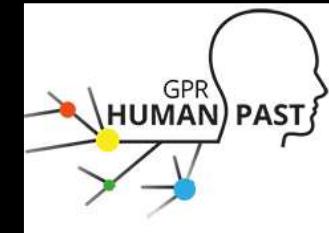


# Il simbolismo e la creatività nel cammino evolutivo dell'essere umano



Francesco d'Errico

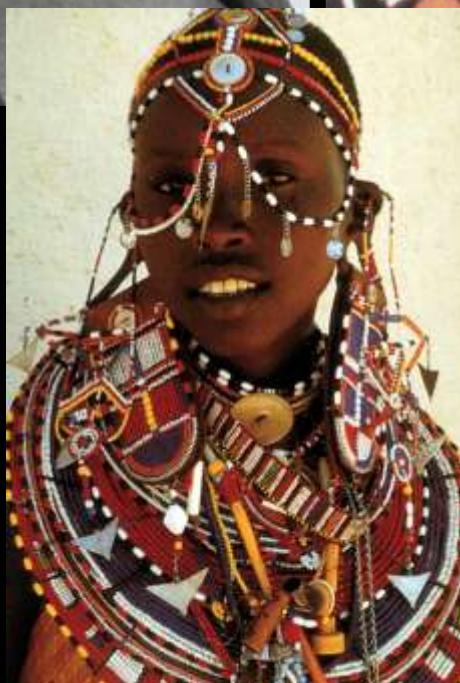
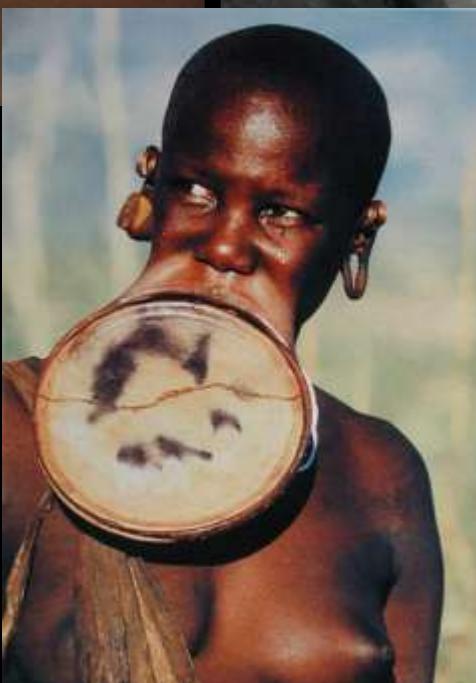
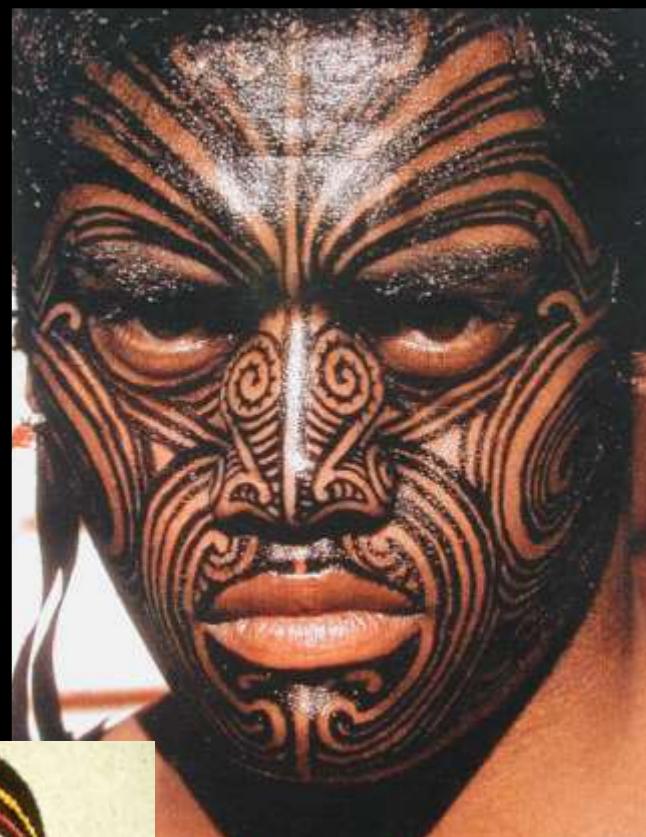
CNRS, UMR PACEA, University of Bordeaux, France

Centre for Early Sapiens Behaviour, University of Bergen, Norway

# Secondo Charles Sanders Peirce

- **Segno:** qualsiasi cosa che rappresenti qualcosa per qualcuno.
- **Icona:** segno che assomiglia o imita l'oggetto che rappresenta (ad esempio, una foto).
- **Indice:** segno che è fisicamente o causalmente legato all'oggetto (ad esempio, il fumo per indicare un incendio).
- **Simbolo:** segno la cui relazione con l'oggetto è arbitraria e basata su una convenzione o un accordo (ad esempio, parole in una lingua, numeri o la bilancia per indicare la giustizia).





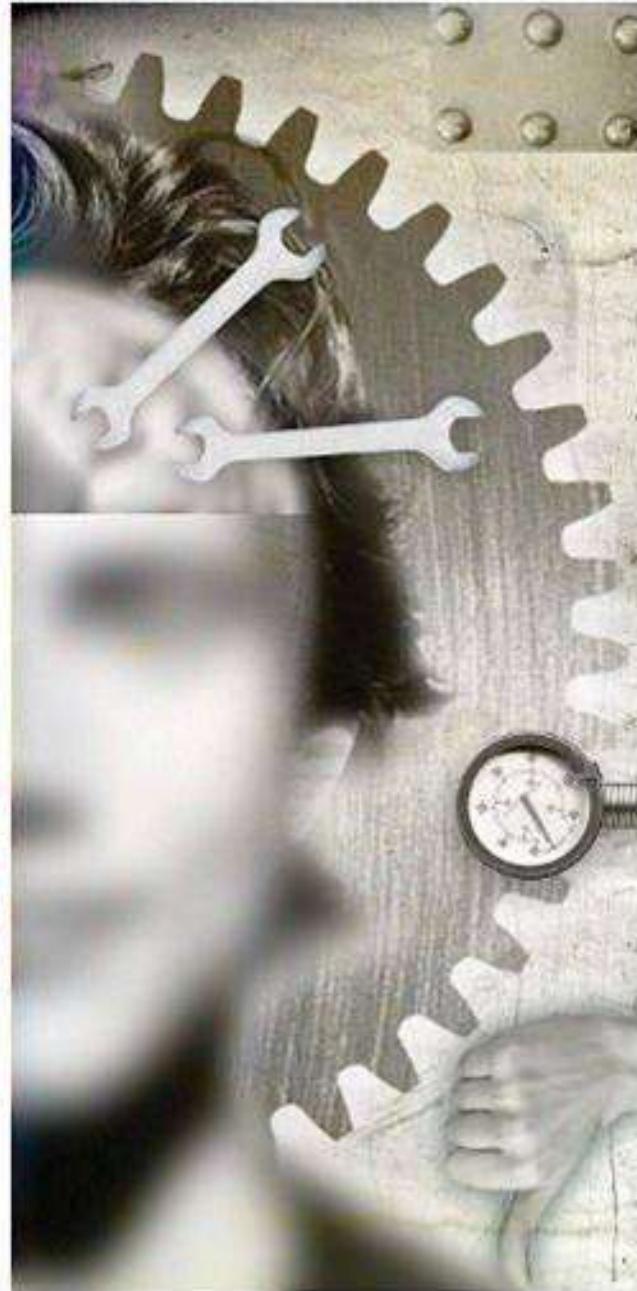
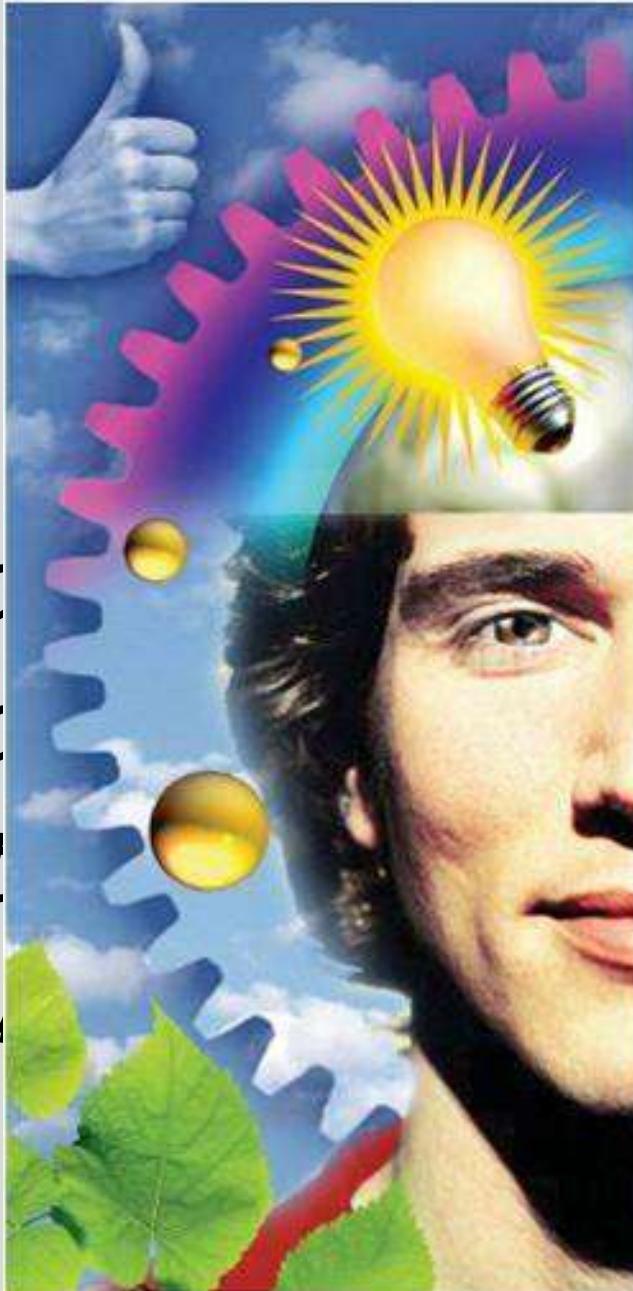




# Creativity

*the ability to transcend traditional ideas, rules, relationships, to create valuable new ideas, forms, methods, interpretations, solutions, products*

**Create**  
*the  
ideas  
crea-  
met-  
solu-*

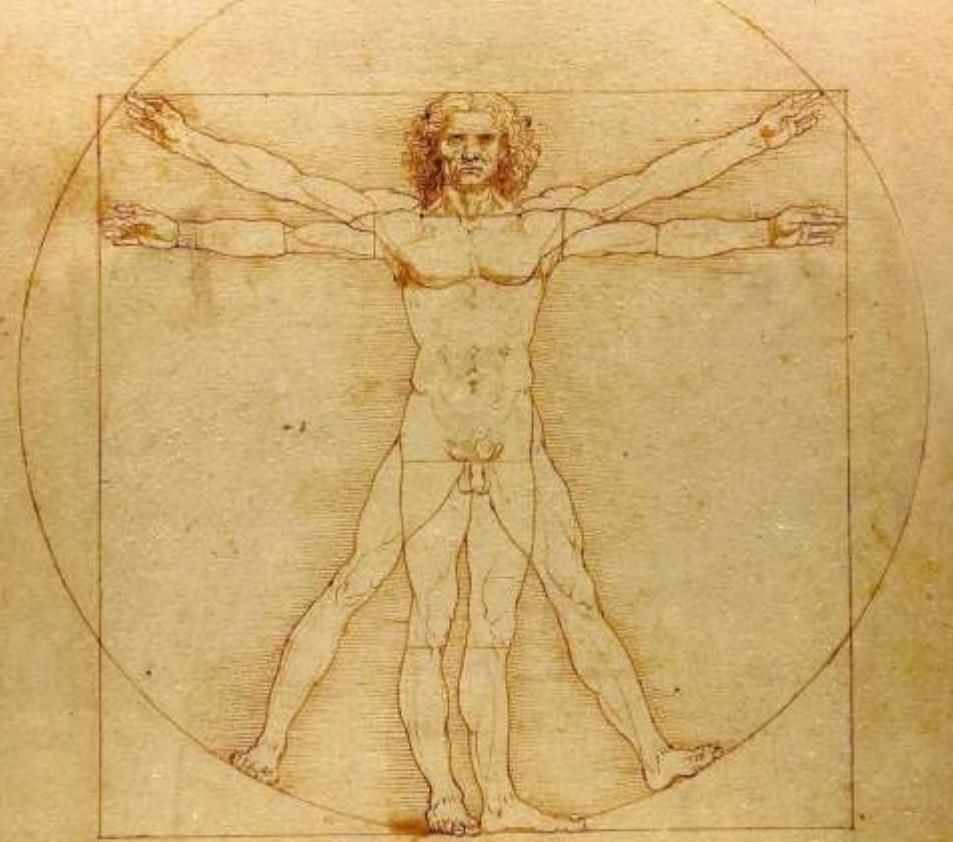


*nal  
ns,*



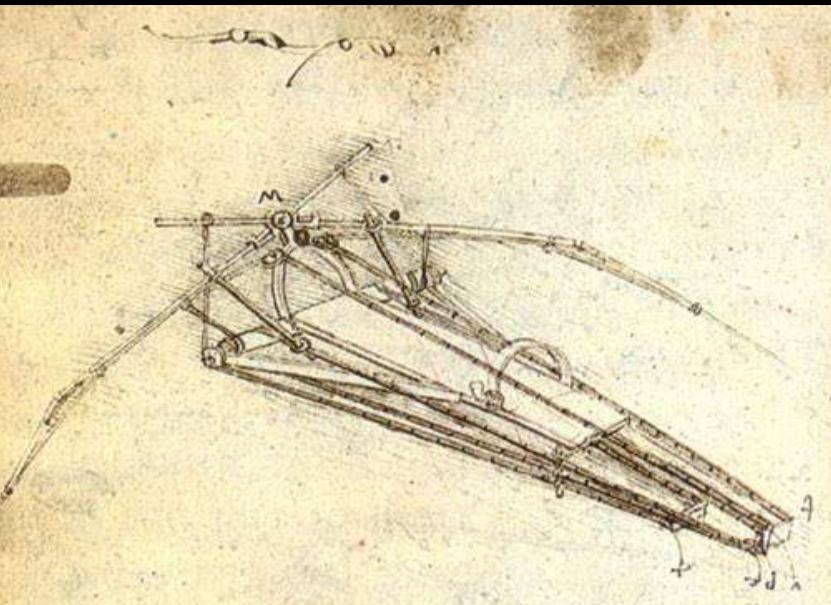
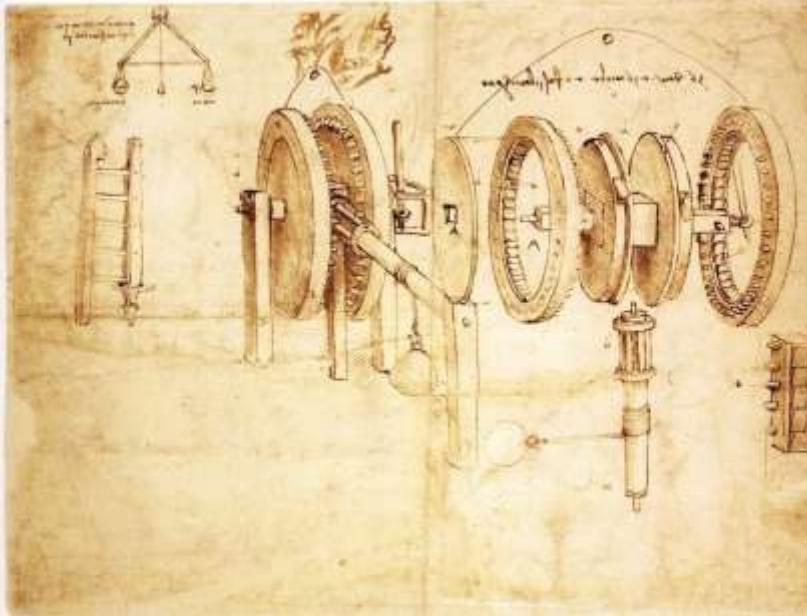


12  
manuscript page 12, featuring a detailed anatomical drawing of the Vitruvian Man, a male figure standing in a square frame with his arms and legs extended to form a circle. The figure is shown from the front and back, with internal organs and musculature visible. The text above the drawing discusses the relationship between the human body and the universe.

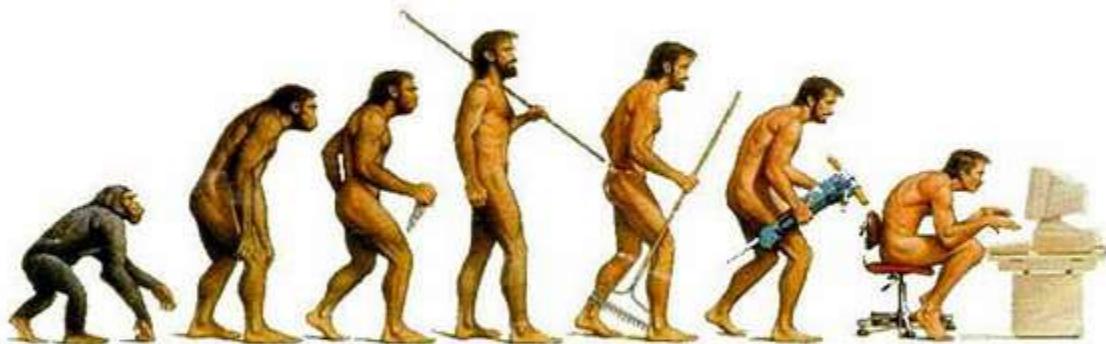
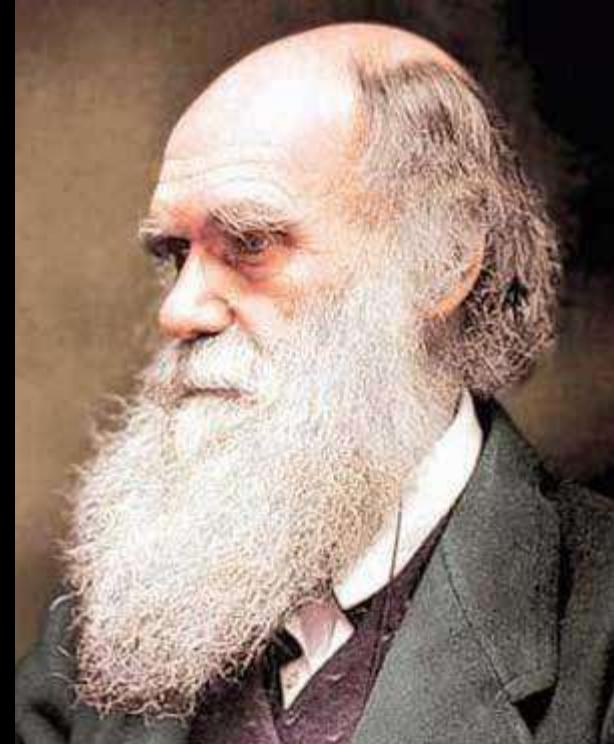


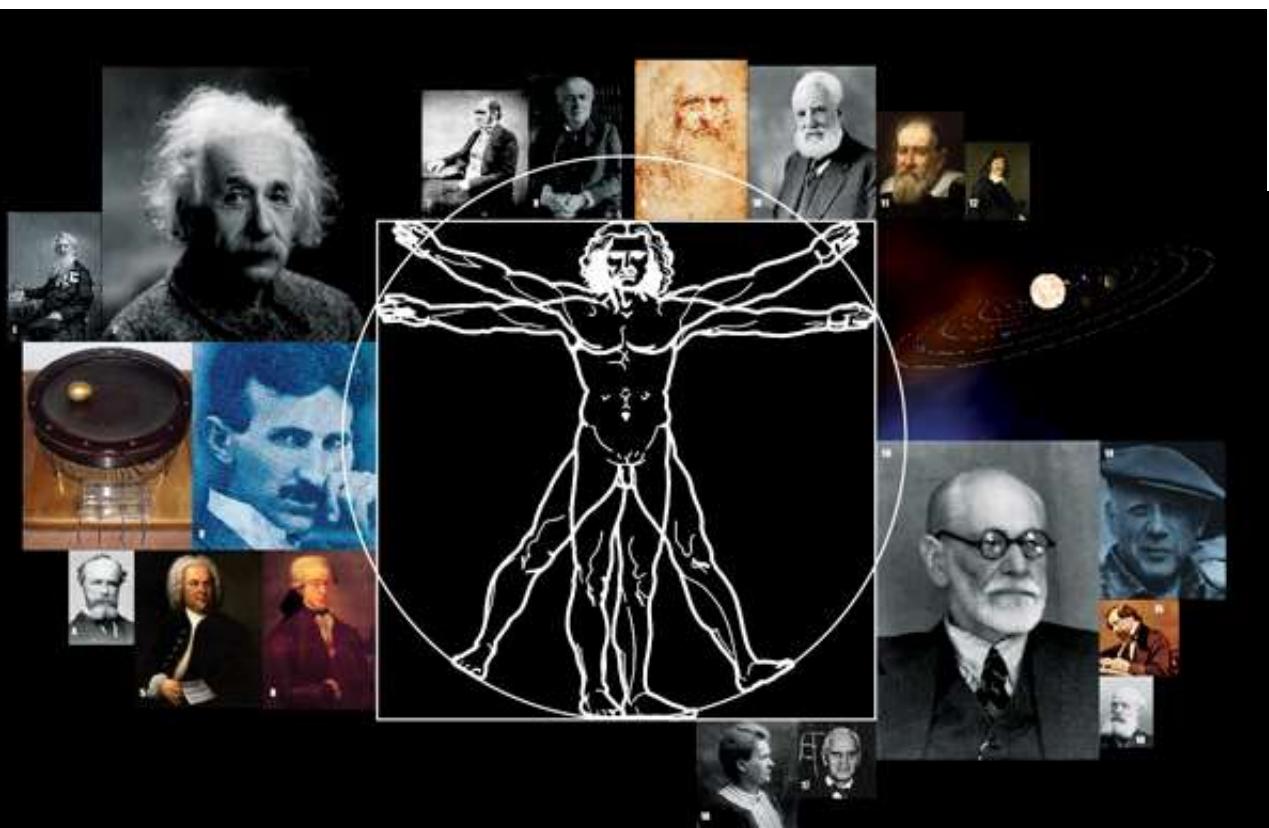
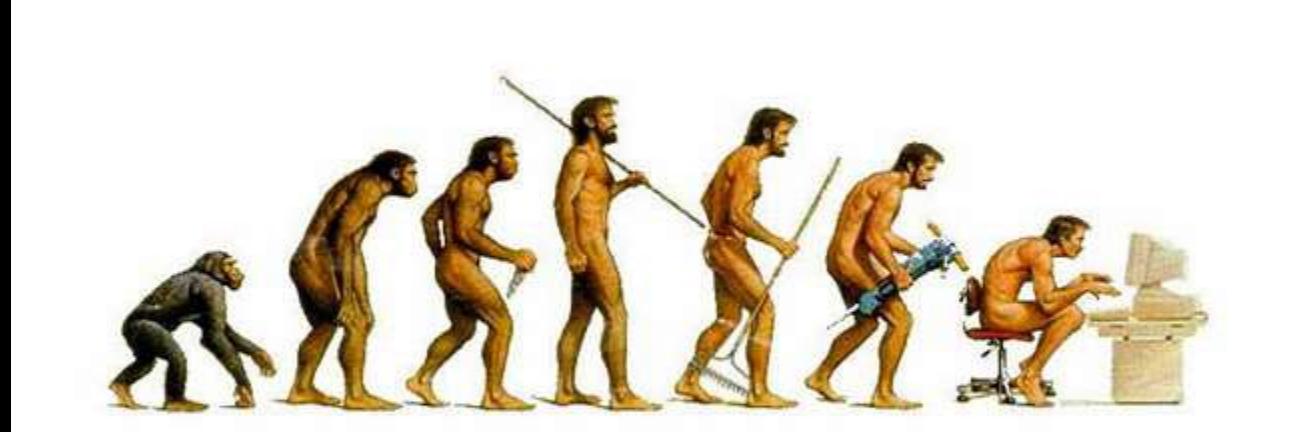
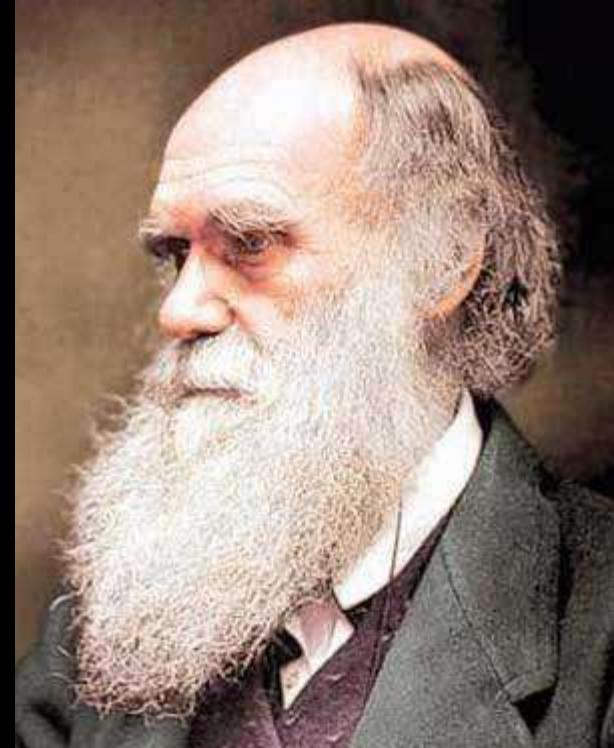
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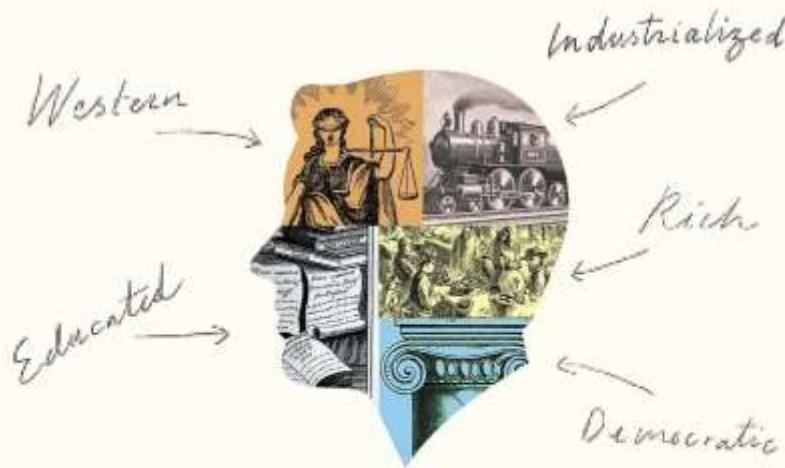


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# THE WEIRDEST PEOPLE IN THE WORLD



HOW THE WEST BECAME  
PSYCHOLOGICALLY PECULIAR AND  
PARTICULARLY PROSPEROUS

---

JOSEPH HENRICH

20 years ago

The path leading to the typically human creativity was short, abrupt and exclusively associated with Anatomically Modern Humans

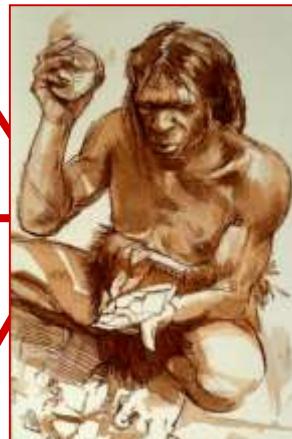


40 ka

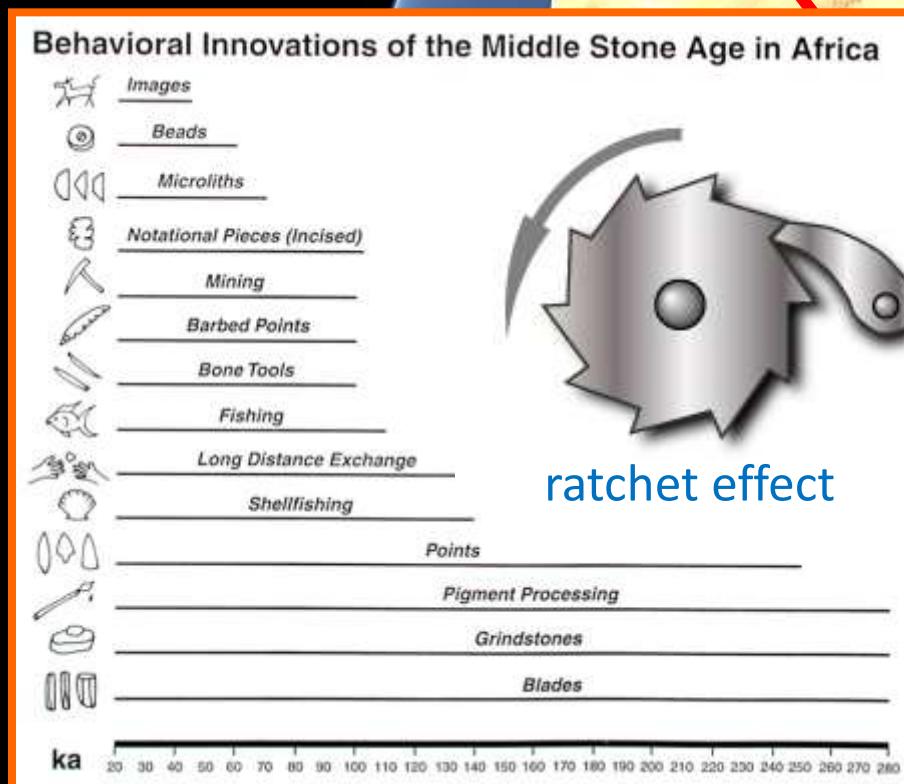


# Noam Chomsky view

Human language is an innate and specific competence.  
It did not evolve from any previous animal communication system

