Are hand stencils in European cave art older than we think? An evaluation of the existing data and their potential implications.

P. Pettitt¹, P. Arias², M. García-Diez³, D. Hoffmann⁴, A. Maximiano Castillejo⁵, R. Ontañon-Peredo⁶, A. Pike⁷ and J. Zilhão⁸.

Introduction

Among his many meticulous publications on Spanish Upper Palaeolithic art, Rodrigo de Balbín Behrmann has documented many examples of the application of red pigments to cave walls directly by the fingers or hand, such as washes of red, paired or multiple lines, and finger dots (e.g. in La Lloseta [Balbín et al. 2005] and in Tito Bustillo [Balbín 1989; Balbín et al. 2002]). Perhaps the most iconic form of such interactions between the hand, pigments and cave walls are hand stencils, which are perhaps best contextualised as the most obvious extreme on a continuum of hand markings on walls. Given this, and as the chronology of cave art has been at the heart of his interests (e.g. Alcolea González and Balbín Behrmann 2007) we address here the question of the age of hand stencils as our homage to Rodrigo.

¹Department of Archaeology, Durham University, South Road, Durham DH1 3LE, United Kingdom.

²The Cantabria Institute for Prehistoric Research, University of Cantabria, Edificio Interfacultativo, Avda. Los Castros s/n, 39005 Santander, Spain.

³Departamento de Geografía, Prehistoria y Arquelogía, Facultad de Letras, University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU, c/ Tomás y Valiente s/n, 01006 Vitoria-Gazteiz, Álava, Spain.

⁴Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology Department of Human Evolution, Deutscher Platz 6, 04103 Leipzig, Germany.

⁵Facultad de Filosofía y Letras UNAM, Circuito Interior. Ciudad Universitaria, s/n. C.P. 04510. México, DF. México.

⁶The Cantabria Institute for Prehistoric Research - Cuevas Prehistóricas de Cantabria, Carretera de las Cuevas s/n, 39670 Puente Viesgo, Spain.

⁷Department of Archaeology, University of Southampton, Avenue Campus, Highfield Road, Southampton, SO17 1BF, UK.

⁸University of Barcelona/ICREA, Departament de Prehistòria, Història Antiga i Arqueologia, "Grup de Recerca" SERP SGR2014-00108, c/ Montalegre 6, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.

Hand stencils in European Palaeolithic 'cave art'

Since the first major discovery of hand stencils in Gargas in 1906 these have become a familiar component of the corpus of European Palaeolithic 'cave art'. From the pioneering work of Breuil onwards, much has been published about these ostensibly intimate but intellectually ambiguous images, but the scholarly community has reached little understanding about their meaning and function in a century of research. Today, hand stencils (and far less commonly, positive prints) are known (to our understanding) in 37 caves: France: 26 caves = 70.3% of the total; Spain: 10 caves = 27%; and Italy: 1 cave = 2.7%. This estimate is based on a critical assessment of claims known to us (Table 1), and supersedes that in Pettitt et al. 2014. In most cases single caves contain only one or two stencils: more rarely they contain 5-15, and larger numbers are found only in La Garma (at least 39), Fuente del Trucho (at least 40), El Castillo (at least 85), Cosquer (about 46), Maltravieso (at least 71) and, most famously, Gargas (at least 212). Production usually involved the projection of a wet pigment – primarily red but occasionally black or - via a tube or occasionally directly from the mouth, although other methods are known, such as the rubbing of pigments around the hand at Roucadour (Table 1).

Meticulous documentation of multiple hand stencils exists only for Gargas (Groenen 1988; Barrière and Suères 1993; Sahly 1966; Foucher and Rumeau 2007), Cosquer (Clottes et al. 1992; Clottes and Courtin 1996, 69-79) and Maltravieso caves (Ripoll López et al. 1999a, b). Although these account for a large sample of known stencils, on a site-by-site basis the literature is poor, but this lack of an overall corpus of data on stencils from the 38 sites has not prevented the accumulation of a relatively large literature on their production and possible meaning. One notable exception is the chronological review of García-Diez et al. (2015). Other than the on-site study of stencils in context, the literature typically reflects research focussed entirely on the *identity* of hand stencils rather than their physical context, i.e.

- The gender and age of the people whose hands were depicted (e.g. Manning et al. 1998; Gunn 2006; Snow 2006).
- Whether left or right hands were depicted (e.g. Barrière1976; Groenen 1997;
 Faurie and Raymond 2004; Frayer et al. 2007; Steele and Uomini 2009),
 usually from the perspective of handedness and its evolution among hominins.
- Why in some caves fingers or parts of them appear attenuated (a term we prefer instead of 'missing' or 'mutilated' as it is interpretatively neutral) which is usually taken to mean either missing/mutilated or bent back (e.g.Breuil 1952; Janssens 1957; Sahly 1966; Leroi-Gourhan 1967; Pradel 1975; Hooper 1980; Wildgoose et al. 1982; Barrière and Suères 1993; Ripoll López et al. 1999a, b; Guthrie 2005, 114-32; Rouillon 2006.). We should not be too focussed on these as they occur in only a small number of caves that contain hand stencils (notably Gargas, Tibiran, Cosquer and Fuente del Trucho) and need not be central to the understanding of stencils and prints as a whole.
- The possibility that stencils/prints were "signatures for those who were responsible for the art on the walls" (Gregg 2008, 380 our emphasis; see also Taçon et al. 2014).

