

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF THE GIRLA MARE ANTHROPOMORPHIC STATUETTES

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The figurines of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture have been known for over a century and have often been the focus of specialist debates ever since. As time went by and archaeological evidence accrued, various opinions have been expressed as to their origin, typology, chronology and meaning.

We owe the first attempts to establish a typology to M. M. Vasić, who divided the items known in his time into two basic types: the common idols of the Dubovac-Zuto Brdo group, and the flat idols, or those made in other techniques¹. In the course of time, other researchers added their attempts at establishing an identity between some of the elements represented on the figurines and jewels coming from graves and hoards of the Bronze Age². In 1958, M. Garašanin advanced a typological division into two groups, A and B. Group A includes statuettes with a full upper part and a hollow bell-shaped lower part. The statuettes with hands placed on the belly were included by Garašanin in subgroup A.1, and those with hands on their chests in subgroup A.2. Group B comprises figurines with massive flat bodies. Subgroup B.1 includes items with concave-convex bodies, with a B.1a subdivision for figurines with a conical protruding upper part and a B.1b subdivision including those with moulded small feet. Another group apart from these includes figurines with flat bodies and rectangular section. To Garašanin the purpose and meaning of these statuettes seem to be very clear: they are all taken by him to be a representation of a fertility goddess, with the exception of the Dupljaja piece which, although wearing female dress, is, however, a male, probably a prefiguration of Apollo³.

We owe the first Romanian attempt at a typology to D. Berciu who perceived two groups in his turn. According to him, the first group includes the richly decorated items and precedes the second group, which comprises more modest achievements with less decoration, the expression of a late decadent phase in the Girila Mare culture⁴. It is likewise D. Berciu who derived certain resemblances between the Girila Mare figurines and those of the Cretan-Mycenaean civilization, with the latter belonging, however, to a later age and emerging as a consequence of a north-southwards movement. As to their meaning, D. Berciu believed that the figurines with insertion orifices had interchangeable heads for various deities to be represented, and considered the ornament in the form of a lyre to be a symbol of a god or goddess of music⁵. Placing the emphasis on the set of 15 statuettes discovered in the cremation cemetery at Cîrna, but also including in his survey other similar finds, Vl. Dumitrescu, distinguished two basic groups among the items discovered up to that moment. The first, comprising the items with mobile heads and insertion orifices, was thought to belong to an earlier phase and to be related to the eneolithic Thessalian statuettes. The second group included figurines with heads moulded as extensions to the chest, and these were more numerous and belonged to a later time. Pointing to the considerable lapse of time between the Thessalian statuettes and those belonging to the Girila Mare culture, Dumitrescu saw the latter as having emerged as a consequence of a southern impulse and thought that they in their turn triggered the emergence of the protogeometric figurines. After having analysed the decoration in detail, the above-mentioned author concluded that, apart from the details of anatomy, the decoration expressed contemporaneous jewels and elements of dress, which he considered to be a paradigm for the dress worn today by the people in Banat and Oltenia. Discussing the possible meaning of the figurines, Dumitrescu believes them to be representations of a god protecting people in the "afterlife", or, seeing that they were discovered in children's

¹ M.M. Vasić, *Starinar*, 6, 1911, p. 1 sqq. : Idem, *Starinar* NS, 3–4, 1952–1953, p. 48 sqq.

² G. Kossack, *Studien zum Symbolgut der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit Mitteleuropas*, 1954, p. 7 sqq. N.K. Sandars, *Prehistoric Art in Europe*, London, 1968, p. 170 sqq. V. Trbuhović, *Starinar*, NS, 7–8, 1956–1958, p. 131 sqq.

³ M. Garašanin, in 39 *BerRGK*, 1958, p. 85 sqq.

⁴ D. Berciu and E. Comşa, *Materiale*, 2, 1956, p. 471–474.

⁵ D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, 1939, Craiova, p. 131–133.

graves, they might well be deities protecting children, but he rejected the idea that they might represent the deceased⁶.

Starting from the fact that most anthropomorphic idols have been discovered accidentally, Zagorka Letica made an attempt towards chronological differentiation on the sole basis of stylistic and typological considerations. Within a chart of the statuettes studied along these criteria, she distinguished among three broad groups: Western, Central and Eastern, as well as three evolutionary phases noted I to III. The Dalj piece, the only one in the lot to have a full lower part, is thought to be the oldest and, therefore, a prototype of the others. This figurine is actually the sole piece which illustrates, according to Z. Letica, the earliest evolutionary phase, a very short one, and one which occurred only in the Western area. Phase II occurred in all three geographic areas and was the longest, having two sub-phases, a and b. The third, and last, phase is one for which no evidence exists in the Western area, poor evidence is available for the Central area, but is richly attested in the Eastern area, east of the Iron Gates. The whole evolution of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare art was confined within the interval Br. A2—Ha. B 1 that is, between 1700 and 950 B. C. According to Z. Letica, the statuettes have a native origin which has to be sought among the tradition of the Vucedol culture⁷.

Zagorka Letica's contentions were criticized by N. Majnarić-Pandzić who would not agree that the Dalj piece dated back to the 18th—17th centuries B. C., but traced it back to the 14th c. B. C., thus considerably augmenting the interval between the Vucedol art and the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare art. The latter author also rejected the idea of a native evolution, and pointed to relations with the Mycenaean world. According to N. Majnarić-Pandzić, the figurines in question can be dated within the interval between the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.⁸.

The most recent debate on the Girila Mare statuettes was initiated by Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus. In a comprehensive study devoted to jewel wearing and the meaning of the Bronze Age hoards, the author considered the anthropomorphic statuettes which are justly considered as invaluable sources for the study of dress. After having examined the decoration on this basis as well, and after having established the types of jewellery and the details of dress, G. Schumacher-Matthäus proceeds to a reconstruction of several kinds of dress which she discusses chorologically and chronologically on the basis of analogies from the graves inventories or hoards. Using the chronological system advanced by B. Hänsel, as well as the phases established by the same for the cemetery at Cîrna, the author places the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare art — and the whole culture implicitly — within the interval FD III-SD I. As far as the meaning of the figurines is concerned, she points to the fact that the items from Cîrna all come from children's graves and tries to establish a connection between the presence of the statuettes in the graves, the size of the pots used as urns and the age groups of the deceased. She goes on to show that, although connections with the Mediterranean and the Eastern worlds are obvious, interpretations of the religious character of the figurines are problematic and the last word has certainly not been said⁹.

172 pieces are known at present, coming from 48 places on both sides of the Danube, from the latter's confluence with the Drava (Osijek, Cat. 30, the farthest north-western find) to its confluence with the Jiu (Gradešnica, Cat. 15, the extreme south-eastern find) (Fig. 1). The lot also includes specimens found at Verbița (Cat. 45) and Dikili Tash (Cat. 7) sites, which belong to other cultural environments¹⁰. Of the 48 places 16 are cremation cemeteries, 10 are settlements, while, as far as the remaining 22 are concerned either the way they were discovered is not known, or they are single finds. In terms of the archaeological context, 86 figurines (50%) come from graves, 35 (20.34%) from settlements, while information is lacking for 51 pieces (29.66%). Judging from the salient anatomical details all the statuettes represent females with the exception of the items from Dupljaja (Cat. 9) and Klicevac (Cat. 20), the latter being considered a male by the dress¹¹.

The typological distinctions made so far rely solely on one or two features of morphology or only on an analysis of the decoration. Using this as a baseline, but also taking into account the richer evidence now at our disposal, we shall put forward in our turn a typological and chronological reordering based on a new morphological approach, and we shall at the same time offer an overview of the discussion concerning the origins and meaning of the anthropomorphic representations in the Dubovac-Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture.

⁶ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, p. 344 sqq.

⁷ Zagorka Letica, *Antropomorfe figurine bronzanog doba u Jugoslaviji*, Beograd, 1973, p. 81—95 (abstract in English).

⁸ N. Majnarić-Pandzić, *Opuscula Archaeologica*, 7, 1982, p. 57 sqq.

⁹ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *Studien zu bronzezeitlichen*

Schmucktrachten im Karpatenbecken, Mainz, 1985, p. 6 sqq.

¹⁰ For the example from Verbița found in Verbicioara settlement see D. Berciu et al., *SCIV*, 3, 1952, p. 160, Fig. 18. The statuette from Dikili Tash was found in the well-known site of the Early Bronze Age in Eastern Thrace, cf. J. Deshayes, *Archaeology*, 25, 3, 1972, p. 198 sqq. with a wrong dating.

¹¹ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, p. 14—15.

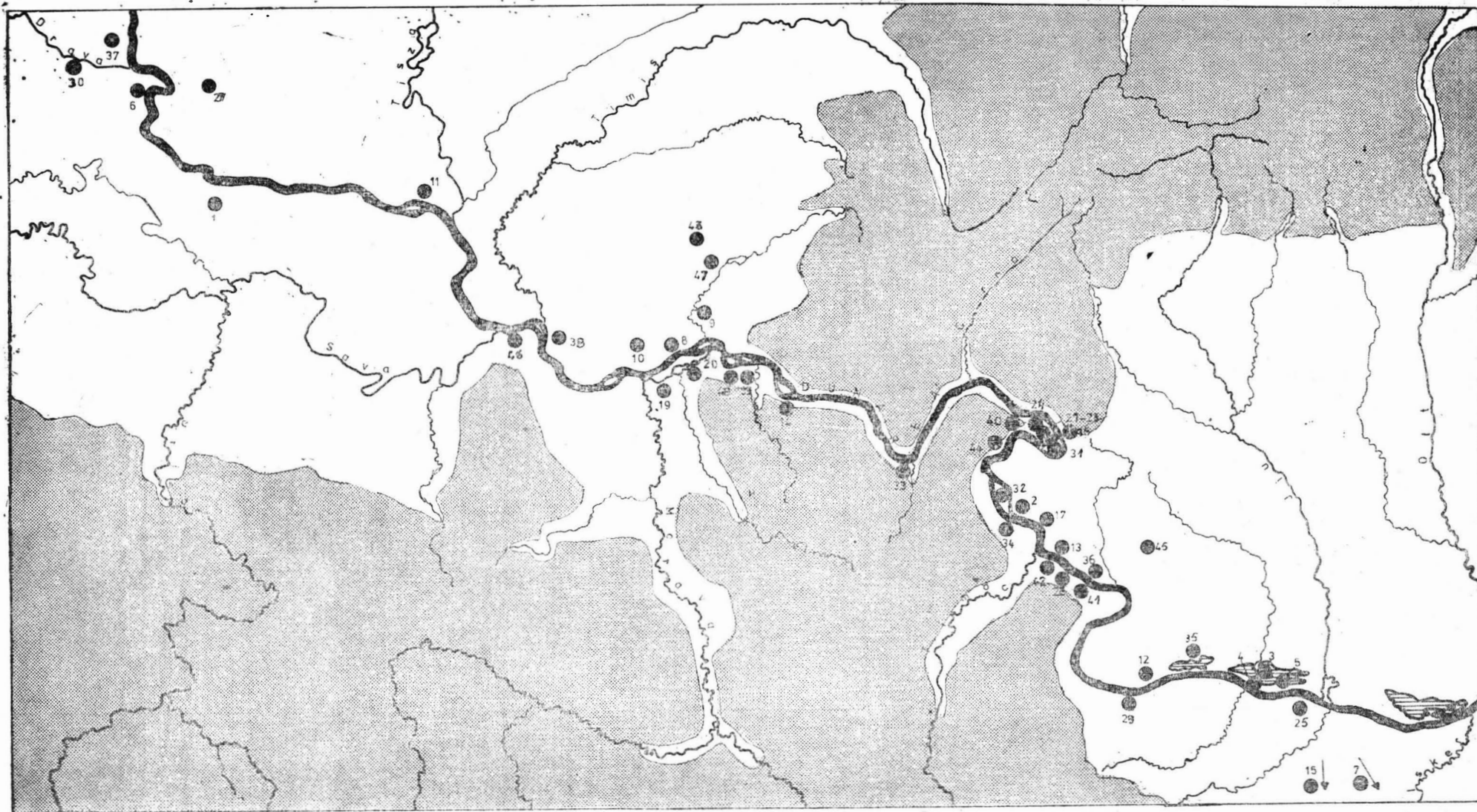


Fig. 1. The spread of the Dubovac-Zuro Brdo-Girila Mare figurines (numbers refer to those in the catalogue).

In order to establish the basic types, we have taken into account the overall silhouette of the statuettes, as well as the positioning and representation of the arms. In defining the variants of each type, we started from the technique used in representing the skirt (the gown), as well as from some anatomical details (the head, the hips, etc.). A general view of the statuettes from the Danubian areas reveals them to be ostensibly similar to the Mycenaean figurines from a morphological standpoint. It is our opinion that this resemblance has nothing accidental about it and in order to emphasize it, we think it useful to take up the typology established by A. Furumark for the Mycenaean idols and apply it to the anthropomorphic art of the Gîrla Mare culture. Within this typology, which started from the positioning of the arms, the basic types were allotted Greek letters similar to the silhouettes¹². According to the above-mentioned criteria used for the Mycenaean statuettes, the Gîrla Mare figurines can thus be divided into the following basic types:

The *PHI* type includes figurines with their arms placed on the belly or on the chest; the figurines belonging to the *PSI* type have their arms raised and bent forward from the elbow, a positioning which is generally considered to have a religious connotation¹³; the statuettes grouped in the *TAU* type have arms which, positioned laterally, form an approximately right angle to the vertical of the body. As already done for the Aegean world, we include in the *KUROTROPHOS* category all the double figurines — even triple ones — representing a female figure with one or two children in her arms (Fig. 2).

