Figural finds might very well represent one of the most interesting find categories in prehistory. Like nothing else, they are very tangible manifestations of religious beliefs and allow insight into man’s perception of him- or herself. Some prehistoric cultures are abundant with figurines both of men and animals, such as the Neolithic and Copper Age cultures of South-East Europe, while other periods and geographic regions are completely void of such finds, for example the Copper Age Michelsberg culture.

The Linear Pottery culture of Central Europe, probably one of the best researched cultures in all prehistory, features about 250 anthropomorphic figurines (Becker 2011). It plays an intermediate role in respect of its number of figural finds: its western neighbours such as the Cardial and Epicardial in France and Spain make do without detectable figurines, whereas its south-eastern neighbours, e.g. the Vinča culture, comprise several hundreds of figurines which come to light at almost all sites. We can only speculate about the reasons for this imbalance.

The figural finds in the Linear Pottery culture can be subdivided into anthropomorphic and zoomorphic clay figurines, vessels, applications, handles and anthropomorphic incised decorations on vessels. Finally, there are some very few anthropomorphic bone figurines. Table 1 gives an overview of the approximate numbers of these find categories for the Linear Pottery culture, based on recent publications on the matter (Hansen 2007; Becker 2007; 2011; Schwarzberg 2011).

While anthropomorphic figurines and vessels constitute the largest groups, zoomorphic figurines and vessels occur much rarer. The ratio shifts regarding handles, lugs and knobs which are very often zoomorphic. Up to now, no definite zoomorphic incised decorations or zoomorphic bone figurines are known, whereas about 30 incised anthropomorphic representations (sometimes mistaken for toads) and 20 bone figurines (mostly spatulae with a very vague and uncertain human shape and some bone figurines from child burials) exist.

Linear Pottery culture remains are spread over a vast geographic territory, spanning the regions between the Paris Basin in the west and Ukraine, Moldova and Romania in the east; the northern border of the distribution coincides with the northern border of the loess areas in Germany. The southernmost respectively south-easternmost Linear Pottery culture finds were made in Transdanubia, south of Lake Balaton and among the northern banks of the Drava. However, figural finds are not distributed evenly in this large area. Regions densely interspersed with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, vessels and applications alternate with regions that yielded only very few such artefacts. For some of the latter regions, the state of research

<table>
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<th>figurines</th>
<th>vessels</th>
<th>applications</th>
<th>handles</th>
<th>incised decorations</th>
<th>bone figurines</th>
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<tr>
<td>anthropomorphic</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>zoomorphic</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>150</td>
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Tab. 1 Number of find categories of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations in the Linear Pottery culture.
might be the reason for this lack, but not for all; e.g. there are no figural finds yet from the Paris Basin, although it is an intensely researched territory. Areas that yielded a high number of figurines and other anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations are Lower Austria and south Moravia, the Rhine-Main area and the Elbe-Saale-Unstrut region.

As in the west, figurines are likewise rare in the east of the Linear Pottery culture’s distribution area. Only some very few pieces are known from Poland – they will be subject of a study in print (Becker / Dębiec in print) –, and even less is known about figural finds from Romania, Moldavia and Ukraine.

**THE FIGURINE FROM HORIV**

Therefore, it is of great interest that recent research in Ukraine yielded the fragment of an anthropomorphic figurine. The fragment itself was already found in 1976, during a surface survey conducted by the local archaeologist O. L. Pozhovs’kij at the site of Horiv »Brodivšina« (Rivnens’ka obl.) (fig. 1). The site is located on the first terrace of the Gorin river in Volhynia in western Ukraine. O. L. Pozhovs’kij discovered some pottery fragments with »music note« ornamentation that could be attributed to a younger phase of the Linear Pottery culture. Among the finds was also the torso from an anthropomorphic figurine that can be described as follows (fig. 2).

The fragment is 4.8 cm high and 4.0 cm broad in average and made from a fine, light to darkish-brown clay. The original surface is highly abraded. While the supposed front side of the figurine is left blank, the back
is decorated with incised lines and impressions, forming a herring-bone or so-called fir branch ornament. It is not possible to decide whether the figurine was standing or sitting.

