

Modeling the Past: The Paleoethnological Evidence

Abstract

This chapter considers the earliest Paleolithic, Oldowan (Mode 1), and Acheulean (Mode 2) Cultures of the Old Continent and the traces left by the earliest hominids since their departure from Africa. According to the more recent archeological data, they seem to have followed two main dispersal routes across the Arabian Peninsula toward the Levant, to the north, and the Indian subcontinent, to the east. According to the discoveries currently underway at Dmanisi in the Caucasus, the first Paleolithic settlement of Europe is dated to some 1.75 Myr, which indicates that the first «out of Africa» took place at least slightly before this date. The data available for Western Europe show that the first Paleolithic sites can be attributed to a period around 1.0 Myr. The first well-defined «structural remains» so far discovered in Europe are those of Isernia La Pineta in southern Italy, where a semicircular artificial platform made of stone boulders and animal bones has been excavated. The first hand-thrown hunting weapons employed by *Homo erectus* come from the site of Schoeningen in north Germany, where the occurrence of wooden spears, more than 2-m long, has been recorded for the first time from a site attributed to some 0.37Myr. At roughly the same time *H. erectus* is supposed to have begun the domestication of fire. Although most of the archeological finds of these ages consist of chipped stone artifacts, indications of art demonstrations seem to be already present in the Acheulean of Africa and the Indian subcontinent.

1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the current evidence for the paleoethnology of the early hominids who inhabited the Old World from the time of their appearance up to the end of the Middle Pleistocene.

Although the data presently available are not abundant, there is no doubt that they are of key importance for the understanding of early hominid behavior and lifestyles. The evidence concerned is limited in most cases to stone tools and their contexts (Clark 1968 p 277), almost exclusively due to natural and environmental factors both physical and biological (Stiles 1998 p 134). Early stone tool assemblages are often associated with alluvial sedimentary processes (Isaac 1967) related to the geographic and geomorphologic location and distribution of the (sometimes ephemeral) sites that in many cases are limited to the stone tools themselves, and possibly to organogenic tools and the faunal remains derived from hunting and scavenging activities. Nevertheless, the excavations carried out during the last 50 years, and the study of the settlement structures and tool assemblages of the Early Paleolithic sites of the Old World, «have shown that it is quite possible to find sealed occupation sites that have suffered little or no natural disturbance before or after burial» (Clark 1968 p 276).

As far as the remains of material culture and their chronotypological characteristics are concerned, this chapter deals almost exclusively with Mode 1 (Oldowan) and Mode 2 (Acheulean) complexes (Clark 1994). Tools belonging to these two «modes» have been collected from a great number of sites, which are distributed between East Africa and the Indian subcontinent in the southeast, and Europe in the northwest (Otte 2000 p 111).

2. Out of Africa

Much has been published dealing with the spread of the first hominids and the radiometric dating(s) of the «out of Africa» dispersal(s) (Chauhan 2005). Nevertheless many questions are still unresolved, since

«the triggers for the movement of humans out of Africa are not well known» (Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 2000 p 81). This state of affairs results from the absence or scarcity of reliable data from some of the key territories that hominids must undoubtedly have crossed to reach Eurasia (Petraglia 2003: Figure 12).

This is the case for Arabia, from which little information is currently available, especially from the southern portions of the peninsula, more precisely Yemen (Dhofar) and Oman. Effectively, the Early Paleolithic sites discovered in these countries come from a few, restricted areas where intensive surveys and excavations have been carried out in the last two decades (Amirkhanov 1991; Cremaschi and Negrino 2002; Whalen et al. 2002; Whalen and Fritz 2004). Even though many of them are represented by surface finds, the Soviet–Yemeni Archeo-logical Mission excavated thick sequences in some caves of southeast Yemen, close to the Dhofar border. This led to the discovery of stratified complexes, which Amirkhanov (1994 p 218) attributed to the pre-Acheulean (Oldowan: Mode 1) and Acheulean (Mode 2) periods. In this context, the only tool bearing evident traces of use, from the lowermost layers of Al-Guza Cave in Yemen (Amirkhanov 1991 p 107), is of unique importance. This is the only pre-Acheulean worn chopper so far known from the entire south Arabian Peninsula.