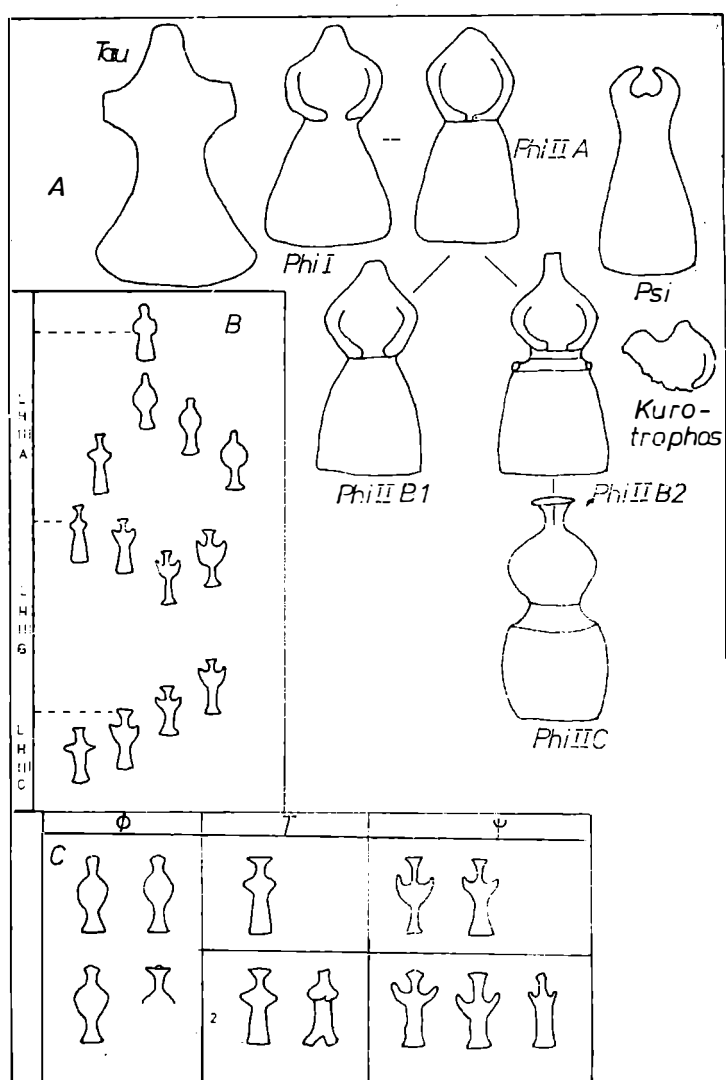


Fig. 2. A. Typology of the Dubovac-Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare figurines; B. The typological and chronological table of the Mycenaean figurine. (after E. French, 1971); C. Typological table of the Mycenaean figurines (after A. Furumark, 1941).

¹² A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm, 1941, p. 86–89. Recently, the typology of the Mycenaean statuettes has been expanded and refined by Elizabeth French, BSA, 66, 1971, p. 102 sqq.

¹³ For a divergent opinion see G. Crăciunescu, Drobeta, 4, 1980, p. 52, who believes that “this position . . . suggests movement, possibly a dance”.

The *Phi type*, just like its Mycenaean correspondent, has the greatest number of items and the broadest geographical spread. Starting from the form of the skirt/gown, we have established two main groups for this type, groups I and II, respectively. The statuettes of the *Phi I* group have trapeze-shaped silhouettes, with skirts close-fitting at the waist and gradually looser downwards. The items representative of this group are those from Dubovac (Cat. 8), Klenovnik (Cat. 19), Golubac (Cat. 14) Galya 1 (Cat. 10), Vrsac 1 (Cat. 47) to which add the more special specimens from Dupljaja and Klicevac. We suggest the name *Phi I-Klenovnik* for this group (Fig. 3/1).

In the *Phi II* figurines, the skirt follows the rounded contours of the hips, setting off this feminine feature, and then is approximately straight downwards. For the *Phi II* group, three variants have been suggested, according to the representation of some anatomical details — mainly the head and the hips — as well as to the general decorative patterns. The *Phi II A* variant includes statuettes with a poorer morphological expression, lesser and more rudimentary decoration, and heads which are technically undifferentiated from the trunk. This variant was only evidenced at Ostrovu Mare and it could, therefore, be considered a local variant, which we shall name *Phi II A-Ostrovu Mare* (Fig. 3/2). Judging from the simple moulding technique and decorative achievement, we incline towards an earlier dating. Unlike the previous variant the figurines in the *Phi II B* variant have their heads differentiated from the rest of the body. It has a broader spread, the decoration is richer and the execution more careful with naturalistic touches. *Phi II B* has two subvariantes (B. 1 and B.2), with the latter characterized either by the hips being marked with protuberances, or by the incised decoration (the more common patterns being small circles or spirales), as well as by the over-emphasized heads (Fig. 3/3–4). The most representative items of the *Phi II B* variant are in the first place the specimens from Cirna (Cat. 5), items 1, 3, 5 from Bistret-Ostrovogania (Cat. 3 and Fig. 6/2,7; VII/1), those from Balta Verde (Cat. 2), Novo Selo (Cat. 26), the two pieces from "Oltenia" (Cat. 28), Rast 1 (Cat. 35), a figurine from Izvoare (Cat. 17 and Fig. 6/1), two figurines from Ostrovu Mare (Cat. 32 and Fig. 8/6, 8), and two from Orsoja (Cat. 29). The most suitable name for these seems to us to be *Phi II B-Cirna*. Slightly differentiated from a stylistic viewpoint, these two subvariants are to be placed chronologically within the same phase of the Gîrla Mare culture which corresponds to the Cirna cemetery ¹⁴.

The *Phi II C* variant is clearly different from the others both in terms of shape and in terms of decoration. Variant B statuettes had flat or cylindrical heads, whereas the heads of those comprised in the C variant have three rounded edges, with the line of the nose being more pronounced. The upper part of the head is larger than the base in diameter so that, if regarded frontally, the silhouette has, broadly speaking, the form of a trapeze with a longer upper base. More often than not, the crown of the head is decorated. The most elaborate form of this variant known so far is a specimen from Ostrovu Corbului (Cat. 31 and Fig. 10/2), which in this respect is almost identical to the Mycenaean figurines with *polos*¹⁵. Also different is the shape of the skirt, which has a part of maximal amplitude somewhere in the middle and then gradually gathers towards the hem, thus looking almost like a small barrel. The most striking difference, however, would seem to be the decoration. Made in the successive stab technique with white encrustation — the same used in the other pieces — the decoration is this time totally abstract, with very scarce details of anatomy and almost no elements of dress and jewellery.¹⁶ The greater lot of statuettes known today supports this observation. It seems very clear that a series of decorative motifs, formerly with a precise meaning, were gradually emptied of their initial content and dwindled, possibly in a process of laicization. The "lyre" motif, which in variants A and B was positioned on the head in a schematized representation of eyes, eyebrows and nose¹⁷, comes to be placed on the neck or the chest. It is not the only motif to suffer a transformation. The skirts of variant B statuettes sometimes bore the imprint of a kind of "apron" in the shape of a triangle or losange and fringed by discrete spiral-shaped hooks. In variant C items the "apron" diminishes or disappears altogether, while the spiral-shaped hooks grow in size to become the main design, which covers almost completely the front of the skirt (Fig. 10). Variants A and B had, on the back side of the skirts, the design of some kind of textile tassels or perhaps metallic accessories, which in variant C turn into ovals or big adjoining circles. It is to be remarked that variant C lacks the schematized details of the face, arms and fingers. These features of variant C, as well as the distribution of the pieces belonging within it, lead us to believe that in this case we cannot possibly speak of a local manner of representing human silhouette and dress, and the difference is due to

¹⁴ For the Cirna phase of the Gîrla Mare culture, see I. Chicideanu, *Dacia*, N.S., 30, 1986, p. 29.

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¹⁵ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 116 ref. 20, p. 118, 121,

¹⁶ A similar observation in Vl. Dimitrescu, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

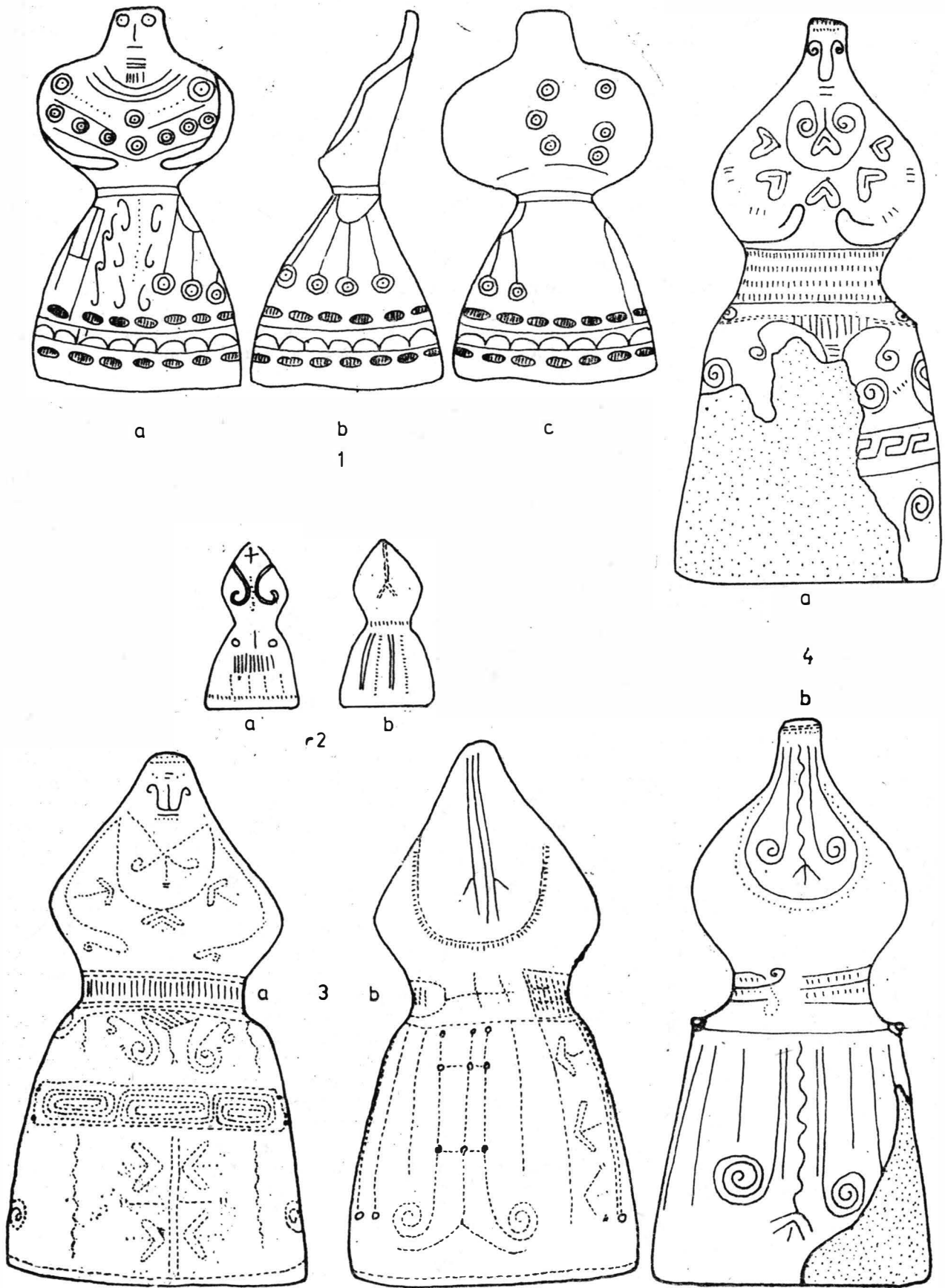


Fig. 3. 1 The Phi I-Klenovnik type; 2 The Phi II A-Ostrovu Mare type; 3 The Phi II B. 1) - Cirna variant; 4 The Phi II: 2 - Cirna variant. A Klenovnik; 2 Ostrovu Mare; 3 Cirna Gr. 26; 4 Cirna Gr. 102 (1 after G. Schumacher-Mstlbäus, 1985 2 after D. Berciu, 1953; 3-4 after Dumitrescu, 1961).

the pieces belonging to another chronological phase. Actually, it is to a later dating that points their similarity with the later Mycenaean figurines, especially with respect to the simplified decoration on the chests¹⁸ of two statuettes from Ostrovu Corbului (Cat. 31 and Fig. 10/1–2). Pieces belonging within this variant are found in Orsoja (Cat. 29 and Fig. IV/1), Prahovo (Cat. 34 and Fig. 9/2–5,7), Bistret-Ostrovogania (Cat. 3 and Fig. 6/2,4), Gradešnica (Cat. 15), Korbovo-Glamija 2 (Cat. 21). Taking into account the fact that the greatest part of these statuettes are found at Orsoja, we suggest *Phi II C-Orsoja* would be the most appropriate name for this variant (Fig. 4/1–2).

