clearly becomes the dominant aim, but it takes time more than a decade, in fact). To start with, the basic eatures have to be tidied up a little-circles for ayes, a good strong horizontal line for a mouth, two dots or a central circle for a nose. Hairs have to fringe the outer circle. And there things can pause for a while. The face, after all, is the most visual and compelling part of the mother, at least in visual terms. After a while, though, further progress is made. By the simple device of making some of the hairs longer than the rest, it is possible for this face-figure to sprout arms and legs. These in turn can grow fingers and toes. At this point the basic figure-shape is still founded on the

re-representational circle. This is an old friend and he is staying late. Having become a face he has now become a face and body combined. It does not seem to worry the child at this stage that the arms of its drawing are coming out of the side of what appears to be its head. But the circle cannot hold out for ever. Like a cell, it must divide and bud off a lower, second cell. Alternatively the two legs must be joined somewhere along their length, but higher than the feet. In one of these two ways, a body can be born. Whichever happens, it leaves the arms high and dry, sticking out of the side of the head. And there they stay for quite some time, before they are brought down into their more correct position, protruding from the top of the body.

It is fascinating to observe these slow steps being taken, one after the other, as the voyage of discovery tirelessly continues. Gradually more and more shapes and combinations are attempted, more diverse images, more complex colours, and more varied textures.

Eventually, accurate representation is achieved and precise copies of the outside world can be trapped and preserved on paper. But at that stage the original exploratory nature of the activity becomes submerged beneath the pressing demands of pictorial communication. Earlier painting and drawing, in the young

chimp and the young child, had nothing to do with the act of communicating. It was an act of discovery, of invention, of testing the possibilities of graphic variability. It was 'action-painting', not signalling. It 118