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CONFRONTING TWO SCENERIES ON THE SAME STAGE: FROM GRAVETTIAN-SOLUTREAN TO MAGDALENIAN IN PENASCOSA/QUINTA DA BARCA (VILA NOVA DE FOZ CÔA, PORTUGAL)

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Abstract: In *Penascosa and Quinta da Barca*, among the rocks with Palaeolithic engravings it is possible to recognise those with a Gravettian-Solutrean chronology and those dated from the Magdalenian period. Based on the differences between these two groups in terms of location and techniques employed, we discuss the ways they could be “used” in its original context. Furthermore, we shall discuss the ways in which access to and experience of rock art during the two periods mentioned, was socially relevant.

Key-words: Gravettian; Solutrean; Magdalenian; rock art; scenographies

INTRODUCTION

We have recently published two papers concerning the structure of the ancient phase of Palaeolithic art in the Côa Valley as well as its possible contribution for the building of certain forms of social interaction and *being in the world* [Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006; in press]. The theoretical framework that underlies these papers (and, for that matter, the present ones) was already discussed on those same texts.¹ On the basis of this framework is the concept that Man is a *Being* able to question himself about his own sense; that is to say, he can be defined as *being-here* (Heidegger, 1998, 17). This *Being*, which is all and each one of us, discovers himself in a *world* – a concept understood here as a chain of significant references or, in other words, as a relational system (Heidegger, 1998, 103). In this sense, *Being's* awareness of himself as a person and as a member of a social body is a result of “his reading” of the *world*. The main problem is that if this “reading” is mediated by the principal linking element within societies – language – we cannot peremptorily speak of “his reading of the world”. This “reading”, more than his “own”, is highly conditioned, if not “imposed” on, by the *world*. That is to say, the answer given to the question the *being-here* is able to ask, is always highly conditioned by the chain of meaningful references where the *being* is.

Nevertheless, affirming that the *being* is integrated within this chain doesn't mean that the last precedes the first and is immutable. In fact, the chain is not just manipulated, but also highly likely to be reconfigured. It is exactly this potential that allows such apparently innocuous features as metaphor, irony and the most sublime poetry to appear. In fact, what link can we find between red colour and a political movement, between a given topography and a country? It is also the possibility of conversion that allows our own biography, namely, the progressive transformation of our reading of the world and of ourselves; this

transformation is an inevitable consequence of the creations, recreations and dissolutions of the intricate web that, connecting the various significant elements that surround us, is our own *world*.

As a consequence, collective scenographies have a particular importance in maintaining social order. Through them links between different elements of the *world* are created, defined and reconfigured, helping people making sense of a given social order – what else are hymns, flags, parades, elections, meetings, sermons (in church or in television), graduation ceremonies, etiquette, protocol rules, etc? Even some apparently very personal behaviours, such as a catholic confession are but small acts charged with great dramatic intensity; in fact, it is of no small importance the affixation of the confession's schedule in churches: confession does not end in the confessional, but is prolonged through “regret” and penitence, and these two are witnessed by the individuals waiting their turn to be on stage; how many of us, those with a catholic upbringing, do not still very vividly remember the scenes of crying and dramatic praying of some leaving the confessional?

Taking this into account (the highly conditioned readings of the world and of ourselves) makes it relatively easy to fall into an anguishing existentialism or into a filthy nihilism. As it is not our intent to discuss this essentially (a)moral subject, we would like to clarify that, as beings discarded in the world, we do not escape such phenomena. Neither did the individuals who lived in the Palaeolithic. This explains the need to study the places where past collective scenographies happened – places that correspond to sceneries where diverse *worlds* were formed. Understanding which differences and similarities are possible to be found between the Gravettian-Solutrean sceneries and the ones of Magdalenian age will contribute to a better understanding of the *worlds* they help to create.

Though the two papers referred to at the beginning of this essay are based on this theoretical framework, they are exclusively focused on the artistic expressions of

¹ Our theoretical framework draws from an array of works, amongst those, we must refer the writings of Lamming-Emperaire (1962), Leroi-Gourhan (e.g. 1995), Tilley (1994; 2004) or Thomas (1996).

