

**ARCHAEOLOGIC PERSPECTIVES: FROM ARTISTIC
REPRESENTATIONS TO FUNERAL RITUAL/
PERSPECTIVES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES:
DES REPRÉSENTATIONS ARTISTIQUES
AU RITUAL FUNÉRAIRES**

**ATTRIBUTES OF THE GREAT MOTHER GODDESS
IN THE NEOLITHIC AND ENEOLITHIC
PLASTIC ART FROM OLTENIA**

Iohana NICHITA
Museum of Slatina
iohana1980@yahoo.com

Abstract: The studies referring to the anthropomorphic plastic art from the Neolithic and Eneolithic era are rich and complex. We must mention that the plastic art, that constitutes the primordial element when defining a culture, reflects the magical-religious beliefs common to all the members of a community. The cult of fertility is attested in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period through the anthropomorphic representations (most of them feminine and rarely masculine) and zoomorphic. The anthropomorphic representations find their essence in the cult, in the belief in the Great Mother Goddess. The plastic representations so rich in the Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures from our country had also a magical-religious function. They can also be regarded as art manifestations, the Neolithic and Eneolithic artisans succeeding to make more than a simply suggest of the reality, moulding in clay, but, with good reason, works that have an incontestably plastic value.

Keywords: the Neolithic and Eneolithic plastic art, anthropomorphic statuettes, the Great Mother Goddess, Oltenia.

The imaginary world, created and enriched through the contact with the material, barely allows us to decipher it and we only understand it thanks to the figurative creations¹ of the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras. The anthropomorphic

¹ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, București, Editura Științifică, vol. I, 1991, p. 43.

representations from Neolithic and Eneolithic had a magical function, were related to a cult act².

Along the time, the anthropomorphic plastic art generated ample discussions referring to its signification and the suggested modalities reflected a certain point of view regarding its interpretation. The Great Mother Goddess cult is documented early in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period. The main characteristics of the Great Goddess are: the fertility, the maternity, the procreation. Not so far ago, the most frequent approach of the signification and functionality regarding the Neolithic and Eneolithic plastic representations started from the premises that they are nothing more than “prototypes” of the later divinities³. Thus, a great number of divinities were the basis of constitution for a real pantheon⁴ in which the dominant figure was the “The Great Mother”, the supreme divinity presented in different hypostases, all related to the fecundity and fertility cult⁵.

The cult of fertility is, nevertheless, related with the earth. The Earth Goddess was, in the Neolithic period, an important divinity having as main attributes: the feminine creative power and the fertility of the soil.

A different interpretation denies the possibility that these representations may bear religious connotations, offering them, in exchange, a practical role⁶, or considering them only simple “toys”⁷. D. Bailey launched the hypothesis that the plastic representations are a way of affirmation regarding the individual and group identity⁸, where the sacred represents a constitutive element of the individual and collective conscience. An interesting approach proposes R. R. Andreescu who evidences the multiple functionality of the different plastic

² Ovidiu Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, vol. I, 1985, p. 55.

³ D. W. Bailey, “Reading prehistoric figurines as individuals”, in *World Archaeology*, 25 (3), 1994, pp. 321-322.

⁴ M. Gimbutas, *Civilizația Marii Zeițe și sosirea cavalerilor războinici*, București, 1997, pp. 96-97.

⁵ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, p. 7; Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta neolitică în România*; S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, “Unele probleme ale plasticii antropomorfe neo-eneolitice din România și relațiile ei cu Mediterana Orientală”, in *Pontica*, X, 1977, p. 42; D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripole*, Piatra Neamț, 1997, pp. 201-204; M. Neagu, “Statuete antropomorfe ale culturilor Bolintineanu și Boian din Câmpia Munteniei”, in *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, XV, 1997, p. 104; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, București, 1995.

⁶ P. Ucko, *Anthropomorphic figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete with comparative material from the Prehistoric Near East and Mianland Greece*, London, 1968.

⁷ R. Treuil, *Le Néolithique et le Bronze Ancien Egéen. Les problèmes, stratigraphiques et chronologiques, les techniques, les hommes*, Paris, 1984, pp. 410-424; R. Treuil, *Les figurines néolithiques: idols ou jouets? Le grand atlas de l'archéologie*, Paris, 1992, p. 65-66.

⁸ D. W. Bailey, “Reading prehistoric...”, p. 329; D. W. Bailey, *Balkan Prehistory, Excursion, Incorporation and Identity*, Routledge, London, 2000, p. 102.

categories, admitting their cultic character⁹. We must also bring forward the study that belongs to V. Voinea, referring to the ancestral religious gestures on the cult vessels from Gumelnița that evidence the connection between the anthropomorphic representations and the religious life of those communities, admitting, in the same time, the impossibility of making a dissociation between worshiper and divinity, knowing the fact that not all the statuettes are prototypes of the divinity¹⁰. René Guénon states that literarily the human “represents only a passing and contingent manifestation of the real being... The human individuality... shouldn’t own a privileged place outside the line, in the infinite hierarchy of hypotheses of the total being; there, he hasn’t got a rank more important than that of other hypotheses”¹¹.

