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Iste Ego Sum: Re-embodying and Reflecting the Early Bronze Age Cycladic Idols

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An abstract of
a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
of Emory University in partial fulfillment
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Bachelor of Arts with Honors

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Abstract

Iste ego sum: Re-embodying and Reflecting the Cycladic Figurines
By Jamie Dawes

The phrase *iste ego sum* comes from the myth of Narcissus in Ovid's Metamorphoses, at the moment when he recognizes his own image: he exclaims, "I am that thing!" I pursue this idea of recognizing a reflection of self in the Cycladic figurines through the process of embodiment, or how a figurine becomes a reflective representation of an individual's experiences in Early Bronze Age Cycladic society. An emphasis on typological studies of the figurines severely limits our ability to understand their distribution and incorporation into physical and societal landscapes, and functional labels based on myth and metaphor also fail to account for the wide range of practices on the figurines and their appearance in multiple contexts. By contextualizing the figurines in their island environments and the societal structures that facilitated both the movement of materials and their manufacture, we can begin to conceptualize how an individual crafter, handler, and even a viewer reflected their own personal narratives in the figurine. Physical manipulations of the figurines such as paint, repairs, and fragmentation all contribute to the personal uses of a figurine and create an embodied experience that is therefore recognizable and reflected.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my academic advisor and committee member Dr. Sandra Blakely, for her always enlightening and enthusiastic conversations and for her continued guidance, not only for this thesis but during my years at Emory as well.

I would also like to thank my other committee members Dr. Claire Nouvet and Dr. Susan Gagliardi for their support and inspiration in my research as well as their careful critiques during the writing process.

I began this project while I studied abroad in Greece; during this time I took a few classes on Bronze Age technology and prehistory, and for this I would like to thank Angelos Papadapoulos from College Year in Athens for his aid in providing the first resources for my study. I also want to thank him for his initial encouragement when I came to him with nothing more than an idea that included every single figurine from every part of Greece, from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age.

I also had the amazing opportunity to return to Greece over the winter break of my senior year to conduct more intense study on Cycladic figurines, and for this I would like to thank the Undergraduate Research Programs in Emory College for giving me an independent research grant. Because of this grant, I was able to return to the island of Naxos, where I took an impromptu but splendid hike into the mountains to find ancient marble quarries. During this same two week trip, I also benefited from the generous hospitality of Christos Plagiannakos and his family who let me stay with them in Athens and also taught me some of the rigors and mechanics of sailing in the Cyclades: for this, I thank them.

Finally, I also thank Leah Neiman, Mallory Carnes, and Katie Portman for being excellent commentators and proofreaders for me, even while writing their own honors theses.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

First space: island and landscape 4

Second space: personal and localized 5

Third space: the body itself 6

Chapter I: History of the Scholarship 11

Methodology 24

Chapter II: Reflection of the Crafter 25

Material Acquisition and the Toolbox 29

The Crafter 29

Marble 30

Tools: Emery, Obsidian, and the Hands of a Crafter 33

Pigments 39

Typology 41

Geography, Context, and Workshops 44

Conclusions 54

Chapter III: Reflection of the Figurines 57

The Figurines 62

A Mirror 72

Color and Body Modification 74

Chapter IV: Conclusions 78

Bibliography 83

Other References 94

List of Figures

P. 19: Neolithic figurine, steatopygous; surface find from Sangri, Naxos. Unlike other Neolithic seated figurines, the legs of the Sangri find do not cross and the overall body is less "fleshy."

P. 62: NM 1989; EC I from Akrotiri, Grave 5. Dimensions: h. 19.5cm, w. 6.0cm, th. 1.0cm.

P. 63: NM 4691. EC II from Keros, Kavos. Dimensions: h. 54.5cm.

P. 85: Diagram of relationships to a Cycladic figurine.

Iste Ego Sum: Re-embodying and Reflecting the Early Bronze Age Cycladic Idols

To cleave that sea in the gentle autumnal season, murmuring the name of each islet, is to my mind the joy most apt to transport the heart of man into paradise.

-Nikos Kazantzakis

Introduction

The Latin phrase *iste ego sum* is uttered by Narcissus at the moment of his recognition of his own image; he cries, "I am that thing!"[1] The recognition of one's self in a mirror, when confronted with their image, is a topic undertaken more often by psychoanalysis than archaeology or anthropology.[2] Yet there is a resonance in the idea of bodies confronting bodies, in reference to anthropomorphism. To what extent does an individual recognize themselves in a figurine shaped like a human? This is a question that would require years of work beyond this thesis, but it can apply to a group of often decontextualized figurines: those Cycladic idols from Early Bronze Age Greece. Reception of these figurines has swung from one end of the artistic spectrum to the other: their earliest discoverer James Theodore Bent in 1883 and 1884 called them "grotesque" and "repulsively ugly,"[3] until 20th century Modernists artists like Picasso popularized and drew inspiration from them. The question remains as one of reflection; how can we see the Cycladic individual reflected in the Cycladic figurine?

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[1] Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3.461.

[2] See Jacques Lacan (2014), "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I as revealed in psychoanalytic experience (1949)": 119-126 and Clair Nouvet (1991), "An Impossible Response: The Disaster of Narcissus.": 103-34 for analysis of reflection in psychoanalysis.

[3] J. Lesley Fitton (1989) 5-6.

In the Museum of Cycladic Art there is a rather strange-looking and anatomically-disproportionate figurine. It is no bigger than Barbie, standing at 25cm in height. The oval head features a heavy, serious brow over large carved almond eyes, a straight nose, with a thin line for a mouth set closely underneath. On its square, plank-like body is an incised braided pattern stretching from the left shoulder to right hip. Its right arm bends at the end of this pattern at the hip and rests across its waist, while the left arm, also bending at the hip, curves up to place its hand on its chest. The legs of this timid figure are pressed close together and end in round little feet. Its providence is unknown, its plaque simply offering "Naxos," and that it was supposedly made by the "Goulandris Master."[4]

This is an example of the "hunter/warrior" type of the enigmatic Cycladic figurines, typically thought to be a male category. In the definite typology that organizes all the figurines found in the Cycladic islands in Greece, it is labeled as "post-canonical," placing it at the end of the Early Bronze Age phase and marking it as demonstrably different from the elegant, folded-arm figurines that characterize the art of the Cyclades. The "hunter/warrior" is anything but a standardized type, however; it is in fact problematic. The conservative style of the earlier canonical pieces degrades in the hunter/warrior: the gender is less strict, the gesture and posture slackens in comparison to the folded-arm figurines. In its cousin pieces there are what seem to be breasts carved onto the chest, and the penis is less emphasized. The hand gestures are also found on female figurines from this same period, although they are not called "warriors."[5] There are so many variations and differences in every "type" of figurine as prescribed onto them; this

[4] Athens, Goulandris Collection 308.

[5] Female versions of the hunter/warrior may also have accompanied them in burial. See Getz-Preziosi (1980) and Mina (2010).

"hunter/warrior" is only one example of eight attributed to this category.[6] Every figurine type has so many variations that, although it has been useful in a chronological sense, a set typology is problematic in our understanding of the figurines as embodied individuals. This same typology limits our perception of the figurines as heralds of movement, connectivity, and communication in the Bronze Age islandscape, and therefore it is now useful to move past the categorization.

The total Bronze Age period in the Aegean spans from about 3200 BCE to what is recognized as the total collapse of the palaces on Crete circa 1050 BCE. The art of the Cyclades emerges in a pre-palatial environment, or more specifically a non-palatial one; there is a lack of the monumental art seen in the later palace periods. The society was less hierarchical, composed of small farming villages that maintained a few families at a time that increased in size, population, and use over time.[7] The early Bronze Age in Greece, around 3200-2000 BCE, was the peak of the Cycladic culture. Many of the figurines we have from this period, specifically the Early Cycladic (EC) II period (2800-2300 BCE), are the well-known "canonical" Cycladic figurines. While this general chronology of the islands has long been established and accepted, little analysis was given to the figurines and their relationship to the time period. In 1969, British archaeologist Colin Renfrew produced his monumental work on "The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines." In this work, he intended to answer the questions neglected by the decades of art historical study, by analyzing the materials deposited with the figurines and their varying forms, therefore providing an "adequate chronological foundation."[8] His work generated an archaeological modality in which to study the Cycladic figurines. In other words, he proposed to bring together the consideration of archaeological context and stylistic

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[6] Gill and Chippendale (1993) 618, Table 7; see also a reference on 619 fn. 158 to Getz-Preziosi (1980) where she established the "warriors" as a distinct type.

[7] Broodbank (2000) 175-180. He also states that population density may have been 200-300 people per hectare and a population range of 300-500.

[8] Renfrew (1969) 1-2.

variation in order to establish chronology. This typology has become essential to all subsequent scholarship with almost no deviation from it; the most recent consideration of the typology was constructed by Peggy Sotirakopoulou in 2005.[9]

One of the goals of this thesis is to rethink the established typologies in terms of space that is embodied in the relationships of an individual(s) to a figurine, set up here as landscape, find spots, and to the personal space of the individual. These spaces govern the sort of functional relationships and uses that the figurines have to their individuals.

First space: island and seascapes

The Cyclades are comprised of over 30 islands in the Aegean Sea off the east coast of mainland Greece. The name "Cycladic" comes from the ancient idea that the islands formed a circle around the island Delos, which was sacred to Apollo. The Cycladic islands are steeped in myth and are often described in the generalizing tropes of sun, sea, and solitude.[10] The mythology of the islands has often pervaded archaeological scholarship of the material, and the islands are usually collapsed into one entity. The typological names of the figurines found on the islands have contributed to this compression of island space. Renfrew categorized the figurines into types, dependent upon whether they were "schematic" or "naturalistic." These distinctions are based not only on style but on their distribution into the three cultures of the EBA Cyclades: the Grotta-Pelos, the Keros- Syros, and the Phylakopi I cultures.[11] The naturalistic figurines include what Renfrew originally termed as folded-arm figurines, or FAFs; Sotirakopoulou includes the earlier Plastiras figurines in this category as well.[12] The different types of figurines are, misleadingly, named after their original find spots. Dokatismata figurines are named after

[9] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 48.
[10] Ina Berg (2012) 71-87.
[11] Renfrew (1969).
[12] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 48.

their first discovery in the eponymous graveyard on Amorgos, the Spedos type from the gravesite on Naxos, and so forth. Each type name typically corresponds to an EBA gravesite. In other words, the figurines are given a place name when assigned to a type, regardless of their original discovery. Renfrew in his categorization condenses several themes, such as aesthetics and space, together. For example, Spedos figurines are found all over the Cycladic islands, such as Ios, Thera, Melos, Kea, Syros, and more. The same style of figurine did not pop up independently of each other; by collapsing type and space, the dynamic of connectivity and movement around the islands is diminished and neglected. The voyages and distances across the sea are omitted, and the experience of travel that enables the figurines is lost. A post-processual approach to island studies cannot depend upon this collapse: the movements of the individuals and materials across the sea from island to island deserves emphasis on the travel itself; it is this movement that begins and guides the embodiment that we see in the figurines.

Second space: personal and localized

Now the focus will shift from the island space and parenthetically the space in between to the local spaces of the inhabitants. Many of the figurines found outside of the major archaeological grave sites and formal excavations come from unknown find spots. Lacking providence of any form, their origins are argued on the basis of preservation. Cycladic graves were constructed as cist graves, in which the grave was lined with large slabs of rock that "housed" the individual and goods placed inside.[13] These graves usually protect the materials within, thus providing the argument that intact figurines come from funerary contexts. The best-preserved figurines direct our attention to their very removal from circulation within a societal context. This deposition is closely linked to the personal use of localized space on the islands

[13] Cline (2010) 278-281. See also Doumas, C. 1977. *Early Bronze Age burial habits in the Cyclades* (Vol. 48). Paul Astroms Forlag.

themselves. The figurines were a part of the personal set of prestige and daily-use objects that accompanied a person into their grave. Unfortunately, the esteem for these figurines exploited by the illegal looting and trading practice has stripped them of an archaeological context, rendering the figurines purely as art objects from the Cyclades.[14] Recent archaeological excavations have found figurines outside of the gravesites in settlement and domestic contexts, or perhaps even ritual ones. While the figurines may have been buried in graves, they were not relegated solely to the sphere of death; Cycladic figurines had a function in a range of personal spaces.

Third space: the body itself

The third space I will explore through these figurines is the space of the body itself. The figurines represent physicality, materiality, and motion of not only the handler's body, defined as either crafter or the owner, but also as bodies in their own right. Every positioning of the figural elements -- arms folded below ribs, legs squeezed together or relaxed apart, head tilted back and toes tilted down, was a deliberate choice on the part of the sculptor in representing the human body. The sculpted features often project from the ventral side of the body, such as the nose and arms; the back of the body may have no more detail than incised buttock dimples and spinal line. The overall effect is a reserved and utterly quiet frontal appearance, the frontality implying that visual engagement with the figurine was greatest on the ventral side. There is, however, the chance for symbolic flexibility: pigments are found on the figurines as well as deposited in graves, and "tattoo kits" including needles and blades may point to body modification.[15] The body of the figurine may reflect practices done on the body of an individual, thereby making both bodies into spaces for communication in the symbolic sphere. The figurines may also

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[14] Gill and Chippendale (1993).

[15] Carter (1994) 119-129; Broodbank (2000) 248-250; Hoffman (2002) 525-550; Hendrix (2003) 405-466; Papadatos, in Mina, Triantaphyllou, and Papadatos (2016) 11-17; Goula, in Mina, Triantaphyllou, and Papadatos (2016) 18-24; Birtacha in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 491-502.

undergo a different body modification in the breaking and/or reparation of their bodies. Drill holes in the necks, torsos, and legs of both schematic and naturalistic figurines indicate a form of reparation by tying the broken piece back onto the whole. The motivations of repairing the body will be discussed in Chapter 2, along with intentional breaking of the body as demonstrated by the fragments found in the "Keros Hoard."

The interconnectivity, movement, and body intersect at a specific site on the island of Keros, at Kavos in the so-called "Keros Hoard." Excavators led by Renfrew have retrieved 317 fragments of figurines, with some 149 fragments attributed to the "hoard."[16] Almost none, or very few at least, of these fragments belong to the same figurine, yet the pieces almost all come from naturalistic figurines. The broken legs, either paired or singular, heads, torsos, and feet were deliberately broken from complete figurines and deposited in this one location. Broken pieces are also found at other sites in the islands and even the mainland, but not as numerous and not with the same concentration as at Kavos. Legs and feet make up the majority of the offerings as well while most heads are missing. It cannot be confidently asserted that breakage reflects rituals in antiquity, as the site has suffered looting; heads and complete figurines are the most valuable pieces.[17] What we can glean from the site at Kavos is the intentionality of breaking the figural body into pieces. The pieces that do not match each other means that the rest of the piece is elsewhere, perhaps for another purpose than whatever was happening or symbolized at Kavos. The fragments are broken from the whole and thus subsequent to breaking, the intended piece is left at Kavos while the rest of the figurine goes elsewhere, suggesting a return to or a different destination at another island. Whether they were broken before sailing to Keros or after cannot

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[16] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 323.
[17] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 324.

be known, but there is nevertheless significance in the action of breakage and deposition. A Cycladic figurine, then, has a variable function, alterable by whoever handles it.

Regardless of where they were found, the figurines provide an interesting view into how their ancient handlers viewed the human body. Studying figurines in their own contexts, although sometimes hindered by or even made impossible by looting and lost providence, demonstrates how vastly important and personal they were to their makers and owners in the Bronze Age, even outside of religious context. I use providence here to mean their excavated contexts, their physical location in the land; providence is then distinguished from provenance, which here means their secondary, often looted and undocumented, origin from a seller. By contexts, I do not strictly mean the find spots; I intend to interpret the Cyclades as one entire landscape. The islands themselves were not insular to each other, as they have left a remarkably distinct material culture all other the islands that evidently required inter-island travel. Figurines needed tools and materials from multiple islands: emery from Naxos, marble from perhaps Keros, and obsidian blades from Melos, for example. This movement denotes islanders and communities familiar with sailing the Aegean and using the landscape once they arrived, a connection that blends into the "seascape." Paul Rainbird best describes the experiences tied to conquering the seascape in his work, *The Archaeology of Islands*: "These histories of the sea are embodied in the individual and the community, and this embodiment is related to both perception and experience of the environment and the specifics of material culture linked to the sea."[18]

The environment and experience of traveling thus begin the embodiment of a figurine, yet I also intend to distinguish between two sets of hands that molded these figurines physically

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[18] Rainbird (2007) 64.

and symbolically: the “homo faber” or crafter, and the owner. In some cases, as with the smallest and most schematic of figurines, these two users may be one and the same. It should be stressed here that the roles of crafter, owner, and even viewer do not refer to the role of individual agents, but rather the relationships to the figurines. I will not take the process of creating a figurine for granted. Too often in researching body theory I am left with the sense that scholars are trying to understand embodiment “body first,” meaning that a body is picked apart in a manner that is disconnected from the environment and process of creation (or the chaîne opératoire) from which they emerge. Reconstructing a chaîne opératoire for any object is a tricky business, but bodies do not pop out of nowhere already imbued with a purpose. Functions are encoded into the body based on what material is available to a person to put into them. Stone, marble, and shell all have distinct languages in how they can be carved: for example, a shell is too fragile to carve a large folded-arm figurine out of, or a river pebble may be softer and easier to shape than marble, as well as being easier to acquire. Accessibility to materials is something that I will explore in distinguishing a maker and user: who could gain access to foreign cinnabar, versus the local iron oxide or ochre, and how does it appear on the figural bodies?

