



Jaromír Kovárník 

Can similarities be found in the cults of prehistoric hunters and farmers? Analysis of ‘dance’ scenes of four beings of the Mesolithic from Alta, Finnmark, Norway, and of the beginning of the Eneolithic from Střelice, southwestern Moravia, Czech Republic

ABSTRACT

The ways of life of hunters, fishers and gatherers are noticeably different from those of farmers. Surviving evidence of their cultures is very rare. Although we are aware that it is very difficult to interpret and compare them, sometimes external similarities can be observed, such as in the depiction of human figures, particularly female figurines (also in zoomorphic sculptures) in the Upper Palaeolithic (‘the Cult of Hunters’) and in the Neolithic (‘Field Fertility Cult’ and ‘Domestic Animals Fertility Cult’). The depiction of a woman and three men with their arms stretched upwards on a famous vase of Moravian – East-Austrian group, Phase MOG IIa (around 4525–4375 BC) of the Painted Pottery culture from Střelice in the Czech Republic is significant, and has been interpreted by the author as an example of *hieros gamos* (i.e. a dialogue with space). This vase has considerable similarity with a petroglyph of a circular dance, again obviously depicting a woman and three men holding hands, from Alta in northern Norway, one of the central ‘galleries’ of hunters (5 stages, the oldest being 5300 BC). We can only assume (with just a certain amount of probability) that they depict a story (rite or myth?) in the form of a ‘language of symbols’ (e.g. a restoration of ‘Mother Earth’).

KEYWORDS

hunter-gatherers, petroglyphs, Neolithic, Moravian–East-Austrian group, Painted Pottery culture, fertility cult



I. INTRODUCTION

In this article, we set ourselves the task of solving the question of possible semantic conformity of a specific figural representation in Mesolithic hunters, fishers and gatherers (Alta locality, Norway) and Neolithic farmers (settlement near Střelice, Czech Republic). We will therefore look for arguments and consider possible analogies.

We have noted two images that probably depict dancing, which are from two areas, which are completely different in terms of development (culturally, economically) and also differ in location and climate. The first image is a petroglyph (a motif chiseled, hammered or chased by stone into a rock) from a hunter-gatherers culture at Alta (Finnmark) in the polar region of Northern Norway (Fig. 1). The second image is a formally similar dance scene, probably of one woman and three men, on a vase-like amphora of the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery culture from the end of the Late Neolithic and beginning of the Early Eneolithic found near the village of Střelice in the Znojmo District (southeastern Czech Republic – southwest Moravia).¹

The crucial question is, whether it possible to compare these finds at all. They may be seen secondarily as manifestations of prehistoric art (of early developmental stages) or as applied art? We are aware of many pitfalls and of the fact that such comparisons may easily be questioned, but will proceed cautiously; otherwise, we could not work with any analogies or parallels. This article is an archaeological elaboration of topics from the spiritual life (religion or mythology) of hunters/gatherers and Neolithic farmers.

We are aware that the presented article, in a way, the character of an essay have, because we try to interpret formally similar topics without direct links. We fully accept the opinion of J. Puhvel (1997, 21–28) that parallels from natural, native nations can be used if the whole system agrees with the analyzed examples. However, the system of religious ideas from prehistory is unknown. According to our ideas, we relate to the cult only some artefacts in which we

1 The Painted Pottery culture in Middle Danube has a west branch the Moravian – East-Austrian group (in other words the Moravian Painted Pottery) and an east branch the Lengyel culture. There are two opinions on the relative chronology of phase IIa of the Moravian – East-Austrian group or the 3rd or 4th stage of the Lengyel culture with white-painted ceramics. Some researchers put these findings before the end of the Late Neolithic, while others consider them part of the Early Eneolithic.



FIG. 1. Map of the sites: Alta, Finnmark, northern Norway; Střelice, southwest Moravia, the Czech Republic (after <https://earth.google.com>)

see a possible connection. In ritual life, higher constructions in the form of metaphors and metonyms could also be applied not only to words, but also to artefacts. We assume that the spiritual world was presented in a relatively transformed form.

Epistemological approach

Throughout the article, the subjunctive is used to constantly emphasize the awareness of the relativity of the analyses and conclusions. Due to the nature of the objects, the only possible approach is to use the fact that they are similar

in some ways and thus can be compared. In addition, the analyses use comparisons (by analogy) with established facts from the fields of ethnology or cultural and social anthropology, although they are spatially and temporally distant. Furthermore, similarities between otherwise independent storylines (parallels) will be used.

Both images were supposed to serve specific activities, of which their authors were aware. Both themes could express very old cosmogonic/cosmological ideas about the origin of the Universe and Earth, the genesis and existence of man. Therefore, they created these images not only as artists, but took future users or observers into account as well. They knew that these images were and would be a means of dialogue with their users or observers through the ages, especially with the subjects ‘hammered’ into a rock at the Alta site. From this point of view we must take into account the active role of the objects in their ‘materiality’. They could have served as ‘external symbolic storage’ (e.g. Renfrew 1998) in the ‘mythic’ (the hunter, fishers and gatherers’ Alta petroglyph) or in the ‘symbolic material culture’ stage of the humanity (the vase-like amphora from Střelice). From this point of view the images helped to preserve and periodically recollect the narratives tied to them. In the course of time they probably served (esp. the more durable Alta petroglyphs) “... *As the focus for stories and narratives, for histories and for song, just as we see in hunter-gatherer communities today ...*” (Renfrew 2003, 114).

II. UNDERSTANDING THE REALITY OF PREHISTORIC HUNTERS AND FARMERS

We presume that differences between the religious ideas of hunters, fishermen, gatherers and farmers did exist. The existence and subsistence of hunters and gatherers depends more directly on the surrounding ‘giving environment’, to which they are fully connected (Gjerde 2010, 420 etc.). The Pygmies, for example, understand to the surrounding nature as to the loving parent, ever providing their children with all necessities, such as food, clothing and shelter. On the contrary, the cultivator-hunters of Africa regard the nature as the reciprocating ancestor: “... *When descendants make offerings and follow the customary code of behaviour, the ancestors bless them with success in their hunting and in cultivation. If the descendants fail to satisfy the ancestors, harvest and hunts fail. ...*” (Bird-David 1990, 190). Generally, the hunters and gatherers see themselves as a part of the nature, which is mindful and aware of them

as much as they are aware of the nature itself. The separation of men and their mind from the nature seen as a world of animate and inanimate objects, common in the Western society, has no place in their thought and practice (Ingold 2000, 42). Also the recent ethnographic studies from the circumpolar areas inform us about the close, intimate relationship of the hunters, fishers, gatherers and pastorals with the knowing (i.e. mindful) environment. For example the Koyukon people of Alaska “... *Perceive the environment as conscious, sensate, personified entity, suffused with spiritual powers, whose blessings are given only to the reverent. ...*” (Nelson 1986, 226). The general hunters and gatherers ‘attitude towards the nature was coined, by the Western scientists, as the ‘sentient ecology’ or the ‘sacred ecology’, which express the deep and detailed understanding to the inhabited land based on the close relationship with it (Anderson 2000, 116–131; Berkes 1999).

Even if we witness behavior which could be seen as meaningless ‘over-hunting’ or even spoiling of the prey (i.e. Willerslev 2007, 34; 48–49)², the members of the hunter and gatherers societies usually take only as much as is really necessary; and moreover, that they would have gradually destroyed their food sources and thus destroyed themselves. The reason for the ‘sentient-ecological’ attitude towards the nature should not be seen as existing purely on the basis of the intuitive understanding to the principles of ecology. An ideology – or religion – plays an important role as well. The hunter and gatherer’s societies make an effort to keep their traditional territories: Indigenous peoples today have a much closer relationship with their landscape (e.g. Wolf 1970, 22)³, regarding it as sacred land of their ancestors.

2 The author describes slaughter of several elks killed by the indigenous experienced Yukaghir hunters during the flow on the Omulevka river. The hunters took only the best parts of the carcasses and let the rest of meat (several hundred kilograms) rot. The hunters explained to the author, that they would have offended the master spirit of the river if they would not have taken the offered pray.

3 For example, the Bushmen (San, Sho, Basarwa, Kung, Khwe, Damara people), hunter/gatherers, the original inhabitants of southern Africa, do not want to sleep on beds because they cannot hear the earth, as opposed to when they sleep on its natural surface (Jelínek 2006, 337, 341, 343). They are convinced that they would not then be able to understand the earth (and nature) and thus would not be able to intuit things that are essential to them. It cannot be ruled out that it could also be evidence of observance of ‘sacred’ ancestral lifestyle traditions. It could be another parallel, where members of natural nations, similar as hunters and gatherers, probably could consider the earth maybe as their sacred ‘Mother Earth’, or ‘the Mother Nature’.

Hunters and gatherers tried to 'grab' the space, landscape (hunting grounds), while farmers from the Neolithic especially time (agricultural time limits). An individual's relationship to religion stems from the ecosystem and livelihood. Hunters, fishmen and gatherers focused on game and this natural environment (forests, meadows, rivers, i.e. hunting grounds, herbs and fruits) and sought to identify with nature and animals. Farmers put into the spheres of their vital interests villages, domesticated plants in the fields, domesticated animals and pasture land. Neolithic farmers and herdsmen also sometimes identified with (domesticated) animals, eventually they believed in the spirits of these animals, which could significantly affect their lives (Kovárník 2019, 79, Fig. 22). We believe that both hunters and gatherers, as well as farmers and herders, have not forgotten other parts of 'their world', such as the cyclically recurring seasons, the journey of the sun's disk across the sky, and the observation of the recurring positions of planets and stars. All these interactions between humans, flora and fauna, whether wild or domesticated, the natural environment, including the observation of the motion of the most visible stars, planets and the Moon, have taken place through thoughtful-intellectual observation of many generations. The knowledge gained was passed down from generation to generation in a traditionally narrative manner. It was about the cognitive side and variability in relation to the natural environment and individual stages of the economy. Prehistoric hunters, gatherers, herdsmen and farmers created material culture. Her higher-level page was represented by symbols. We consider it to be a very archaic form of religiosity, a symbolic-religious system (Eliade 1995, 20).

Every hunting ground or river has its own guarding spirit, as well as each of the animal species (e.g. Hultkrantz 1961, 53–64). The hunters and gatherers are fully aware of the presence of such watchful and attentive spirits and care not to arouse their anger by an inappropriate behavior (such as killing without need). We have also noted that the amount of the hunted prey has its existential meaning. The Siberian hunters (for example) believe that they have predetermined amount of prey in their lives and when they exceed this amount, they die (Brož, Willerslev 2012). The rules of the hunting ethics are part of the verbal and customary 'laws', like the *zakon tundry* (the law of tundra, Russian) of the Siberian hunters and pastorals (e.g. Stammer 2005). The hunters and gatherers maintain such sets of 'laws' as well as their way of life as important heritage (e.g. Wolf 1970, 23).⁴ This phenomena indicates why are

4 Dreams were also of great importance to indigenous people. This is how indigenous

the hunter and gatherers' societies very conservative, traditionalistic and suspicious towards the innovations.

Regarding their property, they were basically 'non-accumulative' or 'pre-accumulative' communities. In other words, we presume that the prehistoric societies of the hunters and gatherers belonged among the 'immediate return system societies' instead of the 'delayed return system societies' group to which naturally belong all of the agricultural societies (Ingold 1987, 199). The 'storage' of the hunters and gatherers prehistoric communities was the nature itself, "... *So long as they are free to move and unencumbered with provisions ...*" (Ingold 1987, 199). On the other hand we should not underestimate the 'delayed return system' qualities of the prehistoric societies of the hunters and gatherers and their capacity to make storages of any valuables including food. The summarizing ethnographic study (Woodburn 1982, 433) lists only five (sub)recent societies of the 'immediate return system', e.g. societies of pure hunters and gatherers making no storage and provisions of any kind.⁵ We know from the ethnographic evidence that the hunters and gatherers societies know and use technologies of preserving perishable goods and food and there is no reason to believe that their prehistoric counterparts have not used such methods as well.⁶ Nonetheless the importance of storage (esp. the storage of the food and of the seeds) increased unquestionably in the Neolithic.

The mentality of the hunters and gatherers was focused on harmony with the nature and the universe. This way of thinking shows a high degree of

Australians answer questions about their knowledge or successful prediction of events: ...*This I have from my dreaming...*" Members of the Achuar tribe of the Amazon make contact with supernatural beings through dreams. The soul of man can become detached from the body in a dream and can then enter the world of mythological figures (ghosts) or commune with the spirits of animals and plants. These are good dreams, sent by good spirits, guides and absent relatives or dead ancestors (Bouzek 1996, 125). Also the traditional way of life is very important for indigenous peoples in various parts of the world. Indians in Venezuela have experienced a situation when one of them went to a city for some time. After returning to the jungle, he lost 'night vision' for hunting at night. A shaman had to help him with a spell.

5 Including, for example the well known Pygmies of Zair and Kung San people of Bostwana.

6 We must into account the fact that significant part of the food resources of the Mesolithic societies of temperate parts of Europe consist of quite durable and storing-able crop such as hazelnuts or water chestnuts (e.g. Zvelebil 2008, 31).

knowledge of reality, which formed the basis for ‘sapiential wisdom’. Neolithic agriculture surely drew inspiration from this ‘know-how’ for activities in the process of domestication and subsequent breeding of domestic animals and cultivation of plants. The transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic was probably a gradual evolutionary process with many intermediate stages from hunting and gathering to pastoralism and farming (grain production).

The progressive change in production changed also the way of perception of the time. Many indigenous peoples do not perceive time as a very important or rather they do not hurry; they let things to take their course and perform their activities (such as hunting) in due time. This means that they do not ‘seize’ time. We assume that they have learnt about time by watching, and see its beginning in the form of birth, and death as its end, but death is not demonized. They also measure time according to the celestial bodies and the time of equinoxes and solstices probably governed the times of their main feasts and gatherings (according to the subrecent analogies).

This situation seems to have changed for farmers, who basically entered the process of species development by natural selection (Beneš 1987, 251). They began to seize time to ensure the proper conduct of agricultural activities; time then started to ‘tie’ them. They began to consciously create provisions (initially in the form of the seed they required); they started to ‘accumulate’. Gradually, they added yet other ‘commodities’, which then became property and exchange goods (and further increased assets). This led to the beginnings of social stratification based on the material culture (e.g. Renfrew 1986).

Scene with four figures in a circle from the site of Ole Pedersen at Alta, Finnmark, Norway

We present here the petroglyphic depiction of four figures in a circle found in a ‘rock gallery’ in the polar setting of Alta – Ole Pedersen (Fig. 2: 1–2).⁷ The dating is not precise; abundant petroglyphic scenes are assumed to date to perhaps as soon as around 5300–5200 BC, i.e. the Mesolithic, then in

7 North Norwegian Alta is located at the northern tip of the Scandinavian Peninsula in the administrative region of Finnmark. The current town is situated at about 69°58'22.76" North, 23°21'21.02" East in the protected environment of Alta Fjord. The rock gallery with a number of petroglyphs is located on the southwestern outskirts of the city near a small bay, and has an impressive geographical position at 69° 56'46.49" North and 23°11'46.49" East.