In the Neolithic and Eneolithic period, the signs were used to define and to sacralize objects. The sign represented an element perceptible through the senses and that indicates something different than itself. The symbol can be defined as sign, object, image that represents or once represented something for someone. With the help of the symbol we can get inside the world of mentalities, which are multidimensional. The symbol is different from the sign because the sign can be defined as a convention between significant and signifiant and the symbol represents the ensemble of the significant and signifiant.

A symbol always illustrates, whatever the context is, the fundamental unity of several areas of the reality: till recently, there has been observed in the Oriental Prussia the custom according to which a naked woman would go to the field and seed the peas. At the Finnish people, the women bring the seeds to the field in the menstrual dress, in the shoe of a prostitute or in the stocking of a bastard, increasing in such way the fruitfulness of the seeds after the contact with objects worn by persons that bear a powerful erotic print. At the Estonians, the girls bring the linseed to the field, the Swedish people don’t allow anyone but women to sow the linseed. At the German people, the women, especially the married and pregnant ones, are also those who sow the seeds.

The existence of a system of myths and beliefs, sometimes illustrated with such plastic-anthropomorphic representations, cannot certainly establish if there was a religion in the true sense of the word, with a pantheon in which’s centre we would find a divinity. We cannot deny that there was a system of beliefs where the magic played an important part, the anthropomorphic figurines and vessels being used with a certain destination during certain practices, but, if both systems existed, it becomes even more difficult to interpret the functionality of this type of plastic representation.

⁹ R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorvă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002, p. 94.

¹⁰ V. Voinea, “Gesturi și semnificații în arta gumelnițeană”, in *Cultură și civilizație la Dunărea de Jos*, XXII, 2005, pp. 383-398.

¹¹ René Guénon, *La Métaphysique orientale*, Paris, 1937, p. 22 și urm.

The objects found in the Neolithic and Eneolithic period, those that lead to the feminine fertility¹², bring forward the fact that the procreative act is associated with some ideas of metaphysics. The fertility of the ground is solidary with the feminine fertility, therefore, the women become responsible for the richness of the crops because they have known the mystery of the creation¹³.

In the plastic art of the Neo-Eneolithic cultures predominates the statuettes that represent orants, the “statuary” type, with the arms spread laterally and bended sometimes from the elbows upwards. The representation of the sexual organs, the accentuation of the hips and buttocks (see sketch I) and the positions of the arms led to the naming of “The Great Mother” or “The Mother Goddess”, with attributes related with the cult of fecundity and fertility. The predomination of the feminine character is an obvious fact, the relation between the woman, fecundity and vegetation being, in the same time, very frequent in the religious system¹⁴. The figurines represented with the hands on the abdomen illustrate the pregnant Great Mother (see the sketches II, fig. 1, 2).

The feminine statuettes with distinct features presented through some anatomic features well illustrated or exaggerated and also through their ritual destination, demonstrate the preoccupation of the Neolithic and Eneolithic people for the cult of fecundity¹⁵. The sexuality is present in several variants and hypostases. One of the most frequent refers to the cult fertility and fecundity.

No matter the way of artistic expression, the feminine character is represented as a “matron”, over-dimensioned, with a prominent abdomen¹⁶ having the arms placed on it. Such figurines, with an accentuated steatopygia, were considered to be the ideal of beauty in the prehistoric times, being identified with the Mother Goddess, creator of the Universe “the one who generated energy”¹⁷ (see sketch III).

A great number of beliefs, myths connected with the earth, with its goddesses, with the Great Mother have been kept¹⁸.

The Great Mother – “sacred presence” – amorphous divinity, well-shaped divine figure or just a simple “custom” derived from a “vague memory of the

¹² Alexandru Macovei, *Arta. Din preistorie la renașterea timpurie*, București, Editura Litera, 2010, p. 10.

¹³ Mircea Eliade, *Istoria credințelor și ideilor religioase*, Ist vol., București, Editura Științifică, 1991, p. 49.

¹⁴ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istoria religiilor*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1992.

¹⁵ Ovidiu Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, Ist vol., București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1985, p. 46.

¹⁶ C. N. Mateescu, I. Voinescu, “Representation of Pregnancy on certain Neolithic Clay Figurines on Lower and Middle Danube”, in *Dacia* N.S. 26, 1982, p. 47-56.

¹⁷ V. Voinea, *Gesturi și semnificații...*, p. 391.

¹⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Morfologia religiilor. Prolegomene*, București, Editura Jurnalul literar, 1993, p. 141.

underground forces” – has always been the destiny of maternity, of the endless power of creation¹⁹.

The Great Mother Goddess is the personification of the everlasting source of creation of this “ultimate fundament of reality”. She is nothing else than “the mythic expression of the primordial intuition” regarding the fact that life, sacrality, immortality are in a “centre”²⁰.

Behind the symbols, the signs there are senses that present some ideas. For example, on an anthropomorphic vessel from Căscioarele, a nicely rendered human figure, is represented with horns and between them is placed a person. In this case, the assembly might reflect a parabola or an apologue (see sketch IV). On the anthropomorphic idols that represent the Great Mother Goddess are stylized signs (hair, sex) referring to the attributes of divinity, to symbols that reflect archetypal myths (see sketch V).

The odd number, three, is very important because it has “symbolic connotations in all the religions and philosophical systems”. The number three makes us think about the three worlds: The Heaven, The Earth and The Underground. In the same time, the number three symbolizes the stages of our existence: Apparition (birth), Evolution (growth) and Destruction (death), this cyclicity being attributed to the Great Mother Goddess through her connection with nature.

