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Fashionable Figurines: the link between figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus and body adornment

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Fashionable Figurines: the link between figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus and body adornment



By: Max Willem Lenssen

Cover Image: (left to right) figurines SL 433, SVP 82/20, SL 436. From *Cyprus: crossroads of civilizations* (p. 60), by S. Hadjisavvas, 2010, Government of the Republic of Cyprus. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 65.4 & 73.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

Title: Fashionable Figurines: the link between figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus and body adornment

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Topic

If you know anything about prehistoric Cyprus, chances are you have heard of its rich record of anthropomorphic figurines, ranging from rather crudely carved Neolithic figurines to the curious Bronze Age plank-shaped figurines. The Chalcolithic period (ca. 4000 BCE – 2400 BCE) is well-known for its characteristic style of cruciform figurines and pendants made out of picrolite, a blue-green type of stone which is found on the island. However, stone and ceramic figurines also make up a large portion of the Chalcolithic figurine assemblage (Knapp, 2013). As will be discussed in Chapter 3, both the picrolite and ceramic figurines have been studied extensively, especially regarding their symbolism, meaning, and function. Numerous examples of picrolite and ceramic specimens feature carved or painted elements. What these figurative elements represent has been the subject of much debate, with scholars theorizing them to be clothing (Karageorghis, 1992), jewelry, hairdo, tattoos, face or body paint (Vagnetti, 1980), or simply geometric designs that do not represent any type of bodily features.

1.2 Research Problem

Unlike, for example, in the Italian Alps with the case of the exceptionally well-preserved Chalcolithic remains of Ötzi the iceman, which still contain preserved tattoos on the mummified skin, as well as the remains of certain items of clothing (South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology, 2016), the environment in Cyprus is not suitable for the preservation of organic materials. This means that hair, tattoos, and textiles used for clothing are unavailable for archaeologists to study. Therefore, it is only possible to study the potential dress, jewelry, tattoos, hairstyles, and body paint represented on anthropomorphic figurines, not correlating with those which the Chalcolithic inhabitants of Cyprus have actually worn, but rather in relation to the figurines themselves. This can be done by examining the painted and carved figurative elements primarily present on picrolite and ceramic figurines. However, dress and other bodily features on figurines have not been well investigated using the figurative elements present on both picrolite and ceramic figurines.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to examine the relationship between the carved and painted figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic figurines and their dress, jewelry, tattoos, or face and body painting, I will be trying to answer the following research question:

Do painted and carved elements on ceramic and picrolite figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus represent dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint?

This question will be answered with the following set of sub-questions:

- Which different types of figurative elements are observed on picrolite and pottery figurines?
- Where on the body are different types of figurative elements found?
- How do the figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic figurines correspond with each other?
- Does the archaeological record show remains of dress or jewelry that correspond with the figurative elements observed on ceramic and picrolite figurines?

1.4 Methodology

To answer the questions posed above I will be making use of published material that include catalogs of most of the known figurines of Chalcolithic Cyprus, as well as descriptions of these figurines. I will use this material to set up a database of figurines, in which I will indicate the different types of figurative elements for each figurine. With this database I aim to analyze figurative elements, their frequencies, locations on the body, and other variabilities. I will then compare the findings between the picrolite and ceramic figurines. Subsequently I will be interpreting the results from the analysis and comparing them with previous publications on the topic.

1.5 Outline/Reading Guide

Before moving on to the analysis and results, this thesis will include two chapters introducing the topic in more detail and supplying sufficient background information needed to grasp the thesis properly. In Chapter 2 the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus will be introduced briefly, outlining the major changes the island went through during this period and the ways of life of the inhabitants of Cyprus at the time, as well as the history of archaeological research in the area. Subsequently in chapter 3 the topic of figurines in Chalcolithic Cyprus will be introduced. This chapter addresses previous studies and interpretations of the Chalcolithic figurines of Cyprus, as well as the types of figurines and the materials they are made from. This chapter will also address how prehistoric figurines have been studied

archaeologically in general, providing a theoretical basis for the subsequent chapters. In Chapter 4 the dataset is discussed in detail, as well as the methodology outlining exactly how the research for this thesis was conducted. Chapter 5 comprises the results of the research. Chapter 6 will consist of a discussion regarding the results of the research including comparison with previous research. Finally, Chapter 7 will be composed of the conclusions drawn from the research.

Chapter 2: Chalcolithic Cyprus - Overview

2.1 Geographical Location

Cyprus is an island situated in the Mediterranean Sea (see Figure 1). It is located 95 kilometers to the West of Syria and 70 kilometers South of Turkey. Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, comprising of 9251 square kilometers (Knapp, 2013). The island's accessible central location in the eastern Mediterranean region has led the island to be, what Hadjisavvas (2010, pp. 1-10) has deemed; a "crossroads for civilization". Additionally, the island is home to rich sources of copper in the Troodos mountains, further boosting its potential as an interregional hub (Kassianidou, 2013).



Figure 3: Map of Cyprus with a selection of prehistoric Sites. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Map 1), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

While the earliest evidence of human activity on the island stems from the Late Epipaleolithic (11000-9000 BCE), this activity is mostly considered to have involved short term or seasonal exploitation of island resources. The first permanent settlers arrived in the Neolithic (9000-4000 BCE) with a subsistence based on cereals and animals imported to the island. The island remained rather isolated during the Neolithic and the subsequent Chalcolithic period. With a rise in contact with communities from Anatolia, the Aegean, and possibly the Levant in the Bronze Age (2400-1100 BCE), the island

became increasingly involved in interregional exchange, especially characterized by the production and trade of copper (Knapp, 2013).

2.2 The Chalcolithic Period

The temporal focus of this thesis, namely the Chalcolithic period, is considered to have lasted from ca. 4000 BCE until ca. 2500/2400 BCE. The Chalcolithic, or Copper Age, is divided into the Early, Middle, and Late Chalcolithic periods, each of which is characterized by its own characteristics and developments. While it is a prehistoric period on its own, the Chalcolithic also serves as the transition period between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age on the island (Peltenburg, 2014).

The transition from the Ceramic Neolithic period (9000-4500/4000 BCE) into the Early Chalcolithic period (3900-3400 BCE) was marked by the displacement of communities and the fission of settlements. During this time most of the occupation on the island shifted to the west, which became the most densely inhabited region of the island during the Chalcolithic period (Knapp, 2013). One of the major innovations noted in the Early Chalcolithic period is the shift to timber-based structures as evidenced by pits associated with postholes and daub (Peltenburg, 2014).

The Middle Chalcolithic (3400-2900 BCE) saw a considerable rise in population. During this time a decline in the importance of deer hunting is evident, as well as a shift from communal food storage and preparation from outside to inside the house. Settlements changed from the Early Chalcolithic as circular stone houses with four functional segments (e.g., storage and crafting) became the norm. Perhaps the most notable change in material culture during the Middle Chalcolithic is the increase in crafting and artistic expression illustrated by the first evidence of copper use in Cyprus, the abundance of Red-on-White ware (WR) pottery, and what is often regarded as an island-wide usage of one symbolic system (Knapp, 2013). This system includes the ceramic and picrolite figurines discussed in this thesis, often interpreted as signifying a fertility or birthing theme. A move from the previous single-burial funerary tradition is observed at the cemeteries at Souskiou. Ritual activity appears to become more frequent during this time. This is seen at *Kissonerga-Mosphilia*, where a ritual deposition featuring a Middle Chalcolithic building model along with roughly 50 artifacts including 18 figurines was uncovered (Bolger & Peltenburg, 1991). When considering the major changes between Early and Middle Chalcolithic society it is clear that social stratification had taken root during the Middle Chalcolithic (Peltenburg 2014).

While inhabitants of Cyprus in the Middle Chalcolithic seemingly did not interact much with outside forces, possibly choosing to remain isolated in preference to the distinct culture and way of life on the island, it appears that interaction with Anatolia and the eastern Aegean increased during the Late Chalcolithic period (2900-2500/2400 BCE) (Knapp, 2013; Peltenburg, 2014). Scholars initially considered there to be an occupational hiatus between the Middle and Late Chalcolithic in western Cyprus, as few sites show signs of continual habitation spanning the transition between these periods. Excavations at sites such as Chlorakas-Palloures, however, are shedding light on the occupation of sites and ways of life during the transition between the Middle and Late Chalcolithic periods (Klinkenberg, 2017). The Late Chalcolithic marks the end of the widespread use of the symbolic system of the Middle Chalcolithic, evidenced by a drastic decline in the occurrence of figurines. Other changes include the introduction of Red-on-Black Stroke Burnished Ware, conical stones, stamp seals, and burials in chamber tombs, thought to be the result of foreign contact (Peltenburg, 2014).

After the Late Chalcolithic period, contact between indigenous Cypriots and groups from the Aegean, Anatolia, and possibly the Levant intensified further, as foreign groups permanently settled on the island (Knapp, 2013).

2.3 Archaeological History

Archaeological interest in Cyprus dates back to the 1860s, when individuals such as soldiers and diplomats took an interest in Cypriot antiquities. Archaeological fieldwork during this time focused primarily on obtaining artifacts, which would ultimately end up in private collections or museums outside of Cyprus. Scientific inquiry into the past was not a primary focus at the time (Knapp, 2013).

Starting in 1878, Cyprus was officially governed by the British. Unauthorized archaeological excavation was outlawed under British administrative control. This meant that permission for archaeological excavation on the island was exclusively granted to archaeologists connected to select scientific institutions. This development prompted a slow move towards a more scientific attitude to archaeological fieldwork in Cyprus in the early 20th century. The culture-historic approach applied by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition illustrates this adjustment, however, an abundance of Cypriot antiquities continued to be shipped abroad (Knapp 2013).

The Cypriot Department of Antiquities was established in 1935 in conjunction with the Antiquities Law. The Department regulates archaeological fieldwork on the island and runs its own archaeological projects, however, international excavation projects remain prevalent to this day. The presence of

international archaeological projects in Cyprus has acted as a driver for change and innovation, bringing broader paradigm shifts from abroad to Cypriot archaeology (Knapp, 2013).

In 1974 the northern part of Cyprus was occupied by Turkish forces, resulting in the de facto separation of the island into the Republic of Cyprus and Northern Cyprus. As a consequence, all archaeological fieldwork in the northern part of Cyprus has seized permanently (Knapp, 2013).

Chapter 3: Figurines

3.1 Overview of prehistoric figurine studies in general

Because figurines often constitute a well-represented category of artifacts within an archaeological assemblage and because they generally appeal to the imagination, plenty of research has specifically focused on figurines in the history of archaeological research. With a general interest in the topic comes debate over approaches and theoretical frameworks, this section will briefly review figurine studies in archaeology, its history, and recent developments in the field.

It can be said that the changes in approach to figurine studies have approximately followed the prominent overall paradigm shifts that the discipline of archaeology has experienced in general. Early studies of (prehistoric) figurines almost exclusively employed art-historic methods, often focusing on aesthetic evaluation of the material with the aim of being descriptive. At this time the prominent “Mother Goddess” theory gained popularity. This theory is based on the notion that the majority of figurines represent women, serving as markers of fertility as a universal mother goddess (Lesure, 2017). Ucko (1962) suggested that this tradition should be changed, and archaeologists should study the figurines and their archaeological contexts, as well as any possible historic and ethnographic evidence. In essence this was a part of the general shift towards processual archaeology. A main pillar of processual archaeology is the increased adoption of scientific methodology in archaeology. Accordingly, this paradigm shift initiated the trend towards the use of scientific methods within the study of figurines as well. Figurines now began to be studied with interdisciplinary approaches, illustrated by the use of techniques such as X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and CT scanning in figurine studies (Insoll, 2017). One major aspect of the archaeological study of prehistoric figurines became the aim to understand their meaning and to interpret them. As a consequence, the deep-rooted mother goddess theory was often perpetuated through comparative analysis from a universalist perspective. However, this interpretation has also been challenged widely by processual and post-processual archaeologists alike over the years. Extensive debate on such topics has led to further changes in the approach to figurine studies. When post-processual archaeology rose to prominence in direct critique of processual archaeology, contextualism grew in popularity and archaeologists started looking at figurine assemblages in smaller scopes (or contexts) as opposed to making universalist comparisons across large spans of time and space (Lesure, 2017). With this post-processual approach, it became more common to incorporate concepts such as agency, identity, and gender in the study of figurines, greatly diversifying the study of prehistoric figurines as a result (Insoll, 2017).

Currently the study of figurines in archaeology is less isolated than it was in the past. Figurines are more routinely studied in conjunction with material culture as a whole and the incorporation of interdisciplinary research is common. Concepts such as phenomenology, corporeality, and personhood are at the forefront of discussion and former interests such as gender are re-evaluated (Lesure, 2017). As reviewed above, there is a plethora of different approaches to figurine studies within archaeology. One unique example of the different approaches to figurine studies, especially with regard to dress, is Richard Lesure's (2015) study which analyzed figurine styles from Formative Central Mexico through the lens of modern studies of fashion.

3.2 Overview of studies about Chalcolithic figurines from Cyprus

3.2.1 Developments in the study of Chalcolithic figurines in Cyprus

The figurines of Chalcolithic Cyprus have long captured the imagination of both scholars and the public alike. After the first publication about the Yialia figurine (Dikaios, 1934), as well as the discovery of the figurines excavated at the site of Erimi published in excavation reports by Dikaios (1936), figurines were firmly lodged in the study Chalcolithic Cyprus.

Early studies of Cypriot figurines mainly presented a descriptive approach to the study of figurines as this was a more customary method prior to Ucko's (1968) influential plea for innovation within figurine studies. Dikaios (1936) and various subsequent scholars made efforts to categorize figurines on qualities such as material and figurative elements. The categorization of figurines is still a point of interest for scholars today, as scholars such as Winkelmann (2020) continue to build upon previous efforts. The categorizations of figurines will be discussed further in Chapter 3.4.

The Lemba Archaeological Project (LAP) was of great importance to the archaeology of the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus. An interdisciplinary approach is evident in the LAP publications, which include chapters on archaeobotany, zooarchaeology, as well as chronologies based on radiocarbon dating (Peltenburg, 1985, 1991, 1998, 2003). Figurines and figurine fragments from Kissonerga *Mosphilia* and Kissonerga *Mylouthkia* are discussed in separate chapters. The chapters about figurines comprise of description, interpretation, comparative analysis, and stylistic analysis (Goring, 1991, 1998, 2003). The Souskiou Project and its comprehensive publication are also quite influential to figurine studies. The publication adds many new specimens to the assemblage, reconsiders the use of cruciform figurines and pendants, discusses a distinction between figurines and pendants, and sheds light on picrolite working and procurement (Goring 2019; Peltenburg, 2019b).

The adoption of post-processual approaches to figurine studies popularized studying context. As a direct result, it is now generally accepted that Chalcolithic figurines in Cyprus had a use in daily life yet use in funerary practices was common as well (Goring 1991a). It is in this spirit of post-processual archaeology that Bolger (2003) published a book about the concept of gender in prehistoric Cyprus, which included (Chalcolithic) figurines in the analysis.

The biggest recent addition to Cypriot figurine studies is the impressive work by Winkelmann (2020) which covers nearly the entirety of the known Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurine assemblage and covers a range of topics including appearance, context, function, and classification.

3.2.2 Topics of interest

The persistent mother goddess or fertility goddess theory mentioned above has also been widely applied to Cypriot Chalcolithic figurines by scholars seeking to interpret their meaning and possible ritual purpose. Karageorghis (1977) published one of the main bodies of work investigating this topic, attempting to trace back the origins of a possible fertility cult related to the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Meaning and possible relation to ritual or religious practices thus became a major topic of interest in Cypriot figurine studies.

Gender first became a topic of interest in figurines studies through the mother goddess theory. This interest and the traditional approach to it have been criticized in recent years, with researchers pointing out the exaggerated focus on female sexual characteristics, the negligence of a potential alternate understanding of gender and sexuality, and the suggestion that cruciform figurines represent images rather than human beings, rendering gender redundant (A Campo, 1994; Knapp & Meskell, 1997; Lesure, 2017).

