Rosetta

Bonga, L. (2014) 'Late Neolithic '*Rhyta*' from Greece: Context, Circulation and Meanings'

Rosetta **15**: 28-48

http://www.rosetta.bham.ac.uk/issue15/bonga.pdf

Late Neolithic '*Rhyta*' from Greece: Context, Circulation and Meanings

Lily Bonga

Introduction

A peculiar class of vessels dubbed '*rhyta*' proliferated throughout Greece during the early part of the Late Neolithic Ia period, c.5300 to 4800 BC,[1] although a few earlier examples are attested in the Early Neolithic (c.6400 BC) in both Greece, at Achilleion, and in the Balkans, at Donja Brajevina, Serbia. Neolithic *rhyta* are found in open-air settlements and in caves, from the Peloponnese in southern Greece through Albania to the Triestine Karst in northern Italy, to Lipari and the Aeolian Islands, and to Kosovo and central Bosnia (see Figure 1).[2] These four-legged zoomorphic or anthropomorphic containers have attracted much attention because of their unique shape and decoration, widespread distribution, and their fragmentary state of preservation. The meaning of their form, their origin and their function remain debated and this paper seeks to illuminate the most salient features of Greek *rhyta* and their relationship with the Balkan-Adriatic type.

The Late Neolithic Ia profusion of these vessels corresponds with a flourishing cultural period in the Balkans: the spread of *rhyton*-type vessels at this time stems from the Hvar phase (the final stage) of the Danilo culture in Croatia, c.5500–4800 BC. Danilo culture *rhyta* have recently been synthesized by Rak.[3] In the Danilo-Hvar culture, *rhyta* are decorated with the same motifs and techniques as the contemporary pottery

[1] Late Neolithic Ia period as labeled by Sampson 1993 and Coleman 1992; it must be noted that the Late Neolithic period in Greece is contemporaneous with the Middle Neolithic period in Balkan and Adriatic terms.
[2] Mlekuž 2007: 268.
[3] Rak 2011.

(spirals, meanders, striations);[4] but this is not the case for the Greek examples, which makes them standout in the ceramic repertoire. Danilo-culture sites with *rhyta* close to Greece are Kakanj in Bosnia and Čakran in Albania.[5]

In Greece, Late Neolithic *rhyta* have been found at Servia, Olynthos, Tsangli, Otzaki, Elateia, Orchomenos, Raches-Phournos, Corinth, Franchthi cave, Aria Argolidos, Alepotrypa cave, Kophovouno (Peloponnese), Choirospilia cave on Lefkada, Varka and the Skoteini caves on Euboea (see Figure 1).[6] At Dispilio[7] and Avgi[8] in Western Macedonia, curious *rhyta*-like hybrids (collared, carinated Black-burnished or Black-topped bowls on four-legs) have also been recovered.[9] Unlike *rhyta*, these vessels are found intact. The distribution for Final Neolithic *rhyta* is extensive and includes many Aegean islands.

History of Study

These vessels were termed '*rhyta*' by Yugoslav archaeologists who first discovered them;[10] the word '*rhyton*' is often used as both the singular and plural by Balkan scholars, though the plural more correctly is *rhyta*.[11] Furthermore, the term '*rhyta*' is a misnomer, retained merely for convenience without typological implications: they bear no typological resemblance to *rhyta* from later prehistoric sites in Greece. '*Rhyton*' is more correctly applied to a category of vessels that first appeared in the Bronze Age and have a large and a small opening directly opposite one another to enable liquids to pass through the vessel ('*rhyton*' is derived from an ancient Greek verb meaning 'to flow'). In the opinion of the author and from a morphological standpoint, Neolithic *rhyta*

[4] Gimbutas 1991: 55–56, fig. no. 3–5; Rasson 1983 also discusses exchange in the decoration of *rhyta* and more urbane classes of pottery.
[5] Ridley and Wardle 1979; 216, 225; Heurtley 1939: fig. 9 l.
[6] Douzougli 1998: 82–84.
[7] Sofronidou 2002.
[8] Katsikaridis 2012.
[9] Sophronidou and Tsirtsoni 2007, (Type A1.4).
[10] i.e., Dujmović 1953, followed by Benać 1973.
[11] Mlekuž 2007: 267.

are more correctly classified as a type of scoop, an open vessel used to transfer small quantities of dry goods. Similarly shaped scoops exist in Thessaly and Southern Greece, but they are typically monochrome and rest on a ring base rather than on feet.

Weinberg was the first scholar in Greece to correctly identify these vessels.[12] Previously, they had been mistaken for figurines, tripod vessels, or phallic-like handles (see Figure 2).[13] The first excavated examples of Neolithic *rhyta* in Greece were found by Sotiriades during his excavations at Chaeronea in Boeotia (Central Greece). At the time, no comparative material was available, which lead Sotiriades to incorrectly restore the pieces he found as figurine legs (Figure 2, no. 6) or legged shallow bowls (*philae*).[14] Wace and Thompson misidentified other pieces, which they thought were legs for a bowl (Figure 2, no. 5).[15]

At Corinth, Walker-Kosmopoulos incorrectly restored one *rhyta* as handled tripods (Figure 2, no. 7).[16] Initially, Weinberg misidentified some Corinthian examples: he tentatively restored a *rhyta* leg as part of a tripod, though he admitted it may have had four legs. Weinberg does not discuss in the text the two *rhyta* legs he illustrates, which he calls 'incised feet, Neolithic Black Ware' (Figure 2, no. 2).[17]

Weinberg rectified the true form of these vessels when he showed some of his examples from Elateia to a Serbian archaeologist, Vladmir Milojčić, who in turn brought more complete Balkan examples to his attention.[18] Weinberg blames his initial misinterpretation at Corinth on Frankfort's reconstruction,[19] which was based on painted