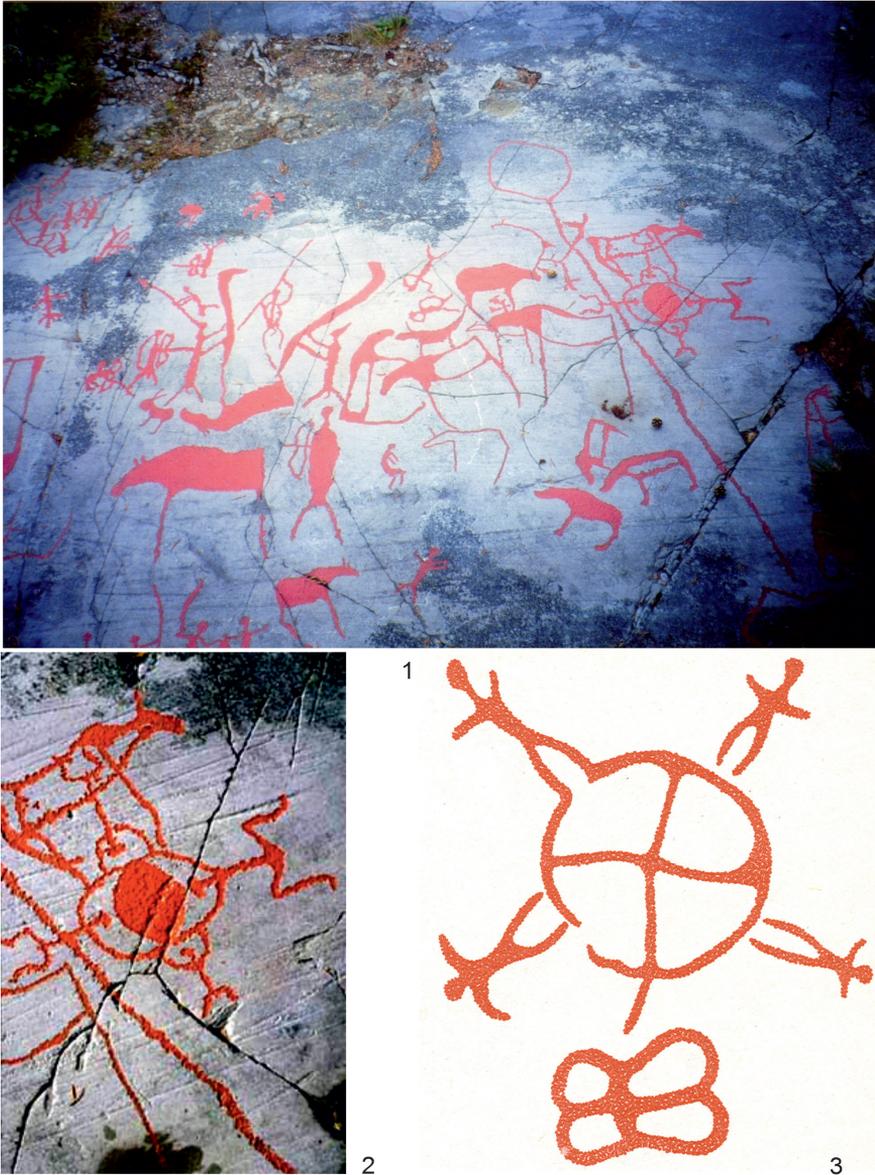


FIG. 2. 1. Alta, Finnmark, northern Norway: depiction of a ritual (?) scene with a female figure and three male figures (shamans, ghosts, supernatural beings / powers?) along with other pecked scenes (photo by A. Cvak). 2. Alta, Finnmark, northern Norway: depiction of a ritual (?) scene with a female figure and three male figures (after www.Museum.Alta.Norway). 3. Vardenis mountains, Armenia: Sun symbol (?) with four silhouettes in each quadrant of the circle divided by cross (after Kšica 1984, Fig. 283)

the Neolithic, Eneolithic, the Bronze Age, the Iron Age and also in the first centuries AD (Gjerde 2010, 246–255, 285, 392–395, Fig. 151–155, 175, 275).⁸ The oldest engravings, pecked motifs, are farthest from the coast. They are believed to have been made in five stages from the Mesolithic 5300/5200 BC to 200 AD (Tansem, Johansen 2008, 65; Gjerde 2010, 252, 285, Fig. 152–153; 2019a, 1, 4).⁹ What is certain is that these pecked motifs were created by hunters.¹⁰ The placement of petroglyphs on the shore above sea level was apparently intentional. It was an impressive, mysterious place on the ‘edge of the world’, of secular territory and a world of infinite and deep sea, a sacred territory (the other world, spiritual world, and the like).

The symbolic motif of three men and one woman in the scene in the rock gallery in Alta made with a petroglyphic, pecked technique clearly departs from other hunting scenes (of bear, elk and reindeer, fishing or motifs of boats etc.).

It shows four figures in movement (Gjerde 2010, 243). The view from above emphasizes the circular dance and also compensates for the lack of knowledge of perspective (Fig. 2: 1–2: 2). The figures are holding hands, which appear to be raised. It would be possible that this scene would emphasize a festive moment or happiness. Ritual dance in hunter societies was apparently thanks to ‘nature’ to enable them to hunt successfully. One of the figures differs from the others. Its pelvis is thicker and it has two ‘bulges’ on the body (breasts?),

8 It is clear that this part of the old continent must have been settled after significant climate changes, when the Scandinavian ice retreated toward the interior of the country and when it was significantly warmer. Warm ocean flow in the form of the North Atlantic Current (as a part of the original North Equatorial Current changing into the Gulf Stream in the Gulf of Mexico) has always had a significant impact on warming the local climate. Of course, this is a very simplified model. Warming of the north-west and northern coasts of Europe and melting of glaciers caused rising sea levels, the flooding of the adjacent coast and formation of shallow stretches of the sea suitable for safe shipping. These sea routes undoubtedly led to the relatively quick settlement of the coast of Scandinavia, where the conditions for sustained human survival had been already created. This is reported to have happened sometime between 5000–4000 BC. In the case of the North Swedish hunting site at Vuollerim near Jokkmokk in Lapland (with slightly recessed oval dwellings) the age increases up to 5000 BC (Mesolithic: Knutsson K., Knutsson H. 2012 etc.).

9 The criterion of relative chronology of petroglyphs is their distance from the coast: the higher above sea level, the older and vice versa.

10 We, however, also take into consideration the views of the presence of reindeer corals (Helskog 2011).

typical female features. We know an analogous depiction of a female figure from the Early Neolithic period, the Linear Pottery culture, on a vessel from Kolešovice, Rakovník District, in Central Bohemia (Tomašovičová 2018, Fig. 7: 2). The remaining figures are slim and their phalli are visible, which suggests that they are men. The female figure is the largest; the second largest is opposite her. They comprise the dominant (?) pair of characters.

A very similar theme of a circle ('circle of time?') divided by a cross, with four characters, beings in each quadrant (Fig. 2.3) is visible on a petroglyph in the Vardenis Mountains in Armenia (Kšica 1984, 283, Fig.). Many petroglyphs have cosmic and astronomical, probably a (cosmological) cosmogonic themes, which also includes representations of the Earth, Sun, Moon and major planets in the form of a bronze casting from a burial Lchashen at Lake Sevan dating to the 3rd millennium BC (Kšica 1984, 283–284, Fig.).

The four human figures in a circle could represent four important points, periods, or time limits on a circle. We know that things, or even natural phenomena, have been personified in antiquity (see literary works in ancient Summer; Lamentation over the city of Ur: Matouš, ed., 1978, 51; 48, 53, 56; etc.). It could have been likewise in prehistory.

In any case, the image at Alta – Ole Pedersen was worth recording in the form of a relatively elaborate and durable petroglyph in a 'gallery' of sacred symbols including a cross, reindeer, elk and bear hunting and fishing. It had a precise meaning. The fact that their hands are linked is also very interesting. The larger pair of figures (a woman and man) create an oval (irregular circle) with their conjoined hands, or each of them creates a circle. Other two male figures join them from each side at angles of 90°. Are the figures human, or are they supposed to depict higher powers, spirits etc.? Images of women are usually associated with fertility cults (e.g. Franz 1937; Kšica, Kšicová, Maršál, Podborský 2006, 65–101; Podborský 2006, 117–120, 147–152). Here, the female figure is emphasized. All four figures are arranged in a symbolic cross; at its centre, the joined hands create a circular shape. It is known that the combination of the cross and circle is an ancient solar symbol; they can be found in several places, including Sweden, as at Boglösa, Boglösaby, Böttbergs, Rickeby, Vårfrukyrka (Coles 1994, 25, 53, 57–58, 72–74, Fig. 11: a, c, 30, 35, 36, 55, 57; 2000, 38–47, Pl. 48–52, 118, 141), or Nämforsen (Baudau 1995, 81–91, Fig. 66).

Engravings, pecked motifs of the sun are, of course, also present at Alta (Tansem, Johansen 2008, Fig. 8). The symbol of the cross is also understood to divide space into four cardinal points, or to divide the world into four elements. The horizontal line may mark profane space and the vertical line the

sacred part; the cross interconnects them. The four figures linked to the circle could also represent the four seasons, which have been observed by people from their beginnings and which were so important to them. Late Neolithic monumental circular ditches of rondels in the Iclod group, Csőszhalom group, Lengyel culture (LGK I), Moravian – East-Austrian group (MOG Ia) of the Painted Pottery culture (PPC), Stroked Pottery culture (SBK IVa), Oberlauterbach (OLB) group, Grossgartach group (GG) and Rössen culture I create a combination of a circle and cross. Their four entrances are astronomically oriented (according to the cardinal points, to the sunrise or moonrise).

Very interesting is the pot of the Moravian – East-Austrian group (MOG), MOG Ib phase of the Painted Pottery culture (Late Neolithic) from Hluboké Mašůvky (Fig. 3: 2), with a very sophisticated depiction of human faces using a system of rows of dimples and four protrusions for maximum convexity (Fig. 4: 1). The lower part of the pot has not been preserved. The creator of this unique vessel was fully aware that he had created two faces, but in such a way that by turning 90°, four faces were displayed (Kovárník 2004, 172, Fig. 2: 3; 2019, 77–78, Fig. 17). A smaller cult vessel of the Moravian – East-Austrian group, Phase MOG Ia from the settlement Střelice-Klobouček, Znojmo dist. (Fig. 3: 1), with four miniature vessels regularly spaced 90° around its wall in the cross (Fig. 4: 2), could again serve to sacrifice either the four corners of the world or to four mythical beings. We classified this vessel as pseudonymous kernos (Kovárník 2004, 196, Fig. 3: 4; 2019, 78, Fig. 18). Part of the vessel (Kazdová 1984, tab. 80) from Těšetice-Kyjovice, Znojmo dist. (Fig. 3: 3), clay mining pit no. 170, bears on the surface an excellent motif of a disk and radial stripes painted with yellow mineral pigment and with red stripes as contours (Fig. 4: 3). On the wall of the whole vessel there were again four of these motifs. We interpret these disks as the sun with the sun's rays (Kovárník 1997, 77, Fig. 36). This is not an isolated matter. A similar decorative motif made by the groove technique with four circular symbols divided by a cross into four parts (Fig. 5) comes from the Bükk culture (Točík 1970, 102, Tab. XXV) of the Middle Neolithic from the Gemer region in southeastern Slovakia (Kovárník 1997, 77, Fig. 35). We can say that the circle, the wheel has been a universal sacred symbol in different parts of the world since ancient times. The stupa (e.g. Amaravati, Sanchi, etc.), a circular structure built on top of the Buddha's remains, sometimes also shows the general principle of orientation towards the world's major parties, cardinal points. It is an expression of the symbolic 'wheel of time', the kalachakra, and the 'cycles of time' (Kovárník 1997, 43, Fig. 23). The kalachakra is depicted as a harmony of a square in a circle ('cross' motif).



FIG. 3. Map of the settlements Střelice-Sklep, Střelice-Klobouček. 1: Hluboké Mašůvky, 2: Těšetice-Kyjovice, 3: of the MOG, Miroslav, 4: of the Horákov culture, and Oblekvice, 5: of the Middle Danube Urnfield culture, Znojmo District, south and south-western Moravia, the Czech Republic

We have to agree with C. Lévi-Strauss (1996, 15) when he says that, to indigenous peoples, the world is a subject of their thoughts as well as a means of satisfying their need. The dance scene is evidence of this assertion. Ancestors were closely connected with nature and therefore had very well developed sensory perception and were also very skilled at perceiving all aspects of nature and its changes. This applies in particular to hunting communities that followed the herds of hunted game passing through the vast landscape. They undoubtedly knew the sources of usable raw materials, plant species important for both themselves and the game, and also the behaviour of many animals; but they especially knew how to survive most effectively. The hunters' knowledge was also important for the oldest farmers. This was mainly knowledge of the reproductive cycle of certain species of plants (peasants) and animals (herders). As well as botanical knowledge, farmers certainly also sought

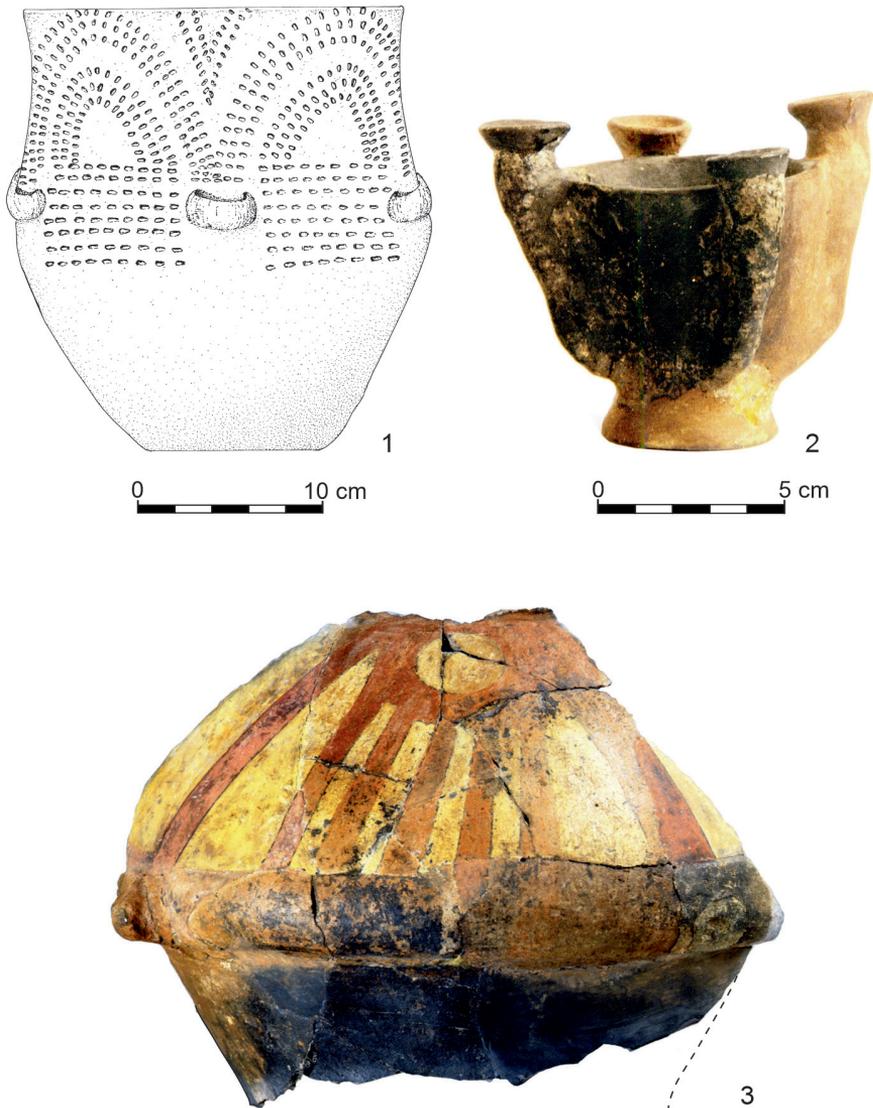


FIG. 4. 1. Hluboké Mašůvky, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: a pot of the MOG Ib phase with two (or four) faces realized by a system of small oval dimples on the wall of the vessel (after Kovárník 2004, 172, Fig. 2: 3). 2. Střelice-Klobouček, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: a pseudomous kernos of the MOG Ia phase with four small bowls around the circumference of the vessel (Kovárník 2019, 78–79, Fig. 18). 3. Těšetice-Kyjovice, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: part of a large vessel of the MOG Ia phase with a motif of (four) yellow disks with rays lined with red contours as symbols of the sun (after Lička 2001, 105, Tab. 20: cat. No. 183; without scale)

