



## REFLECTION ON EUROPEAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN ROCK ART IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN FRAMEWORK

*Umberto Sansoni\**

**ABSTRACT** - The updated intersection of linguistic, genetic, mythographic and especially archaeological data is recently erasing any remaining doubt about the origin from the steppes of the original ethnic and cultural nucleus of the Indo-europeans. It is therefore possible to link the gradual thematic and symbolic evolution of rock art and draw a parallel with the indo-europeization of the different areas involved. The Euro-asian contexts, from the III to the early II millennium b.C., in fact, show undeniable convergences, with the growing focus on weapons and warriors, circular shapes, some zoomorphic figures and carts, tools and structures. With all the necessary caution, these thematic characters seem to compose an extensive ideological set which occurs throughout the same time-stages and in the same areas of the great Indo-European expansion. A set that converges with what is revealed by ritual, essentially funeral, costumes of the corresponding archaeological cultures. This paper exemplifies such premises taking into consideration the symbolic value of some major rock art themes in Alpine, Nordic and Caucasian-Central Asian areas during the Bronze and Iron Age.

**RIASSUNTO** - L'incrocio aggiornato dei dati linguistici, genetici, mitografici e soprattutto archeologici sta erodendo ogni residuo dubbio sull'origine dalle steppe del nucleo originario, etnico e culturale, degli Indoeuropei. È quindi possibile legare la progressiva evoluzione tematico-simbolica all'arte rupestre e metterla in parallelo all'indoeuropeizzazione dei diversi territori coinvolti. I contesti euro-asiatici, a partire dal III- inizio II millennio, mostrano infatti indubbie convergenze, con la crescente attenzione sulle armi e gli armati, sulle figure circolari, su alcuni zoomorfi e su carri, arnesi e strutture. Con tutta la prudenza del caso, tali caratteri tematici paiono comporre un vasto set ideologico che si manifesta lungo le stesse fasi e le stesse grandi regioni dell'espansione indoeuropea. Un set che ben accorda con quanto ci rivelano i costumi rituali, essenzialmente funerari, delle corrispondenti culture archeologiche. La relazione esemplifica tali premesse toccando il valore simbolico di alcuni grandi temi rupestri alpini, scandinavi e caucasico-centro asiatici delle età del Bronzo e del Ferro.

\*\*\*

*RV, I, 115, 1. This sun, which has filled the sky and the earth with itself, is the soul of what is moving and what is motionless.*

The European rock art extends over three great cycles: the Paleolithic-Mesolithic, the Neolithic and the protohistoric. Though with shifted chronology, they cover all the major continental regions and the surrounding areas from the shores of Africa, to the Near East and central Asia. The epicenters, the origin and formation centers seem purely European in the first case, with the fulcrum in the Franco-Cantabrian Paleolithic, then circummediterranean and nordic during the Epipaleolithic, Anatolian-Balkan in the Neolithic with a wide Mediterranean and Atlantic spread, and finally in the North-Pontic area of the steppes, in the early Chalcolithic. This latter is a crucial turning point that leads into protohistory, determining the basic characteristics of modern Europe during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

After more than two centuries of debate on Indo-Europeans, on the same truth of their existence, their origin and history, today we are at a relatively stationary point: the updated intersection of linguistic, genetic, mythographic and especially archaeological data is recently erasing any remaining doubt about the origin from the steppes of the ethnic and cultural nucleus of the Indo-Europeans. Most of the specialists, even among *excepta* of all sorts, consider ascertained this thesis. Among the others, the recent, rigorous *status quaestionis* of Lebedynsky (2011) and Haudry (2001), the genetic analysis of the Cavalli-Sforza group (Cavalli-Sforza *et al.* 2001, on R1a haplogroup of Y chromosome), the progress in archeology and comparative linguistics (Haudry *cit.*, Martinet 1987, Villar 1997) disprove Renfrew's (1988) Balkan-Anatolian thesis, or the most fanciful Middle-Eastern, Northern, Paleolithic or Indian ones.

Basically the great lines traced by Gimbutas (1980) and, although to recalibrate, by Mallory (1989, 1997) and Dexter (*et al.* 1997) are confirmed, as well as at least some of those drawn by Dumézil: their work, too quickly and ideologically blacklisted, in the view of the current data looks now more than pioneering. The result is the historical presence of a culture, or better a unitary cultural sequence, which holds the key features of Indo-Europeism, a matrix which, with varying degrees of development, impairment and cultural assemblage, replicates in a three-millennial winning process in every direction.

---

\* Dipartimento Valcamonica e Lombardia del Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici, Niardo (Bs), Italy  
Translated by Cinzia Bettineschi



Rock art, even being the main iconographic source of cycle, has been little considered so far even by its own researchers, since they are on hold on the whole Indo-European *quaestio*. It should however be recognized to Anati the early intuition of the Indo-Europeanism of the stelae phenomenon (Anati 1986) and to central Asian colleagues a constant, I would say natural, tendency to link the prehistoric rock art of the area to the Indo-Europeanisation, including interesting parallels with what is testified by the oldest sources (Veda, Avesta) and by the local shamanic tradition (Samašev 1992; Martinov *et al.* 1992; Rozwadowsky 2004). I think it is time to fill this gap with wide synthesis assessments on Euro-Asian contexts, which, starting from the beginning of III - early II millennium BC, show indubitable thematic and symbolic convergences.

The prehistoric rock art, from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age, in fact, shows a progressive and changing focus on weapons and warriors, circular shapes, some zoomorphic figures and carts, tools and structures; anywhere the proceed towards a proportional, realistic representation, with an individualistic and personalizing tone becomes more and more evident.

And while man (often ithyphallic) and his role are widespread, wherever the female figure, when recognizable, is progressively marginalized, confined to a few areas, such as the scenes of coupling (*topos* of the importance of a male role) or “worship” and the feminine itself seems at most transposed in particular symbolic elements. Instead the disarmed male figures, especially of orant-type, have at the same time a strong ritual emphasis.

This imperfect summary, deliberately beyond the regional peculiarities and the related continuation or addition of traditional lines, gives us the picture of a very different world from what we see in Neolithic’s iconography. A world ideologically ruled by masculine values in all of its aspects: we see the warrior, the hunter, the conductor of carts and ships, the plowman, the shepherd, the craftsman in the products of his art, the procreator in the act of fertilizing, the orant, the priest or the god that connects every aspect of creation.

Alongside, we see wild animals in the mythical world of the hunter, with a widespread emphasis on male deer, and among the domestics the horse, of purely male connotation, then the birds (typical of the Western regions) that are related to the celestial and probably funerary symbolic dimension. At the top we can find rounded, pointed or cruciate discs in close connection to male figures in uranian aspect. Furthermore, the scenes insist on the typically Chalcolithic frontal, vertical, ascending view of the stelae, which also possibly possesses a phallic symbology.

