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Images of the Past in the Lands of Antequera, Málaga, Spain. Palaeolithic to Post-Palaeolithic Transition in Southern Europe

Imágenes del pasado en tierras de Antequera, Málaga España. Transición Paleolítico-Postpaleolítico en el Sur de Europa

PALABRAS CLAVES: Grafías Prehistóricas. Territorio. Símbolos. Arte paleolítico. Arte Postpaleolítico.

GAKO-HITZAK: Grafía Prehistorikoak. Lurraldea. Sinboloak. Arte paleolitikoa. Paleolito osteko artea.

KEY WORDS: Prehistoric graphisms. Territory. Symbols. Palaeolithic art. Post-Palaeolithic art

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RESUMEN

Los casos de paisajes antiguos cuya temporalidad está marcada en las rocas por medio de los símbolos que utilizaron quienes transitaron por ellos, son muchos en el Sur de Europa en general y en la Península Ibérica, en particular. Pero es precisamente Andalucía y en concreto las tierras de Antequera, uno de los ámbitos en los que se puede seguir bien este proceso a partir de las secuencias gráficas de algunos de sus yacimientos decorados. Un Arte Paleolítico en cuevas y al aire libre, con una versión pintada de mayor desarrollo que la hasta ahora documentada en el resto de la Península Ibérica, es la base de un desarrollo de sitios grabados y pintados a lo largo del postpaleolítico en los mismos territorios.

LABURPENA

Europa hegoaldean, oro har, eta Iberiar Penintsulan, bereziki, antzinako paisaien denborazkotasuna adierazita dago arroketan, leku horietan bizi izan zirenek haietan marraztutako sinboloen bidez. Baina Andaluzian, eta Antequera inguruan zehazki, bereziki ongi egin daiteke prozesu horren jarraipena, apaindutako aztarnategietako batzuetako segida grafikoetatik abiatuta. Haitzuloetako eta aire zabaleko Arte Paleolitikoa da, Iberiar Penintsulan ordura arte dokumentatuta daudenak baina margolan garatuagoak dituenak, eta lurralde bereko Paleolitikoko osteko grabatutako eta margotutako lekuen garapenaren abiapuntua dena.

ABSTRACT

Many examples are known, in southern Europe in general and in the Iberian Peninsula in particular, of ancient landscapes where the passing of time was marked on rocks with the symbols used by the people who transited by them. However, Andalusia and especially the area around Antequera is one of the regions in which this process can be followed most clearly, through the graphic sequences at some of the decorated sites. Palaeolithic art in caves and the open air, with a better-developed painted version than documented so far in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, was the basis for the development of engraved and painted sites in the same regions in the post-Palaeolithic period.

1.- INTRODUCTION

The traditional difference between Palaeolithic and Post-Palaeolithic art has been based on their different locations: the former was found in enclosed spaces, i.e. caves, whereas the latter is located in the open air.

As we have argued in several publications, Palaeolithic images in the open air represent the same ideas and the same cultural tradition as those found inside caves (Alcolea and Balbín, 2006; Balbín, 2009; Balbín and Bueno, 2009). The differences lie in the surfaces chosen, so-

metimes in the proportion of the techniques used, in the differential conservation of the different components of the images and above all, in their absolute exterior exposure. Does this mean that the viewers of each form of Palaeolithic art would have been different, according to the place of the depictions (Bradley, 2009). The cave images seem to have been for internal consumption, within a territory that must have been marked by indicators in its outer boundaries. If the images in the open air marked social spaces, it is evident that the cave representations cannot have possessed the same generalist function.

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Open-air art, like that inside the caves, has managed to survive until the present, despite the long time that has gone by. We now see it incomplete, normally without the bright colours it must have originally had, partly fragmented and eroded, but we can see it and differentiate it from the rest of the landscape. More would have been visible in the past, the nearer to the time when it was produced.

After the Palaeolithic and despite the climate change that took place, the images of forager groups continued to be visible and usually respected. The same places in which representative images of a cold climate accumulated were used again in warmer times, and the graphic use of the landscape did not undergo a fundamental transformation (Bueno, 2009).

The potential offered by some sectors in southern Europe to reflect on their long sequences of use, through the symbols marked on rocks, is supported by highly interesting data at Andalusian sites. The research carried out at Antequera contributes elements to this analysis and helps to enrich our knowledge of prehistoric occupations in the area.

2. GRAPHIC SEQUENCES AND MATERIAL SEQUENCES

Artistic forms are another part of material behaviour. They are produced together with the other elements used by the group and for practical purposes, as communication undoubtedly is. Graphic expressions do not, however, undergo such rapid processes of technological change as the material world, and therefore their chronology follows its own rate. This was already noted by A. Leroi-Gourhan (1971), as he established the artistic divisions of the Upper Palaeolithic in a different way from the material cultures and their names (Alcolea and Balbín, 2007).

This is precisely one of the best factors supporting the ideological value of the graphisms that, although different from material elements, are inseparable from the same culture and its different capacities. They are all facets of the same reality and all necessary to understand the ways in which ancient landscapes were used and transformed. Graphisms are more ethereal and subtle, but probably also more indicative of the profoundness of cultural behaviour. The detailed study of the graphic evidence on rock walls is fundamental for the definition of a group, of its behaviour, relationships, territory and permanence in an area.

A preliminary observation of decorated sites shows the existence of expressions from different times at the same sites, both in caves and in rock-shelters. In caves, the continuity is more occasional. In rock-shelters the signs are practically in the open, which means they would be equally as visible as sites totally in the open air. Many examples are known in the Iberian Peninsula and, from these, some have been chosen to establish

a framework for the evidence in Andalusia. The interest of the selected sites is that they are outside the classic area of Palaeolithic art in Iberia, which expands the places occupied by hunter groups in southern Europe.

The Rio Vero area near the Pyrenees was used during millennia at Fuente del Trucho, with Palaeolithic art, Arpán, with Levantine art and Barfaluy, with Schematic art, all within a radius of a few kilometres in an environment of deep gorges and very rugged scenery. In the lower sector, Fuente del Trucho is a cave with an ensemble of pre-Magdalenian paintings, and an engraved ensemble almost in the exterior, of Magdalenian age and with some clearly post-Palaeolithic additions (Muñoz et al. 2001; Utrilla and Bea, 2015). Similar situations must have been much more common in Levantine art than is generally accepted (Bueno and Balbín, 2009: 42-43).

Occupations by rivers on the Spanish-Portugal border are better known. An unavoidable point of reference in this aspect is the site of Cõa, the largest open-air Palaeolithic art site currently known. The number and variety of graphic units is considerable and not fully known, as they still have not all been published. Within this group of sites, Fariseu has a wall engraved with animal motifs at its southern end (Aubry, 2000; Aubry et al. 2002, 2010; Aubry, Sampaio, 2009; Baptista, 1999, 2001; García and Aubry, 2002; Valladas et al., 2001). This wall was covered by sediments in a sequence that sloped towards the nearby river. The sediment included decorated plaques in all levels in its stratigraphy. The parietal engravings were produced from the base before 18,000 BP and the art continued on the plaques until 11,000 BP. This demonstrates continuity and valid dates of reference for the whole open-air site at Cõa.

This continuity is equally seen at sites like Siega Verde and Domingo García, which were still used after the Pleistocene. The former of these is a large open-air Palaeolithic site that has been fully published and is relatively close to the Portuguese Cõa, on the banks of the Águeda very close to the border. A series of very small caprids and cervids, as well as geometric signs and engravings of fish, are superimposed on the Palaeolithic figures in a sequence comparable with Cõa (Alcolea and Balbín, 2006; Bueno et al., 2007, 2009). Domingo García in Segovia (Ripoll and Municio, 1999) displays some figures in a clearly Palaeolithic style together with a very large ensemble of later schematic engravings that normally respect the older figures. The conservation of the rock surfaces is poor. Decorated outcrops continue towards the west in Ávila with a less dense concentration of figures.

In the Guadiana basin, the site of Molino Manzán, at Cheles, Badajoz, is formed by a series of rocks with Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic engravings, including phases that can be attributed to the post-glacial period that is catalogued as Style V (Collado, 2006, 2009).

These graphic sequences are also found in the Tagus basin, with the peculiarity that some of the most

recently published are found in painted rock-shelters, in the same space as panels of Schematic art (Bueno et al., 2010; Gomes 1990, 2000, 2001). Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic forms are both found in Ribera Aurela, which the Sierra de San Pedro divides from north to south. The latter are found in abundance in El Bquerón, El Buraco and El Batán (Balbín and Bueno 299; Bueno et al. 2001). The peculiarity of these sites is that they display Palaeolithic paintings in the open air, which is unusual but has been documented at Cõa, as well as further north, and with evidence analysed at Siega Verde, near Ciudad Rodrigo (Balbín and Alcolea, 2009; Baptista, 1999, 2009).

