

Communities, Landscapes, and Interaction in Neolithic Greece



Edited by
*Apostolos Sarris, Evita Kalogiropoulou,
Tuna Kalayci and Lia Karimali*



INTERNATIONAL MONOGRAPHS
IN PREHISTORY
Archaeological Series 20

Communities, Landscapes, and Interaction in Neolithic Greece

*Proceedings of the International Conference,
Rethymno 29-30 May, 2015*

Edited by
Apostolos Sarris
Evita Kalogiropoulou
Tuna Kalayci
Lia Karimali



INTERNATIONAL MONOGRAPHS
IN PREHISTORY

Archaeological Series 20

© 2017 by International Monographs in Prehistory
All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America
All rights reserved

Paperback:
ISBN 978-1-879621-47-3
Hard Cover:
ISBN 978-1-879621-48-0

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Sarris, Apostolos, editor. | Kalogiropoulou, Evita, 1979- editor. |
Kalayci, Tuna, 1980- editor. | Karimali, Lia, editor.
Title: Communities, landscapes, and interaction in neolithic Greece :
proceedings of the international conference, Rethymno 29-30 May, 2015 /
edited by Apostolos Sarris, Evita Kalogiropoulou, Tuna Kalayci, Lia
Karimali.
Description: Ann Arbor, Michigan : International Monographs in Prehistory,
2017. | Series: Archaeological series ; 20
Identifiers: LCCN [2017045356](https://lccn.loc.gov/2017045356) | ISBN 9781879621480 (hardcover : alk. paper) |
ISBN 9781879621473 (pbk. : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Neolithic period--Greece. | Social archaeology--Greece. |
Landscape archaeology--Greece. | Excavations (Archaeology)--Greece. |
Greece--Antiquities.
Classification: LCC GN776.22.G8 C65 2017 | DDC 938--dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017045356>

This book is printed on acid-free paper. ∞

International Monographs in Prehistory
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106-1266
U.S.A.

Table of Contents

<i>List of Contributors</i>	vii
<i>List of Figures</i>	xiii
<i>List of Tables</i>	xxv
<i>Maps</i>	xxvii

Introduction

1 - Evita Kalogiropoulou and Apostolos Sarris <i>Communities, Landscapes, and Interaction: An Introduction</i>	1
---	---

Part I: Communities, Social Spaces, and Dimensions of Neolithic Lifeways (and Death)

2 - Agathe Reingruber <i>The Transition from the Mesolithic to the Neolithic in a Circum-Aegean Perspective: Concepts and Narratives</i>	8
3 - Apostolos Sarris, Tuna Kalayci, François-Xavier Simon, Jamieson Donato, Carmen Cuenca García, Meropi Manataki, Gianluca Cantoro, Ian Moffat, Evita Kalogiropoulou, Georgia Karampatso, Kayt Armstrong, Nassos Argyriou, Sylviane Dederix, Cristina Manzetti, Nikos Nikas, Konstantinos Vouzaxakis, Vasso Rondiri, Polyxeni Arachoviti, Kalliopi Almatzi, Despina Efstathiou, and Evangelia Stamelou <i>Opening a New Frontier in the Study of Neolithic Settlement Patterns of Eastern Thessaly, Greece</i>	27
4 - Maria Pappa, Stratos Nanoglou, and Melina Efthymiadou <i>A Road to Variation: Diversity among Neolithic Settlements in Central Macedonia, Greece</i> ...	49
5 - Dimitra Malamidou, Maria Ntinou, Soultana-Maria Valamoti, Zoï Tsirtsoni, Haïdo Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, and Pascal Darcque <i>An Investigation of Neolithic Settlement Pattern and Plant Exploitation at Dikili Tash: Reconsidering Old and New Data from the late 5th Millennium B.C. Settlement</i>	60
6 - Yannis Hamilakis, Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika, Thomas Loughlin, Tristan Carter, James Cole, Yorgos Facorellis, Stella Katsarou, Aggeliki Kaznesi, Areti Pentedeka, Vasileios Tsamis, and Nicolas Zorzin <i>Koutroulou Magoula in Pthiotida, Central Greece: a Middle Neolithic Tell site in Context</i>	81
7 - John E. Coleman, Evangelia Karimali, Lilian Karali, Melanie Fillios, Charlotte Diffey, Petra Vaiglova, Amy Bogaard, Jayme Joos, Effie Angeli <i>The Environment and Interactions of Neolithic Halai</i>	97
8 - William Parkinson, Anastasia Papathanasiou, Michael Galaty, Daniel Pullen, Panagiotis Karkanas, Giorgos Papathanassopoulos <i>Diros in Context: Alepotrypa Cave and Ksagounaki Promontory in the Neolithic Period</i>	126

9 - Eva Alram-Stern, Apostolos Sarris, Konstantinos Vouzaxakis, Kalliopi Almatzi, Polyxeni Arachoviti, Vasso Rondiri, Despina Efstathiou, Evangelia Stamelou, Carmen Cuenca García, Tuna Kalayci, François-Xavier Simon, Gianluca Cantoro, Jamieson Donati, Meropi Manataki <i>Visviki Magoula Revisited: Comparing Past Excavations' Data to Recent Geophysical Research</i>	137
10 - Josette Renard and William Cavanagh <i>Kouphovouno (Lakonía): Some Thoughts about the Settlement Pattern at the end of the Middle Neolithic</i>	149
11 - Dimitris Kloukinas <i>Pictures of Home: Regional Perspectives into the Neolithic Building Technology of Northern Greece</i>	167
12 - Tomáš Alušík <i>Communities Interaction and (intended) Land Use in Neolithic Greece: the Testimony of the Defensive Architecture</i>	187
13 - Katerina Psimogiannou <i>Fluid Landscapes, Bonded People? The Role of Burial Areas as Places for Interaction, Exchange and Deposition during the Final Neolithic Period in Central and Southern Greece</i>	199
Part II: Landscape Dynamics and Subsistence Strategies	
14 - Evita Kalogiropoulou <i>Islands out of the Mainstream: Landscapes of Action, Settlements and Social Identities in the Neolithic Aegean</i>	218
15 - Žarko Tankosić and Markos Katsianis <i>Cycladic or Mainland? The Prehistoric Landscapes of Southern Euboea</i>	234
16 - Georgia Stratouli and Odysseas Metaxas <i>Human – Landscape Interaction in Neolithic Kephallonia, West Greece: the Dynamic Role of Drakaina Cave within an Insular Environment</i>	247
17 - Julien Beck, Dimitris Sakellariou, and Despina Koutsoumba <i>Submerged Neolithic Landscapes off Franchthi Cave: the Measurements from the Terra Submersa Expedition and their Implications</i>	261
18 - Georgia Koromila, Panagiotis Karkanis, Georgia Kotzamani, Kerry Harris, Yannis Hamilakis, and Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika <i>Humans, Animals, and the Landscape in Neolithic Koutroulou Magoula, Central Greece: an approach through micromorphology and plant remains in dung</i>	269
19 - William Cavanagh, Josette Renard, Amy Bogaard, Armelle Gardeisen, Jean Cantuel, Petra Vaiglova, and Charlotte Diffey <i>Farming Strategies at Kouphovouno, Lakonia, in the MN-LN periods</i>	281

20 - George Kazantzis	
<i>Animal Husbandry and the Use of Space in the Greek Sector of the Late Neolithic Settlement of Promachon-Topolnica</i>	292