[12] Weinberg 1962
[13] Sotiriades 1908; Tsoundas 1908; Walker-Kosmopoulos 1948: 30.
[14] Sotiriades 1908: 76.
[15] Wace and Thompson 1912: 98, fig. 50a.
[16] Walker-Kosmopoulos 1948: 31 figs. 5 and 6; Weinberg 1937: 511, fig. 28.
[17] Weinberg 1937: 507, 512, fig. 30.
[18] Weinberg 1962: 193
[19] Frankfort 1927

legged ‘altars’ and ‘thrones’ known from Thessaly and in the Balkans, but Weinberg also admitted that ‘the possibility of a vertical mouth seemed so unlikely that the leg was restored horizontally as a handle so that the mouth could be horizontal’. [20] The idea that Early Neolithic *rhyta* were connected with other types of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels and altars found around 6000 BC, is probably correct.[21]

Typology and Decoration of Late Neolithic *Rhyta* from Greece

Phelps succinctly describes the canonical features of Late Neolithic *rhyta*:

> The basic characteristics of the vessel are the four legs supporting a squat asymmetrical body with a wide oval or subrectangular mouth set in a nearly vertical plane, the whole surrounded by a stout basket handle springing vertically from the highest part of the rim. The legs, and sometimes part of the body, are covered with grooved or incised and white-filled decoration, while the deep grooves outlining the leg-body junction, as well as other parts of the body, are red crusted. The inside is also generally red crusted, either directly on the dark surface or over a thin white slip.[22]

According to Phelps this is the earliest known use of crusted paint (that is, paint applied post-firing) in Greece, a feature more commonly thought of as being diagnostic of the Final Neolithic (i.e., in the Rachmani phase, Late Neolithic II or Final Neolithic). While Jones identified cinnabar, the common ore of mercury, as the vermillion red-crusted paint used at Hvar, the red-crusted pigment on Greek specimens has not been chemically identified;[23] it is most likely red ochre, an earthy form of hematite mixed with clay, which was used on other types of Greek Neolithic vessels. Although incision and punctuation (*pointillé*) are the most common decorative techniques, painted motifs, pattern burnishing and added plastic elements are occasionally used.[24]

---

[20] Weinberg 1962: 192.
[21] Mlekuž 2007: 267.
[22] Phelps 2004: 86.
[23] Jones 1986: 799
[24] Lavezzi 1978: 420.

Details of the handles and legs can vary. The handle sections may vary in shape from round to triangular, or ovular.[25] At Corinth, Lavezzi reports that the legs were constructed either by layering or rolling coils.[26] The Greek examples tend to have all legs of the same type and shape, whereas in the northern Balkans the front two legs may be dramatically shorter than the back, such as the frog-shaped *rhyton* from Obre,[27] or be more anthropomorphic in nature like the kneeling person from Smilčić.[28] Korošec is the only scholar to emphasize the anthropomorphic nature of the vessels, rather than just their animal aspects.[29] Gimbutas interprets the legs as bear legs;[30] this is a description which certainly seems appropriate for the Greek examples, but not necessarily for the other Balkan and Adriatic examples, which resemble hoofs, teats, and frog or human legs.

Origin and Chronology

Neolithic *rhyta* were not new in the Late Neolithic Ia in Greece; they seem to have appeared in the Early Neolithic (i.e. Achilleion in Thessaly).[31] These early examples suggest independent invention on Greek soil, as suggested by Gimbutas and contrary to Phelps' assertion that they are surely an 'alien element.'[32] However, equally early dates have been claimed at Starčevo and Impresso sites near Zardar in Croatia such as Smilčić, Crno vrilo and Donja Brajevina in Serbia, which complicate determining the ultimate origin(s) of the *rhyta*.[33] Proposed origins include:

Origin	Citation
Apulia, Albania or around Vojvodinia	Biagi 2003, 19
Peloponnese or Central Greece	Srejović 1963, 5;

[25] Weinberg 1962: 194, fig. 13.
[26] Lavezzi1978: 420
[27] Phase I, Benać 1973: pl. XXVIII, no. 15.
[28] Benać 1979: pl. XCII.
[29] Korošec 1964
[30] Gimbutas 1974
[31] level IV: ca. 6,000–5,800 BC; Gimbutas, Winn and Shimabuku 1989: 209, fig. 7.68.
[32] Gimbutas1989: 55; Phelps 2004: 86.
[33] Biagi 2003: 16; Marijanović 2007: 64

	Gimbutas 1989, 1991
Central Bosnia	Korošec 1979, 30
Dalmatian coast	Chapman 2000, 65
Somewhere in southern or western Balkans	Mlekuž 2007, 267; Phelps 2004, 87

Within the Late Neolithic period, Weinberg determined an earlier and a later group at Elateia based on differences in fabric and decoration. The earlier group has linear decoration and black surfaces, while the latter group has curvilinear and spiral-form decoration on browner surfaces.[34] He related the second group to the end of the Late Neolithic material at Elateia, but he erroneously associated it with the Dimini phase (Late Neolithic Ib), which is later than the material at Elateia.[35] In addition, Weinberg believed that the *rhyta* began in the Middle Neolithic, since some examples were found in the '*Bothros*' deposit. However, these are better assigned to the beginning of the Late Neolithic, since the stratigraphy of the '*Bothros*' has been questioned.[36]

Erroneously, Biagi places Balkan-Adriatic *rhyta* as beginning in the Late Neolithic (Middle Neolithic in Balkan-Adriatic terms) and Chapman mistakenly dates them a millennium later in the Final Neolithic (4800–3800 BC).[37] Apparently neither of them acknowledged Early Neolithic examples from Greece (i.e. Achilleion) or the Balkans (i.e. Donja Brajevina in Serbia). It should also be noted that while the Danilo culture *rhyta* continued to be in use until the Butmir culture (Final Neolithic or Late Neolithic II in Greek terms), in Greece the shape fell out of use by the Late Neolithic Ib (ca. 4800–4300 BC) when the simpler ring-based scoop types dominate.