Although the Early Paleolithic sites so far discovered in this region are few, south Arabia is claimed to represent one of the key routes followed by the first hominids once they started to move out of Africa reaching the central territories of the Indian subcontinent, not later than 1.0Myr (Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 2000 p 82). A second route is said to have been followed «across the Sinai into western Asia ... although this has not been adequately detailed to date» (Bar-Yosef 1994p 237; Petraglia 2003 pp 168–169), where the oldest site known to date is located at Ubeidiya (Bar-Yosef 1995 p 250) (>Figure 1).

The two radiometric dates so far available from Dmanisi (>Figure 2) in the Georgian Caucasus (Gabunia et al. 1999) demonstrate that this dispersal took place not later than 1.8 Myr (Gabunia 2000 p 43). Nevertheless «le mouvement oriental paraît à la fois beaucoup plus complexe et, surtout, beaucoup plus ancien qu'en Europe» (Otte 2000 p 108). Fortunately, the number of discoveries of Lower Pleistocene sites from this continent is systematically increasing (de Lumley 1976; Agustí et al. 2000; Mussi 2001 p 20). Although the absolute age of some of these sites is problematic (Santonja and Villa 1990 p 54), many are undoubtedly much older than supposed only a few years ago (Roebroeks and van Kolfschoten 1994 p 500).

3. Chipped stone assemblages

3.1. Bifaces and other tools

As pointed out by Gowlett (2005 p 51), «East Africa is the key territory for examining the Oldowan and early Acheulean,» in which the first «bifacial tools were created about 1.5 million years ago» (Porr 2005 p 68) by *Homo ergaster*, as a consequence of a complex series of behavioral, economic, and social factors whose complexity has been pointed out by Porr (2005 p 77). Until recently, however, they have been considered almost exclusively in the context of «artefacts as a functional form that varies sometimes according to raw material considerations and is manufactured with a recurrent technology within broader parameters» (Ashton and McNabb 1993 p 190). But the fact that the manufacture of such tools continued for some 1.25 Myr indicates their importance, most probably not only as cutting and/or scavenging weapons (Domínguez-Rodrigo 2002) but also as social indicators independent of their functional meaning(s). According to Draper (1985 p 7), «we could imagine a situation where an Early Paleolithic hominid might have fabricated a portable cutting tool for scavenging remnant meat from carnivore kills» that «was produced because a Middle Pleistocene knapper ... was disposed to work stone in a way that produced an

object we call a handaxe» (Hopkinson and White 2005 p 21). The high variability (Sinclair and McNabb 2005 p 185), the typological and dimensional characteristics (Isaac 1977), and the «wide temporal and geographic distribution» (Wynn 1995 p 11) of these tools have been noted by many authors, but from different perspectives and with different aims (Bordes 1968 p 23; Camps 1979; Petraglia 1998 p 371; McNabb et al. 2004; Hopkinson and White 2005) (>Figures 3 and 4).

Although the complexity involved in the production of the lithic artifacts has been openly questioned (Hassan 1988 p 281), and the analysis of manufacturing techniques and debitage dispersal across the earliest Paleolithic sites (Gowlett 2005; Petraglia et al. 2005) is still rarely applied by the field archeologists, a few interesting exceptions should be mentioned. Among these is the MNK chert factory site in the Olduvai Gorge (Tanzania), which is dated to some 1.6 Myr. Here chipped stone artifacts, obtained from both local and imported raw materials, show a complex sequence of activities carried out by «early man working a raw material chosen for its technological properties brought to a central locality from diverse sources» (Stiles et al. 1974). FxJi50, in north Kenya, is a site 1.5 Myr old that «consists of a patch of stone artefacts interspersed with broken-up fragments of bone» (Bunn et al. 1980 p 111), whose precise function is still difficult to define. The chipped stone assemblage, which is composed of flaked cobbles and flakes, partly obtained on the spot, «has proved to consist of several dense clusters of material that interconnect with each other» (Bunn et al. 1980 p 114). This is one of the earliest Paleolithic sites from which «the close association (of bones) with artefacts and the presence of butchering marks suggest that the toolmakers were the first accumulating agency» (Bunn et al. 1980 p 125). This picture is rather unusual, if we consider that «for most of the sites excavated and reported we do not have certain indications of any specific activities that characterize them, and in very few instances has localization of subsidiary tool

kits within a floor even been claimed» (Isaac 1972 p 185) and that the interpretation of the variability of the spatial distribution pattern of the tools (Whallon 1973 p 117) within a site surface is often difficult (Keeley 1991 p 258).

