The Painted Motifs of Cypriot Ceramic Art: A Study of Iconography & Identity

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THE PAINTED MOTIFS OF CYPRIOT CERAMIC ART:
A STUDY OF ICONOGRAPHY & IDENTITY

By

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Bachelor of Arts – Anthropology, Classical & Near Eastern Studies
Creighton University
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

Master of Arts – Anthropology

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The Painted Motifs of Cypriot Ceramic Art: A Study of Iconography and Identity

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The aim of this master’s thesis is to explore the iconography of Chalcolithic (c. 3900-2300 cal. BC) Cyprus using ceramic motifs and identify their potential use in revealing differences between the cultural identity present at archaeological sites, as well as the possible causes of such variation. By exploring the existence and origins of subtle differences between the iconographic repertoires of related sites, the study seeks a better understanding of the movement of both ideas and symbols, and how the meaning of symbols developed within the context of a site.

Currently, Cypriot Chalcolithic sites are believed to be largely homogeneous in ideology, culture, and identity (Steel 2004). This study searched for previously unnoticed variations in the iconography (the collection of visual art and symbols) at individual sites that might suggest local variation. It was hypothesized that the most likely source for such difference would be based on distance, with the greatest variation occurring between sites farthest away from each other and the least variation occurring between sites that are closest together. Although the results ultimately did not support this hypothesis, they were, nonetheless, incredibly informative about the relationships between Chalcolithic sites. Besides answering these questions, the study also provides preliminary data for further research into local variation and communication between sites on Cyprus during this time.
The study focuses on the iconography of painted motifs found on Red-on-White ware ceramic female figurines, figural vessels, and decorated bowls belonging to the Chalcolithic period of Cyprus. It analyzes evidence from the sites of Erimi-Pamboula, Lemba-Lakkous, Souskiou-Vathyvakas, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia. Since unmistakably male figurines are either not found at these sites or lack secure temporal and locational provenance, they are not included in the data sample.

The study operates under the assumption that a relationship exists between differences in symbolic use and differences in cultural practice, and research questions were geared towards identifying such differences in symbolic use between the sites. Data collection included an investigation of the published excavation reports and other publications, as well as an in-person study of a portion of the sample during a two-week trip to multiple Cypriot museums. Two different statistical methods were employed to analyze the degrees of similarity and difference between the iconographies of each site.

Results revealed increased differences in iconographic motif repertoires not between distant sites, but between close neighboring sites instead. These results were contrary to the initial hypothesis, but still suggested important connections between the sites—namely, that inhabitants of sites in close proximity appear to have developed identities that contrasted with their neighbors. The data also revealed interesting similarities in the repertoires of distant sites that support theories of trade and intermarriage between communities. Overall, this pilot study supports the existence of inter-site identity at Chalcolithic communities.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Over the last century, the discipline of archaeology has greatly enriched our knowledge of past cultures, religions, and peoples. We have rediscovered ancient treasures, art, and how the pyramids were built. However, as any good archaeological theory professor will admit, the answers found during an archaeological study are greatly shaped by the questions asked of the data. This is not to say that archaeological findings are corrupt or warped by the outlook of the investigator—archaeologists are trained to avoid biases in their research as much as possible—but only that sometimes things can be missed if we are not asking the right questions. If a question is not asked it cannot be answered, and the lack of these answers may leave important gaps in our knowledge of a subject.

The aim of this project was to answer such a perceived “missed question” in the larger research into Chalcolithic Cyprus. Currently, Cypriot Chalcolithic (c. 3900-2300 cal. BC) sites are believed to be largely homogenous in culture and identity (Steel 2004). However, this belief seemed strange considering the fact that inter-site variations in aspects of identity are recognized in both the preceding Neolithic and following Bronze Age periods (Steel 2004; Clarke 2002). As will be discussed below, the evidence from Chalcolithic sites bear many overall similarities to each other, but there are also slight differences that make each site unique. Why are these differences not attributed to differences in inter-site identity? Are they too insignificant to support the idea of difference in inter-site identity? Is this a consequence of an island-wide culture or a result of poor preservation and recovery in the archaeological record? Did the inhabitants of all Cypriot Chalcolithic sites share the same cultural identity; or have archaeologists simply not searched for these differences in the evidence, and thus not found any?
Research Objectives

Since no previous studies appeared to ask these questions, this research project explores the possibility of regional variations in ideology, culture, and identity in the Cypriot Chalcolithic through an intensive study of ceramic iconography. The study focuses on the painted motifs decorating Red-on-White (hereon, RW) ware ceramic female figurines, ceramic figural vessels, and painted ceramic bowls belonging to the Chalcolithic period of Cyprus.

The significance of comparing the iconographic repertoires of sites with one another rests on the basis of the assumption that a positive relationship exists between differences in symbolic use and differences in cultural practice. In other words, it is assumed that variation in iconography is positively correlated with variation in identity (Clarke 2002). If this is correct, then sites with a high degree of difference between their iconography will have a corresponding high degree of difference between their identities. Likewise, it is believed that sites with significantly similar iconographies will share similar identities. I hypothesized that the most likely source for such difference would be distance, or that the greatest variation would occur between sites farthest away from each other. Whether or not this hypothesis was supported, the study would still provide preliminary data for further research into trade, communication, and movement between sites on Cyprus during this time.

Research Questions

The following four questions formed the basis of this project’s research objectives:

1) What are the different types of painted motifs commonly found on Cypriot ceramic
artifacts of the Chalcolithic period?

2) What is the repertoire of motifs for the ceramic artifacts of specific sites?

3) How do the repertoires of sites compare with one another? How similar or different are they, and what are the sources of this variation?

4) Assuming a relationship between differences in symbolic use and differences in cultural identity, what do similarities or differences in the repertoires of sites suggest about the possibility of corresponding variation in the identities of these sites?

The goal of the first research question was to provide a standardized set of definitions and descriptions of individual motifs. There is little to no consensus in current literature as to the names or terminology of specific motifs. For example, the terms ‘stepped’ and ‘checkered’ are used indiscriminately by some authors to describe the same motif of alternating blocks of painted and unpainted spaces, while others use the terms to describe distinctly different motifs. Answering this research question not only solidified the definitions of the iconography I investigated, but also provided a standardized set of terminology that can be utilized by other scholars and foster easier academic conversation.

The second research question involved creating a repertoire or list of the motifs commonly found on the ceramics of specific sites. The study sample was composed of evidence from the following five sites: Erimi-Pamboula, Lemba-Lakkous, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia. The study sample of this project was split into three related subgroups. While the main focus was the motifs found on ceramic female figurines and figurative vessels, the poor preservation of these artifacts means they did not provide a sufficient sample size for study—only 57 objects of these types were included in the study, and most are fragmentary. Therefore I also included a
selection of complete (or nearly complete) RW painted ceramic bowls from each site in the study sample. Each subgroup was kept separate and motifs were only compared between items in like subgroups in order to prevent comparing objects or iconographies that may have served different purposes and thus carried different symbolic messages. By identifying the iconographic repertoire of each individual site, I was able to compare sites with one another in a clear and concise manner.

The third research question required me to use the data collected for the second objective in order to compare the repertoires of individual sites. This inter-site comparison was done using two different statistical analysis methods that are discussed in greater detail below. By comparing the iconographic repertoires of sites I was able to determine the degree of similarity or difference between sites that may relate to corresponding degrees of variation in other aspects of site identity.

The fourth and final research question explored the consequences of variation in iconographic repertoires for corresponding variation in other aspects of these sites. It is assumed that a relationship exists between differences in symbolic use and differences in identity. Thus, this fourth objective sought to explore this relationship and uncover any previously unnoticed local variations in these social and cultural aspects. It was the hope that this analysis would help increase understanding on issues such as trade, marriage patterns, and inter-site identity during the Chalcolithic.
CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND

Chronology and Cultural Phases

The dates for the Chalcolithic, and all of the prehistoric periods in Cyprus, have undergone multiple revisions over the last fifty years. Below is a brief explanation of the most recent relative and absolute chronological data.

Before archaeologists felt confident in their absolute dating methods, they developed a relative chronology of cultural phases for prehistoric Cyprus. These phases were based upon trends and changes in architecture, tool types, and, most importantly, pottery styles. The evolution of Cypriot culture progressed from the Khirokitian phase (the Pre-Pottery Neolithic), to the Soitra phase (the Pottery Neolithic), to the Erimi culture before developing into the better-studied Cypriot Bronze Age (Bolger 2003, 1988; Peltenburg 1991).

Tying these cultural phases to absolute chronological time periods is an ongoing challenge, both because of problems of preservation and the gradual nature of cultural transitions and developments. Generally, the Khirokitian and Sotira cultural phases have now been dated to both the Late Pre-Pottery and the Pottery Neolithic, c. 7000-3900 cal. BC (Bolger 1988). Additionally, recent studies have confirmed earlier Pre-Pottery Neolithic phases that extend to ca. 9500 cal. BC (Simmons 2004:229-263). Elements of the Sotira culture extend into a Sotira/Erimi transition period of about 4000-3500 cal. BC (Bolger 2003, 1988). These same fifteen hundred years of the Pottery Neolithic are also recognized as simply the early and middle Erimi culture, with the late Erimi cultural years spanning from 3500-2500 cal. BC (Bolger 2003, 1988).
Since the Erimi cultural phase dates to roughly the same time frame as the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus—4000-2500 cal. BC and 3900-2300 cal. BC, respectively—a brief description of its traits is warranted. Erimi culture is defined by the gradual decline in the Sotira Broad Line style of decoration on Red-on-White ware pottery, and a marked increase in the Close Line style (Bolger 2003, 1988). Erimi style RW pottery wares increase throughout the Erimi cultural phase until the latter half of the fourth millennium BC, when the number of RW ware vessels begins to be overshadowed by monochrome wares. By 2500 BC there is a definitive break with previous ceramic traditions, as new wares dominate the assemblage and new rules appear to govern stylistic decisions (Bolger 2003, 1988). There is also evidence that inter-regional contact increases from the early to the late Erimi cultural phases, mainly in the form of exchanging picrolite, a soft blue-green stone related to serpentine (Peltenburg 1991b; Bolger 1988).

Thus, the Erimi cultural phase roughly coincides with the Early and Middle Chalcolithic sub-periods (see below). It is also interesting to note that the abandonment of many major sites at the end of the Middle Chalcolithic and lack of sites in the Late Chalcolithic seems to parallel the timeline of the dissolution of the Erimi culture. The alignment of cultural phases with absolute chronological time periods may not be perfect, but these transitions and waves of abandonment suggest currently identified dates are fairly accurate.

**Cyprus During the Chalcolithic: A General Overview**

The Chalcolithic (c. 3900-2300 cal. BC) was a highly transitional period on Cyprus. People established new sites on virgin territory, the first signs of copper metallurgy appeared throughout the island, and an enormous increase and expansion of figural art occurred (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003; Goring 1991; Peltenburg 1991a). Many Chalcolithic sites were founded and
abandoned in the course of the period, their occupation fluctuating throughout the sub-periods of the Chalcolithic. However, these sites are overwhelmingly described as sharing a common ideology, culture, and practice (Steel 2004).

Outside of their individual site reports, Chalcolithic settlements are lumped together with other sites that were occupied during the same sub-period: the Early Chalcolithic or EChal (c. 4000/3900-3500 BC), Middle Chalcolithic or MChal (c. 3500-2500 BC), and Late Chalcolithic or LChal (c. 2500-2300 BC) (Steel 2004). The EChal was a largely transitional phase from the previous Late Neolithic (Steel 2004; Peltenburg 1991a). Several new sites were founded during this time, mostly in previously unsettled areas in the Southwest lowlands of the island (Steel 2004). The architecture is mostly ephemeral, consisting of square wooden post structures and large communal storage areas (Steel 2004; Peltenburg 1991a). At some sites, this trend quickly shifts to circular structures with stone foundations while still in the EChal, while at others this transition does not occur until the MChal (Peltenburg 1991a). Though most burials recovered from this sub-period are intramural, the evidence is too sparse to suggest any formalized burial practice for the EChal (Steel 2004). The EChal also saw the beginning of a new artistic ideology on Cyprus (Steel 2004). It was during this time that the RW pottery style, which would become characteristic of the period, gained popularity on the island (Steel 2004). The use and trade of picrolite increased and became more specialized (Steel 2004; Peltenburg 1991b). And, most importantly for this study, there was a dramatic increase in the number and type of anthropomorphic figurines (Steel 2004). These figures were still stylized like their Neolithic predecessors, but were considerably more detailed, usually sexed as female, and their painted decoration often mimicked that of RW ceramics (Steel 2004).
The MChal is the most dynamic of the Chalcolithic sub-periods, as it encompasses both the height and abandonment of many of the period’s sites. As mentioned above, by the MChal architecture had transitioned to circular buildings with stone foundations, and many of these buildings now included private storage facilities, suggesting an increase in the privatization of property and a shift from the community to the individual household as the major economic unit (Steel 2004). These buildings also shared a standardized internal division of space, which is described in greater detail below (Steel 2004). An increase in both settlement size and internal settlement hierarchy during the MChal suggests a significant population increase during the sub-period (Steel 2004). Certain areas at sites, like the so-called Ceremonial Area at Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Building I at Lemba Lakkous, were set apart from the rest of the settlement for specific ritual activities and reached via controlled access (Steel 2004). This shift towards greater social complexity in architecture and population is mirrored in the economy, which shows a sharp decline in the reliance on hunted meat from fallow deer to a greater dependence on pastoralism and agriculture (Steel 2004). Besides cultivating barley, emmer, einkorn, lentils, olives, grapes, and figs, people also raised pig and goat (Steel 2004). Discussed in greater detail below, the MChal also witnessed the greatest elaboration and proliferation, and subsequent near eradication, of the Chalcolithic ceramic and picrolite—a soft, green-blue stone related to serpentine—female figurines (Steel 2004). The reasons for the rise and fall of such a prominent, island-wide symbol is still debated, but is most probably tied to emerging elite groups struggling for power in their communities (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003).

The growing inequality and power struggles of the MChal led to the internal collapse and abandonment of the majority of sites at the end of the MChal and beginning of the LChal (Steel 2004). Many of the characteristics of Chalcolithic culture disappear during the transitions of the
LChal: RW pottery disappears to be replaced by Black Slip-and-Combed and Philia Red Polished wares; the standardized internal division of space in domestic structures is abandoned; single intramural burials are largely replaced by group burials in large chamber tombs; metallurgy increased; and there is widespread evidence of contact with the mainland, especially Anatolia (Steel 2004; Bolger 1988). The ability to maintain contact with the mainland and control exotic materials in the LChal would lay the groundwork for increasing social and economic inequalities that led to the major state-building activities of the following Bronze Age (Steel 2004).

The evidence for inequality and complexity in the Bronze Age is so clear and grand that any examples of such in the Chalcolithic often seem insignificant in comparison, leading to the general classification of Chalcolithic society as egalitarian. In sum, the Chalcolithic and its settlements are broadly described as being organized into un-walled villages with limited evidence of internal social hierarchy, and are classified by circular houses with standardized internal divisions of space and largely intramural burial practices (Steel 2004:86-90). Throughout the Chalcolithic, society gradually places more importance on individual households, social organization becomes more complex, and hunting is slowly replaced by an increased reliance on domesticated plants and animals (Steel 2004). Due to levels of technology and the island terrain, it is believed that “contact [between sites was] difficult but possible, probably because of a shared culture” (Steel 2004:86). This possibility of contact between sites and lack of significant markers of difference in ethnicity or identity has led many scholars to view Chalcolithic society as a single entity.
The Sites

Uncovering site-specific identities from a period overview of the Chalcolithic is incredibly difficult, and in order to fairly investigate the possibility of inter-site differences one must look at each site individually. Five Chalcolithic sites were included in this study (see Figure 1). These five sites were chosen for the study because they are the most extensively excavated and best recorded of the known Chalcolithic sites on the island. A few additional sites are dated to the period, but the records for these excavations are sparse enough to be unhelpful in such a study. Below is a description of each of these sites, including its relative location, periods of occupation (see Table 1 below), major finds, and interpretations.

Figure 1: Chalcolithic Sites in Study Sample.
Table 1: Approximate Length & Date of Occupation for Sites in Study Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute Dates (cal. BC)</th>
<th>Approximate Length &amp; Date of Occupation for Sites in Study Sample</th>
<th>Relative Cultural Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4000 BC</td>
<td>Kissonerga - Morphiakia</td>
<td>Sotira Early Erimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3500 BC</td>
<td>Kissonerga - Mykoutikia, Lembra - Laktra, Souskiou - Vounyракaas</td>
<td>Middle Erimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3000 BC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Late Erimi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2500 BC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transition to Early Bronze Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000 BC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Erimi-Pamboula**

Moving from east to west across the island, the first site in the study sample is Erimi-Pamboula. Erimi-Pamboula was excavated by Porphyrios Dikaios from 1933 to 1935, on behalf of the Cyprus Museum (Dikaios 1936). Only a small area, measuring about 150 m² and 4-5.5 m deep, was excavated but the wealth of artifacts and features uncovered suggest this area was the location of an extended and significant settlement during the Middle Chalcolithic from about 3500-3000 cal. BC, or the Middle Erimi Cultural Phase (Bolger 1988; Dikaios 1936).

The site is a small (½ mi²) village located about eight miles west of the modern city of Limassol and northeast of the village of Pamboula from which it gets its name. It was built on a plateau about ten meters high, affording the inhabitants an excellent view of the surrounding
area, which included the bank of the Kouris River to the west, the low foothills of the Troóodos mountain range to the north and east, and a gradual three mile slope of land down to the shore of the Mediterranean to the south (Dikaios 1936). The Kouris River would have been full during winter months, and in the hot dry summers a small perennial spring would have still provided the village with enough water to survive (Dikaios 1936).

The excavations of Erimi-Pamboula revealed architecture, a few burials, ceramic and stone artifacts, and examples of art. While all the most recent evidence is of circular structures, the architectural remains show a dramatic evolution from wooden subterranean structures to circular, multi-room, internally partitioned buildings with substantial stone foundations (Bolger 1988). A later building (Building IXb) is significantly larger and possesses some unique features, but there is not enough evidence to state the building’s purpose, only that it seems to have held some significant and specialized function (Bolger 1988). The three burials uncovered also provide little information on mortuary practices, as each one differs greatly apart from its use of a pit grave and the contracted position of the body; grave goods, location, orientation, and age/sex of the deceased all vary (Bolger 1988). Remains of animals and several varieties of marine mollusks suggest a diet comprised of deer, sheep/goat, pig, and marine resources (Bolger 1988). No edible florae were recovered, but this is probably a result of the excavation methods rather than evidence for a lack of gathering or cultivation of plant resources at the site.