Gravettian-Solutrean chronology, and therefore no comparison was made between the two non-synchronic sceneries that happened in the same place.

In a broader analysis some of the features related to the location of engraved rocks belonging to each one of these periods were defined (Baptista and García, 1999). The analysis puts into evidence that the most ancient group is dispersed through a sector farthest from the river mouth (from Faia to Rego da Vide), while the most recent group is preferentially found near the mouth and in several secondary tributaries of the Côa and Douro rivers. This paper amplifies the scope of analysis towards a more detailed level – the opposite (and linked) sites of Penascosa and Quinta da Barca.

THE SITES

The Penascosa engravings are located on the Côa's right bank (an uncommon feature at the Côa during the Palaeolithic),² corresponding, along with Quinta da Barca, to the first great concentration of dated Palaeolithic engraved rocks, found whilst following the natural river course³ (Fig. 6.1). The rocks are schist, here in its Pinhão formation (Ribeiro, 2001, 13). The rock tonalities vary between grey, brown and orange. In terms of geomorphology, engraved rocks are located along the west slope of a spur that is linked by North to the Alto da Escavada hilltop. The southern border of the site corresponds to the waterline that immediately follows the Ribeirinha mouth, tributary to the Côa's right bank. To the North, rocks do not overbear the hydrological course that cuts the slope. This slope has a very huge inclination – in 200 m there is a difference of 125 m in high. Another pertinent feature is that in the northern sector, a quartz vein with magnetite rays crosses the slope; this same vein is also found in Quinta da Barca with a WSW-NNE orientation, turning in Penascosa to a W- E orientation (Ribeiro, 2001, map f. t.). The vein is particularly dramatic in the area between rocks 10 and 23-22.

Between the bottom of the spur and the river, an ample flat area develops (Fig. 6.2), corresponding to the dry river bed, and filled mainly with recent sediments, which started to be accumulated 6000 years ago (obtained after a OSL dating of a sample collected at 2,5 m in depth), after the valley's last erosive phase, which occurred between the beginning of Holocene and that period (Zilhão, 1997, 14). This sedimentation process and the fact that the lower engraved rocks are situated at the level of the dry river bed let us deduce that, despite the important topography changes that took place here since the Palaeolithic, this

area was able to accommodate a numerous number of individuals in this period. This deduction is also reinforced by the fact that the most ancient engraved rocks in the Côa valley are all located near ancient fluvial beaches.

Of the 26 engraved rocks inventoried in Penascosa, 20 are surely dated from Palaeolithic.⁴ 10 of which hold engravings that we consider to date from a period situated between the Gravettian and the Solutrean, and are globally distributed along the bottom of the slope (Fig. 6.3). These are, from north to south, rocks 11, 1, 3, and a little above, rocks 2, 4, 5 and 6. Above this one, to the left, we find rock 7, followed by rocks 9 and 8. This last set, along with rock 6, is located in a small thicket, which is detached from the main slope in its southern part. Aside some of the previous rocks which appear to have been re-engraved during the Magdalenian (rock 5, possibly rock 8 and the left part of rock 11), the ten rocks left contain motifs dated exclusively from this period. Their distribution shows important differences in relation to the previous one. Therefore, if we subtract the three re-engraved rocks mentioned above, which are located near the river bed, the rest are spread through the slope, along an axis which, from Northwest to Southeast, encompasses rock 19 (placed on the beach at level 138 m) to the rock 17 (200 m), passing through 11, 18, 10, 23, 22, 12, 13 and 16; the exception is panel 21 located near the cluster formed by 6-7-8-9, a little higher than these ones.