I will pose questions that go beyond the standard typologies that have been offered and get back to interacting with the figurines in material, space, and embodiment. My intention is not to decide or prove *what* exactly is embodied in the figurine, but to discuss the processes of space and manufacture that contribute to *how* something is embodied in the Cycladic figurines, and thus my argument that this embodiment is achieved reflectively. I propose a framework of reflectivity for the figurines in that they engage with an individual in different contexts, which are the relationships of a crafter, owner, and viewer. The material and spaces of the figurines are

productive in terms of their embodiment in influencing the experiences of making a figurine and ultimately what is reflected back onto an individual.

Chapter I: History of the Scholarship

The focus on the experience of and engagement with a figurine necessitates an exploration of the history of investigation. The idea of the experienced or "lived body"[19] is not a widely common one in gender studies, a focus that has lately turned its attention to Cycladic figurines. Gender representation in art, and the socio-cultural significance of the woman in society, has traditionally been treated as structured and generalized. The Cycladic figurines, and of course figurines in general, have been no less difficult to understand in that regard: a great majority of the Cycladic figurines are identifiably female. Since the 1970's, however, gender in prehistory has been studied with less emphasis on a male-dominated society and the focus has shifted to a micro-scale approach to society (the "bottom-up" approach).[20] Feminist and gender theories also seek to challenge the structures and methods of analysis that have pervaded the though and limit inception of new analysis.[21]

Figurines in prehistoric archaeology are viewed through that range from the relatively objective to the more overtly subjective[22], but what little archaeological evidence was available at the time was used to postulate grand, generalizing theories of the structure, culture, and beliefs of prehistoric peoples. Some of the earliest works on artefacts drew upon the theories of evolution. In order to understand these early works, we must first understand some of the developments in archaeological thought since the mid-1800s. What follows is a highly condensed history of the Marxist, cultural evolutionist, processual, and post-processual trends in archaeology, as well as a summation of the impact of feminist thought on archaeology. None of these archaeological perspectives have shaken the assumptions first offered in the German

[19] Young (2005) 102-113.
[20] Bolger (2012) 1-20.
[21] Gero and Conkey (1991) 3-30.
[22] See Meskell (2017) "The Archaeology of Figurines and the Human Body in Prehistory." In *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Figurines*: 17-35 for an overview on the scholarship of figurine studies in prehistory.

Romantic thinkers: the female body in prehistoric times was only a symbol of fertility, the earth, or some long forgotten matriarchy. So that I may proceed with the thesis of experience, I will delineate the figurines from their connection to these hypotheses and take them away from purely gender studies.

Figure 1: Neolithic figurine, steatopygous; surface find from Sangri, Naxos. Unlike other Neolithic seated figurines, the legs of the Sangri find do not cross and the overall body is less "fleshy."[23]

On the tiny island of Saliagos near Antiparos, a small, broken terracotta figurine was found: the surviving piece depicted a "fat" seated figure with legs crossed, a style that resembled the "Venus" figurines found elsewhere in mainland Europe. The little figurine was dubbed "The Fat Lady of Saliagos."[24] Many hundreds of Neolithic female figurines with corpulent bodies, holding their breasts, and displaying their genitals have been implicated in the matriarchal hypothesis in the earliest Neolithic and Bronze Age societies. The inference is that the earliest

[23] Source: Image "ze Sangri, skříň 13" by Zdenek Kratochvil is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cycladic_figurine,_female,_sitting,_ca_3200-2500_BC,_AM_Naxos,_143199.jpg.

[24] Renfrew "The Sculptures of Neolithic Saliagos," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 24-29.

and simplest societies, while first experimenting with agriculture, began to pay attention to the cycles of growth and renewal. The seeds were planted, crops were raised then harvested, and the land waited to produce more offspring. The production of the land was analogous to the female body in conception and childbirth, a key metaphor in scholarly reconstructions of primitive belief systems.

This is the semantic range proposed for the Neolithic figurines that depict possibly pregnant women. The majority of Neolithic figurines also do not primarily focus on representing pregnancy. According to a survey on the Neolithic "Venus" figurines, only a mere 17 percent of a corpus of 188 Venuses indicated pregnancy; the rest of the Venuses depicted women of various ages.[25] The metaphor also does not fit with the Cycladic figurines. The steatopygous figurine from Naxos depicts another seated "fat lady," but with different characteristics. The legs are not crossed and it is less round, already carved with the same austere style of the later Cycladic figurines. The material and process to make the figure is different than the Neolithic cousins and this particular figurine is in a totally different environment, namely, a seafaring one. Thus, even in the Neolithic period, the embodiment and experience of the figurines is different from those which characterize the Neolithic figurines and it is fairer to study them subjectively.

The metaphor equation of earth and woman are tightly woven into the models of evolution and the "organic analogy." With the organic analogy, the figurines become byproducts of a biological bodies becoming societal ones: "the organic analogy lends justification to the idea of biological necessity in the historical process; under the influence of the idea of biological 'growth,' 'maturity' and 'decline,' history is perceived as a continuous concretization of

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[25] Rice (1981) 402-14.

particular social forms and also as a predetermined and irreversible developmental trajectory."[26] The archaeological trends listed above all attempt to apply or achieve a meaning for the figurines especially when they lack a proper context. So we have the environmental and evolutionary models that interpret the figurines as fecundity symbols because of agriculture. What I stress here is that we are not dealing with biological bodies *within* the figurines. The biological bodies of the crafter and the owner, in the experience of handling the rigid stone body, are *reflected* in the figurine. This is a symbolic side of the image, the sign, that is not within the "signified"[27] but in this experience of making and handling the figurine.

To demonstrate how ideas in critical theory have influenced publications on the Cycladic figurines, I will focus on three points of scholarship: J.J. Bachofen's matriarchy, Marija Gimbutas' "Old Europe," and the broader aspects of third-wave feminist theory. These points have varying degrees of focus on the Cycladic figurines themselves – Bachofen never saw one, for example – yet their impact endures nevertheless.

One of the earliest works on the development of prehistoric societies that I will focus on to exemplify the evolutionary paradigm is J. J. Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht,* published in 1861. He postulates three stages of a human evolution: hetaerism, gynaecocracy, and fatherright.[28] Rather Hesiodic in its structure, each stage is marked by the power and influence of the female, subservient to what he coins as "mother right". His attention to the role of women in prehistory is rather forward compared to the work of his contemporaries and has been lauded for its contribution to feminism. His sociological ideas are steeped in his use of myth as evidence for his logic. Bachofen wrote during the Romantic phase in his small town of Basel in Switzerland,

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[26] Catapoti (2011) 72, borrowing from the idea of Hamilakis (2002) "The past as oral history: towards an archaeology of the senses:" 6.
[27] Saussure and Baskin (2014) 21-26.
[28] Stagl (1989) 186.

directly influenced by such mentors as G.W.F. Hegel, Friedrich Karl von Savigny, and Georg Friedrich Creuzer.[29] He himself was well-educated in law, having been a professor of Roman law, and was influenced by philosophies from Pythagoreanism and Calvinism.[30]

His work exemplifies the limitations of evolutionary models for prehistory. Evolution since its adoption into archaeology works from a predominantly objective perspective of prehistoric societies. Little regard is given to contexts, physically and geographically. The overarching idea is that human societies all evolve through the same stages in the same manner towards a goal of "civilization." This idea is a hindrance in thinking through an island culture like the Cyclades, and especially when understanding the material products of this island culture. Embodiment is a subjective topic, experience is personal. Such a generalizing theory of social evolution neglects to consider elements unique to an area; how the boats depicted on "frying pans" contributed to interconnectivity in the Cycladic islands is taken for granted in this frame.

Bachofen, writing in the period of German Romanticisim, was also one of the earliest mythographers, using myths and ancient philosophers to construct his sociological stages.[31] His work is hardly built off of any archaeological evidence and instead his structure of prehistory is built out of later oral and literary traditions, both which are completely missing and lost from prehistory.[32] Instead he bases his ideas on Herodotus and Hesiod, pulling from their accounts of the traditions and structures of women. In *Das Mutterrecht*, Bachofen clearly states his logic: "The thinking and literature of any period unconsciously follow the laws of its life form. So great

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[29] Eller (2011). The Romantic authors were preoccupied specifically with interpreting myth as historical context, "clues [to] even more ancient times" as Eller puts it. Bachofen used myths like the Oresteia to construct his theory of prehistoric matriarchy, and the separation of his Dionysian (materialistic) and Apollonian (spiritual) ages comes almost directly from Creuzer's *Symbolism and Mythology of Ancient Peoples*.
[30] Stagl (1989) 189.
[31] Eller (2011); Stagl (1989).
[32] Important to note here that Bachofen is writing about 20 years before the discovery of the Cycladic figurines by Bent (in 1883). There was no available evidence of Cycladic idols to also contribute to Bachofen's theories.

is the power of such laws that the natural tendency is always to set the new imprint on the divergent features of former times."[33] So his justification of myth as the origin of all subsequent development. The Romantics played with the notions of myth, mysticism, the hidden, and the feminine, demonstrated in an assessment by Creuzer: "that which every child understands, just as you yourself are then a child lying in the great mother's lap...but again with a wonderful gaze that does not comprehend itself and mysterious and deep [...] Look, dear friend, *myth* is more your world."[34] Narrative, in the sense of myth, is retrojected onto the figurines as embodied mythical actors. Space and contexts is given little attention.[35]

Having foregrounded the context in which *Das Mutterrecht* emerged, I will now highlight how Bachofen characterized the female. Much of Bachofen's work is built off of the violent dualistic clashes between male and female powers, another Romantic focus on polarities.[36] As he states, agriculture was first managed by women[37] and all of his symbolism associates women with nature and the earth: "childbearing motherhood is bound up with the earth that bears all things."[38] Society, sex, and family was completely dominated by women because of their materialistic nature; their body produces as the earth does. As males shook off the power of female sex, they achieved a spirituality, recorded as history and social development.[39]

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[33] Manheim (1967) 76. All translations of Bachofen's work come from this work.
[34] Bielby and Richards (2010) 57.
[35] One example of the use of myth as justification is Stephanie Budin's (2002) "Creating a Goddess of Sex" in Bolger (2002) *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus:* 315-324. She bases her interpretation of a LBA Cypriot figurine as Aphrodite on analogous material found in the Levant and later mythical depictions of Aphrodite: "the thrust of this paper is to consider textual sources in tandem with images and reconsider characteristics of specific Near Eastern goddesses whose spheres of influence are reflected in the persona of the Cypriot goddess before the manifestation of the Greek Aphrodite was embraced on the island."
[36] Eller (2011) 36-64.
[37] Bielby and Richards (2010) 92.
[38] Manheim (1967) 92
[39] Stagl (1989) 185.

Bachofen's book was published contemporaneous to other great works which are considered as the foundational advances in studying human history. Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* was published only three years before *Das Mutterecht* and introduced gradual change and variation of not only flora and fauna, but concluded that the same mechanisms were at work for the human species. The assertion that change occurred over time was quickly adopted by archaeologists who began to apply the theory to artefacts and cultures.[40] These foundational works emerged contemporaneous with Marxist theories on anthropology as demonstrated in Marx's *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* in 1858, for example. As Marx proposes, environmental and innate characteristics of a people determine how they begin to form their first communities and, to a greater extent, their material cultures and necessities: "the activity which reproduces and gives material expression to [life]."[41] These works provided the ability to perceive change over time in archaeologies lacking texts, monuments, and areas familiar from history. In other words, Darwin and Marxist theories aided in conceptualizing prehistory.

Although the methodology of mythography is inadmissible to a point in archaeology, the myth of the matriarchy, nevertheless, has endured.[42] Through the 20th century, scholarship on the Cycladic figurines specifically sought to blend the scientific methods with assigning functional labels. The effect is usually Bachofonian which is particularly emphasized in European archaeology and anthropology. In other words, contemporary discussions show roots in Bachofen's ideas. Bachofen clearly affirms that women are not capable of overcoming or

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[40] Renfrew and Bahn (2000) discusses the emergence and effect of some of the earliest typological works such as Pitt-Rivers and Montelius.

[41] Marx (1858), translation found: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1857/precapitalist/index.htm.

[42] See Gazin-Schwartz (2011) "Myth and Folklore" in Ingold, *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion.* She outlines the benefits of myth and folklore in archaeology: "Folklore and mythology about these features reveal cultural interpretations of their meaning, and place those sites in the context of socially understood history. They may also direct our attention to landscape features that are not materially modified, but are the locus of significant cultural meaning. Folklore and myth may help archaeologists to recognize archaeological remains, and may contribute to explaining or interpreting their functions and meanings."

separating themselves completely from their materialistic natures, or the demands of their body.[43] Women in this capacity, therefore, cannot be seen as functional agents, which culminates into their dismissal and neglect in theories within the European tradition. Letita Meynell in introducing the relationship of (female) bodies to agency in the European tradition states that: "An action, it seems, only belongs to a responsible agent when it is rationally chosen; emotions and other bodily responses can be disowned as aberrations."[44] In order for an individual to be an agent, as the tradition claims, they must be able to rise above their bodily demands. It's an ascetic nature that leads to the triumph of mind over body. The functions of women in a society and their "culturally mediated activities of child bearing, mothering, and caring for others (particularly their emotional bodily needs) positioned them, symbolically, as *antithetical* to the ideal autonomous agent."[45] Women are merely a transformative space for agents to act upon, in order to (ideally) produce more agents.[46]

With regards to the Cycladic figurines, the question of agency informed scholarship of the late 20th century. They were aligned with the "Oriental" goddess of fertility, Astarte, and slaves or wives to the deceased.[47] They were grave goods, but since they were female, they were meant to provide the dead "with all his needs, including servants, concubines, and musicians, on the principle that the image does the same service as the original."[48] This "same service as the original," meaning that the figurines represent the function of the women in their respective society, hearkens back to Bachofen's ideas of the women as *only* sexual objects and spaces. Yet even when Mylonas dismisses all of these interpretations, his only conclusion is that these

[43] Eller (2011).
[44] Meynell (2009) 4.
[45] Meynell (2009) 5. Emphasis on "antithetical" is mine.
[46] Blakely, in conversation.
[47] Mylonas (1955) 6.
[48] Ibid., in reference to Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 293-294.

figurines may have been divinities, specifically nurses. The creativity in trying to understand the Cycladic figurines is limited to the bounds of the "material woman" framework so established by Bachofen. Readings of the figurines are reduced to the idea that women lack the capacity to be agents, and the female body is reduced to metaphor.

These ideas made the dismissive conclusion that women's only spiritual and material function in the prehistoric society was that of fertility; a woman was a symbol for the fecundity of the earth and the production of human life. Most of the scholarship from post-WWII through the 1980's used this restriction to one function of the female body. The woman in archaeology was nothing more than the metaphor for agriculture and childbearing. Bachofen's impact survives even into the study of the material objects themselves, demonstrated in Marija Gimbutas analyses of the figurines of "Old Europe" which reflect Bachofen's framework yet see more than fertility alone as their function.

In 1989, Lithuanian-born Marija Gimbutas published *The Language of the Goddess*. A refugee of the World War, she continued her work on Baltic and Lithuanian archaeology, mythology, and religion in Germany and America.[49] Her theories of prehistory, including her "kurgan hypothesis," seem to reflect influences from the war and centralizes violent conflict: that the Kurgans, a patriarchal cultural group marked by their burial groups, conquered Western lands and diffused their language and beliefs.