For the *Psi* type, only two of the pieces known today are certain and both come from Ostrovu Mare. They have slim silhouettes which somehow recall the stem of the Mycenaean figurines, but what differentiates them is the lack of profiled head (Fig. 5/3 ; 8/10).

The evidence for the *Tau* type is made up of a relatively small number of examples from Dalj (Cat. 6), Babska (Cat. 1), Gardinovei (Cat. 11), Osijek (Cat. 30) and "Southern Hungary" (Cat. 37). The skirt is not very ample, it goes almost straight from the waist downwards before it suddenly grows fuller towards the hem, a fact which relates them somehow to similar Mycenaean figurines of the *Tau* type¹⁹. We also wish to point out that one of the Dalj examples has a full body, which connects it to the earlier Mycenaean pieces²⁰. We put forward the name *Tau-Dalj* for the Danubian statuettes belonging within this type Fig. 5/1–2).

The *Kurotrophos* category has so far come to include a single piece found at Ostrovu Mare in a Gîrla Mare settlement²¹. Actually, there are only fragments of this piece, since the entire lower part and segments of the upper part are missing. However, the surviving fragment bears the silhouette of a *Phi II B. 1* statuette, by the side of which there stood another formerly. The decoration is in the habitual manner (Cat. 32 and Fig. 4/3).

The mapping distribution of the main types of Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare statuettes gives rise to several observations. The *Tau-Dalj* type is only present in the western extremity of the Zuto Brdo area, evidence for it being found in 6 points of Danube's sector between the mouth of the Drava and the confluence with Tisa. None of these figurines was found in graves: they are found accidentally or come from settlements. The examples belonging within the *Phi I-Klenovnik* type are concentrated in the area of confluence of the Danube with Morava and Caraș, being discovered in 7 points from among 4–Dubovac, Klenovnik, Klicevac and Vrsac are cemeteries. East of Iron Gates, in the Gîrla Mare area, 16 finds represent figurines belonging to the *Phi II* type with the *A – Ostrovu Mare*, *B – Cîrna* and *C – Orsoja* variants. Among these, 9 are cemeteries, 7 are settlements and only one is a single find²². To these add the examples from Verbița – a settlement of the Govora group²³ – and the one from Dikili Tash, both situated outside the Gîrla Mare area.

The items belonging to the *Psi* and *Kurotrophos* types represent so far only single finds, all in the settlement of Ostrovu Mare.

The Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare statuettes have always been an invaluable source of information pertaining to dress and especially to jewellery²⁴. Attempts have been repeatedly made in the course of time to identify jewellery using analogies to ornaments known from grave inventories or bronze hoards²⁵. These early attempts were then continued by those who made closer studies of the Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare anthropomorphic art and, of course, identifications differed from one researcher to another.

We wish to point out from the very beginning that such an approach is bound to pose intractable problems. The existence of jewellery and ornaments is beyond any doubt, but their representation on the figurines in question is more often than not schematized. On the other hand, starting from the way many examples have been preserved, the set of jewels cannot be reconstructed as a whole, which leaves us only a few pieces the identification of which is the most probable. Likewise, it is worth recalling that a series of ornamental designs on the figurines were also used to decorate pottery, so that to identify dress from such designs as cut decorations, triangles, or spirals and their variants seems a risky approach. It is also worth noting that the developments of the Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare culture witnessed noticeable transformations of the designs; at the same time, it has been observed that the set of designs that is specific to the Bel-

¹⁸ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 124 sqq.

²⁰ An observation also made by Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

²¹ G. Grăciulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 52–53.

²² Two pieces from the Istrati Capsa collection (see I. Nestor, 22 *BerHGK*, 1933 Pl. 12:1, 10) with unknown

place of discovery.

²³ For the Govora-Group see B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologische Gliederung der ältern Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau*, Bonn, 1976, Part 1, p. 59–60, where the discussion covers late Verbițioara finds.

²⁴ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*

²⁵ *Ibidem*: G. Kossack, *op. cit.*

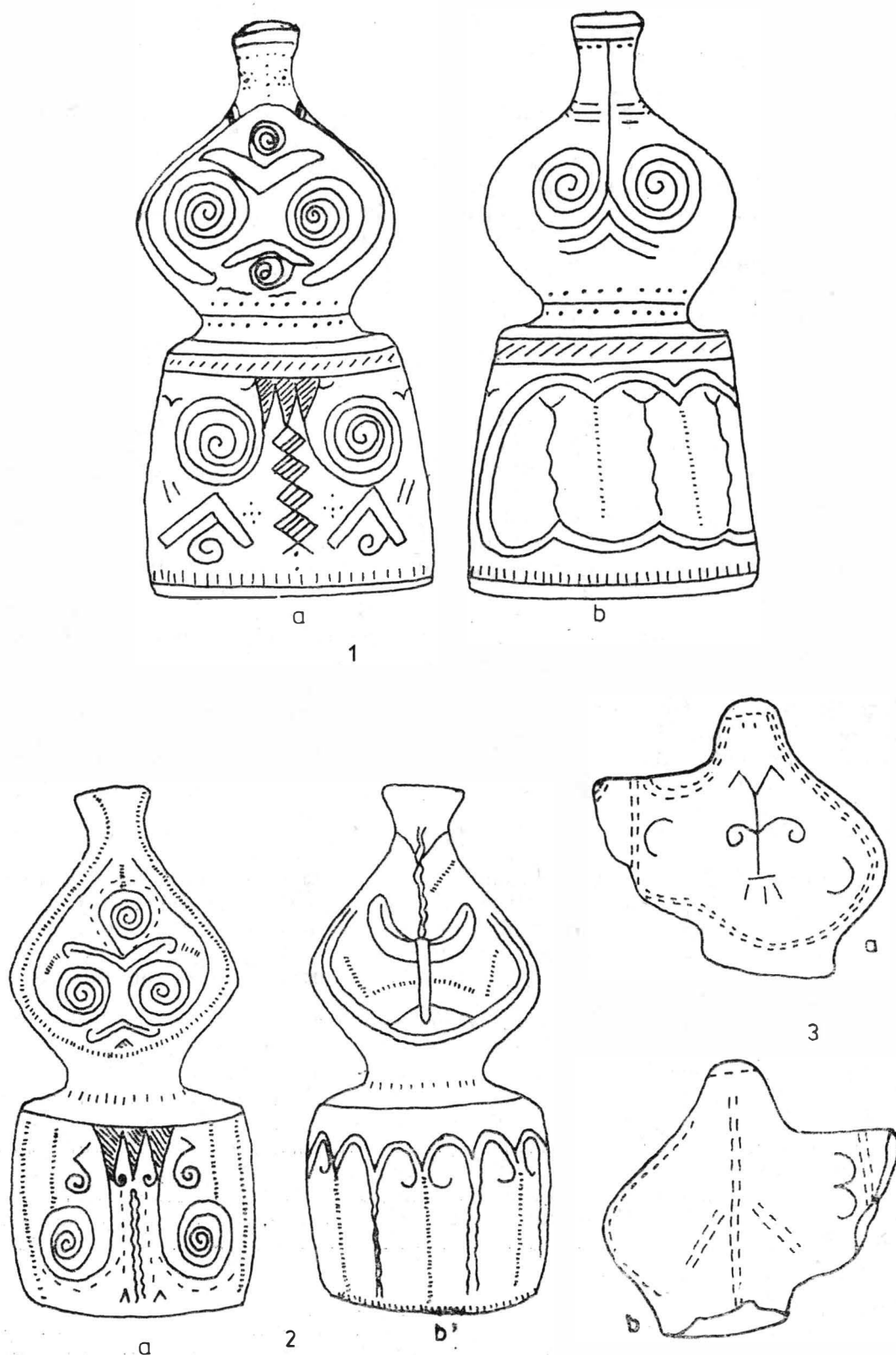


Fig. 4. 1—2 The Phi II C — Orsoja type; 3 The Kurotropohos type. 1 Orsoja Gr. 41; 2 Korbevo-Glamija; 3 Ostrovu Mare (1 after T. Filipov, 1976; 2 after G. Schumacher-Matthäus, 1985; 3 after G. Crăciunescu, 1982).

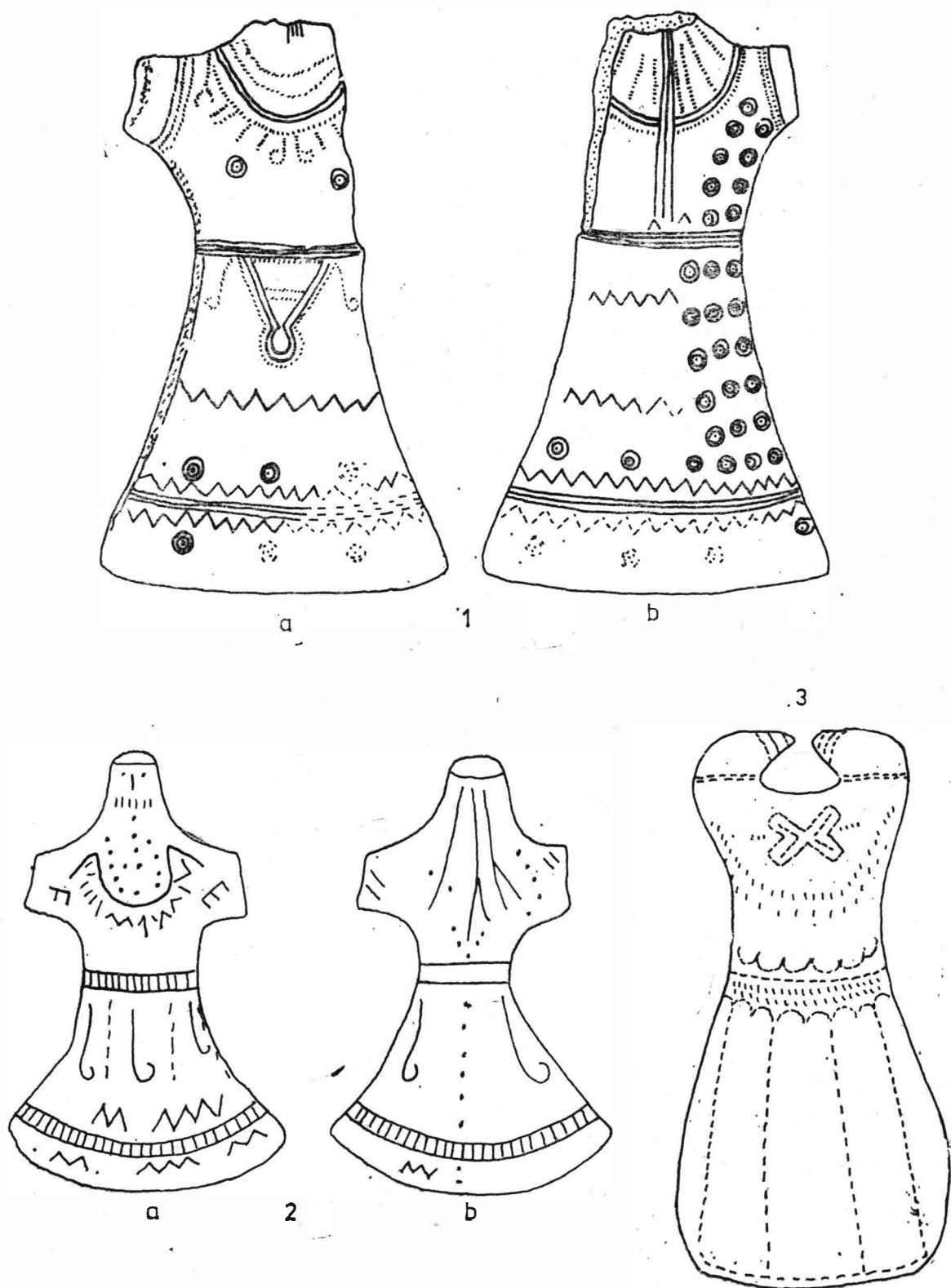


Fig. 5. 1—2 The Tau-Dalj type; 3 The Psi-Ostrovu Mare type. 1 Dalj; 2 Osijek; 3 Ostrovu Mare (1 after G Schumacher-Matthäus, 1985; 3 after Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974).

grade area somewhat differs from the specific motifs of the area east of Iron Gates. The same is true of the sector down-stream of Iron Gates, where differences of the same order are perceptible between the Ostrovu Corbului-Balta Verde area and the Orsoja-Bistreț-Cirna area, differences which, in all likelihood, testify to various local facies of the Gîrla Mare culture, a fact confirmed for the whole area of the culture and by the chorology of the basic statuette types. One question which arises is whether those who made these statuettes intended them to be a faithful image of dress, a sort of "daily-life picture". Taking into account the fact that these representations became increasingly abstract as time went by, the definite answer is Not! It is beyond doubt that those who would molded these figurines intended to produce a symbol, so that a whole series of anatomic details were schematized or even left out altogether, something which also happened to jewellery and dress. Schematized representations were made or ornaments which had some special meanings while others, quite "fashionable" at the time, were simply left out. This was the case of the pins and especially of the lock-rings, which were used by the Zuto Brdo-Gîrla Mare people, as is, for instance, proved by several such items uncovered at Cirna²⁶ and Bistreț-Ostrovogania²⁷.

