

Giving the Past a Future

Essays in Archaeology and Rock Art
Studies in Honour of
Dr. Phil. h.c. Gerhard Milstreu

Edited by

James Dodd and Ellen Meijer

Dedication

In honour of our dear friend, teacher and colleague - Gerhard.

Thank you for making so much possible.

This is for you.



Access Archaeology





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Editors Preface

This collection of works celebrates the work of Dr. fil. h.c. Gerhard Milstreu in connection with his 40th year as director of Tanum Museum of Rock Carving and Rock Art Research Centre, Underslös, Sweden. In 1978, Gerhard took over the directorship of Tanum Museum of Rock Art, Underslös and the associated Bohuslän Rock Art Research Archive from the Danish Artist, Fred Gudnitz, whom Gerhard has already worked with over many years following his education in Visual Arts at The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts.



DR. PHIL H.C. GERHARD MILSTREU. PHOTO HENNING PRØHL

Under Gerhard's leadership, the role of prehistoric art and rock art within the spheres of both the academic world, and that of the general public, have been significantly advanced through the integration of this unique visual information in archaeological discourse. Gerhard started the annual working seminar and transformed the museum's dedicated journal on prehistoric art, *Adoranten* (which was initiated by Gudnitz). At the working seminar, archaeologists and members of the general public alike from around the world, can come to learn the ins and outs of rock art documentation. The seminar, which began in 1978, was the first of its kind in the world, and has established the framework that has been applied in many countries around the world. The workflow developed by Gerhard and the museum is now also becoming incorporated into archaeological teaching practices at both Masters and Undergraduate level in Sweden and Denmark. *Adoranten* has blossomed to become an internally acclaimed, peer reviewed journal, distributed to museums, universities and rock art experts in 26 countries.

Collaboration and dialogue at a local, national and international level has also been a keystone of Gerhard's strategy for the Museum. Time and again he has brought people and groups together, to share knowledge and encourage understanding, thereby assisting in the achievement of results that are far greater than the sum of their constituent parts. Perhaps key to this is his sense of the importance of inclusivity, his ability to listen and his respect for other people and their views.

A sign of the success of these attributes can partly be gauged by the level and amount of Underlsös Museum's activities on an international level. The Museum and Gerhard have been part of several major national and international collaborations, including several major projects part financed by The European Union. Partly because, and as a result of these efforts, Gerhard's network is enormous. Those that have been asked by the editors to contribute here represent merely the common nodes within our networks. Therefore, as the editors, we apologize to anyone not included in advance!

We believe that all the above-mentioned achievements are the direct result of 40 years of inspiration, dedication, hard work, love and engagement from Gerhard. All these achievements are especially noteworthy considering that everything at the museum is done completely voluntarily.

Here, a feast of scholarly contributions from across Europe, at all levels of study have been collected. Each and every one of the following works addresses aspects connected to the work Gerhard has done over the last 40 years. Through their words and images, these pay respect to and acknowledge Gerhard's achievements in the fields of rock art documentation, research, international collaboration and outreach.

Lastly, it is pertinent to give the reader an explanation of our choice of title for the volume. One of Gerhard's slogans, as well as the title of a project to document the rock art on the island of Møn, Denmark, is "give your past a future". To understand this saying, is to, at least partly, understand the philosophy and rationale behind Gerhard's life work. The images have a timeless, artistic quality. They are a unique and, thanks to natural and human degradation processes, disappearing source material. The knowledge thereof and the skills employed in the study of these representations from the past is not solely about the present. It is about the future. One aspect is what we leave behind for future generations to behold in the records. The other, as important, if not more important, is about involving and motivating the next generation to continue. Gerhard has given, and is still giving the youth the possibility and the means to preserve the past: both for the present and the future. Therefore, we entitle this work in his honour 'Giving The Past A Future'.

James Dodd & Ellen Meijer, Editors

Tanums Hällristningsmuseum Underslös

The Annual Celebration Saturday 28 July 2018

Tabula Gratulatoria

There is only a small Tabula Gratulatoria in this book. Gerhard's network is so vast with so many colleagues and friends all over the world, that it was impossible for us to contact them all. Moreover, where do we draw the line? The connections are varied, from: colleagues to artists; to students; participants to the annual international workweeks and so on. We have therefore decided to concentrate on the actual content to produce a worthy tribute honouring Gerhard for decades of hard work. He has been, and hopefully will be for a long time to come, a pioneer and ambassador for the rock carvings, not just in Sweden, but worldwide.

This book comes with a heartfelt gratitude, admiration and best wishes from the board and all members of the Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art, friends, colleagues, students and all individuals that have enjoyed and / or supported the important work done by Gerhard from 1964 onwards to protect, document and promote the beauty of the images.

Henning Prøhl, Humlebæk
James Dodd, Aarhus
Inger Marie Aicher Olsrud, Moss
Marijke Houwink, Sandhem
Ann-Zofie Duvander, Stockholm
Mette Johansen Rabitz, Copenhagen
Stefan Nilsson, Malmö
Ellen Meijer, Maassluis
Elisabeth, Jarl, Maria & Catarina Nordbladh, Gothenburg
Johan Ling, Gothenburg
Ulf & Catarina Bertilsson, Gälltö
John Koch, Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, Wales
Kristian Kristiansen, Gothenburg
Tertia Barnett, Edinburgh
Sophie Bergerbrant, Gothenburg
Anna Wessman, Gothenburg
Kjell Brevik, Hovin
Louise Felding, Velje
Jan Magne Gjerde, Tromsø
Heidrun Stebergløkken, Trondheim
Trond Lødøen, Bergen, Norway
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Ditte Kofod, Aarhus
Lisa-Elen Meyering, Durham
Peter Skoglund, Kalmar
Kalle Sognnes, Trondheim
Magnus Tangen, Fredrikstad
Alberto Marretta & Sara Rinetti, Capo di Ponte
Umberto Sansoni, Capo di Ponte
Elena Man-Estier, Paris
George Nash, Macao, Portugal

Chapter 1

Art, Artists, Rock Art and Underslös

James Dodd

Study of art has historically been divided between the history of art and the history of religion (Nordbladh, this volume; Jorn 1950; 1957). As Jarl so eloquently puts in his article, the person whom this book is produced in honour of, Dr. Phil honoris causae Gerhard Milstreu, has championed, throughout his work, an artistic, but yet nonetheless scientific perspective on the art. Furthermore, as Jarl points out, the roots of this approach lie in Underslös Museum's founder: Fred Gudnitz.

Gerhard, over the years, has sought to foster a greater awareness of the contribution of Underslös Museum's founder, who, as Jarl once again says, saw the potential of the materials in a wider, artistic context and was influenced by a number of other free - and lateral - thinking colleagues. Therefore, in this, the 40th year since Fred drew up the deed leaving charging Gerhard to continue his work "in my spirit"; and as we gather to celebrate Gerhard's achievements; it is most appropriate that we delve deeper into the role of the artistic perspective on the prehistoric imagery.

In this article, we explore the role that art and artists have had in the history in the discipline, in particular, the history of Underslös Museum and The Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art. In particular, we focus on the links of Gudnitz with the artistic world; in both fine art and academia; as well as how those viewing prehistoric images from the perspective of, or interest in, art, are a significant research group. Art seems to have the quality of bringing people together around the art, irrespective of the fact that the detail of their views may differ very widely. Whilst it would be easy to pigeon-hole the trend as part of the wider phenomena of art versus religion, this is not sufficient to explain the phenomenon. The artistic perspective on art can, and does, cut across both fields. Those with an artistic perspective are not art historians, moreover, they are better characterised a group that share a common interest and appreciation for the art, that forms a common start and entry point to the material.

Many of the people who are and have been involved in prehistoric art have a background in art. The very first time I met one of my colleagues, I was asked: "Can one have an interest in art and study archaeology? Or are the two incompatible... and is it frowned upon?". As Nordbladh (this volume) pointed out earlier, viewing the art from an artistic perspective was indeed frowned upon for some considerable time, especially during the 18th and 19th centuries. The answer then, as now, is the same: artistic perspectives are very valid and can be traced throughout the history and current position of research into prehistoric art. The relationships between art, artists and Underslös Museum are a case in point. This article explores some of these relationships. Here, in new research specifically undertaken for this volume, we explore the links with, and in between, in particular, Fred Gudnitz, P.V. Glob, Asger Jorn and Gutorm Gjessing - all prominent figures in their respective fields.

Before investigating the relationships between art, artists and Underslös, we should define what we mean when we talk about an approach to prehistoric art from an artistic perspective. Some of the best words used to explain the "phenomenon" come from Gerhard, who we will use as a vehicle for the furtherance of our understanding and the basis to delve deeper into the past.

Art, artists & prehistoric art: past & the present

A number of the people who work with prehistoric art today have an interest, one way or another, in art. In the case of the author, this is a unifying factor that defines many of the closest research collaborations my colleagues and I have been, and still are, engaged in. Art and an interest in art forms common ground, a starting point for people's approach to the material, that draws people together: forming a pretext for the opening up of dialogue: "which is essential, as nobody knows the answers to the many questions presented to us in the field" (Milstreu 2011: 118). Thus, art can be a major force that binds together many of the scholars within the discipline. This approach to the material is not "art for art's sake" and is just as scholarly and scientific as any other approaches to the discipline.

Gerhard and the artistic perspective on prehistoric art



FIGURE 1. "THE MOST BEAUTIFUL SHIP ON BORNHOLM"
CITAT GERHARD MILSTREU, AUGUST 2014. BROGÅRD
1, NORTH WEST BORNHOLM. PAINTED ILLUSTRATION:
KAUL/MILSTREU 2001

Perhaps the best descriptions of the role of art and artists come from Gerhard himself

"What connects / attracts artists to the rock art is the distillation of key elements and key lines to the most basic form. Thereby making very powerful images / symbols. The simplest things, the simplest lines: they are the most powerful. When things are reduced to their most basic form, they become very powerful - and the same can be said of the images. If we look at the naturalistic figures, we can see the sense of line, conveying a lot within just a few small strokes. If one looks at the work of Mogens Hoff (1934-2008: self-taught Danish painter, graphic artist and author) one can see how the artist is distilling things down to the key elements."