In her work she brings all the metaphors and myths into her materials, namely the figurines found all over Europe from Paleolithic to Neolithic eras. These objects are all products of what she calls the "Old Europe" cult. Yet where Bachofen insists on a prehistoric matriarchy centered on the role of the motherly figure, Gimbutas expands the functions of her "Great

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[49] Elster (1994) 755.

Goddess" to include fertility, death, and reincarnation.[50] The various functions are denoted by a wide set of symbols that all come from nature. The symbols range from geometric patterns, such as chevron, meanders, zig-zags, and nets, to animals like birds, rams, deer, and snakes. The semantic realm of the female body is placed within the natural world, in animal species, and in movement of water – a female body is not purely conceptual. Eyes, breasts, and vulvas are symbols of life as well as death, signifying the concept of a "rebirth," especially when these symbols are found in graves and tombs. This idea Gimbutas applies specifically to the Cycladic figurines, which she labels the "stiff white goddess." These figurines adhere to the realm of death, since their light color is the color of bone exposed in a grave.[51] Gimbutas only makes a passing and generalized remark about paint found on the idols, and the elements of the vulva, rigid posture, and "womb-like" tomb in which they are found are the central features for declaring the figurines as symbols of the death goddess. Since it is clearly known now that the figurines had a use life outside of funerary behavior and were painted with multiple patterns, I will deconstruct the Cycladic figurines using Gimbutas' language and this new knowledge.

Due to improved scanning, lighting, and photography of the Cycladic figures, we can see faint traces of painted features like zig-zags, eyes, hair, and jewelry.[52] Specifically the zig-zag and the eyes, Gimbutas marks these symbols as divine and the icons of water. Zig-zags, when marked alongside the vulva symbols, may represent "female moisture and amniotic fluid."[53] Eyes are a source of divine liquids: on the faces of some Cycladic idols there is the presence of marked lines or dots which have been interpreted as mourning lines,[54] yet to Gimbutas these eyes

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[50] Gimbutas (1989) 316-317.
[51] Gimbutas (1989) 203.
[52] For a detailed list of paint motifs found on the figurines, see Hendrix (2003).
[53] Gimbutas (1989) 19.
[54] Hoffman (2002).

would be symbols of a "Divine Source."[55] This is but a brief summation of the more common symbols found on the figurine, yet we are left with a totally different function: that of a "watery" goddess rather than a death one. The language of symbols that Gimbutas offers are thus transient and inconstant, and it still neglects to consider individual environments and experiences.

The "stiff white" body of the Cycladic figurines is not the fundamental aspect to their embodiment. Instead, the body, abstracted and stylized as it is, reflected the experience of the crafter since it is the product of the crafter's decisions; the paint (which Gimbutas ignores) is reflected of the experience of the individual and the events of the user's life.

With the rise of the third-wave feminist movement and its subsequent influence and inception into anthropology and archaeology, material and especially figural interpretations began to move away from the entrenched "woman to earth metaphor" and began to rethink gender and agency. R. Claire Snyder gives a comprehensive definition of the goals of third-wave feminism in her aptly named article "What is Third Wave Feminism?:"

> That is to say, third-wave feminism makes three important tactical moves that respond to a series of theoretical problems within the second wave. First, in response to the collapse of the category of "women," the third wave foregrounds personal narratives that illustrate an intersectional and multiperspectival version of feminism. Second, as a consequence of the rise of postmodernism, third-wavers embrace multivocality over synthesis and action over theoretical justification. Finally, in response to the divisiveness of the sex wars, third-wave feminism emphasizes an inclusive and nonjudgmental approach that refuses to police the boundaries of the feminist political.[56]

What we have with the third-wave feminism then is a focus on the individual and personal narratives and experiences. There are multiple ways to be a "woman," and gender is non-specific. This trend rethinks the tradition Western thinking of the role and agency of women in anthropology and archaeology mentioned before. In the 2009 publication *Embodiment and*

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[55] Gimbutas (1989) 51.
[56] Snyder (2008) 175-176.

Agency, the European "tradition" and women's role in it is defined: "An action, it seems, only belongs to a responsible agent when it is rationally chosen; emotions and other bodily responses can be disowned as aberrations."[57] In order for an individual to be an agent, as the tradition claims, they must be able to rise above their bodily demands. It's an ascetic nature that leads to the triumph of mind over body. Returning to Bachofen, he clearly affirms that women are not capable of overcoming or separating themselves completely from their materialistic natures, or the demands of their body.[58] But this is only referring to the female gender, and as third-wave makes clear, gender is subject to changing ideals and ideas about the body.

As Trigger observes, for example: "gender archaeologists, like gender specialists in other disciplines, continue to debate to what extent gender is wholly a culturally constructed category or it is also grounded in human biology...some more radical relativists affirm that even sex, as opposed to gender, consists not of biology but of the changing ideas that specific groups of people have about biological differences."[59] An important observation to make at this point is that archaeology has always sought to see past society like our own modern society. Men have asked the questions about the past because only men were allowed to practice. In today's world, gender is increasingly recognized as a social construct, and now this construct is being attributed to the prehistoric societies. We can see the fresh contributions of gender archaeology and body theory in the studies of the Cycladic figurines. Maria Mina's work on anthropomorphic figurines in the Neolithic and Bronze Age brings innovative and insightful attention to asexual figurines that were just as numerous as assigned female figurines, and the problems of ignoring such

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[57] Meynell (2009) 4.
[58] Eller (2011)
[59] Trigger (2006) 460.

asexuality.[60] Extremely recently, an entire collection of studies on the Cycladic figurines in their original contexts has been published which provides a wealth understanding these figurines as social objects found even in settlements and some postulated workshops.[61] Many recent works on the body challenge earlier scholarship on the disconnection between the body and society, the body and environment, and the body with objects: Catapoti for example works to add body theory insights to Renfrew's earliest conception of the *international spirit* of the Cyclades.[62] Lately archaeology has begun to consider the "agency" of an object or has questioned whether an object can have agency at all. I affirm that object do have agency, in as far as what responses, both emotional and physical, they can elicit from a viewer or handler. A recent work claims that statues have lives in the Greek world and that they have emotional agency: they can provoke violent or passionate actions in humans.[63] I will not dive into this topic within this thesis, however, as it goes beyond what I am trying to prove. I will restrict my focus to observing the bodies of the Cycladic figurines and their reflectiveness, or how we can see different individuals within one figurine.

[60] Mina (2008).
[61] Manteli "The Art of Marble Carving in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades (third millennium BC)" in Stampolidis and Lourentzatou (2016): 84-85; Marthari "Cycladic Figurines in Settlements: The Case of the Major EC II Settlement at Skarkos on Ios," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 119-164.
[62] Catapoti (2011).
[63] Chaniotis (2017).

Methodology

It is necessary to establish the criteria by which I have selected the figurines for study. Much of the previous scholarship uses figurines which have no safe context or providence. In order to limit any "muddying of the waters," I have chosen to avoid consideration of these figurines; while the literature I reference may use unprovidenced figurines for their own purposes, all of my own conclusions will use focus solely on those that have been safely excavated. In addition, the only figurines of safe providence that will be considered are those that are nearly complete. Exceptions are made to some figurines that lack either a head/neck or a portion of their legs. This criterion is necessary to facilitating the best understanding of the embodiment of these figurines. Substantive analysis on gesture and abstraction would be limited in cases where only the head or torso of a figurine is preserved. Finds that seem to be deliberately broken and then placed in a safe context will, however, be considered in limitation or expansion of agency of the figurines themselves.

Chapter II: Reflection of the Crafter

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the material, environmental, and social factors and movements of the Cycladic culture that enables a crafter to create value in the creation of a figurine. This chapter will unpack the phenomenological aspect of the creation of a figurine, and as much of the physical experience and process that can be recovered. Theories of embodiment – first formulated some 30 years ago – have presented many challenges within archaeological analyses. In much of the early 20th century scholarship on the Cycladic figurines, there has been a disconnection with the tactile sensations of sculpting.[64] In other words, much emphasis has been placed on relationships between agents but not on the relationship between agents and the figurine itself. The emphasis is not on the body as a finished product but rather on the process of producing the body; this process would begin with the focus of the mind-in-body on creating an image. This focus on the body will and body production is necessary for understanding how a Cycladic figurine is reflective of their maker. To achieve this understanding, I will focus on the materiality, value, and the chaîne opératoire of the figurines.[65] The material itself dictates how a sculptor can manipulate it and limits what a sculptor can choose to incorporate in a form. In other words, there is a language in the material of these objects.

This capacity for narrative and articulation of the material leads us to questions of abstraction and gesture represented in the Cycladic figurines. The hardness(or softness) of stone, what is needed in order to shape it, and where to acquire these materials are all crucial to how these figurines were perceived and valued. These questions also lead us into materiality, a topic

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[64] That is to say, the disconnection emphasizes study on the body as a final perfected product. My intent is to follow the creation the bodies during production. The figurine is treated not as a commodity but as this process in which there is embodiment and creation of value. The relationship between the crafter and his craft is the central focus, while the traditionally studied relationship between the crafter and buyer is set aside in this context.

[65] Dant (2005); Helms (1993); Bar-Yosef and Van Peer (2009); Shott (2003).

that becomes the common denominator in linking material to the mind, spirit, and body. Approaching social constructs through the human body, with regards to the biological and the symbolic bodies, we can begin to piece movements and transformation over space and time.[66] Spaces can contribute to the value of an object while movement across space transforms it. The agency of the crafter, combined with the realities of the landscape together construct the prestige of an object, reflected in the abstract symbol of the object.

This topic is addressed extensively in book Mary Helms *Craft and the Kingly Ideal,* in which she analyzes the aspects of and symbolism attributed to long-distance acquisition of materials. The acquisition and materiality topics tie in to the creation of symbolic value in a Cycladic figurine by the crafter. Certain materials could only be acquired by travel to other islands and the figurines were most likely made by those individuals skilled in the materials and techniques: both of these aspects create a symbolic and prestige value embodied by the figurines.

I will present the creation of a figurine, from the acquisition of the marble to the actual steps in carving. These steps are essential in re-creating as much of the chaîne opératoire and the phenomenological aspect as possible. This term refers to "the means to chronologically organize the process of the transformation of raw material obtained from the natural environment and introduced into the technological cycle of production activities."[67] This transformation is the critical link between crafter and craft, a "technopsychological" element that has not been explored thoroughly in the field of chaîne opératoire.[68] The actual process is so heavily dependent upon choice influenced by environment and society, and I choose not to take this deliberation for granted. There is much to be gained from studying the materials and production

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[66] Blakely (2017) 1.
[67] Bar-Yosef and Van Peer (2009) 105.
[68] Ibid.

to understand the reflectiveness of figurines instead of typological or distribution analyses -- the latter two provide more of an aesthetic and descriptive focus. Much of the creation process I will attempt to recreate uses recent experimental archaeology that gives careful attention to the human element of manufacture.[69] The crafter's hands are in essence the birthplace of a stone body.

Access to the experiential world is central to experimental archaeology, therefore my intent is to pursue the reflective process of making a figurine. Just like a crafter in the Early Bronze Age would, I will go through every step of creating a figurine in sequence: from acquiring raw materials and tools, to the actual process of shaping a human body, and the final step of painting the body. Elizabeth Oustinoff was the first to bring experimental archaeology to the figurines, and to her work I will add the more recent perspective of Yiannis Papadatos and Epaminondas Venieris. The latter approach puts less emphasis on the final product and more on the process and technology of the production sequence.[70]

Rosemary Joyce argues that the creation of figurines, while engaging the physical body i.e., the actual muscles of the hands and arms, engages the "mind-in-the-body that reflected on the emerging form and its relations to the shaping body and the phantasmic body intended to be materialised."[71] While Joyce's observations refer to figurines shaped from clay, I believe that the same argument fits the shaping of stone into the human form. The "phantasmic" body refers to

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[69] Oustinoff (1984) and Papadatos & Venieris "An Experimental Approach to the Manufacture of Cycladic-type Figurines with Folded Arms: Preliminary Observations," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017), are the two experimental approaches I will use for this idea. Both actually set to the task of making a figurine themselves and made observations based on their experiences.

[70] Papadatos & Venieris (2017) observe in Oustinoff's work that: "The crucial intermediate stages of the work were poorly documented in the publication: important aspects relating to the manufacturing procedure were not discussed – the mechanical movements and working routines, the use of alternative ways of manufacture, the application of colour, and the issue of apprenticeship." (483).

[71] Joyce "When the flesh is solid but the person is hollow inside: formal variation in hand-modelled figurines from Formative Mesoamerica," in Boric and Robb (2008) 37.

the perceived spiritual component of the figurine, or what is able to be "filled-in" by a handler or viewer. This engagement of body and mind is essential to my understanding of the "reflectivity" of a figurine and the maker/user. The human hand and mind, working within the limits of stone, must be "picky" in what can be represented: this leads into inquiries of abstraction and how the mind can recognize a human shape in the simplest of shapes.

Making a marble figurine also required some form of forethought, since the outline of the body had to be marked on the stone, then the excess stone had to be hammered and rubbed away. This forethought is also a response to societal expectations and aesthetic of an object, perhaps seen in the highly conserved geometry in the Cycladic figurines.[72] A typically humorous technique of carving marble in later ages is to see the figure within the marble, and then to carve away everything that is not that figure.[73] With these Cycladic figurines, however, their forms are so stylized that there must have been a more reinforced tradition that did not rely on such spontaneity. This stylization will be considered in a later discussion of the well-established and widely-accepted typology, the foresight will be addressed within the context of emerging "canons" of figurines. Final steps included incising or painting on the figure with anatomical details, after the body had emerged from the rock.[74] These two steps have the greatest fluctuation in actual representation. Almost no two figurines would have been the same, as inclusion of details such as breasts, genitals, eyes, and mouths were not common to all figurines and may not have even been used to reinforce a gender.[75] I argue that all of these actions reflect how a

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[72] To highlight this point, see Gill and Chippendale (1993) and Get-Preziosi (1984) for critiques and discussion of proportionalities of Cycladic figurines.
[73] This humorous quotation has a variety of origins, not actually beginning with Michelangelo. See https://quoteinvestigator.com/2014/06/22/chip-away/ for a list on some of the occurrences of this idea.
[74] These steps come from an experimental recreation of making a Cycladic figurine from the Museum of Cycladic Art, video: Κατασκευάζοντας ένα Κυκλαδικό Ειδώλιο του 2500 π.Χ," Museum of Cycladic Art published 17 Jan 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nGwQfhFaks
[75] Mina (2008).

maker/user embodies themselves, their society, or beliefs into a body within their specific geographic location. Embodiment does not start with the finished body.

The Materials: Acquisition and the Toolbox

The Crafter

Due to the precise typology set forth by Renfrew and later refined by Sotirakopoulou, a relative chronology for the "trends" in the figurines is easy to follow.[76] While I will explore the established typology of the figurines later, I will provide a brief distinction between the general types in the three established island cultures of the EBA.[77] The earliest figurines are schematic, the so-called "Bredittolen" of the Grotta-Pelos culture, which emerged around 3200 BCE and lasted until 2800 BCE. The longest culture was the next one, the Keros-Syros, lasting from 2700 BCE to 2300 BCE; it is within this culture that we have the remarkably naturalistic or folded-arm figurines (FAFs). Finally, the figurines return to a schematic scheme in the Phylakopi I culture, from 2300 BCE on.

The reason for summarizing the typologies here is my argument that the level of detail and proportion that went into some of the larger and more complex canonical or folded-arm figurines (FAFs) suggest that skilled craftsmen carved them.[78] These figures follow a strict canon, while smaller and more schematic figurines required less precision and skill.[79] In my review of the production of a figurine then, it is necessary to understand the crafter as someone who has been trained in or practices the manufacturing of figurines solely. The skill in the craft comes from the highly conserved forms and aesthetics in the figurines, indicating a specialization

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[76] See Sotirakopoulou (2005) 48 for a detailed classification including Renfrew's and Thimme's systems.
[77] This format of the cultures I have taken from Renfrew (1969) as it is still an incredibly useful breakdown.
[78] "Tools and Techniques," Museum of Cycladic Art, https://www.cycladic.gr/en/page/techni
[79] Based on the experimental approaches.

in the abstraction. Whether this general trend denotes a rise and fall of skilled craftsmen needed to carve the figures or a dying out of a tradition of canon is a broad topic and will not be explored in depth within this thesis.

Schematic figurines that are usually small and made from pebbles or shells may not have required the same kind of technical knowledge that was needed to craft a highly proportionate FAF.[80] Their materials necessitate less effort and time in manufacturing them, as we shall see. Nevertheless, I will identify every potential and possible step in the physical act of making a figurine in conjunction with the steps of embodiment. Nature provides the materials for survival and inspiration, and so I argue that embodiment begins with the environment.