With all the necessary caution, these thematic characters seem to compose an extensive ideological set which occurs throughout the same time-stages and in the same areas of the great Indo-European expansion. A set that converges with what is revealed by ritual, essentially funeral, costumes of the corresponding archaeological cultures.

It follows a logical parallelism with what is highlighted by linguistic, symbolic-religious and paleogenetic researches, including, first and foremost, the macroscopic phenomenon of hybridization and regional particularization in the dynamics of the phases, which occurs in all the considered areas. And it happens so clearly, which eventually leads to miss the phylogenetic dynamic that joins them all.

The linguistic studies are those that, despite the large, complex, open-ended problems, now appear more mature and relevant on the issue. They’ve identified, so far, a phonology, a lexicon and an inflectional morphology clearly Indo-European, proposing a branched development along three stages (Lebedynsky cit., Haudry cit.): 4) the “classic” version reconstructed on the basis of historical languages; 3) the “mature Indo-European” (West, 2007); 2) the previous version, based on the bifurcation of the Anatolian languages (and perhaps the Tocharian, from the early II millennium BC or older); 1) the original, undivided version of indefinable, but at least Chalcolithic date (IV- early III millennium BC).

The archaeological plan, in worthy, close observation by linguists, comforts and directs that vision. Rock art gives similar results: if, borrowing the language method, we try to identify radicals (themes), suffixes (declination of the themes) and basic morphology (joints in the scene), we find well known concordance/similarities which are normally attributed to simple dialectic intercultural and multi-faceted exchange/influence. Reticular dialectic, certainly true, but if the Indo-Europeanization is a reality, and it is, these concordances should be read (filtered) in view of an ideological emanator center of Chalcolithic age, which over a period of at least three millennia, with waves always more compromised/differentiated, permeated, winning the entire European continent and the Central Asia. The problem is to understand which are the authentic radical and which the morphology: a complex operation that requires data from parallel disciplines and even more requires the courage of broad vision, extremely difficult in nowadays’ general sectoral-analytical trend.

According to Meillet (1922) a term can be considered of IE origin if it appears in at least three distinct branches of the IE languages, which have to be non-contiguous and “isolated”, i.e. without the possibility of “horizontal transmission”; applying this approach to rock art would certainly gain valuable information, but also considerable reliability problems, given the very selective (limited) number of rock art themes, the logic

of symbolic language, and the sharing over multiple cycles of various ideograms. On the other hand, in certain cases it might happen the same phenomenon for which the Chinese ideogram *hanyu* can be understood in the identical way, but read differently in each of the ten Chinese linguistic/cultural groups. In rock and associated iconography, a broader response is needed. The research should not be limited to the individual subject, but must include the morphologic set and thus the organic, the overall ensemble of different contexts. Tracking down the lowest common denominator can be a solid foundation in reconstructing the original ideological matrix.

The primary phenomenon is that of the stelae/engraved boulders dating to the Chalcolithic (III millennium BC), typical of the central-eastern strip from the Alps to the Ukrainian steppes, the one that shows greater adherence to the symbolism of weapons. This topic is too complex to be fully discussed here, so I'll just mention the rupestrian premises of the late IV millennium BC (Valcamonica, Mount Bego, French Midi, Wartbergkulturbereich area) and the strong presence of an "antagonist" tradition in the Western-Atlantic context (from the late IV millennium until the Bell-beaker culture), albeit with special enclaves (Galicia).

The first engravings of this type appear in the Caucasus-Kazakh area at least in the III millennium BC, but the phenomenon of rock art is majestic during the Bronze Age. On the heels of the Bell-beaker culture, with a peak around the middle of the II millennium BC, all the major European regions are involved in this change (with greater "resistance" in France and the UK).

Between the end of the Ancient - beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (or ABA2-MBA1, in central European terminology around the XVII-XV century BC) we see the first maximum of expansion, with significant rupestrian evidences in South-Scandinavian area, in the Iberian Peninsula, in the Alps and then in Central Asia, with likely influences up to the Central Sahara (early phase of the *Garamantes*, with carts and horses in "flying gallop"). Some of the above-mentioned subjects become dominant and grow continuously, with progressive regional charge, up to the second peak, around the Late Bronze Age (from the XII century BC) - beginning of the Iron Age (from the IX century BC) and thus throughout the following period, until historical times. The recent Conference in Tanum (2012) highlighted the common themes and common cultural basis between the Central-Alps and Scandinavia; particularly interesting was the prevalence, in both the considered areas, of the representation of unhold weapons and discs in the early stages of the Nordic Bronze Age and the coeval ABA2-MBA1 in the Central-Alpine area. Moreover, a parallel emphasis on armed men and a related iconographic set have also been identified: two and four wheels carts, plowing, footprints, orants and big-hands figures, scenes of coupling, schematic signs and so on.

Expanding the dialogue with the third largest rock art area of the Bronze - early Iron Age, i.e. the Central Asian region, we notice even with a brief overview (considering the plurality/diversity of contexts, from the North-Caucasian to the Altai) the emergence of the same main subjects: two and (rarer) four-wheel carts, discs with radial or other type of interior decoration, warriors, orants with raised or orthogonal arms, including many ithyphallic men and big-hand figures, scenes of coupling, schematic signs; huge prominence is given to animal figures, especially deer, horse and wild goat with long, curved horns. Among the warriors there is absolute prevalence of archers, mostly in hunting scenes, but there are also figures with swords, maces and spears; shields and unhold weapons are rare, while duelists and raiders are well-represented and very significant. As in Alpine and Scandinavian areas, choral scenes are frequent and tend to be associated in standard modules.

These three rupestrian contexts are very clearly characterized, being the result of different histories and environments, but the background, the ideological root is equally similar; this original seed brings the uranic and the warrior/heroic clichés that the archaeological record and the historical-religious data remind us to be the fundamental Indo-European characters. A cultural root that, in line with the most recent acquisitions, coincides very little with the ethnic factor and even with the language: the area of Valcamonica and Valtellina expresses, for example, non-Indo-European languages and the same can presumably be said for the Central Sahara of the first inscriptions.

#### EPISTEMIOLOGICAL CONCLUSION

Following Meillet's rule, even with the above limitations, may open new research frontiers; frontiers in fact variously extendable to other continental contexts, first of all the Iberian one: these are few, simple rupestrian radicals, which taken in isolation can find countless of parallels outside the Indo-European space and time but which, if morphologically considered as a whole, as a set of context, certainly offer new insights on the theme.