3.2. Raw material, workshops, and quarries

When detailed recording methods have been applied, for instance, in the case of some localities excavated in the Indian subcontinent, they have revealed that characteristic tools, among them hand axes, cores, hammerstones, and different dimensional classes of debitage flakes, systematically cluster in well-defined spots. This fact is useful in helping us to understand the development of the manufacturing areas within the site and the steps followed by the toolmakers during the production process (Hansen and Madsen 1983 p 51), especially when refitting methods are applied to the entire complex (Bergman et al. 1990 p 280). This is the case for the some Acheulean sites where different varieties of raw materials for tool production were available, including siliceous limestone (Isampur in India: Petraglia et al. 2005) and good quality chert from local outcrops (Rohri Hills in Sindh [Pakistan]: Biagi et al. 1996).

The evidence available from the second case shows that the waste products of large hand-axe-manufacturing workshops were scattered along the edges of circular sandy areas, which represent zones that were comprehensively cleared of limestone and chert boulders in Paleolithic times, before the manufacturing activities took place. For instance, the excavations carried out at Ziara't Pir Shaba'n 1 (>Figure 5), one of the many Acheulean workshops discovered on the Rohri Hills that were exclusively devoted to the production of hand axes (Biagi et al. 1996) (>Figure 6), has demonstrated that the perfect, finished bifaces were exclusively transported elsewhere, most probably to camps located in the adjacent Great Indian Desert that are at present buried beneath meters of sand inside thick, stabilized dunes (Misra and Rajaguru 1989). The maximum transfer

distance is not known, due to the absence of any detailed research in the Thar Desert to the east of the hills, although the African parallels indicate transport between 15 and 100 km (Petraglia et al. 2005 p 208). A situation similar to that of the Rohri Hills is known at Ongar, near Hyderabad in lower Sindh (Pakistan), where Acheulean workshops were discovered in situ on the top of flat, limestone mesas (>Figures 7 and 8). These deposits, very rich in seams of excellent chert, were exploited throughout the entire Paleolithic period, from the Acheulean onward (Biagi 2006).

As far as these two latter cases in Sindh are concerned, there is no doubt that the abundance of excellent, workable raw material played a fundamental role in attracting prehistoric populations at least since the Acheulean period (Biagi and Cremaschi 1988 p 425). The chert used by the earliest Paleolithic people was collected from large boulders or extracted from the top of the limestone terraces, although the accurate surveys carried out along the top of the mesas did not reveal any trace of Early Paleolithic mining activities.

As far as we know, the first Paleolithic chert quarries were opened by the Acheulean populations in Upper Egypt much earlier than until recently supposed (Smolla 1987 p 129). According to Vermeersch et al. (1995 p 22), «a few kilometers south of the Dandara temple ... a ... hill was clearly subjected to chert extraction by Acheulian people,» given the presence of an extractive pit discovered during the excavation of a small trench in an area rich in Late Acheulean tools. In contrast, almost nothing is known of the Acheulean raw material procurement systems in this region, which yielded abundant traces of Middle and Upper Paleolithic flint-mining activities (Vermeersch et al. 1997 p 191).

4. Habitation and other structural remains

Early Paleolithic Mode 1 and 2 sites are often characterized by «concentrations of debris, ... which ... have usually been interpreted to be the result of various

processual phenomena» (Stiles 1998 p 133). Only a few of them, of varied chronology, have provided us with complex archeological evidence.

In Africa, we know that most of the earliest settlements were located in environments close to lake shores or, more commonly, along (former) river courses (Isaac 1976: Figure 3.3) (>Figure 9). They have been interpreted as sites that are inhabited during only one season. The 1.75 Myr old Mode 1 site of DK, in Lower Bed I of the Olduvai Gorge (Leakey 1971 p 24 and Figure 7) yielded evident traces of man-made features, the most important of which consists of a circular structure of lava blocks, some 4.5 m in diameter (>Figure 10), which the excavator interpreted as resembling «temporary structures often made by present-day nomadic peoples who build a low stone wall round their dwellings to serve either as windbreak or as a base to support upright branches which are over and covered with either skin or grass» (Leakey 1971 p 24). The excavations carried out at Gombore´ I, another Mode 1 site located at Melka Konture´ in Ethiopia, brought to light a 230 m² living floor composed of rounded pebbles, rich in stone tools and faunal remains with an empty space of some 10 m² in between. The settlement, which has been dated at some 1.6 Myr, yielded a «higher platform ... that ... could have been roughly adapted for a shelter made of branches and animal skins» (Chavaillon 2004 p 263). The research carried out at this site revealed the occurrence of «small stone circles aligned north-south in the eastern sector ... whose ... external diameter ... varies from 20 to 40 cm,» which were interpreted as possible «wedging stones for pegs set in rather hard soil» (Chavaillon and Chavaillon 2004 p 448). The presence of almost identical features was recorded also from the Acheulean site of Garba XII in the same region of Ethiopia.