The highly uniform nature of the picrolite figurine assemblage in particular has caused a great interest in symbolism and representation. Recent studies include A Campo (1994) and Lesure (2017), who both argue that cruciform figurines are varied executions or interpretations of a core design or normative figurine. Such theories are not entirely new developments, as Peltenburg (1977) suggested that picrolite figurines represent larger, most likely cult or ritual, related artifacts like the Yialia figurine, Lemba Lady, and Getty Lady. Theories about what figurines represent include female deities, the act of childbirth, or in the case of double picrolite figurines: a couple or mother and daughter (Winkelmann, 2020).

Another debate is the possible practical use of the figurines. Traces of use on ceramic figurines inspired theories of ritual or didactic purposes for these artifacts (Lesure, 2017). A source of debate about

picrolite figurines is the distinction between figurine and pendant. Some suggest this distinction is arbitrary as the absence of a suspension hole does not prove a lack of suspension (Goring, 2019). Theories include the use of the cruciforms as fertility charms or expressions of womanhood (a Campo, 1994), as well as symbols of religious association (Karageorghis, 1977; Reitler, 1960).

3.3 Materials

Anthropomorphic figurines dating to the Chalcolithic exist in numerous varieties and materials in Cyprus. Figurines were produced as ceramics, but they were also made from several different types of stone. The most prominent type of stone used for figurines is picrolite, which is native to the island (Xenophontos, 1991).

3.3.1 Ceramic

Pottery is a logical medium for figurines and statuettes due to the high level of malleability of the material. It is thus unsurprising that much of the figurine assemblage from Chalcolithic Cyprus consists of ceramic specimens.

The ceramic figurines, as well as anthropomorphic vessels, appear to have been produced primarily in similar material and style as most of the pottery stemming from Chalcolithic Cyprus. More specifically Dikaios (1936), Goring (1991b), and South (1985) note that it seems like most figurines are made of similar fabric/ware type as most vessels. Red-on-White (RW) ware seems to be the most common type of ceramic ware for figurines. Other common pottery wares such as Red Slip (RS) and Red Monochrome Painted (RMP) ware figurines are also noted. Many of the more fragmentary remains of pottery figurines cannot confidently be assigned to any known pottery ware. According to Winkelmann (2020), no connection can be made between pottery ware types and the different types of figurines.

3.3.2 Picrolite

The distinctive cruciform figurines and figurative pendants of Chalcolithic Cyprus are made from a type of stone called picrolite. Picrolite has also been used for the production of beads, tools, and several types of non-anthropomorphic pendants (Peltenburg, 2019a).

Picrolite is a blue-green stone that is found in Cyprus. The stone has a hardness of 3 to 4 on the Mohs scale of mineral hardness (Peltenburg, 2019b). Due to the soft nature of this stone, it is quite suitable for manufacturing figurative objects such as figurines. Picrolite is mostly found in thin, flat veins at a small variety of sources on the Island. One major source is located in the central Troodos Mountain range. It is theorized that picrolite was not exclusively mined at the sources, because numerous archaeological sites

are not located within close reach of a primary picrolite source. Instead, water-worn picrolite pebbles may have been collected from rivers flowing from primary sources. Gathering pebbles from secondary sources also has the advantages that it is less labor-intensive than mining picrolite from primary sources (Xenophontos, 1991).

Both Xenophontos (1991) and Peltenburg (2019b) have established typologies for picrolite. Xenophontos proposes three different types based on texture, while Peltenburg's four types are based on the color and purity of the material. Both classifications point to the suitability of the material for production of picrolite artifacts. Each variety of picrolite can occur in the same rock vein and are thus not mutually exclusive and do not allude to the origin of the material (Winkelmann, 2020).

3.3.3 Miscellaneous Stone

Besides picrolite, figurines fashioned from various other types of stone were also made during the Chalcolithic. Sedimentary stones such as limestone, chalk, and calcarenite are the most common types of stone used for human representation in the Chalcolithic, while the use of igneous rocks was sporadic (Winkelmann, 2020). The human representations in stone have much fewer figurative elements and therefore the assemblage of Chalcolithic stone figurines was excluded from the research conducted for this thesis.

3.4 Types

Chalcolithic figurines do not only come in various materials, but there are also several different types that can be distinguished. One of the results of the extensive study of Chalcolithic figurines from Cyprus is the establishment of different distinct types of figurines based on formal analysis.

3.4.1 Ceramic Figurine Types

The considerable amount of excavation projects that have researched Chalcolithic Cyprus so far have unearthed a ceramic figurine record which is quite fragmentary, owing to the fragile nature of the material in comparison with its stone counterparts. The fragmentary nature of many of the ceramic figurines has, in part, inhibited the establishment of a meaningful typology (Winkelmann, 2020). Nonetheless, some established distinctions will be introduced here.

Fragments

Several efforts have been made to establish classifications for the fragments of ceramic figurines. All of the suggested classifications have sub-divided the fragments into groups of the body parts they resemble, after which they are grouped by appearance.

The major groups of fragments as suggested by Winkelmann (2020) are head and neck, and body fragments. This categorization is based on previous efforts from Dikaios (1936), Vagnetti (1974), and Karageorghis (1977), who all made the distinction between head and body fragments in their assessments. For the head and neck fragments, further sub-divisions are based on several different formal elements. However, the rendering of eyes appears to be the leading distinction, with Winkelmann (2020) suggesting the groups heads with incised eyes, heads with pierced eyes, and heads with modelled eyes, as well as a separate group featuring unique or damaged fragments. Body fragments have variously been subdivided in absence or presence of sexual characteristics (Dikaios, 1936) and standing or sitting figurines (Karageorghis, 1977). Winkelmann (2020) provides a different categorization building upon that of Karageorghis, dividing groups into distinct renderings of the arms, as well as various groups of standing and sitting figurines.

Birth Figures

Birth figures are a distinctly definable type of ceramic figurine. This type was first discovered at Kissonerga and it proved to be a more universal style. These figurines are interpreted to represent a woman in the act of giving birth as evident from the pose, possible birthing stool, and in one case a painted baby at the crotch. Goring (1991a) has suggested distinctions within this type based on posture, whereas Winkelmann (2020) suggests a division between “birth figures” and “schematic birth figures”. This distinction is based on the size and elaboration of the figurines, rather than posture.

Birth figures feature a nearly horizontally situated disc-shaped head with sculpted features and an incised mouth. The neck is long and round. The arms reach out forming a roughly cruciform pose. The chest features modelled breasts. The lower body is a bell shape attached to a stool with modelled legs hanging off (see Figure 3).



Figure 2: Schematic birth figurine KM 1442. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 20), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 3: Ceramic birth figurine figurine KM 1451. From “Prähistorische Religion in Zypern: Der rituelle Hortfund von Kissonerga” by E. J. Peltenburg, 1988, *Antike Welt*, 19(3), p. 2.

The smaller schematic birth figures feature the same overall shape of the upper body of the larger birth figures. Facial features are not indicated. The lower body is also bell-shaped, however the legs and stools traded in for a flat base (see Figure 2).

Anthropomorphic Vessels

The last type, rather than a figurine, can be labeled as an anthropomorphic vessel (see Figure 4). These vessels, however, are equally relevant to the inquiry into human representation in the Chalcolithic. Anthropomorphic vessels appear to share certain stylistic elements with other ceramic figurines. The record of anthropomorphic vessels is not abundant and contains mostly unique specimens; thus, a proper categorization is not possible (Winkelmann, 2020).

Winkelmann (2020) describes the groups of anthropomorphic bottles, pregnant female-shaped vessels, and male-shaped vessels, among other unique specimens.

3.4.2 Picrolite Figurine Types

Picrolite figurines can be divided into two types: the cruciform type and the anthropomorphic type. A distinction is generally made between picrolite figurines and picrolite pendants. Typically, pendants are smaller (between 1 and 4 cm on average), feature a perforation, and have fewer figurative elements (Karageorghis, 1977; Vagnetti 1974, 1980; Winkelmann, 2020). However, a child's grave at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* contained a dentalium shell necklace with an unperforated figurine of 10cm. Thus, large specimens without a perforation could have been suspended as well (Peltenburg & Webb, 2013). Rather than using the aforementioned characteristics, Goring (p. 208, 2019) uses the term pendant for artifacts that are "thought to have been suspended". Additionally, Winkelmann (2020) suggests that, besides the suspension hole and size, the flat shape also forms a characteristic of pendants. This thesis adheres to Winkelmann's categorization.

Cruciform figurines

Cruciform figurines feature tilted back heads, long necks, laterally outstretched arms at a right angle to the body, and legs in a bent position. Several varieties can be distinguished within the cruciform type.

The Kythrea variety, first identified by Vagnetti (1974), lacks all figurative elements, features a lentoid head shape, a slight protrusion on the neck, and the legs are often modelled separately projecting forwards (see Figure 7).



Figure 4: Ceramic Anthropomorphic vessel SVP 82/20. From *Cyprus: crossroads of civilizations* (p. 60), by S. Hadjisavvas, 2010, Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

The Salamiou variety, also first identified by Vagnetti (1974), is characterized by the presence of facial features, figurative elements, as well as the occasional rendering of a second figurine in place of the arms. The heads are somewhat tilted back and appear semi-circular. The legs are separated by a groove. Figurative elements include incisions and notches to indicate hairdo, protrusions on the chest, as well as lattice patterns which are variously displayed on the arms and face (see Figure 8).

The Kissonerga variety, suggested by Winkelmann (2020), is more akin to the Salamiou variety than the Kythrea variety. However, these figurines are rendered in a flat manner. This means that their heads do not tilt back and their legs rarely protrude forwards. They feature similar figurative elements; however, the arms usually feature thinner lattice bands compared to the Salamiou variety (see Figurine 5).

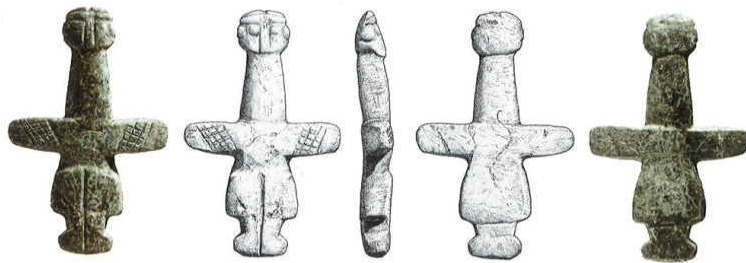


Figure 5: Kissonerga variety picrolite figurine SL345. From *Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 73.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.



Figure 6: Mylouthkia variety picrolite figurine KMyl 1106. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 3.1: The colonisation and settlement of Cyprus: investigations at Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, 1976-1996* (P. I), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 2003, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 7: Two Kythrea variety picrolite figurines. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 51.11.6, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/254671>)



Figure 8: Salamiou variety picrolite figurine. (Museum of Cycladic Art Zintilis Collection, object number 668, <https://cycladic.gr/en/page/kipriakos-politismos>)



Figure 9: Anatolian variety picrolite figurine CM 1976/VIII-10/1. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 23.13), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.



Figure 10: Crude picrolite cruciform figurine ER 932. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 24.2), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

Less numerous varieties include the Mylouthkia variety (see Figure 6; Goring, 2003), the Anatolian type (see Figure 9; Vagnetti 1979), and crude cruciform figurines (see Figure 10; Winkelmann, 2020).

Anthropomorphic figurines

The assemblage of non-cruciform picrolite figurines is small and many of the figurines appear unique. Vagnetti (1974) has suggested the 'type with hands holding the breasts' and 'squatting type'. However, with the limited assemblage these categorizations are tenuous.

3.4.3 Miscellaneous Stone Figurine Types

The smallest assemblage of figurines is that of the stone figurines. Winkelmann (2020) divides them into schematic figurines (see Figure 11) and female figurines (see Figure 12). The former consisting of figurines featuring minimal working, while the latter consists of figurines which clearly feature female sexual characteristics.



Figure 11: Stone schematic figurine KM 2692. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 31.4), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 14: Stone Female figurine LL 54 (the Lemba Lady). From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 1: Excavations at Lemba Lakkous 1976-1983* (p. 1), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), Paul Åströms förlag.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Methods

As mentioned above, this thesis focuses on the carved and painted figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic figurines. In order to assess these elements, all figurines were put into a database and the presence or absence of different types of figurative elements were noted, as well as the location of certain elements on the figurine (see Appendix A). The different elements on ceramic figurines noted in the database were partially based on Goring's work within the Lemba Archaeological Project (LAP) publications (Goring, 1991a, 1998). In these works, different figurative elements were listed and described based off the ceramic figurines and figurine fragments excavated at Lemba *Lakkous*, Kissonerga *Mosphilia* and Kissonerga *Mylouthkia* with the LAP project. The figurative elements on picrolite figurines noted in the database were partially based on Winkelmann's (2020) descriptions.

The figurative elements will be analyzed and compared. In order to do so, several charts and tables were made which display the occurrence rates and locations of figurative elements respectively. The results of the analysis will be used in order to compare with a range of different works on the topic in order to answer the research questions.

4.2 Dataset

The focus in this thesis lies with the ceramic and picrolite figurines of Chalcolithic Cyprus, more specifically the figurative elements present on some of these figurines. As a result, the dataset for this thesis consists of all known ceramic and picrolite figurines and recognizable fragments of such figurines.

As outlined in Chapter 3.2 figurines have been the topic of archaeological research since Dikaios' report of the two first specimens (1934). Thus, it is unsurprising that the assemblage consists of figurines and figurine fragments with provenances varying from professionally excavated sites with secure contexts to specimens bought from antique vendors or the inhabitants of small Cypriot villages (Winkelmann, 2020). This means that sources on the assemblage are widespread and scattered. The dataset used for this thesis was primarily derived from the monumental work of Christine Winkelmann (2020), in which she put together a catalog of Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines from Cyprus. This catalog was originally created by Winkelmann for her PhD dissertation several years ago and was subsequently supplemented with a small selection of newly discovered figurines for the final publication in 2020, yet some specimens are still missing. The catalog was made using the abundance of publications about both proper excavations as well as artefacts from less secure contexts and the analysis of some of the

assemblage in person. Most of the entries in this catalogue are accompanied with a description and illustrations or photographs. Because the record of figurines was put together from varied sources, not all figurines are provided with illustrations and occasionally a description is lacking as well. Additionally, I added specimens from the Peltenburg et al. (2019) publication about Souskiou Laona, which were lacking in Winkelmann's catalog.

Winkelmann's catalog was not adopted in an unaltered state. The catalog includes stone, ceramic, and picrolite figurines, as well as anthropomorphic picrolite pendants. The dataset selected for this thesis excludes several categories. Stone figurines have been excluded because they only feature figurative elements sporadically and the total number of specimens is rather low. Picrolite figurines lacking the cruciform shape, treated as a separate category of picrolite figurines by Winkelmann, have been excluded due to the sporadic use of figurative elements, lack of uniformity within the assemblage, and small number of specimens. Lastly, picrolite pendants have been excluded from the dataset as they sporadically feature figurative elements, yet when they do, they are not exclusive to pendants. In part, these decisions were made in order to keep the dataset feasible for a bachelor thesis.

4.3 Limitations

While it is not uncommon to find anthropomorphic figurines at Chalcolithic sites in Cyprus, they only constitute a small section of the archaeological record. This means that the dataset is rather limited. Winkelmann's (2020) catalog lists a total of 469 figurines and figurine fragments, not including picrolite pendants. With such an assemblage of this size it can be difficult to evaluate whether an observed phenomenon may be common or unique. Furthermore, the catalog lists a number of heavily fragmented specimens termed possible figurines. These fragments may possess figurative elements or traces of them, yet they do not provide as much information as more complete and identifiable fragments, thus they were often removed from the database for this study.