As mentioned above, the fragment was found with material from a developed phase of the Linear Pottery culture, with both the pottery sherds and the figurine featuring »music note« ornamentation. M. Dębiec recognised the fragment as part of a figurine only recently, during studies about the Linear Pottery culture development in Ukraine. In his thesis, which was defended in 2012, he dealt with all main topics regarding the Linear Pottery culture in Ukraine. All in all, 222 sites of this culture were identified and a completely new chronological classification was proposed (Dębiec 2012).
The most interesting feature of the fragment from Horiv is the intriguing decoration on its back. There are several other figurines and applications from the Linear Pottery culture exhibiting the same motif or variations of it. The basic characteristics are V- or Λ-shaped incised lines or impressions arranged in the same manner with or without a central vertical line. The motif is confined to the back of figurines or applications, whereas in most cases the front is left blank, with the exception of the neck and the hips.

Figurines and applications (cf. figs. 4-7) with this kind of decoration are known from the following sites (numbers in brackets correspond with numbers on figure 3 and the find list):

- Ukraine: Horiv, obl. Rivnens’ka [1];
- Romania: Târpești, jud. Neamț [2];
- Poland: Kraków – Nowa Huta, woj. Małopolska [3];
- Slovakia: Cífer, okr. Trnava [11];
- Czech Republic: Bohskověstín, okr. Znojmo [17]; Chabařovice, okr. Ústí nad Labem [24];

DECORATION: THE »FIR BRANCH« MOTIF

Fig. 3 Distribution of figural finds from the Linear Pottery culture with a »fir branch« pattern on the back (2 oldest phase of Linear Pottery culture; ● younger phases of Linear Pottery culture): 1 Horiv. – 2 Târpești. – 3 Kraków. – 4 Torony. – 5 Sormás. – 6 Balatonmagyaród. – 7 Balatonszentgyörgy. 8 Balatonszemes. – 9 Bicske. – 10 Sukoró. – 11 Cífer. – 12 Wetzleinsdorf. – 13 Eitzersthal. – 14 Reikersdorf. – 15 Maiersch. – 16 Pulkau. – 17 Boskovstějn. – 18 Meindling. – 19 Mauer. – 20 Enkingen. – 21 Mühlenhausen am Neckar. – 22 Gaukönigshofen. – 23 Rockenberg. – 24 Chabařovice. – (Map Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Abteilung für Ur- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie; references see find list).
The map (fig. 3) shows a fairly widespread distribution of this kind of decoration, with a core area in Lower Austria and Transdanubia and further evidence mainly along the Danube. Single finds appear in Poland, the Czech Republic, Romania and Hesse.

The »fir branch« decoration can be documented already in the earliest phase of the Linear Pottery culture, and even in this first phase it is widely spread, incorporating regions between Transdanubia in the south-east and Lower Franconia in the north-west, but showing a close affinity to the catchment areas of the Danube. In younger phases, it spreads to the north and the east likewise, the fragment from Horiv being the easternmost representative at the moment.

