

EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF THE EARLY NEOLITHIC  
ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES IN THE NEAR EAST

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF THE EARLY NEOLITHIC ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES IN THE NEAR EAST**

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This thesis focuses on the investigation of early anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East. While traditional assertions suggested that anthropomorphic figurines symbolized gods or goddesses, recent studies have cast doubt on these interpretations. To understand the function of Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic figurines in the Near East, this study explores changes in typology, raw material, archaeological context, breakage patterns, and firing properties over time and space. It also considers features such as thematic variation, standardization, and abstraction. In a broader context, the thesis ascribes meaning to the figurines by incorporating temporal and spatial transformations of buildings, anthropomorphic sculptures, zoomorphic imagery, and burial practices in relevant settlements into the interpretation processes. The findings reveal that anthropomorphic figurines played a crucial role at various stages of Neolithization in the Near East, seamlessly integrating into the complex tapestry of changes, transformations, and fluctuations characterizing this overarching process. They emerged as integral components intricately connected to the evolving dynamics of this transformative journey. The study proposes that figurines are not static visual media; they possess the potential to facilitate dialogue and negotiation, conveying various levels of social differentiation through the manipulation of images, materials,

and craftsmanship. In essence, anthropomorphic figurines were dynamic agents within the intricate web of Neolithic societal shifts, contributing significantly to the multifaceted nature of this transformative period.

**Keywords:** Figurine, Anthropomorphic, Epipaleolithic, Neolithic, Near East.

## ÖZ

### YAKIN DOĞUDA ERKEN NEOLİTİK ANTROPOMORFİK FİGÜRİNLERİN ORTAYA ÇIKIŞI VE EVRİMİ

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Bu tez, Yakın Doğu'daki erken dönem antropomorfik figürinlerin incelenmesine odaklanmaktadır. Geleneksel yorumlar antropomorfik figürinlerin tanrıları veya tanrıçaları sembolize ettiğini öne sürerken güncel çalışmalar bu varsayımlara şüpheyle yaklaşmaktadır. Yakın Doğu'daki Epipaleolitik ve erken Neolitik figürinlerin işlevini anlamak için bu çalışma, figürinlerin tipoloji, hammadde, arkeolojik bağlam, kırılma modelleri ve pişirilme özelliklerinin zaman ve mekân içindeki değişimlerini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca tematik çeşitlilik, standardizasyon ve soyutlama gibi özellikleri yorumlama sürecinin bir parçası haline getirmektedir. Daha geniş bir bağlamda tez, ilgili yerleşimlerdeki mimari yapıların zamansal ve mekânsal dönüşümlerini, antropomorfik heykelleri, zoomorfik tasvirleri ve ölü gömme uygulamalarını yorumlama süreçlerine dahil ederek figürinleri daha geniş bir bağlamda değerlendirmektedir. Bulgular, antropomorfik figürinlerin Yakın Doğu'daki Neolitikleşmenin çeşitli aşamalarında önemli bir rol oynadığını ve bu süreci karakterize eden karmaşık değişim, dönüşüm ve dalgalanma örüntülerine kusursuz bir şekilde entegre olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Figürinler, bu dönüştürücü yolculuğun gelişen dinamikleriyle karmaşık bir şekilde bağlantılı tamamlayıcı bileşenler olarak



ortaya çıkmaktadır. Çalışma, figürinlerin birer statik görsel medya olmadığını; görüntülerin, malzemelerin ve işçiliğin manipülasyonu yoluyla çeşitli düzeylerde toplumsal farklılaşmayı aktararak diyalog ve müzakereyi kolaylaştırma potansiyeline sahip olduğunu savunmaktadır. Antropomorfik figürinler, Neolitik toplumsal değişimlerin karmaşık ağı içindeki dinamik unsurlar olarak bu dönüştürücü dönemin çok yönlü doğasına önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunmuş görünmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Figürin, Antropomorfik, Epipaleolitik, Neolitik, Yakın Doğu

*To my grandmothers*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PPN	Pre-Pottery Neolithic
PPNA	Pre-Pottery Neolithic A
PPNB	Pre-Pottery Neolithic B
PPNC	Pre-Pottery Neolithic C
PN	Pottery Neolithic

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Figurines are miniature, three-dimensional objects that represent humans, animals, hybrid or abstract forms. They are typically made from various materials such as clay, stone, bone, ivory, metal, wood, or shells. They offer valuable insights into the ideas, practices, and artistic expressions of past societies. In the absence of written records from prehistoric times, figurines represent the ideas, beliefs, and social dynamics of those prehistoric groups. The purpose and function of figurines vary across different cultures and periods. Interpreting prehistoric figurines can be challenging due to the lack of written records and contextual information. Archaeologists rely on various methods, including comparative studies, analysis of associated artifacts, and ethnographic analogies, to understand their role and function within specific cultural and social contexts. However, they are generally associated with religious or ritual practices, representations of deities, fertility symbolism, and motherhood.

The variation in typology, materials, and spatial and temporal distribution of figurines can indicate interaction networks or the existence of distinct cultural traditions. Comparisons between different figurines from various sites and periods contribute to our understanding of regional variations and cultural changes over time. Excluding the Berekhat Ram and Tan Tan objects from consideration, -both originating from the Lower Paleolithic period, their attribution to human craftsmanship remains a matter of scholarly debate (Goren-Inbar, 1986; Marshack, 1997; Bednarik, 2003; d'Errico & Nowell, 2000), prehistoric figurine making are clustered in macro-units of space and time: Paleolithic Eurasia, Jomon Japan, Neolithic Near East and its huge halo, and Formative Mesoamerica with its more modest halo (Lesure, 2011, p. 19).

The Upper Paleolithic period marked a significant development in symbolic and artistic expressions, and figurines played a prominent role in this cultural landscape.

During this period, figurine production and distribution were notable across Eurasia from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Baikal (Soffer et al., 2000). Figurines became standardized in terms of size and style. The term “Venus” has been commonly used to describe these figurines due to their estimated association with fertility symbolism and representations of exaggerated female characteristics, such as large breasts and buttocks. However, this selective focus has prompted serious objections to such explanations, with critics pointing out their lack of attention to context, uncontrolled chronologies, and unjustified assumptions (Soffer et al., 2000, p. 514).

The Neolithic refers to a period in human history marked by the development of agriculture and the shift from mobile hunter-gatherer societies to settled farming communities. The period is characterized by the domestication of plants and animals, which led to the development of a new way of life. The shift from a mobile hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a sedentary agricultural one had significant implications for human society, including changes in social organization, economy, technology, ideology, and culture. These changes first appeared in the Near East.

In the Near East, this period is distinctly divided into two phases based on the presence of pottery: the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (Early Neolithic) and the Pottery Neolithic (Late Neolithic). The Pre-Pottery Neolithic is further subdivided into sub-periods as Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA), Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB), and Pre-Pottery Neolithic C (PPNC). Each period is marked by varied economic, technological, architectural, social, and cultural characteristics.

Approximately 12,000 years ago, a crucial transition occurred in human history as the last ice age ended, ushering in climatic conditions comparable to the contemporary era. Preceding this pivotal phase, characterized by the Early Natufian period, inhabitants of the Levant engaged in complex hunter-gatherer communities. The subsequent warm Bolling-Allerod climatic phase (c. 12,500-10,800 BCE) witnessed an experimentation with sedentary lifestyles and the food production. However, the onset of colder and drier conditions during the subsequent Younger Dryas period (c. 10,800-9,500 BCE) necessitated a temporary return to nomadic living. In the face of this climatic adversity, resilient communities persisted in the cultivation of plants and the domestication of animals over the long term (Atakuman, 2014, p. 2).



Following the end of the Younger Dryas, the onset of the Holocene era witnessed the flourishing of the earliest Neolithic cultures in regions situated within fertile ecological niches. The Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) is distinguished by initial signs of domestication, round-plan houses, and a kin-based family structure (Arbuckle & Özkaya, 2006; Rosenberg, 2008; Willcox et al., 2008). A unique characteristic of this period is the practice of rebuilding houses on the same foundations for multiple generations, with the deceased interred within these structures. The organizational structure of PPNA settlements appears reminiscent of the Late Natufian, featuring individual oval-to-circular structures spaced apart, occasionally interspersed with small stone features, silos, or fire hearths between them (Kuijt & Goring-Morris, 2002, p. 372). The burial practices of this era prioritize individual interments, accompanied by observed rituals such as skull removal and catching (Noy et al., 1973; Bar-Yosef et al., 1991; Grosman et al., 2016). Another noteworthy characteristic of the PPNA is the emergence of special buildings in various regions of the Near East (Kenyon, 1957; Hauptmann, 1999; Schmidt, 2000; Stordeur et al., 2000), a trend that extends into the Early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (EPPNB). These structures serve as focal points for concentrated symbolism within the settlement. During this period, PPNA cultures are evident in the Levant, Euphrates, and Tigris regions on the mainland and in Cyprus (Simmons, 2007).

In the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) period, which succeeded the PPNA, settlements underwent expansion due to a growing population. Notably, distinct neighborhoods emerged within these settlements, and a noticeable feature was the incorporation of private storage areas within houses. Generally, residential structures during the Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (MPPNB) period were rectangular or sub-rectangular, featuring an entrance at one end, internal partitions, and often an open internal space opposite the entrance, typically with a central hearth, especially in the Levant (Kuijt & Goring-Morris, 2002, p. 392). During this period, mortuary practices evolved into more complex ceremonies (Rollefson, 2000; Goring-Morris, 2005; Ibanez et al., 2020). Initially, the deceased were interred inside houses, with the floors being plastered. Subsequently, the graves were reopened, and either the skulls or the bones of the deceased were extracted, after which the floor was replastered. The collected skulls were then buried collectively or individually in areas outside the settlement (Kuijt, 2001).

The Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) period, marked by a diminishing emphasis on monumental architecture, gave rise to a novel network of social, economic, and symbolic relations centered around the “house”. As internal partitions increased in houses with rectangular planning, symbolic practices such as plastering the building's floor and walls, incorporating installations using animal horns on these plasters or creating paintings with ochre emerged (Clarke, 2012; Baird et al., 2017; Hodder & Gürlek, 2020). Plaster and ochre also became increasingly prevalent in burial practices, with skull plastering and painting emerging as prominent rituals (Kuijt & Goring-Morris, 2002).

In the phase following the PPNB, called the "Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Collapse" (Rollefson & Köhler-Rollefson, 1989; Goring-Morris & Belfer-Cohen, 2010), many settlements were abandoned. During this process, the household-based social structure, a crucial determinant in organizing the workforce according to the demands of the dominant agricultural economy, appears to have shifted away from the restrictive relationship patterns of hunter-gatherer traditions, allowing for ritual and economic independence (Atakuman, 2022, p. 75). A noticeable dissolution in ritual practices is also evident during this period. By 7000 BCE, the Near East witnessed numerous innovations, including the establishment of a fully developed farming village economy, the widespread adoption of pottery, the construction of rectangular and closely built together houses, and a shift from a kin-based family structure to a food-sharing extended family structure.

The origins of agriculture and the Neolithic process have been a topic of significant debate among researchers. One of the early explanations for the Neolithic period, known as the "Oasis theory," was proposed by R. Pumpelly (1908) and popularized by V. G. Childe (1936). According to this theory, as the last Ice Age came to an end, a significant climatic crisis ensued after the glaciers retreated around 10,000 BCE. It is suggested that as the climate became drier, communities were compelled to gather around oases, leading to close interactions with animals, their subsequent domestication, and the cultivation of plants. In contrast, Braidwood (1960) presented an alternative perspective to Childe's theory. According to the “Hilly Flanks hypothesis”, agriculture emerged in the hilly regions adjacent to the “Fertile Crescent”, particularly the Taurus and Zagros mountains. Braidwood (1960) argued that

agriculture may have emerged in these regions due to the availability of resources conducive to domestication. Subsequently, Binford (1968) proposes in his Marginal Zones theory that the emergence of agriculture during the Neolithic period was driven by population pressures and the need for alternative food sources. When population growth exceeded the carrying capacity of local environments, migration to marginal zones with less favorable conditions became necessary. In these marginal zones, where wild food resources were insufficient, the development of agriculture provided a solution by allowing for the cultivation of crops and domestication of animals. In the 1990s and 2000s, in addition to these theories emphasizing ecological and economic conditions, new perspectives emerged proposing that the driving force behind the Neolithic process could be attributed to cultural and cognitive changes, and the development of a new symbolic system (Hodder, 1990; Cauvin, 2000; Watkins, 2009). Furthermore, some theories put forth the idea that multiple factors might have been instrumental in shaping this transformative period.

During the Neolithic period, whose origins and dynamics are still being debated among scholars, there is evidence of a significant change in symbolic life and visual media. The symbolic life of Neolithic communities encompassed a wide range of components, such as funerary practices, ritual areas, figurines and sculptures, etc. These components served various purposes and played a crucial role in shaping the social structures, belief systems, and identities of Neolithic communities. Kuijt and Chesson (2007, p. 215) suggest that as part of this tremendous change in lifestyles, there is also a shift in the use of imagery, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, in concert with society's struggle to control new structures of economy, social organization, and symbolism.

Human body representations, such as figurines, sculptures, engravings, and wall paintings, are integral components of the Near Eastern Neolithic. Anthropomorphic figurines, which are also the focus of this study, exhibit a notable increase in this term in both quantity and thematic diversity than previous periods. They exhibit a wide range of styles, materials, and purposes. They also exhibit regional and temporal variations, portraying the human form in different ways, with a focus on specific features or intentional abstraction of certain attributes of the human body. This abstraction can take various forms, such as the absence of distinct facial features,

generalized body shapes, or simplified forms. Nevertheless, there is also a common typology of Neolithic figurines is often associated with the “female characteristics”: “fleshy buttocks and thighs, a seated posture, a lack of artistic attention to the head, and an emphasis on overall bodily form rather than naturalistic detail” (Lesure, 2011, p. 20) (Figure 1). While certain researchers label this common typology as "Mother Goddess" and propose its association with a matriarchal social system (Mellaart, 1967; Gimbutas, 1974), there have been also numerous objections raised against the “Modder Goddess” theory, starting in the 1960s (Bailey, 1997; Fleming, 1969; Haaland & Haaland, 1995, Meskell, 1995, 1998; Tringham & Conkey, 1998; Ucko, 1962).

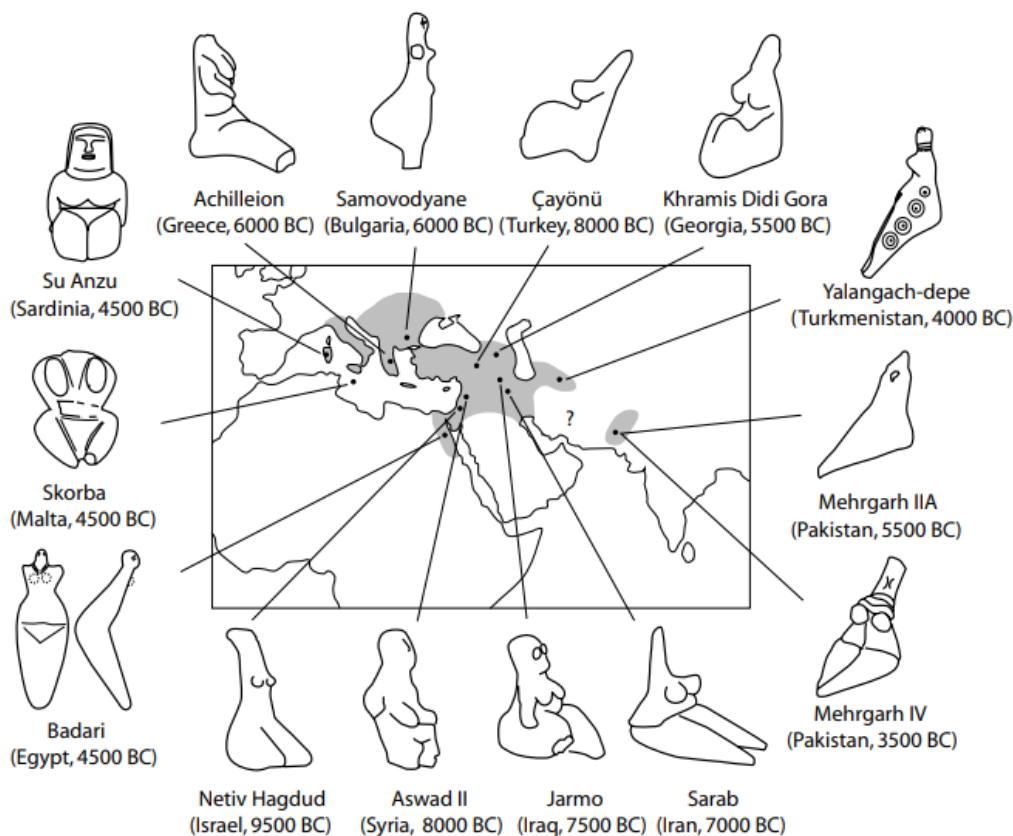


Figure 1: Leisure’s (2011, Fig. 6) map showing the figurines bearing some of all the following traits: fleshy buttocks and thighs, seated posture, female breasts, schematic heads, and emphasis on overall bodily form.

It is evident that, despite the variations and regional differences among anthropomorphic figurines, there is also a sense of shared symbolism and visual language. Although the specific meanings and functions of these figurines may have varied among different communities, the use of certain visual elements and forms indicates a common understanding or reference to shared concepts. These figurines, through their shared symbolism and visual language, provided a means of communication and expression within and across different Neolithic cultures.

The study of these figurines, along with other archaeological evidence such as burials, architecture, (etc.), enables researchers to gain insights into the collective imagination, belief systems, and social dynamics of prehistoric communities. It helps to understand how these communities communicated, expressed their ideas, and addressed important aspects of their lives through visual means.

Early interpretations of prehistoric figurines generally focused on typological classifications and stylistic attributes. Scholars classified figurines based on their form and artistic styles to identify different types or categories. These classifications were generally used to establish chronological sequences and cultural affiliations. However, these typological approaches were limited in providing nuanced insights into social, cultural, and symbolic significance of figurines. In contrast to the notion of a singular typology or symbolic meaning of Neolithic figurines, several studies conducted by different researchers suggest a wide range of interpretations for these artifacts. These studies, which will be explored in more detail in the following chapter, present diverse perspectives on the functions and significance of Neolithic figurines.

However, there has been a lack of comprehensive studies that thoroughly explore the early figurines of the Near East. While a few well-known examples are frequently mentioned in publications, there has been a lack of research that seeks to identify emergence and evolution of these objects. This study aims to fill that gap by providing a comprehensive analysis of the early figurines of the Near East. From this perspective, the study will encompass a comprehensive examination of 4730 figurines originating from the Epipalaeolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic periods of the Near East.

This research also emphasizes the importance of approaching figurines with an unbiased mindset, treating them like any other archaeological artifacts. It will delve

into the specific characteristics of these figurines, including their raw materials, contextual associations, fragmentation patterns, firing properties, and typological evaluations. The primary objective of this study is to gain insight into the social functions and interaction networks surrounding the early anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East. Therefore, the study not only explores the specific characteristics of the figurines but also delves into the economic, social, architectural, and ritual context in which they originated, tracing their evolution across time and space. By conducting these diverse analyses, a deeper understanding of these figurines and their role in the Neolithic communities can be achieved.

Starting from this point of view, the study will begin with typological analysis of the figurines, identifying different types based on their morphological characteristics and stylistic attributes. This typological classification will help establish a chronological framework and facilitate comparisons with regional assemblages. Next, a functional analysis will be conducted to explore the figurines' potential uses and symbolic meanings. The analysis will examine their archaeological contexts, raw materials, sexual characteristics, firing properties, and fragmentation patterns. The study will analyze the spatial and temporal distributions of the figurines, providing insights into the connections between figurine production, use, and discard with economic and social conditions, architectural features, and ritual purposes.

The study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the early figurines of the Near East and their function within their respective economic and social contexts. To achieve this goal, Chapter 2 will first summarize the theoretical and methodological approaches used thus far in interpreting prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines. Following this, the next part will introduce the methodological framework of the thesis.

In Chapter 3, a comprehensive analysis will be conducted on the published figurine assemblages from the Near East within the framework of the sites from which they originated. Alongside providing general overviews of the settlements, this chapter will delve into the general characteristics of the figurines, including their period, material, context, typology, sexual characteristic, firing properties, and fragmentation patterns. To gain a deeper understanding of the role of anthropomorphic figurines; zoomorphic

figurines, anthropomorphic sculptures, statues, and reliefs will also be mentioned. Moreover, the mortuary traditions and special architectural structures associated with the figurines will be investigated.

Chapter 4 will undertake a comparative analysis of figurines from the Near Eastern Epipaleolithic and Neolithic periods, extending from the data presented in the preceding chapter. The aim is to gain insights into the roles of figurines during the transitional phase from hunter-gatherer societies to agricultural communities. Through the examination of general and local patterns, as well as temporal changes, the study aims to deduce the social functions of the figurines.

Lastly, Chapter 5 will briefly summarize the study's results. This chapter will establish connections between the results obtained from the analysis and the initial research questions.

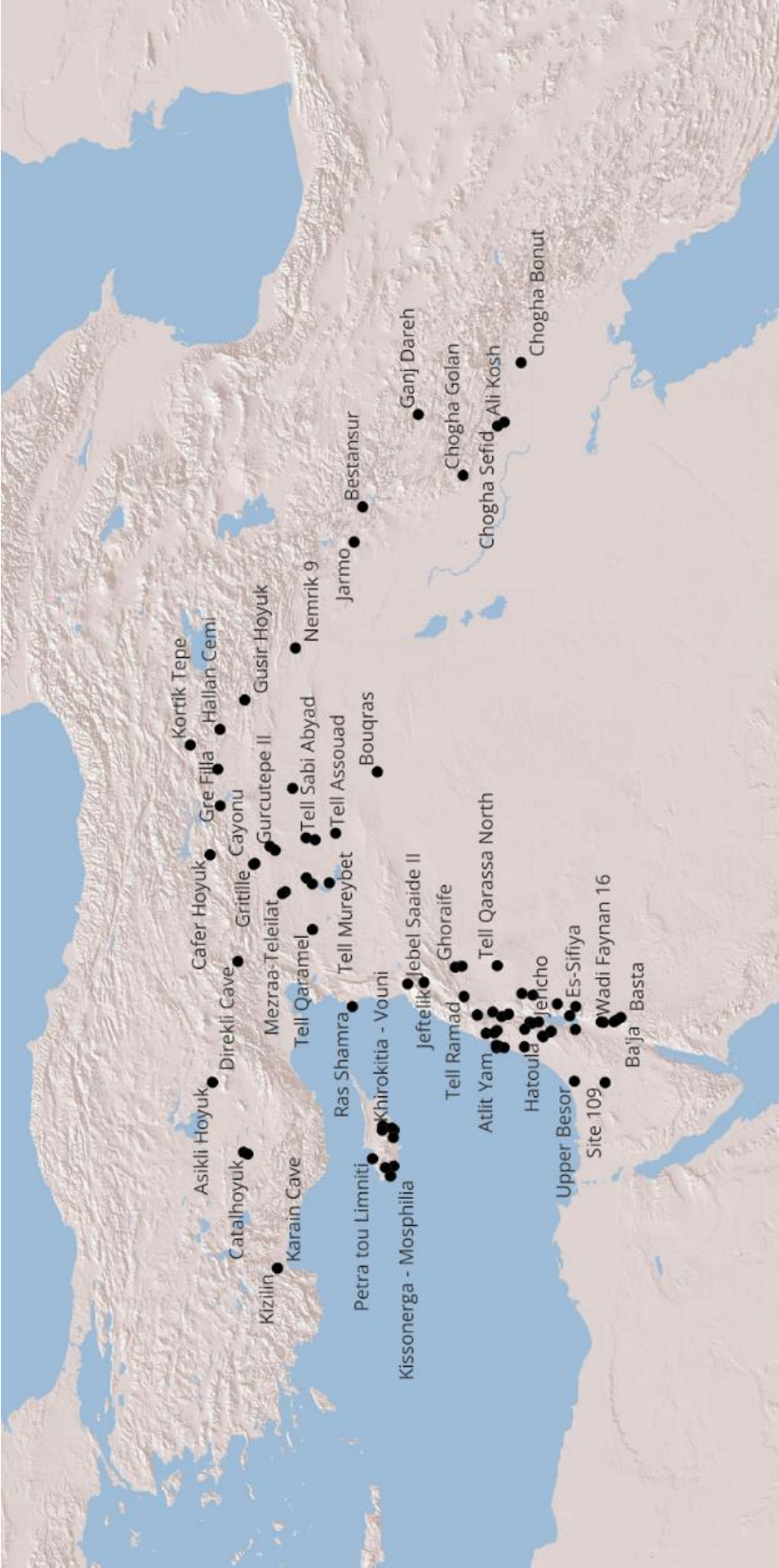


Figure 2: Map showing the locations of the sites mentioned in the text.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

In the first part of this chapter, the examination will focus on the prominent approaches that have emerged in interpreting prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines within the archaeological literature. The development of these approaches from the past to the present will be traced, providing insight into the changing perspectives and methodologies for analyzing these artifacts. The second part of this chapter will explain the methodological framework used in this study to analyze early anthropomorphic figurines from the Near East.

#### **2.1. Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines in Archaeological Literature**

Figurines have been subject to diverse interpretations, shifting over time under the influence of ideological, intellectual movements and scientific trends that emerged within distinct historical and social contexts. A comprehensive examination of the function of figurines reveals two prevailing trends in archaeological interpretation: (1) traditional typology-oriented perspectives, which interpret figurines as religious or cultic objects and representations of gods and goddesses, and (2) new approaches that perceive figurines as intermediaries facilitating social relations among individuals and communities (Talalay, 1993, p. 37; Naumov, 2014, p. 49). Contemporary approaches are increasingly focused on unveiling potential meanings inherent in figurines through varied analyses and assessments within the realms of archaeology and anthropology.

The roots of early interpretations of figurines can be traced back to the 19th century anthropological theories proposed by Bachofen (1861), Morgan (1877), and Engels (1884). These theories, influenced by evolutionary perspectives, suggested that human societies, initially matrilineal and matriarchal, transitioned into patriarchal societies over time. Therefore, the earliest figurines found in the archaeological excavations at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century were interpreted as evidence of

past "matriarchy" (Hamilton, 1996, p. 282). Furthermore, these figurines were linked to later goddesses discovered in the Near East, such as Inanna, Ishtar, and Astarte, leading to an increased focus on exploring prehistoric goddesses (Talalay, 1994, p. 167). Anthropomorphic figurines are interpreted as either representation of the goddess herself or amulets associated with her (Evans, 1921). This focus, which extended beyond the search for matriarchy and aimed to uncover beliefs in prehistoric goddesses, persisted without significant opposition until the mid-20th century (James, 1959; Neumann, 1955).

In the 1950s, new approaches to figurine interpretation began to emerge. Morales (1958) argued that figurines served as tools to reflect the wishes and desires of prehistoric people and that creating them held greater significance than their actual use. Four years later, in 1962, Ucko presented a comprehensive critique of Mother Goddess theories. He argued that there was a reliance on an "assumed historical tradition" in the interpretation of figurines, and the archaeological context of the figurines was often overlooked or not adequately considered. He also criticized the lack of detailed and comprehensive studies on anthropomorphic figurines with relevant anthropological data. He noted that figurines from regions beyond the "New World" were often ignored. Starting from this point of view, Ucko (1962, pp. 47-8) concluded that the Neolithic Knossos figurines could have served varied and multiple purposes, such as "dolls," "initiation figures," and/or "vehicles of sympathetic magic." However, Ucko's efforts received little response during that time (Talalay, 1994, p. 169).

The late 1960s marked the emergence of "Second-Wave Feminism," a significant social and political movement that had a global impact. While the first wave of feminism between 1880 and 1920 focused more on suffrage and other legal rights and freedoms, the Second Wave focused on "personal" issues, such as sexuality, reproduction, and fulfillment in public and private spheres (Gilchrist, 2012, p. 2). During this period, Second-Wave feminists also sought to uncover the underlying causes of women's oppression. Influenced by these endeavors, feminist writers engaged in discussions regarding prehistoric Mother Goddess and matriarchy (Davis, 1971; Stone, 1976). Anthropomorphic figurines played a crucial role in these discussions. The famous works of Mellaart (1960, 1961, 1967, 1970) and Gimbutas

(1974, 1989) on figurines have provided academic “evidence” for these feminist writers.

Mellaart (1967, 1970) argued that the material cultural elements unearthed during the excavations at Çatalhöyük and Hacilar strongly indicate a society with predominantly woman-centered around goddess worship. He proposed a goddess-centered Neolithic belief system that dates back to the Upper Paleolithic (Mellaart, 1967, 1970). According to him, the one thing which is clearly indicated in these sites' religion is the woman's predominance (Mellart, 1970, p. 170). Moreover, Mellaart (1967) categorized the visual media from Çatalhöyük into symbols representing female and male fertility. He posited that female fertility is depicted through anthropomorphic goddess images, while male fertility is symbolized by representations of bulls and rams (1967, p. 101). After several decades, Cauvin (2000) took these views to a new level by contending that the depictions of women and bulls constituted a central component of a religion that emerged during the Neolithic period in the Near East and persisted throughout the Bronze Age.

On the other hand, Gimbutas (1974, 1989, 1991) emphasized the abundance of female figurines found in Greece and southeastern Europe and suggested a "pan-Mediterranean" belief in a matriarchal social structure. According to her, the primary deity for Paleolithic and Neolithic societies was female, representing the importance of motherhood and the sovereignty associated with it, and this is evidenced by the absence of any images of a "Father God" in the prehistoric records (Gimbutas, 1991, p. 222). She categorized the figurines into various groups based on their styles, clothing or nudity, body symbols, and other typological characteristics. These categories are "The Goddess who personifies the generative forces of nature," "The Death Goddess," "The Goddess of Regeneration," and "The prehistoric male deities (who make up only three to five percent of the corpus of Neolithic sculpture)" (Gimbutas, 1991, p. 223).

Gimbutas also proposed the theory of an alleged invasion by Indo-European, male, nomadic warriors from the north Black Sea steppes, which is believed to have disrupted earlier egalitarian societies (1974, 1989, 1991). She claimed that following the invasion, Europe experienced a shift from gender equality to male domination,

matriarchy to patriarchy, peace to war, and equality to the hierarchy (Haaland & Haaland, 1995, p. 106).

In the 1990s, Postprocessual Archaeology and Third-Wave Feminism<sup>1</sup> emerged as influential movements, directing attention toward figurines and their interpretation within the context of debates surrounding identity, gender, and related topics. Criticism of Gimbutas' works also began to surface in this period, with some arguing that she had distorted historical interpretations to align with Second-Wave Feminism's agenda (Rountree, 2001) and that selective evidence was employed to support a specific narrative (Brown, 1993).

Talalay (1994) states that prehistoric "Golden Age" and Mother Goddess theories are insufficient and speculative to explain what kind of powers women had in the past. According to her, these theses are insultingly simplistic in describing the complex and shifting gender roles that have existed in the past and are based on feminist essentialism that limits the view of women's power (Talalay, 1994, p. 172). She asserts that the assumption of women maintaining a fixed role for millennia disregards societies' dynamic nature and evolution, as it treats them as static entities (Talalay, 1994, p. 173). In light of these criticisms, Talalay (1993) suggests an alternative approach to studying figurines. She highlights four crucial aspects in interpreting figurines: the figures themselves, their archaeological contexts, the particular socioeconomic matrix in which the figurines functioned, and ethnographic analogues (Talalay, 1993, p. 38). According to her, figurines likely represent an intricate combination of behavioral and cognitive considerations, serving multiple purposes and carrying diverse meanings (Talalay, 1993, p. 81).

Tringham's review in 1993 also criticizes Gimbutas for presenting a simplified narrative of European history, focusing on a shift from matrifocal to patrifocal society while neglecting the diverse histories of men and women. According to Tringham, although Gimbutas includes women in her account, her traditional and advocative approach limits the exploration of alternative perspectives (1993, p. 197). Tringham and Conkey (1998) published a new study on prehistoric figurines in the following years. They argue that the interpretation of the figurines clearly indicates where a

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<sup>1</sup> For a detailed definition see Snyder 2008.

writer stands both on the past and feminism (Tringham & Conkey, 1998, p. 24). They also draw attention to the importance of archaeological and historical context, "use-life," and diversity in form, decoration, abstraction, and material in the interpretation of figurines (Tringham & Conkey, 1998, pp. 27-8). They point out the disparity in the way anthropomorphic figurines were analyzed compared to other archaeological artifacts, emphasizing the lack of critical questions asked and the tendency to approach them with emotional and empathetic responses.

While Meskell (1995) appreciates Gimbutas' analysis of figurine features such as raw materials, production, and form, she also points out certain shortcomings in her approach. According to Meskell, while other scholars have systematically studied the production of figurines, decorative motifs, and fragmentation patterns, Gimbutas did not include these findings in her later publications (1995, p. 77). She also states that weaknesses in scholarship have prevented Gimbutas' attempts and the question of gender studies from being taken seriously in archaeological circles (Meskell, 1995, p. 76).

Based on his studies of Chalcolithic figurines in southeastern Europe, Bailey (1994) makes a new claim that the figurines depict prehistoric individuals. According to him, prehistoric individual identities were displayed through burial rituals and the use of anthropomorphic figurines (Bailey, 1994, p. 321). He suggests a two-step process for interpreting anthropomorphic figurines: (1) visually examining the figurines to identify the subject depicted and searching for parallels in other archaeological data such as pottery form and decoration, wall painting, and burial patterns, and (2) considering the prehistoric context of the represented object (Bailey, 1994, p. 323). The examination of the Golyamo Delchevo figurines revealed differentiated figurines based on sexual characteristics and decoration (Bailey, 1994, pp. 324-5). The burials showed a similar pattern, leading Bailey to interpret the figurines as representing prehistoric individuals.

A few years later, McDermott (1996) presented a similar but new argument, focusing on Upper Paleolithic "Venus" figurines. He opposed the thesis put forth by male scholars that these figurines were created by prehistoric "men" and utilized by them as objects of sexuality and status. According to him, these figurines are made from the

point of view of self rather than other (McDermott, 1996, p.227). Through photographic simulations of modern pregnant women, he argued that the "Venus" figurines represented the self-views of prehistoric pregnant women regarding their own bodies rather than being symbolic distortions. He also suggested that the creation of these early human images represented a significant advancement in women's self-conscious control over the material aspects of their reproductive lives.

During this period, there was also a rise in criticisms directed toward "previous critical works." While Hamilton (1996) stated that Ucko's (1962) work was a turning point in figurine interpretation, she also criticized the methodology employed in his research. According to her, Ucko's interpretations suffer from precisely the same shortcomings as those for which he berates Mother Goddess theories: application of the same idea to widely differing contexts, use of historical analogies with a massive time gap, and ethnographic examples from other geographical areas (Hamilton, 1996, p. 283).

Hamilton (1996, p. 285) also states that the figurines' interpretation reflects the period's socio-political concerns. She believes figurines are particularly susceptible to outside influence and that politics lies at the heart of the figurine debate. According to her, figurines are uniquely personal artifacts, and she asserts that emphasizing the individual aligns with the socio-political climate of the 1990s (Hamilton, 1996, pp. 282-5).

At the end of the 1990s, Knapp and Meskell (1997) applied some aspects of queer theory to archaeology and specifically examined Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Cypriot figurines. They argue that the binary division of humanity into two opposing categories, male and female, is a construct of contemporary Western society. They caution against interpreting the figurines within this "universalizing ethos" (Knapp & Meskell, 1997, p. 199). However, they also emphasize the significance of constructing and characterizing individuals rather than focusing on categories when analyzing prehistoric figurines. They suggest that Cypriot figurines have constructions of individual characteristics rather than being members of a sexually binarized society (Knapp & Meskell, 1997, p. 195). They also call for archaeologists to move beyond rigid, binary categorizations and attempt to prioritize specific discourses of difference by implementing constructions of self or identity ((Knapp & Meskell, 1997, p. 183).

The debates about figurines are not confined to the 1990s and have continued fervently into the new millennium. In 2000, Voigt published a new study based on her research conducted on Çatalhöyük, Gritille, and Hajji Firuz Tepe figurines. In her study, Voigt (2000) diverges from Hodder's definition of "context"<sup>2</sup> and challenges placing Çatalhöyük in the European Neolithic context. Instead, she seeks to trace the origins of Çatalhöyük figurines to eastern regions such as Hajji Firuz Tepe and Gritille, as well as other contemporary and earlier settlements of the Near East and Europe. Voigt considers the context in terms of the "archaeological context," "immediate cultural context," and "culture-historical context" (2000, p. 255). In her analysis of figurines, she used Ucko's (1968) typology, which categorizes the figurines into "cult figures," "vehicles of magic," "teaching figures," and "toys" based on ethnographic accounts. In addition to this approach, Voigt investigated the figurines' surface wear, damage, and disposal patterns, incorporating these findings into the interpretive process. Building upon this perspective, Voigt (2000, pp. 277-82) concluded that Çatalhöyük's small clay figurines depicted animals and humans served as magical objects in personal or household rituals. In contrast, stone and large clay figurines were used as cult figures.

Chapman (2000) conducted inspiring research on the fragmentation patterns of prehistoric objects in southeastern Europe. He noted that only a small portion of the figurines discovered in southeastern Europe have been deposited as complete (Chapman, 2000, pp. 68-9). Based on the findings from previous studies, Chapman argues that the production technique of the figurines made them more susceptible to deliberate breakage (2000, p. 70). He also emphasizes the significance of considering the context in which broken figurines are found when interpreting their meaning and role. According to him, the deliberate fragmentation and structured deposition of figurines, the practices of "enchainment," served as a means through which the living and the ancestors were connected to each other through material means (Chapman, 2000, p. 75). He also highlights that the deliberate breaking of figurines can alter gender identities, allowing for the representation of a broader spectrum of gendered identities (Chapman, 2000, pp. 76-77).

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<sup>2</sup> See Hodder 1989, 1990.

Twiss's (2001) study on anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines in the southern-central Levant focused on their connection with ritual activity. Twiss (2001, p. 16) argues that there is no singular definition of ritual. Instead, she emphasizes the need to perceive fields presently considered distinct, such as ritual, economy, and social interaction, as interconnected and advocates for evaluating ritual as a tool for analysis within this interconnected framework. She adopts Bell's (1992) conception of ritual action as culturally specific, strategic, and value-laden. She highlights the significance of visible repeated and formalized behavior in the archaeological record when defining ritual acts. In this framework, Twiss (2001, p.17) argues that despite variations in stylization, depiction, and context, figurines from the southern-central Levant exhibit repetition and formal patterning, which indicate ritual activity.

During this period, Bailey (2005) reevaluated his previous views (1994) and proposed a new interpretation of figurines. In his book, he emphasizes the significance of miniaturization, three-dimensionality, and anthropomorphism in figurines as representational objects. Bailey argues that through abstraction and compression, miniaturization leads to reasoning about what is not represented in a figurine, ultimately creating alternative worlds and worldviews, all of which are "equally valid" (2005, pp. 28, 32). He also emphasizes three-dimensionality as a crucial factor that enhances experiences by engaging the sense of touch, thereby increasing the impact of miniaturization (Bailey, 2005, pp. 36-7). According to Bailey, anthropomorphic figurines play a significant role in creating, promoting, negotiating, manipulating, and altering personal and group identities (Bailey, 2005, p. 67). They provoke people to think again about what it means to be human (Bailey, 2005, p. 84).

In 2005, Kuijt and Chesson published an article in which they interpreted Neolithic figurines from the Southern Levant. They examined the potential relationship between the themes depicted in Neolithic figurines, their context, the associated material culture, architecture, and the broader economic and social context. They argued that to fully understand the Neolithic figurines' role, examining all figurines from various contexts is necessary rather than focusing solely on selective figurines and their "special" contexts (Kuijt & Chesson, 2005, p. 173). They also noted that the changing frequency of figurines over time could provide insights into their intended purpose and use within the Neolithic communities (Kuijt & Chesson, 2005, p. 174). According to



them, an understanding of the figurines' function can be achieved by examining mortuary practices. They suggested that the homogeneity in social memory creation, as reflected in funeral rituals and figurines, concealed individual differences and emphasized collective identities (Kuijt & Chesson, 2005, p. 175-6).

In the next few years, there has been a shift in figurine discussions from focusing on female imagery to engaging in discussions on phallocentrism (Meskell & Hodder, 2011). Meskell and Hodder put forth the hypothesis of a dominant "phallographic symbolism" extending from the Levant to Central Anatolia during the Neolithic period, drawing on a comparison of the anthropomorphic imagery found at Çatalhöyük and Göbeklitepe. According to them, phallocentrism is the cultural emphasis and centralization of maleness, considering masculinity (both human and animal) as a dominant source of power and authority within the material and symbolic aspects of the Neolithic period (Meskell & Hodder, 2011, p. 237). However, this interpretation has faced criticism for being a partial counterpoint to the Mother Goddess theories (Kuijt, 2017). It has been accused of relying on a limited sample and overlooking the frequency of the figurines within the settlement (Kuijt, 2017, pp. 555-7).

Many researchers perceive archaeological objects, including visually unique items like figurines and seals, as active participants in a symbolic network of social communication. The main dynamic in this field revolves around structuring social units, such as individuals, households, and societies, and the relationships between them. Hence, while similar images and objects may form a shared symbolic language across a wide geographic area, their meanings remain contextual, and similar images and objects do not carry the same meaning everywhere (Atakuman, 2015a, p.64).

These artifacts can be seen as objects that hold information about the relationships between individuals, groups, and societies. They have the potential to provide dialogue and negotiation and can convey the various levels of social differentiation through the manipulation of images, materials, and craftsmanship (Atakuman, 2015b, p. 765). Meaning is not fixed and isolated in objects; it emerges through complex entanglements and ongoing interpretation within a dynamic system of signs. Figurative representations go beyond mere depiction and instead engage in an ongoing negotiation with the symbolic order, reflecting a contextual understanding of

personhood and society (Atakuman, 2017, p. 88). The composition of materials, images, and forms in artifacts also holds significance, and what is excluded is as important as what is included. Understanding meaning requires considering the interconnections and flows between entities (Atakuman, 2015b, p. 767).

Over time, the various approaches and interpretations that have emerged in the study of prehistoric figurines have opened a vast array of questions to explore. These approaches and evaluations provide a rich framework for analyzing and interpreting Neolithic Near Eastern figurines.

## **2.2. Methodology Used in this Study**

The aim of this thesis was to explore the emergence and evolution of early Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East. To achieve this, data on 4730 anthropomorphic figurines from 87 settlements across the Near East, covering the Epipaleolithic period until around 5900 BCE, were collected from previous studies. The figurines underwent a systematic reexamination and classification based on criteria such as raw materials, contexts, thematic variations, breakage patterns, firing properties, and sexual characteristics. A significant number of figurines lacked images. In such cases, if the figurine was described in detail or represented by any example in the study, classifications were based on this information. When these features were not provided, the figurines were only included in the total count for the settlement.

Digital spreadsheet softwares facilitated the creation of a comprehensive figurine database. First, each site was recorded with coordinate information, settlement size, and the quantity of figurines associated with it to enable visualization of the data through GIS applications. Then, raw material, type, context (pit, special building, midden, etc.), period, fragmentation pattern, degree of exposure to fire, and sexual characteristics information were recorded for each of the figurines. Furthermore, information regarding anthropomorphic statues, zoomorphic figurines, burial practices, and distinctive architectural structures in each settlement was collected. Upon incorporating their images, the database became prepared for analysis. These analyzes and their results are presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

## CHAPTER 3

### EARLY ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES OF THE NEAR EAST

#### 3.1 Sites

There are 87 sites from 7 regions: Levant, Euphrates, Tigris, Zagros, Central Anatolia, Mediterranean Anatolia, and Cyprus.

##### 3.1.1 Levant

There are 42 Epipaleolithic and Neolithic sites from the Levant.

##### 3.1.1.1 'Ain Ghazal

'Ain Ghazal is a well-known Neolithic site situated in Jordan, which has been occupied for a long period and exhibits a complex symbolic system. The site has been inhabited during the Neolithic period, including the MPPNB, LPPNB, PPNC, and Yarmoukian sub-periods. 'Ain Ghazal is located in Central Jordan, between the Wadi Fakhit to the north and the Wadi Zarqa to the east. Neolithic 'Ain Ghazal is spread over an area of 12-13 ha, although some parts of the settlement are presumed to have disappeared over time (Rollefson et al., 1992). The site was discovered during the construction of a highway, and rescue excavations began in 1982 under the direction of Gary O. Rollefson (Rollefson, 1983). The archaeological investigations continued throughout the 1990s, and were carried out by a team led by Gary O. Rollefson and Zeidan A. Kafafi (Rollefson et al., 1992).

'Ain Ghazal is known for its impressive collection of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, plaster sculptures, funerary practices, and ritual structures. Approximately 160 zoomorphic and 58 anthropomorphic figurines were recovered from all occupation layers of the settlement (Rollefson, 2000; Rollefson, 2008). Most of these figurines come from the MPPNB layers, about 150 zoomorphic figurines and 40 anthropomorphic figurines have been attributed to this period. In contrast, there is a notable decline in the number of figurines in the LPPNB layers, with only two

anthropomorphic figurines recovered. The PPNC and Yarmoukian periods have slightly more figurines, with eight anthropomorphic and four zoomorphic figurines in the former and seven anthropomorphic and five zoomorphic figurines in the latter.

The figurines were mainly made of different colored and quality clays. Only five of the 44 PPN anthropomorphic figurines were made of stone. Two of these stone figurines date to PPNC, two to MPPNB, and one to LPPNB. Some MPPNB clay figurines display traces of chalk on their surfaces or are constructed using a combination of pebbles and clay. The majority of these figurines were made by joining separate clay pieces, with limbs and other protruding body parts such as breasts being designed and combined separately (McAdams, 1997). Furthermore, with the exception of one specimen, all MPPNB anthropomorphic figurines were discovered to be broken. Additionally, all MPPNB human figurines, except for one specimen, were found to be broken (Rollefson, 2000). Yarmoukian figurines, on the other hand, were painted and dried, while Pre-Pottery Neolithic figurines were fired before they could fully dry (Schmandt-Besserat, 2013).

The PPN and PN figurines were unearthed from domestic contexts, although the nature of these contexts varied between the two time periods. The locations where PPN figurines were discovered showed signs of fire use, and a significant number of these figurines were found with discarded objects. Conversely, Yarmoukian figurines were interred with household refuse, including animal bones and flint (Schmandt-Besserat, 2013, p. 132).

The settlement also contained remarkable plaster sculptures, including 32 busts and statues that were discovered in two caches (Figure 3). The sculptures were buried in pits beneath abandoned houses. The caches are dated to around  $6750 \pm 80$  B.C. (uncalibrated) and after  $6570 \pm 110$  B.C. (uncalibrated) (Grissom, 2000). The first cache included 13 full-size statues and 12 one-headed busts, while the second cache contained two full statues, three two-headed busts, and two fragmentary heads (Schmandt-Besserat, 1998). The sculptures portray women, men, and possibly children.

There are notable differences between the sculptures found in the two caches, despite their shared features such as materials and locations. Firstly, the sculptures from the

first cache usually have arms, body decorations, and genital features such as breasts and pudenda, while those from the second cache do not feature such details (Grissom, 2000). Secondly, the sculptures from the second cache are generally taller than those from the first cache, with the smallest sculpture from the second cache being 11 cm taller than the largest sculpture from the first cache (Schmandt-Besserat, 1998). Lastly, the two-headed busts appear only in the second cache, with the busts from the first cache being one-headed.



Figure 3: Plaster statues and busts from 'Ain Ghazal (Rollefson, 2008, Fig. 11)

A total of 122 burials were discovered in the PPN layers of 'Ain Ghazal, but no burials from the Yarmoukian period were found during excavation. Of these burials, 81 are from the MPPNB, 7 from the LPPNB, and 34 from the PPNC. Mortuary rituals from the MPPNB period continued during the LPPNB period, but there was a shift in the PPNC period. Notably, infants and women in the 14-15 age group, who are thought to have died during their first childbirth, were found among the MPPNB skeletons (Rollefson, 2000). Funerals of infants younger than 15 months were subjected to different treatments. The skulls of infants younger than 15 months were not removed, but those older than 15 months were removed (Rollefson, 2000). In the MPPNB period, burial rituals differed based on context. Decapitated skeletons were found

individually in the subfloor and courtyard, while skeletons with skulls were only found in the courtyard (Rollefson, 2000, p. 169). Some skull groups were modified, such as being covered in a black substance or plaster, decorated, and painted red. Burial areas for the first group, which accounts for three-quarters of the population excluding infants, were free of trash, but burials for the second group were pits dug into trash deposits (Rollefson, 2000). By the PPNC period, the tradition of skull removal had almost disappeared, the dead were buried in courtyards instead of under the floors of houses, the number of primary and secondary burials was almost equal, and there were multiple burials.

In addition to residential buildings, 'Ain Ghazal also contains structures that were likely used for ritual purposes and differ in characteristics from domestic buildings (Rollefson, 2000, p. 175). The earliest examples of these structures date to the LPPNB period and possess distinct features not found in domestic structures, such as red floor painting, hearths/altars, and unique furnishings. A special building with a 5-6 meter wide floor made of yellow clay, and containing clustered stones that formed a hearth and altar, was discovered in the PPNC layer. The building was buried after the end of its useful life (Rollefson, 2000, p. 181).

### **3.1.1.2 'Ain Mallaha**

'Ain Mallaha is a Paleolithic site located in the Upper Jordan Valley. The site emerged in an area rich in natural resources around the Sea of Galilee and Lake Hula. The site has evidence of human activity from the Middle Paleolithic period to the end of the Late Natufian, with radiocarbon dates ranging between  $14,326 \pm 266$  cal BP and  $11,895 \pm 141$  cal BP (Valla et al., 2017). The site covers an estimated area of 2,000 square meters and is believed to have been inhabited by a population of 50-100 people (Haklay & Gopher, 2015). The first excavations at 'Ain Mallaha were started in 1955 by Jean Perrot. Subsequently, the excavations resumed under the direction of Jean Perrot, Monique Lechevallier, and François R. Valla between 1972-1976 and François R. Valla and Hamoudi Khalaily between 1996-2005 (Perrot et al., 1988; Valla et al., 1999).

Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines have been discovered at the site, including a unique zoomorphic figurine from the Early Natufian period found in a

house context (Valla et al., 2017). Four anthropomorphic limestone figurines have also been unearthed, two of which depict a human face with straight and rounded lines. One of these figurines is more schematic than the other and is nearly twice the height. Another figurine is phallic in shape and is also made of limestone, while the last one is a limestone torso, with prominent shoulders but no arms or head.

Early Natufian graves were discovered beneath the floors or in the fillings of the structures, with grave goods and individuals of all ages and sexes. However, Late Natufian showed a shift in burial customs, with male graves taking predominance, no newborn burials, no grave goods, and no decorated corpses. Burials were typically in pits. In the Final Natufian period, mortuary practices reverted to those seen in the Early Natufian period, with no difference based on age and gender, graves once again placed beneath the house floors, etc. The only change was that the site was abandoned and used only as a graveyard (Valla, 1987).

#### **3.1.1.3 'Ain Sakhri**

An anthropomorphic figurine, known as the "'Ain Sakhri lovers" were discovered in the Wadi Khareitoun region of the Judean Desert in the 1930s (Neuville, 1933). The figurine, which is made of calcite cobble and dates back to the Early Natufian period, is associated with the 'Ain Sakhri Cave (Sobczak, 2015; Blythe, 2021; Frost, 2021). However, there are doubts about the connection between the figurine and the cave, as well as its dating (Boyd & Cook, 1993). According to Boyd and Cook (1993), the figurine could belong to the Natufian or PPNA periods.

The figurine portrays two people in coitus, with no genitalia depiction. The calcite cobble was expertly carved and has a phallic appearance. The surface of the figurine contains traces of ash (Boyd & Cook, 1993, as cited in Neuville, 1933). Although the material of the figurine is found in Wadi Khareitoun, its link to the 'Ain Sakhri cave remains uncertain (Boyd & Cook, 1993).

#### **3.1.1.4 Atlit Yam**

Atlit Yam is a PPNC site located south of Haifa Bay. Covering an area of 6 ha, the settlement is currently situated 8-11 meters below sea level and 200-400 meters offshore (Galili et al., 2017). In 1984, the site was discovered by maritime

archaeologist Ehud Galili, and excavations began under his direction in 1985 (Galili et al., 1993). The settlement contains five stone objects that could be regarded as figurines (Galili et al., 1993). These figurines are either phallic or highly schematic in shape, and one of them may have been used as a pendant. However, information regarding their specific context is not currently available. Human remains have been discovered in 91 locations at Atlit Yam, with 46 of these having burial features. The site exhibits both primary and secondary burial practices, and it appears that certain bones, such as the skull, have been scattered across different areas of the settlement. The graves contain individuals of various ages and sexes, with over 70% of them being shallow pits covered with clay (Galili et al., 2005). A small proportion of the graves are located within the houses, whereas the majority of them are situated around the houses. It is worth noting that approximately one quarter of the graves are not associated with any structure (Galili et al., 2005). The burials are concentrated in one area of the settlement. Approximately one-third of the graves contained grave goods, and there was no differentiation in the distribution of these goods based on age or sex (Galili et al., 2005).

### **3.1.1.5 Ba'ja**

Ba'ja is a LPPNB settlement located near Wadi Musa, Jordan. It covers an area of 1.2-1.5 ha and is estimated to have had a high population density (Gebel et al., 1997). Although preliminary works began in the early 1980s, systematic excavations were initiated in 1997 under the direction of Hans Georg K. Gebel and Hans-Dieter Bienert (Gebel et al., 1997). The research was carried out in three phases, which aimed to comprehend the environmental reconstruction and settlement patterns in the first phase, the "Mega site phenomenon" in the second phase, and a deeper understanding of the early Neolithic social life in the third phase (Gebel et al., 2017). Excavations were continued in the following years by Hans Georg K. Gebel, Bo Dahl Hermansen, Christoph Purschwitz, and Marion Benz (Gebel et al., 2019; Benz et al., 2019; Benz et al., 2020).

Two soft limestone figurines resembling phalluses were found at Ba'ja (Bienert & Gebel, 1998). The size of the objects is quite small, between 20-30 mm. Information on the context of the figurines is not available.



Numerous graves, including those with grave goods, ornaments, and various colored pigments, have been unearthed in the settlement. The dead were interred in pits that were excavated into the floors of the houses (Gebel et al., 2017). The burials include individuals of different ages and sexes. However, some sub-adult burials and one young adult burial, which are notable for their grave goods and decorations, are particularly noteworthy (Benz et al., 2019; Benz et al., 2020). There are quite unique anthropomorphic pendants made of mother-of-pearl from burials (Figure 4). The burials at the site include both individual and collective burials.

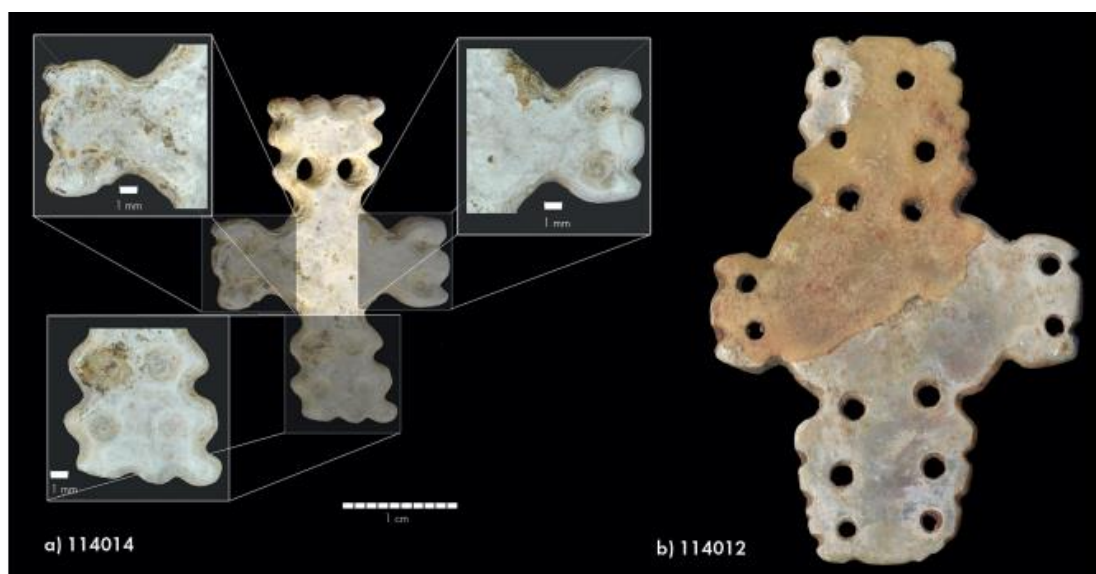


Figure 4: Mother-of-pearl pendants from burials at Ba'ja (Benz et al., 2020, Fig.5).

### 3.1.1.6 Basta

Basta is another LPPNB settlement located near Wadi Musa and in close proximity to Ba'ja. The site's excavation started with soundings in 1984, followed by full-scale excavations in 1986, under the joint direction of Mujahed Muheisen and Hans J. Nissen (Gebel et al., 1988).

Nine anthropomorphic figurines and various zoomorphic figurines were discovered at Basta (Nissen et al., 1987; Nissen et al., 1991; Hermansen, 1997; Gebel & Hermansen, 1999; Rollefson, 2008). Among the zoomorphic figurines, there is a bucranium

pendant, a possible bear depiction, and a representation of a gazelle. All of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines, except for the bucranium pendant, were made of stone. The bucranium pendant, however, is made of baked clay. The anthropomorphic figurines consisted of one greenstone, one exotic stone, and seven limestone figurines. The greenstone figurine, shaped like a human head, was found in a destroyed floor of the central house of the PPNB occupation (Hermansen, 1997). Along with another broken object resembling a human head, it was discovered. Another figurine made of exotic stone also portrays a human face. The most common depictions in the anthropomorphic figurines are human faces and phalluses. Some figurines featured only a face or phallus depiction, while one figurine had a phallus with a face on it. This particular figurine was discovered at the bottom of a stone robbing pit along with three other zoomorphic figurines. It was also interpreted as the head of a ram (Muheisen, 1995; Hermansen, 1997). Additionally, a fragment of a stone mask was discovered at Basta (Nissen et al., 1987).

Burials have been found both inside and outside of the rooms. The majority of graves were discovered in unoccupied and/or ruined buildings located in Area A (Nissen et al., 1987). The burials reveal evidence of both primary and secondary burial practices. Most of the skeletons were found without skulls, and there were instances of both individual and collective burials. Nearly half of all graves were identified as child burials (Nissen et al., 1987). Additionally, both male and female adult burials were found at the site.

### **3.1.1.7 Beidha**

Beidha is a small Neolithic settlement that is located on Wadi Siq al-Ghurab, near Ba'ja and Basta. The site has been inhabited during the Natufian, PPNB, and Nabataean periods, and it covers an area of approximately 1-2 hectares (Byrd, 2005). The settlement was discovered by Diana Kirkbride in 1956 and excavations were started in 1958 (Kirkbride, 1960). The final excavation was conducted in 1983 after excavations were carried out between 1958 and 1967, and Brian Byrd joined the project in 1983 (Byrd, 2005).

Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines have been unearthed at the Neolithic layers of the site. The zoomorphic figurines, which include a possible female goat and

a ram's head, are made of baked clay and came from the debris of the same building (Kirkbride, 1967). At Beidha, only one anthropomorphic figurine has been found. This female figurine was also made of baked clay. The figurine was discovered in the sanctuary area (Davidson, 2006).

In Beidha, as well as in Basta, the dead were interred in unoccupied or ruined buildings. These structures differ from other buildings in terms of their construction technique and the artifacts found inside. According to Kirkbride (1968a), all of these structures form a "sanctuary area." There is a change in burial customs between the early and late phases of the settlement, with secondary burial practices becoming more common in the late stage. Adult skeletons were typically decapitated, although the mandible was often left next to the skeleton (Kirkbride, 1968b). Infants and children under the age of 12 were buried with their skeletons intact.

### **3.1.1.8 Beisamoun**

Beisamoun is a Neolithic settlement situated to the west of Hula Valley. The site was inhabited during the MPPNB, LPPNB, PPNC, and Early Pottery Neolithic periods, and it is estimated that the settlement extended up to 15-20 hectares in size (Bocquentin et al., 2011). The excavation of the site was conducted in the 1970s by Amnon Assaf, Jean Perrot, and Monique Lechevallier (Lechevallier & Perrot, 1973; Lechevallier & Arensburg, 1978). Due to road construction in a part of the settlement, excavation was initiated in the 2000s, at first by Fanny Bocquentin and Hamoudi Khalaily, later Danny Rosenberg (Bocquentin et al., 2007; Rosenberg et al., 2006).

There is only one PPNC object found in Beisamoun that can be classified as a figurine (Bocquentin et al., 2014). This object, made from a calcite pebble, is a highly abstract anthropomorphic figurine that may have been used as a "net sinker" for fishing purposes (Bocquentin et al., 2014, p. 67).

Despite the relative scarcity of figurines, the funerary customs of Beisamoun are noteworthy. The settlement yielded two plastered skulls and the first known instances of cremation in the Near East (Bocquentin et al., 2020). Almost half of the 33 skeletons from the LPPNB and PPNC layers belonged to infants and children. Burials at the site consist of either single or double burials, with primary burials being slightly more

frequent than secondary burials. Although skull removal continued during the PPNB-PPNC transition period, the adoption of cremation marked a significant departure from earlier burial practices (Bocquentin et al., 2020, p. 4). However, non-adult individuals were always buried in primary deposits and were unaffected by these changes. The site features corpse-burning in one specimen and burning of bones in five specimens. The pyre-pit, located in an area of abandoned buildings, was used for the former practice. One of the skeletons, belonging to an undetermined young adult, showed evidence of a projectile point injury incurred during life, with the fragment still embedded in the bone (Bocquentin et al., 2020, p. 7).

### **3.1.1.9 Dhra'**

Dhra' is an Early Neolithic settlement situated in Wadi Dhra, close to the Dead Sea. The site dates back to the PPNA period and covers an area of 6500 square meters (Finlayson et al., 2003). The settlement also includes layers from the Pottery Neolithic and Early Bronze Age periods. The first information about the site was reported by Thomas D. Raikes and Crystal M. Bennett in 1980, based on surveys and soundings (Bennett, 1980). Later, new excavations at the site were initiated by Ian Kuijt and Hamzeh Mahasneh in 1994 (Kuijt & Mahasneh, 1998). Bill Finlayson also joined the excavations in 2001 (Finlayson et al., 2003).

Only two figurines were found in the settlement (Kuijt & Finlayson, 2001). One of which is a seated female figurine made of clay that was discovered in the extramural midden deposit. The other figurine is an anthropomorphic, phallic-shaped stone carving. At Dhra', the burials are primary burials, and no secondary burials have been found. The graves at the site were marked with shaped stones and platforms. (Makarewicz & Finlayson, 2018).

### **3.1.1.10 El-Hemmeh**

El-Hemmeh is a Late PPNA and LPPNB-PPNC settlement located in Wadi el-Hasa, Southern Jordan. The earliest remains from settlement are dated to the Late PPNA (9004 - 8871 cal. BC) (Smith et al., 2016). The site was spread over 2 hectares in the LPPNB-PPNC period (Makarewicz, 2013). Although the settlement was first discovered by G. Rollefson, P. Wilke, and L. Quitero during surveys in the area in

the late 90's, excavations were started in 2004 by Cheryl A. Makarewicz and Nathan B. Goodale (Makarewicz & Goodale, 2004; Makarewicz & Austin, 2006).

In the LPPNB layers of the settlement, an anthropomorphic figurine made of multicolored stone of unknown origin was discovered (Makarewicz et al., 2006). The figurine has an elongated head and folded arms and lacks any sexual characteristics. It was found alongside the skull of an adult male, as well as various grave goods, including bifacially thinned knives, two large bone needles, a bone spatula, a bone awl, and a large chunk of red ochre (Makarewicz & Austin, 2006, p. 21).

A large proportion of individuals in the settlement were buried in stone cists within a single, large, semi-circular building from the PPNA layers (Makarewicz & Finlayson, 2018). Secondary burial practices were not found at the site. Graves in the settlement were regularly marked with shaped stones and platforms, similar to those in Dhra' (Makarewicz & Finlayson, 2018, p. 3).

#### **3.1.1.11 El Khiam**

El Khiam is an archaeological site situated in Wadi Khareitoun that was inhabited during the Paleolithic, Mesolithic, and Early Neolithic periods. Archaeological evidence at El Khiam exhibit nearly continuous habitation since the Mesolithic and early Neolithic periods. The Khiamian period (c. 10.000–9500 BCE), which corresponds to the Late Natufian and very early PPNA in the Near Eastern Neolithic, was named after the flint arrowheads found at this settlement (Gopher, 1994, p. 6). René Neuville conducted the first excavations at the site in 1933, followed by Jean Perrot in the early 1950s and Joaquín González Echegaray in the early 1960s (Echegaray, 1963).

An object made of limestone and resembling an anthropomorphic figure was discovered in the PPNA layers of El Khiam. The interpretation of the figurine as a female figure has been put forth by Cauvin (2000), while Kuijt (2017) argued that it cannot be considered as an anthropomorphic figurine. The figurine depicts the lower body in a semi-sitting position, with a straight carved line dividing it into two halves. There are no genitalia represented, but the figurine has protruding hips, leading to its interpretation as a female figurine.

### **3.1.1.12 El-Wad**

El-Wad is an archaeological site that comprises a cave (Mugharat el-Wad or HaNahal Cave) and a terrace (El Wad Terrace), housing artifacts from the Middle Paleolithic, Natufian, and Neolithic periods. It is considered that the site was occupied continuously for a span of 3000-3500 years, predominantly during the Natufian period (Weinstein-Evron et al., 2007). PPNA and PPNB remains have also been found at the site, mixed with Natufian remains.

Archaeological research at the site dates back to the late 1920s, when Charles Lambert directed the first excavations. Subsequently, Dorothy A. E. Garrod carried on with the excavations for six years until 1933 (Garrod, 1929). Following a prolonged hiatus, the site was revisited in 1980-1981 by F. Valla and Ofer Bar-Yosef, and later in the late 1980s, Weinstein-Evron resumed excavations (Valla et al., 1986; Weinstein-Evron, 2007).

Most of the symbolic practices observed at the settlement are associated with the Early Natufian period. The site has yielded numerous stone figurines, primarily from the Early Natufian layers of the settlement (Belfer-Cohen & Weinstein-Evron, 1993). Although the early Natufian figurines may seem like mere phallic objects at first glance, they actually represent a head and upper body, including a depiction of the human face. In contrast, the phallic object from the Late Natufian period lacks any facial representation. Additionally, a broken clay figurine from the PPNA period was also discovered at the site (Weinstein-Evron et al., 2007). The figurine portrays a seated female.

The site has yielded over 100 burials, primarily from the Early Natufian period, with representation of diverse ages and sexes. Both primary and secondary burial practices are evident, with some of the skeletons displaying cranial removal. Distinct differences in burial customs are discernible between the Early Natufian and Late Natufian periods. The former exhibits both individual and collective burials. Also, five bodies, all belonging to the Early Natufian, were adorned with bone pendants and shells (Garrod, 1936) (Figure 5). In contrast, the Late Natufian period lacks collective burials and displays unadorned burials without any ornaments (Weinstein-Evron et al., 2007).



Figure 5: An Early Natufian decorated skull from El-Wad. (Bar-Yosef, 1998, Fig. 5)

### **3.1.1.13 Es-Sifiya**

Es-Sifiya is a LPPNB settlement located in Wadi Mujib, Jordan. The settlement covers an area of 12 ha (Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999). Its discovery dates back to the early 1990s during the construction of a dam. H. Mahasneh initiated the first archaeological investigations at the site in 1994, which lasted until 1997 (Mahasneh, 2001).

A total of 317 figurines were discovered at the settlement, all coming from the same area in an open space (Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999, p. 113). In the same location, two basalt pestles and several clay lumps were also uncovered. Of the figurines, 215 were identified as zoomorphic, 79 as geometric, and 23 as anthropomorphic (Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999). Most of the figurines are broken, with only 49 complete zoomorphic ones. The majority of the animal figurines represent horned animals, and there are also possibly a bear and a bird figurine. Male representation dominates in animal figurines (Mahasneh & Gebel, 1998, p. 106). Anthropomorphic figurines are generally conical in shape and made of unbaked clay, with varying degrees of stylization. Similar to the zoomorphic ones, most anthropomorphic figurines are broken, and some have been exposed to fire. Except for one figurine, none have any primary sexual characteristics. The single exception features male genitalia.

The remains of 15 individuals were discovered in a total of 12 burials at the site (Mahasneh, 2001). All of these burials were located in living areas of two specific regions within the site, and were situated in shallow pits beneath either room or courtyard floors (Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999). The graves contained the remains of individuals from various age groups and sexes. Both primary and secondary burials were discovered, but primary burials were more prevalent. It was noted that some skeletons were buried without their skulls. Furthermore, a cache was discovered containing the skulls without mandibles of three individuals buried in a shallow pit under a room (Mahasneh, 2001). Although various grave offerings such as ornaments and seashells were discovered, no figurines were found in any of the graves (Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999, p. 112).

#### **3.1.1.14 Fazael IV**

Fazael IV is a Final Natufian site situated on the terrace at the junction of Wadi Dukana and Wadi Fazael, in the Lower Jordan Valley. Although the settlement itself covers an area of 300 square meters, the artifacts are spread across a larger area of 1000-1500 square meters (Grosman et al., 1999, p. 17). The site was first discovered during surveys carried out by Ofer Bar-Yosef in 1971 (Bar-Yosef et al., 1974). Among the items found at the site was a limestone phallic figurine (Belfer-Cohen & Goring-Morris, 2020).



### **3.1.1.15 Ghoraife**

Ghoraife is a PPNB settlement located near Lake Aateibe in Damascus. During the Neolithic period, the settlement spread over 5 hectares (Contenson, 1995). Archaeological investigations at the site began with two soundings directed by Henri de Contenson in 1974. In the same year, excavations were carried out in a small area (Contenson, 1995).

A collection of 60 figurines were discovered at the site (Contenson, 1995). Of these, 13 are zoomorphic while 14 are anthropomorphic. Except for one anthropomorphic stone figurine, all the figurines are made of baked clay. The majority of the zoomorphic figurines depict horned animals. Anthropomorphic figurines came from the MPPNB and LPPNB layers of the settlement. The figurines are distributed randomly throughout the settlement, and human figurines generally lack any sexual characteristics (Contenson, 1995, p. 322).

The burial practices at the settlement are similar to those in the region, as well as other settlements in the Damascus region, such as Aswad and Ramad (Moore, 1978, p. 202). A fully intact male skeleton covered in ochre was discovered in a pit that had been dug into the virgin soil at the settlement (Contenson, 1995, p. 361).

### **3.1.1.16 Ghwair I**

Ghwair I is a PPNB site situated between Wadi Ghwair and Wadi Faynan, covering 1.2 hectares and having 500 years of uninterrupted occupation between 8880 to 8390 B.P. (Simmons & Najjar, 2006). The initial excavations at the settlement began in 1993, led by Mohammad Najjar, and later, Alan H. Simmons also participated in the archaeological investigations (Najjar, 1993; Simmons & Najjar, 1996).

A total of eleven figurines were unearthed at Ghwair I. Among them, five figurines are anthropomorphic and six are zoomorphic. While three of the anthropomorphic figurines were made of stone, the material of the remaining two is not mentioned, but it is noted that they resemble female figurines with a broken head. There is also a phallic figurine from Ghwair I. In contrast, five of the zoomorphic figurines were made of clay, while the material of one figurine remains unspecified (Simmons & Najjar, 2006).

The site has yielded approximately ten burials, with the majority consisting of skeletal fragments. The dead were typically buried inside the houses, with both individual and multiple burials present. The burial practices at the site included both primary and secondary methods, with individuals of various ages and sexes buried. One notable discovery was a female skull containing a projectile point embedded in her jaw, found in a room with numerous niches and artifacts, including figurines (Ladah, 2003). Additionally, an infant burial in a pit within a building was notable for the discovery of a mother of pearl pendant or earring near the infant's skull. Objects believed to be grave offerings, such as a Bos skull, goat or sheep skulls, and blades, were also found on the plaster on the grave (Simmons & Najjar, 2006; Simmons, 2007). Additionally, abandoned buildings contain "building gifts" as well as burial customs, indicating that the practice was not limited to just burials inside buildings (Simmons & Najjar, 2006, p. 79). The settlement also features a communal open space structure that resembles a "theater" (Simmons, 2007).

### **3.1.1.17 Gilgal**

Located in the Lower Jordan Valley, between Wadi al-Baqar and Wadi Salibiya, Gilgal is a complex of sites that comprises four settlements - Gilgal I-IV. The site has been dated to Late Natufian (Gilgal II) and PPNA (Gilgal I, III, IV) periods (Noy, 1980). It was first discovered in 1973 by Tamar Noy and excavations began in 1974 (Noy, 1989). K. Kozłowski, Ofer Bar-Yosef, Mordechai E. Kislev, and Anat Hartmann conducted subsequent studies of the site (Bar-Yosef et al., 2010).

The settlement yielded many anthropomorphic figurines, but only a few zoomorphic ones (Noy et al., 1980; Hershman & Belfer-Cohen, 2010). The figurines are made of limestone or clay. Although symbolic activity is mostly concentrated in Gilgal I, symbolic items have also been found in Gilgal II and Gilgal III. The majority of figurines were discovered inside the houses. Burnt House 11 at Gilgal I proved to be a particularly rich source of anthropomorphic figurines (Hershman & Belfer-Cohen, 2010). In addition to the anthropomorphic figurines, several other objects such as a bird figurine, an engraved plaque, a stone bowl, a small mortar, flint and bone tools were also found in this building. Additionally, the discovery of a 36 cm dark hard limestone statue in Gilgal II was noteworthy. It is estimated that the statue was

originally from Gilgal I or III and was brought to Gilgal II during the PPNA period (Hershman & Belfer-Cohen, 2010, p. 199).

During the excavation of the settlement, three burials were discovered, consisting of two children and one adult. While the skeletons of the children were found intact, the adult burial was missing the skull. Fragments of stone bowls were recovered from all three graves (Bar-Yosef et al., 2010).

### **3.1.1.18 Hatoula**

Hatoula is a Late Natufian and PPNA site situated to the west of the Judean hills. The cultural remains of the settlement cover an area of 3000 square meters. Archaeological investigations on the site commenced in 1980 by Monique Lechevallier and Avraham Ronen and continued until 1988 (Lechevallier et al., 1989). During the excavations, only a phallic object was discovered at the settlement, which could be interpreted as a figurine. The figurine was found in the PPNA layers and is made of limestone. Nine burials were found from all occupation layers of the settlement. All of the burials were individual, and there were no collective burials. No connection was found between the burials and the buildings. The skulls of two skeletons are missing (Watkins, 1995, p. 149).

### **3.1.1.19 Hayonim Cave**

Hayonim Cave is a Paleolithic site situated in the Western Galilee region. The cave was initially used in the Middle Paleolithic, Upper Paleolithic and Natufian period. Excavations at the site were carried out between 1965 and 1979 by Ofer Bar-Yosef, Baruch Arensburg, and Eitan Tchernov (Bar-Yosef & Tchernov, 1966; Stiner, 2005).

At the site, three stone figurines have been discovered, with two of them being highly abstract and believed to function as pendants (Belfer-Cohen, 1991). The majority of pendants were discovered in the living and working areas, and were found to be broken, while the ones from the graves were complete (Belfer-Cohen, 1991). The other figurine made of stone could be interpreted as a representation of a headless female.

A total of 55 burials were discovered from 17 graves at the site (Grosman & Belfer-Cohen, 2022). Of these, 42 percent were identified as male, 13 percent as female, 29

percent as child, and 16 percent could not be determined through skeletal analysis (Grosman & Belfer-Cohen, 2022). Only one of the Early Neolithic burials was a single burial, while the others were multiple burials. The site demonstrates both primary and secondary burial practices, with mixed burials (both primary and secondary in a multiple burial); however, secondary burials predominate (Belfer-Cohen, 1988; Grosman & Belfer-Cohen, 2022). The graves also contain personal ornaments and grave goods, including bone pendants, beads, and ground stones, particularly in the Early Natufian burials. A single young female burial contained most of the pendants (Belfer-Cohen, 1991). According to Grosman and Belfer-Cohen (2022), the mortuary practices of the site reflect general Natufian trends, with extended burials being present only in the Early Natufian period and skull removal appearing only in the Late Natufian period.

#### **3.1.1.20 Jebel Saaide II**

Jebel Saaide II is an open-air Natufian site situated in the western margin of the Beqa'a Valley, covering an area of 2500 square meters (Akkermans & Schwartz, 2003). The site was excavated in 1969 by Bruce Schroeder (Schroeder, 1991). Five highly schematic stone objects that could be interpreted as figurines were found at the site (Schroeder, 1991). Of these objects, two are shaped like shaft straighteners, while the other three are in the form of incised pebbles. One of the shaft straighteners was found on the surface, and the other was discovered near a burial. All three incised pebbles were found broken (Schroeder, 1991).

#### **3.1.1.21 Jeftelik**

Jeftelik is an archaeological site located in the Homs Gap region of Syria that was occupied during several different periods, including the Early Natufian, Bronze Age, late Roman or Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. During the Natufian period, the site covered about 1 ha (Rodríguez et al., 2013). Jeftelik was discovered during archaeological surveys between 2004 and 2007, and excavations began in 2008 but was interrupted by the Syrian Civil War in 2011 (Gutiérrez et al., 2018). A single schematic human figurine made of basalt was discovered at the site. The figurine, which is approximately 6 cm tall, was found on the surface (Rodríguez et al., 2010). It depicts the entire body in a highly schematic form.

### **3.1.1.22 Jericho**

Jericho is a significant ancient settlement situated to the west of the Jordan River. The settlement has Natufian, PPNA, PPNB, Pottery Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age layers. There is a hiatus between PPNA and PPNB settlements. The PPNA settlement is estimated to cover 2.5 hectares (Kuijt, 2014). The first excavations on the site were conducted in 1873 by Charles Warren, and later in 1905, Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger carried out excavations for two years (Sellin & Watzinger, 1913). New excavations were undertaken by John Garstang between 1930 and 1936, followed by Kathleen M. Kenyon in the 1950s (Garstang, 1930; Kenyon, 1954). After a long break, Lorenzo Nigro carried out new excavations in 1997 (Nigro, 2020).

Approximately twenty anthropomorphic and six zoomorphic figurines and figurine fragments were discovered in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic layers of the site (Holland, 1982). The zoomorphic figurines were found in the PPNB layers and depict quadrupeds. Of the human figurines, three were dated to PPNA and the rest to PPNB. The majority of the figurines were made of clay, with some made of limestone, bone, and shell.

Ten plastered skulls were discovered at the settlement, which are dated back to the Middle PPNB (Fletcher et al., 2008). The tops of most of the skulls are exposed and mandibles are absent. Shells are used to represent the eyes. Each plastered skull presents a unique facial depiction (Kenyon, 1954). Around 30 burials were also found in a flexed position under the floor where the plastered skulls were discovered. Most skeletons do not have skulls, while mandibles were displaced. The plastered skulls are believed to belong to the individuals buried under the floor (Kenyon, 1954).

### **3.1.1.23 Kebara Cave**

Kebara Cave is a Paleolithic site located to the south of Wadi el-Mughara. The cave was inhabited during the Middle Paleolithic, Upper Paleolithic, and Epipaleolithic periods. The term "Kebaran culture" in the Near Eastern Epipalaeolithic refers to the culture found in Kebara Cave. The first archaeological investigations were carried out by Moshe Stekelis, with a sounding made in 1927; however, the systematic excavations began in 1930 under the direction of Dorothy Garrod. Excavations were

resumed between 1951 and 1965 by Moshe Stekelis. In 1982, Ofer Bar-Yosef and Eitan Tchernov began new excavations that continued for nine seasons (Bar-Yosef et al., 1992). Four bone objects that date back to the early Natufian period are interpreted as figurines (Rollefson, 2008). Two of these objects are roughly 20-30 cm long and are shaped like wands, while the other two are smaller at around 7 and 11 cm in size. All of the objects appear to feature a combination of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic imagery. A total of 17 burials were discovered from the Natufian layers of Kebara Cave. Of these burials, 11 were of children aged 0-12, while the remaining were of male adults (Bocquentin & Bar-Yosef, 2004). All of the burials were primary and individual in nature. It is worth noting that one of the skeletons showed signs of physical conflict (Bocquentin & Bar-Yosef, 2004).

#### **3.1.1.24 Kfar HaHoresh**

Kfar HaHoresh is a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) site situated in the Nazareth Hills of Lower Galilee. The settlement is estimated to cover an area of approximately 1-1.5 acres (0.4-0.6 hectares) (Goring-Morris, 2005; Garfinkel, 2006). Excavations at the site were started in the early 1990s under the direction of Nigel Goring-Morris (Goring-Morris, 1991; Goring-Morris et al., 1992). In contrast to many other PPNB sites, only a single figurine was discovered at Kfar HaHoresh. This figurine, which is phallic in shape, was made of chalk and retrieved from a burial context (Goring-Morris et al., 2006; Goring-Morris, 2005). Mortuary practices at Kfar HaHoresh display a remarkable diversity. There are both primary and secondary burials, as well as single and multiple burials, located in both indoor and outdoor areas. Some burial areas feature steles and large stones, while plastered skulls have also been uncovered (Figure 6). Grave goods were placed in some of the burials, such as projectile points, axes, burins, or borers, with no discernable pattern according to age (Goring-Morris, 2005). In addition, a mixed burial of human and fox bones was discovered at the site, arranged as an animal representation (Goring-Morris, 2005; Reshef et al., 2019). Bones from over 60 individuals were unearthed at the site, with the vast majority being male, and among them, young men were most prevalent. Goring-Morris (2005) suggests that there may be three distinct grave clusters in the central funerary area, which features special structures with plastered floors and platforms. Additionally, there appears to be a cult area and a possible feast area within the settlement.



Figure 6: A plastered skull from Kfar HaHoresh (Hershkovitz et al., 1995, Fig. 2).

### 3.1.1.25 Kharaysin

Kharaysin, situated in the Zarqa River Valley, is a large Neolithic settlement that was inhabited during the Late PPNA and PPNB periods. The settlement, which spans 25 hectares, was discovered during the Jerash Region Survey in 1984 but wasn't excavated until 2014 when Juan José Ibáñez and Juan Muñiz began the excavation (Ibáñez et al., 2015).

A total of 59 anthropomorphic figurines, consisting of 57 flint and 2 clay ones, have been discovered and documented at Kharaysin (Ibanez et al., 2020). These figurines are all dated to the MPPNB period and are considered to be unique as they have not been found in any other Neolithic settlement in the Near East. Although they resemble tools, further analyses, such as morphological, spatial, technological, and use-wear analyses, have shown that they are indeed figurines. The majority of the flint figurines (52 out of 57) were found in region A of the settlement, with four found in region B

and one in region C (Ibanez et al., 2020). Region A, where most of the figurines were found, also contains ten MPPNB burials and abandoned buildings. Therefore, it is believed that the figurines may have been associated with burial practices (Ibanez et al., 2020). The flint used to make the figurines is very similar to the Huweijir-type flint, which is known to be the main flint source at the Middle and Late PPNB 'Ain Ghazal (Ibanez et al., 2020, as cited by Rollefson et al. 2007). Additionally, the flint figurines found in Kharaysin share morphological similarities with contemporary sculptures from the first cache in 'Ain Ghazal' (Ibanez et al., 2020). Besides the flint figurines, clay figurines were also discovered in area A, in a 1.6 meter deep pit where some flint figurines were also found. However, no human remains were found in the area where the clay figurines were discovered.

In Area A of Kharaysin, a total of 10 burials were discovered in the funerary section, including 7 primary and one secondary burial. With the exception of one burial, all of them are single burials and some of them have skull and mandible extractions. Both males and females are represented in the burials. The burial area also yielded a stone bowl and a cache of flint tools known as "Nahal Hemar knives," which are not found in any other part of the site (Ibanez et al., 2020).

