

VII. The Ornaments

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VII.1. Introduction

Ornaments usually constitute a limited category of small finds in most Neolithic excavations, apart from cases like Franchthi Cave, which was right by the seashore and a higher number of ornaments made from the shells collected there was found.⁹¹⁵ Late Neolithic Dimini, on the east Thessalian shores, is also an exceptional case, yielding ornaments (bracelets and beads) made from the shell *Spondylus gaederopus*.⁹¹⁶ The latter seem to travel to central Europe as exchanged products. The ornaments from PMZ constitute the smallest category of the total assemblage, but this is quite telling in its own right as regards the character of the site.⁹¹⁷ Of course, one should take into consideration that Trench A under examination is a very small part of the total settlement and, further, more extensive research could provide a different picture.

VII.2. The Inventory

In our inventory, there are 11 ornaments coming from the Neolithic deposit.⁹¹⁸ Of these, three (PM0637, PM0638, PM0639) were not found in the storage boxes – but, as they are included in my dissertation,⁹¹⁹ we have information about them.

The ornaments in PMZ are made of shell, stone, and clay, and one example is from the tooth of a wild animal. Below we will present these ornaments shared according to their material.

VII.2.1. Shell

Eight objects are made of seashell. Of these, the most distinctive are made from the shell *Spondylus gaederopus*:

PM0379 (Fig. VII.1). The pendant is made of one valve of an elaborated *Spondylus gaederopus* shell, where two symmetrical holes are preserved, while two others were initially opened closer to the periphery, but these were broken. Part of its curved top is missing. Dimensions: 6.1 × 6.7cm, thickness: 0.4cm. Find spot: In the intermediary deposits between Surfaces F20 and F19, location inside the trench (coordinates): 0.20m (east) × 2.30m (north). BPh VIII, LN I.

⁹¹⁵ Miller 1996; Perlès 2018, 5.

⁹¹⁶ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001.

⁹¹⁷ I am grateful to Kostas Gallis, Eva Alram-Stern and Giorgos Toufexis for inviting me to participate in this publication, giving me the chance to see again, with a more experienced eye, the ornaments from PMZ after many years.

⁹¹⁸ Ornaments which were found in the Bronze Age levels will be published in the volume on the Bronze Age stratigraphy and finds of PMZ.

⁹¹⁹ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, cat. nos. 704–706.

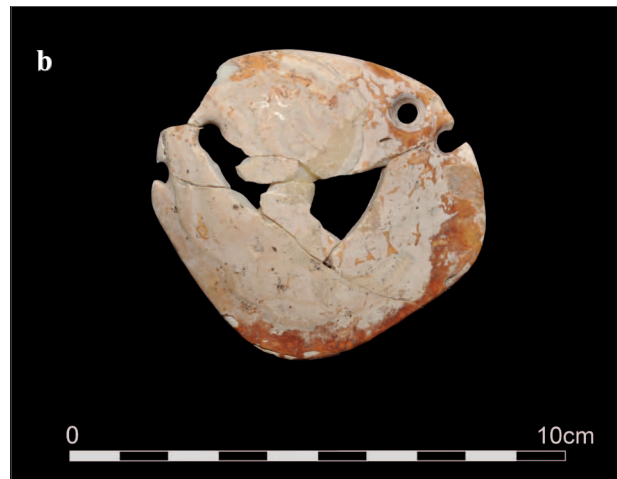
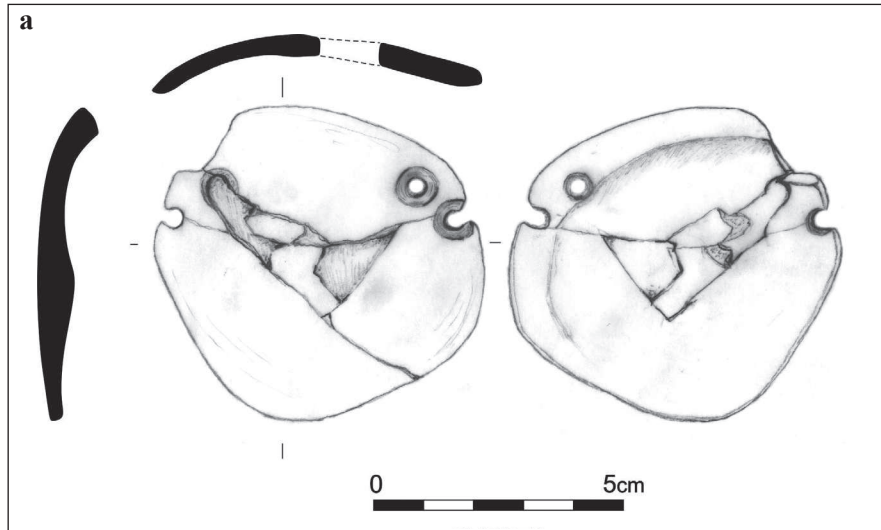