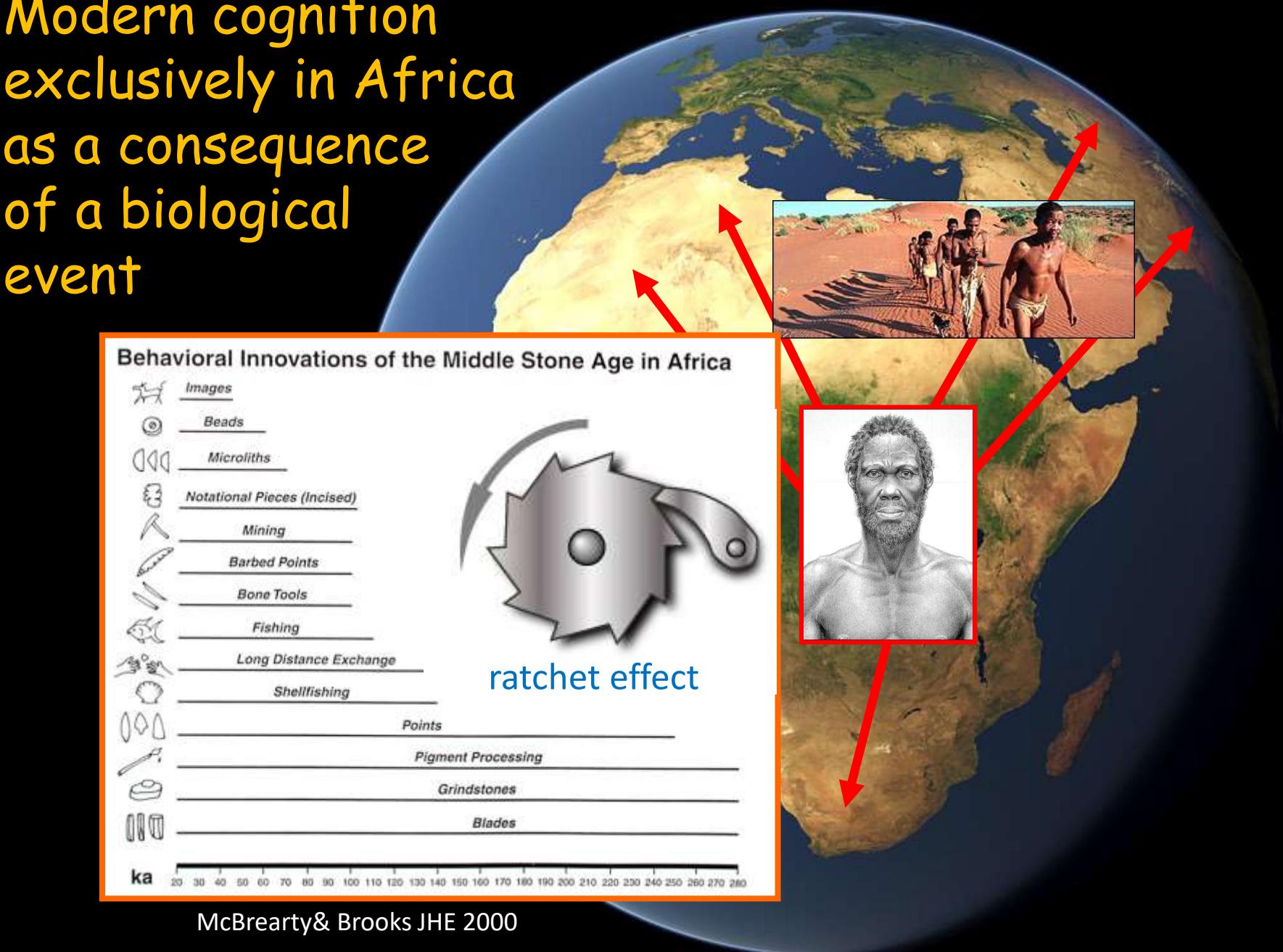


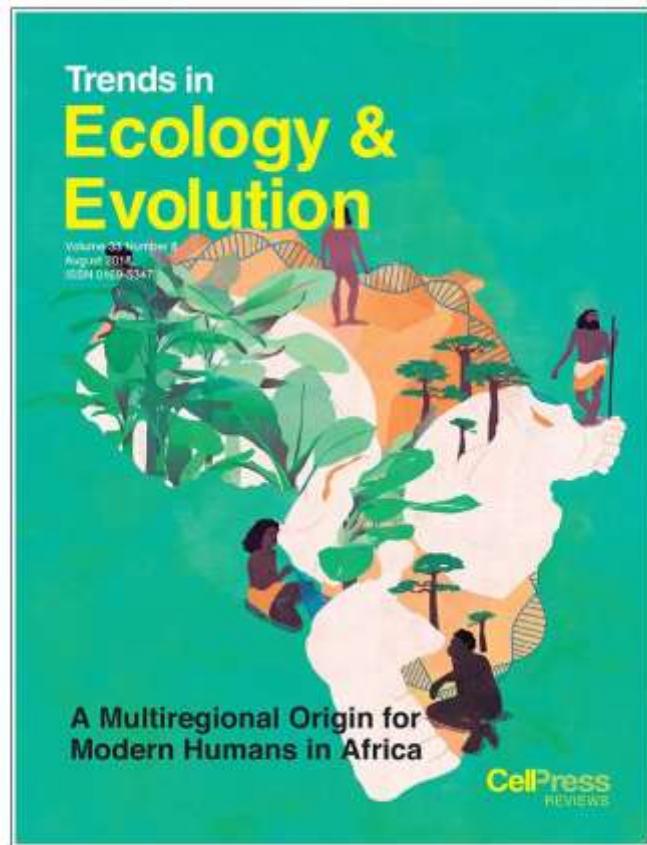
# Modern cognition exclusively in Africa as a consequence of a biological event



ratchet effect

McBrearty & Brooks JHE 2000

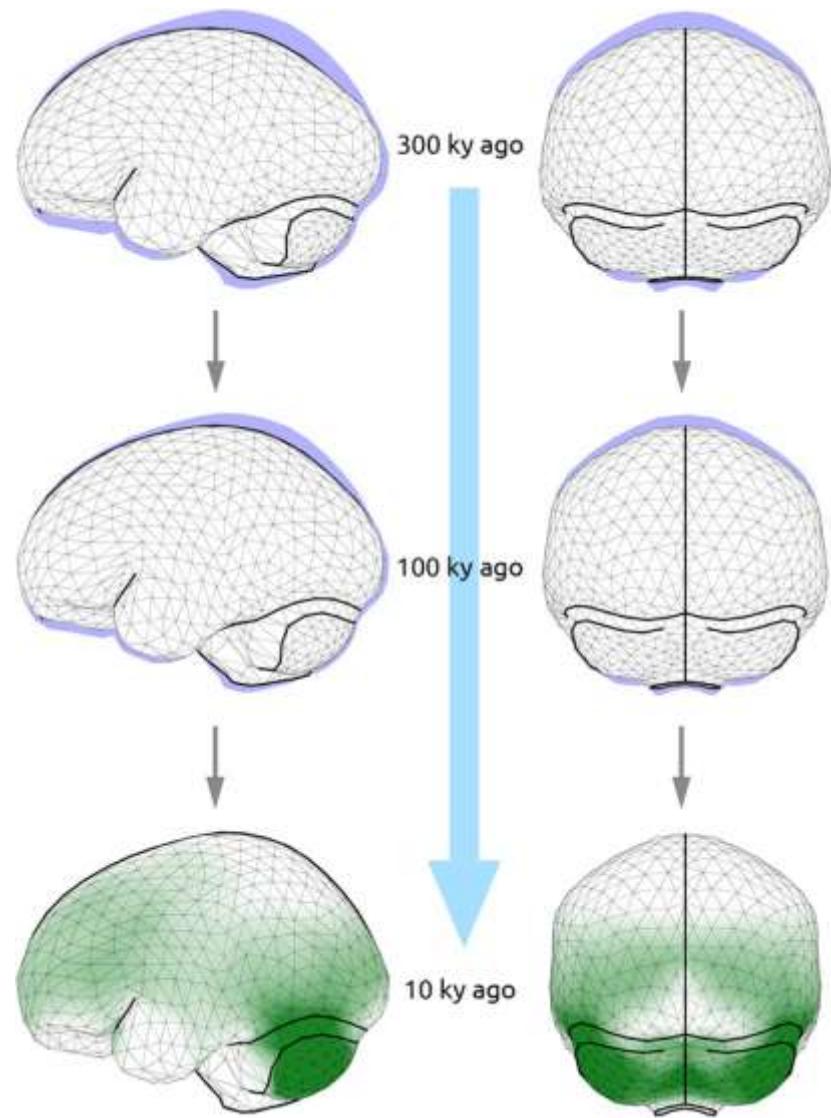
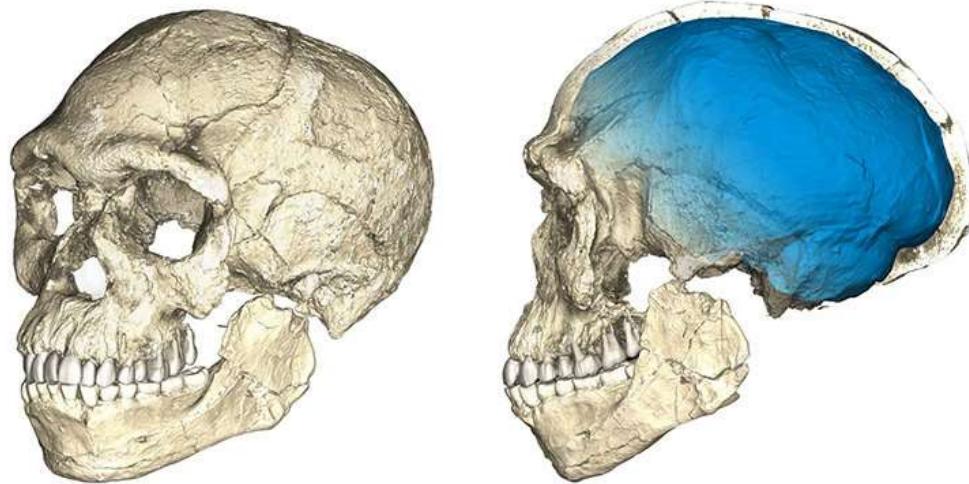




Scerri et al. 2018

Trends in Ecology & Evolution

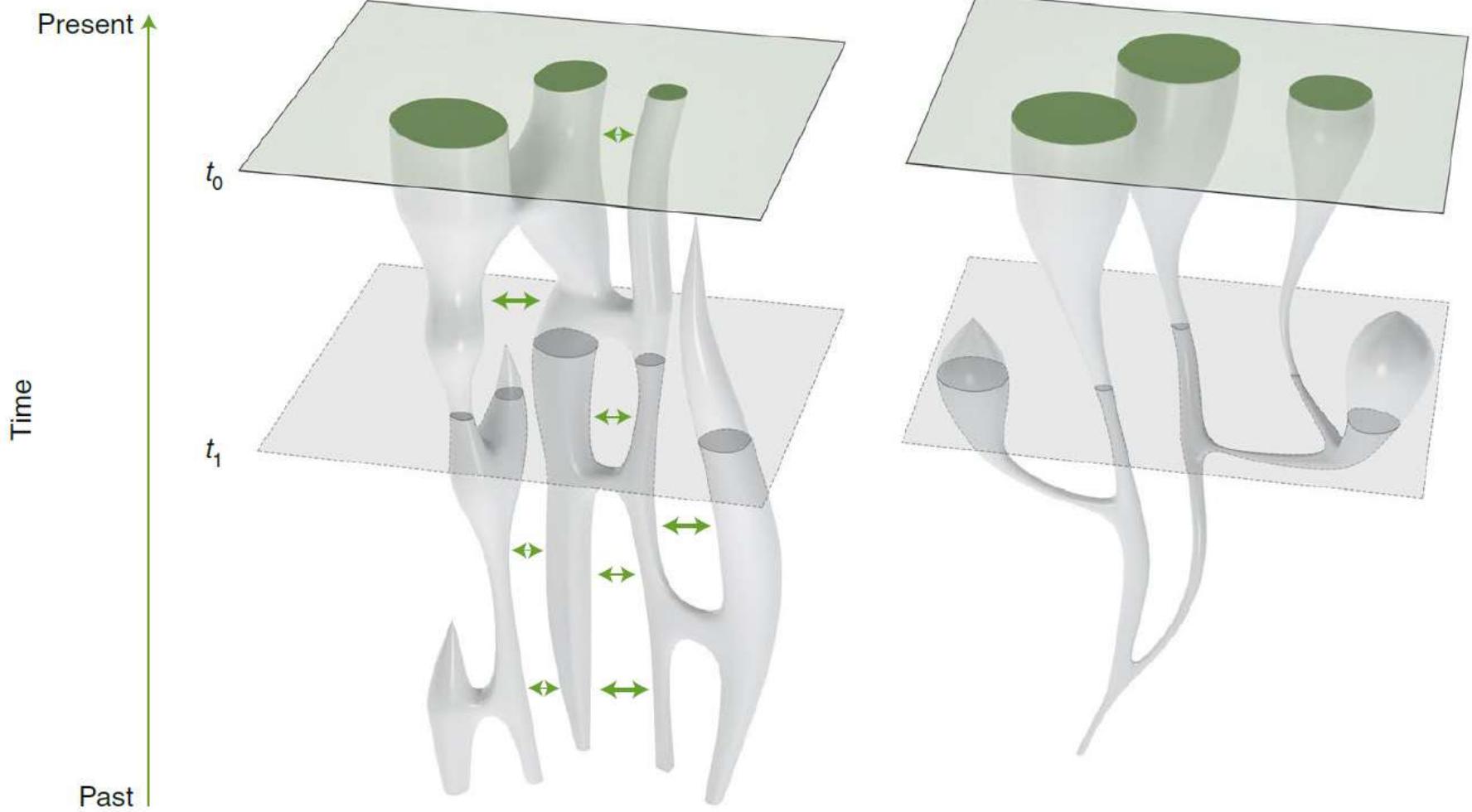
# Djebel Irhoud, Morocco, 300 ka



Hublin et al. 2018

Neubauer et al. 2018

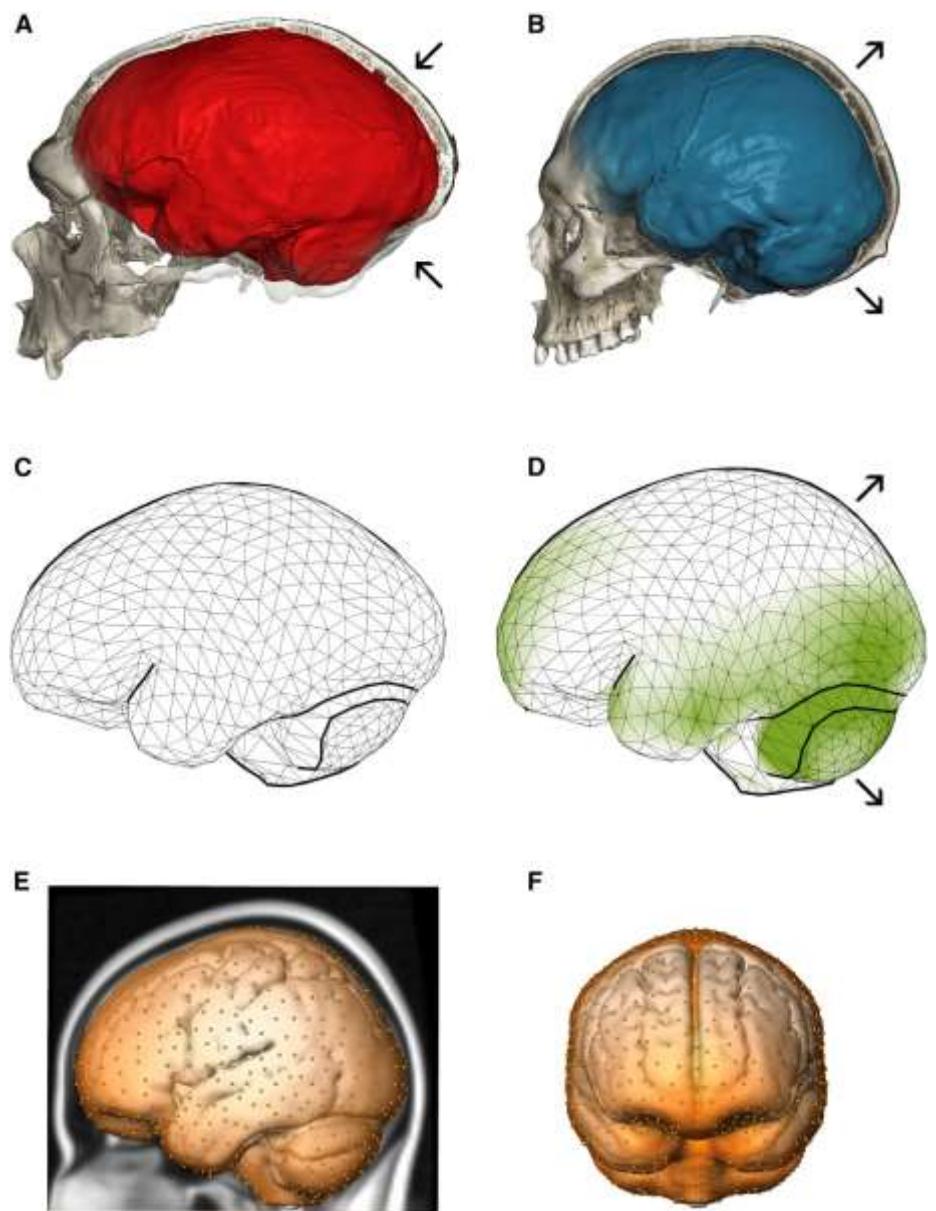
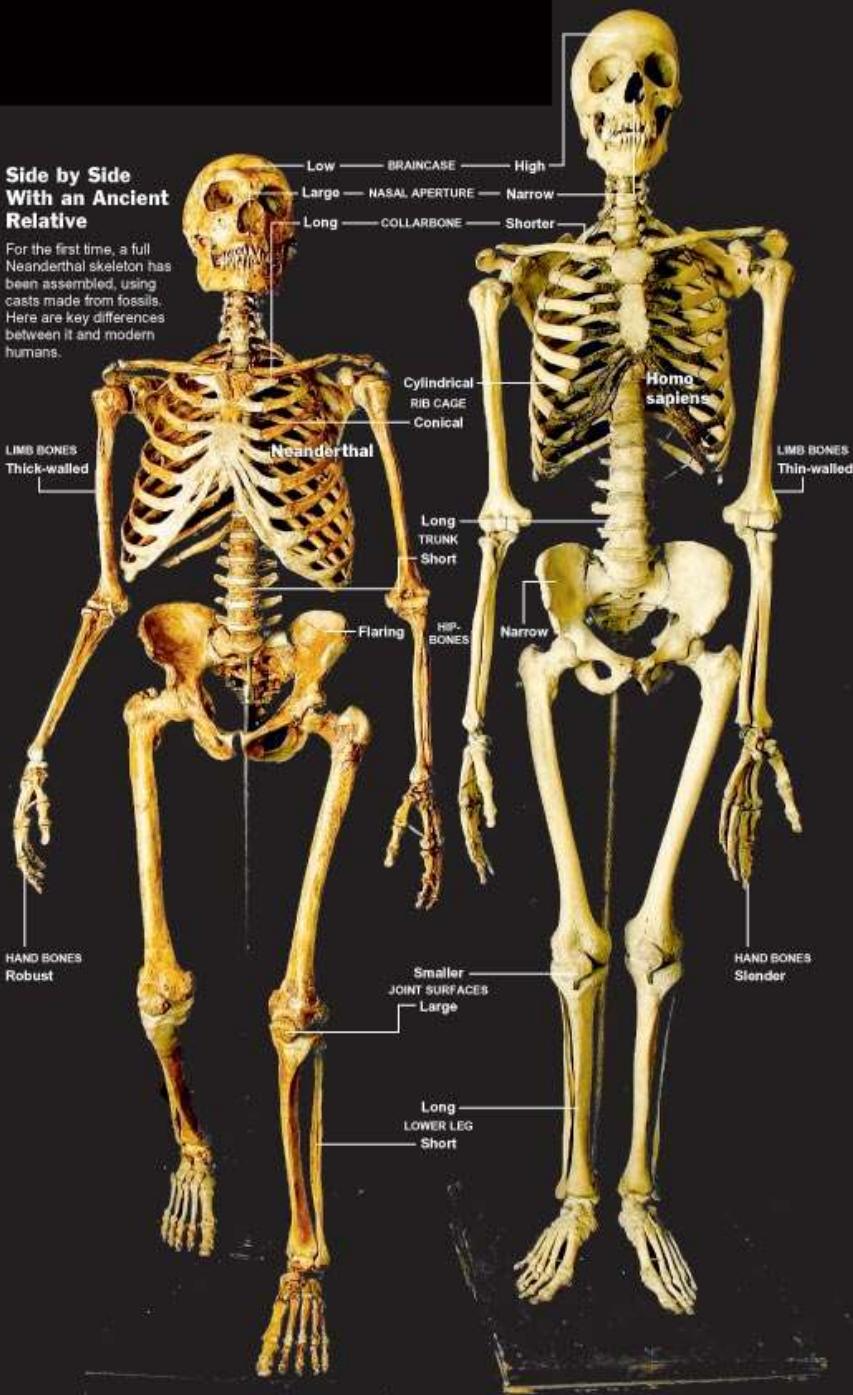
# Modern human origin in structured populations



Scerri et al. 2019 *Trends Ecol. Evol.*

## Side by Side With an Ancient Relative

For the first time, a full Neanderthal skeleton has been assembled, using casts made from fossils. Here are key differences between it and modern humans.



Gunz et al. 2019, *Current Biology*

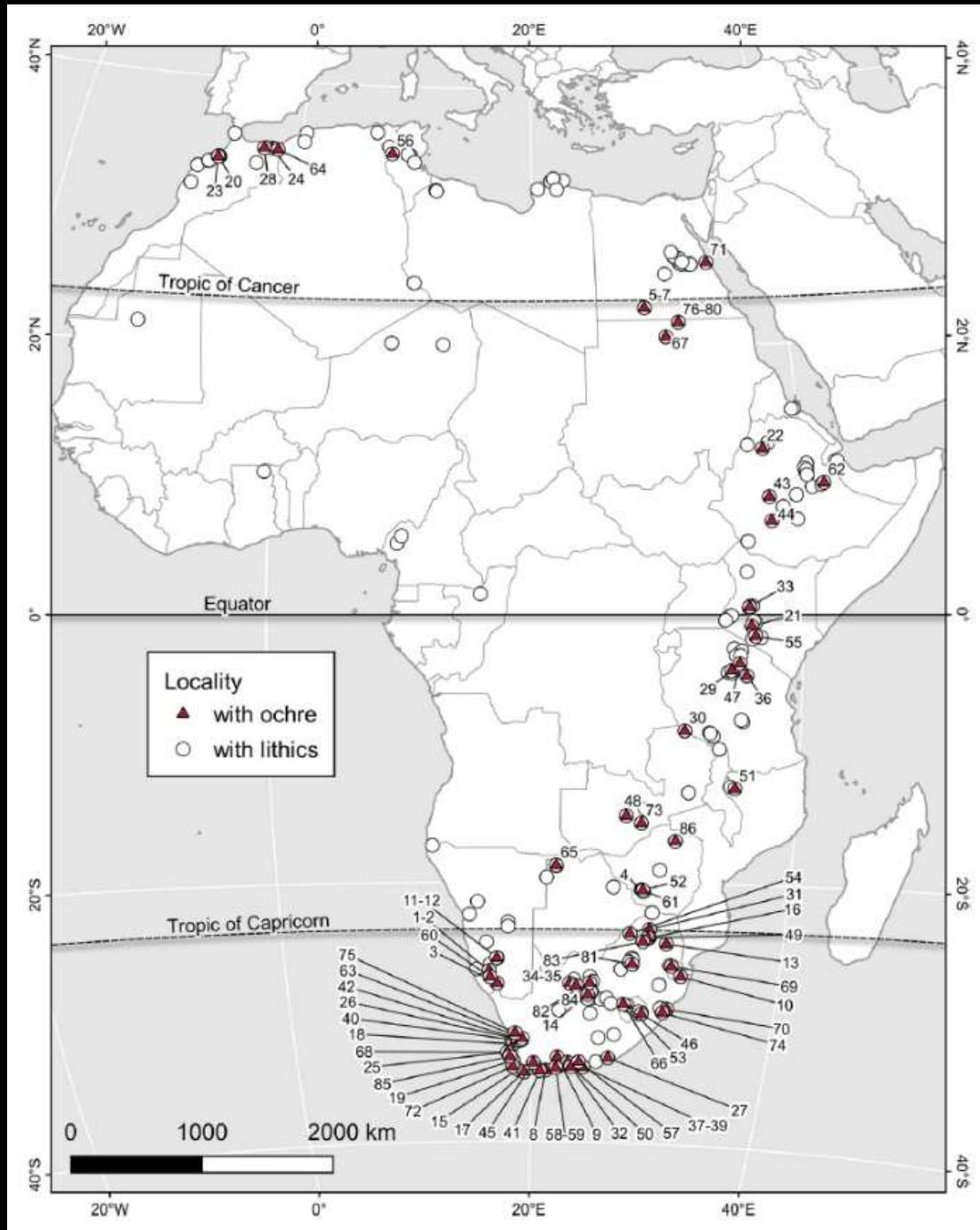


# Earliest symbolic material culture in Africa





- Ochre  
500-300 ka SA-EA  
80 NA
- Bone tools  
110 ka NA  
95 CA  
80 ka SA
- Beads  
120 ka NA  
80 ka SA
- Engravings on ochre  
100 ka SA
- Shaped beads  
55 ka SA
- Engravings on OES  
64-55 ka SA



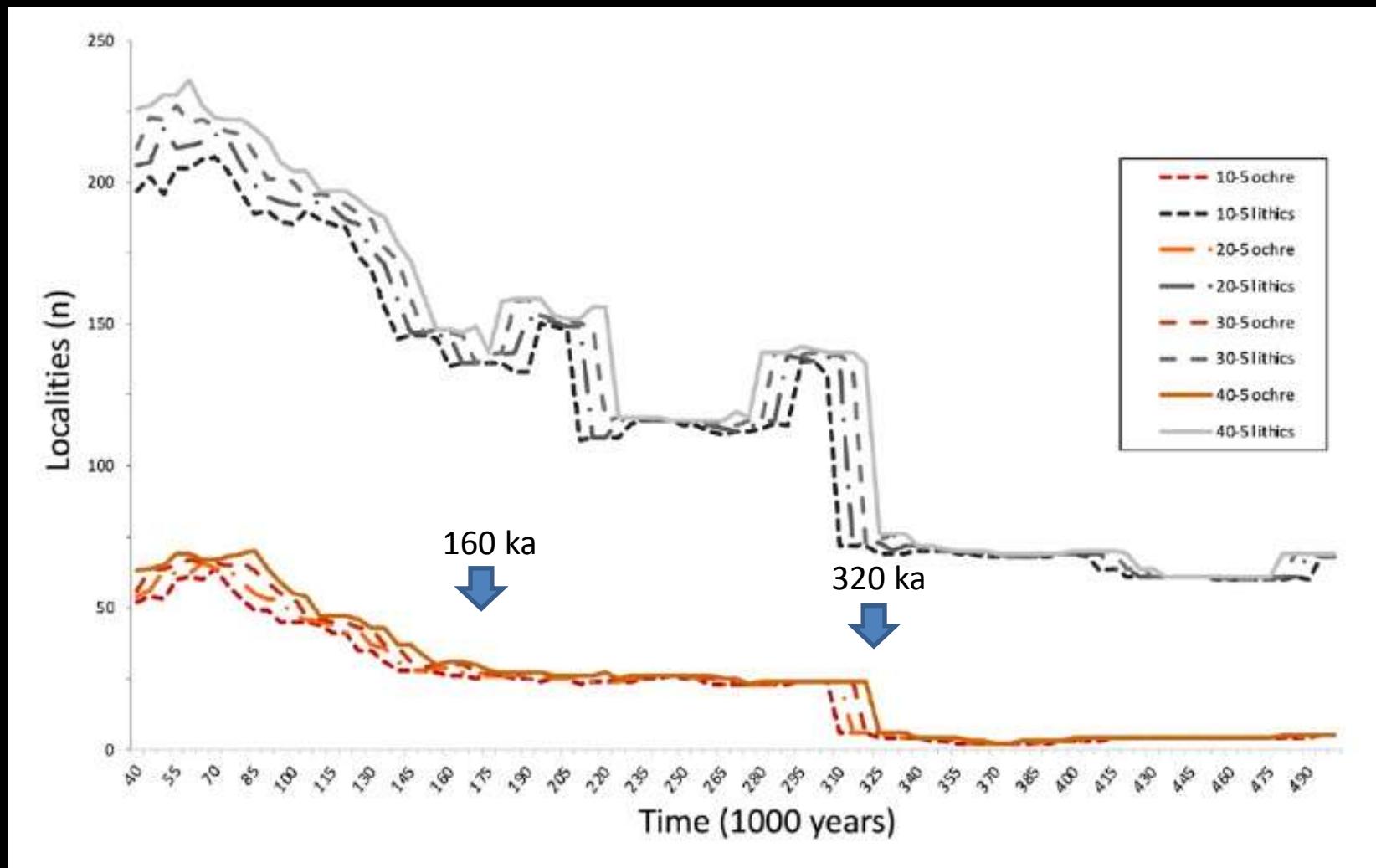
86 sites  
25,000 ochre pieces

ROAD  
<http://www.roceeh.ne>



Dapschauskas et al.  
*J. World Prehist.* 2022

# Ochre use increase during the African Middle Stone Age

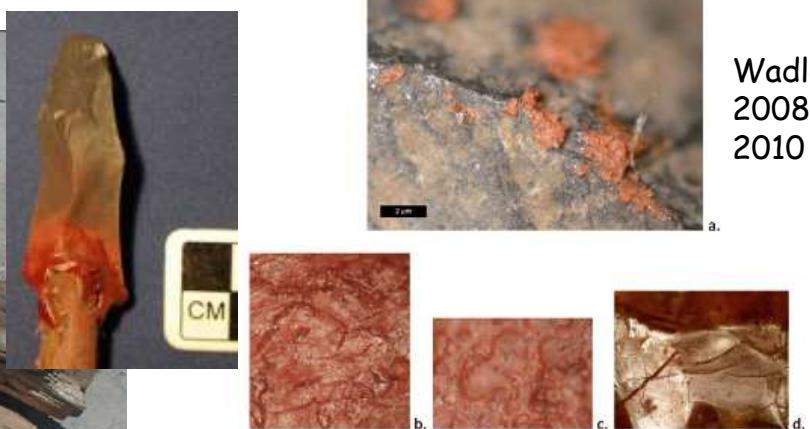


Dapschauskas et al. *J. World Prehist.* 2022

Wadley et al.  
2008, 2009,  
2010

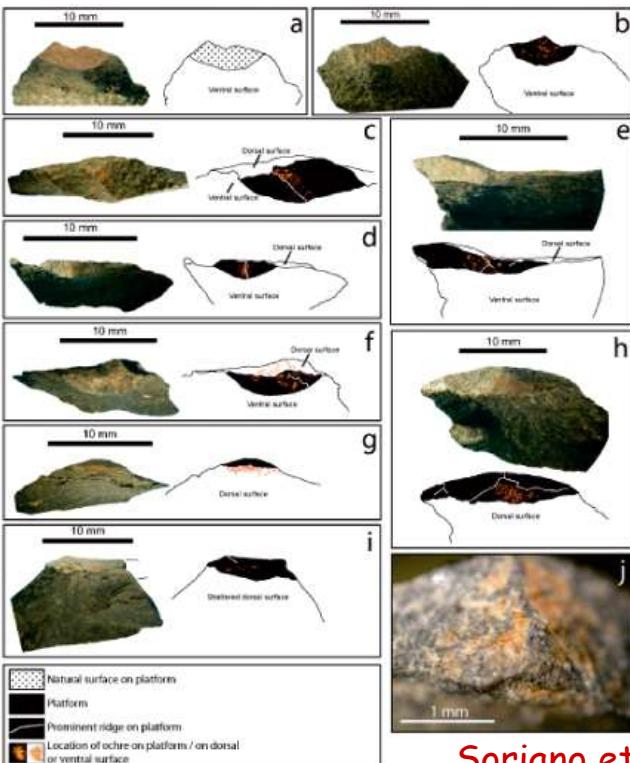


Soriano et al. 2009



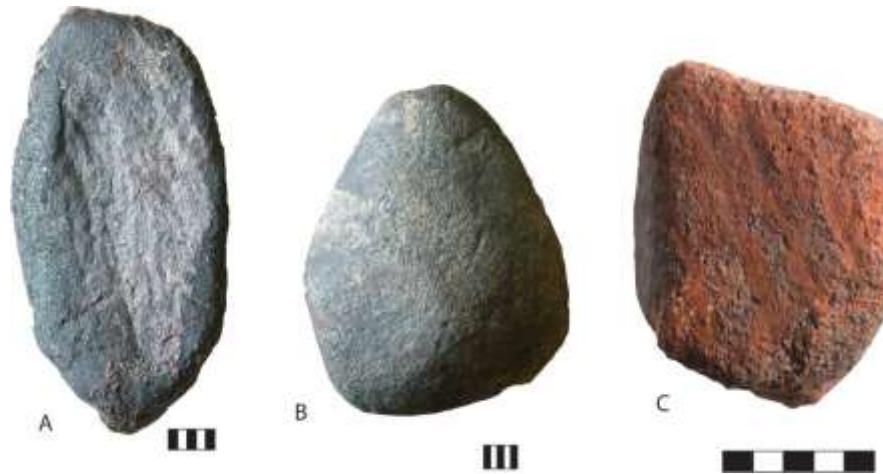
Micrographs comparing ancient compound adhesive with modern replications.

- Edge of a Sibudu MSA tool with traces of well-mixed plant gum and red ochre adhesive (photograph by G. Langejans).
- Micrograph of replicated adhesive made from ochre # 15 and *Acacia karroo* gum. 50x.
- Micrograph of replicated adhesive made from ochre # 15, *Acacia karroo* gum and beeswax. 50x.
- Micrograph of replicated adhesive made from *Acacia karroo* gum alone. 50x.