Part III: Interactions and Material Perspectives

21 - Nikos Efstratiou	
<i>Social Interaction in the Farming Communities of Neolithic Greece: Archaeological Perceptions</i>	319
22 - Dushka Urem-Kotsou, Anastasia Dimoula, Gazmed Elezi, Trisevgeni Papadakou, Anna Papaioannou, Niki Saridaki, Ioanna Siamidou, Teresa Silva, Eirini Tzemopoulou, and Kostas Kotsakis	
<i>Patterns in Contemporaneous Ceramic Traditions: Inter-Regional Relations between Thessaly and Macedonia during the Early and Middle Neolithic</i>	324
23 - Areti Pentedeka	
<i>Pottery Exchange Networks under the Microscope: the case of Neolithic Thessaly</i>	339
24 - Vagia Mastrogiannopoulou	
<i>The Discovery of Painted Pottery in Caves: an Interpretation in the Case of Sarakenos Cave (Kopais, Boeotia)</i>	353
25 - Lily Bonga	
<i>Thoughts on the Preliminary Study of Early Neolithic Decorated Pottery from the Central Origma at Mavropigi-Filotsairi</i>	374
26 - David Michael Smith	
<i>Emergent Networks and Socio-Cultural Change in Final Neolithic Southern Greece</i>	388
27 - Eva Alram-Stern	
<i>Ritual and Interaction during the Final Neolithic Period: the example of Aegina-Kolonna</i> ...	399
28 - Tasos Bekiaris, Christos Stergiou, and Stella Theodoridou	
<i>Making Choices in a Neolithic Landscape: Raw Materials and Ground Stone Technology in Neolithic Avgi, Northwest Greece</i>	415
29 - Odysseas Kakavakis	
<i>Chipped Stone Aspects of the Interaction among Neolithic Communities of Northern Greece</i>	434
30 - Lilian Dogiama	
<i>Casting A Wide Network: Preliminary Results from the Early Neolithic Chipped Stone Assemblage from Revenia, Pieria (Greece)</i>	446

Color Plates	465
---------------------------	-----

Ritual and Interaction During the Final Neolithic Period: The Example of Aegina-Kolonna

Eva Alram-Stern

Abstract

This paper deals with the figurines of one of the earliest settlement phases of Aegina-Kolonna dating to the period of the Attica-Kephala Culture (first part of fourth millennium B.C.). The most important component is an assemblage of 18 figurines found in a stone-lined pit, which has been interpreted as a communal deposit. While six complete figurines and six fragments of figurines were deposited loosely in the pit, six complete figurines were set into four miniature bowls. Four of these were arranged in pairs, each having the same appearance and therefore interpreted as representations of pairs of individuals of the same sex/function. The miniature bowls could represent separate social spaces, although the figurines also must have been related to each other. Nine of the figurines are identified as males, partly based on their pointed, removable caps. All in all, this complex seems to have been a special arrangement for a special purpose. Most of the figurines in this complex are of local character, demonstrating cultural diversity during the Final Neolithic period. On the other hand, various other figurines from Kolonna have parallels at other Aegean sites, indicating interaction over long distances, a point which has already been argued on the basis of other finds of the Final Neolithic period.

Keywords

figurines, ritual, Final Neolithic, Aegean, interaction

The site of Kolonna on the island of Aegina is well known for its Early Helladic (EH) and Middle Helladic (MH) settlement, which was one of the major centers in the Bronze Age Aegean (Felten 2007; Walter and Felten 1981). However, according to partly stratified finds, Aegina-Kolonna was already settled from the Neolithic period onwards. Various contexts show that substantial leveling, as well as building activities, are to be attributed to the Attica-Kephala Culture of the Final Neolithic (FN) period (Alram-

Stern 1996:219–220).

In general, the FN sequence is still little understood. Chronologically, a new collection of ^{14}C data by Zoï Tsirtsoni (2014) should help us assign the Attica-Kephala Culture to the early part of the fourth millennium B.C. In Kolonna, two major contexts of the Attica-Kephala Culture contained figurines, one with 18 figurines deposited inside an FN house situated under the MH House 8, and another one consisting of four figurines from an area with a hearth situated under the MH House 1. Additional figurines deriving from mixed contexts can be attributed to the FN period by their dated parallels (Figure 1).

The Context of the Figurines in the Pit under House 8

Special interest should be focused on the deposit of 12 intact and 6 partially preserved figurines that were excavated under the MH House 8, Room C of the Innenstadt (Figure 2; Felten 2003:19). The figurines were deposited in a stone-lined pit that was set into the interior of a house close to a wall (Felten and Hiller 1996:64–76). The pit, which was 28 cm deep, contained FN pottery fragments, many of which have a red pattern-burnished surface, and lug handles characteristic of the Attica-Kephala Culture (Lydia Berger, personal communication 2013).

On the bottom of the pit, six intact figurines were found inside four miniature bowls (Figures 3–10):¹ two figurines were set separately into two bowls, while the four other figurines were placed into two bowls in pairs. Concerning their connection with miniature bowls, one of the figurines that was identified securely as a male was set into a complete bowl. This bowl still shows the foot impressions of the figurine; therefore, it must have been produced originally to contain it. An oblong figurine, which according to its breasts is to be recognized as female, was also set separately into a half-preserved bowl. The two pairs of figurines were asexual, mostly schematic, and were placed in bowls that were already



Figure 1. Location of the Final Neolithic figurines in the Innenstadt of Aegina-Kolonna.

deposited as fragments. The bottom of the interior of a broken bowl, which contained a pair of intact figurines made without heads, was covered with a thick white lime paste. The depressions of the figurines were still visible in this paste, such that the figurines must have been intentionally glued into the bowl. The second fragmented bowl contained two intact, short cruciform figurines with flattened heads.

The rest of the figurines were deposited into the fill of the pit at a higher level, after the deposition of the six figurines in the miniature bowls. Six of these were intact, and six were fragments. As for the complete figurines, we do not know if they were deposited in an upright position or laid down in a certain position. As for the fragments—three torsos, two heads, and at least two separate caps—we should argue that they were thrown into the pit as fragments. We cannot say if their deposition as fragments should be seen in connection with an intentional breakage of the figurines (Chapman 2000:72–74), or if they were thrown into the pit when they fell out of use (Perlès 2001:263). In any case, we should also consider whether these fragments, heads, and torsos, were deliberately selected and therefore had a special meaning.

The Figurines, Their Sex, and Their Social Roles

During recent years, publications of figurines from the Aegean and the Balkans have concentrated on gender studies and observations concerning their role as individuals (Bailey 1994a, 2013). Generally, it is argued that female figurines outnumber male figurines in the Aegean. Furthermore, a widespread class comprises asexual figurines (Bailey 2013:247–248; Marangou 2009; Mina 2007). At the same time, figurines, being an interpretation of reality created by and for the society, must have followed the politics of representation (Bailey 2013:245–246).

In this sense, the variation of types united in this context is most remarkable. Starting with the figurines from the bowls, there is a half-reclining male figurine characterized by a most simplified appearance, with the face featuring only a clearly projecting nose, and the sex indicated by the penis (Figure 3). Such a selection of details must have had meaning to the users of the figurines. In this context, the indication of the sex is outstanding, although another figurine in the fill of the pit has a quite similar shaping of the penis. Another



Figure 2. The Final Neolithic houses and the stone-lined pit below House 8.

most distinctive feature is the removable pointed cap. Two similar heads with projecting noses and removable caps were found in the higher part of the pit. As a matter of fact, removable caps were unknown in the Aegean until now; the only figurine with a removable cap known to me is a female figurine from Šuplevec (Hansen 2007:Figure 172). Another figurine with a removable cap was found in the Troas (Schliemann 1881:746).

The female figurine from the second bowl is cruciform, the face even more schematic, and the breasts are just slightly indicated. In contrast to the male figurine, the head is flattened (Figure 4).

Most interesting are the two pairs of figurines of asexual type, which were decorated with red paint on a white slip. To my knowledge, with the exception

of the pairs of figurines with uncertain excavation context from Sfakiovouni (Spyropoulos 1991), pairs of figurines are unknown in the Aegean.