Fig. VII.1 PM0379: Pendant made of one valve of the shell *Spondylus gaederopus*, with two symmetrical holes for hanging. Two other holes, initially opened closer to the periphery, were broken (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

PM0637, PM0638 and PM0639 (Fig. VII.2). The three now-missing pendants mentioned above were consistent with the natural round and oval shape of the shell. They were found half broken. Each of them also had a pair of holes; in the third piece only one hole is preserved, but it is assumed that there were two. The valves used were much thinner than the one described above and almost flat. According to their natural characteristic features, namely the brightness of their interior surface, the size and the thinness of the walls, they could be made of shells of the family *Pteriidae*, possibly the *Pteria hirundo*, which live in Sporades close to Thessaly, in the north Euboean and the Saronic Gulf.⁹²⁰ Since these three ornaments are now missing, for the moment we cannot securely identify the family of the shell. Dimensions: 3.2 × 3.8cm, 4.6 × 2.6cm, 1.9 × 1.5cm. Find spot: SU 126, from deposits containing highly burnt pieces of clay resulting from the destruction of a potential auxiliary roofed area belonging to a house, location inside the trench (coordinates): 0.39m (north) × 0.52m (west). BSPH VIb, MN III.

⁹²⁰ Delamotte – Vardala-Theodorou 1994, 152, 246.

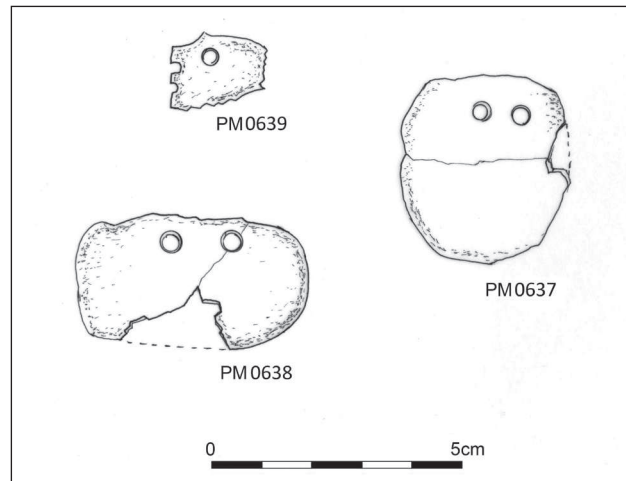


Fig. VII.2 PM0637, PM0638, PM0639: Drawing of the three missing-now pendants made on seashells with a couple of holes for hanging each (drawings: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika)

PM1001 and PM0467 (Figs. VII.3–4). Two parts of bracelets are made of the seashell *Spondylus gaederopus* but different:

PM1001 (Figs. VII.3a, VII.4b), made of the left valve of the shell, is thin with a trapezoidal section and decorative notches on both sides of the periphery. Length: 2.2cm, width: 0.6cm, thickness: 0.3cm. Find spot: SU 161, above Surface F20, depth: 4.65m. BPh VIII, LN I.

PM0467 (Figs. VII.3b, VII.4a) is less elaborate and could possibly come from a right valve. It retains small remnants of the natural cavities of the shell. Its broken edges are polished, and it probably continued to be used after it broke. Length: 5.1cm, width: 0.9cm, thickness: 0.5cm. Find spot: SU 152, in intermediary deposits between Surfaces F21 and F20, depth: 4.96m, location inside the trench (coordinates): 0.10m (north) \times 0.72m (west). BSPH VIIc, LN I.

