

WHY POTS EAT THEIR MOTHER? A GENERAL OVERVIEW ON THE NEAR EASTERN LATE NEOLITHIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC POTTERY

Catherine Breniquet*, Béatrice Robert**

En este artículo se presentan los recipientes cerámicos antropomórficos del Próximo Oriente, si bien escasos y de Europa, donde los ejemplos son más numerosos y abundantes. Se propone una tipología formal de seis categorías dónde se discuten algunas de las cuestiones relativas como las predominantes formas femeninas, su decoración, usos y significado.

Recipientes antropomórficos, Oriente Medio, Europa, Neolítico.

Anthropomorphic vessels from the Near East and the European Late Neolithic are presented in this paper. In the first case, the vases are scarce. They are more numerous in the second area. A formal typology structured in six categories is proposed. We discuss also issues relating to the predominantly female form of the containers, their decoration, their uses and their meaning.

Anthropomorphic vases, Near East, Europe, Neolithic.

185

INTRODUCTION

Our paper concerns anthropomorphic vases from the Late Neolithic of the Near East. This category of vessels is quite uncommon in this context and has received very little attention from the scholars. On the contrary, zoomorphic vases are better known (Robert/Daverat 2016 and 2017), probably because they remain in use during historical periods as rhytons. We took the opportunity offered by this conference to have a new look on these productions. We define anthropomorphic vases as human shaped pots and we will not be concerned by the anthropomorphic painted decoration they have.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, our knowledge of the late Neolithic cultures increases. Well after Gordon Childe proposed the term “Revolution”, we understood that the introduction of the different charac-

teristics of the Neolithic was progressive; the last one around 6500 BCE is pottery. Several distinct painted traditions rose after the emergence of pottery technology in different places: northern Syria, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Iran (Mellaart 1981; and for an up-to-date perspective: Nieuwenhuys *et al.*, 2013).

Anthropomorphic vessels appear in the Near East when the technical skill of making pottery is at a good level. Initial ceramic productions are figurines, miniature vases and soon after, ceramic starts to have a domestic use as vessels for storage, cooking and so on. As far as we know, anthropomorphic vases come all after these first steps, from Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic contexts, when pottery starts being painted. Most of them belong to the 5th millennium. The same phenomenon appears in Europe, where anthropomorphic vessels are, however, more numerous. Although the anthropomorphic pots

* Pr. Université Clermont-Auvergne, EA 1001 CHEC, UFR LCSH, 29 boulevard Gergovia, 63000 Clermont-Ferrand, França. catherine.breniquet@uca.fr

**Associated researcher, Laboratoire TRACES Toulouse – UMR 5608, Equipe Préhistoire Récente du Bassin Méditerranéen, Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès, 31058, 5 Allée Antonio Machado, 31100 Toulouse, França. bealthic@yahoo.fr

are very uncommon, none of them are made of coarse ware. They all present fine clays and have specific painted and incised decorations, or both. Their quantities are much smaller than those of other types, mostly cooking-pots, hole-mouth pots, storage jars, etc. As they are very few in the Near East, it is hard to link them with any regional style's variation. This first observation leads us to think that we are facing a specific production, probably not connected with daily life, but with specific uses. The following points will be surveyed: historiographical background and definition, anthropomorphic vessels from the Near East and Europe, and interpretation.

The first anthropomorphic vases were discovered at the beginnings of the 20th century when the excavators of Troy brought to light several amazing pots from the Bronze Age. Some of them are composite: a round shaped jar for the body and a cup, apparently put upside-down for the head. Some others are in shape of a character with body details. These astonishing discoveries received a wide audience at that time by the media. The Troy discoveries were also the starting point of some popular diffusionist theories and played an unwitting role in some well-known forgeries such the Glözel affair (Adam 1988, fig. 6, p. 77). Despite these aspects, which remain marginal to us here, a quick look at the available literature shows that the problem received very little attention from the Near Eastern archaeologists until now (with the exception of Schwarzberg 2006). On the contrary, anthropomorphic vessels from Europe are better documented (see for instance: Chirica 1995; Dumitru/Boghian 2012; Mantu 1991, 1993; Monah 2016; Naumov 2006, 2008, 2010; Virag 2000).