The pair that was glued into the bowl is characterized by its schematic cruciform appearance without any indication of a head (Figure 5). Two similar figurines were found in this assemblage around the hearth in House 1. However, one of these was provided with a removable pointed cap (Figure 11). Another cap should probably be connected with the second headless figurine that was found in the same context. Therefore, these figurines could change their appearance via their caps as temporary clothing. Since caps also were found in the fill of the pit under House 8,

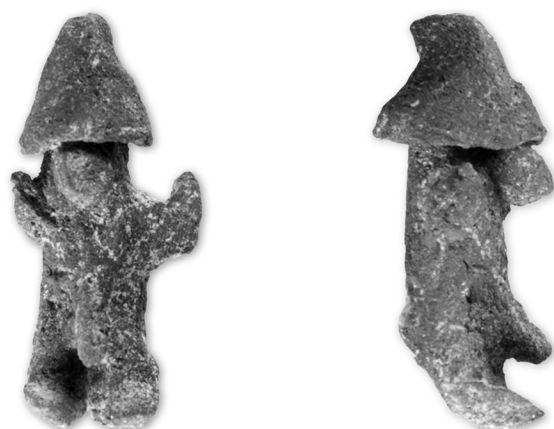


Figure 3. Male figurine with removable pointed cap (MA 6511) from the pit below House 8.



Figure 4. Oblong female figurine (MA 6510) from the pit below House 8.

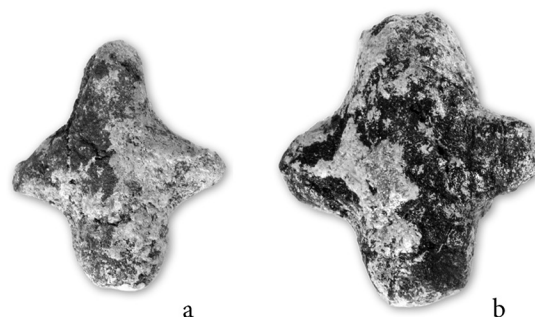


Figure 5. Two asexual, headless figurines from the pit below House 8: (a) MA 6508; (b) MA 6509.



Figure 6. Two asexual figurines with flat heads from the pit below House 8: (a) MA 6506; (b) MA 6507.

the same should be argued for these figurines. The caps most probably functioned as part of the dress by expressing social identity (Mina 2007:278) and, therefore, were distinct cultural markers (Talalay 2000:8). At the same time, the appearance as well as the function of these figurines could be changed by putting the cap on and off. Although we should also keep in mind that headgear was not necessarily confined to gendered figurines or to a specific

gender (Stratos Nanoglou, personal communication 2015), I would like to argue that that these asexual figurines could actually depict male figurines when wearing their caps. My interpretation is based on the male figurine with the removable cap from the pit (see Figure 3). Furthermore, my proposal to identify these figurines as being gendered by their headgear as males is supported by a small sample of male figurines with pointed heads, which, according to the Aegina sample, probably does not show their hairstyle but rather their headdress. There is another male figurine with a pointed headdress from the fill of the pit at Kolonna (Figure 12), as well as the entirely preserved male figurines with pointed heads from FN contexts



5 cm

Figure 7. Male figurine with a removable pointed cap (MA 6511) in a miniature bowl (MA 6030) from the pit below House 8.



5 cm

Figure 9. Fragmented miniature bowl (MA 6031) that was found with a female figurine (MA 6510).



5 cm

Figure 8. Two asexual figurines (MA 6508 and 6509) in a fragmented miniature bowl (MA 6029) from the pit below House 8.



5 cm

Figure 10. Fragmented miniature bowl (MA 6028) that was found with two asexual figurines with flat heads (MA 6506 and 6507).

in Kephala, Kea (Coleman 1977:80 [No. 160]) and Zerelia, Thessaly (Wace and Thompson 1912:Figure 110). Therefore, the caps could allow a sex designation to be given to the pair of asexual figurines glued into the bowl, with their gender moving from asexual to male (Bailey 1994b:221; Talalay 2000:9) when putting on the cap. At the same time, their social role was changing. Concerning the appearance of the figurines

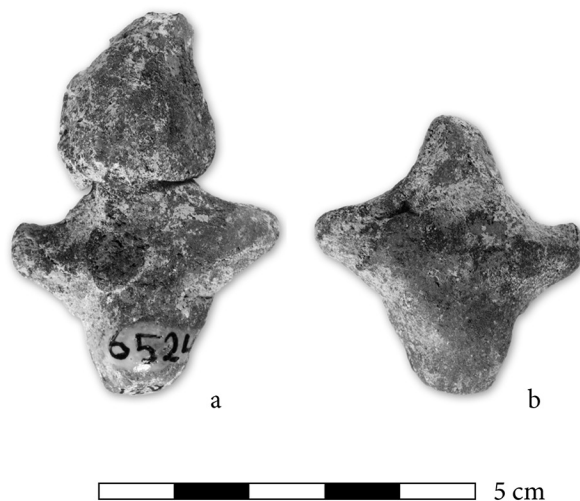


Figure 11. Cruciform figurine with pointed cap (MA 6524) from the hearth area below House 1: (a) with cap; (b) without cap.



Figure 12. Male figurine with pointed, non-removable cap (MA 6512) from the fill of the pit below House 8

without heads, we have to consider that the absence of heads could point to the existence of heads of different material, as is known for acrolithic figurines in Late Neolithic (LN) Thessaly (Nanoglou 2016). These figurines could have been provided with heads or headgear of perishable material, as has been suggested for the Hamangia figurines (Bailey 2005:64).

The second pair of figurines is also cruciform and asexual, but were provided with heads (Figure 6). Although asexual, I would like to suggest that they be thought of as female: their slightly curved appearance, which is comparable to the female figurine from this context, could indicate breasts. Furthermore, the flattening of the head, which is similar to that of the single female figurine in the bowl discussed above, stands in contrast to the male figurines, and FN female figurines also are quite often provided with a flat head (e.g. Spyropoulos 1991).

The figurines in each pair are connected to each other by their similar appearance. Based on this, I would suggest that each pair consisted of figurines of identical sex and/or function. It should be noted that both pairs consist of a taller and a smaller figurine. Therefore, they may display pairs of different age or importance connected by a relationship such as mother/daughter–father/son, or older/younger brother/cousin–older/younger sister/cousin, and therefore could reflect relations of age or power within a family (Bailey 2005:85–86; Mina 2007:280). However, they could also represent older/younger or more/less important persons related to each other by their activity or function in the community, and therefore could have played a certain economic or social role. Furthermore, it must be noted that their shape and schematization is in strong contrast to the figurines found in their bowls as singles.

The figurines from the upper fill of the pit again included four secure and two possible male figurines, one of them with a pointed, although non-removable cap (Figure 12), a male figurine with perforated ears and hand (Figure 13), and two lower bodies of male figurines along with heads with removable pointed caps possibly belonging to male figurines (Figure 14). In contrast, just five figurines had no indication of sex (Figure 15). Although asexual, I am inclined to add one of these with a pointed head to the number of male figurines.

The Figurines from Kolonna: Local Character and External Connections

Although similarities to other figurines from southern Greek sites exist, the figurines from the context below House 8 are unique and local in terms

of their style. Their local production is seen in their clay, which belongs to macroscopic groups 1 and 2 as defined by Gauss and Kiriati (2011:47–50), many of them being characterized by gold mica. Furthermore, some of the figurines show highly abraded red paint on a thick white slip, which points to their originally colorful appearance (Figures 5, 15d, and 16). Red paint has also been reported from figurines from Franchthi Cave (Talalay 1993:21–23, 90–91, FC4, FC112), and was therefore one of the surface treatments used on figurines in southern Greece.

The local production of the figurines fits their unique character. Especially for the male figurines, the shaping of the nose, in combination with the presentation of the penis and the removable pointed caps, are traits that are not reported from any other Neolithic site in the Aegean.