There is no place here to give other significant details (which study is a work in progress), but only to initialize the problem, so I already take for granted the severe criticism of many colleagues. The call, on such a broad topic, is to open up to a wide-ranging research and not with a single disciplinary perspective, but in a fleet with all the parallel/convergent others. It is a praise of synthesis, the result of a myriad of analysis, which we must have the courage to embrace: not an optional, but a primary task of the historical and human sciences.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AA.VV., 1998 Gods and Heroes of the bronze Age, Europe at the Time of Uliesses, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark.
- AA.VV., 2004-20011 Valcamonica Symposium XXI-XXIV, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro).
- AA.VV., -- BCSP collana 1-36, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro).
- ABELIN D., 2000 Tidräkning och myter i bronsålderns hållbilder, Hällristningsrapport 4, Dals Långed (Ask & Embla hb).
- ANATI E., 1982a I Camuni: alle radici della civiltà europea, Milano (Jaca Book).
- ANATI E., 1982b Luine collina sacra, Capo di ponte (Edizioni del Centro).
- ANATI E., 1990 The alpine menhir-statues and the indoeuropean problem, in BCSP 25-26, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro).
- BAIPAKOV K. M. MARIYASHEV A. N. POTAPOV S. A. GO-RYACHEV A. A., 2005 The Eshkiolmes Rocks' petroglyphs, Almathy (Margulan Archaeology Institute).
- BAIPAKOV K. M. MARIYASHEV A. N., 2008 Petroglyphs of Bay-an Zhurek, Almathy .
- BENGTSSON L., 2004 Cup marks of the common people, images of the elite, in Milstreu G. & Prøl (ed.) Prehistoric pictures as archaeological source, Varde (Gothenburg University) pp. 167-177.
- BENGTSSON L. (ed.), 1995 – 2009 Arkeologisk rapport fran Vitlycke Museum n. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, Tanum, Vitlycke Museum.
- BENGTSSON L. OLSSON C. (ed.), 2000 Arkeologisk rapport fran Vitlycke Museum n.5, Tanum, Vitlycke Museum.
- BERGMANN J., 1971 Urgeschichte Frühgeschichte, Kassel, Hessischen Landesmuseum.
- BERTILSSON U., 2004 Rock Art of the Northern Hemisphere – Scandinavia, Finland and Russia – Cultural Context, Chronological Implications and Major Traditions, in The Future of Rock Art-a Word Review, Stockholm Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet 2004:7, pp. 66-88.
- BERTILSSON U. (ed.), 1989 Hällristningar och hållmålningar I Sverige, Helsingborg
- BERTILSSON U. & McDERMOTT L., 2004 The Future of Rock Art-a Word Review, Stockholm Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet 2004:7
- BOYER R., 1991 L'uomo indoeuropeo e il sacro, in J. Ries (cur.), Trattato di Antropologia del Sacro, Milano (Jaca Book).
- BURENHULT G., 1973 The rock carvings of Götalands II, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia in series 4°, Lund.
- CARANCINI G.L. PERONI R., 1999 L'età del Bronzo in Italia: per una cronologia della produzione metallurgica, Perugia.
- CAVALLI SFORZA L. EDWARDS A. AMMERMAN A.J. MENOZZI P. et al., 2001 Le radici prime dell'Europa. Gli intrecci genetici, linguistici, storici, Milano (Bruno Mondadori editori).
- DE LUMLEY H., 1996 Le rocce delle meraviglie, Milano (Jaca Book)
- DEVLET M. DEVLET E., 2004 Russian Rock Art: the Current State of Research, in The Future of Rock Art-a Word Review, Stockholm Rapport från Riksantikvarieämbetet 2004:7, pp. 132-143.
- DEXTER R. M. and JONES-BLEY K., 1997 The Kurgan culture and the Indo-Europeanization of Europe, Selected articles from 1952 to 1993 by M. Gimbutas, Journal of Indo-European Studies monograph 18, Washington (Institute for the Study of Man).
- DUMEZIL G., 1990 Le sorti del guerriero: aspetti della funzione guerriera presso gli indoeuropei, Milano (Adelphi).
- DZHAFARZADE I.M., 1973 Gobustan Naskal'nye izobrazhenija", Baku (Isdatelstvo Elm).
- FOSSATI A., FRONTINI P., 2001 Archeologia e arte rupestre. L'Europa-le Alpi-la Valcamonica, Milano, Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Archeologia Rupestre.
- GIMBUTAS M., 1980 The Kurgan wave #2 (c.3400-3200 BC) into Europe and the following transformation of culture, in Journal of Indo-European Studies 8: pp.273-315.
- HAUDRY J., 2001 Gli Indoeuropei, Padova (Edizioni di Ar).
- HYGEN A. & BENGTSSON L., 2000 Rock Carvings in the Borderlands, Bohuslän and Østfold, Warne Förlag, Sävedalen.
- HEYD V. HARRISON R., 2007 Sion, Aosta e le trasformazioni nell'Europa del III millennio a.C., Bergamo, NAB 12.
- JACOBSON E., 1993 The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia, Leiden (E.J. Brill).
- KAUL F., 1998 Ships on Bronzes. A study in Bronze Age Religion and Iconography, Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark.
- KHECHOYAN A., 2007 The rock art of the Mt. Aragats system, in XXII Valcamonica Symposium, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro).
- KRISTIANSEN K. & LARSSON T. B., 2005 The rise of bronze Age society: travels, transmissions and transformation, Cambridge (Cambridge University Press).
- KRISTIANSEN K., 2012 Rock Art and Religion. The sun journey in Indo-European mythology and Bronze Age rock art, Adoranten 2012, pp. 69-86.
- KUBAREV D. V. JACOBSON E., 1996 Répertoire des Pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale, Fascicule N° 3, Sibérie du Sud 3 : Kalbak-Tash I (République de l'Altai), Paris (Diffusion de Bocard).
- LEBEDYNSKY I., 2011 Gli Indoeuropei. Fatti, dibattiti, soluzioni, Milano (Jaca Book).
- LING J., 2008 Elevated rock art: towards a maritime understading of Bronze Age rock art in northern Bohuslan, Sweden. Gothenburg, Gothenburg Archeological Theses.
- LOMBARDO RADICE L., 1981 Parliamo indoeuropeo: tante lingue, una sola famiglia. Le parentele linguistiche in Europa, Firenze (Giunti Marzocco).
- MALLORY J. P., 1989 In Search of the Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth (Thames & Hudson).
- MAKSIMOVA A. G., 1958 Naskal'nye izobrazheniya ushchel'ya tamgaly, Vestnik N.9.
- MARIKOVSKII Z., 1999 Kamni Rasskasviat, Almathy (Isdatie Skiidom Credo).
- MARIKOVSKII Z., IVKO O., 2001 Rirunki na valunah, Almathy (Otzicaiano v tizografii).
- MAR'JASEV A. N., GORJACEV A. A., POTAPOV S. A., 1998 Repertoire des petroglyphes d'Asie Centrale. Fascicule n.5 , Paris (Diffusion de Boccard).
- MARRETTA A., 2005 Foppe di Nadro sconosciuta. Dalla cartografia GPS alle analisi più recenti, Monza (Morphosis).
- MARTINET A., 1987 L'indoeuropeo: lingue, popoli e cultura, Roma (Laterza).
- MARTIROSYAN A.A., 1981 Naskal'nye izobrazhenija Gegamskikh Gor, Arheologicheskije Pamyatniki Armenii vol.11 parte III, Yerevan (Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armyanskoj SSSR).
- MARTIROSYAN A.A., ISRAELYAN A.R., 1971 Naskal'nye izobrazhenija Gegamskikh Gor, Arheologicheskije Pamyatniki Armenii vol.6 parte II, Yerevan (Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk Armyanskoj SSSR).
- MARTYNOV A. J., MARIACHEV A. N., ABETEKOV A. K. 1992 Gravures rupestres de Saimaly- Tach, Almathy (Ministere de l'Instruction Publique de la Republique du Kazakistan).
- MEDOEV A.G., 1979 Graviurui na Skalah : Sarui-Arka Manguischak, Almathy (Jaluin).
- MELLER H., 2004 Der geschmiedete Himmel. Die weite Welt im Herzen Europas vor 3600 Jahren, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt-Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte.
- MELLER H. & LIPTAK J., 2001 Schönheit, Macht und Tod. 120 Funde aus 120 Jahren Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte Halle, Landesamt für Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt-Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte.
- MILSTREU G. & PRØHL H. (ed.), 1996-2008 Documentation and registration of Rock Art in Tanum n. 1, 2, 3, Tanumshede, Tanums Hällristingsmuseum.
- MILSTREU G. & PRØHL H. (ed.), 2004 Prehistoric pictures as archaeological source, Varde (Gothenburg University).
- NOWGORODOWA E., 1980 Alte Kunst der Mongolei, Leipzig (E.A. Seemann Verlag).
- OKLADNIKOV A.P., 1977 Petroglify Verkhnei Leny, Leningrad (Nauka).
- OKLADNIKOV A.P., 1980 Petroglify Tsentralnoi Azii, Leningrad (Nauka) .
- OKLADNIKOV A.P., 1981 Petroglifui Ciankuir-Keilia: Altai-Elangash, Novosibirsk (Akademia Nauk SSSR).
- PIAKTIN B.N. MARTYNOV A.J., 1985 Scalabolinskie Petroglifui, Krasnojarsk (Isdatelstvo Krasnojarskogo Universiteta).
- RAETZEL- FABIAN D., 2000 Die ersten Bauernkulturen. Jungsteinzeit in Nordhessen (Staatliche Museen Kassel).
- RENDICH F., 2010 Dizionario etimologico comparato delle lingue classiche indoeuropee. Dizionario Indoeuropeo (sanscrito, greco, latino) Roma (Palombi).
- RENFREW C., 1988 Archeologia e linguaggio, Bari (Manuali Laterza).
- ROZWADOWSKI A., 2004 Symbols through Time. Interpreting the