The biggest limitation within the dataset is the fragmentary nature of most of the assemblage. The vast majority of the ceramic figurine assemblage consists of figurine fragments as there is only a handful of known complete specimens. While the picrolite cruciform assemblage is smaller, it consists of more complete figurines. When looking at a fragment of a figurine it is impossible to study the figurine as a whole. This means that for most of the ceramic figurine assemblage figurative elements will be looked at and attributed to particular locations on the body, however it is generally not possible to reconstruct the complete figurine. On some of the ceramic figurines in the assemblage painted decorations have been

abraded either due to ancient use or taphonomic processes. This makes it more difficult and occasionally impossible to assess these figurative elements.

Because Chalcolithic figurines from Cyprus, especially the picrolite specimens, are popular within the sphere of art and antiquities collectors there are some controversies regarding the authenticity as well as the provenance of part of the assemblage of figurines (Winkelmann, 2020).

While figurines and their figurative elements could theoretically provide information on dress and hairdo, this is not always the case. Figurative elements may not represent dress at all, and the figurines may represent non-human entities such as deities (Karageorghis, 1977; Reitler, 1960). Therefore, this study primarily focuses on dress, jewelry, body paint and tattooing in relation to figurines.

Lastly, a limitation specific to this study is that it was not possible to study any figurines in person, prompting the reliance on written and visual material, possibly impeding proper analysis of figurative elements on figurines and figurine fragments.

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Figurative elements

The following section is dedicated to answering the following research question: “Which different types of figurative elements are observed on picrolite and pottery figurines?”. To answer this question the database composed for this thesis distinguishes several different types of figurative elements commonly found on picrolite and pottery figurines. More uncommon as well as entirely unique elements are listed in the “miscellaneous” section. These common types consist of hairdo/headdress, lattice, dots, elements on neck, plain band, strokes, and zigzag. Each of these elements will be described in the following section (see Appendix D for supplementary images).

5.1.1 Hairdo/headdress

Both picrolite and pottery figurines often feature figurative elements located on their heads, some of these elements are generally interpreted to represent either hairdos or headdresses. These possible hairdos and headdresses come in various styles discussed below.

The Salamiou and Kissonerga types, as well as the Yialia figurine appear to be the only types of the picrolite figurines that feature figurative elements on the head. These features on picrolite figurines are generally considered to represent hairdo rather than a type of headdress. These possible hairdos are almost exclusively represented by a central groove on top of the head, seemingly indicating a central parting, and a groove on the forehead, which seems to indicate a hairline (see Figure 13). One could argue that the lateral curved grooves indicate hair on the temples, however, they are most commonly interpreted to indicate ears (Winkelmann, 2020).

Less common types of possible hairdo/headdress on picrolite figurines include lateral angular grooves (see Figure 51), a lattice pattern located at the top of the head with a horizontal groove indicating a hairline (see Figure 52), a horizontal groove without central parting, and six ridges on top of the head on SL 433 (see Figure 53). The Yialia figurine features a central parting, forehead groove, and possible hair on the temples (see Figure 42A).

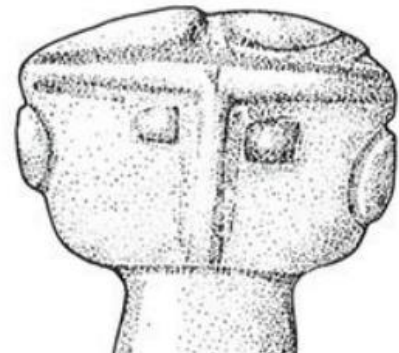


Figure 13: Possible hairdo represented by central groove on top of the head and horizontal groove on forehead on picrolite figurine KM 943. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 83.6), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

There is more variation among the figurative elements indicating hairdo or headdress on ceramic figurines. A common type of possible hairdo consists of vertical wavy lines located on the back of the neck. On figurine KM 1451 this hairdo is paired with a central groove at the top of the head indicating a central parting and painted details on the side of the disc-shaped head (see Figure 14).



Figure 14: Wavy lines indicating long hair on ceramic figurine KM 1451. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Pl. 9), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

Another common type of figurative element possibly indicating hairdo or headdress consists of holes or grooves located on the top or back of the head (see Figure 54). It is theorized that these holes may have been filled with organic materials to represent a hairdo or headdress (South, 1985).

Another feature is the portrayal hair on the temples which is modelled or indicated by curved lateral incisions. These hairdos which feature hair on the temples are sometimes accompanied by fully modeled hair (see Figures 55 & 56).

Several ceramic figurines feature unique elements, namely the painted hairdos of KM 158 and KM 778+854, as well as the painted elements on the head of SVP 86/20 featuring two squares on the forehead, possibly indicating a type of headdress (see Figures 17, 28, & 55). KM 1399 features incised grooves forming a vertical central groove and horizontal zigzagging lines (see Figure 58).

5.1.2 Elements on the neck

Elements located on the necks of figurines are treated separately. Such elements vary in execution and what they appear to represent. A common theme here appears to be the presence of one or more (KM 158 & SVP 86/20) concentric plain bands around the neck of a figurine, often accompanied with an anthropomorphic shape, generally interpreted as a pendant. The depicted pendants vary in style, though they commonly appear to match the general shape of the figurine itself (see Figure 15; Goring, 1991a).



Figure 15: Painted pendant with single concentric band on ceramic figurine KM 1451. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 24), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 16: concentric band with cruciform pendant on ceramic figurine CM 1934/III-2/2 (the Yialia figurine). From *Venus Figurines*, by S. Butler, 2017, Hidden Histories (<https://www.hiddenhistory.co.uk/2017/03/28/venus-figurines/>).

The Yialia figurine is the only picrolite figurine which features the portrayal of a pendant worn around the neck (see Figure 16). Here the pendant is rendered in relief, consisting of a concentric band around the neck similar to those on the painted counterparts. The pendant itself resembles a cruciform figurine.

Picrolite figurines rarely feature figurative elements on the neck, however, exceptions do exist.

Figurine SL 433 features two bands at the bottom of the neck (see Figure 53).

Uncommon or unique elements on the neck which do not appear to portray the typical anthropomorphic pendant include a column consisting of five squares on the left side of the neck of KM 778+854 (see Figure 17), a lozenge possibly connected to a concentric band on KM 1466, oblique and horizontal dashes on SVP 86/20, a concentric band with a square attached on K-Ay 476, and a concentric band with four vertical bands attached on ER 1058 (see Figures 28, 44, 58, 59, & 68).



Figure 17: Painted column of five squares on neck of figurine KM 778+854. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 29), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

5.1.3 Lattice

Lattice type figurative elements are seen on both picrolite and ceramic figurines. Lattice as seen on picrolite differs from that on ceramic figurines, however, as both are common figurative elements, they will be addressed together here.

Picrolite figurines feature several different variations on the lattice pattern. One variation consists of a continuous lattice pattern which covers the arms and the chest entirely, exclusively the arms, or the ends of the arms (see Figure 18). Other figurines have a lattice pattern covering the face and/or hands (see Figure 63). Another variation on the lattice pattern observed on picrolite figurines is what some scholars call a segmented or relief band (Vagnetti, 1980). Segmented bands are bands which consist of a lattice



Figure 18: Picrolite figurine Zintilis 669 with continuous lattice pattern on arms and chest. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 21.3), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

pattern. These are either positioned vertically on the arms or in an oblique manner. The number of segmented bands on a single figurine and their execution is varied (see Figure 48). Several figurines feature a lattice pattern on the feet or as mentioned above at the top of the head. KM 943 and KM 2717 feature less comprehensible variations of the lattice structure on the chest and arms while SL 433 features a unique curved segmented band on the belly (see Figures 61 & 62).

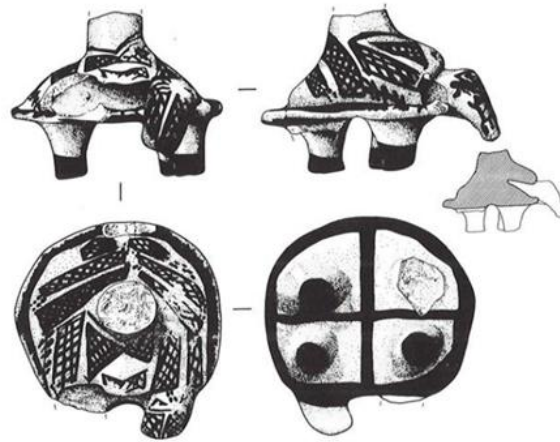


Figure 19: Ceramic figurine KM 1463 with rectangular and triangular lattice panels on lower body. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 23), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

Lattice patterns are much less common on ceramic figurines. They are generally painted decorations in the form of panels, either in rectangular or triangular shape filled with a lattice pattern (see Figure 19; Goring, 1991a). These lattice panels seem to be present almost exclusively on the lower bodies and bellies of birth figurines, as well as several fragments of indeterminable style, and a single anthropomorphic vessel.

5.1.4 Dots

Dots are exclusive to ceramic figurines, and they are either painted on or pierced in the surface. Dots are often grouped in single or multiple adjacent lines of dots.

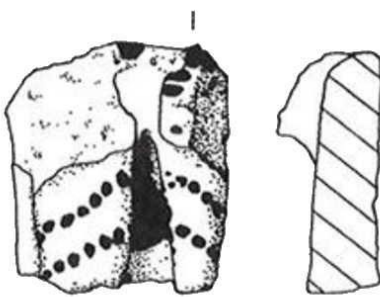


Figure 20: Ceramic figurine fragment SVP 86/26 with dotted motif. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 17.12), by C. Winkelman, 2020, Zaphon.

One pattern consists of several adjacent lines of dots running from the front of the arms, over the shoulders to the shoulder blades. Birth figurine KM 1451 and arm fragment KM 2994 feature this type of pattern (see Figure 14). Another pattern consists of several lines of dots on the breasts (see Figure 20). This motif is observed on two figurines called lactation figurines (see Figure 56) with the use of pierced dots, while a single figurine features painted dots on the breasts. On the lactation figurines the dotted lines alternate with a continuous incised line and appear in a curved, possibly circumferential manner.

The painted example features oblique lines of dots that move downwards laterally.

Other occurrences of dots appear to be mostly unique or in combination with more elaborate patterns consisting of multiple motifs such as horizontal strokes on KM 1475 (see Figure 22).

5.1.5 Plain bands & strokes

As mentioned above, plain bands are sometimes noted as figurative elements on the neck, however they also occur in different contexts. Plain bands are long linear elements that mostly occur as painted features on ceramic figurines (see Figure 21), however in rare cases they also occur on picrolite figurines. Picrolite figurine SL 433, for example, features a curved band on the chest. On pottery figurines such linear elements are often – yet not exclusively - incorporated in elaborate and often unique linear and curvilinear motifs (Goring, 1998).

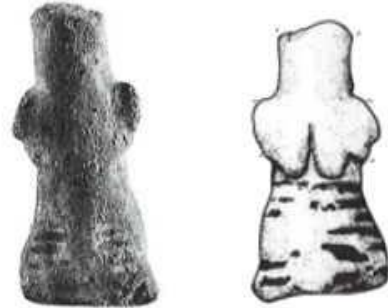


Figure 21: Ceramic figurine KM 1460 with painted plain band elements. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 23 & Pl. 10), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

Another somewhat linear figurative element consists of the painted strokes mostly found on pottery figurines. They occur in vertical, horizontal, and oblique orientation and are often grouped together in patterns (see Figure 23). One repeated pattern consists of vertical strokes around the bottom of the leg, as seen on KM 1475 (see Figure 22). Another consists of groups of strokes on the arms as seen on KM 778+854 and SVP 86/20.



Figure 22: Ceramic figurine KM 1475 with painted vertical and horizontal strokes. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Pl. 12), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 23: Ceramic figurine fragment SL1200 with painted plain bands and strokes. From *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 104.2), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

5.1.6 Zigzag

Painted zigzagging lines appear on several ceramic figurines and they are highly varied in execution (see Figure 24). Another use of a zigzag like element consists of painted opposing triangles forming a negative zigzagging line, as seen on KMyl 1270 in Figure 25.



Figure 24: Ceramic figurine KM 299 with painted zigzagging lines. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 85.5), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

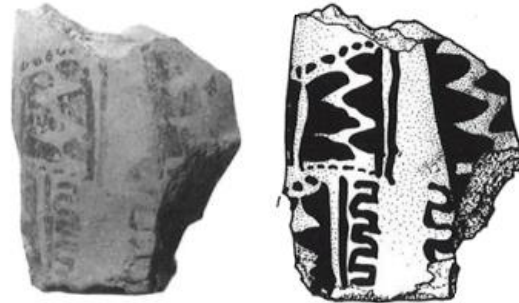


Figure 25: Ceramic figurine fragment KMyl 1270. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 3.1: The colonisation and settlement of Cyprus: investigations at Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, 1976-1996* (Fig. 63 & Pl. 13.2), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 2003, Paul Åströms förlag.

5.1.7 Miscellaneous

The figurative elements listed above occur all occur more than five times in the assemblage. The figurative elements discussed below are distinct motifs which appear five times or less in the assemblage.

A figurative element consisting of a painted circle with a dot inside is seen on two birth figurines. These dots are located where the shoulder blades would be (see figure 14). As seen in Figures 27 and 68 pottery figurine fragments KM 1357 and KM 3160 feature distinct motifs on the front and back of the arms and chest called arcades (Goring, 1998). Pottery fragment KMyl 307 features a similar, yet unique motif, which Goring (2003) termed forked lines (see Figure 30). ER 956 and ER 1123 are said to feature painted checkerboard patterns. However, they cannot be detected on any available images (Winkelmann, 2020). Two fragments of birth figurines (KM 1443 & KM 1463) feature what Goring (1991a) calls a herringbone motif on the side of the lower body, though I was unable to discern it on all available images and illustrations. Squares and sectioned square motifs are noted on several fragments, yet little homogeneity seems to exist between them (see Figure 29 & 32). KM 1449 features a unique painted element described as cruciform in shape by Goring (see Figure 26; 1991a). Lozenge-shaped

elements appear on several figurines/figurine fragments (see Figure 69). Some figurines/fragments have eyes and/or mouths that are accentuated with paint (see Figure 26 & 28). Several figurines are noted with the feet painted entirely (see Figure 29). Lastly there are figurines that have a combination of the elements mentioned above incorporated into an undefined (curvi-) linear or geometric motif (see Figure 28 & 31; Goring, 1991a). Two painted circles are located on the upper and lower back of anthropomorphic vessel SVP 86/20.

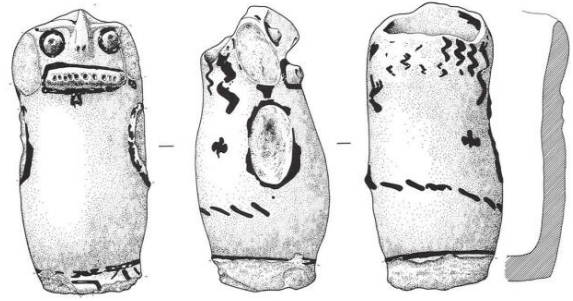


Figure 26: Anthropomorphic vessel KM 1449 with painted rounded cruciform shape, strokes, wavy lines, and accentuated facial features. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 20), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

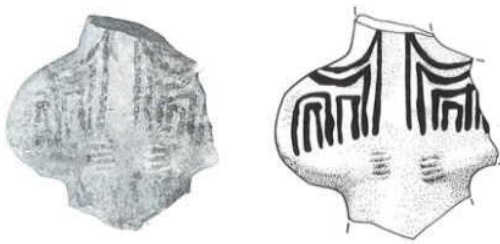


Figure 27: Ceramic figurine fragment KM 1357 with painted arcades. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 86.1 & Pl. 32.14), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

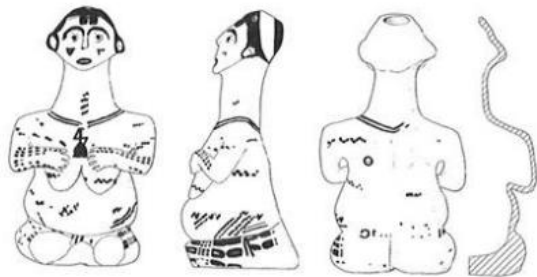


Figure 28: Ceramic anthropomorphic vessel SVP 86/20 with painted hairdo, strokes, accentuated facial features, pendant, and circles. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 17.11), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.



