Trajectories of Middle to Later Stone Age cultural innovation in eastern Africa: the case of Panga ya Saidi, Kenya

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4 Keywords: East Africa, symbolism, ornaments, ochre, bone tools, modern human origin

5 Abstract

6 African Middle Stone Age (MSA) populations used pigments, manufactured and wore personal 7 ornaments, made abstract engravings, and produced fully shaped bone tools well before the so-called 8 cognitive shift at 50,000 years ago (ka), formerly considered a key driver in the development of 9 advanced human cultures. However, on-going research across Africa reveals variability in the 10 emergence of cultural innovations in the MSA and their subsequent development through the Later 11 Stone Age (LSA). When present, it appears that cultural innovations manifest regional variability, 12 suggestive of distinct cultural traditions. In eastern Africa, several Late Pleistocene sites have produced 13 evidence for novel activities, but the chronologies of key behavioural innovations remain unclear. The 14 3 m deep, well-dated, Panga Ya Saidi sequence in eastern Kenya, encompassing 19 layers covering a 15 time span of 78 ka beginning in late MIS 5, is the only known African site recording the interplay 16 between cultural and ecological diversity in a coastal forested environment. Excavations have yielded 17 worked and incised bones, ostrich egg shell beads, marine shell beads, worked and engraved ochre 18 pieces, fragments of coral, and a belemnite fossil. Here we provide a detailed analysis of this material. 19 We demonstrate that behavioural modernity on the eastern African coast is evident by 67 ka, and 20 exhibits remarkable diversity and innovation through the LSA and Iron Age. We suggest the cultural 21 trajectories evident at Panga ya Saidi were shaped by both regional traditions and cultural/demic 22 diffusion.

23 Introduction

24 The present study aims to document the emergence of key behavioural innovations in the late 25 Middle Stone Age (MSA) and the Later Stone Age (LSA) of eastern Africa. The emergence of 26 innovations such as the use of mineral pigments, the wearing of ornaments and the production of 27 abstract engravings has traditionally been interpreted as the direct consequence of cognitive changes 28 linked to the origin of our species in Africa (McBrearty and Brooks, 2000; Henshilwood and Marean, 29 2003; Shea, 2011; Bruner, 2014; Marean, 2015; Coolidge and Wynn, 2017, Rito et al., 2019). A 30 significant debate crosscutting archaeology, palaeoanthropology and archaeogenetics has persisted 31 over whether cultural modernity originated and spread uniquely with anatomically modern Homo 32 sapiens (Stringer and Andrews, 1989; Relethford and Harpending, 1994; Klein, 1995; Agani et al., 2011; 33 Henn et al., 2012; see Rito et al., 2019 for an update of this view) or whether it emerged in the context 34 of biological and cultural interactions between diverse hominid populations in disparate climatic and 35 geographic settings (Gunz et al., 2009; Hublin et al., 2017; Neubauer et al., 2018; Scerri et al., 2018).

36 Resolving these issues is critically important for understanding the biological and genomic origins 37 of our species. Unfortunately, the archaeological record for manifestations of hominid symbolism and 38 "modern" innovations remains poorly resolved overall. Current models are shaped by the higher 39 resolution records from Europe (d'Errico and Banks, 2015; Locht et al., 2016; Giaccio et al., 2017; Zilhão 40 et al., 2017) and increasingly southern and northern Africa (Jacobs et al., 2008; Jacobs et al., 2011; 41 Jacobs and Robert 2015; d'Errico et al., 2018). Eastern Africa -one of the assumed centers of human 42 cultural and biological evolution- is represented by only a handful of sites with artifacts indicative of 43 symbolic-mediated behavior and complex bone technology (Ambrose, 1998; Assefa et al., 2008, 2018; 44 Miller and Willoughby, 2014; Rosso et al., 2014, 2016, 2017; Brooks et al., 2018). Most of these have 45 lacked systematic analysis until only very recently (Brooks et al., 2018; Tryon et al., 2018; Miller, 2019). 46 These records are biased toward the Central Rift Valley of the interior, which may not reflect the full 47 diversity of behaviours across the landscape. A greater limitation is that many of these important 48 assemblages lack the chrono-spatial resolution to accurately gauge change over time, are not 49 associated with local climatic data, and/or are not associated with the remains of their hominid 50 creators. As a result, we can assemble a chronology for changes in human symbolism in the region but 51 we lack the data linkages needed to test aforementioned hypotheses regarding the drivers for the 52 emergence of symbolism and symbolic change through time.

53 Panga ya Saidi, a recently published archaeological sequence located north of Mombasa in Kenya, 54 and spanning the last 78 ka (Shipton et al., 2018), has yielded a large collection of personal ornaments, 55 bone artifacts, modified ochre and engraved objects spanning the MSA/LSA transition in a continuous 56 sequence that extends into the late Iron Age of recent centuries. This sequence of symbolic behaviours 57 is well-dated, linked with a high-resolution palaeoecological record and rich technological 58 assemblages (Shipton et al., 2018), and contains human burials that have yielded ancient DNA 59 (Skoglund et al., 2017). Panga ya Saidi is also the only site where systematic flotation and fine mesh 60 screening permitted high rates of recovery for small symbolic artifacts. As a result, the site offers a 61 unique insight into the emergence of key cultural innovations in eastern Africa. We characterize these 62 innovations with the aim of identifying regional trends and similarities with innovations recorded in 63 neighbouring regions, proposing hypotheses regarding the impact of these innovations on late MSA 64 and early LSA eastern African societies, and discussing the implication of this record for our 65 understanding of the emergence of behaviourally modern human cultures.

66 <u>Background</u>

The complex and non-linear patterns emerging from our current state of research highlights the need to expand symbolic datasets within Africa. Artifacts that suggest symbolic practices (e.g., pigments, ornaments, burials, abstract engravings and drawings, systems of notation) appear at different times in Africa and some of them are still not found in vast areas of this continent until a few thousand years ago. Moreover, some of these innovations seem to disappear for thousands of years and then reappear in other forms, contradicting the idea of an exponential expansion of symbolic material culture linked to the sudden origin of new cognitive abilities.

74 The use of mineral pigments is the only innovation that coincides, to a degree, with the beginning 75 of the Middle Stone Age. The recent discovery of modified red ochre fragments at Olorgesailie, Kenya 76 (Brooks et al., 2018) confirms previous discoveries of modified ochre in the early MSA made at 77 Kapturin in Kenya, Twin Rivers in Zambia, and Wonderwerk, Canteen Kopje and Kathu Pan 1 in South 78 Africa (Barham, 2002; Watts et al., 2016). However, considering the age of these findings, 320-280 ka 79 for Olorgesailie and earlier for the southern Africa sites, and what we know about the anatomy of the 80 contemporary African human populations, the first users of ochre pigments probably possessed a 81 number of archaic morphological attributes. Therefore, the first pigment use cannot be taken as 82 reflecting the emergence of modern culture triggered by a speciation event. The first known 83 ornaments, consisting of perforated marine gastropods covered with ochre, belonging to the species 84 Tritia gibbosula, are found at sites in Morocco and Algeria dating back to between 120 ka and 80 ka 85 (Bouzouggar et al., 2007; d'Errico et al., 2009; Steele et al., 2019). Perforated shells belonging to the 86 same species and bivalves of the genus Glicymeris, found at Qafzeh and Skhul, in the Near East, date 87 back to about the same period (Mayer et al., 2009). Afrolittorina africana and Mancinella capensis 88 shells are used as beads at Sibudu, Kwa-Zulu Natal, in layers dated to between 70 ka and 46 ka (d'Errico 89 et al., 2008; Vanhaeren et al., in press). Perforated and ochred marine gastropods, belonging to the 90 species Nassarius kraussianus, are used as ornaments at Blombos Cave, Eastern Cape, around 73 ka 91 (d'Errico et al., 2005). At Border Cave, Kwa-Zulu Natal, a whole Conus ebraeus that was perforated and 92 ochred was found in a pit dated to 74 ka, in which the body of an infant was deposited (d'Errico and 93 Backwell, 2016).

Abstract representations, engraved on bone and ochre pieces, or drawn with ochre pencils on stone, are found at Blombos Cave, Klasies River, Klein Kliphuis, Sibudu, and Pinnacle Point, South Africa, where they date to between ca. 100-70 ka (Mackay and Welz, 2008; Henshilwood et al., 2009, Watts, 2010; d'Errico et al., 2012). They disappear in the following period and reappear in the same region, but engraved on ostrich egg shells used as flasks for water, ~66-58 ka (Texier et al., 2013; Henshilwood et al., 2014), and later on *Achatina* shells (Bicho et al., 2018) and bone (d'Errico et al.,

100 2012). Abstract representations disappear later and are not found again at African sites until a few 101 thousand years ago. The first African figurative art, discovered in the Apollo 11 cave in Namibia, is only 102 30,000 years old (Wendt, 1975; Rifkin et al., 2015). Although the subject of bitter discussion (Val, 2016; 103 Dirks et al., 2016), the first African mortuary practices could be associated not with modern humans 104 but with a population of Homo naledi. Discovered at the bottom of the cave of Rising Star in South 105 Africa, this hominin with a small cranial volume may have survived until between 226 ka and 335 ka 106 (Dirks et al., 2017; Hawks et al., 2017). The very few primary burials discovered on this continent are 107 younger than burials of Neanderthals and modern humans found outside Africa (Pettitt, 2010).

108 What makes it difficult to interpret the first examples of complex technologies and symbolic 109 behaviours from Africa as the direct consequence of a geographically and chronologically constrained 110 emergence of our species is the fact that comparable cultural manifestations are now known in Eurasia 111 before the arrival of modern populations in those regions (e.g., Roebroeks and Villa, 2011; Joordens 112 et al., 2015; Jaubert et al., 2016; Majkic et al., 2017; d'Errico et al., 2018; Hofmann et al., 2018). In 113 other words, the innovations that we encounter at archaeological sites and in which we recognize the 114 first traces of a cognition similar to ours, in particular symbolic manifestations, do not appear to be 115 the direct result of a change related to the sudden emergence of a modern anatomy but rather the 116 expression of complex and apparently non-linear cultural trajectories (Johansson, 2015; Acherman et 117 al., 2016; d'Errico et al., 2017; Colagé and d'Errico, 2018; d'Errico and Colagé 2018; Dediu and 118 Levinson, 2018; Kissel and Fuentes, 2018; Scerri et al., 2018; Will et al., 2019). How these trajectories 119 were, in different regions on the planet, conditioned by biological, environmental, and social factors 120 as well as by migrations and diffusion of cultural traits remains to be explored.

The MSA to LSA transition in eastern Africa is marked by the development and proliferation of disk beads, particularly those made from ostrich egg shell (OES). At present, eastern Africa has yielded the earliest occurrences of OES beads, with specimens directly dated to ca. 52,000 BP at Mumba Rockshelter in Tanzania (Gliganic et al., 2012), >50,000 years BP at Magubike Rockshelter in southern Tanzania (Miller and Willoughby 2014), 40,600 BP at Kisese II in central Tanzania (Tryon et al., 2018),

126 and 39,900 BP at Enkapune ya Muto in southern Kenya (Ambrose, 1998). Variation in OES bead 127 representation, size, and morphology through time and space has itself been the source of 128 considerable debate in the Pleistocene through to the Iron Age. While bead sizes seem to generally 129 decrease through the Pleistocene and early Holocene in southern Africa (Miller, 2019), sites in eastern 130 Africa appear to show more heterogeneous patterns. Whereas most sites in the interior appear to 131 show little overall change through time (Miller, 2012; Miller and Willoughby, 2014; Biitner et al., 2017), 132 Tryon et al. (2018) report a slight reduction in disk bead dimensions through the sequence at Kisese 133 II. In southern Africa, a sudden shift to larger bead sizes in the Late Holocene is thought to correspond 134 to the arrival of new populations of herders with different stylistic preferences. So far, there is very 135 little data on any possible shifts in bead size through dynamic population changes now demonstrated 136 through archaeogenetics for the Mid-to-Late Holocene of this region (Skoglund et al., 2017; 137 Prendergast et al., 2019). There are also few indications of periods of intensification of symbolic 138 behaviors that may lend clues to the forces affecting their initial emergence.

139 Bone tools are even less well studied in eastern Africa. The bone tool and notational/ornamental 140 assemblages documented in the MSA of southern Africa (d'Errico and Henshilwood, 2007; Blackwell 141 et al., 2008; d'Errico et al., 2018) and possibly Central Africa (Brooks et al., 1995; Yellen et al., 1995) 142 have no equivalent in eastern Africa. Bone implements first appear en masse in eastern Africa in the 143 form of barbed bone points or "harpoons" associated with aquatic resource intensification by foragers 144 during the wet phase of the early Holocene (Yellen, 1998). Similarly, widespread bone ornament 145 traditions are not visible until the Mid-to-Late Holocene (Mehlman, 1989; Helm, 2000; Langley et al., 146 2017). However, descriptions of five un-serrated bone projectile points, a bone awl, and a bone 147 notched piece from Kuumbi Cave on the Zanzibar archipelago of Tanzania hints at earlier 148 manifestations of osseous technologies on the eastern African coast (Langley et al., 2016).

