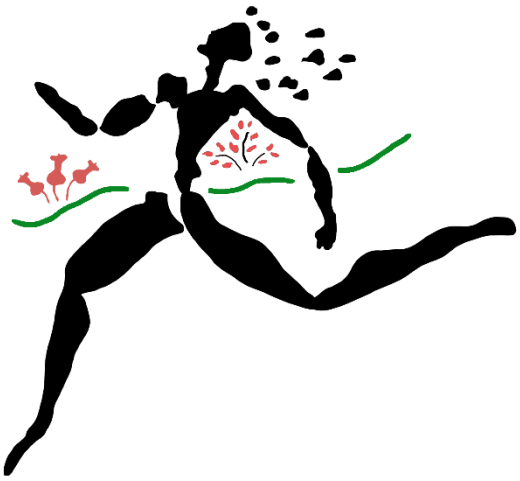
This essay is part of the online publication series

of the student conference

No (e)scape?

Towards a Relational Archaeology of Man, Nature, and Thing in the Aegean Bronze Age



Heidelberg

23–25 March 2018

Edited by Nasser Ayash, Franziska Fritzsche and Diana Wolf

URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-propylaeumdok-46159

URL: http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/propylaeumdok/volltexte/2019/4615

DOI: https://doi.org/10.11588/propylaeumdok.00004615

EBA marble figurines as "storytellers" of human interaction in the Aegean

PREFACE

The aim of this paper is to present a new set of existing data and apply it in a comparative approach to the EBA Aegean marble figurines as 'storytellers' of human interactions. Combining the topic of the conference with the major focus of my ongoing PhD research, I would like to illustrate through the production and distribution of the EBA marble figurines in what ways, what level and to what extent interaction between different but connected cultures can be detected in the Aegean and beyond. The Cycladic culture has received the greatest interest and an overstressed role[1] in respect of the EBA marble figurine production, which is regarded to have left a significant stylistic impact on the figurine traditions of neighbouring areas.[2] However, marble figurines were not an exclusive phenomenon of the Cyclades; stone figurines made from marble (also schist, limestone, tuff or organic material such as shell, ivory, bone) had a local tradition in other areas of the Aegean as well. Local figurine production of the geographically and culturally diverse neighbouring areas shared some basic tendencies in the Neolithic period even though recognizably distinguished by culture specific characteristics. The spectrum and scale of the local marble figurine productions became more heterogeneous and multifaceted during the EBA, when similar types started to arise, sometimes copying and adopting 'foreign' elements that left an impact on the local tradition and raise questions of their origin, provenance and prototypes. Marble figurines became an important expression of the EBA communication and network systems with a strong symbolic dimension. Through their production, typological, and contextual distribution we can detect the nature and degree of interaction in the Aegean and beyond.

MATERIAL DISCOVERY OF THE FIGURINES

The first perceptions of the prehistoric marble figurines were driven by the classical aesthetics that made them unattractive in the eyes of scholars or connoisseurs. They did not come to be regarded as part of the Greek artistic canon nor were even thought of as Greek until the later 19th century.[3] They were highly disregarded as ugly and unwanted objects[4] and entered into museum catalogues as primitive and barbarian items.[5] The 20th century rediscovered the marble "idols" through the eyes of modern artists, capturing the figurines in terms of their aesthetics.[6] The figurines were monopolized by an art historical perspective, meaning that they were treated as art through the prism of European art rather than as archaeological objects.[7] This modern movement led to increasing demand for the prehistoric sculptures and their collection, in turn inspiring looting and the production of forgeries which circulated on the art market.[8] Several private collections and museums started to show their interest in the figurines and many of the looted finds found their way into private collections.[9] Illicit excavations and looting multipled the number of unprovenanced figurines leaving an impact on archaeological research with material and intellectual consequences.[10] The danger of this tendency resides in their abstraction from their original cultural context and from a representative view of prehistoric Aegean communities.[11] The prehistoric figurines were studied according to the terms of modern aesthetics and contemporary intellectual trends in the 20th century, borrowing pre-existing interpretive models (that were set up for different materials employed in a different time and space) which stimulated the production of anachronistic theories.[12] The folded-arm female figurines were frequently

interpreted as representations of female divinities[13] or considered as nursemaids,[14] as companions into the after life[15] or as symbols of fertility.[16] Morpholo-gically oriented approaches also inspired terminological and typological[17] studies focusing on the classification and manufacture of the figurines and on a highly questionable attempt to identify groups of figurines made by the same 'master'.[18]

INTELLECTUAL DISCOVERY OF THE FIGURINES: CONTEXT CONTRA AESTHETICS

In order to gain a representative view of the phenomenon of the EBA Aegean figurines it became obvious that it was crucial to know where and in which contexts these artefacts were found. Therefore the final deposition of the figurines, their archaeological contexts including their closest associations in assemblages became essential and fundamental criteria for further investigation. As D. Gill and C. Chippindale argued, Cycladic materials found in illicit excavations or obtained on the art market could safely be disregarded, since their contextual information is lost and one cannot be sure of their authenticity.[19] The destruction of archaeological contexts also implies the loss of archaeological information which removes any opportunity to understand what the figurines may originally have signified.[20] Thanks to the in-creasing number of fieldwork projects, including precise and accurate observation and documentation during the last few decades, a significant amount of data has come to light which has broadened our knowledge and yielded more detailed information about the archaeological contexts of the figurines.[21] In spite of the earlier aesthetic view-point, the focus of interest has moved to provenance and context.[22] Nowadays most scholars agree that research should concentrate on those figurines which were found in their archaeological contexts during archaeological excavation carried out by archaeologists and published by professionals in adequate detail.[23] Several significant efforts have been made in this direction with important volumes collecting older and recent data together in order to give an overview of the situation and producing a very different picture than that of three decades ago.[24] The volume of the *Early Cyladic Sculpture in Context* edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd, which presents earlier finds as well as discoveries from recent excavations, is one of the most important overviews of Cycladic marble figurines found in secure contexts.[25] Regarding the materials from outside the Cycladic islands, comparable earlier and recent evidence from mainland Greece, the north-east Aegean and western Anatolia, has been brought together and reviewed using the same approach at a symposium organized at the Archaeological Society on 25 and 26 May 2015.[26] Ini the case of the Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines in Crete, earlier and recent material from secure contexts was presented and published in a volume of Cycladica in Crete, Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their archaeological context edited by N. Stampolidis and P. Sotirakopoulou.[27]

CROSSING CULTURAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES: TERMINOLOGY AND TYPOLOGY

The terminology used in this paper is a combination of terms introduced by C. Renfrew[28] and J. Thimme[29] in their fundamental works on the classification of the EBA marble figurines. The marble sculptures were divided into two main categories: one characterised by abstract schematic forms and the other by more naturalistic ones.[30] The EC I period brought the schematic types into fashion and introduced a new pioneering naturalistic form[31] represented by the Plastiras[32] and Louros types,[33] the forerunners of the so-called folded-arm figruines. The ECII folded-arm (FAF) or 'canonical'[34] figurines were the most popular and influential class in the Cyclades and

beyond.[35] The vast majority of the Cycladic naturalistic figurines portrayed nude female figurines with the exception of a few male figurines which are occasionally represented with other attributes, including musical instruments.[36] The appearance of stylistically similar figurines of Cycladic or Cycladicizing type over a wide area in the Aegean and beyond inevitably leads to the problems of origin and provenance. Abstract, schematic and naturalistic forms had already existed in the Neoltihic period. On the basis of the archaeological evidence EC marble sculptures developed from local Neolithic origins. The oldest known Cycladic marble figurine with a shaft-like head[37] found on Saliagos dates to the LN horizon and has been argued to be a typological precursor of the EC sculptures.[38] Schematic marble figurines[39] have been brought to light also at the Neolithic settlement of Strofilas on Andros dated to the FN period which discovery filled the gap between the LN Saliagos figurine and the EC I marble sculptures indicating continuous development in the Cyclades.[40]

However Crete, northern Greece, and western Anatolia had an earlier figurine tradition than the Cyclades. J. Thimme also suggested a parallel development of the Cycladic and Anatolian schematic and naturalistic figurines.[41] O. Höckmann proposed the possible influence of the Anatolian figurines on the EC violin shaped figurines.[42] Recent archaeological evidence in central western Anatolia yielded figurines comparable to the EBA violin types found in ECh contexts such as at Hacılar and Kuruçay Höyük.[43] The argument of Cycladic influence on the so-called Anatolian Beycesultan type figurine[44] has been challenged by recently published archaeological records. The development of the Beycesultan type figurines most likely derived from local western Anatolian tradition.[45] A schematic marble figurine associated with the Beycesultan type was found together with a so-called 'Kiliya type' figurine[46] in possibly LCh and EBA layers at the settlement of Çukuriçi Höyük, central western Anatolia. The shared stylistical similarities between the EBA Cycladic violin form and the Anatolian Beycesultan type figurines underline the question of origin and highlight an early interactions and communications in which products and ideas were exchanged.[47]

The production of naturalistic figurines in Crete or northern Greece had a much earlier tradition than in the Cyclades. Some of the features of the Early Bronze Age non-canonical and folded-arm figurines, such as the abstract human body, folded arms under the chest, the spine indicated by a groove at the back, pubic triangle, prominent buttocks, had already appeared on some of the Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines[48] in Crete or the Greek mainland. These Neolithic figurines had an earlier date than the EC naturalistic figurines, and therefore they could also be regarded as forerunners of the canonical EBA FAF figurines not only in Crete but also in the Cyclades.[49] These examples raise questions of origin, provenance and 'identity' of the Cycladic and Cycladicizing types in relation to other local figurine traditions. Nevertheless, they also indicate communication and trade between mainland Greece, Crete and the Cyclades even before the EBA, when not only raw materials (obsidian) but also products and ideas could travel and be exchanged.[50]

ARENA OF MATERIAL, SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL INTERACTION

