A Palaeolithic and Mesolithic artistic record of clothing – an overview

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Zusammenfassung

Darstellungen von Kleidung in der Kunst des Paläolithikums und Mesolithikums – ein Überblick

Menschliche und anthropomorphe Darstellungen sind im eurasischen Jungpaläolithikum und Mesolithikum relativ häufig anzutreffen. Der vorliegende Artikel gibt einen Überblick über diese reichhaltigen Funde, strukturiert sie und interpretiert sie. Allerdings werden Menschen niemals so dargestellt, wie sie sich im Alltag kleideten. Bilder von vollständig bekleideten Körpern fehlen oder sind schwer zu identifizieren. Die detaillierteren Figuren, die meist dem mittleren und frühen späten Jungpaläolithikum zugeordnet werden, sind größtenteils nackt dargestellt, manchmal jedoch mit Kleidungsstücken oder Körperornamenten ausgestattet, die mit bemerkenswerter Detailgenauigkeit plastisch gestaltet oder graviert sein können. In solchen Fällen scheint die Kleidung auf Markierungen reduziert zu sein, die möglicherweise Attribute hervorheben, die als direkt mit tatsächlichen Personen aus der Vergangenheit in Verbindung stehend interpretiert werden. Unter den am detailliertesten dargestellten Merkmalen wird eindeutig der Darstellung von Kleidungsstücken aus Fasern der Vorzug gegeben, während Lederprodukte in den künstlerischen Darstellungen unterrepräsentiert oder schwer zu erkennen sind. Im Gegensatz zu solchen Funden sind anthropomorphe Darstellungen aus dem späten Jungpaläolithikum sehr schematisiert und bestehen aus vereinfachten weiblichen Figuren und ebenso vereinfachten Silhouetten, die oft in Gruppen angeordnet sind. Naturalistischere Darstellungen sind in dieser Zeit selten, was so interpretiert wird, dass der Schwerpunkt eher auf den sozialen Rollen der Individuen als auf ihrer Individualität lag. Ab dem Spätglazial sind überregionale ikonografische Veränderungen in fast ganz Europa zu verzeichnen. Anthropomorphe Darstellungen werden selten und die wenigen bekannten aus dem europäischen Mesolithikum sind mit geometrischen Mustern gefüllt. In diesem Beitrag wird diskutiert, ob solche Muster lediglich zum Zweck der Verzierung nach bestimmten geometrischen Stilkonventionen aufgebracht wurden oder ob sie die zunehmende Verwendung von Textilien zur fast vollständigen Bedeckung des menschlichen Körpers widerspiegeln. Diese Themen werden im Zusammenhang mit demografischen, genetischen und sozialen Veränderungen während des Jungpaläolithikums und Mesolithikums diskutiert.

Schlagwörter Skulpturen und Gravuren, Kleidung aus tierischen Ressourcen, Technologien zur Herstellung von Kleidung aus Pflanzenfasern, Ikonografie

Summary

Human and anthropomorphic depictions are relatively frequent in the Eurasian Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic record. This paper reviews, structures, and interprets this rich record. However, humans are never shown as they dressed in daily life. Images of completely dressed bodies are absent or difficult to identify. The more detailed figures, which are mostly assigned to the mid-Upper and early Late Upper Palaeolithic, are largely displayed naked, although they are sometimes equipped with items of clothing or body ornamentation that may be carved or engraved at a remarkable level of detail. In such cases, clothing seems to be reduced to markers, potentially highlighting attributes that are interpreted as relating directly to actual past individuals. Among the most detailed attributes represented, a clear preference is given to the illustration of fibre-based clothing items, whereas leather products seem to be underrepresented or difficult to recognise in artistic depictions. In contrast to such finds, Late Upper Palaeolithic anthropomorphic images are often schematised, comprising simplified female figures and equally simplified silhouettes, frequently assembled in groups. More naturalistic representations are rare in this period, which is interpreted as a time when the focus was mainly on the social roles of individuals rather than on their individuality. From the Late Glacial onwards, major supra-regional iconographic changes affect almost the whole of Europe. Anthropomorphic depictions become rare, and the few known in Mesolithic Europe are filled with geometric patterns. This paper considers whether such patterns were simply applied for the purpose of ornamentation according to certain geometric style conventions, or if they reflect the growing use of textiles for a near-complete coverage of the human body. These topics are discussed in relation to demographic, genetic, and social changes throughout the Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic.

Keywords Sculptures and engravings, clothes made of animal resources, plant fibre-based clothing technologies, iconography
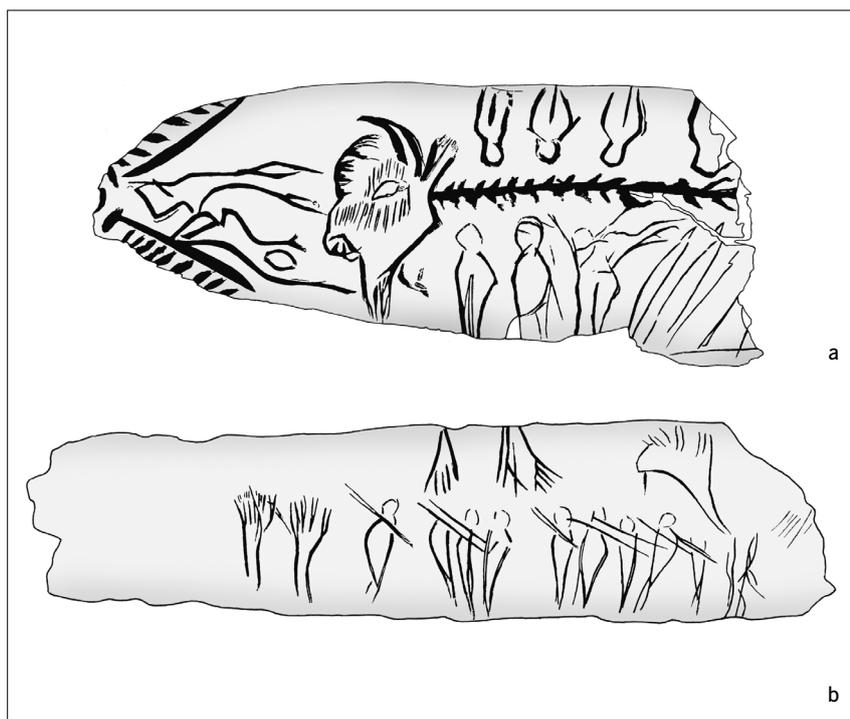
Fig. 1a–b Anthropomorphic silhouettes from French Final Magdalenian contexts at (a) Abri Raymonden, Chancelade, and (b) Abri du Châteaux, Les Eyzies (both Dordogne Department). Not shown to scale, but adjusted to a similar torso size for better comparability.

Abb. 1a–b Anthropomorphe Silhouetten aus französischen Fundstätten des späten Magdalénien in (a) Abri Raymonden, Chancelade, und (b) Abri du Châteaux, Les Eyzies (beide Dép. Dordogne). Nicht maßstabsgetreu, aber zur besseren Vergleichbarkeit auf eine ähnliche Torso-Größe angepasst.

Introduction

The Eurasian Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods have provided a rich record of artistic expressions. Whereas the canon of figurative artistic expressions from the Palaeolithic is chiefly characterised by comparatively naturalistic representations of animals, humans, therianthropes or hybrid figures, displaying attributes of both humans as well as animals (e.g. Leroi-Gourhan 1971), the Mesolithic record tends to be far more abstract, with a stronger focus on geometric elements and patterns, and far fewer examples of figurative art (Płonka 2003 for an overview; cf. Grünberg et al. 2023). These major differences in artistic styles or trends are also reflected in anthropomorphic or human images, which are relatively frequent in the Eurasian Upper Palaeolithic record but appear only occasionally in Mesolithic contexts (e.g. Jonkus 2021; Płonka 2021). The Palaeolithic depictions have been compiled by a variety of authors[1], whereas only a few papers focus on Mesolithic anthropomorphic depictions, as these are far less frequent (Płonka 2003; Grünberg et al. 2023). This contribution will focus on the evidence for clothing that is represented in Palaeolithic to Mesolithic depictions across Eurasia[2].

As most Palaeolithic to Mesolithic human or anthropomorphic figures lack detail, whether painted, engraved in parietal or mobiliary art, or three-dimensionally sculpted, their interpretation may vary among different authors. This lack of detail also affects the interpretation of decorative items, including clothes, which are shown only rarely. When referred to clothing, not only clothing items that can be recognised without doubt, are mentioned. Given the lack of detail or the often simple and schematic style of many figures, frequently only very few or short lines are engraved, for example between the upper and lower body that could be interpreted as belts. Likewise, in many cases, one cannot decide whether hoods, hairstyles, or hairnets are represented. Hampered by such uncertainties, the present contribution does not attempt to present a comprehensive record of clothing in Palaeolithic to Mesolithic art, but instead aims to highlight some aspects that seem to have been overlooked in past studies of anthropomorphic and human depictions.

Most hints at clothing come from portable art and comprise three-dimensionally sculpted objects or ›two-dimensional‹ engravings, the latter sometimes arranged in scenic groupings of different anthropomorphic (or human) figures. The compiled evidence is listed figure-wise, i.e. counting each figure individually, in Tab. 1. As the potentially Levantine Mesolithic rock art is excluded here (see footnote 2), the only more important site with parietal art and hints at clothing referred to in the present study is the Grotta delle Incisioni all'Addaura in Sicily, Italy (Di Maida et al. 2020).

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1 E.g. Delporte 1979; Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996; Abramova 1995; Bosinski et al. 2001; Cohen 2003; Svoboda 2007; Svoboda 2008; Gaudzinski-Windheuser/ Jöris 2015; Farbstein 2017; Pettitt 2017.

2 Whereas the rock art of the Iberian Peninsula had initially been assigned to the Late Palaeolithic to Mesolithic due to the frequent presence of (sometimes scenic)

hunting depictions, its age remains highly debated. A significant number of images in Levantine rock art represent humans, often accompanied by indications of clothing or headgear (e.g. Santos Da Rosa et al. 2021). However, as the majority of these depictions must now be assigned to the Neolithic (e.g. López-Montalvo 2018), other evidence may still belong to the Late Palaeolithic or

Mesolithic periods, although more dating evidence is required (e.g. discussion in Ruiz López 2023). As such, this source material is excluded from the present study, although it will be referred to briefly at the end of this contribution. For similar reasons, the site of Lepenski Vir, Serbia, is also excluded from the study (e.g. Brami et al. 2022; Brami et al. 2025).

Beyond the focal point of the discussion of the material collated in Tab. 1 concerning clothing, for easier ›navigation‹ through the Palaeolithic to Mesolithic record of human and anthropomorphic images, the table also provides a coarsegrained account of the cultural contexts of the individual depictions, as well as rough age approximations without targeting fine-chronological issues.

The overall paucity of Palaeolithic to Mesolithic imagery hinting at clothing can also be interpreted to mean that such depictions were not primarily intended to show how prehistoric humans dressed in their daily lives.

Fully dressed?