149 Material and methods

150 Archaeological and paleoecological context

151 Panga ya Saidi is a large, partially unroofed cave complex located on the Nyali Coast of Kenya, 15 152 km from the present-day shore, at an altitude of 150 m (Figure 1). It opens on the eastern flanks of 153 the Dzitsoni Uplands, a ridge of Middle Jurassic limestone that separates the Late Quaternary coastal 154 plains from the large, arid Nyika Plateau. The site remained in close proximity to the coast throughout 155 the Upper Pleistocene since the sea depth at -125 m is within 5 km of the present shore line. 156 Ecologically, the Dzitsoni Uplands vegetation belongs to the Zanzibar-Inhambane Regional Mosaic. The 157 site is situated at the limit between the Sokoke Forest, characterised by the association Cynometra-158 Manilkara and the Shale Savanna with Manilkara-Dalbergia. Climate models (Shipton et al., 2018) 159 suggest that during the Last Interglacial the Nyika Plateau received less rainfall than the present 160 interglacial, while the coastal area where the site is located witnessed higher precipitation in the Last 161 Glacial Maximum than at present.

162 Excavations conducted at Panga ya Saidi between 2010 and 2013 have reached a depth of 3 m 163 (Shipton et al., 2018). The sequence includes, from the bottom to the top, four lithological units (Units 164 I-IV) encompassing 19 archaeological layers (Figure 2). Although animal burrows, tree root channels 165 and termite galleries were recorded during the excavations, most stratigraphic boundaries could be 166 identified along the entire profile. Twelve stratigraphically coherent AMS radiocarbon and seven OSL 167 ages indicate that the sequence accumulated between MIS 5 (~ 78 ka) and the historical era (0.4 ka). 168 Unit I (Layers 19-17), featuring a relatively low occupation density, is followed, at the Unit I/II interface 169 (Layer 17/16) by a possible depositional hiatus and limited human use of at least the part of the cave 170 sampled. Anthropogenic signatures, in the form of ash and burnt bone, gradually increase within Unit 171 II (Layers 16 to 14). This trend is interrupted by a sharp surface of erosional relief separating the top 172 of this unit from the archaeologically richer Unit III (Layers 13 to 5). This unit comprises numerous ash 173 lenses interpreted as burning features. Stratigraphic interfaces interpreted as occupation surfaces

with some degree of erosion are identified within Unit III, in particular at the Layer 13/12 and Layer
10/9 boundaries. The overall sequence is as follows: Layers 1-3 (Iron Age), Layer 4 (earlier Holocene),
Layers 5-6 (terminal Pleistocene), Layers 7-8 (Last Glacial Maximum), Layer 9 (late MIS 3), Layer 10
(mid-MIS 3), Layers 11-12 (early MIS 3), Layers 13-16 (MIS 4), and Layers 17-19 (late MIS 5). A range
of palaeoecological indicators identify a persistence of more or less open tropical forest throughout
the sequence. Within this general trend, several proxies suggest slightly drier conditions during the
deposition of Layers 16 (71-67 ka) to 8 (20 ka).

181 A significant increase in archaeological finds and a change in stone artifact size, technology, raw 182 material and tool type are recorded after the Unit I - II transition (73-67 ka). Lithic assemblages from 183 Unit I are primarily composed of typical MSA large flakes, mostly made of limestone, produced with 184 the Levallois method, occasionally retouched into points. The shift to a largely predominant use of 185 quartz (70-90%) in Units II and III corresponds to an increased use of bipolar technology and a 186 reduction in stone tool size. Chert use increases (40-60%) in Unit IV. Backed crescents appear for the 187 first time in Layers 11 and 12 (48.5 ka) and are also found from Layer 6 upwards. They co-exist in Units 188 II and IV with bipolar and Levallois technology, with blades becoming common in the upper part of 189 the sequence (Layers 8-3; 25-1 ka). The increase in archaeological remains observed in Units II-IV is 190 tentatively interpreted by Shipton and colleagues (2018) as evidence for a growing human presence 191 in the region, while the absence of unidirectional changes in lithic technology is seen as an indication 192 that this region did not witness the sudden appearance of an LSA technological package.

193 Methods

Over 200 potential beads, bone tools, engraved bone and stone objects, and pigment lumps recovered during excavations were examined under a low power reflected light microscope to assess potential anthropogenic modifications. When necessary, sediment was carefully removed under the microscope with a soft brush or a wet toothpick. This resulted in the retention of 180 pieces bearing compelling traces of manufacture and use, unmodified or marginally modified shell fragments probably used as beads, and modified and unmodified lumps of iron-rich rocks and sediments, possiblyused to produce ochre powder.

201 The identification of the most probable ostrich sub-species that laid the eggs used to produce the 202 circular beads found at Panga ya Saidi was based on guidelines proposed by Schönwetter (1927), Sauer 203 (1972), Mourer-Chauviré and Geraads (2008), and Blinkhorn et al. (2014). Taphonomic analysis of 204 Conus shells was based on Harding (1961), Mattes (1974), Claassen (1998), and d'Errico and Backwell 205 (2016). The identification of traces of manufacture, heating and use-wear on beads made from marine 206 shells and OES relied on diagnostic criteria established experimentally (d'Errico et al., 1993; d'Errico 207 et al., 2005; d'Errico et al., 2009), as well as previous analyses of similar objects (Kandel and Conard, 208 2005; Orton, 2008; d'Errico et al., 2012; Wei et al., 2017).

The distinction between natural and anthropogenic modifications on worked bone was based on criteria defined in the literature and on the analysis of modern and Pleistocene reference collections (Binford, 1981; Bonnichsen and Sorg, 1989; Villa and d'Errico, 2001; Backwell and d'Errico, 2001, 2005). Identification of shaping techniques and use-wear was based on data from experimental bone tool manufacture and use (Newcomer, 1974; d'Errico et al., 1984; Bergman, 1987; Shipman and Rose, 1988; Choyke and Bartosiewicz, 2001; Backwell and d'Errico, 2005), and experimental reproduction and microscopic analysis of marks produced with different tools and motions (d'Errico, 1995, 1998).

The identification of grinding, scraping and traces of deliberate engraving on ochre fragments is based on criteria obtained from experimental research (d'Errico and Nowell, 2000; Soressi and d'Errico, 2007; Hodgskiss 2010; Rifkin, 2012; Rosso et al., 2017), examinations of engravings on stone and bone surfaces (d'Errico, 1995, 1996), and by comparison with published engraved pieces from Blombos Cave and Klasies River (Henshilwood et al., 2002, 2009; d'Errico et al., 2012).

Two to four sides of each artifact were digitised at a resolution of 2400 dpi with an Epson Perfection V600 Photo scanner. Artifacts were examined at magnifications between 4x and 40x, and photographed with a motorised Leica Z6 APOA microscope equipped with a DFC420 digital camera. Uploaded images were treated with Leica Application Suite (LAS) equipped with the Multifocus

module, and Leica Map DCM 3D computer software. Selected areas of one *Conus* were scanned using
 a Sensofar Sneox scanning confocal microscope using a 20x objective. The resulting files were analysed
 with Mountains 7.2 software.

228 Different variables were recorded for each artifact category. Morphometric data were collected on 229 all objects with digital callipers. On shaped beads, we recorded raw material, bead shape, colour, 230 traces of manufacture, perforation technique, traces of heating, morphology of the perforation (sub-231 conical, biconical, cylindrical and sub-cylindrical), the hole (circular, sub-circular, ovoid), and the hole 232 aperture at the level of the bead surface, presence of pigment residues, and thickness and maximum 233 and minimum diameter of the bead, the hole and the aperture. Identification of OES bead types, 234 corresponding to different size, technology and style of manufacture, has taken advantage of 235 discussions with Gwaxan Cgonta, an OES beads maker and member of the Ju/'hoansi community, 236 Nyae Nyae, near Tsumkwe, Namibia, as well as analysis of OES beads from Shuidonggou locality 2 (Wei 237 et al., 2017). On anthropogenic perforated marine gastropods, we recorded species, shell length, 238 width, maximum and minimum diameter of the perforation, perforation technique, and traces of 239 shaping and use-wear. On naturally perforated or slightly modified spiral fragments of Conus, we 240 recorded, if any, location and type of modification, maximum width and thickness of the fragment, 241 and perforation maximum diameter. The raw material from which four shaped beads, tentatively 242 identified in the field as made of "shale" or "slate", was manufactured, was assessed by optical 243 microscopy and micro-Raman spectrometry (µ-RS). We used for this purpose a SENTERRA Dispersive 244 Raman Microscope (Bruker), equipped with an internal calibration system. Spectra acquisitions were 245 done with a 532 nm laser, a laser power of 2 mW, an integration time of 60 s, and multiple co-246 additions. The working area was observed through the integrated colour camera, and data was 247 collected with the software package OPUS 7.2. Identification of mineral phases was based on the 248 comparison of the recorded spectra with those of the RRUFF spectra library (Lafuente et al., 2015).

The following parameters were recorded, wherever possible, on worked bone and teeth: anatomical and species origin of the blank, mammal size class, blank extraction and shaping technique,

traces of use, sharpening, and the length, width and thickness of the object. The location and extent of worked areas and the sequence of the technical actions, based on microscopic examination, were systematically recorded for each artifact.

254 Variables recorded on iron-rich lumps included type and location of anthropogenic modification, 255 colour, and texture. The elemental composition of two modified iron-rich lumps was established by 256 energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (EDXRF) and analysis using a scanning electron microscope 257 coupled to an energy dispersive spectrometer (SEM-EDS). The former was not used on unmodified 258 lumps because of their small size. EDXRF measurements were performed with a portable SPECTRO 259 xSORT X-ray fluorescence spectrometer from Ametek, equipped with a silicon drift detector (SDD), a 260 low power W X-ray tube with an excitation source of 40 kV, and an X-ray beam of 8 mm. Spectra 261 acquisition times were set to 300 s. The spectrometer is internally calibrated by an automated 262 measure of the elemental composition of a standard metal shutter. Measurements were acquired 263 using a positioning device consisting of a lead receptacle to which the spectrometer was fixed. Three 264 measurements per object were obtained. SEM-EDS analyses were performed using a FEI Quanta 200 265 with SiLi detector, and SDD-EDAX detector. Backscattered electron images (BSE) and elemental 266 analyses were obtained under a low vacuum mode with an accelerating voltage of 15 kV. The EDS 267 analyses were performed under similar magnifications at the same working distance (10 mm), and 268 with the same acquisition time (100 s) for each EDS spectrum. The mineralogical composition of 269 modified and unmodified iron-rich lumps was determined by Raman spectroscopy using the same 270 equipment employed on shaped beads. For these last samples, the measurements were done with a 271 785 nm laser and a power of 1 mW in order to avoid thermal transformation of mineral phases. The 272 spectra were recorded with an integration time varying from 5 to 10 s, in a spectral range from 100 to 273 2200 cm⁻¹, and with a number of co-additions varying between 15 to 25 depending on the presence 274 of fluorescence radiation and signal-to-noise ratio.

275 Results

276 **Personal ornaments**

Five main personal ornament categories were recorded at Panga ya Saidi: perforated *Conus* spires, OES beads, perforated marine gastropods, circular shell beads and tubular shell beads (Figures 3-10). We present here a description of these artifacts and provide information on their technological, morphological and dimensional variability. Results concerning these artifacts are summarised in Tables 1-2.

282 Perforated Conus sp. spires

283 These objects are fragments of Conus shells resulting from the natural degradation of the thick 284 shells and robust spires belonging to this genus (Table 1). Destruction of these shells begins with the 285 gradual fading of the pattern, and continues with the fracture of the outer lip, bioerosion, opening of 286 perforations on the body whorl, progressive reduction of the latter by fracture and/or erosion until 287 only the spire, or fragments of the remainder of the shell survive (Figure S1). Degradation proceeds 288 with the gradual erosion of the spire, leading to the eventual opening of a hole at the apex (Claassen, 289 1998; d'Errico and Backwell, 2016). When occurring on Conus shells with flat spires the perforation 290 may give the impression that the spire was flattened by abrasion to open a hole at the apex. Conus 291 fragments at this final stage of destruction, consisting of polished dome-shaped disks with a 292 perforation in the middle, commonly known as "puka shells", are intensively used for jewellery in 293 Hawaii (Mattes, 1974). Similar uses are attested in Africa (Harding, 1961). The size of the perforations 294 in puka shells increases proportionally as the fragments reduce in size. This explains why the 295 perforations on Conus fragments recovered at Panga ya Saidi display, comparatively to other bead 296 types, a wide range of variation. The distance of Panga ya Saidi from the coast and identification of 297 two cases in which the natural perforations were marginally modified favour an interpretation of these 298 shell fragments as beads. Apart from two specimens found in Layers 16 and 10, this bead type is 299 concentrated in Layers 8 and 9, where 17 of the beads were recovered. The two specimens that show

300 possible evidence of modification come from Layers 16 and 8. The first exhibits traces of grinding 301 followed by polishing of the spire in an area close to the perforation (Figure S2, A). The second shows 302 on the perforation edge a small well-preserved area covered with striations possibly indicating that 303 the hole was slightly enlarged by rotation (Figure S2, B).