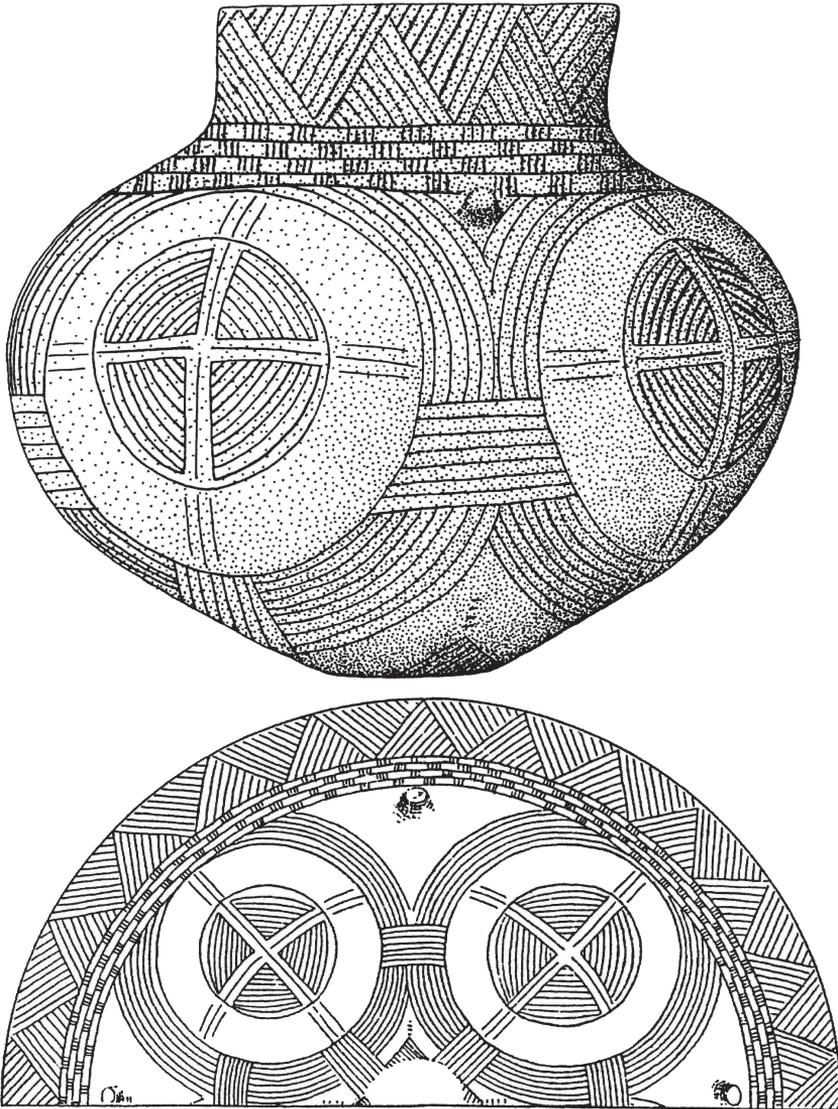


FIG. 5. Gemer region in south-eastern Slovakia: a decorative motif with four circular symbols divided by a cross into four parts made by the groove technique. From the Bükk culture of the Middle Neolithic (after Kovárník 1997, Fig. 35/Točík 1970, Tab. XXV/, without scale)

the ‘pharmacological wisdom’ of shamans (magicians, healers) concerning the effects of certain plants.¹¹

What is very important in the image from Alta is that this elaborate scene of four figures holding hands depicts a particular action. It combines artistic elements into motifs, and the motifs into the overall story (prayer, chanting, celebration etc.). Also, having been created as a particular symbol, it illustrates the presence of abstract thinking.

It is quite obvious, due to the Arctic climate, that the petroglyphs were created to be viewed only in favourable conditions, from the thaw of the old snow until the fall of the new. This may suggest an importance and relation with this particular time of year (of the polar day, with the important date of 21st June) for growing vegetation, whether for grazing herds of game, or for collecting herbs and forest fruit for enriching their diet, or for creating a stock of dry food for the period of the polar night (Binford 2001, Fig. 8.04).

It is the time after the end of dormancy, when nature awakens cyclically to new life. It would be correct to say that the sun is doubly the ‘alpha and omega’ of life in polar areas. It undoubtedly has positive psychological effects; it takes supremacy over the polar night and over the harsh winter climate, accompanied in ancient times by inactivity and associated diseases (and higher mortality).¹²

Guessing the links

Perhaps symbolic circles in ancient times represented eternal return, cyclicity, infinity, i.e. they were representations of time, the absolute and unity, but also the Earth or the Universe. A circle is an ideal and versatile shape and a mysterious symbol. Circles evoked comparable meanings for people in different places and different times (the principle of the ‘anthropological

11 The vocabulary of the native tribes was enriched in this respect. For example, the Hopi Indians names for 350 plants and the Navajo for 500 plants. The Subanuns of the southern Philippines have more than 1,000 expressions and the indigenous tribes of Gabon about 8,000 names for the local flora (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 18).

12 Polar days start in Alta on 18th May and end on 23rd July. Polar nights are between 23rd November and 19th January. There is no permafrost around Alta, thanks to the favorable climatic conditions (http://met.no/English/Climate_in_Norway/; www.nordnorge.com/de/?News=60; <https://translate.google.cz/translate?hl=cs&sl=en&u=http://self.gutenberg.org/article/whebn0000057612/geography%2520of%2520norway&prev=-search>).

constant'). Round dancing (by individual or group) takes place around a vertical axis. It can be said that the vertical axis connects heaven and earth, the sacred and the profane environments.¹³

For this reason, we extrapolate the symbol of the *circle*. In Christianity, a *circle* was a symbol of God and eternity, and it is the main solar symbol in Buddhism, for example. Other symbols are based on circles, such as the volute, *triskelion* and swastika.¹⁴ It is assumed that they represented the importance of the sun. E. Ruttkay (1983–1984, 232) saw the symbol of the circle as representing the sun. The same meaning of the circle symbol (as well as the symbol of the cross) is presented also by others (Kovárník 1997, 29, 37, 77, Fig. 35, 36; Podborský 2006, 169 etc.), who considered it in the framework of the Indo-European religion. He argues that the circle is a reflection of the sun and symbolizes life and death, that is, the eternal cycle. N. Burdo (2008, 121–122, 126–140), however, considers the symbol of the circle as representing the moon.¹⁵ The volute was a very widespread primeval solar symbol, but it could also have represented infinity, growth, development or (universal) energy. Both its appearance and meaning are similar to that of the *triskelion* and the *Ouroboros*. It is connected with the cult of fertility, of the 'Great Mother', as nature and the earth from which everything arises and to which also everything returns

13 The anti-clockwise dance of the dervishes, members of the Mawlawi Order, is a special *zikr* with sun symbolism. Dervishes profess an alternative Islamic religion. Dervishes are often followers of the Sufi mystical order of Tariq. They renounce worldly pleasures and seek to approach God through mysticism (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Islamic-arts/Dervish-dancing>).

14 These four halves of the solar disc were depicted on the inner edge, and a swastika on the bottom of a cup of the Horákov culture (the Early Iron Age) from Miroslav, Znojmo district (Nekvasil 1993, 343, Fig. 222: 11 etc.).

15 The triskelion (meaning 'three-legged') consists of three interlocking bent legs, or spirals. The triskelion is found on prehistoric pottery of the Iron age (Silesian-Platěnice, Bylany and Horákov cultures of the Hallstatt period: Nekvasil 1993, 343, Fig. 224: 19; Říman, Štěpánek, ed. 1987a, 952; Koutecký 1978, 469, 472, Fig. 139: 29; 2007, 51, Fig. 15, Pl. 5: 6) and on the La Tène period artefacts (Filip 1956, 245–246; Pleiner 1978, 658, 673; Čižmář 1993, Fig. 264: 5–6, 275: 18 etc.). The right-rotating swastika represented the male principle, the left-rotating one the female principle. The swastika appears from the Neolithic in different parts of the world. It is very likely that it developed from a cross in a circle, the so-called solar cross (Podlaha, ed. 1930, 347; Soudský 1950, 50, 132, 139, Fig. 16: 57–58, 32d: 85–89, 93–95; Říman, Štěpánek *et al.* 1987b, 289; Nekvasil 1993, 343, Fig. 222: 11, 21, 224: 6, 19, 20 etc.).

(eternal ‘cradle and grave’). Again, it is a ‘cosmopolitan’ symbol with a stable meaning, and is present already in the Old Kingdom of Ancient Egypt as world’s periodic renewal (Hornung 1999, 38, 77–78; 2002, 18; Verner, Bareš, Vachala 2007, 487 etc.). A symbol with a similar meaning appears in the Orient, and is evidence of (formally) similar phenomena over a wide area at different times in groups with different levels of development, which may support a hypothesis about the possibility of comparing them, including their internal nature.¹⁶ A circle is called a *chakra* in Indian mythology (Sanskrit). It expresses the cycle of arising and passing away. In Buddhism, this main sun symbol is understood as the ‘Wheel of Law’ (Kvasil *et al.* 1984, 756–757).

Four dancing figures at the Late Neolithic settlement in Střelice-Sklep (southwest Moravia, the Czech Republic)

A similar image, which however, comes from territorially remote (a direct distance of ca. 2365 km) and totally different environment in terms of period, culture and economy, i.e. the beginning of the Early Eneolithic in Central Europe (Fig. 1, 3: 1). It is an amphora (Fig. 6–7) dated to phase IIa (ca 4523–4375 BC; Stadler, Ruttikay 2007, 130, 142, Tab. 7) of the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery culture (Vildomec 1940, 5, Fig. 3).

We believe that a certain critical comparison with the Alta image is possible. A formally similar (?) story shows the decorative motif on the vessel. This amphora comes from the Střelice-Sklep settlement of the MOG IIa phase. The image on the amphora is composed of incisions filled by a white paste.

The image on the amphora emphasizes a circular dance (?) scene (Fig. 6–7). It consists of four figures separated by twin rhomboid shapes, all of which have a pair of elements in the form of scrolls in the corners, which are explained as symbolizing the womb. It is probably a depiction of three male characters and one female being (Vildomec 1940, 4–5). The bodies and limbs of the figures consist of strips of three rows of circular punctures.

16 The *Voluta of Life* and the *Ouroboros* were symbols semantically similar to the phoenix. The phoenix has a very old origin as well (Soudský 1950, 128, 137, Fig. 32b: 33–39; Pavlů 1978, 201; Pleiner 1978, 673; Kvasil, Štěpánek *et al.* 1985, 411 etc.). It is a motif of a snake that has occurred since the Neolithic. It is an apotropaic symbol. It means infinity, continuous return from the end to the beginning and vice versa (Točík ed. 1970, 53–54, Pl. XVIII: 2; Anthes 1977, 26; Kovárník 1997, 46; Podborský 2006, 169; Burdo 2008, 107–117, 129, 132–133, 152, 157–158, 162–163, 172, 285 etc.).

The standing male figures are simple (the feet are visible and together). The lower half of the female figure's body is conically enlarged towards the base. It is framed (on each side) by strips of only two rows of punctures. A strip of three rows of punctures coming from the body area is placed in the middle of the lower enlarged part. It is terminated below by an element in the form of a short horizontal rectangular 'U' profile.

This unique vessel has very rich plastic decoration. There were small sculptures of four goats in a vertical position on the edge. The zoomorphic sculptures are separated from the main image by a horizontal strip (of three rows of punctures) with four 'suspended' triangular motifs. These motifs are formed in one case by triple punctures, and in the remaining three cases by double punctures. Their apexes are oriented between the heads of the anthropomorphic figures. We explain this motif as the sun, with again four triangular rays. This solar (sacred) 'circle' is connected with the edge (i.e. the mouth) of the vessel by two vertical strips situated along two of the four animal figures. This fact is probably very important, because it combines the whole apparently mythical story not only with the vessel, but also with its content, which was poured in and out.

On the convexity of this vase-like amphora under gynaecomorphic symbols are applied also four small probably animal heads with horns. The heads are rotated against the plastic applications at the edge at 45°. There is also a horizontal dividing strip of four rows of punctures surrounding the bottom edge of the probably important scene. A question arises as to whether this represents the earth (the profane element). Also, four garlands in the form of strips consisting of four rows of punctures decorate the lower half of this vessel. These arcs begin (and end too) in places of applied zoomorphic heads on the convexity of the amphora.

