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The Edakal Rock Engravings: Morphology and Meanings

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A unique archive of neolithic engravings, the Edakal cave of the western ghats occupies a prominent place in the archaeological map of world pre-history.[1] Archaeologists and rock-art specialists have referred to the Edakal engravings ever since their discovery though a systematic analysis has not been undertaken as yet.[2] There are only incidental references and very brief notes of a peripheral nature.[3] Strangely enough they did not attract the attention of archaeologists, despite their representational richness and uniqueness. Consequently there have been no serious and methodical interpretations on the archaeological context and meanings of the representations. This historiographic desideratum justifies the present attempt to study their morphology and get to know the semiotic meanings. Actually there exists no clinching evidence to render the semiotic assumptions plausible. Further, a real access to the meanings needs computerised data base and appopriate softwares enabling global comparisons of prehistoric pictographs. So the attempt here is of a preliminary nature and explores the interpretative possibilities of the representations against scant evidence and indirect clues.

The Edakal cave site is on an ancient route connecting the high ranges of Mysore to the ports of Malabar. We also know that the route was in continuous use during several historical periods. But much of the historical importance of the site is yet to be unravelled. We do not know what the site overlooks or hides, though it is easy to describe how accessible or inaccessible it had been in the past by looking at the present geography of the region. This would mean that much of what a student of history is looking for in the site, remains inscrutably hidden.

Morphological studies do not require archaeological knowledge about the context of the site since they are, in the first instance, concerned only about the structure and composition of the visual imagery. The primary concern is about the structuring principles of objects in the representations, their elements of

production and their determinate pattern of relationships. But the study of meanings necessitates at least a working knowledge about the archaeological context of the representations thereby enabling us to situate them within the relevant material matrix of social existance. Excepting the discovery of a few neolithic celts from the area around the site and the objectively verifiable fact that such engravings/etchings can be made of the celts, we have no direct clues to the archaeology of the figure-works and graphic designs under consideration. Actually one has to do a detailed plotting of the area with points of archaeological finds, passages and routes connecting high ways, cult spots, old and new settlements and so on. This is yet to be done in the case of this rare archaeological site of the south-west coast of India.

Before one attributes interpretative meanings to the syntactic system of representations, it is essential to know what the representations seem to be for a lay human. Then it is important to observe the mode of objectification and the elements of object production. This is indispensable for ensuring heuristic control over the engravings. It is in this context that the study of morphology becomes extremely important. The morphological analysis undertaken here first seeks to describe formally and structurally the representations on the cave walls by discovering their elements of production, notions of iconicity, strategies of imprinting and schematic spatialisation. In such a perspective the representations across the surfaces of the cave walls, can be reduced to six basic elements of production: canoe, cross, triangle, square, circle and volute.

The first element i.e., the canoe-like incision seems to be the most elementary of all signs and the starting point of the representations in the gallery text. In fact, it could be the initial sign of any engraved representation of pre-historic times, since it is the natural mark resulting from the process of sharpening an axe or celt by rubbing hard on the surface of a rock. The other signs such as cross, triangle and square are geometrical signs evolved from the primary sign with which the pre-historic people were familiar in the process of tool making. The circle and volute are tertiary signs resulting from the faculty to mediate the primary and secondary signs for the construction of figures.

The objects of the gallery text on the two walls are as the follows:

Wall - 1

1. a prominent human figure with a head gear,
2. a back view (?) of a human figure with head gear and other decoratives,
3. a human figure with elaborate head-dress,
4. a tall human figure with head gear,
5. an elephant, a wild dog, a peacock and a couple of wild dogs,
6. plants and flowers,
7. a human figure with a long hand shaped like a jar,
8. a human figure with a square head-dress,
9. a wheeled card, and
10. a few geometrical signs.

Wall - 2

1. a few geometrical signs,
2. a few male and female figures,
3. a triangular sign representing a human figure,
4. a human figure on a wheeled cart, and
5. two human figures with conical sign attached.

There are two distinct styles of representation explict in the Edakal rock gallery. One is the style adopting solely the primary sign and the other is the one adopting both primary, secondary and mediatory signs for the construction of figures. Similarly there are two stages of evolution perceptible across the representations. One is the primary stage of a relatively simple representation through the ordering of independent signs and the other is the subsequent stage of evolution involving the use of the mediatory signs, which has the advantage of avoiding disjunctions in image making. In the representation of human figures there are examples of figures made solely of primary signs; figures made of primary and cross signs; and figures made of primary, secondary and mediatory signs. The use of the triangle sign is dominant in the case of certain figures. In the assemblage of figures there is a movement of both the style and strategy from simple to complex. As we move from the simple to the complex, the use of mediatory signs increases and gradually the breaks and gaps between the constituent signs of figures vanish thereby indicating a continuous stylistic evolution.