Production and Circulation of *rhyta*

[34] Weinberg 1962: 192–193.
[35] Weinberg1962: 193.
[36] Coleman 1992; Holmberg 1964; Hauptmann and Milojcic 1969; Lavezzi 1978; Hauptmann 1981; Mavridis 2008: 158.
[37] Biagi 2003: 19; Chapman1988: 13–15; 2000: 65

The extent that Neolithic *rhyta* were either locally made or extensively traded remains to be determined on a larger scale not only within Greece, but throughout the Balkans. Studies of the Triestine Karst plateau showed that the *rhyta* were not traded or brought from elsewhere, not even from coastal villages only a few kilometres away.[38] Provenance studies on *rhyta* from two cave sites in the Caput Adriae of Croatia (Edera and Mala Triglavaca) determined that the *rhyta* were locally produced, only a few kilometres away from each other, as Gimbutas had assumed.[39] Benać claims that the Obre I example was imported.[40]

Unfortunately, the provenance of the Greek specimens has not been studied. If future archaeometric analysis produces the same results as for their Adriatic counterparts, it may imply that the idea of the *rhyton,* rather than the object itself, was transmitted over a large geographical distance. We must wait for new excavations to provide more information on the context, manufacture, and date of specific examples.[41] If it is true that it is the idea (and/or technology) of the vessels that was transported, rather than the actual objects, questions about why and how this transference took place are relevant.

Several scholars have suggested that the wide dispersal of the *rhyta* is connected with seasonal population movements of herds, otherwise known as transhumance.[42] On the basis of modern ethnographic parallels with Vlach and Sarakatsani populations, it has been argued that transhumance patterns in the Greek Neolithic may have begun during the Late Neolithic Ia period.[43] This neatly ties into the framework of changing lifestyles and culinary habits during this period, including the use of dairy products and salt. Ultimately, as Di Fraia states:

---

[38] Mlekuž 2007: 276.
[39] Spataro 2002; Biagi and Spataro 2001; Gimbutas 1991: 56.
[40] Benać 1973
[41] Biagi 2003: 21.
[42] Perić 1996; Montagnari and Crismani 1993; Biagi 2003.
[43] Nandris 1999; Greenfield 1999.

> prehistoric transhumance may have played a role in obtaining consensus and support from different economic dynamics, such as the demand for cheese and wool, the establishment of a regular system of contacts and transportation of raw materials and artifacts, including salt, metals, and symbolic or decorative commodities such as seashells.[44]

Functional and Symbolic Uses

While the exact function of *rhyta* remains undetermined, numerous scholars have suggested both functional and symbolic uses. These proposals have primarily been applied to the Balkan and Adriatic examples, but are applicable to Greek *rhyta* as well.

Benać interprets ring handles as representations of curved animal horns.[45] Čović suggests that the ovular container represented a uterus, with the legs of the *rhyta* as teats of udders.[46] Perić sees the receptacle as representative of the womb, with udder and teats of different species of animals, especially sheep and goats, pigs, cows (more common in the Kakanj culture) or sows (more common in Thessalian culture).[47] Recently, Mlekuž has equated the red crusted paint as a symbol of blood (i.e. regeneration and life force).[48] That is, the paint was applied not merely as decoration but as a ritual act (symbolic of sacrifice) which became part of the liminal life cycle of the vessel.

Undoubtedly, Neolithic *rhyta* had more than one meaning over time and in different geographic areas. They may have also have existed purely at a symbolic level and thus needed to have a specific form. As Marijanović states:

> vagueness of form can express its complexity and tendency towards the universal and random elements, by moving towards the common, the pattern, and the essence itself. In such an ideological concept, the idea of

---

[44] Di Fraia 2011: 29.
[45] Benać 1964: 65–66; 1973: 38; 1979: 403– 405
[46] Čović 1976: 22–24
[47] Perić 1996
[48] Mlekuž 2007: 274-275; Gimbutas 1974.

> phenomena is more important than the exact idea. Manifesting the idea in the material form, therefore, could have been subordinate to displaying the essence.[49]

Indeed, most scholars seem to agree that *rhyta* have intentionally ambiguous attributes belonging to male/female, human/animal, or fertility/nature dichotomies.[50] The iconic nature of the vessel is due to the ambiguity of the form coupled with the user's interaction with it. For instance, when one looks at the *rhyton* straight on, the legs are invisible and only the (empty) receptacle and the handle can be seen, which Mlekuž claims makes it an icon of the concept of 'container' whether a vessel or uterus.[51] In any case, whether or not the vessels had the same meaning or use throughout such a wide geographic area is difficult to prove or deny.[52]

Symbolic and functional suggestions, primarily from Balkan examples, have included:

Symbolic/functional use	Citation
coal scuttle	Dujmović 1953; Weinberg 1965
scoops (Danilo-Hvar)	Ihde 1995
libation, water cult, female symbol	Koršec 1952; Koršec 1958
lamps, cattle fertility rituals, ancestor worship	Batović 1979
life, fertility cult of animals and fields	Benać 1973
female fertility cult	Čovič 1976
female fertility/ cattle cult	Perić 1996
salt container	Chapman 1988; Montagnari and Crismani 1993
representation of bears	Gimbutas 1991, etc.
female or water worship	Vermeule 1964
animistic cult/human-animal agents of interaction	Mlekuž 2007
representation of bovines	Benać 1973; Batović 1979,

[49] Marijanović 2007: 67–68; reiterating similar ideas to Čović 1976: 24
[50] Mlekuž 2007: 268.
[51] Mlekuž 2007: 271–272.
[52] Mlekuž 2007: 269.

