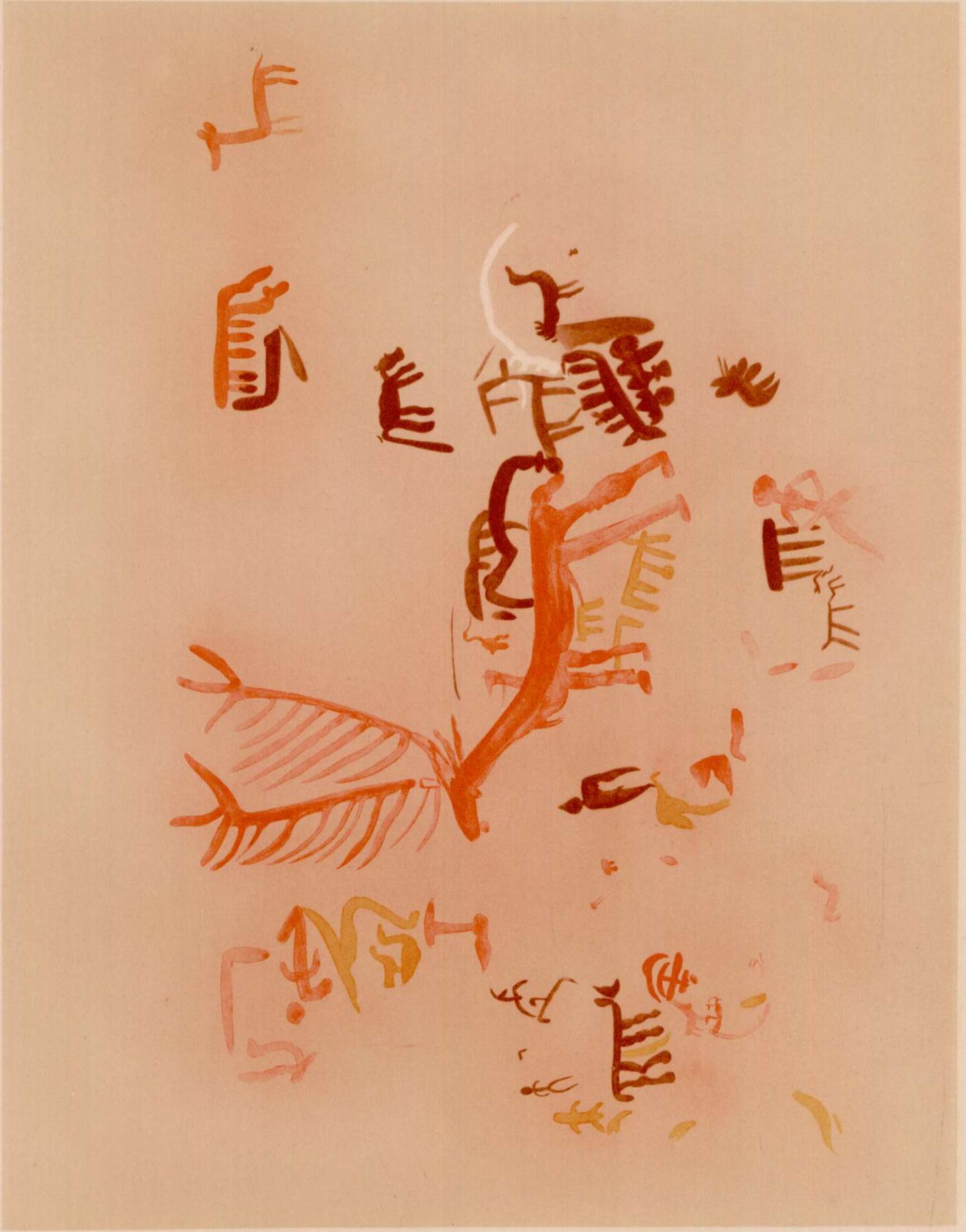


ROCK PAINTINGS OF
SOUTHERN ANDALUSIA

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Passage leading to Cave of Las Figuras, right side (page 12)

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ROCK PAINTINGS OF SOUTHERN ANDALUSIA

A DESCRIPTION OF A NEOLITHIC
AND COPPER AGE ART GROUP

By

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P R E F A C E

IN the following pages will be found a description of a very interesting, though little known, Art Group belonging to the Neolithic or Copper Ages in Southern Spain. The bulk of the work is due to M. Breuil, who during several seasons studied the various rock shelters where the paintings occur and carefully traced the hundreds of different figures. Sir Montagu Pollock undertook the arduous task of translating, and in many cases indeed of paraphrasing, the condensed descriptions of our French colleague. The notes on the nomenclature for the various types of conventionalization are also due to his pen. My own part has been simpler, as my special work has been the writing of the Introduction and Conclusion; I have also taken a certain number of the photographs. Although the work has been thus divided, the book as a whole has been carefully revised by each author both alone and together. The district covered in this work includes but a small proportion of the rock shelters of Southern Spain which have been decorated with drawings belonging to this Art Group: it is to be hoped that further volumes dealing with this Art in other districts of Spain may some day appear.

The authors wish especially to thank Miss D. A. E. Garrod for the valuable help she has most kindly given in the preparation of this work. It is our pleasant duty also to express our gratitude to the Marquis of Bute for undertaking the cost of the two plates in colour. A most generous grant towards the publication was also authorized by Professor Poulton from the Fund for Promoting the Study of Organic and Social Evolution, presented to the University of Oxford in his name by his friend Professor James Mark Baldwin.

M. C. B.

February, 1929

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INTRODUCTION

IN the last few years considerable public interest has arisen in the drawings and paintings made by the folk of the Old Stone Age on the walls of certain caves in France and Spain.

These forerunners of ours in the dim past seem to have practised in the depths of long caves a peculiar kind of 'sympathetic magic' involving naturalistic representations of animals required for food. It is always fascinating to penetrate to the origin of things, and there are few subjects more enthralling than the study of the beginnings of the religio-magic emotions of humanity. The palaeolithic art of the caves seems to help us to raise the veil for a moment from before these distant forerunners of ours, and we see them, primitive it may be, but essentially human, living a life that must have been hard and rude, for their resources, known to us by the excavation of their homes under overhanging rocks on the sunny side of valleys or actually in the mouths of caves, were indeed slender. Existence without metal, without agriculture, without domestic animals, think what that must have meant! No wonder this branch of prehistory entrances the would-be student more than any other. Further, the art itself astonishes him by its skill and beauty. The visitor placed below the frescoed ceiling of such a cave as Altamira in North Spain, where he will see depicted in many colours, sometimes nearly life-sized, bison, hinds, wild boar, wild horses, &c., &c., can only rest amazed at the artistic ability of these early folk who lived perhaps ten thousand years and more ago. Our artists to-day may be able to turn out work as good and as true to life, but could they do so without proper canvases and without colours carefully ground and prepared for them by all the resources of human skill?

But there is another art group differing from this well-known one in many ways, though probably not far removed from it in date. The paintings—engravings are extremely rare—are this time found, not in cave depths, but emblazoning the walls of rock-shelters in many places in the eastern parts of Spain. A 'rock-shelter' is perhaps rather a vague term; it covers anything from a slightly overhanging cliff, the lower portion of which is protected to a certain extent from rain and weathering by the overhanging upper portion, to a deep recess formed by unequal weathering of the various strata in a cliff. Whereas long caves are only found in limestone districts, rock-shelters occur in almost any hard formation, and are equally common in sandstone countries.

It might at first be supposed impossible for paintings to have survived so long on the walls of open rock-shelters unprotected by the still depths of caverns. Doubtless a very large number have been destroyed by the ordinary weathering processes of nature, but eastern Spain is as a whole fairly dry, and the art only survives in those rock-shelters where damp has not penetrated, as is shown by the absence of lichen in every known site where paintings occur. Lichen grows on any rock surface accessible to damp, and where lichen grows the surface of the rock is soon eroded away and so no paintings can survive. Furthermore the colouring matter used in making these paintings is absolutely stable, comprising oxides and carbonates of iron, &c., which give various shades from light red to chocolate and yellow to orange.

INTRODUCTION

The art of this second group, often known as Spanish Art Group II, although probably of the same date as the 'cave art', is by no means similar to it. The drawings are indeed naturalistic in a sense, but it is the naturalism of a good Japanese animal picture rather than of a Landseer or a Herring. Though connected with the first mentioned art group, they were clearly made by a different tribe or tribes. Whereas in the 'cave art' the drawings for the most part consist of isolated figures of animals, human beings being rarely attempted and always poorly executed, in this eastern Spanish style scenes are the rule and human beings are very common.¹

In many of these rock-shelters queer pattern-like signs occur, obviously belonging to yet another totally different art group. When found in superposition (i. e. painted one on the top of another) with examples of the eastern Spanish style, they are always uppermost and therefore must be newer than the palaeolithic drawings. It is with this new art (sometimes called Spanish Art Group III) that we are concerned. It forms a distinct group in the main far removed in time from the earlier ones and must be considered quite apart from them. The drawings are as a rule completely conventionalized, that is, the naturalistic form is reduced to a pattern, sometimes almost to a symbol. They are not as a rule merely naturalistic drawings badly executed. Although therefore they appear at first sight less entrancing to the student of the subject than the beautiful life-like pictures of the earlier groups, they have an added special interest from the fact that the modes of conventionalization and to a certain extent the evolution of this conventionalization can be studied.

This Spanish Art Group III is principally concentrated in southern Spain. It occurs not only in sites to the east where paintings of the Spanish Art Group II are found, but also in many other districts in southern and central Spain, such as the provinces of Almería and Murcia, the Sierra Morena, and the mountains around the Guadiana, and finally, in great abundance, in the south-west corner of the peninsula, the area under review in this volume. Some of the larger sites have been long known to local inhabitants, as is attested by such names for rock-shelters as Los Letreros, La Piedra Escrita, Las Figuras, &c.² Farther north-west several sites have been recognized in the valley of Las Batuecas, south-west of Salamanca, and a few somewhat similar drawings have been observed in the caves and rock-shelters near Sepúlveda (Segovia),³ as well as at one or two sites in Cantabria⁴ and Asturias.

The centre or focus of this Spanish Art Group III is, however, undoubtedly Andalusia, and one of the principal areas is to be found in the hills of Eocene sandstone covered with cork trees that lie between the Sierras of Libar, Grazalema, and Ubrique and the Straits of Gibraltar. Roughly speaking, the area is one cut off by an imaginary line drawn from Málaga to Cadiz.

As early as 1912 Colonel Willoughby Verner, well known for his History of the Rifle Brigade and his book on the Wild Birds of South-West Spain, pointed out to

¹ The famous scene of clothed women at the site of Cogul, south of Lérida, is well known, as well as those of the hunters in line shooting at driven game of the Barranco de Valltorta (Castellón), and the collecting of honey from the wild bees' nest at Cuevas de la Araña, near Játiva (Valencia).

² The paintings are usually ascribed by the peasants to

the Moors.

³ Cerralbo (Marquis de), *El Arte rupestre en la región del Duraton*, *L'Anthropologie*, 1921, p. 540.

⁴ See especially E. H. Pacheco and J. Cabré, *Las Pinturas prehistóricas de Peña Tú*, Comisión de Invest. pal. y prehist. Mem. 2, Madrid, 1914.

M. Breuil the existence of numerous cavities hollowed out in these sandstone beds by ordinary weathering action. An expedition of exploration planned for 1913 had to be postponed through force of circumstances until the following year. Meanwhile Don Victorio Molina, a learned ecclesiastic of Cadiz, contributed to the Real Academia de la Historia, of which he was a corresponding member, a paper dated April 28, 1913, which appeared in the following June, entitled '*Arqueología y Prehistoria de la Provincia de Cádiz en Lebrija y Medina Sidonia*'. He there mentions for the first time the Cueva de las Figuras, a rock-shelter some seven kilometres from the little village of Casas Viejas. A short account of the cave was given, as well as of another near by. This was the starting-point of Professor E. Hernández Pacheco and Don Juan Cabré's researches in the Sierras of Momia and Zanona in the summer of 1913. They were guided by Don José Espina, the doctor of Casas Viejas, who had been the first to mention to Don Victorio Molina the existence of the paintings. They resumed the study of the Cueva del Tajo de Las Figuras, and of four other caves close by also containing paintings. In the same Sierra they found traces of paintings in six more caves and mentioned the existence of some in a cave in the Sierra of Zanona.¹

It was not until the very end of 1913 that M. Breuil, accompanied by Mr. Miles Burkitt of Cambridge, was able to continue the exploration of these caves under the guidance and with the help of Colonel Willoughby Verner. They visited those already known, and during the months of January, February, and March 1914 discovered many others in the neighbourhood. M. Cabré returned again to the district, completing his investigations and inspecting the rock-shelters newly discovered by the authors. A few other localities of lesser importance were also explored.² During the following years M. Breuil pursued his researches, both in the Sierras already mentioned, where further minor discoveries were made, and also in the districts of Tarifa, Los Barrios, Castellar, and Jimena de la Frontera. These later studies took place in March and April 1916, and in the Aprils of 1918 and 1919.³

Doubtless further exploration would result in fresh finds being made, but, as the region has now been carefully studied by trained peasant-hunters, it is not likely that any site of major importance will be found. It would seem therefore that the time has come for looking at the discoveries as a whole, and attempting to arrange them systematically. For this purpose it is proposed to begin with a detailed account of the most important locality, namely that of the Tajo de Las Figuras, and then to describe the various localities in due geographical order. Reference to the map will show that the sites tend to fringe the border of the sandstone hills just behind the Laguna de la Janda, and continue to Tarifa. They skirt the valley that runs up from Los Barrios, especially on its western side, and thence occur more sporadically right away into the districts near Málaga and Granada.

¹ E. H. Pacheco and J. Cabré, *La Depresión del Barbate y sus estaciones prehistóricas*, Bol. Real. Soc. Española de Historia natural, Julio 1913, pp. 349-59.

² The result of Professor E. H. Pacheco and J. Cabré's work was published in April 1914 as a third Memoir of the *Trabajos de la Comisión de Investigaciones paleontológicas y prehistóricas de Madrid*, entitled *Avance al Estudio*

de las Pinturas prehistóricas del extremo sur de España (Laguna de la Janda). Some of the conclusions, however, were criticized by M. Breuil in a review of the work in *L'Anthropologie*.

³ To make the record still more complete, Miss Dorothy Garrod has kindly given us tracings of her discovery at La Horadada near San Roque in May 1926 (pp. 75, 76).

INTRODUCTION

Some notes must now be made on the pigments used by the old prehistoric folk and how they were prepared. The colours, in both palaeolithic and neolithic times, were generally made with natural ochres powdered or pounded and mixed with some fatty substance. This has disappeared and one can only guess at its nature. It may have been liquid like oil, but this is doubtful; on the other hand marrow-fats were easily obtainable. There is, however, the difficulty that fat is not liquid unless it is warmed. The pigment when used must have been liquid, as it has penetrated into the microscopic interstices of the rock. The organic matter has disappeared, but the mineral pigment has become, as it were, part of the rock itself, except when the rock is bituminous. Though different pigments, derived from the various natural ochres, &c., were used, the present tints are also due to the fact that there has been a gradual change of colour brought about by atmospheric action. Nothing is known as to how the pigment was applied; it may be supposed, however, that some kind of brush, which would be easily obtainable, was employed.

Finally it is necessary to describe shortly our methods of work in the field, and to give an explanatory account of the nomenclature used in describing the various types of conventionalized figures.

The method of study employed in the rock-shelters was as follows. First the paintings were carefully wetted with a damp sponge, after which they become more visible and details at first sight indistinguishable become more distinct. Naturally care must be taken rather to dab with the sponge than to rub; however, as the colouring matter in many cases has become, as it were, one with the rock, there is little danger of damaging the paintings unless the rock is much fissured, as is often the case with limestones. The rock-shelter walls were also studied in various different lights; when the natural illumination was sometimes too strong or came too much from one side, increased visibility was obtained by making a shadow with the help of an umbrella or cloak. Occasionally, as at Figuras, the light of an acetylene lamp was useful even though the paintings were in daylight. Where necessary, an illumination varied at will was often obtained by the use of a white board as a sort of reflector. It was extraordinary to observe how the visibility of the paintings varied with the intensity and direction of the illumination. The various figures were then traced on strong paper, and these tracings—necessarily somewhat rough as the rock-surfaces are very uneven—were placed on a white board and then retouched and completed in front of the originals. The various tints were reduced to a scheme of some six or seven colours; small nuances of tints, often due to later oxidation, being of little importance. Naturally the greatest attention was paid to the superpositions of the paintings, as these determine their relative ages. In certain localities it happens that examples painted in a particular colour are invariably below those painted in another tint whenever the two occur in superposition; it is reasonable to suppose that isolated examples painted in the earlier or later colours belong to their respective groups. The same sequence of colours in superposition is sometimes found in widely separated shelters. Photographs were made whenever possible, both of the localities and of the paintings themselves. Only a selection of these have been reproduced here; it is difficult to obtain clear results even in a photographic print and the published result is often unsatisfac-

tory. Sufficient have been given, however, to form a good idea of the appearance of the art in the rock-shelters and of the country in general. Occasionally colour photographs were taken, using the Lumière process, but these, alas, cannot be satisfactorily reproduced on paper.

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR

In the translation of M. Breuil's text (Chaps. II to X) I have used the words 'conventional' and 'schematic' indiscriminately as renderings of the French 'conventionnel', 'schématique', and 'stylisé'. 'Human symbol' is written as short for 'conventional human figure'. The term 'bras ansés' (arms shaped like handles) is translated by 'ansate arms' where our word 'akimbo', implying a sharp angle at the elbow, seems unsuitable.

I have made a selection of some of the more conventional figures, in which the evolution of the 'φ man' and other typical human symbols, such as the ramiform, stelliform, and cruciform signs, may be traced. Being taken from all the caves described in this work, and by no means necessarily from the same or neighbouring localities, their arrangement here is merely intended to show the possible, or probable, development of one symbol from another.

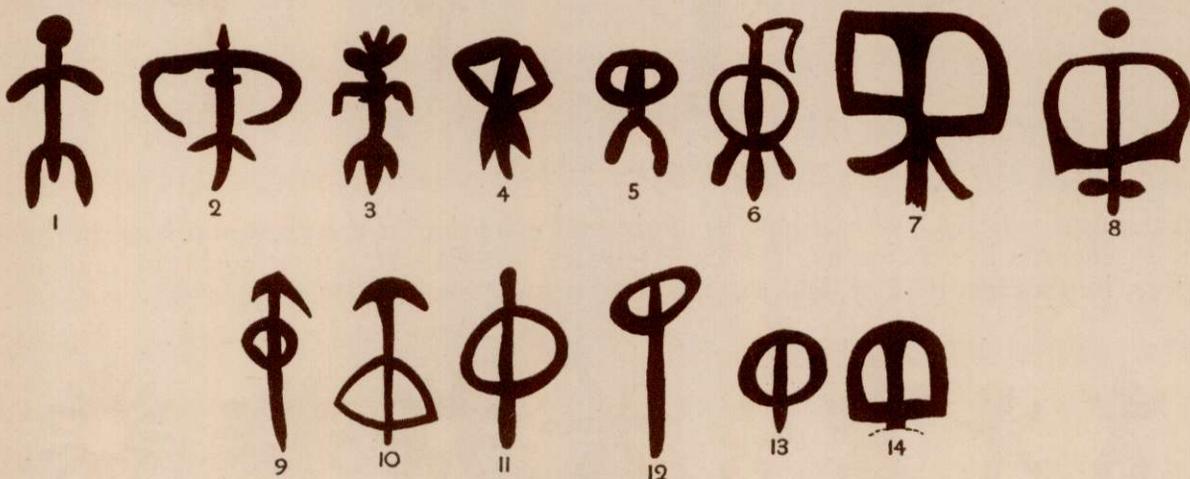


Fig. 1. Series A.

In the first group of figures (series A) the derivation of the φ symbol from the simple drawing of a man, with which the series begins, can be clearly followed. The arms are curved downwards to meet the vertical line of the body, taking an 'ansate' form, and the legs disappear, leaving a mere vertical stroke to represent the head and legs (A 11). The sign thus arrived at closely resembles the Greek letter φ; in the last three examples (A 12, 13, 14) there is a further simplification by the omission of the head or upper part of the vertical stroke. Some rather more complex varieties of the same symbol are also shown (see series F, p. 7).



Fig. 2. Series B.

The figures in B are all from the Fifth Bacinete Shelter. It is doubtful whether the two

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

separate Ps placed back to back (B 1) and those joined together above (B 2) represent a single man or a human couple. These three drawings (B 1, 2, and 3) are interesting as being almost the only instances in the caves dealt with in this book in which the artist has attempted some sort of symmetrical design. The meaning of the complicated figure B 3 is unknown. M. Breuil suggests that it may be a very conventionalized representation of a horse and rider, of which he has found instances in other parts of Spain.

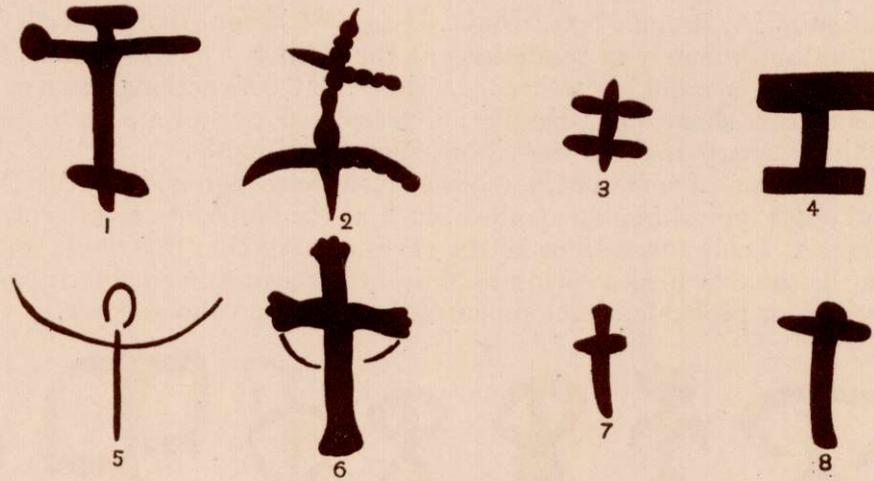


Fig. 3. Series C.

In the next series, C, we see how by horizontal extension of the arms and legs the human form degenerates into a sign like the letter H placed sideways (C 4); or, again, by omission of the legs, into a cross (C 6, 7, and 8).

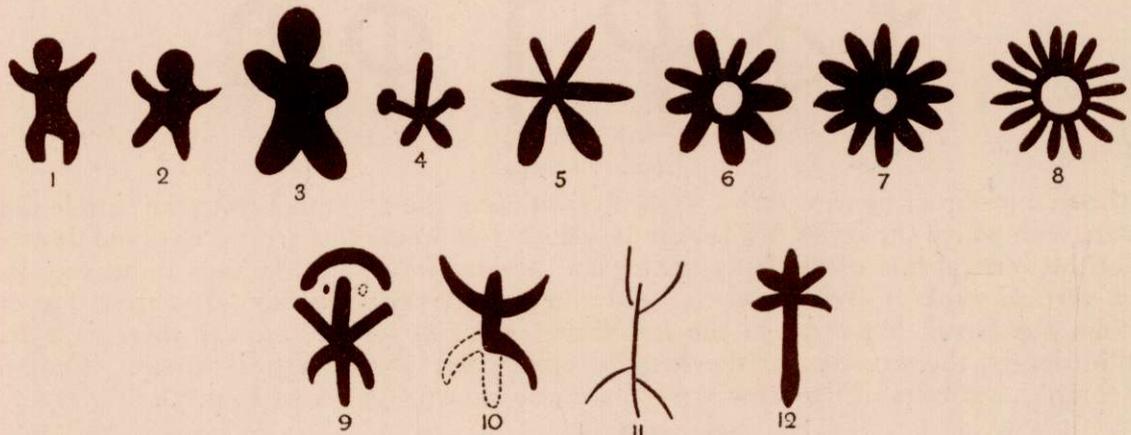


Fig. 4. Series D.

Series D is intended to show the possible human derivation of some of the star signs. The first three figures, from the Cave of Las Figuras, are decidedly star-like in shape and may have given rise to a five-pointed star, such as No. 4, and this again, when the meaning of the sign had been forgotten, to stars with six (D 5) or more rays. It would be going too far to assume that the many-pointed stars with hollow centres from Obispo I and II (D 6, 7, and 8) are also of human origin. We may surmise that these flower-like stars are really intended for heavenly bodies, or that they possibly represent round huts on piles (see foot-note to p. 14). Nos. 9 to 12 are some other more or less star-like human symbols.

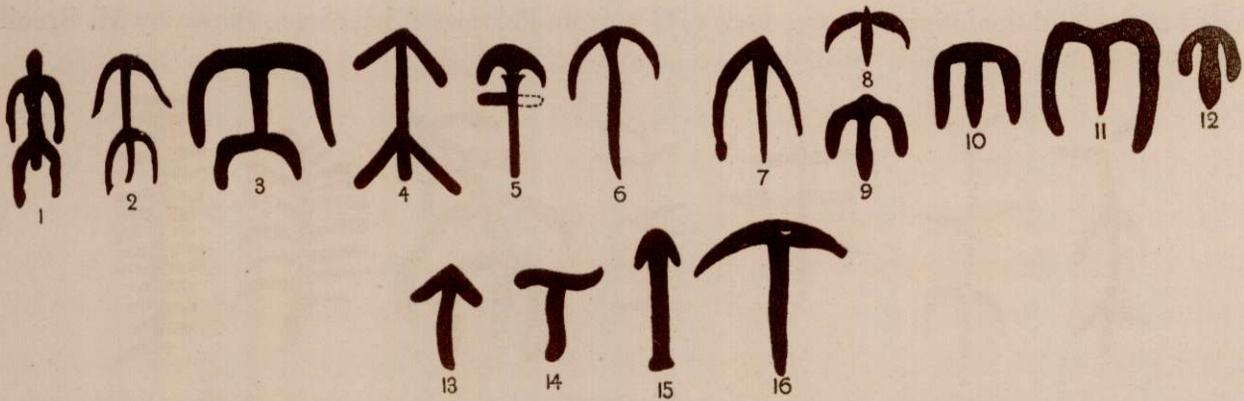


Fig. 5. Series E.

In the next group, E, we find another degeneration of the male human symbol. The head and lower limbs disappear and a simple anchor-like form (No. 6) results. This may become further changed into an E with teeth pointing downwards (No. 11), or into a T (Nos. 13 to 16). No. 4, from Avellano, is actually painted not as shown here, but upside down; M. Breuil has suggested that in this position it may represent a dead man.

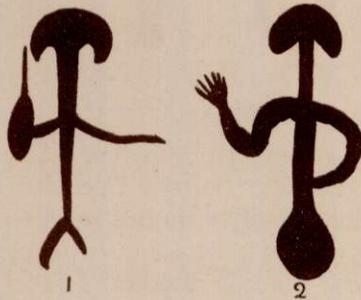


Fig. 6. Series F.

The figures in F are from Torre de la Peña. The peculiar shapes of their heads probably indicate, M. Breuil tells me, some hat or head-dress, and the same sort of thing may be seen in some of the figures in the first series (A 3, 6, 9, and 10) and also in H 1. In these two drawings, F 1 and 2, it is interesting to note the combination of realistic features—in one the arm holding a shield and dart, in the other the raised arm and open hand—with the very conventional character of their general design.

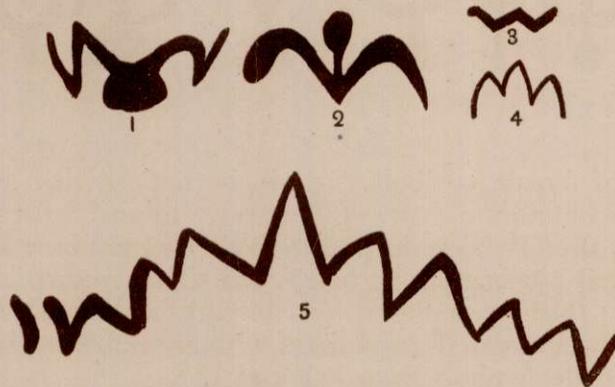


Fig. 7. Series G.

The zigzags, G 3 and 4, are derived from the bent legs of the squatting human figure, as seen

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in G 1 and 2, and the longer zigzags, such as G 5, from Palomas I, have been shown by M. Breuil to be an exaggeration of this symbol.¹

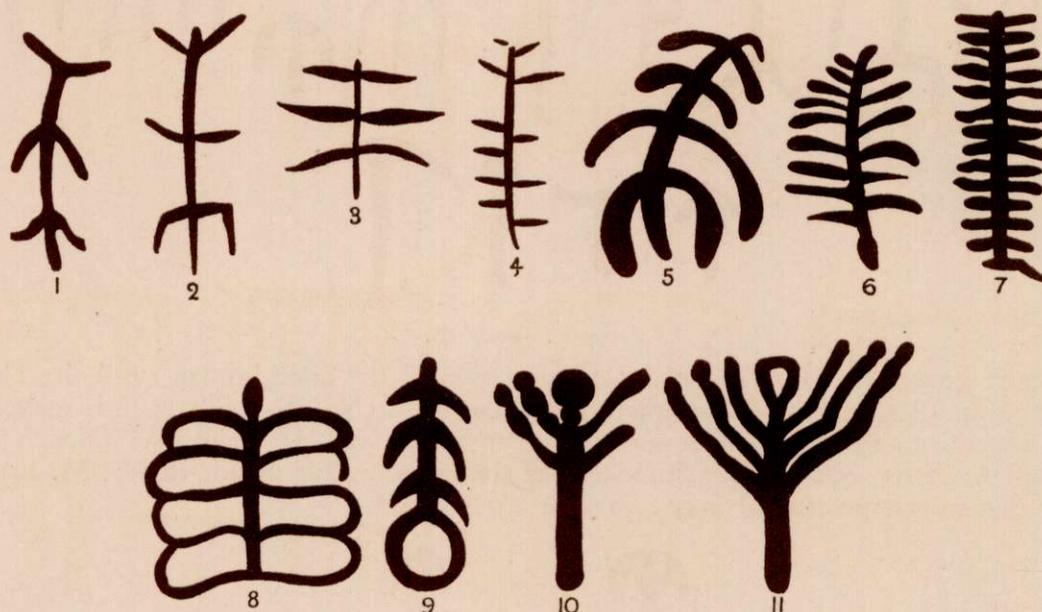


Fig. 8. Series H.

The next series, H, shows some 'ramiform' figures. The transition from the undoubtedly human symbol, H 1, to H 3 is easy, the three pairs of branches representing head, arms, and legs. In H 4 and those that follow the number of branches increases indefinitely and all resemblance to the human form is lost; except that in H 7 we seem to recognize in the lowest pair of branches the flexed legs of H 1. Though these many-branched figures may all be of human origin, it is difficult not to see in some of them, particularly in H 6, the representation of a tree or other vegetable growth. H 8, according to M. Breuil, is certainly human. H 9, 10, and 11 are probably female. M. Breuil suggests that the multiplication of arms in the last two figures (as in the case of certain Indian deities) may signify some supernormal power.

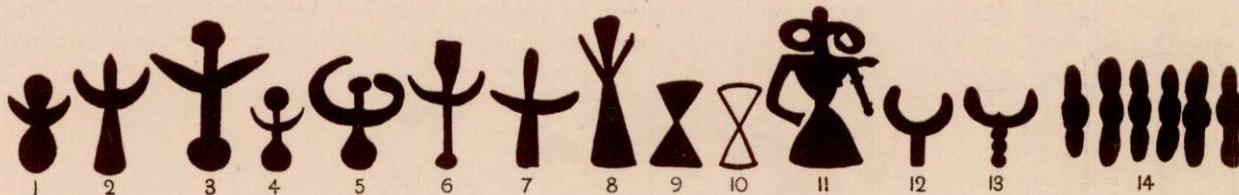


Fig. 9. Series I.

Series I consists also of female symbols. It will be noticed that nearly all have the arms raised. The circular base common to many of these conventional figures of women (e. g. Nos. 1, 3 to 6, also F 2) is in M. Breuil's view derived from a triangular base and represents a skirt or other garment. The typical bitriangular or hour-glass sign is shown in Nos. 9 and 10 (in the latter in outline), and next to these is placed for comparison the relatively naturalistic drawing (No. 11) of a lady from the Cave of Las Mujeres with an elaborate head-dress. No. 14 is a group of (presumably) female symbols from Palomas I.

¹ Cf. *Premiers Travaux par MM. les Professeurs H. Breuil et Obermaier* (L'Anthropologie, vol. xxiii, p. 22); also H. Breuil, *Les Roches Peintes de Minateda* (L'Anthropologie, vol. xxx, pp. 47, 48).



Fig. 10. Series K.

The next series, K, gives some representations of animals. In the more conventionalized of these the number of legs seems to be a matter of complete indifference and the figures degenerate into comb-like, or 'pectiform', symbols, with teeth varying in number from two to twelve, or even more. Those with only two teeth, such as No. 15, resemble the Greek letter π .

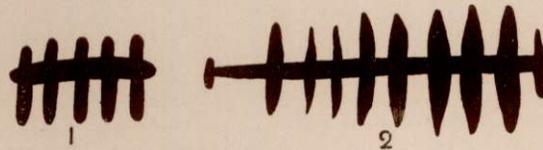


Fig. 11. Series L.

Lastly in L are shown two 'barrier signs', distinguished from the pectiforms by the fact that the uprights extend above the horizontal line. M. Breuil does not regard these as animals, but as probably representing some wooden structure.

REFERENCES

Series A. 1, Palomas IV; 2, Mujeres; 3, Mediano; 4, 5, Arca; 6, Betin; 7, Bacinete III; 8, Bacinete, Large Shelter; 9, Torre de la Peña; 10, Desollacabras; 11, Bacinete V; 12, Sumidero; 13, Pretina IV; 14, Cave opposite Piruétano.

Series B. Bacinete V.

Series C. 1, 4, Porqueros; 2, Bacinete VI; 3, Mediano; 5, 7, Mujeres; 6, Carchuna; 8, Obispo II.

Series D. 1, 2, 3, Figuras; 4, 5, Peñon de la Cueva; 6, 8, Obispo I; 7, Obispo II; 9, 10, Carboneros; 11, Mujeres; 12, Piruétano.

Series E. 1, 2, 12, Palomas IV; 3, Pilonos; 4, Avellano; 5, Arco; 6, 8, Palomas I; 7, Chorrerón del Salado; 9, Saladavieja; 10, Betin; 11, Pajarito; 13, Tajo Amarillo; 14, Toro; 15, Magro; 16, Torre de la Peña.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Series F. Torre de la Peña.

Series G. 1, Ladrones; 2, Pajarito; 3, Gorrión; 4, Palomas IV; 5, Palomas I.

Series H. 1, Palomas IV; 2, 7, Betin; 3, 4, 8, Palomas I; 5, 6, 9, Piruétano; 10, 11, Rosa.

Series I. 1, 2, Carboneros; 3, 14, Palomas I; 4, 6, Canuto Ciaque; 5, Pajarito; 7, Piruétano; 8, 9, Rosa; 10, Palomas IV; 11, Mujeres; 12, 13, Chinchilla.

Series K. 1, Palomas I; 2, Cochinos (Tajo Figuras); 3, 11, 13, Betin; 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 12, Arco; 8, Mujeres; 9, Mediano; 14, Culebra; 15, Pretina I.

Series L. 1, Cochinos (Tajo Figuras); 2, Betin.

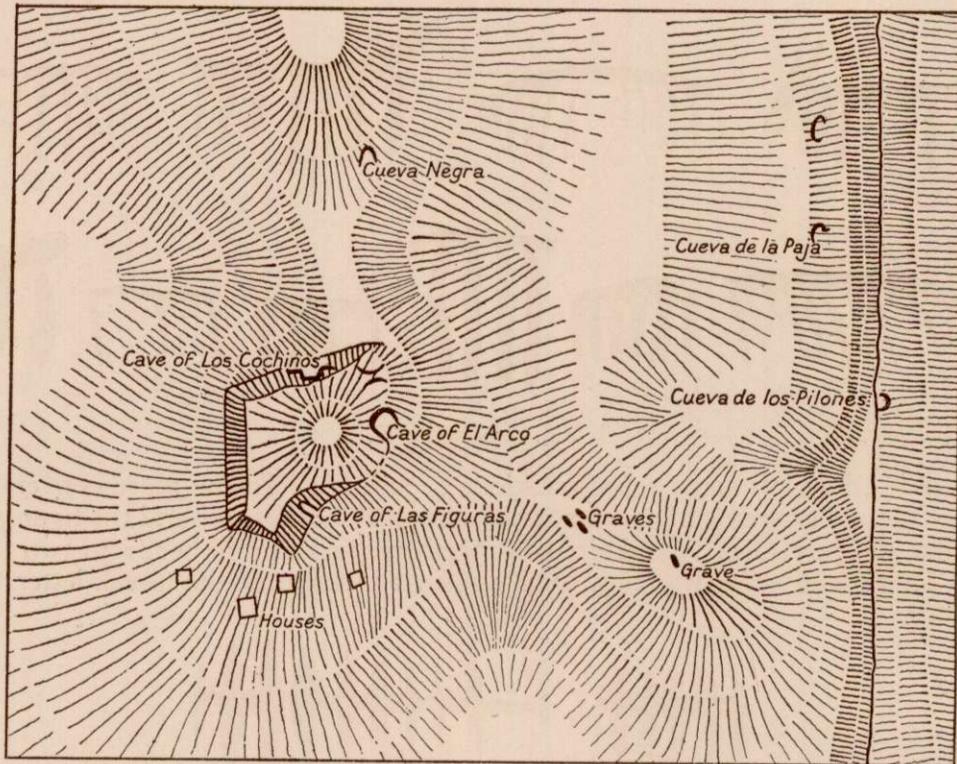


Fig. 12. Sketch plan of the Tajo de las Figuras and surrounding country, showing the Arroyo de los Pilonos on the right.



Las Figuras. Key-plate, showing division into seven Panels (p. 13)

II

CAVE OF LAS FIGURAS

THE River Celemín, rising in the Sierra Blanquilla near the ruined Convent of El Cuervo, flows from E. to W. for 15 Km. and falls into the Barbate in the low land near Casas Viejas. Towards the middle of its course it runs at the foot of some very steep and crumbling rocks, pierced by a narrow gorge through which the waters of the Arroyo de los Pilonos (or Pilancones) flow to meet it. A little distance to the west a naked *cerro* stands up, overlooking the gentle slopes that form the base of the chain; this is the Cerro del Tajo de las Figuras, or, more exactly, de la Cueva de las Figuras, which forms with the adjoining heights the southernmost extremity of the western and southern spurs of the Sierra Momia (see Maps A and B, and Fig. 12).

The main portion of the Sierra, however, runs parallel to this ridge and is separated from it by a wide depression measuring about 3 Km. across from summit to summit. Though referred to by various writers in their descriptions of the caves of this region as part of the Sierra Momia, the local herdsmen make the distinction between the two, and call this secondary chain, so rich in painted rocks, the Sierra Quejumbrosa, perhaps in allusion to the violent winds that have undoubtedly played a great part in the erosion of the Eocene sandstone of which it is formed.

It is here that occurs the most important rock-shelter in the whole district, namely the little Cave of Las Figuras, containing over five hundred drawings. These are of different dates and in correspondingly different styles. The cave gives its name not only to the cliff, facing SSE., in which it opens, but also to the rocky hill above and the group of huts at its feet.¹ It is by no means easy of access, for its floor is $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. sheer above the fallen rocks beneath. There are three crevices (two of them artificial) by means of which it is possible to climb up to the entrance, but to avoid the risk of a fall, either in ascending or in descending, it is preferable to make use of a ladder or at least of a notched pole and ropes. One thus reaches a sort of level landing about 5 m. wide by 2 deep. Beyond this is a passage, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide by 5 long, ending in a small chamber in the shape of a flattened dome, the entrance of which is narrowed to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.; it measures 3 m. 40 in greatest width, 2 m. in depth and about 1 m. 80 in height. The slope leading up to the rather more level floor of the chamber is extremely slippery, not alone on account of its steepness, but through its surface having been polished by the passing to and fro in a former age of generations of visitors. Similar instances of excessive wearing down of the floor of a painted shelter may be found elsewhere (see Plates II and III).

PASSAGE LEADING TO THE CAVE

(see Frontispiece, Plate IV, and Fig. 13, p. 29)

The paintings begin in the passage leading to the cave, and the first panel (which is unfortunately much faded) may be seen on the right above a small ledge in the

¹ An important dolmenic group discovered by M. Breuil in 1926 to have been totally destroyed by treasure hunters in the meadows below the cave was found on his return.

CAVE OF LAS FIGURAS

rock. On the right side of this panel one can distinguish a small semi-conventionalized quadruped, about 8 cm. long, and the body, hind legs, and part of the forelegs of a large stag measuring 30 cm. from the breast to the rump and as much in height. These figures were too indistinct to allow of a tracing being made, and a few other undecipherable symbols may be passed over as of little interest.

On the same side is a second panel in perfect preservation, comprising one white figure, eleven yellow, twenty bright red, and seventeen brown red figures, some darker than others. Here the most recent are the bright red figures, and next before them the brown or red brown, which are in places superposed on the yellow figures and the single white one. Which of the two last-mentioned tints is the earlier is not made clear by an examination of this panel alone. The subjects depicted in the different series are as follows (see Frontispiece):

WHITE SERIES

An unintelligible sign.

YELLOW SERIES

Two birds pairing, a crane, a little man with outstretched arms and legs, several pectiform animals under a large stag of the red series, and a few very simple strokes and bars.

BROWN SERIES

A male bustard strutting, two conventional drawings of flying birds, an ibex and a long-tailed carnivorous beast, several pectiforms, a small sexless human figure in fine lines, various spots and bars, and other unintelligible signs.

RED SERIES

The large stag mentioned above, a schematic carnivorous animal with a short tail, a man with arms akimbo and legs apart, a pectiform animal, an avocet (?), another conventionalized bird, and several bars and signs of unknown meaning.

Opposite to the preceding panel and forming a pendant to it on the left side of the passage is another group (Fig. 13) composed of yellow figures, more or less distinct; amongst them is a large stag, whose head is reduced to ears and pectiform antlers, more conventionalized than those of the stag in the second panel. To its left is a group of human figures, ten in number, and there are four more to the right. Among the latter is a couple; the man holds some object against his shoulder in the way a violin is held; the second figure, recognizable as a woman by the width of the hips, has the arms hanging freely and a little prominence on either side of the head, which may indicate the ears. Below is a male archer with a mere line for the head, on one side of which is a small projection probably intended for the nose. The fourth, with legs and arms apart and a big head, is in a somewhat different style, similar to the human figures on the left of the stag. The drawings in the other half of the panel begin with an ithyphallic man near the stag's head, running to the right, and a woman with wide hips, one arm akimbo and the other somewhat extended. Next come two groups of three drawings, one above the other; the upper group consists of a large woman with arms akimbo, big round head, and eyes which the artist has represented



simply by leaving gaps in the painted surface, placed between small figures of a man with outstretched arms and a woman with arms hanging obliquely, one ending in a three-fingered hand; the legs are slightly bent and the well-developed breasts protrude laterally beneath the arms. The lower trio comprises a small man with a large round head and extended limbs between a very big woman (?) with arms akimbo and another with upstretched arms. Still farther to the left and higher up is an incomplete figure with drooping arms, and another larger woman (?) with arms and legs outstretched.