304

305 Ostrich egg shell beads

306 Eighty-eight OES beads were recovered at Panga ya Saidi. A single specimen comes from Layer 307 9. The large majority of the others come from Layers 7-8, only a dozen from Layers 5-6, and five 308 from Layers 2-4. Breathing pores detected on well preserved areas of the egg outer surface are 309 concentrated in clusters of individual pores or alignments of pores (Figure S3). This feature indicates 310 that Struthio camelus massaicus and/or Struthio camelus molybdophanes are the more likely sub-311 species that have produced the eggs employed to make the beads (Schönwetter, 1927, Sauer, 312 1972). This attribution is consistent with the present geographical distribution of these sub-species. 313 S. camelus massaicus is common in Kenya and southern Somalia, S. camelus molybdophanes in 314 Ethiopia and northern Somalia. The two subspecies are sympatric in a large north-west to south-315 east oriented band covering the north of Kenya and the south of Somalia, which may have shifted 316 during the Upper Pleistocene in response to climatic changes. Although variably modified by 317 abrasion and polishing, the egg thickness measured on the beads (mean of 1.77 mm with a range 318 between 1.32 mm and 2.16 mm) is consistent with these attributions.

Morphological and technological analyses (Figure S4) reveal notable differences in OES beads manufacture and style within and between layers. Six main types are identified (Figure 9): Type A includes large circular OES beads with large perforations. They exhibit polished to highly polished faces, elliptical and often slightly off-centred perforations, and straight or slightly convex edges in cross section. The edge formed by the intersection of the egg shell's original surface with the perforation is very regular on the inner shell surface (interior perforation edge), but very irregular on the outer surface (exterior perforation edge). This indicates that the perforation was made from

326 the inner toward the outer surface of the egg shell (Wei et al., 2017). Type B includes very large 327 circular OES beads with relatively small perforations. These beads exhibit slightly polished faces, 328 circular perfectly centred perforations, and slightly convex edges in cross-section. Interior and 329 exterior perforation edges are both slightly irregular. Type C includes small polygonal OES beas with 330 small polygonal perforations. These beads exhibit scars left by trimming the edge of the bead 331 preform, smoothed by polish, very convex edges in cross section, bi-conical perforations with very 332 flared edges and very irregular interior and exterior perforation edges. Type D includes sub-333 circular/ovoid OES beads with circular perforations. These beads exhibit polished to highly polished 334 surfaces, slightly irregular interior and exterior perforation edges, and variable edge shape along 335 their cross sections. Type E includes small circular OES beads with comparatively large circular 336 perforations, diffused interior and exterior perforation edges, and convex cross-sections all over the 337 bead surface. Type F includes very small OES beads with very small perforations. These beads exhibit 338 highly polished faces, circular perfectly centred perforations, perfectly straight edges in cross 339 section, and cylindrical perforations with very regular interior and exterior perforation edges. Eight 340 OES beads do not fall into these categories. Each of them exhibits a distinct combination of 341 dimensional and technological features (Figure S5). One is sub-circular in shape and bears a very 342 small perforation with flared edges (Figure 5, n. 33; Figure S5, A). A second has a general morphology 343 reminiscent of type B while being smaller in size and displaying flared perforation edges (Figure 5, 344 n. 35; Figure S5, B). A third is also reminiscent of type B but differs from the OES beads attributed 345 to this type by its smaller size, irregular outline and bi-conical perforation with flared edges (Figure 346 5, n. 53; Figure S5, C). A fourth associates the perforation size and general appearance of type A OES 347 beadds with a polygonal outline (Figure 5, n. 57; Figure S5, D). A fifth consists of a small OES beads 348 with a polygonal outline, a small perforation with flared edges on the inner side of the egg, and a 349 polish reminiscent of type A (Figure 4, n. 7; Figure S5, E). A sixth differs from the previous one in 350 that it exhibits a circular outline and is characterised by an even more flared perforation edge on 351 the inner side of the egg (Figure 4, n. 8; Figure S5, F). A seventh associates an irregular sub-circular

outline with a small perforation and a very convex edge in cross section (Figure 3, n. 16; Figure S5,
G). The eighth is larger than type F, but smaller than the other beads, and differs from the OESBs
attributed to type F in the bi-conical shape of the perforation (Figure 3, n. 48; Figure S5, H).

Apart from two specimens, found in Layer 5, Type A is concentrated in Layers 7-8. Types B is also concentrated in Layers 7-8 with two specimens of this type found in Layers 6 and one, the lowermost OESB recovered at the site, in Layer 9. Six of the seven specimens of Type C are also found in Layers 7-8, the seventh coming from Layer 5. Type D and E are only present in Layers 5-6 and Type F in Layers 2 and 3.

360 Thirty-three OES beads (37%) bear evidence of having been heated to darken them. This 361 treatment is, in fourteen cases, responsible for the splitting of the bead (Figure 5). Only OES beads 362 belonging to Types A, B, and D were submitted to this treatment, which was not used for the small 363 irregular beads of Type C and E, nor for the three small OES beads found in Layer 2 and 3. 364 Interestingly, heating was applied to morphologically and dimensionally similar beads made of 365 marine shells, found in the same layers (see below). Four of the eight beads falling outside the main 366 OES bead types have also been heated (Figure S6). Differences in shade suggest that the technique 367 was not equally mastered. Type A OESBs exhibit, when heated, a very dark black shade, which is 368 also found in those attributed to Type D and one of the unclassified OESBs (Figures S4 and S5). This 369 black shade is only rarely observed with Type B OESBs. Around 70% of OESBs, from all layers, bear 370 residues of possible pigment on the perforation and faces, less frequently on the edge (Figure S7). 371 All beads exhibit traces of utilization suggesting that they have been lost or disposed of after being 372 used as personal ornaments (Figure S4).

Morphometric analysis of OESBs confirms to a great extent the grouping based on visual discrimination. The scatterplot correlating bead and perforation maximum diameters (Figure 10) shows that Types A and B cluster separately and are characterised by mutually exclusively bead and perforation sizes. This suggests that the grooved stones used to produce them and drilling tools that have perforated them were different. Type C beads are smaller than Type B and their perforations

378 fall outside Type A and F variation. They represent the only type of beads having a wide range in 379 diameter and a high degree of correlation between diameter of the hole and the bead. Due to their 380 irregular morphology and size, as well as their poor manufacture quality, the artisan/s adapted the 381 size of the perforation to that of the bead, possibly to reduce the risk of breakage. The three 382 specimens attributed to Type D have diameters incompatible with types A, B, E, and F, the two 383 ascribed to type E have diameters incompatible with Types A, B, D and F. Finally, the three beads 384 assigned to Type F, all from Layer 6, are significantly different in size and perforation diameter from 385 those belonging to all other types and two of them cluster with the circular marine shell bead 386 recovered in the same layer (see below). Of the eight OES beads falling outside the type range of 387 morphometric variability, one from Layer 7-8, displays, as with two of Type F, the same perforation 388 size of the circular shell beads found in that layer (Figure 3, n. 48), but falls at the very end of their 389 bead diameter variability. Similarly, another falls within the range of the perforation diameter of 390 Type B (Figure 5, n. 57). The other six beads have sizes incompatible with Types A, B, E, and F but 391 present a relatively large variation in perforation size.

In conclusion, the analysis of the OES beads found at Panga ya Saidi identifies discrete groups of beads, each characterised by a combination of technological, stylistic, morphological and dimensional features, plus a small group of OESBs, different from each other and from those belonging to the main types.

396 Differences between Types A, B, C and E are striking and consistent, in the light of OES beads 397 variability observed ethnographically and archaeologically (d'Errico et al., 2012; Wei et al., 2017; 398 Pitarch Marti et al., 2017), with the interpretation of each of these groups of beads as having been 399 made by the same craftsperson or crafts people sharing the same know-how, motions, and 400 aesthetic. It is possible some beads belonging to the same type originate from the same beadwork, 401 partially lost or deliberately disposed of at the site. The beads not allocated to specific types likely 402 represent objects coming from different beadworks and individually lost at the site. A possible 403 exception is represented by the bead dimensionally clustering with Group A and sharing other 404 features with the beads from this group (Figure 5, n. 57), but presenting an irregular outline. This 405 bead could belong to this group in spite of its idiosyncratic shape. The fact that single specimens 406 belonging to Types A, B and C are found in neighbouring layers may be due to mobility across layers 407 or fuzzy limits between the cultural traditions represented in these layers and Layers 7-8. OES beads 408 of Type F and the small bead falling, morphometrically, outside this group (Figure 3, n. 48), tell a 409 different story. They come from layers dated to historical periods and mostly fit into the 410 morphometric variability of relatively standardized circular beads made of marine shells (see 411 below). This suggests that during this recent period, OES became a raw material to produce beads 412 comparable in size to those made of marine shell.

413 Perforated marine gastropods

414 Five perforated marine gastropods (Table 3) were recovered at Panga ya Saidi: one Volvarina sp. 415 in Layer 11 (Figure 8, n. 1), two others in Layer 4 (Figure 3, n. 47) and Layers 1-2 (Figure 3, n. 5), one 416 perforated Cypraea annulus in Layer 3 (Figure 3, n. 28) and one Cypraea moneta in Layer 2 (Figure 417 3, n. 15). The three Volvarina sp. are, despite their different stratigraphic provenances, relatively 418 comparable in size and exhibit on their dorsal aspect similar elongated perforations aligned along 419 the shell longitudinal axis. The perforation edges have irregular, micro denticulate outlines, 420 suggesting that the perforation was enlarged by exerting pressure with a pointed tool on the 421 perforation edge (Figure S8). This technique was probably also employed to produce the large 422 irregular perforation on the C. annulus from Layer 3. The smaller off-centred perforation on the 423 shell from the same genus found in Layer 2 was instead opened by first creating a large facet by 424 abrasion and subsequently opening a hole by puncturing the dwindled shell wall (Figure S9). 425 Abrasion was also applied, on this shell, on the surface surrounding the facet on which the 426 perforation was made and on the outer lip, which exhibits striations oriented along the shell main 427 axis. All the perforated gastropods bear traces of utilization indicating that they were lost or 428 disposed of after being used as personal ornaments.

430 Forty small disk or cylindrical shaped shell beads and a possible unfinished bead were recovered at 431 Panga ya Saidi (Table 2; Figures 3-4). With the exception of two specimens, found in Layer 5, all the 432 others come from Layers 1-4. The possible unfinished bead is one of the two from Layer 5 (Figure 4, 433 n. 3), and it consists of a tubular undetermined fossil exhibiting a hole at one end and no compelling 434 evidence of deliberate modification. All the other beads bear diagnostic evidence of human 435 manufacture. Most of these beads were correctly identified as made of marine shell at the moment 436 of discovery. A number of them, however, black to dark-brown in colour, were tentatively interpreted 437 in the field as made of stone, possibly slate or shale. In order to determine the raw material, Raman 438 analysis were conducted on four of these latter beads (Table 2). Results indicate in all cases that the 439 main component is calcite (Raman bands at 155, 281, 712, 1085, 1260, 1298 and 1437 cm⁻¹), which 440 rules out slate, and is consistent with their production from marine shell (Figure S10). Raman analysis 441 also identifies, in two cases, the presence of amorphous carbon (bands 1351 and 1600 cm⁻¹), and in 442 one case the presence of anatase (TiO₂, Raman bands at 147, 199, 398, 515, 638 cm⁻¹). Incorporation 443 of amorphous carbon is the consequence of heat treatment in a reductive environment conducted 444 with the aim of blackening the beads (d'Errico et al., 2015). This may also explain the absence of 445 aragonite. If naturally present in the shell, this mineral, was transformed to calcite by the heating 446 process. Incorporation of anatase could result from the use of a tool or an abrasive powder made of 447 a titanium rich-rock to shape the bead prior to heating, or a substance incorporated during the heating 448 process.

Although the degree of modification undergone by these beads makes it difficult in a number of cases to identify the type of shell used as a raw material and the technique of manufacture, some Panga ya Saidi beads show features providing information on these topics. Three cylindrical beads (Figure 3, n. 4, 27, 46) retain on their curved surface shallow depressions identified as the folds of marine gastropod columellas. This indicates that these beads were made, as with pre-Columbian examples from Illinois, by carefully chipping away the body whorl and spire of large marine

455 gastropods, incising and snapping the exposed columella, and shaping the resulting tubular blank by 456 grinding (Kozuch, 2007). These three beads show no evidence of heating, which suggests that, unlike 457 their pre-Columbian counterparts, fire was not used to weaken the body whorl before chipping it 458 away. Remnants of bivalve sculpture consisting of undulations or individual grooves are identified on 459 one side of many of the other beads (Figure 3, n. 6-10, 12-13, 18-19, 29, 31- 38, 49; Figure 4, n. 2; 460 Figure S11). This suggests that the technique used to produce these beads entailed, as with OES 461 beads, trimming fragments of marine bivalves, grinding them on a grooved stone, polishing them 462 and, in some cases blackening them by heating. The thickness of these beads, ranging from 0.5 to 4.1 463 mm, indicates that a large variety of bivalves were used to produce them. Morphometric analysis 464 (Figure 10) reveals, compared to OES beads groups, a wide size range associated with a relatively 465 narrow, although quite variable, perforation size interval. This pattern likely reflects episodes of loss 466 of single or multiple beads coming from many similar beadworks, produced originally by numerous 467 crafts people using slightly different drilling tools. The perforation size and its cylindrical morphology 468 suggest the use of a bow-drill, although two specimens exhibit elliptical holes that may result from 469 the use of a hand-drill.