The most famous representations of humans from the Palaeolithic era are three-dimensionally carved or sculpted figurines of the so-called Willendorf-style, often described as »Venus« figurines, dating to between roughly 35 ka and 16 ka[3] ago. By far, they most frequently depict females. Although they are generally shown more or less naked (Nowell/Chang 2014), some of these figurines may display attributes such as personal ornaments or ›clothing items‹ (in the broadest sense), which somehow ›tag‹ or personalise the depiction (Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015). The occasional representation of facial traits and frequently shown hairstyles similarly add to a ›personalisation‹ of these figures. In contrast, engraved images tend to be highly schematised. Humans may either be shown in profile, as is the case for the Late Magdalenian Gönnersdorf-type of (female) depictions (e.g. Jöris 2021; Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015; Bosinski et al. 2001), or as silhouettes, as in the case of some scenically-composed illustrations, all made on bone, from the Final Magdalenian contexts of Abri Raymonden at Chancelade, Abri du Châteaux at les Eyzies, Grotte de Gourdan, and a few other sites (Fig. 1), all located in France (Leroi Gourhan 1971; Duhard 1996; cf. Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015). Their highly schematised style of representation lacks almost every detail. However, the shapes of the anthropomorphic silhouettes could suggest that some type of tightly fitted, coat-like garment may have camouflaged or ›smoothed‹ the shape of the human body. Nevertheless, specific clothing items cannot be recognised in any of these depictions.

A notable difference is evident in a larger mid-Magdalenian depiction of a single human silhouette, engraved on a rib found at the site of Bruniquel, also in France (Leroi Gourhan 1965; Duhard 1993). Running vertically in a line down the middle of the figure's torso are six engraved circles that resemble buttons (Fig. 2)[4].

In the Grotta delle Incisioni all'Addaura in Sicily, Italy, a scenic composition of several engraved human figures, dated to around 14 000 years ago (Di Maida et al. 2020), has been interpreted as a dancing scene (Budano 2019). This scene, to which a few animal depictions were later added
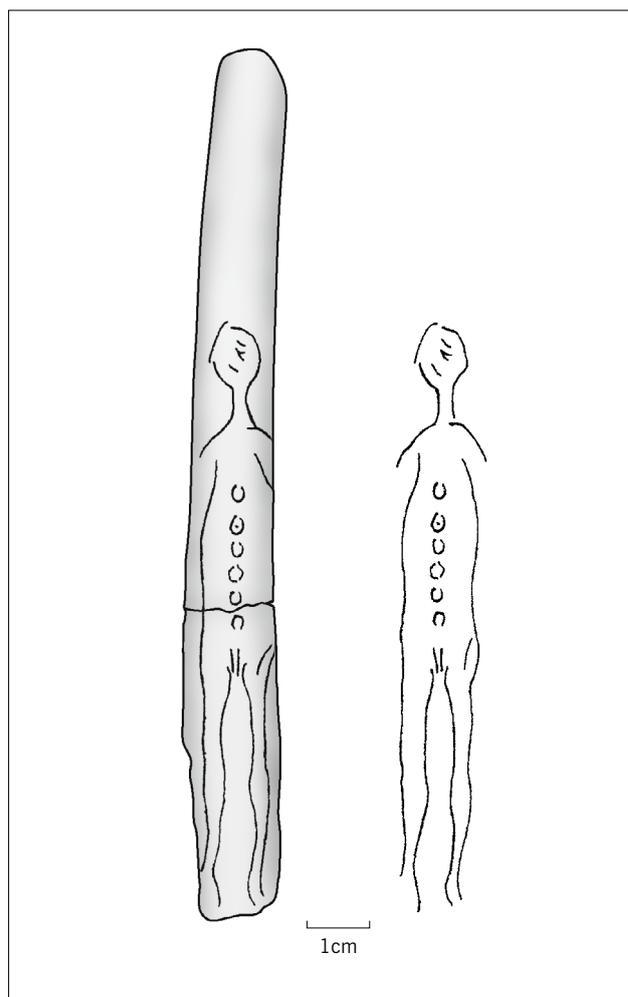

Fig. 2 Engraving of a human silhouette from Bruniquel, Dép. Tarn-et-Garonne (France), with six button-like engraved circles arranged in a vertical line running down the figure's torso.

Abb. 2 Gravur einer menschlichen Figur aus Bruniquel, Dép. Tarn-et-Garonne (Frankreich), mit sechs knopfartig gravierten Kreisen, die in einer vertikalen Linie entlang des Oberkörpers der Figur angeordnet sind.

(Mussi et al. 2023), is especially noteworthy, as the combination of numerous human figures shown in different body postures and perspectives (Fig. 3) is probably unique in the record of Palaeolithic art throughout Eurasia[5]. In the context of clothing discussed here, it is important to highlight the shape of several of the human figures that appear to wear tailored garments, as indicated by engraved short ›belt‹-like lines, separating the upper and lower body (Budano 2019). Even lacking much detail, one may interpret these figures as representations of humans completely dressed in fitted clothes, some of whom – depicted in profile – appear to be hooded or wearing masks, if one follows Paola Budano's interpretation. Others may carry a sack/backpack, or spears[6].

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3 ka = kilo annum (i.e. 1000 years).
4 Button-like objects, so-called rondelles, are known from various Upper Palaeolithic contexts and are either made of bone, ivory, or stone (e.g. Bosinski 1977; Abramova 1995). They may have functioned as buttons or potentially used for other purposes, such as spindle whorls (cf. Needham et al. 2019).

5 A noticeable increase in depictions interpreted as dance scenes correlates with the beginning of the Neolithic (Garfinkel 2003).

6 Among the different authors, slight differences exist in the recognition and interpretation of individual engraved lines. As such, not all publications detect all of the ›belts‹.
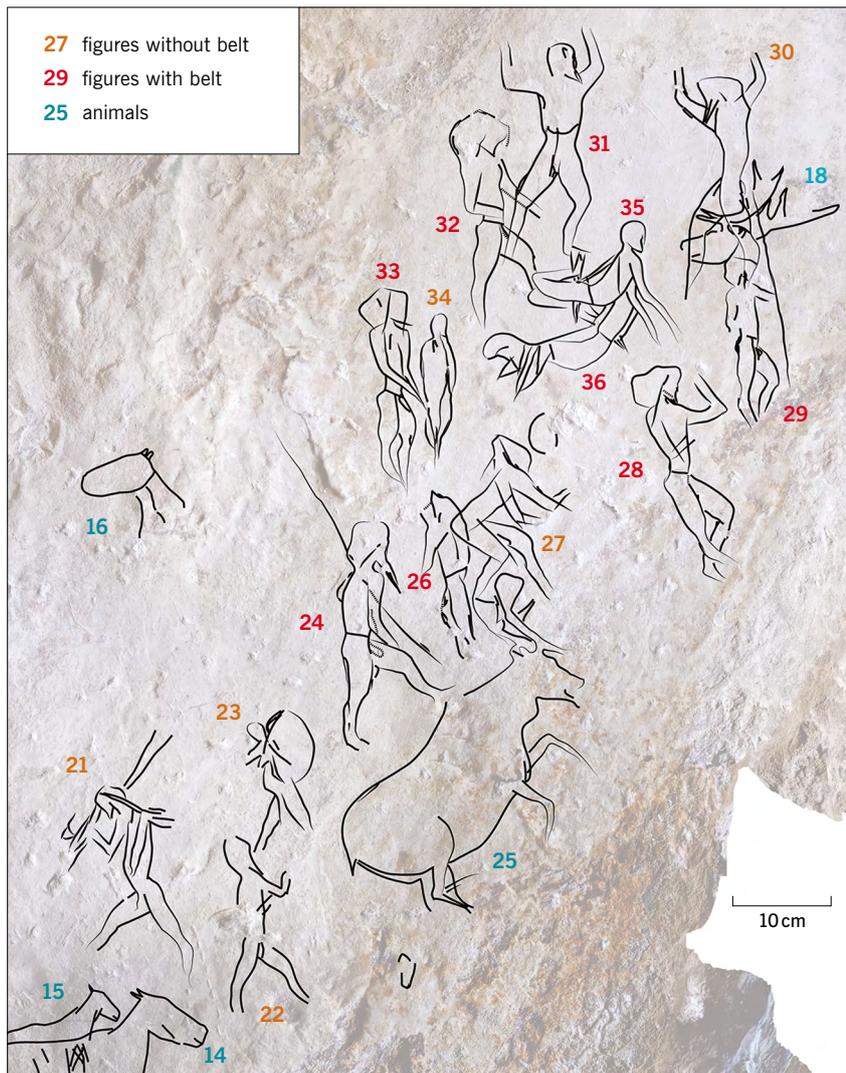
Fig. 3 Late Palaeolithic scenic depictions of humans (red and orange numbers) at Grotta delle Incisioni all'Addaura, Prov. Palermo in Sicily, Italy, superimposed by engraved animals (blue numbers). Some of the human figures are shown in frontal view (orange numbers 30–31, 34), while others are in profile. Most of the human figures seem to wear ›belts‹ (red numbers: 24, 26, 28–29, 31–33, 35–36).

Abb. 3 Spätpaläolithische szenische Darstellung von Menschen (rote und orangefarbene Zahlen) in der Grotta delle Incisioni all'Addaura, Prov. Palermo in Sizilien, Italien, überlagert von gravierten Tieren (blaue Zahlen). Einige der menschlichen Figuren sind in Frontalansicht dargestellt (orangefarbene Zahlen 30–31, 34), andere im Profil. Die meisten menschlichen Figuren scheinen ›Gürtel‹ zu tragen (rote Zahlen: 24, 26, 28–29, 31–33, 35–36).

In contrast, two engraved pebbles, both found at open-air sites in the southern Netherlands, one at Wanssum, the other at Geldrop, depict humans in frontal view, both minimally dressed, but clearly wearing loincloths (Fig. 4; Verhart/d'Errico 2012; Niekus/Amkreutz 2021; Amkreutz/Niekus 2023). Whereas the Geldrop engraving is interpreted as a female dancing, the Wanssum figure is interpreted as a human in a throwing posture, likely male, considering the shape of the body and the absence of breasts (Verhart/d'Errico 2012). The Geldrop loincloth is triangular, fixed on a string, and filled in with oblique parallel lines running from the lower left to the upper right; it is also edged with short lines that seem to ›dangle‹ downwards. In contrast, the Wanssum loincloth is rectangular, not filled in, and fixed on two parallel strings. While directly associated archaeological material is lacking for Wanssum, the archaeological context of Geldrop suggests a Younger Dryas to early Holocene Ahrensburgian age (Bohmers/Wouters 1962). Compared with Epi-Palaeolithic art of southern France and Italy (cf. d'Errico 1994), a Late Glacial to early Holocene age for both finds appears most likely (Verhart/d'Errico 2012).

Fully dressed!