Overall, the evidence at Erimi-Pamboula suggests a small but increasingly densely populated village, strategically located near water and marine resources and with a commanding view of the surrounding area. The dates for the site and uninterrupted occupation levels are somewhat unusual in a period where sites are commonly occupied for short but repetitive periods, but it is also abandoned fairly early in the MChal around 3000 cal. BC. The reasons for
the site’s abandonment are unknown, but the increasing population density in the later occupation levels may have been a contributing factor.

**Souskiou-Vathyrkakas**

*Souskiou-Vathyrkakas* is a MChal cemetery site about 2.5 km inland, near the modern city of Paphos in southwestern Cyprus. Associated with the unpublished settlement of *Laona*, the cemetery is located across the stream from the settlement along the rocky edge of an 80 m deep ravine (Peltenburg 2006). The deep, stone-cut, bell-shaped shaft tombs were heavily looted, but four official excavations—the British Kouklia Expedition in 1951, the German Archaeological Expedition in 1972, and two missions by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities in 1972 and 1994-1997—were able to uncover a wealth of artifacts and information, before the site was revisited by Edgar Peltenburg and his team starting in 1991 (Peltenburg 2006).

As mentioned above, most Chalcolithic burials are intramural and *Souskiou-Vathyrkakas* was the first designated extramural cemetery to be dated to the Chalcolithic (Peltenburg 2006). However, this probably means there are other cemeteries not yet discovered, instead of supporting the notion that *Vathyrkakas* is the only such cemetery of the period (Peltenburg 2006). Still, the unique find provided a great deal of information about the life and death of those living during the MChal.

The grave goods, and the tombs themselves, suggest an increased need to acquire symbolic prestige items—such as picrolite, stone objects, and ever more elaborate ceramics—and display them in a public funerary ritual (Peltenburg 2006). Where intramural burials at other Chalcolithic sites have a few modest grave goods at most, the grave goods at *Souskiou-Vathyrkakas* are greater in number, variety, and quality (Peltenburg 2006). There is also
evidence that some of the picrolite and ceramic items were produced explicitly for burial, suggesting the rising importance of burial goods (Peltenburg 2006).

Funerary rites at Souskiou- Vathyrkakas make a dramatic break with other sites not only with the use of grave goods and rock-cut tombs, but also the move from single to multiple successive interments. The deceased were brought to the tomb, probably with some sort of public procession or funerary rite at the grave-site, and then lowered into the tomb. Because of the limited space within the tomb, it is believed that a single officiant was in charge of placing the deceased in a flexed position in the central area of the tomb floor, and also disaggregating and neatly stacking the remains of the previously deceased against a far wall (Peltenburg 2006). Eventually, tombs were closed, sealed, and the shafts were backfilled (Peltenburg 2006).

It is believed that elaborate grave goods, tombs, and multiple successive burials at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas were used to legitimize and reinforce rules of property rights and inheritance, and display subgroup power or affiliation that would have been mirrored in the deceased’s daily lives (Peltenburg 2006). This is, of course, difficult to confirm until studies are complete at the site of Laona, but the evidence appears to fit with many of the trends seen at contemporary Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Peltenburg 2006). Intra-tomb similarities (and inter-tomb differences) in style and material of picrolite artifacts further supports the idea that those buried in the same tomb probably belonged to the same kinship or household group (Peltenburg 2006).

Overall, the burials and funerary practices at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas seem much more similar to those found in the later Early Bronze Age than the Chalcolithic. The signs of emerging inequalities and hierarchical subgroups are not usually associated with the Chalcolithic, which may help explain the sudden abandonment of both Laona and Vathyrkakas—and many other sites in western Cyprus—around 3000 BC. It is highly probable
that the emergence of groups with hereditary authority brought tension to the previously
egalitarian societies, and these unsustainable levels of social inequality led to social fissuring and
collapse (Peltenburg 2006; Bolger 2003).

*Lemba-Lakkous*

*Lemba-Lakkous* is located in the modern village of Lemba, in the northern Ktima
Lowlands and 4 km north of Paphos (Peltenburg 1985). The site is on a flat plateau and is
bordered to the west and south by gently sloping coastal plains and to the north and east by the
ravines carved by seasonal streams (Peltenburg 1985). Although today there are no perennial
streams to supply the site with easy water, geologists have estimated that the springs that
currently exist 1 km upstream from the site would have been much closer in antiquity
(Peltenburg 1985). Studies also suggest that, though highly prone to erosion, the sandy to clayey
colluvium collected along the bordering coastal plains would have provided the site’s inhabitants
with fairly productive farming land (Peltenburg 1985).

The site of *Lemba-Lakkous* is a 300 m strip of occupied area running east to west along
the top of the plateau (Peltenburg 1985). Through several years of survey and concentrated
excavations, the archaeologists there have uncovered two distinct areas of the site—Area I to the
west and Area II to the east and at a slightly higher elevation (Peltenburg 1985). They have also
identified three phases of occupation at *Lemba-Lakkous* based on changes in the ceramic
assemblage and dating to the Middle and Late Chalcolithic (Peltenburg 1985).

Period 1 at *Lemba-Lakkous* dates from c. 3500-3000 cal. BC and is represented by eight
circular pisé- and stone-walled structures, a collection of open air hearths, and a havara quarry
that had been filled in and used for two burials—all located in Area I of the site (Peltenburg
1985). All of the buildings on the site were arranged linearly with their entrances facing south or southeast, an arrangement that the excavators interpret to mean the site was probably a winter or seasonal residence, since this orientation would allow the maximum heat retention during cooler months (Peltenburg 1985). The sizes of the buildings are all similar, as are the internal divisions of space within them; however the contents of each building appears to be specialized—for example, the contents of some suggest a concentration on plant processing and others stone or bone working (Peltenburg 1985). This suggests the purpose of some of the buildings was for habitation but others were for specific tasks (Peltenburg 1985).

Period 2 at Lemba-Lakkous dates from c. 3400-2800 cal. BC (Peltenburg 1985). It is represented by a cluster of different sized stone buildings and associated storage pits in Area I, and by a well-built, multi-room building on the edge of the higher terrace in Area II (Peltenburg 1985). The variety in size in the Area I buildings, along with their associated storage, suggests an increase in both the privatization of the economy and inequality (Peltenburg 1985). The building in Area II contained mostly kitchen and food processing materials, a very fine set of RW ware serving vessels, and a large storage area, all suggesting its use as a communal feasting facility (Peltenburg 1985). It is unclear, however, if this facility would have been controlled by a particular individual or group, or by the community as a whole (Peltenburg 1985).

Occupation at Lemba-Lakkous comes to an end with Period 3, dating from c. 2700-2400 cal. BC, and with significantly less surviving material evidence than the preceding periods (Peltenburg 1985). The period is represented by the remains of a quarry, a large area used for underground storage, less than a dozen burials, and the remains of a single building complex (Peltenburg 1985). Though the orientation of the buildings is still linear, suggesting concern with heat retention during winter months, they are now continuous and connected instead of
simply arranged in a line but separate from one another (Peltenburg 1985). Excavations only recovered limited architectural remains, however, so it is unclear whether each room was used as a separate building or unit, or if these remains “equate to a self-sufficient house with functionally differentiated rooms” (Peltenburg 1985:328). Throughout all three periods of the site, faunal, stone, and ceramic evidence points to a gradual move away from hunting and an increased reliance on mixed farming and husbandry (Peltenburg 1985).

*Kissonerga-Mylouthkia*

*Kissonerga-Mylouthkia* is located in the northern Ktima Lowlands about 5.5 km north of the modern city of Paphos and just 1 km northwest of another site in the study, Kissonerga-Mosphilia. The excavations at the site, which have been ongoing since 1976, have been mostly survey and rescue operations in the face of massive urban development in the area (Peltenburg 2003). While the nature of the excavations, as well as massive amounts of erosion—both past and present—have caused many challenges for the excavators, Kissonerga-Mylouthkia has revealed some interesting details about the transitions between the sub-periods of prehistoric Cyprus.

The site of Kissonerga-Mylouthkia is surrounded by a pebble beach to the north, a rocky coastal plain to the south, a gentle inclining slope to the east, and a slope up to the 16 m high cliff to the west above the modern rocky outcrop known as Kefalui (Peltenburg 2003). The soil is filled with rich alluvial deposits, although evidence suggests that erosion quickly became a problem shortly after the settlement was established (Peltenburg 2003). Evidence also shows that access to water may have been an issue in the past; studies suggest the coast was roughly 1.5 to 2.5 km further from the site during its occupation, and there are no reliable streams or springs
nearby (Peltenburg 2003). The site is, however, located atop an aquiclude, a geological formation that absorbs and holds water but releases it at a rate too slow to form a stream (Peltenburg 2003). The high levels of erosion and relative difficulty accessing water may have contributed to Mylouthkia’s relatively short-lived occupation.

Although there is evidence for occupation at Mylouthkia during the mid-9th millennium BC, or the Late Neolithic, this summary only covers the dates of occupation during the Chalcolithic. Chalcolithic occupation at Mylouthkia is found in two continuous phases, starting in the EChal around 3600 cal. BC, and ending in the MChal sometime around 3500-3400 cal. BC (Peltenburg 2003). The two phases show distinct differences in architecture and pottery, thus helping clarify the transition between the sub-periods (Peltenburg 2003).

The EChal settlement at Mylouthkia was established on a portion of the site that had not been inhabited before—a pattern consistent with the period, where many EChal sites appear to have been established on “virgin” territory (Peltenburg 2003). The site consists of several circular post-frame structures with successive building phases, many containing intramural burials (Peltenburg 2003). More so than these structures, the site is dominated by natural, modified, and man-made pits containing an unusually high average number of objects. While some of these objects were possibly deposited here by erosion, the excavators believe the majority of these pits are middens and the objects were most likely intentionally deposited (Peltenburg 2003). For the purposes of the present study, it is important to note that the majority of the figurines and figurative vessels found at Mylouthkia were found in this context after being intentionally broken (Peltenburg 2003).

It appears that shortly after the establishment of Mylouthkia, the land clearing and timber depletion for farming and building caused massive erosion, to which the people seem to have
responded by switching to building their houses with stone foundations and implementing earthworks to combat erosion (Peltenburg 2003). Thus, the MChal buildings at Mylouthkia are of stone, and there is evidence of two parallel ditches, roughly 42 m long, running between the coast and the site (Peltenburg 2003). Besides being used to prevent erosion, it has also been suggested that this ditch was used as a defensive measure, but this leaves the question of who the people of Mylouthkia were defending themselves against, as there has yet been no evidence for war or conflict on the island during this period (Peltenburg 2003).

The MChal at Mylouthkia is only represented by a handful of buildings, the best preserved of which is B200. This building contains the body of a 6-8 year old child as well as a wealth of ceramic, stone, and bone artifacts believed to be in their primary deposition positions (Peltenburg 2003). B200 was destroyed by a fire shortly before the abandonment of the site, and its analysis has led to some important conclusions and speculations about MChal society at Mylouthkia (Peltenburg 2003).

The abandonment of B200 after the death of the child buried inside fits the pattern of the period where houses are routinely closed and abandoned after the death of an important inhabitant (Peltenburg 2003). The pattern of objects inside the building also mostly fits with Peltenburg’s model for the division of internal space used in the Chalcolithic house that would become standard by the end of the MChal (Peltenburg 2003) (see Figure 2, page 25). What does not make sense is that the entire site of Mylouthkia was abandoned after B200 was destroyed, suggesting it may have had importance to the community beyond a simple family household dwelling (Peltenburg 2003). The large quantity and spatial distribution of the artifacts inside also suggest that B200 was a single building in a multi-room complex for either an important extended household or a large subgroup in the community (Peltenburg 2003). Taken together,
this evidence has led the excavators to believe that B200 was part of a complex belonging to either a family or subgroup within the community that held so much power that the destruction of the structure—whether intentional or not—is still unknown—signaled the end of the settlement itself (Peltenburg 2003).

Interestingly, the abandonment of *Mylouthkia* coincides with the construction of architecturally grand buildings at nearby Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (Peltenburg 2003). Depending on the nature of the relationship these two groups had before the abandonment of *Mylouthkia*, it is possible the two communities joined. It is again up for debate whether the newcomers from *Mylouthkia* were welcomed as equals, took on the role of superiors living in these grand new structures, or were seen as lower class outsiders (Peltenburg 2003). Either way, if those at *Mylouthkia* settled in *Mosphilia*, they may well have contributed to the socio-political unrest seen at this site (Peltenburg 2003).

*Figure 2:* Peltenburg’s model for the Chalcolithic house, with standardized internal divisions of space, applied to B200 (2003).
**Kissonerga-Mosphilia**

Kissonerga-Mosphilia is one of the largest and longest-lived prehistoric sites on the island. It is located on a coastal plain just south of the modern village of Kissonerga, on the northern bank of the Skontinis stream, and 500 m from the present coastline (Peltenburg 1998). It is six kilometers north of the modern city of Paphos and 1.5 km north of the site of Lemba-Lakkous (Peltenburg 1998). While Mosphilia is located near fairly good resources and agricultural land, there is nothing especially unique about this area that would help explain the unusual longevity and prosperity of the site. Instead, it is believed that ancient peoples probably continued to settle at the site simply because they knew others had done so before them (Peltenburg 1998).

The site of Mosphilia was excavated by the Lemba Archaeological Project from 1979-1992. It is estimated that the site covers approximately 12 ha, but excavations have concentrated on a roughly 1,358 m² area (Peltenburg 1998). Excavations have revealed the site is organized into two general sections: the Main Area, or the area along a lower manmade terrace, and the Upper Terrace (Peltenburg 1998). Occupation and use of these areas varies throughout the phases of the site, of which there are six, ranging from the Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age (Peltenburg 1998).

A brief overview such as this cannot do justice to the complex and nuanced picture revealed by the excavations at Mosphilia, but below is a best attempt to summarize the findings relevant to this project. Four of the six occupational periods at Mosphilia date to the Chalcolithic. Throughout these phases we see the emergence of a small communal horticulturalist village in the EChal, followed by the rapid development of architectural hierarchy, status symbols, privatization of storage, and evidence for the emergence of property
rights and inheritance in the MChal (Peltenburg 1998). It is during this time that a cache of 50 symbolic objects—including some of the ceramic female figurines in this study—were ritually defaced and buried in a public ritual (Peltenburg 1998). It is believed that such public displays were conducted by a group of emerging social elites wishing to gain control over the ideas these symbols represented—birth, life, fertility, marriage alliances—by publicly and ritually ending the long-lived traditions associated with them (Peltenburg 1998). These attempts at social and political hierarchy were apparently too much for the society at Mosphilia, as it was abandoned only a few generations later. When people returned about 200 years later during the LChal, evidence suggests they had already shifted from the Erimi culture and there are several signs of extra-insular contact and exchange, especially from Anatolia (Peltenburg 1998).

Overall, an analysis of each of the sites in the study sample reveals and confirms some important temporal trends. Throughout the Chalcolithic there appears to be general development and intensification—economically, socially, and politically—between the EChal and MChal. This complexity reaches its height in the MChal, at or around 3000 BC, as we see at several sites the intensification of production, architectural hierarchies, burial customs that suggest the importance of lineages and ties to property rights or inheritance, and some signs of emerging groups that hold some sort of social or political power over their peers. This social and political inequality does not seem to have assimilated well with the egalitarian mindset of the larger community. The social inequality of the late MChal led to the instability, collapse, and abandonment of many of these sites at the end of the sub-period. Only a few of the sites show occupation in the LChal, and these show marked breaks with the Erimi cultural practices that came before and instead share many elements with the following Early Bronze Age.
The Chalcolithic Female Figurines

Throughout the Early and Middle Chalcolithic, one of the most significant trends was a dramatic increase in the number and variety of figural art, executed in both stone and ceramic. Though only a portion of the anthropomorphic figurines explicitly depict sexual characteristics, these figurines are generally accepted as female. In fact, apart from stone phalli and one explicitly male figurative vessel that lacks secure provenance, all Chalcolithic sites lack unmistakably or explicitly male figurines in their assemblages (Goring 1991, 1998).

There are two main figurine types associated with the Chalcolithic on Cyprus, and both are believed to represent aspects of birth and female fertility (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003). Picrolite cruciform figurines, which are not part of this study sample, are small figures carved from picrolite, that were used as pendants or decorations on clothing (Steel 2004). They have a standardized form: the head tilts upwards on a long neck, the arms are outstretched to either side, and the knees are tucked up so the figure appears to be squatting (Steel 2004). Overall, this form is interpreted as representing birthing posture and, together with the fact that picrolites are found exclusively with women and children, this supports the theory of their association with a Chalcolithic birthing or fertility ritual (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003).

The other type of figurine associated with the Chalcolithic period includes the ceramic female figurines and figurative vessels in this study’s sample. These ceramic figurines are found in a variety of contexts, including burials, settlements, and ritual deposits (Steel 2004; Peltenburg 1991). In her analysis of the entire Chalcolithic figural assemblage, Elizabeth Goring (1991, 1998, 2003, 2006) noted that these ceramic figurines display a greater variety in type, posture, decoration, and degree of abstraction than figurines of other mediums. The ceramic figurines are more likely to have painted decoration, and Goring (1998, 2003) has briefly attempted to identify
the most common motifs found on these figures. Her interpretations of the painted decorations are cautious, only identifying the obvious facial features and hair styles, along with details that most likely depict clothing (skirts and possibly shawls) and jewelry (figurative pendants and bracelets), while speculating that more abstract motifs may represent ritual paint or tattooing (Bolger 2002; Goring 1998). In her analysis of Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Goring (1998) questioned how the repertoires of individual sites might compare with one another and what this could mean—the very question posed in this research study—but did not pursue the subject any further.

Diane Bolger (2003) has identified ceramic figurines of this period depicting all stages of female reproduction, including pregnancy, parturition, and lactation. This wide array of representation and their presence at every Chalcolithic site has led scholars to theorize these figurines were used in some sort of birthing and fertility ritual, either as cultic objects or good luck charms (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003; Goring 2003; Peltenburg 1991, 2002). Goring (2006) has also proposed the theory that they served a more secular function, as educational tools for new and expecting mothers. There is no reason that these two theories should be mutually exclusive, and both may be partially correct.