To summarise the results of research in these areas, it would probably be fair to say that most researchers agree that the left hand was overwhelmingly stencilled (presumably because 80% of the time the right hand was the active one and thus held the materials necessary for stencilling of the passive left hand); that taken at face value finger ratios and lengths are often (but not always) consistent with female hands; that in the few cases where attenuated fingers are present these are probably the result of deliberate bending rather than disease, frost bite or accident; and that there is no reason to assume that surviving stencils represent more than a

single or small number of individuals in each cave. There has been relatively little interest in the physical context of stencils, although a recent study of such in La Garma and El Castillo caves has demonstrated how stencils were commonly associated with cracks in the cave walls, and with subtle concavities and bosses, revealing an interest in the small-scale scrutiny of the cave walls (Pettitt et al. 2014).

Here, we are not concerned with the production and 'function/s' of hand stencils or the identity of the stencilled, but with their antiquity. It is universally assumed that they are of Mid Upper Palaeolithic age, i.e. that they are culturally Gravettian. As Lorblanchet (2010, 221), for example, has noted, "toutes les mains négatives paléolithiques datées par le radiocarbone, la stratigraphie, le contexte, ou les superpositions (Fuente del Salín, Altamira, Castillo, La Garma en Espagne), (Gargas, Hautes-Pyrénées), Cosquer (Bouches-du-Rhône), Labattut et l'Abri du Poisson (Dordogne), Moulin de Laguenay (Corrèze), Vilhonneur (Charente) se situent au Gravettien, entre 22,000 et 28,000 ans avec une plus grande fréquence entre 25,000 et 28,000 ans BP" (our emphasis). How robust are such conclusions? We review critically the existing data pertinent to the age of hand stencils on which such a long-standing consensus is based, and conclude that they are almost certainly older than has been previously thought. We then consider the ramifications of this conclusion.

Relative schemes and artistic associations from Breuil onwards

Breuil (1952, 38) assigned hand prints and stencils to his earliest (Aurignacian-Perigordian) art cycle on the basis of their preceding stratigraphically "all other paintings" and their apparent lack of association with anything other than "rare spots, lines of discs in series, and sometimes timid attempts at line drawing." During the next decade Leroi-Gourhan acknowledged, however, that the dating of hand stencils was ambiguous, although a close reading of his statements makes it clear that he was aware that the little data available were not inconsistent with Breuil's notion of a relatively early age. Thus "the [dating of] hands present one of the problems still needing clarification. The Abbé Breuil regarded them as very archaic,

and in several cases they do seem to belong to an early phase of cave decoration" (1968, 199). Leroi-Gourhan used the association of art attributable to one or more of his stylistic phases – assuming that the association was meaningful – in order to assign hand stencils to one of his four great phases of cave art. Thus, he argued "at Gargas, the cave contains only figures in Style II and Style III; at Pech Merle, the hands occur in the vicinity of figures in the earliest Style III; at Bernifal, we find them in the first chamber, opposite painted figures that are in an indefinable style, but are a priori earlier than the engravings in the remote part. In a few cases, such as Les Combarelles, Font-de-Gaume, and El Castillo, it was hard to place the hands chronologically in relation to a group that is predominantly style III" (ibid., 199). From this it is clear to infer that he thought that the examples of hand stencils in these caves belonged to his early Style III or earlier, thus to the Solutrean/Early Magdalenian – although only in one case did he explicitly state this (Tibiran; 1968, 321). Today we may be more critical of Leroi-Gourhan's assumption that the perceived style of art in relatively close proximity to hand stencils is a reliable indication of their age, although as we shall see below this assumption is still made and still can form the basis of assumptions about the Mid Upper Palaeolithic age of stencils.

Breuil's view - which at least partly overlapped with that of Leroi-Gourhan - prevailed, but subsequent researchers to the present day have come to view hand stencils as largely or entirely Gravettian, whether explicitly or implicity (e.g. Barrière and Suères 1993, 49; Clottes1998. Clottes and Courtin 1996, 166-7; Foucher et al. 2007, 83; Lawson 2012, 318; Lorblanchet 1995, 245-6; 2010, 224; Ripoll López et al. 1999b, 13; Von Petzinger and Nowell 2010. White 1993, 69). Thus although Breuil assigned stencils and prints to a phase that spanned both the Aurignacian and Gravettian, subsequent publications have come to associate them only with the Gravettian, although in no published case, however, is it clear why an *earlier* age has apparently been ruled out. A few exceptions exist. Sahly (1966, 276) viewed them as Aurignacian although did not explain why; a broader Aurignacian/Gravettian age was suggested by Bernaldo de Quirós and Cabrera (1994, 268) and by Lorblanchet (2007, 211), views that seem to be echoed by von Petzinger and Nowell (2011, 1178-80) in