THE MAIN CAVE

(see Plates I, III, IV, XXXI, and large Plate in pocket at end)

We now enter the cave proper, the walls of which are thickly covered with drawings. A careful study of their different styles and of the superposition of drawings of one colour on those of another has led us to divide this very complicated *ensemble* into seven successive Series, namely White, Yellow, Light or Pale Red, Red Brown, Bright Red, Purple Brown, and Pink. Of these the White Series is the earliest and the others follow in the order named. As the differences of colour are not great, it is often difficult to say with certainty to which series a particular figure belongs and one also finds, as might be expected, transitions between one series and the next. This attempt at the classification of the different colours, though by no means perfect, seems to correspond as nearly as possible with the observed facts.

Furthermore, in order to facilitate the description of the drawings, we have arbitrarily divided the surface of the Cave into seven Panels to which we refer successively in treating of each Series (see Plate I).

FIRST SERIES: WHITE FIGURES

These, the earliest in the shelter, though quite conventional in style, are very difficult to see and for the most part unintelligible. The fact that on the left side and in the centre of the shelter these white figures show through the later ones and change the superposed red colour into pink, has misled Señor Juan Cabré as to their order.¹ He was moreover influenced by the idea that the more schematic drawings, which elsewhere undoubtedly belong to a later stage, must of necessity do so here. A careful and thorough examination, renewed at long intervals and in the company of different observers, has, however, proved that this is not the case.

There are no white figures in the two panels on the right (Nos. I and II) nor in that on the extreme left (No. VII).

In Panel No. III, which occupies the roof, there are two: namely a ramiform with many branches on the top of which are painted in pale red a stelliform sign and a conventional hind; and a broad band with six teeth on one side only, overlapped by an orange-yellow circle with toothed rays.

In the IVth Panel the white symbols are as follows, reading from right to left and from above downwards: two short strokes; then a circle with rays projecting sideways (just overlapped at its upper edge by the end of a very simple figure in pale red) enclosing three small human symbols. This design, which can hardly be seen on

¹ See note at end of Chap. III.

CAVE OF LAS FIGURAS

the light background of the rock, escaped M. Breuil when he made his first tracings, but comes out quite clearly in a photograph.¹ Lower down are a small ramiform sign and several curved and horizontal lines, over which have been painted in bright red and brown red some conventional figures of ibexes and other creatures, one of which is a bird. To the left of the same panel and at the same height is another group of white drawings, consisting of (on the right) a schematic animal with four short legs, over which are painted a man in brown red and a waterfowl in bright red. One of the feet of this bird and a conventional animal beside it in the same colour overlap a large white downward-curving bar, indented on its lower side. On this is superposed a large purple brown ibex, which covers also some other white horizontal and vertical bars below. Over these last are also painted some bright red figures. The white paint shows through the ibex. Right at the top of the same panel is a small white human figure with three tiers of branches.

In Panel No. V are four white figures very faint in parts. The uppermost, of which only a broad spot and a vertical line remain, is covered by a large purple brown stag; the second, a white arch near by, has painted over it a group of yellow dots and a red brown pectiform animal; the large complicated branching figure below and another (the fourth of these white figures) are covered by the huge purple brown stag that occupies the centre of the panel, and by figures of a woman in bright red and other animals.

In the VIth Panel there is a large cluster of white ramiform or scaliform signs, placed vertically, except the highest of them which is horizontal and resembles a pirogue; over these are painted two large brown stags and a man armed with a bow, also a sexless human figure higher up, comparatively realistic, in bright red. Two short white strokes are overlapped by the single downward-curving antler of a large yellow stag to the left of the latter figure. More to the left, a scaliform with three branches and a forked top is overlapped by a yellow hind; the yellow is changed to pink where it covers the white. This change of colour appears also in the red brown of the two stags and the archer mentioned above.

It will be seen that wherever overlapping occurs the coloured drawings are always on top of the white ones, thus clearly demonstrating that the latter are the earliest. These white figures are so extremely schematic that one can only guess at their meaning.

SECOND SERIES : YELLOW FIGURES

The different colours of the paintings, namely yellow, light or pale red, bright red, and darker red, are perhaps not due to the use of different pigments but to the progressive change in hue of the original colour, yellow (if this be the case) representing the ultimate stage of such modification. The yellow figures are, in fact, on the whole earlier than those of the succeeding series, but one must take into account the possibility that the change of colour has proceeded more quickly at the base of the walls through their having been rubbed against by visitors to the cave or by animals, and

¹ Monsieur E. Frankowski, to whom M. Breuil gave permission to reproduce this figure in his book on *Hórreos y Palafitos de la Península Ibérica* (Madrid, 1918, fig. 40), takes it and the similar signs (of different colour) in the

same cave to be images of round huts on piles. This interpretation seems more plausible than that of Messrs. Cabré and Pacheco, namely that they represent nests.

also on the roof through the action of mason bees, which build their nests there in such numbers that MM. Pacheco and Cabré had to remove them in order to examine the drawings they concealed. The tint here called 'yellow' is in most cases more nearly orange, or a brownish yellow, and in some (as appears from a study of the technique) has conserved its original red colour.

There is no yellow figure in the Ist Panel. In the IIInd, with the exception of three separate strokes, there is only a group of twelve minute comparatively realistic animals (Fig. 31) and beneath them a pectiform with six vertical legs and a sloping tail. The small figures, as far as one can make out, represent (in the centre) two dogs with short tails and big ears; underneath these, one with a long drooping tail, and below it to the right another with short upturned tail like the first two. To the right of the 'dogs' two animals are making off; one has lost his head, and the other, with high forequarters, small raised tail, big head and short ears, resembles a lynx, an animal which under the name of *gato clavo* still exists in the Sierra de Retin. The others to the left, above and below the 'dogs', seem to be goats; one has horns, seen full face, while the two others have their heads in profile, as if looking behind them. The three remaining little figures are more doubtful; one has a long curved tail, carried high, and a large ear.

Panel No. III (on the roof) is very rich in yellow figures. A first group occupies the corner nearest to those just described and contains thirteen very small drawings inserted between the larger birds and hinds in red that are scattered over the same surface. Amongst them may be seen two slender animals running to the left, with long raised horns curving inwards, drawn as if seen from in front. These would be taken to be antelopes, if there had been any in the country in those times; as they are hardly thickset enough for ibexes, it seems best for the present, in spite of the absence of tines, to call them stags. Several others with long ears seem to be hinds; three are so simplified as to be unrecognizable; another with two long legs and long beak is a wading bird, and so also is probably the narrow arch-like creature with curved legs, long neck, and beak showing the two mandibles. Away to the left there is an oval spot with the neck of a palmiped; in addition to two rudimentary feet, it has three other lines in front of the breast. This figure just touches a light red spot which may be older.

In the same panel are a few more very small animals in a similar style, namely from right to left: (1) to the right of the large 'sun' (presently to be described) a tail-less animal, perhaps a bear, with four legs, no neck, pointed muzzle and ears laid back. (2) On the left of the same 'sun', a 'stag' with divergent horns followed by a hind, and between its legs a miniature fawn (?); beside these are two small stelliform figures like starfish (?). (3) Over the ears of an ugly red hind are two other yellow hinds running, and a smaller one in front, also several traces of figures earlier than the big darker yellow birds near by. (4) On the other side of these birds is a minute man, his arms and head forming a trefoil, and another human figure, probably a woman, much more realistic in style, with legs a little bent, and arms bent and open. (5) By the white toothed figure on the extreme left is a wading bird in fine yellow lines with characteristic long legs and neck; from its short beak one may infer that it is a crane.

The other yellow figures in this panel do not seem to be by the same hand; they are

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painted in thick lines and resemble in style the red and brown figures of the upright panels. It is possible that they are of the same age as the latter, and have, for reasons already given, undergone a greater change of colour. They are as follows: (1) a kind of 'half moon' having a number of small lines projecting from its diameter like a fringe; this M. Frankowski takes to be a side view of a domed hut on piles. (2) A 'sun' with seventeen rays, like petals, that is to say getting broader towards their ends. (3) The large 'sun', much faded, with petaloid rays indented on one side; in the centre there appear to be various signs, one of which is a long pectiform with nine short teeth, but a close study of these details is impossible owing to the deterioration of the painting.¹ (4) A small 'sun' with a circular opening at the centre, and petaloid rays, two of which have projecting arms. (5) Still another, towards the left side of the vault, on the centre of which a smaller 'sun' has been painted in red brown; its rays have little branches projecting at right angles, sometimes on one side, sometimes on both, and one has oblique curved branches and resembles a human symbol. This gives weight to M. Frankowski's view² that all these 'suns' and 'moons' are representations of huts on piles, rather than, as their position on the roof of the cave would seem at first sight to indicate, heavenly bodies. (6) Near the latter figure, an upward-curving branch with four pairs of projections, and, to the left of a duck close by, a kind of stake surmounted by double inverted arches arranged symmetrically on either side. (7) The duck just mentioned, with characteristic head, but too long in the leg; another bird, with a round head, seems to be attacked by a third, which, with its three-toed feet and bare neck rising from a ruff, may well be taken for a vulture; above it, turned in a different direction, is a large bustard, with small feet, also three-toed. (8) Above this is a running hind, fairly well drawn, but its head, seen full face, with a large ear standing out on either side, has almost disappeared. (9) Between the 'moon' and the 'sun' with seventeen rays may be seen an ill-drawn hind with only three legs, and below this two conventional signs, like arches each with a central axis, which in one of them is prolonged upwards and then bent at an acute angle like the neck and head of a bird. These two signs seem to be intended for flying birds, though elsewhere one would have taken them for human symbols.

In the IVth Panel the yellow figures are also fairly numerous. The list is as follows: (1) above on the right, a row of seven birds in file and an eighth over them (Fig. 16). Four are standing, with outstretched necks ending in long beaks, which, together with their length of leg, would seem to point to their being cranes, such as may be seen to-day on the shores of the neighbouring lagoon. The four others are more like geese. (2) Near the left edge of the panel, quite low down, is a swan swimming to the right, and above it two pectiform animals in fine lines.

The other yellow figures are drawn in thicker lines, and consist of: (1) quite high up on the right, four bars, side by side; (2) at the base of the panel on the right, a very conventional animal, placed vertically with head uppermost; he has only two legs and

¹ It seems that this sun was much plainer when Señor Cabré removed the bees' nests with which it was formerly covered. M. Breuil has drawn it to scale from the photograph kindly placed at his disposal by Señor Cabré,

which shows the colour standing out clearly from the background and is thus preferable to a direct view of the figure (see Plate xxxi).

² See Frankowski, *op. cit.*, Pl. xviii.

one forward-curving horn; (3) near the swan just mentioned is a big pectiform ibex (?) with four legs and horns full face, and, in front of it, a bird walking, with round body, small head without beak, and large fan-shaped tail. Towards the centre of the panel is a very imperfect schematic animal in brownish yellow, which may be included amongst these yellow figures.

In Panel No. V we note the following: (1) at the top, covering a great part of the width of the panel, is a large sprinkling of yellow dots, arranged in some eleven more or less parallel rows; they are clearly later than the white arch, but are themselves overlapped by a purple brown stag and a pale red cruciform figure in fine lines. Buried in their midst is a very small stag or hind running to the right, of the same colour but perhaps a little earlier. (2) To the right of the dots, in a decidedly brighter colour, is a very important group of small drawings of birds with two or three human symbols and several other figures too simplified to define. Among the birds one can distinguish a spoonbill, two ibises or curlews with curved beaks, six geese and a pretty snipe. (3) At the other side of the group of dots, also in stronger colour, and of rather later date than the dots, are five more geese, namely three amongst the dots, and two others more to the left just above the antlers of the very large stag. (4) To the right of the stag's antlers are two long-legged deer, one above the other; the upper has only three legs and head and neck like an inverted V, and the lower a head seen full face with extended ears partly overlapped by a red brown sign. (5) Above the back of the big stag, painted over the white figure, is a minute pectiform stag.

In Panel No. VI the yellow signs are numerous. At the top are two very small, comparatively realistic hinds, one above the horizontal white ramiform sign, and the other rather lower at some distance to the left. In front of the big stag followed by an archer is a more schematic yellow stag, with too long a tail, drawn in thicker lines than the hinds just mentioned, and above it a yellow wading bird with short slightly curving beak placed against a bent line of uncertain meaning. Below the big stags are a rather large pectiform animal with a long tail, also a minute one with simplified head, and a schematic hind whose head is obliterated by that of a goose running towards the right. In the middle of the upper part of the panel is a big yellow stag with fore-shortened head, spreading ears and antler in the shape of a crook carrying two tiers of branches. Its antler is just overlapped on the right edge by a very schematic red brown ibex, and its hind quarters by a pink sign resembling a composite leaf; and a rather large conventional hind is painted in extremely fine lines over the middle of its body. To the left is a young deer, also yellow, with head full face, ears sloping outwards, small straight horns and much simplified body; one hind leg overlaps the white sign with the forked top. Painted across the lower part of the same white sign is a large conventional hind; where the yellow overlaps the white, as already pointed out, it has become pink, or has retained its original pink colour. There are two red lines of later date, one of which crosses its right ear. Immediately below is another yellow hind, walking, the head a little thrown back, and facing it a schematic animal with long straight ears. In the lower left-hand corner of the panel are two brownish yellow figures which may be placed in this series, namely a semi-realistic hind and a pectiform animal with two long horns or ears.

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All the yellow figures of the VIIth Panel are on the edge of the preceding one. From top to bottom they are as follows: a sexless human figure, realistic in style, with arms and legs a little apart; a large conventional stag, clumsily drawn, and several spots near it; much lower down, a human figure in a paler, less orange yellow, resembling the one just described, except that its arms are akimbo; from its left elbow hangs a vertical line, and a small object sticks out from its waist, which may be a hatchet or hammer with a handle; the head (badly preserved) has projections which recall the 'scrolls' worn by the women in *Las Mujeres* (see p. 46). Below on the right is a little hind running, whose mouth and ears are represented by two parallel transverse lines at the neck. The pectiform animal on the extreme left and a wading bird above it may perhaps belong to the same series, but their colour is so faded that it is difficult to judge it accurately.

THIRD SERIES: LIGHT RED FIGURES

In the Ist Panel the light red drawings of which this series consists are seen at their clearest, free from any superpositions. They are very similar to the small figures of the Yellow Series, and consist of a group of hinds, many incomplete, with long thread-like legs, a stag¹ with long simple horns, slightly curved like an antelope's, and in the middle of the group the upper part of a small human figure. A similar hind and parts of two more may be seen farther to the right, and there is another close by in the IInd Panel, low down near its right edge. The semi-realistic character of these drawings is very striking. In spite of their different colour it is doubtful whether they should be distinguished chronologically from the little yellow figures of the Second Series.

In the IInd Panel the only other light red figure is a sort of broad U, near the bottom on the left, in fine lines, enclosing an arch and some vertical strokes, very similar to another in Panel IV which will be mentioned later. An indistinct red brown figure is painted over it.

In the IIIrd Panel only two drawings can be definitely classed among the light red figures: namely, a small conventional animal with very long tail, only two legs, and raised head on a long neck, close to the 'sun' with seventeen petaloid rays; and a very small and fine pectiform near a clumsy and ill-shaped red hind. Possibly also the small, better-drawn hind, which overlaps or is overlapped by the latter, should be included in this series.

In the IVth Panel the light red figures are more numerous. They are as follows: (1) high up on the extreme right, a brace of partridges; the cock standing with bent legs, head up and raised tail, seems to be calling to his mate (with too big a tail) who sits beside him. (2) On the same side, quite low down, near a goose and beneath two large schematic ibexes of the Sixth (or Purple) Series, is an extremely small conventional bird in very fine lines. (3) Another minute bird and a spot beside it are inserted between these ibexes. (4) In the centre of the lower edge of the panel, difficult to decipher, being very finely traced and much faded, is a drawing of a hut (?)

¹ There is no evidence for the existence in Andalusia in quaternary times, or later, of any African fauna, and one must therefore reject Messrs. Pacheco and Cabré's view

that this drawing represents an antelope. In fact M. Pacheco has himself since abandoned the suggestion.

with flattened roof (Fig. 37); near the top are two horizontal lines on the upper of which may be seen a small human figure; one of the uprights that form the sides of the 'hut' is continued downwards into a long winding line, and another line with a round head is curved back on itself and resembles a serpent; the 'hut' is overlapped by an ibex of the Sixth Series with head facing backwards. (5) Among the large pectiform animals above may be seen a very small schematic hind running to the right. (6) To the left of the same animals is a group of minute human symbols, of which the four lowest must be included here; three are sexless and have legs and arms a little extended; the fourth has no legs, and arms thickened like wings. (7) At the left end of the upper row of small birds, overlapped by some figures of the Fifth Series, is part of a hind with long slender legs like those of the hinds in the Ist Panel. (8) Two very faded geese behind the lower row of small birds may belong here or at the beginning of the next series. We may probably also include (9) another solitary goose in the middle of the upper part of the panel, and (10) a very small pectiform bird and three little vertical strokes, two side by side and one above them, under the tail of the large purple ibex. (11) More to the left is a very small human symbol with no legs, arms outstretched, and round head. (12) In the lower left hand part of the panel, beyond the faded red zigzag, is a group of some twenty minute figures of birds, highly conventionalized, some standing, others flying (Fig. 15). (13) In this series, or somewhat later, may be included also the small isolated bird near the right upper corner, a little above the white circle with rays; it is probably a bustard, and has the body arched into a semicircle, a long neck and small slightly curved beak.

In the Vth Panel, half-way up on the left side, is (1) another compact group of eleven very small figures, more or less conventionalized, including one flying bird, three stags, and six or seven hinds, one looking back (Fig. 33). Two of the stags have antlers represented by a stem with three branches and are consequently less schematic than those of other series. (2) Above the back of the purple brown hind superposed on the white sign in the centre is a small orange red hind, which should probably be included here as forming a transition from the preceding series; and (3) three very small slender pectiforms below the head of the big stag must belong either to this series or to the Fifth. (4) As a transition to the next series we may mention a minute schematic bird just over the head of the armless woman to the right of the big stag, and (5) very low down on the left is a small conventional drawing of a slender ruminant animal with bent hind legs and short slightly curved horns.

In the VIth Panel we find only two light red figures, namely (1) a schematic hind in finest lines, quite unique in style, covering the big yellow stag with crook-shaped antler in the centre of the upper part of the panel and the small yellow hind above him, and (2) between the legs of the lower purple brown stag, a strange gallinaceous bird, with hooked beak, hanging bifid tail, prominent breast, bent legs and round feet.

In Panel No. VII we have again only two drawings to add to this series: (1) below on the right, a very small hind drawn in outline, a style of which there are hardly any other instances here, and (2) to the left of a pretty hind in bright red, a smaller one without head and with very slender legs, overlapped by some undefinable animal with large head belonging to the Fifth Series.

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FOURTH SERIES : RED BROWN FIGURES

This series comprises a great many of the figures best in the artistic sense, and also a certain number of small finely drawn signs.

At the top of the Ist Panel a certain motive occurs twice (Fig. 36); it represents a human couple standing with raised arms facing one another, surrounded by a line in the shape of a nearly closed circular arch; this arch evidently depicts the shelter in which they lived, or possibly this very cave. The theory that marriage rites were sometimes celebrated in painted rock-shelters is supported by the existence of similar drawings of human couples at Los Canforros de Peña Rubia (Sierra Morena), at Peña Escrita de Fuencaliente (where they are also numerous, though very schematic) and in other caves. Between these two couples is a headless bird, running.

In the IInd Panel the red brown figures are more numerous. The large hind in the centre, realistic in treatment, and the one in front of it in a similar style (though much paler) must probably be included in the next series. (1) Close by is an oblong spot, and a very small Y-shaped sign over it. (2) Higher up on the left is a conventional quadruped with oval body and slender head and neck, looking like a bird on four legs. (3) Again a little higher on the left, a semi-realistic stag having two finely drawn antlers with many branches. (4) Near the bottom of the panel, in the centre, two birds: one, like a partridge, without feet and with a tufted tail; the other, with a very long tail, resembles a pheasant or *ganga* (sand grouse). (5) Superposed on the pale red U-shaped figure already mentioned is a little seated human figure with head and arms in the shape of a trefoil like those of the couples in the shelters in Panel I.

Panel III has a very remarkable group of red brown drawings of palmipeds, seven in number, including at least two geese and two ducks; the two uppermost birds seem to be pairing. As pendants to this group are placed on the right a pretty hind, realistic in style, and on the left a somewhat conventionalized ruminant with long slender legs and neck, like a stag's, but with simple pointed horns more like those of an ibex.

In the IVth Panel the figures of this series are more numerous. (1) In the middle is a large flock of birds in four files of unequal length (Fig. 14); the first consists of eight small birds, possibly chickens, following three much larger ones, of which the two foremost are undoubtedly bustards; the last of the second row is a minute undefinable quadruped, in front of which walks a bird with quite a distinct tail; then comes another with no legs and a very hooked beak; the next is a mere arch-like spot with a dot for a head, and in front of this is a duck or goose with only rudiments of legs and outstretched neck; then, after a gap, between the legs of the two large bustards is another chicken (?), with head down as if searching for food. The third row ends under the last of the three large birds and has eight figures, of which the third and fifth are geese, and the foremost resembles an avocet and seems to have picked up a worm in its long up-turned bill. The fourth row contains five figures; the first (on the right) is very schematic; the second and fourth are geese. Against the tail of the last-named is a minute figure like a triangular barbed arrow-head. (2) Behind this last row in a fainter colour may be seen two geese without legs, perhaps belonging to the preceding series. (3) Vertically beneath and similar to these last are two others by themselves, also rather faint in colour, close to some very faded figures of the next series. (4) A little above

the one on the left is a small very schematic stag in shape somewhat like the letter m, the right limb of which represents the lowered head; this is pear-shaped with two small ears and from the neck spring pectinate antlers. (5) High up on the left is another very important group (Fig. 20, Nos. 12 to 23) of seventeen birds, dominated by an eagle at the top, with characteristic short neck and hooked beak, walking to the right; below him is a flamingo, easily recognizable by his sharply bent beak and long neck and legs, and on the right of the group another, standing with bent neck in a familiar attitude. Between these two is a schematic bird, and on the left, in an oblique line, are four birds, much alike, that seem also to be flamingoes though less carefully drawn; beside them are three small figures consisting of mere oval spots with rudimentary necks. At the lower right-hand side are two ducks pairing, then a little further down a goose (?), less well preserved, and two wading birds, one of which with long curved beak may be an ibis or a curlew. (6) At the end of this group of birds and in the same colour is a male figure of some importance as a clue to determining the date of these paintings (Fig. 35, No. 3). It represents an upright man, seen full face, rather realistic in style, with large high head, naked except for a girdle round the waist (indicated by a small projection on either hip) and holding in his right hand a hafted axe with broad edge and in his left a short round-headed club; close by is a flying bird with sharp beak, large crest and tail, probably a hoopoe. (7) Just below a moorhen of the Fifth Series is a small solitary duck running to the right, and (8) in the same vertical line, but much lower down, is a pretty drawing of a curlew or ibis, rather large; it has a curved beak, one foot has four separate toes, and the other has five, arranged like the grains in an ear of corn, three in front and two behind. (9) Close to this bird, still lower down, is a group of minute human figures, of which only the five upper belong to this series (Fig. 38); the first on the left, a man, comparatively realistic, seems to be dragging with the right hand a heavy pear-shaped object looking like a sack; in the middle a mother holds her child by the hand; above her is a fourth figure, without feet and with arched arms, one of which is prolonged into a slender curved object rather thicker at the end; the fifth figure is reduced to a round spot with V-shaped legs. (10) To the left of this group is another collection of small pectiforms or schematic animals, amongst them a stag with bushy antlers and another animal with simple divergent horns pointing upwards and forwards. (11) On the right of the ibis (No. 8 above) is a figure of doubtful meaning, composed of an upright stem supporting a six-lobed palmate leaf. (12) At the bottom of the panel on the left, between two pectiform animals of the following series, is a very small animal, which perhaps should be included here, having three feet, a short upturned tail, and long muzzle and ears; and some way higher up, at the end of the big zigzag and possibly belonging to the preceding series, is a goose or swan with disproportionately large tail.

The Vth Panel on the other hand is very poor in drawings of the Red Brown Series. At most we can find one, namely a perched eagle, seen from in front, close to the group of flamingoes already described, but on the other side of the long zigzag.

In the VIth Panel we find the following figures of this series: (1) at the bottom in the centre, a pectiform ibex in fine lines; (2) a little to the left, a very pretty drawing of

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a stork, and some spots; and (3) below the belly of the large yellow hind near the centre, a very small human figure with long arched arms curving down almost to the feet.

At the extreme left edge of the VIIth Panel is a little bird running and some much-faded traces of a wading bird.

FIFTH SERIES : BRIGHT RED FIGURES

The paintings of this series vary considerably in strength of colour, many being much faded, while others approach in tint those of the following series, to which they are from the artistic point of view closely related. There is, however, no doubt whatever that the bright red figures with which we are now dealing are in the main earlier than those of the Sixth (or Purple Brown) Series.

In the Ist Panel we find only one figure belonging to this series, namely a very schematic quadruped with short upturned tail and small head.

In the IInd they are fairly numerous and consist of : (1) in the middle on the right, a large hind or horse already referred to, running to the right, semi-realistic in style, with small ears and very large tail. (2) Immediately following this is a similar animal, rather better drawn, and with smaller tail, in which one seems to see the same hand; this figure, however, judging by its colour, might equally well be placed in the Fourth Series. (3) At the bottom of the panel are many pectiform animals and some horizontal strokes; a pectiform ibex with long low horns; a pectiform animal without head; a smaller animal with two little straight horns stands between this and another headless pectiform; immediately below the latter, a very faded pectiform animal with long arched neck but no head, overlapped by a tail-less 'fox' of the following series; over this, a large pectiform quadruped with long straight ears, above which is a figure that may be either a woman or a flying bird; it has a round head without neck, thick body narrowed at the waist, and two long symmetrical branches representing arms or extended wings. Below on the left is a schematic animal of the dog family, with pectiform body, pointed muzzle, very long erect ears and long slender tail; and left of this again, two pectiform ibexes (one in fine lines) with short, erect, slightly curved horns; they face a small human figure with round head and short thick lobes for arms and legs, like those of the figures of the Second Series in the panel on the left of the entrance.

In the IIIrd Panel we find the following : (1) on the right, a sort of bar, pointed at one end and hooked at the other, and two schematic figures, namely a man with triangular head and bent arms, and an ibex which he seems to be hitting with a curved weapon. (2) In the centre, a large schematic animal, with horns or erect ears, in very bright red, probably one of the latest of the series. (3) On the left, near the edge of the panel, overlying some white figures, a schematic hind and a stelliform sign, both a good deal faded; (4) to the left of the large 'sun', a big misshapen hind, with a comparatively realistic head, confused with another smaller and perhaps earlier red hind.

The IVth Panel contains a large number of figures belonging to the Fifth Series, some closely resembling those of the preceding and others those of the following series. They are as follows: (1) high on the right, above three rows of dots belonging to the Sixth Series, three birds following one another; they are probably geese, and

one has three legs. (2) Below the dots is a very faded schematic ibex; (3) still lower, a three-legged pectiform animal with vertical head, erect ears, and short tail; (4) below this again, a pectiform ibex, with very long body, five short legs and V-shaped head and horns, is painted over a white sign and some remains of a small yellow figure, and close by are some strokes of no apparent meaning. (5) To the left of the three birds (No. 1) is a seated human figure (?) reduced to a bent stroke with round head; it overlaps the upper edge of the white rayed circle enclosing human symbols. (6) To the left of this, overlapped by a flying bird of the following series, are several long and short bars, a three-legged stag (?) with one forward-curving antler, a π , and a pectiform partly scaled off. (7) At the extreme left upper corner is the forepart of a schematic ibex with long arched horns, overlapped by a long-tailed schematic animal of the next series. (8) Below this, intermediate in colour between this series and the following, is a rectangle with six cross-pieces, flanked symmetrically on each side by a schematic animal, perhaps a stag and a hind; the upright side-pieces, as well as the horizontal bars of this figure, which may possibly represent a trap, are pectinate, or notched (Fig. 39); and (9) lower down, in the same intermediate tint, is a figure composed of two vertical and ten pairs of horizontal strokes. Similar signs have been found in a number of rock-shelters in Central Spain, for instance at Peña Escrita. (10) In the middle of the panel, partly in one colour and partly in the other, is a semi-realistic stag, much obliterated, with very large antlers; above his back are (11) two wading birds, probably cranes, of a purer red, one with ball-like feet; in their semi-realistic style they approach the figures of the preceding series. (12) Below the stag is another bird (?), with almost human legs, a hanging wing (?), and long horizontal beak, and, immediately to its right, the head of an ibex, seen full face and prolonged vertically downwards as if to complete the body of a small animal with slender legs belonging to the Third Series; overlapping this, the beak of a bird with swan-like neck, joined to two curved strokes of a browner colour, pointed at their other ends. (13) Between the stag and the large purple ibex (starting from the neck of the latter) one finds a pectiform animal with minute erect tail, short head, pointed muzzle, and small raised ears; then a semi-realistic bird in a paler red, which Colonel Verner was probably right in taking for a moorhen; it has long legs with very long slender toes, upturned tail, longish neck and an oval head with indistinct beak. The last two figures are painted over some white signs. Just below is a three-toothed pectiform with arched back. (14) Under the belly of the large purple brown ibex, and overlapped by it, is a vertical red line, and next to it a bird composed of a big dot for the body, a smaller one for the head and two unequal strokes for the legs; between the tail and the hind legs of the ibex is a much simplified bird, walking, its legs like an inverted V; and below the hind legs of the ibex a human symbol with round head and widely extended arms and legs. (15) Behind the same large ibex, towards the left lower corner of the panel, a pectiform ibex or stag in strong colour, also another much faded; then, again in strong colour, a rather clumsy drawing of a wading bird having three-toed feet, long curving neck, and head with short thick beak; immediately on its left is an inverted human symbol, without head, composed of two arches, one within the other, joined by a short axis. (16) At the bottom of the panel, beneath the large ibex, an

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incomplete drawing, perhaps of a stag, consisting of neck, part of the body, and the two forelegs slightly bent at the knees. (17) In the middle, at the bottom, just over the little human figures, a small pectiform animal with four teeth (of which the head forms one) and erect horns or ears. (18) Right at the bottom of the panel are several clumsily drawn birds which may belong to the preceding series, namely a goose or swan, and to its right a wading bird, with horizontal sinuous neck, apparently holding something in its beak, then a third, with a short neck and two beaks, one of which is open and points backwards. It is questionable whether (19) the three swans, swimming, in the centre of the panel and the two serpents (Fig. 32) below the feet of the large purple ibex should be included in this series or in the Fourth. (20) To the right of the large pectiform animal above the fine pale red drawing of the 'hut', and undoubtedly belonging to this series, is a large pectiform ibex, with long tail and erect horns, much faded, as are also the two figures on its left, namely a pectiform with two long and two short legs and curving horn, and an upright line with a double cross-piece at the top. (21) Below the last-mentioned pectiform ibex, in a stronger colour, which approaches that of the next series, is a very schematic animal having three short legs, a short pointed head, two huge horns or ears and a long tail broken towards the end; beneath the tip of its tail is a V-shaped sign.

In the Vth Panel there are far fewer bright red drawings; they are as follows: (1) separating this panel from the IVth, a long irregular zigzagging band, interrupted at one point. (2) Towards the middle of this band, in very bright red, a pectiform figure with three sloping teeth. (3) A little to the left, overlapped by an armless female figure of the next series, a schematic fox, much faded, with big ears and long slanting tail. (4) In front of the latter, rather lower down, in a much brighter colour, a pectiform dog, or other carnivore, with short upturned tail, long head, open mouth, and straight ears. (5) Below, a complicated symmetrical figure, possibly intended for a flying bird; it consists of a central π , from which a long winding line or zigzag descends on each side. (6) Close by, overlapping a white sign, but itself overlapped by a large male figure of the next series, is a female symbol in which the upper part of the body is reduced to a mere bar and the legs to an arch with pointed ends; the sex is exaggerated with clearly marked details. The bright red figures become more numerous towards the bottom of the panel. To continue: (7) below the hind legs of the large purple brown stag is a schematic hind (?), with long tail and low pointed ears; to its left, a schematic dog (?) with very slender pointed muzzle, huge erect ears, and short drooping tail; then a schematic stag with long simple horns; below its belly is a U-shaped sign of the same date. (8) Lower down is a large, semi-conventionalized hind having ball-like feet, very small tail and a wide open mouth with disproportionately long lower jaw; immediately below this, another semi-conventionalized hind, smaller and less clumsy; to its right, another, facing right, with rather good head and the two forelegs, and behind them four more legs, small and badly drawn; this hind is intermediate in colour between this series and the next. (9) In the extreme left lower corner may be seen a much-faded drawing of a swan, which seems to have on its back another bird, with round head and short thick beak; this may be intended for an eagle attacking the swan. (10) Above, in very strong colour, a much simplified

S-shaped animal with ear and rudimentary leg; and (11) in front of the breast of the very large stag, two pectiform animals, much faded, each with five short legs.

In the VIth Panel there are again a great many drawings of this Bright Red Series, namely: (1) a very compact group in the upper right-hand corner, containing, besides a few dots, the following figures; a seven-rayed star; a schematic quadruped, perhaps a dog, with small body, short upturned tail, long neck, large head with narrow muzzle, bigger at the end, and long curved ears; over its back are a number of oblique parallel brush strokes; in front of the so-called 'dog' is an incomplete female figure apparently wearing a dress and with one arm only, which seems to be carrying some burden; below the 'dog', in brighter colour, a three-legged pectiform animal with curved body and arch-like head; behind it, in the same strong colour, a clumsily drawn wading bird, perhaps an avocet, with long upward-curving beak; on the right of the pectiform animal is a female figure, with arms in the form of an arch, pointed head, body narrowed at the waist, and mere lobes in the place of legs, also a small sign close by, in the form of an inverted Y, which seems to represent the child that she has just brought forth; this drawing, which is in very strong colour, is rather later than those round it, and overlaps a faded red line; to the right is a pectiform animal, in nearly the same colour, with short ear, one foreleg, a big ventral swelling and a single hind leg forming an inverted V with the large drooping tail; below, in paler colour, an uncouth schematic animal with two heavy legs, short muzzle, ears and tail; to its left, a very clumsily drawn bird with thick arched beak, short neck, and heavy sagging body, possibly a vulture. (2) To the left, over the large purple brown stags, and, like them, painted on the top of a white sign, is a realistic human figure, naked and sexless, walking to the right, with round head, arms extended in the shape of a wide arch, prominent buttocks and long legs; (3) on the left of the panel, half-way up, a much-faded pectiform animal, the head of which has been obliterated; and (4) below the big archer of the next series, a realistic drawing of an ibex (?) running to the left, with upright divergent horns, curving in again at their tips.

In the VIIth Panel we find the following drawings: (1) a large hind, quite realistic in style, running to the right. (2) In a colour intermediate between those of this and the following series, a very badly drawn schematic hind, with a thick vertical stroke through the middle of its body; an animal, with large head and small erect ears, that seems to be painted over a headless schematic hind, perhaps of the Third Series; and a bustard, fairly well drawn, but with too thick legs. (3) Some way to the right of the large hind, a figure like the ace of spades with axis prolonged downwards. (4) Towards the bottom of the panel, a small semi-realistic hind standing, and another running to the right, badly proportioned, with long deformed body and very short legs.

SIXTH SERIES: PURPLE BROWN FIGURES

The paintings of this series are red or wine-coloured brown, sometimes violet in tint, and consist of extremely conventionalized figures of men and animals. Except for the very marked preponderance of animal over human subjects, they do not differ from the mass of rock paintings of Central Spain.

In the ISt Panel we find no paintings of this series. In the IIInd they are as follows:

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(1) towards the top, a curved band with two short projections on one side. (2) Three pectiform animals, with knotted legs, of which two are ibex or goat, and the third has ears and a long tail; also several lines near them. (3) Facing the last pectiform animal, to the left, another quadruped, perhaps a fox, with a long tail, thicker towards the end, and two enormous ears; behind it, a V, a T, and a small figure shaped like a palm leaf; and in front, lower down, a pectiform ibex, in thinner lines, with long tail and five teeth for the muzzle and the legs. (4) Towards the bottom on the right, a very conventional human symbol, somewhat violet in colour, with Y-shaped head, outstretched sloping arms and short arch-like legs. (5) To the left of this, higher up, three red brown schematic animals, the first two a little faded, namely a fox (?) with long swelling brush, and a horned (?) beast with big tail, and over these a third animal, undefinable, without tail, ears, or horns; and more to the left, a few strokes or bars. (6) Towards the bottom of the panel, a tail-less schematic animal, whose head, with long muzzle and low pointed ears, resembles that of a fox.

In Panel III we find the following: (1) below the 'moon', to the right, a small three-legged animal, a good deal faded, with round head and broad ears. (2) Between the 'moon' and the big 'sun', a similar small animal formed of eight separate dots; we may probably include here also (3) two brown figures of an unusual walnut tint on the right of the 'sun', namely a large pectiform creature with nine legs, two of which have cloven hoofs, and in front of it a goose, walking, with outstretched neck.

The IVth Panel comprises a large number of drawings in this series, namely: (1) in the upper right-hand corner a six-legged pectiform animal, without head (?). (2) To its left, a sign of doubtful meaning, resembling a butterfly with four pointed wings and long antennae. (3) Immediately to the left, a schematic stag, with four ball-like feet and muzzle ending in a large round knob; its antlers have only faint indications of branches. (4) To the left again, a big ibex, in a less conventional style, with two horns springing from a single stem, and (5) vertically above it, a three-legged animal with two large broad ears. (6) To the left of the ibex just mentioned but on a lower level, can be made out (though damaged by scaling of the rock surface) two legs of a stag (?), and a three-legged stag with pectinate antlers, the tines of which, contrary to the usual custom, are drawn pointing backwards. (7) A little lower, to the right, a schematic bird with a hook for the head and neck, and an arch divided by an upright line for the wings, body, and tail. (8) Below the lines of walking birds of the Fourth Series may be seen, from right to left, a triple row of dots superposed on a faded schematic animal in bright red; then two very schematic ibexes (?) following one another; the larger has four legs, long tail, and two big horns curving backwards, the second three legs and nearly straight horns. These are superposed on some white signs, as are also a reversed S (immediately above the second ibex) with a bracket-like extension, and some spots below in the same colour. (9) On the lowest level, a clumsily drawn bird, duck or goose, walking; behind it, several bars and faint traces of three large incomplete pectiform animals. (10) To the left, superposed on the light red drawing of a 'hut', is a goat or ibex, more realistic in style, with five legs and head turned as if looking backwards. (11) Above this is a large pectiform animal, with five legs and two ears, then to the left another, also with five legs and with body in two

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parts joined together by a round spot; the head is detached and has two long horns sharply bent backwards. (12) In the left lower corner, painted over a big white sign, is a large ibex, in brown of a strongly violet tinge, with a very long whip-like tail resembling that of an ox, long legs with distinct feet, one of which is cloven, ears and long curving horns, one springing from the middle of the muzzle; this figure, which overlies some bright red signs, is probably one of the latest of the series. (13) To the right, superposed on a white pectiform sign, a male human figure in violet brown, with minute legs, long sloping outstretched arms, a distinct hand, very long neck wearing some sort of collar or necklace and ending in a flattened disk surmounted by a bird's head, worn as a mask. (14) Below, a clumsy figure of a male bustard, strutting, with very long neck, bent backwards, and open beak. (15) Over the hind quarters of the big ibex, two clumsy drawings of birds walking, perhaps of a rather earlier date. (16) In the left upper corner, superposed on a faded schematic ibex in bright red, a quadruped with great long sloping tail and head ending in a long curved beak.

The Vth Panel is almost as rich as the IVth in drawings of this series: (1) overlying a white spot and the large group of yellow dots is a big schematic stag, with antlers formed of two upright stems bearing five tiers of horizontal tines which extend both forwards and backwards, and a little lower down, an isolated bar. (2) To the left of the stag is a five-toothed pectiform animal, and (3) vertically beneath the stag, overlapping a schematic animal in bright red, is a woman walking to the left, with oval head, square shoulders, no arms, prominent belly, curved legs, and one foot resembling a three-pronged fork, with a fourth toe on one side, like a thumb. (4) A little to the left, in a strong wine colour, partly overlapping an incomplete female symbol of the previous series, is a male figure having a head with two long lateral projections; the arms hang down, slightly bent, there is a swelling at the waist, and the phallus (a prolongation of the axis of the body) shows the incision of the glans; the short legs are extended and one is lobed or notched on its inner side. (5) Close by on the left, painted over some white signs, which show through more or less, is a very large stag with immense antlers and exaggerated indication of sex; between its legs is a small rather naturalistic drawing of a goat, with head turned back and four cloven hoofs, and, beneath, her kid, much simplified, stretching its head towards the udder. Over the stag's back, in feebler colour, is a large schematic hind with long horizontal tail; and (6) towards the bottom of the panel, and in a paler colour (perhaps due to their position near the ground, as explained on p. 14), are three long pectiform animals with numerous short, or very short, legs.

In the VIth Panel the drawings of this series, though very remarkable, are less numerous. They are as follows: (1) in the centre of the panel, painted over a large cluster of white signs, are two big schematic stags, very much alike as regards their bodies, upright legs and necks, horizontal ears, and carriage of the head; the tines of the upper one are pectinate, while those of the lower are irregular. The latter is closely followed by an archer; his head is round and shows the projection of the occiput, the hips are angular, and in one of the legs the knee and ankle are indicated. The right arm hangs down, and there are two left arms holding the bow, in the middle of which may be seen a rudimentary arrow. (2) Above, overlapping the antler of the clumsy yellow stag, a very schematic ibex is placed vertically. (3) Behind the

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archer, another pectiform animal having ears and muzzle, but no tail. (4) Right at the bottom, a kind of bird with three legs. (5) Some way to the left, in brown, like the colour of walnut, a rather large hind with short legs and bent neck, clumsily drawn in a somewhat naturalistic style. (6) To the left, a little higher, in the same colour, a bird with pear-shaped body and long curved neck, probably a goose; these last two figures are perhaps of an earlier date.

There are only a few figures of this series in the VIIth Panel. They consist of: (1) at the extreme left, near the ground, much effaced, a schematic stag with branching antlers, and another animal, perhaps also a stag, with lowered head and a simple horn; also some other signs too much obliterated to make out. (2) High up, some way to the left of the large running hind, a schematic animal, possibly a stag, having three legs and a single horn, without branches, bent sharply forwards.

SEVENTH SERIES: PINK FIGURES

This last series comprises only three figures, all very schematic. Judging by the freshness of their colour they are later than any of the other drawings in the cave. Two of them are in the roof panel (No. III), namely an anchor-like sign of human origin on the right of the big yellow 'sun'; and, separated from the latter by the large brown nine-legged pectiform, a cruciform sign with long stem, flanked symmetrically on either side at the bottom by a big round spot; this sign is likewise derived from the human form. The same remark applies to the third figure, behind the large yellow stag with crook-shaped antler in the VIth Panel, which resembles a leaf composed of six leaflets in pairs and a seventh axial leaflet for the head. Signs similar to this exist at Navajo, not far from Fuencaliente (Sierra Morena), and at Las Moriscas de Helechal near Badajoz (Estremadura), where their human significance is evident.

NOTE. The reader will doubtless have been struck by the large proportion of bird drawings in this cave, amounting to more than a third of the whole. This is especially interesting in view of the fact that elsewhere, with the exception of a few in the neighbouring caves of El Arco (pp. 40, 41, 42), Palomas IV (p. 54), El Mediano (p. 69), and of a single instance in the Sierra Morena, paintings of birds are almost unknown in this Art Group. The cave of Las Figuras is however only some 8 Km. from the shores of the extensive Laguna de la Janda, a lake that plays a large part in the lives of innumerable waterfowl and other birds in their migrations from Africa to the north of Europe and vice versa. Its size varies with the season, and large areas flooded in winter become covered in spring with tall reeds and rushes which form the nesting-place of many birds while others build in the rocks overlooking the valley. It is not surprising therefore that the prehistoric men of this district should have attempted to reproduce the great variety of bird life by which they were surrounded; the wonder is rather that, as already stated, it is practically only in this one place that birds are represented at all.