Whatever their function, the near ubiquity of these figurines throughout the Chalcolithic suggest they had a significant role in society. They appear to communicate a strong message about the social importance of female reproduction. Their increase in production and ubiquitous nature are another sign that the figurines, and the actions or rituals associated with them, played an important role in Chalcolithic society. Though still only vaguely understood, the female figurines of the Chalcolithic suggest a picture of female gender identity in which reproduction and childbirth were an important and defining life event (Bolger 2003).
There is also an interesting temporal element to this type of figural art. Both the picrolite cruciform pendants and their ceramic figurine counterparts rise in popularity throughout the Early and Middle Chalcolithic and then almost immediately disappear from the record at the start of the Late Chalcolithic (c. 2500-2300 cal. BC) (Steel 2004). The Late Chalcolithic differs from the preceding sub-periods in other aspects as well, including a decrease in communal space, increased architectural hierarchy, private storage, and craft specialization, the almost ubiquitous use of chamber tombs—all changes associated with the rise of elite social groups and a break with Erimi culture (Steel 2004: 108-116; Bolger 1988).

The end of the use of female figurines in the Chalcolithic is thought to be definitively demonstrated by the ceremonial deposit found at the site of Kissonerga-Mosphilia. As mentioned above, at Mosphilia a cache of stone and ceramic female figurines were found, intentionally broken or retired by paint, buried in a ceramic house model in the floor of a ceremonial building located in the wealthy area of the settlement (Peltenburg 1991). Peltenburg (1991, 2002) believes these objects were ritually retired and buried in a public ceremony signaling the end of a culturally engrained practice, performed by a new emerging elite seeking to gain more control over female reproduction and lineage networks.

Not only did the female figurines and figurative vessels disappear from the material record at the end of the MChal, but so too did the RW pottery ware characteristic of the Erimi culture (Bolger 2003; 1988). Since both the ceramic female figurines and vessels associated with the fertility rituals of the Chalcolithic share clay, temper, and decoration styles with RW pottery, it has long been believed that RW pottery may have also played a role in the use of the figurines (Bolger 2003; Goring 1991). The prevalence of the figurines and RW pottery increase and decrease together throughout the EChal and MChal, and both are virtually absent in the
LChal (Bolger 2003). Although this trend does not necessarily prove the pottery and figurines were used for the same purpose, it does suggest they were associated with the same ideologies and cultural identity.

Summary

It is clear by their increase in production and ubiquitous nature that these female figurines, and the associated RW ware pottery, played an important symbolic role in Chalcolithic society. They appear to be communicating some message or ideology, even if we are unable to correctly or confidently decipher their symbolic nature. The assumption that Chalcolithic sites shared a common cultural identity is tested in this study by investigating the similarities and differences in the symbols used to decorate these socially important figurines. Great variation in the iconographies of individual sites may suggest these sites were not as culturally homogenous as currently believed. The Chalcolithic was a dynamic period on Cyprus, and this study sought to uncover how these many changes affected the establishment of group identities between sites.
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF THE STUDY

Theory is an important part of any archaeological analysis, as it provides a lens through which to focus and view data. This section explains the ideas and methods of identity and gender theory. First the basic tenets of each theory are explained, followed by the advantages and disadvantages of each, and some general methodological approaches. The way these ideas were applied to this research project is discussed in chapter five.

Identity Theory: The Basics

Identity theory developed in the 1990s as part of the post-processual movement in anthropological and archaeological theory. It is largely a response to Processualist approaches that perceived individuals as “cultural automatons” lacking the ability and agency to alter their social realities (Dornan 2002). Instead, identity theory stresses human agency and the interactive relationship between individuals and their social system (Joyce and Lapiparo 2005; Dornan 2002). Identity theory also focuses on recognizing identities as multifaceted, negotiable, and context specific (Fowler 2004; Fisher and Loren 2003; Dornan 2002; Meskell 2002, 2001). This idea goes hand in hand with the study of identity at multiple levels, from the individual to larger groups, and how identity can be—and is—manipulated depending on one’s place on this scale (Dornan 2002; Meskell 2002, 2001). These basic tenets are discussed in greater detail below, but first it is important to review some of the ideas that greatly influenced the development of identity theory.

Identity theory is strongly influenced by the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu, Anthony Giddens, and Sherry Ortner (Dornan 2002). All three of these scholars focused on understanding the
relationship between the individual and their society while bestowing upon the individual a certain level of personal autonomy and agency (Dornan 2002). Agency here is defined as human action, although different scholars see this action as the product of different entities, varying from the individual to a larger group or society (Joyce and Lapiparo 2005). For example, Ortner saw individuals as active participants in their social system and was interested in the reflexive relationship between this individual practice and the overarching social system (Dornan 2002). Bourdieu and Giddens both proposed theories of limited agency. They saw learned and reproduced practices—which Bourdieu termed *habitus*—as structuring and guiding principles of action within a society, but allowed that these structures could change over time as personal experiences led to changes in practice, that would then be reproduced to form new structures (Dornan 2002). In other words, individuals were enculturated into their society’s values and practices, and carried out these learned actions habitually. In this way, change only occurs as social consensus unconsciously alters social values and actions (Dornan 2002).

While important, the theories proposed by Bourdieu and Giddens are not adopted wholesale into the ideas of identity theory. Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* ignores the difference between habitual and intentional actions (Dornan 2002). Likewise, Giddens’ theory focuses on shared knowledge without acknowledging the reality of asymmetrical access to information for all individuals within a system (Dornan 2002). These are significant principles when considering agency. Rosemary A. Joyce and Jeanne Lapiparo (2005) argue that one of the most difficult aspects of approaching agency is determining *how much agency* to ascribe to individuals or groups within their specific systems. They explain that current agency theories exist along a continuum between Structural Determinism, where “the weight of tradition overwhelms the ability of members…to affect their own lives,” and Practice Theory models that imbue agents
with the freedom to overcome relatively weak social schemas (Joyce and Lapiparo 2005:366). The questions of how much agency, knowledge, and power a subject has to affect their society are crucial variables to investigate when studying the identity of an individual or group.

Consequently, the concept of agency is further complicated by the scale at which one attempts to study identity. As mentioned above, identity can be approached at the level of the individual or larger groups. Therefore, one can study how different groups affect their overall social structure, or the impact of the individual on a larger group. Ian Hodder suggested archaeologists should always strive to identify the individual and their specific life trajectory and impact, but this is a lofty goal for archaeologists, who are rarely able to isolate individuals in the archaeological record (Dornan 2002). Others choose to focus on identifying groups, but this is problematic as it necessarily forces focus onto a particular facet of identity—that which the group chooses to highlight—at the cost of others.

Besides focusing on agency, identity theory recognizes that each individual possesses multiple social identities that are under constant negotiation (Meskell 2001). Lynn Meskell (2001) defines identity as “the way in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities” (280). One’s identity is the culmination of various domains such as age, gender, race, class, status, rank, and sex, among others (Fowler 2004; Meskell 2001). People manipulate their actions and the representation of these different domains in order to highlight or hide them in specific situations (Fowler 2004; Fisher and Loren 2003; Meskell 2001). For example, when attending the game of a professional sports team, one might go out of their way to wear clothing that associates them with their team of choice, thus identifying them as a fan of that team. This does not mean that a person’s entire
identity is defined by this affiliation; it is simply the aspect of their identity they have chosen to highlight in that context.

Overall, identity theory focuses on understanding the construction and negotiation of identity. It recognizes human agency, although different scholars attribute different levels of freedom, knowledge, and intentionality to past agents (Joyce and Lapiparo 2005; Dornan 2002). Identity theory is also concerned with how different aspects of an identity, such as age, sex, status, or race, intersect with one another and the situations in which one chooses to highlight one aspect of their identity over another (Fowler 2004; Meskell 2002, 2001). These are sometimes difficult goals to achieve when working with a highly fragmentary and ambiguous archaeological record, and there is consequently no set methodology for approaching questions of identity in the past.

**Advantages and Disadvantages of Identity Theory**

Identity theory is a useful tool to provide an archaeologist with an intimately human view of past societies. Whether identity is considered on the individual or group scale, it forces scholars to regard the past as peopled by complex and conscious cultural agents instead of mindless drones caught up in the constant grind of their social system. This holistically peopled view aids us in gaining a better understanding of past meaning and action.

A disadvantage to using identity theory is that it often requires a certain quality and quantity of information in order to reconstruct identity. However, identity theory is a broad and multifaceted approach, thus making it incredibly flexible (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Depending on the type of evidence available and the goal of the project, identity theory can be used to investigate individual or group identity. It can also be used to further highlight a specific aspect
of identity, such as race or gender, and how this aspect intersects with other areas of identity
(Bartlett and McAnany 2000; Yaeger and Canuto 2000; Zeidler 2000). This flexibility allows
the researcher to tailor how they use identity theory to fit the data available.

Methodology

Archaeologists focusing on identity look at how individuals or groups construct and
negotiate different aspects of their identity in certain situations. They do this by analyzing burial
data, settlements, landscapes, art, other evidence of material culture, and any evidence of
personal or group interaction (Fisher and Loren 2003; Yaeger and Canuto 2000). While many
studies prioritize one facet of identity over others—for example, focusing on differences in
identity along the lines of gender or social status—the main goal is to use a holistic approach to
reach a better understanding of how all aspects of an identity intersect with and impact one
another (Fisher and Loren 2003; Meskell 2002). Although each situation and culture is unique,
there are some general guidelines when employing identity theory to analyze the archaeological
record.

The first step to any archaeological investigation is to address the question of ‘what is the
unit of analysis.’ One must decide what kind of identity will be the focus of the study. This is a
two-part process, as choices must be made between investigating the individual versus the group,
and also between highlighting a specific aspect of identity versus trying to reconstruct an identity
in its entirety. The question of whether to focus on individual or group identity is influenced by
the level of preservation and recovery of the study sample, as it is impossible to identify the
individual in some archaeological remains. The overall goal of the larger archaeological project
will also help guide the decision to focus on individuals or groups (Dornan 2002). For example,
investigating the identity of a specific individual may not be logical if the goal of the project is to investigate the social boundaries between groups, as in the present project.

It is also important to note that the Western concepts of the individual and other social categories may not be attributable to past societies (Fowler 2004; Dornan 2002; Meskell 2001). Thus, one must be sure that the categories applied to aspects of a past identity were significant to the culture under study (Meskell 2001). Fowler (2004) describes how different cultural definitions of personhood influence one’s identity, and how archaeologists can look for trends in social structures and patterns to help ensure that their categories and definitions match those of past cultures’.

The question of whether to address a particular aspect of identity versus the identity as a whole is also related to the goal of the project. Some projects set out to uncover information specifically on variables like race or gender, and in these cases part of the social identity will be stressed more than others. Alternatively, studies that focus on recreating the whole lived experience, or embodied identity, usually prioritize construction of the entire social identity at a specific point in time (Fisher and Loren 2003). This decision can also be influenced by the nature of the material being studied, as certain identities are highlighted in certain contexts and using certain materials. For example, Mary Lee Bartlett and Patricia McAnany (2000) focused on the expression of community identity in the pottery decoration of specific sites found in Late Formative Period Maya burials. This particular material was used to express a particular aspect, community affiliation, of the deceased individual’s identity (Bartlett and McAnany 2000).

Deciding on the unit of analysis can then lead the archaeologists to a number of different methods. Since the project described here focuses on group and community identity, I shall focus on methodologies for studying identity at this level. Jason Yaeger and Marcello A. Canuto
(2000) describe four theoretical and three methodological approaches to studying identity at the community level. The theoretical approaches include: 1) a structural-functionalist approach that focuses on how the community functions in the larger social structure and views it as the primary unit of cultural reproduction; 2) a historical-developmental approach focused on how cultural identity is created; 3) an ideational approach concerned with how identity changes and how the criteria for group membership is negotiated over time; and 4) an interactional approach on the process of how individuals socially construct group or community identities (Yeager and Canuto 2000:2-3). Each of these approaches is limited by itself, but when combined with the others can provide a fairly holistic understanding of the processes of creation, maintenance, and change for group identity. Yaeger and Canuto (2000) also suggest that archaeologists employ multiple methodologies when studying identity. The methodologies they proscribe include: 1) spatial analyses to study inter- and intra-unit interaction; 2) techno-material studies of variables such as style, types of goods, and labor investment; and 3) demographic studies that analyze settlement patterns, ecological adaptations, and site number and dispersal (Yaeger and Canuto 2000:11). It is clear that using these methods requires a great deal of data and the use of multiple lines of evidence. As is the case with most archaeological studies, the more complete and diverse the available data, the easier it is to construct a complete picture of identity.

Besides analyzing materials in the archaeological record, archaeologists concerned with identity also employ ethnoarchaeological and ethnographic methods (Fowler 2004; Fisher and Loren 2003; Yaeger and Canuto 2000). By studying the practices, interactions, and structures employed by other cultures to encode aspects of identity, archaeologists gain a wider perspective of processes and patterns of cultural practice (Fowler 2004). This can help archaeologists recognize different identity categories that are outside their modern Western constructs, thus
helping avoid biases and ensuring that categories applied to past material were meaningful to that past culture (Fowler 2004). It also helps archaeologists recognize different processes of identity construction and negotiation in the archaeological record.

While there is no set method for the archaeological study of identity, there are multiple tools and approaches archaeologists can use. It is important to address issues of the level and breadth of identity to be studied, and to be critical of how material is interpreted to make sure the categories applied to the past are meaningful and free of biases. Using appropriate ethnographic analogs can greatly inform models of how identity is constructed, negotiated, and portrayed in society. Burial data, settlement patterns, architecture, art, and style are common variables to study when looking at identity, but it is always best to integrate as many lines of evidence as possible. Yaeger and Cauto’s (2000) outline of an integrated methodology is a good guide for planning a study of identity that is both targeted and holistic.

**Gender Theory: The Basics**

A great number of studies have been conducted focusing on gender and prehistoric Cyprus, many of which are mentioned in the literature review above. Here is provided a brief overview of what gender theory is, its advantages and disadvantages, and some common methodologies.

Gender theory first developed in the 1980s and was originally part of critical theory. Margaret Conkey and Janet Spector were the first to urge scholars to incorporate gender theory into the field of archaeology (1984). They spoke out against what they said was a dialogue filled with male-dominated interpretations of the past—a by-product of a male-dominated discipline—and challenged researchers to toss aside pre-conceived notions to truly study expressions of
gender (Conkey and Spector 1984). Decades later, gender theory has grown in popularity; and though it is not as standardized as many other theories, it does rest on three basic underlying principles.

First, gender theory recognizes a fundamental difference between biological sex—the physical and physiological sex characteristics one is born with—and gender—a social construct consisting of roles, identities, and expectations perceived by men and women of a specific culture (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2001; Sørensen 2000). The categories of biological sex and gender do not always align. Second, gender is a basic structuring principle in society; we use gender categories to understand ourselves and our relationship to those around us (Sørensen 2000). This makes understanding the gender organization of a culture incredibly valuable to any holistic approach to understanding the past.

Third, gender is inconstant and permeable (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2001; Sørensen 2000). Since gender is the social construct of an ever-changing culture, gender identities are unique not only to a specific culture, but also to a specific time period within that culture. For example, the ideas and expectations for femininity in 1800s Britain are drastically different than those of today. Thus, those who study gender in archaeology must pay close attention to changes, and the causes of such changes, in the expressions of gender identity in the past. It is also important to remember that gender is just one of many facets of an individual’s identity, and thus can be influenced or manipulated by other aspects of identity such as status, race, age, or ability (Meskell 2001). Categories of gender are likely to change depending on how gender intersects with other aspects of one’s identity throughout their lifecycle. For example, a culture may have different gender categories or expectations for prepubescent children, individuals of childbearing age, and those who are past their childbearing years. Paying attention to how gender is
expressed at different age, life, and socio-economic stages can provide a great deal of information on the systems of complexity and inequality within a culture.

**Advantages and Disadvantages of Gender Theory**

The advantages and disadvantages of using gender theory are very similar to those encountered when using identity theory. Gender theory provides scholars an intimate, inside look at past inhabitants as fully complex people. However, a holistic reconstruction of gender identity requires a large and varied amount of data (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2001; Sørensen 2000). Not every archaeological assemblage has the recovery or preservation necessary to support an inquiry into gender identity. When this is the case, archaeologists interested in gender can settle for an incomplete or more theoretical construct of gender, or may concede the evidence is not sufficient to do any such investigation on gender at all.

Another difficulty in constructing past gender identities stems from the ephemeral and fluctuating nature of gender itself. In many cases, the associations with gender that archaeologists find are set forth by those with social, political, and economic power. These dominant social ideals and associations do not necessarily reflect the feelings and self-identifications of those outside this cultural hegemony (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2001; Sørensen 2000). For example, archaeologists may only be able to find evidence for the gender identities of the elite and wealthy members of a society, but this does not necessarily mean that the gender identities and classifications of the elite were the same for everyone in society. Furthermore, changes in gender ideology can exist in a society for decades before they gain dominance over older gender traditions and become visible in the material record (Nelson 2001). The gender identities archaeologists construct have already existed in that society for some time before
becoming fully visible; thus, an archaeological chronology of changing gender ideology will probably always be delayed from actual reality (Nelson 2001).

**Methodology**

The methods for employing gender theory in archaeology are very similar to those used for identity theory. The main difference is that identity theory studies may focus on many facets of identity, while gender archaeology focuses mainly on the aspect of gender identity. Besides this concentrated focus, many of the methods are the same.

Since gender is a highly fluctuating and variable concept, archaeologists investigating gender use a wide variety of data in order to cross-check and validate their constructions of gender identity. They look at evidence from settlements, households, burials, and art; they look for gendered spaces and evidence of gendered divisions of labor (Bolger 2003; Meskell 2001; Nelson 2001; Sørensen 2000). When compared to the culturally constructed evidence, the skeletal remains of biologically male and female individuals can also reveal much about gendered differences (Bolger 2003; Nelson 2001).

Gender studies should also be as holistic as possible, meaning that investigations should focus on constructing all the gender identities represented in a society, not just one or two (Bolger 2003; Meskell 2001; Nelson 2000). This is an improvement upon past gender studies practices, which only focused on “finding women” and recasting them as active historical agents (Meskell 2001). In order to fully understand a society’s organization and workings, all parties must be represented and understood in turn, and therefore no gender analysis is complete until this is done.
Again, it is important for archaeologists studying gender to ask themselves exactly whose gender identity they are constructing from the evidence. This means doing their best to avoid applying modern biases to the material evidence, making sure the categories applied to the past were meaningful in that past context, and paying attention to how gender identity may change as it intersects with other facets of identity (Bolger 2003; Meskell 2001; Zeidler 2000). Using ethnoarchaeological research is one method that can help achieve these goals. Targeting ethnographic research to help answer questions about archaeological categories and processes can provide archaeologists with better ideas of how ancient gender categories were applied—and changed—in certain situations (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). By using a wide variety of methods, archaeologists can construct a holistic picture of gender identity. This, in turn, can help them understand a society’s organization and worldview.