Among the Mode 2 sites, extremely interesting and ideally preserved remains were brought to light at Isernia La Pineta in Molise (southern Italy). This site, whose chronology is still rather controversial

(Mussi 2001 p 44), although the new radiometric dates indicate that the site is some 0.60 Myr years old (Coltorti et al., 2005; 19), extends over an area of some 30,000 m². It yielded traces of four different occupation layers from which more than 10,000 lithic artifacts, chipped from different raw materials, including limestone and chert from diverse sources, were collected (Peretto 1994). The site was located along the shores of a lakebasin, later buried by fluvial sediments. The most interesting structural remains were discovered during the beginning of the excavations, when an accumulation of animal bones and stone tools was uncovered on an almost semicircular paleosurface that was very rich in remains of Bison skulls and horns and Rhinoceros cranial bones and was delimited by large, travertine boulders (Giusberti et al. 1983 p 100) (>Figures 11–13). These discoveries might help interpret the spatial variability and activities carried out within this settlement site (Bartram et al. 1991). Remarkable differences among the lithic assemblages have been noticed between the different excavated areas, both in the raw material employed for producing artifacts and in the typology and dimension of the stone tools (>Figure 14) (Peretto 1983 p 81).

In central Italy, an interesting Mode 2 site dated to slightly later than 0.5 Myr, and with an assemblage consisting of both elephant long bones and stone bifacial hand axes, has been excavated at Fontana Ranuccio (Biddittu et al. 1979). The presence of bone hand axes is unique to the area (Biddittu 1982), where they become increasingly more common at the slightly later Mode 2 sites, like Castel di Guido in Latium (Radmilli and Boschian 1996).

Moving westward, the importance of the remains of structures, brought to light by H. de Lumley (1966) at Terra Amata, near Nice, in Provence, is represented by a shallow, oval-shaped hut-floor attributed to a Mode 2 group of people who inhabited the region around 0.4 Myr. Apart from the exceptional discovery of an almost «intact» habitation structure, the site is important because it yielded the first evident traces of

a hearth indicating the domestication of fire by Paleolithic man in Europe, although traces of fire have long been known from a few Lower Pleistocene sites in East Africa (Clark and Harris 1985; Perle's 1977).

The site of Bilzingsleben, in Germany, is of extreme importance for the study of the behavior of *Homo erectus*. The remains of three circular hut foundations, 3–4 m in diameter, with entrances systematically facing southeast, and with workshop areas and fireplaces, have been discovered at this camp, dated to some 0.37 Myr (>Figure 15). The importance of this site is indicated by the occurrence of the earliest so far known intentionally decorated bone objects that suggest, «non-utilitarian behaviours ... connected to reflexive thinking» (Mania and Mania 2005 p 110), as well as the indisputable traces of what is claimed to be a ritual paved area «with human skull fragments smashed in macerated condition» (Mania and Mania 2005 p 113). These discoveries demonstrate that «*Homo erectus* was therefore a human being that had a fully developed mind and culture, capable in creating his own socio-cultural environment with living structures, the use of fire and special activity areas» (Mania and Mania 2005 p 114). This also finds confirmation in the traces of Acheulean «art» both in Africa (Bednarik 2003) and in the Indian subcontinent (Bednarik 1990).

Gran Dolina at Atapuerca in Spain is an even earlier multilayered site, where some kind of ritual activity has been supposed to have taken place. The site yielded 150 human bone fragments, which have been attributed to four individuals, classified into the new form *Homo antecessor*. Some of the hominid remains from Layer TD6, datable to at least 0.8 Myr, «show clear cut marks which have been interpreted as evidence of cannibalism» (Mosquera Martı́nez 1998 p 17).