The first question assigned to the material concerns the definition: what is an anthropomorphic vase? A common idea today invented by ethnologists is that any pot has an anthropomorphic dimension (David/Sterner/Gavua 1988, 365-366). According to Marcel Mauss, for instance in his famous handbook of field ethnography: «Very often, the pot has a soul, the pot is a person » (Mauss 1967, 46)¹. This seems to be confirmed by the vocabulary we still use for describing pots, even in our modern societies. Pots have a foot (for base), a body, a neck, lips and so. The general shape of a pot could of course remind the female attitude, angry, arms on the hips... in a universal analogy... suggesting that pot is female. However, the analogy is probably not based on this general observation. Making a general statement by inferring from specific cases is probably excessive. Mauss didn't bring a lot of information about the pots which are concerned, nor of the geographical area of where the observations came from. Shall we consider

any pot as an anthropomorphic one? And if so, why some of them only have a clear human shape? In order to solve the issue, we must have an overview of our sample.

Focusing now on the ancient Near East, we must make a quick statement of the corpus. Four main categories, rather than types, can be distinguished:

- **Type 1:** Round bowl in shape of a human head, found only in Anatolia.

- **Type 2:** Round open pot in shape of human body, found only in Anatolia.

- **Type 3:** Globular jar in shape of a complete human body, from Anatolia and Mesopotamia. This third category can be divided in sub-types.

- **Type 4:** Small vase in shape of a personage, from Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

All of these vases are hand-made with care. We shall see below that they exist also in Europe. This typology remains quite unperfected as some Near Eastern types are represented by a unique specimen. On the contrary, the excavations at Hacilar brought to light several specimens, belonging to different types. We are also mostly dealing with sherds and not complete vessels. For instance, the female sherd from Sawwan (Breniquet 1992, fig. M, here: fig. 3, type 3a) may fall into several categories: 2, 3 or 4. Also, two different categories could be connected together, for instance globular pot and bowl, as in the Trojan examples. And, last, some shapes could be intermediate between two categories. The geographical distribution of each type and of all the types together is also a major issue and is probably not representative. Near Eastern anthropomorphic vessels seem to belong to the northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian ceramic traditions (Fig. 1). But, nothing is known about the adjacent areas.

Generally speaking, most of these vessels are jars or bowls. The details making them anthropomorphic are the contour of the human face and the general shape of the human anatomy. Decorations are made with paint, incisions or appliqué. Most of them seem to have a female body. None seems truly male.

GROUPS AND TYPES

Our first group comes from Late Neolithic or beginning of Chalcolithic in Anatolia, from the two well-known sites: Çatal Höyük and Hacilar (Fig. 2. Type 1). The vases are open bowls or cups, in the shape of a human

1. « Très souvent, le pot a une âme, le pot est une personne ».