All in all, the schematic, asexual or sexualized figurines seem to belong to the most widely distributed types of the LN and FN periods in the Aegean, and they are even known in Western Anatolia (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012a:221, Figure 3). Several similar, slightly flattened figurines come from Kephala, Kea (Coleman 1977:90 [No. 198], Plate 72), Leontari Cave, Attica (Karali et al. 2006:38–39, Figure 8), the Kitsos Cave/Attica (Vialou 1981:395–396, Figure 254), Corinth (Phelps 1987:248 [No. 30], Plate 39) and several sites in Thessaly (Gallis and Orphanidis 1996:394–395, Nos. 343–344; Tsountas 2000 [1908]:297–300, Figure 225, Plates 35.6–35.7 and 36.6; Wace and Thompson 1912:41, 50, Figure 26n;

Weisshaar 1989:49–50, Plates 66.6, 66.8, 66.9, 82.24, and 82.26). A more naturalistic version has been found in Sfakiovouni (Spyropoulos 1991). In contrast, short cruciform figurines similar to the ones from Kolonna are unknown in the Aegean. Only one male figurine from Kephala has generally similar resemblances (Coleman 1977:80 [No. 160]).

However, there are also figurines that show more wide-ranging connections. These include a male figurine from the pit under House 8 that compares well with figurines characterized by perforated ears and a perforation on one arm (Figure 13). Figurines of clay with multiple perforations in their ears and/or arms are known from the Cyclades from Kephala (Coleman 1977:68 [No. 128]) and Ftelia, Mykonos (Orphanidis 2002:142, Figure 148), Sarakenos Cave, Boeotia (Orphanidis 2008:403 [No. 4]), Corycean

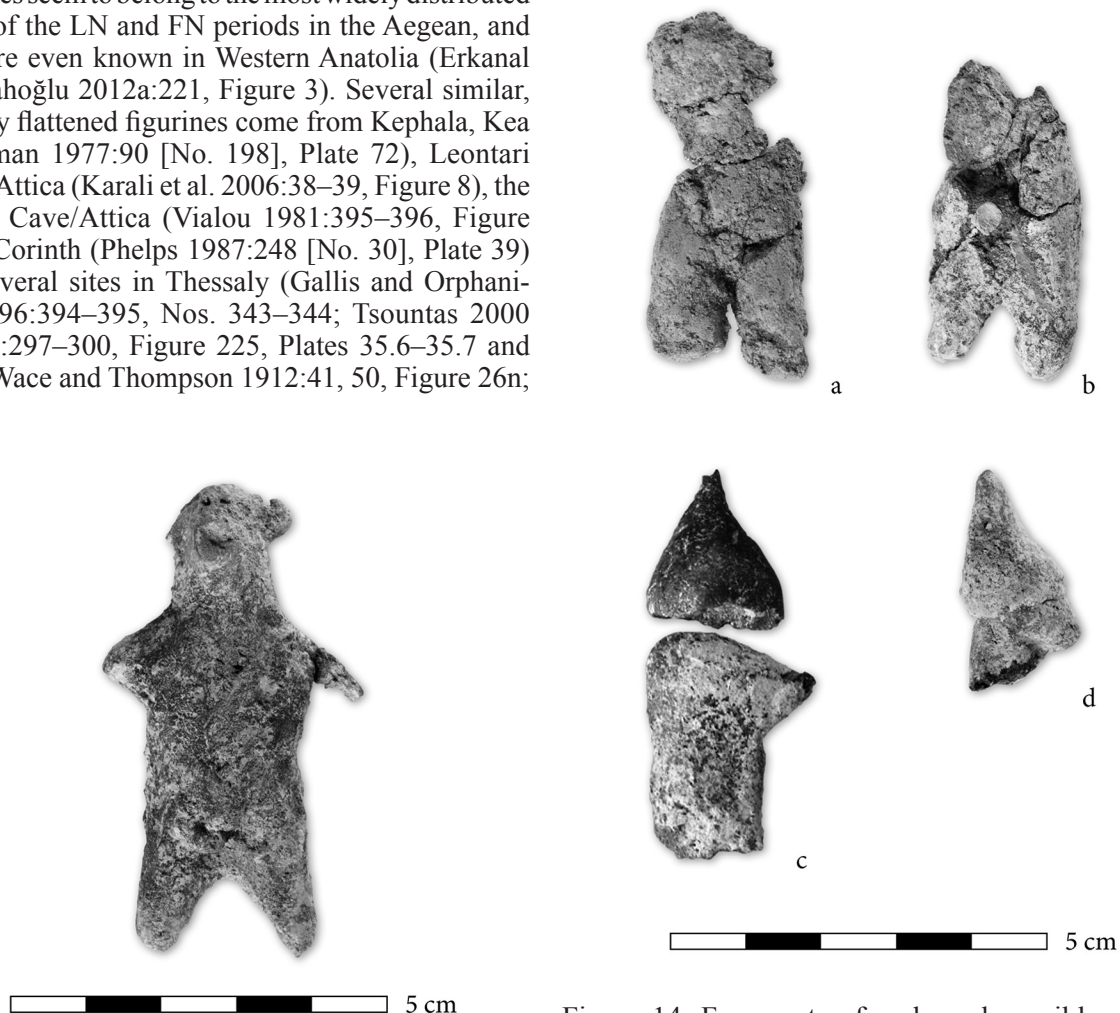


Figure 13. Male figurine with perforated ears and arm (MA 6515) from the fill of the pit below House 8.

Figure 14. Fragments of male and possibly male figurines from the fill of the pit below House 8: (a) MA 6519; (b) MA 6517; (c) MA 6523, cap and head; (d) MA 6520.

Cave, Phokis (Touchais et al. 1981:243 [No. 420]), Theopetra Cave, Thessaly (Kyparissi-Apostolika 2000:199 [No. 2], Figure 14.14.2), as well as from Dikili Tash (Papadimitriou and Tsirtsoni 2010:115 [No. 13]) and Sitagroi (Gimbutas 1986:295–296, Nos. 130 and 137) in eastern Macedonia. But these are singular finds having their origin in figurines of clay and bone from various regions of the Balkans. In these regions, they are characterized by multiple perforations (e.g. Hansen 2007:Plates 254–255 from Divostin; Plates 300–314 from Rast; Plate 370 from Karanovo VI; Plate 385 from Ruse; Plates 420–424 from Căscioarele; Plates 428–429 from Gumelnița; Figure 136 and Plate 409.2 from Pietrele) or isolated perforations (e.g. Hansen 2007:Plate 143.1 from

Zelenikovo; Plate 146 from Porodin; Plate 170.2 from Veselinovo). According to finds from Romania, these perforations originally served for attaching gold wires and beads, i.e. jewelry (Hansen 2007:236–237, Figure 136 and Plate 409.2 from Pietrele).

A fragment from the hearth under House 1 is possibly part of a two- or three-headed composite figurine (Figure 16), which are known from the middle Rachmani stratum of Pefkakia Magoula (Weisschaar 1989:201, Plates 66.18 and XVII.7) and Rachmani in Thessaly (Wace and Thompson 1912:52, Figure 28), but also from Parța in Romania (Hansen 2007:211, 214, Figure 107). In general, many FN figurines demonstrate a greater emphasis on heads than in previous periods (Nanoglou 2005:150–151) as well as a process



Figure 15. Asexual figurines from the fill of the pit below House 8: (a) MA 6513; (b) MA 6518; (c) MA 6514; (d) MA 6516; (e) MA 6522.

of assembling figurines (Nanoglou 2015:54, 2016).

Apart from these two figurines, there are several others from less clear contexts that have parallels in the Aegean. These include a pregnant female figurine with a most detailed representation of its belly and an incision that most probably indicated the vulva (Figure 17). This attitude has been interpreted by Bailey (1994b:223) as a gesture of sexual insult. It is unique in southern Greece, but it compares well with a figurine from Vassilika in Macedonia (Papathanassopoulos 1996:295 [No. 195]) and another from Căscioarele in Romania (Hansen 2007:Plate 415.1).

