolic representations – of the ones that may eventually become signs proper – we should tackle the category of real things which (somewhere, during some prehistoric or early historical period) came to be regarded as magic or symbolic, due to one or several of their distinctive features.

In regard to horns, let us first observe that the category of material things designated by the English word *horn* is more limited than the one designated by Romanian *corn* (< Latin *cornu*), which means both ‘horn’ and ‘antler’. Antlers have their own symbolic power, due especially to the fact that cervine animals annually shed those bony growths; therefore, in this article (in English) I will confine myself to horns proper, more precisely, to real horns as well as to representations of horns. And I will also deal with some illustrative folk songs and some extremely old words that mean ‘horn’ in certain languages.

Originally regarded as most potent of all horns were probably the ones of hollow-horned ruminants, since the latter began to be rendered in symbolic representations as early as the Paleolithic² – see, for example, the now famous Venus of Laussel, with a horn in her right hand³. As for Neolithic

¹ See Poruciuc 2016a, as published version of that talk.

² Keen observations on the *longue durée* of the bovine symbolism, beginning with Paleolithic manifestations, are to be found in Wyatt and Wyatt 2013.

³ Abundant material on symbolic horns is included in the two parts of the study published by C.-M. Lazarovici and G. Lazarovici (2016). Fig. 60a included in the second part of that study shows the above-mentioned Gravettian “Venus” (*La Femme à la Corne* – ca. 25,000 BP), with a horn in her right hand, found on the Paleolithic site of Laussel (France). The two authors included many other figures with representations of

representations, worth quoting at this point is a passage from a book published by the founder of archaeomythology, Marija Gimbutas (1991: 256):

Sculptures of bull heads and wall paintings of large bulls and of bucrania were discovered in most of the temples in Çatal Hüyük [7th mill. BC]. [...] As a symbol of regeneration, the bull head or skull is also found in the Near East and extensively in the art of Old Europe.

In fact, Gimbutas had already referred to the bull-cult and to its specific symbolic associations in an earlier book, which contains the following statements (Gimbutas 1989: 270):

The bull is a mystical life-source, an earthly manifestation of the cosmogonic primordial waters. [...] Bovine sculptures with holes in their heads known from the Cucuteni culture may have been decorated to represent bulls with plants or flowers emerging from their heads. [...] The so-called 'horns of consecration' from the Palatial period of Minoan Crete originated some 3000 years earlier. Horned stands are known from many Vinča, Karanovo, and Cucuteni sites of the 5th and 4th millennia BC.

In regard to finds from a very significant Romanian site, Tărtăria (ca. 5000 BC), there is ample presentation and interpretation in the volume Lazarovici et al. 2011. Among other things, Marco Merlini (as co-author of the volume), comments upon a divergently interpreted representation on one of the tablets unearthed at Tărtăria (p. 295):

The iconic sign [an animal head on the rectangular tablet] appears only at the Tărtăria site. [...] The interpretation of the sign [...] as the head of a cat is correlated with premises concerning the sacralization of this animal in the Danube civilization [...]. However, we have no archaeological evidence of any sacralization of the cat in the Danube civilization. [...] Archaeological, cultural and semiotic elements induce us to interpret the sign as a bucranium [...].

Merlini most probably is right in interpreting the Tărtăria representation under discussion as a bucranium, that is, as a representation of a long-horned bovine skull. And, at this point, I will observe that what the above-mentioned Venus of Laussel appears to hold in her hand does not reproduce a horn of a wild bovine, but of a European bison (*Bison bonasus*, which is known as *zimbru* in Romanian); other symbolic horns, including the real ones of Çatal Hüyük (Höyük), clearly represent the wild long-horn species known as aurochs (*Bos primigenius*, the extinct species which Romanians still remember as *bour*).

Romanian evidence of *longue durée*

According to the evidence presented in Wyatt and Wyatt 2013: 418, the aurochs appears to have vanished from the Middle East and North Africa in the course of the first millennium BC, whereas in Poland the last specimen of that species is known to have died as late as 1620. As for Romania, the aurochs is known to have survived in the Carpathian Mountains through medieval times. In the fourteenth century the representation of an aurochs head was established as central element of the Moldavian coat of arms, and it subsequently became part of modern Romania's more complex coat of arms. In regard to the symbolic aurochs head of Moldavia, I will translate from an article by two

horns or of bucrania attached to objects – such as lamps, ritual vessels, or replicas of altars – coming from various ages and areas, ranging from the European Paleolithic and Neolithic to the Minoan-Mycenaean civilization of the Aegean.

Romanian specialists in heraldry (Bătrîna and Bătrîna 1980: 203): “Thus the aurochs head was regarded as an emblem of the newly founded state, that emblem being introduced by Bogdan I [d. 1367].” In the same article (p. 205), the two authors present yet another use of the aurochs-head emblem: “The second category of evidence is represented by the well-known groschen minted under Petru I [d. 1368]. On their obverse they show the front-viewed aurochs head; between its horns [...] there is a five-pointed star”¹. It is, actually, the same symbolic association (bull’s head + pentagram) as the one I discussed in Poruciuc 2016. And I am inclined to think that such facts should be taken into consideration in connection with the persistence of the Old European aurochs symbolism, as an example of “prolonged continuity”, such an idea being also sustained by certain substratal lexical elements (see the final part of this article).

In trying to explain certain common figures of speech, such as the ones according to which the crescent moon appears to have “horns”, we should not go as far back as the Paleolithic. French *corne* is commonly referred to the points of the crescent moon, just as Romanian *corn* is commonly used the same way, as we can see in a well-known folksong from the province of Banat:

Sus îi luna-n două coarne;
Strîg la mândra – mândra doarme...

[High above is the two-horned moon;/ I call out to my sweetheart – she’s asleep...]

But things are not as common and easy to understand in the case of Romanian ritual songs (*colinde*) of the kind of the following one, recorded in the same part of Romania as the one that produced the song with the “two-horned moon”:

Vine maria cî’ de mare,
Cî de mare marji’ n-are.
Da zo maria și mi-adușe?
Doi braz nalț înșet’inaț
Cu molidvi alăturați.
Întră braz, întră molidvi
'Noată-noat-un bour sur,
'Noată-noată-n coarne-și poartă.
Da zo, 'n coarne șe-j mai poartă?
Poartă-un liagăn d’e mătasă.
Da-n liagăn șine-i culcat?
Da zo, Ana fată dalbă,
Că ia-i n’ică și-nțăliaptă,
Poartă-n brață iarbă creață
Și la brîu-i stic dă grîu
Și-n t’iscuță tămuiță.²

¹ As regards the data and dating given in Bătrîna and Bătrîna’s article, I will observe that, in a more recent volume (Mărculeț et al. 2009: 145), both the establishment of the aurochs head as an official emblem of Moldavia and the minting of the above-mentioned groschen are attributed to Petru II (d. 1391), the first representative of the Mușat dynasty of Moldavia.

² The text is included in the collection Herțea 2001: 20.

[The sea comes as high as can be,/ So high that it has no shores,/ But, oh my, what does it bring along?/ Two tall firs all green,/ And spruces beside them./ Among firs and spruces/ A grey aurochs [*boul sur*] swims and swims,/ And he carries something 'tween his horns./ But what does he carry 'tween his horns?/ He carries a swing of silk./ But whoever lies in the swing?/ Oh my, it's Ana, fair maiden./ For she's wee and wise,/ She carries curly grass in her arms,/ An ear of corn under her belt,/ And goosefoot in her pouch.]

Certainly, my rather neutral English translation could not possibly render the broad-dialect character of the Romanian text above. In regard to the age and perpetuation of such a ritual song (which, in villages of today's southwestern Romania, is known as a Christmas carol), I must observe that it will be – or, at least, it used to be – annually reiterated and repeatedly updated. (In that respect, let me point out that, traditionally, the central character of the song is expected to go by the name of whatever “historical” young lady lives in the house visited by carolers of the respective village.) Nevertheless, the basic elements of the “carol” appear to have remained immovable, and they have quite little to do with popular Christian mentality, or with the “real world”, for that matter. As I have pointed out on other occasions (see Poruciu 2010: 18-23 and Poruciu 2014: 54-55), “carols” such as the one above can be regarded as echoes from prehistory. From that perspective, a character such as the “fair maiden” above (in her position of a Proto-Europa) stands for a divinity of the vegetable world, associated with a mythical aurochs, as supreme embodiment of fertility and fecundity.

Worth mentioning is that the Romanian *colinde* that center upon the maiden-and-aurochs motif are not the only ones that show a mythical bovine as main participant in a ritual plot. Another cycle is represented by reaping-time songs of which most typical are the ones recorded in Transylvania during the early decades of the 20th century. The song I chose to translate was recorded, in 1914, by the Hungarian composer Béla Bartók (the text of it being included in the collection Bot 1989: 238-239). In this case there is no divine maiden and no aurochs, but just a domestic ox (*Bos taurus*) that acts as a mythical (human-bodied?) “sprinkler”:

Coborît-o, coborît,
Boul cel sfînt pe pămînt,
La fîntînă-n țarină.
Apă-n buză și-o luat,
Țarina o răurat.
Cînd deschizi tu sfînta mână,
Țarina de toate-i plină ;
Cînd tu vrei și poruncești,
Toate uști și veștejești ;
Cînd întorci tu sfînta față,
Toate-s pline de dulceață.

[There came down, came down/ The holy ox [*boul cel sfînt*] to the earth,/ To the well in the fields./ He took water on his lip/ And he bedewed the fields./ Whenever you open your hand [!]/ The fields are full of everything;/ Whenever you wish and command,/ You parch and wither everything;/ Whenever you turn your face,/ Everything is full of sweetness.]

But this is not all about it. The invocative song given above comes from a region of Transylvania in which a summer-solstice ritual, known to ethnologists as “the Adorned Ox” (*Boul Înstruțat*) has survived to modern times. It is in that rural Romanian ritual (rather than in the maiden-and-aurochs songs) that one can see traces of an archaic idea of *hieros gamos*: The villagers will choose a stately ox (“with big horns, set widely apart”), they adorn him with a choice carpet as well as with ribbons and bells, and they respectfully treat him as the “Bridegroom” (*Mire*), his bride being a character called (rather harshly) “the Whore” (*Curva*); the latter is played by a young man disguised in

woman's clothes¹. As far as I know, such a ritual has survived only in Romania, and I am inclined to think that its roots go as deep as prehistoric Old Europe too.

From horns to letters

Yet another species of wild bovine “provided” symbolic horns at the other end on the Eurasian cultural axis. I extracted relevant information about that from an article in which Victor Mair (2003: 173) presents “the Nomhong corral”, a site representative of the Chinese Bronze-Age (ca. 1500 BC). What archaeologists found on that site was first of all “a thick layer of ovicaprid [...], cattle, horse, and camel droppings”. Such a feature reveals, in fact, the very stage of domestication in the respective part of China in the mid-second millennium BC. However, it is another feature of the Nomhong corral that is more directly relevant for our discussion:

We may also note that, opposite the entrance, [...] was placed an enormous pair of wild ox (*Bos gaurus*) horns measuring nearly a metre in width. Owing to the tremendous size, careful placement, and neat cutting, the excavators speculated that the horns possess religious significance.²

For my own approach, also quite significant is the passage of Mair's article (2003: 175) in which he comments on the way stylized representations of some of the above-mentioned animals became signs of the early Chinese script:

We may observe that, from the time of the very earliest SBIs [=Shell and Bone Inscriptions, ca. 1200-1050 BC], the forms of the graphs for ovicaprids and bovines are already highly stylized and schematic, whereas those for the horse are determinedly representational. [...] This strongly suggests that the Chinese acquired the domestic horse considerably later than they acquired sheep, goats and cattle [...].

In the same part of his article, Mair (2003: 174-175) introduced illustrative figures with forms of early Chinese graphs for sheep-and-goats, bovines and horses. The first two categories obviously reflect (in comparison with the more “representational” horse-graphs) a process of extreme stylization. Thus, bovine-graphs appear as mere trident shapes, the horns being rendered by the two lateral “prongs” and the muzzle by the one in the middle, which is also prolonged downwards into a super-schematic “body”, to which two lateral strokes were added, as to render forelegs.

It is worth observing that the process by which, in China, certain “highly stylized” representations of horned animals became “graphs” (that is, ideograms) occurred in approximately the same period as the one during which, in the Near East, earlier ideograms turned into phonograms (that is, alphabetic letters proper). According to mainstream views (cf. Healey 1990), it is the Near East wherefrom the Greeks received the writing system that was to become known as *alphabet*, a designation based on the names of the first two letters, *alpha* (A) and *beta* (B). The former has much to do with the bovine symbolism under discussion in the present article.

Some years ago (see Poruciuc 2010a: 84), I referred to the putative West Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet as well as to the pictographic predecessors of letters such as *alpha* and *beta*:

¹ See the chapter entitled *Boul instruat* in Ghinoiu 2004: 319-323.

² What the web tells us about the gaur (*Bos gaurus*) is that it appears to be “the tallest species of wild cattle”, that it is also known as “Indian bison” (which is a rather misleading designation for a bovine), and that it is “native to South Asia”.

Those are just opaque names of letters in Greek, whereas the West Semitic source-words may be said to be semantically transparent. In that respect, according to Klein 1987: 32b, the Hebrew version of the Semitic sign *aleph* got its name “in allusion to the ancient Hebrew form of this letter, representing the head of an ox.” I will observe, however, that the original ox-head representation was not exactly “Hebrew”, but rather “Proto-Sinaitic/Proto-Canaanite,” so the name of the primeval pictogram must have sounded closer to Ugaritic *alpu* ‘ox’ [...]. Anyway, the shape of Greek A still can be interpreted as a stylized ox-head [...] in a reverse position (horns down).

For linguistic reasons, I will return to Klein’s dictionary of Hebrew in the final part of this article. Here I will add some more comments on the relationship between bovine symbolism and script. To begin with, whereas the connection between the name of the first letter in the West Semitic alphabet and the Semitic word for ‘ox’ was still transparent (and so was the similarity between that letter and the primeval ox-pictogram), in adopting *aleph* (which became *alpha*) the Greeks did not translate its Semitic name by their own word for ‘ox’ (*bous*). So *alpha* (just like *beta*, *gamma*, *delta*, etc.) came to be used as just an “opaque” letter-name in Greece. Such a situation was different not only from the West Semitic one, but also from the situation of the runic alphabet (*futhark*) which, about one millennium later, was in use among the Germanics. In referring to the runic writing system, an outstanding runologist adopted a comparative perspective too (Elliott 1989: 60):

In Semitic the names of the letters [such as *aleph* and *beth*] were meaningful words, in Greek they functioned solely as letter-names. Like the Semitic letters the Germanic runes possessed names which formed part of the vocabulary of ordinary speech, and it was no uncommon practice to make a single rune stand for its name-word, whether for purposes of magic [...], or as an occasional form of shorthand [...].

For the sake of the present article, I will raise the following question: Did the Germanic runes (or at least some of them) preserve a connection not only with words of “ordinary speech”, but also (like Semitic *aleph*) directly with representations of the “things” designated by those words? As regards the particular case of the runic letter with the phonetic value *u*, I suggested (in Poruciuc 2010a: 421) that we should pay attention not only to the Germanic rune-name **uruz* (which meant ‘aurochs’), but also to the shape of that sign, which is similar to a Greek *lambda* (Λ , that is, a shape that looks like an inverted Latin V)¹, in which case we may also think of a stylized representation of a pair of horns. Actually, such two-horned representations (Λ or V) recall the prehistoric V sign whose meanings and implications were discussed by Shan M. M. Winn, one of the first specialists preoccupied with the Danube script. In one of his articles, Winn (2008: 129) makes the following statements: “Signs based on V are the most common signs on spindle whorls, figurines and pottery. The V sign may be inverted or appear as multiple V’s (chevrons). [...] Dating from the Upper Paleolithic, the V sign generally has a feminine reference”². To mark is that *chevron* derives from French *chèvre* ‘goat’ (< Latin *capra*), since the V symbol/sign could originally be (also) a stylized representations of a goat’s horns, or of the whole animal (see above what Mair had to say about Chinese “graphs for ovicaprids”).

As to the rune-name **uruz*, it is a Proto-Germanic reconstruction based on actually recorded designations of the aurochs, which was known to speakers of Old High German as *ūro* or *ūrohso* (cf.

¹ In the best-known version of the runic alphabet, the *uruz*-rune appears to have had an angular shape made of three strokes (see Wikipedia page on the “Elder Futhark”). However, as Elliott observes (1989: 15), the original shape may have been as simple as Λ .

² In the same article (p. 130), Winn mentions the “core-sign” V again, in connection with more complex signs considered by him to be “goddess-identifiers”: “Triangles, rectangles and lozenges all appear to identify a goddess in her fertile, life-giving function; therefore, they may also be related to the pubic triangle and the V sign”.

Pfeifer 2004, s.v. *Aurochse*). For the first time, the word under discussion was recorded, as *urus*, in a Latin text, namely Caesar's *Gallic War* (*De bello Gallico*, VI, 28)¹, in a passage that refers to the wild animals of *Germania*:

A third species is the aurochs [*urus*], an animal somewhat smaller than the elephant, with the appearance, colour and shape of a bull. [...] The natives take great pains to trap them in pits, and then kill them. This arduous sport toughens the young men and keeps them in training; and those who kill the largest number exhibit the horns in public to show what they have done, and earn high prize. [...] The horns are much larger than those of our oxen [...]. The Germans prize them greatly; they mount the rims with silver and use them as drinking cups at their grandest banquets.

Such real-life aspects are, in my opinion, more relevant than the fact that Proto-Germanic **uruz* may have become a rune-name because its reference to the aurochs made it appear as “a symbol of vitality” – according to Owen 1966: 213. In his turn, Elliott (1989: 66-67) drew similar conclusions, namely that “**uruz* symbolises ‘manly strength’, a concept suggested by the phallic appearance [?] of the rune itself as much as the strength of the animal”, and that the name of the *urus* “undoubtedly suggested concepts of manly strength, of valiant achievement and renown”. In fact, in recent times, symbolic representations such as those of horns and horned animals have been discussed mainly in such general-abstract terms, as I will point out immediately below.

Symbolic representations and substratal vocabulary

Many references to “concepts” are to be found in the ample entry on *corn* (= *horn*) included in the Romanian version of Chevalier and Gheerbrant's dictionary of symbols (1993, vol. I), the entry being opened by the following statements (transl. A. P.): “The horn signifies eminence, elevation. Its symbolism is one of power, and it actually extends to horned animals too.” Also, in the final part of the same entry, the two authors (in quoting C. G. Jung) refer to an “ambivalent quality in the symbolism of horns: they represent an active and masculine principle by their form and penetrating force; and a passive and feminine principle by their opening that outlines a lyre and a receptacle”. However, besides such conceptual perspectives, the two authors also refer to archaic mythology and to prehistoric representations, as in the following passage (which somehow recalls Marija Gimbutas' views): “Horns of bovines are an emblem of divine Magna Mater. Wherever they occur, be it in Neolithic cultures, in iconography, or as carried by bovine-looking idols, they mark the presence of the Great Goddess of fertility”. Notably, the same entry resorts to linguistic evidence too:

Marie Bonaparte observes that Hebrew *qeren* [= *qeren*] means ‘horn’ and, at the same time, ‘power, force’, just as in the case of [...] Latin *cornu* [...] (in Italian slang *cornio* also designates the penis). In the Judaic tradition as well as in the Christian one the horn [...] also has the meaning of ‘beam of light’. [...] That is why medieval artists would represent Moses with horns on his forehead.

One could hardly venture to deem it as mere coincidence that Indo-European and Semitic have strikingly similar words for ‘horn’. The terms under discussion cannot possibly represent lexical borrowings, in either direction. Therefore we must regard them as representative of a prehistoric (“Nostratic”?) stage in which Proto-Semitic and Proto-Indo-European shared a lexical stock. It is the only way in which one could comprehend facts such as the ones mentioned immediately below.

¹ See Handford's translation (1960: 38). The same excerpt (from another English version) is given in Elliott 1989: 66.

As results from Bergsträsser 1983: 214, more precisely, from what is to be found in the table of *Common-Semitic Words* under “horn”, the most important Semitic words with that meaning are the following: Akkadian *qarnu*, Hebrew *qéren*, Aramaic *qarnā*, South-Arabic-Ethiopic *qarn*, Arabic *qarnun*. As regards the multiple meanings of the Hebrew term for ‘horn’, here are the ones given in Klein’s dictionary (1987, s.v. *qéren*): “1. horn; 2. ‘shofar’, ram’s horn; 3. (fig.) strength, power, might; 4. glory, pride; 5. corner, point, peak; 6. ray”. It is strikingly obvious that these meanings correspond not only to the symbolic features mentioned by Chevalier and Gheerbrant (in their entry on *corn* – see above), but also with the ones that runologists such as Owen and Elliott mentioned when they referred to either the real aurochs of the Germanic wilderness or to the **uruz*-rune.

However old the (typically Semitic) triconsonantal root QRN may look like, some Indo-European facts (see below) make it appear rather as an *n*-suffixed extension of an earlier (biconsonantal) root QR. As proof of that, I will selectively present what the Appendix of Indo-European Roots attached to AHDEL 1973 gives in its horn-entry:

***ker-¹**: Horn, head; with derivatives referring to horned animals, horn-shaped objects, and projecting parts. **I.** Zero-grade form **kr-*. **1.** Suffixed form **kr-n-* in: **a.** Germanic **hurnaz* in [...] Old English *horn* [...], Old High German *horn* [...]; **b.** Latin *cornu* [...]; **4.** Suffixed form **kr-ei-* in: **a.** Germanic **hraina-* in Old Norse *hreinn*, reindeer [...]. **6.** Suffixed extended for **krās-no-* in Greek *kranion*, skull, upper part of the head [...]. **7.** Extended for **kri-* in Greek *krios*, ram [...]. **II.** Suffixed form **ker-wo*. **1.** Latin *cervus* [...]. **IV.** Extended form **kerās*. **1.** Greek *keras*, horn [...]. **2.** Persian *sar*, head [cf. Romany *šāró*, head].

It is evident that the Proto-Semitic QRN can be referred to the Proto-Indo-European “suffixed form **kr-n-*”, that is, to the extended root upon which both Latin *cornu* and English *horn* are based. And, since terms such as the ones meaning ‘horn’ can hardly be imagined to stand for borrowings (as I observed above), we are forced to admit that such terms must have belonged to a common lexical stock that was earlier than both Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Semitic (see also below). But things may be even more complex (and more fascinating) than that, considering that the main concern of this article is not only with mere horns, but also with prototypical horned animals, such as the ox and the aurochs.

Proto-Germanic appears to have possessed terms of Proto-Indo-European origins for the domestic ox, for the aurochs as well as for the European bison: both components of the Old High German compound *ūrohso* (*ūr* + *ohso*) appear to be based on Proto-Indo-European roots with meanings such as ‘humidity’ and ‘sprinkling’¹ (see the “bedewing” holy ox of the Romanian ritual song above); as for the European bison, its Old High German name, *wisunt* (> *Wisent* in today’s German), is most probably based on a Proto-Indo-European root meaning ‘to stink’, the reference being to the peculiar odor of that animal while in heat (cf. Pfeifer 2004, s.v. *Wisent*). Etymological explanations are much more complicated in the case of Latin *taurus*, that is, exactly the term used, in modern times, as designation of the domesticated species of bovines, *Bos taurus*. Whereas *bos* has clear cognates in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages (cf. Ernout and Meillet 1985, s.v. *bōs*), not the same thing can be said about *taurus*.

Although Latin *taurus* (clearly related to Greek *tauros* ‘bull’) has come to function as scientific designation of a domesticated species, cognates of the Latin term, to be found in other European languages, refer to a wild species: Old Prussian *tauris*, Lithuanian *tauras* and Old Church Slavonic *tur*“, all refer to the “wild ox” (=aurochs). Neither the connection between all these and a

¹ As observed in the *Auerochse* entry of Pfeifer 2004, bulls must have primordially counted as “semen sprinklers”.

series of seemingly prefixed Germanic terms (including Gothic *stiur* ‘male calf’ and German *Stier* ‘bull’), nor the possible connection with one or another Proto-Indo-European root have been convincingly demonstrated (see entries on *cattle*, *bull*, *ox*, *cow* and *calf* in Buck 1988: 152-155). On the opposite, what is strikingly evident is only the similarity between the European cognates of Latin *taurus* and Proto-Semitic **tawr*, a correspondence which has represented the starting point of complicated etymological suppositions about “a borrowing from Indo-European into Semitic, or a borrowing from Semitic into Indo-European, or two parallel borrowings from a common source” (cf. Chantraine 1984, s.v. *tauros*). In this context, worth considering is the perspective propounded by Haarmann (2011: 68 – transl. A.P.): “More plausible is the supposition that Greek *tauros* derives from an Old European source and that the Old European word, in its turn, represents the origin of the Semitic equivalent”. Such a statement is so much the more significant if considered in connection with the Baltic and Slavic “equivalents” (see above) that refer to *wild*, not to domesticated bovines. Therefore we may deduce that the correspondence between Proto-Semitic and Proto-Indo-European in both horn-terminology and bull-terminology reflects substratal origins.

Conclusion

As in other cases, such as the ones I discussed in previous articles (mainly in Poruciuc 2016 and 2016a), the extremely old symbolic representations of horns and horned animals are worth considering in connection with the etymological status of terms that designate the real “things” rendered (in a more or less schematic manner) by those representations. We may discover that the more symbolic power such representations appear to possess, the more remote in time (or also space) are the origins of the corresponding real-thing designations. Under such circumstances one may not consider it a surprise that both the West Semites and the Germanics turned primeval representations of horned animals into letters of their own alphabets, or that Romanians continue to sing ritual songs in which such animals appear as mythical characters.

References

- AHDEL – The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, ed. 1973. New York: American Heritage.
- Bătrîna, Lia and Adrian Bătrîna, 1980. „Mărturii heraldice cu privire la începuturile statului feudal independent Moldova”. In: N. Stoicescu (ed.), *Constituirea statelor feudale românești* (209-250). București: Editura Academiei.
- Bergsträsser, Gotthelf, 1983. *Introduction to the Semitic Languages*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Bot, Nicolae (ed.), 1989. *Cîntecele cununii – Texte poetice alese*. București: Minerva.
- Buck, Carl Darling, 1988. *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Caesar – see Handford 1960.
- Chantraine, Pierre, 1984. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque – Histoire des mots*. Paris : Klincksieck.
- Chevalier, Jean and Alain Gheerbrant, 1993. *Dicționar de simboluri – Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere*, vol. I, ed. M. Slăvescu and L. Zoicaș. București: Artemis.
- Elliott, Ralph W. V., 1989. *Runes*. Manchester: University Press/ New York: St. Martin’s Press.

- Ernout, Alfred and Antoine Meillet, 1985 (1959). *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Ghinoiu, Ion, 2004. *Sărbători și obiceiuri românești*. București: Elion.
- Gimbutas, Marija, 1989. *The Language of the Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Gimbutas, Marija, 1991. *The Civilization of the Goddess*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Haarmann, Harald, 2011. *Das Rätsel der Donauzivilisation – Die Entdeckung der ältesten Hochkultur Europas*. München: C. H. Beck.
- Handford, S. A., 1960. *Caesar – The Conquest of Gaul*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.
- Healey, John F. 1990. *The Early Alphabet*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press/ London: British Museum.
- Herțea, Iosif (ed.), 2000. *Colinde românești*. București: Muzeul Literaturii Române.
- Klein, Ernest, 1987. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*. Jerusalem: Carta.
- Lazarovici, Cornelia-Magda and Gheorghe Lazarovici, 2016. „Bucraniul – simbol și semn”, II. In: *Arheovest IV-1 – Interdisciplinaritate în arheologie și istorie – In honorem Prof. Univ. Dr. Adrian Bejan (43-72)*. Szeged: JATE Press Kiadó.
- Lazarovici, Gheorghe, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici and Marco Merlini, 2011. *Tărtăria and the Sacred Tablets*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega.
- Mair, Victor H., 2003. “The Horse in Late Prehistoric China: Wrestling Culture and Control from the ‘Barbarians’.” In: Marsha Levine, Colin Renfrew and Katie Boyle (eds.), *Prehistoric steppe adaptation and the horse (163-187)*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Mărculeț, Vasile et al., 2009. *Dicționarul domnitorilor Țării Românești și ai Moldovei*. București : Meronia.
- Owen, Francis, 1966. *The Germanic People – Their Origin. Expansion and Culture*. New Haven, Conn.: College & University Press.
- Pfeifer, Wolfgang, 2004. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*. München: DTV.
- Poruciuc, Adrian, 2010. *Prehistoric Roots of Romanian and Southeast European Traditions*, preface by Miriam Robbins Dexter. Sebastopol, CA: Institute of Archaeomythology.
- Poruciuc, Adrian, 2010a. “From bull-and-butterfly to *alpha* and *psi*.” *Journal of Archaeomythology*, No. 6, 84-88.
- Poruciuc, Adrian, 2014. “The Sleeping-Beauty Motif in a Singular Romanian Ritual Song”. *Cosmos*, 30, 49-64.
- Poruciuc, Adrian, 2016. “From pentalobular body-temples to magic pentagrams”. In: *Between Earth and Heaven – Symbols and Signs (483-487)*, eds. C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici. Suceava: Editura Romstorfer.
- Poruciuc, Adrian, 2016a. “Axes and Arrows – From Things to Signs”. *The Mankind Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4, 535-545.
- Winn, Shan M. M., 2008. “The Danube (Old European) Script – Ritual use of signs in the Balkan-Danube Region c. 5200-3500 BC”. *Journal of Archaeomythology*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 126-141.
- Wyatt, Simon and Nicholas Wyatt, 2013, “The *longue durée* in the beef business.” In: O. Lorentz, S. Ribichini, W. G. E. Watson and J.-A. Zamora (eds.), *Ritual, Religion and Reason. Studies in the Ancient World in Honour of Paolo Xella (417-450)*. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.

ORION'S BELT - SYMBOL AND SIGN

Iharka Szücs-Csillik

Astronomical Institute of the Romanian Academy,
iharka@gmail.com

Zoia Maxim

Cluj-Napoca, Romania,
zoiamaxim@yahoo.fr

Key words: *girdle, belt, archaeo-astronomy, ethnoarchaeology, symbol, sign*

All things on Earth are reflected on the Sky - stars and constellations are markers of Space, Time and Thought.

Of the peoples who “built” constellations, we note the Babylonians, Indians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Amerindians and, especially, the peoples belonging to the Great Civilization of Ancient Europe¹. These civilizations lived in the Northern hemisphere, and for this reason they gave names to the constellations visible to this half of the globe. In his work *Almagesta*, Ptolemy catalogued more than 1,000 stars and named 48 known constellations, known collectively as the “antique constellations”, with names still in use today².

The heavens above Romania are full of stars, constellations and groups of stars that were named in the spirit and philosophy of a sedentary people, mainly farmers and animal herders, which makes our sky pregnant with stars that define the household and the rural landscape, people's occupations, farming and crafting tools, ways and means of transport, measuring tools, mythical and Christian imagery, decorative objects, crosses and others³.

We have been researching the constellations and the legends relating to them, as they appear in the Romanian folk beliefs, and we tried to decipher the mysteries and genesis of the mythological universe, which mirrors Romanian life, traditions and spirit⁴.

The archaeological proof has come to support the researchers in this inter-disciplinary attempt to interpret signs and symbols on prehistoric artifacts, in order to show the link between Neolithic man and the Heavens⁵. The present research completes the studies already published

¹ Gimbutas, 1984: 89-111; Evans, 1988.

² Turcu, Csillik, Moldovan, 2004; At the beginning of the 16th century, European navigators began exploring the Southern hemisphere and saw unknown stars in the sky. For this reason, the constellations of the Southern hemisphere were given more technical names. In order to eliminate any problems, the International Astronomical Union decided to set a fixed number of constellations with precisely-determined borders. They established 88 constellations (IAU 2014; Szücs-Csillik *et alii*, 2013: 239).

³ Ghinoiu, 1997: 51; Pamfile, 2001; 2001a; Otescu, 2002; we note also that *the Rainbow* is “the Girdle of the Earth”, “God's Girdle”, or “the Girdle of the Mother of the Lord”, as well as the typical Romanian dance called “the Girdle”.

⁴ Csillik, Maxim, 2005: 253-262; Maxim, Szücs-Csillik, 2009: 296-301; 2010: 45-54; 2014: 270; Szücs-Csillik, Maxim, 2013: 847-856; 2016: 418-432; 2016a: 551-560; 2016b: 435; Szücs-Csillik *et alii*, 2013: 237-245; Comşa, Szücs-Csillik, 2013: 837.

⁵ Lazarovici Gh., 2002; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2002: 7; Maxim *et alii*, 2002: 19; Maxim, 2005: 53-62; Csillik *et alii*, 2000: 9; Csillik, Maxim, 2005: 253-262; Szücs-Csillik, Maxim, 2013a: 336; Szücs-Csillik, Virag, 2016: 591; Szücs-Csillik *et alii*, 2016: 43; 2015: 219.

regarding the stars on the Romanian sky¹ with new data, by looking at the source of certain traditions, superstitions and myths in the prehistory of Romanian civilization.

The present work intends to present groups of stars that have been associated, in popular Romanian belief, with clothing. We know that the main purpose of clothing is to protect the body, and its design is influenced by the environment and lifestyle. With the passing of time, beside this protection role, clothing also acquired an aesthetic role (decoration) to differentiate between people, or to emphasize social rank, religious standing or age. Clothing creates the outer look (the first means of getting to know another person, within a certain environment or time).

Throughout history, clothing has taken an important role as the expression of the mentality of each particular age, reflecting the moral principles of the respective era. Clothing decoration offers the aesthetic solution of diversity within a systemic unity. Decoration increases man's personality and prestige within the community. The ornament and accessories (jewelry) emphasize and draw attention to the form, aesthetic and mentality of the creator as well as the wearer. An inclination towards decoration and beautification has been manifest from the oldest of times², even in prehistory, and it varies from works on canvas, wool, clay, leather or bone all the way to metal (gold, silver, copper, bronze). However, the generic models have stayed constant across the ages, respecting the strict social norms inherited and transmitted from the ancestors through every generation.



Fig. 1. Orion's position among the other constellations³.

Within communities that were structured on social, economic, administrative and religious tiers, there were very strict behavioral norms that ruled and dictated the wearing of certain types of clothes accessories, depending on social rank, age, social status, welfare, marital status and gender. Among the Neolithic and Copper Age clothing accessories that were discovered, we mention: necklaces, beads, pendants, earrings, wreaths, rings, brooches (fibulae), bracelets, decorative pins and girdles (belts). Almost all these clothes pieces have a correspondent on the Romanian sky: the beads and necklaces - the Delphinus and Lyra constellations; earrings - the Taurus constellation - the

¹ Nicolau, Huluță, 2000; Bălțeanu, 2000; Pamfile, 2001; 2001a; Olinescu, 2001; Gorovei, 2002; Otescu, 2002; Mureșan, 2011: 148-175.

² Stoica *et alii*, 1985: 344.

³ www.stellarium.org/ (Constellation art - Orion)

Pleiades; wreaths - the Corona Borealis; rings - the Pisces constellation; pendants, brooches, fibulae - the Taurus constellation - the Pleiades, M45; bracelets - the Corona Borealis; the girdle - the Orion constellation, Orion's Belt, the King's Girdle.

Through its sheer beauty, Orion's constellation¹ (Orion's Belt) has aroused interest, as well as human imagination, all through history, as illustrated in legends and myths. At the same time, this constellation shows a symbolic picture of earthly life. Orion's constellation, formed of seven stars, is also known as "the Heavenly Hunter" and "the Archer" (fig. 1).

Orion is rich in stars, stellar systems and nebulae. Stars are being formed in Orion even now, because the constellation is set on the Milky Way. In the neighborhood of Orion, the Milky Way is quite "rarefied". Orion is clearly, entirely visible on the night sky from November to February and only partially visible during the rest of the year (July-October, March-April), especially at sunrise. Orion crosses the sky's equator, which causes total or partial visibility in both hemispheres. Orion is located in the south-west of the sky in the northern hemisphere and in the north-west in the southern hemisphere. Its position on the sky, almost perfectly "riding the Equator" means that it is completely visible to all corners of the Earth.

The middle or girdle of the Heavenly Hunter is marked by three very bright, almost perfectly aligned stars (Alnitak², Alnilam³, Mintaka⁴), which are also known as Orion's Belt or the King's Girdle. Nearby Orion we find the constellation Serpens, which gave birth to the association between the girdle (Romanian: *șerpar*) and the snake (Romanian: *șarpe*). These three stars fed the imagination even in prehistory, as shown by the legends, myths, religious traditions, sacred architecture and religious objects. The name of these stars in Arabic means: "pearl string"- *Alnilam*; „bridle" and „belt" - *Mintaka* and „belt" - *Alnitak*.

By localizing Orion's belt on the night sky we can easily localize Orion. The stars are more or less evenly distributed in a straight line, and thus they can be imagined as a belt or girdle, an indispensable accessory to clothing. The three shining stars that make up the *belt* seem aligned and they form the dominant feature of the night sky during Boreal winter, and during Austral summer respectively. The three stars which mark the middle of the constellation only appear to be aligned: *Alnitak* is 820 light-years away, *Alnilam* is 1,340 light-years away and *Mintaka* is 915 light-years away from Earth.

Orion's Belt (the system) can be used to localize other stars or heavenly objects nearby. Thus, we can find the *Orion Nebula* below the belt, the *Horsehead Nebula* South of *Alnitak*, the *M78 Nebula* about 2° North and 1,5° East. *Barnard's Loop*, a great emission nebula which is part of the *Orion Cloud* (a gigantic molecular cloud), containing the *Horsehead Nebula* and *Orion's Nebula*, is also situated around the belt and can be observed by the naked eye in very good conditions of visibility, without light pollution. *Barnard's Loop* is red due to the quantity of ionized hydrogen. If we draw an imaginary line starting from *Mintaka* to the south-east, we will find the star *Sirius*, and to the north-west the star *Aldebaran*.

¹ Klepešta, Růkl, 1978; Rappenglück, 2001: 51–55; Levy 2005; Ridpath, Tirion, 2007.

² **Alnitak / Zeta Orionis / ζ Ori** is a triple stellar system located 820 light-years away: *Zeta Orionis Aa* is a blue supergiant with the absolute magnitude of -5.25, 28 times bigger than the Sun; *Zeta Orionis B* is a star with an apparent magnitude of 4, class B, which orbits *Zeta Orionis Aa*; *Zeta Orionis Ab* was discovered in 1998. Under *Alnitak* is *σ Orionis*, which is a quadruple system made up of 4 stars.

³ **Alnilam / Epsilon Orionis / ε Ori / ε Orionis** is the 30th brightest star on the sky, and the 4th brightest in Orion, after *Rigel*, *Betelgeuse* and *Bellatrix*. Because it's a super gigantic blue star, *ε Orionis* is one of the brightest stars known. It has an apparent magnitude of 1.69 and is located 1,340 light-years from our solar system.

⁴ **Mintaka / δ Ori / δ Orionis / Delta Orionis** is a multiple blue giant (a variable star type „Algol", easily observable. The Two components of the system are about half a light year from each other). Observed from Earth, *Delta Orionis* is very close to the sky's equator (less than 18 arc minutes) and is used as a space and time landmark during clear mornings (August - October) and nights (November - March).

The importance and beauty of Orion's belt is shown by the fact that its presence was noted and is attested to in the religious beliefs of many peoples, all around the world¹. Thus, in Chinese tradition, Orion's Belt is called *San Xing* (The Three Bodies), and the three stars represent gods: *Lu Xing* (The Star of Prosperity), *Fu Xing* (The Star of Luck) and *Shou Xing* (The Star of Longevity). The Dutch navigators and cartographers referred to it by the term *Driekoningen* (The Three Kings). South Africans Boers know it by the names *Drie Konings* (The Three Kings) and *Drie Susters* (The Three Sisters). Its most popular name used today (showing the influence of Christianity) is "The Three Kings" (*Trois Rois*)².

Orion's Belt, or *The King's Belt*³ can be seen in Romania from November until February. The ancient Romanian peasants grouped the stars in this constellation differently, and defined at least four purely-Romanian constellations: *Trisfetitele*, The Three Kings, The Eastern Kings, The Three Magi and The King's Belt for Alnitak, Alnilam and Mintaka; *Rarița* (*Trisfetitele* + Rigel + other 2 stars, with several variations which also include stars from the Lepus constellation); *Sfredelul Mare*, *Spîțelnicul* (*Trisfetitele* + Betelgeuse); *Toiege* and other combinations which have been mentioned in history and ethnography, with a series of myths, legends and stories associated with them, many of which were transmitted orally⁴.

Orion's seven stars were called the Heavenly Hunter, or the Archer in Romanian cosmogony. Through its three middle stars called "belt" (the King's Girdle) the Archer passes the sky's equator. At Nucu – Fundul Peșterii (DS, cat. 64) researchers identified an asymmetrical sign/symbol that they associated to the representation of Orion⁵.

The belt (girdle, waistband) is man's first "garment", which was used to tie the newborn baby's bellybutton right after birth. It also ties the baby (the Unique) to the world (the Everything), it calms it and gives it strength⁶. However, the belt also means submission and dependence on the community, causing the person to be bound to respect the rules of the society where she belongs⁷.

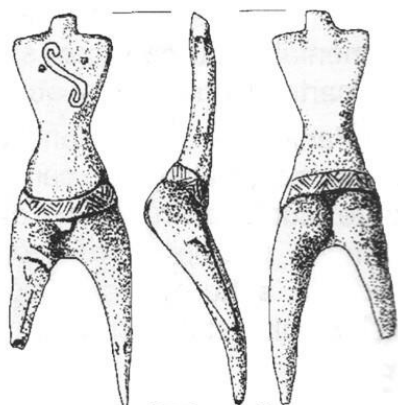


Fig. 2. Scânteia⁸.