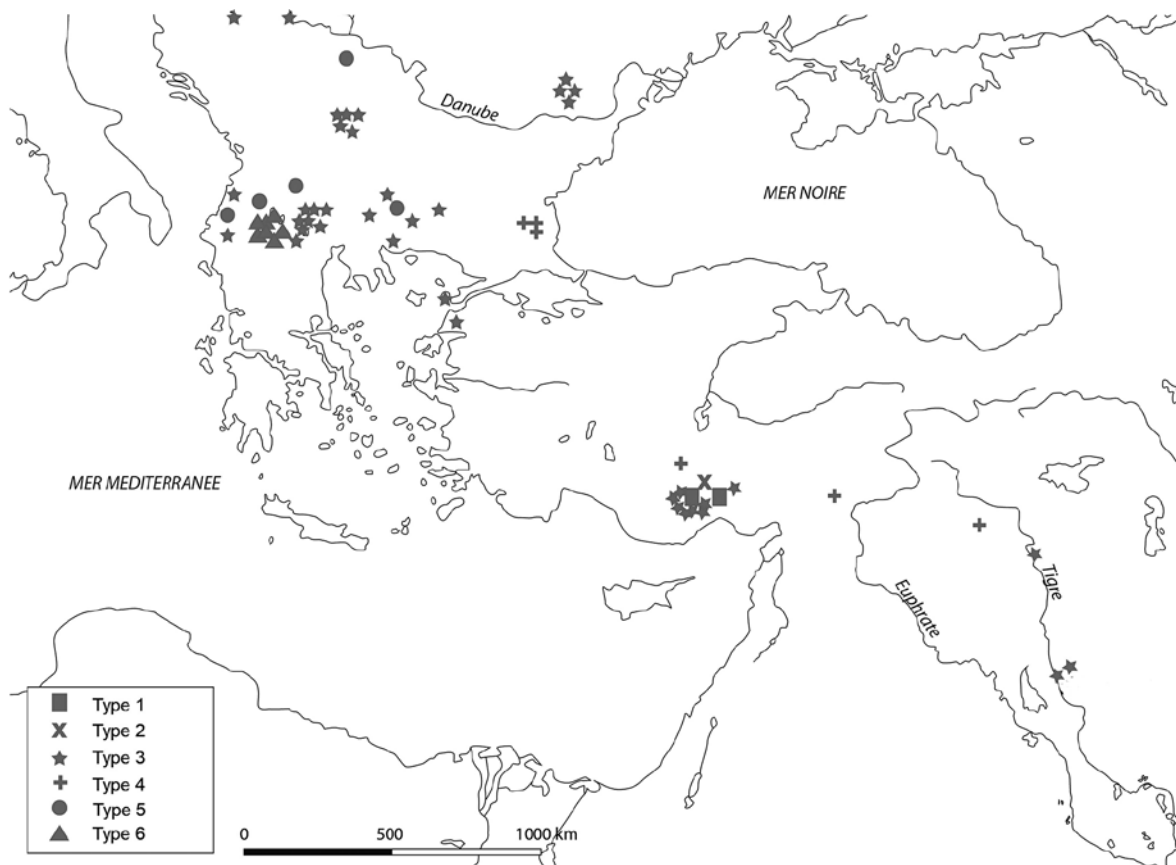


Figure 1. Distribution of anthropomorphic vessels (DAO B. Robert).

head. This peculiar shape allows us to think that these pots could have been used upside down, as lid and as bowl (an even suspended, as some lugs exist on the Hacilar specimen). They all came from domestic contexts: houses, pits and burnt house. The Hacilar specimen was found wrapped in a fine fabric. As far as we know, these productions are specific to Anatolia, but remain different from each other. This type is not homogeneous.

The Çatal Höyük bowl has an incised and modeled decoration: a face with closed eyes, nose in relief, closed mouth and dimples. On the preserved side, two eyes and an incised decoration in shape of horns, suggesting that of a *bucranium*, are represented. The pot is broken but the design seems to be symmetrical. It is amazing to observe that the horns come back to the forehead making eyebrows or hairs. From a wider point of view, this depiction makes sense regarding the wall decoration of the site, with a specific combination of human and animals.

The Hacilar cup has an elongated neck with lugs, the face is modeled and incised, but eyes are open and eyebrows are suggested. A specific design in very low relief suggests hairdressing and another larger lug on the back could be a grip or handle, in shape of a bun, as

Mellaart suggested. The depiction is close to the Hacilar figurines' style.

It is hard to assign a gender to these depictions. The Çatal Höyük bowl, with its round cheeks and pout, is realistic and could refer to a baby face. The second, more schematic, is more probably female or ungendered.

Our second group is represented by a unique hole-mouth pot with human arms in relief on both sides of the pot, coming from Hacilar, once again, level VI. The complete pot is a human body. The shape is common but the arms are not. Their attitude could refer to the female depictions, arms coming under the breasts which is usual for the figurines, but it remains unclear as no other detail is added. It is difficult to assign a gender to this depiction with a good degree of certitude (Fig. 2, Type 2).

Our third group is the most complete one (Fig. 2, Type 3). Three sub-types can be distinguished.

3A: COMPLETE HUMAN SHAPE

The whole pot has a human anatomy: face appears on the vase's neck, with ears, eyes, nose and mouth is hardly suggested. This type is mostly Anatolian. Some












TYPE	DESCRIPTION	NEAR EAST	EUROPE
1	Bowl, drinking cup (head)	<p>Çatal Höyük</p>  <p>Hacilar VI</p> 	<p>Vinça culture</p> <p>Durankulak</p> 
2	Pot (body)	<p>Hacilar VI</p> 	<p>Ludwigshafen</p> <p>Slippengen</p> 
3	3a Compleat jar (head on neck, Arms up or joined, breasts)	<p>Hacilar I</p> <p>Sawwan III?</p>  	<p>Erfurt</p> <p>Gorzsa</p> <p>Ulucak</p> <p>Svodina</p> <p>Marz</p> <p>Kazanlak</p> 
	3b Jar (face on neck, no arm?)	<p>Samarra culture</p> 	<p>Amzabegovo</p> <p>Vinça</p> <p>Bekasmegyer</p> <p>Cavdar</p> <p>Gradesnica</p> 
	3c Twinn head jar	<p>Hacilar</p> 	