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Fig. 4  Figural finds from the Linear Pottery culture with a »fir branch« pattern: 1, 5 Bicske. – 2 Gaukönigshofen. – 3 Cifer. – 4 Torony. – 6 Boskovštěn. – (After Wamser 1980, 29 fig. 2; 31 fig. 4; Makkay 1978, 27 fig. 7; Kolník 1978, 337 fig. 73, 1; Ilon 2007, 76 f.; Höckmann 1967, 27 fig. 1, 1). – 1-3, 5-6 scale 1:2; 4 no scale.
Fig. 5  Figural finds from the Linear Pottery culture with a »fir branch« pattern: 1 Sukoró. – 2 Kraków. – 3 Balatonszemes. – 4 Balatonmagyaród. – 5 Meindling. – 6 Sormás. – 7 Rockenberg. – 8 Pulkau. – (After Makkay 1970, 27 fig. 13; Godłowska / Rook / Drobniwicz 1985, 97 pl. 2, 7a-c; Honti et al. 2002, 8 fig. III, 1-2; Barna 2005, 35 fig. 7, 1-2; Ilon 2007, 56f.; Reinecke 1977, 206 fig. 4, 2; Höckmann 1985, 93 fig. 1, 1-5; Berg / Maurer 1998, 96 fig. 22). – 1-2. 5-8 scale 1:2; 3-4 no scale.
Fig. 6  Figural finds from the Linear Pottery culture with a »fir branch« pattern: 1 Cifer. – 2 Balatonszentgyörgy. – 3 Tarpești. – 4 Pulkau. – 5 Reikersdorf. – 6 Eitzersthal. – 7 Wetzleinsdorf. – 8 Maiersch. – (After Kolník 1979, 296 fig. 54, 1; Sági / Töröcsik 1989, 83f. 129 pl. 43; Marinescu-Bîlcu 1981, fig. 27, 2; Berg / Maurer 1998, 92 fig. 7; 94 fig. 15; 96 figs 22-23; 97 fig. 25). – Scale 1:2.
Fig. 7 Figural finds from the Linear Pottery culture with a »fir branch« pattern: 1 Wolferkofen. – 2 Mauern. – 3 Enkingen. – 4 Mühlhausen am Necker. – 5 Balatonszemes. – 6 Chabafovice. – (After Reinecke 1977, 205 fig. 3, 1; Neumair 2006, 50 pl. VII, 2; Cladders 2001, pl. 25, 4; Keefer 1993, 97 fig. b; Sebők 2007, 119 fig. 106; Lička / Hložek 2011, 36 fig. 1). – Scale 1:2.
Decor on anthropomorphic figurines has been controversially discussed ever since. Besides interpretations aiming at the decoration being a rendering of tattoos, body painting respectively piercings (cf. Hansen 2004/2005), the three main hypotheses concerning Linear Pottery culture decoration are: a) indications for details of dress respectively personal ornaments; b) indications for nakedness; c) indications for skeletal elements.

Personal ornaments

The interpretation of decoration as part of dress or ornaments on figurines in general is quite old (cf. Schmidt 1945, 133-137; Gimbutas 1974, 44-56; Comşa 1984). For figurines of the Linear Pottery culture, it was recently voiced again by J. Lüning (2005). In his opinion, incised lines represented either different materials such as linen, wool, leather and other fabrics, or they were meant to symbolise areas of different colours, since some of the incised lines contained traces of red, white, yellow or black. In this sense, the »fir branch« decoration on the fragment would have to be interpreted as a mere decoration in the true sense of the word, i.e. maybe an alignment of different materials or else differently coloured materials. Until now, no clothes whatsoever are preserved from the time of the Linear Pottery culture. All that is left in the burials are remains of personal ornaments. They can be distinguished either by material or by the position they were found at. Four major positions can be recognised (Becker 2011, 319).

Head

Especially in the Danube regions, fresh water snails were worn wreath-like around the head in several rows. They might have been attached directly to the hair or else fastened to some sort of head dress. Furthermore, Spondylus pearls and bone combs were found at the head of some of the deceased.

Neck and chest

Fairly common, Spondylus, Protula, Dentalium and stone pearls can be found with both sexes in the neck and chest region. Also, more rarely, Spondylus pendants, snails, human and animal teeth and their imitations were used. Most likely, these items were elements of necklaces or sewn onto garments.

Hips

V-shaped and discoid Spondylus valves can commonly be found in the hip region, probably as part of a belt. Very rarely, pearls come to light around the hips.

Arms

Sometimes, Spondylus bracelets were worn around one arm only, and never more than one piece. Other ornaments, such as bone rings are left out since they occur very rarely. No ornaments, however, were found at the back of the buried that could explain the »fir branch« decoration. Other decors such as incised
lines around the necks or at the top of the heads of figurines might correspond to necklaces or garment fringes respectively head dresses, whereas on the contrary, *Spondylus* valves were never depicted on the figurines.

**Nakedness**

Some decorations on Linear Pottery culture figurines can be interpreted as representations of nakedness. This is especially true for incised triangles in the front hip region that might be seen as pubic triangles, even more so when they are combined with additional lines or impressions indicating the vagina. In the case of the up to now single certain male figurine from the Linear Pottery culture which was found at Zschernitz (Lkr. Nordsachsen), the sex is indicated by a plastic erect penis (Stäuble 2004).

