

Studies into South-East European Prehistory
I



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Edited by Constantin-Emil Ursu and Stanislav Țerna

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*We would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of a great researcher of prehistoric anthropomorphism in Southeast Europe, **dr. Dan Monah** (1943-2013)*

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Chapter 10: Male figurines from Pavlovac-Čukar, Southern Serbia*

Jasna Vuković, Slaviša Perić

Abstract

In this paper a corpus of male figurines from the Late Neolithic site of Pavlovac-Čukar in Southern Serbia is presented. It is a group of stylized, roughly made figurines without any details except the representation of male genitals and in a lesser extent, ornaments in the form of armlets and belts. Iconography, technological aspects, i.e. forming techniques and fragmentation are examined. It is argued that these figurines were made by unexperienced producers, probably for a single-use in some ritual, possibly in the boys' initiation rite.

Keywords

Pavlovac-Čukar;; Late Neolithic; Vinča culture; male figurines.

Introduction

The archaeological site near the village of Pavlovac is situated about 10 km south of Vranje in Southern Serbia. The first excavations were conducted at the two sites – Gumnište and Čukar in the mid-fifties (Гарашанин, Гарашанин 1958; Garašanin 1979), and according to the author, two Neolithic layers were distinguished, belonging to the the Early (Starčevo) and Late Neolithic (Vinča). The excavations revealed many distinctive features in portable finds, especially pottery and other ceramic objects, and therefore the site was recognized as the representative of the so-called South Morava-Kosovo variant of the Vinča culture (Garašanin 1979: 187-190; 1998), with its main attributes – anthropomorphic clay figurines with unusually depicted hairstyles in the form of volutes, i.e. ram horns, among others. In his later considerations, M. Garašanin stressed the presence of male figurines, mainly from the sites in Kosovo (Fafos), as one of the most important characteristics of South Morava-Kosovo variant of the Vinča culture (Гарашанин 1998: 72).

In 2011, when preparations for the construction of E-75 highway (Belgrade-Athens) began, rescue excavations were held on both sites in Pavlovac - Gumnište and Čukar. On the site of Čukar, a vast area of approximately 2000 square meters was excavated. It was established that the site was multilayered, with layers belonging to several prehistoric (Neolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages) and Medieval period. However, the excavations revealed no evidence that confirmed the presence of two cultural layers of Neolithic occupation. Moreover, the most striking characteristics of the Neolithic layer is the presence of both Early and Late Neolithic material mixed together. In addition, hybridization of Early and Late Neolithic forms and forming techniques of clay objects, i.e. pottery and altars, was also noted (Vuković 2014 a, 2014b), indicating the possibility of mixing of people belonging to two different technological traditions.

At the site of Čukar² a total amount of 983 anthropomorphic figurines or their fragments was found. In most cases, these are typical female or representations without any gender attributes, belonging to the Late and rarely to the Early Neolithic traditions. However, 8% of that number belongs to male Vinča figurines, with distinctive gender attributes. The male figurines are extremely rare on other archaeological sites. Three specimens are known from Vinča (Игњатовић 2008: 204, 205, 209, numbers 1, 6, 18), and in a slightly greater number these representations are known from the Kosovo sites, as was noted earlier. Nevertheless, a total of 83 specimens from Čukar needs special attention, not only because of their outstanding quantity, but also because of their unique appearance and possible meaning.

Although the importance of context for the interpretation of all figurines is not questionable, it seems that there are only few Late Neolithic examples found in clear and secure contexts, for example near the ovens inside houses (Crnobrnja 2011). Such contexts for Čukar figurines are, however, lacking. Not a single specimen was found inside any structure, but outside

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2. The site was excavated by the joint team from the Faculty of Philosophy and Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade, with J. Vuković and S. Perić as the co-directors of the excavation.



the architectural debris, and in several cases in the garbage pits. They were evenly distributed across whole excavated area, so there was no evidence for their spatial patterning. These facts strongly oppose traditional view of figurines as idols or objects of worship and indicate their single use, maybe in a limited time-period, after which they lost their importance and were discarded.

Iconography

As a distinct group of finds, male figurines from Čukar are very diverse, but they share several major characteristics. First of all, they all share one significant property: rough, careless manufacture. Their bodies are columnar or, in only three cases, flat (figs. 2, 16, 17), without any details. Only two specimens stand out, since they are more realistic representations (figs. 4, 15); incised and dotted decoration, representing clothes or body ornaments, very common on other types of figurines, is lacking in most cases. One exception exhibits three diagonal lines on the chest and on the back (fig. 16), while on the other three incised V-shaped lines are present on the chest and on the back (fig. 17a, c). In two cases, traces of red paint were identified (figs. 14, 18). Arms were modeled as very short horizontal stumps; representation of raised arms is present only on two specimens (figs. 2, 15).

The main characteristic of all male figurines are the representations of male gender attributes – genitals. Phalli are usually made in a form of a massive coil, erected in one case (fig. 1a-b), or, as a massive spherical protrusion (figs. 8a, 11, 12, 13, 14, 32). Scrota were modeled as two applied pellet-shaped clay lumps. One specimen needs attention: although phallus is represented, the body of the figurine, with wide hips, looks more like a female one (fig. 5). Female gender attributes maybe can be recognized on the back of a previously mentioned figurine (fig. 1c): glutei are represented in a form of a coffee bean, but it irresistibly resembles to a vulva. The meaning of a very strange globular application on the upper part of a figurine (fig. 13 a-b) is still unclear; the possibility that it represents one breast cannot be fully confirmed, since there is no evidence that another one existed. Therefore, the possibility that some of the figurines incorporate the characteristics of both sexes must be considered.

The most striking feature of a significant number of specimens (25, which makes 23% of the total, respectively) is the representation of ornaments – armlets and belts. This kind of decoration is unique and was not identified on Vinča figurines before. It is always associated with male figurines, so it can be assumed that it is a feature that exclusively appears only on this type of finds. Armlets are very massive, in contrast to atrophied, short arms. In most cases they are made in the form of a single ring (figs. 6, 8, 9, 16). There are, however, specimens with double or triple armlets (fig. 1) or with armlet in the form of a ring placed between the two series of small applied pellet-shaped lumps of clay (fig. 19). Belts are also usually made of a single coil and placed on the hips of a figurine, just above the genitals. Belts on two specimens are made by applying series of small clay lumps, similar to armlet described above (figs. 4, 7), while another example exhibits a distinctive belt (fig. 20): very massive coil connecting four pellet-shaped ornaments, placed on the hips, on the belly and on the back, resembling to a some kind of a buckle. Position of a belt on a figurine can vary, though very rarely. On one specimen, it is not placed around the hips, but diagonally, from its left shoulder to its right hip, similar to a sash (fig 23). Another specimen is very curious: one additional coil was added to a belt and positioned between the scrotum and the phallus, thus dividing them (fig. 21). It will be discussed more detailed in the following text.

Certain diversity exists in the representations of other body parts. Legs are seldom present; lower parts of the figurines are usually columnar, with differently made bottoms: they can be inverted, similar to the bottoms of miniature vessels or in a four-leaf form, with the feet represented on the back side as well (figs. 7, 22). When legs are present, they are made just by one deep groove in the center of the lower figurine part (figs 4a,c; 7a,c; 10a, c). Glutei are also rarely present: along with the specimen described above, three more specimens with roughly made glutei were found (fig. 8c, 10 c), with only two more realistic representations (figs. 4c, 15 b-c). Two small figurines also must be mentioned: they have representation of a massive hunch on the



back (fig. 24), horizontally perforated on the other specimen (fig. 25). Similar “hunchback” figurines are known from the site of Vinča (Игњатовић 2008: 238, number 105), but without masculine attributes.

The special problem with male figurines concerns the shape of their heads, since only four specimens are preserved completely with stylized face with the nose in the form of the bird beak (fig 22). One volute on the back of the head of the specimen in fig. 26, already mentioned as a feature crucial for determination of South Morava – Kosovo variant of Vinča culture, could lead to the conclusion that this peculiar hairstyle in the form of ram horns can be related exclusively to male representations. Two strange coils on the upper part of one figurine (where a head should have been placed), resembling to legs, actually could have been modeled in order to be folded, thus making two volutes (fig. 27), so this specimen also supports the possibility that volutes can be connected to male representations. Another example worth mentioning is a figurine with “ram horns” and with armlets (fig. 28a-b). Nevertheless, in this case the need for caution must be stressed. Other figurine's shape (fig. 29) strongly resembles to a feminine body, with wide hips and large glutei. It lacks, however, the representations of breasts or vulva. The meaning of the pointed protrusion on its belly is unclear, though. It can be interpreted as a representation of a pregnant woman. On the other hand, since the figurine is very carelessly fashioned, it could represent highly stylized phallus. Another specimen exhibit breasts; unfortunately, lower part of the figurine is not preserved, so it is not possible to establish whether male genitals were also represented (fig. 33) It also should be beared in mind that some female attributes can be present on male representations, as it was described earlier (cf. Игњатовић 2008: 205, number 5). Therefore, the possibility that volutes on the heads are connected to male representations should not be completely excluded.

Sizes of the figurines vary in a great extent. Whole figurines are small in size, and their height ranges from 4.5 to 6.5 cm. The group of figurines with a missing head show great diversity in dimensions: their height ranges from 3 to 12 cm, with mean value of 5.66 (table 1).

Forming techniques

The first impression one gets when examining male figurines is their careless, rough manufacture, usually in fabric with inclusions of crushed rocks and sand. They are not polished, not even burnished (with one exception, fig. 15), but only smoothed, usually without removal of excess clay left after forming. The makers of the figurines did not pay attention on fine shaping of their products: many of them are asymmetrical, exhibiting irregularities and uneven surfaces, originated while the figurine was pressed or squeezed between fingers during forming, in its plastic stage. Other cases show the opposite: one figurine was made when the clay lost its plasticity, leaving small cracks on the surface (fig. 6a-c).

Forming techniques also vary and there is not any evidence that their makers followed some clearly defined procedure in the operational sequence.

The simplest forming method was to shape a massive cylinder, then to apply a very thin layer of more plastic clay, almost a slip, above it (fig. 13 a-b). Cylinder and “wrapping” were not in the same state of plasticity, since the external layer did not adhere to the core properly, thus falling off.

The core of the upper part of figurine body could be made by forming one central, circular (figs. 7d, 32 a-c) or rectangular coil (fig. 16d), and then applying slabs around it. However, breakage pattern of this specimen, i.e. its rounded fracture, indicates that upper and lower parts of the figurine body were shaped separately, and joined together after they dried a bit.

Majority of the figurines was made by a “two-piece” method, by joining two clay coils together (figs. 1d, 3c, 13c); thin layer of clay could have been added above it (fig 30). These coils could also have been thinned at their upper part, and then folded in order to make double “ram horn” hair dress (figs. 1, 27); impression of some application on their front side indicates that another application – nose or beak, was applied afterwards. This technique is clearly identified on the specimen shown on fig. 22. The core of figurine body is made of a two coils – cylinders.



Obviously they were nearly dried when the “wrapping” made of flat clay slabs was added and folded around it. The same technique is applied on the specimen shown on fig. 31.

As it was noted before, legs were not shaped separately; one deep, often irregular groove on the front and one on the back side of the lower part of the body, make impression of two legs. Glutei are also differently shaped, if present at all. Usually they are made by applying small clay lumps, but few more carefully shaped specimens exhibit more realistic representations, similar to other types of Vinča figurines.