(pers. comm., 4 February 2018, author's translation)

Interestingly, Gerhard does not describe himself as educated in art, although the author does hold the opinion that his artistic training has facilitated the creation of what Nordbladh (*this volume*) terms: "the new constellation, where art and archaeology were seen together, as a joined force to strengthen the knowledge of the prehistoric image". Gerhard studied Visual Arts at The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts and has a keen eye for presentation: be it the painting of a window of the museum, an exhibition, or created a painted illustration of "the most beautiful ship on Bornholm" - at Brogård.

When instructing the author about how to paint the very weathered lines of a weathered ship found on the upper surface of Madseløkke 1, North West Bornholm, Denmark, Gerhard talked about the importance that was probably attached in prehistory to skill in the execution of the images (Milstreu pers. comm., 16 June 2014). When making the painted interpretation, one should try to find areas where original surface is preserved (remaining from the time of carving), hereby to observe the points of minimum thickness. These can then be used to inform one's painted interpretation, illustrating how the carving may have originally looked.

“Out of respect for the original artist, it is important to show respect for the skill shown in the execution of the figures. At the same time, one can say that from the way that, at least some of the figures, are have been depicted, this indicates that the execution of the image was quite important – in some cases essential”
(Milstreu pers. comm., 16 June 2014).

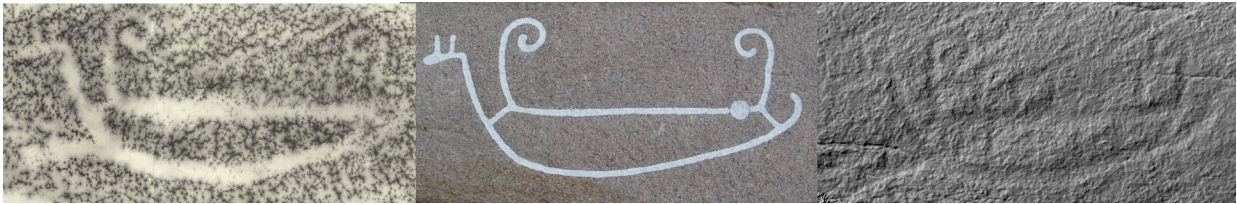


FIGURE 2. SHIP ON AN UPPER, SLOPING SURFACE OF BMR 3363 MADSELØKKE 1, NORTH WEST BORNHOLM. LEFT TO RIGHT: FROTTAGE (MILSTREU 2014), PAINTED ILLUSTRATION (MILSTREU & DODD 2014). SFM (J. DODD, AARHUS UNIVERSITY IN COLLABORATION WITH BORNHOLMS MUSEUM. PROCESSED ON THE NATIONAL DANISH E-INFRASTRUCTURE COLLABORATION’S HIGH PERFORMANCE COMPUTER, ABACUS 2.0)

The importance of execution in the past is closely linked to the previous quotation concerning their sense of line and the conveyance of a lot of information in a very few strokes. Gerhard continues:

“Art gives you a sense of the aesthetic. You see that you (referring to the author) have a sense of observing things in the sketches, pictures and things you put up; that you have a sense of the aesthetic; to look at things - and are good at breaking the billedsprog down and reading the constituents. Flemming (Kaul) also is someone who is really good at reading the images and breaking them down to their constituents in order to see what they are comprised of.

When we look at the rock art: whilst there were clearly those who had the skills to execute the images correctly and in the most beautiful manner, there were clearly those who did not! There was also, to an extent, a practice of copying what one had seen and reproducing it locally. Where we see it does not look as nice, it is because they don’t have the skills. You can see this in the figures that are not executed with the same level of skill.”

(Milstreu pers. comm., 4 February 2018)

“...There were clearly some people who possessed knowledge; about the images and the certain way that they should be depicted...The variations in executions may suggest that one group, with the knowledge of how to produce the art produced the most finely executed examples. However, others, what we might call people on the “ordinary” level of knowledge, did not have that knowledge.

They had a very codified way of communication things in a certain way. They probably became very good at reproducing these images as they portrayed them over and over and over again. Whatever you represent, if you learn to be good at it, it becomes easier and easier to draw it - and with fewer and fewer lines and mistakes.”

(Milstreu pers. comm., 4 February 2018, author’s translation)

Therefore, as the author responded at the time, this means that we can use these constructions to think very deeply about the creation of the images, their content, how this emphasis on execution came about, as well as about the transmission of visual culture. All these issues are connected to the wider questions of who produced rock art, style, as well as the creation and transformation of style. Using the perspective of the artist, in respect of the sense of line, Gerhard provides a very helpful lens which we can use to think about what style is and how it is formed. The incompleteness of the knowledge of the creator may have led conceivably to errors in the copying, or reproduction as we might otherwise call it. In turn, in subsequent periods of time, where there is no direct possibility for the transmission of the meaning of the images,

beyond oral history, it is not inconceivable that many more errors crept in during the reproduction process. The new images, were of course, just like ourselves in the present, conditioned by their socio-cultural and political circumstances. Thus, one can see how symbols, bearing similarity with those in the past, are reused, and imbued with new meanings – but yet still reflect their ancestry. In conclusion, we can say that by thinking, as an artist, about how one creates the images, we can gain interesting insights into the *billedspog*, (best translated as imagery or visual language) in order to support our understanding of how the imagery changes over time, but yet reflects its past references

Art, archaeology and rock art in the present

Another graduate of Royal Danish Academy of Art, is amateur archaeologist Martin Stoltze, whose investigations have led to the discovery of a large amount of the figurative art in North Bornholm. Both Martin and Gerhard share a keen eye for visual design and collaborated over many years during the Bornholm components of the major EU funded RANE (Rock Art in Northern Europe) project. Besides the many finds, Martin has authored chapters and produced the visual layout for Kaul et al. (2005a). Martin, by his own admission, does not always stick to the what might be the optimal angle and intensity most favourable light for an archaeological illustration, but often chose a more artistic rendering, accentuating shadows and using multiple lighting directions to create image collages of night photographs. Taking night photographs at the right time at night of the night in the crossover between the afterglow and full night can produce aesthetically pleasing results showing the figures in clearer detail within their landscape setting.

Gerhard continues to collaborate and include artists in discourse. These have included Steffan Henrik, who has produced a number of installations and sculptures for Underslös Museum. These have often been in the form of installations created by burning material at night shaped or formed to resemble images found in rock art. These have included; a burning hand in the form of the portable stones found in a cult house, at Sandagergård, on Sjælland; a ship; and a sun-horse burning on a metal scaffold (see Henrik's chapter in Milstreu & Prøhl 2004 and the report on the 60th Anniversary celebrations at Underslös in Adoranten 2012). Several artists contributed to the edited volume *Prehistoric Pictures as Archaeological Source* (Milstreu and Prøhl 2004), which was the product of an interdisciplinary seminar, held at Tanums Hällristningsmuseum Underslös, in 2002 to celebrate 50 years of the museum, that sought to assert the importance of the prehistoric image and integrate it more closely within archaeological research. Gerhard invited artists to contribute, in order that they might bring some new insights, on the semiotic level, from their various fields, concerning the symbols themselves and how one might go about deconstructing the images and combinations of images from differing perspectives (pers. comm., Milstreu 2 February 2018).



FIGURE 3. BLÅHOLTSHUSE 1, NORTH WEST BORNHOLM, AT DUSK. J. DODD, BORNHOLMS MUSEUM, 2014.

One of those who thinks deepest about the images, their basic meanings on a fundamental level, and the ways that we have shaped and been shaped by our interpretations of the art, is Jarl Nordbladh. As my co-editor has said on a number of occasions, Jarl “holds up a mirror to us” forcing us to first reflect on the biases our own culture imposes, and then, think once again about the images, often on the most fundamental level. Although there are many examples of this approach amongst his prolific publication record, one only need refer to his contribution here to see the depth of his thinking. Jarl places great emphasis on analysis of the symbols as of themselves. In his contribution here, Jarl refers to his doctoral thesis, that looked at the attributes assigned to the main symbols in order to give additional meaning and explanation. One could also describe this as syntax as known within the study of language and that of computer science. Given the recent and ongoing developments in computing, particularly High Performance Computing, to such issues, the author contends that this is one avenue of investigation that is likely to increase in the coming years and decades.

From the present to history and prehistory

The study of prehistoric art from the perspective of art, and by artists, appears to be an important common element in the backgrounds of a number of present-day Scandinavian rock art researchers: with a common interest in art being a factor that has been the source of, perhaps indirect, inspiration for some. In any case, it appears to bind a number of researchers together. This perspective has much insight to offer us into the images left by past societies. The execution of the figures could be linked to what artists call the sense of line. In turn, this leads us to think about style, how it is formed, transformed and communicated. Gerhard’s thoughts vocalize this is a way that is both clear and neutral and allow us think very deeply about the material.

Having established this as our theoretical background, in the remainder of the article, the author wishes to shift focus onto the history of research, for we can also see in the past that an artistic approach to prehistoric art is a key structuring concept. The vehicle for this exploration centres around Underlsös, the network of its founder Fred Gudnitz, and his associations of contemporary artists and artistic inspired archaeologists.

Fredrik Leth Gudnitz: a Danish “vehicle of culture” in Bohuslän

The author will not repeat details found elsewhere of the life and activities of Fred Gudnitz. For perhaps the best and most complete, see the articles in *Adoranten* 2001, 2004 and 2011 by Lili Kaelas, former director of Göteborgs Museum, and Gerhard (2001; 2011).

Until the 1980’s. much of the documentation of was of individual figures., not whole surfaces. This strategy of collecting images of different categories of figures, was something instigated by Gudnitz. This formed the basis of the archive that Gudnitz built up: *Bohusläns Hallristnings Forsknings Arkiv*. BHFA grew under Gerhard’s leadership to become the core of the similarly named (at Gerhard’s suggestion with a probable nod of recognition to Gudnitz), *Svenskt Hällristnings Forsknings Arkiv*, (SHFA), at that establishment’s foundation in 2007. One of the things that was unusual, if not unique, in the context of the BHFA archive, was not only the collation of material thematically according to the kind of symbol, but also the collation of material to contextualise the material. This was curated from all possible sources and fields, from all over the world, from publications, newspaper articles and correspondence with and between his wide network. Of all the material, one has to praise the integration of anthropology with the archaeology. In this, Gudnitz was far sighted, predating by around 20 years the more widespread integration of anthropology, following the influential work of Peter Ucko (1936-2007).