470 Long term morphometric trends

In addition to the differences in OES bead technology, colour, and size mentioned above a general trend toward a reduction in bead size is observed from the bottom to the top of the sequence (Figure S12). Beads in Layers 7-8 are tightly clustered with maximum dimensions between about 7.5 and 9 mm, and Layers 5 and 6 demonstrate an overall reduction toward mean diameters of around 7 mm. If all disk beads (OES and marine shell) are considered together, a dramatic reduction in bead maximum dimension occurs with the Iron Age layers (1-4), when bead maximum dimensions plunge to around 4.5 mm.

478 Worked bone

479 Six objects made of bone and teeth bear clear evidence of deliberate modification (Table 3). Two
480 worked suid canines, probably tusks of bushpig (*Potamochoerus larvatus*) or warthog (*Phacochoerus*)

481 aethiopicus) come from Layer 10 and one from Layers 7-8 (Figure 6, n. 11; Figure 7, n. 20-21). The first 482 two are fragments of tusks, longitudinally split before being manufactured by scraping on the resulting 483 break (Figure S13). Although the fragments are too small to establish with certainty what kind of tool 484 was sought, the pointed outline of one fragment suggests it may have been an awl. The piece from 485 Layers 7-8 is a fragment of a tusk tip preserving portions of the anterior, lingual and labial outer 486 surfaces covered by enamel, the masticatory surface, and a longitudinal break (Figure S13). In adult 487 wild suids, canine masticatory surfaces are generally covered with parallel striations, mimicking grinding, perpendicular or slightly oblique to the main axis of the canine (d'Errico et al., 2012). In this 488 489 case, the remnant of the masticatory surface is covered by striations produced by scraping, parallel to 490 the tooth long axis. In addition, this surface is obliquely crossed by a deep groove made by a stone 491 tool, which may have been used to facilitate the longitudinal splitting of the tusk. Similar tools have 492 been reported from Border Cave, South Africa from MSA and early LSA layers dated to between 60 ka 493 and 44 ka (d'Errico et al., 2012). Another category of artifacts found in Layer 9 is represented by a 494 single specimen (Figure 7, n. 14; Figure S14). This is a mesial fragment of a thin point made of a small 495 mammal long bone, shaped by scraping. Diameter and technique of manufacture are consistent with 496 the interpretation of this object as a fragment of an arrow point comparable to those found at a few 497 early LSA sites in southern Africa (d'Errico et al., 2012; Backwell and d'Errico, 2016; Backwell et al., 498 2018, but see Bradfield, 2016), ubiquitous at later LSA sites, and still in use among historical San 499 hunter-gatherers. Shot with small bows, these arrow points are generally covered with poison in order 500 to be effective when hunting large mammals.

501 Four objects from Layer 9 and Layers 7-8 are either fragments of decorated bone tubes made of 502 small mammal limb bones or byproducts of their manufacture (Figure 7, n. 1-2; Figure 6; n. 12-13). 503 The two fragments from Layer 9 do not refit, but judging from their similar thickness and manganese 504 stain pattern, may have originally been part of the same artifact. The larger fragment exhibits a set of 505 eighteen equidistant notches. The second has a set of eleven. Microscopic analysis indicates that each 506 set was made by a single tool, likely during a single episode (Figure S15). The lithic tool was in both

507 cases a straight unretouched cutting edge, as indicated by the narrow, asymmetrical section of the 508 notches and absence of steps on their angled side (d'Errico, 1998). The two objects from Layers 7-8 509 are a bone tube decorated on one side with two sets of notches and the epiphyseal fragment of a long 510 bone bearing a groove obliquely cutting the diaphysis. The latter is likely the leftover of an 511 unsuccessful attempt to produce a bone tube by first cutting a deep perpendicular notch around the 512 diaphysis and then snapping it by flexion (Figure 6, n. 12). The former is a fragmentary bone tube 513 bearing evidence at the preserved end of having being produced with the same technique (Figure 6, 514 n. 13). The sets of notches cut on this object were originally composed by at least eight and eleven 515 notches each. Both sets were likely made by the same tool during a single episode (this interpretation 516 is made on the basis of a photograph, as this object was unfortunately lost by the courier during 517 export).

518 **Fossil**

519 Layer 9 yielded a mesio-distal fragment of the rostrum of a belemnite exhibiting at its ends an old 520 and a recent fracture (Figure 7, n. 13). The longitudinally-oriented groove, corresponding to the 521 remnant of the siphon located on the back side of the rostrum, presents no trace of modification. The 522 object is highly polished and traces of abrasion are detected close to the ancient break (Figure S16). 523 Although no comparative material was available to characterize the natural appearance of rostra from 524 geographically close paleontological outcrops, the unusual polish suggests that the object was curated, 525 and possibly used as a tool or an ornament. The missing, naturally pointed end may have been used 526 for piercing. Rostra were used as personal ornaments in the Upper Paleolithic of Europe (Vanhaeren 527 and d'Errico, 2006; Sinitsyn, 2010). San people use similar objects, carved out of pebbles, with a slightly 528 wider groove, as arrow straighteners. The San peoples place them in hot sand before placing the arrow 529 shaft in the groove and gently bend it.

530 Ochre pieces

531 Seventeen lumps of ochre, yellow to dark red in colour, were identified as mineral pigments and 532 analyzed (Table 4). They come from Layers 7, 8, 10, and 16-18. Only two of them, from Layers 8 and 533 10, bear clear traces of modification (Figure 6, n. 14; Figure 7, n. 19). We provide below a description, 534 technological analysis and physicochemical characterization of these two last objects before 535 presenting results concerning the unmodified pieces. A summary of the results is given in Tables S1-536 S3.

537 Modified iron-rich pieces

538 One piece of ochre from Layer 8 is a large fragment of an originally fully shaped iron-rich flat nodule 539 (Figure 6, n. 14; Figure S17). The largest triangular surfaces, corresponding to the nodule's original flat 540 sides, show evidence of having being shaped by pecking and polishing. The combination of these two 541 techniques produced a rough surface with pits and incipient fractures alternating with flat polished 542 areas that are covered by randomly oriented microscopic striations. Located between these two 543 surfaces, a flat area exhibiting two adjacent aligned facets is covered by subparallel striations oriented 544 along the nodule longest axis. They result from vigorous abrasion of this area against a lower 545 grindstone in a direction parallel to the nodule edge. The fracture that split the object served as a 546 platform to remove two small adjacent flakes that create a denticulated edge, as well as a point. The 547 latter bears microscopic evidence that it was used to mark a surface with thin red streaks. In summary, 548 this lump bears evidence of having been purposely shaped, used as a source of raw material to 549 produce a relatively coarse pigment powder, and split and retouched to be used as a crayon. The 550 shaping and multiple modifications and use suggest that the object was curated. The fracture reveals 551 a thick layer of fine-grain matrix crossed by randomly-oriented cleavages surrounding an amorphous 552 core. Under optical microscopy, the outer layer is composed of spots of dark red alternating with spots 553 of red fine-grained matrix. No visible grains are scattered within the matrix.

554 EDXRF elemental analysis identifies iron (Fe), calcium (Ca), manganese (Mn), and strontium (Sr) 555 and, at a trace level, phosphor (P), potassium (K), titanium (Ti), zinc (Zn), and yttrium (Y) (Figure S18). 556 SEM-EDS analysis indicates that the sample is composed of iron-oxide particles (Fe) associated with 557 silicates (Si) and aluminosilicates (Si, Al, K) (Figure S19). Most aluminosilicates take the form of sub-558 micrometric particles (clay fraction). Micrometric particles are also identified, suggesting the presence 559 of micas and/or feldspars. Other elements detected by SEM-EDS include Mg, P, Ca, Ti and Mn. Raman 560 analysis identifies hematite (Fe₂O₃, Raman bands at 222, 291, 403, 486, 605, and 1286 cm⁻¹), calcite 561 (CaCO₃, main Raman band 1085 cm⁻¹), and quartz (SiO₂, main Raman band at 459 cm⁻¹) (Table S2, 562 Figure S20). Intense fluorescence background and bands in the region between 1120 and 1415 cm⁻¹ 563 suggest the presence of clay minerals. In some cases, a few weak bands appear in the region of 500-564 700 cm⁻¹, characteristic of Mn–O and Mn–OH bending and stretching vibrations. In addition, gypsum 565 - possibly a by-product of a weathering process - (CaSO₄ 2H₂O, Raman bands at 414, 493, 669, 1007 566 and 1027 cm⁻¹) – is also identified on the specimen surface.

567 A fragment from Layer 10, trapezoidal in shape, displays an angled edge along its longitudinal axis. 568 It exhibits on its convex aspect a set of wide joining grooves oriented along the main axis of the object 569 (Figure S21). Microscopic analysis indicates that the grooves were engraved by the same tool, in a 570 single episode, and that the craftsman deliberately terminated some lines or changed their direction 571 to create a recognizable pattern. This indicates that the lines were not made with the intent to produce 572 pigment powder. A few thin, parallel lines, oriented along the long axis of the object, are engraved on 573 the concave aspect of the piece. Two small opposing flake scars are located on one corner of its 574 narrower end.

575 Under optical microscopy, the fragment is composed of a dark red to orange compact 576 homogeneous clay with no grains scattered in the matrix. EDXRF elemental analysis identifies Fe, Ca, 577 and Mn, together with P, K, Ti, and Sr (Figure S22). SEM-EDS analysis indicates that the piece is 578 composed of iron-oxide particles (Fe) associated with silicates (Si), and aluminosilicates (Si, Al, K) 579 (Table S3, Figure S23). Silicates take the form of 5 µm wide or smaller rounded particles (Figure 28D- 580 E; Figure 29A). Most aluminosilicates consist of sub-micrometric particles (clay fraction), or, less 581 frequently, rounded micrometric tablets of micas and/or feldspars (see Figure S23 D and E, spectrum 582 SP1). Iron-oxides take the shape of sorted and rounded 2.5 μ m wide particles (Figure S23 D-E, 583 spectrum SP2). Other elements present in the object matrix include carbon (C), magnesium (Mg), P, 584 sulphur (S), Ca, Ti, and Mn. The spatial distribution of the detected elements (Figure S24) shows that 585 Al is mostly associated with Si, but also with Fe. Ca is associated with P, and Mg. Mn is homogeneously 586 distributed and associated with Fe. In addition, the mapping identifies particles mostly composed of 587 C and S (Figure S23 D-E-SP3 and Figure S24) possibly biological in origin. Raman analysis finds hematite, 588 calcite and quartz as well as bands between 1120 and 1415 cm⁻¹, characteristic of clay minerals (Table 589 S2, Figure S25).

590 The finer-grained texture of the piece from Layer 10 compared to that from Layer 8, the lower 591 content in Ti and Mn, the presence of C, and the absence of Y indicate that these two objects may 592 come from different sources.

593 Unmodified iron-rich rock lumps

594 Fifteen other fragments collected during the excavation as possible lumps of red ochre are all 595 significantly smaller that the two modified pieces, more friable, and present a coarser granulometry 596 (Figure 6, n. 9-10; Figure 7, n. 23-25; Figure 8, n. 2, 4-7; 9-12). They show a range in variation that 597 extends from ferruginous lutite to ferruginous fine and very fine sandstone. Colour, texture, grain 598 size, and mineral content suggest that nine different sedimentary rock types are represented 599 (Tables S1 and S2). Hematite is identified by μ -RS in half of these lumps (Table S2). A number, 600 particularly those orange to dark red in shade, have clear colouring power. Some of these fragments 601 may derive from crushing larger lumps to produce pigment powder. This hypothesis would be 602 reinforced by the demonstration that these materials, or at least some of them, do not occur 603 naturally in the site sediment.

604 Discussion and conclusion

605 The analysis of several categories of key artifacts recovered from Panga ya Saidi opens up new 606 opportunities to explore how the material culture of populations living in the coastal areas of eastern 607 Africa integrated, since 78 ka, innovations reflecting the emergence of behaviorally 'modern' cultures. 608 The inferences that can be drawn from this material are limited by the fact that certain types of 609 objects, present in large numbers in a number of layers, were discovered in older layers exclusively in 610 the form of a single specimen or specimens that do not show diagnostic traces of modification. It may 611 therefore be premature to take their earliest occurrence in the stratigraphy as definite evidence that 612 the behaviours associated with these objects are contemporary with the layer in which they first 613 appear. The iron oxide rich fragments from Layers 18-16 may indicate that red pigment was brought 614 and perhaps processed at the site between 76 ka and 67 ka, but to be able to affirm this with certainty 615 in the absence of traces of modification on these objects, it would have to be demonstrated that this 616 material is not naturally present at the site, which requires dedicated work in the field and additional 617 analyses.

618 While the bulk of the Panga ya Saidi assemblage does not represent 'earliest' occurrences of 619 osseous tools and symbolic artifacts, it does provide a unique record for deep-time behavioural 620 patterns leading to intensification of important phenomena like bead production. Furthermore, the 621 high-resolution palaeoecological record for the site and the emerging datasets on stone tools and 622 other materials offer great potential to understand the context for the emergence of symbolic traits. 623 If these circumstances can be reconstructed from the Panga ya Saidi dataset, it may offer new 624 analogical structures for investigating "earliest" occurrences and testing hypotheses relating changes in symbolic styles with changes in population structures. The Panga ya Saidi assemblage itself adds an 625 626 important data point to an emerging picture of diverse symbolic trajectories through the MSA and LSA 627 of eastern Africa.