**Summary**

Identity and gender theory were valuable tools used in approaching this project, providing the flexibility to tackle a highly fragmentary study sample. The ability to broaden my focus to group identity allowed me to better investigate and compare individual archaeological sites. Because of the wide range of contexts my materials were from, I was able to combine data from multiple lines of evidence—settlement, burials, and the ceramics—to gain a clearer picture of what life was like on Chalcolithic Cyprus.
CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Research Methodology- Applying Identity and Gender Theory

Applying Identity Theory to Cypriot Chalcolithic Ceramics

This project focused on exploring the possibility of identifying varying group identities at different archaeological sites during the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus. The unit of analysis for this project was the group or community, and in this case the community was equated with an archaeological site. This is partially because the archaeological record of prehistoric Cyprus is too fragmentary to reveal concrete information on the individual. However, the more significant reason for looking at group identity was to see if increased intensification of agriculture, increased social stratification, or any of the social, economic, or political changes mentioned above during the Chalcolithic appeared to facilitate competition or the emergence of social boundaries between groups and sites that were reinforced with the use of ceramic decoration. Ethnographic and archaeological evidence supports the notion that signs of group identity increase, or become more pronounced, when one group must define itself in opposition to another (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). This can be achieved through the erection or protection of physical borders, the level and nature of interaction between these two groups, and differentiation in style, goods, or production technology (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). There is very little evidence of the erection and use of physical borders, such as walls and ditches, during the Chalcolithic, and our knowledge of the interaction between groups is highly theoretical; thus, looking for evidence of group identity in the differentiation of ceramic style—of which there is a relatively abundant assemblage—seemed most promising.
In order to study identity at the group level, I employed some of the methods suggested by Yaeger and Canuto (2000) for the study of communities. I combined a techno-material study of style for the ceramics at each of my five sample sites with a spatial analysis of these results to investigate the degree of similarity and possibility of interaction between units (Yaeger and Canuto 2000:11). This was similar in model to Bartlett and McAnany’s (2000) study into the local pottery variations of four Formative Period Maya sites, in which they found that pottery style was used to express community identity and affiliation. Put simply, I catalogued the painted motifs found on the objects in the study sample from each of the five sites. From these catalogues I was then able to construct a repertoire, or collective body, of motifs associated with each individual site. After identifying the repertoires of motifs from each site, I used two different statistical analyses (see below) to spatially compare them. These analyses gave me a clearer picture of the level of iconographic variation between sites—who was using which motifs where, and how they compare with one another. I then looked into the other evidence from the sites—architecture, burial customs, signs of social and political organization—for clues that such variation could be the result of differences in group identity between the inhabitants of different sites.

**Applying Gender Theory to Chalcolithic Cypriot Ceramics**

As described above, a great deal of gender theory has already been applied to the Chalcolithic Cypriot ceramics, especially concerning the female figurines. I used methods concerning style, iconography, and spatial differentiation in order to compare and contrast the figurines from different sites. Using the results of these analyses (described below) along with
the data from the other gender-related studies done on Chalcolithic Cyprus, I set out to construct an image of group identity for the people living at each of the sites in the study.

**Data Collection**

This project, and its theoretical basis, required a wealth of detailed data on the painted motifs of as many ceramic artifacts as possible from the sites listed above. Data was collected in a two-step process. First, I consulted the excavation reports, figural analyses, and other published data from the sites with these artifacts. Second, I continued my data collection during a two-week trip to Cyprus in December of 2014.

During my trip I stayed at the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI), which allowed me to access their wealth of published research materials, some of which I did not have access to in the United States. While in Cyprus I also conducted first-hand research on the figurine and figural vessel collections at four museums—the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, the Paphos District Museum, the Kouklia Museum, and the Limassol District Museum. During my visits to these museums I was able to analyze the artifacts, providing me with a level of detail and insight that is not afforded by the literature alone. It also allowed me the opportunity to measure and take several high-resolution photographs of each object. The data from both of these collection methods were used in constructing the three documents, described below.
**Resulting Documents**

Data from collections were aggregated and arranged into three documents—a motif glossary, a motif presence and absence chart, and a catalog of figurines. Each of these documents played a crucial role in helping complete the four research objectives set forth above.

The motif glossary (see Appendix 1) is a list of names and definitions of motifs found on the artifacts, in accordance with the first research objective. Each glossary entry contains the name of the motif, a brief description, the object number of an artifact that bears the motif, and an illustration of the image itself. An example of such an entry can be found below (Figure 3). A glossary of motifs was constructed for both the figurines and figurative vessels and the painted bowls.

*Figure 3: Example of Entry from Glossary of Motifs.*

1. Circle Motif: circle shaped motif, either filled in with solid paint or represented by an outline; outlined circle motifs are sometimes filled with decoration or another motif (such as Dots); distinguished from Dot Motif by size -Example: KM1449

A motif presence and absence chart was used to record the presence or absence of specific motifs on individual objects, and thus aid in answering the second and third research questions. Each subgroup of the data sample—figurines and figurative vessels and the painted bowls—was given its own chart. The objects were collated by site and delineated from the objects from other sites by numerical site and color-coding. These charts (a condensed sample of which can be seen in Table 2 below) are an organized record of which motifs appear on which specific artifacts, and also set up the data set for conversion during statistical analysis. The full version of these charts can be found in Appendix 2.
The third product of my data collection, and the final document, was a catalog of all the female figurines found from all the Chalcolithic sites in the study sample. This catalog includes information on each figurine, including its object number, site and find context, date, measurements, and current museum location. Each entry also includes several high-resolution photographs of the object—an invaluable addition to the present publications that do not contain a lot of quality photographs. An example of an entry from the catalog is seen below in Figure 4, and the full catalog is included in Appendix 3. With the completion of these three documents I was able to answer the first two research questions set forth for the project, as well as aggregate and organize my data in preparation for statistical analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site &amp; Find Context</th>
<th>Figurine</th>
<th>Circle Motif</th>
<th>Dot Motif</th>
<th>Pendant Necklace Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Souskiou-Vathyrikakas</td>
<td>SVP 86/20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia</td>
<td>KM 1451</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1' indicates presence, '0' indicates absence.

The third product of my data collection, and the final document, was a catalog of all the female figurines found from all the Chalcolithic sites in the study sample. This catalog includes Table 2: Example of Entries in Presence and Absence Chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site &amp; Find Context</th>
<th>Figurine</th>
<th>Circle Motif</th>
<th>Dot Motif</th>
<th>Pendant Necklace Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Souskiou-Vathyrikakas</td>
<td>SVP 86/20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia</td>
<td>KM 1451</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**1' indicates presence, '0' indicates absence.
Statistical Analyses

The presence and absence charts were constructed in such a way that the data could be directly input into SPSS for statistical analysis. Originally, both a $\chi^2$ test of independence and a cluster analysis were applied to the data in order to compare the motif repertoires of individual sites. Unfortunately, the results of the cluster analysis were inconclusive, most likely as a consequence of the small sample size of material from each site. Therefore, the results presented and discussed in chapter six are those from the $\chi^2$ test of independence.
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Motif Repertoires

In accordance with the second research question, I first used the data gathered in the motif presence and absence charts to identify the repertoire of motifs used at each individual site. Tables 3-7 below detail these repertoires by site, and the motifs used on RW bowls have been kept separate from those found on the figurines and figurative vessels.

Table 3: Repertoire of Motifs for Erimi-Pamboula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Erimi-Pamboula</th>
<th>Bowls (20)</th>
<th>Figurines &amp; Figurative Vessels (10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rim band</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base band</td>
<td>Dash</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim dash</td>
<td>Dot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical bands</td>
<td>Solid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal bands</td>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid areas</td>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved areas</td>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step pattern*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crescent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates only site to have this motif

Table 4: Repertoire of Motifs for Lemba-Lakkous.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lemba-Lakkous</th>
<th>Bowls (11)</th>
<th>Figurines &amp; Figurative Vessels (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rim band</td>
<td>Line</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base band</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical bands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved areas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star burst*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates only site to have this motif
Table 5: Repertoire of Motifs for Souskiou-Vathyrkakas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Souskiou-Vathyrkakas</th>
<th>Figurines &amp; Figurative Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowls (6)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim band</td>
<td>Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base band</td>
<td>Dash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical bands</td>
<td>Dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid areas</td>
<td>Solid Paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td>Facial Features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>Pendant Necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot</td>
<td>Triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rectangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Repertoire of Motifs for Kissonerga-Mylouthkia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia</th>
<th>Figurines &amp; Figurative Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowls (11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim dash</td>
<td>Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical bands</td>
<td>Dash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid areas</td>
<td>Dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solid Paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Triangle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Repertoire of Motifs for Kissonerga-Mosphilia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kissonerga-Mosphilia</th>
<th>Figurines &amp; Figurative Vessels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowls (27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim band</td>
<td>Line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base band</td>
<td>Dash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim dash</td>
<td>Dot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical bands</td>
<td>Solid Paint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal bands</td>
<td>Facial Features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid areas</td>
<td>Pendant Necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td>Meander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
<td>Lattice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangle</td>
<td>Hourglass*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>Circle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festoon *</td>
<td>Triangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rectangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3-Sided Rectangle*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates only site to have this motif
Statistical Analyses

Statistical analyses included both a χ² test of independence and a cluster analysis. As mentioned above, the results of the cluster analysis were inconclusive, thus only the results of the χ² test of independence are reported here. The full results of the χ² test of independence for the bowls and figurines/figurative vessels are translated into tables 8 and 9, respectively.

Eight bowl motifs showed statistically significant differences in their presence and absence at certain sites. Rim bands were used commonly at Kissnerga-Mosphilia, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, and Lemba-Lakkous, less at Erimi-Pamboula, and not at all at Kissnerga-Mylouthkia (χ² = 22.057, p < .001). Base bands were used commonly at Kissnerga-Mosphilia, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, and Lemba-Lakkous, less at Erimi-Pamboula, and not at all at Kissnerga-Mylouthkia (χ² = 17.710, p = .001). Rim dashes were used on half the bowls from Kissnerga-Mylouthkia, very few bowls from Kissnerga-Mosphilia and Erimi-Pamboula, and no bowls from Souskiou-Vathyrkakas or Lemba-Lakkous (χ² = 10.387, p = .034). Vertical bands were used more at Kissnerga-Mosphilia and Erimi-Pamboula, less at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas and Kissnerga-Mylouthkia, and on only one bowl at Lemba-Lakkous (χ² = 10.961, p = .027). Horizontal bands were only found at Kissnerga-Mosphilia and Erimi-Pamboula (χ² = 10.676, p = .030). Solid areas were used commonly at Kissnerga-Mosphilia, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, and Kissnerga-Mylouthkia, less at Erimi-Pamboula, and not at all at Lemba-Lakkous (χ² = 22.250, p < .001). Lattice patterns were used most at Kissnerga-Mosphilia, less at Erimi-Pamboula and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, and not at all at Lemba-Lakkous and Kissnerga-Mylouthkia (χ² = 16.030, p = .003). Step patterns were only found at Erimi-Pamboula (χ² = 9.794, p = .044).

Only three motifs on the figurines and figurative vessels showed statistically significant differences in their presence or absence at certain sites. Facial features were used at Kissnerga-
Mosphilia and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, but not at all at Erimi-Pamboula, Lemba-Lakkous, and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia ($\chi^2 = 10.102$, $p = .039$). The triangle motif was used fairly often at both Souskiou-Vathyrkakas and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, only once at Kissonerga-Mosphilia, and not at all at Erimi-Pamboula or Lemba-Lakkous ($\chi^2 = 10.015$, $p = .040$). The checkerboard motif was found on a small portion of the sample from Souskiou-Vathyrkakas and Erimi-Pamboula, but not at all in the samples from Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Lemba-Lakkous, or Kissonerga-Mylouthkia ($\chi^2 = 11.541$, $p = .021$). The possible implications of these results will be discussed in the following chapter.
Table 8: Results of chi-squared test of presence and absence of motifs on Red-on-White ware bowls, including frequencies by site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Erini-Pamboula</th>
<th>Lembas-Lakkos</th>
<th>Souskion-Vathyrykas</th>
<th>Kissomerag-Mylouthka</th>
<th>Kissomerag-Mosphilia</th>
<th>χ²</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>P  NP</td>
<td>P  NP</td>
<td>P  NP</td>
<td>P  NP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim Band</td>
<td>7 13</td>
<td>10 1</td>
<td>6 0</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>22 5</td>
<td>22.057</td>
<td>&lt;.001**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Base Band</td>
<td>5 15</td>
<td>7 4</td>
<td>5 1</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>21 6</td>
<td>17.710</td>
<td>.001**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rim Dashes</td>
<td>1 19</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>1 26</td>
<td>10.387</td>
<td>.034*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vertical Band</td>
<td>12 8</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>3 3</td>
<td>1 1</td>
<td>18 9</td>
<td>10.961</td>
<td>.027*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal Band</td>
<td>9 11</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>8 19</td>
<td>10.676</td>
<td>.030*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid Areas</td>
<td>3 17</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>5 1</td>
<td>2 0</td>
<td>14 13</td>
<td>22.250</td>
<td>&lt;.001**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved Areas</td>
<td>4 16</td>
<td>2 9</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>7.480</td>
<td>.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattice</td>
<td>9 11</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>17 10</td>
<td>16.030</td>
<td>.003*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
<td>2 18</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>2 25</td>
<td>1.857</td>
<td>.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Step</td>
<td>4 16</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>9.794</td>
<td>.044*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangle</td>
<td>6 14</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>10 17</td>
<td>8.848</td>
<td>.065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triangle</td>
<td>3 17</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>3 24</td>
<td>2.189</td>
<td>.701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>2 18</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>2 4</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>1 26</td>
<td>7.497</td>
<td>.112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot</td>
<td>1 19</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>1 5</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>5.311</td>
<td>.257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crescent</td>
<td>1 19</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>2.335</td>
<td>.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetal</td>
<td>2 18</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>4.744</td>
<td>.315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Festoon</td>
<td>0 20</td>
<td>0 11</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>1 26</td>
<td>1.467</td>
<td>.833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star Burst</td>
<td>0 20</td>
<td>1 10</td>
<td>0 6</td>
<td>0 2</td>
<td>0 27</td>
<td>5.077</td>
<td>.279</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P – Number of objects on which the motif was present.
NP – Number of objects on which the motif was not present.
* Statistically significant at α = .05.
** Statistically significant at α = .01.
Table 9: Results of chi-squared test of presence and absence of motifs on figurines and figurative vessels, including frequencies by site.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Erimi-Pamboula</th>
<th>Lemba-Lakkous</th>
<th>Souskiou-Vathyvakas</th>
<th>Kissomerga-Myouthkia</th>
<th>Kissomerga-Mosphilia</th>
<th>$\chi^2$</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dash</td>
<td>P: 1, NP: 9</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 1, NP: 6</td>
<td>P: 9, NP: 25</td>
<td>5.644</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot</td>
<td>P: 1, NP: 9</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 2, NP: 8</td>
<td>P: 8, NP: 26</td>
<td>5.238</td>
<td>.264</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solid Paint</td>
<td>P: 1, NP: 9</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 1, NP: 6</td>
<td>P: 9, NP: 25</td>
<td>5.644</td>
<td>.227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial Features</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 8</td>
<td>10.102</td>
<td>.039*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pendant/Necklace</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 4</td>
<td>4.565</td>
<td>.335</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meander</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 1</td>
<td>3.015</td>
<td>.555</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lattice Pattern</td>
<td>P: 3, NP: 7</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 7</td>
<td>4.056</td>
<td>.398</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hourglass</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 3</td>
<td>2.142</td>
<td>.710</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circle</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 5</td>
<td>4.640</td>
<td>.326</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Triangle</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 6</td>
<td>10.015</td>
<td>.040*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rectangle</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 10</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 6</td>
<td>4.943</td>
<td>.293</td>
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<td>3-Sided Rectangle</td>
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<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 4</td>
<td>2.910</td>
<td>.573</td>
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<tr>
<td>Checkerboard</td>
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<td>P: 0, NP: 3</td>
<td>P: 0, NP: 1</td>
<td>P: 7, NP: 3</td>
<td>11.541</td>
<td>.021*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P – Number of objects on which the motif was present.
NP – Number of objects on which the motif was not present.
* Statistically significant at $\alpha = .05$. 
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Discussion of Results

Interpreting the meaning behind the above statistics proved to be a challenge, as I believe the small sample size and disproportionate amount of material from each site hindered some categories from reaching a level of statistical significance. For example, the small sample sizes of figural works from Kissonerga-Mylouthkia and Lemba-Lakkous, in comparison to Kissonerga-Mosphilia, made it difficult to gain a solid comparison between the three most geographically related sites in the study sample. Because of these limitations, the following interpretations and groupings of sites by similarities in iconographic repertoire are the result of cautious extrapolation in some categories, and are necessarily imperfect.

Motif Repertoires as a Marker of Identity

I looked for patterns in the similarities in motif repertoires for three categories: the painted RW bowls, the female figurines and figurative vessels, and the bowls and figurative works combined. For each motif that reached statistical significance, I grouped sites together based on whether a motif was ‘present’ (found on more than half the objects in the site’s sample), ‘less present’ (found on less than half of the site’s sample), or ‘not present/absent’ (not found on any objects within the site). Again, this grouping was not an exact science and the ambiguity of some of the samples left much room for alternate interpretations and extrapolation of the data.
**RW Bowls**

Being the largest sample set, the bowls were the easiest category in which to find possible patterns. Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, and Lemba-Lakkous show similarities in three categories (rim bands, base bands, and a lack of step pattern). Souskiou-Vathyrkakas and Lemba-Lakkous alone share five similar motif patterns (those listed above, with the additions of lacking rim dashes and horizontal lines). Of course, these groupings could be altered by how one decides to categorize Souskiou-Vathyrkakas’ 50/50 split on the presence of vertical bands.

Kissonerga-Mylouthkia was particularly difficult to place in some categories because its sample consisted of only two bowls, with some of the present/absent categories (rim dashes and vertical bands) being split 50/50. For many of the significant motifs, the site is often in a category on its own, but it also shows similarities with Lemba-Lakkous (vertical bands, and the absence of horizontals, lattice pattern, and step patterns) and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas (vertical bands, solid areas, and the absence of horizontals and step patterns).

Despite the close distance between the two sites— or perhaps because of it — the motif repertoires of Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia appear to have very little in common. Their samples share only one motif, solid areas, in large quantities and share other motifs, rim dashes and vertical bands, in only low quantities. Furthermore, the motifs most common at Mosphilia — rim and base bands, horizontal bands, and lattice patterns — are completely absent from the sample at Mylouthkia. It is entirely possible that this difference is an artifact of the small sample size (2) found at Mylouthkia, but it is also interesting to note that the site with the next smallest sample size (6), Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, exhibits three of the four most common motifs found at Mosphilia despite its small size. Only more evidence from Mylouthkia
would determine if the difference in motif repertoire is an artifact of sample size or a result of human agency.