The significance of the number three is also present in the triangle, graphic representation that is often seen on the body of the Great Mother Goddess, as a symbol of fertility.

The most frequent signs met in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras reflect the sexuality. Some signs show the “function” of that woman: active, a woman of gestation.

Another symbol that it is often used in the Neolithic and Eneolithic anthropomorphic representations, is the vulva, in connection with the birth. The vulva, as the first representation of the feminine divinity, appears in different shapes: oval, rhombic, triangular. In the anthropomorphic representations from the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras, the Great Mother Goddess is rendered with an exaggerated vulva and prominent breast. The breast, the source of milk, is believed to be of divine origin. Representing the maternity, the breast is shown, in most of the Neolithic and Eneolithic anthropomorphic statuettes with “exaggerated” dimensions (see sketch VI).

In the sketch VII are gathered examples of signs from the feminine figurines.

The Great Mother Goddess is presented in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras as having a role of assurance and protection of the fertility, germination of cereals or, for the human, of gestation. One of the most often signs that appears is the rhombus with opened angles (see sketch VIII).

¹⁹ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat de istoria religiilor*, București, Humanitas, 1992, p. 211.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 229.

The rhombus corresponds to the number three. In the prehistoric age the number four is the setting of life: “the space is divided in four horizons, the time is divided in four seasons, there are four pillars that support the universe”. The rhombus represents the symbol of fertility, in connection with the representations of the Great Mother Goddess in the Neolithic and Eneolithic eras.

Also appearing as a hypostasis of the Great Mother, the masculine divinity has a secondary position, of subordination towards the feminine principle, proved by the small number of figurines and by the dimensional differences. The theme of “the divine couple”, met more frequently in the plastic art from Gumelnița²¹, doesn't suggest the fact that this could portray an inferior position, but a perfect harmony, both characters complementing each other in a “coincidentia oppositorum”.

The accurate definition when regarding the sex of the figurines is extremely important because the appearance of the masculine idols involves on one side the appearance of a differentiated society, where the role of the man becomes preponderant²² and, in the spiritual plan, the imposing a new Uranian cult²³, after the intensification of the Anatolian-Aegean influences and their transmission through the Vinča communities²⁴.

Another problem that needs a special attention and that contributes to some extent to the understanding of the meaning of the Neo-Eneolithic art is the appointing of the characters' “age”, suggested by some anatomical details. Thus, the figurines with accentuated steatopygia and with fallen breast could be representations of older women²⁵ that find analogies both in the Anatolian space and in the Balkan area²⁶, while the manner of modeling the small firm breast could represent a nubile maiden, another hypothesis of the “Great Goddess”.

The attitude that the figurines have denotes a variety of ritual gestures determined especially by the position of the arms, by posture and even by the figuration of the mouth²⁷. The raised arms mean the calling of the grace and the opening of the soul for the divinity, the gestures of the orant being a sign for the prayer. The most of the anthropomorphic representations are small figurines, with

²¹ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, pl. IV/1a, 1b; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfa gumelnițeană. Analiză primară*, București, 2002, pl. IV.

²² S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Cultura Precucuteni pe teritoriul României*, București, 1974, p. 199.

²³ O. Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figuralplastik der südost-europäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, Hildesheim, 1968, p. 144.

²⁴ J. Mellaart, “Anatolia and the Balkans”, in *Antiquity*, 24, 1960, pp. 270-278; Gh. Lazarovici, “Die Periodisierung der Vinča-Kultur in Rumänien”, in *PZ*, 56, 2, 1981, pp. 169-196.

²⁵ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *cited work*, p. 74.

²⁶ J. Mellaart, *Earliest Civilizations of the Near East*, London; J. Mellaart, *Çatal Hüyük. A Neolithic town of Anatolia*, New York, 1967; J. Mellaart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, I – II, Edinburgh, 1970.

²⁷ R. R. Andreescu, *cited work*.

the arms spread laterally, oriented upwards, the gesture of the heightening accentuating the signification of the orants. This attitude has a ritual connotation that is amplified even greater in the case of the figurines with vessels on their heads that look like type of orants with tubular arms, so they couldn't have been used in domestic activities²⁸. There are presented cases where the modeling of the statuettes had been made from two longitudinal halves that were later attached one another, afterwards being covered with a protective coat of clay, demonstrating the existence of some cannons that should have been precisely observed.

The androgyny, the most spectacular cultic theme, reflects the duality of the main divinity and evidences best the complex character of the spiritual life. The famous statuary group of "lovers" from Gumelnița²⁹ or even the couple from Sultana³⁰ underlines once more the capacity of self-reproduction of the "Great Mother", the communion between the feminine and the masculine principle that forms the totality. The androgyny is the mythological consequence and the plastic reflection of the principle *coincidentia oppositorum*. Mircea Eliade mentions the fact that myths have a double revelation:

They reveal, first of all, the polarity of two divine characters, emerging from one and the same principle, that are meant, in different versions, to involve themselves in an eschatological *illud tempus*; secondly, *coincidentia oppositorum* appears in the profound structure of the divinity that proves to be, alternately or concomitantly, benevolent and frightening, creative and destructive, solar and ophidian. In this respect... the myths reveal, deeper than the rationalist experience could unveil, the structure of the divinity that is placed above its attributions and reunites all the contraries³¹.