Earliest evidence for the use of red pigment in Africa 500-300 ka

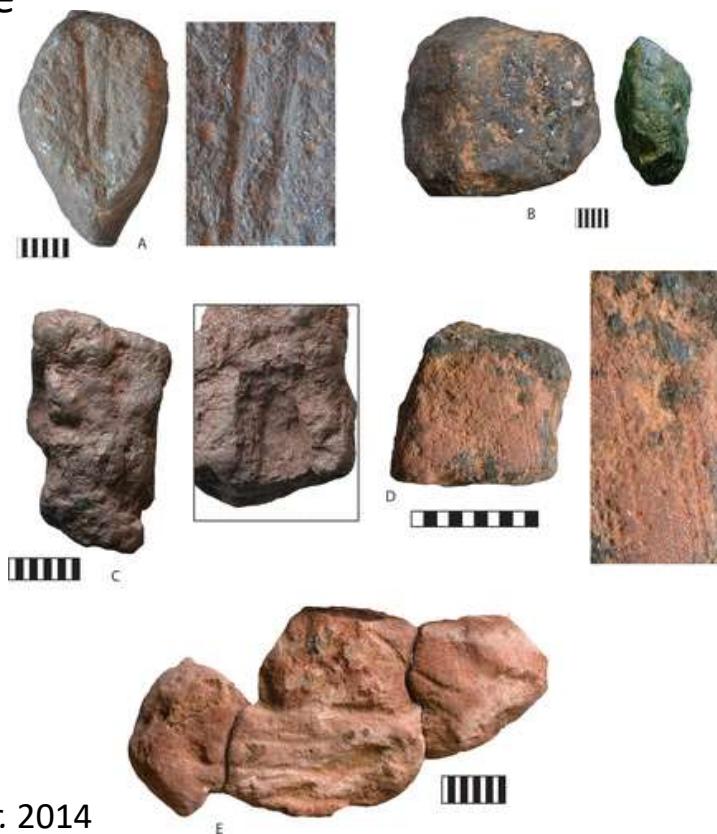


Kathu Pan 1

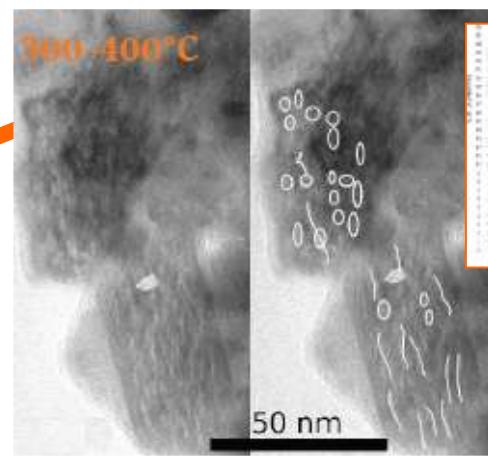
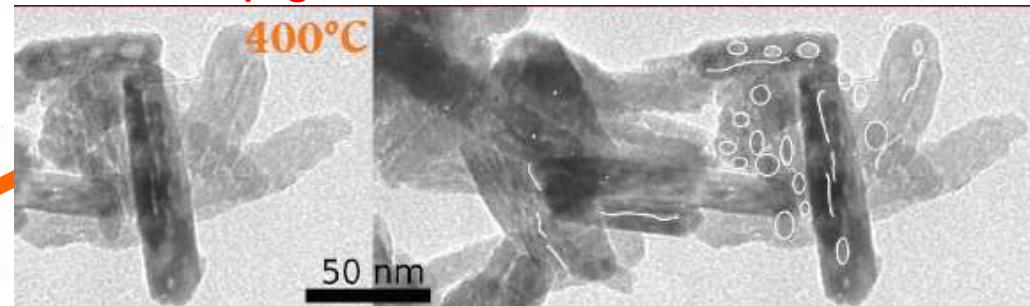
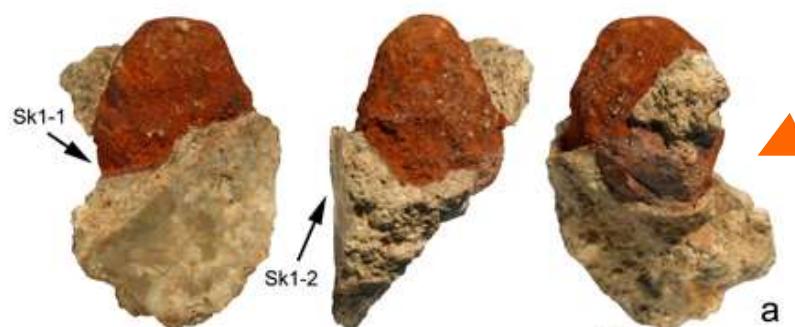


Wonderwerk Cave,  
excavation 1,  
stratum 8a,

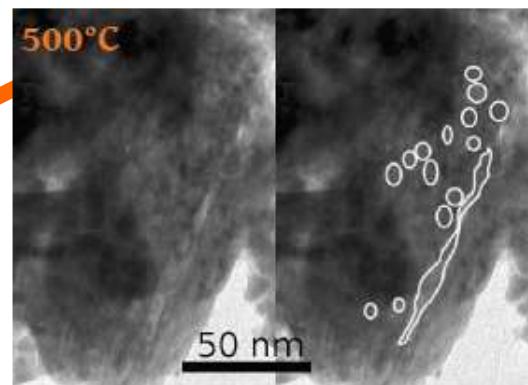
Wonderwerk Cave  
excavation 6  
Fauresmith  
pigments

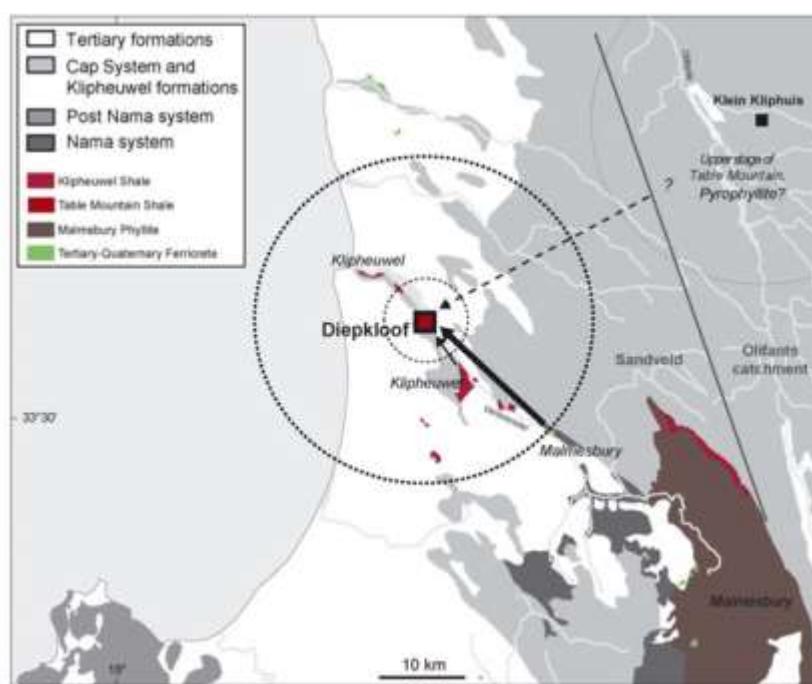
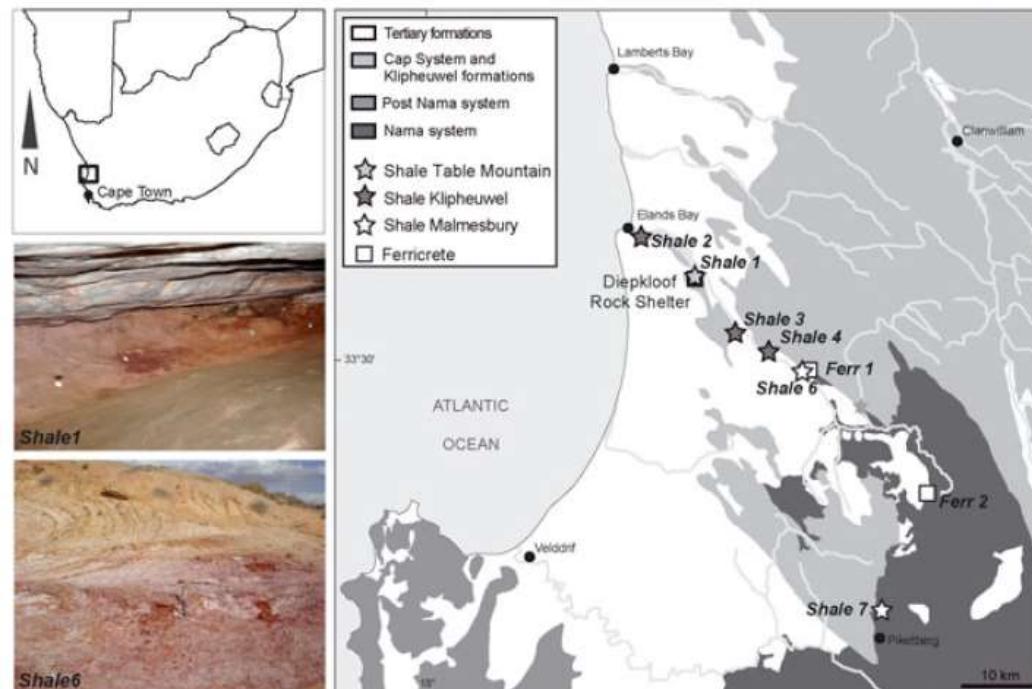


## Skhul pigments from Mousterian levels

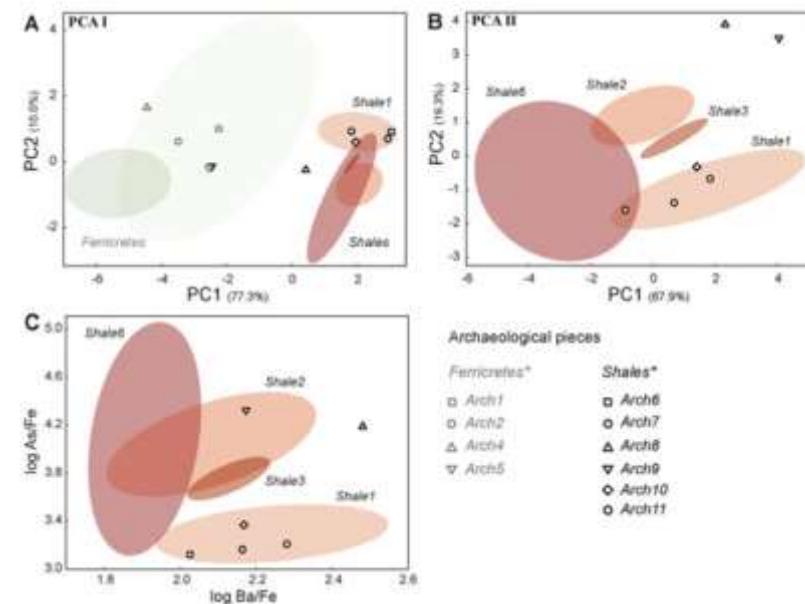


No heating





# Diepkloof Rock shelter 90-40 ka



Dayet et al. 2012 *Archeometry*

20 years ago the earliest  
ornaments were 40,000 years old



## Oued Djebanna

35 ka BP

(90 – 60 ka BP)

Vanhaeren, d'Errico  
et al. Science 2006



## Taforalt

## Ifri n'Ammar

## Contrebandier

## Rhafas

## L'Mnasra

## Bizmoune

145 – 60 ka BP

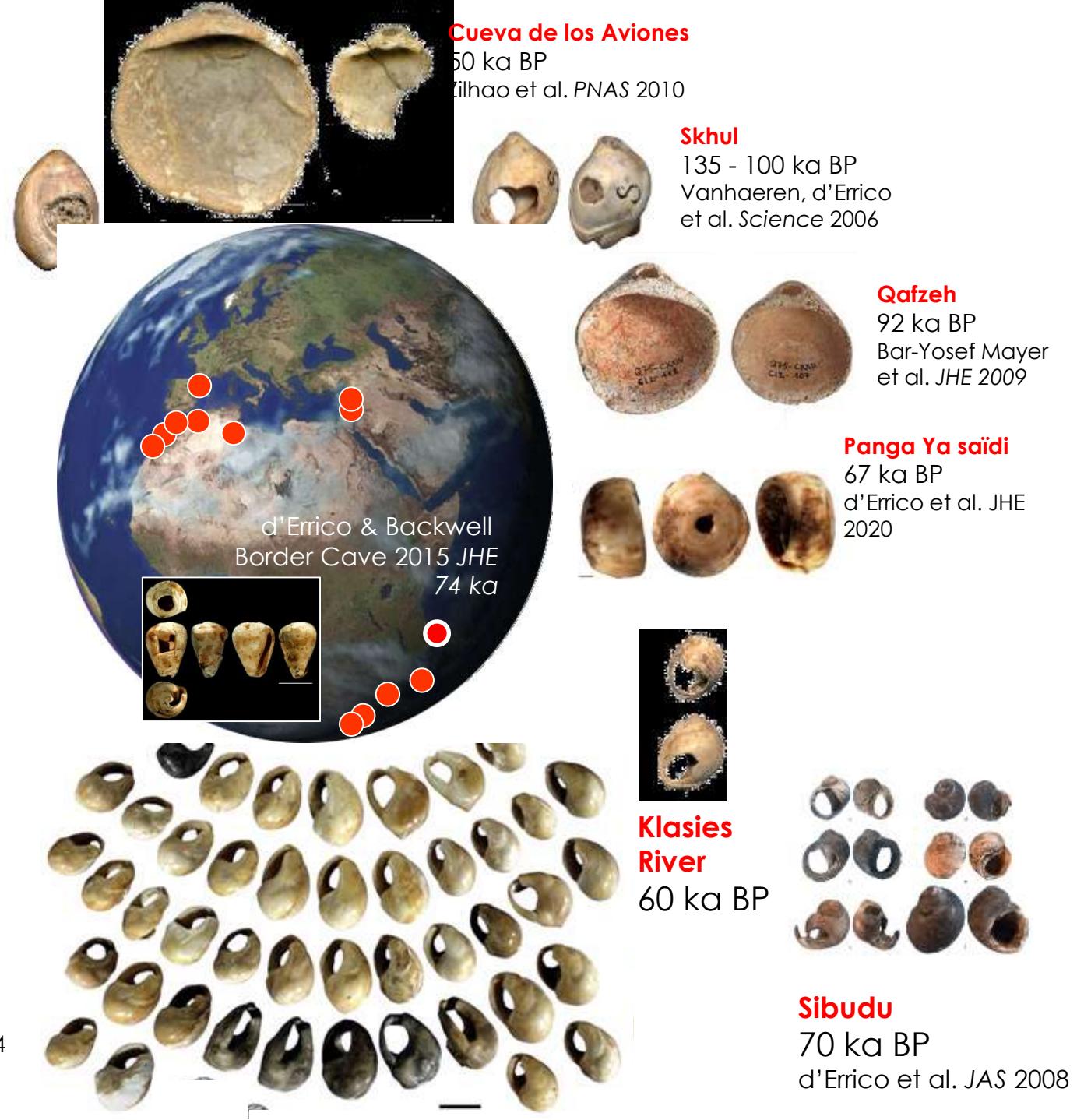
Bouzouggar et al 2008 PNAS

d'Errico et al. PNAS 2010,  
Sehasseh et al. 2021

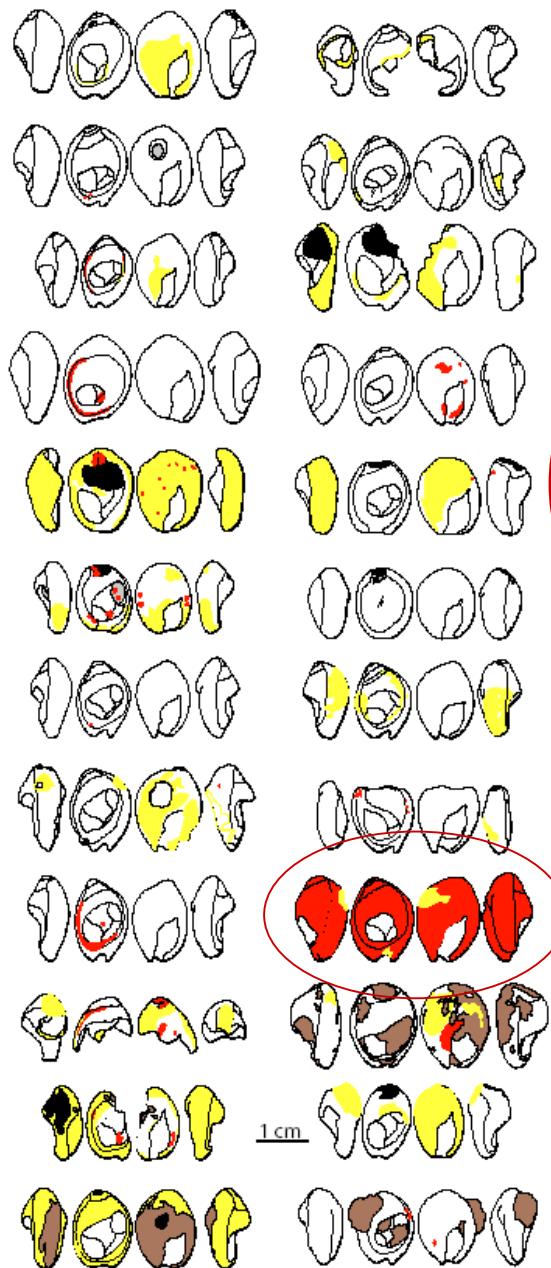
## Blombos

75 ka BP

Henshilwood et al. 2004  
Science, d'Errico et al.  
JHE 2005



RED PIGMENT

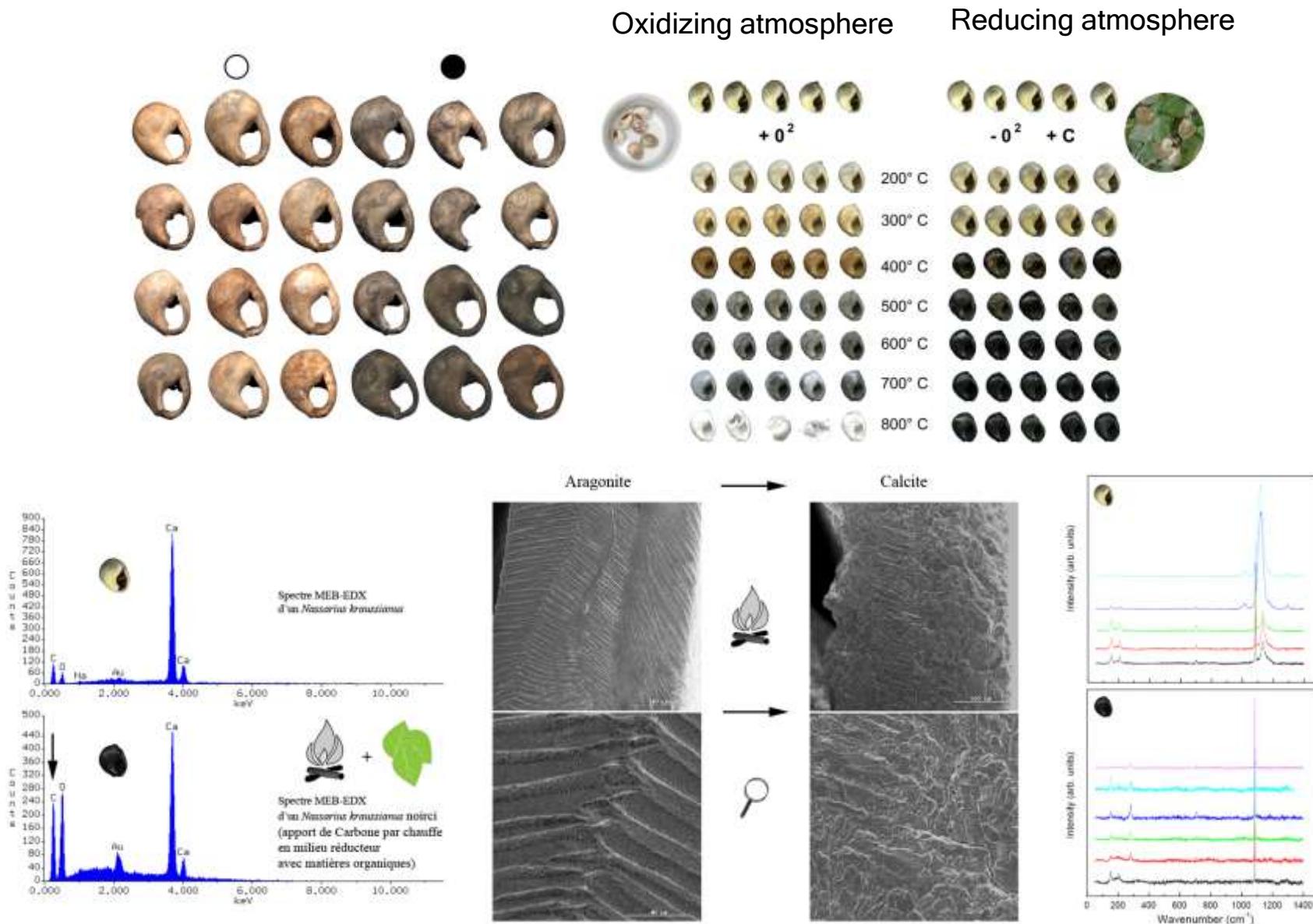


# Taforalt Grotte des Pigeons, 80 ka



beads covered with pigments

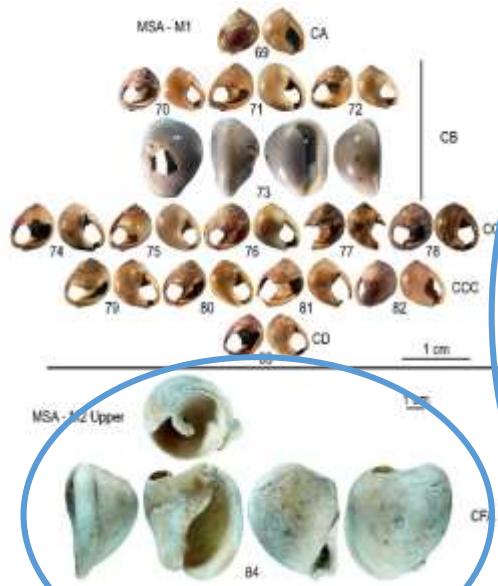
# Colour modification?



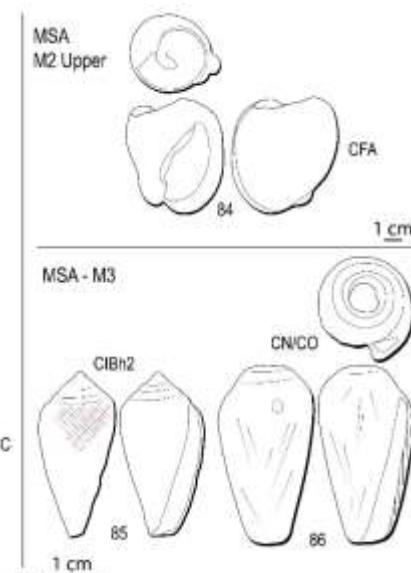
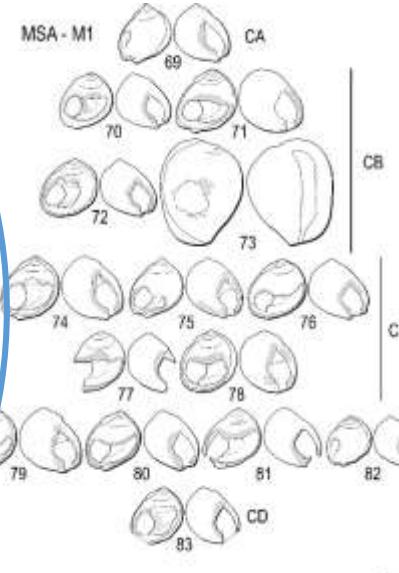
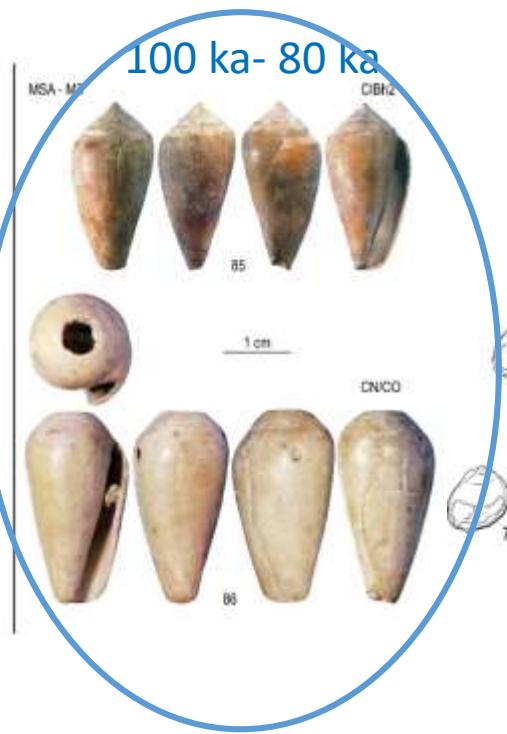
# Blombos Cave, South Africa

d'Errico et al. 2023 JHE

73 ka- 70 ka



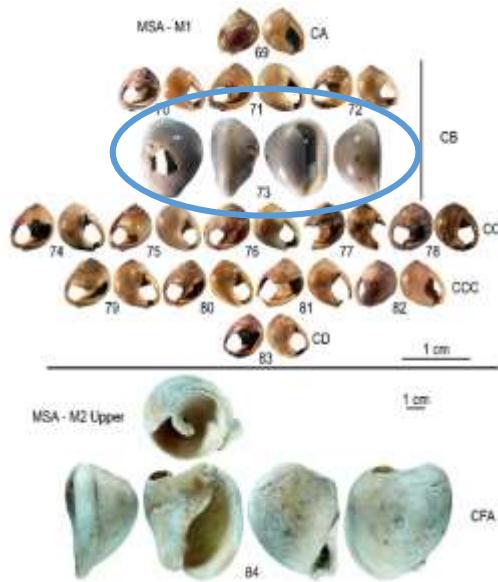
100 ka- 80 ka



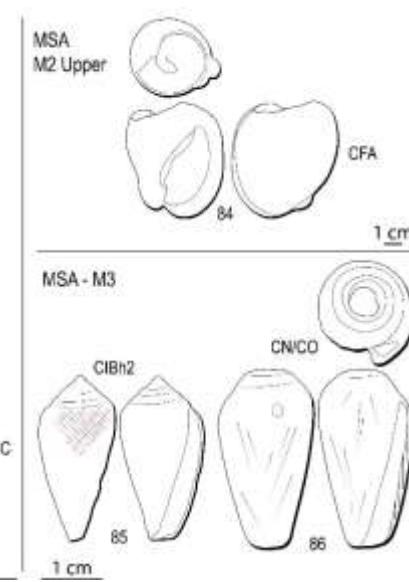
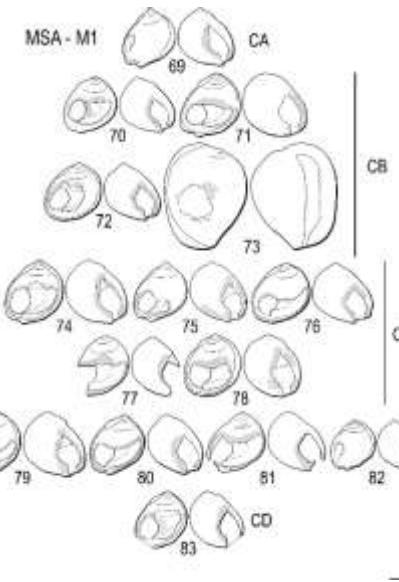
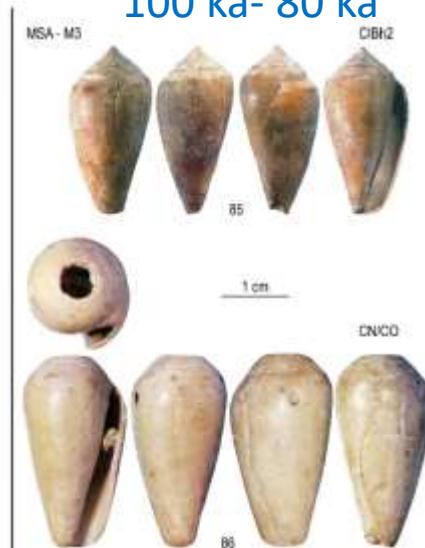
# Blombos Cave, South Africa

d'Errico et al. 2023 JHE

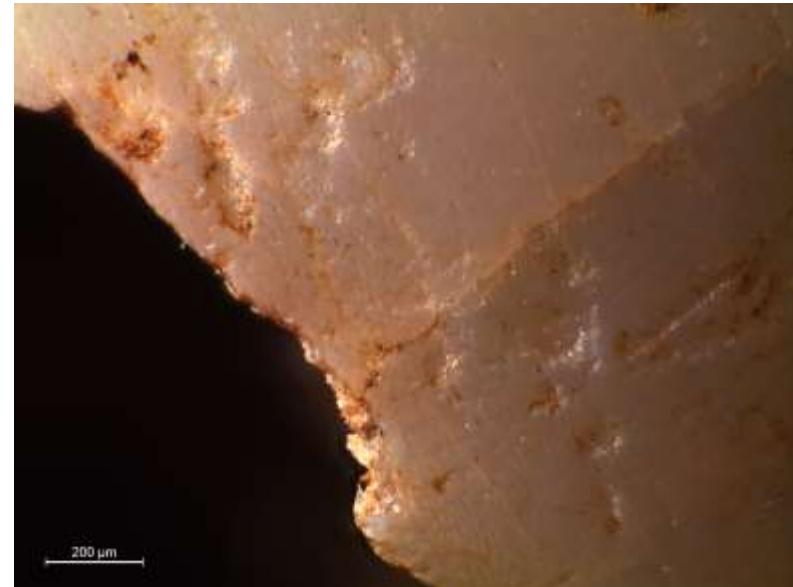
73 ka- 70 ka



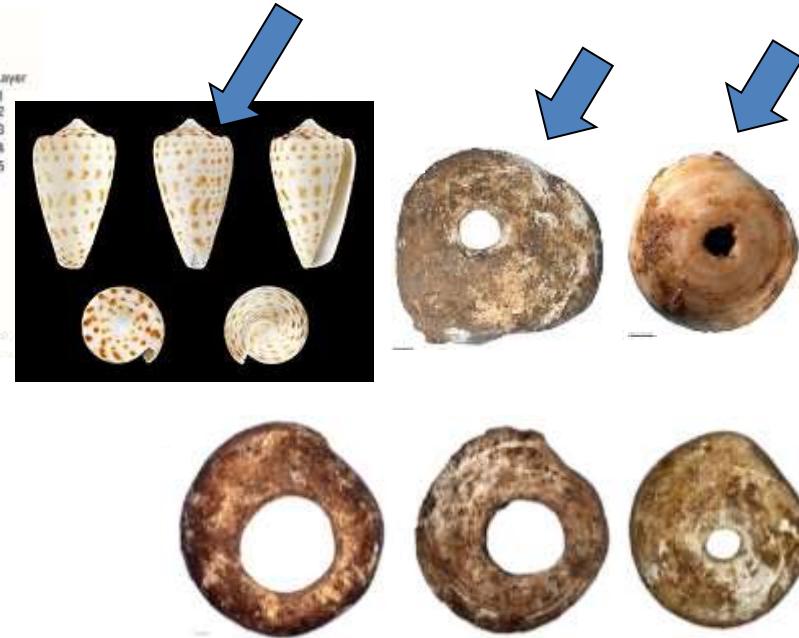
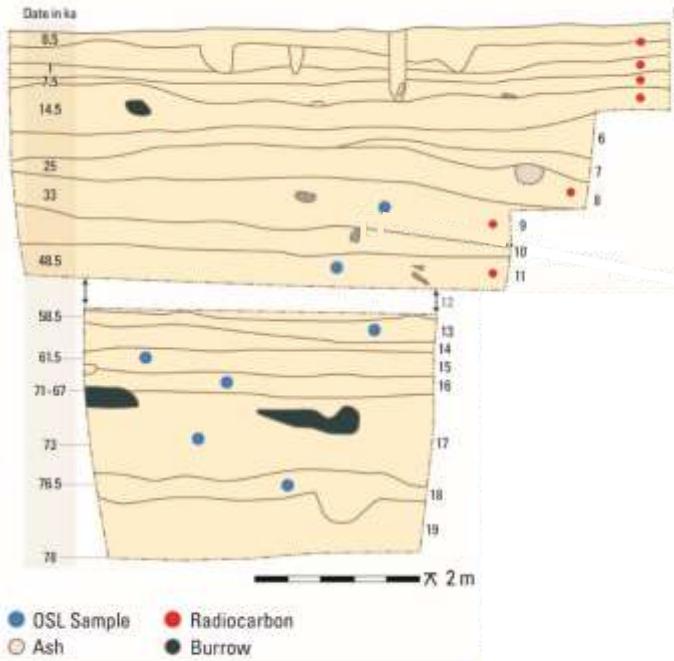
100 ka- 80 ka



80 ka- 73 ka



# Panga ya Saïdi, Kenya

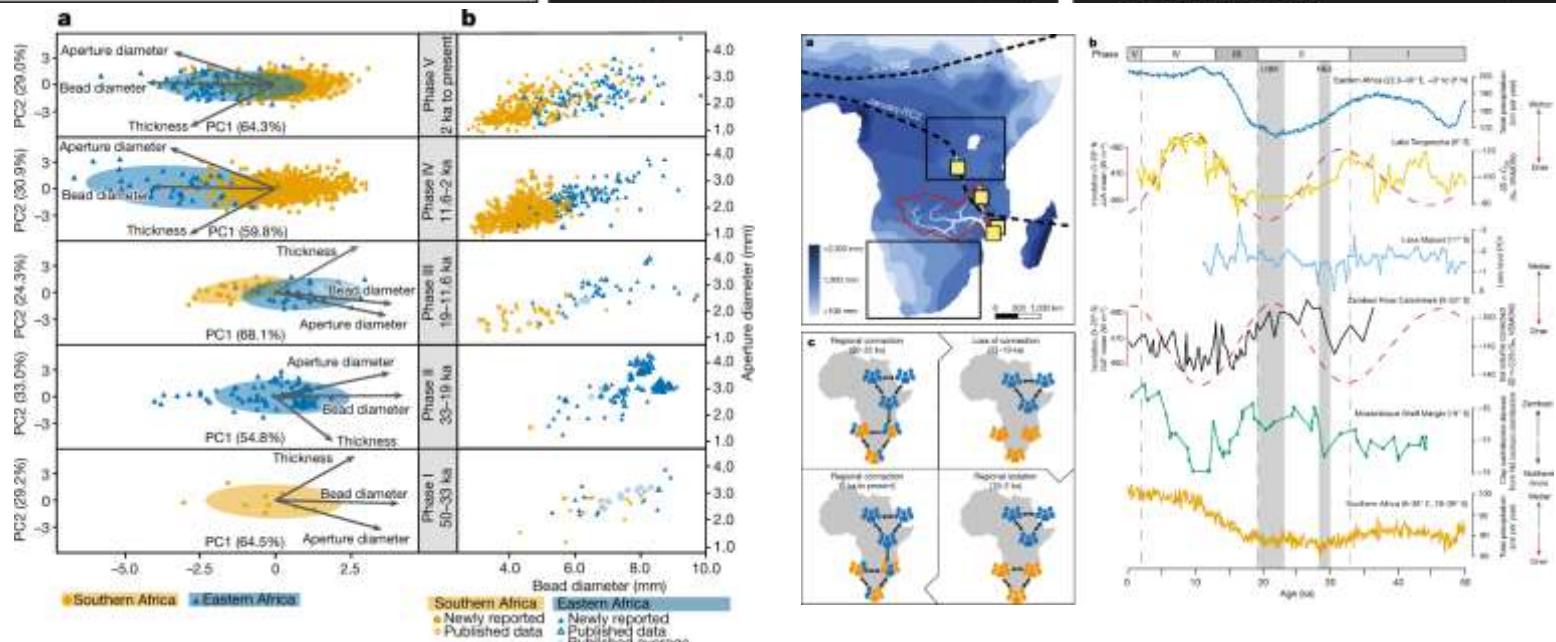
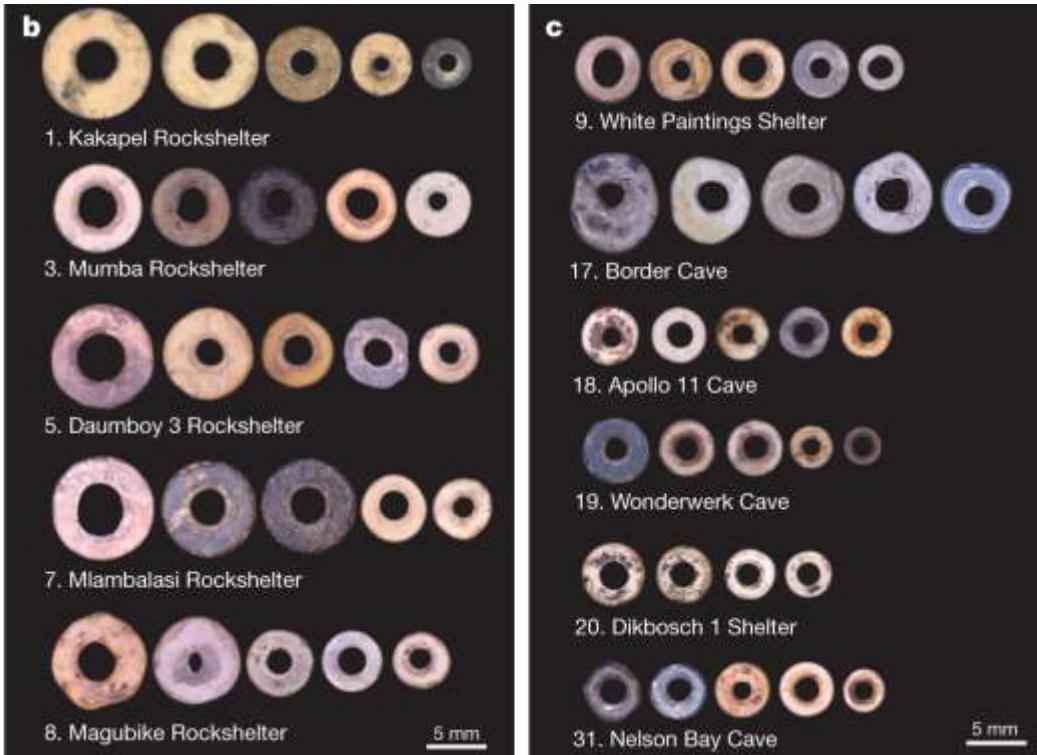
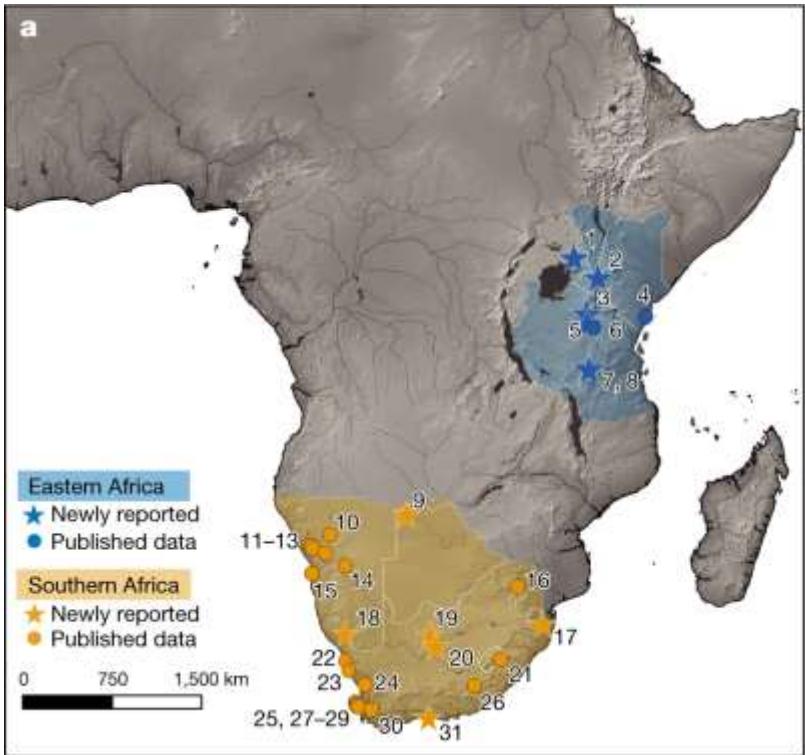