The first definite evidence of an interest in ochre use appears in Layer 10 (between 48.5-33 ka, for Layers 11-9). Such interest is manifested by the use of an ochre fragment as a media for engraving

630 rather than for intense extraction of colour powder, the latter of which is only demonstrated by an 631 object in Layer 8 (ca. 25 ka). A similar caveat applies to the only puka shell found in Layer 16 (bracketed 632 by dates of 67 ka – 61.5 ka) and the perforated Volvarina sp. discovered in Layer 11 (48.5 ka). The first 633 layers in which several puka shells appear in association are Layers 9 (33 ky) and 8 (25 ka), and the 634 other two Volvarina sp. shells discovered so far come from Layer 4 (7.5 ky) and Layers 1-2 (ca. 1 ka), 635 and have a perforation very similar to the specimen from Layer 11. This raises the question as to 636 whether puka shells are an ornament that emerged in this region in the late MSA (67-61.5 ka) or 637 whether their appearance is contemporary with the first OES beads, around 33 ka. In the former 638 scenario, it would be the first indication that marine shell beads preceded OES beads in eastern Africa 639 in a pattern more comparable to that seen in southern Africa. If the latter is supported by future 640 evidence, the sudden investment in forms of exo-somatic symbolism may reflect major changes in 641 demographic dynamics at this time. What is clear is that these puka shells were certainly used as 642 ornaments between 33 ka and 25 ka, and that they are absent in Layer 6 (>25 ka) in which OES beads 643 are found. Additionally, Panga ya Saidi is the first site in which they are found in Africa, making them 644 an icon of the cultural trajectory of the coastal populations of the region.

645 Almost all typical OES beads come from Layers 5-8 (25-14 ka). The single specimens from Layer 9 646 (33 ka) and Layers 2-4 may indicate sporadic loss of this ornament type contemporaneous with the 647 deposition of those layers or post-depositional displacement. The second hypothesis is reinforced for 648 the more recent specimens by the presence, in those layers, of numerous tiny circular beads, some of 649 which are made of OES, so that the two larger OES beads found in those layers are idiosyncratic 650 occurrences. The alternative hypothesis is that during the deposition of recent layers the site was 651 alternatively occupied by users of both bead types or that the occupants of the cave used both bead 652 types. If the stratigraphic distribution of bead types is confirmed by the analysis of the material from 653 the more recent excavation seasons at Panga ya Saidi and at other sites, this may indicate that OES 654 beads were first in use in some coastal regions of East Africa later than in inland areas, the earliest

655 occurrences of this bead type being dated in Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa between 50 ka and 31
656 ka (Miller and Willoughby 2014; see Wei et al., 2017 for a synthesis).

657 The absence of ostrich remains, egg shell fragments, bead preforms, the intense use-wear recorded 658 on all OES beads and the numerous specimens bearing ochre residues suggest that the beads were 659 lost or disposed of, but not manufactured at the site, at least in the spatial locality investigated by our 660 trench. The current distribution of the two ostrich species that probably provided the eggs from which 661 the beads discovered at Panga ya Saidi were produced is limited to grassland plateaus, the closest of 662 which occur today about 100 kilometres west of the site (Sinclair, 2003). It is unlikely, in light of climate 663 model outputs for the LGM (Shipton et al., 2018), that grasslands have spread, even in drier periods, 664 to coastal areas. This is consistent with our results and, together with the fact that Panga ya Saidi is 665 the only site in eastern Africa with a bead assemblage that lacks any indication of early stage working 666 or preforms, suggests that OES beads should be considered exotic items at Panga ya Saidi. Clear 667 differences in OES beads technology, size, style, and heat-induced colouring indicate that different 668 human groups carrying different variants of these ornaments visited the site during the deposition of 669 Layers 5-8; that one group had access to the traditions of different groups through exchange; or that 670 one resident group employed two different traditions of OES bead manufacture.

The OES beads from Panga ya Saidi also demonstrate a trend toward smaller diameters through the sequence, similar to the size reduction noted for the Pleistocene layers at Kisese II (Tryon et al., 2017). This dramatic discontinuity in bead material and size may be the best evidence for changes in population structure. It is interesting to note in this respect that an individual burial from the site dating to 400 BP retains strong East African forager ancestry (Skoglund et al., 2017).

However the bead manufacture and size patterns are interpreted, they appear to be unique for eastern Africa and may reflect the coast experiences different cultural influences, developments or population histories relative to inland areas. Hypotheses that needs to be explored in this regard are that puka shells may reflect the identity of coastal populations before the spread of OES beads into these areas, and that the site has been occupied or visited during at least some periods by different

populations, some wearing puka shells and others OES beads, or that the people frequenting the site were wearing both. Whatever the case, a clear shift in bead technology and types occurs at the beginning of the Holocene, when small circular beads made of marine shells and OES, perforated cowrie and *Volvarina* shells, and small tubular beads made of the columellas of large marine gastropods replace large OES beads. An important caveat is that many older excavations in the Central Rift Valley employed 5mm screen sizes, and so some bead size distributions may have be biased.

687 The only other Pleistocene African site that has yielded worked suid tusks is Border Cave (d'Errico et al., 2012), where they were processed with techniques similar to those identified at Panga ya Saidi 688 689 and mostly occur in layers roughly contemporaneous with those in which they are found at Panga ya 690 Saidi. At Border Cave, however, a few pieces come from older, 60 ka layers, while the artifact from 691 Panga ya Saidi comes from Layer 7-8 (25 ka). At Border Cave, as at other early LSA sites from Southern 692 Africa (Backwell et al., 2012; Backwell and d'Errico 2016), we find the two other bone artifact 693 categories identified at Panga ya Saidi: bone diaphyses carrying sets of notches, and thin bone artifacts 694 interpreted as pins or possible arrow points used with poison (d'Errico et al., 2012; Backwell et al., 695 2018). The peculiarity of the Panga ya Saidi objects belonging to the first category lies in the fact that 696 two of them bear clear traces of having been cut with the groove-and-snap technique to produce bone 697 tubes that may have been used as containers, and that the set of notches have been apparently made 698 by a single tool and in an attempt to juxtapose them equidistantly, which points to a decorative rather 699 than notational function (d'Errico et al., 2018). Although the bone rod found in Layer 9 is broken, 700 making it difficult to attribute this object to an artifact category, its diameter falls in the variability of 701 LSA and historical bipointed arrowheads from southern Africa (d'Errico et al., 2012; Robbins et al., 702 2012).

Bone implements and especially the notched piece artifact in Pleistocene contexts are typologically and temporally similar to those reported for Kuumbi Cave on the Tanzanian coast (Langley et al., 2016). Taken together, the Panga ya Saidi and Kuumbi Cave datasets indicate a tradition of bone tool production and use by c. 20,000 BP on the coast of eastern Africa that predates any comparable

pattern inland by nearly 10,000 years. The early appearance of worked bone traditions on the coast
relative to inland is an interesting contrast to the apparently opposite pattern discussed above for OES
beads.

710 When evaluated in a pan-African context Panga ya Saidi records the emergence, perhaps as early 711 as 67 ka or at 33 ka, of an original symbolic material culture (puka shells) replaced, possibly later than 712 elsewhere, by symbolic items (ostrich egg shell beads) and bone artifacts (worked suid tusks, small 713 bone point, notched bone containers) showing similarities with those identified at sites in southern 714 Africa located in subtropical areas, such as at Border Cave and Sibudu. The identified trend is 715 consistent with a more fragmented cultural geography until ca. 40 ka, followed by the adoption of 716 cultural innovations that may have emerged in neighbouring regions and arrived by cultural diffusion 717 to East Africa. OES beads, in particular, suggest the creation of exchange networks with inland areas. 718 These are replaced, at the beginning of the Holocene, by a more varied body ornamentation primarily 719 exploiting marine resources that includes bead types whose production required a degree of craft 720 specialisation.

1721 It is therefore clear that the processes initiated by the first appearances of symbolic behaviours in 1722 the MSA are not part of a single event, but rather cascading shifts toward in regional connections and 1723 diversifications over many millennia. Further investigation is needed to understand the degree to 1724 which this may reflect growing biological or ethnic boundaries among Pleistocene foragers.

In summary, Panga ya Saidi is important as it is, at present, the only site located outside north-west and southern Africa, the two classic regions in which key cultural innovations have been identified in MSA contexts, to deliver, in a well dated sequence, a record of cultural innovations of diverse types over a time span covering the late MSA and the LSA. Together, the results highlighted here are consistent with a scenario in which both regional trajectories and cultural/demic diffusion acted, at different times, as the driving factors shaping cultural diversity in Africa. Ongoing analyses of material from recent excavation campaigns at Panga ya Saidi and other sites will allow testing of the patterns

identified here, and further document the emergence and long-term evolution of personal ornaments,
bone technologies, and ochre use in eastern Africa.

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1111 Figure captions

- Figure 1. Location of Panga ya Saidi with the orography of the region and sea level at -125 m alongthe modern shoreline.
- 1114 Figure 2. Panga ya Saidi sections indicating limits between layers and units, selected features, and
- 1115 the sequence chronology.
- 1116 Figure 3. Personal ornaments from Layers 1-4. Scale = 1 cm.
- 1117 Figure 4. Personal ornaments from Layers 5-6. Scale = 1 cm.
- 1118 Figure 5. Ostrich egg shell beads from Layers 7-8. Scale = 1 cm.
- 1119 Figure 6. Personal ornaments (n. 1-8), possible lumps of pigment (n. 9-10), worked tusk fragments

(n.11), worked bones (n. 12-13), and heavily modified ochre lump (n. 14), all from Layers 7-8. Scale
1121 – 1 cm

- 1121 = 1 cm.
- Figure 7. Worked bones (n. 1-2, 14), worked suid tusks (n. 20-21), personal ornaments (n. 3-12, 15-
- 1123 18), rostrum of belemnite (n. 13), engraved lump of ochre (n. 19), possible ornament (n. 22) and
- ochre lumps (n. 23-25) from Layer 9. Scale = 1 cm.
- 1125 Figure 8. Perforated Volvarina sp. from Layer 11 (n.1), possible lump of ochre and Conus shell fragment
- 1126 from Layer 16 (n.2-3), possible lumps of ochre from Layers 17 and 18 (n.4-12). Scale = 1 cm.
- 1127 Figure 9. Examples of OESBs identified as belonging to different types. Type A, B and C: OESBs from
- Layer 7-8 (context 412); Type D: OESBs from Layer 5 (context 104, spit F) (left) and Layer 6 (context
- 1129 104, spit G) (right); Type E: OESBs from Layer 5, (context 104, spit F) (left) and Layer 6 (context 104
- spit G) (right); Type F: OESBs from Layer 2 (context 406) (left) and Layer 3 (context 408, spit A)
- 1131 (right). Scale = 1 mm.
- 1132 Figure 10. Scatterplot correlating maximum bead and perforation diameters of circular marine shell
- 1133 beads and OESB. OESB different from each other and from main types are indicated in blue.

Horizontal bands highlight differences in perforation size between marine shell beads, and OESB
types A and B.

1136 Supplementary materials

- 1137 Figures
- 1138

Figure S1. Top: Spiral fragments of *Conus* shells from Layer 9 (context 413, spit B (left) and spit C (center and right)). Bottom: comparable fragments from thanatocoenoses obtained from Southern African shores. Scale = 1mm.

- 1142 Figure S2. A: Conus shell from Layer 16 (context 420); Center: 3D reconstruction of the perforation
- 1143 (left), and an area close to the perforation showing horizontal grooves produced by coarse abrasion

partially obliterated by vertical striations resulting from polish (right). B: *Conus* shell from Layers

- 1145 7-8 (context 104, spit H), with possible traces left by a tool used to enlarge the natural perforation.
- 1146 Scale = 1 mm.
- 1147 Figure S3. Close up-view of the ostrich egg shell outer face on OESB from Layers 7-8 (context 412).