Even though they have very little in common, both Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia share some interesting similarities with their next closest neighbor Lemba-Lakkous. The ceramics from Lemba-Lakkous are, as a whole, fairly plain and the site has the smallest motif repertoire of all the sites in the study (see Table 4, page 54). Thus, Lemba-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia are similar in what their artists decided not to include on their RW bowls: vertical and horizontal bands and lattice patterns. Lemba-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mosphilia are similar in that their bowls both prominently feature rim and base bands.

The two most geographically distant sites show an interesting mixture of a high percentage of bowls decorated with site-specific motifs interspersed with a few bowls that bear similarities to the motifs of other, distant sites. Erimi-Pamboula shares seven motifs in common with distant Kissonerga-Mosphilia, five with Souskiou-Vathykakas, and three with Lemba-Lakkous, although most of these shared motifs are found on a smaller portion of the overall ceramic assemblage. Erimi-Pamboula is also the only site in the study sample to have ceramics that bear the step motif. As mentioned above, Souskiou-Vathykakas shares many motif similarities with distant Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Lemba-Lakkous, although some of the similarities with Mosphilia appear in more than half of the sample from the site. Overall, the RW bowls suggest more differences in motif repertoires between geographically close sites, and, for geographically distant sites, a pattern where a small portion of the site’s assemblage bears motif similarities with the repertoires of distant neighbors.
**Figurines and Figurative Vessels**

Since only three motifs on the figurines and figurative vessels reached statistical significance in regards to their presence or absence at certain sites, there were less data to compare and group into categories of ‘present,’ ‘less present,’ and ‘not present/absent’ regarding this sample set. However, we can still draw some general conclusions from the data.

*Lemba-Lakkous* and *Erimi-Pamboula* lack facial features and triangle motifs in their assemblages, while both motifs are present in fairly high numbers in the assemblages of both *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* and *Souskiou-Vathyrrakas*. The figurines from *Lemba-Lakkous* are largely undecorated, with only one figurine bearing any notable marking on the presence and absence chart constructed in Appendix 2. Proportionately, *Souskiou-Vathyrrakas* and *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* have the greatest number of decorated figurines, and *Erimi-Pamboula* and *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* have the widest array of motifs in their overall repertoires (22 and 24 motifs, respectively). As with the bowls, there appears to be many shared motifs between *Souskiou-Vathyrrakas* and the distant sites of *Kissonerga-Mosphilia* and *Kissonerga-Mylouthkia*. Overall, the patterns revealed by the motifs on the figurines and figurative vessels again suggest greater similarities, in small quantities, between geographically distant sites than between close neighbors.

**Interpreting Results**

These results seem to largely contradict the hypothesis set forth in the beginning of this project. The three most proximate sites in the study sample — *Lemba-Lakkous*, *Kissonerga-Mosphilia*, and *Kissonerga-Mylouthkia* — do not demonstrate a great deal of similarity in their motif repertoires. In fact, in many ways they appear to be purposefully dissimilar. The most
popular bowl motifs at Kissonerga-Mosphilia are completely absent from Kissonerga-Mylouthkia and sometimes from Lemba-Lakkous as well; the figurative pieces from Lemba-Lakkous are largely undecorated compared to their highly elaborate contemporaries at Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; and, though it did not register as statistically significant and the site has one of the most limited motif repertoires of the study sample, the RW bowls at Lemba-Lakkous bear two motifs not found at either of its neighbors (reserved areas and the starburst motif).

The general lack of decoration in the sample from Lemba-Lakkous is particularly distinct. All of the samples from Lemba-Lakkous are limb fragments — two probable arms and a pair of fused legs/feet — which, if we analyze all of the figurines as one, are very often painted. Even though the Lemba-Lakkous samples are abraded, there is still very little evidence of paint and only one (LL 1029) bears any discernable motif. This is a striking comparison to the elaborate and carefully painted specimens from nearby Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, both of which bear a wide variety of motifs. Considering the close proximity and overlapping occupational timelines of these three sites, the lack of decoration on the specimens from Lemba-Lakkous may be a significant strategy in social relations (Hegmon 1992). If the power relations between the three sites were such that Lemba-Lakkous was seen as inferior or neutral, or if intermarriages between the sites was a source of tension, the ambiguity of symbolism at Lemba-Lakkous may have been one method of constructing a community identity that was neutral and non-combative towards either of its close neighbors. By not explicitly adopting iconography from one or both neighbors, and leaving their group identity more ambiguous, the inhabitants of Lemba-Lakkous may have found it easier to interact with both of their neighbors without
conflict. Of course, a much larger and more complete sample from the site would assist in supporting or refuting this theory.

The distinct differences in motif repertoires between these closely related sites leads me to believe that my initial hypothesis — that the likely greater contact between geographically close sites would foster similarities in group identity that would manifest themselves in similarities in the sites’ iconographic repertoires, and vice versa — is incorrect. These three sites are located within 1-2.5 km of one another, and so it is highly unlikely that their inhabitants did not have regular, if not frequent, contact with one another (Peltenburg 2003, 1998, 1985). Thus, in light of the iconographic evidence, it appears that, instead of fostering similar group identity, such close proximity and frequent contact may have encouraged the inhabitants of these sites to define themselves in opposition to their closest neighbors resulting in their dissimilar iconographies. This is similar to the theory of developing group identity set forth by Yaeger and Canuto, who believed that signs of group identity increase and become more pronounced when one group must define itself in opposition to another (2000). This pattern is also found in ethnoarchaeological research. Graves describes how Kalinga potters intentionally choose designs that would contrast with the iconography of their neighbors, resulting in pottery that was incredibly distinct between regions but similar within a region (1994). Thus, the close geographical distance between Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Kissongera-Mylouthkia, and Lemba-Lakkous may have fostered strong opposing group identities among the inhabitants of each site, which were expressed via pottery and its decoration.

The relationships between geographically distant sites also appears to go against my initial hypothesis, as many distant sites — i.e., Kissonerga-Mosphilia’s relationship to both Souskiou-Vathyrkakas and Erimi-Pamboula — share many iconographic similarities. In many
cases, only a small portion of the ceramics at a site bear a motif that is highly popular in the
assemblage of a distant site. For example, nearly 3/4th of the bowls from the Kissoonerga-
Mosphilia sample had base bands while only 1/4th of the bowls from Erimi-Pamboula had the
motif. In instances like this, where a small portion of the assemblage appears to be more
iconographically similar to the assemblage of a distant site, these items may be evidence of trade
or intermarriage between communities. We know from previous studies that both Erimi-
Pamboula and Souskiou-Vathyrrakas were main locales for exporting the socially and
economically valued stone picrolite during this time, and there is no reason to believe that
ceramics — and the people who made them — were not also part of this network of long
distance exchange (Peltenburg 1991b). The great similarities between Souskiou-Vathyrrakas and
the prominent site of Kissoonerga-Mosphilia may also lend support to the theory that the cemetery
was the burial grounds for wealthy elite from all across the island, but this will have to be
reexamined in light of evidence acquired from the on-going excavations at the nearby settlement
of Souskiou-Laona (Peltenburg 2006).

Nothing in the motif analysis of the figurines contradicts the theories they were used in
the context of a birthing and fertility ritual, either as vessels for sympathetic magic or as
educational tools (Steel 2004; Bolger 2003; Goring 2003; Peltenburg 1991, 2002). The
outstretched or upraised arms of many of the visibly pregnant figurines reflects a common
birthing posture, as does the figurines shown seated on a small stool with their legs spread
(Goring 2006; Bolger 2003). Probably the most supportive of these theories is the well
preserved figurine from Kissoonerga-Mosphilia KM 1451. KM 1451 depicts a large seated
female with her arms outstretched and legs spread wide on either side of the stool (Peltenburg
1991). The figurine is covered in painted decoration, but the most interesting is a motif
appearing on a panel between the legs — a large oval with curved lines running along either side from a meeting point above the oval (Peltenburg 1991). It does not take much imagination to interpret this motif as the depiction of an infant emerging from the birth canal — head first, the position safest for both mother and child. This is simply one example of the details depicted in these female figurines that suggest whoever made and used them possessed intimate and expert knowledge of the pregnancy and birthing process. Whether these individuals were designated midwives, or simply a collection of experienced older women and mothers in the community, remains to be discovered. However, it is clear these objects were made for women and probably by them as well.

This knowledge adds an interesting element to the fact that a small select sample of ceramics from some site assemblages appear more similar to the motif repertoires of distant sites. These pieces are more than likely the physical evidence of trade and/or intermarriage between these sites. If the female figurines are being produced by women, it makes sense that women introduced to a community through exogamy might bring their iconographic traditions with them in the decoration of birthing figurines, especially given the highly important and personal nature of giving birth. Until sourcing data on these iconographically different samples is available, we will be unable to determine if these ceramics are the result of direct trade or were made by individuals who moved or married into a new community and brought their knowledge with them.

Overall, this comparison of the motif repertoires of the individual sites reveals notable iconographic differences between geographically close sites, and distinct iconographic similarities in a small portion of the samples of sites that are geographically distant. This evidence is in direct opposition to my initial hypothesis, and suggests that close and frequent
contact between the inhabitants at neighboring sites fostered more unique group identities that manifested themselves as iconographically different, and perhaps purposefully contrasting, motif repertoires. Further, the presence of a small select sample of ceramics from some site assemblages that appear more similar to the motif repertoires of distant sites are likely physical evidence of trade and/or intermarriage between these sites. It may have been that the greater distance and/or less frequent contact between these sites made it more socially acceptable, possibly desirable, or simply less confusing, to have and display items with markers of a non-local group identity.

**Limitations of the Study**

This project can be viewed as a pilot study into the complexities and socio-political trends of Chalcolithic Cyprus and, as such, is limited in scope and size. Ways in which this study can be combined with others, and thus amend its limited scope, will be discussed in the section on future studies below. Throughout the process, I noted three major limitations of the study related to the size and nature of the study sample.

First, the nature of the materials I used for this study provided me with an identity construction that is limited both in form and time. Using material that appears to be closely tied to representations of female identity — figurines, figurative vessels, and pottery associated with fertility and birthing rituals — means that any resulting construction is necessarily skewed towards that of the female gender identity of the group. This was the main motivation for using gender and identity theory in this project. The identity construction provided by the results also has temporal limits. Because my materials were used in the negotiation of identity between the Early and Middle Chalcolithic, my construction only represents group identity within this time
frame. These restrictions and contexts are important to keep in mind, respecting the multifaceted and temporally connected nature of identity (Yaeger & Canuto 2000).

The size of the study sample presented me with two separate but related problems, already discussed above. Not only was my sample size small as a whole, but the amount of material from each individual site was disproportionate. The majority of material, in both categories, came from Kissonerga-Mosphilia, while Lemba-Lakkous and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas only had a small number of objects to contribute to both categories combined. This caused some issues with site representation and the ability of the differences at some sites to reach levels of significance in the statistical analysis. These small sample sizes forced me to cautiously extrapolate some trends in the analysis in light of other evidence and temporal trends. However, the small number of female figurines from each site may in some manner speak to their function and importance. Either way, it is important to keep the limitations of this small sample size in mind.

**Recommendations for Future Study**

On its own this pilot study may not move the understanding of Chalcolithic Cyprus very far forward. It is, however, a starting point for other pilot studies and a single line of evidence that can be combined with numerous others in order to provide a clearer picture into the island’s prehistory.

The first recommendation I have for the future of this topic is that this study be combined with the evidence uncovered from the occupation site of Souskiou-Laona, which is located nearby and believed to be associated with the cemetery at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas. At this writing, the evidence from the past eleven years of excavation from this site is being processed,
and will no doubt add much to our understanding of the *Vathyrkakas* cemetery if not to the period as a whole.

Second, I believe the conclusions from this study would be greatly enhanced by efforts to source some of the ceramic used to make both the RW bowls and figurines analyzed here. It would be especially interesting to know if the objects that bear greater similarities to a distant site’s repertoire than the assemblage in which they were found, were indeed made in that distant region. If so this would further support and clarify our understanding of trade between Chalcolithic communities. If these objects appear to be made at the site where they were found, it would suggest more the transfer of people and ideas than physical goods.

With the aid of the compiled data in Appendix 3, future research can now be conducted on the ceramic female figurines and figurative vessels with much greater ease. This category of object could be studied in any number of ways, whether looking at the differences between sites, comparing the figurines to their contemporary picrolite figures, or creating a more comprehensive diachronic timeline of figurative art on the island. These figurines may also be investigated in more depth and in combination with other lines of evidence in order to learn more about the lifecycles of women during this time period.

**Conclusions and Project Significance**

The main purpose of this project was to fill a perceived gap in the current research into Chalcolithic Cyprus that assumed a shared cultural identity among the inhabitants of all sites during the period. By explicitly investigating the topic of inter-site identity, this study attempted to investigate and identify evidence of difference between sites that may suggest differences in group identity — evidence that may have been missed had these questions not been applied to
the material record. On a most general level, this project has been a reminder of how the answers in archaeology are closely shaped by the questions we ask, or fail to ask.

The results of this study do not conclusively support the presence of differing inter-site identities, and much of the data is open for further interpretation. However, the data does suggest there was some difference in the identity between sites, especially those located near one another, and that one way these differences manifested was in the iconography of ceramic art. This evidence, combined with what we already know from the site excavations described above, supports the notion that Chalcolithic sites are much less homogenous than the previous research suggested. While it is unclear yet how great the degree of difference is between inter-site identities, the evidence does support its existence. The evidence also highlights the argument that the Chalcolithic is a much more socially complex period than is often described. We must not overlook the obvious social complexities and evidence of inequality during the Chalcolithic simply because these cultural elements existed on a greater scale in the preceding Bronze Age. By continuing to ask questions of the archaeological record about gender and identity, we will continue to gain a better understanding of both prehistoric peoples and ourselves.
APPENDIX 1: MOTIF GLOSSARIES

Figurine & Figurative Vessel Motif Glossary

Areas of Solid Paint: this motif simply designates areas on the figurines that have been repeatedly and purposely marked with solid paint, including: breasts, buttocks, bottoms of stool legs and bottoms of feet, and the tops of toes and feet  
-Example: KM 1463

Checkerboard Motif: motif of alternating colored and blank rectangular spaces  
-Example: Erimi no. 956

Circle Motif: circle shaped motif, either filled in with solid paint or represented by an outline, outlined circle motifs are also sometimes filled with decoration or another motif (such as dots); distinguished from Dot Motif by size  
-Example: KM 1449

Dash Motif: motif of repeated short lines; found vertically, horizontally, and in groups (often parallel to one another); sometimes used to fill space or contour specific body parts/features  
-Example: KM 299

Dot Motif: small, roughly circular, solid dots of paint; found both patterned/arranged in seemingly meaningful lines or groups, and randomly arranged in space as “filler” decoration  
-Examples: KMyl 1270 (arranged)

Hourglass Motif: motif made of two triangles placed tip to tip to make an hourglass shape; motif is found oriented both horizontally and vertically, and can be solid or filled with a lattice pattern  
-Examples: KM 1443, KM 1463
Lattice Pattern: pattern of regular diagonally crosshatched lines that fill a space, either within a panel/border or un-bordered
-Example: KM 1443

Line Motifs: motifs made up of different kinds of painted lines, found in varying length and thickness; it is the most common motif
-Line Motifs include all of the following variations: vertical lines, horizontal lines, contouring lines (lines that follow the curve of a body part/feature they decorate and highlight), wavy lines, zigzag lines, grouped parallel lines, forked lines (similar to an upside-down Y), and lines connected by short “connectors” like those found on KM 3548
-Examples: KMyl 1270, KM 1463

illustrations of wavy, zigzag, forked, and connector lines

Meander Pattern: simplistic form of the traditional Greek meander pattern, where a continuous line creates blocked or wavy ‘steps’ and trenches along the same elevation or plane
-Example: KMyl 1270

Painted Facial Features: painted decoration of, or indication of any facial features, including the eyes, brows, nose, mouth, and/or hair
-Example: KM 1449, KM 1451 and others

Top
Side

Pendant Necklace/Necklace: motif made up of combination of a horizontal band around the neck, with an abstract anthropomorphic figure hanging from or attached to this band; the pendant
figures often mimic the shape of the picrolite cruciform figures that were popular jewelry during the Chalcolithic (figure with arms out to the sides and legs tucked up in a squatting position)
-Example: KM 1451

Rectangle Motif: rectangle shaped motif found in multiple proportions, can be solid or outlined and filled with decoration; rectangle motifs are often used to create panels of decoration
-Example: KM 61

Three-Sided Rectangle Motif: rectangle shaped motif that is shown missing one of its short sides, and the direction of this open side faces varies greatly
-There are two major sub-categories within this motif:
  • Single Three-Sided Rectangles: where the motif is shown only once in a certain space
    -Example: KM 61

  • Multiple Concentric Three-Sided Rectangles: where multiple rectangles are shown stacked on top of each other as they increase in size
    -Example: KM 1357

Triangle Motif: triangle shaped motif found either solid or outlined; often found hanging pendant from horizontal lines or protruding (its base making up part of the line) from vertical lines
-Example: KMyl 1270

Painted Red-on-White Ware Bowls Motif Glossary

Base Band- solid band of paint, varying in thickness, around the bottom edge/rim of bowl
-Example: SVP 1/3 and many others
Checkerboard Pattern- motif of alternating colored and blank rectangular spaces
-Example: Erimi No 383

Circle Motif- motif of circular, oval, or oblong shapes, found solid, blank, and filled with decoration, alone and as part of larger motifs
-Example: SVP 23/1

Crescent Motif- curvilinear motif shaped like a crescent moon; varies in size and elaborateness as some forms are very decorative
-Examples: Erimi No 162

Dot Motif- motif of small solid circles/dots, distinguished from circle motif by significantly smaller size; found alone and in goups
-Example: SVP 23/1

Festoon Motif- motif composed of multiple solid or outlined half-moon shapes, often pendant from the rim of vessels
-Example: KM 85
Horizontal Bands- these bands also come in a variety of forms (usually paired but also in singles, solid, lattice-filled or otherwise decorated, can intersect with vertical bands or not, straight, wavy, curvilinear, or zigzag), but all travel around the body of the bowl in a roughly horizontal orientation; sometimes intersecting with vertical bands
-Example: Erimi No 158 and No 247

Lattice Pattern- motif of diagonally crosshatched lines, usually found as filler in bands or rectangular motifs
-Example: SVP 73/2

Rectangle Motif- motif made of rectangle shapes, found solid, blank, and filled with decoration, alone and as part of larger motifs (like step or checkerboard)
-Example: Erimi No 162

