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HOMMAGES À JEAN-PAUL DEMOULE

edited by
Laurence Manolakakis, Nathan Schlanger, Anick Coudart

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The representation of violence in the rock art of the Sahara and the Spanish Levant

Roberto Risch[1] *& Harald Meller*[2]

« L'image, représentation non réelle du réel, est aussi un moyen de penser l'irréalité du réel : les spectateurs de la caverne de Platon croient regarder le monde réel alors qu'ils n'en voient que des images – et là est le destin de l'humanité ordinaire » (Jean-Paul Demoule 2007: 198).

Résumé

La représentation de la violence dans l'art rupestre du Sahara et du Levant espagnol

La plus ancienne représentation de violence physique de l'histoire humaine se trouve probablement dans l'art rupestre du Levant espagnol et au Sahara. Parmi des milliers de représentations connues dans les deux régions, quelques douzaines montrent des scènes de combat entre de petits groupes d'archers. Contrairement aux premières représentations de la violence en Egypte et en Mésopotamie aux IVe et IIIe millénaires, mais aussi dans l'Europe de l'âge du Bronze, ces images n'expriment pas une glorification ou une célébration de la violence. Une comparaison entre les scènes de combat du Sahara et du Levant espagnol et entre leur chronologie permet de plonger dans le contexte social de cette première preuve de conscience humaine concernant la violence et ses conséquences.

Mots-clefs : *Art rupestre, violence, Néolithique*

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Abstract

The earliest representation of physical violence in human history is probably found in the rock art of the Spanish Levant and the Sahara. Amongst thousands of depictions known from both areas, a few dozen show combat scenes between small groups of archers. Contrary to the first representations of violence in Egypt and Mesopotamia during the IVth and IIIrd millennium but also in Bronze Age Europe, these images do not express a glorification or celebration of violence. A comparison between the fighting scenes of the Sahara and the Spanish Levant and their chronology allows us to delve into the social background of this first evidence of human awareness concerning violence and its consequences.

Keywords: *Rock art, violence, Neolithic*

1. Preamble

In contrast to the relatively prolific cave art of hunter-gatherer societies of the Upper Palaeolithic, rock paintings in caves had virtually disappeared from most parts of Europe by c. 9500 BCE. From that point onwards, geometrical, schematic or figurative depictions were increasingly often created in clay or loam, and these raw materials became characteristic of the Neolithic. The decoration and painting of pottery and the walls of houses as well as the modelling of clay figures provided new possibilities of communicating symbols, concepts and ideas. In many places such “idols” and decorated vessels were also fashioned in stone, bone and wood. Among the few regions where the economic and social changes after the last Ice Age had not brought an end to the so-called “rock art” were the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, also called the Spanish Levant, and various regions of the Sahara Desert and its peripheral areas. In the early and middle Holocene, these regions had far more favourable climatic conditions than today. The fact that rock art continued to be made in these areas, where in fact it had few precursors, provides us with a unique insight into the social and ideological changes that took place during the transition from hunter-gathering to farming and cattle breeding. Among other motifs, both regions produced strikingly similar depictions of scenes of combat painted on rock faces and in rock shelters, although this subject matter had never before been portrayed in the history of mankind.

Amongst thousands of depictions known from the Spanish Levant and the Sahara, only a few dozen show combat scenes between small groups of archers. The vast majority of representations in both regions consist of hunting scenes with men carrying bows and arrows. Other activities are occasionally portrayed, such as the gathering of fruit and honey, and ritual motifs also occur which include women and children. In Levantine rock art, where 100 years of research have resulted in a relatively comprehensive record, only 8% of approximately 3100 human figures are involved in combat and violence[3]. Provided these numbers are in any way representative, this means that violence between groups must have been a relatively rare occurrence.

3 Data based on the catalogue compiled by Dams (1984). Although new examples of rock art have been discovered in recent decades, the relative numbers have remained consistent.