their critique of stylistic dating of cave art. Clottes and Lewis-Williams (1998, 45) also suggest a broad Aurignacian/Gravettian age, although are contradicted by Clottes and Courtin (1996, 167) and Clottes (1998, 114-5) who thought the *oldest* examples were of Gravettian age. Snow (1996) recognised that some might be older than the Gravettian; Davidson (1997, 148) assumed that they are the "earliest figures in Upper Palaeolithic cave art" although referred to the stencils of Cosquer Cave as Gravettian; and Gárate (2008, 24) saw them as part of a set of human themes including human outlines and vulvae which was "significant until the Solutrean". Bahn and Vertut (1988, 135) saw the issue as open, noting that they may span the entirety of the Upper Palaeolithic on the basis of the lack of evidence to the contrary.

The age of hand stencils and prints

Recently, García-Diez et al. (2015) critically reviewed the chronology of hand stencils in the context of new U-series minimum ages for stencils in El Castillo, concluding on the basis of production technique and colour and of a critical consideration of available chronological data, that the stencils can broadly be viewed as a diachronic phenomenon, probably an initial and non-figurative phase (Aurignacian or earlier) of European Palaeolithic cave art, of which the youngest examples were created around 27,000 cal BP. Here, we have assembled what we hope to be the most comprehensive catalogue of Upper Palaeolithic stencils (and the less frequent prints), and we assess how their age has been ascertained and conclude that in most (or all) cases they are likely to be early Gravettian at youngest, and probably much older.

As the following discussion shows, direct dates on hand stencils (AMS radiocarbon on charcoal) are remarkably rare, and where they exist may be underestimates given how long ago the dates were produced and given that pretreatment techniques have improved considerably since. Stratigraphic associations (such as when fragments of cave ceiling bearing stencils have fallen into dated contexts) are even rarer. Much 'dating' of stencils/prints tends to be based on perceived spatial

associations, either between the art of concern and dated archaeology, dated bones stuffed into cracks in the cave wall, or stylistically dated art. Such associations may be illusory. Most 'dating' of stencils simply reflects the dogma that they are 'Gravettian'. As we shall see, when Occam's razor is applied to cut out questionable 'dating' the results are consistent with a relatively old age for the stencils/prints for whom reliable information exists.

Dating: one stratified example

Ucko and Rosenfeld (1967, 67) were critical of a supposed stencil on a block recovered from between two Perigordian levels in the Labattut rockshelter (Dordogne), although its context is well recorded and the stencil is clear on a photo published by Delluc and Delluc (1991). It can be taken as a clear indication that the fragment of cave wall/ceiling on which the stencil was created fell during the Gravettian, the context of which therefore provides a minimum age for the creation of the stencil itself. This is perhaps not surprising given the general similarity of the Labattut art with Aurignacian rock art from shelters in the vicinity (cf. Delluc and Delluc 1991); it could be Gravettian, it may well be older.

Absolute dating: radiocarbon

Independent verification of the supposed age of stencils/prints in the form of absolute dates is very rare. Despite this rarity, the consensus has been built up that existing radiocarbon measurements support the notion of a Gravettian age, and thus stencils and prints have, like 'Venus figurines' come to be seen as icons of the European Mid Upper Palaeolithic (e.g. Foucher and San Juan-Foucher 2007. Jaubert 2008. Ucko and Rosenfeld 1967, 72).

A very few AMS radiocarbon measurements exist which are cited as constituting chronological evidence of the antiquity of stencils. Most of these are not without problems, however. In fact these few measurements take the form of:

- Measurements on objects found close to hand stencils in caves, for which a meaningful association between the two is assumed but not demonstrated beyond doubt.
- Measurements on objects found close to hand stencils in caves for which a meaningful association between the two is probably but not completely unequivocal.
- Measurements on charcoal from cave art apparently in clear association with hand stencils and thus meaningfully associated.
- Measurements on charcoal taken directly from hand stencils.

Three results of $22,580 \pm 100$ BP, $23,190 \pm 900$ BP and 22,340 +510/-480 BP from Fuente del Salín (Moure Romanillo and González Morales 1992) actually measure charcoal taken from hearths close to the stencils of interest, although a direct measurement of $18,200 \pm 70$ BP, if correct (see below), suggests caution in the use of such apparently spatially 'associated' dates, and a measurement of $26,860 \pm 460$ BP from Gargas is actually on a bone splinter wedged into a crack near the Great Panel of Hands (Foucher and Rumeau 2007, 83). These are not clear associations, and while they demonstrate close to the location of hand stencils the burning of hearths and the insertion into a crack of the bone of an animal that died during the Gravettian (although the insertion could of course have occurred later), and are thus not inconsistent with Gravettian ages for them, they are not necessarily relevant to the stencils' age. One should be cautious of these age assignments based on association only; they are conjectural, and should not become dogma. The same caution must be applied to the hand stencil found several metres from human

remains radiocarbon dated to $27,110 \pm 210$ BP and $26,790 \pm 190$ BP in Les Garennes cave, Vilhonneur, France (Henry-Gambier et al. 2007). Once again, while the measurements presumably constitute reliable evidence of the death of this individual during the Gravettian, an association between the two is conjecture and as it has not been demonstrated should be removed from consideration.