The lack of detail in such depictions stands in stark contrast to some of the Upper Palaeolithic burial evidence, at least when considering some of the richly decorated graves of the mid-Upper Palaeolithic, such as Arene Candide and Ostuni 1 in Italy, Brno 2 in the Czech Republic, or Sunghir in Russia, to name a few (cf. Pettitt 2010). Most intriguing in this context are the extended burials of graves 1 and 2 at Sunghir (Trinkaus/Buzhilova 2018; cf. Bader 1978), which may be c. 30 000 to 34 000 years old (Sikora et al. 2017; see Kuzmin 2021 for critical remarks on the age of the Sunghir burials). In addition to other grave goods (Bader 1978; Rogačev/Anikovič 1984), numerous ivory beads, amounting to a total of more than 13 000 items, as well as hundreds of fox tooth pendants were found within the double burial (grave 2) of a juvenile (Sunghir 3) and an adolescent (Sunghir 2), both male, and in the single burial (grave 1) of a c. 35–45-year-old male (Sunghir 1; Sikora et al. 2017; Trinkaus/Buzhilova 2018). The largely symmetrical arrangements of these ornaments, namely the ivory beads (but also the fox tooth pendants) in clusters and lines along different parts of the

Fig. 4a–b Human figures engraved on pebbles from (a) Wanssum, Prov. Limburg, and (b) Geldrop, Prov. Noord-Brabant, both in the Netherlands.

Abb. 4a–b   Auf Flussgeröllen gravierte menschliche Figuren aus (a) Wanssum, Prov. Limburg, und (b) Geldrop, Prov. Noord-Brabant, beide in den Niederlanden.

bodies (Bader 1978; Trinkaus/Buzhilova 2018), indicate that most of the decorative items were sewn as applications onto clothing, whereas others were used as jewellery, such as armbands (Trinkaus/Buzhilova 2018). The Sunghir evidence points to elaborately tailored and fitted clothing that covered large parts of the body, allowing the reconstruction of ensembles that each consisted of varied clothing items, including ponchos or parkas and hoods, leggings-like trousers, and footwear. Given the richness of the decorative objects associated with each of the three individuals and the immense work involved in the production of such garments, one may assume that this type of dress was unlikely to have been used in daily activities, but rather in ceremonial contexts or for the specific purpose of burial, support-

ing the construction of social identities (White 1999; cf. Collins/Nowell 2024). Given the sheer amount of the small-sized ivory beads, one may assume they were applied to a ›cloth‹ with a relatively homogeneous surface, in order to enhance visibility and visual effects such as colour contrasts. Most likely, tanned animal skins or hides bare of visually distracting structured surfaces would have served as an unobtrusive background, thus putting the decorative items into focus.

In contrast to these findings, artistic depictions of fully dressed humans are scarce in the Palaeolithic of Eurasia. The most compelling evidence comes from a number of ivory human figurines, generally interpreted as female, unearthed at the Siberian sites of Mal'ta and Buret' in
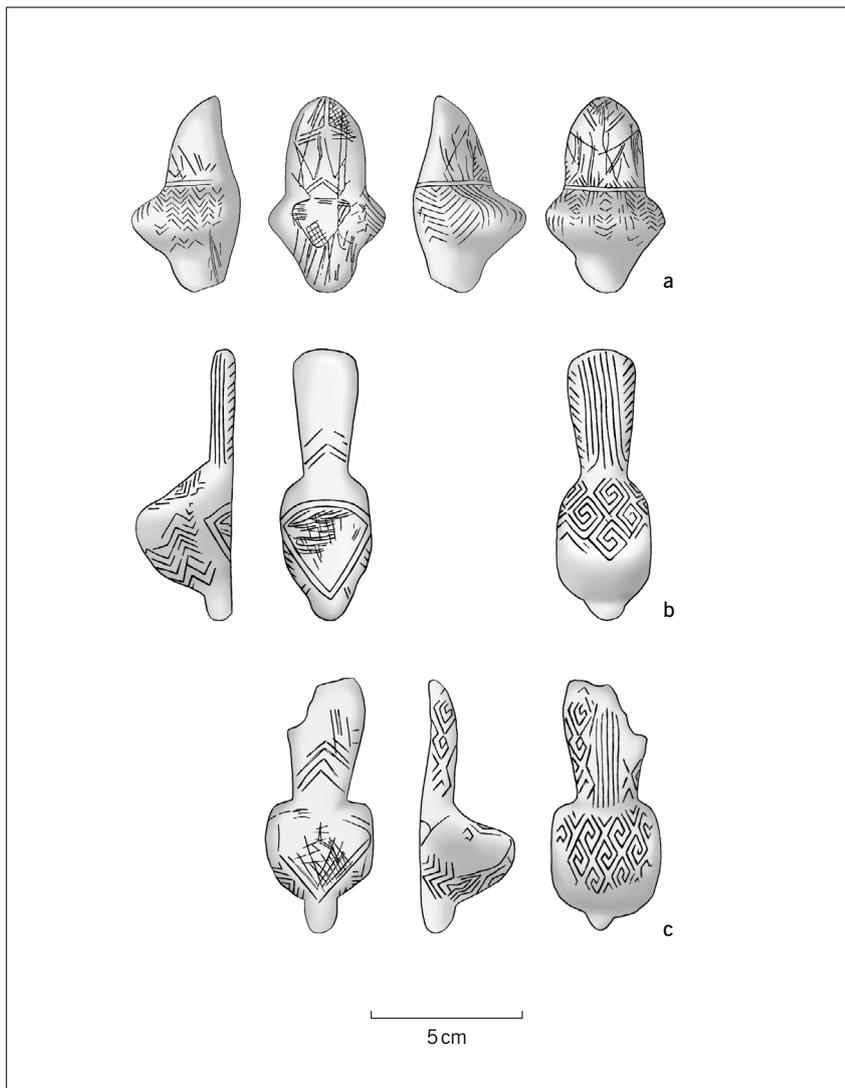
5 cm

Russia (Abramova 1995 for an overview; cf. Delporte 1979; Lbova 2021). Both sites date near to or in the Last Glacial Maximum, some 19–23 ka ago (Mix et al. 2001). Besides several clearly female ivory figurines, at both sites a few other ivory figures were found that do not display breasts. These specimens are hooded and completely covered with regular symmetrical deeply-carved patterns. The two patterns that can be distinguished are (1) composed of deep half-moon shaped or rounded carvings or punch marks, or (2) display multiple horizontal, subparallel lines, which give the impression of the figures being completely wrapped in some sort of garment. Whereas the first type is present at Buret' (Abramova 1995, Cat. 90,1) and Mal'ta (Abramova 1995, Cat. 89,3), the latter is documented only at Mal'ta (Abramova 1995, Cat. 89,13; Cat. 89,16; Cat. 89,27). While one might be tempted to interpret these figures as potentially male, given the absence of breasts and the size of the Buret' figure, entirely covered in hooded clothing, Ludmilla Lbova (2021) views the whole-body-covering (wrapping) ornaments of the Mal'ta specimens as a kind of protection for young individuals, namely children. The latter interpretation is supported by the small size of these

figurines and the preservation of reddish pigments on some (e.g. Abramova 1995, Cat. 89,27: »teenage girl«: Lbova 2019; Lbova/Volkov 2017), which could be interpreted in relation to female sexual maturation. This interpretation, however, leaves unanswered the question of whether the patterns are simply ornamental or intended to resemble fully dressed bodies – the hoods, at least, would speak in favour of the latter.

Most of the clearly female figurines from the two sites are characterised by their overall womanly body shape and the depiction of breasts (Abramova 1995 for an overview). However, contrasting the mid-Upper Palaeolithic Willendorf-style female images found further west in Europe (Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015; Farbenstein 2017), the Mal'ta and Buret' specimens show less voluptuous bodies and a ›smoothed‹ body relief with less protuberant breasts or buttocks (Tab. 1). Together with the frequent depiction of ornamented hoods, this shape may hint at completely covered, tightly wrapped bodies, giving the impression of the thick, well-fitted clothing often interpreted as necessary for survival in the cold climate of the Siberian arctic (e.g. Delporte 1993).

Fig. 6a–b Headless anthropomorphic ivory figurines, interpreted as male, from dwelling 2 of the site of Mezin, Obl. Tschernihiw (Ukraine).

Abb. 6a–b Kopflose anthropomorphe Elfenbein-figuren, die als männlich interpretiert werden, aus Behausung 2 der Fundstelle Mezin, Obl. Tschernihiw (Ukraine).
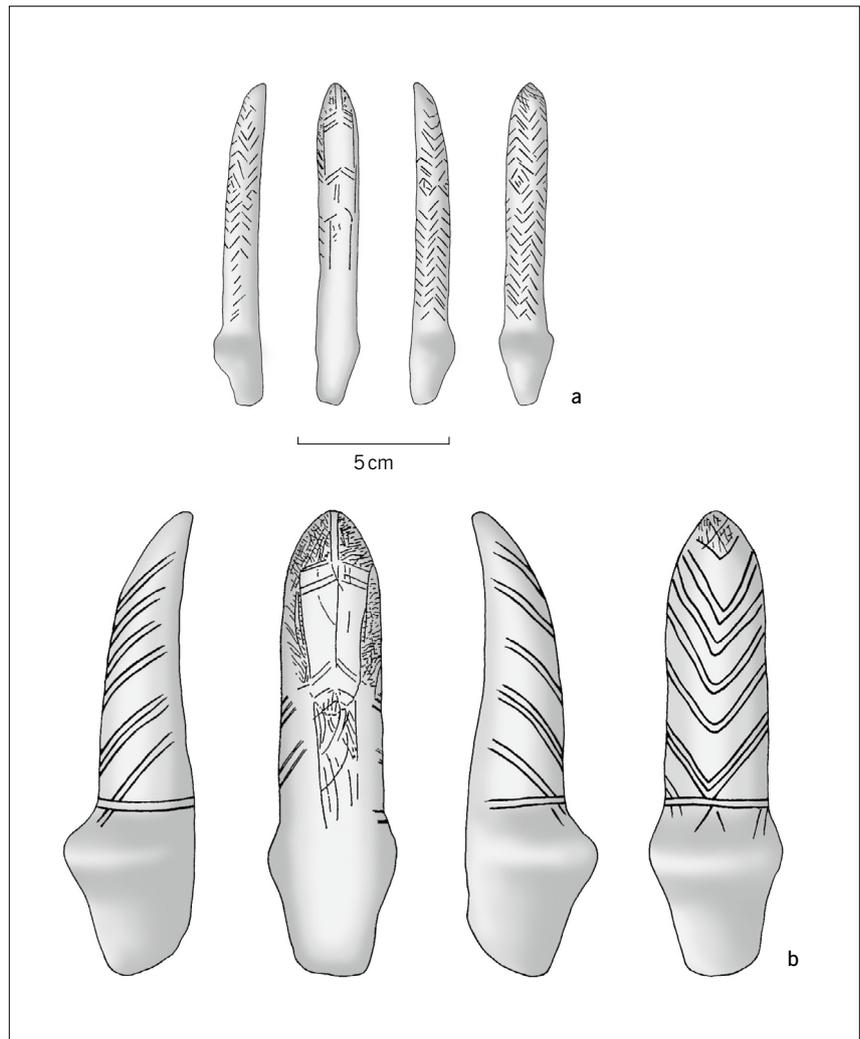
Fig. 7 Gönnersdorf, Neuwied District (Germany). Headless anthropomorphic engravings of four hatched figures of Gönnersdorf-type, all oriented to the right. Note: the third figure from the left seems to carry a smaller figure on its back.