1148 Variability in pore arrangements suggests the use of eggs of Struthio camelus massaicus (left) and

1149 Struthio camelus molybdophanes (right) (Schönwetter, 1927; Sauer, 1972). Scale = 1 mm.

1150 Figure S4. A and B: OESB from Layer 5 (context 104, spit F) (A), and Layer 3 (context 408, spit A); B:

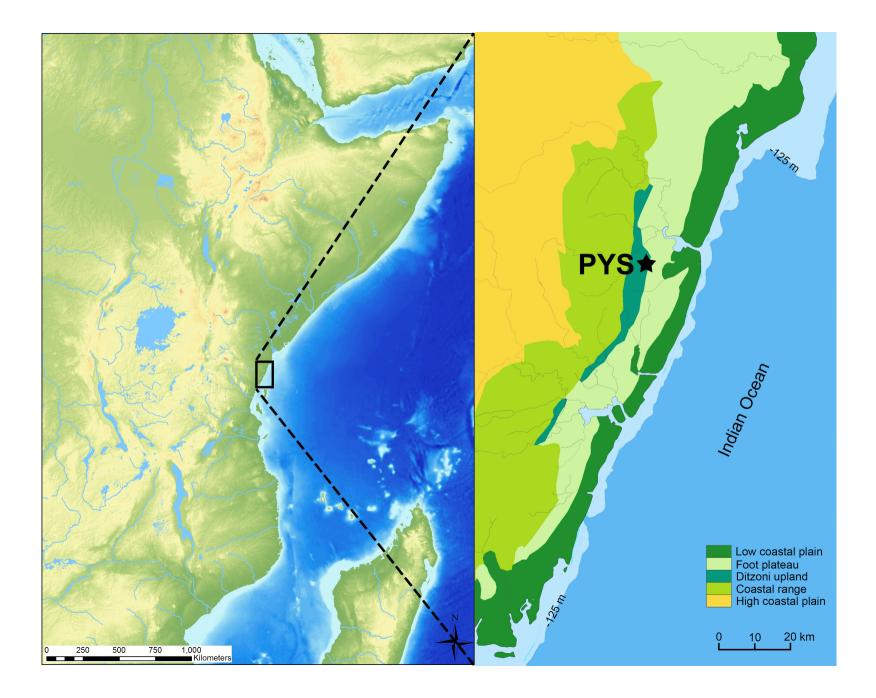
with traces of abrasion; C: OESB from Layer 2 (context 102, spit B), showing polishing of the
 mammillary layer; D: OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412), preserving traces of rotation on the
 perforation edge. Scale = 1 mm.

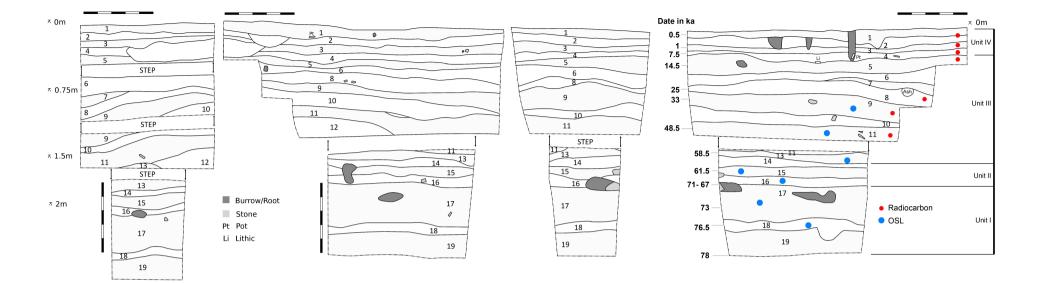
- 1154 Figure S5. Examples of OESBs not falling in any of the six main OESB types. A, B, C and D are from Layer
- 1155 7-8 (context 412); E and F are from Layer 5 (context 104, spit F); G is from Layer 2 (context 102, spit
- B); H is from Layer 4 (context 408, spit B). Scale = 1 mm.
- Figure S6. OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412) showing removal of a large portion of the outer egg shell
 surface due to heating. Scale = 1 mm.

- Figure S7. OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412) exhibiting a thick red residue on the surface of the perforation. Scale = 1 mm.
- Figure S8. Volvarina sp. shell from Layer 4 (context 408, spit A), showing an elongated perforation
 enlarged by pressure. Scale = 1 mm.
- 1163 Figure S9. Top: *Cypraea moneta* from Layer 2 (context 407); bottom left and center: facet produced
- by grinding the body whorl surface in different direction before punching it in the middle; bottom
- right: subparallel striations produced by abrading the inner lip along the shell long axis. Scale = 1
 mm.
- Figure S10. μ-RS spectra on black beads from Layer 3 (context 408, spit C). A, see Figure 1, n. 39; B,
 see Figure 1, n. 40.
- 1169 Figure S11. A-B: marine shell beads from Layers 1-2 (context 402) (A), and Layer 3 (context 408, spit
- 1170 A) bearing cylindrical perforations and striations produced by flattening the bead surface. C: marine
- shell bead from Layer 3 (context 408, spit A), with an off-centre ovoidal perforation. B and C show
- remnant of bivalve sculpture. Scale = 1 mm.
- 1173 Figure S12. Stratigraphic variation in beads maximum diameter.
- 1174 Figure S13. Top and centre: fragments of warthog or bushpig tusks from Layer 10 (context 414, spit D)
- 1175 showing scraping marks; bottom: fragment from Layer 7-8 (context 412) showing scraping marks
- 1176 and a deep groove. Scale = 1 mm.
- Figure S14. Mesial fragment of a bone point from Layer 9 (context 413, spit C), showing longitudinal
 scraping (close-up view at the right). Scale = 1 mm.
- Figure S15. Notched bone fragments from Layer 9 (context 413, spit A). Scale = 1 mm.
- 1180 Figure S16. Mesial fragment of a belemnite rostrum from Layer 9 (context 413, spit C), showing traces
- 1181 of abrasion (close-up on the right)). Scale = 1 mm.

- Figure S17. Iron-rich nodule from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H) presenting a variety of modification
 traces (see text).
- 1184 Figure S18. Result of the EDXRF analysis of the Iron-rich nodule from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H)
- 1185 within the specimen from Layer 10, context 313, spit P. A: Location of the analyses. B: EDXRF
- 1186 spectrum. C: Detailed view of the spectrum.
- 1187 Figure S19. SEM-EDS analysis on the specimen from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H). A-B: Location of the
- 1188 analysis. C: Detailed view of B in BSE mode. D: Detailed view of C.
- 1189 Figure S20. μ-RS analyses on the specimen from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H). A-B: Location of the
- analyses. C-E: Raman spectra of different sub-areas.
- 1191 Figure S21. Engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P).
- 1192 Figure S22. Result of the EDXRF analysis of the engraved fragment of ochre from Llayer 10 (context
- 1193 313, spit P) within the specimen from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P). A: Location of the analyses. B:
- 1194 EDXRF spectrum. C: Detailed view of the spectrum.
- 1195 Figure S23. SEM-EDS analysis on the engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P).
- 1196 A: Location of the analyses. B-C: SE and BSE mode images at a low magnification. D: Detailed view
- in BSE mode with the location of the analyzed spots. E: EDS spectra.
- 1198 Figure S24. SEM-EDS analysis of the engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P).
- 1199 Distribution of the main elements composing the analyzed area.
- 1200 Figure S25. μ-RS analyses on the specimen from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P). A-B: Location of the
- 1201 analyses. C-D: Raman spectra of different compounds.
- 1202 Tables
- 1203 Table S1. Contextual data and results concerning the pigment analyses.
- 1204 Table S2. Results of μ-RS analyses on iron-rich lumps from Panga ya Saidi.

- 1205 Table S3. Results of semi-quantitative SEM-EDS analysis of modified ochre lump PYS-Phase4-Layer10-
- 1206 Context 313P







Layer 1-2



Layer 2





Layer 3

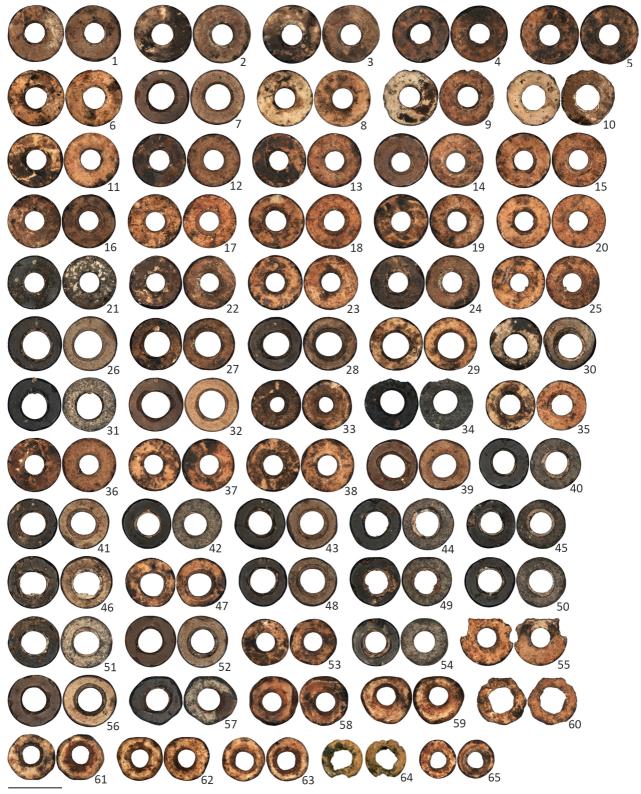




Layer 6



Layer 7-8



Layer 7-8







Layer 11



Layer 16



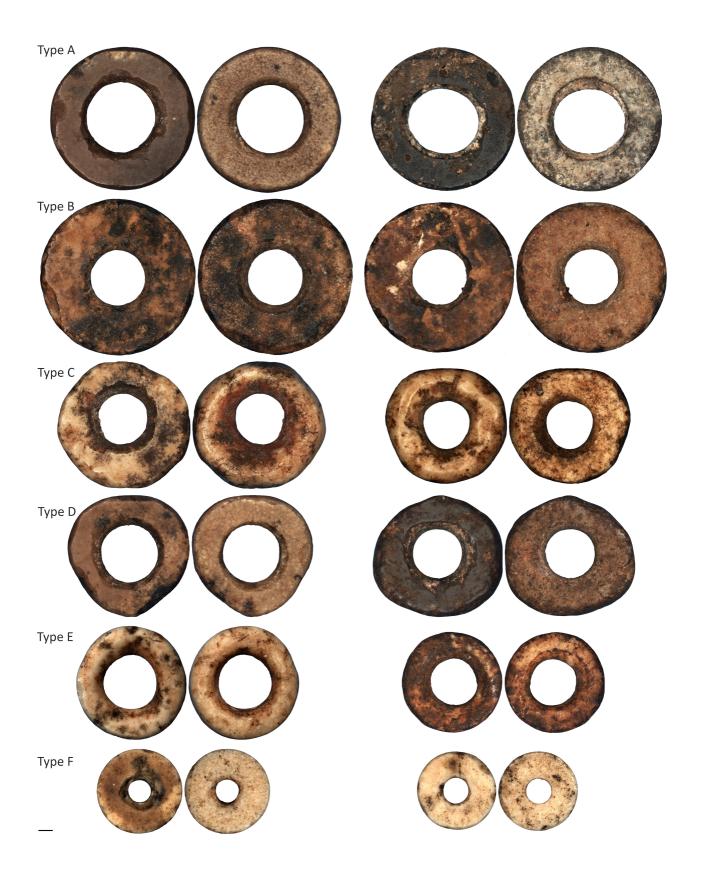
Layer 17







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Trajectories of Middle to Later Stone Age cultural innovation in eastern Africa: the case of Panga ya Saidi, Kenya

Supplementary data

Figures S1-S25



Figure S1. Top: Spiral fragments of *Conus* shells from Layer 9 (context 413, spit B (left) and spit C (center and right)). Bottom: comparable fragments from thanatocoenoses obtained from Southern African shores. Scale = 1mm.

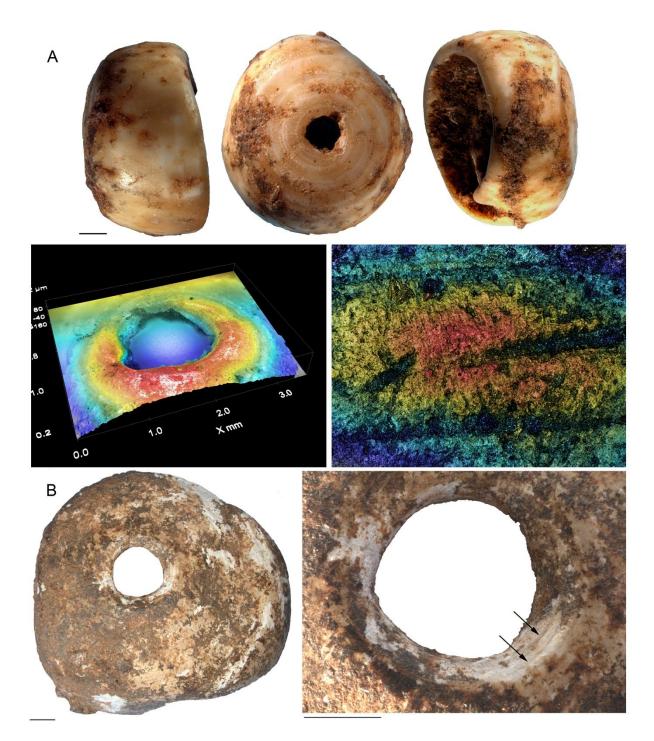


Figure S2. A: *Conus* shell from Layer 16 (context 420); Center: 3D reconstruction of the perforation (left), and an area close to the perforation showing horizontal grooves produced by coarse abrasion partially obliterated by vertical striations resulting from polish (right). B: *Conus* shell from Layers 7-8 (context 104, spit H), with possible traces left by a tool used to enlarge the natural perforation. Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S3. Close up-view of the ostrich egg shell outer face on OESB from Layers 7-8 (context 412).
Variability in pore arrangements suggests the use of eggs of *Struthio camelus massaicus* (left) and *Struthio camelus molybdophanes* (right) (Schönwetter, 1927; Sauer, 1972). Scale = 1 mm.