The evolution of the style from the simple to the complex, as assumed enables us to view it temporally by fixing the simple as being older than the complex. This is, however, not to take as a

rule, that the simple as being is always more archaic than the complex. There are plenty of instances showing cultural complexities pre-dating simple practices. So the movement of stylistic evolution from the simple to the complex as conceived here is not a generalisation but only a contextual assumption. The figures made of one or more of the independent signs and those made of mediatory signs are differentiated into simple and complex respectively on the basis of the level of craft involved in the style. It is the craft of transcending disjunctions between signs that is identified as the element of complexity. The classification of representations into the relatively earlier and later then follows as a logical extension of this criterion of the complexity. The representations on wall no. 1 are of primary style/strategy with no attempts at the mediation of signs, whereas the portrayals on wall No. 2 are primarily of secondary and mediatory style/ strategy. So the immediate judgement is that the engravings on the second wall are relatively later.

It appears that in the case of the construction of evolved figures some new implements other than celt, probably an iron implement, must have been used as indicated by incisions which are relatively thinner and evenly deep. There are plenty of archaeological remains of early iron age in the valley around the cave site. What is strikingly significant about the figures on the second wall is not just the evolved style, but the representation of a human figure in association with a wheeled cart. The wheels of the cart are not evidently of the primordial type made of planks but seemingly of a later type with crude spokes. A spoked wheel was certainly post-neolithic and, therefore, should be symbolic of a new material culture. However, the cart is represented by using the primary sign, the element predominent in the figures of the first wall. So it could be an indication of the interface between the late neolithic and early iron age cultures. Anyway such assumptions do not take us far from the usually imagined pragmatic dimensions, ritual implications and communicative processes of representations.

As regards the genre of the art activity at Edakal, it is a straight line geometric schema which does not require any particular skill rather than patience to carry on continuous grinding with the celt. This patience is developed as an imperative of the collective need. The linear geometric schema could be a development over the rigid style of combining primary sign into images. The images are not made through the linear repre-

sentation of the physical features or anatomy of the object, but through a suggestive strategy of impressionistic marks that combine themselves with their shadows to make the images. It is in fact, a strategy of representation by itself enabling the making of images through a combination of incisions and their shadows, presumably in fire-light rather than sunlight. This is confirmed by an experimental appreciation of the figure-works during night in the light of a fire-torch. Normally the absence of features in anthropomorphs and zoomorphs is taken as an indicator of the non-complex level of the society. But various other indicators discourage us from believing that these engravings were the product of a non-complex society. The predominance of anthropomorphs, schematic assemblage of figures, abstract ideograms, and local features of the composition point to a certain amount of complexity. This mix up of complex and non-complex features could be suggestive of a transitional stage between the neolithic and post-neolithic.

With these general ideas about the techniques of art production, the overall socio-historical context, and the general appearance of the figures, let us proceed to the questions of syntactic decipherment. We know that looking at art can give the viewer a distinctive pleasure and we also know that this response reflects an important feature of art as far as our society is concerned. Beyond what the representations appear to us lies the question of what they may have meant to the society of their times. What is historically real about the affective response to art is our central concern, however elusive it is. There is little that can be said with certainty about the historically real affective response to a given art-work. Nonetheless, certain anthropological concepts and psychological theories of eminent scholars who have been grappling with the question of deciphering the historically specific meanings of art, do help us say something about this elusive or mysterious aspect of ancient art.[4]

The general anthropological assumption is that perceiving art as an object of gratification has little relevance to the case of pre-historic representations since they were not consciously created artworks but the structured outcome of a socially indispensable activity fulfilling certain significant purposes of life. They were part of contemporary subsistence strategies and were not primarily the result of an aesthetic response. This is not to underscore their embedded artistic and creativity value. The argument is that for the pre-historic people it could hardly be an activity for

the sake of art.

Anthropological studies on pre-historic art reiterate in one voice that the subject matter for the art of pre-historic people had been that which turned out to be of utmost importance to their life—i.e., the questions of food, reproduction, combat, domination or submission. But within this broad ideational unity there are hermeneutical as well as methodological differences rang-ing from the functionalist approach of Abbe Breuil to the struc-turalist perspectives of Leroi-Gourhan, showing the prehistoric art as part of the sympathetic hunting magic and the result of a deter-minate structuring.[5] This idea is central to the interpretation attempted here.