Clearly related to the present area of study, the sites at Cieza combine Palaeolithic art, as at Cueva de Jorge, with Levantine art at Los Pucheros and Schematic art at La Serreta, all in the same region. These are not the only examples in the area, as there are more sites belonging to each period, but they are cited as indicators of a much wider reality (Salmerón and Lomba, 1996; Salmerón et al., 1997, 1999 a and b).

Therefore, many examples can be given of ancient landscapes where the passing of time is marked on rocks by the symbols used by the people who transited across the territories. However, it is precisely Andalusia and the lands of Antequera where a prolonged process in time, indicative of behaviour and continuities, can most clearly be followed.

3. ANDALUSIA. IMAGES FOR THE PREHISTORY OF SOUTHERN EUROPE

The archaeological wealth in southern Iberia and Andalusia in particular is correlated with its graphic manifestations. Classic historiography defined the region as practically uninhabited until the late Neolithic, within a significant gap between the older occupations in northern Iberia and more recent ones in the south. This explains the small number of studies on Palaeolithic art and the separation between the teams that research the Palaeolithic and others more interested in Recent Prehistory. Fortunately, the new tendency towards diachro-

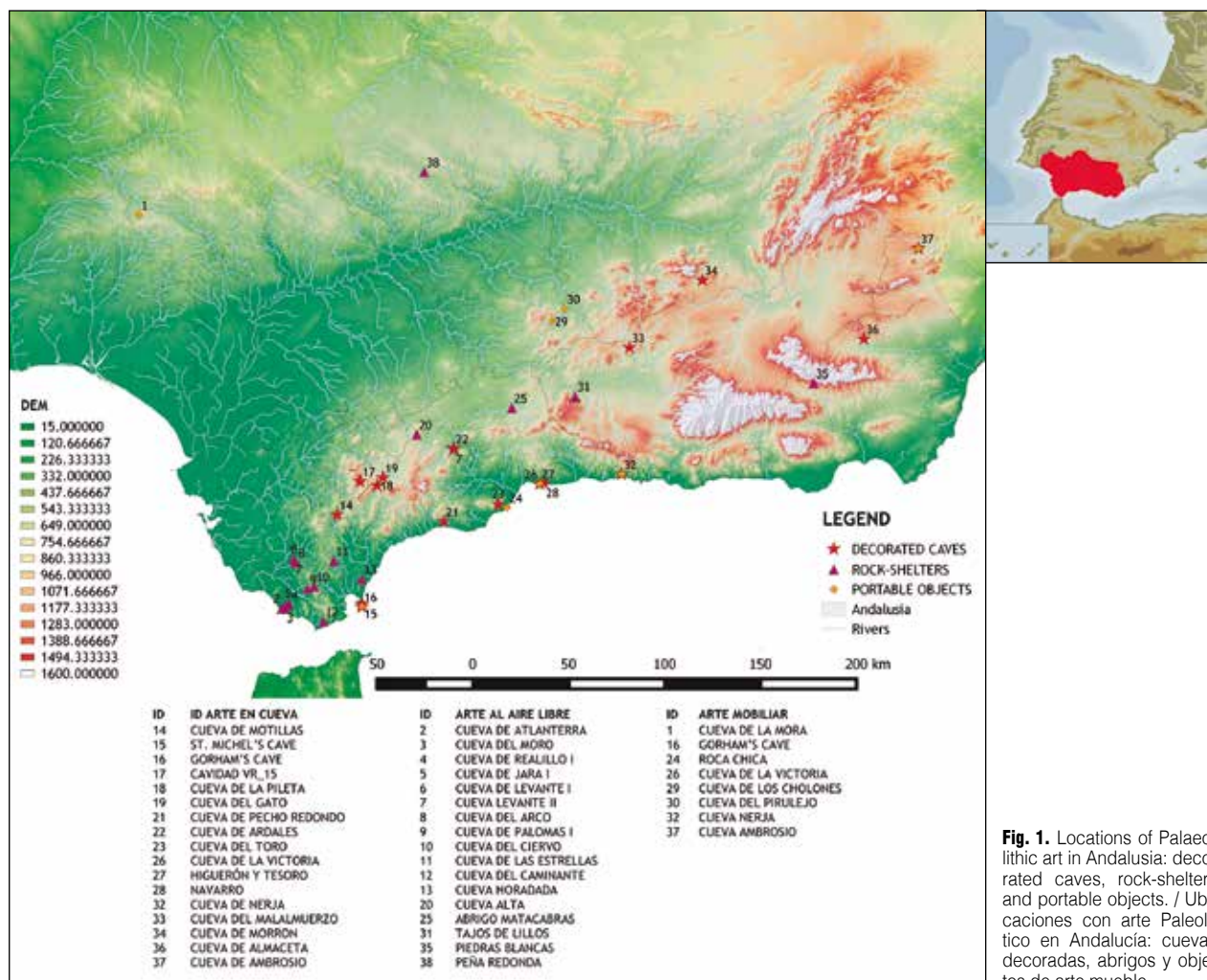


Fig. 1. Locations of Palaeolithic art in Andalusia: decorated caves, rock-shelters and portable objects. / Ubicaciones con arte Paleolítico en Andalucía: cuevas decoradas, abrigos y objetos de arte mueble.

nic research projects has contributed towards defining very promising expectations about the role of southern Iberia in the reconstruction of European hunters. The privileged position of Andalusia in terms of easy access to the Iberian Plateau, the Mediterranean coast, the Atlantic seaboard and Africa is undoubtedly significant.

Evidence of graphic sequences has been found across this large region, from the east to the west; territories that played a major role in Recent Prehistory sink their roots in the Upper Palaeolithic.

Nearly 40 sites with Upper Palaeolithic representations are distributed mainly in the east, with a striking concentration in Campo de Gibraltar. The oldest finds were made in caves in Malaga, which led to searches in this kind of site. However, the latest discoveries reveal the growing importance of open-air sites, including rock-shelters. Projects in the area of Vélez Blanco, Alme-

ria, Cadiz Bay and Antequera, Malaga have contributed towards the panorama that can now be perceived.

Some evidence of portable art in Huelva, as at Cueva de la Mora (Almagro, 1975; Pérez et al., 1990) or the interesting decorated objects at neighbouring sites in Portugal, associated with the Upper Palaeolithic (Simón et al., 2012) suggest new finds will be made, very probably in connection with Palaeolithic art on rocks in the open air, as seen in many Portuguese and Spanish sites in the Guadiana basin. The only open-air site currently known in Andalusia, Piedras Blancas in Almeria (Martinez, 1987), demonstrates a way of using the surfaces and preference for raw materials and techniques that are very similar, if not identical, to those known in Portugal

Cueva de Ambrosio in the southeast displays the reality of a Palaeolithic art dated in about 20,000 BP (Ripoll and Jordá, 1988; Ripoll et al., 1994, 2006, 2012),