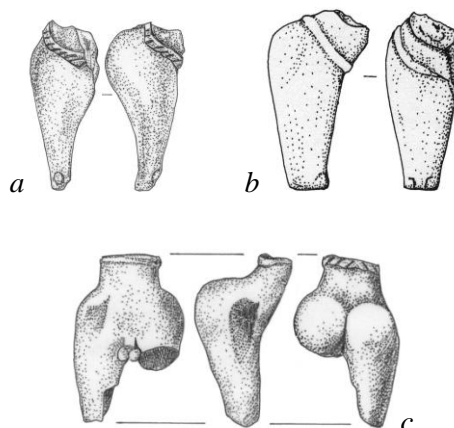


Fig. 3. a-c, Ruginoasa⁹.

¹ https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Centura_lui_Orion.

² Daudet, 1964; Biblia: Mt. 2.1-2.

³ Ghinoiu, 1997: 43; Otescu, 2002: 36, n. 107.

⁴ Pamfile, 2001; 2001a.

⁵ Lazarovici, Gavrilă, 2016: fig. 2c.

⁶ Olinescu, 2001: 168.

⁷ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1994: I, 315.

⁸ Lazarovici C.-M., 2009: 88, 1/1.4.

⁹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2012: VIII.21/1, 3, 6.

There are a few definitions for this accessory¹: a sash (waistband; belt) = a wide belt of wool, leather, silk etc., which peasants wear as part of the traditional Romanian costume; a strip of woolen fabric, or fur, worn around the waist (under clothes) by some sick people; a wide sash that priests² wear as a sign of a hierarchical tier, or during mass (priests and arch-priests); girdle = anything placed around the middle of the body (waist): a sash, a belt, a cummerbund, a *șerpar*, etc.; balt = a belt with tin studs placed on three rows of thin leather strips, worn by women who work in the woods; in the beginning, it was a symbol of fertility and fecundity, but it has lost its sacred meaning in time, and now it only holds aesthetic value; also called *zgărdane*.

The belt is a practical and aesthetic piece of clothing with a strong apotropaic meaning, given by the symbolism associated with the likeness of the coiled snake, the circle, the rope and the magic furrow. It is essential in traditional Romanian folk wear³. The belt is a sacred sign with multiple spiritual layers: protection, defense, shelter, chastity, faithfulness, attachment, fecundity, courage, power, prestige etc. At the same time, it is a “mark” of identity, prestige and ethnic background, age category or occupation (a wide girdle: wood cutters, log drivers or other physically demanding occupations). The sacred significance of the girdle, in almost all religions, is that of faithfulness toward the supreme being, justice (“as a belt around his waist”⁴), repentance (Christianity) and a sign of hierarchy when it is worn during sacred rituals.

In Romanian folk beliefs, the belt (circle and knot) has a strong double role: for protection (the abdominal muscles and the back) and for reproduction (male and female qualities, womb, and vulva). There are numerous magical rituals where the girdle is the central piece, but we will not insist on them, as the symbolic and sacred meaning requires another approach, given by the multitude and diversity of customs⁵.

The belt has been used during magic actions (incantations; divination: young women ask the heavens to reveal their destined spouse by using a belt; charms: witches and *iele* (evil fairies) do not wear girdles) or for healing (medicine men have divine powers in this case; the traditional dance of the *călușari*) and especially in all the great rites of passage⁶:

Birth – the belt is used as an aid during birth, and afterwards to tie the baby’s bellybutton (cloth); after three days, the newborn is passed through a ritual of invoking destiny, in which the girdle signifies the child’s integration in the community and good luck.

Baptism – the child receives a girdle as a sign of entrance into the new world. The length of the girdle is a symbol of longevity.

Marriage – the nuptial girdle of chastity, of the bride’s innocence, is untied by the groom on the wedding night, or the bride gives the groom a girdle with apotropaic powers which she weaved, to symbolize the acceptance of passing into a new phase of life and the passing of chastity. The mother in law pulls the bride and groom into the house with the help of a belt, as a sign of union and prosperity.

Death – the girdle symbolizes the link between the two Worlds.

In initiation rites⁷ as well as in military actions, hunting or competitions, the belt is a part of the attire, with a strong protection role (apotropaic attributes), setting a sacred circle of magical

¹ DEXonline.

² „He shall put on the holy linen tunic (...) and he shall be girded with the linen sash and attired with the linen turban (these are holy garments)” (Leviticus 16:4, NASB).

³ Stoica *et alii*, 1985: 87.

⁴ The Bible: Isaiah 11:5

⁵ The „Dimitrie Gusti” Village Museum in Bucharest hosted in the „H. H. Stahl” room, between 25 October - 25 November 2013, the exhibit called “Girdles in Ethnic Cultures”. This occasion was the premiere of “a unique girdle collection” (www.muzeulsatului-dimitrie-gusti.blogspot.ro).

⁶ Gorovei, 2002: 102; Antonescu, 2016: 83-84.

⁷ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1994, I: 316; Evseev, 1994: 24; Enea, 2016: 361.

energies around the waist. We must not forget the stories and fairy tales where the strength of the “hero” lies in his girdle, and when he is without it, he becomes weak, powerless and unable to fight.

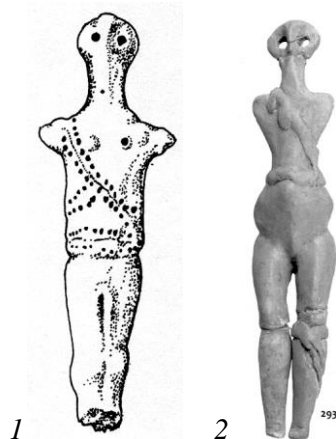


Fig. 4. 1, Moldova¹; 2, Iablona².



Fig. 5. Traditional Romanian folk wear³.

In the Romanian Neolithic and copper ages, there are many girdled idols⁴: Armășeni; Avrămeni; Bârlălești – *Sturza*; Berești – *Dealul Bulgarului*; Buznea; Costești - *Cier*; Cucuteni – *Cetățuia*; Cucuteni – Băiceni – *Dâmbul Morii*; Dumești – *Între Pâraie*; Fedeleșeni; Ghelăiești – *Nedeia*; Scânteia – *Dealul Bodești/La Nuci* (fig. 2); Răucești – *Munteni*; Ruginoasa – *Dealul Drăghici* (fig. 3); Țigănești; Vidra (anthropomorphic female jar with girdle). Some of these statuettes present a diagonal line going up from the girdle. Recently, Sergiu Enea published a study about the diagonal as a symbol of power⁵, in which he gathered over 120 Cucuteni culture pieces in a database. Approximately 57% of the pieces have a belt (there are several figurine fragments without the upper part, which were not taken into consideration). In our own research, we noticed that traditional Romanian folk costume for men includes a diagonal sash during holidays, which marks the rank and the role of the wearer within the community (fig. 5).

These girdled masculine figurines were unearthed especially on sites of the Cucuteni culture, a strong, well organized civilization that was administratively structured in villages and fortified proto-urban settlements. Considering the complexity of the fortification systems, we conclude that they were erected using the combined efforts of all communities in the area, according to a well-defined and established plan. The works must have been coordinated by a team of “masters”, who conceived and achieved these monumental structures. To build such defense systems and then to maintain and defend them, much human power was needed. This caused a great social division based on specialization, by increasing the role of men in society, and the birth of new occupations, such as that of “archer” (fig. 6) - a soldier with military attributes in defending the “fortress”. In this context, we mention the image of a bow on the ceramic fragment from Lozna⁶ (fig. 7).

¹ Dumitrescu, 1979: fig. 66.

² Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: 293.

³ METAlbumul de fotografii; www. historicum. com.

⁴ Müller-Karpe, 1968, II: 177/1; Coman, 1980: fig. 104/1, 105/3; *Cucuteni 2009*: fig. 220, 221, 227-231, 233; Boghian, 2004: 138/2, 138/3, 139/2, 5, 131/10; Dinu, 2006: 10/2, 4-6, 11/4, 12/3; Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: fig. 189, 198; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh. 2012: VIII.46, 72, 74; Monah, 2012: 10/3, 21/13, 36/4, 9, 38/2, 6, 40/1-3, 41/1-3, 95/1, 2, 96/2-4, 6, 177/6, 218/7; Boghian *et alii*, 2014: CIII/10, CVI/1; Enea, 2016: 354-383.

⁵ Enea, 2016: tabel 1.

⁶ Lazarovici, Găvrilă, 2016: fig. 4.



Fig. 6. The Archer Constellation (Orion)¹.



Fig. 7. Lozna, detail (footnote 34).

Part of the defense moat at Ruginoasa (an imposing construction enforced with stone slabs²) was studied, and several masculine figurine fragments were discovered in various archaeological contexts. Among them, there is a beautiful “Adonis” from B.7³. We must also mention the discovery of a unique fragment of a bone belt-buckle in moat no. 2 of the Țaga fortress (moat no. 1 was tiled with sand stone slabs), which had probably been worn by a warrior on his belt.

We must not forget that life in such a fortified settlement unfolded according to precise rules, well established and controlled, especially since it also housed the “military force” which had the purpose of protecting and supervising the fortress, as well as the area around it. These “fortresses” housed both *the military power* and the *religious power*, which together coordinated every economic, social, political, spiritual and administrative action of community.

Around these proto-urban settlements gravitated “villages” of various sizes, which held agricultural and pastoral economic power, and supplied the community with food and the needed raw materials. In two cases at Dumesti, S. Enea⁴ identified what was probably the sheath of a dagger worn at the waistband, a symbol of skill and prestige but also part of military or hunting uniform.

It is worthy of note that the Heavenly Hunter (Orion) is accompanied in the sky (fig. 1) by the two dogs, *Canis Major* and *Canis Minor*. At his right foot is the *Lepus* (rabbit) constellation and in front of him is the *Taurus* (bull) Constellation (the Mythical Hunter⁵ of Romanian cosmogony hunts the Bull - see the legend of the „First Settling”). The link between Orion and hunting is also suggested by the fact that the constellation appears on the sky at the opening of the hunting season (established according to millennia-old knowledge of the ecosystem and the game reserve)⁶. After the sheep have come down from the mountain pastures and the harvest was reaped from the fields, orchards and vines, the bird-hunting (pheasant, goose, duck) and rabbit-hunting season begins, lasting until the end

¹ <https://theheavensdeclare.net/orion-the-archer>.

² Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: fig. 12.

³ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2012: 295-297, VIII.46.

⁴ Enea 2016: fig. 2 /5, 9.

⁵ Poriciuc 2013: 139-147.

⁶ Nedici 2003.

of February. Big game (deer, goat, stag, wild boar) can be hunted from the middle of October until the beginning of February.

Constellations are markers of *place* and of *time*, observed and named by humans according to their life style. For this reason, all things on Earth are “placed” in the Sky!

(translation by Ioana Achim)

References

- Antonescu, R. 2016. *Dicționar de simboluri și credințe tradiționale românești*, Iași: Editura Tipo Moldova; <http://cimec.ro>.
- Bălțeanu, V. 2000. *Terminologia magică populară românească*, București: Editura Paideia – Științe sociale.
- Boghian, D. 2004. *Comunitățile cucuteniene din Bazinul Bahluiului*, Suceava: Editura Bucovina Istorică, Editura Universității „Ștefan cel Mare”.
- Boghian et alii, 2014. Boghian, D., Enea S.-C., Ignătescu S., Bejenaru L., Stanc S.-M., Comunitățile cucuteniene din zona Târgului Frumos. Cercetări interdisciplinare în siturile de la Costești și Giurgești, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1994. Dicționar de simboluri. Mituri, vise, obiceiuri, gesturi, forme, figuri, culori, numere, I-III, Editura Artemis, București.
- Coman, G. 1980. Statornicie, continuitate. Repertoriul arheologic al județului Vaslui, Editura Litera, București.
- Comșa, A., Szücs-Csillik, I. 2013. An archaeoastronomical study regarding some necropoleis of the Gumelnița culture. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie, In memoriam Liviu Măruia, Timișoara, V/2*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 837-846.
- Csillik et alii, 2000. Csillik, I., Maxim, Z., Chiș, D., Oproiu, T., The astronomical orientation of the Neolithic necropolis Iclod. In Rodosz (ed.), *Natural and Technical Science*, No. II, Kriterion Press, Cluj-Napoca: 9-16.
- Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2005. Șarpele în arheoastronomie, in *Corviniana – Acta Musei Corvinensis*, Hunedoara, Editura Altip, Alba Iulia: 253 – 262.
- Cucuteni 2009. Cucuteni Culture: art and religion, Editura Accent Print, Suceava.
- Daudet, Al. 1964. *Scrisori din moara mea - Povestiri de luni*, Colecția Biblioteca Pentru Toți, Editura pentru Literatură, București.
- Dinu, M. 2006. Principalele rezultate ale cercetărilor de la Băiceni-Dîmbul Morii, com. cucuteni (1961-1966). In Ursulescu, N., Lazarovici, C.-M. (coord.), *Cucuteni 120 – valori universal, lucrările Simpozionului Național: Iași, 30 sept. 2004*, Facultatea de Istorie - Universitatea „Al. I. Cuza”, Centrul Interdisciplinar de Studii Arheologice, Academia Română – Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Editura Sedcom Libris, Iași: 31-39.
- Dumitrescu, Vl. 1979. *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, Colecția „Comori de artă din România”, Editura Meridiane, București.
- Enea, S.-C. 2016. Symbols of power on the Cucutenian Anthropomorphic Statuettes. Case study – the Diagonals. In Ursu, C.-E., Poruciuc, A., Lazarovici, C.-M. (eds), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and signs*, Ethnoreligion Series II, Muzeul Bucovinei, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 355-383.
- Evans, J. R. 1988. *The History and Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- Evseev, I. 1994. *Dicționar de simboluri și arhetipuri culturale*, Editura Amarcord, Timișoara.
- Ghinoiu, I. 1997. *Obiceiuri populare de peste an. Dicționar*, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București.
- Gimbutas, M. 1984. *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe. 6500 – 3500 BC. Myths and Cut Images*, BAS Printers Limited, Over Wallop, Hampshire.
- Gorovei, A. 2002. *Datinile noastre la naștere și la nuntă*, Editura Paideia, București.
<https://theheavensdeclare.net/orion-the-archer>
- IAU 2014. International Astronomical Union, The Constellations, on IAU:
<http://www.iau.org/public/constellations>.
- Klepešta, J., Rühl, A. 1978. *Csillagképek atlasza*, Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2002. Lazarovici, Gh., Chiș, Gh. D., Oproiu, T., Csillik, I., The Neolithic shrine at Parta. In Barlai, K., Bognár-Kutzián, I. (eds.), *"Unwritten messages" from the Carpathian Basin*, Konkoly Observatory of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Monographs, No. 4, Budapest: 7-18.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. 2009. Symbols and Signs of the Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture. In Marler, J., Robbins Dexter, M. (eds.), *Signs of Civilization. Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe, dedicated to Bogdan Brukner (1931-2006)*, Proceedings from the International Symposium „Signs of Civilization” (Novi Sad, Serbia, May 25-29, 2004), Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad Branch, Institute of Archaeomythology, Santa Rosa: 87-112.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. *et alii*, 2009. Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh.-C., Țurcanu, S. *Cucuteni: a great civilization of the Prehistoric world*, Editura Palatul Culturii Publishing House, Iași.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2012. *Ruginoasa – Dealul Drăghici. Monografie arheologică*, Muzeul Bucovinei, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2002. Cassiopeia – from Neolithic symbols to astronomical mythology. In *Ancient Times, modern methods*, Editura Ulise, Alba Iulia.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Gavrilă, D. 2016. About symbols and signs on rock sanctuaries. In C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and signs*, Ethnoreligion Series II, Muzeul Bucovinei, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 453.
- Levy, D. H. 2005. *Deep Sky Objects: The Best and Brightest from Four Decades of Comet Chasing*, Amherst, Prometheus Books Publishers, New York.
- Maxim, Z. 2005. Snake Symbolistic in the Prehistory of the South-East Europe, in *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, in Honorem Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu, XXII*, Călărași: 53 – 62.
- Maxim, Z. *et alii*, 2002. Maxim, Z., Chiș, Gh. D., Oproiu, T., Csillik, I. The astronomical aspects of the orientation of the graves in the burial site of Iclod. In Barlai, K., Bognár-Kutzián, I. (eds.), *"Unwritten messages" from the Carpathian Basin*, Konkoly Observatory of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Monographs, No. 4, Budapest: 19-30.
- Maxim, Z., Szücs-Csillik, I. 2009. Constelațiile văzute prin ochii țaranului român, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 296 – 301.
- Maxim, Z., Szücs-Csillik, I. 2010. Cerul – oglindă a Pământului. Spicuri din mitoastronomia românească, in *Identități culturale locale și regionale în context european. Studii de arheologie și antropologie istorică*. In *In Memoriam Alexandri V. Matei*, Editura Porolissum, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca: 45 – 54.
- Maxim, Z., Szücs-Csillik, I. 2014. Constelațiile astronomice și „vestimentația”, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 270-284.
- METAAlbumul (online) de fotografii, Muzeul Etnografic al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.

- Monah, D. 2012. *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie*, Garvăn, D., Dumitroaia Gh. (eds.), ediția a II-a revizuită și adăugită, Editura „Constantin Matasă”, Piatra-Neamț.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1968. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte*, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München.
- Mureșan, M. 2011. Harta cerului în mentalitatea țărănească, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 148-175.
- Nedici, Gh. 2003. *Istoria vânătoarei. Vânătoarea în România*, Editura Paideia, București.
- Nicolau, I., Huluță, C. 2000. Credințe și superstiții românești după Artur Gorovei și Gh. F. Ciaușanu, Editura Humanitas, București.
- Olinescu, M. 2001. *Mitologie românească*, București: Editura Saeculum I. O.
- Otescu, I. 2002. *Credințele țaranului român despre cer și stele*, Editura Paideia – Științe sociale, București.
- Pamfile, T. 2001. *Văzduhul. După credințele poporului român*, Editura Paideia – Științe sociale, București.
- Pamfile, T. 2001a. *Cerul și podoabele lui după credințele poporului român*, Editura Paideia – Științe sociale, București.
- Poruciuc, A. 2013. Sub semnul Pământului Mamă. Rădăcini preistorice ale unor tradiții românești și sud-est europene, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași.
- Rappenglück, M. 2001. The Anthropoid in the Sky: Does a 32,000 Years Old Ivory Plate Show the Constellation Orion Combined with a Pregnancy Calendar, in *Symbols, Calendars and Orientations: Legacies of Astronomy in Culture*, IX-th Annual Meeting of the European Society for Astronomy in Culture (SEAC), Uppsala Astronomical Observatory: 51–55.
- Ridpath, I., Tirion, W. 2007. *Stars and Planets Guide*, Harper Collins Publishers, London.
- Stoica et alii, 1985. , G., Petrescu, P., Boșe, M. 1985. *Dicționar de artă populară*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București.
- Szücs-Csillik, I. et alii, 2013. Szücs-Csillik, I., Mircea, L., Maxim, Z., Constelații „metalice”, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 237-245.
- Szücs-Csillik, I. et alii, 2015, Szücs-Csillik, I., Comșa, A., Sankhyan, A. R., Astronomical Orientation of the Trepanned Neolithic Woman of Burzahom, Kashmir. In Sankhyan, A. R. (eds.), *Recent Discoveries and Perspectives in Human Evolution*, BAR, Oxford: 219-226.
- Szücs-Csillik, I. et alii, 2016. Szücs-Csillik, I., Comșa, A., Maxim, Z., Archaeoastronomical world from Romania. In Rappenglück, M. A., Rappenglück, B., Campion, N., Silva, F. (eds.), *"Astronomy and power: how worlds are structured"*, *Proceedings of the SEAC 2010 conference*, BAR, S2794, Oxford: 43-48.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2013. Eclipsese și sanctuarul neolitic de la Parța. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie*, I/2 – *In memoriam Liviu Măruia, Timișoara*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 847-856.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2013a. The Astronomical Orientation of the Skeletons from the Neolithic Necropolis of Cernica. In Comșa, A., Bonsall, C., Nicolova, L. (eds.), *Facets of the past : the Challenge of the Balkan Neo-Eneolithic, Proceedings of the International Symposium celebrating the 85th birth anniversary of Eugen Comșa (6-12 oct. 2008)*, Editura Academiei Române, București: 336-347.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2015. Goddess of nocturnal light at Parța. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie*, III/2 – *In memoriam Florin Medeleț (1943-2005)*, Timișoara, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 605-620.

- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2015a. Luna – zeița luminii nocturne, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 259-282.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2016. Șarpele ceresc și calendarul agrar, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 418-432.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2016a. The Divine Bull from Parța. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie – In honorem prof. univ. dr. Adrian Bejan, Timișoara, IV/2*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 551-560.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2016b. „The snake” and the agrarian rituals. In C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and signs*, Ethnoreligion Series II, Muzeul Bucovinei, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 435-452.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Virag, C. 2016. The orientation of the dead at Urziceni necropolis. An archaeoastronomical approach. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie, In honorem Adrian Bejan, Timișoara, IV*, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 591-600.
- Turcu, V., Csillik, I., Moldovan, D. 2004. *Calendar Astronomic 2004*, Editura Nereamia Napocae, Cluj-Napoca.
- www.historicum.com
- www.muzeulsatului-dimitrie-gusti.blogspot.ro
- www.stellarium.org/ (Constellation art - Orion)
- www.traditiiclujene.ro

THE SQUARE AS A SYMBOL OF THE EARTH

Ioana Bădocan

Cluj-Napoca, Romania, ioanabadocan@yahoo.com

Zoia Maxim

Cluj-Napoca, Romania, zoiamaxim@yahoo.fr

*Prius invocado... Deos, qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt.
Primum qui omnes fructus agriculturae **Coelo et Terra** continent,
Iovem et Tellurem. Itaque quod ii parentes magni dicuntur...*

(Varro, *Re Rustica*: I, 1)

Key words: *square, symbolism of number 4, meaning in different civilizations*

In the Ancient world, the symbol was both the actual existence (outside and independent of human conscience) and a sign to illustrate a certain structure to the world - a means of manifesting reality. The symbol is the result of man's capacity for the abstract, in various phases of its evolution. Through the act of making abstract and giving value, man created for himself an explanatory model of the world, to reflect the essence of things and facts to be transmitted as a message, in various forms. Geometric signs and symbols have represented, from the very beginning of organization forms, the main instruments for transmitting information. In the Neolithic, these signs were synthesized into a code in which "form" is reduced to "essence", thus impregnating the message with an emotional structure. Life, death, repetition, dynamism, stability, balance are a few of the concepts that appear sketched on religious objects and on Neolithic sanctuaries in the shape of the rhombus, the square, the circle and the triangle.

An ancestral symbol, used in traditional culture to this day, is the square.

The square is part of the universal symbolic language, as one of the four fundamental symbols: the center (point), the circle and the cross¹. The square is formed by uniting the tips of "St Andrew's cross" and it leads us to the symbolism of number 4. As a symbol of the Created Universe (material, limited) in opposition to the Uncreated Primordial Universe, the square is "the antithesis of the transcendent"². In all cultures, *four* is the framework of life: space is divided into four horizons and four fundamental directions (up, down, left, right; East, West, North, South). There are four winds, four seasons, four phases of the Moon, four pillars supporting the universe, four seas dividing the world, four primordial elements, four ages of Man³ and four "places" in the traditional living space (which for Romanians is the room⁴: the hearth, the bed, the table, behind the door). *Four* carries symbolic significance and multiple sacred meanings for the family.

As a terrestrial symbol, the square encompasses the sum of everything created, the borders of the material world, but it also suggests the universe of passing things. From this symbolism derives its association with the Earth. In the four right angles (90⁰), movement ceases and there is a setting-in of

¹ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995, vol. 3: 49-50.

² Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995, vol. 3: 50.

³ Kernbach, 1989: 425; Kespi, 2003: 137.

⁴ Antonescu, 2016: 104-106.

time and space. The square also signifies stability, resistance and permanence, and is an anti-dynamic geometrical figure. Its four sides suggest lack of movement and the existence of total balance, stagnation, solidification (earth, clay) and stability through perfection. The square has become the basic geometrical figure of space - which is marked by the four cardinal points.

Four carries a sacred weight for almost all peoples. In Vedic culture, four primordial gods guard the four horizons of the World¹. In the Upanishads, *four* is the number of Man, who has 16 parts (the square of four²). The square of 4 (=16) is the basis of the Pythagorean doctrine. We find the same notion of 4 x 4 (four squares) in the Neolithic, on the Turdaş altar (fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Small altar, Turdaş³.

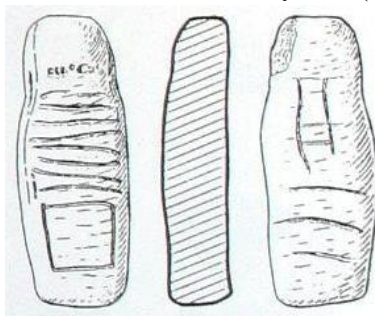


Fig. 2. Idol, Sultana⁴.



Fig. 3. Statuette, Myrtos⁵.

Four and *the square*, as symbols of the Created World, signify the masterpiece of the Divine Perfection, the stabilized world (it represents the architecture of sedentary, agricultural civilizations in opposition to the architecture of nomadic communities - the circle, in perpetual motion). Another symbol of stability is revealed in the square mounds of China, which represent the Earth God⁶. We mustn't forget the square bases of the pyramids, of the towers (the models from Bulgaria)⁷ and temples, which remind us of the symbolism of the horizontal line as it divides the stable (durable) space at the earthly, material level, on which all other levels are raised and stay straight. The square is a solid base to support the infrastructure.

The square, with its 4 angles and 4 equal sides, represents the union and synthesis of the 4 fundamental elements of the Universe (water, earth, air and fire), while at the same time symbolizing the Cosmos, through proportion and symmetry, as a basis for Eternity, in balance and stability. The embodiment of these universal elements (water, earth-flour, air-kneading and fire-baking) is found in the "square breads" (*colindeți, cocuți*) traditionally offered by the hosts to Christmas carolers⁸.

The symbolism of the square which appears on statuettes⁹ is based on the association with the Earth and fertility - an attribute of the Great Mother Goddess (fig. 2). The models of the net of squares (Gomolava, fig. 3)¹⁰, or the chessboard (Jilava – Măgura Jilavei, Mirrini, Cranon)¹¹, are symbols of water, humidity, vital energies, and appear more often on idols which represent the Great Goddess, the life-giver (fig. 3). This pattern is the identifying sign¹² of the Fertility and Fecundity Goddess, Mother Earth.

¹ Evseev, 1999: 351.

² Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995, 3: 29.

³ Maxim *et alii*, 2009, cat. 140.

⁴ Hansen, 2007: tab. 445/10.

⁵ Gimbutas, 1989: 140.

⁶ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995, 3: 51.

⁷ Todorova, 1986: fig. 22; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 542, fig. IVc.30b.

⁸ Antonescu, 2016: 28; Bădocan, Maxim, 2016: 396; Lazarovici Gh., 2003.

⁹ Brukner, 1988: 3/3.

¹⁰ Brukner, 2009: 7, fig. 9.

¹¹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 514, fig. Ivb.10; 543, fig. IVc.32 (see bibliography here).

¹² Winn, 2009: 52-53, fig. IV, code DS 57.

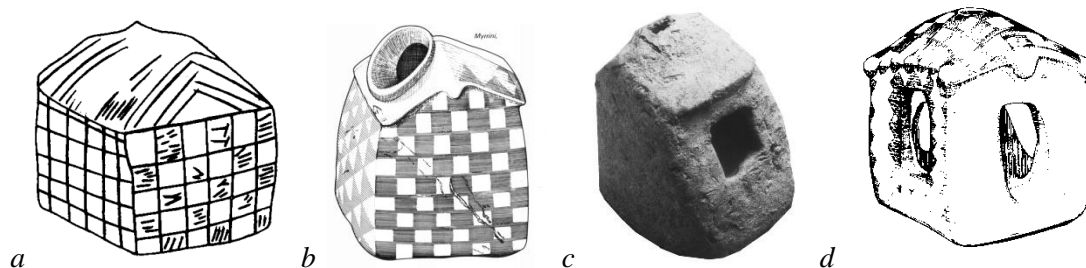


Fig. 4. a: Jilava; b-c: Mirrini, d: Cranon¹.

In the language of geometric figures, the square is the symbol of the Earth, while the triangle and the circle represent the heavens². The square, or the box, also represents the harvest field, the space where man lives and works, and is the standard of the organized, eternal microcosm. When an inheritance is divided, “an equal-sided square... a holy firstfruits from the land is put aside”³.

The square, as an image of the Earth, holds within it the mysteries of eternal life and hides “infinite riches”, which “feed”, maintain and help all “beings” born from the supreme being⁴ - the Mother Earth (the Great Mother Earth), impregnated by the Heavenly Father - in their evolution (gods, people, animals, plants).

The earth is the *clay* which “gives birth”, it is the cultivated *harvest field*, it is the *earth's crust* which offers warmth and uncountable riches for perfection (fauna, flora, minerals), and it is the *dirt* in which the body returns, to be transformed and eternally reborn.

Endowed with these attributes, the Earth is a dual divinity, which gives (warmth and food for the body, beauty for the soul) and punishes (“swallows and destroys” the used-up bodies and spirits in its infernal belly)⁵. The Earth has, at all times in human history, been praised, glorified, adored, worshiped, respected and honored. Any human action which involved Earth as a universal matrix was considered sacred, which resulted in a series of traditions (sacred vows, kisses, worship), customs, beliefs, superstitions (curses) and taboos, reminiscent of the Mother Earth Cult, of the Fecundity and Fertility Cult and of the Cult of the Dead (ancestors) - the nucleus of agrarian and mining mythologies.

Man as a “fruit” and “servant” of the Earth⁶ is submitted to the Square matrix - the height is equal to the length of the arms. His entire existence is marked by the earthly customs which he must keep religiously. Thus, the Great Rites of Passage are inseparable from the Mother Earth:

- *Birth*: the woman gives birth on the ground (in the home or on the field) or on the house hearth, so as to be able to receive the positive energies through direct contact; the child is laid on the ground to receive vitality and force, then it is lifted up and presented to the Heavenly Father⁷, in the belief that “the Earth... is our mother, who feeds us and makes us, and God... is our father, we are his children”. Then, participants take dirt from under the table leg and make a sign on the baby’s forehead, to keep it from the evil eye⁸ and to make it as fruitful as the earth;

¹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IVb.10; fig. IVc.32; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: fig. Vc.81-82 (see bibliography here).

² Evseev, 1999: 359; Golan, 2003: 218-225, 255.

³ Anania, 2011: V, 1553; Iz 42.20; Iz 48.8-9.

⁴ Varro, *Re Rustica*: I, 1; „prius invocado...Deos, qui maxime agricolarum duces sunt. Primum qui omnes fructus agriculturae Coelo et Terra continent, Iovem et Tellurem”; Ghinoiu, 2008: 229-230.

⁵ Kernbach, 1978: 146-148.

⁶ Bible: Genesis 3: 19 (NIV): By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food until you return to the ground, since from it you were taken; for dust you are and to dust you will return.

⁷ Golban, 1983: 69.

⁸ Antonescu, 2016: 506.

- *the Wedding*: the newlyweds spend the First Night on the ground (outdoors in the summer, indoors in winter), to be healthy and have a lasting marriage¹;

- *Death*: before being returned to the ground, the deceased is purified (so as not to defile the earth) and scrupulously prepared during rituals which honor and praise the Earth. Also, the dying ones are laid down on the ground, to keep them from suffering long².

The earth is “our mother”, holy and living³, who out of love for us, people - flesh of her flesh, shelters us (dirt and clay homes), feeds us (God planted all seeds and living beings), gives hope and strengthens in truth (taking oaths with dirt or a bag of dirt on the head or on the back, a custom practiced up to the 19th century)⁴.

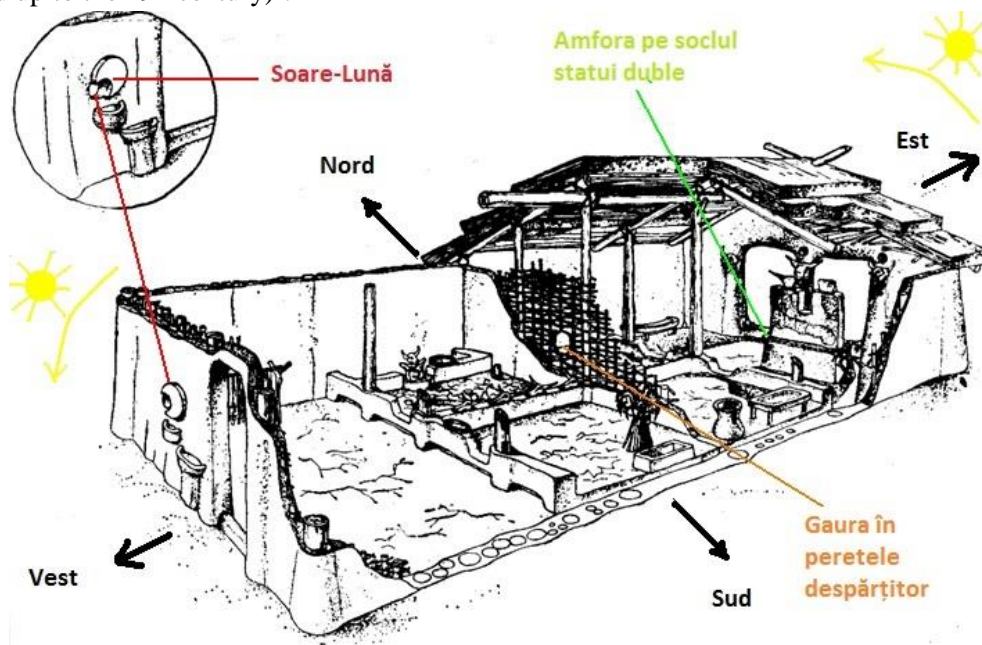


Fig. 5. Parța. Sanctuary 2, view from the South-East (footnote 36).

At the Spring Equinox, Mother Earth is awakened through the ritual “knocking”, executed usually by children with bats, clubs or wooden beating plates, in order to chase away the cold, to bring on the warmth, to wake creatures up from hibernation⁵ and to get Man ready for the spring plowing, according to the farming calendar.

The cutting of the first furrow in the ground is accompanied by an important ceremony, so that this action will not hurt the Earth, who “sleeps” for six months, during which he mustn’t be dug, plowed, or hit. Rituals of purification prepare the plow, the plow-animal (bull) and the farmer for plowing and planting. When the first furrow is made, a woman throws an egg in front of the plow, in a ritualistic act reminiscent of the Cult of Fertility and Fecundity⁶.

During the vegetation cycle, people execute rituals to tame the natural phenomena (calling for rain to come or to stop) and help Mother Earth by modeling clay idols (figurines), called „Mumulița

¹ Evseev, 1999: 354-355.

² Antonescu, 2016: 506.

³ „The Earth cries out to God for the unpleasantness brought on by Man: -- Lord, he scratches me, he cuts me, I can't bear it! -- Bear it, says God, for now the man is growing fat from you, but in the end, you will grow fat from him! The earth is holy. You must kneel to him and worship him, because he feeds us and he keeps us, from him we have food and water. He keeps us warm, he is our mother./ - Kneel and kiss the Earth... and pray that it keeps us, for from the Earth we come and into the Earth we will go/ (Bucovina, Moldova)” Ghinoiu, 2008: 229-230.

⁴ Antonescu, 2016: 505.

⁵ Ghinoiu, 2008: 27, 338.

⁶ Ghinoiu, 2008: 270.

Ploii” (Scaloiana, *Rain’s little mother*) and „Tatăl Soarelui” (*Sun’s father*). In a ritual, children “bury” these figurines in dirt or water¹.

During reaping and harvesting, synonymous with “snatching” the fruit, ritualistic “celebrations” of thanksgiving and worshiping of the Great Mother Goddess, the hope giver, were organized. Such sacred rituals also took place when the earth’s crust was hurt through actions such as the cutting of trees, the extraction of clay for pottery and for plastering, the extraction of stones for tools or construction, the extraction of minerals and mineral dyes, the digging of wells and trenches for the systems of fortification or drainage, even the picking of plants with healing properties², as well as others.

All these manifestations of propitiation and worship of the Earth, as well as others³, happen to this day in the *community (on the field: during the cutting of the first furrow and the sanctification of the grains; at church: at baptism, at weddings, the wheat wreath, the sanctification of the first fruits; founding a settlement, a home, a hearth (Suplacu de Barcău) and gates⁴, places of worship⁵ and necropolises; funerals; etc.)* as well as in the *family (birth; ritual gestures throughout the year for fertility, health and prosperity; preparing the deceased for the passing, etc.)* All these ritualistic gestures also have profound apotropaic meanings.

The material evidence of such customs are attested to by archaeological research, which has brought to light sanctuaries, houses, cultic pits, necropolises and various objects. We mention here Sanctuary 2 from Parța⁶, built between 5400 – 5350 cal BC (fig. 5).

Building B, facing West, is square-shaped (5.5 x 5.6 m). Inside it were found square altar-tables for offerings to the Earth (grains, vegetables and animals) and a ritualistic loom (wool and textile-fiber plants). This building was accessible from the West to the members of the community who, before entering, would crush grain seeds on the mill adjacent to the entrance, and offer it in the cup found under the Sun-Moon couple (responsible for soil fertility and rich harvests).

The start of the agricultural work season was “announced” by the penetration of the Sun’s rays through the “Sun-Moon” window, facing Westward at Spring Equinox, and reaching inside to the Double Monumental Statue through the interior wall opening (the sun rays would hit the back of the Bull and “activate” its virile energy). The light would caress the loom, with its 28 weights (a tablet with 28 incisions⁷) as well as the offerings on the altar-tables, the Earth’s harvest.

When the light passed over the loom, it signaled the end of household activities such as clothes-making, and the beginning of the agricultural work on the field or near the house. The end of the farming season is marked by the Fall Equinox, when the sun’s rays follow the same direction. Afterwards, it is forbidden to do works which affect the Earth or the animals that dwell in it (snakes,

¹ Antonescu, 2016: 507; Ghinoiu, 2008: 254, 269, the figurines are modeled only by women, on a certain day of the year.

² Bădocan, 2016: 354.

³ There is no family or community building made without the “founding gesture of putting a stake in the ground”, a gesture associated with planting with the help of a stick, with plowing the ground with a plow, all these ritualistic actions being associated with the fertility and fecundity of Mother Earth: Ghinoiu, 2008: 29.

⁴ Antonescu, 2016: 108-112, 691; Ciocan, Coman, 2015: 12.

⁵ Preoteasa, 2013: 91-114; Lazarovici C.-M. *et alii*, 2009: 223-238; László, 2000: 245-252; Cărăbiș, 1995: 110. We also mention the ritual offerings at the foundation of the monumental statue from the Parța Sanctuary (ceramic fragments, a broken weight, a broken ax, bone fragments, a horn fragment): Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001, 228, I.2, pl. 41/2. The Gălățui sanctuary had a foundation pit which held a human skull and fragments of a miniature altar: Neagu, 2000: 29. At Căscioarele, in the L1 complex, under the floor near the oven, two skulls were placed as founding offerings: Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh. 2007: 127 (see bibliography here).

⁶ Lazarovici G. *et alii*, 2001: 214-218, 237.

⁷ Merlini, 2009: 266, fig. 4; Szücs-Csillik, Maxim, 2015: 605-620; 2015a: 259-282.

frogs, insects) and the fitting time for household activities begins (weaving, fur-making, canning). We can say that room B from Parța's Sanctuary 2 was dedicated to the Great Earth Goddess and to Earth "works".

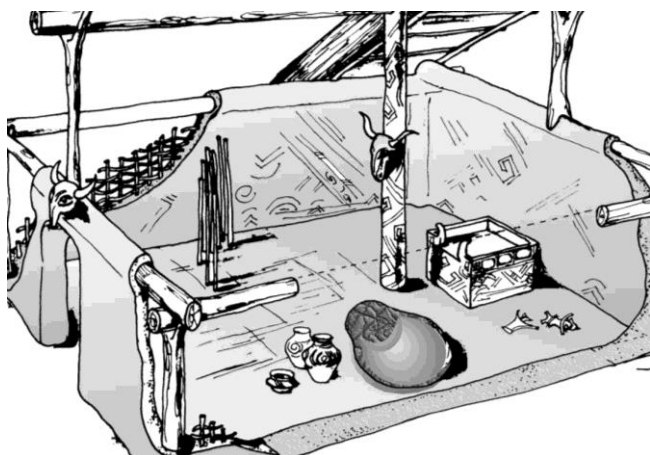


Fig. 6. Kormadin sanctuary¹.

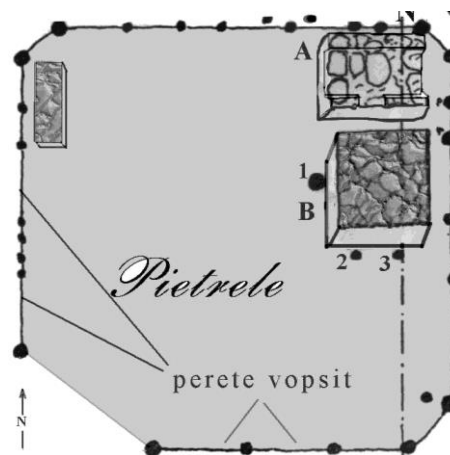


Fig. 7. Pietrele (footnote 39).

The Kormadin sanctuary (fig. 6) had a square-shaped altar-table. This sanctuary's walls, altar and inside pillar were plastered in clay and decorated with meandering incisions, painted with white, red and yellow. Two "thessalian" idols were discovered inside, idols with large-sized mobile heads. There is also a box for grains, a hearth-oven shaped like a horseshoe, seven pillars close together and one pillar (the Sky column) on which there was a bull's skull. On the altar-table people would place offerings from the Earth's harvest.