Returning to Mediterranean France, this region is very rich in Lower Paleolithic sites, both open air and in caves. Among the latter, the internal deposits of Lazaret Cave (de Lumley 1969), a late Mode 2 Acheulean site attributed to some 0.12 Myr, yielded traces of a unique hut structure that has

been reconstructed thanks to the occurrence of stone walls, fireplaces, and «masses of seaweeds possibly used as bedding for site occupants» (Mellars 1995 p 285). Although this site does not represent the earliest known evidence of cave structural remains in Eurasia, given the traces of much older man-made stonewalls in China (Fang et al. 2004: Figure 3) and Central Europe (Cyrek 2003: Figure 6), Lazaret is the only one from which a detailed reconstruction of the events that took place inside the cave in Late Acheulean times have so far been possible.

5. Hunting weapons

Although, as mentioned earlier, the excavations carried out at Terra Amata in the 1960s had already revealed the presence of one single fireplace, the almost contemporary hunting site of Schoeningen, in North Germany, yielded not only the remains of four hearths, one of which is some 1 m in diameter, but even a charred wooden stick, which might «have functioned as a firehook to feed the fire as well as a spit to roast, and also smoke, strips or pieces of meat» (Thieme 2005 p 127). This site is extremely important because of the occurrence of both the hunting weapons and the other wooden tools brought to light since 1994, which have radically revolutionized our view of the hunting methods and strategies followed by these hominids. The widely accepted view that *H. erectus* was unable to conceive and construct throwing weapons is contradicted by the discovery of sophisticated spears, even longer than 2 m, which suggest a long tradition in wood shaping and weapon craftsmanship showing that, in contrast to what was previously supposed, this species had already acquired that complex «sequence pattern of behavioural complexes» (Laughlin 1968 p 305) commonly labeled hunting, which represent «a way of life . . . that . . . has dominated the course of human evolution for hundreds of thousands of years» (Washburn and Lancaster 1968 p 293). More precisely «*Homo erectus* in the Middle Pleistocene was fully capable of organising,

coordinating and successfully executing the hunting of big game animals in a group using long-distance weapons» (Thieme 2005 p 127). Although the Schoeningen specimens are not the only wooden pointed tools so far recovered from an Early Paleolithic site in Europe, they undoubtedly represent the best preserved specimens discovered within a horse-hunting camp, a surface of some 3,500 m² of which has already been excavated.

Furthermore it is important to point out that already in the 1980s, Isaac (1984 p 17) had considered the use of throwing weapons by early hominids when he wrote «if the Lower Pleistocene tool-making hominids were hunting with equipment, they must have been using spears without stone tips (i.e. pointed staves or horns on staves), clubs, and, perhaps most important of all, thrown sticks and stones,» given that «none of the flaked stone artefacts can plausibly be regarded as 'weapons' (!). In effect it has been widely demonstrated that stone hand axes and cleavers are excellent butchering tools, but not hunting weapons, and, in particular, that «the sinuous retouched edge of a hand-axe retains its meat-cutting efficiency longer than a plain flake edge» (Isaac 1984 p 15).

6. Any ethnographic parallel?

Apart from the factors mentioned in the introduction, there are many others that make remains of early structures difficult to interpret. Among these are (1) the impossibility of «detailed» radiometric dating of the events that took place at short-term habitation sites and (2) the difficulty of proving the supposed contemporaneity of the structural remains within an apparently «homogeneous» area. This is true even though it is widely assumed that «in inspecting the contents of a single structure, we can be fairly confident that the associated assemblage was all in use at one time, if not made at the same time» (Deetz 1968 p 283). Besides the two above-mentioned factors, there are two others of major importance regarding (1) the complete excavation of an occupation unit, an enterprise that has been

successfully undertaken only on very few occasions (Clark 1968 p 277) and (2) the functional nature of the (seasonal) site itself (Hehmsoth-Le Moue'ı 1999 p 81).

With the exception of a limited number of cases reported by Clark for East Africa, and a few others which have been described in the preceding chapters, most sites are characterized by more or less dense concentrations of stone artifacts, differently disposed according to the activities performed (Stevenson 1991 p 280), reflecting «a complex system of extraction, manufacture, transport, use, resharpening, re-use, renewed transport and eventual discard» (Isaac 1986: Figure 15.6). Often, these have been subjected to a certain degree of weathering or represent a (complicated) sequence of depositional events that took place over a period of

millennia. Isaac (1968 p 255) classified such concentrations in three main categories according to the vertical and/or horizontal diffusion of the stone tools. The first two of these «represent sporadic, intermittent occupations of great duration,» while the third «can probably be interpreted as fairly stable 'home base.»