The figures on the two walls do not seem to be random images of a mutually exclusive nature, though several of them could have been added on to from time to time. It is more or less an accep-ted postulate today in the analysis of pre-historic art that indivi-dual figures in isolation make little sense. The analysis of each figure in a composition as a separate entity is as ridiculous as an analysis of words removed from sentences.[6] In fact, it is the com-positional totality that is important. The whole is a language expressed through the association or relationship of parts. So it is a methodological imperative for us to view the figures as parts of a whole. If we take the representations on both the walls as a single collection of codes of a changing culture they do signify its various developmental manifestations. Across the variety of repre-sentations of the seemingly independent objects one can discern a binding code of a changing culture. There seems to be an overall ordering principle upon which the assemblage of images is based. The assemblage tends to signify a determinate pattern of relationship depending upon centrality verses marginality and projection verses recession of the objects of representation. It is not difficult to conceive the gallery as a structured whole with functionally disposed parts. A non-interpretive description of figures is enough to perceive these structural features.

The perception of structural features like centrality or margi-nality in association with figures encourages interpretation and ascription of values. For instance, on wall No. 1 the tall human figure portrayed on top at the centre could be the representation of a deity; the prominent human figure with head gear occupy-ing centrality looks like a chief and; the human figure portrayed in projection facing the central figure seems to be a ritual dancer. Other human figures with head-dress also seen to

represent ritual dancers. The elephant, antelopes, wild dog, peacock, plants and flowers represent forest, not as mere signs but as realistic morphs invested with some values. The wheeled cart indicates the traffic of goods, probably in the context of the interaction between two different cultures in terms of ascriptive or customary exchanges. Similarly on wall No. 2 the male and female figures could be of ritual importance. The conical sign attached to the middle part of the two male figures could be an exaggerated representation of the male organ symbolic of the fertility rites. One of these male figures is shown in isolation at the end of the wall but close to the entrance of the cave. The other is surrounded by figures and geometrical signs.

Apart from the support of certain relevant anthropological concepts and archaeological insights there is no specific empirical ground for the above interpretations. We are often aware that the meanings are carried to the representations rather than discovered as *sui generis*. There is the lurking danger about interpretations taking too much for granted in building semantic structures which may often have little to do with prehistoric reality. Still we systematically venture to interpret, probably because it is impossible to free description from interpretation. Though there is no finality about the attributed meanings, the interpretative effort is a necessary step in visual semiotics aiming to restore the syntactic system. The task is not expected to be complete here. It has to continue in the form of a series of analyses and comparisons. As an exploratory attempt this study seeks to generate meanings on the basis of the semiotic fundamentals like spatial dispositions, configurations and symbolisation. The primary responsibility is to maximise the range of explanatory hypotheses valid in the socio-historical context.

It is not clear whether all these representations should be viewed as a single cultural production or as mutually autonomous ones. We would argue that the representations seem to have been added on to from time to time for serving the purposes of a changing society within a broadly uniform culture. The representations on the second wall noted for libidinous symbols and stylised human figures could be a relatively later addition probably by, or under the influence of, the iron-smelting people. The exotic graphic signs that occur in the peripheries also might be of this later phase. Art is such a practice which once produced is reproduced, added on to, superimposed, reappropriated and reified to suit the changing needs. So it becomes extremely

difficult, if not impossible, to conclusively make out whether the cluster of representations as a whole belongs to a single culture or not.

Beyond the appearance of independent representations or figures there is an interpretative realm of paradigmatic traces which we discover through a comparison of figures. For example, above the human figures on the first wall we discover a layer of ideas like deity and laity mediated by ritual dancers identifiable through a comparison of their forms. The representations collectively signify a scene of ritual festivity of a tribe inhabiting the forest and subsisting on hunting and shifting cultivation. It could, probably, be the archaeo-anthropological context of the co-existence and interaction of the neolithic and iron-smelting societies that is reflected in the structure of relations in the totality of representations characterised by the presence of a simple style at the core and a relatively evolved one at the periphery. The representations at the core seem to be neolithic and those in the periphery, megalithic providing a tentative dating of the gallery as late first millennium B.C. However, the representations, despite their different points of origin in time, are organically woven into a single entity due to the unifying force of continuity embedded in the changing culture. In short, the representations seem to be symbolic of a new stone age society in transition.