Figure 2. Anthropomorphic pottery belonging to Type 1: round bowl in shape of a human head.
 Çatal Höyük: After Hodder 2006, 198, fig. 141 and 2007, 77, fig. 40; from space 279, area 4040, niv. V-VI. The sherds were scattered in several pits.
 Hacilar: After Mellaart 1960, fig. 27.
 Vinça: After Villes/Luci 2015, 48, fig. 24. See also Boghian 2010, 19-20, fig. V 13-14 and V.

specimens have inlay eyes with obsidian. Arms come under the breasts or are suggested by decoration. Decoration is mostly painted with red-brown geometric designs, even on the face. They could refer to tattoos, clothes, jewelry or ornaments, but can also recall painted ware's style. With the general shape with breasts and preeminent belly suggesting pregnancy, these vases seem to have the typical characteristics of the female body.

3B: JAR WITH HUMAN FACE

The 3b sub-type is close to our 3a group. However, it is a typically Mesopotamian production (Hassuna-Samarra period). All specimens are broken but they seem to have a round body with a human face on the neck. Eyes, in relief, are systematically closed, in shape of coffee beans (*pastillé* technique), recalling the ophidian figurines from the Ubaid culture. Black geometric decoration could represent anatomic details (eyebrows, eyelashes, could be hair and tattoos as well). They also remind the usual stylistic patterns found on contemporary wares. The depiction of the face doesn't seem to be male but as all the examples are broken, no other anatomic detail can be observed.

3C: DOUBLE FEMALE BODY JAR

Sub-type 3c is a jar with a double female body, specific to the Anatolian area. The upper part is twinned, with double necks and faces but the lower part, from the shoulder to the legs, is common to both of them. Obsidian eyes and geometric painted decoration suggests the different parts of the body typical of the Hacilar specimens rather than clothes. Arms are represented coming under the breasts once again, in the usual attitude. This sub-type is clearly female. The specimen from Hacilar recalls the double figurines from the Neolithic PPNB: stone figurine from Çatal Höyük, or lime plastered sculptures in the round from Aïn Ghazal. Due to the specific shape, double neck for a single body, one can wonder if the so typical Ubaidian double neck jars from Northern Mesopotamia are not anthropomorphic too.

Our last group, number 4, is mainly Halaf (Fig. 3, Type 4). Vessels are in shape of a complete human body, with or without a head. They evocate a figurine but are true vessels (« flower vase »). Anatomic details such as breasts, arms or hair, are clearly depicted with paint. Sexual attributes are highlighted, mixed with the depiction of the legs in one case. Body ornaments such as jewelry or leg ornaments, or body paintings are present. Clearly, these vases are female.

The Neolithic reaches Europe from Anatolia (Demoule 1993 and 2007, 85; Özdoğan 2011). Two main ways

are identified: one is the northern way, the Danubian, the other is the maritime way, the Cardial. They gave birth to original cultures depending on the areas, with specific pottery, which received various names. If we have a look on the European Neolithic, in the Balkans area, we must conclude that anthropomorphic vases are much more numerous than in the Near East. Their quantity increases with the time, but remains smaller than any other ceramic production. As far as we know, the anthropomorphic European vases are connected to the north way coming from the Near East rather than the Cardial one.

We can then add two more types to our typology:

- **Type 5:** with only the lower part of the body, i.e. legs,
- **Type 6:** in shape of a house and hearth.