Grotte à Margot in Mayenne is assumed to be Late Magdalenian in age but is not directly dated (Pigeaud et al. 2006). In addition to its Magdalenian archaeology the cave has yielded Aurignacian material (actually more abundant than the cave's scarce Late Magdalenian), thus while it seems to have no Gravettian activity one cannot rule out an EUP age for its four stencils; once again we would urge caution against arguing from the basis of the cave's archaeology.

A clearer association can be observed in Le Moulin de Laguenay cave, Corrèze. Here, a radiocarbon measurement of $26,770 \pm 380$ BP (Lyon-3361 Poz) was obtained on charcoal from a hearth in a thin horizon directly atop bedrock that contained fragments of spalled roof on which pigments are visible, immediately below two ceiling stencils (Mélard et al. 2010). The lack of any evidence for activity belonging to any other periods in the cave, and general scarcity of archaeological material strengthens the notion that these data pertain to the same period, but this is not unequivocally demonstrated. If such an association is valid then the measurement may only provide a minimum age for the stencils, given that it would be the spalling of art on the part of the cave's ceiling on which they were produced – not necessarily their production *per se* – that occurred in the same broad period that the hearth was lit.

A measurement of 24,640 \pm 390 BP (Gif A 95357) was obtained on charcoal from the chest area of the right of the two dappled horses¹ of Pech-Merle, which do appear to

¹By using the normal means of reference to these, we do not mean to imply that they depict horses with dappled pelage. As Lorblanchet (2010, 105) has argued, the presence of punctuations outside the drawn outline of these animals argues against this; instead one is dealing with a complex interplay of animal outlines, punctuations, hand stencils and other signs, which may or may not reflect true pelage.

be meaningfully associated with six hand stencils in this panel on the basis of both its complex compositional phases and of pigment analysis of several elements including two stencils and the horses themselves (Lorblanchet 1995. 2010, 122-35). This has been interpreted in the light of the regional style of art in several caves of the Quercy, which is seen as fairly homogeneously Gravettian (e.g. Jaubert 2008) albeit of several phases (Lorblanchet 2010). Pech-Merle does in fact present a clear warning about the dangers of assuming the age of art on a cave's walls on the basis of radiometric dates on materials found in close proximity. A metacarpal of reindeer recovered from Sondage 1 beneath the Panel of Dappled Horses yielded a radiocarbon measurement of 18,400 ± 350 BP and a charcoal fragment 11,380 ± 390 BP (Valladas et al. 1990. Lorblanchet 2010, 18), which are clearly of much younger ages than that of the charcoal that went into the production of the dappled horses which are presumed to belong to the cave's oldest phase of art (Lorblanchet 2010, 220-5). Similarly, a charcoal fragment from Sondage VII beneath the Gravettian Frise Noir yielded an age of 11,200 ± 800 BP. In the Grande Grotte at Arcy-sur-Cure, a measurement of 26,700 \pm 410 BP was obtained on a bone recovered at the foot of a panel which included a partial hand stencil (Baffier and Girard 2007), and measurements of 26,360 \pm 290 BP and 26,250 \pm 280 BP were obtained on charcoal from the floor of the Gallery of Dots in the Grotte Chauvet. Why these should pertain to the art is unclear. The dangers of assuming associations between art panels and objects immediately below them on the cave's floor should be obvious.

To our knowledge AMS 14 C measurements *directly* on the charcoal of a hand stencil derive only from two caves: Grotte Cosquer (Clottes et al. 1992) and Fuente del Salín (González Morales and Moure 2008). Publication of the dates from Cosquer has not been consistent but we identify at least six measurements on three hand stencils: MR7 (27,110 \pm 430; 27,110 \pm 400; 26,180 \pm 370); M12 (24,840 \pm 340; 23,150 \pm 620) and M19 (27,740 \pm 410) although the lack of supporting information renders it impossible to evaluate these independently. A direct AMS radiocarbon measurement of 18,200 \pm 70 BP on a stencil from Fuente del Salín (González Morales and Moure 2008); this was measured at Geochron without full pretreatment, so this

must be regarded as questionable. The lesson with these direct dates is not to publish AMS measurements resulting from samples that have been incompletely pretreated; how can one be confident that all contaminating carbon has been removed?

Thus we are left with only two sites where direct dates on stencils exist, and one (Pech Merle) where a plausible relationship exists between dated art and stencils that seem to be part of the same panel: Pech-Merle and Cosquer. These were, however, measured two decades ago; available samples sizes for measurement of these would be problematically small at the time, and modern pretreatment methods for charcoal which have been proven to be more successful removing contamination would not have been available, thus for these reasons specialists today would presumably view these as inaccurate (probably minimum) ages. Higham (2011) has, for example, demonstrated considerable problems with the accuracy of measurements on charcoal for samples older than 20,000 ¹⁴C BP that were produced using the previously routine acid-base-acid pretreatment for charcoal; re-measuring several samples from the Grotta di Fumane using the more rigorous ABOx-SC method ages were obtained that were typically 2-4kyr older than the previous measurements (and in some cases more). We would expect that the minuscule samples of charcoal removed from the cave art samples of concern here would compound the problem even further. With regard to the remaining measurements from Fuente del Salín, the lack of explicit published information on pretreatment and measurement precludes independent assessment of the accuracy of the measurements.