Figure 30: Ceramic figurine fragment KMyl 307 with forked line motif. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 3.1: The colonisation and settlement of Cyprus: investigations at Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, 1976-1996* (Pl. 13.14), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 2003, Paul Åströms förlag.



Figure 29: Ceramic figurine fragment KM 61 with painted square elements and strokes. From "Two Steatite Figurines of Anatolian Type in Chalcolithic Cyprus," by L. Vagnetti, 1979, RDAC, Pl. VI.

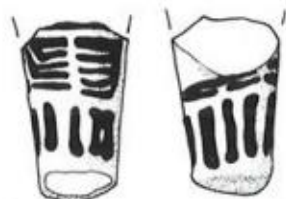


Figure 31: Ceramic figurine fragment KM 2010 with strokes and curvilinear motif. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 86.2), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

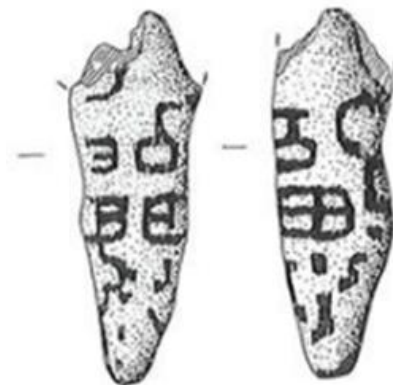


Figure 32: Ceramic figurine fragment ER 1057 with unique sectioned square motif. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 14.1), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

5.2 Element occurrence rates

In order to assess the relation between figurative elements on ceramic and picrolite figurines the occurrence rates of each figurative element on both materials will be evaluated here based on the charts made using the database.

As seen in the chart in Figure 33, the occurrence rate of ceramic figurines with any type of figurative element is 48.9 %, while that of picrolite figurines is 43.6 %.

According to the chart in figure 34, hairdo is the most common figurative element for both figurines with 37.5 % of ceramic and 35.6 % of picrolite figurines featuring some type of hairdo.

The second most common figurative element on ceramic figurines is the occurrence of a decoration on the neck with 14.8 %, while picrolite only has a 4.7 % occurrence rate of figurative elements on the neck (see Figure 35).

The second most common figurative element on picrolite figurines is the lattice motif with 25.6 %, while this is drastically lower for ceramic ones with only 3.8 % (see Figure 36).

Strokes are a common element with 15.2 % of ceramic figurines featuring them but 2.6 % of picrolite figurines. Vertical strokes are the third most common figurative element on ceramic figurines with 12.4 %. Horizontal strokes occur on 7.6 % of ceramic figurines and oblique strokes on 4.3 % (see Figures 37 & 41).

Dots occur on 8.6 % of ceramic figurines, plain bands on 4.8 %, and plain zigzags on 3.3 % (see Figures 38-40).

Figure 33: Occurrence rates of any figurative elements on ceramic, picrolite, and both materials figurines combined (created by Max Lenssen).

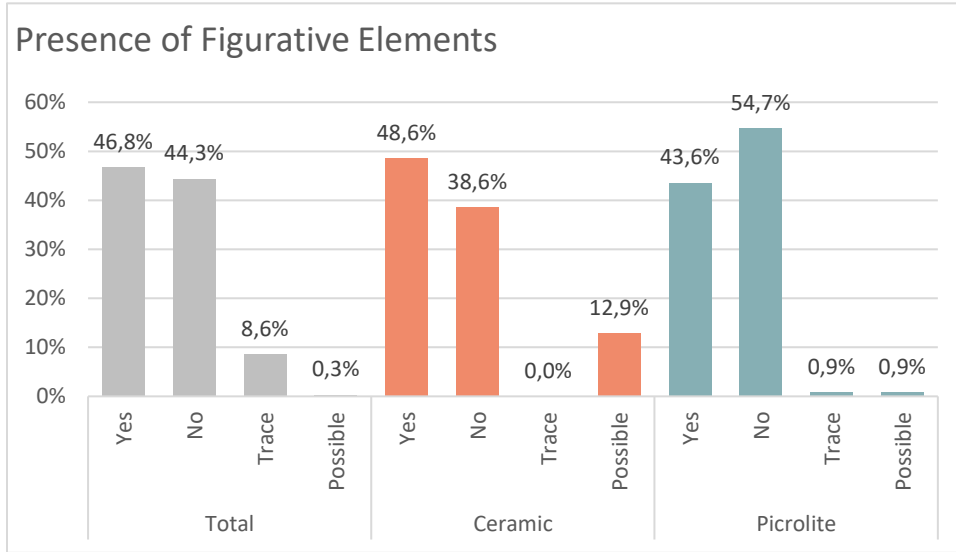


Figure 34: Occurrence rates of hairdo on ceramic, picrolite, and both materials figurines combined, only specimens with a neck and/or head were counted (created by Max Lenssen).

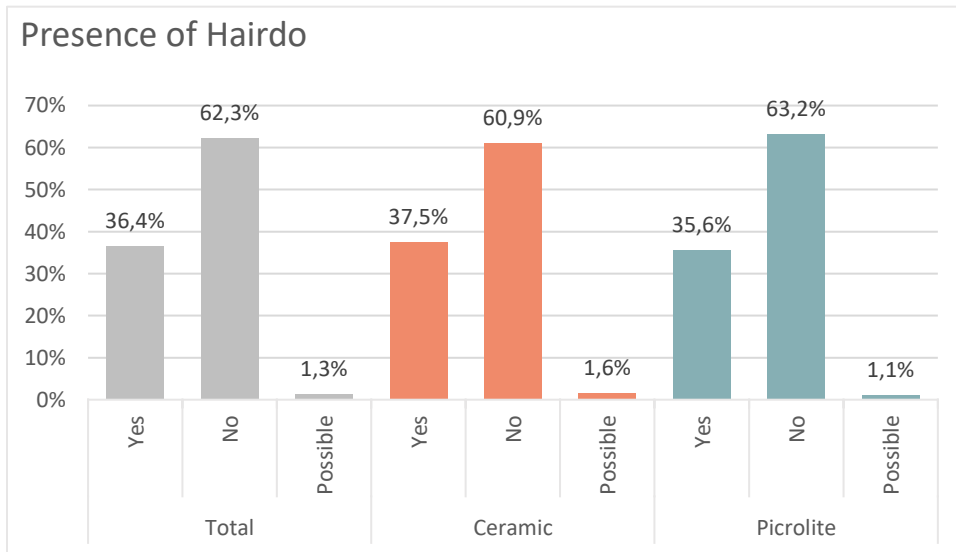


Figure 35: Occurrence rates of figurative elements on the neck of ceramic, picrolite, and both materials figurines combined, only specimens with a neck and/or head were counted (created by Max Lenssen).

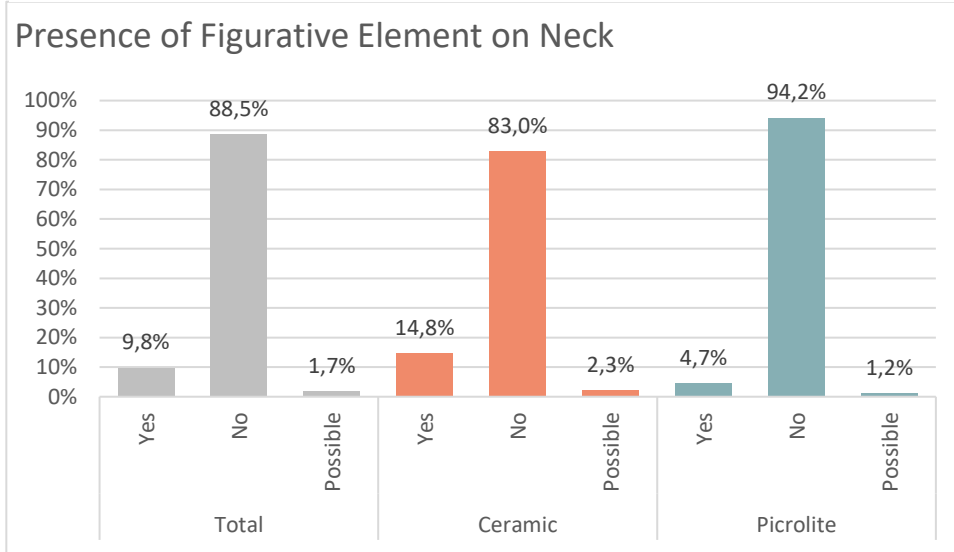


Figure 36: Occurrence rates of lattice elements of ceramic, picrolite, and both materials figurines combined (created by Max Lenssen).

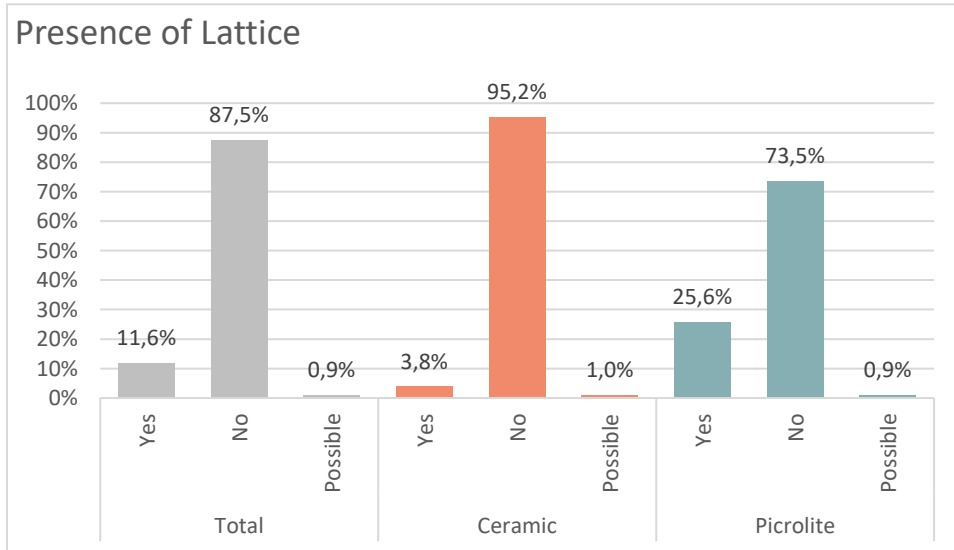


Figure 37: Occurrence rates of any type of strokes, horizontal strokes, vertical strokes, and oblique strokes on ceramic figurines (created by Max Lenssen).

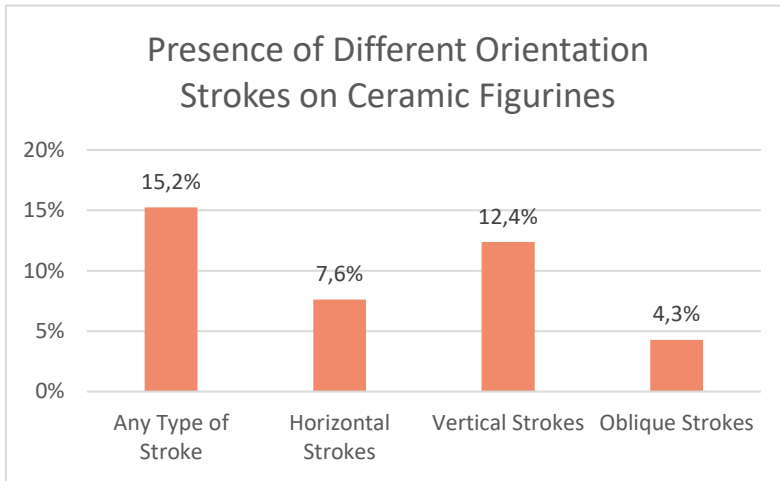


Figure 38: Occurrence rate of zigzag motif on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments (created by Max Lenssen).

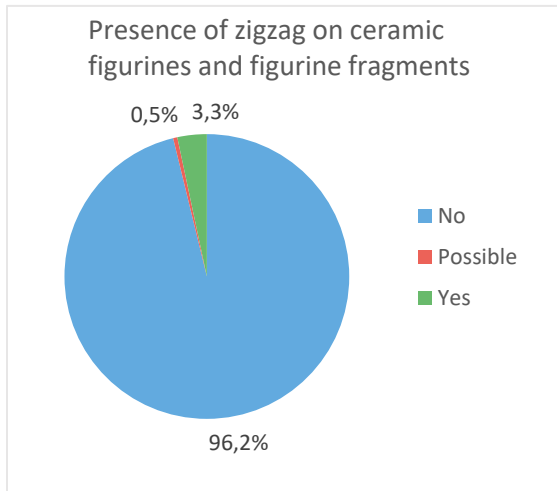


Figure 39: Occurrence rate of plain bands on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments (created by Max Lenssen).

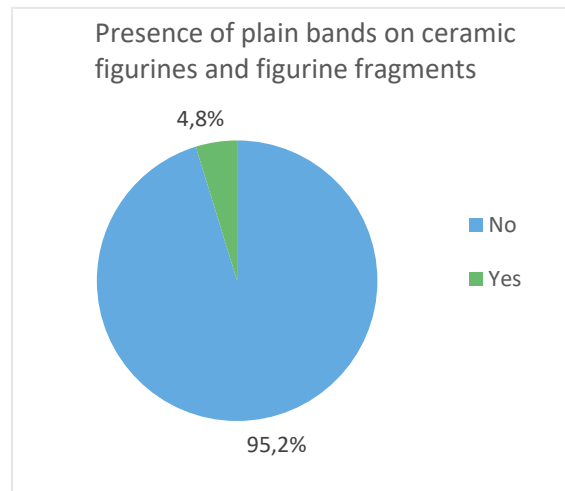


Figure 40: Occurrence rate of dots on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments (created by Max Lenssen).

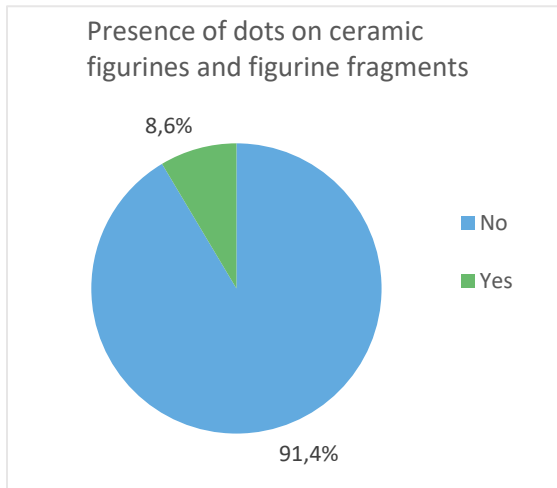
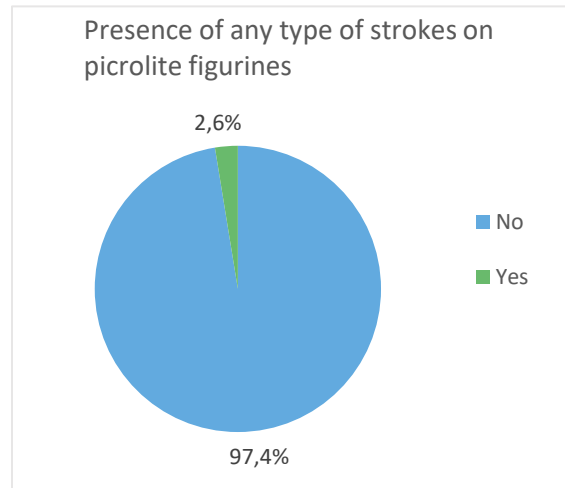


Figure 41: Occurrence rates of any type of strokes on picrolite figurines (created by Max Lenssen).



5.3 Element Locations

In order to assess what the figurative elements may represent on picrolite and ceramic figurines the locations of each type of element on the figurines will be assessed here based on Tables 1-8, which were made using the database.