Marble

The first step in creating a figurine was the selection of the rock. There is no lack of marble sources in the Cycladic islands. Large veins of the valuable rock are tucked away into the mountains within the landscape and pieces and fragments of marble can be found nearly throughout each island. The Cycladic marble is also so desirable and workable that for centuries it was sought and unparalleled in its quality in sculpture. Already there is evidence of small schematic figurines carved out of Cycladic marble as early as the Neolithic period.[81] The most prolific sources of marble indisputably come from Naxos, and Paros was thought to have been another major producer of marble.[82] Later analyses now identify Keros as a greater source of

[80] Manteli (2016) 83.
[81] Manteli (2016) 81 in reference to Coleman (1977b) 105-106.
[82] Broodbank (2000) 79.

marble followed by Paros and Ios.[83] Arguments are founded on evidence of marble-working, such as emery powder and unfinished marble bowls.

Recent provenance work on the Keros Hoard pieces has revealed a wealth of data about the sources of marble for the figurines. Using a sample size of 89 pieces from the Keros Hoard Special Deposit, that analysis concluded that a majority of the marble came from central-east and southeast Naxos, followed only by Ios, Syros, and Paros.[84] More EBA figurines that were studied from various excavations revealed, tentatively at least, that they were made from local marble, as is the case in Skarkos (Ios) and Syros; other figurines of different types and around multiple islands also seem to come from a similar source in Naxos.[85] The point here is that there are specific sites that seem to be hubs of human and material movement. Some sites use and deposit marble that comes from other islands, yet others rely on their local marble. Both groups add value to the production and movement of figurines in separate ways.

There are several methods of exploiting marble on the islands, yet the distinction lies mainly in the processes of gathering versus quarrying. Gathering marble may imply a different relationship to the landscape than quarrying and the sort of value that might have been embodied in the marble. Both are two very different approaches to the use and exploitation of the landscape. Smaller pebbles and pieces could be found on beaches or riverbeds. Larger cuts of the rock, such as what would have been required for the larger FAFs that had already split from the original source by natural means of erosion or otherwise may have been easier to obtain and

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[83] Manteli (2016) 81.
[84] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis, "The Marble of the Cyclades and its Use in the Early Bronze Age," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017) 478
[85] Ibid., 481

move about the landscape. Gathering may thus be less specialized in terms of participants than the demanding tasks of quarrying.

It is unclear whether there was actual quarrying of the marble. Later Archaic quarries remain within the islands, such as the still extant and easily visited quarries on Naxos near the village of Melanés.[86] Archaic workers inserted wooden wedges into holes drilled into the rock; these were then soaked with water. As they expanded, their force subsequently split the rock into maneuverable chunks.[87] Any evidence of this method or any other method of quarrying in prehistoric periods is missing, possibly lost due to later quarrying. It is interesting to note here as well the risks of quarrying. Later texts make clear reference to the difficulties of ventilation, space, and safety in quarries and mines.[88] If these conditions applied in the EBA, a crafter may not have been a participant in these activities if he had to devote time to the creation of figurines, due to the hard physical labor and danger of suffocation in metal mines. Gathering, on the other hand, is safer and allows closer inspection of the stones. The crafter then is not actively splitting rock and digging out metals from the earth, but may acquire these materials from a secondary (possibly processed) source.

Oustinoff in her experimental manufacturing of the figurines observed that quarrying may have been a "limited" necessity, since most of the figurines are less than 60cm in size[89]; such heights could be gained from marble pebbles found on beaches and riverbeds. In the Archaic period, the actual carving of a statue began in the quarry itself. Evidence of this practice can be seen in the extant quarries where large kouros statues were left after they were damaged.

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[86] Based on personal visits to the sites.
[87] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2017) 478.
[88] See Humphrey, Oleson, and Sherwood (1998) 173-204 for the techniques and dangers of mining and quarrying.
[89] Oustinoff (1984) 39.

None of the figurines that we have today, however, reached the size of those statues[90]: it is therefore reasonable to assume that marble was taken from the quarries down to wherever a crafter was situated. The kouroi date to nearly 2000 years after the production of the figurines, however, and they were never meant to be held. These were large votive dedications that were performative to large groups of people in demonstrably ritual contexts. The ability for the Cycladic figurines to be held in the hand is essential to their meaning and distinguishes them from the wide display aspect of the kouroi.

Tools: Emery, Obsidian, and the Hands of the Crafter

Even at the level of obtaining marble from almost anywhere, we see that a crafter has to engage with the environment and be aware of the behaviors of the marble. This section will then emphasize the individualization of the tools of a craftsperson, hands included. The tools must also come from the environment. These are the questions put forth by experimental archaeology, namely the two approaches done by Oustinoff and Papadatos and Venieris. The relationship between craftsman and object -- from the anticipation of the raw material to the finished product -- is best observed in the subjective use of the tools. A chaîne opératoire approach (or the equally meaningful reduction sequence) is also useful here in constructing the lithic assemblage and its use from the perspective of the craftsman: how the craftsman "reduced" or shaped stone tools in order to achieve the best effects in sculpting a human body.[91]

A craftsman likely began carving the figurine body from a relatively flat piece of marble. Papadatos and Venieris note the workability of a flat piece, in particular two advantages of using this shape: firstly, less material needs to be manipulated or removed when the stone is flat and

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[90] Most figurines are 30cm in height or below. It is interesting to note here that none of the figurines that are "life-size" come from secure contexts, casting some doubt as to their credibility.
[91] Shott (2003) 96.

follows the rough shape of the desired body, and that "due to the formative processes of water erosion the cleavage patterns of the material always run parallel to the flat surface of the pebble. This prevents breaks, makes the material more resilient during manufacture, and provides a more durable final product."[92] A bumpy surface, in other words, was more susceptible to fracturing in inconvenient places during construction. The "water erosion" mentioned is a key component of the manufacture of a figurine. Waters aids the abrasive techniques both during the initial material removal and the final polishing steps and allows for safer control and manipulation of the stone. Since crafting figurines must have been a time consuming and rough task, it was best and most efficient to work as little stone as possible to achieve the desired product.

The next typical step in the manufacture process is "sketching" the outline of the intended figurine.[93] Two different materials are useful as scoring tools here: obsidian and emery. Oustinoff in her own experiments used obsidian flakes while Papadatos and Venietis used an emery flake.[94] Both materials have the same distinction of being found only on their respective islands. Obsidian is a black volcanic glass that was highly desired as far back as the Neolithic period: samples of obsidian have even been found at Franchthi Cave in the Peloponnese.[95] Emery, found exclusively on Naxos, could be formed into mallets or drills, and it could be shaped into a sharp edge.[96] Because of this capability, emery could have been used at all stages of creation, such as the shaping itself (by hammering), carving details by means of a drill, or

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[92] Papadatos & Venieris (2017) 487.

[93] "Κατασκευάζοντας ένα Κυκλαδικό Ειδώλιο του 2500 π.Χ," Museum of Cycladic Art published 17 Jan 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nGwQfhFaks.

[94] Oustinoff (1984) and Papadatos & Venieris (2017).

[95] Talalay (1993): The presence of obsidian on the mainland demonstrates the capability of long-range oversea movement.

[96] Oustinoff (1984) and Papadatos & Venieris (2017).

polishing the final form.[97] Oustinoff remarks that obsidian "shaves" stone and marble easier than emery does, but "splinters" during incision.[98] I would like to draw attention to this seemingly cursory observation about the hands of a craftsman. Emery is an extremely abrasive stone, while obsidian is so sharp in its fractured forms that it can still be used in surgical equipment. If a person wanted to make several or even just one figurine they had to be extremely careful during the process. The injuries or damage sustained to the hands can only be imagined or supposed from experiments, but the cuts, scrapes, and nicks must have made the crafter's profession obvious. Besides being risky with regards to possible injuries, the work in crafting a figurine was weary; repetitive motions and constant application of some force tires out a crafter and exhausts the energy in the hands alone. This brings us to another observation made by Papadatos and Venieris in their experiments about the tools of a crafter, particularly emery:

> Therefore, it proved particularly useful to equip ourselves with a variety of similar tools, differing only in their weight and the way they were handled. It became clear throughout the manufacturing process that a frequent change of tools with a similar function, but of different weight and shape, prolonged considerably the stamina of the craftsperson. It is, therefore, highly likely that, although the emery tools could never be regular and typified, they could be highly personalised, according to the characteristics and needs of the individual craftsperson.[99]

The two preferences for different stones and the point about a personalized set of emery tools directs a question about what materials a crafter may have had access to. The experimental approaches have allowed us to "see" the individual craftsman and his preferences. On the figurines itself, it is almost impossible to distinguish actual tool marks because of the final polishing step. Obsidian from Melos and emery from Naxos were certainly widespread, but perhaps each crafter preferred one type of stone over another. Metal tools, however, may have

[97] "Tools and Techniques," Museum of Cycladic Art, https://www.cycladic.gr/en/page/techni.
[98] Oustinoff (1984) 39.
[99] Papadatos & Venieris (2017) 485.

been weaker with repeated handling and may not have had a long duration of use.[100] Time consuming and difficult[101] as it was to shape an emery rock to a useable shape, it was certainly more efficient than using a bronze or copper blade that would need constant sharpening or repair.

The next phase which dominates the entire process of creating the figurine is the modelling the actual shape of the figure, which in experimental recreations, means shaping by means of percussion and abrasion. This phase is mostly material removal to get to the actual outlined figurine on the stone so the duration therefore is almost entirely dependent upon the amount of material needing to be removed. The percussive tool used in both experiments was an emery block, as it is durable and can have points, edges, and a hard surface to strike the stone. Short controlled blows allowed for maximum removal without damaging or breaking the stone. For this step as well, a crafter using marble must be cautious: accidentally hitting an unseen fault in the marble may result in a completely unusable material. Once the excess material was beaten away, the resulting shape was then shaved and roughed down. This process is best achieved through abrasive tools, which range from the ever-useful emery to pumice and sand.[102] Rubbing the figure against a rock may also have been another method of shaping, especially if the figure was smaller and a pebble.[103] As mentioned before, keeping the figurine wet was effective in eroding more of the material away.[104] The water also cleaned off dust and excess during the process, thus allowing a crafter to keep perfect visibility of the piece while working.[105] This step was the most time-consuming, wearing, and risky in the entire process. Papadatos and Venieris'

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[100] Manteli (2016) 85.
[101] Papadatos & Venieris (2017) 484.
[102] "Tools and Techniques," Museum of Cycladic Art, https://www.cycladic.gr/en/page/techni.
[103] Manteli (2016) 82.
[104] "Κατασκευάζοντας ένα Κυκλαδικό Ειδώλιο του 2500 π.Χ," Museum of Cycladic Art published 17 Jan 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nGwQfhFaks
[105] Papadatos & Venieris (2017) 487.

as well as Oustinoff's experiments both encountered breaks and fractures during this step. Such a break at this point in the manufacture would result in either reshaping the figure (usually creating a smaller figurine) or restarting the figurine entirely. If not careful, an unseen fault line in the rock could split an entire figurine with enough pressure, ending with a complete loss of time and material.

To clarify, recreating the steps of crafting a figurine allows us to ideally "get in the head" of a crafter and to reconstruct his personal experience. From the larger focus of voyaging and obtaining material from different islands, to the more personal scale of the behaviors of the materials, there was some serious risk and sustainable injury to the crafter himself. He may also encounter fatigue in crafting from the repetitive motions and continued force to the stone. Faulty stones that break during the process may exacerbate his situation and force him to either adapt or start the whole process over.

The aforementioned kouroi statues found in the archaic quarries are perfect examples of scrapping the project due to bad quality stone. Finally (if the stone survived), anatomical details were carefully incised and deepened and the entire figurine was polished. These final steps probably used the same tools as mentioned above, with sharp blades such as obsidian or of course emery for incising. Pumice was a preferred material for Oustinoff because when mixed with water, pumice made a perfectly abrasive paste: pumice removed all traces of actual abrasion and left a "soft sheen," as she describes.[106] It was not, however, necessary, as emery achieved exactly the same effect. In both experiments, emery was also used for the final incisions, yet Oustinoff concludes that obsidian was equally as useful -- a conclusion Papadatos and Venieris argue against because of obsidian's tendency to shatter. It seems therefore that emery stone was

[106] Oustinoff (1984) 39.

the most useful and versatile tool to use in all stages of the manufacturing. It is proposed that the creation of a single figurine only 15cm high would have taken anywhere between 25-30 hours.[107] The implications of such a long manufacture time will be discussed in chapter three, with respect to both figurine type (Violin and Spedos).

Another final step, and perhaps an optional one, is the application of paint to the figurine. The finished figurines all display the final processes of smoothing and polishing to achieve the elegant and uniform appearance of the marble. The Early Cycladic figurines are perhaps, paradoxically, even more enigmatic due to the presence of paint traces. Very little scholarship has been dedicated to the discussion of the paint traces. Only a dissertation by Hendrix published in 2000 contains a comprehensive review of all published painted figures.[108] Hoffman interprets paint marks as mourning marks, as will be discussed later.[109] The red pigments (iron oxide and cinnabar) are visible to the naked eye still; blue pigments hardly remain except in the form of paint "ghosts," which are uneroded areas on the figurine that were likely due to the presence of protective mineral paint. If these figurines enjoyed any yellow color from saffron, it has long since decayed.[110] Before placing any sort of interpretation on the presence of the paint itself, let us first consider: the pigments and their origins, the painted motifs and where they are located on the body, and the burial contexts of some figurines. All of these elements, from the extraction and trade of the pigments to what colors were chosen for certain physiological features, contribute to the full embodied experience of painting the figurine. Before we can apply the brush to the stone, where do we get the paint?

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[107] Ibid.; and "Κατασκευάζοντας ένα Κυκλαδικό Ειδώλιο του 2500 π.Χ," Museum of Cycladic Art published 17 Jan 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8nGwQfhFaks

[108] Hoffman (2002) 525.

[109] It is helpful to note here that this interpretation does not focus on the narrative and experience of a crafter, but on an implied narrative for a cultural actor, as it were.

[110] Hendrix (2003) 416.

Pigments

Two different pigments were used to create red paint: iron oxide, also known as red ochre, and cinnabar. Both have vastly different sources and applications, but are indistinguishable to the naked eye. It is necessary to use methods such as microscopic analysis in order to differentiate the two different pigment makeups. The surviving traces on the figurines depict ornamentation like jewelry, anatomic features like eyes and hair, and more symbolic motifs such as zigzags. The focus of this section is not to examine the meaning of the decorations, which works towards a narrative subject, but to seek the embodied experience and value of the pigments themselves: where they came from and how they were used.

Iron oxide is more widely available (with regards to extraction) in the Cyclades. There were sources are as near as Kea in the northwest Cyclades.[111] Iron oxide, however, was not as commonly used on the figurines as cinnabar, which is an exotic pigment in the Cycladic islands. Some identified ancient sources of the pigment coming from as far as Spain and the Colchis near the Black Sea as well as in Asia Minor.[112] Hendrix lists some local sources for cinnabar, but deems them not "commercially viable."[113] These sources include Naxos, Chios, Samos, and Euboea; she judges the quantities of cinnabar deposits found in these locations to be too small to have been used reliably.[114] It is not clear what it meant by too small quantities, but it does suggest a question about how much of the pigment was being moved. Use of cinnabar is attested in the Aegean as early as the Late Neolithic.[115] Cinnabar provides a brighter and deeper red than

[111] Carter (2008) 121.
[112] Pandermalis (2012) 22-23.
[113] Hendrix (2003) 428 fn. 70.
[114] Carter (2008) 122.
[115] Birtacha "Examining the Paint on Cycladic Figurines," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017) 495; she cites an unpublished example of a marble acrolithic figurine from Dimini painted with cinnabar from Topa and Skafida in press.

iron oxide. A fresh coat of cinnabar paint might have been recognizable from the red ochre/iron oxide on the marble figurines. Does this entail that figurines with cinnabar paint were more valuable or coveted than their counterparts? If cinnabar was both rare to acquire and provided a deeper red, then a crafter who had access to this pigment may have used it to create higher value in the body he crafted through his own physical exertions or social connections to those who traversed those routes, as well as the geospatial distance the material itself traveled and thus communicated. The brighter color must have been visible and recognizable to other individuals in the social context. Any attempt to recreate a definitive chaîne opératoire would be highly speculative. All that can be explored at the moment is the likelihood that cinnabar pigment was more likely imported to the Cyclades and must have been an expensive pigment, no matter who became the agent of painting the figurines: the crafters, and the owners.