We reinterpret the above scene on the ceremonial vessel from Střelice-Sklep as a depiction of an important myth of Neolithic/Eneolithic farmers, with the central (theomorphic?) figures: personifying the four seasons (or cardinal points) in anthropomorphic form (one female, three male). It cannot be excluded that this central topic is bordered by what is probably a symbolic solar 'circle' at the top and by a band representing the earth encircling the vessel at the bottom. Could it also be a symbolic, personified representation of four elements (the nature of the world in the understanding of Neolithic farmers) such as fertile earth, heat and light (sun), water (rain), air (?)¹⁷. These

17 In antique philosophy were fire, air, water, earth.



FIG. 6. Střelice-Sklep, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: an amphora of the MOG IIa phase with the cult (shamans, ghosts, supernatural beings/powers?) image, story (archaeological collection of the MOG of F. Vildomec's in their family villa in Boskovštejn, photo by the author; without scale)

four characters inspire both the notion of the world's essentials, as well as the generality, as well as certain basic stability such as four limbs (humans and animals), or a four-wall house and so on. Therefore, the scene could represent a basic myth at that time which tells the story of the connection between Earth and the Sun, which could be understood as a 'dialogue with the universe' (Kovárník 1997, 31, 50; 2003, 332–333). It could probably be an older

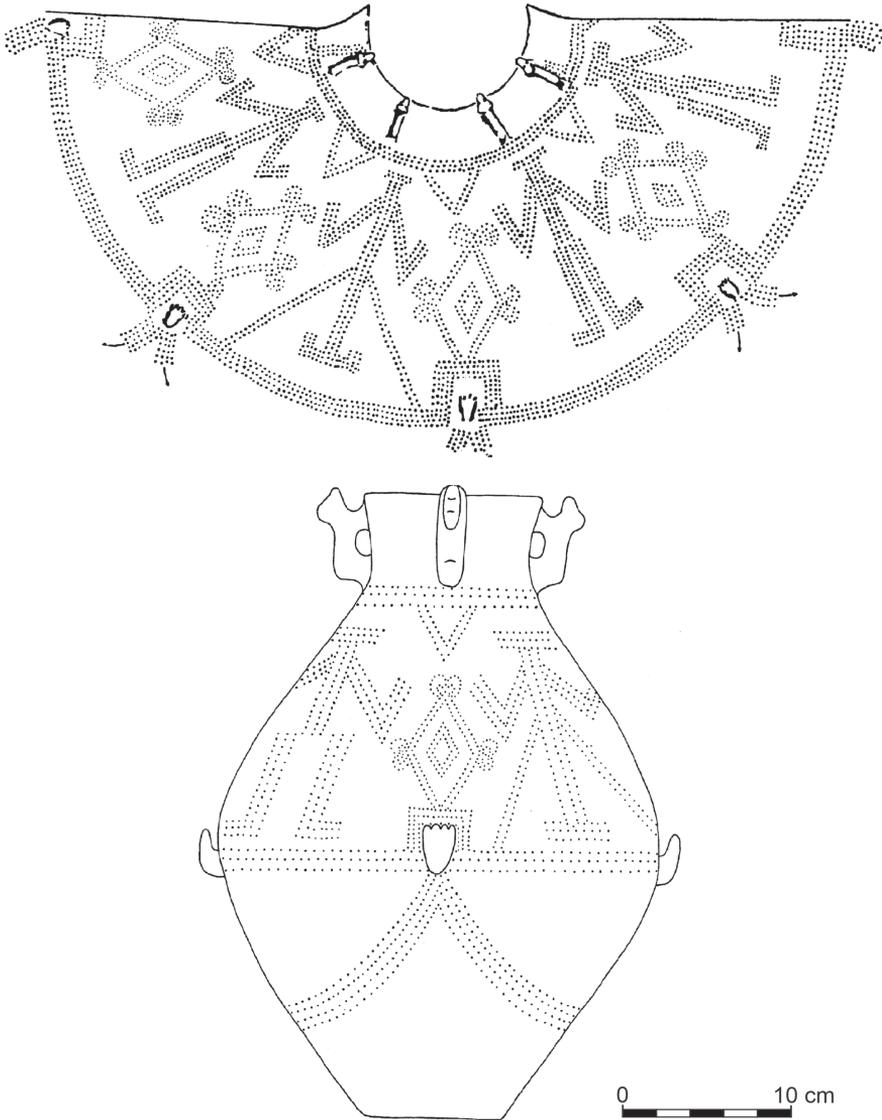


FIG. 7. Střelice-Sklep, Znojmo District, Czech Republic: a slim thin-walled vase-like amphora of the MOG IIa phase with four stroke-ornamented human figures (one female, three male) separated by twin rhomboid shapes (ritual dance?, ritual story?), with four horned goat heads on the maximal convexity and four goat figurines on the neck (after Vildomec 1940, Fig. 3)

religious tradition. The image is apparently of cultic significance and represents perhaps a depiction of the ritual of the 'holy wedding' (*hieros gamos*), characteristic for agricultural communities (Kovárník 1997, 40, 60–71; 2003, 333; Podborský 2006, 156; Podborský, Kovárník 2006, 62).

What is notable is the recurrent representation of the number four on the decorative elements and motifs. There are four little zoomorphic statues applied at the edge, four triangular shapes hanging on the 'ring' around the bottom of the neck, perhaps like the rays of a life-giving sun, which 'illuminate' or 'consecrate' the entire composition on the vessel. Very important are these four anthropomorphic (theomorphic) figures of the central theme and four double rhomboid motifs (gynaecomorphic symbols?) with volute among these characters, four zoomorphic heads with horns (goats?) on the convexity and four garlands at the lower half of the vessel. More than 150 fragments of the vessel were found in the entire contents of the 380 x 300 cm pit (Vildomec 1940, 3). The light-colored fragments of this vessel show a completely different colour of the other black fragments with a polished surface, because some shards were secondarily oxidatively fired. We ask ourselves, was the vessel ritually broken and thrown into the fire?

All this creates a unity of multiple crosses and circles (inclined by 45°). The number four could be associated with 'personification' of the four seasons (which were simply observed), which are caused by the four marginal positions of the Sun with respect to the Earth (the winter solstice, spring equinox, summer solstice and autumn equinox). Probably four suns are painted also on the edge of the cup and a swastika (Fig. 8) on the bottom (the Horákov culture, Early Iron Age) from Miroslav, Znojmo District (Fig. 3.4). And other possible associations could be the four cardinal points and four parts of the day (marginal positions of the sun, morning sunrise, upper culmination at the zenith at high noon, sunset in the evening and lower culmination at midnight; see Kovárník 1997, 77, 89; 2003, 332–333).

The scene of four anthropomorphic images holding hands, together with other 'decorative' motifs on the ceremonial amphora from Střelice is in this respect very similar to the important petroglyph motif at Alta in northern Norway.

A similar motif of ritual, perhaps even of sacred dance, could be seen in the reliefs of five figures holding hands on a globular vessel shape from the settlement of the younger stage of the Linear Pottery culture at Vedrovice, Znojmo District (South Moravia, the Czech Republic; Kruta, Lička 2001, 68, Pl. 11.95). Their hands create a zigzag line. The faces are turned into the circle.



FIG. 8. Miroslav, Znojmo District, Czech Republic: a cup with a painted swastika as a sun symbol on the bottom and four solar disks on the edge of the Horákov culture (author's archive)

Their heads (with flat caps) exceed the edge, so they can see each other and also appear to be peering into the container (at its important contents). A similar figure was also found on a vessel fragment from Barleben (Saxony-Anhalt, Germany; Behrens 1973, 222, Fig. 88: c; Kaufmann 1976, 67, Fig. 4: b). A plastic representation of a similar figure with hand gestures is preserved on a large container of the earliest stage of the Eastern Linear Pottery culture from the settlement of Červený rak near Košice in eastern Slovakia (Šiška 1989, 107, Pl. 4: 5, 7–10). A similar theme has been found at Tiszavasvári-Paptélékhát

in Hungary (Kalicz, Makkay 1977, 61, Pl. 83: 4a, b; 186, 21), at Sarvaš in Slavonia (Hansen 2007, Fig. 110, 6) Čataj in Slovakia (Točík 1970, 31, Pl. VII: 3a–b), Nová Ves in Moravia (Podborský 1993, 93, Fig. 50: 1, 3; Kovárník 2000, 184; Kruta, Lička 2001, 68, Pl. 11.96), from the settlement of the Lengyel culture in Villánykövesd in southern Hungary (Kalicz 1970, 56, 84, Fig. 52), of the Malice culture in Targowisko 11 (Czekaj-Zastawny, Grabowska, Zastawny 2007, 488, 491, 496, 499 Fig. 9–10) and Targowisko 11 and 14 (Czerniak, Golański, Kadrow 2007, 474, 475, Fig. 5) in western Lesser Poland etc. A similar list of findings of depictions of characters in presumed dance movements is given by Y. Garfinkel (2010, 208–211). He considers two ‘layers’ of their occurrence in the Upper Paleolithic and the Neolithic. He assumes that the dance was part of the ceremonies for both successful sowing of grain and thanks for a good harvest. He is believed that it has spread to us along with the cultivation of grain from the Near East (Garfinkel 2010, 212). He also includes two female and two male statuettes from Dumęști as dancers, which were found in one vessel (Garfinkel 2010, Fig. 7). However, we believe that these figurines are the usual forms of female and male idols used during the rituals of the cult of the fertility and fruitfulness. The above examples of characters in the presented dance pose enumerated M. Novotná and L. Novotný (2016).

An SBK platter from the settlement in Magdeburg-Neustadt in Germany also features figures in a circle (Kaufmann 1976, Pl. 38: 8). There are four characters (or eight characters), who are holding their hands in a way that creates an eight-point star symbol, and thus also an astral symbol. Four figures without heads and with arms raised in a gesture of supplication are engraved on a vessel, along with a cross motif from the locality of Trebur in Germany (Groneborn 2005, 120, Fig. 5.4). A similar depiction of figures in a circle holding hands was found on a wall of an SBK vessel from Lhota-Stará skála, Česká Lípa District, North Bohemia (Peša 1999; Kruta, Lička 2001, 75–76, Cat. n. 124). A pair of bulges on the wall represent female breasts.¹⁸ The bodies of the figures are rhomboid, which may also have a symbolic meaning (related to a fertility cult). Four figures and four rhomboid shapes are also repeated on the vessel from Střelice-Sklep. A gynecomorphic theme also exists in the rock gallery near Alta. The human figure is located probably in the female genitalia (<https://www.altamuseum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta/rock-art-figures/vulva>). Can it mean symbolic birth, childbirth?

18 Vessels of this type are referred to as gynecomorphic ceramic shapes.

A pair of figures holding hands (apparently a human couple) is finely engraved on a vessel of the Bükki culture found in the Domicia cave in the municipality of Kečovo (Pavúk 1981, Fig. 8). A bowl (Fig. 9) with an edge curved in four arches in whose vertices there are (four) little human heads almost identical to those on the famous sculpture 'Venus' from Hluboké Mašůvky, was found at the well-known settlement near Hluboké Mašůvky-Niva, Znojmo district (Fig. 3.2). The concept of this bowl is again based on the model of four anthropomorphic beings (ghosts, deities?, etc.), characters holding hands. The joined upper limbs form the arc-shaped edge of this ceremonial bowl (Kovárník 1997, 46, Fig. 25). The characters fix their gazes to the cope of heaven (Fig. 9) as an expression of dialogue with the universe. Similarly, the 'Venus' of Hluboké Mašůvky (Fig. 10) was portrayed, whose upper limbs do not represent gestures of adoration, but incarnation (Kovárník 1997, 46–47, 50, Fig. 24; 2019, 73, Fig. 11).

Two apparently dancing figures were painted on the vessel of the Trypillian culture from the settlement Žvanec, Ukraine (Burdo 2008, 138). The close and intimate relationship between a man and a woman express probably the representations (paintings, engravings, reliefs and statuettes) of a human couple. Images of men and women are for our topic very important. Terracottas in the form of a man embracing a woman were found e.g. in the settlements Sultana and Gumelnița of the horizon Karanovo VI (Hansen 2007, Tab. 425, 431.1). Relief figures of a man and a woman are on vessels from the settlements Vinča (Müller-Karpe 1980, 54–55, Fig. 30, 31), Dumești (Maxim-Alaiba 1987, Fig. 13) or Scînteia of the Cucuteni culture, phase A3 (Mantu 1993 Fig. 2–3) and Gneiding in Bavaria (Müller-Karpe 1980, 54–55, Fig. 30). Geometrically-rendered figures appeared on the painted vessel of the Cucuteni culture (classical stage) in the settlement Traian in northeastern Romania (Müller-Karpe 1980, 87, Fig. 64). We also enumerate human couple on the 'wedding' cup of the Münchshöfen group from Murr in Bavaria (Neumair 1997, 43–44; 2000, 104–105, Fig. 4. 3). These views are explained as a holy marriage, while the figures with stretched arms upwards are described as adoring people. Another archaeologist interpret this finds as a birth-giving person (Maxim-Alaiba 1987, 270) and so on. Some statuettes have under the current concept erotic theme, such as e.g. relief women on a fragment of vessel from settlement Sarvaš in Slavonia, the Vinča culture (e.g. Hansen 2007, Tab. 110. 6; Šošić-Klindžić, Hršak 2014, 20, Fig., 26, 27). The terracotta of a man and a woman during sexual act was discovered on the hilltop settlement Hradisko near Kramolín of the late stage MOG II (Koštuřík 1975–1976, 109, Fig. 5. 2; Koštuřík 1986, 78, Fig. 17. 1, Tab. XI, XIII).

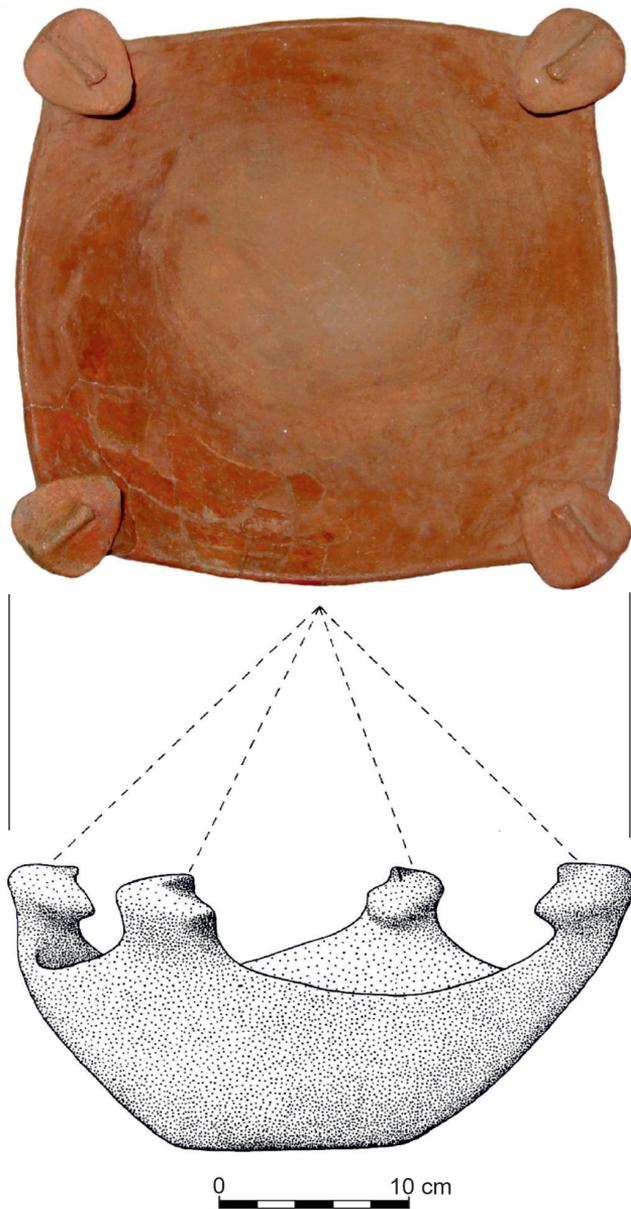


FIG. 9. Hluboké Mašůvky, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: a bowl with four little human heads of the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery culture (the MOG archaeological collection of F. Vildomec, photo by the author)

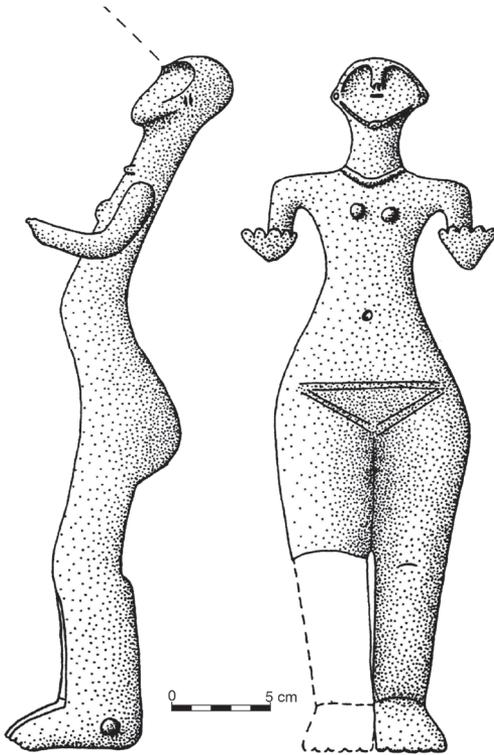


FIG. 10. Hluboké Mašůvky, Znojmo District: a Venus of the MOG IIa phase from, with a gaze fixed on the cope of heaven (a ‘dialogue with universe’) and with the incarnation gesture of the upper limbs (after Kovárník 1997, Fig. 24)

Some old characters (rhomboids) on sculptures, cult hangers or vessels undoubtedly related to the rite of *hieros gamos* (Ruttkey 1998; 1999).