Finally, ethnographic analogies are sometimes uncritically accepted by both archeologists and anthropologists, who often believe «that modern representatives of past stages of cultural development exist» (Freeman 1968 p 263), even though «any consideration of the implications for archeological interpretation of new ethnographic data ... requires an examination of the general relationships between ethnographic observations and archeological reasoning» (Binford 1968 p 68).

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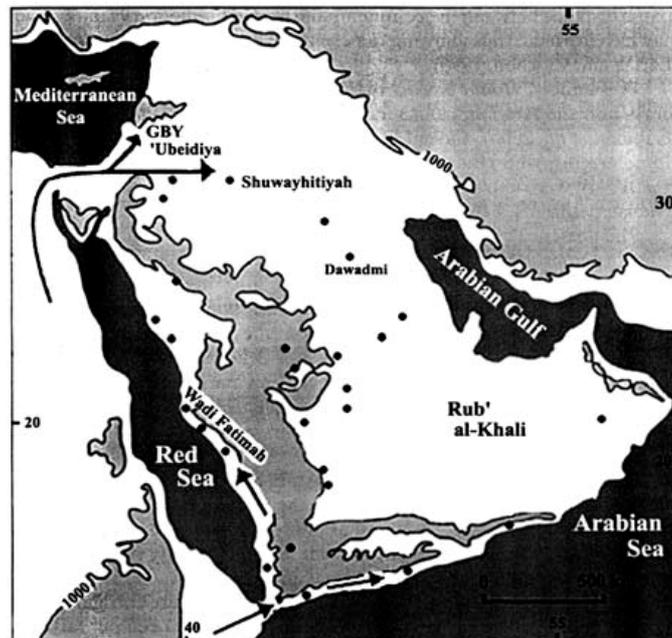
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► **Fig. 1.**

The Arabian Peninsula with the indication of the most important Early paleolithic sites (dots) and the potential main routes followed by hominids during their “out of Africa” dispersal(s) (arrows) (after Petraglia 2003: Figure 12)