Fragmentation

With an exception of four wholly preserved specimens, all of the figurines are broken; this was expected, again confirming the association of highly fragmented figurines with cultural layers or pits vs. whole specimens connected with the house floors (Porčić 2012). However, their breakage patterns must be considered and the possibility of deliberate fragmentation examined. The majority of finds belongs to the whole specimens with preserved body, but without head (N=32) and lower body parts of the figurines (N=33) (diagram 1). Heads are one of figurines' points of stress, or in another words their weakest parts, along with arms. Since the arms of male figurines are modeled as stumps, they are broken in only few cases, but it is not surprising that many heads are missing; accidental breakage in these cases is therefore undoubted.

The position of other fractures is also very important. Although some authors argue that the vertical breakage through the body indicates deliberate fragmentation (cf. Becker 2007), it seems that this is not the case with the Čukar figurines. Their breakage patterns clearly show that breakage depends in a great extent on the forming techniques, i.e. plasticity of paste used for their shaping. Two vertical body parts were shaped separately and (accidentally or deliberately) left to dry a bit before they were joined together (fig. 30); since they were not in a highly plastic stage, they did not adhere to each other properly, making the whole vertical axis of the figurine very weak and prone to breakage. Rounded horizontal fractures also point in the same direction: if the upper and lower body parts were shaped separately and joined together after they lost their plasticity, breakage on the horizontal axis is likely to be expected. Therefore, great quantity of lower body parts is not surprising. It could be argued, though, that the forming technique which involves drying of figurine body parts before joining them together was intentionally applied in order to facilitate deliberate breakage. The fact that different forming techniques were used, especially modeling the figurine out of one single massive coil – cylinder, extremely resistant to breakage, strongly opposes this assumption.

Finally, disproportion of the amounts of upper and lower body fragments is evident. Although it could lead to the assumption of deliberate fragmentation, it seems that the answer is simpler. Since the upper body parts do not exhibit gender attributes, especially if the ornaments in the form of armllets are lacking, it is highly probable that other specimens belonging to the group of male figurines were not recognized as such, so they were not associated to this group of findings. Bearing in mind all these facts, it can be concluded that the possibility of deliberate fragmentation must be rejected.

Concluding observations

Taking into account all these observations, the main aspects related to Čukar male figurines can be summarized as follows:

- the only depicted detail on their bodies is the representation of male genitals;
- ornaments in the form of massive armllets and belts are exclusively associated with male representations;
- they are highly stylized, without any details and decoration, except few specimens with traces of red paint;
- careless and rough manufacture, made by using different forming techniques must be emphasized;
- they are found outside architectural structures, in pits and cultural layer;
- they were not deliberately broken;



- they are of different sizes;
- headdress in the form of volutes may be connected to male representations.

Discussion: Function and meaning

In recent years, many studies related to gender, sex, and anthropomorphic representations were published (see Bailey 2005 for overview); analyses of the figurines usually lead to the examination of gender roles in past societies and identity related issues, as well as to the considerations of visual culture (Naumov 2010). It seems, however, that meaning, function and actual use of these objects, as well as their use and discard-related activities have been neglected. Moreover, it was argued that it actually does not matter how they were used, and that "the function of these objects is to be found at a deeper level of reality, upon which the community constructed and maintained a sense of who one was, what one should look like, and how one was distinct from others" (Bailey 2010: 124). Nevertheless, figurine assemblages from different settlements differ from each other to a great extent and the examination of their function and use seem to be essential for understanding their role in social context. Čukar male figurines with their distinctive features and unique appearance may provide some guidelines for posing new questions and explore different possibilities rather than to give some final conclusions.

First of all, the presence of a large quantity of anthropomorphic representations with male attributes must be examined. It is usually widely accepted that the Neolithic figurines in most cases depict female bodies. However, some recent studies showed that the majority of Neolithic figurines does not exhibit gender attributes at all; genitals of both sexes are statistically equally rare, and phalli and vulvae are more or less equally represented (Nanoglou 2010: 217). Although gender attributes of Late Neolithic Vinča figurines were not statistically processed in one common database so far, it can be stated that in general, on the whole territory of Vinča culture male representations are extremely rare. The site of Pavlovac with its number of 83 male figurines stands out from other settlements. Why is Pavlovac unique and what makes it different from other Late Neolithic Vinča sites?

One of the main problems in interpretation of figurines is their context. It was stressed that accurate "reading" of prehistoric figurines must be limited to a corpus of specimens recovered from well documented archaeological (and social) contexts; therefore figurines without provenience are "not open to direct investigation" (Bailey 1994: 323). If this line of investigation is accepted, it seems that much valuable information can be lost. Let us examine the issue of secure archaeological context related to figurines. It seems that many anthropomorphic representations, regardless of their geographical and/or chronological origin, actually lack archaeological context; from the Americas to the Old world, figurines were commonly found in pits, trash middens, domestic refuse and cultural layer (for example Nanoglou 2010: 218; Shafer 1975; Ucko 1962; Stinson 2010). This actually does not mean the lack of evidence. On the contrary, it reveals very distinct behavioral pattern: the figurines were intentionally discarded, and since they were discarded as waste, they lost their importance and any symbolic significance they could have had before. In his considerations about figurines, D. Bailey argues that the figurines are everyday household objects, and that people and figurines interacted daily (Bailey 2010: 124). Careless execution of the Čukar figurines means that manufacture of the figurines has not been time-consuming activity; they were not meant to be durable. This fact could be the strongest argument that they had only one single use. Were they, then, the objects the people could interact with on a daily basis? If not, what was, then, their primary context? Why were they discarded and did they lost their meaning after some limited period of time? Did they have some significance only during some specific activity?

One very important line of evidence for interpretation of figurines is their technological aspect. Čukar male figurines assemblage is a very diverse group of finds: figurines exhibit differences in forming techniques and dimensions; in addition, almost all of them are very roughly made. These facts indicate the possibility that each figurine was made by different maker. Their careless execution and absence of clear manufacturing procedure point to the



assumption that their makers were not experienced artisans, who probably made figurines very seldom, even only once. The only important part of their work was to emphasize male characteristics, to visually stress male gender. What was the occasion which involves inexperienced makers to produce figurines?

In one of the first detailed studies dealing with figurines clear methodological framework for identification of their use was defined (Ucko 1962). P. Ucko stressed the importance of descriptive analysis, archaeological context, and especially analogous anthropological information. Five categories of figurines were distinguished, depending on technology-forming techniques, form, traces of use and patterns of discard. According to his criteria, differences in technical achievement in the manufacture, non-conformist shape and the provenance of the figurines from architectural debris and rubbish areas are typical for initiation figures. In a recent study dealing with Hohokam figurines of the American Southwest, some more characteristics were added for this class of figurines: extreme variation in style and usage in a short period of time (during one initiation ritual) (Stinson 2010: 123, table 7.1).

Anthropological investigations showed that figurines made of different materials are widely used among traditional societies during initiation ceremonies (see Gilchirst 1999 for an overview). In these rites, figurines usually have a role of a learning agent; they are made as a sort of companion for songs and stories which serve as a rule of conduct for young members of society preparing to become adults (Cory 1944; Franz 1969). However, there is anthropological evidence that anthropomorphic representations were made for boys who are proceeding through the male initiation and they represent the initiate himself (Hart 1989: 52). Initiation of the young boys involves wide variety of activities, including their isolation, but the most important aspect of these rites is circumcision, as a proof of courage and ability to overcome pain and therefore attain adulthood. Are the Čukar male figurines in some way connected with the rites of passage?

It was pointed out earlier that carelessly made figurines exhibit only one obviously important feature: male genitals; the bodies are not modeled with any detail, anatomical nor ornamental, but male gender is emphasized by the representations of phalli and scrota. In addition, ornaments in the form of armlets and belts are always connected with the male figurines. It seems that belts are not only pure decoration of the body: they are related to the male attributes. In this sense, the specimen with the belt dividing phallus and scrotum may point out to some valuable observations. The usage of penis sheaths is usually connected with New Guinea (*koteka* - gourd penis covers), but anthropological research revealed that they are found in Africa, Pacific Islands and both Americas and are made of various materials (Ucko 1969). The methods of attachment of a sheath also vary, but they inevitably involve the usage of waist belts. The method of tying the sheath differ: in New Guinea, for example, the cord is fastened through holes made into the nuts (cf. fig. 20); these cords may be attached to the different parts of the body, even the shoulders (cf. fig. 23). The wearing of sheaths can be related to initiation rites; in some societies this is a first chance for a boy to wear it, while in the others the initiation is the occasion for changing of genital cloth. Anthropological data show that penis sheaths are usually worn by all male society members, sometimes including children. However, in all these cases, some wrapping around the genitals, or some of their parts is always present. Čukar figurines do not exhibit such practice; only the belts are represented. The possibility that figurines depict individuals in some specific, not ordinary situation therefore must be considered. There is evidence that special belts can be associated with the boys' circumcision initiation ritual (Vansina 1955: 143), as a special ornament or as a suspensor until the wounds are healed (Cory 1947: 163). Moreover, figurines used during male initiation among the Nguu show the boys who have been circumcised wearing a belt to keep the penis away from the scrotum (Cory 1944: 461). Maybe such belt can be recognized on the specimen in figure 21. These observations provide possible answers to the main questions stressed in literature: what a figurine is an image *of* and what a figurine is as image *for* (cited from Bailey 2005: 18). It seems, however, that another



question needs to be adequately answered. If the Čukar figurines have had some role in the boys' initiation process, identity of their makers is also very important aspect of their social role. Whether they were made by the relatives, teachers in the initiation process or the boys themselves makes a significant difference. Bearing in mind technological and dimensional variety of the Čukar figurines and the impression of inexperienced producers, the possibility that women have had some role in their manufacture can be rejected. Nevertheless, the issue of the identity of male figurines makers for now must remain open until some new observations are made and new data collected.

Conclusion

The male figurines from Pavlovac-Čukar provide a very valuable corpus of finds. Their appearance and significant features, i.e. the representations of male genitals and ornaments in the form of armllets and belts, provoke many considerations and questions rather than to offer the possibility to draw final conclusions. Some directions for the identification of their function and meaning have been pointed out. However, there are many questions yet to be posed. The crucial one is related to a great quantity of these finds in contrast to other Late Neolithic sites. Why is Pavlovac different from other settlements and is there any reason why the males may have had some special importance and role in the community? The answer may lie in some economic activities. Since the analysis of material from Pavlovac-Čukar has only just begun, so the data about economy, as well other aspects of everyday life are still lacking, future research of other archaeological finds may shed some new light on the social context of male figurines' making, usage and meaning.

