

MOTHERS AND FIGURINES: REPRESENTATION OF PREGNANCY IN THE EARLY NEOLITHIC OF CENTRAL BALKANS?

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Abstract: *In this paper, we analyze Early Neolithic (6200–5300 calBC) Starčevo culture anthropomorphic clay figurines from the Central and Northern Balkan. Our aim is to explore whether figurines were used to represent pregnancy and fertility. We recorded bodily attributes related to pregnancy and birth of the 159 Starčevo culture figurines such the presence of pronounced belly, as well as the presence of primary and secondary sexual characteristics. The results of our analysis show that pregnancy was not unambiguously represented in the Early Neolithic Starčevo figurines, therefore hypotheses about connections between the making of figurines and fertility have no apparent empirical basis.*

Key words: *clay figurines, representation of pregnancy, fertility, Early Neolithic, Central and Northern Balkans.*

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MAJKE I FIGURINE: PRIKAZ TRUDNOĆE U RANOM NEOLITU CENTRALNOG BALKANA?

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Apstrakt: *U ovom radu analizirali smo ranoneolitske (6200–5300 calBC) antropomorfne figurine od pečene gline sa centralnog i severnog Balkana. Naš cilj bio je da istražimo da li su figurine korišćene da se prikažu trudnoća i plodnost. Izvršili smo beleženje telesnih atributa povezanih sa trudnoćom i porođajem, kao što su naglašen stomak, kao i prisustvo primarnih i sekundarnih polnih karakteristika na 159 figurina starčevačke kulture. Rezultati naše analize pokazuju da trudnoća nije nedvosmisleno prikazana na ranoneolitskim figurinama starčevačke kulture, te prema tome hipoteze o vezama između izrade figurina i plodnosti nemaju očiglednu empirijsku osnovu.*

Ključne reči: *figurine, predstava trudnoće, fertilitet, rani neolit, centralni i severni Balkan.*

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INTRODUCTION*

The interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines has always presented a significant challenge for archaeology. Up until the 1960's, they were usually considered as objects used in rituals, magical and religious practices with an aim to secure fertility (Renaud 1929, Hutchinson 1938, James 1959, Hawkes 1961). In this interpretation, the religious concept of Mother Goddess held a prominent position, whether we look at Paleolithic Venuses or the figurines from the Neolithic or Bronze Age. This old interpretative concept, rooted in the eighteenth century tradition, has never fully disappeared and later, despite reasonable criticism (Ucko 1968) and a brief lapse, had its reminiscence mainly in the works of M. Gimbutas which, during the 70's and 80's, exerted some influence on archaeological thinking and also in wider community. During the last decades, it is again on the interpretative margin and subject to renewed criticism for its intuitive and simplistic reading of archaeological records (Meskell 1995, Talalay 1994).

The decline in the interpretative prominence of the Mother Goddess concept unfolded in parallel with the advance of the analytical method with the major contribution of Ucko's (1962) seminal work. Using a comparative analysis of the figurines from Crete and Egypt, as well as ethnographic data, Ucko challenged the utility of the generalized reading of prehistoric figurines. He highlighted the importance of the archaeological context for the understanding of the meaning of figurines and, with regard to their use, suggested several possibilities primarily based on ethnographic data: that they may have served as children's toys; that they were used in rituals of initiation; that they served for storytelling reflecting the contemporary social realities; that they were a medium of sympathetic magic, etc. (Ucko 1962, 1968). There is no doubt that Ucko opened new perspectives in the understanding of this class of objects and took the study of figurines to a much higher analytical level, with the result that other authors drew their inspiration from his systematic methodological procedure and interpretations (Bartel 1981, Voight 1983, 2000, Talalay 1993).