The Quinta da Barca site is located on the opposite riverbank, immediately in front of the one just described. The geomorphology is not as regular (Fig. 6.2). The site is delimited to the East by the Côa itself, to the South by a small stream – Quinta da Barca stream – and to the North by another small stream, 340 m away from the previous one, being both tributaries of the Côa's left bank. The western border is less precise, being defined by the tributary waterlines of the ones previously described, whose courses are parallel to the Côa's. From East to West, the site can be described in the following manner: it begins with a strong pending slope along the first 25 m in an E-W straight-line (with a variation between 160 and 130 m, forming a wall that falls directly in the river); immediately after, a slightly wavy terrace of 120 m width, with a difference of level between 160 and 170 m, can be found, holding a chronology that can be attributed to the Inferior or Medium Pleistocene (Zilhão, 1997, 13; Aubry

² Curiously, also at the Siega Verde site the engraved rocks are found mostly at the left bank, only one been identified at the opposed one – rock 91 (Alcolea e Balbín, 2006, 180-181).

³ In the upstream direction, we find only the site of Faia, a place constituted, up to the moment, by just two Paleolithic rocks. Curiously, this place corresponds also to the second and last example of Gravettian-Solutrean times where we find a rock in the right bank of the Côa.

⁴ To the fragments found in a wall under rock 6 was attributed n° 15 (Baptista and Gomes, 1997, 406). In terms of inventory, we dispose of 20 rocks. On the other hand, there are left to be drawn and studied rocks 18 and 26, which could contain respectively, a sign and a quadruped from Magdalenian chronology. About rock 25, if there weren't for the freshness of the etching presented, we could also be in the presence of "signs" from that period. A major part of the rocks we will talk about are already published in the form of drawing or photography. In Baptista and Gomes, 1997, we find rocks 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13 from Penascosa; In Baptista, 1999 are published rocks 17 from Penascosa and 1, 2 and 3 from Quinta da Barca; In Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006 are published rocks 1 from Penascosa and 4, 5, 8, 17 and 29 from Quinta da Barca; In Baptista, Santos e Correia, in press, are published rocks 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 from Quinta da Barca.