Regardless of modern political borders, the Aegean has never been a uniform cultural unit.[51] However, the culturally different geographical regions were continuously linked by the sea in the 4th and 3rd millennia BCE.[52] Exchange and communication between and beyond the Aegean, including the circulation of products and ideas, involved and stimulated local communities, tying them together into a small-world 'microcosm.'[53] The provenance and distribution of carved marble objects outline connections and interactions between different regions of the Aegean in the transmission and adaptation

of ideas with a significant impact on local production. The diffusion and adoption of ideas encouraged local workshops to copy and adapt original prototypes.[54] Cycladic figurines profoundly influenced the figurine traditions of neighbouring regions as did Cycladic practices, symbols and habits.[55] However, the means and directions of interaction were multiple. The mixed features of sites in Crete, the Greek mainland, or even western Anatolia comprised local elements and 'foreign' components.[56] The most intensive distribution and manufacture of the Cycladic type of figurines outside of the Cycladic islands was concentrated in Crete. The largest amount of Cycladic imports and local imitations of Cycladic types (comprising a similar number of Cycladic imports and Cycladic copies) were found together in the cemetery of Phourni in Archanes[57] and the cemetery of Petras.[58] C. Renfrew suggests an origin in Cycladic folded-arm figurines for the Koumasa type figurines through local craftsmen on Crete adapting prototypes of Cycladic origin.[59] The local folded-arm Koumasa varieties were exclusively made and found in Crete and on the basis of new evidence of a strongly unhomogeneous group, there is a need for the definition of the Koumasa variety to be revised or refined.[60] The distribution of the local Koumasa-types and the local Cretan copies of original Cycladic prototypes demarcate the nature and direction of interaction between Crete, the Cyclades and the Aegean.[61] As shall we see, there are no clear distinctions[62] between local and imported raw material, origins of imports, prototypes or local copies of prototypes or local adaptations of prototypes that will allow us to recognize how the use and roles of the imitations and local copies differed from the original Cycladic ones.[63] Therefore it is well worth asking what we mean by a Cycladic or Cycladicizing type in terms of origin and production of the figurines. Ancient people had more limited knowledge of the production of neighbouring areas, and they were not necessarily aware of the exact provenance of imported goods.[64] As D. Panagiotopoulos has argued, the knowledge and perspective of ancient people were more limited and probably different from our modern bird's eye view. Furthermore the regular production of local copies indirectly affected the originals by weakening the foreign character of imports.[65]

VALUE IN THE CONTEXT

As part of my contextually oriented research, I am working on a new set of databases, processing earlier and new data partly presented and summarized in the above mentioned recently published volumes. My main aim is to synthesize and re-evaluate data from the corpus of Aegean EBA marble figurines and compare them with one another. The main focus of my research lies on the geographical, archaeological and social contexts of the figurines and will investigate the correlation between different categories of data in order to see if there are any discernible patterns which could shed more light on the use of the figurines and help us to understand the social dynamics of past communities. The provenance and distribution of the marble sculptures outline and highlight connections and interactions between different regions of the Aegean in which raw material, ideas and final products were exchanged, thus stimulating local production and workshops. A quantitative and comparative approach to contextual analysis may also allow us to detect how and in what ways the production and distribution of the figurines crosscut and interconnect cultures in different but related regions and whether and in what ways their roles and functions differ. A figurine as an expression of material culture has a 'biography', and a long or short history of use with a strong symbolic dimension in which it could have moved.[66] Figurines can embody multiple levels of representation and participate in storytelling activities that mediate issues of memory and identity. They can embody and express particular notions and

relationships of life and death cycles.[67] Every artefact, including figurines has an individual 'life', its roles can change, develop, and transform. Figurines also have trajectories which terminate in their final deposition within the archaeological context.[68] Figurines are not objects that exist on their own; they become meaningful only within their context.[69] Therefore the final deposition of the artefact, the archaeological context in which the figurine is found, provides a crucial fulcrum for further investigation in order to gain a representative view of EBA Aegean communities.

BURIAL CONTEXT

The beginning of research in the Cyclades was restricted to cemeteries, as marble figurines were primarily known from burials. However, recent decades have increased the number of figurines found in domestic contexts. Relying on archaeological records most of the known schematic figurines found in secure burial contexts were discovered in EC I graves.[70] In the case of the naturalistic ones, the major part of the figurines found in secure contexts derive from EC II burials. Based on archaeological evidence it is difficult to detect any discernible pattern or to recognize any correlation between different categories of data, such as the distribution of figurines amongst the graves in relation to the gender, age or status of the deceased. The quantity of figurines deposited in EBA graves can vary, as well as the nature of the accompanying gravegoods. Neverthless, the most salient pattern is the uneven distribution and rare deposition of figurines among the graves in a cemetery, since the number of graves with figurines is much smaller in comparison to those without figurines. There is no striking pattern in deposition practice, either at the level of individuals (association of gravegoods) in the graves or of the community in the entire cemetery. However, our ability to perceive and understand the meaning of the visible patterns and practices may be limited, especially at a deeper cultural level, since ancient societies may have had different perspectives and perceptions within systems of value that we are not necessarily able to recognize.[71] Furthermore, we also have to contend with incomplete or lost archaeological data and scanty documentary information.

In the EC I burial grounds, the maximum number of figurines deposited in graves varies between rare (only one or two) and more dense (more than three). The cemetery of Pyrgos on Paros has yielded 14 schematic marble figurines[72] found together in grave 103, while in the same burial ground, grave 100 contained only two schematic figurines.[73] Another necropolis, Glypha on Paros, shows similar irregularities represented by grave 24 containing only one fiddle-shaped figure[74] while grave 21 had three.[75] On the island of Antiparos, in the cemetery of Krasades, 13 schematic figurines[76] were unearthed from grave 117, while grave 115 brought to light only two.[77] As far as the assemblages of accompanying gravegoods are concerned, there is no uniform choice in their selection. However, graves with larger numbers of figurines quite often show a wider selection of offerings. In the cemetery of Pyrgos in grave 103, besides the 14 marble figurines, some stone beads and a possible necklace composed of dentalium shells[78] were found, while in grave 100 the the two figurines were accompanied by two clay pyxides.[79] In the cemetery of Krasades on the island of Antiparos, grave 117 yielded 13 figurines with two marble vessels[80] and grave 115 contained two figurines along with some stone beads.[81] In the cemetery of Livadhi in grave 127 no other offerings were represented beside the two marble figurines,[82] but in grave 129 the three figurines were accompanied by a marble palette with traces of red pigment and a marble vessel.[83] We should not lose sight of the occasionally fragmented condition of the figurines. In the EC I graves the schematic figurines were usually intact, although sometimes they were broken but complete. In rare cases the broken body part was missing from the grave, as

in the cemetery of Akrotiraki in grave 146.[84] In the cemetery of Pyrgos in grave 103 the major part of the figurines were intact or complete, only one figurine was broken with a part of the head missing.[85] There is also evidence for ancient mending in the cemetery of Akrotiraki in grave 147, where a figurine was discovered with repair holes at the head and neck.[86]

The EC II cemeteries show a very similar picture in deposition practice of the figurines with a new repertoire of the above-mentioned naturalistic folded-arm (FAF) figures.[87] At this stage it is important to point out, since it has been already discussed in the past,[88] the upward position of the toes and the folded-arms below the chest. They might suggest the reclining position of the canonical figurines and their inability to stand up, which could be a potential indicator of their display and possible primary function in burials.[89] However, there could be other practical reasons behind this design rather than symbolic, for instance as Getz-Preziosi[90] has suggested, in order to reduce the risk of breakage.

The significant cemetery of Chalandriani is the largest and most extensive known EC burial ground in the Cyclades.[91] Only 22 figurines[92] (12 naturalistic and 10 schematic) were brought to light in 727 graves in total and six figurines have secure archaeological contexts found in different graves. I have not included 14 figurines from C. Stephanos' excavation[93] because of their dubious provenance and lack of information, and I have also excluded two naturalistic figurines from C. Tsountas' excavation,[94] since they have not been identified by the Archaeological Museum of Athens yet. Regarding the selection and nature of the gravegoods, the graves were moderately furnished with figurines and some clay or marble vessels.[95] One of the richest graves, grave 11, from the 28 undisturbed graves discovered by M. Marthari,[96] contained a naturalisttic FAF Spedos variety marble figurine with a marble bowl, copper scraper, bone tube, one 'frying pan' and an obsidian blade[97] while a schematic Apeiranthos variety was found in grave 468, which was similarly richly furnished with metal objects, a palette, a rubber and stone beads accompanied by a clay vessel and some fragments of bone artefacts.[98]

Another important and unique burial ground from the Cyclades, the cemetery of Aplomata on Naxos, shows a different character with an outstanding richness of marble objects and an expansive repertoire of figurine types.[99] The necropolis belongs to the same chronological horizon as the Chalandriani burial ground but shows great differencies in quantity and greater variety in selection of gravegoods.[100] In Grave 4 there were three marble fragments[101] of possibly two FAF figurines, while grave 13, as the most richly furnished burial, yielded 13 figurines: two schematic, one precanonical and 11 naturalistic.[102] This grave represents a wide scale of figurine selection in types and material, including schematic shell figurines and naturalistic precanonical and FAF types, amongst them three uncommon seated variants.[103] While grave 13 brought to light 13 figurines accompanied by some marble vessels and silver objects, three naturalistic figurines were found (one of them a seated FAF type) in the comparably richly furnished grave 23 with some marble vessels (one of them a marble 'frying pan'), silver and bone objects.[104]

In view of the presence of fragmentation in the EC II burial grounds, the intact condition of the figurines (six figurines from C. Stephanos' and M. Marthari's excavations) recovered from the Chalandriani cemetery is remarkable,[105] unlike in the cemetery of Aplomata, where breakage occurs more often at the knee, lower leg or neck part of the figurine.[106] Breakage in cases of the schematic and naturalistic types occurs very often at the most fragile parts of the figurines, which may suggest accidental damage to the artefact.