Rock Art of Central Asia, Poznań (Instytut Wschodni).  
ROZWADOWSKI A. KOSKO M.M., 2002 Spirits and Stones Shamanism and Rock Art in Central Asia and Siberia, Poznań (Instytut Wschodni UAM).  
SAMASHEV Z.S., 1992 Naskalnye izobrazheniia Verkhnego Priirtyshia, Almalyk (Gylm).  
SANSONI U., 1987 L'arte rupestre di Sellero, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro)  
SANSONI U., 2004 Arature e ierogamie: culti agrari e riti di fondazione nell'arte rupestre, in *Arte preistorica e tribale nuove scoperte, nuove interpretazioni e nuovi metodi di ricerca*, Valcamonica Symposium, 8- 14 settembre 2004, Capodiponte (Edizioni del Centro) pp 387-402.  
SANSONI U., 2013 The Alpine and Scandinavian Rock Art in the Bronze Age: a Common Cultural Matrix in a Web of Continental Influences, in *Atti del Convegno Picturing the Bronze Age*, Tanum 4-6 Ottobre 2012 (in pubblicazione).  
SANSONI U. GAVALDO S., 1995 L'arte rupestre del Pià d'Ort. La vicenda di un santuario preistorico alpino, *Archivi* vol. 10, Capodiponte (Edizioni del Centro).  
SANSONI U. GAVALDO S. (ed.), 2009 *Lucus Rupestris*. Sei millenni d'arte rupestre a Campanine di Cimbergo. Capodiponte (Edizioni del Centro).  
SANSONI U. GAVALDO S. GASTALDI C., 1999 Simboli sulla

roccia. L'arte rupestre della Valtellina centrale dalle armi del Bronzo ai segni cristiani, Capodiponte (Edizioni del Centro).  
SAUSSURRE F., 1978 Saggio sul vocalismo indoeuropeo, Bologna (Clueb).  
SEIDEL U., 1995 Bronzezeit, Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum.  
SCHUNKE T., 2001 Tausend töpfe. Bronzezeitliche Grabfunde aus Coswing, in *Schönheit, Macht und Tod*.  
TELEGIN D., 1987 Neolithic cemeteries and population in the Dnieper Basin, Oxford (B.A.R. International Series).  
VAN BERG-OSTERRIETH M., 1972 Les chars préhistoriques du Val Camonica, Capo di Ponte (Edizioni del Centro)  
VASILEVSKII R.S., 1986 Pervobitnoe Iskusstvo- Antropomorfnye izobrazhenija, Novosibirsk (Nauka).  
VASILEVSKII R.S., 1992 Pervobitnoe Iskusstvo- Naskal'nye risunki Evrazil, Novosibirsk (Nauka).  
VILLAR F., 1997 Gli indoeuropei e le origini dell'Europa: lingua e storia, Bologna (Il Mulino).  
WEBER G., 1992 Händler, Krieger, Bronzezießer. Bronzezeit in Nordhessen, Staatliche Museen Kassel.  
WINTER L., 2001 Cultural encounters – Mediterranean symbols in the South Scandinavian rock carving tradition during the Bronze Age. *Cultural interactions in Europe and Eastern Mediterranean during the Bronze Age (3000–500 BC)*, 9–27. BAR International Series 985, Oxford (Werbart, B., ed.)

## DIDASCALIE

**Tav.1: Discs-shaped, Swastika-shaped and human figures with discs.** 1: Various locality of Kazakhstan (Samashev 1992); 2: Aimag of Zavkhan, Mongolia (Nowgorodowa 1980); 3: Gegamskiy Khrebet, Armenia (Martirosyan Israelyan 1971); 4: Saimaly-Tach, Kazakhstan (Martynov Mariachev Abetkov 1992); 5(l): Backa Brastad, Bohuslän, Sweden (Abelin 2000); 5(r): Tossene, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 2009); 6: Askum Raä, Boushlän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 2002); 7: Kalleby, Bohuslän, Sweden (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 8: Asperberget, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 1996); 9: Mont Bego, France (De Lumley 1996); 10: Carpena di Sellero, Valcamonica, Italy (Sansoni 1987); 11: Luine, Valcamonica, Italy (Anati 1982b); 12: Paspardo, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Le Orme dell'uomo).