Nine characters were engraved on an annular stem on the bottom of a small amphora of the transitional ‘Klentnice – Oblekovice’ chronological stage of the Middle Danube Urnfield culture (the Late Bronze Age), which probably comes from a cremation grave of a necropolis in Oblekovice (Fig. 3.5) at Znojmo (South Moravia, the Czech Republic). Each character consists of bundles of triple engraved lines. These nine figures hold hands in a circle (Fig. 11).¹⁹ Their legs, which are united around the circumference of the amphora’s stem, form a negative nine-point star, sun.

19 Their bodies are formed by a bundle of vertical channels, hands and legs by bundles of obliquely projecting lines. The stripe with nine figures binds a bunch of three vertical engraved lines at the upper edge towards the bulge of the vessel and the circuit of the amphora’s foot at the bottom.

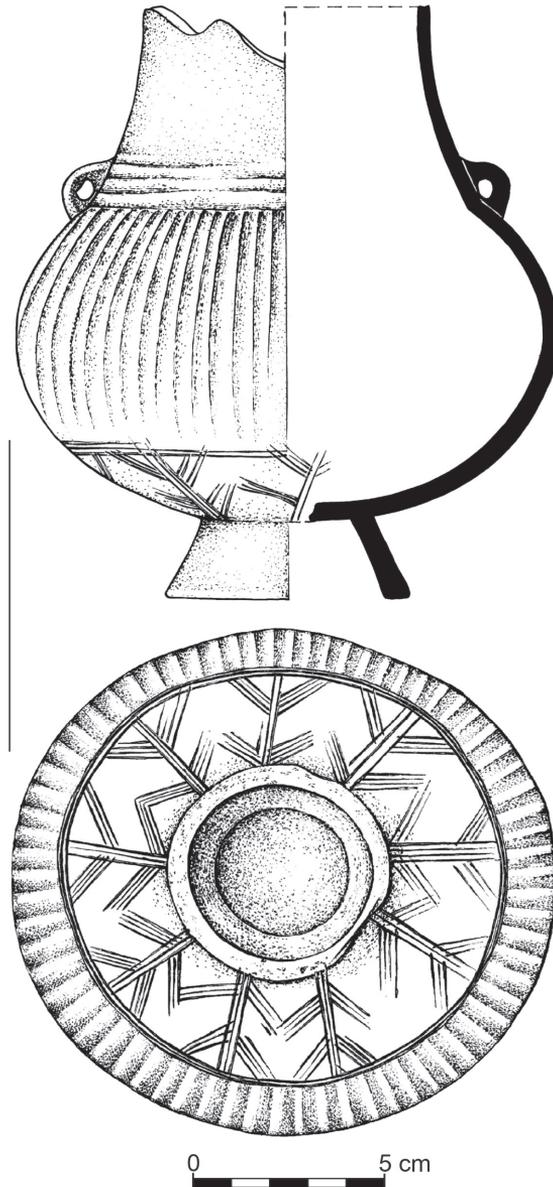


FIG. 11. Oblekovice, Znojmo District, the Czech Republic: an amphora of the Middle Danube Urnfield culture with nine human figures (drawing by Jana Kovárníková)

The important features of all these images of human figures are their disposition in the circle and the fact that they are holding hands. This may indicate a strong human connection, close relationship, togetherness. Thus, representing an earthly relationship between a man a woman, or also a symbolic connection in the form of sacred marriage (*hieros gamos*) between the feminine and masculine principles, between the earth and sky.

These finds of vessels with motifs of circular dances with several characters can be roughly attributed to the area of the old agricultural cult of fertility and its apotheosis. The vessels could have been used during ritual sacrifices, or for the ritual use of food and drink.

An amphora from Střelice-Sklep has, from the current perspective, a character of an artwork like prehistoric anthropomorphic idols (replacing the mythical model) or zoomorphic sculpture, although its function was quite different. The creators of this ritual vessel tried to apply the aesthetic aspect here, which undoubtedly emphasised its uniqueness and solemnity. It has been said that cult celebrations are related to certain myths. Lévi-Strauss (1996, 44, 46) pointed out that myths include, inter alia, a system of abstract relations and are also expressions of aesthetic concepts.

III. DISCUSSION

Generally speaking, the production of both images, from Alta and from Střelice, were significant events? It was necessary to visually process them and thus preserve them for the future. Their essence was then known to all, so they could be expressed only in a simple visual form. The aim was their further (ceremonial?) use.

They certainly had a mystical charge and were understandable to the people of the time, although put in this simple visual form. Illiterate societies express (important) messages, such as myths, through stories (Eliade 1995, 38–39; Hodge *et al.* 2002). Depicting a certain scene is a visual communication of a certain event, a certain action or story. Motifs of dance in a circle pecked in rock are known not only from the Alta – Ole Pedersen (Tansem, Johansen 2008, 67), but also from other localities (Hallström IQ₁, Ytre Kåfjord in Alta). There are also hunting dance scenes, like with masks reindeer or elk. The best hunter, actor danced the leader of the herd. Another very interestingly petroglyph from Alta shows a group of people in a circle holding hands. In the middle is the silhouette of a bear? or a man (Gjerde 2010, 59, 275, 401, 443–444, Fig. 78, 144, 178).

The great composition with cosmological meaning from the oldest period on the “panel” in Ole Pedersen near Alta should have a connection with the then real world of hunters and gatherers (Fuglestedt, Goldham 2012, 252, Fig. 14.7; Gjerde 2019a, 4, 5, Fig. 7). Mesolithic hunters and gatherers made pecked reliefs in the Finnmark area of northern Norway on deliberately selected places of rocks. They used naturally shaped rocks as a model of a real landscape. Hunters, fishers and gatherers perceived the landscape as a woman because of some important elements, such as fjords (Mandt 2001; Fuglestedt, Goldham, 2012, 253). Some scientists associate game (reindeers, elks, seals, whales etc.) with a woman (Fuglestedt, Goldham 2012, 243). We might think that these hunters, fishermen and gatherers perceived the landscape as a life-giving ‘Great Mother’, Mother Nature’ that gave them everything they needed to live. Such intentionally created units also included depictions of people in various scenes, especially hunting scenes. Ships sailed on the water. J. M. Gjerde (e.g. 2019a, 4, Fig. 6, 10) sees connections between scenes pecked on deliberately selected rock ‘slabs’ and the local landscape. The rock crevices were the rivers that divided these areas. The depressions in the rock, often filled with rainwater, represented fjords and the edges of the sea, or lakes. The ridges on the rocks depicted hills and mountains, the dominants of the real landscape. J. M. Gjerde (2019a, 4, Fig. 11) interprets some petroglyphs as aurora borealis, among others. He describes a complex of scenes as an imaginary landscape in cosmography from Alta – Hjemmeluft, Bergbukten 4B also in interaction with the local landscape, with a view of the fjord with a “mirror” of sea level. In his opinion, the whole scene consists of a macro and a micro landscape, of a real but also of a spiritual landscape (Gjerde 2019b, 197–198, 201, 203, 204–205, Fig. 1–5). Petroglyph makers have deployed both individual pecked animals and herds of animals in such models. Corals for reindeers are located on the panel No. 1 from Alta – Hjemmeluft (Gjerde 2019a, 4, Fig. 6).

Dance is primarily a social event that has a festive atmosphere. It is a ‘means of expression’ with which one can also express feelings such as joy and pain; several kinds of ritual dance are known from ethnology (e.g. Kubica 1983, 214–217). Indigenous peoples have dances to select brides or grooms. Others include mourning dances during funeral rites (Eliade 1995, 22–23), warrior dances or ritual dances in which the participants fall into a trance. They are in a state of deep ecstasy which was considered a spiritual perception (communication with spirits of the dead, forces of nature, etc.). These people were then considered exceptional: they could prophesy.

Dance is complemented by melody (alternating tones complemented by rhythm), whether sung or instrumental, or it can be accompanied by rhythmic speech (certain formulations etc.). Dance is an expression of human motion, which always stands out from ordinary movements and is associated with certain events. Dance is also an aspect of performativity. It could concern either the internal motive of one person (individual) or a group. For example, young men use dance creations in regions with old folk traditions to present themselves to girls and attract their attention within the period of human life called courtship or wooing. However, dances could also be hierarchically higher ritual matters in a cult (prehistoric religion). Dances have probably always emphasized the importance of such moments.

Dances are still preserved in folklore in some places (Moravia, for example) as an important part of various celebrations, including astronomically and religiously significant dates of the year, such as Shrovetide (Carnival), Easter, May festivities, or end of the autumn harvest in the form of harvest celebrations and so on (Matuszková 2000, 324–327).

In Scandinavia, round dancing is still a part of the ‘Midsummerfest’ (Swahn 1997, 26–27). It is a celebration of the summer solstice in which everyone holds hands, rejoices and is equal (reminiscence of greater social equality? from ancient times). The old girl dance with singing called ‘chorovod’ in Slavic ethnic groups is associated with spring and summer celebrations, celebrating the sun, love and marriage (Niederle 1925, 712).

Both dance motifs, from the hunting locality of Alta and from the farming settlement dated to the end of the Late Neolithic or the beginning of the Early Eneolithic in Střelice have the same formal features. They can therefore be very cautiously interpreted as playing a part in ceremonies to ensure good conditions for their creators, both hunters and farmers. The common features of the cults of hunters/gatherers and farmers therefore may include, for example, rituals to ward off evil forces (basically to ensure subsistence) or celebrations of the sun (which influences the regeneration of nature, vegetative forces, flora and fauna, and is necessary for all hunters/gatherers and farmers), ensuring the success of the hunt and, similarly, successful livestock husbandry and cultivation. Prayers or thanksgiving for successful hunting, for good crops or for successful animal breeding could be celebrations common to both the hunting and farming ways of life. The importance of dance scenes could oscillate within these options which have an anthropological constant (the conditions necessary for hunters and farmers to flourish). Comes to mind the question of whether they could have cosmological essence.

The arrival of spring was probably very eagerly awaited by ancestors. Numerous ceremonies seem to have been held at the beginning of spring (vernal equinox), which represented the rebirth of nature. Of course, astronomical knowledge obtained by watching the cyclically repeating positions of stars could have been used for this.²⁰

Similar celebrations could be associated with the summer solstice, when the sun is at its highest point in the sky and takes full control of nature (days are longest and average daily temperatures rise). It is the date of birth of St. John the Baptist (Kovárník 2003, 333). This date is of great importance, particularly in areas around the Arctic Circle.

The perspective of the social aspect

Such festivities (important dates in human lives or the year) probably divided the time of individuals or groups into stages. Dances could have accompanied and highlighted certain moments of individuals and their loved ones, such as family celebrations of childbirth, a child's transition to adulthood, marriage, and perhaps also funeral ceremonies. These are natural and traditional moments in human life. It can be assumed that people since the prehistoric times have divided the course of time during a year by these important dates, probably within the cyclic changes of the nature, to avoid monotony. The need for festivals is a socially contingent matter (an integral part of the phenomenon of rooming), where 'liberation' from everyday worries and work and meeting other people play an important role. It is an expression of shared joy, and seems to have been enriched by other activities, such as rituals.

However, the essential question is whether these dance images from the rock gallery of the hunting locality of Alta or from the vase-like amphora from a Late Neolithic settlement or Early Eneolithic farmers in Střelice-Sklep were intended only for people or whether they addressed higher natural forces (like ritual itself or cult feasting). Another important issue is, to the celebration of which holiday do the depictions of the dancing and praying? scenes belong?

As we lack the essential verbal elements that bear the literal meaning of these dance rituals? of certain cult celebrations, we have greater freedom in

20 Blackfoot determined the onset of spring according to the developmental stages of buffalo embryos removed from hunted buffalo females (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 25).

handling their interpretation. Our aim, however, is the difficult task of achieving the maximum possible 'narrowing of the confines' to arrive at something approximating a correct interpretation. The aesthetic impression, especially of the Alta image, is not very strong, due to the possibilities of petroglyphs. This is why the motive for its realization on rock resulted from the core meaning of the scene.

Assessment of basis of the cult activities

Since the Paleolithic, cult practices went through a certain process of evolution and change. Nevertheless, we assume that the Paleolithic and Neolithic cult practices had certain common features. In the Neolithic, sacrificial rituals (*libation, mactation, oblation* and *fumigation*) were added (e.g. Lazarovici 1990–1991, 22). Rituals performed only by 'chosen' individuals formed part of cult celebrations in which all members of the congregation took part. Enriching these activities with feasting (the collective consumption of food and beverages) would certainly have been pleasant for everybody; the ritual vessel from Střelice and its analogues may be evidence of this. Perhaps people also renewed their sense of belonging here. So these collective religious events could also have been opportunities to resolve other important social issues, such as organizational issues, unification procedures of joint activities, and also the communication of news, exchange of objects?, meetings of young people etc.

The above-mentioned artefacts, both the dance scenes (from Alta in northern Norway and from Střelice in southwestern Moravia) can be viewed from a different perspective. Making use of a third analogy – the beliefs of indigenous populations that "... *Every sacred thing must be in place. ...*" (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 24), artefacts are not only manifestations of worship, but also the basis of the thought of hunters and farmers. A certain (formal) sameness can be observed in both scenes, so it probably also existed in hunters' and farmers' minds. Both scenes must have occupied an important place in the intellectual world of their creators and were elements in the whole order of the world (cosmos). We know that our analysis lacks details of the actual rituals themselves, which were very important to their organizers and participants – they determined the order of the cosmos.

Ancestors probably causally associated all living and non-living things with one another, but especially with spirits and their activities, which is why they did not neglect anything in their lives. Their deep knowledge of their

environment stemmed from this fact. This extremely large range of causal relations (the cosmos is complex) could have been affected by magic (judged ethnologically), which has been called natural philosophy (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 26). Especially in philosophical Hermeticism, magic is considered a science to control the laws of nature and people by means that are scientifically unverifiable. The Hermetic postulates are very important, however; they seek the unity of the universe (what is in the firmament is also down on Earth), the unity of all things and the ubiquity of higher forces (in all things).²¹ They reflect earlier patterns, and therefore are characterized as certain levels of development of human knowledge (Kvasil, Štěpánek *et al.* 1985, 345; Hornung 2002, 21–22, 185 etc.).