Jean-Paul Demoule (2007) made reference to the social and historical importance of the human figure and of its depiction and perception in prehistory. The figures of the past speak first and foremost to the self-perception of the people and their world views. Essentially, a depiction is also an expression of the act of becoming self-aware, both on a social and on an individual level. Regardless of the number of people that took part in these practices, technical details show that most painted or modelled figures in pre-state societies were created by a single person. The designer not only communicated and created an understanding of society, he or she must also have been aware – intentionally or not – of a certain connection between reality and concept when creating the image. From this dialectic vantage point, this paper intends to examine the depictions of combat and violence in the rock art of the Spanish Levant and the Sahara. The way in which humans were depicted in these action scenes not only illustrates the concept of violence but also the societal structure at the time.

2. Figures in combat: some examples

Of approximately 40 scenes of violence known from the Sahara and from the east of the Iberian Peninsula, most deal with violent clashes between relatively small groups of men. However, at least one rock face at Sefar in Tassili in southern Algeria shows a battle between two groups of female archers (Müller-Karpe 2002: 26, Fig. 4). Sefar has also yielded one of the best preserved and most exciting combat depictions ever found in the Sahara (Fig. 1). It shows 24 men on the left-hand side fighting 13 people on the right-hand side with bows and arrows and, in one case (on the right), an axe. 18 figures on the left and 7 on the right have raised their bows, ready to take a shot. Numerous arrows that apparently have already been shot lie between the two parties, suggesting that the battle has been ongoing for some time. The battle appears to proceed in waves: whilst the upper flank of the right party rushes at the enemies, shooting at them, their opponents on the left appear to be retreating, though many continue to look back and defend themselves. Meanwhile, the lower flank on the left-hand side are in the attacking role and force their enemies on the right-hand side to flee, though perhaps only temporarily. The bottom edge of the scene shows bundles of arrows, perhaps gathered in quivers, which have either been made ready for the next stage of the battle or may just have been left behind. Strikingly, none of the fighters appears to have been wounded or killed.

A remarkably similar scene can be seen on a rock face at Les Dogues in the Maestrazgo Mountains north of Castellón (Fig. 2). Here, 17 or 18 archers on the right-hand side are shown advancing swiftly, and perhaps even running towards 10 bowmen on the left-hand side, who appear to be taking a defensive stance. In this case, however, one of the attackers has been hit in the thigh and is retreating as quickly as the others are advancing. As seen at Sefar, while most of the fighters are shown using simple bows, some brandish recurve bows. On the other hand, no differences are discernible regarding the hairstyles, headgear or clothing and the fighters of both parties all appear to be wearing some sort of loincloth. This suggests that these depictions show intra-ethnic feuds rather than war between different populations.