### **3.1.1.26 Motza**

Motza is a Neolithic settlement situated in the Judean, 600 meters above sea level. The site was inhabited from the EPPNB to the Pottery Neolithic period. The settlement also features layers from the Chalcolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. It is estimated that the settlement's size was around 30 hectares during the Final Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (FPPNB or PPNC) period (Khalaily & Vardi, 2020). Test excavations began in 2002 as a result of road construction, with further excavations conducted in the 2010s and 2020s (Khalaily, 2007; Khalaily & Vardi, 2020).

Both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines have been discovered at the site. Five published figurines can be interpreted as anthropomorphic, with two of them dating back to EPPNB and the remaining three to FPPNB (PPNC). One figurine depicts a human head, while the others are either quite schematic or have multiple characters. A human body figurine with a broken head has a protrusion that could be interpreted as a phallus. According to Khalaily et al. (2007), the figurine is almost two-dimensional



and flat on the back, similar to the statues in 'Ain Ghazal'. However, the figurine dates back to an earlier period, EPPNB. Another EPPNB figurine was converted into a pendant after breaking, and it depicts a hybridization of human and bird anatomical features. Both EPPNB figurines belong to the phase with the most burials and were discovered in an area linked to burials (Khalaily et al., 2007).

Thirteen EPPNB burials were discovered in the settlement, consisting of six adults, six children, and one adolescent (Khalaily et al., 2007). Both sexes are represented in the graves. Eight out of the nine burials date back to the middle phase of the EPPNB. The mortuary practices at the site include primary and secondary burials, with single, double, and multiple burials. The skeletons were discovered in a flexed position, with rituals for skull and mandible removal being practiced. Plaster residues were also discovered in the graves, which were located under plastered floors or in the courtyards.

Burials dating back to the PPNC period have been discovered at the site as well. Almost 200 primary burials have been uncovered in the PPNC layers. There is no variation in burial customs based on age or sex. The burials are connected to the structures and are distributed across all areas of the site. One of the burials is of particular interest, as it contained the skeletons of a child, an adolescent, and an elderly adult along with two foxes' bones (Reshef et al., 2019).

The settlement at Motza contains several notable structures dating back to different periods. For instance, a plastered building containing a bull skull and an ox tomb have been found and dated to EPPNB (Vardi et al., 2022). In addition, there is a unique building complex dating back to the PPNC period, which includes a figurine in the form of a schematic human head. Also, red plaster and stone slab installations found at the site, which are also dated to the PPNC, are associated with cultic activity and are similar to those found in 'Ain Ghazal (Vardi et al., 2022).

### **3.1.1.27 Munhata**

Munhata is a Neolithic settlement situated to the south of Lake Tiberias. It was occupied during the PPNB, Yarmukian, and Wadi Rabah periods. The site was excavated by Jean Perrot between 1962 and 1967 (Perrot, 1963, 1965, 1966).

The settlement yielded a multitude of animal and human figurines from various periods, including the PPNB, Yarmukian and Wadi Rabah. 60 figurines from the PPNB period have been published, consisting of 24 anthropomorphic and 36 zoomorphic figurines (Garfinkel, 1995; Orrelle, 2014). Horned animals dominate the zoomorphic figurines while the anthropomorphic figurines have a distinct style. Many of them depict sexual characteristics. Those with facial features emphasize the nose and eyes while the mouth is absent. The figurines are mainly made from different colored clays, but some are made of limestone and greenstone. Most of the figurines were found in areas associated with the buildings.

### **3.1.1.28 Nahal ein Gev II**

Nahal Ein Gev II is a very end Late Epipaleolithic site situated near the Sea of Galilee, dating back to 12,550 - 12,000 cal BP (Grosman et al., 2017). The site covers an area of 1700 square meters (Bar-Yosef & Belfer-Cohen, 2000). The site was first tested in 1973 and further excavations were started by Leore Grosman in 2010 (Bar-Yosef & Belfer Cohen, 2000; Grosman et al., 2016). The site yielded three objects that could be interpreted as anthropomorphic figurines, all made of limestone (Bar-Yosef & Belfer-Cohen, 2000; Grosman et al., 2017). Two of the figurines are relatively schematic in design, while the other takes the form of a human face. The face is depicted with eyes and nose, but no mouth. The site also contains several burials, which include both single and collective burials representing both sexes. Plaster remains have been discovered within the graves. The burials are found in the flexed position and there are no grave goods present (Grosman et al., 2016).

### **3.1.1.29 Nahal Hemar Cave**

Nahal Hemar Cave is a small site situated in the southern part of the Judean Desert. The site dates back to the Middle and Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period (7900 - 7100 cal. BC) and comprises a chamber measuring 32 square meters (Borrell et al., 2020). Ofer Bar-Yosef and David Alon conducted the first excavation of Nahal Hemar Cave in 1983 (Bar-Yosef & Alon, 1988). The cave yielded figurines, burials, and various cult objects. Among the discoveries were four bone figurines in the shape of human heads, as reported by Borrell et al. (2020). The facial representations featured eyes and a nose, but no mouth. In addition to the figurines, a stone mask was also unearthed,

featuring indications for eyes, nose, mouth, and teeth. The site has also yielded several burials, with the majority of the skeletons belonging to adult males. According to Arensburg and Hershkovitz (1988), the mandibles and teeth are typically absent. In addition, the site also features skulls coated in asphalt (Arensburg & Hershkovitz, 1989).

### **3.1.1.30 Nahal Oren**

Nahal Oren is a Paleolithic and Neolithic site located in the Wadi Fellah, comprising both a cave and a terrace. The terrace spans an area of approximately 380 square meters (Ashkenazy et al., 2011). The site includes artifacts and materials dating back to various eras, such as the Atlitian, Kebaran, Natufian, Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA), and Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB). The initial excavation at the site was conducted by Moshe Stekelis in 1941, with later involvement from E. Yeivin and Tamar Noy (Noy et al., 1973).

Nahal Oren has yielded both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. Among the finds, eight objects can be classified as anthropomorphic figurines. Five of them are made of limestone, two are made of basalt, and one is made of bone. Six of the figurines date back to the Natufian period, while the other two belong to the PPNA. The Natufian figurines are highly schematic and some depict human-animal hybridization. Meanwhile, the PPNA figurines resemble their contemporaries from Gilgal II and Salibiya IX, featuring a similar emphasis on the lower body and a highly schematic style.

Nahal Oren has yielded a significant number of burials, including 45 skeletons from the Late Natufian period and five from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic era (Nadel & Rosenberg, 2011; Noy et al., 1973). The Late Natufian period saw the establishment of a cemetery in the area, featuring stone installations and hearths. Of the skeletons, 31 belonged to adults, five to children and adolescents, and eight to infants and young children (Nadel & Rosenberg, 2011, as cited by Bocquentin, 2003). Single burials are predominant, with only two double burials having been discovered. The skeletons were interred with grave goods. During the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period, burials were typically single, although multiple individuals were found buried under the floor of a house (Noy et al., 1973). Several of the skeletons are missing their skulls.

### **3.1.1.31 Netiv Hagdud**

Netiv Hagdud is a PPNA site located in Wadi Baker. The site is 1.5 ha in size (Gopher, 1985, p. 71). The first excavation on the site was started by Ofer Bar-Yosef in 1977, later Avi Gopher was also involved in the excavations (Bar-Yosef et al., 1980, 1991).

At the site, three highly schematic anthropomorphic figurines made of clay have been found. One of the figurines emphasizes the lower body, while the other is a fragment in the form of an angular head with eyes and eyebrows. The last figurine is a complete one with eyes and eyebrows. The first two figurines do not originate from any primary context; they appear to have been discarded (Bar-Yosef & Gopher, 1997).

A total of 28 individuals were found in the graves, consisting of eleven adult, seven young adult, and nine child skeletons. One of the skeletons is classified as "unidentified" (Belfer-Cohen et al., 1990). Eight of the adult skeletons are male, while three are female. Belfer-Cohen et al. (1990) suggests that some of the unidentified young adults may be female. The burials include both single and multiple interments, with the skeletons being buried in a flexed or semi-flexed position. The burials are typically found in open spaces, yards, or abandoned buildings, with some found beneath building floors (Bar-Yosef et al., 1991). There are no grave goods present, and while skull and mandible removal are observed, no other special operations are apparent. The skeletons of children under the age of 10 are complete (Bar-Yosef et al., 1991).

### **3.1.1.32 Ras Shamra**

Ras Shamra is an ancient settlement situated near Latakia that has layers from the PPNB, Pottery Neolithic, and Bronze Age periods. The excavations at the site began in 1929 under the supervision of Claude Frédéric-Armand Schaeffer. From 1972 to 1976, Henri de Contenson conducted archaeological studies on the Neolithic layers of the site (Contenson, 1982). The site has yielded both animal and human figurines. Among the zoomorphic figures, there are representations of bovines. Additionally, six anthropomorphic objects that could be interpreted as figurines were discovered, all of which are highly stylized. While one of the figurines is made of limestone, the rest are made of baked clay. Notably, the breasts of one of the clay figurines are indicated as

two holes. Two of the figurines are broken, while the complete ones represent a whole human body (Contenson, 1977).

### **3.1.1.33 Salibiya IX**

Salibiya IX is a Khiamian site located in the Lower Jordan Valley. A test excavation was carried out on the site (Bar-Yosef, 1980). A single anthropomorphic figurine was discovered at the site, which is crafted from soft calcareous rock. The figurine is stylized in design, with a focus on the lower body. The face of the figurine has only the eyes incised on it. The figurine shares similarities with those found at Gilgal II and Nahal Oren from the same time period.

### **3.1.1.34 Site 109**

Site 109 is an EPPNB site situated between Nahal Lavan and Nahal Ruth. It was discovered during a survey led by E. Friedman and F. Burian in 1973 (Burian et al., 1976). At the site, three objects that can be interpreted as figurines were found, all made of stone and highly schematic (Burian et al., 1976). Two of the figurines are in phallic form, and one of them appears to depict the lower body. The last figurine can be interpreted as a grooved object.

### **3.1.1.35 Tell Aswad**

Tell Aswad is a Neolithic settlement located near the Barada River, covering an area of five hectares (Contenson, 1995). The initial excavations at the site were carried out in 1971-1972 by Henri de Contenson (Contenson, 1973). Later, in 2001, a team of French and Syrian archaeologists resumed excavations at the site (Stordeur et al., 2010). These new excavations revealed that Tell Aswad was not dated to the PPNA but rather to the PPNB, with its origins tracing back to the Early PPNB period (Stordeur et al., 2010).

Numerous human and animal figurines have been discovered at Tell Aswad. In total, 25 zoomorphic and 59 anthropomorphic figurines have been published (Contenson, 1995). The zoomorphic figurines are dominated by bovines, and some of them are without heads. The anthropomorphic figurines are mainly in a conical or sitting style, with some featuring prominent breasts and hips. Several figurines are without heads,

but some have different hair styles, as indicated by their clay textures (Contenson, 1995). All of the figurines are made of baked clay.

During the EPPNB and MPPNB periods, the deceased were buried under the houses, but in the later stages, they were interred in burial grounds (Stordeur et al., 2010). Infant and child skeletons are the most common, with both primary and secondary burial practices. In the MPPNB, there was a significant shift in funerary practices. People began to be buried in funerary areas outside of the houses instead of underneath them. The skulls of individuals in a grave found in the area are overmodeled, and 22 burials found in the vicinity are clustered around this grave (Stordeur et al., 2010). The funerary area also features hearths with animal bones.

### **3.1.1.36 Tell Qarassa North**

Located in southern Syria, Tell Qarassa is a Neolithic settlement situated around the Qarassa paleolake. The site was inhabited during the Early PPNB period up until the Early-Middle PPNB transition period. Pottery Neolithic and Chalcolithic layers are also present. It was discovered in 2007, and excavations were initiated in 2009 under the direction of Juan José Ibáñez (Ibáñez et al., 2010).

At the site, a total of twenty clay anthropomorphic figurines were discovered, sixteen of which were located in funerary areas (Santana et al., 2015). Additionally, a bone figurine was also found within one of the funerary areas (Ibanez et al., 2014). These figurines are characterized by their high level of abstraction and, with most having a tubular shape that can be interpreted as phallic objects. Different parts of the body are depicted on the figurines, including eyes, phallus, and pudenda. Of particular note is the bone figurine, which displays two faces in its distinctively depicted mouth.

Funerary areas dating to the EPPNB-MPPNB transition period were discovered at the site. Abandoned structures were utilized as cemetery areas, where a multitude of skeletons were discovered. A total of 24 individuals from 18 graves were excavated, with individuals of various ages and sexes being represented (Santana et al., 2012). Both primary and secondary burials were found, with some burials being single and others being multiple. In some cases, the skulls and mandibles of the skeletons had been removed. Most of the deceased were placed in a specific orientation and position

in the graves, with foetal lateral position, and oriented along an east-west axis (Ibanez et al., 2010).

### **3.1.1.37 Tell Ramad**

Tell Ramad is a LPPNB site situated at the foot of Mount Hermon, spanning over 2 hectares. The site was first inhabited towards the end of the 8th millennium BC. Excavations were carried out at the site by Henri de Contenson between 1963 and 1973 (Contenson, 1966; 2000).

The site yielded hundreds of figurines and clay objects, which vary in their degree of abstraction. Contenson (2000) reported that there are a total of 215 animal and 292 human figurines from all levels of the site. Of the zoomorphic figurines, 8 were discovered at Level I (second half of 8th millennium, LPPNB), 204 at Level II (first half of the 7th millennium, PPNC), and 3 at Level III (second half of the 7th or the first half of the 6th millennium, PN). Quadruped animals are commonly depicted in the zoomorphic figurines, and there are also zoomorphic bone pendants in addition to the animal figurines.

Out of the 292 anthropomorphic figurines found at Tell Ramad, 12 were discovered in Level I, 270 in Level II, and 10 in Level III. A significant portion of the anthropomorphic figurines are fragments. The dominant styles among the anthropomorphic figurines are conical, cylindrical, and bobbin styles. Although most of the figurines are made of clay, there are also stone figurines. The Tell Ramad figurines have an average height of approximately 2-3 cm. In addition, there are anthropomorphic clay statues that can reach up to 25 cm in height, and they are dated to Level II. One of these statues depicts a woman in a seated position. These relatively large statues were found in contexts directly related to graves. Also, most of the figurines were found in square M4, where numerous skeletons and plastered skulls were discovered. (Contenson, 2000; Contenson, 2010). Figurines from Level III display a Yarmukian and Hassuna style, with coffee bean-shaped eyes and elongated heads. Contenson (2000) notes that Level III figurines have the particularity of no longer being made of baked modeled clay, but of real ceramic, that is to say clay paste mixed with a mineral degreaser, strongly baked and with a glossy surface.

Human burials discovered at Tell Ramad date back to the LPPNB and PPNC periods (Contenson, 2000). The graves contain individuals of different ages and sexes, and some have grave goods. Both primary and secondary burials have been found. However, no primary burials of men were discovered. Several skeletons had their skulls removed and modeled. In one pit, a group of plastered and red-painted skulls belonging to 8 individuals were found along with a figurine fragment. Among the skulls, five belong to adult females, two to adult males, and one to a 13-14 year old male adolescent (Contenson, 2000). The figurine, which depicts the lower part of the human body and measures 13 cm, was interpreted as a statue by Contenson (2010).

### **3.1.1.38 Upper Besor 6**

Upper Besor 6 is a Late Epipaleolithic site situated at the edge of the central Negev highlands, covering an estimated area of 1000 square meters (Horwitz & Goring-Morris, 2001). It was first founded ca. 12.500 BP (uncalibrated) and continued to be used during the Late Natufian and was also sporadically visited during the Harifian. Nigel Goring-Morris conducted archaeological excavations at the site (Goring-Morris, 1998; Horwitz & Goring-Morris, 2001). A limestone object that could be interpreted as a figurine was discovered at Upper Besor 6. The round stone has overlapping zigzag patterns carved into its surface. The figurine was found near a Late Natufian structure, just below the surface. There is no evidence of wear on the object due to use, according to Goring-Morris (1998).

### **3.1.1.39 Wadi Faynan 16**

Wadi Faynan 16 is a settlement from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period (11.84 – 10.24 ka cal BP), located in Southern Jordan (Mithen et al., 2018). The site was first excavated in 1996 under the direction of G. W. Barker (Barker et al., 1997), and further archaeological research were conducted by Steven Mithen and Bill Finlayson (Mithen et al., 2000; Finlayson et al., 2007; Mithen et al., 2019). At the site, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines have been discovered, which are made from various stones such as limestone, basalt, and sandstone. There are fourteen objects that may be interpreted as anthropomorphic figurines, with most of them being phallic-shaped pestles. Some of these figurines have color pigments either on their surface or in their context (Mithen et al., 2018). A significant portion of the figurines



was discovered alongside beads, pendants, ground stones, and chipped stone objects from the midden deposits of structures.

The site contains more than 40 burials, with various age groups and sexes represented in the graves. Most of the burials are primary burials, with the dead generally buried in a crouched or semi-crouched position and one hand placed under the head (Mithen et al., 2018). Adult graves often include grave goods such as bone, greenstone and marine shell beads, animal bones, bone objects, chipped-stone tools, and ground-stone objects. Some of the bones and skulls have deliberately applied gypsum-based white paste or black staining, possibly indicating paint (Mithen et al., 2018, p. 683). In the last stages of the settlement, some individuals were buried in a manner that cut through the walls of old structures. It is suggested that this may be an intentional act, with the knowledge of past structures still within human memory or passed down within the community (Mithen et al., 2015, p. 95). The site also contains animal bones and horns into the walls of some structures (Mithen, 2020).

#### **3.1.1.40 Wadi Hammeh 27**

Wadi Hammeh, situated in Wadi al-Hammeh, is an early Natufian site. The remaining portion of the site covers an area of 2000 square meters (Webb & Edwards, 2002). The excavations took place at the site from 1983 to 1990, led by J. Basil Hennessy, Tony McNicoll, and Phillip Edwards (McNicoll et al., 1982; McNicoll et al., 1992; Edwards, 2013).

The site yielded numerous zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines and pendants. Zoomorphic imagery encompasses a variety of animals, including birds, amphibians, and reptiles. As for anthropomorphic figurines, there are five objects characterized by a highly schematic style, primarily made of stone. Two basalt figurines exhibit a phallic shape, while the other two feature incised lines at their center. The final figurine can be described as a simplified outline of the human body. Most of the art objects were discovered within the structures, particularly concentrated in the western sections near the walls (Major, 2013). The western terminus wall of Structure 2 is adorned with three incised stone slabs featuring quadrocentric motifs, which is the primary source of over half of the art items discovered during Phase I (Edwards, 2013; Major, 2013).

The site has yielded numerous burials, comprising single burials, multiple burials, and scattered fragmentary bones (Webb & Edwards, 2013). The burials comprise both primary and secondary types. A secondary burial pit, which contained at least six individuals, was discovered within Structure 2, where the majority of the art items were also found. In addition to the pit, several burnt crania were unearthed from Structures 1 and 2 (Webb & Edwards, 2013). Some of the bones were stained with red ochre. Notably, grave goods are exceptionally rare at the site (Webb & Edwards, 2013).

#### **3.1.1.41 Yiftah'el**

Yiftahel is a PPNB settlement situated in the Lower Galilee. The site also contains layers from the Pottery Neolithic and Early Bronze Age. The site is estimated to cover an area of over 4 ha (Milevski et al., 2008). The initial excavations took place in 1983 under the direction of A. Ronen. Subsequently, M. Lamdan, M. Davies, E. Braun, Y. Garfinkel, H. Khalaily, R. Lavi, I. Milevski, and N. Getzov conducted archaeological investigations at the site until 2008 (Lamdan & Davies, 1983; Braun, 1994; Garfinkel, 1987; Khalaily et al., 2008).

The site yielded two anthropomorphic figurines from the MPPNB period (Gubenko & Ronen, 2014). One of these figurines depicts a headless female body, with drilled holes indicating the navel and nipples. It lacks both arms and legs. The other figurine, on the other hand, possesses a head and legs but is without arms. This figurine is depicted in a seated position and lacks any sexual characteristics. Both figurines are made of burnt clay. They were discovered in the same area where burials were found, alongside various stone axes and a pendant made of mother-of-pearl (Gubenko & Ronen, 2014).

A total of 32 burials have been uncovered at the site (Milevski et al., 2008). These burials encompass both primary and secondary interments. The deceased individuals were typically laid to rest in flexed positions, either within the plastered floors of houses or in pits. Most burials come from the same area. Notably, one of the graves is a triple burial, wherein an adult man, a woman, and a juvenile are found embracing one another (Milevski et al., 2008). Additionally, primigenius burials and three plastered human skulls were unearthed within Area I (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Plastered skulls from Yiftah'el. (Milevski et al., 2008, Fig. 8).

#### **3.1.1.42 Zahrat adh-Dhra'2**

Zahrat adh-Dhra'2 is a PPNA settlement dating back to 9250-8330 cal. BCE. It is situated on the Lisan Peninsula and spans over 2000 square meters in area (Edwards & House, 2007). The site was excavated starting in 1999 by Phillip Edwards, Steven Falconer, and Patricia Fall as part of the Archeology and Environment of the Dead Sea Plain Project (Edwards et al., 2002).

The site has yielded two anthropomorphic figurines, one made of stone and the other made of clay (Edwards et al., 2004; Edwards & House, 2007). These figurines exhibit a highly schematic style and come from Structure 2. The stone figurine is directly associated with a burial, while the clay figurine is linked to a hearth (Edwards et al., 2004). Interestingly, a multiple burial was uncovered at the intersection of the walls of Structure 2, where both figurines were discovered (Edwards et al., 2004). Additionally, a small stone cairn serves as a marker for one of the skulls found within the multiple burials.

#### **3.1.2 Euphrates**

There are 16 Neolithic settlements from the Euphrates region.

### 3.1.2.1 Akarçay Tepe

Akarçay Tepe is a Neolithic mound located in the Middle Euphrates region, and it has been inhabited continuously from the MPPNB to the Pottery Neolithic. The site covers an area of over 5 ha (Arimura et al., 2000). It was discovered in 1994 by G. Algaze, and subsequently, in 1998, an archaeological survey was conducted by a team from Istanbul University's Department of Prehistory. From 1999 to 2002, rescue excavations were conducted under the direction of the Şanlıurfa Museum Directorate, with supervision provided by Nur Balkan-Atlı and Mihriban Özbaşaran. Subsequently, further excavations took place between 2005 and 2007, but were temporarily interrupted before being resumed in 2015 (Özbaşaran & Molist, 2006; Altınbilek-Algül et al., 2016).

A total of 103 zoomorphic figurines, 36 anthropomorphic figurines, and figurine fragments have been discovered at the site (Bozbay, 2009; Bozbay, 2013). Clay is the primary material used for crafting all zoomorphic figurines, with only four exceptions. The zoomorphic figurines predominantly depict cattle, sheep, and goats. Most of these figurines were unearthed from layers spanning the transition period between the Pre-Pottery Neolithic and the Pottery Neolithic. The distribution of animal figurines across the Neolithic layers is as follows: PPNB: 1, MPPNB: 2, LPPNB: 21, FPPNB: 2, transition period: 70, and PN: 1. Notably, a collection of fifty figurines and figurine fragments from the transition period was recovered from a single pit (Bozbay, 2013). Only five animal figurines have been discovered within intramural areas. Furthermore, three animal figurines crafted from limestone, which can be interpreted as miniature vessels, have also been unearthed. These figurines are also dated to the transition period.

A total of 36 anthropomorphic figurines have been found on the site, with 24 of them made of limestone, 10 made of clay, and 2 made of unknown stones. Two of the figurines date back to MPPNB, nine to LPPNB, fourteen to the transition period, five to PN, and two to Chalcolithic period. Except for two of them, all anthropomorphic figurines were discovered in open areas around the building and in midden areas (Bozbay, 2009). Some of the figurines depict body parts in significant detail, while others are highly schematic. A limestone figurine shaped like a schematized human

head is similar to those found in Tell Assouad, Gürcü Tepe II, Tell Sabi Abyad I-II, and Gritille (Cauvin, 1972; Schmidt, 1998; Verhoeven, 2000; Voigt, 2000; Bozbay, 2009). Additionally, many phallic figurines have also been found.

### **3.1.2.2 Bouqras**

Bouqras is a Neolithic mound located near the Khabur River, on the right bank of the Euphrates. The site dates back to the LPPNB period and is estimated to have spread across an area of about 2.5 hectares during its later phases (Akkermans et al., 1983). The initial excavations were carried out in the 1960s by Henri de Contenson and Willem J. van Liere, and later, between 1976-1978, Peter M. M. G. Akkermans, Maurits van Loon, J. J. Roodenberg, and H. T. Waterbolk continued the excavations (Contenson & Liere, 1966; Akkermans et al., 1982).

The settlement yielded numerous anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. The majority of the figurines found at Bouqras are zoomorphic, depicting various animals such as cattle, sheep, goats, birds, turtles, gazelles, dogs, and boars (Akkermans et al., 1983). The style and material of the anthropomorphic figurines discovered at Bouqras are also quite varied. These figurines are made of different materials such as sun-dried clay, baked clay, gypsum, and bone. While five of the figurines have been classified as the "mother goddess" type (Akkermans et al., 1983), it should be noted that not all of them have prominent breasts or buttocks. Additionally, ten of the human figurines have a pillar-shaped body with an elongated head (Lohof, 1989). Among the most intriguing discoveries in the settlement are the pin-shaped bone figurines that are anthropomorphic in nature. These figurines were recovered from a burnt house (Akkermans et al., 1983).

Most of the figurines were found inside the houses in Area A. In particular, many anthropomorphic and zoomorphic objects have come from burnt houses, House 12 and House 13. According to Lohof (1989, p. 65), these burnt houses were used as dump areas by other houses, but the circumstances of the figurines indicate that they were in situ. At least seven anthropomorphic bone figurines, eleven zoomorphic figurines made of clay and bone, zoomorphic gypsum vessels in the shape of a bull, a hare and a hedgehog, and basalt handstones with zoomorphic features were found in these houses (Akkermans et al., 1983; Lohof, 1989).

Furthermore, the settlement also yielded six skeletons, which were discovered in one of the burnt buildings, House 12 (Merrett & Meiklejohn, 2007). Of the five skeletons that were examined, two were young adults, one was an adolescent, and one was a child. One of the two young adults, whose sex was determined, was female while the other was possibly female. Some of the skeletons were found to be complete, while others were only partially preserved, including cranial and vertebral remains. All six individuals' bones showed evidence of exposure to fire, presumably during a process of preparing the skeletons for secondary burial practices (Merrett & Meiklejohn, 2007, p.136).

### **3.1.2.3 Cafer Höyük**

Cafer Höyük is a settlement dating to the MPPNB period (8310 BCE - 7510 BCE) and is situated in the Upper Euphrates basin. The mound has dimensions of 150x28 meters (Cauvin et al., 1999). Excavations at the site took place from 1979 to 1986, led by Jacques Cauvin (Cauvin, 1989). The site yielded four clay figurines of humans, all discovered in the same location, under the floor of a house (Cauvin, 1989, p. 81). The figurines depict both primary and secondary sexual characteristics. One of them has been interpreted as having both a penis and breasts, while others are in a semi-sitting position and are interpreted as female figurines (Cauvin, 1989). At the site, three burials have been discovered, consisting of an adult, a child, and a fetus (Özdoğan & Başgelen, 2007; Özbek, 1991). The skulls of both the fetus and adult are absent, while the child's skull is coated with a white substance (Özbek, 1991). The burials were found in intramural areas (Özdoğan & Başgelen, 2007).

### **3.1.2.4 Dja'de el-Mughara**

Dja'de el-Mughara is a Neolithic settlement situated in the Middle Euphrates Valley, and it dates back to the end of the PPNA and the beginning of the PPNB periods, around 9310 to 8290 cal. BCE (Coqueugniot, 2016). The site has levels from the Pottery Neolithic and Early Bronze Age as well. The size of the Neolithic settlement covers an area of 1.5 ha (Christidou et al., 2009). Dja'de el-Mughara was excavated from 1991 to 2010, under the direction of Eric Coqueugniot (Coqueugniot, 1998, 2000).

Numerous figurines made from clay, bone, and stone were discovered at the settlement, with the majority being from the EPPNB layers. A noteworthy group of anthropomorphic figurines made from the phalanges of equids and displaying an abstract anthropomorphic image were found at the site (Christidou et al., 2009). These bone figurines are quite remarkable, as similar ones were discovered at Mureybet, Aşıklı Höyük, Boncuklu Höyük, and Çatalhöyük (Gourichon, 2004; Baird, 2020; Pawłowska & Baranski, 2020; Yelözer, 2022). The site yielded over 40 figurines of this type, varying in terms of modification, which were recovered from middens or fill deposits. There was no chronological or spatial distinction among the three categories of figurines, as per Christidou et al. (2009, p. 330). Furthermore, the settlement contains representations of lower and upper body parts made from different materials, microphallus-shaped figurines, and pebbles that could be interpreted as schematic figurines (Coqueugniot, 2000; Chamel & Coqueugniot, 2019).

The funerary practices observed at the site demonstrate a significant amount of diversity. A total of 116 burials were unearthed from all PPN layers of the settlement, with only five of them dating back to the end of PPNA (Chamel & Coqueugniot, 2019). Towards the later stages of the settlement, the number of burials increased, and a relationship between buildings and burials became evident. Both individual and collective burials were found in the settlement, with numerous collective burials discovered in the "House of the Dead," a small, multi-celled structure (Coqueugniot, 2000). This EPPNB building contained the remains of eighty-five individuals, mostly infants and young adults. An aurochs cranium was also found near the House of the Dead. The site contains both primary and secondary burials, and some skeletons were decapitated. Grave goods are scarce, with only a few beads and a chalk torso figurine with ochre found as funeral offerings (Coqueugniot, 2000, p. 68). Another figurine discovered in the burial area is a pregnant woman figurine, but it is uncertain whether this figurine was intentionally placed there or not (Chamel & Coqueugniot, 2019, p. 61).

The settlement also includes a unique building, known as the "House of Paintings" (Figure 8), dating back to the Final PPNA and adorned with geometric designs (Chamel & Coqueugniot, 2019, p. 58). This building is relatively large in comparison to others and contains very few burials. Due to its size and decoration, it has been

interpreted as a communal structure (Coqueugniot, 2014; Pichon, 2016). Two gypsum figurines, one of which is believed to be female and the other male, as well as a schematic chalk figurine, were discovered within this building (Chamel & Coqueugniot, 2019, p. 65).



Figure 8: “House of Paintings” from Dja’de el-Mughara (Coqueugniot, 2016, Fig. 4)

### 3.1.2.5 Gritille

Gritille is a Neolithic settlement situated in the Euphrates valley in southeastern Türkiye. The Neolithic occupation of Gritille dates back to the seventh millennium BC and potentially extends to the early part of the sixth millennium BC (Ellis & Voigt, 1982). The site also encompasses layers of Bronze Age and Byzantine-Seljuk occupations. The mound covers an area of approximately 150x100 meters (Eslick & Voigt, 2017). The discovery of the site was a result of surveys conducted during the construction of the Atatürk Dam. In 1977, archaeologists visited the site, and subsequent excavations were planned as a part of the “Lower Euphrates Salvage Project” (Özdoğan, 1977; Voigt & Ellis, 1981). Excavations at the mound were carried



out from 1981 to 1984 under the direction of Richard S. Ellis (Voigt & Ellis, 1981; Ellis & Voigt, 1982). Gritille has subsequently been flooded by the Atatürk Dam.

A total of 50 figurines and figurine fragments were discovered at the site (Voigt, 2000). These figurines exhibit anthropomorphic or zoomorphic characteristics. All but one were found in ashy deposits such as roasting pits, ash-filled pits, and layers of ash-filled trash. The zoomorphic figurines, made of clay, predominantly depict quadrupeds. In addition, seven human figurines were unearthed at the site, ranging from highly stylized to relatively realistic (Voigt, 1985; Voigt, 2000). Most of the human figurines are made of clay, while others are made of chalk or limestone. It is worth noting that many of the figurines are fragmented. Typically, the figurines depict seated individuals, although one figurine stands upright. Among the seated figurines, one takes the form of a phallus and exhibits markings on the chest and legs, suggesting that an attachment, possibly a child, had once been affixed but has since broken away (Voigt, 1985). The standing figurine was also interpreted as a "pregnant female" (Voigt, 1985). Furthermore, a figurine made of chalk or soft limestone, representing a schematized human head, bears resemblance to figurines discovered at Tell Assouad, Gürcü Tepe II, Tell Sabi Abyad I-II, and Akarçay Tepe (Cauvin, 1972; Schmidt, 1998; Verhoeven, 2000; Voigt, 2000; Bozbay, 2009). At Gritille, only two burials have been discovered. One burial belonged to an adult, whose remains are represented solely by the skull, while the other belonged to a child. They were found in pits (Voigt, 1985).

### **3.1.2.6 Göbeklitepe**

Göbeklitepe is an early Neolithic site located in Şanlıurfa, southeastern Turkey, situated on one of the highest points of the Germuş Mountains. The site was inhabited from the mid-10th millennium BCE to the late 9th millennium BCE and is characterized by an early layer (Layer III) dating to the PPNA (Dietrich et al., 2012; Clare, 2020). The later phase (Layer II) dates to early and middle PPNB and is characterized by small, rectangular buildings. The mound covers an area of about 9 ha (Dietrich et al., 2017). Göbeklitepe was initially discovered in 1963 by a survey team led by Halet Çambel and Robert J. Braidwood as part of the "Prehistoric Research in Southeastern Anatolia" project (Çambel & Braidwood, 1980). The excavation efforts at the site commenced in 1995 and persisted until 2014 under the direction of Şanlıurfa

Museum, Harald Hauptmann, and Klaus Schmidt (Schmidt, 1995; Schmidt, 1996). Currently, ongoing excavations in Göbeklitepe are under the direction of Necmi Karul.

The site is renowned for its symbolic elements, including monumental architecture featuring T-shaped stone pillars, reliefs, and sculptures (Figure 9). A total of nine circular or oval structures, commonly referred to as "temples," have been studied at the site (Clare et al., 2019). The pillars are connected by walls and stone benches, adorned with diverse animal motifs such as foxes, snakes, scorpions, boars, aurochs, gazelles, wild asses, birds, and, in some cases, stylized representations of human-like figures in the form of arms and hands (Dietrich et al., 2012). The central pillars are larger than the surrounding ones, reaching heights of up to 5.5 meters. The surrounding pillars are smaller but exhibit more intricate animal decorations (Dietrich et al., 2019). Additionally, the pillars found in Layer II are noticeably smaller than those in Layer III, with only two displaying animal representations, while one depicts human arms and hands (Peters & Schmidt, 2004).



Figure 9: The central pillar of Enclosure D shows elements of arms, hands and clothing. Its socket is decorated with a row of ducks in high relief. (Dietrich et al., 2012, Fig. 8)

No clay figurines have been found at the site. Instead, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines made of various stones such as limestone, nephrite, and flint have been discovered. In terms of size, these objects are significantly smaller compared to the sculptures. Nonetheless, Dietrich et al. (2019) have classified these objects as "sculptures" as well.

A total of 149 sculptures and figurines have been unearthed at the site, consisting of 86 zoomorphic, 38 anthropomorphic, nine human-animal composite figurines, four anthropomorphic masks, three phalli, and an additional nine that cannot be categorized (Dietrich et al., 2019). Among the 38 anthropomorphic sculptures, seventeen are life-sized heads, featuring indications of eyes and noses, but lacking depictions of mouths. Furthermore, miniature T-shaped stone pillars have been discovered at the site.

Interestingly, Göbekli Tepe appears to lack distinctly feminine motifs in both animal and human imagery, with one exception from Layer II. An image of a naked woman engraved on a stone slab placed between the so-called lions' pillars, stands as the unique depiction of a female figure (Figure 10). This engraving has been interpreted as a form of "graffiti" separate from the overall decoration (Schmidt, 2010).

The majority of the anthropomorphic sculptures are damaged, only seven of them are complete (Dietrich et al., 2018). Interestingly, the animal sculptures exhibit no signs of intentional breaking. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the in situ pieces, including both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic ones, were typically not randomly discarded. Instead, they were deliberately placed with care in the building fillings, frequently alongside pillars (Dietrich et al., 2019).

Although complete burials are absent from Göbekli Tepe, a significant number of fragmented human bones ( $n = 691$ ) have been unearthed (Gresky et al., 2017). Notably, the majority of these fragments ( $n = 408$ ) are skull fragments. Among them, 40 skull fragments exhibit cut marks that were inflicted shortly after death (Gresky et al., 2017). Additionally, seven skull fragments with distinct modifications were found at the site. These modified skulls belong to adults aged between 20 and 50 years (Gresky et al., 2017). Four different types of intentional modifications have been identified, including one drilled perforation, three instances of carvings, application of color (ochre

remnants), and smaller cut marks (some related to carvings, while others are not) (Gresky et al., 2017).

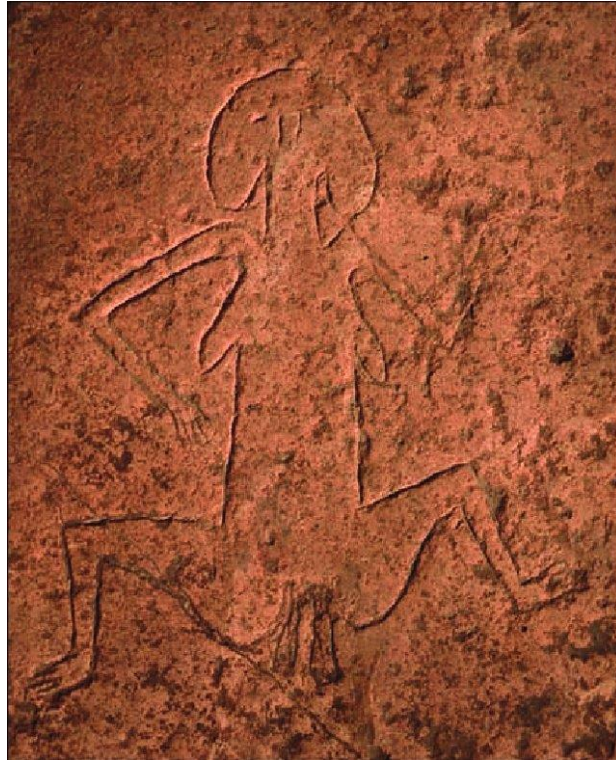


Figure 10: Göbekli Tepe, engraving of a female person from layer II (Schmidt, 2010: Fig. 13)

### 3.1.2.7 Gürcütepe II

Gürcütepe, situated on the Harran Plain, is a Neolithic site comprising four mounds referred to as Gürcütepe I-IV. Among these mounds, Gürcütepe II features layers from the Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (LPPNB) period and has a diameter of 200 meters (Schmidt, 1995). The archaeological investigations at the site were carried out by Klaus Schmidt during the 1990s (Schmidt, 1995). The schematic stone figurines discovered at Tell Assouad, Tell Sabi Abyad I, Tell Sabi Abyad II, Gritille, and Akarçay Tepe were also found at Gürcütepe (Cauvin, 1972; Schmidt, 1998; Verhoeven, 2000; Voigt, 2000; Bozbay, 2009). These figurines are dated to the LPPNB period.



Figure 11: Tell Assouad, Gürcütepe II, Tell Sabi Abyad II, Gritille figurines (Based on Cauvin, 1972: Fig. 4.6; Schmidt, 1998: Fig. 1.2; Verhoeven, 2000: Fig.4.9.3; Voigt, 2000: Fig. 4a)

### 3.1.2.8 Jerf el Ahmar

Jerf el Ahmar is an Early Neolithic settlement situated in the Middle Euphrates Valley. The site was occupied for approximately seven centuries during the PPNA and the PPNA-PPNB transition period. It is estimated that the settlement covered an area of less than one hectare (Stordeur, 2000). Excavations were carried out between 1995-1999 under the supervision of Danielle Stordeur, and the site is now submerged under the waters of the Tichrine Dam (Stordeur et al., 1997; Stordeur, 2000).

The site has yielded both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines. Zoomorphic figurines and other animal depictions at Jerf el Ahmar portray vultures, snakes, foxes, wild cats, aurochs, and scorpions (Stordeur & Abbes, 2002). The anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines were made of stone. Two of the anthropomorphic figurines depict human faces. One of them shows a full body with inaccurate proportions, and it is about 8 cm tall, twice the size of the others. In addition, there are headless human figures engraved on one of the communal buildings (Stordeur & Abbes, 2002) (Figure 12).

The settlement contains collective graves, some of which have only skulls (Stordeur et al., 1997; Stordeur & Abbes, 2002). Burials are located in collective buildings (Stordeur & Abbes, 2002). Also, some secondary burials were found on the surface of a gravel quarry, marked with a stone (Stordeur et al., 1997). A special building exhibits symbolic behavior at the site. The structure is a small circular building known as "The House of the Aurochs Skulls" which has three aurochs skulls hanging on the wall (Stordeur, 2000). In addition to the skulls, there is a limestone pendant, a clay necklace,

numerous pounders and a polished axe associated with the skull. The settlement also has communal buildings with varying architectural features (Stordeur, 2000).



Figure 12: Engravings from Jerf el Ahmar communal building (Stordeur and Abbas, 2002, Fig. 15:4-5)

### 3.1.2. 9 Mezraa - Teleilat

Mezraa Teleilat is a Neolithic mound located on the left bank of the Euphrates River in southeastern Türkiye. The mound encompasses layers from the PPN, Pottery Neolithic, and Iron Age periods. The PPN period can be divided into three phases: Phase III (PPN-PN transition period), Phase IV (LPPNB), and Phase V (PPNB) (Özdoğan, 2003). The site was initially discovered during a survey conducted in the late 1980s under the direction of G. Algaze (Algaze et al., 1994). Subsequently, archaeological investigations at the site commenced in 1998 under the direction of Şanlıurfa Museum and with the scientific consultation of Istanbul University as part of the Kargamış Project of the Middle East Technical University (METU) Center of Research and Assessment of Historical Environment (TAÇDAM) (Karul et al., 2001).

A multitude of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines have been unearthed at Mezraa-Teleilat. The animal figurines predominantly depict quadrupeds and are made of clay (Özdoğan et al., 2011). Additionally, over 250 limestone anthropomorphic figurines have been discovered at the site. These figurines typically portray seated individuals with a schematic form. They have been categorized as "seated figures" (approximately 90 pieces), "phallic symbols" (164 pieces), and "standing figures" (2 pieces) (Özdoğan, 2003; Nergiz, 2008). While Özdoğan (2003) interpreted these figurines as representations of a "male deity," Nergiz (2008) also mentions the discovery of a female figurine dating back to the LPPNB period.

The appearance of anthropomorphic figurines dates back to 7300 BCE and continues until the PN period, with the highest concentration occurring during the PPNB-PN transition period (Özdoğan, 2003; Nergiz, 2008). Among the seated figurines, 25 have been attributed to Phase II (PN), 14 to Phase III, and 3 to Phase IV (Özdoğan, 2003; Nergiz, 2008). As for the phallus figurines, 28 are associated with the PN period, 39 with the PPNB-PN transition period, and 14 with the LPPNB period (Özdoğan, 2003; Nergiz, 2008). Most of the figurines are made of locally sourced soft limestone. However, it is observed that higher-quality and harder limestone is chosen for figurines with more intricate details (Nergiz, 2008). According to Özdoğan (2003), none of the figurines are directly associated with a structure, and they do not exhibit intentional fragmentation.

### **3.1.2.10 Nevali Çori**

Nevali Çori is a Neolithic settlement dating back to the 9th and 8th millennia BCE. It is situated near the Kantara Creek, which is a minor tributary of the Euphrates River. The site is divided into two sections: "Nevali Çori I" and "Nevali Çori II". It also includes layers from the Roman, Early Bronze Age, and Chalcolithic periods. Recent radiocarbon dating has provided specific timeframes for the subphases, with "PPNB I" estimated to be around 8700 to 8300 BCE, "PPNB II" 8300 to 7900 BCE, and "PPNB III" 7900 to 7500 BCE (Wang et al., 2023). The site was initially discovered in 1980 during surveys conducted by H.G. Gebel, and was subsequently excavated by the Urfa Museum and H. Hauptmann between 1983 and 1991 (Hauptmann, 1987, 2007). The site is now submerged due to the construction of the Atatürk Dam.

A total of 665 clay figurines have been discovered at Nevali Çori, encompassing anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and abstract types (which can exhibit both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic characteristics) (Morsch, 2002). The majority of these figurines are anthropomorphic, with only 30 zoomorphic. According to Morsch (2017), 159 anthropomorphic figurines depict seated females, 179 depict standing males, and two depict women holding a baby in her arms. Additionally, eight figurines are classified as "pregnant females" (Morsch, 2002). In the male figurines, the presence of genitals is subtly indicated by a pouch-like feature. Morsch (2002; 2017) suggested that some of the male figurines are adorned with a belt or sash around the hips, while female figurines are depicted in a naked form.

Although the figurines were predominantly recovered from pits and open spaces between houses, there are also examples found within the interior of round houses. More than 200 items have been found in the surrounding area of these round houses. Notably, the figurines show intentional breakage at the parts with the greatest strength (Morsch, 2002).

Apart from the clay figurines, Nevali Çori yielded stone sculptures as well. These sculptures depict various subjects such as carnivores, birds, human-animal compositions, and human heads. One noteworthy finding is a female head sculpture discovered inside a house, while ten others were unearthed within a designated area believed to be a "cult building" or "temple" (Hauptmann, 1999; Morsch, 2002). The unique building, characterized by its T-shaped stone pillars, was located in the southeastern section of the settlement. Encompassing an area of 188 square meters, it underwent three construction phases spanning from Phase I to Phase III.

At Nevali Çori, a common burial practice involved interring the deceased beneath the floors or within the platforms of the houses. The majority of burials were attributed to Layer III. Both individual and collective burials were identified, encompassing both primary and secondary interments. Notably, some of the skeletons had their skulls removed. In one remarkable discovery, an intact skeleton was unearthed beneath the floor of a house that also housed the stone female head sculpture. Furthermore, a significant burial featured the placement of a large round stone to symbolize the missing skull (Hauptmann, 1999).



### **3.1.2.11 Tell Assouad**

Tell Assouad is a Neolithic settlement situated near the Balikh River. Levels VIII and III of Tell Assouad provided a date around 6500 BC (Akkermans, 1989, as cited in Cauvin, 1974). The site comprises two mounds with respective diameters of 150 meters and 100 meters (Akkermans, 1989). The initial archaeological investigations at the site began in 1938 with a sounding conducted by Mallowan. Subsequently, in 1970, J. Cauvin resumed excavations (Cauvin, 1974). A schematic human head figurine similar to it was discovered at Tell Sabi Abyad I, Tell Sabi Abyad II, Gritille, and Akarçay Tepe were also found at Tell Assouad (Cauvin, 1972; Schmidt, 1998; Verhoeven, 2000; Voigt, 2000; Bozbay, 2009).

### **3.1.2.12 Tell Mureybet**

Mureybet is situated in the Middle Euphrates and has been inhabited from the Natufian to the PPNB periods. The site has four occupation phases: Phase IA: 10.200-9700 BCE (Natufian), Phases IB, IIA, and IIB: 9700-9300 BCE (Khiamian), Phases IIIA and IIIB: 9300-8600 BCE (Mureybetian), and Phases IVA: 8600-8200 BCE and IVB: 8200-8000 BCE (Early and Middle PPNB) (Ibanez, 2008). The first archaeological excavation of the site was conducted by M. N. van Loon in 1964, and further excavations were resumed by J. Cauvin in the first half of the 1970s (Cauvin, 1977). Anthropomorphic figurines made of clay, bone, and stone have been discovered at the site. The majority of these figurines were discovered in Phase III, while the earliest figurines were found in Phase II. These included a limestone lower body depiction and a small clay head, both of which are highly schematic (Cauvin, 1977). In Phase III, some of the figurines portrayed females holding their breasts, while others depicted a group of sitting figures with an overall phallic form. Additionally, anthropomorphic bone figurines found at other sites such as Dja'de el-Mughara, Çatalhöyük, Boncuklu Höyük, and Aşıklı Höyük have also been uncovered at Mureybet (Gourichon, 2004; Christidou et al., 2009; Pawlowska & Baranski, 2020; Baird, 2020; Yelözer, 2022).

### **3.1.2.13 Tell Qaramel**

Tell Qaramel is an Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic site located near the River Qoueiq, which also contains Bronze Age and Iron Age layers. The Neolithic part of

the site covers an area of approximately 3.5 ha (Mazurowski, 1999). It was first discovered towards the end of the 1970s, and between 1999 and 2007, excavations were carried out under the supervision of Ryszard F. Mazurowski (Mazurowski, 1999; Mazurowski et al., 2012).

Two anthropomorphic figurines, a snake figurine, and a bird figurine were found at the site (Mazurowski, 2003; 2011, 2012). One of the anthropomorphic figurines is highly stylized and dates back to the Early PPNA. This figurine, made of sun-dried mud, features eyes, a nose, and nail marks on the surface. The figurine was unearthed from the floor of a house, and a larger version made of soft limestone was discovered at Mureybet (Mazurowski, 2012). Additionally, a miniature vessel decorated with nail impressions, a large disc, a fragment of a small, undecorated bowl rim, and a 4.5 cm circular disc were found in the same house (Mazurowski, 2012). Another figurine, possibly a pendant, was also discovered at the site. It portrays a human face and is quite naturalistic, made from sun-dried mud and dated to the Proto-Neolithic period. This small figurine was found in a ritual area believed to be a "shrine/tower" (Mazurowski, 2011). The site also contained many decorated pebbles and depictions of wild animals.

Twelve graves dated to the PPNA period yielded a total of 20 adult skeletons, as reported by Kanjou (2009). The graves included both single and collective burials, with one structure containing a collective grave containing four individuals being described as a "tower" (Kanjou, 2009). Primary and secondary burials were both found, and the skulls and mandibles of most of the adult skeletons were separated from the rest of the body. Cut marks on some of the skeletons suggested that the skulls were removed shortly after death (Kanjou, 2009). The sex of eight of the twenty skeletons could not be determined, but seven of the remaining 12 belonged to males. In some of the graves, human bones were discovered alongside animal bones (Kanjou, 2009). In addition, a house with a pit containing four wild bull skulls was discovered near the "tower building" (Kanjou, 2016).

#### **3.1.2.14 Tell Sabi Abyad**

Tell Sabi Abyad is a Neolithic site situated in the Balikh River Valley. The site was occupied during the period of 7100-5500 BC (Akkermans, 2016) and was later

inhabited during the Late Bronze Age. The site comprises four mounds known as Tell Sabi Abyad I-IV, covering an area of 5 hectares (Akkermans & Miere, 1992; Akkermans, 2016). Excavations at the site began in 1986 under the direction of Peter M.M.G. Akkermans and were carried out until 2010 (Akkermans, 1987; Akkermans, 2016).

Tell Sabi Abyad yielded a total of 388 anthropomorphic figurines, with 380 made of clay, 6 of stone, and 2 of bone (Arntz, 2022). There is no clear production method distinctly tied to any figurine type. The figurines, mostly open to interpretation as either phalluses or abstract sitting representations, originated from diverse contexts such as room fills, middens, ash deposits, pit fills, and walls. In the earliest levels, figurines are associated with fire features, and clustering is observed in pit fills. Primary deposition is evident in the Burnt Village, establishing a connection between anthropomorphic figurines, tokens, and sealings. However, after this transitional phase, clear contextual patterns are no longer discernible. Arntz (2022, p. 253) emphasizes the need to reconsider figurine categories based on contextual information, particularly highlighting the strong association between figurines, tokens, and sealings within the Burnt Village and the burnt building in Operation II. In these contexts, some figurines seem conceptually linked to administrative and economic activities.

### **3.1.2.15 Tell Seker al-Aheimar**

Tell Seker Al-Aheimar is a Neolithic mound situated in the Upper Khabur region that was inhabited during the LPPNB and Pottery Neolithic periods (ca. 7300 - 6500 cal BC) (Nishiaki, 2016). The settlement spans across an area of about 4.5 ha (Nishiaki & Miere, 2005). The French-Japanese team conducted an archaeological survey on the site in 1991, and Yoshihiro Nishiaki directed excavations between 2000 and 2010 (Nishiaki, 2001, 2016).

At the site, around twelve anthropomorphic figurines have been discovered. These figurines are in a schematic style and depict seated female figures, each made of clay and not exceeding 6 cm in height (Nishiaki, 2007). Aside from these figurines, a highly naturalistic clay female figurine was also discovered, measuring over 14 cm in length. The body of the figurine is made up of various clay lumps (Nishiaki, 2007). The

surface of the figurine is adorned with black and red pigments. The head, eyebrows, eyes, and breasts of the figurine are painted black, with red pigments observed near the eyes and lips. Additionally, there are red paint pigments on the waist and hips of the figurine (Figure 13). The figurine portrays a seated female, with coffee-bean style eyes, outlined mouth and ears, and prominent breasts and hips. It is dated to the very end of the LPPNB period. The figurine was found beneath the floor of a house, with its head and body discovered separately and later reattached (Nishiaki, 2007).



Figure 13: Red paints on the Tell Seker al-Aheimar figurine. Nishiaki, 2007, p. 121, Fig. 3.

### **3.1.2.16 Tell Sheikh Hassan**

Tell Sheikh Hassan is a Neolithic site situated in the Middle Euphrates region. The site comprises layers from the PPNA, EPPNB, Chalcolithic, Iron Age, and Islamic periods. The site's initial excavation was conducted by J. Cauvin in 1976. Subsequent archaeological investigations were carried out by W. Orthmann in 1981, by J. Boese between 1984 and 1997, and by D. Stordeur in 1993 (Boese, 1995; Müller-Neuhof, 2006). A limestone figurine, approximately 12 cm in height, was discovered at the site. The figurine depicts a standing person, with the left arm missing. The face is highly flattened but lacks any facial features. According to Müller-Neuhof (2006), the face is absent, possibly due to breakage or because it was made of a different material that was lost. The figurine was found in the EPPNB layer of the settlement. The graves at

the site contain remains from individuals of various age groups. The burials include both single and multiple interments, as well as primary and secondary burials. In one of the primary graves of an adult and child, three skulls were discovered (Kanjou, 2009). The removal of mandibles, in addition to skulls, is also noted as a burial practice (Chamel, 2014).

### 3.1.3 Tigris

There are six settlements from the Tigris region.

#### 3.1.3.1 Çayönü

Çayönü, a Neolithic site situated on the Ergani plain in the Upper Tigris region, was inhabited from the 9th millennium to the end of the 7th millennium cal BCE. It encompasses six sub-phases of the Aceramic Neolithic period: Round Building, Grill Building, Channelled Building, Cobble-Paved Building, Cell Plan Building, and Large Room Building (Özdoğan et al., 1994; Erim-Özdoğan, 2007). Additionally, Çayönü contains remnants from the Pre-Halafian, Early Bronze Age, and Early Iron Age periods. The Neolithic mound spans approximately 4.5 ha, with half of it likely consisting of PN layers underlying PPN layers (Özdoğan & Özdoğan, 1989). Çayönü was initially discovered by Halet Çambel and Robert Braidwood during surveys conducted as part of the "Prehistoric Research in Southeastern Anatolia" project. Excavations at the site were started in 1964 (Çambel & Braidwood, 1980), and Mehmet Özdoğan led the excavations from 1986 to 1992 (Özdoğan et al., 1994). Currently, the excavations at Çayönü are under the direction of Aslı Erim Özdoğan.

Sub-phase	Absolute dating (bp)	Levantine period
Round Building	10,200–9400	PPNA
Grill Building (Early)	9400–9200	PPNA
Grill Building (Late)	9200–9100?	Early PPNB
Channelled Building	9100–9000	Early PPNB
Cobble-Paved Building	9000–8600?	Middle PPNB
Cell Plan Building	8600–8300	Late PPNB
Large Room Building	8200–8000?	PPNC

Figure 14: Sub-phase chronology at Çayönü Tepesi with absolute and relative dating based on 39 radiocarbon dates (Pearson et al., 2013, after Erim-Özdoğan, 2007).

A total of 145 figurines were discovered at the site, consisting of 94 anthropomorphic and 51 zoomorphic figurines (Özdoğan, 1994). Additionally, Morales (1990) mentioned the presence of 125 geometric figurines. According to Morales (1990), figurine distribution appears to be general. They were more often found within houses than in open areas without construction.

Among the animal figurines, twelve depict horned animals, five depict wild pigs, and three depict curly-tailed dogs. It is noteworthy that animal figurines were absent during the Rounded Building and Grill Building phases (Özdoğan, 1994). Zoomorphic figurines portray wild animals from the Channelled Building phase to the end of the Cell Plan Building phase. Figurines depicting domestic sheep and goats appear during the final subphase of the Cell Plan Building phase and are frequently observed in the Large Room Building phase. While eight zoomorphic figurines were recovered from inside the buildings, the remainder were found in the open areas (Özdoğan, 1994).

During the Round Building phase, no anthropomorphic figurines were discovered. However, they began to appear from the end of the Grill Building phase (Özdoğan, 1994). The number of figurines increased in the later stages. Except for one example of a female figurine made of pinkish limestone, all figurines were made of well-fired fine clay (Morales, 1990).

According to Morales (1990), human figurines can be classified into four categories: simple seated female, lady-stalks/abstract form, composite female, and torso form. The distribution of these figurines is as follows: there are 18 simple seated figurines, 41 lady-stalks/abstract form figurines, 7 composite female figurines, 17 torso form figurines, and 3 figurines depicting only the head (Özdoğan, 1994). The simple seated female figurines first appear during the Channelled Building phase and are absent in the Cell Building phase. All of these figurines were discovered in open areas. Lady-stalks figurines, on the other hand, initially emerge in the Grill Building phase and reach their highest number in the Large Room Building phase. Among these figurines, 14 were found in the fillings inside the buildings, while the rest were unearthed in open areas. Composite female figurines can be observed in every phase, starting from the Channelled Building phase, and three of them were discovered inside the buildings. Torso-shaped figurines are present in every phase, starting from the Grill Building

phase. Many of these figurines are fragmented. One of the three head-shaped figurines features a hole under the neck, suggesting that it could have been attached to a stick (Özdoğan, 1994, p. 148). Additionally, two fragments of arms were found.



Figure 15: A simple seated female, a lady-stalk, a composite female, and a head and torso form figurines (images adapted from Morales, 1990, Fig. 22a, 22b, 23d, 24d).

More than 600 human remains have been discovered in Çayönü (Özdoğan et al., 1994), with around 450 of them coming from a distinct structure known as the "Skull Building" (Özdoğan, 1998). During the Round Building phase, people were usually buried under the floors with ochre as the only grave goods. Later, in the Grill Building phase, the dead were buried in courtyards with ground stones, axes, and beads left as grave goods. In the Channeled Building phase, the dead were buried in open spaces near or around fire pits, with secondary burials appearing for the first time, and the dead were often buried with their ornaments. Burials were discovered in nearly every building during the Cell Plan Building phase, with collective burials discovered in the northwest cells of the structures, and white-colored ash present in the graves of this phase. As burial gifts, animal bones, axes, beads, bone or horn tools, and flint or obsidian tools were found. During the final phase of the Cell Plan Building, the frequency of in-building burials and burial gifts decreased dramatically, and no graves were discovered in the Large Room Building phase. Only one child's grave was discovered during the Pottery Neolithic phase. Özdoğan et al. (1994) suggested that the tradition of non-settlement burials started to emerge during these periods.

### 3.1.3.2 Gre Filla

Gre Filla is an early Neolithic settlement located in the Upper Tigris region, covering an area of 0.5 ha and dating back to 9300-7500 cal. BC (Ökse, 2021). Salvage excavations on the site were directed by A. Tuba Ökse and the Diyarbakır

Archaeological Museum between 2018 and 2022 (Ökse, 2020; Ökse, 2021). The site has yielded both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines (Ökse, 2021). The figurines belong to the PPNB period and were discovered within the buildings. Remarkably, a single building yielded around 50 bird figurines made of baked clay (Ökse, 2021). All of the human figurines discovered at the site are made of stone. Among them, there is a notable headless figurine with its hands bound on the stomach. Additionally, there are stone pestle type and plug type anthropomorphic figurines that bear resemblances to figurines found at Gusir Höyük, Körtik Tepe, Hallan Çemi, and Nemrik (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002; Hansen, 2007b; Karul, 2011; Özkaya et al., 2017; Ökse, 2021)

### **3.1.3.3 Gusir Höyük**

Gusir Höyük is an early Neolithic settlement situated in southeastern Turkey, near the Botan River, which is a tributary of the Tigris River. According to Karul (2011), the later layers of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period have suffered significant destruction due to agricultural activities. The dating of the site is supported by C14 dates obtained from various layers, which range between 9975 and 9600 BP. The mound spans an area of approximately 150 meters in diameter (Karul, 2011). The site was initially discovered in 1989 during the Tigris-Euphrates Archaeological Reconnaissance Project led by G. Algaze (Algaze et al., 1991). Excavations took place from 2010 to 2014 under the direction of the Batman Archaeology Museum, with scientific consultancy provided by the Prehistory Department of Istanbul University (Karul, 2011; Karul, 2018). Several stone objects that could potentially be interpreted as figurines were discovered at the site (Karul, 2011). One of these objects bears a resemblance to pestle-shaped figurines found at Gre Filla, Körtik Tepe, Hallan Çemi, and Nemrik (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002; Hansen, 2007b; Özkaya et al., 2017; Ökse, 2021). The other three objects exhibit similarities to items known as "stone plugs" found at Gre Filla (Karul, 2018; Ökse, 2021). Both individual and collective burials were discovered at the site, with the deceased interred in a seated position commonly known as the hocker position. These burials were accompanied by grave goods. The human remains were found beneath the floors of structures, in courtyards, and in open spaces (Karul, 2011; Karul, 2018).



### **3.1.3.4 Hallan Çemi**

Hallan Çemi is a Late Epipaleolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) settlement situated near Sason Stream, a tributary of the Batman River and the Tigris. Multiple radiocarbon dates indicate that the occupation of Hallan Çemi took place approximately between 11,700 and 11,270 cal BP (Starkovich & Stiner, 2009). The site spans an area of about 0.5 hectares (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002). In the first half of the 1990s, salvage excavations were conducted by the University of Delaware, the Middle East Technical University (METU) Center for Salvage and Investigation of Historical and Archaeological Finds (TEKDAM), and the Diyarbakır Museum, under the direction of Michael Rosenberg (Rosenberg, 1993). Stone pestles featuring both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic characteristics were discovered at the site. Comparable pestles have been observed in other settlements such as Körtik Tepe, Gusir Höyük, Gre Fılla, and Nemrik 9 (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002; Hansen, 2007b; Karul, 2011; Özkaya et al., 2017; Ökse, 2021). These figurines were found together with stone vessels made of the same material (chlorite) and animal bones were interpreted to be related to a ritualized feasting practice (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002, p.52).

### **3.1.3.5 Körtik Tepe**

Körtik Tepe is an Epipaleolithic and PPNA site located to the west of the Batman River near its confluence with the Tigris River. The site has been continuously inhabited from 10,400 to 9,250 BCE and covers an area of 0.5 hectares (Özkaya et al., 2013). Two main cultural phases have been ascertained at the site. The lower phase has been identified as Pre-Pottery Neolithic, represented through the body of the mound by structures, graves and grave goods. Although the site was initially identified during surveys conducted in 1989, salvage excavations began in 2000 under the direction of Vecihi Özkaya (Algaze & Rosenberg, 1990; Özkaya, 2009; Özkaya et al., 2017). Presently, Körtik Tepe is submerged under the waters of the Ilısu Dam.

Several pestle-type stone figurines, resembling those discovered at Hallan Çemi, Gusir Höyük, Gre Fılla, and Nemrik 9, were unearthed at the site (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002; Hansen, 2007b; Karul, 2011; Özkaya et al., 2017; Ökse, 2021). Some of these figurines exhibit zoomorphic and anthropomorphic anatomical features such as

mouths, noses, and eyes, and phallic images. While andesite and basalt figurines show signs of usage, those made of chlorite are believed to have been utilized for ritual purposes (Özkaya & Şahin, 2018). The majority of these figurines were found in burial contexts, although a smaller number were recovered from domestic settings. Additionally, a significant quantity of stone plaques depicting zoomorphic figures, decorated stone vessels, and stone and shell beads were also discovered at the site (Özkaya et al., 2013) (Figure 16).



Figure 16: Stone vessels with human figures from Körtik Tepe. (images adapted from Özkaya et al., 2013:58, 61).

A considerable number of burials were uncovered at Körtik Tepe, revealing the remains of over 800 individuals interred in 743 graves (Erdal, 2015). The burials were distributed throughout residential areas, including underneath floors, near walls, and in open spaces between houses (Erdal, 2015). The graves represented individuals of various ages and sexes. Within the graves, a diverse array of grave goods was discovered, including beads, stone and bone tools, grinding stones, mortars, stone bowls, stone and bone plaques, axes, pestles, and more. Notably, some graves

exhibited a concentration of grave goods (Özkaya & Şahin, 2018). Additionally, animal bones and turtle shells were found in certain graves. Some of the skeletons and grave goods displayed plastering and traces of black and red ochre (Erdal, 2015; Özkaya, 2009). Furthermore, cut marks were identified on the bones of nine individuals (Erdal, 2015).

### **3.1.3.6 Nemrik 9**

Nemrik 9 is a PPNA site situated in Northern Iraq. The site encompasses three phases and dates to c. 9500–8500 BC (Kozłowski 2002, 2008). The site occupies a maximum area of 3 ha (Kozłowski, 2008). Excavations at Nemrik 9 were conducted between 1985 and 1989 as part of the "Saddam's Dam Salvage Project" led by S.K. Kozłowski (Kozłowski, 1989).

During Phases II and III of Nemrik 9, a total of 20 stone sculptures were discovered, featuring depictions of bird heads, a snake, an unidentified mammal, a lioness, buffalo hoof, as well as a male head and a female figure (Kozłowski, 2008). These sculptures can be interpreted as representations of human-animal hybridization. Most of the sculptures have suffered damage, with only one of them being remarkably preserved in its original form and location, specifically found on the floor of a burnt house labeled as 2A (Kozłowski, 2008). Similar pestles in the form of pestles have been found in other Neolithic sites, such as Hallan Çemi, Körtek Tepe, Gusir Höyük, and Gre Filla (Rosenberg & Redding, 2002; Karul, 2011; Özkaya et al., 2017; Ökse, 2021).

Archaeologists discovered the remains of at least 93 individuals from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) period in the upper levels of Nemrik 9 (Sołtysiak et al., 2015). Among these remains, 60 belonged to adult individuals. The burials at the site included both primary and secondary interments. Notably, there were variations in burial customs at different stages of the occupation. During the first two phases of Nemrik 9, the deceased were interred in open spaces located between the houses. In Phase III, burials took place beneath the floors of the houses as well as between them. In the later phases, a small graveyard emerged in the southern part of the village (Kozłowski, 2008).

### **3.1.4 Zagros**

There are seven settlements from the Zagros region.

#### **3.1.4.1 Ali Kosh**

Ali Kosh, situated on the Deh Luran Plain in the Zagros region, is a Neolithic mound characterized by three distinct occupational phases: the Bus Mordeh Phase (7500-7250 BC), the Ali Kosh Phase (7250-7000 BC), and the Mohammed Jaffar Phase (7000-6500 BC) (Darabi, 2018). The site spans a diameter of 135 meters (Hole et al., 1969). In 1903, a joint French and Iranian team conducted a preliminary excavation at the site, followed by a survey by Richard Watson and Robert J. Braidwood in 1960. Subsequent excavations were carried out by Frank Hole and Kent V. Flannery in 1961 and 1963 (Hole et al., 1969). In 2017, Hojjat Darabi initiated a small trench excavation at Ali Kosh with the aim of reassessing the site's chronology (Sołtysiak & Darabi, 2017).

A total of 50 clay figurines, comprising both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic representations, were discovered at the site (Hole et al., 1969). Among these, 33 figurines were zoomorphic, while the remaining ones depicted humans. The majority of the figurines were made of lightly fired clay. Interestingly, most of the animal figurines originated from the first two phases, while the human figurines were predominantly found in the Mohammed Jaffar Phase (Hole et al., 1969). Moreover, alongside the clay human figurines, two stone phalluses were unearthed during the Mohammed Jaffar Phase.

Among the anthropomorphic figurines, five of them depict headless seated individuals with a lumpy appearance, and their sexes cannot be determined (Hole et al., 1969). Four of these figurines were recovered from the Mohammad Jaffar Phase, while the remaining one was discovered during the late Ali Kosh Phase. Additionally, eleven schematic stalk figurines were found at the site, with ten of them originating from the Mohammad Jaffar Phase. Furthermore, there is evidence of a hand and a fragment of a forearm crafted from lightly fired clay, which can be attributed to the Ali Kosh Phase (Hole et al., 1969).

Burial practices were observed throughout all phases of the site (Hole et al., 1969). In the earliest phase, three individuals were buried in secondary burials. These burials were accompanied by stone beads, and the entire burial was coated with red ochre. The second phase revealed thirteen primary burials and one secondary burial, located

beneath the floors of houses. These burials encompassed individuals of various age groups, including adults, children, infants, and fetuses. Burials from the Ali Kosh Phase were predominantly in a seated position, whereas those from the Mohammad Jaffar Phase were generally found in a flexed position (Hole, 1976). Grave goods were also present within these burials. In the final phase, five primary burials were discovered. Additionally, during recent excavations, Sołtysiak and Darabi (2017) uncovered remains of at least 11 individuals, represented by crania and/or mandibles.

#### **3.1.4.2 Bestansur**

Bestansur is an early Neolithic site situated in the northwest corner of the Shahrizor Plain, Sulaimaniyah, in the western Zagros foothills. The mound contains layers from Neolithic (7600-7100 BC), Neo-Assyrian, Sasanian, and Ottoman periods. The site was discovered in the late 1920s by Ephraim Speiser (1926-1927). In 2009, a German-Iraqi team investigated Bestansur as a part of the Shahrizor Survey Project (Altaweel et al., 2012). Excavations were undertaken at the mound between 2011-2017 by the University of Reading and the University of British Columbia, co-directed by Roger Mathews, Wendy Matthews and Kamal Rasheed Raheem (Matthews et al., 2019, 2020).

A human seated style clay figurine, 4 cm in size, was found at the site (Richardson, 2020). The figurine was found beneath the floors of a building alongside other items like shell beads, red and white stone beads, a bright green variscite bead, a piece of an alabaster bowl, and a fragment from a larger clay object. Human remains were also discovered under-floor packing sequences of the building. Richardson (2020, p. 541) suggests that these finds represent the deliberate incorporation of selected objects, rather than the figurine's inclusion as discard.

#### **3.1.4.3 Chogha Bonut**

Chogha Bonut is a Neolithic site located in southwestern Iran. It was occupied from the eighth millennium to the fourth millennium BCE (Curtis & Simpson, 1998). The Aceramic period at the site spans from 7500 BC to 6600 BC (Alizadeh, 2003). The site encompasses an area of approximately 50 meters in diameter (Curtis & Simpson, 1998). Initial excavations were conducted in the 1970s by Helene Kantor (Kantor,

1978). Subsequently, Abbas Alizadeh resumed excavations at the site in 1996 (Alizadeh, 1997).

At the Chogha Bonut site, a variety of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines have been unearthed. The animal figurines predominantly depict quadrupeds and are made of baked clay. In comparison to the human figurines, they exhibit less abstract anatomical features (Alizadeh, 2003). The figurines discovered at the site consist of both clay and stone materials. The clay human figurines can be categorized into three main types: stalk figurines, figurines with simplified anatomical details, and highly abstract figurines (Alizadeh, 2003). These clay figurines are typically made from well-processed clay and have undergone thorough baking. On the other hand, the stone figurines found at the site are phallic in shape.

#### **3.1.4.4 Chogha Golan**

Chogha Golan, located in the foothills of the Central Zagros Mountains, is an aceramic Neolithic site that was occupied from approximately 11,800 BP to 9600 BP (Riehl, 2015). The site consists of a tell with a height of about 7–8 m and encompasses an area of approximately 3 hectares (Zeidi et al., 2012). Excavations at the site were carried out in 2009 and 2010 by a collaborative team from the University of Tübingen and the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (Zeidi et al., 2012).

A number of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines have been discovered at the site. Among them are ten clay animal figurines portraying sheep/goat, cattle, and pigs. Additionally, there are three anthropomorphic clay figurines. Two of these display an abstract representation of the human body, while the other depicts the lower body. The figurines are made of clay, and a majority of the clay objects were found in ash and midden deposits (Riehl et al., 2015).

#### **3.1.4.5 Chogha Sefid**

Chogha Sefid, situated on the Deh Luran Plain, is a Neolithic settlement that dates back to the 8th millennium. The site has six distinct archaeological phases, representing some 1500 years of occupation: Ali Kosh Phase (7200-6400 BC), Mohammad Jaffar Phase (6400-6100 BC), Sefid Phase (6300-5900 BC), Surkh Phase (5900-5400 BC), Choga Mami Transitional Phase (5400-5100 BC), and Sabz Phase

(5200-5000 BC) (Hole, 1976). Frank Hole conducted archaeological excavations at the site during the late 1960s (Hole, 1969; 1976).

A total of 384 figurines were discovered from all layers of the site. 342 of these figurines are anthropomorphic and 42 are zoomorphic. (Hole, 1976). All figurines were made of lightly fired clay. The majority of these figurines originate from the Ali Kosh and Sefid phases, while none were found in the Mohammad Jaffar Phase. Hole (1976) classified the anthropomorphic figurines from Chogha Sefid into three types: "T-shaped," "stalk," and "large stalk" (Figure 17). There is a change in the distribution of figurine types over time. Approximately 87 percent of all figurines from the Ali Kosh Phase were identified as stalk figurines. Conversely, T-shaped figurines accounted for 56 percent of all figurines in the Sefid Phase.

The excavation at the site revealed burials that may be associated with the Sefid Phase (Hole, 1976). These burials included individuals from various age groups, comprising both adults and children. Commonly, the burials were characterized by an extended position and displayed indications of ochre application, along with noticeable cranial deformation.



Figure 17: Large stalk, stalk and t-shaped figurines (images adapted from Hole, 1976, Fig. 90a, 91b, 91g).

#### 3.1.4.6 Ganj Dareh

Ganj Dareh, situated in the Central Zagros Mountains, is a small Neolithic site dating back to approximately 8000 BC. The site consists of five occupation levels and was inhabited for a period spanning 100 to 200 years (Groene et al., 2023). The site covers

approximately 0.1 ha (Meiklejohn et al., 2017). It was excavated by Philip E.L. Smith between 1967-1974 (Smith, 1974).

A total of 812 zoomorphic, 113 anthropomorphic, and 65 conical clay figurines were unearthed at the site (Eygun, 1992). The animal figurines display a highly naturalistic and consistent style, while the human figurines present an abstract characteristic. Typically, the animal figurines represent quadrupeds, whereas the anthropomorphic figurines predominantly take the form of stalk figurines. Notably, 86 percent of the anthropomorphic figurines were found in a fragmented state. Eygun (1992) interpreted 66.7 percent of the figurines as female and 33.3 percent as indeterminate in terms of sexual characteristics. Furthermore, the spatial distribution of the figurines appears to be random.

A total of 116 individuals were discovered at the site (Merrett, 2004). The graves contained the remains of infants, children, and adults, representing both sexes. Interestingly, the human burials were positioned beneath the floors (Smith, 1990). The grave goods found in association with the burials were specifically linked to child or adolescent interments (Smith, 1974). The burials exhibited a combination of primary and secondary types, with individuals interred in flexed or extended positions. Notably, both single and multiple burials were present at the site.

#### **3.1.4.7 Jarmo**

Jarmo, situated on the foothills of the Zagros Mountains, is a Neolithic site that comprises layers from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) and Pottery Neolithic (PN) periods. The earliest PPN layers can be dated back to the mid to late 8th millennium cal. BC (Price & Arbuckle, 2015). The site covers an area of 1.3 ha (Braidwood, 1983a). It was initially excavated by Robert H. Braidwood from 1948 to 1955 (Braidwood, 1983a). Subsequently, the University of Tsukuba team resumed excavations at the site in 2019 (Tsuneki, 2019).

The site has yielded a significant number of human and animal figurines (Morales, 1983). Among these objects, there are 1100 animal figurines and figurine fragments, primarily portraying quadrupeds. Additionally, there are 1001 anthropomorphic figurines and figurine fragments. Morales (1983) categorized the anthropomorphic



figurines into several types: "early simple type" (33 examples), "intermediate type" (5 examples), "composite type - pregnant" (170 examples), "composite type - nonpregnant" (14 examples), "composite type - stylized" (59 examples), "torso type - male" (100 examples), "phallic objects" (3 examples), "double-wing-based objects" (314 examples), and "stalk objects" (181 examples) (Figure 18). Out of the 1001 anthropomorphic figurines and fragments, 370 were identified as female and 100 as male (Morales, 1983).

The majority of the "early simple type" figurines are predominantly found in the earliest phases of settlement, while the "composite type pregnant" figurines are more abundant in the Pottery Neolithic levels. There are relatively few "simple type" figurines from later stages, and no "composite type nonpregnant" or "double-wing-based" figurines have been discovered in the lowest levels. However, the "stalk" type figurines appear consistently in all stages, including the early phases. With the exception of three phallic figurines made of stone, all the figurines are made of clay. The distribution of the figurines within the settlement appears to be random. Morales (1983) noted that none of them were found in a context that suggests ceremonial use or practice and there were no concentrations or groupings except for an ashy area.

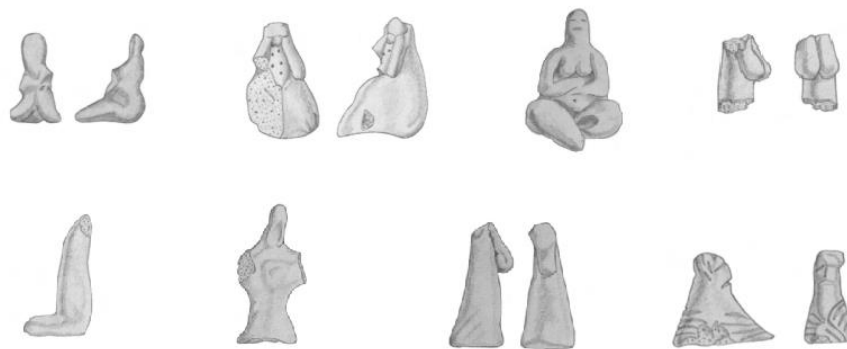


Figure 18: From left to right: early simple type, intermediate type, composite type - pregnant, composite type - nonpregnant, composite type - stylized, torso type - male, stalk objects, and double-wing-based objects types (images adapted from Morales, 1983, Fig. 156.4, 156.7, 157.1a, 158.4, 160.4a, 161.3b, 164.9a, 167.6).

During the excavation at Jarmo, a small number of human remains were unearthed (Braidwood, 1983b). The burials followed a common practice of interment in a flexed

position. Notably, no grave goods were found accompanying the burials. The graves contained individuals of various age groups, including adults, children, and infants. Both single and multiple burials were present at the site. The deceased were buried directly within the floors of the settlement.

### **3.1.5 Central Anatolia**

There are three Neolithic settlements from the Central Anatolia.

#### **3.1.5.1 Aşıklı Höyük**

Aşıklı Höyük is a Neolithic settlement located in Central Anatolia, which was inhabited between 8350 to 7350 cal BC (Quade et al., 2018). The Neolithic mound covers an area of about 4 ha (Stiner et al., 2021). The site was first excavated between 1989 and 2003, under the direction of Ufuk Esin, Savaş Harmankaya, and Nur Balkan Atlı (Esin, 1991; Balkan-Atlı, 1992; Esin & Harmankaya, 2007). After the excavations, a five-season project was initiated to protect and conserve the archaeological site, and then excavations resumed in 2010, under the direction of Mihriban Özbaşaran (Özbaşaran et al., 2010; Özbaşaran, 2013).

A limited number of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines have been unearthed at the site. To date, a total of eight zoomorphic and three anthropomorphic figurines have been discovered (Sönmez, 2018; Yelözer, 2022). While all the animal figurines are made of clay, each human figurine is made from a different material. Among the animal figurines, five depict cattle, sheep, or goats, while two depict pigs (Sönmez, 2018). All of the animal figurines are fragmentary.

The first human figurine measures 3.41 cm in height and is made of clay. However, one of the projections on either side of the upper body, which could be an arm or chest, is missing. The lower body features a protrusion that may represent the belly or phallus. The pointed projection on the face is reminiscent of a beak (Özbaşaran, 2017; Sönmez, 2018; Yelözer, 2022). This figurine was discovered in a pit beneath the floor of one of the earliest structures in the settlement (Özbaşaran, 2017). Surrounding the pit where the figurine was found, there are small mud brick blocks, clay fragments, and a basalt stone. Additionally, two naturally shaped objects resembling humans were found in the filling material above the floor (Özbaşaran, 2017). This same practice was

repeated with two objects in the later stages of the building. These objects were made of ignimbrite (Özbaşaran, 2017). The second figurine bears a striking resemblance to the first figurine in terms of form, but it is made of basalt instead of clay. Moreover, the dimensions of the basalt figurine are considerably larger than those of the clay figurine. It was discovered within the interior fill of a building dating several centuries after the clay figurine (Yelözer, 2022). The final figurine belongs to the category of schematic bone figurines, similar to those found at Dja'de el-Mughara, Mureybet, Boncuklu Höyük, and Çatalhöyük (Gourichon, 2004; Christidou et al., 2009; Baird, 2020; Pawlowska & Baranski, 2020). It was found within the fill material of an early-stage building (Yelözer, 2022).

Until 2021, a total of 103 individuals have been discovered at Aşıklı Höyük (Yelözer, 2022). Among these remains, 40 percent belong to fetuses, infants, and children, 35 percent to adult women, and 16 percent to adult men. The majority of burials date back to the 8<sup>th</sup> millennium BC. The deceased were typically interred in pits that were dug into the floors of houses. While single burials were observed in the early stages of the settlement, multiple burials became more common in later stages (Özbaşaran, 2013). Around a third of the burials contained grave goods, such as stone and bone tools, beads, and ornaments. Furthermore, there are indications of various types of skull modifications. During excavations, an infant skull that was buried with beads and ochre, as well as a postmortem engraved female skull, were discovered (Özbek, 2011; Yelözer, 2022).

### **3.1.5.2 Boncuklu Höyük**

Boncuklu Höyük is an early Neolithic settlement situated on the Konya Plain in Central Anatolia. Recent investigations suggests that the earliest occupation of the site dates to the 10<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE and persisting until the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> millennium BCE (Baird et al., 2017; Baird et al., 2022). The site covers an area of over 1 ha (Baird et al., 2012). Excavations at Boncuklu Höyük were conducted between 2006 and 2022 under the direction of Douglas Baird (Baird et al., 2012; Baird et al., 2022).

Boncuklu Höyük exhibits a rich symbolic life, characterized by practices such as the separation of clean and dirty areas within the houses, intramural burials, the presence of figurines, and the installations of animal skulls on the walls. These symbolic

activities can also be observed in its successor, Çatalhöyük. A small collection of human and animal figurines made from clay, bone, and stone was discovered at the site. Most of these figurines were made of low-fired clay (Baird, 2020). Analysis of fingerprints on clay objects revealed that the majority of clay objects, including six out of seven figurines, were created by adult women (Bennison-Chapman & Hager, 2018).

A predominant 77 percent of the figurines unearthed at Boncuklu Höyük exhibit zoomorphic characteristics, with the remaining depicting anthropomorphic forms (Fletcher et al., 2017). Notably, complete figurines were not recovered at the site (Bennison-Chapman, 2014). The figurines were predominantly located in and around houses (Baird et al., 2011). Anthropomorphic figurines primarily took on a simplistic female form, with a notable exception—a hybrid figurine featuring both bear and female human attributes. This exceptional find was accompanied by an obsidian tool within a posthole (Baird et al., 2015; Baird et al., 2017). Moreover, another fragment of a figurine was discovered in a deeper niche within the cache pit where the hybrid figurine was found (Baird et al., 2016). Additionally, bone figurines with anthropomorphic features, akin to those discovered at Dja'de el-Mughara, Mureybet, Çatalhöyük, and Aşıklı Höyük, were also identified at Boncuklu Höyük (Gourichon, 2004; Christidou et al., 2009; Pawlowska & Baranski, 2020; Baird, 2020; Yelözer, 2022).