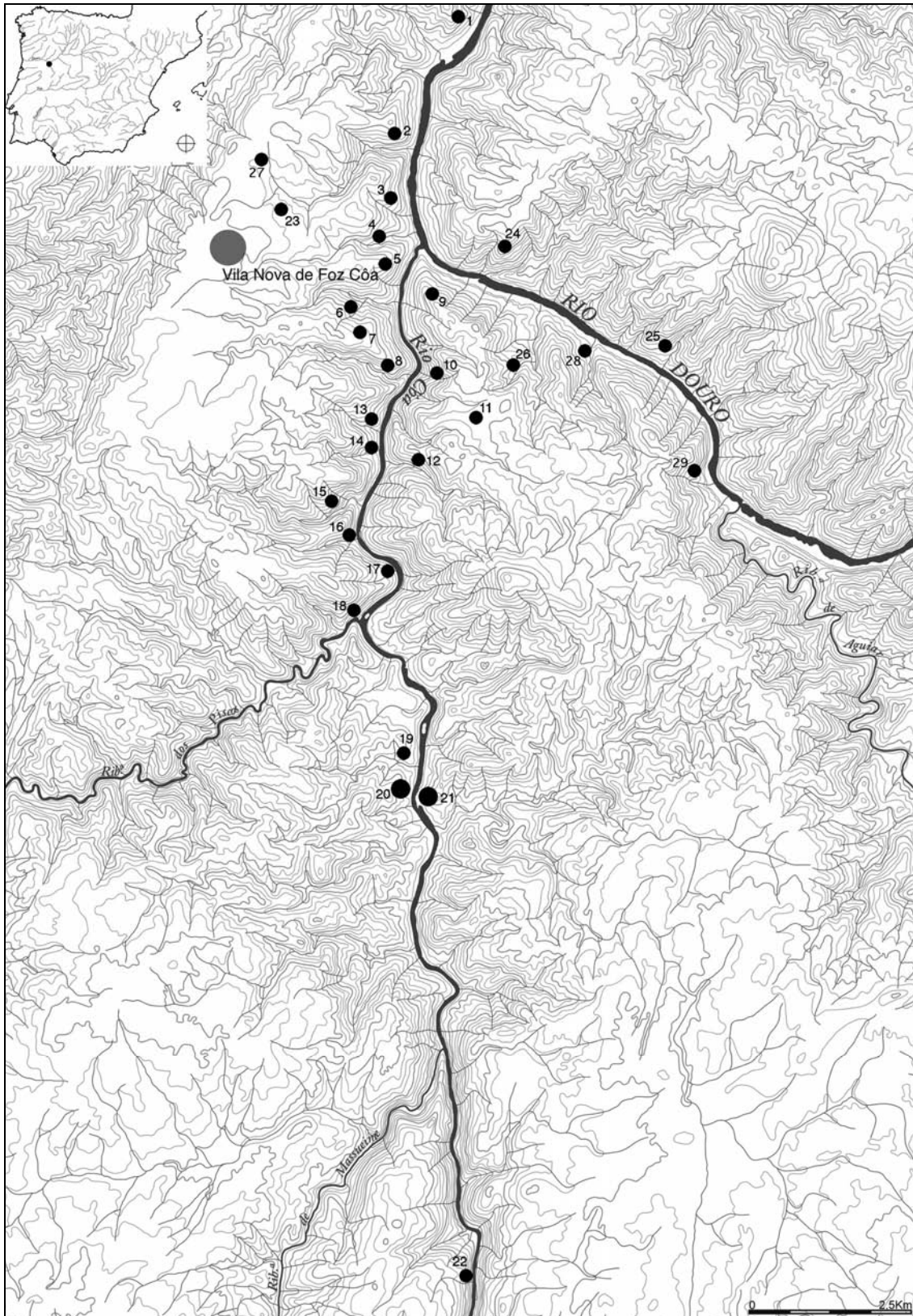


Fig. 6.1. Sites with Palaeolithic rock art in the Côa Valley (drawing made after leaves 11C e 15^A of the Chorographic Chart of Portugal, scale 1: 50.000). 1- Vale da Casa; 2- Vale de Cabrões; 3- Vermelhosa; 4- Vale de José Esteves; 5- Foz do Côa; 6- Vale do Forno; 7- Moinhos de Cima; 8- Vale de Moinhos; 9- Quinta das Tulhas; 10- Broeira; 11- Meijapão; 12- Canada do Amendoal; 13- Rego da Vide; 14- Canada do Inferno; 15- Vale de Videiro; 16- Vale de Figueira; 17- Fariseu; 18- Ribeira de Piscos; 19- Ribeira das Cortes; 20- Quinta da Barca; 21- Penascosa; 22- Faia; 23- Bulha; 24- Ribeira de Urros; 25- Vale de João Esquerdo; 26- Canada da Moreira; 27- Tudão; 28- Ribeira da Cabreira; 29- Canada do Arrovão. On the left topside of the image, the location of the Côa Valley in the Iberian Peninsula



Fig. 6.2. Penascosa and Quinta da Barca seen from downstream. The red B marks the beach; on its left side, the rocky and strongly inclined slope of Penascosa; on the its right side, the more gentle, but also less isomorphic, geomorphology of Quinta da Barca. For details, see next figure

et. al., 2002, 64-65, fig. 4); the west sector of the site corresponds to another strong pending slope (along 220 m the differences in high vary between 258m on the top, and the 170 m of the terrace mentioned above). Another important difference in respect to Penascosa is the proliferation of waterlines running perpendicular to the Côa and crossing the site. On the other hand, the Quinta da Barca stream shows a quite irregular course, running downstream trough a straight valley and widening upstream in a point where it receives the waterline that nourishes it by North. Small streams of lesser importance connect the Quinta da Barca stream with the terrace described above.