The divine paradox, being above the human personality, is manifested through *coincidentia oppositorum* where the contraries attract each other and are transcendent³².

We can interpret the making from two pieces of the anthropomorphic idols as a sign of the contraries coincidence where the two elements receive many connotations and interpretations³³.

In the trying of determining the relation between object and its use, could be made some functional and typological connotations. For example, vessels for the storage of the seeds that contain signs related with the fertility and fecundity; pots used for the preservation of the fluids that have signs related with certain

²⁸ V. Voinea, *cited work*, p. 389.

²⁹ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *cited work*, pl. IV/1a, 1b.

³⁰ R. R. Andreescu, *cited work*, pl. IV.

³¹ Mircea Eliade, *Tratat*, p. 383.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Dan Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripole*, Piatra Neamț, 1997, p. 210.

rituals, signs or “writing” elements (for example “V”, “M”, “W”) associated with the Great Mother Goddess and with her attributes and characteristics (see sketch IX).

The decorative element also plays an important part in establishing the cultic theme, meaning that its presence or absence could impose some criteria of classification of the plastic representations. The decoration of the figurines with incised motives or painting with red of certain parts suggests the tattoo art³⁴ and, apart from the manner of realization, we can observe the presence of the same artistic motives. Thus, on the back are represented concentric circles, on the thighs, buttocks and on the calves of the legs, the strips and the angles, on the abdomen, spirals and the triangle always marks the pubic area³⁵. The presence of the decorative elements on the entire body imposes a separation into categories, those that embellish the face of the figurines and clearly indicate the tattoo and those that represent clothes.

Through the processions with ritual dances, were evoked some primordial events, in this case, the masks worn by dancers had a social and but also magical function. Therefore, the ceremonies became real cosmogonies that regenerated the space and time and took the “disguised one” from the natural course of life, obliging him to “play” the part of another being, capable to protect the entire community.

Olaf Höckmann, in his well-known work³⁶, trying to interpret the signification of the color of the Neolithic and Eneolithic statuettes, considered that the black color might have been connected with the chthonic world³⁷. The red color symbolized, according to other researchers³⁸, life and even the sun.

Nudity is – according to Mircea Eliade – “equivalent with the integrity and the plenitude”³⁹. The ritual nakedness signalizes the existence of a model without relation to time, of a paradisiacal image that lacks the attrition of time⁴⁰.

The Great Goddess has firm features of Great Mother, the deity of life and death with contradictory attributions from which can emerge different hypotheses. Most of the plastic and pictorial representations known in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods portray generically this archetypal deity, whose main attributes are related with the life and the death of the people, animals and vegetation. It is a deity specific for the communities of agrarians because... the symbolism and the cults of Mother-Earth, of the human and agrarian, of the

³⁴ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, pp. 87-88.

³⁵ V. Voinea, *cited work*, p. 395.

³⁶ Olaf Höckmann, *Die menschengestaltige Figuralplastik der südost-europäischen Jungsteinzeit und Steinkupferzeit*, Hildesheim, 1968, p. 139.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 140.

³⁸ E. Neumann, *The Great Mother. An analysis of the Archetype*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1974, p. 105.

³⁹ Vladimir Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, București, 1979, p. 73.

⁴⁰ U. Pestalozza, *Religione mediterranea*, Milano, 1971, pl. 10.

woman's sacrality, couldn't have developed and transform themselves into a religious system, rich and articulated, but only through the discovery of the agriculture⁴¹. As a divinity of life and death, the Great Goddess, having the characteristics of a Great Mother is in the same time the dispenser of the fertility and fecundity, demonstrating the fact that there is a "solidarity between the dead people and the fertility and the agriculture"⁴².

The material from which had been executed the anthropomorphic figurines constitutes another criterion in establishing the cultic themes, knowing the fact that they had been made from clay of transposed in bone, marble, shells or gold. Most of them represent feminine characters, related with the cult of fertility, but also in the hypostasis of family protector. The presence of the cereal seeds, in the paste from which the statuettes were about to be modeled⁴³, demonstrates the personification of the earth through a feminine deity, but also the practicing of some magical-religious rituals that would symbolize "the seeding".

The Neo-Eneolithic anthropomorphic plastic art can be distinguished through a typological diversity, besides the pieces that denotes an extreme schematism, we can discover exceptional works, veritable masterpieces of the Neolithic art, equilibrated as volume, with the rendering of the anatomical details and with an impressive decorative register. The fact that most of the anthropomorphic representations are feminine, needn't be explained though her autocrat nature, but, more likely, through the part, visible enough, played by her in the process of reproduction, of "sacred procreation", part that confers her a special rank within the society, being promoted to the position of divinity⁴⁴.

The spiritual life of these communities seems to be a merging of magical-religious practices, influenced by the local specific feature, fact that determined a typological diversity. By identifying the structure and the character of a society we can discover many evidences regarding the existence of some specific cults, where the particular had an influence on the spiritual life. Thus, the quality of the figurines and the anthropomorphic vessels can be connected with the structure of the society and their representative character can illustrate the practicing of rituals to which the entire community took part, or only some domestic rituals. The geographic localization of the plastic representations can also be a clue for the particular manifestations of the magical-religious beliefs, according to the specific of the area, fact evidenced through a stylistic typology or manner of modeling and decorating⁴⁵.