Human burials have been discovered at the site, both in open areas and beneath the floors of “clean areas” in houses that were still in use (Baird et al., 2017; Baird et al., 2019). The burials include perinatal individuals, infants, children, and adult females and males. Some of the graves contained grave goods, and ochre was used to cover some of the burials. It has been suggested that skulls were removed and circulated at Boncuklu, but not from humans who remained buried beneath the floors of houses; rather, they may have been taken from retrieved burials (Baird et al., 2017, p. 765). It has also been noted that the diets of individuals whose skulls were buried in open areas and those buried inside houses differed (Baird et al., 2017).

### **3.1.5.3 Çatalhöyük**

Çatalhöyük is a large Neolithic settlement located in Central Anatolia that consists of two mounds, Neolithic (East) and Chalcolithic (West). The East mound covers 13.5

ha and dates between 7100 – 5900 BCE, while the West mound overlaps in time in the last quarter of the seventh millennium BCE and continues until 5600 BCE, covering 8.5 ha (Hodder & Matthews, 1998; Hodder, 2020). There are four occupational levels in the East mound, including early (7100 – 6700 BCE), middle (6700 – 6500 BCE), late (6500 – 6300 BCE), and final (6300 – 5950 BCE) (Hodder, 2020). The site was excavated by James Mellart from 1961 to 1965, and Ian Hodder conducted a new project between 1993-2017 (Mellart, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1966; Hodder and Matthews, 1998; Hodder, 2020). After the project, excavations were resumed under the direction of Konya Archaeological Museum Directorate and scientific consultancy of Çiler Çilingiroğlu between 2018-2019 (Çilingiroğlu et al., 2022). Currently, the excavations at Çatalhöyük are under the direction of Ali Umut Türkcan.

Çatalhöyük is known for its complex symbolic life, as evidenced by the presence of various artifacts, mortuary practices, wall paintings, plastered animal installations, etc. The site has yielded a large number of figurines, with about 3000 complete or nearly complete figurines and figurine fragments discovered in the Neolithic layers so far (Pawlowska & Baranski, 2020; Nakamura, 2021; Çilingiroğlu et al., 2022). It is noteworthy that figurine fragments were three times more common than complete figurines, and that the figurines tended to break at their thinner parts, such as the neck, limbs, horns, and ears (Martin & Meskell, 2012; Nakamura 2021). The figurines found at Çatalhöyük were made of clay, stone, and bone, and they were often found in the middens of external areas. It is interesting to note that while the figurines found in the buildings were mostly anthropomorphic, those from the open areas were zoomorphic (Nakamura, 2021). Most of the figurines found at the site were from the middle occupation phase, and their numbers dramatically decreased in the last phase, particularly in buildings.

Zoomorphic figurines play a significant role in the symbolic life of Çatalhöyük, with about 1550 of them or their fragments analyzed to date (Nakamura, 2021). These figurines primarily depict quadrupeds, horns, and horn fragments. Except for one stone figurine, all zoomorphic figurines are made of lightly baked or sun-dried fine clay (Martin & Meskell, 2012). The presence of defacement on these animal figurines and their placement in interstitial spaces in walls and under floors suggest that they may have had ritual significance (Nakamura et al., 2004). It is also intriguing that the

fragmentation rate of zoomorphic figurines is almost twice that of anthropomorphic and abbreviated figurines, and that the zoomorphic figurines become increasingly abstract over time, transitioning from quadruped forms to horn forms (Nakamura, 2021).

About 215 anthropomorphic figurines and figurine fragments were found at the site (Pawłowska & Baranski, 2020; Nakamura, 2021; Çilingiroğlu et al., 2022). Most of the anthropomorphic figurines found at Çatalhöyük depict a robust, fleshy body form, with commonly depicted features including breasts (67%), buttocks (56%), and bellies (40%) (Nakamura & Meskell, 2009). However, only two pubic triangle depictions have been found, and there are no depictions of male genitalia on the figurines.

Anthropomorphic figurines were made of a variety of materials, including some stones that were sourced from distant locations (Nakamura, 2021). The figurines at Çatalhöyük were primarily made of clay, but some were also made of bone, limestone, marble, speleothem, etc. Despite the difficulty in achieving bodily specificity in stone, stone figurines seem to display more bodily specificity than clay figurines (Nakamura, 2021). Also, the location of the stone figurines seems to have shifted over time, being found more frequently inside houses during the middle to late periods to being found more frequently outside of buildings in midden and burial fill in the final period. The discovery of bone figurines made from phalanges of equids is also significant, as they are comparatively rare and were found in storage rooms (Pawłowska & Baranski, 2020). Similar bone figurines were found in Dja'de al-Mughara, Mureybet, Aşıklı Höyük and Boncuklu Höyük (Gourichon, 2004; Christidou et al., 2009; Baird, 2020; Yelözer, 2022).

The number of anthropomorphic figurines is very rare in the early stages of the settlement. The anthropomorphic figurines occur mostly in the late phase but then drop dramatically in the final stage (Nakamura, 2021; Arntz, 2022). However, the ratio of anthropomorphic figurines to all figurines follows a different pattern, with the lowest ratio in the middle stage and the highest ratio in the final stage. Arntz (2022) points out the more realistic anthropomorphic figurines do not appear until the late phase, in the early and middle phases the figurines are more abbreviated.

In addition to the anthropomorphic figurines, 662 figurines and figurine fragments from Neolithic layers were described as “abbreviated” (Nakamura & Meskell, 2009; Nakamura, 2021). Some of these figurines can be considered highly schematic human figurines or phallic figurines. About three quarters of the human figurines and abbreviated figurines have been found in external spaces (Nakamura, 2021). Majority of the abbreviated figurines come from the later middle phase and the late phase and they are virtually absent in the final levels (Arntz, 2022).

The site has yielded the remains of at least 816 individuals, with most of the skeletons coming from the middle phase of the settlement (Haddow et al., 2021). Houses at the site do not show strong age or sex biases, but there are differences in health, diet, and lifestyle between young and old adults (Pearson & Meskell, 2015; Haddow et al. 2021). The majority of the burials are located under the northern and eastern platforms in the clean areas of the houses during the occupation phase (Haddow et al., 2021). Some of the graves contain grave goods, such as figurines, beads, bracelets, and other ornaments. Different burial practices were carried out at the site, including primary, secondary, and tertiary burials. The primary burials are mostly undisturbed. However, the rate of primary undisturbed burials has been decreasing continuously from the early stage to the final stage. Skull treatments such as cranium and mandible modeling and painting are also common at Çatalhöyük (Haddow & Knüsel, 2017).

### **3.1.6 Mediterranean Anatolia**

There are three Epipaleolithic sites from the Mediterranean Anatolia.

#### **3.1.6.1 Direkli Cave**

Direkli Cave is an Epipaleolithic site (10.730-9500 BCE) situated on the slope of Deli Höbek Mountain in the central Taurus range. It is worth noting that the cave was also inhabited during the Middle Ages (Baysal & Erek, 2018). The initial research on the site was conducted by Kılıç Kökten in 1959 (Kökten, 1960). Subsequently, excavations were initiated in 2007 under the direction of Cevdet Merih Erek (Erek, 2009). At the site, a single anthropomorphic figurine made of baked clay was discovered (Erek, 2014). The figurine is small and highly stylized. It has indicated eyes and two projections on both sides of its body. According to Erek, the figurine depicts

a pregnant female (Erek, 2014). The figurine was found near the "Great Grave" in the burial area (Erek, 2017). The dead were buried in the hocker position parallel to the western wall of the cave. Grave goods such as pestles, bone net sinkers, bone spatulas, etc. were found in the graves (Erek, 2017).

### **3.1.6.2 Karain Cave**

Karain Cave is an archaeological site that has been inhabited by people across various periods, including the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age, and Classical Age. The site is located 27 km northwest of Antalya, Türkiye. The initial archaeological excavations were conducted by İsmail Kılıç Kökten between 1946 and 1973 (Kökten, 1955). Subsequently, Işın Yalçınkaya resumed the excavations in 1985 (Yalçınkaya, 1988). The excavations at Karain Cave are ongoing, led by a team from Ankara University (Taşkıran et al., 2022).

At the site, an Upper Paleolithic bone figurine was discovered (Kökten, 1958). The figurine was interpreted as an image of a bearded human face, roughly carved into the end of an animal's rib (Bilgi, 2012). This figurine is considered to be the earliest known three-dimensional anthropomorphic representation found in Anatolia.

### **3.1.6.3 Kızılın**

Kızılın Cave, similar to Karain Cave, is a Paleolithic site situated in the northwest of Antalya. This Epipaleolithic site is located southwest of Karain Cave. The cave was initially discovered by İsmail Kılıç Kökten in the 1950s, and a survey was conducted by Işıl Yalçınkaya in 1984. Excavations at the site were resumed in 2017 under the direction of Antalya Museum, with the scientific consultancy of Metin Kartal (Demirel et al., 2019a).

Two anthropomorphic figurines were discovered at Kızılın (Demirel et al., 2019b). These sandstone figurines are dated back to the Epipalaeolithic period. One of the figurines represents a human head with distinct, prominent eyes. The other figurine depicts a schematic representation of two people. This particular figurine has been interpreted as a "twin figurine" (Demirel et al., 2019b).



### **3.1.7 Cyprus**

There are ten settlements from Cyprus.

#### **3.1.7.1 Ayia Varvara - Asprokremnos**

Ayia Varvara - Asprokremnos is a small Aceramic Neolithic site situated in central Cyprus. The site has been dated to approximately 8850/8750–8650/8550 cal BC (McCartney et al., 2010). Discovered in the 1990s, the site was subsequently excavated by Carole McCartney during the 2000s (McCartney et al., 2006; 2007).

At the site, three anthropomorphic figurines were discovered (Winkelmann, 2020). Among them, two were made of stone, while the remaining one was made of baked clay. The stone figurines exhibit a highly schematic form and depict the complete human body, whereas the clay figurine depicts a torso. The stone figurines seem to be associated with abandoned structures, while the clay figurines were found within the fill of a natural channel.

#### **3.1.7.2 Kalavassos - Tenta**

Kalavassos - Tenta is an archaeological site situated in the Vasilikos Valley of Cyprus, encompassing the Neolithic and early Chalcolithic periods. The site's earliest occupation can be traced back to the mid-9th millennium. It is characterized by three aceramic periods: Cypro-EPPNB (8500/8400–7900 cal BC), Cypro-LPPNB (7600-7000/6800 cal BC), and Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800–5200 cal BC), (Winkelmann, 2020). The Neolithic mound of Kalavassos - Tenta spans an area of 300 × 200 meters (Todd, 1978). The site was initially discovered and explored by Porphyrios Dikaios and G. Anastasiou during the 1940s. However, systematic excavations at the site were conducted in the 1970s and 1980s under the direction of Ian A. Todd (Todd, 1977, 1978, 1987).

At the site, two anthropomorphic figurines were discovered, dating back to the period between 7600 and 7000/6800 cal BC. One of the figurines was made of limestone, while the other was made of diabase. The limestone figurine takes the form of a phallus, while the other figurine depicts a fragmented head and neck. Remarkably, both figurines were unearthed from extra-mural habitation layers (Winkelmann, 2020).

A total of 18 individuals were discovered in 14 burials during the excavation of the site (Winkelmann, 2020). The burials encompassed a range of age groups, including adults, children, and infants. The deceased were interred in various locations, such as within the walls of houses, beneath the floors, or outside the buildings. The burials consisted of both single interments and multiple individuals interred together. Notably, no grave goods were found accompanying the burials.

### **3.1.7.3 Kataliontas - Kourvellos**

Kataliontas - Kourvellos is an Aceramic Neolithic site located in Cyprus, covering an expansive area of over 15 ha (Morrison & Watkins, 1974). The site's discovery took place in the 1950s, and subsequent excavations were carried out during the 1970s (Morrison & Watkins, 1974).

Two stone anthropomorphic figurines were discovered at the site (Winkelmann, 2020). These figurines can be dated back to the Late Aceramic Neolithic period, specifically ranging from 7000/6800 to 5200 BC. One of the figurines features a distinctive mushroom shape, exhibiting intricate facial details. The other figurine, although highly schematic and fragmented, depicts the complete human body.

### **3.1.7.4 Khirokitia - Vouni**

Khirokitia-Vouni is a Late Aceramic Neolithic settlement situated in the valley of the Maroni River, in southern Cyprus. The site was occupied from the 7th until the 4th millennium BCE. The settlement has four distinct phases: an initial phase (Level J-B), a phase of expansion (Level III), a phase of decline (Level II), and a phase of transformation (Level I) (Le Brun & Daune-Le Brun, 2009). The site spans approximately 2.5 ha (Le Brun & Daune-Le Brun, 2009). Excavations were initially conducted by P. Dikaios between 1936 and 1946 (Dikaios, 1953). In 1977, a French team led by Alain Le Brun resumed excavations at the site (Le Brun, 1984, 1989).

A total of 28 anthropomorphic figurines and fragments were discovered at the site (Winkelmann, 2020). These figurines were made of various materials including andesite, diabase, alabaster, limestone, and clay. The majority of the figurines were dated to Level III, with the next highest number coming from Level II. These figurines exhibit a rather simplistic style, portraying the complete human body, and some of

them have broken heads. Most of the figurines were found outside and in the spaces between residential structures, while only four were discovered within the walls of the settlement (Winkelmann, 2020). Interestingly, one figurine was unearthed in a burial context alongside numerous funerary offerings such as stone bowls and beads.

The site has yielded hundreds of burials (Le Mort, 2003). These burials are primarily located in pits beneath the floors of the houses. Both adults and children are interred in these graves. The majority of burials are classified as primary and single, although multiple and secondary burials are also present. The graves were adorned with grave goods. Interestingly, skull deformation appears to occur twice as frequently in women compared to men (Winkelmann, 2020).

#### **3.1.7.5 Kholetria - Ortos**

Kholetria Ortos is a Late Aceramic Neolithic site (7000/6800–5200 cal BC) located in southwestern Cyprus. The settlement spans an area of about 2.4 ha (Simmons & Corona, 1993). Initial investigations at the site were conducted during the 1980s, and further excavations commenced in the early 1990s (Fox, 1988; Simmons & Corona, 1993; Simmons, 1994).

At the Kholetria Ortos site, five schematic anthropomorphic figurines and figurine fragments were discovered. These figurines were made of various materials including diabase, limestone, basalt, and clay. All of the figurines are fragmented. Four of the figurines lacked a head, while one of the fragments specifically represented a head. Notably, one of the figurines was uncovered in a pit.

#### **3.1.7.6 Kissonerga - Mosphilia**

Kissonerga-Mosphilia is an archaeological site situated in the Ktima Lowlands, in western Cyprus, known for its Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains. The aceramic layers at the site are dated to the late 7th millennium BCE. Its discovery took place in the 1930s, and extensive excavations were conducted between 1979 and 1992 under the supervision of Peltenburg (Peltenburg, 1998).

During the excavations at the Kissonerga-Mosphilia, two anthropomorphic figurines made of diabase were unearthed. One of the figurines represents only the head and

neck, while the other depicts the complete human body. One of these figurines was discovered within a pit located inside a building at the site.

### **3.1.7.7 Kissonerga - Mylouthkia**

Kissonerga-Mylouthkia is an archaeological site located on the western coast in the Mavrokolymbos Bay, known for its Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains. The site encompasses two early Aceramic Neolithic phases, which are separated by a significant time gap of approximately a thousand years. These phases are referred to as Period 1A (c. 8600–8200 cal BC) and Period 1B (c. 7300–6800 cal BC) (Winkelmann, 2020, as cited Peltenburg et al., 2003). The site was initially discovered in the 1970s and subsequently excavated from 1976 to 1996 under the direction of Hadjisavvas (Hadjisavvas, 1977; Peltenburg et al., 2003).

At the site, two anthropomorphic figurines dating back to Period 1B were discovered. These figurines are made of pebble and are complete. They possess a rather simplistic style. One of the figurines was found within a well fill that contained a mixture of human and animal bones, as well as artifacts that were likely intended as grave offerings. The second figurine was found in the primary fill of a pit, which was later repurposed as a building (Winkelmann, 2020).

### **3.1.7.8 Kritou Marottou - Ais Yiorkis**

Kritou Marottou - Ais Yiorkis is an Aceramic Neolithic site located in western Cyprus. Radiocarbon dating indicates that the site existed during the middle Cypro-PPNB period, with dates ranging from 7960 to 7180 cal BC (Simmons, 2012). The site spans an area of at least 80 x 40 meters (Simmons, 2012). Archaeological excavations were conducted at the site between 2002 and 2009 (Simmons, 2010).

At the site, a limestone anthropomorphic figurine was discovered (Simmons, 2012). This figurine portrays the lower body of a female, specifically depicting a distinct representation of the pudenda. However, the figurine is broken in half.

### **3.1.7.9 Parekklisha - Shillourokambos**

Parekklisha - Shillourokambos is a large multi-period Neolithic site located in the southern Cyprus. The site comprises four main phases: Early Phase A (c. 8200–

7900/7800 BC) and Early Phase B (c. 7900/7800–7500 BC), Middle Phase (c. 7500–c. 7200 BC), Late Phase (c. 7200–7000 BC), and Ceramic Neolithic Phase (5<sup>th</sup>

millennium) (Guilaine, 2003). The site spans a maximum area of 1 hectare (Winkelmann, 2020). Excavations at the site were conducted between 1991 and 2004 (Guilaine et al., 1995; Guilaine & Briois, 2001; Winkelmann, 2020). At the site, three anthropomorphic figurines made of various materials were discovered (Winkelmann, 2020). One figurine is made of pebble, another of plaster, and the third of picrolite. These figurines first appeared at the site during the Early Phase B. The plaster figurine portrays a human head and was recovered from the fill of one of the abandoned wells at the site. In contrast, the pebble and picrolite figurines are highly stylized and represent the complete human body.

At the site, a total of eleven single burials and a collective burial have been unearthed (Mort et al., 2008). These burials encompass individuals of different age groups, including infants, children, and adults. The graves also contain various grave goods, such as axes, pendants, and shells. In the collective burial, human remains were discovered mixed with animal remains (Mort et al., 2008). Furthermore, an intriguing discovery was made adjacent to one of the single burials of an adult human—a burial of a cat.

#### **3.1.7.10 Petra tou Limniti**

Petra tou Limniti is a small island on the northern shores of Cyprus. It is a Late Aceramic Neolithic site (7000/6800–5200 cal BCE) located in Morphou/Güzelyurt Bay, with dimensions of 150 × 105 meters. The excavation of the settlement was conducted by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition during the early 20th century (Winkelmann, 2020).

At the site, three anthropomorphic figurines were discovered. Two of them are made of dolerite while the material composition of the third figurine is identified as either dolerite or diabase. These figurines portray the complete human body in a highly schematic style. The head of one of the figurines is missing. All figurines were discovered within domestic buildings, specifically in close proximity to the "kitchen" area of the buildings, resting on the floor (Winkelmann, 2020).

### 3.2 General evaluation of figurine data

This part will initially introduce the early anthropomorphic figurine assemblage of the Near East and provide an overview of their distinctive attributes. After the general overview, the subsections will provide an in-depth discussion of the figurines.

The figurine assemblage from the Epipaleolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic Near East is notably extensive and diverse, in contrast to the restricted number of selective examples emphasized in prior studies. In this study, a total of 4730 figurines and figurine fragments dating back to the Epipaleolithic and Neolithic periods were examined. Although the temporal boundaries of the study range from the Epipaleolithic to the end of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, figurines from the Pottery

Neolithic that retained the same stylistic features as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic were also taken into account. To illustrate, figurines from the late Neolithic phases of Çatalhöyük and Tell Sabi Abyad were included in the analysis; however, figurines come from newly established sites during the Pottery Neolithic that existed concurrently with these two sites, as well as those characterized by features indicative of different time periods such as Yarmukian, were intentionally excluded from the study. The purpose of this selection is to prioritize early figurine assemblage of the Near East and to understand the networks that were established through these figurines during the Epipaleolithic and early Neolithic periods. In the study, figurines were examined in seven time periods:

Before 9800 BCE

9800 – 8800/8600 BCE

8800/8600 – 8200/8000 BCE

8200/8000 – 7500 BCE

7500 – 7000 BCE

7000 – 6500 BCE

After 6500 BCE

The rationale behind this periodization lies in the variability of relative dating, such as the occurrence of PPNA and PPNB, at different times across diverse regions. This variability proves insufficient for uncovering comprehensive interaction networks.

Consequently, this study adopts a periodization based on an absolute dating, utilizing the radiocarbon dates of the settlements within its scope. This approach may also align with relative sub-periods (such as EPPNB, MPPNB, LPPNB) within the context of the Near Eastern Neolithic in some points.

The study encompasses 87 settlements across 7 regions, with regions classified as Levant, Upper & Middle Euphrates, Upper Tigris, Western & Central Zagros, Central Anatolia, Mediterranean Anatolia, and Cyprus. Notable variations exist both in the number of settlements in the regions and the quantity of figurines recovered from each settlement. Some sites yield only a single figurine, while others boast hundreds. The Levant region has the most numerous settlements, while Central Anatolia and Mediterranean Anatolia have the fewest. However, the overall number of figurines per region does not correlate with the number of settlements. Also, the number of figurines does not directly correlate with the size of the settlement.

The classification of Near Eastern anthropomorphic figurines from the Epipaleolithic and Neolithic periods poses challenges due to the physical damage observed in their structures and the abstraction and fluidity in their styles. However, despite these challenges, the presence of well-preserved and clearly identified figurines enables their classification to a certain extent. Within this framework, early anthropomorphic figurines of the Near East can be separated through eight types (Figure 19):

Phalluses - (Type 1)

Pestle, baton, T-shaped object - (Type 2)

Human seated style- (Type 3)

Human standing style- (Type 4)

Head - (Type 5)

Human-animal composite style - (Type 6)

Multiple human style - (Type 7)

Grooved object (Type 8)

Phalluses (Type 1) exhibit variations as abstract, realistic, or anthropomorphic forms. Abstract variations may hybridize with grooved objects (Type 8) or the human seated type (Type 3) figurines, while anthropomorphic ones may hybridize with Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5. Pestles, batons and T-shaped objects (Type 2) constitute another type

with phallic features. Certain examples within this type also display anthropomorphic or zoomorphic characteristics. Human seated type (Type 3) features depictions of individuals seated with a backward lean, emphasizing exaggerated buttocks. Although most of these figurines have rounded lines, some also exhibit more angular features. The heads of this type of figurines are mostly broken or stylized. In the more abstract variations, these figurines may bear a resemblance to phalluses (Type 1), especially when the head is damaged or slightly tapered. This fluidity is particularly noticeable in samples made of clay. Human standing type (Type 4) figurines come in both abstract and realistic forms. A notable characteristic of many figurines of this type is the placement of hands at chest level. The depictions vary, with some exhibiting rounded lines, while others display a straight body line. Additionally, certain instances portray stylized lower bodies and heads, invoking a phallic imagery in their design. Heads (Type 5) includes both mask type figurines and the broken heads of full human body style figurines. Human-animal composite style (Type 6) refers to figurines consisting of an animal and a human depiction. Multiple human style figurines (Type 7) are single-piece figurines depicting more than one person. Grooved objects (Type 8) typically consist of highly schematic pebble figurines. While this category is seldom classified within the archaeological literature as schematic figurines represent human, vulvae, or heads, it is generally appraised as a "shaft straightener" or "engraved pebble." Consequently, a limited number of examples considered as figurines or symbolic objects are included in this study.

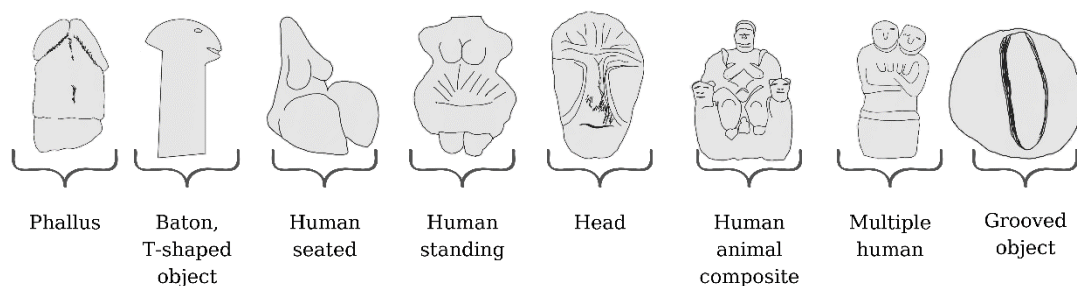


Figure 19: Figurine types. From left to right: Type 1 (Wadi Faynan 16), Type 2 (Halla Çemi), Type 3 (Çayönü), Type 4 (‘Ain Ghazal), Type 5 (‘Ain Mallaha), Type 6 (Jebel Saaide II), Type 7 (Çatalhöyük), Type 8 (Çatalhöyük).



When all the figurines are considered, Type 3 is found to be the most common, followed by Type 1 and Type 4 (Figure 20). Type 7 represents the rarest figurines. However, it should be emphasized that there exists a spectrum and fluidity between Type 1 and Type 3, particularly evident in clay figurines. This spectrum can be observed in settlements such as Jarmo, Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, Nevali Çori, Chogha Sefid, and Tell Ramad, where numerous figurines are found.

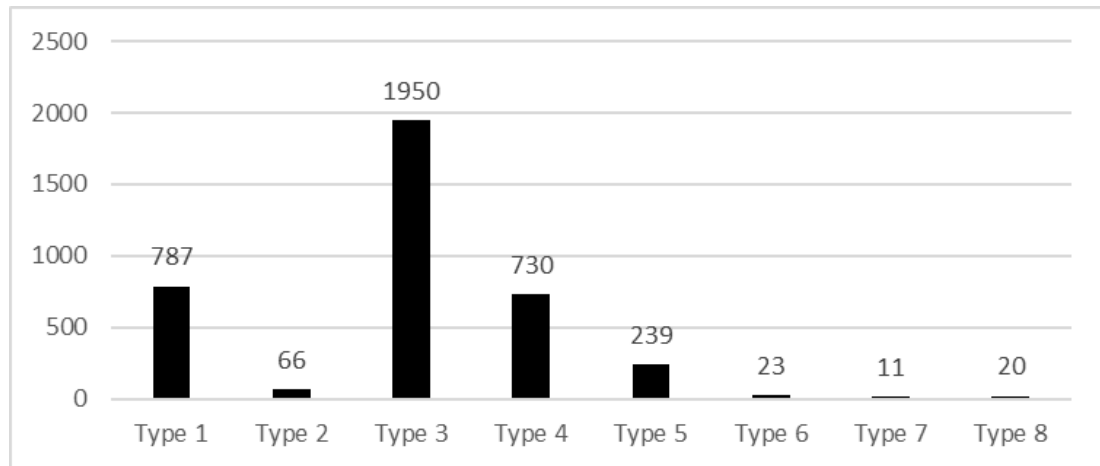


Figure 20: Typological distribution of Epipaleolithic and Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines from Near East.

The choice of raw material in the production of figurines is predominantly clay, with 83 percent (3922 examples) of all figurines made of clay, 15 percent (730 examples) of stone, and 2 percent (74 examples) of bone (Figure 21). Clay figurines are primarily made of local, fine clays, although these clays may have varying properties. They include sun-dried, low-baked, baked, and burnt examples. Early instances typically feature sun-dried and low-fired figurines, with those more extensively exposed to fire emerging around 8200/8000-7500 BCE. Clays used in figurine production also showcase a broad range of colors, spanning from pink to brown and green to gray. The category of stone figurines includes a large number of components. While specific types is rarely specified in many publications, some notable stones include limestone, basalt, chlorite, marble, alabaster, dolerite, flint, pebble, andesite, picrolite, sandstone, greenstone, nephrite, and gypsum. Among these stones, local limestones are the most commonly used, while nephrite, gypsum, and greenstone are among the rarest. The majority of bone figurines are phalanges of equids. Following the phalanges, tubular

bones are the most common ones. In bone figurines, an anthropomorphic image is typically conveyed by utilizing the natural shapes of the bones.

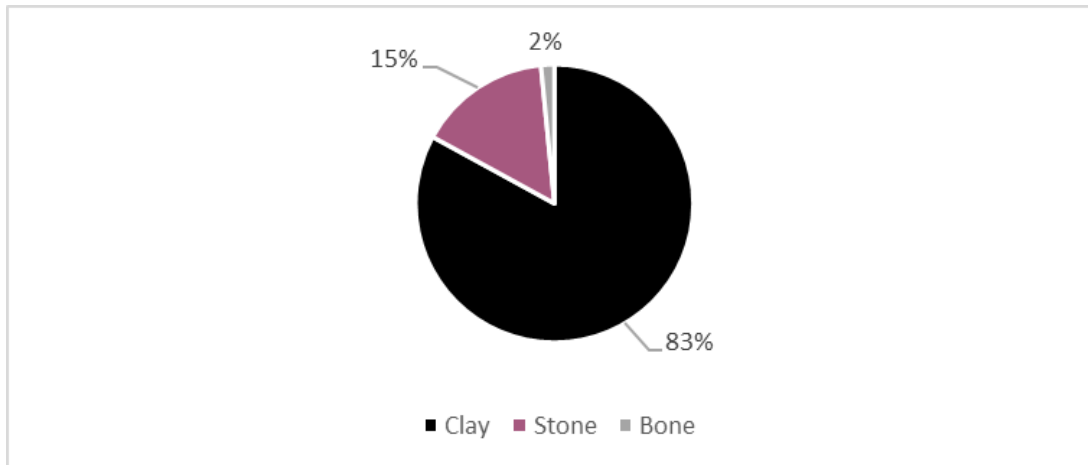


Figure 21: Distribution of the figurines according to their raw materials

The contexts information of many figurines is either missing, unclear, or vaguely defined, often described as "related to the building," "in the building area," or "no specific pattern." No context information is available for the figurines from 34 of the 87 settlements. In the remaining settlements, context information is available for some figurines, with studies providing such information for only 66 percent of all figurines. Categorizing the contexts of these figurines also involved a challenging decision-making process. The difficulty arose from both the very general descriptions of the contexts in the publications and the complex and intertwined nature of concepts like house, grave, pit, and niche in Neolithic settlements. In addressing these challenges, the study analyzed the contexts of the figurines within 8 categories:

- 1- Domestic building
- 2- Special building
- 3- Pit, niche
- 4- Burial area
- 5- Midden
- 6- Open area

7- Random distribution

8- Ashy area

Each of these categories encompasses areas, structures, and contexts recognized by various names in the literature. The "domestic building" category represents structures primarily identified as "houses." It includes buildings that conform to the general pattern of the settlement. Figurines directly associated with these structures in some publications and described as "related to the house/building" in others are categorized here. Notably, figurines from "room fills" are prevalent in this category. Contexts such as pits, niches, graves, etc., located within the house but specified separately, are not included in this category. The "special building" category comprises structures that stand out from other buildings in the settlement due to a distinctive feature related to their intended use. This includes buildings referred to as "communal building," "cult building," "shrine," etc. The "pit, niche" category generally encompasses the practice of intentionally burying a figurine, either within architectural structures or open areas. This includes figurines that are later positioned inside walls or at their joints and covered. Pits are the most common contexts within this category. The "burial area" category encompasses situations in which a figurine or a group of figurines come directly from a burial or is associated with a burial area. Considering the Neolithic tradition of burying graves inside buildings, a direct connection with the burial was considered for figurines found within the building. The "midden" category refers to areas of waste accumulation, commonly referred to as middens or dumps in the publications, left behind by people. The "open area" category serves as a broad term encompassing spaces outside buildings, including areas between buildings and large open spaces lacking specific qualifications. The "random distribution" category, although inherently vague in definition, is frequently utilized in publications to signify that the figurines, dispersed throughout the settlement, lack any discernible pattern. The "ashy area" category typically denotes locations such as hearths, ovens, and fire spots where figurines are unearthed in conjunction with ash residues.

When analyzing the distribution of figurines among these categories, the "random distribution" category takes the lead, largely due to the inclusion of Jarmo figurines (Figure 22). The distribution of figurines from Ghoraife, Netiv Hagdud, and Ganj Dareh was also under this category. A total of 1130 figurines from four settlements are

classified within this "random distribution" category. In the "open area" category, figurines from 12 settlements are included. Mezraa-Teleilat and Nevali Çori figurines dominate this category. The majority of Khirokitia - Vouni figurines in Cyprus are also in this category, affecting the regional distribution. The domestic building category comprises 522 figurines from 20 settlements, making it the largest category in terms of the number of settlements represented. The pit and niche category includes figurines from 12 settlements, with notable contributions from Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Nevali Çori. The midden category comprises 348 figurines from 7 locations, with notable contributions from Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, Dja'de el-Mughara, and Wadi Faynan 16. The burial area category includes samples from 18 settlements, with significant contributions from figurines directly associated with the burial area at Tell Ramad. The ashy area category consists of 99 figurines from 4 settlements: Tell Sabi Abyad, Çatalhöyük, Munhata, and Gritille. Finally, the special building category comprises 45 examples from 11 settlements, with notable contributions from sites such as Göbeklitepe and Nevali Çori.

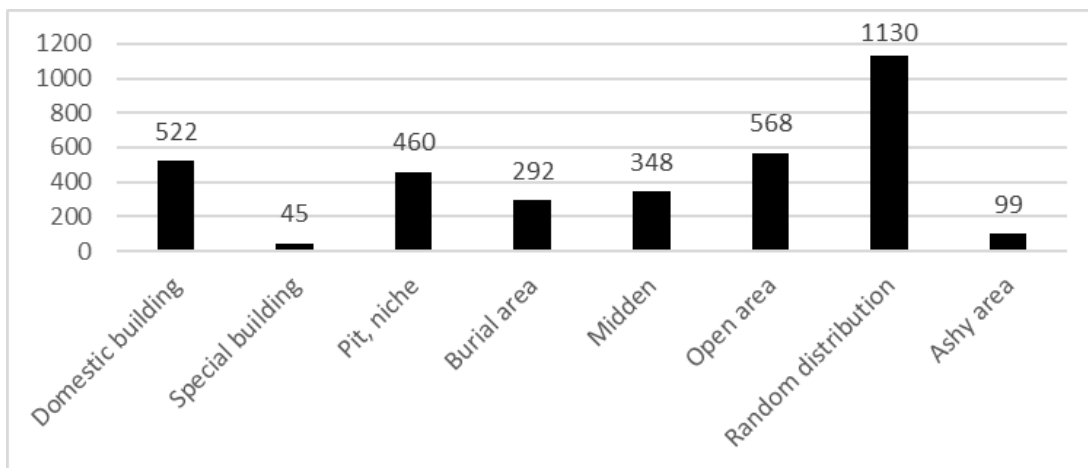


Figure 22: Distribution of figurines according to their contexts

The breakage patterns of Neolithic figurines reveal traces of both intentional and spontaneous damage. For instance, Nevali Çori figurines exhibit deliberate breakage at their strongest points, whereas in many figurines from other settlements, it is challenging to distinguish breakage at their weakest points. The fragmentation

information provided in publications is often insufficient to draw comprehensive conclusions on this matter. Nevertheless, the available data indicates that breakage, especially the breaking of figurine heads, became common during the period between 8200/8000-7500 BCE.

The gender analysis of Neolithic Near Eastern figurines has been a central focus in scholarly investigations. Traditionally, the "Mother Goddess" debates emphasized the association of figurines with concepts of maternity and fertility. Later studies introduced male figurines featuring phalluses, presenting a counter-narrative, a male-centric Neolithic world. However, this study contends that understanding the sexual representations of Neolithic Near Eastern figurines requires a nuanced discussion beyond this binary framework. The fragmented and abstract nature of most figurines makes sexual assignment challenging. The number of figurines portraying full human bodies with distinct male or female sexual organs is limited. Instead, interpretation often relies on secondary sexual characteristics, leading to a contentious decision-making process. More than half of the figurines fall within a spectrum where a seated female body can also be interpreted as an erect phallus. Distinguishing between representations of testicles and a penis or female hips and upper body is particularly challenging in increasingly abstract examples. In some instances, breasts and the head are also shaped similarly to testicles and a penis. Therefore, the debate surrounding these figurines goes beyond a simplistic male-female binary, presenting a complex and multifaceted inquiry.

### **3.2.1 Temporal distribution of figurines**

The temporal distribution of figurines exhibits a fluctuating pattern in the graph, notably peaking in the 7000-6500 BCE period (Figure 23). Out of the 4730 figurines analyzed in the study, 2928 are dated to 7000 BCE and later. The second-highest count of figurines aligns with the time period between 8200/8000 and 7500 BCE. Moreover, there are 266 figurines for which a clear assignment to any specific time period is lacking.

A total of 44 figurines were recovered from 15 settlements dating back to before 9800 BCE. El-Wad Cave and Nahal Oren stand out as the settlements with the highest number of figurines during this period. It is noteworthy that there is no significant

disparity in the number of figurines among the settlements, with the number of anthropomorphic figurines not surpassing ten.

A total of 167 figurines from 21 settlements date back to the period between 9800-8800/8600 BCE. Notably, during this period, the number of figurines started to gradually increase in some settlements. Göbeklitepe, Wadi Faynan 16, Gilgal, and Mureybet are among the prominent settlements with a significant number of figurines from this timeframe.

The period between 8800/8600 and 8200/8000 BCE is represented by 122 figurines from 10 settlements. The total number of both settlements and figurines has decreased compared to the previous period. Nevertheless, the concentration of figurines continues in some settlements, with Dja'de el-Mughara being the settlement with the most figurines during this period.

The period 8200/8000-7500 BCE witnesses an explosion in the number of figurines. However, the number of settlements still did not exceed the period 9800-8800/8600 BCE. A total of 991 figurines were found from 16 settlements during this period, and the concentration of figurines continues in some sites.

There is a notable decline in the number of figurines between 7500-7000 BCE. Conversely, there is an increase in the total number of settlements. A total of 222 figurines are found across 26 settlements from this period, indicating a decrease in figurine density within settlements.

The period between 7000-6500 BCE stands out as the era with the highest number of figurines among all periods. A total of 2211 figurines are identified across 14 settlements from this timeframe, with some settlements yielding hundreds of figurines. Important settlements from this period include Jarmo, Çatalhöyük, and Tell Sabi Abyad.

After 6500 BCE, the distribution of figurines is mainly observed in settlements that extend from the preceding period. A total of 717 figurines are documented across 10 settlements from this timeframe, with notable contributions from Tell Sabi Abyad and Çatalhöyük.

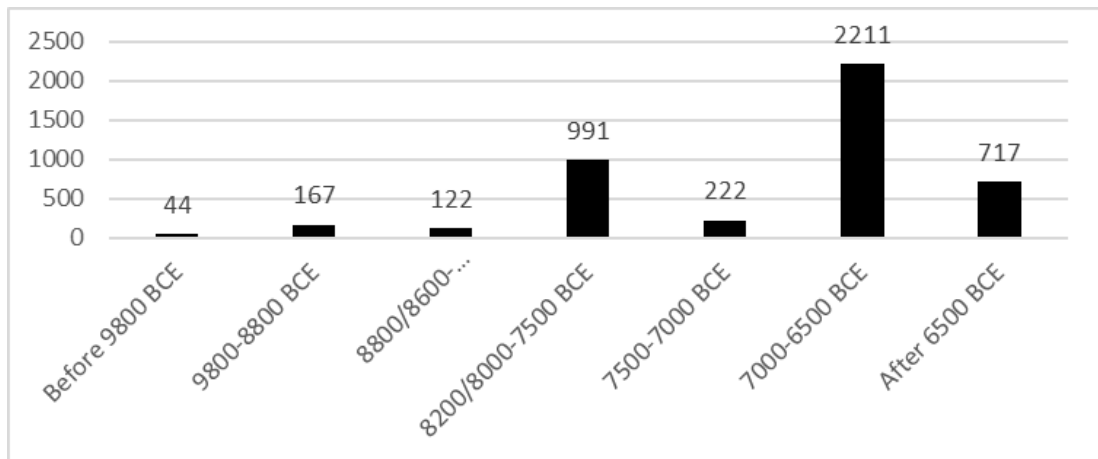


Figure 23: Number of figurines according to their time periods.

### 3.2.1.1 Temporal distribution of figurine types

The distribution of figurine types over time reveals variations in the prevalence and diversity of different types during different periods (Figure 24). There are 7 types from 15 sites before 9800 BCE, 8 types from 21 sites between 9800-8800/8600 BCE, 8 types from 10 sites between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, 5 types from 16 sites between 8200/8000-7500 BCE, 4 types from 26 sites between 7500-7000 BCE, 7 types from 14 sites between 7000-6500 BCE, and 4 types from 10 sites after 6500 BCE.

Examining the distribution of figurine types throughout different periods, the prominent types before 9800 BCE are phalluses and grooved objects. These roughly shaped figurines are followed by batons. The only type of figurines absent during this period are those depicting human-animal composite styles. The most common figurines between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE are pestles, batons and T-shaped objects. Following these, heads and phalluses become prominent. Notably, this period marks the highest frequency of human-animal composite style figurines, a type not found in the previous period. Between 8800/8600 and 8200/8000 BCE, there was an increase in human seated figurines, and they became the most prevalent type. Following this, there is a nearly equal number of phalluses and human standing type figurines. Figurines of other types are rare in this period. The period 8200/8000-7500 BCE marked the time when some figurine types reached three-digit numbers for the first time. Human seated and human standing figurines are both represented by hundreds

of examples in this period. Pestles, batons, T-shaped objects have disappeared since this period. Between 7500 and 7000 BCE there was a dramatic decline in the number of figurines. However, human seated figurines persist as the dominant type during this period. Only phalluses, human seated, and human standing figurines are present during this timeframe. Between 7000 and 6500 BCE, there was a significant increase in the number of figurines. The number of human seated figurines reached a thousand. This period stands out as the timeframe with the highest number of heads, attributed to both the increase in overall figurine production and practice of breaking the heads of figurines. This period is also characterized by a notable shift towards abstraction in figurines. Particularly, human seated type figurines and phalluses started to exhibit similarities to each other during this time. After 6500 BCE, there was once again a decrease in the number of figurines. The number of highly abstracted human seated type figurines and phalluses is nearly equal. Following these, human standing figurines and heads are observed in descending order of prevalence.

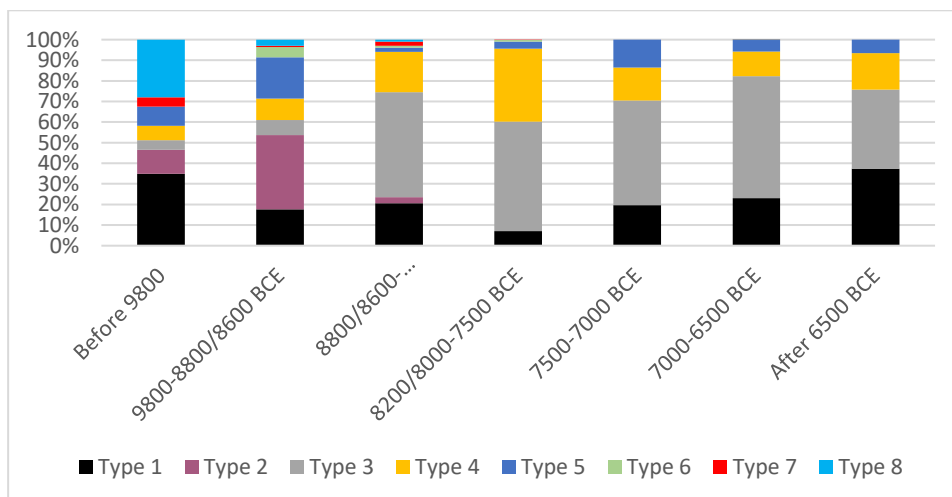


Figure 24: Temporal distribution of types

### 3.2.1.2 Temporal distribution of figurine raw materials

Analyzing the distribution across different time periods reveals distinct material preferences over time (Figure 25). Prior to 9800 BCE and between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE, stone was the primary material for figurine production. Before 9800 BCE, bone



figurines constituted the second-highest proportion. However, between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE, there was a noticeable increase in the number of clay figurines. Between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, bone became the dominant material, closely followed by stone figurines. Moving to 8200/8000-7500 BCE, clay emerged as the dominant material, and the number of clay figurines experienced a significant surge, increasing 30 times compared to the previous period. This trend continued, with clay maintaining its dominance in all subsequent periods.

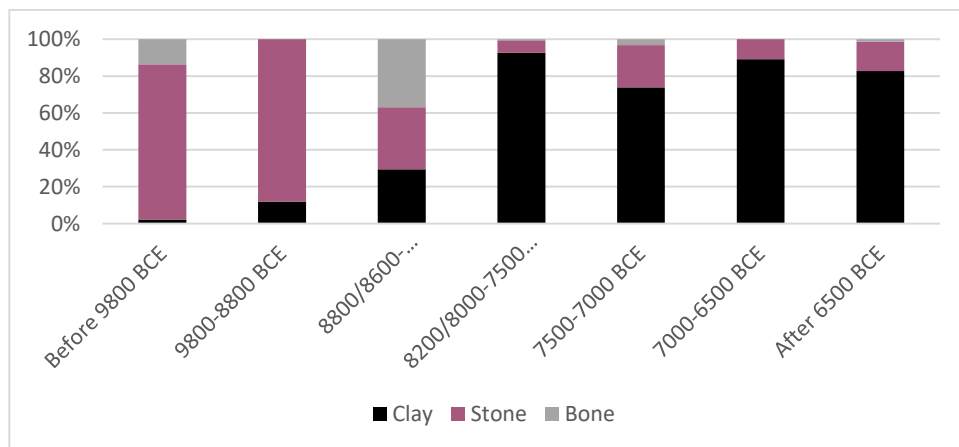


Figure 25: Temporal distribution of raw materials

### 3.2.1.3 Temporal distribution of figurine contexts

Very few figurines from before 9800 BCE have context information (Figure 26). However, the available data indicates a connection between the figurines and domestic buildings as well as the burial area. It is important to note that these two contexts are the only ones consistently observed across all periods. Between 9800-8800/8600 BCE, figurines were found in all context categories, even if some were represented by a single example. Most figurines were discovered in special buildings. Figurines are also widely distributed in domestic buildings, middens, and burial areas. Between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, the concentration of figurines shifted to different contexts. Middens are the primary context during this period, followed closely by burial areas. Domestic buildings and burial areas also exhibit a significant presence, whereas the special buildings category, which dominated in the previous period, is

represented by third place in this timeframe. Between 8200/8000-7500 BCE, no figurines were discovered in middens or ashy areas. Instead, the dominant category shifts to pits and niches, a type scarcely represented in the preceding three periods. Following closely are open areas and random distribution categories. Domestic buildings and burial areas persist in comparable numbers. From 7500 to 7000 BCE, domestic buildings took prominence. Open areas, ashy areas, and random distribution categories closely followed with similar numbers. Figurines were observed across all context categories during this period. There was an increase noted in the ashy area category compared to the preceding periods. Between 7000-6500 BCE, the random distribution category experienced a significant increase, indicating a widespread distribution of figurines across various contexts. Notably, the second-highest concentration of figurines was found in open areas during this period. The numbers of figurines from burial areas and domestic buildings were once again comparable. In contrast, the special building category yielded the fewest figurines during this timeframe. In the figurines dated after 6500 BCE, domestic buildings and middens taking center stage as primary contexts. There are no figurines classified under the random distribution category during this period. The representation of special buildings and burial areas is notably limited, with only a small number of examples identified. Meanwhile, the ashy area category maintains a consistent number compared to the preceding period, indicating a continued association between figurines and areas with hearths, ovens, and fire spots.

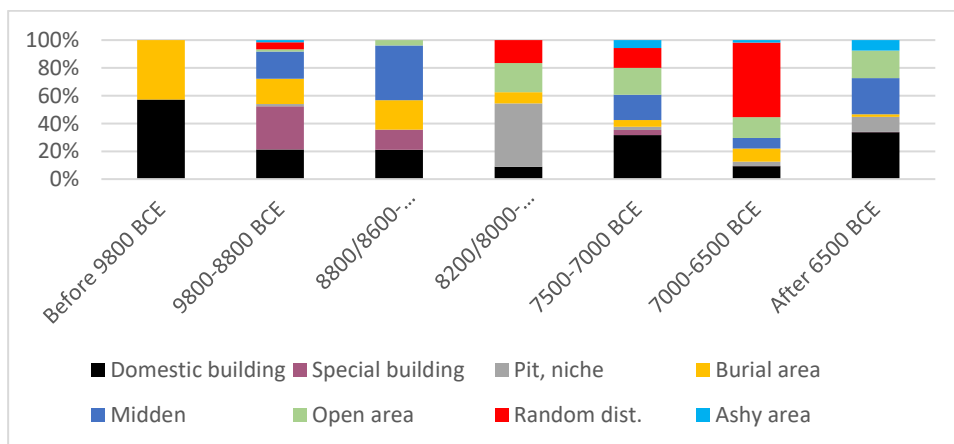


Figure 26: Temporal distribution of contexts

### 3.2.2 Regional distribution of figurines

The regional distribution of the figurines indicates a concentration in the Euphrates and Zagros regions (Figure 27, 28). A total of 63 percent of all figurines come from these two regions. Central Anatolia and the Levant are other regions where a significant number of figurines are discovered. The number of figurines in the remaining regions (Tigris, Cyprus, Mediterranean Anatolia) is notably lower compared to the first four areas. However, when examining the regional distribution of figurines, it is essential to consider the concentration of these artifacts at individual sites. While certain sites have hundreds of figurines, others may be represented by only a single figurine. For instance, Tell Ramad in the Levant (292 figurines), Nevali Çori in the Euphrates (630 figurines), Jarmo in Zagros (1001 figurines), Çayönü in the Tigris (94 figurines), Çatalhöyük in Central Anatolia (832 figurines), and Khirokitia-Vouni in Cyprus (28 figurines) stand out as having the highest anthropomorphic figurine counts in their respective regions. The cumulative impact of figurines coming from these settlements is notably substantial. Another aspect to consider in regional distribution is the changes exhibited by regions over time in terms of figurine distribution. Figurine production has exhibited regional variations, with each region concentrating on different time periods for their creation. Notably, the Levant stands out as the only region where figurine production has been consistently observed across all periods.

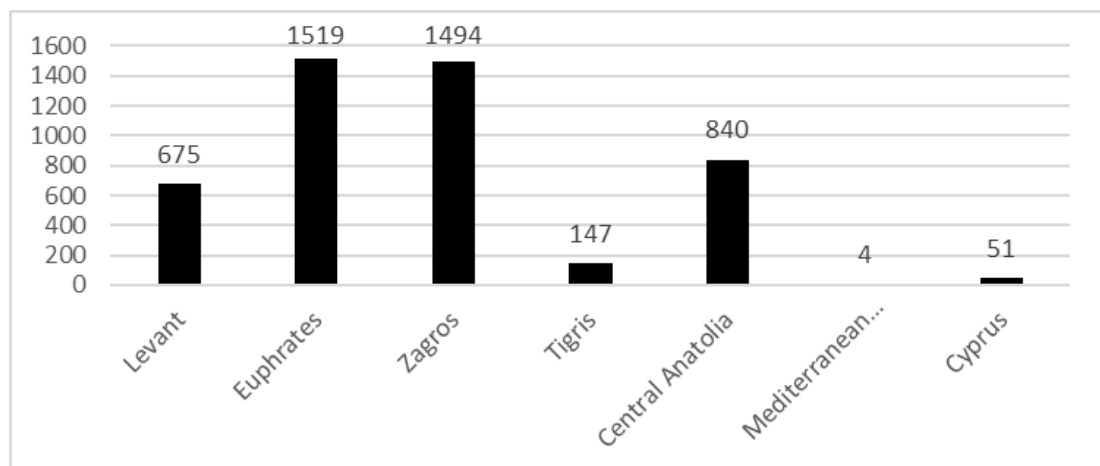


Figure 27: Number of figurines according to their regions

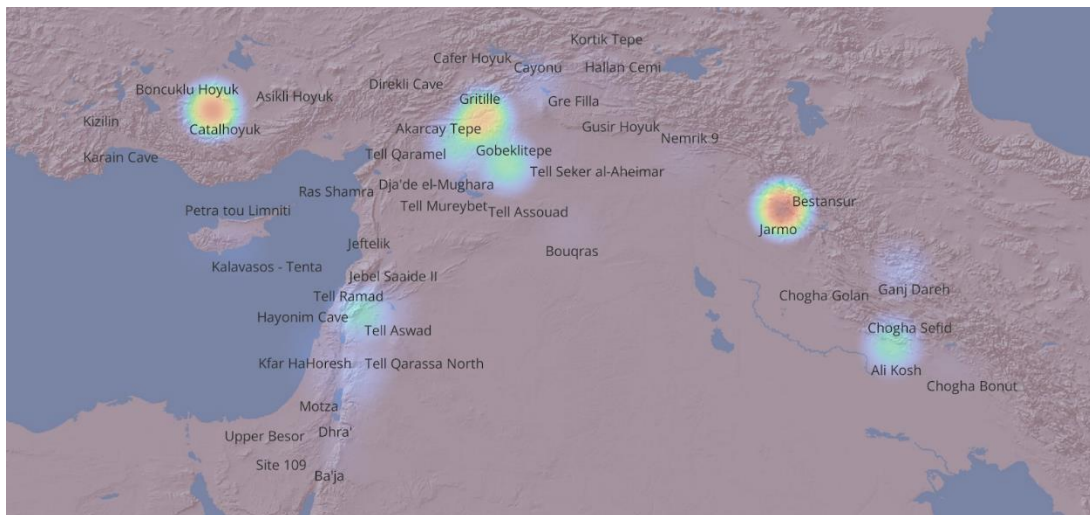


Figure 28: Map of regional distribution of figurines in the Near East

Before 9800 BCE, over 90 percent of the figurines were produced in the Levant, with the remaining percentage attributed to Mediterranean Anatolia. A total of 44 figurines have been identified across 15 settlements for this time period. These numerical representations indicate a balanced and comparatively low figurine density across the sites.

Between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE, the Euphrates region was the main source of figurines, accounting for about 42.5 percent of the total. Tigris follows with 29.4 percent, the Levant with 26.4 percent, and Cyprus with 1.7 percent. For this period, a total of 167 figurines have been identified across 21 settlements. There is also a noticeable concentration in certain sites, with the number of figurines gradually increasing to reach two-digit numbers in some locations.

Between 8800/8600 and 8200/8000 BCE, the Euphrates region became more dominant, while the share of Tigris figurines decreased by almost half, and there was a slight decrease in the Levant. In this period, there are a total of 108 figurines identified across 9 sites. The disparity in the number of figurines from different sites has widened during this period, with 49 figurines originating from a single settlement.

Between 8200/8000 and 7500 BCE marked a figurine explosion, characterized by a ninefold increase in the number of figurines compared to the preceding period. A total

of 995 figurines from 16 settlements date back to this timespan. In this period as well, the majority of figurines come from the Euphrates region. During this period, the Zagros region was also starting to gain prominence. For all regions, there is an observed concentration of figurines in settlements different from those in the previous period.

There was a dramatic decrease in the number of figurines between 7500 and 7000 BCE. A total of 222 figurines from 26 settlements belong to this period. In this period, there was also a significant decrease in the ratio of Euphrates figurines compared to the previous period, whereas those from the Levant and Zagros regions increased. The number of figurines from the Levant and Euphrates regions became equal during this period. Additionally, there was an increase in Tigris and Cypriot figurines.

Between 7000-6500 BCE, the Zagros region took the lead as the region with the highest number of figurines. A total of 2211 figurines were discovered in 14 settlements dating to this period. The figurine density for these settlements has considerably increased. Throughout this period, there was a notable decrease in the ratio of figurines from the Euphrates and Levant regions, and Central Anatolia became the second region contributing the most figurines.

In the regional distribution of figurines after 6500 BCE, the Euphrates, Zagros, and Central Anatolia regions are nearly at the same level. Additionally, there is an increased number of Cypriot figurines during this period. A total of 717 figurines from this period are distributed in 10 settlements. Out of the 10 settlements, 6 are Cypriot settlements with a relatively low density of figurines. The remaining figurines are concentrated in the four settlements from different regions.

### **3.2.2.1 Regional distribution of figurine types**

In terms of the distribution of figurine types across regions, Type 3 figurines are the most common in all regions except Cyprus and Mediterranean Anatolia. Mediterranean Anatolia distinguishes itself through its early examples, characterized by a small number and diverse types. Conversely, Cyprus is notable for its highly stylized late examples of figurines. In the Levant, Type 4 figurines follow closely after Type 3, with Type 1 figurines taking the third position. Type 6 figurines are absent in

this region. Additionally, the Levant is the region where Type 8 figurines are most observed (Figure 29). In the Euphrates region, the second most prevalent type is represented by Type 1 figurines, with the number being quite close to that of Type 4 figurines. Moreover, the Euphrates is the region where Type 1, Type 4, and Type 6 figurines are most observed. In the Tigris region, after Type 3 figurines, the most common are Type 2 figurines, followed by Type 4 figurines in third place. Notably, Type 1, Type 6, Type 7, and Type 8 figurines are not present in this area. Tigris is also the region where Type 2 figurines are most observed. In the Zagros region, similar to the Euphrates, the second most common type is represented by Type 1 figurines. Following closely are Type 4 figurines. Type 2, Type 6, Type 7, and Type 8 figurines are absent in Zagros. Moreover, the largest number of Type 3 figurines is found in the Zagros region. In Central Anatolia, Type 1 figurines hold the second position, while the third place is occupied by Type 5 figurines. All types are present in this region except for Type 2 and Type 8 figurines. Moreover, Central Anatolia is the region with the highest number of Type 5 figurines. In Mediterranean Anatolia, there is only one example of each of the Type 2, Type 3, Type 5, and Type 7 figurines. Each of these represents the earliest example within its respective type. In Cyprus, highly stylized Type 4 figurines take the first place. Following them are the highly stylized examples of Type 1 and Type 3 figurines. Type 2, Type 6, Type 7, and Type 8 figurines are not found in this area.

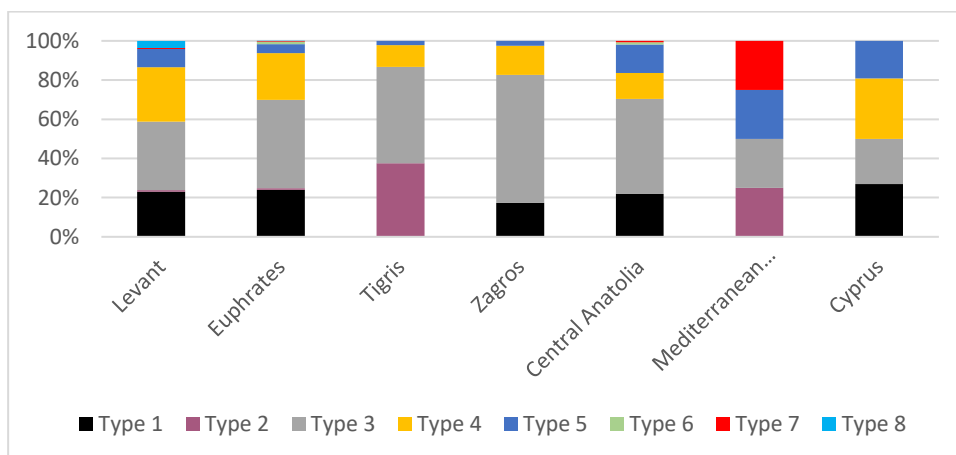


Figure 29: Regional distribution of figurine types

### 3.2.2.2 Regional distribution of figurine raw materials

Examining the distribution of raw materials across regions reveals that clay is the predominant material in all regions except for Mediterranean Anatolia and Cyprus (Figure 30). In Cyprus and Mediterranean Anatolia, stone emerges as the dominant material. Although clay is the dominant material in Tigris from only one settlement (Çayönü), a significant number of stone figurines originate from other settlements, contributing to the overall count. Furthermore, nearly one-third of the figurines in the Euphrates region are made of stone. The Euphrates region also hosts the largest number of both stone and clay figurines. The Euphrates region also hosts the largest number of both stone and clay figurines. In the Zagros region, where clay overwhelmingly dominates, stone figurines are rare and roughly shaped. Notably, bone figurines are absent in Zagros, Tigris, and Cyprus.

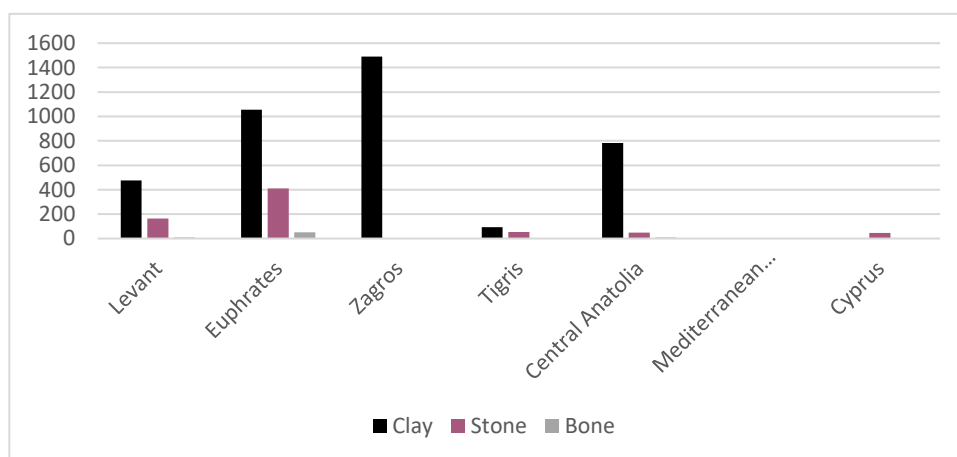


Figure 30: Regional distribution of raw materials

### 3.2.2.3 Regional distribution of figurine contexts

The distribution of figurines across regions raises questions, given the varying number of settlements and the very general identification of some figurines within these settlements. When considering figurines with context information, those originating from burial areas in the Levant emerge as predominant, followed by the domestic buildings category (Figure 31). While figurines are present in various contexts, the numbers from ashy areas, special buildings, and pit and niche categories are notably low.

In the Euphrates region, the open area and pit niche categories take center stage. Specifically, the Euphrates stands out as the primary location where figurines in the pit, niche, open area, and ashy area categories are most frequently observed. Following this category, domestic buildings take the second place in the Euphrates. Notably, figurines from burial areas are comparatively scarce in this region when contrasted with the Levant.

Zagros figurines pose a challenge due to the consolidation of all figurines within a site under a single definition. The difficulty arises from either the unavailability of context information for the figurines or the "random distribution" definition in this region. Despite the identification of two figurines associated with the burial area and the midden, a comprehensive interpretation of the context of figurines in the Zagros region remains elusive. The lack of detailed context information hinders a more nuanced understanding of the role and significance of figurines within specific archaeological settings in the Zagros region.

In the Tigris region, figurines are discovered from three distinct contexts: domestic buildings, burial areas, and open areas. Among these contexts, domestic buildings stand out as the primary locations where figurines are most commonly found, followed by the open area category.

In Central Anatolia, the distribution of figurines is notably concentrated in middens and domestic buildings. This region stands out as the primary source of figurines from these two categories. In terms of contextual distribution, the pit and niche category takes the third position, while the special building category exhibits the fewest occurrences.

In Mediterranean Anatolia, only one figurine comes with context information, and it is specifically associated with a burial. Therefore, it can be concluded that out of the four figurines in this region, one is related to the burial area.

In Cyprus, the distribution of figurines exhibits a diverse pattern, with the majority sourced from open areas, followed by domestic buildings as the second most common location. The third place is the pit and niche category. Additionally, one or two figurines were unearthed in burial areas and special buildings.



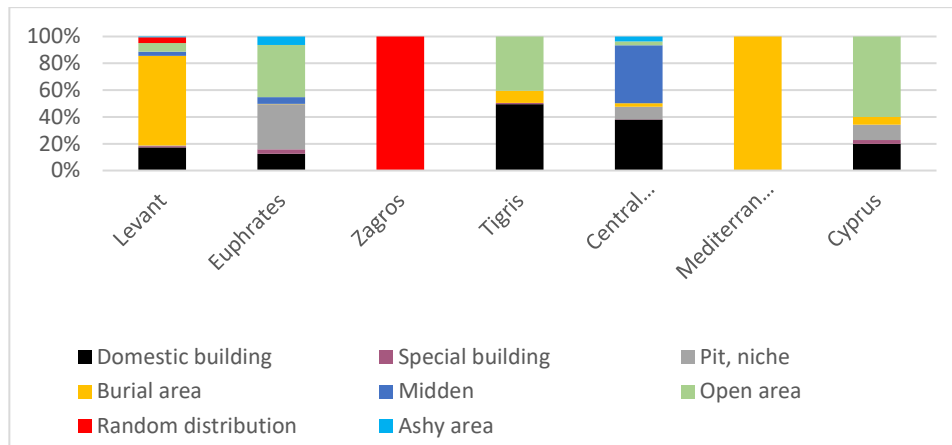


Figure 31: Regional distribution of contexts

### 3.2.3 Types

Analyzing the correlation between figurine types and temporal intervals, Type 1 figurines are most commonly found between 7000-6500 BCE (Figure 32). Another notable period of prevalence occurs after 6500 BCE, during which they manifest as highly abstract clay figurines. Type 2 figurines are predominantly produced between 9800-8800/8600 BCE, with nearly all of those produced during this period being made of stone. While Type 2 figurines are also present before 9800 BCE, in this earlier time frame, they are predominantly made of bone. Type 3 figurines are most commonly found during the period of 7000-6500 BCE, similar to Type 1 figurines. The figurines from this period are primarily made of clay and display a high degree of abstraction, closely resembling Type 1 phallus figurines. During the second concentration period, 8200/8000-7500 BCE, the figurines exhibit a more naturalistic form. However, there is still a noticeable similarity with Type 1 figurines. The majority of Type 3 figurines from this period were also crafted from clay. The period when Type 4 figurines are most prominent is between 8200/8000-7500 BCE. While the majority of figurines produced in this period were made of clay, there is also a notable presence of figurines made of stone. Type 5 figurines are likewise most prevalent between 7000-6500 BCE. During this period, Type 5 figurines are primarily represented by broken heads of clay figurines in full human body form. Specially shaped Type 5 figurines are challenging to come across. Type 6 figurines, similar to Type 2 figurines, are most commonly observed between 9800-8800/8600 BCE. All of these figurines are made of stone.

Type 7 figurines are distributed across various time periods, appearing in equal numbers before 9800 BCE, between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, and 8200/8000-7500 BCE. Those produced before 9800 BCE were made of stone, while those produced between 8200/8000-7500 BCE were made of clay. Type 8 figurines are most prevalent before 9800 BCE. They continue to appear also between 9800-8800/8600 BCE, with all of these figurines made of stone.

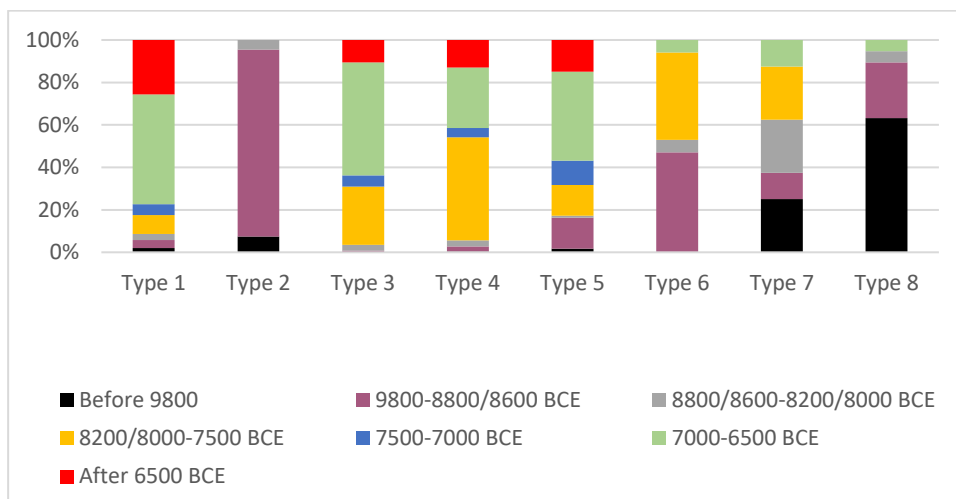


Figure 32: Distribution of periods by types

Examining the regional distribution of figurine types reveals that Type 2, Type 6, and Type 7 figurines are primarily associated with specific regions (Figure 33). Type 2 figurines predominantly come from Tigris, Type 6 figurines are mainly found in the Levant, and Type 7 figurines are primarily associated with the Euphrates region. While Type 3 and Type 5 figurines are distributed across all regions, Type 1 figurines are absent in Tigris and Mediterranean Anatolia. Type 2 figurines are not found in Zagros, Central Anatolia, and Cyprus. Type 4 figurines are absent in Mediterranean Anatolia. Type 6 figurines are only found in the Levant and Euphrates regions. Type 7 figurines are restricted to the Euphrates and Central Anatolia. Type 8 figurines are observed in the Levant, Euphrates, Central Anatolia, and Mediterranean Anatolia. When examining each region individually, the Euphrates stands out as the only region where all types of figurines are present.

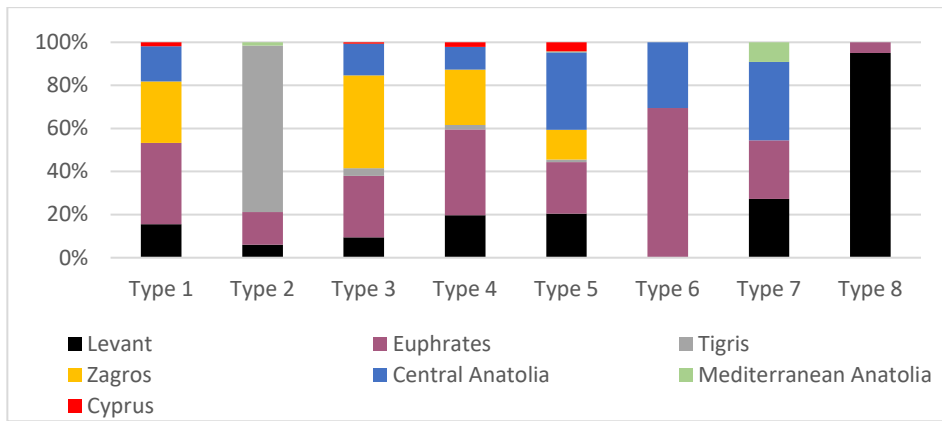


Figure 33: Distribution of regions by types

Looking at all time periods, clay stands out as the dominant material for Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5. Conversely, stone is the most preferred material for Type 2, Type 6, Type 7, and Type 8 (Figure 34). It is worth highlighting that the extensive use of clay in figurine production commenced around c. 8300 BCE. After 7000 BCE, numerous clay figurines exhibit a considerable level of abstraction, predominantly falling within a spectrum between Type 1 and Type 3. It can be asserted that more realistic Type 1 figurines were made of stone. Another observation is that Type 5 stone figurines either constitute components of life-sized sculptures or take the form of masks. On the other hand, Type 5 clay figurines are likely fragments of full human body style figurines.

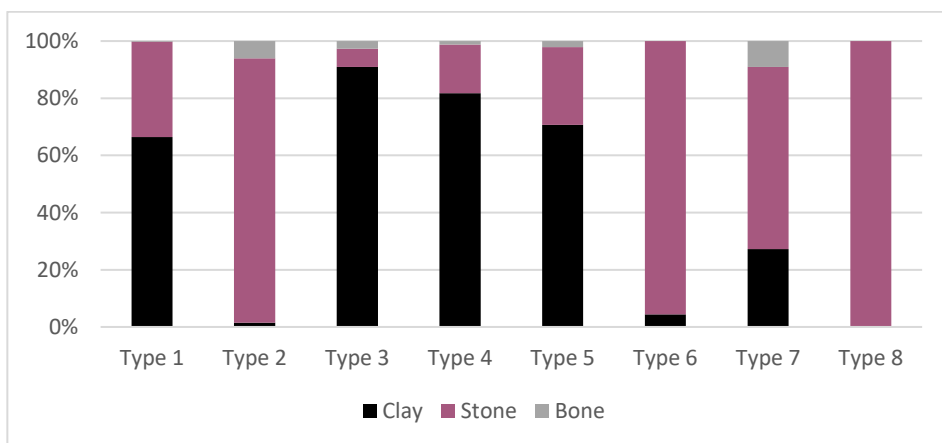


Figure 34: Distribution of raw materials by types

Certain figurine types exhibit strong relations with specific contexts (Figure 35). Notably, more than 80 percent of Type 6 figurines were discovered in special buildings, while 56 percent of Type 2 figurines were found in relation to burial areas. Additionally, 40 percent of Type 7 figurines and 31 percent of Type 4 figurines were recovered from pits or niches. Apart from these patterns, Type 3 figurines exhibit a random distribution. The majority of Type 1 figurines were discovered in open areas, while most of the Type 5 figurines originated from domestic buildings. Also, while Type 1, Type 3, Type 4 and Type 5 figurines are distributed in 6-8 different context categories, Type 2, Type 6, Type 7 and Type 8 figurines are distributed in 2-3 context categories.

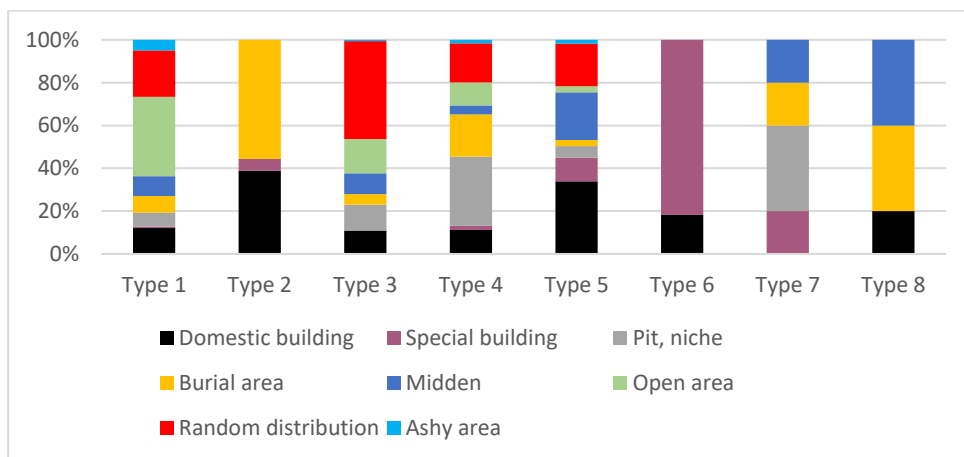


Figure 35: Distribution of contexts by types.

### 3.2.3.1 Type 1

Type 1 figurines encompass both abstract, realistic, and anthropomorphic phalluses. As previously mentioned, abstract variations may hybridize with human seated (Type 3) figurines, while anthropomorphic ones may hybridize with human body style figurines (Type 3, 4, 5). Type 1 figurines are represented by 787 examples from 48 sites (Figure 36). Realistic examples of Type 1 figurines can be found in Fazael and Wadi Faynan 16, while anthropomorphic examples are present in El Wad Cave, Ghwair I, and Khirokitia Vouni. Stylized figurine examples are widespread in many

settlements in the Zagros, Euphrates, Levant, Central Anatolia, and Cyprus, especially after 7000 BCE.

Type 1 figurines are evident in all time periods, beginning before 9800 BCE. However, early examples tend to be schematic, with some interpreted as highly schematic representations of the human body (head + body). Realistic phalluses are more commonly observed between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE. The period when the numbers of Type 1 figurines peaked was between 7000-6500 BCE. During this period, they are observed in the highly abstract Type 1-Type 3 spectrum. It is challenging to differentiate whether these figurines are highly abstract representations of the human seated style or direct depictions of phalluses. It is evident that the two types have become so abstract that distinguishing between them is difficult. The legs of the sitting Type 3 figurines or the lower part of the Type 1 figurines, symbolizing the testicles, and the upper body of the Type 3 figurines or the upper part of the Type 1 figurines, symbolizing the penis, show significant fluidity, especially when considering the damaged structures of the figurines.

The material preference for Type 1 figurines varies across different time periods. Among the 44 Type 1 figurines dating back to before 8800 BCE, 39 are made of stone. The remaining 5 figurines consist of one bone and four clay figurines. Notably, the clay and bone figurines exhibit anthropomorphic features, such as facial depictions. After 8800 BCE, Type 1 figurines became abstract and clay became dominant as a material. The majority of Type 1 figurines come from the Euphrates and Zagros regions, where they predominantly exhibit an abstract style in clay. However, the majority of Type 1 stone figurines come from the Levant. There are no Type 1 figurines in Tigris and Mediterranean Anatolia.

In the contextual distribution of Type 1 figurines, they are found in six categories, with the open area and random distribution categories comprising more than 60 percent of the figurines. These contexts encompass clay Type 1 figurines which saw an increase, especially after 7000 BCE. Stone phalluses from earlier periods originate from domestic buildings and middens. Notably, special buildings represent the context where Type 1 figurines are least prevalent.

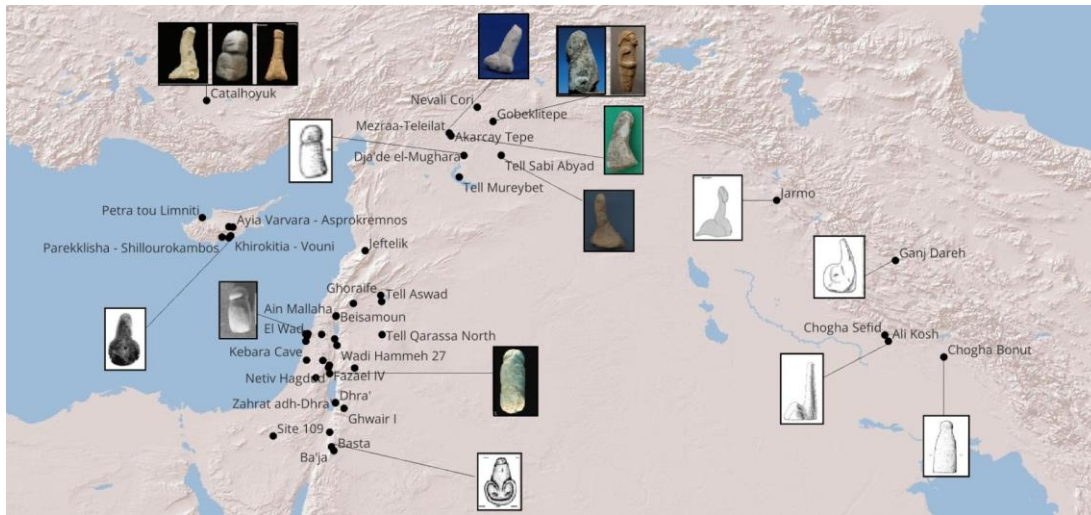


Figure 36: Map showing the distribution of Type 1 figurines in the Near East

### 3.2.3.2 Type 2

Type 2 figurines encompass pestles, batons and T-shaped objects, some of which may exhibit anthropomorphic or zoomorphic features, especially in their upper parts. Type 2 figurines generally have a cylindrical shape and their upper parts are relatively wider than their lower parts. This type is represented by 66 figurines from 12 sites. Type 2 figurines are particularly observed in the Tigris region, specifically in Hallan Çemi, Körtik Tepe, and Nemrik 9 settlements (Figure 37). In total, the Tigris region owns 77 percent of all figurines. In the regional distribution of Type 2 figurines, there is also a concentration in the Euphrates region, with batons concentrated in the Tigris region and T-shaped objects concentrated in the Euphrates region. Type 2 figurines are not found in Zagros, Central Anatolia, and Cyprus. Examples from the Levant and Mediterranean Anatolia date back to before 9800 BCE, depicting figurines in staff form made of bone. Figurines from the Tigris and Euphrates regions are primarily dated between 9800-8800/8600 BCE and are made of stone. A small number of examples from the same regions are also dated between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, after which Type 2 figurines are not observed.

The raw material choice for Type 2 figurines is primarily stone, with the exception of one bone figurine. Chlorite is the dominant stone used in baton-type figurines, which constitute the majority of this type, while limestone was used in T-shaped figurines.

Additionally, andesite, basalt, and sandstone are also among the materials used for the production these figurines.

56 percent of Type 2 figurines are associated with burial areas. Apart from burial areas, Type 2 figurines were found in domestic and special buildings. Specifically, andesite and basalt pestle figurines found in Körtik Tepe with traces of use originate from domestic buildings, while chlorite figurines without traces of use are linked to burial areas. Furthermore, in Hallan Çemi, chlorite pestle type figurines were discovered with chlorite stone vessels and animal bones.

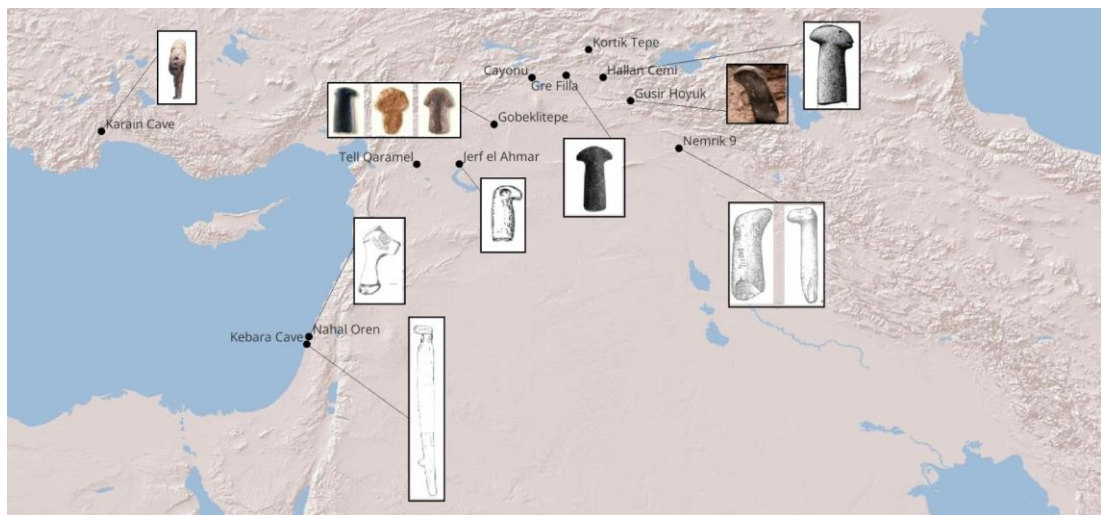


Figure 37: Map showing the distribution of Type 2 figurines in the Near East

### 3.2.3.3 Type 3

Type 3 refers to figurines depicted in a seated position, characterized by exaggerated buttocks and breasts. These figurines are often portrayed leaning slightly backward, with variations in rounded and angular forms. Their heads are usually broken or thinned and stylized. There are both quite realistic and abstract versions. The abstract ones have a phallic image where the legs are likened to testicles, and the upper body and head are likened to penis. This type of figurine is found in 46 out of 87 settlements (Figure 38) and is well represented, especially in settlements like Jarmo, Çatalhöyük, Nevali Çori, and Tell Ramad. Type 3 figurines are represented by 1950 examples.

The number of Type 3 figurines increased in every period, starting from before 9800 BCE until 8200/8000-7500 BCE. There was a significant increase in their numbers between 8200/8000-7500 BCE. From this period onwards, it has become the dominant type for every period. The period between 7000 and 6500 BCE witnessed the highest production of these figurines.

Type 3 figurines exhibit the highest prevalence in the Zagros region, followed by the Euphrates and Central Anatolia. Across all regions, except Mediterranean Anatolia and Cyprus, Type 3 constitutes the majority of figurines. It is noteworthy that certain settlements have yielded significant quantities of Type 3 figurines. For example, settlements like Jarmo in the Zagros, Nevali Çori in the Euphrates, and Çatalhöyük in Central Anatolia boast numerous examples of Type 3 figurines.

The majority, ninety-one percent, of Type 3 figurines are made of clay, while six percent are made of stone, and three percent are composed of bone material. Stone figurines within this category are characterized by intricate craftsmanship, showcasing detailed artistic skills. On the other hand, bone Type 3 figurines present a highly stylized form, typically made of phalanges. Clay Type 3 figurines showcase a diverse range, encompassing both realistic and abstract representations. However, the majority of examples tend towards abstraction, featuring stylized depictions. The trend toward abstraction and stylization becomes particularly noticeable, especially in examples dating from 7000 BCE onward.