Gudnitz also produced illustrations, in the form of sketches, drawings, such as Figure 2, as accompaniments to some of the photographs. All was catalogued in a systematic way using an index card system that recorded the source, location and chronology. This created a very powerful system, whereby one could look thematically on the level of the imagery, but also in a chronological way, across space. As a consequence of technological developments and the ability (and desire) to process and visualize large datasets, the image itself has once again become the focus of study for a number of scholars (Bertilsson 2015; Milstreu 2015; 2017b; 2017a; Horn, this volume). Much of this can be attributed to renewed focus on details and the development of our competencies in recognizing information on the rock surface: that have enhanced our capacity for observation. In this work, a cross cultural and temporal overview is essential, coupled closely with the ability to think laterally and deeply on a symbolic level.

Gudnitz saw two things as very important (Bruun Jørgensen and Schou Jørgensen 1972; Kaelas 2011; Milstreu 2011); firstly, the integration of prehistoric art within archaeological discourse, secondly, communication and presentation of this remarkable collection of images to the wider public at large. To realize these ambitions, Gudnitz placed emphasis on contacts with leading archaeologists (which we will discuss in following sections) but also gave talks, guided tours, hosted groups and worked with them on the rocks, mounted exhibitions, delivered lectures and authored newspaper articles. As an artist, he maintained contact and fostered crossover between the worlds of archaeology and art.

Gudnitz's connections with other artists

Gudnitz “saw the visual qualities of the rock carvings and came to inspire – mostly – Danish people of culture to have a close relation to this image world” (Nordbladh 2015: 7) Some of these people are shown in Figure 6. Harald Sverdrup (1923-1992), was a well-known and praised Norwegian author of children’s poetry. Another Norwegian, the sculptor Knut Steen (1924-2011), best known for his work *Whalers Monument* (1960), at Sandefjord, in Southern Norway; and for his controversial statue of King Olaf V, was also part of Gudnitz’s circle. In Figure 6, we see the bust and medal he produced for Gudnitz. Steen is also a signatory to the poem, illustrated by Thorstein Rittun (2009; *Store norske leksikon*. Accessed 26 June 2018: https://snl.no/Thorstein_Rittun)

The bare bones of the concept that Gerhard presides over today at Underslös have clear roots in the approach of Gudnitz. Whilst Gerhard and Gudnitz did differ in opinion, particularly later in Fred’s life, the bare bones of: the concept operating today at Underslös with: the Arbetsseminar, the emphasis placed on the importance of the integration of the pictures within archaeological discourse, an emphasis on an artistic approach to the imagery, and a focus on presentation, communication and dissemination (see Nielsen: *this volume*); can already be seen in Fred’s work. In the view of the author, despite differences in opinion, it was these focus points that made something ‘click’ between the two; in the sense that both realized the common ground between each other and the potential for collaboration. Gerhard has continued and developed Fred’s work, placing it on ever higher scientific levels and always seeking new audiences for the appreciation of the art.

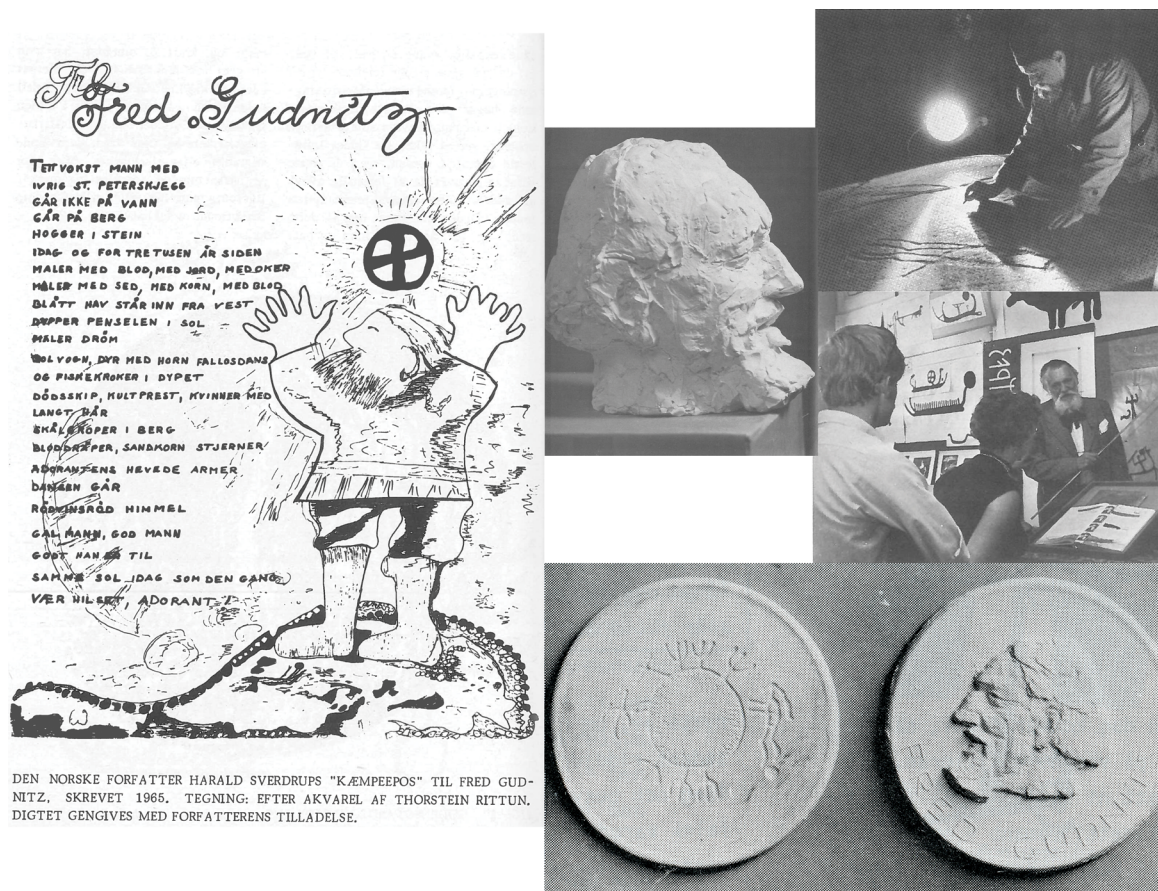
The key linking concept between all these factors is art and the artists involved in the work. In the following sections, we will see that this is not confined to the art world. Moreover, artists, art and archaeology are closely connected, closely overlapping and interacting with one another. Reconsideration of these relationships allow us to reflect on how this approach can advance our understanding of the prehistoric image.



FIGURE 4. GUDNITZ'S COLLECTION OF IMAGES IN BOXES IN THE ARCHIVE AT UNDERSLÖS. IMAGE: J. DODD
© TANUMS HÄLLRISTNINGSMUSEUM, UNDERSLÖS.



FIGURE 5. SELECTION OF MATERIAL IN THE GUDNITZ ARCHIVE COLLECTED ON THE THEME OF CUP-MARKS. WE SEE: A SYSTEMATIZED INDEX CARD SYSTEM, REFERENCES TO ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOURCES, SUPPLEMENTED WITH REFERENCES TO SOURCE MATERIAL AND AN INK DRAWING, BY GUDNITZ, OF THE PHOTO OF THE STONE IN HUDSON BAY, CANADA, SEEN ON THE INDEX CARD TO THE LEFT. COLLAGE: J. DODD. ARCHIVE MATERIAL © TANUMS HÄLLRISTNINGSMUSEUM, UNDERSLÖS.



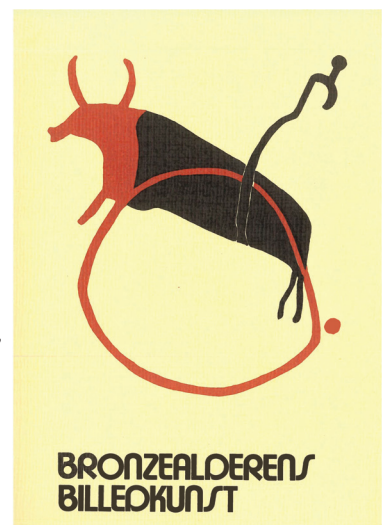
DEN NORSKE FORFATTER HARALD SVERDRUPS "KÆMPEPOES" TIL FRED GUDNITZ. SKREVET 1965. TEGNING: EFTER AKVAREL AF THORSTEIN RITTUN. DIGTET GENGIVES MED FORFATTERENS TILLADELSE.

FIGURE 6. FRED GUDNITZ. CLOCKWISE, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT; POEM BY NORWEGIAN HARALD SVERDRUP, ILLUSTRATED WITH AN AQUARELLE BY THORSTEIN RITTUN. THE ORIGINAL, IN COLOUR, IS SIGNED BY MANY PROMINENT ARTISTS, INCLUDING PROMINENT NORWEGIAN SCULPTOR AND ARTIST KNUT STEEN, WHO PRODUCED A BUST OF GUDNITZ, IN 1971, SHOWN TO THE RIGHT; UPPER RIGHT AND UPPER RIGHT, LOWER, GUDNITZ IS SEEN ON TANUM 1: 1, VITLYCKE AND SHOWING GUESTS AROUND THE EXHIBITION AT UNDERSLÖS (ILLUSTRATIONS AND PHOTOS AFTER BRUUN JØRGENSEN AND SCHOU JØRGENSEN 1972: 24; 28; 27). THE 'GUDNITZ MEDAL', LOWER RIGHT, WAS MINTED BY KNUT STEEN AND FEATURES THE SUN AND ADORANTS AND OTHER ANTHROPOMOPH FIGURES, WITH PONY TAIL HAIR STYLE, FROM TANUM 12, AT ASPEBERGET (FROM ADORANTEN 1978). COLLAGE: J. DODD.