Our other first four types remain slightly unchanged and are represented too with a high percentage. The only type which is typical to the Near East is the twin jar. Generally speaking, these European Neolithic vases could have an incised or painted or relief decoration, which makes sense with the decoration found on painted vessels, houses, figurines, etc. The most common type (our first category) is a jar with a round body. The neck receives the depiction of the face, frequently limited to joined eyebrows and nose. The body receives geometric painted motives, rather than in relief. Some other anatomic details of the face are sometimes present, such as the mouth and some scarifications' like painted decoration appearing on the cheeks. Jars are with or without an anthropomorphic head cup. The lack of the cup could be explained with the circumstances of the discoveries (old excavations, broken pieces, etc.). In some other cases, the vessels receive a special shape with modeled arms in an upward position, often called « worship position ». Judging from the breasts, these vases could be female. Two pouring jars from Ludwigshafen and Slippingen can be assigned to our type 2. They are clearly female.

A special mention should be added considering bowls from the Vinça culture: they are usually described as zoomorphic, in shape of a cat's head (Villes/Luci 2015, 48). That is true only regarding the ears of one, not for all, and that the face is always human. We would suggest that they are in fact hybrids, an in-between human and animal (Bánffy 2001). We must notice too that some vessels are intermediate between figurines and anthropomorphic vases as they depict a woman holding a small vessel in her hands or on her head (Cohen 2003, 163). These depictions are quite uncommon and represent a kind of self-depiction (*mise en abyme* in French).

Let us come to our Type 5 (Fig. 3, Type 5). This type is amazing and mixed. With the painted decoration and/or

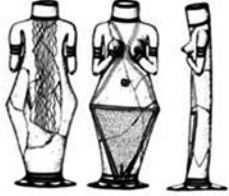
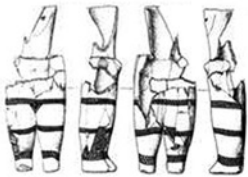






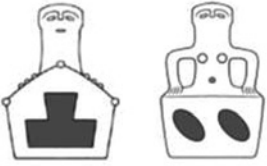
TYPE	DESCRIPTION	NEAR EAST	EUROPE
4	Personaje	<p>Yarim Tepe II</p>  <p>Domuztepe</p> 	<p>Sultana Novi Becej Troy Scintea Maroslele</p>   
5	Bowls (legs)		<p>Smilic Vrsnik Drenovac Amzabegov</p>  
6	House	<p>Toptepe</p> 	<p>Macedonia, Albania</p> 

Figure 3. Anthropomorphic pottery belonging to Type 2: round open pot in shape of human body. Hacilar VI: After Mellaart 1961, p. 68, fig. 27. Ludwigshafen and Slippingen: After Schlichtherle 2015, 13, fig. 5.

the general shape, we can admit the anthropomorphic parallel. The positions are varied: standing, kneeling or even sitting. The example from Drenovač is in fact a visual game in 3D: a contraction of the human (female) body as the nose seems to appear very close to the waist, without any other detail of the face (Cohen 2003, 133). Moreover, the knees are in relief and seem to play also the role of the breasts. No Near Eastern counterpart exists.

Our type 6 is the most astonishing: the figurine-house models, more or less all from Macedonia (Fig. 3, Type 6). They combine a female body (upper part from the waist, or just the head) linked with a round, cubic or parallelepiped shape which makes the lower part of the object. A building (probably more a granary than a house) is sometimes clearly depicted with its saddleback roof. Sometimes, holes suggest that the lower part could be used as incense burner (Naumov 2006, 2013). A unique example from Toptepe is an intermediate type between our types 4 and 6 (Özdoğan 2003). Its squared shape with four bases suggests that a kind of granary or storage vessel is depicted here and that it must be separated from our type 4. On these examples, the human body is clearly a female one, often eyes closed, jewels (necklaces, bracelets). In another case, the body has a clear prominent belly, which suggests pregnancy.

Which kind of conclusions can we draw from this survey? It seems clear that the anthropomorphic vases appear late in the neolithization process, and well after the introduction of ceramic. Their shapes (bowl, jar, house...) are variable regarding to the different areas checked. They are enriched constantly with human details (arms for instance) or houses details, with decorations too, incised, painted or both. Sometimes, bowl and jar could be associated; merging the parts of human anatomy they represent (body and head). However, they appear everywhere in small quantities regarding to the other types of vessels.