Blue paint on figurines does not survive the test of time and the evidence for its use on figurines as decoration is exceedingly slim. What little evidence there is comes from paint "ghosts", or uneroded areas of the stone that must have been protected by the thick layers of mineral. The blue pigment found on the figurines comes mainly from the mineral azurite. The pigment is found amongst copper and silver ores and thus is primarily accessible by mining. Sources for azurite include Kythnos, Seriphos, Sihpnos, and Laurion.[116]

Birtacha mentions that azurite would have required skill to apply, because preparation involved the use of a binder (usually organic, and would contribute to the decay of the paint) and successive applications of coats to achieve an even and solid color.[117] Blue is often used on the

[116] Hendrix (2003) 429.
[117] Birtacha (2017) 495.

figurines to color the physical features, including eyes, eyebrows, hair, and the pubic area.[118] The need to reapply repeatedly encourages us to think of the implications of the blue pigment on the Cycladic figurine, yet these features in blue are relatively unchanging. As mentioned already, blue seems to be reserved for the physical traits, not symbolic motifs that, as we shall see in Chapter 3, may have been changing over time.

Occasionally there are traces of a green pigment, from malachite. This mineral is found in close association with azurite, and interestingly enough, however, some malachite samples result from the exposure of azurite to water.[119] It is also extremely rare to find green coloring on the figurines. Any resulting green, due to its rarity, may have not been intentionally painted onto a Cycladic figurine.

The pigments used on the Cycladic figurines certainly added another symbolic layer to the finished product. The distance that the pigments had to cross and the processes by which they become visible on the figurines i.e., the quantity of and the effort with which they were applied, all bring attention to the spatial and economic values inherent in the pigments. Pigments were only found in association with metals, a fact that would have been known to any member of the community if we imagine shipments of raw metals including supplies of pigments for the people to use. A crafter and an owner of a figurine would have this relationship in mind during the experience of painting a figurine.

Typology

These insights into the creation of value in terms of the materials and processes of figurine production contrast with the structured typologies, which emphasize the final product

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[118] Hoffman (2002) 531.
[119] Hendrix (2003) 429.

rather than the process. A brief look into recent scholarship may provide some insight, especially if it provides a spatial and emotional precursor for types rather than a descriptive one. I want to summarize here briefly some of the more nuanced work done on typologies, although I have previously discussed that they add no more than a structure of material culture. The very presence of a typology, the fact that we can see chronological shifts in the styles of the figurines, does point to the presence of a societal aesthetic; in other words, typologies reflect a tradition to which a crafter adheres.

While the typology of the figurines changed over the decades of the Early Bronze Age, the arguments for the technique and technology for their creation did not change significantly. At present, the most detailed chronology of the figurines comes from Peggy Sotirakopoulou and her work on the fragments of the Keros "hoard." Her attention to detail builds off of the typology made by Renfrew, yet distinguished varieties such as Early and Late Spedos and transition types like Spedos-Dokathismata.[120] Katia Manteli, in using this work, states that a more detailed typology of the figurines provides insight into the development of local styles of manufacture and identity rather than a chronology of the evolution of styles.[121] Indeed, if technology remained the same across all islands, then it is reasonable to suppose that the value of characteristics of the figurines came from the acquisition, manufacture, and finishing of the raw material. Manteli also suggests that a specific method of repairing figurines, which developed as early as EC I, was an effort to lessen wastes of time and material.[122] I disagree with this supposition. While it was time consuming to carve such figures, I cannot argue that there was a lack of material to use on the islands. There was no great demand in terms of cost and time devoted to the search of materials.

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[120] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 48.
[121] Manteli (2016) 82; She does not provide details on how or why we can see a local style rather than a style based on dating.
[122] Ibid.

The motivations alone were not purely materialistic or economic, but were due to emotional connections to objects which were viewed as valuable. The evidence of reparations on certain figurines instead suggests to me that there was a significant amount of personal value in these figurines and that they had a long use-life. Mending a broken head onto a figurine by drilling does not connote a means to save material, but rather emotional investment.

The earliest identifiable figurines from the Cyclades in the EC I period are categorized as "schematic" types, a term first used by Renfrew in his typology. This category contains at least 12 different forms, including the violin, spade, pebble, and Apeiranthos types.[123] These two-dimensional forms continue Neolithic traditions of pebble and schematic figurines, such as the fiddle-shaped figurine from Franchthi Cave.[124] Manteli recreates a vivid example of the creation of a schematic figurine: "Any person living in the Cyclades could easily acquire the said familiarity and knowledge through repeated visits to the beach, where raw materials and natural tools were abundant, and then make a figurine, the manufacturing process of which would not exceed two hours."[125] Many of these small figurines were dependent on the natural shape of their material; one such example is the notch-waisted type from Mersinia, in which the curve of the figurine actually follows the original curve of the shell.[126] Other schematic figurines, like the violin-shaped, take approximately five hours to carve.[127]

Whereas Renfrew divided the Plastiras, Louros, and "folded-arm figurines" into three separate categories, Sotirakopoulou places them all within the category of naturalistic figurines

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[123] Sotirakopoulou (2005) 48.
[124] Talalay (1993).
[125] Manteli (2016) 82.
[126] Papangelopoulou. "A Schematic Figurine of Shell from Mersinia on Kythnos" In Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context, edited by Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 88-92.
[127] Manteli (2016) 83, Oustinoff (1984).

with further division between canonical and non-canonical figurines. The Plastiras and the Louros, both pre-canonical, are the earliest types carved in an anatomically representative form of the human body. The long necks and exaggerated curves of the hips suggests that the Plastiras type is the successor of the Neolithic traditions; the arms folded to touch fingertips underneath the breasts/chest may also be a predecessor of the folded arms of the later canonical types.[128] The schematic and especially the naturalistic Cycladic figurines differ greatly from the Neolithic tradition of the bulky seated (sometimes standing) female figurines. The so-called "Fat Lady," found on the tiny island of Saliagos between Paros and Antiparos, is one such figurine of the type not found later in the Bronze Age periods.[129] She is only a fragment depicting large rounded buttocks, crossed legs, and part of a left elbow resting on her leg. It is useful to note here that the curves of this Neolithic figurine are emphasized in protruding or three-dimensional space. These protruding curves give much more attention to the bulk and fleshiness of the figurine, while Cycladic curves are emphasized by the sides of the body i.e., the shoulders, waists, hips, and thighs. Pregnant bellies when they occur on Cycladic figurines do not project too much into the frontal space. This difference could also correspond to the postures: Cycladic figurines are always extended from head to toe in a relaxed position, but the Neolithic "Fat Ladies" use contracted poses, where the legs are crossed and the limbs drawn in. A preoccupation with flesh and curved skin surface is lost in the more geometric and thinner Cycladic figurines.

Geography, Context, and Workshops

Thus far, the consideration of space has developed from the use of materials themselves. This section of the chapter will now consider how the prehistoric peoples used space with

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[128] Manteli (2016) 83.

[129] Renfrew. "The Figurines from the settlement at Dhaskalio." In Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context, edited by Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 27.

regards to the finished figurines; I will begin at the macro scale, considering the island entities and the traversing the seascape itself, and move into the micro scale focusing on the localities, settlements, and potential workshops. This is an extensive topic that deserves intense study that simply cannot be accomplished here. I will, however, will try to be as representative of the evidence as possible without being exhaustive. Unfortunately, a great portion of the figurines are without a safe excavation context because of the prolific looting. It is therefore difficult to understand and interpret the distribution and purpose of the figurines. Many of them, especially the intact figurines, have been found in graves. It is their final context that determined their earliest labels: the (divine) nurse, or the death goddess, but it should not be the only context that defines them. The FAFs were widespread, with some examples popping up in Minoan contexts in Crete: whether these figurines were part of a "craze" for Cycladica or were made/brought by Cycladic settlers is unknown, but they do exhibit characteristics unusual for their relatives in the Cycladic islands. They were certainly traveling far, or at least their owners were, and they were as expressive as their home allowed.

Space, both long-distance between islands to find-contexts, plays a crucial role in what sort of values can be assigned to the materials themselves. As Helms states, "members of traditional societies do not interpret geographical distance in neutral terms."[130] It is also a critical element in the analysis of embodied experience. Therefore the first issue of geospace I contend with is the names of the figurine types. This is an ongoing issue in archaeology and human geography.[131] Each type -- Spedos, Dokathismata, Apeiranthos, etc., -- is named after their first respective find spots. The Spedos type gets its name from the first figurine example found in

[130] Helms (1993) 3.
[131] See the volume: Berg, Lawrence D. and Jani Vuolteenaho (2009) *Critical toponymies: contested politics of place naming*. Ashgate, Aldershot, for discussion on the internalization of political and economic place names.

Spedos, Naxos, for example. Each type name typically corresponds to an EBA gravesite. This naming system follows the archaeological practice of the type site. There is an inherent bias in type sites, however unaware it persists. Names are a defining characteristic of a thing, and we tend to strongly associate a thing with the name. Spedos figurines are found all over the Cycladic islands, such as Ios, Thera, Melos, Kea, Syros, and more. It is condensing to name the figurines from one specific locality in the effect of the movement and distribution of these figurines is diminished, or the possibility of a spread of technique and tradition is glossed over. The norm created by this archaeological practice, however, has led to negligence of analyzing geospatial distribution. To further illustrate this point, consider this seemingly cursory point made by Renfrew in studying figurines from Dhaskalio:

> All the figurines from Dhaskalio are schematic figurines of the so-called Apeiranthos type. These were initially named (Renfrew 1969) after examples in the Apeiranthos museum, thought to derive from the Apeiranthos region of Naxos, although it is now realised that many of these may have come from Keros (i.e. from Kavos or from Dhaskalio).[132]

In effect, these figurines have nothing to do with the site of Apeiranthos on Naxos. Their typological names are limiting in how we can understand the embodiment of a figurine: it is misleading to continue to falsely assume a providence with a type. This paper, although providing a solution goes beyond the scope of the thesis, nevertheless calls for a reconsideration of their classification. Renfrew also brings the issue of assigning "masters" to certain pieces, a substantial body of work done by Pat Getz-Preziosi. Her specification of a master depended on an identification of a "name piece," which exemplified the style of a supposed master and was closely resembled by other pieces.[133] Renfrew offers several critiques, primarily of connoisseurship, where identifying pieces as valuable or of a "master" lends credence to the

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[132]Renfrew (2017): 165-166.
[133] Getz-Preziosi (1984).

illegal trade and marketing.[134] Other issues he notes focus on the controversy of naming the "masters" after private ownerships: in addition to plain doubt about the actual evidence of an identifiable master, the names give undue credit to illegal sellers and collectors and contribute to the loss of an excavated context.[135]

I will now consider the significance of movement of the figurines in the Aegean. Several types are found on various islands, including Crete, which produced its own specific type of figurine. How did the Cycladic islanders traverse the seascape, and for what particular reasons? How might these necessary movements have contributed to the embodiment of a FAF? These questions are part of the general consensus of recent research that the systems of movement in the islands created opportunities for individualistic goals.[136] Recent analyses of maritime movement and metallurgical production foreground the role of the individual in the EBA Cyclades. The islanders were no doubt skilled sailors, as dependent upon the winds and waves as they were dictated by them. It is not too imaginative therefore to think of these figurines as companions or beneficiaries on these voyages. The islands were deeply connected by an extensive sailing community championed by individuals. Gone are the days of Renfrew's *international spirit* characterized by general terms such as "trade" and "technology:" more recent and foreseeable scholarship works to set the individuals back into their roles as the sailors, crafters, buyers, sellers. I find the role of the individual in the emergence of the longboat and metallurgy, two practices that are concomitant with the figurines. These two factors would have allowed individual pursuit of power and glory to thrive in a dispersed yet clustered structure of

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[134] Ibid.

[135] Renfrew (2017) 4.

[136] Noort (2003); Broodbank (1989) & (2000); Renfrew (1961).

social groups; as Broodbank states, "this [social] power is likely to have been personal and achieved, and (often literally) to have accompanied people to the grave."[137]

The figurines contribute to the conversation about the longboats through the iconographic intersections between the Cycladic figurines and other material culture of the EBA Cyclades, particularly the "frying pans." The longboat enjoys, perhaps to our frustration, a prominent representation in Cycladic art particularly in the Keros-Syros (EBA II) culture. This image is usually accompanied by other symbols attributed to a maritime culture such as fish, waves, celestial bodies and birds. Many of these symbols come together on a special material item called the "frying pans," a rather unfortunate name that comes only from their resemblance to the modern cooking pan. There is no evidence that they were actually used for cooking (as in no traces of fire) and they sometimes accompany figurines in graves, but as to their ritual or utility purpose one can only speculate.[138] Decorated frying pans with these symbols begin to pop up alongside the more naturalistic FAFs that emerge in the EBA II period, and in fact the only undecorated frying pans extant come from Euboea.[139]

The frying pans that have enjoyed the most attention mostly come from Syros: they usually depict the longboat, as well as various combinations of the maritime imagery, forked handles, and female genitalia. The female genitals are particularly puzzling, because they also appear on figurines, but this will be explored in Chapter 3 of this thesis. These symbols also appear on the clay and marble vessels from this period as well, particularly wave patterns. The world of maritime transportation is thus functioning as a second-level signifier. Symbols of

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[137] Broodbank (2000) 247.

[138] See Coleman (1985) and Marthari (2017) for discussion of the symbols depicted on frying pans and speculation on use.

[139] Coleman (1985) 193.

human referents and activities, like the boat and the genitalia, as well as abstract motifs such as spirals, zigzags, triangles, chevrons, sun discs, and fish are depicted on frying pans. One hypothesis for the depictions of these symbols draws on the hypothesis that the spirals represent the sea, and thus the frying pans represent rough seas or difficult sea voyages.[140]

The practicality of the longboat travel however, is far harder to recover. Broodbank has done the most to connect longboat sailing with demographic studies. We know that long distance sailing was occurring as far back as the Neolithic period, demonstrated by the presence of obsidian in Franchthi Cave.[141] Materials, such as emery, that are only found on a specific island, like Naxos, but crop up elsewhere in other islands necessitates purposeful shipping.[142] Marble and the crafters themselves may also have been traveling to different islands. The existence of a single type of figurine, Spedos for example, on multiple islands in the Cyclades is an indication of some form of technical communication: some knowledge of manufacture or perhaps a "trend" is predicated by the movement of crafters or even individuals carrying an example to another island. Seafaring by longboat, however, was no taxi service. Immense material acquisition, expense, energy, and time would have been needed for the organization of even one voyage. Broodbank provides this succinct demographic structure of longboat activity:

> Assuming that the minimal longboat crew of roughly twenty-five people estimated in chapter 3 is correct, that the crews were young adults, and that longboat activity was gender-specific (probably male in the case of raiding), a demographic pool of roughly a hundred people would be needed to produce a suitable crew for one of the latter craft. But numbers alone would not suffice without the presence of someone with the authority to attract and mobilise people, either inside or

[140] Marthari (2017) 151.
[141] Renfrew, Cann, and Dixon (1965) 229.
[142] Tykot (1996) 39-82. He concludes that the exchange systems used in the Neolithic periods influenced prestige of materials and elites rather than that the exchanges were *based* on prestige. The exchange systems were also local networks than "whole world systems."

> outside of kin group relations. In other words, longboats were probably both indications of a threshold of social organisation and status symbols for those people able to use them.[143]

Large groups of people, either from the village itself or from even another island, had to be rallied in order to facilitate seafaring. Later Homeric poetic material give detailed visuals of this process, with charismatic leaders filling their ships and directing them to the war in Troy.[144] This management requires having enough people to acquire and harvest the material (logs, reeds), to carve and/or shape the material, and to furnish enough people to paddle the boats.[145] All of this information entails an authority, a leader, an individual to focus all of this cooperation into accomplishing a voyage across the sea, someone who may have exemplified himself in leadership and have acquired much wealth from trading and voyaging. The people who had access to these longboats and organizational skills thus had access to prestige materials and objects, like metals and figurines.

Metals are not a widespread element around the Cyclades. Ore sources are limited generally to the western Cycladic islands, specifically Kea, Kythnos, Siphnos, and Seriphos. Laurion lies north on the mainland with its well-used silver mines from EBA on. Copper, silver, and lead are found on these islands, with Siphnos being the most prolific island source and production site.[146] In southern Siphnos, cupellation was occurring in the EC settlement at Akrotiraki, evidence of which is yielded from litharge remains and perforated furnaces from a nearby settlement.[147] We know that raw materials in the form of ores and perhaps the production

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[143] Broodbank (2000) 256. The presence of a leader is also evidenced by the long Cycladic daggers found in tombs. The "armed male power" is thus associated with seafaring if sailors were defending themselves (or goods) on the sea. See referenced Nakou (1995) and Sherratt (2000) for elaboration on this ideology.