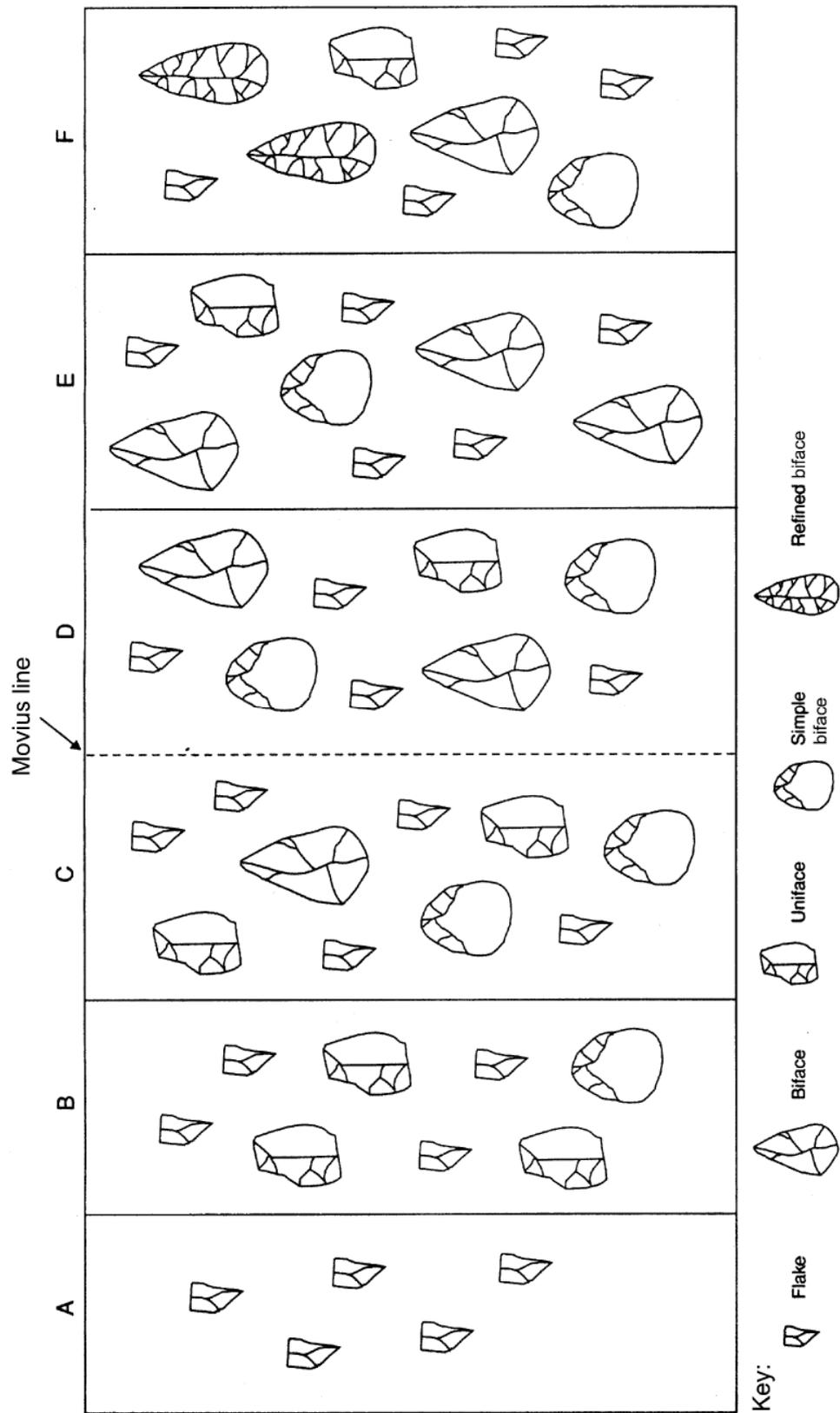


► **Fig. 2.**

Dmanisi (Georgia): A view of the hominid archeological site with the Medieval pit (on the right) from which the first prehistoric bones were discovered (photograph by P. Biagi)

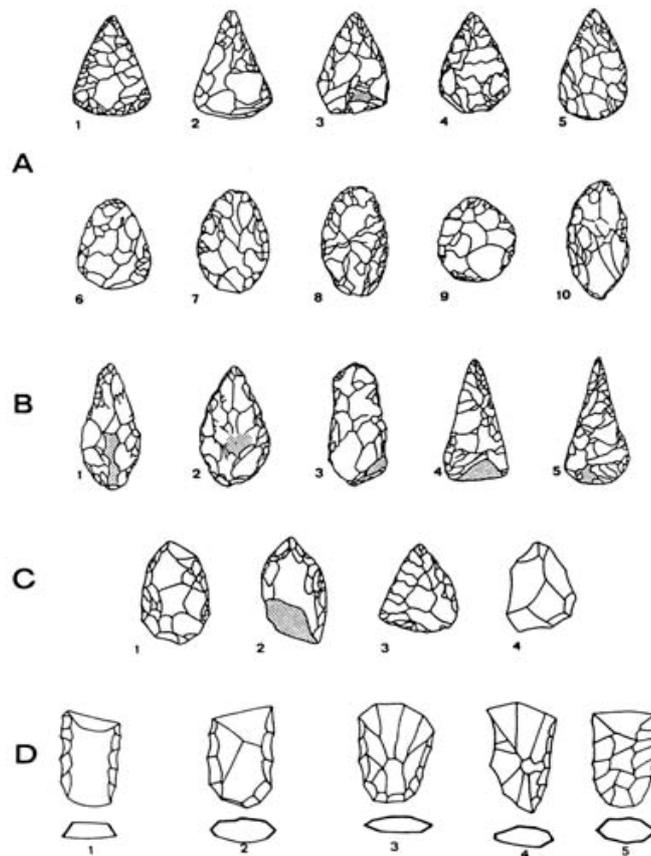


► **Fig. 3.** Variation among lower Paleolithic biface assemblages of eastern Asia and south Asia. The dashed line represents the Movius line, the traditional demarcation between Mode 1 (Oldowan) and Mode 2 (Acheulean) industries (after petraglia 1998: Figure 11.8)



► **Fig. 4.**

Different categories of hand axes according to the typological classification proposed by Camps (1979): different types of (A) flat bifacials, (B) thick bifacials, (C) diverse bifacials, and (D) *hachereaux* (after Brogkio 1998: Figure 22)



► **Fig. 5.**

Ziarāt Pir Shabāt on the Rohri Hills (Sindh, Pakistan): The Acheulean hand-axe factory ZPS1 before excavation (photograph by P. Biagi)



► **Fig. 6.**

Ziarāt Pir Shabāt on the Rohri Hills (Sindh, Pakistan): Acheulean hand-axe rough-outs on the surface of workshop ZPS1 (photograph by P. Biagi)