Abb. 7 Gönnersdorf, Lkr. Neuwied (Deutschland). Kopflose anthropomorphe Gravuren von vier schraffierten Figuren vom Gönnersdorf-Typ, die alle nach rechts gewandt sind. Anmerkung: Die dritte Figur von links scheint eine kleinere Figur auf dem Rücken zu tragen.
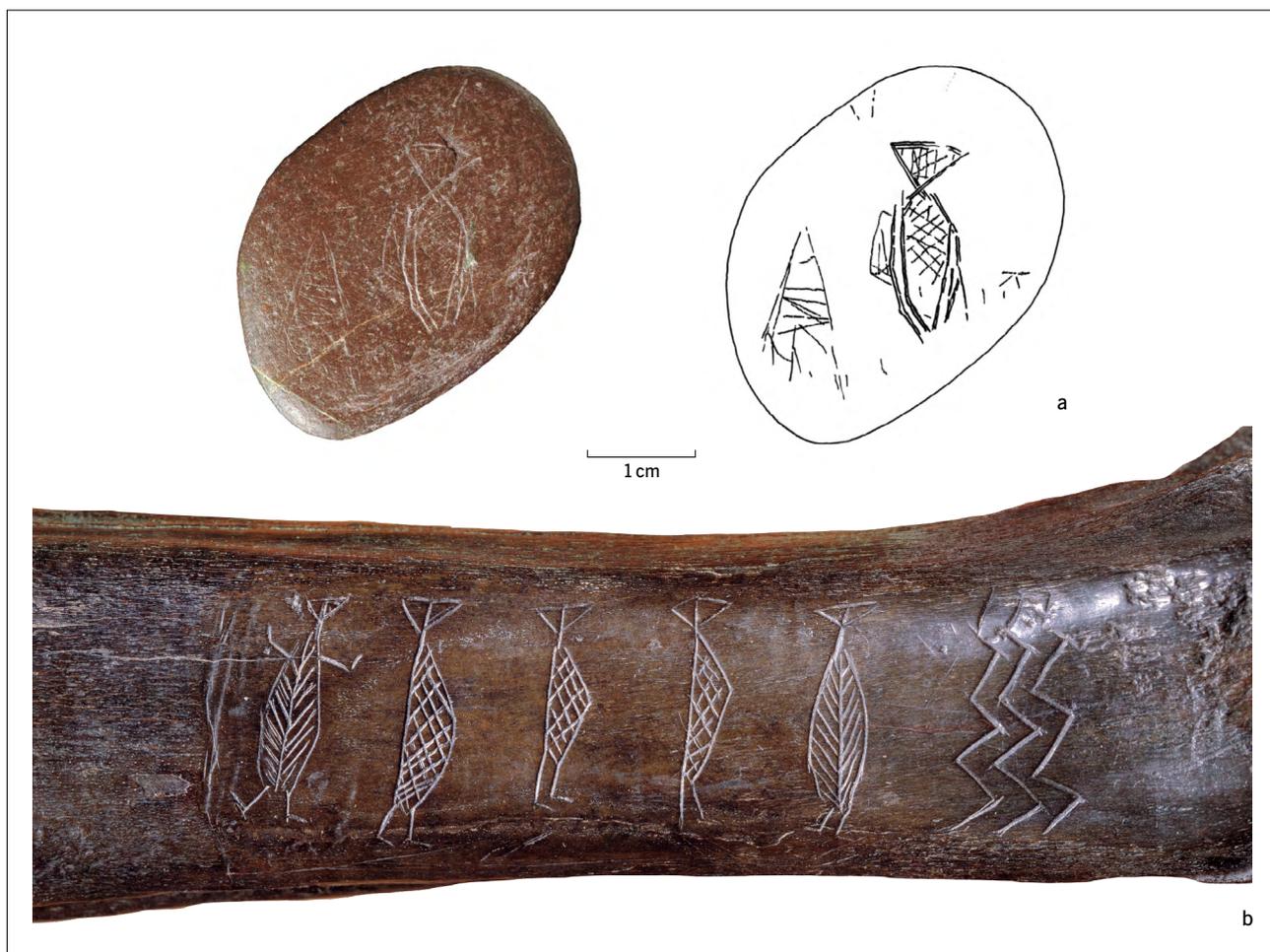
Fig. 8a–b Anthropomorphic depictions (a) on an engraved pebble from Valkenburg-Straatbeek, Prov. Limburg (the Netherlands), and (b) on an ornamented aurochs metapodial found at Ryemarksgård, Zealand (Denmark).

Abb. 8a–b Anthropomorphe Darstellungen (a) auf einem gravierten Flussgeröll aus Valkenburg-Straatbeek, Prov. Limburg (Niederlande), und (b) auf einem verzierten Metapodium eines Auerochsen, gefunden in Ryemarksgård, Seeland (Dänemark).

Pelts?

The hoods depicted at Mal'ta and Buret' are predominantly ornamented as in pattern 1 described above. If this type of carving, which is similar to patterns created when ›punching‹ leather (Doyon et al. 2023), is interpreted along the lines of arguments outlined in the introduction of this volume for an Aurignacian ivory sculpture of a cave lion from the southern German site of Vogelherd Cave, one may consider that the hoods were possibly made chiefly from the pelts of fur-bearing animals.

The small Aurignacian ivory sculpture of an upright standing anthropomorph with raised arms, known as »the Adorant« (see Fig. 11 of Wolf/Conard in this volume), found at Geißenklösterle Cave, also in southern Germany, displays just such a regular ›punched‹ pattern on the reverse side of the bas-relief (Hahn 1982; cf. Floss 2015). In an alternative reading, one could interpret this figure as a person covered with the pelt of a fur-bearing animal (a carnivore?), similar to the interpretation of the famous Lion-Man ivory sculpture from the Aurignacian of Hohlenstein-Stadel, also in southern Germany (cf. Kind et al. 2014). In this interpretation, the »elongated appendage« between the Adorant's feet (Wolf/Conard in this volume), which has been interpreted as the tail of an animal (Hahn 1986), would make good sense. Following this line of argument, one would interpret the Adorant alongside other depictions that have frequently been construed in the context of disguise and/or the realm of human-animal mixed beings (cf. Pettitt 2017). The Late to Final Magdalenian French cave sites of Gabillou and Trois-Frères have both produced rock art engravings understood to represent persons with bison heads and a human lower body, covered in animal skins[7], as well as mixed beings composed of the attributes of entirely different animals on a human lower body (»Dieu Cornu« at Les Trois-Frères: Breuil 1952)[8].

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7 Leroi-Gourhan 1971; Bégouën/Breuil 1958; cf. Duhard 1996; Fuentes et al. 2019.
8 These depictions are often viewed in the context of prehistoric shamanism (Lorblanchet 1995) and may hint at a close connection to and a permeability between the human and animal spheres (cf. Conneller 2004; see also Hussain in this volume), but caution is advised when using (or overstretching) modern ethnographic analogies (e.g. Lewis-William 1991; Petru 2012; Půtová 2013; cf. Guthrie 2005).

Fig. 9a–b Tall anthropomorphic depictions (a) on an amber pendant from Sindalgård, Åmosen, and (b) on a perforated and ornamented red deer antler shaft from Veksø Mose, Zealand, both found in Denmark.

Abb. 9a–b Schmale anthropomorphe Darstellungen (a) auf einem Bernsteinanhänger aus Sindalgård, Åmosen, und (b) auf einem perforierten und verzierten Rothirschgeweihschaft aus Veksø Mose, Seeland, beide gefunden in Dänemark.

Body painting, tattoos, or textiles?

Whereas the above discussions largely address the use of animal materials for clothing, some of the more schematic anthropomorphic depictions are covered by or filled with more or less geometric patterns.

The headless anthropomorphic ivory figurines found at the Epigravettian site of Mezin in Ukraine are ornamented with geometric patterns that cover the figurines' backs and sides (Chovkoplass 1965; Iakovleva 2009; Iakovleva 2015). Based on their morphology and style of ornamentation, female (Fig. 5) and male figures (Fig. 6) may be distinguished (Jöris 2021; cf. Chovkoplass 1965). Engraved chevrons and zig-zag lines are the basic elements of the geometric patterns, which are combined in different arrangements, whereas the female depictions from Mezin dwelling 3 (Fig. 5b–c) are also ornamented with patterns of ›angular meanders‹ (Jöris 2021). The patterns that cover large parts of the figurines were either of a simple ornamental nature, represented

body painting, tattoos, or could hint at patterns realised in cloth. Similar or identical geometric patterns are often seen in Eastern European Epigravettian artworks and jewellery (Chovkoplass 1965; cf. Abramova 1995 for an overview).

As has already been addressed above, even more schematic human depictions appear with increasing frequency in the later periods of the Eurasian Palaeolithic and Mesolithic, postdating c. 16.5 ka cal BP (Jöris 2021). An exceptional engraved shist plaquette (#87) found at the Late Magdalenian site of Gönnersdorf in the central Rhineland of Germany displays four headless female figures of the Gönnersdorf-type and a ›baby‹ carried on the back of the third female from the left (Fig. 7; Jöris 2021; Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015; Bosinski et al. 2001). Each of the figures is covered by a geometric pattern composed of hatched and/or cross-hatched lines[9]. Here, one can ask the same questions as in the case of Mezin, discussed above. What do such patterns mean? Were they simply ornamental, or do such patterns refer to body painting, tattooing, or patterned clothes?