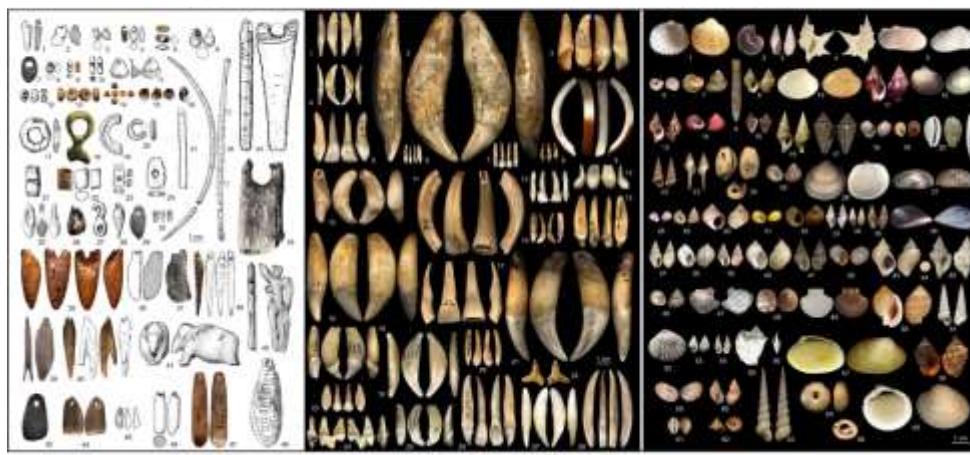
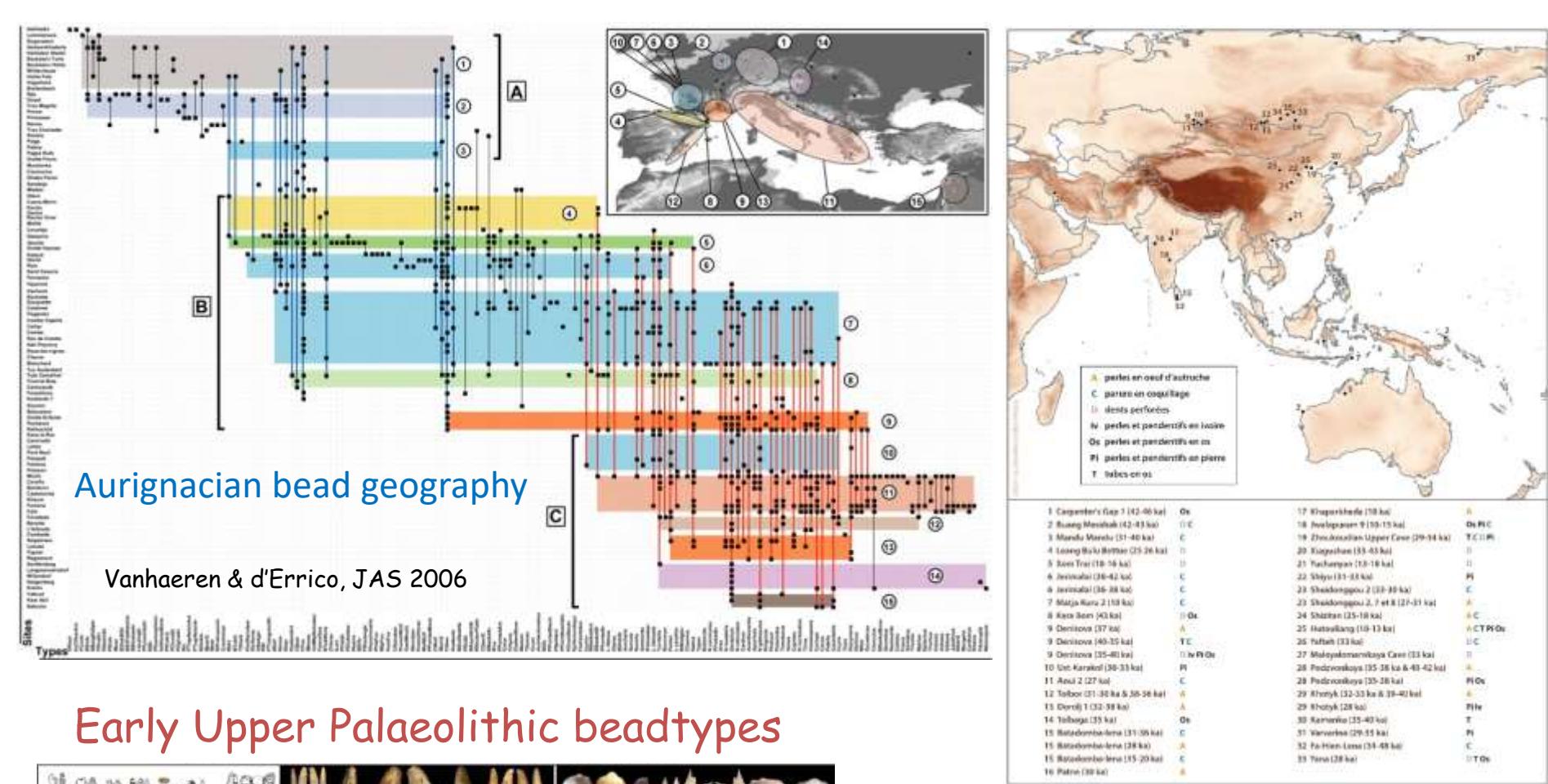
❖ >200 beads, bone tools, engraved bones, and pigment lumps

Shipton et al. 2018 *Nature Communications*

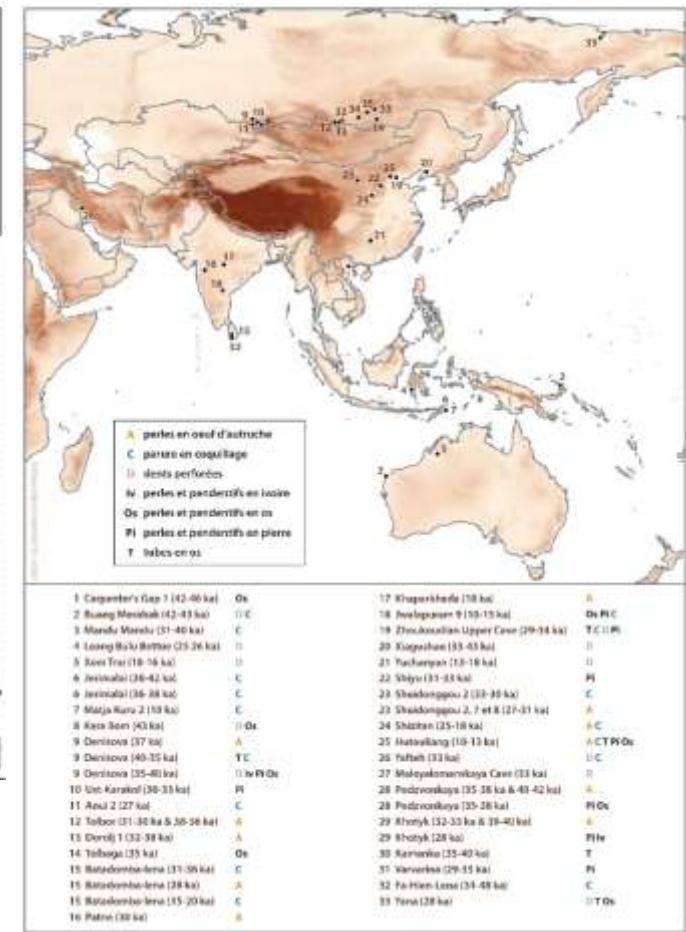


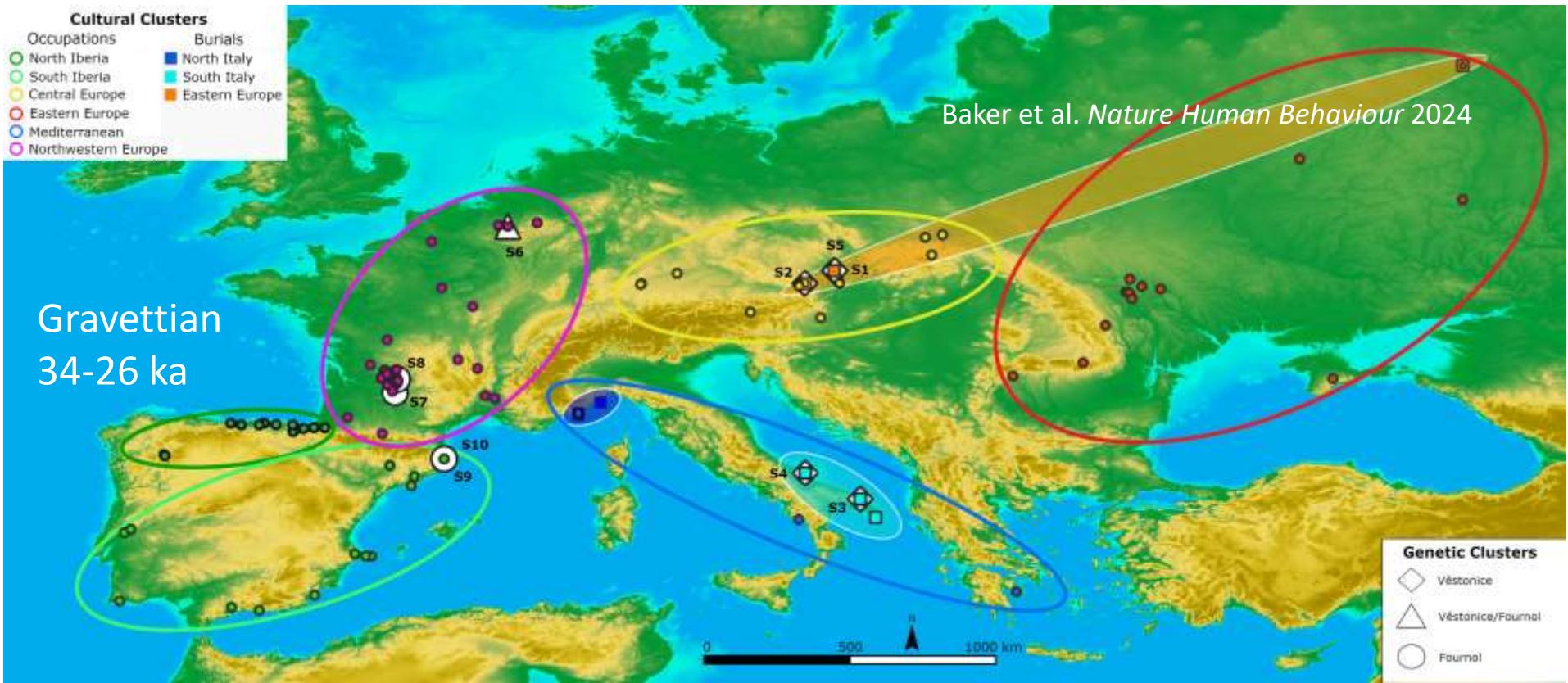
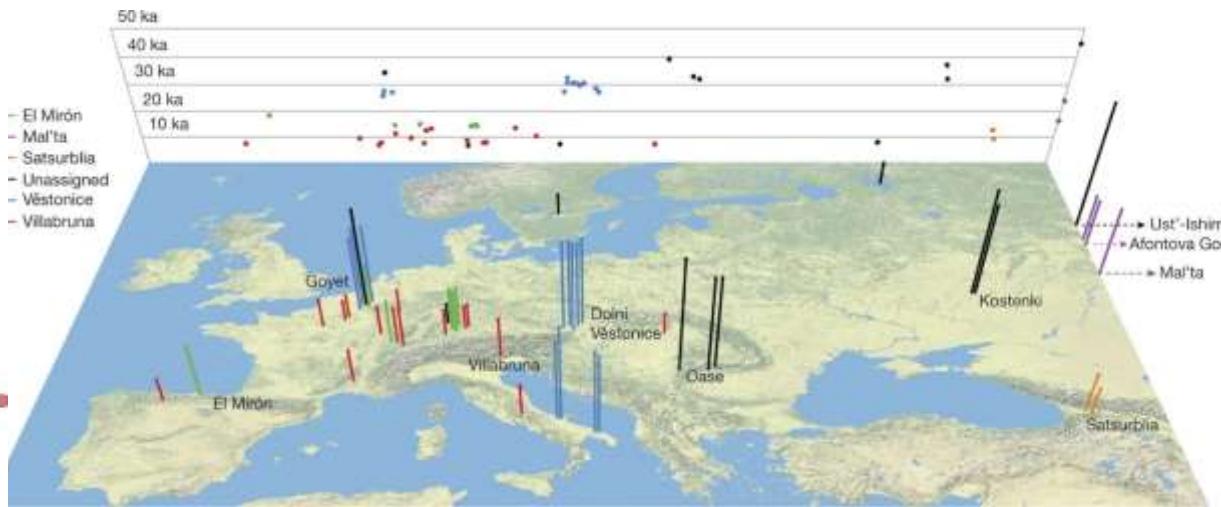
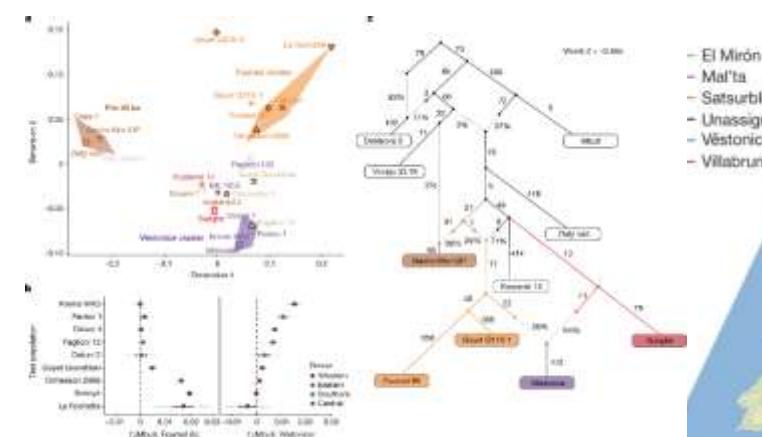
d'Errico et al. 2020 *JHE*





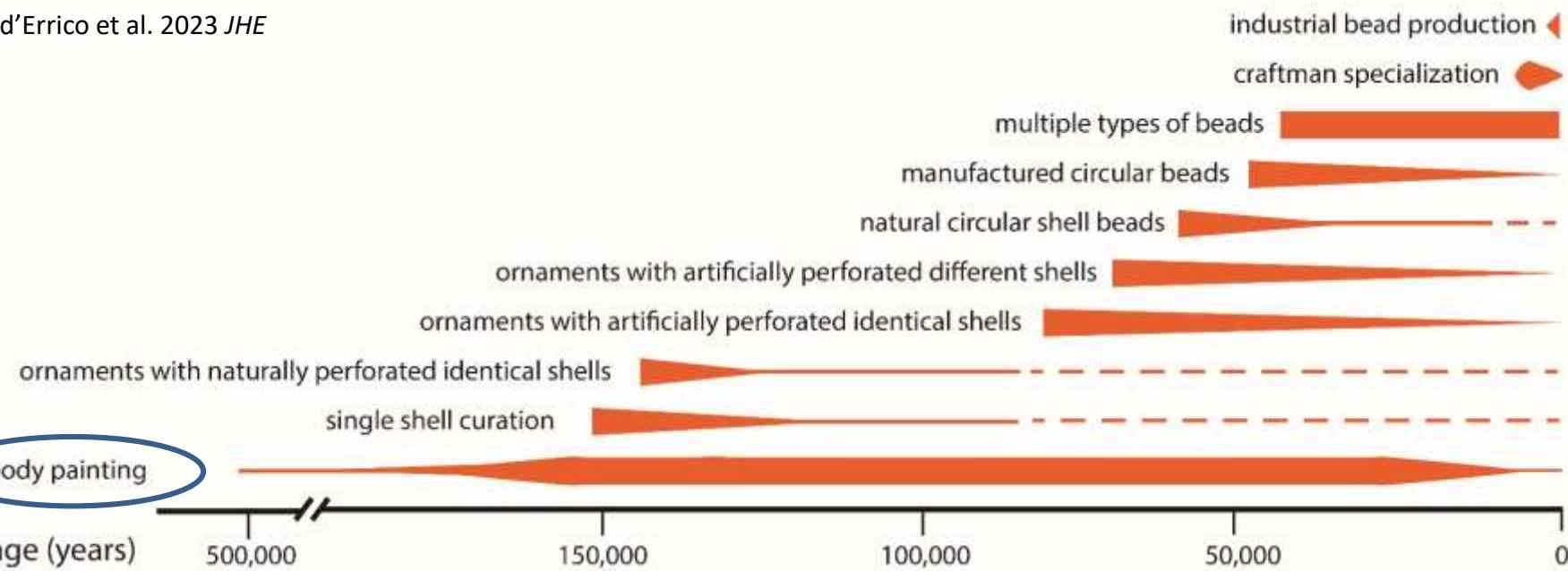
d'Errico 2021 Proc. Coa Symposium



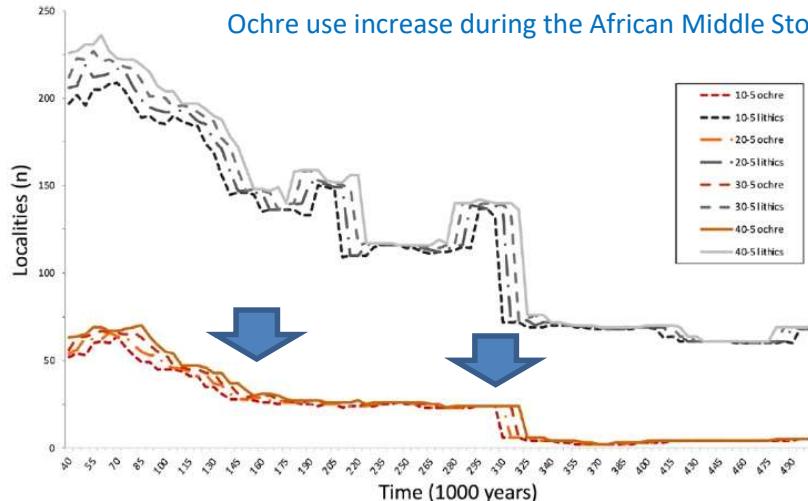


# A multistep evolutionary scenario for the culturalisation of the human body

d'Errico et al. 2023 JHE



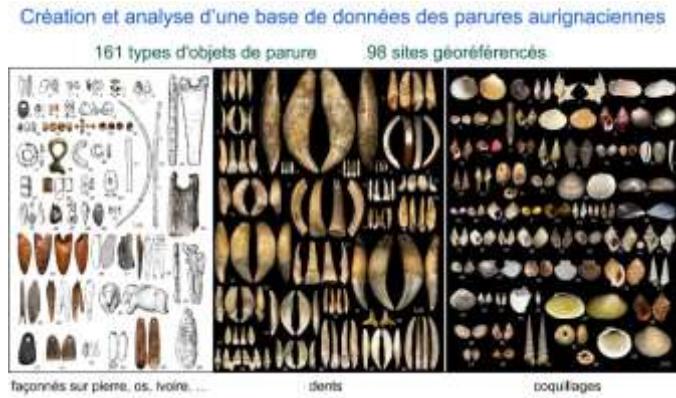
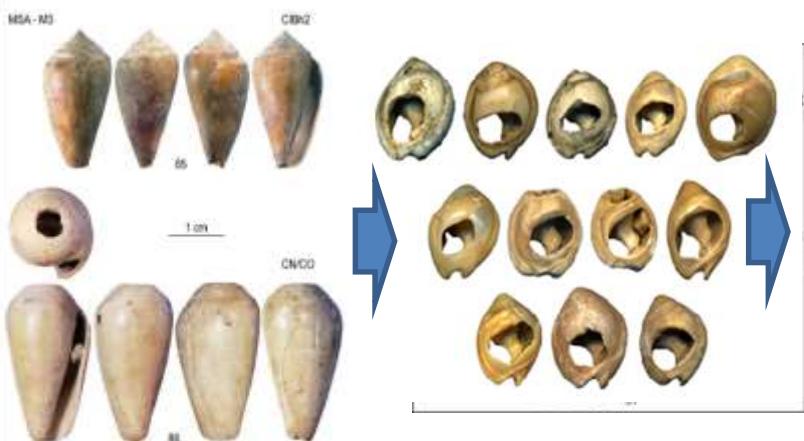
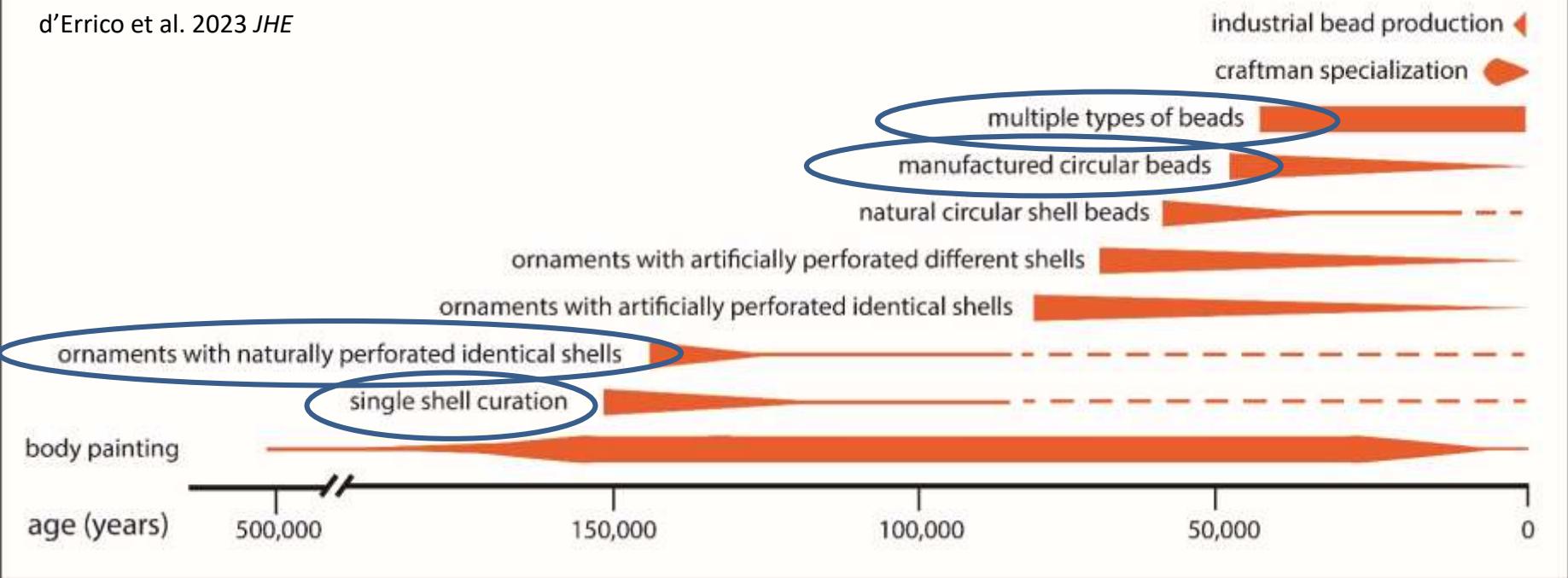
Ochre use increase during the African Middle Stone Age



Dapschauskas et al. *J. World Prehist.* 2022

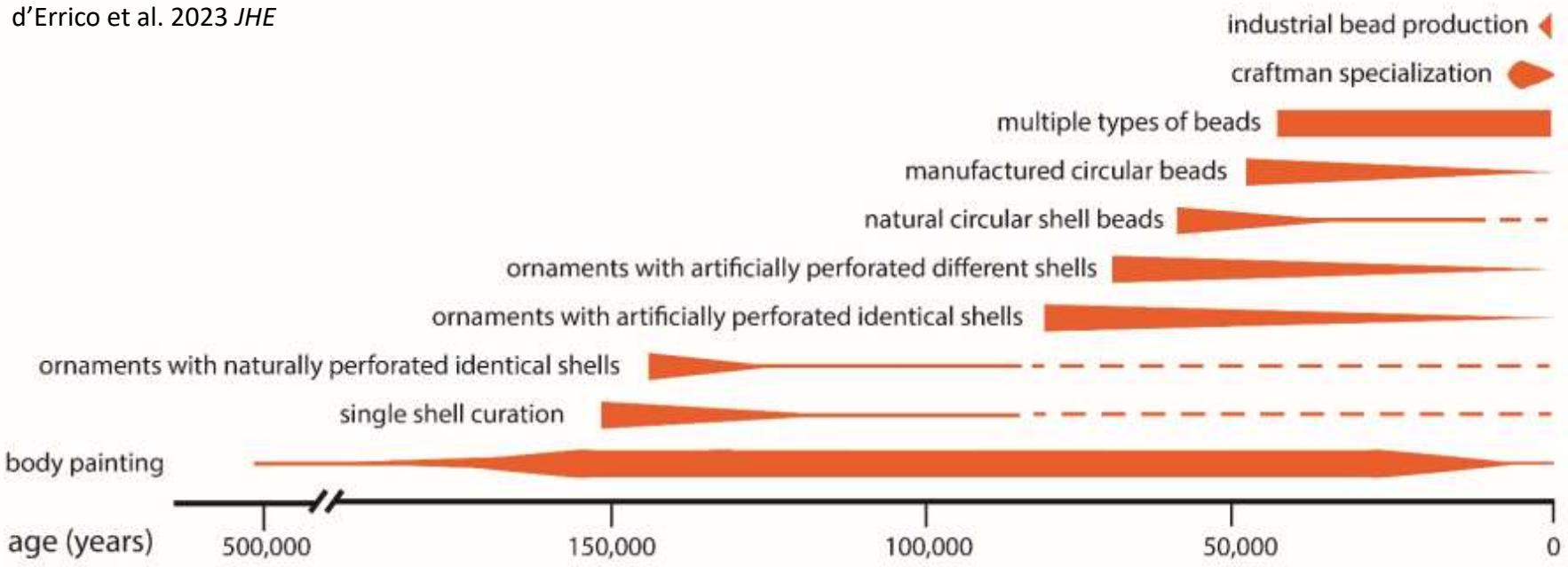
# A multistep evolutionary scenario for the culturalisation of the human body

d'Errico et al. 2023 JHE



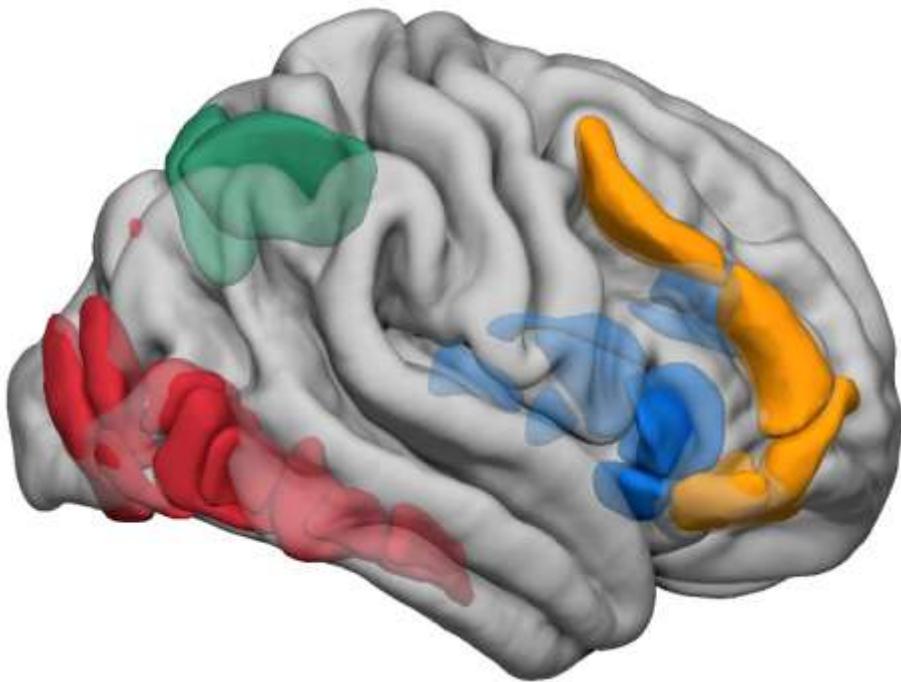
# A multistep evolutionary scenario for the culturalisation of the human body

d'Errico et al. 2023 JHE



# Brain regions involved in the attribution of a social status from face ornamentation

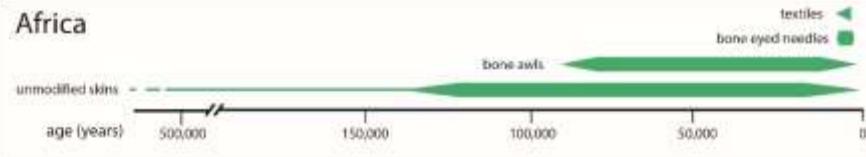
Salagnon, d'Errico et al., *Brain structure and function*. In press



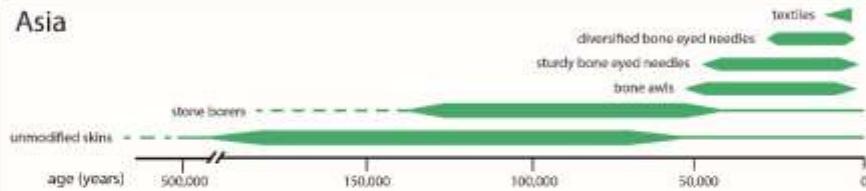
- Parahippocampal gyrus: Contextual associations (type of ornaments <-> social status) (Aminoff et al., 2007)
  - FFA et OFA: Automatic visual processing of faces
  - Temporal pole: orientation of the visual system towards social elements and perhaps modulation of the activity of the ventral visual pathway (Pehrs et al., 2015).
- ❖ **Salience network**  
Perceptual decision-making  
(Chand & Dhamala, 2016; Lamichhane et al., 2016; Uddin, 2015).
- ❖ **Prefrontal cortex**  
Social cognition (Forbes & Grafman, 2010)  
and social status evaluation (Mah et al., 2004).
- ❖ **Intraparietal sulcus**: Greater attentional mobilization (longer reaction times)

**Results show the activation of a network including visual, insular, limbic, and frontal regions involved in executive control and social cognition**