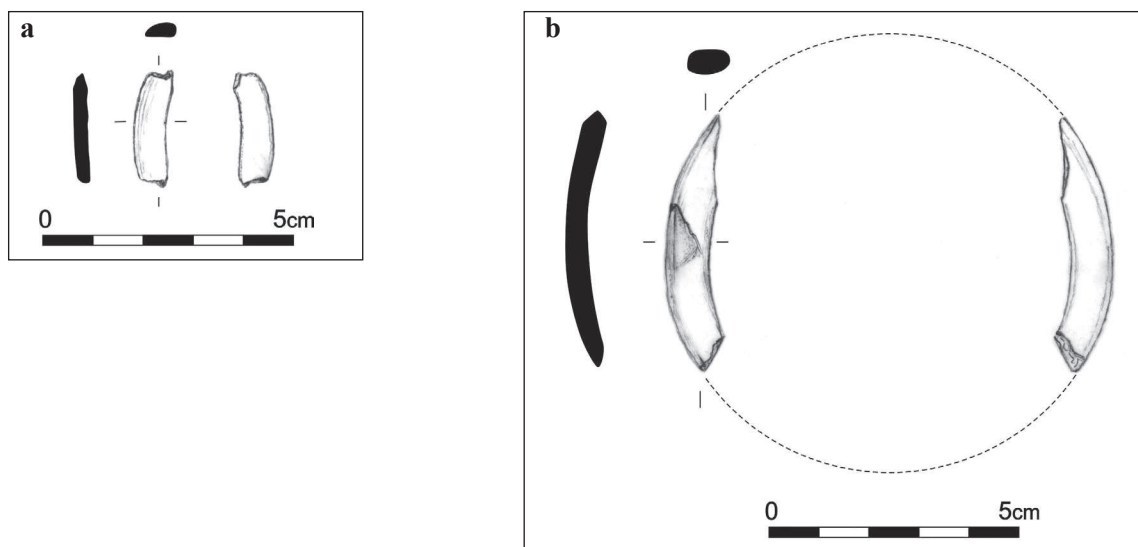


Fig. VII.3 a. PM1001, b. PM0467: Drawing of two bracelets made of the shell *Spondylus gaederopus* (drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, digital transformation: R. Exarhou)

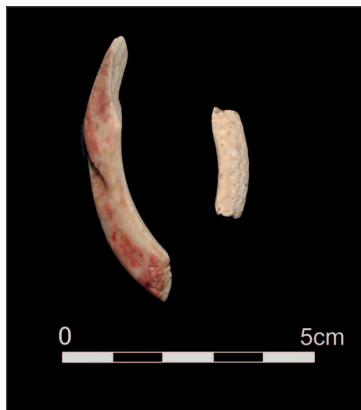


Fig. VII.4 a. PM0467, b. PM1001: Two bracelets made of the shell *Spondylus gaederopus* (photo: G. Dallas)

PM0581 (Fig. VII.5). A sizeable barrel-shaped bead is made of *Spondylus gaederopus*. It is half-broken and totally black from burning. A transversal axis runs along its length. Length: 3.4cm, preserved thickness: 1.9cm (the other dimension is broken), wall thickness: 0.6–1cm. Find spot: SU 134, in intermediary deposits between Surface F22 and F23 and probably in an open-air area east of a potential building,⁹²¹ depth: 5.25m, open-air firing, location inside the trench (coordinates): 1.40m (north) × 1.50m (east). BSPH VIIa, transition MN III/LN I.

The earliest known perforated shells made for adornment are known from Blombos Cave on the southern cape shoreline of the Indian Ocean, South Africa, and they are dated to 75.6 ± 3.4 ka. Traces of fibre on the walls of the shell by the holes prove that they were hung.⁹²² More recently, perforated marine gastropod shells at the western Asian site of Skhul and the north African site of Oued Djebbana indicate the early use of beads by modern humans in these regions. The layer where the shells were found was dated between 90 and 135ka, about 25,000 years earlier than previous evidence for personal decoration by modern humans in South Africa.⁹²³ The practice of gathering and circulating shells in prehistoric Greece dates back to the Upper Palaeolithic of Epirus (sites Kastritsa, Klithi, Boila), since c. 22,000 BP,⁹²⁴ while from Klissoura Cave in the Argolid, shells are reported from a layer of the early Upper Palaeolithic dated to c. 40,000 BP.⁹²⁵ Additionally, a bored freshwater shell in Theopetra Cave is dated at c. 16,000 BP, after the Last Glacial Maximum.⁹²⁶

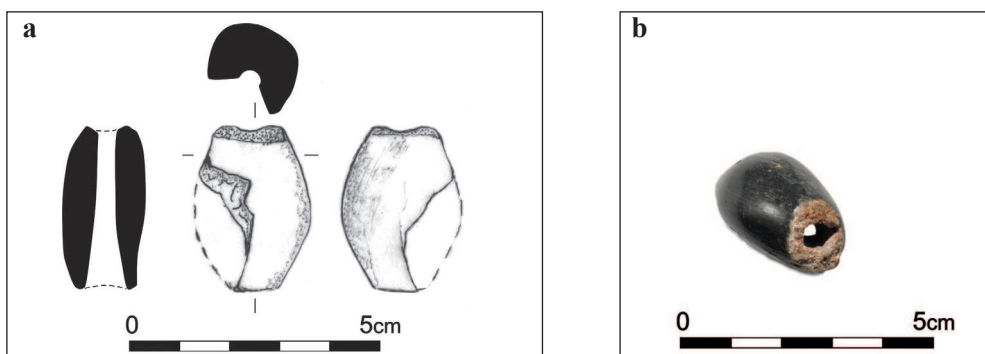


Fig. VII.5 PM0581. A barrel-shaped sizeable bead made of the shell *Spondylus gaederopus*, totally burnt. A transversal axis runs along its length (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

⁹²¹ See also Toufexis – Batzelas, this volume, 113.