Horizontal strokes occur primarily on the legs of ceramic figurines. All the figurines featuring horizontal strokes on the legs also feature vertical strokes, yet not the other way around. The second most common location are the front of the torso, in two cases also correlating with vertical strokes, and the lower body. Horizontal strokes do not appear to occur on both the lower body and the legs together. The back of the torso is the third most common, after which the hands and feet are the rarest. No standard location can be recognized from the two picrolite figurines (see Table 1).

The standard location for vertical strokes appears to be the legs, after which the lower body is most popular. The front and back of the torso share a third place, after which the neck and arms are the fourth most common. Vertical strokes appear only once on the feet, as well as the stool of a birth figurine. With only two occurrences of vertical strokes on picrolite figurines, no standard can be recognized. Although, the arms and torso are spots also occurring on ceramic figurines (see Table 2).

The lower body and front of the torso are the most common location for oblique strokes, after which the legs and back of the torso share a second place. The occurrences on the torso overlap with each other but not with the lower body and legs. The occurrences on the lower body and legs don't overlap with each other (see Table 3).

The location of dots appears to be less standardized. Dots are most commonly located on the legs, then the lower body and arms, third is breasts, after which the front and back of the torso, then the face and feet in shared last. (see Table 4)

The plain band motif mostly occurs on the arms, then the lower body, a shared third place for the torso and legs, and lastly the neck (see Table 5).

Zigzags occur most commonly on the torso and the legs after which the lower body takes second place (see Table 6).

Lattice motifs appear to be positioned in standard locations separately for ceramic and picrolite figurines. On ceramic figurines this location is primarily the lower body, with (possible) occurrences on the chest, legs, and feet. Picrolite figurines feature a highly standardized set of locations for lattice motifs. The most common location is the arms, second is the chest (this location is exclusive to figurines with lattice on the arms), and third are the hands, feet, and top of the head equally (see Table 7).

Table 1: Location of horizontal strokes on figurines and figurine fragments, figurine codes in the orange cells are ceramic specimens, while those in the blue-green cells are picrolite. (Created by Max Lenssen).

 = Ceramic = Picrolite		Neck	Torso (front)	Torso (back)	Arm(s)	Hand(s)	Lower body	Leg(s)	Foot/feet
?	(C 160)					X			
SL 1013			X	X					
ER 849				X					
K-Ay 242			X	X			X		
K-Ay 289								X	
KM 61								X	X
KM 2010								X	
KM 3100								X	
KMyl 85								X	
SL 1200								X	
AM 1176			X						
CM 1933/XII-13/6			X						
KM 299					X		X		
KM 1475							X	X	
K-Ay 485					?		X	?	
SVP 86/20					X			X	
PM 2928			X						
KM 3376					X				

Table 2: Location of vertical strokes on figurines and figurine fragments, figurine codes in the orange cells are ceramic specimens, while those in the blue-green cells are picrolite. (Created by Max Lenssen).



 = Ceramic  = Picrolite		Neck	Torso (front)	Torso (back)	Arm(s)	Lower body	Leg(s)	Foot/feet	Other
ER 617		X							
KM 778+854					X		X		
ER 895			?	?					
? (C 160)					X				
SL 1013			X	X					
ER 849			X						
ER 952				X		X			
ER 973			?	?		?	?		
K-Ay 242			X	X					
K-Ay 367						X	X		
ER 913								X	
? (C 193)							X		
K-Ay 289							X		
KM 61							X		
KM 2010							X		
KM 3100							X		
KMyI 85							X		
SL 1200							X		
ER 1058		X							
KM 299									X
KM 1475							X		
K-Ay 485					?	?	?		
K-Ay 488			?	?					
KMyI 71						X			
KMyI 120						X			
SL 1625		?	?	?		?	?		
KM 2645			X	X					
KM 3376					X				

Table 3: Location of oblique strokes on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments. (Created by Max Lenssen).

Figurine	Neck	Torso (front)	Torso (back)	Arm(s)	Hand(s)	Lower body	Leg(s)	Foot/feet
SL 1013		X	X					
ER 849		X						
SL1018		X	X					
K-Ay 242						X		
KM 2010							X	
KM 299						X		
KM 507							X	
KM 1449						X		
K-Ay 488		?	?					
SVP 86/20						X		

Table 4: Location of dots on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments. (Created by Max Lenssen)

Figurine	Face	Torso (front)	Torso (back)	Breasts	Arm(s)	Lower body	Leg(s)	Foot/feet
KM 778+854							X	
ER 1071					X			
ER 952						X		
KMyl 1215		X	X		X	X		
AM 1176				X				
CM 1933/XII-13/6				X				
KM 1451			X					
KM 1463						X		
KM 1464+1476					X	X	X	
KM 2994					X			
? (C 239)					X			
SVP 86/20	X						X	
SVP 86/26				X				
KM 1475						X	X	
KM 2995		X					X	
KM 2996								X
KM 3548							X	
KMyl 412							X	

Table 5: Location of plain band motif on figurines and figurine fragments. Decorations on neck are excluded with one exception, figurine codes in the orange cells are ceramic specimens and figurine codes in the blue-green cells are picrolite. (Created by Max Lenssen).

 = Ceramic = Picrolite		Neck	Torso	Arm(s)	Lower body	Leg
ER 895				X		
ER 1071				X		
ER 1143				X	X	
SL 1200						X
KM 523						X
KM 2086	X	X	X			
SL 2941			X			
KM 1460					X	
KM 1449			X	X		
KM 2911		X				
KM 943			X			

Table 6: Location of zigzag motif on ceramic figurines and figurine fragments. (Created by Max Lenssen).

Figurine	Neck	Torso	Lower body	Leg(s)
KM 778+854				X
ER 895		X		
ER 849		X		
ER 952		X		X
KM 299			X	X
KM 1464+1476			X	X
KM 1466		X		
KMyl 304*	?	?		?

Table 7: Location of lattice motif on figurines with one or more lattice elements. Figurine codes in the orange cells are ceramic specimens and figurine codes in the blue-green cells are picrolite. (Created by Max Lenssen)

 = Ceramic = Picrolite		Figurine	Top of head	Face	Chest	Arm(s)	Hand(s)	Lower body	Leg(s)	Feet
ER 1056									X	
KM 1443								X		
KM 1451								X		
KM 1463								X		
KM 1466								X		
K-Ay 481				X						
K-Ay 482								X		
K-Ay 494								?		?
K-Ay 495	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		?
KM 2995				X						
RRKM 356		X	X	X	X					
PM 2928		X	X	X	X					
PAS 92.6.47				X	X					
SL 600					X					
SL 1692					X					
SL 264							X			
SL 387		X			X					
SVP 65/1					X					
SVP 78/18		X					X			
Hadjjpr. 889					X					
Hadjjpr. 891		X	X	X	X					
Hadjjpr. 890		X			X					
PM 2125					X					
76-17 DJ										X
Zintilis 669				X	X					
? (C373)					X					
SL 433				X	X					
KM 943				X						
KM 2717				X	X					
SL 345					X					
SL 436					X					
SVP 58/1	X				X					
SVP 86/5					X					
CM 1944/IV-22/2				X	X					
W 290	X				X					
SL 866				X	X					
PM 1005					X					

KMyI 52				X				
ER 814				X				
KM 1538								X
Eliades				X				

5.4 Archaeological Remains of Dress or Jewelry

While it is not difficult to relate the pendant carved on the Yialia figurine to anthropomorphic pendants, it is more arduous to relate other carved and painted figurative elements on figurines to archaeological remains of dress or jewelry. While organic materials used for personal ornaments and accessories perish over time, other materials survive the test of time. Personal ornaments and accessories present in the archaeological record of Chalcolithic Cyprus primarily consist of beads and pendants of various materials. This following section will compare the assemblages of beads and pendants with the figurative elements listed above in order to assess the relationship between the artifacts.

5.4.1 Beads & pendants

According to Peltenburg and Webb (2013) 14 types of beads are found in Chalcolithic Cyprus. These beads were produced from picrolite, faience, pig's tusk, bone, antler, dentalium shells, and various types of stone. Shapes include variations including globular, disc-shaped, cylindrical, spiral, and rings.

Peltenburg and Webb (2013) identify 28 types of pendants found in Chalcolithic Cyprus. These consist of six unperforated and 22 perforated types. Pendants were produced using picrolite, bone, shell, copper, and various types of stone. The shapes are varied and include the famous cruciform anthropomorphs, rectangles, lozenges, drops, pierced shells, as well as a rare copper spiraliform.

5.4.2 Correlation

A clear correlation is observed between cruciform figurines and pendants and the pendant carved on the Yialia figurine as illustrated by Figure 42. Intriguingly the anthropomorphic pendants painted on several ceramic figurines do not have such a counterpart in the material record, in fact some appear to resemble the overall shape of the figurine itself or a stylized figure (see Figure 43; Goring, 1991a). The bands connected to the pendants on the figurines do offer a possible match. While it is plausible that some pendants were solely suspended by string, dentalium shell necklaces are also noted in association with figurines and pendants as seen in Figure 46 (Croft *et al.*, 1998). Dentalium shell necklaces are also found without beads or pendants, possibly inspiring the bands on several figurines' necks (e.g., SL 433, KM 158, KM 194, and KM 2134; see Figure 44). While necklaces with non-dentalium shell beads are attested to, these do not seem to be represented by any figurative elements on figurines. The

circumferential band in combination with the square on neck fragment K-Ay 476 could correspond with a rectangular or even somewhat axe-shaped pendant suspended by string or a dentalium shell necklace (see Figure 45). While the figurative element on the neck of KM 1466 has been described as lozenge-shaped, the match with lozenge-shaped beads is not convincing, possibly due to the abraded surface. Additionally, a case could be made for the resemblance with either annular spurred or multiple ^-shaped pendants, however these are not quite convincing either (see Figure 47). Dentalium shell necklaces associated with multitudes of small (some cruciform) pendants occur in the material record but are not seen on any figurines.

Segmented bands, commonly interpreted as bracelets with beads, are found on the arms of several cruciform figurines (Vagnetti, 1980). Peculiarly, while beads are found, beaded bracelets are still somewhat of a rarity in the archaeological record of Chalcolithic Cyprus. A good example of a possible bead bracelet is the concentration of 10 faience beads found in shaft tomb 138 at Souskiou as shown in figure 48 & 50 (Crewe, 2019). The lines of dots, on the arms of birth figurine KM 1451 for example (see Figure 43B), have also been interpreted as bracelets (Goring, 1991b; Vagnetti, 1991), however they have alternatively been interpreted as a shawl with beads sewed on (Peltenburg, 1988). Both interpretations present a possible match between figurative elements and beads. The dotted circles associated with the dotted lines of KM 2994 have been interpreted as counterweights for a shawl (Peltenburg, 1988). Weights that could have been used for such a purpose did exist, however, such weights have not been associated directly with this purpose.

The segmented bands on the waist of SL 433 as well as the plain bands above them can be interpreted as representing some kind of chains or belts, as the segments are somewhat reminiscent of dentalium necklaces. The same can be said for the oblique/horizontal strokes painted on the back of KM 1449 (see Figure 49).

Lastly, motifs incorporating strokes attached to lines and dots, as seen for example painted on KM 1475 (see Figure 22), could represent beads and/or pendants sewn onto garments similar to Peltenburg's shawl theory. This interpretation is precarious as there is no explicit evidence of this phenomenon and the dashes and dots could represent body paint, garments without beads and pendants, or simply decoration of the figurines.

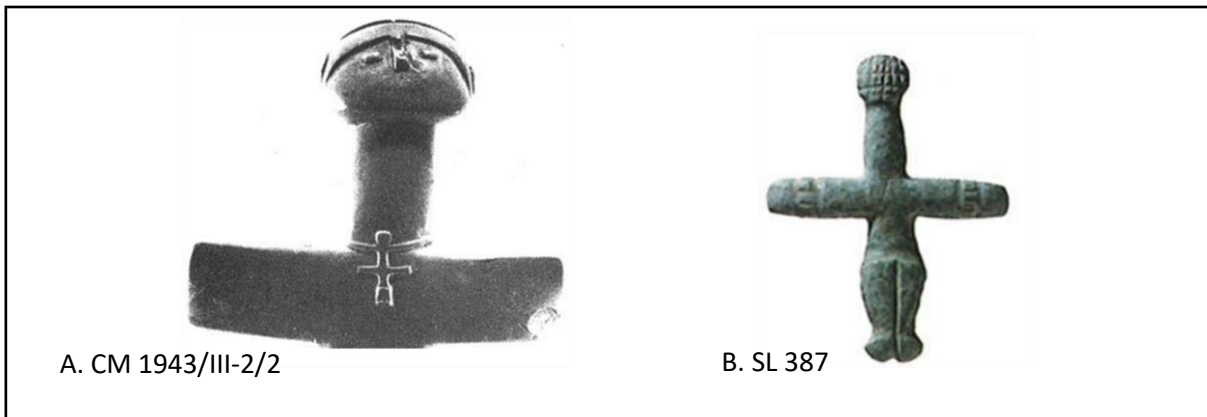


Figure 42: Match between carved pendant on Yialia figurine (A; CM 1943/III-2/2) and picrolite figurine SL 387 (B). From *La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte à travers l'iconographie de l'époque néolithique au vième s. a. c.* (Pl. 8a), by J. Karageoghis, 1977, Maison de l'Orient. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 63), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

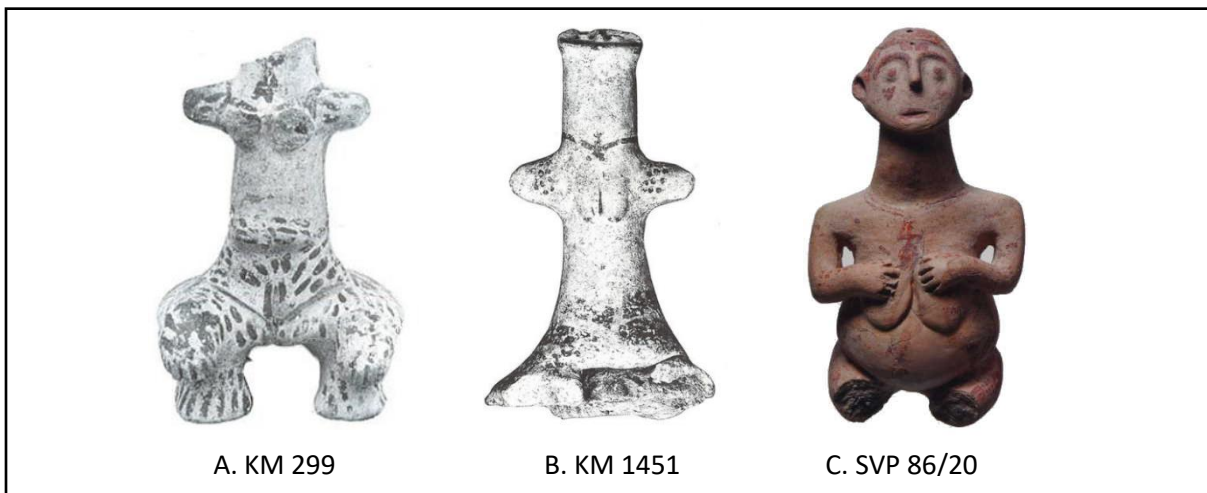


Figure 43: Ceramic figurines (A, B, and C) with painted pendants which do not match any known pendants from the material record. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Pl. 9), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 32.10), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Cyprus: crossroads of civilizations* (p. 60), by S. Hadjisavvas, 2010, Government of the Republic of Cyprus. (After Peltenburg et al. 1998, Fig. 85.3, 86.4, Pl. 32.11; Peltenburg et al. Pl. 50, Pl. 73)