Type 3 figurines exhibit a distribution pattern where they were predominantly found randomly discarded across the archaeological site, with the open area category securing the second position, and domestic buildings ranking third. It is noteworthy to emphasize the inherent vagueness in the definitions of terms such as "random distribution" and "open space" in archaeological publications, which may introduce challenges in interpreting the data accurately. Additionally, some sites with a high concentration of figurines falling under these vague definitions might influence the overall data analysis. Another complicating factor is the limited context information available for the figurines in numerous publications. By eliminating these vague categories and refining the analysis, it can be inferred that most Type 3 figurines originate from pits, niches, and room fills within domestic buildings.



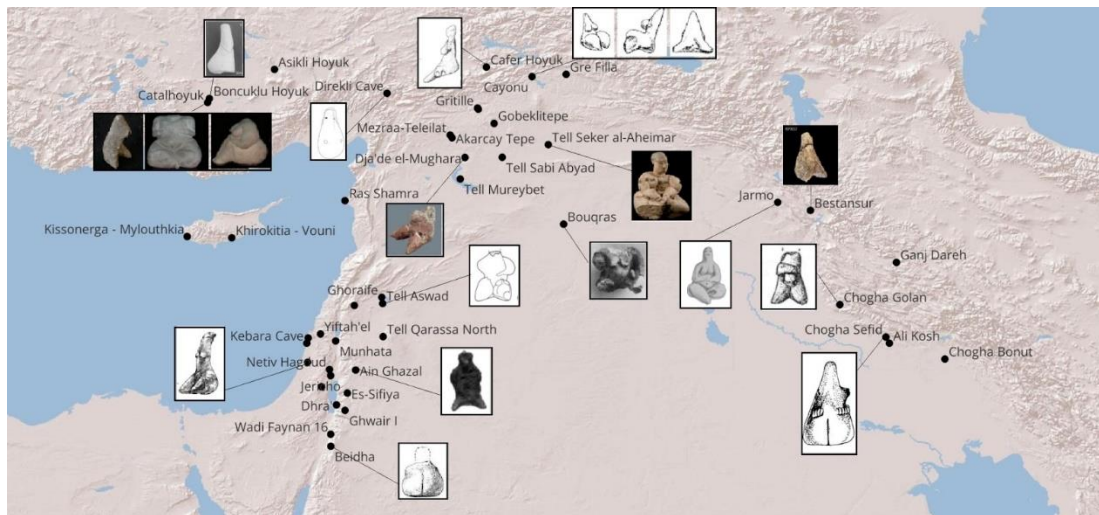


Figure 38: Map showing the distribution of Type 3 figurines in the Near East

### 3.2.3.4 Type 4

Type 4 figurines are standing figurines, exhibiting both straight and round body lines. Some specify primary and secondary sexual characteristics such as penis, vulva, or breasts, while in most cases, sex remains unclear. A significant portion of Type 4 figurines depict the hands at chest level. Some of them exhibit a phallic image. Type 4 is represented by 730 figurines from 41 settlements (Figure 39).

The temporal distribution of Type 4 figurines is similar to Type 3 figurines. The period from 8200/8000 to 7500 BCE marks a significant increase in the number of these figurines, approaching almost 20 times compared to the previous period, and represents the highest concentration. Another notable period is between 7000-6500 BCE.

The region where Type 4 figurines are most commonly found is the Euphrates, followed by Zagros and Levant. The Zagros figurines are highly stylized. Type 4 figurines are not observed in Mediterranean Anatolia. Also, the samples in Cyprus are also notably abstract.

Of this type of figurines, 82 percent are made of clay, 17 percent are made of stone, and 1 percent are made of bone. The stone examples exhibit meticulous craftsmanship, similar to Type 3 figurines, while the clay ones are generally more schematic.

Type 4 figurines are most commonly found in pits and niches, followed by the "random distribution" and "burial area" categories. Clay figurines predominantly come from pits and niches, while stone figurines are primarily found in burial areas. Notably, bone figurines are associated with the "special building" category. In contrast to Type 3 figurines, a small number of Type 4 figurines were discovered in middens.

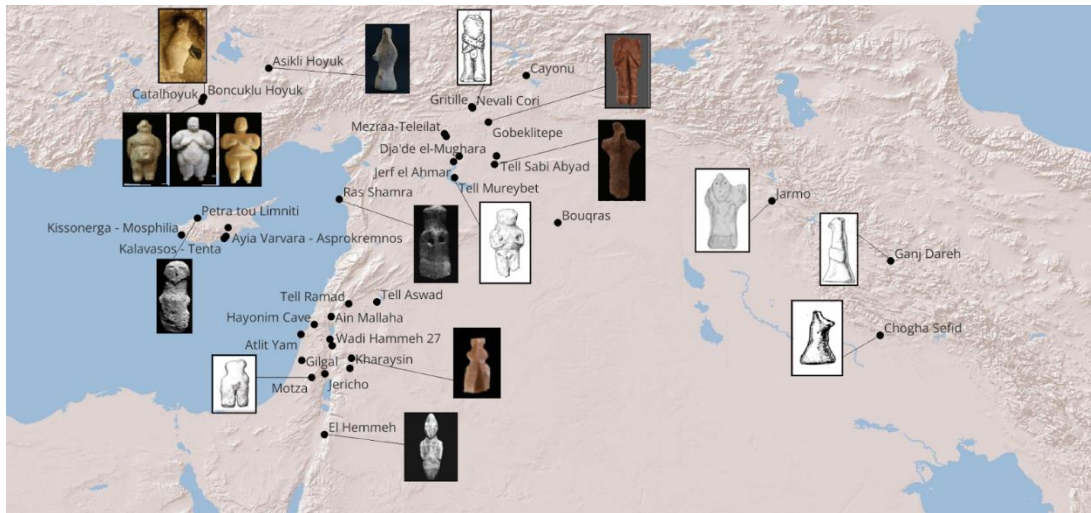


Figure 39: Map showing the distribution of Type 4 figurines in the Near East

### 3.2.3.5 Type 5

Type 5 figurines are head figurines, including broken heads of full human body style figurines, figurines designed as only the head and/or head-neck, and mask-type figurines. Type 5 is represented by 239 figurines from 33 settlements (Figure 40).

Type 5 figurines appear in all periods. The earliest examples, dated before 9800 BCE, consist of figurines shaped solely as heads ('Ain Mallaha, Nahal ein Gev II, Kızılin). They appear mostly as life-sized sculpture pieces and small masks between 9800 – 8200/8000 BCE. In later periods, they stand out as parts of human body-style figurines. The period when Type 5 figurines are most common is between 7000 and 6500 BCE, coinciding with the explosion in human body style figurines. Following that, after 6500 BCE, 8200/8000-7500 BCE and 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE are represented by almost equal numbers of figurines.

The region with the highest number of heads is Central Anatolia. Most of the heads found in Central Anatolia are parts of human body-style figurines. Following that, Euphrates and the Levant regions also have a significant number of heads. Unlike Central Anatolia, the majority of the heads found in the Euphrates were made of stone. In comparison to figurines from Central Anatolia, the majority of these figurines exhibit larger dimensions. While the majority of figurines in the Levant are made of clay, the number of stone and bone figurines is higher compared to Central Anatolia.

When examining the raw material distribution of all figurines, it is observed that 71 percent of Type 5 figurines are made of clay, 27 percent of stone, and 2 percent of bone. The temporal distribution of figurine raw materials shows before c. 8300 BC, the majority of Type 5 figurines were made of stone, experiencing a noteworthy shift thereafter, with clay becoming the predominant material in later periods.

When analyzing the contextual distribution, it is evident that the majority of Type 5 figurines originate from domestic buildings. Subsequently, the midden and random distribution categories follow in order. It is noteworthy that figurines crafted from various materials gain prominence in different contexts. Room fills of domestic buildings serve as the most common context for clay figurines, while more than half of the stone figurines are concentrated in special buildings.

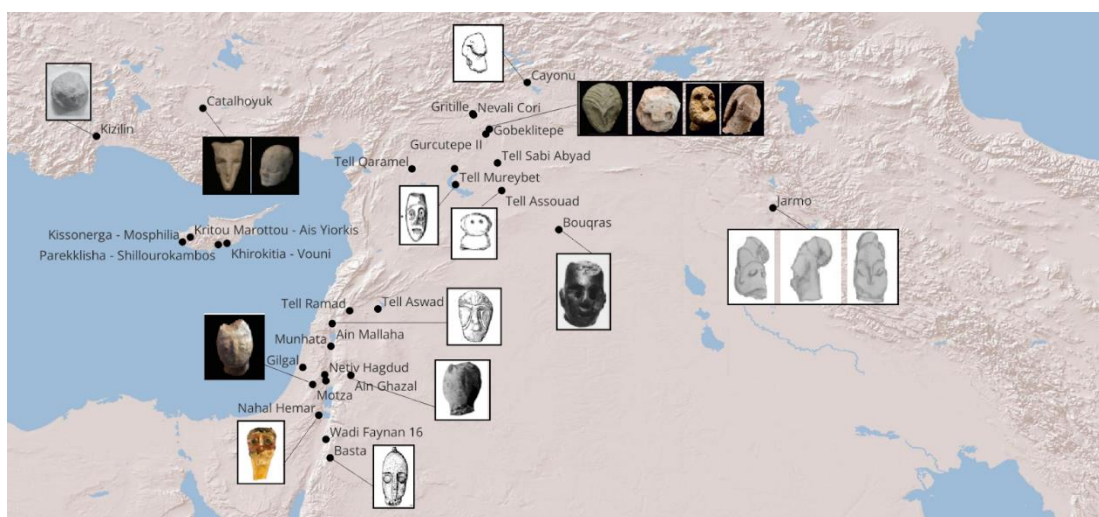


Figure 40: Map showing the distribution of Type 5 figurines in the Near East.

### 3.2.3.6 Type 6

Type 6 figurines fall under the category of human-animal composite style, depicting both animal and human representations. The Type 6 figurines, characterized by the inclusion of both human and animal elements, portray a variety of wild creatures such as vultures, snakes, and leopards. These depictions showcase a range of compositions, with animals positioned next to, below, above, and even on the backs of human representations. The Type 6 figurines exhibit diverse representations of humans, depicting the entire body or focusing solely on the head. Humans depicted in sitting or standing positions, or just their heads, are integrated into a composition with animals. Type 6 is represented by 23 figurines from three sites: Çatalhöyük, Göbeklitepe, and Nevalı Çori (Figure 41).

Type 6 figurines, depicting a combination of humans and animals, first appeared between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE and reached their peak in numbers. This type of figurine exhibits a concentration in two distinct chronological periods: 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE and after 7000 BCE. All but one of Type 6 figurines are made of stone, specifically the majority of them are made of limestone. More than 80 percent of these figurines were discovered in special buildings, with the remaining found in domestic buildings.



Figure 41: Map showing the distribution of Type 6 figurines in the Near East.

### 3.2.3.7 Type 7

Type 7 figurines depict two or more human individuals together, featuring variations such as twin bodies, mother and baby, and "lovers." Examples of Type 7 figurines can be observed in seven sites: Çatalhöyük, Nevalı Çori, Kızılin, 'Ain Sakhri, Göbeklitepe, Wadi Faynan 16, and Tell Qarassa North. This type is represented by a total of 11 figurines (Figure 42).

Two of the Type 7 figurines are dated before 9800 BCE, one between 9800 – 8800/8600 BCE, two between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, and the other two between 8200/8000-7500 BCE. Additionally, four examples are dated after 7000 BCE. Seven of the Type 7 figurines are made of stone, three of clay, and one of bone. The early examples are primarily made of stone and bone, while the use of clay becomes more apparent in the later examples. This type of figurines are found in various contexts, including special buildings, pits and niches, burial areas, and middens.

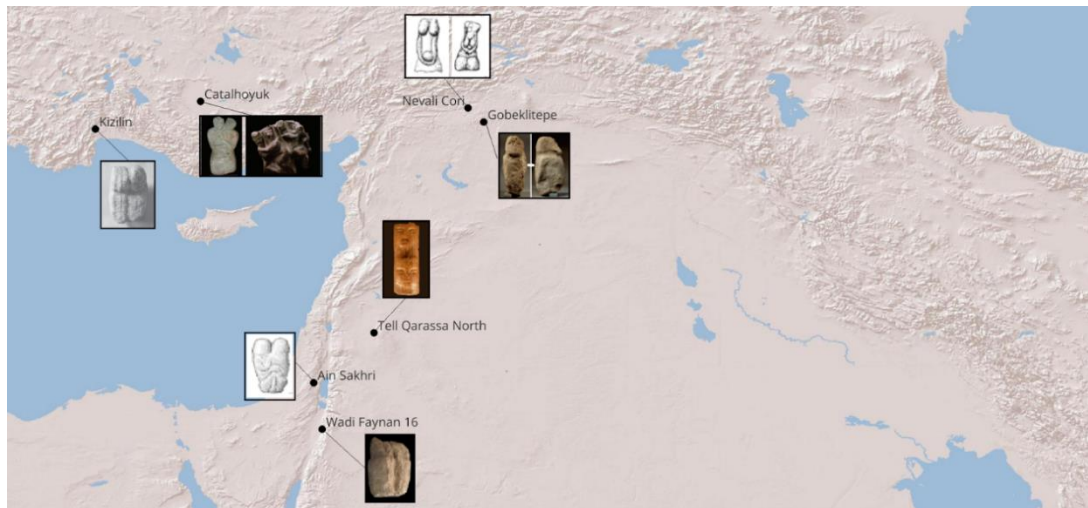


Figure 42: Map showing the distribution of Type 7 figurines in the Near East.

### 3.2.3.8 Type 8

Type 8 figurines, characterized as grooved objects, predominantly take the form of highly schematic pebbles. Although archaeological literature seldom categorizes them as schematic figurines representing human, vulvae or heads, they are generally

recognized as "shaft straighteners" or "engraved pebbles." It is important to note that this study includes only a small number of examples considered as figurines or symbolic objects within this category. Type 8 is represented by a total of 20 figurines from nine settlements (Figure). These settlements are predominantly from the Epipaleolithic and PPNA in the Levant region, such as Jebel Saaide II, and Hayonim Cave (Figure 43).

While the prevalence of Type 8 figurines is generally observed before 9800 BCE, there are also a small number of examples dated between 7000-6500 BCE. All figurines of Type 8 are made of stone. Two of these figurines are associated with the burial area, two come from the midden, and one comes from a domestic building.

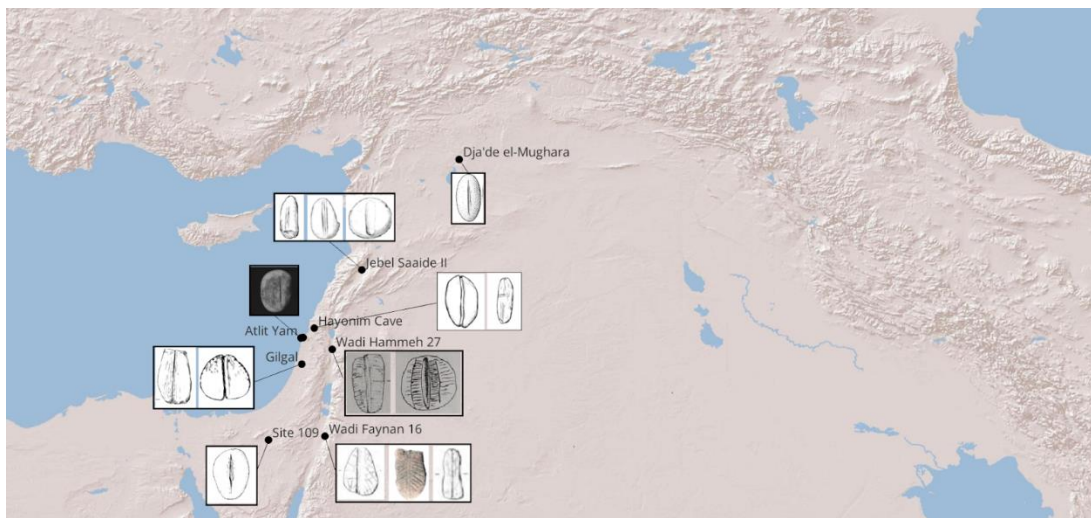


Figure 43: Map showing the distribution of Type 8 figurines in the Near East.

### 3.2.4 Raw Materials

In terms of the temporal distribution of materials, clay figurines were most prolificly produced between 7000-6500 BCE. Another concentrated period is observed between 8200/8000-7500 BCE. The least common period for clay figurines is before 9800 BCE, represented by a single example. Similar to clay figurines, the period with the highest occurrence of stone figurines is between 7000-6500 BCE. This is followed by the period between 9800-8800/8600 BCE, with a notable number of stone figurines

persisting after 6500 BCE. The peak period for bone figurines falls between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE. In other periods, the number of bone figurines rarely exceeds ten.

Regarding the regional distribution of materials, clay emerges as the predominant choice, except in Mediterranean Anatolia and Cyprus, where stone takes precedence. The Zagros region stands out as the primary source for clay figurines, followed by Euphrates and Central Anatolia. Conversely, the majority of stone figurines are discovered in the Euphrates and the Levant, with these regions also leading in the number of bone figurines.

Examining the relationship between figurine types and materials reveals a notable concentration of clay figurines, with Type 3, Type 4, and Type 1 emerging as the most prominent. It's noteworthy that the majority of clay figurines are clustered in a limited number of settlements, including Jarmo, Çatalhöyük, Nevali Çori, Chogha Sefid, Tell Ramad, and Tell Sabi Abyad. These six settlements boast around 3400 clay figurines, representing a diverse array of types within the spectrum of Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and, by extension, Type 5 in clay figurines. However, it's important to mention that clay was not utilized as a raw material in the production of Type 6 and Type 8 figurines.

Among stone figurines, Type 1, representing phalluses, takes the lead, followed by Type 3 and Type 4, which show almost equal numbers (Figure 44). Over 35 percent of the stone figurines are sourced from Mezraa Teleilat, primarily falling within the Type 1-Type 3 spectrum. When excluding the Mezraa Teleilat examples, Type 4 and Type 1 figurines take precedence, demonstrating a more balanced distribution across various sites, in contrast to the concentrated presence observed with clay figurines. Moreover, all Type 8 figurines, 96 percent of Type 6 figurines, 93 percent of Type 2 figurines, and 64 percent of Type 7 figurines are made of stone.

In the bone figurines, Type 3 is predominant, with bone figurines of this type characterized by stylized examples made from phalanges. The majority of these figurines come from Dja'de el-Mughara. Bone was utilized as the raw material in all types except Type 6 and Type 8, albeit in small quantities.

The context information of approximately 26 percent of clay figurines, 31 percent of stone figurines, and 22 percent of bone figurines are not available in the publications. Nevertheless, in terms of the material-context relationship, clay figurines are most commonly observed in the categories of random distribution, domestic building, and pit/niche (Figure 45). They are least frequently encountered in special buildings. On the other hand, stone figurines are predominantly concentrated in open areas, followed by the burial area and domestic building categories. Notably, the majority of bone figurines were discovered in middens, with some also found in special buildings or the storage rooms of domestic buildings.

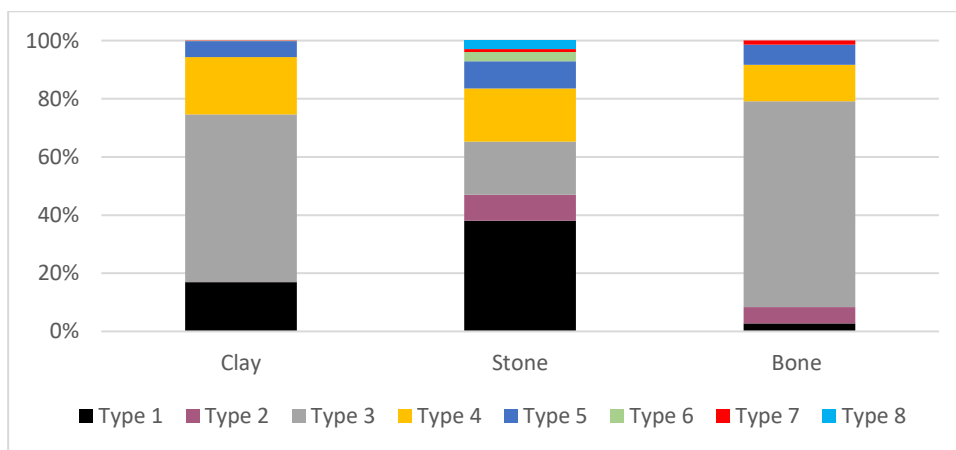


Figure 44: Distribution of types by raw materials.

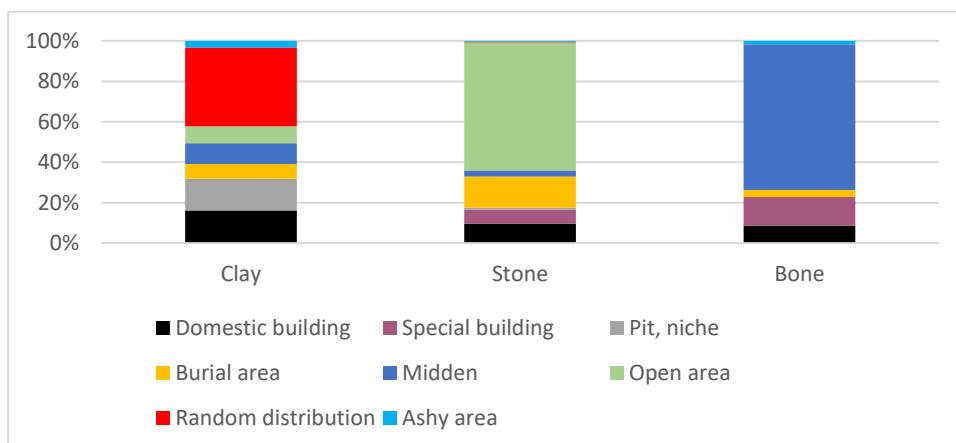


Figure 45: Distribution of contexts by raw materials.



### 3.2.5 Contexts

Examining the prominence of contexts over time, domestic buildings emerged as the primary hosts for figurines between 7000-6500 BCE (Figure 46). The peak period for special buildings is between 9800-8800/8600 BCE. The pit context becomes particularly prominent in the 8200/8000-7500 BCE. Furthermore, burial areas, middens, open areas, ashy areas, and random distribution categories are concentrated between 7000-6500 BCE.

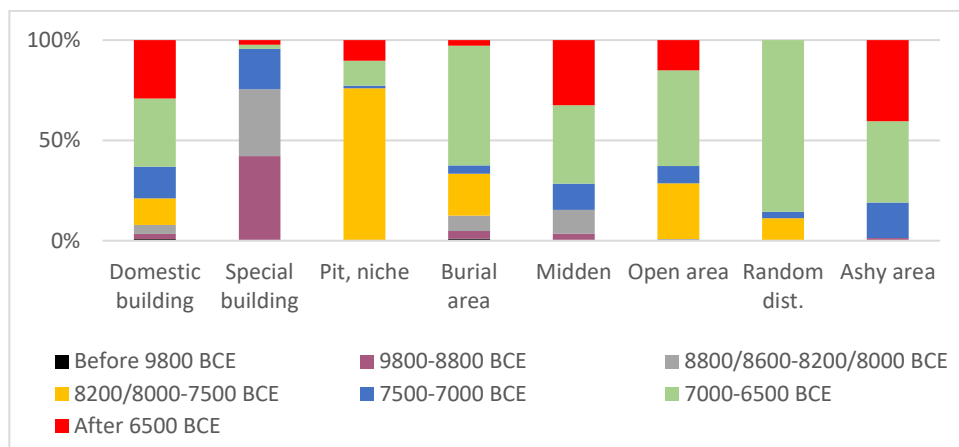


Figure 46: Distribution of periods by contexts.

In the regional distribution of contexts, Central Anatolia stands out for hosting the most in the domestic building and midden categories. The Euphrates region contributes significantly to the special buildings, pit and niche, open area, and ashy area categories. The Levant is notable for having the highest number of figurines in burial areas. Most figurines grouped under the random distribution category come from the Zagros region.

The relation between contexts and figurine types emphasizes the predominance of Type 3 figurines within domestic buildings (Figure 47). Subsequently, Type 1, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines exhibit comparable frequencies, with a notable proportion being made of clay. Type 7 figurines do not exhibit any association with domestic buildings. Meanwhile, the presence of Type 2, Type 6, and Type 8 figurines within

these settings is observed, albeit in relatively scant quantities. In special buildings, Type 5 figurines emerge as the dominant type, followed by Type 4 and Type 6 figurines. Other types are each represented by a few examples. Notably, 80 percent of the figurines found in these areas are made of stone, while 18 percent are made of bone, and 2 percent are made of clay. Within the pit and niche category, Type 3 and Type 4 figurines are present in nearly equal numbers, followed by Type 1 figurines. Although Type 5 and Type 7 figurines are also found, they are scarce. 99 percent of the figurines in this category are made of clay. Additionally, most Cyprus figurines made of stone. Type 4 figurines are the most prevalent in burial areas, succeeded by Type 3 and Type 1 figurines. Also, most Type 2 figurines are found in association with burial areas. In middens, Type 3 figurines dominate, followed by Type 1 and Type 5. Notably, Type 2 and Type 6 figurines are absent, while the presence of Type 7 and Type 8 is limited to just one or two examples. The open area category predominantly features Type 3 and Type 1 figurines, with Type 4 following closely. Remarkably, Type 2, Type 6, Type 7, and Type 8 figurines are absent in this category, while Type 5 figurines are represented, albeit in limited numbers. Similar to the open area category, the random distribution category encompasses Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines. Type 3 figurines are the most prevalent, followed by Type 1 and Type 4, with Type 5 figurines represented by fewer examples. Although the ashy area category comprises the same types, the most common figurines are Type 1, followed by Type 3 and Type 4 figurines.

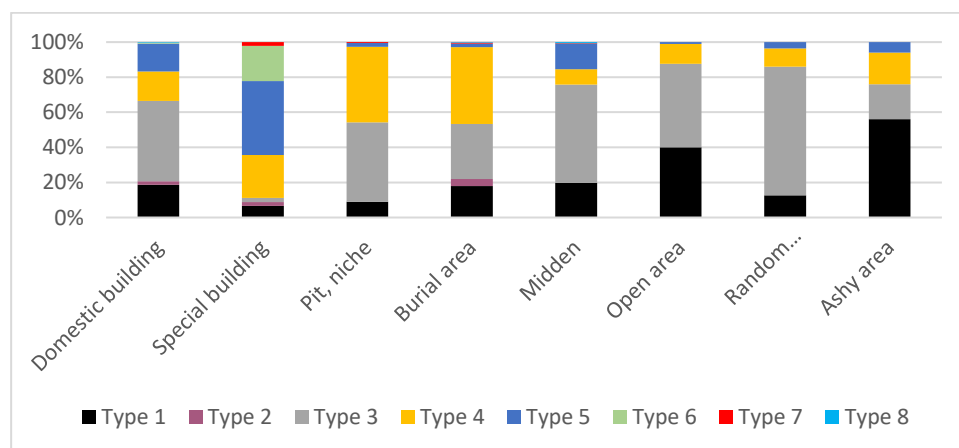


Figure 47: Distribution of types by contexts.

Examining the relationship between context and raw material, clay emerges as the predominant material in all context categories except for special buildings and open areas (Figure 48). Notably, the open area category is dominated by Mezraa-Teleilat figurines made of stone. Likewise, the clay figurines in the burial area category predominantly originate from Tell Ramad.

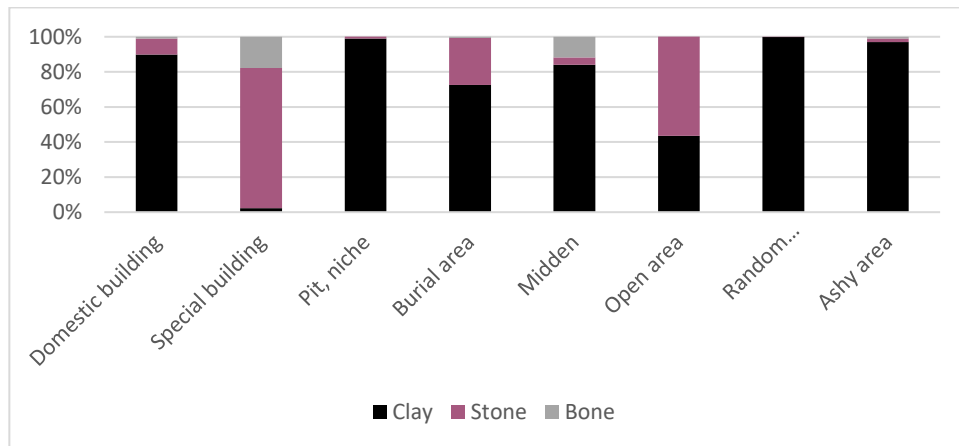


Figure 48: Distribution of raw materials by contexts.

Looking beyond these concentrations, the domestic building category is overwhelmingly dominated by 469 clay figurines from 13 sites. In this category, Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, and 'Ain Ghazal stand out prominently. The special building category is notable for its collection of 36 stone figurines originating from 8 settlements. This category, distinguished by the prevalence of stone figurines, is concentrated in Nevalı Çori and Göbeklitepe. The “pit, niche” category is characterized by 454 clay figurines sourced from 6 settlements. Clay figurines from pits and niches are particularly notable in Nevalı Çori, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Çatalhöyük. Burial areas comprise 212 clay figurines from 9 settlements, with a significant majority originating from Tell Ramad. Following Tell Ramad, Kharaysin, Tell Qarassa North, and Körtik Tepe also feature in this category. Middens serve as the context for 295 figurines from 5 settlements, with the majority of these figurines belonging to Çatalhöyük. Additional concentration areas in this context include Dja'de el-Mughara, Wadi Faynan 16, and Tell Sabi Abyad. In open areas, 321 stone figurines

from 4 settlements were discovered, with the majority hailing from Mezraa-Teleilat. Another noteworthy settlement is Akarçay Tepe, closely situated in both time and space to Mezraa-Teleilat. The remaining two settlements are in Cyprus. Additionally, in this category, clay figurines from 7 settlements total 247 in number. The random distribution category is predominantly composed of clay figurines, with a total of 1128 clay figurines distributed across four settlements, with Jarmo taking the lead. Interestingly, there are only two stone figurines in this category. Nearly all the figurines in the ashy area category are made of clay. With only two stone figurines and one bone figurine aside, the majority consists of 96 clay figurines from three settlements: Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, and Munhata.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Anthropomorphic figurines in time and space

Examining the emergence and evolution of anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East in time and space, the following picture emerges: The appearance of anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East traces back to the Epipaleolithic period. These initial examples are presently exclusive to the Levant region and Mediterranean Anatolia. Kebara Cave, El Wad Cave, Hayonim Cave, 'Ain Mallaha, Nahal Oren, Wadi Hammeh 27, Nahal ein Gev II, Jeftelik, Jebel Saaide II, Fazael IV, Upper Besor (and questionable 'Ain Sakhri) in the Levant, along with Karain Cave, Kızılin, and Direkli Cave in Anatolia, stand as the earliest known hosts of anthropomorphic figurines. Before 9800 BCE, a total of 44 anthropomorphic figurines were excavated from the 15 aforementioned sites. This numerical count underscores the relatively low density of figurines within these settlements. Notably, only a maximum of six figurines, all dating to the specified period, have been recovered from these sites. Also, each of the six sites is characterized by the presence of just one figurine.

In analyzing the types of figurines produced during this temporal epoch, the Levant region prominently showcases phalluses (Type 1) and grooved objects (Type 8) (Figure 49, 50). It is noteworthy that a phallic motif is integrated into a substantial portion of these figurines, albeit not overtly fashioned in the direct likeness of a phallus. Complementing schematic phalluses, anthropomorphic features, such as eyes and mouths, serve as additional features, exemplified in instances found in El Wad Cave. Another category, grooved objects manifest as distinctly abstract representations, assuming configurations in both round and elongated shapes. Another discernible type observed in the Levant during this era encompasses Type 2 figurines, delineated as "pestles, batons, and T-shaped objects" in this study. Importantly, a parallel figurine discovered in Karain Cave mirrors analogous findings in Kebara Cave

and Nahal Oren. Significantly, all these early examples share a commonality—they are made of bone, suggesting a plausible continuity of cultural practices from the Upper Paleolithic period. Additional figurative types, each represented by one or two examples during this temporal phase, include the human seated style (Type 3), human standing style (Type 4), head (Type 5), and multiple human style (Type 8). Notably, these examples are characterized by a markedly schematic form. In Mediterranean Anatolia, a repertoire comprising Type 2, Type 3, Type 5, and Type 7 is observed. Interestingly, the prevalence of phalluses and grooved objects, abundantly found in the Levant, is notably absent in this region.

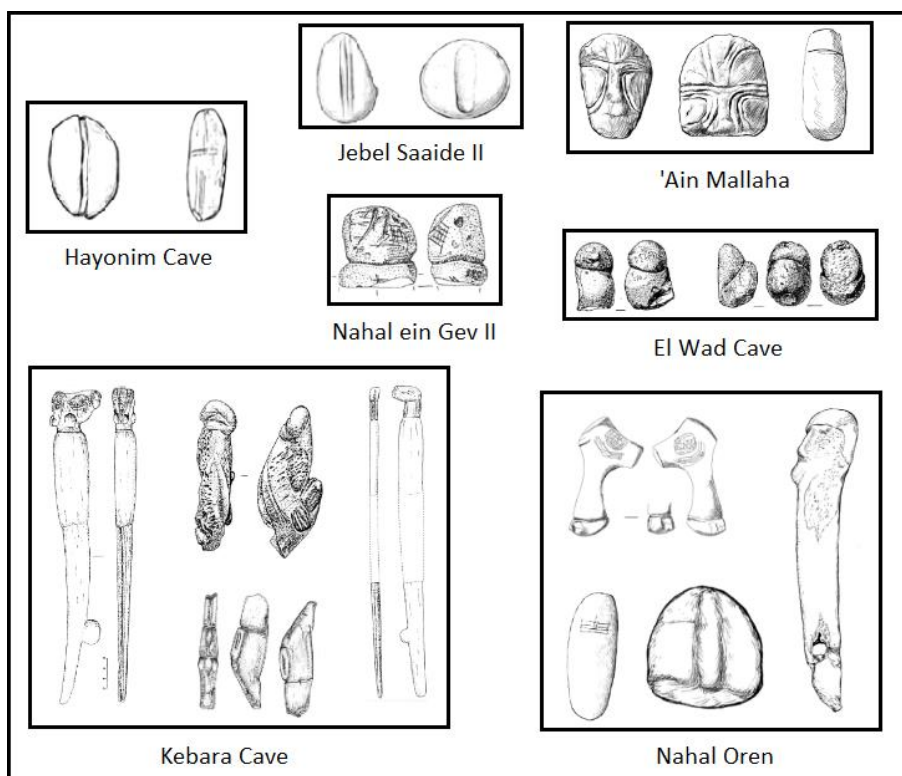


Figure 49: Epipaleolithic figurines from Hayonim Cave, Jebel Saaide II, 'Ain Mallaha, Nahal ein Gev II, El Wad Cave, Kebara Cave, and Nahal Oren.

The raw material of choice for figurine production is predominantly stone before 9800 BCE (Figure 51). Of the figurines discovered, 35 from the Levant and two from Mediterranean Anatolia were made of stone. Following stone, bone emerges as the second most utilized material for figurines in the Levant, with an additional bone

example, along with one made from clay, identified in Mediterranean Anatolia. Notably, no clay figurines from this period have been unearthed in the Levant.

Contextual information for early figurines from the Levant and Mediterranean Anatolia is notably limited (Figure 52). Examples from Hayonim Cave, Upper Besor, Direkli Cave, and Wadi Hammeh 27 provide some insight into the connection between these figurines and either domestic structures or burials. In the Levant, the majority of figurines are linked with buildings. Conversely, in Mediterranean Anatolia, the sole example for which context is known—the Direkli Cave figurine—is associated with a burial.

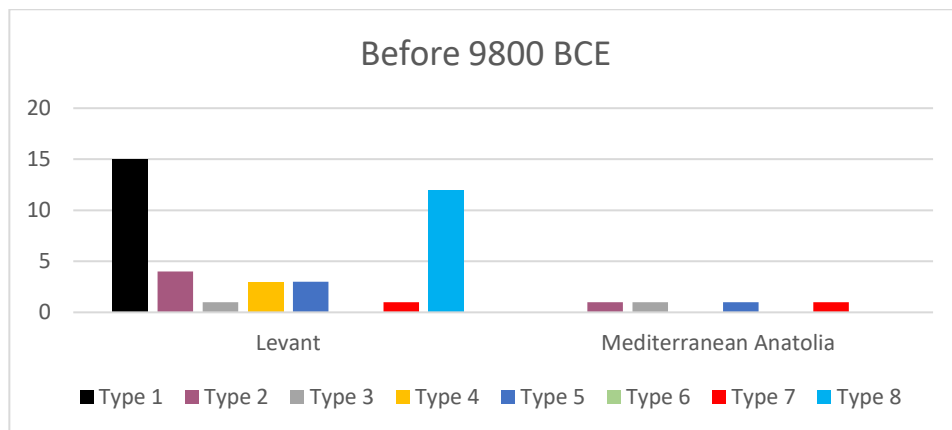


Figure 50: Regional distribution of figurine types before 9800 BCE

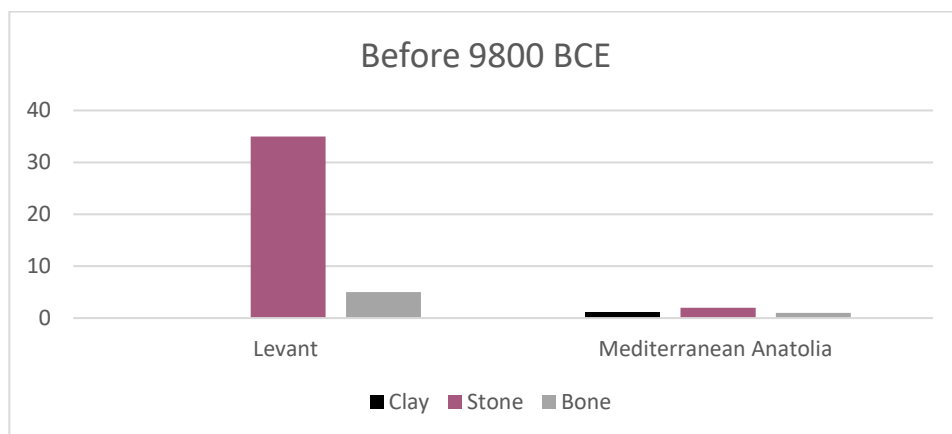


Figure 51: Regional distribution of raw materials before 9800 BCE

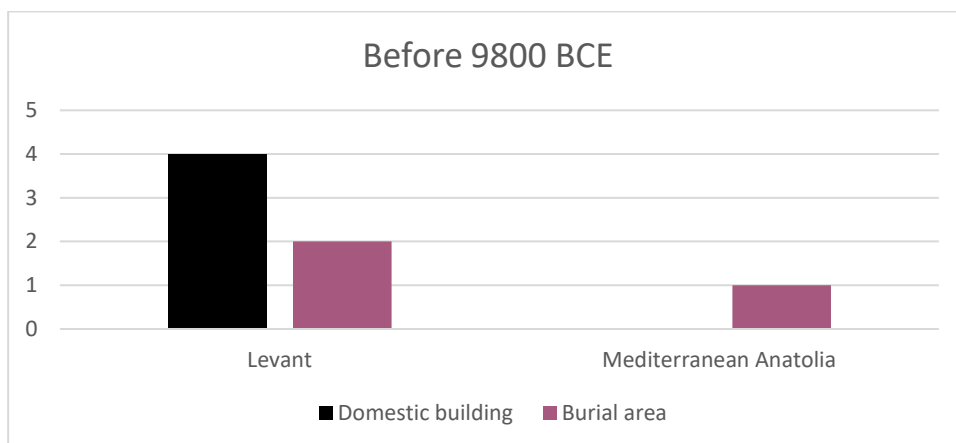


Figure 52: Regional distribution of contexts before 9800 BCE

The time frame spanning 9800-8800/8600 BCE marks a notable surge in the production of figurines across various settlements. Remarkably, the Euphrates region stands out as the primary contributor, yielding the largest quantity of figurines during this period, followed by the Tigris and the Levant. Noteworthy is the presence of three figurines from Cyprus, a noteworthy occurrence given the relatively modest numbers, underscoring the significance of figurine production extending beyond the mainland during this early phase of the Neolithic. A total of 167 figurines, spanning 21 settlements signify a notable era of increased figurine production. Notably, settlements such as Göbeklitepe, Wadi Faynan 16, Gilgal, and Mureybet stand out prominently during this period, each hosting a significant number of these artifacts.

When examining the typological distribution of figurines from this period, there is a noticeable prominence of types that either emerged or gained significance, distinguishing it from the preceding era (Figure 53, 54). The most prolifically produced figurines during this period belong to Type 2. In contrast to earlier instances where bone examples from Kebara, Nahal Oren, and Karain Cave were observed, these figurines are now exclusively made of stone. Demonstrating anthropomorphic and zoomorphic characteristics in certain examples, these Type 2 figurines are particularly concentrated in the Tigris region, with a relatively lesser representation found in Göbeklitepe within the Euphrates region. Most of these figurines, for those whose



context information is available, are associated with burials and special buildings. The second most prevalent type during this period comprises heads, which vary in scale from close approximations of real human sizes to miniature mask forms. These artifacts are present in the Euphrates region and, to a lesser extent, in the Levant. The majority of these head figurines are made of stone and were discovered within special buildings. A distinctive feature of this period is the emergence of human-animal composite figurines (Type 6). These figurines portray one or more wild animals with humans. Snakes, insects, and predators feature prominently among the depicted species. The arrangement often involves the positioning of animals on the backs, shoulders, heads, and other parts of the human body. Notably, all these composite figurines, identified exclusively in the Euphrates region, are made of stone and are linked to special buildings. Another noteworthy type is represented by the clay Type 3 figurines, a category absent in the Levant during the preceding period. The examples from Netiv Hagdud and Dhra' are particularly significant, marking the introduction in this region of seated figurines characterized by rounded lines, a slight backward lean, and a form that will persist throughout the Neolithic. The limited instances of these figurines with contextual information are discovered from middens. Likewise, the emergence of standing figurines with hands at chest level, a form that would become prevalent throughout the Neolithic, initiated in this period. Early instances of these figurines, observed in settlements such as Göbeklitepe and Mureybet, also made of clay. The predominant source of Type 4 figurines from this period is domestic buildings.

The choice of material for figurine production across all regions during this period predominantly favored stone (Figure 55). An increase in the number of clay figurines is evident compared to the previous era, with a notable absence of bone figurines. The Euphrates region takes precedence as the primary producer of stone figurines, followed by the Tigris region. Meanwhile, clay figurines are most commonly associated with the Levant.

The contextual distribution of figurines yields varied results across different regions (Figure 56). In Levant, middens play a prominent role, while special buildings take precedence in the Euphrates, and burial areas are significant in the Tigris region. Domestic buildings rank second in all three regions. In the case of Cyprus, a balance

is observed across special buildings, pits, and open areas, each represented by an equal number of figurines. It is crucial to consider this distribution in conjunction with the contextual relations of types and materials mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

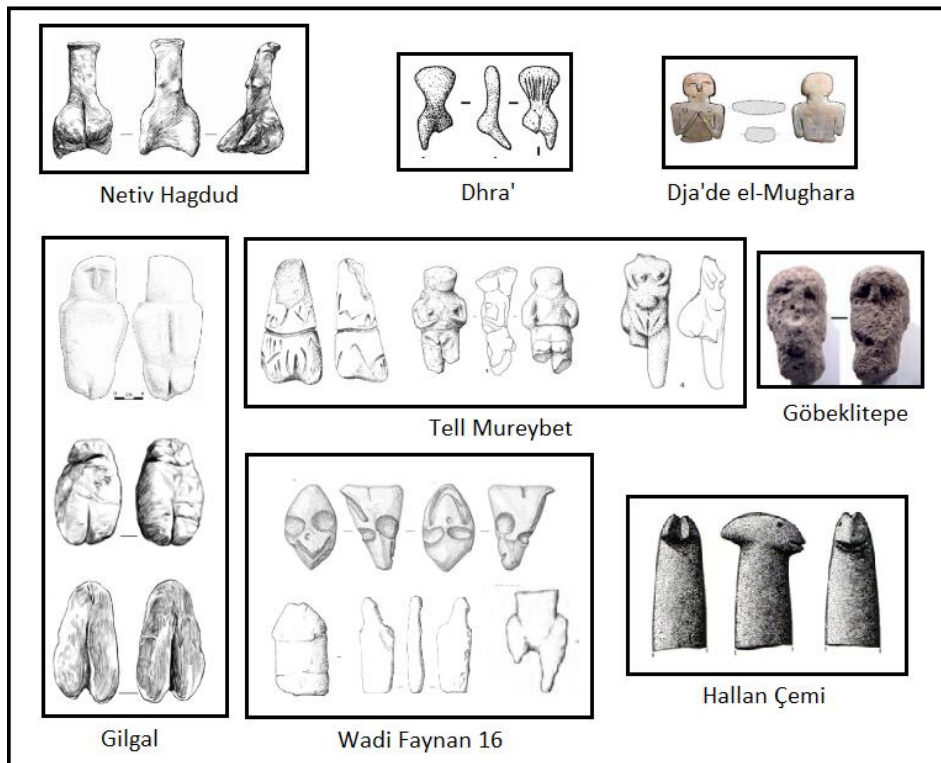


Figure 53: Figurines from Netiv Hagdud, Dhra', Dja'de el-Mughara, Gilgal, Tell Mureybet, Göbeklitepe, Wadi Faynan 16, and Hallan Çemi, between 9800-8800/8600 BCE.

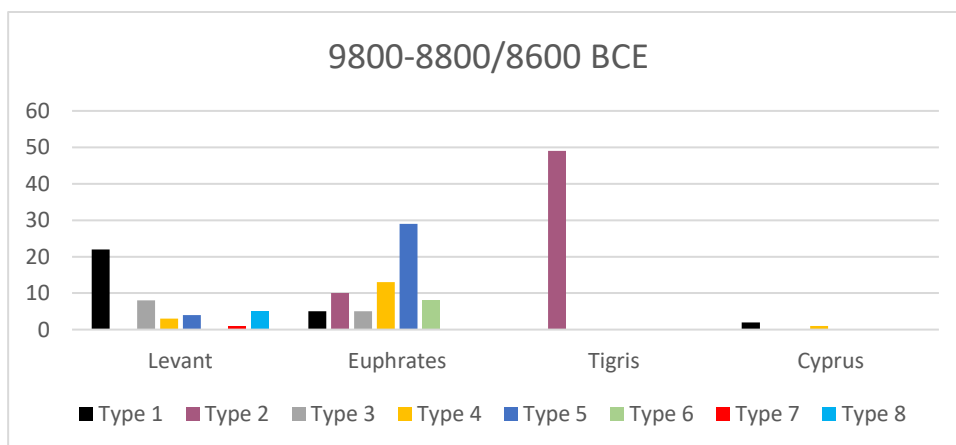


Figure 54: Regional distribution of types between 9800-8800/8600 BCE.

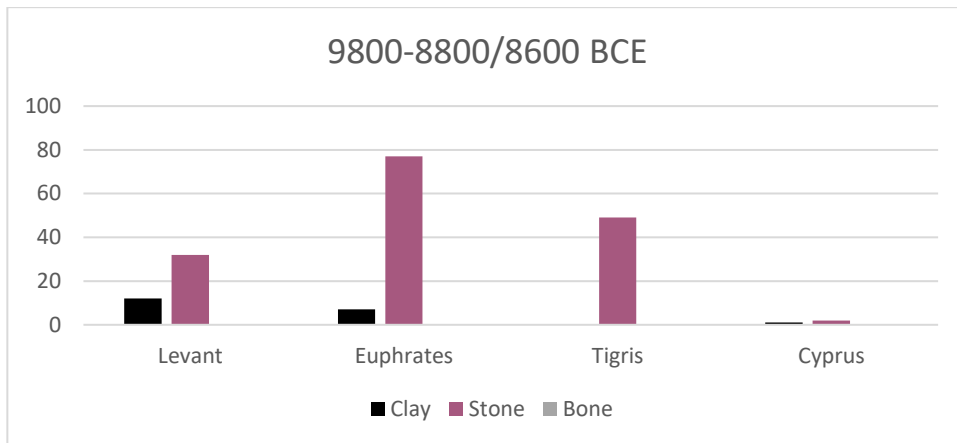


Figure 55: Regional distribution of raw materials between 9800-8800/8600 BCE.

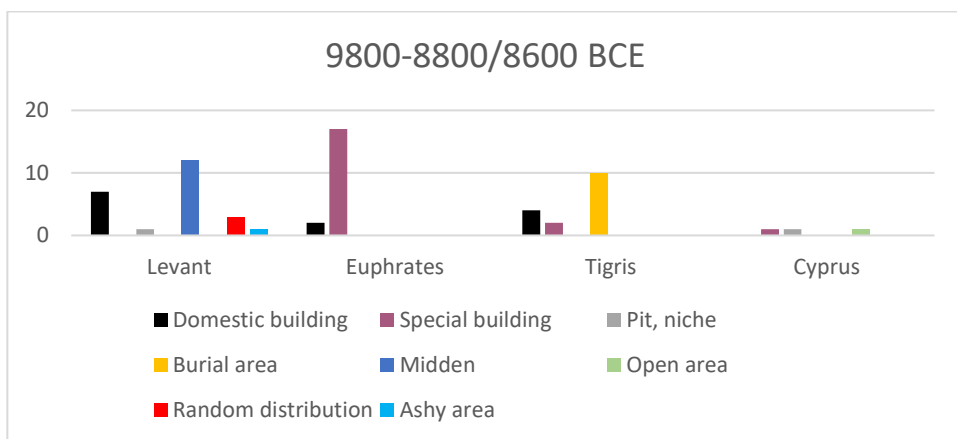


Figure 56: Regional distribution of contexts between 9800-8800/8600 BCE.

Between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE, there is a discernible decrease in both the number of figurines and the overall number of settlements compared to the preceding period. Throughout this timeframe, a total of 108 figurines originating from 9 settlements are identified. There is a notable decrease in the number of figurines from the Tigris and Levant regions, with both experiencing a reduction of almost half. Conversely, a slight decrease is observed in the number of figurines from the Euphrates region during the same timeframe. Moreover, the prevailing trend of figurine concentration within specific sites persists during this period. Notably, Dja'de el-Mughara, situated along the Euphrates, emerges as the settlement with the highest number of figurines during this particular timeframe.

Examining the prevalent types of the period, it becomes apparent that human seated (Type 3) figurines take on a dominant role (Figure 57, 58). However, unlike the preceding period, the Type 3 figurines that are prominent during this timeframe are made of bone rather than clay. Specifically observed in Dja'de el-Mughara, these bone figurines, shaped from phalanges, are sourced from middens or fill deposits. In this period, there is an apparent decrease of the number of Type 3 figurines in the Levant. Instead, the prevailing type in the region shifts to Type 1 figurines. However, in contrast to the preceding period, Type 1 figurines from this era are crafted from clay rather than stone. These examples, particularly concentrated in Tell Qarassa North, are notably associated with burial areas. Another noteworthy characteristic of this period is the prominence of human standing (Type 4) figurines, which rank second in all regions except Central Anatolia. In Central Anatolia, where the anthropomorphic figurines are observed for the first time during this period, Type 3 and Type 4 figurines are found in equal numbers, both associated with domestic buildings.

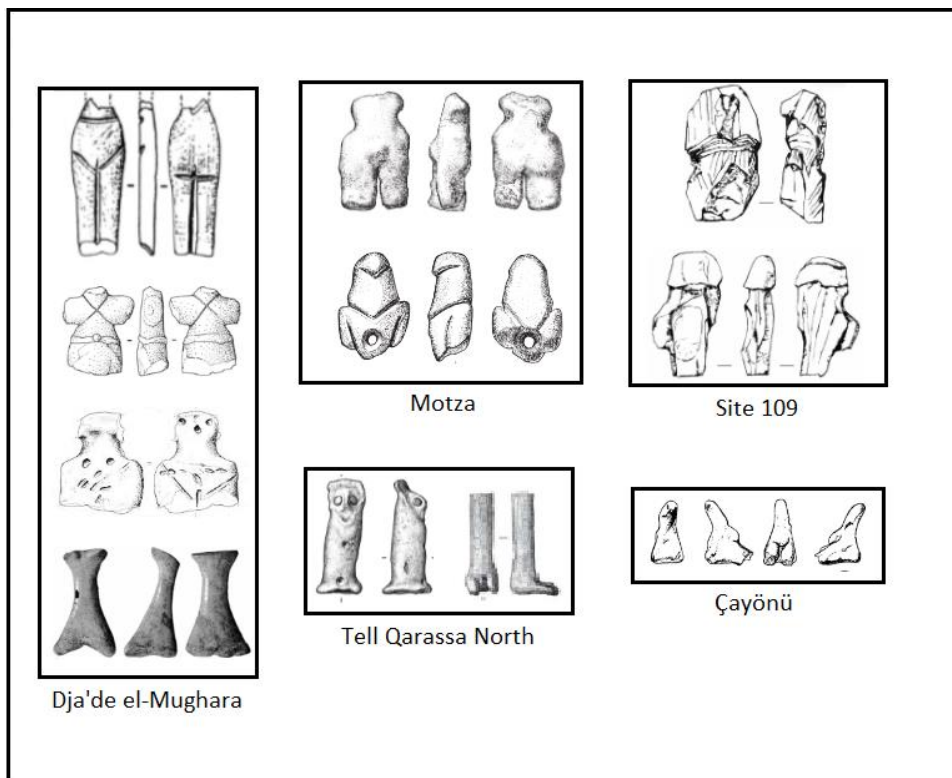


Figure 57: Figurines from Dja'de el-Mughara, Motza, Site 109, Tell Qarassa North, and Çayönü, between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE.

Analyzing the distribution of raw materials during this period, it is evident that, in the initial phases, bone figurines held prominence, closely followed by stone figurines (Figure 59). However, by around 8300 BCE, clay emerged as the predominant material. Subsequently, clay figurines assert their dominance in the later stages of the Neolithic. Notably, Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines began to be made of clay during this period and were frequently observed together in various settlements. Regionally, there was a notable dominance of clay as the primary material in the Levant and Tigris regions, while bone emerged as the dominant material in the Euphrates. In the Euphrates, stone figurines constituted the majority in number after bone figurines. Contrastingly, in Central Anatolia, an equal number of clay and bone figurines were observed.

The contexts of the figurines also exhibit regional variations (Figure 60). Notably, burial areas in the Levant, middens in the Euphrates, and domestic buildings in Tigris and Central Anatolia are prominent. An interesting shift is observed, as in this period, there are lesser figurines from special buildings, which were a significant source in the Euphrates during the previous period. In the Tigris region, there is also a transition from burial areas and special buildings to domestic buildings and open areas. In Central Anatolia, figurines are primarily linked with domestic buildings.

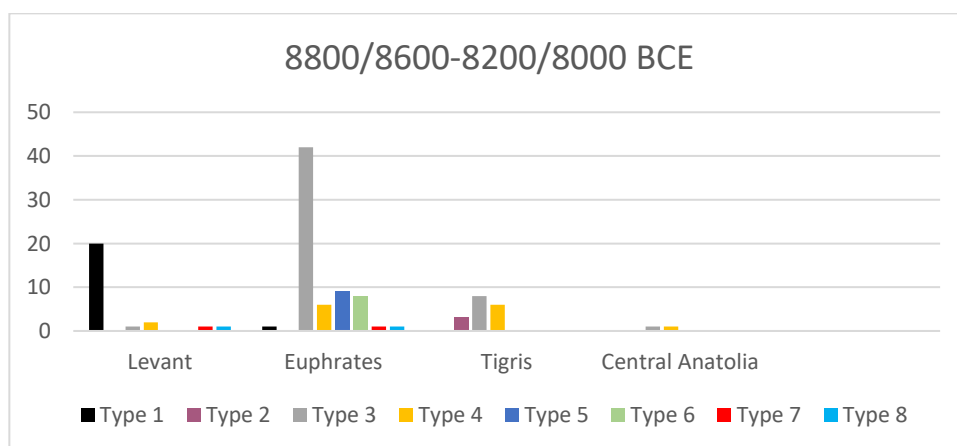


Figure 58: Regional distribution of types between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE.

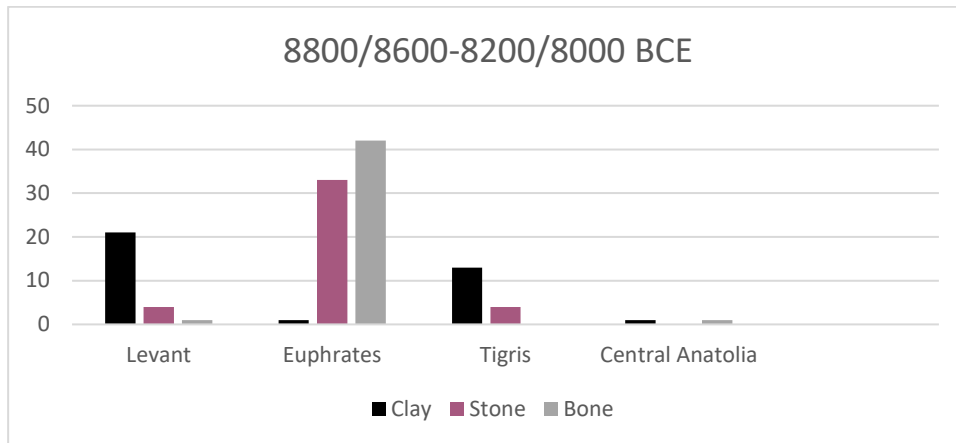


Figure 59: Regional distribution of raw materials between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE.

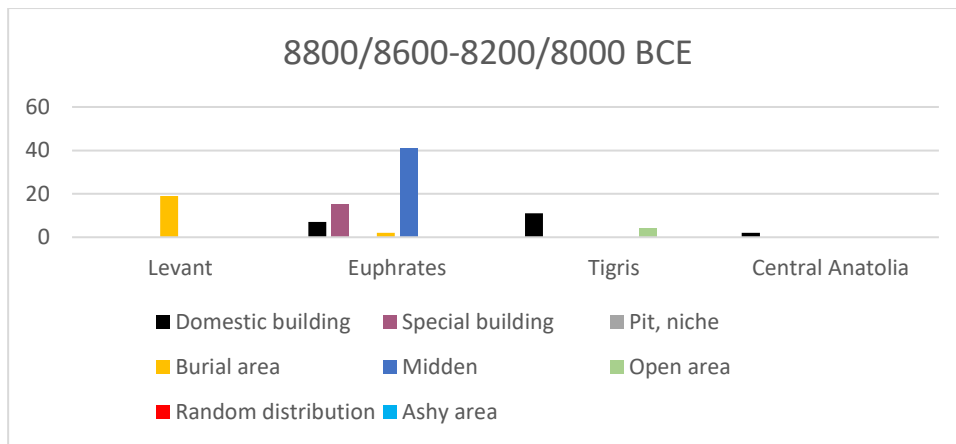


Figure 60: Regional distribution of contexts between 8800/8600-8200/8000 BCE.

Between 8200/8000 and 7500 BCE, there was a notable surge in the number of figurines, escalating nearly tenfold. A total of 995 figurines have been unearthed from 16 settlements dated to this period. Figurine production is remarkably concentrated in numerous settlements between 8200/8000 and 7500 BCE. The majority of figurines originate from the Euphrates region. Additionally, during this timeframe, the Zagros region begins to gain prominence. Across all regions, there is a discernible concentration of figurines in settlements distinct from those prominent in the preceding period. Settlements such as Nevali Çori, Çayönü, Ganj Dareh, 'Ain Ghazal stand out

in this period (Figure 61). Between 8200/8000 - 7500 BCE, Type 3 figurines emerge in the highest numbers, followed by Type 4, Type 1, and Type 5 figurines, respectively. Notably, Type 2, Type 6, and Type 8 figurines are absent during this timeframe. While Type 7 figurines are present, their numbers are relatively small. From a regional perspective, Type 3 is the dominant type in all regions except the Levant, where Type 1 figurines take prominence (Figure 62). However, a crucial observation regarding the Type 1 and Type 3 figurines of this period is the noteworthy similarity, especially in the case of abstract specimens. This similarity extends to certain abstract instances of Type 4 and Type 5 figurines as well. The seated position of Type 3 figurines, with a slight backward lean, appears to symbolize testicles and an erect penis. Similarly, representations of the breast and head in the upper body may bear a resemblance to male genitalia. Consequently, identifying specific figurine types, especially in abstract and fragmented examples, becomes challenging. It is prudent to view these types as a cohesive group and a spectrum.

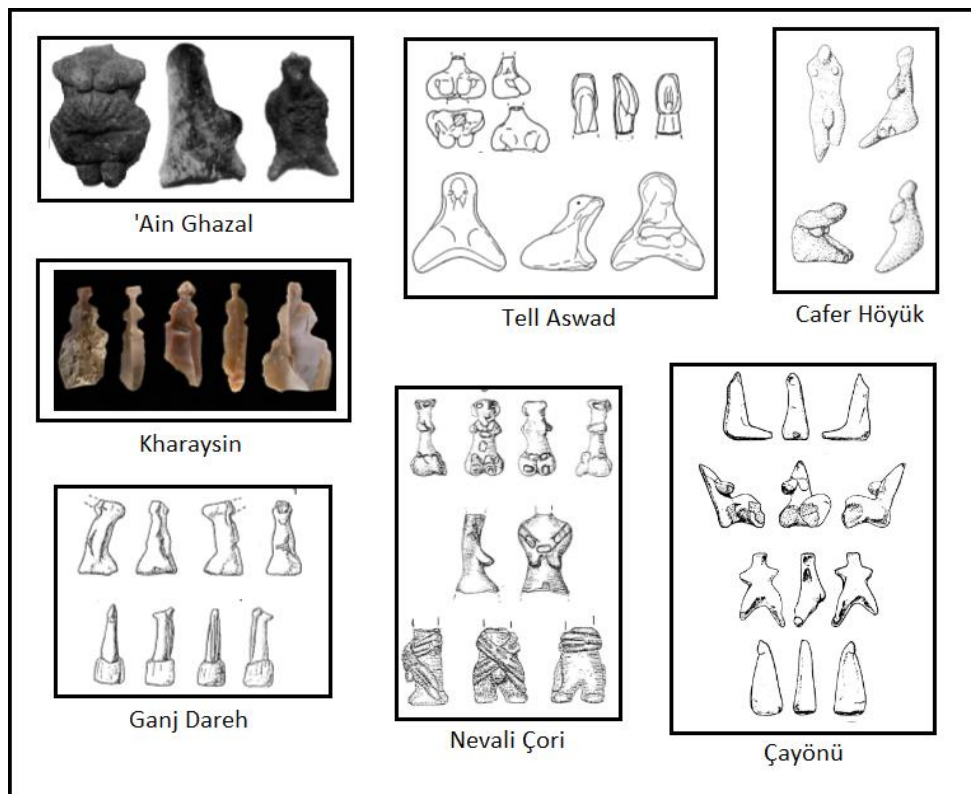


Figure 61: Figurines from 'Ain Ghazal, Tell Aswad, Cafer Höyük, Kharaysin, Ganj Dareh, Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, between 8200/8000-7500 BCE.

Between 8200/8000-7500 BCE, there was a notable shift with clay emerging as the dominant material for figurine production (Figure 63). The number of clay figurines experiences a substantial surge, increasing 30 times compared to the previous period. Across all regions, clay becomes the overwhelmingly preferred raw material. Notably, the Euphrates region stands out as the primary source for clay figurines. On the other hand, Levant was the main source for the stone figurines. The majority of Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines are made of clay. Conversely, stone figurines are predominantly Type 4. During this period, most figurines are recovered from pits, with open areas following closely behind (Figure 64). A significant number of figurines fall under the category of random distribution, encompassing domestic buildings, pits, open spaces, and other unspecified locations. It is important to acknowledge that the term "random distribution" serves as an umbrella category, making it challenging to provide precise statements about the specific distribution of figurines from 8200/8000-7500 BCE. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that there was a concentrated distribution of figurines in pits, open areas outside of houses, and within domestic buildings during this timeframe. A regional analysis reveals distinct patterns in the distribution of figurines. Pits are predominantly observed in the Euphrates region. In the Levant, burial areas and domestic buildings exhibit comparable levels. Tigris showcases a similar relationship between domestic buildings and open areas. Figurines from Zagros are categorized under the random distribution. In Central Anatolia, consistent with previous periods, domestic buildings remain prominent.

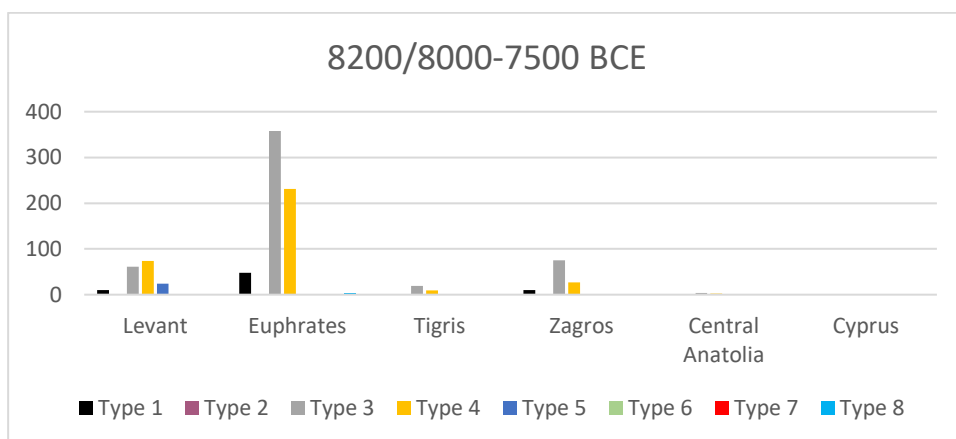


Figure 62: Regional distribution of types between 8200/8000-7500 BCE.



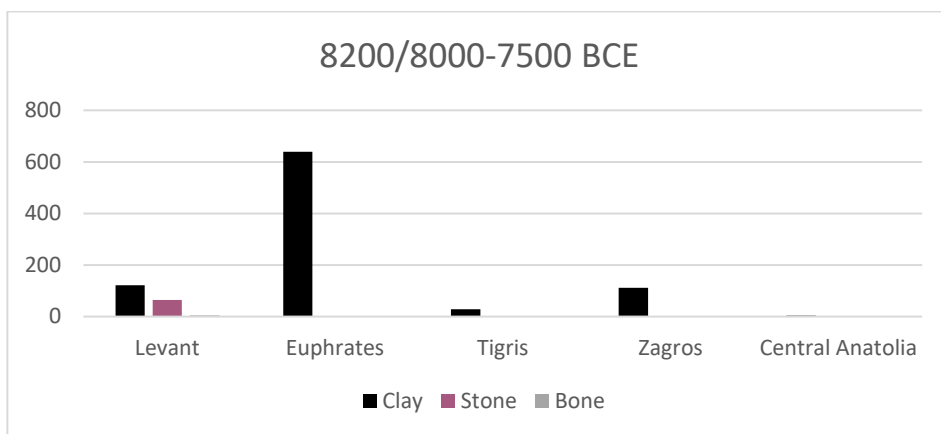


Figure 63: Regional distribution of raw materials between 8200/8000-7500 BCE.

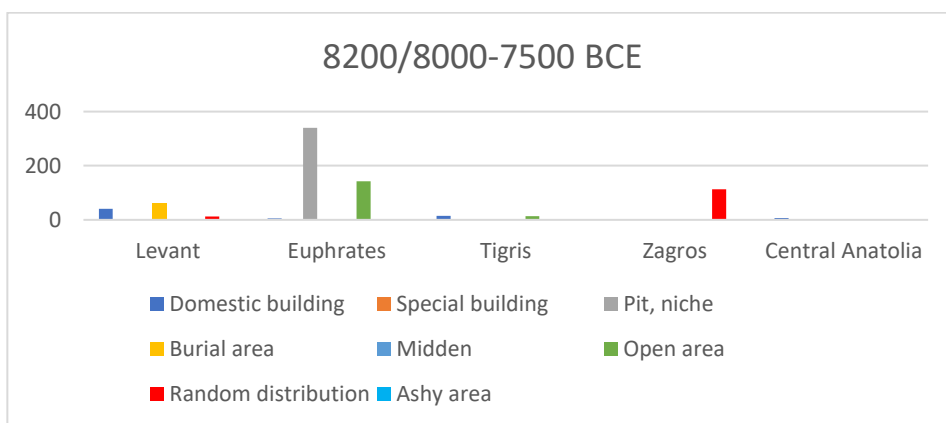


Figure 64: Regional distribution of contexts between 8200/8000-7500 BCE.

Between 7500-7000 BCE, there is a noticeable decrease in the overall number of figurines. However, there is a contrasting increase in the total number of settlements. A total of 222 figurines are identified across 26 settlements during this period, indicating a decrease in figurine density within individual settlements. Furthermore, there is a significant decrease in the proportion of figurines originating from the Euphrates region compared to the previous period, whereas those from the Levant and Zagros regions exhibit an increase. Notably, the number of figurines from the Levant and Euphrates regions became equal during this period. Additionally, there is an uptick in the number of figurines from the Tigris and Cyprus regions.

During this period, Type 3 figurines once again assert dominance, with their numbers closely rivaling those of Type 1, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines (Figure 65, 66). Type 3 figurines are the prevailing type in all regions except Cyprus, where Type 1 figurines predominate. Type 1 figurines are also the second most common type in the Levant and Euphrates. In Tigris, Type 5 figurines take the second spot, while in Zagros, Type 4 figurines are the second most prevalent.

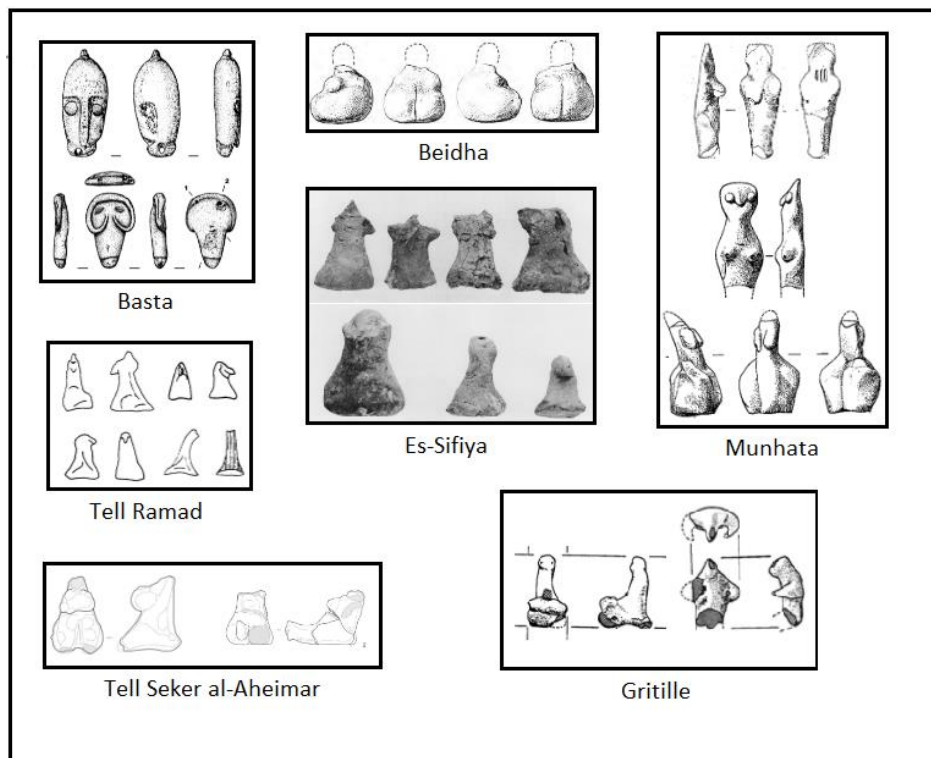


Figure 65: Figurines from Basta, Beidha, Munhata, Tell Ramad, Es-Sifiya, Tell Seker al-Aheimar, and Gritille, between 7500-7000 BCE.

In this period, a notable shift is observed in the materials used for figurines (Figure 67). Unlike the previous period, the majority of Type 1 figurines are now made of stone, exemplified by figurines from settlements such as Ba'ja, Basta, and Mezraa Teleilat. However, nearly all Type 3 figurines are made of clay. Remarkably, there is a noteworthy presence of Type 4 figurines made of bone. The situation for Type 5 figurines is evenly split between different materials: stone and clay. Contrasting with the trend of predominantly clay Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines in the

previous period, there is a return to a diverse array of materials reminiscent of earliest periods. It is particularly significant that Type 1 and Type 5 figurines, which were primarily made of stone in the early stages, regain prominence in this period. From a regional standpoint, the Levant predominantly produces clay figurines, whereas the Euphrates region is characterized by the majority of stone and bone figurines. In Zagros and Tigris, only clay figurines are observed, and in Cyprus, exclusively stone figurines are found.

Between 7500 and 7000 BCE, domestic buildings took precedence as the primary context for figurines (Figure 68). Open areas, ashy areas, and the random distribution category closely followed with similar numbers. Figurines were observed across all context categories during this period, and there was a notable increase in the ashy area category compared to preceding periods. The areas with the fewest figurines in this period are the middens. Regarding the distribution of figurines across contexts, it is noteworthy that figurines are found in more than one category in the Levant and Euphrates. Figurines from all context categories are present in the Levant, except for middens. In the Euphrates, figurines are absent from the random distribution and burial areas categories. The open area category dominates in both regions and in Cyprus, followed by domestic buildings. In Tigris, figurines were mostly discovered inside houses, while in Zagros, they were also categorized under the "random distribution" category for this period.

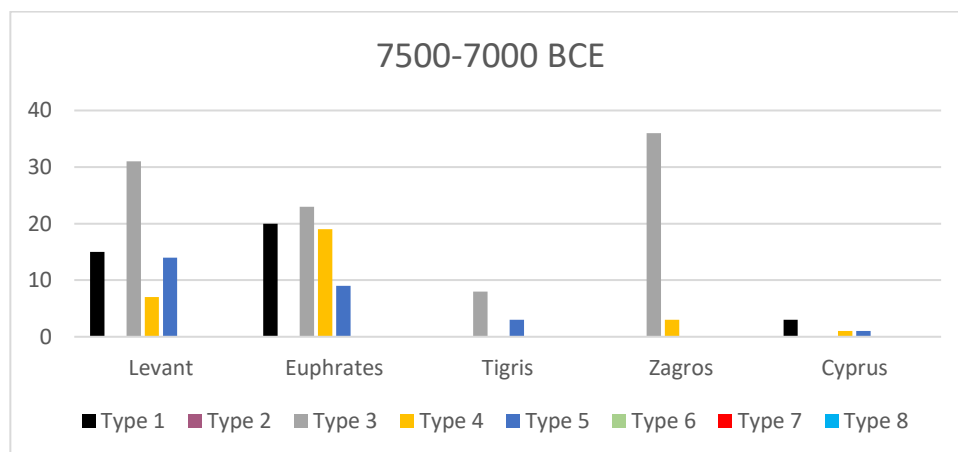


Figure 66: Regional distribution of types between 7500-7000 BCE.

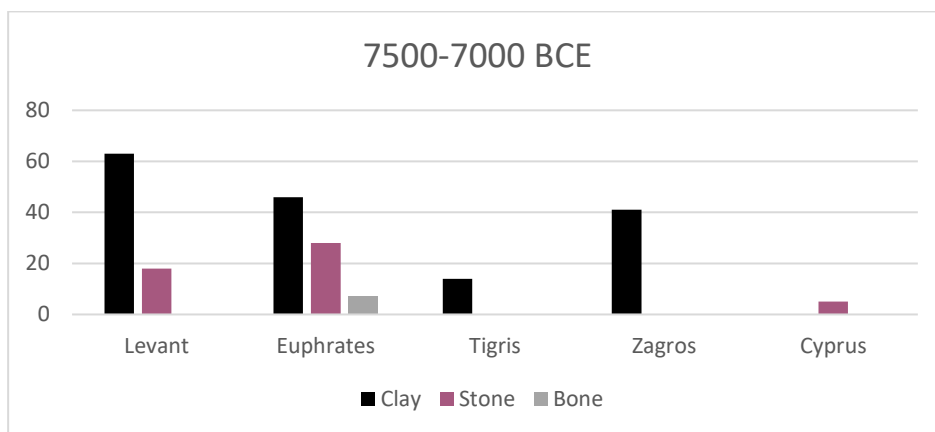


Figure 67: Regional distribution of raw materials between 7500-7000 BCE.

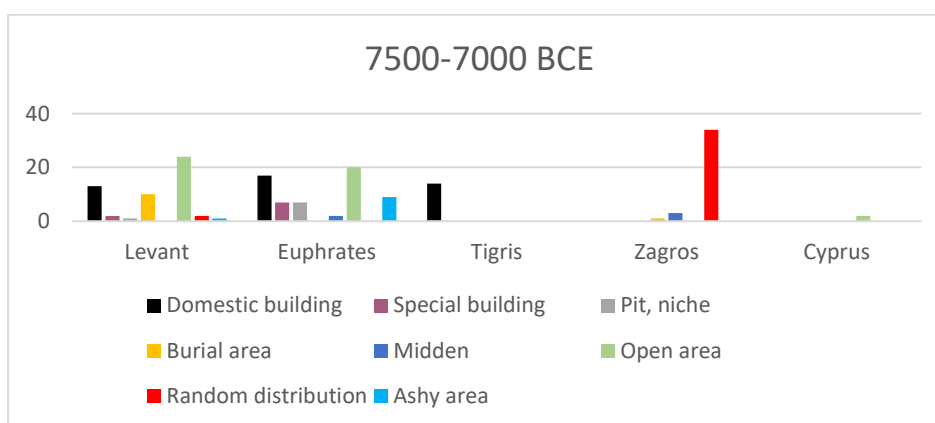


Figure 68: Regional distribution of contexts between 7500-7000 BCE.

While the previous section of this study categorized two periods as "7000-6500 BCE" and "After 6500 BCE," it is noted that the types, materials, and context distributions of the figurines from both periods are compatible with each other. Additionally, it is highlighted that all figurines after 6500 BCE come from settlements rooted in the previous period. Therefore, in this chapter, the results of both periods will be evaluated together.

Between 7000 BCE and 5900 BCE, it is still possible to trace the characteristics of figurines that developed within the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. This period stands out as the

era with the highest production of figurines, encompassing a total of 2928 figurines from 20 settlements. Notably, the Zagros region emerges as the primary source for figurines during this timeframe, followed by Central Anatolia, the Euphrates, and the Levant. Additionally, a smaller number of figurines are identified from Cyprus and Tigris during this period. Key settlements contributing the most figurines during this period include Tell Ramad in the Levant, Mezraa-Teleilat in the Euphrates, Çatalhöyük in Central Anatolia, Jarmo in the Zagros, and Khirokitia - Vouni in Cyprus (Figure 69).

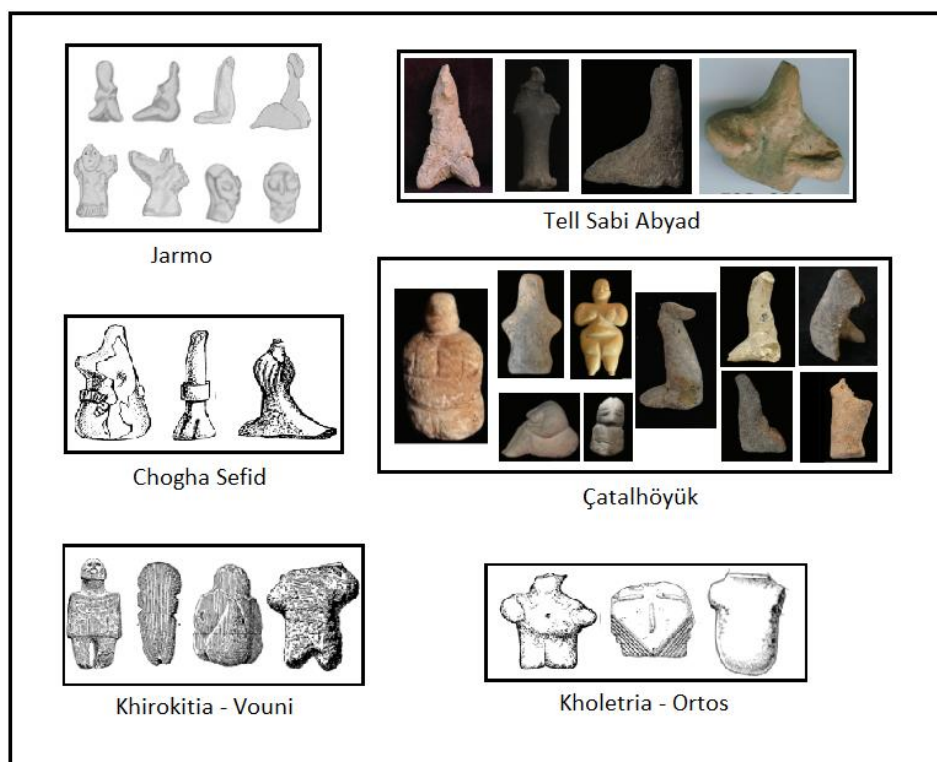


Figure 69: Figurines from Jarmo, Tell Sabi Abyad, Chogha Sefid, Çatalhöyük, Khirokitia – Vouni, and Kholetria – Ortos, after 7000 BCE.

This period is characterized by the prevalence of Type 3 figurines, especially prominent in the Zagros region (Figure 70). Type 3 figurines are the most common across the Zagros, Levant, Central Anatolia, and Tigris. In the Euphrates, Type 1 figurines dominate. There is a discernible shift towards abstraction in all types of figurines during this timeframe. Particularly noteworthy is the resemblance between

human seated-type figurines and phalluses, indicating a distinctive trend in figurative representation during this period. Notably, this period stands out as having the highest number of heads, attributed to both the overall increase in figurine production and the breaking the heads of figurines. Type 7 figurines reappeared in Central Anatolia during this period. A notable distinction in these figurines, the latest examples of which are observed in the EPPNB, is the repositioning of animals. In contrast to the previous period when wild animals were depicted on people's backs and heads, in this period, the representation has shifted, with people now positioned on the animals.

Throughout this period, clay emerges as the predominant material in all regions except Cyprus, where stone figurines prevail (Figure 71). The largest number of clay figurines comes from the Zagros region, while the Euphrates yields the highest number of stone figurines. Notably, there is also a small number of bone figurines discovered at Tell Sabi Abyad in the Euphrates and Çatalhöyük in Central Anatolia.

Regarding the contexts of the figurines, specific categories stand out in different regions (Figure 72). In the Levant, burial areas are prominent, while in the Euphrates, Tigris, and Cyprus, open areas take precedence. Central Anatolia exhibits a notable presence of figurines in middens, and in the Zagros, random distribution becomes a significant category. Interestingly, figurines in the Euphrates and Central Anatolia are distributed across multiple context categories, with the domestic building category ranking second in both regions.

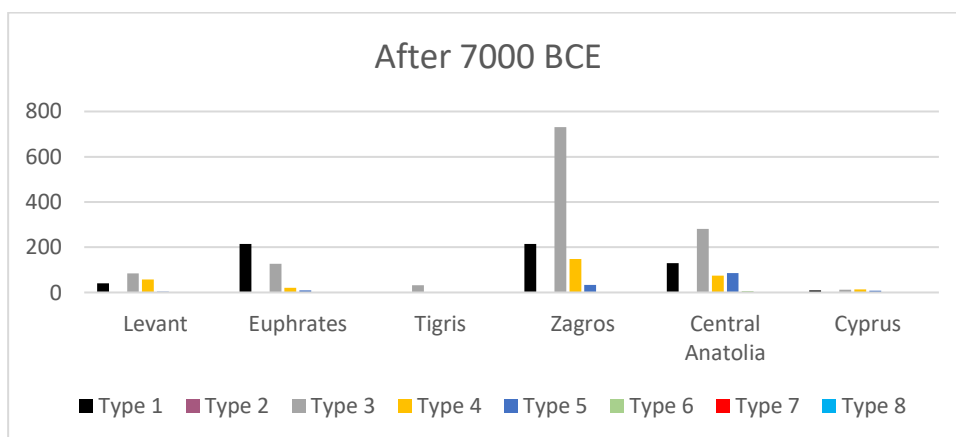


Figure 70: Regional distribution of types after 7000 BCE.