⁹²² Hensilwood et al. 2004. The head of the research project, Christopher Hensilwood, believes that they had a symbolic meaning, while by others symbolism is estimated to be a characteristic of *Homo Sapiens*. Up to this discovery, the earliest undisputed African personal ornaments were 13 ostrich eggshell beads from Enkapune Ya Muto in Kenya at ~40ka, and 58 marine shell beads from the ~41ka layers of Üçağızlı Höhle, Turkey.

⁹²³ Vanhaeren et al. 2006. The comparison of these shells to natural shells indicate deliberate selection and transport by humans for symbolic use.

⁹²⁴ Kotjabopoulou – Adam 2004.

⁹²⁵ Stiner 2010.

⁹²⁶ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, pl. 49b.

VII.2.2. Bone

PM0709 (Fig. VII.6). Only one ornament is made from animal tooth (wild boar?/suid family). It retains the natural gloss on one curved surface. The other surface is rather flat. On the latter there are five serial drop-shaped decorative incisions and a hole for hanging was opened from this to the front surface at the one end of the tooth. Both ends are broken. Length: 3.4cm, width: 0.7cm, thickness: 0.4cm. Find spot: SU 112, in intermediary deposits between Surface F25 and F26, depth: 6.47m. BSPH Ve, MN II.

Bored teeth of wild animals are already known since the Upper Palaeolithic from Willendorf, Austria, 30,000 BP,⁹²⁷ as well as from the Cave of Bacho Kiro in Bulgaria dated ~43ka. Perforated teeth are also known from several other Neolithic excavations.

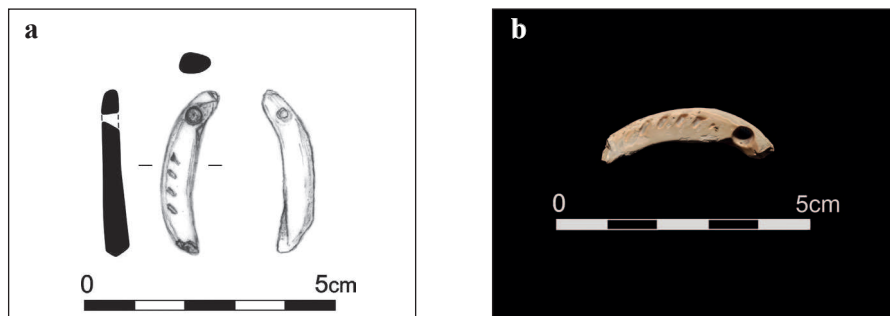


Fig. VII.6 PM0709. An animal tooth bored for hanging, with five serial drop-shaped decorative incisions (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

VII.2.3. Stone

Only one ornament made from a small pebble has been found. It comes from Middle Neolithic layers.

PM0793 (Fig. VII.7). The Neolithic example has an almost triangular shape, greenish colour and is rather soft (steatite). A pair of holes has been opened from both sides on its wider edge, while on one side a channel connecting the holes is visible. On both sides there are linear decorative incisions. Dimensions: 2.8 × 2.2cm, thickness: 0.3cm. Find spot: SU 51c, in the interior of a house and apparently on its clay floor (Surface F32), near the northern wall (W38) and the thermal structure TS33,⁹²⁸ location inside the trench (coordinates): 1.70m (west) × 3.15m (south), depth: 8.28m. BSPH IVa, MN I.

Perforated pebbles used as ornaments are known from Willendorf, Austria, from the Upper Palaeolithic, c. 30,000 BP,⁹²⁹ and are very common finds at almost all Neolithic excavations, as the only necessary alteration was the opening of a hole. For this reason, soft stones were usually chosen, while there are examples with broken holes and even examples with second attempts at boring nearby.

⁹²⁷ Exhibited at the Natural History Museum, Vienna.

⁹²⁸ Toufexis – Batzelas, this volume, 143, 167.

⁹²⁹ Exhibited at the Natural History Museum, Vienna.