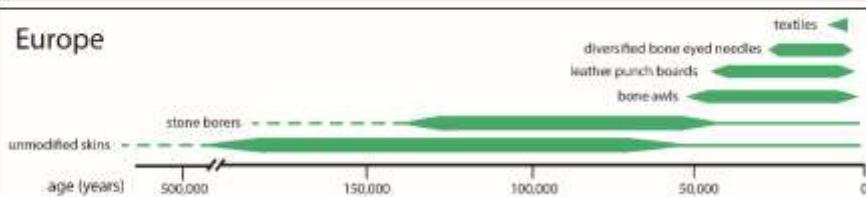
## Africa



## Asia



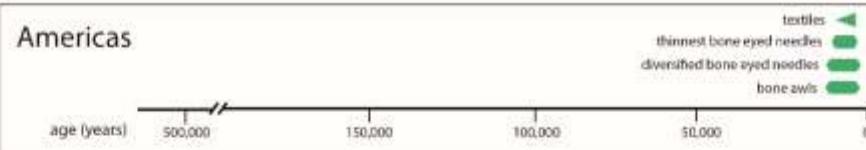
## Europe



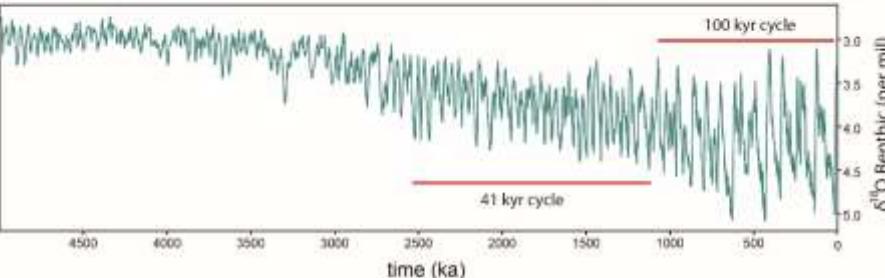
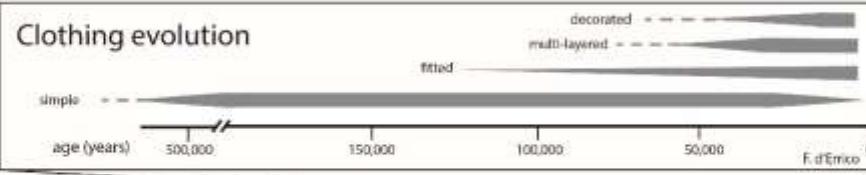
## Australia



## Americas



## Clothing evolution



Blombos and Sibudu bone awls, South Africa 90-70 ka



Early bone needles from China and Europe, 40-14 ka

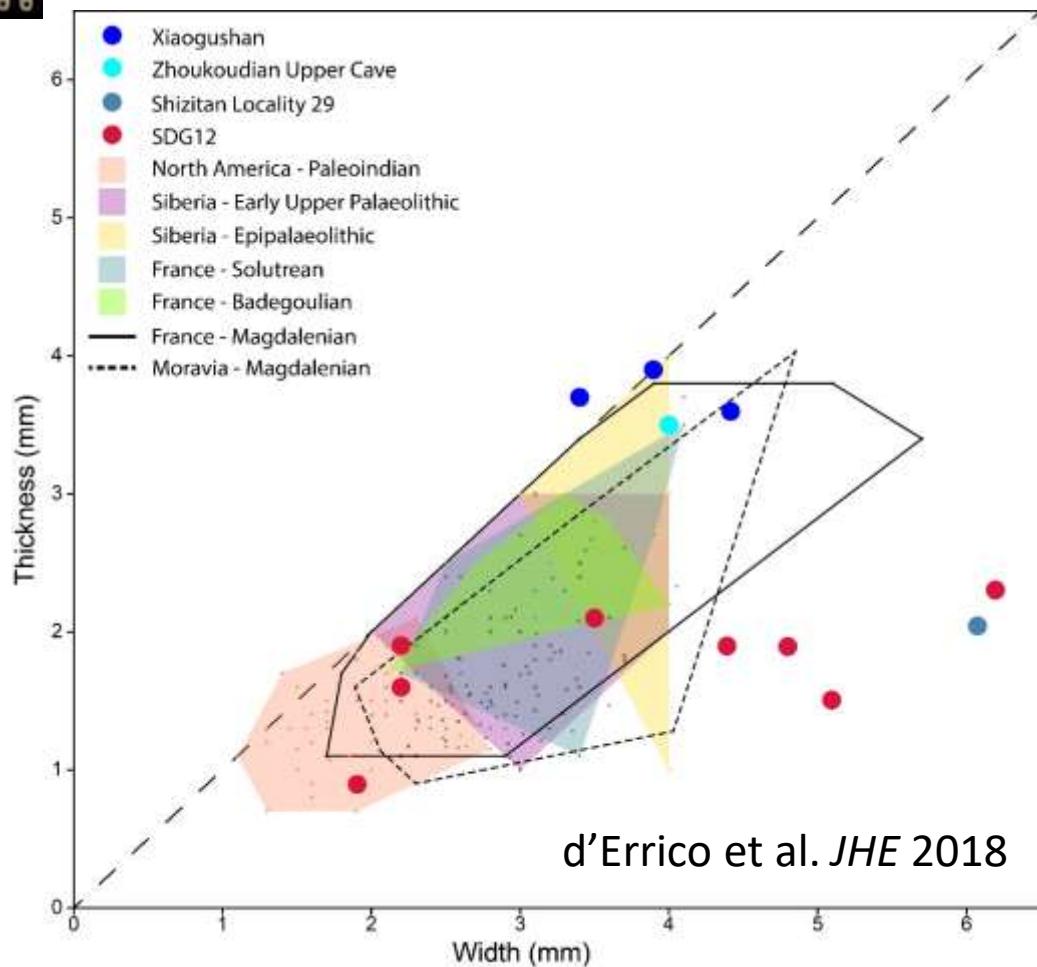
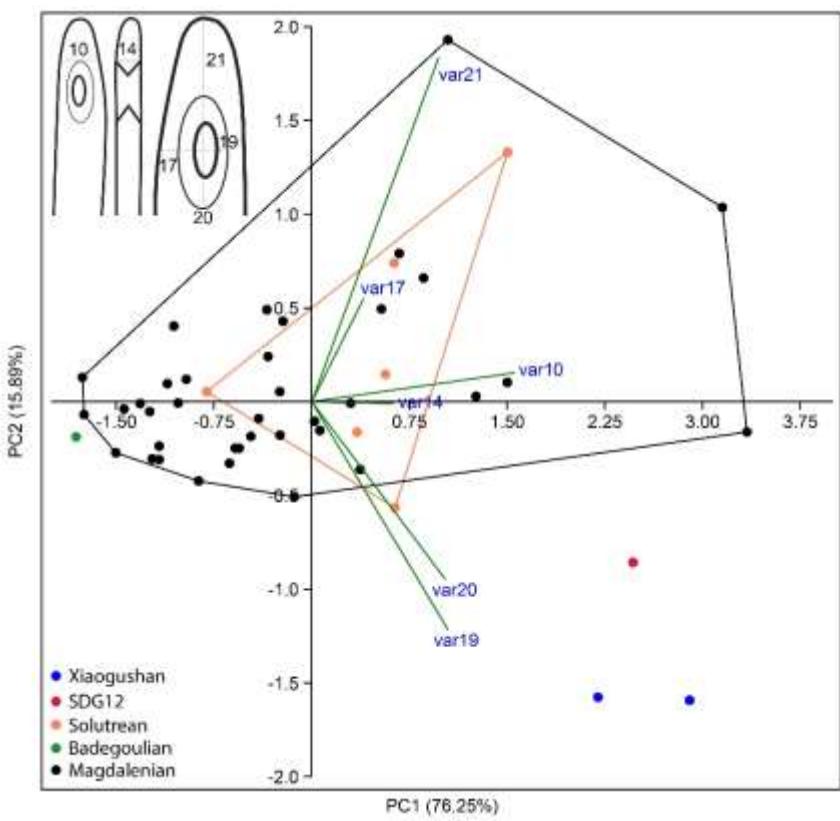
Gilligan, d'Errico et al. *Science Advances* 2024

d'Errico in *Oxford Handbook of the Archeology and Anthropology of body modification* 2024



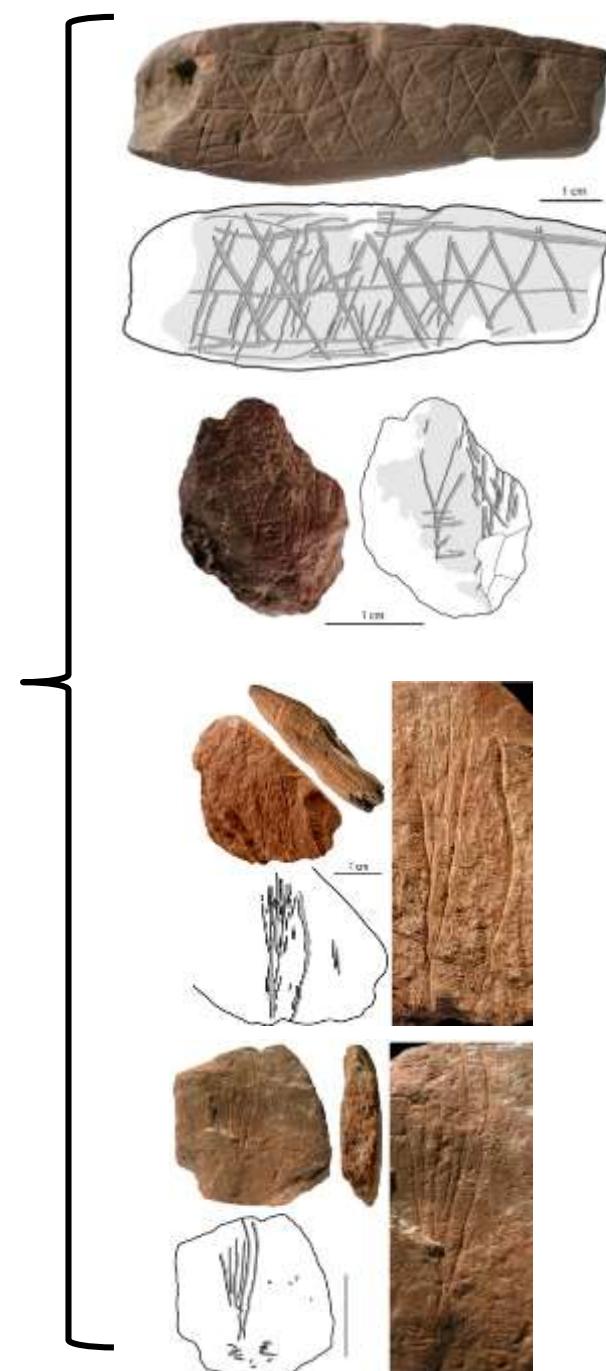
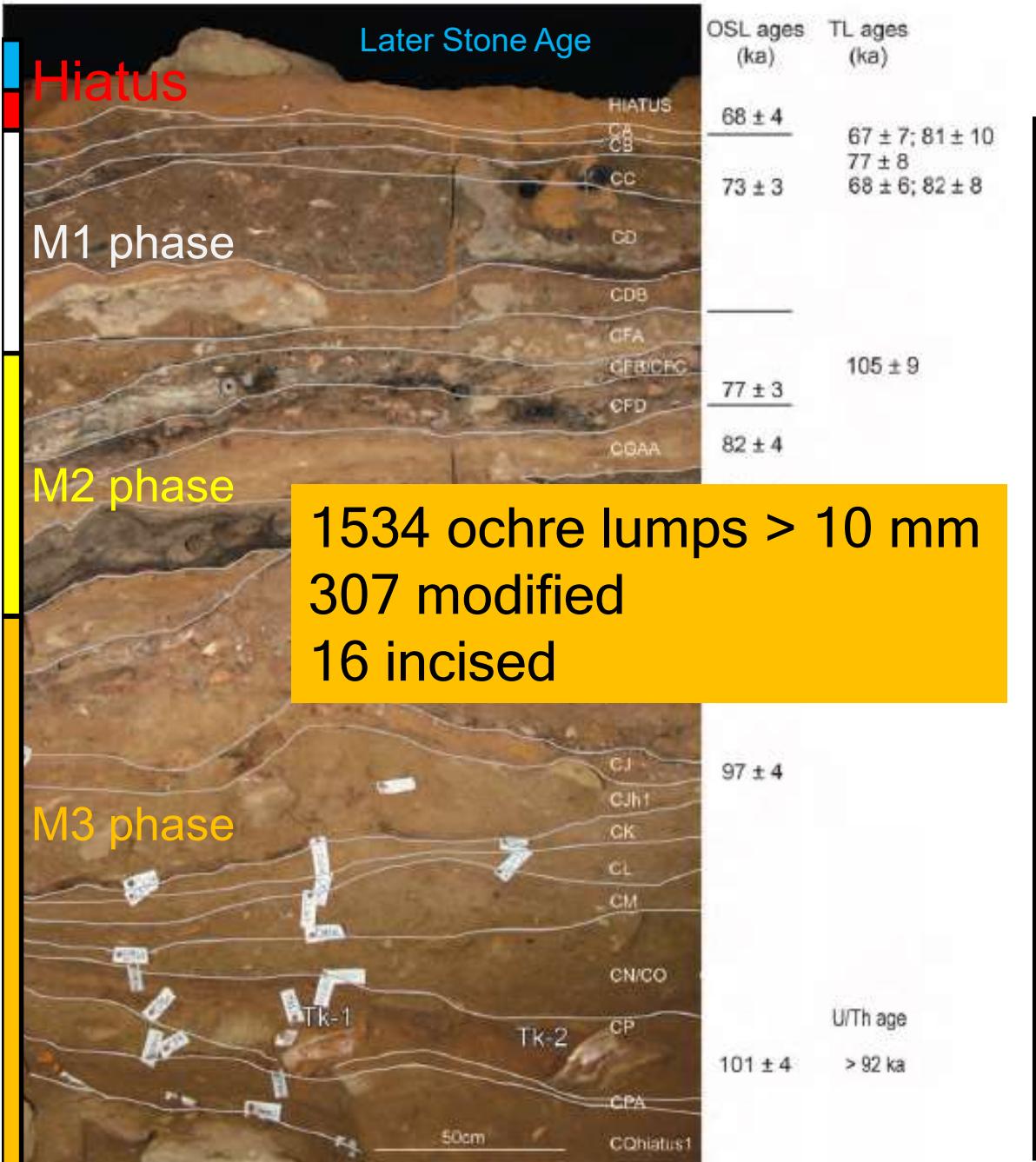
Niche construction does not stop with the beginning of the Upper Palaeolithic!

## Evolution of clothing Reflection of niche construction



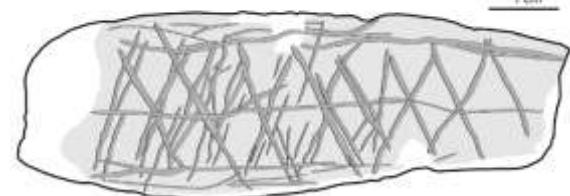
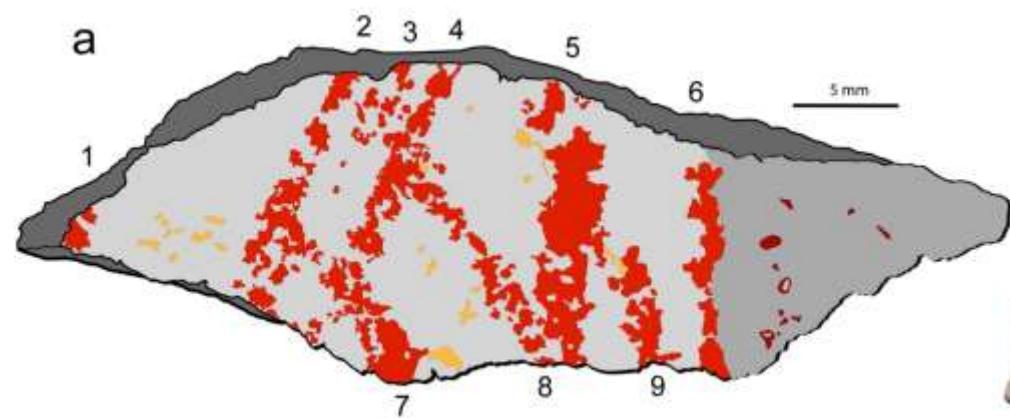


# Blombos Cave stratigraphy





Blombos Cave  
73 ka



Sibudu, 60 ka

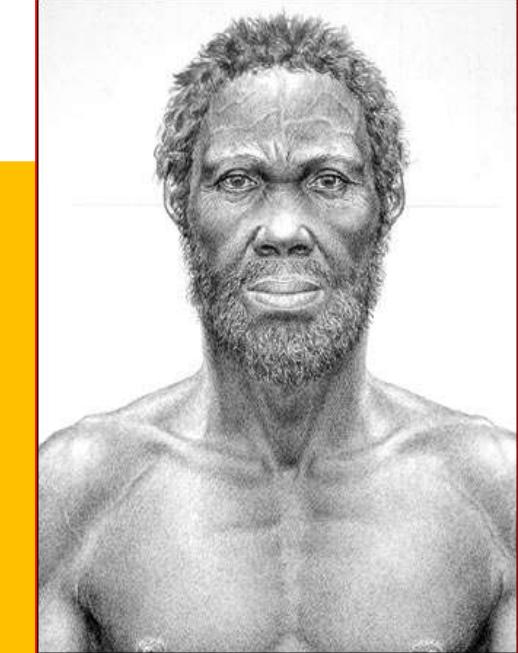


Taforalt , 80 ka



71 ka

Blombos, 100 ka



1 cm

71 ka

64 ka

Sibudu, 60 ka



Taforalt , 80 ka



71 ka

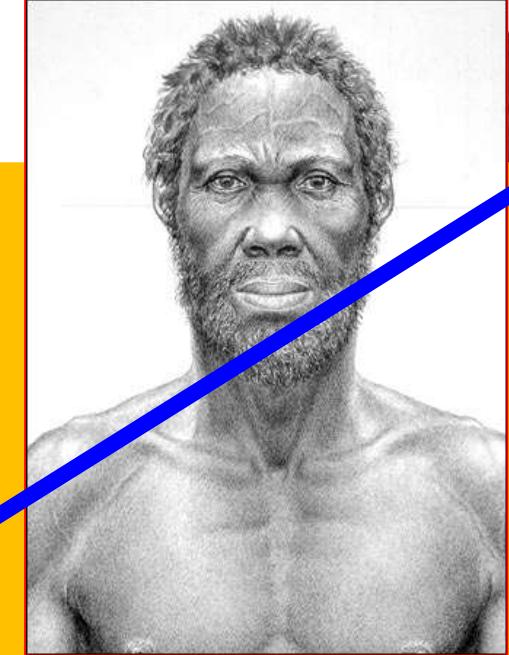
Blombos, 100 ka



1 cm

71 ka

64 ka

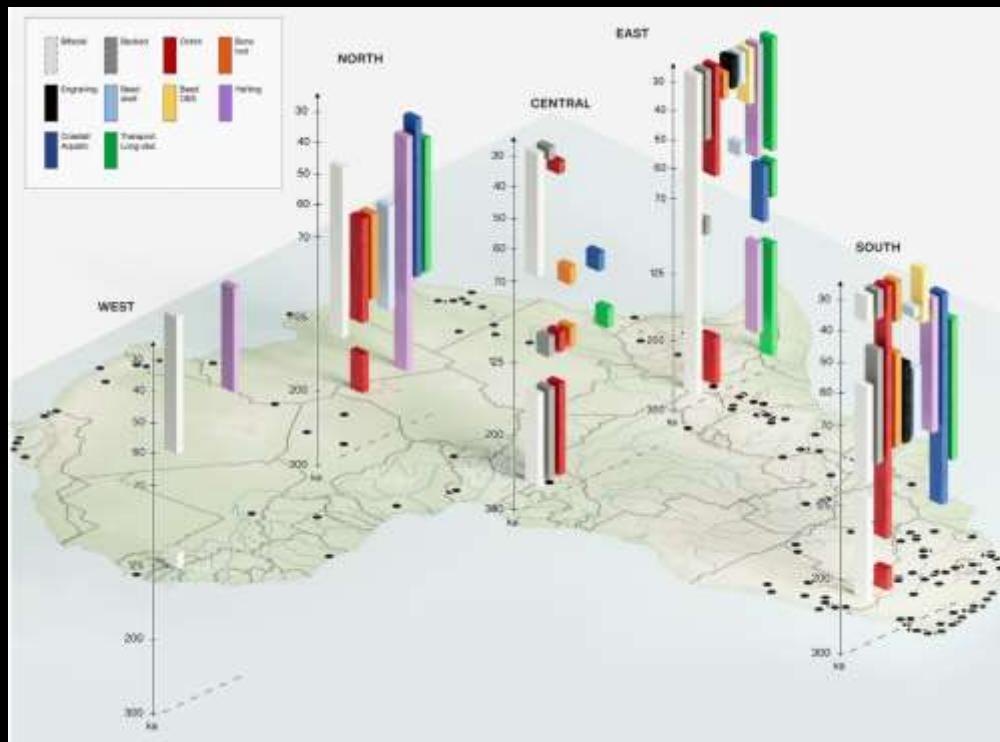


# Synthesis..... and way forward

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# Synthesis..... and way forward

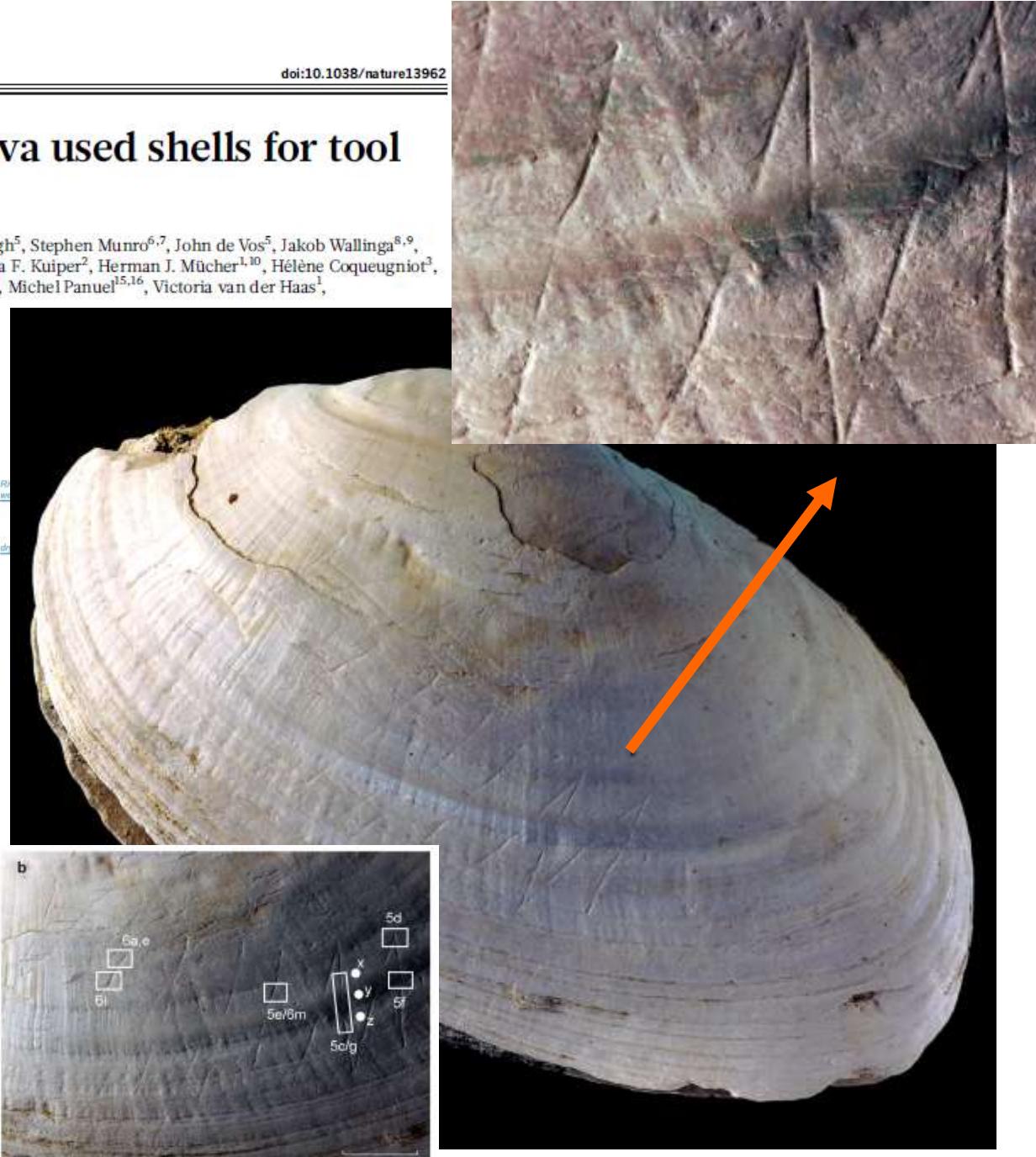
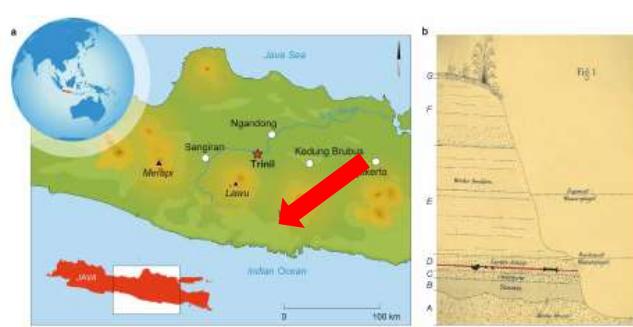
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# Synthesis..... and way forward

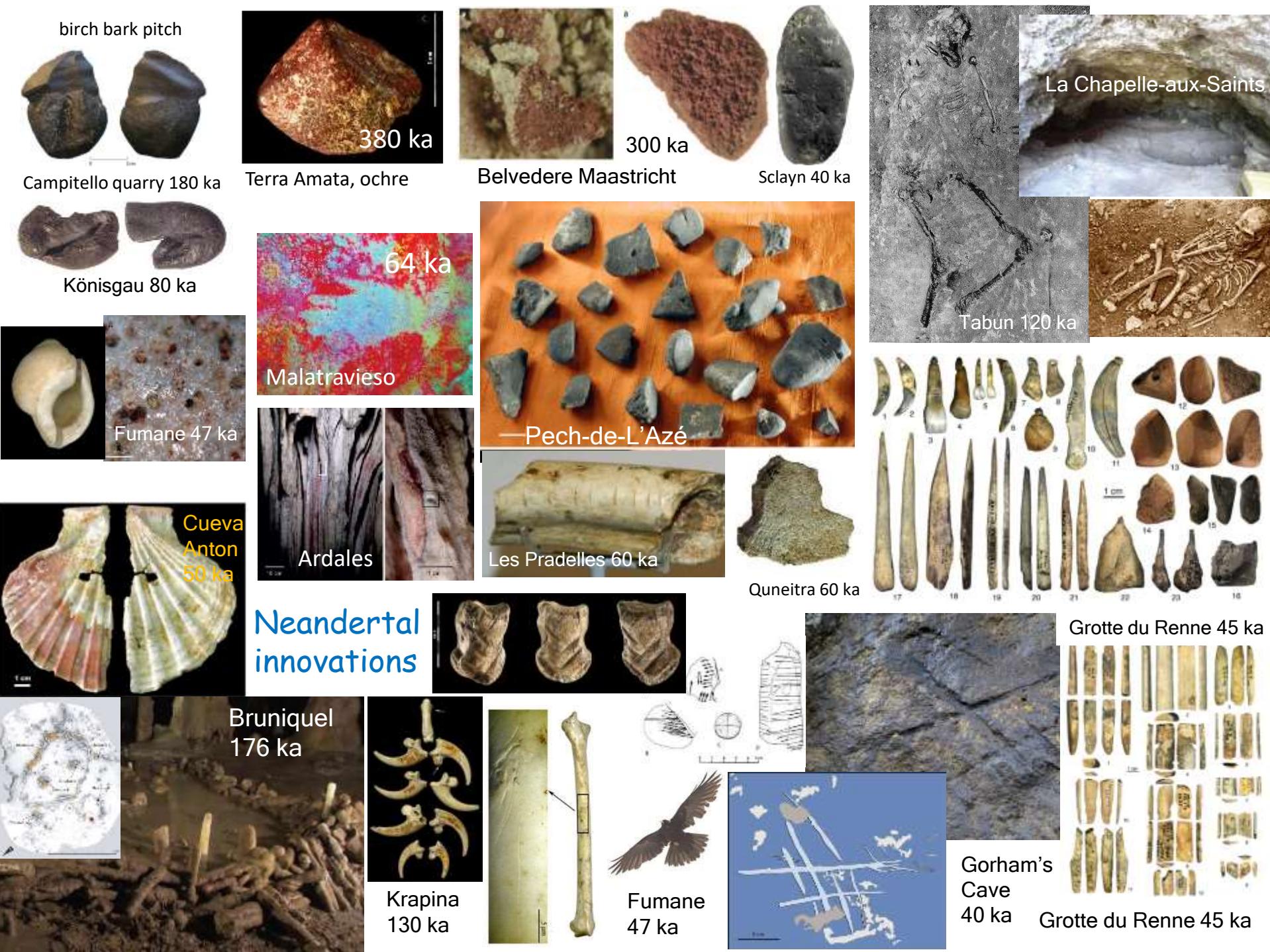
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- Gradual **decoupling after 300 ka** in the relationship between morphology and cognition indicating that the **main driver becomes cultural niche construction rather than natural selection**
- In this context we must accept the idea that it is material culture and brain plasticity that shapes cognition and not the opposite

# *Homo erectus* at Trinil on Java used shells for tool production and engraving

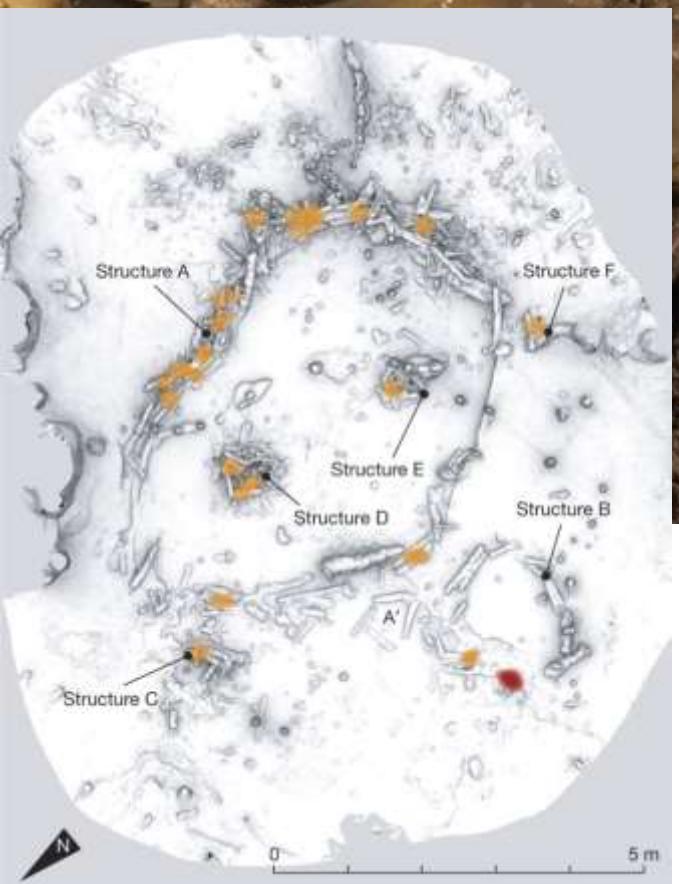
Josephine C. A. Joordens<sup>1,2</sup>, Francesco d'Errico<sup>3,4</sup>, Frank P. Wesselingh<sup>5</sup>, Stephen Munro<sup>6,7</sup>, John de Vos<sup>5</sup>, Jakob Wallinga<sup>8,9</sup>, Christina Ankjærgaard<sup>8,9</sup>, Tony Reimann<sup>8,9</sup>, Jan R. Wijbrans<sup>2</sup>, Klaudia F. Kuiper<sup>2</sup>, Herman J. Müncher<sup>1,10</sup>, Hélène Coqueugniot<sup>3</sup>, Vincent Prié<sup>11,12</sup>, Ineke Joosten<sup>13</sup>, Bertil van Os<sup>13</sup>, Anne S. Schulp<sup>2,5,14</sup>, Michel Panuel<sup>15,16</sup>, Victoria van der Haas<sup>1</sup>, Wim Lustenhouwer<sup>2</sup>, John J. G. Reijmer<sup>2</sup> & Wil Roebroeks<sup>1</sup>