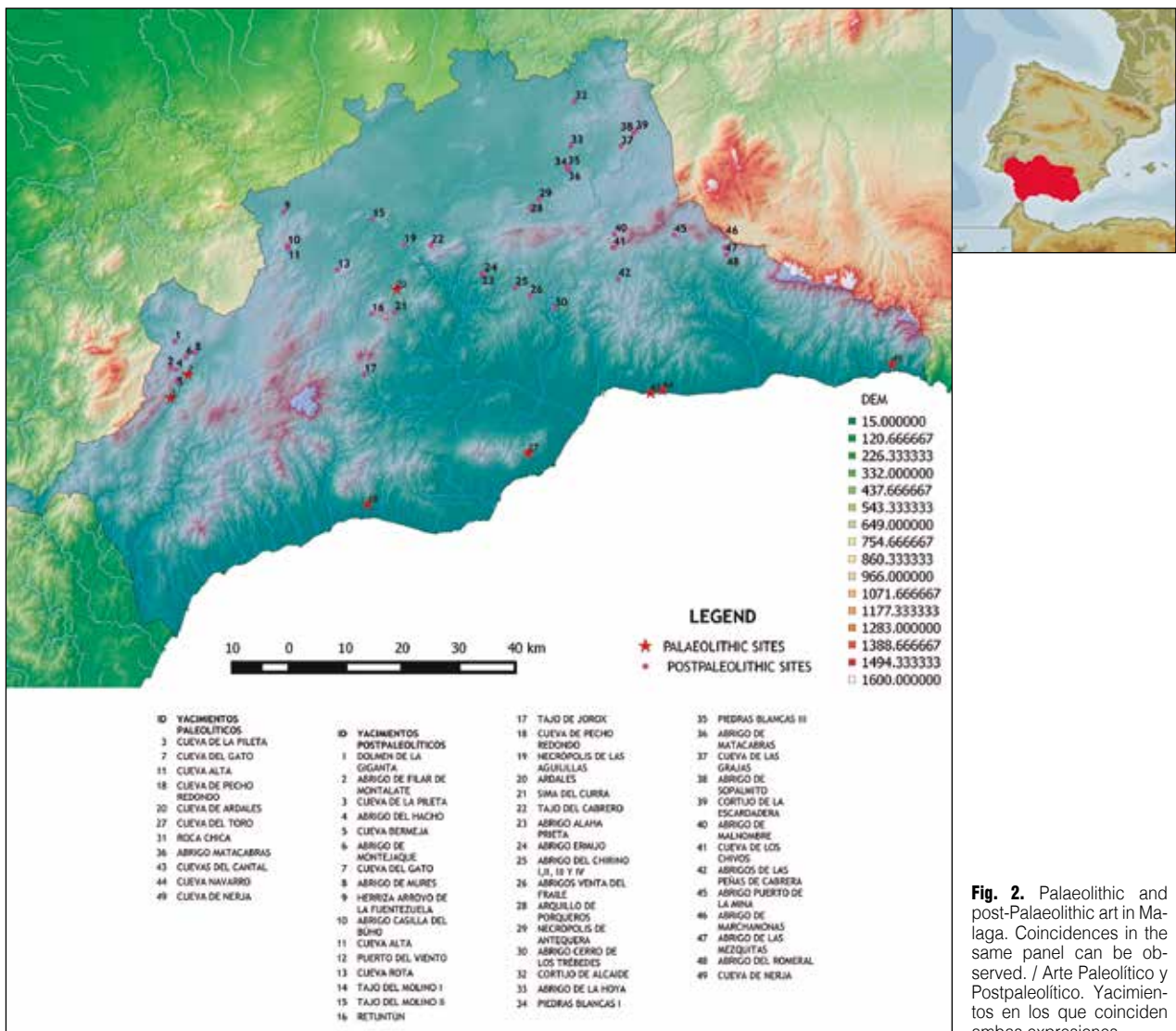


Fig. 2. Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic art in Malaga. Coincidences in the same panel can be observed. / Arte Paleolítico y Postpaleolítico. Yacimientos en los que coinciden ambas expresiones.



Fig. 3. Bone with a Palaeolithic engraving of a *rhinoceros* from Cueva de la Mora, Jabugo, Huelva Museum. Photo: R. de Balbín. / Hueso decorado con grabados paleolíticos procedente de la Cueva de la Mora, Jabugo. Museo de Huelva

partly in the outer part of the cave. The intensity of occupation revealed by the numerous rock-shelters with Levantine and Schematic art in the area, like Cueva de Los Letreros, Cueva Chiquita de los Treinta, Estrecho de Santonge and Lavaderos de Tello (Martinez, 1989, 2011), show that the Chalcolithic occupations were the result of previous knowledge and marking of the territory, based on their use by Upper Palaeolithic hunters.

In the west, near Cadiz, a large part of the Palaeolithic art is located in the same panels with Schematic art, which is further evidence for graphic markers and their permanence in the traditional territory. The relationship of some of the sites with the proximate African coast is another aspect that needs to be studied in greater depth, following the recent discoveries of Palaeolithic art in the open in Africa (Balbín and Alcolea, 2006; Huyge et al., 2007).

Cueva del Moro is an emblematic example, both because of its visual relationship and because of its location in an outstanding position in the interior of a rock formation whose walls are completely accessible. The name of cueva does not correspond to its practically open-air position over the Strait of Gibraltar. It contains engravings and paintings. In addition to the horses pecked, abraded and painted in part of their outline, the figure of a bovid uses a natural concavity that was retouched by chipping around its edges, and a large group of red dots are seen in the next panel. The site is in Sierra de la Plata, where many rock-shelters are decorated with Schematic art (Martinez, 2009; Mas et al., 1995; Villanueva, 2012).

The position of Cueva del Moro in concavities formed by aeolian erosion is repeated in the taffoni at Cueva Horadada in San Roque. Its deteriorated surfaces contain Upper Palaeolithic engravings and an ibex head painted with dots (Breuil and Burkitt, 1929). In the eastern panel, the paintings are Schematic.

Both sites connect with Campo de Gibraltar, an area where on-going research has demonstrated the long duration of the occupations (Cortés, 2005; Finlayson et al., 2006, 2008), and where the Rock itself must have acted as a centre for all the area of Algeciras and Tarifa. An exceptional concentration of representations in this area was first studied by Breuil. The oldest begin in the Palaeolithic; such as the decorated sites of Atlanterra, Cueva del Caminante, Cueva de la Jara, Cueva del Buitre, Las Palomas 1, El Realillo and El Ciervo. (Bergmann, 2009; Bergmann et al., 1997; Gomez de Avellaneda, 2014).

Indeed, in connection with the assumed presence of Neanderthals, a grid-like sign has recently been found associated with Middle Palaeolithic levels in Gorham's Cave (Rodríguez Vidal et al. 2014), in the same area where Upper Palaeolithic engravings and paintings were characterised some time ago (Balbín et al. 2000) and have since been studied further (Simón et al., 2009). This graphic sequence is totally proven and was sealed by the archaeological deposit. The documentation of this cave reaches at least to the time of the Mediterranean colonisations (Zamora et al., 2013).

Taken all together, data on Palaeolithic art in Andalusia show that this is one of the regions with the longest occupations of human groups. It is, probably like part of northern Iberia (García Díez et al., 2015), one of the few places in the world where the presence of symbols can be dated back to the Middle Palaeolithic.

Andalusia is therefore one of the regions with the longest continuity of settlement in southern Europe, and the symbols on the rocks and cave walls in its varied geography are some of the most solid reasons to analyse and assess the position of the human groups who depicted them.



Fig. 4. Images of important Andalusian Palaeolithic sites: Cueva de la Horadada and Cueva del Moro. Selection of paintings and engravings at each one. On the left and from top to bottom: Horadada, view. Palaeolithic engraving. Schematic painting. Dotted painting of ibex head. On the right and from top to bottom: view of Cueva del Moro. Engraving of a horse with red painting in its outline. Natural and retouched concavity in the form of a bison. Group of red dots in the outer rock-shelter. Photos: R. de Balbín. / Imágenes de sitios importantes con arte Paleolítico en Andalucía: Cueva de la Horadada y Cueva del Moro. Selección de pinturas y grabados. A la izquierda de arriba abajo: vista de Horadada. Grabados Paleolíticos, Pinturas esquemáticas, Puntos representando un Ibex, A la derecha, de arriba a abajo: vista de Cueva del Moro. Grabado de un caballo con pintura roja al interior. Concavidad natural retocada en forma de bisonte. Grupo de puntos en el techo del abrigo. Fotos R. de Balbín.

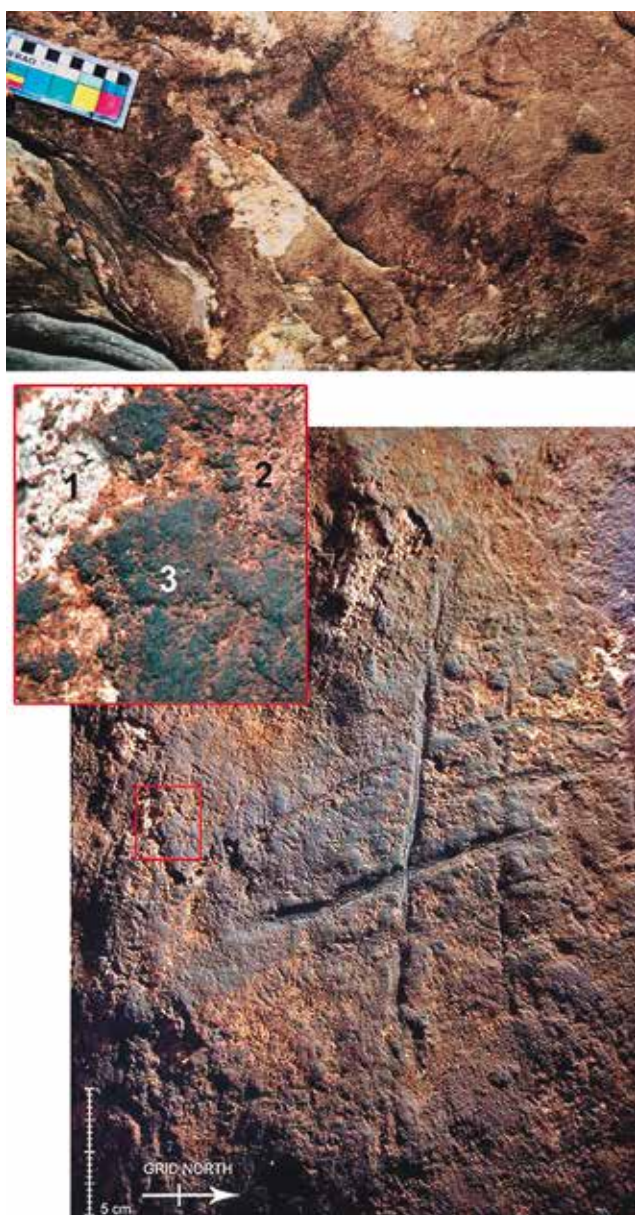


Fig. 5. Palaeolithic art in Gibraltar. Top: deer in Gorham's Cave. Photo: Simón et al. 2009. Bottom: Middle Palaeolithic engravings in Gorham's Cave and detail of the sampling. Photo: Rodríguez Vidal et al. 2014. / Arte Paleolítico en Gibraltar. Arriba: ciervo de la Cueva de Gorham, Foto Simon et al. 2009. Abajo Grabados de Paleolítico Medio de la Cueva de Gorham y detalle de la muestra de costra. Foto Rodríguez Vidal et al. 2014.