The most faithfully reproduced jewels are the spectacle-shaped pendants, perceptible on many statuettes found east of the Iron Gates, in places like Cirna (Fig. 3/3)²⁸, Bistreț-Ostrovogania (Fig. 6/7a; 7/2a), Bistreț-"Cabana de metal" (Fig. 6/3a), Ostrovu Mare²⁹, Izvoare³⁰, Verbița³¹. In terms of chorology, representations of such pendants on the statuettes are concentrated east of Iron Gates, in the area of the group of idols belonging to the Phi II type, being not evidenced elsewhere (Fig. 12). The following question is immediate: what might be the factor determining this geographical spread? Spectacle-shaped pendants are known as early as Early Bronze Age in various cultural compounds of the Middle Danube, in Transylvania, etc.³². The latest pieces appear at Vergina in graves associated with Submycenaean pottery³³. Their long-standing use precludes an explanation in terms of chronology for the emergence of such representations only in the Danubian areas of Oltenia. It is more likely that such representations pertained to local customs, even though pieces as such from other categories of finds are not known for this area³⁴. We have already shown that in Phi II C-Orsoja figurines the absence of such pendants is due to an extremely abstract approach to the representation of decorative elements.

One other type of pendant that can be identified is the horseshoe-shaped pendant, well represented on idols from Babska³⁵, Odzaci³⁶, Gardinovci³⁷, Dalj (Fig. 5/1), all belonging to the western Tau-Dalj type (Fig. 12). In the eastern area horseshoe-shaped pendants are not represented on statuettes, but their use is evidenced by one of such bronze pendants discovered in a dwelling of the Gîrla Mare settlement at Ghidici³⁸. It is a fact worth mentioning because it is a direct proof of our contention that not all types of ornaments worn at the time were represented on statuettes.

Heart-shaped pendants, relatively frequent in Middle Danube areas in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, appear in just two cases on one of the statuettes from Korbovo-Glamija³⁹ and on the Babska idol⁴⁰.

The necks of eleven pieces from Cirna⁴¹ (Fig. 3/3a), one from Novo Selo⁴², and one from Balta Verde⁴³ are adorned with pendants which were called "butterflies"⁴⁴ and which are either isolated appearances or form necklaces. Extreme schematization hinders any attempt at a precise identification. There is, however, a certain resemblance to the anchor-shaped pendants, well known in several hoards of the Middle Danube area⁴⁵. Such jewellery hoards are absent east of Iron Gates, but some anchor-shaped pendants were found, in unknown circumstances, in the Prahovo area⁴⁶,

²⁶ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cirna*, București, 1961, p. 280–282.

²⁷ I. Chicideanu and Monica Sandor, in *Stiințele sociale și politice în România*, 3–4, 1988.

²⁸ Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 154 above.

²⁹ D. Berciu, *Materiale*, 1, 1953, Pl. 33.

³⁰ G. Crăciunescu, *Drobeta*, 5, 1982, Fig. 6.

³¹ D. Berciu et al., *SCIV*, 3, 1952, Fig. 8.

³² Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*

³³ W. Radt, in H. Müller-Karpe (ed.), *Beiträge zu italischen und griechischen Bronzefunde*, PöBf, 20, 1974, 1.

³⁴ One of the characteristics of the Bronze Age in Oltenia is the extreme scarcity of the hoards of jewellery. See also Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, p. 347.

³⁵ M. Hoerns, *Jahrb. Zentral-Komm.*, NF. 3, 1, 1905, p. 14, Fig. 23–24.

³⁶ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2/2a.

³⁷ Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI/3a-b.

³⁸ M. Nica, *Thraco-Dacica*, 8, 1–2, 1978, p. 37, Fig. 16/8a-b. The pendant is mistakenly presented as being of the "Gîrla Mare type".

³⁹ Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV/1a.

⁴⁰ M. Hoerns, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁴¹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cirna*, București, 1961, p. 244 sqq.

⁴² Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, Pl. 8/1.

⁴³ D. Berciu and E. Comşa, *op. cit.*, Fig. 29a.

⁴⁴ Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 263–264, Pl. 152–161.

⁴⁵ B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der mittleren Bronzezeit im Karpatenbecken*, Bonn, 1968, Part 1, p. 120–121. Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Among the drawings of the Pongracz collection waredd off at Timișoara Museum, several representations of such pendants are believed to have been found around Prahovo.

which testifies, apart from their representation on statuettes, that they were equally in use here. The territorial distribution of such representations on statuettes reveals them to be associated to the figurines belonging within the Phi II B-Cirna type (Fig. 12).

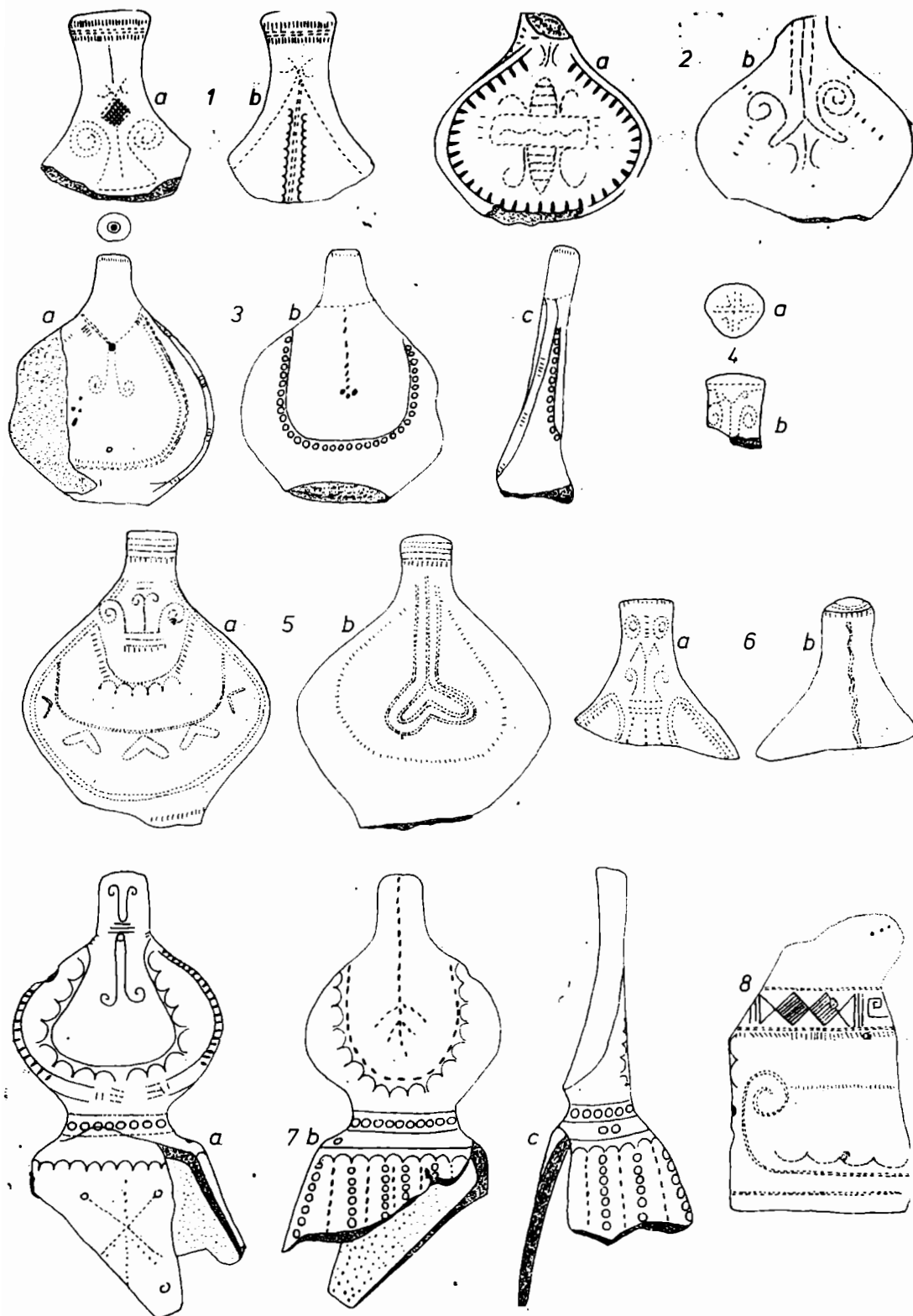


Fig. 6. 1 Izvoare; 2 Bistreț-Ostrovogania disturbed grave; 3 Bistreț – “Cabana de metal”; 4 Bistreț-Ostrovogania disturbed grave; 5–6 Kozloduș; 7 Bistreț-Ostrovogania Gr. 14; 8 Bistreț-Ostrovogania passim. Scale c. 1 : 2.

Quite faithful are representations on statuettes of comb-shaped pendants, on examples from Odzaci⁴⁷, "South Hungary"⁴⁸, Dupljaja^{48a}, Klicevac⁴⁹, Galya^{49a} and only one east of the Iron Gates on one of the Ostrovu Mare figurines (fig. 3/2a), their distribution prevailing in the Zuto Brdo area (Fig. 12). It is perhaps worth mentioning that one such representation is to be found on the urn of the Gr. 36 from Bistreț-Ostrovogania⁵⁰. These pendants are frequently found in association with horseshoe-shaped and anchor-shaped pendants in many hoards of the trans-danubian encrusted pottery culture⁵¹.

On several statuettes from the central area several circular impressions are perceptible and these have been interpreted as circle-shaped pendants⁵² (Fig. 12). On the Klicevac figurine these pendants are positioned on the back below the waistline⁵³, whereas on the Klenovnik statuette (Fig. 3/1a–c) and on the Vrsac one⁵⁴ they form some sort of decoration on one of the hips. Frequently found in the Middle Danube area together with comb-shaped and anchor-shaped pendants are known up to periods as late as the so-called Koszider period, in graves inventories or hoards⁵⁵. Other circle-shaped impressions appear on three statuettes of the western area (Fig. 12). These are the pieces from Dalj (Fig. 5/1), Odzaci⁵⁶, and "South Hungary"⁵⁷, where these impressions are asymmetrical. Judging from shape and positioning they might be representations of metal accessories to the dress, which had a wide circulation during the Bronze Age.

The heads, shoulders and backs of the statuettes from Klenovnik (Fig. 3/1), Galya⁵⁸, Golubac⁵⁹, and one from Vatina⁶⁰ are impressed with circles which, however, seem to be representations of ornaments in the coiffure, on textile or leather. Their territorial distribution reveals their association with the figurines of the Phi I-Klenovnik type (Fig. 12).

Bronze necklets are the sole metallic ornaments which appear on statuettes in the whole area of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture (Fig. 12). It is noteworthy, however, that one of the Cîrna pieces bears a necklet-like design on its chest, but with the extremities pointing inwards (Fig. 3/4a) and another figurine of the same cemetery bears the necklet on its back⁶¹. In these cases it might simply be a matter of design or it might represent some kind of necklace, but it is our opinion as far as the necklets are concerned, that their representation was more important than their accurate positioning, as the meaning of respective pieces pertained to social rank rather than to anything else⁶².

Bracelets are represented on several statuettes such as, for instance, those from Dupljaja⁶³, Klicevac⁶⁴, Balta Verde⁶⁵, Bistreț-Ostrovogania (Fig. 7/2a), Bistreț-"Cabana de metal"⁶⁶ (Fig. 7/3a), Cîrna⁶⁶. Representations are altogether schematic — a few parallel incisions which might, however, suggest the spiralled wire or bronze bracelets, with the exception of the Dupljaja piece where bracelets with spiralled extremities are easily discernible and can be related to those found in several gold hoards of the Middle Bronze Age⁶⁷.

Belts were also frequently represented on statuettes. They were widely used in the Bronze Age⁶⁸, but as far as the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare figurines are concerned, any attempt at a reconstruction is rendered impossible by the extreme schematization of the representation.

It has been remarked by other researchers as well⁶⁹ that most statuettes found downstream of Iron Gates bear above their skirts and just under the waistline what might be called "aprons" represented as triangles — less frequently as lozenges — and flanked by spiral hooks. It is a matter of dispute whether such representations can be considered to be of elements of dress or not, given that altogether similar designs are present on Girila Mare pottery ware, especially on cups or small globular vessels⁷⁰.

⁴⁷ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2/2a.

⁴⁸ T. Kovacs, *AE*, 99, 1972, Fig. 3.

^{48a} Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. X/2b.

⁴⁹ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5/3b.

^{49a} Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII/5b.

⁵⁰ Unpublished excavations 1989 conducted by I. Chicideanu and Monica Chicideanu-Sandor.

⁵¹ B. Hänsel, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.; T. Kovacs, in *Gomolava*, I, Symposium 1986, Novi Sad, 1988, p. 158 sqq.

⁵² Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, p. 10–24.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, Pl. 5/3a-b.

⁵⁴ Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. III/2.

⁵⁵ See ref. 45 above.

⁵⁶ Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, Pl. 2/2.

⁵⁷ T. Kovacs, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁵⁸ Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. VII/5a.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, Pl. IX/5.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁶¹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 152/b.

⁶² The presence of bronze necklets in some rich funerary inventories or in bronze hoards is in itself an argument in favour of this function.

⁶³ Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, Pl. X/2a.

⁶⁴ See ref. 49 above.