Several questions arise, concerning the following points:

- Their shape is usually a round bowl or pot. Elaborated examples come from the Bronze Age, but houses are typically European. It is hard to clearly define their degree of anthropomorphism, especially regarding to the rest of the ceramic production. Generally speaking, pots are thought in terms of a human body, the female one. No true male depiction is known, nor for the Near East, neither for Europe. We already noticed that words used for describing a pot, even used by the specialists, have a link with the human body. The hollow shape of a vessel or a building, whatever it is, easily recalls a pregnant body or at least a womb (Eliade 1959, 115-116; Hérítier 2012a, 262 and 2012b, 19; Naumov 2006). This analogy is almost universal. We can also add that the creation process is linked with the use of clay in

the Near East. However, we do not know if this analogy works also for basketry work or stone vases...

- The decoration they have may be incised, painted or both, sometimes with additional elements such as obsidian eyes. These decorations could only be a cultural style, but could also be related to clothes or body paintings, tattoos, etc. (Boghian 2010). From our point of view, there is little to gain from this immediate perception. It has been convincingly argued that the semantic signification of the object (Boghian 2009) contains several parts. The human body is encoded with "signs", between style, aesthetics and shape (volume and details such as arms). In most cases, the vases remind the contemporary figurines, between simplification and complexity. Art is much more a communication system than the depiction of the real world. These vases are an abstraction.

- Their production. The production process of these vases both Near Eastern and European received no attention. As pots, we can conclude that they were made by potters or specialists, in domestic or specialized contexts, depending on the cultures. All of them are hand-modeled. But, as anthropomorphic vessels, we know nothing about the link between the object and the producer. Who was devoted to the production of such objects and if so, which kind of relations should we imagine about self-depiction?

- Their uses. In many cases, especially for old excavations, the contexts of the vessels are unclear. But, when they are known, the vases come from rubbish pits as well as from domestic areas inside the houses. In Europe, some pots seem to be funerary urns. With their anthropomorphic cover in shape of a cup, jars can be used in special occasions such as banquets or "rituals" involving drinking. In other words, these vases were possibly connected with specific uses, which are not daily-life uses. This fact could explain why they are not numerous in the settlements.

- Their signification. It is clear that they conveyed particular ideas related to essential principles and beliefs of the Neolithic communities. But we are far from understanding what is really involved. We would stress here some of the hypotheses usually used by the archaeologists. As the analogy with a female body is accurate in most cases, it is tempting for some scholars to correlate these vases with some ritual purposes related to the cult of a female deity, Great Mother, Mother Goddess (Boghian 2012; Cohen 2003, 122-149 and 151-154; Demoule 2007, 89-90; Gimbutas 1974). Some of them refer to it as a universal symbol or as a symbol of the prehistoric matriarchy. No evidence of it exists and matriarchy appears to be much more a modern myth rather than a prehistoric one.

REMARKS

Anthropomorphic vases could be a universal phenomenon in relation with the perception of the female body. However, they seem to be correlated with specific uses far from our understanding. We would suggest here to follow also a slightly different perspective. This phenomenon appears when Neolithic societies are well developed, that is to say, when the complete process of neolithization is finished and gave birth to a new social order linked with the agricultural process and a new social organization for the family with new relations between people. In other words, we are facing with a symbolic construction historically dated, reconciling anthropological and historical points of view. These vessels line the spread of the Neolithic progression from the Near East to Europe. They are probably part of the Neolithic complexity. In the Near East, this complexity developed, and followed another way and other forms of societies appeared. However, it doesn't mean that the symbolism disappeared: during the historical periods children were very often buried in a jar or in a sherd. They seem to be put back in their mother's belly.