Marble figurines are also known in greater quantity from burial contexts outside of the Cycladic islands; in Crete, mainland Greece, the north-east Aegean and western Anatolia. In the case of the EBA cemeteries in western Anatolia, the schematic Troy, Kusura and Beycesultan types were associated with jar burials such like those in the cemeries of Karataş[107] and Yortan.[108] Pithos-burial was a common local burial custom in western Anatolia during the EBA[109] when marble figurines were often deposited in different quantities and conditions, frequently broken at the most fragile part of the neck. A substantial number of EBA burial grounds has been discovered since the early 1930s with only very limited and sporadic research on the contexts. In the last few decades several efforts have been made towards a synthetic re-evaluation of EBA burial practices in western (and central) Anatolia with an intensified focus on the archaeological contexts.[110] It is also difficult here to see any correlation between age, gender, wealth/status of the deceased and the deposition of the figurine in graves. However, in several cases marble figurines were notably associated with children's burials, as in the necropolis of Karataş where some of the child burials, like burial 191, contained three schematic marble figurines.[111] The number of figurines per grave also varies. For instance the moderate deposition of figurines was common practice in the cemetery of Yortan [112] while in the necropolis of Karataş the pithos burials often contained three or four schematic marble sculptures (for example burial 14 contained four schematic marble figurines without their heads).[113] The breakage of the western Anatolian figurines ususally occurs at the neck part, which is the most fragile part of the figurines, and also during the common reuse of Anatolian pithos graves which were usually multiple burials used over a longer period, during which the figurines could easily have been damaged.[114]

The presence of Cycladic-type and Cycladicizing figurines in Crete opens new aspects and concepts in terms of the adaptation or transformation of the value and meaning of figurines in geographically and culturally different contexts. The eponymous cemetery of the Koumasa type figurines is one of the most important and well-studied multi-period cemeteries in Crete.[115] According to several scholars who have analysed and studied the archaeological materials of the site the significance of the Koumasa cemetery resides in its multifaceted and potential ritual nature represented by its wide repertoire of figurines and ritual objects.[116] Besides the local Cycladicizing Koumasa type figurines,[117] a Cycladic Spedos variety,[118] several schematic figurines and various presumably 'ritual' objects[119] were recovered. On the basis of the greatest concentration of unusual 'ritual' objetcs (such as vase-shaped figurines and terracotta miniature objects and figurines) and the 'ritual' status of the cemetery, we can postulate a potential ritual function for the Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines recovered from the Koumasa cemetery.[120] Neverthless the Cycladic and Cycladicizing Koumasa figurines of Crete can open a window through which we can detect in what ways and at what levels the 'foreign' Cycladic elements (as finished products or ideas) could have been adopted and employed in the local tradition.

SPECIAL DEPOSITION RELATED TO BURIAL CONTEXT

On Epano Kouphonisi in the area of Alonistria Chousouri 16 EC marble figurines were brought to light possibly in association with burials (the deposits were highly disturbed by deep cultivation). Amongst them two naturalistic FA-figurines were found together in a shallow rock-cut pit, suggesting a possible offering pit that functioned during or after the burial.[121] The two figurines were found together placed head and face down and covered by a marble bowl with traces of pigment. The smaller figurine was broken at the neck and the larger one was intact.[122] The practice of careful deposition of

figurines facing the ground outside of burial context is not unparalleled. Another naturalistic FAF figurine with traces of possible paint ghosts[123] was found intact face down beyond the area of the Special Deposit North in the vicinity of two small built tomb of Chalandriani variant.[124] Similar deposition of figurines outside of grave was observed in association of the burials at the cemetery of Aplomata, where broken and complete (four naturalistic and one schematic) figurines were found outside the graves suggesting a secondary deposition of the figurines.[125]

DOMESTIC CONTEXT

At the beginning of research in the Cyclades, marble figurines were mainly known from burials since the majority of the known and discovered sites were cemeteries.[126] However recent decades have increased the number of figurines found in domestic contexts,[127] even though only a few EC settlements have been extensively investigated.

Cycladic marble figurines from secure EC contexts are known only from a few Cycladic settlements, such as Phylakopi (Melos), Ayia Irini (Kea), Skarkos (Ios), Akrotiri (Thera) and Dhaskalio (Keros). Some of these represent multi-period sites, for example Phylakopi, Akrotiri and Ayia Irini.[128]

Skarkos on the island of Ios is one of the most important EC settlements not only because of the outstanding number of marble figurines found in secure domestic contexts but also because it has revealed the first evidence for a potential marble workshop in the EBA Cyclades.[129] In total 52 figurines have been discovered, including two heads of naturalistic figurines [130] and 50 schematic figurines, including 49 represented by the the so-called Apeiranthos type.[131] Regarding the spatial distribution of the figurines they were recovered in ordinary houses, [132] although the biggest concentration of figurines was observed in a specific building area. The so-called Building of the Figurines yielded 16 figurines accompanied by possible marble working tools, unfinished marble products, waste fragments and lumps of pigment, indicating a potential marble workshop[133] hitherto not known in the EBA Aegean. The presence of lumps of red pigment in association with six figurines with preserved paint on their surfaces increases the number of the figurines with painted decoration.[134] The two naturalisic figurine heads were associated with the disturbed surface layers of different building areas of the settlement; one of them was found in the Building of the Figurines.[135] Regarding the condition of the figurines, most of the schematic types were intact but some of the broken ones had part of the head missing,[136] and both naturalistic varieties were represented by a figurine head.[137]

The multi-period settlement of Ayia Irini is another important site in the Cyclades. A total of 43 Cycladic marble figurines[138] were discovered and only five fragments[139] were recovered from the EBA layers in association with different building phases, including the construction layers of ordinary houses.[140] Wilson has suggested the deliberate deposition of the figurines (within the houses, specifically placed close to the doorway inside the door or beneath the floor) in association with a symbolic meaning and function.[141] All of the five figurine fragments represent naturalistc types. One of the best preserved, a torso without a head,[142] shows characteristic features of the Kea subvariety classified by C. Renfrew[143] with flattish feet which allow the sculpture to stand rather than forcing it to recline, which could be an important indicator of the potential primary use of this figurine in the settlement. Among the total number of 43 figurines, 28 were discovered in later strata dated to the MBA or LBA.[144] None of the figurines is complete and the heads and bodies do not join together. More than three-quarters of the fragments represent naturalistic FAF variants and some of the schematic figurines have no typological parallels in the EBA Cycladic repertoire which allows us to consider the

possibility of their later production.[145] The traces of breakage and repairs on the surface of the figurines in combination with their later contexts, are impossible to interpret in terms of deliberate or accidental deposition, while the secondary value and meaning of the figurines in their 'new' contexts are uncertain[146] Hershenson and Overbeck have suggested different biographies for the Ayia Irini figurines during the MBA as opposed to the EBA.[147] The excavator, J. Caskey, argued for the possibly deliberate deposition of the figurines with an antiquarian value in later contexts.[148]

EBA Cycladicizing marble figurines within later contexts are also known from multi-period sites in Crete. The site of Sissi brought to light two anthropomorphic figurines,[149] both of them found positioned face-down in an LM IB domestic context.[150] Not far from Sissi, at the site of Malia, figurine fragments typologically similar[151] to the Sissi examples were unearthed in strata dated to the MM IIB period.[152] The marble figurines recovered from Sissi and Mallia do not show typologiucally close similarities to the EBA Cycladic repertoire nor do they share similar features with the local EBA Koumasa variety. As Carpentier noted, they certainly show Cretan characteristics in their Cycladicizing style,[153] and Papadatos has suggested a common manufacturing tradition in both cases.[154] A possible later production cannot be excluded because of the unparalled features of the figurines. In the case of Cycladicizing marble figurines found in MBA contexts Carpentier has argued that the final deposition of the figurines does not supply enough information to allow us to identify their primary use. However in comparison to other figurines found in later contexts, they may have been associated with household rituals and their meaning possibly changed during their life times.[155]

In the case of Western Anatolia, the number of schematic Anatolian figurines found in settlements is greater than the number of naturalistic ones.[156] The schematic Anatolian types which share similarities with the Cycladic violin types, such as the so-called Troy, Beyceultan and Kusura type figurines, have been discovered not only in burials but also in domestic contexts in association with ordinary houses very often related to the kitchen area and in connection with the hearth. At significant sites like Troy[157] in the north-west or Kusura near Afyon-Karahisar and Beycesultan in the south, the settlement of Kusura[158] and Beycesultan[159] the Anatolian figurines were quite frequently fragmented, the breakage usually occured at the neck, the most fragile part of the figurine.

SPECIAL DEPOSITS

Two large assemblages have been discovered at Kavos on Keros in the Cyclades not far from each other and in the vicinity of the islet and EBA settlement of Dhaskalio. The Special Deposit North was extensively looted before controlled excavations started in 1963 under the direction of C. Doumas with the successful recovery of some of the materials left undisturbed after the looting. More than 270 figurine fragments were unearthed in their original context within an intact stratigraphic sequence.[160] The first interpretation by Doumas, who saw the assemblage as a remnant of a large cemetery of a nearby settlement belonging to a rich trading community.[161] The cemetery and settlement theory has since been revised by C. Doumas and C. Renfrew in a favour of a new elaborated concept of a pan-Cycladic sanctuary.[162]

The second deposit, the Special Deposit South, the largest undisturbed assemblage of EC sculptures was discovered in a secure archaeological context and revealed by controlled excavation between 2006-2008.[163] According to Renfrew these large assemblages with their outstanding richness of EC figurines can provide significant information about the production and use of the figurines in ritual contexts.[164] Although the two deposits show very similar characteristics, the artefacts recovered from the

Special Deposit North were more restorable and less damaged than those from the Special Deposit South. No associated burial ground or settlement was found at Kavos in connection with the deposits, apart from the small islet of Dhaskalio which was joined to Kavos by a natural causeway during the EBA.[165] The outstanding wealth of both deposits including the wide range of marble figurine types and their fragmented condition, makes these assemblages unique and unparalleled. According to statistical and marble provenance analysis, the origin of the raw material of the figurines found in the Special Deposit South is located in south and central-east Naxos.[166] It is still uncertain, however, if the figurines came directly from Naxos or were produced from Naxian marble in the surrounding islands.[167] The specially selected materials were successively deposited over several centuries and the deliberately broken figurines were brought from outside Keros and deliberately deposited along with other fragmented objects, such as marble vessels, shells, obsidian blades, stone discs and pottery.[168] On the basis of the archaeological evidence Renfrew has suggested that Kavos had a special status as a 'locus of ritual' where the Special Deposits South and North, along with the settlement of Dhaskalio comprised a central meeting place with many regional influences from probably beyond the Cycladic islands and with possible connections to mainland Greece and western Anatolia.[169] In this symbolic center, hundreds of fragments of symbolic elements including the marble figurines which were present in burial and domestic contexts, were brought together in order to deposit them in a structured and formal way.[170] C. Broodbank has argued against the sanctuary theory and he has not rejected the interpretation of Kavos as a settlement or cemetery.[171] According to Broodbank the importance of the site resides in it being the maritime centre of an intensive network of inter-island exchange, while the evidence of deliberate destruction of prestige material represents a competitive manipulation of value through strategic choices.[172]