Perić 1996;
Čovič 1976

Perhaps the most attractive hypothesis is the use of *rhyta* as salt-pots. According to Chapman, the overhanging dome of the vessel serves as a focal point for condensation, which keeps the salt below dry.[53] On the one hand, the morphology of the *rhyta* does not fit with other known salt-pot types from the Neolithic such as the conical funnels from the Vinča culture salt mine at Gornja Tulza (Bosnia) or those used in production of salt from brine at Provadia (Bulgaria).[54] In contrast, Marijanović argues that the elaborate decoration precludes practical use and adds that salt is not a necessary dietary addition for livestock in the Balkans.[55] On the other hand, the morphology of the *rhyta* is similar to that of other Late Neolithic Ia scoops, which were used for transferring small amounts of dry goods.

Given other broad cultural similarities and evidence of long-distance trade and contact (i.e., the circulation of spondylus shells, ring-idols and obsidian), it is likely that Neolithic Greek populations were also trading and using salt.[56] Of course, the circulation and distribution of salt *per se* does not prove that the *rhyta* were used to contain salt, but there are a few other reasons why this possibility seems plausible.

First, as in other places in the Balkans, archaeological sites in Greece with salt-related toponyms, such as Halai in East Lokris, Halai Aixonidai, and Halai Arraphenidai in Attica may also reflect this elusive industry.[57] Cavanagh points out that it is not surprising that there is not more evidence for salt production in Neolithic Greece, because it was probably produced near ocean salt pans. The sea has risen and radically altered the

[53] Chapman1988: 13
[54] Čovič 1971; Marijanović 2007: 66; Tasić 2000a, 2000b; Nikolov 2008; Tasić 2012.
[55] Marijanović 2007: 66
[56] Chapman and Gaydarska 2003.
[57] Cavanagh 2007: 115.

coastlines, thus obscuring the evidence.[58] Tasić also demonstrated that as a rule, Neolithic sites, both in the Balkans and the Near East (Levant and Anatolia), correlated with the locations of known natural areas of salt (lakes, mashes, pans).[59]

Second, the fact that they proliferate during the Late Neolithic Ia period may strengthen the argument that the vessels were used as salt pots, as a reflection of the changing culinary practices during Late Neolithic (i.e. the 'secondary products revolution', as argued by Sherratt).[60] Salt would have been an essential ingredient to preserve perishable food stuffs either for trade or for long-term storage. Many *rhyta* fragments come from caves, where cheese and other foodstuffs may have been produced and stored. Furthermore, white salt inside these dark vessels with crusted red paint and white-filled incision would have had a dynamic impact on the viewer/user.

Lastly, although salt does not survive in the archaeological record, there is substantial 'negative evidence' for its use in the Neolithic period. Salt was undoubtedly used to cure fish and meats. For instance, in his examinations of the Late Neolithic-Final Neolithic kill patterns at the settlements of Makryialos and Dimini, Cavanagh indicated meat production amounts beyond that of a single meal, and this could in turn imply the use of salt for meat preservation.[61] Salt was also used in tanning hides, dying fabric, and incipient metallurgy.[62] What was new about the use of salt in the Late Neolithic period was its use in the creation of new edible products such as yogurt and cheese, by helping make dairy products more digestible and longer lasting.[63]

---

[58] Cavanagh 2007: 114
[59] Tasić 2000b
[60] Sherratt 1981.
[61] Cavanagh 2007: 112, 114
[62] Di Fraia 2011: 27.
[63] Di Fraia 2011: 26.

Intentional Fragmentation of *Rhyta*

The last interesting and curious fact regarding this special class of vessels is that few complete examples have been found, either from Greece or the Balkans. This has led scholars to the conclusion that the vessels were intentionally destroyed, perhaps ritually or as a form of proof of a trade, or a token of participation in a ritual event.[64] Ritual breakage of Late Neolithic vessels is not unique to *rhyta*, ceramic material, or even the Neolithic. The current theory is that this practice was aimed at neutralizing social stratification rather than affirming it.[65]

Supporting the theory of intentional destruction is the association of *rhyta* with split-leg figurines, a type which were intentionally made in order to break easily.[66] In fact, according to Mlekuž all *rhyta* in south-east Europe were probably intentionally broken.[67] Biagi notes, however, that 8.5% of the 117 specimens studied by Perić were complete.[68] On the one hand, the fact the most of the find spots are domestic in nature may seem to contradict the ritual natural of the vessel, but on the other hand, there is no reason why ritually destroying *rhyta* cannot occur either at the domestic level or at the end of the vessel's use as a salt pot. It may even mark the beginning of the vessel's new life as a symbolic token.[69]

Chapman suggests that the intentional breakage of the *rhyta* (and other objects) was part of 'down-the-line' circulation, in which the transferred objects form 'enchained relations' between people along their path of exchange.[70] He based this opinion on evidence primarily from material previously studied by Montagnari and Crismani from two different sites in Croatia, the open air sites of Smilčić, and from cave sites in the

---

[64] Weinberg 1965; Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2006; Mlekuž 2007.
[65] i.e., Chapman 2006; Chapman and Gaydarska 2006.
[66] Talalay 1987.
[67] Mlekuž 2007: 276
[68] Biagi 2003: 16
[69] i.e., as surface finds, or in rubbish pit such as the '*Bothros*' at Elateia, Weinberg 1962.
[70] Chapman 2000: 67