“Reserved” Areas- intentionally unpainted areas, usually surrounded by paint; sometimes mark a special area on bowl (such as the spout, like on LL 374) or the intersection of two perpendicular bands (such as on Erimi No 162)

Rim Band- solid band of paint, varying in thickness, around upper rim/lip of bowl
-Example: SVP 23/4 and many others
Rim Dashes- short dashes, or a continuously broken line, around the upper rim/lip of bowl
-Example: Erimi No 483

Solid Areas- areas of solid monochrome paint, usually on a handle or when the entire interior of a vessel is painted
-Example: Erimi No 177, No 1178

Star Burst Motif- motif consisting of a solid circle or dot (depending on size) surrounded by short lines or dashes that radiate out from that central point
-Example: LL 168

Step Pattern- motif of an irregular line or stack of rectangles that gradually move both vertically and horizontally in space at an even slope
-Examples: Erimi No 414

Triangle Motif- motif made of triangular shapes, found solid, blank, and filled with decoration, alone and as part of larger motifs, sometimes pendant from rim bands or other band motifs
-Example: KM 1495

Vegetal Motif- motifs imitating leaves, branches, palm trees, or other plan-like imagery
-Example: Erimi No 1145 and No 444
Vertical Bands (from Rim to Base)- these bands come in a variety of forms (paired, single, parallel to the base/rim or oblique/diagonal, solid, filled with lattice or other decoration, straight, wavy, curvilinear, and zigzag), but all are roughly vertical in their orientation from rim to base; sometimes intersecting with horizontal bands while others are pendant from rim or base but do not extend across the entire body of the bowl
-Example: SVP 73/2, KMyI 447
## APPENDIX 2: MOTIF PRESENCE AND ABSENCE CHARTS

### A. Motif Presence & Absence Chart for Female Figurines & Figurative Vessels

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1 – The motif is present on the object.
0 – The motif is not present on the object.
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1 – The motif was present on the object.
0 – The motif was not present on the object.
APPENDIX 3: FIGURINE CATALOG

| Object #(s): | 973 |
| Museum: | Limassol District Museum |
| Site & Find Context: | Erimi-Pamboula; no context given in report |
| Date: | Erimi-Pamboula occupation dated to roughly 3500-3000 cal BC |
| Measurements: | Height: 53.01mm  Width: 25.27mm (at small of waist)  39.42mm (at hips)  Depth: 14.07 – 21.38mm  Other: |
| Picture #(s): | 133-4006 – 133-4024 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Torso fragment; broken at the top beneath where breasts would be (if female), and unevenly at bottom, with figure’s right leg broken straight across at the curve of the hip and the left side broken diagonally (and not straight through) from the top of the left hip down towards the center and through the pudenda incision
- Back is smooth with slight shelf at buttocks, as if figure may have been able to sit upright depending on leg position; front is curved/molded in lifelike manner; whole surface of figure is smooth and even
- Incision of crease between hip and pubis on figure’s right side (left side missing in break); center incision of pubis; incision on back starts at base/small of the waist and continues down to the break at bottom of the figure (buttocks)
- Paint: evidence of red paint on front and back of figure but too worn to distinguish full motifs
  - Front might be different thicknesses of vertical lines running down belly, pubis, and tops of thighs
  - Back paint too worn to see motifs on lower torso; more paint on buttocks/backs of thighs, might be squares or meander patterns
133-4009. Front view

133-4011. Back view

133-4013. Profile, right side
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<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Erimi-Pamboula occupation dated to roughly 3500-3000 cal BC</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Measurements:</strong></td>
<td>Height: ~71.37mm</td>
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<td>Depth: ~29.43mm</td>
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<td>**Picture #(<strong>s)</strong>:</td>
<td>133-4025 – 133-4044</td>
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**General Description/Notes:**

• Fragment, probably of left shoulder (or back of right shoulder) of figurine
• Broken at base of neck, beginning of arm, ~2cm below armpit all the way across to center of torso and back up to neck, also broken through center of figurine (“surface fragment” of only one side of the figure)
  - If whole, figure would have been fairly large and probably would have fit nicely in the hand
• Surface is smooth and there seems to be a difference in clay consistency at breaks with smooth packed clay on the outside and clay with more conglomerates on the inside
• Paint:
  - Two broad vertical lines in center of chest connect with one of two broad lines that run diagonally down front of shoulder; two broad lines mirror those on the front and run diagonally down from shoulder on the back of the arm
  - Two groups of three (six total) thinner lines run down from neck break along top of arm
  - Broad zig-zag line runs from front of chest, under the arm, and to the break on the back
133-4032. Profile, left side/arm break

133-4038. Front view

133-4039. Detail of top of arm

133-4028. Back view
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<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Erimi-Pamboula occupation dated to roughly 3500-3000 cal BC</td>
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| **Measurements:** | Height: 93.05mm  
Width: 99.40mm  
Depth: 47.69mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4892 – 133-4908 |

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<tr>
<td>• Torso fragment; broken off above breasts, and both legs broken where meet the body</td>
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<td>• Small knob breasts (look like were added to the main body) with left breast broken off</td>
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<td>• Deeply carved belly button hole, one deep incision for pubis, and incised buttocks</td>
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<td>• Paint: faint and faded</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Front: groups of three parallel lines → vertical around belly button, some diagonal towards midline under breasts; breast looks to be painted red</td>
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<td>• Back: pairs of zig-zags horizontal across all of back; perhaps some other unidentifiable motifs in one spot (or could be a compact end of a zig-zag)</td>
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<td><strong>Object #</strong>(s):</td>
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<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
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| **Measurements:**| Height: (length) 51.04mm  
Width: 43.51mm  
Depth: 29.81mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4327 – 133-4341 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Fragment, probably a limb (short, stubby arm), with some signs of burning inside the break
- End is flat/squared off, top edge very straight while bottom (underarm) tapers diagonally down towards body
- Paint: possible signs of paint along one spot but too unclear to make out and no designs visible

*Note: Clay appears to be much more rocky and rough than most figures from Kissonerga-Mylouthkia*
133-4337. Front view

133-4335. Back view

133-4339. Side view of break from main body

133-4338. Side view of end of hand/limb
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<td>Picture #(#s):</td>
<td>133-4354 – 133-4363</td>
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**General Description/Notes:**

- Fragment, appears to be legs and feet of a figure, where the top and feet are both broken away.
- Back is slightly flatter than rounded front and can see two slight curves and a small dip on front possibly indicating lower legs and the top of the feet.
- Paint:
  - Front: three faint wavy vertical lines down to feet.
  - Evidence of paint on back but too abraded to identify pattern/design.
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<tr>
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<td>Lemba-Lakkous; from unit N32b.5</td>
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<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
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| **Measurements:** | Height: (length) 54.01mm  
Width: 32.40mm (top to bottom)  
Depth: 35.08mm (front to back)  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4342 – 133-4353 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Fragment, probably a limb/arm; hand is flat and squared off, top of arm goes straight to body (parallel ground) while bottom of arm curves inward before tapering down towards body.
- Hand is very chipped; break at body runs diagonally left (away from main body) from top to bottom.
- Paint: surface is very abraded but do not see any signs of paint.
133-4353. Front view

133-4346. Back view

133-4344. View of underside of limb

133-4351. Top view of limb
| **Object #(#s):** | SV 257/ SVP T. 29/1 (written on back is SVT 9.0 1) |
| **Museum:** | Kouklia Museum |
| **Site & Find Context:** | Souskiou-Vathyrkakas; Tomb 9 |
| **Date:** | Specific date of tomb unknown; Site dates to MChal (mid 4\textsuperscript{th}-beginning of 3\textsuperscript{rd} millennium BC) |
| **Measurements:** | Height: 47.51mm  
Width: 48.69mm  
Depth: 33.02mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #(#s):** | 133-4219 – 133-4225 |

**General Description/Notes:**
- Facial fragment; broken straight across at neck, straight across over eyes; right eye and cheek missing in break that runs diagonally across from top of nose/brow to cheek
- Face is flat and upturned with a flat back and molded chin and jaw; mouth is an incised line; the nose looks like it was molded and shaped with a straight edge on the sides and the nostrils have been squared off; the left eye is also represented by a raised/molded straight horizontal line
- Paint:
  - Evidence of paint on back of head but too abraded/worn to identify if patterned or solid
  - Remains of paint around eye, mouth, and cheek but also very worn
133-4221. Front view

133-4223. Back view

133-4225. Detail of face
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object #(s):</strong></th>
<th>KMyl 1978/120</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Fill 28.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:**| Height: ~100.13mm  
|                 | Width: 59.10mm  
|                 | Depth:  
|                 | Other: |
| **Picture #(s):** | 133-4227 – 133-4234 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Broken fragment, unknown part of figurine (if limb, the figure would be very large)
- In the round but broken at top, bottom, and through center
- Paint:
  - Front: horizontal lines with pendant, downward pointing triangles hanging from them (two rows of these, and possibly a third but design is lost in break)
  - Back: two thin vertical lines down side, then group of three lines that look like they run diagonally to converge with other lines also lost in the break
<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Fill 1.13</td>
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<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 85.48mm  
                 | Width: 25.17-36.78mm  
                 | Depth: Other: |
| **Picture #(#s):** | 133-4235 – 133-4250 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Rounded fragment, possibly the end of a limb/foot
- Cylinder with one end broken, other end widens out into blunt end with elongated and slightly upturned side that is missing a large fragment
- Bottom of the “foot” is angled and has two slight ridges running along it from front to back (heel to toe) on either side of the midline
- Paint: pattern is spotty because of highly abraded surface
  - Four horizontal lines around the cylinder, with some short vertical lines (in groups of twos or threes) periodically connecting the second and third horizontals
  - Between the group of four horizontal lines near the top, and two more horizontal lines encircling the lower part of the cylinder (the ankle?), are mirroring short vertical dashes (the groups of horizontal lines would be connected by these verticals except for a break in the middle of each vertical)
  - The pattern of these lines appears to hold around the entirety of the cylinder
  - Bottom of the foot is solid red, but the paint here is lighter and more faded than the rest (perhaps and indication of wear)
133-4239. Front right view

133-4241. Back left view

133-4236. Front view
<table>
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<th><strong>Object #(s):</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Fill 109.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:**| Height: (length shoulder to hand) 112.65mm  
Width: 24.87mm (smallest part of arm)- 40.16mm (across top of hand)  
Depth: |
| **Picture #(s):** | 133-4251 – 133-4269 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Limb fragment; arm from shoulder to hand, looks like bottom of arm and hand rested/was attached to the rest of figure but was broken off by force  
  - Fragment was broken in half across width of arm but has been reattached/repaired  
- Arm bends slightly inwards near undifferentiated “elbow,” hand is palm down, fingers are carved/incised (eight fingers)  
- Paint: described in descending order from shoulder to hand  
  - Thick solid stripe around shoulder break  
  - Three lines running down arm that end in two-pronged fork (similar to an upside-down capital Y)  
  - Another thick band encircling arm, from which two separate panels or sections emerge:  
    - On right and left side of arm are panels, separated by painted vertical lines down to the base of the fingers, filled with closely-spaced horizontal lines  
    - Area between these two sections has been left blank  
- Small remnants of paint under fingers near break
133-4260. Top view

133-4259. View of bottom break and repaired break across arm.

133-4256. Profile view, “outside” curve of limb

133-4267. Top view detail; tan line across top is from museum repair of break
Object #(s): KMyl 1215
Museum: Paphos District Museum
Site & Find Context: Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; "General" 330.199
Date: Period 3- MChal (c. mid- late 4th millennium BC)
Measurements: Height: 79.33mm
Width: 33.19mm (break to ear tip)
Depth: Other:
Picture #(s): 133-4270 – 133-4279

General Description/Notes:
• Fragment, probably head; broken through center of face and at neck
  • Top of head looks like has a possible chisel mark (possible evidence of intentional breaking)
  • Ridge around top/crown of head → possible phallic markings
  • Molded protruding round eye at front and more triangular pinched protrusion at side a possible ear (odd, as ears are not often depicted during this period)
  • Paint:
    • Dots above, around, and below eye; between eye and ear; eight, more regular/patterned looking dots behind ear (arranged in parallel horizontal lines of four)
    • Horizontal line of dots from front break to back break around neck
    • Below dots, from front to back: two vertical lines; a spot too worn to make out; two horizontal lines that touch a vertical line; the top of another vertical line, then the break
133-4271. Front view

133-4273. Back view

133-4274. Profile, left side view
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>KMyl 1270</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Site &amp; Find Context:</td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Fill 300.275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
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</table>
| Measurements:       | Height: 87.36mm  
                     | Width: 69.27mm  
                     | Depth: 44.53mm  
                     | Other:          |
| Picture #(#s):      | 133-4280 –133-4293 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Figurine fragment; thick oblong cylinder with uneven surface and many (uneven) breaks
  - Top break runs diagonally down from left to right; bottom break is straight across but with large core chip out of right side and large core chip missing from entire back section
- Paint: consists of multiple small panels with repeated symbols/patterns in each
  - About four panels with a similar pattern are visible on the front surface:
    - The panels are arranged like a grid, with an upper and lower, left and right panel.
    - Each rectangular panel is outlined with solid vertical lines on the left and right sides, and by horizontal lines of dots on the top and bottom; also, on 3 of the 4 panels, a simple vertical meander line pattern is also included on the outside of one of the solid vertical lines (on the lower right panel, the meander pattern is present but the vertical lines are not).
    - Inside this line and dot border, and taking up almost the entire interior, are two pairs of parallel thin vertical lines. Protruding from each of these lines (their bases together make up part of the vertical line) are three solid triangles, facing inwards so that the points of each triangle fit in the spaces between the points of the triangles opposite them.
  - On back of fragment: looks like different pattern with circles or dots at the ends of broad vertical lines, but the break interrupts the pattern too much to be certain.
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<th>KMyl 171</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Pit 1.03</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 44.26mm (base to top of curve)  
Width: ~58.81mm (break on base to break on curved “limb”)  
Depth: Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4294 – 133-4312 |

**General Description/Notes:**
- Fragment; uncertain what part of figure it is (possibly a leg)
- Consists of a flat portion, from which a part comes up and curves out and away
- Chip on curve and break at end of protrusion; as well as a break at/across center of “base”
- Paint:
  - Remnant of red paint but too faint and patchy to identify any patterns
133-4303. Side view

133-4308. View of flat bottom and underside of curve

133-4309. Top view of curve (flat bottom is to the right side of photo)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>KMy 71</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mylouthkia; Fill 1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 2- EChal (c. early-mid 4th millennium BC)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:**| Height: 41.92mm (break to break)  
|                  | Width: 51.68mm  
|                  | Depth:          |
|                  | Other:          |
| **Picture #(#s):**| 133-4313 – 133-4326 |

**General Description/Notes:**
- Small fragment; broken at both ends
- Slightly curved; rounded with a flat back (possibly made in relief or to be against a wall)
- Clay seems to have more stones and small white inclusions than other figures from Kissonerga-Mylouthkia
- Paint:
  - Evidence of red paint but too faint to identify any patterns
133-4313. Front view

133-4315. Back view

133-4318. Profile, left side

133-4319. Profile, right side
| **Object #**(s): | KM 999 |
| **Museum:** | Paphos District Museum |
| **Site & Find Context:** | Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report |
| **Date:** | Date unknown |
| **Measurements:** |  
  - Height: 50.61mm (head to neck)  
  - Width: 36.43mm (sides of face) to 29.03mm (base of neck)  
  - Depth: 25.44mm  
  - Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4364 – 133-4375 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Head and neck fragment; face broken off and broken at neck  
  - Some spots look like intentional markings from picks (at neck under left side of head and two spots on back above neck break)  
- Head is thin, tilted back and up, flat and oblong, on a thick neck  
- Paint:  
  - Front: remnants of paint on front center of neck right at break; paint along bottom jawline/curve of face but very faded  
  - Back: seven vertical wavy lines, probably representing hair
133-4374. Front view

133-4366. Back view

133-4370. Profile, left side

133-4372. Profile, right side
Object #(#s): KM 194

Museum: Paphos District Museum

Site & Find Context: Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report

Date: Date unknown

Measurements:
- Height: 75.12mm
- Width: 39.67mm (at top)
- Depth: 35.43mm
- Other:

Picture #(#s): 133-4376 – 133-4384

General Description/Notes:

- Figurine fragment; unsure what part of figure it is (could be head/neck but missing the head, or possibly part of torso)
- Straight, evenly thick cylinder, no obvious front or back
- Bottom break is uneven and pointed; top break looks like it was chipped at; also has two fairly regularly round pockmarks on either side that, if fragment is a torso, could be the remains of arms
- Paint:
  - Evidence of paint one side (the front?), but very abraded and worn
  - Very questionable interpretation:
    - One or two vertical lines across top (might be wavy?); possibly parallel vertical zigzag lines on right side; cannot make out design on left side; no evidence of paint on back
133-4378. Profile, left side

133-4379. Back view

133-4381. Front view

133-4382. Close up of paint remains on front
<table>
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<th>KM 2010</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Site &amp; Find Context:</td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Periods 3/4- c. 3200-2400 cal BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measurements:</td>
<td>Height: 40.76mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 22.73mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth: 18.02mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture #(#s):</td>
<td>133-4835 – 133-4395</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**

- Figurine fragment; bottom part of legs and feet (stands on own as fragment but not sure it would have when whole)
- Legs are undifferentiated except for a slight pinch in molding at the heels and front of feet; front of feet/toes are broken off
- Whole piece is rounded in front but flattened in back except for molding of the heels
- Paint: patterns described in order from top to bottom
  - Front: groups of horizontal rectangles at the top, followed by groups of four horizontal lines, and lastly vertical lines that go to the feet and continue around the entire figure
  - Back: broad horizontal strokes/lines, below these are the vertical lines that continue around the figure from the front
**Object #(s):** KM 2996  
**Museum:** Paphos District Museum  
**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report  
**Date:** Date unknown  
**Measurements:**  
- **Height:** ~28.76mm (bottom to top of hand)  
- **Width:** 32.91mm (left to right of hand)  
- **Depth:** 32.03mm (front to back of hand)  
**Picture #(s):** 133-4396 – 133-4408  

**General Description/Notes:**  
- Hand fragment; broken at fingers and top of hand/wrist  
- Has about five carved fingers; hand looks like it was attached to the rest of the figure but wrist is in the round  
- **Paint:**  
  - Dot of paint on inside of wrist/hand  
  - Broad line or rectangle on top (inside) of hand/wrist (possibly part of design belonging to whatever the hand was touching)  
  - Irregular dots and dashes along back of hand and fingers (no discernable pattern)  
  - Two thin lines running down wrist on outside of wrist/hand (from base of pinky finger to wrist)
133-4396. View of top of hand