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No longer restrained by the old notion of Mother Goddess and inspired by the processual and post-processual concepts, writings on anthropomorphic figurines proliferated both in terms of number and diversity during the 1980's and 1990's. Particular focus was on the distinctions in the physical appearance of figurines, archaeological contexts of their discovery and time and space of their making (studies by Hodder 1990, Talalay 1991, Marcus 1996, Biehl 1996). However, it is important to note that various interpretations of anthropomorphic figurines also reflected the personal aspirations and histories of researchers, as well as their broader social context. While the bulk of papers still focused on their iconography and use, many others were pointed toward figurines as analytical tools in the social analysis (particularly seen from 1980's), and those including symbolic studies of figurines first appeared only in 1990's (compare Lesure 2002). The same thematic framework has been maintained until today. Beyond that, as a research trend emerging in the last two decades, it is also important to note the analyses of the levels of fragmentation and meanings of these records for the understanding of broader social practice of prehistoric communities (Chapmen and Gaydarska 2006, Gaydarska, Chapmen, Raduntcheva and Koleva 2007, Porčić 2012, Porčić and Blagojević 2014, Naumov 2014). Thus, from the original field of dominance of the completely supernatural and above all divine in the interpretation of figurines and rituals that were aimed at the welfare of the entire community, the research and reading of figurines has reached the sphere of the profane, individual and identity-defining in the figurine-making society (Bailey 1994, 2005).

SOMATIC FEATURES OF FIGURINES AS INDICATORS OF FERTILITY AND PREGNANCY: CROSS-CULTURAL EXAMPLES

The examination of fertility and pregnancy representations in prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines is based on the notion that somatic features of figurines must reflect some fundamental characteristics of their direct inspiration – the human body. Of course, this is evident not only in the presence of male and female gender attributes, face or hair but also in depictions of garment details or ornaments. Physical features indicating pregnancy would generally include exaggerated/protruding bellies, but different methods for the study of fertility shown in prehistoric figurines have been developed over time. Thus, in interpreting the figurines from the Upper Paleolithic, Rice (1981) used attributes such as taut/sagging skin, the shape of breasts, abdomen, and hips and the tone of buttocks. According to the distribution of age groups, she concluded that the majority of paleolithic Venuses did not represent pregnant adult women (as was the case also with the contemporary hunter-gatherer communities),

namely, she did not confirm that the figurines' role was solely focused on the fertility function (Rice 1981). The figurines depicted women of different ages and hence, the idea of the prehistoric figurine makers was probably to portray womanhood, rather than motherhood. More recently, numerous other analyses of paleolithic figurines have been focused on the waist to hip ratio (WHR), observed to be an indication of fertility, attractiveness/body shape, and health of women in the contemporary population. Similar studies of paleolithic figurines suggest that they probably represent women of different ages (WHR changes with aging), but also that the figurines with a high WHR may possibly represent different stages of pregnancy (Tripp and Schmidt 2013). On the other hand, according to the similar waist to hip ratio analysis, there are indications of the link between the exaggerated abdomen and breasts and high WHR in the figurines of hunter-gatherers from the Jomon culture, which is expectable if the intention was to depict pregnancy (Hudson and Aoyama 2007).

Far more significant support for the representation of pregnancy on prehistoric figurines originates from Central America and the example is also important in terms of the size of the sample examined. Within the sample of some 8 000 figurines dating from the Early and Middle Preclassic Era (2300–400 B.C.) in Mexico, even 92% were identified as women, 3% as men and 5% as children, with a notable absence of older women and, given their iconographic pattern including physiology, clothing, accessories, and activity, they depicted women. The most salient theme was pregnancy, presented in three stages by the prominence of the abdomen, as well as the vertical incised line in the middle of the abdomen, prominent in some figurines, which is typical of the third trimester of pregnancy as a result of the production of progesterone (Guillén 1993). This abdominal protrusion, although arguably, is, in fact, a cross-cultural trait of figurines and a most commonly identified formal attribute to the effect that the figurines depict pregnancy (Lesure 2002). Thus, Rollefson (2008) points to a large number of figurines from Southern Levant with prominent abdomens dating from the Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B which he associates with fertility, delivery/birth and the need for workforce due to intensified production at the time. In other Middle Eastern communities that also feature large collections of figurines, this is not so evident since most of these figurines do not have distinct pregnant bellies as, for example, in Ain Ghazal (Hutson 2015). Likewise, a large collection of 446 figurines from Catalhoyuk where the prevalent focus is on breasts (67%), abdomen (40%) and buttocks (56%) was suggested to depict maturity or obesity rather than fertility or pregnancy (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 211–212, 219).