4. LANDS OF ANTEQUERA

The southern concentration of Palaeolithic art in Andalusia has been acknowledged since the discoveries of La Pileta, Nerja and all the karst caves in the mountains of Málaga, facing North Africa (Cantalejo and Espejo 2014). The tendency to relate Palaeolithic art in Málaga with the coastal mountains finds its contrast in the Lands of Antequera in a way that validates coast-interior relationships in the use of the territory (Cortés et al., 2008). In this respect, the Lands of Antequera play a major role in the study of these phases of the prehistory of Andalusia, as well as displaying some of the most unquestionable evidence of the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age.

The confluence of representations in caves and the open air is an important point of reference in the same way as documented in other parts of Iberia. The presence of Palaeolithic decorated caves does not impede the existence of Palaeolithic art in the open air, and vice versa. In Andalusia, the geology makes the presence of decorated caves easy, whereas in other places it is more difficult. However, the data show that the geology was not a conditioning factor in the marking of territories by Upper Palaeolithic groups. In addition, the caves in Málaga display the most abundant evidence of a long Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic use known in the Iberian Peninsula. This is very significant as it is repeated in the open air, where Schematic art panels share the same surfaces used by Palaeolithic hunters.

Our work in Antequera consisted of compiling the evidence of graphic activity in the area, both inside megalithic structures and outside them, within the idea that the graphisms are the cultural manifestations of the groups; they organise and define the territory occupied by them, while assuming that the abundance of rock-shelters with Schematic art can reveal signs of previous occupations (Bueno et al., 2008, 2009, 2012).

The first and most precise point of reference in Antequera is Cueva de Ardales (Cantalejo et al., 2004, 2006a), which attests the Upper Palaeolithic and its graphic activity in the area. The documentation of hands and a date associated with organic matter (Ramos et al., 2014) show that the use of this cave was among the earliest within Palaeolithic art in southern Europe, in a chronology repeated at such sites as Nerja (Aura et al., 2010; Jordá and Aura, 2008; Pettit et al., 2015) and which must be more common in Andalusian Palaeolithic art.

At the other chronological extreme of prehistoric art are the paintings at Peña de Cabrera and Peña de los Enamorados with Matacabras Rock-shelter. If the groups recognised the territory in which they moved thanks to prominent locations, Peña de los Enamorados could not be a more evident point of reference in the way that it stands out in the environment and because of its shape like a human head in profile. Even the large funerary structures are oriented in relation to this landmark.

To the northwest of the Peña, a group of menhirs is associated with a lithic assemblage indicating the site was frequented and cultural activity (García-Sanjuan and Wheatley 2009; García-Sanjuan et al., 2006). Evidence of intentional working has been identified on them (Bueno et al. 2009: Fig. 3). These landmarks continue towards the east, while to the southeast Matababras Rock-shelter is at the base of Peña de los Enamorados. It is formed in a fissure that protects it from inclement weather and which from outside looks like a large female genital organ. The use of natural landforms with sexual connotations is very common in Palaeolithic art, and in the case of Matababras Rock-shelter it is a factor to be taken into account. Its recent re-discovery has revealed highly interesting signs of graphic sequences, although the detailed study has not been finished. It should be completed definitively in a final field season.

The most visible figure due to its size and height is at the entrance to the rock-shelter, in a dominant position. It is a human figure painted in dark red. It is not in the usual style of anthropomorphic representations in Iberian Schematic art and for that reason it has been associated with the Macro-Schematic style (Bueno et al. 2008, 2009 and i.p.; Bueno and Balbín 2016: 471). This would suggest that that style was distributed over a larger area than eastern Iberia, where it has been characterised.

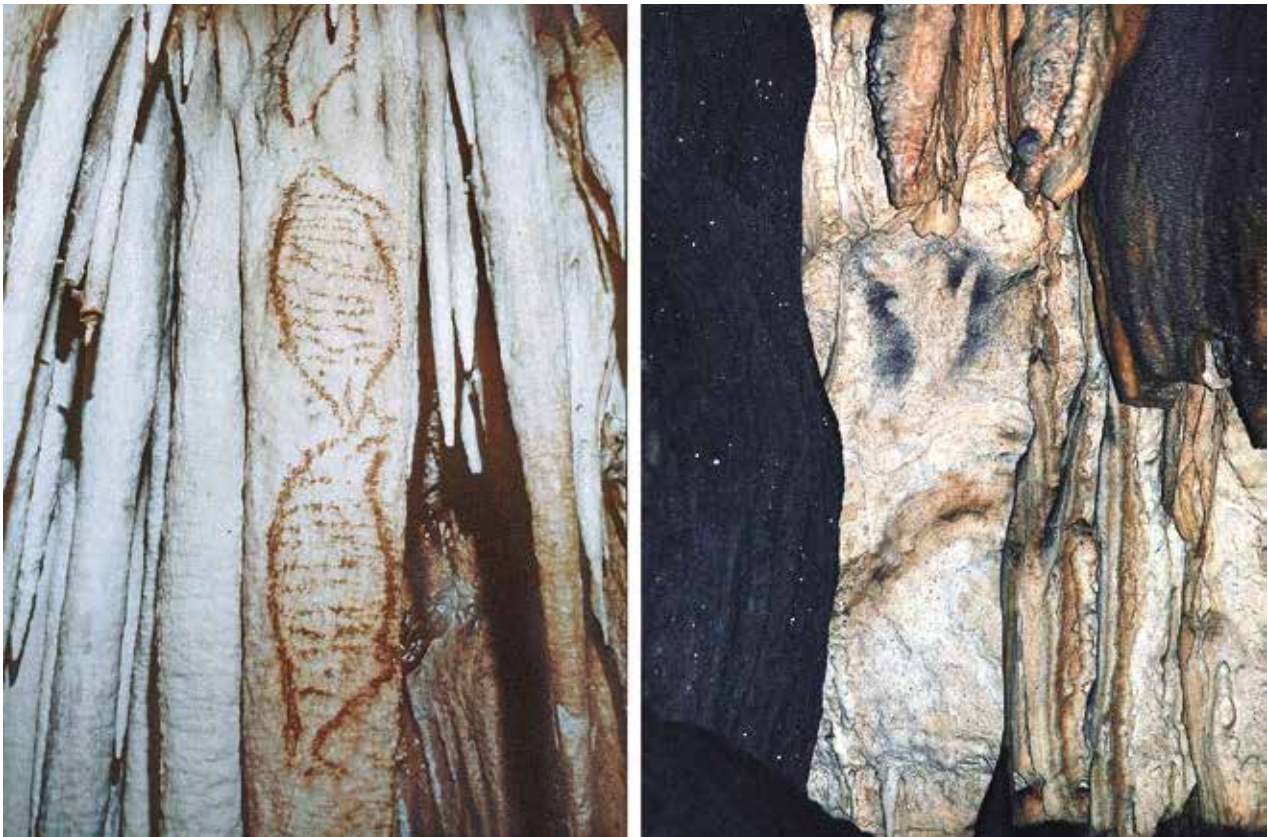


Fig. 6. Early Palaeolithic art at Andalusian sites. Left: painting of vertical seals in Nerja. Right: stencilled hand in Ardales Cave. Photos: R. de Balbín. / Primer arte paleolítico en Andalucía. Izquierda: focas pintadas en vertical en Nerja. Derecha: manos de la Cueva de Ardales. Fotos R. de Balbín