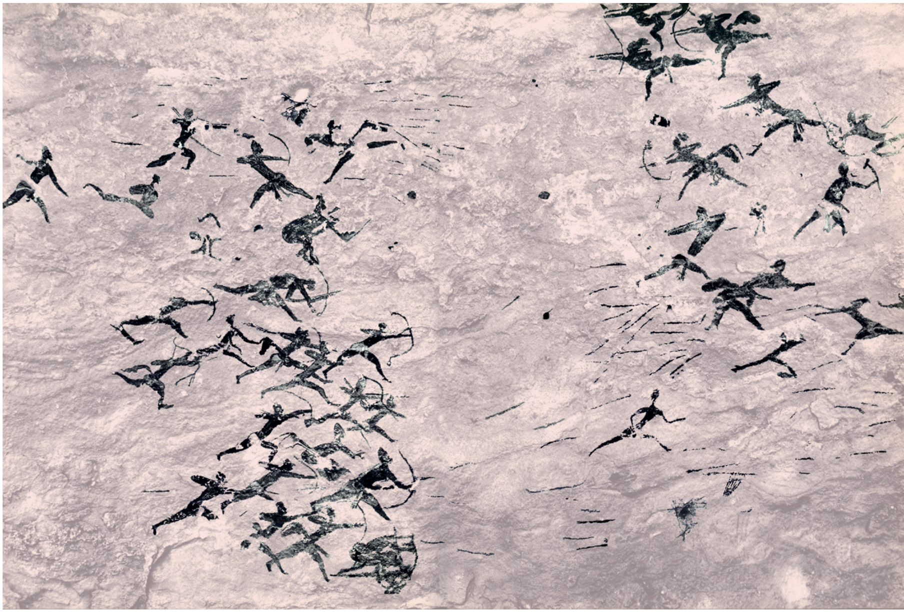

Figure 1: Battle scene from Sefar, Tassili N'Ajjer, southern Algeria (Lajoux 1962: 160-162, image processing Sylvia Gili).

Figure 2: Battle scene from Les Dogues, Castellón, Spain. Width of the depiction c. 50 cm (Porcar Ripollés 1953: 78, fig. 2).

Another important battle scene, at least in respect of the number and variety of people involved, was found in the Cova del Civil in the Valltorta Valley, also north of Castellón. Unfortunately, on the left-hand side only a section of the attacking party has survived. The faction on the right-hand side is composed of roughly 40 persons, apparently including women and children. Whilst the figures at Sefar

Figure 3: Cova del Civil, Tirig, Castellón (photograph R. Risch, image processing J. A. Soldevilla).

and Les Dogues measure a few centimetres, the human depictions in this case are completely different (Fig. 3). The male figures are extremely slender with muscular legs and broad shoulders but no necks and relatively small heads. Most archers are more than 30 cm tall, with the central figure on the right-hand side measuring a full 55 cm in height. Another interesting feature is that not everyone is involved in the actual fighting. Besides the archers, who are shown rushing towards the enemy and shooting with their bows and arrows, there are others who supply them with quivers containing additional arrows, whilst yet others stand nearby, holding their bows and arrows pointing downwards in a relaxed position. Two smaller figures, perhaps children, can be seen carrying a small bag or basket which some researchers have interpreted as possibly containing poison for the arrows.

A second type of depiction of violence are so-called “execution scenes”. However, these have been identified only in Levantine art, and extremely rarely even there. The five known scenes show a group of archers shooting at one or several unarmed persons, and in some cases they have already been killed (Fig. 4). The archers often hold their arms and bows up in the air as if rejoicing at their deed.

The scenes depicted on the rock faces in the Tassili Mountains and in the Spanish Levant are strongly reminiscent of the opportunistic battles which were fought by the tribes in the New Guinea Highlands until only a few decades ago. These battles were not fought over the occupation of land or access to resources, but were blood feuds caused by a murder that had taken place within the group in the past (Helbling 2006: 319-323). Most remarkably, the photographs and film