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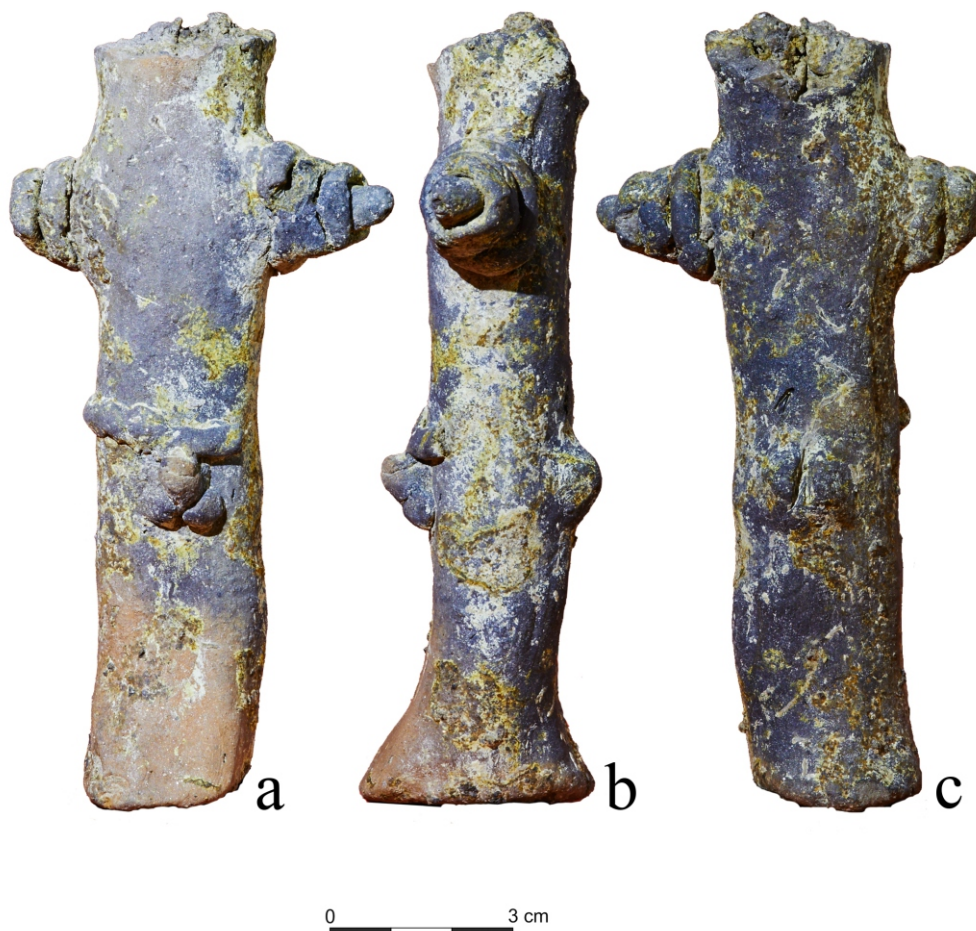


fig. 1 Figurine with columnar body and ornaments in the form of armlets and belt.



fig. 2 Figurine with flat body, belt and raised arms.

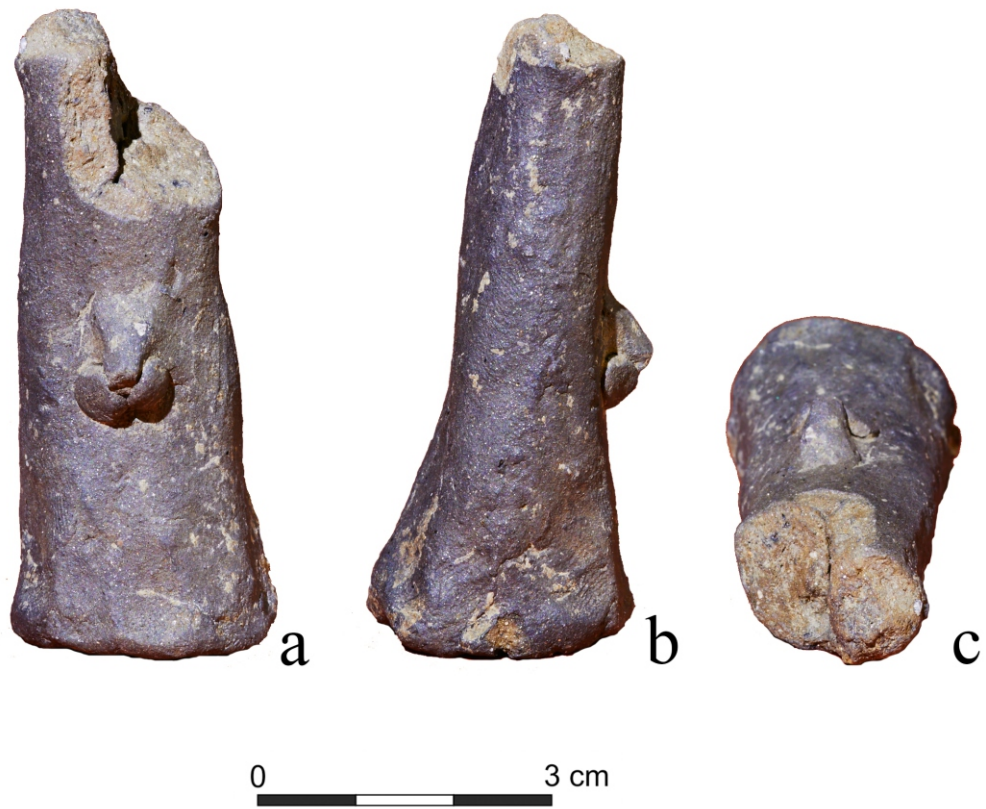


fig. 3 Figurine with columnar body, exhibiting "two-piece" forming method.

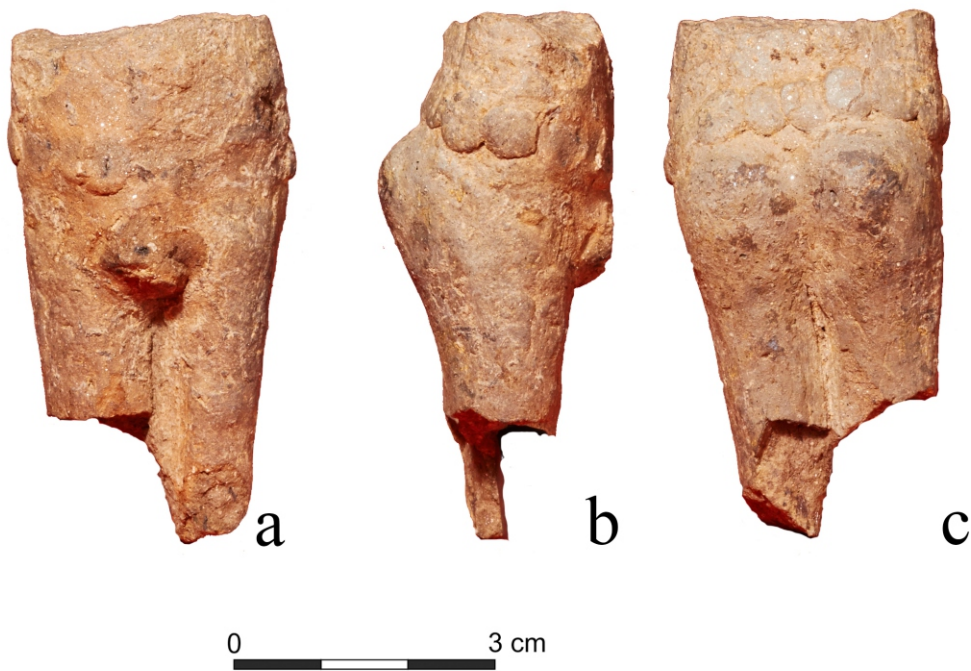


fig. 4 Realistic representation with belt made by applying series of small clay lumps.

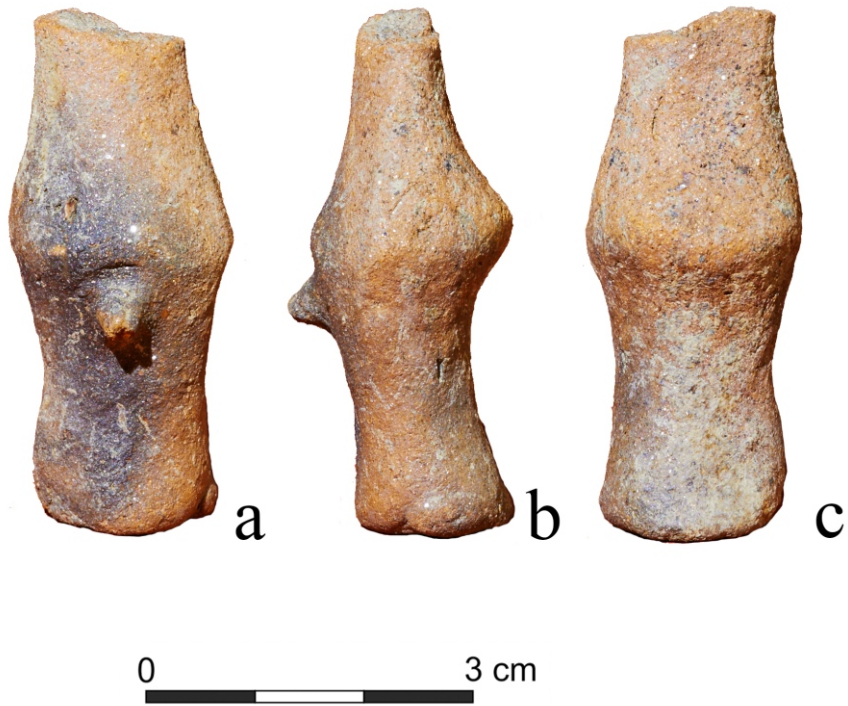


fig. 5 Figurine with male attribute and feminine body.

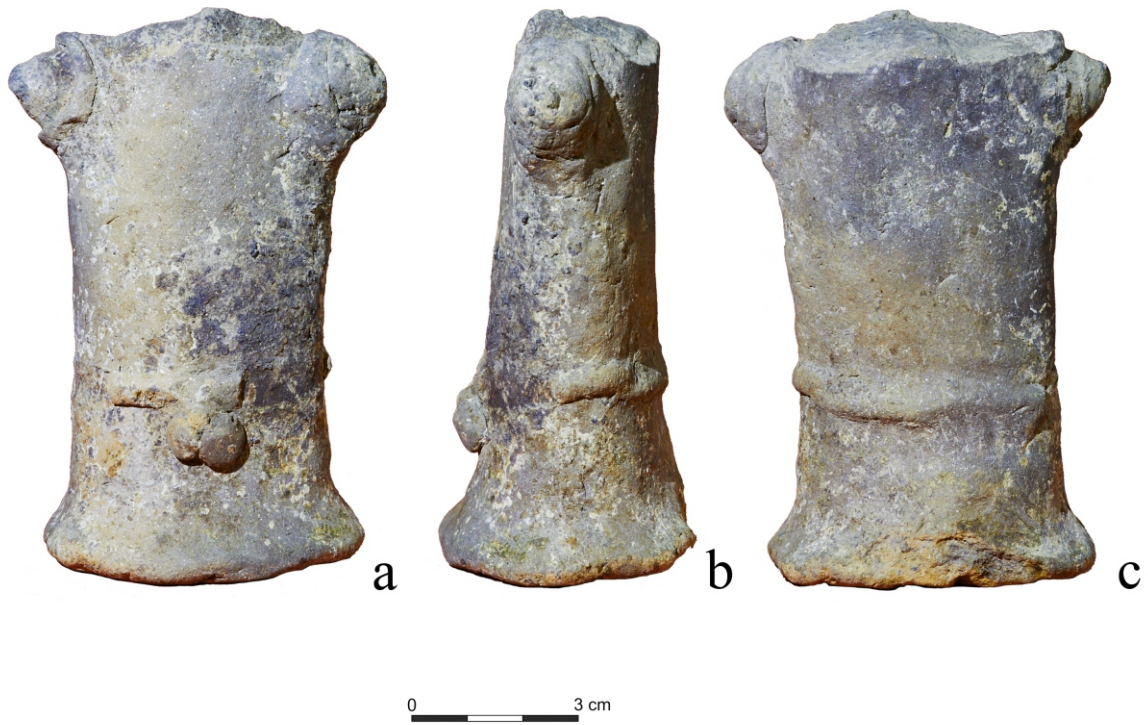
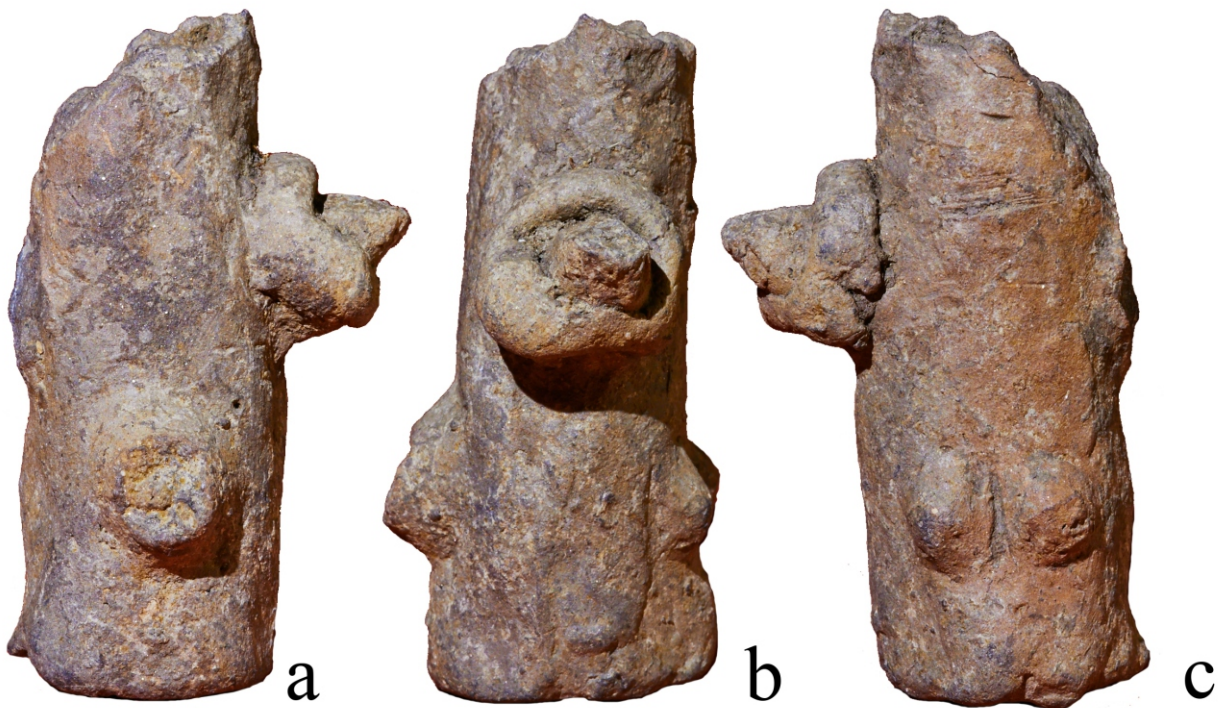