133-4406. Close up of top of hand

133-4407. Bottom of hand; outside of wrist is on right of photo, thumb on left side of photo

133-4401. Profile, right side/outside of wrist, showing two thin parallel lines.
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Object #(#s):</strong></th>
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<tbody>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 40.78mm (top of leg to bottom of foot)  
|                  | Width: 32.43mm (across top of thigh)  
|                  | Depth:  
|                  | Other: “length” = 53.92mm (break to front of foot) |
| **Picture #(#s):** | 133-4409 – 133-4418 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Limb fragment, probably from a seated figure because of positioning and breaks  
- Broken at top of thigh where leg meets body  
- Thick at top but tapers to very small stubby foot with no detail of foot or toes  
- Appears to be hand molded because surface is irregular  
- Paint: surface is very abraded; the following is a loose interpretation  
  - Top of thigh looks like a solid circle inscribed in another circle, possibly with some lines on either side but difficult to make out  
  - Possibly one or two lines running from back of knee down to the foot  
  - Paint on side and underside of the thigh/knee but cannot make out a design
133-4414 (left) top view of limb; 133-4416 (right) close up of paint on top of limb

133-4418. Underside of limb

133-4411. Profile, left side

133-4413. Profile, right side
<table>
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<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Measurements:       | Height: 32.11mm (top to underarm)  
|                     | Width: 49.17mm (length of arm from hand to body)  
|                     | Depth: 27.82mm  
|                     | Other: |
| Picture #(#s):      | 133-4419 – 133-4430 |

**General Description/Notes:**
- Limb fragment; looks more like a leg than an arm  
- End of foot/hand very chipped; and part where broken from body is also broken/chipped from several angles with evidence of tool marks (probably intentionally broken)  
- Paint:  
  - Thick vertical (if leg) lines all around cylinder, and these lines are connected by small rectangular blobs in a fairly regular diagonal running up from left to right  
  - Random thick, vertical meander line that breaks this otherwise consistent pattern
133-4420. Front view

133-4424. Back view

133-4421. Close up of vertical meander line

133-4426. Close up of pattern on front
<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 4- 2700-2400 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measurements:</strong></td>
<td>Height: 42.53mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 32.99mm (ear to ear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth: 20.53mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture #</strong>(s):</td>
<td>133-4431 – 133-4450</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**

- Head and neck fragment
- Broken at base of neck; figure’s left ear is chipped; “hair” protrusions on top/back of head are very chipped as well
- Face is oblong, tilted upwards and back; nose is a pinched molding, eyebrow ridge and ears molded; two clay circles have been added for the eyes; the top of the head is a slight pinched/molded ridge with small incisions in it, probably representing hair or a headdress
- Paint:
  - The entire figure is red, but there are areas of darker red paint
  - Ring around base of neck right above break, probably a necklace (possibly a pendant necklace)
  - Eyes have an irregular dot in the center of the clay circle
  - Eyebrow ridge is painted with a red line
  - Mouth is painted faintly and there appear to be dots at the cheeks
  - Entire back of head is solid red, as are the front, back, and area beneath the ears
  - There are small lines below the curve of the face/jawline on either side of the face. One of these lines looks like it might be attached to the ear, but it extends too far forward to be confidently identified as an earring.
133.4434. Front view

133.4436. Back view

133.4435. Profile, left side view

133.4437. Profile, right side view
| **Object #**(s): | KM 3100 |
| **Museum:** | Paphos District Museum |
| **Site & Find Context:** | Kissonerga-Mosphilia; Pit 1580 |
| **Date:** | Period 3A- c. mid-late 4th millennium BC |
| **Measurements:** | Height: 33.43mm  
Width: 25.16mm  
Depth: 18.70mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4451 – 133-4466 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Limb fragment, could be arm or leg; slightly carved digits on front but too worn to count how many  
- Diagonal but fairly clean break  
- Paint: *fragment oriented as if a leg and patterns described from top to bottom*  
  - Front: two groups of four curved, horizontal lines; two rows (one on top of the other) of seven vertical lines/dashes to feet  
  - Back: group of thick vertical lines that look slightly pinched in the middle, giving them the appearance of skinny hourglasses; beneath this is a single horizontal line, then three vertical lines at the bottom  
  - The left half of the back is worn and the pattern is indiscernible outside two horizontal lines with two vertical lines below them, located towards the center of the left back.
133.4460. Front view

133-4452. Back view

133-4461. Profile, left side view

133-4463. Profile, right side view
<table>
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<td>Kissonerga-&lt;em&gt;Mosphilia&lt;/em&gt;; Hearth 951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B- 3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 47.47mm  
Width: 38.82mm  
Depth: 22.51mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4467 – 133-4478 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- See orientation of pictures below
- Figurine fragment; probably torso area around where missing arm met body, but uncertain
- Broken on all sides, arm missing, obvious tool mark at center of “chest”
- Slight molding under the limb break of a ridge that raises up to the higher level of the rest of the “chest”
- Paint:
  - One diagonal line along top break (as if tracing contours of collar bone) that touches a pair of smaller parallel lines that run from this diagonal to the limb break (across top of shoulder to arm)
  - Two lines emerge from under the limb break and curve upwards towards front/center of chest
133-4472. Front view. Center of torso to left, limb break to right side of photo

133-4475. View from top of figure, showing two small parallel lines lost in limb break

133-4477. Tool/chisel mark at center of chest near break

133-4470. Back view
<table>
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<th>**Object #(<strong>s)</strong>:</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Kissonerga-<em>Mosphilia</em>; context not found in report</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B (tentative)- 3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 16.77mm (table to top)  
Width: 21.89mm  
Depth: Other: Length (from break to break) 27.88mm |
| **Picture #(**s)**: | 133-4799 – 133-4487 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Small curved fragment; uncertain what part of figurine it belongs to
- Paint: Surface very abraded
  - Thin panel filled in with lattice
  - Small group of dots; appear to be arranged in two parallel lines
133-4487. Top view

133-4481. Underside of piece

133-4482. Close-up of lattice pattern

133-4485. Close-up of dots and inside curve of piece
<table>
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<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3A (tentative) - c. mid-late 4th millennium BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | **Height:** 81.41mm  
|                    | **Width:** 74.90mm  
|                    | **Depth:** 25.50mm  
| **Other:**        |                                |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4488 – 133-4495            |

**General Description/Notes:**

- See orientation of pictures
- Figurine fragment; probably torso and arm (possibly belonging to violin-shaped figurine)
- Broken at neck, diagonally across body from side of neck to under opposite arm, and a chip is missing from the top right corner of remaining limb
- Fragment is fairly flat and squarish
- Paint:
  - Front: Two groups of 3-sided concentric rectangles, with the bottom end left open. In the left-most group, the left vertical line is shared by multiple rectangles (i.e. this motif looks like a lowercase 'h' with multiple concentric shoulders/stems coming off the main vertical). Cannot tell if this is mirrored on the right group, as the right side of the rectangles is lost in the break.
  - Back: Mirror of design on front, except there is three groups of concentric rectangles; very abraded.
133-4488. Front view

133-4489. Back view

133-4495. Profile, right side, break

133-4490. View from bottom, break and underside of arm
**Object #**(s): KM 1357

**Museum:** Paphos District Museum

**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report

**Date:** Date unknown

**Measurements:**
- Height: 80.75mm
- Width: 80.90mm
- Depth: 34.63mm
- Other:

**Picture #**(s): 133-4496 – 133-4511

---

**General Description/Notes:**

- Torso/body fragment; missing head, bottom half below arms, and figurine's left arm/shoulder
- Arms curve out to rest back on front of torso/chest (no indication of breasts), arms not in the round but instead one solid piece with rest of body; four fingers incised on each hand
- Back is fairly flat, but looks like it starts to curve out right above break (possibly an indication of molding for buttocks)
- Whole piece fits nicely in hand when gripped under arms and is thick enough to hold tightly without fear of breaking
- Paint:
  - Front (only visible in space above hands): panels on left and right side of unmarked space in center of torso; in each panel are concentric 3-sided rectangles (look similar to a pi symbol), whose top inside corners (towards the center of the figure, near where armpit would be) arch upwards; each panel is also outlined by a line that follows the curve of the arms all the way up to the neck break, and a vertical line separating the panel from the unmarked space in the center of the torso
  - These left and right panels are not mirror images of each other and it appears these designs are mostly there to fill the space created by the curve of the arms.
  - Back: paint is faint, but pattern appears to mirror the front motif of concentric 3-sided rectangles within a line border that traces the curve of the arms
133-4496. Front view

133-4497. Back view

133-4505. Close up of front

133-4510. Profile, left side view
Object #s): KM 158

Museum: Paphos District Museum

Site & Find Context: Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report

Date: Date unknown

Measurements:
- Height: 49.39mm
- Width: 29.34mm
- Depth: 21.88mm

Other:

Picture #s): 133-4512 – 133-4533

General Description/Notes:

• Head and neck fragment
• Long neck pinched in at top beneath a head that is flat, oblong, and tilted back and up
• Small hole incised for mouth, small circles and a thin oblong line of clay were added to indicate the eyes and nose
• Surface is bumpy and irregular; some indentations in the depressions of the neck look like they could have been made by fingernails
• Paint:
  - Face: red dots on the clay circles of the eyes and on top of mouth hole; hair represented by a line across the forehead and a few lines down the sides of the face, as well wavy vertical lines on the back of the head extending down from the crown
  - A faint circle below hairline on the right side of the figure’s neck
  - Double lines encircling neck, periodically connected with small verticals
    • Above these lines, in the front center of the neck is a strange shape that may represent an attached pendant, but the shape is unusual. It looks like an irregular diamond with a thin short line protruding from the left side, and a line coming off the right side attaching the shape to the lines below that encircle the neck.
  - There is paint below the “necklace” on the back left side of the figure’s neck, but it is obscured in the break.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object #(s):</strong></th>
<th>KM 61</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 91.11mm  
|                 | Width: 43.18mm   
|                 | Depth: 45.66mm  
|                 | Other: *object is glued into a stand, measurements above have subtracted the added height of this stand |
| **Picture #(s):** | 133-4534 – 133-4553 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Leg fragment; side and back very abraded
- Thick and cylindrical, tapers down to small foot (figurine would not stand on own) with five or six toes
- Paint: *Described from the back left section and moving to the right through each column of decoration from top to bottom
  - First Column: open box filled with lines; under that is a 3-sided rectangle shape with the open end facing to the right
  - Second Column: two short parallel zigzags; three squares outlined and placed one above the other with lines drawn inside of them (top square looks like has a smaller, quartered square inside, middle square is damaged and cannot make out design, bottom square has an X drawn inside)
  - Third Column: top motif indiscernible; under is another 3-sided rectangle shape with open side facing to the left
  - Fourth and final column is too damaged to make out
  - The bottom section of every column is filled with vertical lines/dashes all around the bottom of the leg at the ankle
  - A solid band of paint covers the foot and toes
Object #s: KM 299
Museum: Paphos District Museum
Site & Find Context: Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report
Date: Date unknown
Measurements: Height: 114.77mm
              Width: 74.05mm
              Depth: 76.24mm
Picture #s: 133-4554 – 133-4602

General Description/Notes:
• Seated figure on a 4-footed stool with arms out to the side and legs hanging over front of stool and spread
  - Breaks: missing head (chisel mark on back right side of neck at base); breasts broken off; back two feet of stool broken; large chip/section missing from back left edge of stool
• Oblong protrusion/molded flap at belly with a small depression in center that looks like a belly button
• One hand (figure’s right) looks like fingers were carved
• Deeply incised pubic triangle
• Each foot has five carved toes
• Paint:
  - Remains of pendant at neck: small figure with upraised arms and spread legs with a small protrusion between legs
  - On the back of each shoulder is a circle with a red dot in the middle
  - Arm protrusions have a line around their base near where arm meets body, and arms have both straight and wavy lines running down them to the end
  - Lines on either side start from the line encircling the base of the arm and run diagonally across the chest over breasts (as if tracing a collar bone), but end before they meet in the middle
  - A slightly thicker line down the center of the back is the starting point for many wavy lines that run outwards towards the side of the stool and all over the back of the stool behind the figure
  - On the front of the figure, starting right above the belly, are a series of dashes; the dashes run over the belly and converge towards the pubic triangle; dashes also run down the legs and feet
  - Vertical dashes or lines decorate the legs of the stool and the bottom of the stool feet are painted with wavy lines but the underside of the stool is not painted
• The figure’s right foot has an agglomeration of paint (hard to compare to left foot because it is very worn), but it may be a small figure
133-4556. Front view

133-4562. Back view

133-4564. Profile, left side view

133-4596. Profile, right side view
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<th><strong>Object #</strong>(s):</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Measurements:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Height: 19.58mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 23.63mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth: 16.73mm</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Picture #</strong>(s):</td>
<td>133-4603 – 133-4611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General Description/Notes:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Small limb fragment; a small nubby arm, rounded at end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One side has two horizontal indentations or tool marks along the center midline, indicating possible intentional breaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paint: very abraded and hard to see, the following is a “best guess” interpretation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- One side may have wavy vertical lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Other side may continue this pattern but too faded to discern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
133-4604. Front view

133-4608. Close up of tool marks along underside of limb

133-4605. Back view

133-4609. Close up on remains of paint on front of limb
<table>
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<tr>
<th><strong>Object #</strong>(s):</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B- 3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
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</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 20.65mm  
                 Width: 26.22mm  
                 Depth: 16.13mm  
                 Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4612 – 133-4619 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Limb fragment; short and rounded at one end, cannot tell if arm or leg
- Paint:
  - One side unpainted
  - Other side has three parallel rows of dots running diagonally from the top center of the arm towards the inside underarm
    - Nine dots in all
    - Pattern is similar to hatching pattern found on “shawl” type of picrolite cruciforms
133-4612. Front view

133-4613. Back view

133-4614. Close up of paint of front of limb
**Object #(#s):** KM 1747

**Museum:** Paphos District Museum

**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; context not found in report

**Date:** Date unknown

**Measurements:**
- Height: 55.14mm
- Width: 22.27mm
- Depth: 20.09mm
- Other:

**Picture #(#s):** 133-4620 – 133-4637

---

**General Description/Notes:**
- Fragment; probably a limb and part of lower torso (may be a leg broken above hip and diagonally down to crotch)
- Fairly cylindrical with slight curve outward as come up from the bottom on the left side
- Right side seems rounded at top edge by the break, but this could be damage
- Paint: *See orientation of pictures*
  - Front: moving from left to right: pair of parallel dashed lines (made of five dashes each) running vertically down to bottom break; to the right of this are three columns of three dashes that do not go down to the break
  - Back: looks like a pair of parallel dashed lines but too abraded to see clearly
133-4627. Front view of limb

133-4629. Back view

133-4628. Profile, right side/in-seam of limb

133-4631. Profile, left side/outside of limb
<table>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Measurements:</strong></td>
<td>Height: 25.64mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 33.51mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other: length 60.30mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture #</strong>(s):</td>
<td>133-4638 – 133-4654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**
- Figurine fragment; probably a hand or foot/leg (appears very similar to leg and curved foot on seated figure KM 299)
- Longer part runs straight outward (was resting on something), then hand/foot curves down and under at end with approximately carved six fingers/toes
- Paint: surface is very abraded
- Evidence of paint on hand/foot of lines that follow the path of the digits
- Lines on wrist/ankle and further up the limb but difficult to make out
133-4644. Top view of limb

133-4641. Underside of limb, break

133-4640. Profile, outside (pinky-side) of wrist/limb

133-4643. Profile, inside (thumb-side) of wrist/limb
Object #(#s): KM 3157
Museum: Paphos District Museum
Site & Find Context: Kissonerga-Mosphilia; Floor makeup 1566
Date: Period 3A- c. mid- late 4th millennium BC
Measurements: Height: 68.27mm
Width: 50.13mm
Depth: 55.01mm (neck around 34mm in diameter)
Other:
Picture #(#s): 133-4655 – 133-46669

General Description/Notes:
• Large head and neck fragment
  - Missing most of lower face and left side of head; edges of head also broken
• Molding of eyebrow ridge connects to molding of a straight nose; round raised circles in depressions beneath eyebrows represent the eyes
• Paint: all very faint
  - Eyes are painted red
  - Slight evidence of paint on nose and along top/bottom of brow, also some paint on center of the forehead but rest of face is too damaged to discern
  - No signs of paint on neck
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<tr>
<td>Site &amp; Find Context:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Period 4- 2700-2400 cal. BC</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measurements:</td>
<td>Height: 84.14mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 41.59mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Depth: 36.68mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picture #(#s):</td>
<td>133-4670 – 133-4684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**
• Limb fragment; probably a leg
• Thick cylinder that tapers towards a slightly rounded end; end looks like it has been slightly pinched to flare a bit around the bottom edge; bottom surface is too rounded to stand on
• Left side curves slightly outward (concave) as it goes up, possibly where leg joined body/crotch
• Paint: only clear on front
  - Vertical lines down the leg in multiple columns:
    • First Column: one long line with two small dashes at its end, followed by a medium dash at the bottom
    • Second Column: long thin 3-sided rectangle with the open end facing up and a slight extension on the right end of the horizontal line; beneath this is one medium dash
  - More paint towards the inside/inseam curve but too worn to discern
  - Paint all around the flared base, but cannot tell if it is solid or patterned
133-4676. Front view

133-4672. Back view

133-4674. Profile, right side

133-4673. Profile, left side/inseam view
**Object #**(s): KM 537

**Museum:** Paphos District Museum

**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; unknown context

**Date:** Date unknown

**Measurements:**
- Height: 79.60mm
- Width: 44.98mm
- Depth: 31.68mm

**Picture #**(s): 133-4685 – 133-4703

**General Description/Notes:**

- Head and neck
  - Face and head broken in multiple places but neck is not broken, piece was made to be just a head and neck (or possibly part of a composite figure)
  - Neck is long (~40.83mm), slightly flared at base and stands on its own
  - Front of piece is in the round but back side is flat
- Paint:
  - Bottom of base of neck looks like it’s painted solid red
  - Reddish brown paint depicts a panel with lattice pattern all across the back of the head, but appears to end or be smudged below head level
  - Bottom portion of the neck has faded redder paint that matches the hew of that found on the bottom of the base
<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Site &amp; Find Context:</td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; unknown context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Date unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Measurements: | Height: 124.35mm  
|              | Width: 61.06mm  
|              | Depth: 41.36mm  
|              | Other: 46-43mm diameter neck |
| Picture #(#s): | 133-4704 – 133-4716 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Large head and neck fragment
  - Broken at neck; small (newer) chip on left side of head (possibly from missing ear); nose broken off; all surfaces very abraded
  - Neck is long and cylindrical, narrows before flaring out into slightly triangular, upturned, flat face
  - Small hole for mouth; raised molding for brow ridge extends across the forehead in slight arches and connects in the middle with molding for the nose; round circles of clay with incised hole in the center represent the eyes; slight bumps on the side of the head profile may represent ears
  - Top of head is squared off; has incised vertical line down the center and horizontal zigzags on either side that extend across the top of the head, these markings probably represent hair but are not continued on the back of the head
  - Paint: very little paint left because of extensive surface abrasion
    - Signs of paint on front and back of head where hair depicted
    - Line down center back of neck but cannot distinguish a pattern
133-4715. Front view