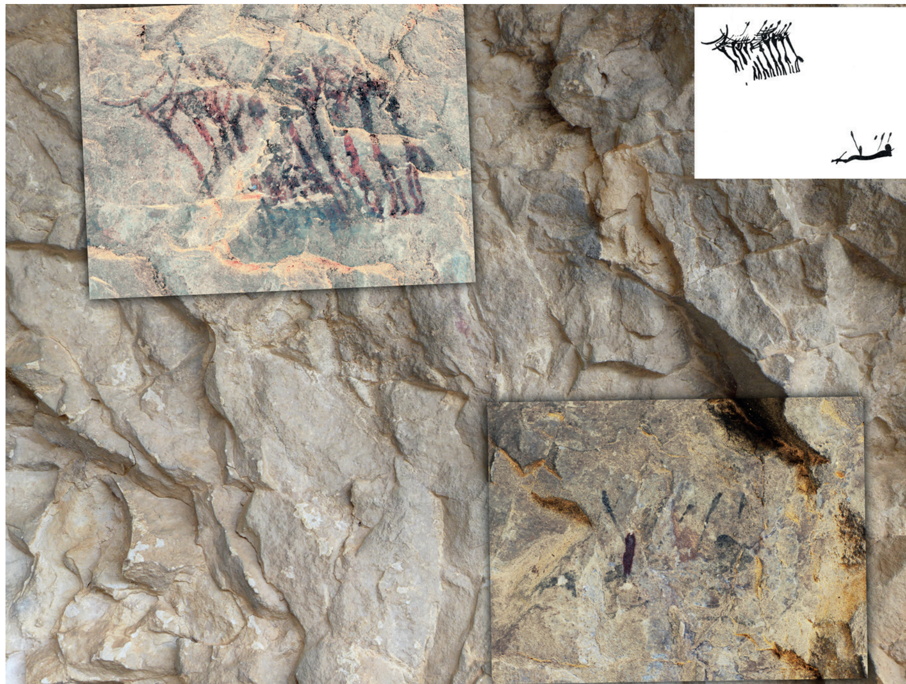

Figure 4: So-called "execution scene" from Cova Remigia-V, Gasulla, Castellón (photograph R. Risch, image processing J. A. Soldevilla).

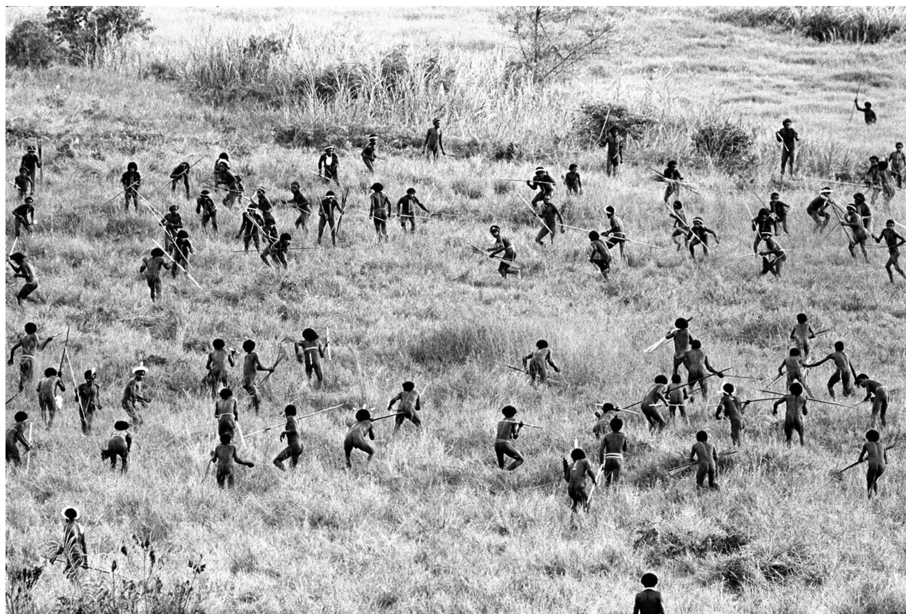

Figure 5: Dani battle scene (Karl G. Heider, gift from Karl G. Heider; courtesy of President and Fellows of Harvard College, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology; Peabody ID# 2006.17.1.89.4; digital file number 155420218).

footage that document such "battles", which were fought using bows and arrows as well as spears, look very similar to the depictions described here (Gardner & Heider 1968: 150-176; Fig. 5). The similarities concern not only the group sizes and battle tactics but also details such as the holding of spare arrows in bundles parallel to the bow, thus drastically increasing the speed at which the shots can be taken[4]. When viewing the photographs and, especially, the film footage, it strikes one that the underlying constant of the confrontation is the specific sequence of forward motion and retreat depicted in the rock art. The aim was not to wage a "battle" but to gain dominance without risking individual lives by senseless daring. As in many of the rock art scenes, the New Guinean Dani do not send all their warriors into battle; some stay in the background as reserve troops and only get involved if necessary. One significant difference can, however, be identified: the arrows of the Dani are left unfletched to make them less accurate and lethal, whilst the arrows depicted on the rock faces are fletched. The scenes definitely do not represent ritual violence as has been suggested by some. One argument against this idea is the fact that the number and disposition of the archers in the attacking scenes is the same as in the hunting scenes, both in the Sahara and in eastern Spain. However, the possibility that both actions, then and now, were bound to certain rituals or were depicted in a ritualised manner, cannot be excluded.