fig. 6 Figurine with armlets and belt.



0 3 cm

fig. 7 Figurine with belt made by applying series of small clay lumps with bottom in a four-leaf form, with a central circular coil.



0 3 cm

fig. 8 Figurine with armlets and belt with roughly made glutei.

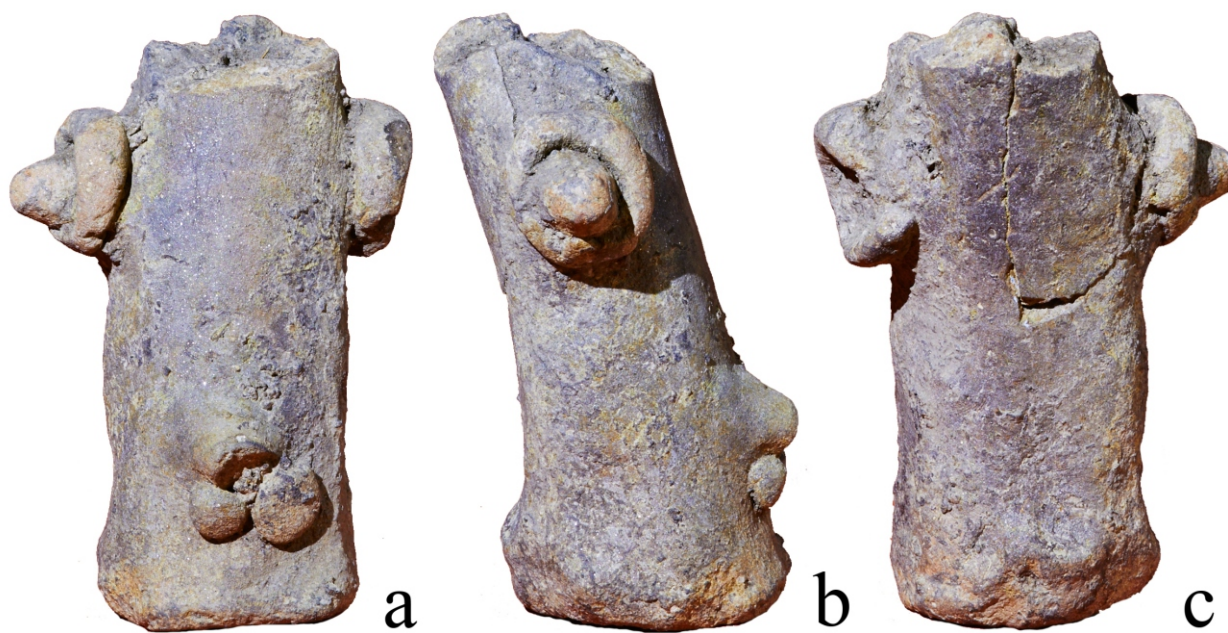


fig. 9 Figurine with armlets.



fig. 10 Roughly made figurine with legs by one deep groove in the center of the lower figurine part.

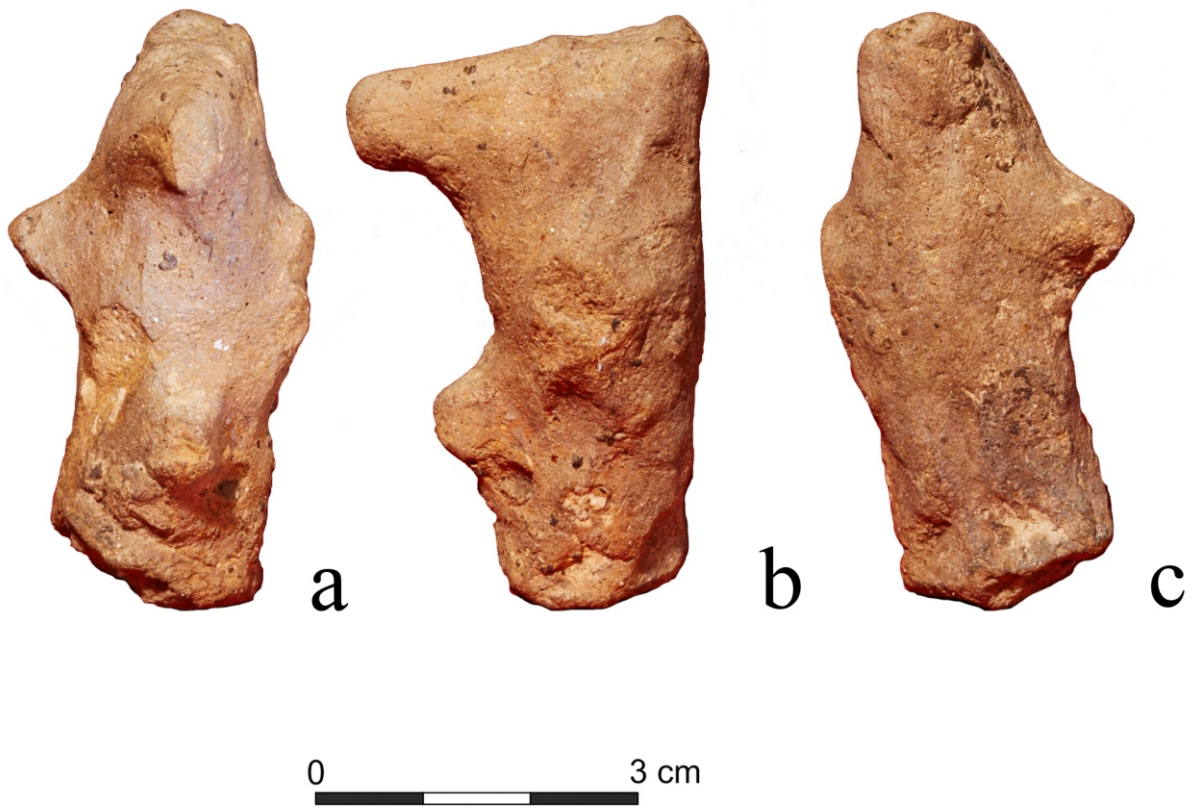
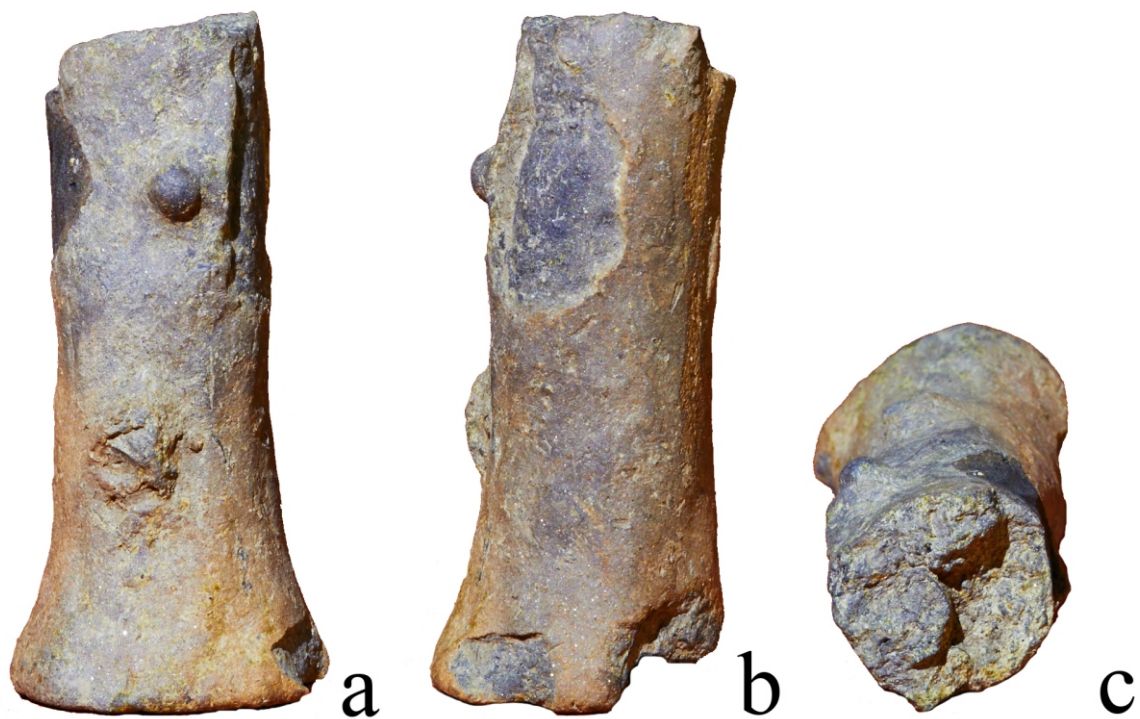


fig. 11 Whole roughly made figurine.



fig. 12 Columnar figurine with genitals in the form of massive spherical protrusion.



0 3 cm
fig. 13 Columnar figurine made by "two-piece" method,
with a globular application on the upper part.