An analysis of the way in which body is depicted is also common to the studies of Neolithic figurines from the Balkans. An evident heterogeneity of figural representations across the vast space stretching from Greece to Hungary is accounted for by the local traditions and specific contextual needs that

guided body perceptions and presentations (Borić, Harris, Miracle and Robb 2013:54–55). One such example of the local distinctiveness in body depiction is the Aegean figurines. Out of the large sample of 1094 figural representations, more than 50% are the depictions of women, only 2% represent male gender attributes, while non-gendered or probably non-gendered figurines account for high percentages (Mina 2013). It is important to note that the author of the research, in defining the attributes of pregnancy, recognises the difference between an oversized abdomen due to obesity or post-natal creasing and belly shape suggesting pregnancy. The depiction of the navel is another potential mark of pregnancy on figurines, although this requires closer consideration than other attributes of gender differentiation (Mina 2005). It is important to note that numerous figurines from Thessaly depict pregnancy, an interesting coincidence with the demographic density and social complexity territory, whereas two figurines from the Early Neolithic (Magoula Panagou and Achilleion) clearly show the position of labor (Mina 2005:593). The latter research is remarkably significant for our work since Greece borders the territory of our analysis and therefore, somatic features of the figurines from the Early and Middle Neolithic in Greece could make a good basis for understanding the role and meaning of the figurines from the Early Neolithic in the Central Balkans (6200–5300 calBC) as the subject of this paper.

EARLY NEOLITHIC FIGURINES IN THE CENTRAL BALKANS: OBJECTIVES OF RESEARCH

Figurines in northern and central parts of the Balkans are characterised by static posture (Nanoglou 2008), frontal display and a symmetrical appearance (Hansen 2007). Based on their body shape and position, Hansen identified three types of figurines within the Starčevo, Körös/Criş figural art that indicate the formal uniformity in their modeling. The prevalent type is the standing female figurine with exaggerated buttocks. The second type is statuettes with a pear-shaped body and the third are extremely schematic statuettes with a flat or cylindrical form (2007:375). His observations also refer to the numbers of figurines discovered in this area. Comparison to other Early Neolithic cultures leads to the impression, in his view, that the number of figurines found in settlements is limited and that they were not the standard repertoire in each of them.

Figurines from the Early Neolithic in the Central Balkans are mainly interpreted on the basis of localities of origin of the published collections, such as Divostin and Donja Branjevina, whereas individual figurines have been published for most other sites, missing the interpretative context that the collection of their source may have otherwise provided. By and large, they shared the inter-

pretative fate of the figurines in the broader historical context, being primarily associated with the cult and religious aspects of the Neolithic world. By way of an illustration, two comprehensive studies of anthropomorphic figurines are worth mentioning. In the first one, published by Srejšović in 1968, the author's primary focus was on the artisanship of the Neolithic plastic. He made at least three important observations: figurines from the Early Neolithic were found exclusively in non-ritual contexts and in a fragmented state; the canonised iconographic pattern is absent; they were crafted in the naturalistic style. He concluded quite boldly, given the dominant interpretative patterns hitherto, that in the case of the Early Neolithic figural plastic, it is not possible to refer to the depictions of the Great Mother or children's toys. He associates the Neolithic figurines' impersonality with a need to create generic material form usable in different situations and for different purposes, such as sowing, harvest, drought, disease, death, childbirth etc., thus both in the sacral and profane sphere, and once the figurines had served their purpose, they could be discarded (Srejšović 1968: 219–222).

