

ANIMAL FIGURINES DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE OF ANATOLIA:
THE CASE OF KOÇUMBELİ

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

EBRU GİZEM AYTEN

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF
THE DEGREE OF THE MASTER OF SCIENCE IN
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SETTLEMENT ARCHAEOLOGY

MAY 2019

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Settlement Archaeology.

Prof. Dr. D. Burcu ERCİYAS
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Settlement Archaeology.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem ATAKUMAN
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yiğit Erbil (Hacettepe Uni., ARK)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman (METU, SA)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Evangelia Pişkin (METU, SA)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Ebru Gizem AYTEN

Signature :

ABSTRACT

ANIMAL FIGURINES DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE OF ANATOLIA: THE CASE OF KOÇUMBELİ

Ayten, Ebru Gizem

Ms, Department of Settlement Archaeology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Çiğdem Atakuman

May 2019, 134 pages

This thesis aims to understand the use of animal figurines at the Early Bronze Age site of Koçumbeli in social context. In order to achieve this aim, 20 animal figurines from Koçumbeli have been examined in terms of their thematic representations, raw materials, production technique, color, breakage as well as their contexts. Thematic evaluations focus on the animals depicted and their sex and age, while the contextual evaluations focus on the spatiality of animal figurines in relation to domestic and burial contexts. Following this, where possible through the publications, the animal figurines discovered at other EBA sites of Anatolia are evaluated in similar terms, in an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the figurines under consideration.

The thematic findings indicate that horned animals are particularly emphasized both within the corpus of Koçumbeli and other sites. Besides these, other animals can be found within the assemblages. The contextual evaluations suggest that the clay animal figurines are generally associated with domestic contexts whereas the metal figurines are associated with elite burial contexts.

Based on an evaluation of these findings against the subsistence economy of the time period as well as the development of animal imagery during the prehistory of Anatolia, it is suggested that animal figurines mediate a negotiation of social identity

and prestige of individuals and families with reference to beliefs and rituals of social regeneration. Their specialized production in metals and association with elite burials should be placed in context of the emerging centralization processes during EBA in Anatolia.

Keywords: Early Bronze Age, Figurines, Animal Figurines, Koçumbeli

ÖZ

ANADOLU ERKEN TUNÇ ÇAĞINDA HAYVAN FİGÜRİNLERİ: KOÇUMBELİ ÖRNEĞİ

Ayten, Ebru Gizem

Yüksek Lisans, Yerleşim Arkeolojisi Anabilim Dalı

Tez Yöneticisi : Doç. Dr. Çiğdem Atakuman

Mayıs 2019, 134 sayfa

Bu tez, Erken Tunç Çağı Koçumbeli yerleşiminde bulunan hayvan figürinlerinin incelenmesiyle, hayvan figürinlerinin sosyal bağlamda kullanımının anlaşılması amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için Koçumbeli'nde bulunan 20 hayvan figürini, tematik tasvir, hammadde seçimi, üretim tekniği, renk, kırılma düzeni ve buluntu konteksti açısından incelenmiştir. Tematik değerlendirmeler, tasvir edilen hayvanlar türlerine, cinsiyetlerine ve yaşlarına odaklanırken; bağlamsal değerlendirmeler, hayvan figürinlerinin domestik ve gömü alanlarıyla ilişkisine odaklanmaktadır. Bu yanı sıra, hayvan figürinlerinin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için, diğer Erken Tunç Çağı yerleşimlerinde bulunan hayvan figürinleri de benzer kavramlar üzerinden değerlendirilmiştir.

Tematik bulgular, özellikle boynuzlu hayvanların, hem Koçumbeli hayvan figürinlerinde hem de diğer yerleşimlerin figürin gruplarında vurgulandığını göstermektedir. Bunların yanı sıra, ETC hayvan figürinlerinde farklı hayvan türlerine de rastlanmıştır. Bağlamsal değerlendirmeler ise, kil hayvan figürinlerinin genellikle domestik alanlarla ilişkili olduğunu gösterirken, metal hayvan figürinlerinin ise elit mezarlarıyla ilişkili olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu bulgular dönemin geçim ekonomisi içerisinde tartışılmış ve hayvan imgelemlerinin tarih öncesi Anadolu'da ki gelişimine dayanarak, hayvan

figürinlerinin, toplumsal yenilenme inancı ve ritüellerine referansla bireylerin ve ailelerin sosyal kimliğine ve prestijine yönelik müzakerelere arabuluculuk yaptığı önerilmektedir. Bu durumda metallerin özel üretimleri ve bu özel üretim metallerin elit cenaze törenleriyle bir parçası olmaları, ETÇ Anadolu'sunda ortaya çıkan merkezileşme süreçleri bağlamında düşünülmelidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken Tunç Çağı, Figürinler, Hayvan Figürinleri, Koçumbeli

To My Family & Friends

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my advisor and the most patient supporter, Assoc. Prof. Dr. igdem Atakuman for sharing her material, time, knowledge and the most important her friendship to me. This thesis cannot be finished without her support and affection, therefore, I can't thank her enough for all that she has done for me.