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9 The Late Magdalenian site of Andernach-Martinsberg in Germany, located near the site of Gönnersdorf, produced a large ivory statuette of ›Gönnersdof-type‹. Engraved on the figure's right side, pairs of angular lines form chevrons that resemble, to some degree, the patterns on some Mezin statuettes (Veil 1982).
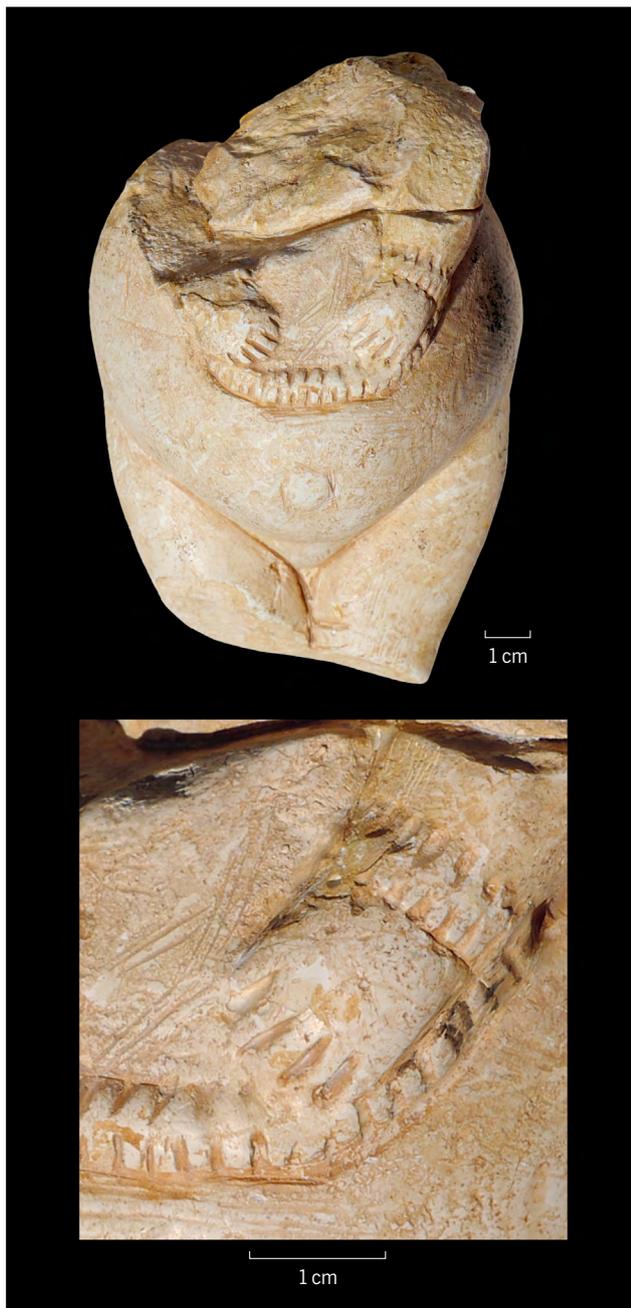
Fig. 10 Female marlstone figurine from Kostenki 1, Obl. Woronesch (Russia), displaying ›manacles‹.

Abb. 10 *Weibliche Figurine aus Mergelstein aus Kostenki 1, Obl. Woronesch (Russland), mit ›Handschellen‹.*

cells are flatter due to reduced distances between the horizontal lines when compared with the cells of the upper body above the waist. In contrast, the cells are much higher – at least in figures two and three from the left (see Fig. 7) – in the lower body around the buttocks. Although proof is lacking, one is tempted to interpret this pattern as showing how a lightweight (woven?) dress falls and folds on the female body, stretching across the buttocks. However, besides the fragmented engraved Gönnersdorf plaquette #6, which displays another hatch-filled female figure, no further finds with such a type of ornamentation are known. Nevertheless, as has been claimed repeatedly[10], the processing of plant fibres in the production of (lightweight) clothes may have played a much more important role in the Palaeolithic than is generally assumed (cf. Jöris in this volume).

Even though anthropomorphic/human depictions occur more rarely in Mesolithic contexts, they tend to be highly schematic and are also filled with geometric patterns (Fig. 8–9). In fact, it seems to become standard in the Mesolithic that anthropomorphs are filled with patterns. They are mostly found on tools or pendants (Solfeldt 2023). The few specimens known all come from the northern parts of Europe, primarily from Denmark (e.g. Brinch Petersen/Toft 2023; Sørensen 2023; Petersen 2024) and the Netherlands (Amkreutz/Niekus 2023). Whenever contextual archaeological data are available, these finds are assigned to the Early Mesolithic Maglemosian (Brinch Petersen/Toft 2023; Sørensen 2023). Even though small in number (Tab. 1), the few anthropomorphic depictions known today can be separated into two groups: (1) short and (2) tall anthropomorphs. Whereas group 1 anthropomorphs display triangular heads shaped like fishtails and are either filled by fishbone or cross-hatched patterns (Fig. 8), group 2 representations are slimmer, tall, and display more or less diamond-shaped heads; these figures are filled either with patterns of series of parallel oblique lines, cross-hatched lines, or – in one case – with short lines running from the figure's outline inwards (Fig. 9). The latter pattern, which characterises the left of two figures engraved on a perforated antler artefact from Veksø Mose in Denmark (Sørensen 2023), closely resembles two figures from mid- and Final Magdalenien or Azilian contexts of Laugerie Basse and Mas-d'Azil in southern France (cf. Duhard 1996, Fig. 67; 70). Although one may interpret the two different patterns of the northern Mesolithic in relation to clothing, analogous to the case of Gönnersdorf with the arguments presented above, in these instances, one must ask whether the depicted patterns relate to clothing at all, especially as such patterns appear quite frequently across the (northern) Mesolithic of Europe (Płonka 2003). The difficulty of interpreting abstract art is inherent to this topic, and – alternatively – one may link the ›fishbone‹ and ›fishing net‹ patterns in these contexts to significant changes in subsistence strategies which, from the Pleistocene-Holocene transition onward, rely increasingly on the exploitation of aquatic resources (cf. Matthiassen 1941; Fischer/Myrhøj 1995).

If one assumes that the hatching and cross-hatching patterns were deliberately and purposefully made, which can be argued given that the plaquette is unique compared to the hundreds of schematic female depictions known from the site as well as from across western and central Europe (Bosinski et al. 2001; Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015; Jöris 2021), then one may focus attention on some pattern details. Cross-hatching is located especially around the figures' hips, creating smaller pattern cells. Furthermore, the

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10 E.g. Adovasio et al. 1996; Soffer 2004; Soffer/ Adovasio 2010; Soffer/Adovasio 2014; Soffer et al. 1998; Soffer et al. 2000.

Fig. 11 Female marlstone figurine from Kostenki 1, complex 2, Obl. Woronesch (Russia). The figure is decorated with a brassiere-like breastband, and with one armlet and one wristband on each side.

Abb. 11 Weibliche Figur aus Mergelstein aus Kostenki 1, Komplex 2, Obl. Woronesch (Russland). Die Figur ist mit einem Büstenhalter-ähnlichen Brustband sowie einem Armband und einem Handgelenkband auf jeder Seite verziert.

Fibre-based clothing technologies

In addition to some geometric patterns that can be interpreted to represent textiles, and which tend to date later than c. 16 ka cal BP, the mid-Upper Palaeolithic record of Willendorf-style depictions includes some detailed images of fibre-based clothing items. Most intriguing are the ›manacles‹ crossing the belly of a large female figurine from Kostenki I in Russia (Fig. 10; Praslov 1993), made of marlstone. Connecting both wrists, the ›manacles‹ are worked plastically in a way that makes their rope-like structure clearly visible. It is also apparent that the details of the rope's structure are not simple decorative elements. Instead, this detail was modelled purposefully to reveal both what was depicted and what the ›manacles‹ were made of (whatever their original meaning). Identical structural details are depicted on a brassiere-like breastband that sits above the breasts of another female marlstone figurine from Kostenki I (Fig. 11; Praslov 1985; Praslov 1986). The ›rope‹ continues along the back of the figure and is fixed around the neck. Very similar details have been observed on fragments of anthropomorphic figures from the early mid-Upper Palaeolithic site of Pavlov in the Czech Republic (Verpoorte 2000; cf. Delporte

1993). Here, ropes have been modelled three-dimensionally in clay that was subsequently fired. Although the fired clay figures are heavily fragmented, it is clear that some display ropes or cords that passed around the middle of the body (in one case below the buttocks) or around the neck (Tab. 1). The detailed depictions show that the ropes were made of twisted (plant) fibres, as was a rope fragment preserved, carbonised, in the Lascaux cave in France (Leroi-Gourhan 1982)[11].

As ropes are twisted cords, cords are twisted threads, and threads are twisted fibres, this evidence opens up a complete spectrum of fibre-based textile technologies. Indeed, imprints of cords in fired clay have been reported from a few eastern European mid-Upper Palaeolithic sites (Adovasio et al. 1996; Soffer et al. 2000), and the production of thread by twisting fibres is indicated from around the Last Glacial Maximum (Nadel et al. 1994)[12].

Other, simpler, breastbands that run horizontally above the breasts are documented on a few other female figurines (Tab. 1). Noteworthy are two very similar ones, both from Kostenki I, and a third specimen from Avdeevo, also Russia, all made in ivory (Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,1; Cat. 42,163; Cat. 36,36). A fourth depiction of such a breastband has

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11 Experimental data indicate that instruments suitable for rope making had been in use at least since the Aurignacian (Conard/Rots 2024).

12 See Nadel 2003 for an updated age estimate of the evidence.

Fig. 12 Female ivory figurine from Kostenki 1, Obl. Woronesch (Russia), with an engraved breastband, depicted in detail.

Abb. 12 Weibliche Elfenbeinfigur aus Kostenki 1, Obl. Woronesch (Russland), mit graviertem Brustband, im Detail dargestellt.

been realised in an engraving of a female on a marlstone plaquette (Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,53). The specimen Cat. 42,1 (Fig. 12) from Kostenki shows an engraved breastband that is separated into two levels and hatched by short parallel oblique lines. The band continues on the figure's back, although it is worked in less detail. Such breastbands seem to be a characteristic feature of the eastern European mid-Upper Palaeolithic.

Other depictions, related to potential plant-fibre work, may represent hairnets. Probably the most unmistakable evidence for the use of such headgear comes from the two mid-Upper Palaeolithic contexts of Brassempouy in France (Piette 1895) and Balzi Rossi (Grimaldi; Mussi et al. 2000) in Italy (Fig. 13). The sculptures of interest here are fragmented; only their heads are preserved. Even though different materials were chosen at the two sites – ivory in the first case and steatite, a soft stone, in the second – regular crosshatched patterns were carefully and deeply carved into the processed materials, creating the net-like impression. One must assume – given the great care apparently involved in carving the two heads – that the regularity of the pattern was intended to depict a hairnet rather than schematic hair. For the same reasons, one would assume that the »Willendorf Venus« (Antl-Weiser 2008a; Antl-Weiser 2008b), found in 1908 in Lower Austria, and the »Femme à la tête quadrillée«, a bas-relief depiction from Laussel in France (Delporte 1993), both dating into the mid-Upper Palaeolithic, wore hairnets. Alternatively, one may interpret these as caps onto which personal ornaments had been sewn, covering their entirety. The existence of such well-decorated caps is implied from mid-Upper Palaeolithic burial contexts (e.g. Pettitt 2010; cf. Coste/Giacobini in this volume).

In many other cases, however, when less regular patterns decorate the heads of Willendorf-style depictions, it is difficult to say whether hairnets, hoods, or caps are represented; if hair is being shown schematically, the patterns applied could simply indicate curly hair (Tab. 1).

Potential clothing accessories

Some indeterminate clothing items appear in varying frequencies on Willendorf-style depictions (cf. Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015). In many cases, it is unclear exactly what is depicted, either because of the stage of weathering or due to the reduced style of representation in which some details may be implied by adding only a few lines. The contrary may also be the case, i.e. when too many lines ›overprint‹ and potentially ›hide‹ other graphic details. In engravings, such as those of La Marche in France (Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976), this can easily be the case, for example, when a hairdo is depicted. As such, it is sometimes unclear whether hoods or caps are represented, as they may be hidden under lines illustrating hair. This difficulty applies similarly to figurines when hoods or hairstyles are carved in a plastic manner. A schematic three-dimensionally sculpted bob-like hairstyle cannot easily be distinguished from a carved hood.