A female figurine with a schematic flat body and head, pellets as breasts, stumpy arms, and undivided legs seems to have its origin in the earlier LN phases (Figure 18), as can be seen by comparison with finds from Saliagos (Evans and Renfrew 1968:63–64, Figure 77.1) and Ftelia (Orphanidis 2002:121, Figure 131

[A4L5], Plate 23.1 [left]). This type is widespread, and a variety of such flat figurines of FN date are known from Franchthi Cave (Talalay 1993:21–23 [90 FC4, 91 FC112], Table 5 Group I), Alepotrypa Cave (Papathanassopoulos 2011:225 [No. 177], 226 [No. 179]) and Kephala (Coleman 1977:90 [Nos. 196–198], Plate 72), but also from as far away as Thessaly (Papathanassopoulos 1996:214 [No. 10]; Gallis and Orphanidis 1996:392 [No. 341]), Thermi B, Macedonia (Marangou 1990:Plate 2.1), and Bakla Tepe in Western Anatolia (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012b:93, Figure 2).

An asexual, flat, amorphous figurine of coarse clay, which was a stray find, is characterized by a narrower upper part with a rounded top and a broad oval lower body separated from the upper part by a notch at each side of the figurine (Figure 19). This stray find has a parallel at Strofilas (Andros) and is also depicted in the rock art of Plaka (Televantou 2016:43, 47–48, Figures 9 and 15). Another similar figurine comes from Emporio (Chios) period VII (Hood 1981:629 [No. 15], Figure 285, Plate 131).

It is probably not by chance that the contour of the figurine also recalls the so-called “ring idols” that were made of gold in the Balkans and produced of other materials in the Aegean (Mehofer 2014:470–472, 488–490, Figure 6). According to their depictions on rock art at Strofilas (Televantou 2008:49–50, Figures 6 and 10), as well as on Dimini bowls (Demakopoulou 1998:68, Figures 75–76) and on pottery from Franchthi (Vitelli 1999:Figure 64), their symbolism must have been understood by the local people, and the same has to be suspected for the figurines.



Figure 16. Fragment of a composite figurine (MA 6525) from the hearth area below House 1.

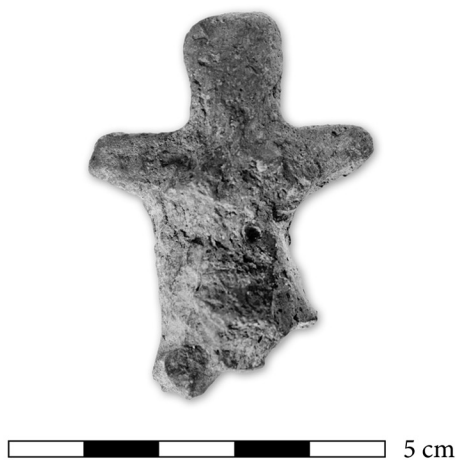


Figure 17. Pregnant female figurine. (Excavations of Kolonna Inventory Number ST875, stray find.)



Figure 18. Flat female figurine (MA 695) from excavations by G. Welter.



5 cm

Figure 19. Abstract figurine. (Excavations of Kolonna Inventory Number 629, stray find.)

In summary, the majority of the figurines from Kolonna show similarities in shape with parallels from other southern Greek sites. Based on such analogies, inter-site relations have been deduced for northern Greece (Nanoglou 2006), and the same can be argued for southern Greece. At the same time, differences in shape point to a local tradition of figurine production. A similar local character can be seen in other places in southern Greece, such as Sfakouvouni in Arcadia and Kephala on Kea, pointing to cultural diversity during the FN period.

On the other hand, there are also figurine types at Kolonna that have parallels in other regions of the Aegean, but based on an analysis of their clay, they are not imports and must have been produced at Kolonna (Figure 20). Furthermore, in some cases, such as the multi-headed figurine and the abstract figurine, the idea behind the figurine must also have been introduced to the island. Therefore, these types

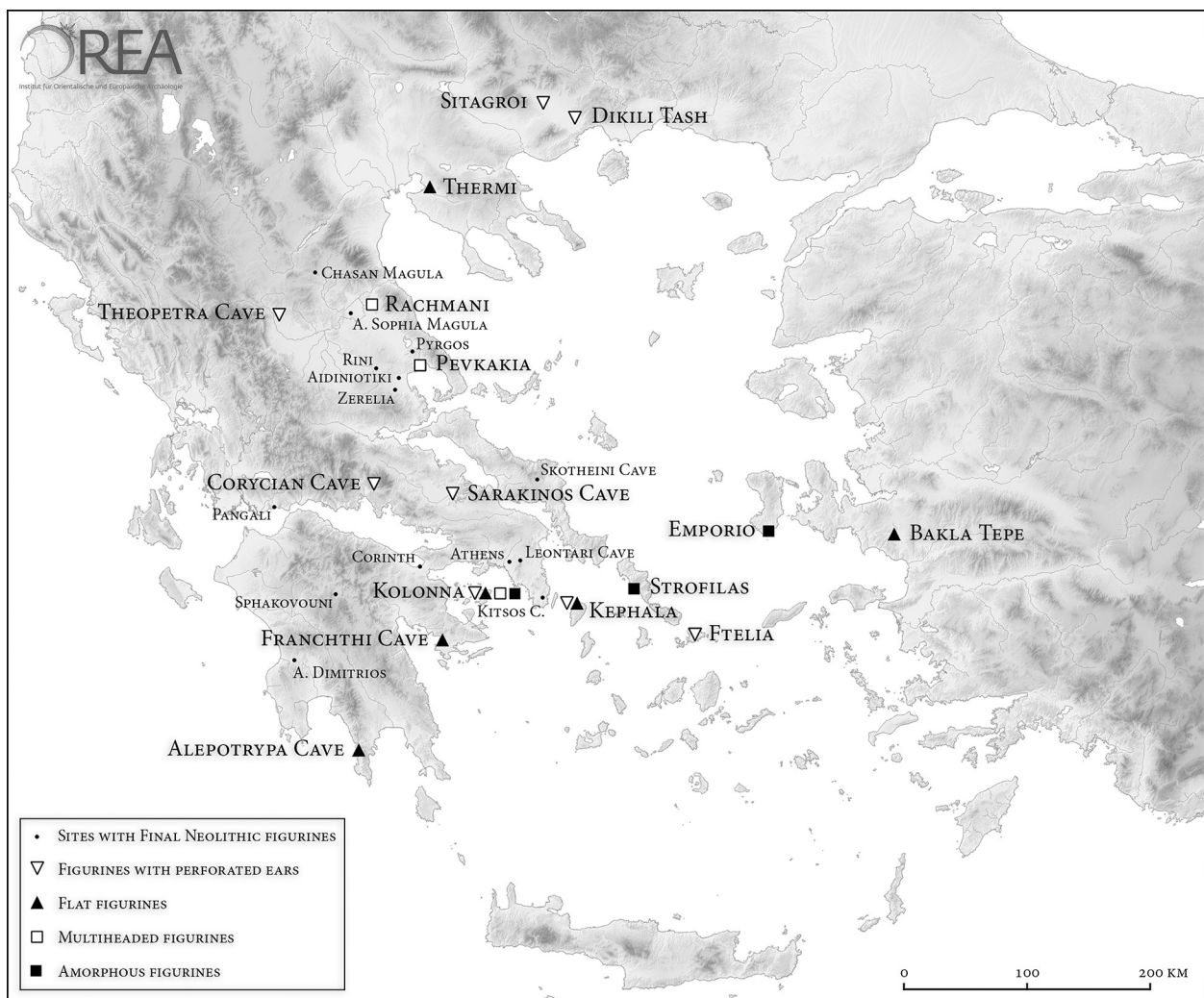


Figure 20. Distribution of figurines with parallels at Kolonna, showing the site's external connections

of figurines must have been introduced to the site via its external contacts and therefore indicate interaction over long distances, especially in metallurgy and metal finds (Mehofer 2014; Pernicka 2014). Most probably, ideas and shapes were transferred by persons: possibly itinerants or women exchanged as brides (Talalay 2000:4).