It is true that the representations in pre-historic art signify a realm of strange meaning intelligible only to the people of their times. Yet it is equally true that they signify a set of meanings which are intelligible only to us. We discover the meanings by analysing the social causes of the development of gratuitous complications, fantasy, in art works. Following Levi-Strauss and Frederic Jameson we identify the contradictory dynamic of the relatively simple forms of tribal organisation, as the genera-tive source of strange decoratives and contravening forms of duality in the representations of the Edakal rock-art. Jameson observes that art works of gratuitous complications can come into existence only through a process of alienation and estrangement in society. In an unfallen social reality there is no chance for the development of fantasy production in art because there is no contradictory dynamic that keeps the people perplexed.[7] The existence of contradictions and the lack of their remedy at the social level which generates a confusion and disquiet in the people leads to the creation of fantasy art. It is the

projection of societal contradictions into the imaginary by a people who have the resolutions within but are not able to objectively formulate them.

Such an explanatory framework helps us interpret the graphic decoratives, huge head-dresses and contravening duality in the representations of Edakal as fantasy production of a late neolithic society perplexed at the changes in the wake of the introduction of iron by an alien society. It is remindful of a society passionately seeking to give symbolic expression to the resolutions which it is unable to conceptualise at the social level and live them. Alving Walfe has suggested that in Africa at least the amount of fantasy art production by a people is roughly proportional to the extent to which they are divided by social cleavages.[8]

Regarding how the gratuitous complications of art acted on contemporary society, many scholars like Douglas Fraser, Levi-Strauss, Payne Hatcher, Robert Paul, Lukacs and Frederic Jameson have suggested that fantasy production as imaginary resolution of contradictions helped, maintain cultural stability required for a developing society.[9] Lukacs and Jameson viewed it as part of the containment strategy which is a society's built-in device of structural safeguard.[10] Functionalists like Durkheim, Radcliffe Brown and Talcott Parsons considered such manifestations of art as part of the solidarity maintaining mechanisms of a transitional society.[11] However, what emerges upper-most in these theories is the symbolic objectification of the urge for social cohesiveness in a situation of flux.

Viewing the gratuitous complications of the Edakal rock-art in this perspective, we get the impression that the society behind it, was responding to certain crises that were obviously insurmountable for the people. The rock-art would have us assume that hardly had the people objectively realised reality about the crises, and that they had no real ways of resolving them. The gratuitous complications explicit in certain graphic signs and decorative head-dresses might be imaginary resolutions resulting from the crises carried to the aesthetic realm. George Harley suggests that sometimes abnormal situations due to severe transient developments in the ecological system could give rise to complexity in pre-historic art.[12] The complexity appears as a psychic resolution of perplexing circumstances. We have no evidence for any such ecological crisis of the past that had affected the Edakal region. It could be the neolithic society's crises of encounters with the iron-smelting nomads. Gombrich observes that wherever neolithic

societies had come strongly under the influence of metal-using cultures, the former's art had been significantly altered or modified.[13] This seems to be true of the rock-art under consideration wherein the evolved linear figures obviously represent a modification on the earlier style. Probably, it was an alteration under the influence of the iron smelting culture.

There are certain symbols and exotic marks all along the representations which seem to have meanings and functions of their own. They range from the explicit to the implicit and symbolic. Certain eliptical signs with spokes inside and crablike symbols, looking exactly as in the Harappan pictographs, are obviously ideograms. Interestingly all these graphic signs or symbols are found on the variety of megalithic pottery recovered from southern India and Sri Lanka. There are many lines that are not recognizable as objects or symbols. They are just strokes of irregular nature filling the walls as a monotonous background of figures. It is possible that they are psychograms expressive of an ecstatic state of mind. The genre of art involved in the production of graphic signs is the straight line geometric schema which we have identified as an evolved stage of developmental complexity. The symbols may not always stand for a single meaning everywhere, but they do often signify one or the other among a cluster of closely related meanings in all culture.[14] This is particularly true in the case of libidinous symbols. Sexuality and reproduction are literally vital topics in all societies and symbols of these primal themes have universal similarities all over the world.[15] There are two very clear libidinous symbols of male genital among the graphics of Edakal. They are shown symbolically as conical signs with an eye-like edge and attached to the middle of human figures with a line. The exaggerated size and unrealistic morph make the representation highly stylised. There are both symbolic and realistic modes of representing the forest, but confined to the first wall. All the graphic signs do not seem to be symbols conveying specific meanings. They could be mere decoratives adding to the magical significance of the central images.