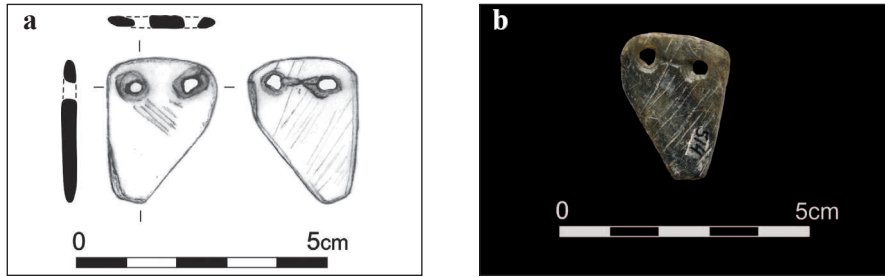


Fig. VII.7 PM0793. A greenish stone pebble shaped in a triangle with two holes for hanging and a shallow channel connecting them. Linear incisions on both sides (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

VII.2.4. Clay

Five ornaments are made of clay, two of them come from the Neolithic deposit, while three others come from the Bronze Age deposit and will be presented in a future volume:

PM0614 (Fig. VII.8). The object is an almost cylindrical, long bead complete with round section. It is made of orange clay with greyish shadows/clouds, well baked. A transversal axis runs along its length. Length: 4.5cm, max. width: 1.5–1.6cm, width at the edges: 1.1–1.2cm. Find spot: SU 126, depth: 5.6m. BSpH VIb, MN III.

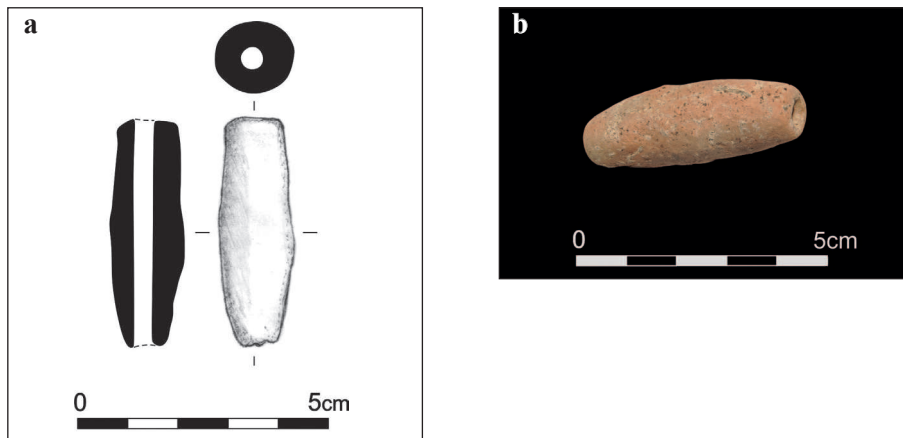


Fig. VII.8 PM0614. An almost cylindrical long bead, complete, made of orange clay. A transversal axis runs along its length (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

PM0403 (Fig. VII.9). One more object was identified by the excavators as a possible ornament; it has a round, slightly curved shape that is thinner at its periphery. Faint relief lines on both surfaces are rather decorative and random. There is no other kind of elaboration on it and no indication that it was used as an ornament. Intensive observation showed that the material is clay, burned hard. Diameter: 2.1–2.2cm, thickness: 0.8cm. Find spot: SU 161, in intermediary deposits between Surface F19 and F20 (SU 153), depth: 4.68m. BPh VIII, LN I.

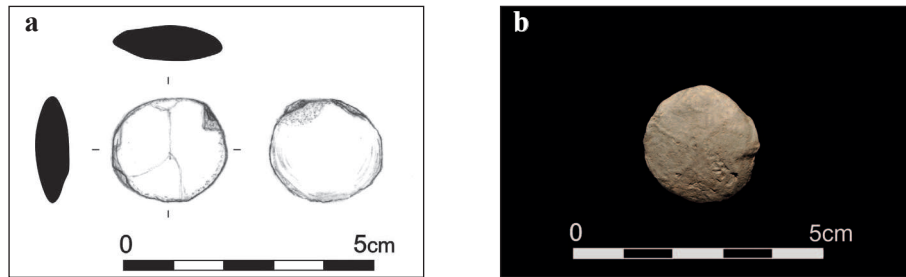


Fig. VII.9 PM0403. Clay object in a round, slightly curved shape. There is no kind of elaboration on it and no indication that it was used as an ornament (a. drawing: N. Kyparissi-Apostolika and C. Batzelas, b. photo: G. Dallas)

Small discoid objects without a hole, usually made of stone or shell, are known from Neolithic Thessaly.⁹³⁰ Their shapes are man-made and in a few of them there is an unfinished hole, so that one could assume that they were destined to be ornaments. Alternatively, they could be sewn on clothes. Clay discoid objects without a hole are reported from Visviki Magoula as well as from PMZ.⁹³¹ Similar small discoid objects are also known from the Balkans⁹³² and Western Europe.⁹³³ Usually their function remains unknown. In the case of PMZ, we do not have any safe indication for use as an ornament, but it seems reasonable.