A square sanctuary dedicated to the Great Goddess was discovered and studied at Pietrele – *Măgura Gorgana* (graphic reconstruction: G. Lazarovici²), with a square hearth inside (fig. 7), on which the offerings to the Earth Mother were burned. The inventory was rich, and among the artifacts we mention a bludgeon and a scepter. On the Western side, there was a white pedestal made of limestone clay (!), on which there was a jar with (carbonized) remnants of flour, near two mills with three crushers used for the cultic grinding of grains, as well as four bowls. In the central area of the western wall there was another pedestal made of yellow clay (!), on which seven consecration horns made of clay were discovered, as well as cones and cylinders made from red ochre (!). Also in the Western area archaeologists found the most objects that can be linked to ritualistic practices typical to this temple: bone and clay idols, beads, pendants and copper objects, and to the right of the entrance a marble idol painted red (!).

At Hârșova, a sanctuary was partially studied (L.11, with two phases)³ which presented two altars, of which the first was almost square (1.30 x 1.20m). Near the second altar, towards the South-East, there was a box - also square (0.6 x 0.55 m). L29 also had an oven with a square-shaped pedestal (fig. 10/b). Such ovens are used to this day in Maramureș (fig. 10/g).

At Isaiia, complexes L5, L6, L7 and possibly L8A are rightfully considered to be sanctuaries⁴. Some of them are square and are dedicated, in our opinion, to the Earth god.

All archaeological data (complexes and inventory) point towards the existence of a strong religious center (perhaps also political-religious) at Isaiia (fig. 8/a-b).

A religious building with a square plan was studied at Târgu Frumos (fig. 8/c)¹.

¹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IIIa.80 (see bibliography here).

² Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 131-134, fig. Vc.69.

³ Hașotti, 1997: 80-82, fig. 79-81, 107/1; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 134-136 (see bibliography here).

⁴ Ursulescu, Tencariu, 2007: 139; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 564-565, fig. IVd.12, fig. IVd.23a.

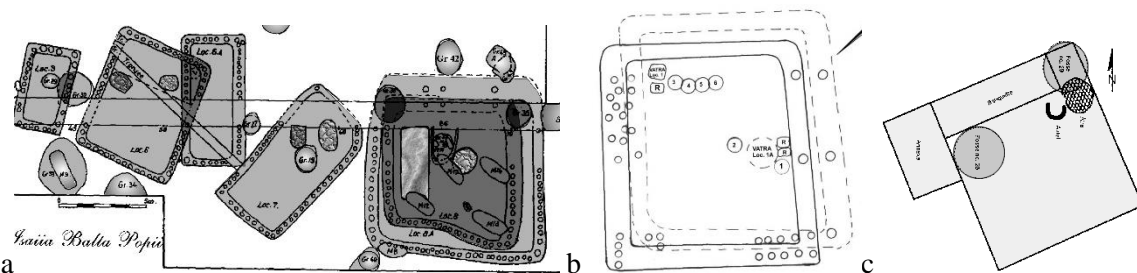


Fig. 8. a: Isaiia, plan of researched complexes; b: Isaiia, sanctuary L1; c: Târgu Frumos, sanctuary.

A sanctuary presenting a square-shaped room for the purpose of giving offerings was studied at Zorlențu Mare².

Models of square-plan sanctuaries were discovered at Ghelăiești, Ruseștii Noi, Gumelnița, Jilava, Ovčarovo (fig. 9/a), Tumba, Melos, Beni Hasan (fig. 9/c), Sitagroi, Larissa (fig. 9/b) as well as Anzabegovo II, Azor, Nemea, Kultepe, etc.³. This type of objects is a typical part of the religious inventory of altar-tables.

Mother Earth, as a protector of the family, responsible with its well being, is imagined in the quadrilateral model from Larissa, discovered in the foundation pit of a building (fig. 7b).

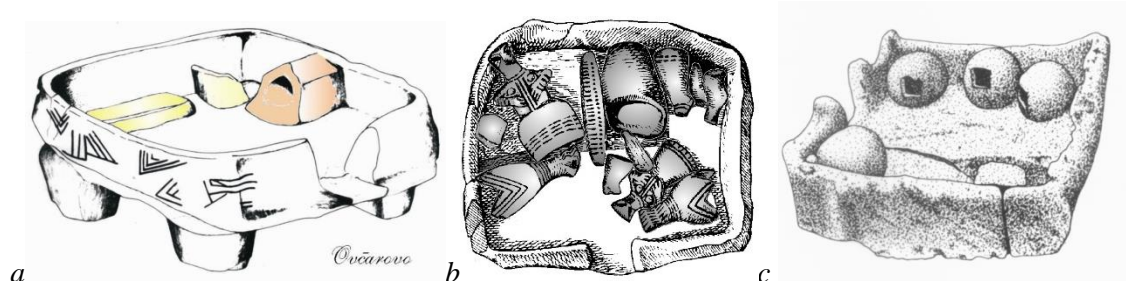


Fig. 9. a: Ovčarovo; b: Larissa; c: Beni Hasan (Footnote 4).

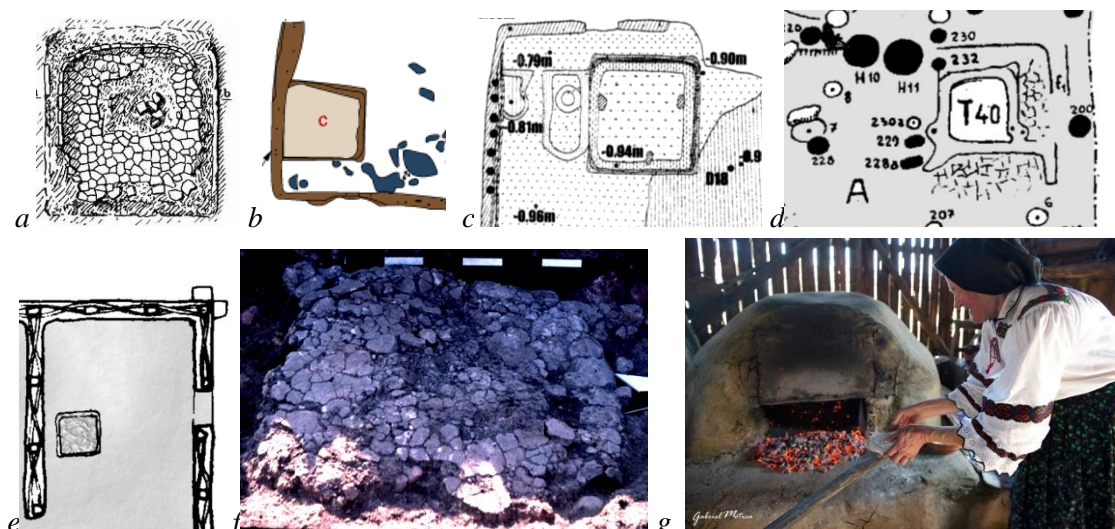


Fig. 10. a: Sălcuța; b: Hârșova, L29, oven; c: Bucșani, L9; d: Ariușd, L1; e: Hăbășești, L40; f: Scânteia, under L8; g: Țara Lăpușului⁴.

¹ Ursulescu *et alii*, 2002: 35; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 560, fig. IVd.19; 562.

² Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IIIa.38.

³ Maxim, 1999: 202, a.7; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 139, fig. Vc.81; 143, fig. Vc.85; 238-245, fig. Vd.103-Vd.106; 353, fig. VIII.10/a, b, c (see bibliography here).

⁴ Motica, 2015: fototeca.

A square-based model with a roof and walls painted like a chess board was discovered at Măgura Jilavei (fig. 4/a)¹. From Mirrini (fig. 4/b) and Cranon (fig. 4/d) we have square-shaped sanctuary models which are also decorated with the chessboard pattern².

Altars are places of burnt offerings and transformation dedicated to the divinity. The quadrilateral altars, small altars³ and altar-tables (Vestő-Mágor⁴, Jura⁵), hearths (Sălcuța: fig. 10/a; Bucșani: fig. 10/c; Medgidia; Ariușd: fig. 10/d; Hăbășești: fig. 10/e; Scânteia: fig. 10/f)⁶, the square-pedestal oven from Hârșova (fig. 10/b), Radovanu⁷ and Izoarele⁸, cultic objects and quadrilateral jars (Turdaș, Cluj-Napoca, Palazu Mare)⁹ were, in our opinion, used to bring offerings to the great Mother-Earth Goddess, due to their square shape. Household hearths (ovens), including the rituals and superstitions linked to bread-making¹⁰, are part of the same ritualistic cycle.

Pits for building foundations were found at the following locations: Balta Sărată (L18, L28), Parța (B26, G63, G8)¹¹, Iclod (G 52), Zau de Cîmpie (P1; L8)¹², Cluj-Napoca (the Statue of the Memorandumists, B-dul Eroilor), Padea (B 1)¹³. At the following locations were found offerings for the founding of the settlement¹⁴: Iclod (a child skeleton), Cluj-Napoca (Polus Center), Baciul – Str. Nouă (*Bos Primigenius*), Zau de Cîmpie (*Bos Primigenius*), Căscioarele (two skulls), Hârșova, zone B (a child skeleton), Bucșani - La Pod (bison skeleton) and Zorlențu Mare (G1/1964).

The giving of the offerings was accompanied by ritualistic actions and gestures, in G121 (*bothros* possibly with *Bos Primigenius*) and the Parța well-pits (Tell 1- well-pit 1 = G9 and well-pit 2)¹⁵, Cuptoare, Hăbășești (G80), Trușești (G168, G181a)¹⁶.

The fact that these symbols have endured over time leads us to the idea of a codified language system, with signs which held a clear meaning, even though in traditional culture they lost their sacred significance and kept, in popular conscience, only a strictly folkloric or decorative character.

An archaic remnant within our traditions and customs are the practices in which the central element is the “dirt” (the furrow)¹⁷. We mention the Bucovina custom of placing a “green, square-shaped furrow” on the gate pillars, the eaves, in front of the doors and on the porch, the night before St. George¹⁸. The sacredness of the square is maintained in the Romanian Orthodox churches¹: rooms

¹ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 107, fig. II.57; 514; 2007: 139, fig. Vc.81/2.

² Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 139, fig. Vc.81; fig. Vc.82/1.

³ Maxim, 1999: 206-207, a. 11-12; 2000: 121-130; Jovanović 2006: 5/5-6; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: fig. Vc.55.

⁴ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: fig. Vb.27.

⁵ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2012: 357, fig. VIII.107.

⁶ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 73, fig. Vb.12b (Sălcuța, L12); 104, fig. Vc.34/1c (Hârșova); 117, fig. Vc.51 (Pietrele, L1); 119, fig. Vc.53 (Bucșani, L9); 120, fig. Vc.54/e (Medgidia); L1 Ariușd: 181-182, fig. Vd.26/2; Vd.27; Vd.61 (see also bibliography).

⁷ Comșa, 1990: 83, fig. 42-43; 1999-2000: 93

⁸ Gimbutas, 1984: 69, fig. 22.

⁹ Hașotti, 1997: fig. 95/2.

¹⁰ Bădocan, Maxim, 2003: 103-108.

¹¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001: 86, 274.

¹² Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IIIe.29

¹³ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IIIId.9.

¹⁴ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: fig. Vc.63; 179-180 (see other examples here).

¹⁵ Lazarovici G. *et alii*, 2001: 286-287; Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: fig. IIIb.192-193.

¹⁶ Lazarovici C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007: 75, fig. Vb. 14 (Ovens); 222-223, fig. Vd.78.

¹⁷ Antonescu, 2016: 67-68, 82.

¹⁸ Antonescu, 2016: 38-39.

built according to a square plan, as required by the rules of the “temple”²; colonnades (the sacred link between Heaven and Earth) with a square cross-section in some churches in Moldova (the Neolithic sanctuary at Gălățui had pillars in the middle with a square cross-section³); square table-altars⁴; painting representing Jesus Pantocrator with a square at its base (the Mother-Earth) and the sky above (the heavens as the Heavenly Father), in between them the most important attribute of Christ: healer of the body and soul (the rhombus⁵) as well as various objects and cultic models which are laid on the altar.

Plato (428-348 B.C.) says numbers are the intermediaries between the world of senses and the world of ideas, the world of “true existence”. Knowing this existence should be, according to Plato, man’s chief concern, and it encompasses three steps: the superior step is science (true knowledge), the inferior step is un-science (ignorance), and the intermediary step is *Becoming* (“doxa”). On this intermediary step are numbers and geometric figures, which reproduce the order of the world of true existence⁶. In order to achieve a superior knowledge, man must previously undergo a process of preparation, which is achieved with the aid of four sciences: Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. “Mathematical truth exists in a world independent of man, and the mind recognizes these truths through contemplation” (Plato, *Timaios*).

(Translated by Ioana Achim)

References

- Anania, B. V. 2011. *Biblia cu ilustrații*, I-VIII, București: Editura Litera Internațional.
- Antonescu, R. 2016. *Dicționar de simboluri și credințe tradiționale românești*, Editura Tipografic Moldova, Iași; <http://cimec.ro>.
- Bădocan, I. 2016. Urzica – „buruiana lui Marț”, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Cluj-Napoca, București: Editura Tradiție.
- Bădocan, I., Maxim, Z. 2003. Gestică legată de facerea pâinii, in *Tibiscum*, XI, Caransebeș: 103-108.
- Bădocan, I., Maxim, Z. 2016. Sacred Geometry - a few Observations about the Rhombus. In Constantin-Emil Ursu, Adrian Poruciuc, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven - Symbols and signs. In memory Henrieta Todorova. Papers presented at the international symposium "From symbols to signs - Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries" (Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015)*, Ethnoreligion Series II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 387 – 402.
- Brukner, B. 1988. Die Siedlung der Vinča-Gruppe auf Gomolava (Die Wohnschicht des Spätneolithikums und Frühäneolithikums – Gomolava Ia, Gomolava Ia-b und Gomolava Ib und der Wohnhorizont des äneolithischen Humus, Gomolava II). In *Gomolava – Chronologie und Stratigraphie der vorgeschichtlichen und antiken Kulturen der Donauniederung und Südosteuropas*, Band 1 (Symposium, Ruma – 1986), Novi Sad: 19-38.

¹ <http://dragusanul.ro/simbolistica-ancestrala-a-manastirii-moldovita> and others from the Orthodox world: Serbia – Anania, 2011: V, 1545.

² Anania 2011: V, 1541; Iz 40.

³ Neagu 2000: 29-30.

⁴ Anania 2011: VIII, 2578-2579 (the altar of the Strei Sângeorgiu church).

⁵ Bădocan, Maxim 2016:

⁶ Muscă 1994: 130

- Brukner, B. 2009. Non-Verbal Messages on Anthropomorphic Figurines of the Vinča Culture. In Joan Marler, Miriam Robbins Dexter (eds.), *Signs of Civilization. Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe. Dedicated to Bogdan Brukner (1931-2006)*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad Branch, Institute of Archaeomythology, Santa Rosa, USA, Printed Empire Industrial Court: 1-9.
- Cărăbiș, V. 1995. *Tradiții și obiceiuri de pe Valea Jaleșului*, Editura Centrului județean al creației Populare, Târgu Jiu.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1995. *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. 1, 2, 3, Editura Artemis, București.
- Ciocan, J., Coman, M. 2015. Împrejmuiri și porți din lemn în zonele etnografice din nordul Transilvaniei, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 9-26.
- Comșa, E. 1990. Complexul neolitic de la Radovanu, in *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, VIII, Călărași: Întreprinderea Poligrafică „Arta Grafică”.
- Comșa, E. 1999-2000. Cuptoare neolitice din Muntenia, in *Buletinul Muzeului Teohari Antonescu*, V-VI, Giurgiu: 93-99.
- Evseev, I. 1994. *Dicționar de simboluri și arhetipuri culturale*, Editura Amarcord, Timișoara.
- Evseev, I. 1999. *Enciclopedia semnelor și simbolurilor culturale*, Editura Amarcord, Timișoara.
- Gimbutas, M. 1984. *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe. 6500 – 3500 BC. Myths and Cult Images*, Hampshire: BAS Printers Limited, Over Wallop.
- Gimbutas, M. 1989. *The Language of the Goddess*, Harper & Row Publishers, San Francisco.
- Ghinoiu, I. 2008. Mică enciclopedie de tradiții românești (sărbători, obiceiuri, credințe, mitologie), Editura Agora, București.
- Golan, A. 2003. *Prehistoric Religion. Mythology. Symbolism*, Ierusalem.
- Golban, V. 1983. *Estetica ceremonialului social în obiceiuri*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București.
- Hansen, S. 2007. *Bilder von Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur antropomorphen Plastik der Jüngsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*, I – II, Mainz: Philip von Zabern.
- Hașotti, P. 1997. *Epoca neolitică în Dobrogea*, Bibliotheca Tomitana, I, Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie, Constanța.
<http://dragusanul.ro/simbolistica-ancestrala-a-manastirii-moldovita>.
- Jovanović, B. 2006. Gradac phase of the Vinča culture: origin of a typological innovation. In N. Tasić, C. Grozdanov (eds.), *Homage to Milutin Garašanin*, Belgrade, SASA Special Editions: 221-234.
- Kernbach, V. 1978. *Miturile esențiale. Antologie de texte cu introducere în mitologie, comentarii critice și note de referință*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București.
- Kernbach, V. 1989. *Dicționar de mitologie generală*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București.
- Kespi, J. M. 2003. *Omul și simbolurile sale în Medicina tradițională chineză*, Editura Semne, București.
- László, A. 2000. Some Data on House-Building Techniques and Foundation Rites in the Ariușd-Cucuteni Culture, in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, VII, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași: 245-252.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2003. Pâinea, grâul și râșnitul sacru în neolitic, in *Tibiscum*, XI, Caransebeș: 65-86.

- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2001. Lazarovici, Gh., Drașovean, Fl., Maxim, Z., *Parța. Monografie arheologică*, vol. I/1, I/2, Bibliotheca Historica et Archaeologica Banatica, XIII, Editura Waldpress, Timișoara.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2006. *Arhitectura Neoliticului și Epocii Cuprului din România, I, Neoliticul*, Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, IV, Editura Trinitas-Editura Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași.
- Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici Gh., 2007. *Arhitectura Neoliticului și Epocii Cuprului din România, II, Epoca Cuprului*, Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, VIII, Editura Trinitas-Editura Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași.
- Lazarovici, C.-M. *et alii*, 2009. Lazarovici, C.-M., Lazarovici, Gh., Țurcanu, S., *Cucuteni. A Great Civilization of the Prehistoric World*, L. Stratulat (ed.), Editura Palatul Culturii, Iași.
- Lazarovici, M., Lazarovici, Gh. 2012. *Ruginoasa - Dealul Drăghici: monografie arheologică*, Bibliotheca Archaeologica Moldaviae, XX, Editura Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava.
- Maxim *et alii*, 2009. Maxim, Z., Lazarovici, G., Lazarovici, C.-M., Merlini, M., Images from the Exhibition and the Catalogue of Signs. In Z. Maxim, J. Marler, V. Crișan (eds), *The Danube Script in light of the Turdaș and Tărtăria discoveries*, Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca.
- Maxim, Z. 1999. *Neo-Eneoliticul din Transilvania. Date arheologice și matematico-statistice*, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, XIX, Cluj-Napoca: PRINTart.
- Maxim, Z. 2000. Altars from the Starčevo-Criș and Vinča Cultures, in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica*, VII, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza” Iași: 121-130.
- Merlini, M. 2009. Neolithic and Copper Age Lunar-Based Calendar keepings from Southeastern Europe, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, Editura Argonaut: 260-275.
- Motica, G. 2015. "Cândva altar domestic, cuptorul... - La Blouse Roumaine" (Baking Easter Ritual Bread in Țara Lăpușului since Neolithic to Modern Times), in Țara Lăpușului, Mamaramureș, Fotomotica, <https://www.facebook.com/LaBlouseRoumaine10/photos/a.../>
- Muscă, V. 1994. *Introducere în filosofia lui Platon*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca.
- Neagu, M. 2000. Comunitățile Dudești-Cernica din centrul și sud-estul Câmpiei Române, in *Istro-Pontica*, Tulcea: 53-66.
- Preoteasa, C. 2014. Rituri de fundare cucuteniene legate de sanctuarul cu etaj de la Poduri (județul Bacău), in *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie*, I/1 – *In memoriam Liviu Măruia*, Timișoara, Szeged, JATEPress Kiadó: 91-114.
- Szücs-Csillik, I.; Maxim, Z. 2015. Goddess of nocturnal light at Parța. In *Arheovest. Interdisciplinaritate în Arheologie și Istorie*, III/2 – *In memoriam Florin Medeleț (1943-2005)*, Timișoara, JATEPress Kiadó, Szeged: 605-620.
- Szücs-Csillik, I.; Maxim, Z. 2015a. Luna – zeița luminii nocturne, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca: 259-282.
- Todorova, H. 1986. Kameno- medhnato epoha v Bulgarija, Sofia.
- Ursulescu, N., Tencariu F. A. 2007. Noi date privind arhitectura locuințelor din cultura Precucuteni. In N. Ursulescu (ed.), *Dimensiunea europeană a civilizației eneolitice est-carpătice*, Iași: 131-156.

Ursulescu *et alii*, 2002. Ursulescu, N., Boghian, D., Haimovici, S., Cotiugă, V., Coroliuc, A., Cercetări interdisciplinare în aşezarea precucuteniană de la Târgu Frumos (jud. Iaşi). Aportul arheozoologiei, in *Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, I, Sibiu: 29-54.

Varro. *Re Rustica*: I, 1.

Winn, S. M. 2009. The Danube (Old European) Script. Ritual use of signs in the Balkan-Danube Region c. 5200-3500 BC. In J. Marler, M. Robbins Dexter (eds.), *Signs of Civilization. Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe, Dedicated to Bogdan Brukner (1931-2006)*, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad Branch, Institute of Archaeomythology, Santa Rosa, USA, Printed Empire Industrial Court: 49-62.

MEGALITHIC CONSTRUCTIONS AND MEGALITHIC BLOCKS WITH SACRED SIGNS AND SYMBOLS IN THE NORTHERN AREA OF THE EASTERN CARPATHIANS

**Gheorghe Lazarovici
and contributors**

Key words: *Eastern Carpathians, Teasc Mountain, stones and megaliths with signs; Popești; Vătava; Gura Haitii.*

Abstract: *We have presented other stones and megaliths with signs on the Teasc Mountain, as well as in other zones, such as Popești, Vătava and Gura Haitii. The signs found on these stones have been analyzed in relation to the others, previously presented. At the same time we tried to find their correspondents in the codes of our databases (those for sanctuaries or signs). No definitive conclusions can be drawn, many of the discovered signs having a wide representation from prehistory until historical times. Some of the signs can be related with open prehistoric sanctuaries (in open air), others are later, being in relation with several mountain activities (shepherding), wars etc.*

As a result of the publication of two studies about the sanctuaries in the open air and the roads towards the sanctuaries, several colleagues and amateurs, through the ones we collaborated with¹, brought to our attention the existence of other megalithic blocks with signs and symbols. To thank them, but also to raise interest in continuing to collect such information about this kind of item, we found it beneficial to take them as collaborators and thus to form teams and broaden the research area.

We will also point out that we have come back and researched again, in different lighting and seasons, and with another experience, the old observations, in order to enrich, complete or correct the often insufficient information and documentation.

The signs and symbols on stones, either in caves or on megalithic stones are immortal. They mark: sacred sites or places, the place of religious ceremonies²; shrines or sanctuaries in open air when there are several, places for meeting and initiation of hunters³; places used by the shepherds or cross roads or places where the shepherds gather for measuring⁴; fairs for exchanges between mountains and plains; or places for *Nedeia* (open-air festivals, fairs) which in Banat also stand for parish fairs.

The Northern part of the Eastern Carpathians

Our researches in the Eastern Carpathians concentrated on the northern area around the Toplița-Gheorghieni Depression, and in the south from the Curving Carpathians (Carpații de curbură) towards the north.

¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011.

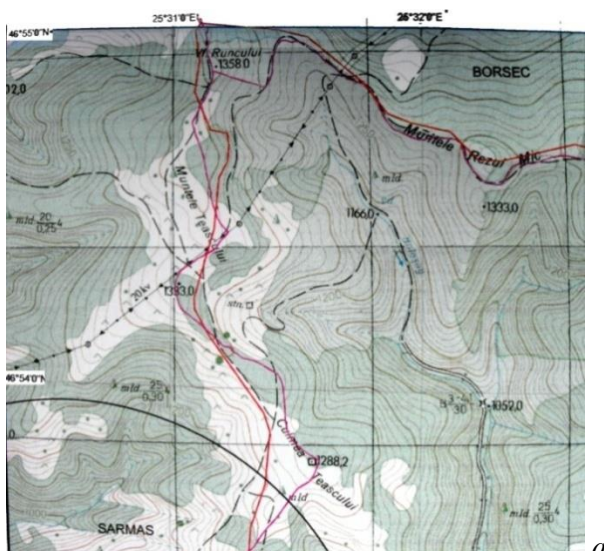
² Chirica V., Chirica V.-C. 2016, key words: 9 ff.; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă, 2016: 481.

³ Leuven, 1981: 12; Lazarovici Gh., 1988; 1989; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001, I.1: 294; 2011; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă, 2016: 451, 456, 459, 467, 470; Chirica V., Chirica V.-C. 2016: 9 ff.; Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016: 85, 102.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2015: 92-93, 101, 123, 159, 192.

1. New megaliths and written stones on the Teasc Mountain

Gheorghe Lazarovici*, Cosmin Suciu**, Adela Kovács***, Alexandru Kovács****



a



Fig. 1. Mount Teasc and the borders of the communes (Sc. 1:25.000).

In 2013 a new expedition was undertaken in collaboration with Cosmin Suciu, Adela Kovács and Alexandru Kovács, on this occasion new megalithic being discovered blocks marked with numbers from 55 to 71. Before the 2013 expedition on Mount Teasc, the employees of the Romanian Broadcast Station and the shepherds in the area, who followed our previous investigations, informed us of other stones with signs that did not have our inventory number. Later we numbered them, but we did not write the number on them, nor did we put a wooden peg as a sign, as we did with the ones previously marked.

The **rock T47**, not located precisely, has a border with three rows and above some letters: r₁..IV.A / ... r₂ / PV.-I..L OI ..LA. r₃ / C.... 1881.. 931. It is clear that it is written by a shepherd who lived between 1881-1931; we do not exclude that these notes may have been written by someone else or they show the year they were written.

The habit of writing on stones we met in the case of Coșarță, most likely dead in the pasture; the descendants put a stone, or he left his name as a reminder of the years spent as a shepherd on the mountain, imitated by others¹.

¹ At the stones on the Teasc Mountain (T): T18, T29, T30, T48; Bibl. Lazatovici Gh. *et alii*, 2015: fig. 36, 49, 50a.

*Universitatea Lucian Blaga, Sibiu, Romania: ghlazarovici@yahoo.com; **Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara, Romania: cos_suciu@yahoo.com; ***Muzeul Județean Botoșani: adelina_ab@yahoo.com; ****Muzeul Bucovinei, Suceava, Romania.



Fig. 2. Rock 47.

baci, usually the master of the sheepfold).

Rock T48 not located precisely. On three rows is written the name POPA CHIRILA/the date H or 4/MAI 1934 or [9].

It is interesting in the area this habit of writing on stones that was born as a result of schooling, very likely by imitation or by teachers who have heard about signs and tried to explain to children the meaning of the writings.

Rock T49 (fig. 3b). Not precisely located. It has three plane sides, and on one is written a little sloppy, with a metal tool, the name BAC (perhaps



a



b



c

Fig. 3. Rock T48; b, T49; c, T50.

Rock T50 (fig. 3c). The rock was found in a secondary position, near the power plant, being pulled out by an excavator while digging the ditches for the new mobile phone stations.

Unfortunately the works were not supervised by the employees of the Harghita County Patrimony Directorate. The rock is a model for comparison when similar signs are found. In the incisions there are no deposits of moss¹.

The Hearth T51 (fig. 4).



Fig. 4. The hearth.

Two rocks have been buried in the clearing, in vertical position, but we did not find traces of fire around them². We believe they might have belonged to a hearth, but they could also have been supports for a larger pillar.



a



b

Fig. 5. a, Rock T52; b, Rock T53.

¹ We found similar situations on Muntele Mic/Small Mountain, in Banat, on the edge of a road made with a bulldozer, which left similar marks, and there were also no signs of moss.

² We had neither the intention, nor the appropriate tools to excavate and verify. At Gura Baciului we had a similar situation, but the traces of charcoal were recent and observable.



Fig. 6. Block with recent traces left by a bulldozer.

since the Roman Period².

We cannot ignore the connection to the name Teasc (-"winepress"-), such large and heavy stones being needed in the winepresses. There seem to be other, older signs, but the lighting was not appropriate for visualisation.

Rock T54 (fig. 6). We show this rock as an example of the recent traces left by the excavators that worked on the relay stations, this kind of signs cannot be confused with the old ones.

Some of the points were previously reported and published, but T55 to T71 were gathered in different periods and in the 2013 campaign (fig. 1b). As one can see, Mount Teasc (1383 m)³ and *Culmea Teascului* are between the borders of the communes Sărmaș, the town of Borsec and Jolotca. The *Culmea Teascului* descends to Ditrău (see T52).

We searched only the Teasc Mount, a stone at Gruietu's sheepfold below Mount Runc (1358m) and another on the edge of the hamlet.

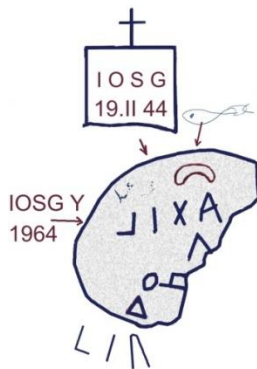


Fig. 7. Rock T55.

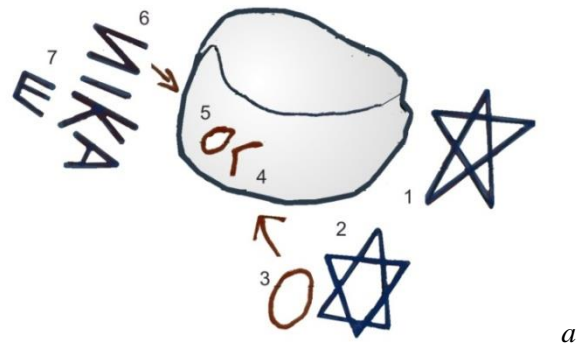
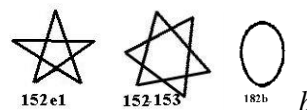


Fig. 8. a, Rock T56; b, Rock T57; b, DS codes.



¹ According to the description of I. Kovács, the spring might be the one named *the Spring of Outlaws* (Rom. *Izvorul Haiducilor*, Hung. *Tolvajok Kutja*).

² Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: 53, fig. 2 and next, fig. 3-4, 8-9.

³ Unfortunately the photos with details of these items were stored on an external Hard Disk and were lost. We only have the sketches from the diary, and we worked on these sketches.

The rocks have been located with the GPS of Cosmin Suci, which had smaller errors than ours. At each expedition we have found new rocks with signs.

Rock T55 (fig. 7)¹ (GPS N 46°54'20.3'' E 025°30'55.4''). The rock served as a shelter pit for two persons. On one side there is a figure in the shape of an 8 turned sideways or a fish (?). On the other sides there are several signs and writings, most likely from the period of the Second World War.

In a border with a cross appears JOSG 12.II.1944, but also another name JOSG Y (1956), probably a relative of the first, who visited the place and also wrote. On the central side there is a crescent, and under it UIXA/A ... O .. On the third side appears Î[i]A (probably Ilia), and on the fourth side NICOLAI> IMRE.

We mentioned in the Gruetu area too the presence of numerous individual holes from the time of the war (rock T. 33)².

Rock T56, fig. 8 (GPS N 46°54'350'' E 25°30'902'' ▲ 1325 m), we believe it is also related to the trenches from WWII, being located at approx. 20 m on the road between Sărmaș and Gălăuțaș. From the drawings on the sides of the rock it results – from the symbols and writing – that there were two soldiers, one Russian and one Jewish, each with his symbols, and the Russian also wrote NIKA (probably a name from Nicholas or Nica). There is also a shchi letter (from the Russian ш or щ).

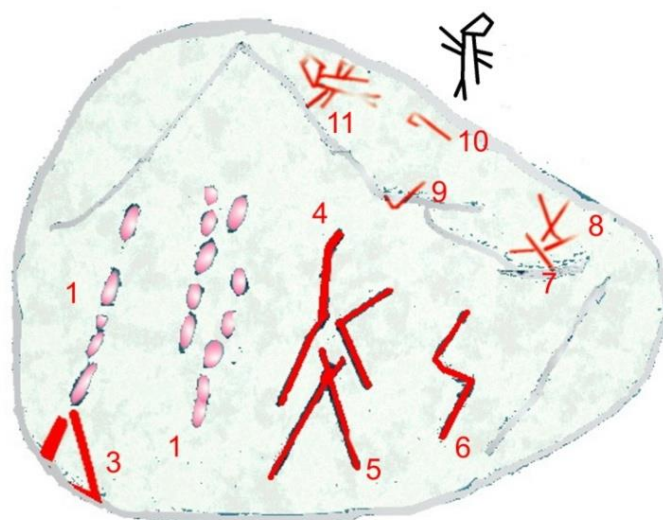
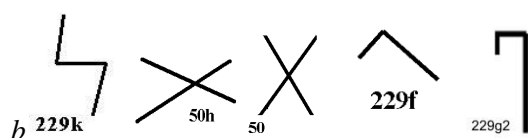


Fig. 9. a. Rock T57; b, DS codes.



Rock T57, fig. 9 (GPS N 46°54'20.8'' E 25°30'52.4'', ▲ 1324 m), located on the border of Sărmaș, has the following engravings: 1) on the face a row of alveoli in three rows: two adjacent, the first with six alveoli, the second with five; 2) one farther with five alveoli; 3) the alveoli have a triangle at the lower end that goes on an inner part of the stone. In the central part and to the left there are three other signs (codes fig. 2c *Danube Script* (further DS): 4) a K; 5.7-8) X-s, 6) sign, 9) hook, 10) crutch, 11), stylized human figure, from double lines³. We notice double figures⁴, but also alveoli or points⁵ as on other stones on *Teasc*

¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2015; 2016.

² Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2014: Rock 33; 2015.

³ On Mount Teasc there are such figures on other rocks too: Rock I, III, V, VI, IX, 20, 36, 65, 70: Kovács I., 1914; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2014.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2014; 2015, rocks 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 16.

⁵ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2014; 2015, rocks 17, 22, 4 partially, 28. We highlight that detailed photos are necessary, because some of the rocks have inclusions (possibly dissolved volcanic ash), which might leave gaps if they fall from the rock.

Mountain (the new markings have T from Teasc and current number).

Rock T58, fig. 10a (GPS N 46°54'25.4'' E 025°30'51.3'' ▲ 1324 m). It is a block located near the road on the west side of Teasc Mount, west of the TVR-Radio Relay Station at approx. 5 m west from the road to Sărmaş. There are three rows of letters, one with ligatures (blurry) then \wedge D / TM I (tm with ligature).

Rock T59, fig. 10b (GPS N 46°54'27.7'' E 25°30'47.2'' ▲ 1327 m). The stone is located on the edge of the water pipe ditch at the TVR-Radio station at the spring *La troace*. There are three signs on it: 1) more recent (possibly from the excavator with which the ditch was dug, the other two older); 2) a flower (DS F1); 3) the letter D, not completed (DS 236a)¹. We do not know if it is intentional, the light being inappropriate at the moment of the shooting.

Rock 60, fig. 11 (GPS N 46°54'27.0'' E 025°30'54.9'' ▲ 1324 m). It is tronconic rock, similar in shape to the „Idol” (T28) and the „Menhir” (T51).

The stone was moved twice, once it was on the edge of a pit dug by soldiers, and then it was pulled out with the excavator to insert the cables of the COSMOTE station. On one face of the stone, the letters H I appear, on another direction TI and separately a U. On the other side is VONK, probably all abbreviations. We believe that the soldiers who stood in those individual shelters during the Second World War left their initials for posterity; they must be memorized having to fight for the ideals or interests of their countries. **Rock T61** (GPS N 46°54'27.4'' E 025°31'092'' ▲ 1326 m). On the side of the road at the entrance of the clearing of the Relay, across the track from Rock T12 was found a limestone block cut with the saw, having the dimensions of 14 x 18 x 13 cm. A stone ax blade was found in its' neighbourhood. It was most likely brought from somewhere else, here being no limestone rocks. It may be from the period of the building of the Relay, or it was thrown together with the ax blade during the cutting of the forest, before István Kovács's expedition.

Rock T62, fig. 5 (GPS N 46°54'24.1'' E 025°31'07.4'') was on the side of the road. The signs were well preserved; they did not have moss deposits, so we have some doubts about the age of the signs. One can see an X and a chrismon, as it is a Christian invocation. As signs, we notice a double Y (DS 131a-c the name of the constellation is The Dog) and chrismon (DS 50k).

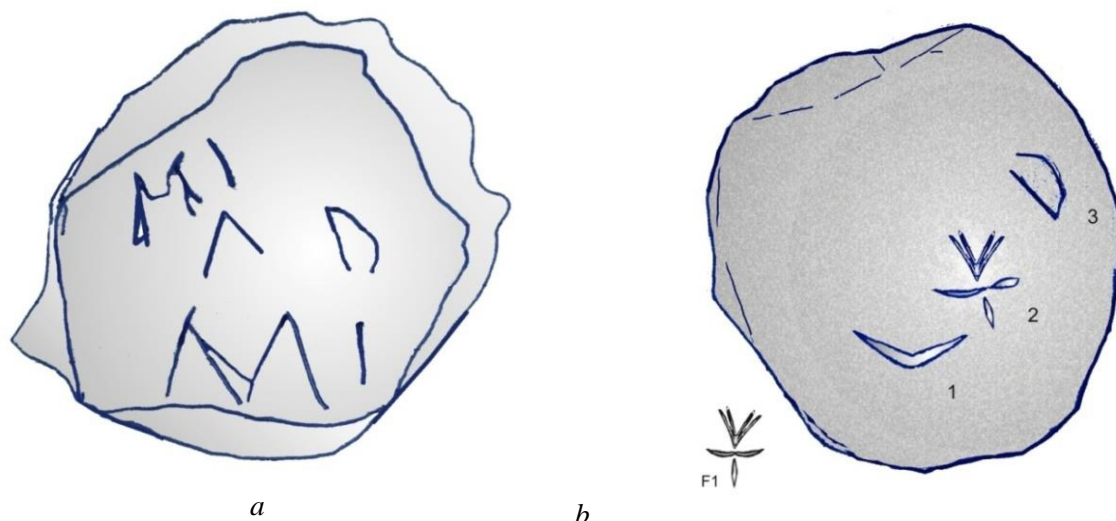


Fig. 10. a..Rock T58 with letters; b, Rock T59.

¹ DS 236a appears on *tablet 2 from Tărtăria*, Vlăssă, 1962; 1964; 1976, fig. 7/1=8/1; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: 167; *Nandru*: Torma, 1879: pl. IV5a-b; Vlăssă, 1970: 19; Makkay, 1990: fig. 16/1; Winn, 1981: 140, Nandru 1 and 2.

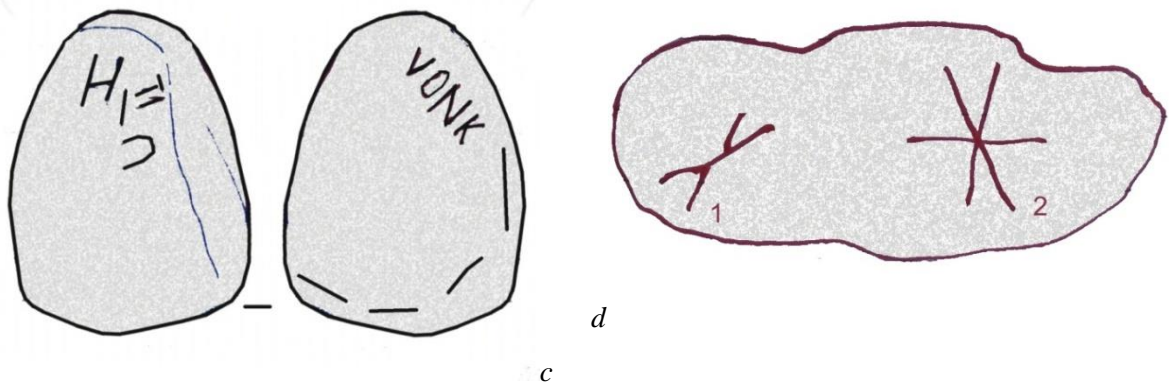


Fig. 10. c, Rock T60 with recent signs; d, Rock T62.

Rock T63, Fundoaia hamlet. It was discovered on the edge of the access road towards the clearing, widened with a bulldozer. It has a deep horizontal cut, probably realised recently with a chisel.

Rock T64, (GPS N 46°54'20.3'' E 025°30'.56.1'' ▲1323 m) is a rock located near a firing hole, named COS M 19.

Rock T65, fig. 11a (GPS N 46°30'54.0'' E 025°30'54.0'') is a rock with old signs, based on the instruments and realisation technique. There are fine double incisions, sometimes wider, with correspondences in the DS codes ob, 302b, 247a var., 86.