What are we to make of such a poor database? First, that consensus can emerge among archaeologists on the basis of relatively poor data; when we critically examine the database on which our assumptions are made it becomes clear how unsound some of our conclusions can be. Secondly, that the very few measurements that can be taken as at all reliable suggest that the hand stencils of concern are at least of Gravettian age *but in fact could be considerably older*. One should of course put this in perspective: almost all hand stencils known to us have no direct dates, i.e.

the assumption on the basis of stylistic associations that they are of Mid Upper Palaeolithic age has not been independently verified by reliable radiometric dating. Viewed from this perspective we regard the issue of the age of hand stencils as open.

Absolute dating: U-series

Recent U-series dating of stalagmites overlying two stencils in El Castillo has provided clearer indications of their minimum ages, in this case of ~24,000 and ~37,000 years ago (Pike et al. 2012). U-series dating of calcite deposits has several advantages over ¹⁴C dating of charcoal pigments in that it doesn't require the presence of organic pigments, nor suffers from the 'old wood' effect, and can be verified by stratigraphic consistency of dates along the growth axis of the calcite. These new results provide independent verification of the early age of stencils as suspected by Breuil, and in the case of the oldest measurement clearly a pre-Gravettian cultural context. They are part of a suite of dates on various motifs, including disks and hand stencils, from several caves that show that red non-figurative painting dates back at least to the Aurignacian in Northern Spain.

The age of hand stencils and some possible implications

Overall, the reliable chronometric data available at present are consistent with the notion that stencils and prints belong to an early, largely non-figurative phase of cave art, prior to a subsequent rise to dominance of animal figures that began in the Gravettian and culminated in the Magdalenian (Ripoll López et al. 1999, 73. Gárate 2008; García-Diez et al. 2015). As Breuil noted artistic associations of hand stencils are typically with disks ('ponctuations') usually produced by a similar method of pigment projection, and possibly with animal outlines assumed to be early

Gravettian in age (although this needs verification). Some simple conclusions clarify the issue somewhat:

- Artistic associations, where demonstrable, support Breuil's view that hand stencils belong to a relatively early (or indeed the earliest) artistic period.
- By contrast, caves that seem to contain parietal art of exclusively
 Magdalenian age e.g. several in the valley of the Lot river in Quercy
 (Lorblanchet 2010, 406-27) do not contain hand stencils. There are,
 therefore, no associations between hand stencils and post-Gravettian art.
- Radiocarbon measurements have indicated an early to late Gravettian age for a very few stencils, but these were produced a long time ago with previous laboratory methods and are almost certainly inaccurate underestimates.
 Even if they are chronometrically reliable they probably indicate minimum ages.
- Preliminary U-series measurements attest a Gravettian age as a minimum, and in one case a clearly pre-Gravettian age; a date older than 39.9 ka falling clearly in pre-Gravettian times has also been obtained for the one example of a hand stencil outside Europe (the Leang Timpuseng cave in Sulawesi) where U-series was applied to overlying calcite (Aubert et al. 2014). In Europe and Sulawesi artistic associations place hand stencils in the context of broader non-figurative art.
- If the early age of stencils is borne out by further analyses it may be of
 interpretive importance, given that they fall into a conceptual space between
 non-figurative and figurative art, and it may be no coincidence that their
 creation forms an *outline* (of a hand) in the same period as simple animal
 outlines were emerging in parietal art.

If, then, hand stencils belong to an early – perhaps the earliest – phase of European cave art, one should view them in the context of the emergence of the evolution of art. What exactly are hand stencils: figures or signs, or something in-between? Might they have played a role in the evolution of figurative art in Europe? Stencils form part of a continuum of marks on the walls, ceilings and floors of caves created by direct contact with parts of the body, from foot and hand prints (Lorblanchet 2009) and finger meanders (Sharpe and Van Gelder 2006), through positive palm prints (Clottes and Courtin 1996), finger and hand 'rubbing' (Lorblanchet 2010) to the projected pigment hand stencils and positive prints that are of concern here. A conceptual continuity runs through this set of examples, from 'natural' markings (which one might conceive of as the *reproduction* of the outline of the hands or fingers through impressions) and the artificial creation of (one might say representation) of the outline of the hands using the projection or rubbing of pigments. In a sense hand stencils are both figurative (in that they 'depict' a human hand) and non-figurative (in that they are not conscious drawings of the hand but an attempt to fix the outline of the hand in place). Is it possible that their very nature at the borders of the figurative and non-figurative, and their apparent appearance just as figurative art is emerging in European caves, suggests they played a role in the recognition that things could be figured in art? If the hand could be represented in outline, then why not animals?