The Cave of Las Figuras contains in all 507 drawings, of which 178 are birds, 84 stags or hinds, 14 ibexes or goats, 56 men, 103 schematic animals, 11 carnivora, 5 serpents (?), 3 huts (?), 5 stelliform figures, and 48 other signs. The birds include 28 bustards, 25 geese, 25 ducks, 8 flamingoes, 8 cranes, 7 swans, 9 wading birds of different sorts, 4 ibises or curlews, 3 large birds of prey (eagles ?), 3 crows (?), 2 partridges, 2 storks, 1 vulture, 1 spoonbill, 1 snipe, 1 moorhen, 1 sand-grouse, 1 sand-grouse or pheasant, and 1 avocet. (Cf. H. Breuil, *Oiseaux peints à l'époque néolithique sur les roches de la province de Cadix*, IPEK, 1925, i, pp. 47-50). Most of these are reproduced in Figs. 14 to 25, while Fig. 26 shows birds from the Cave of El Arco. Drawings of animals and men from Figuras are grouped in Figs. 27 to 38.

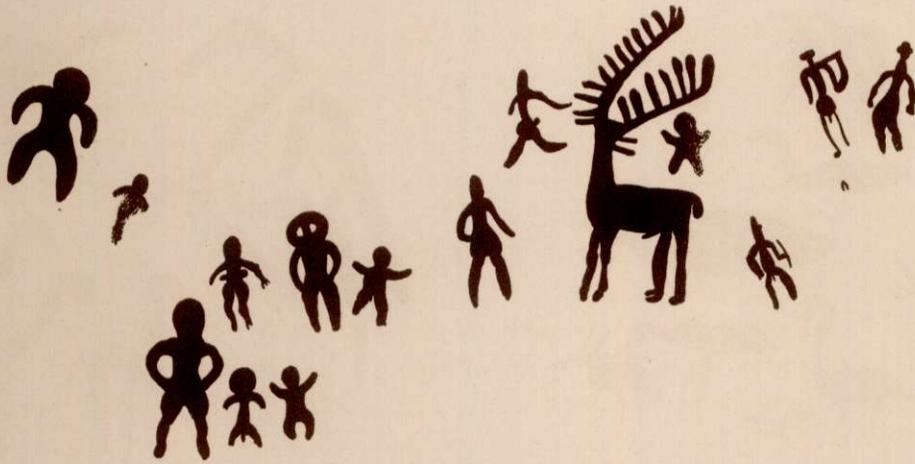


Fig. 13. Entrance to Figuras, left side. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

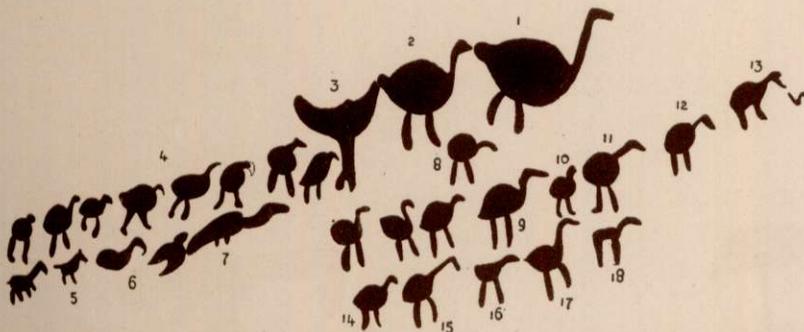


Fig. 14. Birds in files in Panel IV: Large Bustards followed by their chicks? (1 to 4, also 8, 10, 14, 16); Crow? (5); Geese and Ducks (7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 17, 18); Avocet picking up a worm (13). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

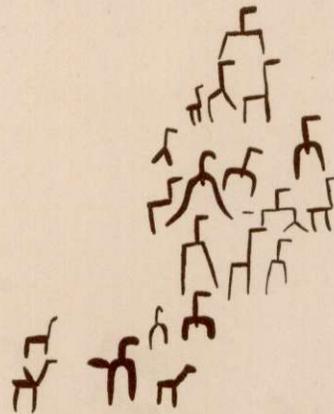


Fig. 15. Group of conventionalized Birds in Panel IV, standing and in flight. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

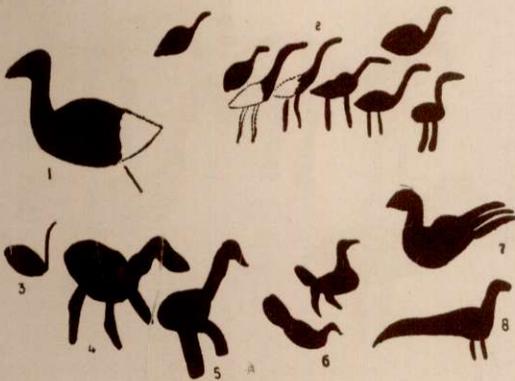


Fig. 16. Group of Birds in Panel IV including three Geese, four Cranes, and a Stork (2); Geese and Ducks (1, 3, 4, 5); Partridges, cock and hen (6); Gangas or Pheasants (7, 8). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

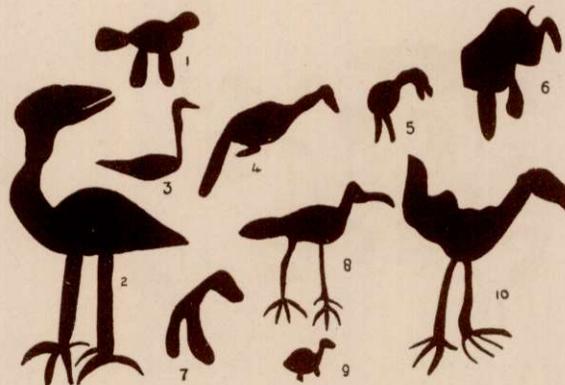


Fig. 17. Crow? (1); Goose or Duck (2); Swans (3, 4); Crane? (6); Duck? (7); Ibis or Curlew (8); Moorhen (10). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

CAVES OF LAS FIGURAS

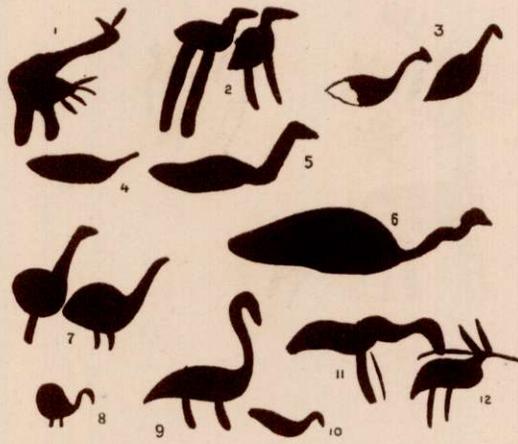


Fig. 18. Bustard, strutting (1); Cranes or Wading Birds (2); Geese (3, 7, 8, 10); three Swans in line (4, 5, 6) and a fourth (9); Wading Birds, one with long open beak turned back, disputing some object with one another (11, 12). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

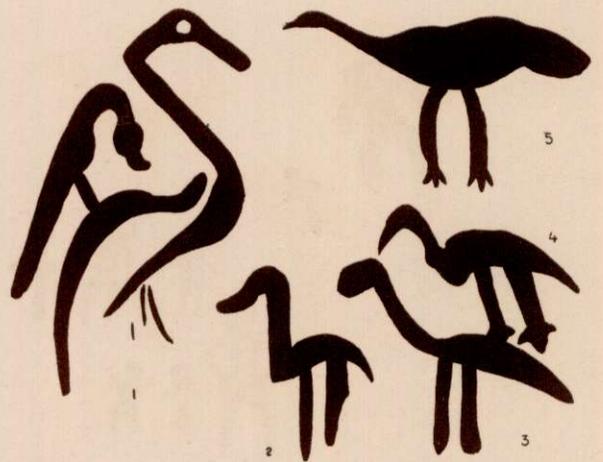


Fig. 19. Swan and Flamingo (1); Duck (2); two Vultures? (3, 4); Large Bustard (5). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

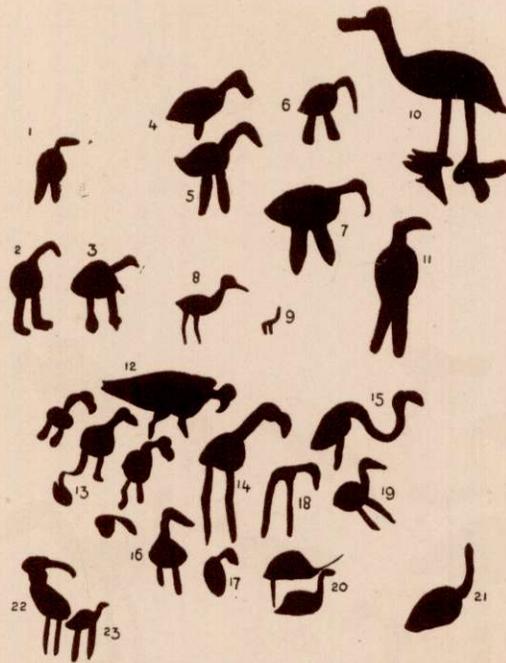


Fig. 20. Wading Bird (1); Bustards? (2, 3, 23); Ducks (4, 16 to 21); Goose (5); Ibis or Curlew (6, 7, 22); Snipe (8); minute schematic bird (9); Duck, or according to Col. Werner, Spoon-bill (10); Eagle and Vulture? (11, 12); Five Flamingoes (13 to 15). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

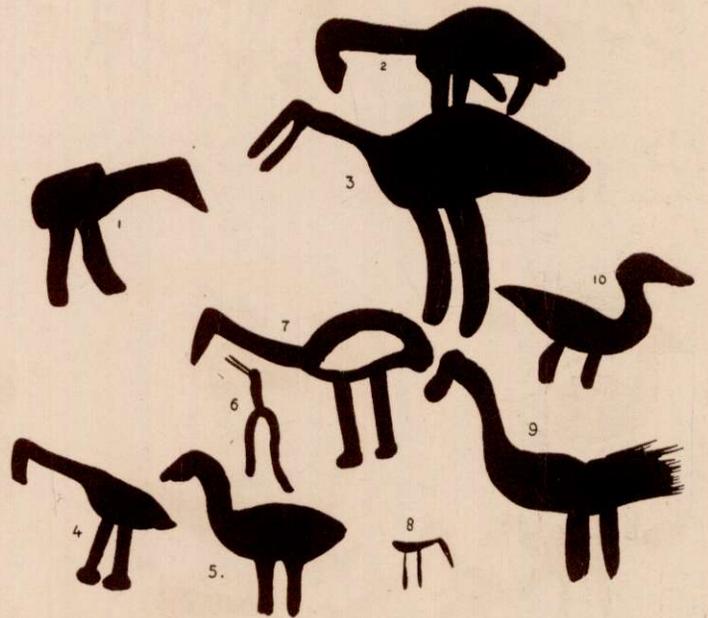


Fig. 21. Geese (5, 7); Ducks (1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10); conventionalized Wading Birds (6, 8). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

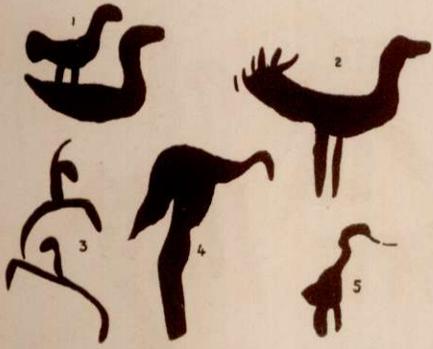


Fig. 22. Ducks (1); male Bustard (2); schematic birds in flight (3); Crane (4); Avocet (5). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 23. Birds in flight. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

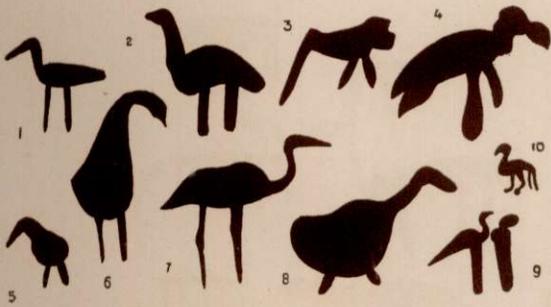


Fig. 24. Storks (1, 7); Geese (2, 6, 8); Wading Birds (3, 4, 5, 9, 10). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

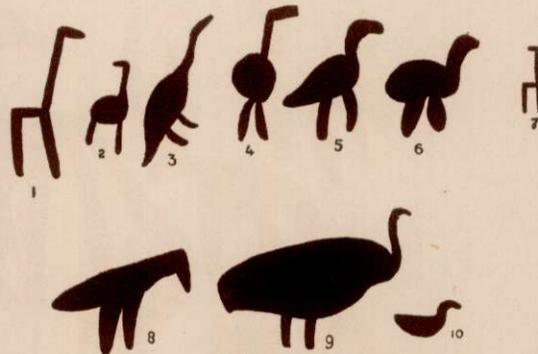


Fig. 25. Geese or Ducks (2 to 6, 10); conventionalized Wading Birds (1, 7); Crow? (8); Bustard (9). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 26. Cueva del Arco. Bustard and Swan enclosed in circle (1: see p. 41); Bustards (2, 4, 6?); Swan? (3); Goose (5). Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 27. This and the three following figures show drawings of animals from all parts of the Cave. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

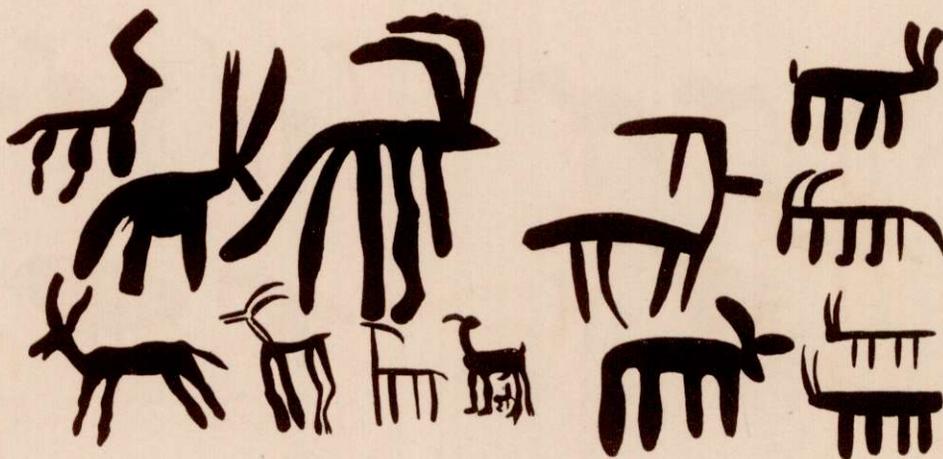


Fig. 28. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 29. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.

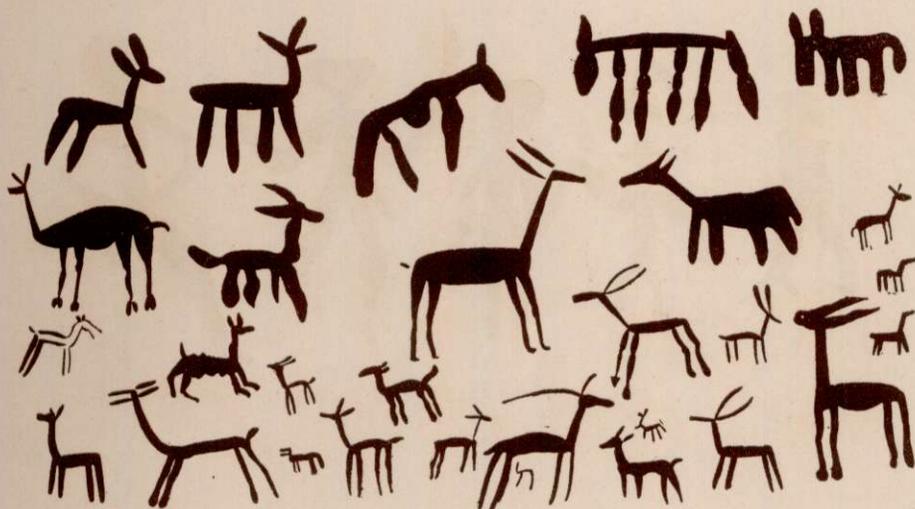


Fig. 30. Scale about $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 31. Group in Panel II. Scale about $\frac{2}{5}$.



Fig. 32. Snakes, Panel IV. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



Fig. 33. Group in Panel V. Scale about $\frac{1}{5}$.



Fig. 34. In this figure and the next are reproduced most of the human drawings in the Cave. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

CAVE OF LAS FIGURAS

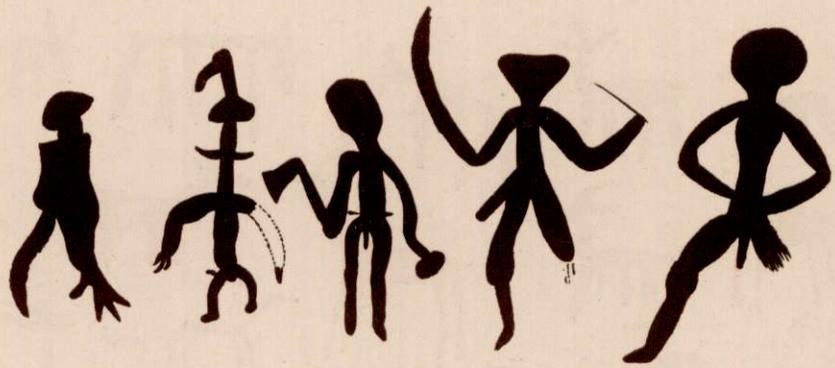


Fig. 35. Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

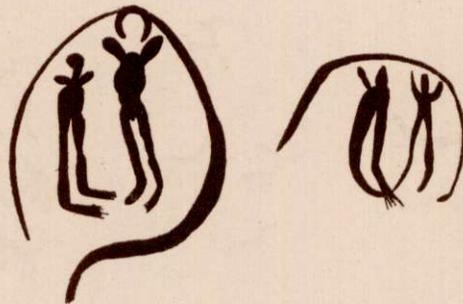


Fig. 36. Marriage Rites? see p. 20.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

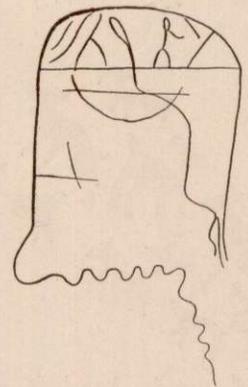


Fig. 37. 'Hut', p. 18.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

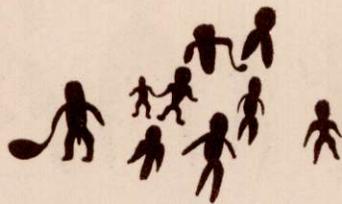


Fig. 38. Group in Panel IV.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.

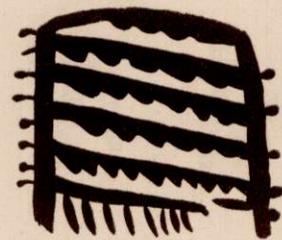


Fig. 39. Trap? p. 23.
Scale $\frac{1}{4}$.



General view of the Tajo de las Figuras from the south-west, showing the position of the cave of Las Figuras (p. 11)

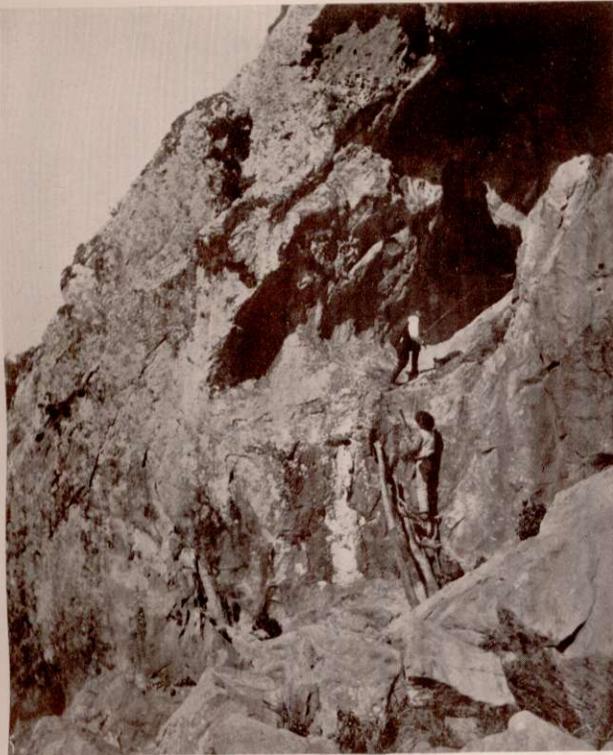


Near view of the Tajo de las Figuras from the south-west. The cave of Las Figuras is indicated by simple arrows, that of El Arco by double-headed arrows



View of the Tajo de las Figuras from the north, showing the cave of Los Cochinos (p. 39)

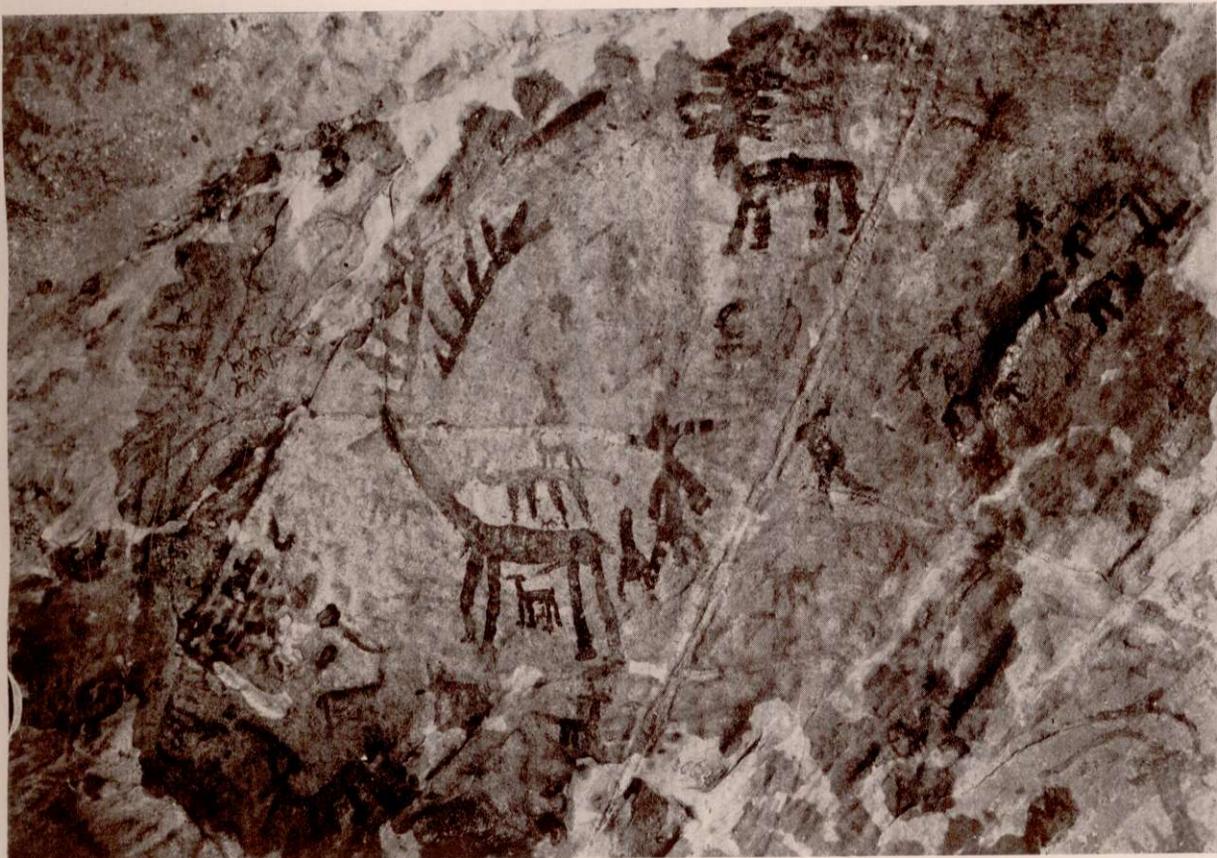
PLATE III



Figuras, entrance to cave (p. 11)



Figuras, Panel VI (p. 27)



Figuras, Panel V (p. 27)

PLATE IV



Figuras, entrance, right side (p. 12) ; see Frontispiece



Figuras, Panel IV (p. 27)

III

OTHER PAINTED CAVES OF THE SIERRA MOMIA

LAS Figuras is by no means the only rock-shelter in this district that has been painted by prehistoric man, and we will now describe others in and around the Sierra Momia. The rocky crest known as the Tajo de las Figuras contains, besides the Cave of Las Figuras itself, two other painted caves, namely those of El Arco and Los Cochinos. Close by are the Cuevas Negra, de la Paja, and de los Pilonos,¹ and there is another cave to the WNW., not more than 800 m. away, above the *cortijo* of Luis Lázaro. Two more, namely the Cueva Negra de las Pradillas and the Cueva del Tajo Amarillo, lie close to the source of the Garganta de Gallardo, which cuts through the south-western slope of the chain 3 Km. from the Tajo Figuras; and about 2 Km. farther on, immediately after the Garganta del Cuerno, is a third group, that of Pretina. Between the last two groups are the caves of El Levante, only one of which contains paintings, and the cave of El Hoyuelo, less than 2 Km. to the north-east. We will commence our description with the Pretina Caves at the northern end of the chain. These caves stand side by side in the upper edge of a sandstone stratum tilted towards the south-west, and face therefore to the north-east.

PRETINA I (Plates v, x, Map B)

Ascending the Garganta del Cuerno one first reaches the beautiful Pretina I, a fine round and lofty cavern with a wide opening. Over the whole of the high broad wall at the back extends a long band of dots; it starts on the left with a group of dots in three rows close together, then come three rows, one above the other but farther apart, and these are followed by a very long single row, doubled however at each end and towards the middle. Here and there this long row is interrupted by a single or double upright bar, and in one place by a group of figures. On the right it joins a large cluster of big dots arranged in fourteen very unequal rows. Still more to the right is a group of isolated dots.

On the right of this large cluster is superimposed in a stronger colour a pectiform with ten teeth crowded together; its horizontal line ends on the right in a reversed Z representing head and neck. Very high up in the centre are portions of two conventional animals, the hind quarters of one and the forepart of the other; the latter has two horns curved the opposite way to those of an ibex, and may represent a stag with non-branching antlers. Towards the left are several other animal figures; a head with curved muzzle and two long ears; a headless animal with two pairs of thin legs; a stag's antlers with small pectinate tines; a large schematic animal with its four legs in the air, thick bent tail and two short ears.

The human symbols, few in number, are all much conventionalized. Towards the bottom is a group of four, apparently holding each other by the hand. One is completely drawn, with head and small, but quite distinct, arms and legs; that on the right is similar, but smaller and less detailed, while the two on the left, reduced to

¹ See sketch plan, Fig. 12, p. 10.

OTHER PAINTED CAVES OF THE SIERRA MOMIA

mere bars with Y-shaped and trefoil tops, are of doubtful significance. All four are joined transversely by a horizontal line. Above these is a figure of a man in shape like a curved sword, the round pommel representing his head and the hilt his arms; a curved line, slightly bent towards the top, seems to indicate a bow held in the left hand. Beside him is another, with T-shaped head, V-shaped legs, and a sloping lateral stroke for the phallus. In the middle of the long line of dots is still another male symbol having a small trefoil representing the head and arms, horseshoe legs, and a large medial phallus. This figure is surrounded by various signs of uncertain meaning, such as an E, a simple π , another with an oblique stroke inside it, and a series of bars irregularly grouped on either side of two parallel lines. At the very top of the panel is a large trefoil, possibly also human.

Over the long row of dots are three hands, two in the middle (one above the other) and a third to the right. The upper one lacks the thumb, while that on the right has a thumb and only two fingers. These hands are not impressions of actual hands, like the red hand of Altamira and those of Australia, California, &c.; they are not prints, but drawings of hands, more or less analogous to certain positive hands of Aurignacean times. Though unique in rock art, we do not regard them as belonging to a different age from that of the neighbouring neolithic or Copper Age drawings.

On the left of the large frieze, lower down, are a number of conventional figures, mostly animals, amongst them a very compact group consisting of a stag on the right, a hind, and three pectiforms (one inverted) which may also represent animals. The meaning of the curved object in the middle is unknown. Below stands a little man with pointed head, legs apart, and raised arms holding a bow over his head. Two other conventional animals, the hind quarters of a third more realistic one, a male figure with trefoil top and legs apart (one flaked off), a bundle of three little zigzagging lines, an inverted π , a sign resembling an Ω , and several bars, complete the group of signs in this lower panel.

PRETINA II (Plate VI, Map B)

This is a mere hole, very difficult to reach, and contains only a single sign at the end, consisting of a vertical axis and arms, one of which is raised and the other horizontal. It is a variety of the anchor-shaped type.

PRETINA III (Plate VI, Map B)

This large cave resembles in general appearance the first of the group. All the paintings are on the left side, either very high up or quite low down. Those above consist of a small animal running to the left, which has lost its head through scaling of the rock, and a large, clumsily drawn hind, somewhat naturalistic in style, with a thick muzzle and mere sticks for legs, one of which shows a distinct cloven hoof.

In the lower frieze the following figures may be seen, reading from left to right: part of a schematic animal, of which only the horizontal line of the body and the hind legs remain, like a pectiform; a human figure seen full face, very faint except for the lower part of the body and the slender legs, wide apart; a semi-naturalistic ibex, moving towards the right, with a single enormous horn curling round in a complete

circle till it almost touches the tail; a larger ibex in the same style, but of different proportions; its horns are less exaggerated, the second being indicated by a fine line; a very schematic drawing, probably of an ibex, without any forelegs; a large schematic ibex with V-shaped horns seen full face; beneath, a little somewhat conventionalized hind in profile; a semi-naturalistic ibex, facing right, its head having disappeared; below this, a double horizontal line of ten and nine dots; some fine lines of doubtful meaning; a sexless man running to the left, with carefully modelled legs and hips, the head transformed into an elongated point and the arms into short lateral points.

PRETINA IV (Plate v, Map B)

This is a simple rock-shelter of little depth with a very sloping floor, on the less exposed part of which are a few imperfectly preserved paintings. Very high on the left, by itself, is a ϕ -shaped man with simplified ansate arms. The other figures are an archer composed only of head, one arm holding the bow, and a short line for the body; several groups of dots to the right; to the left, two parallel zigzags; a square; a very schematic animal with two ears, four legs, and erect tail like a dog's; and a little man, with arched arms and legs and a big head, apparently of earlier date than the circle with central bar (a variety of the ϕ symbol) alongside.

CUEVAS DEL LEVANTE (Plates v, x, Map B)

The caves of El Levante lie between the *gargantas* of Cuerno and Gallardo, at a distance of about 1 Km. from those of Pretina and 4 from the Tajo Figuras. Though like the Pretina caves they are well adapted for shelter or refuge, only one contains a few traces of paintings, consisting of a horizontal band of twenty-four vertical bars, some of which are bent or curved.

CUEVA DEL HOYUELO (Plate v, Map B)

This is a shelter 6 by 8 m., formed by an isolated rock about 2 Km. NW. of the Levante caves. We had no time to visit it ourselves, but a keeper who had watched M. Breuil making his tracings, brought us one that he himself had taken of the only drawing in the place. It is a human symbol, in which the head and arms form a trefoil, and the legs a horizontal line. Beside it is a small D-shaped figure which may be intended for a bow.

CUEVA NEGRA DE LAS PRADILLAS (OR CURTIÓ) (Plate v, Map B)

About 3 Km. from the Tajo Figuras, right at the source of the Garganta de Gallardo, is a small grotto which owing to the narrowness of its opening is half dark, so that the two drawings it contains can only be seen by artificial light. The one on the left in pale red seems to be a very simplified representation of an animal with three legs and a head; the other, in brighter colour 30 cm. to the right, probably also intended for an animal, is more difficult of interpretation. The body consists of a horizontal bar, which cuts two curved lines on the left, possibly meant for the two pairs of limbs; on the right it turns up and ends in a sort of fork, with a downward projection below.

CUEVA DEL TAJO AMARILLO (Plate VII, Map B)

A little lower down the gorge on the same side, i. e. on the left bank, stands a great projecting rock, called the Tajo Amarillo; on the upper side of this, high up above the

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stream, is the wide but shallow shelter of the same name. A considerable part of the surface has been covered with paintings, of which only few remain. Amongst them can be seen traces of a large animal; a schematic ibex with two legs and one horn; part of a rectangle enclosing some irregular spots; a female symbol of the dumb-bell type; two sexless figures with legs apart, one with arms represented by a horizontal stroke, and the other with none; and a figure without legs and with arms in the form of a chevron. Lower down to the right, very faint, an inverted W placed obliquely; a club-shaped figure; a disk; a pectiform; a vertical line with a short horizontal bar on the left; and a human symbol, probably female, with arms raised and legs apart.

CAVE NEAR THE CORTIJO DE LUIS LÁZARO (Plate VIII, Map B)

This *cortijo*, or small farm-house, is about 1 Km. north-west of Tajo Figuras. In the little ravine behind it are numerous caves. One of the highest, on the left, a good 500 m. to the east, with an arch-shaped opening facing east, contains several scarcely visible paintings on a level with the ground. To the left is an animal with long bifurcated tail and erect ears; its pointed muzzle suggests a wolf, and the oblique legs show that it is in motion. In front is a human figure with raised arms, one of whose legs seems to have been seized by the animal; a curved line and short stroke on the right may be intended for a bow and arrow. More to the right is the upper part of an anchor-like human symbol, the arms being represented by two symmetrical arches. The frieze ends with an incomplete figure of a conventional animal of which remain only the tail, one hind leg, part of the body, and the head with two small pointed ears.

CUEVA NEGRA (NEAR TAJO FIGURAS) (Plate V, Fig. 12)

Immediately overlooking the *cerro* of the Tajo Figuras, separated from it only by a col, is a broad deep grotto containing numerous *graffiti* of different ages, and several black figures, which do not appear to be ancient; also a single red symbol in the shape of a Π , with two spots alongside.

CUEVA DE LA PAJA (STRAW) (Plate V, Fig. 12)

This little cave, not far from the last, on the way to the *arroyo* of Los Pilonés, has a very low roof and can only be reached by a narrow passage between two rocks, so that horses and other animals which graze around it are unable to enter.¹ For this reason it has been used as a place to store straw; it also served M. Breuil as a sleeping-place for a fortnight. It contains a single drawing, roughly oval in shape, with a double inverted arch at the upper end. We see no reason to regard this figure as a phallic symbol; in our view it is more probably the representation of a stele with two concentric 'collars'. Close by and a little higher up is another grotto containing some more or less recent drawings in black. On the slope between the two cavities numerous pieces of flint may be found.

¹ In MM. Cabré's and Pacheco's work, referred to in the Note at the end of this Chapter, this cave is called Cueva del Tesoro, a name which does not belong to it, but to the recess on the right of the Figuras cave. It is to the latter that Don Victorio Molina refers as follows in his memorandum to the Real Academia (p. 561): 'in the corner may be seen a rounded stone, apparently placed there for the

express purpose of blocking the entrance to another cave. Veins running at right angles to the line of stratification serve to increase this impression. For this reason, though the stone is wholly natural, it is impossible to convince the herdsmen that it does not conceal vast hoards of gold bars or piles of coins.'

LUIS LÁZARO, PAJA, PILONES, COCHINOS

CUEVA DE LOS PILONES (NEAR TAJO FIGURAS) (Plate V)

Descending the very narrow gorge one reaches, immediately below the cave of La Paja, the *arroyo* of Los Pilones; and, crossing the water, comes upon a small shelter close to the left bank of the stream. Two signs were found there, one 60 cm. above the other; the upper is a simple bar, and the lower a ramiform with three pairs of branches, the base of its axis curving to the right.

CUEVA DE LOS COCHINOS (NEAR TAJO FIGURAS) (Plates II, VI, Fig. 12)

We will now describe the two other caves of the Tajo de las Figuras. Though from the edge of the plain the *tajo* appears very rounded, on the opposite side, where it joins the Cerro Gargantillas, it resembles a crumbling ruin. On the west it rises nearly perpendicularly, while towards the *arroyo* of Los Pilones it descends in a series of irregular steps. Several tombs excavated in the hillsides recall those of Carrizuelo, Bacinete, Betin, and other places. At the foot of the steep rocks on the SSW. are a few herdsmen's huts and a *corral* for goats.

Atmospheric action has eaten away the summit of the *cerro* in an extraordinary way, and left detached arches of sandstone standing here and there. These do not themselves contain any paintings, but in a small cave hidden in the stratum of rock on which they stand a few are to be found. This cave, sometimes used by swineherds for shutting up their beasts, is called Cueva de los Cochinos. Many of its paintings have been destroyed and others partly effaced by the weather.

On the left side is a schematic stag with body, four legs, and large pectinate antlers. The muzzle is badly preserved. Below this figure are two schematic signs; one a very open arch supported by two bars, and the other a right angle enclosing an acute angle. Underneath is a large hollow encircled by a double red line, within which are a pectiform with four teeth, the body of which has been much effaced, and a 'barrier' sign composed of one horizontal and five short vertical lines.

In the middle of the shelter may be seen some much-faded traces of large ruminants moving towards the left. More to the right is a big ibex, well-preserved, and a second less so; these are partly superposed on some other figures, very ill-defined. There is also a more distinct drawing of a very schematic animal resembling a pectiform; it is clearly earlier than the ibex, though less realistic. In addition to these we may point out a disk-like spot resting on the upper of two parallel lines and carrying five rays, from which project small lateral strokes; also several much effaced bars.

CUEVA DEL ARCO (Plates II, VII, VIII, IX, Fig. 12)

So called from the stone arch over the threshold, poised in the air as if by magic. The rest of the roof of the cave, which was once very large, has long since fallen in, so that its walls have been exposed to the weather and the paintings have suffered in consequence. It is situated on the southern side of the hill, considerably higher than the Cueva de las Figuras, and is reached by a comparatively gentle slope. Some remains of pottery and flint near the entrance show that it must at one time have served as a dwelling.

The painted figures cover a large part of the semicircular wall at the back of the cave. Towards the middle of this wall little remains of them, but on either side they

OTHER PAINTED CAVES OF THE SIERRA MOMIA

are still numerous, so that one may say that there are two panels. We will deal first with that on the left, the surface of which is very irregular.

A first little oblique frieze contains a group of bars with rounded ends, several signs like an inverted W, a V, and an L, and a small human figure, with round base, a mere dot for the head, and arms raised and extended. 70 cm. lower down is the first figure of a second frieze, namely an animal facing left with up-turned tail, four legs, slender neck, and head with square muzzle and pointed ears; the drawing seems to suggest a dog. A little to the right and 5 cm. lower, is a small, very simple pectiform animal with a single curved horn. Returning to the level of the 'dog', we find a disk, from which issues obliquely a line forked at the end; also a long gently curving stroke, which ends on the right in two lobes. Below the latter is an animal possibly intended for a horse, with its pointed forelock and Roman nose; the meaning of the long horizontal projection from the neck is not clear. One metre to the right is another animal having a pectiform body furnished with two enormous ears; then several spots and dots; and, still farther on, remains of a half-effaced animal, too indistinct to permit of a tracing being taken.

Towards the middle of the shelter is a poor drawing of an ibex with two legs, confused with another smaller one without a head. Lower down on the right are traces of a vague figure, consisting of several slightly curved strokes arranged one above another in a double symmetrical series; and below these is a bar with large round head and one horizontal arm on the right. Next comes a naturalistic but much-faded drawing of a bustard; an oblique bar with four bud-like excrescences on one side and five on the other; a winding band, and another bar joined by a straight line to a spot with four legs. A little lower down is a large spot transformed into a bird by the addition of a long curved neck; then (nearly in the same vertical) come two short upright bars with round heads; a figure like a solid D standing on its straight edge, from which project numerous little teeth; a pectiform with five teeth; and a well-drawn bustard with two round feet. More to the right are four pectiform animals arranged vertically one over the other. The uppermost has no head and not less than eleven legs, and the body line curves downwards to the left to form a long drooping tail. On its right appear to be three curved bands like superposed crescents, much effaced in places. The second pectiform has two round ears and six ball-like feet, four of which are short. The third has larger ears and five or six legs. The fourth is much obliterated; and the fifth, on its right, with two short round ears, is greatly faded. Following the same direction one finds a good drawing of a bustard, partly effaced; a schematic animal with four legs, long neck, small head and big ears; a fine oblique line ending in an arrow head; an inverted anchor sign; and a sort of pectiform animal with small head and three unequal converging legs.

The panel on the right is more important and in parts better preserved than the preceding. It begins with a figure of an archer, rather vague in some details, especially the right arm; the head is pear-shaped and pointed at the top; the left arm, raised and curving upwards in a semicircle, holds a D-shaped bow, crossed by the line of the arrow; the body is represented by a straight line prolonged downwards between the short thick legs to form the phallus; close by are several spots, and a T lying on its

side. To the right comes a large reddish brown pectiform with four long teeth; then alongside, in bright red, is a very complex sign composed of a vertical axis with an anchor-like representation of head and arms at each end. Between the two the axis is cut by three unequal and slightly curved transverse strokes. The most likely interpretation of this figure is that it symbolizes a coitus; instances in support of this view are furnished by comparative ethnography. Lower down are two pectiforms, one inverted, and several much simplified human signs.

Still lower, near the rocky floor, much effaced but yet legible, are the following: a pectiform with at least nine teeth, its horizontal stroke ending on the right in an oval head; a curved pectiform, with five small lower and four large upper teeth, within a right angle formed by two straight lines; more to the right, inside a square with rounded corners, are two birds; the upper, fairly well drawn, may be a goose or a bustard, the other has a clumsy body and a long swan's neck. This representation of birds inside some object recalls certain neolithic rock engravings of Upper Egypt where, according to Schweinfurth, bustards are shown confined in cages. The colour of these drawings is barely visible, though when the rock is wetted and suitably lighted their outlines are quite distinct.

Right at the top of the frieze, four well-preserved figures stand out, namely two men and two stags, comparatively well-executed and semi-naturalistic in style. The head of the man on the left is in profile and adorned with four feathers; his bent right arm seems to be drawing the cord of the bow held in the other hand; the bow has a slight double curve and the arrow is represented by a great thick horizontal bar extending from the pelvis of the first man to that of his neighbour on the right; the head of the latter bears two small curved tufts. The sex is omitted in both figures.

The two stags are drawn face to face, almost touching one another, with a sort of circumflex between them, the meaning of which is unknown. The sex is strongly marked in each. They are drawn in somewhat different styles, that on the left being the more naturalistic of the two. It has no ears and thick antlers with few branches; that on the right has two ears and large crested antlers with many tines. It has also a kind of projecting spur at the throat, possibly representing a tuft of hair.