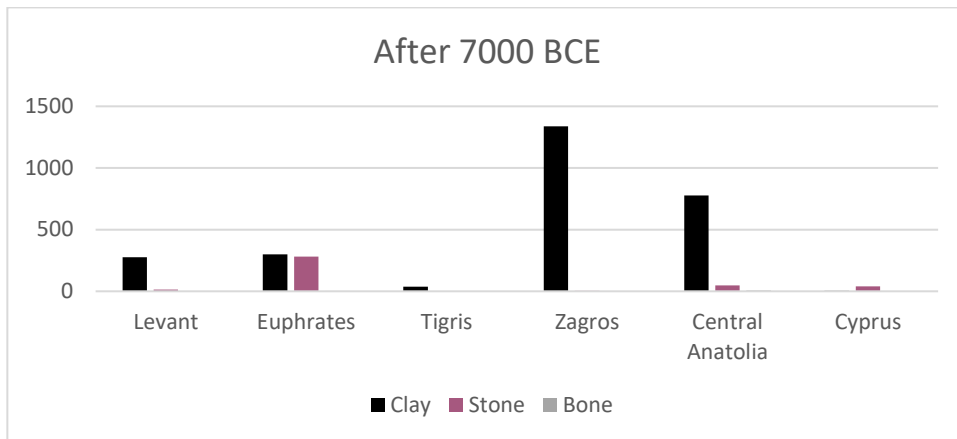


Figure 71: Regional distribution of raw materials after 7000 BCE.

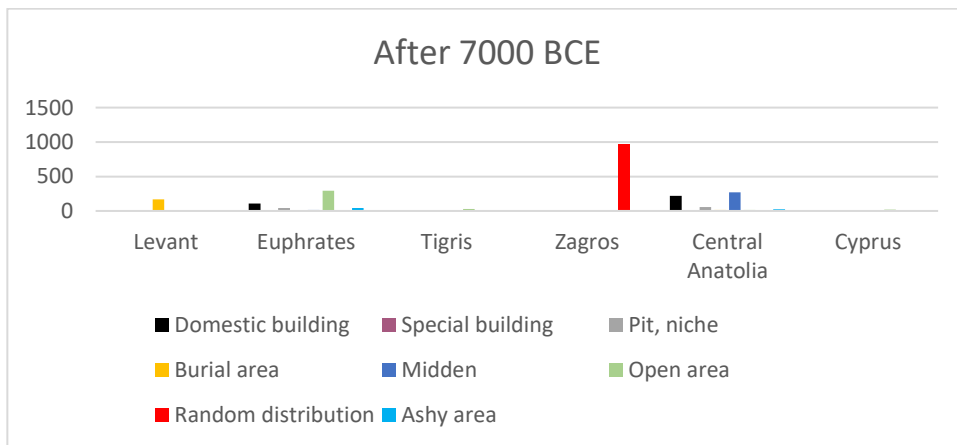


Figure 72: Regional distribution of contexts after 7000 BCE.

## 4.2 Neolithization and social meanings of anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East

Approximately 12.000 years ago, the end of the last ice age and the establishment of climatic conditions akin to the present marked a transformative epoch in human history. Preceding this, during the Early Natufian period characterized by complex hunter-gatherer societies, the Levant experienced a period of exploration into sedentary lifestyles during the warm Bolling-Allerod climatic phase (c. 12.500-10.800 BCE). This era, which witnessed the nascent stages of sedentism and food production,

faced an interruption with the advent of colder and drier conditions during the Younger Dryas (c. 10.800-9.500 BCE), necessitating a brief return to mobile living. Despite this setback, the exigencies imposed by the challenging climate ultimately compelled the enduring adoption of plant cultivation and domestication (Atakuman, 2014, p. 2).

Anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East emerged during this period. Type 2 bone figurines from Kebara Cave, Karain Cave, and Nahal Oren can be interpreted as a continuation of Upper Paleolithic figurines in terms of their period, typology, and raw material. On the other hand, Natufian figurines from the Levant were made of stone, predominantly featuring Type 1, Type 5, and Type 8. Towards the end of the Epipaleolithic, Direkli Cave in Anatolia revealed the presence of a Type 3 clay figurine. Contextual information is available for very few of these early anthropomorphic figurines. According to this data, figurines were discovered in association with domestic structures and burials.

During this period, burials were discovered beneath the floors, pits along structures, or in the fillings of the structures. In other words, in this initial phase, structures evolved into spaces where the intertwined concepts of life and death were contemplated. Ritual activities were intense in the Early Natufian, characterized by collective graves, grave goods, and decorated corpses at sites such as 'Ain Mallaha, El Wad, and Hayonim Cave. Both primary and secondary burials existed during this time. However, in the Late Natufian, a shift in burial customs occurred. In the Late Natufian layers of 'Ain Mallaha, El Wad, and Nahal Oren, the dead were mostly buried individually without decoration or grave goods in pits. Interestingly, during the Final Natufian, there was a return to Early Natufian traditions, with burials once again placed beneath the house floors.

In the Epipaleolithic period, structures became spaces where the concepts of life and death intertwined, giving rise to figurines associating with these areas. Phalluses, heads, phallic heads, and schematic versions potentially related with them, prompt contemplation on the connections between figurines, place-making, and the concepts of life and death.

Following the end of the Younger Dryas, the advent of the Holocene witnessed the flourishing of the first Neolithic cultures in regions situated within fertile ecological



niches. The Neolithic refers to a significant phase in human history, marked by the development of agriculture and the shift from mobile hunter-gatherer communities to settled farming societies. It is characterized by the domestication of plants and animals, giving rise to a new way of life. This transition from a mobile hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a sedentary agricultural one had far-reaching implications for human society, influencing changes in the economy, social organization, technology, ideology, and culture. In the Near East, this era is categorically divided into two phases based on the presence of pottery: the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (Early Neolithic) and the Pottery Neolithic (Late Neolithic). The Pre-Pottery Neolithic is further divided into sub-periods as Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA), Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB), and Pre-Pottery Neolithic C (PPNC). Each period is characterized by diverse economic, technological, architectural, social, and cultural characteristics (Figure 73, 74).

The Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) is characterized by the initial signs of domestication, round-plan houses, and a kin-based family structure. An interesting aspect of this period is rebuilding houses on the same foundations for generations, with the deceased buried within these structures. Individual burials take precedence in burial practices, with observed rituals such as skull removal and catching. Another distinctive feature of the PPNA is the emergence of special buildings in various parts of the Near East, a trend that continues into the Early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (EPPNB). These structures, found in settlements like Göbeklitepe, Hallan Çemi, Körtik Tepe, Çayönü, Wadi Faynan 16, and Jerf el Ahmar, serve as focal points for concentrated symbolism within the settlement. During this period, PPNA cultures are evident in the Levant, Euphrates, and Tigris regions on the mainland and in Cyprus. The earliest figurines from Cyprus are also dated to this period.

In alignment with the characteristics of the period, anthropomorphic imagery is notably concentrated within special buildings in the Near East. Also, within houses, there is a discernible concentration of figurines, both directly associated with burials and within the domestic parts of the structures. The predominant figurine type during this period is the Type 2 figurines made of stone, notable in the Tigris settlements like Körtik Tepe, Hallan Çemi, and Nemrik 9. Examples from Körtik Tepe are linked to burials and domestic structures, identified through their materials and traces of use. Notably, a known example from Nemrik 9 originates from a special building. Hallan

Çemi figurines are connected to feasting practices due to the abundance of animal bones at the site. The figurines most commonly found in special buildings during this period are Type 5 (head) stone figurines. Considering the anthropomorphic nature of Type 2 figurines with facial depictions, it is plausible that Type 2 and Type 5 stone figurines have a symbolic relationship during this era. Another type that emerges in special buildings, absent in the previous period, is Type 6 figurines. These composite figurines depict predatory animals on people's backs and heads, forming a composition that signifies the transition from a mobile hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a settled agricultural way of life. This composition finds its most attractive examples, particularly in the T-shaped monumental architecture known from Göbeklitepe. Atakuman (2022) highlights the resemblance between human-shaped stone pillars, statues, figurines, and practices such as plaster statues and skull or body plastering observed in ancestor cult rituals. The suggestion is that T-shaped pillars are crafted to symbolize the dead. In short, the analysis of prominent figurine types from PPNA can be contextualized within the framework of place-group affiliations and ancestral cult practices, taking into account the symbolic setting of houses constructed atop each other, the interment of biological families within these houses, and the presence of T-shaped monumental architecture.

In the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) period, succeeding the PPNA, settlements experienced growth with the expanding population. Distinct neighborhoods emerged within these settlements, and private storage areas became noticeable in houses. Particularly during the Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (MPPNB) phase, burial practices evolved into more complex ceremonies, and ritual activities intensified. The deceased were initially interred inside houses, and the floors were plastered. Subsequently, the graves were reopened, the skulls or the bones of the deceased were extracted, and the floor was replastered. The collected skulls were then buried collectively or individually in extramural areas.

This period, marked by a diminishing emphasis on monumental architecture, gave rise to a novel network of social, economic, and symbolic relations centered around the “house”. As internal partitions increased in houses with rectangular planning, symbolic practices such as plastering the building's floor and walls, incorporating installations using animal horns on these plasters or creating paintings with ochre emerged. Plaster

and ochre also became increasingly prevalent in burial practices, with skull plastering and painting emerging as prominent rituals. These practices can be followed in a vast geography extending from the Levant to Central Anatolia. Burial practices during this period appear to be a significant foundation for the emerging lifestyle centered around houses. The utilization and disposal of figurines can likewise be viewed as an integral element of this process.

In this term, there is a significant increase in the number of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. In the MPPNB, zoomorphic figurines prominently feature domesticated animals. In the case of anthropomorphic figurines, Type 3 becomes the most common type, followed by Type 4, Type 1, and Type 5. These types continue to dominate in the subsequent periods. Notably, these types collectively begin to form a spectrum during this period. These figurine types, later evolving into more abstract forms, also exhibit a phallic image. They can be interpreted as representing a seated woman or a phallus, a standing person or a phallus, and a head or a phallus. Although this tendency, allowing for multiple interpretations, has been present since the Epipaleolithic period, it becomes more pronounced and creates a broader spectrum during the MPPNB. In the context of the gender debate surrounding figurines, this trend first indicates a preference for both ends of the spectrum, where sexual characteristics become more apparent compared to the previous period. Simultaneously, sexual characteristics are often concealed through intentional obscuration or designed to permit multiple interpretations. This situation allows for flexible narratives within social and spatial relationships, enabling the use and manipulation of figurines. Moreover, it allows them to be positioned along the spectrum as needed, contributing to a nuanced and adaptable portrayal within their cultural and societal context.

The notable proliferation of figurines during the MPPNB could be linked to the proliferation of ancestral skull cult ceremonies following the disappearance of monumental pillar symbolism. Were these figurines crafted during the cycles of primary and secondary mortuary rituals? The nature of these rituals extends beyond the burial of human bodies; they encompass social regeneration in various aspects. Large-scale feasts, coming-of-age ceremonies, partner exchanges, and resource exchanges between groups appear integral to these events, serving as a crucial balance

point between the emergence of households and their relationships with the larger community. The cycles of these rituals likely align with agricultural and natural cycles. The production and utilization of figurines are likely intertwined with these rituals, where community members are initiated into new responsibilities and the knowledge of a belief system that binds the community. Figurines may have played an active role in performances, conveying oral myths of creation, genealogy, and gender roles.

Clay became the dominant material during this period. In contrast to the prevalence of figurines made from stone and bone in the previous times, the extensive use of clay for figurines during this period, as a new lifestyle developed, provided a richer narrative about human life. The easy-to-shape nature of clay and its color and texture offered a more expressive medium to convey aspects of human life. As an integral part of this narrative, it is crucial to emphasize that nearly all the zoomorphic figurines portraying domesticated animals were also made of clay. In this era, practices like crafting clay masks with shell or stone eyes, and incorporating chalk pieces or markings to clay figurines, were also noted. Also, some figurines painted with ochre. Various materials may highlight the structure of the human body, symbolizing flesh and bones and offering insights into themes such as life and death, social status, and ancestral connections (Atakuman, 2022, p.75).

Another notable feature of the figurines from this period is the prevalence of broken heads, which appear to be closely connected to the skull cult, which is evident in the burial rituals of the time. Additionally, many figurines from this period are discovered in pits. The act of burying figurines, like the burial of the deceased, underscores the interconnectedness between burial practices and the use of figurines. Anthropomorphic busts and statues dating to the MPPNB were also found in caches. Moreover, a ritual practice observed during this period involves the intense exposure of figurines to fire. The utilization of figurines during this period appears to be directly linked to the homogenized and complex burial practices. According to Kuijt (2005, p. 176), this homogenization appears to emphasize the deconstruction or masking of individual differences, focusing on collective identities. In the economic and social context of the MPPNB, where settled life, agriculture, and animal husbandry progressed, and the population and settlements expanded, the ritual practices may indeed serve as symbolic expressions fostering a sense of collective identity and

cooperation within the community. These ritual practices could have played a role in maintaining cohesion and shared values, particularly as the complexity of settled life increased and collaboration became crucial. The homogenization of burial practices and the symbolic use of figurines could have contributed to a shared cultural narrative and a sense of belonging among the inhabitants of these evolving Neolithic communities. The efficacy and power of these practices, both physically and symbolically, relied on ritual practitioners' creation of social memory. Members of the community would employ a shared set of symbols, collectively understood, and negotiated, contributing to the formation of social memory within their community (Kuijt, 2017, p. 559).

In the phase following the PPNB, often called the "Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Collapse," many settlements were abandoned. During this process, the household-based social structure, a crucial determinant in organizing the workforce according to the demands of the dominant agricultural economy, appears to have shifted away from the restrictive relationship patterns of hunter-gatherer rituals, allowing for ritual and economic independence (Atakuman, 2022, p. 75). A noticeable dissolution in ritual practices is also evident during this period.

Despite a radical decrease in the number of figurines compared to the previous period, the number of settlements increased in this term. Approximately 220 figurines from 26 settlements, a significant portion of which were newly established, date from this period. While there is a substantial decrease in Euphrates figurines, there is an increase in the Levant, Tigris, Zagros, and Cyprus. Stone and bone materials experienced a significant surge in preference for figurine production compared to the prior period, with the Euphrates region providing the highest number of stone and bone figurines. Like the preceding period, Type 3 remains the most dominant figurine type. Type 1 appears alongside Type 4 and Type 5. Notably, a significant portion of this period's Type 1 and Type 5 figurines is made of stone, reminiscent of earlier periods. Moreover, many Type 3 figurines, traditionally predominantly made of clay, are now also made of stone, exemplified by Mezraa Teleilat. A parallel situation is noted in the distribution of figurines within different contexts. While most figurines originate from domestic buildings, they are closely followed by those found in open areas, ashy areas, and "random distribution" categories. Another notable characteristic of this period is

the shift in burial practices. In this period, the deceased started to be interred in abandoned structures or open areas. Interestingly, this period corresponds with an increase in the representation of figurines in open spaces and abandoned buildings. The standards of figurine use, and discard established in the previous period appear to have dissolved during this time, paving the way for renegotiation in the atmosphere of new settlements.

By 7000 BCE, the Near East witnessed numerous innovations, including the establishment of a fully developed farming village economy, the widespread adoption of pottery, the construction of rectangular and closely built together houses, and a shift from a kin-based family structure to a food-sharing extended family structure. The time frame covered by this study reveals that this period yielded the highest number of figurines. Encompassing 2928 figurines from 20 settlements, this era signifies a time when Zagros figurines dominated quantity and style. Within these figurine assemblages, where Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 clay figurines progressively became more abstract, distinguishing most examples from each other becomes challenging. Terms such as "stalk type" and "t-shaped figurine" describe the evolving styles. This transformative effect was observed throughout this period in Euphrates, Tigris and Central Anatolia. Interestingly, genetic data from Çayönü suggest a potential east-west admixture, implying a Zagros admixture in Upper Mesopotamia, which may have also influenced Central Anatolia during the Pottery Neolithic (Altınışık et al., 2022). On the other hand, in Cyprus, a more abstract yet geometric style emerged during this period. Some examples of this style can also be found in Çatalhöyük. Notably, in both Cyprus and the Zagros region, most figurines date to this specific time frame. When considering these two regions together, it becomes apparent that with the expansion of Neolithization, figurines acquired local styles within newly concentrated areas and disseminated these styles across broader networks.

Unfortunately, context information is unavailable for most figurines dating to this period, especially for the Zagros figurines. The prevalence of the "random distribution" definition in settlements such as Jarmo, where figurines are abundant, complicates the interpretation of the figurines in terms of their contextual relationships. For figurines with available context information, middens and room fills take precedence. However, figurines of the same type and material can be found in significantly different contexts.

A combination of Type 1, Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 figurines continues to occur at almost all sites hosting more than one type. Unlike other settlements, Çatalhöyük had also another type of figurines: Type 6 figurines, absent since the EPPNB, and Type 7 figurines, sporadically observed in the MPPNB, reappeared during this period.

Bailey contends that miniaturization, achieved through abstraction and compression, prompts contemplation about the unrepresented aspects of a figurine, ultimately giving rise to alternative worlds and worldviews, all deemed "equally valid" (2005, pp. 28, 32). According to him, anthropomorphic figurines significantly contribute to creating, promoting, negotiating, manipulating, and altering personal and group identities (Bailey, 2005, p. 67). As reached this period, the increasing prevalence of abstract figurines and the widespread use of small and portable objects, such as stamp seals, suggests that household groups developed more extensive strategies for communal interaction. These objects, enhancing the capacity of independent households to establish new relationships both with different groups and internally, may allow for the expression of status differences in much more complex forms (Atakuman, 2022, p. 75).

To sum up, anthropomorphic figurines played a crucial role at various stages of Neolithization in the Near East, seamlessly integrating into the complex tapestry of changes, transformations, and fluctuations that characterized this overarching process. They were integral components intricately connected to the evolving dynamics of this transformative journey. Rather than serving as static visual media, figurines possess the potential to facilitate dialogue and negotiation, conveying various levels of social differentiation through the manipulation of images, materials, and craftsmanship (Atakuman, 2015b, p. 765). The criticism expressed by Talalay about the Mother Goddess theory (1994, p. 172) can actually be applied to all figurines: the assumption of figurines maintaining a fixed role for thousands of years disregards societies' dynamic nature and evolution, as it treats them as static entities. Hence, it is imperative to comprehensively assess figurines within the contextual relationships of their respective time and place, considering features such as raw materials, typology, breakage patterns, etc., to uncover the nuanced meanings embedded within these artefacts.

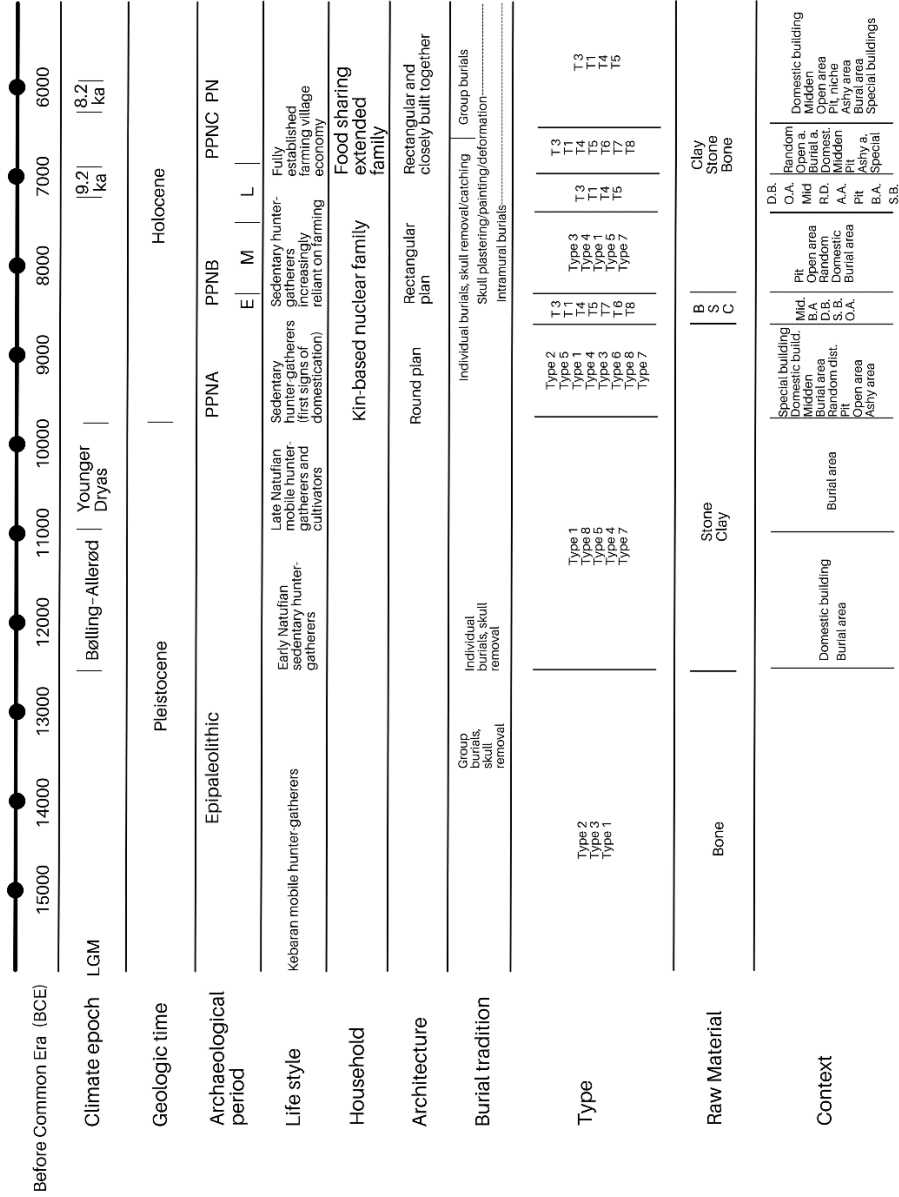


Figure 73: Timeline for climate epoch, geologic time, archaeological period, lifestyle, household, architecture, burial tradition, and type, raw material and context of figurines.



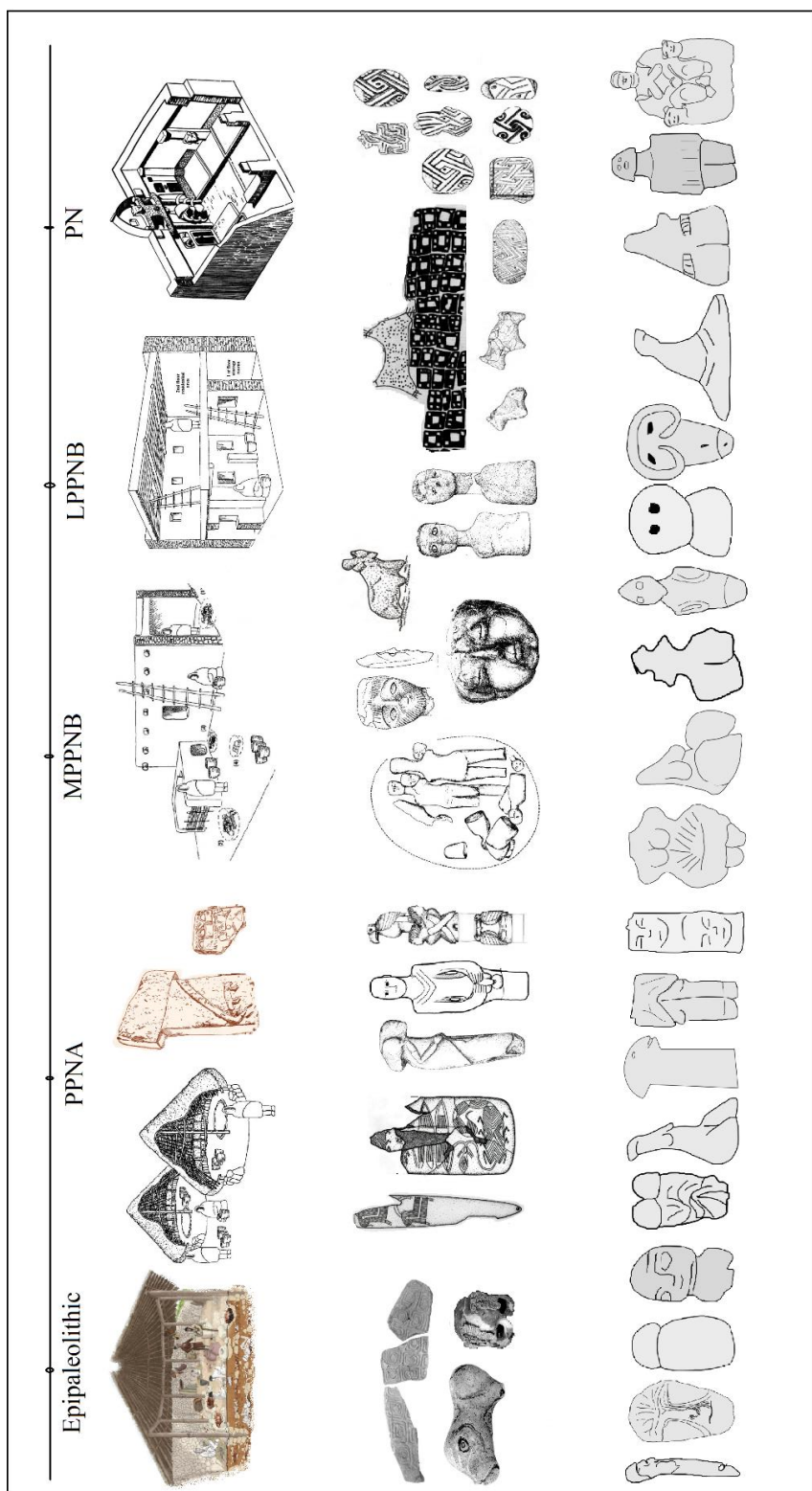


Figure 74: Timeline for architecture, figurine types, and other symbolic representations. (Image adapted from Kuijt & Goring-Morris, 2002, Fig. 3, 8, 10, 15; Lichter, 2014, Fig. 7; Edwards et al., 2019, Fig. 1, 11; Hodder & Gürlük, 2020, Fig. 9.18; Siddiq et al. 2021, Fig. 6, 10. Figurine illustrations are created by the author).

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the emergence and evolution of early Neolithic anthropomorphic figurines in the Near East. Data on 4730 figurines from 87 settlements in the Near East, spanning the Epipaleolithic period until c. 5900 BCE, were collected from previous studies. The figurines were systematically classified based on their raw materials, contexts, thematic variations, breakage patterns, and firing properties. To comprehend the role of figurines in the Neolithization process, a comparative examination was conducted, considering contemporaneous examples and various characteristics, including climate, lifestyle, domestication, architecture, burial traditions, and family structure at different stages of the period.

The interpretation of anthropomorphic figurines has been a subject of ongoing debate in archaeological literature, with roots tracing back to the evolutionary ideas of the 19th century. Traditional views have often characterized prehistoric figurines as objects of worship, reflecting a matriarchal social order centered around the Mother Goddess belief. However, since the 1950s, critical perspectives have emerged, offering alternative approaches that advocate for analyzing figurines with attention to their diverse features. This study, shaped by the analyses and discussions conducted throughout its chapters, concludes that figurines are crucial artifacts empowering communities to define themselves within the dynamics of emerging economic and social shifts, negotiate and manipulate these definitions at different stages of the transition from a mobile hunter-gatherer life to a sedentary agricultural lifestyle. This transformative process is facilitated by manipulating images, materials, and craftsmanship.

The research findings indicate that the earliest anthropomorphic figurines of the Near East include staff-shaped bone examples with zoomorphic and anthropomorphic

features. These artifacts originate from the Karain Cave, Kebara Cave, and Nahal Oren in the early Epipaleolithic period, representing a continuity of Upper Paleolithic figurine traditions. During the Natufian period, stone figurines became prominent, characterized by a prevalence of phalluses, heads, or phallic heads, along with grooved objects that may be associated with them. These figurines were discovered in association with domestic buildings or directly linked to burials. This era witnessed the emergence of intramural burials and skull removal practices, transforming structures into spaces where the intertwined concepts of death, life, and regeneration converged. Intramural burials can be seen as a form of ritualized place-making, where the bodies of deceased ancestors forge a profound link between the living and the place, becoming a means for groups to define their identity. Figurines have played a pivotal role in this process of fostering a sense of belonging and identity. The prevalence of heads, phalluses, and phallic heads in figurine types suggests a potential connection to the concepts of death, life, and regeneration. Moreover, the figurines' contexts further support their association with burial practices and architectural elements.

In the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) period, there is a notable increase in the number of figurines, their distribution across settlements/regions, and thematic diversity. Figurines from this period have been identified in the Levant, Euphrates, Tigris, and Cyprus, with a particularly abundant presence in the Euphrates and Tigris regions. Special buildings, serving as focal points for symbolic activities within settlements during this time, witnessed a concentrated use of anthropomorphic imagery. In settlements lacking such structures, figurines were predominantly found in domestic buildings and middens. The prevalent figurine types during PPNA include “pestle, baton, T-shaped objects” (some featuring facial depictions with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic features), and heads. Notably, the distribution of these types in special buildings, domestic structures, and burials, along with their shared facial depictions, suggests a connection between these two types. Pestle-shaped figurines also exhibit phallic imagery. Another distinctive figurine type from this period is the human-animal composite figurines. In these representations, wild animal depictions can be observed on T-shaped pillars in Göbeklitepe or engraved objects in Körtektepe are positioned on the backs and heads of human figures. Reflecting the theme of transitioning from a

mobile hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a settled agricultural one, these depictions persisted into the Early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (EPPNB). However, they seemed to disappear in the Near East, coinciding with the disappearance of T-shaped monumental architecture. Human-animal composite figurines resurface at Çatalhöyük after 7000 BCE but with a notable difference – this time depicting humans positioned on animals or animals placed at the knees of humans. In contrast to the previous period (PPNA-EPPNB), where the human-animal composite figurines portrayed a more symbiotic relationship between humans and animals, this later depiction suggests a perceived "capture" of the animal world. Consequently, despite categorizing these figurines within the same type across two distinct periods in this study, it becomes evident that the intended symbolism and meaning behind the figurines differ in the two time frames.

The thematic continuity from the Epipaleolithic period is discernible in the PPNA figurines, where phalluses and heads continue to hold prominent positions in the symbolic repertoire. The manipulation of images and craftsmanship ingeniously combines the concepts of life, death, and regeneration within individual figurines, allowing some to be interpreted simultaneously as both phalluses and female forms. Furthermore, the utilization of anthropomorphic imagery is particularly concentrated around monumental architecture, contributing to a more elaborate and multifaceted narrative. Within this context, the symbolism incorporates depictions of wild animals and humans, featuring phalluses and heads. Often regarded as communal meeting spaces for local groups, these structures seem to be centered around ancestral cults and ritualized place-making. The thematic coherence and standardization evident in pillars, statues, and figurines suggest a deliberate effort to facilitate dialogue, negotiation, and the establishment of collective memory by connecting with common ancestors.

During the MPPNB period, marked by a proliferation of figurines, monumental architecture disappeared in the Near East, giving way to a network of economic, social, and ritual relations centered around the concept of the "house." There was a noticeable standardization in the types, materials, and contexts of figurine production, use, and discard across the Near East, excluding Cyprus. Clay emerged as the dominant material of the period, as witnessed by a growing production of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines (especially domesticated animals) made of clay. The easily

shaped and manipulated structure of clay, along with its distinct color and texture, appears to have empowered the people to create more diverse narratives about themselves. The adaptability of clay provided a medium through which the community could express and convey a rich tapestry of living experiences during this era. The prevailing types in this period encompass phalluses, seated and standing human figurines, and heads. These variations are distributed along a spectrum, where one end features depictions of phalluses or men with phalluses. Notably, sexual characteristics, including the direct depiction of genitals, exaggerated breasts, and buttocks, have gained prominence at both ends of the spectrum compared to the preceding period. Nevertheless, the majority of figurines remain situated in the middle range of the spectrum.

During this era, there are indications that burial traditions underwent a standardization process in the Near East. The connection between domestic ritual activities, integral to the institutionalization of households, and communal rituals, potentially contributing to balancing the household's relationship on the path to independence within the broader community, seems to be apparent in the burial practices of this period. The deceased are initially interred within the house, followed by the removal of skulls and bones for secondary burial in communal areas. The concentration and standardization of ritual activities, encompassing burial practices, anthropomorphic statues, and figurines, suggests a response to social stress and an attempt to create a collective memory by concealing internal differences to maintain community cohesion. Notably, a considerable number of figurines from this period exhibit missing heads, which aligns with the influence of skull cults in the burial traditions of the time. Some figurines also display traces of paint. The composition of figurines and sculptures resembling plastered skulls reinforces the thematic continuity. Additionally, a striking observation is that most figurines from this period were either buried in pits or discovered in burial areas, mirroring the treatment of the deceased. Consequently, it suggests that anthropomorphic figurines in this period might have served as instruments for negotiating and regulating relations between the individual, household, and the larger community in conjunction with other ritual activities such as burial practices.

In the subsequent period, identified as the PPNB Collapse, there was a notable reduction in the quantity of figurines. A limited number of figurines predominantly originate from newly established settlements. During this phase, a departure from the standardization observed in the previous period becomes apparent. The utilization of stone and bone takes precedence in producing many figurines, with stone heads and phalluses experiencing a resurgence in popularity. This period is characterized by a significant disintegration in figurines' production, use, and discard. During this process, the household-based social structure, a crucial determinant in organizing the workforce according to the demands of the dominant agricultural economy, appears to have shifted away from the restrictive relationship patterns of hunter-gatherer rituals, allowing for ritual and economic independence. This shift is accompanied by a dissolution of ritual practices and the diminished use of figurines.

Around 7000 BCE, a noticeable increase in the prevalence of figurines is observed in the Zagros region, Central Anatolia, and Cyprus. This period is distinguished by the establishment of a fully developed farming village economy, widespread adoption of pottery, construction of closely built rectangular houses, and transition from a kin-based family structure to a food-sharing extended family structure. A notable surge in both the quantity and abstraction of figurines further distinguishes this period. Distinct regional styles begin to take shape in the Zagros and Cyprus regions. The influence of the Zagros style extends to figurines found along the Euphrates and in Central Anatolia. Additionally, the Cyprus-style figurines make an appearance at Çatalhöyük. The familiar elements such as phalluses, heads, and human seated and standing figurines, which were commonly encountered in the MPPNB period and formed a spectrum of representations, underwent a transformation in this era. They manifest in more abstract and stylized versions, reflecting an evolving expression and potentially signaling a deeper symbolic or cultural shift in the communities of this period.

While context information remains missing for most figurines, the available data predominantly focuses on middens and room fills. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that figurines of the same type and material can be discovered in significantly diverse contexts. As we progressed into this period, the discernible increase in abstract figurines and the widespread utilization of small, portable objects like stamp seals suggest that household groups developed more complex strategies for communal

interaction. The emergence of these objects, which augment the capacity of independent households to establish relationships both externally and internally, may facilitate the expression of status differences in more complex forms. Mainly as household-based lifestyles develop, the growing prevalence of figurines and their abstraction allows for a more adaptable narrative in their usage. This flexibility in narrative could indicate a dynamic cultural and social landscape where the symbolic significance of these objects plays a crucial role in shaping and expressing the complexities of relationships within and between communities.

In conclusion, this study challenges the prevailing perspective that figurines maintain fixed meanings, such as representing gods or goddesses, men or women, or specific individuals, throughout the span of millennia. Instead, it contends that figurines should be examined within the evolving dynamics of the various stages of transitioning from a mobile hunter-gatherer to a settled agricultural lifestyle, interpreted within their specific temporal and spatial contexts. Based on this perspective, the use of figurines appears to be associated with place-group affiliations and ancestral cults, considering the interplay between various figurine types and their connection to the communal and domestic buildings and burial traditions during the initial stages of transitioning from mobile hunter-gatherer lifestyle to a settled agricultural one. Subsequently, in the MPPNB, figurines appear to have become entwined with burial practices, integrated into the economic and social conditions of the period and played a role in the community's construction of collective memory and creating a critical balance point between the emergence of households and their relationships to the larger community. In the process identified as the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) Collapse, the disappearance of conditions rooted in hunter-gatherer traditions, which hindered household independence, led to the abandonment of settlements, as well as a dissolution in ritual practices and the use of figurines. The figurine use and discard patterns from the preceding period lost their significance during this timeframe. By 7000 BCE, as settlements expanded with a fully established farming village economy, the capacity of independent households to establish new relationships, both externally and internally, increased. This allowed for the expression of status differences in much more complex forms. Mainly, as household-based lifestyles develop, the increasing use of figurines and their abstraction allowed for a flexible narrative in their utilization.

The production and use of figurines were closely linked to rituals where community members underwent initiation into new responsibilities and acquired knowledge of a belief system that served to bind the community together. These figurines might have played an active role in performances, transmitting oral myths of creation, genealogy, and gender roles.



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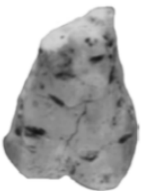



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## APPENDICES







### A. CATALOGUE OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES OF THE NEAR EAST

#### A.1 Levant







##### A.1.1 'Ain Ghazal







	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow fine clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 20 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Reddish-brown soil with much ash, charcoal, bone, flint &amp; fire-cracked rock  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 x 15 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Red clay soil fill, few stones, some charcoal, just above Floor 016  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 18 x 16 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Red clay soil fill, few stones, some charcoal, just above Floor 016  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 34 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer with much burned bone, charcoal fragment, clayey fill  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:4</p>



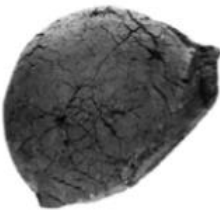



	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow compact clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 40 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trash deposit outside wall with much ash, bone, etc.  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay with a heavy concentration of fine white inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 24 x 13 x 4 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Intentional fill on floor with much burned stone, bone, flint, etc.  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay with large pebbles  <b>Measurement:</b> 25 x 24 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trash layer with many stones, ash, etc.  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:155, Cat. No:7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 38 x 27 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Fill directly on house floor; axe, sickle blade, mano nearby on floor  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 42 x 18 x 11 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Outdoor ash dump with much ash, bones, flints  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pinkish clay with many inclusions including charcoal  <b>Measurement:</b> 46 x 27 x 24 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trashy fill inside house with much ash, charcoal  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:10</p>







	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 26 x 25 x 23 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trashy fill inside house with much ash, charcoal  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:11</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay with many inclusions, small charcoal bits  <b>Measurement:</b> 15 x 23 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Outdoor ash dump  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:12</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay + small pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 20 x 11 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Outdoor fill, flints, bone, etc. Also unexcavated infant skull  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:13</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 23 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Loose surface material, insecure context  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:157, Cat. No:14</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk or plaster  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 21 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Trashy, ashy soil layer outside house  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:15</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 33 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:16</p>







	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay, large flint inclusion  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 22 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer, some charcoal, a few small pebbles  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:17</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay with chalky and charcoal or bitumen inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 43 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer, some charcoal, a few small pebbles  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:18</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 46 x 36 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Fill of pit with much ash, charcoal, burned stone  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:19</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Very fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 25 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Fill of pit with much ash, charcoal, burned stone.  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:20</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine buff  <b>Measurement:</b> 17 x 15 x 7 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trashy layer with much ash, fire-cracked rock, burned bone  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:159, Cat. No:21</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 35 x 30 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:22</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine clay with small pebbles, gray throughout  <b>Measurement:</b> 19 x 20 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trashy layer against wall with much burned material  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:23</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 x 32 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer, some flints, animal bone  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:24</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine yellow clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 x 50 x 45 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:25</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay with small flint inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 x 41 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Ash dump with many burned bones, flints, rocks  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:26</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 16 x 7 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Trashy fill layer, rocky lens  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:27</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine buff clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 19 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Disturbed; sweeping up of scree deposit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:28</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay with large white chalky inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 28 x 49 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Compacted top of ash pit fill, some clay, small stone plaster fragments  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:161, Cat. No:30</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay with white inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 95 x 50 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Compacted top of ash pit fill, some clay, small stone plaster fragments  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:31</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay with white chalky inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 58 x 42 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Pit filled with ash, charcoal, floor plaster, etc.  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:32</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellowish clay with chalky pebbles  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 x 32 x 38 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Clay fill under floor; very few inclusions  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:33</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine white / pink clay including big pebbles  <b>Measurement:</b> 26 x 15 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Poorly observed plaster floor remnant  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:34</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow clay + white chalky inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 40 x 32 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Found in section of East Room, possibly associated with infant Burial  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:35</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Black throughout  <b>Measurement:</b> 27 x 14 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Organic deposit, heavily burned, possible association with peas / lentils storage area inside house  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:36</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 x 15 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Sweep up of disturbed area, no locus information. (surface find)  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:163, Cat. No:37</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 47 x 47 x 27 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer with many flint cobbles, frags  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:165, Cat. No:38</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 43 x 24 x 19 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Fill of 1985 statue pit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:165, Cat. No:39</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine pink clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 42 x 47 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Ashy fill below floor 053 with much burned bone, stone, artifacts  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:165, Cat. No:40</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Yellow compact clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 45 x 30 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Ashy pit fill with much burned stone, bone  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:165, Cat. No:41</p>


	<p><b>Material:</b> Pink clay with a heavy concentration of fine white inclusions  <b>Measurement:</b> 25 x 30 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic house: Soil layer with many burned bones  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:165, Cat. No:42</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone/ chalk  <b>Measurement:</b> 82 x 45 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Special building  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:167, Cat. No:48</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone/ chalk  <b>Measurement:</b> 42 x 26 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Building area  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Schmandt-Besserat, 2013:167, Cat. No:49</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Fine-grained pinkish limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 130 x 60 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Building area  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Kafafi, 2000:236, Fig.1a</p>

### A.1.2 'Ain Mallaha




	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 43 x 40 x 38 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:172, Fig. 20:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 x 63 x 37 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:172, Fig. 20:2</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:173, Fig. 21:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 66 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:119, Fig.22-2</p>

### A.1.3 'Ain Sakhri

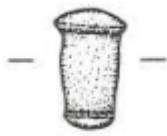

	<p><b>Material:</b> Calcite cobble  <b>Measurement:</b> 102 x 63 x 39 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian?  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 7  <b>Reference:</b> Boyd &amp; Cook, 1993:400, Fig. 1</p>
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### A.1.4 Atlit Yam

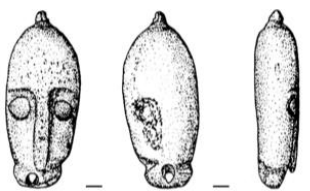
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 38 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Galili et al, 1993:148, Fig.18:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 53 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Galili et al, 1993:148, Fig.18:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Galili et al, 1993:148, Fig.18:4</p>

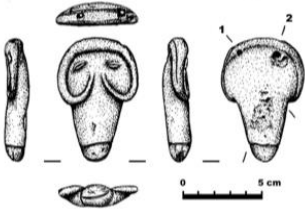
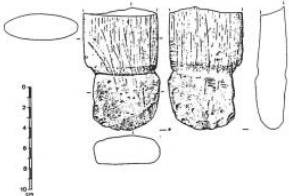
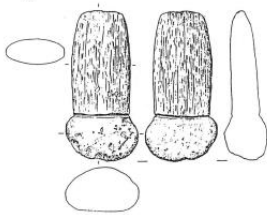


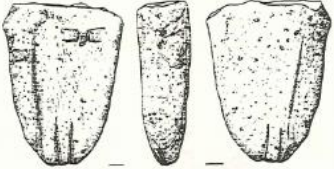
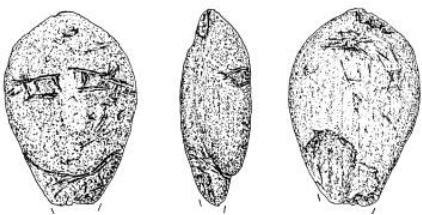
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 115 x 110 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Galili et al, 1993:148, Fig.18:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 119 x 90 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 8  <b>Reference:</b> Galili et al, 1993:148, Fig.18:5</p>

### A.1.5 Ba'ja


	<p><b>Material:</b> Soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bienert &amp; Gebel, 1998:86, Fig.18:1627</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bienert &amp; Gebel, 1998:86, Fig.18:1626</p>

### A.1.6 Basta

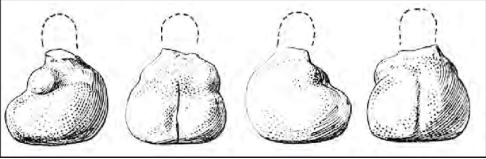
	<p><b>Material:</b> Greenstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In connection with the destroyed floor of the central house of the PPNB occupation  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Rollefson, 2008:407, Fig.13a</p>
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	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 76 x 52 mm  <b>Period:</b> post-LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> at the bottom of masonry-robbing pits  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Rollefson, 2008:407, Fig.13b</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 115 x 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Nissen et al., 1987:111, Fig.16.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 155 x 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Nissen et al., 1987:111, Fig.16.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Nissen et al., 1991:28, Fig.6.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Nissen et al., 1991:28, Fig.6.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 35 x 26 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Nissen et al., 1991:28, Fig.6.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unknown exotic material (ochre-greenish color)  <b>Measurement:</b> 44.3 x 29.4 x 15.3 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> The context might be related to reciprocal practices between living and dead</p>




	<p><b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Gebel and Hermansen, 1999:12, Fig.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In connection with the destroyed floor of the central house of the PPNB occupation  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Hermansen, 1997:338, Pl:4a</p>

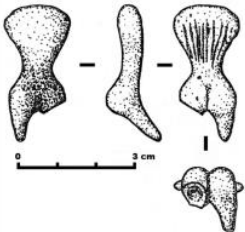
### A.1.7 Beidha

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 23 x 24 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Sanctuary (burials of bodies without their heads, the production of beads and the modelling of clay figurines)  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Davidson, 2006:21, Fig. 22</p>
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### A.1.8 Beisamoun

	<p><b>Material:</b> Calcite pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 51.11 x 14 x 9.64 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bocquentin et al., 2014:68, Fig. 53</p>
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### A.1.9 Dhra'

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 36 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> In an extramural midden deposit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Kuijt &amp; Finlayson, 2001:13, Fig.2</p>
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### A.1.10 El-Hemmeh



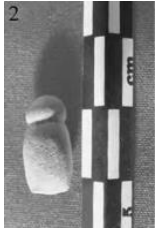

	<p><b>Material:</b> A multicolored stone (unknown origin)  <b>Measurement:</b> 103 x 38 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Burial area with grave goods  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Makarewicz et al., 2006:22, Fig. 4</p>
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### A.1.11 El Khiam

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 37 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 2000:26, Fig. 6:3</p>
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### A.1.12 El-Wad

	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 43.1 x 37.8 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Belfer-Cohen &amp; Weinstein-Evron, 1993:103, Fig. 2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 44.3 x 30.6 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Belfer-Cohen &amp; Weinstein-Evron, 1993:103, Fig. 2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 54.5 x 32.4 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Belfer-Cohen &amp; Weinstein-Evron, 1993:103, Fig. 2</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 55.8 x 22.8 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Belfer-Cohen &amp; Weinstein-Evron, 1993:104, Fig. 3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 60.8 x 20.0 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Belfer-Cohen &amp; Weinstein-Evron, 1993:104, Fig. 3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Weinstein-Evron et al., 2007:58, Fig. 10.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Weinstein-Evron et al., 2007:58, Fig. 10.1</p>

### A.1.13 Es-Sifiya



**Material:** Clay

**Measurement:** -

**Period:** LPPNB

**Context:** All figurines come from Locus 9, in an open area.

**Type:** 1, 3, 4

**Reference:** Mahasneh & Bienert, 1999, Taf. 23-27

### A.1.14 Fazael IV



**Material:** Limestone

**Measurement:** -

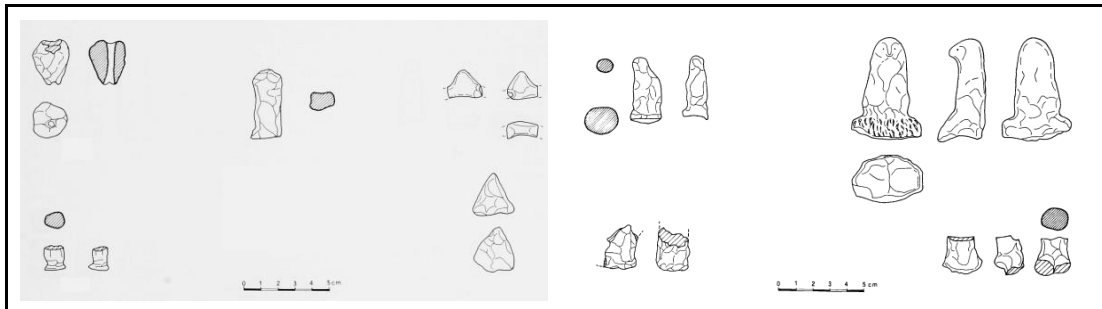
**Period:** Natufian

**Context:** -

**Type:** 1

**Reference:** Belfer-Cohen & Goring-Morris  
2020:39, Fig. 2.S

**A.1.15 Ghoraife**



**Material:** Baked clay

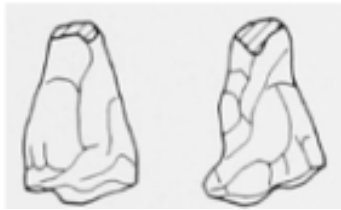
**Measurement:** -

**Period:** MPPNB

**Context:** -

**Type:** 1, 3

**Reference:** Contenson, 1995:323, Fig.198:14,15,16,17, 19 & Fig.199:10-13.



**Material:** Baked clay

**Measurement:** -

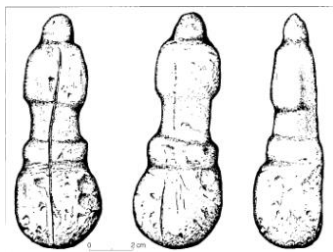
**Period:** LPPNB

**Context:** -

**Type:** 3

**Reference:** Contenson, 1995:323, Fig.198:18

**A.1.16 Ghwair I**



**Material:** Stone

**Measurement:** 100 x 40 x 35 mm





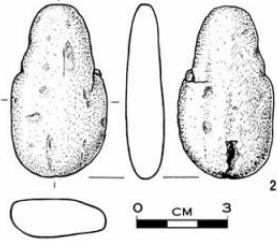

**Period:** LPPNB




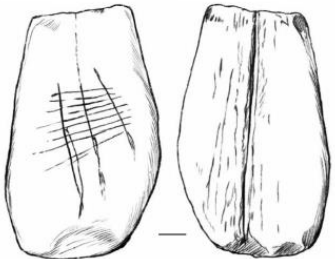
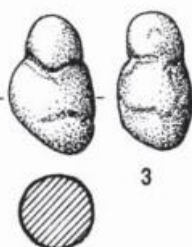
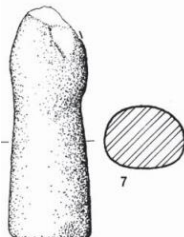
**Context:** -

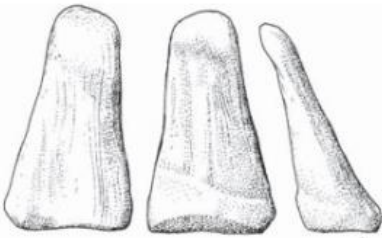
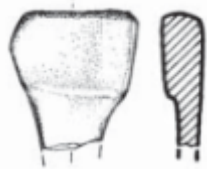
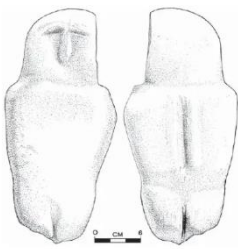
**Type:** 1

**Reference:** Simmons & Najjar, 2006:89, Fig. 8


### A.1.17 Gilgal

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone (soft, chalky)  <b>Measurement:</b> 71 x 27 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:182, Fig. 30:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Burnt clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 37 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:189, Fig. 37:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Burnt clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:189, Fig. 37:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Burnt clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 70 x 26 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:190, Fig. 38:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 57 x 31 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:187, Fig. 11.1:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Noy et al., 1980:65, Fig.2.2</p>


	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 16 x 19 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Noy et al., 1980:65, Fig.2.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 49 x 26 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Noy et al., 1980:65, Fig.2.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 70 x 32 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -, Gilgal III  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Noy et al., 1980:65, Fig.2.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 85 x 50 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:187, Fig. 11.1:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 25 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:197, Fig. 11.9:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 66 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -, Gilgal I  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:197, Fig. 11.9:7</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 56 x 32 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -, Gilgal III  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:202, Fig. 11.13:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 26 x 24 x 8 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -, Gilgal III  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:202, Fig. 11.13:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 360 x 120 x 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -, Gilgal II  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Hershman &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2010:200, Fig. 11.11</p>



#### A.1.18 Hatoula

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 110 x 50 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:186, Fig. 34:2</p>
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#### A.1.19 Hayonim Cave


	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 33 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Burial context?  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:173, Fig. 21:4</p>
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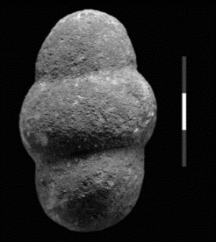
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Burial context?  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:174, Fig. 22:7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Hansen, 2007b, Taf. 2:4</p>

#### A.1.20 Jebel Saaide II


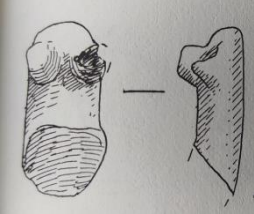
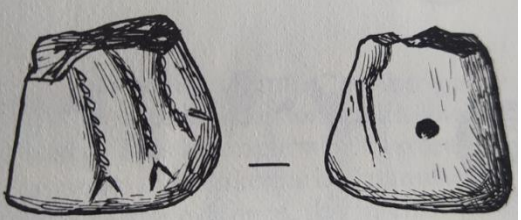
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 54 mm diameter  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Schroeder, 1991:68, Fig. 10.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 54 mm diameter  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Schroeder, 1991:68, Fig. 10.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Schroeder, 1991:68, Fig. 10.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Schroeder, 1991:68, Fig. 10.6</p>

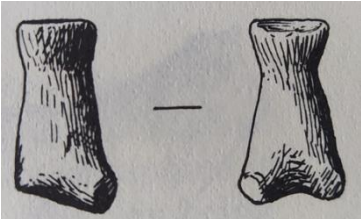
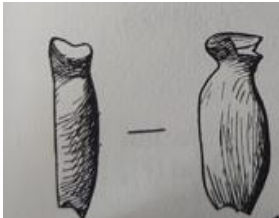
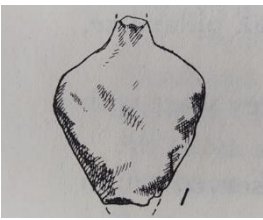
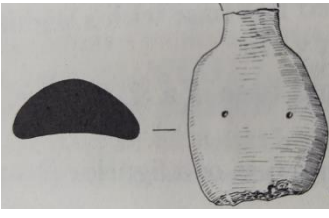
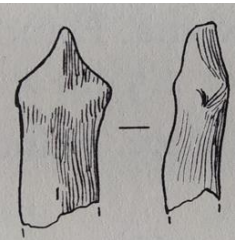

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 82 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Schroeder, 1991:68, Fig. 10.5</p>
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#### A.1.21 Jeftelik

	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 59 x 38 mm  <b>Period:</b> Early Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Rodríguez et al., 2013:63, Fig.4</p>
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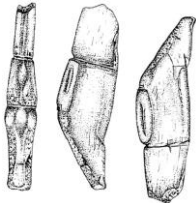
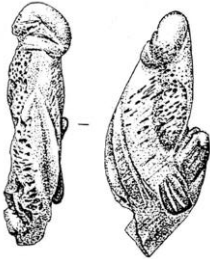

#### A.1.22 Jericho

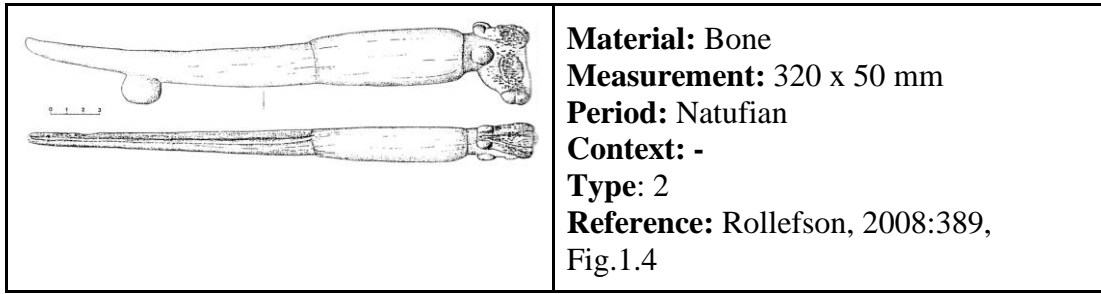
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay with shells  <b>Measurement:</b> 225 x 150 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:126, Fig.30.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 34 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:553, Fig.223.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:553, Fig.223.2</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 24 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:553, Fig.223.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:553, Fig.223.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked reddish-buff ware with white grits  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 26 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:554, Fig.224.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:554, Fig.224.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pale-buff ware with wet-smoothed finish  <b>Measurement:</b> 24 x 13 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:554, Fig.224.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Kenyon &amp; Holland, 1982:560, Fig. 227.3</p>

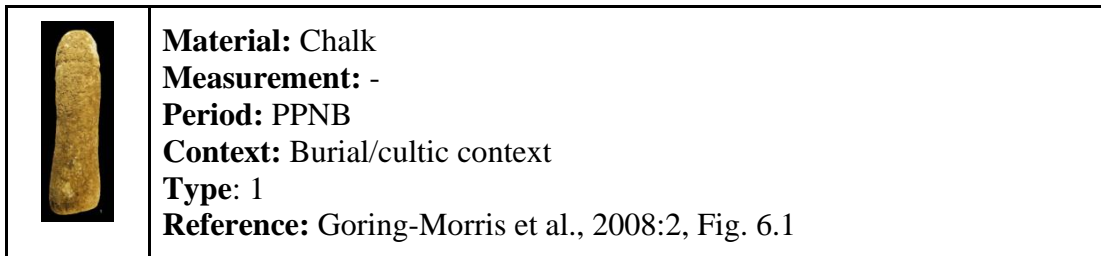
	<p><b>Material:</b> Unbaked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Twiss, 2001:43, Fig.4.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Twiss, 2001:43, Fig.4.16</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 67 x 67 x 43 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:211, Fig.59</p>

#### A.1.23 Kebara Cave

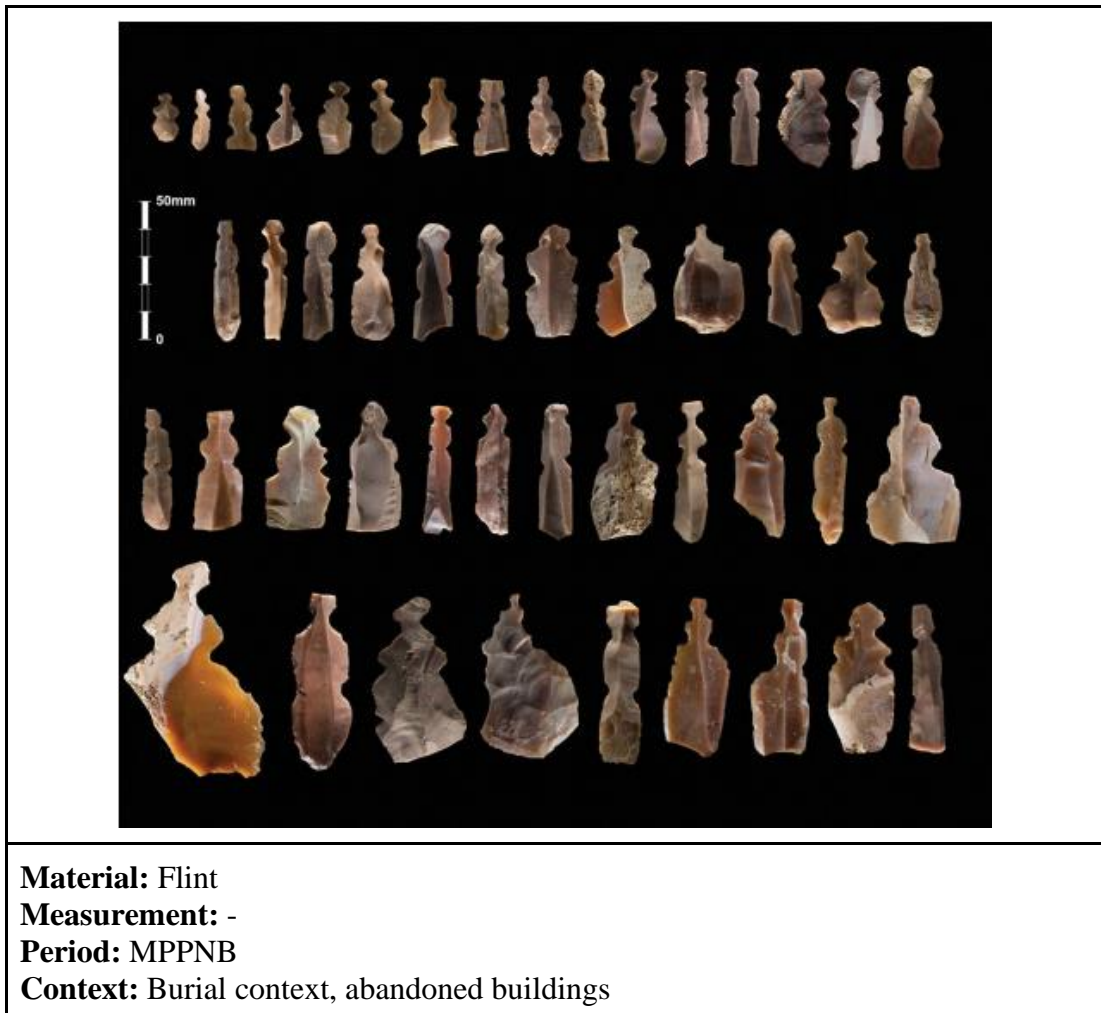
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 110 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Rollefson, 2008:389, Fig.1.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 77 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Rollefson, 2008:389, Fig.1.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 230 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Rollefson, 2008:389, Fig.1.3</p>



#### A.1.24 Kfar HaHoresh



#### A.1.25 Kharaysin



**Type:** 4

**Reference:** Ibanez et al, 2020:6, Fig.4



**Material:** Clay (two figurines)

**Measurement:** -

**Period:** MPPNB

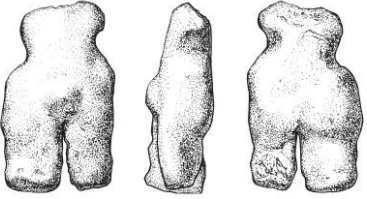
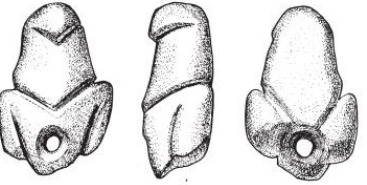
**Context:** A 1.6m-deep pit, open area

**Type:** 4

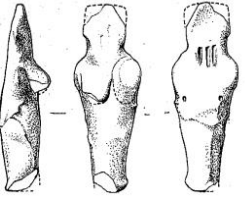
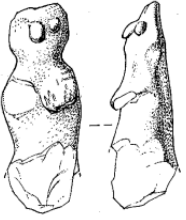
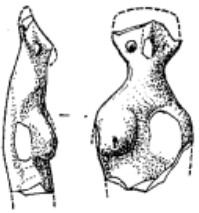

**Reference:** Ibanez et al, 2020:9, Fig. 6

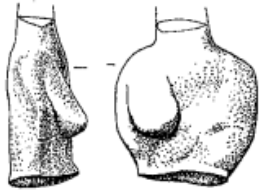
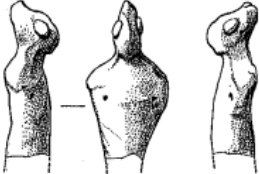
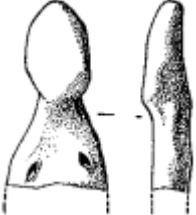
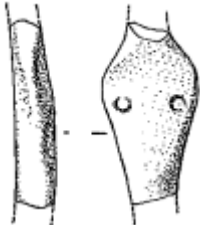
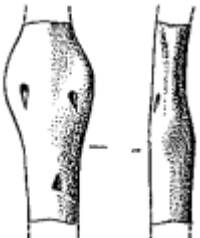
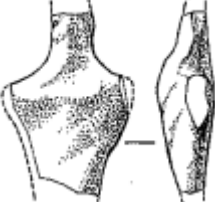
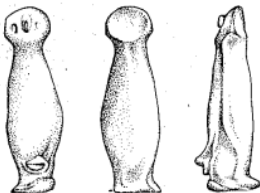
#### A.1.26 Motza

A photograph of a single, elongated, light-colored limestone object with a small hole at the top. A vertical scale bar on the right side of the image is labeled '2 cm'.	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone <b>Measurement:</b> 68 x 20 mm <b>Period:</b> PPNC <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 5 <b>Reference:</b> Vardi &amp; Khalaily, 2020:117, Fig.9</p>
A photograph showing three limestone objects, possibly figurines, arranged side-by-side. They are light-colored and have a somewhat irregular, rounded shape. A horizontal scale bar at the bottom of the image is labeled '3 cm'.	<p><b>Material:</b> Hard limestone <b>Measurement:</b> 115 x 44 x 28 mm <b>Period:</b> PPNC <b>Context:</b> A large FPPNB building complex <b>Type:</b> 5 <b>Reference:</b> Vardi &amp; Khalaily, 2020:118, Fig.10</p>
A photograph of a small, rounded limestone object, possibly a figurine, with a somewhat irregular shape. A horizontal scale bar at the bottom of the image is labeled '2 cm'.	<p><b>Material:</b> Hard limestone <b>Measurement:</b> 37 x 26 mm <b>Period:</b> PPNC <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 5 <b>Reference:</b> Vardi &amp; Khalaily, 2020:119, Fig.11</p>

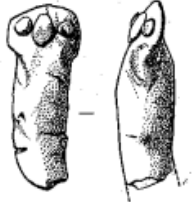
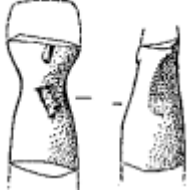

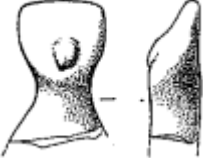
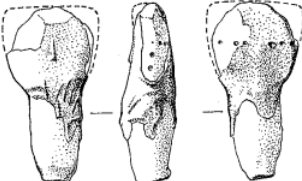
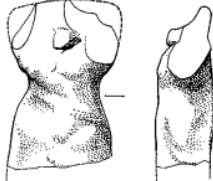
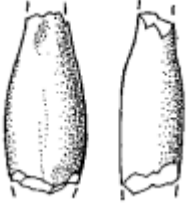
	<p><b>Material:</b> Poorly fired clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Burial area (related)  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Khalaily et al., 2007:25, Fig.17:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Greenstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 17 x 11.5 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Secondary burial area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Khalaily et al., 2007:25, Fig.17:2</p>

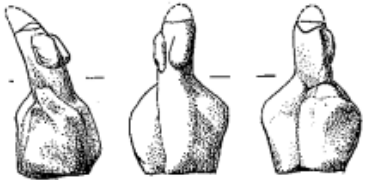
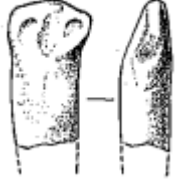


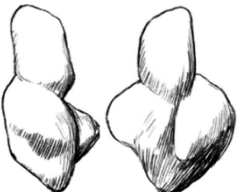
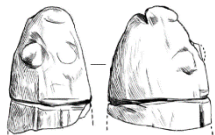
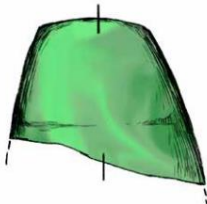
### A.1.27 Munhata

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 57 x 22 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Hearth (in the building area)  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 59 x 22 x 19 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 35 x 20 x 11 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 34 x 15 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.4</p>

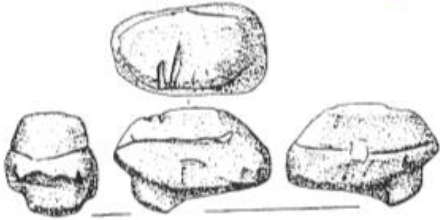
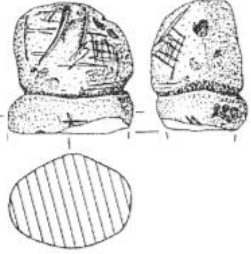
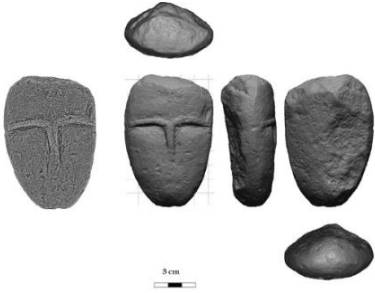
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 28 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 37 x 21 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 17 x 7 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 20 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 15 x 8 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 20 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:71, Fig.10</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 17 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.1</p>





	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 15 x 13 x 13 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 24 x 12 x 11 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Around the house context and hearth  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (light gray)  <b>Measurement:</b> 18 x 16 x 10 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 25 x 16 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (very pale brown)  <b>Measurement:</b> 49 x 25 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 x 28 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 15 x 11 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.8</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 31 x 20 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:72, Fig.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (dark gray to black)  <b>Measurement:</b> 24 x 13 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the building area  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Garfinkel, 1995:82, Fig.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 35 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:199, Fig.47:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:212, Fig.60:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:200, Fig.48:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 52 x 46 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:204, Fig. 52:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Greenstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 7 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:221, Fig. 69:1</p>

**A.1.28 Nahal ein Gev II**


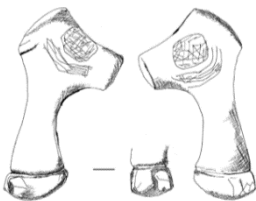


	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 26 x 40 x 24 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bar-Yosef &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2000:64, Fig. 8:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 41 x 38 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bar-Yosef &amp; Belfer-Cohen, 2000:64, Fig. 8:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 x 60 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Surface  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Grosman et al., 2017:3, Fig. 3</p>

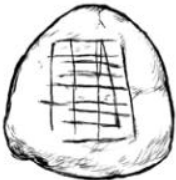

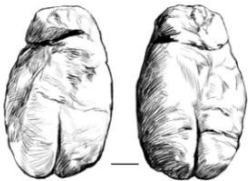
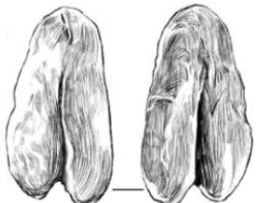
**A.1.29 Nahal Hemar Cave**

	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 22.4 x 8 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Borrell et al., 2020:152, Fig.3c-1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 17 x 8 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Borrell et al., 2020:152, Fig.3c-2</p>

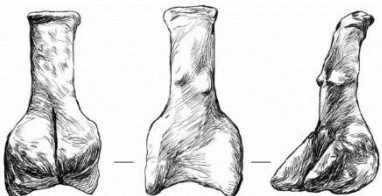
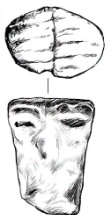
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 21 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Borrell et al., 2020:152, Fig.3c-3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 27 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Borrell et al., 2020:152, Fig.3c-4</p>


### A.1.30 Nahal Oren

	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 207 mm  <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:176, Fig.24:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 62 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:176, Fig.24:2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:176, Fig.24:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 58 x 54 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:174, Fig.22:3</p>

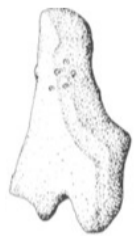


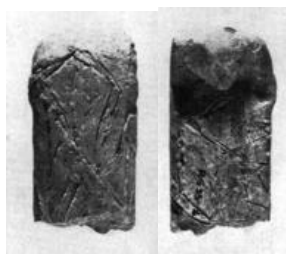
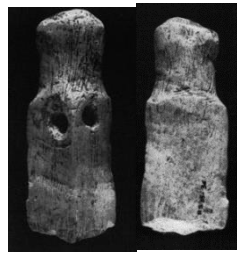
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 58 x 54 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:175, Fig.23:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 135 x 50 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:175, Fig.23:4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 54 x 33 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:180, Fig.28:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 61 x 33 x 19 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:180, Fig.28:2</p>


### A.1.31 Netiv Hagdud

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 x 23 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> Not in a primary context on a house floor, in a silo, or near a hearth.  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:181, Fig.29</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 56 x 22 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> Not in a primary context on a house floor, in a silo, or near a hearth.  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:182, Fig.30:3</p>

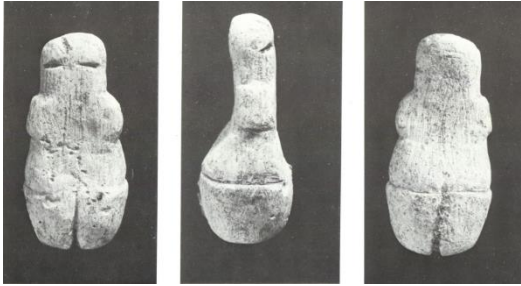
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 10 x 9 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:189, Fig.37:3</p>
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### A.1.32 Ras Shamra


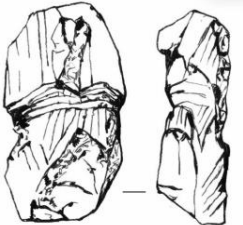
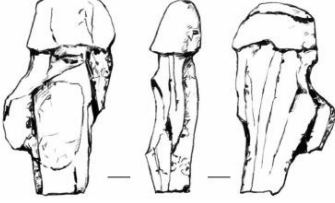
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 110 x 56 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:126, Fig.31-1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 138 x 78 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:126, Fig.31-2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 28 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Contenson, 1977:18, Fig.12-RS.35.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 57 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Contenson, 1977:18, Fig.12-RS.35.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 107 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Contenson, 1977:18, Fig.12-RS.35.36</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 75 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Contenson, 1977:18, Fig.12-RS.35.86</p>
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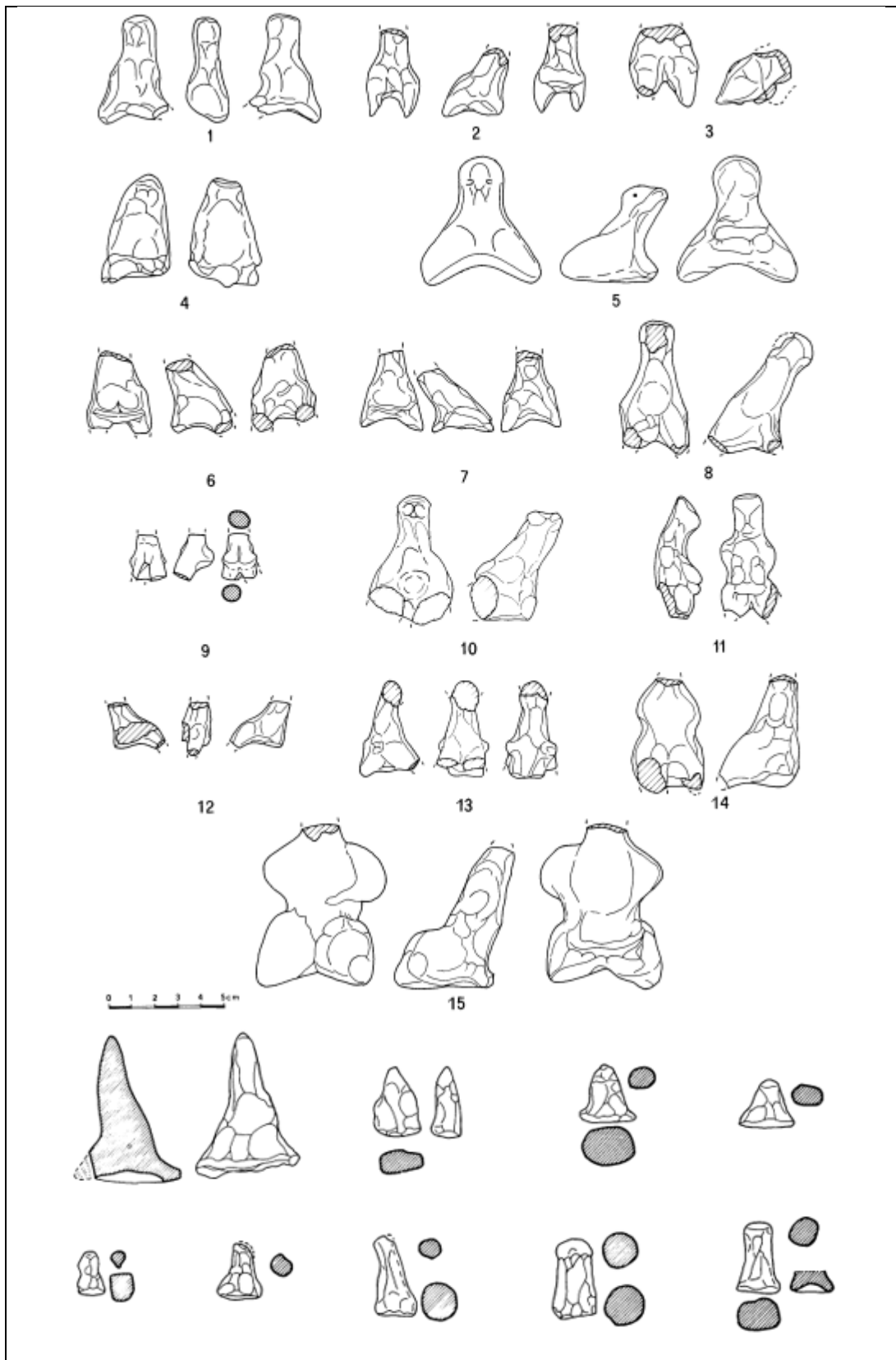
### A.1.33 Salibiya IX

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 47 x 22 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bar-Yosef, 1980:196, Fig.3</p>
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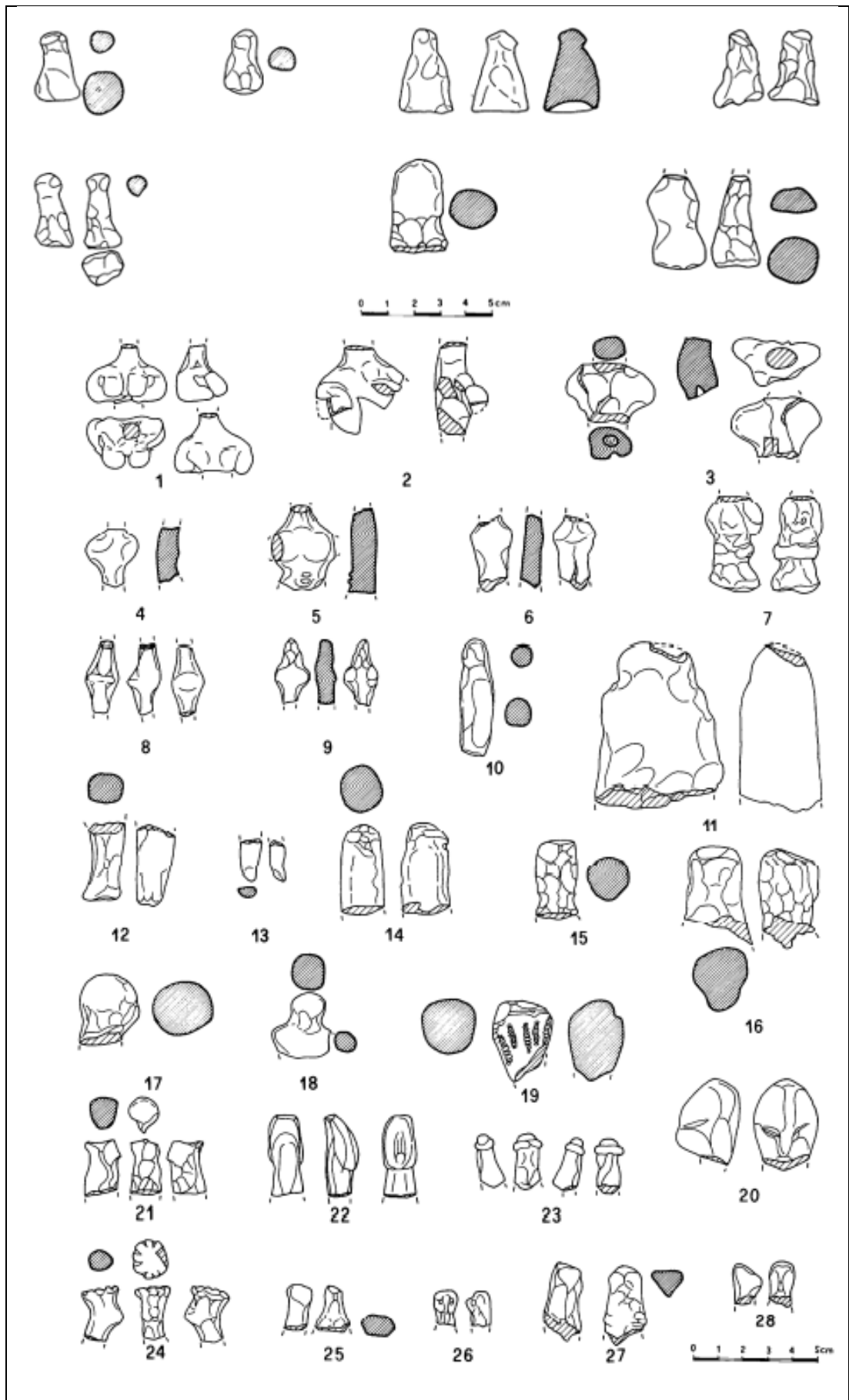
### A.1.34 Site 109

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 x 61 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:212, Fig.60:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:213, Fig.61:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Orrelle, 2014:213, Fig.61:2</p>

A.1.35 Tell Aswad


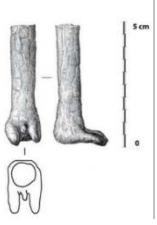
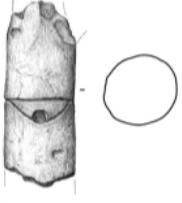
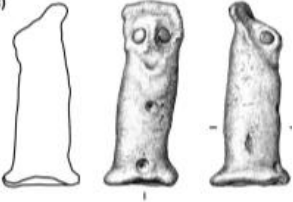




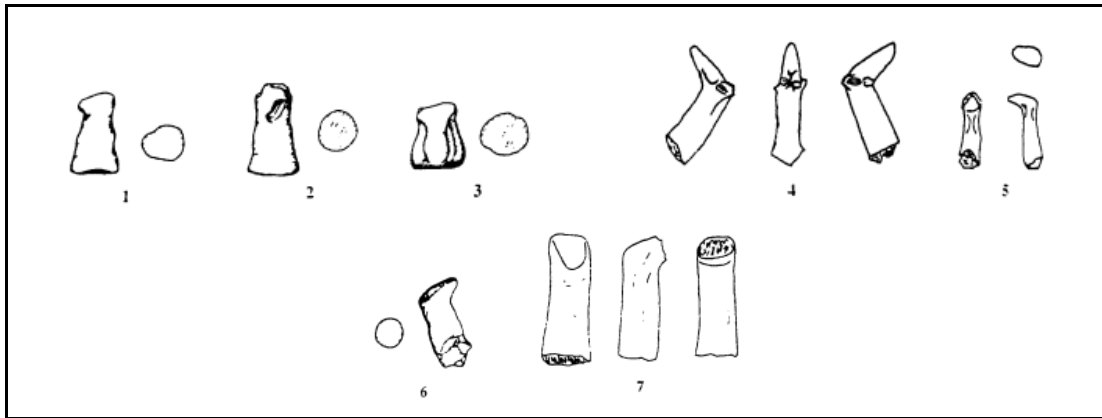


**Material:** Baked clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** PPNB  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5  
**Reference:** Contenson, 1995:188-190, Fig.126:9-24, Fig.127-128