**Skeletal elements**

Finally, some decors remind strongly of certain skeletal elements. This was first noticed for Linear Pottery culture figurines by H. Maurer in 1972 (Maurer 1972, 7; 1975; 1981; Berg / Maurer 1998, 43 f.). He interpreted the »fir branch« decoration as a schematised spine with ribs and identified also other decors that resembled various bones in the human body (e. g. femur, pelvis and the pectoral girdle). In his opinion, this visualisation of anatomical conditions could be associated with the so-called X-ray style known in shamanism. The connection between ethnological parallels and prehistory with regard to the X-ray style was drawn by J. Ozols (1975) and later related to Linear Pottery culture figurines by L. Wamser (1980, 31) and O. Höckmann (1985, 97).

**Possible denotations**

Indeed, the »fir branch« ornament and some other decorations strongly resemble the aforementioned bones. This interpretation becomes even more probable if we take a recently published figurine from Çatal Höyük (Il Konya/TR) into consideration (Huth 2008). This female figurine displays a woman with a large belly and big breasts on which her hands are resting. As voluptuous the front of this figurine is, its rear side rather resembles a skeleton, with an anatomically very accurate representation of the spine, the ribs and the shoulder blades. Ch. Huth named some similar finds from Chalcolithic Malta and even Chalcolithic anthropomorphic stone steles with an analogous decoration on the back. Interestingly enough, better preserved figurines from the Linear Pottery culture display decors of more than one category at once, e. g. decorations that can be associated with dress (belts, fringes, necklaces) combined with decors indicating nakedness or anatomical characteristics. This means that either the interpretation of these decorations is incorrect or else that actually two or three categories were indeed displayed at once, projecting three levels one below the other – bones, skin and dress – onto one single layer in order to present all three at once. In consequence, however, this indicates that the figurines were not intended to represent actually existing persons but rather something non-human or maybe supernatural. This idea of the figurines as objects depicting some otherworldly state becomes more plausible if we reconsider that similar ways of showing both the inside and outside of a being can be traced back in time until the Anatolian Neolithic, although there are large disruptions in time and space. The above-mentioned figu-
rine from Çatal Höyük dates to the 7th millennium BC which means it is about 1000 years older than the Linear Pottery culture figurines and applications. Furthermore, up to now there is no direct link between these regions, neither geographically nor chronologically. The predecessor of the Linear Pottery culture, the Starčevo culture, has figurines, but they are rarely decorated, and never display any ornament close to the »fir branch« pattern.

Direct links or not, it is very possible that the »fir branch« decoration was meant to indicate anatomical details. If so, this leads to the question why such information was considered important enough to be put on a figurine. Ch. Huth tentatively suggested that, concerning the anthropomorphic stone steles with such decoration, a certain affinity to rites around death can be determined; also, the steles probably were not images of real persons but of beings incorporating both conditions – life and death – at once (Huth 2008, 501). This made them worthy of adoration and worship and might very well explain why the steles were eventually and invariably destroyed.

Again, this is a striking parallel to the anthropomorphic figurines of the Linear Pottery culture, because almost no exemplar was found intact, and some specimens even display traces of deliberate fragmentation, a feature which is very common for figurines in the central and south-east European Neolithic. Therefore, the figurines were probably not part of fertility or »Mother goddess« rites, as was and still is postulated again and again. Rather, a connection to death might also be possible. The figurine from Horiv, though small and fragmented, may have been part of an intriguing set of beliefs that is still elusive but nonetheless fascinating.

**FIND LIST**

1. Horiv »Brodivšina«, obl. Rivnens’ka
   Unpublished.

2. Târzești »Ripa lui Bodai«, comună Petricani, jud. Neamț
   Ref.: Marinescu-Bîlcu 1971, 15. 10 fig. 2, 1; Dumitrescu 1974, 176f. fig. 183, 3; Marinescu-Bîlcu 1981, 11 fig. 27, 2; Dumitrescu 1985, 62f. fig. 39, 8.

3. Kraków »Nowa Huta«, woj. Małopolska
   Ref.: Godłowska / Rook / Drobniewicz 1985, 65. 97 pl. 2, 7a-c; Gallay / Hansen 2006, 252f. fig. 6, 5.

4. Torony »NagyRét«, Kom. Vas
   Ref.: Ilon 2007, 76f.

5. Sormás »Török-földek«, Kom. Zala

   Ref.: Ilon 2007, 56f.