⁶⁵ D. Berciu and E. Comşa, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁶⁶ Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 159/S.1, S.3; 160/S.9.

⁶⁷ For instance, the gold-hoard from Firiteaz, cf. Amalia Mozsolics, *Bronze und Goldfunde der Karpatenbecken*, Budapest, 1973, p. 194, Pl. 78–79.

⁶⁸ Irma Kilian-Dirlmeier, *Giirtelhacken, Giirtelbleche und Blechgürtel der Bronzezeit in Mitteleuropa*, PBF, 12, 1975, 2.

⁶⁹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *op. cit.*, p. 271; *Idem*, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, p. 350. Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, p. 10–22 and Map 3.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cîrna*, Eucurești, 1961, Pl. 142–144.

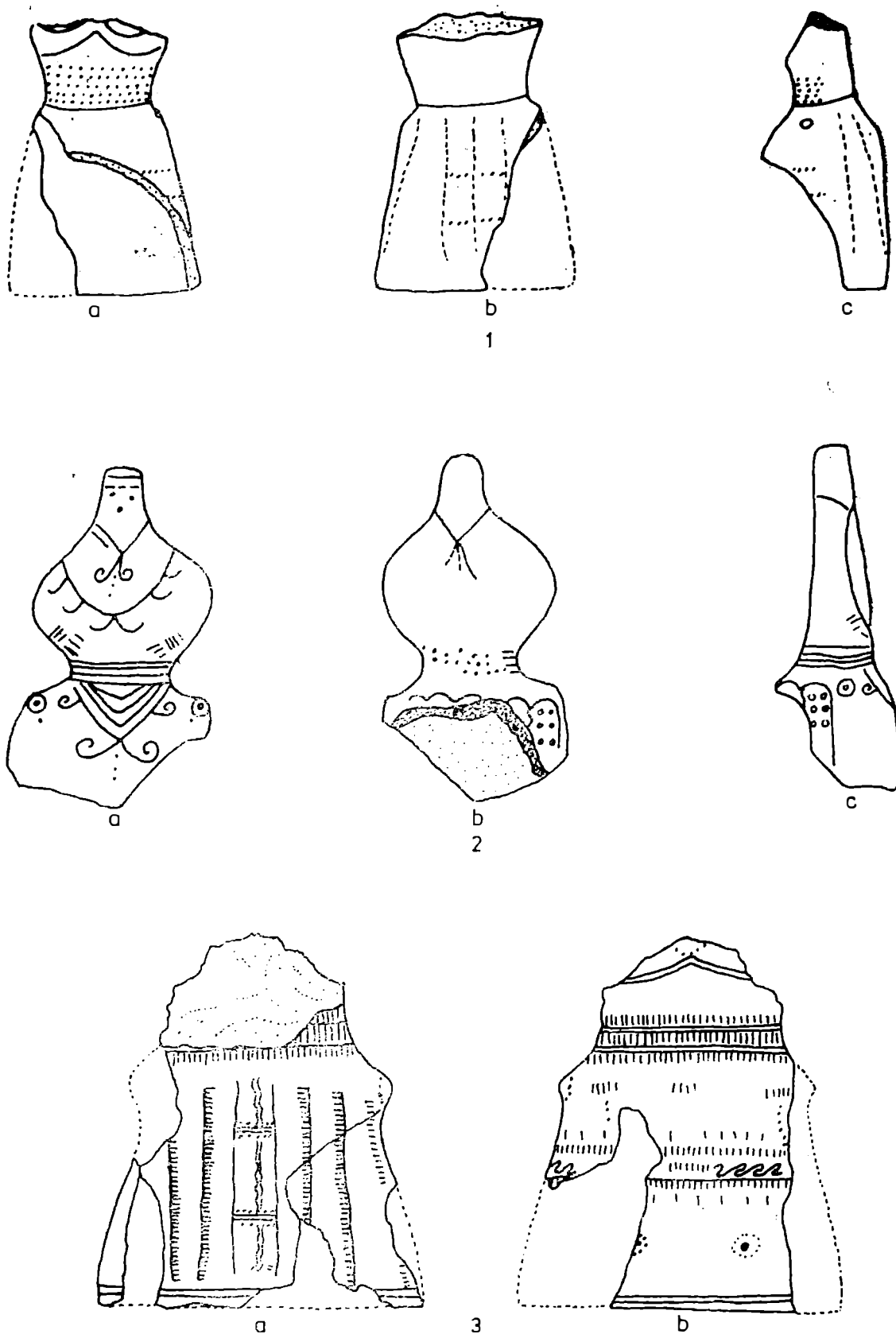


Fig. 7. 1—2 Bistreț-Ostrovogania disturbed graves ; 3. Bistreț-Ostrovogania Gr. 8. Scale 1—2 = 1 : 1 ; 3 = 1 : 2.

It is certain that the decoration on the statuettes can be studied in further detail so as to have an accurate picture of contemporaneous dress, but an exact interpretation will only be possible after a careful study of the whole corpus of design on the Zuto Brdo-Girla Mare ceramic, since many elements of decoration are common to both the pottery and the figurines. Unfortunately, such a study has not been completed yet, so our attempt will have to stop here. Anyway

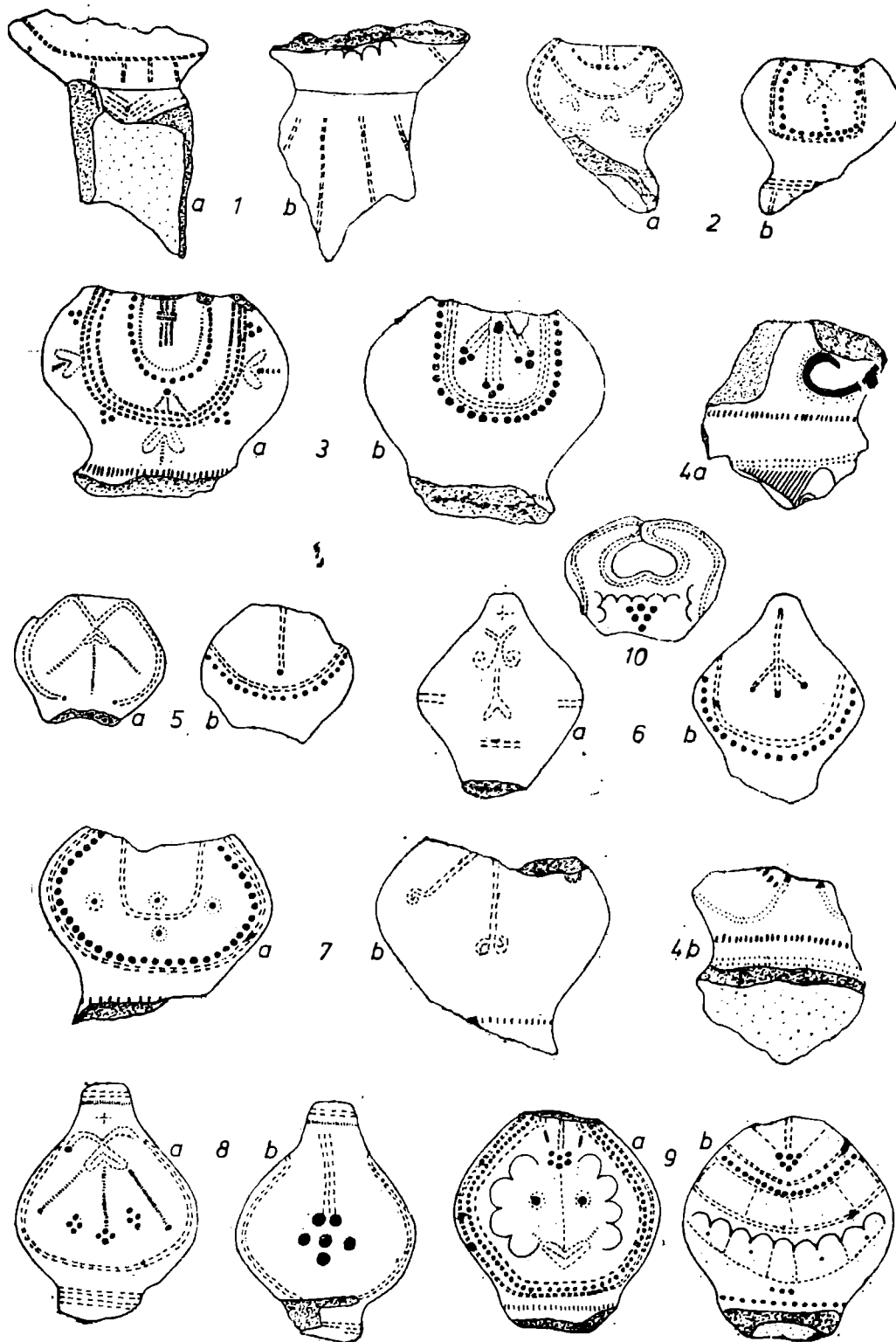


Fig. 8. 1-10 Ostrovu Mare. Scale c. 1:2.

— and it has already been said by others — we are dealing here with anthropomorphic representation of people wearing ceremonial dress not their habitual clothes.

It is difficult to date Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare anthropomorphic art solely on the basis of already identified jewellery. Such an approach can only yield a general time picture⁷¹, one which, in our case, would correspond to the middle period of the Romanian Bronze Age. More nuanced chronological distinctions would probably result by reference to the relative chronology of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture. The absence of carefully researched settlements as well as the fact that only the cemetery at Cîrna has so far been adequately published narrows the possibilities of solving the problem. At present, however, the available data would permit dating the culture from the baseline of research already completed⁷².

It is generally agreed that the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture emerged just after the transdanubian encrusted pottery, borrowing many elements from it⁷³, as well as — some scholars say — from the Vatina culture⁷⁴. The earliest phase of this culture is illustrated by the Dubovac finds, the most remarkable among which are a series of vessels very close to the ceramic of the Szeremle group in Pannonia⁷⁵. Until recently such materials have been unknown for the areas downstream of the Iron Gates. Recent discoveries in the settlement at Ostrovu Corbului — made, it is true, in unclear circumstances — consist of sherds of Girila Mare ceramic with analogies west of the Iron Gates and seemingly associated with a typical Madarovec cup⁷⁶. To these one may add today two graves unearthed in the 1989 campaign in the cinerary cemetery at Bistreţ-Ostrovogania⁷⁷, so that the earliest aspects known in the Zuto Brdo area are beginning to be well documented for areas east of the Iron Gates⁷⁸. Anchor-shaped and comb-shaped pendants are characteristic for the encrusted ceramic culture⁷⁹, but their use extends well beyond the end of this culture, as testified by Gr. 36 from Bistreţ-Ostrovogania⁸⁰. To this early phase of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture belong statuettes of the Tau-Dalj, Phi I-Klenovnik and Phi II A — Ostrovu Corbului types, on which the pendants are represented.

Phi II B — Cîrna figurines appeared in cemeteries at Ostrovu Mare — “Bivolării”, Balta Verde, Bistreţ-Ostrovogania and Cîrna, as well as in the settlement at Novo Selo. All these can generally be said to range, judging from the ceramic materials, within what has come to be called the Cîrna phase of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture⁸¹.

For the time being, the chorology of the Psi type and of statuettes of the Kurotrophos category seems to indicate a dating within the same phase.

The abstract decoration and specific silhouette of the Phi II C-Orsoja idols indicate, as already mentioned, a period following that of the pieces from the cemetery at Cîrna. Most pieces of this type come from Orsoja, but similar items were also found at Korbovo-Glamija, Ostrovu Corbului, Prahovo, Bistreţ-Ostrovogania and Gradescica. With the exception of the Gradescica statuette, no closed constituents for the other pieces are available. No accurate reconstruction of the grave inventories can be made at Orsoja⁸². However, there are many elements in this cemetery that are unknown at Cîrnă or in other cemeteries which we might call classical. These elements, pertaining both to shape and to decoration, are related to the ceramic of the Cruci-Belegiş culture (phase I), which would also plead in favour of a later phase at Orsoja as compared to Cîrna⁸³. In this case, we would be faced with one more, perhaps not very long, Girila Mare phase, a phase

⁷¹ For the latest attempt on this way, see Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus (*op. cit.*, p. 23–24), who could not however, settle the matter conclusively owing, among other reasons, to the fact that she could only refer to finds in the Middle Danube area. Furthermore, the use of the chronological system advanced by B. Hänsel (*op. cit.*) for the areas between the Carpathian range and the Danube is hardly acceptable. See the review by A. Vulpe, SCIV, 22, 1971, 2, p. 301–312.

⁷² I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*

⁷³ N. Tasić, in B. Brukner, B. Jovanović, N. Tasić, *Praistorija Vojvodina*, Novi Sad, 1974, p. 460 sqq; Idem, *Jugoslovensko podunavlje od indoevropske seobe do prodora skita*, Novi Sad-Beograd, 1983, p. 154–155.

⁷⁴ S. Morintz, *Contribuții arheologice la istoria traciilor timpurii*, I, București, 1978, p. 37–39 and ref. 92.

⁷⁵ N. Tasić, PAS, 1, 1982, p. 262–265, Fig. 4. For a new survey of the Dubovac finds, see Monica Chicideanu-Sandor and I. Chicideanu, in *Analele Banatului*, SN, 1990 (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ B. Hänsel and P. Roman, PZ, 59, 1984, 2, p. 223–229, Fig. 7/1.