Joordens, d'Errico,  
Wesselingh et al.  
*Nature* 2014



# Bruniquel Cave 176 ka



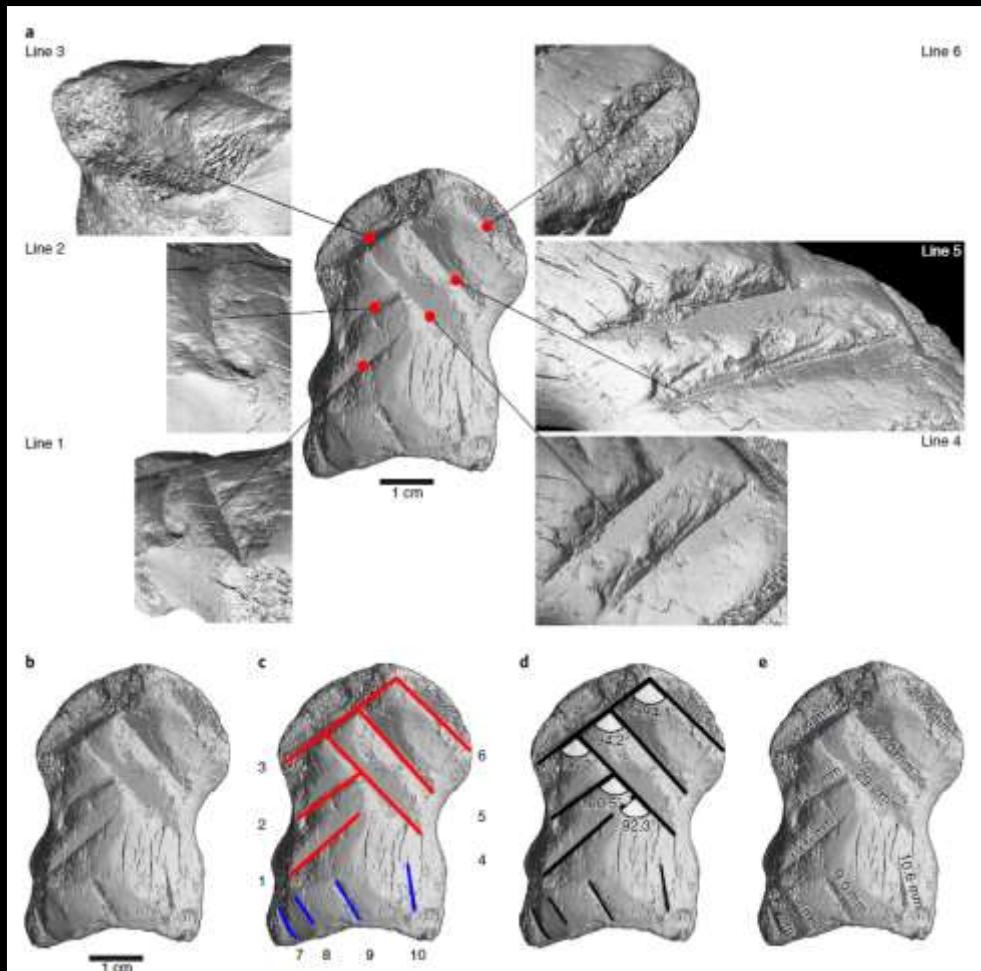
Jaubert et al. 2016 *Nature*

Einhornhöhle  
Germany  
Megaloceros  
phalange



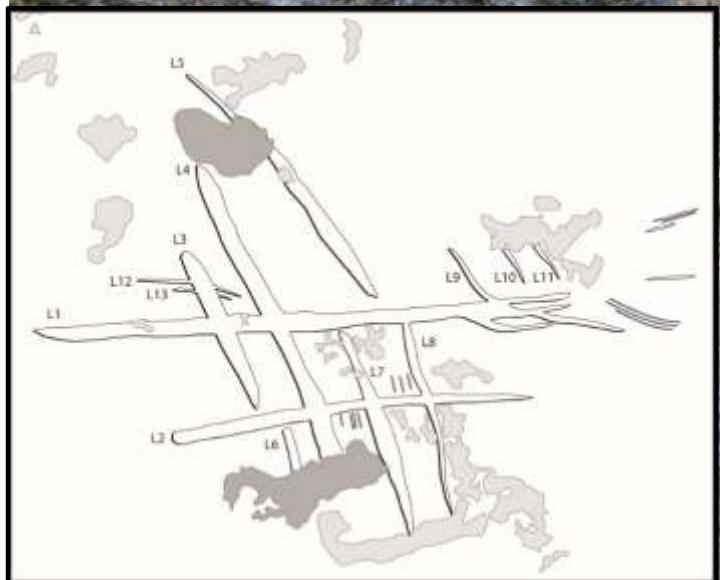
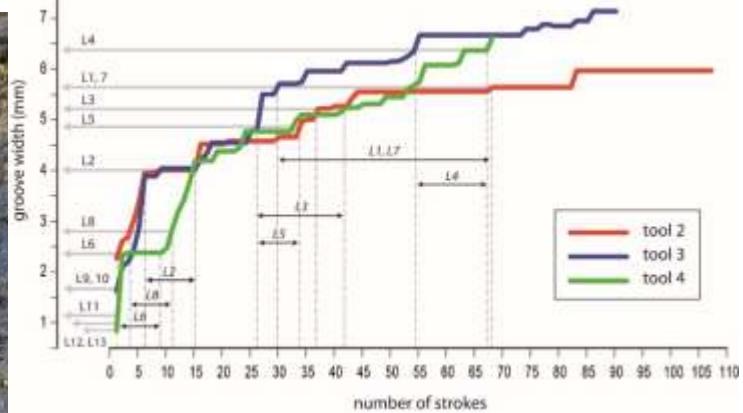
10 notches creating a  
structured pattern

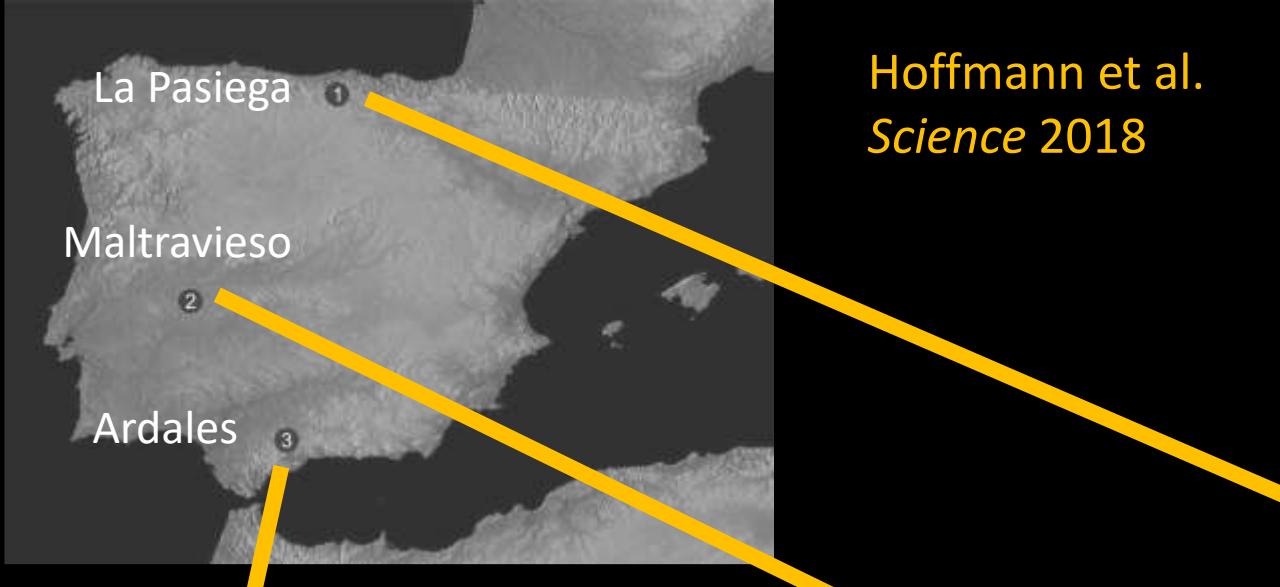
51 ka



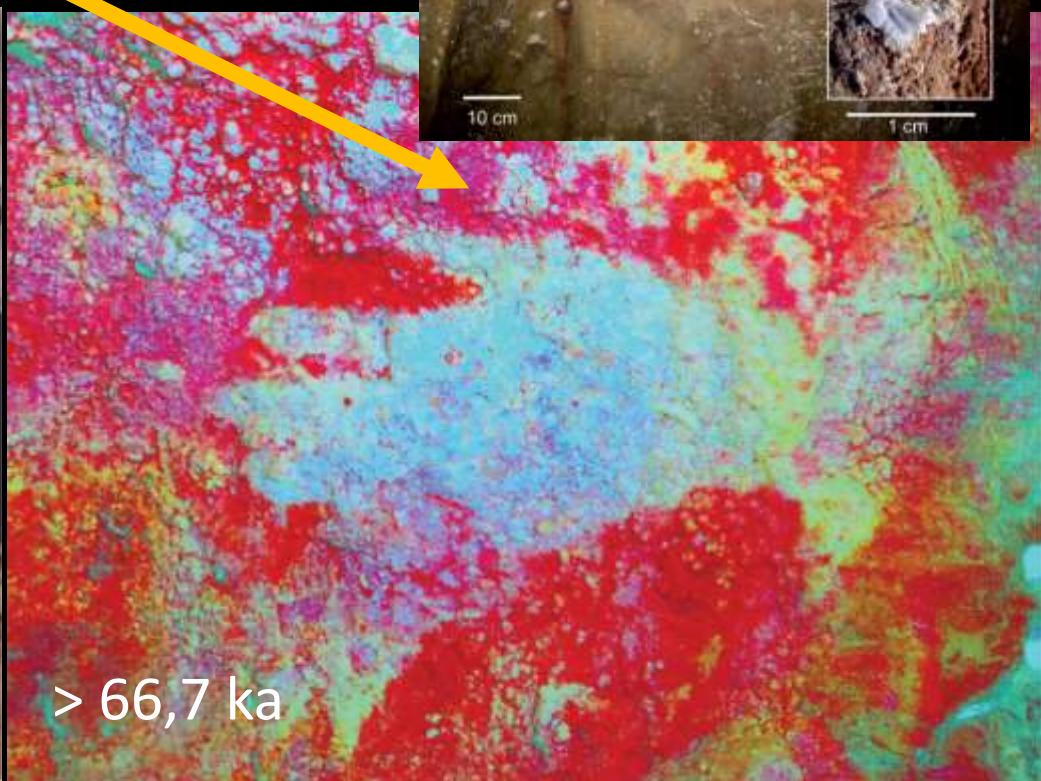
Leder et al. *Nature Ecology & Evolution* 2021

# Gorham's Cave Gibraltar c.40 ka





Hoffmann et al.  
*Science* 2018



La Pasiega

Maltravieso

Ardales

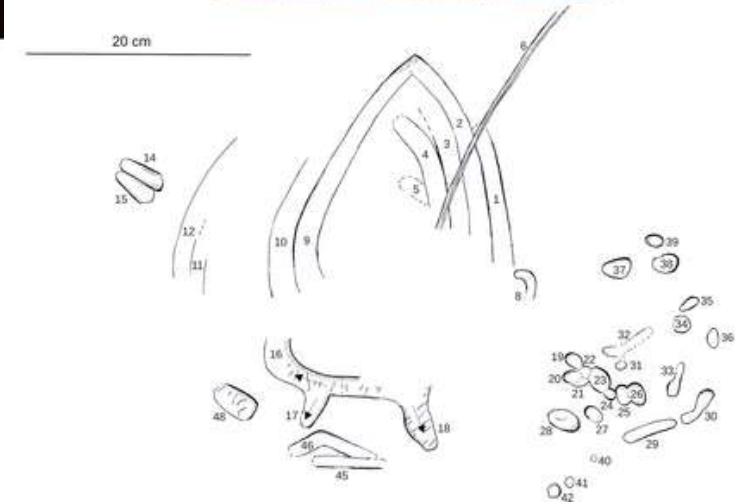
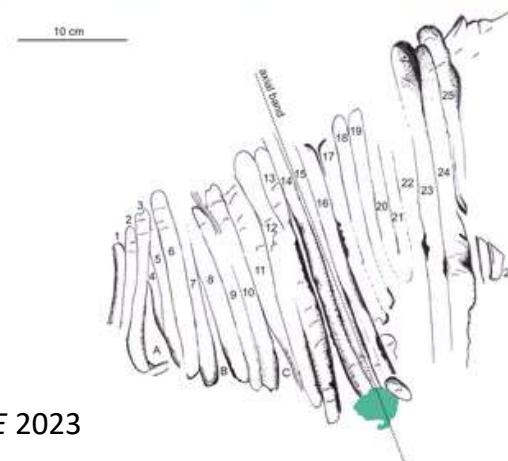
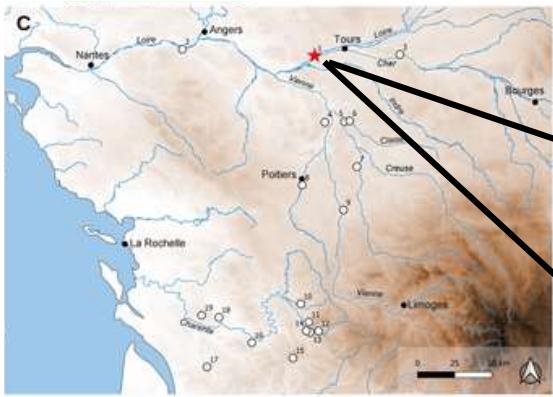


Pitarch, Zilhao, d'Errico et al. 2021. *PNAS*



# La Roche-Cotard, Loire Valley France

## 57 ka finger flutings



# Sima de los Huesos, Atapuerca, Spain

400 ky, Pre-Neanderthal, 13 meter deep chimney

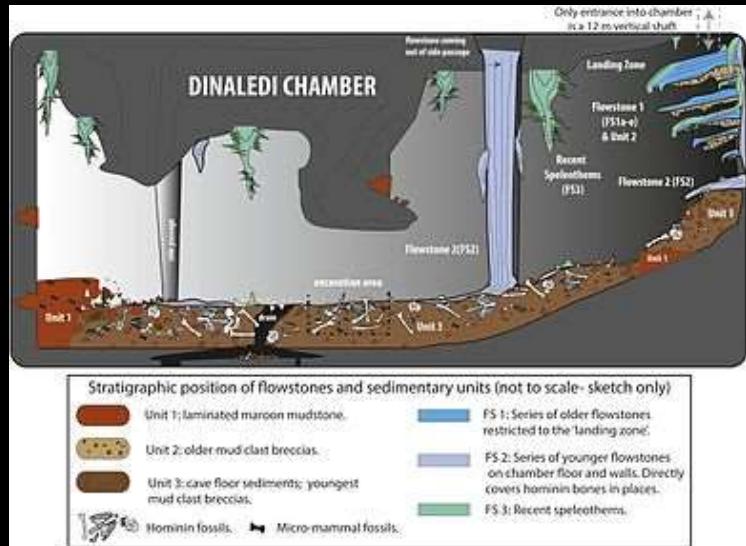
28 individuals (> young males), Carnivore remains

Acheulean handaxe



# Rising Stars, South Africa

300 ky, *Homo naledi*



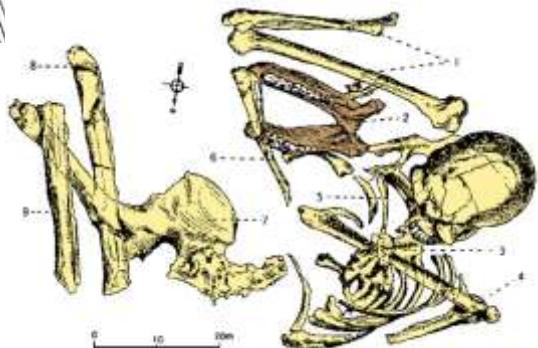
# Earliest known primary burials (120-90 ky)



Qafzeh 11



Skhul 5, Israel,  
110 ka



Qafzeh 9  
and 10



Neanderthal burial,  
Tabun level C.100-150 ky



Border Cave  
74 ka

d'Errico &  
Backwell  
*JHE* 2016



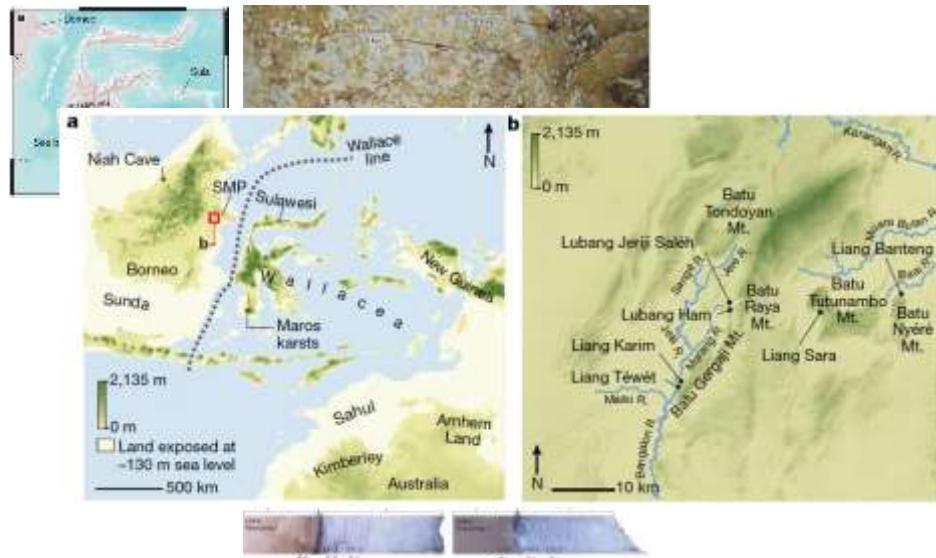
Panga Ya Saidi  
Kenya, 78 000 ans



Martinon-Torres, d'Errico et al  
*Nature* 2021

# Pleistocene cave art from Sulawesi, Indonesia

M. Aubert<sup>1,2\*</sup>, A. Brumm<sup>1†\*</sup>, M. Ramli<sup>3</sup>, T. Sutikna<sup>1,4</sup>, E. W. Saptomo<sup>4</sup>, B. Hakim<sup>5</sup>, M. J. Morwood<sup>6</sup>, G. D. van den Bergh<sup>1</sup>, L. Kinsley<sup>6</sup> & A. Dosseto<sup>7,8</sup>

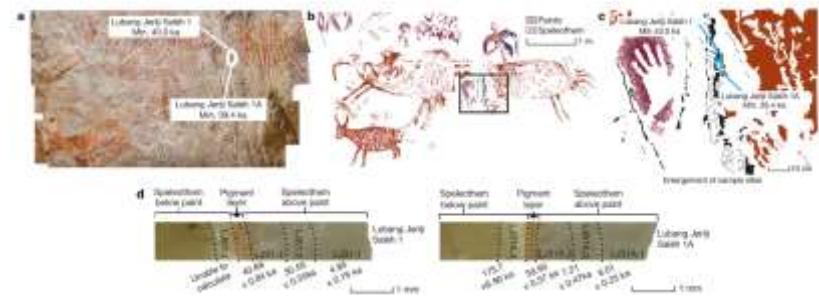


## LETTER

<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-018-0679-9>

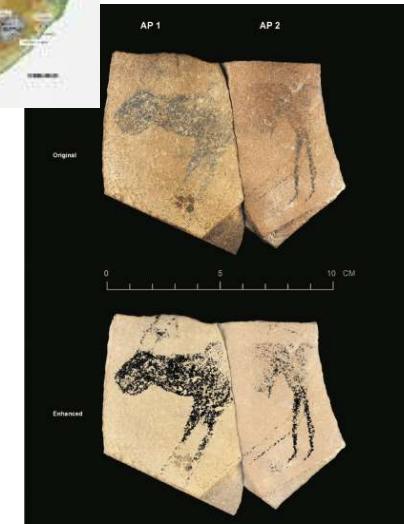
### Palaeolithic cave art in Borneo

M. Aubert<sup>1,2,8\*</sup>, P. Setiawan<sup>3,8</sup>, A. A. Oktaviana<sup>4,8</sup>, A. Brumm<sup>2</sup>, P. H. Solistiarto<sup>2</sup>, E. W. Saptomo<sup>2</sup>, B. Istiawan<sup>3</sup>, T. A. Ma'rifat<sup>3</sup>, V. N. Wahyuono<sup>3</sup>, F. T. Atmoko<sup>3</sup>, J.-X. Zhao<sup>9</sup>, J. Huntley<sup>1</sup>, P. S. C. Taçon<sup>1</sup>, D. L. Howard<sup>7</sup> & H. E. A. Brund<sup>2</sup>



Apollo 11, Namibia  
c. 28-30 ka

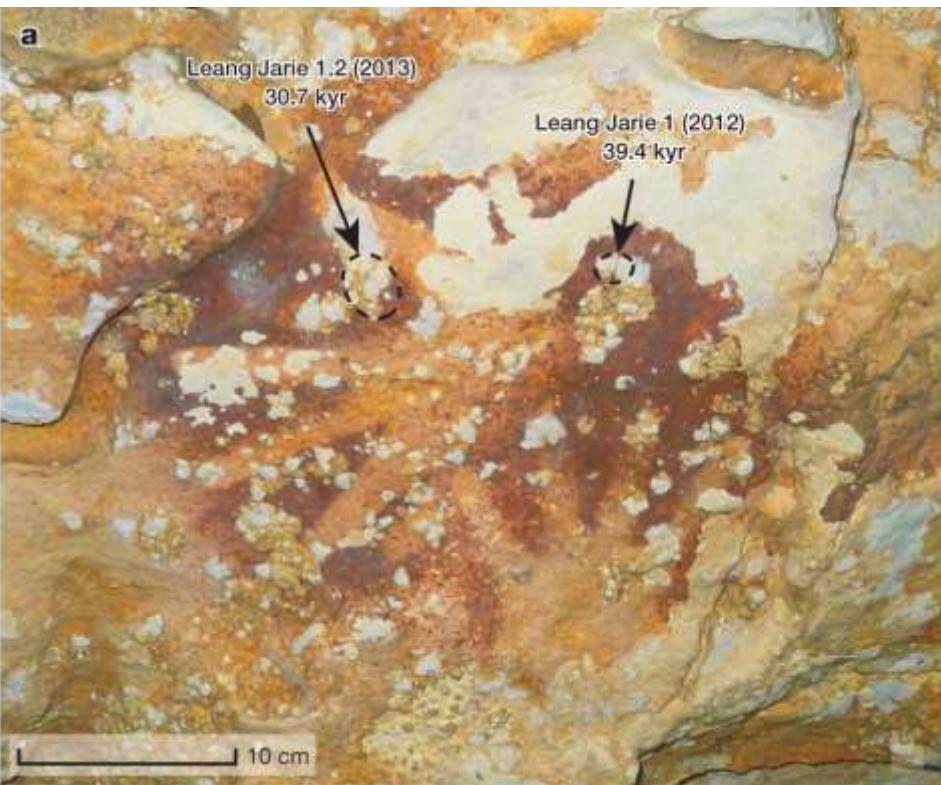
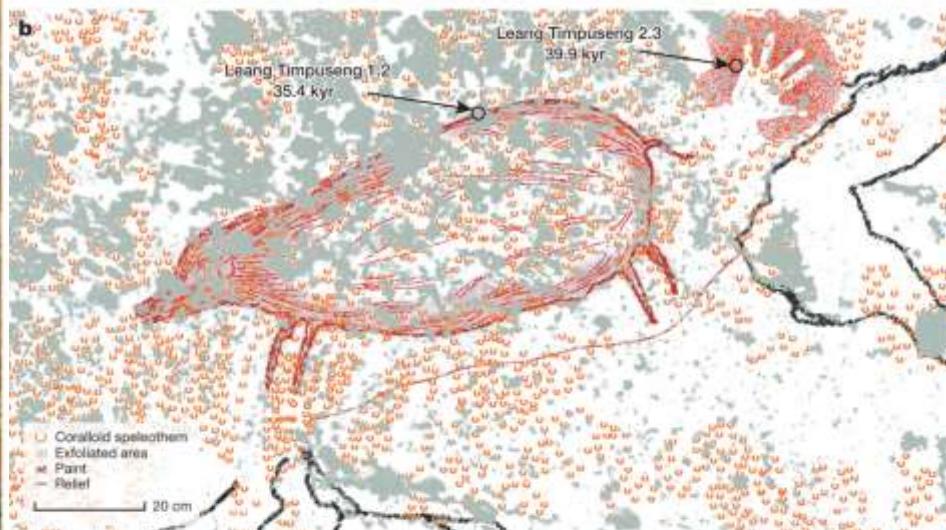
### Chauvet Cave France, 36 ka



# Pleistocene cave art from Sulawesi, Indonesia

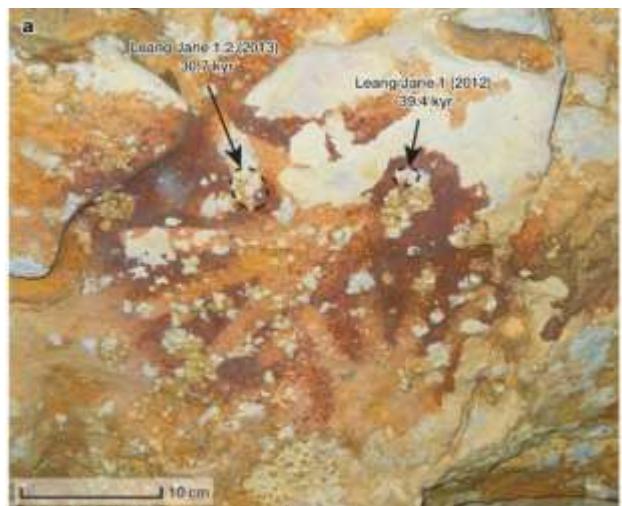
M. Aubert<sup>1,2\*</sup>, A. Brumm<sup>1†\*</sup>, M. Ramli<sup>3</sup>, T. Sutikna<sup>1,4</sup>, E. W. Saptomo<sup>4</sup>, B. Hakim<sup>5</sup>, M. J. Morwood<sup>‡</sup>, G. D. van den Bergh<sup>1</sup>, L. Kinsley<sup>6</sup> & A. Dosseto<sup>7,8</sup>

39.9 ka



# Pleistocene cave art from Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Aubert et al.  
2019 *Nature*

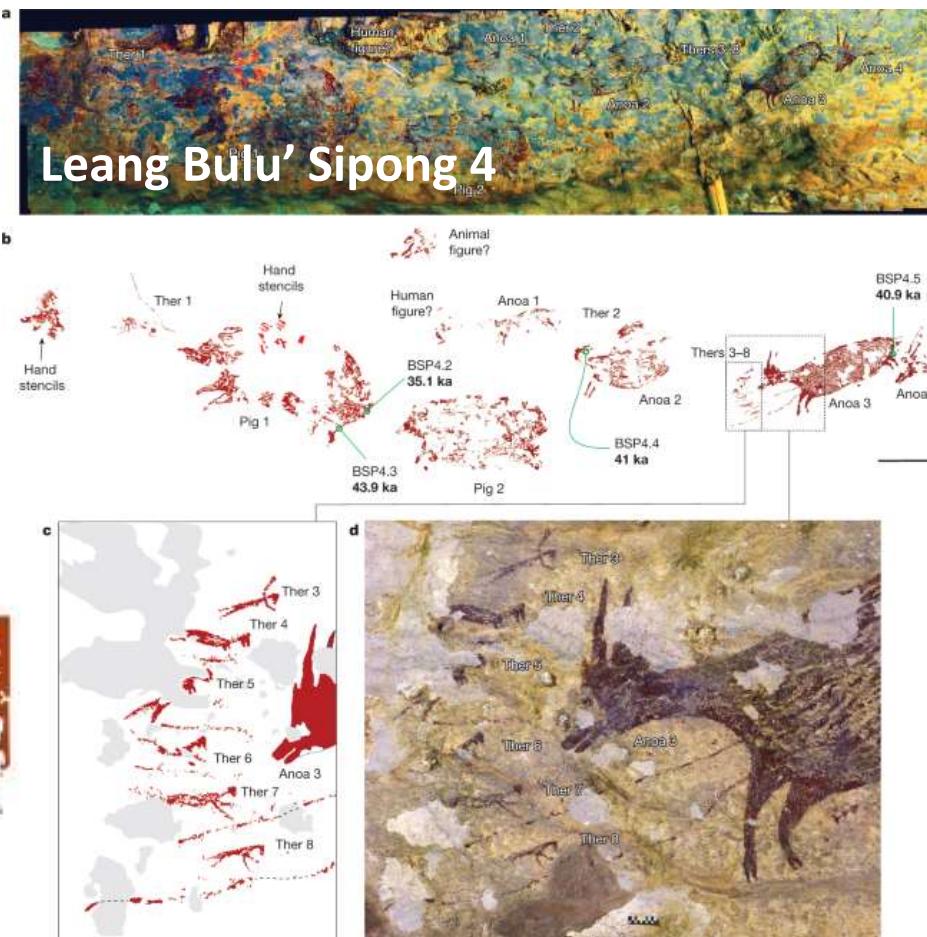
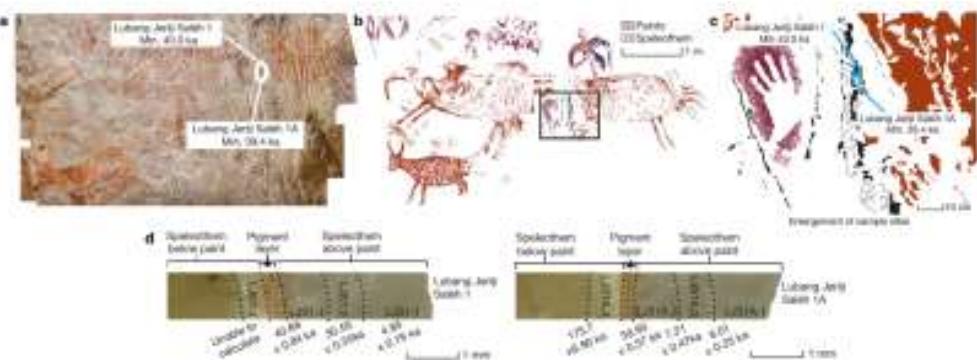


## LETTER

<https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-018-0679-9>

# Palaeolithic cave art in Borneo

M. Aubert<sup>1,2,8\*</sup>, P. Setiawan<sup>3,8</sup>, A. A. Oktaviana<sup>4,8</sup>, A. Brumm<sup>2</sup>, P. H. Saliastyarto<sup>4</sup>, E. W. Saptomo<sup>4</sup>, B. Istiawani<sup>5</sup>, T. A. Ma'rifat<sup>5</sup>, V. N. Wahyuromo<sup>5</sup>, F. T. Atmoko<sup>3</sup>, J.-X. Zhao<sup>6</sup>, J. Huntley<sup>7</sup>, P. S. C. Taçon<sup>1</sup>, D. L. Howard<sup>7</sup> & H. E. A. Brand<sup>7</sup>





**Apollo 11, Namibia**  
c. 28-30 ka





Huyge et al. *Antiquity* 2011

20-16 ka

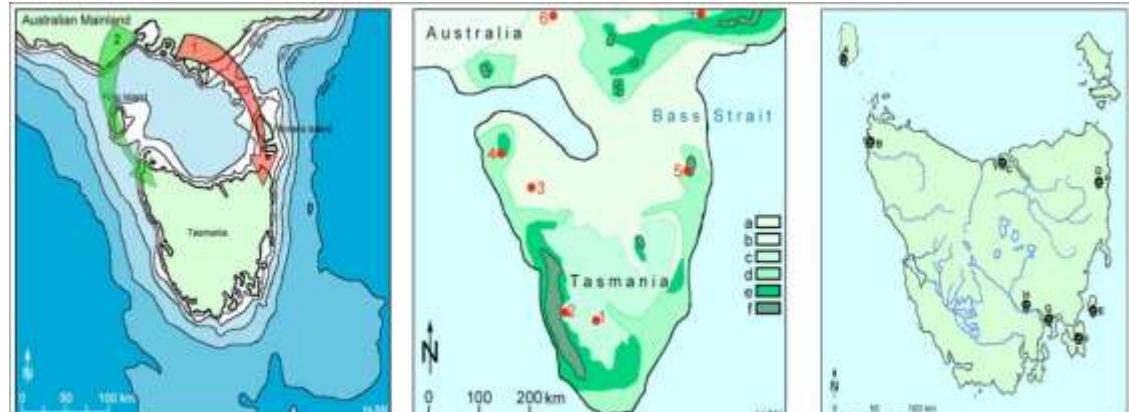
# Late Pleistocene Demography and the Appearance of Modern Human Behavior

Adam Powell,<sup>1,3</sup> Stephen Shennan,<sup>2,3</sup> Mark G. Thomas<sup>1,3\*</sup>



Henrich 2004 *American Antiquity*

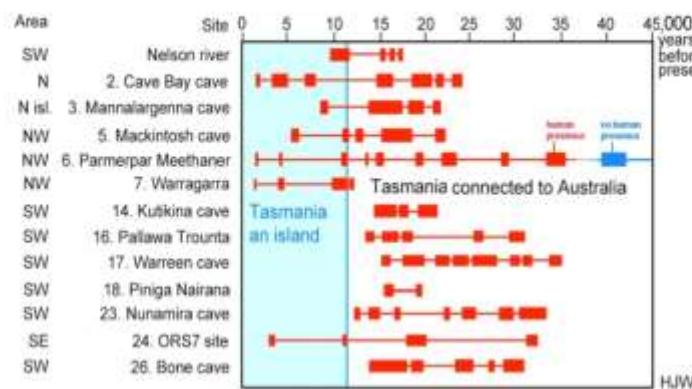
## Loss of cultural innovations in Tasmania



35,000 BP

35,000-10,000 BP

10,000 BP



### Lost cultural innovations

- bone tools
- cold-weather clothing
- hafted tools
- nets
- fishing spears
- barbed spears
- spear-throwers
- boomerang

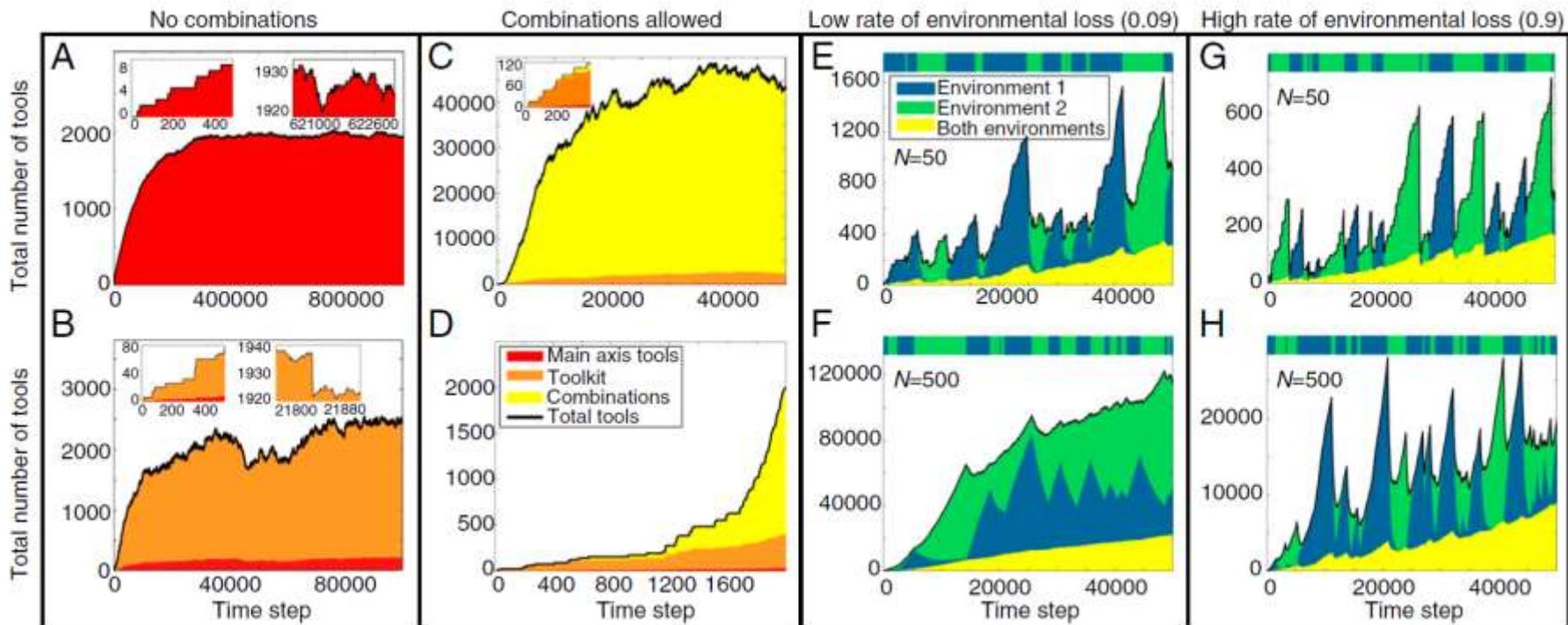
19th century:  
toolkit of only 24 items