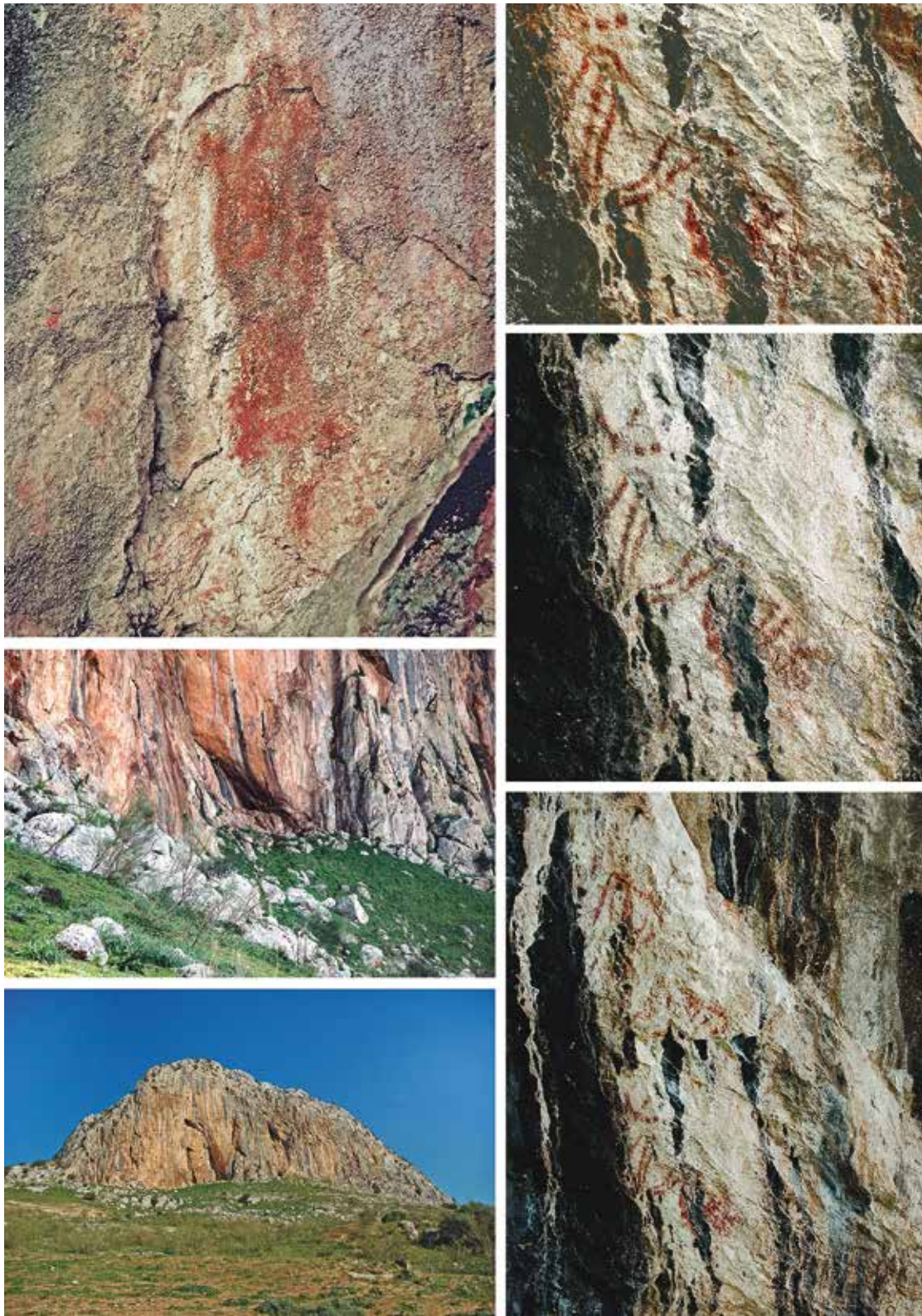


Fig. 7. Left, from top to bottom: Anthropomorph in the entrance of Maticabras Rock-shelter. Maticabras Rock-shelter; note the natural fissure in the form of the sexual triangle. General view of Peña de los Enamorados from the west. Right, from top to bottom: graphic documentation of the wavy lines in the old phase in Maticabras Rock-shelter (two images). General view of Panel 1. Photos: R. de Balbín. / A la izquierda de arriba a abajo: Antropomorfo de la entrada del abrigo de Maticabras Abrigo de Maticabras: obsérvese la figura natural en forma de triángulo sexual. Vista general de la Peña de los Enamorados desde el oeste. A la derecha de arriba abajo: Documentación gráfica de las líneas dobles de la fase antigua de del abrigo de Maticabras (dos imágenes). Vista general del panel I. Fotos Rodrigo de Balbín.

The natural form of the rock-shelter suggests it might have been walled off, so that it was delimited with an access facing west-southwest signalled by the above figure. From the entrance, the large panel would be facing anyone who entered the area. At least three phases of graphic activity can be defined by superimpositions and the use of different pigments and implements. The oldest will be described, while the other two belong to Schematic art.

Within the oldest decoration in the panel is a vertical wavy line which, at its top, ends in a hook with dots above it. Below it and to the right, painted zoomorphic motifs are in the classic schematic style, with a lighter colour, and a sign might be the continuation of the wavy line. The black deposit that covers the motif in this part hinders its visibility, although the photographic study (Bueno et al., 2009) was able to follow the lines, as seen in part of the copy published by Maura (2011). The ensemble forms a vertical double wavy line that is slightly oblique to the panel. On the right, the upper part of a similar sign shows that the original panel was more complex. The black deposit mentioned above will be analysed to determine its composition and possibly its age. However, it proves that a period of time went by

between the production of this figure and the others in the panel, which can easily be associated with classic Schematic art.

Double wavy lines, with or without an interior fill, and painted or engraved, are known in Palaeolithic art and in fact the best examples are known in the immediacy of Antequera. The closest in all aspects, including the vertical position of double lines ending in hooks, is seen in the panel of meandering lines in La Pileta (Breuil et al., 1915). The original form of the panel in the rock-shelter may have been very similar to the figure in La Pileta, bearing in mind the position of the incomplete wavy line on the right of the panel in Matababras. Another panel of signs in the same cave repeats the motif with formulas that stress the curved lines even more (Cortés et al., 2015: Fig. 3).

Another very close point of reference is in Cueva de Ardales, but in this case is engraved. The ends of each vertical wavy line, formed by double lines with a deep angular groove, possess a more closed and pointed shape (Cantalejo et al., 2006: 48), as occurs in some of the sections of the motif in Matababras.

Both Ardales and La Pileta are ascribed to Upper Palaeolithic art, but both display evidence of later uses

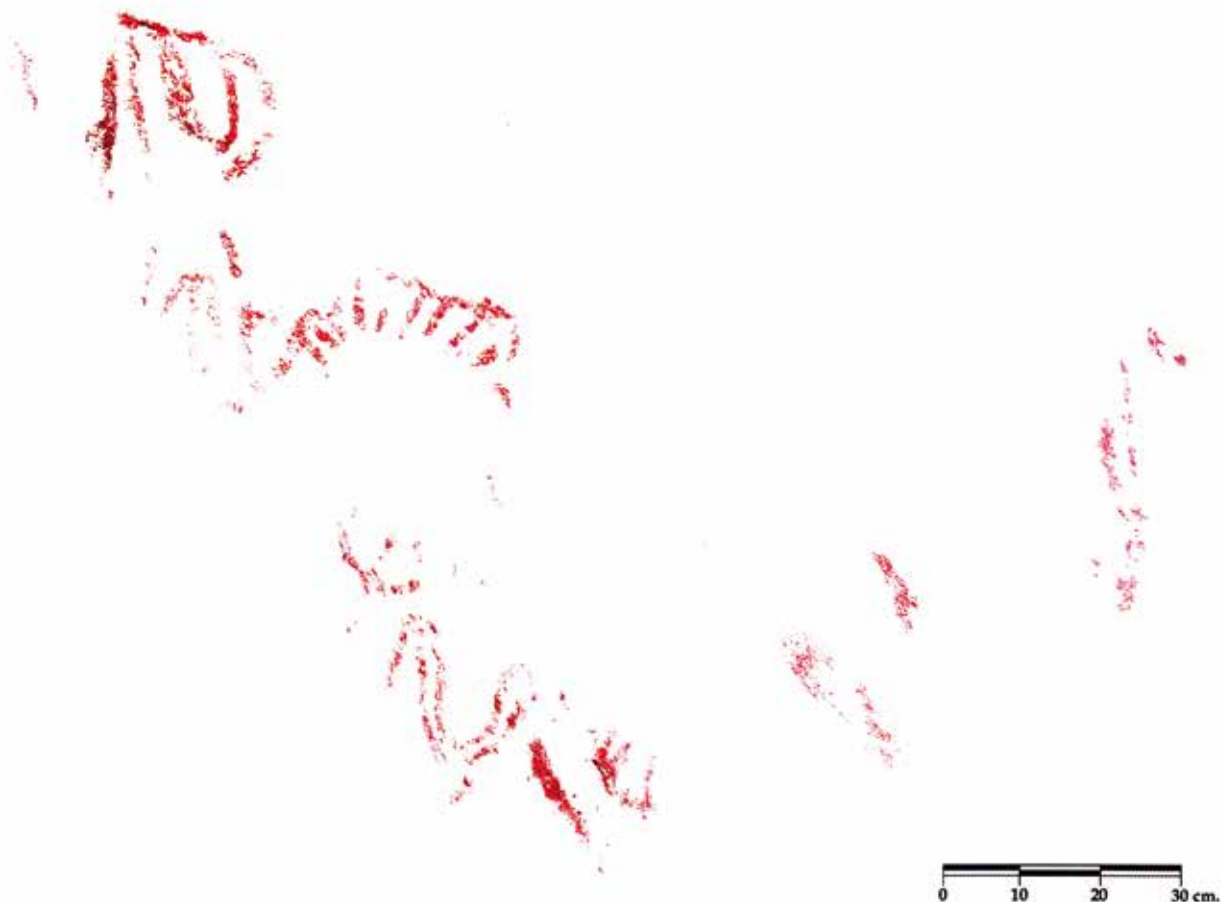


Fig. 8. Provisional drawing of the figures at Matababras, according to Maura 2011. / Calco provisional de las figuras de Matababras, según Maura 2011.