The second study provides an elaborate typological analysis of the large body of early Neolithic figurines (Stanković 1992). By their form, they are divided into Venuses, bell-like, combined column-like/bell-like and steatopygian, while their typological differences were read as the difference in meaning. Venus-type figurines, small in size, with oversized gluteuses, were interpreted as the woman-Progenitor, or Great Mother. Bell-like and column-like/bell-like statuettes are not interpreted by the author, but given the absence of gender attributes and their sedentary position, he believes that they are not related to the feminine principle, agricultural cults and definitely aren't the depictions of the Great Goddess. Finally, steatopygian figurines, large in size, featuring distinct gender traits, generous hips and a realistic rendering of body parts were interpreted as a new belief and the genesis of the Great Mother myth. The best-known example of this type is the so-called Red-haired Goddess from Donja Branjevina, traditionally interpreted in terms of birth and fertility, whether it refers to a woman, land or flora (Balj 2008).

From these studies, however, it can be noted that research focused on the representation of the head, hairstyle, and hips, but not on the characteristics related directly to fertility and birth. In this study we analyze bodily attributes relate to pregnancy. The rationale for this research is as follows: if the Early Neolithic populations of the Balkans were undergoing a demographic transition involving an increase in fertility, as predicted by the theory and supported by preliminary research (Blagojević et al. in press; Porčić et al. 2016), perhaps birth and pregnancy were recognized as important in terms of symbolism and ideology with possible reflections in the material culture. It is important to emphasize that the primary aim of this study is to determine on the visual level if there is any link between pregnancy and fertility on one side and figurines on the other.

This means that we only want to explore whether physical attributes related to pregnancy are represented without elaborating on their potential meaning. Concretely, our intention to answer this main question: are attributes related to birth and pregnancy represented on figurines and if so, how frequently?

DATA AND METHOD

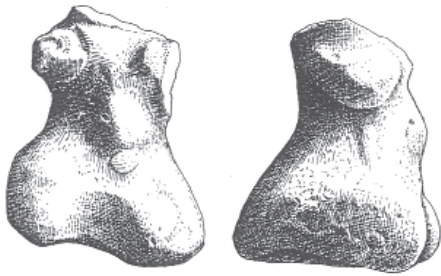


Figure 1. Measurement scheme

Our data is based on 159 published Starčevo culture figurines from the Central and Northern Balkans (Stanković 1992, Vetnić 1974, 1989, Bogdanović 1988, Stanojević 1988, Bulatović 2007, Bulatović et al. 2004, Karmanski 2005, Vuković et al. 2016). We recorded anatomical attributes related to birth and pregnancy based on drawings and

photographs. We used two indicators of pregnancy: 1. the presence of pronounced abdomen based on visual assessment (fig. 1) 2. The quantitative index of the abdomen size relative to the body, calculated as a ratio of the thickness of a figurine in the line of the abdomen to the thickness of a figurine in the line of the waist (see Figure for the measurement scheme, fig. 2). If the value of the abdomen size index is 1, this means that the abdomen is not pronounced at all, whereas higher