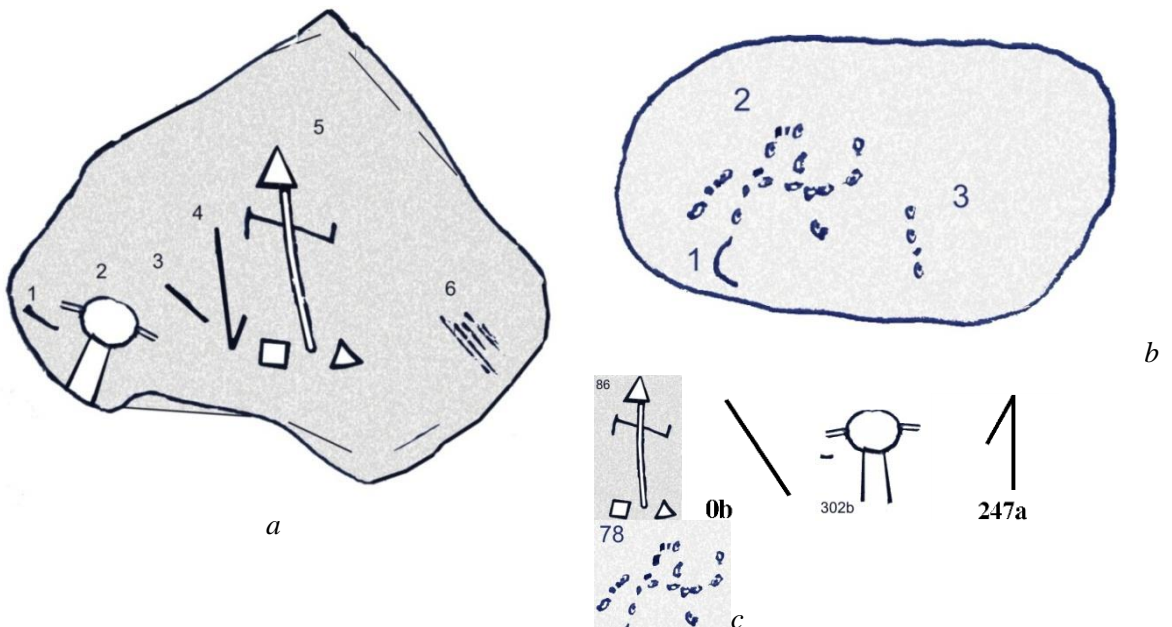
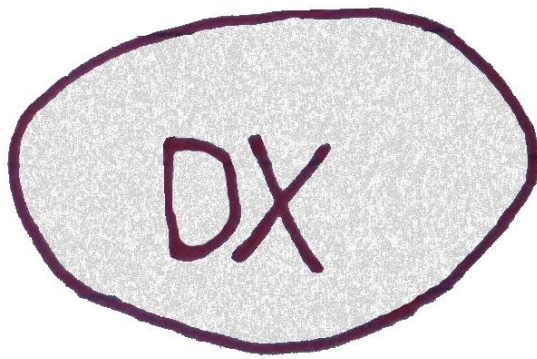
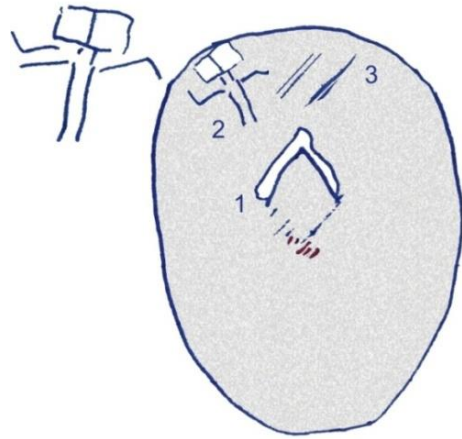


Fig. 11. Rocks: a, T65, preistoric figures; b, T66, DS codes; c, DS codes; d, T67 letters; e, T68 figures.



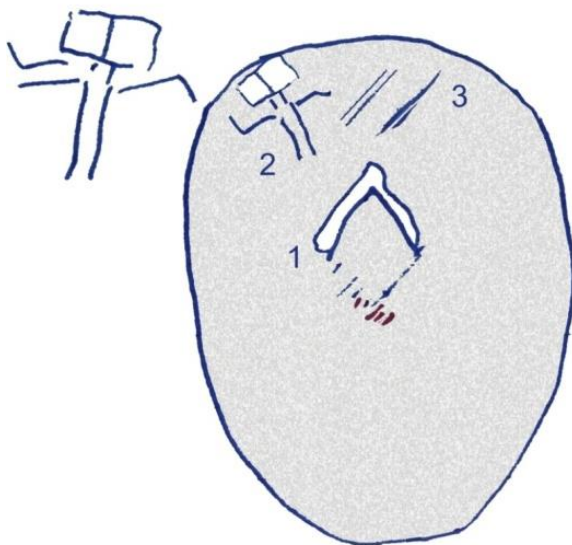
d



e

The signs are very interesting, especially since two of them are new codes (DS 302b and 86), as well as the square and the triangle accompanying the arrow. Unfortunately, we did not analyze the orientation of the rock, to see whether figure 5 points to a certain astronomical direction or it is connected to roads, access routes to geographical areas.

Rock T66, fig. 11b (GPS N 46°524'42.6'' E 025°31'042'') is located at about 10-12 m from the water pipe, and the marks on it show that it was rolled away from the ditch. The exact location of provenance is unknown. The signs are realised through incisions (1) or alveoli (2 and 3).

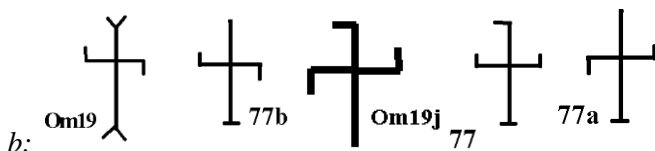


a

Rock T67, fig. 11d (GPS N 46°54'45.1'' E 025°30'91.9'' ▲1340 m). It was discovered in the vicinity of the ditch of the water pipe. The rock is at about 12 m from the pipe.

Rock T68, fig. 12 (GPS Lazarovici, further LG, no. 348 N 46°54'46.4'' E 025°30'796''). It is also shaped like a menhir, with the lower part conical, fit for burying. The mouth seems to be a diamond with a low-hanging moustache (fig. 12.1).

Above the head there is a human figure with the arms raised in prayer, praying for rain, in our opinion: the right hand towards the Sky, the left towards



b:

Fig. 12. Rock T68, menhir 3.

the *Earth*, as it appears in several depictions from the Neolithic, but also signs and symbols from the DS or applications (fig. 12b)¹. There also is a representation with square head (there were representations with diamond and triangle shaped heads, but not with square).

Rock 69, fig. 13 Menhir 4 (GPS N 46°54'47.0'' E 025°30'80.3'' ▲ 1322 m). The item was discovered by Alexandru Kovács and the station operators, namely Raita Ion, who periodically checks the pumps at *Troace* by walking along the station's water supply pipeline.

This is the case with the menhir of fig. 13. Its conical shape is similar to the others. The dimensions are close, but none exceeds 70 cm. The head is marked by a zigzag line (fig. 13a), partly natural, partly completed by deepening. The nose seems to suggest a house in our drawing, but other figures and a mouth with a moustache or a beard slightly marked (fig. 13c markings 3-4) appear if the light is almost parallel to the surface. On the left seems to be an animal, but there may be natural ruptures on which very little intervention was necessary.

The lower part was concave (fig. 12i), most likely in order to increase stability or it was situated on something. Unfortunately, we could not identify the place of origin in the near vicinity.



Fig. 13. a-e: Rock T69 The menhir, photographs from different angles.

¹ Teasc, *Rock V*: Kovács I., 1914; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011, fig. 18.3g; *Turdaş*: Roska, 1941: fig. 111/6, 131.25; *Parța* diggings Lazarovici Gh., Germann: Germann, 1986: fig. 50c; Makkay, 1990: fig. 20.13; a.s.o.

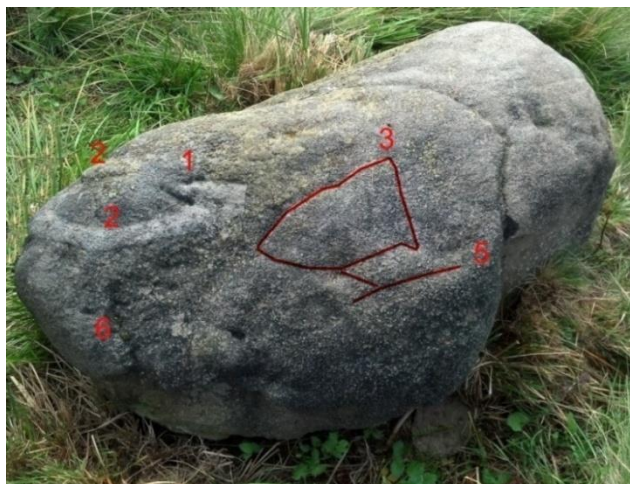


Fig. 13 f-g, h-i. Rock T69; photographs from different angles, with different lights.

Rock T70, fig. 14 (GPS LG N 46°54'53.5'' E 025°30'733''). On the edge of the west road to the forest, a human figure with a round head appears on a stone, three lines representing the body, the legs and arms spread. We called the head and body "jellyfish" (figure 14). This figure is not very clear, being worn out in time. There is an X next to it.

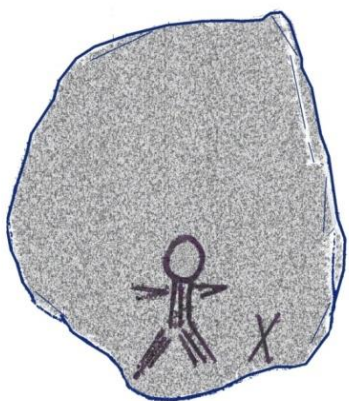


Fig. 14. Rock T70.

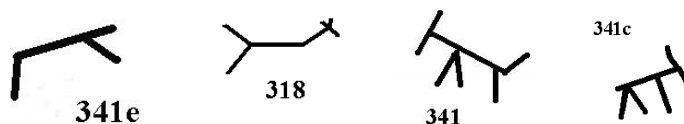


Fig. 15. Rock T71 fine lines.

Rock T71, fig. 15 (GPS LG N 46°54'55.8" E 025°30'72.0" ▲ 1327 m) has several flat surfaces, and on one of them there are three parallel incisions, with a stylised animal above them, as we often have in DS (fig. 15b¹), but since it is incomplete, it is difficult to be sure.



Fig. 15a-c: a-b, Rock T72; c, DS codes.



Rocks T72-T73, fig. 16a, 16b, were along the power line of the telephony stations, signalled to us later. They both had circles, and on T72 some lines went down looking like a human figure, the colleagues considered it a jellyfish, but in mountainous areas such specimens were hard to meet.

Reviewing the many items with dedications to Jesus Christ or to Christ and God, we believe that they were written by the shepherds or by lumberjacks² over time. Those with finer designs, perhaps made with flint tools, may be prehistoric. Many are from recent times suggesting events that happened on the mountain.

* * *

2. The megalith of Popești (formerly Fărcașa, Neamț County)

Gheorghe Lazarovici, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici*,

Iuliu Cristi Pop, Toplița, cristi_popic@yahoo.com,

Erik Rebendici, Toplița, rebendicierik@yahoo.com

The two co-authors of the study, collaborators on the research of other mountain areas with megaliths with signs³, have signalled a new megalith in 2013, leading us to visit the place.

¹ Karanovo: Schier, 2002: Abb. II/8.

² I. Kovacs reminds of the wood cutting at the time (1910), and the transportation of the lumber was made with ox wagons.

* Institutul de Arheologie Iași, Romania: magdamantu@yahoo.com.



a



b

Fig. 16. Popești – Fărcașele: a, image after Erik Rebendici; b, details of the signs.

³ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: 58 f., fig. 4b-5, 23, 26, 20-24.

We were unable to gather more information on the spot, and our photographs were of a lower quality than those of Erik Rebendici¹. The megalith in question is of local sandstone. The surface with the signs is very smooth. One of the corners was affected during discovery or transport.

The signs are incised with a lot of accuracy, by a secure hand. After the incision technique, the signs are made in different periods, which is why we have marked them with different colours. The latest representation is that of no. 14 and it represents a letter from the Glagolitic alphabet with the sound **eǎ** or **e**.

Since the images were not high resolution, we emphasized or marked only 15-16 signs. Some could be recent figures: 1 = 1, other letters 13 = Y, maybe v = 16 or X = 16a, b. Observing the double incision technique of most, they have the best analogies on the rocks from the Teasc Mount, a sanctuary in nature.


Bearing in mind, however, that they are all made with the same instrument, except no. 14, which is worked in another technique and which is most certainly the letter **Jo** (jota) from the Glagolitic alphabet, we think they are all older.

The signs are arranged in two rows, seven on each row, which is significant, and we think it is related to the cultic significance of the number 7. In the databases there are over 70 situations where the number 7 appears, especially related to prehistory (idols, grinders, columns, thrones, bulls, 7 eagles, etc.), so it is impossible to list them all here, especially since on other opportunities we have referred to them and debated them extensively².

The signs are arranged on two rows, seven on each row, which is significant, and we think it is related to the cultic significance of the number 7. In the databases there are over 70 situations where the number 7 appears, especially related to prehistory (idols, grinders, columns, thrones, bulls, 7 eagles, etc.), so it is impossible to list them all here, especially since on other opportunities we have referred to them and debated them extensively³.

One possibility is they are related to the days of the week.




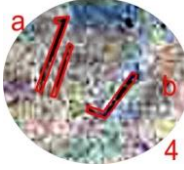


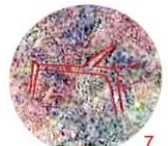




As one can see in fig. 17, the analogies go from Paleolithic to closer times. The closest analogies are at Teasc, considering the technique and the style, but there are still too few such discoveries to tell more. The most important objective for the moment is their registration and short comments, the results and some conclusions will be drawn in the future.

Fig. 17. Popești ▼	DS ▼	Locality	Bibliography ▼
	247a		Jovanović 1981, 134; Makkay 1990, 35/XXIV.1

¹ Erik Rebendici questioned the elder of the village, but none remembered where the stone came from. It might have been found during the building of the church or it might be from another place and brought to the church, as was the case in Remetea, see the upper note.

² Lazarovici Gh., 2000 and bibl.; 2009: fig. 12b; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001, I.1: 246, 286, 292, fig. 191; Lazarovici Gh., Petrescu, 2002; 2003; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 206, 228, fig. 78; and bibl. there.

³ Lazarovici Gh., 2000 and bibl.; 2009: fig. 12b; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2001, I.1: 246, 286, 292, fig. 191; Lazarovici Gh., Petrescu, 2002; 2003; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 206, 228, fig. 78; and bibl. there.

	341d Teasc 14	Teasc P14, T25 a.s.o.	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2014.1, fig. 32b4
2			
	83 84c	Cotârगाși Parta Turdaș	Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 nr. 23B; Germann 1986, p. 50c; Makkay 1990, 20/1; Roska 1941, 112/9, 135.11
	84a1	Cotârगाși	Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 nr. 23B
	0b. 162		
	Om 19i		
	Om 50	Turdaș	Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014 Su fig. 182;
	341a 341b		
	Om19i		
	Not have		
	common		
			



P13

229
common

Turdaş Roska 1941, 93/9;
Târpeşti Makkay 1990, 37/10; Masson, Merpert 1982, LXXXIII;
Teasc Kovács 1914, TPIII; Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2014.1, fig. 15.27;
Tangâru Ursulescu 1998, 103, 27/3;
Parța A 2351: Germann 1986;



16

49

49a common
over 34
instances

Lomnicrom Novotna 1983, 2; Makkay 1990, 26/3;
Cotârगाşi Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 no. 2B, 3B, 24B;
Teasc TP14 Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2014.1, fig. 32a1;
Ghirbom Aldea 1974, 40-47, fig. 1-4; ş.a.
Coronini fig. 7.17 Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2011, 7.17;
Vinča Srem,
Vršac - At Makkay 1990, fig. 42/12.1, 35/I.28;



16

P12, P16

P16?

V 1a

common

More than 80 All times
instances

162

Common for 28
instances



16

Common, over 50
instances

Double lines, almost all in fig. 16 from Above fig. 9, 11a, b, e, 12a, 15 and bibl.
above

In the table above we have mentioned some situations that are common (no. 10, 13, 16) and occur very frequently. If they are on idols, then we can identify some situations (sex, eyes, mouth, tattoos), but those from the mural and mobile mural art are hard to define. Conclusions based only on analogies cannot be drawn; therefore further research is needed in this place.

3. The megalith at Vătava and some mountain constructions with megaliths

The two collaborators have signalled other discoveries too of megalithic blocks, some of them with signs.

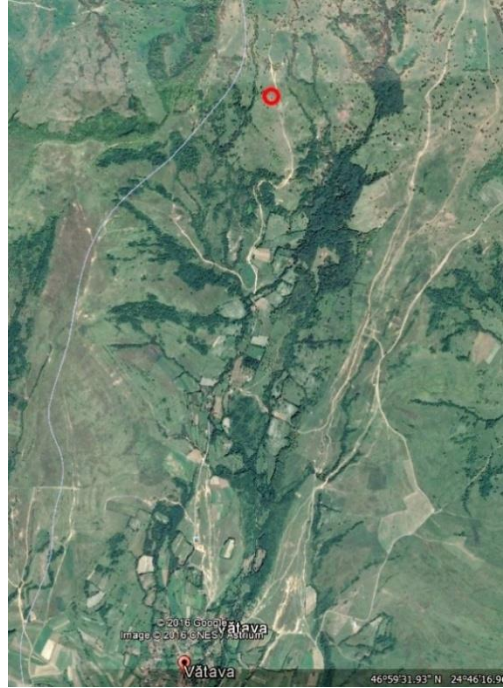


Fig. 18. Megalithic block with a solar rosette (mark 1) and a quadrilateral shape (mark 2); location.

At Vătava there is a megalithic block with a circle with six rosettes. It is often said that the rosette with 5 or 6 arms is a symbol of the Sun. The rosette with 6 petals (flower) is an ancient symbol, widely spread in the fixed and mobile mural art (lower fig. 20).

Of course, we ask a few questions: who made these signs? Why on the mountain?

Vătava lies at the eastern border of the Roman Dacia province, and further east, especially in the mountains, there lived the Free Dacians.

* * *

4. Comments on the megaliths at Gura Haitii¹

Gheorghe Lazarovici,
Ionuț Muscelanu, Bucharest,
 arcanumrosa@gmail.com

The megalithic stones were discovered in the bed of the Paltinu River, in the immediate vicinity of the village. The best proof is from Gura Haitii on Megalith 1, where the Sun, the Moon and the planets², and a series of lines related to astronomical calculations can be seen. It is not our intention to

¹ Naum *et alii*, 1988; 1988a; Cărciumaru, 1988/1989; 1996; 2010 a.s.o.

² We have a series of god quality photos and documentation made by Ionuț Muscelanu, to whom we thank this way.

debate the problem now, because we are going to go on the spot to see what's left and take digital photos of the details.

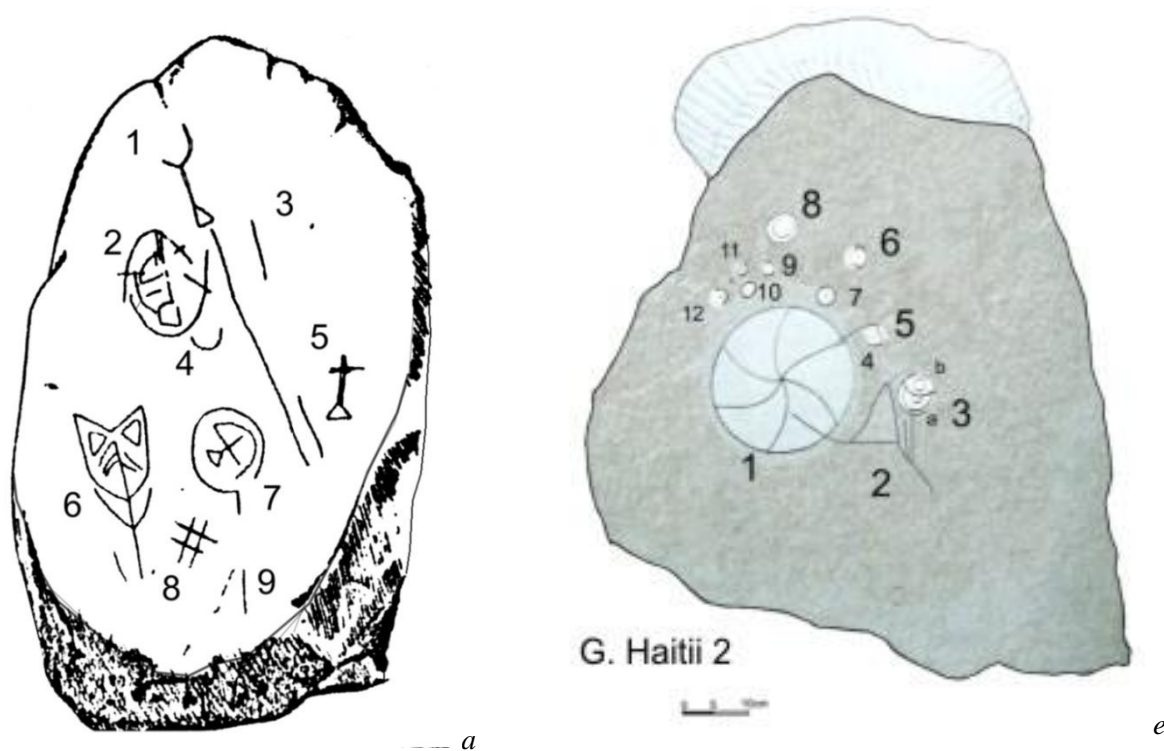
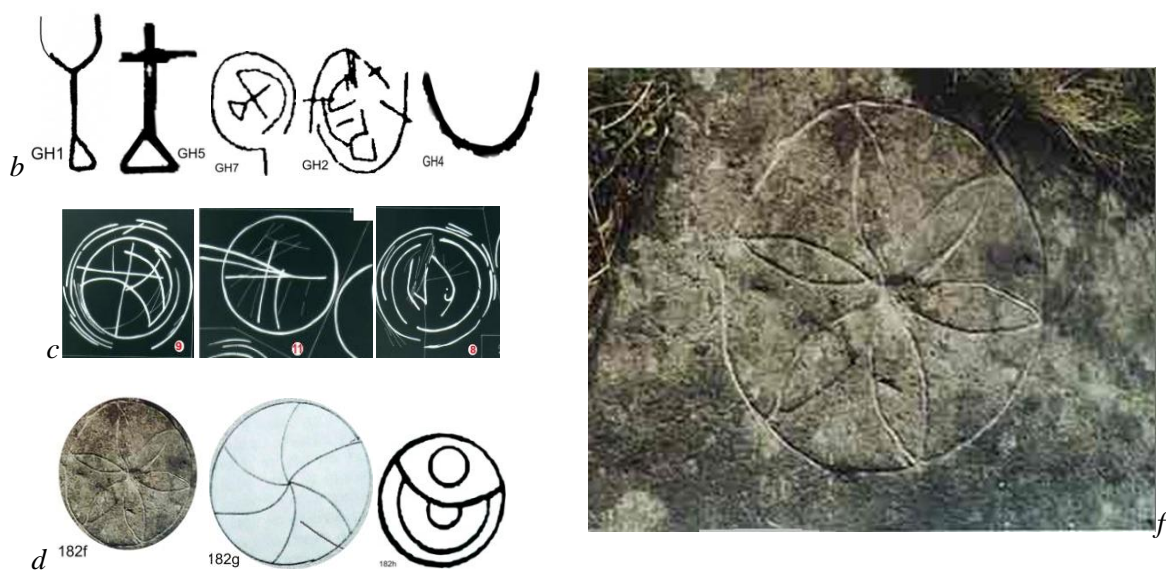


Fig. 19. Gura Haitii, after T. Naum; a, megalith 1; b, DS codes; c, Peștera Cizmei, after Cârciumar, 2010; d, Megalith 1 ▲ with the planets (rework after Naum et alii 1988); f, Megalith 4, after Roman Stecyk, fig. 6 ▼.



The engraved megaliths in the Călimani Mountains are insufficiently investigated regarding their origin and significations, so we will return to them after a detailed study of the items, which is more than necessary.

We have a series of symbols and signs that we have catalogued and introduced into our database.

The interest was started by recent researches at Rus – *ob. 6* and Rus - *Grota Mare Ob. 7.2*¹, as well as at the Gaura Cizmei Cave, a cave with well-known mural art, with images of the circle (fig. 19.c)². The rosettes are different from the Dacian ones, which usually have combinations of 4 or 8 spokes or arcs³, as we have in the Someș Riversides, either rosettes, or circles made with the compass⁴.

Some images are beyond discussions, such as 6 = mask, 3, 9 = line, 8 = network. Of the other five, numbers 2, 4, 7 relate to archeo-astronomy. Four (GH4) could represent the Moon. GH1 suggests a human figure in invocation, similar to the dancers from Valcamonica⁵. GH2 and GH7 are quite complicated mathematical calculations related to the movement of the stars, as is the case with the circles from Peștera Cizmei (fig. 18.c) at Marin Cârciu⁶.

In archaeological literature, there is an idea that the six-spoked circle represents the cardinal points and the beginning of the seasons (fig. 20.1-3)⁷. For the rosette (fig. 19d, f) there are identical analogies at Ariel Golan⁸.

We do not know to what extent these are valid in our areas, but we cannot neglect them either.

The example from Gura Haitii is significant; it is linked to astronomical calculations. How old they can be is difficult to say. Most consider them medieval, but let's not forget that we have information about our areas since the Dacians referring to calculations on the movement or change of the stars, the signs of the zodiac and others⁹.

A question arises about the twelve zodiacs (see below), but on megalith 2 (fig. 19b) there are 12 signs, and on megalith 1 there are 9 marked signs and 3 other lines (fig. 19a). The long line separates signs 3 and 5 and a short line separates the others. We cannot fail to notice the idea of lightning in some rosettes (fig. 20.4).

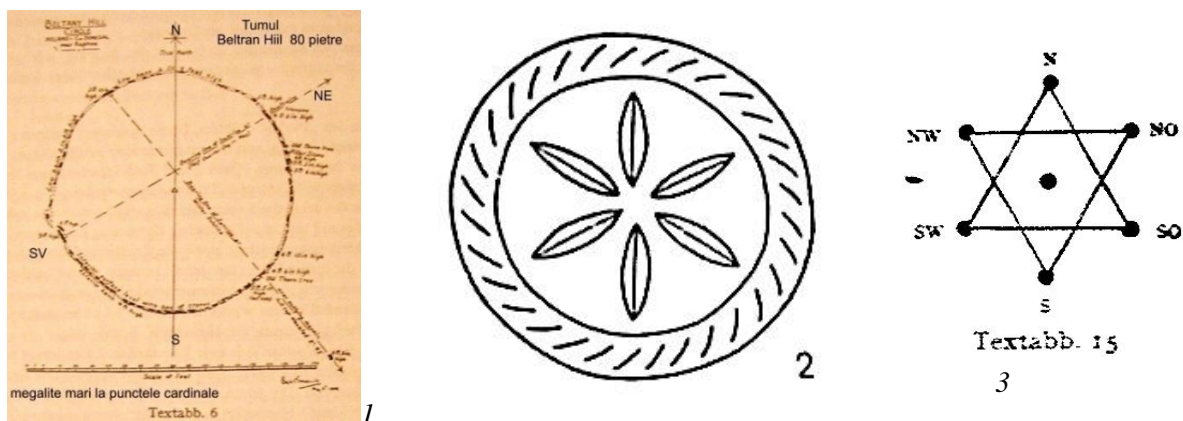


Fig. 20 .Wirth 1931: 1, Abb. 6, cardinal points; 2, Abb. 64.2 rosette with 6 arms; 3, Abb. 15, Star of David; 4, Turdaș and others ▼.

¹ Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016; 2016a.

² Cârciu, 1988-1989; 2010; a.so.

³ Crișan, 1977: 209; Iaroslavschi, 1997, most often on vessels, but also nail heads decorating the gates of Sarmizegetusa.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016a: circle with four arcs, like the leaves of the four-leafed clover.

⁵ Dansul, Roca 32.

⁶ Cârciu, 2010: fig. 33-39, 40; 1988-1989 ș.a.; Lazarovici Gh., Roman Cristian, Lazarovici C.–M. 2017, manuscript fig. 2, 15-15

⁷ Wirth, 1931: 32 f.

⁸ Golan, 2003: 166, fig. 159.A14, apud Déschelette.

⁹ Stănescu, 1999; 2015.



4

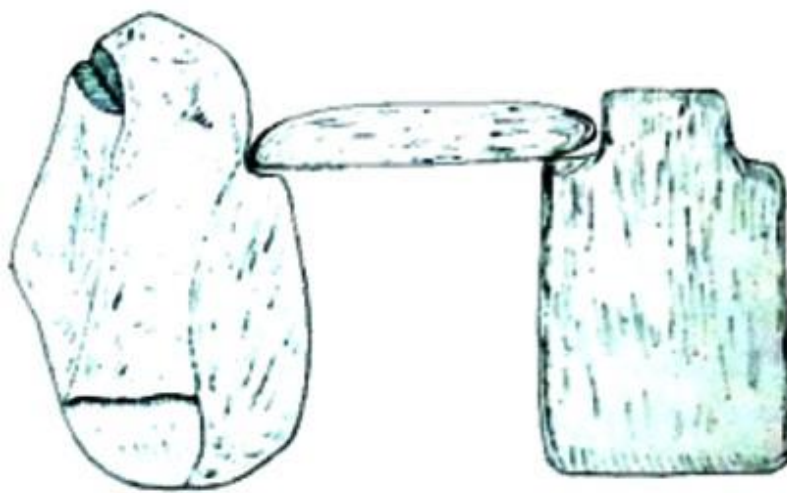


Fig. 21. Gura Haitii, reconstruction of the position of the three menhirs with signs after Naum et alii, 1988.



Fig. 22. 1-2, details of megalith 1.

In regard to the Dacian's knowledge of astronomy, we will quote from **Iordanes**, who in his **Getica** says ... about the high priest Deceneu that, while teaching the Dacians demonstrated... *the theory of the twelve signs of the zodiac, showed them the course of the planets, and all the*

astronomical secrets, and how the Moon's orbit increases and decreases, and how the fiery globe of the Sun exceeds the measure of the Earth globe and exposed to them under what names and under what signs the three hundred and forty-six stars pass in their quick way from their rise until their setting to get closer or away from the heavenly pole ... You could see one investigating the position of the sky, another the properties of herbs and shrubs, the one studying the rise and fall of the Moon, the other observing the eclipses of the sun, and how, through the rotation of the sky, the Sun wishing to reach the oriental region is taken back to the occidental region."

However, it is very difficult to show the belonging of the signs to the Dacian civilization, although the mask (fig. 19a6) is already known from the actors in the amphitheatres of Greece. We cannot say without specialized research in those places¹, whether or not they were sanctuaries in nature, a place visited especially by prehistoric historians, not by historians of the Dacian civilization, but we must admit that we do not have mountain archaeology to educate and train specialists in these fields, with the specificities of mountain research.

If for the rosettes with six arcs we have analogies in prehistory in the wood civilization of our mountains, for the circles with four or eight arcs we have many examples in the decoration of the nails and spikes that decorated the gates of the fortifications and of some constructions in the Orăștie Mountains².

The necessity of restudying the pieces is even greater as there are very small differences between the different images or drawings.

The reconstruction made with the probability of being a megalithic construction is interesting (fig. 21) and it should be considered when comparing, possibly dating the images.



¹ As we did for Teasc, at Peștera Cizmei we are only in the beginning.

² Crișan, 1977; Glodariu, Iaroslavschi, 1979; Iaroslavschi, 1997; etc.

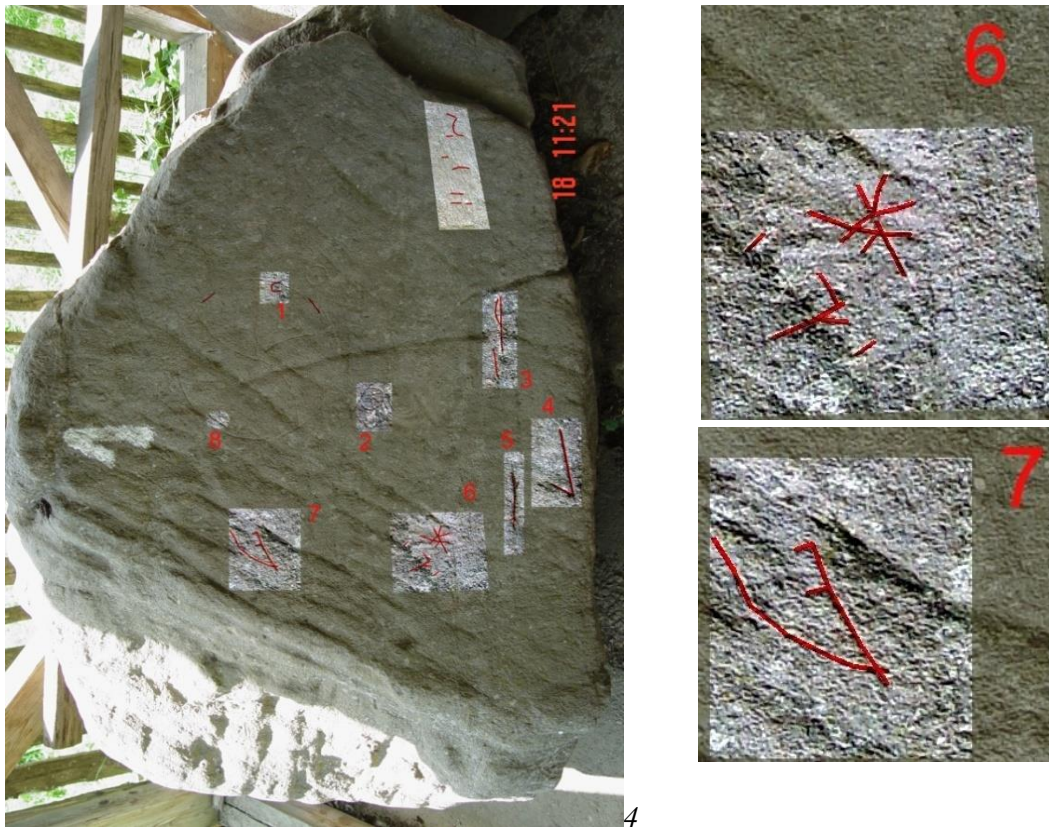


Fig. 22. 3-4, marks on megalith 1; codes 1-6, enlarged from fig. 22.3-4. ▼

From the photos taken by Ionuț Musceleanu of the pieces transported to the "Museum of Engraved Megaliths" guesthouse „Poarta Călimanului” (figure 22.1)¹, we notice some differences from the time of publication by T. Naum *et alii*. The image of the sun's eclipse is a little erased, but there are a number of new details that we have marked (fig. 22.3-4), so it is necessary to study them again and take photographs of detail with different lights.

Studying the images of I. Musceleanu with light and shadow we marked other possible signs, possible codes, marked with numbers from 1 to 7; 8 is not certain. The circles were made with compasses known to the Dacians (fig. 24d)².

We will not insist too much on the significance of the codes, because observations should be made directly on the megaliths. For code 2 (fig. 23, 24.a), according to older images, of those published by T. Naum *et al.*, we have another possible variant, an image to be checked on the object (fig. 24.b). For some we have codes in DS, others are cryptograms no. 6 = 131*6 and 7f.

The cryptogram 131*6 has other combinations related to triangles and angles that we have not analyzed, such as the variants of Psi letter (DS 130 with several variants) that sometimes define the divinity (for example the Goddess of the Moon from Turdaș, but also on the stones at Teasc and many more³).

¹ Photo Ionuț Musceleanu: on the panel at the guesthouse it is also written: attested by Prof. univ. dr. Traian Naum and geologist Emil Butnaru.

² Iaroslavschi, 1997: pl. XLIX.

³ *Neolithic*: Winn, 198: Jela 4; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: fig. 22b; Makkay, 1990: fig. 21/a; on *megaliths* Kovács I. 1914: rock III; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2014: fig. 15d; Teodor, 2003: fig. 5, no. 14B considered runes.



Fig. 23. Gura Haitii: ▲ Photo, Ionu¹ Musceleanu: on the panel of the „museum”-gazebo it is written „Attested by Prof. univ. dr. Traian Naum and geologist Emil Butnaru”.

From the above analyzes we can conclude that they were made by characters with broad knowledge in astronomy, but also from various mythologies.

The problem that arises is whether these were megalithic constructions, then the signs could be from the Bronze Age.



a



b

Fig. 24. Gura Haitii, Megalith 1, variant for code 2.

We do not have direct evidence about paleo-astronomic knowledge, but at that time in Egypt the astronomical knowledge was at a high level... Did some of it reach our areas? It is a matter to be researched. It is possible, however, that the engraving of the signs on megaliths was done later, in the Dacian Age or thereafter. Let us not forget the knowledge of the Dacian priests or the myths mentioned by Herodotus and other writers about the Dacians, the Getae, Deceneus, Zamolxis¹.

¹ Iordanes, *Getica*, 69-70, translation by Popa Liseanu; Platon *Carmides* 5; Daicoviciu H., 1965: 184 ff.

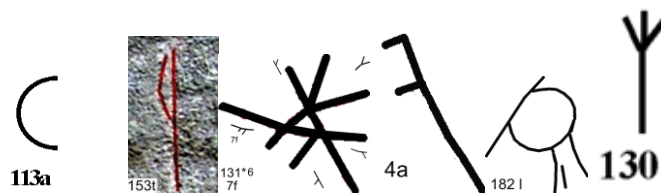
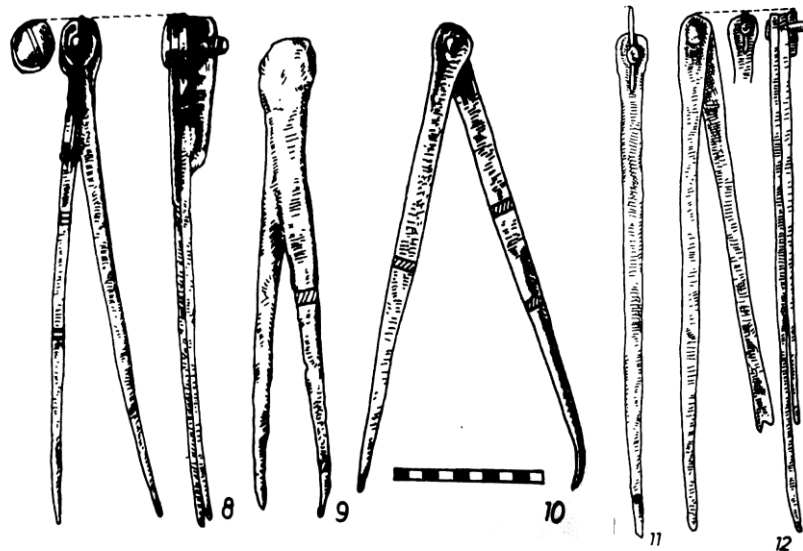


Fig. 24. Gura Haitii, Megalith ▲ c, DS codes; d, Dacian compass ▼.



Moreover, without advanced scientific and technical knowledge from architecture, mathematical calculations, astronomy, it was not possible to build the huge temples and sanctuaries in the Orăștie Mountains. About the knowledge of applied astronomy well-known specialists have written¹.

Another problem related to the dating of solar eclipses in the Gura Haitii area there are predictions made by astronomers (for 47°11'58''N și 25°16'03'' E ▲ 100 m) back to the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, more precisely from May 22, 1468, there were approx. 100 periods of partial eclipses and 10 total eclipses, in which the eclipses in the neighbourhood of Gura Haitii could be seen.

References

- Cârciumaru, M. 1988/1989. Répères de l'art rupestre préhistorique en Roumanie, in *Ars Praehistorica*, t. VI-VIII, 1988/1989: 131-144.
- Cârciumaru, M. 1996a. Voce Gura Haitii, în *Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, II, D-L, 1996: 209-210.
- Cârciumaru, M. 2010. Contributions à la connaissance de l'art préhistorique de Roumanie, in *Annales d'Université Valahia Tâgoviște, Section d'Archaeologie et d'Histoire*, Tome XII, No. 1: 39-83; www.annalesfsu.ro.
- Chirica V., Chirica V.-C. 2016. Decouvertes archeologiques concernant les manifestations cultiques dans les sanctuaries paléolithiques de l'Europe, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium ***From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava*,

¹ Stănescu, 1987; 1990; 1999; 2015.

- Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2016: 9-42.
- Crișan, I. H. 1977. *Burebista și epoca sa*. Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1977.
- Daicoviciu H. 1965: *Dacii*, Ed. Științifică, București, 1965.
- Germann, K. 1986. Archäologische Bekentnis, manuscris referitor la descoperiri din apă și din săpăturile de la Parța despre obiectele de cult.
- Glodariu, I., Iaroslavschi, E. 1979. *Civilizația fierului la daci*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979.
- Golan, A. 2003: *Prehistoric religion: mythology, symbolism*, Jerusalem, 2003.
- Iaroslavschi, E. 1997. *Tehnica la daci*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997.
- Kovács, I. 1914. A tászoktetői sziklakarczolatok, in *Dolgozátok*-Cluj, V: 229-276.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 1988. Venus de Zăuan. Despre credințele și practicile magico-religioase (Partea I-a), in *Acta Musei Porolisensis*, XII, 1988: 25-70.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 1989. Das neolithische Heiligtum von Parța, in *Varia Arheologica, II, Neolithic of Southeastern Europe and its Near Eastern Connections*, 1989: 149-174.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2000. The main Problems of the cultural Complex CCTLNI, in *Analele Banatului*, VII-VIII, 2000: 35-52.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2009. Database for Signs and Symbols of Spiritual Life, in J. Marler, M. R. Dexter (eds.), *Signs of Civilisation. Neolithic Symbol System of Southeast Europe*, Sebastopol-Novı Sad, 2009: 63-86.
- Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă D.-L. 2016. About symbols and signs on rock sanctuaries, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2016: 451- 479.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M. 2014. Chapter 9. About the great religious themes of Vinča culture, in C.-E. Ursu and S. Țerna (eds.), *Anthropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe*, in *Studies into South-East European Prehistory, I*, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 187-248.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Petrescu, S. 2002: Balta Sărată, in *Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România (CCAR). Campania 2001*, CIMEC, 2002: 48-49.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Petrescu, S. 2003. Caransebeș, jud. Caraș Severin. Punct. cartier Balta Sărată, in *CCAR. Campania 2002*, CIMEC, 2003: 74-76.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Pop, R. 2016. *Hunting symbols from the Someș cliffs*, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2016: 57-106.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Pop, R. 2016a. Despre arta rupestră de la Grota Mare - Falezile Someșului și câteva comentarii despre arta rupestră, manuscris, comunicare prezentată în noiembrie 2016 la Târgoviște.
- Lazarovici, Gh. et alii 2001. Gh. Lazarovici, Fl. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *Parța. Monografie arheologică*, Vol. 1.1, vol. 1.2, *BHAB*, 12, Ed. Waldpress, Timișoara, 2001.

- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii* 2011. G. Lazarovici, I. C. Pop, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. Angeleski, Megaliți în Carpații Răsăriteni. Căi spre sanctuarele din natură și urmele unor așezări. Studiu de etno-arheologie și etno-religie, in *Arheologia Moldovei*, 34/2011: 53-76.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii* 2014. Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. Colesniuc, S. Angeleski, Muntele Teasc. Despre sanctuare în natură (I), in *Apulum*, LI/2014: 25-80.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii* 2015. Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. Colesniuc, S. Angeleski, Muntele Teasc. Despre sanctuare în natură (II), in *Apulum*, LII, 2015: 85-112.
- Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2015a. Gh. Lazarovici, J. Nandris, Z. Maxim, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Țara Gugulanilor I, Studii de etnoarheologie, etnografie și etnoistorie*, Gheorghe Lazarovici, Adrian Ardeț (eds.), Acta Mvsei Caransebesiensis, Caransebeș, Ed. Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.
- Lazarovici, Gh, Roman, C., Lazarovici C.-M. 2017. New cave signs in Peștera Cizmei. A study of ethnoreligion, In C.-E Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Symbols and signs as a communication system*, Suceava, 2017: 323-351.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii* 2017. Megalithic constructions and megalithic blocks with sacred signs and symbols in the northern area of Eastern Carpathians. In C.-E Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Symbols and signs as a communication system*, Suceava, 2017: 259-287.
- Leuven, J. C. 1981. Problems and Methods of prehellenic naology, in *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Stokholm: 11-25.
- Makkay, J. 1990. *A Tartariai leletek*, Ed. Akademiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1990.
- Naum, et alii 1988. T. Naum, M. Cârциumaru, Eug. Nițoi, Megalitul gravat de la Gura Haitii (com. Șaru Dornei, jud. Suceava), in "*Documente recent decoperite și informații arheologice*", București, 1988: 21-34.
- Naum, et alii 1988a. T. Naum, M. Cârциumaru, Eug. Nițoi, Megalitul gravat de la Gura Haitii, com. Șaru Dornei, jud. Suceava, in *SCIVA*, 39, 2: 143-157.
- Roska, M. 1941. *Die Sammlung Zsofia von Torma*, Cluj, 1941.
- Schier, W. 2002. Vorschiftliche Zeichensysteme im Neolithikum Südosteuropas (6.-5. Jt. V. Chr.), in *Schrift, Sprache, Bild Klang. Entwicklungs Stufen, der Schrift von der Antiquae bis in die Neuzeit*, Ed. Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg, 2002: 24-30.
- Stănescu, F. C. 1987-1988. Absida centrală a Marelui sanctuar rotund; considerații de interdependență între unele din componentele incintei sacre de la Sarmizegetusa Regia, in *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, XXIV-XXV, 1987-1988, Cluj-Napoca, 1987-1988: 119-144.
- Stănescu F. C. 1990. Astronomical signifiante of the sacred precinct at Sarmizegetusa Regia (Romania), in *Archaeometry in Romania*, 2, București, 1990: 1-30.
- Stănescu, F. C. 1999. *Sanctuare dacice. Analiză arheometrică și arheoastronomică*, Ed. Universitatea Lucian Blaga, Sibiu, 1999.
- Stănescu, F. C. 2015. *Soarele de andezit. Studii și cercetări de arheometrie și arheoastronomie*, Ed. Techno Media, Sibiu, 2015.
- Teodor, D. G. 2003. Inscriptiile rupestre de la Cotârgași - Suceava, in *Inchinare lui P. Șt. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, vol. îngrijit de I. Căndea, P. Cernavodeanu și Gh. Lazar, Ed. Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila: 789-799.
- Thorma, Zs. 1879. Gestaltungs-und Entwicklungsgeschichte der Religion, in *Etnographische Analogien*, Jena, 1879.
- Vlassa, N. 1962. Probleme ale cronologiei neoliticului Transilvaniei în lumina stratigrafiei așezării de la Tărtăria, in *StudiaUBB*, SH, 2, 1962: 23-30.

- Vlassa, N. 1964. Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii Bodrogkeresztúr în Transilvania, in *SCIV*, 15, 1964, 3: 351-375.
- Vlassa, N. 1970. Contribuții la problema racordării cronologiei relative a neoliticului Transilvaniei la cronologia absolută a Orientului Apropiat (Partea I-a), in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, VII, 1970: 3-39.
- Vlassa, N. 1976. *Neoliticul Transilvaniei. Studii, articole, note, Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis*, III, Cluj-Napoca 1976.
- Winn, S. M. 1981. *Pre-writing in Southeastern Europe. The Sign System of the Vinča Culture ca. 4.000 BC*, Western Publishers, Calgary, 1981.
- Wirth, H. 1931. *Die heilige Urschrift der Menschheit. Symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchungen diessseits und jenseits der Nordatlantik*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang.

MEGALITHIC BLOCKS AND MEGALITHIC CONSTRUCTIONS WITH SACRED SYMBOLS AND SIGNS IN THE SOUTHERN AREA OF THE EASTERN CARPATHIANS

Gheorghe Lazarovici
and contributors

1. The megalith from Găvanele (Bozioru commune, Buzău county)

Gheorghe Lazarovici,

Universitatea "Lucian Blaga" Sibiu, ghlazarovici@yahoo.com

Ionuț Musceleanu

Bucharest, arcanumrosa@gmail.com

Key words: *Buzău Mountains, megalithic monuments, big stones, signs, symbols, meanings*

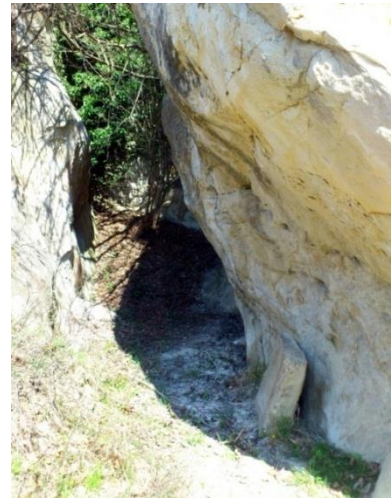
Abstract: *In this paper we present some megalithic monuments or large stones with signs and symbols in the N area of Buzău County, discovered in the area of the Bozioru, Colți, Brăiești commune. We refer to some megaliths, such as those at Găvanele (including „Perechea Divină”-The Divine Couple), or „Uriașul” (The Giant) at Agatoanele. We also made a short presentation of the medieval monuments at Fundătura, as well as of the rocks and altars with signs and symbols noted in the area. On the top of Broscaru hillock several objectives of interest have been identified: „Inima de piatră” (The Stone Heart) is a natural sanctuary and it has, just like the stones around it, signs and symbols. In the same area there are points named “Pentagram” and “La Grotă” (At the Cave), also including signs and symbols. The main aim of our paper was to identify and verify the signs and symbols. Some of these can be related with Prehistory (DS codes), Protohistory (Dacian period) or even with Early Medieval time. We have not been tempted to make chronological ascriptions because the subject is sensitive and the monuments are exposed to the modelling due to the impact of the natural environment. In the end, we referred to a stone with signs from Ojdula (Brețcu-Oituz Mountains), which may be related to the marking of old roads, some Christian invocations, but we do not exclude the connection with events of the Second World War (swastika).*

Ionuț Musceleanu reported several discoveries of megaliths with engravings, mural art from caves or ancient constructions dug in limestone or siliceous rocks. Some we have been able to visit, others we have not, so we are just reporting those to include them in the specialized archaeological literature, as they are known in some mountain of tourists' interest. The place is at the north-western edge of the football field or Poiana Crucii, at the mouth of a creek that has eroded the edge of some cliffs on the northern side.

After an on-site visit, together with Liana-Diana Gavrilă, who knew the area, we were able to make an image of our own. We studied the area to see where this block could have been from, and if there were more such engravings.



Fig. 1a. The location of Găvanele, according to Google Earth.



b ▲ c ►

Fig. 1b-1c. The megalith 1: b, photo Ionuț Musceleanu; c, photo Lazarovici Gh. ▼.



Unfortunately, we did not have the necessary equipment and time for a more detailed research. The megalith, signaled by Ionuț Musculeanu, is on the shore of an active creek, which has changed its course from the old place. The block has a finer surface, which sheds in some places. The incised signs can also be seen under the surface layer, but more dimly. Initially we followed the geometric sense of the engravings, without explanation.

By using the method of realising contrasts¹ we found some possible interpretations for a part of the engravings, but we are not completely convinced of them. We were influenced by a second megalithic block discovered on the occasion of the visit with Diana-Liana Gavrilă (see below). The block has about 1-1.10 m x 0.80 -0.90 m x 0.25-0.35 m and it shows traces of rupture from a larger block (fig.1-2).

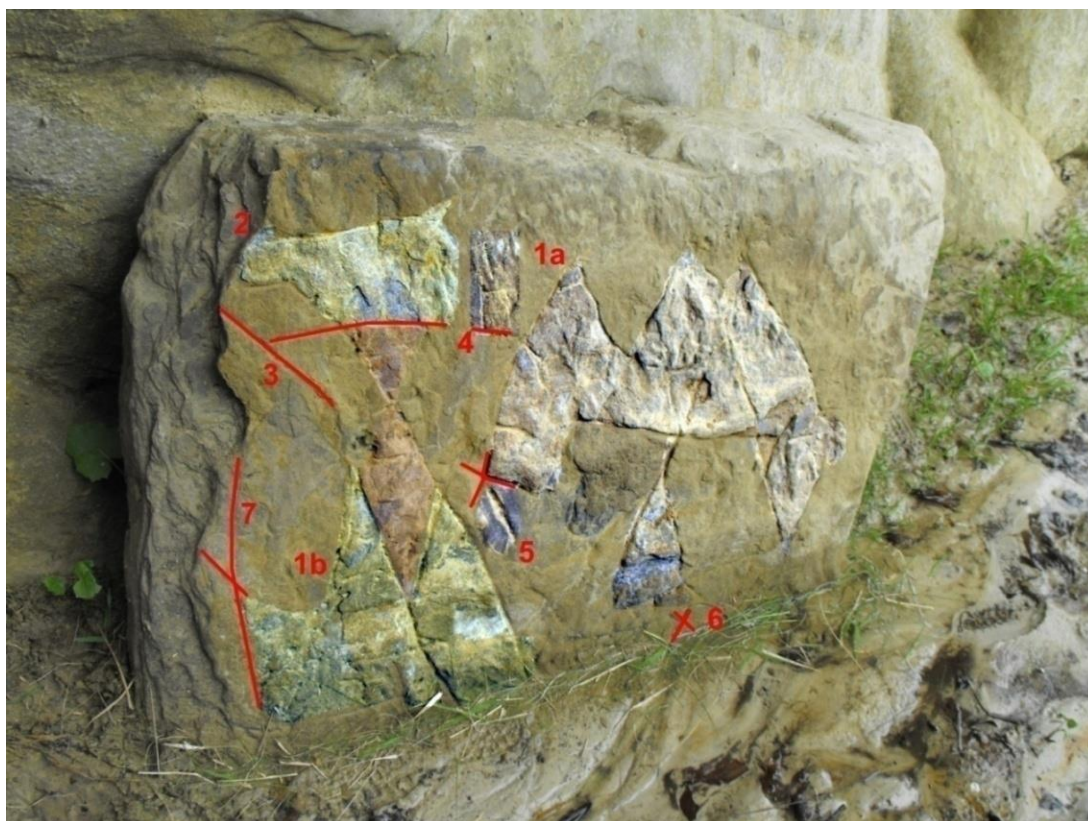


Fig. 2. Găvanele – Poiana Crucii: megalith 1; processed images.

On the block we have marked three figures and some other signs to which we have not found a meaning, marked in red (fig. 2)². We believe the figures marked 1a and 1b to be two camels turned to the right. One of them seems to have a person between its humps (fig. 2.1b red mark). It is possible that in the second representation a person was rendered, but the upper part is eroded (fig. 2. mark 1a). In the upper right part there appears to be an animal (mark 2), but the rupture of the surface raises questions. Other lines marked with red by us (3, 7) appear to separate images or they have a meaning which is unclear to us.

We note two X-shaped signs, marks 5 and 6. Mark 5 below the camel's nose consists of a stylized figure of fish and X, both of which form the image of a cross. It may be an invocation to Jesus Christ. Another possible interpretation of figure 1b is the representation of the double mountain.

¹We used the method successfully at the cave engravings from „Falezile Someșului” and it sometimes necessitates dozens of trials of changing the contrasts on the digital photos: Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016

2.1 Găvanele - „Perechea Divină” (The Divine Couple)

Gheorghe Lazarovici,
Diana-Liana Gavrilă,
Colți, Buzău County,
dianaliana25@yahoo.com*

On the banks of the new bed cut by the water of the brook two impressive megalithic blocks have been washed, with a height of over 2.5 m, and the width of approx. 3.5 m.

Together they form a pair: the larger man on the right, and the woman, shorter, on the left. The man's head has been affected by weather and water since it stood at the surface, because the items were buried sometime in time with the clogging of the valley. The megaliths are at 7-8 meters from the megalith mentioned above.

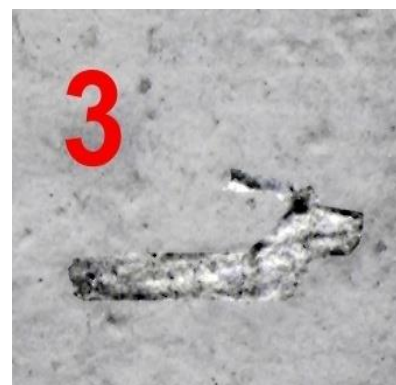
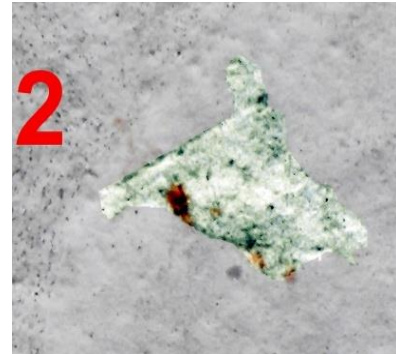
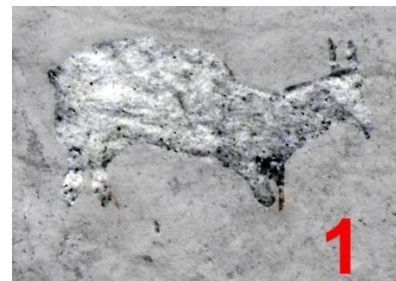
On the left shoulder of the woman a series of signs can be seen. Because the bank of the creek is high, we could only photograph from a distance, and the visible representations are marked by fine lines.



Fig. 3. Găvanele-Poiana Crucii, „Perechea Divină” (The Divine Couple); overall image (a) and details (b).



b



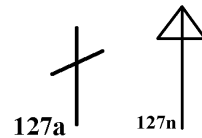
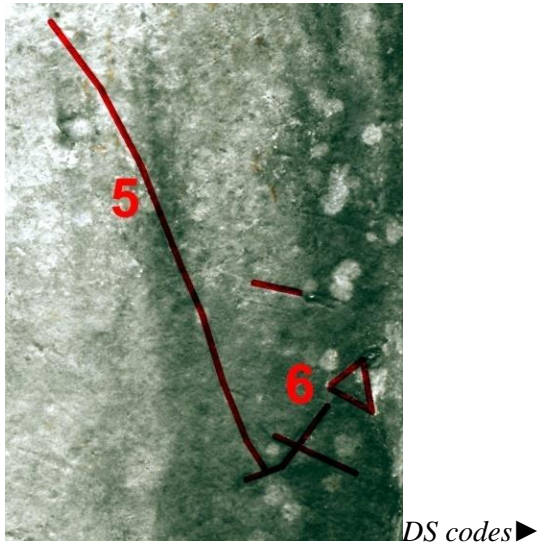
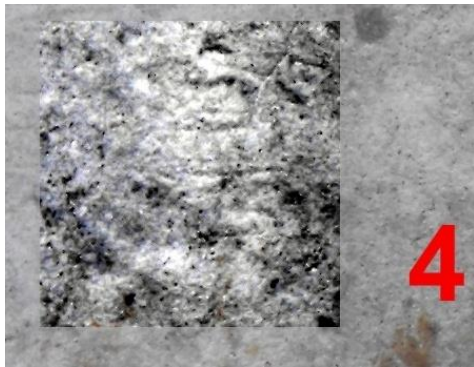


Fig. 4. Găvanele, „Perechea Divină”
(The Divine Couple), details of the **woman**.

The detail photos have allowed us to identify about seven groups of images (fig. 3b). Some are obvious, but the rock being soft, a part of the surface has been washed or perhaps this is why they are visible (fig. 4). Both should be researched with parallel lights and from close-up.

The digitally processed images seem to indicate a series of animals (1-3), one hard to specify (4), a series of lines, an X and a triangle (fig. 7).

It is possible that fig. 8 also represents a mask, but the details do not allow us to be more precise; it may be natural, and it needs to be analyzed in detail. More cannot be said at this stage, it would be speculation.

For mark 6 there are analogies on the megalithic blocks at Mount Teasc, **Rocks** 32, 36, 43¹, but also on the Neolithic and Copper Age ceramics from different settlements².

2.2 “The Giant” at Agatoane

On the way to the monuments of Agatoane on a terrace there are several megalithic blocks. Their form is natural, but in some cases man has intervened in addition to natural cracks and fissures to suggest a human form. On some of them, on one side, five incisions were made with a pickaxe³.

¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: fig. 52, 57, 68.

² For the code 127a: Roska, 1941: fig. 128.18, 133.10; Jovanović Š., 1981: 134; Makkay, 1990: fig. 35/I.8, 23; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2015: fig. 177 and others

³ We did not verify whether there are other signs on this rock or on others.

One of them is a human figure or a cross, possibly suggesting the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and the figures on the left suggest perhaps the two Maries (the Lord's Mother and Mary Magdalene); on the left there is a smaller cross. Perhaps they mark the way to Agatoane.



Fig. 5. The terrace on the road to Agatoane.

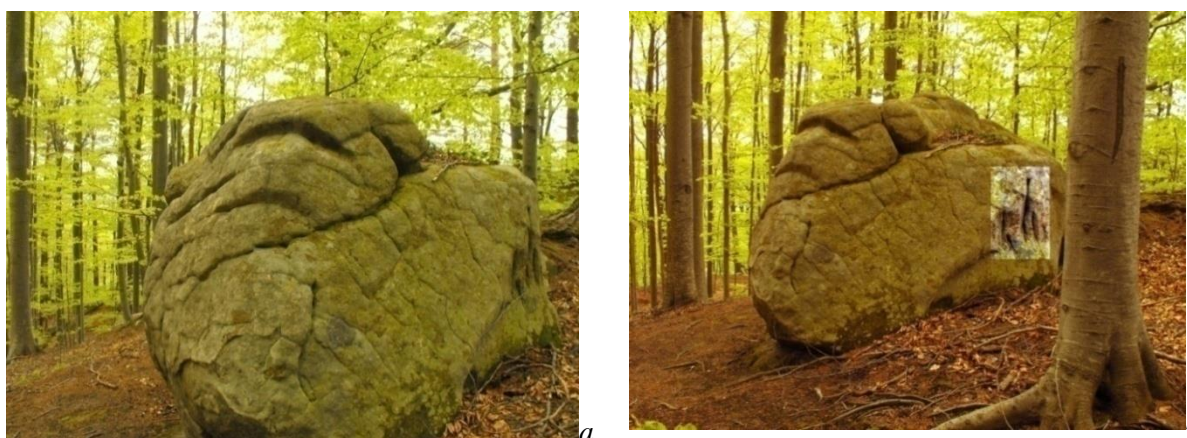


Fig. 6. The megalith on the road to Agatoane (a); b, signs.

2.3 Signs, symbols, altars at Fundătura and in the area

The small church of Fundătura is a real gem, being dug into a single megalithic block.

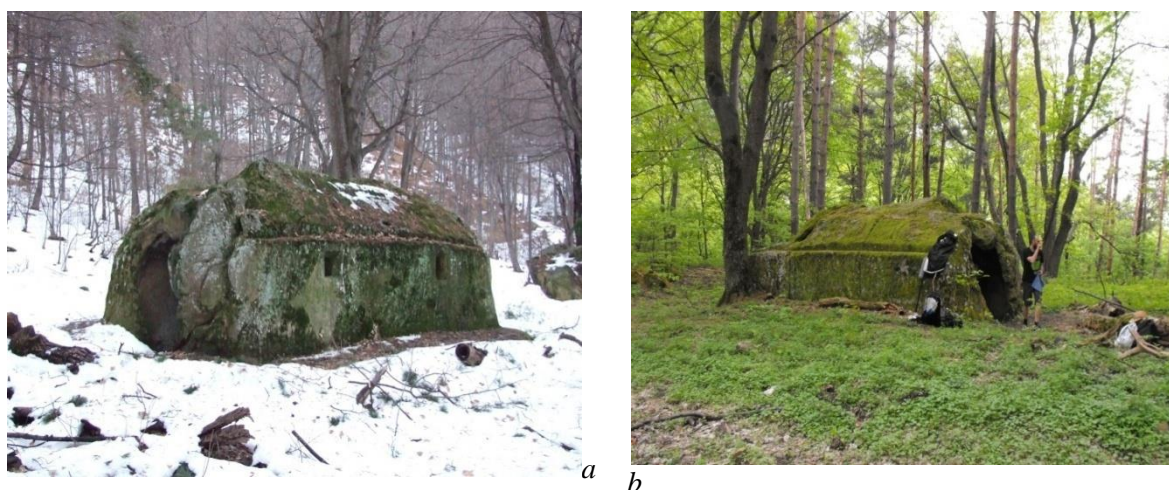


Fig. 7. The small church of Fundătura, views from different angles and in different seasons.

Unfortunately, part of the roof above the altar has broken apart and has fallen, another large part is in danger of falling, and a similar situation is to be found at the entrance (fig. 8c). The monument desperately needs conservation.



Fig. 8. The small church of Fundătura, views from different angles and in different seasons.



On the eastern wall there are several inscriptions of the visitors - from the period between 1831 and 1904. Engraved on the edge of the altar there is also a cross and some finer marks. The four symbols in figure 9 are important, being related to early Christianity, before (*antequem*) the 16th century, when the church was first attested. These are important, because we do not really have exact dates for many of the symbols and cross signs.

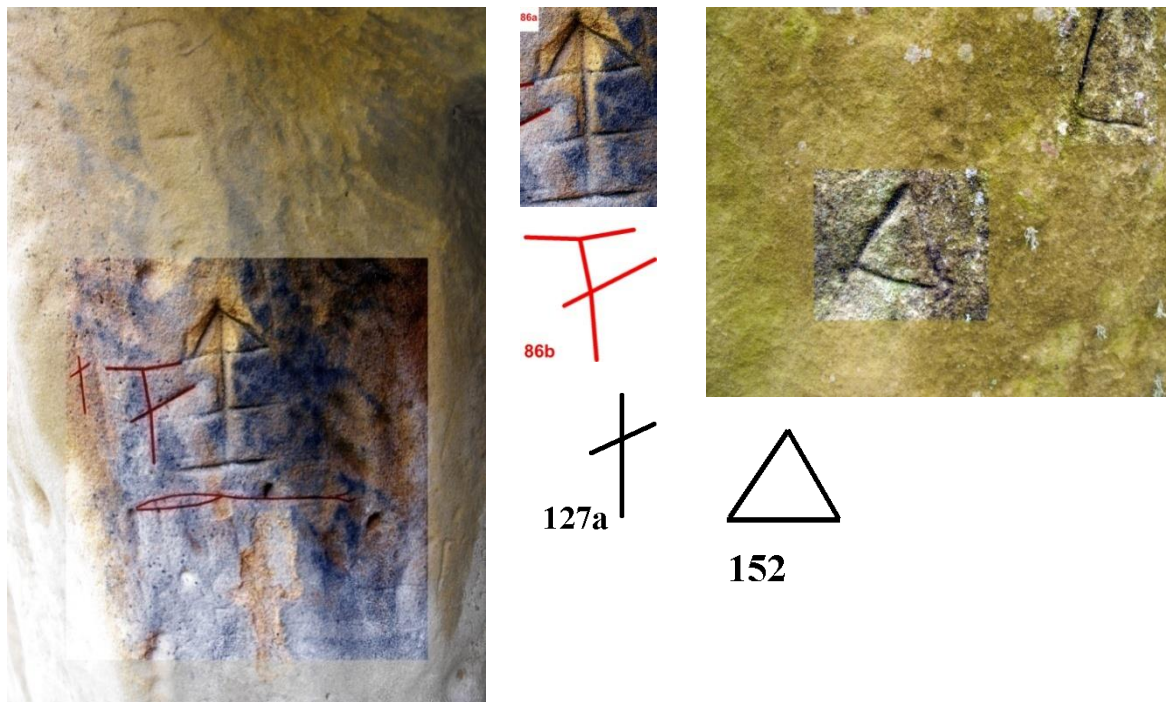


Fig. 9. Fundătura, Christian engravings on the edge of the eastern window (altar?).

Code 127a appears above in fig. 4, where we have presented some analogies. For code 86b there is a close variant on *Mount Teasc*, Rock T15¹. For the code DS 152 there are analogies especially in the Neolithic and the Copper Age on idols and others as a sign, male symbol², but this is another problem.



Fig. 10a. Detail of 10e.

Near Fundătura

During the shooting of the documentary *Niascharian II*, we visited the monuments from Fundătura to Agatoane. Diana Gavrilă took pictures then and told us about a natural niche on a group of rocks, later extended, very likely by the nuns from Fundătura.

The rocks impress by their shape. For these reasons, we believe they made an altar in the woods, where an icon may have been placed, or they considered the place to be an altar.

On the right hand side of the altar, they marked with two signs a cross, like the cross of St. Andrew (X), and two lines. Our impression is that it is a Christian invocation to *II(sus) X(ristos)* (Jesus Christ). We have already encountered such invocations above in fig. 2 mark 5, where there is an I or a fish (the acrostic of Jesus (*ICHTIS* gr. *fish*)).

¹ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: fig. 18.3h.

² Lazarovici Gh., 1969; Gimbutas, 1991: 21, 21.2; Müller-Karpe, 1968: Abb. 156 A5, kat. 165; Merlini, 2009: 295-296, 5.248.



Fig. 10b-e. The altar near Fundătura.



2.4. Agatonul Vechi (Bozioru commune)

The short time did not allow us to study other signs, but Diana Gravila brought to our attention some rocks, and on one of them the engraved sign would, in our opinion, suggest a snake (the temptation, fig. 11, especially 11b).

The serpent theme is linked to many symbols: the good serpent, the house snake, the black serpent, the evil serpent, and more¹. This snake being related to monks, we refer it to temptation. We must also point out that we are not dealing directly with Christian monuments, but only with certain elements that are associated and that allow us to relate them to other monuments in the country that have common elements.

¹ Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., 2015: 41-94.



Fig. 11. Agatonul Vechi: a, Diana Gavrilă marks the place of the snake; b, details; c, other signs made of dots.

The dot striking technique is old in the mural art, and we have encountered the symbol of the snake quite frequently (fig. 12), made of dots (fig 12a, d), associated with dots fig. 12c or through the technique of striking with a pointed hard rock (fig. 12b); all examples are from prehistory. The neighbouring rocks need to be checked to see if there are earlier, prehistoric traces. The snakes are in different hunting positions, coiled, hatching or laying eggs.

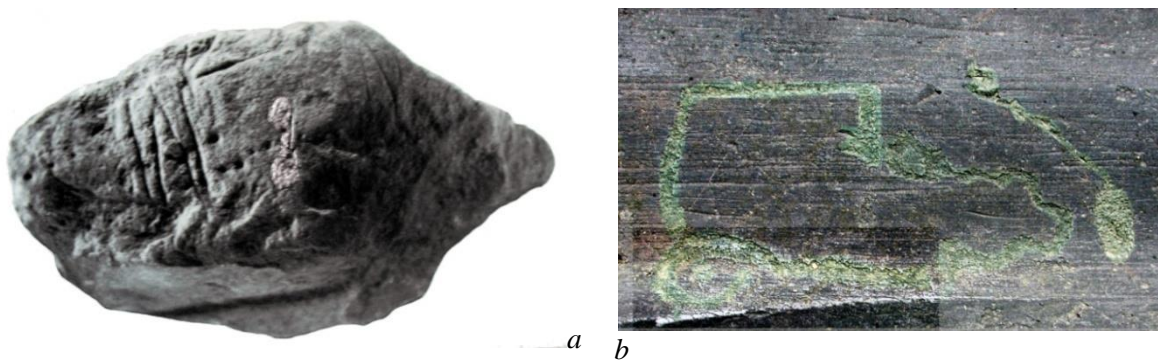


Fig. 12. Decorations of dots and snakes: a, d, apud Les art de cavernes: d5, snake; b, Valcamonica Roca 3 7 (photo Lazarovici Gh., Maxim); c, Peștera Măgura, Rabiša apud Stoychev, Gerassimova 1984: fig. 5.

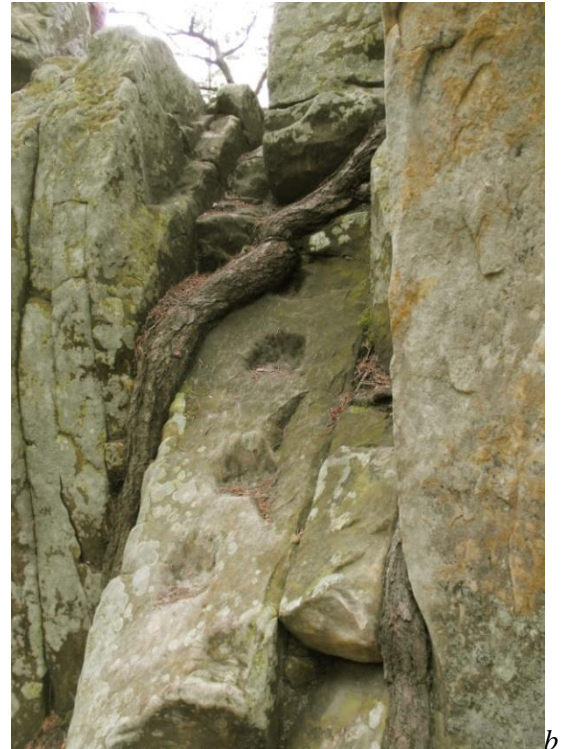
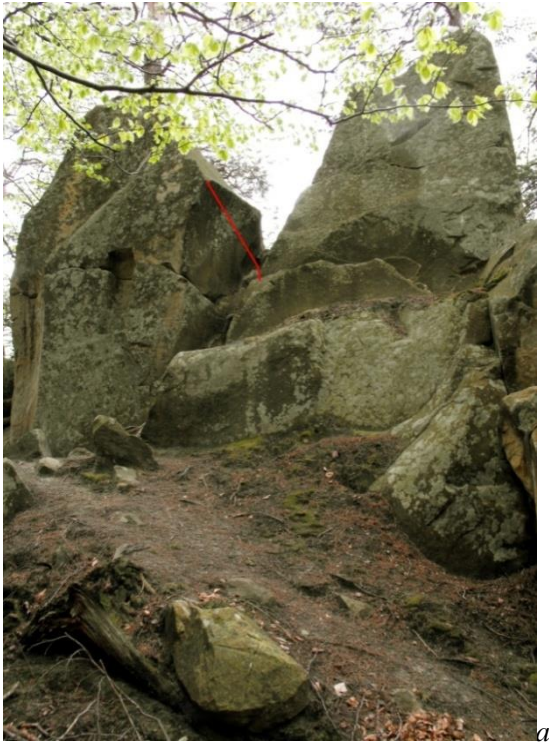
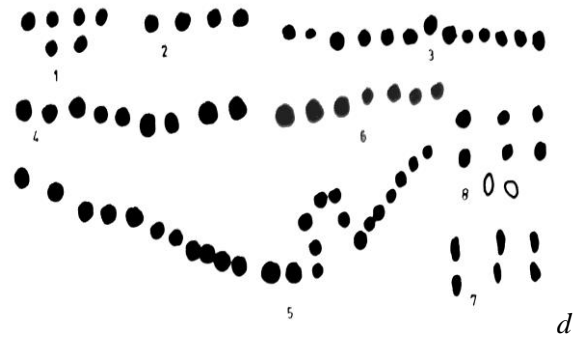


Fig. 13. Conical megalithic blocks: a, transformed into a temple by carving a front with a niche for the altar; b, monumental stairs.

Another theme we find at the Agatonul Vechi, but also in the area¹, are the quadrilateral niches that suggest an altar, dug into one of the two conical rocks. At the right cliff the edge of the cliff has been dug, suggesting a triangular front in which the altar niche was located, like an entrance. What is curious is that no sign or symbol would prove the Christian character, but in the Church of Aluniș there is a monumental stair believed to serve a bell tower or a temple². But let's not forget that in the Orăștie Mountains, at Sarmizegetusa Regia and Costești monumental stairs were added to temples and palaces. The lack of crosses leads us to believe that some have been accomplished in earlier times. There are also monumental tables and thrones. Such monumental stairs also appear in other monuments such as Pietra Rotari, which is older than Christian manifestations, although some symbols have been added later³.

¹ *La Ușa Pietrei*: Gavrilă, 2012: 132.

² Aluniș – *The Chair of God*: Gavrilă, 2012: 44-45.

³ Mândricel, Bortaș, 2008: 172-178; Gavrilă, 2012: 150.



Fig. 14. a, Agatonul vechi, the temple with the altar niche; b, Rus-La Holoame, research Radu Pop, Gh. Lazarovici.

The niche of the altar is very similar to the one near Fundătura (fig.10), but also the one of „Falezele Sălajului” at Rus – La Holoame (fig. 14b)¹. These are altars (?) or places for icons (!), hard to tell, but they should be retained, known and studied.

3.a Broscaru – Inima de piatră (The Stone Heart)²

Gheorghe Lazarovici, Diana-Liana Gavrilă,

Silviu Gridan,

Braşov; gridan.silviu@yahoo.com.

At Broscaru we are dealing with a natural sanctuary related to cave art. We have cave art in all ages, from the Paleolithic to our times. The place can be defined by man's need to climb the mountain, where it is closer to the deities.

A cave-like sanctuary in open air can be taken into considered when we have several situations where certain rules are repeated³. The most difficult issue about the sanctuaries in the open air (outdoors)⁴ is dating their beginning, because after it there remains a myth or a tradition. A

¹ Research made by Radu Pop and Gh. Lazarovici, unpublished.

² Discovery made during hunting by the history teacher Dumitru Nica, founder of the Museum of Amber from Colţi, history passionate: Nica, 2012: 223ff.

³ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: 268; Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016: 71ff., 85, 102; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă 2016: 451, 456, 459, 467, 470.

⁴ Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011; Kovács A., 2016: 16, 19, fig. 5.

sanctuary is more than a simple altar in nature. All the visible rocks around the *Stone Heart*¹ have signs on them.



Fig. 15. Broscaru, „Inima de piatră” (The Stone Heart) – sanctuary in nature.

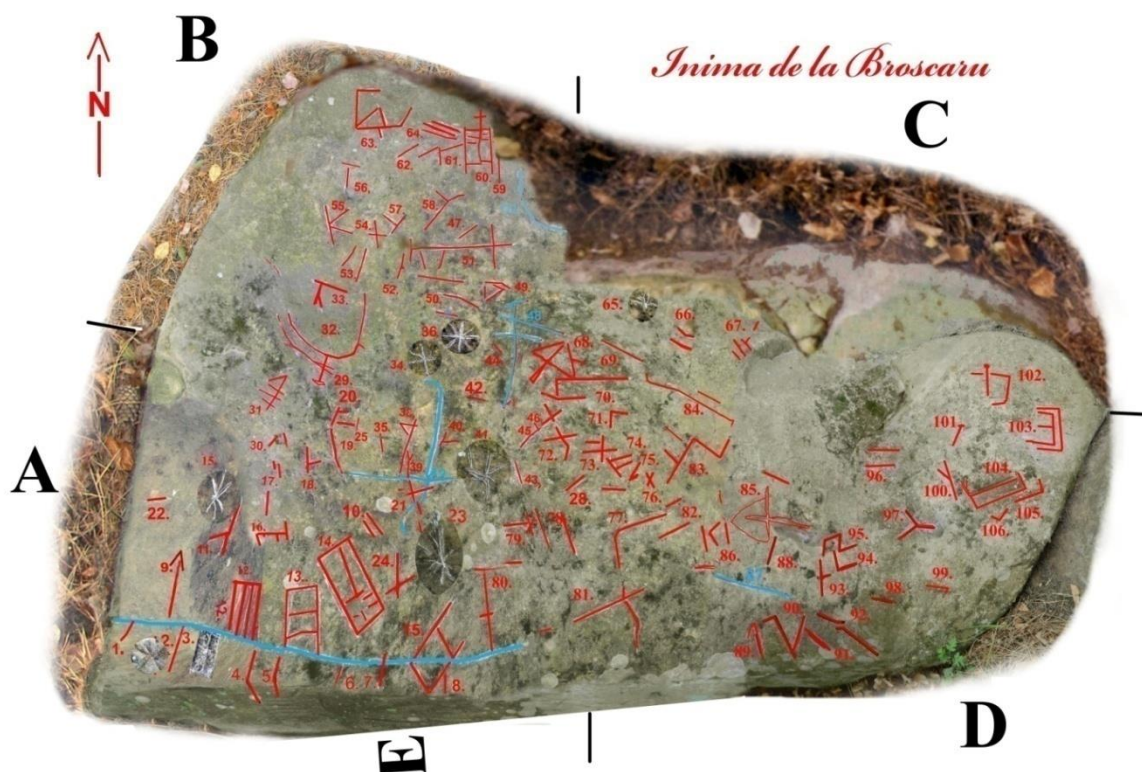


Fig. 16. The Stone Heart (*Inima de piatră*) (photo and processing: Gh. Lazarovici).

¹ Initially only the large one was identified by prof. Nica (*Formula AS 845*, 2008); later Diana and Gheorghe Gavrilă with their daughters identified more: Nica, 2012: 224-227.

In May 2016 we resumed the research of the megalith at Broscaru, known and often mentioned¹, to check the engravings and to ascertain the degradation status from the earliest reports to date. In the second expedition (September 2016), we chalked the edges of the engravings, and in this way we can see which have faded due to weather since the first images², but also the depth and the width of the signs. In order to make things more obvious, the letters were marked in red, and some lines of separation in blue. The rocks are on the Broscaru Peak (Google N 45°23'48.20'', E 26° 23'16.50'' at ▲770 m). It can be reached through *Cătunul Călugărițele* or through *Valea Sălci*³.



Fig. 16a. The Stone Heart, sector A.

The place is in the vicinity of a summit track that rises from the Buzău river to the mountains where the cave monuments are located (churches, cells, altars, shelters, grottoes). These mountains that surround the monuments are part of the sacred mountains, an Athos of Romania as defined by the history teacher Dumitru Nica, the discoverer of several cave and archaeological vestiges in the area⁴. We made a new marking of the signs, because the pictures of I. Mândricel and V. Boartaș, as well as those taken by us and Diana Gavrilă⁵, although of very good quality and well lit, were below a certain angle. We had the same problem on some areas, but we did some corrections (fig. 15-19). At the same

¹ Mândricel, Bortaș, 2008; *Formula AS 845*, 2008, interview with D. Nica.

² Observation and kind personal communication from D. Nica, the discoverer who accompanied Leonard Tonitza for shooting the documentary in 2015.

³ For guidance and information we recommend the Museum of Amber at Colți. Diana Gavrilă and her colleagues or her predecessor, D. Nica.

⁴ *** *Formula AS 845*, 2008; Nica, 2012: 219 and following.

⁵ We marked them and realised some studies about the presence in various time periods on objects or in sacred places.

time we entered them in the database in black the DS codes, and in red the new ones. In order to see and follow the images better, we divided the stone into five sectors, A-D on the NS-EW axis and four on the SE side, with a special numbering in letters from **a** to **z**. On the bottom of the images we put the codes from that area and its neighbourhood, without mechanically separating the images.

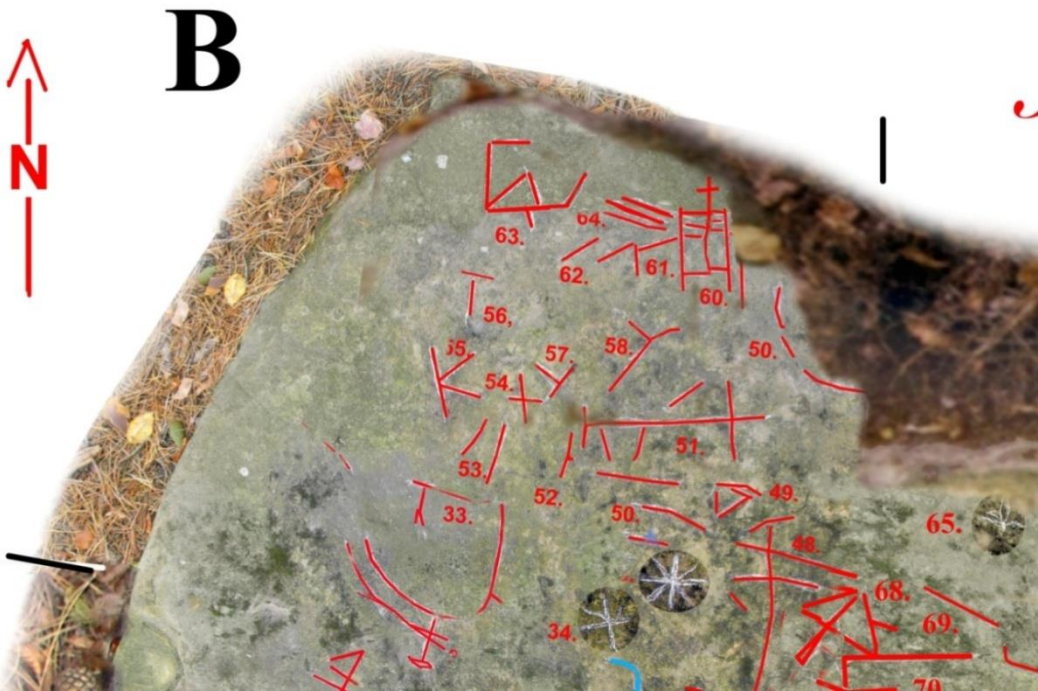


Fig. 17. The Stone Heart, sector B.