3. Figures of violence in space and time

The similarities between the rock art of the Spanish Levant and that of the Sahara, and in particular of the Tassili-n-Ajjer mountain range, have occasionally been pointed out (e.g. Winiger 1998: 25; Müller-Karpe 2002). They may have been coincidental, or they may reflect long-distance communication and migration. Thanks to archaeological and palaeogenetic research, we now know that people were always able to travel vast distances, and quite readily crossed the sea where suitable boats were available. Much as the "Venus figurines" from the Gravettian period are seen as attesting to the existence of communication networks between western Europe and Siberia (e.g. Demoule 2007), the notion that rock-art similarities might suggest a link between the central Sahara and the Spanish Levant should not necessarily be rejected[5]. The rapid increase in aridity in the Sahara around 5500-3000 BCE (deMenocal *et al.* 2000; Kuper & Kröpelin 2006; Budenzer & Riemer 2007; Tierney & deMenocal 2013), which led to a dramatic depopulation, particularly between 4300 and 3200 BCE, must have triggered extraordinary waves of migration out of the Sahara. According to palaeodemographic models, the vast area lost approximately 55% of its inhabitants within a space of 1100 years (Manning & Timpson 2014: 32). The calculations also show that not only central and eastern parts of the Sahara were depopulated but also areas in north-western Africa. Some of this wave or waves of migration, in principle, could have reached the Iberian Peninsula, particularly given the fact that this same migration trail

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4 See also the shooting experiments by Lars Andersen: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BEG-ly9tQGk.

5 The fact should be taken into account that the distance between the Tassili-n-Ajjer Mountains and Alicante is only 1600 km.

from the South towards Europe has been used by various population groups time and time again between the very early Palaeolithic and the present. The aDNA analyses that are currently being carried out confirm the presence of an individual belonging to the haplogroup L1b in the Late Chalcolithic site of Camino de Las Yeseras, near Madrid (Szécsényi-Nagy *et al.* 2017). Today this maternal linage is most frequent in West-Central Africa.

The absolute dating of the rock art, including the scenes of combat and violence, still remains almost as speculative as this supra-regional link between Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. Stylistic comparisons and the first absolute dates obtained from fine layers of calcium oxalate that can form on the images (Ruiz López *et al.* 2009, 2012), allow us to assume that the majority of the art from the Spanish Levant was created sometime between the VIIIth and IIIrd millennia BCE. Settlement of the Sahara during a climatic optimum, the so-called *African Humid Period*, roughly coincided with this period. However, scholars strongly disagree on the exact dating of the different styles (see, amongst others, Aura Tortosa & Fortea Pérez 2002, Viñas 2014). There is even disagreement with regard to the sequence of the individual styles, which researchers have attempted to identify based on overlapping paintings (e.g. Sarriá Boscovich 1988-89; Domingo 2005; López-Montalvo 2011). One might even question the notion that individual styles of painting succeeded one another rather than having occurred simultaneously or developed with hiatuses in between.

According to the established relative-chronological studies on Levantine art (e.g. Dams 1984: 284f.; Villaverde *et al.* 2002; 2012; Domingo 2005; López-Montalvo 2011, 2015), most representations of combat or violence with semi-schematic depictions of human figures executed using simple strokes belonged to a late phase and must therefore be dated to the Neolithic (c. 5500-3000 BCE) or even the Chalcolithic (c. 3000-2200 BCE) period. Representations of double S-shaped recurve or reflex bows in some of scenes from the Sahara and the Levant may suggest a IVth or IIIrd millennium BCE date (Junkmanns 2013: 36-37). Similar bows were fashioned at that time, at least in Egypt and the Middle East and in the northern Caucasus and central Germany (Collon 2008; Schunke 2013). The question whether this complex weapon had already existed before that time has not yet been answered definitively (Steguweit 2009; Strambowski 2015).