STATE OF PRESERVATION: FRAGMENTATION

A pattern of breakage is frequently present in burial and domestic contexts and, in largest quantities, in the special deposits. At first sight it is difficult to tell whether the breakage simply reflects the condition of preservation of the figurines or is the result of deliberate action. Fragmentation generally occurs at the most vulnerable parts: the neck, legs or under the folded-arms of the figurines. Repair holes on the surface indicate ancient breakage and repair. There are not always clear evidence to help us understand when, where and under which circumstances the figurines may have been damaged before or after the final stage of production.[173] In the case of the Anatolian schematic figurines, for instance, the fracture occurs at the neck, the most vulnerable and thin part of the figurines often leaving part of the head and neck in the ground. The pithos burials were also often re-used so that the figurines could easily have been damaged accidentally. Neverthless, the pattern of breakage of the figurines raises further questions concerning the primary context and use of the figurines, either in burials or in settlements, since whether breakage was accidental or deliberate is not obvious or easily detectable. In the case of the special deposits, however, the deliberately broken condition of the figurines is clearly demonstrated by the archaeological evidence indicating extraordinary purposes, other than every day practices.

SURFACE TREATMENT: PIGMENTS

Anatomical features such as eyes, hair, pubic triangles, jewelry, objects of adornment and some repeated patterns of dots, vertical lines, zig-zag etc. are occasionally

preserved, painted on the surfaces of figurines. According to pigment analyses and archaeological evidence red paint mainly from cinnabar was the most common pigment; blue from azurite was used more rarely.[174] Probably most figurines were painted but time has removed the colors, sometimes leaving faint traces of painted decoration. K. Birtacha has argued that the observation of paint on marble figurines tends to be insecure and uncertain, since the preservation of pigments is very poor, many figurines from older excavations were cleaned to remove traces of pigments, and the systematic documentation of pigments in a corpus of figurines from secure contexts has not yet been undertaken.[175] Paint is not easily visible because of its poor preservation, but sometimes the so-called ghosts (where paint has protected original surface of the marble) or faint incised lines provide evidence of painting. Direct evidence is rare and limited, and very often only indirect evidence such marble palettes or lumps of pigment, indicate the possibility of its existence. Only a few examples are known from secure burial contexts as in the cemetery of Livadhi where traces of red pigments were found by the excavator Tsountas which were also accompanied by a marble palette.[176] In the cemetery of Aplomata a naturalistic Spedos-variety bears some traces of pigment on the head.[177] At the settlement of Skarkos six marble figurines with indications of paint were found in the potential workshop, three of them together with implements for processing and applying pigments, such as stone spools and bone tubes as well as lumps of red pigments, indicating the practice of painting in domestic contexts as part of the manufacturing process.[178] Painted motifs were also preserved on some of the broken figurine fragments from the Special Deposits North and South.[179] The motifs that were simple and linear and in combination could display different themes and unique features.[180]

According to recent macroscopic and microscopic analyses of figurines of Cycladic and Cycladicizing types in Crete, traces of pigment on the surfaces are very rare. Direct indications of pigments were observed only on original Cycladic imports, while the ghost-lines on the Cycladic type of figurines are very rare and poorly visible. Specific taphonomic conditions may have caused the poor preservation of painting on Cretan figurines or this may represent a surface treatment that differs from Cycladic traditions.[181] Indirect evidence such as pigment containers and tools for processing or applying pigments are also absent from the graves and the settlements.

The surface of the clean marble could have provided a blank canvas for painted patterns and features with symbolic meanings and messages. Therefore, painted decorations may have been as important as the form and shape of the figurine. The significance and meaning of the painted symbols remains enigmatic, although certain observations on the variability and differentiation of painted motifs might perhaps provide a basis for further investigation.[182] Painted decoration may have been linked between the figurine with an owner or user, carrying biographical messages closely associated with different stages of a person's life cycle.[183] The presence of overlapping motives one on top of another might demonstrate that symbols were erased, repainted or renewed leaving the messages behind these symbols terminated, modified or changed.[184] Closer and deeper inspection of decorative elements may contribute to our understanding of prehistoric cultures in the Aegean and beyond, allowing us to recognize, read and compare symbolic meanings, and social and cultural practices in past societies.[185]

CONCLUSION

Figurines may frequently have served more than one function within a community and at the level of the individual may have taken on multiple roles and uses over their

lifetime.[186] The archaeological evidence should be observed systematically in the figurine itself, in the archaeological context of the figurine and in the production and deposition practice at the level of the community who created these strongly symbolic objects.[187] The functions and roles of the EBA marble figurines remain enigmatic. Hopefully, a comparative approach on new sets of data focusing on analyses of the archaeological contexts of the figurines in relation to chronology, space and societies can highlight new aspects and perspectives which may help us to better understand the interactions behind the production and distribution of the EBA marble figurines and may shed light on their uses and functions.

Dora Olah
PhD student
University of Sheffield

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Cat.no.	Catalogue number
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EC	Early Cycladic
ECh	Early Chalcolithic
FAF	folded-arm figurine
fig.	figure
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LCh	Late Chalcolithic
LH	Late Helladic
LM	Late Minoan
MCh	Middle Chalcolithic
MM	Middle Minoan
pl.	plate

[1] Sampson (2016, 113) argues the overstressed importance of the Cyclades in the Aegean and in the Greek Mainland during the EBA.

[2] Mina 2008, 24; 2010, 225.

[3] Sherratt 2000, 139.

[4] Penny 1981; Gill and Chippindale 1993, 602.

[5] Collignon 1892, 18-20; Perrot and Chipiez 1894, Fitton 1989; 175-206 in Gill and Chippindale 1993, 605.

[6] J. Epstein discovered the Cycladic sculptures on display in the Louvre in 1902-1905 as well as C. Brancusi and H. Moore who saw Cycladic figurines in the British Museum and who also purchased them as did Picasso. See more in: Gill and Chippindale, 1993 refers to Epstein 1955, 223; Malraux 1976, 126; Moore and Finn 1981; Sachini 1984.

[7] Thimme 1977, 11; Petrasch 1977, 9; Renfrew 1977a, 1977b; Papathanassopoulos 1981; Renfrew 1991.

[8] Gill and Chippindale 1993, 605; Renfrew *et al*. 2016, 119.

[9] The Goulandris Collection in Athens became the largest and finest private collection of Early Cycladic Art in the world, see: Doumas 1977, 188; Gill and Chippindale 1993, 606-607.

[10] According to Gill and Chippindale 's (1993, 610-11, 629) estimate in 1993 only 10% of the known Cycladic figurines had been found in archaeological excavations.

[11] Sherratt 2000, 139.

[12] Such as using interpretation of figurines of historical time, ethnographic and anthropological parallels, see: Birtacha 2017b,491.

[13] Zervos 1957; Warren 1972; Fitton 1989; Höckman 1977, 37-52; 1983, 1984, 1987.

[14] Fitton 1989; Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 33.

[15] Doumas 1983.

[16] Barber 1984; Getz-Preziosi 1987b, 33.

[17] Renfrew's (1969) classification is based on stylistic attributes and an evolutionary assumption and chronological progress of the different types. Renfrew in *The Cycladic Spirit* (1991) focused on the aesthetics of the Cycladic marble figurines and associated material culture, see reviews: Broodbank 1992; Sherratt 2000.

[18] Getz-Preziosi 1987; Getz-Gentle's (2001) 'master hand' attribution and identification of individual sculptures on the basis of Morelli's attributional method. The difficulties and dangers of this type of approach to Cycladic figurines have been challenged and reviewed. See: Broodbank 1992; Cherry 1992; Gill and Chippindale 1993; Sherratt 2000.

[19] Gill and Chippindale 1993.

[20] Gill and Chippindale 1993, 601.

[21] Marthari 2017a, 14.

[22] Gill & Chippindale 1993, 605.

[23] Renfrew 2017, 1.

[24] Marthari 2017a, 14-15.

[25] The papers in this volume were presented at a symposium held at the Archaeological Society in Athens between 27-29 May 2014, see in Marthari *et al*. 2017.

[26] Forthcoming soon, see in Marthari *et al.* 2017, preface.

[27] A symposium with the same title was held in Athens on 1-2 October 2015 in the Goulandris Museum organized by Nicholas Stampolidis and Peggy Sotirakopoulou.

[28] Renfrew 1969, 1977, 1991.

[29] Thimme 1976.

[30] Renfrew 1969, 1991, 41-42.

[31] Renfrew 1969, 4, fig. 1.

[32] Renfrew 1969, 7, fig. 2.II.

[33] Renfrew 1969 7, fig. 2.III.