Edakal rock engravings stand out distinct among the magnitude of prehistoric visual archives of paintings and graphic signs all over the world. It is the world's richest pictographic gallery of its kind. The images and signs jointly signify a strategy of combining deep incisions and their shadows in fire light for generating three dimensional visual effect.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*This study is an outcome of the extensive field work undertaken jointly with M.R. Raghava Varier. I had the benefit of discussion with M.G.S. Narayanan and M.R. Raghava Varier on an earlier draft of the paper which was presented at the Global Seminar on Rock Art, held in New Delhi in December 1993.

1. The Edakal Rock is on the crest of a hill known as Ambukuthimala belonging to the Western Ghats, about 4600 ft. above sea-level and situated about 10 kms. south-west of Sultan Battery in the Wynad district of the Kerala State, India. It is a pre-historic rock-shelter formed naturally out of a strange disposition of three huge boulders making one rest on the other two with its bottom jutting out in between and serving as the roof. Edakal literally means a stone in between. The combination of the curves and protrusions of the boulders in the alignment is such that it virtually brings into existence a two storied natural cleft. The lower storey can be entered through an opening of 5 x 4 feet into the irterior measuring a length of about 18 feet, a width of 12 feet and a height of 10 feet, which has a trickle at the corner opposite to the entrance. A passage leads upward to a small opening on the roof through which one climbs up to the next storey whose interior is about 96 feet long, 22 feet wide and 18 feet high. There is a big opening at the right-turn corner of the roof because the roofing boulder does not touch the facing wall. This allows enough light into the cave. The right and left walls of this upper cleft are replete with figures made in a mode difficult to be classified as engravings or carvings or etchings.

The area is now covered by coffee and pepper plantations and inhabited by immigrants from the central and southern parts of Kerala, whose history does not go beyond the present century. The aboriginal tribes, Paniyar and Mullakkurumbar survive at present in small pockets. It was a forested area till the late 19th century when the British deforested the site for coffee plantation.

2. The discovery of the cave and its identification as a pre-historic site was quite accidental. F. Fawcett, the then superintendent of police of the erstwhile Malabar was the discoverer. On a hunting trip to Wynad he happened to see a neolithic celt recovered from the coffee estate of Colin Machency in 1890. An enthusiast in pre-history, Fawcett went round exploring the Wynad high ranges, which eventually led to the discovery of the Edakal rock-shelter in 1894. He identified the site as a habitat of neolithic people on the basis of the nature of representations on the cave walls, which appeared to him as engravings made of neolithic celts. He was able to identify certain representations as human and animal figures and magical symbols. For details see, *Indian Antiquary*, XXX, 1901.

3. Ever since the publication of Fawcett's report on the site, other colonial Indologists like Hultzsch and Brucefoot have referred to it. Panchanan Mitra makes a passing reference to the representations assigning them to the early neolithic on the basis of their comparability with the mesolithic engravings at Ghatasila in Chottanagpur. See his *Pre-historic India* (Bombay. 1946). There are a few passing references in H.D. Sankalia on the Edakal representations. In the absence of excavated studies and reliable dating, he endorses the observations of Fawcett. See *Prehistoric Art* (New Delhi, 1978) pp. 83,88,90. There is an interpretative study that relates the representations to the primitive Sun myths and compares them to the representations of Sun myths in the rock-art of Steria

on the Alps. See Eike Olaph Tilner, *Felsbild Und Mythus*, 1980. There is a passing reference in Erwin Neumayer, *Lines on Stone: The Prehistoric Rock Art of India* (New Delhi, 1993)

4. Henri Breuil, *Four Hundred Centuries of Cave Art* (Montignac, 1952); Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (London. 1956). Also see Radcliffe Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (New York, 1972). There are relevant discussions in Levi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1963) pp. 206-31; *Tristes Tropiques* (New York), 1971. pp. 179-80 and; Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious* (London, 1981) pp. 77-8. Leroi-Gourhan, *The Dawn of European Art.* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

5. The interpretation of prehistoric art as sympathetic hunting magic had been widely recognised by the community of archaeologists and art historians. P. Graziosi, *Palaeolithic Art* (London, 1960) Also see P. Ucko and Fosenfeld, *Palaeolithic Cave Art* (London, 1967). There is an increasing realisation about other semantic possibilities now with the structuralist studies on the prehistoric art. See Leroi Gourhan, *Treasures of Prehistoric Art* trans. N. Guterman (New York, 1967). For a discussion on certain issues regarding interpretations of prehistoric art see Paul Bouissac, 'Introduction: A Challenge for Semiotics', in *Semiotica*, Special Issue on Prehistoric Signs, vol. 100. no. 2/4, 1994, pp. 100-107. Also Mihai Nadin, 'Understanding Prehistoric Images in the Post-historic age: A Cognitive Project', Ibid., pp. 387-407.