Beneath the stags may be seen a large, very conventionalized animal, in pale red and apparently of earlier date, with a long downward-curving tail, big ears, and great open jaws. It has two hind and three forelegs, with the verge between, making together six appendages of equal length. Lower down comes a series of figures, as follows: a bar pointed above and ending beneath in a disk with two branches; and another bar, slightly curved, having above an expansion, or head, which ends in a sharp point and at the base a disk with three short vertical points projecting downwards; both of these appear to be human symbols. Next to the right, superposed on four horizontal bars, is a very unusual anchor-like sign recalling certain 'sceptres' surmounted by inverted crescents which are met with in the dolmens of Gascony and on Portuguese funerary flagstones of bronze age. This sign is in stronger colour than the bars over which it is painted. Below, again in strong colour, comes a schematic animal having four legs and a head with muzzle and two oval ears. To the right are two isolated stag's antlers with many branches, then a figure made of two shorter antlers

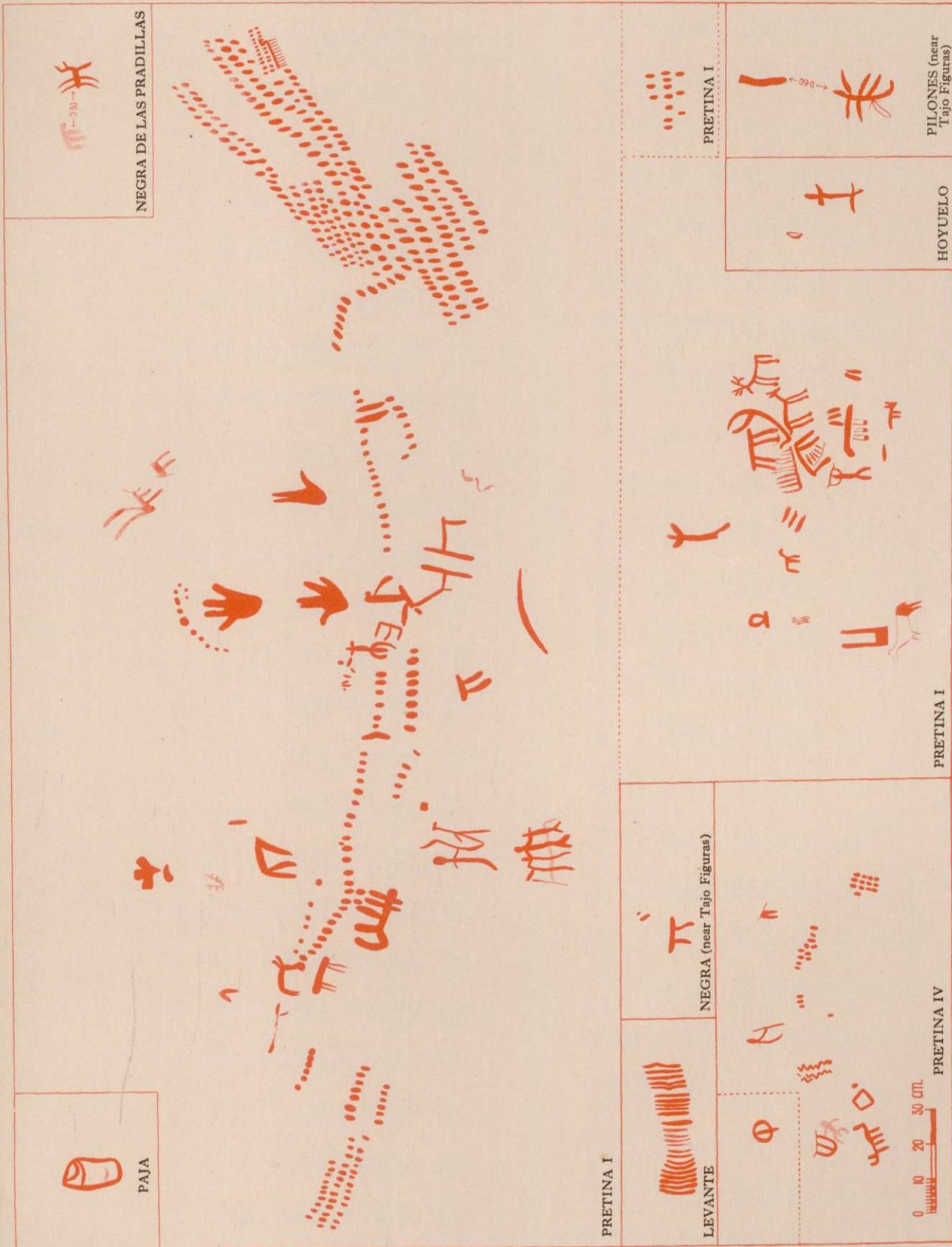
OTHER PAINTED CAVES OF THE SIERRA MOMIA

joined by their bases. A good deal farther to the right, quite low down, come two bustards or geese in faint colour following one another; and a little higher, in brighter colour, the front half of a semi-conventionalized hind with very carefully drawn fore-legs and below the belly two big spots of doubtful significance; this hind follows another, in similar style but better drawn, complete, and with ears not so exaggeratedly long.

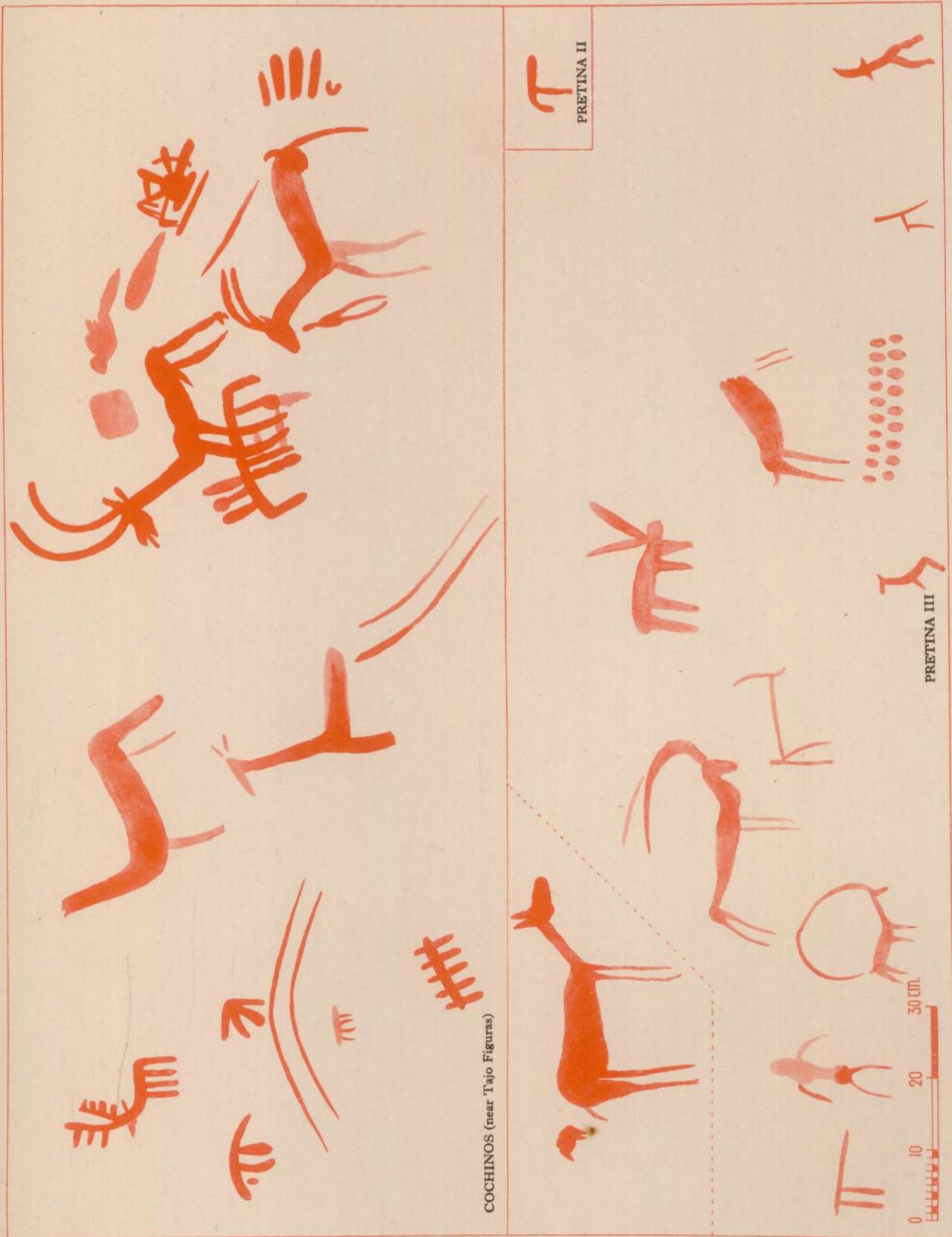
On the upper level are two connected figures, which are probably human. They have respectively three and two legs, indicated by mere vertical lines; that on the left has a roughly triangular base and flower-like top, possibly representing head and arms; the other is more rudimentary. Very low down on the right is a ramiform with thick branches, sloping upwards, arranged in pairs. Though many ramiforms are undoubtedly human, the similarity of this figure to those of stags' antlers close by points to its being also a representation of an antler. The remaining figures are as follows: five irregular bars, the central one of which resembles certain female symbols; its elongated triangular head issues from a big dot connected by the slender axis to two oval spots below, placed in line one above the other. Next a simple arch, and another, flattened, with two supports on each side. Beneath these, a human symbol having a mushroom-shaped head with pectinate lower edge, ansate arms, two transverse bars at the waist, and two symmetrical triangles representing the lower limbs. Lastly, a group of upright lines, looking at first sight like a pectiform, proves on closer examination to be a human symbol. It has very long legs, and outstretched arms holding two undefinable objects, one hooked and the other with a T-shaped top.

NOTE. In the work entitled *Avance al Estudio de las Pinturas Prehistóricas del Extremo Sur de España (Laguna de la Janda)*, by Juan Cabré and Eduardo Hernández-Pacheco (Trabajos de la Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas, No. 3, 1914) these rock-shelters are described and illustrated. We are, however, not always in agreement with Señor Cabré's interpretations or reproductions of the drawings. Especially is this the case with the Pretina Caves (called by him 'Ladrones'), where his reproductions of the hands are inexact (two which do not exist having been inserted in the long row of dots) and where several animals that are actually very clumsily drawn have been converted by his imagination into graceful naturalistic figures recalling the palaeolithic paintings of the Eastern Spanish style. A like criticism may be made of his supposed antelopes (animals unknown in the district) in the Cueva de los Cochinos (Tajo Figuras), which are nothing more than ill-drawn pectiforms or 'barrier' signs. In the cave of El Arco again his interpretation of the panel does not correspond accurately with the reality, and the same may be said of his account of the important rock-shelter of Las Mujeres, which will be described in the next Chapter.

PLATE V



Pretina I and IV, Paja, Levante, Negra (near Tajo Figuras), Negra de las Pradillas, Hoyuelo, Pilones (near Tajo Figuras)



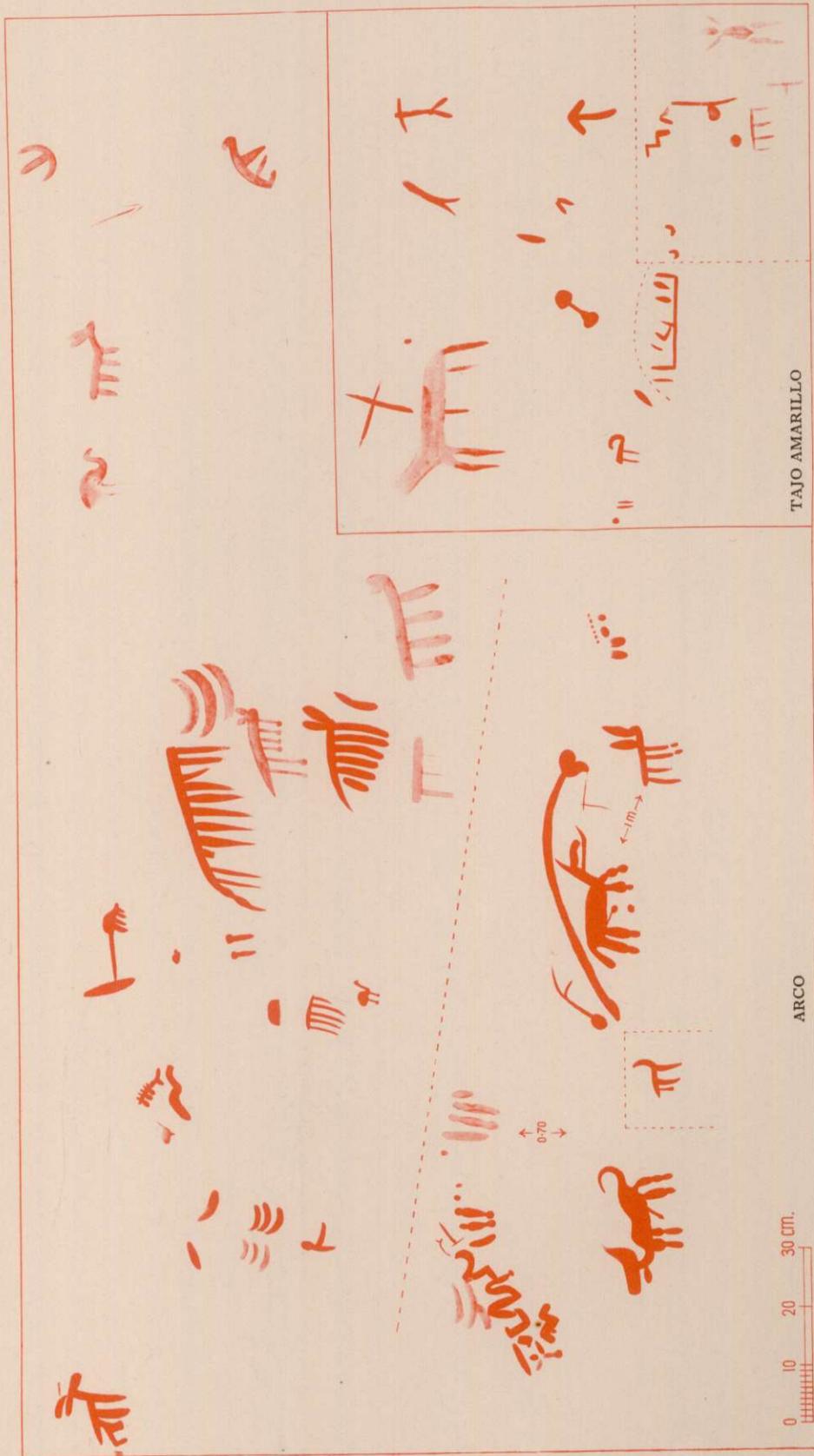
COCHINOS (near Tajo Figuras)

PRETINA II

PRETINA III

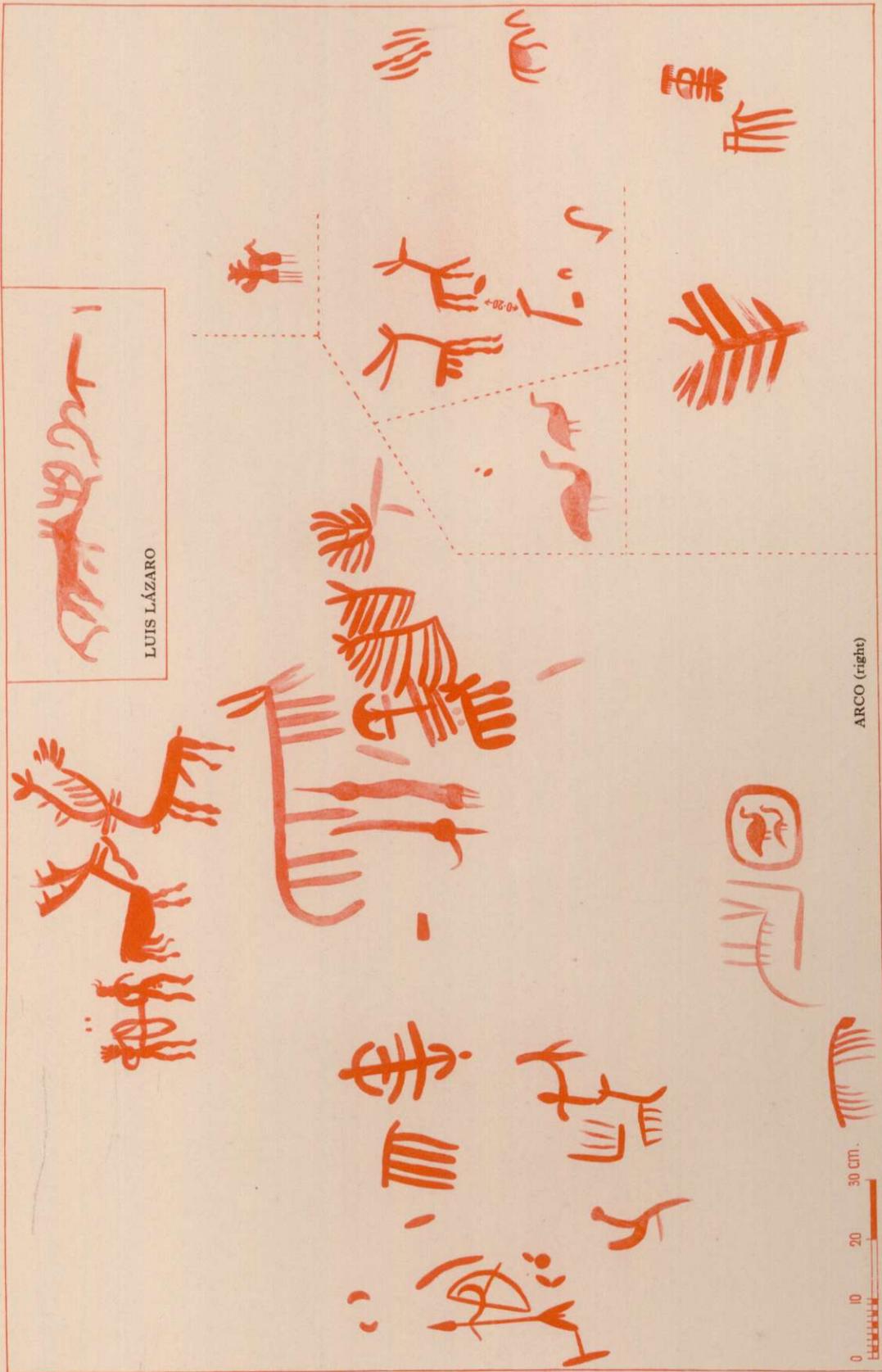
Cochinos (near Tajo Figuras), Pretina II and III

PLATE VII



Arco, left and centre, and Tajo Amarillo

PLATE VIII



LUIS LÁZARO

ARCO (right)

Arco (right) and Luis Lázaro



View of the Tajo de las Figuras from the south-east, the caves of Las Figuras and El Arco being again indicated by single and double arrows respectively



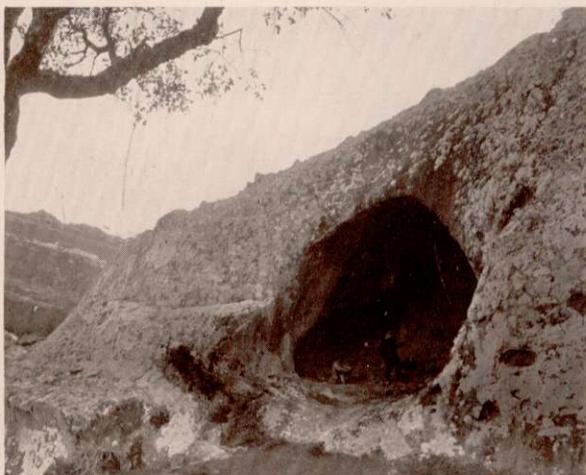
Cave of El Arco, showing the natural arch (p. 39)



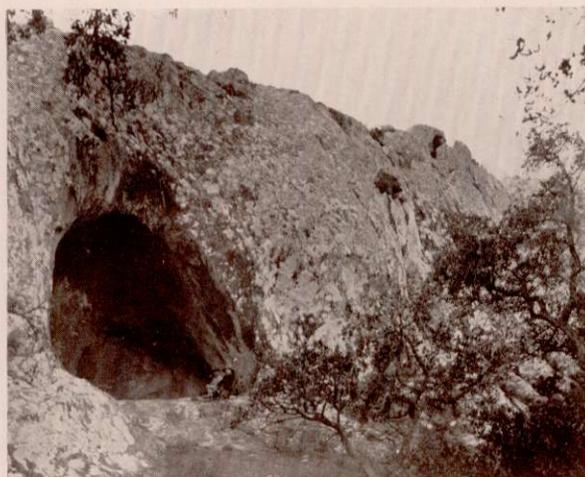
Caves of El Levante (p. 37)



Caves of Pretina (p. 35)



Pretina I



Pretina III

IV

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ABOUT 7 Km. north of Facinas, at the foot of the mountains, is the big rock of the Aciscar,¹ visible from most of the surrounding country and easily recognizable. It is the nesting-place of innumerable vultures. From this point the Sierra de Zanona runs in a north-westerly direction for a distance of a little over 10 Km. Its flanks are cut up into a series of narrow picturesque gorges of varying importance, most of which however contain one or more painted rocks. They are the *gargantas* of Las Cañas, Santa Victoria (or Culebra), Goma, El Torero, Trimpancha, Juan de Sevilla, and Cañada Honda.

We will describe in order the caves and paintings in each gorge.

CUEVA DE LOS SAUCES (WILLOWS) (Plate XI, Map E)

The *garganta* of Las Cañas (reeds), in which this shelter is situated, is short and very narrow. At its narrowest point there is a rock on the right bank with a smooth vertical surface on which are painted some reddish brown figures. Below in a hollow is the image of some unknown quadruped. At the top is a human symbol with pointed head, two rudimentary uplifted arms, legs extended and sex strongly marked, and a little lower down two pectiforms with four teeth; in one of them the teeth are reduced to a series of dots. There are two signs like an inverted π , and another consisting of seven horizontal strokes joined at their left ends by little curved lines. There are also an elongated oval, with a fine line projecting on one side in the direction of the shorter axis, and an irregular rectangle with a stroke in the middle.

CUEVA DEL PAJARRACO (VULTURE) (SIERRA DE ZANONA) (Plate XI, Map E)

This cave gets its name from the vulture's nest there; it is on the top of the rocky crest between the gorges of Las Cañas and La Culebra, but much nearer to the latter. It can only be reached after a stiff climb, and a rope will be found useful. Its paintings are few in number. On the right as one enters, at a really dangerous point, are two small groups of figures. One can make out a man with legs stretched wide apart and raised arms, one of which is prolonged as if he were holding a big stick; also some groups of dots, and a bar getting thinner towards the top and connected by a long line with an arch like a reversed C. On the left is a curious figure, unique in this district, in the shape of an oval enclosing two eyed circles joined together; at each end of the oval is an extension formed of two parallel lines. Inside the cave may be seen a few more dotted figures.

¹ M. Breuil has already described an important dolmenic centre that he found at the foot of this rock when accompanied by Colonel Willoughby Verner (*Découverte de deux centres dolméniques sur les bords de la Laguna de la Janda*, Bulletin hispanique, 1917, No. 3). The dolmens of

this region have also been explored by MM. Cabré and de Mergelina: C. de Mergelina, *Los focos dolménicos de la Laguna de la Janda*. Soc. Española de Antropología (Actas y Memorias) t. III, 1924, pp. 97-126, Memoria XXV.

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CUEVA DE LA GARGANTA DE LA CULEBRA (SNAKE) OR SANTA VICTORIA (Plate XII)

We do not know the local name of this cave, which is high up on the left as one ascends the gorge, about 50 m. above the stream. It is a very large shelter in the rocky crest dominating the hill-side; its mouth is very wide and the wind whirling round within it has effaced the greater part of the painted surface. There is an extensive view over the Laguna through a natural window at the back. To the right of this window is a more sheltered recess, the roof of which is made up of large hollow surfaces whereon may be seen numerous remains of paintings, now for the most part illegible in consequence of the action of the wind. On the left of the group are the only five figures that remain. They are all yellow and consist of a pectiform with three teeth; a sexless human figure, probably female, with arms extended and legs a little apart, not badly drawn; an oblique bar, having on one side two lines of dots at right angles to it; and lower down two piles of four large circumflexes, arranged one above another. 50 cm. more to the right are numerous traces of effaced paintings.

CUEVA DEL PAJARITO (LITTLE BIRD) (Plates XI, XIV, Map E)

By a path a little above the preceding cave one reaches the plateau that forms the edge of the Sierra, whence a magnificent view may be enjoyed. Some 700 m. farther on, one comes to the Garganta de Goma, which empties into the Lagoon through an opening called Los Hoyos. The gorge is narrow and can only be descended on foot. In one of its bends on the right bank is the Cave of the Pajarito, a spacious but shallow shelter, a little above the bed of the stream, only 4 m. deep in the middle, with a broad arched opening 12 m. in width, facing east. It has been used for penning sheep and goats, and even as a dwelling by charcoal burners, as appears from the wall barring the entrance.

The numerous drawings, amounting to at least forty, are extremely schematic; many of them have an accidental resemblance to letters of the alphabet, e. g. C, Δ, E, H, L, O, π, X, Z.

There are only two definite representations of animals, both pectiform. These are on the left of the principal panel, which forms a frieze facing the entrance; in one, with four legs, the horizontal line is prolonged into a head with muzzle pointed like a beak, while in the other, which has six legs, the slender neck stretches up to a round head with a little ear and two short horns like hooks. Several pectiforms with two, three, and four teeth are possibly also of animal origin.

The human symbols are difficult to recognize. Three of them have inverted triangles for heads; in one the body and limbs are reduced to an arch, in the two others to two crossed lines with one arm bent at right angles. In one of these there is a hand raised to the level of the head. Another figure of human origin is an E turned sideways. Still another is formed of very open chevrons, arranged like an inverted W with a central stem enlarged into a ball at the end; this figure represents a seated human being. There is also a man with a distinct head, arms extended and slightly raised, one of which is prolonged into a sickle, and legs reduced to two symmetrical lobes, one on each side of the phallus. Finally, a female figure with dumb-bell body

CULEBRA, PAJARITO, ROSA, LIBREROS

(the basal disk being larger than that representing the head) and arms in the form of a nearly closed crescent.

Amongst the various signs we may note a triple concentric arch, a kind of big club with a long handle, and a complicated drawing possibly representing a hafted axe.

CUEVA DE LA ROSA (Plate XII, Map E)

2½ Km. north-west of the cave of the Pajarito, towards the upper part of the Garganta del Torero, is a group of cottages, known as 'Los Libreros', with some meadows and a little cultivated ground. These are bounded on the east by a sloping wall of rock, formed by the dipping strata, in which are numerous cavities, mostly towards the mouth of the ravine. Among these is a painted shelter facing south called the Cueva de la Rosa.

On the lower level are three drawings in bright red. That most to the left is a female figure with triangular head, ovoid base, and open arms of unequal length. The two others are more unusual and their lower parts are unfortunately nearly effaced. In the one on the left the head is represented by a disk, and in that on the right by a hollow triangle. The former has two and the latter three pairs of raised arms, extended one above the other, remotely recalling those Hindu divinities whose power is symbolized by supernumerary arms.

Above, extending obliquely upwards from left to right, are thirteen female figures of the bitriangular or hour-glass type, placed singly or in unequal groups. Four of them are much effaced. Nine have little arms, very much raised; three have none.

CUEVA DE LOS LIBREROS (Plate XII, Map E)

This is a shallow shelter overlooking the meadows, 300 or 400 m. from the preceding cave, rather nearer the houses. It contains a horizontal frieze of paintings (in great part obliterated by the scaling of the rock) in which one may distinguish at least two different phases of art. The more ancient paintings are in yellowish brown, and consist of a bitriangular female figure on the left, the upper and lower elements of which are connected by a vertical stroke, cut by another at right angles to form a cross; in the centre, the middle and lower parts of a human symbol with legs extended; and traces of another figure.

The later paintings are of a more or less deep red. Passing from left to right we may note a circle, with a cross inside it, like a wheel; a horizontal bar, bent up at right angles on the left, with two pairs of branches towards the middle; remains of two disks, one resting on the other; a male human figure, ithyphallic (yet with trident below), its rectilinear body seeming to complete a damaged drawing of the older series; part of a figure with ansate arm and globular head; three bars like disconnected arms of the letter Y; a bar with minute head and cruciform arms at its upper end; various remains of bars and dots; and the lower trident of a little male figure.

CUEVA DE LAS MUJERES (Plates XIII, XIV, Map E)

The Garganta de la Mogeia, so called by the natives, is in the Dehesa del Carrizuelo and is the same as that marked Trimpancha on the map. The cave of Las Mujeres is in the right wall of the gorge about half-way up, in a ravine, called the Canuto del

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Avancejo, formed by the edge of a sandstone bed. The wide opening, in the shape of a flattened arch, 20 m. across, faces full south. In front of the threshold extends a kind of platform, marked by big blocks which look as if they had been ranged there on purpose; in the middle of the cave, dividing it into two halves, is a heap of large stones, apparently the remains of some small building or burial-place, possibly dolmenic, and opposite to this, standing out from but connected with the back wall of the cave, is a sort of natural pillar. The greatest depth of the right hand part is 6 m., that of the left 8 m.

In the left portion of the cave are only a few paintings. On the extreme left, in bright red, is a long rectangle standing on end with a faint line running vertically through the middle. More to the right, also in bright red, is a pectiform with seven teeth, the central one being the longest; and beside this a pale red figure, probably female, T-shaped with a triangular head above. On the right of the pillar there is another human figure in fine red lines, like a T, in which the horizontal stroke is very long and arched, with upward-curving ends, surmounted by an oval head.

The principal figures (in a panel that begins 20 cm. from the last-mentioned) are all in this right half of the cave, either very low in a horizontal frieze, or else on the lowest part of the roof; they are not all of the same date, several in a yellowish tint being older than the others. These consist of a π with a dot on the right; a bitriangular female symbol with raised crescent-like arms; seven bars close together; and a cruciform figure with T-shaped head underneath the later red paintings.

The chief group of the latter, from which the cave takes its present name, Cueva de las Mujeres (Cave of the Women), in place of its more ancient one of Ahumada (Smoky), is composed of five female figures, two on the left and three on the right of an upright central rectangle; there is a second rectangle, nearly square, to the right of the group. These rectangles may possibly represent dolmens or funerary kists, and in this case the women would be mourners. We do not however wish to attach too much importance to this conjecture. The five women are of the usual bitriangular type, very much elaborated. They may be described as follows: the first on the left has an ovoid head inclined a little over the right shoulder,¹ which is marked with a small projecting point; the fullness of the right breast and its nipple are shown; the right arm hangs straight down, is much prolonged in a winding line, and ends in a hook; the left elbow is raised to the level of the shoulder and the forearm hangs from it and has a long slender hook in place of a hand. In the second figure the roundness of the breasts are only slightly indicated and the nipple on the left side is given; the short left arm, hanging somewhat obliquely, seems to carry a bracelet at the elbow and another at the wrist; the hand is closed and a projection at the shoulder depicts some kind of epaulet; the other arm is akimbo, but the triangular right hand does not quite touch the hip. The head is very remarkable; a vertical bar, slightly rounded at the top, represents both head and neck, and from it springs on each side a large scroll, curling completely over to indicate an ornament or some arrangement of the hair. The third figure is more simply drawn; the arms hang obliquely and are unequal in length; on the small oval head is a rectangular object resembling the Spanish *peineta*, or shell-comb.

¹ i. e. the left in the drawing.

In the fourth the bust and lower part of the body are better proportioned and the arms more shapely; there is one triangular hand and one with three fingers stretched apart; the head is drawn in profile and seems to carry some sort of head-dress. The fifth shows the right breast; the right arm is curved round to join the waist and the left hangs freely; on the left shoulder is again some sort of epaulet; the head is seen full face, with two small asymmetrical projections for the ears or for ornaments hanging from them.

The red figures to the right of the group of women are as follows, reading from left to right; a group of seven oblique bars; a ramiform consisting of an axial line with T-shaped top crossed by three horizontal bars; a woman with legs a little apart (drawn with some attempt at modelling), very narrow waist, prominent hips, triangular bust, and no arms; on the right shoulder is a large round projection; the head resembles that of the second woman, already described, but the scrolls are bigger and form nearly perfect circles, while between them rises a sort of plume.

On the roof above are two male figures. The first, in fine strokes, consists of an axial line for the body (its extremities representing the head and phallus) into which are inserted the raised arms and extended legs like two opposed chevrons. The second is drawn in thick strokes; the huge arms are curved downwards in a nearly closed crescent. The sugar-loaf head, slightly narrowed at the neck, is a prolongation of the axis of the body, which ends below in a trident representing legs and phallus, the latter being much the biggest. The breasts are shown by a little cross-bar with square ends.

Continuing along the base of the wall, we note on the right of the woman last mentioned an equilateral triangle, apex downwards, with two symmetrical dots and a smaller central one, perhaps intended to represent eyes and nose. Higher up are three irregular horizontal bars crossed vertically by a fine line; round these are several dots of different shapes and sizes, and above is a design resembling the lower part of a shield, formed of two curved chevrons, points downwards, one above the other; seven vertical lines join the upper chevron to the lower, closing the ends of the figure and dividing it into six parts. It is doubtful whether this curvilinear symbol has any connexion with the bars below. To the right of these are some fragments, consisting of a small incomplete circle, and a line sharply bent, like two sides of a triangle. Next comes a sort of 'ramiform', partly obliterated; the axis representing the body is crossed by four horizontal bars which end on either side in inverted arches placed symmetrically. Above this is a cruciform human figure in outline, probably female, the lower part of which has been obliterated. Between it and the remains of the circle and triangle above mentioned is a thick vertical bar with a blunt point above and a swelling underneath, rather to one side. It is unlikely that this is intended for a phallus, for there do not appear to be any separate representations of the sexual organs in neolithic rock paintings, though they are often found in Aurignacean and occasionally in Magdalenian art. For this reason we are unable to regard the dark brown object in the middle of the frieze of the women as a phallic symbol. Similar bars with a swelling at one end are common, and in many cases it is evident that they represent a human being. In others it is impossible to make any plausible suggestion as to their origin.

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On the other side of the gorge, opposite Las Mujeres, are several shelters containing nothing of interest; higher up, in the *cerro* called Alto de las Cuevas, is a smaller one, quite deep, known as Cueva de los Pemales, in which many flints are to be found. It has no connexion with the brigand of this name, who came from another part of the country.

CUEVA DEL TORO (Plate XI, Map E)

This grotto is within gunshot of the Carrizuelo pasture keeper's house, to the east, close to the source of the *garganta* of Juan de Sevilla. It contains only a few drawings of minor interest; namely, a series of bars made up of dots or of smaller bars placed end to end; several Vs or Ls; on the right, four T-shaped figures in bright red, which are certainly degenerate human symbols; an elongated rectangle in dark red, placed lengthwise, with a horizontal bar through the middle, of unknown meaning. The groups of bars in which the Vs occur, of a light red or yellowish red colour, are probably earlier than the others; one wonders whether it is a mere accident that one of the groups resembles the Roman number VIII and the other the same figures in reversed order, IIIV.

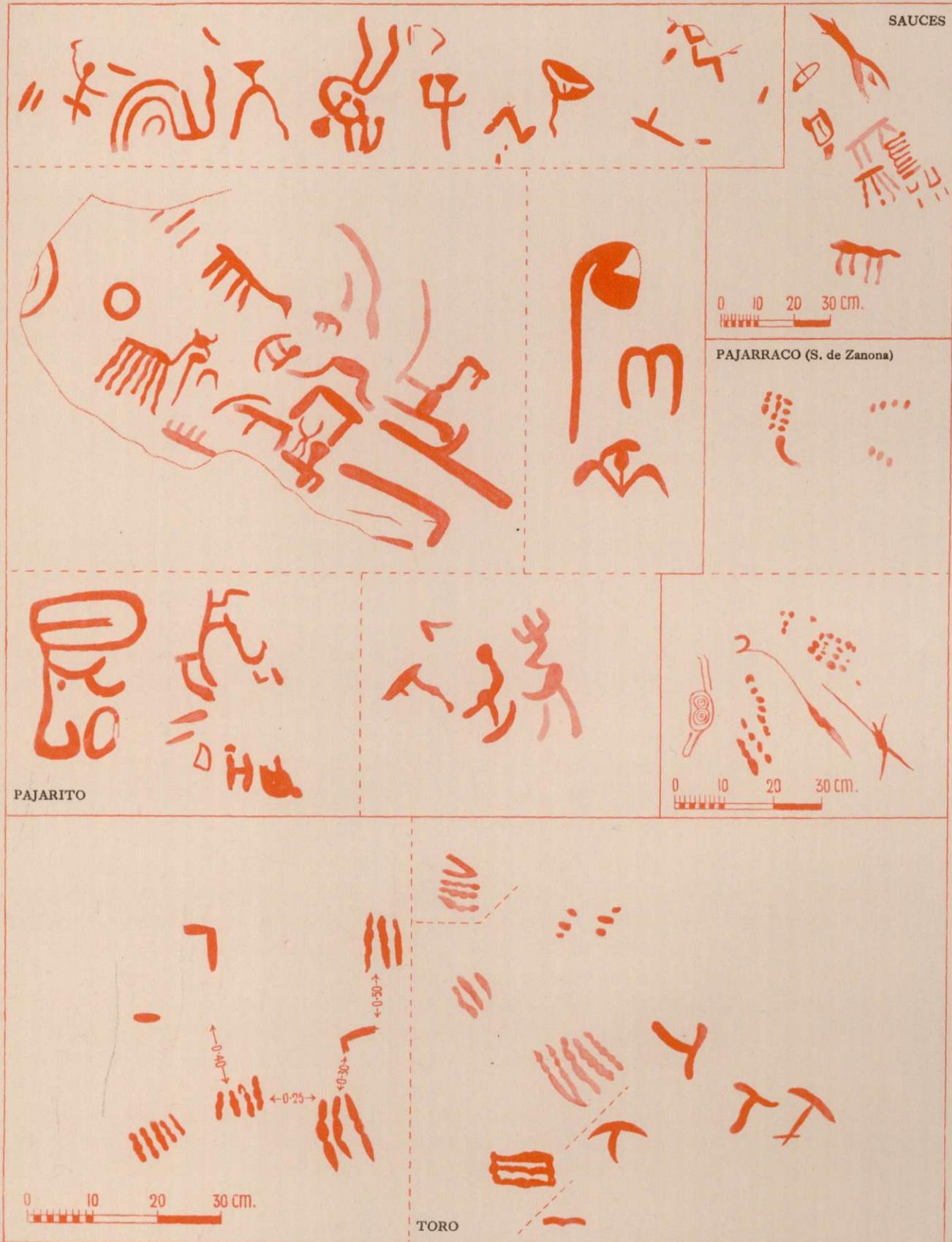
CAÑADA HONDA (Plate XIII, Map E)

The narrow entrance of the Cañada Honda gorge is dominated by a high projecting crag on the left bank, entirely riddled with tombs cut in the rock. The only remains found there were bits of pink pottery of a fine but not very solid paste; the deterioration of these fragments does not appear to be an argument for considering them to be earlier than Ibero-Roman times, if they are even as old as that. Our visit to the Cañada Honda, however, had another object in view, for one may climb thence to a small unnamed shelter, not far above the valley, in which can be seen a much damaged drawing of a pectiform animal with four legs and two large horns or ears.

The Canuto Ciaque is a little valley beneath the cliffs that border the *massif* and form the above-mentioned defile at the lower entrance of the gorge; it runs at right angles into the Cañada Honda (one of the tributaries of the *arroyo* of Juan de Sevilla), joining it above the gorge on its left bank. On ascending it three grottoes with paintings are to be found.