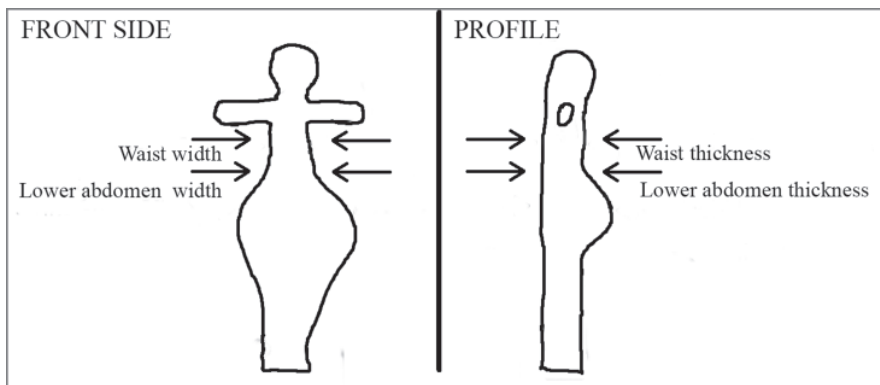


Figure 2. Presence of pronounced abdomen, Magareći Mlin, **hight 52mm** (Stanković, Svetozar. 1992. *Sakralna mesta i predmeti u starijeneolitskim kulturama Centralnobalkanskog područija*. Doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultet , Univerzitet u Beogradu. Table I/3)

values of this index imply greater abdomen size relative to the body which would be consistent with pregnancy.

As for the indicators of sex, we recorded the presence and absence of primary and secondary sexual traits: the representation of genitalia (penis or vulva) for the former, and representation of breasts for the latter (keeping in mind the fact that the representation of breasts may be sexually ambiguous). We also made measurements of the figurine width in the line of the abdomen and in the waist line (see Figure for the measurement scheme, fig. 1) as a basis for calculating the figurine shape index – the ratio of waist line width to abdomen line width. A value of 1 indicates a straight shape – no difference in width of the body between different points along the vertical axis. Values less than 1 indicate a more or less pronounced pear shape of the body. The body shape index can be interpreted as an indirect sex indicator given that there are differences between males and females in body shape with women having a wider abdominal region on average in comparison to men.

In order to answer the first research questions, a statistical analysis was undertaken. Descriptive statistics was used to explore the presence and frequency of indicators of pregnancy. Percent of figurines with and without abdomen was calculated (in respect to the total number of figurines for which the abdominal area was present and could be analyzed). For the index of abdomen size, we constructed a histogram to explore its distribution and calculated the basic descriptive statistics (mean, median, and standard deviation).

In order to explore whether potential indicators of pregnancy were related to primary and secondary sexual attributes, following statistical tests were performed. We used Fisher's exact test to calculate the significance of the correlation between the presence of primary and secondary sexual traits with the presence of the pronounced abdomen (measured by visual assessment). Mann-Whitney's test was used to test for the differences in abdomen size between figurines with and without primary and secondary sexual traits. Only figurines for which both classes of indicators could be observed were used in the analysis.

RESULTS

Out of 53 figurines with abdominal region present, there were 9 specimens or 17 percent with pronounced abdomen. The measurement of figurines thickness in the waist and abdomen line was possible for 18 figurines. The histogram of the abdomen size index suggests that the distribution is such that most figurines have values ~1 or slightly higher (mean 1.23, median 1.17, standard deviation 0.23) with

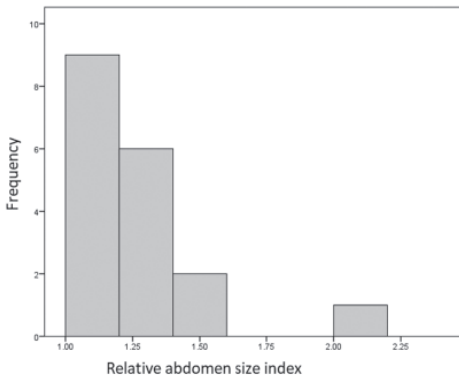


Figure 3. Distribution of the relative abdomen size index.

an implication that in most cases the abdomen was only slightly pronounced relative to the body (fig. 3).