FIGURE 7. THE COVER PRODUCED BY GUDNITZ FOR BRUUN JØRGENSEN AND SCHOU JØRGENSEN (1972), WHICH ACCOMPANIED THE 'FIRST AND LAST' EXHIBITION OF THE WORK OF FRED GUDNITZ AND GRAPHIC MATERIAL FROM THE BHFA COLLECTION AT UNDERSLÖS MUSEUM, HELD AT ANNEBERGSAMLINGERNE, HOLBÆK, DENMARK

Gudnitz & Glob

One of the most well-known Danish archaeologists of all time, P.V. Glob, is a key person in the relationship between art, artists, Underslös and prehistoric art. In 1962, Gudnitz dedicated his book *Bronzealderens Monumentalkunst*, (The Monumental Art of the Bronze Age: *authors' translation*) to Glob. One of the things that Gudnitz states, is that he takes the images themselves as his starting point for the work, placing them centre stage, with accompanying text from historical record and the writings of the most influential scholars at the time, in order to tell the story of not only the images, but also the history of different documentations over centuries.



It is not known with certainty, at present, when and how Glob and Gudnitz became acquainted with each other. However, by the time that Gerhard first visited Underslös, in 1965, Glob and Gudnitz were already well acquainted in and in collaboration. In fact, the author understands Glob was present at the time of Gerhard's visit (pers. comm., 2 February 2018) together with his sister, who was also an artist. This was neither the first, nor or the last visit of Glob and his sister, as far as can be understood from Gerhard's impression of what was communicated to him by Gudnitz.

Although the author is not aware that they ever attended simultaneously, both Gudnitz and Glob attended the Valcamonica Symposiums at various time, in Northern Italy (refer front cover of the conference proceedings from 1968 reproduced in Kaelas 2001)

Glob & art

Art is something that ran in the Glob family, with his father having been an artist, educated at The Royal Danish Academy of Art (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 12). Glob's sister was also an artist. Glob himself was also an artist, albeit never professionally educated, and drew heavily on art to inform his approach to and perspective on archaeology (Nordbladh 2015: 7). Glob cultivated his relationships with artists, drawing a lot of inspiration in the process (ibid). The evidence for this is manifest in Glob's connections with artists and the art world. Perhaps Glob, in another life, would have liked to have been an artist and follow in the steps of his father. Even though his career took a different direction, perhaps, by maintaining his links with artists, Glob was able to maintain that contact with his interest. We will never know for certain, but what we can say, is that Glob took an artistic approach from art to the rock art and prehistoric art more generally.

Glob's (1969) work concerning the overview of the rock carvings known in Denmark remains seminal and still stands as the largest work in the public domain amounting to a catalogue of rock carvings in Denmark. Only the projects: *Ships on Stone*, executed by Milstreu & Kaul, at the National Museum of Denmark, and online at shfa.se (click on the Danish flag!); and the large-scale documentation of rock art being carried out on Bornholm by the author; approach the scale of Glob's attempt to provide an overview of the Danish material. Glob's network was also considerable and international – not only in rock art. Therefore, those connected to Glob are also connected to a much wider network, within which we can think about ideas and thoughts flowing within and between the various persona.

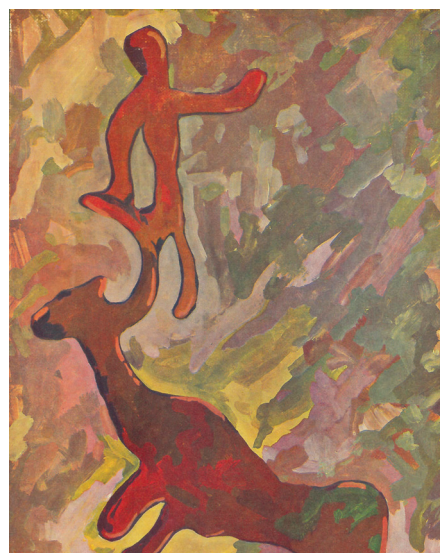


FIGURE 8. COVER ILLUSTRATION, BRONCEALDERENS MONUMENTALKUNST. FROM A PAINTING BY GUDNITZ (1962).



FIGURE 9. PRINT MADE BY GLOB CONSISTING OF A COLLAGE OF FIGURES DRAWN FROM SCANDINAVIAN ROCK ART. (SCREENSHOT FROM RANE'S MUSEUM, DANMARKS RADIO, EPISODE 6. URL: [HTTPS://WWW.DR.DK/TV/SE/RANES-MUSEUM-UDVIKLING/RANES-MUSEUM/RANES-MUSEUM-6-6](https://www.dr.dk/tv/se/ranes-museum-udvikling/ranes-museum/ranes-museum-6-6))

When it comes to the art world, perhaps the most significant connection and source of Glob's inspiration was his contact with and collaboration (until they fell out) one of Denmark's most well-known artists: Asger Jorn (1914-1973). I leave fuller explanations of Jorn's life to the more competent hands of others, especially Teresa Østergaard Pedersen, who examined Jorn and the project *10,000 Years of Danish Folk Art* (2015) and the seminal biography of Jorn by Troels Andersen (2011). Therefore, here I will focus on only the most salient points to our discussion here: key personae and prehistoric art.

Glob & Jorn

Glob & Jorn met very early in their careers, at an exhibition where they were both exhibiting (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 12). In their conversation, they found they shared much in common, concerning their interest in the roots of Nordic expression and aesthetic and the role that it had played in shaping modern Scandinavian painting. Both also often discussed archaeology, which was of mutual interest (ibid: 13).

Collaboration, with regard to writing, deepened during The Second World War, when they collaborated during the production and authorship of material for the underground newspaper *Helhesten* (1941-1944), which provided a forum for abstract art and its concepts to be discussed. Abstract art was classified by Nazi Germany as "degenerate art", due to its Jewish connections, particularly Jewish artists. The paper was by limited subscription and distributed in secret. Jorn was the one who brought Glob into the production of the paper, and for a short time, in 1941, Glob presided as editor (ibid: 13-15). Secret newspapers and pamphlets were of course banned, and possession would have had the most serious consequences, especially onward from 1943, when the Germans took control of police and security in Denmark. Across the occupied countries under German control, the death penalty was usually given, following SD & Gestapo directives, to producers, printers and distributors of secret printed material. Under such circumstances, one can appreciate how Glob and Jorn became friends with one another, as Østergaard Pedersen states (ibid: 18).

Whilst the author agrees with received opinion that the archaeologists derived more inspiration from Jorn than the reverse (Nordbladh 2015: 7; Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 19), it nonetheless appears that Jorn did derive a fair degree of inspiration from his archaeological collaborators. According to a letter written to one of the giants of Norwegian rock art studies, Gutorm Gjessing, Jorn derived inspiration from Glob's article *Kurve og Keramik* (1941). Jorn describes the article in *Helhesten* as an early inspiration for the concepts he would go onto develop in his own later writing in the 50s and 60's, concerning comparative perspectives/comparative visual analysis (*synsmåde* in Danish) and his theories concerning morphology and changes in shape (ibid: 15).

What is most interesting here, is that Jorn, like Gudnitz, also chose to focus his study on ways of looking at the images; what one could more succinctly refer to as the semiotics of the images. Semiotics is "the science of communication studied through the interpretation of signs and symbols as they operate in various fields" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In the context of rock art studies, this involves deconstructing the imagery into its constituent parts to create, and subsequently analyse, attributes on a deep symbolic and cross-cultural level. Closely related to our understanding of the semiotics are the two concepts are those of syntax and attribute. Translated to the field of prehistoric art: syntax can be seen as the order and arrangement of the figures; and attribute "the qualities ascribed" (ibid) to those figures.

On this fundamental level, Glob, Jorn and Gudnitz all share a common approach to the material. This is the breaking down of the lines and signs that Gerhard and Jarl, respectively, refer to. One can argue who inspired who, and who influenced who, but this is perhaps to miss the point somewhat; it is their shared interest in the art and the approach to prehistoric art from their backgrounds as artists that is the common denominator. Artists are used to creating images or objects comprised of various visual elements – and constructing plays on them. Conversely, this ability often gives artists a more heightened sense of how to

break down the images of others: be they contemporary, historic or prehistoric. As Jarl, says, we cannot not read the signs as a language, but we can read the order and composition of the symbols and draw logical associations within and between them. Understanding of the artistic approach to prehistoric art also functions on a more practical level; it helps us to understand past networks of researchers and trace developments in the research history.

Glob, Jorn, Gjessing & 10,000 års nordiske folkekunst

Inspired by Glob, Jorn began, in 1948-49, to work on a volume that would examine prehistoric art, co-authored with Glob: *Old Dansk Kunst (Old Danish Art)*. Neither this work, or the parts of *10,000 års Nordisk folkekunst / 10,000 Years of Nordic Folk Art*, that it was later planned to include the material within, were ever published. The cover prepared for *Old Dansk Kunst* by Jorn and The National Museum's photographer at that time places the well-known Bronze Age plastic figurines from Fårdal and Grevensvænge, centre stage. (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 19-20; Figure 9, this volume)

Details of the draft manuscript, and accompanying material, for *Old Dansk Kunst* leads Pedersen (2015: 22-23) to suggest that here, we find the blueprint for much of what was later expounded in the books: *Guldhorn og Lykkehjul* (1957) and *Signes Gravés* (1964). *Old Dansk Kunst* aimed to move towards an approach more focused on an artistic perspective on the art, rather than religion, and took as a starting point that, the figurative images at least, represented aspects of everyday life (Andersen 2011: 376; Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 75-76; 22). The approach of Glob and Jorn was perhaps a reaction against the attitude prevailing at that time; that the images from the Stone and Bronze Age; i.e. the rock art, objects and figurines;

“were not art and that artists first appear in Denmark during The Roman Iron Age” (0-400 AD) (Pedersen 2015: 20). This quote came from no less than the archaeologist and Museum Inspector at The National Museum of Denmark, H.C. Broholm, whose four volume treatise of archaeological illustrations of Bronze Age objects (Broholm 1943) still remains a reference work used by many archaeologists in the present

Whilst much Jorn scholarship and publication has focused on shedding light the Iron Age and Early Medieval aspects (Østergaard Pedersen 2015; Magnus et al. 2006b; Magnus et al. 2006a), comparatively less discussion has taken place concerning the prehistoric components of *10,000 års Nordisk folkekunst*. It is very interesting to consider the details of the titles for the prehistoric volumes, known from correspondence and the content of some of the material collated for *10,000 års Nordisk folkekunst* held in the Jorn Archive at Museum Jorn, Silkeborg. Here, the plan written by Jorn, with annotations, has been translated very literally by the author (difficult due to extensive use of the genitive).