7. Balatonszentgyörgy, Kom. Somogy
   Ref.: Šagi / Törőcsik 1989, 83f. 64-66 figs 31-34; 129 pl. 43; Kalicz 1998, 32. 44 fig. 8, 2.

8. Balatonszemess, Kom. Somogy
   a. »Szemesi-berek«
   Ref.: Honti et al. 2002, 6. 8 fig. 3, 1-2; 34.
   b. »Bagódombról«
   Ref.: Sebők 2007, 119 fig. 106.

   Ref.: Makkay 1978, 26f. figs 6-7; Kalicz 1995, 27 fig. 3, 5a-c; 34; 1998, 28. 41 fig. 5, 2. 4; Gallay / Hansen 2006, 250f. fig. 5, 4.

10. Sukoró »Tóra«, Kom. Fejér

11. Cífer »Pác«, okr. Trnava
    Ref.: Kolník 1979, 107. 296 fig. 54, 1; 1978, 143f. 337 fig. 73, 1; Pavúk 1981, 45 figs 33-34. 107; Höckmann 1985, 95 fig. 2, 6; Gallay / Hansen 2006, 250f. fig. 5, 3.

12. Wetzelinsdorf, Bez. Korneuburg
    Ref.: Maurer 1981, 60. 75 fig. 3, 3; 93 fig. 21, 2; Berg / Maurer 1998, 31. 97 fig. 25.

13. Eitzersthal »Breitenfeld«, Bez. Hollabrunn
    Ref.: Maurer 1997, 25f. fig. 6, 1; Berg / Maurer 1998, 27. 92 fig. 7.

14. Reikersdorf, Bez. Hollabrunn
    Ref.: Hrodegh 1923, 197. 199f. fig. 1; Höckmann 1965,
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Ilon 2007: G.
Huth 2008: Ch.
Kalicz
Keefer
Marešová 1971: K.
Lička
Kolník
Vildomec 1932: F. Vildomec, Lineární keramikou z Chabařovic, okr. Ústí nad Labem.
Zusammenfassung / Abstract / Résumé

Das Fragment einer Figurine aus der linearbandkeramischen Siedlung von Horiv (Rivnens’ka obl./UA)


A figurine fragment from the Linear Pottery culture site of Horiv (Rivnens’ka obl./UA)

Figural finds are still extremely rare at the western and eastern peripheries of the distributional area of the Linear Pottery culture. A small fragment of an anthropomorphic figurine from the site of Horiv therefore yields central evidence for this find category. The most important feature of the fragment is the decoration on the back which is made up of a vertical incised line from which diagonal lines descend. This pattern is called the »fir branch« motif, and can be found on a number of figurines mainly from Lower Austria and Transdanubia, but also on those from other regions of Central Europe. The interpretation of this specific decoration is difficult, since there are no corresponding grave goods. Possibly, however, it represents skeletal elements, an indication of the figurines’ connections with rites of death rather than with fertility.

Un fragment de figurine de l’habitat Rubané de Horiv (Rivnens’ka obl./UA)

Les représentations figurées restent encore très rares aux périphéries orientales et occidentales de la culture Rubanée. Le petit fragment d’une figurine anthropomorphe de Horiv est donc une pièce importante pour cette catégorie d’objets. L’élément le plus important de ce fragment consiste en une incision sur le dos composée d’un trait vertical duquel bifurquent des lignes diagonales. Ce motif dit à »rameau de sapin« se retrouve également sur quelques autres figurines, essentiellement de Transdanubie et de Basse-Autriche mais aussi dans d’autres régions d’Europe centrale. L’interprétation de ce motif spécifique est difficile, dans la mesure où il n’existe pas de découvertes funéraires correspondantes. Il pourrait s’agir d’une représentation du squelette, ce qui pourrait indiquer que ces figurines seraient plus à mettre en relation avec un rituel funéraire qu’avec des rites de fertilité.

Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

Ukraine / Neolithikum / Linearbandkeramik / anthropomorphe Figurine / »Tannenzweigmotiv«
Ukraine / Neolithique / Linear Pottery culture / anthropomorphic figurine / »fir branch« pattern
Ukraine / Néolithique / Rubané / figurine anthropomorphe / decoration à »rameau de sapin«

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