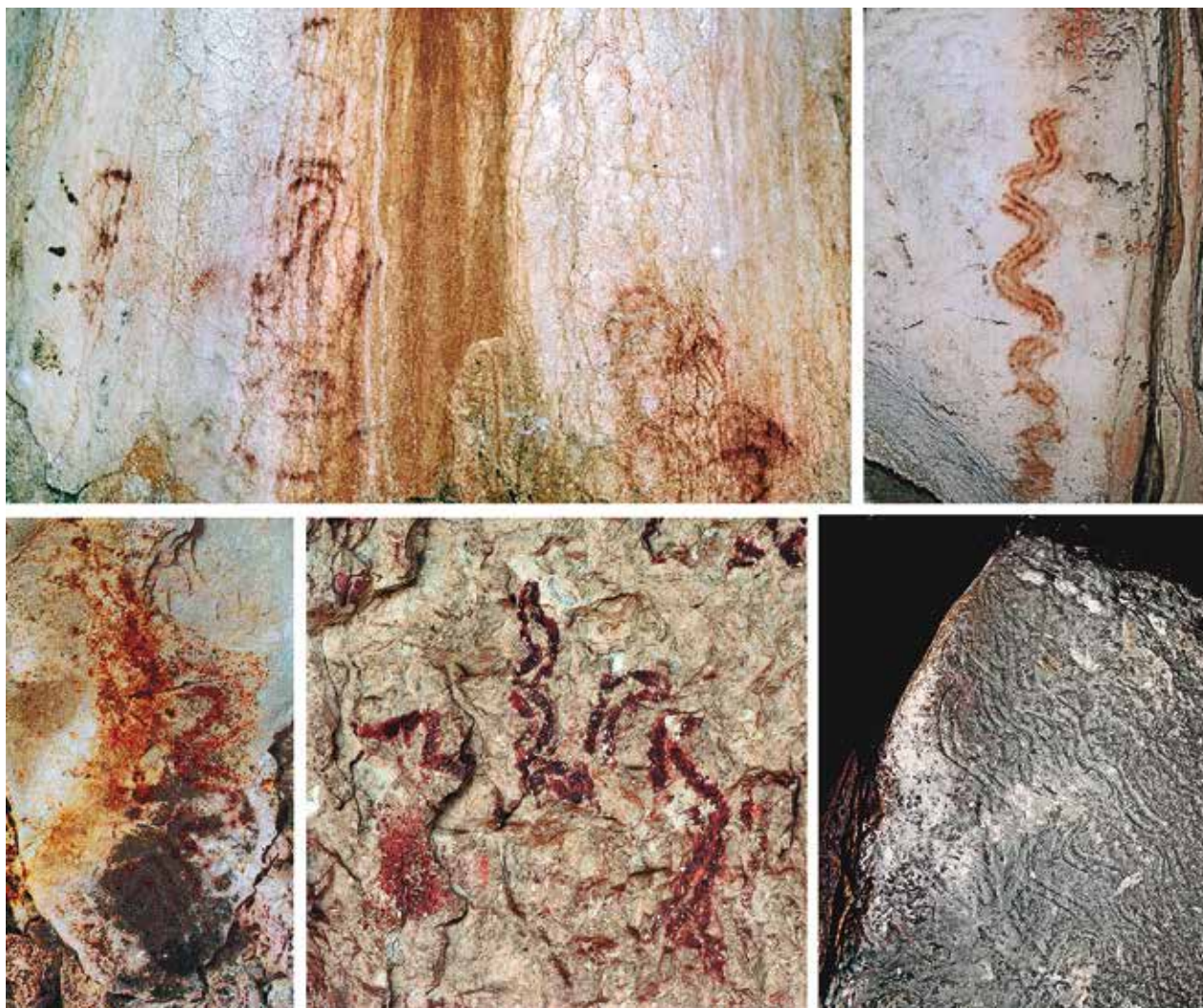


Fig. 9. Top: series of painted wavy lines in Cueva de la Pileta, Málaga, according to Cantalejo et al. 2006a: 46 and 58. Bottom: Painted wavy lines in Cueva Alta, in Lands of Antequera, and Los Tajos de Lillo, in Granada. From photographs by Javier Jimenez and J. Martinez. Series of engraved wavy lines in Ardales Cave. Photo: R. de Balbín. / Arriba series de líneas onduladas en la Cueva de la Pileta, Málaga según Cantalejo et al.2006, 46 y 58. Abajo: Líneas onduladas de Cueva Alta en Tierras de Antequera y en Los Tajos de Lillo, en Granada. Fotografías de Javier Jiménez y J. Martínez, Series de líneas onduladas grabadas de Ardales, Foto R. de Balbín.

(Cantalejo et al. 2006: 46-7); more profusely in La Pileta, where one of its uses in Recent Prehistory has been dated directly (Valladas et al., 2013). References are made to depictions in other less well-studied caves in Malaga but they are not as specific as the above examples. This is the case of the double lines on some surfaces in the ensemble in Cuevas del Cantal, especially in Cueva del Higuérón (Cantalejo et al., 2006b,7), where they are in black.

In the open air, this motif is undoubtedly present in Cueva Alta Rock-shelter (Cañete la Real) in the Guadalteba area, and in the Antequera Depression, its prominent position allows Peña de los Enamorados to be viewed directly (Maura, 2011: 140). Double vertical meandering lines, like those in La Pileta, end in a more angular shape, as in the panel in Cueva de Ardales. The

fissure entrance of Cueva Alta is another element to be noted as it repeats the choice of natural fissures related with the image of the female sex, as explained in the case of Matababras Rock-shelter.

Outside the Antequera Depression but very near to it, 35km from Matababras, similar motifs are seen in the rock-shelter of Los Tajos de Lillo, in Loja (Martínez, 2013). The panel is completed with double Y-shaped anthropomorphs, an association in accordance with some of those documented in Macro-Schematic art. Indeed, Martínez gives a list of references in this respect, connecting them with the oldest Schematic art and including them in the early Neolithic (Martínez 2013: 100-101). Again, Macro-Schematic art is described outside its accepted core area, as the symbolic evidence of the arrival of the first settlers to the Serpis valley (Bernabeu et al., 2008).

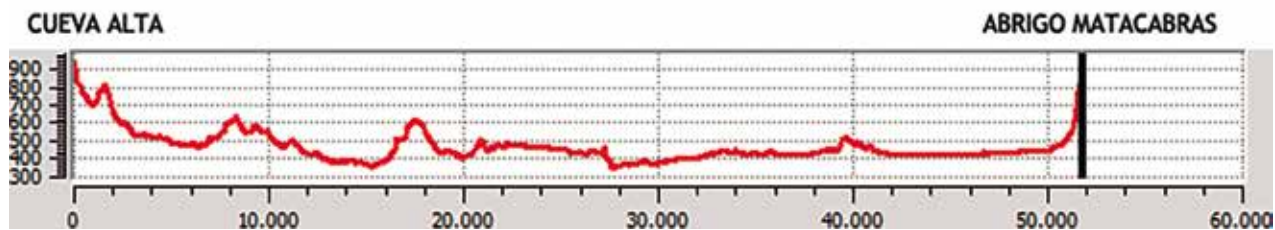


Fig. 10. Altimetric profile of the positions of Alta and Matababras Rock-shelter, Antequera. / Perfil altimétrico de la posición de los abrigos de Alta y Matababras, en Antequera.

Matababras is unique in two ways: the position of the wavy lines beneath classic Schematic art, and because of very similar motifs in the immediate surroundings, in La Pileta and Ardales, but also in Cueva Alta de Cañete la Real and Los Tajos de Lillo. This is therefore a motif that was significant in the area of study and which has been linked with panels of both Palaeolithic and Macro-Schematic art. The extension of this type of evidence to other parts of Andalusia is receiving increasing support. The most recently published site is Peña Redonda Rock-shelter in Priego de Córdoba, where two panels with motifs practically identical to those in La Pileta appear in an ensemble with Schematic art, including a double Y-shaped anthropomorph, which is common in Macro-Schematic panels (Bretones et al., 2015: Figs. 3 and 4).

Matababras Rock-shelter is a case study of unquestionable value in the chronological and cultural setting of one of the most interesting moments in the prehistoric art of southern Europe.