⁷⁷ Gr. 35 and 36, found in the 1989 campaign, both

having as urns amphorae with silhouettes closely resembling the Szeremle-type amphorae; furthermore, the urn from Gr. 36 is decorated with representation of a comb-shaped pendant.

⁷⁸ Three decades ago, I. Nestor stated: “The Bjelo Brdo-Girila Mare group is intrusive in Oltenia, it is not formed locally but spreads from the West . . .” (*Istoria României*, I, București, 1960, p. 109), a fact confirmed today by research in the south of România.

⁷⁹ See ref. 51 above.

⁸⁰ Most of the graves in the cinerary cemetery at Bistreţ-Ostrovogania belong to the Girila Mare culture. Gr. 35 and 36 are evidence for an earlier Girila Mare aspect which obviously comes later than the encrusted ceramic culture.

⁸¹ I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 29–30 and a critique of older chronologies on p. 9–13 and 45–47.

⁸² T. Filipov, *Nekropol ot kasnata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoja Lomska*, Lom, 1976. The cup from Gr. 67 (Pl. 29) is also recorded for Gr. 121 (Pl. 46), whereas another two handled cup from Gr. 121 (Pl. 46) is also illustrated for Gr. 154 (Pl. 59); the urn from Gr. 19 (Pl. 13) is also listed for Gr. 25 (Pl. 15), etc.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, urns on Pl. 9–11; 21; 31.

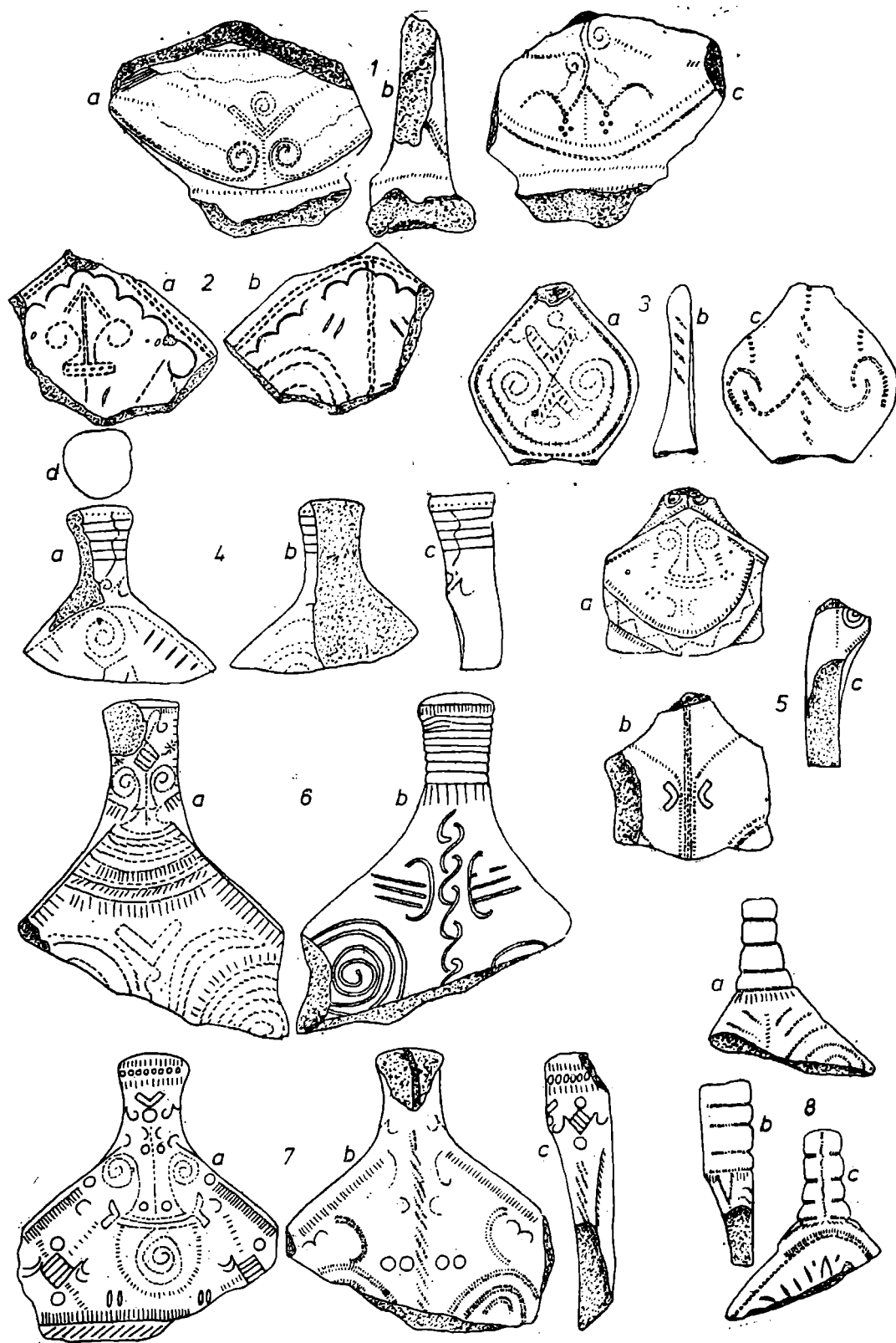


Fig. 9. 1–8 Prahovo. Scale 1 : 2.

which would come in between the Cirna phase and the Bistret-Işalnița group⁸⁴. It is to this phase — let us call it *Orsoja* — that the Phi II C type statuettes would also belong.

Obviously, the facts on which our present considerations are based are still scarce, but the spread of the Phi II C statuettes, among other places, at Bistret-Otrovogania where the excavations are still under way, may be worth some examination.

In so far as we advance a typology which closely follows the Mycenaean one, we are anticipating the conclusions concerning the origins of the anthropomorphic Girla Mare art. It is true, the three types, TAU, PHI and PSI, along with KUROTROPHOS category, appear, as we have seen, both in the Mycenaean world and on the Danube. The obvious differences in the approach are no doubt due to differences between the worlds, which only have in common some elements of cult, but these differences do not affect the interrelations between the two. The morphological relation highlighted by the typology advanced by us shows that art on the Danube is genetically related to the Mycenaean one. The route was in the first place the Vardar-Morava passage, and this was a route followed in both directions by elements of culture and even by populations in the course of time. It is along this same route that the custom of making anthropomorphic idols spread from Mycenae. It seems to us equally noteworthy that in a phase prior to the Girla Mare-culture, in the environments of Vatina, Fiizesabony or Otomani cultures there emerged numberless bone discs and cylinders with a characteristic spiral ornament made with the compasses, items that had many analogues in the Mycenaean world at the time of the Shaft-Graves, when the anthropomorphic figurines had not yet appeared in the Mycenaean civilization⁸⁵. The earliest known statuettes are from the end of the Late Helladic A II and beginning of the Late Helladic A III-1 (about 1430 B.C.)⁸⁶, posterior to the Shaft-Graves of the Circle A. Their emergence north of the Balkan Peninsula and in the Danubian areas followed the route previously taken by the above-mentioned bone objects. The penetration of this art, or rather the adoption of this custom by the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare communities took place at the time of the greatest expansion of the

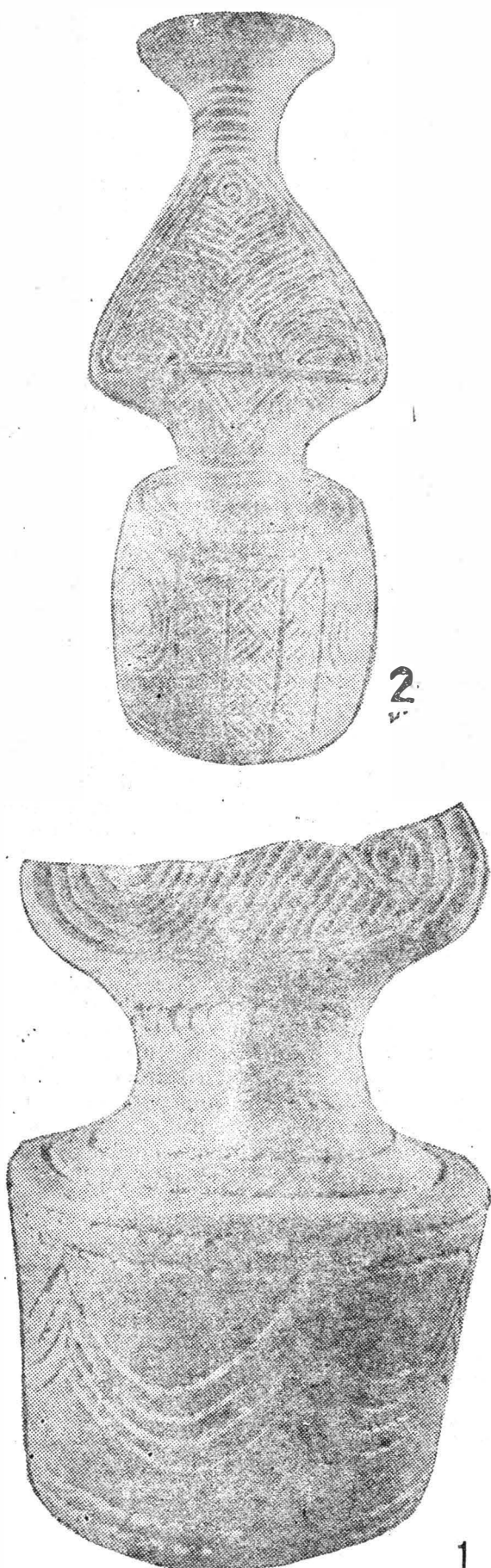


Fig. 10. 1–2. Ostrovu Corbului. Scale 1 = cca. 1 : 1; 2 = cca. 1 : 2.

⁸⁴ For the Bistret-Işalnița group, see I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 40 sqq. To the list of Bistret-Işalnița sites the following points can be added today: *Gruia*, jud. Mehedinți (G. Grăciunescu, *Drobeta*, 5, 1982), *Rast*, jud. Dolj (V. Dumitrescu, *The Neolithic Settlement at Rast* BAR Intern. Series, Oxford, 1980) and *Mihailovgrad*, Bulgaria (G. Alexandrov, in *Izvestia na muzeite severnozpadna Bulgaria*, 6, 1981).

⁸⁵ R. Hachmann, *Die frühe Bronzezeit im westlichen Ostseegebiet und ihre mittel- und südosteuropäische Beziehungen*, Hamburg 1957, p. 174–176. For a more recent viewpoint, see Brigitte Kull, *PZ*, 54, 1989, 2.

⁸⁶ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 103–104.

Mycenaean influence when other elements of this culture also spread northwards⁸⁷. The adoption of this custom was achieved in keeping with the local manner, but the basic shapes were preserved, which shows that the connotation of the pieces was also conveyed. Once they arrived at the Danube, the idols spread only within the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture, which was more apt to receive such influences; actually, this custom was adopted in association to the cremation practice as opposed to the inhumation of the Mycenaean world. The Danubian evolution of the anthropomorphic figurines seems to have parallel developments in the Mycenaean world, which might mean that relations continued while this practice existed. Within this framework, some elements of this practice could have penetrated later; thus, the *polos*, known in the Mycenaean figurines as early as the first half of their development, emerged in the Phi II C-Orsoja group of statuettes by the end of this culture. At that time, in the Belgrade region the Cruceni-Belegiš culture was already active⁸⁸ but such pieces were unknown to it. Therefore, for the later phase of the Girila Mare culture (the Orsoja phase) the penetration of Mycenaean influences may have taken the Struma-Isker route, also taken by the late Mycenaean rapiers towards today's Bulgaria⁸⁹. The latest Mycenaean statuettes of the Greek peninsula date from the Late Helladic III C, that is, 1070 B. C. at the most, according to the latest revisions of the Aegean chronology⁹⁰. Obviously, this date comes after the latest Girila Mare phase. Allegations have been made concerning associations between the anthropomorphic art of the Girila Mare culture and the figurines from the proto-geometric graves at Kerameikos, and some spoke even of a "migration" of some Girila Mare tribes to Attica⁹¹. It is our opinion that the resemblance pertains solely to the technique of decoration by incision and we can see no reason why Girila Mare groups of people should have to be moved to Athens, when evidence for this local tradition is quite late in continental Greece⁹².