At the moment, we know of 32 engraved rocks in this site, 31 of them with Palaeolithic representations. Of this group, 24 contain engravings that we date from Gravettian and/or Solutrean periods. Their distribution (Fig. 6.3), though not as regular as on the opposite margin, can be described in the following manner: near the confluence between the Quinta da Barca stream and the Côa river it is possible to observe rocks 6, 1, 27 and 2 (the first in the Côa bank, the other three in the left bank of Quinta da Barca stream). In front of this group, and partially submerged by Côa river, a block can be observed (possibly a fragment of rock 1) which was inventoried as

rock number 25 and, a little further downstream, on a rock face in contact with the Côa river we can see the engravings of rock 9; upstream the Quinta da Barca waterline after rock 2, are located rocks 4, 5, 10, 11 and 12; in the terrace mentioned above are located rocks 14 (at his western side), 28 and 29 (at his eastern side); on the higher slope we can find, from South to North, rocks 13, 15, 16 and 17; finally, on the slope falling over Côa are situated rocks 8, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22. Out of these, only rocks 6, 15 and 20 seem to have been re-engraved during the Magdalenian; the five Palaeolithic remaining rocks date exclusively from this last period. As in Penascosa, the distribution of this rocks contrasts strongly with the dispersion of the previous ones; the most important Magdalenian group is located near the Côa, immediately downstream from the waterline mouth which arises North from the Quinta da Barca stream; these are, from South to North, rocks 26, 31, 32 and 23; on the right bank of this last waterline, at a small distance from the Côa, arises rock 24; between this one and the small stream just mentioned it is possible to observe one of the re-engraved rocks referred to above (20); finally, at the highest gradient is situated rock 30. It remains to be said in regards to this set of panels that, excepting rocks 24 and 20, all the rest are located in front of the Magdalenian set of Penascosa site.

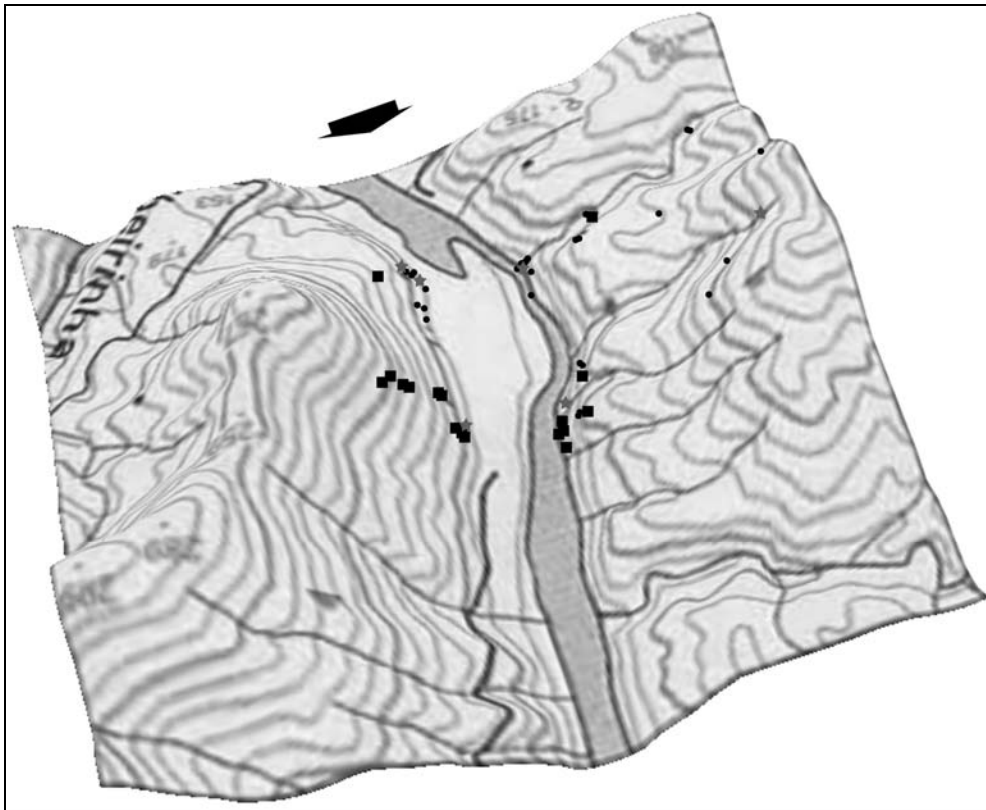


Fig. 6.3. Rock art distribution in Penascosa (left) and Quinta da Barca (right). The circles mark the Gravettian-Solutrean engravings, the squares sign the Magdalenian engravings and the Stars point out the rocks with both Gravettian-Solutrean and Magdalenian engravings

Last but not least, we should mention the case of the only rock that detaches itself technically and stylistically from the remaining Magdalenian ones – we refer to rock 3, found on the left margin of the Quinta da Barca stream about 5m upstream from rock 10.