REFERENCES

- ABU ES-SOOF, B. 1968, Tell es-Sawwan. Excavations of the Fourth Season's (Spring 1967), *Sumer* 24: 3-15.
- ADAM, J.-P. 1988, *Le passé recomposé. Chroniques d'archéologie fantasque*, Paris, Seuil.
- BÁNFFY, E. 2001, Notes on the Connection Between Human and Zoomorphic Representations in the Neolithic, in Niehl P. and Bertemes F. (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cult and Religion*, Archaelingua, Budapest, 53-71.
- BOGHIAN, D. 2009, Gestualité et sémantique dans la plastique anthropomorphe de la culture pré-Cucuteni. Entre tradition et innovation, in Cotiugă V., Tencariu F.A. and Bodi, G. (eds.), *Itinera in praehistoria. Studia in homonrem magistrati Nicolae Ursulescu*, Iasi, Editura Universitatii, 61-80.
- BOGHIAN, D. 2010, Les marquages corporels chez les communautés néolithiques et énéolithiques carpatodanubiennes, *Codrul Cosminului* XVI-1, 5-20.
- BOGHIAN, D. 2012, Unele consideratii asupra vaselor cucuteniene antropomorfe și antropomorfizate, *Arheologia Moldovei* XXXV, 107-136.
- BRENIQUET, C. 1992, Rapport sur deux campagnes de fouilles à Tell es-Sawwan 1988-1989, *Mesopotamia* 27, 5-30.
- CARTER, E., CAMPBELL, S. 2006, Report on the 2004 Excavation Season at Domuztepe, *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 27-1, 313-324.
- CAMPBELL, S. 2010, Understanding Symbols: Putting Meaning into the Painted Pottery of Prehistoric Northern Mesopotamia, in Bolger, D. and Maguire, L.C. (eds.) *Development of pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, Oxbow Books, 147-155.
- CHIRICA, C.-V. 1995, Les vases anthropomorphes du Néolithique-Énéolithique de la Roumanie. *Préhistoire européenne* 7, 203-224.
- CILINGIROĞLU, C. 2012, *The Neolithic Pottery of Ulucak in Aegean Turkey: Organization of Production, Inter-regional Comparisons and Relative Chronology*, British Archaeological Report Int. Series, 2426, Archaeopress, Oxford.
- COHEN, C. 2003, *La femme des origines. Images de la femme dans la préhistoire occidentale*, Paris, Belin.
- DAVID N., STERNER, J. and GAVUA, K. 1988, Why Pots are Decorated?, *Current Anthropology* 29, 365-389.
- DEMOULE, J.P. 1993, Anatolie et Balkans: la logique évolutive du Néolithique égéen, *Anatolica* XIX, 1-17.
- DEMOULE, J.-P. 2007, *Naissance de la figure. L'art du Paléolithique à l'Âge du Fer*, Paris, Hazan.
- ELIADE, M. 1959, *Initiation, rites, sociétés secrètes*. Paris, Gallimard.
- GIMBUTAS, M. 1974, *The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe, 7000 to 3500 BC: Myths, Legends and Cult Images*, London, Thames and Hudson.
- HERITIER, F. 2012a, *Masculin/Féminin I. La pensée de la différence*, Paris, Odile Jacob.
- HERITIER, F. 2012b, *Masculin/Féminin II. Dissoudre la hiérarchie*, Paris, Odile Jacob.
- HODDER, I. (dir.) 2006, *Çatalhöyük 2006 Archive Report*. Çatalhöyük Research Project, on line.
- HODDER, I. (dir.) 2007, *Çatalhöyük 2007 Archive Report*. Çatalhöyük Research Project, on line.
- LLOYD, S., SAFAR, F. 1944, Tell Hassuna: Excavations by the Iraq Government Directorate of Antiquities in 1943 and 1944, *JNES* 4, 255-289.
- MANTU, C.-M. 1991, Vases anthropomorphes du site Cucuteni A3 de Scinteia (département de Iasi), in Chirica, V. and Monah, D. (eds.) *Le Paléolithique et le Néolithique de la Roumanie en contexte européen*, (Bibliotheca Archaeologica Iassensis IV), Iasi, 328-334.
- MANTU, C.-M. 1993, Anthropomorphic Representations from the pre-Cucuteni and Cucuteni Cultures, *Anatolica* XIX, 129-141.