5. BETWEEN THE UPPER PALAEOLITHIC AND THE NEOLITHIC. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ANDALUSIAN GRAPHIC SEQUENCES

The Lands of Antequera is one of the places in the Iberian Peninsula with Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic graphic sequences. These confirm the long duration of the uses of open-air panels, as also in some caves with archaeological evidence that needs to be studied. The permanence that the Andalusian caves and rock-shelters reflect is very indicative and the surroundings of the Lands of Antequera is precisely one of the areas, together with the group near Gibraltar, that concentrates the largest number of representations.

The difficulty in dating open-air ensembles may be solved in Matababras Rock-shelter thanks to the deposit that covers part of the wavy lines. More recently, in an excavation next to Plá de Petracos, the emblematic site for Macroschematic Art, an archaeological context from the Upper Paleolithic has been identified. We found ochre tools as well as a lithic assemblage (Miret et al., 2016:fig.20). Its relationship with the paintings will necessarily have to be evaluated.

In addition to the numerous references to double wavy lines associated with Macro-Schematic panels in

eastern Iberia (Martínez, 2013), they are also seen on some portable objects from Parpalló. The archaeological deposit in this site, even with its problems, is still the basic reference for Palaeolithic sequences in the area. Two objects will be highlighted. One is a plaque with wavy lines drawn with a deep angular incision, which repeats the pointed ends seen in Ardales and La Pileta (see Figures 9 and 11 in this text). Several fragments display the same motif at Parpalló (Villaverde, 1994: LIII) and they all appeared in upper Magdalenian levels.

The second object resembles more closely the panel in La Pileta and at Peña Redonda Rock-shelter. Several wavy lines drawn with a double incised line and hook-shaped ends occasionally finish with short parallel lines (Villaverde, 1994: LXXIV, 20585). These are equally dated in the Upper Magdalenian. These figures were classified by L. Pericot (1942: Fig. 497, 226) as anthropomorphs: profiles with the head in the upper part and with the representation of an eye. Their best point of reference is in some figures in Parpalló itself, such as the figure over filled rectangular signs on Plaque 2005 (Villaverde, 1994: LXLIV). Some rock art figures in the Macro-Schematic style in eastern Iberia repeat these motifs. The application of this interpretation to the panel in La Pileta is very suggestive, as also to the figure in Matababras, where the head might be covered by a kind of headdress, indicated by the horizontal dots above it.

The confluence of Palaeolithic references and others related to the Macro-Schematic, as suggested by Matababras, is repeated at Parpalló. Its spectacular collection of portable depictions also includes some motifs characteristic of Style V, which is well documented in sequences in western Iberia (Bueno et al. 2007, 2009): animals filled with geometric patterns, signs ending in short parallel lines (Villaverde, 1994: Fig. 2000 and following), and the wavy lines already described. All these and the endings in short lines are found in the Macro-Schematic style.

We can now also add contextualised data from the corpus of Italian portable art. The ongoing work at Riparo Dalmeri is confirming the hypotheses put forward some years ago at Riparo Villabruna (Broglia and Dalmeri, 2005; Dalmeri et al., 2011) and from references to paintings and engravings on pebbles and plaques in the late Ice Age (D'Errico and Possenti 1999). At that



Fig. 11. Top: painted panels in Peña Redonda Rock-shelter, according to Briones et al. 2015. Bottom: Plaques with Upper Magdalenian wavy motifs from Parpalló: No. 20585 LAM. LXXIV, Villaverde 1994. Geometric motif from Magdalenian III. Lam. XXII No. 6, Pericot 1942. Photo: Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia. Vertically: Macro-Schematic art: Wavy line in La Sarga, Photo: Museo de Alicante. Barranc de Famorca abric V, Hernandez et al. 1988: 108. / Arriba: Líneas onduladas pintadas en el abrigo de Peña Redonda, según Briones et al.2015. Abajo: Placas con motivos del magdaleniense superior en Parpalló: No. 20585 LAM. LXXIV, Villaverde 1994. Motivo geométrico del Magdaleniense III. Lam. XXII No. 6, Pericot 1942. Foto: Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia. En vertical: Arte Macroesquemático: líneas onduladas de la Sarga. Foto: Museo de Alicante. Barranc de Famorca abric V, Hernandez et al. 1988: 108

time, anthropomorphs very similar to the one at the entrance to Matababras Rock-shelter help to date the graphic ensemble in the late Upper Palaeolithic and early Holocene.

The similarity in technique, theme and type of object between the Italian artefacts and those from the site of Chaves, in Huesca (Bueno and Balbín, 2009: 87) enables the connections to be widened towards the area of the Pyrenees, and the idea that the relationships being established are not only limited to the Mediterranean basin.

There is no doubt that the different evidence being found to define a continuation between Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic art is widespread over the whole area where the former exists. Perhaps some areas appear to be more important than others, but our current knowledge directly depends on the research carried out in each place. A clear example of our hypothesis is the archaeological site of Côa in Portugal (Aubry et al., 2010). The portable art found in the stratigraphy is the key to dating the long sequence of parietal art, and this is quantitatively important in the time being studied here.

6. FINAL REFLECTIONS

The possibility of characterising graphic activity in the Palaeolithic to post-Palaeolithic transition has begun to take form in literature on southern Europe (Rousot, 1990; Villaverde, 1994). Supported by stratigraphies



Fig. 12. 12. Top: Anthropomorph, painted plaque No. RD 211 s. 1 q. 46F/h, US 65, from Riparo Dalmeri, according to Dalmeri, G. et al. 2011:87. Painted pebble from Chaves. Photo: R.de Balbín. Bottom: Painted plaque from Riparo Dalmeri, Fig 11, p 132, according to Dalmeri et al. 2005. Painted pebble from Chaves. Photo: R. de Balbín. / Arriba: Antropomorfo placa pintada No. RD 211 s. 1 q. 46F/h, US 65, de Riparo Dalmeri, según Dalmeri, G. et al. 2011:87. Canto pintado de Chaves. Foto R. de Balbín.

with radiocarbon dates (D'Errico and Possenti, 1999; Langlais et al., 2012; Lorblanchet, 1989), as well as direct dates in caves and the analysis of the graphic sequences on the same surfaces (Aubry et al., 2010; Bueno et al., 2007, 2009, 2010; Bueno and Balbín, 2016; Viñas et al., 2010), the data from the Iberian Peninsula have acquired great importance. Portable art and parietal art indicate a continuous sequence that goes beyond the classic date of 10,000 BP for the disappearance of Palaeolithic art, revealing the process of transformation and adaptation of the contents of the art after the Ice Age.

The terminologies applied to this process vary from the name of Style V, following the idea of a nomenclature for the styles of rock art that is independent from the names of the cultures (Bueno et al., 2007, 2009), to a strictly chronological name: Epipalaeolithic art (Guy, 1993); or terms related to the classic systems in Iberia: Pre-Schematic art (Collado, 2009). Each of these names reflects very different ways of understanding prehistoric graphisms and, fundamentally, the difference between stylists and post-stylists (Lorblanchet and Bahn, 1993). It is a difference in the way of thinking that reflects in rock art the division between Processual history and idealist history (Bueno et al., 2003), between a history without society, constructed from individualities and a social history created by forms of relationships and uses of the territory by ancient human groups.

The problems derived from the use of different cultural names for these periods have already been noted. The Azilian is understood in a geographic sense that includes the classic area in northern Iberia and the south of France, whereas in other areas that name of Upper Magdalenian tends to be used. These areas include the rest of Iberia. The decorated pebbles and plaques in the east (Casabó, 2004: 337), and those from Peña de Estebanvela (Cacho et al., 2003, 2013) and Portugal (Aubry et al., 2010) are able to lessen the supposed cultural differences between the two names (Bueno et al., 2005). Here we respect the terminology used by the different authors, but acknowledge not only the identical chronology of the Final Upper Magdalenian in the centre, east and west, but also the common cultural roots seen in the symbols in the Final Upper Magdalenian and the Azilian, and which are also found at Asturian sites, as well as in Laminar Epipalaeolithic and Geometric Epipalaeolithic contexts in eastern Iberia.

The data is indicative of graphic sequences that define long uses in different parts of the Iberian Peninsula. In the Lands of Antequera four sites display wavy motifs with a Palaeolithic formula, two in the open air and two in caves, or five if the proximate site of Los Tajos de Lillo is included. Three of the sites, the two caves and Matababras, provide solid evidence to date them "grosso modo" in the Palaeolithic.

It is not easy to date open-air panels and neither those inside caves. However, the evidence explained

here and the elements noted here and by other authors about the relationship with the Macro-Schematic style in Andalusia add further support to this interpretation. In eastern Iberia itself, where Macro-Schematic art has been characterised (Hernández 2009), the portable ensemble from Parpalló provides evidence (Pericot, 1942; Villaverde, 1994) that includes in the Final Upper Magdalenian the characteristic elongated or compact animals with interior fill of Style V, the complex symbols (rectangles with rhomboid-shaped fill, triangles with short lines) and the wavy patterns with or without fill. The frequency of endings with short repeated lines, which are very common in the Macro-Schematic corpus, and some of the motifs represented, underscores this cultural proximity.