### A.1.36 Tell Qarassa North

	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (large mammal)  <b>Measurement:</b> 53 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> E-MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> 7  <b>Reference:</b> Ibanez et al., 2014:85, Fig.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 49 x 23 mm  <b>Period:</b> E-MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Santana et al., 2015:121, Fig. 13a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 16 mm  <b>Period:</b> E-MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Santana et al., 2015:121, Fig. 13b</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> E-MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Santana et al., 2015:121, Fig. 13c</p>

**A.1.37 Tell Ramad**



**Material:** Clay

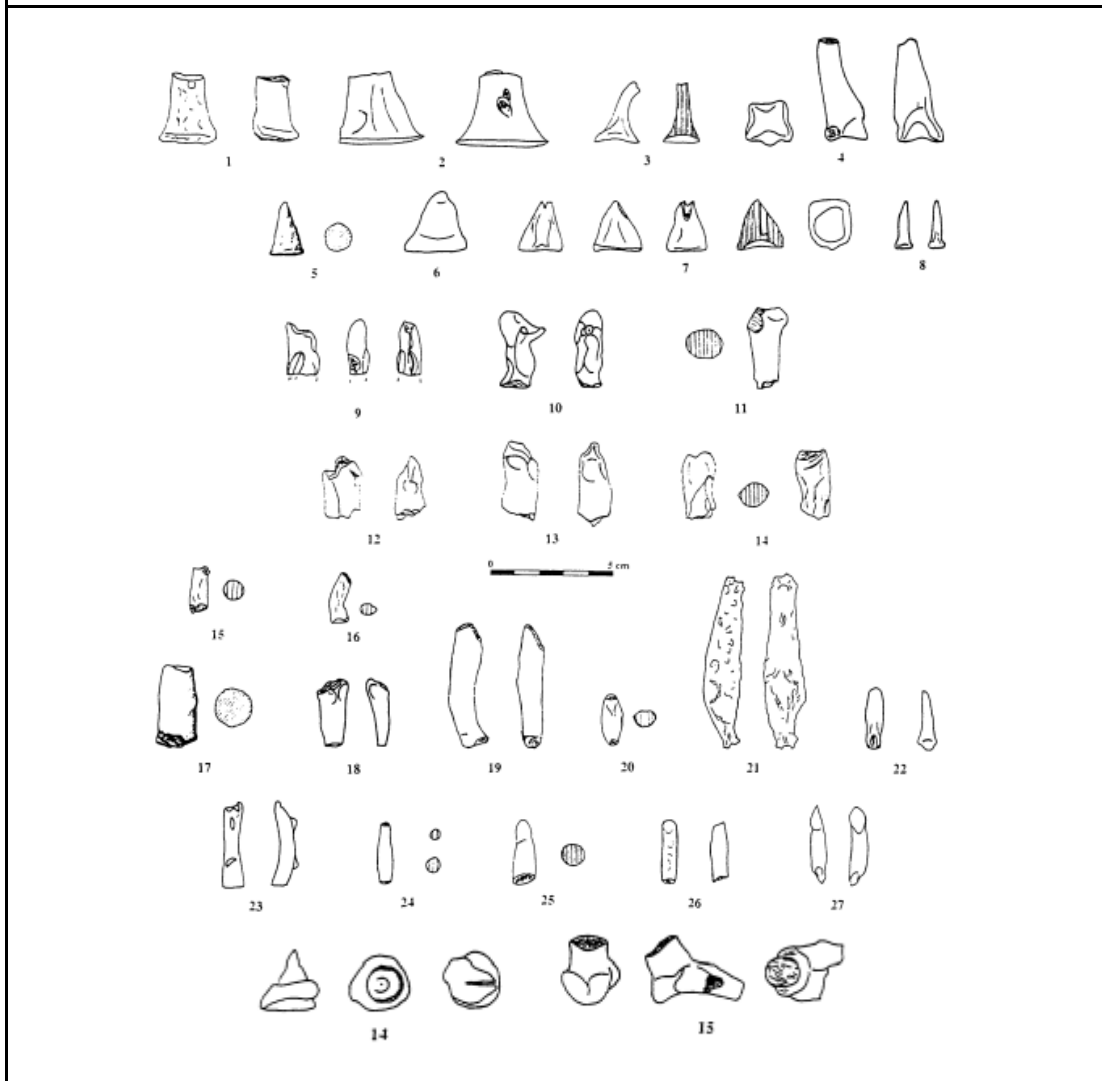
**Measurement:** -

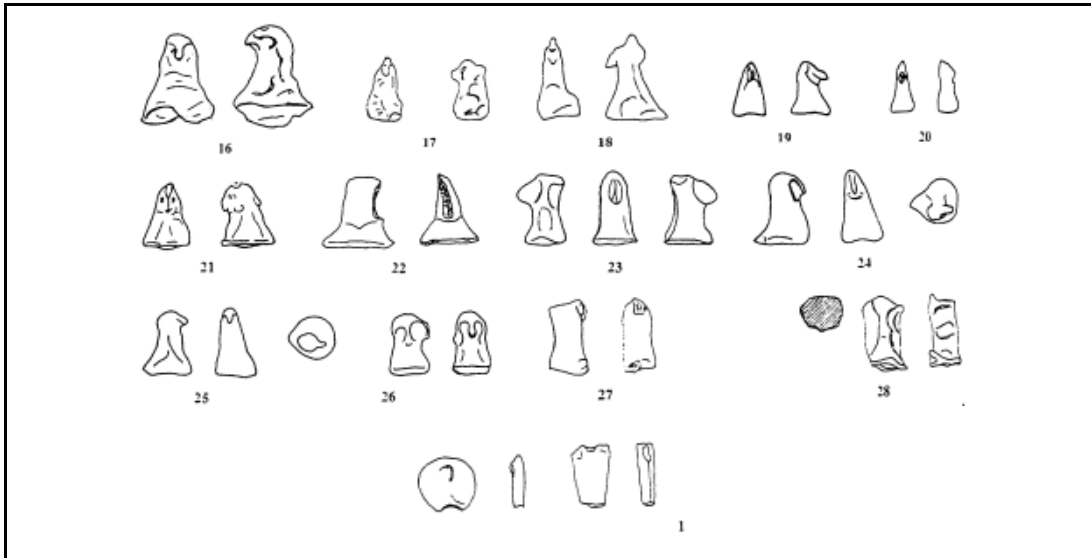
**Period:** LPPNB

**Context:** Funerary/ritual area

**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5

**Reference:** Contenson, 2000:212, Fig. 100.1-7





**Material:** Clay

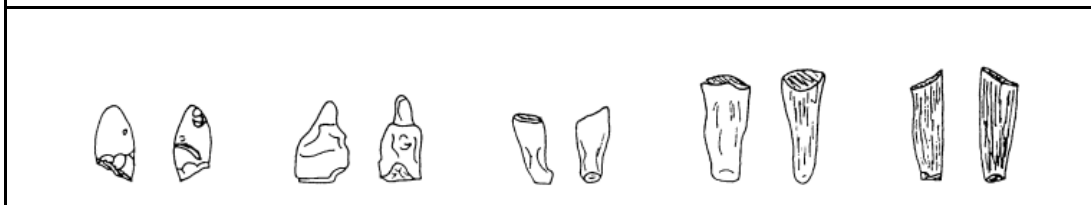
**Measurement:** -

**Period:** PPNC

**Context:** Funerary/ritual area

**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5

**Reference:** Contenson, 2000:212, Fig. 100.14-28; :213, Fig. 101; :214, Fig. 102.1; :218, Fig. 104



**Material:** Ceramic

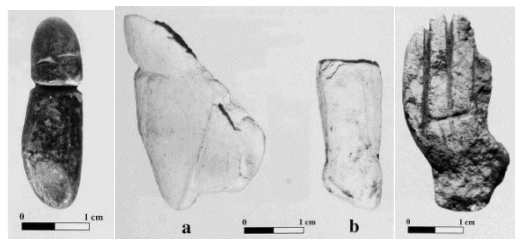
**Measurement:** -

**Period:** PN

**Context:** Funerary/ritual area

**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5

**Reference:** Contenson, 2000:215, Fig. 103:25-29



**Material:** Pebble, limestone

**Measurement:** -


**Period:** LPPNB-PN

**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5

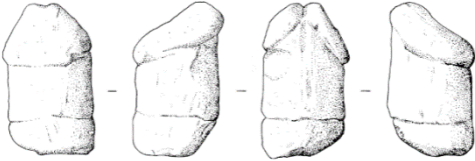
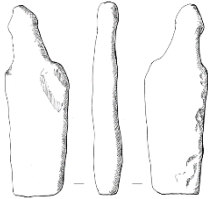
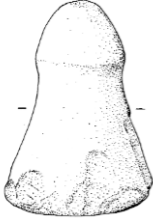

**Context:** -


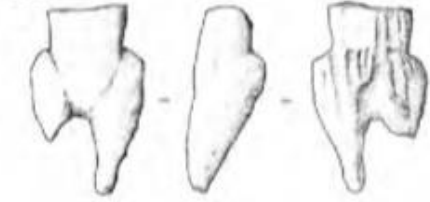




**Reference:** Contenson, 2000:319, Planche XVII: 2-4




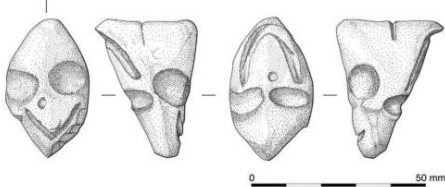
**A.1.38 Upper Besor 6**

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 46 x 61 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Near a Late Natufian structure  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Goring-Morris, 1998:84, Fig. 3 (left) &amp; Fig.4 (right)</p>
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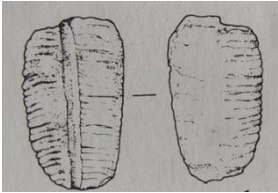
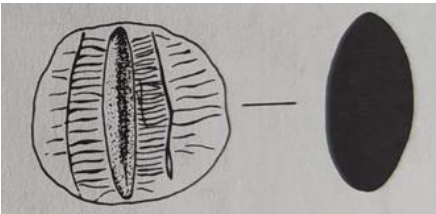
**A.1.39 Wadi Faynan 16**


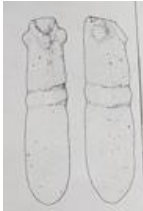

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 51 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:345, Fig.11.5-SF1005</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Sandstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 293 x 95 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:346, Fig.11.6-SF1056</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 112.5 x 78 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:329, Fig.11.1-SF 2021</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 120 x 56 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:329, Fig.11.1-SF 2105</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 63 x 51-53.5 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:329, Fig.11.1-SF47</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Sandstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50.5 x 30.5 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:345, Fig.11.5-SF1007</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 38 x 14 x 8.5 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:345, Fig.11.5-SF2028</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Sandstone  <b>Measurement:</b> 47.5 x 36 x 11.5 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Shaffrey, 2007:345, Fig.11.5-SF233</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> Intramural space  <b>Type:</b> 7  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen et al., 2018:289, Fig. 22.6B</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen et al., 2022:170, Fig. 9(b)</p>

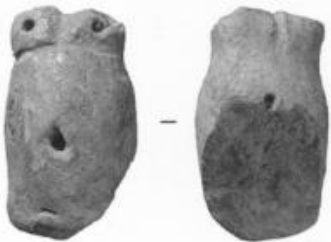

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> House context - O 45  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen et al., 2018:169, Fig. 14.25</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen et al., 2018:197, Fig. 15.8A</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Mud-clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen, 2022:13, Fig. 9(d)</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> The midden that accumulated in the former amphitheatre-like structure (O75).  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Mithen, 2022:15, Fig. 10</p>

#### A.1.40 Wadi Hammeh 27

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards, 1991:134, Fig.8:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards, 1991:134, Fig.8:2</p>


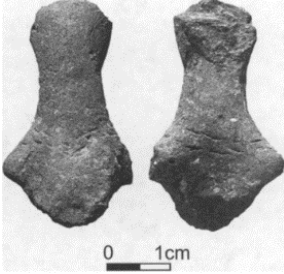
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 200 x 51 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Near Structure 1  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards, 1991:132, Fig.6:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 180 x 49 mm  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Near Structure 1  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards, 1991:132, Fig.6:4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Natufian  <b>Context:</b> Structure 2  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards, 2013:312, Fig. 12.49</p>

#### A.1.41 Yiftah'el

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 16 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Gubenko &amp; Ronen, 2014:150, Fig.1-1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 28 x 12 x 10 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Funerary area  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Gubenko &amp; Ronen, 2014:150, Fig.1-2</p>






### A.1.42 Zahrat adh-Dhra'2



	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 57 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> Burial context - Structure 2  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards et al., 2004:38, Fig. 16</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Ceramic  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> Associated with the hearth in Structure 2  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Edwards and House, 2007:10, Fig. 10</p>

## A.2 Euphrates



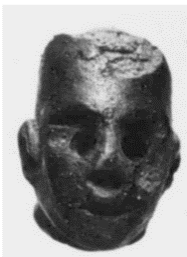
### A.2.1 Akarçay Tepe






	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 x 42 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 132</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 133</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 37 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 134</p>



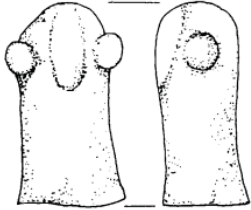

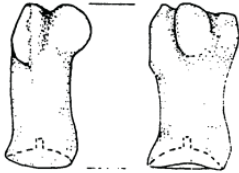
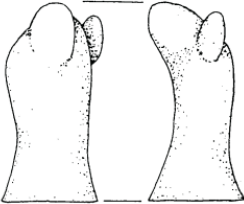
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 73 x 56 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 137</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 139</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> 45 x 31 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 140</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 141</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> 34 x 33 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:223, Res. 142</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> 88 x 48 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:224, Res. 143</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> -  <b>Measurement:</b> 69 x 49 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Open space?  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:224, Res. 144</p>

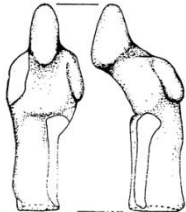

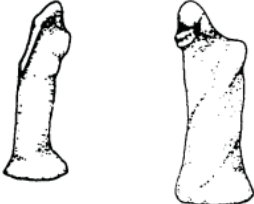


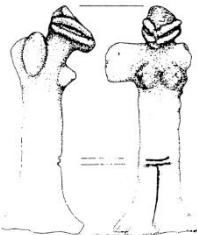
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 65 x 48 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:225, Res. 155</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 59 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNC  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bozbay, 2009:225, Res. 156</p>

### A.2.2 Bouqras

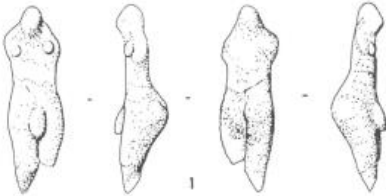
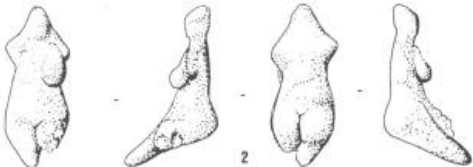


	<p><b>Material:</b> Baked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> A wall-niche in house no. 16, together with the lower part of a figurine in sitting position with a stalk-like (broken) upper body  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40b</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Baked clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> House 17  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40c</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 62 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> The south-western room of burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 83 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> The south-western room of burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> The south-western room of burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> The south-western room of burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 135 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 40d</p>

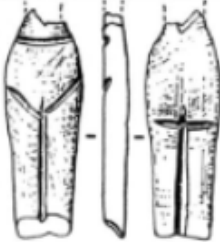
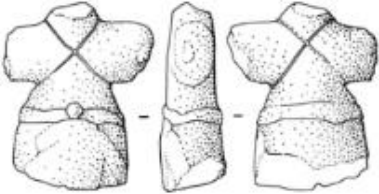
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 150 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 41a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 190 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Burnt house 12  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Akkermans et al., 1983:58, Pl. 41b</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 43 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:68, Fig.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:68, Fig.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:68, Fig.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 48 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:68, Fig.4</p>

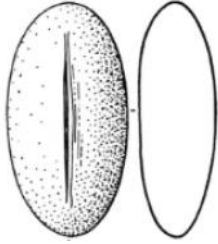
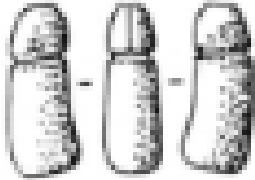




	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 74 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:68, Fig.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:69, Fig.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:69, Fig.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 26 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:69, Fig.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 68 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:69, Fig.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 95 - 100 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB - PN  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Lohof, 1989:69, Fig.10</p>

### A.2.3 Cafer Höyük







	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 49 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1989:84, Fig.11.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 42 x 17 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1989:84, Fig.11.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 26 x 13 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1989:84, Fig.11.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 29 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1989:84, Fig.11.4</p>

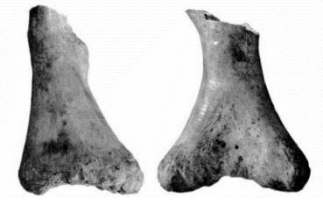



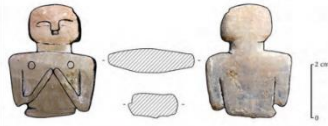

### A.2.4 Dja'de el-Mughara



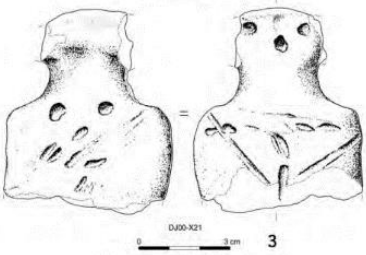
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 13 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Coqueugniot, 2000:70, Fig. 2:1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk  <b>Measurement:</b> 46 x 37 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Context:</b> Funerary context  <b>Reference:</b> Coqueugniot, 2000:70, Fig. 2:2</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 75 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Coqueugniot, 2000:70, Fig. 2:6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Pebble  <b>Measurement:</b> 12 x 8 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Coqueugniot, 2000:70, Fig. 2:9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 4:B</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 4:D</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 72 x 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 5:C&amp;D</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 72 x 48 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 7:A&amp;B</p>

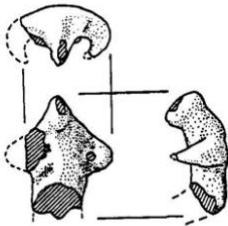
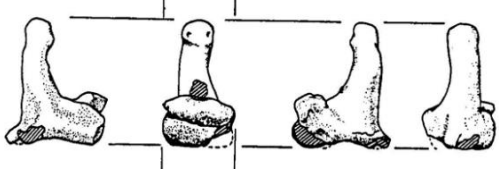


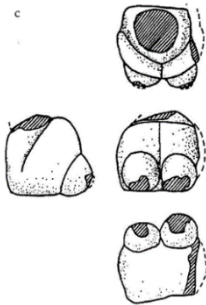
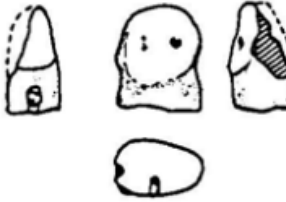
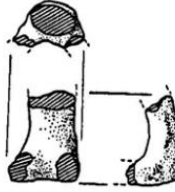


	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 74 x - x 33 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 7:C</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 73 x 38 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 8:A&amp;B&amp;C</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 83 x 42 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 8:D</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 72 x 42 x 38 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 8:E&amp;F</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 9:C</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 68 x 34 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 10:A&amp;B&amp;C</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 x 43 x 36 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 11:A&amp;B</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone (phalanges of equids)  <b>Measurement:</b> 62 x 37 x 23 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Middens or fill deposits  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Christidou et al., 2009:324, Fig. 11:C&amp;D&amp;E</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay, painted in red  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Secondary burial area in an exterior space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:60, Fig. 2.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Gypsum  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNA  <b>Context:</b> In the “House of Paintings”  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:64, Fig. 4.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Gypsum  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNA  <b>Context:</b> In the “House of Painting”  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:64, Fig. 4.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:64, Fig. 4.5</p>



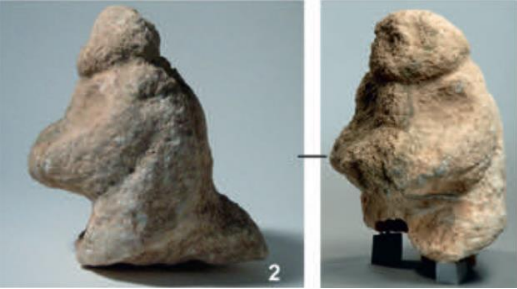


	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:64, Fig. 4.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Red stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:64, Fig. 4.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Secondary burial area in an exterior space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Chamel and Coqueugniot, 2019:66, Fig.5.3</p>







### A.2.5 Gritille

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ashy pit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 2000:266, Fig. 4d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 53 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ashy pit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 2000:266, Fig. 4b</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk or soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 32 x 35 x 37 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In ashy household garbage  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 2000:266, Fig. 4c</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk or soft limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 18 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ash deposit up against a house wall  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 2000:266, Fig. 4a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 25 x 19 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ashy pit  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 2000:266, Fig. 4e</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 10 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ashy pit  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 1985:16, Fig. 10a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 28 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> In an ashy trash pit  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Voigt, 1985:17, Fig. 13b</p>

### A.2.6 Göbeklitepe

	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone (red)  <b>Measurement:</b> 31 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB-MPPNB (Layer II)  <b>Context:</b> Building  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b>  <a href="http://www.zerointime.com/tr/">http://www.zerointime.com/tr/</a></p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Nephrite  <b>Measurement:</b> 51 x 23 x 27 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA?  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 6  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich and Schmidt, 2017: 43, Fig. 1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 260 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA?  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 7  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2019, Fig. 6.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 196 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA-PPNB?  <b>Context:</b> In the upper part of the inner wall of Building C, next to the pillar  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2019, Fig. 7.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 240 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA?  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2019, Fig. 6.3</p>

 <p>4</p>	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 240 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB? (Layer II?)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2019, Fig. 7.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 47 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> in Enclosure H  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2018, Fig.6</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Flint  <b>Measurement:</b> 45 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> in Enclosure C  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Dietrich et al., 2018, Fig.7</p>
 <p>5</p>	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA-PPNB?  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Bilgi, 2012:35, Fig.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 57 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA?  <b>Context:</b> in the upper layers of the filling of Enclosure D  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Bilgi, 2012:37, Fig. 9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 185 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA?  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Bilgi, 2012:35, Fig. 6</p>





**Material:** Stone  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** PPNA  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 6, 7  
**Reference:** Dietrich et al., 2019: 155, Fig. 3,4,5,6,7,8



**Material:** Stone  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** PPNA  
**Type:** 2  
**Context:** -


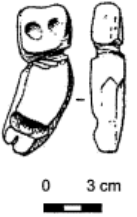
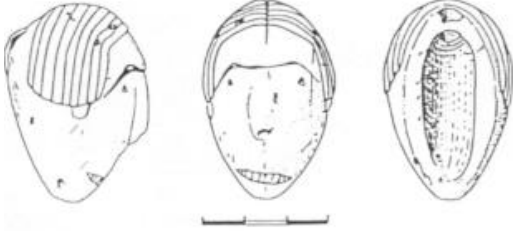
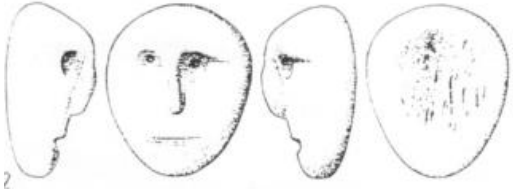
### A.2.7 Gürcütepe II



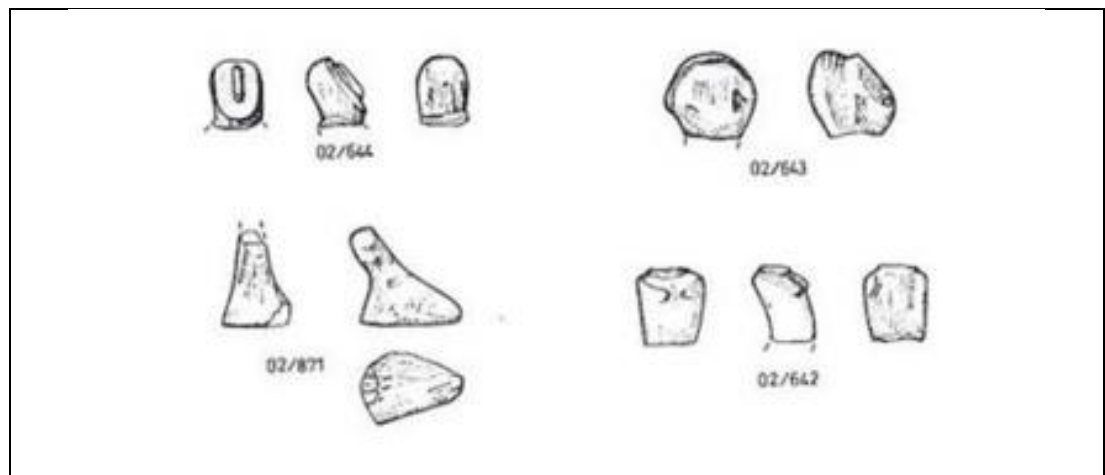
**Material:** Limestone  
**Measurement:** 36 mm  
**Period:** LPPNB  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 5  
**Reference:** Schmidt, 1998:8, Fig. 1.2

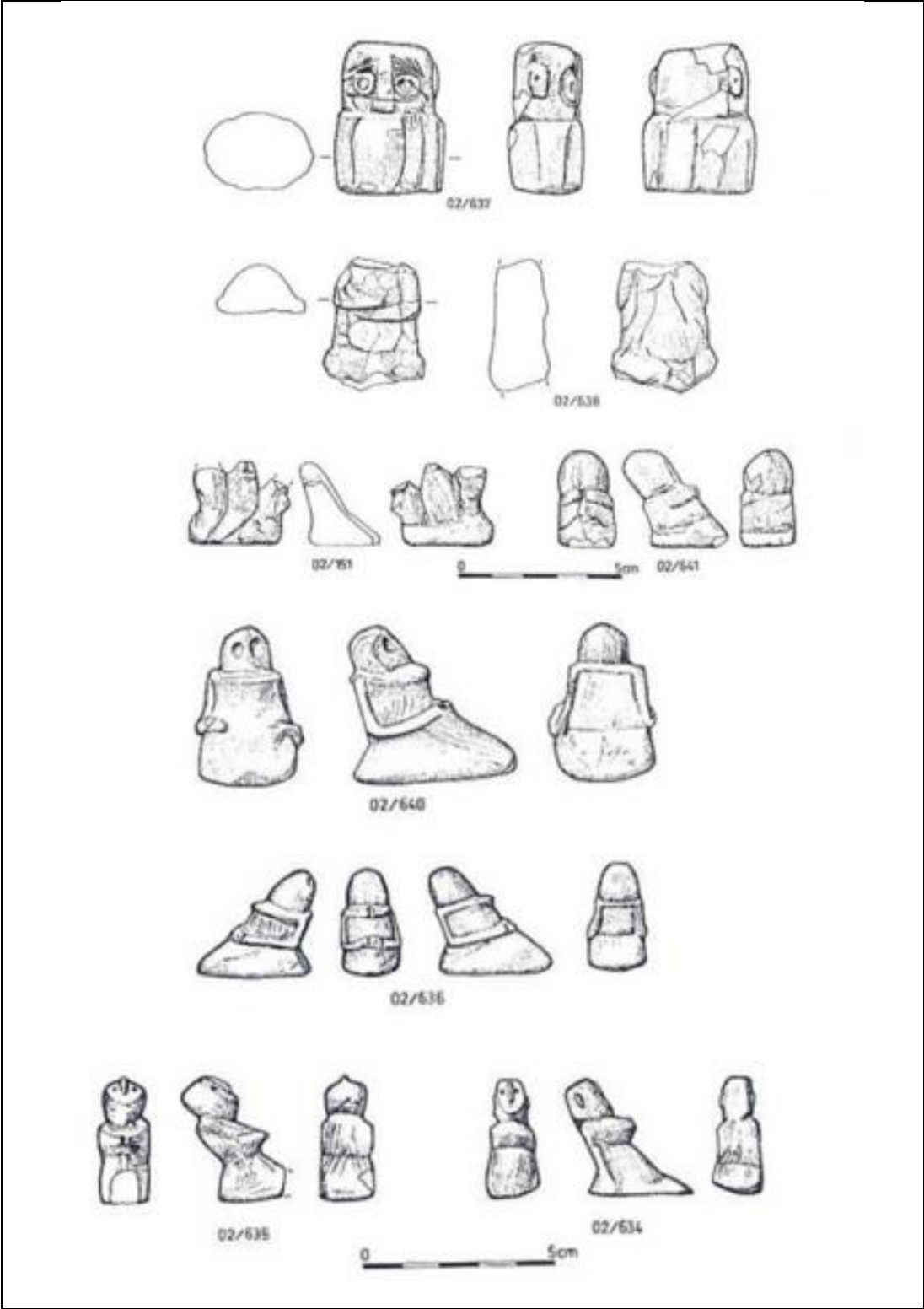


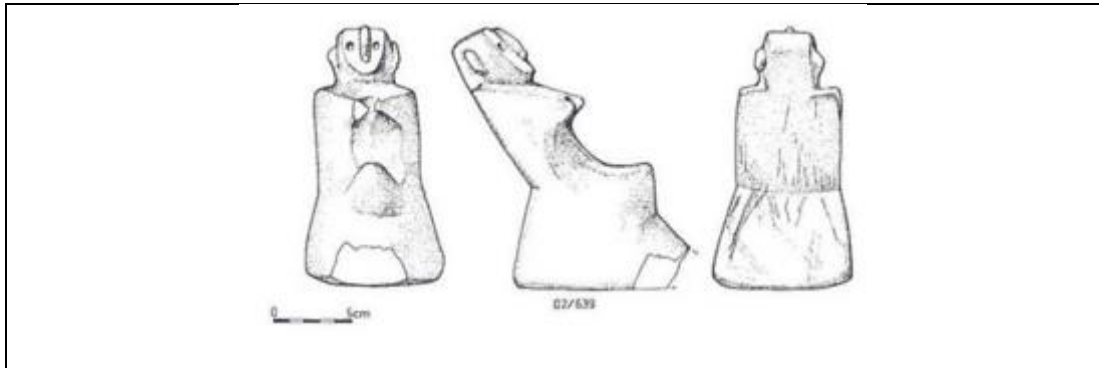
### A.2.8 Jerf el Ahmar

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 41 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Stordeur &amp; Abbas, 2002:589, Fig.17.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 x 30 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Kozłowski &amp; Arenche, 2005:207, 6.2.2:3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 49 x 32 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA/PPNB transition  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Stordeur &amp; Abbas, 2002:587, Fig.15.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 44 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Stordeur &amp; Abbas, 2002:587, Fig.15.2</p>

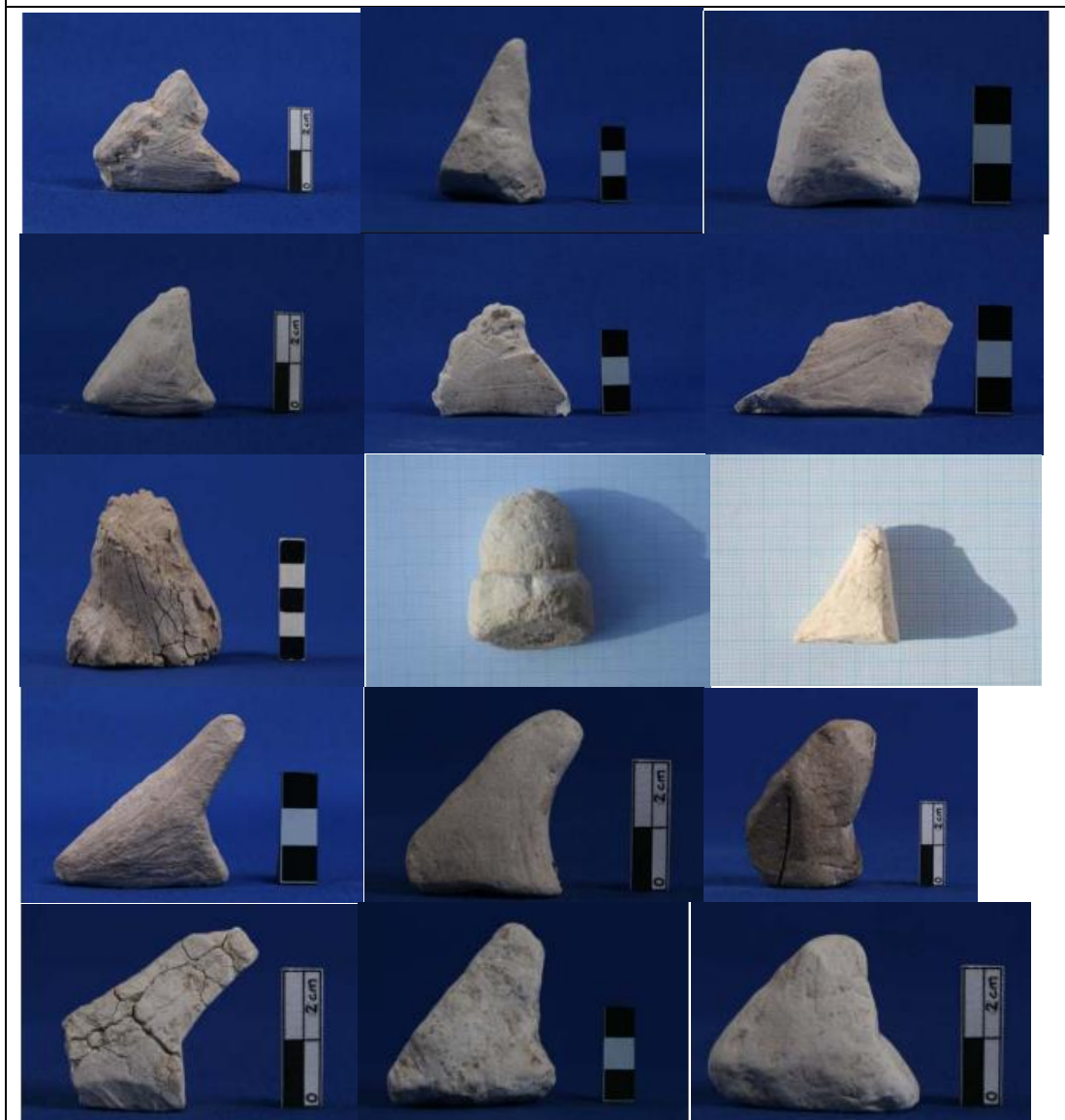
### A.2.9 Mezraa – Teleilat







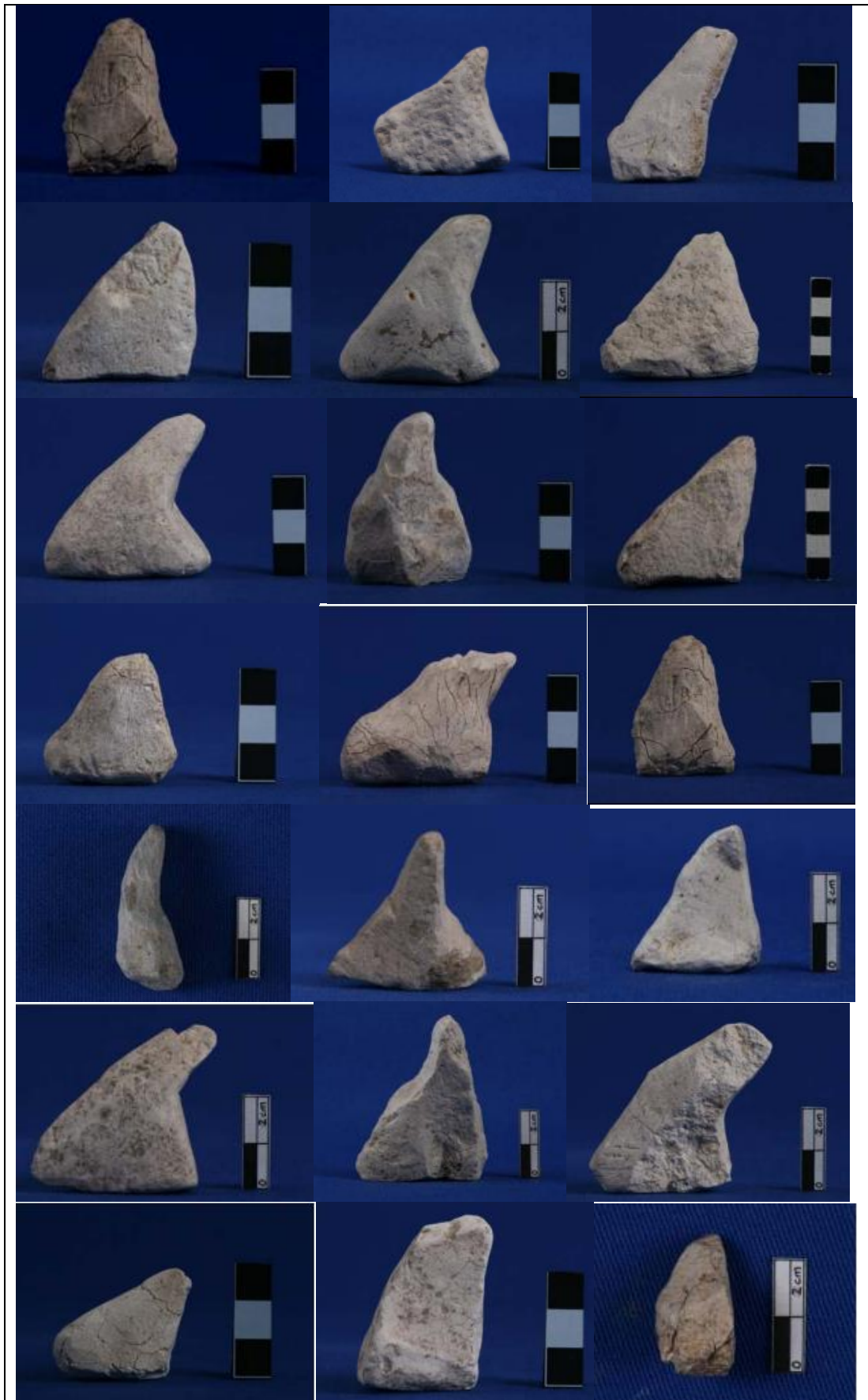
**Material:** Limestone  
**Measurement:** 20 - 122 mm  
**Period:** PPNB, PPNC  
**Context:** No direct relationship with structures  
**Type:** 1, 3, 5  
**Reference:** Özdoğan, 2003: 522-523, Fig. 4-5





















**Material:** Limestone

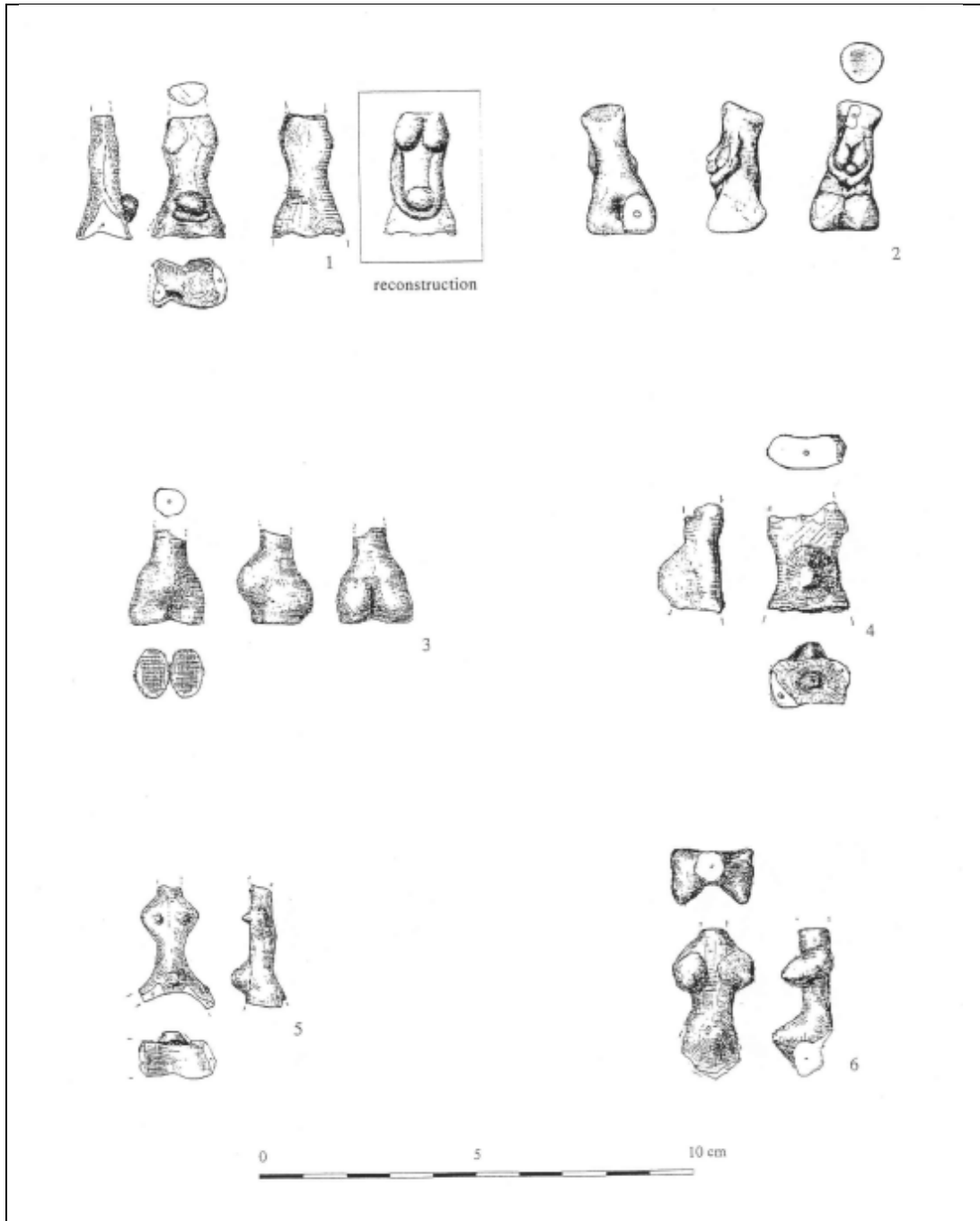
**Measurement:** -

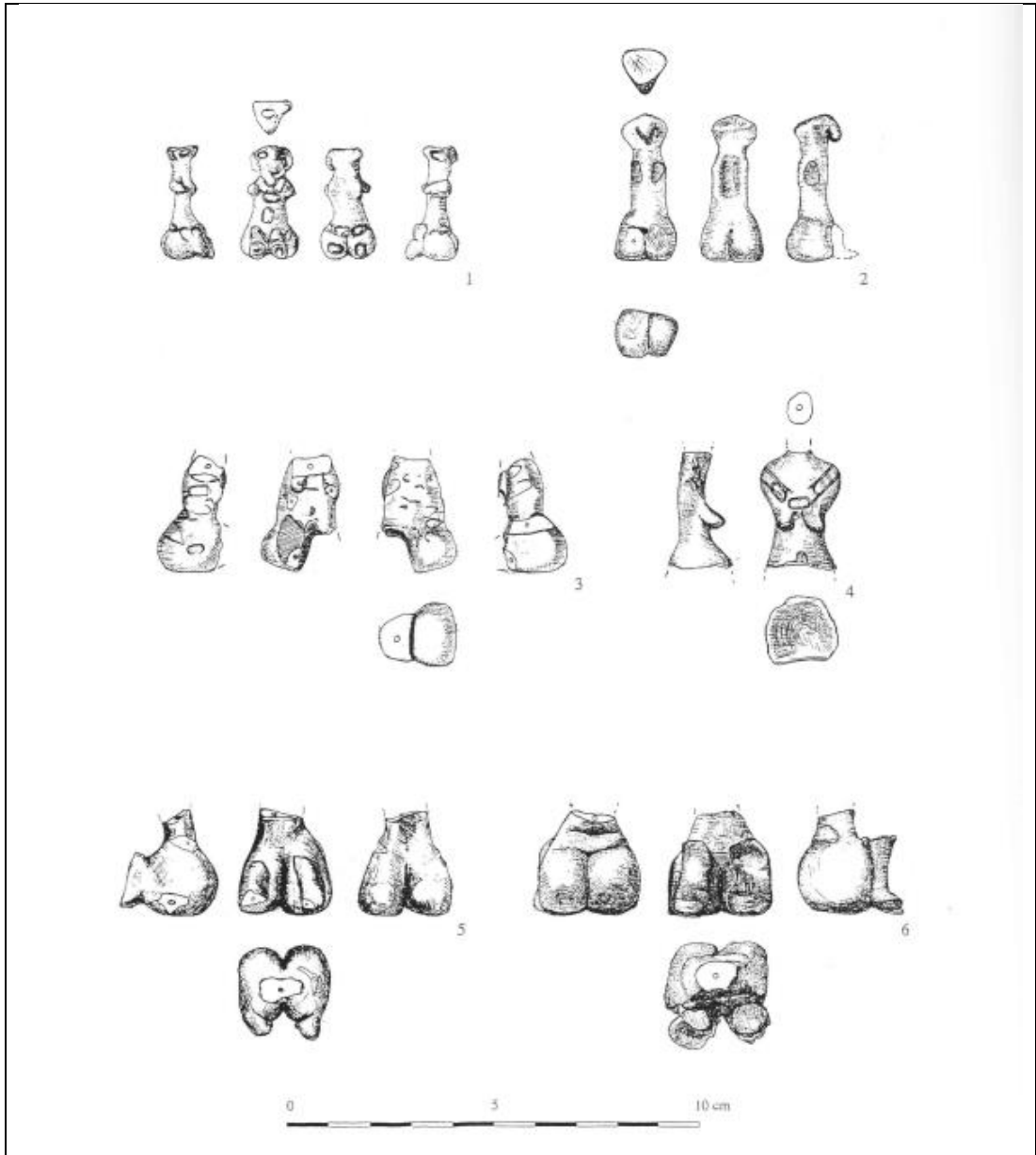
**Period:** PPNB, PPNC, PN

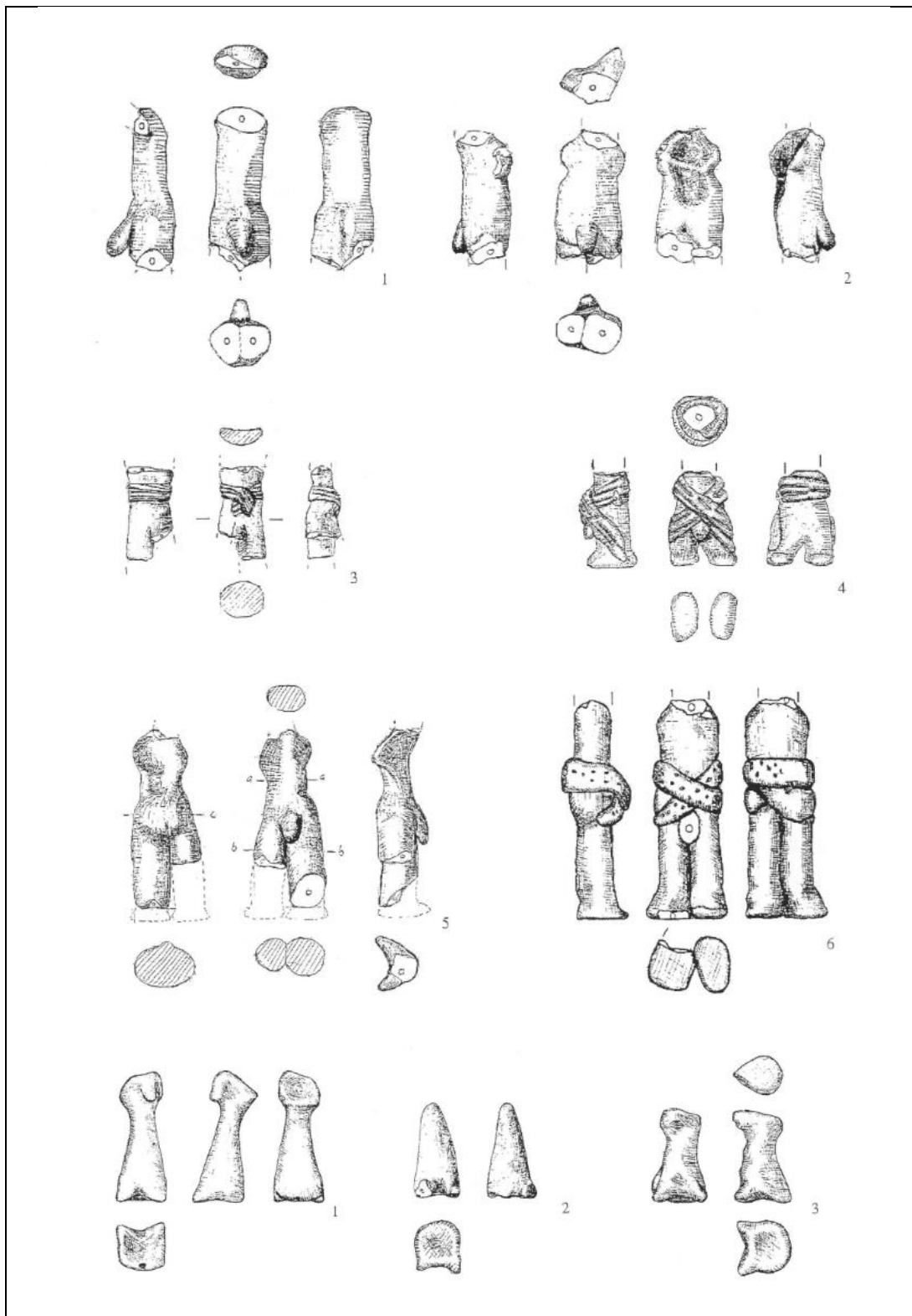
**Context:** Figurines do not come from specific contexts

**Reference:** Nergiz, 2008: 154-241

### A.2.10 Nevali Çori







**Material:** Clay

**Measurement:** -

**Period:** PPNB

**Context:** Mainly in pits and in the open spaces between the houses.

**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5, 7

**Reference:** Morsch, 2002:153-156, Pl. 1-4


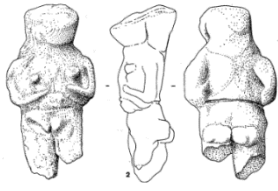
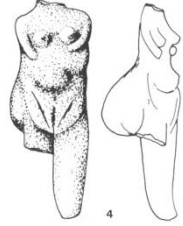
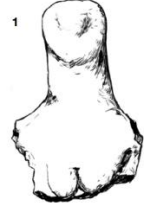
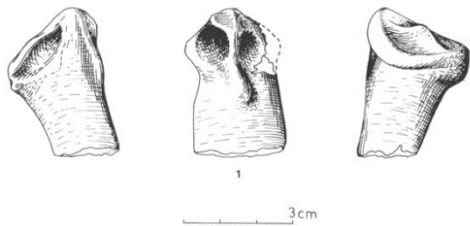
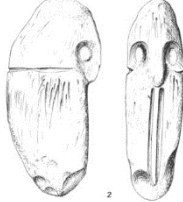
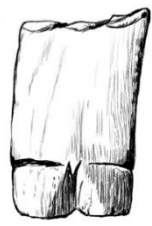
<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Special building and domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 5, 6</p>	

#### A.2.11 Tell Assouad


	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1972: Fig. 4.6</p>
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#### A.2.12 Tell Mureybet


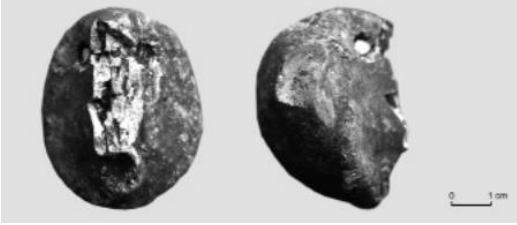
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 x 25 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:121, Fig.25.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 20 x 12 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:121, Fig.25.1</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 68 x 35 x 15 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:121, Fig.25.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone (calcite)  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 x 45 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 2002:27, Fig.7.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 56 x 20 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:121, Fig.25.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 35 x 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase III)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:121, Fig.25.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> 41 x 23 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:120, Fig.24.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 120 x 36 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:122, Fig.26.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 50 x 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (Phase II)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 1978:120, Fig.24.2</p>

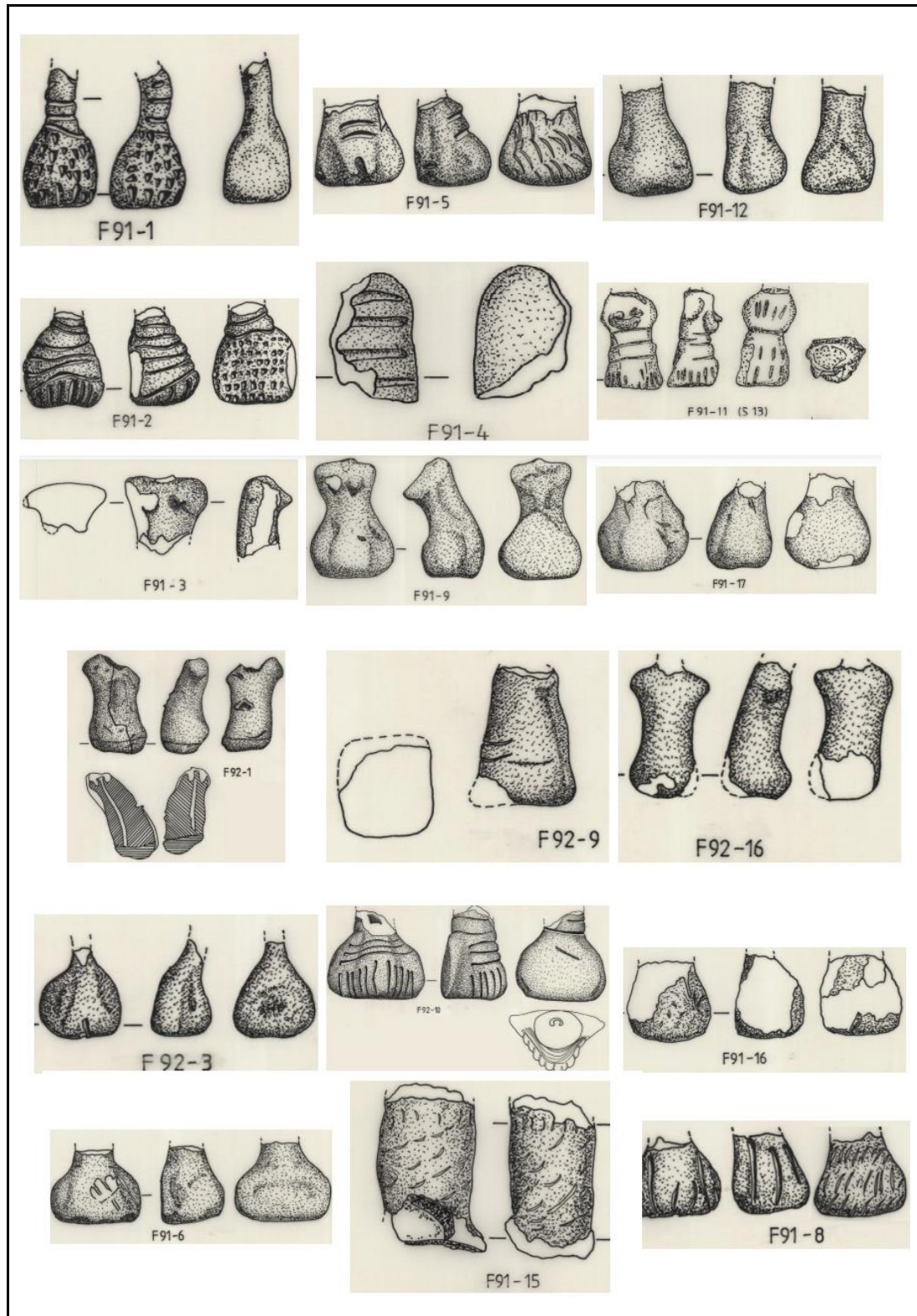


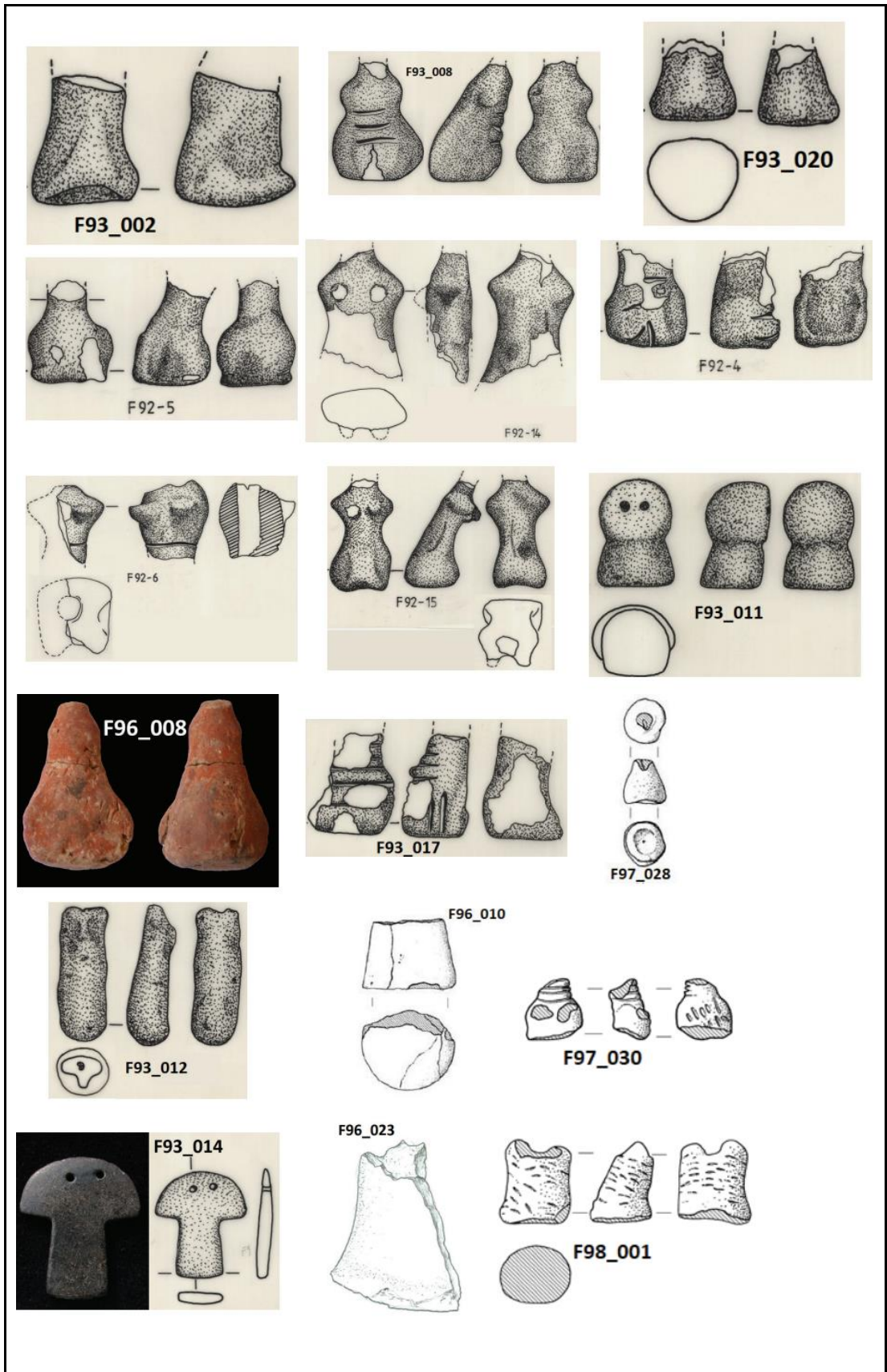
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 10 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB (Phase IVB)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Cauvin, 2002:90, Fig.32.4</p>
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### A.2.13 Tell Qaramel

	<p><b>Material:</b> Mud (sun-dried)  <b>Measurement:</b> 63 x 26 x 14 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNA  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context (under the house floor)  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Mazurowski, 2012:581, Fig.19</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Mud (sun-dried)  <b>Measurement:</b> 4.4 m x 3.6 x 3.4 mm  <b>Period:</b> Proto-Neolithic (EPPNA?)  <b>Context:</b> Shrine  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Mazurowski, 2011:339, Fig.17</p>

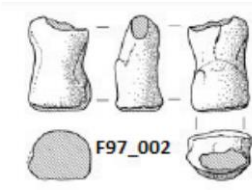
A.2.14 Tell Sabi Abyad







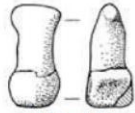
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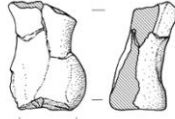
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F97\_010



F98\_003



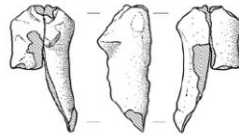
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F97\_013



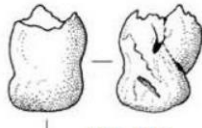
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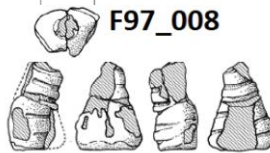
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F97\_014



F99\_004



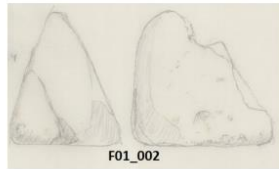
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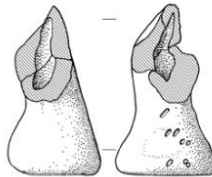
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F01\_002



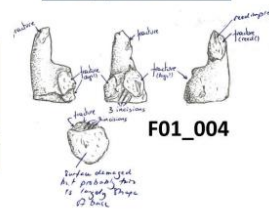
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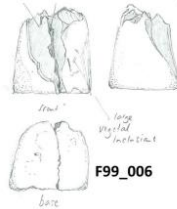
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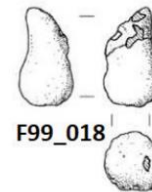
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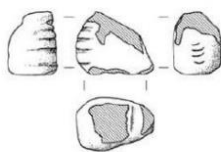
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F99\_006



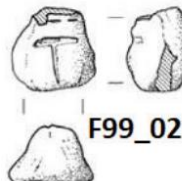
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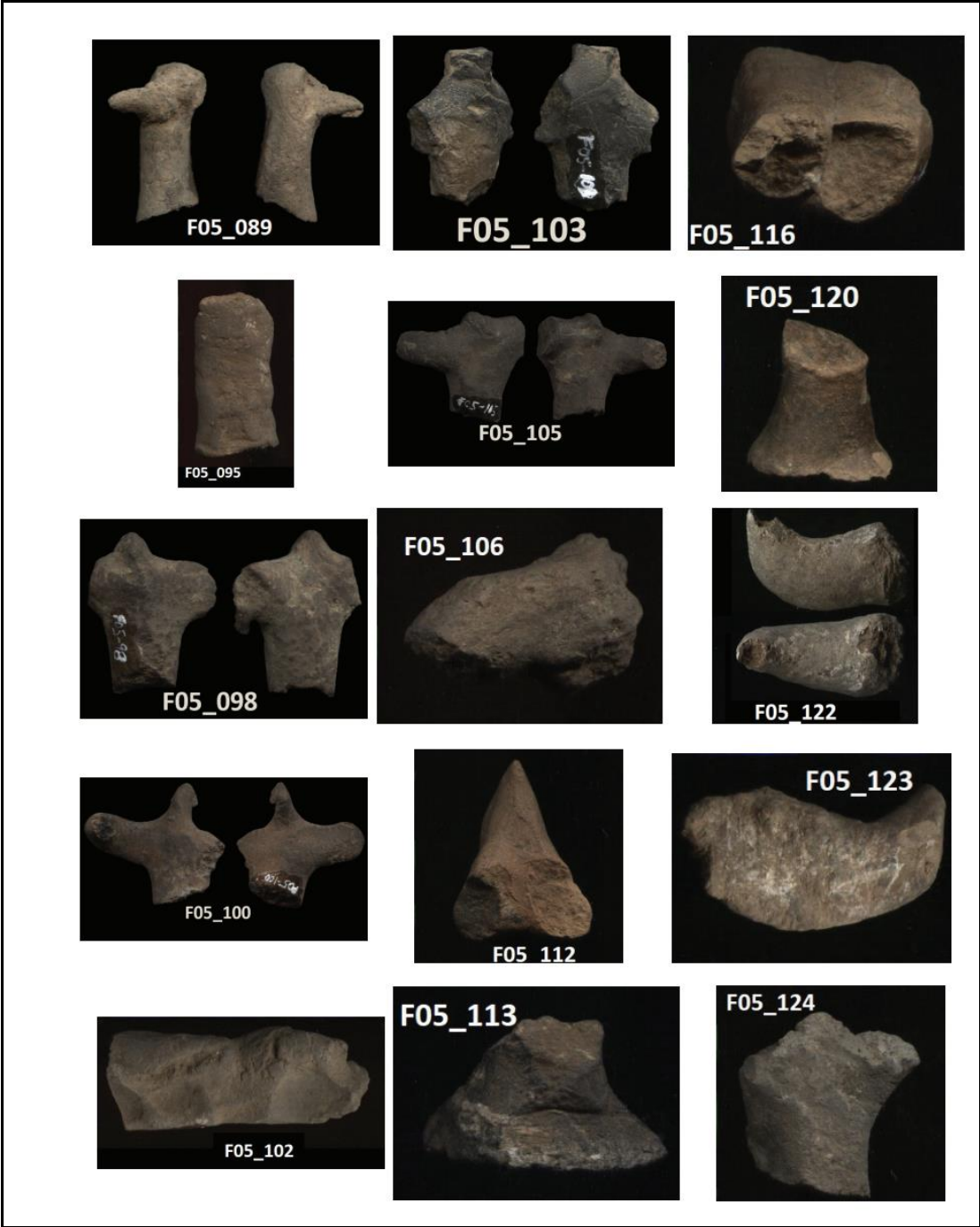


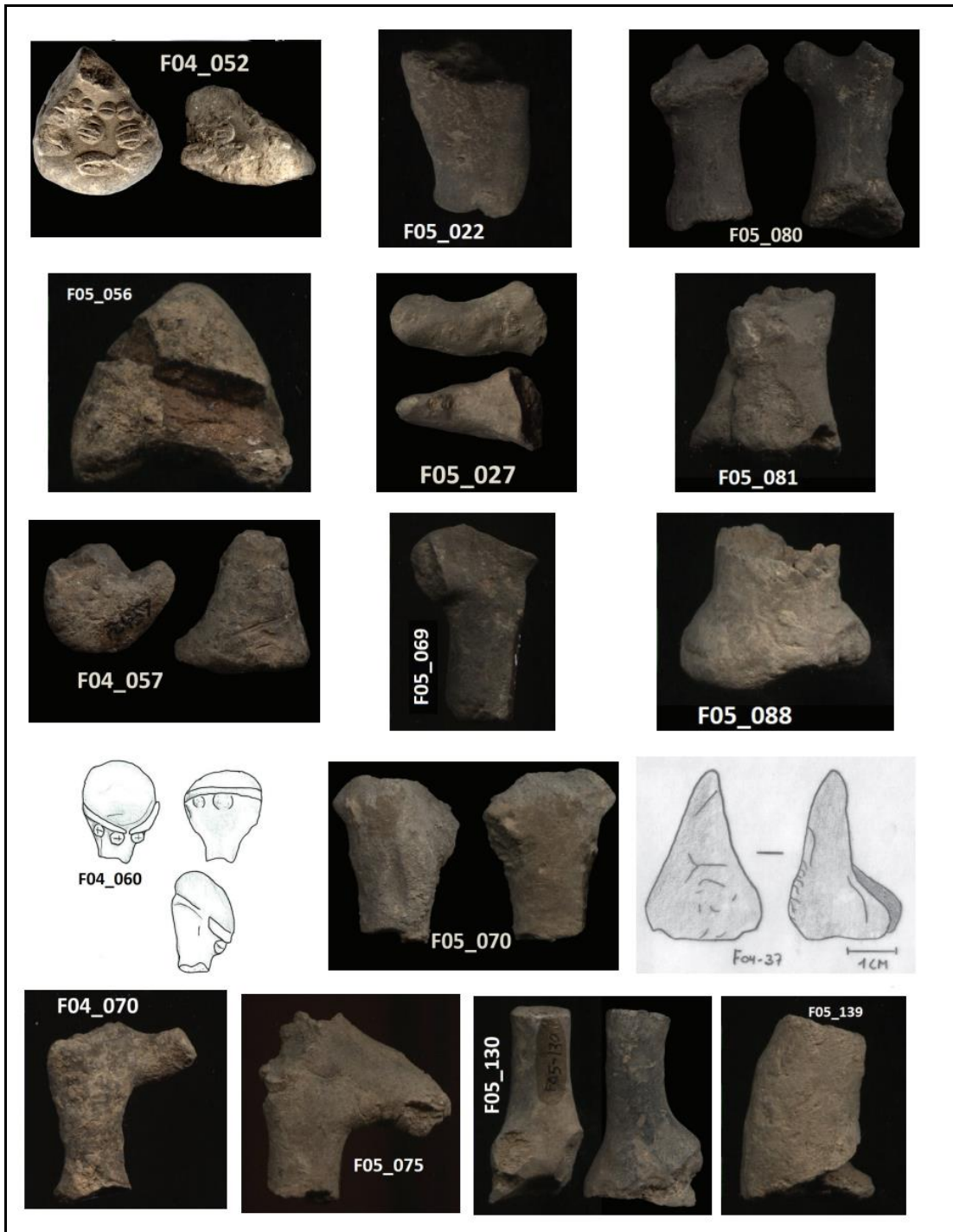
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F99\_023



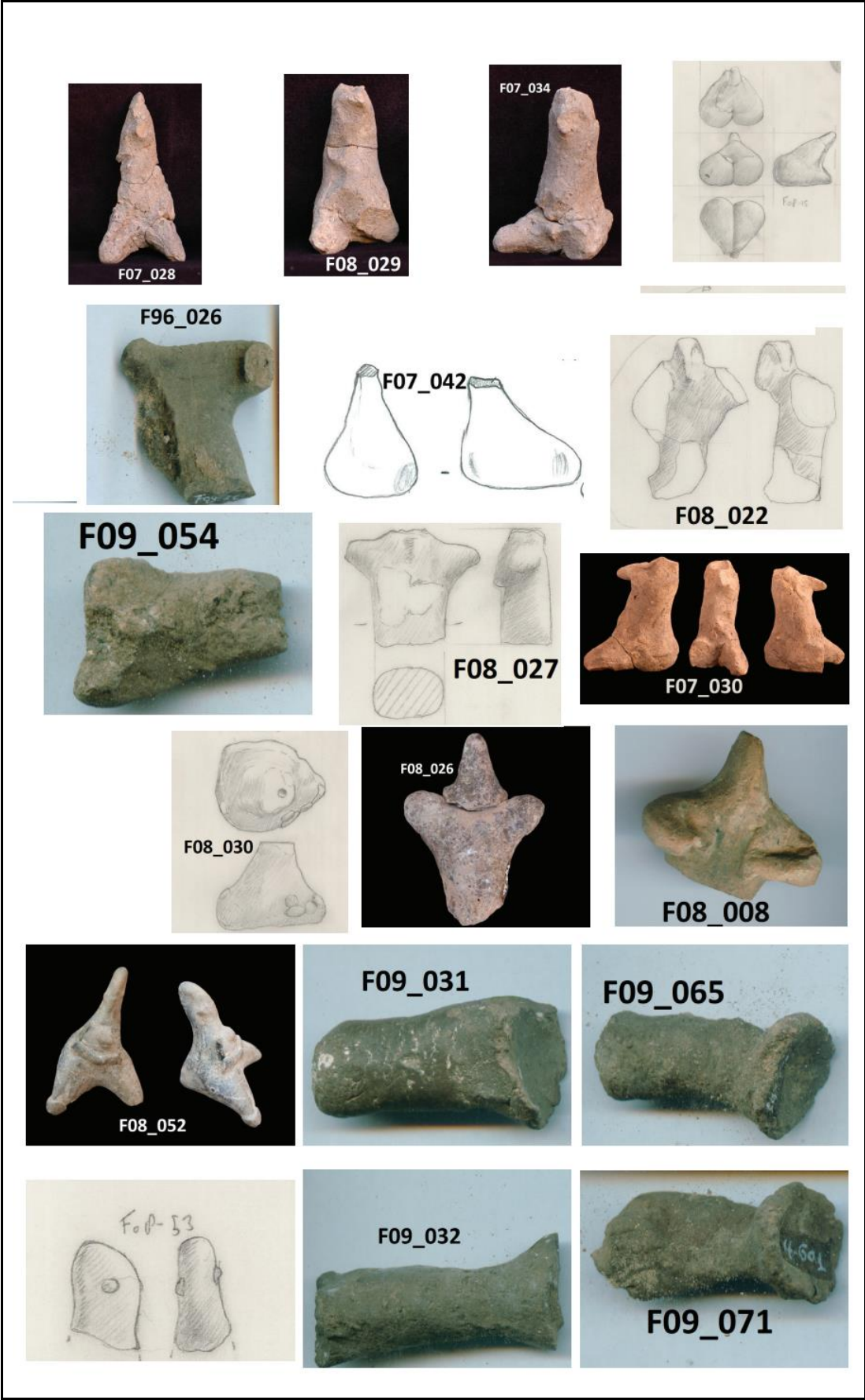


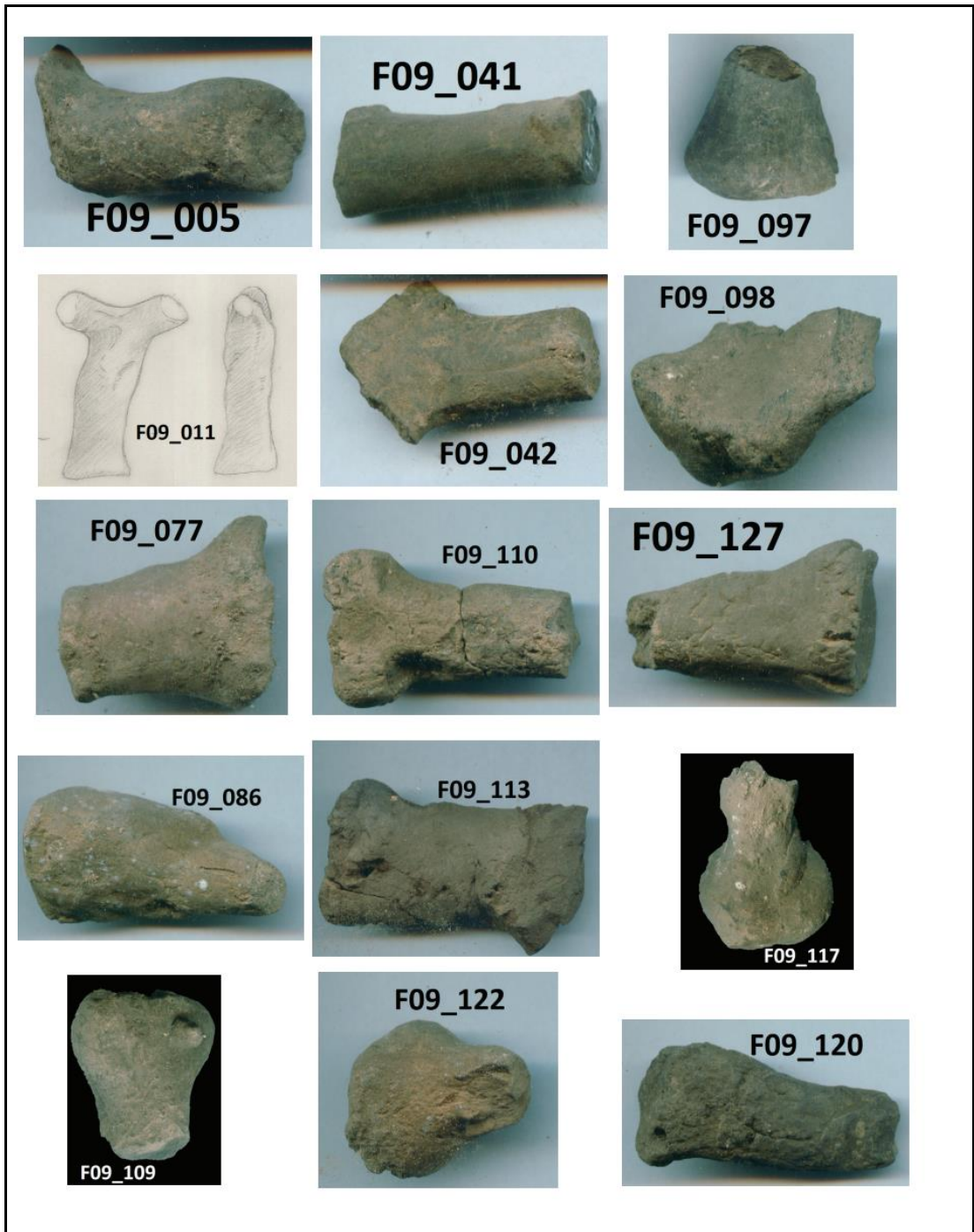


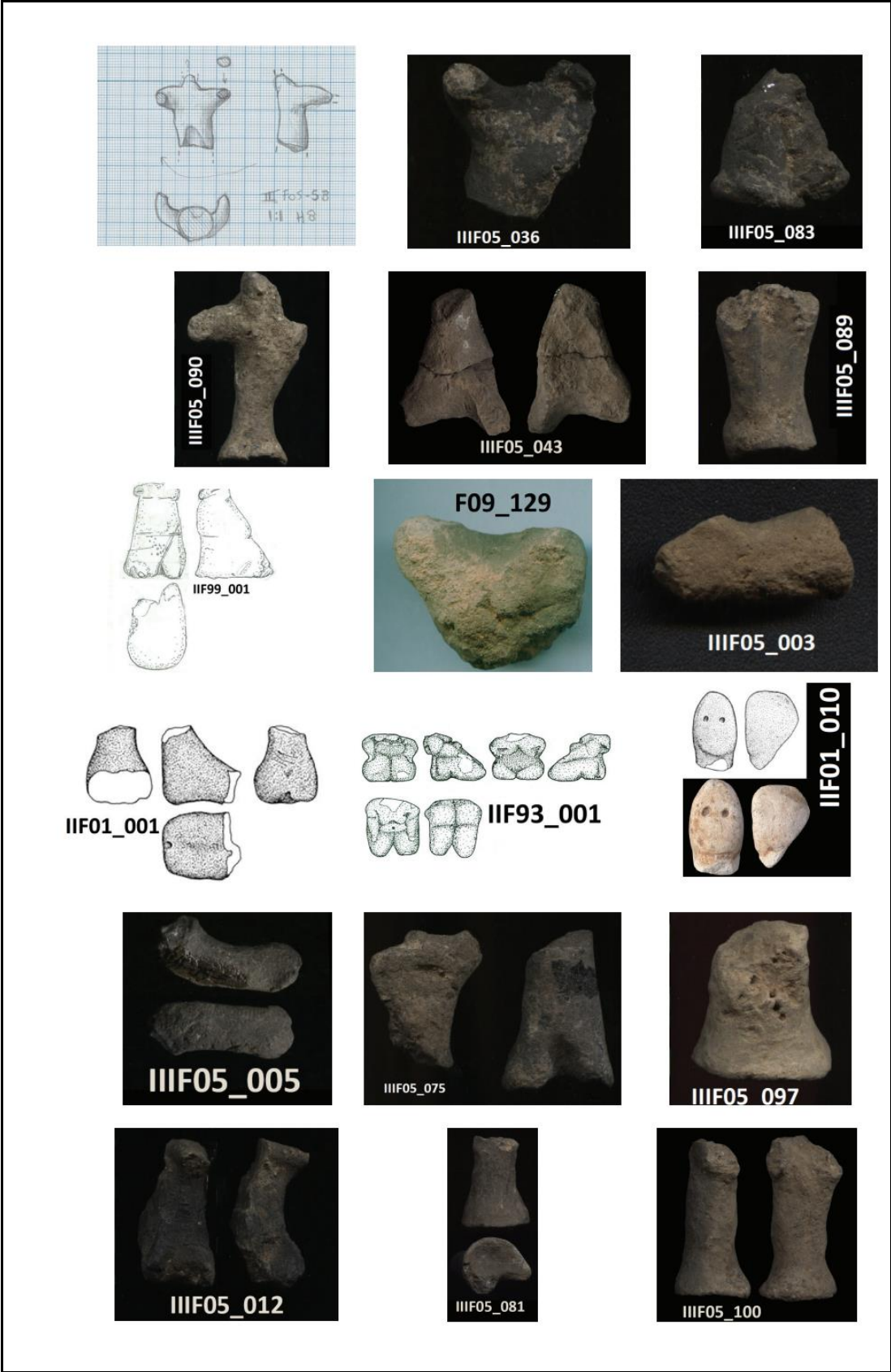
















IIIF05\_167



IIIF10\_003



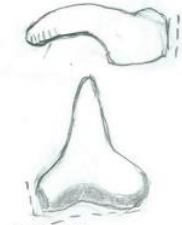
IIIF10\_055



IIIF05\_168



IIIF10\_039



IIIF10\_102



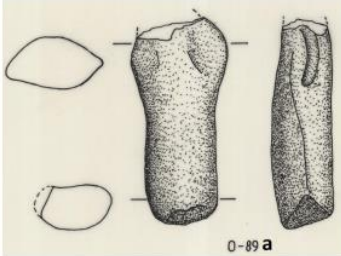
IIIF10\_116



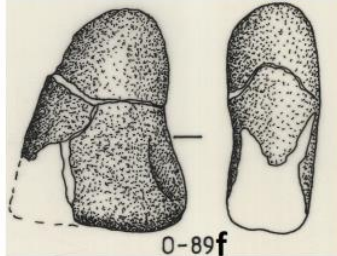
IIIF10\_122



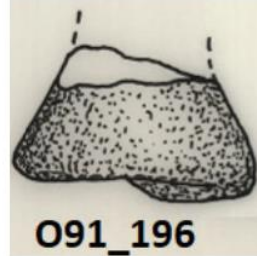
IIIF10\_130



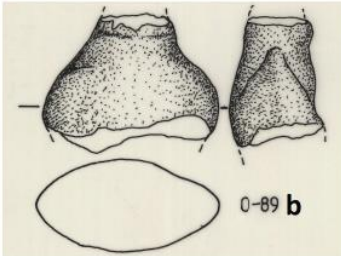
0-89 a



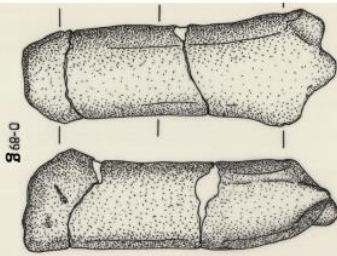
0-89 f



091\_196



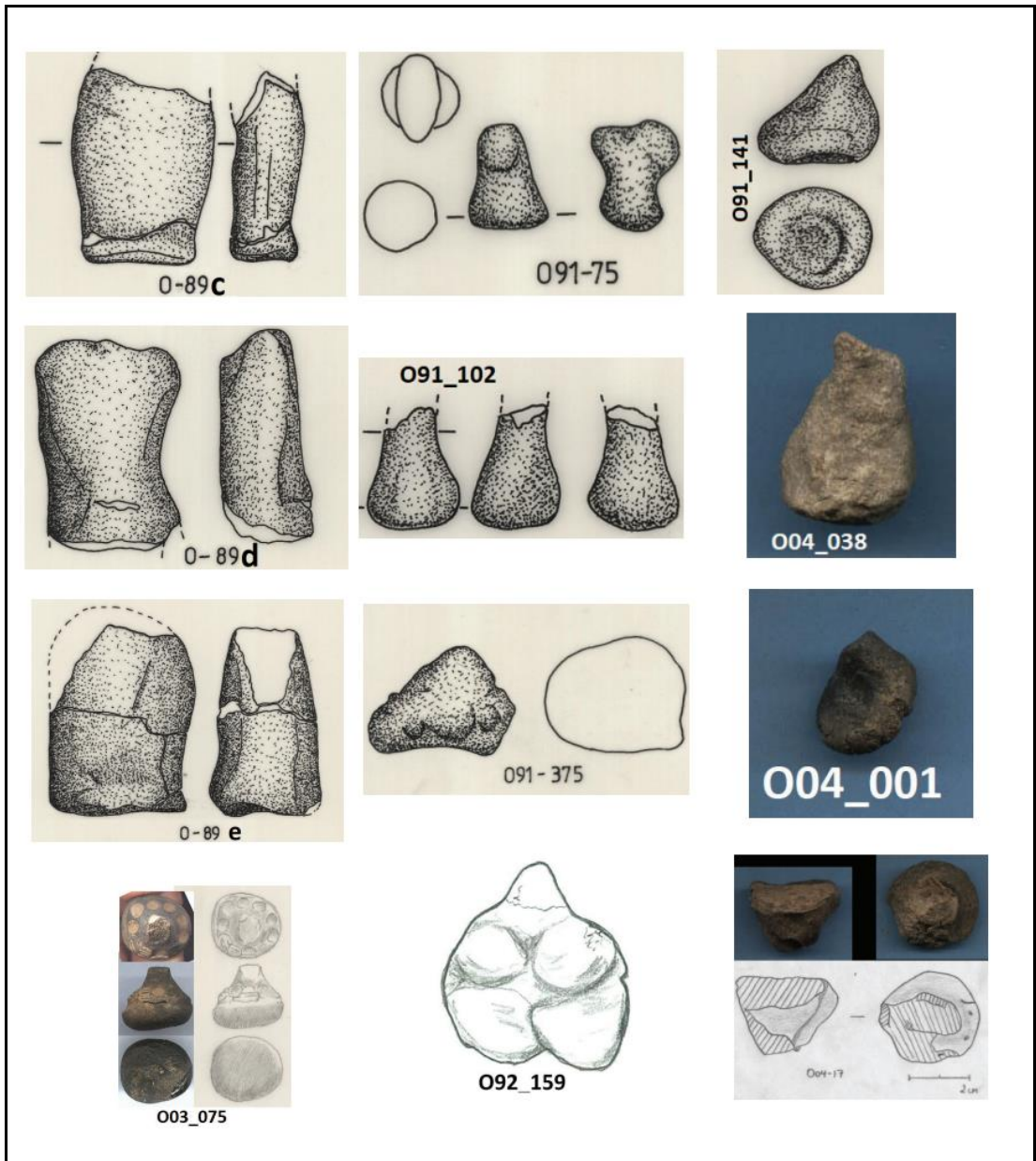
0-89 b

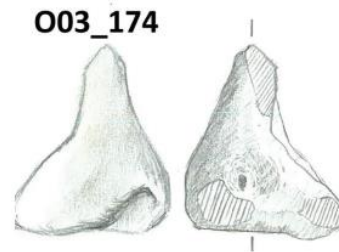


0-89 c



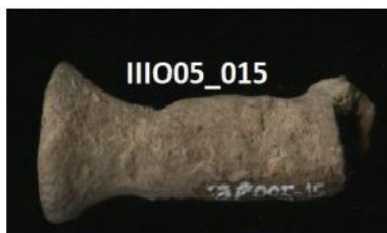
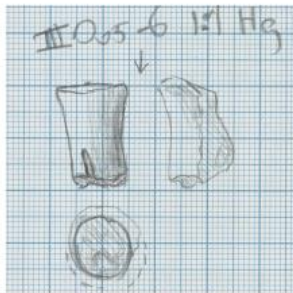
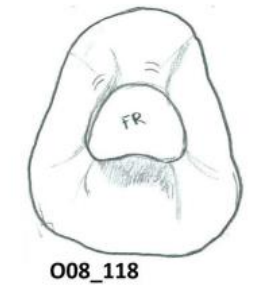
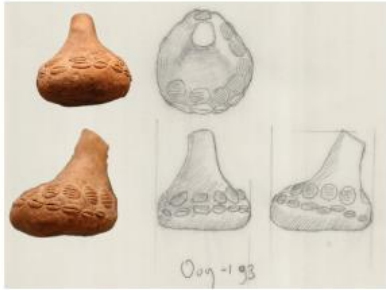
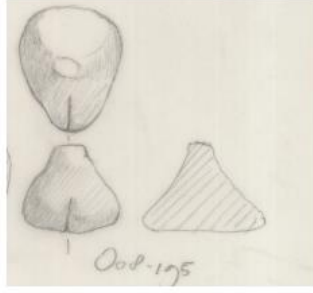
088\_061