► **Fig. 7.**

Ongar (Sindh, Pakistan): C-shaped Acheulean chert factory area (photograph by P. Biagi)



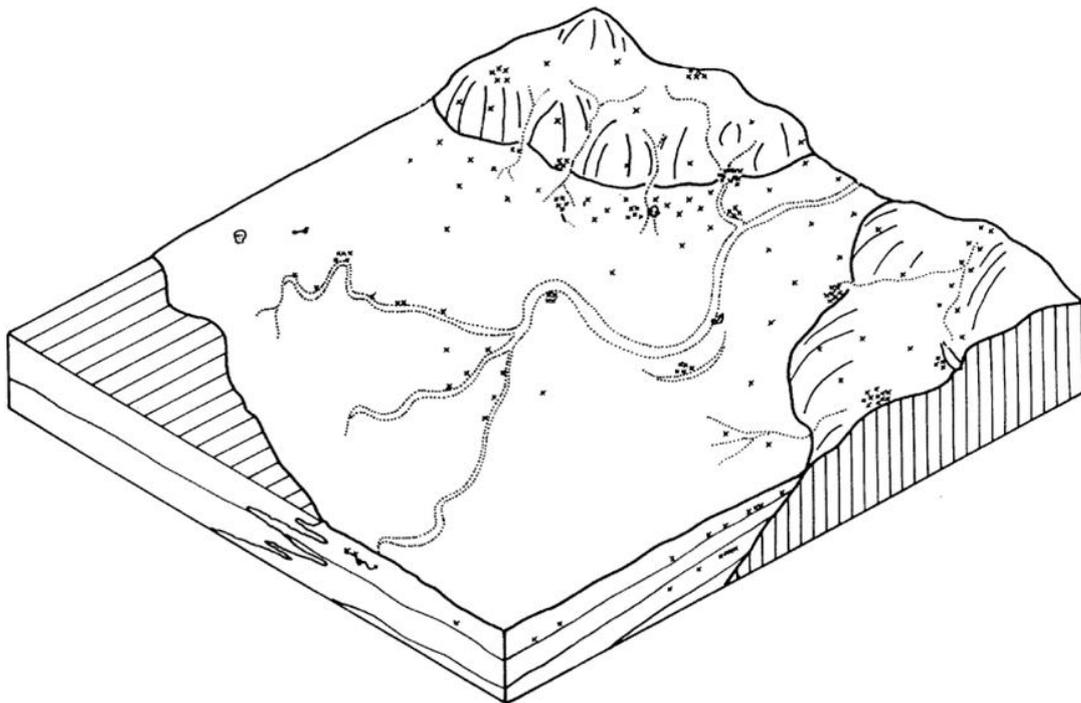
► **Fig. 8.**

Ongar (Sindh, Pakistan): *in situ* chert flakes concentration in an Acheulean workshop (photograph by P. Biagi)



► **Fig. 9.**

Schematic representation of a portion of landscape frequented by tool-using hominids, with the locus of discarded artifacts marked X (after Isaac 1976: Figure 3.3)



► **Fig. 11.**

La Pineta (Isernia, southern Italy): A general view of the semicircular animal bones and material culture remains concentration surrounded by limestone boulders, discovered in 1980 (photograph by P. Biagi)



► **Fig. 12.**

La Pineta (Isernia, southern Italy): Bison skull and long bone fragment from the main semicircular concentration discovered in 1980 (photograph by P. Biagi)



► Fig. 13.

La Pineta (Isernia, southern Italy): plan of the concentration of figure 11: (A) travertine, (B) pebbles, (C) feunal remains, (D) limestone tools, (E) flint tools, (F) red lacquerings (after Giusberti et al. 1983)



► **Fig. 14.**

La Pineta (Isernia, southern Italy): Limestone choppers from the surface of the main semicircular concentration (photograph by P. Biagi)



► **Fig. 15.**

Bilzingsleben (Germany): Plan of the structuration of the Early Paleolithic camp: (a) limits of the excavated area, (b) geological fault lines, (c) shoreline, (d) sandy travertine sediments, (e) alluvial fan, (f) activity area at the lake shore, (g) outlines of living structures, (h) workshop areas, (i) special workshop area with traces of fire use, (j) circular paved area, (k) charcoal, (l) bone anvils, (m) stone with traces of heat, (n) bones with intentional markings, (o) linear arrangement of stones, (p) elephant tusk, (q) human skull fragments, (r) human tooth (after Mania and Mania 2005: Figure 7.1)