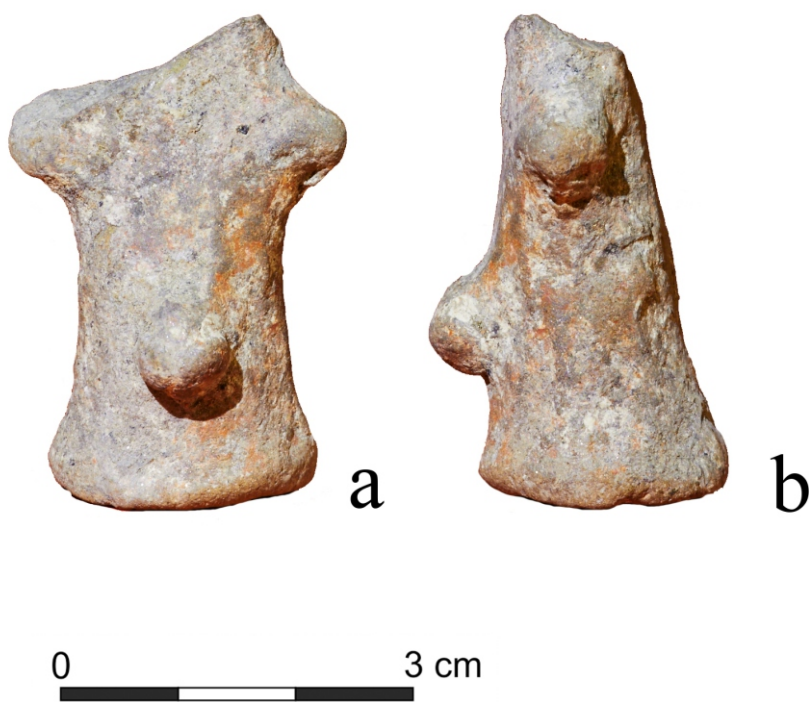


fig. 14 Figurine with traces of red paint.

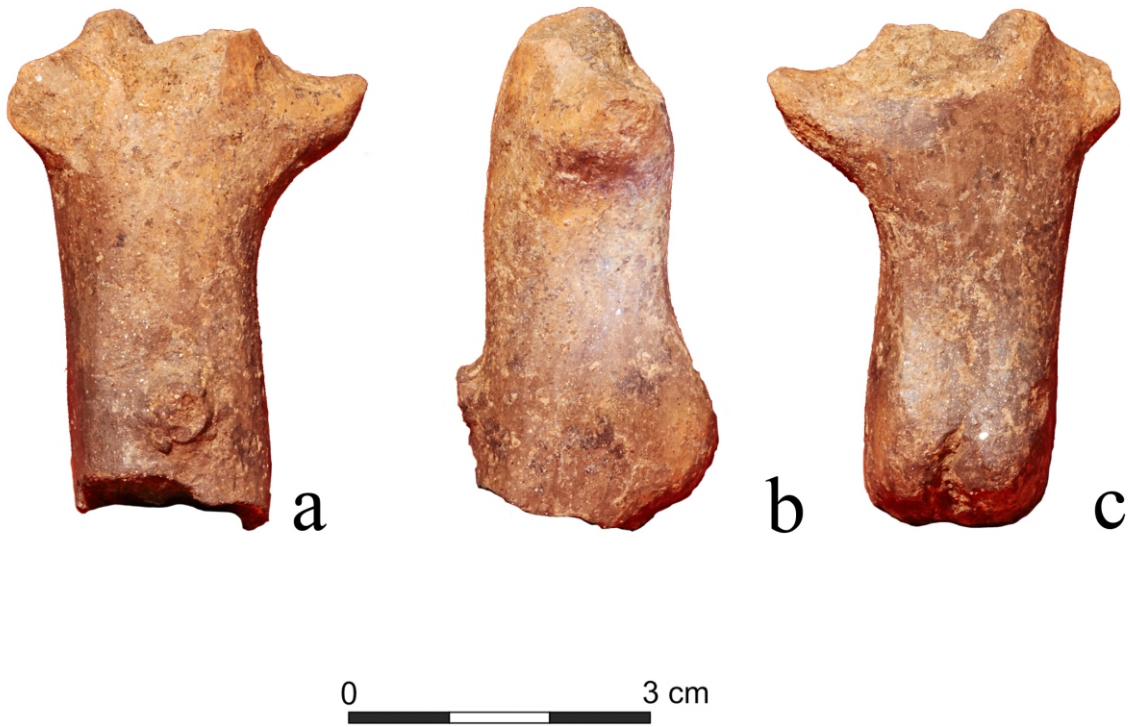


fig. 15 Burnished realistic figurine.

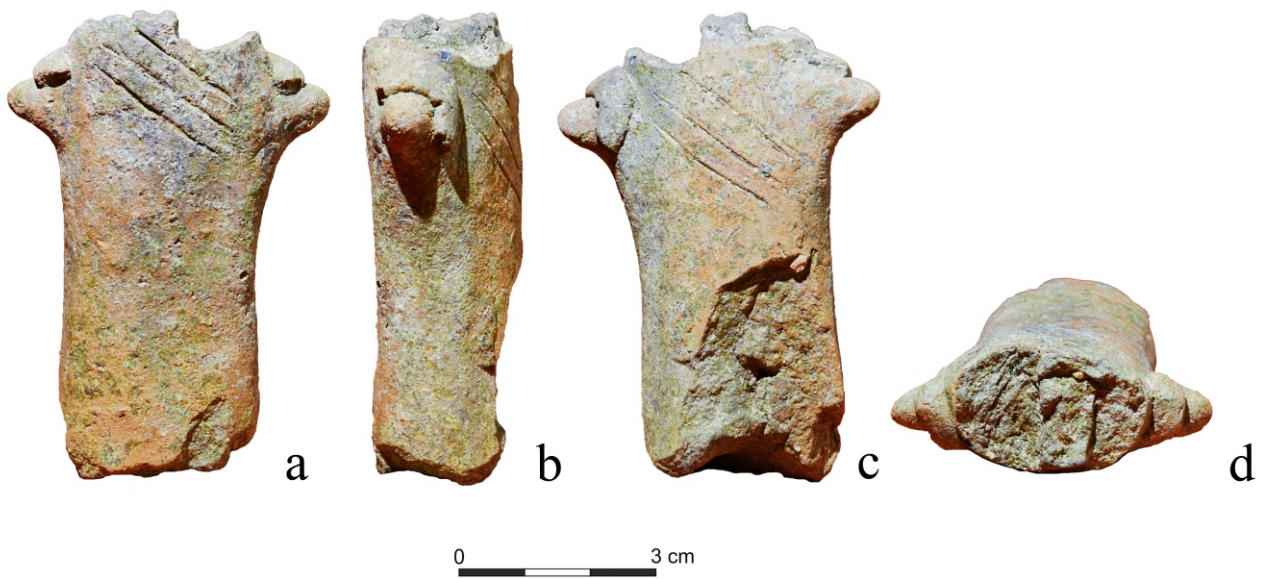


fig. 16 Flat figurine with armlets and three diagonal lines on the chest and on the back, with a central rectangular coil.

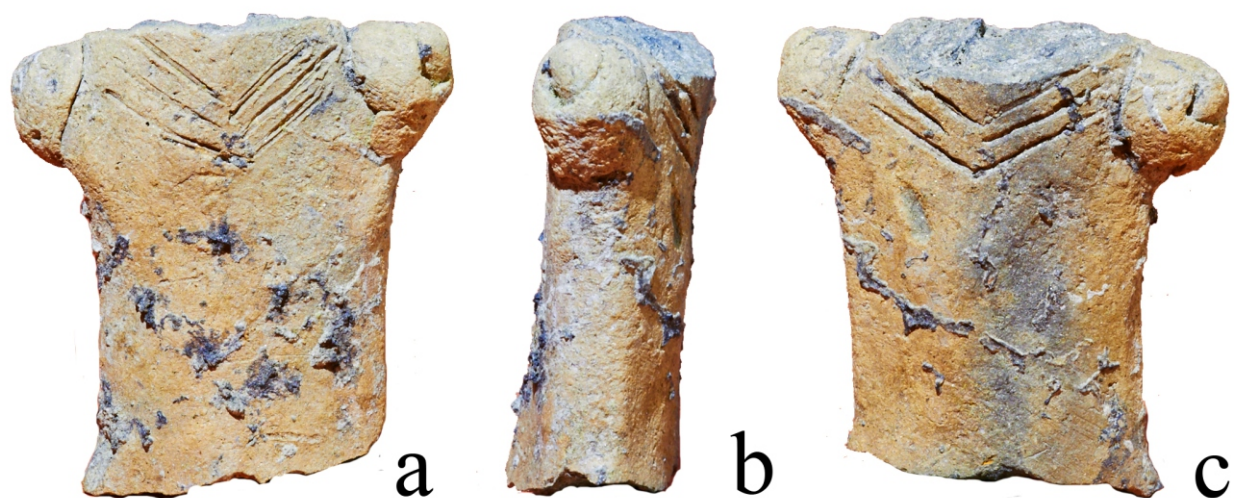


fig. 17 Flat figurine with armlets and three incised V-shaped lines on the chest and on the back

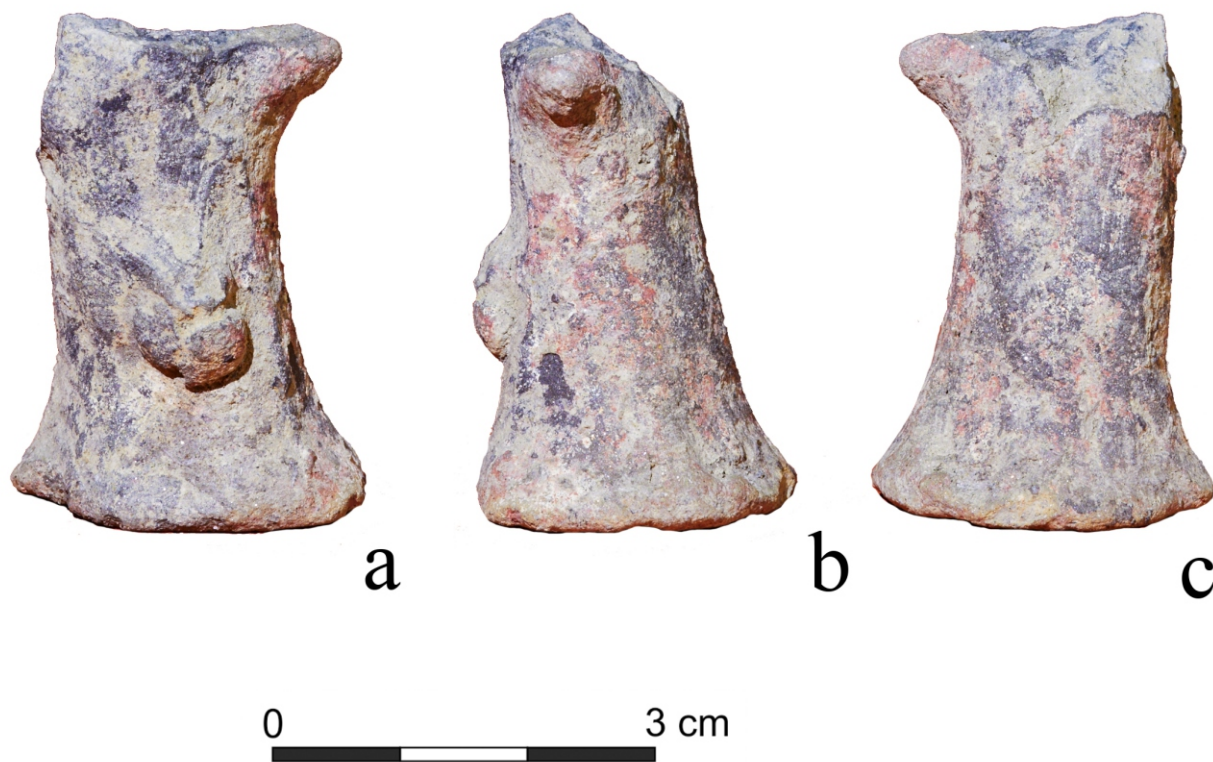
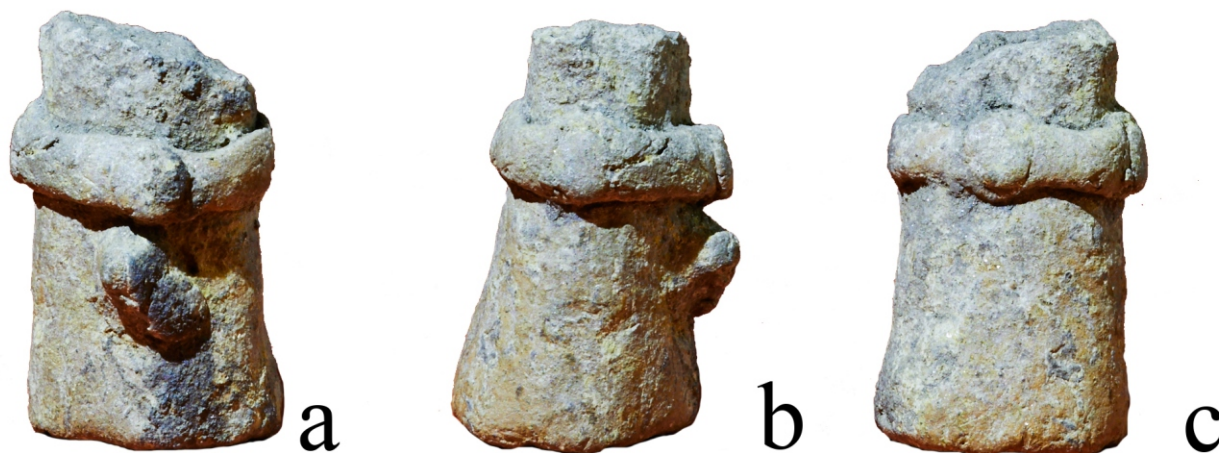