The crosstabulation of primary and secondary sexual attributes with the dichotomous measure of the abdomen size is shown in Tables 1–2. There is no statistical correlation neither between the presence of vulva and the presence of pronounced abdomen (Fisher’s exact $p = 0.363$) nor between the presence of breasts and the presence of pronounced abdomen (Fisher’s exact $p = 0.146$). Results of the Mann-Whitney tests where a

continuous measure of abdomen size was used are consistent with the results based in contingency tables. There are no statistically significant differences in abdomen size neither between figurines with and without the representation of vulva (Mann-Whitney $U = 22$, $z = -0.368$, $p = 0.3565$) nor between figurines with and without the representation of breasts (Mann-Whitney $U = 34.5$, $z = -0.144$, $p = 0.4425$). Regarding the presence of a penis, it was represented in only one specimen (from the Pavlovac-Kovačke njive site) therefore it was not possible to look at statistical patterns. However, it should be noted that the body shape index of this particular figurine is 1, and the index of abdomen size is 1.1, meaning that this figurine has a characteristic male body shape without pronounced abdomen.

			Pronounced abdomen		Total
			absent	present	
Vulva	absent	frequency	32	6	38
		expected frequency	31.2	6.8	38.0
	present	frequency	5	2	7
		expected frequency	5.8	1.2	7.0
Total			37	8	45

Table 1. Crosstabulation of the presence/absence of vulva and the presence of pronounced abdomen.

			Pronounced abdomen		Total
			absent	present	
Breasts	absent	frequency	26	3	29
		expected frequency	24.2	4.8	29.0
	present	frequency	14	5	19
		expected frequency	15.8	3.2	19.0
Total			40	8	48

Table 2. Crosstabulation of the presence/absence of breasts and the presence of pronounced abdomen.

The body shape index was possible to calculate for 24 figurines. The distribution of the index values is statistically not different from normal (Shapiro-Wilk test, $p = 0.376$), although the histogram suggests a possible bimodality (fig. 4). The mean value of the index is 0.89, median is 0.88, standard deviation is 0.13, with the majority of figurines having a narrower waist meaning that it is closer to the female body shape (the t-test shows that the mean is significantly different from 1, $t = -4.103$, $df = 23$, $p < 0.001$).

The correlation between the abdomen size index and body shape index is negative, with moderate effect size, and statistically significant at the 0.05 level ($r = -0.568$, $p = 0.011$, $N = 16$). The negative correlation suggests that the higher the size of the abdomen the closer the shape of the body to the female end of the spectrum. In fig. 5 and 6 the values of the two indices are plotted together with markers for the presence of vulva and breasts respectively. There is a tendency for figurines with breasts to have body shape value closer to the female end of the spectrum (Mann-Whitney $U = 39.5$, $z = -1.639$, $p = 0.05$), although one figurine (from Poljčine site) which could be labeled as hyperfeminine according to body shape index has neither vulva nor breasts. Moreover, there are no statistically significant differences in body shape between figurines with and without vulva (Mann-Whitney $U = 23$, $z = -0.992$, $p = 0.16$)

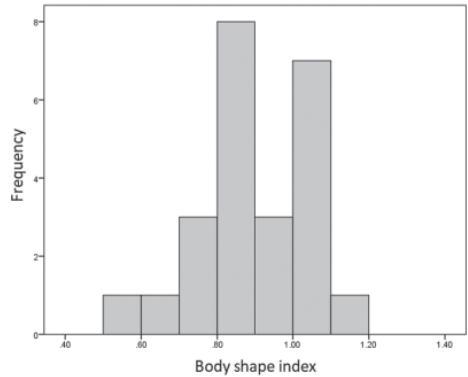


Figure 4. Distribution of the body shape index.

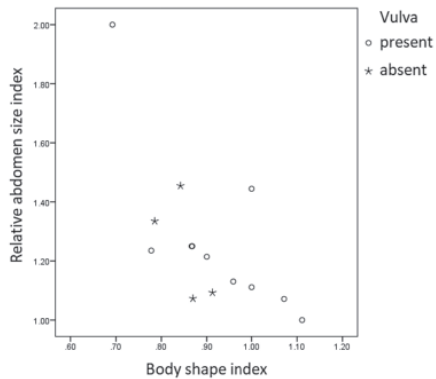


Figure 5. Plot of body shape index and relative abdomen size index, marked for a presence or absence of the representation of vulva.