⁴¹ E. Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 11.

⁴² Mircea Eliade, *Tratat*, p. 324.

⁴³ O. Höckmann, *cited work*.

⁴⁴ V. Chirica, *Cu femeia prin milenii. Mit și realitate*, Iași, 1997.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 91.

The Neo-Eneolithic was the period when appeared the great myths based on the inventions of the “Neolithic revolution” (food production, building of the house, taming of the animals)⁴⁶. Neo-Eneolithic was the age when there were “crystallized the cosmogonic conceptions” and the division of time received a special connotation⁴⁷.

The identifying of certain cultic themes allows the deciphering, somehow with certain shades of difference, of the signification regarding the anthropomorphic plastic art, because with their help we were able to define a specific plastic category “susceptible of materializing a particular aspect of the religious phenomenon”⁴⁸.

The establishing of the signification and functionality of the anthropomorphic plastic art doesn't concern an analyze that comes only to the typologies established according to the morphological criterion, but a “primary” approach of all the data that define the whole assembly of a civilization, taking into account the fact that our understanding is limited, under the circumstances that the signification of every cultural act is delimited in space and time⁴⁹.

This search of the Great Mother is important for the way we understand the unconscious nostalgias of the occidental intellect from the beginning of the century⁵⁰.

The signification of the very rich Neo-Eneolithic anthropomorphic plastic art shows an intense religious life and tries to identify those elements that lead to the interpretation of the figurines as “a form of affirmation of the individual and group identity”⁵¹.

⁴⁶ Dan Monah, *Plastica...*, p. 213.

⁴⁷ P. Lévêque, *Bêtes, dieux et hommes. L'imaginaire des premières religions*, Paris, 1985, pp. 57-58. Mircea Eliade, *Aspecte ale mitului*, București, 1978, pp. 5-7. M. Eliade, *Mitul eternei reîntoarceri*, in *Eseul*, București, 1991, pp. 23-24.

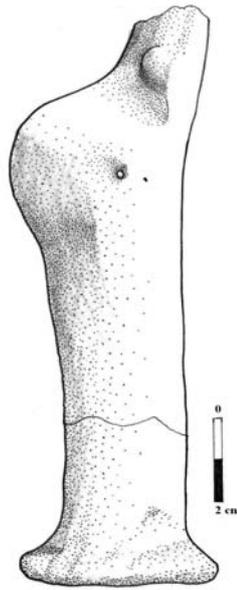
⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 88.

⁴⁹ M. Eliade, *cited work*, pp. 14-20.

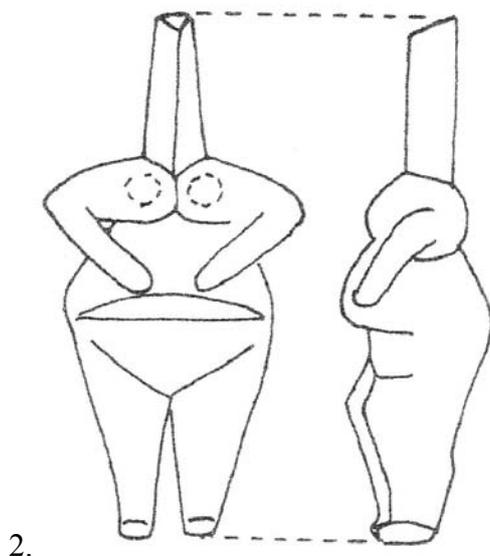
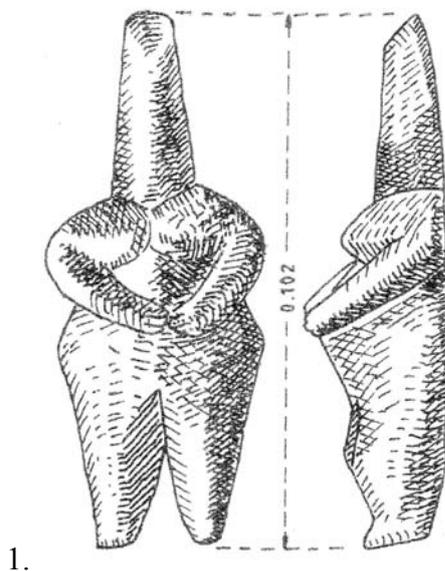
⁵⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Ocultism, vrăjitorie și mode culturale*, București, Humanitas, 1997, p. 16.

⁵¹ D. W. Bailey, “Reading prehistoric figurines as individuals”, in *World archaeology*, 25 (3), 1994, p. 329.