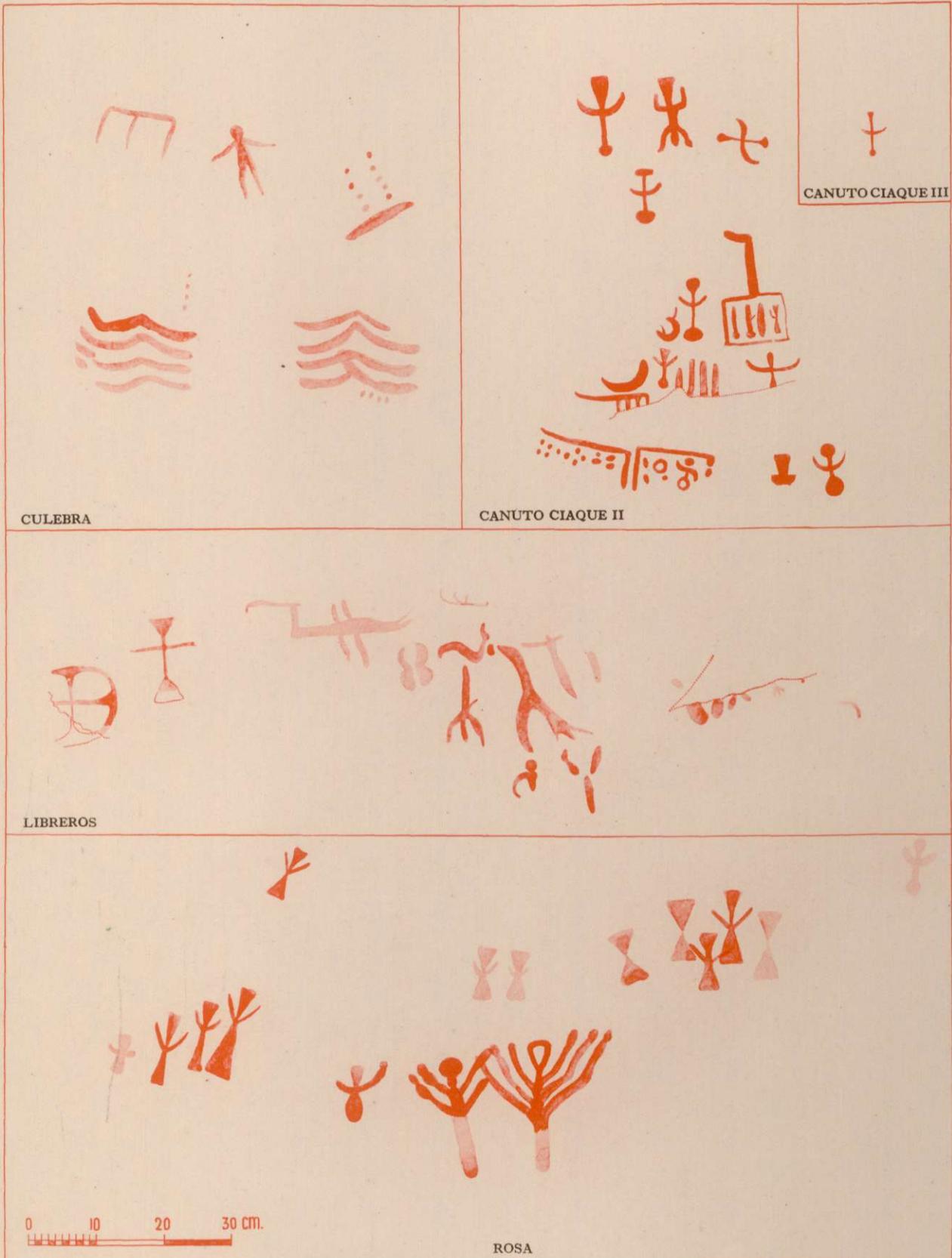
CUEVA DE LOS CARBONEROS (CANUTO CIAQUE) (Plate XIII, Map E)

This cave, so called because it has been used as a dwelling by charcoal burners, is somewhat dark and shut in and its entrance well screened. We found eight drawings there. At the top of the panel is an equilateral triangle with three female symbols arranged symmetrically round it, one over the apex and the others on either side; that on the left and the triangle itself are much faded. The heads of these figures are oval or triangular, their bases oval or discoidal; the arms, springing from the narrow part between the head and the base, in the one case are straight and slant obliquely upwards, while in the two others they are curved like an open crescent. A little lower is another symbol similar to these, with pear-shaped head and the triangular base much longer. To the left are some figures of a different type, but undoubtedly of the same age and resembling in many details those just described. The simplest consists of a spot (representing the head) from which rise the two arms, like small

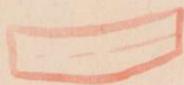
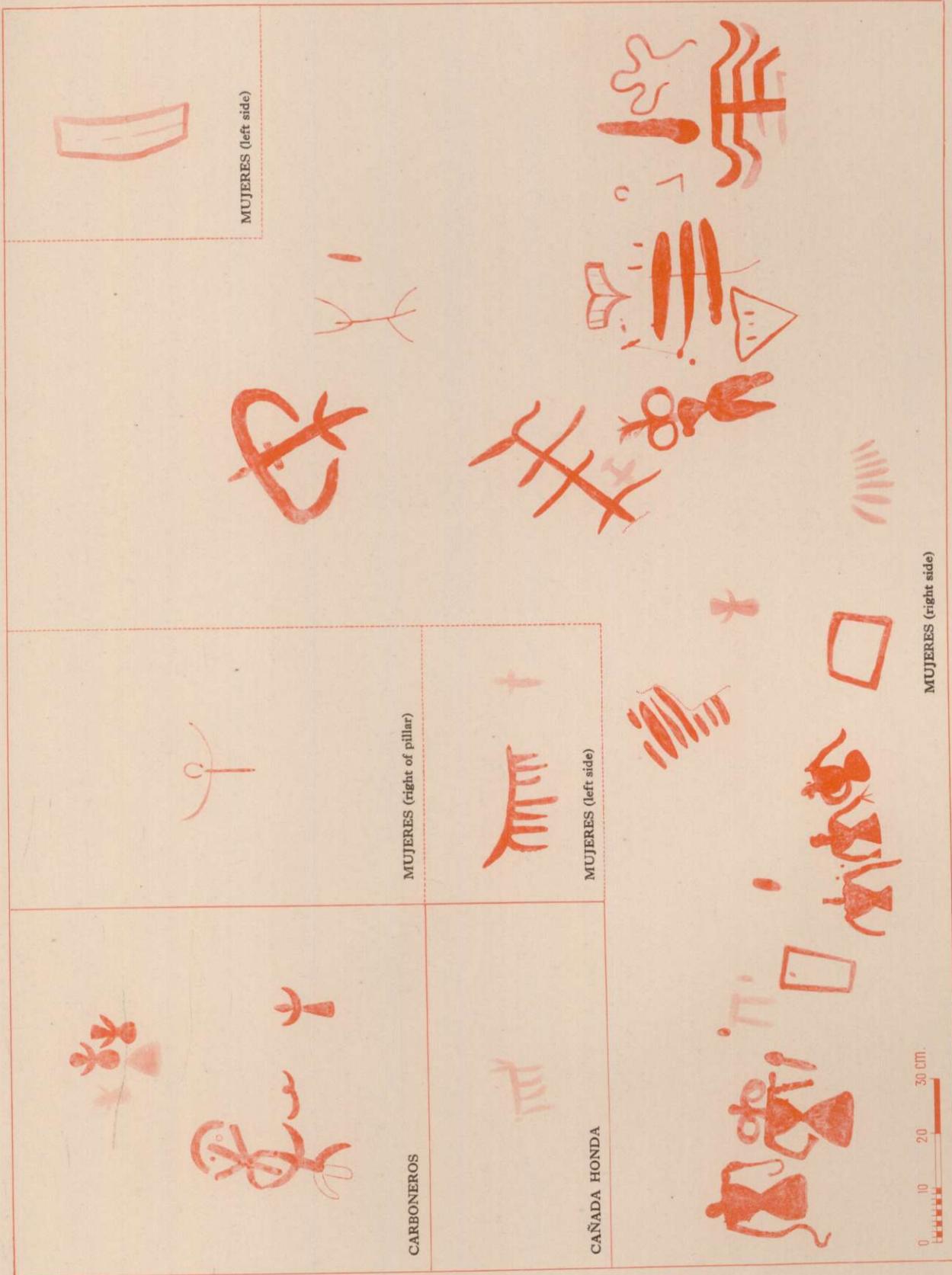


Pajarito, Saucés, Pajarraco (Sierra de Zanona), Toro

PLATE XII



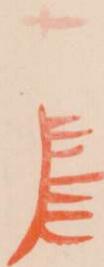
Culebra, Canuto Ciaque II and III, Libreros, Rosa



MUJERES (left side)



MUJERES (right of pillar)

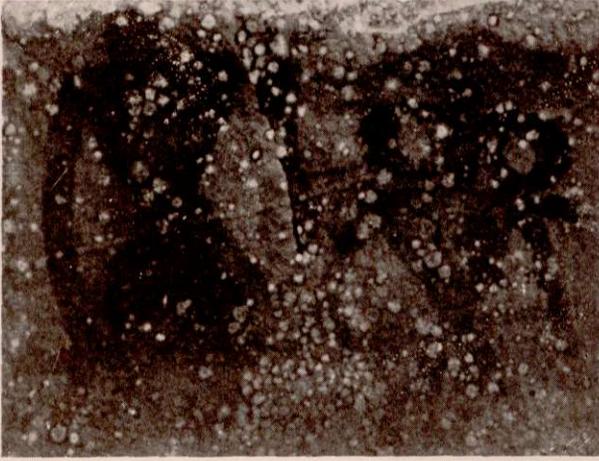


MUJERES (left side)

MUJERES (right side)



Mujeres, Carboneros, Cañada Honda



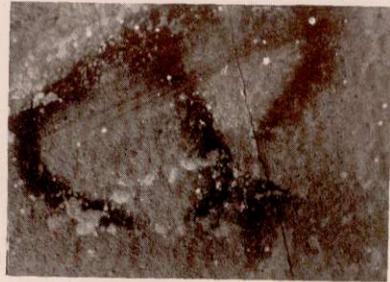
Mujeres



Mujeres



Cave of Las Mujeres (p. 45)



Mujeres



Cave of El Pajarito (p. 44)

TORO, CARBONEROS, CANUTO CIAQUE

wings, very unequal in length. In the male figure on the left the arms and legs take the form of two crescents back to back, cut by a thick axial line, the extremities of which represent the head and the phallus. The remaining figure is the most complicated; it is made up somewhat in the same way as the preceding one, but the arms are straight, and rise at an angle of 45° with the axial line of the body from the point at which the latter crosses the crescent representing the legs. The frontal arch is indicated by a curve over the top of the axis, and the eyes by a dot placed symmetrically below it on either side, only one of which eyes, however, remains.

CANUTO CIAQUE II (Plate XII, Map E)

About 300 m. higher up the Canuto Ciaque are two more shelters. The principal one is 4 m. wide at the threshold and 2 m. deep in the middle; the figures are to the right on entering, painted in red. Towards the bottom of the panel two spaces side by side are marked off by straight lines that form in each case two sides of a rectangle; in the space on the left is a sprinkling of dots; in that on the right a few dots, an outlined circle, and a female symbol of the dumb-bell type with the circle representing the base of the body also in outline; one arm is raised, the other lowered.

Above these incomplete rectangles is a pectiform, with four teeth, damaged by a fracture of the rock; its horizontal line extends some distance to the left. There is a crescent-like bar over it, to the right are four vertical bars close together, and higher up is a crescent with two little irregular appendages. To the right of this, at the same height, is another rectangle, complete, surmounted by a thick straight line sharply bent at right angles at its upper end; within the rectangle, which represents a hut or possibly a burial-place, are four figures, namely, on the right, a bitriangular female idol with one raised arm only, next a vertical bar, then two other bars with round bases, one having a small projection on the right which may be arm or phallus.

The rest of the figures, nine in number, are all human. High up in the centre is the only male; he has a triangular head, his arms extend horizontally from the shoulders and bend vertically upwards at the elbows, and the phallus is oval and very large. Round this man are three female figures of the dumb-bell and bitriangular types, but modified as follows: that on the left has a triangular head and small basal disk; the second has a T-shaped head and the basal disk somewhat flattened on its upper side; the third, lying on its side, has head and base, one like a sector of a circle and the other roughly lozenge-shaped; in the first two the arms are represented by very open crescents, in the third by two half crescents, one raised and the other lowered.

Among the drawings in the middle of the panel are three more female figures of the same type. One is remarkable for its long arms stretched out horizontally and raised slightly only at the ends. There is another example of the dumb-bell type lower down, with arms like an open crescent, and beside it the triangular head and angular shoulders of a more complete female figure, whose body, probably bitriangular, has been obliterated.

CANUTO CIAQUE III (Plate XII, Map E)

To the right of this cave, close by, is another small one containing a single figure, similar to those just described, with triangular head and minute basal disk.

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THE rock paintings of the eastern end of the Sierra del Niño will be described in our account of the caves and shelters of the Tajos de Bacinete and the Corchadillo in Chapter VII. We will now deal with those at its opposite or western end, which is called the Sierra Pedregosa or El Pedregoso. They are grouped at short intervals round the goatherd's hut of the Horcajo del Pedregoso, about 13 Km. north-east of Facinas as one ascends the Arroyo de los Toriles towards the Puerto de Chirino.

The painted caves are situated on both sides of the ridge; on the north-east the Cuevas del Obispo and del Avellano de los Tinajones, near the source of the rivulet of Los Tres Mojones (upper part of the Arroyo de Loaji); and on the south-west the four caves of Las Palomas.

The Cuevas del Obispo (bishop) are two adjoining caves, separated the one from the other by a cleft, open to the sky and forming as it were a lane between them. In addition to the mouths opening on to this lane, they both have another at the opposite end, so that they are like two tunnels. Each consists of a roomy chamber with irregular floor.

OBISPO I (Plate xv, Map E)

On entering the farther cave by its relatively narrow northern opening, one sees on the right a large concave wall on which are painted in red two circles with nine and fifteen rays, and above them several horizontal bars and two other signs, one a bar swollen at one end and the other an L-shaped bar. On the left wall, opposite the two stars or rayed circles, is an equilateral triangle, drawn in fine lines, with apex downwards; from the angle on the left descends a vertical line, and near the angle on the right are several pectiform strokes standing up on the horizontal line. This design seems to be derived from the bitriangular female symbol.

On the right of the large opening opposite the second cave is another figure outside in a niche by itself, like an anchor with a hook-shaped head, which may represent a flying bird.

OBISPO II (Plate xv, Map E)

The entrance to the second cave, which faces the first one, is low and narrow. The drawings are in the second hollow on the left, where may be seen a star with twelve rays. 80 cm. to the right and a little higher up is a cruciform figure, composed of four symmetrical lobes of unequal size (the lateral ones being the bigger), which is related to one of the female symbols of the Sierra Morena. Close by on the right is a figure resembling a mallet with a handle, formed of a horizontal bar, crossed near the end by a shorter one. 5 cm. more to the right is a T-shaped sign, and immediately on its right again, apparently a continuation of it, is a zigzag composed of five chevrons. Elsewhere we shall find similar figures, undoubtedly derived from one of the human types.

CUEVA DEL AVELLANO (HAZEL) (Plate xv, Map E)

Two or three hundred metres down the valley, a little above the stream, is the lofty but shallow Cueva del Avellano. It contains a single red drawing of an inverted headless man, the arms and legs being represented by parallel chevrons connected by the vertical line of the body, which is prolonged upwards to indicate the sex.

The caves of Las Palomas (doves), four in number, are situated in a line of rocks that runs from the goatherd's hut in a north-westerly direction and is formed by the projection of a sandstone ridge at the base of the escarpment of the Sierra Pedregosa. There is less than 500 m. between the first cave and the last.

PALOMAS I (Plates xvi, xvii and xix, Map E)

This cave is one of the most important rock stations in the district. It is in the shape of a very sloping tunnel, the upper mouth of which, 11 m. wide, opens on to the top of the rocky stratum. After a descent of some 20 m. one reaches a chamber 8 m. across, having a lower entrance 5 m. in width. There is a difference of level of 10 m. between the upper and the lower thresholds. The last 5 m. of the cave form a nearly level space, on to which great blocks of stone descend like steps from the upper entrance. The floor at the bottom contains numerous pieces of pottery and all the flat ground below the cave is covered with chips of flint.

On entering the cave by the upper opening one finds on the left a wall made up of several hollows; the first, 3 m. wide, contains no paintings, but in the second, $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. wide, they abound, overflowing on to the third hollow which is 6 m. wide. To facilitate our description of this large panel we will divide it into three parts.

First Part. Here one can plainly distinguish two phases of painting, the older being pale red in colour and the later a more or less dark red brown. The former comprises numerous animal figures; amongst them are a very well-drawn hind; another with legs in the air, as if slain, alongside a third figure, badly drawn but not much simplified, of a running hind. In the centre may be seen a schematic stag with three legs and pectinate antlers, and another less conventionalized, having divergent antlers without any branches. Beneath the last is a schematic hind. Above the first-mentioned hind, that is to say towards the right, is another, in a rather conventional style but with some naturalistic features in the withers and legs. There are also two very schematic ibexes: in one the body is a rectangle, crossed by a horizontal medial line; at the left upper corner is a small erect tail, and on the right two horns spring from a single vertical line and arch over symmetrically on either side as if seen full face. The second is a sort of pectiform with four round feet and two horns in profile. Two other pectiforms, one with four and the other with six teeth, may be classed among the animals. We may point out also a large complex ramiform, two or three small vague figures, a little arch, some horizontal zigzags, a large bent stem ending in a big circle, and several other less definite drawings.

There is a solitary later drawing in bright red, namely a female symbol in the shape of a dumb-bell, with arms extended and somewhat raised. The rest of the paintings are in a red wine colour, including a second female figure beside the first, rather like it, but without the ball-shaped head and base. The other figures are: two simple

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cruciforms, and a third with head deeply cut into two lobes; two ramiforms with three pairs of horizontal branches, and a third with four branches on the right and three on the left, a globular head, and two little antennae at the neck. The poverty and highly conventional character of this second series form a marked contrast with the comparative richness and variety of the older paintings.

In the Second Part we find again the two phases of drawings already indicated. Those of the more recent phase consist only of three ramiforms, two of which have two pairs of horizontal branches (like recumbent Hs with the cross-pieces projecting beyond the uprights); in the third the branches are horizontal and tend to become alternate towards the base (where one may count three on the right and four on the left) while at the top they are in two opposite pairs, slightly sloping upwards.

All the other figures of this part are in bright red. Animals are represented by a semi-conventionalized hind; a pectiform stag with a single antler having three posterior tines; and a schematic carnivore, possibly an ichneumon, with very long straight tail, two sinuous forelegs with ball-like feet, and a small head without ears. The human figures are numerous but very far removed from nature; they consist of a cruciform; an anchoriform; a ramiform inscribed within a sort of shield; ten bars, thicker in the middle and at the ends, that seem to be related to the series of female idols; in the centre is a figure which may represent a hand with five fingers and little transverse lines for the nails; a large chevron connected on each side with some symmetrical zigzags composed of four smaller chevrons; and a similar design in which the central chevron is replaced by a vertical line cut in half; these two last symbols are the final phase of an evolution from the figure of a seated man with legs flexed. There are two other very incomplete drawings of the same type, also a ramiform with well-defined round head and five branches, the ends of which are joined together forming loops, and a cruciform figure with a double cross-piece and divergent rays starting from the junction of the arms; at the top of the upright piece are two horizontal branches with ends curving over twin dots like the eyes of a dolmenic figure. In addition to these are two irregular 'barrier' signs, several bars and dots, and an arch.

In the Third Part, which is on a lower level, are two yellow figures belonging to an earlier phase of art, namely a hind followed by a stag, both in a very conventional style. The rest of the paintings, which are in red, are for the most part so crowded together that it is no easy matter to decipher them. The following isolated signs may however be distinguished; a nearly round spot, partly defaced, fringed with little rays; a T; a D turned so as to form an arch; a ramiform with four pairs of branches slightly inclined upwards, the upper ones being covered by an arch; and a figure composed of a vertical line cutting three parallel horizontal lines at their left ends.

The remaining figures, about seven in number, are very much entangled. The most intelligible of them seems to be a woman, not very conventionalized, walking to the left, with a big head, round belly, and prominent hips seen in profile, the arms being extended and curved downwards. Three others are anchor-like; one is a simple anchor, touching the head of the woman just mentioned. Its neighbour on the left has five bead-like swellings on the upper part of the right arm of the anchor, and above this there is a large circumflex. At its base the body divides into three

equal appendages representing the legs and phallus; across it runs a horizontal line, pectinate below and ending on the right in a vertical triangular object, possibly intended for an axe. Still more to the left is the third of these figures; it has the curve of the anchor much developed, and three lines side by side project like rays from the right arm. The line of the body is short and narrowed below almost to a point, and then divides into two appendages, one short and the other very long. Two other figures resemble ramiforms; in one, nine transverse lines, more or less curved and concentric, are cut by an upright axial stroke; the second figure has only seven transverse lines, some being inclined slightly upwards on either side, but not curved. The second and third branches from the top on both sides are joined together at the ends to form loops; so are the second and third from the bottom, but on one side only; the upper cross-piece is thicker in the middle, thus appearing to form a head, and is prolonged for some distance to the right over three other horizontal parallel lines.

On the opposite side of the chamber, facing this frieze, are two figures in brown that only become visible on wetting the rock. The first consists of bands, formed of double rows of fine dots, which take the shape of a cross on the left, a branching bough in the middle, and a double arch on the right. The second figure is a horse's head in palaeolithic style, similar to those of the cave of La Pileta (Malaga). It is possible that the punctuations just mentioned, apparently so out of place in the neolithic surroundings of the province of Cadiz and reminiscent of the dotted red figures of the above cave, are also palaeolithic.

PALOMAS II (Plate xv, Map E)

This is a small oblong niche, a little to the left of the preceding cave, reached by a difficult climb up a very steep wall of rock; it contains about fifteen paintings. On the left is a spiral in red, formed by a line coiled four times on itself. Beside it are two symbols; one is an oval figure of uncertain outline painted half in red and half in white; the second, nearly all white with only a few red touches, consists of a thick line, slightly bent, with ball-like ends and four legs ending in rounded or transverse feet.

Farther to the right is a second panel in which may be distinguished a pectiform and several other half-effaced figures; a large bar with a small projecting arm on one side near the middle; a π -shaped sign; a very simple human symbol, with parallel legs and crescent-like arms, joined to a large figure of unknown meaning; a thick bar, and beside it another with a crook. On the extreme right are a very open arch, an anchor-like human symbol, and a peculiar double-hooked figure.

PALOMAS III (Plate XVIII, Map E)

This is a wide and very open shelter in a gap in the rocky ridge through which one can descend without much difficulty from the top. It contains only one drawing, that of a male figure with arms and legs apart; to its left is a short line representing some unknown object.

PALOMAS IV (Plate XVIII, Map E)

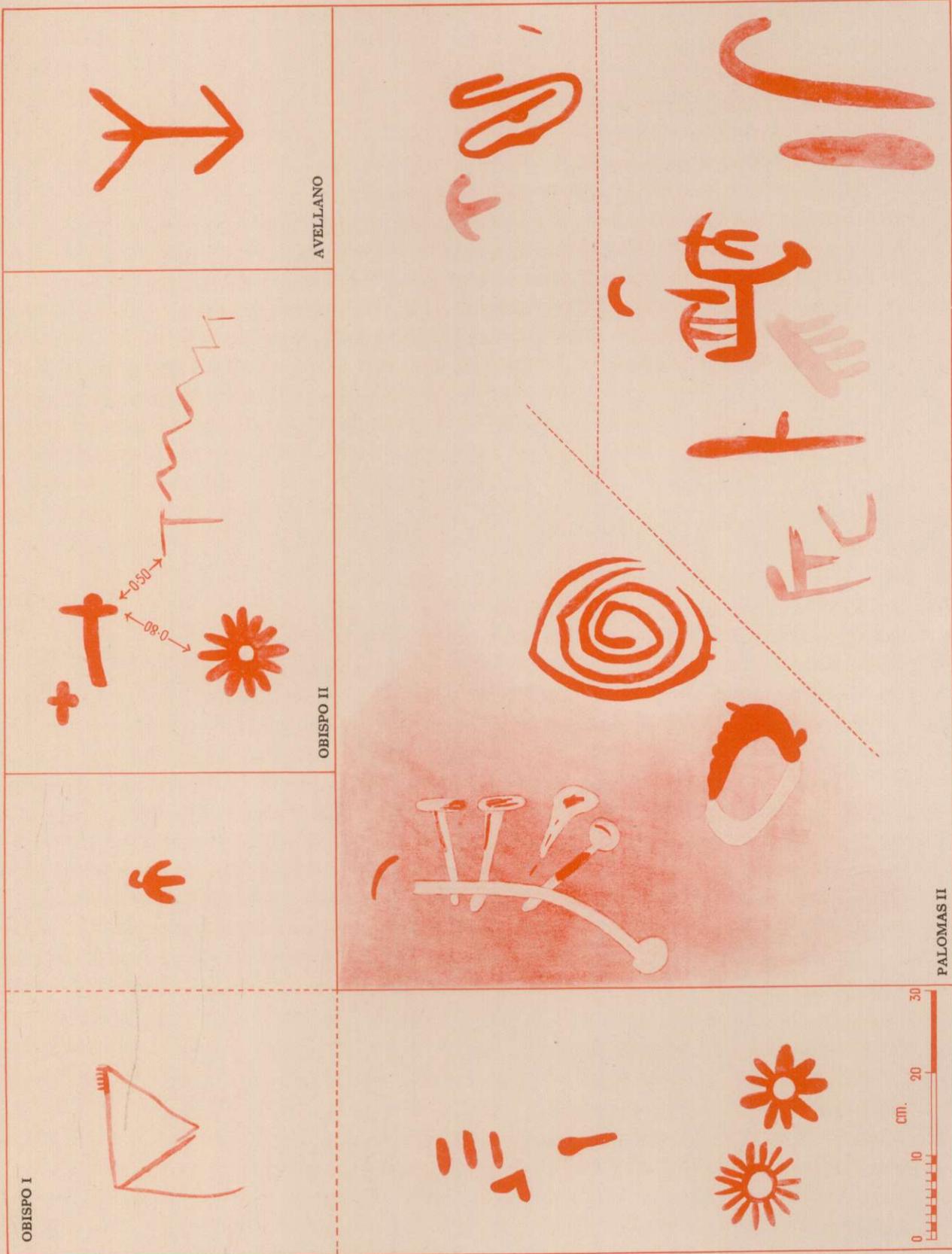
This vast and beautiful rock-shelter contains some sixty paintings in three tints; those of the earliest layer are yellow, or more often orange, the next blood red, and the latest red of a decidedly violet hue.

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The most ancient series consists almost entirely of quite intelligible, though conventionalized, figures of men and animals. Among the animals is one with long hanging tail and erect ear which may be dog or wolf; two others have ears and four legs but only a rudiment of a tail; the fourth is an oblong spot with two minute pairs of legs; a fifth is a horizontal line, standing on three legs and surmounted by a triangle, which, in Africa, would be taken for a camel's hump. A single pectiform must doubtless also be counted with the animals.

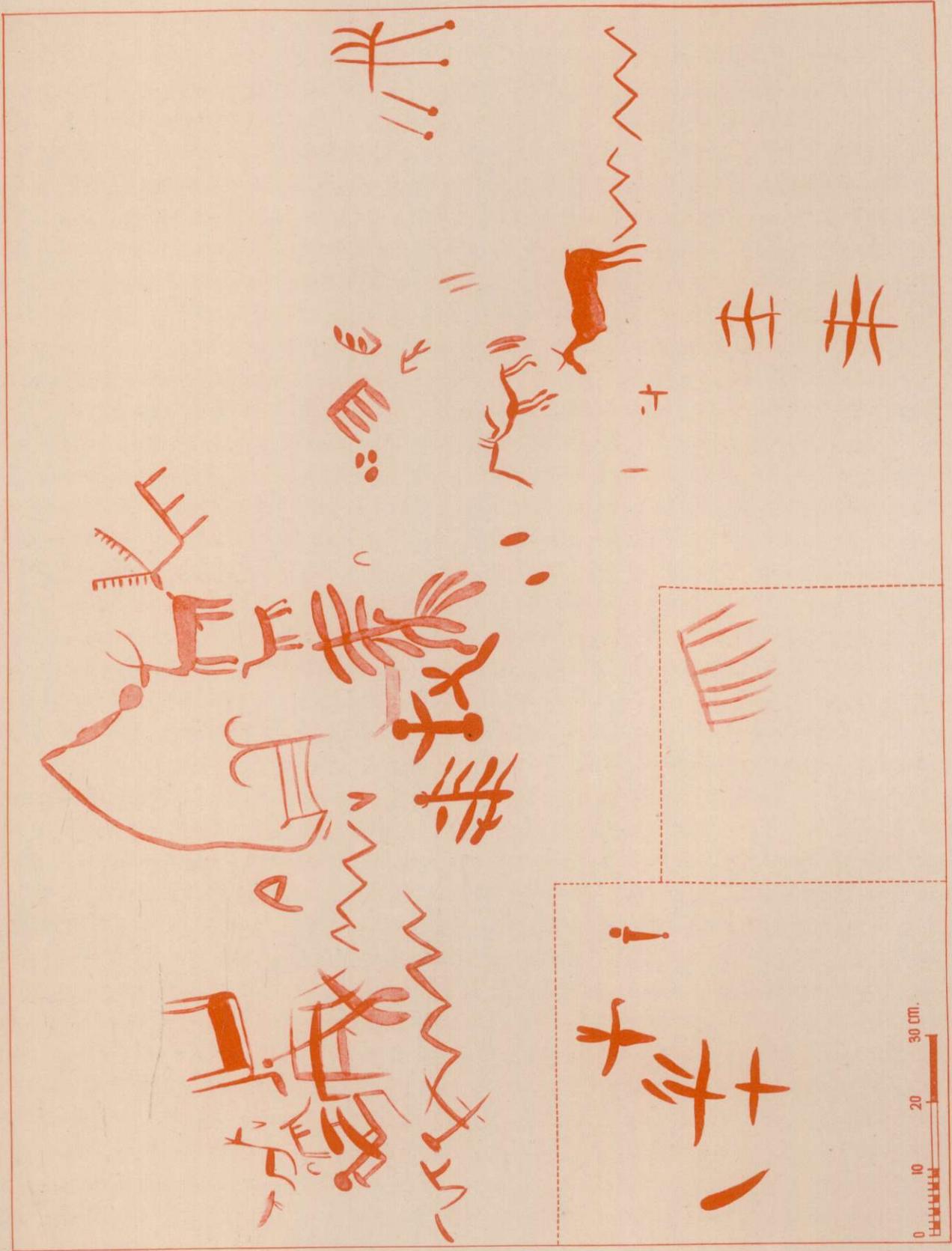
Among the human figures are two that seem to be taking each other by the hand; the smaller on the right is a man, the other, larger and more carefully drawn, undoubtedly a woman; the artist has modelled the lower limbs in some detail and indicated the breasts by a medial swelling of the line of the body. Two other men with indication of sex, and five without it, are examples of the same semi-realistic or less conventional stage of neolithic art. In three figures, of which two are male and one is sexless, the head has disappeared, the top being made of the arch of the arms, which forms an anchor with the line of the body. In five this anchor-like upper portion only is drawn, the legs being omitted, though in one of them the head appears as well. The other human symbols are: part of a figure, in pale yellow, with one ansate arm, the other holding some unknown object; to the left of this drawing, in the same colour, is a trapezoid which may be the head of some female figure; another fragment (in the panel containing the couple mentioned above) with head a little flattened and triangular thorax, is part of a figure of the same kind. At the side of the woman's head is a painting resembling an heraldic bird with outstretched wings, its base being made of two oval spots, one resting on the other, which is in all probability another symbol of the same type. On the left, near the little animals, are two bars, side by side, broader in the middle, doubtless of similar origin. Two other human figures are reduced to the arch of the legs supporting a crook with globular end, or a bar with bent end. Another is a bar a little wider at the shoulders, with a ball at either end to represent the head and feet, and a zigzagging arm (?), drawn with a fine double line, extended on the left. It is probable, though less certain, that one must include in the human series a ramiform with three pairs of horizontal branches near the top of its stem.

The second or red series, much later than and occasionally obliterating the preceding one, shows a more highly developed phase of conventionalization. The principal group consists of drawings in fine lines not always preserved in full. One of these is the familiar bitriangular idol. Most of the others are long parallel bands, running horizontally and composed of chevrons or series of connected chevrons. These zigzags are the final stage of an exaggeration of the lateral appendages—human arms and legs; it is not unusual to find the last trace of the disappearing body in the shape of a chevron larger than the others, or of a central vertical line (as in Palomas I), or of a little triangle, as in one of the zigzags here. In the same style and colour are a very small pectiform sign, and a minute bird with two legs, long neck, and no head; in the same colour again, but in broad strokes, are a couple of twin spots, two arches (one having two upright bars within it), and a sort of irregular circle.



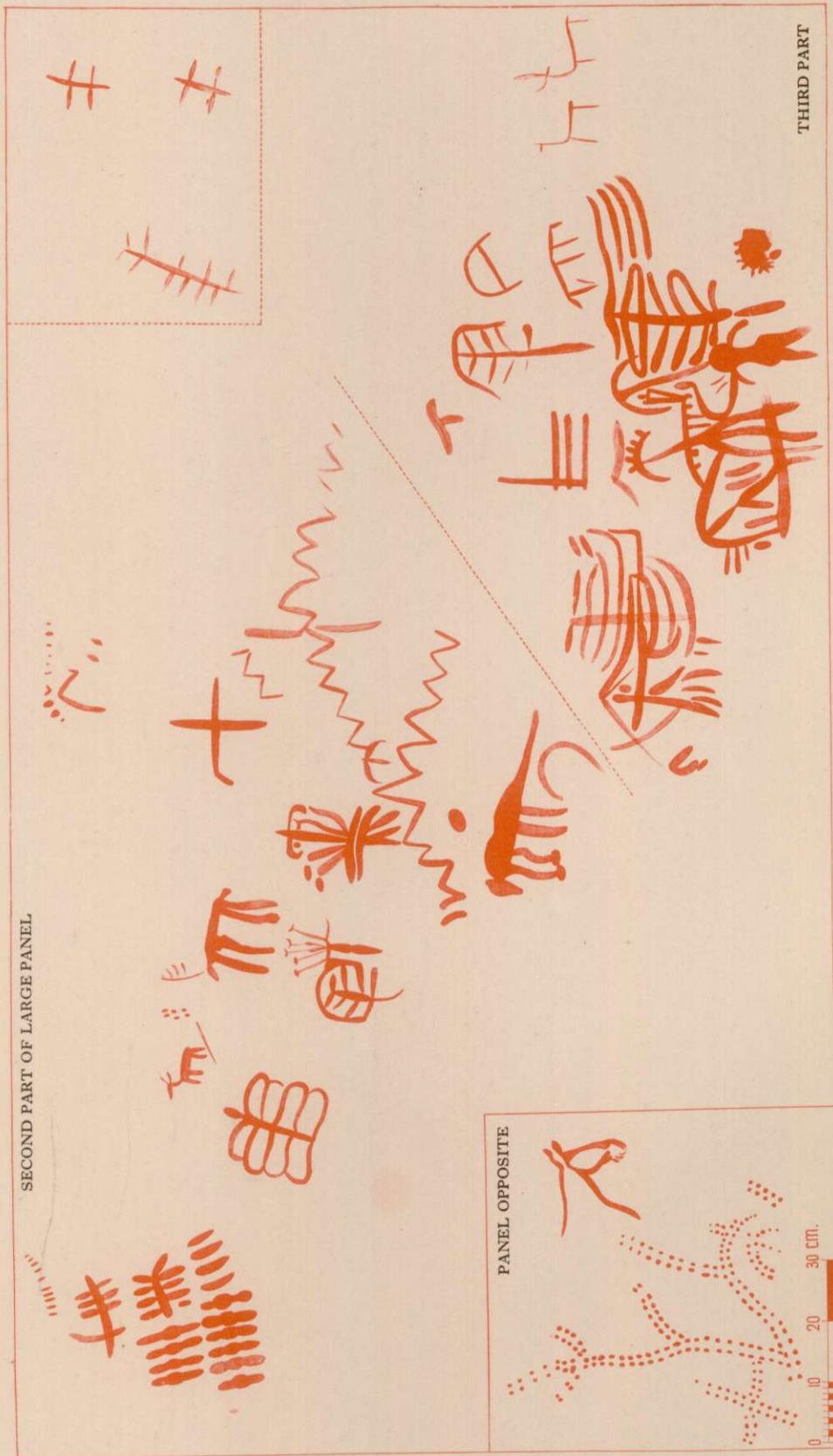
Obispo I and II, Avellano, Palomas II

PLATE XVI



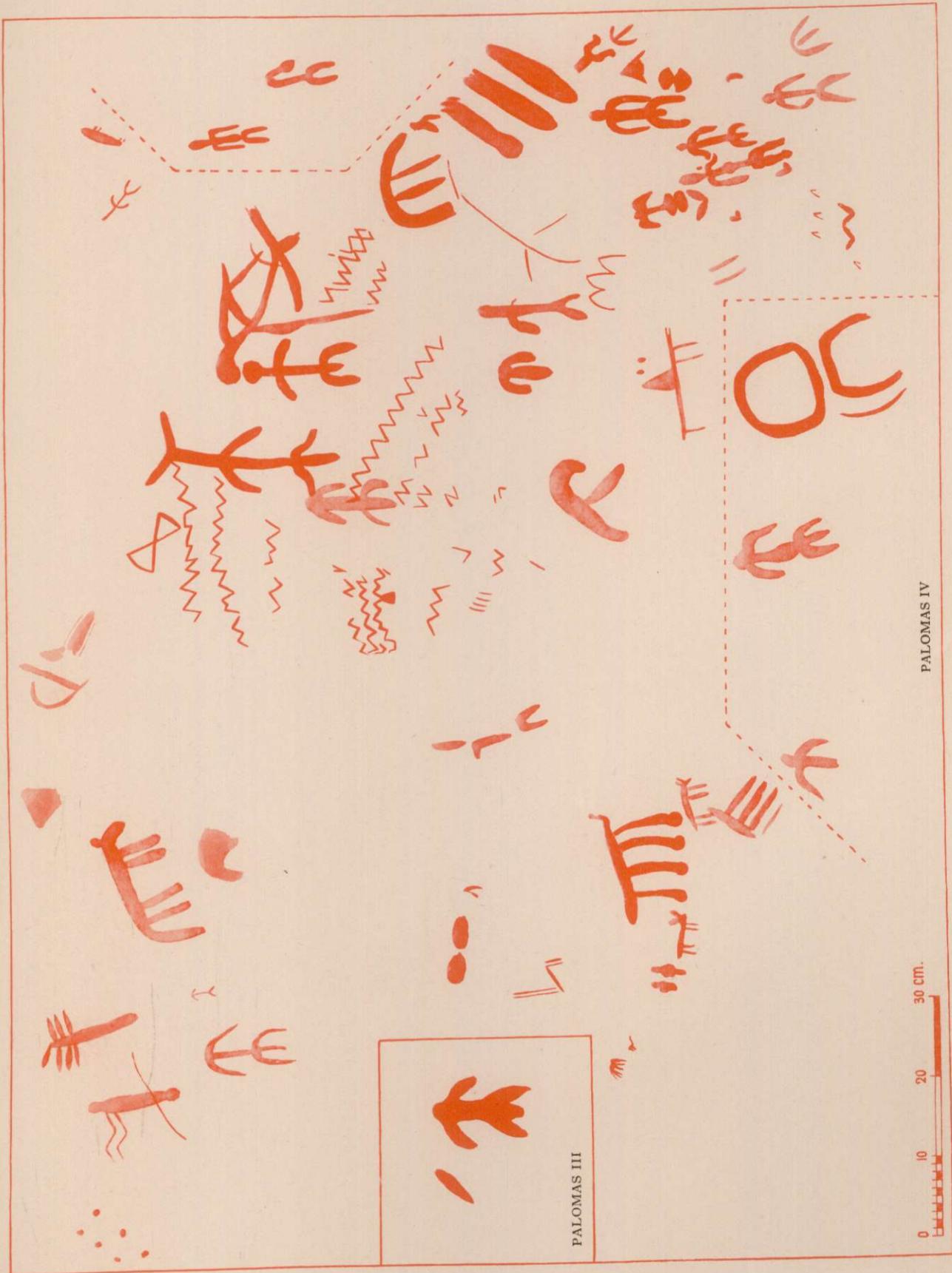
Palomas I. First Part of large panel

PLATE XVII



Palomas I. Second and Third Parts of large panel, and panel opposite

PLATE XVIII



PALOMAS IV

Palomas III and IV

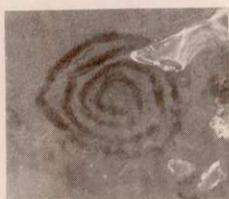
PALOMAS III



General view of the rocky ridge containing the caves of Las Palomas (p. 51)



View showing the positions of the four caves of Las Palomas



Palomas II



Palomas I

The third series, in violet red, comprises still fewer figures and in one instance is superposed on the second. It consists of a pectiform animal with large round feet; two big schematic human figures drawn in bold strokes, with arms and legs extended, one having a round head and the other a head in the shape of an open V; and another human symbol in fine lines, composed of a triple chevron for the flexed lower limbs, an axial stroke for the body, and a pair of downward-sloping lines for the arms.

VI

THE SIERRAS BETWEEN TARIFA AND BOLONIA

EXPLORATIONS in the high ground between the coast from Algeciras to Tarifa and the old Cadiz road (which runs through Venta de Ojén and Facinas) proved entirely fruitless,¹ and it was only in the smaller Sierras of Enmedio, San Bartolomé, and La Plata, that a few painted shelters, mostly of little importance, were found.

CUEVA DEL PEÑON DE LA TORRE DE LA PEÑA (Plate XX, Map G)

The Tower of the Peñon de la Peña stands on the rock of that name at the southernmost point of the Sierra de Enmedio near Km. 76 of the *carretera real* from Cadiz to Algeciras and at about 8 Km. from Tarifa. The cave containing the paintings, which we saw for the first time in January 1914, is not in the actual rock that carries the look-out tower, but in another, less than 200 m. nearer Cadiz and on the same level. It is small and low, and is partly filled with loose sand mixed with broken pieces of shell, charcoal, and potsherds of neolithic appearance. The drawings, orange in colour, cover the vertical wall on the right and the vault adjoining it. They number about a score and are evidently all of the same date and by the same hand.

On the vault, reading from left to right, may be seen: (1) a sexless human figure; the rectilinear body has a little chevron for the legs and terminates above in an inverted crescent, representing either arms or eyebrows, under which are twin dots for the breasts or eyes; from the points of the crescent hang two irregular chevrons, possibly intended for the hands. (2) A human figure with rectilinear body, pointed below, no legs, ansate arms, and head in the form of an open chevron not unlike that of the previous figure. (3) Two figures, a large and a small one, in the shape of a T with a slightly arched top, and a third like an irregular chevron. (4) A human figure with round head, ansate arms (like a D with curved side uppermost), rectilinear body, and incomplete legs; at the side is a little figure something like a double sickle. A little lower down is another similar figure. This likeness to a sickle, noticeable in the first figure, is much more marked in the second, and may possibly be intentional. (5) A human figure with body and legs like No. 1; the line of the body broadens gradually towards the top and then expands into an inverted crescent; this is evidently meant for the head, for the arms are shown as well, one stretched out and the other holding an oval object with a vertical point, possibly a small shield and a javelin.

The drawings on the right wall consist of: (1) a cruciform figure of an archer without legs, the arrow continuing with a thinner stroke the line of the arm; the bow forms a perfect D with the line of the body. (2) Three very simple figures, namely a crosier, a bar with a round head, and an ϵ lying on its back. (3) A human figure

¹ M. Breuil has, however, been informed of the existence of a dolmen, some 2 or 3 Km. north of the *ventorro* at Km. 94 on the high road from Cadiz to Algeciras. He also

learnt that flints are very abundant at a place called Las Caheruelas in the cultivated land 10 Km. north of Tarifa.

TORRE DE LA PEÑA, DESOLLACABRAS

with crescent-shaped head, one arm akimbo and the other bent and raised; the body has no base, but half a centimetre below is a zigzag which may represent the flexed legs; there are enough instances of similar treatment elsewhere to make this a likely interpretation. (4) A little lower down is a double symmetrical series of three and four slightly concave horizontal lines. (5) A figure (probably female) nearly the same as No. 3, but with a round base to the body and a hand with six fingers on the uplifted arm.

CAVE AT SOUTH END OF SIERRA DE ENMEDIO

Our guide, Mena, had told us of another shelter, which has a single very commonplace drawing, among the rocks of the Sierra de Enmedio about 2 Km. farther north; we did not however think it worth while to verify his description, as time was needed for more important work elsewhere.

CUEVA DE LA PEÑA DE DESOLLACABRAS (Plate xx, Map G)

The Sierra de Enmedio merges gradually towards the north into the beautiful highland of Los Organos (Sierra de Fates) and the Sierra de Salaviciosa, which ends at Facinas. At the junction of the last two *sierras* is a very prominent rock, the Peña de Desollacabras; one reaches it after a very stiff climb and finds oneself among rocks standing up like ruins on a comparatively level grassy surface. Numerous traces of the sojourn of a neolithic tribe may be seen on the ground; mortars, pestles, bit of ochre, pottery, &c. There is no cave here worthy of the name, but under a large turtle-shaped mass is a narrow winding hollow with three figures painted in yellow on its very low roof. The first, on the left as one enters, recalls the drawings of the Torre de la Peña, having a crescent-shaped head, ansate arms forming a horizontal D, and no legs. There is a second figure 50 cm. farther in, also on the left, and 50 cm. beyond this again, a third; these are both in the form of a very elongated and rather complicated pectiform.

CUEVA DE SALADAVIEJA (Plate xx, Map G)

This is a very small winding crevice, difficult to find, inside a passage formed by the splitting of the sandstone stratum. Its only drawings are two anchor-like human figures reduced to arms and body, one having a small swelling to represent the head. This rock is about 4 Km. NNE. of Desollacabras at the north-westernmost end of the Sierra de Saladavieja, from which point there is a very extensive view towards the Laguna de Tarifa (south-eastern end of the Laguna de la Janda).

CUEVA DE BETIN (Plates XXI, XXII, Map G)

On the west bank of the Río del Valle the fine isolated upland of San Bartolomé rises to a height of 437 m. above sea level. On approaching it from the north by the track from Facinas to Betin one sees that it is divided into two parts, namely the south-eastern portion, very jagged in outline, on the left, and that to the NNW., where the sandstone strata, inclined gently towards the left, end abruptly in high crags on the right. On the grassy slope at their feet, between clumps of wild olive, stand the scattered houses of Betin. In the village and around it may be seen numerous tombs cut in the flat stone and even on perched blocks.

THE SIERRAS BETWEEN TARIFA AND BOLONIA

There are two painted caves close by. The first is a little to the north of the houses, above the walled gardens. It is a low uninhabitable cave, with sloping floor, very wet and slippery, a mere fissure between two dipping sandstone strata. This uncomfortable site contains about fifty drawings. The greater number are dark brown, superposed in places on red ones, and, except for a few on the vertical edge of a cornice to the left on entering, have all been painted on the sloping roof.

On the low part of the vault (also on the left) are some drawings in orange yellow that seem to be merely a faded part of a panel of red drawings: amongst them are a chevron; a 'barrier' sign in which a horizontal line connects three verticals; and another in which it joins up two short uprights while crossing eight longer ones.