CHRONOLOGICAL PRECISIONS

Since this essay aims at the comparison of rocks dated from two different periods, we should perhaps explain why we consider certain motifs integrated in, *grosso modo*, Gravettian and/or Solutrean period, while when it comes to others we consider them to be Magdalenian. This subject has been discussed in a more extended way in recent papers (Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006, 158-159; in press). The first great phase of the Côa engravings is characterized by the preferential use of pecking, which in some case was followed by abrasion. In this period the most commonly engraved animals are horses, aurochs and goats, according to specific stylistically criterion (Guy, 2002). Several reasons lead us to integrate them in the Gravettian and/or Solutrean periods, not being of less importance the connection we can trace between these figures and others dated by ^{14}C , and even with others which, despite not having been absolutely dated, can be placed in the same period. Among assemblages dated by ^{14}C we can include the ones from phase II of Cosquer

(Clottes and Courtin, 1992, 170-173), the horses from Mayennes-Sciences (Pigeaud, 2004, 127) or the goats from Nerja A (Sanchidrián, 2000, 544). Among the non-radiocarbon dated sites, we should refer the shelters from Cantábria, in their second phase (Forteza, 1994, 209-214) or, for example, La Griega cave (Sauvet and Sauvet, 1983). Recent studies seems to infer a wider diachronic range in the engravings of this site – between 16.000 and 11.000 BP (Corchón *et. al.*, 1997, 165-168). However, these studies are far from a general consensus in terms of chronology (Alcolea and Balbín, 2006, 314). In the first phase of engravings at the Côa, beside the most “typical ones” mentioned, we find some incised motives of simple outline, traced in a rough fashion that appear to be superimposed by the carvings we have been describing (e. g. rock 1 of Canada do Inferno or rock 1 of Fariseu). This phase is only found near the Côa, with the greatest amount of representations located along the ancient beaches (Baptista and García, 2002, 200).

The Magdalenian phase of Côa valley can be characterized mainly by figures outlined by a single fine incised line or by multiple fine incised lines with the body fulfilled by traces of the same kind (striated motifs), although others are found to be defined with one or several more parallel lines; the scraping is also documented in the big deer from Penascosa’s rock 10. Doe seem to be the most represented specie. The most

evident parallel to these engravings, particularly for those striated, is found in parietal and portable art from Cantábria.⁵ Beside the techniques mentioned above, it is also known in this period the association between abrasion and pecking techniques, as shown by the figurative repertory of Quinta da Barca's rock 3. Two features indicate a possible Magdalenian chronology for the engravings of this rock (a goat with two heads, a female goat and the back quarter of a third animal – possible, another goat): on the one hand, the morphology of the goat's foot can be compared to those of Altamira's bison. On the other hand, the "barbed wire" technique recognizable in the goat and in the incomplete animal it's a technique that is documented after the old B Magdalenian from Parpalló (Villaverde, 1994, 78). Spatial distribution of rocks is also wider in this period, "conquering" the higher planes and tributaries of the Douro.

For this period chronological characterization, we should take into account the most recent research data supplied by the Côa Valley's Archaeological Park (PAVC), namely those from the excavations at Fariseu. Here, a profusely engraved panel (Fariseu's rock 1) (Baptista, 2001, 247, figs. 8 e 9), which we attribute to the first phase, was partially covered by archaeological layers. From the study of lithic material contained in layer 4 of the site, and from absolute dating of materials proceeding from that layer and from layers 5 and 6 (which also covered the engraved panel) it is possible to verify that most of the engravings from rock 1 would be, at least, previous to 15.000 BP (Aubry, 2002, 35; Mercier *et. al.*, 2006; Aubry, 2006, 65). The fact that the chronology may be even older is suggested by the exhumation of peaks in the Gravettian layers of Olga Grande 4. These tools produce impacts similar to those existing, for example, on some motifs of rock 1 from Canada do Inferno, this being the reason why we believe that they were used to peck some of the motifs still seen today (Aubry, 2001, 262). On the other hand, the excavation at Fariseu was also very important because in layer 4 were exhumed about 60 engraved plates with motifs similar to those we attribute to the most recent phase of Côa's parietal Palaeolithic art. Fortunately, we are in possession of several absolute dating available for that layer varying between 11.000 and 10.000 BP (Mercier *et. al.*, 2006; Aubry, 2006, 70-71).