fig. 18 Figurine with traces of red paint.



0 3 cm

fig. 19 Figurine with armlets in the form of a ring placed between the two series of small applied pellet-shaped lumps of clay.



0 3 cm

fig. 20 Figurine with belt made of a massive coil connecting four pellet-shaped ornaments, placed on the hips, on the belly and on the back.

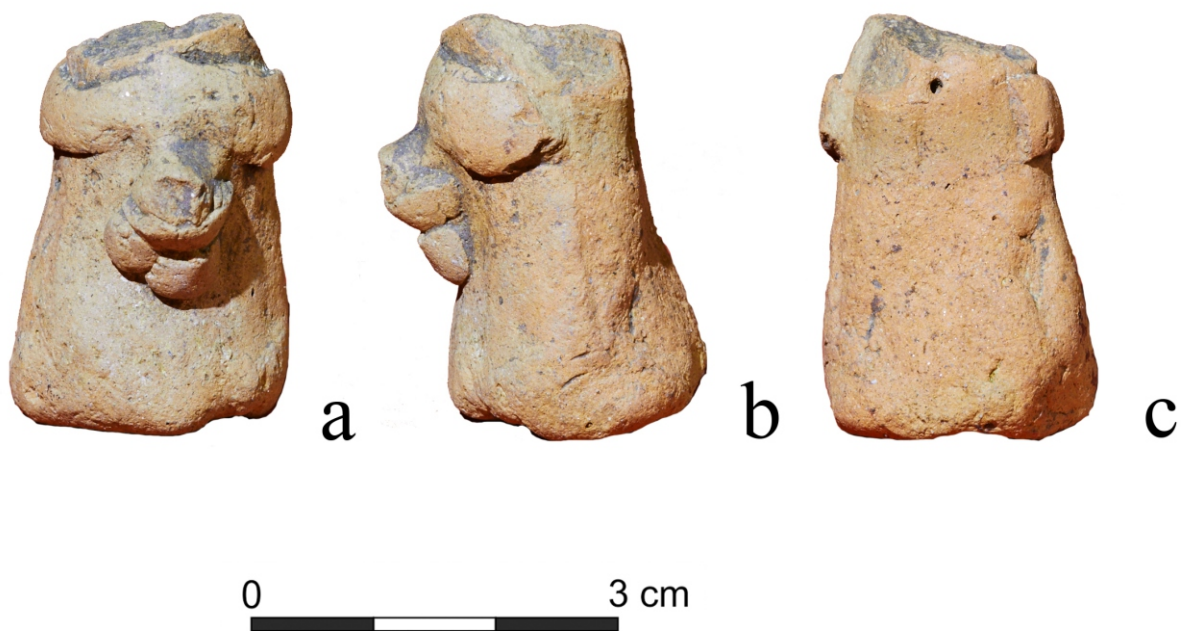


fig. 21 Figurine with belt with additional coil, positioned between the scrotum and the phallus, dividing them.

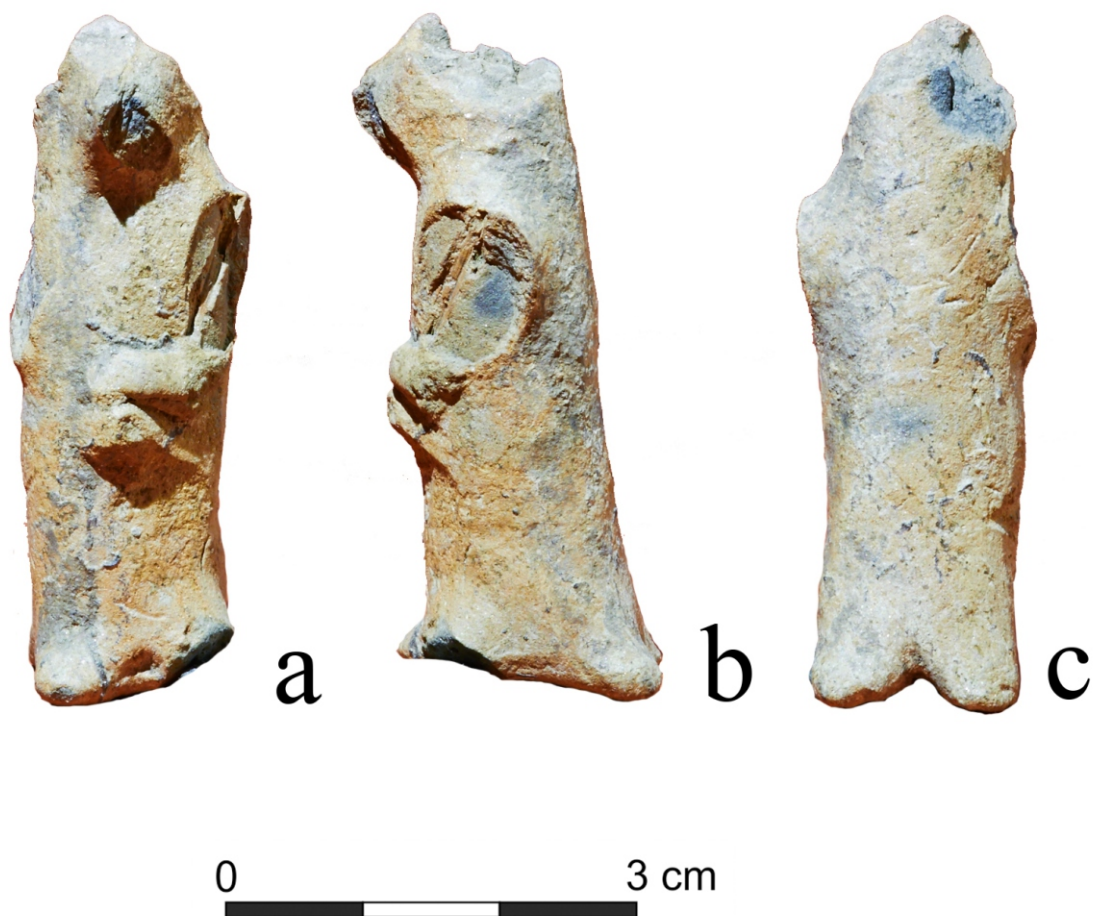


fig. 22 Figurine with a bird beak, belt and bottom in a four-leaf form.

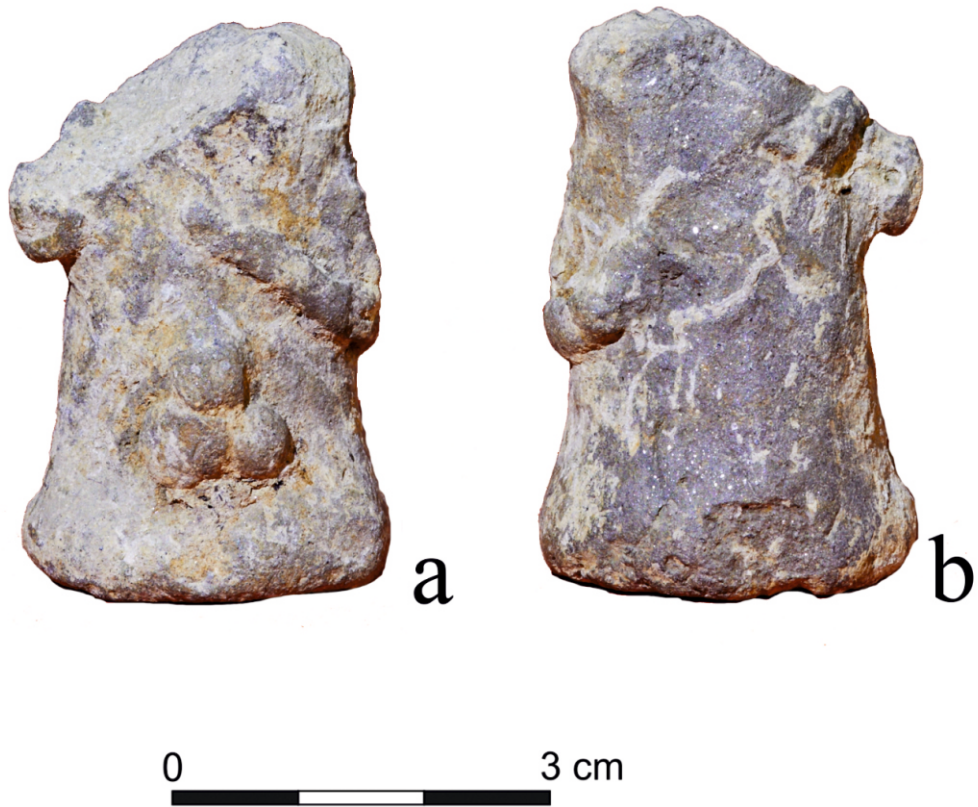


fig. 23 Figurine with belt positioned between its left shoulder and right hip.



fig. 24 "Hunchback" figurine.



fig. 25 Figurine with horizontally perforated hunch.