[34] The term 'canonical' was used first by J. Thimme (Thimme and Getz-Preziosi 1977, 416).
[35] Renfrew1969 7, fig. Ill.2 and 10, fig. Ill.3.
[36] Sherratt 2000, 133; Betancourt 2017, 57.
[37] Evans-Renfrew 1968, fig. 76.1; Renfrew 1969, 28, fig.4; Renfrew 1972, 184, fig. 11.8; Thimme 1977, 61; Schwall and Horejs 2017, 62, Fig.3.14.
[38] Renfrew 2017b, 24.
[39] Televantou 2006, 5; 2008, 45; 2017, 44, Fig. 5.10-11.
[40] Televantou 2017, 50.
[41] Seeher (1992, 162-163) dated the Kiliya type of Anatolian figurine to the M and LCh period.
[42] Höckmann 1968, 69-70.
[43] Schwall and Horejs' (2017, 66-7, Fig.3.20) distribution of early dating schematic figurines in western Anatolia and beyond which question the Cycladic origin of the EBA violin shape figurine.
[44] See in Renfrew's typology (1969, 4, Ill.1.Be.) the violin form body with a shaft-like prolonged head.
[45] Schwall and Horejs (2017) recently found Anatolian figurines from Çukuriçi Höyük possibly dated to Chalcolithic period.
[46] The figurine was named after the site Kiliya,and it is a common type during the M and L Ch period in western Anatolia (Höckmann 1977b, 176; see also in: Seeher, 1992, 153.)
[47] Schwall and Horejs, 2017, 66-68.
[48] Examples from the excavation of Sir Arthur Evan and John Evans at Knossos by Papathanasopoulos 1996a, 224, no.31; Kanta and Kokosali 2017.
[49] Kanta and Kokosali 2017, 82.
[50] Kanta and Kokosali 2017, 82.
[51] Mina 2008, 17.
[52] For interaction between the Cyclades and Greek Mainland see: Kouka 2008; dialogues between east Aegean islands and western Anatolia see: Kouka, 2014, 46-63; interaction in the Aegean see: Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2011, 100-109.
[53] Kouka 2008, 2016, 203-204.
[54] Sotirakopoulou 2008_b, 69.
[55] Papadatos (2016, 11) refers to Branigan (1972) and Sakellarakis (1987).
[56] Papadatos (2016, 11) refers to Branigan (1972) and Sakellarakis (1987).
[57] In the important site at Archanes 34 figurines and other Cycladic artefacts were discovered see: Davaras & Betancourt 2004, 2012; Wilson et al., 2008; for the Archanes figurines see: Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 339-349, figs. 302-319; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 2017, 174-88 figs.11-42.
[58] Similar distribution of Cycladic imports and Cycladicizing local imitations, see: Tsipopoulou and Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2017, figs. 4 -19.
[59] Renfrew 2017, 42.
[60] Panagiotopoulos 2017, 281.
[61] Panagiotopoulos 2017, 273.
[62] Broodbank 2000a, 278.
[63] Renfrew 2017, 1.
[64] Panagiotopoulos 2017, 280.
[65] Panagiotopoulos 2017, 281.
[66] Papadatos 2003, 2016, 12; Mina 2008, 20.
[67] Meskel and Nakamura 2005, 161.
[68] Chapman 2000.
[69] Bailey 2005.
[70] Tsountas' (1898, 137-212; 1899, 73 – 134) first excavations in the Cyclades at the end of 19th century; important corpus of EC cemeteries by Rambach (2000a); short summary of ECI burials see: Rambach 2017, 65-87.
[71] Massa (2014, 74) refers to Voutsaki (1993, 24).

[72] Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, pl. 13.13-23, pl. 14.1-4 ; 2017, 69, Fig. 7.2
[73] Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach 2000a, pl. 13.2-4; 2017,67, Fig. 7.1.6-7.
[74] Tsountas, 1898, 155; Rambach, 2000a, pl. 6.1; 2017, 67, Fig. 7.1.1.
[75] Tsountas 1898, 155; Rambach, 2000a, pl. 4.4-5,8; 2017, 67, Fig. 7.1.1-3.
[76] Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, pl. 17.4-15, pl. 18.1; 2017, 71, Fig. 7.3.3-10, 73, Fig. 7.4.1-5.
[77] Tsountas 1898, 161-2; Rambach 2000a, pl. 16.21, pl. 17.1; 2017, 71, Fig. 7.3.1-2.
[78] Tsountas 1898, 159-60; Rambach 2000a, pl. 14.
[79] Tsountas 1898, 159; Rambach2000a, 34, pl. 13.
[80] Tsountas 1898, 162; Rambach 2000a, pl. 17.4-15, pl. 18.1; 2017, 71, Fig. 7.3.3-10, 73, Fig. 7.4.1-5.
[81] Tsountas 1898, 161-2; Rambach 2000a, pl. 16.21, pl. 17.1; 2017, 71, Fig. 7.3.1-2.
[82] Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a, pl. 19-8-9, 2017, 73, Fig. 7.4.6-7.
[83] Tsountas, 1898, 163, 195; Rambach 2000a 53, pl. 19-20; 2017, 72.
[84] Missing head of figurine see: Tsountas 1899, 75; Rambach 2000a, 63, pl. 25.2; 2017, 74, fig. 7.5.10.
[85] Tsountas 1899, 159, pl. 11.6; Rambach 2000a, 35, pl. 13.18; 2017, 69, fig. 7.2.6.
[86] Tsountas, 1899, 75-6, fig. 28; Rambach 2000a, 64, pl. 25.3; 2017, 74, fig. 7.5.11.
[87] Renfrew 1969, 9-13.
[88] Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25; Davis 1984, 16.
[89] Davis 1984, 16.
[90] Getz-Preziosi 1981, 25; Davis 1984, 16.
[91] Marthari 2017c, 297.
[92] Marthari 2017c, 300, table 20.1.
[93] Stephanos (1874, 520, note 7; 1875a, pl. a; 1875b, 8, note7) left only short notes with some rough drawings of the figurines see also in: Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2017.
[94] These area EAM5068 and EAM5069; Tsountas 1899, 100-111; Renfrew 1969, 12; Rambach 2000, 103; Marthari 2017c, 300.
[95] See for example grave 345 in: Rambach 2000a,111, pl. 46.4; Marthari, 2017c, 300; or grave 415 in: Rambach 2000a, 130-1, pl. 60.2; Marthari 2017c, 301.
[96] Rescue excavation between 2002-2008 at the Roussos field by Marthari (2014, 2017c, 302).
[97] Marthari 2017c, 304.
[98] Tsountas 1899, 114, fig. 29, pl. 10.8, 9, 15, 18, 23-6; Rambach 2000a, pl.65.7; Marthari 2017, 302).
[99] Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 184.
[100] Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 184.
[101] Kontoleon 1970, 151, pl. 194a.1-2; Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 187, Fig. 15.3.
[102] Kontoleon 1971, 178, pl.210-11; Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 184, 188, fig.15.4.
[103] Kontoleon 1971, 178, 211-213; Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 187, table 15.2, 188, fig. 15.4 .
[104] Kontoleon 1972, 151; Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 190, table 15.4, Fig. 15.6.
[105] Marthari 2017c, 300-305, figs. 20.5-11.
[106] Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 192-209, figs. 15.8-29.
[107] Mellink 1964b, 1965, 1967, 1969.
[108] Kâmil, 1982.
[109] Massa and Şahoğlu 2011, 166; Massa 2014, 78.
[110] Uhri 2010; Massa and Şahoğlu 2011; Massa 2014, 73.
[111] Mellink 1967, 254, pl. 77 fig. 23-24.
[112] Kâmil 1982, 19-20 .
[113] Mellink, 1964, pl. 82, Fig. 24, 25.
[114] Massa and Şahoğlu 2011, 166.
[115] First publications see: Xanthoudides 1924; Branigen 1970, 1974, 1993; Legarra Herrero 2011; Panagiotopoulos 2017; also in: Kanta and Karetsou 2017.

[116] Branigan 1970, 1974, 1993; Panagiotopoulos 2002; Legarra Herrero 2011, 195; Kanta *et al.* 2017, 250.
[117] Kanta *et al.* 2017, 252-3, Fig. 25-28.
[118] Kanta *et al.* 2017, 254, Fig. 29.
[119] Such as anthropomorphic amulets, vase-shape female figurines, animal figurines found by Xanthoudides (1924, pls. II, IV, XXI, XXX) see also in: Kanta *et al.* 2017, 256-8, figs.32-43.
[120] Kanta *et al.* 2017, 260.
[121] Pit 5 see in: Zapheiropoulou 2008; Gavalas 2017, 272, 293.
[122] Zapheiropoulou 2008, 191, fig. 19.30; Gavalas 2017, 293.
[123] NM4181 see in: Zapheiropoulou 2017,340-43, figs. 22.7-11.
[124] Gavalas 2017, 295; Zapheiropoulou 2017, 339, 342-3.
[125] Such as grave 27, where five marble figurines accompanied by three marble vessels were unearthed in the upper fill of the grave suggesting the secondary deposition of the offerings see: Kontoleon 1971, 178-9; 1972, 150-3; Lambrinoudakis 1976, 296; Doumas and Lambrinoudakis 2017, 191.
[126] Davis 1984, 16; Marthari 1999, 159.
[127] See for example the settlement of Skarkos on Ios, Cyclades, excavated by Marthari (2017b).
[128] Wilson 2017, 100.
[129] Marthari 2017b.
[130] Chalandriani varieties see in: Marthari 2017b, figurine 3106 and 3935, 139, Fig.12.14, 141, Fig.12.15.
[131] Marthari 2017b, Fig. 12.13 – 12.25.
[132] Marthari 2017b, 129.
[133] Including fine marble vessels, spools, bone tubes, unfinished marble bowl, marble flakes, tools, raw pumice and obsidian blade, lumps of red pigment, see in: Marthari 2017b, 133-134.
[134] Marthari 2017b, 139.
[135] Marthari, 2017b, 127.
[136] Marthari 2017c, 138, fig. 12.13.
[137] Marthari 2017c, 141, fig.1 2.15.3106, 3935.
[138] Caskey, 1971b, 1974; Davis 1984.
[139] Wilson 2017, SF 226-230, 96-97 fig. 9.2-9.5.
[140] One torso was found buried in a clay floor of room 3 in House E, three other fragments were associated with the construction of House D, see more in details in: Wilson 2017, 95-100, Fig.9.7-8.
[141] Wilson 2017, 99.
[142] SF-226 see in: Wilson 2017, 95, fig. 9.1.
[143] Parallels known from the Special Deposit South, and another example from Ayia Irini from a later context. See more in: Renfrew and Boyd 2017a, 390-392.
[144] Hershenson and Overbeck (2017, 423) give more detailed and refined topographic and chronological distribution of the figurine fragments based on systematic analysis of the contexts.
[145] Hershenson and Overbeck 2017, 426.
[146] Caskey, 1971b, 1974 cat. no. 3; Hershenson and Overbeck 2017, 427.
[147] Hershenson and Overbeck 2017, 427.
[148] Caskey 2009, 150; Hershenson and Overbeck 2017, 427)
[149] Carpentier 2017, 328, Fig. 5 Figurine 1, 329, Fig.7.
[150] Carpenter 2011, 75-77.
[151] Branigan 1971, 60-61, 67, 69; Detournay *et al.* 1980, 99-101; Pieler 2004, 82.
[152] Carpenter 2017, 328.
[153] Carpentier 2017, 330.
[154] Papadatos 2007, 427; Carpenter 2017, 330.
[155] Carpentier 2017, 331.