Nevertheless, even if a clear distinction between headgear and hairstyles is often rendered difficult[13], it is still notable that hoods are by far the most frequent clothing items featured in Willendorf-style depictions – especially when looking at eastern European and Siberian figurines (Abramova 1995; Mussi et al. 2000). The indications for

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13 Several of the Willendorf-style depictions represent details of hairstyles (e.g. Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015 for a few examples). In the context of hairstyle variability, one can easily imagine that the four holes pressed vertically into the clay heads of two figurines from Dolní Věstonice in the Czech Republic (Verpoorte 2000; cf. Neruda et al. 2024) were originally filled with materials such as feathers or real hair – probably to personalise the figurines. A rope-like ornament on the right side of the chest of a female ivory figurine from Mal'ta in Siberia (Abramova 1995, Cat 89,23) seems to start at the head and may represent a ponytail hairstyle.

Fig. 13a–b Willendorf-style figurine faces with hairnets, from (a) Balzi Rossi, Grimaldi, Prov. Imperia in Italy (»The Negroid Head«) and (b) Brassempouy, Dép. Landes, France (»Dame à la Capuche«). Not to scale, but adjusted to a similar head size for better comparability.

Abb. 13a–b Gesichter mit Haarnetzen von Figuren im Willendorf-Stil, aus (a) Balzi Rossi, Grimaldi, Prov. Imperia in Italien (»The Negroid Head«) und (b) Brassempouy, Dép. Landes, Frankreich (»Dame à la Capuche«). Nicht maßstabsgetreu, aber zur besseren Vergleichbarkeit auf eine ähnliche Kopfgröße angepasst.
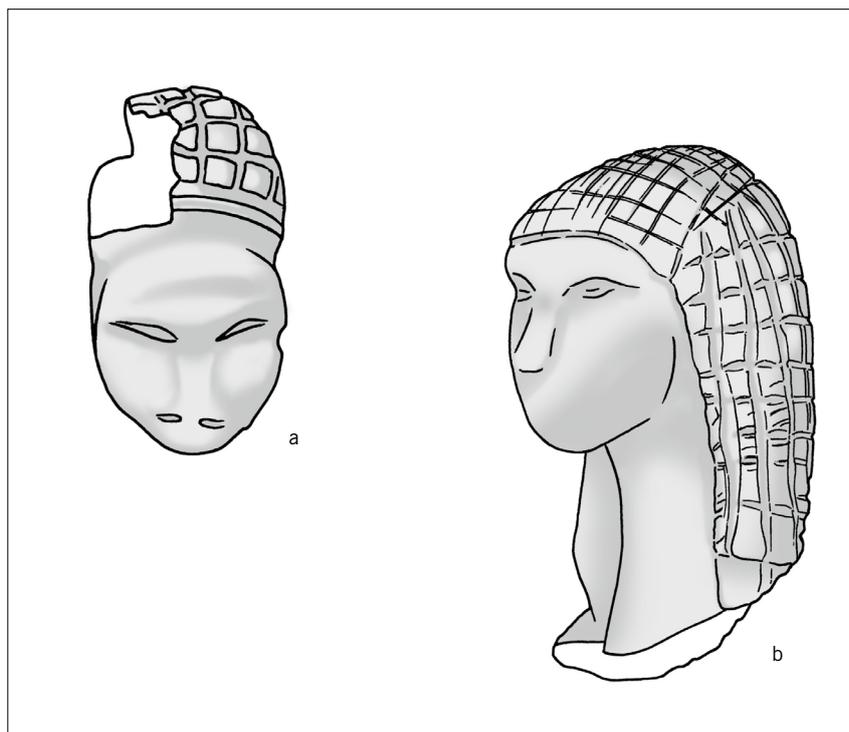
potential pelt hoods have already been discussed above. Besides hoods, caps may also be shown in a few cases. Again, this accounts for some eastern European mid-Upper Palaeolithic finds (Abramova 1995) but also some of the La Marche engravings (Tab. 1). The so-called ›observation no. 29‹ of La Marche displays a head band (Fig. 14f; Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976).

Moving farther down the body, breastbands, most likely made of fibres, have already been described, and belts around the hips were previously discussed in relation to tailored and fitted clothing. In fact, lines that separate the upper from the lower body are frequently found; however, they are mostly one single line or only a few short lines (Tab. 1). Noteworthy are a somewhat broader belt, sculpted on one of the bas-reliefs from Laussel in France (»Chasseur«; Delporte 1993), and the engraved broad belt of ›observation no. 49‹ from La Marche (Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976). The latter is filled with a cross-hatched pattern, possibly indicating a large woven (?) piece of cloth used as a belt.

Some of the potential belts, marked by a horizontal carving, sit somewhat lower – even below the buttocks – such as the ropes mentioned above, or as indicated by a deeper carving on Venus I of Dolní Věstonice in the Czech Republic (Verpoorte 2000; cf. Neruda et al. 2024). This is the position where the ›shroud‹ begins, shown on the back of the Lespugue Venus from southern France; from there, it runs down the body to the feet (de Saint-Périer 1922). Several subparallel lines filling the ›shroud‹ may indicate narrow folds in a textile cloth. In one of the interpretations of ›observation no. 29‹ from La Marche, some vertical lines below the buttocks may resemble such a shroud (Fig. 14d; Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976). In this case, however, the engraved lines run upwards towards the buttocks.

Jewellery

Jewellery is also occasionally found in Palaeolithic depictions (Tab. 1) which are discussed here from the top of the body to the feet. Necklaces may be draped around the neck, as in the case of a Magdalenian engraving on a bone found at Isturitz in southern France (Fig. 14b; Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996). The ornamental rope around the neck of a fragment of a fired clay figurine from Pavlov has already been mentioned (Verpoorte 2000; cf. Delporte 1993). An exceptionally detailed engraving of a necklace adorns an ivory figurine from Kostenki I (Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,2; cf. Delporte 1993). Depictions of armbands occur quite frequently (e.g. Fig. 14a–e), but sleeve holder like armlets (e.g. Fig. 11) and anklets (e.g. Fig. 14b; cf. Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015) are also known.

As the examples demonstrate, jewellery can be found on both sculpted figurines and in engraved images; personal ornaments appear in both the Middle and the Late Upper Palaeolithic periods, and are linked to eastern and western European sites, respectively.

Discussion and conclusions

The Eurasian Palaeolithic to Mesolithic artistic record of clothing shows a three-stage chronological sequence of human and anthropomorphic depictions represented in different styles: The Willendorf-style of depiction (1) is characterised as more naturalistic, whereas the succeeding, far more abstract and highly schematised style of later Late Upper Palaeolithic depictions (i.e. post-dating c. 16.5 ka cal BP) comprises (2) Gönnersdorf-type- and silhouette-like anthropomorphic figures (Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015).
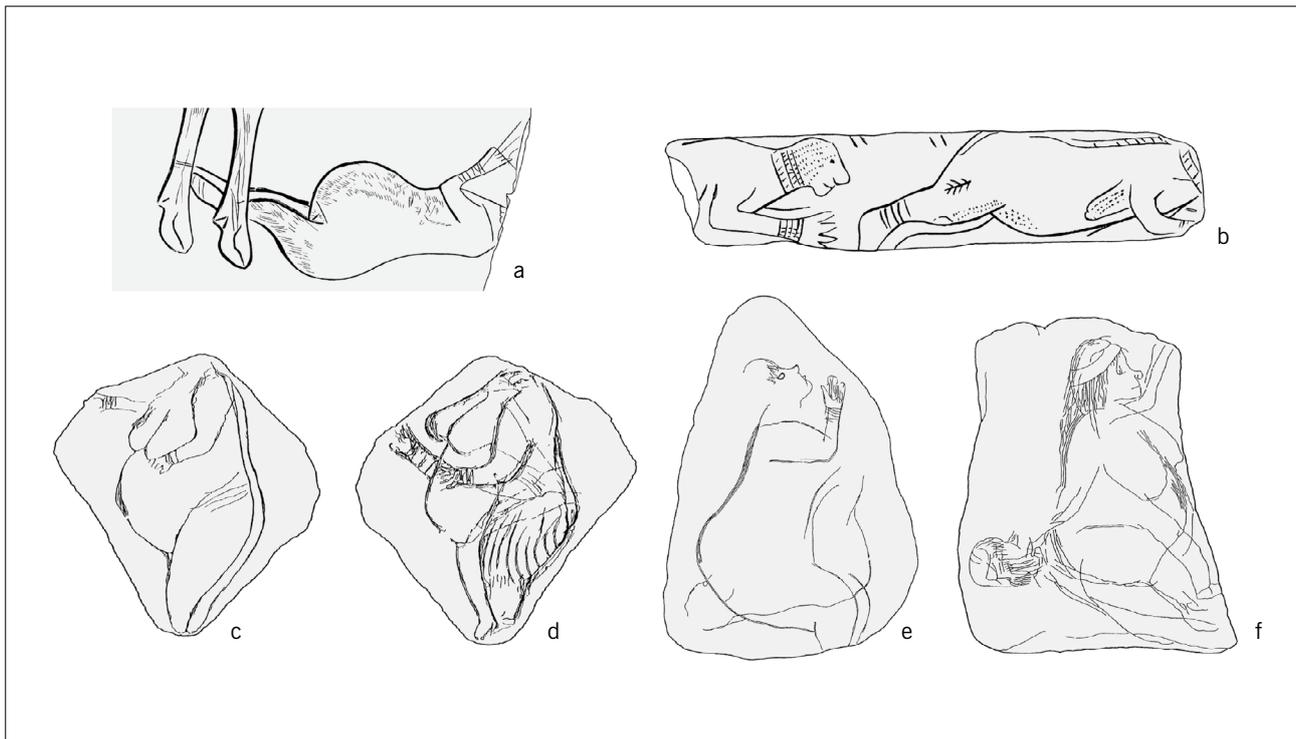
Fig. 14a–f Middle and Late Magdalenian female depictions from the French sites of (a) Laugerie-Basse, Dép. Dordogne, (b) Isturitz, Dép. Pyrénées-Atlantiques, and (c–f) La Marche, Dép. Nièvre. Not to scale, but adjusted to similar torso size for better comparability.

Abb. 14a–f Darstellungen von Frauen aus dem mittleren und späten Magdalénien aus den französischen Fundstellen (a) Laugerie-Basse, Dép. Dordogne, (b) Isturitz, Dép. Pyrénées-Atlantiques, und (c–f) La Marche , Dép. Nièvre. Nicht maßstabsgetreu, aber zur besseren Vergleichbarkeit auf ähnliche Torso-Größen angepasst.

Between the Late Upper Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic, Europe experiences a major iconographic shift towards the (3) geometric-dominated art that characterises most of the European Mesolithic (Płonka 2003; Grünberg et al. 2023). This very coarse periodisation is well-reflected in the ways that clothing and body decoration are represented in the artistic record of the three stylistic epochs.