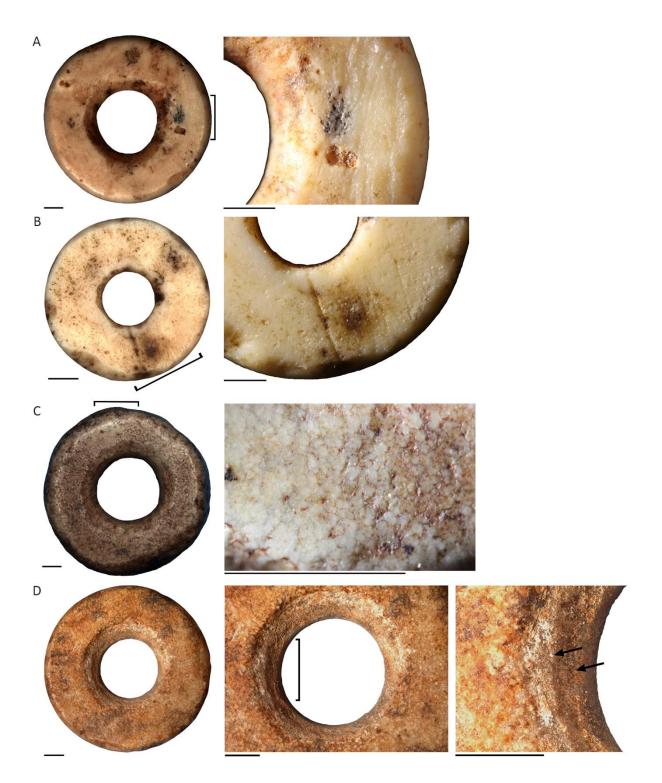


Figure S4. A and B: OESB from Layer 5 (context 104, spit F) (A), and Layer 3 (context 408, spit A); B: with traces of abrasion; C: OESB from Layer 2 (context 102, spit B), showing polishing of the mammillary layer; D: OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412), preserving traces of rotation on the perforation edge. Scale = 1 mm



Figure S5. Examples of OESBs not falling in any of the six main OESB types. A, B, C and D are from Layer 7-8 (context 412); E and F are from Layer 5 (context 104, spit F); G is from Layer 2 (context 102, spit B); H is from Layer 4 (context 408, spit B). Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S6. OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412) showing removal of a large portion of the outer egg shell surface due to heating. Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S7. OESB from Layer 7-8 (context 412) exhibiting a thick red residue on the surface of the perforation. Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S8. Volvarina sp. shell from Layer 4 (con

text 408, spit A), showing an elongated perforation enlarged by pressure. Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S9. Top: *Cypraea moneta* from Layer 2 (context 407); bottom left and center: facet produced by grinding the body whorl surface in different direction before punching it in the middle; bottom right: subparallel striations produced by abrading the inner lip along the shell long axis. Scale = 1 mm.

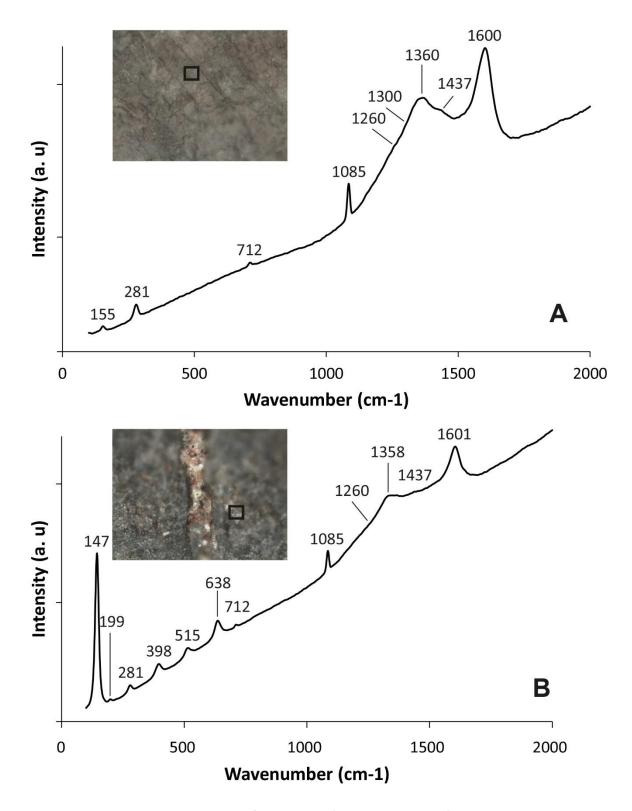


Figure S10. μ-RS spectra on black beads from Layer 3 (context 408, spit C). A, see Figure 1, n. 39; B, see Figure 1, n. 40.



Figure S11. A-B: marine shell beads from Layers 1-2 (context 402) (A), and Layer 3 (context 408, spit A) bearing cylindrical perforations and striations produced by flattening the bead surface. C: marine shell bead from Layer 3 (context 408, spit A), with an off-centre ovoidal perforation. B and C show remnant of bivalve sculpture. Scale = 1 mm.

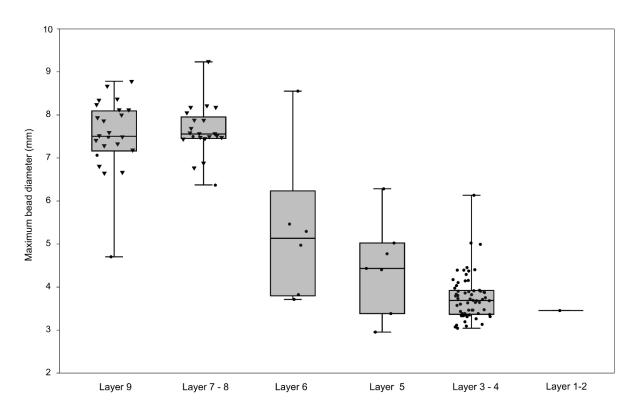


Figure S12. Stratigraphic variation in beads maximum diameter.



Figure S13. Top and centre: fragments of warthog or bushpig tusks from Layer 10 (context 414, spit D) showing scraping marks; bottom: fragment from Layer 7-8 (context 412) showing scraping marks and a deep groove. Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S14. Mesial fragment of a bone point from Layer 9 (context 413, spit C), showing longitudinal scraping (close-up view at the right). Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S15. Notched bone fragments from Layer 9 (context 413, spit A). Scale = 1 mm.



Figure S16. Mesial fragment of a belemnite rostrum from Layer 9 (context 413, spit C), showing traces of abrasion (close-up on the right)). Scale = 1 mm.

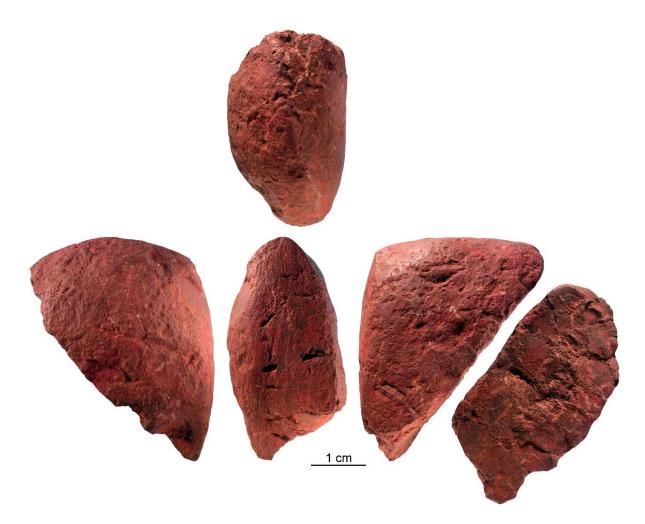


Figure S17. Iron-rich nodule from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H) presenting a variety of modification traces (see text).

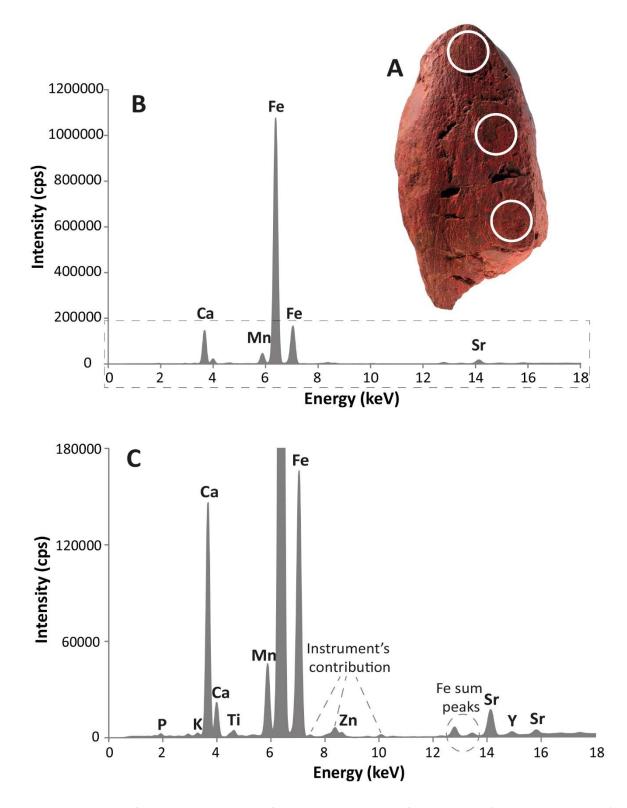


Figure S18. Result of the EDXRF analysis of the Iron-rich nodule from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H) within the specimen from Layer 10, context 313, spit P. A: Location of the analyses. B: EDXRF spectrum. C: Detailed view of the spectrum.

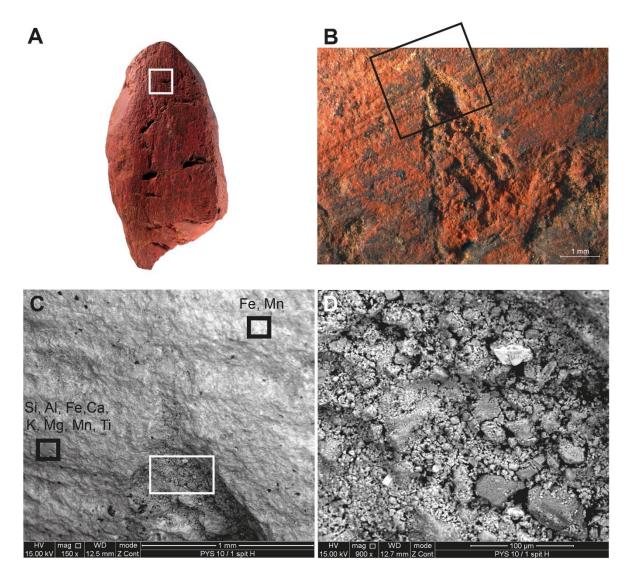


Figure S19. SEM-EDS analysis on the specimen from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H). A-B: Location of the analysis. C: Detailed view of B in BSE mode. D: Detailed view of C.

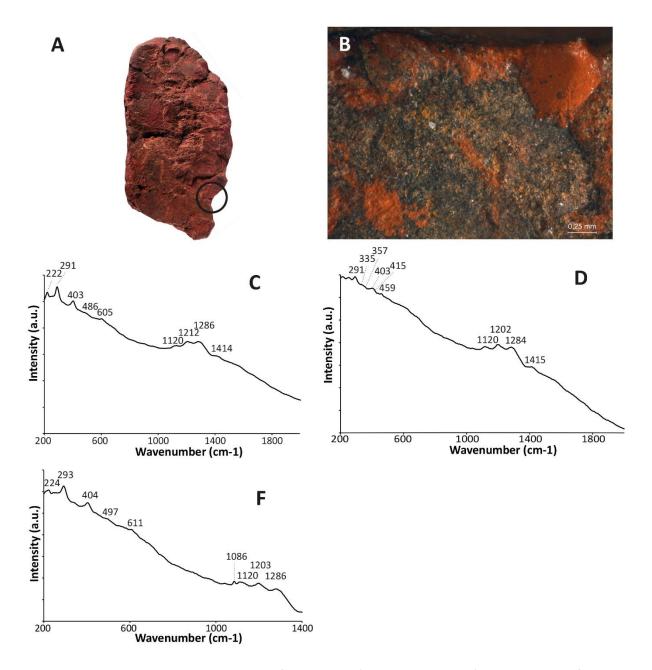


Figure S20. μ-RS analyses on the specimen from Layer 8 (context 104, spit H). A-B: Location of the analyses. C-E: Raman spectra of different sub-areas.

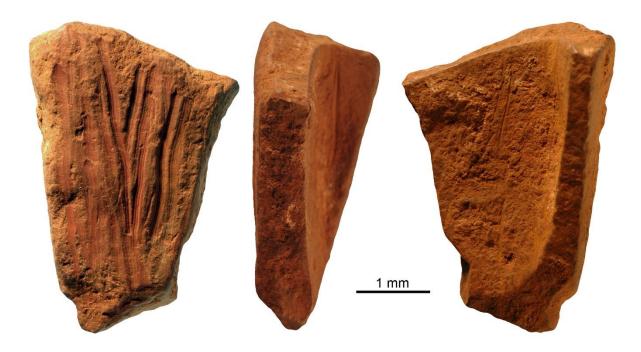


Figure S21. Engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P).