Caput Adriae of Croatia and north-western Slovenia.[71] Mlekuž reanalyzed the same data and found, contra Chapman, that there was equal breakage between the two sites and that the pieces tend to be broken at weak points, such as at the juncture of the body and leg.[72]

Conclusions and Suggestion for Further Research

This article has highlighted the main characteristic of Late Neolithic *rhyta*, from symbolic and functional interpretations, to their manufacture and circulation. Following Chapman, it seems most likely that the *rhyta* served as salt pots and were deliberately destroyed during their lifecycle. Chapman based his argument on the oblique shape of the vessels and their decoration, and is strengthened both by Tasić's correlation of salt-rich areas and Neolithic sites and Sherratt's beginning of the 'secondary products revolution'. The high degree of the *rhyta's* symbolic abstraction, decoration and fragmentation suggests that the vessels—and probably their contents—were highly valued commodities, and salt would have been one such item. The symbolism of *rhyta* applies not only to their form, but also extends to their life cycles; their creation and decoration, use, breakage and deposition all add to the symbolic (albeit enigmatic) nature of the lifecycle of *rhyta*.

As demonstrated with the Adriatic examples, archaeometic analysis of the Greek specimens is indispensable and would help resolve some questions, such as if the vessels were produced locally or if they were circulated, and what types of mineral or organic pigments were used to decorate them. It would be interesting to know, for instance, if any of the over 300 specimens found at Corinth were imported from the Adriatic, which is an entirely plausible scenario given Corinth's location and access to

[71] Chapman 1993
[72] Mlekuž 2007: 276

sheltered sea routes. Residue analysis of the vessels may also illuminate what they once contained. The results of such tests on the Greek *rhyta* would clarify not only their circulation, production, and use within Greece, but would also reveal whether the pots themselves, their contents, or merely design ideas were circulating with its Balkan and Adriatic neighbors.

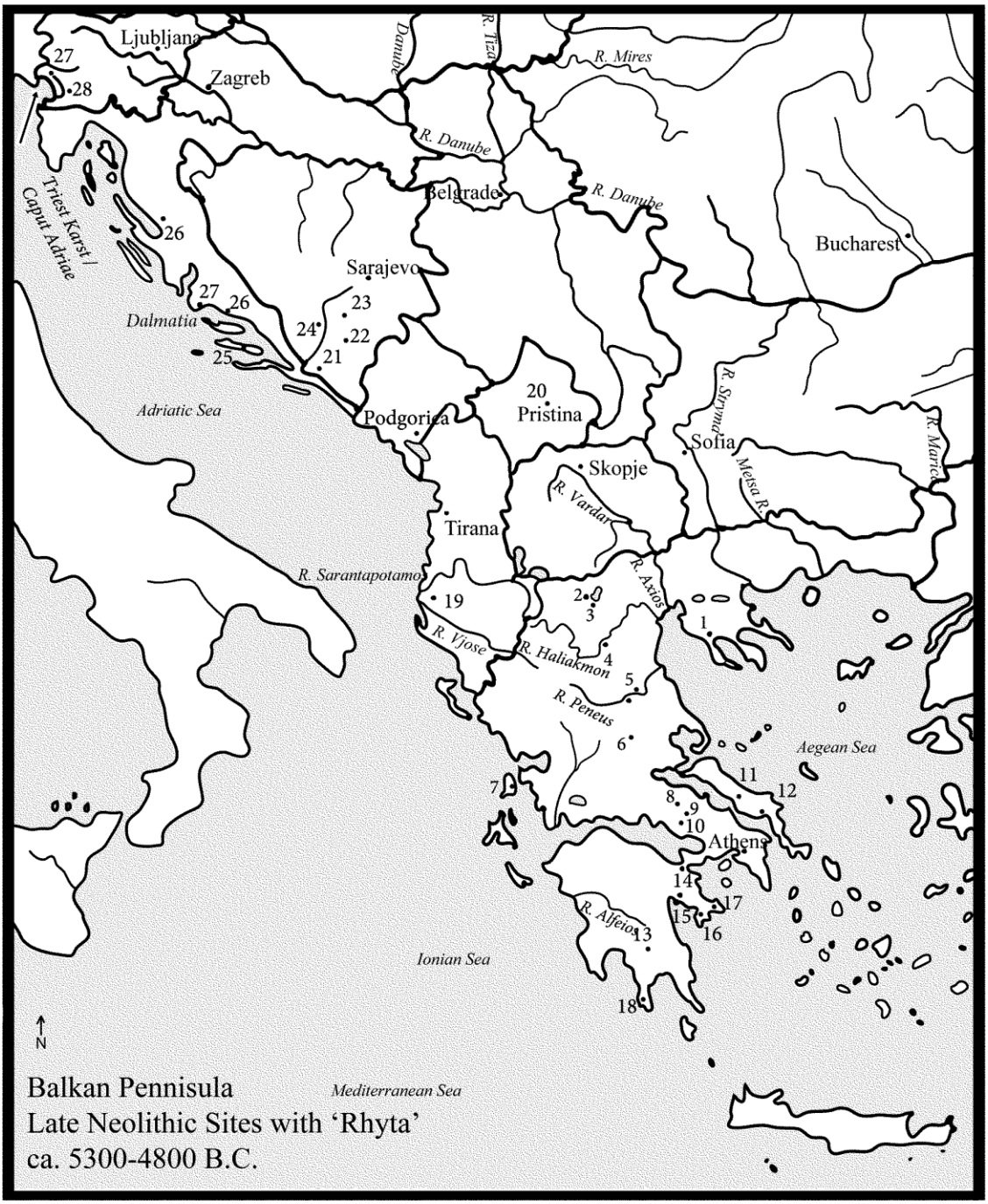
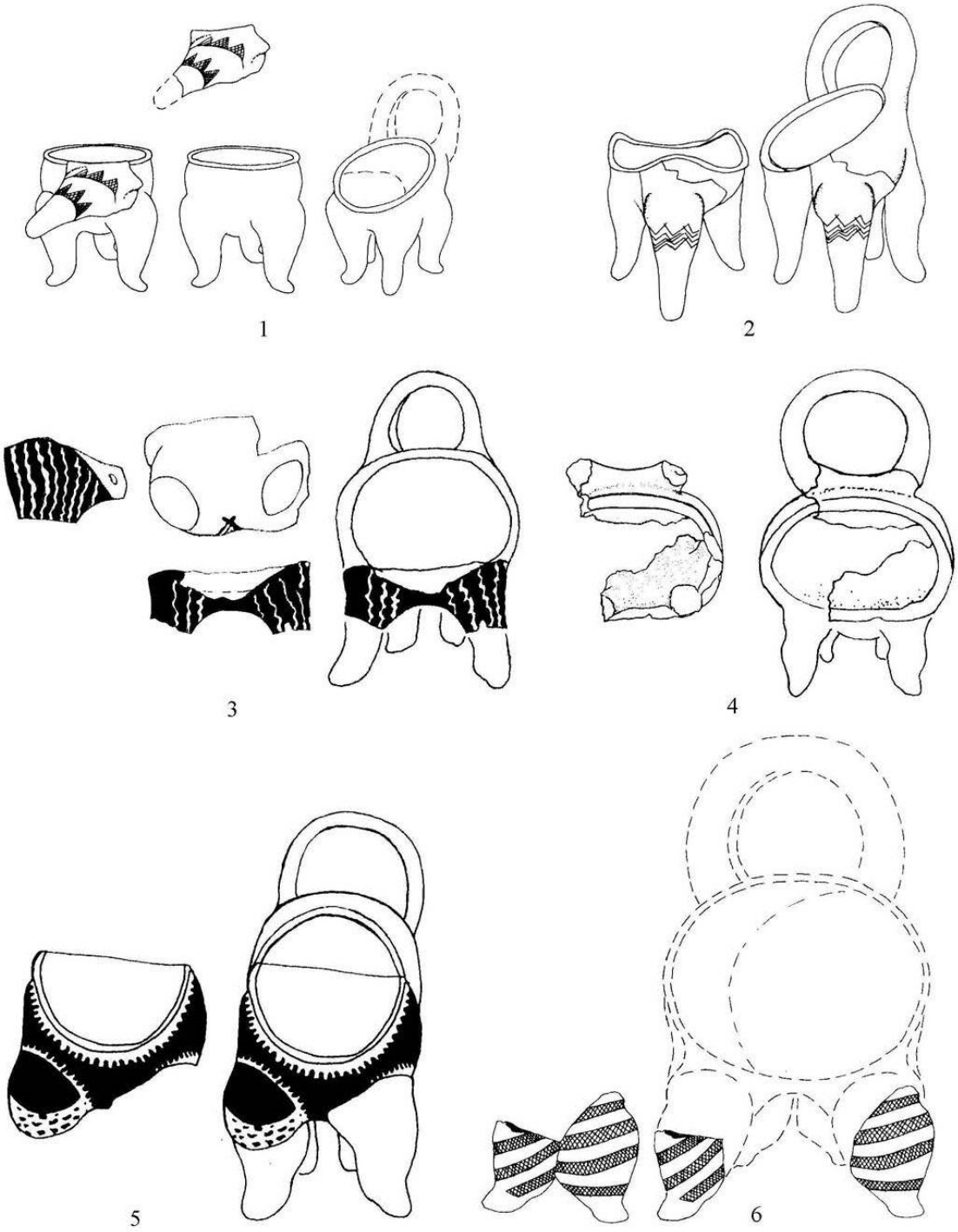