It is not accidental that we left the meaning of these statuettes for the end of our discussion. As we have already shown, 49.7% (85 examples) of these were found in graves and 20.46% (35 pieces) in settlements. The figures speak for themselves. The debate becomes even more interesting when we consider that all the graves where such idols were found at Cirna belong to children (Infans I — Juvenis)⁹³. Unfortunately, only two similar cases are known to us. At Bistreț-Ostrovogania Gr. 8 belongs to an individual aged between 13 and 16, in all probability, a female⁹⁴. As far as the second grave is concerned, Gr. 14 at Ostrovogania, the bones were dispersed by an animal's gallery but the small size of the urn (a small amphora with two handles, undecorated) leaves no doubt that it belonged to a child. The situation at Cirna is, then, endorsed by the two graves from Bistreț-Ostrovogania, but these are the sole age determinations available so far for the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare graves. There still remain 56 burials for which no anthropological determination has been made and which include statuettes in their inventories. Also at Cirna, it has been observed that figurines were found only in those children's graves which had two-handled amphorae as urns⁹⁵. The finds at Bistreț-Ostrovogania and Klenovnik also bear witness of this fact⁹⁶. The same view cannot be held of Balta Verde as the statuette from Gr. 14 cannot be accurately attributed and could easily come from another grave, now destroyed⁹⁷; as for Gr. 17–18, it is no longer possible to state which urn the figurine comes from (one of the urn has two handles, whereas the other is a two-storied amphora with four handles)⁹⁸; as far as the inventory of Gr. 12 and the urn from Gr. 4 are concerned, they had been previously published in 1939 as the inventory of G. 7 at Ostrovu Corbului⁹⁹!!! Grave inventories were also tangled at Orsoja, so that in the catalogue published at Lom in 1976, Tr. Filipov could present the same pots several times each and every time they belonged to altogether different graves¹⁰⁰. Actually, the situation at Orsoja is equally awkward for the number of graves uncovered. T. Filipov contends that he unearthed 267 cremation graves with urns and 4 inhumation graves¹⁰¹, whereas A. Bonev, citing another paper by Filipov, says that 343 cre-

⁸⁷ A. Vulpe, PAS, 1, 1982, p. 321 sqq. See also N. Borofka, *Apulum* 24, 1987, for the possibility of a sea route.

⁸⁸ I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

⁸⁹ A. Vulpe, *op. cit.*; K. Kilian, *Jahrb. Frankfurt aM.*, 1976.

⁹⁰ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 175; V. Hankey and P. Warren in *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.*, 21, 1974, p. 142–154.

⁹¹ V. Milojević, *Jahrb. DAI*, 63–64, 1950, p. 12 sqq.

⁹² Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁹³ The anthropological analysis was made by D. Nicolăescu-Plopșor; see Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Cirna*, București, 1961, p. 365–382, Appendix.

⁹⁴ The anthropological analysis was made by Mibaela

Perianu.

⁹⁵ I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 14 sqq.

⁹⁶ M. Korosić, *Starinar*, NS. 13–14, 1962–1963 (1965), p. 193–195, Fig. 2–3.

⁹⁷ D. Berciu and E. Comșa, *op. cit.*, p. 286, where it is specified that the assignment of the figurine to the inventory of Gr. 14 "is not altogether reliable, as it might come from a grave which was destroyed".

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 292.

⁹⁹ Compare the inventory at *Ibidem*, Fig. 16 to D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, Craiova, 1939, p. 120, Fig. 141/1–4!!

¹⁰⁰ See ref. 82 above.

¹⁰¹ T. Filipov, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and 32 (abstract in English).

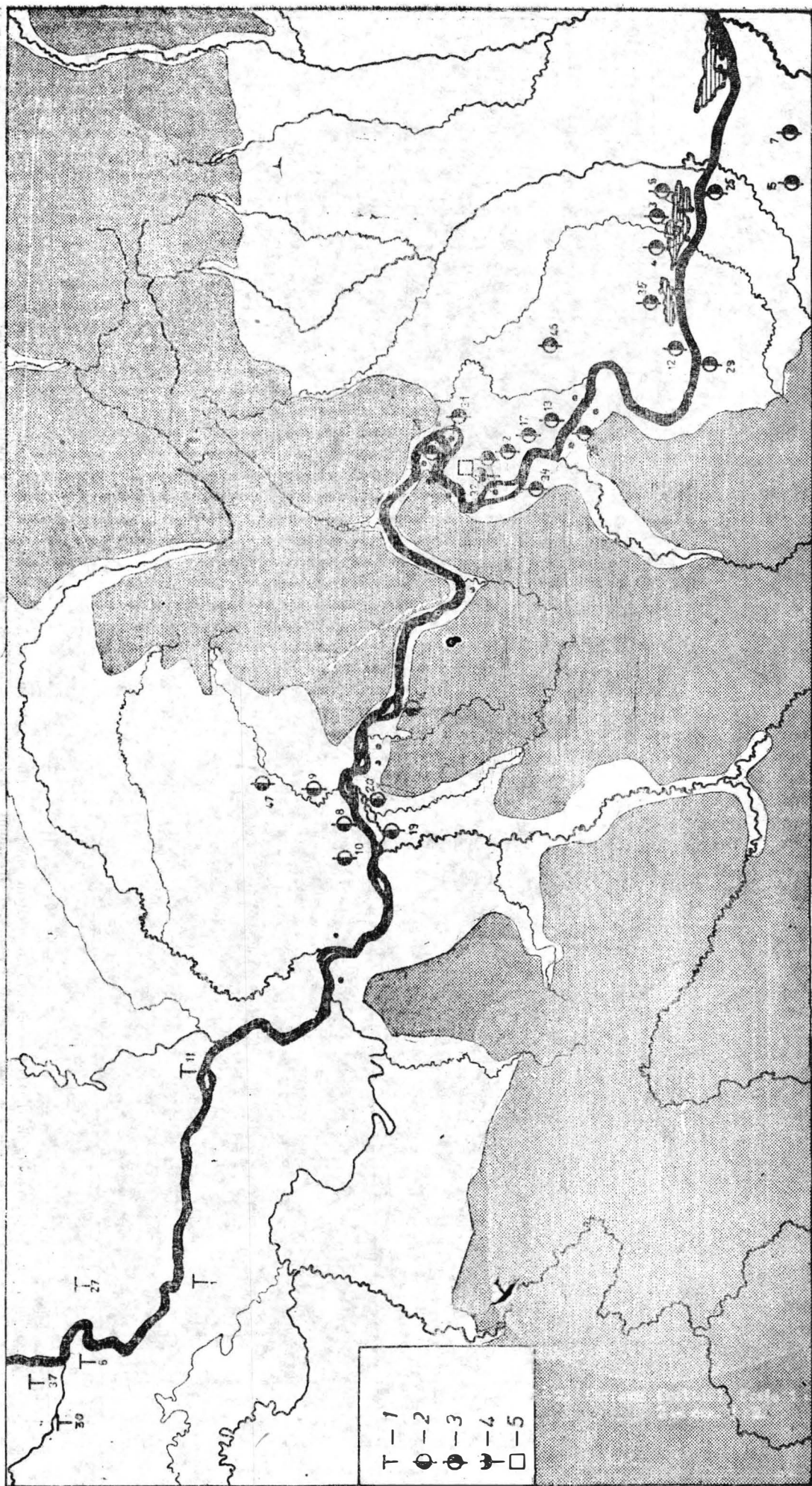


Fig. 11. The spread of the main types of figurines. 1 The Tau-Dalij type; 2 The Phi II type; 3 The Phi I type; 4 The Psi II type; 5 The Psi I type.

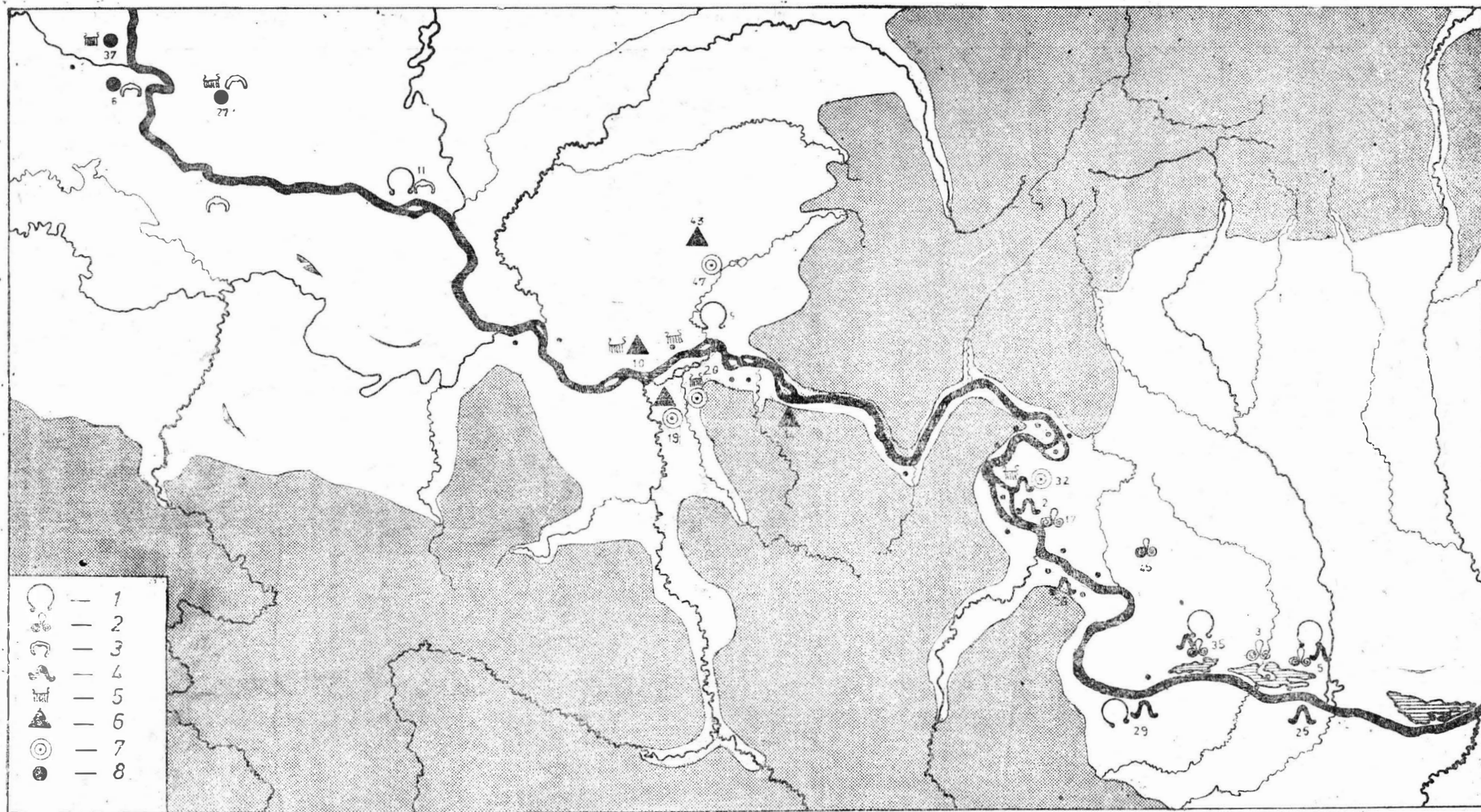


Fig. 12. The spread of jewelry represented on the Dubovac-Zuto Brdo-Girja Mare figurines: 1 Bronze necklet; 2 Spectacle shaped pendant; 3 Horseshoe-shaped pendant; 4 Anchor-shaped pendant; 5 Comb-shaped pendant; 6 Ornament for head-dress; 7 Disk-shaped pendant; 8 Round accessories.

mation graves were found at Orsoja¹⁰². We are equally unfortunate regarding the accuracy of grave inventories in other cemeteries, so we have to content ourselves with the observation made at Cirna, with the two cases from Bistret-Ostrovogania and the Klenovnik case. We wish to point out that a great number of the Mycenaean statuettes were also found in graves¹⁰³.

Unfortunately, we also ignore the exact conditions of the examples found in the Girla Mare settlements, given the insufficient excavations made at this site. At Ghidici, M. Nica recently excavated, in the vicinity of a 37-graves necropolis, a Girla Mare settlement which he considers to correspond to the cemetery. In a compound which he believes is a dwelling, apart from much Girla Mare sherds he found an entire statuette and fragments from two others¹⁰⁴. We have no further details concerning the statuettes found in such settlements. In the Mycenaean world, the number of figurines discovered in settlements is very great. Only in the extramural settlement at Mycenae over 1000 examples were unearthed¹⁰⁵. In many cases such as, for instance, at Philakopi, the statuettes were found in sanctuaries¹⁰⁶. It is also the case of the House of Idols at Mycenae, presented as a sanctuary in a recent interpretation¹⁰⁷. In numberless other cases, the Mycenaean figurines were found in compounds the religious character of which has always been beyond doubt¹⁰⁸. Given the so-far insufficient research done on the structure of Girla Mare settlements, we have no evidence for such situations.

Likewise, given the scarcity of data concerning the precise contexts of figurines found in areas of the Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare culture, attempts at interpreting the meaning of such statuettes are bound to be ridden by interrogations. At the present time, however, we may advance some tentative ideas. In the first place, the statuettes are, for all the obvious Mycenaean influence, typical products of Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare communities. Most of them have so far been found in graves and as such their use had a ritual character mostly related to funeral practices. The fact that a considerably smaller number of them were found in settlements shows that they were also used in daily life. On the other hand, their distribution among graves does not seem to be accidental, as only a part of the deceased children had such idols placed in their graves. Percentage computed testify to this fact, as well as the associations to definite types of vessels used as urns. Analysis of the Cirna cemetery has shown that children's tombs with statuettes belonged to the A group, a group which differs in terms of ritual from the B group, also present in this cemetery¹⁰⁹. Ritual differences at Cirna may be due to the existence of a community divided into two groups; these groups may have made different uses of the figurines¹¹⁰. In this way, the custom of placing idols in some children's graves may have been the ritual preserve of a social group. Even within the same group the use of figurines was dictated by the age of the deceased, as they were placed only in the tombs of those who, at the time of death, had not, therefore, undergone the rite of initiation into the adult category of those socially fulfilled. It is hard to decide whether the statuettes only accompanied some of the deceased as would seem to be the case judging from Gr. 8 at Bistret-Ostrovogania, or whether they were also placed in boys' graves. Data from the East-Mediterranean world appear to elucidate some of these questions. Actually, it became obvious that the Mycenaean statuettes were found in girls' graves, whereas the boys' tombs contained miniature horses, chariots or axes¹¹¹, a similar situation being signalled at Karkemish by Sir L. Wooley¹¹². Miniature clay axes were found in some Zuto Brdo-Girila Mare cemeteries¹¹³, but they were never associated to statuettes, a fact which might constitute a parallel to situations recorded for the Mycenaean world and the Near East.