[144] Homer's catalogue of ships in book 2 of the Illiad is a list of such leaders and the numbers of their ships and men from all over Greece.

[145] None of the boat images depict sails, thus it is inferred that the mode of power for the boat was only by paddling.

[146] Gale and Stos-Gale (1981): 198-201.

[147] Surveys at the sites of Akrotiraki and Skali in Papadopoulou (2011) 149-156 yields the earliest evidence that lead/silver and copper production was occurring on Siphnos.

stages were scattered around the islands, at least generally at the smelting and working stages. Copper slags of unknown providence are found at the site of Avyssos on Paros, for example, an island not known for its ore resources.[148] Smelting, because of the immense amounts of pollution that is produced and the relative danger of the process, was performed away from settlement and high on hills with exposure to winds.[149] Metal working and smithing was done in settlements, presumably because of access to a customer base. There is no evidence that a single settlement controlled and exploited an ore source completely.[150] What is demonstrated by the "long-range practice" and the intense specialization in metalworking is what also is interpreted from the longboat sailing: small groups, or one individual, had access to these ore sites and performed their own extraction or acquired it from miners. As Broodbank states, this procurement was "one of the means by which they established or enhanced their status."[151] The individual status is the particular impetus for metal acquisition and long range-voyaging.[152] Within the settlements as well, metals were processed into their final forms by persons other than those who acquired the metals initially. The separation of the initial and final processes and their locations is key: the procurers/sailors as well as those who performed the smelting achieved glory though the voyage *at a distance*, but other individuals *in the settlement itself* achieved a different kind of status in the community. There is great symbolism in geographical space and acquisition as Mary Helms explores in her book *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*:

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[148] Renfrew (1967) 12.
[149] Papangelopoulou "Metallurgy-Metalwork," in Stampolidis and Lourentzatou (2016): 77.
[150] Broodbank (2000) 296.
[151] Broodbank (2000) 294. See also Nakou (1995) 9-13 and Muhly (1985) 109-141 for discussion of the connection of individual status and daggers. Daggers, which are also indicated on the hunter/warrior figurines, may indicate "an eventful act…Formalized entry into a corporate group, age-grade or status may have necessitated the acquisition or awarding of a standard weapon, so that in fact the weapon 'made' the man" (Nakou 13).
[152] See Amzallag (2009) 497-519. The synthetic approach he offers is the integration of the diffusionist theory, which relates metallurgical production to increasing complexity in civilization, with the localizationilist theory whereby metallurgy is an *element contributing* to the emergence of organized societies.

> Prestige is also accorded in such circumstances because acquisition of outside things reflects most favorably upon highly valued and lauded skills and personal characteristics of the acquirer, who has had to deal in some fashion with a conceptually distinctive foreign realm qualitatively defined as involving the sanctified, the mystical, or the power filled. Acquisitional acts thus become dynamic expressions of the quality of the acquirer's association with this powerful domain.[153]

Thus the individual becomes an agent who deals with the outside realm and comes back with something precious. Those who work on the border of this outside realm (i.e., the smelters) are also associated with this sort of prestige. Ideally, this same connotation also exists for those who go to get marble from the mountains or even someone picking a pebble from the beach: there is something personal and mystical about going into nature and bringing a piece back to be transformed within the bounds of a community or settlement.

The metallurgical preoccupation described above occurred in the EC II period, commonly referred to as *Metallshock*.[154] The aforementioned Akrotiraki on Siphnos, the site of cupellation, is also a settlement with safely documented figurines. While litharge is discovered at the settlement site, however, mining is not located nearby.[155] There are several smelting sites located roughly 700m away from the site, mostly for copper.[156] Cupellation also occurred in the settlement of Agia Irini on Keos, further suggesting that specialization in the craft occurred in the settlement itself, and that at least partially processed ores were brought to the settlement.[157] Another example is the cemetery of Krassades on Antiparos, where the burials are located next to "metallurgical galleries" for lead, although the timeframe for its use is yet unknown.[158] These sites demonstrate the prevalence of metallurgical technology within the settlement itself and the

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[153] Helms (1993) 101.
[154] Nakou (1995) 2, in reference to Renfrew (1972) 338. The term *Metallshock* "represents a change in depositional behavior, and thus a deliberate redirection of symbolic expression."
[155] Papadopoulou "Sculptures from Akrotiraki, Siphnos and its Cemetery," in *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* edited by Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017) 113.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Nakou (1995) 18.
[158] Papadopoulou (2017) 116.

fact that finished objects were not being traded and exchanged.[159] These are not the only sites that illustrate this connection, but including all of them goes beyond the scope of this thesis. I will use a one different site as exemplary of possible marble manufacture. The well-preserved EC II settlement of Skarkos on Ios has been lately more closely linked to marble manufacture. Marthari lists three sources of marble on Ios, two of which become later commercial quarries.[160] Other smaller sources of marble are located closer to Skarkos, and the smaller fragments of marble are ideal for the characteristic figurines found in the settlement.[161] The settlement of Skarkos has an abundance of smaller schematic, usually Apeiranthos-type figurines found in domestic contexts, with many of them appearing in a structure aptly labelled The Building of the Figurines.[162]

What these models demonstrate for the figurines is the movement and individualization of their manufacture. Dimitris Tambakopoulos and Yannis Maniatis further support this idea with their analyses of marble provenance in the Cyclades. They surveyed groups of figurines from excavation in various settlements to determine the provenance of the marble used. The found that in Skarkos, Ios, five of seventeen figurines had a possible provenance of Naxos, while a mortar was made from Parian marble.[163] Other examples include a Chalandriani type and a Spedos type figurine excavated from Chalandriani, Syros that may have a marble provenance from Naxos, and a Louros type from Amorgos that may also come from either Naxos or Ios.[164]

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[159] Nakou (1995) 19.
[160] Marthari in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017) 134.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Marthari in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017) 123.
[163] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2017): 478-479.
[164] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2017) 480. The first two figurines come from a 2004 excavation done by Clon Stephanos, see Papazoglou-Manioudaki of the same volume, Chapter 21.

While there were certainly preferences for more local marble,[165] there was also a demonstrable need or desire for outside marble. The distances from Naxos to either Ios or Amorgos range from 25-35 km, depending on where the points are measured, while from Naxos to Syros is at least double that distance.[166]

Conclusions

What this chapter has demonstrated is the risky yet opportunistic environment in which an individual could come to the foreground, a trend that is reflected in the figurines. Traveling great distances in order to acquire materials like marble and pigment is best achieved under the guide of one person who had access to these resources and could assemble people for manning a boat. The discontinuation of a Neolithic preference for corpulent female figurines for the geometric and flatter Cycladic types may indicate a new trend for prestige s embodied in the figurines. They became a kind of canvas on which an individual could display the fruits of a long and difficult excursion: paints from the far off metalliferous islands combined with the marble of one's home island, or perhaps another far-off island, may have come together as a marker of one's capability and status.

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[165] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2017) 478-480.
[166] See also Broodbank (2000) 75 for a model on inter-islands distances.

Figure 2: NM 1989; EC I from Akrotiri, Grave 5. Dimensions: h. 19.5cm, w. 6.0cm, th. 1.0cm.

(Source: Image by Zdenek Kratochvil is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cycladic_figurine_violin,_marble,_3200-2800_BC,_AM_Naxos,_143130.jpg)

Figure 3: NM 4691. EC II from Keros, Kavos. Dimensions: h. 54.5cm.

(Source: Image by Zdenek Kratochvil is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cycladic_female_figurine_2800-2300_BC,_AM_Naxos_(03_2),_119839.jpg)

Chapter III: Reflection and the Figurines

Hopefully, I have made my shift in focus away from gender studies clear and moved into the embodied value of the experience of crafting a figurine. With this experience in mind, I will demonstrate in this chapter the idea of the reflective body. All of the sensory elements that produced the figurine itself, from heading to the mountain or the riverside to pick a stone, to tediously grinding it into a recognizable human shape, are incorporated and *recognized* by a handler. The recognition takes part of three handlers whom I identify as the crafter, the so-called "homo-faber," the owner, someone distinct from the crafter, and finally the viewer, as there is an element of display and performance in holding a figurine. My focus is not on how the figurine connects these three handlers; rather, I will examine the relationship of the figurine to each handler and the engagement of the mind-in-the body (in the phenomenological sense) to a stone body. It is important to emphasize as well that the three handlers are not necessarily three different agents: they are roles and relationships to the figurine itself and the reflective experience that is created.

I will explore the embodiment process[167] as what is projected onto a figurine and what it reflects back onto its viewer. In trying to understand how embodiment worked in the formation of the figurine, the end effect of this process results in the figurines as "reflective." The previous meticulously outlined material acquisition and creation processes of a figurine all have to do with its process of embodiment, and does not simply ignore these processes in favor of studying the end product of the body. A symbol can have various meanings in different contexts, even for a single viewer. While a discussion of agency of an object goes far beyond the scope of this project, it is useful to introduce the concept to highlight this idea. An object, according to recent

[167] I qualify embodiment as a process because my focus is on the handlers of the body: the crafter, the holder, and the viewer. Every agent thus contributes to the perception and embodiment of a figurine as it emerges from material manipulation and use.

scholarship, is given an agency by the emotions it can elicit: "by arousing emotions, they provoke actions that are beyond or contrary to human intentions."[168] In any point of time or space, a figurine can elicit some sort of response because it works on visual perception and recognition. I argue that objects have agency not only through emotional effect but also through a physical effect. A human body abstracted and miniaturized in a figurine invites a physical engagement with it. Their size allows them to be carried but also demands closer inspection from all angles.[169] At this point, reflection is the key concept in identifying the experiences of the holder versus the viewer. The holder experiences the physical sensations of the figurine by holding it in the hand; the viewer may only experience the shape of the figurine. The engagement with the depth and dimensions of a figurine vary between the two, resulting in a different perception of the symbols on the body.

For example, the symbol of the female genitals on Cycladic figurines can represent several meanings: fertility, sexuality, or childbirth to name a few. The depiction of the genitals do not represent one thing, nor are they actual genitals (as they perform no biological function), but they have an assigned value based on who views it. The symbol of the genitals is therefore polysemic, an idea extensively worked on by Ferdinand de Saussure. While his work focused on spoken language, the concept has significant application to the Cycladic figurines. In addition to the incised genitals, the figurines also present motifs such as hair, eyes, jewelry, and zigzags, which can also be represented on other objects.[170] According to de Saussure, the values of a word (in this case, of a symbol) are always determined by both "a dissimilar thing that can be

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[168] Chaniotis (2017) 93.
[169] Zeman-Wiśniewska "Handler and Viewers: Some Remarks on the Process of Perception of Terracotta Figurines on the Example of Cypriot 'Goddesses with Raised Arms'" in Mina, Triantaphyllou, and Papadatos (2016) 39.
[170] See again Marthari (2017) for discussion of the pictorial elements on frying pans. See also Televantou "Dress-Jewellery-Adornment" in Marangou (1990): 57-69 for a brief discussion and examples of the jewelry and physical ornamentation that has been found in graves.

exchanged for the thing of which the value is to be determined" and "a similar thing that can be compared with the thing of which the value is to be determined."[171] In other words, values are both negatively and positively defined by other values present in the same system. For Saussure, this was language, but for the figurines, it is the material culture. This concept is significant for understanding the embodied values in the figurines and the process by which they are embodied.

The concepts of perception, reflection, and body experience have their origin in Merleau-Ponty's *The Phenomenology of Perception.* There are two points Merleau-Ponty offers on how perception is traditionally treated: first, that perception is not a sensation because the object is perceived as whole and understood contextually; second, perception is not a judgement because our understanding of what we perceive is intentional, but something less than conscious.[172] Projection of memories, such as perceiving a symbol based on past engagement, is also inadequate in understanding experience because it subjects an object or thing to the consciousness. Furthermore, it is wrong to conceive of the mind and body as separate entities since no part of the physical body is perceived as an objective external object.[173] Rather, what Merleau-Ponty argues is a body-image that is pre-reflective and motivated to a personal action, or the ability to "lend [the] body freely to the realm of the imagination."[174] This concept is a stronger force than mere cooperation of the mind and body. Instead, it becomes another form of being-in-the-world, namely the synthesis of the body, or the "gearing of tactile, visual, and motor powers into one another."[175] This synthesis is a structure of sexuality in Merleau-Ponty, yet I believe it has significance in the production and expression embodied in the Cycladic figurines.

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[171] Saussure (2014 coll.) 23.
[172] As simplified by McClamrock (2013) 63-68.
[173] Langer (1989) 37.
[174] Langer (1989) 44.
[175] Langer (1989) 51.

As mentioned before, a figurine engages the mind and body together: 1) for the crafter, the body emerges because of the mental and physical effort needed for sculpting, 2) for the handler who applies painted symbols and displays the figurine, and 3) for the viewer who must engage with the figurine visually.

Embodiment studies in the past treat the body as something enclosed in itself and distinct from the mind.[176]The body is therefore treated like a tool for the conscious mind, which limits our understanding of how a body experiences. Previous scholars have also addressed embodiment in terms of the social functions, approaches that have led to "multiple bodies," categorizing the body into two or at most five bodies.[177] Csordas critiques these approaches: "To greater or lesser degrees all these approaches study the *body* and its transformations while still taking *embodiment* for granted."[178] Many of the "bodies" identified construct the body as a social tool. Each body has an affixed function for society, and the individual behind the figurine is lost to the construction of society. Jumping into societal foundations brings the role of structures like gender roles into question, and as I have made explicit, my intention is to take all the steps back into the initial experience of crafting and the value associated with this process. I will adopt some ideas from Jacques Lacan's theory of the "mirror stage," as the risk of seeming like psychoanalysis of a prehistoric person. Lacan theorizes that the "self" does not begin until recognition of a mirror's image (the *imago*) as our own body during childhood and that is it a

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[176] Schilling "The challenge of embodying archaeology," in Boric and Robb (2008) highlights some of the frustrations of studying the body in archaeology. The idea of the "enclosed" body is referred by Elias (1987) as the *homo clausus*.

[177] Douglas (1973) describes two bodies: the social and physical. Scheper-Hughes and Lock (1987) find three bodies: the individual, social, and political, and O'Neill outlines five bodies, adding the consumer and medical bodies. All of these works focus on the intersections between biological anatomy and symbolic representation on the body.

[178] Csordas (1994) 6.

fundamental event in child development. I will not elaborate on this idea, however, I will borrow the sense of recognizing oneself in representational image.[179]

Douglas Bailey, in analyzing a "representational absence," or the lack of recognizable anatomical features, offers the process of stereotyping (as well as some psychoanalytic theory) as a method for understanding the symbolic power of Neolithic figurines. He states that "figurines encourage their prehistoric (and modern) spectators to draw inferences about what is not represented, of what is absent."[180] A viewer fills in, for lack of a better term, the missing anatomical features. These inferences then lead them to look for similarities not just in the figurines, but also in human beings. Stereotypes are generalizing and do not represent any sort of reality, but they "create a record of constructed perceptions within existing relations of power(s) and of orders(s)."[181]

The idea of stereotyping in the figurines is useful but ultimately another tied to typologies, problematic for my discussion of how perception and reflection is working. It is useful to keep in mind as well that there were many different types of schematic figurines: spade, Apeiranthos, Louros, pebbles, etc., likewise for the naturalistic figurines with their Spedos, Chalandriani, Dokathismata, and Kapsala types. To consider the various types as stereotypes removes the experience aspect of the figurine and lends credence to the formation of a typology, that the different types must be different social groups and their perceptions of each other. I am not convinced that this is what is happening with the figurines. Rather, recent focus on another aspect of these figurines has emphasized (or de-emphasized) the importance of the body shape: painted motifs on the figurines may have been the crucial tool of communication and perception.

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[179] See Jacques Lacan (2014) "The mirror stage as formative of the function of the I as revealed in psychoanalytic experience (1949)" trans. Alan Sheridan: 119-126 for elaboration on this theory.

[180] Bailey "The corporeal politics of being in the Neolithic," in Boric and Robb (2008) 10.

[181] Bailey (2008) 11.

With this framework, I will present two figurines (seen in the photos above), one schematic and one painted naturalistic, and unpack them in the terms of their reflectability. They are reflective in at least three different perspectives, the crafter, the user and the viewer, who in their own contexts perceive and handle the figurine. I will begin with a description of their bodies and find contexts, and then move into analysis of their features such as incisions, paint, and deposition. I will also offer some comparative analysis on the "frying pans," which have also been somewhat as generalized as the Cycladic figurines.