A comparative study of the arrow-heads appearing on certain Levantine rock paintings and their possible archaeological equivalents points towards a chronological range between c. 4700-2000 BCE (Fernández López 2006). A significant increase in the number of arrowheads found amongst the flint tools, and advances in their technology during the second half of the IVth and the IIIrd millennia BCE (Soler 2002: 21-26; Cabanilles 2008) may have had the same underlying causes as coinciding anthropological evidence of physical violence on the Iberian Peninsula, thus pointing to a period of increased potential for conflict between different population groups (Armendáriz & Irigaray 1993-94, 1994; Rodes *et al.* 2006; Vegas Aramburu 2007).

There are other aspects of the works of rock art, however, which give clues about the organisation of the violence and the figures perpetrating it, and which point to a certain level of social development and, hence, a probable chronology.

4. The social background to the violence in the Sahara and the Spanish Levant

The first aspect that stands out when viewing Saharan and eastern Spanish rock art is the absence of single combat or duels. Whilst the preservation conditions make it difficult in many cases to count the exact number of fighters involved, they are always shown in groups of two or more armed persons facing each other. As a rule, the opponents consist of groups of 10 to 26, and in some depictions of as many as 40 combatants, as seen, for instance, in the Cova del Civil mentioned earlier. This, in turn, allows us to draw conclusions regarding the sizes of the communities the fighters belonged to. A further 50% must be added for women and at least another 40% for people who would have been too young or too old to take part in the fighting. This results in groups of 28 to over 100 people. These numbers fit in with the picture we have of specialised hunter-gatherers and, later, animal breeders in the Sahara, but not with the small settlement sites of the Early Neolithic and, more importantly, the limited numbers of individuals buried in the first funerary caves in the Spanish Levant (Soler 2002, Bernabeu 2010). Here, it was not until the IVth millennium that the demographic and social situation changed and larger settlements and collective burial caves with dozens of individuals began to occur. Settlements of up to 20 ha in overall size with average populations of c. 150 inhabitants and clearly agricultural lifestyles began to emerge in the fertile valleys of the Alicante and Valencia regions from around 3500 BCE (Bernabeu *et al.* 2006; Jover 2010). This raises the question whether this demographic and economic changes lead to growing tension between communities. As mentioned above, the anthropological evidence pointing to violent encounters also increased in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic, not just in the Levant but on the Iberian Peninsula in general (Pérez 2010; Silva & Marques 2010). Regardless of the date of the Levantine rock art, it shows that quite large nomadic communities did, in fact, spread throughout the mountainous regions of the east of the Iberian Peninsula.

Likewise, we have no material evidence that would point to the causes of the conflicts depicted. Whilst the deterioration of the climate in the Sahara, which occurred from c. 5500 BCE onwards and particularly after 4300 BCE, would surely have led to dramatic social situations, which could have lent themselves to the use of violence, the situation in the western Mediterranean region must have been far less drastic. There are no specific clues pointing to a demographic concentration, social differentiation or appropriation of resources and power. The men and equipment depicted in the individual scenes all look more or less the same and there are only minor differences in the clothing, hairdress or in the sizes of some of the figures (Fig. 2), which could potentially be interpreted as showing socio-political differences. None of the portrayals, however, show any prominent figures or allude to any positions of power. This would point to communities with little emphasis on figures of authority or chiefs. Since the rock paintings only ever show a small number of individuals lying dead or injured, the objective in these battles, which were exclusively fought using long-range weapons, does not seem to have been to crush the enemy but to wound or kill individual combatants.