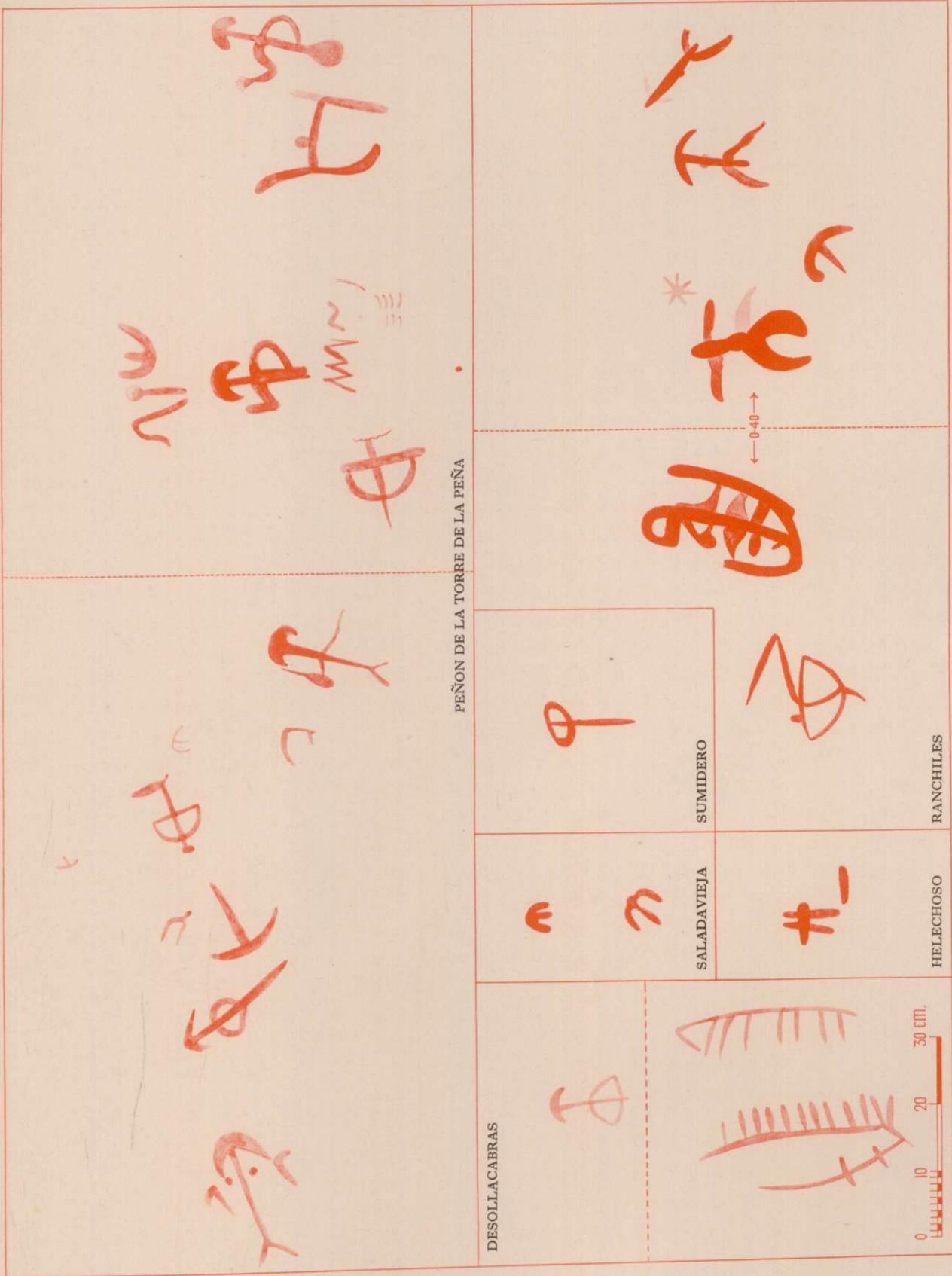
The adjoining red figures comprise a 'barrier' with three verticals; a pectiform with only two teeth, and another with four teeth and two ears (?); and two defaced human symbols, each of which lacks a side. One of them belongs to the family of men with ansate arms; he has no head, only one leg, and phallus. The other has only one arm, sloping downwards, and one bowed leg. A cruciform sign in the same panel, with arms a little curved, is not unlike a swastika. The other red signs in the cave are: a figure in shape like a polished axe; a short ramiform with four strokes on either side, somewhat divergent; a man reduced to a bar, with at one end a single arm sloping down like a hook and at the other a little fork for the legs; a bar with two small perpendiculars on one side; and two bars composed each of three strokes placed end to end. These latter bear a strong resemblance to certain armless female figures.

The brown paintings, far more numerous than the others, are also extremely conventionalized. Four of them are related to the ϕ -men with ansate arms; of these, only two have the sex indicated, all have the legs apart and one has the head projecting beyond the circle of the arms and surmounted with a bent antenna on one side, that on the other side having disappeared. Another group consists of figures with linear bodies and pairs of appendages from two to fourteen in number; in some the upper end is bifurcated and the lower is in the shape of a trident. Beside these figures, one of which might be called a ramiform, we may place two Es standing on their teeth (also of the human series) as well as two cruciform figures. Another figure, like a shield with a sort of trident inside it, is probably also of human significance.

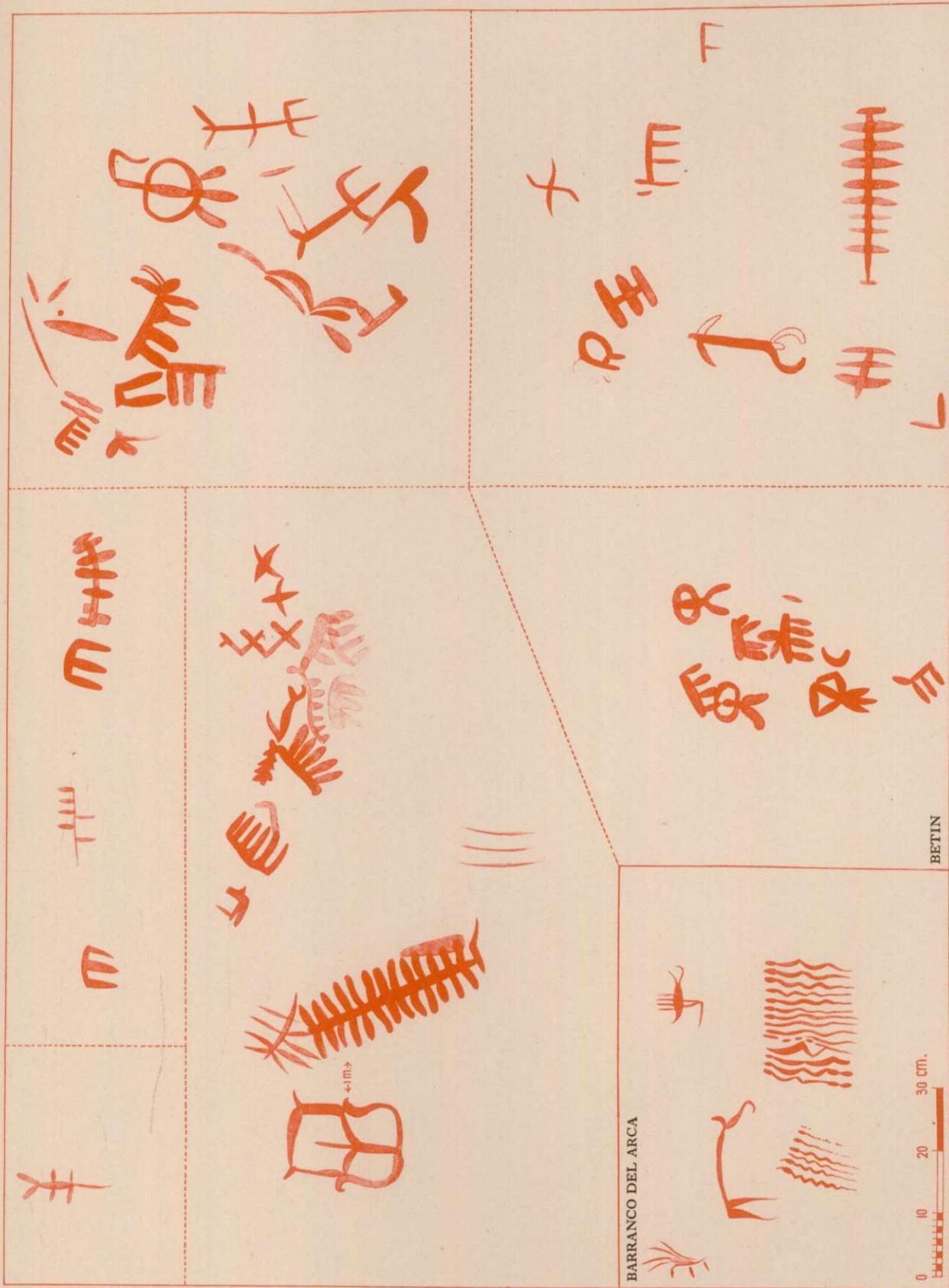
There are only two undoubted drawings of animals; they are both very much conventionalized and consist of a stag with five legs and antler like an ear of corn, and an ibex with three horns, one big and two small. A pectiform with four teeth, and another with three, seem to carry one or two ears, showing their animal significance. The numerous series of pectiforms with three, four, and six teeth may have the same origin, but that is less certain. We may mention also a 'barrier' sign, with six or seven cross-pieces, some double concentric arches, and a sign composed of several Xs joined together like a pantograph.

CUEVA DEL BARRANCO DEL ARCA (Plate XXI, Map G)

The second cave of San Bartolomé, in the Barranco del Arca (which separates the two halves of the *massif*), has only one small panel containing four red figures. One, badly preserved, may be a stag with palmate antlers; another is a horizontal spindle-



Peñon de la Torre de la Peña, Desollacabras, Saladavieja, Mesa del Helechoso, Sumidero, Ranchiles



Betin and Barranco del Arca



Cave of Betin (p. 57)



Cave of La Carrahola (p. 60)



Cave of Los Ladrones (p. 67)



Cave of Los Arrieros (p. 69)

shaped mark, forked at its right end, and crossed by several vertical lines, two of which unite below. The others are two groups of seven and fourteen serpentine figures, the best defined of which have an oblong spot for the head at the top and a long sinuous or zigzagging body; in three cases the tail ends in a spot similar to the head. It is very possible that these drawings are really intended for snakes.

After our visit to San Bartolomé M. Cabré found two other caves there, containing a few drawings, which we had no opportunity of seeing.

CUEVA DE RANCHILES (Plate xx, Map G)

In the Sierra de la Plata, above the Roman port of Bolonia and the Punta Camarinal, are three painted caves of little importance. The most noteworthy takes its name from the farm-house known as the Casa de Ranchiles, which stands at the foot of the Laja del Helechoso, less than 2 Km. north-west of Bolonia. It is a small cave, with southern aspect, in a rock projecting from the hill-side only a few metres east of the house. It contains seven figures in red, three of which are conventionalized men with arms and legs extended; a fourth belongs to the same group, but is reduced to a mere anchor. To the side may be seen a much faded star with seven rays. 40 cm. to the left of the first group is an irregular ramiform figure, enclosed in an inverted arch and ending above in a loop. Then comes a sort of bow crossed by a medial line, which is continued obliquely downwards and terminates above in a large V, placed sideways; this figure probably belongs to the group of men with ansate arms.

CUEVA DE LA MESA DEL HELECHOSO (Plate xx, Map G)

On climbing the steep ascent to the left that winds round the Laja del Helechoso, one reaches a small plateau called the Mesa del Helechoso, where a little cave can be found. It contains only a single figure in red in the form of an H, of which the horizontal stroke, which is very thick, passes beyond the uprights on each side.

CUEVA DEL SUMIDERO (Plate xx, Map G)

On the way from Ranchiles to the Cortijada del Realillo de Bolonia one passes along the foot of a hill bristling with rocks. Among these are several shelters, one of which, called El Sumidero, has a single ϕ -shaped figure.

Two kilometres north of this spot, near the summit of the Sierra de la Plata, may be seen several tombs cut out of the rock and some traces of an ancient Ibero-Roman station; also the famous 'Silla del Papa', and the imposing remains of a great monument in unhewn stone, which according to the investigations of Monsieur Pierre Paris, Director of the Institut Français de Madrid, dates only from Roman times.

VII

VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

WE will now describe the rock-shelters in the neighbourhood of Los Barrios, a small town 6 Km. from the coast and 3 from the railway station of the same name on the line from Gibraltar to Ronda. It is built on a gravel terrace, very rich in Chellean and Acheulean industries,¹ on the left bank of the Rio de las Cañas or Palmones. This stream cuts deep into the great Eocene sandstone highland which is bounded on the west by the valleys of the Barbate river and the La Janda lagoon.

LEFT BANK OF THE RIO PALMONES

On the left bank of the river we were only able to find two places with paintings.

CUEVA DE LA CARRAHOLA (Plates XXII, XXIII, Map F)

One is the Carrahola, a very small shelter $5\frac{1}{2}$ Km. NNW. of Los Barrios, with floor sloping steeply towards the opening, in a sugar-loaf rock near the goatherd's cabin of the same name. Though at an altitude of only 213 m. and easily reached by the road from Algeciras to Jerez (which one must leave after crossing the Marisca *arroyo* for the mule track to Alcalá de los Gazules), it overlooks much of the surrounding country. The paintings (at the end of the cave on the left) seem to belong to two different periods; the older, in pale red, have others in brighter red painted over them. The first named consist of bars and irregular branching figures, and (below the little panel on the left) of a rectangular figure. The later drawings, in addition to numerous irregularly scattered dots, comprise a double circle, the inner one being eye-shaped and the outer having unequal and irregularly placed projecting rays; also two very degenerate figures belonging to the group of ϕ -shaped men, the circle of the ϕ being transformed into a recumbent D. In one case the convex side is below; in the other, in which it is uppermost, the axis does not cross it at all and the curve is split up into two arms that pass each other without joining.

CUEVA DEL PAJARRACO (RIO PALMONES) (Plate XXIV, Map F)

A little more than a kilometre away as the crow flies, on the northern flank of the precipitous *cerros* that dominate the left bank of the Arroyo de las Tunas (a tributary of the Palmones) and high above the floor of the valley, is another 'Cave of the Vulture', a small painted shelter, so low and narrow that one cannot stand upright in it. On a natural lintel is painted a group of very interesting figures that appears to represent a hunting scene. Near the centre stands a man drawing a bow towards the left; his head, much faded, is surmounted by an enormous plume curved backwards. Behind him, that is to say at the right end of the frieze, are a large and two smaller hinds, some of whose legs have disappeared through weathering of the rock. To the left of the

¹ The richest centre of the station is at the Loma de los Palmitos, which the Jerez road crosses near the remains of the Calvary of the Tres Marias.

CARRAHOLA, PAJARRACO (R. PALMONES), ALISOS

hunter, right up against the point of his arrow, is a big stag with a single long antler bearing ten tines; to its breast is applied the point of an indefinite object, more or less triangular. Further to the left, making towards the stag, are first, a single hind, next, in the second line, two more hinds, and then, in the third line, three animals, of which two are obvious hinds, and the third a brocket, or yearling deer, with a single bifurcated antler. One of the hinds, whose legs and ears are shorter, is going in the opposite direction. In the middle is a cruciform symbol, which may be either a much simplified human figure, or possibly a semi-human spiritual being driving the herd towards the hunter. This is a remarkably intelligible and well-drawn group. In respect of neolithic paintings of animals this Cave of the Pajarraco (Rio Palmones), that of Las Figuras, and the Large Shelter of Bacinete form a class apart. Moreover there are here no complications as a result of superposition, and everything has been painted at the same time and probably by the same artist.

RIGHT BANK OF THE RIO PALMONES

The hilly country bordering the right bank of the river is far richer in painted rocks than the opposite bank. One or more are to be found in each of the narrow lateral valleys, that is to say, in the Arroyo del Tiradero (or del Raudal), the Arroyo de los Principes, and the Arroyo de la Jata (or los Garlitos).

1. *Valley of the Tiradero*

CUEVA DE LOS ALISOS (ALDERS) (Plates XXIV, XXX, XXXI, Map F)

To reach this cave, which is about 5 Km. from Los Barrios, one leaves the village by the path leading by way of the Tiradero and the Venta de Ojén to Tarifa, and mounts the southern bank of the *arroyo*; then rounding the steep pyramid (called Los Castillejos in the map) that dominates the lowlying plain of the Rio Palmones, the bay of Algeciras and Gibraltar, one arrives at the *dehesa* (or pasture) called La Zorrilla. A sharply narrowing valley between two protruding lines of sandstone strata attracts the eye by reason of the alders growing there; on ascending it one comes to a little shelter which on account of the nearly vertical climb of some 6 m. that must be made in order to reach it is by no means easy of access. The opening, which faces west, is about 4 m. wide, 3 m. deep, and 2 m. 50 high.

Figures are painted over nearly the whole surface of the shelter from the left side up to the centre. They are, from left to right: (1) a schematic drawing of a red stag or fallow deer, with five legs and antlers not fully grown; (2) a red hind with big ears, placed vertically, conventionalized too, like all the other animals; (3) three figures in carmine red, consisting of a bar, a human figure like a horizontal H, and another in the shape of a cross; (4) a reddish yellow animal, possibly carnivorous, with long waving tail and short legs; (5) a long oval yellow spot and two pink bars, one of which is split; (6) a red ibex running towards the left, drawn clumsily but with a good deal of movement; (7) to the right of the latter, a grotesque animal in red, having five legs, short tail, humped back, small head, and four divergent strokes for the two ears; (8) above the last two, a group of four long strokes in red brown, one of which ends in a fork; (9) a sort of incomplete tectiform, closed at one end, with two transverse

VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

lines; (10) a pink human symbol, probably female, with a round base to the body and arms extended in the form of an arch; (11) at some height above the ibex, a series of five parallel bands, some continuous, the others dotted, and several lobed or coalescent spots, also a bar, bulging at the upper end, in red; (12) to the right of the centre, a hind running towards the right, quite good for a neolithic drawing, and some badly preserved traces of a large animal facing left; (13) at the right end may be seen parts of three human figures in red, namely a woman, somewhat carefully drawn, with conical head, and arms falling symmetrically, the lower parts of the figure having been lost; a conventionalized man running to the left; and the upper half of a man with arm raised and bent.

PEÑON DE LA CUEVA (Plate xxv, Map F)

On the opposite side of the valley of Tiradero, in the Dehesa del Corchadillo, at the edge of the meadows and woods, level with the footpath from Tarifa to Los Barrios and above the *molinillo*, are two painted shelters of great interest, namely those of the Peñon de la Cueva and Los Pilones. In the open ground below the path lie two big rocks which have rolled down there in prehistoric times, the Peñon de la Cueva and, a little below it, the Peñon de la Tuna (which has no paintings). These rocks have been hollowed out by atmospheric action into very large but almost inaccessible caves, open to the south-east.

The Peñon de la Cueva is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Km. from the Cave of Los Alisos as the crow flies. It contains in its more sheltered left-hand cavity some thirty painted signs, plainly visible only when wetted. A few, orange red or pale red, are doubtless older than the rest, which are red or brown red in colour. No representations of animals are to be found, but scaliform, ramiform, and stelliform signs, together with a certain number of very simple schematic figures of men. Three of the stelliforms, which have five or six rays, seem to form a transition to the human symbols. There is little doubt that the ramiforms, which have from two to five cross-pieces, also represent human beings; one with five cross-pieces resembles in its lower part the drawings often met with of a seated man with outstretched legs.

CUEVA DE LOS PILONES (RIO PALMONES) (Plate xxiii, Map F)

In the neighbouring valley, several hundred metres to the north-west, and close to the path mentioned above, is a second Cueva de los Pilones, opening towards the west. There are no paintings inside, but outside, on the right of the entrance, is a panel of about a dozen drawings mostly in bright red, one less well-preserved than the others, and two in yellow red. Six of these are like hooks, more or less sharply bent; three are headless and sexless human figures with arms and legs in the shape of an arch; one resembles the figure 8, and another a triangle with curved sides.

THE BACINETE ROCK-SHELTERS (Plate xxx and Fig. 40, Map F)

These are reached from Los Barrios by following the Jerez road as far as the iron bridge over the Rio Palmones, and then going off to the south-west in the direction of the Boquete Lobato. One thus attains the brow of a hill, steep towards the river, but with a slight incline on the further side, whence a little valley slopes

PEÑON DE LA CUEVA, PILONES, BACINETE

gently towards the north. On the open ground at the top are a few charcoal-burners' huts. Several tombs cut in the sandstone rock, two of which have the place of the head marked, may be seen there. Close by a rocky projection forms a sort of natural parapet across the brow of the hill, whence doubtless it has acquired its name of El Portadillo. Following the foot of these rocks to the left, one reaches a point where they turn sharply at right angles and overlook the downward slope in a south-easterly direction.

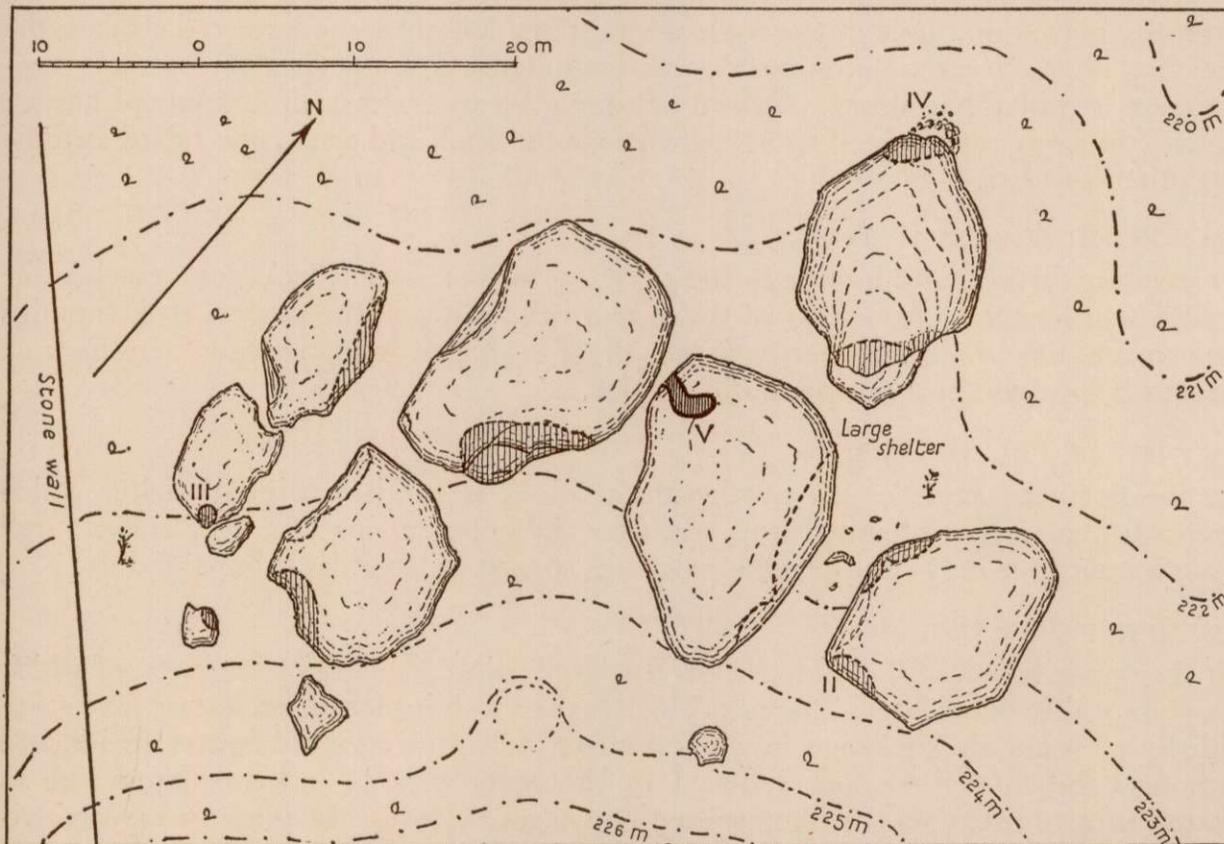


Fig. 40. Plan of the Bacinete Rock-Shelters, after W. Verner.

BACINETE I (Plate xxvi, Map F)

A few metres farther on, facing the Bay of Algeciras and Gibraltar, is a nearly vertical surface, sufficiently sheltered to have preserved a painted figure, consisting of a long horizontal line with ten short vertical strokes on either side but not exactly opposite to each other. The lower right-hand part of the figure has been damaged by scaling of the rock.

Returning to the neighbourhood of the tombs and crossing the rocky ledge that traverses the crest, one arrives at a series of great blocks, detached remains of a large sandstone ridge, dipping towards the north-west. Large cork trees have sprung up all round them and in between the upper blocks; and the presence of these trees,

VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

picturesque though they are, added to the difficulty of getting back to a suitable point of view, makes it almost impossible to take satisfactory photographs of the painted rocks there.

BACINETE II (Plate xxvi, Map F)

The first shelter to be observed has a broad, slightly concave surface, much damaged, and at one time covered with drawings, which are now for the most part ruined by the weather. To the right may be seen a sort of pectiform with five teeth; a double line of rather vague dots; a rectangle enclosing three dots; and two bars, each carefully placed in a hole in the wall. More to the left are some large red strokes, the meaning of which cannot be guessed; the resemblance to a muzzle given by their combination is probably illusory. Drawn obliquely across them is an undoubted human figure, the body represented by a line, with round head, and arms, one raised and the other lowered.

BACINETE III (Plate xxvi, Map F)

Proceeding farther, and leaving to the right a group of seven blocks, one reaches the wall which forms the boundary of the *dehesa*. A shelter in the nearest rock contains two sprinklings of red dots partly flaked off, a ϕ -shaped human symbol, ending in a trident below, and portions of another figure.

BACINETE IV (Plate xxvi, Map F)

At the northern angle of the northernmost block is another painted shelter which seems to have been inhabited and contains obvious remains of a very ancient wall of dry stones; its only decipherable paintings consist of irregular groups of dots.

BACINETE V (Plate xxvi, Map F)

At the opposite end of the same rock is the large painted shelter of Bacinete, of which we will speak in detail later. The next block to the south is pierced on its north-western side by a low and dark passage, in which a dozen well-preserved red figures are hidden. Amongst these are three men reduced to the shape of a ϕ , and two others like Ps placed back to back; another (interposed between two ϕ s) is like these two symmetrical Ps joined together above, and resembles, doubtless by chance, a hafted polished axe. An arch-like figure and two sinuous bands complete the panel. Another drawing near the entrance is more difficult to describe; a vertical trident, with its points uppermost, is crossed at right angles by a horizontal line, the ends of which are lifted and rolled up, forming loops.

BACINETE VI (Plate xxvi, Map F)

A short distance to the north-east is a very small valley, with a shelter towards the end on the left, in which can be made out two double horizontal rows of dots, and also a small single row. On the roof, in addition to several irregular groups of dots, is a human symbol formed of a line with double cross-piece; and, more to the right, a large sprinkling of dots, partly effaced.

Close by, in the angle where the valley begins to ascend, is a low and half dark

tunnel-like cave sloping rapidly towards the end, in which instead of the hoped-for paintings we found nothing but the bones of a cow.

LARGE SHELTER OF BACINETE (Plates xxvii, xxxi, Map F)

Next to the Cave of Las Figuras this is the most important painted rock in the district. The floor of the shelter projects in an irregular terrace some 2 m. above the ground. It is about 8 m. wide by 4 deep, and its maximum height in front is 3 or 4 m. It contains over sixty-five drawings, of which forty-one are human figures, sixteen animals, and the rest mere signs. All these figures, in bright or paler red, or yellowish red, with the exception of a few out of reach on the right, are painted on the accessible part of the roof where it slopes down to meet the rising floor. The animals are as well drawn as the best of those at Las Figuras; one can count among them five stags (one of which may be a fallow deer); six hinds; two carnivora with long tails, one with a pointed and the other with a thick square muzzle; one possibly bovine, and two doubtful animals. Most of these are on the left side of the shelter,



Fig. 41.

where are also the best drawn human figures. The most remarkable are a series of men armed with axes (Fig. 41); three are complete, walking to the side, while four others are without legs, and, except for the lifted arm holding the axe, would fall into the class of ϕ -shaped men. The principal of these human figures recalls in its careful drawing the naturalistic rock paintings of Eastern Spanish Art; the legs and thighs are fully modelled, the waist excessively slender and the body full face; one of the bent arms, which are unduly small, seems to wear a bracelet, and brandishes a little axe drawn in some detail; its handle is in the shape of a very short club in the middle of which is inserted a sleeve for the reception of the axe proper, indicated in the drawing by a slight projection. The head of this hunter is replaced by a kind of inverted shield. The heads of the two other men on the left carrying axes are not depicted in this peculiar way, but are more or less rounded and have each two appendages, symmetrical in the one case to indicate the two ears, and in the other asymmetrical, possibly representing one ear and the nose. Each of them has one arm folded across the body, while the other brandishes the axe; but there is a fusion between the handle of the

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axe and the forearm, and the same simplification may be seen in three of the legless men carrying axes.

Another man, somewhat carefully drawn but without weapons, occupies the centre of the left side of the shelter (Fig. 42), as if he were a personage of great importance; he is naked and walking to the left, the body is seen from in front, the bent arms are extended, the enormous hands open and the fingers stretched apart, four in the right

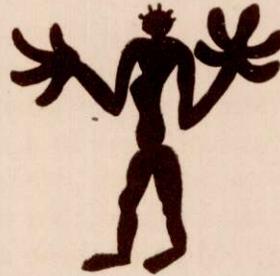


Fig. 42.

hand and five in the left. The round head carries five little tufts of hair. Like the men armed with axes, there is also a group of women carrying fans or some fan-shaped object (Fig. 43). None of them have legs or head ornaments; the triangular or heart-



Fig. 43.

shaped fan is in three cases level with the shoulder, and in one lowered. A similar figure holds an object wider than it is long, which resembles a sort of mallet; another has both arms akimbo; and the last, in the shape of a cross, seems to carry a bow. All those holding fans have the other arm akimbo.

Beside these somewhat realistic human figures there are many others much more simplified. To the extreme right of the shelter can be seen a little man with pointed head, and arms and legs apart, bearing in each hand a large square object; other figures are cruciform, ϕ -shaped, or anchor-like. A conventional symbol, in the form of an H with the cross-bar projecting on each side, that often occurs seems to portray a human couple, the vertical strokes representing the two bodies and the horizontal line their arms. The outside arms sometimes hold objects, or else are akimbo; when these objects take the shape of long upright lines the figure resembles a railing, or 'barrier', with single horizontal and four vertical strokes.

Symbols not obviously related to the human figure are rare; one may mention, however, two pectiforms, an inverted V, a π , a group of meanders similar to those on

certain Andalusian neolithic rocks, several irregular circles, eleven groups of dots and one group of five parallel bars.

2. *Valley of the Arroyo de los Principes*

CUEVA MAGRO (Plate XXVI, Map F)

About 4 Km. north-west of the Tajos de Bacinete and beyond the Cortijo de las Angarillas stands the Cerro del Tajo de los Principes; at its eastern end, at the head of a ravine called the Canuto de los Ñames and at a height of about 300 m. on the jagged rocky crest, whence there is a very extensive view, is situated a cave still used as a dwelling by charcoal-burners, known as the Cueva Magro. Its walls are so blackened with smoke that one can only make out a few drawings. The lower surface of a projecting ledge, to the right on entering, which measures 70 by 25 cm., is covered with very numerous dots difficult to decipher owing to the dark ground; it was only possible to copy a portion of them. Very high up are a group of eight dots in two rows, also two figures, one of which seems to be a conventionalized woman with neither head nor legs, and with one ansate arm and the other arm extended horizontally and holding a hanging object; the second figure resembles the sceptre-like objects found in the dolmens of the Gironde, slightly wider at one end and anchor-shaped at the other.

3. *Valley of the Arroyo de la Jata (or Hata)*

The two valleys to the north of the Tajo de los Principes, namely the Valdeinfierno and the Valdespera, have so far as we know no painted rocks; in the valley of the Arroyo de la Jata (or de los Garlitos), however, there are several shelters containing paintings which we will now describe. The centre of these is the house known as the Casa del Rincón, which is built on a rocky platform dominating the low ground. Several tombs cut in the stone are to be seen in the neighbourhood; the edges of one of them have served as a polisher or sharpener, probably in historic times.

(A) *Right Bank of the Arroyo de la Jata*

There are three painted caves in the Loma de los Garlitos.

CUEVA DE LOS LADRONES (ROBBERS) (Plates XXII, XXV, Map F)

The westernmost, at a place called the Boquete de los Bueyes, above the Casa del Castillo, is known as the Cueva de los Ladrones, being admirably concealed in the dense forest. It has two entrances, the smaller looking out over the valley and the larger hidden by masses of rock and opening into a narrow passage between them. It is, in fact, a pyramidal rock almost completely hollowed out. The left wall measures 4 m. across, the right wall 7, and the principal entrance 8 m.; the depth from one entrance to the other is 4 m. The drawings, about a dozen in number, are in red and all on the first part of the wall on the right as one enters by the main opening.

The first on the left is the upper part of a large person with a big ovoid head, adorned with upward-pointing rays possibly representing a crown. From the left of the big chest projects a fan- or heart-shaped lobe, while on the other side the arm

VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

is extended in a narrow winding line towards the second figure. This has the head shaped like a sugar-loaf and the body reduced to a mere trunk, with one arm twice bent at right angles; on the left a long forearm stretches out towards an object resembling a large axe with a short handle. The third figure is a very simple drawing of an archer with one ansate arm and the other extended and holding a bow (represented by a straight line) and an arrow. The fourth figure is less clear; it comprises a human body with legs apart, a double arch, a horizontal bar, and a large spot. The fifth belongs to the family of ϕ men, but has one ansate arm only, the other arm being stretched out horizontally; the legs are represented by a little cross-piece. Next to the right is a goat, having two of its legs ending in ball-like feet. The seventh and eighth are ϕ -shaped figures. Lower down on the right come six bars and an arch, then a squatting human figure cut up into three detached portions, namely an oblong transverse stroke for the head, an enormous heart-shaped thorax, and small ovoid base, from which the two bent legs rise obliquely. Last of all, a little sign consisting of a vertical line with two lateral bars, like the letter t.

CUEVA DE LOS COCHINOS (NEAR RINCÓN) (Plates XXIV, XXX, Map F)

About a kilometre farther east is a big *laja*, or outcrop of bare rock, hanging obliquely over the valley. In the wall facing uphill, i. e. towards the south-east, is another 'Cave of the Pigs', a shallow but very lofty shelter, hidden by trees. This cave is in the so-called Canuto Puerto del Moro. The only figures to be seen there are two hinds in orange red at the back of the shelter and at a height of some 5 m., the larger measuring about 16 by 27 cm. It was of course impossible to make a tracing and one had to be content with a freehand drawing. These two figures, inartistic though they are, are among the least conventionalized examples of Spanish neolithic art.

CUEVA DEL MEDIANO (Plates XXVIII, XXX, Map F)

There is a second *laja* towards the ESE., separated from the first by a little valley. Above this natural parapet is a level space in the middle of which is a depression hollowed laterally into a low but very broad semi-circular grotto, called the Cueva del Mediano. The whole of the first half of the left wall is covered with paintings, more than twenty in number.

From left to right comes first a group of eight schematic human figures, somewhat obliterated by scaling of the rock, six of which are male. Five have the legs and arms apart and the line of the body prolonged below to represent the phallus. In four of these the head is surmounted with a tuft of feathers or crowned with rays varying from three to five in number, and the largest of them has a bent right arm and the forearm fringed along its inner edge with several small points representing hair or some ornament. A fifth man, with one arm lifted, has a simpler head. Another human symbol, with triangular head and the base of the body broadened out, without legs, and with arms of unequal length, seems to belong to the well-known series of female figures formed of double triangles or double disks. The figure most to the left has neither base nor lower limbs; the right arm is raised and under the left arm, curved in the shape of a quadrant, is placed a little circle.

To the right of this group of human figures come two pectiforms with six and eleven teeth; these teeth are made for the most part of three strokes placed end to end and becoming shorter. The horizontal line of the upper pectiform is continued to the left in a zigzag, which may represent the head of an animal. Next to the right, after some vague fragments and bars of little interest, come a cross inscribed in a circle; a recumbent H with the cross-piece projecting beyond the uprights; another H, too much obliterated to permit of its being traced; a pectiform with three curved teeth; an irregular and doubtful figure, perhaps an animal with three feet and a little antler; and several spots.

The frieze of animals that follows commences with a confusion of arched lines, fine irregular dots, and a (possibly human) figure having a head drawn in outline in the shape of a semicircle with a vertical bisecting line. The first of the animals is a hind with very long ears and a big muzzle; the neck also is exaggerated, as often happens in this art group, while the body is too small. The legs are very carefully drawn for the period, being furnished with distinct feet, one of which shows the cleft of the hoof.

On the upper part of the next panel, over a fine double horizontal line, is a drawing of a bull (?). Its head is on the left, detached from the body, and has two large straight horns; the body is a mere pectiform of four bars with ball-shaped feet. A little to the right is a doubtful figure, apparently an animal, with body placed vertically. This is followed by a stag with head somewhat obliterated and antlers represented by a bunch of six radiating lines; its body resembles that of the bull, and the sex is indicated between the two pairs of legs, which by their divergence suggest the movement of the animal.

In the lower part we find first a conventional ibex, walking behind an animal with one small ear and no horns. Its carefully drawn legs by their direction again suggest motion. Above these is a figure formed of two fine parallel horizontal lines, joined together on the left by a short vertical line, and then a human symbol in trident form, without legs. The frieze of animals ends on the right with a conventional figure of a grazing ibex, having a rather exaggerated tail; and a stag with carefully drawn feet and head adorned with fantastic and irregular antlers.

50 cm. above the stag already mentioned as having antlers in the form of a bundle of six radiating lines is the lower part of a large sprinkling of big dots, some arranged roughly in circles and some in straight rows. Towards the bottom, four of these dots are completed by the addition of a little hooked line representing the neck and head of a bird. This recalls the paintings of Las Figuras, and seems to indicate that these arrangements of dots had a definite symbolical meaning for the artists who painted them here. Close to two of these birds on the left, a trapezoidal figure, standing on its base and surmounted by a stiffly drawn head, suggests a representation of some stele or schist idol.

(B) *Left Bank of the Arroyo de la Jata*

CUEVA DE LOS ARRIEROS (MULETEERS) (Plates XXII, XXIII, Map F)

To the north of the Casa del Rincón stretches the Sierra del Junquillo. About a

VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

kilometre from the house, in an isolated rocky mass on the edge of the crest, is the Cueva de los Arrieros, opening to the south. It contains only a few vestiges of paintings, one of which is a human symbol in the form of a curved chevron, with a bisecting vertical line for the body.

CUEVA DEL PIRUÉTANO (PEAR-TREE) (Plate XXIX, Map F)

Following the crest towards the ENE., at some height above the Casa del Rincón, one soon arrives at a point overlooking a valley to the north, the waters of which drain towards the Llano de la Venta. About 500 m. below the crest, on the right bank of a wooded ravine, is the Cueva del Piruétano, a beautiful semicircular cavity, 4 m. wide by 5 m. deep. Though some 3 m. vertically above the floor of the valley, it may be reached without difficulty by the help of jutting pieces of rock. Numerous paintings, not far short of forty, are scattered over all the walls of the cave. They appear to belong to at least two rather different periods, the earliest being yellowish in colour and the more recent bright or brown red. We give below a brief description of the figures, going from left to right.

(1) A group of two figures in red, one of which has been damaged by scaling of the rock, and two bars. The principal figure is of the bitriangular feminine type, with arms extended to form a cross, but the triangles are replaced by club-shaped expansions; the damaged figure has the arms lowered. (2) $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. more to the right, in very pale red, are three concentric curved lines and a human symbol with three tiers of appendages. (3) A female figure, similar to No. 1, but lying on its side; the lower part of the body is in the shape of an elongated triangle and the head is almost linear, while the extended and slightly raised arms form a very open crescent. Next come an inverted T and a bar. (4) To the right of these is a figure analogous to No. 2, but in brighter colour and with four tiers. Below is a short stroke with a round head. (5) Beneath a double concentric arch and a chevron with unequal arms (both figures in thin lines) is a human symbol in red; it has no legs, the straight line of the body is broadened and pointed towards the base like a sword, and the arms are arched and unequal. (6) In addition to several very simple signs is a little human figure in red with arms raised and legs spread out, which give it a star-like appearance, showing the possible human origin of certain star-shaped signs of five or six rays. Another human figure, lying horizontally, resembles an archiepiscopal cross, with a D-shaped head. (7) A conventionalized figure of a man standing, with legs apart, one arm akimbo and the other raised and holding some object, possibly an adze. The body is linear and the head like a T, the branches of which are curved down and inwards. This figure and a neighbouring group of eight spots arranged like rays are in orange yellow. Close by are three fine parallel oblique lines in pink. (8) A group of at least four red figures, the chief of which, larger than the others, seems to protect them beneath its extended arms. Its complicated head consists of a little disk, surmounted by a long pointed stroke having two antennae on either side. The stiff body shows the roundness of the breasts; in the place of legs there is a large oval, possibly a conventional and exaggerated representation of the vulva. The three little figures, doubtless intended for children, have no legs and their arms are stretched out horizontally

PIRUÉTANO, TACONERA, GORRIÓN

or slightly lowered; one has a ball-like hand and a big head split into two points at the top. (9) To the left of a large group of big dots, partly obliterated, is a human symbol with linear body and a triple set of branches arched one over another, all in yellow. (10) Two very schematic human figures in red; in the first the body is a bar carrying a double cross-piece with a detached dot above for the head; in the second the upper cross-piece and the end of the bar (representing the head) unite to form a trident. On the right is another human symbol in fine lines in the shape of an archiepiscopal cross. (11) A ramiform figure in red, with rectilinear axis, a little wider at the base, and with six and nine nearly symmetrical arms. (12) To the right, in red brown, a human symbol with linear body, head expanded into a triangle, arms extended and slightly lowered, no legs. (13) Higher up, in faded red, a human (?) figure, having a circular base, from which rises vertically a stem with a triple tier of arch-like branches. (14) Below, in light brown, a collection of vertical and horizontal bars of doubtful meaning, amongst which a cruciform human symbol can be distinguished. (15) Very high up, near the threshold, two male human figures, in yellow, each with two pairs of rudimentary arch-shaped limbs. Below, in the same colour, is a human symbol (?) with head like an inverted circumflex and detached strokes for the limbs and sex, while the line of the body is entirely omitted.

SHELTER OPPOSITE PIRUÉTANO (Plate XXIII, Map F)

Nearly opposite the Cueva del Piruétano, a few metres upstream, rises a curious conch-like wall of sandstone forming a shelter 13 m. wide by 6 m. deep. Some big blocks, placed in line in front of the opening, limit the extent of the ancient habitation. A few remains of paintings have survived the destruction of the rock surfaces: namely, on the left the upper part of a man, without head and with arms akimbo, and to the right a human symbol with extended arms and legs; also a long vertical line with a transverse piece at each end. Another spot is of doubtful origin.

CUEVA DE LA TACONERA (BADGER) (Map F)

Barely a kilometre away, in a little valley more to the north-east and considerably lower, is the Cueva de la Taconera, where may be seen many imperfect traces but scarcely any well-defined drawings. This grotto is on the right as one descends the valley, and looks towards the west.