Sometimes magic is considered as aspect of prehistoric religion and shamanism. However, shamanism is often based on rituals intended only for insiders, i.e. individuals. In contrast, magic should be seen as the philosophy of native societies, or, in modern terminology, as a certain world view. On the other hand, it is important to recognize that much of this original knowledge observed throughout the ages primarily in relations in animate and inanimate nature was gradually, with growing levels of civilization, completely forgotten (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 19).

In these two different images of four figures dancing in a circle, one woman and four men, from totally different environments, one from the area of hunters and gatherers at the northern Norwegian site of Alta and the other from farmers from the turn of the Late Neolithic and the Early Eneolithic at the settlement of Střelice-Sklep, the theme is formally the same. Their unmistakable unity lies in the fact that they are probably schemes of mythical stories. Their effect on the viewer is the same. The images transform the viewer into an active agent seeking to explain their meaning objectively, i.e. to monitor the relation between their form and content. This activity, of course, multiplies, when the observer discovers, as in this case, similar ideas in areas that are culturally, economically, geographically and climatically so different. We are trying to find the meaning and the context in both works (Alta – Střelice).

21 These premises are so 'all-inclusive' that they were incorporated to many religions, e.g. in ancient Egypt and later in the Jewish religion, Christianity, in Islam, in Buddhism and many others. The features of Hermeticism were summarized for example by E. Hornung (2002).

It is clear that the observer becomes absorbed, in the spirit of Lévi-Strauss (1996, 42), in the action or actions which could be expressed by the scenes. The observer invents stories to arrive at different modalities of their meaning (and unwittingly becomes their creator). But this is a secondary, perhaps unintended role of these very interesting dance scenes. Both works were valid both for themselves and for us.

We reiterate that their meaning was probably generally known at the time of their creation, but it is an important aspect of the epistemological process, because each of the modalities we create reveals other points of view for understanding these works and then refining our judgments. It can be said that both dance scenes are visual metaphors.

The extent of symbolism in prehistoric times

The symbol of the circle was very common in the primeval age. Some examples are stated above. An image which is very valuable from our perspective is a depiction of a yellow target with rays and red contours from a settlement with a rondel in Těšetice-Kyjovice, Znojmo District (Kazdová 1984, Pl. 80). We believe that it is a representation of the solar disc (Kovárník 1997, 77, Fig. 36; 2003, 332–333). The combination of decorative motifs of stars and circles (for example, at the bottoms of bowls of the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery) is also explained as an astral motif. The theme of the vault of the sky could be reflected in decoration in the form of four circular targets, which are divided into crosses inside. They appear on a bottle-shaped vessel of the Bükk culture from the Domica cave near Kečovo, Rimavská Sobota District, South Slovakia (Točík 1970, 102, Pl. XXV; Kovárník 1997, 77, Fig. 35).

In the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery culture, in the Stroked Pottery culture and other archaeological cultures in Central Europe of the Late Neolithic circular ditches called rondels, these anonymous monuments, are clearly symbolic.

The symbol of the circle – Late Neolithic circular enclosures (rondels)

Rondels and rondeloids always demarcated a certain exceptional or even ‘sacred’ space. They are assumed to have had an ideological basis in the form of a harvest and fertility cult traditionally represented by ‘sacred plowing and marriage’ – the so-called *hieros gamos* (Kovárník 1997, 39–40, 89, Fig. 21–22; 2003, 333). Orienting the eastern entrance at Těšetice-Kyjovice towards the

sunrise during the spring equinox (Ministr 1999, 240–241) is evidence of its role, *inter alia*, as a Late Neolithic farmers' places for (spring) celebrations. It should be noted, that fragments of primarily female statuettes were found in the ditches of the rondels (Těšetice-Kyjovice).

E. Lenneis (1977, 69) and I. Pavlů (1982, 187) were the first to review the social and cultic (multifunctional) meanings of the rondels (e.g. Podborský 1988, 258–276; Kovárník 1997, 24–86; 2003; Melichar, Neubauer 2010, 18; Pavlů, Metlička 2013, 134–139). J. Petrasch (1990, 447), H. Stäuble (2007, 178–180, Fig. 3–4) and others associated rondels with symbolic meanings. Other authors proposed different interpretations of the role of rondels: meeting places for ritual ceremonies (Neubauer, Trnka 2005, 3–9 etc.), astronomic observatories (Becker 1996; Podborský 1999a; 1999b; Gervautz, Neubauer 2005, 73–74; Kastowski, Löcker, Neubauer, Zotti 2005, 80–82; Zotti 2005, 75–79; Barna 2007, 369–370; Bertemes 2008; Zotti, Neubauer 2010, 136–167 etc.), game fields (Květina, Květinová, Řídký 2009) or fortifications (Svodín, Ružindol-Borová: Němejcová-Pavúková 1995, 214–215; 1997, 117–118; Pavúk, Karlovský 2004, 262) etc.

The spring equinox marking the astronomical beginning of spring was, and has been for millennia, the most important date (in temperate regions) for farmers (Hruška 1987, 220–224).²² Spring festivals also took place in Canaan, in the Jewish religion, and take place in Christianity (Easter). Four entrances in rondels of the Lengyel culture, the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery and the Stroked Pottery culture in the directions of the four cardinal points divide the circular ditch into four quadrants, which could have symbolized the observable four seasons (Kovárník 1997, 37, 78–80; 2003, 332–333).

The entrances would also have included the basic directions of sunrise or sunset (or moonrise and moonset). The east is sacred even in the Old Testament in Ezekiel's prophecy about the eastern gate of the 'New Jerusalem':

22 The vernal equinox was very important as soon as in ancient Sumer, where it was understood as the New Year's Day. New Year celebrations took place here within the two weeks around that date. Its culmination was the holy (divine) marriage, *hieros gamos*, between the mythical herdsman Dumuzi, represented by a king of the city-state, and the ancient goddess of fertility and love Inanna, personified by the high priestess of the local temple. It was set in the shrine atop the ziggurat (probably as close to the sun as possible) and the crop was blessed this way every year (Hruška 1987, 220–224).

“... Then the man brought me back to the gate that faces east, and I saw the glory of the God of Israel coming from the east. ...” (Ez 43: 1–2).

The most valuable ancient documents include those of ancient Sumer and Akkad, Babylonia, but also Jewish and Christian religious texts, which undoubtedly hide the oldest, originally oral, tradition of rituals, especially religious ones. Knowledge of astronomical regularities could be of this tradition. They were, of course, wrapped in cloak of cult (Kovárník 1997, 71, 90; 2003, 332–333; Podborský, Kovárník 2005, 150; 2006, 60, 62).²³

To summarize our current knowledge: three dates were of crucial importance to ancient farmers; the winter solstice was the harbinger of spring and the end of winter hardship; the spring equinox marked the time for plowing and planting new crops; and the summer solstice symbolized the longest day etc. The Neolithic peasants must have observed the four seasons and the associated changes in the environment.

23 We have monitored the date of the spring equinox and its importance for lives of old farmers in a wide area from the Near East to the heart of Europe from antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. Let us now expand this assumption briefly. The period from the spring equinox (21st March) to the winter solstice (21st December) is nine months long, which is the time needed for prenatal human development. The Aramaic name of Christ is *bar 'enāš* or *bar 'enāšā*, which means ‘The Son of Man’ (The Holy Bibel 2020, e.g. Da 7: 13; Matt 8: 20; Jn 5: 27 etc.). It is therefore very likely that the important moment of the Birth (21st to 24th December) was preceded by the symbolical sacred marriage, associated with the sacred plowing by old farmers. It is the biblical Annunciation. Archangel Gabriel comes to Virgin Mary with the famous words (L 1: 26–38). Easter is traditionally the largest Christian religious feast. It includes the *Crucifixion*, but especially the *Resurrection* in the period of the spring equinox, and symbolizes eternal life. Two dates are thus included in these important biblical stories – the spring equinox and the winter solstice, important for agricultural civilizations. Knowledge of the remaining two astronomic dates with a significant position of the Earth towards the Sun, the autumnal equinox and the summer solstice, is evidenced in the Bible by the character of the last prophet of the Old Testament and the first one of the New Testament – John the Baptist with his mother, St. Elizabeth. We know that in the Prediction of Jesus’ birth, i.e. in the time of the Annunciation of Mary, St. Elizabeth was in her sixth month of pregnancy (L 1: 36, 39–45, 56–57). John the Baptist was conceived half a year earlier, in the time of the autumnal equinox, 23rd September, and born on the day of the summer solstice, 21/24 June – the midsummer night, St. John’s Eve (Kovárník 1997, 71; 2003, 333; Podborský – Kovárník 2005, 150; 2006, 60, 62).

The directions of the entrances into rondels then corresponded either to the basic direction determined by sunrise and sunset; or, in circular ditches, the four entrances were determined by the cardinal points. We believe that two entrances could have symbolized, among other things, the two basic halves of the agricultural year: the active or also vegetative (between the summer and autumnal equinoxes) and passive or idle periods, from autumn to spring, with the simplest division. The four entrances could have represented the four seasons (Kovárník 1997, 37, 39–40; 2003, 332–333; Podborský, Kovárník 2005, 149–150; 2006, 60, 62). Connecting lines of opposite pairs intersect at the centre of the circle (Neugebauer-Maresch 2005).²⁴ We assume that they had even more accurate knowledge of how to divide a year into months. The twelve large holes inside the rondel in Prašník (Kuzma 2002; Karlovský, Kuzma, Tírpák 2007) in southwestern Slovakia are surprising. They are regularly spaced by threes in each of their quadrants (Kovárník 2019, 74, Fig. 14).

Again, everything suggests a link between the rondels and the fertility cult of fields and domestic animals (and consequent reproduction of the human race). A rondel could also have been an expression of the experience of

24 Returning to the close interrelationship of rondels with astronomy and its other role as Neolithic calendars, it is necessary to state calculations of the paleoastronomer Z. Ministr (1999, 240–241) regarding the directing of the circular enclosure in Těšetice-Kyjovice. He was another one to show that its builders knew the so-called Neolithic equinox, which differs only slightly from the astronomical equinox. On the equinox, the Sun rises in any place of the planet in geographic east and sets in a straight line in the west. Z. Ministr believes that the rondel in Těšetice-Kyjovice was intentionally located on a hillside with sweeping views of the Dyje-Svratka Valley with a prominent feature of the Pavlovské Hills. He has calculated that the Sun was rising to latitude of 48.9° at declination of 3°18' over the top of Děvín (550 m a.s.l.) in spring and in autumn. In a six-month cycle, the spring term falls on 12th March, which was and still is the beginning of the most important agricultural work.

The triple rondel of the Stroked Pottery culture near Plotiště nad Labem, Hradec Králové district, is directed in another way (50°13'52.695"N, 15°48'7.683"E). The archaeologically investigated northwestern entrance is directed at the angle of ca 305°. In case of the ideal arrangement of the entrances in a cross (always making an angle of 90°), the southeast entrance would be directed in the angle of 125°. The northeast entrance would form an angle of 35° and the southeast 215°. Perhaps the directing of the entrances is connected with other important astronomical dates. Direction of sunrise and sunset could be influenced by the relief of the local landscape (by the Orlické Mountains during the sunrise and the hilly relief in the west direction such as the Železné Hills, Central Bohemian Uplands etc. (Kovárník 2016, 345, Fig. 4, 18).

time and space and their projection into repeated cycles of agricultural work, which enables the concept of circular time and space and a cosmic cycle in the rhythm of birth – death – rebirth. The sacred place where Neolithic peasants performed rituals to contact supernatural forces (beings) became not only the centre of their world, consisting of the house and the settlement with surrounding fields in the horizontal view, but part of that world.

IV. CONCLUSION

Both geographically very distant motifs (2356 km) depicting ritual dance scenes of one woman and three men as symbols of natural forces, or real ‘ritual people’ from very different social environments, in the form of a petroglyph in the rock gallery at Alta (the polar region of northern Norway) and on the vase-shaped amphora of farmers of the Late Neolithic and beginning of the Early Eneolithic from Střelice (a mild climatic zone) are linked by the fact that both creators considered it necessary to share these images with their companions, possibly also with their descendants or to higher forces (spirits or natural deities)²⁵ for cult reasons. The large number of petroglyphs in the Alta rock gallery may indicate that was a sacred place, a *locus sacrus*, for millennia, immediately on the seashore, and therefore this communication could have been addressed to future generations as well. It cannot be unequivocally proven or ruled out that this was a place of religious ritual which was accompanied, for example, by such dancing, verbal formulae (invocation), singing etc.

It is more than likely that the amphora from Střelice had a specific use, a special purpose, from the moment it was planned. Everything was probably associated with its ceremonial use in a certain ritual within the cult of the oldest farmers at the turn of the Late Neolithic and Early Eneolithic. As we tried to find the most probable analogies, it could have been a celebration of the sun in spring (the spring equinox) or in summer (the summer solstice).²⁶

25 The Ojibwa Indian tribe included supernatural beings into the real world and gave them human attributes of the male and female gender, ability to start a family, as well as intelligence, emotions, friendly and hostile behavior. Similarly the Hawaiians ‘adopted’ spirits into the sphere of normal consciousness (Lévi-Strauss 1996, 55). The ancient mythology was based on the same principles; nothing human was alien to gods.

26 These dates are valid for the northern hemisphere.

The motif ‘hammered’ by a stone into the rock in Alta also indicates the season of its creation. It must have been when snow no longer covered the local rocky subsoil. We will come closest to the truth if we consider that it was intended for the same season.

This special purpose could have been common to both hunters/gatherers and farmers/herdsmen. Both depictions could demonstrate a historically non-contingent value which has remained valid since the Palaeolithic. This supports our view about the existence of the so-called anthropological constant, when the members of the genus *Homo* or the species *Homo sapiens sapiens* behave in similar ways in similar living conditions. It is the essence of the ‘cultural unity of societies in time and space’ (Kovárník 1997, 10, 23, 28 etc.). Moreover, the dance in which they are holding hands creates a feeling of belonging, friendship, equality, security etc., which are very important, universally human (social) values. Dance is thought to have been part of the ‘Neolithic package’ (Garfinkel 2010, 212). We state that dance was already an integral element in the ‘(Upper) Palaeolithic package’, among others, on the petroglyph in Alta. We know that the images here are not the same age. We also support this view by the presence of depictions of a human figure with a drum in a rock gallery in Alta (Fig. 12). The drum apparently served as a musical instrument during rituals and set the rhythm in ritual dances from ancient times (e.g. Kovárník 2019, 68–70, Fig. 5–6). Whistles and flutes also come from the Upper Paleolithic (Divje babe cave, Slovenia; Geissenklösterle cave and Hohle Fels cave, Baden-Württemberg, southern Germany – echo as ‘communication’ with ghosts?; Grubgraben, Lower Austria, etc.), which also testify to music (and dancing?).