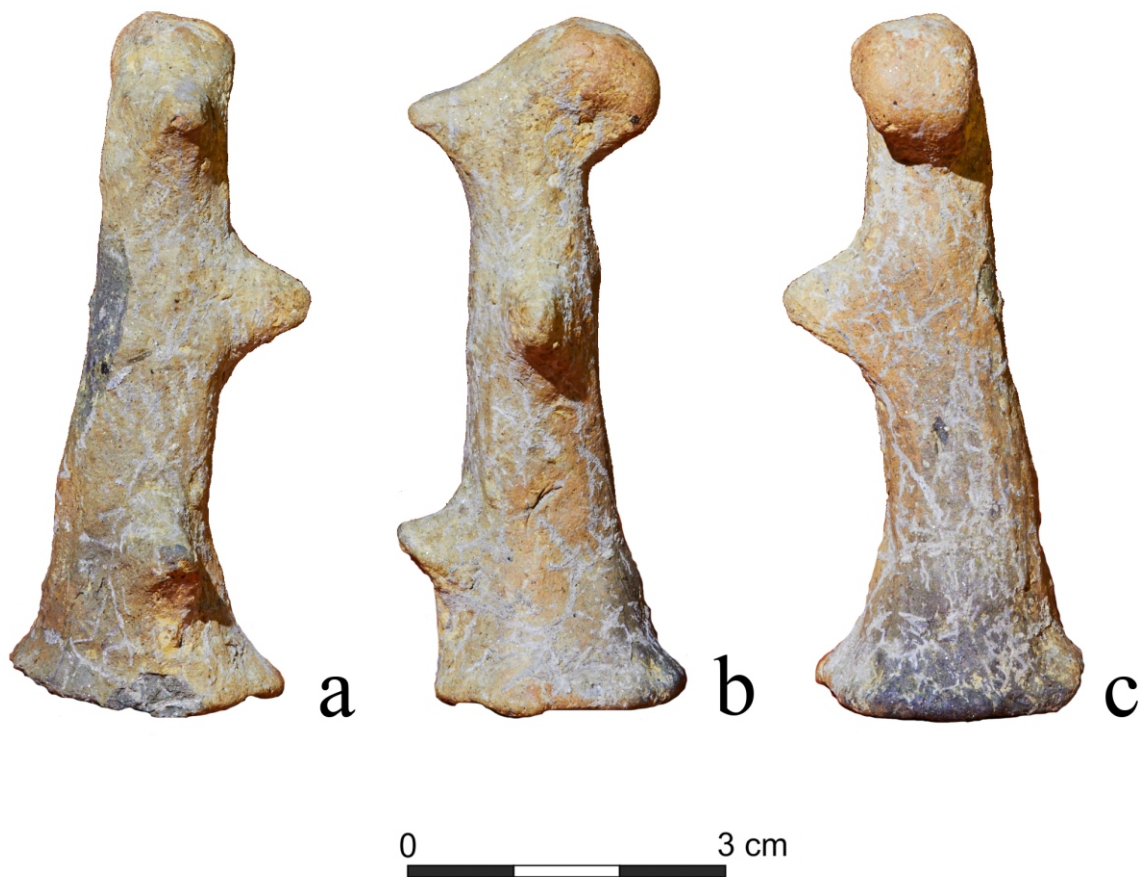


fig. 26 Figurine with a ahidress in the form of a single volute.

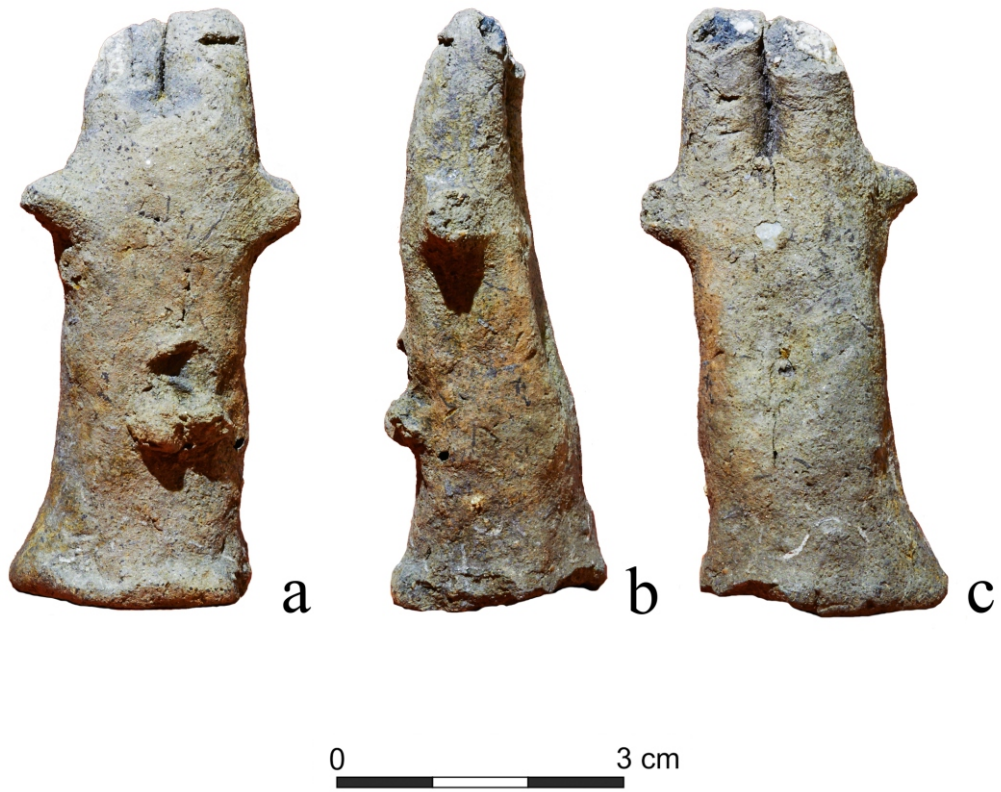


fig. 27 Figurine with two coils probably meant to be folded to create a volute on the back of the head.

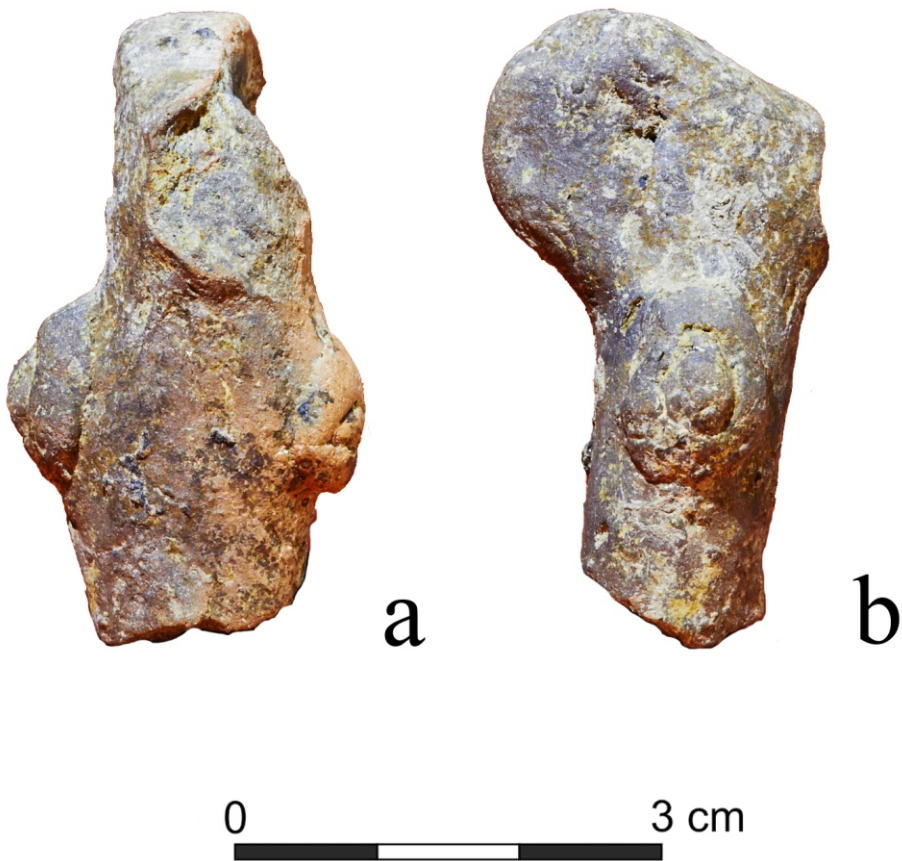


fig. 28 Figurine with volutes and armlets.

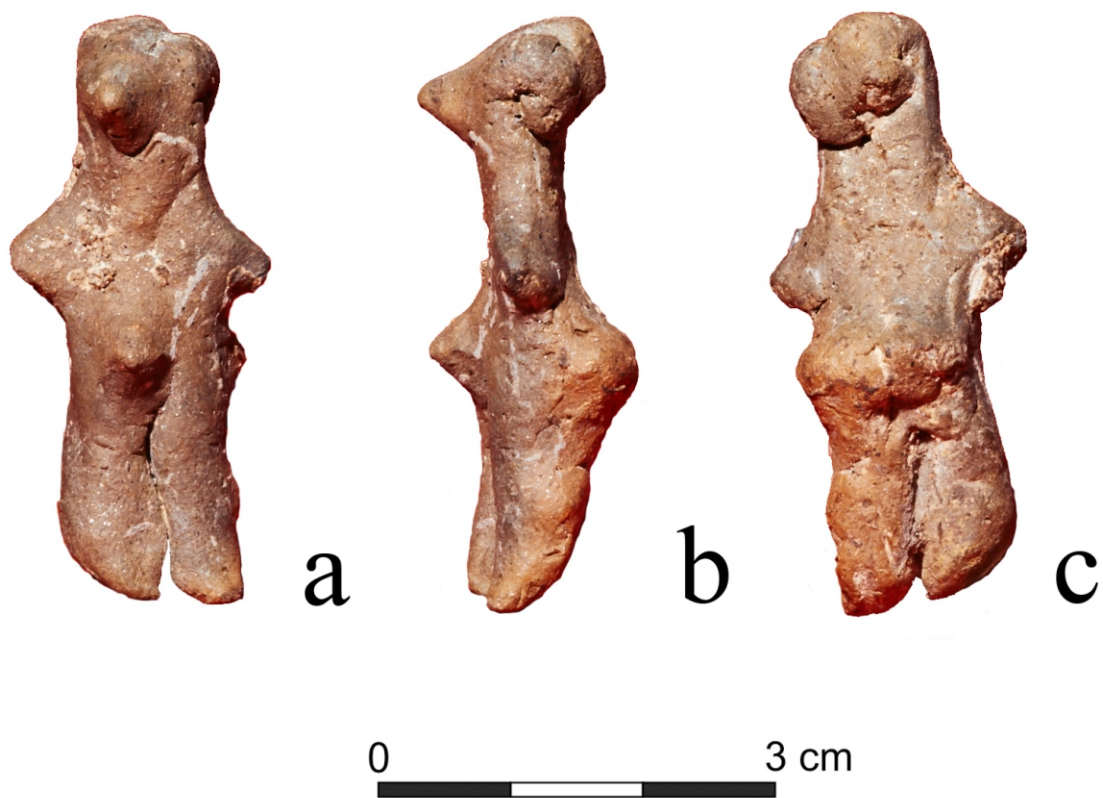


fig. 29 Roughly made figurine with volutes and feminine body.



fig. 30 Figurine made by a "two-piece" method.