Clay beads are mostly found in the early periods of the Neolithic (e.g. from Prodrornos near Karditsa, where there are several examples with simple spherical and oval shapes, like lumps of earth);⁹³⁴ they are rare finds in the Late Neolithic when the ornaments were produced more systematically, with shells dominating. In the examples from PMZ, indeed, the long bead from the Middle Neolithic layers has a simple shape, imitating natural fruits.

VII.3. Where in the Deposit – In Space and Time

As is seen in Tab.VII.1 and in Pl. III.2, the ornaments were found in several spots and at various depths in the deposit of Trench A in PMZ. The earliest of them is the stone pebble with the twin holes (PM0793) at a depth of 8.28m. It was found in the interior of a house and apparently on its clay floor (Surface F32), near the northern wall (W38) and the thermal structure TS33,⁹³⁵ BSPH IVa, MN I. The bored suid tooth (PM0709) follows at a depth of 6.47m, BSPH Ve, MN II. It was found near a small pit, far from any constructions or clay surfaces. The three now missing shell ornaments (PM0637, PM0638, PM0639) come from 0.72m over the latter, a depth of 5.75m, BSPH VIb, MN III, in deposits containing highly burnt pieces of clay coming from the destruction of what may have been an auxiliary roofed area belonging to a house. And the long cylindrical clay bead (PM0614) was found a bit higher but within the same context (depth 5.60m); they all belong to the BSPH VIb, MN III. The burnt shell bead (PM0581) was found in the eastern half of the trench, in intermediary deposits between Surface F22 and F23 and probably in an open area east of a potential building, BSPH VIIa, transition MN III/LN I, at a depth of 5.25m. Of the two *Spondylus* bracelets (PM0467, PM1001), the smaller one was found in a layer above the bigger

⁹³⁰ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 117–118, tabs. 27, 48, nos. 735, 742, 743.

⁹³¹ Alram-Stern 2015, 445–446, pl. 268; see also Alram-Stern, this volume, chapter V.5.3.

⁹³² Gimbutas 1976.

⁹³³ Barge 1982.

⁹³⁴ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, cat. nos. 505–507.

⁹³⁵ Toufexis – Batzelas, this volume, Pl. III.2.

Tab. VII.1 Ornaments from PMZ in space and time (N. Kyparissi-Apostolika)

PMZ number	Material	Dimensions [cm]	Find Spot	Depth [m]	BPh/BSPh (Date)
PM0793	Stone	2.8 × 2.2	F32/26	8.28	IVa (MN I)
PM0709	Bone	3.4 × 0.7	F26/20	6.47	MN II
PM0637	Shell	3.2 × 3.8	F24/18	5.75	VIb (MN III)
PM0638	Shell	4.6 × 2.6	F24/18	5.75	VIb (MN III)
PM0639	Shell	1.9 × 1.5	F24/18	5.75	VIb (MN III)
PM0614	Clay	4.5 × 1.6	F24/18	5.60	VIb (MN III)
PM0581	Shell	3.4 × 1.9	F23/17	5.25	VIIa (transition MN III–LN I)
PM0467	Shell	5.1 × 0.9	F21/15	4.96	VIIc (LN I)
PM0403	Clay	2.1 × 2.2	F20/14	4.68	VIII (LN I)
PM1001	Shell	2.2 × 0.6	F20/14	4.65	VIII (LN I)
PM0379	Shell	6.1 × 6.7	F20/14	4.50	VIII (LN I)

one (depths of 4.65 and 4.96m, respectively, BSPh VIIc and BPh VIII, LN for both). The *Spondylus* valve with the pair of holes (PM0379) was found at a depth of 4.50m, BPh VIII, also LN I, near to a shallow pit filled with black, burnt soil.

In the same BPh VIII, LN I at a depth of 4.68m, the circular clay object (PM0403) was found in deposits where no architectural structures were encountered.

From the above, it is evident that the spots where the ornaments were found are rather random and, based on this limited sample, we cannot associate them to certain structures or even to any kind of practice.

VII.4. Discussion – Conclusions: The Ornaments in the Thessalian Framework

Judging from the few examples of ornaments we have from PMZ, as was stressed from the beginning, we see only a limited amount of material from the settlement; and judging from this material, this big and distinctive site does not seem to be a place where ornaments were produced, like Late Neolithic Dimini for example, or possibly Ag. Sophia. Ornaments are rather rare finds at the excavation of PMZ, despite the size of the site and the rich assemblage of pottery that indicates a rich settlement. The ornaments seem to be products of exchange as precious goods.