**Tav.2: Human figures with discs and big-hands human figures.** 1: Yazyly, Gobustan, Azerbaijan (Dzhafarzade 1973); 2: Various locality of Kazakhstan (Marikovskii 1999); 3: Moynak, Kazakhstan (Samashev 1992); 4: Gegamskiy Khrebet, Armenia (Martirosyan 1981); 5: Askum Raä, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 1998); 6: Flyhov, Boushlän, Sweden (Bertilsson ed. 1989); 7: Backa Brastad, Bohuslän, Sweden (Abelin 2000); 8: Askum Raä, Bohuslän, Sweden (Abelin 2000); 9: Coren del Valento, Valcamonica, Italy (Anati 1982a); 10: Ossimo IX, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Le Orme dell'uomo); 11: Pagherina, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 12: Cereto, Valcamonica, Italy (Anati 1982a).

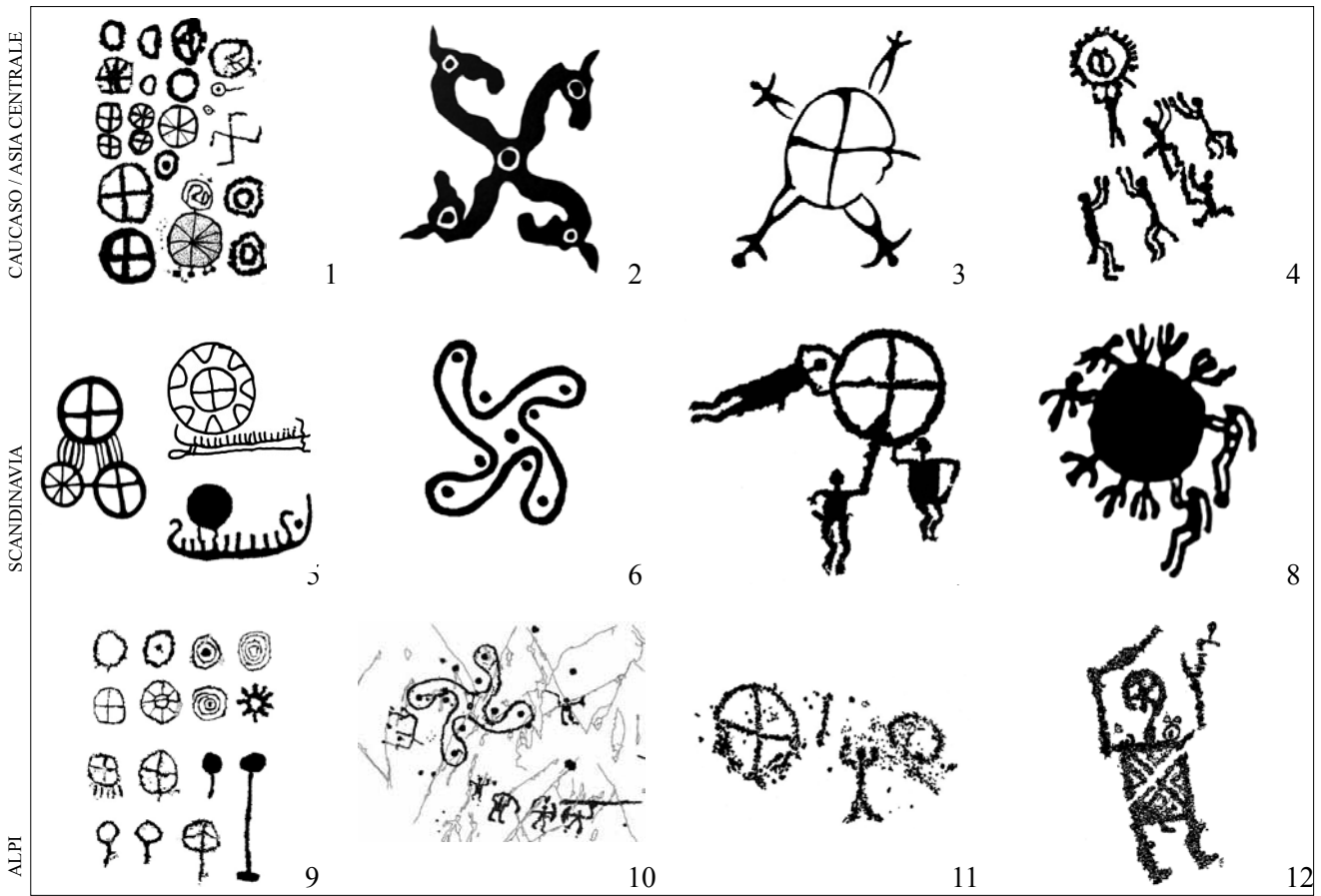
**Tav.3: Stags and animals with discs.** 1: Nikitinka, Kazakhstan (Samashev 1992); 2: Tamgaly, Kazakhstan (Jacobson 1993); 3-4: Chankyr-Kelya, Yelangash, Altay, Russia (Okladnikov 1981); 5: Asperberget, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 1996); 6: Kalleby, Bohuslän, Sweden (Sansoni Gavaldo Gastaldi 1999); 7: Kalleby, Bohuslän, Sweden (Sansoni Gavaldo Gastaldi 1999); 8: Fossumtorp, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 1999); 9: Zurla, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 10: Seradina I, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 11: Zurla, Valcamonica, Italy (trac-

ing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 12: Ronchi di Zir, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP).