Despite the fundamental difference between hunting (and gathering in the Paleolithic and the Mesolithic) and agriculture/arable and pastoral farming (since the Neolithic), human existence has always been influenced by the same basic conditions. In any case, we may say that both hunters and peasants and herders have always depended on the renewal of vegetative forces. Therefore, it is possible to compare the circular dance scene from the unique site at Alta above the Arctic Circle with a similar theme on a vase of the Moravian – East-Austrian group of the Painted Pottery culture. The life-giving role of the sun (and rain) is universal. In conclusion, we can state from the analysis of archaeological and ethnological sources that both hunters and gatherers, as well as (Neolithic) farmers depicted, ie believed in four beings (ghosts, since the Neolithic unknown deities). Pecked depiction of one woman and three men during an iconic dance by hunters and gatherers in a rock gallery in Alta



FIG. 12. Alta, Finnmark, northern Norway: a man probably with a drum (after <https://www.alta-museum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta/rock-art-figures/drum>)

– Ole Pedersen, Finnmark, Norway and a scene of late Neolithic and oldest, Early Eneolithic farmers on a vessel from the Střelice-Sklep settlement told very important stories for the society of that time. It is generally assumed that hunters and gatherers (from northern Scandinavia) considered the landscape to be a woman ('sentient or sacred ecology'), specifically with such important landscaping elements as fjords. These features also included valleys and rivers, see, or hills. We could probably compare this to the cult of 'Mother Earth', or 'Great Mother', the cult of fertility and fruitfulness of farmers in the late Neolithic and oldest, Early Eneolithic. The worship of the landscape in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic we could call the cult of the 'Great Mother', 'Mother Nature', who gave people her fruits, game animals, fishes, edible fruits and plants, necessary wood and the like. We are considering the possibility that such cosmological depictions or reconstructions could be an 'ode' to the iconic, life-giving landscape. Hunters and gatherers in the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic were fixed mainly on the area, landscape, while farmers on the Neolithic and Eneolithic were fixed on the time due to adhering to agrotechnical time limits. Of course, everything always happened in space-time.

Levitating animal figures can also be a reflection of the reincarnation of shamans. Rock art in Scandinavia, as well as rare depictions of 'stories' in the Neolithic and Eneolithic of Central Europe, has its essence in cosmology and myths.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many thanks to Mr. Antonín Cvak, art photographer from Znojmo, for a photo of the panel with pecked motifs from Alta – Ole Pedersen. Thank you very much for consulting Mgr. et Mgr. Rudolf Havelka, Ph.D., director of the Museum and Gallery in Jaroměř, Hradec Králové District.

REFERENCES

- Anderson D.G. 2000. *Identity and Ecology in Arctic Siberia. The Number One Reindeer Brigade*, Oxford.
- Anthes R. 1977. *Mytologie ve starém Egyptě*, [in:] *Mytologie starověku*, S. N. Kramer (ed.), Praha, p. 13–78.
- Barna J.P. 2007. *A new site of the Lengyel culture in Sormás – Török-Földek (county Zala, south-western Transdanubia). Preliminary report*, [in:] *The Lengyel, Polgár and related cultures in the Middle/Late Neolithic in Central Europe*, J.K. Kozłowski, P. Raczky (eds.), Kraków, p. 365–380.
- Baudou E. 1995. *Norrlands Forntid – ett historisk perspektiv*, Umea.
- Becker H. 1996. *Kultplätze, Sonnentempel und Kalenderbauten aus dem 5. Jahrtausend vor Chr. - Die mittelneolithischen Kreisanlagen in Niederbayern*, [in:] *Archäologische Prospektion. Luftbildarchäologie und Geophysik*, Arbeitshefte des Bayerischen Landesamtes für Denkmalpflege, Bd. 59, H. Becker (ed.), München, p. 101–122.
- Behrens H. 1973. *Die Jungsteinzeit im Mittelbe-Saale-Gebiet. Unter Mitarbeit von Dieter Kaufmann und Waldemar Matthias*, Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle 27, Berlin.
- Beneš J. 1987. *O některých sociokulturních, psychických a fyzických přízpůsobeních člověka během posledních 10 tisíc let*, [in:] *Těšetice-Kyjovice 3. Únětické pohřebiště v Těšeticích-Vinohradech. Archeologicko-antropologická studie*, Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis, Facultas Philosophica, A. Lorencová, V. Podborský (eds.), Brno, p. 245–273.
- Bertemes F. 2008. *Die Kreisgrabenanlage von Goseck: Ein Beispiel für frühe Himmelsbeobachtungen*, [in:] *Astronomische Orientierung und Kalender in der Vorgeschichte. Internationales Kolloquium vom 09. 11. – 11. 11. 2006 im Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica 40, p. 7–44.
- Berkes F. 1999. *Sacred Ecology. Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ressource Management*, London.
- Bibel 2020. *The Holy Bibel containing the Old and New Testaments*, New York.
- Binford L.R. 2001. *Constructing frames of reference: an analytical method for archaeological theory building using ethnographic and environmental data sets*, Berkeley.
- Bird-David N. 1990. *The Giving Environment: Another Perspective on the Economic System of Gatherer-Hunters*, Current Anthropology 31/3, p. 189–196.
- Bouzek J. 1996. *Sibly, Religio*. Revue pro religionistiku 4/2, Brno, p. 121–126.

- Brož L., Willerslev R. 2012. *When Good Luck is Bad Fortune: Between too Little and too Much Hunting Success in Siberia*. *Social Analysis, The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 56/1–2, p. 73–89.
- Burdo N. / Бурдо Н. 2008. *Sakralnyi svit trypil's'koi cyvilizacii*. Kyiv / Сакральний світ трипільської цивілізації, Київ.
- Coles J. 1994. *Rock Carvings of Uppland. A Guide*, Uppsala.
- Coles J. 2000. *Patterns in a Rocky Land: Rock Carvings in South–West Uppland, Sweden*, vol. 1–2, Uppsala.
- Czekaj-Zastawny A., Grabowska B., Zastawny A. 2007. *Pottery of the Malice culture from sites Brzezine 17 and Targowisko 11, western Lesser Poland*, [in:] *The Lengyel, Polgár and related cultures in the Middle/Late Neolithic in Central Europe*, J.K. Kozłowski, P. Raczky (eds.), Kraków, p. 487–500.
- Czerniak L., Golański A., Kadrow S. 2007. *New facts on the Malice culture gained from the rescue excavations at the A4 Motorway section east of Krakow*, [in:] *The Lengyel, Polgár and related cultures in the Middle/Late Neolithic in Central Europe*, J.K. Kozłowski, P. Raczky (eds.), Kraków, p. 471–486.
- Čižmář M. 1993. *Keltská okupace Moravy*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Moravy*, Vlastivěda moravská. Země a lid. NŘ 3, V. Podborský, M. Čižmář, P. Dvořák, A. Erhart, V. Janák, A. Medunová-Benešová, J. Nekvasil, J. Ondráček, J. Pavelčík, M. Salaš, S. Stuchlík, J. Stuchlíková, L. Šebela, M. Šmíd, A. Štrof, J. Tejral, K. Valoch (eds.), Brno, p. 380–423.
- Eliade M. 1995. *Dějiny náboženského myšlení I. Od doby kamenné po eleusinská mystéria*, Praha.
- Filip J. 1956. *Keltové ve střední Evropě*, Praha.
- Franz L. 1937. *Die Muttergöttin im Vorderen Orient und in Europa*, *Der Alte Orient* 35/3.
- Fuglestad I., Goldhahn J. 2012. *Engendering North European Rock Art: Bodies and Cosmologies in Stone and Bronze Imaginery*, [in:] *A Companion to Rock Art*, J. McDonald, P. Veth (eds.), Oxford, p. 237–260.
- Garfinkel, Y. 2010. *Dance in prehistoric Europe*, *Documenta Praehistorica* 37, p. 205–214.
- Gervautz M., Neubauer W. 2005. *Sonne, Mond und Sterne*, [in:] *“Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben”*. *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 73–74.
- Gjerde J.M. 2010. *Rock art and Landscapes. Studies of Stone Age rock art from Northern Fennoscandia*, Tromsø.
- Gjerde J.M. 2019a. *Alta overview rock art*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, C. Smith (ed.), New York, p. 1–10.
- Gjerde J.M. 2019b. *‘The world as we know it’ – revisiting the rock art at Bergbugten 4B in Alta, northern Norway*, *Time and Mind* 12, No. 3, p. 197–206.
- Gronenborn D. 2005. *Bauern – Priester – Häuptlinge. Die Anfänge der Landwirtschaft und die frühe Gesellschaftsentwicklung zwischen Orient und Europa*, [in:] *“Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben”*. *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (ed.), Wien, p. 115–123.

- Hansen S. 2007. *Bilder von Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur anthropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa. Teil I, II*, Archäologie in Eurasien 20, Mainz.
- Helskog K. 2011. *Reindeer corrals 4700–4200 BC: Myth or reality?*, Quaternary International 238/1–2, p. 25–34.
- Hodge F.S., Pasqua A., Marquez C.A., Geishirt-Cantrell B. 2002. *Utilizing Traditional Storytelling to Promote Wellness in American Indian Communities*, Journal of Transcultural Nursing 13/1, p. 6–11.
- Hornung E. 1999. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, Ithaca.
- Hornung E. 2002. *Tajemný Egypt: kořeny hermetické moudrosti*, Praha.
- Hruška B. 1987. *Pod babylónskou věží*, Praha.
- Hultkrantz A. 1961. *The Owner of the Animals in the Religion of the North American Indians*, [in:] “The Supernatural Owners of Nature”, Studies in Comparative Religion, p. 53–64.
- Ingold T. 1987. *The Appropriation of Nature. Essays on Human Ecology and Social Relations*, Iowa City.
- Ingold T. 2002. *The Perception of the Environment. Essays on livelihood, dwelling and skill*. London.
- Jelínek J. 2006. *Střecha nad hlavou. Kořeny nejstarší architektury a bydlení*, Brno.
- Kalicz N. 1970. *Götter aus Ton. Das Neolithikum und die Kupferzeit in Ungarn*, Budapest.
- Kalicz N., Makkay J. 1977. *Die Linienbandkeramik in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene*, Publicationes Instituti Archaeologici Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Studia Archaeologica 7, Budapest.
- Karlovský V., Kuzma I., Tirpák J. 2007. *Rondely v Prašníku a Bajtave – astronomická orientácia*, Ve službách archeologie 2007/1, p. 41–48.
- Kastowski K., Löcker K., Neubauer W., Zotti G. 2005. *Drehscheibe des Sternenhimmels? Die Kreisgrabenanlage Immendorf*, [in:] “Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben”. *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 80–82.
- Kaufmann D. 1976. *Wirtschaft und Kultur der Stichbandkeramiker im Saalegebiet*, Veröffentlichungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte in Halle, 30, Berlin.
- Kazdová E. 1984. *Těšetice-Kyjovice 1. Starší stupeň kultury s moravskou malovanou keramikou*, Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis, Facultas Philosophica, 260, Brno.
- Knutsson H., Knutsson K. 2012. *The postglacial colonization of humans, fauna and plants in northern Sweden*, Arkeologi i Norr 13, p. 1–28.
- Košťuřík P. 1975–1976. *Stav výzkumu kultury s moravskou malovanou keramikou na hradisku u Kramolína (okr. Třebíč)*, Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty brněnské Univerzity E 20–21, p. 101–113.
- Košťuřík P. 1986. *Mladší doba kamenná (neolit)*, [in:] *Pravěk Třebíčska. Prameny k dějinám a kultuře Moravy č. 2*, P. Košťuřík, J. Kovárník, Z. Měřínský, M. Oliva (eds.), Brno, p. 57–79.
- Koutecký D. 1978. *Bylanská kultura*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Čech*, R. Pleiner, A. Rybová (eds.), Praha, p. 466–476.

- Koutecký D. 2007. *Bylanská kultura*, [in:] *Archeologie pravěkých Čech/6. Doba halštatská*, N. Venclová (ed.), Praha, p. 45–66.
- Kovárník J. 1997. *K významu pravěkých kruhových příkopů. Úvahy k hospodářství, náboženství a organizovanosti starých zemědělských civilizací. The importance of primeval circular ditches. Considerations on farming, religion and organization of ancient agricultural civilizations*, Brno.
- Kovárník J. 2000. *K významu antropomorfních a gynekomorfních nádob*, [in:] *In memoriam Jan Rulf*, Památky archeologické – Supplementum 13, I. Pavlů (ed.), p. 182–195.
- Kovárník J. 2003. *Jungneolithische und bronzezeitliche Kreisgrabenanlagen in Mähren*, [in:] *Erkenntnisjäger. Kultur und Umwelt des frühen Menschen. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag Dietrich Mania*, Veröffentlichungen des Landesamtes für Archäologie Sachsen-Anhalt. Band 57 / 2003, J. Burdukiewicz, L. Fiedler, W.-D. Heinrich, A. Justus, E. Brühl (eds.), Halle/Saale, p. 325–336.
- Kovárník J. 2004. *Odras duchovního světa v materiální kultuře MMK. Další zvláštní keramické typy*, [in:] *Otázky neolitu a eneolitu 2003. Sborník referátů z 22. pracovního setkání badatelů zaměřených na výzkum neolitu a eneolitu*, Český Brod-Kounice 23. až 26. září 2003, M. Lutovský (ed.), Praha, p. 171–205.
- Kovárník J. 2016. *Das dreifache Rondell der Stichbandkeramischen Kultur (SBK) in Plotičtš nad Labem II bei Hradec Králové und analoge Funde*, [in:] *Centenary of Jaroslav Palliardi's Neolithic and Aeneolithic Relative Chronology (1914–2014)*, J. Kovárník et al. (eds.), Hradec Králové – Ústí nad Orlicí, p. 337–376.
- Kovárník J. 2019. *A probe into the spiritual life of prehistoric people, a reflection of shamanism in archaeology*, [in:] *Shamanism and Nature Worship Past and Present / Sámánizmus és természetihit régen és ma*, Bajai dolgozatok 23, Baja – Budapest, p. 58–99.
- Kruta V., Lička M (ed.) 2000. *Prime Terrecotte dal cuore dell' Europa. Ceramiche dei cacciatori e dei primi agricoltori di Boemia e Moravia 27 000 – 4 000 a. C.*, Catalogo pubblicato in occasione della Mostra, Sceaux.
- Kšica M. 1984b. *Výpravy za pravekým umením*, Bratislava.
- Kšica M., Kšicová O., Maršál P., Podborský V. 2006. *Žena v pravěkém umění. Wuman in prehistoric art*, Brno.
- Kubica V. 1983. *Hlas bubnu a rytmus těla. Tanec*, [in:] *Safari za africkou kulturou*, V. Klíma, V. Kubica, A. Wokoun (eds.), Praha, p. 214–222.
- Kuzma I. 2002. *Rondel v Prašniku*, Archeologické výskumy a nálezy na Slovensku (AVANS) 2001, p. 95–96.
- Kvasil B., Štěpánek, M et al. 1984. *Malá československá encyklopedie 1 (A–Č)*, Praha.
- Kvasil B., Štěpánek, M et al. 1985. *Malá československá encyklopedie 2 (D–CH)*, Praha.
- Květina P., Květinová S., Řídký J. 2009. *Význam her v archaických společnostech – archeologické možnosti studia. The importance of games in archaic societies – archaeological study options*, Archeologické rozhledy 61, p. 3–30.
- Lazarovici Gh. 1990–1991. *Venus de Zauan. Despre credintele si practicile magico-religioase*, Acta Musei Porolissensis 14–15, Zalau, p. 11–36.
- Lenneis E. 1977. *Siedlungsfunde aus Poigen und Frauenhofen bei Horn*, Horn – Wien.
- Lévi-Strauss C. 1996. *Myšlení přírodních národu*, Liberec.