Figure 1. Sites with Late Neolithic Rhya Mentioned in the Text

1. Olynthus
2. Avgi
3. Dispilio
4. Servia
5. Otzaki
6. Tsangli
7. Choirospilio Cave
8. Elateia
9. Orchomenos
10. Chaeronea
11. Varka
12. Skoteini Cave
13. Kophovouno
14. Corinth
15. Aria Argolidos
16. Franchthi Cave
17. Raches-Phournos
18. Alepotrypa Cave
19. Čakran
20. Pristina
21. Crvena Stijena Cave
22. Butmir
23. Obre
24. Kakanj
25. Hvar
26. Danilo
27. Smilčić
28. Maga Triglavaca Cave
29. Edera Cave



Reconstructions of LN Ia Rhyta

Figure 2 (by the author)

1. Corinth (Walker-Kosmopoulos 1948, fig. 5), 2. Corinth (Walker-Kosmopoulos 1948, fig. 5), 3. Franchthi Cave (Vitelli 1999, fig. 20, f), 4. (Corinth, National Museum, Athens),

5. Tsangli (Wace and Thompson 1912, fig. 50, a), 6. Elateia (Sotiriades 1908, fig. 7, middle)

Bibliography

Batović, Š. 1979. 'Jadranska zona,' in A. Benac (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja vol. 2: neolitsko dob,* Sarajevo: Svetlost, 473–635.

Benać, A. 1973. *Obre I. Neolitsko naselje starčevačko-impresso i kakanjske kulture na Raskršću* (*Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine* XXVII/XXVIII), 1–102.

———1979. 'Prelazna zona,' in A. Benac (ed.), *Praistorija jugoslovenskih zemalja vol. 2: neolitsko doba*, Sarajevo: Svetlost, 363–469.

Benać, A. (ed.). 1964. *Simpozijum o teritorijalnom i hronološkom razgraničenju Ilira u praistorijsko doba* (ANUBiH/CBI Special Publications IV/I), Sarajevo.