# Evolution in leaps: The punctuated accumulation and loss of cultural innovations

Oren Kolodny<sup>1,2</sup>, Nicole Creanza<sup>1,2</sup>, and Marcus W. Feldman<sup>2</sup>

Department of Biology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305

Contributed by Marcus W. Feldman, October 20, 2015 (sent for review September 3, 2015; reviewed by Jeremy R. Kendal, Michael J. O'Brien, and Peter J. Richerson)



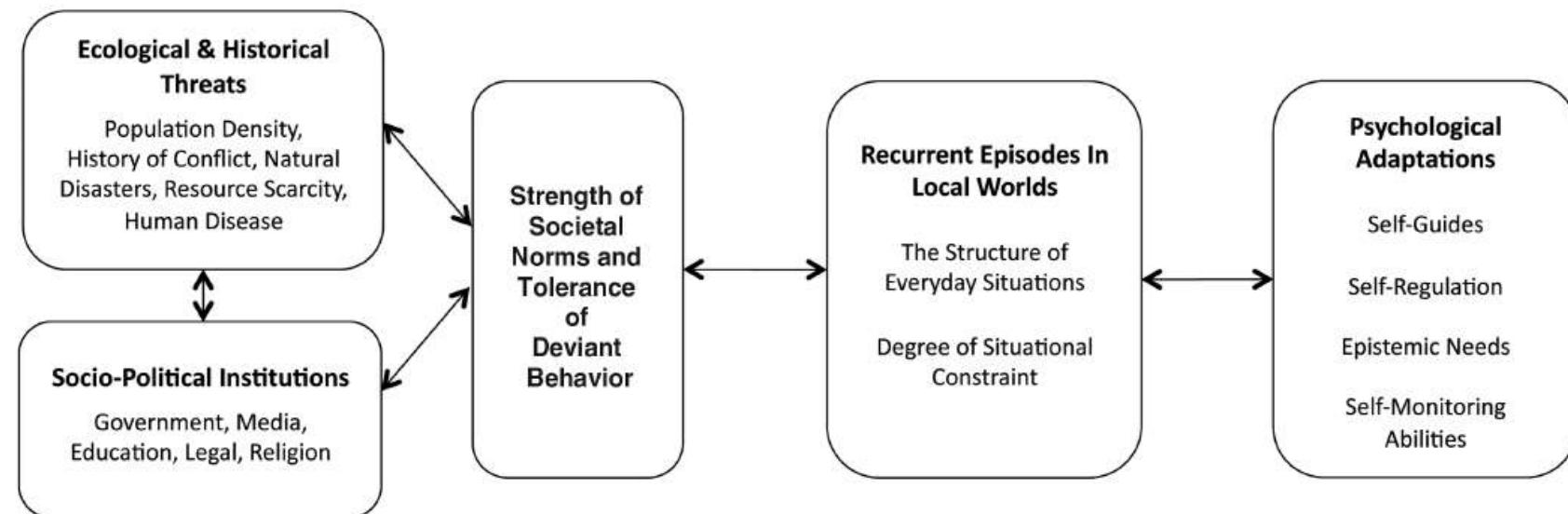
# Differences Between Tight and Loose Cultures: A 33-Nation Study

Michele J. Gelfand,<sup>1\*</sup> Jana L. Raver,<sup>2</sup> Lisa Nishii,<sup>3</sup> Lisa M. Leslie,<sup>4</sup> Janetta Lun,<sup>1</sup> Beng Chong Lim,<sup>5</sup> Lili Duan,<sup>6</sup> Assaf Almaliach,<sup>7</sup> Soon Ang,<sup>8</sup> Jakobina Arnadottir,<sup>9</sup> Zeynep Aycan,<sup>10</sup> Klaus Boehnke,<sup>11</sup> Paweł Boski,<sup>12</sup> Rosa Cabecinhas,<sup>13</sup> Darius Chan,<sup>14</sup> Jagdeep Chhokar,<sup>15</sup> Alessia D'Amato,<sup>16</sup> Montse Ferrer,<sup>17</sup> Iris C. Fischlmayr,<sup>18</sup> Ronald Fischer,<sup>19</sup> Marta Fülöp,<sup>20</sup> James Georgas,<sup>21</sup> Emiko S. Kashima,<sup>22</sup> Yoshishima Kashima,<sup>23</sup> Kibum Kim,<sup>24</sup> Alain Lempereur,<sup>25</sup> Patricia Marquez,<sup>26</sup> Rozhan Othman,<sup>27</sup> Bert Overlaet,<sup>28</sup> Penny Panagiotopoulou,<sup>29</sup> Karl Peltzer,<sup>30</sup> Lorena R. Perez-Florizno,<sup>31</sup> Larisa Ponomarenko,<sup>32</sup> Anu Realo,<sup>33</sup> Vidar Schei,<sup>34</sup> Manfred Schmitt,<sup>35</sup> Peter B. Smith,<sup>36</sup> Nazar Soomro,<sup>37</sup> Erna Szabo,<sup>18</sup> Nalinee Taveesin,<sup>38</sup> Midori Toyama,<sup>39</sup> Evert Van de Vliert,<sup>40</sup> Naharika Vohra,<sup>41</sup> Colleen Ward,<sup>42</sup> Susumu Yamaguchi<sup>43</sup>



Distal Ecological and Historical Factors and Societal Processes

Proximal/Contemporaneous Processes



tight



loose



Hutterites

Cubeo

Skolt Lapps

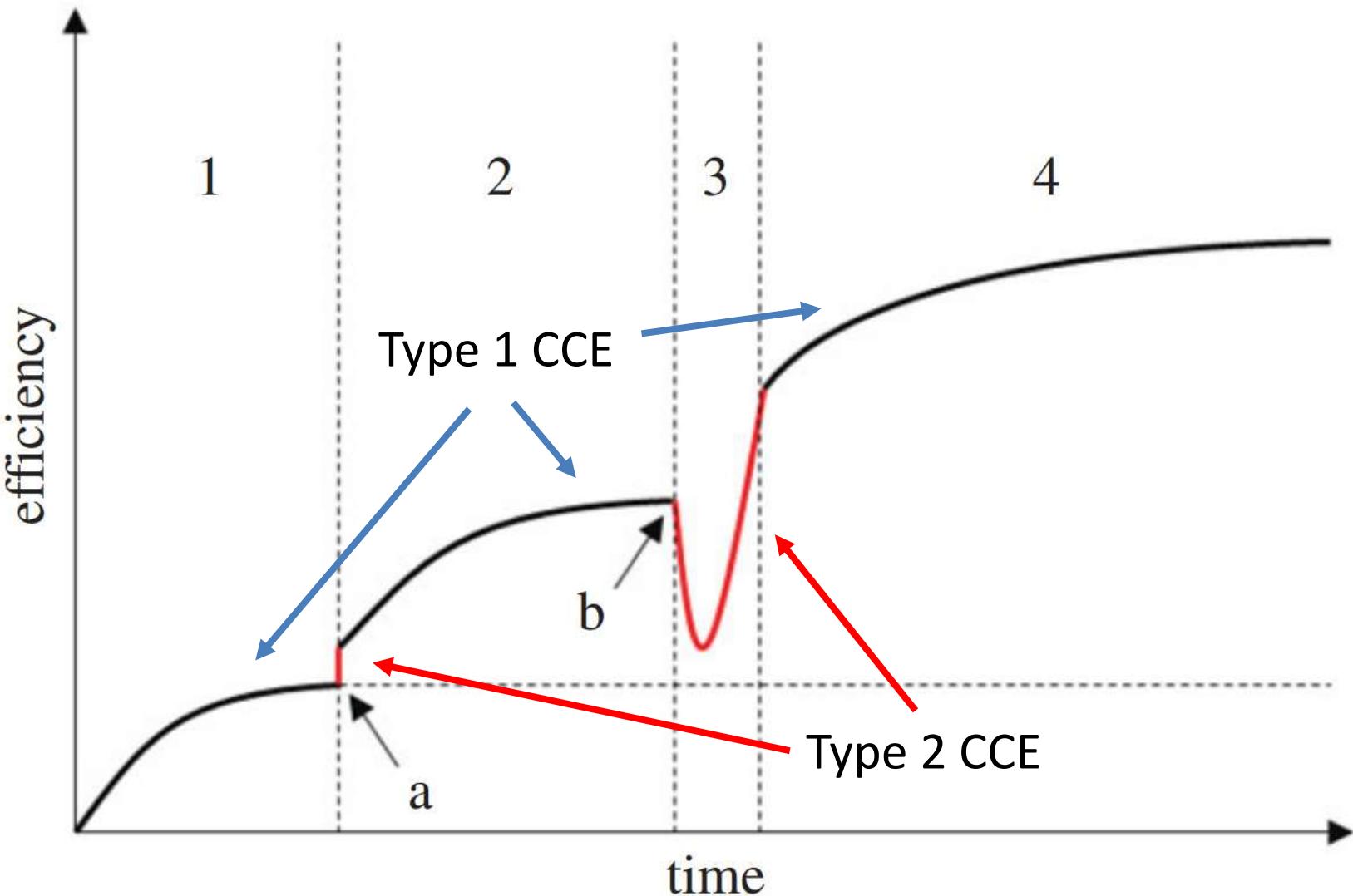


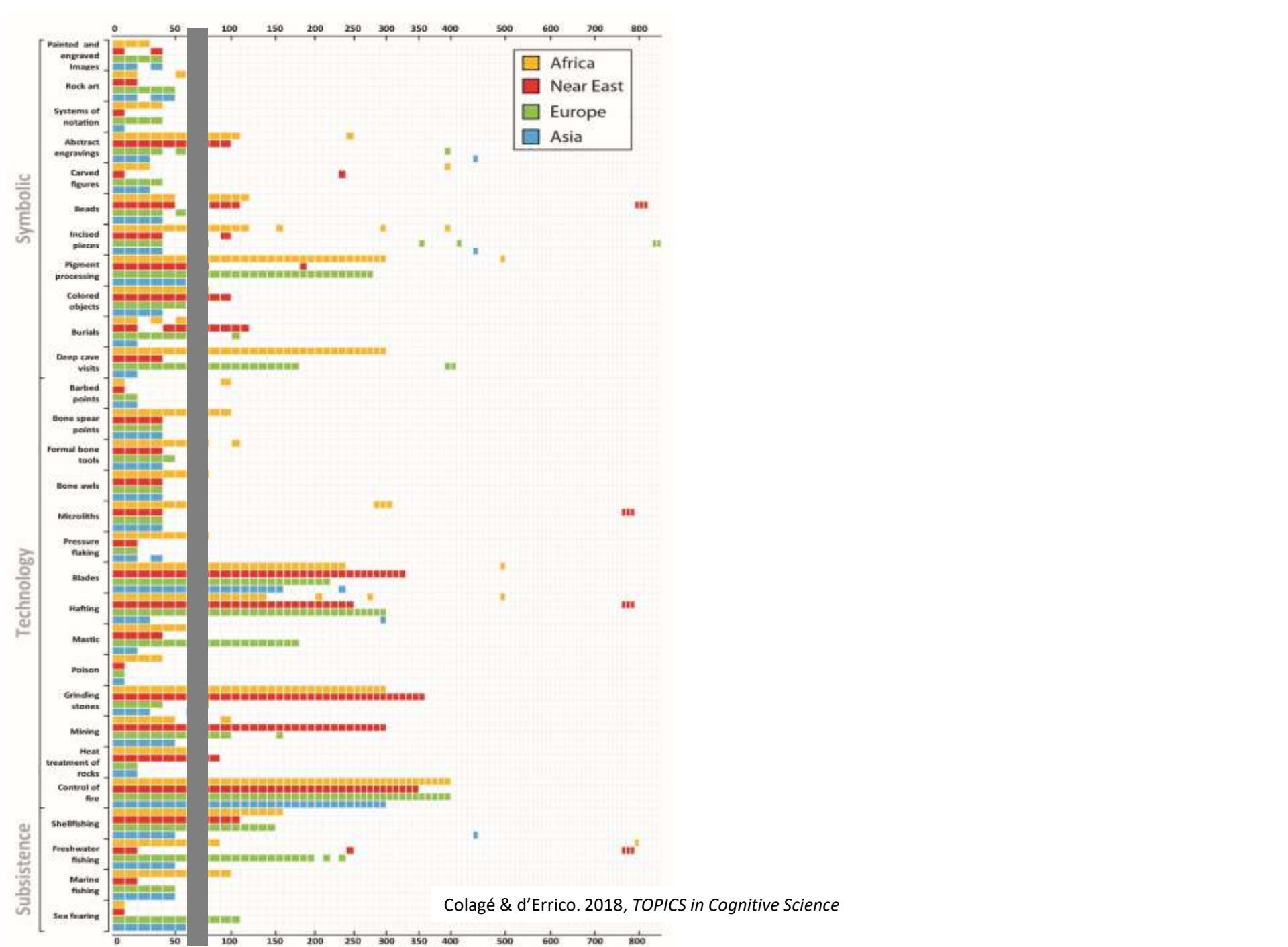
# Cumulative Cultural Evolution (CCE) comprises two distinct processes:

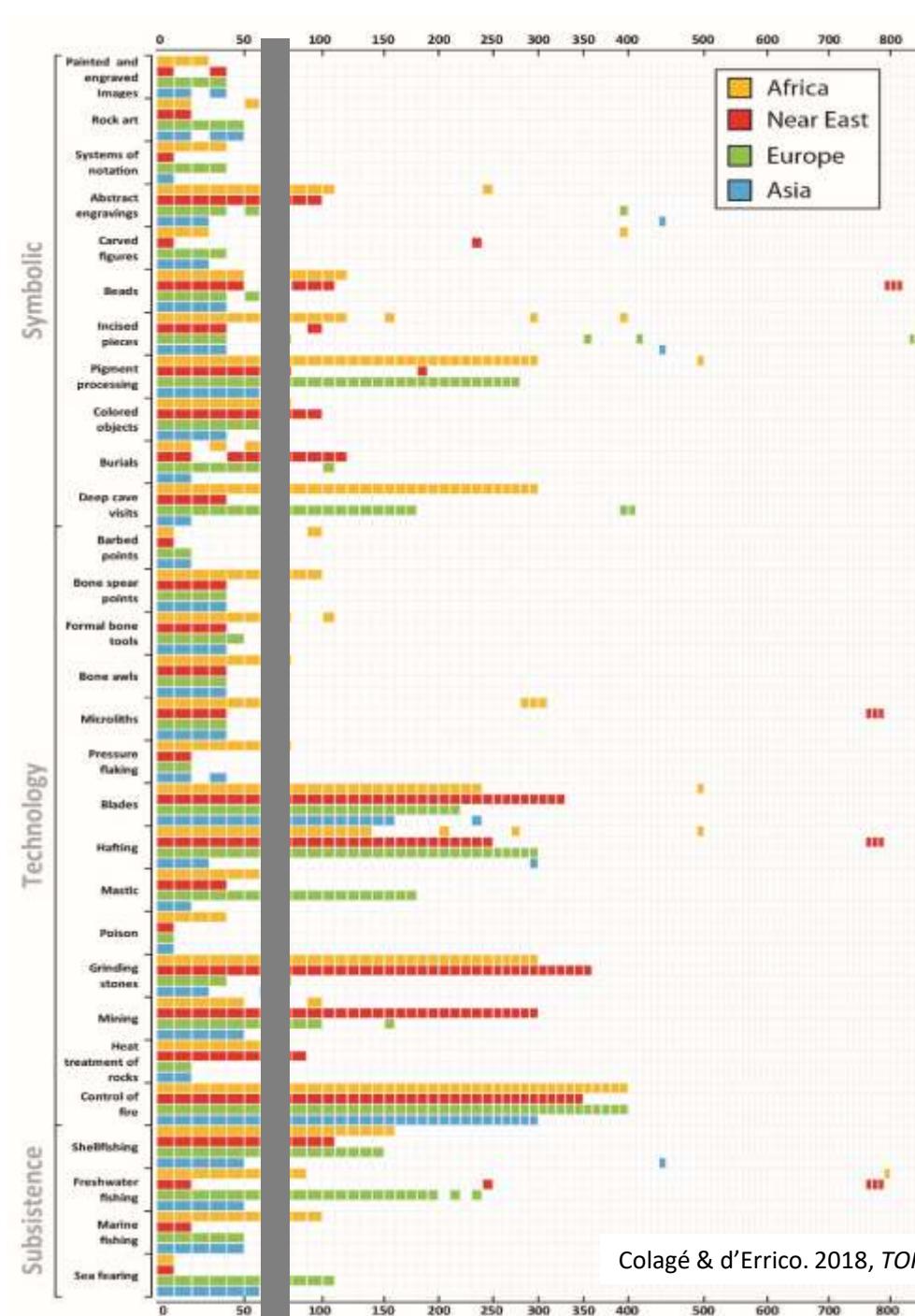
Type I CCE **optimizes** cultural traits that exploit a given set of natural phenomena

Type II CCE **expands** the set of natural phenomena we exploit

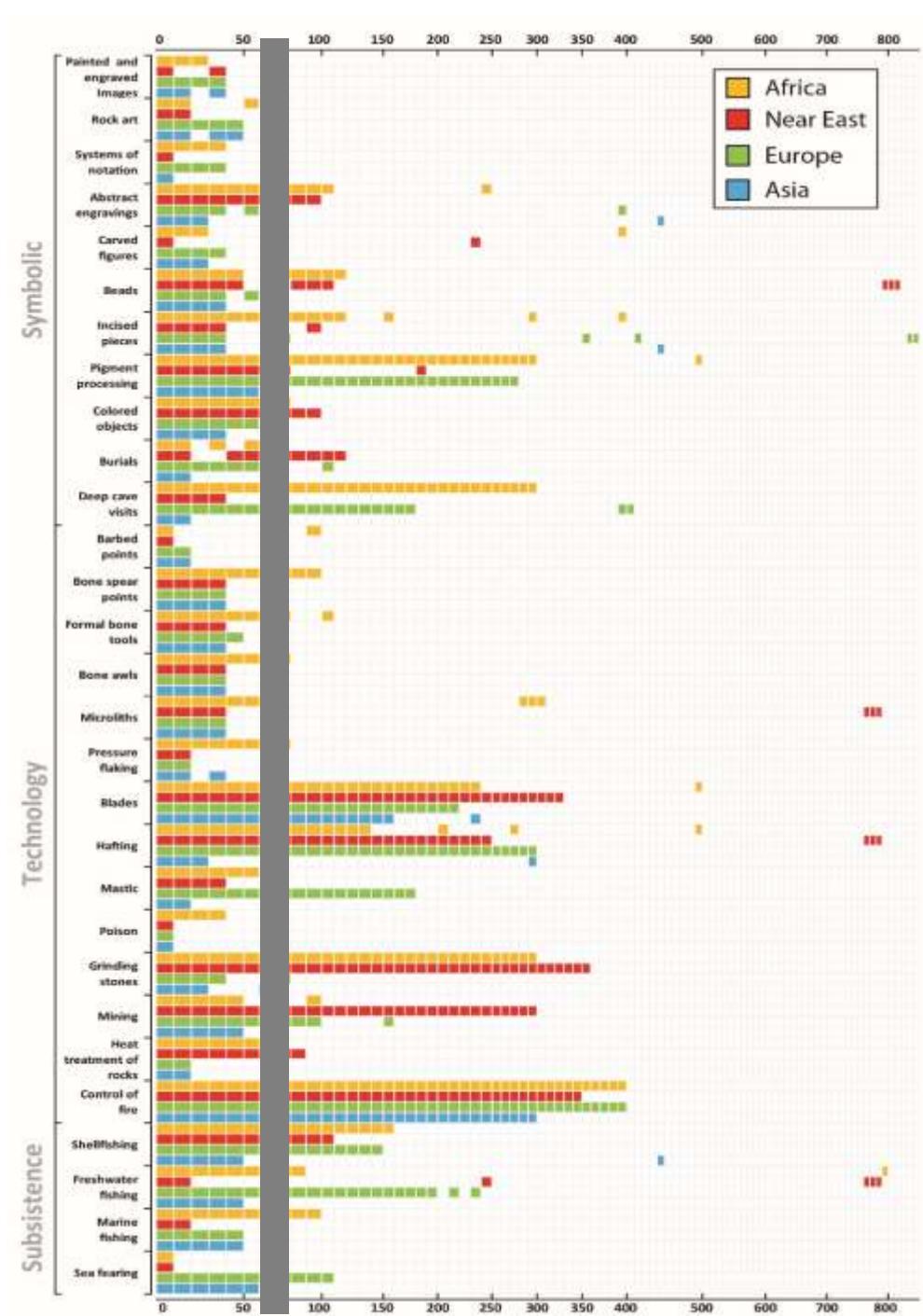








- cultural innovations emerged at different times in different parts of the world, among different populations, and some of them were lost and reacquired later on in different forms
  - a number were present outside Africa before modern humans dispersal
  - the timing, location, and pace of innovation appearance is inconsistent with scenarios attributing the spread of modern cultural traits to concomitant classic biological Darwinian evolutionary processes (such as heritable genetic mutations or speciation events)
- ↓
- **cultural innovations were triggered by several interconnected and dynamic factors, both environmental and social**
  - **they are the outcome of complex and non-linear population dynamics and cultural trajectories that need to be understood and traced at a regional scale**



# Cultural Exaptation



## Social learning



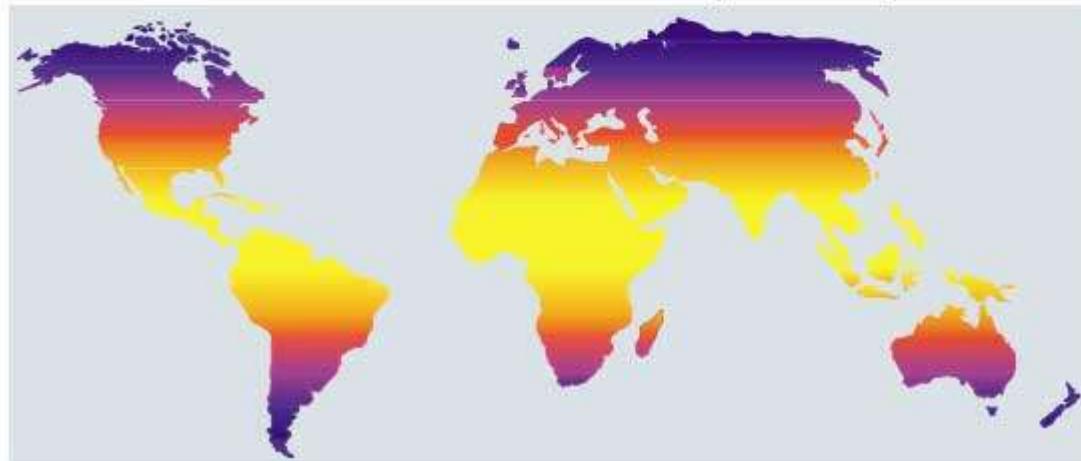
## Cultural Neural Reuse



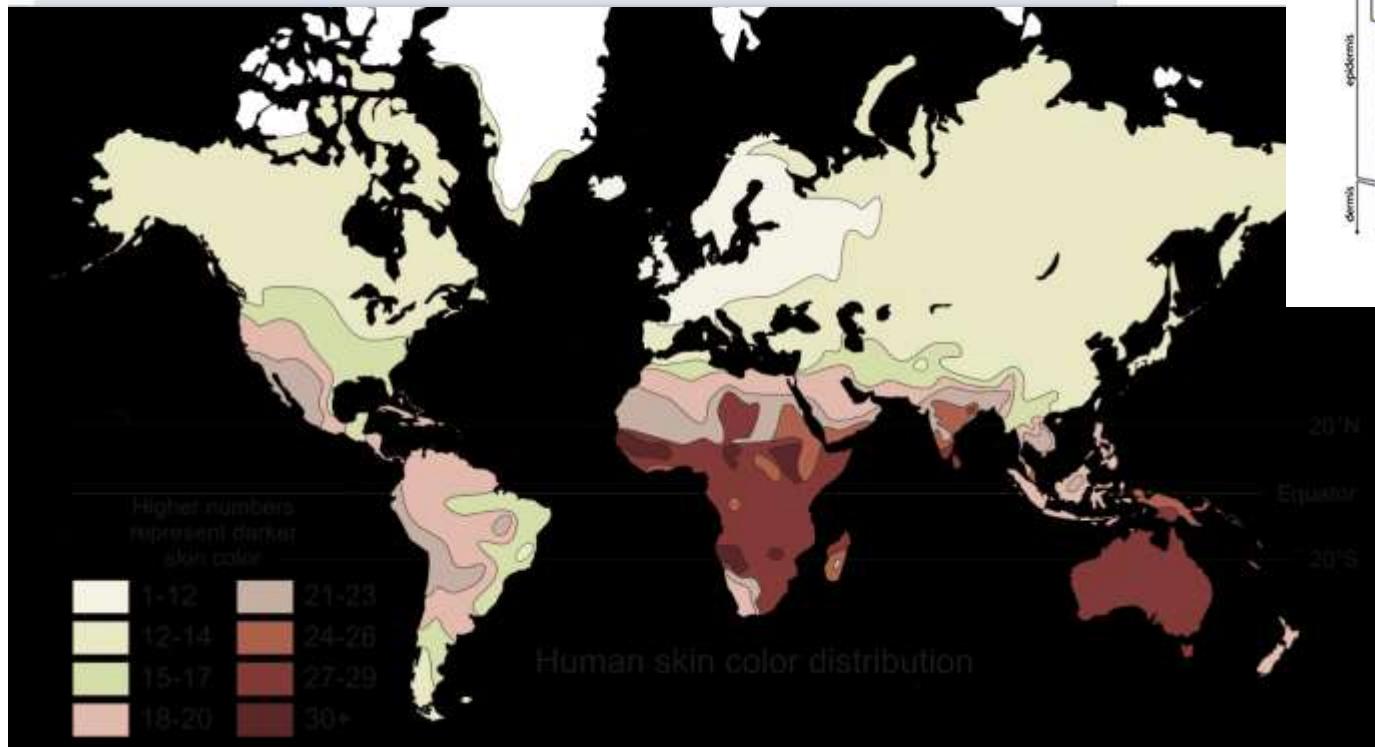
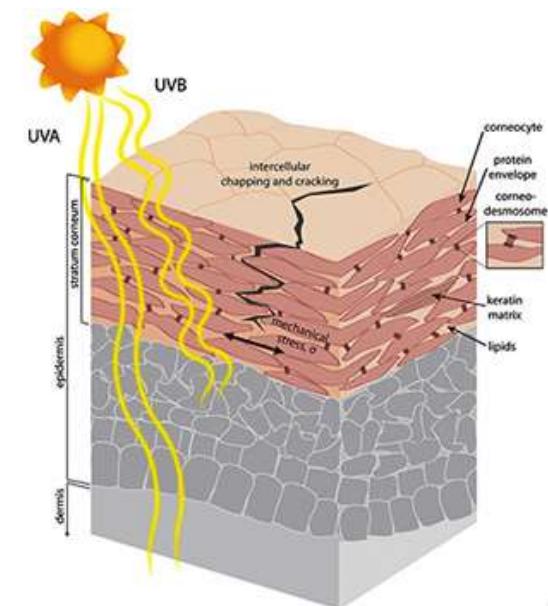
## Cultural innovation

- Colagè I., d'Errico, F. 2018. Culture: the driving force of human cognition. *Topics in Cognitive Science*.
- d'Errico F., Colagè I. 2018. Cultural Exaptation, Teaching, and Cultural Neural Reuse: A mechanism for the emergence of modern culture and behaviour. *Biological Theory*
- Colagè I., d'Errico, F. 2023. The Roots of Creativity: Investing in cultural transmission. *Acta Philosophica*

Hours of illumination from Solar Bud after one day of full sun exposure



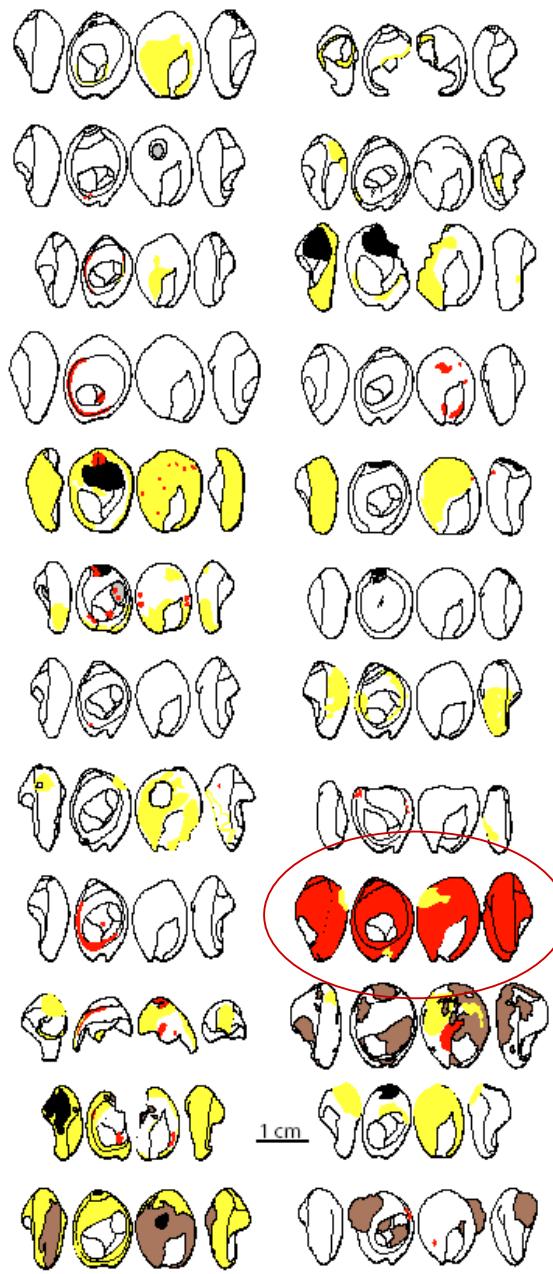
Winter (December)  
Summer (June)





RED PIGMENT

# Taforalt, Grotte des Pigeons, 80 ka



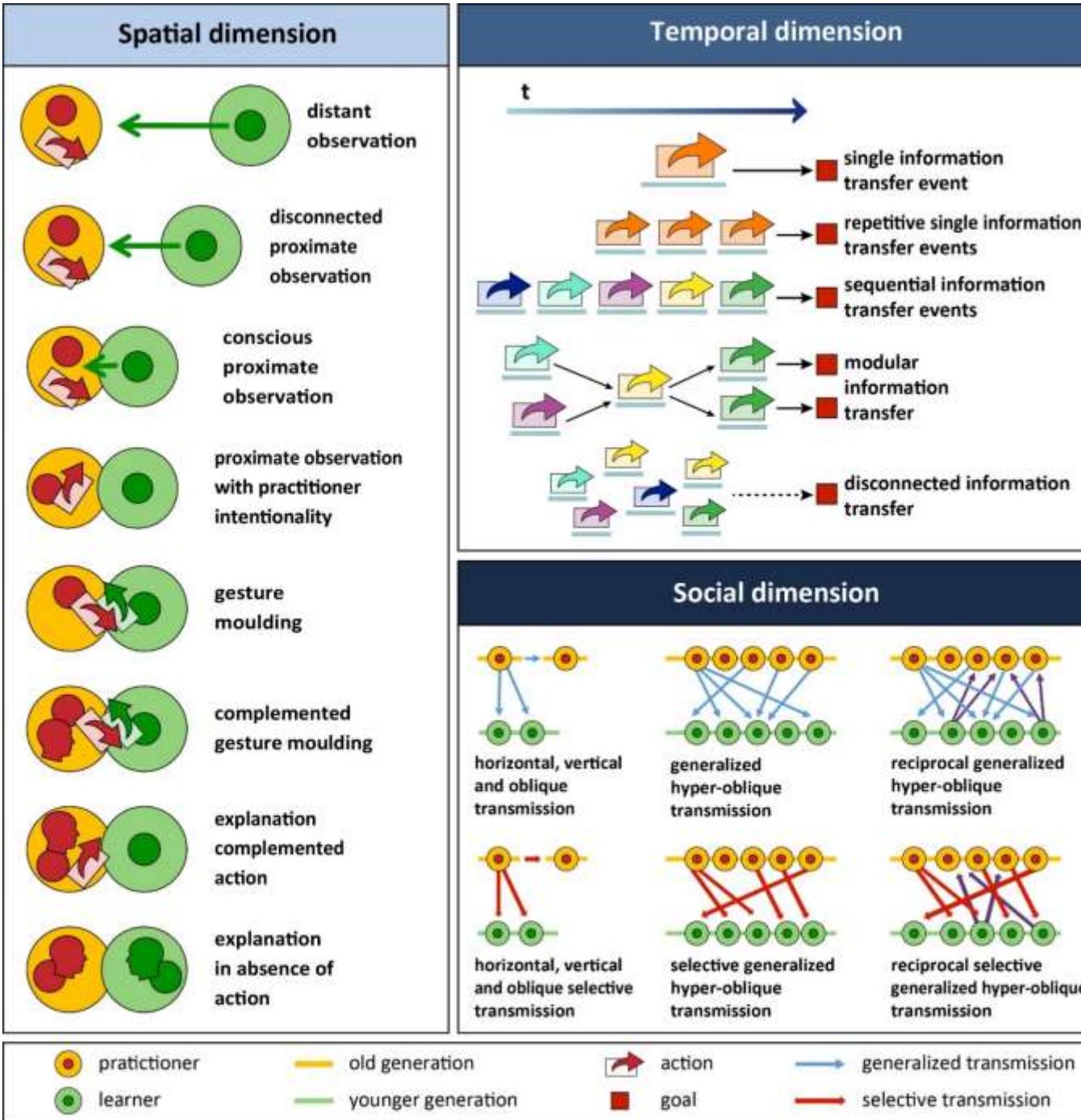
d'Errico et al.  
2009 PNAS

beads covered with pigments



A conceptual framework to classify different transmission strategies of cultural practices used by human and non-human primates