[156] Makowski 2005, 24.
[157] Blegen *et al*, 37, 45-47, 54-59, 64-68, fig. 263.
[158] Lamb 1938.
[159] Lloyd and Mellart 1962.
[160] Renfrew et al. 2007a, 2007b, 2015.
[161] Doumas 1972, 63.
[162] Doumas 1990, 95; Renfrew 1984, 27-9; 1991, 50, 101, 186; 2007b; 2015; 2018a
[163] Renfrew *et al.* 2007b, 2015, 2018.
[164] Renfrew *et al.* 2007a, 2007b, 2015, 2018.
[165] Renfrew 2018, 547-550.
[166] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis 2018, 355-431.
[167] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis 2018, 430.
[168] Renfrew 2018, 547.
[169] Renfrew 2018, 547-8.
[170] Renfrew 2018, 557-8.
[171] Broodbank 2000a, 223-230.
[172] Broodbank (2000a, 267-8) argues for a strategy of control of value through capturing and removing products including figurines, from circulation. According to him, breakage as a symbolic destruction of the value and power of the objects, is the guarantee that these products can never be put into recirculation.
[173] Getz-Preziosi 1981, 23.
[174] Reds were mainly cinnabar, iron-oxide and red ochre see more in: Hendrix 2000, 122-3; 2003a, 428-9; 2003b, 139-40; Birtacha 2017, 495.
[175] Birtacha 2017, 492.
[176] Tsountas 1898, 163; Rambach 2000a,52, pl. 19.12, 53, pl.20.2-3.
[177] Visible horizontal band on the forehead, eyebrow, outline of the eyes, curl at the back as part of the hair see in: Birtacha 2017, 498-99, fig. 35.4.
[178] Marthari 2017b, 139-40.
[179] See for examples: Birtacha 2017a, 497-98.
[180] Birtacha 2017a, 496.
[181] Birtacha 2017b.
[182] Papadatos 2016, 12.
[183] Papadatos 2003, 2016, 13.
[184] Papadatos 2016, 13.
[185] Mina *et al* 2016.
[186] Talalay (1993) and Ucko (1962, 1968) studied Neolithic figurines in the Mediterranean.
[187] Talalay (1993, 38) and Ucko (1962, 427; 1968, 425-9) emphasized the importance of contextual observation during the interpretation process of Mediterranean Neolithic figurines.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atakuman, C. 2017. “Figurines of the Anatolian Early Bronze Age: the Assemblage from Koçumbeli-Ankara.” *AnatSt* 67: 85-108.

Bailey, D. 1996. “The Interpretation of Figurines: The Emergence of Illusion and New Ways of Seeing.” *CAJ* 6: 291-295.

——. 2005. *Prehisotric Figurines: Representation and Corporeality in the Neolithic*. London: Routledge.

Barber, R.L.N. 1984. “Early Cycladic Marble Figures: Some Thoughts in Function.” In *Cycladica: Studies in Memory of N. P. Goulandris,* edited by L. Fitton, 10-47. London: British Museum Publications.

Bent, T. J. 1884. “Researches among the Cyclades.” *JHS 5*: 42-59.

Betancourt, P.P. 2017. “Cycladic or Non-Cycladic? Defining the Borders of Cycladic Influence in Crete.” In *Cycladica in Crete. Cycladic and Cycladicizing Figurines within their Archaeological Context*, edited by N. C. Stampolidis and P. Sotirakopoulou, (Proceeding of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015). 57-64. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Birtacha, K. 2017a. “Examining the Paint on Cycladic Figurines.” In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.J. Boyd, 491-502. Oxford: Oxbow.

——. 2017b. “Ενδείξεις για γραπτή απόδοση χαρακτηριστικών στα κυκλαδικά και κυκλαδικού τύπο ειδώλια από την Κρήτη.” In *Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their Archaeological Context*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis and P. Sotirakopoulou. (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015). 521-30. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Blegen, C. W., J. L. Caskey, and M. Rawson. 1950. *Troy I: The First and Second Settlement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

——. 1951. *Troy II: The Third, Fourth and Fifth Settlement*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Branigan, K. 1970. *The Tombs of Mesara. A Study of Funerary Architecture and Ritual in Southern Crete, 2800-177 B.C.* London: G. Duckworth.

——. 1971. “Cycladic Figurines and their Derivatives in Crete.” *BSA* 66: 57-78.

——. 1974. *Aegean Metalwork of the Early and Middle Bronze Age*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

——. 1993. *Dancing with Death: Life and Death in Southern Crete c. 3000-2000 B.C.* Amsterdam: AM Hakkert.

Broodbank, C. 1989. “The Longboat and Society in the Cyclades in the Keros-Syros Culture.” *AJA* 93: 319-37.

——. 1992. “The Spirit is Willing” review of C. Renfrew, The Cycladic Spirit. Antiquity 66: 542-46.

——. 2000a. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——. 2000b. “Perspectives on an Early Bronze Age Island Centre: an Analysis of Pottery from Daskaleio-Kavos (Keros) in the Cyclades.” *OJA* 19.4: 323-42.

Carpentier, F. 2011. “The Excavation of Zone 2: the 2009-2010 Campaigns.” In *Excavations at Sissi II. Preliminary Report on the 2009-2010 Campaigns (Aegis 4),* edited by J. Driesen, I. Schoep, F. Carpentier, I. Crevecoeur, M. Devolder, F. Gaignerot-Driessen, P. Hacıgüzeller, V. Isaakidou, S. Susseret, C. Langohr, Q. Letesson and A. Schmitt, 55-63. Louvain-la-Neuve: Presses universitaires de Louvain.

——. 2017. “Cycladizing” Figurines from a Late Minoan IB Domestic Context at Sissi, Crete.” In *Cycladica in Crete. Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their Archaeological Context*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, and P. Sotirakopoulou (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015). 325-38. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Caskey, J. L. 1971a. “Investigations in Keos. Part I: Excavations and Explorations, 1966-1970.” *Hesperia* 40.4: 359-96.
——. 1971b. “Marble figurines from Ayia Irini in Keos.” *Hesperia* 40.2: 113-26.
——. 1974. “Addenda to the marble figurines from Ayia Irini.” *Hesperia* 43.1: 77-79.
Cherry, J. F. 1992. “Beazley in the Bronze Age? Reflections on Attribution Studies in Aegean Prehistory.” In *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology*, edited by R. Laffineur and J.C. Crowley, 123-44. *Aegaeum* 8. Liège: Histoire de l'art et archéologie de la Grèce antique, Université de Liège.
Cherry, J. F., and J. L. Davis. 2017. “The Other Finds.” In *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77*, edited by C. Renfrew, N. Brodie, C. Morris, and C. Scarre, 401-37. London: British School at Athens.
Chipiez, P. 1894. *History of Art in Primitive Greece.* London: Chapman and Hall.
Collignon, M. 1892. *Histoire de la sculpture grecque I.* Paris: Firmin-Didot.
Davis J. 1984. “A Cycladic Figurine in Chicago and the Non-funereal Use of Cycladic Marble Figurines.” In *Cycladica: Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium*, edited by L. Fitton, 15-23. London: British Museum Publications.
Davaras, C., and P. P. Betancourt. 2004. “The Hagia Photia Cemetery I: The Tomb Groups and Architecture.” *Prehistory Monographs* 14. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.
——. 2012. “The Hagia Photia Cemetery II: The Pottery.“ *Prehistory Monographs 34*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.
Detournay, B.J., C. Poursat, and F. Vandenabeele. 1980. “Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Le Quartier Mu II. Vases de pierre et de métal, vannerie, figurines et reliefs d’applique, éléments de parure et de décoration, armes, sceaux et empreintes.” *ÉtCrét* 26. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
Doumas, C. 1972. “Notes on Cycladic Architecture.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 87: 151–70.
——. 1977. “An Historical Survey of Early Cycladic Research.” In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades: Handbook of an Ancient Civilisation,* edited by J. Thimme. 185-91. Karlsruhe.
——. 1984. *L'Art des Cyclades dans la collection de N. P. Goulandris: marbre, ceramique et metal a l'age du Bronze Ancien.* Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
——. 1990: ‘Death’. *In Cycladic Culture: Naxos in the 3rd Millennium BC* (Athens, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation — Museum of Cycladic Art), edited by L. Marangou, 93–95. Athens: Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art.
Doumas, C., and V. Lambrinoudakis. 2017. “The Cemetery at Aplomata on Naxos.” In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. C. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd, 183-218. Oxford: Oxbow.
Dümmler, G. 1886. “Mitteilungen von den griechischen Inseln. I. Reste vorgriechischer Bevolkerung auf den Cykladen.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 11:15-46.
Epstein, J. 1995. *Let There Be Sculpture: An Autobiography*. London: Hulton.
Evans, J. D., and C. Renfrew. 1968. *Excavations at Saliagos near Antiparos*. Athens: Thames and Hudson.
Fitton, J.L. 1989. *Cycladic Art*. London: British Museum Press.
Gavalas, G. 2008. Marble Figurines from Sites on Epano and Kato Kouphonisi. In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.J. Boyd, 272-309. Oxford: Oxbow.
Getz-Preziosi, P. 1981. “Risk and Repair in Early Cycladic Sculpture.” *Metropolitan Museum Jounal* 16: 5-32.
——. 1987. *Sculptors of the Cyclades. Individual and tradition in the third millennium B. C.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Getz-Gentle, P. 2001. *Personal Styles in Early Cycladic Sculpture*. London.
Gill, W.J., and C. Chippindale. 1993. “Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures.” *AJA* 97.4: 601-659.
Haskell, F., and H. Penny. 1981. *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*. New Haven: Miller.
Hendrix, E.A. 1998. “Painted Ladies of the Early Bronze Age. “ *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 55: 4-15.
——. 2000. *The Paint Motifs on Early Cycladic Figuries. Michigan (II.):* UMI Dissertation Service.
——. 2003a. “Painted Early Cycladic Figurines: an Exploration of Context and Meaning.” *Hesperia* 72: 405-46.
——. 2003b. “Some Methods for Revealing Paint on Early Cycladic Figures.” In *Metron Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age: Proceedings of the 9 th International Aegean Conference, New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002 (Aegaeum 24),* edited by K. Polinger Foster and R. Laffineur. 139-45. Liège: Université de Liège.
Hershenson, C. R., and J. C., Overbeck. 2017. “Early Cycladic Figurines in Later Contexts at Ayia Irini, Kea.” In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd. 421-35. Oxford: Oxbow.
Höckmann, O. 1977a. “Cycladic Religion.” In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades. Handbook of an Ancient Civilization*, edited by J. Thimme, 37-52. Karlsruhe: Müller.
——. 1977b. “The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Idols of Anatolia.” In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades. Handbook of an Ancient Civilization*, edited by J. Thimme, 173-184. Karlsruhe: Müller.
——. 1983. ”Zwei frühanatolische Marmorfiguren.” In *Antidoron. Festschrift für J. Thimme zum 65. Geburtstag am 26. September 1982,* edited by D. Metzler, B. Otto, and C. Müller, 25-30. Karlsruhe: Müller.
——. 1984. ”Frühe Funde aus Anatolien im Museum Altenessen, Essen, und in Privatbesitz.” *JRGZM* 31: 97-136
——. 1987. ”Frühbronzezeitliche Kulturbeziehungen im Mittelmeergebeit unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kykladen.” In *Ägäische Bronzezeit*, edited by H-G. Bucholz, 53-120. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
Kanta, A., and M. Kokosali. 2017. "Marble figurines in Crete: the Beginnings.” In *Cycladica in Crete. Cycladic and Cycladizing Figurines within their Archaeological Context,* edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, and P. Sotirakopoulou (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015) 65-106. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.
Kanta, A., A. Karetsou, and D. Panagiotopoulos. 2017. ”Cycladic-Type (and related) Figurines from Hagios Onouphrios and Koumasa. Detecting the Character of Cycladic ‘Presence’ in South Crete.” In *Cycladic and Cycladicizing Figurines within their Archaeological Context*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, and P. Sotirakopoulou. (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015), 239-272. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.
Katsarou, S. and D. U Schilardi. 2017. “Recontextualised Neolithic and Early Cycladic Figurines at the Acropolis of Koumounaries, Paros.” In .” In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. L. Boyd, 409-20. Oxford: Oxbow.
Kontoleon, N. 1970. “Ανασκαφή Νάξου [Anaskaphi Naxou].” *Praktika* 125: 146-55.
——. 1971. “Ανασκαφαι Νάξου: Νεκρόπολις Απλωμάτων. [Anaskafai Naxou: Nekropolis Aplomaton].” *Praktika* 126: 172-80.
——. 1972. Ανασκαφαί Νάξου. [Anaskapfai Naxou].” *Praktika* 127:143-55.