6. See the methodological discussion in Emmanuel Anati, 'Arche-types, Constants, and Universal Paradigms in Prehistoric Art' in Paul Bouissac (ed.), *Semiotica*, vol. 100-2/4, 1994. p. 136.

7. Frederic Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, p. 54. The idea that the art works of a non-complex society are free of aesthetic contradictions is a generally accepted proposition. Though not expressed in terms of primitive aesthetic, see also the conceptions of Breuil, Leroi-Gourhan, *The Dawn of European Art* (Cambridge, 1982). A. Lommel, 'Shamanism: The Beginning of Art', in *Current Anthropology*, vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 39-48. A. Marshack, *The Roots of Civilization* (New York, 1972).

8. See the relevant discussion in D. Fraser *et.al.* (eds.), *African Art and Leadership* (New York. 1922).

9. Fraser *et.al., op. cit.* See the introduction. The observations of Levi-Strauss are given in *Tristes Tropiques*, pp. 176 ff. See the views of Payne Hatcher, *Visual Metaphors: A Formal Analysis of Navajo Art* (New York, 1974). The relevant psychological concepts are summarised in Robert Paul. 'The Sharpa Temple as a Model of Psyche', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1976, pp. 131 ff.

10. The concept of containment strategy is developed in Lukacs, *History and Class Consciousness.* For an elaboration of the concept see Fredric Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, pp. 53-4 and 210 ff.

11. See observations in Durkheim's *Rules of Sociological Method* and *The Sociology of Religion.* Also Radcliffe Brown, *Structure and Functions of Primitive Society* (London, 1952; rpt. 1979), pp. 178 ff.

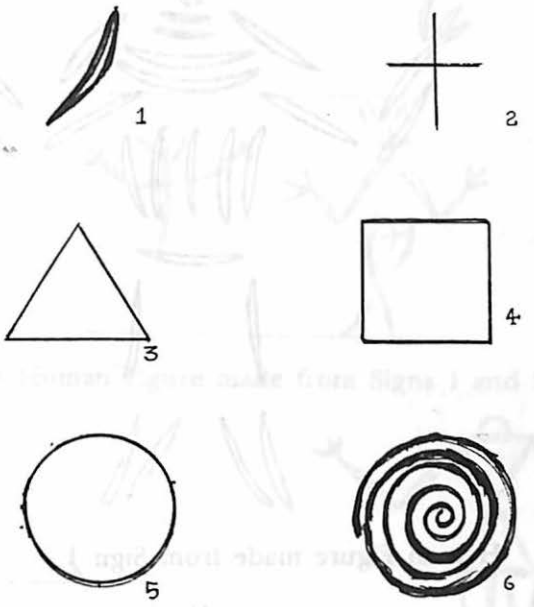
12. George Harley, *Masks as Agents of Social Control in North-east Liberia* (London, 1950).

13. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* See discussion on the art of early metal age.

14. Barthes, *Elements of Semiology* (London, 1967). Also see the key concepts in Robert Hodge and G. Kress, *Social Semiotics* (New York, 1989). For insights relevant to the analysis of prehistoric art see discussion in Goran Sonesson,

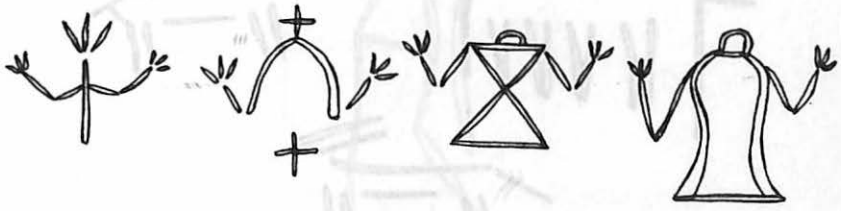
'Prolegomena to the Semiotic Analysis of Prehistoric Visual Displays', in *Semiotica*, vol. 100-2/4, 1994, pp. 267-331.

15. A. Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, vol. I (London, 1962; Reprint) See discussions on the implications of early art.