The Figurines

Here I provide a preliminary description of the two figurines I will use as case studies of their respective types. I will then explore the implications of the features (or lack thereof) for each handler of a figurine whom I identify as the initial crafter, the user, and the viewer. Each handler has access to a different experience in the same world that is reflected in the figurine. Each experience the depth and materiality of the figurine in their own way and each agent incorporate the social world in which they live and experience.[182]

The first figurine I will discuss is the schematic one, or according to typology, the Violin-type figurine. The one imaged is held in the Naxos Museum and was an EC I grave offering excavated from Akrotiri, Naxos. It lacks any discernible gender, although it is described as a male.[183] The only other features on the figurine are an incised "V-neck" and small circle at the corner of the "V." Only the vague proportions of the shoulder, waistline, and hips give the Violin-type a human shape, but it completely lacks a head, arms, legs, and other characteristics. The entire human body is thus abstracted and miniaturized.

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[182] Hamilakis (2002) 122.
[183] Marangou (1990) p. 144 no. 146, referencing to Doumas (1997) 87 no. 149.

I will begin with the experience of the carver. Cycladic schematic figurines are often small with no protruding features, resulting in a 2D figure in a single plane. In other words, there is very shallow depth to engage with in a 3D space. In the experimental approaches to crafting figurines, the process of shaping the schematic form from a pebble or small rock never took more than five hours nor did it require the same amount of effort and skill like the naturalistic forms. A “skilled carver” for these simple figurines may have been gratuitous. The relative ease of acquiring the material and carving the form may have allowed anyone to be able to make a schematic figurine. This would entail a widely available type of figurine. I would like to note here, however, that this may imply the crafter and holder as one individual instead of two. Whether this is the case or not, the experiences of being the crafter and being the owner of a figurine are two very different relationships and will be treated as such.

The world of the crafter was the ecological one. As explored in Chapter 2, the crafter engaged directly with the raw materials. As we have seen, there was value attributed to these materials since they came from afar or even the natural world outside of society.[184] The carver must have had access the movement of these materials either by acquiring them himself or a middleman; whichever of these two scenarios, working on and associating oneself with the “outside” materials lends to an experience of engaging with creativity and the abstract realm. The crafter occupies a space or bridge between the living natural world and whatever the figurine is an image of.[185] The actions of working on the material produces an “externalized culture,” or an objectification of culture.[186] The process of embodiment as it were begins with the crafter, for not only is he creating from and within the ecological world, but he is also responding to the

[184] Helms (1993).
[185] Joyce (2008) 37.
[186] Robb (2009) 166.

aesthetics and, in essence, confinements of the social world. Miniaturization is thus key to understanding this relationship and the prime effect of the crafter.

Miniature figures are cultural constructs, since they are abstract representations that do not occur in the natural world.[187] Returning to our Violin figurine, it follows parameters clearly seen in other figurines, which is to say that it is not an isolated example. We can infer therefore that there was a certain appeal and/or demand for this type. But more so than this demand, the crafter, by abstracting the figure into a miniature shape, forces a handler to draw inferences and in essence to “fill in the gaps.” Bailey calls this process an “object made active.”[188] The crafter is therefore making a deliberate choice in reducing the human body into an abstract but still recognizable shape. The crafter bridges the ecological and social worlds in this shape, which is then used by others.

We come now to the second relationship between a figurine and agent: the owner. The owner is the one who holds the figurine, uses it, and displays it. This handler is less tied to the natural world by means of working directly with the raw material. They hold the finished body in terms of its sculpture, but as mentioned before, they were free to add their own symbols and features in paint. The holder engages with the size and depth of a figurine in a more performative and symbolic capacity than the crafter. Smaller sizes are easier to carry and hold in the hand, suggesting that they are more mobile than other larger figures.[189] Yet precisely because of their smallness, they are harder to be seen from afar when in the hand. Using a small figurine invites it and a viewer into personal space; it elicits feelings of intimacy, comfort, and power.[190] As Bailey

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[187] Bailey (2005) 29, in reference to Levi-Strauss (1972) and Stewart (1993).
[188] Bailey (2005) 32.
[189] Zeman-Wiśniewska (2008) 39; Bailey (2005).
[190] Bailey (2005) 33.

frames it: "physically, it makes the viewer gigantic, omnipotent and omniscient."[191] While he uses "viewer" in this sense, the experience must have been greater for the actual holder. As we have seen, figurines were painted and even broken, events that result from this ability of the handler. Painted symbols would come from the individual experiences of the handler, drawing upon symbols and semantics available in their given society. For an owner, the body becomes a canvas for painted symbols.

Keeping our Violin figurine in mind, we also see that in addition to its smallness, it is also thin and planar. It has a depth of only 1cm,[192] has no protruding features and invites no deeper gaze other than the incised neck. It is a 2D shape working in a 3D space. For a viewer, this form does not invite much engagement with the figurine. What a viewer can do, however, it recognize the outline, silhouette, and shape of the figurine. It is the most durable element of the figurine. A viewer can also recognize the symbols placed onto the figurine because presumably this figurine is moving within the social space. A viewer and a handler have access to semiotics familiar to each other. Considering the most durable elements of a figurine, we have the shape as discussed but also the marble -- a white and gleaming surface. The white color and the surface have been the subject of most aesthetics studies, yet I argue that is has more symbolic potential that previously asserted. Marble is a prized resource throughout the history of Greece, and especially island marble for its high quality. In the islands it is found almost everywhere from the beach strands to the mountains. Marble use, in addition to its pure availability, would have a symbolic tie to the landscape.

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[191] Ibid.
[192] Marangou (1990) 144 no 146.

This symbolic tie to the landscape is amplified by seafaring and the interconnectivity of the islands. A sailor approaching an island "from the sea outside" would have a greater sense of this connectedness.[193] In fact, on a clear day on the Aegean, there is clear visibility of up to 40km (from island to island). The Cycladic islands were certainly interconnected due to the movement of nonlocal marble,[194] as well as the previously discussed raw materials for tools. The longboats depicted on the "frying-pans" highlight this emphasis on using the sea. The Cycladic society was a seafaring one, exploiting their ability to row between islands in order to acquire raw materials, as well as agricultural goods.[195] These acquisitions must have led to the development of trade or exchange as well as facilitating interactions among different island groups, through which ideas may have exchanged.[196] Sailing the sea would certainly lend to identification with its performance, an identity that would be embodied within the nonlocal materials such as marble to tools.

These aspects attributed to the Violin figurine are all mechanics of the reflectability of a figurine. The relationship between the various handlers and it are emphasized by its abstracted and miniature form, giving it a sense of intimacy from being in-the-hand and viewed up close. The figurine invites us to fill in the absences and to imagine more than can be recognized. It was easier to carry through social spaces but harder to see, suggesting a closeness of both the figurine to handler and the handler to another individual. The fact that this particular figurine was buried may be an indication of this closeness, although no bones were found in the grave.[197] In sum, the schematic Violin figurine has a vastly different experience than the larger and more naturalistic figurine.

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[193] Marangou (2008) 172, in reference to Rainbird (2007).
[194] Tambakopoulos and Maniatis (2017).
[195] Doumas, "The Sea," in Marangou (1990): 83-85.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Marangou (1990) 144 no. 146.

The second figurine pictured to discuss is a Spedos type, 54.5cm tall, attributed to Keros, Kavos.[198] This figurine is large and more of a figure than a figurine; it would have required two hands to carry at all. It follows the strict canon: left arm resting on top of the right, lightly incised breasts, and no carved facial features except for a prominent nose. On this figure there is no incised pubic triangle except for the anatomic inguinal lines under the hips. The legs have been given space except for joining at the thighs and ankles, and the feet (the left foot is missing) dangle with toes pointing down. The faintest paint marks remain on the right side of the face in the form of an eye and a high arching eyebrow stretching from the top of the nose to the temple. Under analysis, however, far more can be seen. On the left side of the face, invisible to the naked eye, are another two eyes on top of each other, a diadem, two more eyes on the thighs, and zigzag motifs on the arms. What seemed completely natural anatomy at first sight crosses into the bizarre realm, and we are left with a speechless figurine conveying strange symbols.

We begin again by examining the relationship of the crafter to this figurine, although I will avoid repeating too much what has been discussed with the schematic figurine. The Spedos type is much more complex than the Violin, as it included features and contours that add greater depth. We can infer from this point that it was carved by a skilled craftsman, someone who was familiar or trained in manufacturing the type.[199] In this case, however, the process of abstraction is not working at the same level as in the Violin figurine. The crafter has chosen to represent the human form in a greater 3-dimensionality. This aspect invites a viewer at least to see the figurine from all sides, although there is an emphasis on frontality which will be examined later. The crafter has chosen to "solidify" certain features of the human form as well. The nose is a fixed sculpted piece on the face, but there is no mouth or eyes indicated from the marble. Breasts are

[198] Hendrix (2003).
[199] Oustinoff (1984); Papadatos & Venieris (2017); Getz-Preziosi (1984).

lightly indicated but still present. Limbs are also strongly carved on this figurine unlike the Violin type. A handler and viewer therefore do not need to imagine their presence. The canvas made by the sculptor thus provides a more representative human body for an owner to use, which brings to our attention the painted motifs on the body.

On this particular figurine as mentioned and based on better photographic analysis, we know that there were both anatomic and nonanatomic eyes, a diadem, and zigzag motifs on the arms. The presence of such motifs is not uncommon to other figurines as well. I will examine the eyes and zigzags separately, using associated material evidence in order to understand the symbolic significance of these motifs.

The eyes are a strange theme on the Cycladic figurines. Anatomically correct eyes are usually painted in blue or carved in relief, large, and almond-shaped.[200] Anatomic eyes are not always symmetrical and are sometimes accompanied by eyebrows. We can attribute the presence of this set of eyes to simple representation of human eyes, yet the other sets of eyes are trickier to consider. Hendrix offers that multiple pairs of eyes on the face may be repaints: that an individual painted new eyes on when the old pair faded.[201] This does not explain eyes that are found all over the body, such as the neck, chest, belly, and in the case of our figurine, the thighs.

In Early Cycladic culture, there are no instances of disembodied eyes appearing on vases, "frying pans," or other material objects. It would be hard to make any sort of inference without this associated material. This does not mean that the idea of disembodied human parts, however, is a foreign one to the culture. The eyes on the figurines are kept on the body, which distinguishes them from disembodied human parts. In her analysis of the figurines from Strofilas,

[200] Hendrix (2003). See Figures no. 1 (the one discussed above), no. 4, and no. 5 for examples.
[201] Hendrix (2003) 425.

Andros, Christina Televantou identifies rock-art motifs that are similar in shape to ring idols and frying pans. She compares these rock-art representations to ones found at the site of Plaka on Andros, a site that is unusual for its depictions. There are human "footprints" and handprints, ships, a phallus symbol, and most unusually, a head that she claims is a deity.[202] These symbols seem to reflect human activities rather than animating the actual stone, as eyes would suggest. She also identifies some depictions of ring and pebble figurines and what she claims is an EC II naturalistic figurine.[203] Televantou concludes that these symbols are a preservation of a tradition of symbols beginning in the Final Neolithic period but that they ultimately indicate a sacred space.[204]

A last note on the appearance of disembodied eyes in later artwork: an Early Minoan gold diadem from Mochlos is decorated with two eyes set close together depicted in the middle.[205] This mask is often interpreted as a precursor to the later Mycenaean gold death masks, yet wear marks on the diadem suggest that it was worn and used in life.[206] The open eyes of the diadem do not correspond to eyes on a human because they are set too close together, and they are thought to have some decorative if not magical purpose.[207] While Early Minoan time period does not roughly match the time of the Early Cycladic culture, it is an interesting comparison to make especially because they eyes are present on a diadem, which also has significance for the zigzag motif. Eyes in the Middle and Late Cycladic periods also appear on vessels and even a Middle

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[202] Televantou, "Figurines from Strofilas, Andros," in Marthari, Renfrew, and Boyd (2017): 46.
[203] Televantou (2017) 47-48.
[204] Televantou (2017) 50.
[205] Davaras (1975) 113. Reference to Heraklion Museum inv. no. 268. Seager, Mochlos 27 no. II. 5 figs. 8 and 9; Evans, PM i 97 fig. 67.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.

Cycladic clay boat from Phylakopi that depicts an eye on the prow.[208] Perhaps some significance for disembodied eyes within the Cyclades begins with these figurines in the Early Bronze Age.[209]

As stated, the zigzag motif on this Spedos figurine appear on the arms, yet it is not uncommon for the decoration to appear on the face, chest, and legs.[210] The presence of the zigzag may call attention to a particular body part for some symbolic reason, also this is unclear. Returning briefly to Gimbutas, the zigzags (or the closely related M's) are icons representing water; on an anthropomorphic object they may represent a water deity.[211] Zigzags may also represent snakes and thus align the object to the cycle of renewal.[212]

Zigzags are a common motif in other objects of Cycladic culture. They often appear around the neck of vessels, lids, and on the outer borders of frying pans.[213] Red pigment is also usually employed for the paint. In these cases, the zigzags may serve as decorative borders or demarcations on the objects. This application is not universal, however. On the frying pans, zigzags may also be used with the female genitalia in which case the lines depict hair above the cleft.[214] A notable use of the zigzag motif actually comes from the boats on the frying pans. On a pan from Syros are two ships, a smaller ship above the larger one.[215] On each of the bodies of the boats, there is a thick zigzag from prow to stern. On the smaller boat there is another seemingly detached zigzag that appears more tightly compressed than the motif on the boats. It is difficult

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[208] Hendrix (2003) 432.
[209] Goula "Thoughts on the Funerary Use of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) Cycladic Figurines: Iconography, Form, Context and Embodied Lives," in Mina, Triantaphyllou, and Papadatos (2016) 22: Goula states that the "representation of eyes across the whole surface of FAFs indicates that these people perceived multiple dimensions of their body."
[210] Hendrix (2003) 427.
[211] Gimbutas (1989) 19-23.
[212] Gimbutas (1999) 15.
[213] Coleman (1985); Birtacha (2017) after Devetzi (1992).
[214] See Coleman (1985) 196 for images of the female genitalia and associated decoration.
[215] See Coleman (1985) no. 27, Broodbank (2000) 98.

to account for the same motif to appear on what seems to be unrelated objects, although the relationship of the zigzag to the water scene might make us inclined to accept the connection put forward by Gimbutas.

How do we conceive of these symbols as embodied on our figurines and thus as a reflected embodiment? Mary Douglas makes a point that ritual, being made up of symbolic units, is "highly coded," and that "Lexically its meanings are local and particular. Syntactically it is available to all members of the community."[216] Symbols are then understood in the frame of language and expression. Phenomenology would remind us that there is no space between the representation (a word or symbol) and the actual thing. In explaining this phenomenon, Langer states that:

> The speaker does not precede or accompany his speech by thought; he neither visualizes his words nor conceptualizes their meaning. He simply uses a common language in such a way that a new significance comes into being as he speaks. His speech is not a sign of some internal operation; rather, it *is* his thought. Likewise, the listener neither decodes signs nor conceptualizes what he hears; he understands the other's new significance as it emerges and unfolds. There is no thinking paralleling or following his listening; his listening is his thinking.[217]

This idea transfers well to the symbols on a Cycladic figurine and the figurine shape itself. If we conceptualize the symbols such as the eyes or zigzags as units as in a language, then the symbols when placed onto and subsequently viewed by handlers *are* the thing in which they represent. Those who apply the symbols and those who view them share the same social context, history, and environment. Likewise for the crafter working the stone into miniature yet recognizable shapes: there is no time between someone holding or observing the figurine and their understanding that it represents a human, perhaps one dressed in a diadem or painted in symbols. The figurine is therefore reflective in a stronger sense than indexical as there is less time between

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[216] Douglas (1982) 33.
[217] In simplifying the idea of Merleau-Ponty, see Langer (1989) 59.

viewing a thing and recognizing it. A Cycladic figurine is a mirror rather than a collection of significant symbols.