- Lička M. 2001. *I simboli nella cerámica puntinata e lineare, La decorazione della ceramica dipinta morava*, [in:] *Prime Terrecotte dal cuore dell' Europa. Ceramiche dei cacciatori e dei primi agricoltori di Boemia e Moravia 27 000 – 4 000 a. C.*, Catalogo pubblicato in occasione della Mostra, M. Lička, V. Kruta (ed.), Milano, p. 67–90, 103–112.
- Mandt G. 2001. *Woman in Disguise or Male Manipulation? Aspects of Gender Symbolism in Rock Art*, [in:] *Theoretical Perspectives in Rock Art Research. Acra: The Alta Conference on Rock Art*, K. Helskog (ed.), Oslo, p. 290–311.
- Mantu C.M. 1993. *Anthropomorphic Representations from Precucuteni and Cucuteni Cultures*, *Anatolia* 19, p. 129–141.
- Matouš L. (ed.) 1978. *Mýty staré Mezopotámie. Sumerská, akkadská a chetitská literatura na klínopisných tabulkách* (Přeložili Blahoslav Hruška, Lubor Matouš, Jiří Prosecký a Jana Součková) Praha.
- Matuszková J. 2000. *Taneční folklór*, [in:] *Lidová kultura na Moravě, Vlastivěda moravská. Země a lid. NŘ 10*, J. Jančář et al., Brno, p. 304–333.
- Maxim-Alaiba R. 1987. *Le complexe de culte de la phase Cucuteni A3 de Dumești (dep. de Vaslui)*, [in:] *La civilisation de Cucucteni en contexte Européen, Session scientifique Iasi-Piatra Neamt 1984*, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița (ed.), Iasi, p. 269–286.
- Ministr Z. 1999. *Ministr, Z. III.1 Astronomická orientace a kalendářní funkce pravěkých staveb*, [in:] *Pravěká sociokultovní architektura na Moravě. Primeval socio-ritual architecture in Moravia*, V. Podborský (ed.), Brno, p. 237–255.
- Müller-Karpe H. 1980. *Das vorgeschichtliche Europa. Kunst der Welt, ihre geschichtlichen, soziologischen und religiösen Grundlagen*, Baden-Baden.
- Nekvasil J. 1993. *Horákovská kultura*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Moravy, Vlastivěda moravská. Země a lid. NŘ 3*, V. Podborský, M. Čižmář, P. Dvořák, A. Erhart, V. Janák, A. Medunová-Benešová, J. Nekvasil, J. Ondráček, J. Pavelčík, M. Salaš, S. Stuchlík, J. Stuchlíková, L. Šebela, M. Šmíd, A. Štrof, J. Tejral, K. Valoch (eds.), Brno, p. 337–351.
- Nelson R. K. 1986. *Make Prayers to the Raven. A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest*, Chicago.
- Němejcová-Pavúková V. 1995. *Svodín. Zwei Kreisgrabenanlagen der Lengyel-Kultur*, *Studia Archaeologica et Mediaevalia* 2, Bratislava.
- Němejcová-Pavúková V. 1997. *Kreisgrabenanlage der Lengyel-Kultur in Ružindol-Borová*, *Studia Archaeologica et Mediaevalia*, Tomus III, Bratislava.
- Neubauer W., Trnka G. 2005. *Rätselhafte Monumente der Steinzeit*, [in:] *“Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben”*. *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 3–9.
- Neugebauer-Maresch Ch. 2005. *Kult und Religion – Geisteswelt der Menschen der Bealtkeramik*, [in:] *Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben. Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 187–193.
- Neubauer W., Doneus M., Trnka G. 2010. *Einleitung, Die Kreisgrabenanlagen des Mittelneolithikums*, [in:] *Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenanlagen in Niederösterreich. Geophysikalisch-archäologische Prospektion – ein interdisziplinäres Forschungs-*

- projekt, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission 71, P. Melichar, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 17–19.
- Neumair E. 1997. *Drei Münchshöfener auf einem Becher*, Archäologie in Deutschland 1, p. 43–44.
- Neumair E. 2000. *Neue Aspekte zum Siedlungswesen der Münchshöfener Kultur anhand von Untersuchungen in Murr, Lkr. Freising*, [in:] *Varia neolithica I*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 22, Weissbach, H.-J. Beier unter Mitarbeit von Ralph Einicke, p. 99–114.
- Niederle L. 1925. *XIII. Píseň a hudba. Písmo a počítání, Život starých Slovanů. Základy kulturních starožitností slovanských* 3:2, Praha, p. 703–752.
- Novotná M., Novotný L. 2016. *Anthropomorphe Applikationen auf der neolithischen Keramik aus der Slowakei*, [in:] *Centenary of Jaroslav Palliardi's Neolithic and Aeneolithic Relative Chronology (1914-2014)*, J. Kovárník et al., Hradec Králové – Ústí nad Orlicí, p. 391–407.
- Pavlu I. 1978. *Neolit a počátky výrobního hospodářství. Společnost a její nadstavba ve středním neolitu*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Čech*, R. Pleiner, A. Rybová (eds.), Praha, p. 197–204.
- Pavlu I. 1981. *Umenie a život doby kamennej, Dávnoeké umenie Slovenska (Ars slovacae antiqua)* 13, Bratislava.
- Pavlu I. 1982. *Die neolithischen Kreisgrabenanlagen in Böhmen*, Archeologické rozhledy 34, p. 176–189.
- Pavlu I., Metlička M. 2013. *Neolitický sídelní areál ve Vochově*, Archeologické studijní materiály 21 (2012), Praha
- Pavúk J., Karlovský V. 2004. *Orientácia rondelov lengyelskej kultúry na smery vysokého a nízkeho Mesiaca*, Slovenská archeológia 52: 2, p. 211–280.
- Peša J. 1998. *Rituální nádoba z Polomených hor*, Vesmír 77, p. 638.
- Petrasch J. 1990. *Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenanlagen in Mitteleuropa*, Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission 71, p. 409–564.
- Pleiner R. 1978a. *Keltové v Čechch. Obchod a zavedení ražené mince*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Čech*, R. Pleiner, A. Rybová (eds.), Praha, p. 653–659.
- Pleiner R. 1978a. *Keltové v Čechch. Poznámky k předkeltskému a keltskému výtvarnému projevu*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Čech*, R. Pleiner, A. Rybová (eds.), Praha, p. 670–673.
- Podlaha A. 1930. *Český slovník bohovědný*, IV, Praha.
- Podborský V. 1988. *Těšetice-Kyjovice 4. Rondel osady lidu s moravskou malovanou keramikou*, Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis, Facultas Philosophica 277, Brno.
- Podborský V. 1993. *Kultura s lineární keramikou*, [in:] *Pravěké dějiny Moravy. Vlastivěda moravská, Země a lid, nová řada, svazek 3*, V. Podborský, M. Čížmář, A. Erhart, V. Janák, A. Medunová-Benešová, J. Nekvasil, J. Ondráček, J. Pavelčík, M. Salaš, S. Stuchlík, J. Stuchlíková, L. Šebela, M. Šmíd, A. Štrof, J. Tejral, K. Valoch, P. Dvořák, (eds.), Brno, p. 76–100.
- Podborský V. 1999a. *Shrnutí problematiky*, [in:] *Pravěká sociokulturní architektura na Moravě. Primeval socio-ritual architecture in Moravia*, V. Podborský (ed.), Brno, p. 7–21.
- Podborský V. 1999b. *Pravěká sociokulturní architektura v dějinách lidstva*, [in:] *Pravěká sociokulturní architektura na Moravě. Primeval socio-ritual architecture in Moravia*, V. Podborský (ed.), Brno, p. 261–291.

- Podborský V. 2006. *Náboženství pravěkých Evropanů*, Brno.
- Podborský V., Kovárník J. 2005. *K sociální struktuře neolitických sídlišť. Consideration of Prehistoric Social Structures*, [in:] *Pravěk mikroregionu potoka Těšetického/Únanovky. K problematice pravěkých sociálních struktur. The Prehistory of Těšeticka/Únanovka Microregion. Problem of Prehistoric Social Structures*, V. Podborský, E. Kazdová, J. Kovárník, K. Šabatová, M. Golec, R. Přichystalová, M. Polák, A. Bartoňová (eds.), Brno, p. 131–160, p. 248–253.
- Podborský V., Kovárník J. 2006. *Neolithic and post-Neolithic enclosures in Moravia in their central European context*, [in:] *Enclosing the Past. Inside and Outside in Prehistory*, Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 15, A. Harding, S. Sievers, N. Venclová (eds.), Sheffield, p. 44–68.
- Puhvel J. 1997. *Srovnávací mytologie*, Praha.
- Renfrew C. 1986. *Varna and the emergence of wealth in prehistoric Europe*, [in:] *The Social Life of Things*, A. Appadurai (ed.), Cambridge, p. 141–168.
- Renfrew C. 1998. *Mind and Matter: Cognitive Archaeology and External Symbolic Storage*, [in:] *Cognition and Material Culture. The Archaeology of Symbolic Storage*, C. Renfrew, C. Scarre (eds.), Cambridge, p. 1–6.
- Renfrew C. 2003. *Figuring It Out*, London.
- Ruttikay E. 1983–1984. *Zusammenfassender Forschungsstand der Lengyel-Kultur in Niederösterreich, Symposium Mittelneolithische Grabenanlagen (Kult-/Befestigungsanlagen) in Zentraleuropa. Poysdorf – Laa/Thaya (Niederösterreich) 9. und 10. April 1983*, Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Ur- und Frühgeschichte 33–34, A. Eibner, M. Kaus, O. Urban (ed.), p. 221–246.
- Ruttikay E. 1998. *Ein Lengyel-Löffel mit Ideogramm aus Wetzleinsdorf, Niederösterreich*, *Sborník Vladimíra Podborského*, Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské Univerzity M 2 (1997), Brno, p. 49–64.
- Ruttikay E. 1999. *Ein Heilzeichen aus dem 5. Jahrtausend v. Chr. in der Lengyel-Kultur*, *Das Altertum B*, vol. 45: 4, p. 271–291.
- Říman A., Štěpánek M. (eds.) 1987a. *Malá československá encyklopedie 5 Pom/S*, Praha.
- Říman A., Štěpánek M. (eds.) 1987b. *Malá československá encyklopedie 6 (Š–Ž)*, Praha.
- Šiška S. 1989. *Kultúra s východnou lineárnou keramikou na Slovensku*, Bratislava.
- Šošić-Klindžić R., Hršak, T. 2014. *Starčevačka kultura. The Starčevo culture*, in: *Darovi zemlje, neolit između Save, Drave i Dunava. Gifts of the Earth. The Neolithic between the Sava, Drava and Danube*, J. Balen, R. Šošić-Klindžić, T. Hršak (eds.), Zagreb, p. 14–28.
- Soudský B. 1950. *Nejstarší zemědělské civilizace v Přední Asii. Les premières civilisations agricoles de l'Asie Antérieure*, *Obzor praehistorický* 14, p. 5–162.
- Stadler P., Ruttikay E. 2007. *Absolute Chronology of the Moravian – Eastern-Austrian group (MOG) of the Painted Pottery (Lengyel-culture) based on new radiocarbon dates from Austria*, [in:] *The Lengyel, Polgár and related cultures in the Middle/Late Neolithic in Central Europe*, J.K. Kozłowski, P. Raczky (eds.), Kraków, p. 117–146.
- Stammler F. 2005. *Reindeer Nomads Meet the Market. Culture, Property and Globalisation at the 'End of the Land'*, Münster.
- Stäuble H. 2007. *Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenanlagen im Wandel der Zeit. Die Sächsischen Beispiele*, [in:] *Vorträge des 25. Niederbayerischen Archäologentages, Gesellschaft für*

- Archäologie in Bayern e. V. Ernst-Pietsch-Stiftung Deggendorf*, Deggendorf 21. – 23. 4. 2006, K. Schmotz (ed.), Rahden/Westf., p. 169–184.
- Swahn J.O. 1997. *Maypoles, Crazfish and Lucia – Swedish Holidays and Traditions*, Stockholm.
- Tansem K, Johansen H. 2008. *The World Heritage Rock Art in Alta*, Adoranten, p. 65–84.
- Točík A. 1970. *Neolitické kultúry na východnom Slovensku. Bukovohorská kultúra*, [in:] *Slovensko v mladšej dobe kamennej. Die Slowakei in der jüngeren Steinzeit*, A. Točík (ed.), Bratislava, p. 85–104.
- Tomašovičová T. 2018. *Niekoľko poznámok k interpretácii ľudských zobrazení a významu nádob s antropomorfným aplikovaným motívom v období stredného neolitu*, *Musaica Archaeologica* 2, p. 73–107.
- Verner M., Bareš L., Vachala B. 2007. *Encyklopedie starověkého Egypta*, Praha.
- Vildomec F. 1940. *Ein jungsteinzeitliches Gefäß mit eigestochenen Menschengestalten und Tierplastiken von Strzelitz (Südmähren)*, *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 27, p. 1–6.
- Willerslev R. 2007. *Soul Hunters: Hunting, Animism and Personhood among the Siberian Yukaghirs*, Berkeley.
- Woodburn J. 1982. *Egalitarian societies*, *Man (N. S.)* 17, p. 431–451.
- Wolf J. 1970. *Poslední svědkové pravěku*, Praha.
- Zotti M. 2005. *Kalenderbauten? – Zur astronomischen Ausrichtung der Kreisgrabenanlagen in Niederösterreich*, [in:] *“Zeitreise Heldenberg. Geheimnisvolle Kreisgräben”*. *Niederösterreichische Landesausstellung 2005. Heldenberg in Kleinwetzdorf*, F. Daim, W. Neubauer (eds.), Wien, p. 75–79.
- Zotti G., Neubauer W. 2010. *Simulation astronomischer Aspekte der Kreisgrabenanlagen*, [in:] *Mittelneolithische Kreisgrabenanlagen in Niederösterreich. Geophysikalisch-archäologische Prospektion – ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsprojekt*, *Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission* 71, P. Melichar, W. Neubauer (ed.), p. 133–167.
- Zvelebil M. 2008. *Innovating Hunter-Gatherers: The Mesolithic in the Baltic*, [in:] *Mesolithic Europe*, G. Bailey, P. Spikins (eds.), Cambridge.

Internet informations

<https://www.altamuseum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta/rock-art-figures/drum>

<https://www.altamuseum.no/en/the-rock-art-of-alta/rock-art-figures/vulva>

www.Google.Earth

http://met.no/English/Climate_in_Norway/

www.Museum.Aлта.Norway

www.nordnorge.com/de/?News=60

<https://translate.google.cz/translate?hl=cs&sl=en&u=http://self.gutenberg.org/article/whebno000057612/geography%2520of%2520norway&prev=search>

ADDRESS OF THE AUTHOR**Jaromír Kovárník**

Department of Archaeology, Philosophical Faculty

University of Hradec Králové

Rokitanského 62, 500 03 Hradec Králové, Czech Republic

jaromir.kovarnik@uhk.cz

ORCID: 0000-0003-4045-0850