Korfmann, M. K. M. 1979. “Eine weibliche Göttheit in der Frühbronzezeit Anatoliens.” *PZ* 54: 187-200.

Kouka, O. 2008. „Diaspore, Presence or Interaction? The Cyclades and the Greek Mainland from the Final Neolithic to Early Bronze II.” In *Horizon. Ὁριζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades s* (Cambridge, 25th-28th March 2004), edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 311-319. Cambridge: Mc Donald Institute Monographs.

——. 2014. “Past Stories - Modern Narratives: Cultural Dialogues between East Aegean Islands and the West Anatolian Mainland in the 4th Millennium BC.” In *Western Anatolia before Troy. Proto-Urbanization in the 4th Millennium BC?, e*dited by B. Horejs and M. Mehofer, 43-63. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Lamb, W. 1937. “Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar: I.*” Archaeologia* 86: 1-64.

——. 1938. “Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar: II*” Archaeologia* 87: 217-73.

Lambrinoudakis, V. 1976. “Ανασκαφή Νάξου. [Anaskaphi Naxou].” *Praktika* 131B: 295-308.

Legarra Herrero, B. 2011. “The Secret Life of Early and Middle Minoan Tholos Cemeteries: Koumasa and Platanos.” In *Prehistoric Crete: Regional and Diachronic Studies on Mortuary System*, edited by J. M.A. Murphy, 49-84. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.

Lloyd, S., and J. Mellaart. 1962. *Beycesultan 1. The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Levels.* BIAA Occasional Monograph Series 6. London

Makowski. M. 2005. “Anthropomorfic Figurines of Early Bronze Age Anatolia.” *Archeologia* 56: 7-30.

Malraux, A. 1976. *Picasso's Mask.* New York: Da Capo Press.

Marangou, L., ed. 1990. *Cycladic Culture: Naxos in the 3rd Millenium B. C.* Athens: Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art

Marthari, M. 1999. “Cycladic Marble Idols: The Silent Witnesses of an Island Society in the Early Bronze Age Aegean.” In *Gods and Heroes of the Bronze Age: Europe at the Time of Ulysses (25th Council of Europe Art Exhibition)*, edited by J. Jensen, 153-57. London: Thames and Hudson.

——. 2014. “Syros: the Cemetery at Chalandriani, I. Roussos fields (2003-2008).” *Archaiologikon Deltion* 63B2: 1095-97

——. 2017a. “Early Cycladic Sculptures as Archaeological Objects.” In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.J. Boyd. 13-22. Oxford: Oxbow.

——. 2017b. “Cycladic Figurines in Settlements: the Case of the Major EC II Settlement at Skarkos on Ios.” In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.L. Boyd, 119-64. Oxford: Oxbow.

——. 2017c. Figurines in Context at the Chalandriani Cemetery on Syros. In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd, 297-309. Oxford: Oxbow.

Marthari, M., C. Renfrew, and M. J. Boyd. eds. 2017. *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Massa, M. 2014. “Early Bronze Age Burial Customs on the Central Anatolian Plateau: a View from Demircihöyük-Sarıket.” *AnatSt* 64: 73-93.

Massa, M., and V. Şahoğlu. 2011: “Western Anatolian Burial Customs during the Early Bronze Age” In *Across: The Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the Third Millennium BC*, edited by V. Şahoğlu and P. Sotirakopoulou, 164-71. Istanbul: Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum.

Mellink, M., J. 1964b. “Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1963.” *AJA* 68.3: 269-78.

——. 1965. “Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1964.” *AJA* 69.3: 241-52.

——. 1967. “Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1966.” *AJA* 71.3: 251-67.

——. 1969. “Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1968.” *AJA* 73.3: 319-3.

Meskel, L. and C. Nakamura. 2005. “Figurines.” In *Çatalhöyük 2005 Archive Report*. Çatalhöyük Research Project, 161-88. www.catalhoyuk.com/sites/default/files/media/pdf/Archive_Report_2005.pdf

Mina, M. 2008. *Anthropomorphic Figurines from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Aegean Gender Dynamics and Implications for the Understanding of Aegean Prehistory*. BAR International Series 1894. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

——. 2010. “In Search of the Cycladic Hunter-warrior: Evidence and Implications for the Understanding of Gender Construction and Roles in the Early Bronze Age Aegean.” In *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, edited by L. H. Dommasnes, T. Hjørungdal, S. Montón-Subías, M. S. Romero and N. L. Wicker, 225-244. Budapest: Archaeolingua.

Mina, M., S. Triantaphyllou and Y. Papadatos. eds. 2016. *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied identities in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Moore, H., and D. Finn. 1981. *Henry Moore at the British Museum*. rev.ed. London: Harry N. Abrams.

Panagiotopoulos, D. 2002. *Das Tholosgrab E von Phourni bei Archanes. Studien zu einem frühkretischen Grabfund und seinem kulturellen Kontext*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1014. Oxford: Archaeopress.

——. 2017. “Three new Cycladizing figurines from Koumasa. Typological dilemmas and Phenomenological Challenges.” In.” In *Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines within their Archaeological Context*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, and P. Sotirakopoulou (Proceedings of the International Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015), 273-90. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Papadatos, Y. 2005. *Tholos Tomb Gamma: A Prepalatial Tholos Tomb at Phourni, Archanes*. (Prehistory Monographs 17) Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: INSTAP Academic Press.

——. 2007. ”Beyond Cultures and Ethnicity: a New Look at Material Aculture Distribution and Inter-Regional Interaction in the Early Bronze Age Southern Aegean.” In *Mediterranean Crossroads*, edited by S. Antoniadou and A. Pace, 419-51. Athens: Pierides Foundation.

——. 2016. “Figurines, Paint and Perception of the Body in the Early Bronze Age Southern Aegean.” In *An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodeis and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean,* editedy by M. Mina, S. Triantaphyllou and Y. Papadatos, 11-17. Oxford: Oxbow.

Papathanassopoulos, G. 1981. *Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization*. Athens: “Melissa” Publishing House.

Petrasch, E. 1977. “On the Exhibition.” In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades*, edited by E. Petrasch, 9-11. Karlsruhe: C F Müller Großdruckerei und Verlag GmbH.

Platon, L. and M. Kyritsi. 2017. “Two Schematic “Cycladic-type” Figurines from Zakros.” In *Cycladica in Crete. Cycladic and Cycladicizing Figurines Within Their Archaeological Context,* edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis, and P. Sotirakopoulou (Proceedingd of the Internation Symposium, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, 1-2 October 2015). 379-420. Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Pryce, F. N. 1928. *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum Vol. I Part I: Prehellenic and Early Greek*. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

Rambach, J. 2000a. *Kykladen I. Die Frühe Bronzezeit. Grab- und Siedlungsbefunde*. Bonn: Habelt.