ANNEXES

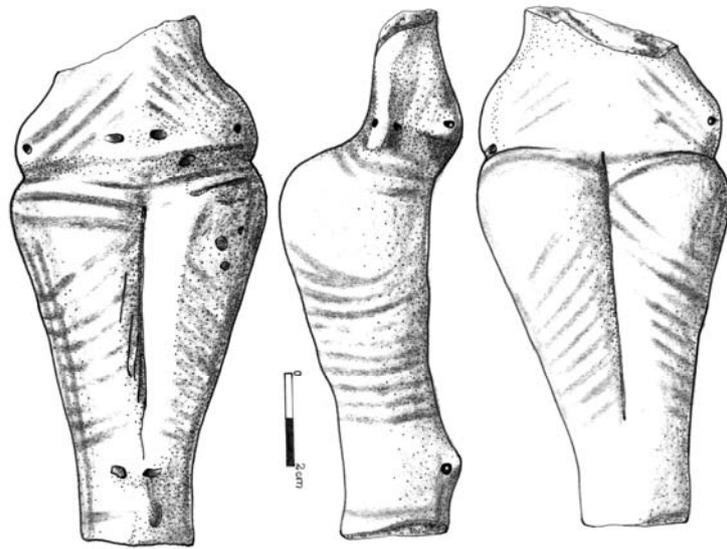


Sketch I. Burnt clay figurine.

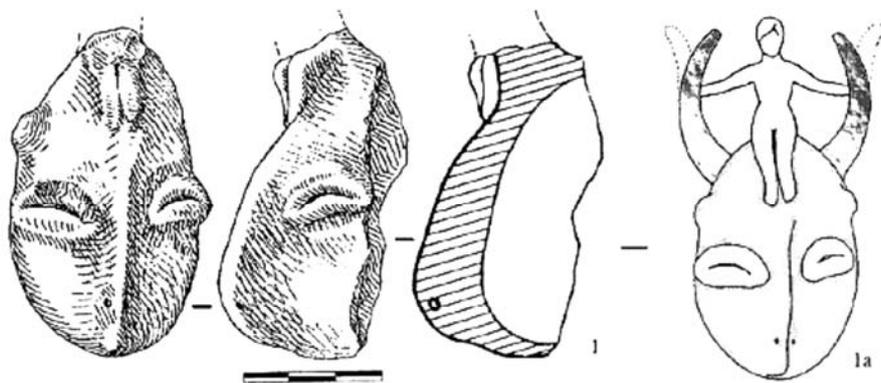


Sketch II. 1. Burnt clay figurine, Cernavodă culture (D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 100; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică pe teritoriul României*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1995, p. 139, fig. 4). 2.

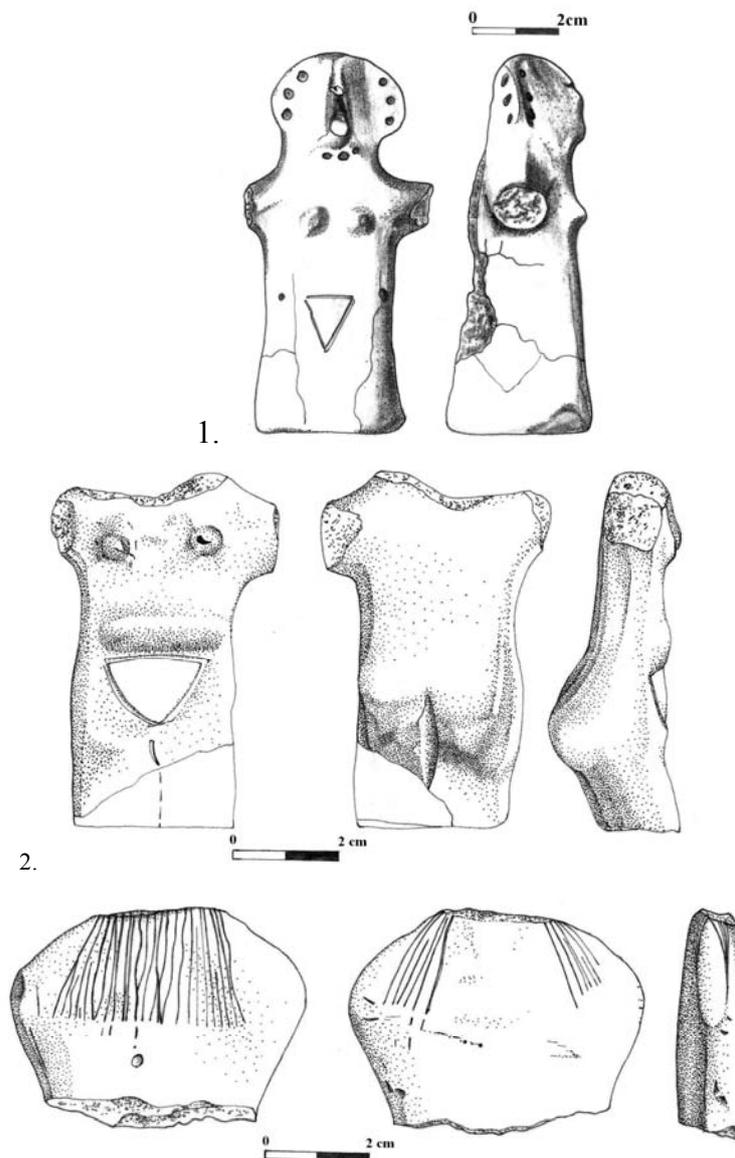
Burnt clay figurine, Cernavodă culture (D. Berciu, *D., Zorile istoriei în Carpați și la Dunăre*, București, 1966, p. 91, fig. 46; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe...*, p. 140, fig. 4).



Sketch III. Burnt clay figurine, Cucuteni culture.