- MAUSS, M. 1967, *Manuel d'ethnographie*, Paris, Payot (rep. from the 1947 edition)
- MELLAART, J. 1960, Excavations at Hacilar. Third Preliminary Report, 1959, *Anatolian Studies* 10, 83-104.
- MELLAART, J. 1961, Excavations at Hacilar. Fourth Preliminary Report, *Anatolian Studies* 11, 39-75.
- MELLAART, J. 1970, *Excavations at Hacilar 2*, Ankara, British School of Archaeology.
- MELLAART, J. 1981, *The Neolithic of the Near East*, London, Thames and Hudson (reprinted from the 1975 edition).
- MERPERT, N.Y., MUNCHAEV, R.M. 1993, Yarim Tepe II: The Halaf Levels, in : Yoffee, N. et Clark, J.J. (eds.), *Early Stages in the Evolution of Mesopotamian Civilization. Soviet Excavations in Northern Iraq*, Tucson University of Arizona Press, p. 128-162.
- MONAH, D. 2016, *Anthropomorphic Representations in the Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Oxford.
- NAUMOV, G. 2006, The Vessel, Oven and House in Symbolical Relation with the Womb and Women. Neolithic Bases and Ethnographic Implications, *Studia Mythologica Slavica* 9, 59-95.
- NAUMOV, G. 2008, The Vessel as a Human Body: Neolithic Anthropomorphic Vessels and Their Reflection in Later Periods, in Berg, I. (ed.) *Breaking the Mould: Challenging the Past Through Pottery*, (Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group: Occasional Paper 6), Oxford, (BAR IS 1981), 93-101.
- NAUMOV, G. 2010, Neolithic Anthropocentrism: the Principles of Imagery and Symbolic Manifestation of Corporeality in the Balkans, *Documenta Praehistorica* XXXVII, 227-238.
- NAUMOV, G. 2011, Visual and Conceptual Dynamism of the Neolithic Altars in the Republic of Macedonia, in Nikolov, V., Bacvarov, K. and Popov, H. (eds.) *Interdisciplinäre Forschungen zum Kulturerbe auf dem Balkanhalbinsel*, Sofia, Nice, 89-129.
- NAUMOV, G. 2013, Embodied Houses: the Social and Symbolic Agency of Neolithic Architecture in the Republic of Macedonia, in Hofmann, D. and Smyth, J. (eds.), *Tracking the Neolithic House in Europe. Sedentism, Architecture and Practice*, New York, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, Springer, 65-94.
- NIEUWENHUYSE, O., BERNBECK, R., AKKERMANS, P.M.M.G., ROGASCH, J. (eds.) 2013, *Interpreting the Late Neolithic of Upper Mesopotamia*, Turnhout, Brepols (PALMA, 9).
- OATES, J. 1968, Prehistoric Investigations Near Mandal, *Iraq* 30, 1-20.
- ÖZDOĞAN, M. 2003, Le vase anthropomorphe de Toptepe, *Dossiers d'archéologie* 281: Néolithique, découvert d'un berceau anatolien, 19.
- ÖZDOĞAN, M. 2011, Archaeological Evidence on the Westward Expansion of Farming Communities from Eastern Anatolia to the Aegean and the Balkans, *Current Anthropology* 52 suppl.4, 415-430.
- PALUCH, T. 2013, Maroslele-Panahát, Legelő: Data to the Middle Neolithic Anthropomorphic Vessel, Budapest, in Anders A., and Kulcsár G. (eds.), *Moments in Times, papers Presented to Pál Raczky on His 60th Birthday*, L'Harmattan, Budapest, 203-212.
- ROBERT, B., DAVERAT, L. 2016, Modeling Images by Shaping Ceramics, *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Archaeology of the Near East, 9-13 June 2014*, Freie Universität Berlin, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 259-272.
- ROBERT, B., DAVERAT, L. 2017, De l'art ou du cochon », Actes du Workshop tenu à Brno (République Tchèque) 27-30 janvier 2012, Oxbow Book, 129-140.
- SCHLICHTHERLE, H. 2016, Älteste Wandmalereien nördlich der Alpen. Zur Rekonstruktion der Bilder für die Präsentation auf der Großen Landesausstellung, in *Denkmalpflege in Baden-Württemberg, Nachrichtenblatt der Landesdenkmalpflege* 1, 11-17.
- SCHWARZBERG, H. 2006, Neolithische Gesichtsgefäße Von Aşağı Pınar, Türkisch Thrakien, in Sven Conrad, S., Einicke, R., Furtwängler, A., Löhr, H. and Slawisch, A. (eds.) *Pontos Euxinos. Beiträge Zur Archäologie Und Geschichte Des Antiken Schwarzmeer-Und Balkanraumes*, (Schriften Des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 10), Langenweißbach, Beier und Beran, 1-12.
- VILLES, A., LUCI, K. 2015, *Dieux des Balkans. Figures néolithiques du Kosovo*, Paris, Artlys.
- VIRÁG, M. Zs. 2000, Anthropomorphic Vessels of Transdanubian Linear Pottery Culture, in Hiller S., Nikolov V. (eds.) *Karanovo III. Beiträge zu Neolithikum in Südosteuropa*, Phoibos, Wien, p. 389-403.