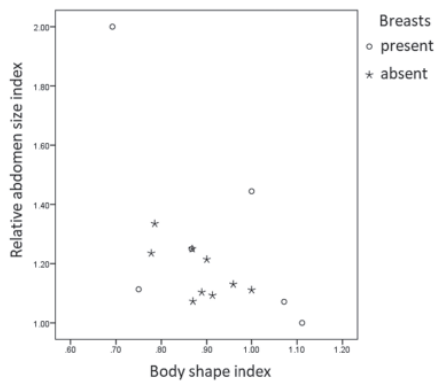


Figure 6. Plot of body shape index and relative abdomen size index, marked for a presence or absence of the representation of breasts.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results show that the abdomen was represented as pronounced in the minority of cases, and when present, it is usually of small size. Therefore, there are no strong reasons to think that the intention was to represent pregnancy. Of course, it is possible that small belly is related to earlier stages of pregnancy, but what we want to emphasize here is that there are no unambiguous indications of pregnancy. For example, the pronounced belly might also indicate something else (e.g. obesity). It should be pointed out that

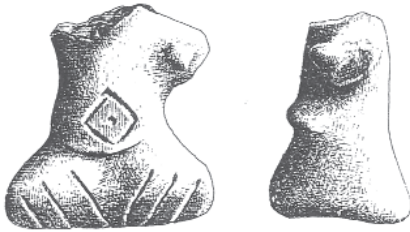


Figure 7. Rudnik, hight 38mm

(Stanković, Svetozar. 1992. *Sakralna mesta i predmeti u starijeneolitskim kulturama Centralnobalkanskog područija*. Doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultete, Univerzitet u Beogradu. Table I/2)

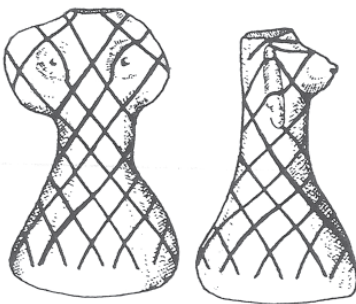


Figure 8. Starčevo, hight 76mm

(Stanković, Svetozar. 1992. *Sakralna mesta i predmeti u starijeneolitskim kulturama Centralnobalkanskog područija*. Doktorska disertacija, Filozofski fakultete, Univerzitet u Beogradu. Table XII/2)

the iconographic presence of the pronounced abdomen, high WHR, and a noticeable navel does not necessarily mean that the aim was to picture a pregnant woman or any other idea related to pregnancy. Beyond that, contemporary attitudes about the best indicators of pregnancy do not have to meet the standards of past communities.

The negative correlation between the body shape index and the relative abdomen size index also shows that there was no intention to represent pregnant women (at least not anatomically correct), because we would expect a different situation if this was true as the waist to abdomen width ratio is closer to 1 in pregnant women.

It is interesting to note that there are statistically significant differences in body shape index between figurines with and without breast – the figurines with breasts having a body shape closer to the female side of the spectrum (fig. 7, 8). The difference in the same direction is present for vulva as well (fig. 9), but it is not statistically significant. Does this suggest that

there are male and female figurines (for similar ideas for the Late Neolithic Vinča figurines see Lazić 2015). Not necessarily, as it is possible that these differences are a consequence of the effort and skill of the figurine maker, e.g. some figurines were made more realistically and in greater detail than others. It should be emphasized in this context that these are just statistical tendencies and that the figurine with the most feminine body shape has neither vulva nor breasts.

Therefore, we conclude that pregnancy was not unambiguously represented in the Early Neolithic Starčevo figurines. In theory, this conclusion does not rule out the possibility that the function of figurines was somehow related to fertility, but given that currently there are no means to empirically test such a hypothesis, it remains outside the scientific domain.