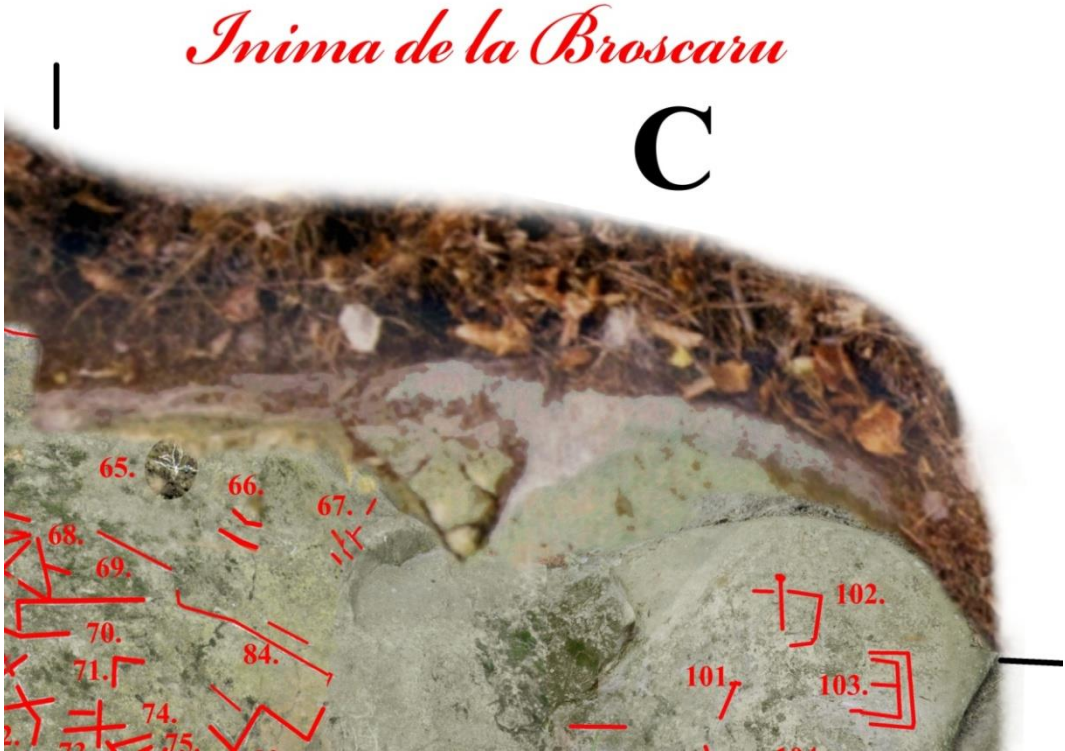
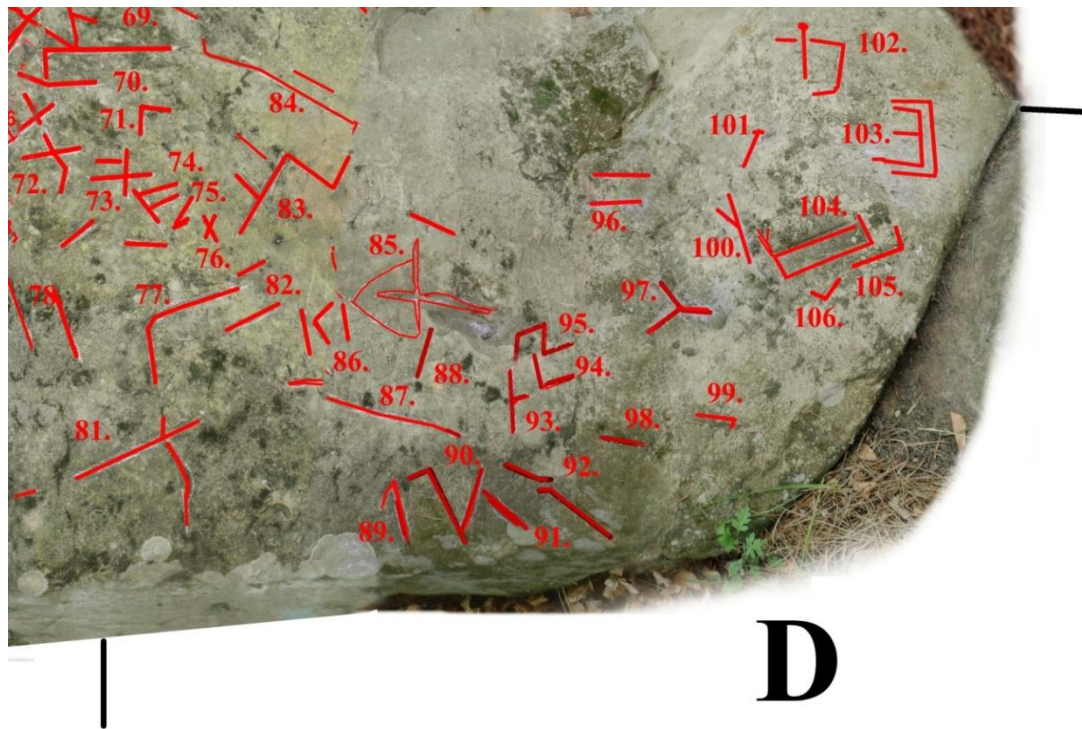















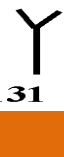
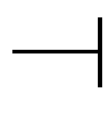
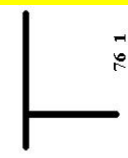


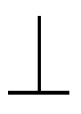
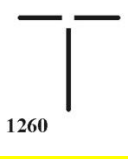

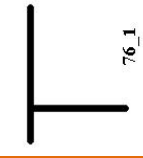



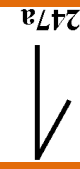




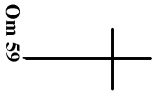
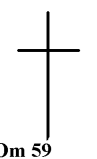
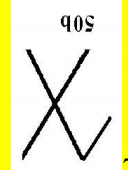







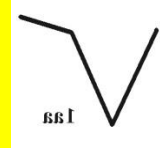
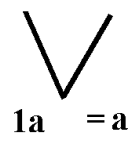











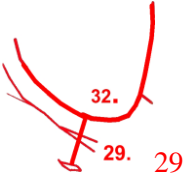



Fig. 18. The Stone Heart, sector C ▲, sector D ▼.

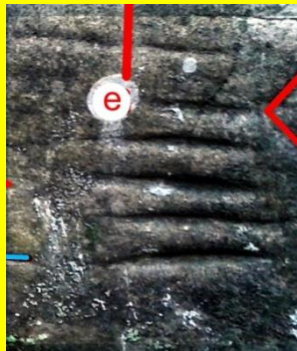
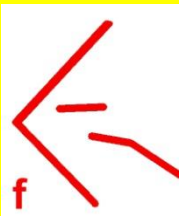


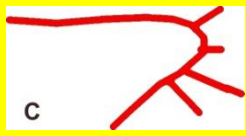



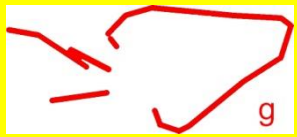
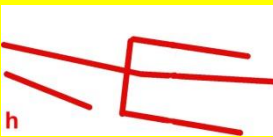


The codes of the new symbols and signs from Broscaru Peak/Hillock (tables 19).

The Heart - face	The Heart - lateral	The area of the Heart - Rock 2	The area of the Heart - Rock 3
The area of the Heart - Rock 4	The area below the Heart - Rock 5	The area below the pentagram The cave	dacian
 0	 0c	 0b	 0a1
1 35 36 43 49 52 59 88	3-8,17 44 101 b	27 36 47 69 91 a	22 26 42 98 99
 87.	 102 53	 162	 83
162  96	50. 	30. 	 103 64

 <p>131</p> <p>11</p>	 <p>131</p> <p>39 40</p>	 <p>284e</p> <p>81, 100</p>	 <p>131</p> <p>96 97</p>
 <p>76a=126</p> <p>26</p>	 <p>76_1</p> <p>18 19 20</p>	 <p>126a</p> <p>20 67 94</p>	 <p>33.</p>
 <p>7a1=97</p> <p>46</p>	 <p>1260</p> <p>56</p>	 <p>126a</p> <p>57</p>	 <p>76_1</p> <p>61</p>
 <p>80.</p>	 <p>4k</p> <p>10 62 66 78</p> <p>16</p>	 <p>247a</p> <p>76, 89</p>	 <p>247a</p> <p>76</p>
 <p>3f</p> <p>9</p>	 <p>73.</p>	 <p>24.</p>	 <p>79</p>
 <p>Om 59</p>			
 <p>Om 59</p> <p>21</p>	 <p>90s</p> <p>72</p>	 <p>50</p> <p>54</p>	 <p>45</p>
 <p>31</p>	 <p>67.</p>	 <p>38.</p>	 <p>86</p>
 <p>1a = a</p> <p>71</p>	 <p>1a = a</p> <p>90</p>	 <p>1a = a</p> <p>71 106</p>	 <p>95</p>

 229f 77	 229 94	 229e 105	 92.
 55.	 63.	 74	 70.
 32. 29.	 48	 D2.	 102.
<i>Table 19a.</i>			

	 f	 j	 p1
 c	 d	 i	 s
 g	 h		
<i>Table 19b.</i>			

Plans of churches, cells

On the rocks longer lines appear (marked in blue) that we think could mark traks, paths (in valleys or on hillsides). In this case it may be that at a certain moment the stone was a kind of map of the sacred places. There are six or seven rectangles on the rock, one with cross marks above (mark 60, fig. 19c). They could mark the churches, and for some cells - monastic altars, such as at Dionysius the Spinner (maybe mark 15 fig. 19c)¹.

¹ Gavrilă, 2012.

There are a number of seven stars copied and marked by us (fig. 19c). They could mark the seven planets, if we were to consider their size and brightness. In this case it could be a map of the sky, a hypothesis launched by Dumitru Nica¹. Considering that Iordanes, in *Getica*, wrote about the knowledge of the Dacians in the time of Deceneus: ...and exposed to them under what names and under what signs the three hundred and forty-six stars pass in their quick way from their rise until their setting to get closer or away from the heavenly pole... then we wonder what signs may be from the time of the Dacians, especially since in the area there are two grinders and places with Dacian ceramics at ca. 4-5 km from each other. But there are very few signs that resemble the Dacian *tamga*² (table 9a-Dacian mark).

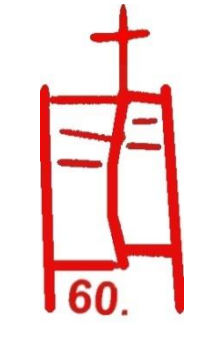



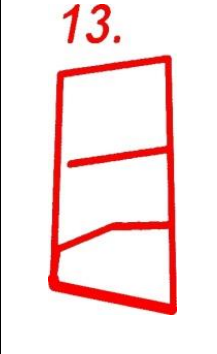
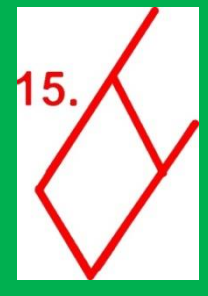
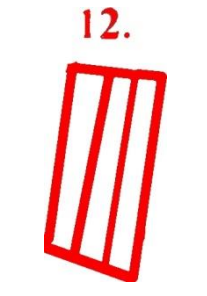
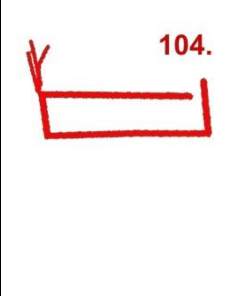
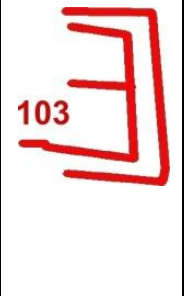


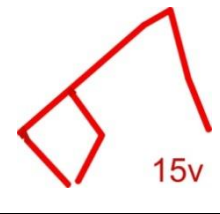
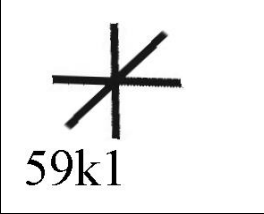
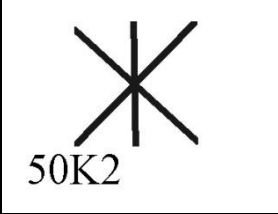







					
					
					
					

Table 19c. Codes of stars, rosettes and chrismons.

These stars have correspondents among the Christian symbols such as those in fig. 19c. no. 2, 36, 37, but there may be other combinations (see fig. 19.34, 65 and 23, where there may be other associations of X and L, V, etc.) or maybe the image has faded. Moreover, in the first pictures

¹ *** Formula AS, 845, 2008; Nica, 2012; as well as kind verbal information.

² Berzovan, Pădureanu, 2010: fig. 4.1

published by Dumitru Nica and Diana Gavrilă¹, the signs are more visible and deeper, thus it is necessary to cover them or to protect them with a roof.

The southern side of the Stone Heart

The signs e, h, and k are made in another technique with deeper and wider incisions, similar to 90 and 91 in sector D. They seem to be the oldest, their technique and style differ from all other signs on the stone, being wider and deeper. They were made through polishing. We have such a technique in several caves and megalithic blocks at Kameni Most, Dordogne and others sites². There are also a number of fine rectilinear incisions or with motifs see: table 19b yellow mark and table 19 with the letters of the alphabet. For the trident (fig. 20 mark H, fig. 19ch) there are analogies on a megalith at Cetățeni³.



Fig. 20. The southern side of the Stone Heart.

Now it is not possible to analyze the over 100 signs we have marked. On the image published by I. Mândricel and V. Bortaș⁴, as well as on the one we published with Diana Gavrilă, we have marked over 50 signs. We are convinced that some signs have escaped us, because very fine lines or those covered with moss are not always clear. There are also errors due to stone cracks or grooves produced by water erosion.

It is not the case now and here to list all the opinions that have been expressed about these rocks, but we should mention the opinions of Professor Dumitru Nica from the end of Diana Gavrilă's book, with a suggestive title: „*Traces of a possible pre-Sumerian culture in the Buzău Mountains*”⁵. These things should be understood as prehistoric in the current terminology. For some, we have presented analogies in the previous study, but there are also the DS codes with number in the black drawings of fig. 19.

¹ Gavrilă, 2012: 225-226, figures.

² In the shelter of Ferrassie dating from the Paleolithic: *** L'art des cavernes 1984; *** RevArchPicardie, 3-4, 1998: fig. 27, 32-33 etc.; Peša, 2013; in Sălaj County, personal communication Culic Dan 2016.

³ Personal communication, Ionuț Musculeanu, after a publication by Brăneanu.

⁴ Mândricel, Bortaș, 2008.

⁵ Gavrilă, 2012; Nica, 2012: 218-231 with images.

3.b Rock 2.

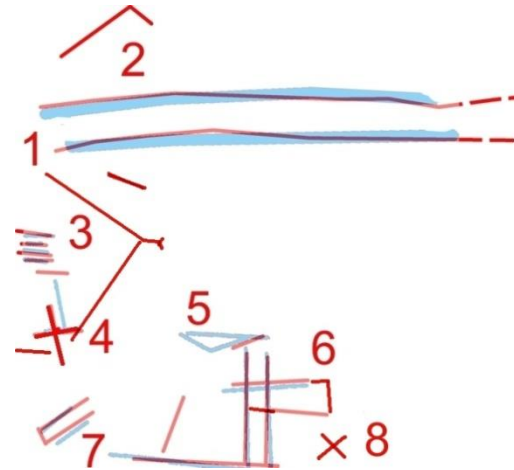
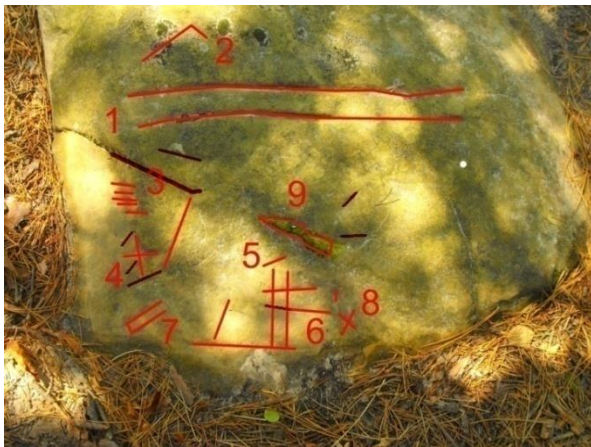


Fig. 21. Rock no. 2, close to the Stone Heart.

The rock was photographed in different lights: diffuse light in May, with sunshine in September, by marking the incisions with chalk. The latter, in good light but not in the sun, allowed the best reconstruction (fig. 21a). Those made in strong light or weak uniform light did not allow the correct identification of the signs. Marks: 1) seems to represent the track on the summit. On the left, we could distinguish the following signs: 2) which is a house with a cross?; 3) two parallel lines (maybe also a track); 4) a „T”; 5) quadrilateral from parallel lines; 6) a „V”; 7) a line, maybe an „Y”; 8) some lines of which two parallel. Several other lines appear, some of which are natural cracks. The path, line 1, seems to be the track on the summit. The house could be the hamlet Călugărițele, now

almost completely abandoned. 5 and 6 may indicate other tracks or trails. These could be acceptable if it is a map of the Broscaru area. A symbol or sign might be only 6. In fig. 21c there are variables made in low light or sunlight, neither of which gave good results, although we did a few dozens of digital photos. If the interpretation is possible, then Rock 1, the Stone Heart, could be the same, but on a larger scale for the area. The image of fig. 21, mark 5, could represent an ax, Thor's hammer after D. Nica.

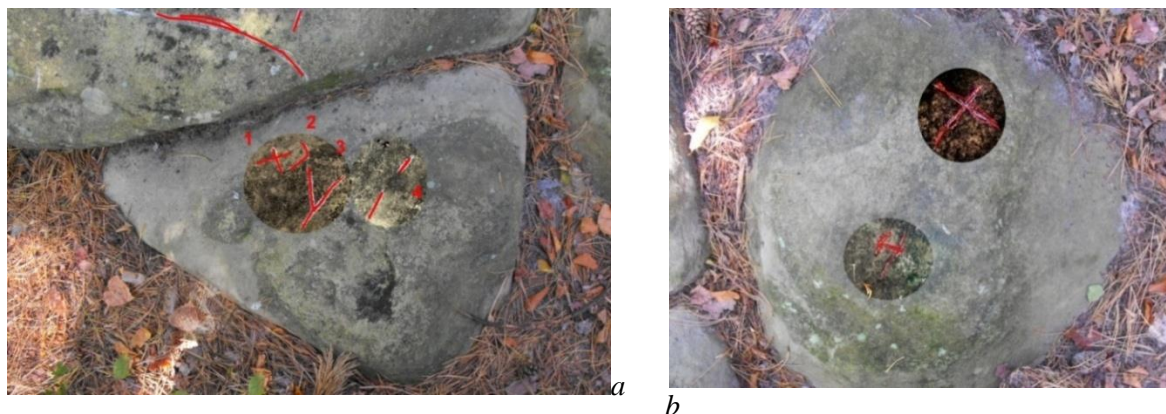
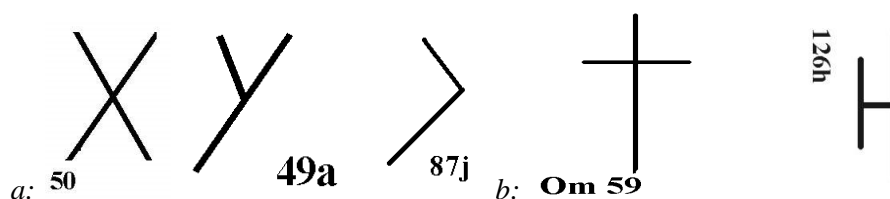


Fig. 22. East of the Stone Heart: a, Rock 3 marks 1, 3 (as on the Teasc mountain T49, T50), 2; b, Rock 4)



3.c-d Rocks 3 and 4 (fig. 22)

Rock 3. Situated at the eastern end of the *Stone Heart*, next to it, it has three signs and an interrupted line. We can recognize X, L, and Y among the signs. They do not continue the ones of Rock 1, but they are realised in the same manner and with similar tools, being from the same time.

Rock 4 is situated in the same place, but a little to the north. It has two signs with correspondents in DS (see codes fig. 22). There are signs that appear often on the megalithic rocks at Teasc, but on others too¹.

3.e Rock 5

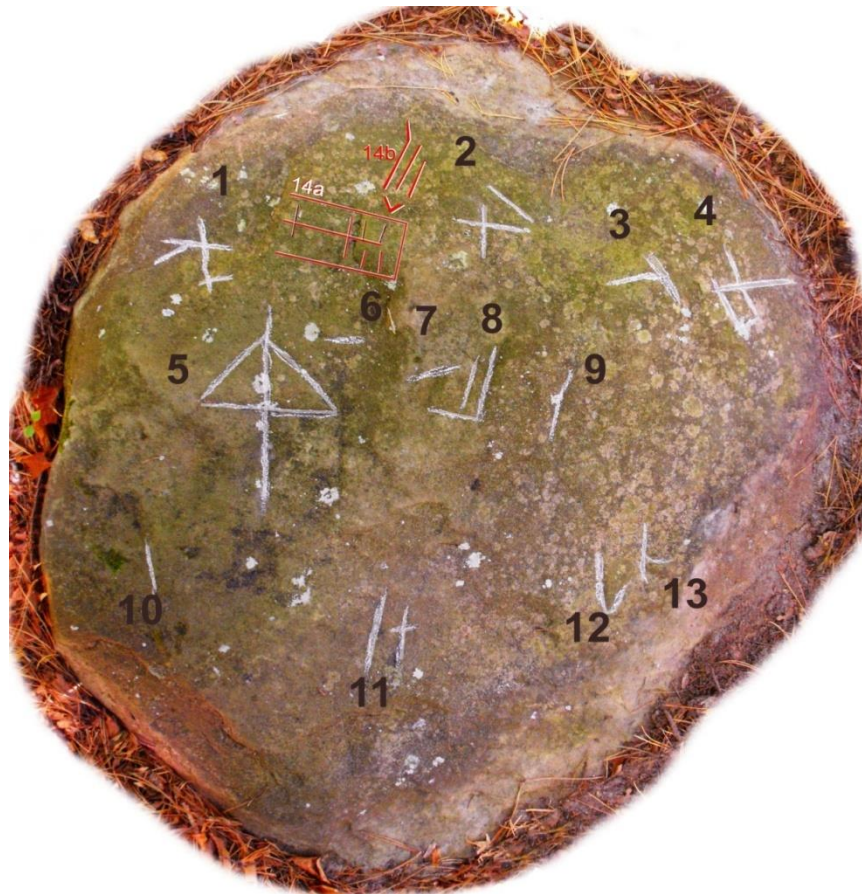
The rock is at about 3 m SW from the *Stone Heart*, most of the time shadowed, thus the identification of the engravings is difficult (fig. 23).

By combining natural light with and without sunlight, it was still difficult to pinpoint the signs. After marking the edges of the incisions with chalk, the motifs could be identified, although some questions still remain, where due to the edges washed by the rain the chalk procedure did not work. By combining the methods of photos taken in the sun (fig. 24c) in the shade, combined with marking the edges (fig. 24b), we have reached an image as accurate as possible (fig. 24a).

¹ Teasc TP I, 12-13, 15, 26, 28, 39, Kovács I., 1914 rock I; Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011: fig. 11, 31a, 48-49 and others; Peștera Cizmei, Lazarovici Gh. et alii, 2017 in this volume ; Coronini, the Chindiei grotto 2: Boroneanț, 1977: fig. 7, 10, 13, 23.



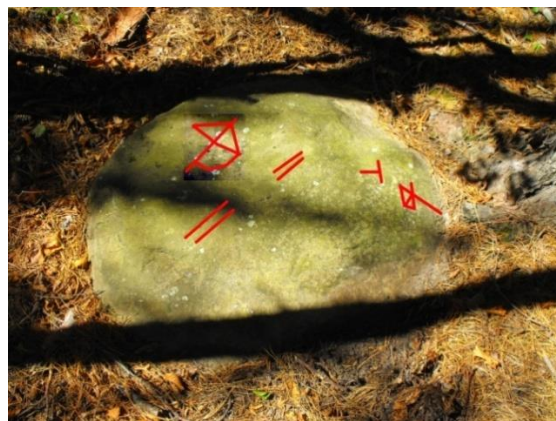
Fig. 23. Broscaru, Rock 5.



a



b



c

Fig. 24. a-c) Broscaru, Rock 5, the engraved motifs.

From these images, we recognize the monumental cross (mark 5), the invocation I[sus] H[ristos] (mark 2), as well as other symbols.

Some of the signs (fig. 24a, mark 14a-b) could be identified only through digital contrast, and then they were marked with red and placed reported to mark 1.

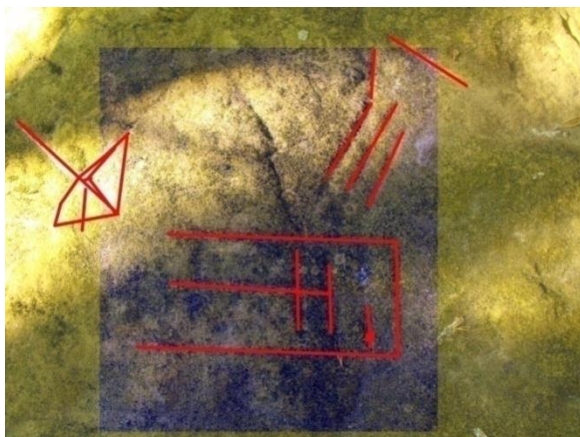


Fig. 24d-e. Broscaru, Rock 5, marks 14a-14b.



Fig. 25. The location of the points Broscaru – the Stone Heart (1) and the Pentagram (2).

3.f Broscaru East or the Pentagram



Fig. 26. The Pentagram, Broscaru Summit.

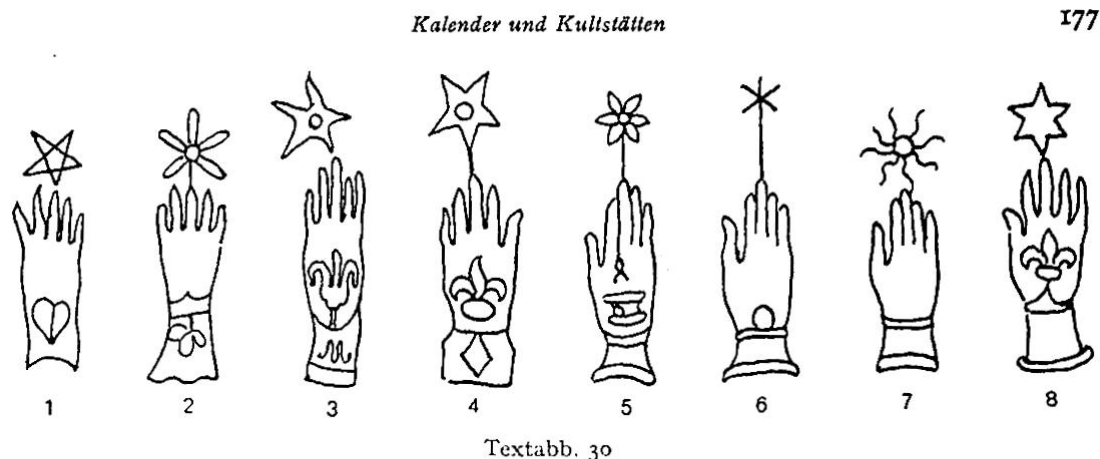


The place is situated on a path that descends steeply from the peak to the hamlet Călugărițele. After two rows of transverse rocks, like cyclopean walls disposed NE-SW, less obvious ones follow across the ridge. In their area, a great rock was discovered, on which several signs were marked, and under the steep hillside there is a cave with traces of fire on the walls and signs on the edges¹.

¹ Nica, 2012; Gavrilă, 2012: 228; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă, 2016: 468, fig. 13.

On the occasion of the May 2016 expedition with Diana-Liana Gavrilă¹ we analysed 16 signs. Besides those, we identified others too.

A few years after Diana Gavrilă's visit, during the May 2016 expedition, we noticed that some engravings were not preserved. It is possible that because of the diffused light they could not be recognized, although we traced in contrast all the old signs. Local parallel illumination is needed. We have identified some new signs (fig. 26a dark red mark) and some questions were raised about the old signs (fig. 26a blue mark). Analogies for the signs were presented in the previous study².



Nr. 1 (Briquet 10828, Périgueux 1552) Pentagramm und Herz der Mutter Erde; Nr. 2 (Briquet 10840, Toulouse 1569) fünfspeichiger Stern und Kleedreiblatt, Wechselform für Ψ (siehe Hauptstück 1, Anm. 15, S. 10); Nr. 3 (Briquet 10859, Bordeaux 1563) fünfzackiger Stern mit Mittelpunkt und Ilge (S. 43—47, 128 und 163); Nr. 4 (Briquet 10856, Brügge 1555) fünfzackiger Stern mit Mittelpunkt, Ilge und Raute (= „Jahr“); Nr. 5 (Briquet 11186, Perpignan 150, Gaète 1503) 6spitziger Stern und \mathcal{R} od-*il* Zeichen: Hand und \mathcal{R} Zeichen gehören noch zu den skandinavischen Julgebäckformen; Nr. 6 (Briquet 11183, Forcalquier 1510) \ast und Sonnenkreis \circ ; Nr. 7 (Briquet 11181, Palermo 1478) 8strahlige Sonne; Nr. 8 (Briquet 10847, Nantes 1556—57) 6zackiger Stern und Ilge.

Fig. 27. Nordic symbols related to the hand, the stars, the organs (heart 1), after Wirth 1931.

The few new signs do not require any further analysis now. At that time Dimitrie Nica compared the sign next to the pentagram with the *Celtic wheel with eight spokes*, but also for the pentagram (the inside of the star with 5 corners³, the star with 5, the star with 6, the five or six petal flower). Dimitrie Nica also analyzes the significance of other symbols, the cross, the „X” cross, the square, Thor's hammer, and many others. The mentioned author relates them to the ancient European myths.

In the northern cave art area and not only there (fig.27), the rosette with eight points is related to representations of celestial objects (sun, stars), but also to Christian symbols (see above the rosette fig.19c and the comments). Certainly there are elements of paleoastronomy on the stone, but it is not the right occasion now for them to be debated at large, the problem being too vast.

¹ One of her colleagues took part in the expedition.

² Nica, 2012: 229-231; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă, 2016: 468, fig. 13.

³ Nica, 2012: 231; Wirth, 1931: 170.

3.g The cave



Fig. 28. Broscaru summit – La Grotă: marks on the edge of the cave.



About this, Dimitrie Nica signaled some interesting observations about the signs there and their meaning, giving those symbolic meanings¹. The markings on the right, starting from bottom to top, have a series of symbols. At the bottom is the symbol of the climbing snake (fig. 15, right mark 1), which in prehistory, but also in popular beliefs is the cosmic snake, often the good snake². In Christian mythology, in the myth of temptation, the snake descends from the tree with the apple in its mouth. The following symbols, mark 2, are abstract lines that suggest a doubled V (right mark 2 in SD

¹ Nica, 2012: 231.

² Regarding the snake, manifestations, beliefs, interpretations see: Maxim, 2005; Szücs-Csillik, Maxim, 2016; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: 41-94.

10c, 16a, 16c, 16f;¹). The signs from the right 3, 8 symbolize the Greek Cross or the Cross of St. Andrew or „X”. The position of the image is between the two types of cross, but it is also a symbol for Christ, a Christian symbol in which faith, power, mercy, help, heavenly protection is invoked², but with many analogies in prehistory related to time, season, hours of the day and many more³. The right symbol 5 is the cross that appears on some higher churches, but they also have older versions as a symbol (DS 9a, 9b), signs appearing on the tablets of Tărtăria, but also on other pieces from the Neolithic⁴. Mark 7 is unclear, other detail photos are necessary. Sign 9 appears in different images, it must be re-photographed in detail with parallel lights.

Before finishing, we must point out that the drawings located on the right side of the cave we consider to be linked to ancient beliefs, some from antiquity (divine sense: good, benevolence, skill, strength⁵), and later Christian (righteousness, the right side of the Lord, etc.).

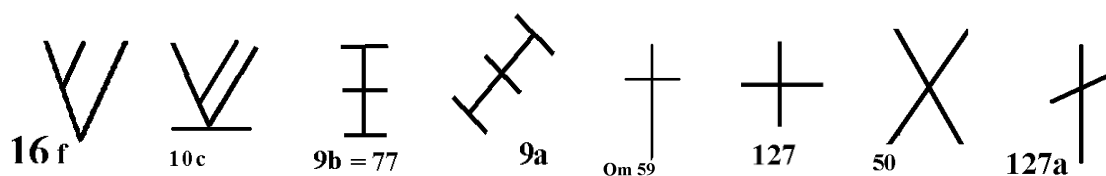


Fig. 28a. Analogies for the symbols and signs from fig. 27.

The drawings on the left are fewer and less significant.



Fig. 29. The cave, the symbols from the left side and the DS codes in black.

These symbols are also related to Christian invocations⁶ (fig. 29.3 might be the invocation **H**[ristos] **I**[sus] **I**[sraelianul] (Christ Jesus the Israelite). In the glagolitic alphabet the sign has the meaning „n” and it would read **n**[azarineanul] **I**[sus] **I**[sraelianul] (the Nazarethian Jesus, the Israelite). But they are also ancient symbols (fig. 29 codes)⁷. For 127a, b, we showed above the

¹ In prehistory it symbolizes on idols the female gender or the pubic hair, in the right 2 variant the older woman, called forgiven in folklore; sometimes fertilized, cod DS 16r, as it appears on idols, and depending on its location it is a tattoo or it has other meanings.

² Braniște, E., Braniște, E., 2001: 120-121, s.v.

³ See also the comments and analogies above, the codes from the Stone Heart: fig. 19 4k, 50, 59 etc. and other meanings four pillars, four angles: Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995 s.v.; cardinal signs: Kalicz, Ráczky, 1981: fig. 24/2-3.

⁴ Sign 9a and 9b at Lazarovici has correspondences at Merlini, 2009: DS 020.2; for 9a see Peștera Gaura Chindiei II: Boroneanț, 1977: fig. 23.1; Parța: references Germann, 1986: 50c; for 9b analogies in caves, at Cotârğași: Teodor 2003: fig. 5, nr. 9B B considered runes; for the Neolithic see: Tărtăria tablet 2: Winn, 1981, code 41; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011; and other settlements Winn, 1981, code 111; in LBK, Kaufmann, apud Makkay, 1990: fig. 21/t.

⁵ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995 s.v. right apud Gria, Saint/Thierry.

⁶ Cave Gaura Chindiei; Boroneanț, 1977: fig. 23/4, 9, 14, 15, 16.

⁷ SD 228a, 228b: appear on the Cucuteni B vessel from Lozna: Teodor S., Lazarovici Gh., 2006: 107 and next; on a Neolithic tablet from Sesklo: Makkay, 1990: fig. 18/3; at Parța, Neolithic, inv. A 124: Germann, 1986; on a spindle whorl from Battonia: Makkay, 1990: 19/3; ceramic fragments from Turdaș: Roska, 1941: fig. 143/4; Makkay, 1990: fig. 11/22.2.

correspondences (above the *Stone Heart* or on Mount Teasc, where a sanctuary in nature is found (rock 43) and further in the neighbouring areas in Greece, from the Carpathians to Central Europe¹.

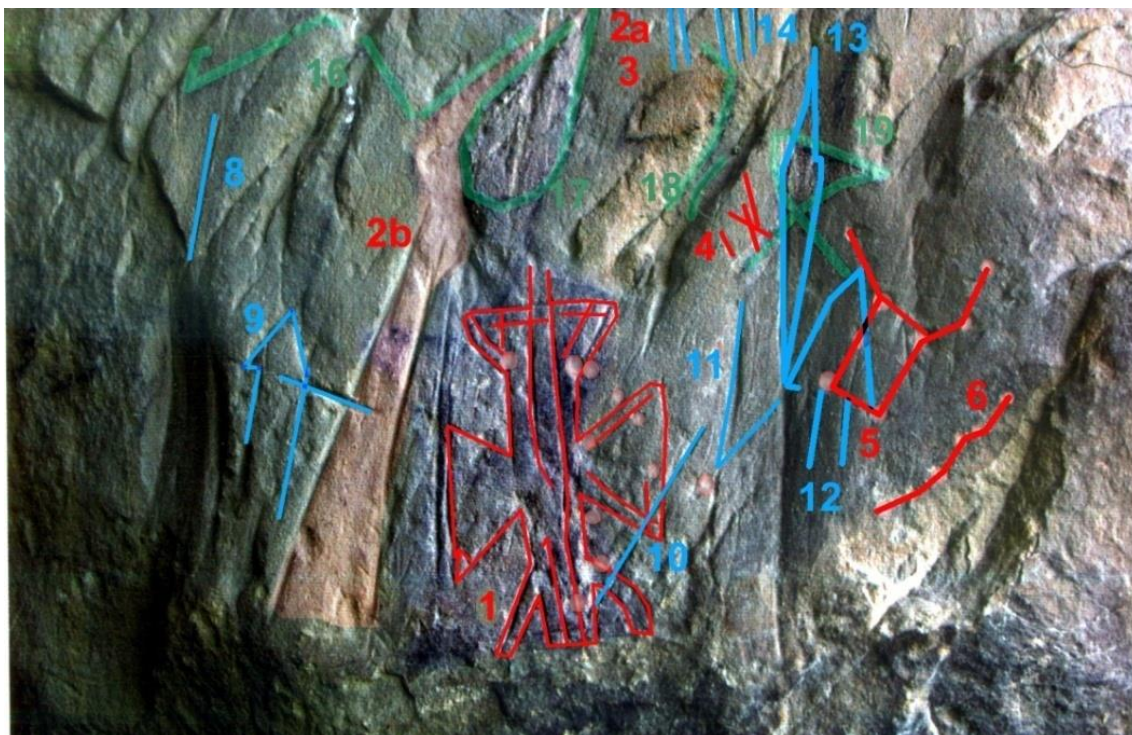


Fig. 30. Gura Peșterii Căsoaia.

3.h Căsoaia

At the mouth of the Căsoaia Cave, at the last house in Brăiești, 2 km in the valley of Șerb, there are a series of engravings of different sizes, from different periods, but also some paintings. As we did not visit the place, we only want to draw attention to the fact that there are more signs than the „Maltese Cross”. However, it is not exactly a cross of Malta, but it rather resembles our monumental crosses.

4. Ojdula

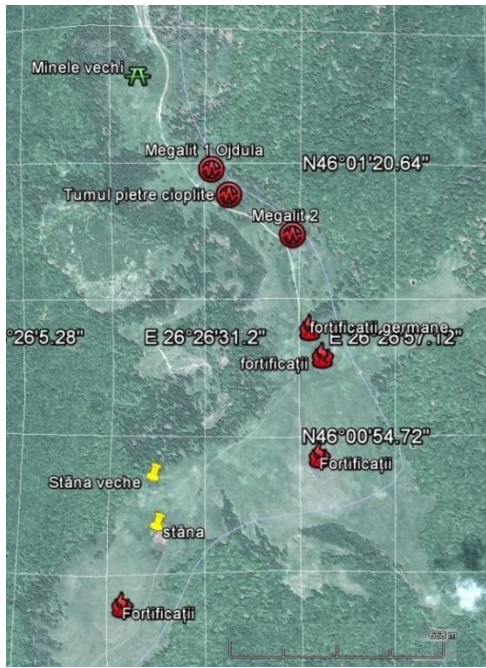
Gheorghe Lazarovici,

Daniel Apostol

daniel.apostol@live.com

From the route of the Ojdula - Mărășești pass, a ridge track goes along the border of the communes between the counties of Covasna and Vrancea towards its highest area; before descending to the fortifications of the two World Wars in the pass of the Transylvanian Oituz, after about 3 km, on the old road towards Moldovia, on the ridge track there is an area where we found traces of mining (galleries in part collapsed at ▲ 1310 meters); there are also a series of ridge fortifications. Between them and the highest point after which the track enters the forest, there are three objectives: a stone construction that could be a tumulus in which shaped stones were found and two megalithic blocks with signs on them.

¹ Neolithic spindle whorls or discs: Tsani Magule, c. Sesklo: Gimbutas, 1991: 8-18.12; Turdaș: Roska, 1941: fig. 128/18; Vlassa, 1970: 20, 11; Makkay, 1990: fig. 15.5-7; vessel bottoms with signs and symbols: Jovanović Š., 1981: 134; Makkay, 1990: fig. 35/I.8,23; Roska, 1941: fig. 133/10; Kaufmann, apud Makkay, 1990: 21.



◀ a b: above unmarked,
below marked by D. Apostol

Fig. 31. The south of Brețcu-Oituz Mountains, the location of the megaliths, mines and military fortifications from the modern wars.

We insisted on the German fortifications because on the *megalithic block 1* there were a number of crosses. Some of them resemble swastikas, oriented to the left (mark fig. 31b, 32).



Fig. 32. The megalithic block 1 with signs a ▲, b ▼ the signs marked 1-20, 21 ? (▲ 1306 m).