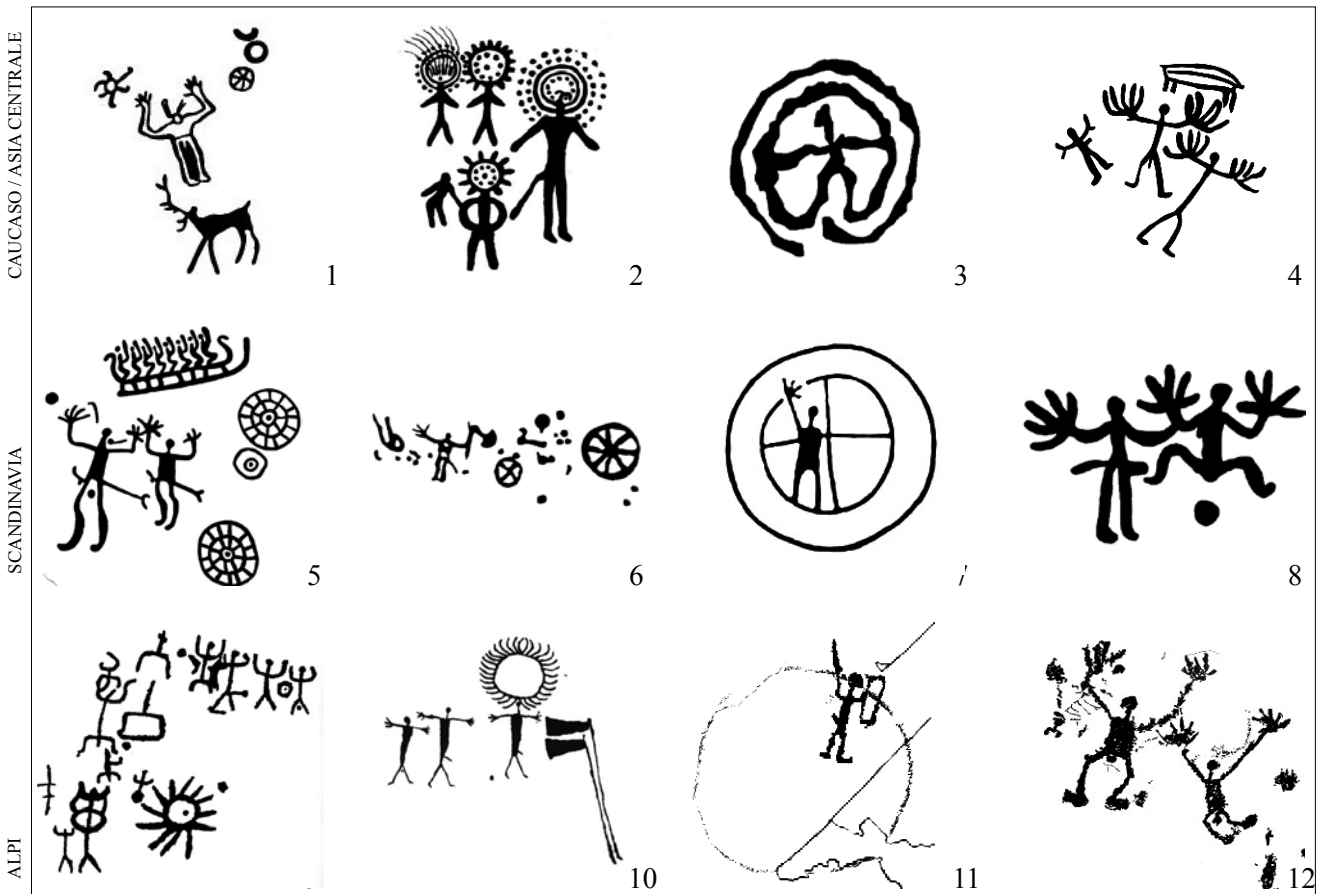
**Tav.4: Two and four wheeled-wagons and ploughing scenes.** 1: Yelangash valley, Altay, Russia (Vasilevskii 1986); 2: Syunik, Armenia (Pjaktin Martynov 1985); 3: Mt. Aragats, Armenia (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP from a photo by Khechoyan 2007); 4: Askum Raä, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 2002); 5: Askum Raä, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 2002); 6: Finntorp, Bohuslän, Sweden (tracing by Bengtsson); 7: Campanine, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 8: Coren del Valento, Valcamonica, Italy (Van Berg-Osterrieth 1972); 9: Seradina I, Valcamonica, Italy (Anati 1982a).

**Tav.5: Warriors, duelling warriors, horsemen and horses.** 1: Sagyr, Kazakhstan (Samashev 1992); 2-3: Various locality of Altay district, Russia (Vasilevskii 1992); 4: Moynak, Kazakhstan (Samashev 1992); 5: Asperberget, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 1996); 6: Fossum, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 1999); 7: Tegneby, Bohuslän, Sweden (Milstreu Pröhl ed. 2004); 8: Tossene, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson ed. 2009); 9: Zurla, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 10: Ronchi di Zir, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 11: Ronchi di Zir, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 12: Pagherina, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP).

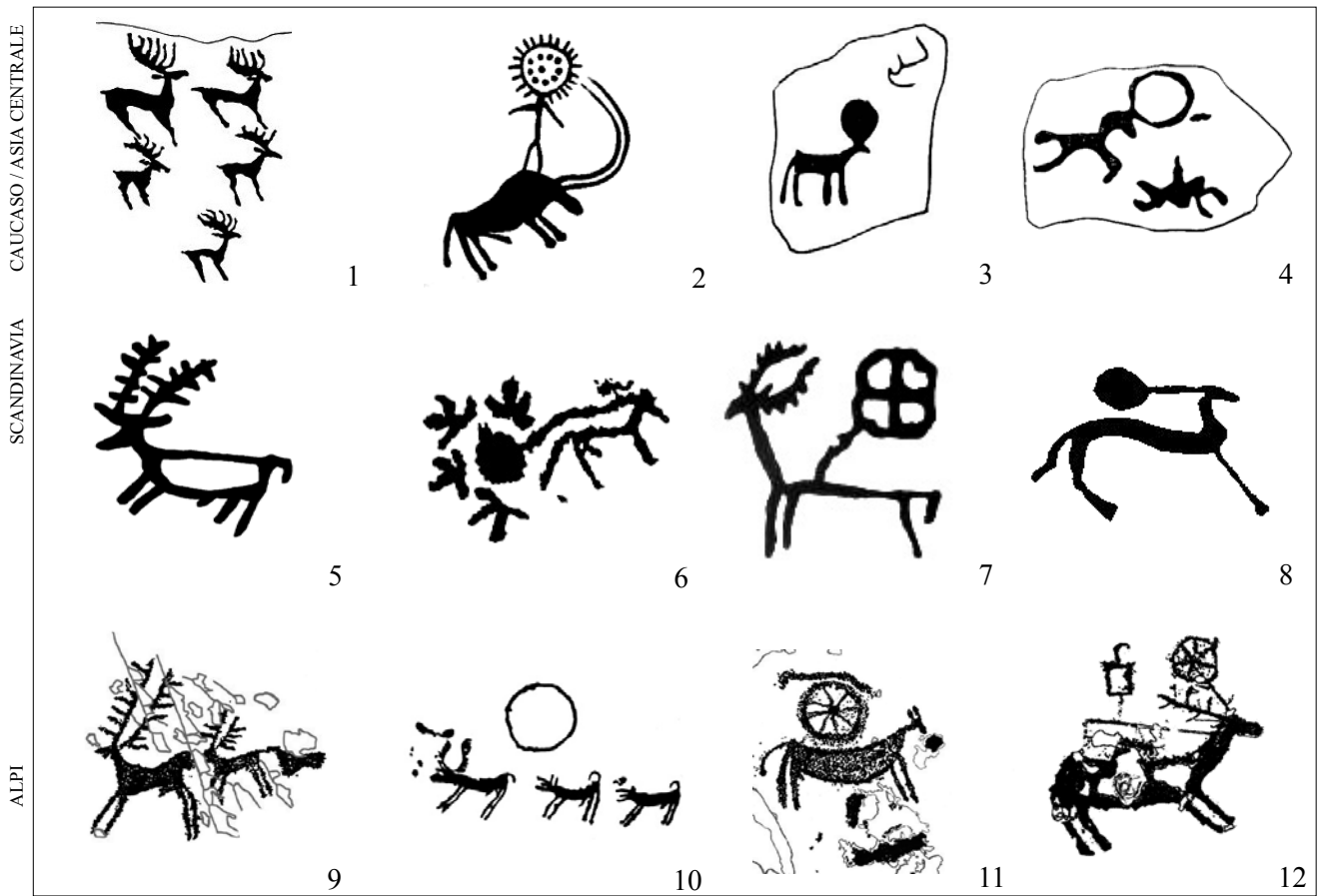
**Tav.6: Weapons and sexual scenes.** 1: Hamangia, Dobrugia, Romania (Telegin 1987); 2: Various locality of Mongolia (Nowgorodowa 1980); 3: Kernosivka, Ukraine (???); 4: Terekty, Kazakhstan (Medoev 1979); 5: Kivik, Skåne, Sweden (Winter 2001); 6: Ekenberg, Norrköping, Sweden (Burenhult 1973); 7: Tanum, Bohuslän, Sweden (Bengtsson Olsson ed. 2000); 8: Kville, Bohuslän, Sweden (tracing by Milstreu); 9: Caven II, Valtellina, Italy (tracing by CCSP); 10: Foppe di Nadro, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by CCSP); 11: Zurla, Valcamonica, Italy (tracing by Dip-Valcamonica CCSP); 12: Coren del Valento, Valcamonica, Italy (Anati 1982a).