Figure 9. Red-Haired Goddess, Donja Branjevina, **height 380mm** (Balj, Lidija. 2008. Crvenokosa boginja kao simbol. *Rad Muzeja Vojvodine* 50: 9-23.)

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Ana Tripković, Marko Porčić, Sofija Stefanović

Majke i figurine: prikaz trudnoće u ranom neolitu centralnog Balkana?

Rezime

U ovom radu analizirali smo antropomorfne figurine od pečene gline iz starijeg neolita (6200–5300 calBC) sa centralnog i severnog Balkana u cilju provere da li su korišćene kako bi se prikazali trudnoća i plodnost. Naša ideja je da istraživački postupak sprovedemo sledeći naše skorašnje istraživačke interese usmerene ka proučavanju neolitske demografije, naročito aspekta demografske tranzicije od mezolita ka neolitu. Prema tome, obrazloženje ovog istraživanja u okviru BIRTH projekta je sledeće: ako su rano neolitske populacije Balkana prolazile kroz demografsku tranziciju koja uključuje i povećanje plodnosti, možda su rađanje i trudnoća bili prepoznati kao važni u sferi simbolizma i ideologije, te da su ostavili moguć trag u materijalnoj kulturi. To znači, da smo želeli da istražimo da li su, na pojavnom nivou, fizički atributi vezani za trudnoću prikazani na figurinama i, ako jesu, koliko često? U skladu sa tim zahtevom, prikupljeni su podaci o 159 objavljenih figurina iz ranog neolita sa područja Srbije, Hrvatske i Mađarske. Izvršeno je beleženje telesnih atributa povezanih sa trudnoćom, kao što su prisustvo istaknutog stomaka, kao i prisustvo primarnih i sekundarnih polnih karakteristika, nakon čega je sprovedena statistička analiza uzorka.

Indeks oblika tela (odnos širine struka i širine donjeg abdomena), izračunat za 24 primerka, ukazuje da figurine većinom prikazuju uži struk u odnosu na donji abdomen, što je bliže izgledu ženskog tela. Indeksi relativne veličine abdomena (odnos debljine struka i debljine donjeg stomaka) pokazuju da je naglašen u malom broju slučajeva (od 53 figurine na kojima je prisutna regija abdomena, na 9 figurina je stomak naglašen, što iznosi 17%), a i kada je prisutan, obično je malih dimenzija. Na osnovu toga, ne postoje jaki razlozi da pomislimo da je namera bila da se prikaže trudnoća. Naravno, moguće je da je mali stomak povezan sa ranijim stadijumima trudnoće, ali nema nedvosmislenih indikacija da je reč o prikazu trudnoće budući da istaknut stomak može ukazivati i na neka druga stanja (na gojaznost i dr.). Negativna korelacija između indeksa oblika tela i indeksa relativne veličine abdomena takođe pokazuje da nije postojala namera da se prikaže trudna žena (bar ne ona sa anatomskom tačnošću).

Zanimljivo je napomenuti da postoje statistički značajne razlike u indeksu oblika tela između figurina sa i bez prikaza dojki-figurine sa grudima imaju oblik tela bliži ženskoj strani spektra. Razlika u istom pravcu je takođe uočena i za prisustvo vulve, ali nije statistički značajna. Na osnovu navedenog, zaključujemo da trudnoća nije nedvosmisleno prikazana na rano neolitskim figuri-

nama Starčevačke kulture, te da hipoteze o povezanosti između izrade figurina i plodnosti nemaju očigledne empirijske osnove. Ovaj zaključak ne isključuje mogućnost da je funkcija figurina nekako bila povezana za plodnost i rađanje, ali u sadašnjim okvirima ne postoji način da se empirijski testira ovakva hipoteza, te ona za sada ostaje van naučnog domena.