The Miniature Bowls and Their Use

Of special interest are the miniature bowls from the pit that contained six of the figurines (Figures 7–10). For the LN and FN such miniature bowls are well known all over Greece, in Thessaly (e.g. Weisshaar 1989:36–37, Plate 117 [Types 114–115]) and in southern Greece (Vitelli 1999:78, Figures 58a–58e, 59a, 60a), where they have been found in settlements, caves, and burial contexts (Marangou 1992:245–246). As at Kolonna, the quality of their surface treatments varies to a great degree, from unfinished surfaces with the details of shaping still visible to slipped and well-burnished surfaces. The four bowls from Kolonna have either vertical or oblique walls, with simple rounded rims or indentations made with fingertips. These details correspond to normal-sized vessels (e.g. Vitelli 1999:270, Figures 62a–62d; Zachos 2008:28–29, Figures 15–17).

None of these analogies, however, gives any evidence as to the primary use of the figurines. Another context with both figurines and miniature bowls comes from Rachmani, House Q (Wace and Thompson 1912:43, 49, 52–53, Figures 25 and 28). Such a combination of miniature bowls with figurines could be seen as a feature connecting Thessaly with the Balkans. At Chalcolithic sites in Bulgaria, miniature bowls occur together with figurines and various other miniatures in settlement contexts like Ovčarovo (Hansen 2007:Plate 325) or Gradešnica (Nikolov 1970), and these have been interpreted as “cult-scenes” (Marangou 1992:219–22, 1996:180). However, since in all these cases miniature bowls were placed beside the figurines, they were most probably understood as containers for foodstuff or other goods and were connected to the figurines by ritual only.

At Kolonna, by contrast, one figurine was placed within a complete bowl, which seems to have been produced for this purpose. All the other bowls most probably were used previously as intact vessels, and therefore their intended use changed by their reuse as fragments.

Figurines set into bowls are rare: analogous finds with figurines set into larger vessels come from the Cucuteni culture at Ghelăiești (Cucoș 1973; Marangou

1996:188). Further containers connected with figurines are open house models, like the house models of Platia Magoula Zarkou (Gallis 1985), Ghelăiești (Bailey 2010:120, Figure 5-5; Marangou 1996:188), and Kissonerga-Masphilia on Cyprus (Bolger 1992). Thus the house models containing figurines could represent miniatures of the domus as the social space for groups of Neolithic people (Bailey 2013:255; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997:100; Souvatzis and Skafida 2003). Based on these figurines in house models, we could argue that the miniature bowls from Aegina actually also were understood in a similar way as miniatures of built space.

The Deposit in the Pit below House 8: Analogies and Interpretation

To summarize the stages of construction and deposit of the pit below House 8, the stone-lined pit itself was dug inside the house, and since no earlier buildings were present, the pit was probably laid out either as a foundation deposit during the course of the house’s construction or while the house was in use. The assemblage of Kolonna was deposited in two stages: first the figurines in the pots, then the complete and fragmented figurines.

Details in the production and deposition of the figurines in the miniature bowls are also interesting. The figurines themselves were shaped by a few movements, using the fingers and fingertips to obtain exactly the desired shape. All the figurines were fired at low temperatures. As can be seen by the foot impressions in the bowl, at least one of the miniature bowls was shaped while taking into account the position of the figurine that would be put into the bowl. Apparently, both were also made of the same clay and had a similar low firing temperature, so that they even may have been produced in a single working process (Figure 14). Therefore, we can retrace at least a part of the production sequence for the special purpose of this deposit. Furthermore, at least two of the figurines were attached within a fragmented miniature bowl using a limy material as cement (Figure 15). The surface of the figurines is not well preserved; this may be due to the fact that the red paint did not adhere well to the clay, but it could also be an indication of the use of the figurines. All in all, this means that this whole was produced and brought together as an unusual arrangement for a special purpose. This fact supports the hypothesis by Nanoglou (2015:51) regarding the focus on action and on bringing the figurines together for a particular purpose.

After having laid down the deposit, it was most probably covered by the floor of the house and hence

sealed. In this sense, after having been covered, the assemblage was most probably no longer visible to the inhabitants of the house. This suggests that the figurines were brought together for a particular ritual, and in consequence were hidden (Nanoglou 2015:51). The context of the house model of Platia Magoula Zarkou, a group of figurines from Pontokomi at Kitrini Limni Kozanis (Karamitrou-Mentesidi 2002:628) and of Kissonerga, Cyprus (Bolger 1992) argue for such an interpretation (Gallis 1985; Talalay 1993:77). Such depositions are rarely found in Neolithic Greece, but are well known in the Balkan area, where they have been interpreted as foundation deposits (Makkay 1979; Marangou 1992:225).

In regard to the figurines in the miniature bowls, these objects were separated from each other either singly or in pairs by being put into separate bowls. If each bowl is interpreted as a miniature social space, the figurines can be seen as representing miniature actors, i.e. persons or individuals (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008; Meskell 2001), each with its own space. This stands in contrast with the figurines that were set in larger groups in bowls or with the house models mentioned above.

On the other hand, these six figurines were interconnected by their deposition at the bottom of the pit. Furthermore, they were associated with the other figurines found loose in the pit. Therefore, I would argue that the figurines in the pit represented individuals related to each other, the figurines in the bowls being of primary importance. In this sense—as Nanoglou (2015:51) has pointed out—the grouping of these figurines was meaningful. Each bowl contained figurines with different appearances, pointing to their different position or function in society. Furthermore, the comparatively large number of figurines from the pit argues for a communal act of deposition (Chapman 2000:111–112; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997:103; Marangou 1996:179).

Counting the number of male figurines, the pit contained five secure males and one possible male, as well as two figurines that could be convertible to males. Only one figurine was securely female, two were probably female, and five figurines were asexual. The same emphasis is seen in the assemblage around the hearth under House 1, where three figurines were probably male and none were female. Therefore, the contexts from Kolonna stand in contrast to the evidence from other sites in the Aegean, where female figurines dominate the material (Mina 2007:268–272), a fact which Bailey (1994a:222–225) explained as relating to the role of women in the household. The dominance of male figurines in Kolonna could be due to a specific ritual.

Comparing the number of male, female, and asexual figurines with the figurines in the house model of Platia Magoula Zarkou, however, we see that the house model also contained figurines of both sexes—as well as of different ages—most probably representing members of a household and therefore a family (Gallis 2001; Nanoglou 2005:148). In contrast to the house model, the Kolonna deposit contains an even higher number of male and asexual figurines, which must be connected with the social roles and functions of the individuals depicted in this deposit. This becomes especially apparent if we consider the presence of the two figurines with an outstanding presentation of the penis, as well as the emphasis that was put on the headgear of the male figurines.

If we consider the number of figurines and their mostly local character, I suggest that most of the figurines from this context actually were shaped to represent the generic inhabitants of the village of Aegina. The only exception is the figurine with perforated ears, which may point to the presence of a different, “exotic” individual.

In any case, the social roles of the individuals represented in these figurines were most probably connected with the purpose of the house that was associated with the deposit. Unlike in other contexts (Nanoglou 2009), females did not play a major role in this house; therefore, we must consider a special use for this house that warranted this ritual action.

Conclusions

Although several figurines from Kolonna have parallels with figurines from other sites in the Aegean and the Balkans, the pit deposit below House 8 is characterized by figurines with features that are unknown at other sites. Otherwise, although also unique in its composition, it can be compared with deposits known from the Balkans, as well as the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, it should be argued that such arrangements of the figurines excavated up until now in this large geographical area were arranged, if not produced, for the purpose of certain ritual acts on various special occasions; however, they are to be interpreted separately from each other.

Acknowledgements.