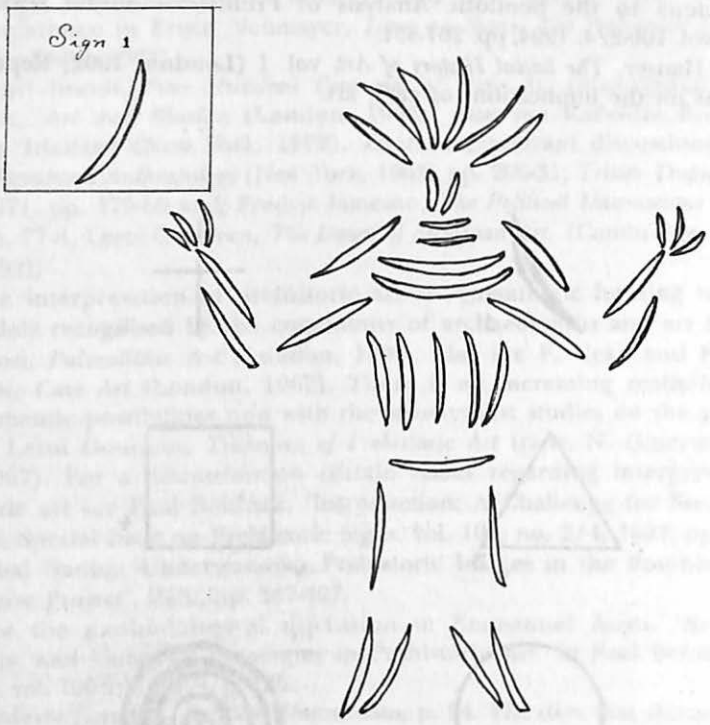


Basic Signs that Structure Figures

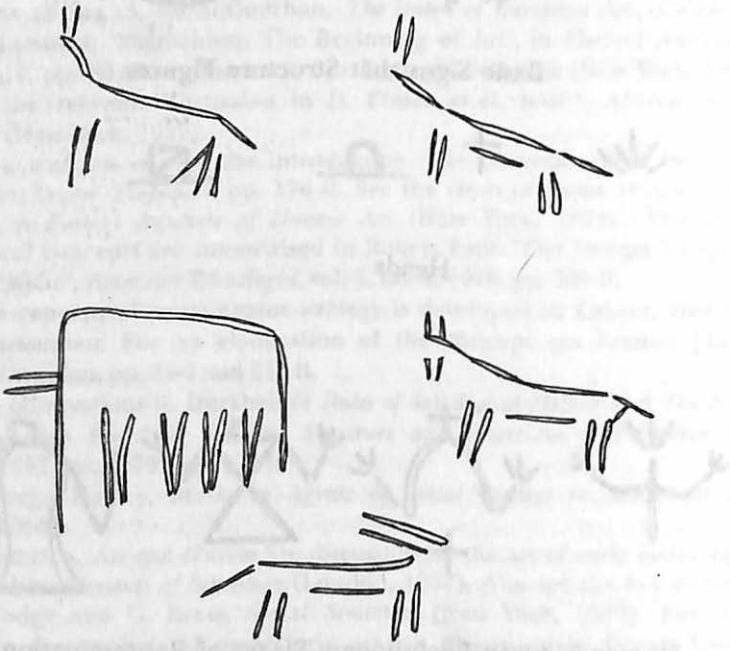
Heads



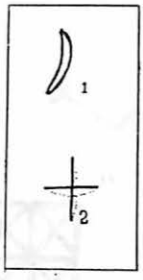
Human Figures: Evolutionary Stages of Representation

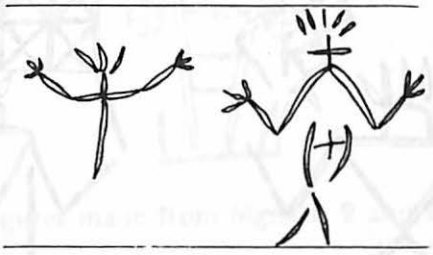


Human Figure made from Sign 1.

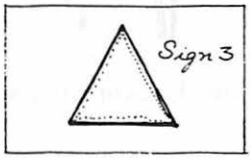


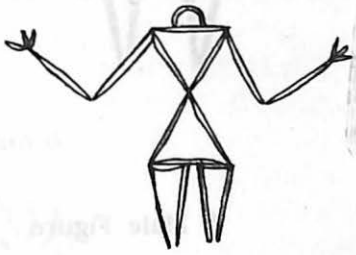
Animal Figures made from Sign 1.