Biagi, P. 2003. 'The Rhyton of the Balkan Peninsula: Chronology, Origin, Dispersion, and Function of a Neolithic 'Cult' Vessel', *Journal of prehistoric religion* XVI-XVII, 16–26.

Biagi, P. and M. Spataro, W. Cavanagh. 2007. 'Food Preservation in Greece during the Late and Final Neolithic Periods,' in C. Mee and J. Renard (eds.), *Cooking Up the Past: Food and Culinary Activities in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, 109–122.

Chapman, J. 1988. 'Ceramic production and Social Differentiation: the Dalmatian Neolithic and the Western Mediterranean', *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1 (2), 2–25.

———2000. *Fragmentation in Archaeology. People, Places and Broken Objects in Prehistory of South-eastern Europe*, London: Routledge.

Chapman, J. and B. Gaydarska. 2006. *Parts and Wholes: Fragmentation in Prehistoric Context*, Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Coleman, J.E. 1992. 'Greece, the Aegean, and Cyprus: Part 1', in *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 203–221, 247–278.

Čović , B. 1961. 'Rezultati sondiranja na preistoriskom naselju u Gronjoj Tuzli', *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 15–16, 79–139.

———1976. *Od Butmira do Ilira,* Sarajevo: Veselina Maslessa.

Di Fraia, T. 2011. ‘Salt Production and Consumption in Prehistory: Towards a Complex Systems View,’ *Exotica in the Mediterranean*, Connecticut: Oxbow Books, 26–32.

Douzougli, A. 1998. *Aria Argolidos: Cheiropoitē Keramikē tēs Neoterēs Neolithikēs kai tēs Chalcholithiēs Peridou (Dēmostieumata tou Archaoplogikou Deltiou Ar. 66) ,* Yporgeio Politismou, Athens. (in Greek, Ayia Argolidos: Handmade Pottery of the Late Neolithic and Chacolithic Periods).

Dujmović, F. 1953. ‘Neolitska obredna posuda iz Danila u Dalmaciji,’ *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinslku* 54, 73–75.

Frankfort, H. 1927. *Asia, Europe and the Aegean, and Their Earliest Interactions. Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, II, London: Royal Anthropological Institute.

Gimbutas, M. 1974. The Gods and Goddesses of Old Europe: 7,000 to 3,500 BC, Myths, Legends and Cult Images, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gimbutas, M. 1991*. The civilization of the Goddess: The world of Old Europe*, San Francisco.

Gimbutas, M., S. Winn and D.Shimabuku. 1989. *Achilleion: a Neolithic Settlement in Thessaly, Greece, 6400–5600 BC* (*Monumenta Archaeologica* 14), Los Angeles: Institute of Archaeology, University of California.

Greenfield, H.J. 1999. ‘The Advent of Transhuman Pastorialism in the Temperate Southeast Europe: a Zooarchaeological Perspective from the Central Balkans’, in L. Bartosiewicz and H.J. Greenfields (eds.), *Transhuman Pastorialism in Southern Europe* (*Archaeolingua Series Minor* 11), Budapest, 15–36.

Hauptmann, H. and V. Milojčić. 1969. *Die Funde der füher Dimini-Zeit aus der Arapi-Magula Thessalien* (*BAM* 9), Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Hauptmann, H.1981. *Die deutschen Ausgrabun-gen auf der Otzaki-Magula in Thessalien III: Das späte Neolithikum und das Chalkolithikum (BAM 21),* Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.

Heurtley, W.A. 1939. *Prehistoric Macedonia. An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Greek Macedonia (West of the Struma) in the Neolithic, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*, Cambridge.

Holmberg, E.J. 1964. *The Neolithic Pottery of Mainland Greece*, Series A, Band 7(2), Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerber.

Ihde, C. 1995. 'Die Elefantendarstellungen der Hvar-Lisičići-Kultur und das Problem ihrer Herleitung', *Archeološki vestnik* 46, 53–88.

Katsikaridis, N. 2012. 'Vasikēs Keramikes Katēgories kai Schēmatologia tōn aggeiōn tēs Augēs', http://www.neolithicavgi.gr/?page_id=1387, accessed March 6, 2013. (in Greek, Basic Ceramic Categories and Vessel Typology of Avgi).

Korošec, J. 1964. *Danilo in danilska kultura*, Ljubljana: Univerza v Ljubljani, Arheološki oddelek filozofske fakultete.

Koršec, J. 1952. 'Nova neolitska kultura grupa na području Dalmacije', *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* LIV, 76.

Koršec, J. 1958. *Neolitska naseobina u Danilu Bitnju*, Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.

Lavezzi, J. C. 1978. 'Prehistoric Investigations at Corinth', *Hesperia* 47, 402–51.

Marijanović, B. 2007. 'Kultni riton s Crnog Vrila – prilog problematici kultnih ritona u neolitiku istonog Jadrana (Cult rhyton from Crno vrilo – a contribution to the topic of cult rhyta of the Neolithic period in the East Adriatic)', in M. Blečić, M. , Črešnar, B. Hänsel, A. Hellmuth, E. Kaiser, and C. Metzer-Nebelsick (eds.), *Scripta praehistorica in honorem Biba Teržan* (*Dissertationes Musei nationalis Sloveniae* VII), 57–68.

Mavridis, F. 2008. 'Late Neolithic Painted and Burnished Wares', in A. Sampson, *The Cave of the Cyclops: Mesolithic and Neolithic Networks in the Northern Aegean, Greece Vol. I: Intra–Site Analysis, Local Industries, and Regional Site Distribution* (*Prehistory Monographs* 21), Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press, 111–122.