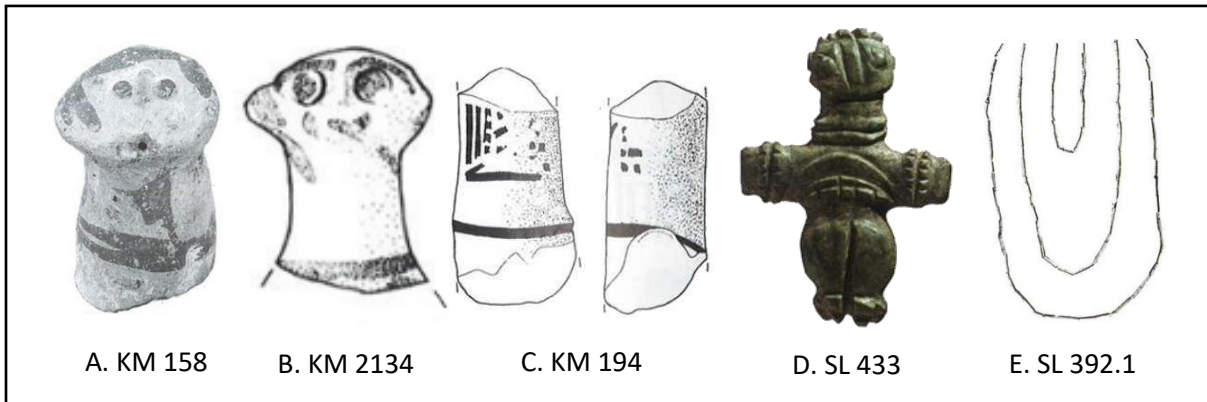


Figure 44: Three ceramic figurine fragments (A, B, and C) with plain bands painted around the neck, a picrolite figurine (D) with two plain bands carved on the neck, and a dentalium shell bead necklace (E). From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 32.11), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 10.3 & 15.8), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 50.8 & 73.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

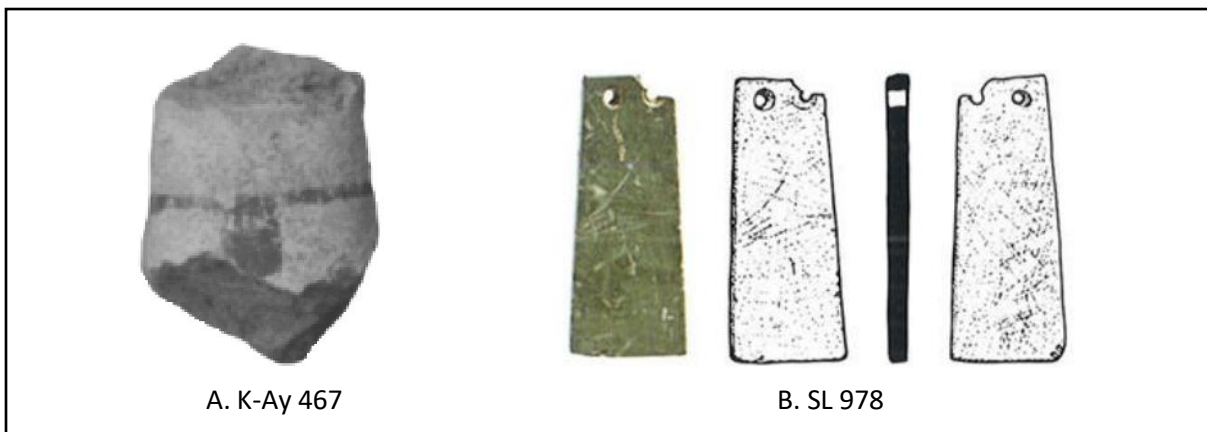


Figure 45: Figurine fragment (A) featuring painted pendant and a rectangular pendant (B) from Souskiou Laona. From *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 107.4), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books. & "The Vasilikos Valley and the Chalcolithic Period in Cyprus," by L. Vagnetti, 1991, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 282-283, p. 9 (<https://doi.org/10.2307/1357259>).

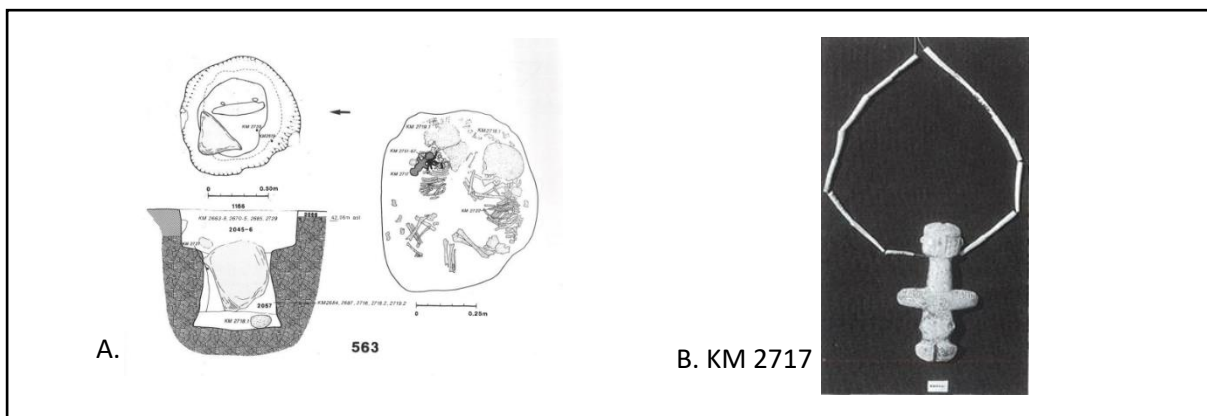


Figure 46: Plan of Grave 563 at Kissonerga Mosphilia (A) and figurine KM 2717 (B). KM 2717 was found in Grave 563 with a dentalium shell necklace near the neck of a child. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 57 & Pl. 37.6), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

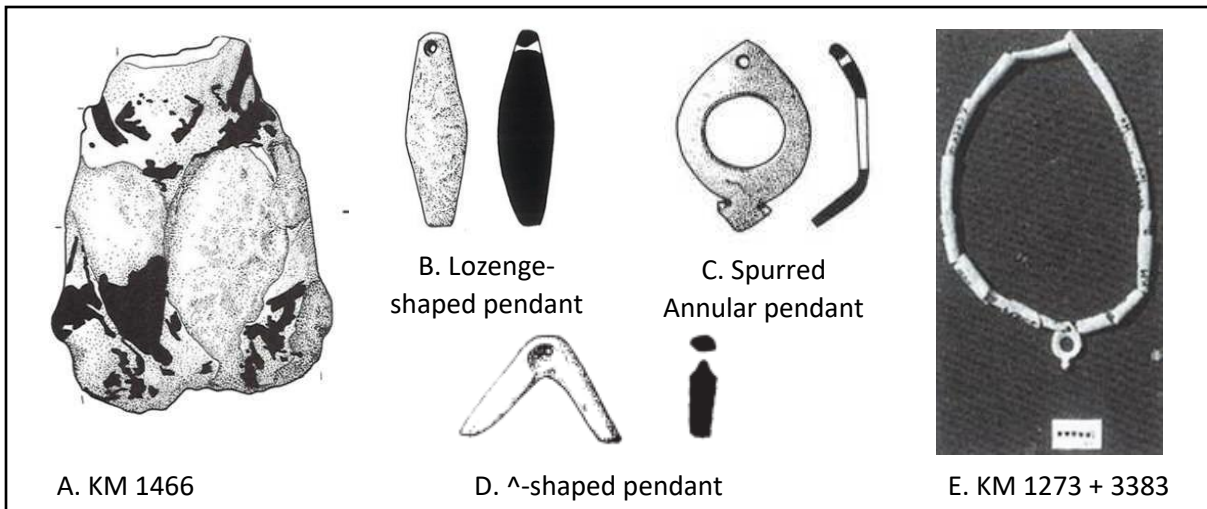


Figure 47: Fragmented figurine (A) with traces of painted "Lozenge shape pendant", with lozenge-shaped (B), ^-shaped (D), and spurred annular (C) pendants, and a dentalium shell necklace with spurred annular pendant (E), all from Kissonerga Mosphilia. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 25), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 37.2), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Figurines and other small objects* (pp. 287 & 289), by E.J. Peltenburg & J.M. Webb, 2013, Brepols.



Figure 48: Picrolite figurines (A, B, C, and D) featuring segmented bands possibly representing beaded bracelets and a collection of beads (E). From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 10.3 & 15.8), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 43.9, 65.4, 73.3, & 102.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books. & "Figurines and Minor Objects from a Chalcolithic Cemetery at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas," by L. Vagnetti, 1980, *Studi Micenei Ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 21, Pl. I.



Figure 49: Ceramic figurine (A) with step/dashed line motif on the back, picrolite figurine (B) with segmented bands on belly, and dentalium shell chain (C). From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 20), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 37.2), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 73.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

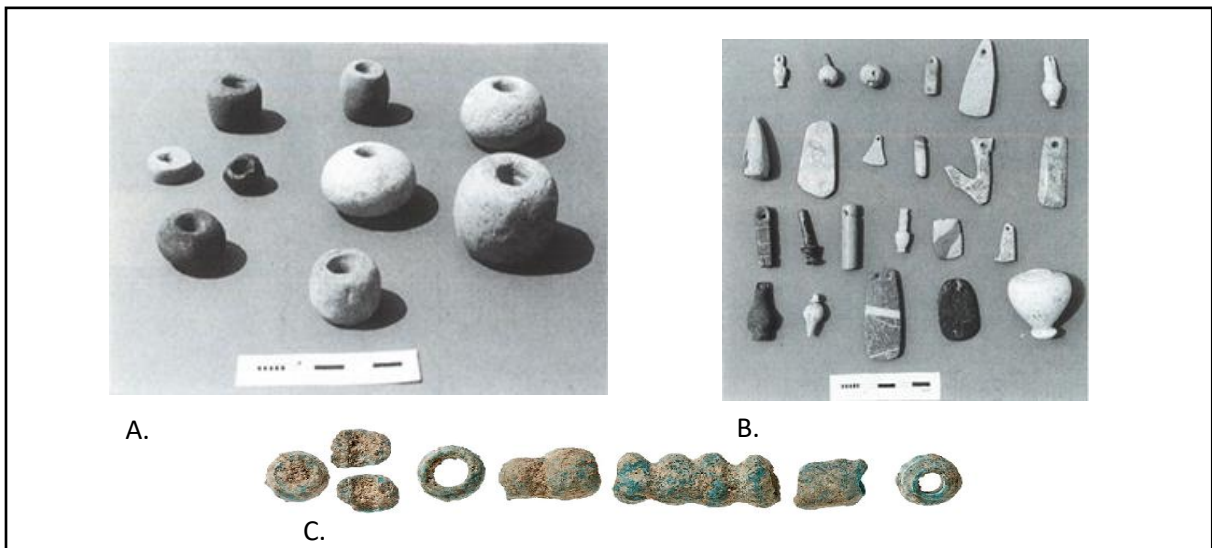


Figure 50: Selection of stone beads (A), pendants (B), and faience beads. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 36.8 & 37.1), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag. & *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (p. 282), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

Chapter 6: Discussion

In assessing the relationship between figurative elements on figurines and dress, hairdo, and body adornment, it is essential to make interpretations of said figurative elements. Some of the research on figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus has incorporated such interpretations. These interpretations, as well as new ones based on the results in Chapter 5, and the implications of both; will be discussed here. Subsequently all this material will be synthesized to form answers to the research questions posed in Chapter 1.

6.1 Hairdo/headress

6.1.1 Picrolite

The figurative elements featuring a central groove on top of the head and a horizontal groove on the forehead, occasionally accompanied by lateral angular grooves on picrolite figurines (see Figure 51) have been interpreted as representing hair parted in the middle by Vagnetti (1980). Reitler's (1960) suggestion that the vertical groove in combination with the extended neck of the figurine represents male genitalia appears rather ambiguous. This element appears to be a common standardized portrayal of hairdo on picrolite figurines. One could argue that it was meant to mirror a common hairdo at the time. Alternatively standardized motifs such as this one could have served as a means to convey the concept of hairdo rather than mirroring any hairdo in particular in the same vein as a Campo's (1994) theory that cruciform figurines functioned as modern-day logos.

The lattice motif on top of the head of W 290 (see Figure 52) has also been interpreted as a representation of hairdo (Winkelmann, 2020). For a pendant featuring a lattice like motif on the head, Vagnetti (1980) noted it could perhaps represent a braided hairdo with ribbons. Alternatively, these examples can both be interpreted as hats. Goring (2019) interprets the five protrusions on top of the head of figurine SL 433 as hair (see Figure 53).



Figure 51: Picrolite figurine Hadjipr. 889 with central and lateral grooves on head indicating hair. From "Figurines and minor objects from a Chalcolithic cemetery at Souskiou Vathyrkakas (Cyprus)," By L. Vagnetti, 2016, SMEA, 21, Pl. 1.



Figure 52: Picrolite figurine W 290 with lattice on top of head. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 22.2), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.



Figure 53: Picrolite figurine with five protrusions on top of head possibly representing hair. From *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 73.3), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

6.1.2 Ceramic

The wavy lines on the back of the heads and necks of KM 1451 (see Figure 14) and other figurines are rather unambiguously interpreted as long wavy hair by Goring (1998). KM 1451 also features paint around the edges of the face likely indicating hair, as well as an incision possibly indicating a middle part (Goring, 1991a).

A more enigmatic figurative element are the holes in the heads of figurines like ER 377 (see Figure 54). Which have been interpreted to have been used for inserting organic materials to portray hair or headdresses (South, 1985).

Certain head fragments feature variations of horizontal grooves and lateral curves or steps and appear to depict a similar hairstyle as seen on figurine ER 743 in Figure 55, which features a more modeled execution of this style. The hairstyle on ER 743 also appears similar to that of

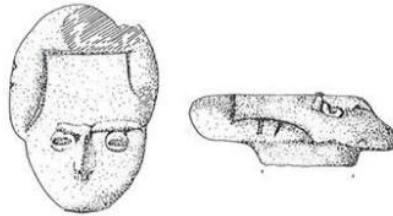


Figure 55: Ceramic figurine ER 743 with modeled hairdo. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 9.15), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

lactation figurine AM 1176 (see Figure 56). This general style of hair depicted on the forehead and temples is also seen painted similarly on KM 158 (see Figure 57). These specimens are reminiscent of the most common hairdo featured on picrolite figurines, yet distinctly miss the middle parting.

KM 1399 (see Figure 58) features a central vertical groove, akin to the standard picrolite hairdo, with zigzag-like incisions. Figurine fragments KM 778+854 (see Figure 17) feature a painted hairdo (Goring, 1998). Both feature central grooves and zigzag motifs; one painted, the other incised. It seems possible that two techniques were used to represent a single hairstyle in this case, however the former zigzag appears on the front, while the latter appears on the back.

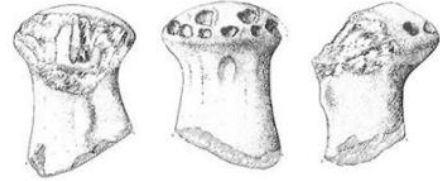


Figure 54: Ceramic figurine ER 377 with holes in the back of the head, possibly used to indicate hair or headdress. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 10.7), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.



Figure 56: Ceramic figurine AM 1176 with modeled hairdo. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 15.1), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.



Figure 57: Ceramic Figurine KM 158 with painted hairdo. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 32.11), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

SVP 86/20 (see Figure 4 & 28) features a unique hairdo featuring a solid painted top of the head with two squares on the forehead. Goring (2006) suggests this may represent a headdress of sorts. Perhaps the squares represent square or rectangular pendants worn around the head or attached to a headdress of sorts. It seems equally plausible for the squares to be a type of face paint or tattooing unrelated to the hairdo or headdress.

Hairdo/headdress is the most frequent figurative element on both picrolite and ceramic figurines. The relative abundance of these figurative elements alludes to hairdo being a principle concept to convey on figurines at the time.

6.2 Elements on the neck

The plain bands and anthropomorphic shapes at the necks of several figurines are pretty unambiguously interpreted as necklaces with pendants. Such necklaces are attested to for example by Grave 563 at Kissonerga Mosphilia, in which figurine KM 2717 (see Figure 46) was found in association with a dentalium shell necklace beside a child's neck (Goring, 1998). The same applies for plain band motifs, which could represent dentalium shell necklaces without pendants. The match between rectangular pendants and the figurative element on K-Ay 476 seems plausible as well (see Figure 45).