## Modes of cultural transmission

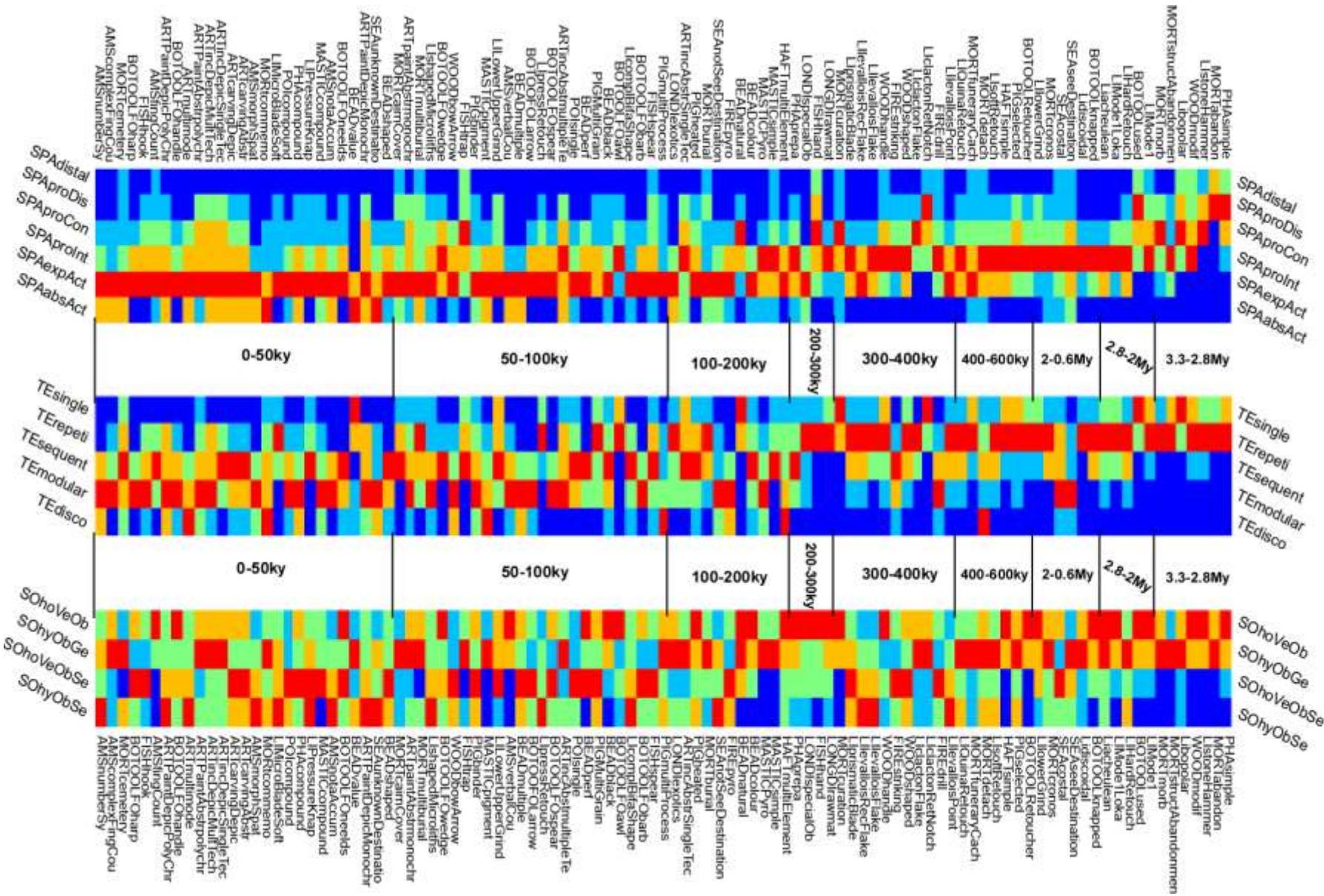


d'Errico & Banks  
Cambridge Arch. J. 2015

a) Spatial dimension

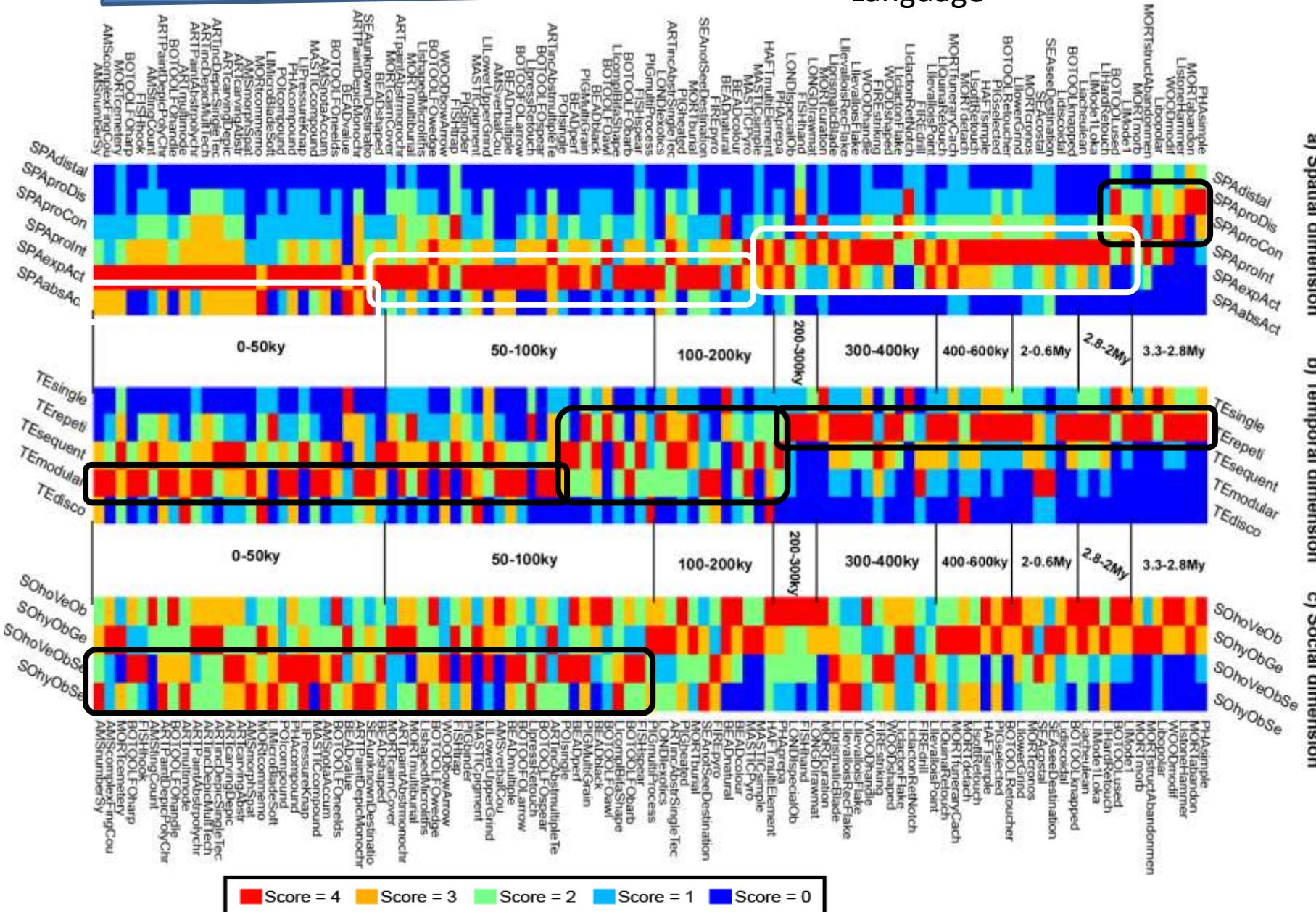
b) Temporal dimension

c) Social dimension

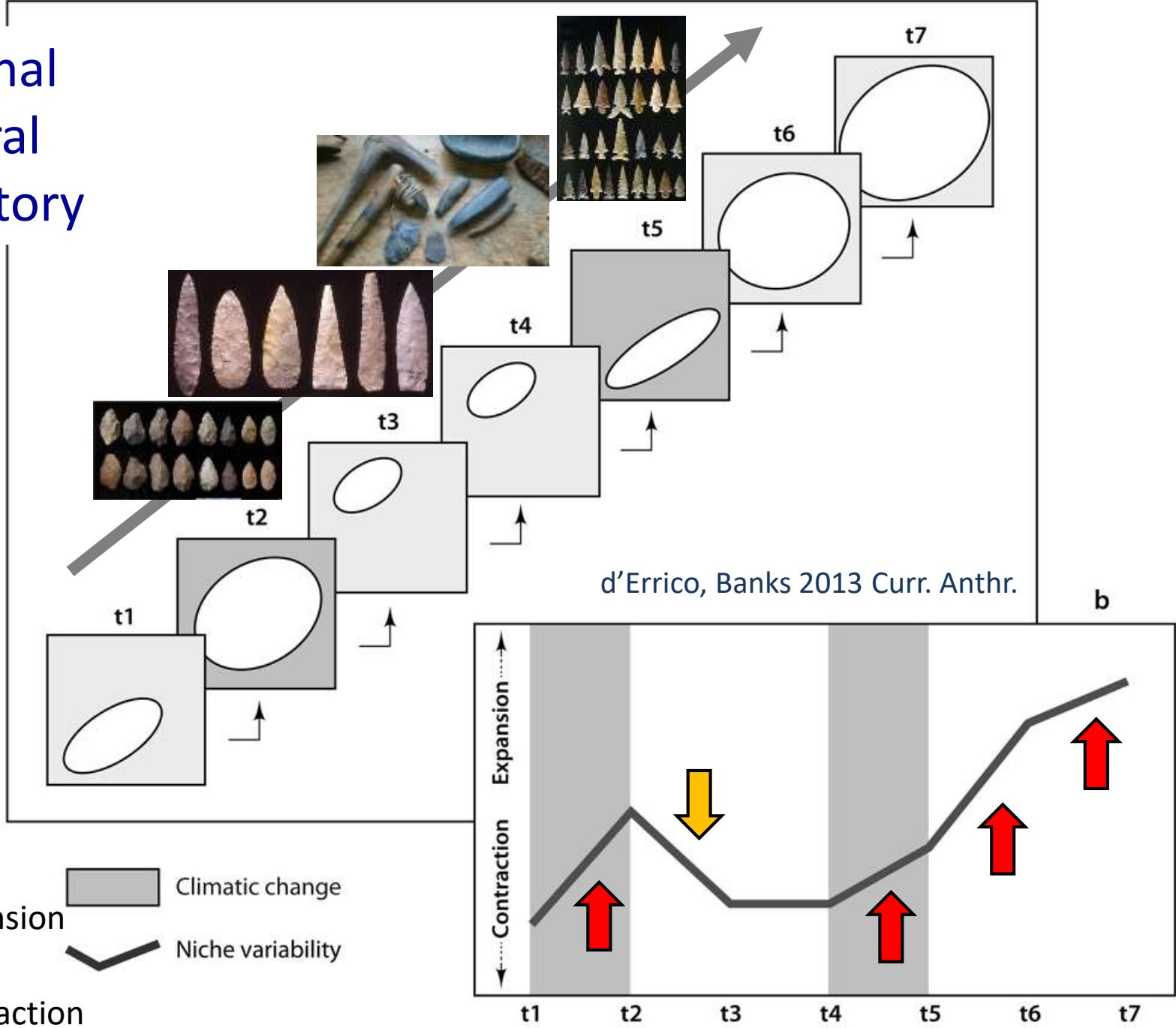


# Symbolism activated

## Language



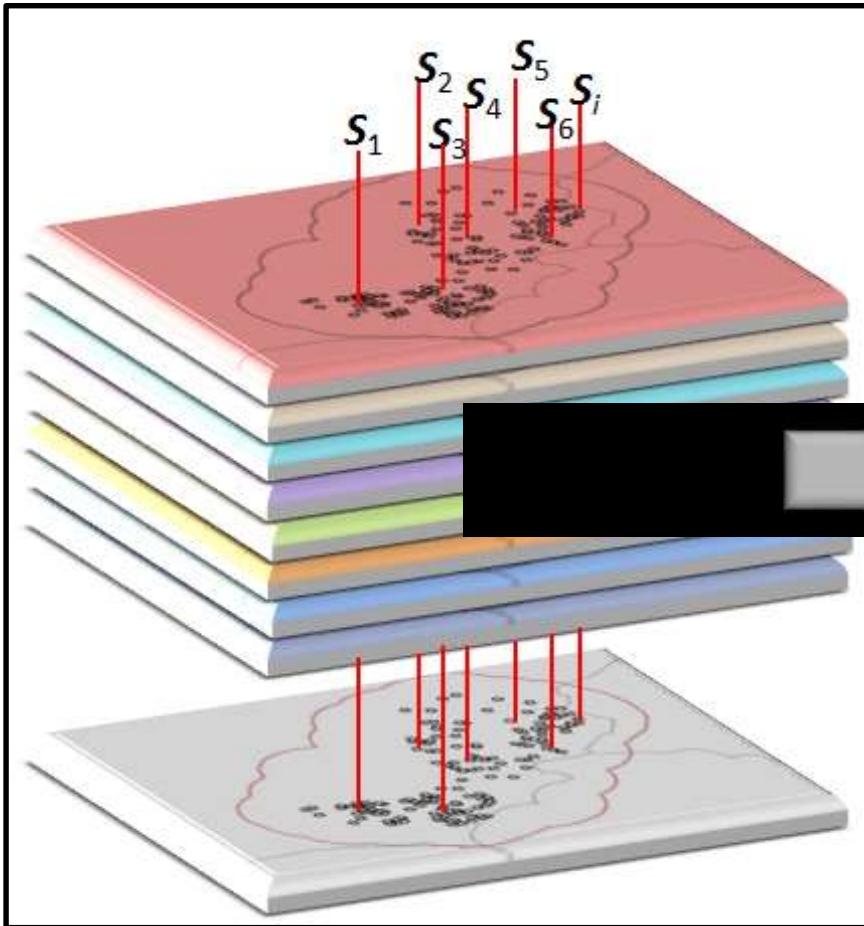
# Regional Cultural trajectory



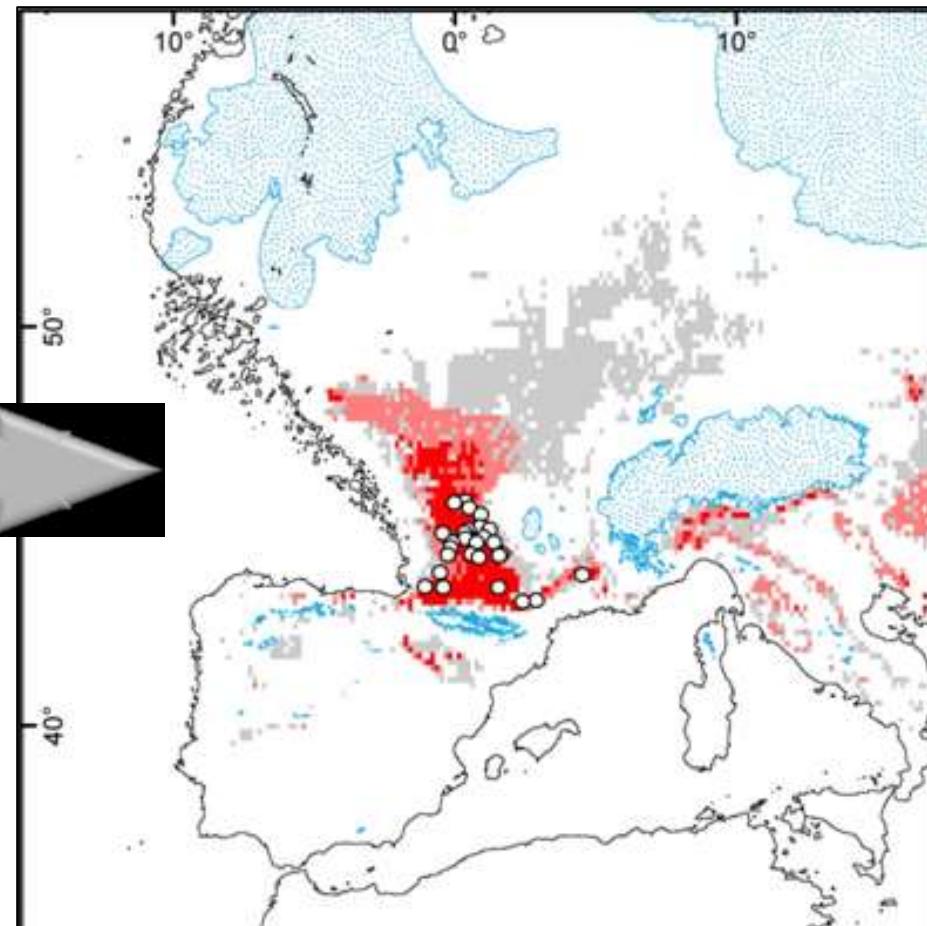
# Eco-cultural niche modeling

Predictive algorithms and environmental layers

Eco-cultural niche

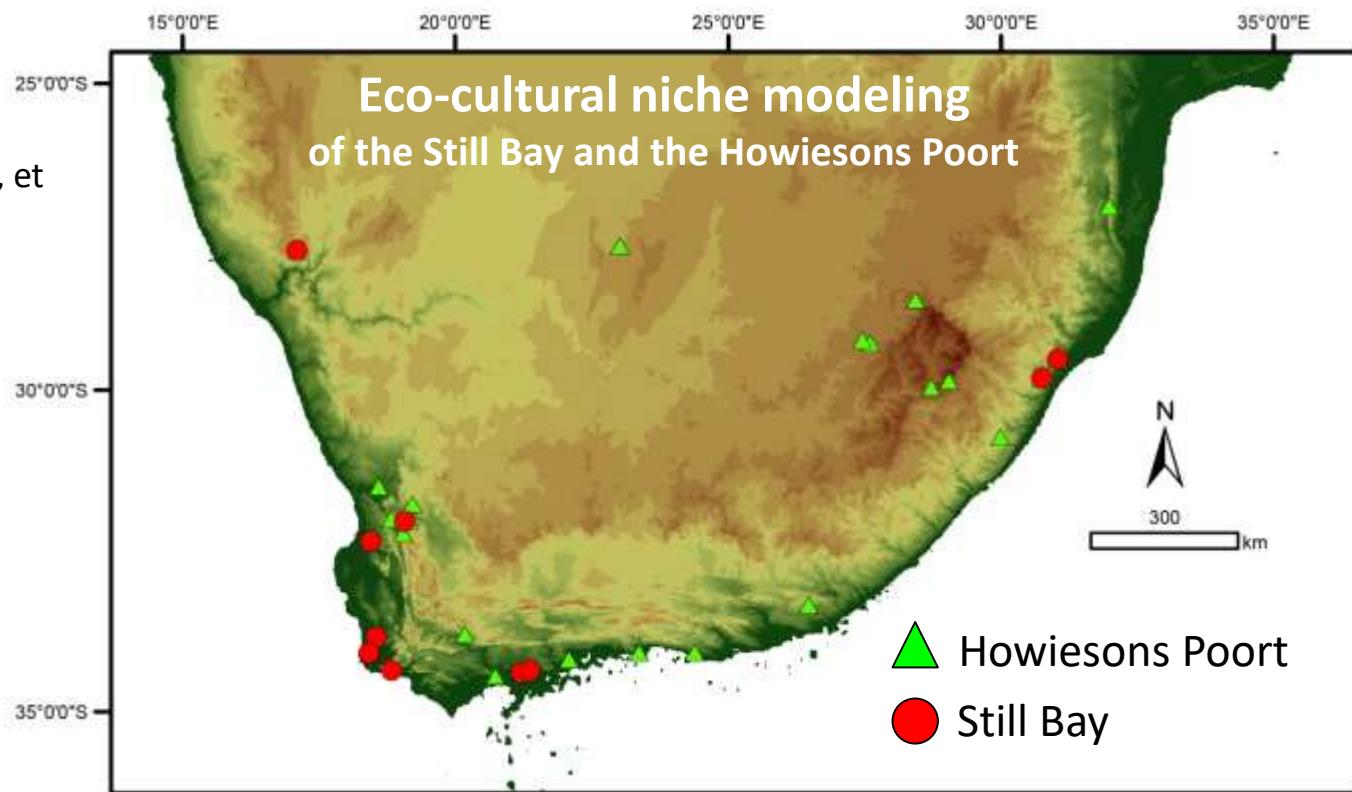


$S_i$  = parameter



colors = different probabilities of  
niche presence

d'Errico, Banks, et  
al. PNAS 2017



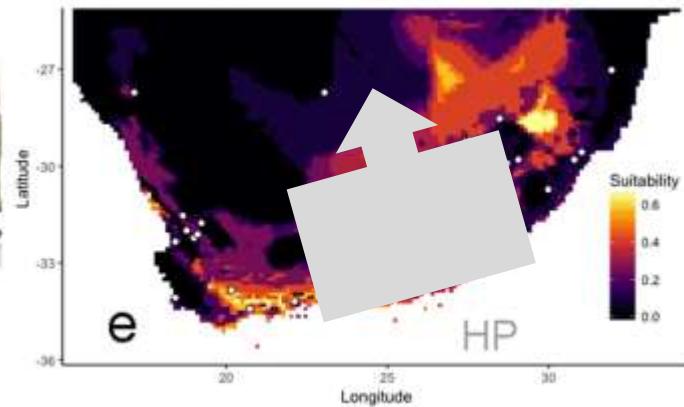
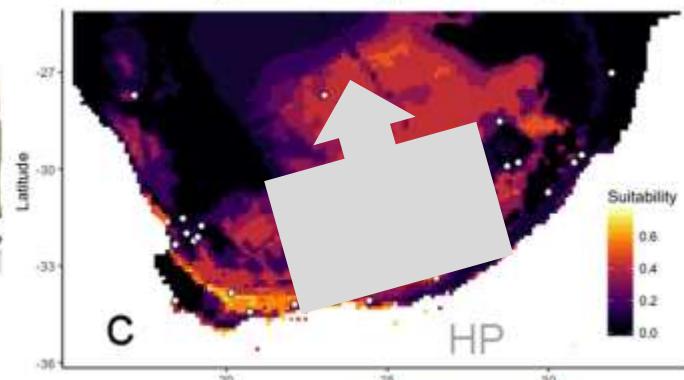
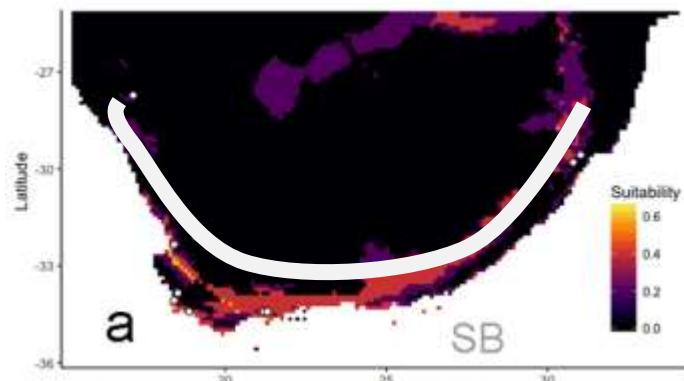
Still Bay (c. 73-70 ka)



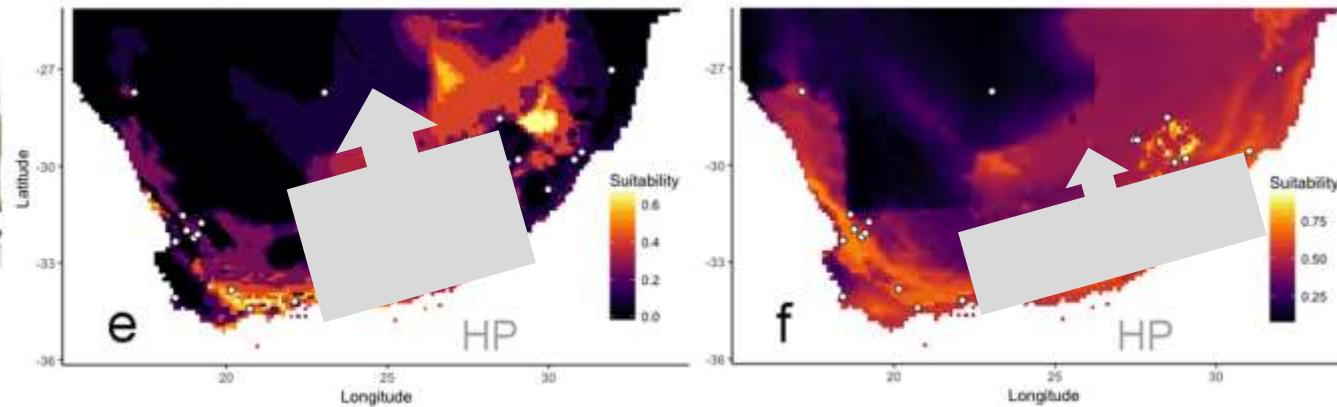
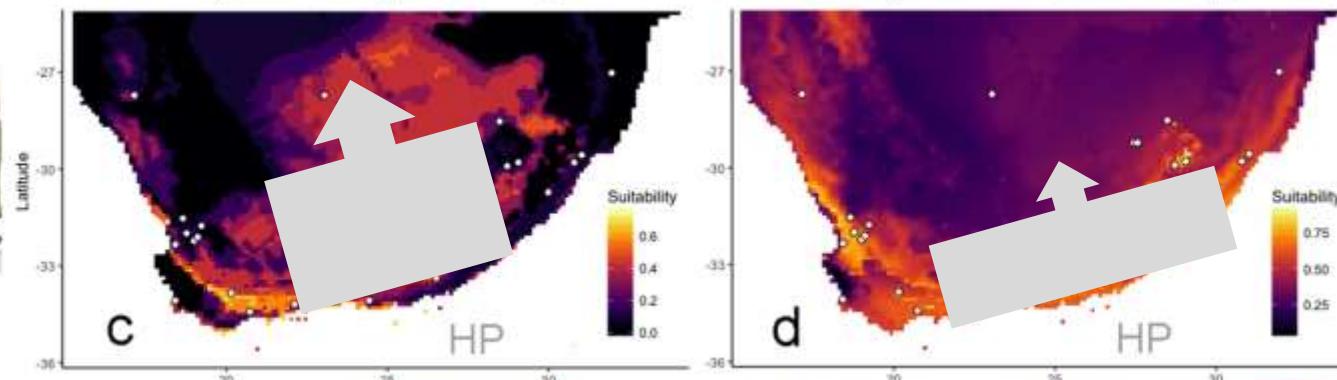
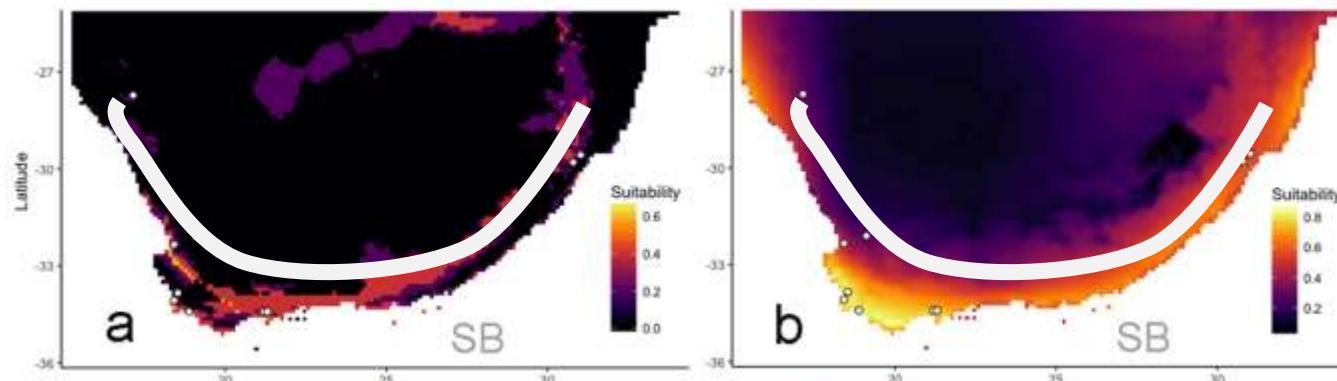
Howiesons Poort (c. 66-58 ka)



Bioclim



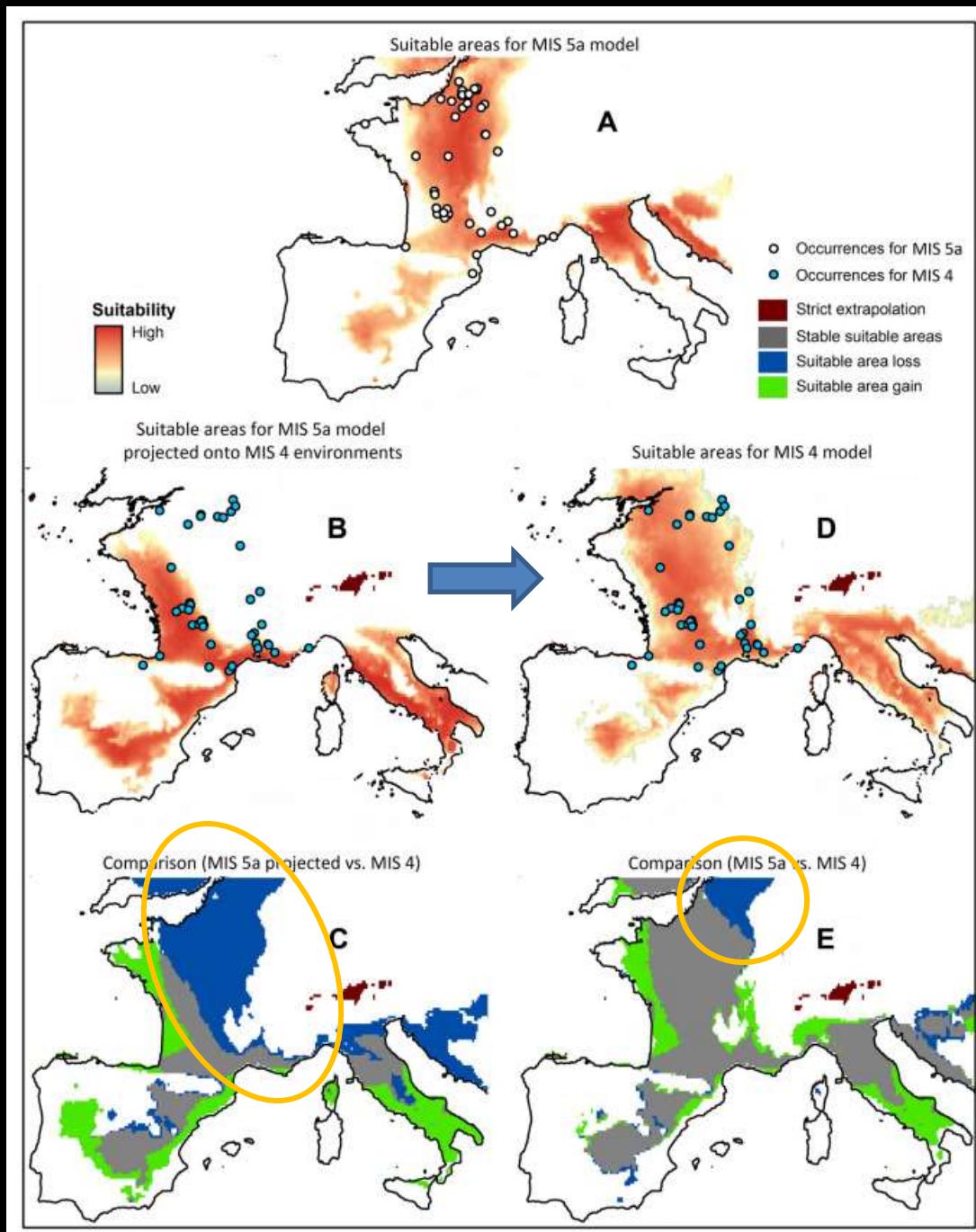
Maxent



72 ka

66 ka

60 ka



# Conclusione

- I comportamenti simbolici non sono il risultato di classici processi evolutivi darwiniani, cioè di una nuova cognizione associata a una nuova specie.
- Sono meglio spiegati come il risultato di un processo di costruzione di nicchia a lungo termine, influenzato da adattamenti culturali e conseguenti nuove modalità di trasmissione culturale che sfruttano la plasticità cerebrale tipica dei membri del nostro genere.

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- Pratiche simboliche più complesse sono state innescate da diversi fattori interconnessi e dinamici, sia ambientali che sociali
- Sono il risultato di dinamiche di popolazione e di traiettorie culturali complesse e non lineari, che devono essere comprese e tracciate su scala regionale.

# Thank you!