The apparently older age of hand stencils also raises the question of their authorship. It is important to recognise that the chronology we have for them at present is poor, and is entirely comprised of *minimum* ages. While these may belong to Aurignacian or Protoaurignacian cultural contexts – and thus presumably indicate that the stencilled and stencillers were *Homo sapiens*, can we eliminate the possibility that they were made by, and depict Neanderthals? Further minimum ages for hand stencils should at least be able to test this hypothesis.

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Table 1. Corpus of caves containing hand stencils/prints known to the authors. Note that some counts of hand stencils/prints include an example from Cougnac (e.g. Ripoll López et al. 1999, Figure 115). This is actually a *main essuyée/frottée* (a 'wiped' or 'rubbed' hand) produced by dragging fingers covered in black pigment down the wall (Lorblanchet 2010, 274-5; see also Lorblanchet 2009 for a wider discussion of these). This is not a depiction of a hand, and in fact is much closer to finger tracings than to hand stencils, and for this reason we omit it from our quantification. Similarly, a circle of 5 finger dots from the cave (ibid., 257) is excluded. We also omit the *main frottée* in the Grotte du Cantal, Lot (Lorblanchet 2010, 394), and possible

engravings of hands in Bara-Bahau and Ebbou, the former of which was suggested by the Abbé Glory but it is debatable, and the latter probably a natural stain (Paul Bahn pers. comm.). We also omit caves which have from time to time been reported informally as having hand stencils but which do not, i.e. Le Portel, El Pindal (actually a red disk - González-Pumariega Solís 2011), Oxocelhaya, Grotte du Cheval (these are actually all finger tracings); we also omit sites for which a possible stencil has been suggested but which nevertheless remains unclear (one between two bovids in Gallery B of La Pasiega: Balbín and González Sainz 1992; González Sainz and Balbín 2000); and omit three stencils in La Lastrilla for which a Palaeolithic ascription is not certain.

Site	Notes	Dating	Assumed dating	References	No.
		(chronometric)	(associations &c)		
France (N=26)				<u> </u>	
Abri du Poisson	1 black stencil.	/	Assumed to be	Roussot 1984a.	1
			Gravettian on the	Delluc and Delluc 1991.	
			basis of wider		
			comparisons. Close		
			proximity to		
			engraved salmonid.		
			Archaeological levels		
			contain Aurignacian,		
			Gravettian (Noaillian)		
			and Solutrean levels.		
Baume-Latronne	5 differing red	/	Prints are located	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	2
	prints.		away from the cave's	Drouot 1984a.	
			figurative art		
			(thought to be		
			Solutrean) and finger		
			tracings.		
Bayol (de Collias)	6 prints (5 adult, 1	/	Dating of cave's	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	3
	child) of reddish		figurative art –	Drouot 1984b.	
	clay		amidst which the		
			prints are located – is		
			unclear: possibly		
			Solutrean.		
Bédeilhac	2 black prints,	/	Parietal art includes	Gailli et al. 1984.Gailli	4
	each with a red		numerous black and	2006, 99-100.	
	thumb.		red dots: figurative		
			art of Middle and		
			Late Magdalenian.		
Bernifal	1 brown/black	/	Stencil found in close	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	5
	stencil; 2 or 3		proximity to	Roussot 1984b.	
	other possible		mammoth of same		
	engraved hands		colour which (like the		
	opposite this		rest of the cave's		

	(alternative):		figurative art\:-	<u> </u>	ı
	(alternatively		figurative art) is		
	these could be		thought to be		
	motifs		Magdalenian. Breuil		
	arborescents).		saw the hand/s as		
			Aurignacian.		
Grotte du Bison	2 black stencils.	/	/	Roussot 1984c.	6
Bourgnetou	1 brown/red	/	Three finger traces of	Lorblanchet 1984a.	7
	stencil.		the same colour		
			10cm from the		
			stencil.		
Chauvet	11 in red(6 prints	/	Assumed to be early	Clottes 2003.	8
	and 5 stencils).		on the basis of		
			associations & the		
			wider reconstruction		
			of the cave's		
			chronology.		
Les Combarelles	1 black stencil.	/	Breuil thought the	Barrière 1984a.	9
(Section 1)			stencil Aurignacian:		
			Combarelles 1		
			engravings are early		
			and Middle		
			Magdalenian.		
Combe-Nègre 1	1 stencil in black,	/	Assumed to be	Lorblanchet 2010, 390-	10
	not blown but		Gravettian on the	2.	
	produced by a		basis of wider		
	wash (badigeon)		regional parallels.		
	possibly similar to		Black punctuations,		
	those of		animal outlines in		
	Roucadour (see		black.		
	below).				
Cosquer	65 stencils in red	At least six AMS	Assumed to be	Clottes et al. 2007.	11
	(21) and black	radiocarbon	Gravettian on the	(Clottes and	
	(44).	measurements on	basis of associations	Courtin1996 for an	
		three hand stencils:	and the direct	earlier publication with	
		MR7 (27,110 ± 430;	radiocarbon	lower count of stencils).	
		27,110 ± 400;	measurements.	Rouillon 2006.	
		26,180 ± 370); M12			
		(24,840 ± 340;			
		$(24,840 \pm 340,$ $23,150 \pm 620)$ and			
		,			
		M19 (27,740 ±			
Erhorus	2 stoppile /2 and 4	410).	Encombia VIII	Larribau and	12
Erberua	3 stencils (2 red, 1	/	Ensemble VII	Larribau and	12
(IsturitzInférieur)	black) (in cave's		contains	Prudhomme 1984.	
	7 th ensemble) 1		Magdalenian		
	black.		engravings as with		
			the other of the		
			cave's ensembles.		