Given the climatic, archaeological and sociological conditions outlined, the scenes of violence from the Sahara and the Levant would hypothetically have been created sometime between 5000/4500 and 3500/3000 BCE, as has also been proposed by other authors (Molina *et al.* 2003). Fundamental social changes took place in both regions within this period of time. Whilst one of the largest processes of human migration in the Holocene occurred in the Sahara, permanent settlement structures with more than 60-100 inhabitants began to evolve in the east and south of the Iberian Peninsula from around the mid-IVth millennium BCE onwards, whose economy was based on the cultivation and storing of agricultural produce, as shown mainly by the extensive settlement areas with storage facilities. In both areas, changes appear to have occurred very quickly. Moreover, given that the depictions of violence are quite rare, it is also possible that the violent events were experienced and recorded within just a few generations.

5. The first glimpse of violence

The images from the Sahara and the Levant are particularly important historically, since they are the earliest examples of depictions of violence and therefore the oldest evidence of human awareness of violence and its consequences. Before the mid-IVth millennium BCE, the killing of human beings was not depicted anywhere else, be it in Europe or in Egypt and the Near East. Another difference between the Saharan and Levantine rock art and other prehistoric depictions of violence is its narrative character, as has often been highlighted. The manner of representation itself is highly stylised and for this very reason ideally suited to scenic depiction because it is limited to the bare essentials. Comparisons between rock art and modern observations of bow and arrow fighting amongst the Dani in New Guinea (Fig. 5) show that the term *photographic view* is justified with regard to the depictions. Although the overall subject matter is the same, each of the over 40 known scenes appears to depict a different violent event, which is often portrayed in minute detail. As we have shown using a number of examples, the attack formations as well as the equipment and actions of the fighters are clearly visible in the depictions. The images give the distinct impression that they show the highpoints of the battles, the moment at which the two sides clash. Apart from the few wounded or dead fighters, neither the preparations for the conflicts nor their consequences are shown. We are offered a matter-of-fact, instantaneous image of violence. The *neutrality* of the artists, be they male or – why not? – female, is shown by the fact that neither a victorious nor a defeated party is ever clearly represented. The depictions undoubtedly portray similar conflict sequences between small groups of fighters using long-distance weapons, which apparently only resulted in a small number of casualties, much like the XXth century battles amongst the Dani. Hardly ever do we see fighters equipped with close combat weapons. The aim was neither to annihilate or humiliate the enemy nor to personify or *glorify* violence, as was the case in the earliest depictions of violence in Egypt and Mesopotamia created from c. 3500 BCE onwards (Risch 2015). Motivation, historical background and legitimation are likewise quite irrelevant and, consequently, must have been obvious to the prehistoric viewer. Violence was scaled back to the moment of attacking or killing individuals. The depictions

Figure 6: Rock painting from South Africa showing a group of San being pursued by colonists (Lewis-Williams & Dowson 1989: 146, fig. 70).

thus portray actual events. No idealisation is necessary because the message is addressed to the people who were, in the wider sense, involved, in other words to eyewitnesses. Only against this background can the highly stylised but – in terms of their action – absolutely realistic depictions be understood.

There was another region where comparable action sequences were portrayed. Until relatively recently various hunter-gatherer groups of the San people in southern Africa recorded images of animals, fantasy figures, hunting scenes and occasionally violent events on rock faces. The extraordinary work done by Lucy Lloyd and Wilhelm Bleek to save the mythology and history of the San in the second half of the XIXth century also gives a unique insight into the importance of these images and the way they were understood by the surviving population at the time. Both scientists used drawings of the rock art to elicit the associated narratives and beliefs of the San (Prada Samper 2001). One of the images (Fig. 6) shows a

group of fleeing men carrying bows and lances attempting to drive away a herd of cattle. They are being shot at by figures on horseback wearing cowboy hats. In this image too, neither of the sides is shown as more heroic than the other, nor are there any significant differences in the sizes of the figures in the two groups, or the way they are represented. Although some of the San appear to have been wounded or killed, the outcome of the event is not clearly recognisable. In reality, the image shows a course of events that was all too common as part of the genocide of the San population from c. 1750 by the white settlers in South Africa. Due to the extermination of the indigenous wild animals, the San were often left with no option but to steal the cattle of the white settlers, which usually ended in an entire San community being murdered or at best arrested and deported. Rock paintings therefore became necessary, quasi *photographic* documents which preserved the actual event in the collective memory of the community.