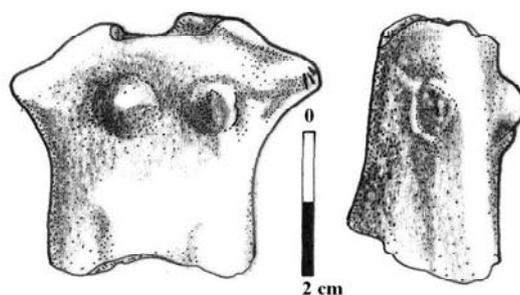


Sketch IV. , Căscioarele Radian-Romulus
 Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă gumelnițeană*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a
 României, București, 2002, p. 161, sketch 39

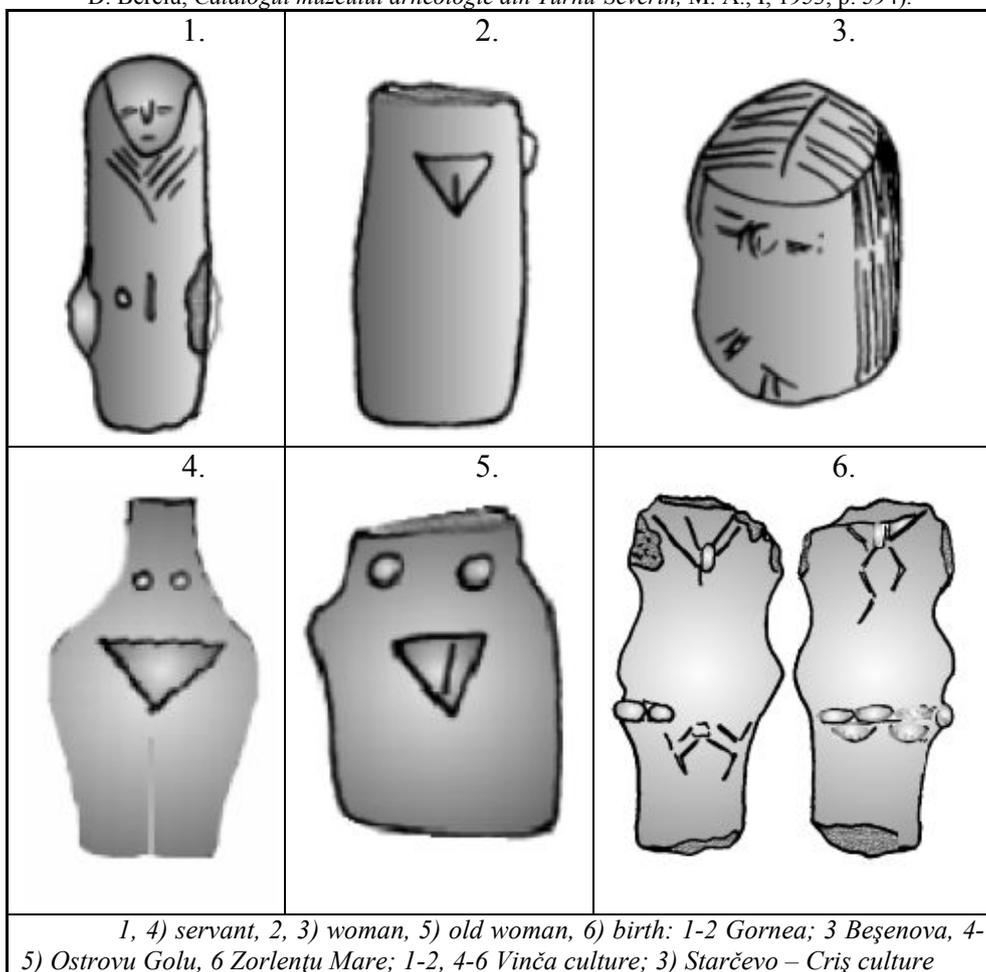


3

Sketch V.1. Burnt clay figurine, Brăilița (Radian-Romulus Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă*, p. 128, sketch 5, fig. 2); 3. Burnt clay figurine, Sălcuța culture (D. Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului în România în lumina noilor cercetări*, București, Editura Academiei Române, 1961, p. 331, fig.154/1; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe*, București, 1995, p. 183, fig. 54/6).



Sketch VI. Burnt clay figurine (Al. Bărcăcilă, “Antiquités pré et protohistoriques des environs de Turnu Severin”, in *Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne*, I, 1924, p. 293; D. Berciu, *Catalogul muzeului arheologic din Turnu-Severin*, M. A., I, 1953, p. 594).