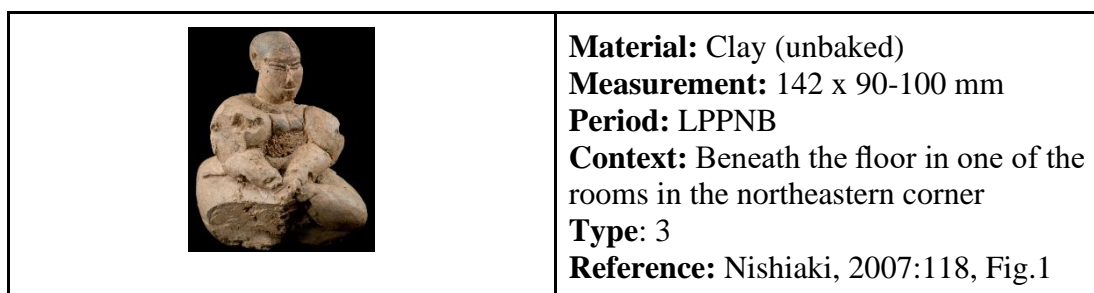


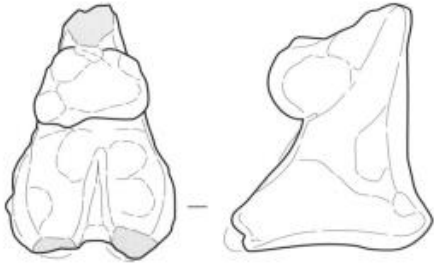
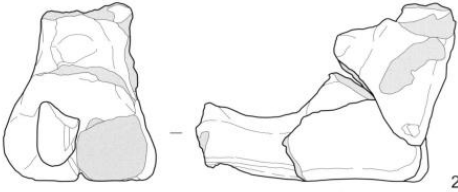







#### A.2.15 Tell Seker al-Aheimar



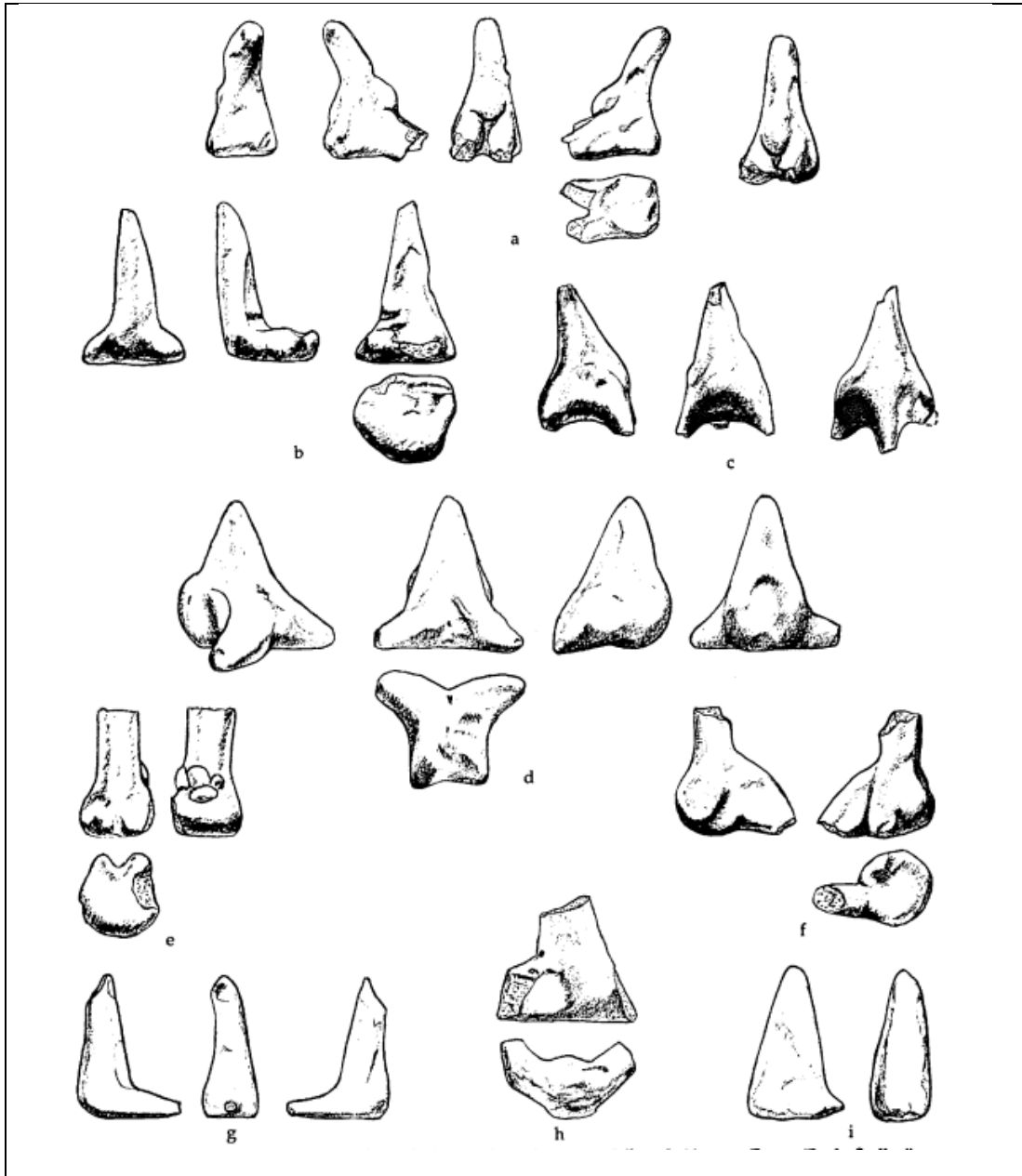
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> app. 35 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB  <b>Context:</b> Beneath the floor in one of the rooms in the northeastern corner  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Nishiaki, 2007:118, Fig.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> app. 40 mm  <b>Period:</b> Proto-Hassuna  <b>Context:</b> Beneath the floor in one of the rooms in the northeastern corner  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Nishiaki, 2007:118, Fig.1</p>

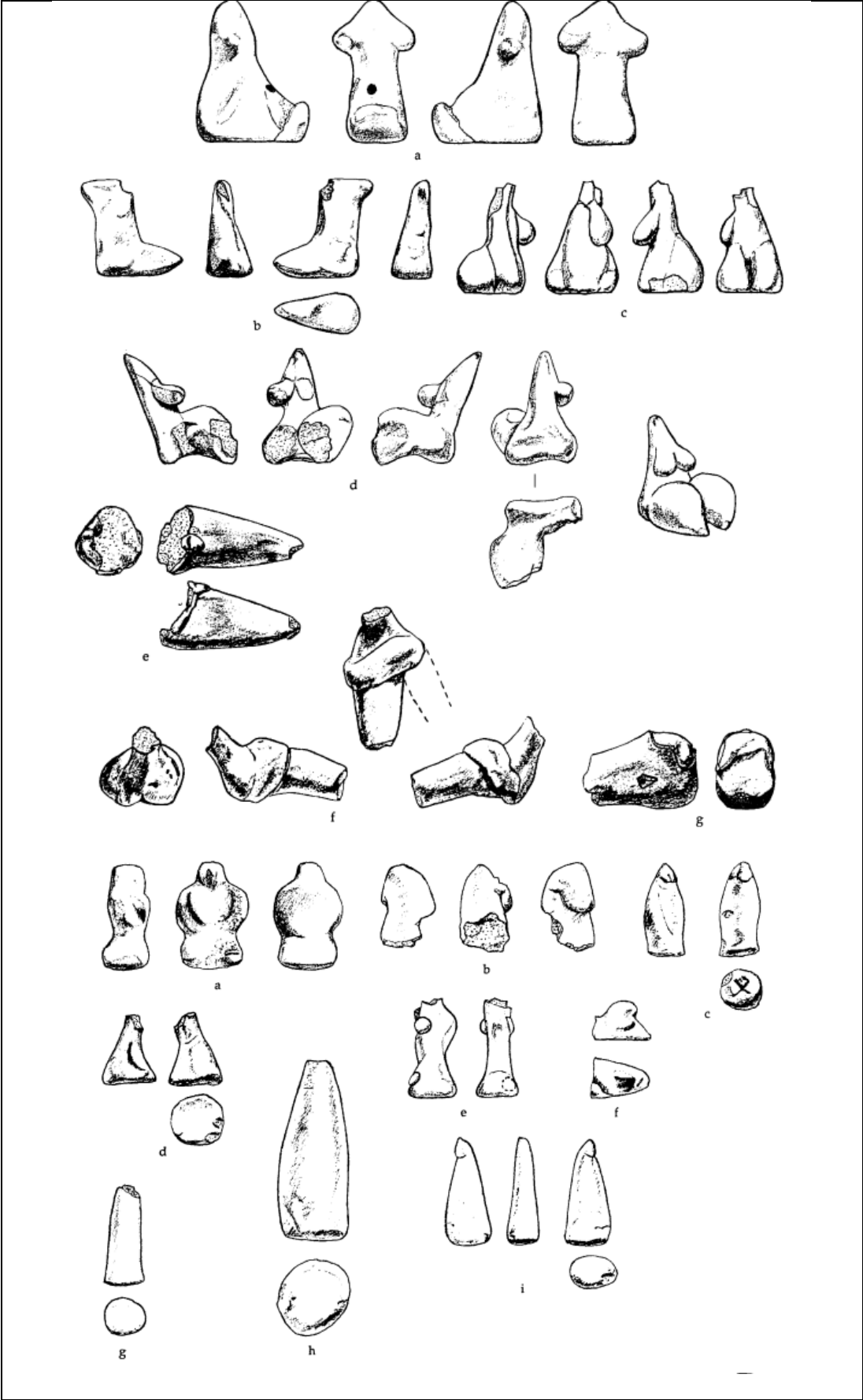
#### A.2.16 Tell Sheikh Hassan

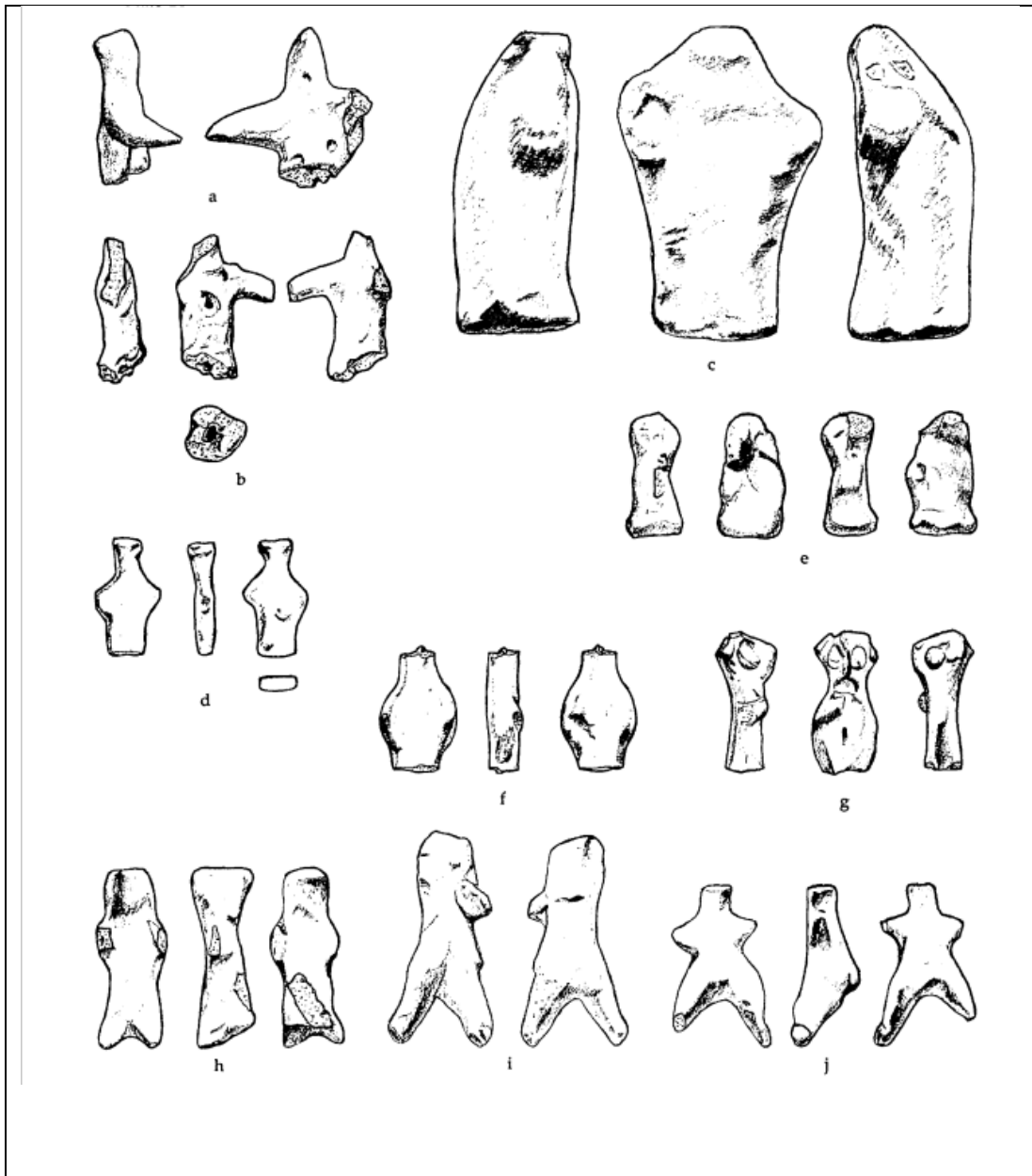
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 119 x 65 x 13 mm  <b>Period:</b> EPPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Müller-Neuhof, 2006:32, Fig.1a</p>
--	--

### A.3 Tigris

#### A.3.1 Çayönü







**Material:** Clay (+one stone figurine)

**Measurement:** -




**Period:** 9200-8000 BC

**Context:** Distribution appears to be general. Figurines were more often found within houses than in open areas without construction.



**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5

**Reference:** Morales, 1990, Pl. 22-25

### A.3.2 Gre Filla

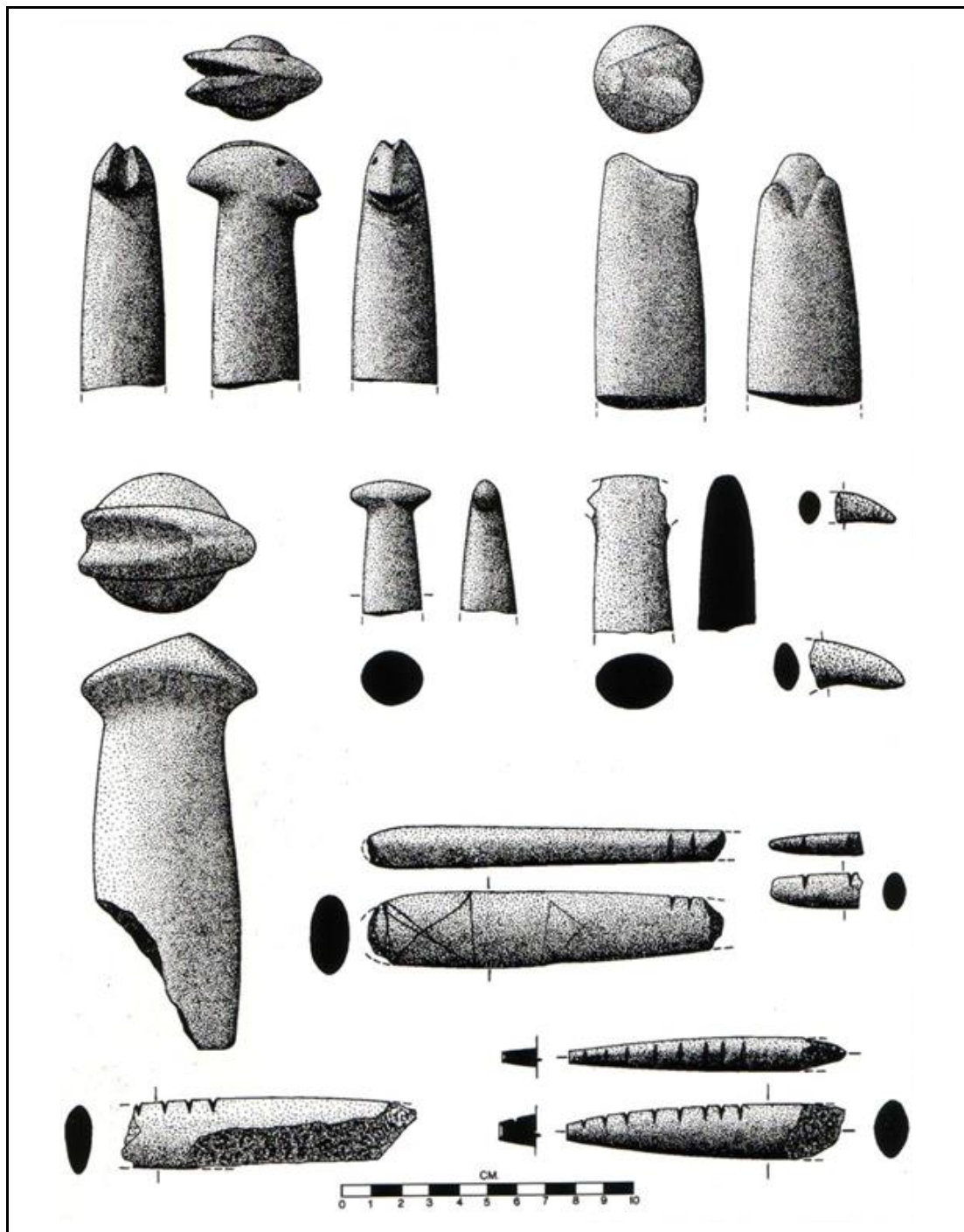
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Ökse, 2021:11, Fig.2-9a</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Ökse, 2021:11, Fig.2-9c</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Ökse, 2021:11, Fig.2-9d</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> Domestic context  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Ökse, 2021:11, Fig.2-9e</p>

### A.3.3 Gusir Höyük

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Karul, 2011:16, Fig. 18</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 2  <b>Reference:</b> Karul, 2011:16, Fig. 17</p>



### A.3.4 Hallan Çemi



**Material:** Stone

**Measurement:** -

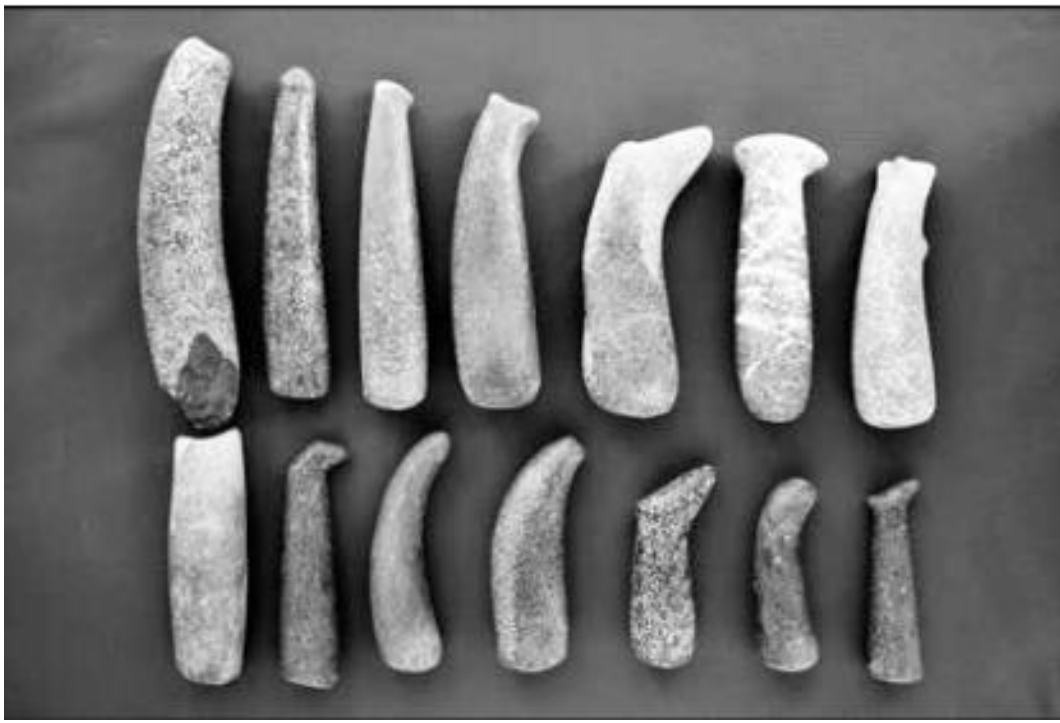
**Period:** PPNA

**Context:** The presence of extremely high concentrations of animal bone, including still articulated portions of animal carcasses, and fire-cracked stone in the central activity area.

**Type:** 2

**Reference:** Rosenberg & Redding, 2002:53, Fig. 6

### A.3.5 Körतिक Tepe



**Material:** Stone

**Measurement:** -

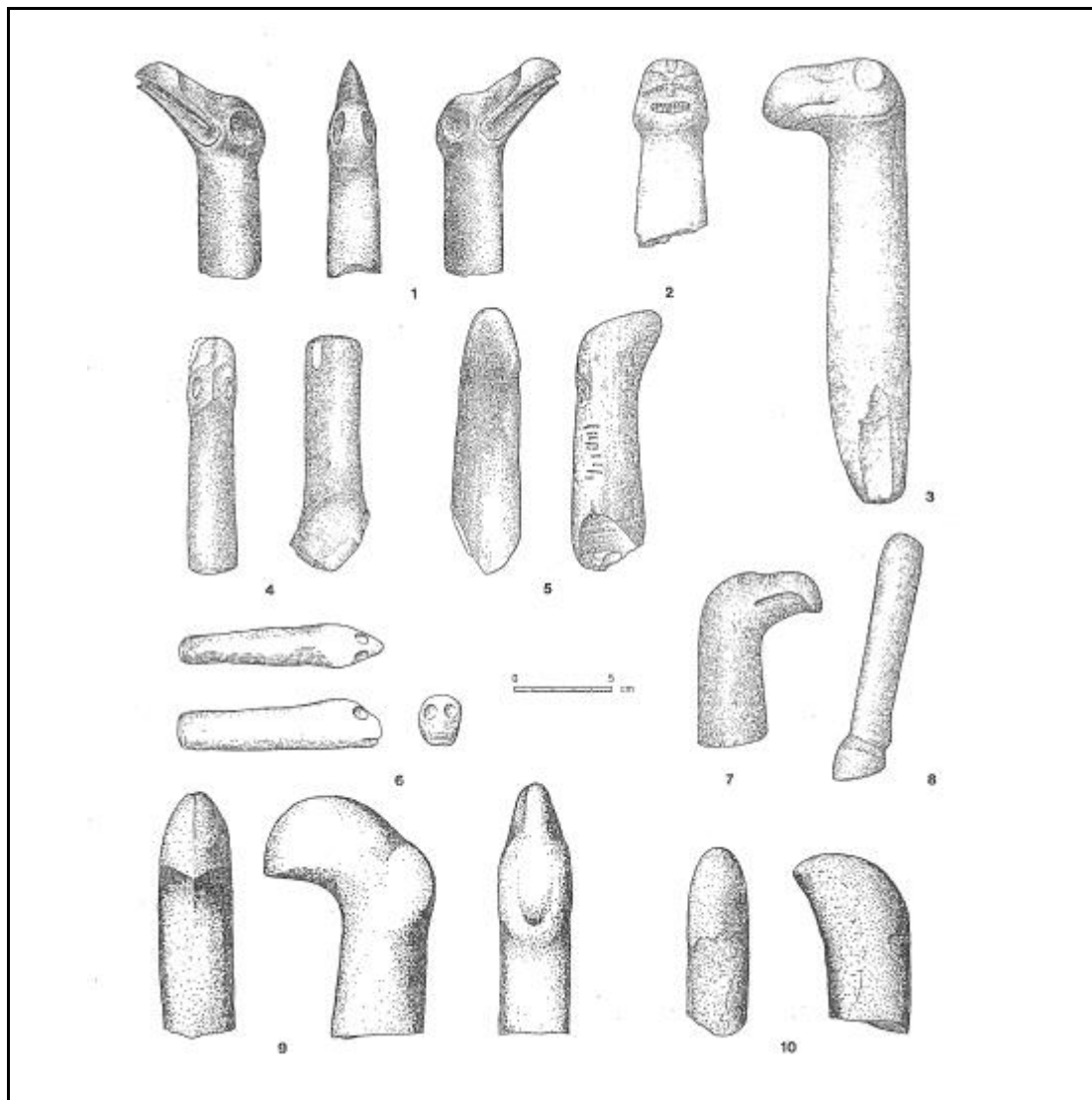
**Period:** PPNA

**Context:** The majority of these came from burials; a small proportion came from domestic contexts.

**Type:** 2

**Reference:** Özkaya et al, 2017:22, Res. 13

### A.3.6 Nemrik 9



**Material:** Stone

**Measurement:** -

**Period:** PPNA

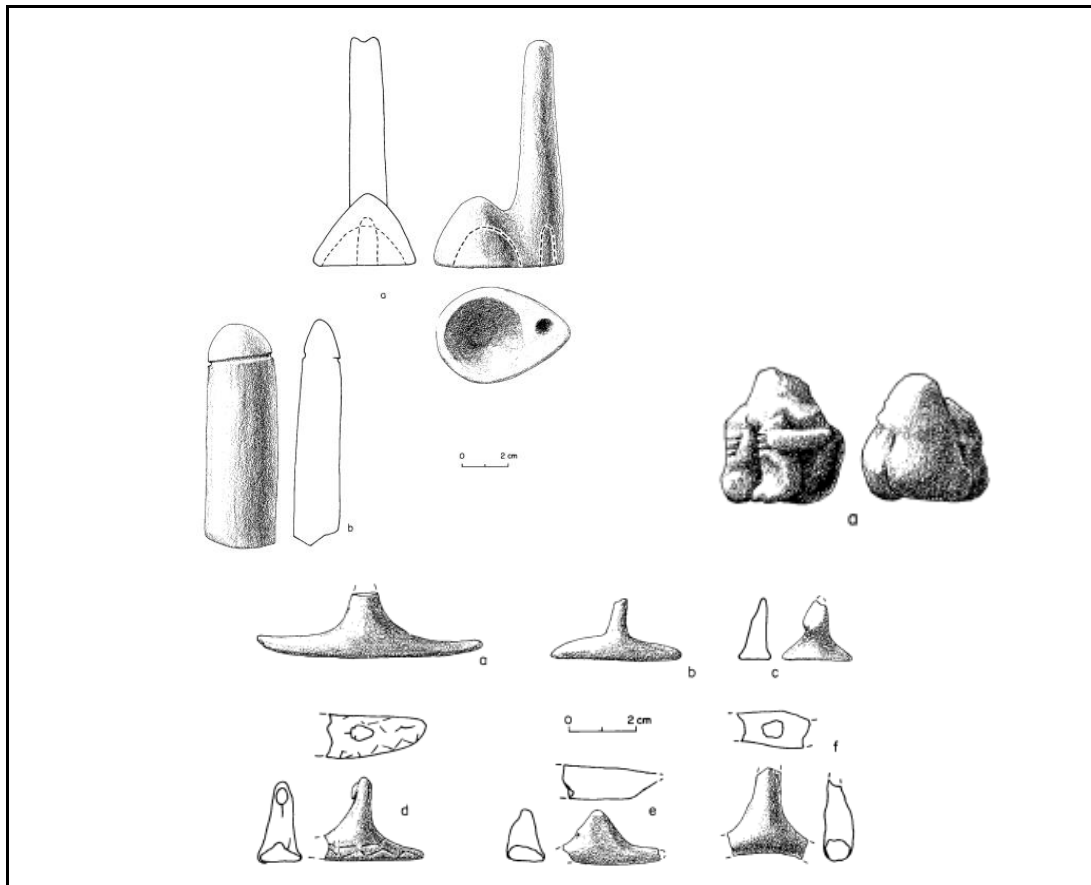
**Context:** -

**Type:** 2

**Reference:** Hansen, 2007b, Taf. 4

## A.4 Zagros

### A.4.1 Ali Kosh



**Material:** Stone, clay

**Measurement:** -

**Period:** LPPNB (7250-6500 BC)

**Context:** -

**Type:** 1, 3

**Reference:** Hole et al., 1969:202, Fig. 87, :225, Fig 97a, :226, Fig. 98, :228, Fig. 99

### A.4.2 Bestansur



**Material:** Clay

**Measurement:** 40 mm

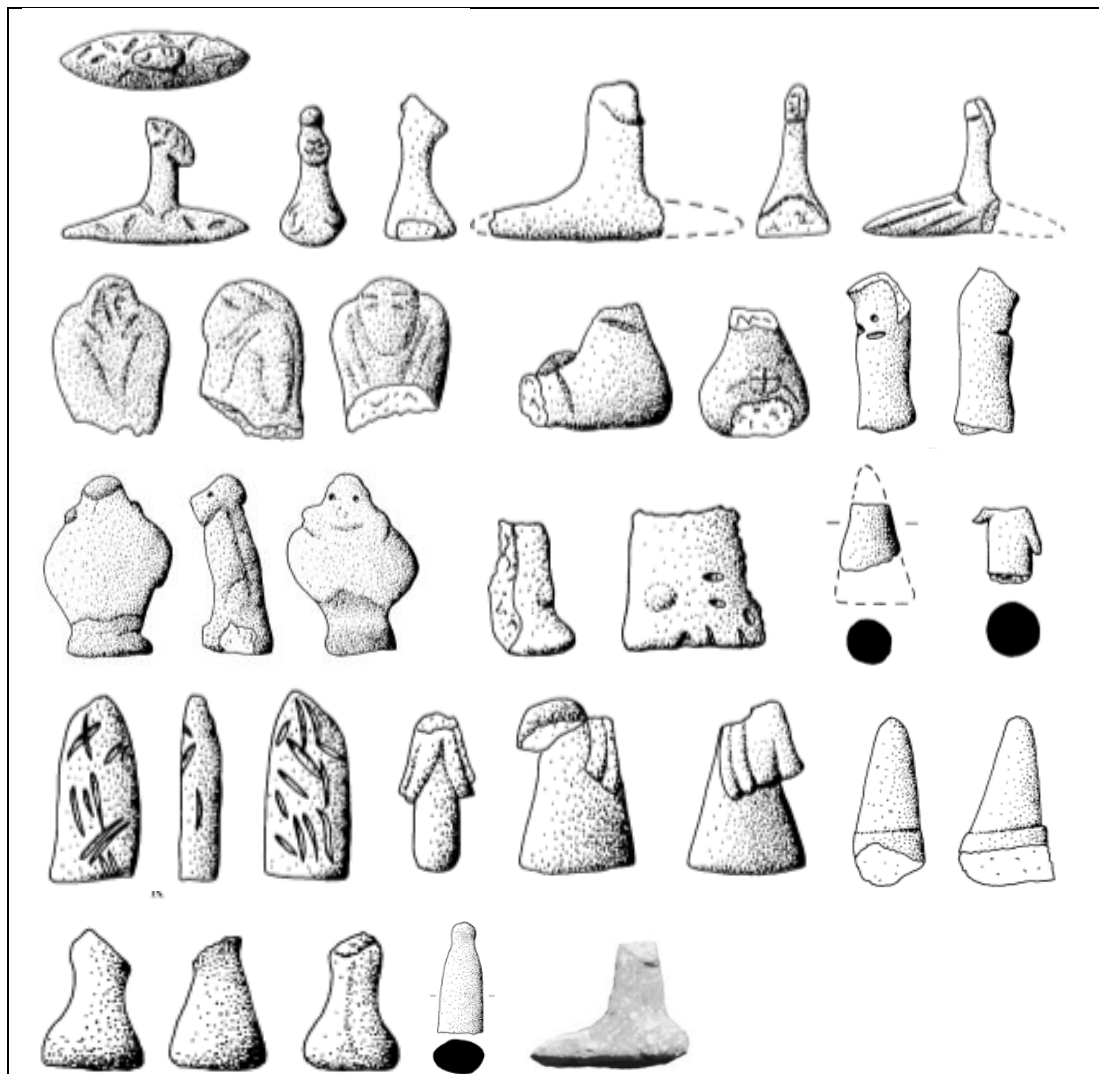
**Period:** LPPNB

**Context:** Under the house floor with human remains and other artefacts

**Type:** 3

**Reference:** Richardson, 2020:543, Fig. 21.7

### A.4.3 Chogha Bonut



**Material:** Clay, Stone

**Measurement:** -

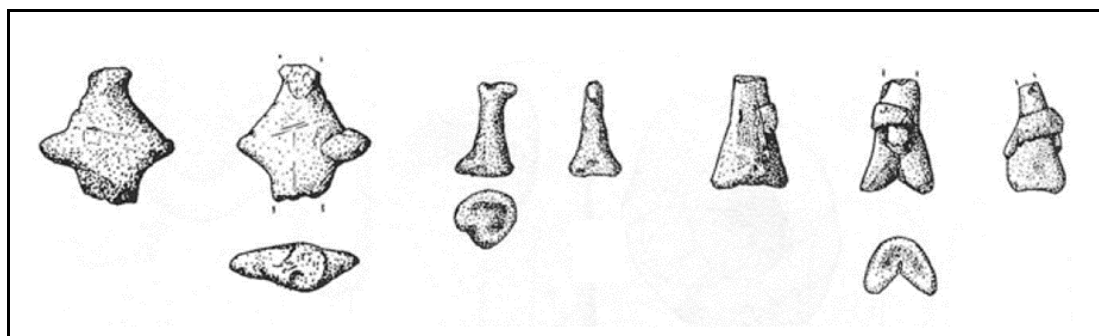
**Period:** LPPNB

**Context:** -

**Type:** 1, 3, 4

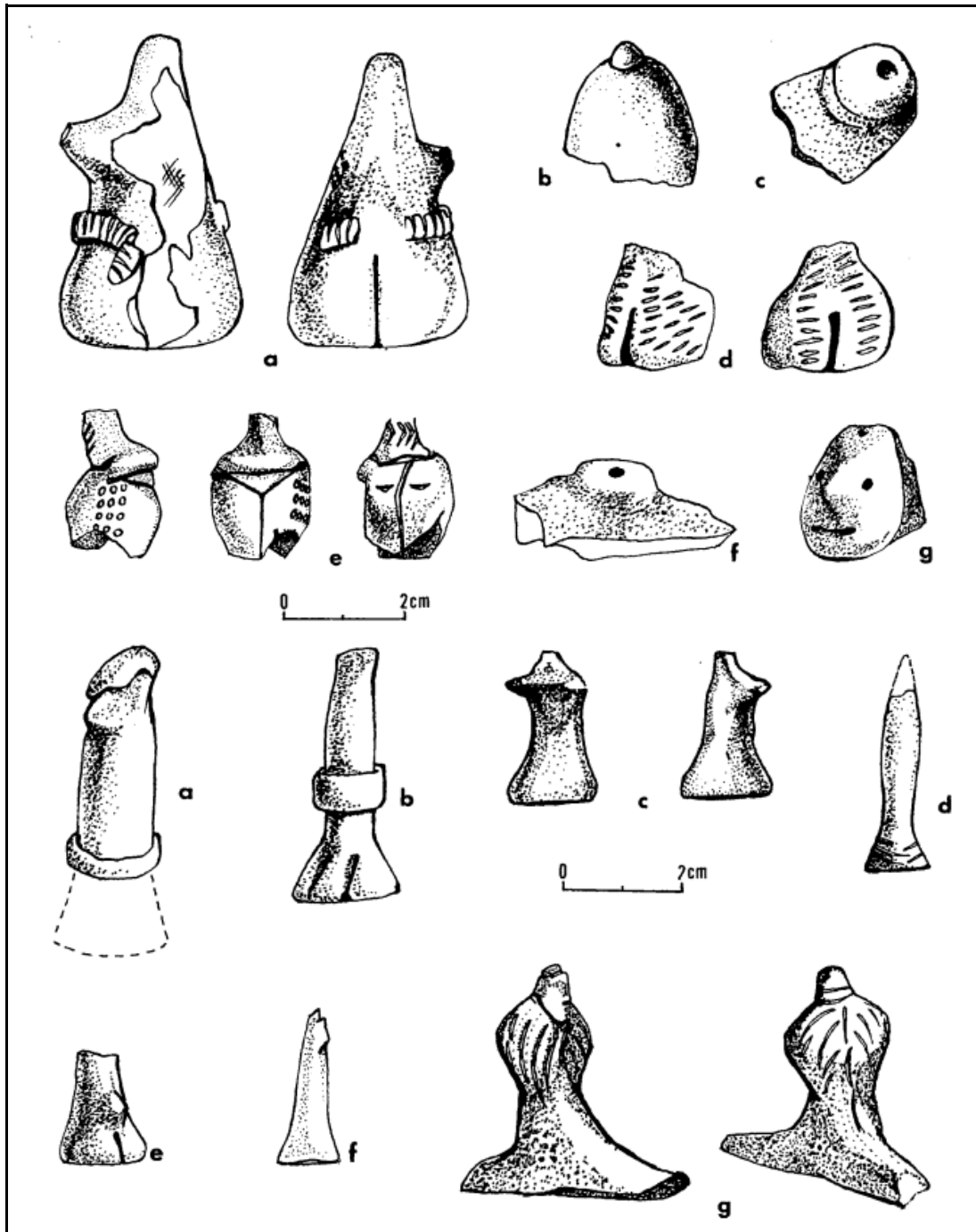
**Reference:** Alizadeh, 2003:73, 30a-l; :77, 32p, o, t; Pl. 17.s

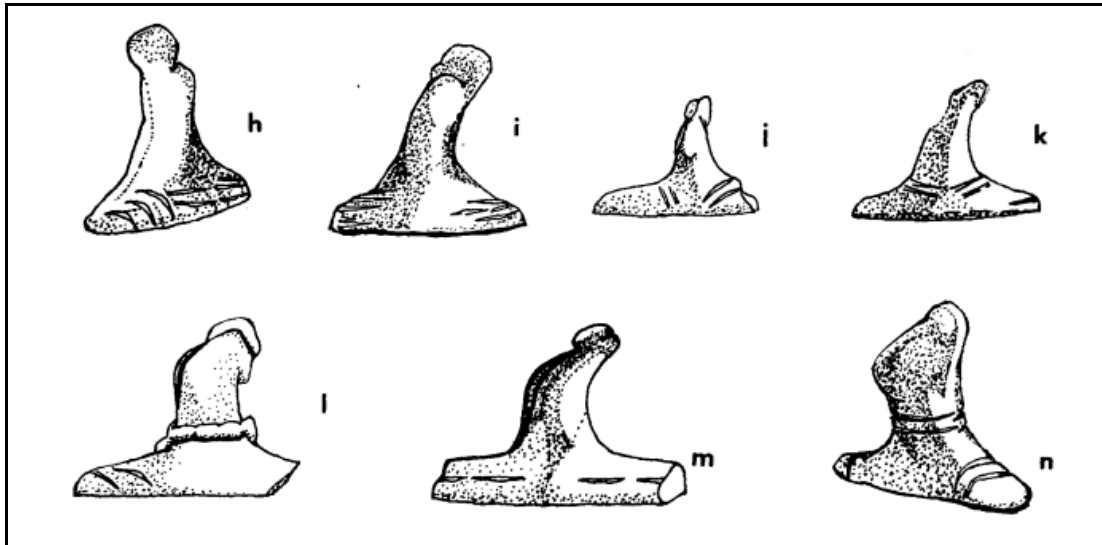
### A.4.4 Chogha Golan



**Material:** Clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** 10,650-9600 cal. BP  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 3  
**Reference:** Zeidi et al., 2012:273, Fig. 8-1,2&3

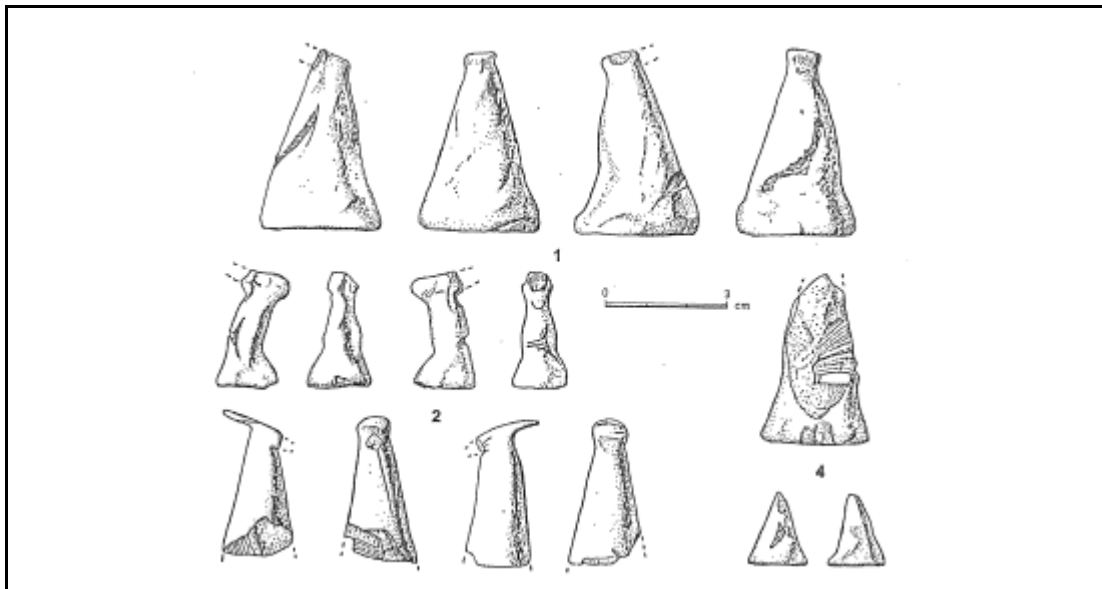
#### A.4.5 Chogha Sefid

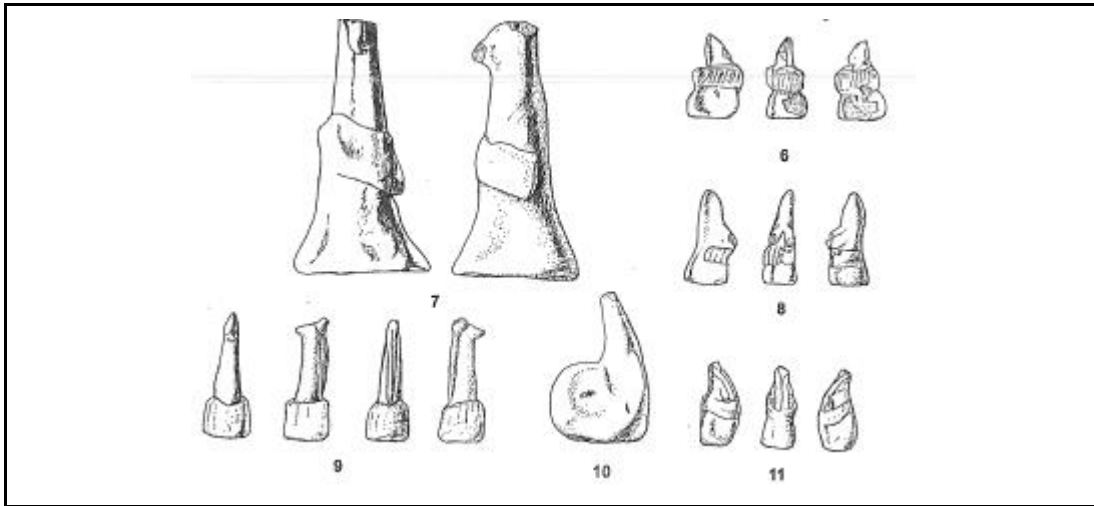




**Material:** Clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** LPPNB-PN  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4  
**Reference:** Hole, 1976:229-230, Fig.90-91

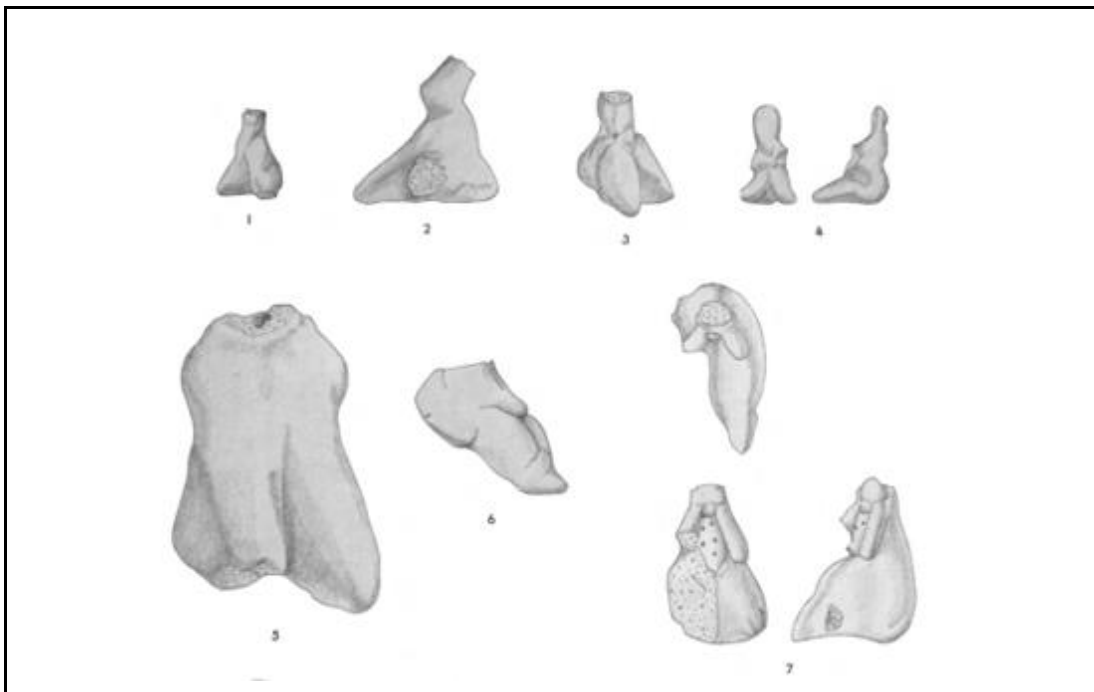
#### A.4.6 Ganj Dareh



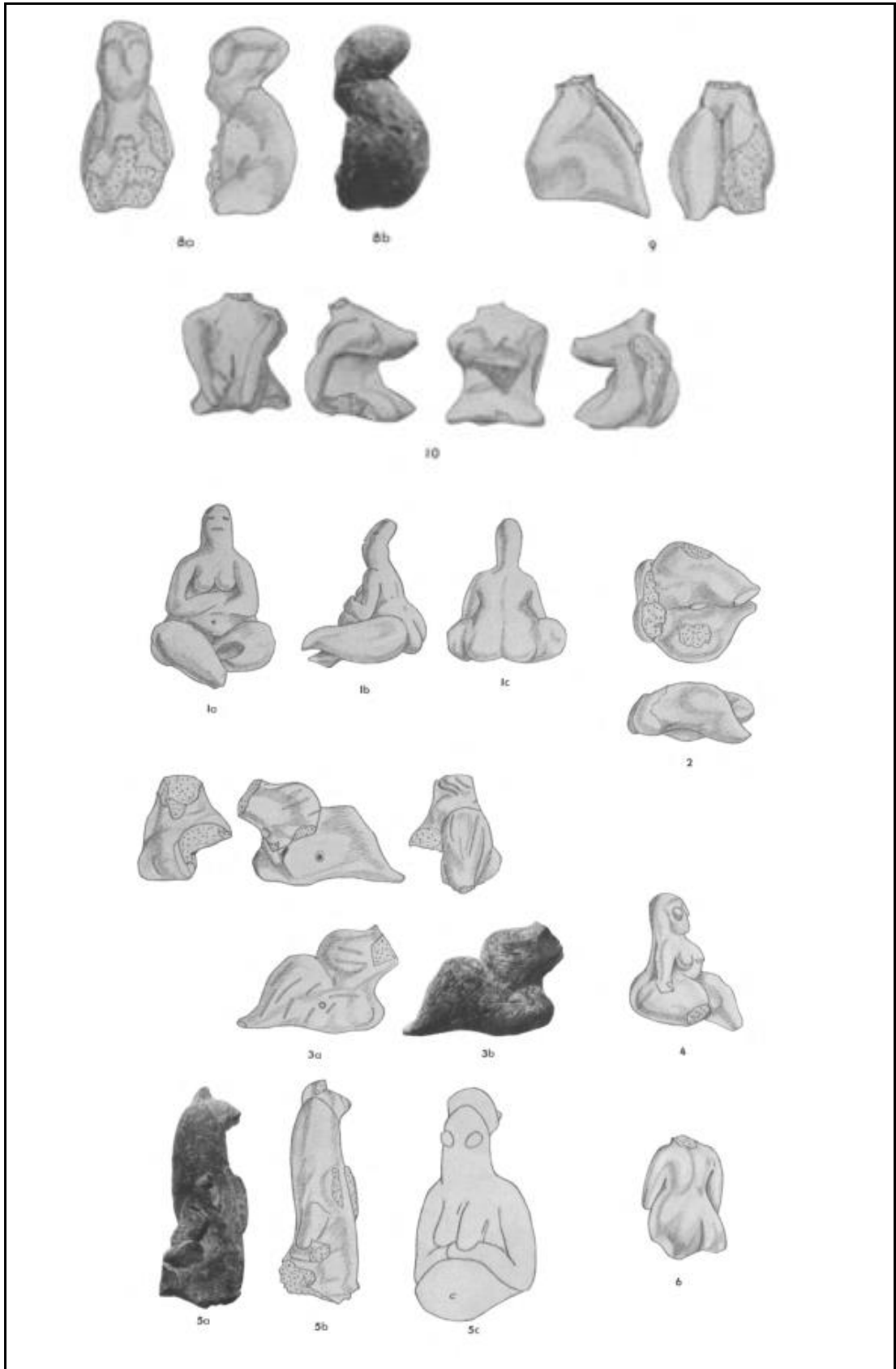


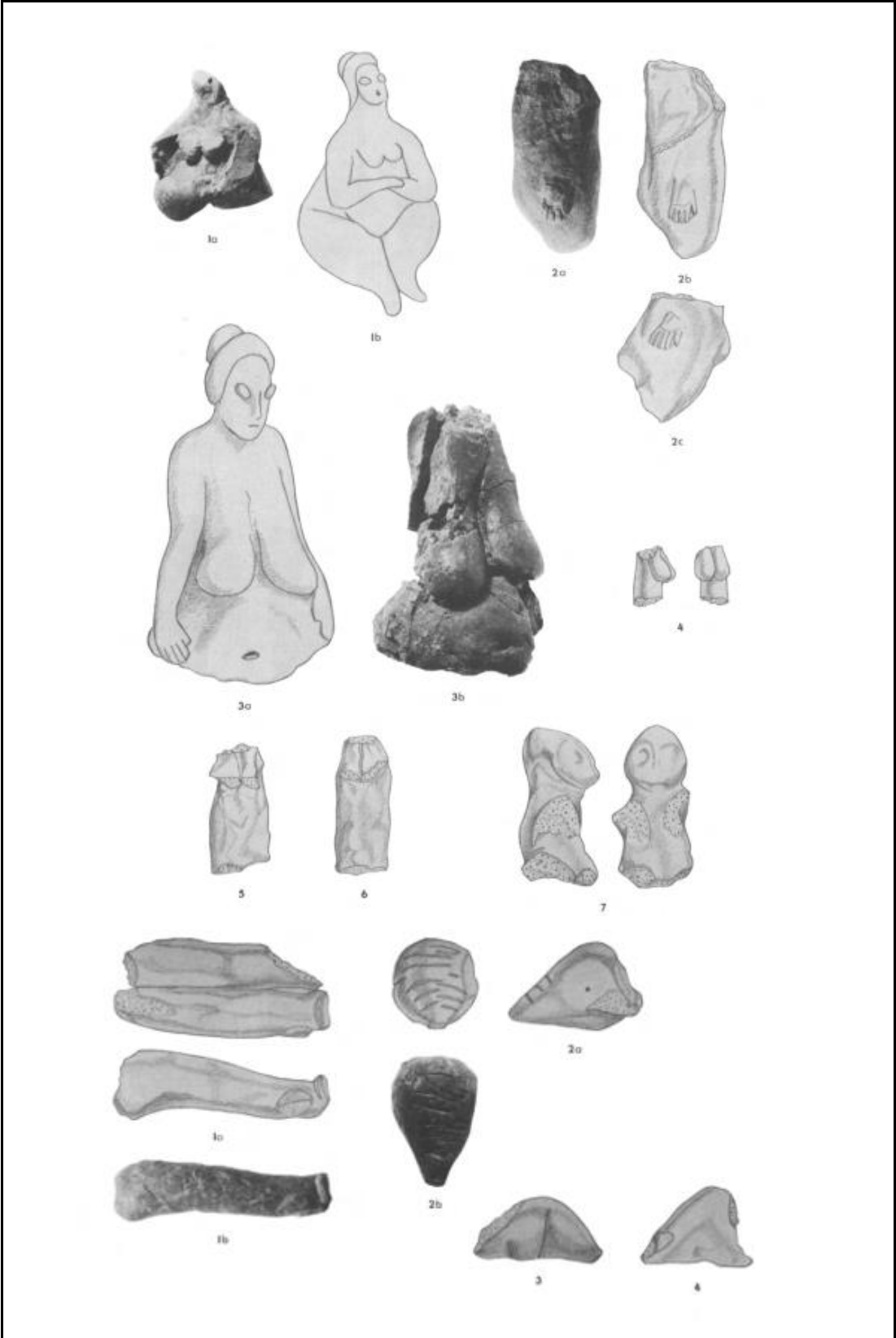
**Material:** Clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** 8100-7900 BC  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4  
**Reference:** Hansen, 2007b, Taf. 9

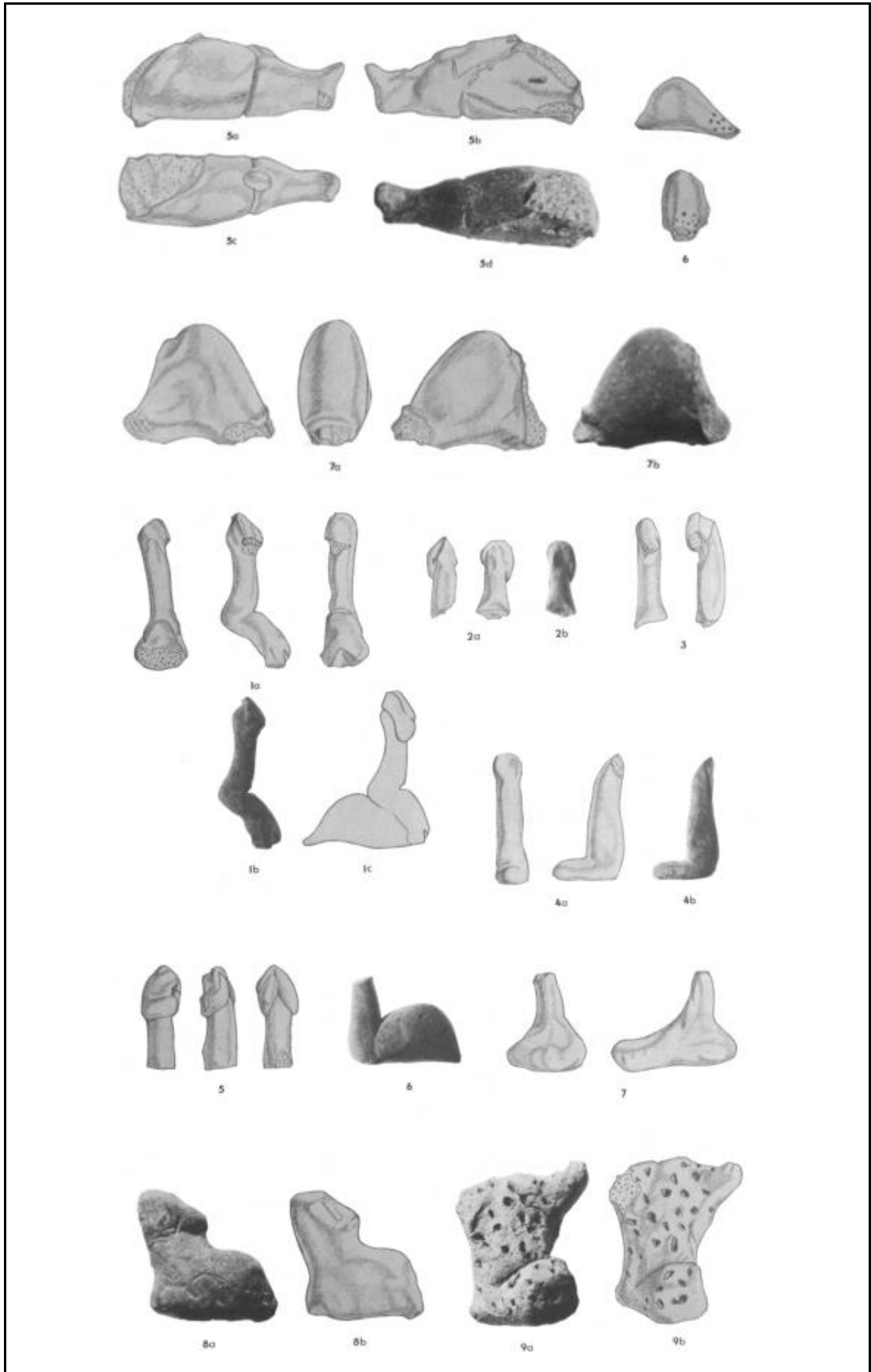
#### A.4.7 Jarmo

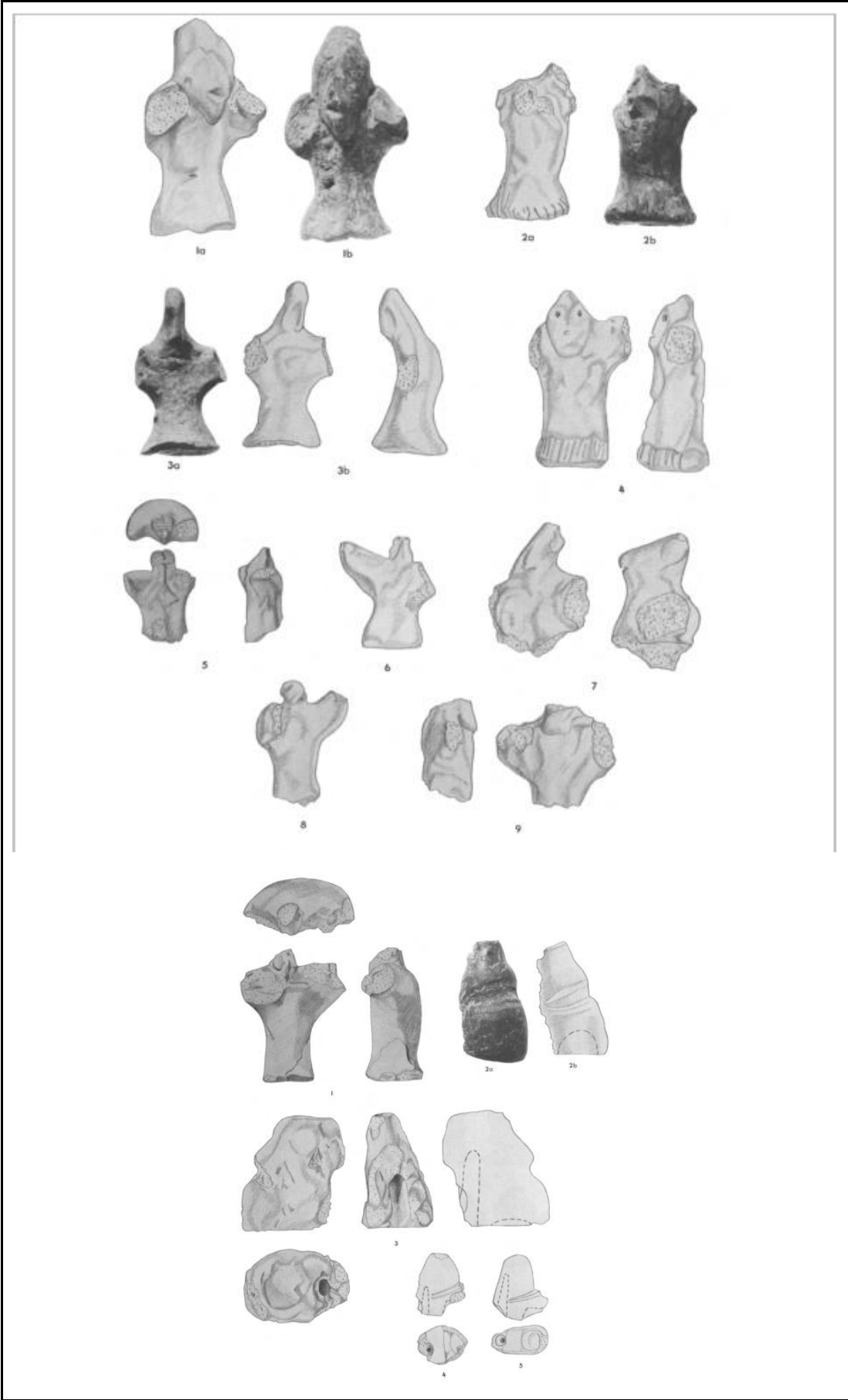


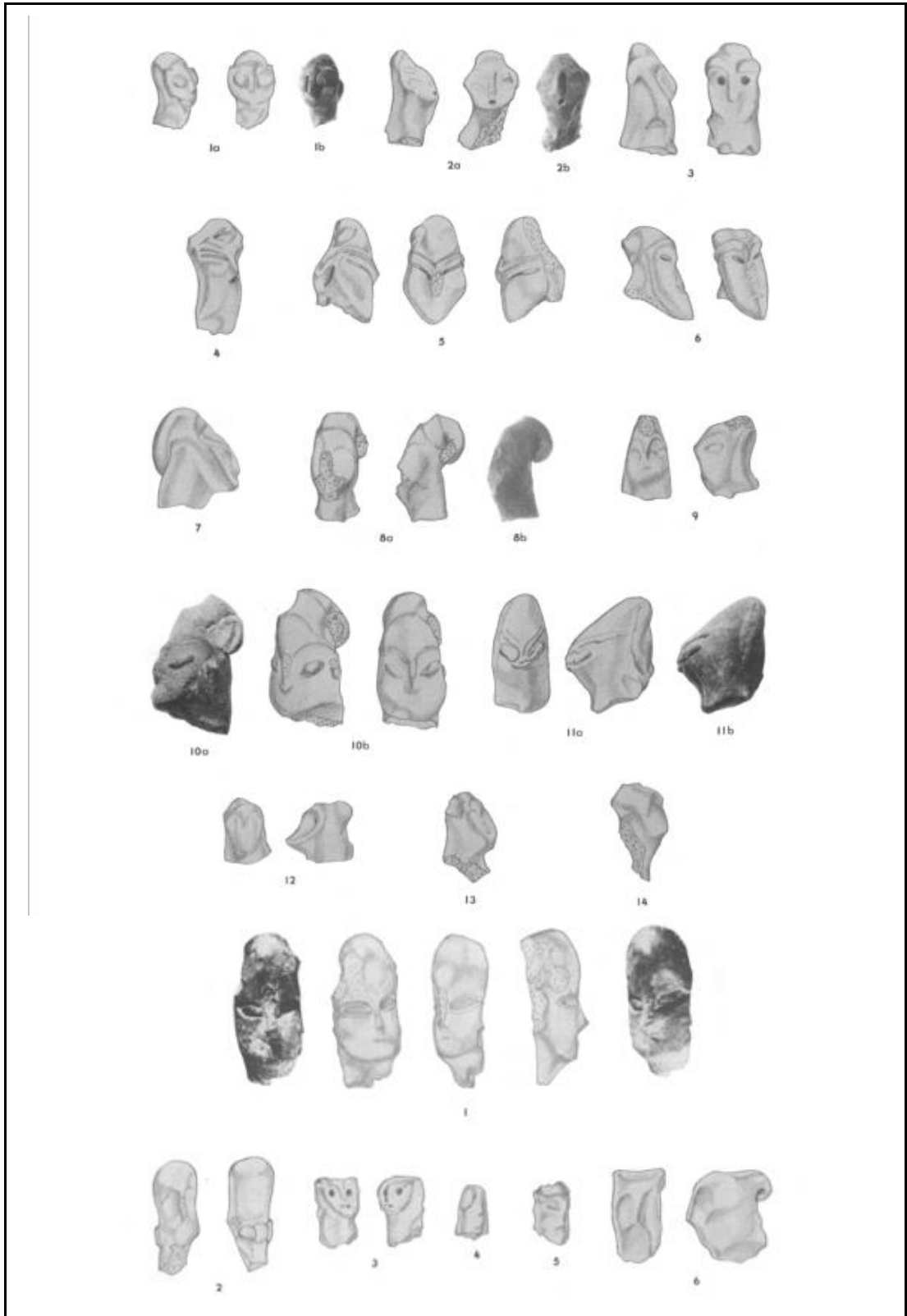


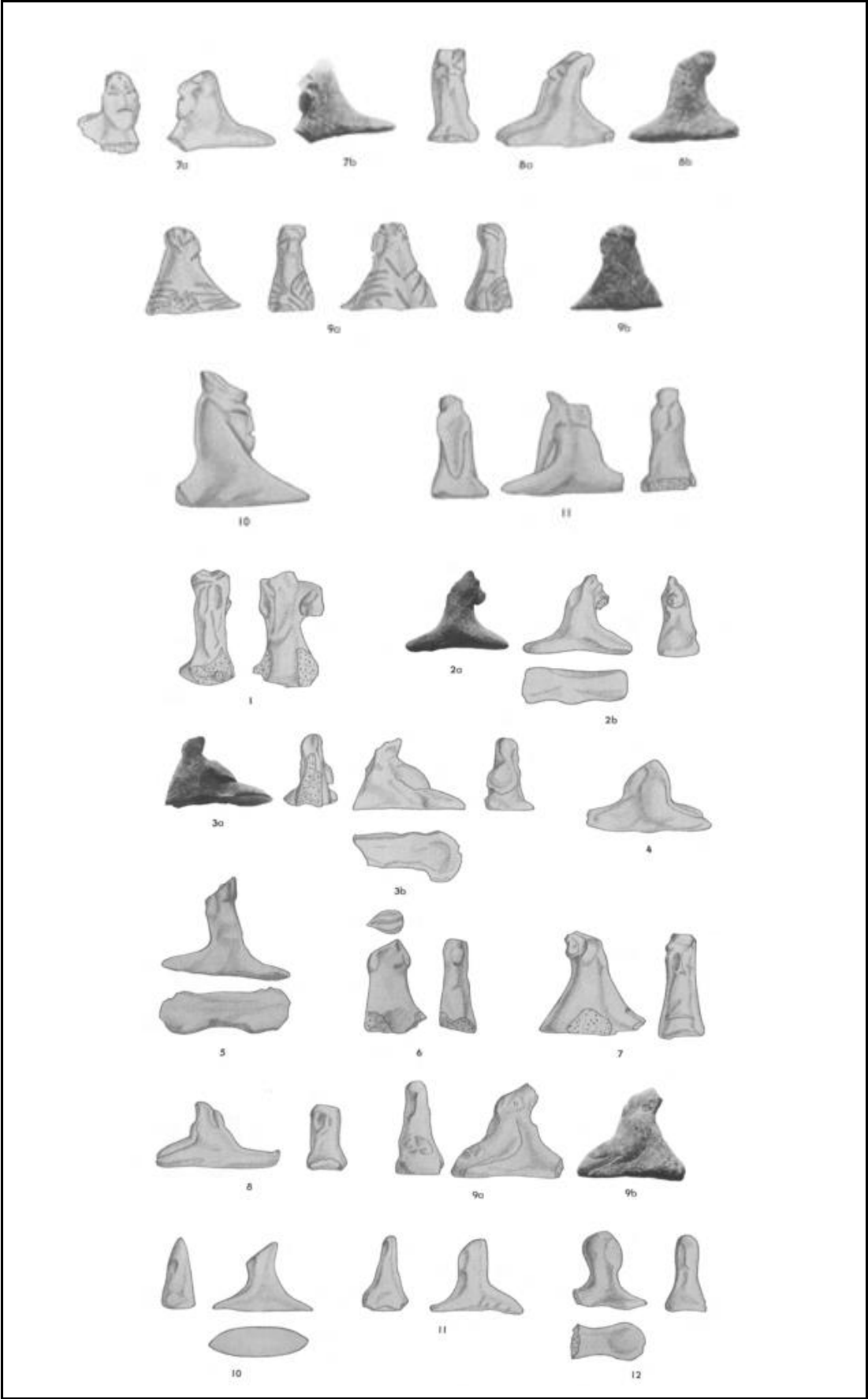


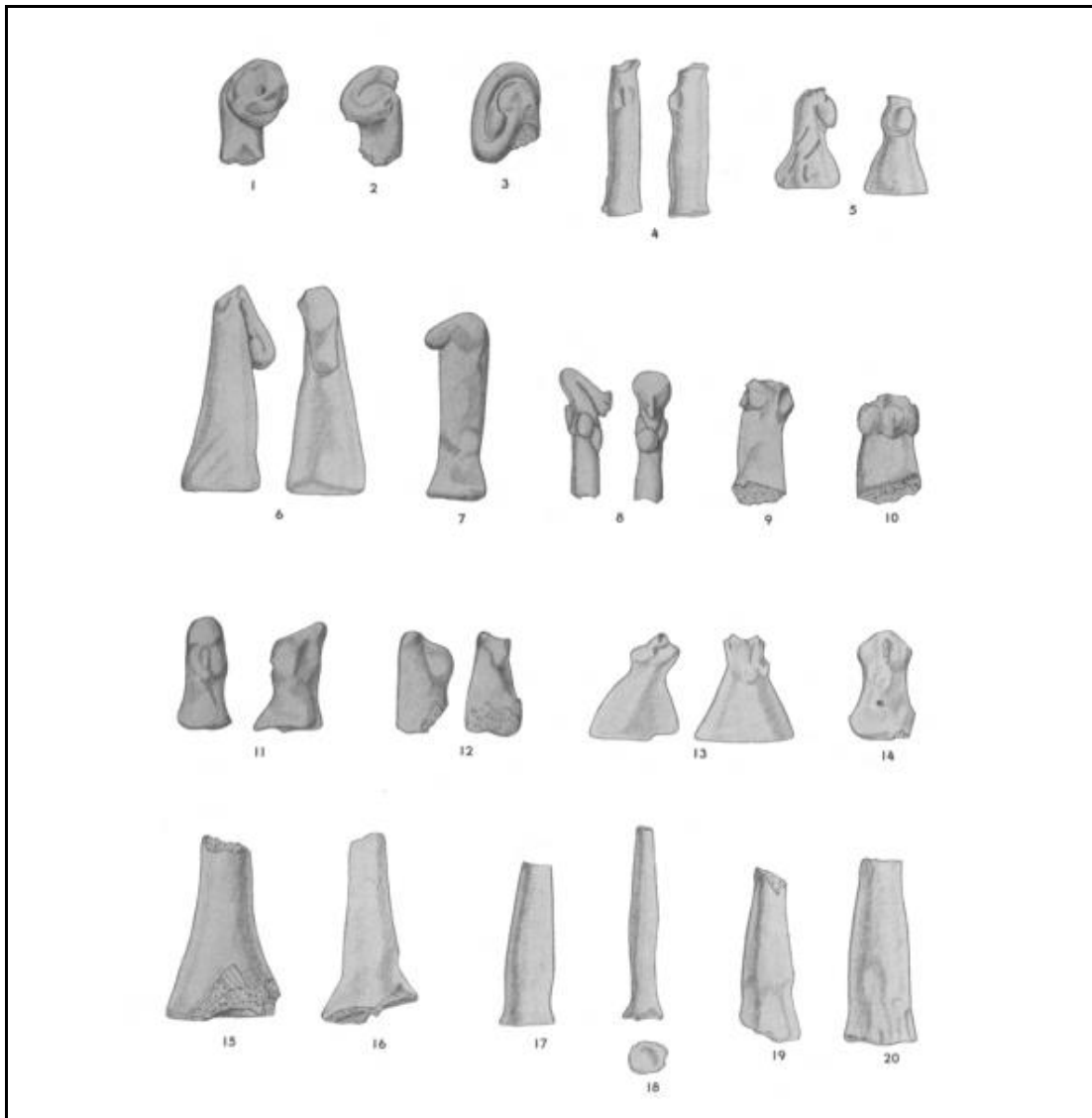









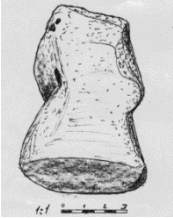





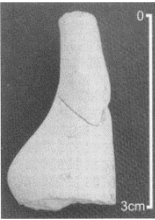
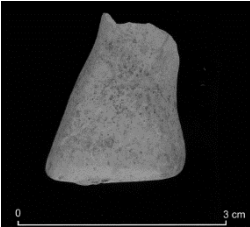
**Material:** Clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** LPPNB-PN  
**Context:** "Random distribution"  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5  
**Reference:** Morales, 1983, Fig. 156-167

## A.5 Central Anatolia

### A.5.1 Aşıklı Höyük

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked) <b>Measurement:</b> 34.1 x 13.7 x 7.4 mm <b>Period:</b> 8500 BCE <b>Context:</b> Domestic context (in the pit) <b>Type:</b> 4 <b>Reference:</b> Sönmez, 2018: 127, Şek. 5.9-left</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt <b>Measurement:</b> 80 mm <b>Period:</b> 7850 - 7550/7300 BCE <b>Context:</b> Domestic context <b>Type:</b> 4 <b>Reference:</b> Sönmez, 2018: 127, Şek. 5.9-right</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone <b>Measurement:</b> - <b>Period:</b> 8500 BCE <b>Context:</b> Domestic context <b>Type:</b> 3 <b>Reference:</b> Yelözer, 2022:477, Şek.4.10b</p>

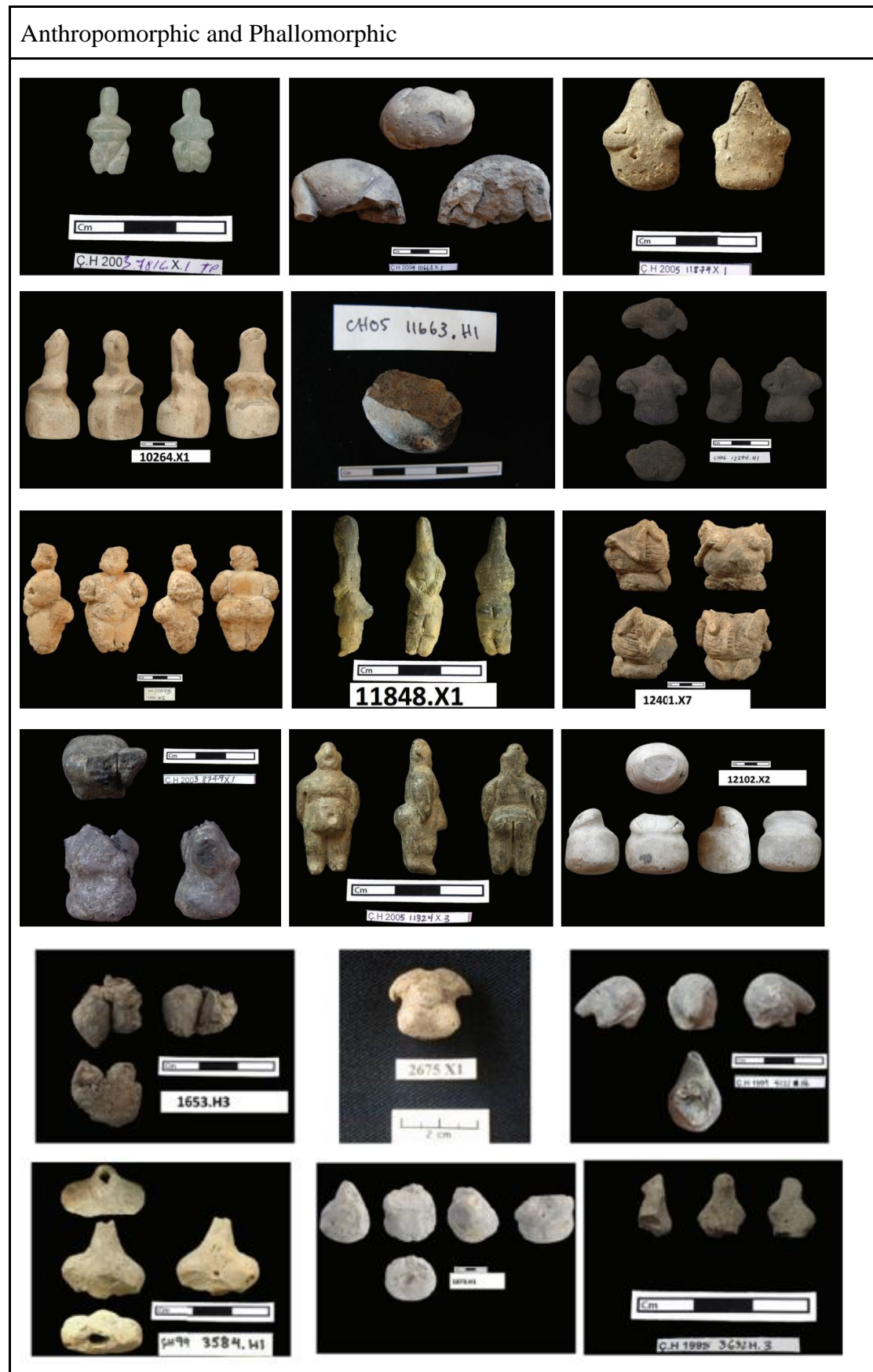
### A.5.2 Boncuklu Höyük

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay <b>Measurement:</b> 30 x 17 mm <b>Period:</b> PPNB <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 3 <b>Reference:</b> Baird, 2009:10</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay <b>Measurement:</b> - <b>Period:</b> PPNB <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 3 <b>Reference:</b> Fletcher et al., 2017:4, Fig.3</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Bennison-Chapman, 2014:208, Fig. 4.1-11</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> In the posthole, Building 21  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Baird et al., 2016:766, Fig.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone  <b>Measurement:</b> 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNB  <b>Context:</b> In and around the house contexts  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Baird, 2020:39</p>