A brief look at other scenic depictions in prehistoric contexts shows up differences, underlining the uniqueness of Spanish Levantine and African rock art. The depictions of battles in Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art, for instance, are also stylised with regard to the figures, but extremely stereotypical when it comes to the scenes themselves. They often consist of two warriors facing each other with raised axes and girded swords. The killing and the victims are not shown, nor are the movements and formation of the battle. Incidentally, the same also applies to other depictions of combat, including Iron Age situla art. In this respect the European Bronze and Iron Age images are similar to the canonical depictions of Egyptian pharaohs, who are shown with a raised club and the implied option of slaying the enemy. There is a rather simple reason: both are cases of idealised mythological scenes, whose formulaic narrative motifs every viewer within the community would have been familiar with. This is the very feature that makes African and Levantine rock art different and unique. Its images show neither mythological scenes nor heroic battles, but the actual events, probably including the actual number of warriors involved. This gives us a unique insight into prehistoric types of combat in the Neolithic period, which were fundamentally different from the later Early Bronze and Iron Age battles and even the major conflicts in the historical period. These scenes reflect an exceptional objective narrative capacity, which is rarely found in technologically more advanced or politically more "complex" societies.

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Archéologie européenne
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Le passé sous diverses formes – et notamment celle d'un récit fondateur – est au cœur du fonctionnement de toute société humaine. L'idée que le passé puisse être connaissable par une recherche scientifique est un enjeu essentiel, particulièrement abordé par les sociétés occidentales et notamment par des chercheurs européens, toutes disciplines confondues. Par sa pratique de l'archéologie et son érudition, le chercheur et le professeur Jean-Paul Demoule a su élaborer un tableau global des cultures européennes et de leurs transformations, incluant autant les origines néolithiques des inégalités sociales que l'émergence du mythe indo-européen ou encore les rapports entre patrimoine et politique. Dans cet ouvrage, ses collègues allemands, britanniques, bulgares, danois, espagnols, français, néerlandais, nord-américains, russes, suisses et tchèques prolongent et enrichissent – en anglais ou en français – sa vision. Ils y apportent leurs réflexions et leurs données concernant les perspectives de l'archéologie du XXIe siècle, les processus de la construction identitaire à différentes échelles, les mouvements migratoires de l'Europe, le statut du genre, le rôle des objets de prestige et des monuments mégalithiques dans l'émergence de la hiérarchisation sociale et de la sémiologie du pouvoir… sans oublier la mythologie et les réalités du phénomène indo-européen.

European Archaeology
IDENTITIES & MIGRATIONS

As it appears in diverse guises – and notably as a founding narrative – the past is at the core of every functioning human society. The idea that the past can be known through scientific research has long been a fundamental challenge for western societies and for European researchers, from all disciplines concerned. Through more than four decades of outward-looking archaeological practice, the scholar, teacher and intellectual Jean-Paul Demoule has elaborated a truly global approach to European cultures and their transformations, spanning from the social inequality in Neolithic times to Indo European research to contemporary links between heritage and politics. His colleagues – British, Bulgarians, Czechs, Danes, Dutch, French, Germans, North-Americans, Spaniards, Swiss and Russians – seek to extend and enrich his vision. With contributions (written in French and in English) spanning from prehistory to the modern world, they bring in this volume new insights and data to such issues as the processes of identity construction at different scales, migratory movements in Europe, the status of gender, the role of prestige objects and megalithic monuments in the emergence of social hierarchy and in the semiology of power… without forgetting the myths and realities surrounding the Indo-European phenomenon.

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