FIGURE 10. COVER PREPARED FOR OLD DANSK KUNST. ASGER JORN & LENNART LARSEN. JORN ARCHIVE, MUSEUM JORN.

CREDIT: ASGER JORN:

© DONATION JORN, SILKEBORG/ VISDA .

Danish	English
<i>Oldtiden. Otte bind</i>	<i>Prehistory. 8 volumes</i>
1. Jægerkunsten. <i>Den ældre stenalders billedverden i Norden</i> . Prof. Dr. Anders Hagen, Bergen .	1. Hunter's art. <i>The Pictorial World of The Early Stone Age in the Nordic Countries</i> . Prof. Anders Hagen, Bergen.
2. Bondekunsten. <i>Den yngre stenalders dysser, stenredskaber, ravsmykker og keramik</i> .	2. Farmer's Art: <i>Dolmens, Stone Tools, Amber Jewelry and Pottery of The Early Stone Age</i>
3. Bronzealderens billedverden. Prof. Dr. P.V. Glob, København.	3. The Pictorial World of The Bronze Age. Prof. Dr. P.V. Glob, Copenhagen.
4. Keltisk og romersk jernalderkunst og irsk kunst fra Vikingetiden. <i>Udenlandsk import</i> .	4. Celtic and Roman Iron Age Art and Irish Art from the Viking Period. <i>Foreign imports</i> .
5. Oldtidens guld . Prof. Dr. Holger Arbmann, Lund.	5. Prehistoric Gold. Prof. Dr. Holger Arbmann, Lund.
6. Jernalderens sølv- og bronzekunst.	6. The Iron Age's silver and bronze art
7. Stenens og benenes billeder i jernalderen. <i>Gotlandssten, runesten etc .</i>	7. Images on stone and of the devil in the Iron Age. <i>The Gotland stone, rune stones, etc .</i>
8. Trækunsten og det hellige skib i oldtiden . <i>Centralemnet. De norske vikingeskibe .</i>	8. The art on wood art and the holy ship in prehistory. <i>Central element. The Norwegian Viking ships.</i>

TABLE 1. TITLES OF VOLUMES PLANNED FOR THE PREHISTORIC SECTIONS OF *10.000 ÅRS NORDISK FOLKEKUNST*, WITH ANNOTATIONS BY JORN IN JORN ARCHIVE, MUSEUM JORN (ØSTERGAARD PEDERSEN 2015: 36; ANDERSEN 2011: 376)

Although the author has not had sight of the material prepared for the works, and thus a full examination must wait for the future, there are two things that already really stand out. Firstly, it is very clear from Østergaard Petersen's account that work on *Old Dansk Kunst* was quite advanced, with a considerable amount of visual material amassed and a draft manuscript in existence. Secondly, the author wishes to suggest that it seems rather unlikely to be a coincidence that the title of the volume in *10.000 års Nordisk folkekunst* concerning Bronze Age art: *Bronzealderens Billedverden* – The Pictorial World of The Bronze Age (*author's translation*), forms title of the principal of analysis and discussion in Glob's seminal work *Helleristninger I Danmark* (1969). Further research is needed here, in particular, a comparison between the material prepared in collaboration during Jorn's projects, and the content and images shown in the discussion within Glob (1969). It should not surprise us that one project benefitted the other. In Glob's forward (*ibid*: 8), we are informed that the programme of documentation, study and the collection of visual material took place 1945-1955. Glob's work thus ran in parallel with his collaborations with Jorn concerning the preparation of the volumes under discussion here.

One can see in Table 1 that Glob was not the only respected rock art researcher and leading archaeologist from the Nordic countries contributing to *10.000 års Nordisk folkekunst*. Anders Hagen, was pre-eminent in the field of Stone Age research at the University of Bergen. Until the publication of Mandt and Lødøen (2010), Hagen (1990) was later the author of the standard reference work on the rock art of Norway. Hagen had also, prior to the commencement of Jorn's *Nordisk folkekunst* project, worked extensively during the 1950's on the discovery, documentation and publication of one of Norway's largest Mesolithic rock art sites: Ausevik, near Florø, Western Norway (Lødøen 2014).

One of the editors of *10,000 års Nordisk folkekunst*, was one of the most influential rock art scholars of the last century: Gutorm Gjessing (1906-1979). He, together with Gustav Hällstrom, are the two people who defined, more than any other, understanding of Northern Tradition rock art (the imagery produced by hunter-fisher gatherers) during the last century. As several colleagues have independently observed over the years, Gjessing's tracings remain, in many cases, the main, or only, source of documentation at several of the most well-known panels from The Northern Tradition in Norway. Gjessing's writings are described by Sognnes as having achieved "paradigmatic" status (Sognnes 2010: 263) and have only relatively recently (the last 30 years) been revised or countered; the importance hunting magic as an explanation for the meaning behind the rock art; and his proposals for the stylistic sequence from naturalistic to abstract. Gjessing was reluctant to draw on land uplift following the ice age as a means of dating the art, but he nevertheless used it in combination with style. He also observed differences between locations of the

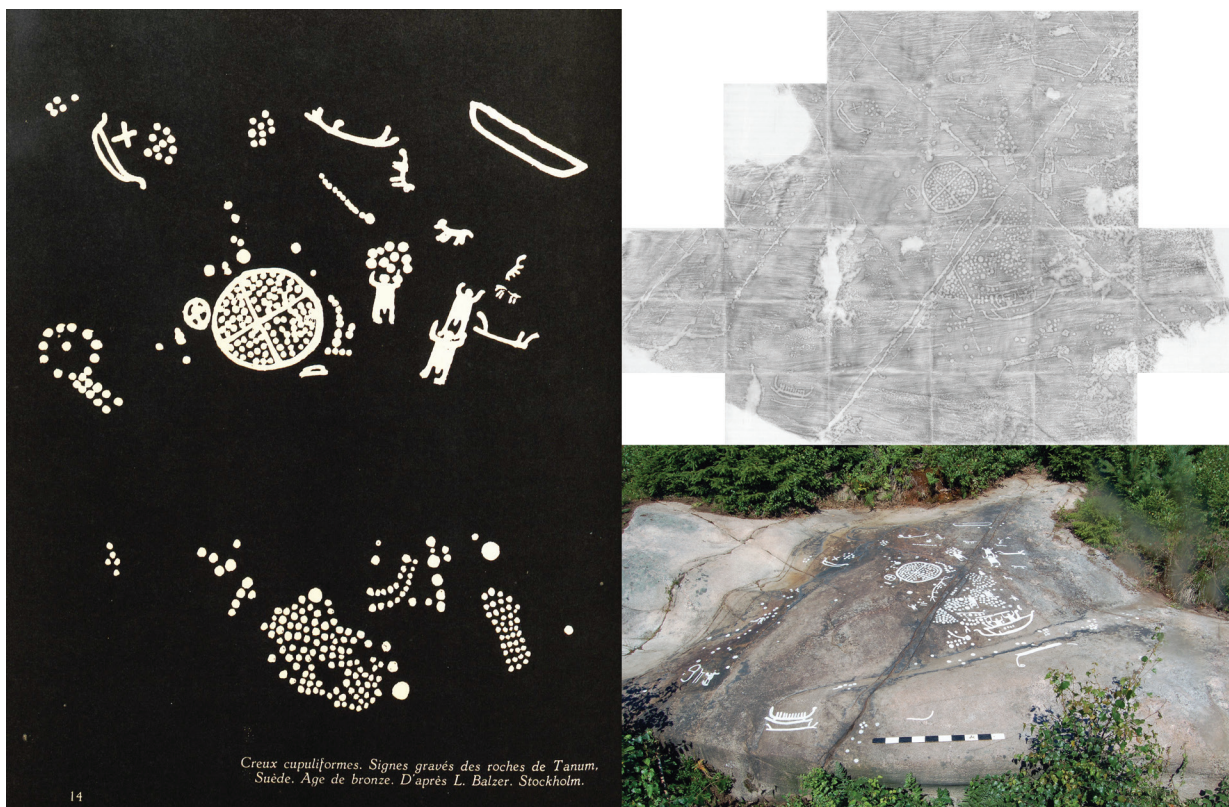


FIGURE 11. LEFT: COLLAGE BY JORN AFTER (BALTZER 1881-1890) OF TANUM 184:1 AND TANUM 14:1, BOTH IN TANUM, BOHUSLÄN, WESTERN SWEDEN, FOR *SIGNES GRAVÉS*. JORN HAS ADDED THE FIGURE FROM OF, WHAT IS ASSUMED FROM COMPARISON WITH CONTEMPORARY BRONZE OBJECTS, TO BE A DEPICTION OF A SOLAR SYMBOL ON A HANDLE FROM ANOTHER LOCALITY: TANUM 14:1, LOCATED SOME DISTANCE AWAY TO THE SOUTH EAST, AT ASPEBERGET. UPPER, RIGHT: FROTTAGE DOCUMENTATION OF TANUM 184:1. LOWER, RIGHT: PAINTED ILLUSTRATION OF TANUM 184:1, SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FIGURES AND TOPOGRAPHY. ILLUSTRATIONS RIGHT-HAND SIDE: TANUMS HÄLLRISTNINGSMUSEUM UNDERSLÖS & SHFA

art produced by fisher-gatherer and agricultural societies - that still remain valid, in the general sense, today; the Northern Tradition is more associated with fast flowing water and the sea, whilst the Southern Tradition is found nearer, relatively speaking, to areas more conducive to agriculture (ibid: 273).