The purpose of the statuettes in the Mycenaean world, especially of those found in tombs were the subject of ample debates. According to Person, their role was similar to that of the Egyptian Ushabti figurines, meant to accompany and wait upon the deceased¹¹⁴. Nilsson believed the figurines discovered in sanctuaries to be representations of deities, but he also granted an Ushabti-type function to those found in graves¹¹⁵. According to Picard, all the statuettes represent deities, the typological diversity being dictated by a diversity of attributes, possible by the diversity of the deities represented¹¹⁶. After pointing out that in the cemeteries at Eleusis, Nauplia, Perati, Prosymna, Varkizo or Voula the idols were discovered in children's graves and that no undistur-

¹⁰² A. Bonev, *Trakija i egeiskijat svijet prez vtorata polovina na II hiljadoletie pr. n.e.*, Razkopki i proučevanija. 20. Sofia, 1988, p. 39.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹¹ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, loc. cit., ref. 12.

¹¹³ For instance, at Ostrovu Mare (D. Berciu, *Materiale*, 1, 1953 Pl. 35/1-5) or Orsoja (Tr. Filipov, *op. cit.*, Pl. 30: 44: 51: 74). One fragment of a miniature axe was also found accidentally at Bistret-Ostrovogania.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 108.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰³ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

¹⁰⁴ M. Nica, *op. cit.*, p. 29, Fig. 8/2.5: 16/1a-c: 17/1a-c.

¹⁰⁵ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁶ C. Renfrew, *Antiquity*, 52, 201, 1978, p. 7-15.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth French, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*: J. Einwanger and Helga Donder, in *Das mykenische Hellas, Athen*, 1988, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹ I. Chicideanu, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

bed adult's tombs contained statuettes, G. Mylonas goes on to conclude that the Phi type statuettes represent divine nurses, whereas those of the Psi type represent a protecting deity in the very act of benediction. To Kurotrophos type figurines he granted a role similar to that of the Phi type¹¹⁷. The cult purposes of the Mycenaean idols are also emphasized by the more recent demonstration of Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier, who points to the religious character of the neck ornaments painted on the figurines¹¹⁸. In an ampler paper H. Müller-Karpe has shown that the fashionable accessoires of the second millennium B.C. in Egypt and the Ancient Orient served as religious symbols and many of them spread, *via* Mycenaean Greece, into the cultural milieu of the central European Bronze Age, where they became elements of ceremonial dress¹¹⁹.

With the exceptions already singled out, the Danubian figurines are female representations. Both their dress and their ornaments indicate that they were dressed for special occasions, possibly related to cult practices. Whereas the pieces from Dupljaja — figurines placed on chariots drawn by water birds — might well be representations of deities, the same view cannot be held of the others. Their presence in some graves only indicates that the custom of placing statuettes was conditioned by age group, social rank and, quite possibly, the sex. In these circumstances, it is hard to believe that the presence of protecting deities was permitted only for some of the deceased children, the least so for nurses in the case of adolescents. Given the present state of research, we believe it is more probable that the custom of placing the female figurines in question, as well as the miniature axes was linked with the social status which children prematurely dead did never reach and which depended closely on the social category to which they had belonged.

CATALOGUE

¹ *Babaska* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. M. Hoerns. *Jahrb. Zentral-Komm.*, NF, 3, 1, 1905, 14. Fig. 23–24.

² *Balta Verde* (Romania). 3 examples. Cinerary cemetery: nr. 1 — Gr. 12; nr. 2 — Gr. 14; nr. 3 — Gr. 17–18. D. Berclu and E. Comşa, *Materiale* 2, 1956. Fig. 20/1; 29/3: 29.

³ *Bistref-Ostrovoşania* (Romania). 7 examples. Cinerary cemetery: nr. 1 — Gr. 8; nr. 2 — Gr. 14; nr. 3–7 *passim*. Unpublished.

⁴ *Bistref-“Cabana de metal”* (Romania). 1 example. Cinerary cemetery, *passim*. Unpublished.

⁵ *Citrna* (Romania). 15 examples. Cinerary cemetery nr. 1 — Gr. 10; nr. 2 — Gr. 15; nr. 3 — Gr. 26; nr. 4 — Gr. 28; nr. 5 — Gr. 66; nr. 6 — Gr. 71; nr. 7 — Gr. 89; nr. 8 — Gr. 89; nr. 9 — Gr. 102; nr. 10–15 — *passim*. Vl. Dumitrescu, *Necropola de incinerare din epoca bronzului de la Citrna*. Bucureşti, 1961, p. 244–279, Pl. 14: 17; 20–21: 36; 39; 46: 52: 152–161.

⁶ *Dalj* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Single finds. Zagorka Letica, *Antropomorfne figurine bronzanog doba u Jugoslaviji*. Beograd, 1973, p. 72, pl. II/1–2.

⁷ *Dikili Tash* (Greece). 1 example. Single find. J. Deshayes, *Archaeology*, 25, 1972, 3, p. 198–205.

⁸ *Dubovac* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Cinerary cemetery. O. Menghin, *Starinar*, 4, 1926–1927 (1928), Pl. I.

⁹ *Dupljaja* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Single finds, Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 73, pl. VII/1,4.

¹⁰ *Galya* (Jugoslavia). 3 examples. Single finds, M. Wosinsky, *Die ikhrustierte Keramik der Stein- und Bronzezeit*, 1904, p. 65 Pl. 92: Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Pl. VII/2,5 (Kovin area).

¹¹ *Gardinovci* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find, Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 72, Pl. VI/3a-b.

¹² *Ghidici* (Romania). 3 examples. Settlement. M. Nica, *Thraco-Dacica*, 8, 1987, p. 21, 29: Fig. 8/2,5; 16/1a-c; 17/1a-c.

¹³ *Girfa Mare* (Romania). 1 example. Settlement. L. Franz, *WPZ*, 9, 1922, Pl. 1–2.

¹⁴ *Golubac* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. Zagorka Letica *op. cit.*, p. 75, Pl. IX/5.

¹⁵ *Gradeşnica* (Bulgaria). 1 example. Cinerary cemetery Gr. 1. G. Georgiev, *PAS*, 1, 1982, p. 198, Fig. 2/5.

¹¹⁷ G. Mylonas, *Mycenae and the mycenaean age*, Princeton, 1966, p. 114–116.

¹¹⁸ Irma Kilian-Dirlmeier in *Jahrb. Frankfurt aM.*,

¹⁴ *Hinova* (Romania). 1 example. Cinerary cemetery (?) G. Crăciunescu, *Drobeta*, 5, 1982, p. 118.

¹⁷ *Izvoare* (Romania). 2 examples. Settlement. Nr. 1 — G. Crăciunescu, *op. cit.*, p. 195–196, Fig. 6; Nr. 2 unpublished, inf. G. Crăciunescu.

¹⁸ “*Jugoslavia*”. 2 examples. Single finds. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 75, Pl. XVII/1,3.

¹⁹ *Klenovnik* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Cinerary cemetery. M. Korosic, *Starinar*, NS. 13–14, 1962–1963 (1965), p. 193–195, Fig. 2–3.

²⁰ *Klicevac* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Cinerary cemetery, M. Garašanin, 39 *BerRGK*, 1958, Pl. 18/2a-b.

²¹ *Korbovo-Glamija* (Jugoslavia). 5 examples. Cinerary cemetery. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, 76–77. Pl. IV/1–3; V/1–2.

²² *Korbovo-Pesak* (Jugoslavia). 15 examples. Cinerary cemetery. *Ibidem*, p. 76, Pl. XIII/1, 3–4, 6, 8–9; XV/1–5.

²³ *Korbovo-Skolska Gradina* (Jugoslavia). 4 examples. Single finds. *Ibidem*, p. 77, Pl. XVI/1–6.

²⁴ *Kostol-Kurpin* (Jugoslavia). 12 examples. Single finds. *Ibidem*, p. 75, Pl. XII/2–5; 7–10; XIII/2.

²⁵ *Kozloduj* (Bulgaria). 2 examples. Single finds. Unpublished. Inf. I. Panayotov and S. Alexandrov-Tsvetkov.

²⁶ *Novo Selo* (Bulgaria). 1 example. Settlement, Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *Studien zu bronzezeitlichen Schmucktrachten im Karpatenbecken*, Mainz, 1985, p. 203, Pl. 8/1a-b.

²⁷ *Ođtaci* (Jugoslavia). 4 examples. Settlement. N. Taslic, *Jugoslovensko podunavlje od indoevropske seobe do prodora skita*. Novi Sad-Beograd, 1983, p. 82–83, Fig. 39–40. Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus. *op. cit.*, p. 204, Pl. 1/3a-b; 2/2: 15/1a-b.

²⁸ “*Oltenia*” (Romania). 2 examples. Single finds. I. Nestor, 22 *BerRGK*, 1932 (1933), Pl. 12/4, 10.

²⁹ *Orsoja* (Bulgaria). 11 examples. Cinerary cemetery. T. Filipov, *Nekropol ot kasnata bronzova epoha pri s. Orsoja Lomsko*, Lom, 1976, Fig. 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26. A. Bonev, *Trakija i egeiskijat svet prez vtorata polovina na II hiljadolietie pr. n.e.*, Sofia, 1988, Fig. 21–24.

³⁰ *Osijek* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Pl. VI/1a-b.

1978–1979, p. 29 *sqq.*

¹¹⁹ H. Müller-Karpe in *Jahrb. Frankfurt aM.*, 1978–1979, p. 9 *sqq.*

³¹ *Ostrovul Corbului* (Romania). 3 examples. Settlement. Nr. 1 — D. Berclu, *Materiale*, 1, 1953, nr. 1/38. Nr. 2—3, M. Davidescu, Paper presented in 1978, Craiova.

³² *Ostrovul Mare* (Romania). 24 examples, 11 in Cinerary cemetery, 12 in Settlement, 1 single find. D. Berclu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32/1, 3—9; G. Crăciunescu, *Drobeta*, 4, 1980, Fig. 8/ left; 16/A—D: 8 examples unpublished, inf. G. Crăciunescu.

³³ *Porecke Reke* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. *Katalog stare kulture u Gerdapu*, 1969, Pl. 14.

³⁴ *Prahovo* (Jugoslavia). 8 examples. Cinerary cemetery? M. Wosinsky, *op. cit.*; M. Garašanin, *op. cit.*, Fig. 15/1—3. The figurines belong to the Imre Pongracz collection, today in Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara (Inv. 3048—3051; 3054—3057). On the Plates 79—80 of the Illustrated catalogue of the collection it is a mention wrote in Hungarian language by I. Pongracz. According to this the statuettes were discovered around Prahovo and brought to him by "some Serblans" from Kladovo.

³⁵ *Rast* (Romania). 2 examples. Single finds. Vl. Dumitrescu, *The Neolithic Settlement at Rast*, BAR Intern. Series, Oxford, 1980, 72, Pl. 80/1—2.

³⁶ *Salcia* (Romania). 3 examples. Single finds. D. Berclu, *op. cit.*, Inv. 1/40—41, 43.

³⁷ "South Hungary". 1 example. Single find. T. Kovacs,

AE, 99, 1972, Fig. 3.

³⁸ *Starcevo* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 74, Pl. XII/1.

³⁹ *Usije* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Settlement. J. Todorović and M. Kosorić, *Starinar*, NS, 13—14, 1962—1963, p. 271, Fig. 3—4.

⁴⁰ *Vajuga* (Jugoslavia). 4 examples. Single finds. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 77, Pl. XIII/1, 10.

⁴¹ *Valep* (Bulgaria). 1 example. Single find. Gisela Schumacher-Matthäus, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁴² *Varev* (Bulgaria). 1 example. Single find. *Ibidem*, loc. cit.

⁴³ *Vatina* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Cinerary cemetery, Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 73—74, Pl. VII/3.

⁴⁴ *Velesnica* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Single find. *Ibidem*, p. 77, Pl. XIII/5.

⁴⁵ *Verbița* (Romania). 1 example. Govora group settlement, D. Berclu, SCIV, 3, 1952, p. 160, Fig. 18.

⁴⁶ *Vinca* (Jugoslavia). 1 example. Settlement. T. Kovacs, *op. cit.* Fig. 1.

⁴⁷ *Vrsac* (Jugoslavia). 2 examples. Cinerary cemetery. Zagorka Letica, *op. cit.*, p. 73, Pl. III/2; VIII/2.

⁴⁸ *Zuto-Brdo* (Jugoslavia). G. examples. Settlement. *Ibidem*, p. 74, Pl. IX/1—4, 6—7.