The Italian sites provide more elements in the graphic variety in this time of transition and, as noted by D'Errico and Possenti (1991), show the important role of human figures, some of which display formulas of the most classic Schematic art, indicating a greater age than proposed for the Iberian Peninsula. Archaeological work helps to define this late Palaeolithic framework by establishing painted references in portable art with a chronology between the twelfth and eighth millennia cal BC: anthropomorphs with or without endings with short lines, like those on the pebbles from Chaves (Dalmeri et al., 2005: Fig.11:132; Dalmeri, 2011 No. RD 211 s. 1 q. 46F/h, US 65: 87; Utrilla and Baldellou, 2001: Fig 10: 86, 91), wavy lines or zigzags, both vertical and horizontal, and animals with elongated necks or rectangular and elongated proportions. Their synchrony with some sites in inland and western Iberia widens relationships beyond the exclusively Mediterranean area. In the current state of our knowledge, the time between the end of the Upper Palaeolithic and the eighth millennium is increasingly filled with sites whose graphic formulas are rooted in the Palaeolithic, as we have argued in several studies (Bueno and Balbín, 2016).

Even accepting the necessary nuances that will arise out of fuller documentation, the rock-shelters and caves in Andalusia in general and in the Antequera depression in particular, have become central to the discussion on the exclusively eastern and Neolithic nature of Macro-Schematic art. Clear Palaeolithic components in chronologies associated with the end of the Pleistocene are unquestionable. This does not imply that the development of these formulas did not reach the Neolithic. Indeed, the coherence of uses in the same territories and even in the same panels confirms an undeniable connection between the two periods and suggests a possible temporal proximity. We have already noted the relationship between the serpentiform motifs on old Iberian menhirs and the paintings at Matababras.

The position of Antequera depression in a longitudinal line of transit across Andalusia from east to west, with a route towards the south across Peñas de Cabrera and to the north towards Jaén, shows that it was a strategic place in the map of settlements in southern Euro-

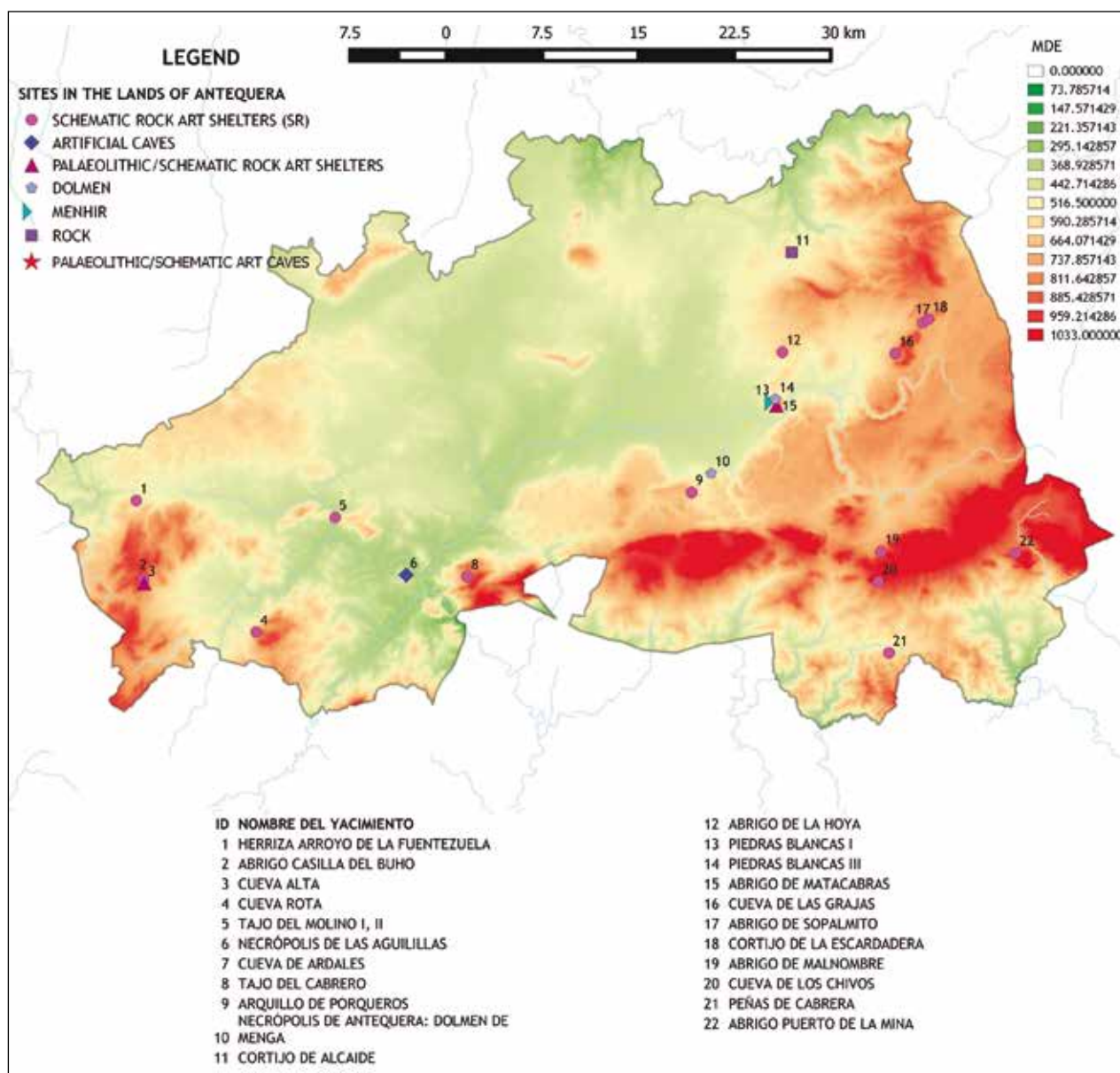


Fig. 13. Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic decorated sites in the Lands of Antequera. / Sitios paleolíticos y postpaleolíticos decorados en Tierras de Antequera

pe. It is a further sign that these privileged locations had been occupied since the Palaeolithic and marked over time with graphic symbols.

References pointing to Style V provide a formal and cultural framework in which to integrate the origin of the symbols that have defined the idiosyncrasy of Schematic art. This interpretation contributes to diluting the classic concepts of Macro-Schematic and Levantine art, in favour of long-duration graphic expressions found all over the Iberian Peninsula and, undoubtedly, with specialisations that need to be studied.

If we add these data to the increasingly precise chronology of schematic motifs, in both the Iberian Peninsula and Italy, it is becoming necessary to propose

new directions for the study of Iberian Schematic art. The old elements in the panels in the Lands of Antequera show that this region is crucial to assess the existence of schematic formulas among Upper Palaeolithic hunter groups. The Lands of Antequera has a potential that needs to be tested with the chronologies, some of which are old, in the case of sites like Cueva del Toro, which also contains Upper Palaeolithic occupations (Martín Socas et al., 2004).

The importance of the open-air locations of Andalusian sites should lead to profound reflections on the bias caused by relating Palaeolithic art exclusively with caves. Similarly, the southern Iberian Peninsula possesses the largest ensemble of open-air Palaeolithic paintings,

as already pointed out in connection with the rock-shelters in Extremadura (Balbín and Bueno, 2009). Detailed studies on the way of using the panels, the relationship between old and more recent sites, and the study of the connections between graphisms will be an interesting approach to provide data about the importance of southern Europe in the generation, maintenance and transmission of ideas with symbols created in the early Upper Palaeolithic. The frequency of graphic representations in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic indicate the coherence of great population growth associated with more stable economic systems. However, the graphic expressions are rooted in a technical and formal background with a long tradition, which included marking the same territories and even the same panels.

Last but not least, some important sites with Upper Palaeolithic decoration witnessed occupations by Neanderthals, which leaves a door open to wider considerations about the antiquity of the marking of those places.

The Lands of Antequera should therefore be included within the most relevant case studies to pose questions and propose some answers about the course of Ancient Prehistory and Recent Prehistory, with the depictions on stone that characterise it among the most visible signs of that continuity.

7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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For the maps in this paper, we have used the raster archives in Geotiff format of Jarvis, A., H.I. Reuter, A. Nelson, E. Guevara, 2008, Hole-filled SRTM for the globe Version 4, available from the CGIAR-CSI SRTM 90m Database (<http://srtm.csi.cgiar.org>). The vector archives in SHP format of the 1:200,000 provincial maps were obtained from the Instituto Geográfico Nacional. The software used was QGIS, an open code Geographical Information System: Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 licence (CC BY-SA)

Some of the coordinates were supplied by the Digital Cartography Service of the Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico, Junta de Andalucía. The other coordinates and ascriptions have been taken from the publications of each of the decorated sites. They are thus included in the bibliography.

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