Gjessing also contributed, like Glob, to the text of a chapter in Jorn's work *Signes gravés sur les églises de l'Eure et du Calvados*, that examined the vernacular art carved on the walls of Medieval churches in Normandy, Northern France. Gjessing approaches the material from ethnography, conducting a cross cultural look at the symbols found in Eure and Calvados, and contemplating the similar semiotics of representation: in Scandinavia, the megalithic art of Brittany, the Alpine rock art of Northern Italy. Gjessing's (1964: 35) interpretation of the images in Normandy, as symbols drawn from everyday life, can certainly be questioned, as most Medieval scholarship believes that many are associated with vernacular Christian and extra-Christian beliefs and ritual, including structured deposition of remains and objects in buildings, witches signs, together with vignettes from folk stories.

Arguably the remarkable exception to this is the subject of Glob's contribution in *Signes*; round bowl-shaped depressions. Here comparison is drawn with cup-marks. The cup-mark is "the smallest, most frequent, cosmopolitan and most complicated symbol" (Milstreu and Dodd in prep, 2019). Painted dots, whose depiction closely resembles that of cup-marks, are found in linear arrangements of lines and grids as far back as the Paleolithic (Hoffmann et al. 2018; Pearce and Bonneau 2018). With regard to Southern Tradition rock art from the Bronze, Stone and Iron Ages, cup-marks are the most frequent figure represented: probably around 80% (Nimura 2015). The commonality of this symbol does not imply connection or shared

meaning. Moreover, it is probably something that is probably both deep and fundamental when it comes to visual representation among humans. Jorn, in his introduction to *Signes* (Jorn and Franceschi 1964: 8) states how struck he was with the similarities between the depictions in the cider country of Normandy, the rock carvings in Scandinavia. Perusing the book and its contents, arrangements of cup-marks and other round marks dominate many of the scenes selected. These are presented alongside plates from the work of Baltzer, as well as illustration from other scholars, including Glob. As will be examined in the forthcoming work between the author and Gerhard, arrangements of lines (parallel and non-parallel), grids and circles of cup-marks around a cup-mark are key structuring elements concerning the representation and occurrence of cup-marks within Scandinavia. Gudnitz (1970), in the first issue of *Adoranten* also chose to focus, like Glob does in *Signes Gravés* on the universality of the cup-mark as a symbol across space and time. Therefore, given the contact between Glob, Gudnitz, Jorn and Gjessing, we can start to think about the concept of a broader milieu of archaeologists and artists all demonstrating using art to think laterally about the deeper patterns and possible meanings of signs and symbols.

Jorn and rock art

Although Jorn was acquainted with some archaeologists who were not rock art researchers, most notably Viggo Nielsen; (refer photo of Glob, Nielsen & Jorn on page 23 of Østergaard Pedersen 2015), who conducted important survey, mapping and excavation of Danish prehistoric field systems (Nielsen and Clemmensen 2000; 2010; 2015); we have seen, in the previous sections, that many of Jorn's archaeological collaborations 1948-1966 were with people who were prominent in the field of rock art research.

Jorn was struck by the images found in the rock (Jorn and Franceschi 1964: 8), and even though his work became more and more involved with the Middle Ages (Andersen 2011: 390), Jorn still maintained focus on it, probably due to the belief that Jorn held; that the roots of Nordic folk art were evident in prehistory (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 22-23). This is evident from the propensity he had to select illustrations used in for many of his writings. *Guldhorn og lykkehjul* (1957) and *Signes Gravés* (1964) abound with images drawn from Scandinavian rock carvings, forming key points of reference, both visually and texturally; for both Jorn as well as contributory authors.

Throughout, Jorn's visual layout and selection of images is dominated by the use of juxtaposition to present imagery drawn from differing contexts. At the time, there were those who criticized Jorns presentation of the material: cropping or zooming on details, a lot of shadow in the images almost obscuring detail, and an organisation on a symbolic/thematic level as opposed to the chronological norm expected by science at that time (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 75-77) .

When viewing many of the images, with the absence of any scale, the viewer is forced to focus on the form as the common element between the illustrations. When looking at some of the images, from *Signes Gravés*, as well as the posthumously published volumes from the *10.000 års project* (Magnus et al. 2006b; Magnus et al. 2006a), one recalls remarks made by the film director David Lean. When commenting about his motivation behind his passion for creating film, Lean said, in an interview recorded to accompany the restored director's cut produced in 1989 of *Lawrence of Arabia* (dir. Lean 1962): "I like framing things. The camera is like a frame - like a picture - and when one has a frame, the viewer is forced to focus solely on what is in that frame."

Jorn employs similar principles to Lean. As the viewer, you are disorientated in *Signes Gravés* and you are forced by the frame to focus on the carvings. Thus, the parallels are much clearer to the viewer than would be the case in a conventional archaeological photograph. Figures found in, for example, Normandy, are placed alongside strikingly similar symbols largely taken from Scandinavian rock art, (although other areas of the world are represented).

Despite the breakdown of relations between Glob and Jorn in 1966, that we will come to shortly, Jorn continued to collect material for *10.000 års Nordisk folkekunst*. For example, Andersen (2011: 390) presents a picture of Jorn in what appears to be (according to the author's observation) the garden of University Museum of Bergen, in Western Norway, brushing off a cup-marked rock. Another, more telling view, shows Jorn standing on the Bardal 1 panel. Whilst the panel is very well known, given Jorn's collaborations with Gjessing, the choice of this site for study is unlikely to have been coincidental. Bardal was crucial to Gjessing's understanding of Northern and Southern Tradition art (Gjessing 1935; 1936; Sognnes 2008). This very large panel is a palimpsest of carving activity and has, most unusually, multiple superimpositions of Southern Tradition carvings over Northern Tradition carvings. Whilst not iconoclasm, the figures are imposed in completely different arrangements (Sognnes 2008: 231). The motifs themselves are remarkable and resemble those from Østfold and Bohuslän – unusual within the context of Central Norway. It seems not inconceivable that such a visit might have been the product of discussions between Gjessing and Jorn, particularly given the potential for comparisons over great geographic space.

Jorn's involvement with rock art researchers, at least in publications, decreases after the point where Glob decided to go behind Jorn's back and attempted to take over *10.000 års Nordisk folkekunst*. Glob planned to create a volume, structure under more "academic" principles, in line with what many grant giving bodies and publishers had expressed a preference for, using the material Jorn and Franceschi had collected (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 66-72). Relations deteriorated further when Glob (1970) wrote a critical review of *Tegn og underlige gerninger* in Politiken. Due to space and to keep to the point, we will not dwell on the detail of this betrayal by Glob, other than to refer the reader to Østergaard Pedersen (2015) To sum up the relationship between Glob and Jorn, the author turns to the viewpoints communicated by Østergaard Pedersen; "Glob opened doors for Jorn that he would otherwise not have been able to open" and "legitimized" Jorn's work within wider academic circles; in return Glob derived a lot of inspiration and could connect his work to Jorn and the art world (Østergaard Pedersen pers. comm., 2017).

There were fundamental differences of opinion between the scientific world and Jorn. Academics felt Jorn's presentation of the material was too artistic and neglected chronological structure (Østergaard Pedersen 2015: 68-72). Before the fallout, Glob (1965) defended Jorn's position to The National Museum of Denmark, emphasizing that Jorn had placed the images freely after purely artistic considerations, thematically, and that thematic groupings, created by Jorn, were necessary. Nevertheless, it is important to remain mindful that Jorn did have his own views. To continue with Østergaard Pedersen (pers. comm., 2017) communication: "Jorn's approach was very different and he felt he had a privileged position, as an artist, to re-find an image-based and generative understanding of visual language".

Reflecting on events, all this has to be seen against the background of an archaeology largely dominated by a focus on economic and quantitative methods comprising the processualist approaches and New Archaeology that is emerging between the early 1950s early 70's - at the same time Jorn was writing. The attitudes of the time are humourously encompassed in the much later later critique by Madsen (1988: 15):

"The joy of being able to state the unrefutable fact that a flint axe is 21.6 cm long, give or take half a millimetre, is surpassed only by the joy of being able to state that the exact mean length of say 200 axes is 19.6781 cm. The exactness of the statements however, does not add to the amount of information gained on prehistoric societies."

Given the above, it is not surprising at all that, any approaches involving lateral, thematic thinking, removed from space and time, i.e. thematic analysis of aspects of prehistoric imagery, not only by Jorn, received a cool reception from contemporaries.

This is where most accounts would normally end. However, this is not the end of our story of art, artists and Underlsös Museum.

Gudnitz & Jorn

The Jorn archive, at Museum Jorn, Silkeborg, holds hitherto unknown, unpublished correspondence between Gudnitz and Jorn. In this research I am most grateful for the assistance of Jorn's leading biographer, Troels Andersen, who is transcribing Jorn's papers in preparation for eventual publication. The work to catalogue and transcribe this material has unearthed a letter from Gudnitz to Jorn, as well as a reply from Jorn. The author took contact, first with Teresa Østergaard Pedersen, and subsequently with Troels Andersen, as it seemed remarkable, during the early stages of research, how both Gudnitz and Jorn were both, unusually for that time, collecting thematically – albeit of course in their own particular ways. Given the independent connections already known between Glob to both and Jorn and Gudnitz, the author decided further enquiries should be made to ascertain the extent of any contact, and perhaps influence.

Even if they had never met, it would not be far-fetched to content that Glob would not have entered into discussions concerning his work with the other party. Given that there is currently evidence for at least three separate known examples of contact between Gudnitz and Jorn, it seems even more likely that Glob would have discussed his work with Jorn with Gudnitz, and maybe even *vice versa* – perhaps we will never know for certain. In any case, this gives further credence to the main contention of this article; that artists and the study of prehistoric art are intertwined, form a research perspective, and have interacted and been influenced by one another in varying ways and to differing extents.

The remaining part of the discussion is dedicated to an annotated commentary on the contents of the two letters from Gudnitz to Jorn and from Jorn to Gudnitz. Our supplementary knowledge allows us to put flesh on the bones concerning several items referred to or mentioned in the text. In Jorn's reply, we are also lucky enough to gain a small insight into his own personal take on the early work of Tanums Hällristningsmuseum Underslöv, The Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art and Bohusläns Forsknings Arkiv.