(Left) 133-4707. Back view
(Right) 133-4714. Close up of paint at base of back

133-4706. Profile, right side view

133-4716. Close up on front of face
<table>
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<th><strong>Object #</strong>(s):</th>
<th>KM 1442</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B- 3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:**| Height: 77.26mm  
Width: 41.42mm (at base)  
Depth: 31.59mm  
Other: |
| **Picture #**(s): | 133-4717 – 133-4730 |

**General Description/Notes:**
- Small freestanding figurine with wide, squarish base; tall, narrow torso and neck; neck ends in flat, upturned head with no features
- Incised and molded breasts
- Both arms have been broken off
- Paint:
  - Evidence of paint near bottom and base, as well as around hip area, but cannot discern design
  - Belly, breasts, neck, and face look reddened with paint
<table>
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<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B-3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: 52.61mm  
              | Width: ~80.10mm  
              | Depth: ~82.46mm  
              | Other: |
| **Picture #(#s):** | 133-4731 – 133-4761 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Fragment of a seated figure including the torso, waist, and base (possibly once seated on a stool)
  - Cylinder of the torso broken above the belly; base of figure is not flat and looks like it was broken from something, most probably a stool
  - Remains of legs face forwards but are spread apart with an intentional gap between them
  - Lower belly is slightly swollen/bulges out at front, probably indicating pregnancy
- Paint:
  - A vertical, solid, triangular hourglass shape, bordered on the right and left by a thin line that follows the outlines of the triangles, is painted over the curve of the belly
    - The top of this design seems to intentionally touch either side of the waist above the belly, and the top of each leg below the belly
  - Rest of the paint is a series of what look like randomly placed rectangular panels filled with lattice patterns
    - In general, on the back of the “skirt”/base they seem to be mostly horizontally placed, while others angle towards the legs, and three panels on the left side of the figure seem to slant upwards towards the belly
133-4732. Overhead view of fragment

133-4743. Front view; close up on diamond motif on stomach

133-4737. Profile, left side view

133-4741. Profile, right side view
**Object #**(s): KM 1463
**Museum:** Cyprus Museum, Nicosia
**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015
**Date:** Period 3B- 3200-2900 cal. BC

**Measurements:**
- Height: 89.63mm
- Width: ~110.82mm
- Depth: ~118.82mm

**Picture #**(s): 133-4762 – 133-4787

**General Description/Notes:**
- Torso, legs, and base of figure seated on a four-legged stool
  - Figure looks like it is wearing a long skirt that flares out from waist to meet edges of stool
- Missing a large chip from back edge of stool/skirt; back right leg of stool is broken off; and right leg broken at joint with body (possible small chisel marks near break)
- Torso is broken off above the belly, which is slightly rounded and distended in front, probably indicating pregnancy
- Two small molded bumps on back directly above rim of stool, probably to indicate buttocks
- Intentionally molded/cut hollow below belly and between spread legs: measures ~30.68mm wide, is smooth inside and has no signs of paint or other decoration

**Paint:**
- Stool: edge of stool is painted red; ends/bottoms of stool legs are solid red; underside of stool has two straight lines that cross each other in the center of the stool, dividing the bottom into even quarters and passing through the spaces between the stool legs
- Skirt of figure is decorated with a series of rectangular panels filled with lattice patterns, these panels are sometimes connected to each other by dashed or dotted lines running between the corners of adjacent panels, one such “connector” is simply a line with hash marks across its length
- Remaining left leg is decorated with two lattice-filled panels running down its front
- Belly: across front of belly is a rectangular panel filled with lattice; on top of belly and across the waist-line is a horizontal triangular hourglass shape filled with lattice and with a single thin contouring border line along the top
133-4763. Overhead view of fragment

133-4780. View of underside of fragment

133-4773. Front view of fragment and hollow between legs

133-4768 (top). Left side profile
133-4772 (bottom). Right side profile
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<td>Date:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measurements:</td>
<td>Height: ~163 mm</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Width: 127.66mm at hips</td>
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<td>Depth: ~89.88mm</td>
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<tr>
<td>Picture #(#s):</td>
<td>133-4788 – 133-4809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**

- Hollow figurine/figurative vessel of figure standing with legs apart and hands up by head or on either side of neck
  - Head broken off at base of neck, chips missing from right hip and front of right foot, surface very scratched/abraded
- Breasts are small round nubs with incised line between them; belly is represented by a small horizontal line of molding
- Hips are very exaggerated with a wide horizontal protrusion of molded clay encircling the figure’s waist, only interrupted by a slight dip in the center of the back (possibly to indicate the buttocks) and in front by a flat area with a vertical incision representing the vulva
- Figure is freestanding but too heavy and large to hold comfortably in hand
- Paint:
  - Dotted or dashed lines encircling arms
  - Horizontal dashed lines encircle waist and hips, this pattern appears to switch to close-packed dots once they get near to the fold in the belly and pubic area
  - Horizontal dashes encircle entirety of legs, except area around ankles which is decorated with vertical dashes
  - Feet possibly lined in red, while the bottoms are painted solid red
  - Breasts and pubis are not painted and look like they were intentionally left clear
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B-3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Measurements:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Height:</strong> taller than caliper; can’t find measurement in monograph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Width:</strong> 86.55mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Depth:</strong> 82.68mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Picture #</strong>(s):</td>
<td>133-4810 – 133-4831</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General Description/Notes:**

- Rounded hollow figurine/figurative vessel with large hole at top of head
  - Regular pockmarks on either side of torso are probably remains of arms, from facial expression and similar pockmarks on either side of face, arms were probably positioned so hands rested on either side of the head
  - Molded eyebrows; prominent molded nose; raised molded line for mouth
  - Eyes and nostrils are incised holes, and molding of mouth also has a line of incised holes but none of these holes go all the way through the walls of the figurine
  - No differentiation in body, torso and legs are one
  - Base does flare out at bottom and probably stood on its own but many breaks along the bottom edge now make it unstable
- Paint:
  - Painted eyebrows; ring around eyes; line encircling the raised molding of mouth with a small circle hanging pendant from the line in the center below the mouth; also a circle of paint below the left ear break
  - Lines encircle pockmarked breaks where arms once were
  - At base there appears to be a horizontal line around entire figure with spaced vertical lines running from this horizontal to the bottom
  - Inside of rim at top is lined in red
- On Back:
  - Vertical zigzags from top of head (possibly hair)
  - Small symbol on back of right shoulder of indistinguishable shape/meaning, see photographs
  - Horizontal line, with intentional spaces/breaks, from one arm break to the other
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Object #(s):</strong></th>
<th>KM 1464</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Museum:</strong></td>
<td>Cyprus Museum, Nicosia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Site &amp; Find Context:</strong></td>
<td>Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Date:</strong></td>
<td>Period 3B-3200-2900 cal. BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **Measurements:** | Height: ~153.41mm  
| | Width: 68.53mm at hips  
| | Depth: 49.02mm  
| | Other: *figure is glued into stand, measurements above include stand |
| **Picture #(s):** | 133-4832 – 133-4853 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Standing figurine with outstretched, short, stubby arms and differentiated legs
- Missing right arm and leg; left arm and leg broken but reattached by museum
- Long neck and flat, oblong, upturned face; upper edge of head is broken off
- Eyes and mouth are incised holes; molded nose also has small incised nostril holes
- Shallow molded breasts with incised line between; hole at belly button; incised buttocks; hips and belly flare out around entire figurine
- Paint:
  - Paint around mouth
  - Faint wavy lines on back of head and neck (probably hair)
  - Wavy lines follow curve of the hips along the back of the figure; pattern might change in front but hard to discern
    - Possibly dots in the outline of a square on the belly, but hard to be certain
  - Wavy lines down the front and back of legs, with dots down the outsides of the legs
  - Breasts look like they were red but the paint has worn off
133-4833. Front view

133-4836. Close up on back; note faint remnants of hair on back of head and dots along top/back of arm

133-4835. Back view

133-4841 (top). Close up on face; note faint traces of paint

133-4840 (bottom). Close up on outside of left leg; note traces of dotted paint
| **Object #(s):** | KM 1466 |
| **Museum:** | Cyprus Museum, Nicosia |
| **Site & Find Context:** | Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015 |
| **Date:** | Period 3B- 3200-2900 cal. BC |
| **Measurements:** | Height: ~117.23mm  
Width: 94.17mm  
Depth: 71.05mm |
| **Picture #(s):** | 133-4854 – 133-4877 |

**General Description/Notes:**

- Very damaged hollow figurine
- Unable to tell if sitting or standing
- Broken at neck and missing head; arms and legs are missing; surface very abraded
- In the round; flared at hips; maybe flat pendulous breasts handing down front but left one is broken off from the surface
- Paint: *the following is a best guess interpretation, considering damage to surface*
  - Vertical zigzags down neck; possible line around the base of neck but if had a “pendant” motif attached the motif is lost in damage to the front/center of the neck
  - Around top of hips and bottom of waist at the back are two rectangular panels filled with lattice patterns
  - Pattern on back of shoulder blades, but cannot discern
  - On back: possibly some open/outlined triangles hanging pendant from a horizontal line
133-4855. Front view

133-4857 (top). Back view
133-4860 (bottom). Overview; figure facing top of photo

133-4856 (left). Left side profile
133-4859 (right). Right side profile

133-4872. Figure standing upright on base; front view
**Object #**(s): KM 1460

**Museum:** Cyprus Museum, Nicosia

**Site & Find Context:** Kissonerga-Mosphilia; ceremonial deposit Unit 1015

**Date:** Period 3B - 3200-2900 cal. BC

**Measurements:**
- Height: 93.20mm
- Width: 44.47mm
- Depth: 34.13mm

**Picture #**(s): 133-4878 – 133-4891

**General Description/Notes:**
- Small standing figurine
- Arms out to the sides but hands broken off, as is the head; legs are not shown, base is a flared mass but figure is free standing
- Molded pendulous breasts are also incised
- Figure looks handmade: surface is lumpy and irregular, breasts and arms look like they were added on to the main body
- Paint:
  - Unidentifiable paint around/under arms
  - Horizontal lines encircle figure from below the breasts to the bottom of the figure
  - Bottom/base of figure painted solid red
133-4878. Front view
133-4880. Back view
133-4884. Profile, left side
133-4881. Profile, right side
**This object was on loan to a foreign museum during my visit and I was not able to see it in person. As such, the info/images for this object have been collected from the excavation monographs. (Goring, Elizabeth. 1991 The Anthropomorphic Figurines. In A Ceremonial Area at Kissonerga, edited by Edgar J Peltenburg, pp. 58. Åströms, Förlag.)**

- Large seated female figurine on remains of stool
- Elliptical head tilted back and up on a long neck; brows and nose are a single “Y-shaped relief line”; hair is an incised groove at top edge of head
- Short nubby arms outstretched to either side
- Bell-shaped body with lower body flaring out like a skirt
- Low relief modeled pendulous breasts divided with deep incised line; navel an incised dot
- Legs are broken, but were to the front and spread apart; between the legs is a flat rectangular panel with a painted figure (see Paint section)
- On back: buttocks is modeled, below it projects a flat surface of what remains of stool
- Breaks/damage: top of head and brow are chipped; legs and stool broken away (probably intentional); abrasions in middle of figure below arms, in center of back, and above/between the lattice work decoration on the buttocks (so severe here that whatever was painted in this space has been worn away)

- Paint:
  - Facial features: brow line, nose, eyes, and mouth painted; hair represented by 9 wavy lines on back of head
  - Pendant necklace around neck, and figure on necklace has paint between legs (giving birth)
  - Nipples painted on breasts
  - Three rows of dots go around each arm and end on the back in circles with a dot in the center that are placed on each shoulder blade
  - In the panel between the legs: large oval with curving line on either side, indicates the head and arms of a baby coming from the birth canal head first (correct/desired position for birthing)
  - Rectangular panels of lattice decoration wrap around the lower body; and below the navel are wavy lines that might represent pubic hair
  - On back: dotted area in center of back (badly abraded); lattices on buttocks
  - Bottom of figure is red with a cream border
Fig. 6. Front view

Fig. 24. Back view

Fig. 24. Front view

Fig. 24. Profile, right side view
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Steel, Louis


Yaeger, Jason and Marcello A. Canuto


Zeidler, James A.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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Education
in progress M.A. University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Anthropology- Archaeology

2013 B.A. Creighton University
Classical & Near Eastern Civilizations, Anthropology
Minor: Art History
Summa cum laude

Research Interests
gender and identity; figural art, architecture, and ceramics; mortuary archaeology; state-building,
power structures, and hierarchy; prehistoric and ancient Near East and Mediterranean

Skills
Museum curation (collections inventory and maintenance); GPS navigation, ArcGIS,
FilemakerPro systems, Microsoft Office suite

Academic & Relevant Experience
2015-current Staff, Marjorie Barrick Museum, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
   • Manage collections database and records, condition reporting, inventory
     and deaccessions, facility rental, event coordination and hostess, gallery
     installations and management, visitor and public outreach

2015 Intern, Nevada State Historical Preservation Office, Las Vegas, Nevada
   • Learn basic field survey and site mapping methods, including GPS;
     process field data using ArcGIS and manage database; experience with
     public archaeology during work with Nevada Site Stewardship Program
   • Introduced to cultural resource management policy and its real world
     applications

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2014  Student Worker, Graduate College, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
   - Editor for thesis/dissertation format compliance, secretarial duties, special projects

2013-2014  Tutor, Tutor Doctor Henderson, Nevada (independent contract)
   - Tutor privately for all ages and subjects

2011  Decurion, Ratio Studiorum Program, Creighton University
   - Teaching assistant for freshmen orientation course, taught select classes, student resource and mentor (Fall semester 2011)

2010-2012  Tutor, Creighton University Upward Bound Math & Science Center
   - Tutor high school students and aid in college search and application process

2010-2011  Tutor, Creighton University Office of Student Success & Retention
   - Tutor college students in history, Latin, philosophy, English, and general study skills

Awards & Honors
Honors:
2013-  Phi Beta Kappa, Academic Honors Society, Beta of Nebraska chapter, Creighton University

2013-  Lambda Alpha, Anthropology Honors Society, Alpha Nevada chapter, University of Nevada Las Vegas

2013-  Father Joseph-Francois Lafitau S.J. Society, Anthropology Honors society, Creighton University chapter

2013  Arete Award for Excellence in the Study of Classical & Near Eastern Civilizations, Department of Classical & Near Eastern Civilizations, Creighton University

2012-  Alpha Sigma Nu, Jesuit Honors Society, Creighton University chapter

2010-  Eta Sigma Phi, Sigma Nu chapter, National Classics Honor’s Society, Creighton University
2009- National Society for Collegiate Scholars at Creighton, Association of College Honor Societies, Creighton University

Awards:
2014 Friends of World Anthropology Award, University of Nevada Las Vegas ($900, to support trip to Cyprus for Master’s thesis research)
2014 Research Grant from Graduate & Professional Student Association, University of Nevada Las Vegas ($750, to support trip to Cyprus for Master’s thesis research)
2014 Anthropology Society Scholarship, University of Nevada Las Vegas ($200 to support trip to Cyprus for Master’s thesis research)
2012 National Science Foundation Research Experiences for Undergraduates Award To participate in the Athienou Archaeological Project Cyprus field school ($6,300, plus $2,600 tuition and fees covered by Davidson College)
2012 Eta Sigma Phi H.R. Butts Scholarship for Fieldwork in Classical Archaeology (awarded and declined - $2000)
2011-2013 Creighton University Grant ($6,650)
2009-2013 Ignatian Leadership & Service Scholarship, Creighton University ($4,000)
2009-2013 Creighton Magis Scholarship (academic scholarship), Creighton University ($56,000)

Presentations
2013 “Bones & Burials: Changing Gender Constructs & the Mortuary Record of Prehistoric Cyprus,” Department of Anthropology Senior Thesis Poster Presentation, Creighton University, Omaha, NE.
2013  “Tracing Cypriot Gender Ideologies Through the Chalcolithic & Early Bronze Age,” Department of Classical & Near Eastern Studies Senior Capstone Seminar, Creighton University, Omaha, NE.


2012  “The Athienou Archaeological Project: a student’s perspective,” National Archaeology Week Excavation Colloquium sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America Omaha-Lincoln chapter, Omaha, NE.

Research Activities

2014  Thesis data collection in Cypriot museums (2 weeks)
   •  Independent trip to collect data from Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, Paphos District Museum, Kouklia Museum, and Limassol District Museum; funded by Friends of World Anthropology and UNLV Anthropology Society

2012  Field school student, Athienou Archaeological Project, Cyprus (2 months)
   Directors: Dr. Michael K. Toumazou and Derek B. Counts
   •  Received National Science Foundation Research Experience for Undergraduate Award

Leadership & Service

2014-2015  Treasurer, Anthropology Society, University of Nevada Las Vegas
   •  Managed organization finances and membership, event coordination

2014-2015  Volunteer, Marjorie Barrick Museum, Las Vegas, Nevada
   •  Managed permanent cultural collections, aid in gallery installation and database upkeep

2012-2013  President, Eta Sigma Phi, Sigma Nu chapter, Creighton University
   •  Organized Mock Certamen, language study nights, social events, t-shirt sales and induction, manage organization email listserv and social networking

2012-2013  Co-secretary, Archaeological Institute of America, Omaha-Lincoln chapter
   •  Promoted local lecture series, mail lecture flyers, logistical coordination
2012  Co-organizer, National Archaeology Week events sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America Omaha-Lincoln chapter
   • Events: Student Movie Night, Preschool Archaeology Workshop, Field School Colloquium, and Public Lecture by Dr. Michael Hoff

2010  Founder of student-led Latin study group, Creighton University
   • Organized out-of-class bi-weekly study groups for fellow Latin students
   • Study group adopted by department and continued in subsequent years

Professional Affiliations & Memberships
2013-  Phi Beta Kappa Academic Honors Society
2013-  Lambda Alpha Anthropology Honors Society
2012-  Alpha Sigma Nu Jesuit Honors Society
2011-  Archaeological Institute of America
2011-  American Schools of Oriental Research
2010-  Eta Sigma Phi Classics Honors Society