The figurines have been entrusted to me for publication by Florens Felten, at the time head of the Austrian Excavations of Kolonna, and his wife Vasso Felten (Institute of Classical Archaeology, University of Salzburg). Lydia Berger and Melissa Vettters were

of indispensable help to my work in the storerooms at Kolonna. The digitization of the drawings and the adaption of the photographs for publication have been carried out by Mario Börner and Marion Frauenglas. The text was edited by Roderick B. Salisbury. I would like to thank Stratos Nanoglou for discussing the evidence, as well as for providing me with literature. I would also like to thank Areti Pentedeka for discussing technological aspects and Christoph Schwall for providing me with comparative material from the eastern Aegean area.

Notes

¹In the figure captions, “Museum of Aegina, Inventory Number” is abbreviated as “MA.”

References Cited

- Afram-Stern, Eva
1996 *Die Ägäische Frühzeit: Serie 2, Forschungsbericht 1975–1993, Band 1, Das Neolithikum in Griechenland, mit Ausnahme von Kreta und Zypern*. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Bailey, Douglass W.
1994a Reading Prehistoric Figurines as Individuals. *World Archaeology* 25:321–331.
1994b The Representation of Gender: Homology or Propaganda. *Journal of European Archaeology* 2:215–228.
2005 *Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*. Routledge, London.
2010 The Figurines of Old Europe. In *The Lost World of Old Europe: The Danube Valley, 5000–3500 BC*, edited by David W. Anthony, pp. 113–127. The Institute for the Study of the Ancient World. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
2013 Figurines, Corporeality, and the Origins of the Gendered Body. In *A Companion to Gender Prehistory*, edited by Diane Bolger, pp. 244–264. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester, UK.
- Bolger, Diane L.
1992 The Archaeology of Fertility and Birth: A Ritual Deposit from Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48:145–164.
- Chapman, John
2000 *Fragmentation in Archaeology: People, Places and Broken Objects in the Prehistory of South Eastern Europe*. Routledge, London.
- Coleman, John E.
1977 *Keos I, Kephala: A Late Neolithic Settlement and Cemetery*. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton.
- Cucoş, Ştephan
1973 Un complex ritual Cucutenian Descoperit la Ghelăieşti (Jud. Neamţ). *Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche* 2(24):207–215.
- Demakopoulou, Katie
1998 *Κοσμήματα της Ελληνικής Προϊστορίας: Ο Νεολιθικός Θησαυρός*. Archaeological Receipts Fund, Athens.
- Erkanal, Hayat, and Vasif Şahoğlu
2012a Liman Tepe (1992–). In *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi 75. DTCTF Yıl Armağanı. Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları (1936–2011)*, edited by Orhan Bingöl, Aliye Öztan, and Harun Taşkıran, pp. 219–230. Ani, Armağan Serisi Supplement 3.2. Ankara University, Ankara.
2012b Bakla Tepe (1995–2001). In *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi 75. DTCTF Yıl Armağanı. Arkeoloji Bölümü Tarihçesi ve Kazıları (1936–2011)*, edited by Orhan Bingöl, Aliye Öztan, and Harun Taşkıran, pp. 91–98. Ani, Armağan Serisi Supplement 3.2. Ankara University, Ankara.
- Evans, John D., and Colin Renfrew
1968 *Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos*. The Annual of the British School at Athens Supplement 5. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Felten, Florens
2003 Νέες Ανασκαφές στην Αίγινα Κολώνα. In *Πεπραγμένα του Ιου Συνεδρίου για την Ιστορία και την Αρχαιολογία του Αργοσαρωνικού, Πόρος, 26–29 June 1998*, edited by Eleni Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou, pp. 17–27. Ekdosi Demou Porou, Athens.
2007 Aegina-Kolonna: The History of a Greek Acropolis. In *Middle Helladic Pottery and Synchronisms: Proceedings of the International Workshop held at Salzburg, October 31st–November 2nd, 2004*, edited by Florens Felten, Walter Gauss, and Rudolphine Smetana, pp. 11–34. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Felten, Florens, and Stefan Hiller
1996 Ausgrabungen in der vorgeschichtlichen Innenstadt von Ägina-Kolonna (Alt- Ägina). *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien* 65:29–111.

- Gallis, Kostas
 1985 A Late Neolithic Offering from Thessaly. *Antiquity* 59:20–24.
 2001 Tracing the Relation of a Neolithic Figurine to a Specific Individual of the Neolithic Society of Thessaly (Greece). In *Lux Orientis: Archäologie zwischen Asien und Europa, Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann*, edited by Rainer M. Boehmer and Joseph Maran, pp. 139–143. Maria Leidorf, Rahden/Westfahlen.
- Gallis, Kostas, and Laia Orphanidis
 1996 *Figurines of Neolithic Thessaly*, Vol. I. Research Centre for Antiquity 3. Academy of Athens, Athens.
- Gauss, Walter, and Evangelia Kiriati
 2011 *Pottery Production and Supply at Bronze Age Kolonna, Aegina: An Integrated Archaeological and Scientific Study of a Ceramic Landscape*. Ägina–Kolonna, Forschungen und Ergebnisse V. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Gimbutas, Marija
 1986 Mythical Imagery of Sitagroi Society. In *Excavations at Sitagroi: A Prehistoric Village in Northeast Greece*, Vol. I, edited by Colin Renfrew, Marija Gimbutas, and Ernestine S. Elster, pp. 225–301. Monumenta Archaeologica 13. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Hansen, Svend
 2007 *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit. Untersuchungen zur anthropomorphen Plastik der Jungsteinzeit und Kupferzeit in Südosteuropa*. Archäologie in Eurasien 20. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz.
- Hood, Sinclair
 1981 *Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala: Excavations in Chios 1938–1955*. The Annual of the British School at Athens Supplement 15. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Karali, Lilian, Fanis Mavridis, and Lina Kormazopoulou
 2006 Σπήλαιο Λεονταρίου Υμηττού Αττικής. Ένα Πετρώδες και Ορεινό Περιβάλλον. Προκαταρκτικά Στοιχεία για την Έρευνα των ετών 2003–2005. *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 39:31–44.
- Karamitrou-Mentessidi, Georgia
 2002 Νομός Κοζάνης 2000. *The Archaeological Work of Macedonia and Thrace* 14(2000):607–635.
- Knapp, A. Bernard, and Peter van Dommelen
 2008 Past Practices: Rethinking Individuals and Agents in Archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18:15–34.
- Kokkinidou, Dimitra, and Maria Nikolaidou
 1997 Body Imagery in the Aegean Neolithic: Ideological Implications of Anthropomorphic Figurines. In *Invisible People and Processes: Writing Gender and Childhood into European Archaeology*, edited by Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, pp. 88–112. Leister University Press, London.
- Kyparissi-Apostolika, Nina
 2000 The Neolithic Period in Theopetra Cave. In *Theopetra Cave: Twelve Years of Excavation and Research 1987–1998. Proceedings of the International Conference, Trikala, 6–7 November 1998*, edited by Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika, pp. 181–234. Ministry of Culture, Athens.
- Makkay, János
 1979 Foundation Sacrifices in Neolithic Houses of the Carpathian Basin. In *The Intellectual Expressions of Prehistoric Man: Art and Religion, Acts of the Valcamonica Symposium '79*, edited by Emmanuel Anati, pp. 157–167. Edizioni del Centro and Jaco Books, Milan.
- Marangou, Christina
 1990 Τα Νεολιθικά Ειδώλια της Θέρμης Β (Ανασκαφικές Περίοδοι 1987 και 1989). In *Ανασκαφή Νεολιθικού Οικισμού Θέρμης έρμηςΒυζαντινής Εγκατάστασης τάρά τον Προϊστορικό Οικισμό Θέρμη έρμηΑνασκαφική Περίοδος 1989*. edited by Dimitrios V. Grammenos, pp. 427–442. Makedonika 28. Society for Macedonian Studies, Thessaloniki.
- 1992 Ειδώλια: Figurines et miniatures du Néolithique Récent et du Bronze Ancien en Grèce. BAR International Series 576. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- 1996 Assembling, Displaying, and Disassembling Neolithic and Eneolithic Figurines and Models. *Journal of European Archaeology* 4:177–202.
- 2009 Gendered/Sexed and Sexless Beings in Prehistory: Readings of the Invisible Gender. In *Fylo: Engendering Prehistoric “Stratigraphies” in the Aegean and the Mediterranean, Proceedings of an International Conference, University of Crete, Rethymno 2–5 June 2005*, edited by Katerina Kopaka, pp. 81–95. Aegaeum 30. Peeters, Leuven–Liège.