Our analyses start from some of the signs that could be made by the soldiers during the mentioned wars, whether as national signs or as family symbols. Because we are not documented in this area, we do not insist, but we do not exclude this possibility, especially since they have been carefully carved. In case of sign 14, it was either not finished or it was eroded severely, slight traces of the lower arm can be seen on the rock.



Fig. 33. Signs and symbols of the cross.

Another sign is the trident with a bent handle, which appears twice (fig. 33 mark 4 and 17).

The negative symbol of the trident belongs to the God Poseidon/Neptune, the god of the seas and darkness, the master of the unleashed seas, the master of the monsters in the deep, and others. The planet Neptune was given similar astrological symbols, inspiration, intuition, paranormal, utopia, madness, perversity, social anarchism, the irrational is associated with the net, the weapon of the fishermen and of the Retiarius (Roman gladiator) and so on. The positive symbol associated with the net is the symbol of Christ, the *fisherman of men*. He is the symbol of the trinity, in which case the teeth must be equal. The trident sometimes served as the hidden representation of the cross¹. In our symbols the trident appears alone or combined with Psy (Greek *psuhe*) with the meaning of soul, in Neolithic symbolism we find on the chest and neck of Goddess Luna², the symbol of fecundity and fertility, of the power of woman during night, she is **yin** and so on³. The symbol mark 17 also leads to the idea of a man kneeling in a position of prayer, oranta. In Glagolitic writing it has the meaning of the letters Z and R (the Christian symbol of Christ *ro/p*, *alfa/a* and **Z** the last letter as *omega/w*). There are, of course, many more examples and situations, but they show the difficulty of setting the dating and then the meaning of the symbols and signs in cave engravings. But, most of the times, behind them are myths with precise or vague meanings. Their combination can give us an idea of these meanings.

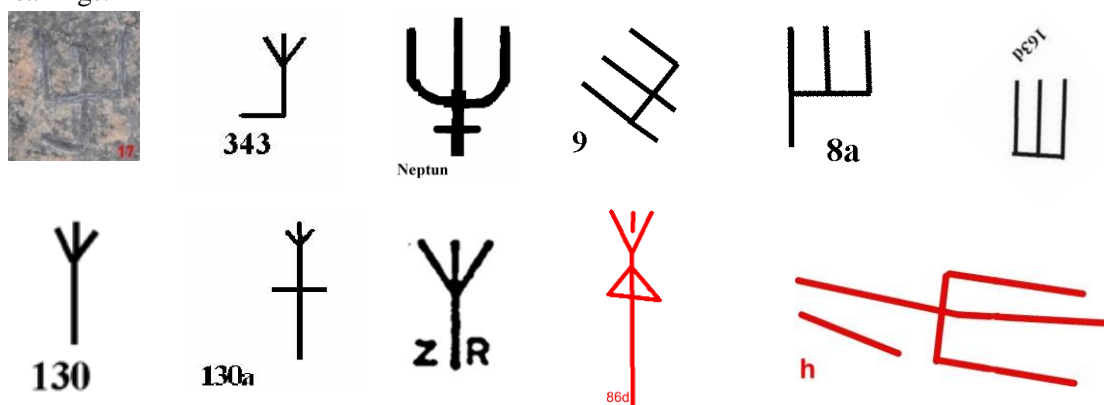


Fig. 34. The trident symbol and sign, the ones in red are analyzed above at Broscaru.

¹ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: s.v. trident, Poseidon, Neptune.

² *Code SD9*: appears in 2% at Merlini, 2013: 214 and next; *Turdaş*: Roska, 1941: fig. 93/9; and others: Radunceva, 2003: fig. 130; *cod SD 8a, SD 130*: in Srem, Trbuhović, Vailjević, 1983: VIII; Makkay, 1990: fig. 35/XVI.1: Teasc, Rock V: Kovács I., 1914; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: fig. 21e, fig. 183h; Rock III, Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: fig. 15d; Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2014: fig. 22b; in LBK Kaufmann, apud Makkay, 1990: fig. 21.a-b; Cotârğaşi: Teodor, 2003: fig. 5, nr. 14B, B, considered runes.

³ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: s.v. Moon.

The swastika (*DEX online*: an object in the form of a cross with equal arms, bent at right angles, serving as a religious symbol at some Eastern peoples; hooked cross. ♦ Political emblem used by the Nazis - From germ. *Swastika*, fr. *Svastika*).

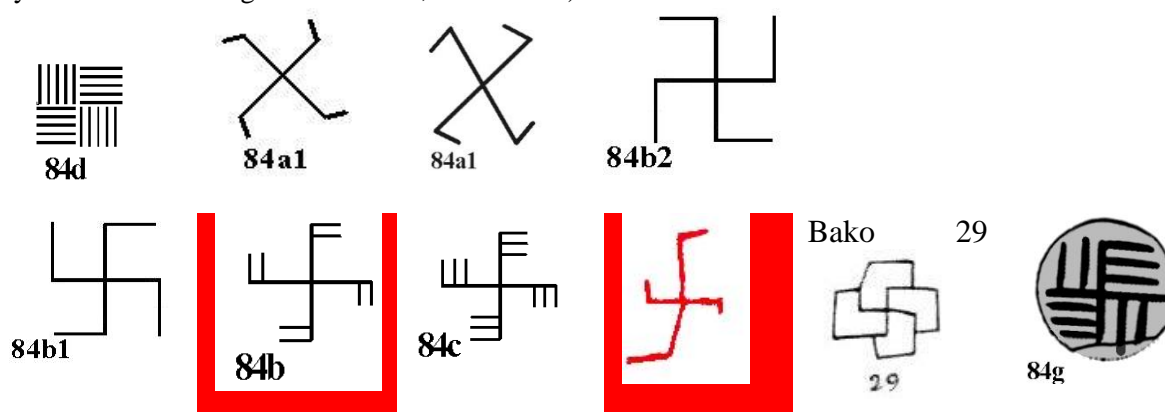


Fig. 35. Types of swastikas and DS codes (see tab. 37).

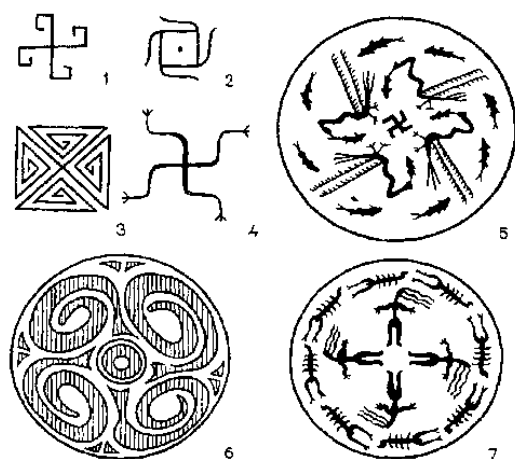


Fig. 302. Swastika-like Neolithic and Eneolithic figures:
1 - western Europe [209, p.90]; 2 - Asia Minor [386, p.212];
3-7 - Iran [259, pp. 21, 49, 59; 445, p.251].

Fig. 36. The swastika, after Golan 2003.

at least six situations. The Hungarian colleagues believe that they represent the cardinal points. In the situations presented by us, the swastika can also be linked to the German army soldiers (whose presence in the area is known during the wars), but on the other hand the signs may be even older.

Sign Types GL	Name	Locality	Culture	Theme	Bibliography
84b0	Bottom of vessel	Olteni II	Ariușd		Lazarovici Gh. Lazarovici C.-M. 2010, p. 45, fig. 21b1; Lazarovici Gh. Ariușd, 2016
84d	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Pața, Ceramic deposit	c. Banat.	Inside a cult context	Excavations Gh. Lazarovici, ref. Germann 1986, p. 50c

¹ Braniște E., Braniște E., 2001: 121-122, s.v.

² Braniște E., Braniște E., 2001: 121-122, s.v.

³ Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995: 255, s.v.

⁴ Golan, 2003: fig. 302.

⁵ Müller-Karpe, II, 1974: Taf. 305A.32.

Sign Types GL	Name	Locality	Culture	Theme	Bibliography
84c	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Pața	c. Banat.		Excavations Gh. Lazarovici, ref. Germann 1986, p. 50c
84a	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Pața	c. Banat.		Excavations Gh. Lazarovici, ref. Germann 1986, p. 50c
84d	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Pața, Ceramic deposit	c. Banat. .	Inside a cult context	Makkay 1990, 20/12 apud Resch/Germann, Germann
84c	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Pața	c. Banat. i II		Makkay 1990, 20/1 apud Resch/Germann, Germann
84a		Cucuteni - Cetățuia	Cucuteni A		Petrescu-Dîmbovița M., Văleanu M. C. 2004, fig. 122.1-4
84		Cucuteni - Cetățuia	Cucuteni A		Petrescu-Dîmbovița M., Văleanu M. C. 2004, fig. 122.5-6
84,1%	Data Das data base	Eneolithic-Copper	Copper Age		Merlini M. 2013, p. 230
84a	svastica	Herpály	Herpály	Cardinal signs	Kalicz N., Ráczky P. 1981, Taf. 24/2-3:
84	svastica	Herpály	Herpály	Cardinal signs	Kalicz N., Ráczky P. 1981, Taf. 24/2-3:
84a1	Megalith Cotârğași	Cotârğași	Rupestre		Teodor 2003, fig. 5 nr. 23B B runes
84c	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Turdaș	Turdaș		Roska 1941, 135/11
84c	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Turdaș	Turdaș		Roska 1941, 112/9
84g 163 76*	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Turdaș	Turdaș		Roska 1941, 124/28
84f	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Vrșac -At	Vinča C	Inside a cult context	Jovanović 1981, 134: Makkay 1990, 35/I.40 possibly an alegory
84e	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Vrșac -At	Vinča C	Inside a cult context	Jovanović 1981, 134: Makkay 1990, 35/I.35 alegory
84b	Bottom of vessel, with signs	Vrșac -At	Vinča C	Inside a cult context	Jovanović 1981, 134: Makkay 1990, 35/I.15 alegory
84d1	Tablet/disc	Vinča	Vinča C1	Sacred number	Winn 1981, 306, Vinča 168
84d	Idols	Tell-i-Bakun	neolithic		Müller-Karpe II, 1968, Taf. 303.6, 305A.32

Fig. 37. Symbols and signs from the DS and their analogies.

For those in red we gave the analogies above.

The other signs can mark roads or paths on the mountain saddle, they could be invocations (I[sus] – Jesus), but there are also symbols appearing in the DS. However, not being suggestive, it is not the case to analyze them: the vertical line represents the direction NS or noon, the horizontal EW the plane and many more. Unfortunately, these signs do not help us explain more of the signs above.

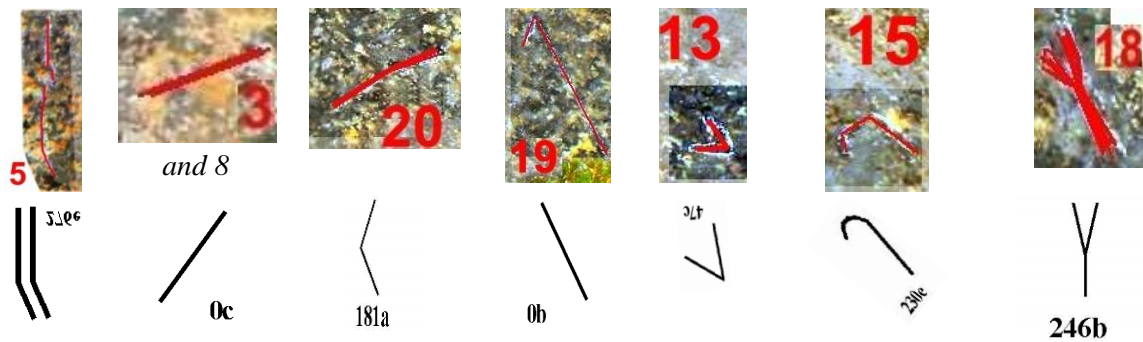


Fig. 38. Other signs marked in red, DS codes in black.

Instead of conclusions

In cave art, unlike ceramics and archaeological objects for which a chronological dating can be established, the age of cave engravings is difficult to establish, except for those associated with years. Also, as we have seen before, in several situations, when they are symbolic or placed in certain parts (the case of right-left) the symbols last for millennia. As Dimitrie Nica wrote, he was hunting in those places when he discovered the signs; it is also possible that ancient hunters of all times have made similar invocations. Deciphering them depends on the knowledge of myths and legends. The Christians, either monks or laymen, knew not only the Bible, but also the old legends (the legends of Olympus, Alexandria, the legends of Hercules and other heroes).. The monks had knowledge of the ancient philosophies, the Pythagoreans, and others, but also the priests and scholars of the Dacians had such knowledge, the literature mentions them as students of Mediterranean civilizations. Moreover, during the Neolithic, the Copper Age and other times there were many connections to the southern world for salt and metals (gold, copper), but especially amber. We have no analysis yet about the amber from the Buzău Mountains, but its qualities and properties were known in those times. When modern mountain archaeology is developed with studies, mine research, analyses, we will have more accurate answers.

References

- *** L'art des cavernes 1984. *L'art des cavernes : atlas des grottes ornées paléolithiques françaises*, Paris.
- *** RevArchPicardie, 3-4, 1998. *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, n°3-4, 1998. Le camp tardenoisien de Tigny (Aisne) / Un grenier à grains du Ile siècle à Amiens (Somme) / Un atelier de potier mérovingien à Soissons (Aisne).
- Berzovan, A., Pădureanu, D. 2010: A clay pot with tamga signs discovered in Șiria (Arad County), in *Annales d'Université Valahia Târgoviște, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 12/2: 57–66.
- Boroneanț, V. 1977. *Arta rupestră din Peștera Gaura Chindiei. Comuna Pescari (județul Caraș-Severin)*, în *RevBCMIA*, XLVI, 1, 1977: 23-34.
- Braniște, E., Braniște, Ec., 2001. *Dicționar enciclopedic de cunoștințe religioase*, Ed. Diecezană, Caransebeș.
- Chevalier, J., Gheerbrant, A. 1995: *Dicționar de simboluri*, 4 vol., București.
- Gavrilă, L.-D., 2012. *Enigme ale trecutului îndepărtat în Munții Buzăului. Munții Buzăului între mister și realitate*, Ed. Alpha MDN.
- Germann, K. 1986. *Archäologische Bekentnis*, manuscris referitor la descoperiri din apă și din săpăturile de la Parța despre obiectele de cult.
- Gimbutas, M. 1991. *The Civilization of Goddess. The World of Old Europe*, San Francisco.
- Golan, A. 2003. *Prehistoric Religion*, Jerusalem.

- Jovanović, Š. 1981: At, Vršaca, neolitsko naselje, in *Arheoloski Pregled*, 25, Beograd, 1986, p. 13-14.
- Kalicz N., Ráczky P. 1981. The precursors to the „Horns of Consecration" in the Southeast European Neolithic, in *Acta Arch.Hung.* 33, 1981.
- Kovács, A. 2016. Sign, Symbol and decoration - perspectives on benches from the Neolithic and Copper Age in Southeast Europe, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2016: 279- 326.
- Kovács, I. 1914. A tászoktetői sziklakarczolatok, in *Dolgozátok-Cluj*, V: 229-276.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 1969. Cultura Starčevo-Criș în Banat, în *ActaMN*, VI, 1969, p. 3-26.
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2016. Grupul Ariușd, manuscris in Enciclopedia Cucuteni-Tripillyia.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Gavrilă, D.-L. 2016. About symbols and signs on rock sanctuaries, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 451- 479.
- Lazarovici Gh. Lazarovici C.-M. 2010. Despre fazele A1 ale grupelor Ariușd și Cucuteni, în *Angustia*, 14, 2010, p. 27-108.
- Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014. *Chapter 9. About the great religious themes of Vinča culture*, în Constantin – Emil Ursu and Stanislav Țerna (eds.), *Antropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe*, Studies into South-East European Prehistory, I, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2014, p. 187-248.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., 2015. From Symbol to Sign. I Part, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *From Symbols to Signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to Signs, Suceava, Romania, 2-5 September 2014*, Etnoreligion Series, I, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 9-106.
- Lazarovici Gh., Pop 2016. Hunting symbols from the Someș cliffs, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 57-106.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2001. Gh. Lazarovici, Fl. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *Parța. Monografie arheologică*, Vol. 1.1 341 p.; vol. 1.2, 115 pl., 137 fig., "Waldpress", BHAB, 12.
- Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011. Megaliți în Carpații Răsăriteni. Căi spre sanctuarele din natură și urmele unor așezări. Studiu de etno-arheologie și etno-religie, in *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXXIV: 53-76.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2015. Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. Colesniuc, S. Angeleski, Muntele Teasc. Despre sanctuare în natură (II), in *Apulum*, LII: 85-112.
- Lazarovici, Gh. *et alii*, 2017. Gh. Lazarovici, C. Roman, C.-M. Lazarovici, New Cave Signs in Peștera Cizmei. A study of ethnoreligion, In C.-E Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Symbols and signs as a communication system*, Suceava 2017: 323-351.

- Makkay J. 1990. *Tartariai leletek*, Ed. Akademiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1990.
- Maxim, Z. 2005. Snake symbolic in the prehistory of the south-east Europe, in *Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, XXII, In honorem Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu-70 ani*, Călărași: 53-61. București. Ed. Daim P. H.
- Mândricel, I., Bortaș, V. 2008. *Vestigii rupestre și alte locuri magice din Munții Buzăului*, Ed. Victor B. Victor (V. Bortaș), București.
- Merlini, M. 2009. *An Inquiry into the Danube Script*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal, XXXIII, Sibiu.
- Merlini, M. 2013. *Facets of the Past*, București, 2013.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1968. *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte, I Jungsteinzeit*, München.
- Müller-Karpe, H. 1974. *Handbuch de Vorgeschichte, II Kupferzeit*, München.
- Nica, D. 2012. Urme ale unei posibile culturi presumeriene în Munții Buzăului, in Gavrilă, D.-L., *Enigme ale trecutului îndepărtat în Munții Buzăului. Munții Buzăului între mister și realitate*, Ed. Alpha MDN: 220-231.
- Peša, Vl., 2013. Der neuzeitliche Mensch in der Höhle. Die Speläoanthropologie als archäologische Quelle, in *Památky Archeologické*, 104: 231-316.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Văleanu, M. C. 2004. *Cucuteni-Cețațuie. Săpăturile din anii 1961-1966. Monografie arheologică*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis XIV, Muzeul de Arheologie Piatra Neamț, Ed. Constantin Matasă, 2004.
- Raduceva, A. 2003. *Kisnoeolitnoto obscestvo v Bîlgarskite zemli*, în colecția Raskopki i proucvanija, Sofija.
- Roska, M. 1941. *Die Sammlung Zsofia von Torma*, Cluj.
- Stoychev, T., Gerassimova, V. 1984. Bronze Age regional calendars in monochrome cave paintings in Bulgaria, in *Annuary of Department of Archaeology-NBU*, 1: 8-22.
- Szücs-Csillik, I., Maxim, Z. 2016. The snake and the agrarian rituals, in C.-E. Ursu, A. Poruciuc, C.-M. Lazarovici, *Between Earth and heaven. Symbols and signs. Papers presented at the international symposium From Symbols to signs. Signs, symbols, rituals in sanctuaries, Suceava, Romania, 11-13 September 2015. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași, Institutul de Arheologie, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 433-450.
- Teodor, D. G. 2003. Inscriptiile rupestre de la Cotârğași - Suceava, in *Inchinare lui P. Șt. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, vol. îngrijit de I. Căndea, P. Cernavodeanu și Gh. Lazar, Ed. Istros, Muzeul Brăilei, Brăila: 789-799.
- Teodor S., Lazarovici Gh. 2006. *Un fragment de vas Cucuteni B cu semne și simboluri*, in *Cucuteni 120. Valori universale. Lucrările simpozionului național, 30 septembrie 2004*, eds. N. Ursulescu și C.-M. Lazarovici, Ed. Sedcom Libris, Iași: 93-114.
- Truhović, V., Vasiliević, M. 1983. *Nejstarije Zemljiradničke kulture u podrinu*, Šabac, 1983.
- Vlassa, N. 1970. Contribuții la problema racordării cronologiei relative a neoliticului Transilvaniei la cronologia absolută a Orientului Apropiat (Partea I-a), in *Acta Mvsei Napocensis*, VII, 1970: 3-39.
- Winn, S. M. 1981. *Pre-writing in Southeastern Europe. The Sign System of the Vinča Culture ca. 4.000 BC*, Western Publishers, Calgary, 1981.
- Wirth, H. 1931. *Die heilige Urschrift der Menschheit. Symbolgeschichtliche Untersuchungen diesseits und jenseits der Nordatlantik*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang.

NEW CAVE SINGS IN PEȘTERA CIZMEI.

A STUDY OF ETHNORELIGION

Gheorghe Lazarovici

Universitatea Lucian Blaga, Sibiu,
ghlazarovici@yahoo.com

Cristian Roman,

Castelul Huniazilor, Hunedoara, :
cricr2001@yahoo.com

Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici

Institutul de Arheologie Iași,
magdamantu@yahoo.com

Key words: *Peștera Cizmei, signs, meanings, ethnoreligion, database*

Abstract: *In this study we have presented some new signs discovered in Peștera Cizmei/The Boot Cave (Hunedoara County). The cave is already known from other publications. Visiting this cave, we have discovered new signs that can be related with Christianity as well as with earlier, prehistoric times. We compare these signs with the ones from our data base, but we do not draw yet conclusions: we believe that new photos (with different, better lights) and maybe a 3D photo investigation are necessary.*

During an expedition in November 2016, organised by Cristian Roman and Alexandru-Valentin Lupea¹ from Brad, we visited Peștera Cizmei, known for its cave drawings². To mark is that this cave is considered to be a natural monument, located in the gorge of Ribicioara, Bulzeștii de Sus commune, Hunedoara County.

From the first papers we published, we counted seven cave signs in the shape of circles with signs and symbols.

In a previous study we related the number of seven circles to the idea of the seven-eight planets of the sun known in Antiquity that appeared in different places³.

At Gura Haitii engraved on a block of stone are the Sun, the Earth with the solar eclipse and seven other circles, which we interpreted as the 8 planets⁴. We were interested in establishing a connection with the circles in Peștera Cizmei.

¹ The Club of speology from Brad, Speo-Zarand Brad Mountain Association.

² Cârțiumaru, 2010 and references.

³ Analyses during the Symposium in Târgoviște: Gh. Lazarovici, Radu Pop, *Despre arta rupestră de la Grotă Mare Falezile Someșului și câteva comentarii despre arta rupestră, 25-27 octombrie 2016.*

⁴Târgoviște: Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016.



Fig. 1. Gura Haitii, solar eclipse.

continue such an approach, but we do not think that is the case, especially since recently some colleagues presented modern methods of 3D photography, which allow making a topographic map of the drawings³.

Initially we marked the signs as X1-X6, because they were located in five or six zones, but not all of the signs could be identified. In a first analysis, to the 14 signs found by M. Cârciumar, we added, as certain, 23 more, to which we managed to give a first interpretation; others are uncertain (over 30 lines in network, Xs, etc.) , requiring special, parallel lights, and detail photos with different lights, as did Radu Pop for *Falezule Someşului*⁴. The very small, fine drawings, placed in unseen places, have suggested the hypothesis that they were deliberately hidden from sight.

The very complicated drawings inside the circles in Peștera Cizmei (fig. 2, 15) have led us to resort to the knowledge of archeo-astronomy.

Marin Cârciumar, conducted a large, well documented study and located the circles on one of the walls of the cave, where all the signs are grouped¹. He localized 14 signs².

On the occasion of the expedition, we found the presence of other signs, finer, more complicated than the circles, more difficult to identify and interpret. Besides, the lights we had were not the most suitable for our approach.

Marin Cârciumar made a scale map with the circles he drew. We, as we have shown, were not prepared and did not have the tools to

¹ Cârciumar, 2010: 71, fig. 39.

² This number surprised us, being the double of 7, and we wanted to see if their order might suggest a meaning. Because of the unfavourable weather we could not stay longer, nor did we have measuring instruments, thus the visit was rather a habituation to the cave.

³ It was a method successfully applied at Scânteia (2016) by the teams of our German colleagues Doris and Carsten Miska, presented at the symposiums in Iași and Piatra Neamț 2016; the Romanian colleagues did the same at ***Nucu – Fundu Peșterii, Annex I-IV and others; Șuteu 2016, presentation at Zalău.

⁴ Radu Pop is a professional photographer and explorer speologist; Lazarovici Gh., Pop, 2016.

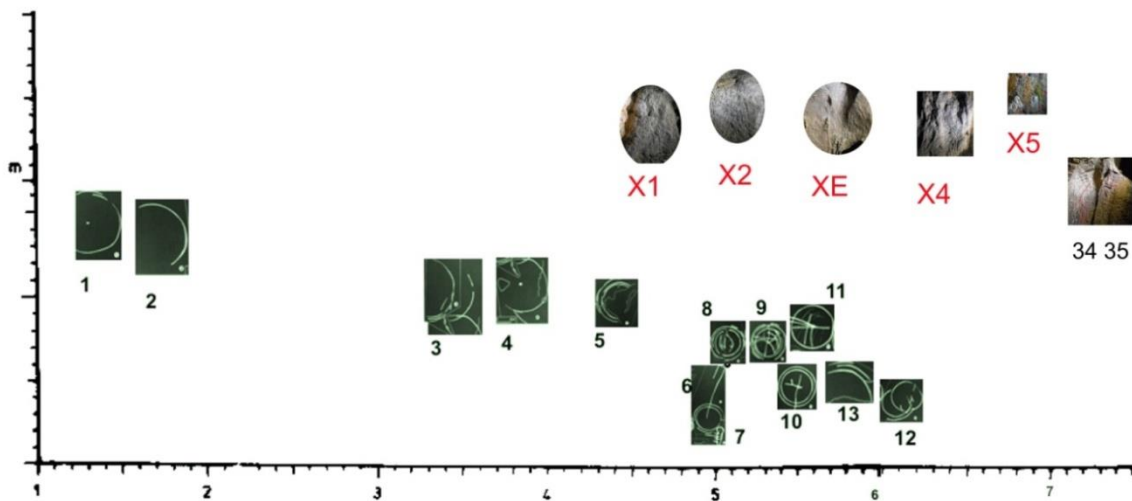


Fig. 39 - Emplacement des gravures sur la paroi droite de la grotte Cizmei (les numéros correspondent aux figures présentées par la suite)

Fig. 2. The scale plan of the left wall (looking from the entry) of Peștera Cizmei, realised by M. Cârciumaru and the approximate location of the new signs found by Lazarovici Gh. and Roman C.

We must point out that, unlike circles, most of the drawings are small and very fine. We have reinforced the contours of what seemed to us to make sense and formulated some hypotheses for them. The certain items have the PC mark and a serial number continuing those marked by M. Cârciumaru.

Group X¹



Fig. 3. Peștera Cizmei, mark 17; a, mammoth – mammoths; b, semicircle (trunk?).

The oldest representation seems to be the front part of a mammoth, the back being deleted. Thus we have some doubts, especially because so far there are no representations so small. With the necessary reserves, we present them in fig. 3.

¹ We did not locate it on the plan.



Fig. 4. Peștera Cizmei, group XI.

Other two or three representations, but also a series of lines, seem to relate to a biblical theme: The Crucifixion of Jesus on the Cross and the legionnaire who pierces Jesus with the lance (figure 4).

Biblical figures: Group X1

The legionnaire (PC 27 see annex 4 processed details) has a quadrilateral shield on the left shoulder (annex 4, detail mark a), and in his right hand he has a long lance (mark b) which reaches the character below him, who has a halo and a girdle. On the right there is a cross that looks like there is a sun on top and a support suggesting the grave. Two erased figures would suggest the two women praying at the grave of Jesus (perhaps Mary and Mary of Magdala). For other lines and signs in the neighbourhood, we have not yet found any explanations. But some may be natural, which will be seen in other shooting lights, as some lines seemed natural, but such lines appear only in areas marked by us as "X"-es.

Biblical figures: Moses 1 (fig. 5, PC33)

Another biblical representation is a human figure with a series of tablets in his arms (mark a1) and a stick on the left could suggest a torah. Above his head (mark b) there are 3 X-es, of which one is turned. At the bottom right of the character there is another X (mark C), and in the bottom left corner there are two other signs (mark D), a „Y” and a chrismon (IH).

We cannot help referring the figure to Moses and his teachings. Given that five tablets are represented, we think of the first five books of the Holy Scripture (the Pentateuch)¹.

¹ Explanations after Braniște E., Braniște Ec., 2001: 308, s.v. Moise.

Moses 2 (fig. 6, PC36)

Another, more explainable rendering, also shows Moses with five tables of teachings.

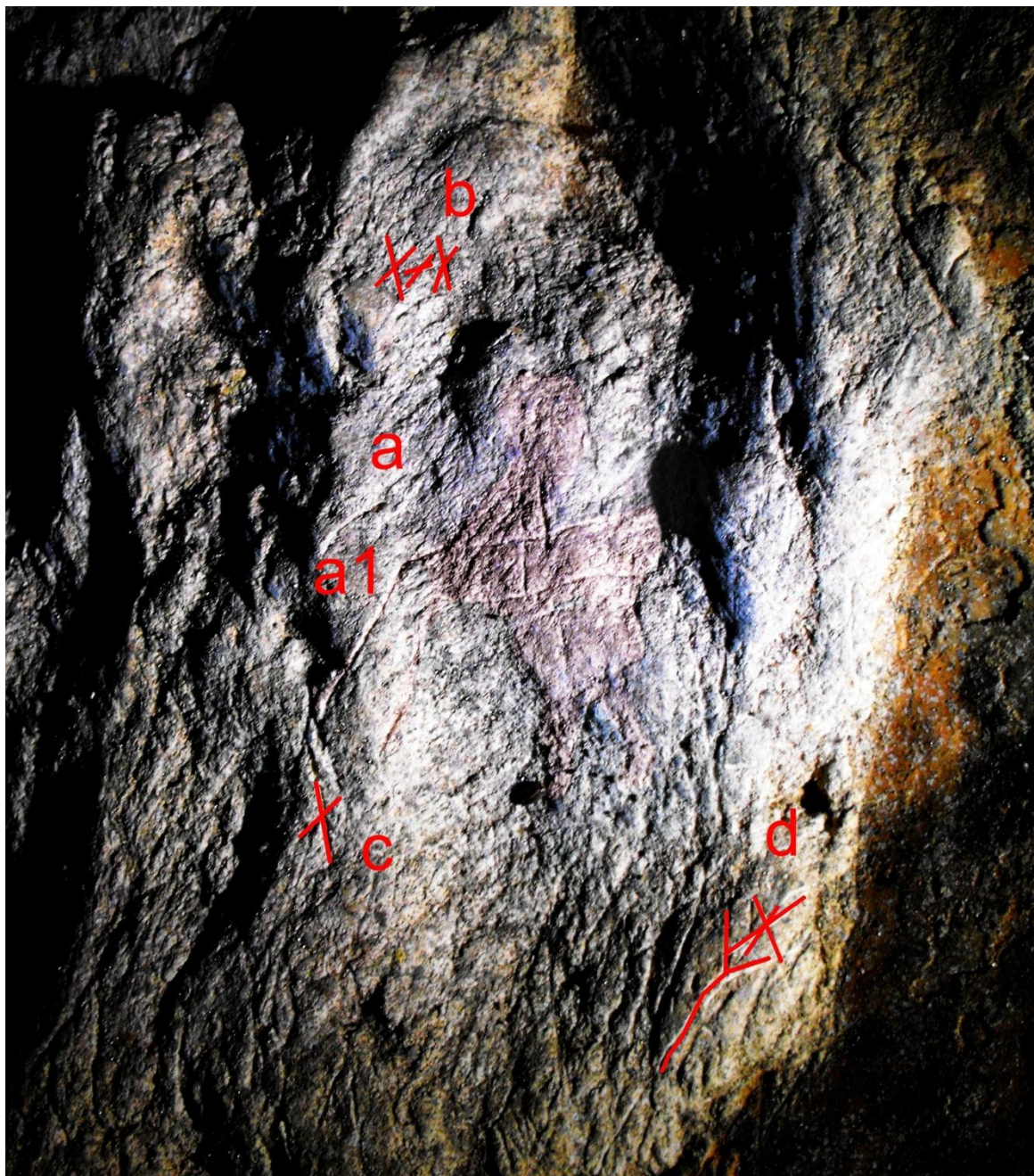


Fig. 5. Peștera Cizmei, the rendering of Moses I with the tablets of teachings (the Decalogue).

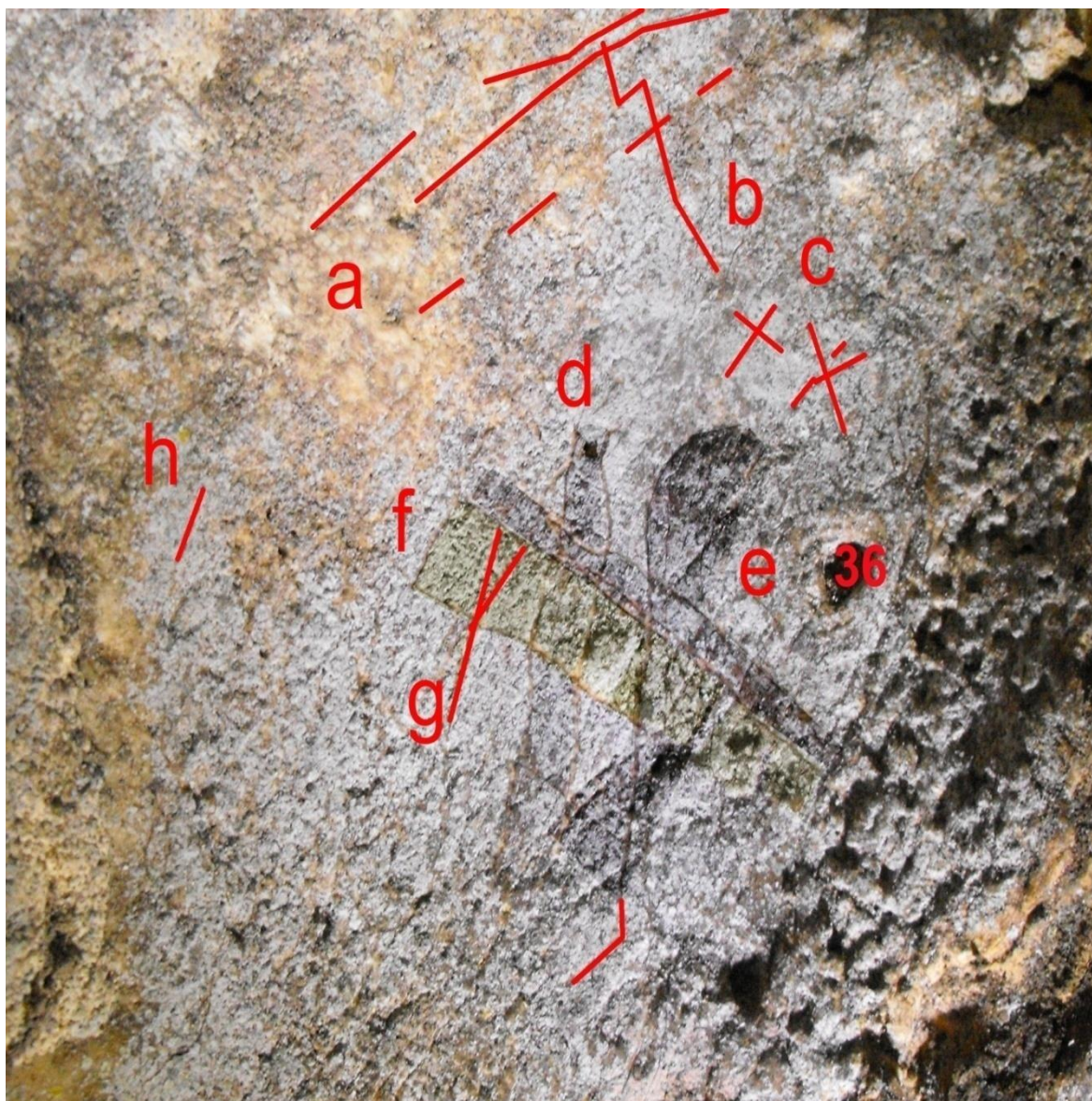


Fig. 6. Peștera Cizmei PC36, the rendering of Moses 2 with 7 tablets.

The image suggests the sky and the clouds (the lines of mark **a**), mark **b** suggests sending out the faith, the cross with the teacher Jesus Christ (**c**). The Holy Ghost is a bird above the right hand (**d**) of Moses (**e**) that goes down to the ground. In his hands there are the next 5 tablets (**f**). There also is a series of lines, not very visible in our photos.

Moses 3 (fig. 7)

The third theme of fine engravings also refers to Moses and the 10 tablets. The sky is suggested by three lines, the divine command is rendered by an arrowhead pointing from the south to the head of the figure. In his right hand and on his chest he has the first 5 commandments (the Decalogue), between the 2nd and 3rd commandments there is an oblique line forming an X (from Christ), at the waist there are 3 tablets and at the feet 2; in his hand there is a stick (*stilus*), either used

to write the commandments, or, more likely, the staff of Moses¹, the bishop's staff of later on (see below the interpretation of the circle, no. 6-7 in the drawings of M. Cârciumaru).



Fig. 7. Peștera Cizmei PC39.



¹The rod is the symbol of the shepherd, but figuratively, at the priests, it suggests the one that leads the flock of the believers or is the master. The theme appears on tablet 1 from Tărtăria: Vlassa, 1962; 1964; 1976, fig. 7/1=8/1; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011: 164, fig. VII.C3-C4a-c, 240, fig. IX.1: or it is the master, the pharaoh: Matie, 1958: 30, fig. 11.

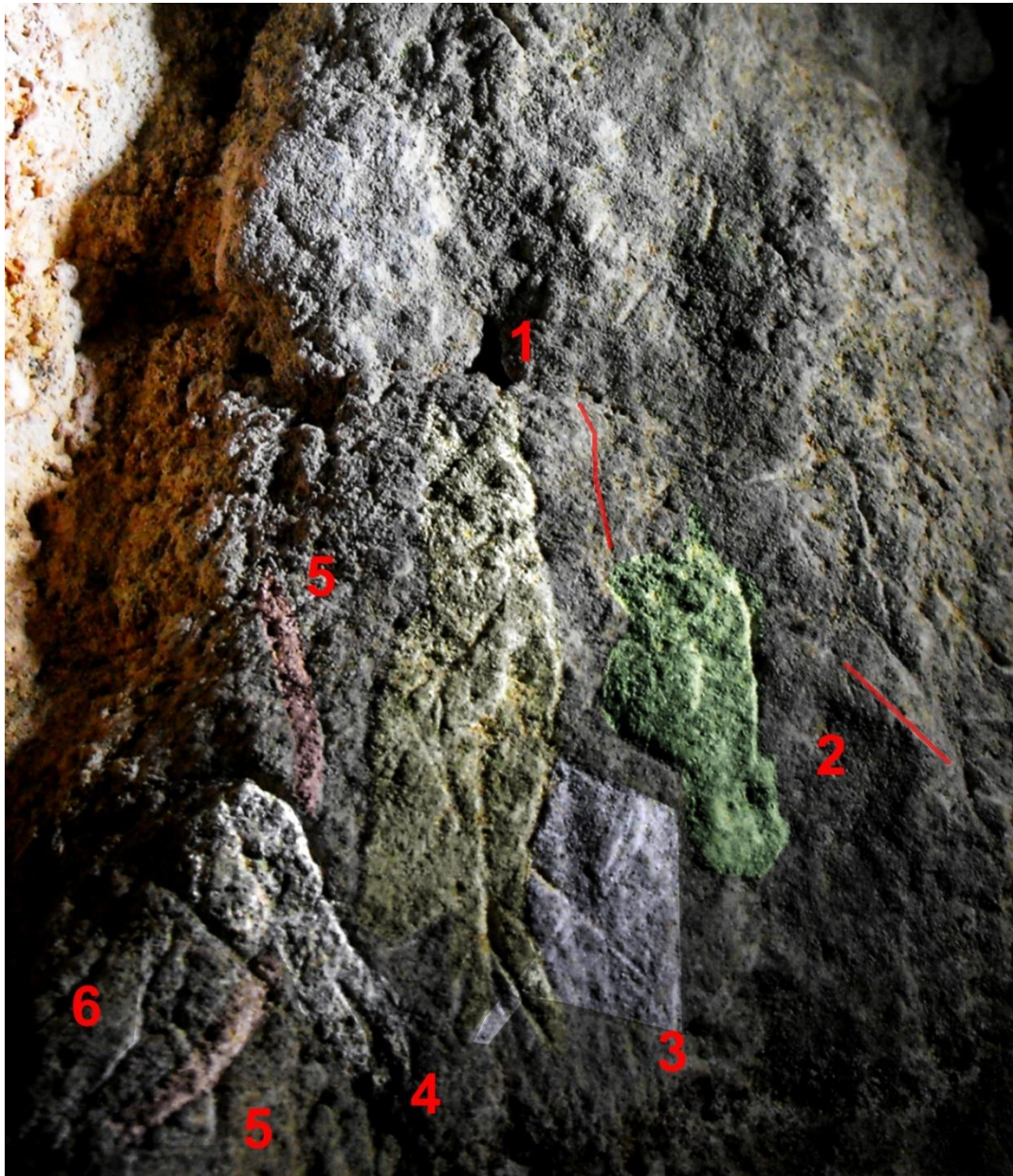


Fig. 8. Peștera Cizmei, group X2: 1, owl; 2, bat upside down; 3, shield or flag with St. Andrew's cross; 4, figure apparently held by the owl; 5, fragment of double circle; 6, eagle's head.

Group X2

In group X2 there are six renderings: fig. 8.1 might be an owl with raised tufts, with some lines suggesting the wings and the plumage, holding in its claws (PC 26.3) something similar to a flag with a cross (fig. 8.3); figure 8.2 shows a bat upside down, in their well-known position in caves; fig. 8.4 is unclear, being shadowed; fig. 8.5 shows a fragment of a double circle, purple marking; fig. 8.6, an eagle's head with a large beak¹.