Painted pendants which do not resemble any known pendants have been referred to as self-portraits in the case of birth figurines (Goring, 1991a). Likewise, Winkelmann (2020) suggests that this applies to figurine SVP 86/20 as well (see Figure 41). Goring argues that it is likely that these pendants portray real objects, however, no such artifacts have been uncovered to this date (Goring, 1991a). Are these painted renderings perhaps the intended appearance of an otherwise more abstract or stylized pendant?

The dashes on the neck of SVP 86/20 and the column of squares on KM 778+854 (see Figures 17 & 28) seem likely to represent body painting or tattooing. The horizontal strokes on ER 617 could represent clothing, body paint, or tattooing. According to Winkelmann (2020) horizontal line with four vertical lines on the neck of ER 1058 could represent part of a garment or some type of jewelry, additionally I would argue it could be part of a type of body paint or tattoo. (see Figures 57 & 58)

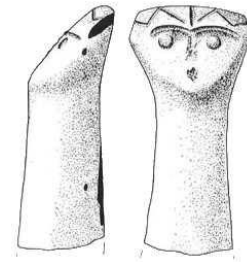


Figure 58: Ceramic figurine KM 1399 with zigzag-like incised hairdo. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 85.8), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

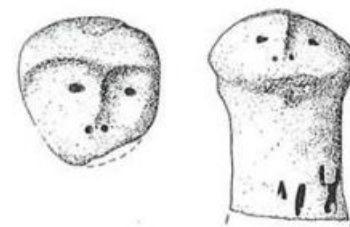


Figure 59: Ceramic figurine ER 617 with painted element on the neck. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 9.9), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

Figurative elements on the neck occur three times as often on ceramic figurines as on picrolite ones. One could argue that the cause of this is the difference in level of effort and skill necessary to paint compared to carving small details. One of the largest picrolite figurines (the Yialia figurine) does feature a carved pendant which could suggest that size is the inhibiting factor here.

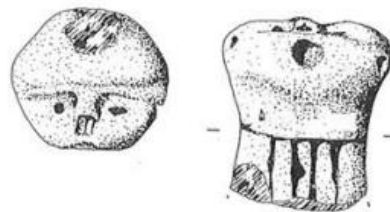


Figure 60: Ceramic figurine ER 1058 with painted element on the neck. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 15.3), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

6.3 Lattice

While the lattice motif is noted on both ceramic and picrolite figurines, it is much more prevalent in the picrolite assemblage. 25.6 % of picrolite figurines feature some kind of lattice motif compared to a mere 3.8 % of ceramic figurines (see Figure 36). It is clear that the locations of lattice motifs differ between picrolite and ceramic figurines (see Table 7), with picrolite figurines featuring lattice primarily on the arms and chest and ceramic ones almost exclusively featuring lattice on the lower body. This suggests that these motifs must be considered separately, as they most likely do not represent the same concept.

6.3.1 Picrolite

The continuous lattice pattern on picrolite figurine arms (and chests), as seen in Figure 18, has been interpreted in various ways. Ranging from Vagnetti's (1980) assessment as simply decorative in function to Reitler's (1960) more dubious interpretation as wings. I argue that this type of lattice motif bears affinity to the strokes observed on the arms of figurines KM 778+854 and SVP 86/20 (see Figures 14 & 28), which are interpreted below. Another possible match, although less plausible are the arcades on KM 1357 and KM 3160 (see Figure 27 & 68), though not especially convincing.

Two unique variations of the lattice pattern exist on picrolite; one (KM 943) featuring a plain rectangle surrounded by lattice motif on the chest and oblique plain bands on the arms, the other (CM1944/IV-22/2) featuring two mirrored upside-down L shapes outlined by segmented bands (see Figures 61 & 62). I suggest these motifs may represent garments because the patterns could illustrate patterns on some kind of garment worn on the torso. Additionally, they could represent different interpretations of the same concept as the more common lattice patterns found on the chests and arms of picrolite figurines.

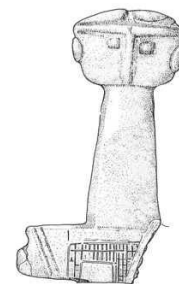


Figure 61: Picrolite figurine KM 943 with unique lattice pattern on chest. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 83.6), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

Lattice patterns and segmented bands on the arms are generally accepted to represent bracelets (see Figure 48; Karageorghis, 1977; Vagnetti, 1980). Although beads are commonly found at Chalcolithic sites, evidence linking them to bracelets in particular is not abundant. The oblique segmented bands featured on several Kissonerga type figurines (see Figures 5 & 48C) have been interpreted to represent clothing or tattooing (Vagnetti, 1980). More specifically, Vagnetti (1980) suggested the bands could represent a type of shawl. The dots on the arms of ceramic figurine KM 1451 (see Figure 14) have likewise been interpreted as a shawl (Peltenburg, 1988).



Figure 62: Picrolite figurine CM 1944/IV-22/2 with unique lattice pattern on chest and arms. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 22.1), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

Vagnetti (1980) interprets the lattice face coverings (see Figure 63) as abstract representation of facial features, this is in line with figurine SVP 78/18 of which the lattice-covered hands are considered to be shaped like heads (Winkelmann, 2020). Alternatively, though perhaps less likely, I would argue that the lattice motif could represent some type of ornamental face covering, such as a mask or a veil.

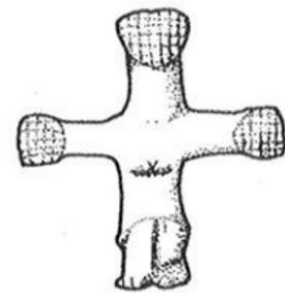


Figure 63: Picrolite figurine SVP 78/18 with lattice on face and hands. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 20.7), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

The evidence above illustrates that the use of lattice motifs on picrolite figurines was varied. I suggest that lattice motifs were a single motif used to represent a variety of concepts, dependent partially on the location but primarily on execution. This is demonstrated additionally by the hairdo/headdress considered above, as well as the lattice motifs on the ends of the arms and the feet which, according to Vagnetti (1980), represent hands and toes.

6.3.2 Ceramic

The use of the lattice motif is much more restricted on ceramic figurines. Karageorghis (1991) interprets the lattice panels (see Figure 19) as clothing, while Goring (1991b) suggests they might depict ritual body paint used for special occasions such as childbirth. The lattice panels also bear resemblance to a type of skirt or other garment worn around the lower body and legs. As noted by Goring (1988), as well as Peltenburg and Webb (2013), ceramic figurines are generally produced in the ceramic wares that are common at the site at which they are discovered. Painted lattice motifs occur on figurines of RW ware, while the lattice motif and several variations of it are also found on RW ware pottery as seen in Figures 64 and 70 (Bolger et al., 1998). This suggests that the lattice motifs on figurines may serve a primarily

decorative purpose similar to the motifs found on RW ware pottery. It is possible that the similarities in the techniques used to paint pottery and figurines prompted the crossover of this motif between pottery and figurines. Alternatively, it is also possible that lattice motifs were particularly in fashion at the time, prompting the use in several different cases.

6.4 Dots

Dots are a figurative element observed on 8.6 % of ceramic figurines. Of the two distinct patterns featuring dots (see Chapter 5), the multiple lines of dots located on the arms of several figurines, including KM 1451, have been interpreted as bracelets by Goring (1991b). Peltenburg (1988) considers them to represent a shawl with beads sewn on, with the closely associated dotted circles representing counterweights. A similar use of dots is seen on KMyl 1215; however, the configuration of dots differs and the figurine also has painted dots on other locations, suggesting this motif may represent something else entirely in this case (see Figure 65). This figurative element is sometimes associated with the oblique segmented bands on picrolite figurines.



Figure 64: RW ware ceramic vessel with painted lattice panel motif. From *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 51.7), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

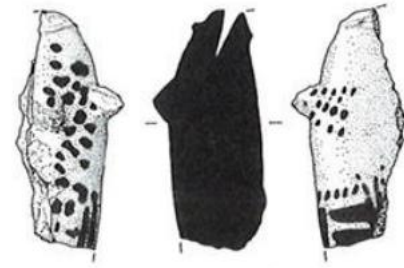


Figure 65: Ceramic figurine KMyl 1215 with painted dots. From *Neolithic and Chalcolithic Figurines of Cyprus* (Fig. 20.7), by C. Winkelmann, 2020, Zaphon.

The other identifiable pattern occurs on the lactation figurines (see Figure 56). This pattern is combined with incised lines in an alternating pattern. It is generally interpreted as body paint or tattooing. Morris (1985) suggests that it could also represent scarification. According to Winkelmann (2020) scarification could be evidenced by the incised, rather than painted, execution of the motif. The painted oblique dotted lines on the breasts of SVP 86/26 (see Figure 20) and the traces of horizontal wavy bands on the breasts of SVP SVP 86/20 (see Figure 28) are considered related to the incised elements, however, because they are painted, they might provide evidence against the scarification theory (Winkelmann, 2020).

According to Table 4 the legs and lower body are a common location for dots. The dots featured in these locations are often part of a more complex combination of different motifs or figurative elements. The combination of dots, horizontal strokes and vertical strokes on KM 1475, and the more complex combination of dots, curvilinear, and square motifs on KM 778+854 illustrate this well (see Figures 17 &

22). Such composite motifs/figurative elements are difficult to interpret. Though in the case of KM 1475 they most likely represent clothing.

6.5 Plain bands

Plain bands (see Figure 21) occur only on 4.8 % of ceramic figurines, whereas only two picrolite figurines possess this figurative element. This discrepancy can be attributed to the difference in manufacturing technique. Long plain bands can easily be achieved when painting with a brush or similar tool, while carving such a line is more challenging. Though plain bands are often incorporated in figurative elements on the neck, these haven't been included in the statistics for plain bands, as figurative elements on the neck are dealt with separately here. The use of painted plain bands on figurines appears varied, thus a standard location or function is not apparent.

6.6 Strokes

Strokes are a more common figurative element, which often occurs in groups or in combination with other figurative elements such as dots (see Figure 22).

The reoccurring motif of vertical strokes around the ankle (see Figure 17) is commonly interpreted as clothing, representing either something like the end of a pantleg or tassels at the end of a garment (Goring, 1998). The possibility of body paint or tattooing cannot be ruled out entirely as modelled genitalia are visible in combination with strokes on the legs of KM 1475 (see Figure 22), though Goring (1991b) suggests these factors are not necessarily contradictory. Still, a similar case is presented with the elaborate figurative elements painted on KM 778+854 in combination with what Karageorghis (1991) interprets to be an anus on the back of the figurine. From illustrations it is difficult to make out if this interpretation is plausible (see Figure 66). However, this figurine is generally considered to be an appliqué piece, meaning that the back was probably not on display (Goring, 1998). The most common location of each type of stroke being on the legs and lower body (see Tables 1, 2, & 3) suggests that these figurative elements are tied to garments worn on the legs.

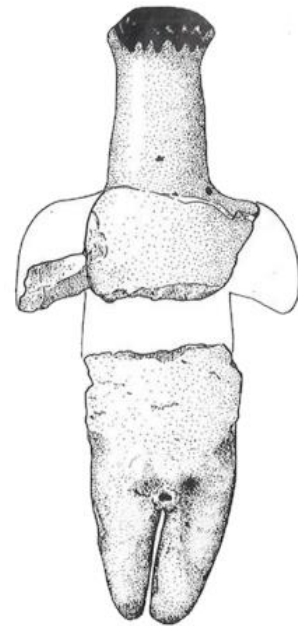


Figure 66: The back of ceramic figurine KM 778+854. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Fig. 85.9), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

The groups of strokes on arms (see Figures 17 & 28) as mentioned in Chapter 5, appear to represent bodypainting or tattooing. As mentioned above, I suggest this figurative element could represent the same thing as the continuous lattice motif on picrolite figurines. This would mean that different techniques were used to portray the same thing on different materials; carved relief on picrolite and painted strokes on ceramics. This theory also hints at an explanation of the discrepancy between occurrence rates of strokes on picrolite and ceramic figurines (see Chapter 5.2).

Goring (2019) links the painted strokes on fragment SL 1200 (see Figure 23) to rim dashes found on RW ware pottery rims at Souskiou Laona, which corroborates the aforementioned link between lattice motifs and RW ware pottery motifs.

6.7 Zigzags

Zigzags are only occasionally featured on figurines, yet they are commonly featured on RW ware pottery as well (see Figures 24 & 67; Bolger et al., 1998). This further emphasizes the link between pottery motifs and ceramic figurine motifs. This means that these figurative elements may serve a purely decorative purpose and do not represent anything specific, however the common interpretation of body paint or tattooing would apply here too.



Figure 67: RW ware vessel with painted zigzag. From *Figurine Maker of Prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and Cemeteries at Souskiou* (Pl. 51.7), by E. J. Peltenburg et al., 2019, Oxbow Books.

6.8 Miscellaneous figurative elements

This section will discuss less common figurative elements and element which are more difficult to interpret.

6.8.1 Head

The facial features of certain ceramic figurines are accentuated with paint. For example, the mouths of KM 1451, KM 1449, and SVP 86/20, and the eyes of KM 778+854 and KM 1449 are accentuated with paint. This could represent the use of some form of face painting or make up. The three-dot triangles painted on the face of SVP 86/20 could similarly represent such practices of personal adornment (see Figures 3, 4, 17, & 26).

6.8.2 Upper body & arms

The arcades on the arms and shoulders of KM 1357 and KM 3160 also lack proper interpretations (see Figures 27 & 68). The motif is present on both sides on KM 1357 and the lines connect, thus it seems plausible that this element could represent a garment either draped over the shoulder or covering the shoulders, back, and arms. Though this theory appears less conclusive on KM 3160, though it could still apply. Besides a garment the possibility of body paint, tattooing, or a purely decorative purpose cannot be ruled out.

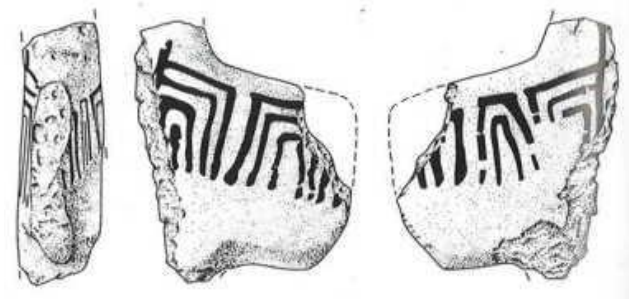


Figure 68: Ceramic figurine KM 3160 with painted arcade elements. From *Lemba Archaeological Project Vol. 2.1: Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979-1992* (Pl. 86.10), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1998, Paul Åströms förlag.

KM 1449 features a small unique figurative element on its back, which Goring (1991a) calls a rounded cruciform shape (see Figure 26). I argue that such a marking supplements Goring's (1991a, p. 54) suggestion that certain motifs could represent "family or tribal marks" well.

6.8.3 Legs & feet

Painted square and sectioned square motifs seem to generally occur in combination with other figurative elements such as plain bands and strokes on the legs (e.g., KM 61, ER 1057, and SVP 86/20; see Figures 28, 29, & 32), therefore I suggest they can be interpreted similarly. The sectioned square on leg fragment ER 1057 has thinner lines and appears to be part of a unique combination of figurative elements which could represent body paint or tattooing.

There are several ceramic figurine fragments (e.g., KM61 & KM 778+854; see Figures 17 & 29) which feature completely or partially painted feet or ends of the legs where the feet would be. I suggest this figurative element is likely to represent some type of footwear. It could be argued that the lattice pattern on the feet of some picrolite figurines could represent footwear as well, though toes appear more likely.