Sketch VII. Table 1. Feminine

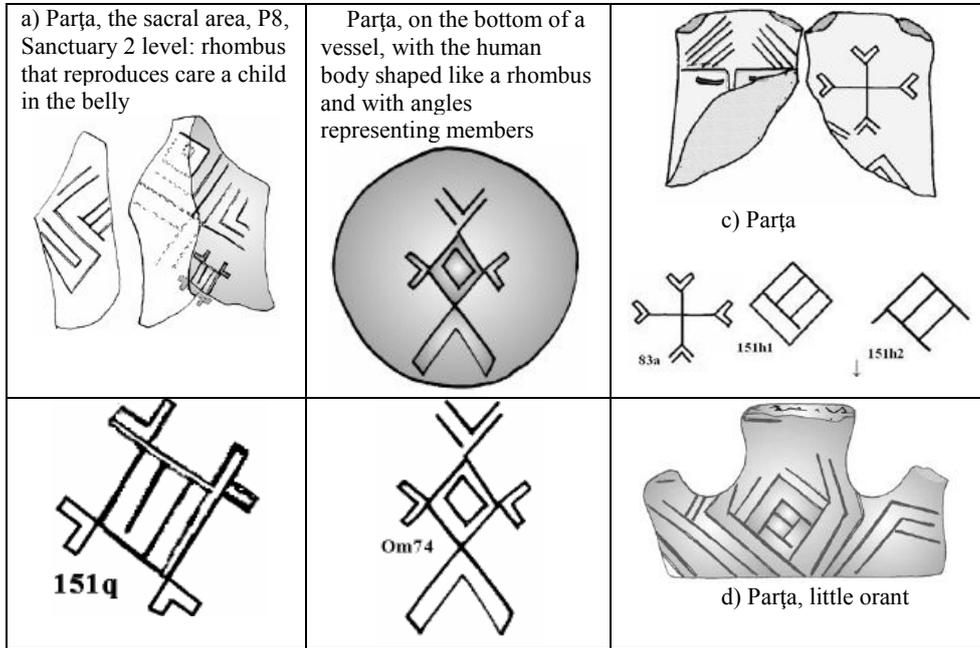
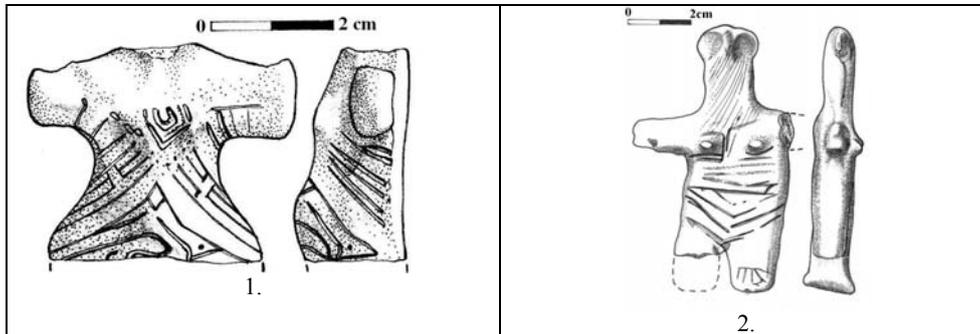
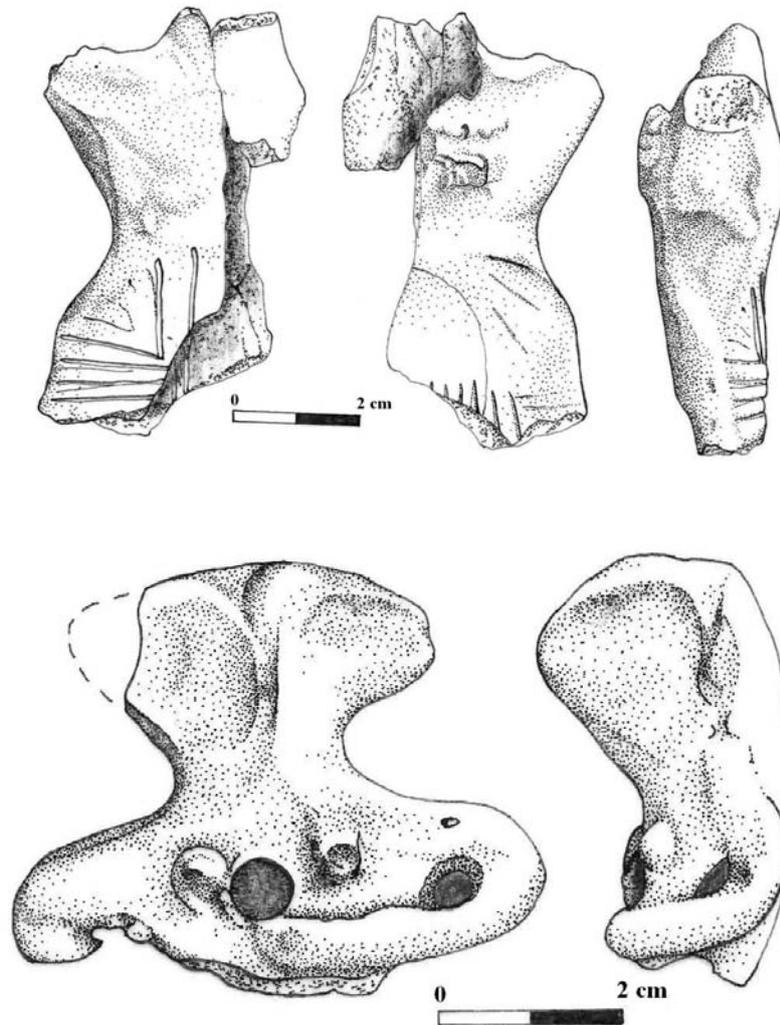


Table1.



Sketch VIII. Table 1. Representations of the rhombus on idols. Fig. 1,2. Burnt clay figurines.

1.



Sketch IX., fig1. Burnt clay figurine, Vădastra culture; fig.2. Burnt clay figurine, Sălcuța culture (D. Berciu, *Contribuții la problemele neoliticului...*, 1961, p. 329; E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe*, p. 183, fig. 54/7).