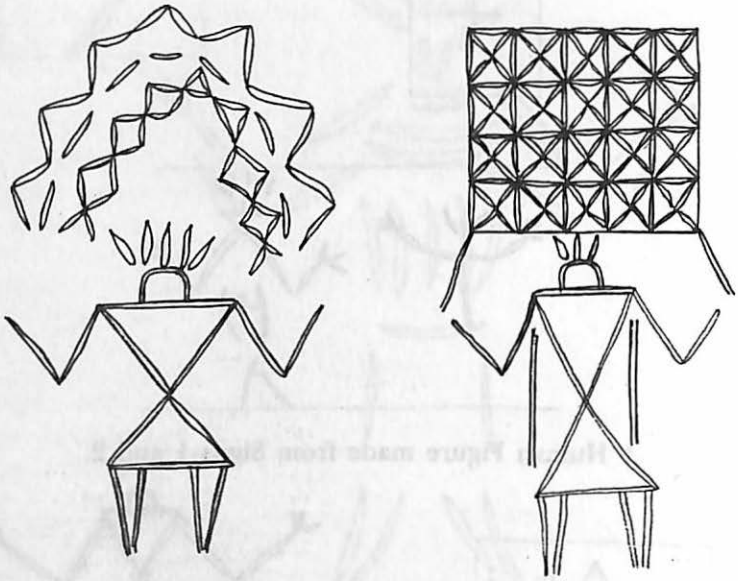
A Human Figure made from Signs 1 and 2.



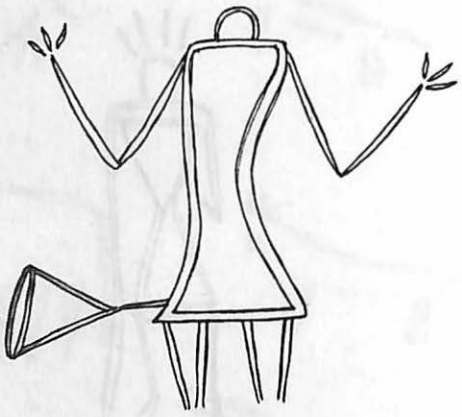


Human Figures made from Sign 3.

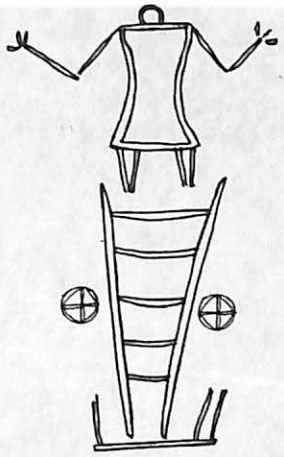
Ritual Dancers



A Male Figure

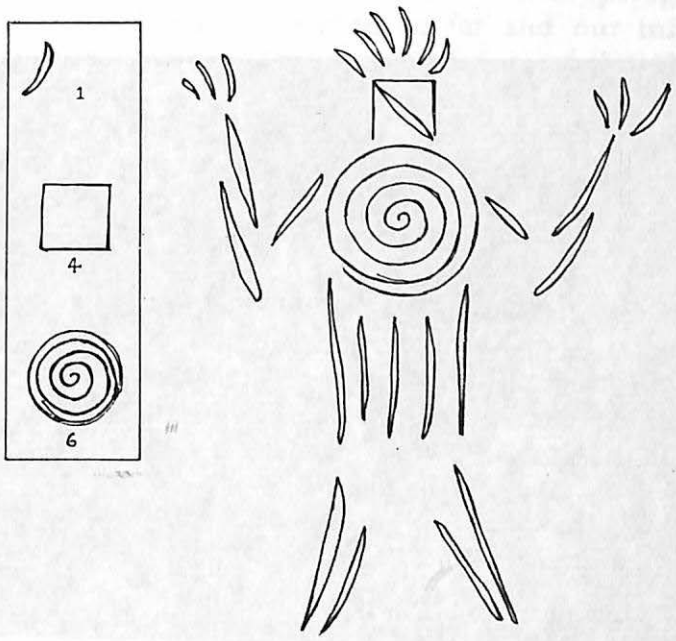


Human Figures made from Signs 1 and 3.



Figures made from Signs 1, 2 and 5.

Human Figure made from Signs 1, 2 and 6.



A Human Figure: Back View

A view of Cave Wall I.

A view of Cave Wall II.