This is further reinforced by the two quite different fragments of the bracelets, which probably had different origins. The materials from which they were made are similar to the ones found in almost all settlements of the period. Among them, the presence of shell objects should be stressed, as it is not a site close to the sea. The seashell *Spondylus gaederopus* was widely used for the fabrication of ornaments in eastern Thessaly: ornaments of this kind are also reported from excavations at Late Neolithic/Final Neolithic Mandra, Middle Neolithic Makrychori, Late Neolithic Rachmani and Late Neolithic Galini.⁹³⁶ They were also found in Late Neolithic Visviki

⁹³⁶ Toufexis 2017.

Magoula⁹³⁷ and at other Neolithic settlements of the Eastern Thessalian Plain as surface finds,⁹³⁸ then being a product for commerce that reached central Europe.⁹³⁹ The procurement of this natural species could be achieved by hand or with small rakes in shallow waters, while in deeper waters more complicated tools were needed (long-handled rakes, oyster tongues, or a dredge). Coastal populations would probably have been familiar with the aforementioned methods and it is likely that these products were permeated with social and symbolic values. Such a skilled activity might have been even more valued by distant groups, to whom the objects were transmitted. Moreover, thanks to its natural properties (hard, dense, light) *Spondylus* is an excellent surface to work on.⁹⁴⁰

Bracelets made of *Spondylus gaederopus* shells are very rare finds in western Thessaly, despite the suggestion by Akira Tsuneki⁹⁴¹ that central Thessaly was the most suitable area for *Spondylus* objects to be transported to from Dimini. The excavations in western Thessaly since then have shown a quite different picture; three fragments of different bracelets were recovered in Theopetra Cave, all made from the left valve of the shell. The other sites from which a very limited number of shell bracelets are recorded in western Thessaly are Tsangli (three fragments), although no material is mentioned by the excavators;⁹⁴² PMZ now (actually this site is on the borders between eastern and western Thessaly); and the site of Sykeon,⁹⁴³ which is located in the northeasternmost part of the prefecture of Karditsa, and therefore, much closer to the Larissa Basin and the eastern shores of Thessaly. Although the total number is not significant, they constitute the only known examples recovered from western Thessaly to date.

Evidence from Neolithic burials in Europe, where bracelets were found by the dozens, shows that they were possibly worn around the arms and the wrists, but they were also sewn onto clothes as ornaments. Sometimes even only parts of bracelets are found in graves, probably testifying to their great value.⁹⁴⁴ The practice of using fragmented parts of *Spondylus* rings is also documented at the production site of Dimini, as an expression of partible relations and of social practices in the Late Neolithic Greek society.⁹⁴⁵ In Greece, however, where Neolithic burials are scarce, no *Spondylus* rings have been recovered as burial offerings; but recently, at the Late Neolithic settlement of Makriyalos in northern Greece, a high concentration of *Spondylus* artefacts indicates the close relation of these objects to burial practices, and a large fragment of a *Spondylus* bracelet was found in a burial.⁹⁴⁶

The sizeable barrel-shaped bead from PMZ is a very rare find too. To my knowledge, there are only twelve others recorded from Theopetra Cave,⁹⁴⁷ in sizes that range from 2.6cm to 5cm (six are 4.2–5cm long and 1.9–2.9cm thick), the weight of the larger ones ranging from 26 to 38g. Another larger one (4 × 2.5cm) comes from the Chouliaras private collection.⁹⁴⁸ It obviously should be attributed to the Late Neolithic phase of the Damasi 4 settlement where it was found.⁹⁴⁹ Interestingly, the bead from PMZ seems to belong to the early Late Neolithic, and if so, it is older than the similar beads from Theopetra Cave; the latter were dated based on a piece of charcoal

⁹³⁷ Galik 2015.

⁹³⁸ Georgios Toufexis, personal communication.

⁹³⁹ Séfériadès 2010.

⁹⁴⁰ Theodoropoulou 2011.

⁹⁴¹ Tsuneki 1987; Tsuneki 1989.

⁹⁴² Wace – Thompson 2012, 125, fig. 78a, c, d.

⁹⁴³ Chatziaggelakis 2007, 26–27.

⁹⁴⁴ Comşa 1973; for relevant bibliography: Ifantidis – Nikolaidou 2011.

⁹⁴⁵ Chapman et al. 2011.

⁹⁴⁶ Pappa – Veropoulidou 2011.

⁹⁴⁷ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2011.