Whereas some of the Willendorf-style human and anthropomorphic depictions appear personalised through either the highlighting of facial details, hairstyles, personal ornamentation or clothing items, the later Late Upper Palaeolithic anthropomorphic depictions mostly lack any individual markers. The different demographic context and implications for social organisation have been discussed elsewhere in more detail (Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015). Here, only some key iconographic aspects underlying the stylistic differences between the first two epochs are mentioned. In reference to the Willendorf-style, it is worth noting that the iconographic elements added to the basic shape of the depictions are extremely unevenly dispersed and rarely combined with other iconographic elements on the same figurine. In other words, there seem to be no clear rules for where on a specific figure a detail should be added. On the contrary, the ›irregular‹ spatial distribution of details displayed on the figures' bodies points towards an emphasis on individuals who really existed. As such, Willendorf-style figurines may be considered historical sources for clothing, hairstyle and body ornamentation, highlighting features and attributes of particular individuals. This also implies that, whatever items were depicted that may relate to clothing in the broadest sense, this was not primarily done to illustrate how Palaeolithic people dressed but to ›tag‹ (and ›name‹) the individual on the one hand and to highlight the specific clothing item on the other. This explains why some items, e.g. the ropes, are depicted in such great detail. When social identities are partly rooted in descent and explained through kin, it would not be surprising if ancestral individuals were given names and tags, such as by the application of decorative or meaning-loaded items and related stories (which, in the ethnographic record, often also relate to metaphysical worldviews): this is what remembrance was always built upon in the pre-photographic period. The personal ornaments and clothing items depicted seem to have played central roles in this context. It is also important to emphasise that the majority of iconographic details are likely linked to decorative items made from plant fibre, as has been discussed in detail above. Besides the depicted clothing items themselves, thin twined fibre thread was the basic material required for both sewing and, most likely, also for producing jewellery.

Whereas the Willendorf-style period has such a strong focus on past individuals, the later Late Upper Palaeolithic, with its anthropomorphic images (Gönnersdorf-type and silhouette-like anthropomorphic figures), seems to focus more intensely on the social roles of individuals (Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015). However, the major ›iconoclasm‹ that led to the geometric-dominated art of the European Mesolithic may be best explained not only through the spread of new metaphysical concepts, which surely came in tandem with significant changes in social organisation, but

also through a major population turnover during the Late Glacial period that effected large parts of Europe (cf. Poost et al. 2023). A certain demographic and genetic continuity in parts of southwestern Europe that would have bridged the Last Glacial Maximum (Villalba-Mouco at al. 2023) could, if confirmed, also provide a theoretical demographic framework potentially suited to explaining the developments that may have led to the formation of the region-specific Levantine rock art (see footnote 2).

Acknowledgements

Tab. 1 (on the following pages) Palaeolithic and Mesolithic art record of clothing. The table compiles the diverse evidence for clothing derived from human and anthropomorphic depictions found across Eurasia. It lists the evidence, sorted for country and site, for every depiction of relevance in this context. To facilitate easy access to primary literature, figure and catalogue number references are given to some of the more comprehensive catalogues.

Tab. 1 (auf den folgenden Seiten) *Paläolithische und mesolithische Kunst mit Darstellungen von Kleidung. Die Tabelle fasst die vielfältigen Hinweise auf Kleidung in menschlichen und anthropomorphen Darstellungen Eurasiens zusammen. Sie listet die Belege, sortiert nach Land und Fundstelle, für jede in diesem Zusammenhang relevante Darstellung auf. Um den Zugang zur Primärliteratur zu erleichtern, werden für einige der umfassenderen Belege Verweise auf Abbildungen und Katalognummern angegeben.*

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)

Austria

Willendorf

| »Willendorf Venus« | 3D | sandstone | | human | WD | (3D) | ♀ | hairnet (or hairstyle?) | |

Czech Republic

Dolní Věstonice

No. 12 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.24), Venus I	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	♀	4 holes in the head (insertions?)	belt?
No. 15 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.29)	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?	4 holes in the head (insertions?)	
No. 1 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.2), Venus V	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀?		belt?
No. 6 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.9), Venus IX	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?		belt?
No. 10 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.13)	3D	fired clay		anthropo-morph	WD	(3D)	♀		belt?

Pavlov

No. 21 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.54)	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?		rope around the body below but-tocks
No. 22 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.55)	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?		rope around the body
No. 23 (Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.56)	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?		rope around the body
(Verpoorte 2000, Fig. 3.61)	3D	fired clay		human	WD	(3D)	?		rope around the ›neck‹?

Denmark

Jordløse Mose

| | 2D | antler (perfora-ted) | | tall anthropo-morph, dia-mond-shaped head | Mesol. | right | (no) | | |

Ryemarksgård

| | 2D | bone (metapo-dial, aurochs) | #1 | anthropo-morph, triangular head | Mesol. | front or back | (no) | | |
| | | | #2 | | Mesol. | right | (no) | | |

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
armband		MUP	Gravettian	29–30	Angeli 1989; Antl-Weiser 2008a; 2008b	128	LIX		
		MUP	Gravettian	30–32	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	131			
		MUP	Gravettian	30–32	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	133			
		MUP	Gravettian	30–32	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	134			
	punched pattern	MUP	Gravettian	30–32	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	138			
		MUP	Gravettian	30–32	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	146			
		MUP	Gravettian	31–33	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	151b			
		MUP	Gravettian	31–33	Delporte 1993; Verpoorte 2000	155b			
		MUP	Gravettian	31–33	Verpoorte 2000				
		MUP	Gravettian	31–33	Verpoorte 2000	155a			
	pattern of parallel oblique lines	Mesol.	Maglemosian?	8.5–11.6	Petersen 2024				
	fishbone pattern, oriented so that the figure's head looks like a fishtail	early Mesol.	Maglemosian	8.5–11.6	Sørensen 2023				
	torso: cross-hatched pattern								

Continued on the next page

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
	2D	bone (metapodial, aurochs)	#3	anthropomorph, triangular head	Mesol.	right	(no)		
			#4	anthropomorph, rhombic head	Mesol.	right	(no)		
			#5	anthropomorph, triangular head	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
Sindalgård									
	2D	amber (pendant)	#1	tall anthropomorph, diamond-shaped head	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
			#2		Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
			#3	tall anthropomorph	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
			#4	tall anthropomorph, diamond-shaped head?	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		head or ›handbag‹-like accessory held in one hand
			#5 (floating on top of #1–4)		Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
Veksø Mose									
	2D	antler (perforated)	left	tall anthropomorph, diamond-shaped head	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
			right		Mesol.	front or back?	♂?		

France

Bédeilhac

MAN 75626	3D	tooth (incisor, horse)		human		(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
MAN 776261	2D	sandstone		human		left	♂?		belt?

Brassempouy

MAN 47019: »Dame à la Capuche«	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀?	hairnet (or hairstyle?)	
MAN 47260: »Manche de poihnard«	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		flat object (?) on the back above the buttocks

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
	torso: cross-hatched pattern	early Mesol.	Maglemosian	8.5–11.6	Sørensen 2023				
	torso: cross-hatched pattern								
	fishbone pattern, oriented so that the figure's head looks like a fishtail								
	pattern of parallel oblique lines	Mesol.	Maglemosian?	8.5–11.6	Brinch Petersen/ Toft 2023				
	few oblique lines								
	few oblique lines								
	pattern of parallel oblique lines								
	pattern of parallel oblique lines								
	multiple short lines going inwards from the figure's outline	Mesol.	Maglemosian?	8.5–11.6	Sørensen 2023				
	cross-hatched pattern across head and body								
		LUP	mid-Magdalenian	16–18	Delporte 1993	27			
		LUP		16–18	Duhard 1996			22	
		MUP	Gravettian	24–26	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993	7	VI, 3		
		MUP	Gravettian	24–26	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993	8	VI, 2		

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
Bruniquel									
MAN MCIIF 312 82723	2D	bone (rib)		human		front	♀?		vertical line of 6 ›buttons‹ along the centre of the torso
Cro-Magnon									
MP A 6123 CM	2D	bione		anthropo-morph		right	♀?		
Les Fadets									
	2D	limestone		human		right	?		belt?
Gabillou (parietal)									
»Femme à l'anorak«	2D	limestone		human		left	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Isturitz									
MAN 84772	2D	bone (rib)	leading	human		right	♀		
MAN 84772	2D	bone (rib)	following	human		right	♀?		
Laugerie-Basse									
MAN 47001	2D	bone (bovine)		human		left	♀		
MAN 53919	2D	bone		tall anthropo-morph, dia-mond-shaped head		left	?		
Laussel									
»Femme à la tête quadrillée«	bas-relief	stone		human	WD	front	♀	hairnet (or hairstyle?)	
»Chasseur«	bas-relief	stone		human	WD	right	♀		belt?
Lespugue									
Musée de l'Homme, L.A.38189	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		shroud (?) (back)
La Marche									
observation no. 22	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	?	head band	
observation no. 29	2D	limestone		human	WD	left	♀	cap? (or hairstyle?), head band?	shroud (?) (back)
observation no. 34	2D	limestone		human	WD	left	♂	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
observation no. 36	2D	limestone		human	WD	left	♀		

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
		LUP	mid-Magdalenian	16–19	Leroi Gourhan 1965; Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996	29	L, 2	90b	
	torso filled with chevrons	MUP	Gravettian	32–33	Delporte 1993	57			
		LUP?	Magdalenian?	16–18	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996	81	XLIX, 1	19	
		LUP	mid-Magdalenian	17–19	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1996	68		94	
necklace and anklet	body ornamented by multiple short lines	LUP	Late Magdalenian	14–16	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993	18	XXXVI, 4		
necklace and armband					Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996			5	
armband? and anklet?	belly ornamented by multiple short lines	LUP	Late Magdalenian	14–16	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996	53a	XXXIV, 1	93	
	multiple short lines going inwards from the figure's outline	LUP	mid-Magdalenian?	14–17	Duhard 1996			67 a+b	
		MUP	Gravettian	24–26	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993	44	XVIII		
		MUP	Gravettian	24–26	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993; Duhard 1996	47	XXI	21	
		MUP	Gravettian	24–26	Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993	19	XIII		
							LXI, 3	100,22	
armband(s)		LUP	mid-Magdalenian	17–18	Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976			10,29"	
armband and anklet									

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
observation no. 37	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	♀		belt
observation no. 38	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	♀	head band	
observation no. 40	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	?	cap	belt
observation no. 43	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	♂?	cap	belt
observation no. 47	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	♀		shroud (?)
observation no. 49	2D	limestone		human	WD	left	♀		broad belt (filled with cross-hatched pattern)
observation no. 54	2D	limestone		human	WD	right	♀		belt?
observation no. 60	2D	limestone		human	WD	frontal-right	♂		

Mas d'Azil

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
MAN 48120	2D	bone (rondelle)		tall anthropo-morph, diamond-shaped head		left	♂		

Germany

Andernach-Martinsberg

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
large ivory statuette	3D	ivory		anthropo-morph	GÖ	(3D)	♀		

Geißenklösterle

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
»Adorant«	3D	ivory		anthropo-morph (theri-anthrope?)		front	?		pelt-coat?