A strong possibility exists of a considerable number of motifs had been engraved in a period between the two extremes mentioned in the text. However, what should be valued is the fact that between the two groups described above, we not only find different forms of spatial distribution but also important thematic dissimilarities.

⁵ Altamira is a good example, such in terms of parietal art (let us remind the female deer under a dark line dated from early 15^o millennium BP – Moure Romanillo *et. al.*, 1996, 304) as in terms of portable art, namely in the case of scapulae, one of these with a motive similar to the previous described, and dated from the same period (Bernaldo, 1994, 265).

DISCUSSION

The reading of the previous sections must have alerted the reader to important changes that took place between the two main periods in terms of rock art distribution. Additionally, from observation of figure 6.3 it becomes evident that the set of rocks from the first period which, *grosso modo*, are easily accessible, contrasts with those from the second phase, which are located in more conspicuous and inaccessible places.

On the other hand, we should keep in mind that the access to the engravings is not only conditioned by their location; in reality, the difficulty in perceiving the engravings is also related to the techniques used in their execution. Different techniques allow a greater or lesser degree of visibility and, consequently, make them observable from a greater or minor distance.

In Penascosa all the engraved rocks from the ancient phase are distributed along the bottom of the spur on the beach, allowing them to be simultaneously experienced by a high number of individuals; the fact that these carvings have been obtained by pecking, in some cases followed by abrasion (therefore achieving larger and deeper lines), would only enhance the public nature of these first artistic expressions. In Quinta da Barca most part of the rock's locations would not allow their visualization by such a numerous group of people, but the similar technical process of engraving, allied to a code possibly related to the orientation of represented animals, would allow a sequential visualization of several groups of independent rocks that are dispersed by several connected places.

Summarising what was analysed in depth somewhere (Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006, 161-166), there is strong that Penascosa and Quinta da Barca would have been interpreted (lived) as single place. The first rocks observed by whoever came from Penascosa are those located near the Quinta da Barca stream mouth; from here on and taking into account the code mentioned above, there would be two alternatives of movement. The first would lead us to the slope over Côa and to the subsequent sequential visualization of the rocks located there. The second alternative would allow us to follow upstream Quinta da Barca waterline and as in the previous case, to read in a sequentially manner the rocks found there. From Quinta da Barca waterline we would gain access not only to the rocks located in the Pleistocene terrace described above, but also to those situated on the higher levels of the western slope. The point we must stress here is that the visualization of Quinta da Barca's rocks, even though not allowing such a great audience as the ones on the opposite margin, are, in a certain way, public in the sense that the techniques used in their performance, their distribution over key-points in landscape and the orientation of the engraved animals allow their "self-discovery" (or revelation).

The location of the most recent Palaeolithic art is far more complex. On the one hand, the re-engraving of the rocks allow us to deduce that they must have kept their role as support panels; the engraving of Quinta da Barca's rock 3 or the big deer of Penascosa's rock 10 (and, possibly, the great horse on rock 23 from Quinta da Barca, yet unpublished), show us that there are still carvings with a public character (by this, we mean with a high degree of visibility) which perfectly integrates the previous circuits.⁶ The main change is related to the geographic distribution of the rocks and to the generalization of the incision technique, which lowers the level of visibility of the engravings, allowing its experiment from only a near proximity.