CUEVA DEL GORRIÓN (SPARROW) (Plate XXIII, Map E)

About a league north-west of the Casa del Rincón, but on the slope that drains towards the Celemín and Barbate valleys, and a little more than a kilometre as the crow flies from the ruined convent of the Cuervo, is the Cueva del Gorrión, a small and very low shelter, on the left bank of the stream, hidden by brushwood behind a wall of rock projecting abruptly from the steep hill-side. The figures are painted in red in a recess 80 cm. wide, outside the cave, on the left. They are eight or nine in number and in two styles. Those that seem to belong to a somewhat older series than the others are drawn in very thin lines and consist of:—high up, a double horizontal chevron or W, close to a human (?) symbol, partly scaled off, with big head and extended arms; a little L-shaped line, and two others; a pectiform of three and another of six

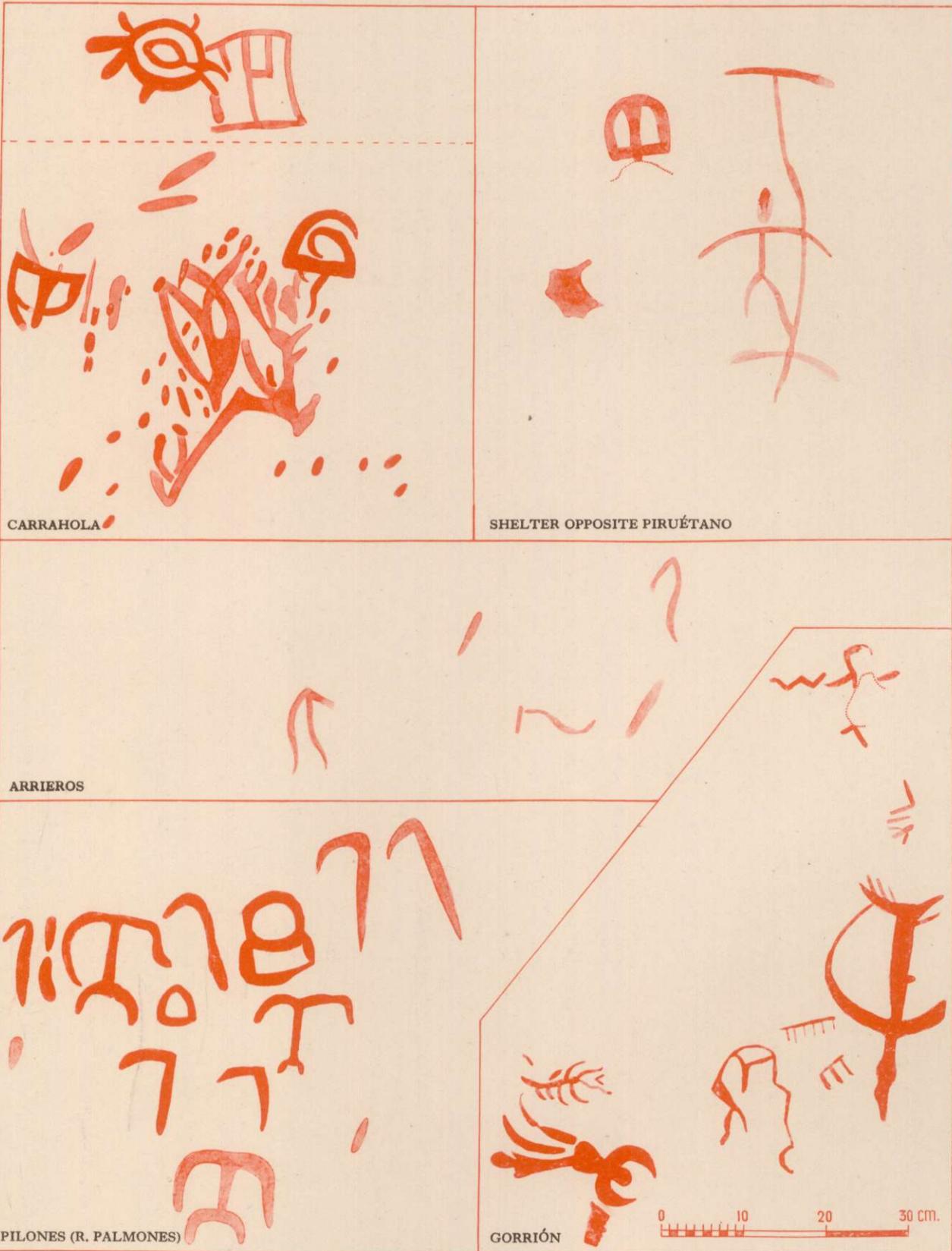
VALLEY OF THE RIO PALMONES

teeth; a figure like a Y inside an arch, the ends of which are prolonged into zigzags; a ramiform human (?) figure, placed horizontally, with a forked top enclosing a little chevron.

The figures of the second series are (1) a large ϕ -shaped human symbol, head downwards, with ansate arms, rudimentary legs, and breast indicated on one side; (2) a horizontally placed human figure, with round head, arms raised to form a nearly closed crescent, and base of body roughly triangular, from which spring three appendages; two of them are simple and slightly curved, and the third swells gradually and then narrows abruptly, forming a sort of rounded head. This may perhaps represent another figure distinct from the first.

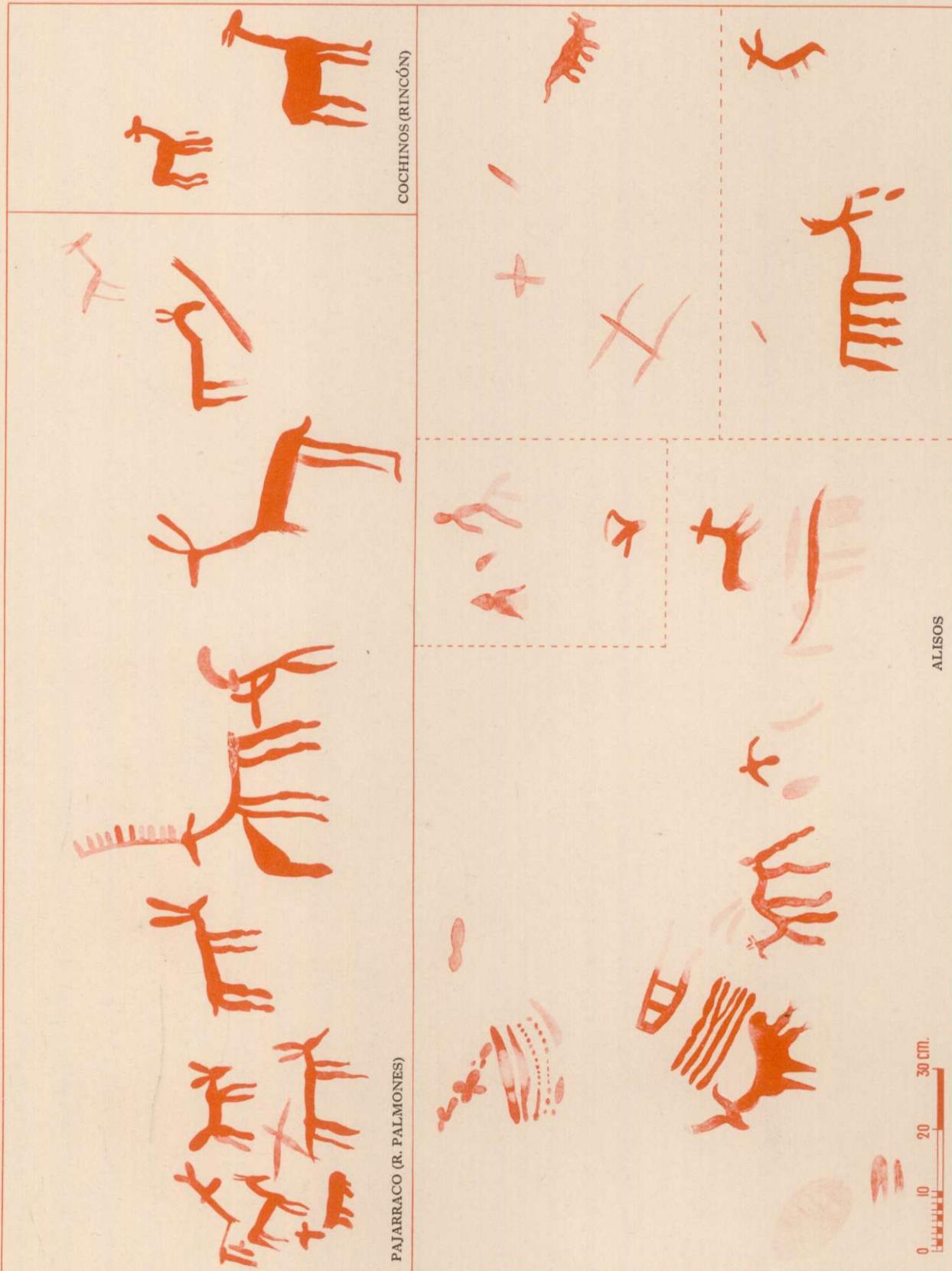
Between the Cueva del Gorrión and the Tajo de las Figuras the deep valley of the Celemín runs north-west for about 7 Km. in a nearly straight line, along which no painted rocks have been found.

PLATE XXIII



Carrahola, Shelter opposite Piruétano, Arrieros, Pilonés (Rio Palmones), Gorrión

PLATE XXIV



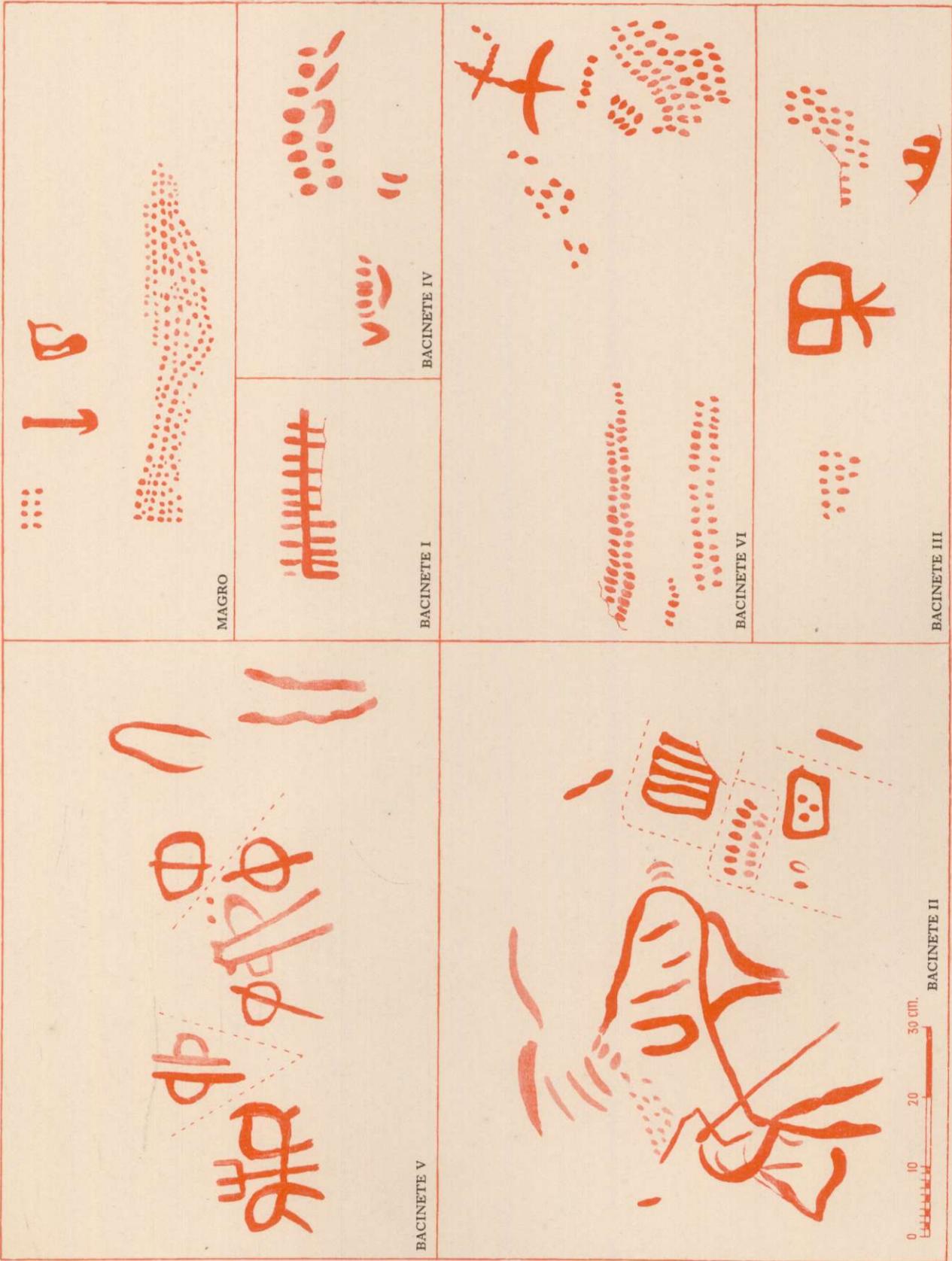
Pajarraco (Rio Palmones), Cochinos (Rincón), Alisos



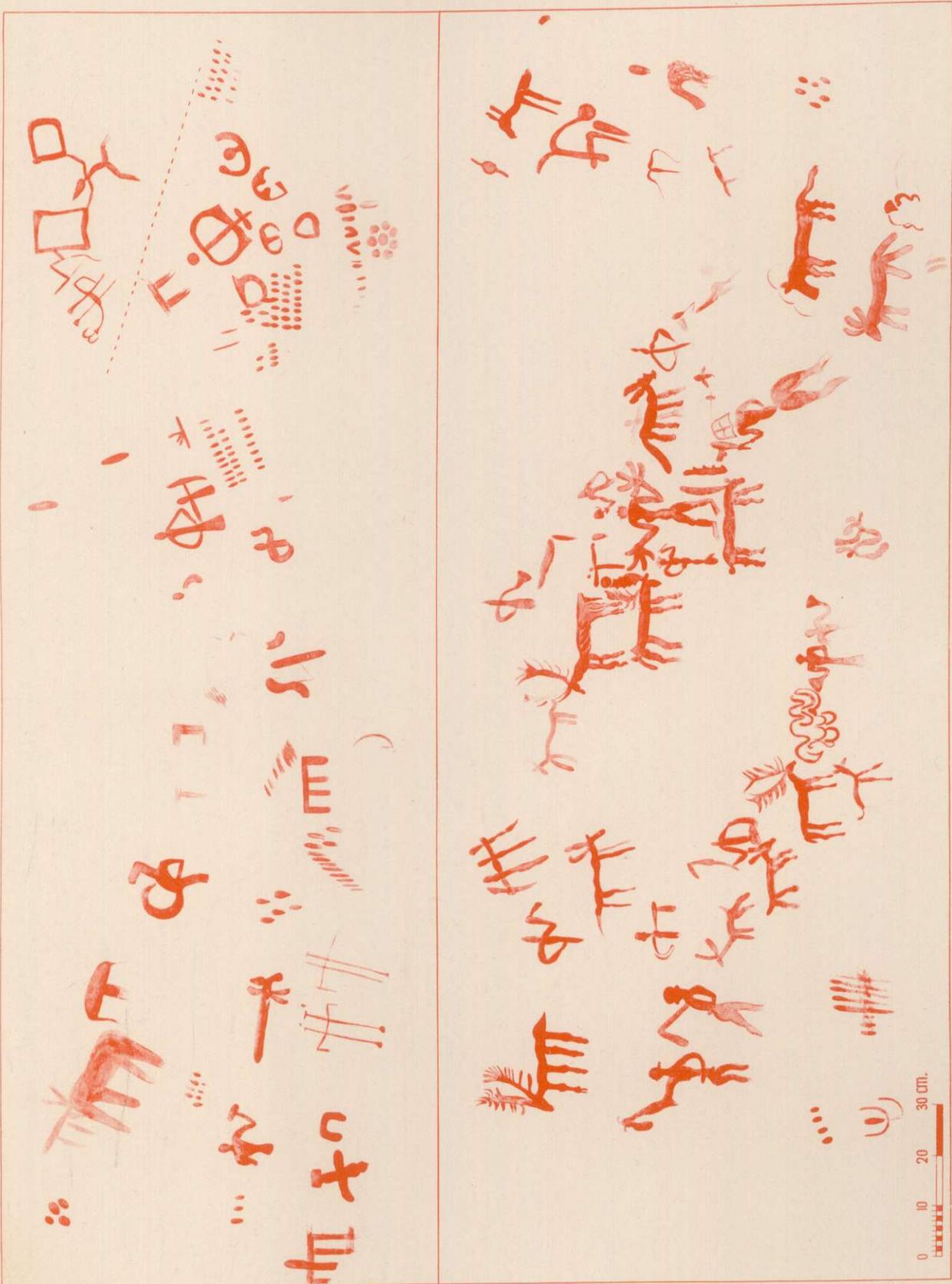
PEÑON DE LA CUEVA

LADRONES

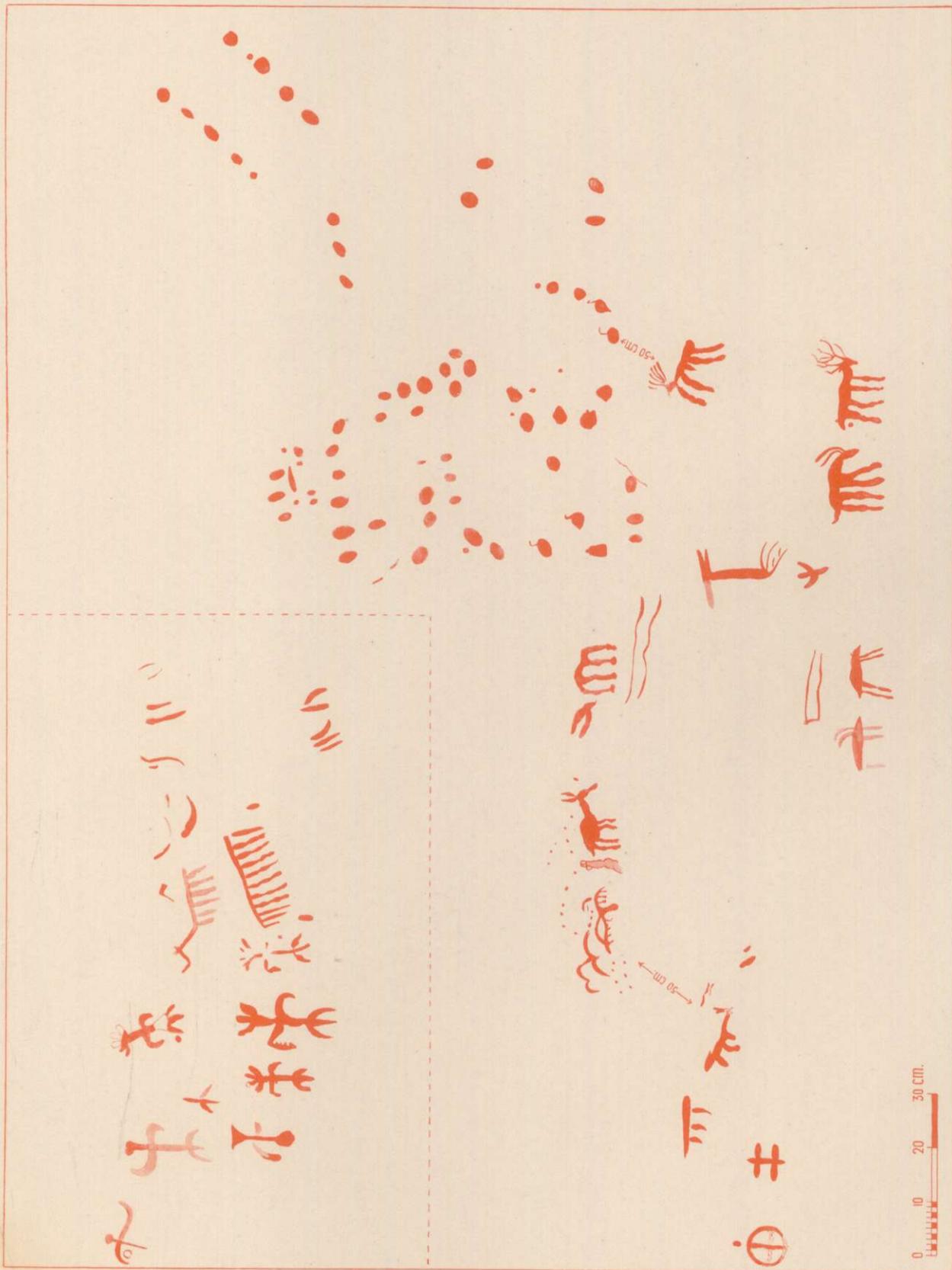
Peñon de la Cueva, Ladrones



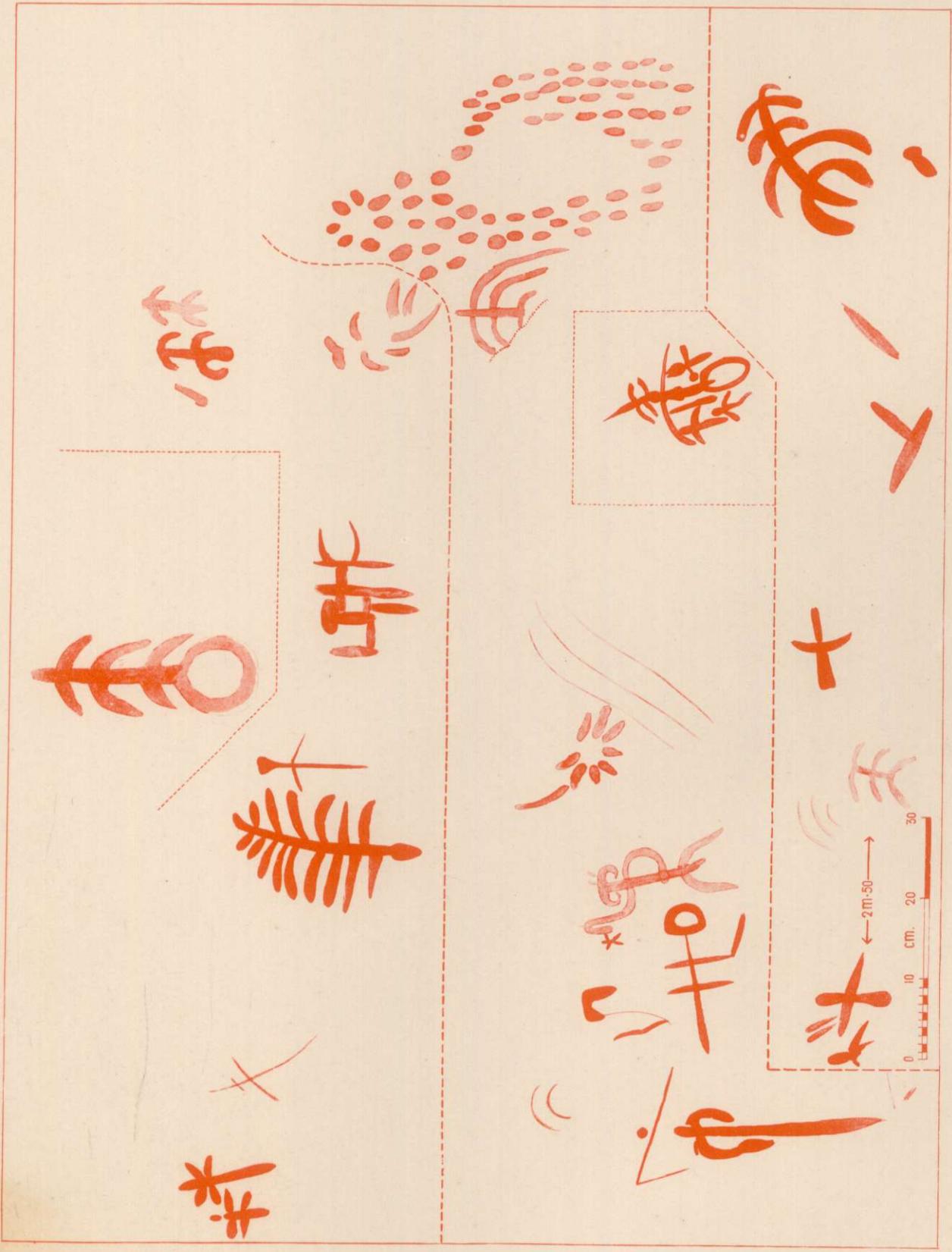
Bacinete I to VI, and Magro



Large Shelter of Bacinete



Mediano



Piruétnano



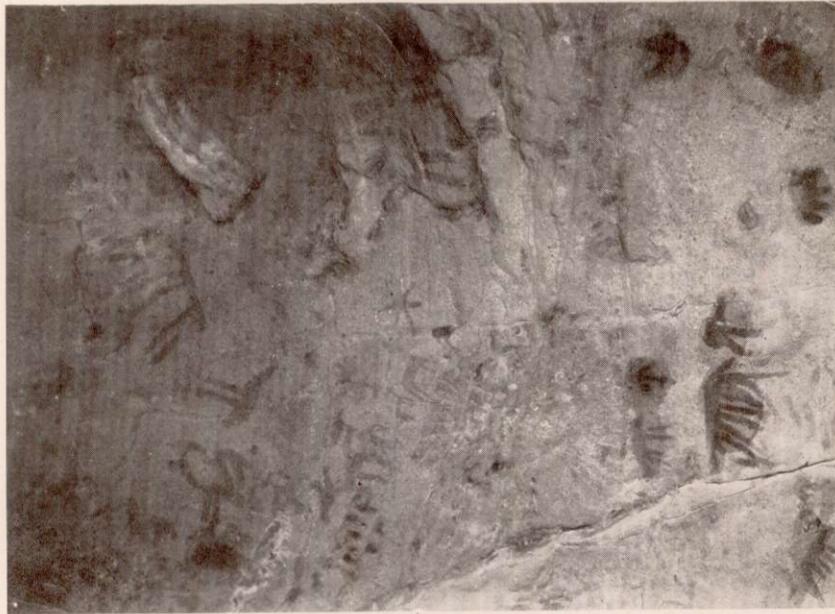
General view of the Bacinete Rocks (p. 63). The rock containing the cave of Los Alisos is seen in the upper right-hand corner



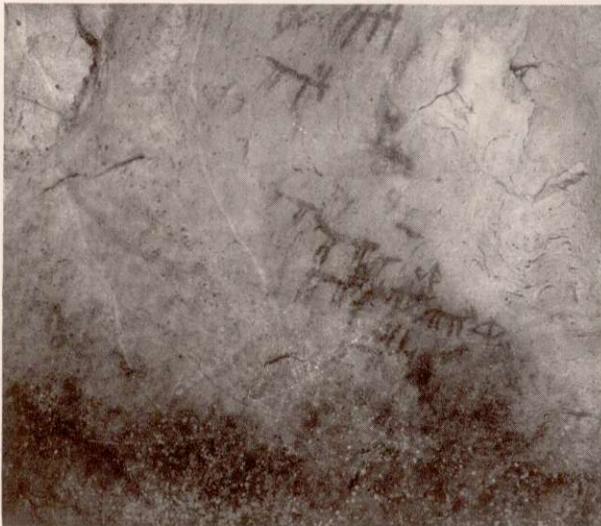
Cave of Los Alisos (p. 61)



The cave of El Mediano is behind the rock on the left and cannot be seen from this side ; the position of that of Los Cochinos (Rincón) is indicated by the arrows (p. 68)



Figuras, Roof-Panel, showing the 'big sun', from a photograph by Don Juan Cabré (p. 16)



Large Shelter of Bacinete (p. 65)



Alisos (p. 61)

VIII

DISTRICTS OF CASTELLAR DE LA FRONTERA AND SAN ROQUE

I. DISTRICT OF CASTELLAR DE LA FRONTERA

THIS is an extension of the Jimena highland to the southward, still more wooded and hilly. Its Sierras are covered with beautiful forests of oak and cork, and numerous paths, worn by trains of donkeys bearing the precious bark to the railway station of Almoraima, add to their attraction for the tourist.

CUEVA DE LOS TAJOS (Map A)

We have only a few shelters to describe in this region and they are almost insignificant. The northernmost, the Cueva de los Tajos, is in the forest of the Corchadillo, on that part of the Rio Guadarranque that, in consequence of the gorges it has formed there, is called Barrancón; it is a beautiful light cave, containing only a single red figure in the shape of a Greek π . Not far off, on the edge of the scarp, sheer above the torrent,



Fig. 44. Tajos.

we noticed a great deal of coarse pottery, pieces of grindstone, apparently neolithic, and a small block of sandstone bearing some incisions without obvious meaning. The position of this block, as nearly as could be determined, is about 4 Km. west of the rocks of El Salado and 6 Km. as the crow flies from the town of Castellar, which can be seen from afar, boldly perched upon a steep rock.

ABEJERA (Map A)

A little farther south, about 5 Km. west of Castellar, is another fine light cave. On the wall to the right on entering are six groups of somewhat irregular bars, some in the shape of commas, the others showing three distinct swellings; at the side of the lowest group is a figure resembling two legs seen in profile. The cave, which opens to the west, is at the western end of a naked sandstone mass that in the distance, when approached from the south, resembles a huge rectangular pebble, lying flat; its name,

DISTRICT OF CASTELLAR DE LA FRONTERA

like that of the cave, is, according to the 1: 50,000 scale map, 'Ovejera', or place of



Fig. 45. Abejera.

sheep, and according to what M. Breuil had been told on the spot, 'Abejera', or place of bees. Both names are appropriate.

CUEVA DEL CANCHO (Map F)

The third painted rock of Castellar is about 7 Km. south of the preceding one; it is one of the numerous little cavities in the SSE. slope of the Loma de Cantarazo, a few hundred metres from the beautiful Cortijo de Nava Hermosa, and is called the Cueva del



Fig. 46. Cancho.

Cancho. Except for several dots on the left, the only drawings are two very conventional human figures. One, in bright red, consists of a stroke, thicker towards the top, with

a big dot close by for the head and a hook representing an arm. The other, in very pale yellow red, is doubtless more ancient; the head is mushroom-shaped, and the body, in the form of a straight line prolonged below to indicate the male sex, has two appendages on one side and three on the other representing the limbs.¹

II. DISTRICT OF SAN ROQUE

LA HORADADA (Map A)

In the last days of May 1926 Miss Dorothy Garrod, accompanied by Mrs. Harry Milton, made an excursion into the country north of Gibraltar to try and find some

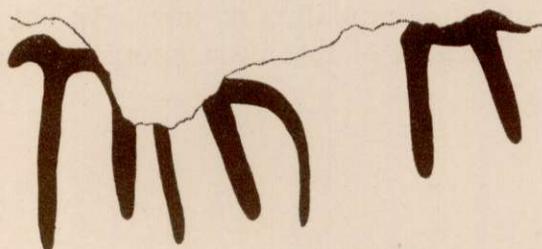


Fig. 47. Horadada.

rock-paintings in this district, in which, though it is less hilly than that farther west, are several prominent sandstone rocks. Explorations with M. Breuil along the Mediterranean coast in the preceding month had yielded no result, and the ladies now directed their investigations to a rock pierced by a natural tunnel, called for that reason La Horadada, which dominates the surrounding table-land, the Llanos de la Horadada. In the 1: 50,000 scale map this rock stands at the letter 'e' in the word 'de', near the Puerto del Higueron, 6 Km. from San Roque, about 750 m. west of the stone marking Km. 126 on the high road from Cadiz to Málaga. It is like a nipple in shape, and is visible from afar, the summit being pierced by a natural opening. It contains few distinct drawings, but others, now illegible, have existed in the past. On one side is a pectiform animal with four legs; a head and a long tail can also be made out, the spine having been partly obliterated by the scaling of the rock. On the right there are

¹ It may be noted in passing that, while riding from Castellar to the railway station of Almoraima, at a point $3\frac{1}{2}$ Km. from the latter, M. Breuil found some Chellean tools of worked sandstone. He was not able to stop, but the three or four specimens picked up on the way show that many others might be found there. In April 1926 he discovered near Km. 131 of the high road from Cadiz to Málaga another station containing worked quartzites of

Chellean and later date in connexion with ancient gravels, the oldest rolled pieces of which are of the same age. This station, very scattered and far from rich, is close to some much raised ancient beaches, which do not appear to be fossil-bearing just here. A study of the Mediterranean region between Gibraltar and Manilva with respect to the two formations, river gravels and marine deposits, would undoubtedly give some interesting results.

DISTRICT OF CASTELLAR DE LA FRONTERA

two legs remaining of a second similar animal. The pigment is bright red, much faded, and there are several other vague traces of the same colour alongside. On the other side of the cave is a very small branching figure in well-preserved

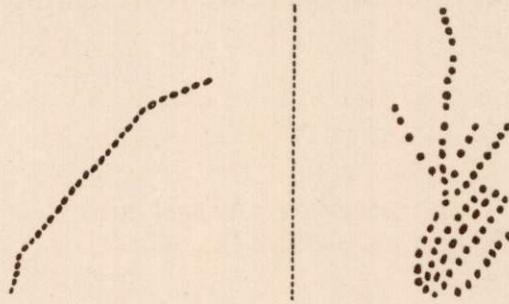


Fig. 48. Horadada.

brownish red, difficult to see on account of its position and the natural redness of the rock; it is made up of minute dots in line. An oblique line of similar dots is visible close by. The likeness of this little figure to another at Las Palomas is noticeable.

IX

DISTRICT OF JIMENA DE LA FRONTERA

THE little town of Jimena de la Frontera lies 2 Km. west of the railway station of that name, and about 35 Km. north of Algeciras. It is prettily situated on the eastern side of a very abrupt sandy ridge, round the base of which winds the Rio Hozgarganta, a tributary of the Guadiaro. The ridge is a double one; between the two parallel crests stretches a high valley sloping gently towards the south, called the Chinchilla, which is occupied by shepherds' and gipsies' huts, surrounded by cactus.

JIMENA (Plate xxxii, Map c)

A single painted rock is to be found at the east of the ridge, just above the last houses on this side. A spring issues from the foot of a little cliff, on which some cruciform figures have been daubed in white by the country people; but there is also a bright red drawing, faded and apparently more ancient than the others (though this is doubtful), consisting of two signs something like Arabic characters. A few yards in front of the spring are several large sandstone blocks, one of which, judging by the innumerable grooves and incisions with which it is covered, must have served as a polisher.

On ascending the path that runs below the spring, one crosses the rocky ridge by a narrow gap and enters the little valley of Chinchilla. The western face of the ridge is very steep, rising in places into peaks and crags, amongst which many small shelters are to be found, three of them containing paintings.

CHINCHILLA I (Plate xxxii, Map c)

We will commence our description with the lowest, a large and shallow cavity about 2 m. above the floor of the valley; its decoration consists chiefly of five groups of numerous red dots, more or less faded, especially to the right. It is difficult to make out exactly the shape of the first group of dots. It looks like a right-angled triangle with the right angle uppermost, but may be the remains of a square. The second group, in which the dots are very unevenly distributed, covers an oval surface. In the third group the dots are arranged as a square; in the fourth as a rectangle. The fifth consists of a large dot surmounted by an arch of smaller ones. In addition to these arrangements of dots there are on the left and rather higher up two yellow signs with crescent-shaped tops; also a cruciform figure with a line of small irregular dots on one side.

CHINCHILLA II (Plate xxxii, Map c)

The second cave, quite close to the gap between the two slopes, is hollowed out in an isolated pyramid of rock. One reaches it with great difficulty up a very steep rocky slope, clinging as best one can to tufts of arbutus and brushwood. It is low and shallow and quite useless as a habitation, the soil sliding from under one's feet. Here again the decoration consists mostly of dots grouped in different ways, in parts somewhat obliterated. Above and to the left can be seen a curved line, also a rough

DISTRICT OF JIMENA DE LA FRONTERA

circle formed by two branches, one brown red and the other bright red, which meet below and are joined up above by irregular strokes. The three most interesting drawings are a hunter, armed with a bow, shooting at a carefully drawn stag which is pierced in the withers by two arrows; and another human figure below, probably female, with head and shoulders in the form of oval dots, projecting buttocks, no arms, and only one leg.

CHINCHILLA III (Plate xxxii, Map c)

The third little cave of Chinchilla lies between the pass and the top of the valley; it is very inaccessible and its only painting, at the back on the left, is a single very conventional human figure, which, owing to the great size of the legs as compared with the stunted cruciform arms, bears some resemblance to a pair of tongs.

CHINCHILLA IV (Plate xxxii, Map c)

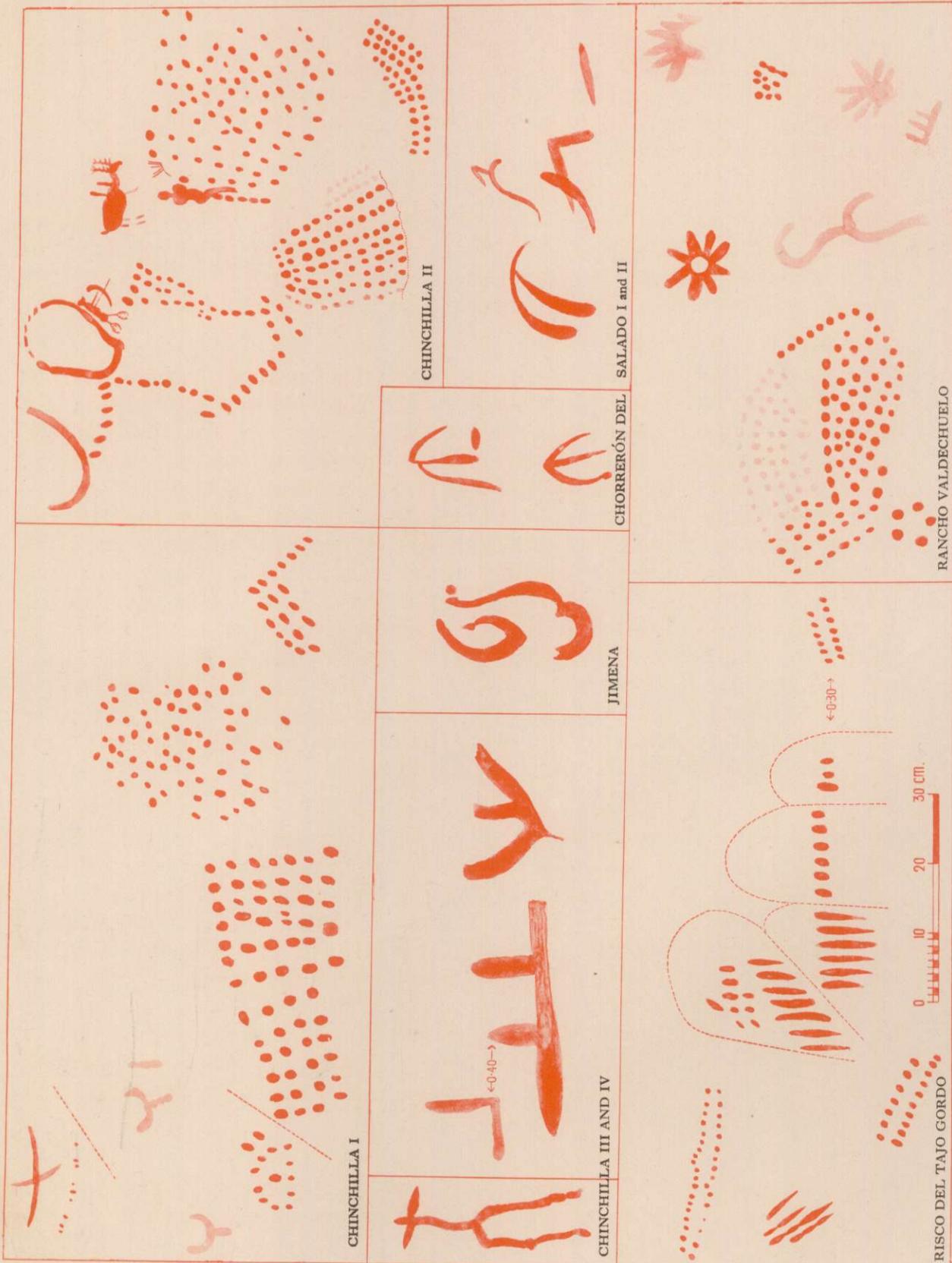
On ascending the little valley by the path that passes near the huts and through the cactus, one arrives at a high point (shown on the map as having an altitude of 203 m.), the summit of which is marked by two natural sandstone obelisks, quite isolated, like towers. Both have been much modified by the hand of man in order to serve as observation posts. One contains a large cistern, reached by steps cut in the rock. The other is hollowed out into an artificial chamber. Its base, facing east, forms a very irregular bench, on the natural edge of which, near the ground on the right, one can make out some traces of much mutilated and unequally preserved paintings in bright red. From right to left may be seen, first, a figure consisting of three large branches, the ends of which are lacking, springing from a single thin stalk; second, a thick horizontal bar with two short upright arms; third, an L-shaped figure, very much faded, 40 cm. from the preceding. It may be questioned whether these figures, so different from other neolithic rock drawings, do not belong to another age. Ancient remains, consisting of upper palaeolithic or neolithic flints and bits of pottery of all ages, are scattered over the surrounding slopes.

RISCO DEL TAJO GORDO (Plate xxxii, Map c)

From the high point on which stands the rock just described a beautiful property surrounded by orange plantations can be seen to the north-west, down by the stream; and following the path that leads past it, one arrives at a broad and short valley opening to the south, through which one may ascend to the pine-crowned summit of the so-called Risco del Tajo Gordo. Two-thirds of the way up, on a very steep slope to the right, is a large shelter, containing several miserable remains of red paintings, which consist exclusively of dots and bars. Three double rows of dots, and four bars composed of elongated dots put end to end, surround a group of four niches, or natural cavities, in which bars and dots are crowded together in varying numbers. This arrangement is very worthy of notice. The distance of the shelter from the Chinchilla caves is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Km.

CHORRERÓN DEL SALADO I AND II (Plate xxxii, Map d)

There is a second group of painted rocks in the Jimena district, namely those on the eastern slope of the Cerro del Salado in the Sierra de los Melones, about 7 Km. south



Chinchilla I to IV, Jimena, Chorrerón del Salado I and II, Risco del Tajo Gordo, Rancho Valdehuelo

CHINCHILLA, TAJO GORDO, VALDECHUELO

of Jimena. The Salado is a stream that falls into the Rio Hozgarganta opposite the hamlet of Marchenilla. On issuing from the gorge between the *cerros* of Salado and Sanguinar, it forms a picturesque cascade, called the Chorrerón del Salado. Immediately above runs a footpath which after several turns passes close to a shelter with an oval opening. Here are to be found two human figures in pale red, in which the body is reduced to a vertical stroke between two other divergent strokes. At a very short distance to the north-west is another shelter, opening on to the plain but much hidden by bushes, which contains three or four insignificant figures.

RANCHO VALDECHUELO (Plate xxxii, Map D)

About 1 Km. south of the Salado, opposite the *arroyo* of the Barquilla, and quite close to the house of the Rancho Valdechuelo, at a point from which one sees Marchenilla close by and directly beyond it in the distance Casares, is a little ravine containing a very small shelter, which is however rather more interesting than the others in the neighbourhood. On the left are a large sprinkling of red dots, partly effaced, and another small detached group of five. To the right, high up, are a star-like figure in yellowish red, and, beyond, two other stars, less well-formed and more obliterated, one in pale yellow and the other in pale red. There is also a little sprinkling of irregular red dots and a pectiform with three teeth pointing upwards.

PROVINCES OF MALAGA AND GRANADA

AS long ago as 1912, while studying the palaeolithic paintings in the cave of La Pileta near Benaoján (Málaga), of which he has given an account elsewhere,¹ Monsieur Breuil noted the existence of an art group much more recent in date and very similar in its conventional style to that of the painted rocks of the Sierra Morena. The drawings of neolithic age in the dark passages of the vast cavern of La Pileta, however (unlike those of the open air groups), are in black charcoal and would therefore hardly have been able to stand long exposure to the weather.

On the mountain slopes of Jurassic limestone in the neighbourhood of Benaoján and Montejaque (Málaga) can be seen a large number of vertical or slightly hollowed rocks, the walls of which have been reddened by oxidization through prolonged contact with the air. This red colour shows that the surfaces are ancient, and that they have not been covered with lichens, which would give them a grey or blackish tint. M. Breuil made several explorations in this district, notably in January 1914, when he was accompanied by Mr. Miles Burkitt, which did not however yield any very encouraging results, and he was able to find in two places only a few much-weathered traces of Rock Art. For this chapter the reader should refer to Map A (inset).