A Mirror

Returning to both figurines discussed above, we can see that they refuse to stick to regular and familiar anatomy. Instead, they are given odd proportions and shapes from the first handler, the crafter. The abstract body is reflective of the living one, embodied with environmental and societal context visible in the gesture, paint, and the very stone itself. Rosemary Joyce, in studying the creation process of clay figurines in Mesoamerica, defines the bodies as "bodily extensions, prosthetics, and as such [they] occupy a space bridging the bodily being of the maker and that of the person."[218] What is created in a simple and symbolic shape is a transformative space that is communicative to others bodies, living and stone. The very acts that form the figurine, the constant rubbing and abrasion and later incising, are all significant in creating the value of the object. It is ritualistic: one must set aside time to dedicate to the crafting of a figurine, make sure to use good quality tools and materials, be familiar with the template, and follow through the whole process. Joyce calls this engagement the "mind-in-the-body that reflected on the emerging form and its relations to the shaping body and the phantasmic body intended to be materialised."[219]

A point must be made about the gestures of the naturalistic figurines. First of all, while small details like a spinal line and buttock dimples are sometimes carved into the figurines, they are predominately to be viewed from the front. We can affirm this in two ways. First, the overwhelming majority of the figurines cannot stand on their own. Their feet are usually made

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[218] Joyce (2008) 37.
[219] Ibid.

curved and pointed downwards, the natural relaxed position of feet in a suspended position. It has been argued therefore that they were meant to either be propped up against a wall or laid flat on their backs.[220] Second, the position of the arms and the face are forward, looking back at the viewer.

The position of the arms is an enigmatic one. When arms are represented (always in the naturalistic figurines, rarely in the schematic ones) the left arm is usually resting above the right. The arms are folded below the breasts and above the belly. While there are other arm positions such as the one seen in the aforementioned hunter/warrior, I will focus on this particular position. The arms have been interpreted in several ways. Many scholars want to call the arms resting on top of the torso as having been placed there in death. For the figurines placed in tombs, they would seem to mimic their dead counterpart.[221] Others scholars say that the arms are in a cradling position, as if to hold a potential baby.[222] They are then not companions in death, but nourishers of life and wishes for new life. The figurines would then be reflective of their physical counterpart. The life and death metaphors are problematic, as I have mentioned before. We know that figurines were used well before their placement in the grave due to repair work, and the absence of any baby painted or carved does not make a strong case for cradling. The fact that the bellies are not all curved as if pregnant nor that the breasts are emphasized in size indicate that the functions of the figurines are not primarily concerned with fertility. I would also like to draw attention to the pragmatics and implications of such arm placement. If the body was carved from a piece of flat stone like the experimental approaches, then it was more feasible to outline the arms on the surface of the stone. Carving arms outside of the body would make the limbs

[220] Mylonas (1955) 3; He states that a “lack of suspension holes proves” that the figurines were intended to lie flat.
[221] Ibid.; Goula (2016); Hoffman (2002) 530.
[222] Getz-Gentle 2001, 31-3.

susceptible to breakage. An interesting point to note here is also the lack of broken and loose arms found in excavation. In the Keros Hoard, for example, no detached arms were found. To go into analysis of the Keros fragments goes far beyond the scope of this thesis, but I would like to not that whoever broke a figurine in order to place the fragment at Keros had to manipulate the figural body as it was available to him.

The gestures indicated by the figurines thus remain polysemic in terms of the narrative of an owner. The arms may be generally reflective for various experiences of an owner. The relatively confined space of the figural body does not limit its symbolic vocabulary, especially with the application of paint. As explored in Chapter 2, intrinsic value was created in the acquisition of the pigments. They came from afar, transported by those who knew the sea and processed by those who were familiar with the desired metals.

Color and Body Modification

Body modification has been argued as a practice in the Cyclades. The presence of "tattoo kits" and pigments in grave seem to support this case. In this section I will examine the colors used on the figurines and the possible associated tools. The motifs on the figurines may be reflective of a practice of painting the body in the Early Cyclades, and I will make the case that these colors are applied primarily by the owner of a figurine.

Each color seems to have been used for independent motifs on certain parts of the body. In the case of blue paint, Hendrix has argued that painted areas done in blue (eyes, hair, and pubic area) were done by skilled hands, perhaps the sculptor himself as part of finishing the sculpture.[223] Birtacha argues against this idea completely:

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[223] Hoffman (2002) 531, in reference to Hendrix (2000).

> It is difficult to imagine that during the 3rd millennium BC the figurines made in specialized workshops were distributed with only the basic features, such as eyes or hair, painted, and that their owners would then add certain motifs and designs as circumstances demanded. In other words, we would have to accept that an object was deliberately produced in an unfinished form, a completely unprecedented and alien concept in antiquity.[224]

Her argument that the figurines produced with only the blue pigment marking physical features were "unfinished" completely dismisses the opportunity for personalization in "antiquity." Crafters were paying attention to the human body, and it is not uncommon in the Aegean to use blue paint to represent hair. The fresco of the "Boxing Boys" in Thera depicts two youths with blue painted hair and a blue shaved scalp to signify a state of initiation or specific age group.[225] It is not an unusual occurrence nor completely "alien" to antiquity to depict the human body as is, and the blue physical features add a strong case for the argument that the figurines were carved by separate skilled crafters and then used by different owners. I would also like to make a point about the features added by the crafter, both sculpted and (attributed) painted. The sculpted features are not unchangeable in the permanent sense, but they are not transformative. The nose for instance, is a universally sculpted feature on naturalistic figurines, as are the limbs. The painted blue features thought to be applied by a skilled crafter are often hair and anatomical eyes; as mentioned before, the blue pigment was harder to apply and needed several coats. Due to this technicality, these are features that can change, such as a hairstyle, may not be imbued with the same symbolic significance since it would have been harder to replace. Red paint may indicate individual personalization because it could be reapplied easily; it was often used in applying the symbols such as zigzags, nonanatomic eyes, and jewelry including necklaces and diadems (see the Spedos figurine for a red painted necklace).

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[224] Birtacha (2017) 493.
[225] Koehl (1986) 101.

The appearance of the paint motifs on the figurines may parallel the custom of body painting.[226] There is phenomenal evidence for the practice of body modification and coloring in the Cycladic societies. In addition to the markings found on the figurines themselves, there exists a variety of equipment that may have been used for the coloring processes. Such equipment includes bone tubes and pigment bowls with traces or remains of stored pigments.[227]

One type of equipment is the greenstone crucibles, which are intricately carved bowls attached to what looks like a ring (see image below, far right). The implications of such a tool are intriguing. Broodbank describes them as symbolic crucibles that might have contained "high-value or socially significant liquids."[228] The connection between crucibles possibly symbolic of metallurgy, sources of pigments, and socio-economic stratification will be explored further below. The crucible, if meant to be worn on the finger (perhaps the thumb) as the ring suggests, would be a highly ergonomic design for a tattoo artist or craftsman who cannot or does not wish to distract himself from his subject. Copper needles are also found, sometimes in conjunction with the stored pigments, and sometimes mounted in handles either of bone or greenstone.[229] Ergonomics is again a concern here, and it is speculated that the handles were ideal for complete control over the needle for applying intricate designs to flesh. Carter also suggests that obsidian flakes that are also present in some graves may have been used in body hair depilation or modification such as shaving and grooming.[230] Broodbank makes the association between these

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[226] Hoffman (2002) 525.
[227] Broodbank (2000) 248.
[228] Broodbank (2000) 249. Also see Renfrew (1967) and Carter (1994).
[229] Ibid.
[230] Carter (1994) 120.

practices of body art and the wealthier graves, citing the instances of pigments found in Aplomata graves 15 and 23 and 35 bone tubes from the Chalandriani cemetery.[231]

Certain motifs may indicate another form of more violent body modification. Vertical red stripes or lines of dots that appear on the face of some figurines may be indicative of laceration, which Hoffman attributes to funeral practices and mourning.[232] The red facial marks would indicate bloody lacerations scratched onto the face during mourning ceremonies and rites, a practice still prevalent today as Hoffman also notes. A figurine with these lacerations therefore reflects not the deceased but the mourner at the time of a death or funeral.

While skeletons cannot show us whether their flesh was painted or not, the best evidence we can see for the practice comes from the figurines. The figurine as canvas is reflective of the body as a canvas, able to be painted and repainted just as the human body would.[233] It is for this reason, as well as the reason that some pigments like cinnabar are actually poisonous to apply directly into the skin, that I am not convinced that tattooing was actually a Cycladic practice. If tattooing occurred, they must have used charcoal or soot for the pigment;[234] to my knowledge, neither material was found deposited in graves alongside colored pigments and even more rarely are they found on figurines. Body painting seems the more likely, as the pigments painted onto the skin could be removed and reapplied as needed for any event or stage in life. The transformative application of the paint must have been as significant for the human body as it was reflected on the figurines.

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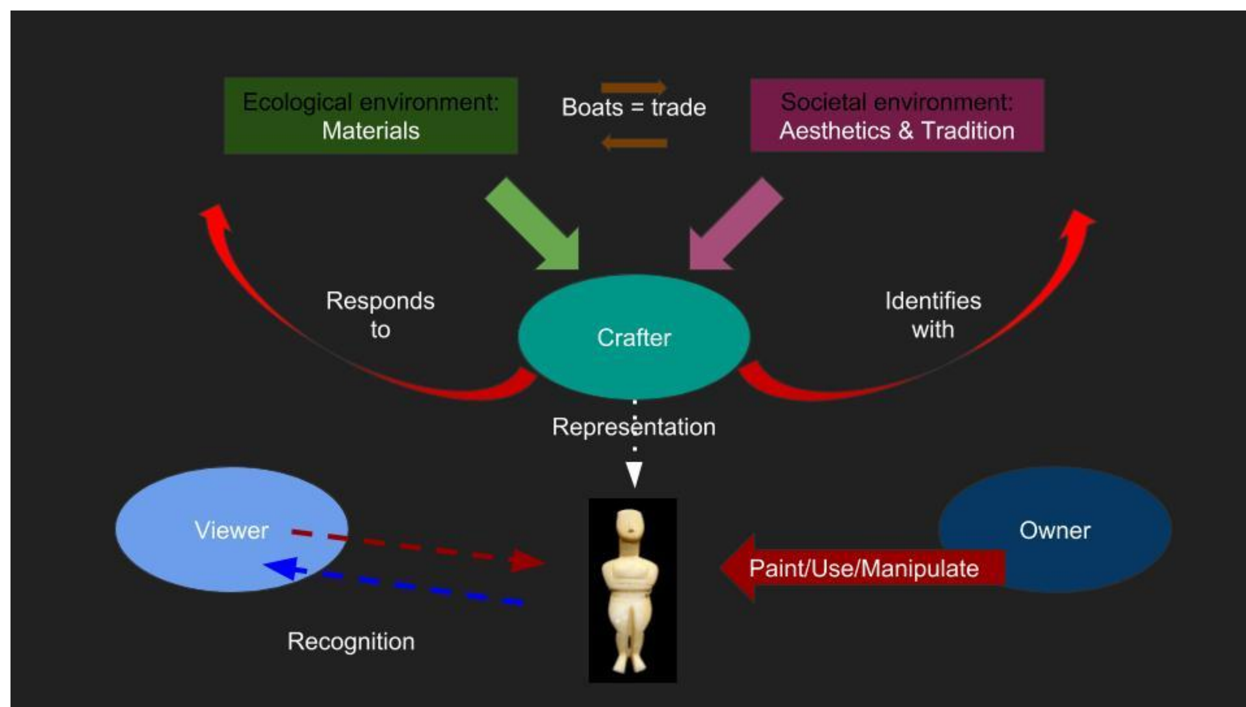
[231] Broodbank (2000) 249.
[232] Hoffman (2002) 526.
[233] Papadatos "Figurines, Paint and the Perception of the Body in the Early Bronze Age Southern Aegean," in Mina, Triantaphyllou, and Papadatos (2016) 12-13: The figurine is thus a "blank canvas" on which the primary "vehicle of meaning" was their painted decoration.
[234] Birtacha (2017) 496.

Chapter IV: Conclusions



The diagram above organizes all of the reflective relationships that surround a Cycladic figurine. The first relationship is that of the crafter of a figurine, since he is the one who initially manipulates the stone to form a representation; his experiences are the first to be embodied. A crafter must access his environment in two modalities: ecologically and socially. All the materials a crafter must use in manufacture, such as marble, emery, and obsidian, come from the landscape, thus a crafter must engage with his landscape during acquisition of materials. Not all of them come from the same local environment, however, and thus a crafter must have access to the societal structures that make over-sea exchange possible. In addition to the risk of over-sea voyages, a crafter must also adapt to the risk of using abrasive and sharp tool made from emery and obsidian; these risks of sustainable injury obviously are worth the creation of the valuable figurines. Another aspect of society that a crafter responds to is the aesthetic tradition evident in the highly conservative style of the figurines: the arms are almost always positioned left over

right, the face is usually featureless except for a carved nose, and even the white color of the marble remains relatively consistent over a period of about 500 years. Therefore, a crafter continues and identifies himself with this aesthetic tradition.

Thus a crafter embodies his engagement with his environment in the figural representation, the first manipulation of stone. A secondary relationship to the figurine emerges in the manipulations of its body by a handler, owner, or user. These physical manipulations include painting, repairing, and fragmenting the body. Painting a figurine would also necessitate repainting, since the pigments would rub off a figurine over use and time. Following the convincing argument that painting the figurine was reflective of painting practices on the human body (rather than tattooing), the reapplication of pigments on the figurine and on the body would allow the ability to create a fluid narrative representative of personal experiences over time. A fluid narrative depends on fluid features, and a clear lack of these features on the geometrically carved figurines allows great customization. We also see different uses of the body as a whole in repairs and breaks. Repairs to the figurines occur mostly in the EC I period, the discrepancies of which have been argued to be the result of the fragility of these figurines around the neck and knees. The fact that there are repairs indicates a desire to keep the body whole for possible continued use. We see another discrepancy in the Keros Hoard, however. Here the presence of over 350 fragments, mostly legs and feet, indicate a different purpose for the body as almost none of the fragments match each other and in that they are fragments from whole figurines, not individually sculpted.

One other reflective relationship to the figurines comes from their capacity for display, which means that a viewer may be reflected in the figurines. A viewer does not engage with a figurine by hand or manipulate its body; rather they must only engage with it visually. A

figurine's size, color, and shape would therefore affect its visibility. A viewer, however, being within the same socio-ecological context, would have access to the same semantics and symbolic vocabulary as would be indicated on the figurine, thus there is a recognition of these symbols and their meanings. It is through viewership that a figurine reinforces the personal narratives and actions of the handler and of the owner.

The figurines create space as much as they move within it. They become surfaces, or canvases as it were, for a handler to inscribe themselves upon and for other to see. The figurines create a personal and intimate space of interaction. They are, however, found throughout the islands, meaning that they themselves also travel or at least their value does. Whether their appearance on many islands indicates that they were produced after the materials are moved by means of the long-range exchange, or that they in their final form were accompanying those on the voyages would require much more in-depth analysis. Their presence in sites such as settlements and graves also testifies to the figurines' long use perhaps in a person's life, moving in the local space as much as an individual does.

The research presented in this thesis creates a foundation on which there are many possibilities for further study. My research began with a collection of as many as were published and safely excavated figurines to create a database. My intention was to use this database to create a map of the distribution of the figurines. By plotting the figurines on a map and visually representing the distribution, we may begin to understand more of an interaction with the landscape, and how the space of and movement within would contribute to the actual experience of individuals, such as of a sailor who ships the materials from island to island: what can he see from the water, and how would coastlines affect movement indicated by the absence or presence of figurines? To this end, there may need to be a rethinking of the names of figurine types: the

practice of the “type-site” naming system (like Spedos or Dokathismata type) compresses space and time and style, thus limiting a comprehensive distribution. An additional query in connection with the distribution of the figurines is the pattern of their emergence outside of the Cycladic space. Figurines have been found on the island of Crete in pre-palatial tombs: whether they came with Cycladic “settlers” or are local imitations is a fascinating avenue for study. These Early Cycladic figurines also appear in later contexts, usually Late Bronze Age contexts, when they are already far removed from the same culture that produced them. Their presence in the LBA period, such as the odd deposition at Akrotiri, Thera, is another avenue for the investigation of the interactions between the figurines and “outsiders” to their original culture and context.

Some of the find loci, such as the Keros Hoard, recommend expanding the consideration of agency, to which I have referred, necessarily briefly, in my chapters. I have also briefly mentioned that the figurines demonstrate agency in eliciting emotions. We begin to think about the power in fragmenting the body and placing the fragment in one space while the rest of the figurine is taken elsewhere. We may also wonder about the potentiality of burying a headless figurine within the floor of a house : its presence in the already private space of the house is further hidden from view by burial. Thus the body of a figurine becomes charged with symbolism not as a whole, but in its fragments, the intention behind them just as elusive as the complete Cycladic figurines themselves.

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