6.9 Unidentifiable figurative elements

Undefined curvilinear, as well as elaborate combinations of figurative elements, and incomprehensible (due to wear) figurative elements are inseparable from the rudimentary interpretations of clothing, body paint, tattooing, or purely decorative (see Figure 69). According to Goring (1998) it is hard to assign functions other than decorative to simple motifs such as plain bands, undefinable linear, and curvilinear

motifs. It is important to add that the same can be said for several composite motifs featuring multiple types of figurative element, as well as less comprehensible patterns. Thus, common interpretations of general painted decorations on figurines are clothing, body paint, and tattooing, which in some cases are supported by ethnographic evidence (Winkelmann, 2020). The locations of figurative elements on the body can be used to base interpretations on, however, certain elements simply remain ambiguous.

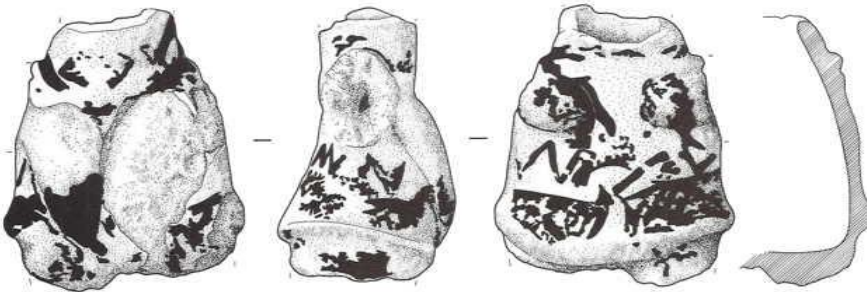


Figure 69: Ceramic anthropomorphic vessel featuring difficult to identify and trace painted elements. From *Leмба Archaeological Project Vol. 2.2 A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (Fig. 25), by E. J. Peltenburg (Ed), 1991, Paul Åströms förlag.

6.10 Further discussion/interpretations

Winkelmann (2020) suggests that, based on formal analysis, birth figurines and picrolite figurines portray the same subject matter, namely a person in the act of childbirth. This is further justified by Goring's (1991a) reasoning that picrolite figurines imply a similar childbirth posture, as they largely remain quite flat in shape with the knees together due to the fragile nature of the material. Though Lesure (2017) problematizes this theory based on the position of the knees. The connection between picrolite and birth figurines is curious as, according to my analysis above, few figurative elements are shared between the two. I suggest that the general difference in size and material explains this discrepancy, as both materials and sizes demand different manufacturing techniques.

As discussed above the figurative elements featured on several pottery figurines conform to motifs commonly used on RW ware pottery (see Figure 64, 67, & 70). Bolger (1985) suggests that they share a common source of inspiration, suggesting ceramic figurines and vessels could have been produced by the same craftspeople. I concur with this theory and suggest that it is plausible that painted motifs crossed over from a pottery tradition, implying the possibility that certain figurative elements serve a primarily decorative rather than representational function. This also suggests that figurative elements and motifs may have differed between materials based on the skillset of the manufacturer and the appropriate techniques for the material. Just like ceramic figurines, picrolite ones could have featured painted decorations, however, no traces of paint remain on the specimens. Perhaps picrolite figurines

were carved rather than painted because they are generally smaller than ceramic ones. The existence of picrolite figurines of sizes similar to ceramic ones, however, suggest this is not the case. Alternatively, it is possible that each material had different craftspeople with different skillsets involved in the production of figurines.

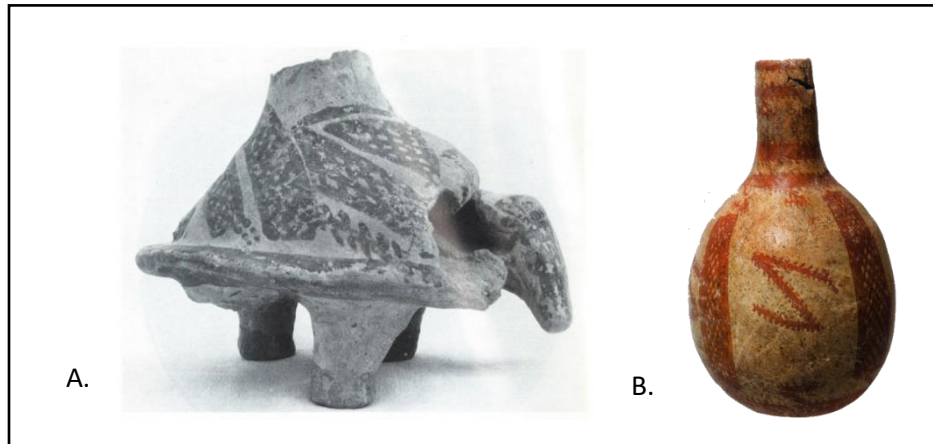


Figure 70: Bottom fragment of ceramic birth figurine with RW ware painted elements (A) and an RW ware vessel with matching painted elements (B). From “Prähistorische Religion in Zypern: Der rituelle Hortfund von Kissonerga” by E. J. Peltenburg, 1988, *Antike Welt*, 19(3), p. 13. & From *Cyprus: crossroads of civilizations* (p. 55), by S. Hadjisavvas, 2010, Government of the Republic of Cyprus.

Expanding on the use of different techniques and figurative elements on different materials, it has become evident that the carved lattice motif was applied widely on picrolite figurines to represent different concepts, suggesting that the location of a figurative element is tied to its meaning. Building upon a Campo’s (1994) notion that picrolite figurines applied a certain level of abstraction or schematization in which some elements could be omitted due to the user’s background knowledge, when applied in separate locations and orientations lattice motifs may represent a variety of concepts including tattoos, garments, bracelets, hairdo/headress, or fingers and toes.

As evidenced above, there appear to be several plausible matches of known body adornments such as beads and pendants and figurative elements on figurines. Though this is certainly not evidence that all figurative elements have real clothing or adornments as parallels, it does establish that this can be the case for more elements. The pendants and beads which do not have any parallel on figurines present an interesting case. It is possible that these adornments were worn in different contexts or on different occasions from the ones depicted on figurines. It is also possible that these objects did not function as body adornment and were used differently instead.

As for contexts or occasions that are depicted by figurines, Goring (1991a) reasonably suggests that some of the more difficult to identify figurative elements represent (ritual) body painting related to particular occasions, specifically drawing from figurative elements present on birth figurines. I suggest that this same argument could apply for clothing specifically used for special occasions or rituals.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

In the previous chapters an attempt was made to answer the following research question: “How do painted and carved elements on pottery and picrolite figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus relate to dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint?” In order to answer this question, the different types of figurative elements observed on ceramic and picrolite figurines were identified in Chapter 5, as well as their locations on the body, the relationships between these figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic figurines, and any artifact they might resemble. Charts for the occurrence rates of figurative elements, as well as tables showcasing their locations, based on a database featuring all known ceramic and cruciform picrolite figurines were used to make these assessments.

Seven common figurative elements were identified in Chapter 5, along with a selection of less common figurative elements. These more common figurative elements include the hairdo, variations of figurative elements on the neck, lattice motif, dots, plain bands, strokes, and zigzags. Less common or consistent figurative elements include accentuated facial features, arcades, square motifs, painted feet, and several entirely unique features. Ceramic figurines feature significantly more figurative elements, however, when unidentifiable traces are not considered the numbers are nearly equal.

The most common figurative element on both materials is the hairdo, which occurs almost equally as often on both materials. Three general trends are prevalent, namely the highly standardized short hairdo featuring a middle part and occasionally hair on the temples on picrolite and a short modeled or incised hairdo with hair on the temples and occasionally on top of the head, as well as painted wavy strands indicating long hair on ceramic figurines.

Figurative elements on the neck occur more frequently on ceramic than on picrolite figurines, however the motifs do overlap. Two general types can be identified, namely plain (generally concentric) bands and bands combined with pendants occurring on both picrolite and ceramic figurines, which, almost unequivocally, represent necklaces and necklaces with pendants, respectively.

Figurative elements consisting of a lattice motif are very common on picrolite figurines, though they are uncommon on ceramic ones and execution differs considerably. Lattice motifs occur most commonly as continuous motifs on the chests and arms, but also the top of the head, face, hands, and feet of picrolite figurines. On ceramic figurines lattice almost exclusively occurs on the lower bodies of birth figurines in triangular and rectangular panels. The continuous lattice pattern lacks convincing interpretations

besides purely decorative, however, I suggest that it could be a carved equivalent of the strokes occasionally painted on the arms of ceramic figurines. Other uses of lattice on picrolite comprise possible hairdo or headdress, possible footwear, and segmented bands on the arms interpreted as bracelets and possible garments. The painted lattice patterns are interpreted as clothes or body paint, although the resemblance with RW ware pottery suggests they could be decorative in nature.

Painted dots are found on ceramic figurines occasionally and are present in two distinct patterns. The first, located on the arms has been interpreted as a bracelet or garment with beads attached to it, the second comprises of lines of dots (sometimes with plain bands) on the breasts, interpreted as body paint, tattooing, or scarification. The most common locations for this figurative element are the legs and lower body. Dots on the legs and lower body are usually part of more complex figurative elements which combine different motifs. These are mostly interpreted to represent garments, tattooing, or body paint.

Plain bands occur almost exclusively on ceramic figurines. It is likely that the different working techniques for each material cause differences in occurrence rates, considering it may be easier to paint a plain band than to carve it. The use of plain bands is varied, commonly occurring in more elaborate composite patterns meaning that a general function is not clear. Similarly, the use painted zigzag motifs is varied. They are found exclusively on ceramic figurines, most commonly on the arms.

After hairdo the most common pattern on ceramic figurines is strokes, with vertical strokes being the most numerous, followed by horizontal and oblique strokes respectively. Vertical strokes around the ankle are generally interpreted as part of a garment or tassels attached to clothing. Each type of orientation of strokes is most common on the legs suggesting a connection with garments worn on the legs. Another distinct use of strokes are groups of strokes on the arms, which resemble the continuous lattice patterns on picrolite figurines. This figurative element is convincingly interpreted as tattooing or body paint.

The remaining figurative elements occur less frequently and are typically interpreted inconclusively as clothing, tattooing, or body paint. Noteworthy are the arcades, facial features accentuated with paint, as well as solid painted feet, which I suggest could represent garments, face paint or make up, and footwear, respectively.

It is evident that figurative elements generally occur on standard locations on the body of figurines. This is illustrated by the most common occurrence of strokes and lattice motifs on the lower bodies of ceramic figurines and the most common occurrence of lattice on the arms and chest of picrolite

figurines. It appears that the location of these figurative elements is tied to the concept they represent, as seen with the vertical strokes around the ankles of ceramic figurines, possibly illustrating tassels at the end of a garment.

Figurative elements, as well as their frequency, location, and execution differ significantly between picrolite and ceramic figurines. Ceramic figurines feature more figurative elements and display a greater variety of figurative elements than picrolite figurines. Whereas figurative elements on picrolite figurines are limited to hairdo, figurative elements on the neck, and a variety of uses of lattice motifs. Figurative elements which occur on both materials, do not always occur in the same frequencies on each material, as seen with lattice motifs. The execution of lattice motifs differs between ceramic and picrolite figurines, as ceramic figurines feature lattice panels.

The most convincing matches between figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic consist of the hairdo, necklaces, and pendants. Additionally, the bracelets or garments represented by vertical or oblique segmented bands and painted dots, and the strokes on the arms depicted with paint and lattice relief comprise plausible matches. I argue that the difference in size and material account for the discrepancy in figurative elements, the largest factor being the differences and limitations of the techniques used to apply figurative elements. Painting may allow easier expression of different shapes than carving. In this regard, the lattice motif could have been used as a jack of all trades for representation on picrolite figurines, in the sense that it represents a range of different concepts depending on its location and orientation, represented by a single simpler motif to carve.

While it has been suggested that picrolite figurines and birth figurines represent the same general concept based on formal analysis, I conclude that the figurative elements on these specific figurines rarely overlap. The obvious parallel between the Yialia figurines and pendants on birth figurines stands in contrast with this suggestion. Still, the match remains arduous. Thus, while there are some similarities in figurative elements between ceramic and picrolite figurines their differences are distinct.

Not every figurative element appears to have a match found in the archaeological record. However, some convincing matches do occur. The clear correlation between (dentalium shell) necklaces, occasionally featuring pendants, and the figurative elements present on figurines provides a strong indication that figurative elements portray clothing and body adornments. Other plausible matches include bracelets on both picrolite and ceramic figurines, garments adorned with beads, and possible dentalium shell chains or belts worn around the waist.

While several painted figurative elements do not have any parallels on picrolite figurines, some do correspond with common motifs on RW ware, a common pottery ware also used for ceramic figurines. I argue that this correspondence implies a primarily decorative, rather than representational function for these motifs.

Taking into account the observations and remarks above, it is very likely that a number of painted and carved figurative elements on both pottery and picrolite figurines represent dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint. The case for jewelry and hairdo is strong, with multiple unequivocal types existing on both materials. The statement is further backed by jewelry from the archaeological record appearing to match with certain figurative elements. With locations of particular figurative elements appearing standard, it is likely that such elements serve as representations of specific types of garments, body paint, or tattooing, rather than simply decoration. On the other hand, it is plausible that certain elements are primarily decorative, as they correspond with common RW ware pottery motifs.

7.2 Further research

Further research could focus on localized styles of figurines or even multiple figurines made by a single craftsman. While the dataset is limited, it is evident that occasionally multiple specimens from one site appear highly similar. Such a study could be challenging due to the uncertain provenance of part of the assemblage, as well as the fact that local exchange makes it difficult to argue for exclusively local styles.

Furthermore, it is clear that certain figurative elements match RW ware motifs. Studying the link between figurative elements on figurines and motifs present on the Chalcolithic pottery assemblage could provide us with further insights on this topic.

It would also be interesting to study the types of figurative elements in relation to the type of figurine they occur on. A challenge here would be that figurine types are not universally agreed upon especially considering the small number of specimens belonging to particular figurine types and the fragmentary nature of the assemblage.

It has become evident that the difference in manufacturing techniques between ceramic and picrolite figurines may have affected the presence of the figurative elements on both materials. It would be interesting to study the techniques used during the production of picrolite figurines through an experimental archaeological study.

Some of the biggest overall factors inhibiting further, more in-depth research are the limited and fragmentary dataset and the limited information about the provenance of part of the assemblage.

Abstract

During the Chalcolithic period (ca. 4000 – 2400 BCE) Cyprus was home to several highly distinctive styles of anthropomorphic figurines. These figurines were produced using clay and different types of stone. Picrolite, was the most common type of stone used for figurines. The figurines feature carved or painted figurative elements which are thought to represent concepts such as dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint. There is no way to study the dress, hairdo, tattoos, and body paint worn by the Chalcolithic inhabitants of Cyprus directly. As such, these concepts can be studied within the confines of figurine studies, not necessarily in relation with the dress of the Chalcolithic population of Cyprus.

In order to analyze the relationship between carved and painted figurative elements on picrolite and ceramic figurines and Chalcolithic bodies and their dress, jewelry, tattoos, or face and body painting, the following research question was established: “Do painted and carved elements on pottery and picrolite figurines from Chalcolithic Cyprus represent dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint?” To answer this question, a database was established, using Winkelmann’s (2020) extensive catalog of Cypriot figurines, as well as the catalog of the Souskiou Project (Peltenburg et al., 2019). All painted and carved figurative elements, as well as their locations on the figurines were entered in the database. The figurative elements were analyzed and compared using charts and tables and results were compared with previous works on the topic.

This thesis illustrates that certain figurative elements, such as hair and decoration on the neck, occur on both ceramic and picrolite figurines. However, their occurrence rates may differ between ceramic and picrolite. Most figurative elements occur in standard locations on the body, suggesting these elements represent concepts in relation to this location (e.g., tassels, clothing, and body paint). While many suggest ceramic and picrolite figurines represent the same concept, figurative elements rarely overlap between the two materials. Certain figurative elements appear to correspond to body adornments known from the archaeological record, while some painted figurative elements resemble common RW ware motifs, suggesting a purely decorative function. It is very likely that painted and carved figurative elements represent dress, hairdo, jewelry, tattoos, and body paint.

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