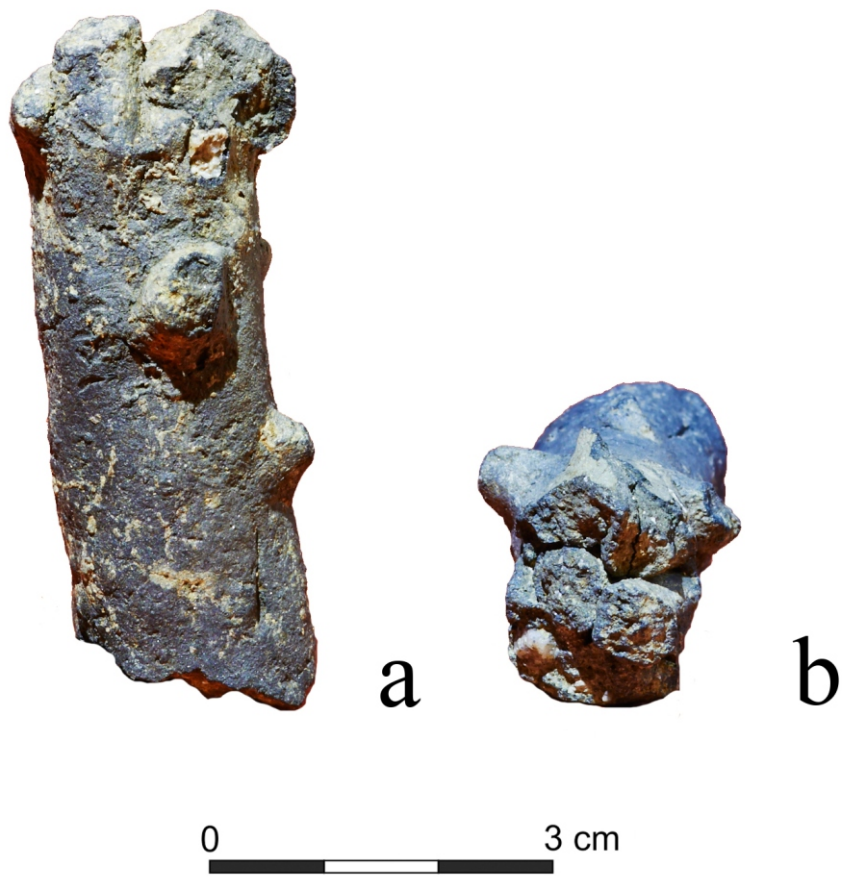


fig. 31 Figurine made by a "two-piece" method.

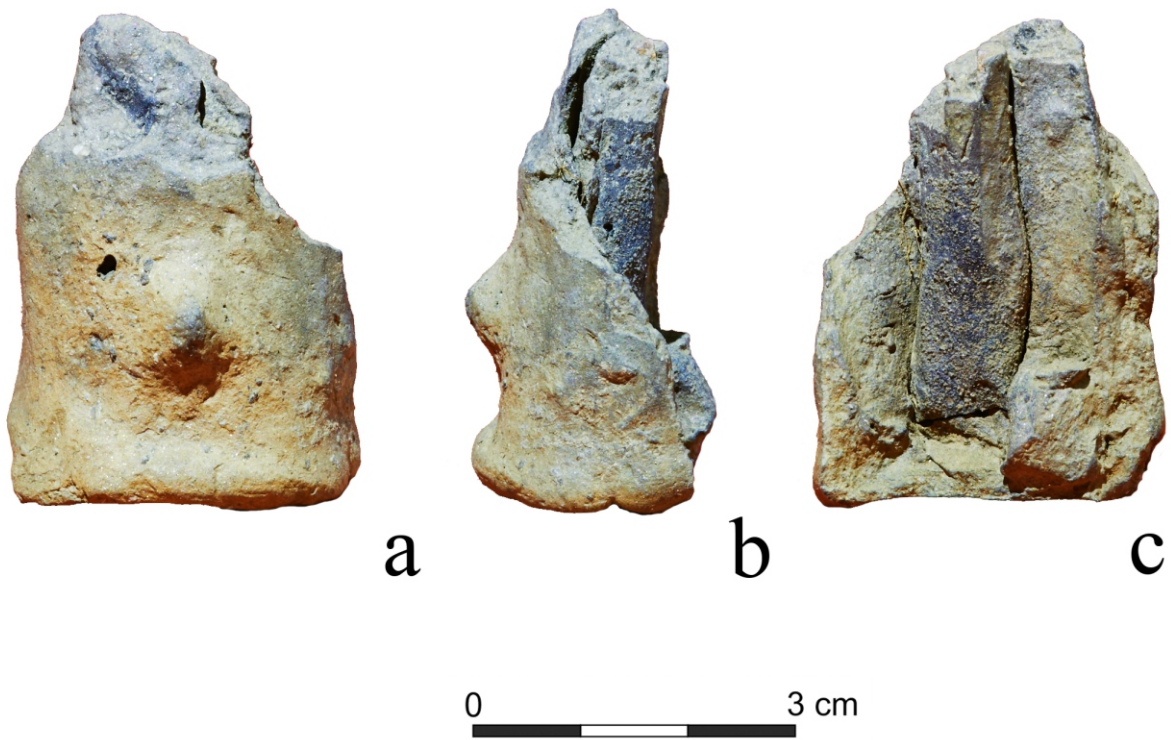


fig. 32 Figurine with one central circular coil.

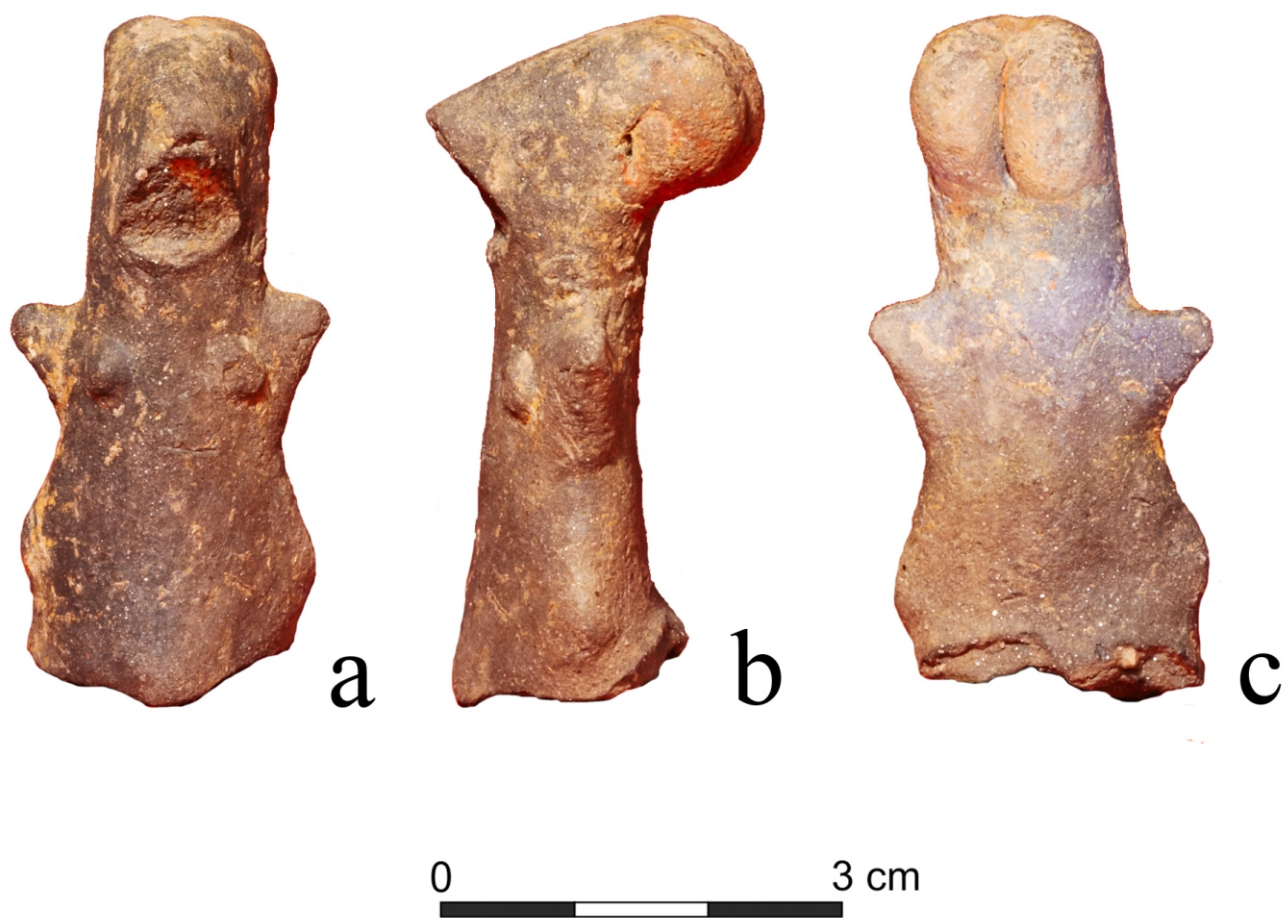


fig. 33 Figurine with volutes and representation of breasts.



Height in cm		
Whole figurine (N=4)	mean	5.36
	median	5.3
	minimum	4.5
	maximum	6.5
	range	2
Whole body, head missing (N=32)	mean	5.66
	median	5.35
	minimum	3.0
	maximum	12.0
	range	9

table 1 Dimensions of male figurines (height in cm)

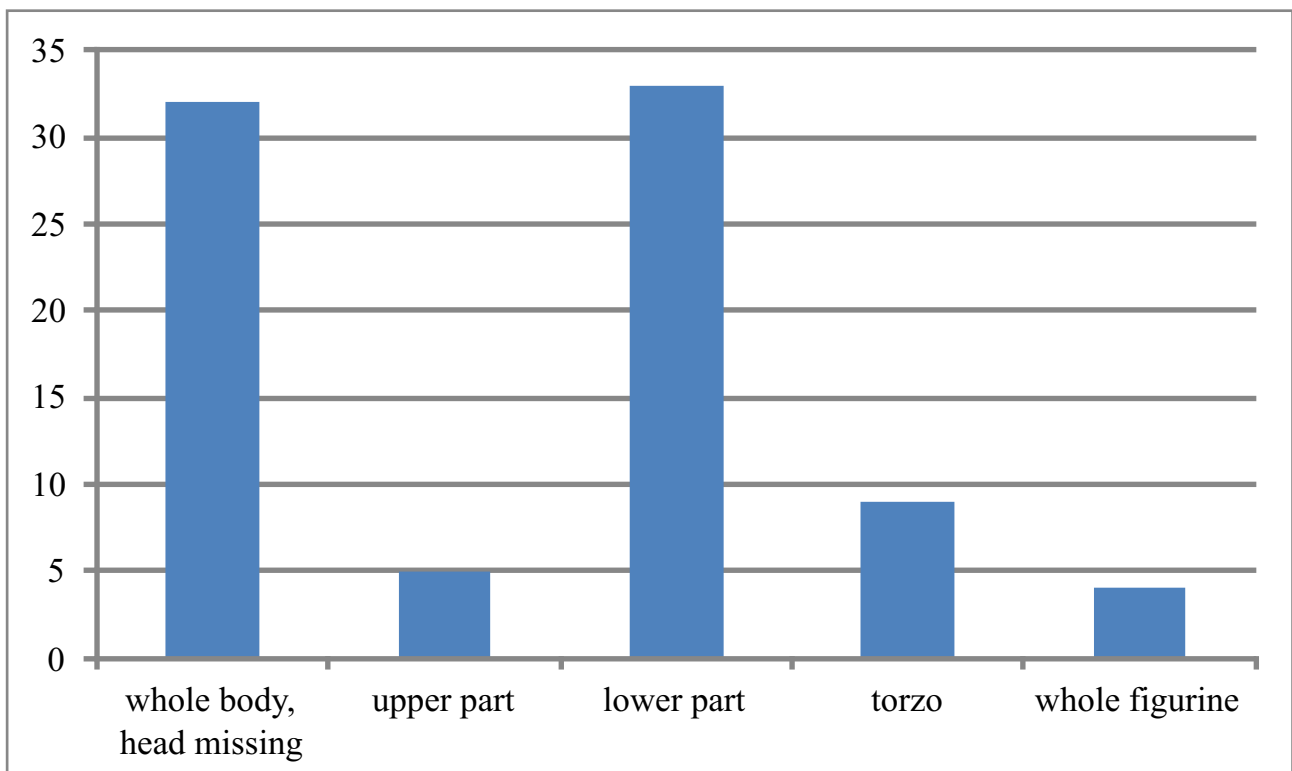


diagram 1 Fragmentation of male figurines