Gönnersdorf

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
plaquette no. 6	2D	schist		anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		
plaquette no. 73	2D	schist	#73.2	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		shoes? (or feet?)
plaquette no. 87	2D	schist	#87.1	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		
			#87.2	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		
			#87.3	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		
			#87.4	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	?		
			#87.5	anthropo-morph	GÖ	right	♀		

Vogelherd

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
	3D	ivory		anthropo-morph (theri-anthrope?)		(3D)	(no)		pelt-coat?

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
armband							LXII, 1	86	
							LXVI, 1		
armband							LXIII, 2	100,40'	
								100,43'	
anklet?		LUP	mid-Mag-dalenian	17–18	Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976				
armband?									
armband									
	multiple short lines going inwards from the figure's outline	LUP/LP	mid- to Final Mag-dalenian/ Azilian	17–14	Duhard 1996			70	
	2 pairs of engraved lines	LUP	Magdale-nian	15.8	Veil 1982	115			
	›punch‹ pattern	EUP	Aurigna-cian	38–40	Hahn 1982; Floss 2007	120			
	hatched pattern	LUP	Magdale-nian	15.8	Bosinski et al. 2001				
		LUP	Magdale-nian	15.8	Bosinski et al. 2001				
	hatched and cross-hatched pattern						LXVIII, 1	97,1	
	hatched and cross-hatched pattern						LXVIII, 2	97,2	
	hatched and cross-hatched pattern	LUP	Magdale-nian	15.8	Bosinski et al. 2001	113	LXVIII, 3	97,3	
	hatched pattern						LXVIII, 4	97,4	
	hatched pattern						LXVIII, 5	97,5	
	›punch‹ pattern	EUP	Auri-gnacian	35–40	Riek 1934; Floss 2007	121			

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Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
Italy									
Addaura (parietal)									
left wall	2D	limestone	#23	human		left	♀?		carrying sack/ ›backpack‹
			#24	human		right	♂?	hood	belt
			#26	human		front or back?	?		belt
			#28	human		right	♂?	hood	belt
			#29	human		right	♂?	hood?	belt
			#31	human		front or back	♂?		belt
			#32	human		right	♂?	hood	belt
			#33	human		right	♂?	hood	belt
			#35	human		right	?		belt
			#36	human		left	?		belt?
Grimaldi									
»The Janus«	3D	stone		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood	
»The Ochred Lady«	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
»The Bust«	3D	stone		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood	
»The Negroid Head«	3D	stone		human	WD	(3D)	♀?	hair net (or hairstyle?)	
Netherlands									
Geldrop									
»The Dancer«	2D	stone (pebble)		human		front	♀		loincloth
Wanssum									
	2D	stone (pebble)		human		front	♂?		loincloth
Valkenburg-Straatbeek									
	2D	stone (pebble)		anthropo-morph, triangular head	Mesol.	front or back	(no)		
Russia									
Avdeevo									
Cat. 36,36 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	cap? (or hairstyle?)	breastband
Cat. 36,37 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		
Cat. 36,38 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
								99	
						101			
		LP	Epi-Gravettian	14	Di Maida et al. 2020	101			
						101			
						101			
						101			
						101			
						101			
						101			
		MUP	Gravettian	23–28	Mussi et al. 2000	90	XII		
		MUP	Gravettian	23–28	Mussi et al. 2000				
		MUP	Gravettian	23–28	Mussi et al. 2000				
		MUP	Gravettian	23–28	Mussi et al. 2000	95			
		LP?	Ahrensburgian?	11–13	Verhart/d'Errico 2012	110			
		(no) LP to Mesol.?	no	11–14	Verhart/d'Errico 2012				
	cross-hatched pattern across body and head	(no) Mesol.?	Mesol.	8.5–11.6	Amkreutz/ Niekus 2023				
armbands?		MUP	Gravettian	23–25	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	183			43,3
armband		MUP	Gravettian	23–25	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	184			43,2
armband		MUP	Gravettian	23–25	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	185			43,1

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
Buret'									
Cat. 90,1 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood	
Cat. 90,2 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 90,3 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Gagarino									
Cat. 38,2 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	cap (or hairstyle?)	
Kostenki I									
Cat. 42,1 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		breastband (also on back side), belt?
Cat. 42,2 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		belt
Cat. 42,3 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		belt
Cat. 42,53 (Abramova 1995)	2D	marlstone		human	WD	front	♀		breastband
Kostenki I, 2									
Cat. 42,163 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		breastband
Cat. 42,164 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood?	
Cat. 42,165 (Abramova 1995)	3D	marlstone		human	WD	(3D)	♀		›bra‹-like breastband
Cat. 42,166 (Abramova 1995)	3D	marlstone		human	WD	(3D)	♀?	hairnet (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 42,172 (Abramova 1995)	3D	marlstone		human	WD	(3D)	♀		›manacles‹
Mal'ta									

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
	›punch‹ pattern	MUP	Gravettian	23–24		211,1			115,5
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	211,2			115,1
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		211,3			115,3
		MUP	Gravettian	25	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	190			52,2
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		166			59,1
necklace		MUP	Gravettian	23–26	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	167			59,2
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		168			60,1
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		164			62,10
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		169			73,2
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		173			73,1
wristbands and armlets		MUP	Gravettian	23–26	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	174			74,4
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		176			74,7
		MUP	Gravettian	23–26		175			76

Continued on the next page

Object	Technique: sculpture (3D); engraving (2D)	Material	Figure no. within a scene	Type of depiction	Style/type: Willendorf (WD); Gönnersdorf (GÖ); Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Viewed from …	Sex	Headcover	Clothing item(s)
Cat. 89,1 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood?	
Cat. 89,3 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?		
Cat. 89,4 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,5 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood	
Cat. 89,6 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood	
Cat. 89,7 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,8 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		
Cat. 89,9 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood?	
Cat. 89,10 (Abramova 1995)	3D	antler (reindeer)		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,11 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,13 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀?	hood?	
Cat. 89,16 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?		
Cat. 89,17 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,18 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?		
Cat. 89,19 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀		
Cat. 89,23 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood? (or hairstyle?), ponytail? (or ornamentation?)	
Cat. 89,24 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	♀	hood? (or hairstyle?)	
Cat. 89,27 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		human	WD	(3D)	?		

Ukraine

Mezhyrich

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
Cat. 21,1 (Abramova 1995)	3D	bone (mammoth)		anthropomorph		(3D)	♀		

Mezin

Object	Technique	Material	Figure no.	Type of depiction	Style/type	Viewed from	Sex	Headcover	Clothing
Cat. 23,1 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		anthropomorph		(3D)	♀		
Cat. 23,2 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		anthropomorph		(3D)	♀		
Cat. 23,3 (Abramova 1995)	3D	ivory		anthropomorph		(3D)	♀		

Personal ornaments	Decoration	Archaeol. Period Early Upper Pal. (EUP) mid-Upper Pal. (MUP) Late Upper Pal. (LUP) Late Pal. (LP) Mesolithic (Mesol.)	Archaeological »culture«	Age (~ka cal BP)	Reference	Fig. no. in Delporte 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1993	Fig. no. in Duhard 1996	Fig. no. in Abramova 1995
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,1			102,1
	›punch‹ pattern	MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,3			102,3
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,4			103,1
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,5			102,4
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,6			102,6
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,7			103,2
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,8			103,4
	ornamentation of buttocks (lower end of ›parka‹?)	MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,9			102,7
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24		209,10			103,3
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,11			104,2
	›wrapping‹ pattern	MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,13			102,2
	›wrapping‹ pattern	MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,16			105,1
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Abramova 1995				105,7
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Abramova 1995				105,6
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,19			104,6
armlet?	ornamentation of right chest by rope or leafed twig (?), or ponytail?	MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,23			104,3
		MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Delporte 1993; Abramova 1995	209,24			105,5
	›wrapping‹ pattern	MUP	Gravettian	23–24	Abramova 1995				105,2
	frontal torso: groups of horizontal lines	LUP	Epi-Gravettian	17.5–18.5	Abramova 1995; Delporte 1993; Jöris 2021	207b			11,2
	patterns of chevrons, ›angular meanders‹, sets of parallel lines	LUP	Epi-Gravettian	16.5–17.5	Abramova 1995; Jöris 2021				14,1
	patterns of chevrons, ›angular meanders‹, sets of parallel lines	LUP	Epi-Gravettian	16.5–17.5	Abramova 1995; Jöris 2021				14,4
	patterns of chevrons, ›angular meanders‹	LUP	Epi-Gravettian	16.5–17.5	Abramova 1995				14,3

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Source of figures

1 redrawn and modified from Cluzel/Cleyet-Merle 2011; Leroi-Gourhan 1971
2 redrawn and modifed by N. Viehöver from: Leroi Gourhan 1965; cf. Delporte 1993; Duhard 1993
3 photos, orthophoto and modelling G. Di Maida; modified from Mussi et al. 2023; numbers according to Di Maida et al. 2020
4 a Verhart/d'Errico 2012; cf. Amkreutz/Niekus 2023; drawing from Verhart 2015, courtesy L. Verhart; photograph National Museum of Antiquities Leiden; b Verhart/d'Errico 2012; cf. Niekus/Amkreutz 2021
5 Jöris 2021; redrawn and modified by G. Rutkowski and N. Viehöver from Chovkoplass 1965
6 Jöris 2021; redrawn and modified by G. Rutkowski and N. Viehöver from Chovkoplass 1965
7 Volker Iserhardt, LEIZA; after

Jöris 2021; Gaudzinski-Windheuser/Jöris 2015; cf. Bosinski et al. 2001: plaquette no. 87, the so called »Strickvenüsse«
8 a Amkreutz/Niekus 2023; drawing from Verhart 2015, courtesy L. Verhart; photograph National Museum of Antiquities Leiden; b Sørensen 2023; CC BY-SA, Roberto Fortuna & Kira Ursem, The National Museum of Denmark
9 a Brinch Petersen/Toft 2023; pendant inv. nr. A48088 from Sindalgård, Åmosen, CC BY-SA, Roberto Fortuna & Kira Ursem, The National Museum of Denmark; b Sørensen 2023; CC BY-SA, Roberto Fortuna & Kira Ursem, The National Museum of Denmark
10 O. Jöris of a cast, stored in the MONREPOS Archaeological Research Centre and Museum of

Human Behavioural Evolution, arranged and modified by N. Viehöver; reference: Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,172
11 O. Jöris of a cast, stored in the MONREPOS Archaeological Research Centre and Museum of Human Behavioural Evolution, arranged and modified by N. Viehöver; reference: Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,165
12 O. Jöris of a cast, stored in the MONREPOS Archaeological Research Centre and Museum of Human Behavioural Evolution, arranged and modified by N. Viehöver; reference: Abramova 1995, Cat. 42,1
13 after Brunn 2007; Wolf 2008
14 redrawn and modified from Delporte 1993; Pales/Tassin de Saint Péreuse 1976

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