CUEVA DE MONTEJAQUE

The first is a shelter, facing east, which dominates the grassy platform overhanging the underground entrance of the Rio de Montejaque. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ m. above the floor



Fig. 49.

of the shelter are four red bars, and 50 cm. lower down is a red dot; then, a little to the right, a human figure in the form of an inverted Y, 12 cm. in height; and, 1 m. to the right of the latter, two red bars with an intermediate dot (Fig. 49).

¹ L'Abbé H. Breuil, Dr. Hugo Obermaier, and Colonel Willoughby Verner, *La Pileta, Málaga*, Monaco, 1915.

CUEVA DEL GATO (CAT) (Plate xxxiii)

The second place is the famous Cueva del Gato, out of which flows part of the waters of the same stream. After having crossed this stream (leaving it on the right) and climbed a steep slope, one enters a roomy and lofty gallery, sloping gently upwards, and ending after about 80 m. in a stalagmitic incline too steep and slippery to be climbed without special means. About half-way up this in the right wall is a passage ending in a shaft, or vertical drop, while on the left there is a winding fissure giving access to a narrow exit. On the wall facing the passage leading to the shaft is a solitary red mark in the shape of a vertical bar surmounted by a sort of N, and with two little tear-shaped spots on one side towards the base. The floor of the gallery gives indications of a rich neolithic deposit.

CUEVA DE LOS PORQUEROS (SWINEHERDS) (Plate xxxiii)

Explorations in the district of Grazalema, Ubrique, and Gaucín gave no appreciable results, but farther north, in the Fuente de Piedra-Mollina region, M. Breuil was more fortunate; on going to visit the Cueva de los Organos at the eastern end of the Sierra de la Camorra, where inaccurate information had raised a hope of finding paintings, he discovered the Cueva de los Porqueros, only a few hundred metres farther south. The mouth of this shelter is half-way up a gentle rocky incline, on the edge of a trench-like hollow, about 30 m. in length. This hollow, the walls of which are perpendicular in places, is entered by descending some natural steps on the south-east side; on the opposite side is the large shelter, much blackened by smoke, and occupied by an old and deaf swineherd with his beasts. The hollow is not visible from afar, but from its sides there is a very extensive view over Mollina, 5 Km. due south, and Antequera, 18 Km. away. It may be reached from Fuente de Piedra, which lies about 8 Km. to the west and has a station on the line from Bobadilla to Cordova.

The edges of the hollow are covered with black earth, rich in charcoal and organic matter and full of broken pieces of flint and apparently neolithic pottery. There seems to have been a neolithic station here of some importance, perhaps worthy of careful exploration some day. Close by is a fissure entirely filled with ancient red breccia, containing bones of ibexes and deer.

The paintings easiest to see are near the entrance of the shelter, on the left; they have been drawn on the blackened, bituminous-looking surface, so that the pigment has not penetrated into the rock, as is usually the case in other places, and rough washing would easily remove it. The colours, amongst which violet stands out as well as yellow and red, are somewhat unusual, and so are both the technique and the large size of the drawings. For a moment a doubt as to their antiquity crossed our minds, but there are now known to be drawings of the same style not far from Lorca (Murcia), and also near Málaga and Motril. Moreover, at this very place, two other drawings on the vertical wall at the western end of the depression and outside the shelter, show the same characteristics of style, and are indelible on washing. One of them is even covered with a stalagmitic secretion.

In the main panel inside the shelter the yellow figures to the extreme left are much weathered; those in violet consist of, on the left, a portion of a large disk; above in

PROVINCES OF MALAGA AND GRANADA

the centre an oval spot prolonged in the direction of its axis into a sharp point; on the right, an elongated cruciform figure with a round base; and farther to the right some obliterated signs vaguely resembling a tectiform. The central figure is in bright red, as are also a thick bar and some crossed lines on the right. It represents a human being in the shape of a cross, the hair and probably the ears of which can be distinguished. One of the hands appears to have a distinct thumb, the other holds the handle of a big axe, the horizontal portion of which is wavy and gets wider towards the cutting edge in which it ends. At the point of insertion into the handle, the latter expands somewhat, and on the opposite side are two little prongs. The two figures outside the shelter are also of cruciform beings; the larger of them has a T-shaped head, a single distinct ball-like hand, and the lower part of the body in the form of a trefoil. The other, which is simpler, resembles a horizontal H, the strokes of which are unequal in height and thickness.

LLANO DE CARCHUNA (Plate XXXIII)

The nearest places with drawings similar to those of the Cueva de los Porqueros are both on the Mediterranean coast between Málaga and Almería. Riding along the shore between Albuñol and Motril (south of the Sierra Nevada) on Feb. 18, 1918, M. Breuil had his attention drawn to some recent paintings in limewash near Calahonda (Granada) at the western edge of the plateau called the Llano de Carchuna. It occurred to him that these modern drawings might have been suggested to their authors by others more ancient; whereupon, leaving the road, he approached the cliffs and came upon two figures close together in bright, but much faded, red, which stood the test of washing and proved to be genuinely prehistoric. Both are conventionalized human forms and resemble, the one a simple cross, and the other an archbishop's or double cross. Owing to the unexpectedness of this chance discovery, M. Breuil had to content himself with freehand sketches in his notebook; the first figure measures about 50 cm. in height and the second 55 cm.

CANTAL CHICO (Plate XXXIII)

The other discovery is a still humbler one, namely a solitary figure in white, extremely faded, in what remains of a small rock-shelter close to the Torre de los Cantales, 12 Km. east of Málaga. The shelter, a few metres from the coastguard's barracks, is on the edge of a small plateau called El Cantal Chico.¹ The drawing represents a cruciform man inscribed within an arch. Several remains of prehistoric habitation, namely pottery, flint, and marine molluscs, have been found in the floor of the shelter. A quarryman had blasted away the face of the rock, but the painting had in no way suffered in consequence. Its colour, though much faded, stood the test of washing. Although probably very ancient, the drawings in these two places on the Mediterranean coast can hardly be distinguished from the daubs often made by Spanish women and girls when colour-washing the walls of their houses.

¹ On to this plateau open also the Cueva del Suizo and another cave in which M. Breuil, when accompanied by Don Miguel Such, found some palaeolithic and neolithic remains and traces of wall decoration. H. Breuil, *Nouvelles cavernes ornées paléolithiques dans la Province de*

Málaga, *L'Anthropologie*, t. xxxi, p. 250; and M. Such, *Avance al Estudio de la Caverna 'Hoyo de la Mina' en Málaga*, *Bol. de la Soc. Malagueña de Ciencias*.

XI

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

THE time has now come to see what conclusions can be drawn from our study of this very interesting Spanish Art Group III.¹ Our first task must be to determine as far as possible the age of the paintings, and afterwards to suggest possible motives and cultural connexions. It has appeared from the foregoing chapters that all the drawings are not quite contemporary, as in many cases veritable palimpsests occur. At Las Figuras we have noted several series in superposition, each slightly differing in technique, and the same may be said of a number of other localities.

The oldest painting we have described is probably the small horse's head at Palomas I (p. 53). The style is definitely naturalistic, and the preservation of the painting is very different from that of the conventionalized drawings near by, giving an appearance of greater antiquity. It might be reasonable to suppose that this horse's head was painted by palaeolithic man himself, and it can therefore be compared with some of the cave drawings at La Pileta, which lies at no very great distance from Palomas. Whether or not palaeolithic man painted extensively in rock-shelters in western Spain is doubtful. As the climate is considerably damper than in the east of the country, it is probably that paintings would only rarely be preserved, but a figure, suggested to be perhaps that of a rhinoceros, painted on a rock near Arronches (Portugal) has been described by M. Breuil,² and here too, as in the case of the horse's head at Palomas I, the state of preservation of the painting as compared with the neighbouring conventionalized drawings indicates a far greater antiquity. In neither instance, however, is the style of the painting comparable with that of Spanish Art Group II. Strangely enough, as at La Pileta itself, the connexion seems far closer with the northern group, the true 'Cave Art'.

Some of the examples of the Art Group III, such as the figures of the earlier series at Las Figuras, do not quite fall into line with the main body of the paintings, and it is clear from their position in the palimpsest, that they are the more ancient. There appears to be a real analogy between them and the earliest well-drawn figures of goats found at Las Batuecas, south-west of Salamanca, in the province of Estremadura,³ which are possibly slightly pre-neolithic in age. The Art Group III as a whole is much later in date, as will be shown presently, but while at the moment there is no means of dating this earlier series precisely, M. Breuil long ago suggested the possibility of a connexion with the well-known Azilian 'painted pebbles'. Lately Dr. Obermaier⁴ has attempted to prove that in many cases the red

¹ These questions were in part considered in an article by one of us (M.C.B.) in the *Antiquaries' Journal* for April 1924.

² H. Breuil, *La Roche Peinte de Valdejunco à la Esperança près d'Arronches (Portalegre)*, Terra Portuguesa,

1917, nos. 13, 14.

³ For an account of the art at Las Batuecas, see Breuil, *L'Anthropologie*, t. xxix, nos 1-2, 1918-19.

⁴ H. Obermaier, *Fossil Man in Spain*, pp. 329 et seq.

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signs on the 'painted pebbles' are but figures of human beings highly conventionalized. It is very possible, therefore, that a cultural connexion may exist between the *earlier* series of our Art Group and the art of this mesolithic culture. Further it is interesting to note that in the course of a short dig at the decorated rock-shelter Cueva Negra¹ (near Alpera), where some examples of Spanish Art Group III occur superposed on very weathered examples of Spanish Art Group II, the authors unearthed a chipped geometric flint of decidedly mesolithic appearance.

As regards the main body of the art, the reader is reminded that it must be at any rate later in date than the palaeolithic paintings of Spanish Art Group II, for whenever superposition occurs between the two groups, the paintings of the Spanish Art Group III are always uppermost.

Some of the figures of stags of Art Group III show a striking resemblance to those engraved on certain pots excavated by M. Siret at Los Millares² (Fig. 51) and by Dr. Obermaier at Las Carolinas near Madrid (Fig. 52).³ This is important, since these pots have been definitely dated as belonging to the Copper Age of the peninsula. The hour-glass type of conventionalized human being also occurs on a pot of about the same date discovered near Vélez Blanco (Almería) by Don Federico de Motos (Fig. 53).⁴ It should be remembered, however, that the Copper Age in Spain—a country rich in the natural ore—commenced earlier than it did farther north, and reached a far higher stage of development. These pots, then, although contemporary with the use of copper, are probably to be correlated in date with the megalithic pottery of the western seaboard of Europe. In this connexion, a study of the paintings of hafted axes is important. That held in the right hand of the little man in the IVth Panel at Las Figuras (Fig. 35, No. 3) would appear, from its shape, to be in all probability a metal one. Others, however, such as those at Bacinete and elsewhere, were equally probably stone varieties.

The close connexion between the cult of the megalithic tomb and conventionalized representations of the human form is well known. The student will at once recall the special type of 'schist idols' found in Almería, and occurring in the funeral furniture of such tombs in central Spain. These are made from flat plates of rock cut into a more or less hour-glass form with side arms and engraved all over. Again there are the phalange idols, &c., of slightly later date, found by Siret at Los Millares (Fig. 54). These occur too in districts as far away as the Cyclades, in Greece and in Asia Minor. Painting too is found on dolmens, e. g. the conventionalized animals and men on the dolmen near Queriga in the Concelho of Sátam (Beira)⁵ and the zigzag design on the head-stone at Cangas de Onís (Asturias).⁶ It is worthy of note that close to the two principal art centres we have been considering are two groups of dolmens⁷ of proved 'Copper Age', which may well have been the graves of our

¹ H. Breuil, *Les Peintures Rupestres d'Espagne*, L'Anthropologie, t. xxvi, 1915, pp. 329-31.

² Louis Siret, *Questions de Chronologie et d'Ethnographie Iberiques*, Tome I, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1913.

³ H. Obermaier, *Yacimiento prehistórico de las Carolinas* (Madrid), Com. de Invest. pal. y prehist., Mem. 16, 1917.

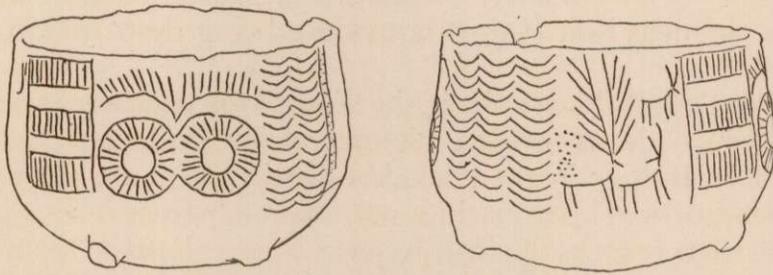
⁴ F. de Motos, *La Edad Neolítica en Vélez Blanco*, Com.

de Invest. pal. y prehist., Mem. 19, Madrid 1918.

⁵ J. L. de Vasconcellos, *Peintures dans des Dolmens de Portugal*, L'Homme préhistorique, February 1907.

⁶ Conde de la Vega del Sella, *El Dolmen de la Capilla de Santa Cruz*, Comisión de Invest. pal. y prehist. Mem., 22, Madrid, 1919.

⁷ H. Breuil and W. Verner, *Découverte de deux centres dolméniques*, Bull. Hispanique, t. xix, 1917, No. 3.



Figs. 50 and 51. Back and front of a Copper Age pot of Ciempozuelos type showing decoration in style similar to that of Spanish Art Group III, discovered by M. Siret at Los Millares (near Cuevas de Vera), now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

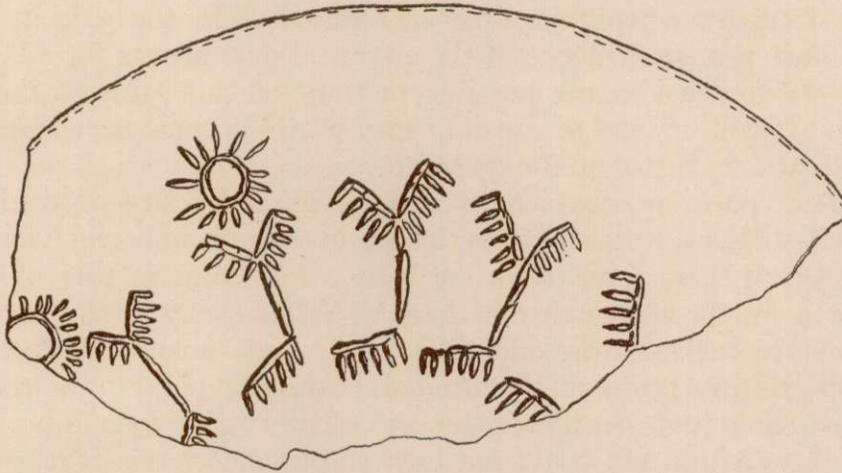


Fig. 52. Fragment of decorated Copper Age pottery from the excavations at Las Carolinas (Madrid).

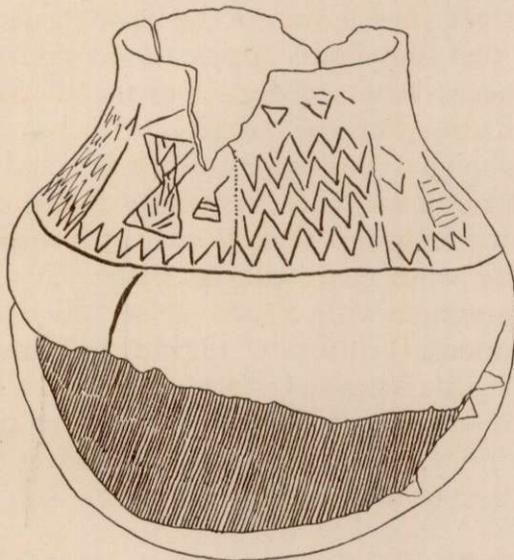


Fig. 53. Decorated Copper Age vessel from Vélez Blanco, found by Don F. de Motos.



Fig. 54. Typical phalange idol from Hoya de los Castellones (Granada).

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rock-shelter artists. Unfortunately vandalism is taking place at the present time and many of the dolmens near Tajo Figuras are being destroyed in a sordid search for treasure.

Los Canforros de Peña Rubia—a site in the Sierra Morena where examples of Spanish Art Group III occur—shows us three pictures of human beings leading animals by bridles, and at Los Buitres in the Almadén district there are drawings of wheeled carts showing constructional peculiarities not dissimilar from those to be seen to-day in the country districts of parts of north-western Spain. Lastly, the animals figured all belong to species that are still in existence, most of them in Spain itself. In this respect our Art Group differs from Spanish Art Group II, in which some of the animals figured are now only found living under widely different conditions from those to-day obtaining in the Peninsula.

These facts all suggest a neolithic or post-neolithic date for the majority of the paintings, and the more precise evidence of the engraved pots argues for a 'Copper Age'.

When we come to consider the possible motives of the painters, the problem is more difficult. It will be best to consider one or two specific occurrences of the art and see what light they throw on the question.

The prominent position occupied by a number of the larger sites is significant. Thus, the rock-shelter of Las Figuras opens in a sandstone cliff visible for miles around, and from it there is an extensive view. The same is true of another site, outside our area, in the mountains of Jaen.¹ While many of the smaller and less important sites are tucked away and difficult to find, practically speaking all the important ones are thus prominently situated. Another point to be remembered is that in the two cases just mentioned the rock-shelters were certainly never used as homes. Las Figuras, indeed, could not have so served, for the floor of the entrance passage slopes steeply upwards, making a firm foothold difficult, and no traces can be seen of slots in the rock wall such as would have been required had there been any wooden platform. Many of these larger sites, however, lie close to natural springs of water. Might we argue from this that somebody—priest or guardian—had charge of the paintings, and that they were in sacred spots where seasonal and other important rites were duly performed by the population of the district?

The number of the human beings depicted, belonging to each sex, and the fact that occasionally in our district (p. 20), though far more frequently in the rock-shelters of the Sierra Morena,² a figure of a man is found close to that of a woman seems to indicate that this art was frequently connected with marriage rites. Again the occurrence of figures identical in appearance with certain stelae and with the 'schist idols' that are found so often in the funeral furniture of the Spanish and Portuguese dolmens suggests the probability that the art was also connected with death ceremonies.

It is unscientific, however, to assume similarity of motive in every case, and two other localities tell us a very different story. The first—the rock-shelter Gabal, in the Vélez Blanco district, a good deal farther to the east than our area—is at the base of a

¹ H. Breuil, *Deux roches peintes néolithiques espagnoles*, IPEK, 1927, II. Halbband.

Bull. de l'Ass. Cat. d'Ant., Etn., y Prehist., vol. ii, fasc. 1, Barcelona, 1924.

² H. Breuil, *Les Peintures rupestres schématiques d'Espagne*,

cliff above a long steep scree. It must have been a very suitable spot for a habitation, and, in fact, is still extensively used by the local goatherds both for themselves and their flocks. No trace of painting has been found on its walls, but over the arch of the doorway, in a little shallow niche difficult to get at without the help of a ladder, a number of paintings of human beings in the hour-glass form can be seen. Another site, Fuente de la Asa, in the same district, is reached by a narrow ledge along the side of a cliff, the ground rising perpendicularly on the left hand and falling steeply away on the right. Again no trace of paintings has been found in the shelter itself; but in a shallow depression in the wall of the cliff, which must be passed by any one traversing the ledge, there are a number of figures, including punctuations and a human being. The position of the paintings would surely suggest that at these two places at least they were designed as a sort of talisman to protect the home. In any case, home decoration was not the object the painter had in view.

The last rock-shelter to be considered—San Bartolomé I—lies in our district, and has already been described in due place. The paintings occur on the inner side of a projecting curtain of rock behind which the investigator has to squeeze himself. Quite clearly San Bartolomé I was never a home, and home decoration is therefore again ruled out. Equally clearly it does not enter into the category of the prominent larger sites. The concealment of the paintings is, however, very noteworthy and suggests the possibility that they may have had some sacred significance.

As regards the paintings at many of the smaller sites which do not seem to enter exactly into any of these three categories, it is impossible to be sure of the motives which prompted their production. That home decoration was intended appears, however, to be exceedingly unlikely.

Whence came the people who made these paintings, and to what culture did they belong? These are questions to which, alas, in the present state of our knowledge, we can give but a meagre reply. There seems no reason to consider that they developed from the palaeolithic folk who have left us the splendid drawings in eastern Spain. But it is quite possible that, contemporary with the latest phases of the Spanish Art Group II, a new people had already penetrated into other areas of Spain coming perhaps from northern Africa, where paintings in rock-shelters have been found, in some cases very similar to the Art Group III.¹ The new culture developed independently from the old, though the two may have come in contact with, and interacted to a certain extent upon one another in areas like East Spain where their spheres of influence overlapped. To this period may belong the earlier series of paintings at Las Figuras and Batuecas already mentioned. At a later date the memory of the older folks would still seem to have persisted, as is attested by the frequent use in eastern Spain of rock-shelters previously decorated by palaeolithic man. This is not surprising, for a spot once hallowed continues to be sacred through long periods of time and changes of culture. Witness to-day the number of Christian churches built on the top of tumuli of late neolithic date. But it was only later on, when the survivals

¹ See especially P. Durand, L. Lavauden and H. Breuil, *Les Peintures rupestres de la grotte d'In-Ezzan*, L'Anthropologie, t. xxxvi, 1926. Also E. S. Thomas, *A comparison of drawings from Ancient Egypt, Libya, and the South Spanish caves*, Journ. of the Roy. Anthr. Inst., vol. lvi, 1926, July-December.

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of the palaeolithic peoples had finally vanished, that this new culture really blossomed forth, more especially in Andalusia.

It is important to note the proximity to the coast of the best-painted rock-shelters, while those in the mountains of the interior though numerous are less remarkable. This seems to suggest that some influence must have arrived by way of the sea. Such a phenomenon occurred during the Ibero-Greco-Punic epoch in the Peninsula. The Iberians of the coast underwent contact with strangers, and, acquiring their painted pots and figurines, developed their own artistic sentiment and native art, which seem to have been unloosed by the contact with the outsiders. We find, however, that while the Iberians of the coast decorated their pots most beautifully, not to say elaborately, their contemporaries of the centre and west seem to have experienced less and less of this artistic stimulus, for the decoration-motifs degenerate as we move inland. Similarly, at a time when the North African or Mediterranean neolithic folk reached the Spanish Peninsula by the south, the art of the newcomers, more or less related to that of predynastic Egypt and of Malta, must have flourished on the coasts but only penetrated in a degenerate and still more conventionalized form into the interior. The art of the cave of Las Figuras is not unlike that on the painted pots from Negadah, where lines of birds are commonly found, and one finds similar lines of animals, in a style naturalistic in its attention to detail rather than in its sense of movement, on the handles of the beautiful chipped knives from the Valley of the Nile. This does not prove a direct Egyptian parentage for the Spanish art, of course, but a common ancestry is not an impossible suggestion. The presence at Malta of a neolithic temple, whence have come figures of oxen fairly well drawn, either on stone or pots, must not be forgotten, for the neolithic Maltese were necessarily sailors who must surely have pushed out as far as the coasts of southern Andalusia and the Straits of Gibraltar.

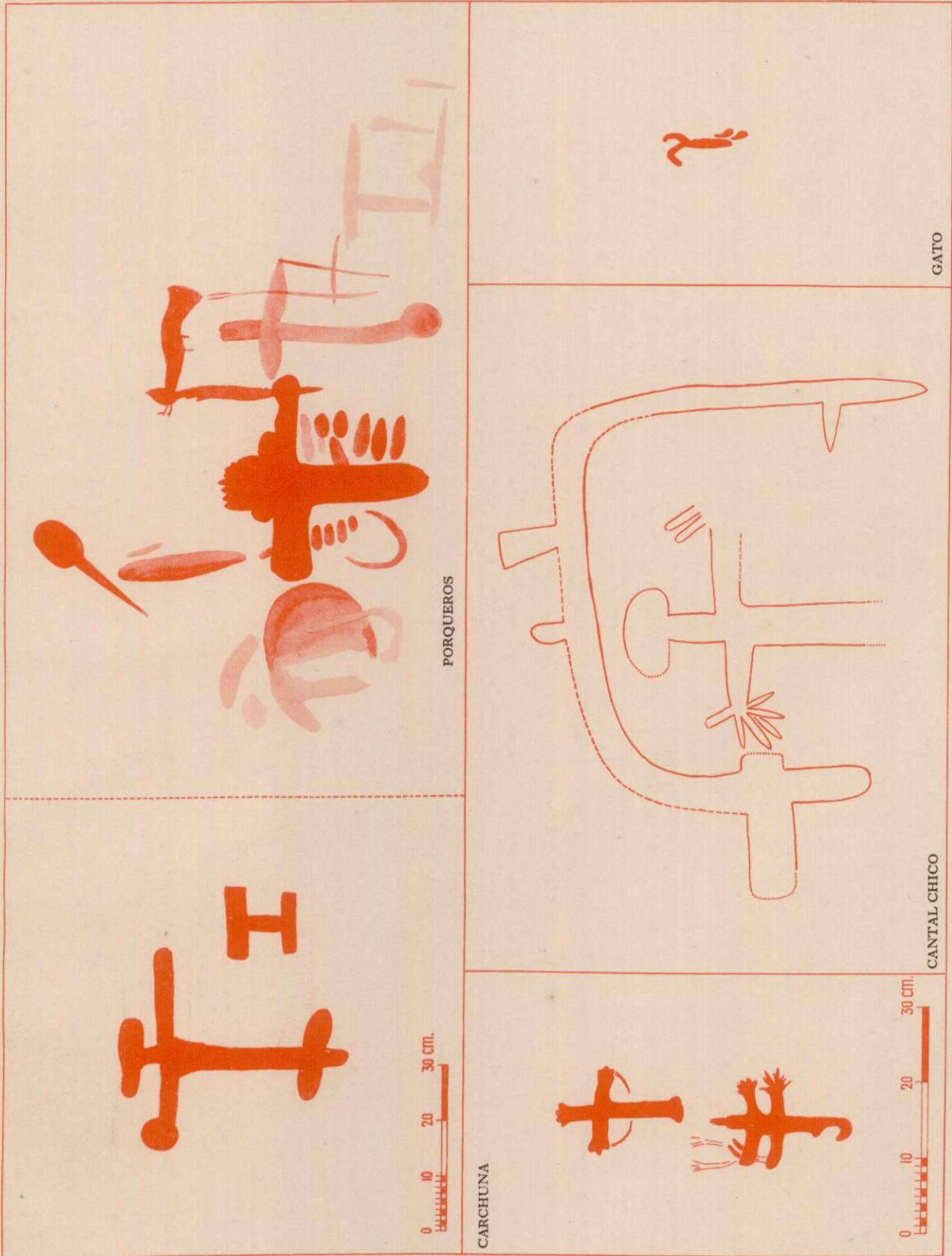
The Spanish Art Group III spread northwards to a limited extent, and may indeed even be responsible for several paintings on the coasts of the Bay of Biscay which seem to be closely related with it. Further, in Galicia and other granite districts there is a group of rock carvings which though dissimilar in many details seems to be connected with Spanish Art Group III.¹ This is due perhaps to the fact that some of the conventionalizations of the human form—the ϕ and Φ men, &c.—spread northwards throughout many parts of western Europe together with the megalithic tomb cult. If this connexion can be proved, can we not look still farther north and bring into our purview the carvings on the stone behind the church at Clonfinlough in Ireland?² Much further study remains to be undertaken, but certain it is that the post-palaeolithic rock-shelter paintings of South Spain cover a considerable period of time. Though the various stages pass from one to the other, differing to a certain extent in different geographical regions, in all likelihood it will some day be found possible to introduce more precise subdivisions and to determine more certain correlations. However before these problems can be elucidated a great deal more information will be required.

¹ H. Breuil, *Roches gravées de la Péninsule Ibérique*, (Galicien), IPEK, 1925.

Assoc. Fr. pour l'Av. de Sc., 1921; H. Obermaier, *Die*

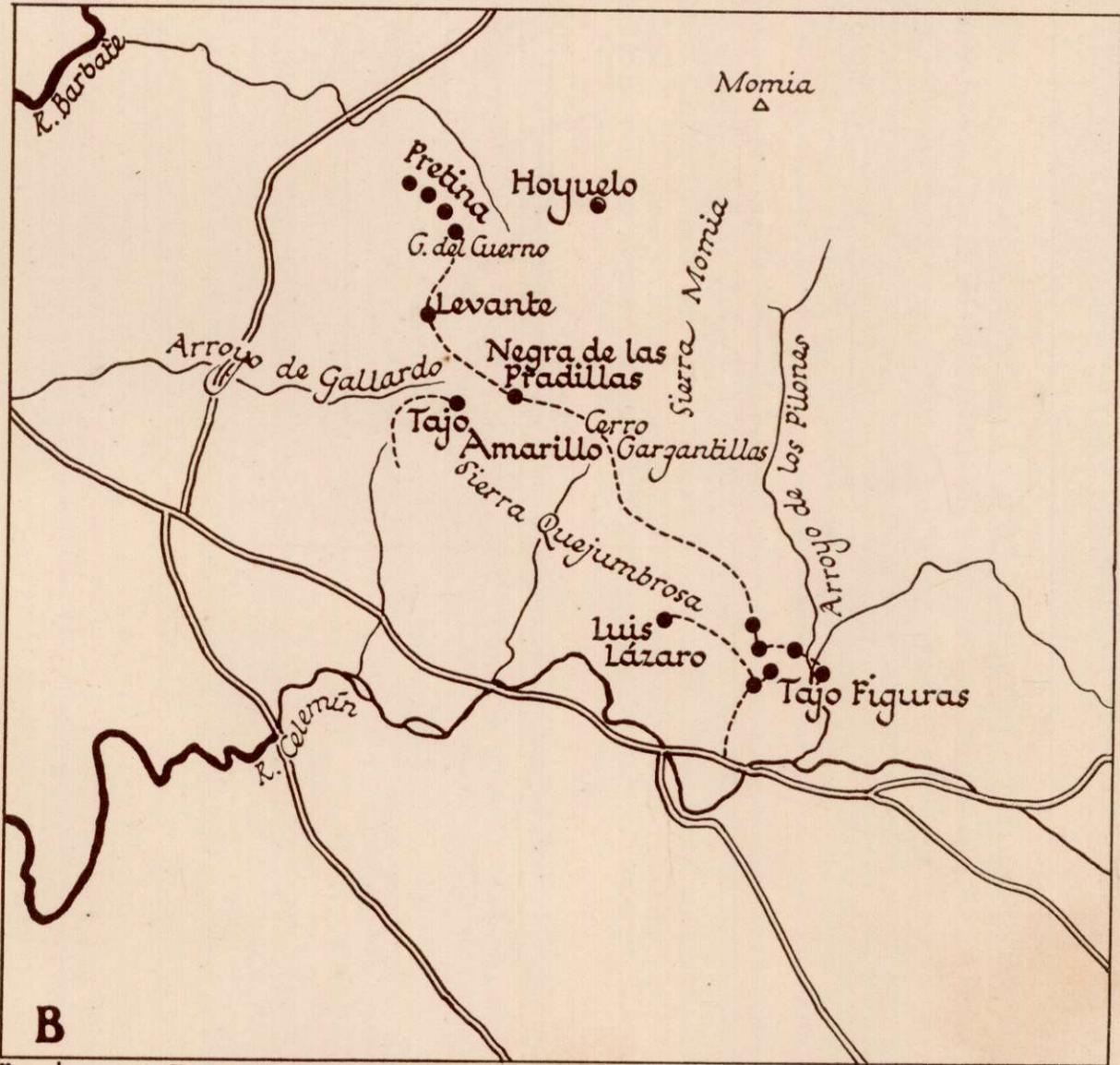
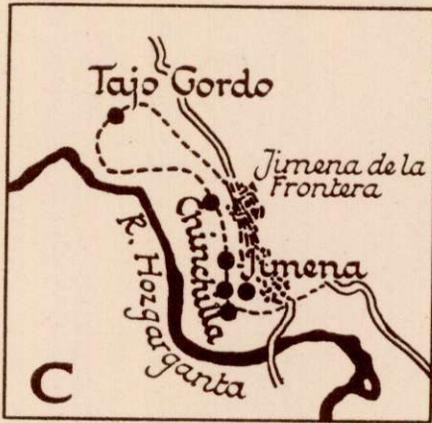
bronzezeitlichen Felsgravierungen von Nordwestspanien

² M. C. Burkitt, *Notes on the art upon certain megalithic monuments in Ireland*, IPEK, 1926.



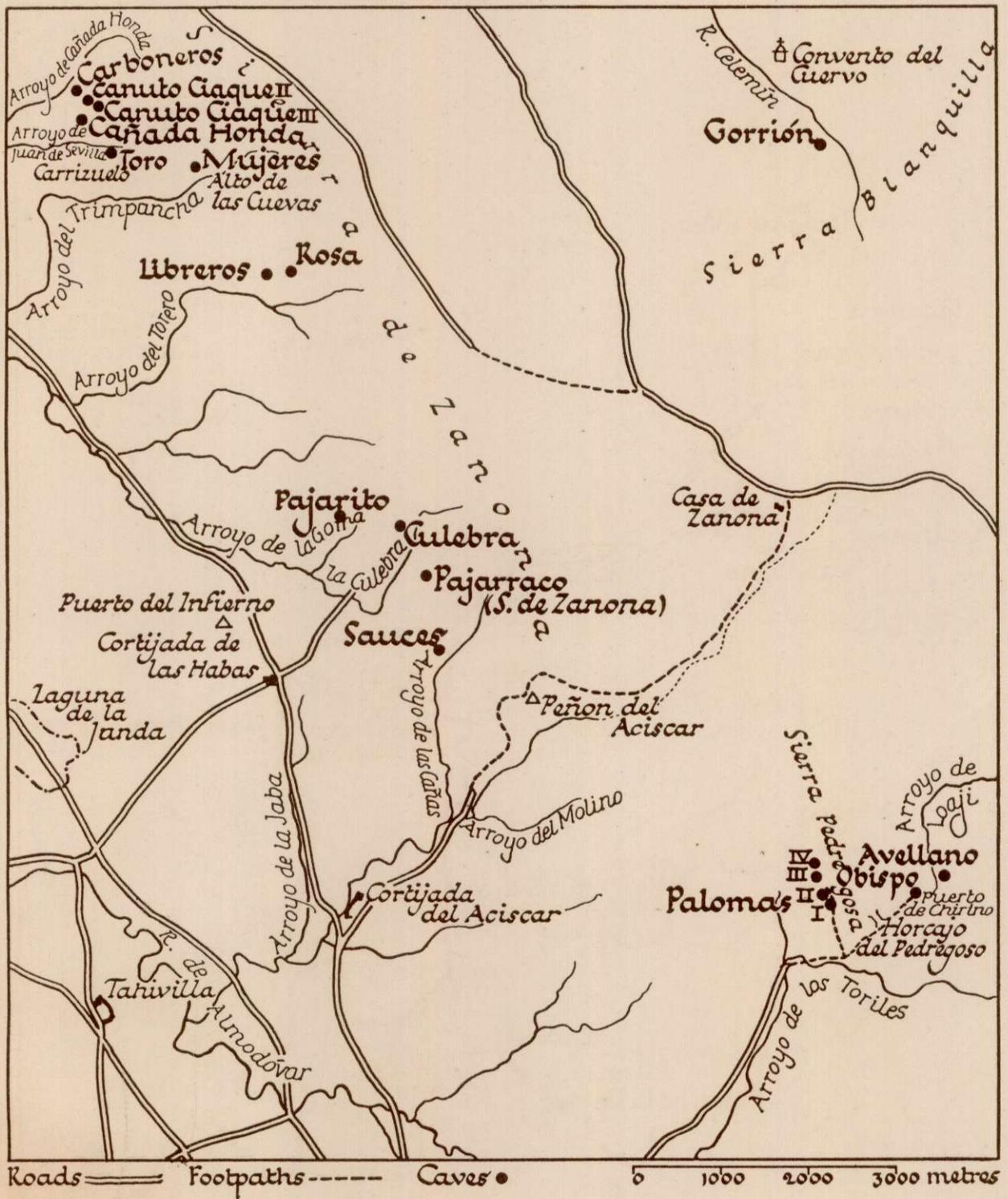
Porqueros, Carchuna, Cantal Chico, Gato

MAPS

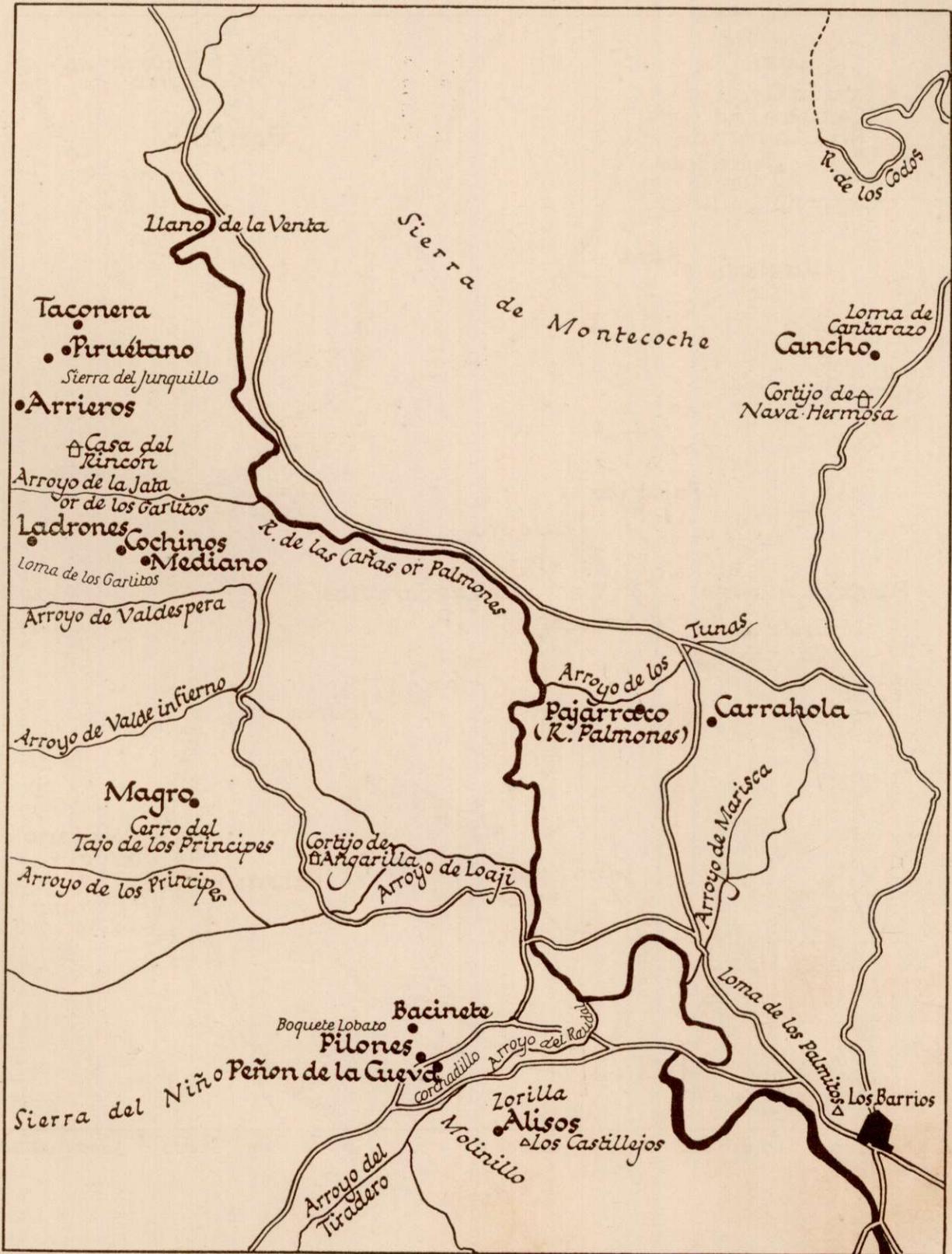


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MAPS B, C, D



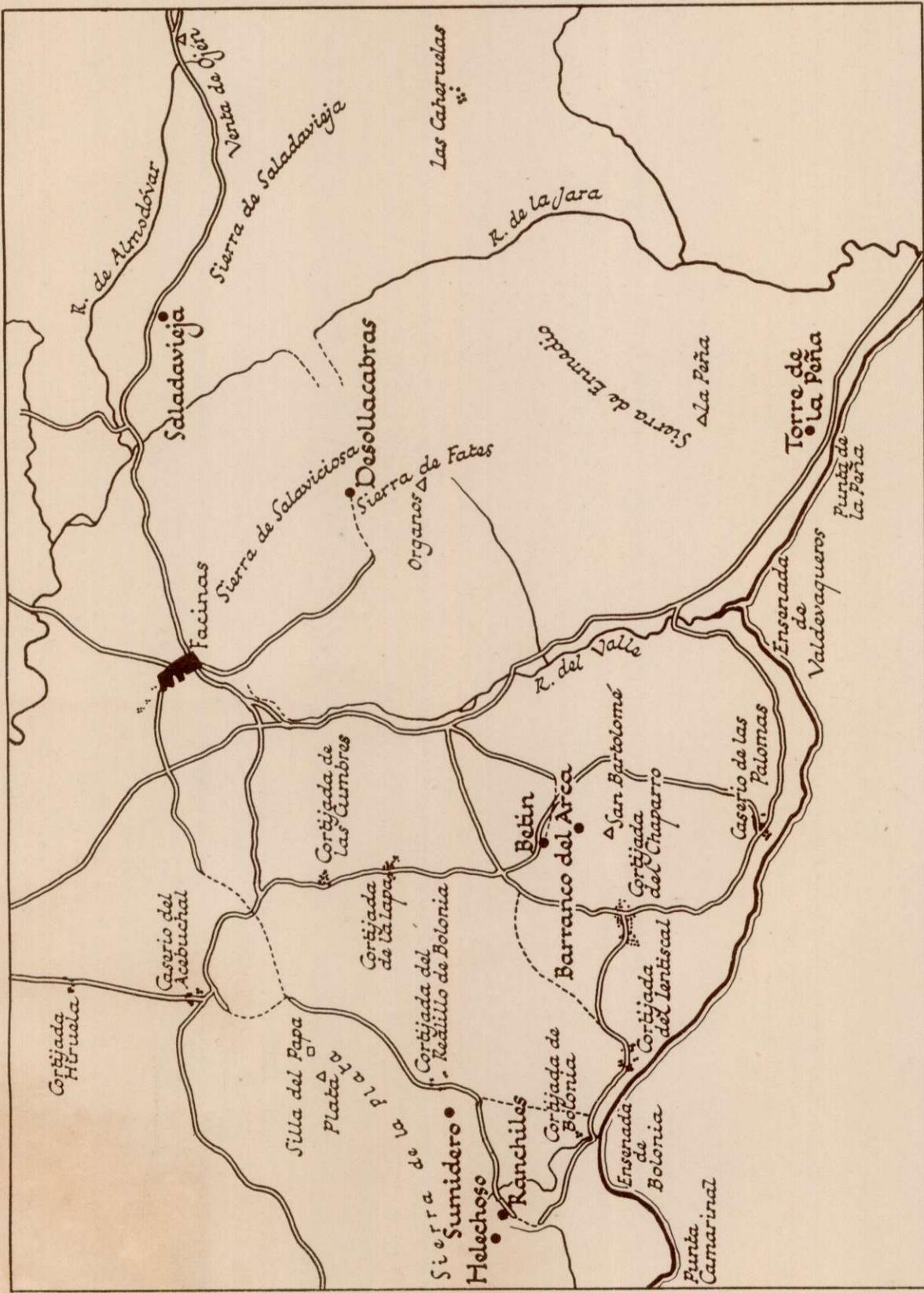
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MAP F



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MAP G