According to Gerhard the only contact he knew of between Gudnitz and Jorn was when they met once in a bar in Christiania, greater Copenhagen, on a street in with a lot of hostels and artists. Gerhard knew of no evidence from any letters, although very few of these have been preserved (pers. comm., 2 February 2018). However, the letter in the Jorn Archive at Museum Jorn shows Gudnitz wrote to Jorn in 1963.

Text of letter transcribed by Andersen:

Kære Asger Jorn.

Jeg har i dag med stor interesse læst deres artikel (aktuelt 30/8-63) hvori De bl.a. navner helleristningerne og nogle af de værker, der er på trapperne om fortidens kunst (prof Glob's monografi over danske ristninger har været det i 20 år!)

I den anledning lilleder på mig at gøre opmærksom på min bog om de skandinaviske helleristninger Bronzealderens Monumentalkunst som morkom i fjor Malius Forlag, og hvoraf jeg og hvoraf jeg sender Dem et prøve-tryk.

I 16 år har jeg rejst rundt i Skandinavien, og indsamlet materialet og der er i bogen særlig lagt vægt på ristningernes kunstneriske indhold. Bogen anvendes mange steder i undervisnings øjehed og er netop en folkelig introduktion til vore forfædres kunstværker. At "folk" interesse sig for andet end kulørte ugeblade, turde salget af bogen bevise. Den er trods ringe reklame i mindre end et år solgt 2.000 eksempl.

I det af mig oprettede arkiv og museum findes den største samling af helleristningsgengivelser (25.000 billeder) fremstillet ved fotografering og kalkering fra bergfladerne.*

Skal/skulle De til brug for deres arbejde have anvendelse for billedmateriale står i med glade til Deres disposition.

Med venlig hilsen

Gudnitz

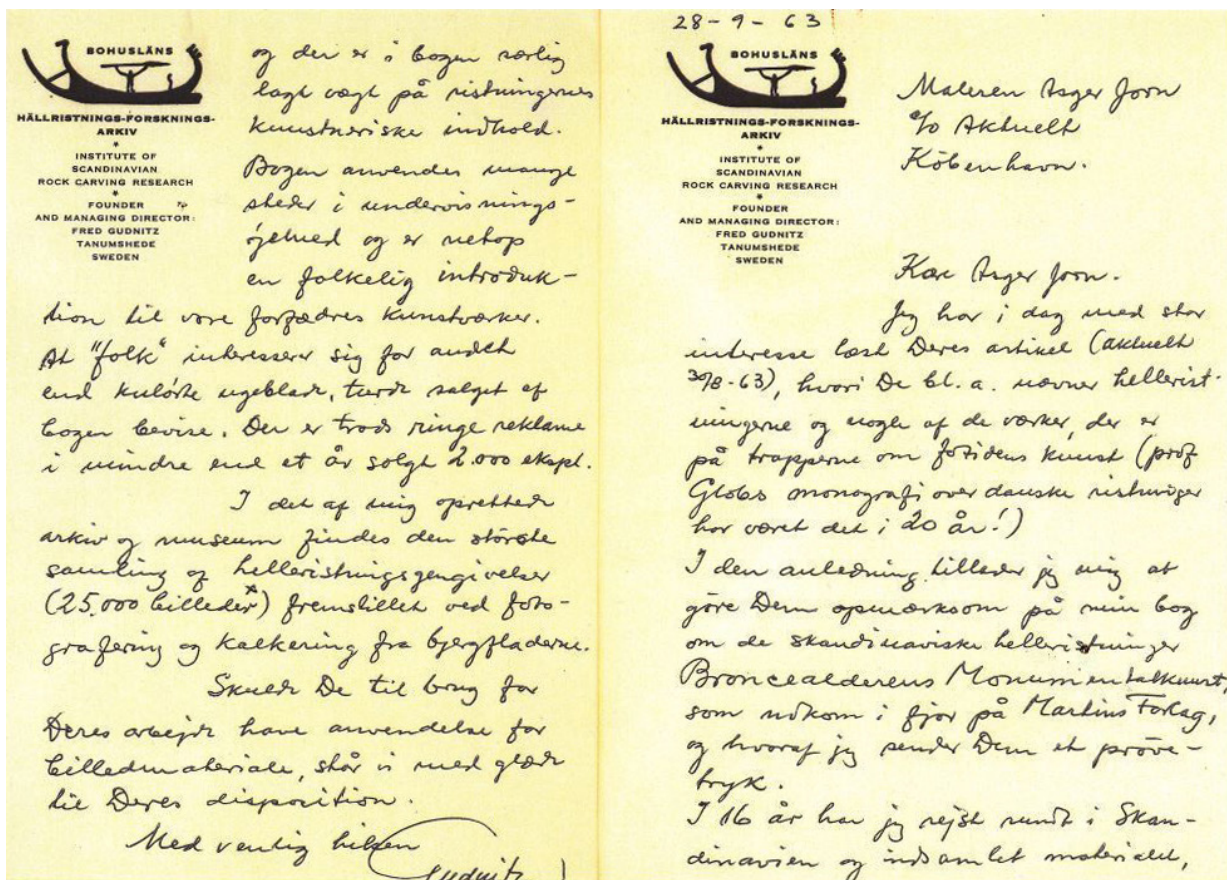


FIGURE 12. LETTER FROM GUDNITZ TO JORN, 28/9/1963 HELD IN THE JORN ARCHIVE, MUSEUM JORN, SILKEBORG. SCAN: TROELS ANDERSEN. REPRODUCED WITH PERMISSION FROM MUSEUM JORN (ORIGINAL COPYRIGHT TANUMS HÄLLRISTNINGSMUSEUM UNDERSLOS).

In the opening paragraph, Gudnitz states he is writing in response to an article in the Danish national newspaper *Aktuelt*, that interested him due to its mention of rock carvings and works on the way to publication, naming Glob 1969. Gudnitz enclosed a proof copy of *Bronzealderens monumentalkunst* for Jørn's perusal. Gudnitz emphasizes the book's artistic content as an accessible introduction for the public to the artworks of our forebears. Here, we can clearly see, the emphasis placed by Gudnitz on teaching, communication to the public and an artistic approach to prehistoric pictures. Gudnitz continues by summarizing his work to create and curate the Bohuslän Forsknings Arkiv, consisting of photographs and tracings of rock surfaces. Gudnitz finishes by saying that he would be pleased to place the image material in BHFA at Jørn's disposal, if or should Jørn should have need for it. It took several years before Jørn replied, illustrating that the contact between them cannot be described as either close or sustained. Both also address each other in formal terms, which probably supporting this conclusion. Despite the long delay, the reply is no less illuminating.

Text of letter transcribed by Andersen:

To Fred Gudnitz. 7.2.1970. 1 page, typewritten. Jorn's copy. Jorn Archive.

7 2 70 82 rue st Denis

Colombes 93

Paris. Frankrig.

Kære hr. Fred Gudnitz.

Igennem længere tid har jeg villet skrive til Dem for at lykønske Dem med deres arbejde i helleristningsfeltet. Vi har så vidt jeg husker truffet hinanden engang for mange år siden på nationlmusæet, da De havde udgivet en lille bog med helleristninger. Når jeg ikke før har skrevet, da er det tiden, der mangler. Selv har jeg beskæftiget mig en del med helleristningerne, specielt på basis af Baltzers gengivelser, som man nu hævder er forældede. Det vilde jo være en fornøjelse om en dansk kunstner nu kunde forny stoffet, om end allerede Baltzers materiale mangler en systematisk undersøgelse, som går ud over Almgren.

Selv har jeg begivet mig ind i arbejdet, men andre beskæftigelser forhindrer mig i at gøre dette mer end periferisk. Ifølge Berlingske tidende 24 aug. 69 beklager De, at ingen religionshistoriker har turdet tage dette materiale op til alvorlig overvejelse. I en anmeldelse i Information af Globs bog: Helleristninger i Danmark og Peter Gellings "The chariot of the sun" har jeg påvist det håbløse i dette ønske, som disse forfattere også deler med Dem, og påstår at en kunstnerisk systematik idag var mere på sin plads. Jeg har talt med direktøren i Gøteborg, jeg har glemt hans navn. Han er kun interesseret i tal og beregninger. Jeg tror, at De netop ud fra hvad man må forudsætte som en kunstnerisk interesse i disse billeder skulde være interesseret i et direkte samarbejde om denne sag, hvorfor jeg foreslår Dem et sådant.

Hvad der først og fremmest var ønskeligt var en typologisk opdeling af de forskellige billedtemaer og deres varrianter, udført mere følsomt end Gelling gør det. Med billedtemaer mener jeg kombinationer af elementer som gentages. Jeg har en lang række af sådanne efter min mening væsentlige billedtemaer med paralleller i andre folkeslags kunst, og kunde De tænke Dem at indsamle alle de eksemplarer, der eksisterer blandt helleristningerne kunde jeg fremskaffe det supplerende materiale. Jeg er overbevist om, at helleristningerne genspejler en årstidskult, og at derfor /er/ et kalendersystem, og at dette må være den systematiserende struktur i forhold til hvilken billedmateriale kan disponeres kan disponeres på den mest overskuelige måde.

Nu kan De jo tænke over, om De er interesseret i et samarbejde. Jeg har i sin tid nedskrevet nogle af mine synspunkter i bogen "Guldhorn og lykkehjul" som de ovennævnte forfattere ikke synes at kende.

Venlig hilsen

Asger Jorn

In Jorn's reply, from February 1970, it seems we have come full circle. Despite the animosity between Glob and Jorn as a result of Glob's actions, Jorn still writes to Gudnitz, and does not appear to show any grudge against Gudnitz himself as a result of his connections with Glob (that are known at this time from a personal handwritten dedication to Gudnitz from Glob in Fred's copy of *Helleristninger I Danmark*, dated August 1969).

We first learn, that in addition to their meeting in Christiania, that Gerhard speaks of, they also met at The National Museum at a book release. In Andersen's notes, supplied with this text, he is of the opinion that that "the little book" referred to here is Gudnitz 1962. The author begs to differ, as to the best of his knowledge, the book was not released at The National Museum. It is unclear, searching through the library catalogues, to which publication this could refer. The only possibility in the period 1935-1970, is an article on Glob's fieldwork on Bornholm, published in *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* (Glob 1948). However, this seems unlikely, and it is more likely that we are thinking of some kind of popular book, for general public interest.