⁹⁴⁸ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, tab. 36, cat. no. 78; no. XO 13, exhibited at the Museum of Larissa. It was found at Magoula Damasi 4 (Magoula Tloupa/Tourkogefyra, A.T.A.E. 13), about 10km away from PMZ, with Early and Late Neolithic material, as well as material attributed to posterior periods.

⁹⁴⁹ Gallis 1992a, 113.

from a consolidated deposit where some of them were found at 5485 ± 102 BP / 6468–5994 calBP (DEM 141) / 4520–4050 BC (but this is not the definite age of the beads). Nevertheless, this type of big shell bead is not known from other sites in Greece, while they are common finds in the Carpathian Basin.⁹⁵⁰ The raw material source, however, is not from the area near the Carpathians, as was demonstrated by analyses,⁹⁵¹ most probably indicating a complex trade network as per the following scenario: the raw material was collected from the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts, transported to the Carpathian Basin, manufactured into these particular shapes, and could then have returned to Greece in the form of imported precious goods. This hypothesis of returning southwards as manufactured items sounds unreasonable at first glance, but, taking into consideration the extensive network system of exchange that took place in that period, no hypothesis can be excluded.⁹⁵²

In this respect, and because of the rarity of such sizeable beads, it seems reasonable that the bead from PMZ, dated to the early Late Neolithic, is rather an isolated product, not yet incorporated in the system of exchanges from the north.

The beads of this type were manufactured from the right, thick valve, of *Spondylus gaedero-pus*,⁹⁵³ while the thinner left valves were primarily used for making bracelets. The deliberate distinction in the use of the two valves obviously indicates some kind of specialisation; this is most evidently illustrated in the settlement of Ag. Sophia, where this differentiation did not exist from the start, as its excavator Vladimir Miložčić writes, but was established in the course of the development of shell ornament manufacture.⁹⁵⁴

Shells were possibly collected even earlier: apart from PMZ, pieces of shells with symmetrical shapes possibly destined for decoration as well as a few bored shells in their natural form are also reported from Sesklo.⁹⁵⁵ Additionally, Marja Gimbutas refers to one shell bead and two shells found at Achilleion.⁹⁵⁶

In the Early and the Middle Neolithic, ornaments were mainly made of stone and clay. Stone is used in all periods due to its durability, while clay is hardly found at all throughout the Late Neolithic. Bones were only rarely used for ornaments, probably because of the fragile nature of the material, or because the most durable parts of the available bones were destined for other uses, such as needles, polishers and spatulae.⁹⁵⁷

The ornaments from PMZ are few in number, so we do not have a safe statistic sample. They are also all different, and no ‘commercial’ types of ornaments have been recognised, apart from the two parts of bracelets and possibly the big barrel-shaped bead. Interestingly, the worked shells from PMZ are imported products acquired through exchange and not made on site. They are present early in time (early Late Neolithic, BPh VII and VIII) and they must be considered as belonging to the earlier phases in which these shell objects circulated, and not to the Late Neolithic Dimini phase, when beads, buttons and bracelets were systematically produced and exploited. Apart from the bracelets and the barrel-shaped bead, which belong to certain established types, the *spondylus* valve with the pair of holes and, even more so, the three missing shell ornaments, also with a pair of holes each, are the distinguishing ornaments of PMZ. What differentiates the latter from other pendants made of seashell, which are common in several settlements,⁹⁵⁸ is the choice of this particular exceptional shell. And as all three were found together, they could really be local products without following any type, but

⁹⁵⁰ Siklósi 2004; Siklósi – Csengeri 2011.

⁹⁵¹ Shackleton – Renfrew 1970; Bajnóczi et al. 2013.

⁹⁵² Kyparissi-Apostolika 2018, 227.

⁹⁵³ Tsuneki 1987; Tsuneki 1989.

⁹⁵⁴ Tsuneki 1987, 13.

⁹⁵⁵ Theocharis 1967, 84.

⁹⁵⁶ Gimbutas et al. 1989, 252, fig. 8.2.2.

⁹⁵⁷ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 133.

⁹⁵⁸ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001; Ifantidis 2006; Ifantidis 2011.

their natural shape and size. As I wrote in my Ph.D. thesis in connection with these particular items, “one could say that they were made by the same hand ... but rather not by a professional one.”⁹⁵⁹

Summing up, although the ornaments from PMZ are limited in number, they can inform us about the cultural and chronological context in which this distinctive Neolithic site existed. And it is expected that if excavated further, the site would hopefully reveal many more ornaments. Such a worthy assemblage with information concerning the spatial distribution of ornaments at the site, would, of course, give a more complete picture about their role in the social and economic context of the settlement.

⁹⁵⁹ Kyparissi-Apostolika 2001, 169.