Mlekuž, D., 2007. 'Sheep are Your Mother: Rhyta and the Interspecies Politics in the Neolithic of the Eastern Adriatic', *Documenta Praehistorica* XXXIV, 267–280.

Montagnari, K. and E. Crismani. 1993. 'La presenza di 'vasi a quattro gambe' nel neolitico del carso Triestino', *Aquileia nostra* 64, 9–66.

Nandris, J. 1999. 'Ethnoarchaeology and Latinity in the Mountains of Southern Velebit', in L. Bartosiewicz and H.J. Greenfields (eds.), *Transhuman Pastorialism in Southern Europe* (*Archaeolingua Series Minor* 11), Budapest, 111–131.

Nikolov, V. 2008. ‘Praistorich Solodobiben Tsentvr Provadiia-Solnitsata, 2005–2008), Sofia. (in Bulgarian, Provadia-saltpans: Prehistoric salt production center).

Perić, S. 1996. ‘Kult-Rhytone der neolithischen Vierzüchter der Balkan-halbinsel’, *Starinar* 47, 21–66.

Phelps, W.W. 2004 [1975].*The Neolithic Pottery Sequence in Southern Greece* (*BAR-IS* 1250), Oxford: Archaeopress.

Rak, O. 2011. *The Rhyton from Danilo: Structure and Symbolism of a Middle Neolithic Cult-Vessel,* (trans. Theresa Alt and Wayles Brown), Oakville, Connecticut: Oxbow Books.

Rasson, J. 1983. *Interaction spheres as adaptive mechanisms: Bosnian-Dalmatian relations in the Neolithic*, PhD Diss. University of SUNY-Binghamton, New York.

Ridley, C. and K.A. Wardle, 'Rescue Excavations at Servia 1971–73: a preliminary report', *Annual of the British School at Athens* 74 (1979), 185–23.

Sampson, A.1993. *Skoteinē Tharrouniōn. To Spēlaio, o oikismos kai to vekrotaoheio*, Athens: Dept. of Paleontology-Speleology. (in Greek, Skoteini Tharrounion. The cave, the settlement, and the cemetery).

Sherratt, A. 1981. ‘Plough and Pastorialism: Aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution’, in *Pattern of the past: Studies in Hounor of David Clarke*, D.L. Clarke, I. Hodder, G.L. Isaac and N. Hammond (eds.), Cambridge, 261–305.

Sofronidou, M. 2002. ‘Hē Keramikē: Prokatarikes paratēriseis’, *Dispēlio, 7,500 chronia meta*,Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 185–215. (in Greek, The Pottery: Preliminary Observations).

Sofronidou, M. and Z. Tsirtsoni. 2007. ‘What are the legs for? Vessels with Legs in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Aegean’, in C. Mee and J. Renard (eds.), *Cooking Up the Past: Food and Culinary Activities in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, Oxford, 247–269.

Sotiriades, G. 1908. ‘Proistorika Charōneias kai Elateia’, *Archaologikē Ephēmeris*, 63–96. (in Greek, Prehistoric Chaeronea and Elateia).

Spataro, M. 2002. *The First Farming Communities of the Adriatic: Pottery Production and Circulation in the Early and Middle Neolithic* (Quaderni della Società per la Prehistoria e la Protostoria della Regione Friuli-Venezeia Giulia 9), Trieste.

Srejović, D. 1963. ‘Versuch einer geschichtlichn Wertung der Butmir-Grupe’, Archaeologia Iguoslavica VI, 4–17.

Talalay, L. E. 1987. ‘Rethinking the Function of Clay Figurine Legs from Neolithic Greece: An Argument by Analogy’, *American Journal of Archaeology* 91, 161–169.

Tasić, N. 2000a. ‘Salt use in the Early and Middle Neolithic of the Balkan Peninsula,’ in L. Nikolova (ed.), Technology, Style and Society. Contributions to the innovations between the Alps and the Black Sea in prehistory (BAR-IS 854), Archaeopress: Oxford, 35–40.

———2000b. ‘The Neolithic Settlement Patterns and Salt’, in R.M. Geertman, B.V. Elsevier, eds., Proceedings of the 8th World Salt Symposium, vol. 2. Amsterdam, 1139–1144.

———2012. ‘Salt and Gold: The Role of Salt in Prehistoric Europe’, in Vassil Nikolov and Krum Bacvarov (eds.), *Salz und Gold: die Rolle des Salzes im prähistorischen Europa*. Akten der internationaler Fachtagung (Humboldt-Kolled) in Provadia, Bulgaria, 30 September–4 October 2010, Veliko Tarnovo, Provadia.

Tsountas, C. 1908. *Ai proistorikai akrpoleis Dimēniou kai Sesklou*, Athens. (in Greek, The Prehistoric Acropolises Dimini and Sesklo).

Vermeule 1964. *Greece in the Bronze Age*. University of Chicago Press.

Vitelli, K.D. 1999. *Franchthi Neolithic Pottery II: Classification and Ceramic Phases 3–5*, *Fascicle 8*, Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Wace, A.J.B. and M.S. Thompson. 1912 [1979]. *Prehistoric Thessaly: Being Some Account of Recent Excavations and Explorations in North–eastern Greece from Lake Kopais to the Borders of Macedonia*: Cambridge.

Walker-Kosmopoulos, L. 1948. *The Prehistoric Inhabitation of Corinth*: Munich.

Weinberg, S. S. 1937. “Prehistoric Remains from Corinth.” *Hesperia* 6, pp. 487– 542.

———1962. ‘Excavations at Prehistoric Elateia, 1959’, *Hesperia* 31 (2), 158–209.

———1965. ‘Ceramics and the Supernatural Cult and Burial Evidence’, in F. Matson (ed.), *Ceramics and Man*, Chicago, 187–201.