Les Fieux	14 stencils (12	/	Assumed to be	Lorblanchet 2010, 323-	13
	red, 2 black) in	1	Gravettian or earlier	7.	13
	two groups.		on the grounds of	7.	
	two groups.		associations and		
			wider regional		
			parallels e.g. Pech-		
			Merle. Red		
			punctuations and		
			lines, animal outline		
			engravings.		
Font de Gaume	4 black stencils.	/	Cave's archaeology	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	14
			contains Mousterian,	Roussot 1984d.	
			Aurignacian,		
			Gravettian, Solutrean		
			and Magdalenian		
			levels. Figurative art		
			is Magdalenian:		
			Breuil thought the		
			stencils Aurignacian.		
Les Garennes	1 black stencil.	/	Assumed to be early	Henry-Gambier et al.	15
(Vilhonneur)			Gravettian on the	2007	
			basis of proximity of		
			the stencil to		
			absolutely dated		
			human remains from		
			the cave floor. Art		
			includes red dots,		
			black bars and other		
			traces of colour.		
Gargas	At least 212	/	Engraved animal	Sahly 1966. Pradel 1975.	16
_	stencils	•	outlines, finger	, Barrière 1976. 1984b	
	(Groenen),		traces. Assumed to	Barrière and Suères	
	possibly 231		be Gravettian after	1993. Groenen 1988.	
	(Barrière) in red,		Breuil; on the basis	Foucher et al. 2007.	
	maroon, black		of one radiocarbon		
	and white. 137		measurement (see		
	cluster together		text); the basis of the		
	in Salle 1.		cave's archaeology,		
	III Jaile 1.		and probably closure		
			•		
			shortly after the late		
Crond Coults	O atamaile and t		Gravettian.	Defficient of the Logor	47
	8 stencils and 1	/	Assumed to be	Baffier and Girard 2007.	17
Arcy-sur-Cure	print in red		Aurignacian or		
			Gravettian on the		
			_		
			basis of the cave's		
			basis of the cave's archaeology. AMS radiocarbon		

					1
			measurement of		
			26,700 ± 410 BP on		
			bone found below		
			panel including a		
			partial stencil.		
Labattut (or	1 black stencil on	/	Stratigraphically	Delluc and Delluc 1984.	18
Labatut)	detached ceiling		earlier than the		
	block.		upper level of		
			Perigordian V with		
			Noailles Burins		
			(Noaillian) = early		
			Gravettian or older.		
Grotte (à) Margot	2 black hand	/	Assumed to be Late	Pigeaud et al.	19
	stencils (one with		Magdalenian on the	2006.Jaubert and	
	attenuated		basis of the cave's	Feruglio 2007.	
	fingers). 2		archaeology,		
	positive brown		figurative engravings		
	prints.		with similarities to		
			other regional		
			examples of		
			Magdalenian art, and		
			lack of Gravettian in		
			the region, but the		
			cave's Aurignacian is		
			more abundant that		
			its Magdalenian.		
Moulin de	2 black stencils.	/	Assumed to be	Lorblanchet 2010, 399.	20
Laguenay			Gravettian on the	Mélard et al. 2010.	
,			basis of wider		
			regional parallels,		
			and presumed		
			association with		
			hearth dated to ~26-		
			27 ka (uncal) BP.		
Las NAssas allas	Chard days the	,		Laddarahar 2010	24
	6 hand stencils	/	Red punctuations,	Lorblanchet 2010.	21
	(four red, 2		animal outlines in	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	
	black).		red and black.		
			Assumed to be		
			Gravettian on the		
			basis of wider		
			regional parallels.		
	11 stencils and 1	Radiocarbon	Art of the cave's	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	22
	positive print in	measurement of	(earliest) 'Sanctuaire	Lorblanchet 1984b.	
	black and red, 6	24,640 ± 390 BP (Gif	A' art phase including	Valladas et al. 1990.	
J.					1
	of which belong	A 95357) on	black stencils of the	Lorblanchet 2010, 12-	
	of which belong to the Dappled	A 95357) on charcoal from right	black stencils of the dappled horse panel;	Lorblanchet 2010, 12- 227.	