If we look at figure 6.3 we can easily understand that in Penascosa, the rocks engraved exclusively in Magdalenian times, are distributed not along the beach but along an axis parallel to the strong incline of the spur, with a much more difficult access; on the other hand, with the exception of rock 10, those panels are "hidden" and their localization is far more difficult to remember for whoever has only been there once or twice. Truly, their embodiment in the "mind map" of an individual would imply several journeys to the site. At Quinta da Barca, with the exceptions of rock 3, 23 (where the great horse could have been easily perceived) and the ones re-engraved, the situation is similar in terms of "camouflage" but not in terms of access. In fact, among all remaining rocks, the only one we could consider of medium-hard access is rock 30; on the other hand, we should highlight the idea that visualization of most of the motifs of rock 23 would need the proximity of the observer only possible with help of a structure which would have allowed a person's access to the superior sector of the rock where the Palaeolithic engravings could be found. Maybe, due to the facility of access, the remaining rocks show very discrete motifs: a tiny striated female deer (rock 26), two very small (2 cm large) striated aurochs (rock 32) or two other examples of the same species carried out by simple incision (rock 31).

In brief, what we should consider is that most part of the rocks from this period do not allow their "self-discovery" nor seem to define any sort of circuit, linear or not. Unless we believe that the people (those who did not engrave, evidently) from Magdalenian times would also be engaged in intensive surveying, we must admit that the first appearance of these rocks to someone would always implicate a second person who, knowing the rock's location, allowed a meeting to occur.

In previous texts we interpreted engravings from ancient chronology as "information deposits" spread over the landscape. The distribution of thematic elements, the relation between these thematic elements and the relation

between the thematic elements and some places in the surrounding landscape would define and help to sustain a given social structure (Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006, 174-176; in press).

Possibly, there would exist proper occasions to experiment the perception of the rocks in the sequential manner that allows the information to appear as a discourse. But the most relevant social function of the engravings would be done during the ordinary living of the population. Upon finding the rocks during their travels or observing certain points of the landscape, and knowing the position of this elements in the wider discourse of the sanctuary, one would remember his place in the community.

Nevertheless, this mnemonic function is only possible if collective social manifestations were performed. Only through these performances could the sites and the rocks be experienced in the right manner, establishing by this way relations between them and the people participating in those collective representations.

During the Magdalenian, on the other hand, great part of the graphic information spread in the landscape is hidden, implying as we said before, the possible existence of a mediator. Certainly, many rocks would be visible during the ordinary life of populations; nevertheless, the location of many of the engraved panels and the own intrinsic visibility of the engravings lead us to admit that these would only be accessed on special occasions. Moreover, the access to this information would not be conceded to a great number of individuals simultaneously (since the physical conditions do not allow it). Consequently, this access would certainly be more controlled. The perception of most of these rocks by an individual would have been possible by the guidance of someone who already knew the place. Therefore, at the social representation level, we have in the Magdalenian this important introduction: the communitarian knowledge of "whom" does not know anything, the "other" that knows something and the "neighbour" who owns the wisdom spread through the valley. The reactions caused by the access to this knowledge would certainly be central to the construction of a social representation of intimate nature, possibly as marking as the example of the catholic confessions referred to above. By this we don't mean to imply that the social representations involving most part of the community were absent. In fact, as mentioned, there are engravings on top of older engravings as well as other rocks only engraved in Magdalenian times that obey to previous patterns of spatial distribution; even the amount of portable engraved plates found at Fariseu may correspond to deposits made in contexts of marked collective character. In spite of this, if in the first phase, community structure was based on knowledge spread through landscape (and, in some ways, open to all), in Magdalenian times, one of the fundamental foundations that could have sustained social structure of communities could have been the existence of different degrees of access to knowledge.

⁶ There is, meanwhile, to point out that this only occurs at the level of the animals orientation, the introduction of the goat in Quinta da Barca stream corresponds to an important theme alteration (see Baptista, Santos e Correia, 2006, 174).

Something changed between one and the other point of the chronological spectrum approached. It is our aim as social researchers to try to explain such changes. To think on the ways how past readings of past *worlds* occurred, could help us to think in a detached way how we read our own *world*, or, more pertinently, helps us to find how highly specific and contingent is this same *world*...

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