¹ Aldea, 1974.



Fig. 9. Peștera Cizmei, Roebuck PC29.

The roebuck (fig. 9 PC29)

The group – as all other fine images – was in the upper part of the wall, in an unlit, shadowed area, thus it was not located¹. When the image was enlarged and processed the nose and the ears of the animal became apparent. The body and the legs were not very clear (purple marking). There are more lines above the back, suggesting a herd or other sacred signs (annex 9).

Group 0 (fig. 10)

From the fine incisions we notice two groups: a) a character with the arms stretched and b) a girdle crosshatched with X-es. The upper part of the character is obvious, and according to the position of the arms, he seems to hold a scroll.



Fig. 10. Peștera Cizmei: Group 3, X-es and crosses.

¹ The image appeared after photographing in line from the mouth towards the bottom of the cave and it seemed to suggest only fine incisions.

Group X4 (fig. 11, PC18a-c, PC35)

It is located at the mouth of the part that descends to the tip of the boot (the upper part of the boot is at the entrance, the area with engravings). In the group, four figures can be identified, but due to the light and the shaded area later we noticed that there may be others. A later scraping of the wall with a metal tool destroyed some of the engravings PC 35 (the altar), the horns of an animal (PC18c). In the area we can see two animal feet (PC18b), but also a series of other curved or dotted lines that do not tell us much because of the shade. The PC35 engraving suggests an altar, like the altar-icon supports from the churches.

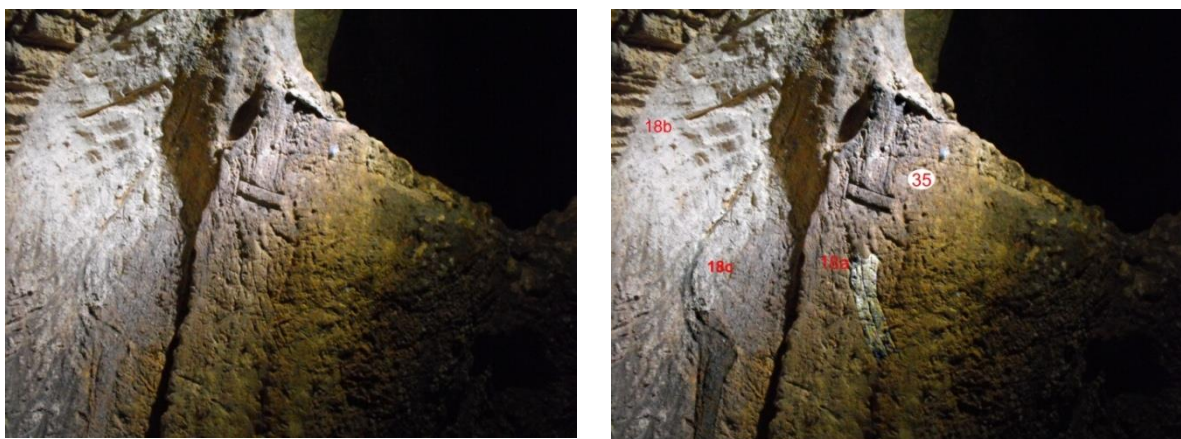


Fig. 11. Peștera Cizmei: Group 4: PC18a legs of an animal; PC18b, smoothing lines; PC18c, horns and animal's nose (left image processed by).



Fig. 12. Peștera Cizmei: a, PC24 scarecrow-man (left image processed by us); b, the chick.

Drawings with wide engravings

The scarecrow (fig. 12, PC24). We gave this name to a rendering realised by another technique (through hammering) and with different tools, perhaps a narrow chisel. The figure seems to be a scarecrow (fig. 9a): on the triangular head it has a bird, and in the right hand a hoe.

The bird-chick (fig. 12b, PC25) is made in the same manner, with a similar, but not identical tool. The one who made the carving carefully left a small bump on the wall to suggest the eye. The wings are small, suggesting a chick. The area where the drawing was made suggests a bird's nest.

Thus, we consider that it was the hand and the eye of an artist, who knew how to exploit the angles of the wall.

In some places the wall shows traces of such a tool, used to level the wall.

The horse head (fig. 13, PC37)



Fig. 13. Peștera Cizmei, the horse head (fig. 10. PC37).

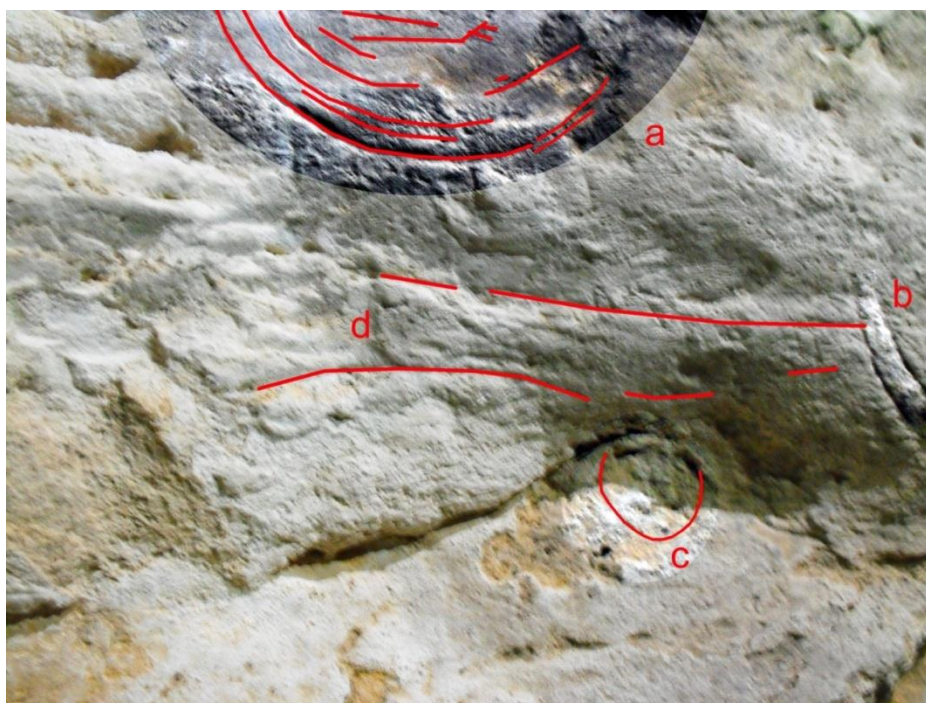


Fig. 14. Peștera Cizmei, PC40a-c, 3 circles and 2 lines.

The engraving is also done with an instrument wider at the top. The artist chose some irregularities of the rock (the ear and the mane) and then traced the nose through a few lines. The

representation is in continuation of some fine engravings, affecting some of them, therefore it was made later.

Three circles and two lines (fig. 14, PC40a-d)

An image we have not been able to identify with any of M. Cârciumaru's circles lies almost at the floor level, and in the upper part there are the circles (fig. 15, mark 12) (fig. 14a). In fig. 14b are fragments of a double circle, and fig. 14c seems to be a figure in a circle (blurry because of the images) and two long lines that seem to mark a road, a path, a ridge? (fig. 14d).

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE CIRCLE AND OTHER SIGNS

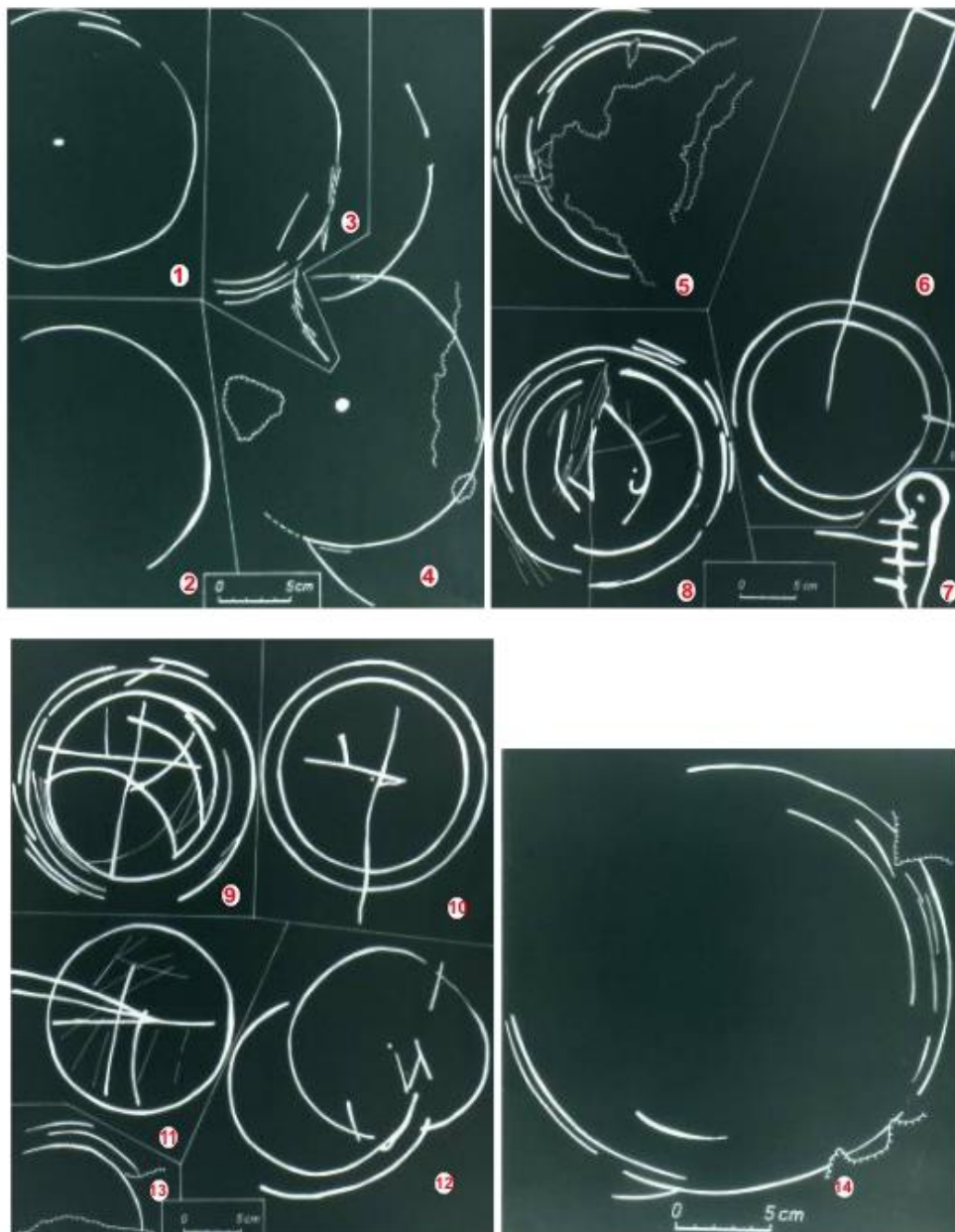


Fig. 40 - Principales gravures identifiées dans la grotte Cizmei (les numéros correspondent à ceux du plan de l'emplacement des gravures)

Fig. 15. Peștera Cizmei (after Cârciumaru, 2010: 72, fig. 40).

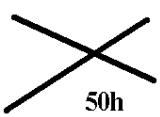




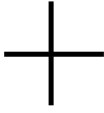
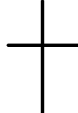



The circle represents in most religions of the world a fundamental symbol¹: the deity and its goodness, heaven, perfection, time, continuity, the harmony of time, and more. The center of the circle also has a wide symbolic meaning: moving away from the center divides and multiplies, all the rays coexist; the proximity to the center indicates intimacy, progressive harmony of the spirit, intimacy; the concentric circles: the stages of interior refinement; in Christianity: light, life.

It is not the case now to analyze all these problems, but the presence of the 14-16 circles in an environment where there are many Christian symbols and images determines us to consider most of the images in the cave as unitary, although there are time differences.

On the occasion of other papers, in which we presented some case studies, we analyzed some cave situations related to hermits, monks².

In those grottos, or caves (dry, lit, not far from water), we signalled the presence of a series of signs, some of which are found in the present cave too. We mean some signs present in our database regarding the „Danube Script” (DS) with the following codes: cross code 127, St. Andrew's cross code 50 that we found in those hermits' caves³. Of course those signs appear from the Mesolithic until the recent times. Considering the associations in this cave, we will confine ourselves to analogies from the Paleo-Christian period and from early Christianity, before the organization of state and Church in medieval Romania.

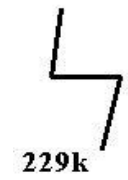
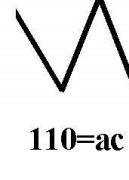
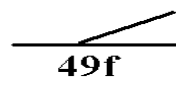




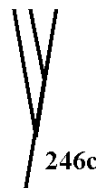


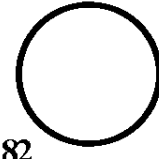
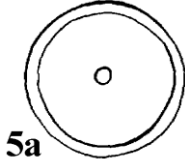
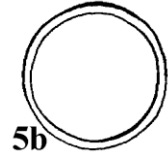
The center of the circle appears at PC1, 4, 6, 8, circle arcs at PC9, cross at PC9, 10, and the bishop's staff starting from the center of the circle at PC6.

1	 50h	 50	 50.4	 50.3	 50.2
2	PC33	PC36 PC33	PC33		PC33
3	20A	66 111-115, 129 a.s.o.			
4	DS 005.0	DS 005	DS 005	DS 005	DS 005
1	 127	 Om 59	 128a	 50h1	 501
2	PC36		PC11	PC33	PC33
3	66 +var				
4	DS 011.0+var.	DS 012+var.	DS 005	DS 005	DS 005

¹Chevalier, Gheerbrant, 1995, s.v. Cercul: 294-29.

²We referred in the study Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2011.

³Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2011: tab. Ib, Ic, 6 and annex 2.

1	 229k	 110=ac	 49f	 131	
2	PC33	PC12	PC33, PC36	PC33, PC36	PC33, PC36
3	8, 130, 79 var.118	8, 130, 79	2+var	2+var	66 +var, 311
4	DS 0015.6 015.0+var.,	DS 005	DS 007.0 +var.	DS 008 +var.	DS 006.+var.
1	 3n	 181a	 246c1	 130b	 3
2	PC39	PC36 Pc39	PC11		PC39
3	95, 96 +var			3, 10, 121, 124,	
4	DS 001.6	DS 003.0	DS 005	DS 008.2	DS 005
1	 182	 5a	 5b		
2		PC5a			
3	135				
4	DS071.7	DS074			
1	<i>Table 16. Types of symbols and signs with some variants appearing in Peștera Cizmei (var = variant).</i>				
2	Codes after Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. m.s.; the variant from Lazarovici Gh. 2004 was quoted by Merlini, 2009: 137-157.				
3	Codes after Winn, 1981: 110-137; and others about Turdaș.				
4	Codes after Merlini, 2009: 453-457 and next; and others about Turdaș.				

In Table 16 we presented the signs of two doctoral theses, due to Shan Winn (1981) and Marco Merlini (2009), with their codes. They linked them to the Turdaș Script, the Vinča Script, and in agreement with the Danube Script after 2004. We have not mentioned other studies by J. Makkay or H. Haarmann's writings on Old European Writing, with the transmission of some signs to old alphabets in Europe¹.

¹Haarmann, 1995; 2004-2008b; 2008a; 2008b; Haarmann, Marler, 2008; a.s.o.

It is not the case now to analyze all these related to Christian signs and symbols, because they are very numerous, they are current, to some we have referred¹, and the database loading was more intense for the prehistoric ones. Below is an example (annex 16) of how many analogies are and how long they last over time. Some are symbols, others are signs, and all have some meaning that can be deduced from associations (see above the examples of Moses 1 - Moses 3). The codes have images in Table 16. In abbreviations: PPN Pre-Potery-Neolithic; LBK Linear bandkeramic = Linear Pottery.

Annex 16. Analogies for the signs from table 16

Type of sign	GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
110 ac		Peștera Cizmei PC36	Winn S. 1981, cod 2/variant (var)		cave			
110 ac		Peștera Cizmei PC33	Winn S. 1981, cod 2+var.		cave			
110 ac		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 14.3		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12 th century		
127		Tell Quaramel,	Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014 Su fig. 175b4		PPN	PPN		1
127		Teasc Rock 5	Kovács I. 1914 Rock Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 18.1a	Vtriangle	cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Teasc Rock 3	Kovács I. 1914 Rock Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 15.21	IIItriangle	cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Teasc Rock 21	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 32	arrowhead	cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Peștera Cizmei PC36	Winn S. 1981, cod 66+var.		cave			
127		Peștera Cizmei PC36			cave			
127		generally	cod Lazarovici	sacred sign, square				1
127		Cotârğași	Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 no.11B B rune	Megalith Cotârğași	cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 10.23		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12 th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.8		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12 th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.6		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12 th century		1

¹Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici C.-M., 2011; Lazarovici Gh. *et alii*, 2011; 2014; 2015; Lazarovici Gh., Gavrilă, 2016; a.s.o.

Type of sign	GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.23		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.16		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.15		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 23/4, 9, 14, 15, 16		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		4
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 18.1		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 13.1		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 12.6		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 12.4		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 10.21		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 10.13		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 10.13		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		1
127		Colți Culmea Broscariulu i	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. Megalith 2008, fig. at p. 183-184 Colți Written Rock nr. 50		cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Colți Culmea Broscariulu i	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. Megalith 2008, fig. at p. 183-184 Colți Written Rock nr. 43		cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Colți Culmea Broscariulu i	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. Megalith 2008, fig. at p. 183-184 Colți Written Rock nr. 4		cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Colți Culmea Broscariulu i	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. Megalith 2008, fig. at p. 183-184 Colți Written Rock nr. 34		cave	prehistory - present		1
127		Colți Culmea Broscariulu i	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. Megalith 2008, fig. at p. 183-184 Colți Written Rock nr. 24		cave	prehistory - present		1

Type of sign GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
127	Colți Culmea Broscariulu i Written Rock nr. 12	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	Megalith cave Colți		prehistory - present		1
127	Parța	Makkay 1990, 20/2 apud Resch/Germann, bottom Germann	20/2 Vessel with sacred signs	Banat II	Neolithic		1
127	Cucuteni Cetățuia	Petrescu-Dîmbovița M., Văleanu M.C. 2004, fig. 121.3		Cucuteni A			1
127	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 126/8	whorl	Turdaș	Neolithic		1
127	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 132/1	Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		1
127	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 131/45	Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		1
127	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 128/18; Vlassa 1970, 20, 11; Makkay 1990, 15.5-7	Black disc	Turdaș	Neolithic		1
127	Gradeșnica	Makkay 1990, 28/6; Nikolov, 1974, 110 urm.	Vessel șibottom with signs	Gradeșnica	Neolithic		1
127	Sesklo	Makkay 1990, 18/3	tablet	neolithic	Neolithic		1
127	Ghirbom	Aldea 1974, 40-47, fig. 1-4; Gimbutas 1976, 3; Makkay 1990, 19/4a-b	disc ball	or Petrești AB	Copper Age		1
127	Ciucsangior giu	RepHarghita, 341, 5/2	pl. stamp seal	Precucuteni I	Neolithic		1
127	Kokenydom b	Makkay 1990, 17.1:	cylinder rolziger	Tisa	Late Neolithic		1
127	Vinča BB	Vasić PV III 1936, 926	Small altar zoom. vessel 1	Vinča A -	Neolithic		1
127	Tărtăria 2.4, 7-9	Vlassa 1962; 1964; 1976, 7/1=8/1	tablet	Vinča A	Middle Neolithic		1
127	Tărtăria 2.1	Makkay 1969, 13/15a	tablet cross	Vinča A	Middle Neolithic	DS 011.0	1
127	Tărtăria 1.1a 1b	Vlassa 1962; 1976; Bibl. Comșa 1977, cat. 170, 524, 540, 582, 594, 595, 686, 689, 830, 881, 1125,	tablet	Vinča A	Middle Neolithic		1

Type of sign GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
		1195					
127	c. Vinča, Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/23; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		1
127	Vinča BB	Vasić PV III 1936, 921a-d	idol	Vinča C2	Neolithic		1
127 Om 59	Dolnoslav 130.8	Radunceva 2003, 130	fig. tablet		Gradešnica		1
127 49d 237 230e 227a 258c 76 113f 236d 260 236c	Vinča 926	BB Vasić PV III 1936, 926	Small altar zoom. vessel 1	Vinča A	Neolithic		1
127* 46	Medvenjak	Winn 1981, Medvenjak 46	325, tablet disc	c. Vinča C1	Neolithic		1
127* 41-42	Turdaş	Roska 1941, 131/36-39, 41-42	Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaş	Neolithic		1
127, 149b	Colţi Culmea Broscariulu i Rock nr. 34	Mândricel I., Bortaş V. 2008, fig. 1a p. 183-184	Megalith tablet Colţi		prehistory		1
127, 171, 113.2, 1b3, 157, 180a	Mohelnice	Makky 1990, 22/6	Sacred vessel with signs	Lengyel	Eneolithic		1
128a 13	Teasc Rock	Lazarovici Gh. et alii XX 2011, fig. 31b	tablet		prehistory - present		
128a	Peştera Cizmei PC11		tablet				
128a	Parţa Ceramic Deposit	G72: Germann 1986:	fragment with signs	Banatului	Neolithic		
128a	Vrşac -At	Jovanović 1981, 134; Makkay 1990, 35/I.7	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča C	Copper Age		
181a	Tangâru	Merlini 2009, p. 295-296, 5.248	Idol with diagonal	Gumelniţa			

Type of sign GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
181a	Peștera Cizmei PC36						
181a	Cifer, Pacon	Makky 1990, 22/7	Sacred vessel with signs	Lengyel	Late Neolithic		
3	Peștera Cizmei PC39	code 3, 10, 121, 124					
3	generally	code Lazarovici	Sacred sign, praying position, headless				
3	Dolnoslav 130.2	Radunceva 2003, fig. 130	tablet disc,				
3	Cotârğași 38B B	Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 nr.	Megalith cave Cotârğași		prehistory ...		
3	Cotârğași 38B B	Teodor D., 2003, fig. 5 nr.	Megalith cave Cotârğași		prehistory ...		
3	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 93/9	fragment with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		
3	Kokenydo mb	Makkay 1990, 17.1	cylinder rolziger	Tisa	Late Neolithic		
3	Rast	Gimbutas 1991, fig. 8-3	Mother breast-feeding	Vădastra II	Neolithic		
3	c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32.7; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
3	c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32.5; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
3	c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32.1; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
3 16 3ac.	Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
3a	Peștera Cizmei PC39			cave			
3a	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 128/13	whorl	Turdaș	Neolithic		
3a	Ghirbom	Aldea 1974, 40-47, fig. 4; Gimbutas 1976, 3; Makkay 1990, 19/4a-b	disc ball	orPetrești AB	Copper Age		
3a	c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32.4; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		

Type of sign GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
	Srem	Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vailjevićbottom with signs				
3a	c. Vinča, Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/32.3; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
3n	Peștera Cizmei PC39	Winn S. 1981, code 95, 96 +var		cave			
3N	Peștera Cizmei PC36			cave			
3o	Peștera Cizmei PC39			cave			
3o	Măgura Vitănești F4.2	Andreescu 2009, p. 78, 84, fig. 6.1 F1 face 1 , f2table Face 2, F3 face 3 F4 face 4, Head 1 head 1, Hea2 head 2,	prismatic Gumelnița		Copper Age		
3o 3n	Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 18.2 fig. 18/2		cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		
50	Tell Quaramel	Lazarovici Gh., 2014 Su fig. 175b12		PPN			
50	Tell Quaramel	Lazarovici Gh., 2014 Su fig. 175b1.		PPN			
50	Tell Quaramel	Lazarovici Gh., 2014 Su fig. 175		PPN			
50	Turdaș 138.1	Roska 1941, 138/1	Idol, with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		
50	Teasc Rock 39	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 59a; Merlini 2009, p. 457	X	cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 39	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 59a; Merlini 2009, p. 457	X	cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 28	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 48; Merlini 2009, p. 457	X	cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 26	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 45; Merlini 2009, p. 457	X	cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 15	Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 18.3m; Merlini 2009, p. 457	monogram X + chamber	cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	

Type of sign GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
50	Teasc Rock 13	Lazarovici Gh. et aliiX 2011, fig. 31a-b; Merlini 2009, p. 457		cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 12	Lazarovici Gh. et aliiX 2011, fig. 31a; Merlini 2009, p. 457		cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 12	Lazarovici Gh. et aliiX 2011, fig. 31a; Merlini 2009, p. 457		cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Teasc Rock 1	Kovács I. 1914 Rock I,X Lazarovici Gh. et alii 2011, fig. 11; Merlini 2009, p. 457		cave	prehistory present	-005; 006	
50	Peștera Cizmei PC36	Winn S. 1981, code 66, 111-115		cave			
50	Peștera Cizmei PC33			cave			
50	Isaia	Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014 Su fig. 9		Precucuteni			
50	generally	code Lazarovici	Sacred sign, pregnant woman				
50	generally	code Lazarovici	Sacred sign, virgin				
50	Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 7.3	cave	cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		
50	Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 23.22	cave	cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		
50	Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 13.10	cave	cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		
50	Coronini Chindia 2	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 10.7	cave	cave	Palaeolithic_ 12th century		
50	Colți Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr. 49	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	Megalith Colți	cave	prehistory ...		
50	Colți Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	Mândricel I, Bortaș V. 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	Megalith Colți	cave	prehistory ...		

Type of sign	GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
								46
50	Colți	Mândricel I, Bortaș Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	I, Bortaș 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	V.Megalithh cave Colți		prehistory ...		
								42
50	Colți	Mândricel I, Bortaș Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	I, Bortaș 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	V.Megalith cave Colți		prehistory ...		
								27
50	Colți	Mândricel I, Bortaș Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	I, Bortaș 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	V.Megalith cave Colți		prehistory ...		
								18
50	Colți	Mândricel I, Bortaș Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	I, Bortaș 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	V.Megalith cave Colți		prehistory ...		
								17
50	Colți	Mândricel I, Bortaș Culmea Broscariul ui Written Rock nr.	I, Bortaș 2008, fig. at p. 183-184	V.Megalith cave Colți		prehistory ...		
								16
50	Parța P40	Lazarovici Gh. et ali	2001, I.2, fig.6/3:	idol with sacred signs	Banat II	Neolithic		
50	Svetozare vo	Winn 1981,	Svetozarevo1	whorl	Vinča C1	Neolithic		
50	Târpești	Makkay 1990, 37/10:		fragment with signs	Eneolithic	Copper Age		
50	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 131/44, 46		Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		
50	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 141/6; Makkay 11/22.2		Vessel fragment, Zeus from	Turdaș	Neolithic		
50	Turdaș	Roska 1941, 136/7		fragment with semne	Turdaș	Neolithic		

Type of sign	GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
50		Turdaş	Roska 1941, 128/18; Vlassa 1970, 20, 11; Makkay 1990, 15.5-7	Black disc	Turdaş	Neolithic		
50		Turdaş	Lazarovici C.-M. 2014	Gh.,Black disc, face	Turdaş	Late Neolithic		
50		Gradešnica	Makkay 1990, 29/5; Nikolov, 1974, 110ff.	Vessel bottom with signs	Gradesnica	Neolithic		
50		Tangâru	Marinescu-Bîlcu 1998, 27/3; Ursulescu 1998, 103,	apudtablet	Gumelniţa	Late Neolithic		
50		Karanovo	Schier 2002, II/8	Tablet with handle register 1	Karanovo			
50		liniar stichband	Kaufmann, 1990, 21/j	apud Makkayfragment with signs	LBK	Late Neolithic		
50		liniar stichband	Kaufmann 1976, 15; Makkay 1990, 24/s	apudFragment with signs	LBK	Late Neolithic		
50		Csapojevka	Makkay 1990, 37/9	fragment with signs	Kurgan tombs	Copper-bronze		
50		c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/3.1; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
50		c. Vinča Srem	Makkay 1990, 42/24; Trbuhović, 1983, VIII	Vessel Vailjevićbottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
50		Vršac -At	Jovanović 1981, 134; Makkay 1990, 35/I.3,5,6,10, 11,27, 38	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča C	Copper Age		
50		Vršac -At	Jovanović 1981, 134; Makkay 1990, 35/I.28	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča C	Copper Age		
50	127	Turdaş 132.1	Roska 1941, 132/1	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
50	147	Turdaş	Roska 1981, 135/33	Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaş	Neolithic		
50*		Svetozarevo 2	Winn 1981, 2	Svetozarevotablet	c. Vinča C1	Neolithic		
50*		Turdaş	Roska 1941, 131/31, 35, 36, 38	34,Vessel bottom with signs	Turdaş	Neolithic		
50,	1a	Csapojevka	Makkay 1990, 37/7:	fragment	Kurgan tombs	Copper-bronze		

Type of sign	GL	Location	Bibliography	Name	Culture	Age	Merlini DS	Number
5a	19a	37.7		with signs				
196a								
196b								
50.0		Dolnoslav	Radunceva 2003, fig. 130	Tablet, plaque, disc,	Gumelnița			
			130.11					
50.2		P.Cizmei			cave			
		PC33						
50.3		P.Cizmei			cave			
		PC33						
50.3		Isaiia	Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014 Su fig. 9		Precucuteni			
50.4		P.Cizmei	Winn S. 1981, code 129 a.s.o.					
		PC33						
50.4		Isaiia	Lazarovici Gh., Lazarovici C.-M. 2014 Su fig. 9		Precucuteni			
50h		P.Cizmei	Winn S. 1981, code 20A		cave			
		PC33						
50h		Parța	anGermann 1986, X7	Vessel, with sacred signs	Banat II	Neolithic		
		1981						
50h		Gradešnic	Makkay 1990, 28/7	;Vessel bottom with signs	Gradesnica	Neolithic		
		a	Nikolov, 1974, 110f.					
50h		c. Vinča,	Makkay 1990, 42/24;	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
		Srem	Trbuhović, Vailjević					
			1983, VIII:					
50h		50c. Vinča,	Makkay 1990, 42/24.1;	Vessel bottom with signs	Vinča B2/C	Neolithic		
		49d Srem	Trbuhović, Vailjević					
			1983, VIII					
50h		Dolnoslav	Radunceva 2003, fig.	tablet	Gumelnița			
		50.0 76	130.11	plaque, disc,				
		126 50						
50h*		Turdaș	Roska 1941, 117/2	fragment with signs	Turdaș	Neolithic		
50h1		P.Cizmei			cave			
		PC33						
5a		P.Cizmei	Winn S. 1981, code 135		cave			
		PC5A						
5a		Coronini	Boroneanț 1977, fig. 12.3		cave	Palaeolithic_		
		Chindia 2				12th century		

Instead of conclusions

After a first research and some photos, not quite professional, because the lights influenced the colours of the wall and left some details unclear, we cannot draw conclusions, nor is it now the case of more extensive interpretations than those already mentioned. Many of the above are working hypotheses. A systematic research with 3D photos is more than necessary. No correlations can be made because the number of associations is small (some examples are shown in the tables).

Photo annexes

Since the images were processed, it is necessary to show the originals or the variants.



Annex 4. Photo, detail: Jesus (PC15.1 here mark 1); the Roman legionnaire with shield (PC 27, here mark 2); the cross on the rock (PC 28, here mark 3).



Annex to fig. 5, Moses I.



Annex to fig. 12



Annex to fig. 9.

References

- *** Between Earth and Heaven 2016: Constantin-Emil Ursu, Adrian Poruciuc, Cornelia-Magda Lazarovici (eds.), *Between Earth and Heaven. Symbols and Signs. In memory of Henrieta Todorova*, Etnoreligion Series, II, Muzeul Bucovinei, Suceava, Academia Română-Filiala Iași *Institutul de arheologie Iași, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava, 2016.
- *** Nucu-Fundu Peșterii 2012: *Un monument din Carpații Orientali cu reprezentări din Preistorie și Evul Mediu, Nucu-Fundu Peșterii, județul Buzău/Un monument des Carpates Orientales avec des représentations de la Préhistoire et du Moyen Âge - Fundu Peșterii, departament de Buzău*, coordonator Valeriu Sîrbu, Editor Valeriu Sîrbu, Sebastian Matei, în colaborare cu M. M. Ștefan, Bernard Hck, Daniel Costache, Radu Bejenaru, Anca-diana Popescu, Doina Ciobanu, Ionel Cîndea.
- *** RepHarghita: *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Harghita*, seria Monografiilor Arheologice II, Ed. Carpații Răsăriteni, Ed. Valeriu Cavruk, Sfântu Gheorghe, 2000.
- Aldea, I. Al. 1974. "Altarul" magico-ritual descoperit în așezarea neolitică de la Ghirbom (com Berghin, jud. Alba), in *Apulum*, 12: 40-44.
- Andreescu, R. R. 2009. From Bull-and Butterfly to ALPHA and PSI, in *Signs and symbols from Danube Neolithic and Eneolithic*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal, XXXV, Sibiu: 77-86.
- Boroneanț, V. 1977. Arta rupestră din Peștera Gaura Chindiei. Comuna Pescari (județul Caraș-Severin), in *RevBCMIA*, XLVI, 1: 23-34.
- Braniște, E., Braniște, Ec. 2001. *Dicționar enciclopedic de cunoștințe religioase*, Ed. Diecezană, Caransebeș, 2001.
- Cârciumaru, M. 1996: Gura Haitii, in *Enciclopedia Arheologiei și Istoriei Vechi a României*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, II, D-L, 1996: 209-210.
- Cârciumaru, M. 2010. Contribution à la connaissance de l'art pariétal préhistorique de Roumanie, in *Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste*, Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, Tome XII, Numero I : 39-83. www.annalesfsu.ro
- Chevalier, J., Geeherbrant, A. 1995: *Dicționar de simboluri*, 4 vol., București.
- Comșa E. 1977: *Bibliografia neoliticului de pe teritoriul României*, Ed. Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice, Muzeul de Istorie al Republicii Socialiste România, ser. BM, 3, București.
- Czekaj – Zastawny *et alii*, 2011: Agnieszka Czekaj – Zastawny, Jacek Kabaciński, Thomas Terberger, Long distance exchange in the Central European Neolithic: Hungary to the Baltic, in *Antiquity*, 85: 43-58.
- Dörner, E. 1970. Cercetări și săpături arheologice în județul Arad, Sânpetru German, in *Materiale*, IX: 451-458.
- Dumitrescu, Vl. 1970. Quelques aspects des synchronismes entre les culture néo-énéolithiques et de la période de transition vers l'âge de fer, in *II CSSE*, Athens: 3-27.
- Germann, K. 1986 *Archäologische Bekentnis*, ms.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Pop, R., 2016. *Despre arta rupestră de la Grota Mare - Falezile Someșului și câteva comentarii despre arta rupestră, 25-27 octombrie 2016*, comunicare la Simpozionului de la Târgoviște 2016.
- Gimbutas, M. 1991. *The Civilization of Goddess. The World of Old Europe*, San Francisco.

- Haarmann, H. 1995. *Early Civilization and Literacy in Europe. An Inquiry into Cultural Continuity in the Mediterranean World*, Berlin, New York.
- Haarmann, H., 2008a. The Danube Script and its Legacy: Literacy as a cultural Identifier in the Balkanic - Aegean Convergence Zone, in *The Danube Script. Neo-eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe*, Sebastopol – Sibiu, 2008: 61-76.
- Haarmann, H., 2008b. A Comparative View of the Danube Script, in *The Danube Script. Neo-eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe*, Sebastopol - Sibiu, 2008: 11-22.
- Haarmann, H., Marler, J. 2008: Reflections on the Danube Script and its Role in the Communities of Early Agriculturalists, in *The Danube Script. Neo-eneolithic Writing in Southeastern Europe*, Sebastopol - Sibiu, 2008: 3-10.
- Ignat, D. 1976. Colecția veche a Muzeului Țării Crișurilor. II, în *Crisia*, VI: 7-20.
- Jovanović, Š. 1981. At, Vrșaca, neolitsko naselje, in *Arheoloski Pregled*, 25, Beograd: 13-14.
- Kalicz, N. 1966. *Rézkori tele Ternabadon*, in *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 1: 3-19.
- Kovács, I. 1914. A tászoktetői sziklakarczolatok, in *Dolgozátok-Cluj*, V: 229-276, fig. 3-14. WEB <http://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01580/00009/pdf/229-265.pdf>
- Lazarovici, Gh. 2004. Simboluri sacre pe obiectele de cult. Semnificații, in *Festschrift für Florin Medeleț zum 60. Geburtstag*, Ed. Mirton, Timișoara, 2004.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Gavrilă, D.-L. 2016. *About symbols and signs in the rock sanctuaries*, in ****Between Earth and Heaven Symbols and Signs*, In *Memory of Henrieta Todorova*: 453-479.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., 2011. Altarele din munți în Preistorie, in *Studii de Arheologie și Istorie. Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Gudea la 70 de ani*, seria Interferențe etnice și culturale în milenii IA.Ch.-IP.Ch., XX, Ed. Mega: 101-135.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., 2014. Chapter 9. About the great religious themes of Vinča culture, in Constantin – Emil Ursu and Stanislav Țerna (eds.), *Antropomorphism and symbolic behaviour in the Neolithic and Copper Age communities of South-Eastern Europe*, Studies into South-East European Prehistory, I, Ed. Karl A. Romstorfer, Suceava: 187-248.
- Lazarovici, Gh., Lazarovici, C.-M., 2016. Tronurile în sanctuarele casnice și comunitare, in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, Ed. Consiliul Județean Cluj-Napoca, Cluj-Napoca: 361-390.
- Lazarovici, Gh. et alii, 2001. Gh. Lazarovici, Fl. Drașovean, Z. Maxim, *Parța. Monografie arheologică*, Vol. 1.1 341 p.; vol. 1.2, 115 pl., 137 fig., "Waldpress", BHAB, 12.
- Lazarovici, Gh. et alii, 2011. Megaliți în Carpații Răsăriteni. Căi spre sanctuarele din natură și urmele unor așezări. Studiu de etno-arheologie și etno-religie, in *Arheologia Moldovei*, XXXIV: 53-76.
- Lazarovici, Gh. et alii, 2014. Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. M. Colesniuc, S. Angeleski, *Muntele Teasc. Despre sanctuare în natură. I*, in *Apulum*, LI: 25-80.
- Lazarovici, Gh. et alii, 2015. Gh. Lazarovici, C.-M. Lazarovici, S. M. Colesniuc, S. Angeleski, *Muntele Teasc. Despre sanctuare în natură. II*, in *Apulum*, LII: 85-111.
- Makkay, J. 1969. The Late Neolithic Tordos Group of Signs, in *Alba Regia*, X, Székesfehérvár: 9-50.
- Makkay, J. 1990. *Tartariai leletek*, Ed. Akademiai Kiadó, Budapest.
- Mândricel, I., Bortaș, V. 2008. *Vestigii rupestre și alte locuri magice din Munții Buzăului*, Ed. Victor B. Victor (V. Bortaș), București.
- Matie, E. E. 1958. *Miturile Egiptului Antic*, Ed. Științifică, București.

- Merlini, M. 2008. *Neo-eneolithic literacy in Southeastern Europe: An inquiry into the Danube Script*, PHD. Univ. Lucian Blaga, Sibiu, 2008.
- Merlini, M. 2009. *An Inquiry into the Danube Script*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal, XXXIII, Sibiu.
- Milojčić, Vl. 1953. *Ein Goldfund red Kupferzeit aus Ungarn*, in *Germania*, 31: 7-11.
- Nikolov, B. 1974. *Gradešnica*, Sofia.
- Petrescu-Dîmbovița, M., Văleanu, M. C. 2004. *Cucuteni-Cetățuie. Săpăturile din anii 1961-1966. Monografie arheologică*, Bibliotheca Memoriae Antiquitatis XIV, Muzeul de Arheologie Piatra Neamț, Ed. Constantin Matasă.
- Raduceva, A. 2003. *Kisnoeneolitno obscestvo v Bîlgarskite zemli*, in Raskopki i proucvanija collection, Sofija.
- Roska, M. 1941. *Die Sammlung Zsofia von Torma*, Cluj.
- Șteu, Călin 2016: Metode și tehnici moderne de documentare fotografică cu scop analitic a patrimoniului cultural imobil și mobil. Studii de caz recente, comunicare prezentată la sesiunea anuală de la Zalău.
- Teodor, D. Gh. 2003. Inscriptiile rupestre de la Cotârğași - Suceava, in *Inchinare lui P. Șt. Năsturel la 80 de ani*, vol. îngrijit de I. Căndea, P. Cernavodeanu și Gh. Lazar, Ed. Istros, Muzel Brăilei, Brăila: 789-799.
- Truhović V., Vasiliević M. 1983: *Nejstarije Zemljiradničke kulture u podrinu*, Šabac, 1983.
- Vasić, M. M. 1936. *Preistoriska Vinča, Vol. 3 [Plastika, terakote]*, Izdanje i štampa Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, Beograd.
- Ursulescu, N. 1998. *Începuturile istoriei pe teritoriul României*, Iași.
- Vlassa, N. 1962. Probleme ale cronologiei neoliticului Transilvaniei în lumina stratigrafiei așezării de la Tărtăria, in *StudiaUBB*, SH, 2: 23-30.
- Vlassa, N. 1976. *Neoliticul Transilvaniei. Studii, articole, note*, BMN, III, Cluj-Napoca.
- Vlassa, N. 1964. Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii Bodrogkeresztúr în Transilvania, in *SCIV*, 15, 3: 351-375.
- Winn, S. 1981. *Pre-writing in Southeastern Europe: The Sign System of the Vinča Culture ca. 4000 BC*, Western Publishers, Calgary, Alberta, 1981.
- Winn, S. 2004. *Beyond academic skepticism: the ritual use of the Danube script*, in *Signs of civilization: international symposium on the Neolithic symbol system of southeast Europe*, The Institute of Archaeomythology and the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi Sad, 2004.
- Winn, S. 2004a. The Old European Script. Further evidence, Economic and religious stimuli, in *Prehistory Knowledge Project*, Rome, 2004a on line, <http://www.prehistory.it/ftp/winn.htm>.