### A.5.3 Çatalhöyük

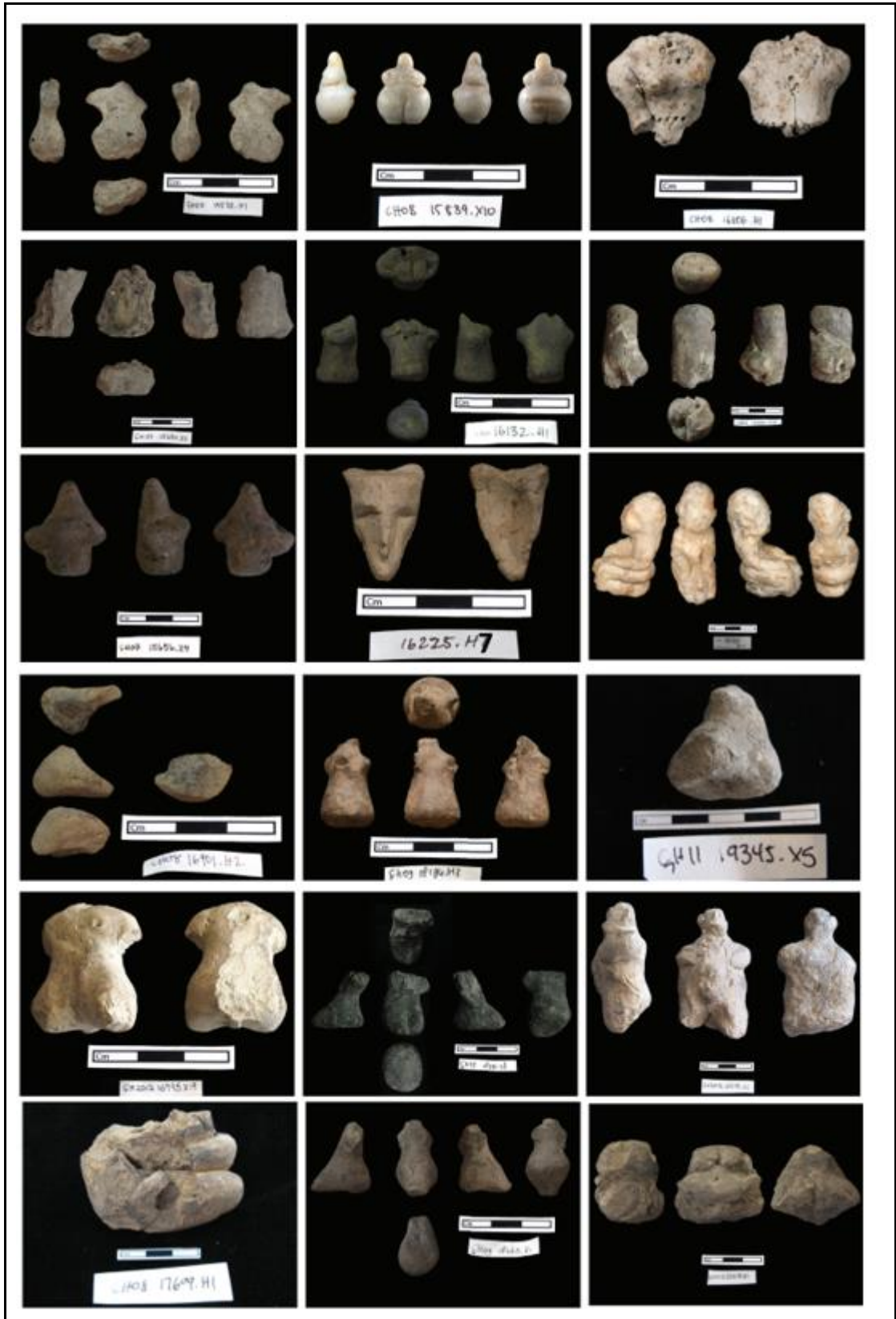










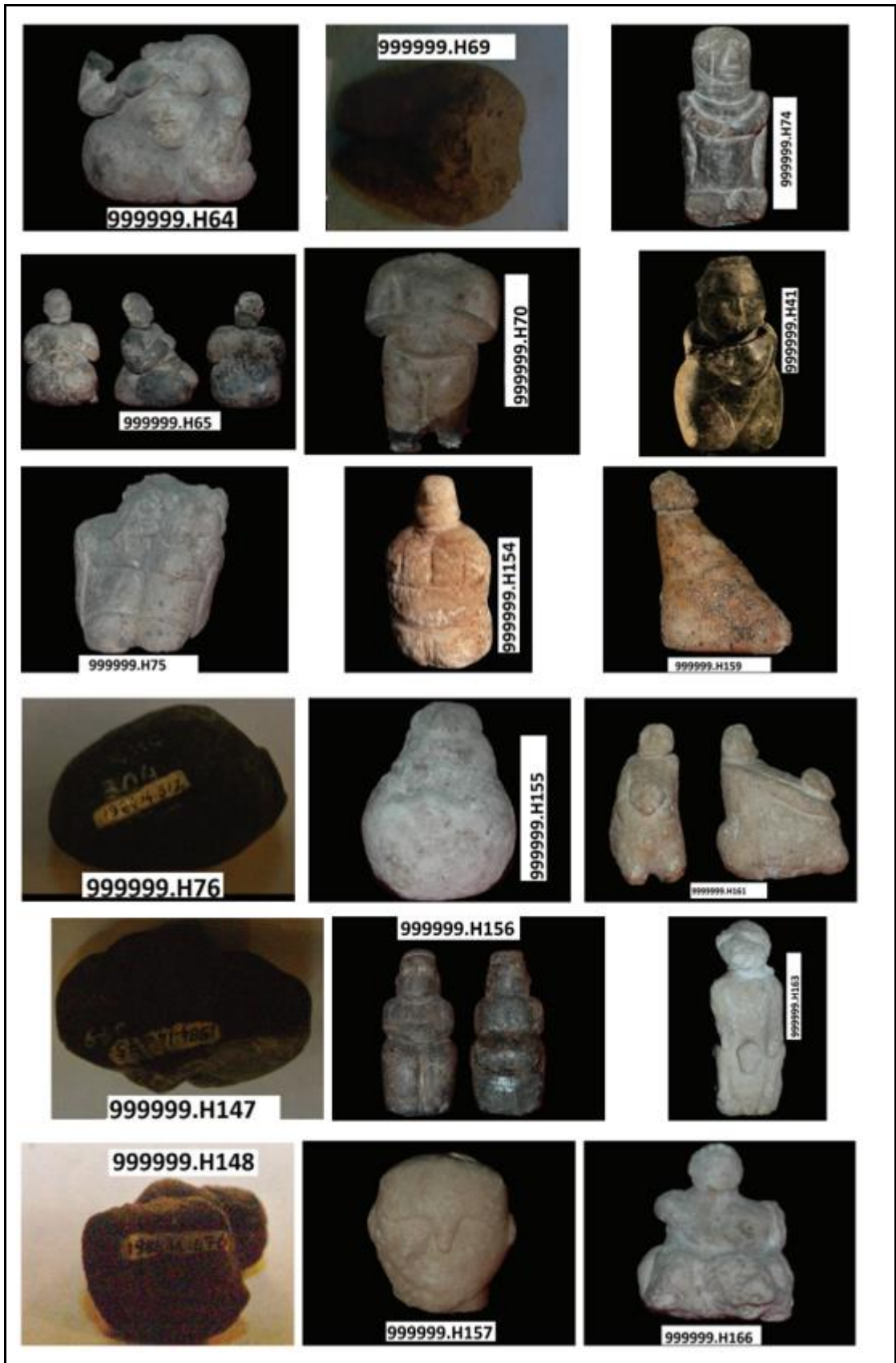
















**Material:** Clay and stone

**Measurement:** -

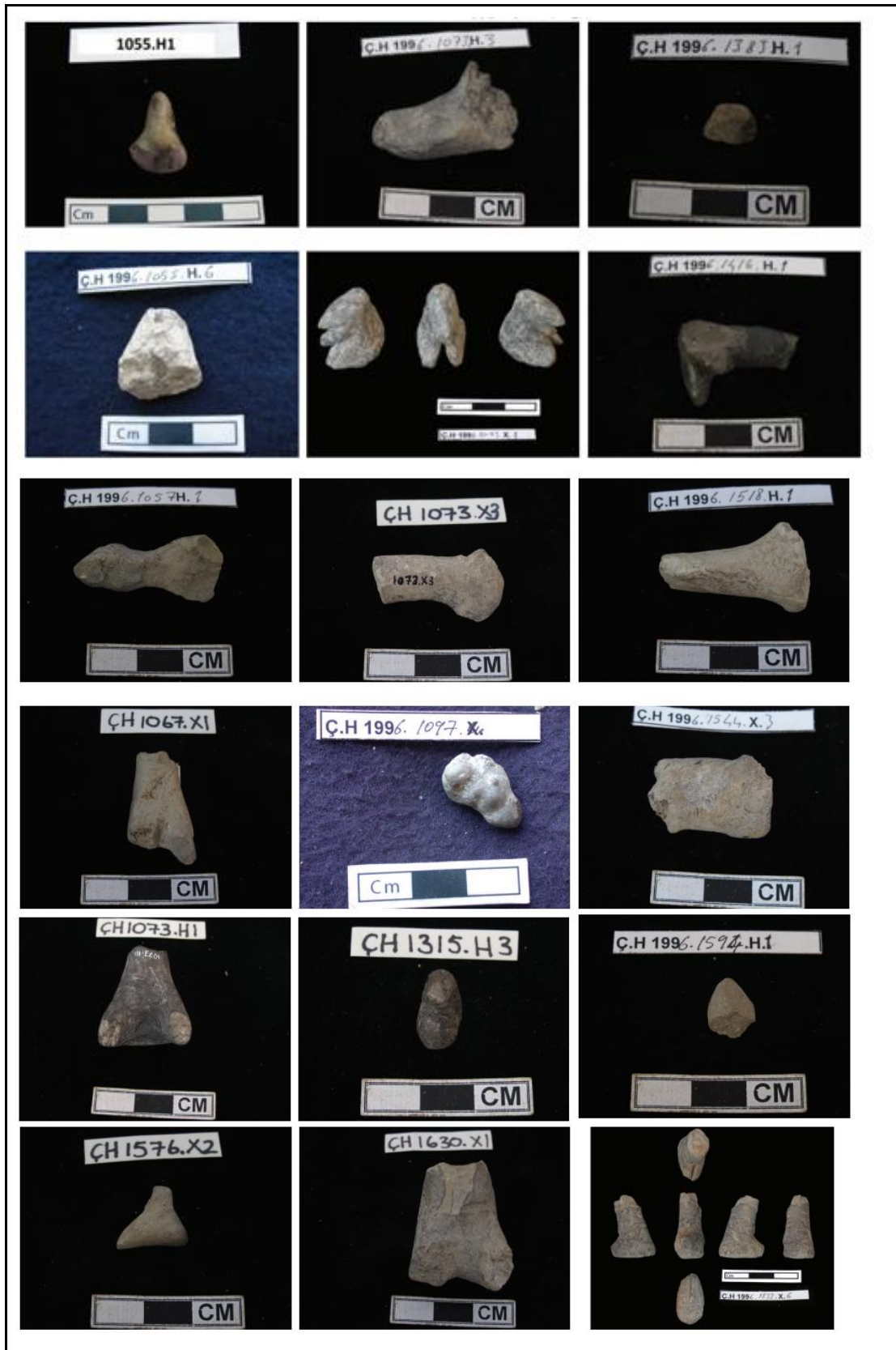
**Period:** 7100-5900 BCE

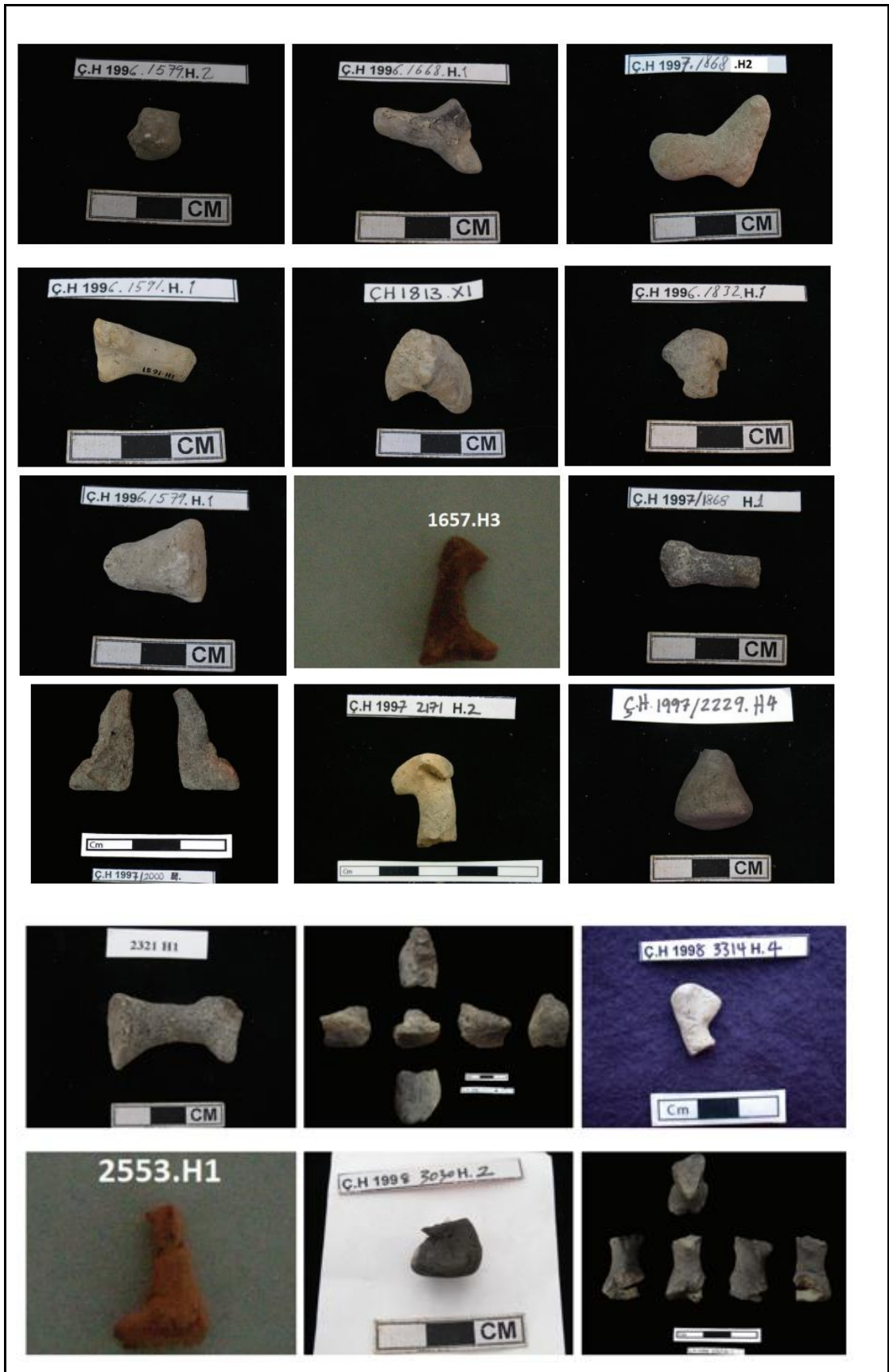
**Context:** Middens, room fills, platforms, burials, pits...

**Reference:** Arntz, 2022:308-338

Abbreviated







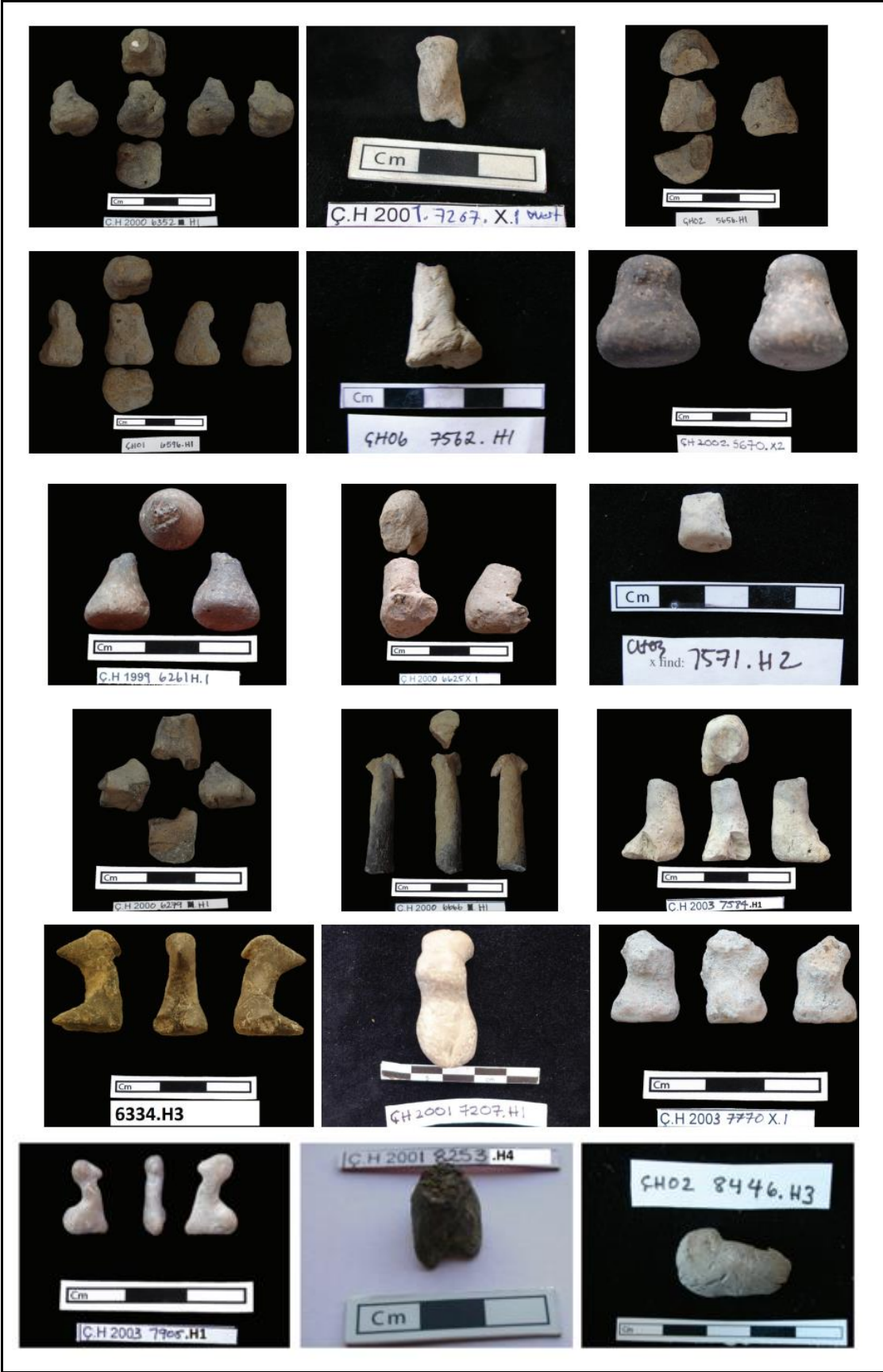






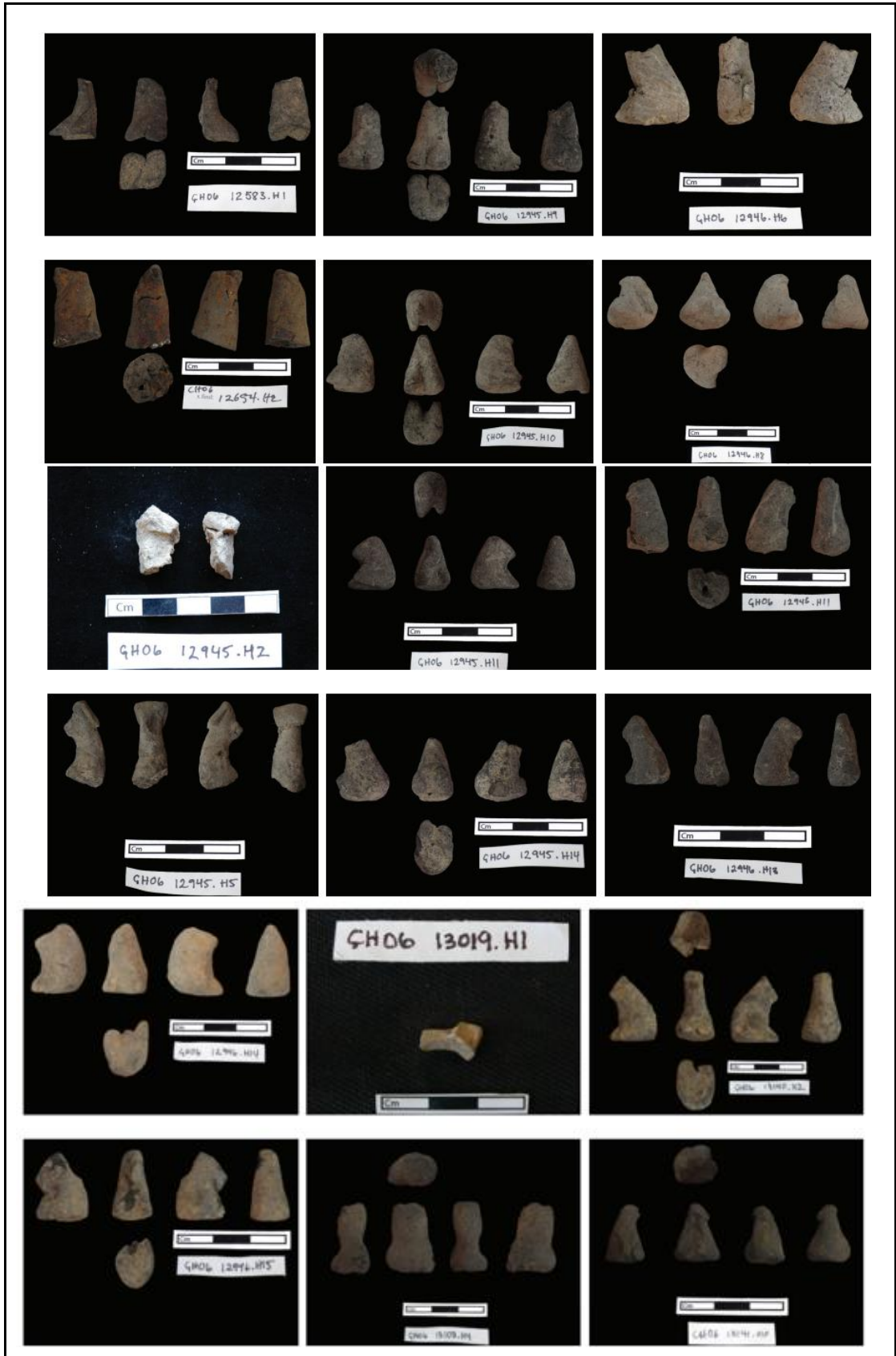






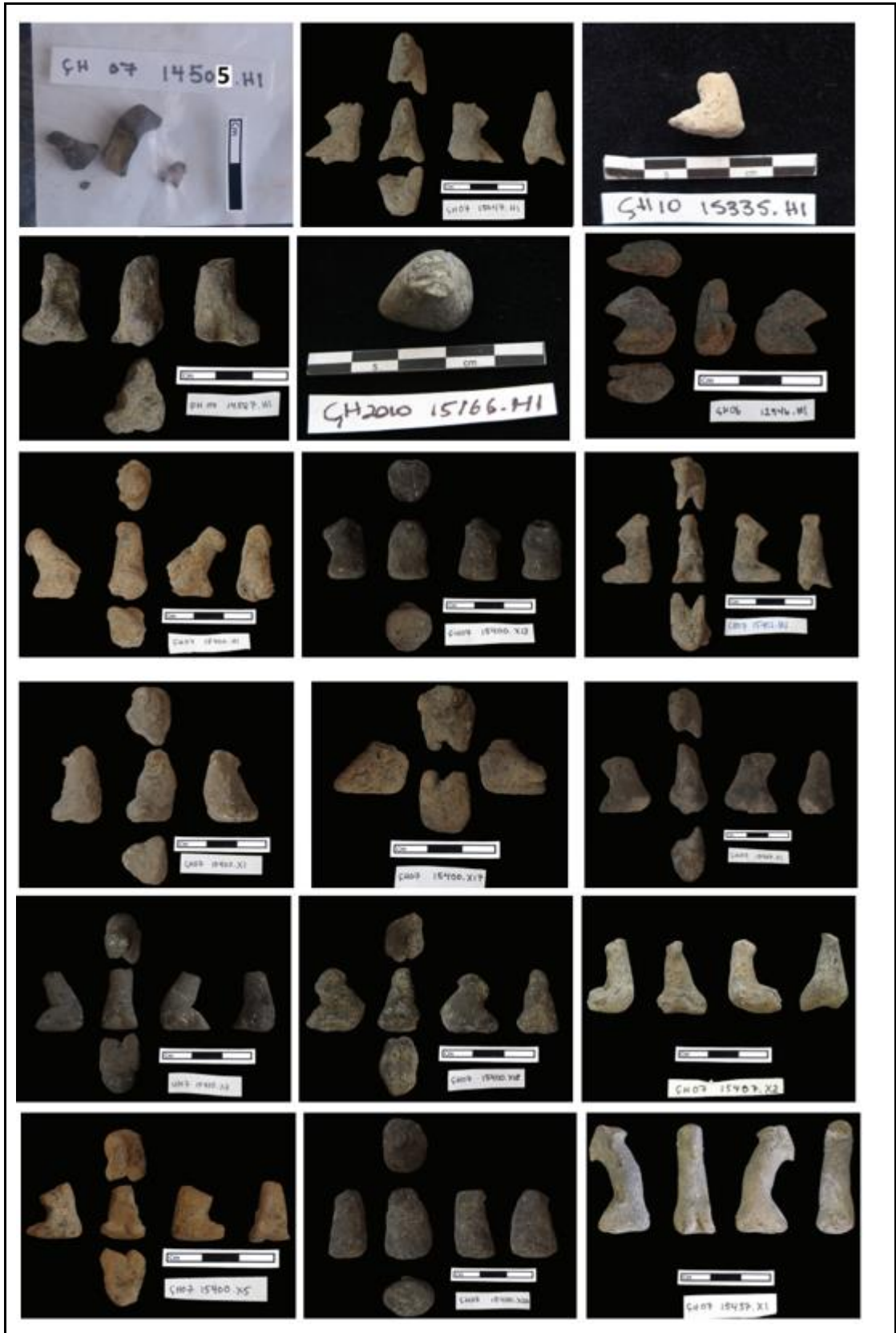




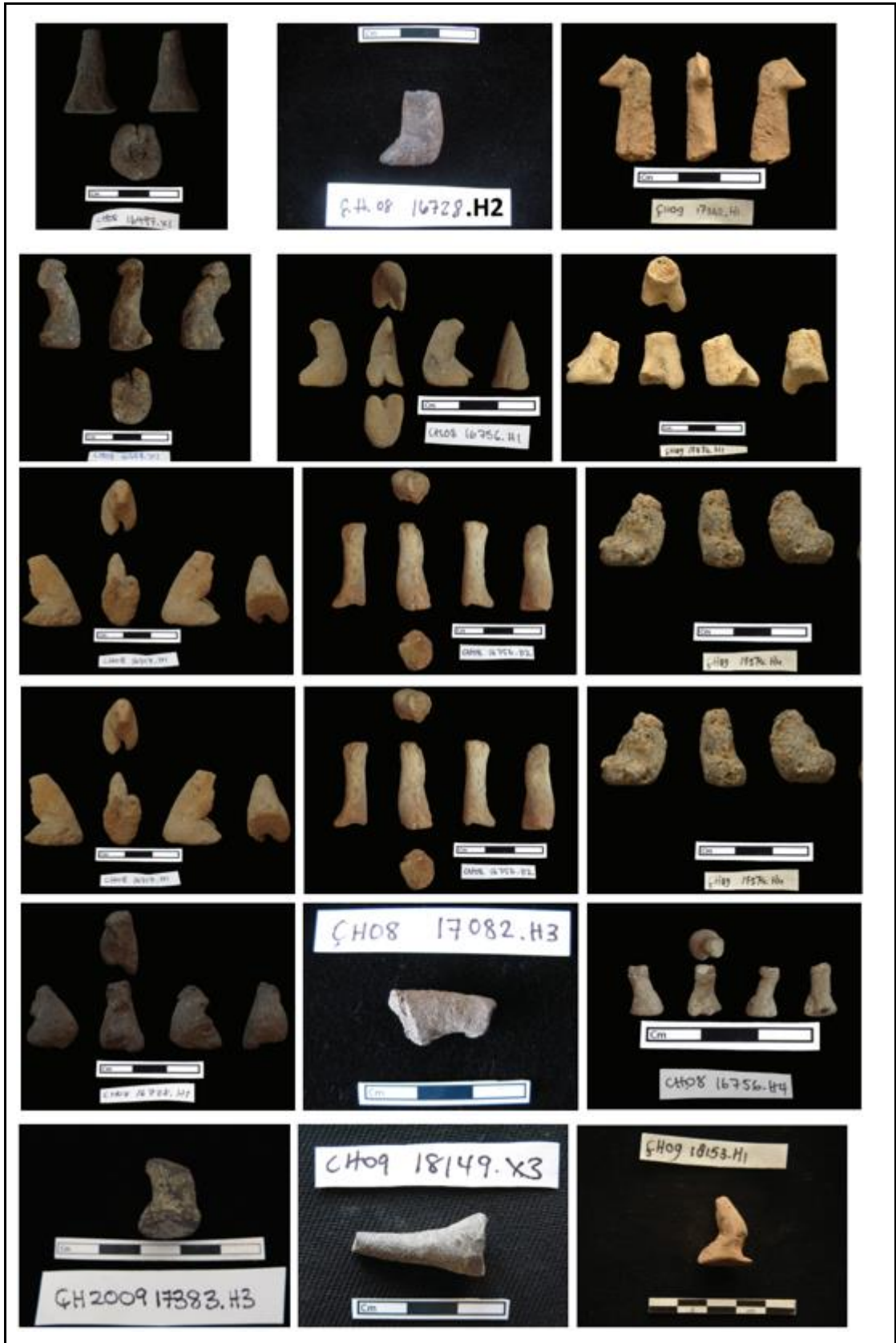


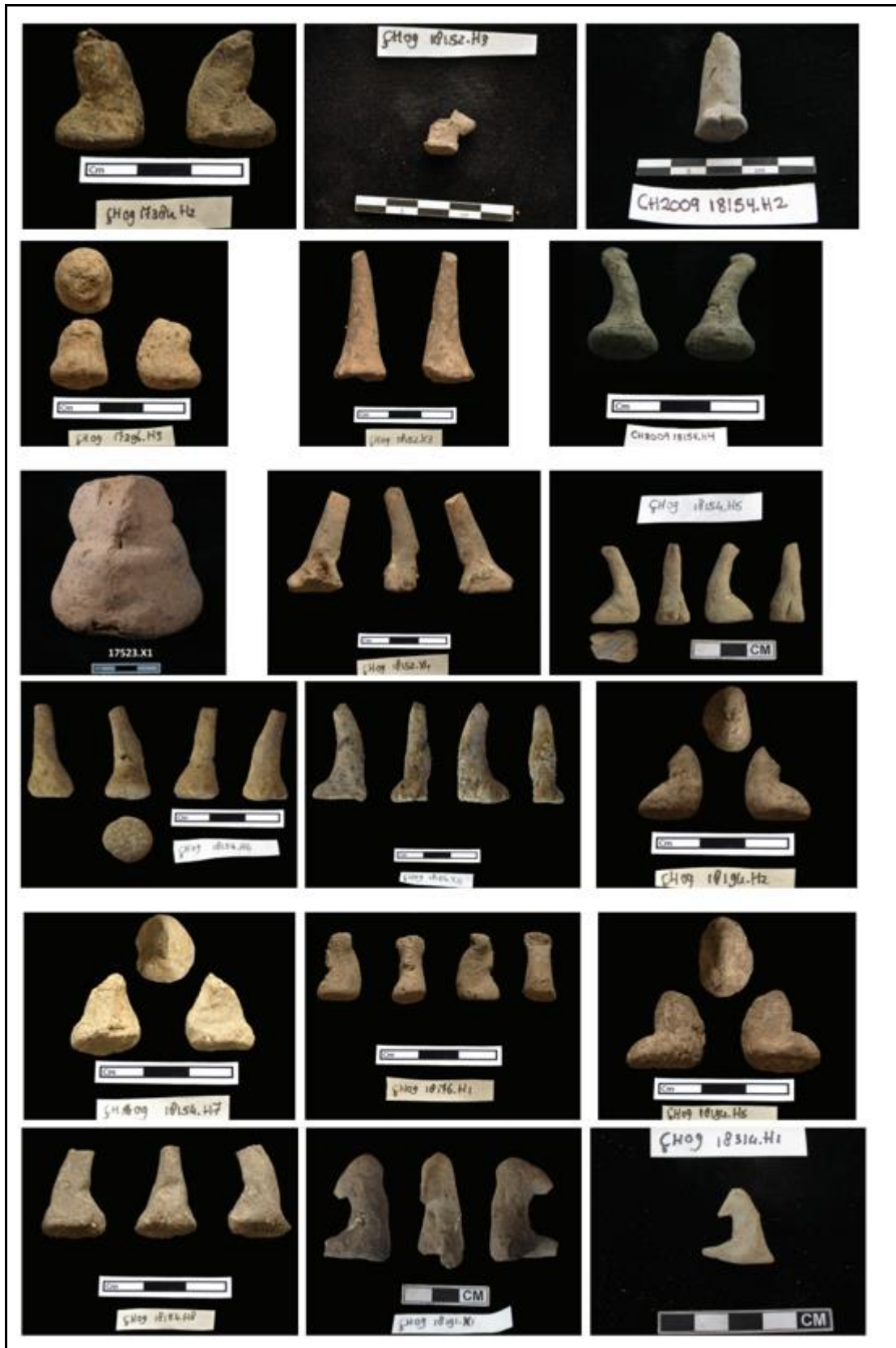
















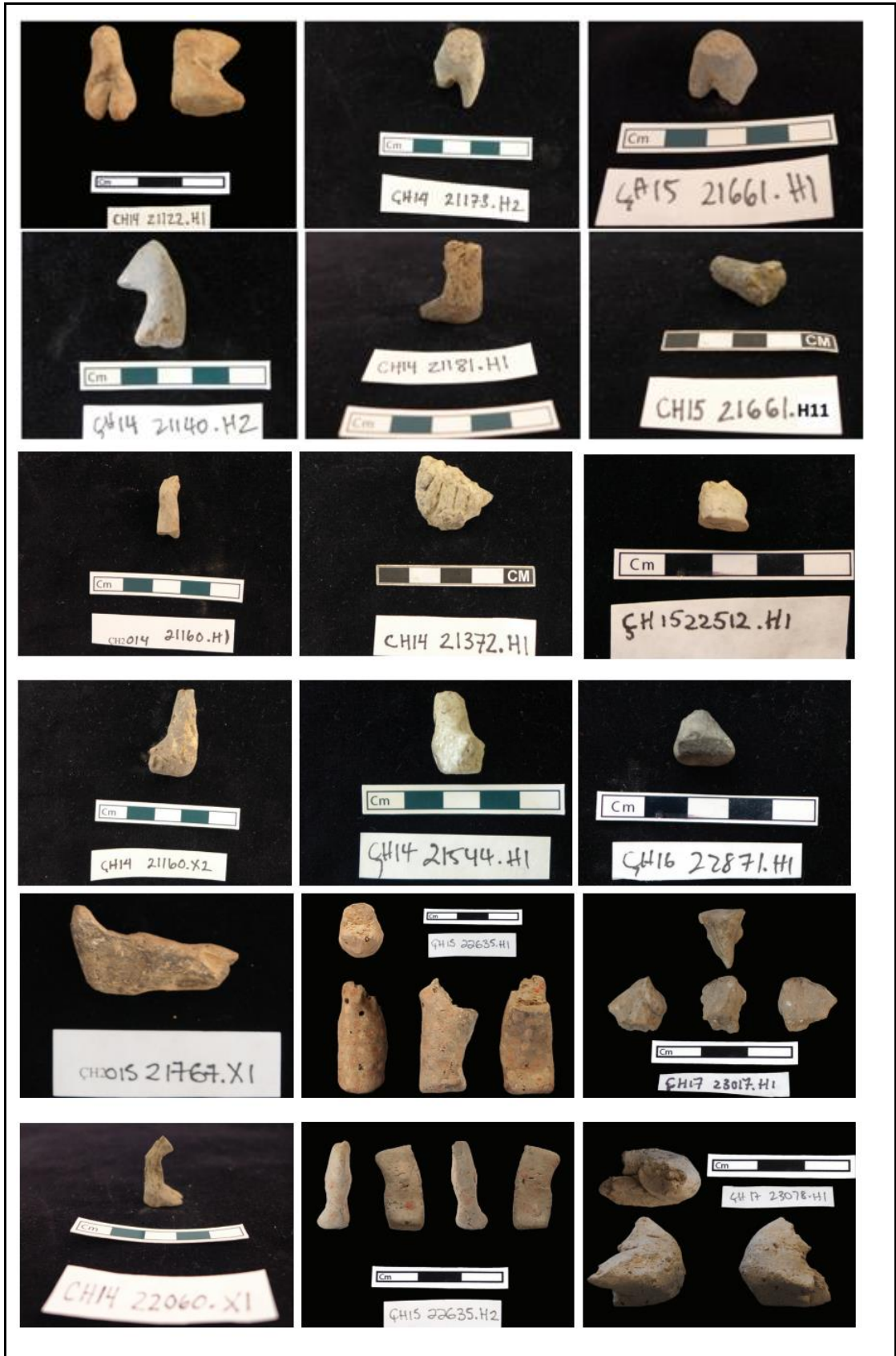




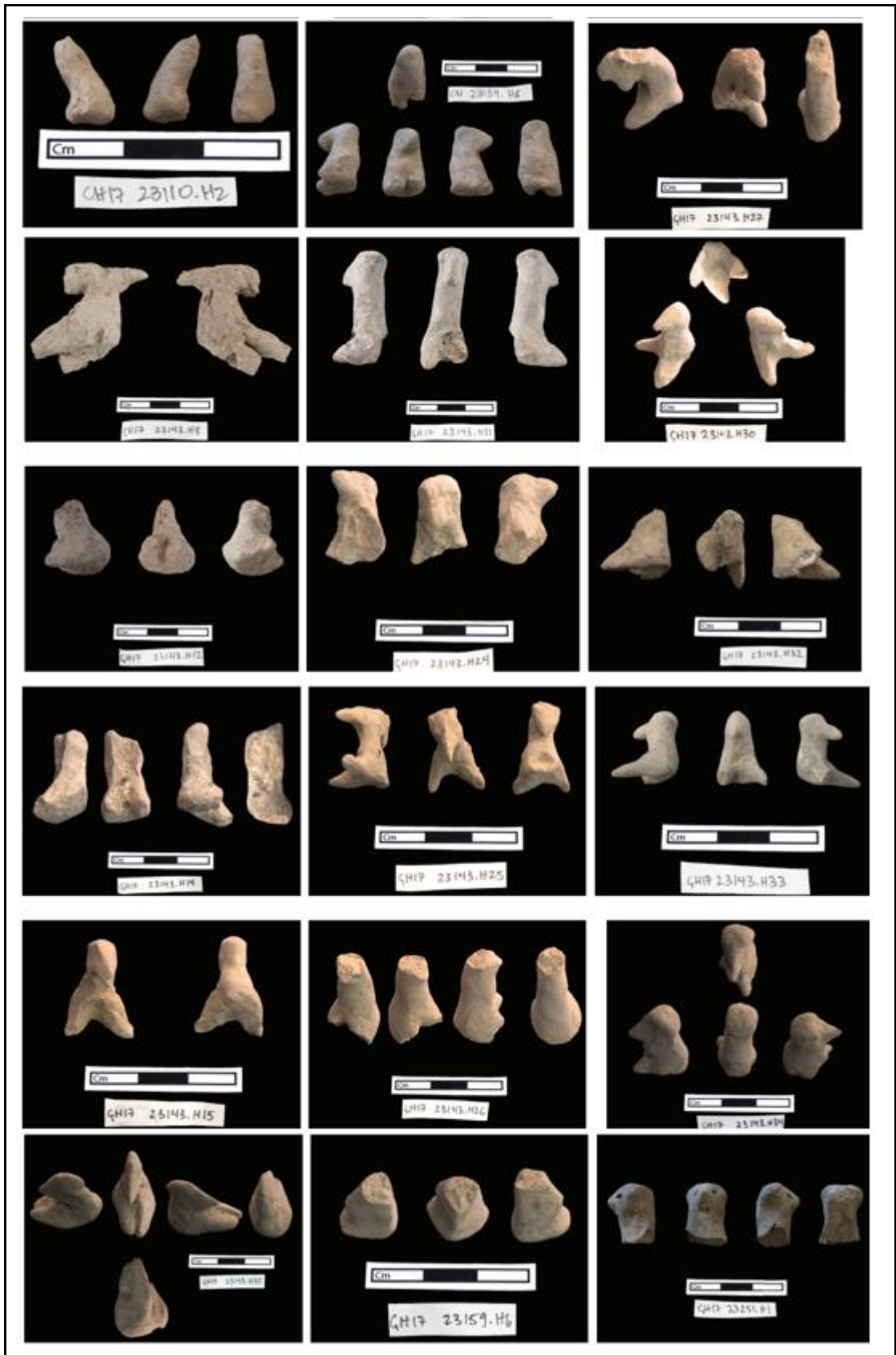






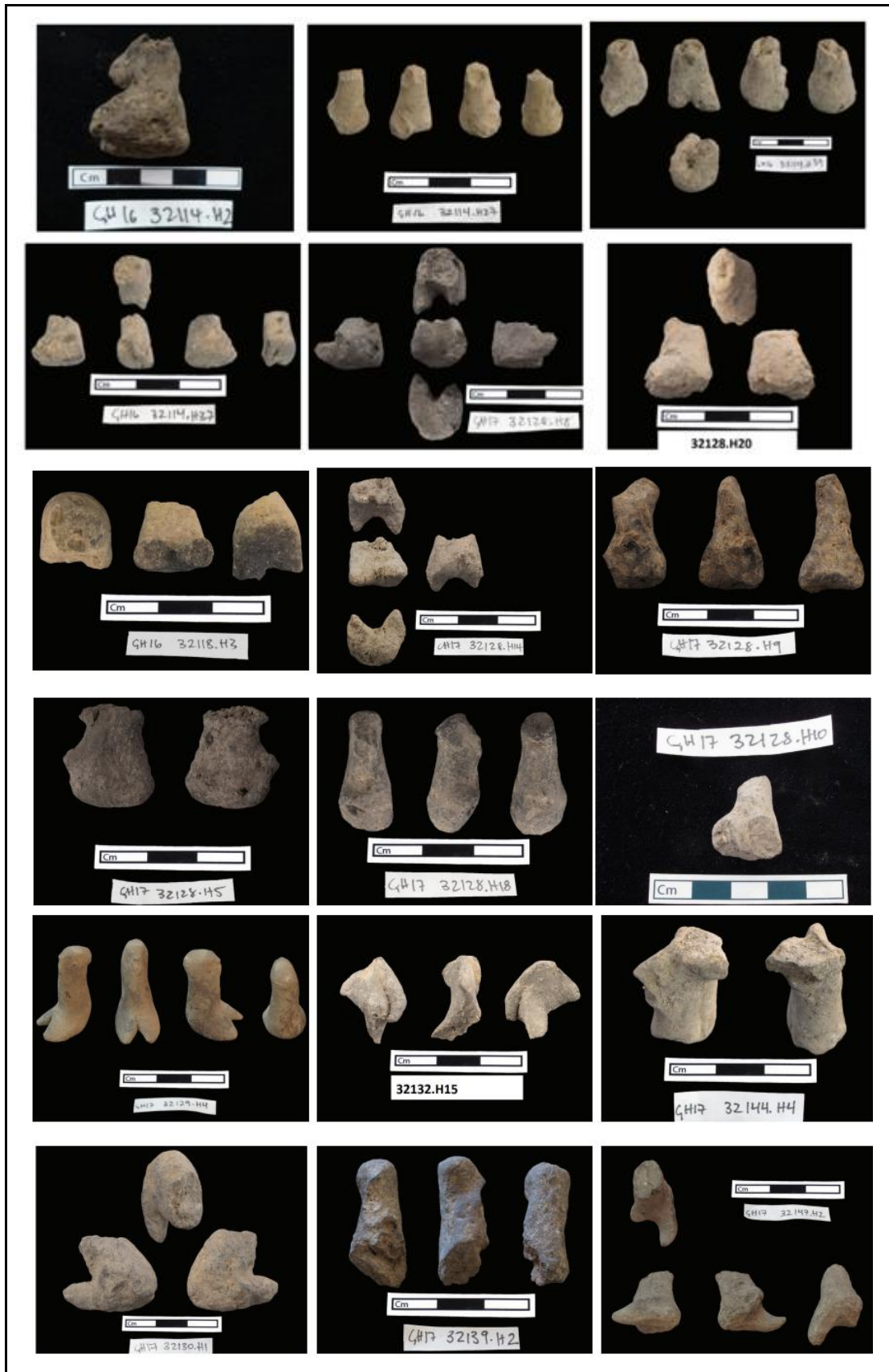




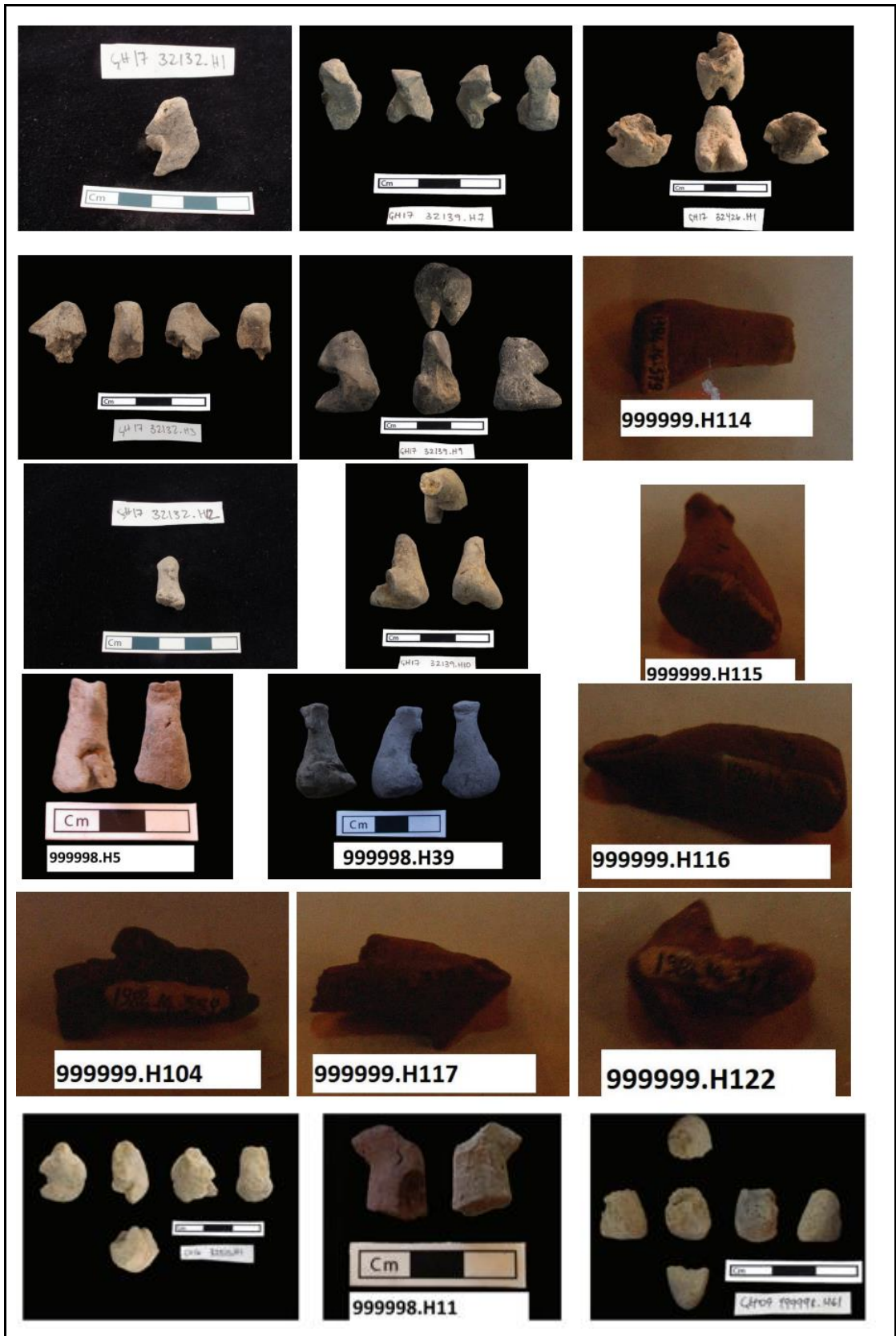


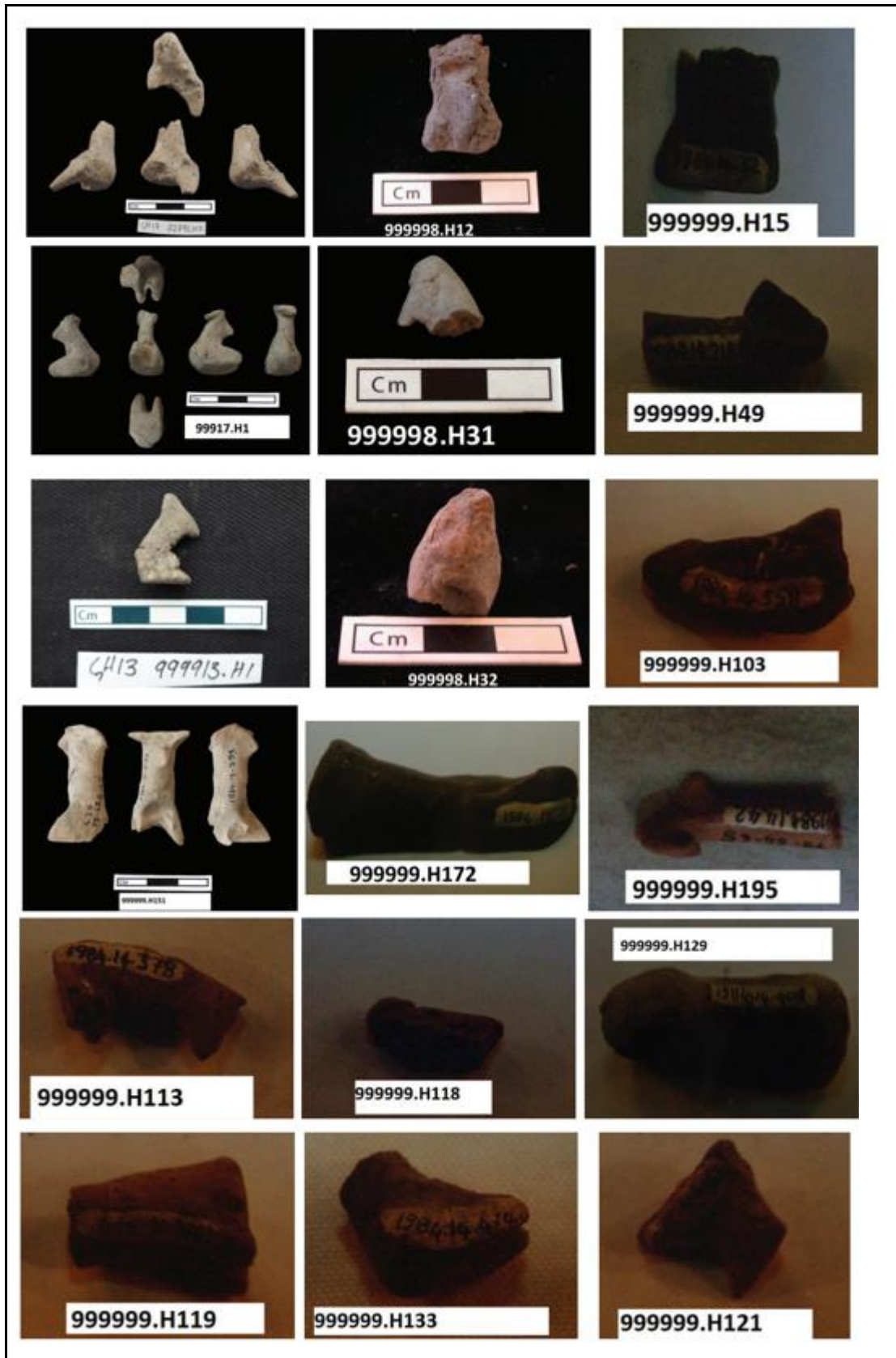


















**Material:** Clay and stone  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** PPNB-PN  
**Context:** -  
**Type:** 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7  
**Reference:** Arntz, 2022:221-309



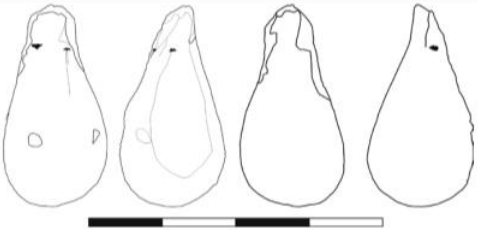
**Material:** Clay  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** PN  
**Context:** Open space, midden  
**Type:** 4  
**Reference:** Çilingiroğlu et al., 2022:526, Res.4




**Material:** Bone  
**Measurement:** -  
**Period:** 6500-6300 BC  
**Context:** Most of them are from domestic contexts (storage rooms) and one of them is from the ritual context (between the buildings)  
**Type:** 3  
**Reference:** Pawlowska & Baranski, 2020:18, Fig.3

## A.6 Mediterranean Anatolia

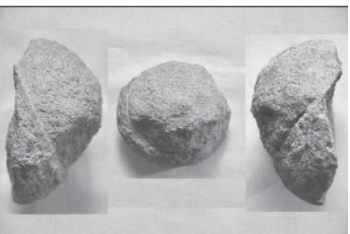

### A.6.1 Direkli Cave

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked) <b>Measurement:</b> 27 x 14 mm <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic (10.730 cal. BC) <b>Context:</b> Near burial context <b>Type:</b> 3 <b>Reference:</b> Erek, 2014:161, Fig. 3</p>
---	--

### A.6.2 Karain Cave




	<p><b>Material:</b> Bone <b>Measurement:</b> 61 mm <b>Period:</b> Mesolithic <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 2 <b>Reference:</b> Bilgi, 2012:30, 1</p>
--	---

### A.6.3 Kızilin



	<p><b>Material:</b> Sandstone <b>Measurement:</b> - <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 5 <b>Reference:</b> Demirel et al., 2019b:233, Res.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Sandstone <b>Measurement:</b> - <b>Period:</b> Epipaleolithic <b>Context:</b> - <b>Type:</b> 7 <b>Reference:</b> Demirel et al., 2019b:234, Res.10</p>

## A.7 Cyprus



### A.7.1 Ayia Varvara – Asprokremnos

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (8850/8750-8650/8550)  <b>Context:</b> Burnt sediment unit covering the abandoned structure  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (8850/8750-8650/8550)  <b>Context:</b> Natural channel (fill)  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 135 mm  <b>Period:</b> PPNA (8850/8750-8650/8550)  <b>Context:</b> A cache including further stone artifacts, deposited as part of a closure act at the final use of a structure  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.3</p>


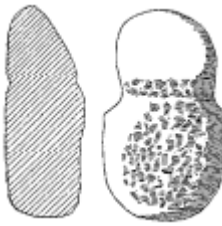

### A.7.2 Kalavassos – Tenta

	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 88 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800 cal BC)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 66 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800 cal BC)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.10</p>


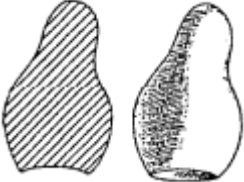



### A.7.3 Kataliontas - Kourvellos

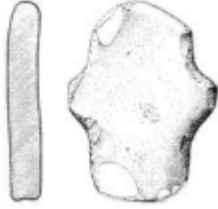
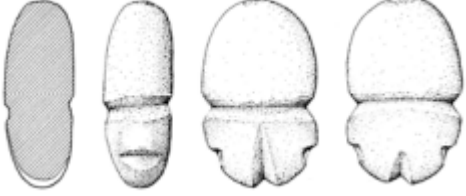
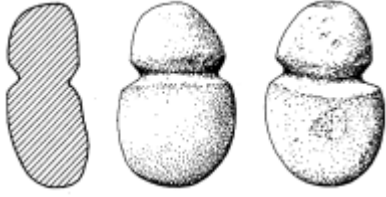



	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 99 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.12</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.8</p>


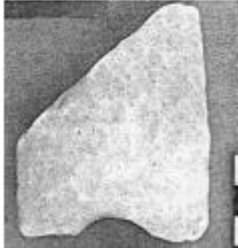
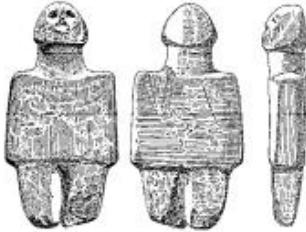

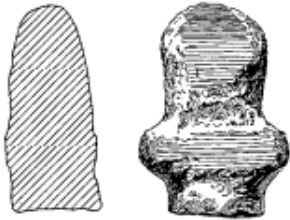
### A.7.4 Khirokitia - Vouni




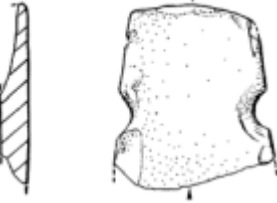

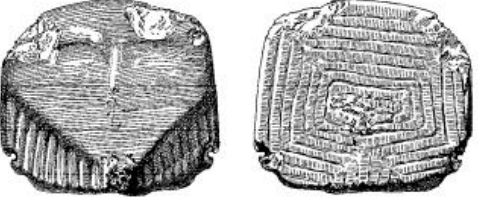
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 75 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.13</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 160 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.14</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 158 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.15</p>

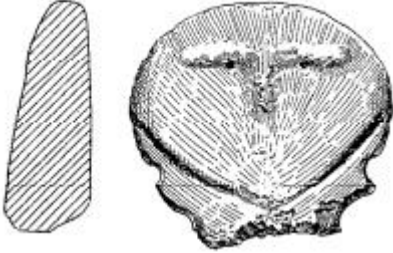

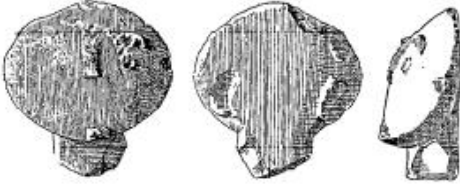


	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.16</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.17</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite or diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 145 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.18</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 158 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> -  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.19</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.20</p>



	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 85 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.9</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesit  <b>Measurement:</b> 58 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.10</p>

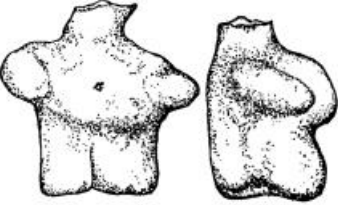

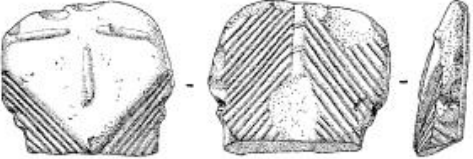
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesit  <b>Measurement:</b> 60 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.11</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Alabaster  <b>Measurement:</b> 75 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Burial context  <b>Type:</b> Type: 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.12</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite or Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 190 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.13</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (unbaked)  <b>Measurement:</b> 105 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.14</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 58 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.15</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone  <b>Measurement:</b> 70 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.16</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 180 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.17</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period II)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.2</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 135 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.3</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 90 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.9</p>

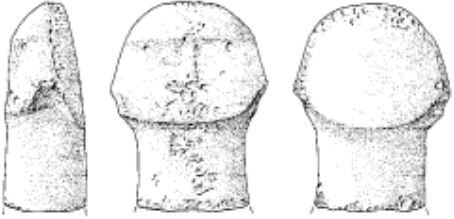

	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 75 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.10</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 65 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200) (Period III)  <b>Context:</b> Open space  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.11</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Andesite  <b>Measurement:</b> 100 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.12</p>

#### A.7.5 Kholetria - Ortos



	<p><b>Material:</b> Basalt  <b>Measurement:</b> 100 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Pit  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.6</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Clay (baked)  <b>Measurement:</b> -  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 3  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.5</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 65 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.13</p>


#### A.7.6 Kissonerga - Mosphilia

	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 94 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (6500-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Pit  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.4.1</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 106 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (6500-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Surface find  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.4.2</p>



#### A.7.7 Kissonerga - Mylouthkia


	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk / calcarenite  <b>Measurement:</b> 82 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800)  <b>Context:</b> Burial context (well)  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Chalk / calcarenite  <b>Measurement:</b> 99 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800)  <b>Context:</b> Pit  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.8</p>

#### A.7.8 Kritou Marottou - Ais Yiorkis



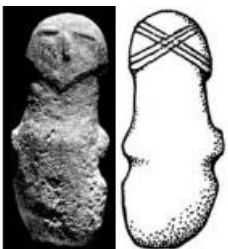
	<p><b>Material:</b> Limestone  <b>Measurement:</b> 80 mm  <b>Period:</b> 7960-7180 cal BC  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.11</p>
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#### A.7.9 Parekklisha - Shillourokambos

	<p><b>Material:</b> Plaster  <b>Measurement:</b> 55 mm  <b>Period:</b> MPPNB (7900-7600)  <b>Context:</b> From the fill of one of the abandoned wells of the site  <b>Type:</b> 5  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.4</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Stone (pebble)  <b>Measurement:</b> 107 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.5</p>

	<p><b>Material:</b> Picrolite  <b>Measurement:</b> 22 mm  <b>Period:</b> LPPNB (7600-7000/6800)  <b>Context:</b> -  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.1.6</p>
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#### A.7.10 Petra tou Limniti

	<p><b>Material:</b> Dolerite  <b>Measurement:</b> 148 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b>4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.7</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Dolerite  <b>Measurement:</b> 155 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 4  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.2.8</p>
	<p><b>Material:</b> Dolerite or Diabase  <b>Measurement:</b> 175 mm  <b>Period:</b> Late Aceramic Neolithic (7000/6800-5200)  <b>Context:</b> Domestic building  <b>Type:</b> 1  <b>Reference:</b> Winkelmann, 2020, Fig.3.6</p>



## B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Figürinler insanları, hayvanları, melez veya geometrik formları temsil eden taşınabilir, minyatür nesnelere dir. Kil, taş, kemik, fildişi, metal, ahşap veya kabuk gibi çeşitli malzemelerden yapılabilirler. Her ikisi de Alt Paleolitik döneme tarihlenen ve insan işçiliğine atfedilmesi bilimsel bir tartışma konusu olmaya devam eden (Goren-Inbar, 1986; Marshack, 1997; Bednarik, 2003; d'Errico & Nowell, 2000) izole Berekhat Ram ve Tan Tan objelerini değerlendirme dışı bırakırsak, tarih öncesi figürin üretimi makro zaman ve mekân birimlerinde kümelenmiştir: Paleolitik Avrasya, Jomon Japonya, Neolitik Yakın Doğu ve Formatif Mezoamerika (Lesure, 2011, s. 19).

Bu çalışma Yakın Doğu'nun erken antropomorfik figürinlerinin ortaya çıkışının ve evriminin incelenmesini amaçlamaktadır. Bölgede ilk antropomorfik figürin örneklerinin görülmeye başlandığı Epipaleolitik dönemden başlayarak Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik (Erken Neolitik) dönem boyunca insan biçimli figürinlerin tipoloji, hammadde, arkeolojik bağlam, kırılma örüntüleri ve pişirilme özelliklerinin zaman ve mekân içindeki değişimlerini araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca figürinlerin işlevini anlamak için tematik çeşitlilik, standardizasyon ve soyutlama gibi özellikleri yorumlama sürecinin bir parçası haline getirmektedir. Daha geniş bir bağlamda tez, ilgili yerleşimlerdeki mimari yapıların zamansal ve mekânsal dönüşümlerini, antropomorfik heykelleri, zoomorfik tasvirleri ve ölü gömme uygulamalarını yorumlama süreçlerine dahil ederek figürinleri daha geniş bir bağlamda değerlendirmektedir.

Çalışma kapsamında Epipaleolitik dönemden (yaklaşık M.Ö. 20.000) M.Ö. 5900'e kadar uzanan süreçte Yakın Doğu'daki 87 yerleşimden 4730 antropomorfik figürin tespit edilmiştir. Tüm figürinlerin bilgileri daha önce yayınlanan çalışmalardan elde edilmiştir. Çalışmanın amacı Yakın Doğu'nun Erken Neolitik antropomorfik figürinlerine odaklanmak olduğundan M.Ö. 7000 sonrasına tarihlenen yerleşimler çalışmaya dahil edilmemiştir. Yalnızca M.Ö. 7000 döneminde gerçekleşen değişimlerin anlaşılabilmesi adına köklerinin Erken Neolitik geleneklere dayandığı

anlaşılan Çatalhöyük, Tell Sabi Abyad, Tell Ramad, 'Ain Ghazal gibi kimi yerleşimler ve Kıbrıs yerleşimleri çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Figürinler, farklı tarihsel ve toplumsal bağlamlarda ortaya çıkan ideolojik, entelektüel akımların ve bilimsel eğilimlerin etkisi altında zaman içinde değişen, çeşitli yorumlara maruz kalmıştır. Figürinlerin işlevine dair genel bir çerçeveden bakıldığında, arkeologlar figürinlerin yorumlanmasında öne çıkan iki eğilim belirlemişlerdir: (1) figürinleri doğrudan tanrı ve tanrıça temsilleri, dini veya kült nesnelere olarak gören geleneksel, tipoloji odaklı yaklaşımlar ve (2) figürinleri bireyler ve topluluklar arasındaki sosyal ilişkilerde aracı olarak gören, çeşitli analizler ve arkeolojik, antropolojik değerlendirmeler yoluyla figürinlerin içerdiği potansiyel anlamları ortaya çıkarmaya çalışan yeni yaklaşımlar (Talalay, 1993, s. 37; Naumov, 2014, s. 49).

Pek çok araştırmacı, figürinler ve mühürler gibi görsel olarak dikkat çekici öğeler de dahil olmak üzere arkeolojik nesnelere, sembolik bir sosyal iletişim ağının aktif katılımcıları olarak algılamaktadır. Bu alandaki temel dinamik; birey, hane, toplum gibi sosyal birimlerin yapılanması ve bunlar arasındaki ilişkilerin dönüşümüdür. Benzer görüntü ve nesnelere geniş bir coğrafyada ortak bir sembolik dil oluşturabilirken anlamları bağlamsal kalır ve benzer görüntü ve nesnelere her yerde aynı anlamı taşımaz. Nesnelere anlamlarını içinde yer aldıkları sosyal eylemlerle kazanır ve onlarla beraber dönüşür (Atakuman, 2015a, s.64). Öte yandan bu eserler bireyler, gruplar ve toplumlar arasındaki ilişkiler hakkında bilgi taşıyan nesnelere olarak görülebilir. Diyalog ve müzakere sağlama potansiyeline sahiptirler ve nesneye ait çeşitli özelliklerin manipülasyonu yoluyla çeşitli toplumsal farklılaşma düzeylerini aktarabilirler (Atakuman, 2015b, s. 765). Anlam nesnelere sabit ve yalıtılmış değildir, figüratif temsiller salt tasvirin ötesine geçerek kişiliğe ve topluma ilişkin bağlamsal bir anlayışı yansıtarak sembolik düzenle devam eden bir müzakereye girer (Atakuman, 2017, s. 88). Eserlerdeki malzeme, görüntü ve formların kompozisyonu da bu süreçte önem taşır. Kompozisyona dahil edilenler kadar hariç tutulanlar da anlatının bir parçasıdır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında, yukarıda sözü geçen ikinci grup yaklaşımlar ışığında Yakın Doğu Epipaleolitik ve Neolitik dönem antropomorfik figürinlerinin ortaya çıkışı, evrimi ve bu süreçlerdeki toplumsal işlevinin anlaşılması adına çeşitli analizler kullanılmıştır. Figürinler, hammadde, bağlam, tematik çeşitlilik, cinsel karakteristik,

kırılma modeli, pişirilme/ateşe maruz bırakılma derecesi gibi kriterlere dayalı olarak sistematik bir yeniden incelemeye ve sınıflandırmaya tabi tutulmuştur. Figürin görsellerinin mevcut olmadığı durumlarda, kaynak çalışmada figürin ayrıntılı olarak anlatılmış veya herhangi bir örnekle temsil edilmişse sınıflandırmalar bu bilgilere dayanılarak yapılmıştır. Bu bilgilerin sağlanmadığı durumlarda ise figürinler yalnızca yerleşimin toplam figürin sayısına dahil edilmiştir.

Kapsamlı bir figürin veri tabanının oluşturulmasında elektronik tablo yazılımlarından faydalanılmıştır. Verilerin Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri uygulamaları aracılığıyla görselleştirilmesini sağlamak amacıyla öncelikle her bir yerleşim koordinat bilgisi, yerleşim yeri büyüklüğü ve ilişkili antropomorfik figürin miktarı bilgileriyle kayıt altına alınmıştır. Daha sonra figürinlerin her biri için hammadde, tip, bağlam (çukur, özel yapı, çöplük vb.), dönem, parçalanma örüntüsü, pişme/ateşe maruz kalma derecesi ve cinsel karakteristik bilgileri kaydedilmiştir. Figürinlerin önemli kısmı ciddi derecede parçalanmış olmasına karşın bütün olarak bulunan figürinlerin sayıca fazlalığı bir tipolojik sınıflandırmayı mümkün kılmıştır. Figürinlere ek olarak, yerleşimlerdeki antropomorfik heykeller, zoomorfik figürinler, ölü gömme uygulamaları ve özel mimari yapılar (komünal binalar, kült binaları, ritüel alanlar vb.) hakkında bilgiler toplanmıştır. Görsellerin eklenmesiyle veri tabanı analize hazır hale getirilmiştir.

Yaklaşık 12.000 yıl önce, son buzul çağının sona ermesi ve bugünküne benzer iklim koşullarının oluşması, insanlık tarihinde dönüştürücü bir döneme kapı aralamıştır. M.Ö. 9800-6800 yıllarını kapsayan bu süreç Neolitik dönüşüm süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Daha önce, karmaşık avcı-toplayıcı topluluklarla karakterize Erken Natufyan döneminde, Levant ılıman Bolling-Allerod iklim evresiyle (M.Ö. 12.500-10.800) ilk yerleşik yaşam denemelerine tanık olmuştur. Yerleşik yaşamın ve yiyecek üretiminin başlangıç aşamaları olarak görülebilecek bu süreç, Genç Dryas döneminde (M.Ö. 10.800-9500) daha soğuk ve daha kuru iklim koşullarının ortaya çıkmasıyla bir kesintiye uğramış ve göçebe yaşama kısa bir geri dönüşü gerektirmiştir. Bu kesintiye rağmen zorlu iklimin getirdiği zorunluluklar, dayanıklı topluluklarda bitki yetiştirme ve evcilleştirmenin kalıcı olarak benimsenmesini zorunlu kılmıştır (Atakuman, 2014, s. 2).

Yakın Doğu'nun en erken figürin örnekleri bu döneme tarihlenmektedir. Levant'ta Kebara Mağarası ve Nahal Oren'den, Anadolu'da ise Karain Mağarası'ndan gelen asa biçimli kemik figürinler, malzeme tercihi ve tipoloji bakımından Üst Paleolitik figürinleri ile benzerlikler taşımaktadır. Natuf kültürüne ait daha sonraki figürinlerde ise malzeme tercihi taştan yanadır. Falluslar, kafalar, fallomorfik kafalar ve bunlarla ilişkili olabilecek yivli taşlar öne çıkan tiplerdir. Bu döneme ait figürinler yapılarla ya da mezarlarla ilişkili olarak bulunmuştur. Söz konusu dönem ayrıca yapı içi mezarların ve kafatası çıkarma uygulamalarının ortaya çıkmasına, yapıların iç içe geçmiş ölüm, yaşam ve rejenerasyon kavramlarının birleştiği mekânlara dönüşmesine tanık olmuştur. Yapı içi ölü gömme uygulamaları, ölen ataların bedenlerinin yaşayanlar ile mekân arasında derin bir bağ kurmaya ve grupların kimliklerini tanımlamalarına aracı olabilecek ritüelleştirilmiş bir mekân yaratma biçimi olarak görülebilir. Aidiyet ve kimlik duygusunun geliştirilmesi sürecinde figürinler de önemli bir rol oynamış görünmektedir. Figürin tiplerinde kafaların, fallusların ve fallomorfik kafaların yaygınlığı, ölüm, yaşam ve rejenerasyon kavramlarıyla potansiyel bir bağlantı olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Üstelik figürinlerin bağlamları, bu objelerin ölü gömme uygulamaları ve mimari unsurlarla olan ilişkisini daha da desteklemektedir.

Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik A döneminde hem figürinlerin toplam sayısında hem de bu figürinlerin geldiği yerleşim ve bölgelerin sayısında bir artış söz konusudur. Tematik çeşitlilik de önceki döneme göre daha fazladır. Bu döneme ait antropomorfik figürinler Levant, Fırat, Dicle ve Kıbrıs'ta tespit edilmiş olup, özellikle Fırat ve Dicle bölgelerinde bol miktarda bulunmaktadır. Bu dönemde yerleşimlerdeki sembolik faaliyetlerin odak noktası olan özel yapılar, antropomorfik imgelerin yoğun bir şekilde kullanımına tanık olmuştur. Bu tür yapıların bulunmadığı yerleşim yerlerinde figürinler ağırlıklı olarak evlerin içlerinde ve çöplük alanlarında bulunmuştur. Bu dönemde yaygın olan figürin tipleri arasında havaneli biçimli veya T biçimli nesnelere (bazılarında antropomorfik ve zoomorfik özelliklere sahip yüz tasvirleri bulunmaktadır) ve kafalar yer almaktadır. Bu tiplerin ortak yüz tasvirleri, üretimlerindeki hammadde tercihleri ve bağlamsal dağılımları, bu iki tip arasında bir ilişki olduğunu düşündürmektedir. Havaneli şeklindeki figürinler ayrıca fallik bir imaj da taşımaktadır. Bu döneme ait bir diğer belirgin figürin tipi ise insan-hayvan kompozit figürinlerdir. Bu figürinlerde Göbeklitepe'deki T şeklindeki sütunlarda en

etkileyici temsillerine rastlanılan yabani hayvan tasvirleri, insanların sırtlarına, başlarına yapışık ya da insanlarla üst üste resmedilmektedir. Göçebe avcı-toplayıcı yaşam tarzından yerleşik tarımcı yaşam tarzına geçiş temasını yansıtan bu tasvirler, Erken Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik B dönemine kadar varlığını sürdürmüş görünmektedir. Söz konusu figürin tipi, Yakın Doğu'da T biçimli anıtsal mimarinin ortadan kaybolmasıyla eş zamanlı olarak ortadan kaybolmuştur. İnsan-hayvan kompozit figürinler, M.Ö. 7000'den sonra Çatalhöyük'te yeniden ortaya çıkmaktadır, ancak dikkate değer bir farkla: bu kez insanlar hayvanların üzerindedir veya hayvanlar insanların dizlerinin dibindedir. İnsan-hayvan kompozit figürinlerin insanlar ve hayvanlar arasında daha simbiyotik bir ilişkiyi tasvir ettiği önceki dönemin aksine, bu geç tasvirler, hayvanlar dünyasının bir tür “zapt edilmişliğine” işaret ediyor görünmektedir.

Fallusların ve kafaların Epipaleolitik dönem figürinlerinde olduğu gibi sembolik repertuarda önemli yer tutmaya devam ettiği Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik A figürinlerinde fark edilebilir. Bu sürekliliğe ek olarak görüntülerin ve işçiliğin manipülasyonu yoluyla yaşam, ölüm ve rejenerasyon kavramlarının tek bir figürinde ustaca birleştirilmesiyle birçok figürinin aynı anda hem fallus hem de kadın olarak yorumlanması mümkün hale gelmektedir. Ayrıca antropomorfik imgelerin kullanımı özellikle anıtsal mimari etrafında yoğunlaşarak daha ayrıntılı ve çok yönlü bir anlatıya katkıda bulunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda sembolizm, falluslar ve kafalar etrafında dönen vahşi hayvan ve insanların tasvirlerine odaklanmaktadır. Genellikle yerel gruplar için ortak buluşma alanları olarak kabul edilen bu yapılar, ata kültürleri ve ritüelleştirilmiş mekân yaratımı etrafında şekillenmiş durmaktadır. Sütunlarda, heykelerde ve figürinlerde belirgin olan tematik tutarlılık ve standardizasyon, ortak atalarla bağlantı kurarak diyalogu, müzakereyi ve kolektif hafızanın kurulmasını kolaylaştırmaya yönelik kasıtlı bir çabayı akla getirmektedir.

Figürinlerin hızla çoğaldığı Orta Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik B döneminde, Yakın Doğu'da anıtsal mimari ortadan kaybolmuş ve yerini "ev" etrafında şekillenen ekonomik, sosyal ve ritüel ilişkiler ağına bırakmıştır. Kıbrıs hariç Yakın Doğu'da figürin üretimi ve kullanımında tipler, hammaddeler ve bağlamlar bakımından gözle görülür bir standartlaşma söz konusudur. Kilden yapılmış antropomorfik ve zoomorfik figürinlerin (özellikle evcilleştirilmiş hayvanların tasvirleri) artan üretiminin de

gösterdiği gibi, kil, M.Ö. 8300'den itibaren baskın hammadde olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Kilin kolay şekillendirilebilen ve işlenebilen yapısı, kendine özgü rengi ve dokusu, insanlara kendileri ve yaşam deneyimleri hakkında daha zengin ve çeşitli anlatılar yaratma gücü vermiş gibi görünmektedir. Bu dönemde hâkim olan tipler arasında falluslar, kafalar, oturan ve ayakta duran insan figürinleri yer almaktadır. Bu varyasyonlar, bir uçta fallusların veya falluslu erkeklerin tasvirlerinin diğer uçta ise belirgin yuvarlak hatlı kadın tasvirlerinin yer aldığı bir spektrum boyunca dağılmıştır. Özellikle, cinsel organların, abartılı göğüslerin ve kalçaların doğrudan tasviri de dahil olmak üzere cinsel özellikler, önceki döneme kıyasla yelpazenin her iki ucunda da belirginleşmiştir. Bununla birlikte figürinlerin çoğunluğu spektrumun orta aralığında yer almaktadır, yani cinsiyetleri belirsizdir.

Bu dönemde Yakın Doğu'da ölü gömme geleneklerinin standardizasyon sürecine girdiğine dair kanıtlar bulunmaktadır. Hanenin bağımsızlaşmasının ve kurumsallaşmasının ayrılmaz bir parçası olan ev içi ritüeller ile giderek bağımsızlaşan hanenin topluluğun geri kalanı ile ilişkisi arasında potansiyel olarak denge unsuru olarak rol oynayabilecek komünal ritüeller arasındaki bağlantı, bu dönemin ölü gömme uygulamalarında açıkça görülmektedir. Ölüler ilk olarak evin içine defnedilmektedir. Belirli bir süre geçtikten sonra mezar yeniden açılmakta ve kafatasları veya kemikler hane dışındaki açık, ortak alanlara ikinci kez gömülmek üzere mezardan çıkarılmaktadır. Kafatasları ve kemikler alçılanmakta, boyanmakta ve toplu veya bireysel olarak bu açık alanlara defnedilmektedir. Ölü gömme uygulamalarını, antropomorfik heykelleri ve figürinleri kapsayan ritüel faaliyetlerin yoğunlaşması ve standartlaştırılması, toplumsal strese bir tepkiyi ve topluluk uyumunu sürdürmek için gelişmekte olan iç farklılıkları gizleyerek kolektif bir hafıza yaratma çabasını akla getirmektedir. Dikkat çekici bir şekilde, bu döneme ait önemli sayıda figürin, kafatası alma uygulamasıyla uyumlu olarak kafası kırık veya eksik biçimde bulunmuştur. Bazı heykelciklerde boya izleri de görülmektedir. Sıvalı kafataslarını andıran figürin ve heykel toplulukları da tematik bütünlüğü güçlendirmektedir. Ek olarak, bu döneme ait figürinlerin çoğunun ya tıpkı ölüler gibi çukurlara gömülmüş ya da doğrudan mezarlarla ilişkili halde bulunmuş olması, ölü gömme uygulamaları ile figürinler arasında bir ilişkiye işaret etmektedir. Sonuç olarak, bu dönemdeki antropomorfik figürinlerin, birey, hane halkı ve daha geniş topluluk arasındaki

ilişkilerin, ölü gömme uygulamaları gibi diğer ritüel faaliyetlerle birlikte, müzakere edilmesi ve düzenlenmesi için etkili araçlar olarak hizmet etmiş olabileceği görülmektedir.

Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik B Çöküşü olarak tanımlanan sonraki dönemde yerleşim yerleri terk edilmiş, ritüel uygulamalarda bir çözülme yaşanmış ve figürinlerin miktarı oldukça azalmıştır. Sınırlı sayıdaki figürin, çoğunlukla yeni kurulan yerleşim yerlerinden gelmektedir. Bu aşamada, önceki dönemde gözlemlenen standardizasyondan bir sapma göze çarpmaktadır. Figürinin üretiminde taş ve kemik kullanımı artmıştır; taş kafalar ve fallusların popülaritesi yeniden canlanmıştır. Bu dönem, heykelciklerin üretim, kullanım ve terk edilme örüntülerinde önemli bir bozulma ile karakterizedir. Gelişen tarım ekonomisinde işgücü organizasyonu bakımından kritik önemdeki hane bazlı sosyal yapı, kısıtlayıcı avcı-toplayıcı ilişki biçimleri ve ritüellerinden sıyrılmış görünmektedir. Bu değişime yerleşimlerin terk edilmesi, geçmiş ritüel uygulamalardan bir sapma ve figürinlerin kullanımının azalması eşlik etmektedir.

M.Ö. 7000 civarında Zagroslar, İç Anadolu ve Kıbrıs'ta figürinlerin yaygınlığında gözle görülür bir artış söz konusudur. Bu dönem, tamamen gelişmiş bir köy ekonomisinin kurulması, çömlekçiliğin yaygın olarak benimsenmesi, birbirine yakın dikdörtgen planlı evlerin inşası ve kan bağına dayalı aile yapısından yiyecek paylaşımına dayalı geniş aile yapısına geçiş ile karakterizedir. Figürinlerin hem miktarında hem de stilizasyonunda dikkate değer bir artış bu döneme damgasını vurmaktadır. Zagros ve Kıbrıs'ta figürin üretiminde bölgesel tarzlar gelişmeye başlamıştır. Zagros üslubunun etkisi Fırat'tan Orta Anadolu'ya kadar uzanmaktadır. Kıbrıs üslubundaki figürinler de yine Çatalhöyük'te karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Orta Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik B döneminde sıklıkla karşılaşılan ve bir spektrum oluşturan falluslar, kafalar, oturan ve ayakta duran insan figürinleri gibi tanıdık unsurlar bu dönemde daha soyut ve stilize versiyonlarıyla yer almaktadır. Çoğu figürin için bağlam bilgisi eksik kalırken, mevcut veriler ağırlıklı olarak çöplüklere ve oda dolgularına odaklanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, aynı tür ve malzemeye sahip figürinlerin oldukça farklı bağlamlarda keşfedilebilmesi dikkat çekicidir. Söz konusu dönemde stilize ve soyut figürinlerin gözle görülür şekilde artması ve damga mühürleri gibi küçük, taşınabilir nesnelere yaygınlaşması hane gruplarının toplumsal etkileşim için daha

karmaşık stratejiler geliştirdiğini göstermektedir. Bağımsız hanelerin hem iç hem de dış ilişkiler kurma kapasitesini artıran bu nesnelere ortaya çıkması, statü farklılıklarının daha karmaşık biçimlerde ifade edilmesini kolaylaştırmış olmalıdır. Esasen hane temelli yaşam tarzı geliştikçe, figürinlerin artan yaygınlığı ve soyutlukları, kullanımlarında daha esnek anlatılara olanak tanımaktadır. Anlatıdaki bu esneklik, bu nesnelere sembolik öneminin topluluklar içindeki ve arasındaki ilişkilerin karmaşıklığını şekillendirmede ve ifade etmede önemli bir rol oynadığı dinamik bir kültürel ve sosyal çerçeveye işaret etmektedir.

Sonuç olarak bu çalışma, figürinlerin bin yıllar boyunca tanrıları/tanrıçaları, erkekleri/kadınları veya belirli bireyleri temsil etmek gibi sabit anlamları koruduğu yönündeki hâkim bakış açısına meydan okumaktadır. Bunun yerine, figürinlerin, göçebe avcı-toplayıcılıktan yerleşik tarımcı yaşam tarzına geçişin çeşitli aşamalarının gelişen dinamikleri içinde incelenmesi ve kendi özel zamansal ve mekânsal bağlamları içinde yorumlanması gerektiğini ileri sürmektedir. Çalışma, antropomorfik figürinlerin, Yakın Doğu'daki Neolitikleşmenin çeşitli aşamalarında önemli rol oynadığını ve bu süreci karakterize eden karmaşık değişim, dönüşüm ve dalgalanma örüntülerine kusursuz bir şekilde entegre olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Figürinler, bu dönüştürücü yolculuğun gelişen dinamikleriyle karmaşık bir şekilde bağlantılı tamamlayıcı bileşenler olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Çalışma, figürinlerin birer statik görsel medya olmadığını; görüntülerin, malzemelerin ve işçiliğin manipülasyonu yoluyla çeşitli düzeylerde toplumsal farklılaşmayı aktararak diyalog ve müzakereyi kolaylaştırma potansiyeline sahip olduğunu savunmaktadır. Antropomorfik figürinler, Neolitik toplumsal değişimlerin karmaşık ağı içindeki dinamik unsurlar olarak bu dönüştürücü dönemin çok yönlü doğasına önemli ölçüde katkıda bulunmuş görünmektedir.



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