——. 2000b. *Kykladen II. Die Frühe Bronzezeit. Frühebronzezeitliche Beigabensittenkreise auf den Kykladen. Relative Chronologie und Verbreitung*. Bonn: Habelt.

Renfrew, C. 1969. “The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines. “ *AJA* 73: 1-32.

——. 1972. *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the 3rd Millennium B.C.* London: Methuen.
——. 1977a. "The Cycladic Culture." In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades,* edited by C. Renfrew. 17-30. Karlsruhe: C F Müller Großdruckerei und Verlag GmbH.
——. 1977b. "The Typology and Chronology of Cycladic Sculpture." In *Art and Culture of the Cyclades,* edited by C. Renfrew. 59-70. Karlsruhe: C F Müller Großdruckerei. und Verlag GmbH
——. 1984. "Speculations on the Use of Early Cycladic Sculpture." In *Cycladica. Studies in Memory of N.P. Goulandris. Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, June 1983*, edited by J. L. Fitton, 24-30. London: British Museum Publications.
——. 1991. *The Cycladic Spirit.* London: Thames and Hudson.
——. 2017a. "Early Cycladic Sculpture: Issue of Provenance, terminology and classification." In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.J. Boyd, 1-12. Oxford: Oxbow.
——. 2017b. The Sculptures of Neolithic Saliagos. In." In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M.J. Boyd, 24-29. Oxford: Oxbow.
Renfrew, C., and J. S. Peacey. 1968. "Aegean Marble: a Petrological Study." *BSA* 63: 45-66.
Renfrew, C., C. Doumas, L. Marangou and G. Gavalas eds. 2007a. *Keros: Dhaskalio Kavos, the investigations of 1987-88.* Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
Renfrew, C., O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas, E. Margaritis, C. French, and P. Sotirakopoulou, eds. 2007b. "Keros: Dhaskalio, and Kavos, Early Cycladic Stronghold and Ritual Centre. Preliminary Report of the 2006 and 2007 Excavation Seasons." *BSA* 104: 27-47.
Renfrew, C., O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and M.J. Boyd, eds. 2015. *The Sanctuary on Keros and the Origins of Aegean Ritual Practice: Excavations of 2006-2008, Vol. II: Kavos and the Special Deposits.* Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
Renfrew, C., and M. L. Boyd. 2017a. Selected Sculptural Fragments from the Special Deposit South at Kavos on Keros. In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd, 379-394. Oxford: Oxbow
——. 2017b. The Marble Sculptures from Phylakopi on Melos. In *Early Cycladic Figurines in Contexts*, edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd. 436-45. Oxford: Oxbow
Renfrew, C., M. Marthari, and M. L. Boyd. 2016. "The Curse of Looting: The Scourge of Cycladic Archaeology". In *Cycladic Society 5000 Years Ago*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis and I.G. Lourentzatou, 117-22. Athens: Museum of Cycladic Art - Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.
Renfrew, C. 2018a. "The Material Worlds of Dhaskalio and Kavos." In *The Sanctuary on Keros and the Origins of Aegean Ritual Practice. Vol. III*: *The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and M.J. Boyd; 547-57. Cambrige: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
Renfrew, C., O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas, and M. J. Boyd, eds. 2018b. *The Sanctuary on Keros and the Origins of Aegean Ritual Practice: the Excavations of 2006-2008. Vol. III*: *The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual.* Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
Sachini, A. 1984. *Prehisotric Cycladic Figures and their Influence on Early Twentieth-Century Sculpture.* M.Litt. thesis. University of Edinborough.
Sakellarakis, Y. and E. Sapouna-Sakellaraki. 1997. *Archanes. Minoan Crete in a New Light*. Athens: Ammos Publicaions. Eleni Nakou Foundation.
Sampson, A. 1985. Πρωτοελλαδικοί τάφοι της Μανικας. *Ανθρωπος* 10: 513-28.

——. 2016. “The Problem of Cycladic Colonies and the Significance of the Cycladic Element in the Greek Mainland and the Aegean.” in *The Early Helladic Settlement and Cemetery, Vol. II*, edited by A. Sampson, 112-19. Athens: Hetaireia Euboïkon Spudōn, Tmēma Chalkidos.

Sherratt, S. 2000. *Catalogue of Cycladic Antiquities in the Ashmolean Museum.* Volume I. Oxford: University Press.

Schilardi, D.U. 1977. “Ανασκαφές στήν Πάρο [Anaskafi stin Paro].” *Praktika* 132: 363-77.

——. 1980. “Ανασκαφικές και έπιφανειακές έρευνες στήν Πάρο [Anaskafikes kai epifaneiakes erevnes stin Paro].” *Praktika* 135: 263-86.

——. 1982. “Ανασκαφή στήν Πάρο [Anaskafi stin Paro].” *Praktika* 137: 232-52.

——. 1983. “Ανασκαφή στήν Πάρο [Anaskafi stin Paro].” *Praktika* 38: 271-96.

Schwall, C. and B. Horejs. 2017. “Western Anatolian Impact on Aegean Figurines and Religion?” In *Çukuriçi Höyük 1. Anatolia and the Aegean from the 7th to the 3rd Millennium BC*, edited by Horejs, B, 53-77. Oriental and European Archaeology 5. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Seeher, J. 1992. “Die kleinasiatischen Marmorstatuetten vom Typ Kiliya.” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2: 153-70.

Sotirakopoulou, P. 2005. *The "Keros Hoard" Myth or Reality? Searching for the lost pieces of a puzzle.* Athens: N. P. Goulandris Foundation - Museum of Cycladic Art.

——. 2008. “Akrotiri, Thera. The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze age phases in light of recent excavations at the site.” In *Horizon. Ὁριζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew. 121-34. Oxford: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Stampolidis, N. C., and P. Sotirakopoulou. 2011. “Early Cycladic Stone Artefacts and Idols.” *ACROSS. The Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the 3rd Millennium BC*, edited by V. Şahoğlu and P. Sotirakopoulou. 64-85. Istanbul: Sabanci University Sakip Sabanci Museum.

——. 2011. “Early Cycladic Period: Trade and Interconnections”, In *Across the Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the 3rd Millennium BC*, edited by V. Şahoğlu and P. Sotirakopoulou. 100-109. Istanbul: Sabanci University Sakip Sabanci Museum.

Stampolidis, N. Chr., and P. Sotirakopoulou. eds. 2017. *Cycladica in Crete. Cycladic and Cycladizing Figurines within their Archaeological Context. Proceedings of the International Symposium. Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens 1-2 Ocotber 2015.* Athens: Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Πανεπιστίμιο Κρήτης.

Stephanos, C. 1874. “Επιγδαφαι τής νήσου Σύρου.” *Athenaion* 3: 513-49, 643-67.

——. 1875a, “Επιγδαφαι τής νήσου Σύρου.” *Athenaion* 4: 3-32.

——. 1875b. *Επιγδαφαι τής νήσου Σύρου,τὸ πλείστον ἀνέκδοτοι, μετά τοπογραφικών καί ίστορικών παρατηρήσεων περίτής άρχαίας Σύρου.* Athens: Hestia.

Talalay, L.E. 1993. *Deities, Dolls, and Devices: Neolithic Figurines from Franchti Cave, Greece. Franchti 9.* Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press.

Tambakopoulos, D., and Y. Maniatis. 2018. The Provenance of the Marble Artefacts. In *The Sanctuary on Keros and the Origins of Aegean Ritual Practice Vol. II.I The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual*, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas and M. J. Boyd, 355-432.. Cambrige: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Televantou, C.A. 2017. “Figurines from Strofilas, Andros. In *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*,” edited by M. Marthari, C. Renfrew and M. J. Boyd, 39-51. Oxford: Oxbow

——. 2006. “Ρροϊστορική Άνδρος” [Ptoistoriki Andros]. In *Γεννέθλιον*, edited by N. Stampolidis. Athens: N.P. Goulandris Foundation.

——. 2008. “Strofila: a Neolithic settlement on Andros.” In *Horizon. Ὁριζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades,* edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 45-53. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Thimme, J. ed. 1976. *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend vor Christus*. Ausstellung im Karlsruher Schloss vom 25. Juni – 10. Oktober 1976. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

Thimme, J., and P. Getz-Preziosi. eds. 1977. *Art and Culture of the Cyclades*. Karlsruhe: C F Müller

Thimme, J. 1984. ”An Early Bronze Age Marble Idol with Bored Ornaments from Anatolia.” *The Israel Museum Journal* 3: 19-20.

Tsountas, C. 1898. "Κγκλαδικά.” *Archaiologiki Ephemeris* 37: 137-212.

——. 1899.”Κγκλαδικά II.” *Archaiologiki Ephemeris* 38: 73-134.

Ucko, P.J. 1962. “Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorfic Figurines.” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 92: 38-54.

——. 1968. Anhropomorfic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with Comparative Material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mainland Greece. London: Andrew Szmidla.

Uhri, A. 2010: *Anadolu’da Ölümün Tarihöncesi. Bir Geleneğin Oluşum Süreçleri*. Istanbul.

Voutsaki, S. 1993. *Society and Culture in the Mycenaean World: An Analysis of Mortuary Practices in the Argolid, Thessaly and the Dodecanese*. PhD thesis. University of Cambridge.

Warren, P. 1972. *Myrtos: An Early Bronze Age Settlement in Crete*. Oxford: The Alden Press.

Wilson, D. E. , P. M. Day, and N. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki. 2008. “The Gateway Port of Poros-Katsambas: Trade and Exchange between North-Central Crete and the Cyclades in EB I-II.” In *Horizon. Ὁριζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew, 261-70. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Xanthoudides, A.A. 1924. *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesara. An Account of some Early Cemeteries of Southern Crete*. London: University Press of Liverpool Ltd.

Zapheiropoulou, P. 2008. “Early Bronze Age Cemeteries of the Kampos Group on Ano Kouphonisi.” In *Horizon. Ὁριζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by N. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas and C. Renfrew. 183-94. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Zervos, C. 1957. *L’art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l’âge du bronze, 2,500-1,100 avant notre ère*. Paris: Cahiers d’Art.