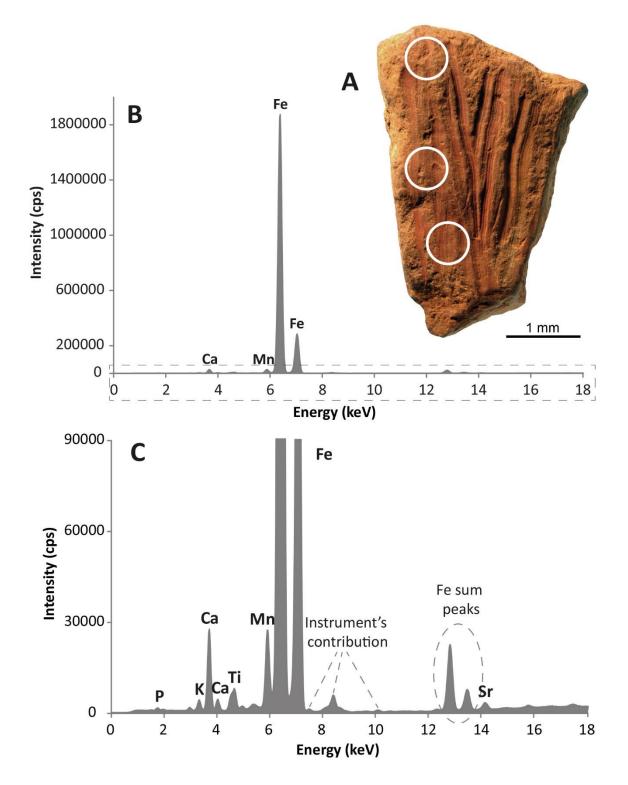


Figure S22. Result of the EDXRF analysis of the engraved fragment of ochre from Llayer 10 (context 313, spit P) within the specimen from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P). A: Location of the analyses. B: EDXRF spectrum. C: Detailed view of the spectrum.

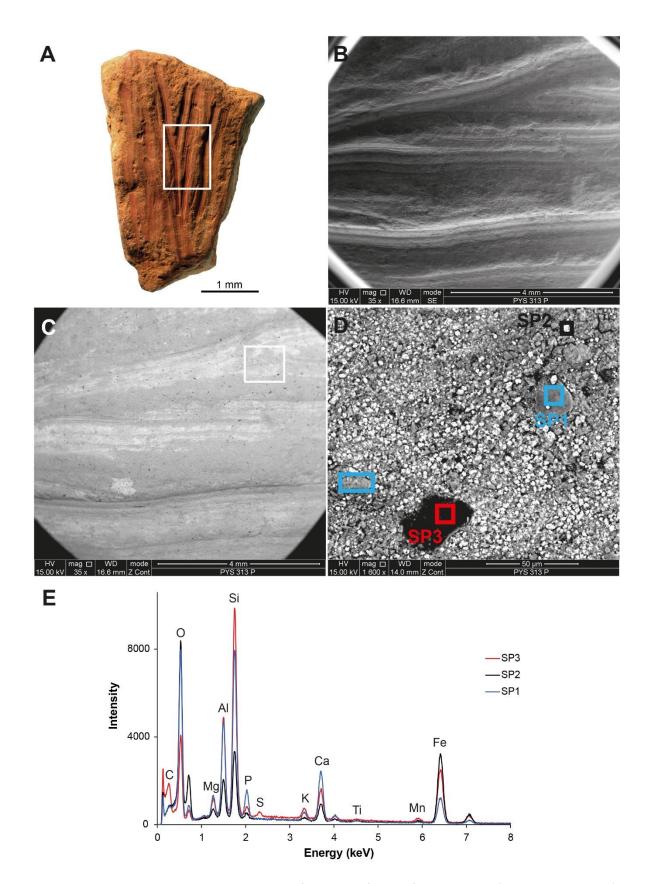


Figure S23. SEM-EDS analysis on the engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P).A: Location of the analyses. B-C: SE and BSE mode images at a low magnification. D: Detailed view in BSE mode with the location of the analyzed spots. E: EDS spectra.

Α

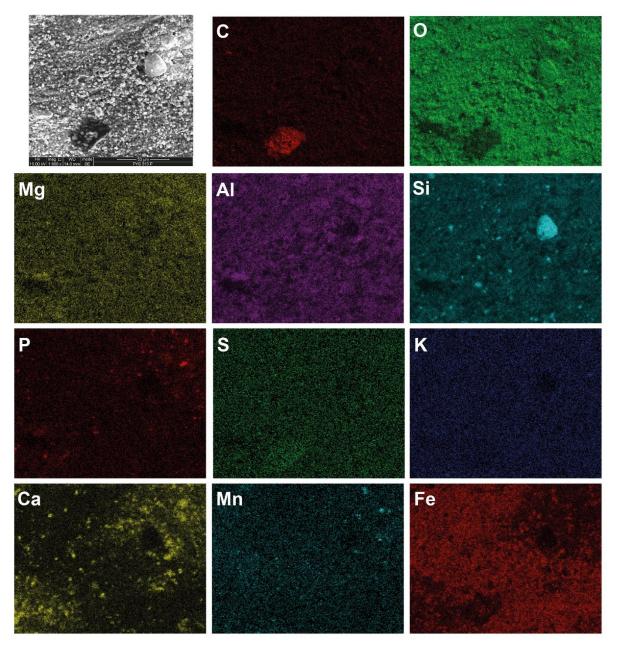


Figure S24. SEM-EDS analysis of the engraved fragment of ochre from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P). Distribution of the main elements composing the analyzed area.

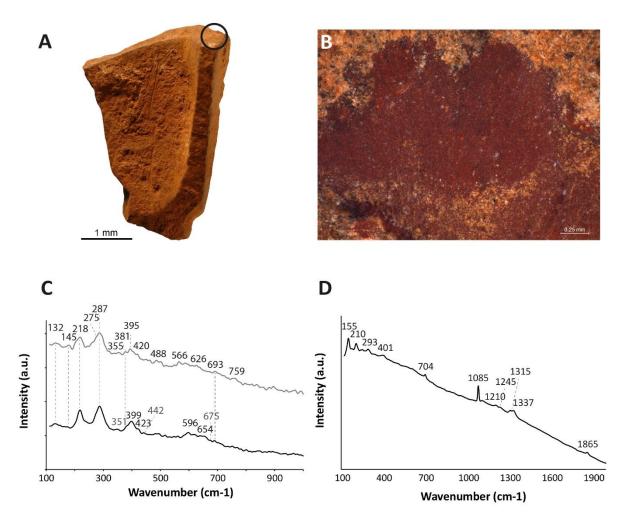


Figure S25. μ-RS analyses on the specimen from Layer 10 (context 313, spit P). A-B: Location of the analyses. C-D: Raman spectra of different compounds.

Trajectories of Middle to Later Stone Age cultural

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Kenya

Supplementary data

S Tables

Table S1. Contextual data and results concerning the pigment analyses.

Table S2. Results of μ -RS analyses on iron-rich lumps from PYS.

Table S3. Results of semi-quantitative SEM-EDS analysis of modified ochre lump PYS-

Layer10-Context 313P.

Unit	Layer	Context or Spit	Sub- sample	Color	Texture	Minerals (µ-RS)
111	7-8	412	a-b	Red	Laminated; clayish matrix with translucent grains (~25-150µm); presence of yellow nodules	hem, goe, qtz, cal gyp
111	8	н (*)		Dark red	Compact clayish matrix	hem, undet. Mn compound, qtz, cal, sil
111	10	313 P (*)		Dark red	Compact clayish matrix	hem, qtz, cal, sil
111	10	414GNRL	b	Dark orange - bright red	Clayish matrix with some quartz grains (~200µm) randomly distributed within it; presence of black nodules	qtz, cal (**)
111	10	414D		Pale yellow	Grain-supported fabric composed of subrounded translucent grains (~60-120µm) in a clayish matrix	cal, undet. Sil (**
П	16	420A		Yellow - dark red	Lump of hardened sediment with layers	(***)
I	17	420 F	а	Bright orange	Silty matrix with some angular quartz grains (~200µm) scattered on it; presence of vacuoles fulfilled with black deposits	hem, qtz
I	17	420 F	с	Dark orange - bright red	Concretioned silty matrix; grain- supported fabric composed of translucent rounded grains (~400μm) and black nodules (~600μm)	hem, undet. Mn compound, qtz
I	17	420 F	d	Dark orange - bright red	Concretioned silty matrix; grain- supported fabric composed of translucent rounded grains (~400µm) and black nodules (~600µm)	
I	17	420 F	e	Dark orange - bright red	Concretioned silty matrix; grain- supported fabric composed of translucent rounded grains (~400μm) and black nodules (~600μm)	hem, undet. Mn compound, qtz
I	18	422B	а	Dark orange - bright red	Concretioned silty matrix; grain- supported fabric composed of translucent rounded grains (~400μm) and black nodules (~600μm)	
I	18	422B	b	Dark orange - bright red	Concretioned silty matrix; grain- supported fabric composed of translucent rounded grains (~400µm) and black nodules (~600µm)	hem, qtz, cal
I	18	422B	d	Dark orange	Concretioned silty matrix containing translucent rounded grains (~200-300µm), white crystals (150µm), and white nodules; black impregnations are also present	hem, undet. Mn compound, qtz, pho
I	18	422B	e	Dark yellow - bright orange	Silty matrix; matrix-supported fabric; presence of subrounded translucent grains (~350-350µm); black impregnations are also present	hem, qtz, fel (**)

hem: hematite; goe: goethite; qtz: quartz; cal: calcite; gyp: gypsum; sil: silicates; pho: phosphates; fel: feldspar; (*) pieces with traces of human modification; (**) too intense fluorescence background; (***) no response

Unit	Layer	Context or Spit	Sub- sample	Item analyzed	Identified minerals	N. meas
111	8	Н		Orange grains	hem (+ sil)	1
111	8	Н		Red grains	hem (+ sil)	3
111	8	Н		Dark red grains	hem (+ sil)	2
111	8	Н		Black grains	undet. Mn compound	2
111	8	Н		Translucent white crystals	cal (+ hem + sil)	1
111	8	н		Translucent white grains	qtz (+ hem)	1
111	7-8	412	a-b	Red grains	hem	4
111	7-8	412	a-b	Red grains	hem (+ cal + gyp)	
111	7-8	412	a-b	Translucent white grains	qtz (+ hem)	
111	7-8	412	a-b	Translucent white crystals	cal (+ goe + hem + gyp)	2
111	10	313 P		Orange grains	hem	1
111	10	313 P		Red grains	hem	
111	10	313 P		Dark red grains	hem	3
111	10	313 P		Black grains	hem (+ qtz)	2
111	10	313 P		Translucent white crystals	cal (+ hem + sil)	1
111	10	313 P		anslucent white grains qtz (+ hem)		2
111	10	414GNRL	b	Translucent white grains	qtz	2
111	10	414GNRL	b	Translucent grey crystals	cal	1
111	10	414D		Translucent grains surrounded by pale yellow particles	cal (+ undet. sil)	4
111	10	414D		Red grains	undet. compound	4
I	17	420 F	а	Red grains	hem (+ qtz)	2
I	17	420 F	С	Red grains	hem	3
I	17	420 F	С	Dark red grains hem (+ undet. Mn compo		1
1	17	420 F	С	Black grains undet. Mn compound		6
I	17	420 F	e			3
				Red grains hem (+ qtz)		
1	17	420 F	e	Black grains	undet. Mn compound (+ qtz)	1
I	18	422B	b	Red grains	hem	4
I	18	422B	b	Translucent white crystals	cal	2
Ι	18	422B	b	Translucent grey grains	qtz	3
I	18	422B	d	Red grains	hem	10
I	18	422B	d	Black grains	undet. Mn compound	4
I	18	422B	d	White particles	pho	
I	18	422B	d	Translucent white grains	qtz	1
I	18	422B	е	Red grains undet. compound		4
I	18	422B	e	Red grains	hem (+ alb)	2
I	18	422B	e	Translucent white grains	qtz (+ fel)	2

* in brackets associated minerals; meas: measurements; hem: hematite; sil: silicates; cal: calcite; qtz: quartz; gyp: gypsum; goe: goethite; pho: phosphates; alb; albite; fel: feldspar

	ltems analyzed	Semi-quantitative EDX analyses **			Interpretation		
Grain shape	BSE * contrast	Grain size (μm)		>10%	2-10%	<2%	
Irregular	Black	25	3	(Fe, Al, Si)	C (Ca)	S (Mn, Mg, K, P, Ti)	Undet.
-	Grey	Sub-micrometric	2	Fe, Si	Al, Ca, Mg	K, Mn, Ti (P)	Clayminerals
Rounded grains	Grey	2,5	1	Si (Fe)	(AI, Ca)	(K, Mg, P)	Quartz
Rounded tablets	Grey	20	2	(Fe) Si	(AI, Ca, P, Mg)	(K, Mn, Ti, Na)	Feldspars
Rounded grains	White	2,5	3	Fe	Si, Al, Ca	Mn, Mg, K, P	Hematite

(*): White, Grey, and Black refer to the contrast observed on backscattered electron (BSE) images; (**): Elements in brackets play no role in the mineralogical composition of the analyzed items.