- Mehofer, Mathias
2014 Metallurgy during the Chalcolithic and the Beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Western Anatolia. In *Western Anatolia Before Troy: Proto-Urbanisation in the 4th Millennium BC? Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria, 21–24 November, 2012*, edited by Barbara Horejs and Mathias Mehofer, pp. 463–490. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Meskel, Lynn
2001 Archaeologies of Identity. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by Ian Hodder, pp. 187–213. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Mina, Maria
2007 Figurines without Sex: People without Gender? In *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, edited by Sue Hamilton, Ruth D. Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright, pp. 263–282. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.
- Nikolov, Bogdan
1970 L'Art Plastique des Idoles du Village de Gradešnica. *Arheologija*:56–68.
- Nanoglou, Stratos
2005 Subjectivity and Material Culture in Thessaly, Greece: The Case of Neolithic Anthropomorphic Imagery. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 15:2:141–156.
2006 Regional Perspectives on the Neolithic Anthropomorphic Imagery of Northern Greece. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19(2):155–176.
2009 Representing People, Constituting Worlds: Multiple 'Neolithics' in the Southern Balkans. *Documenta Praehistorica* 36:283–297.
2015 Situated Intentions: Providing a Framework for the Destruction of Objects in Aegean Prehistory. In *THRAVSMA: Contextualising the Intentional Destruction of Objects in the Bronze Age Aegean and Cyprus*, edited by Kate Harrell and Jan Driessen, pp. 49–59, AEGIS Actes de Colloques 9. UCL Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Leuven.
2016 The Beast with Many Heads: Assembling Bodies and the Changing History in the fifth Millennium BC. In *Communities in Transition: The Circum-Aegean Area during the 5th and 4th Millennia B.C.*, edited by Søren Dietz, Fanis Mavridis, Žarko Tankosić, and Turan Takaoğlu, Monograph of the Danish Institute at Athens. Oxbow Books, Oxford, in press.
- Orphanidis, Laia
2002 Neolithic Figurine Art from Ftelia. In *The Neolithic Settlement at Ftelia, Mykonos*, edited by Adamantios Sampson, pp. 141–145. University of the Aegean, Department of Mediterranean Studies, Rhodes.
2008 The Figurines of Sarakenos Cave at Akraephnion. In *The Sarakenos Cave at Akraephnion, Boeotia, Greece: I. The Neolithic and the Bronze Age*, edited by Adamantios Sampson, pp. 401–409. University of the Aegean and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, Athens.
- Papadimitriou, Nikos, and Zoi Tsirtsoni (editors)
2010 *Η Ελλάδα στο Ευρύτερο Πολιτισμικό Πλαίσιο των Βαλκανίων κατά την 5^η και 4^η Χιλιετία π.Χ.* Museum of Cycladic Art and Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation, Athens.
- Papathanassopoulos, Giorgos A. (editor)
1996 *Neolithic Culture in Greece*. Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens.
2011 *Το Νεολιθικό Διρό: Σπήλαιο Αλεπότρυπα*. Melissa Editions, Athens.
- Perlès, Catherine
2001 *The Early Neolithic in Greece: The First Farming Communities in Europe*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pernicka, Ernst
2014 The Development of Metallurgy in Western Anatolia, the Aegean and Southeastern Europe before Troy. In *Western Anatolia Before Troy: Proto-Urbanisation in the 4th Millennium BC? Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna, Austria, 21–24 November, 2012*, edited by Barbara Horejs and Mathias Mehofer, pp. 447–461. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Phelps, William W.
1987 Prehistoric Figurines from Corinth. *Hesperia* 56:233–253.
- Schliemann, Heinrich
1881 *Ilios, Stadt und Land der Trojaner: Forschungen und Entdeckungen in der Troas und Besonderes auf der Baustelle von Troja*. Brockhaus, Leipzig.
- Souvatzis, Stella, and Evangelia Skafida
2003 Neolithic Communities and Symbolic Meaning: Perceptions and Expressions of

- Symbolic and Social Structures at Late Neolithic Dimini, Thessaly. In *Early Symbolic Systems for Communication in Southeast Europe*, edited by Lolita Nikolova, pp. 429–441. BAR International Series 1139. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Spyropoulos, Theodoros
 1991 *Monuments Archéologiques et Musée d'Arcadie*. Tripolis Museum, Tripolis.
- Talalay, Lauren E.
 1993 Deities, Dolls, and Devices: Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece. Excavations at Franchthi Cave, Greece, Fasc. 9. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
 2000 Archaeological Ms.conceptions: Contemplating Gender and Power in the Greek Neolithic. In *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, edited by Moira Donald and Linda Hurcombe, pp. 3–16. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Televantou, Christina A.
 2008 Strofilas: A Neolithic Settlement on Andros. In *Horizon: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades, Cambridge, 25–28 March 2004*, edited by Neil Brodie, Jennifer Doole, G. Gavalas, and Colin Renfrew, pp. 43–54. McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge.
 2016 Figurines from Strofilas, Andros. In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by Marisa Marthari, Colin Renfrew, and Michael Boyd. Oxbow Books, London.
- Touchais, Gilles, Liliane-Chantal Courtois, Elefthéria Dimou, and Catherine Perlès
 1981 Le matériel néolithique. In *L'Antre Corycien*, Vol. I, pp. 95–172, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique Supplement 7. École Française d'Athènes, Athens.
- Tsirtsoni, Zoï
 2014 Formation or Transformation? The 4th mil. B.C. in the Aegean and the Balkans. In *Western Anatolia Before Troy: Proto-Urbanisation in the 4th Millennium BC? Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Vienna Austria, 21–24 November 2012*, edited by Barbara Horejs and M. Mehofer, pp. 275–304. Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna.
- Tsountas, Christos
 2000 [1908] *Αι Προϊστορικά Ακροπόλεις Διμηνίου και Σέσκλου*. The Archaeological Society at Athens, Athens.
- Vialou, Denis
 1981 Objets de Parure. In *La Grotte Préhistorique de Kitsos (Attique). Missions 1968–1978: L'Occupation Néolithique*, Vol. I, edited by Nicole Lambert, pp. 391–419. Recherche sur les Grandes Civilisations 7. École Française d'Athènes, Paris.
- Vitelli, Karen D.
 1999 *Franchthi Neolithic Pottery: 2. The Later Neolithic Ceramic Phases 3 to 5*. Excavations at Franchthi Cave, Greece, Fasc. 10. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Wace, Alan John Bayard, and Maurice Scott
 Thompson
 1912 *Prehistoric Thessaly*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Walter, Hans, and Florens Felten
 1981 *Alt-Ägina: 3.1. Die vorgeschichtliche Stadt: Befestigungen, Häuser, Funde*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz.
- Weisshaar, Hans-Joachim
 1989 *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen auf der Pevkakia-Magula in Thessalien: 1. Das Späte Neolithikum und das Chalkolithikum*. Beiträge zur ur- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie des Mittelmeer-Kulturrumes Vol. 28. Dr. Rudolf Habelt, Bonn.
- Zachos, Konstantinos L.
 2008 *Ayios Dhimitrios, a Prehistoric Settlement in the Southwestern Peloponnese: The Neolithic and Early Helladic Periods*. BAR International Series S1170. Archaeopress, Oxford.



INTERNATIONAL MONOGRAPHS
IN PREHISTORY

Archaeological Series 20

ISBN 9781879621473



90000 >



9 781879 621473