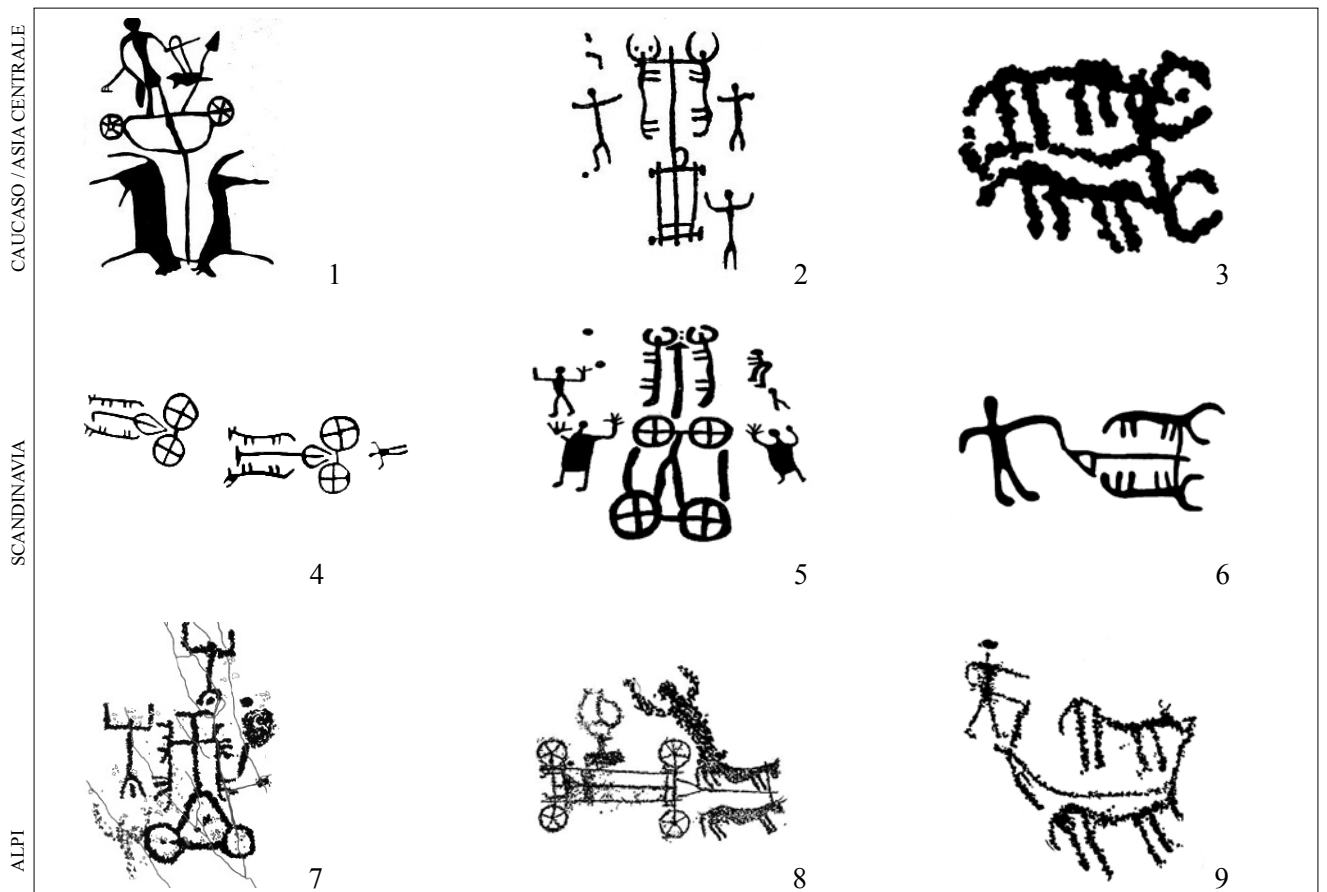
Tav. 1: Discs-shaped, Swastika-shaped and human figures with discs.