Jorn, apologizes for the delay, due to lack of time, and states that other commitments have prohibited his involvement in the work more than in a peripheral sense. He writes that he has “wanted for a long time to wish you well with your work in the field of rock art”. Whether this refers to Gudnitz’s work mentioned in his original letter, and/or whether Jorn was referencing Gudnitz’s active promotion of the SSfPA and its activities in the public domain, is unclear.

In any case, at the time Jorn wrote, Gerhard’s involvement with Underslös had already begun. In 1970, or around this time, following national service in The Royal Danish Life Guards, Gerhard returned to Tanum to collaborate with Gudnitz in the localization and documentation of the carvings: mainly during summer. The Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art (SSfPA), the world’s first archaeological interest group formed specifically for the purpose of the promotion of prehistoric art, was found in 1969 (Milstreu 2011: 118), and the first edition of *Adoranten* - the world’s dedicated rock art journal - including Gudnitz’s insightful work on the long-term use, organization and symbolism of cup-marks, was published in 1970

In the second paragraph, we see a repetition of Jorn’s key ideas concerning a separation between historians of religion and an artistic approach to the art. Jorn expressed that he feels historians of religion do not seem to take the material up seriously. In this Jorn is absolutely right: study of Southern Tradition rock art was dominated at this time by an understanding based on an emphasis on fertility, advocated by Glob (1969), supported by an analysis of the location of Southern Tradition by Almgren (1927), that suggested panels were situated in proximity to agricultural land. Only recent studies of land uplift, using revised shore displacement curves and differential GPS have dispelled this assertion (Ling 2008; Ling 2013), and shown that much of the rock art near the Western and Eastern coasts of Sweden was near to and associated with prehistoric shorelines. Only in the relatively recent works of Kaul (1998; 2004) and Kristiansen (2010), concerning the religion of the Bronze Age, do we see this taken up in a truly serious manner. A fellow contributor to this volume, Peter Skoglund, has also just started up a new project working with experts in the field of semiotics. In light of this, when one evaluates Jorn’s attempts to collate images of parallels from “other kinds of folk art”, Jorn’s approach appears remarkably contemporary in its methodology.

In the last two lines of paragraph three, we are reminded that Jorn did have his opinions, in this case expressing that he “is convinced that rock carvings reflect a seasonal cult, and that therefore /are/ a calendar system, and that that must be the systematized structure in relation to which imagery can be organised can be organised in the clearest way” (N.B: repetition in original text). Jorn, earlier in the letter refers to “the director in Gothenburg”, whose name he has forgotten. The author is not sure who this refers to. It might be Åke Fredsjö, the director of archaeology at the time in the county of Västergötland, who at the time heavily involved in an extensive program of rock art documentation. However, the reference to someone “only interested in numbers and calculations” points, in my mind, to another person: a co-collaborator with Fredsjö at that time in the documentation of rock art in Kville Parish - Jarl Nordbladh. Jarl was one of the first in his doctorate (Nordbladh 1980) to use apply statistics to a very large dataset drawn from the rock art: in this case to look at the signs. Nordbladh has and continues to participate, now as a lecturer, at the Arbetsseminars at Underslös Museum. Jarl and his colleague, Jan Roswell, were approached by Jorn, just before Jorn died “to collaborate on a rock art mission” (Nordbladh 2015: 7). If Jorn was referring in his letter to Jarl, clearly, he must have changed his opinion along the way before he made his approach!

In any case, perhaps the acorn of this mission that Jorn later approached Jarl about can be seen in Jorn’s letter to Gudnitz. Jorn, on the basis of their common artistic perspective and approach to the art, proposes collaboration with Gudnitz. Jorn writes: “I think, that you, from what one must presuppose as an artistic interest in these pictures, should be interested in a direct collaboration on this matter, for which reason I propose to you such a thing”. Jorn’s idea seems to be to combine Gudnitz’s material from the rock carvings with that Jorn had already gathered from other folk art traditions, presumably for *10.000 års Nordisk folkekunst*. Jorn sees “first and foremost” the construction of a typology arranged according to “artistic methodology/classification”, in order to identify that elements that repeat themselves. Jorn parts

by saying that Gudnitz can think over if he is interested in a collaboration and refers to some of the views he previously expressed in *Guldhorn og lykkehjul*. We don't know if there was a reply from Gudnitz, or what Gudnitz's reaction was to Jorn's letter.

The most important conclusions here are that Jorn directly mentions the artistic perspective on the rock art and proposes collaboration with another artist working in the field based upon this common ground between them. Furthermore, Jorn clearly appears to be aware of the work of Gudnitz's work – that Gerhard was just beginning to figure in.

Art, artists & Underslös

In this article, we have explored the links between artists, art, prehistoric art through the vehicle of this institution: Tanums Hällristningsmuseum. These values are deeply rooted in the history and vision of the museum; the connection between art, artists and Underslös continues to this day. Gudnitz laid the foundations of the dialectic found at Underslös Museum today between art, artists and prehistoric pictures, but Gerhard has built the house that stands upon them and integrated it more fully within the scientific community.

We began by defining what we mean to say by the artistic perspective. Gerhard's words have provided a useful definition for the future concerning what we mean to say when we refer, in the broader sense, to an artistic approach to prehistoric imagery. At the same time, Gerhard's reflections, based on a lifetime of experience, make us think very deeply, and without so many prejudices, about what is depicted in the art and how it was created.

Having defined our theoretical background, we have worked back from the present day to uncover a network of relations, some hitherto unknown, concerning the network of Fred Gudnitz to other artists, including the Norwegian sculptor Knut Steen and the Danish artist Asger Jorn. The latter has been revealed by new, previously unpublished letters uncovered in the Jorn Archive by Jorn's biographer, Troels Andersen, between Gudnitz and Jorn. Gudnitz was unusual for his time in the collection of material along thematic lines, which is deserved of further reappraisal and wider recognition. However, he was not alone in taking this approach, as the contemporary work and writings of Asger Jorn show. P.V. Glob was an important node, connecting the networks of both Gudnitz and Jorn.

In the latter sections of the article, we have explored the Jorn's network from the perspective of prehistoric art: focusing on Jorn's interaction, views and relation to it. Jorn had many links to archaeologists prominent in the field of rock art research, and their contributions in books that Jorn produced have been explored intensively, alongside Jorn's presentation of visual material: that drew heavily on prehistoric art as a source of comparative visual material to support his ideas. Time and again, evidence for a desire surfaces amongst all parties to place more emphasis on the study of images from an artistic perspective.

All in all, examination of Jorn's work, and its web of relations, leads to a more general reconsideration of art and artists within the research history of rock art research. When we look at the past, we see networks of like-minded people assimilating themselves into an interest around centred around a desire to increase understanding of prehistoric art through the thematic study of images across space, time and culture. Through this, it was hoped that deeper understanding of, what we would now term, the syntax and attributes assigned to the figures could be arrived at.

Given the influence of the artistic perspective on the art contended in all the previous sections, it is herewith contended that connections between art and artists have shaped and continue to be pervasive within the discipline. Taking the thoughts expounded by Gerhard, and other colleagues, as a foundation, we can see how an artist's approach to the rock art, allows us to make a number of conclusions concerning semiotics, as well as the transmission and conveyance of visual culture.

Epilogue

Lastly, I will finish with a personal conclusion, concerning the individual whom this book is given in honour of. In 1978, 40 years ago at the time of writing, Gerhard agreed to continue the work “in the spirit” of its founder – artist - Fred Gudnitz. This Gerhard has tirelessly and unceasingly done ever since, and it is your perspective of that of an artist, yet open to science and scholarship, that lies at the heart of the definition of this spirit.

Gerhard: your appreciation of the beauty of the images and your desire to include others, in both the study and appreciation thereof, is an inspiration, and has given an everlasting legacy to the discipline that it is hard, if not impossible to evaluate. You set focus on the beauty of the images, and are equally glad whether people come to stand and stare in wonderment, or whether they come to study the art. It is the uniqueness of your personhood, personal charisma and down to earth approach to the art, coupled with the warmest of Danish welcomes - from not only you, but also your whole family - that have inspired generations.

Prehistoric pictures no longer lie at the periphery of archaeology. Instead, they now lie at the centre (pers. comm., Jens Andresen, 9 May 2018), and the world-wide network of rock art studies owes a great debt and has been transformed through the result of your focus on collaboration, discussion and dialogue: from individual landowners on Bornholm; to international collaborations. Everyday folk have a greater awareness, involvement and appreciation, and the proof can be seen in the results of the countless, sometimes ingenious, initiatives you have presided over and collaborated within. In the academic sphere, the art now lies at the core and the very highest level of scholarship. This is due, in no small part, to your efforts. Last, but certainly not least, I hope you can always take comfort, that those of us to whom you have reached out to, who have been inspired and derive the same enjoyment of these masterpieces of the past; will continue – “as long as we still live” - in *the same* spirit.

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I also thank Jarl Nordballdh, for giving some pointers in the literature during the early stages of research, and providing details to me of his findings to date concerning links between Asger Jorn and rock art.

Finally, I humbly thank Ditte Kofod for introducing me to Jorn’s work - and looking over the first draft of the paper. Were it not for this piece of good fortune, this article would never have been written and a fascinating piece of Underslös’ history might not have come to light.

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Personal Communications

Jens Andresen to James Dodd, received 9/5/2018. Conversation during MCH Seminar reception.

Gerhard Milstreu to James Dodd, received 16/6/2014. Various conversations during the documentation of BMR 3363-1.

Gerhard Milstreu to James Dodd, received 2/2/2018. Conversation around the fireside during the Board Meeting of The Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art.

Gerhard Milstreu to James Dodd, received 4/2/2018. Conversation in car during return journey to Denmark from the 2018 Board Meeting of The Scandinavian Society for Prehistoric Art.

Teresa Østergaard Pedersen to James Dodd. Telephone conversation 11/12/2017.