		Dappled Horse	hand stencils of the		
		panel of which hand	'femmes-bisons'		
		stencils are part.	sector.		
Roucadour	13 stencils in red		Assumed to be	Lorblanchet 1984c.	23
	and black in six	,	Gravettian on the	2010, 351-2; 363.	
	panels (the		basis of wider		
	second richest in		regional parallels.		
	the Quercy after		regional parameter		
	Les Fieux). These				
	•				
	were, however,				
	produced by a				
	method as yet				
	unknown 				
	elsewhere,				
	notably the				
	rubbing/washing				
	of red pigment				
	across an				
	elaborate area of				
	fine incisions; as a				
	result they should				
	be viewed as				
	representations				
	not reproductions				
	of the outline of				
	hands.				
Tibiran	At least 11	/	Contains finger	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	24
	(possibly 18)		engravings.	Clot 1984. Pradel 1975.	
	stencils in red and		Figurative art is		
	grey, clustered in		Middle Magdalenian.		
	two panels.				
Trois-Frères	5 red stencils.	/	Associated with	Bégouën and Clottes	25
			numerous red points	1984.	
			and traces. Breuil		
			thought the stencils		
			Aurignacian: cave's		
			figurative art is		
			Middle Magdalenian.		
Roc de Vezac	2 juxtaposed	/	Unclear.	Aujoulat 1984.	26
NOC GE VEZGE	stencils (1 black, 1	′	Official.	Aujoulut 1904.	20
	red).				
Spain (N=10)	ieuj.				
Spain (N=10)	2 and maintenant 4		A	Causa Barra : 4000	27
Altamira	2 red prints and 4	/	Assumed to be	Saura Ramos 1999.	27
	violet stencils.		Aurignacian (or	García-Diez et al. 2013	
			earlier) based on U-	(dating).	
		i e	series minimum ages	İ	1
			obtained for other		

			red dots and images.		
Ardales	9 hands: 2 stencils	/		Espejo Herrerías and	28
	(black) and 7			Cantalejo Duarte 2006.	
	prints (red)			Mijares 2011.	
Askondo	1 red print.	/	Probably	Gárate and Rios 2012.	29
			Palaeolithic.		
El Castillo	At least 85	U-series dating of	The cave's art	Leroi-Gourhan 1968.	30
	stencils in red.	stalactite overlying	probably relates to	Pike et al. 2012 (dating).	
		stencil of the Panel	several periods:	Groenen 2012.	
		de las Manos	ongoing research is		
		provides minimum	showing that the		
		age of ~37 ka cal	hand stencils and red		
		BP. Similar for a red	dots are at least early		
		disk on the panel	Gravettian and		
		provides minimum	probably older.		
		age of ~40 ka cal			
		BP.			
Cudón	1 stencil in red;	/	/	/	31
	the only one in				
	Cantabria with				
	attenuated				
	fingers.				
Fuente del Salín	14 stencils in red	Direct AMS	AMS radiocarbon	Bohigas et al. 1985.	32
	and black.	radiocarbon	measurements of	Moure and González	
		Measurement of	22,580 \pm 100 BP,	Morales 1992. Moure et	
		18,200 \pm 70 BP on	23,190 \pm 900 BP and	al. 1985. González	
		stencil (GX-27757-	22,340 +510/-480 BP	Morales and Moure	
		AMS) with	on charcoal from	2008.	
		incomplete	hearths below		
		pretreatment.	stencils.		
Fuente del Trucho	~40 stencils of	U-series dating of	Assumed to be early	Utrilla et al. 2013. 2014.	33
	adults and infants	stalactites stratified	on the basis of		
	clustered in 2	above one stencil	superimpositioning		
	zones; 37 red, 3	indicate a minimum	of later figurative art		
	black. This is	age of 27,000 (cal)	on stencils; probably		
	probably an	BP.	pre-solutrean.		
	underestimate as				
	more may be				
	revealed with				
	future cleaning: it				
	has been				
	conjectured that				
	as many as 100				
	may eventually be				
	revealed.				
La Garma	At least 39	/		González-Sainz 2003.	34
	stencils in red (24)				

	and yellow (15).				
Maltravieso	At least 71 red	/	Assumed to be	Ripoll López et al.	35
	stencils.		Gravettian on the	1999a. 1999b.	
			basis of wider		
			parallels, e.g. Gargas.		
			Unclear associations:		
			possibly red		
			triangles, meanders.		
Tito Bustillo	1 red stencil.	/	Unclear: potentially		36
	Possibly a second.		Early Upper		
			Palaeolithic.	Saura Ramos and Pérez-	
				Seoane 2007.	
Italy					
Paglicci	At least 3 stencils.	/	Usually assumed to	Zorzi 1962. Mussi 2000,	38
	Colour is unclear:		be Gravettian due to	264-5.	
	this appears red		parallels with stencils		
	but could be due		elsewhere, or		
	to the rock; some		Solutrean on the		
	white colourant is		basis of the style of		
	visible (M. Mussi		the cave's horse		
	pers. comm.)		depictions.		

Figure 1. Selection of French and Spanish hand stencils. Clockwise from top left: El Castillo (placed in concave depression); La Garma (small group); Ardales (on stalactite); Pech Merle (with red discs). Photo credits: Gobierno de Cantabria (La Garma and El Castillo), Pedro Cantalejo Duarte (Ardales) and Paul Bahn/Jean Vertut (Pech Merle).