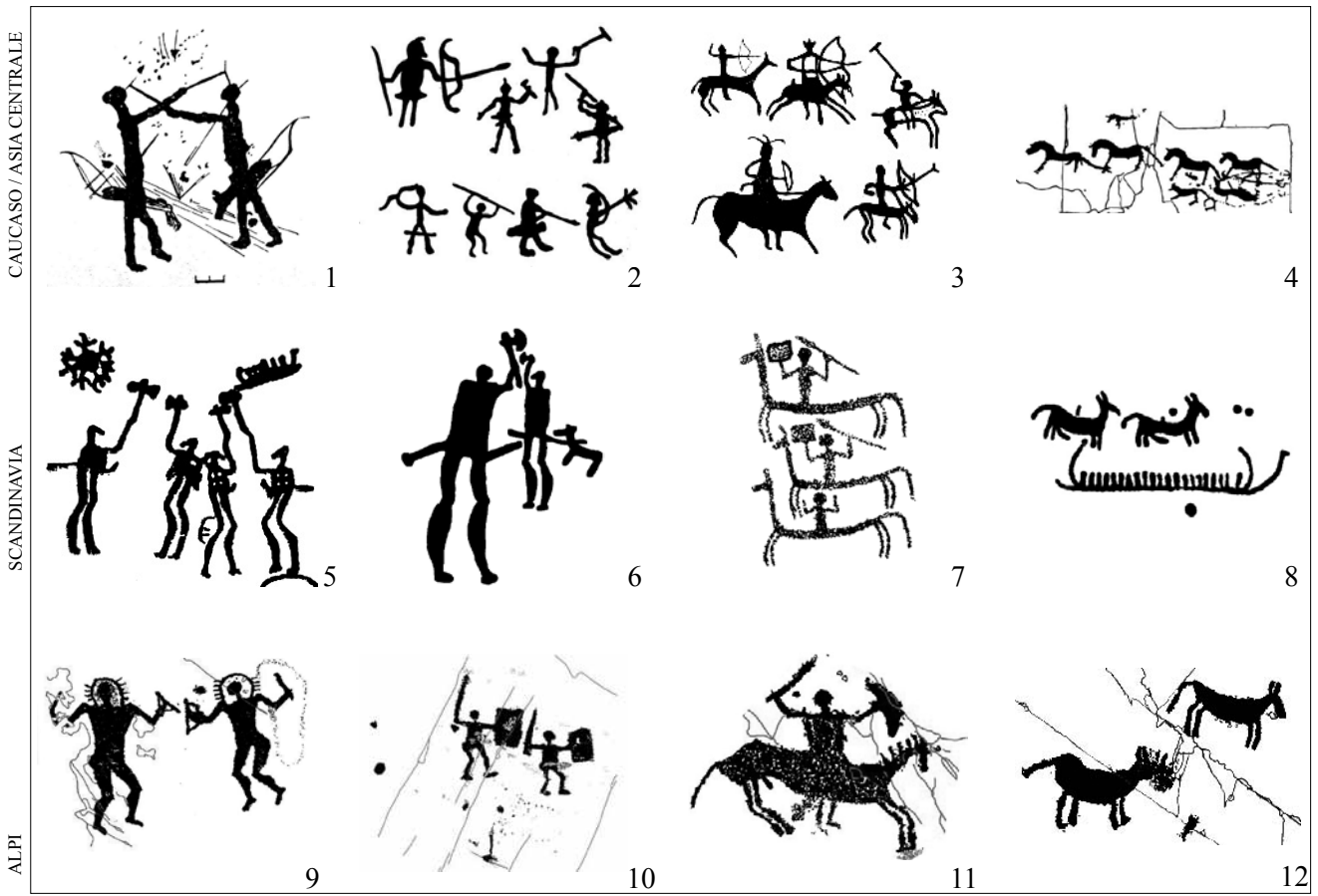
Tav. 2: Human figures with discs and big-hands human figures.



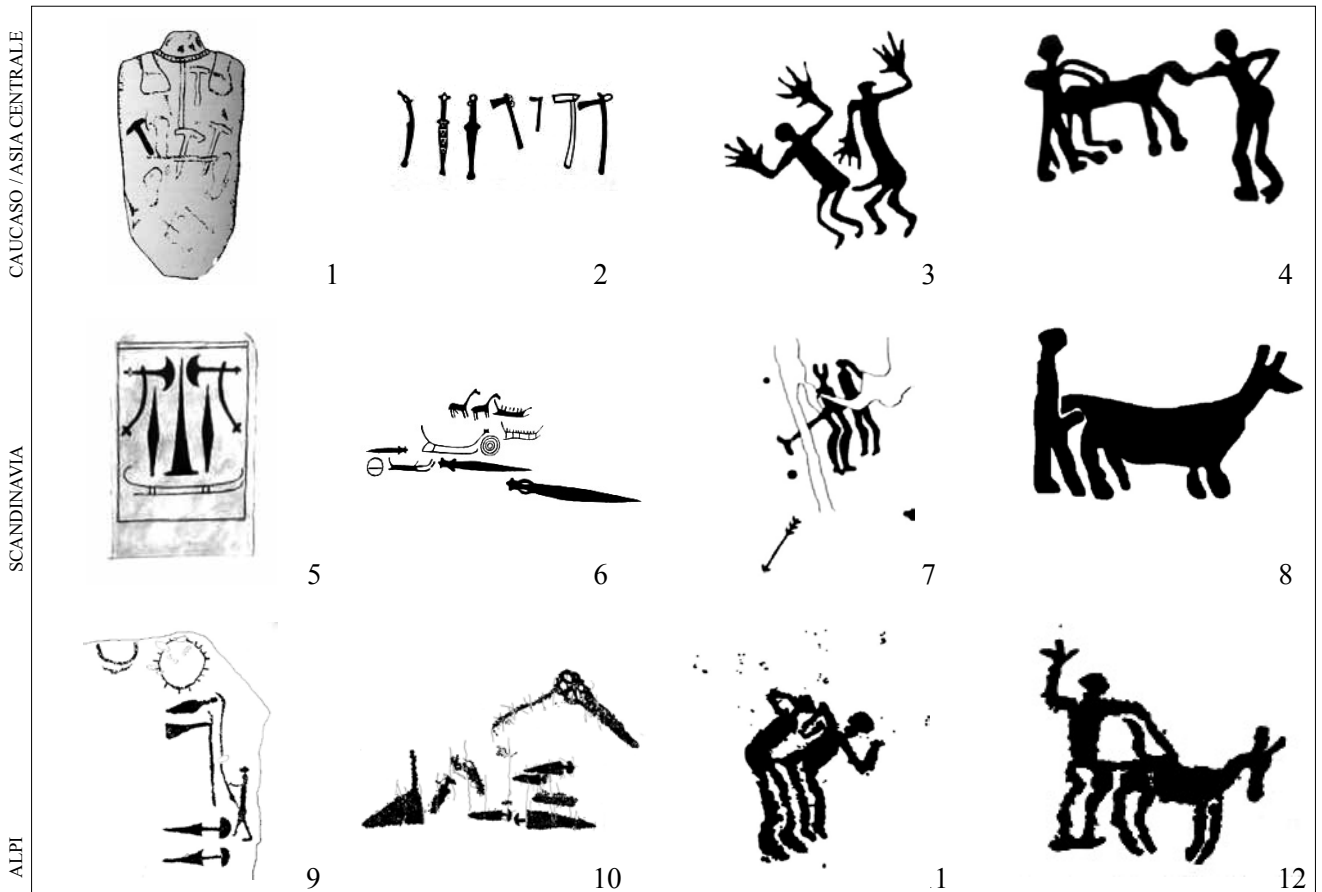
Tav.3: Stags and animals with discs.



Tav.4: Two and four wheeled-wagons and ploughing scenes.



Tav.5: Warriors, duelling warriors, horsemen and horses.



Tav.6: Weapons and sexual scenes.