I also would like to thank to my parents Ümmühan Ayten and Mehmet Ayten, for their patience during my writing process of my thesis.

I thank also all my friends but especially Merve Sevim Uyan, Sevgin Derinbay and Levent Sandalcı who always been by my side and support to finish this thesis which makes me feel like it will never end.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. TOWARD A METHODOLOGY FOR UNDERSTANDING ANIMAL FIGURINES: APPROACHES TO ANIMAL IMAGERY IN ARCHAEOLOGY	10
3. THE SITE OF KOÇUMBELİ AND ITS ANIMAL FIGURINES	24
3.1 The Characteristics and Typology of Koçumbeli Animal Figurines ...	26
3.1.1 Type I (Cattle Group).....	32
3.1.2 Type II (Sheep/Goat Group)	37
3.1.3 Type III (Wild Boar Group).....	38
3.1.4 Type IV (Hedgehog / Wild Pig Group).....	38
3.1.5 Type V (Bird Group).....	39
3.2 Comparative Assemblage.....	40
3.2.1 Alişar and Its Animal Figurines	41
3.2.2 Ahlatlıbel and Its Animal Figurines	46
3.2.3 Karaoğlan Mevkii and Its Animal Figurines.....	48
3.2.4 Çiledir and Its Animal Figurines.....	48
3.2.5 Troy and Its Animal Figurines	49
3.2.6 Kanlıgeçit and Its Animal Figurines	49
3.2.7 Küllüoba and Its Animal Figurines	51
3.2.8 Şarhöyük and Its Animal Figurines.....	51

3.2.9 Höyüktepe and Its Animal Figurines	52
3.2.10 Seyitömer and Its Animal Figurines	53
3.2.11 Demircihöyük and Its Animal Figurines.....	54
3.2.12 Alacahöyük and Its Animal Figurines	62
3.2.13 Horoztepe and Its Animal Figurines	66
3.2.14 Kalinkaya and Its Animal Figurines	66
3.3 Spatial Contexts of Animal Figurines	75
3.3.1 Demircihöyük	75
3.3.2 Alacahöyük	79
4. DISCUSSION	92
4.1 The Evaluation of Animals of Figurines within EBA Subsistence Economy	92
4.2 The Evaluation of EBA figurines in Social Context.....	95
5. CONCLUSION.....	101
REFERENCES.....	104
APPENDICIES	
APPENDIX A- KOÇUMBELİ CLAY ANIMAL FIGURINES	116
APPENDIX B- TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	122
APPENDIX C- TEZ İZİN FORMU/ THESIS PERMISSION FORM.....	134

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Frequencies of Animal Representations in the Northern Levant and Southeast of Turkey between the 10th and the 7th Millennia.....	16
Table 2 Domesticated Animals in Nature Mentioned in the Typology	30
Table 3 Wild Animals in Nature Mentioned in the Typology	31
Table 4 Possible Relations of Royal Tombs with EBA Layer by Salzman	65
Table 5 Comparative EBA Animal Figurines According to Koçumbeli Typology	71
Table 6 Burials Associated with Cattle Skeletons	79
Table 7 Number and Sex of Individuals Found in Alacahöyük Royal and Non-Royal Burials.....	80
Table 8 Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in Relation to Sex, Animal Imagery Bearing Objects and Other Burial Gifts	86
Table 9 Modified NISP Data Table of Acemhöyük from EBA Levels	93

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Comparative Chronology of Anatolian EBA	2
Figure 2 Main EBA Sites and the Sites Mentioned in the Text	3
Figure 3 Anatolian Settlement Patterns.....	4
Figure 4 Different Socio- Political Systems in Anatolia.....	4
Figure 5 Distribution of Different Burial Types in Aegean and Western Anatolia...	6
Figure 6 Metal Reserves and the Great Caravan Route	8
Figure 7 Lascaux Cave, Upper Paleolithic.....	10
Figure 8 Paleolithic Figurines from Vogelherd, Germany.....	11
Figure 9 Paleolithic Figurines from Vogelherd, Hohlenstein, Geißenklöterle and HohleFels	12
Figure 10 Bison Carving from Zaraysk, Russia ca.20.000 BC.....	12
Figure 11 Clay Animal Figurine from Vela Spila, Croatia.....	13
Figure 12 Leroi- Gourhan’s Gender Articulation over Animal Imagery.....	13
Figure 13 Göbeklitepe T-Shaped Pillars	15
Figure 14 Çatalhöyük House Construction and Cauvin’s Deity Interpretation on House Imagery	17
Figure 15 Animal Figurines from ‘Ain Ghazal.....	19
Figure 16 Çatalhöyük Clay Animal Figurines	20
Figure 17 Çatalhöyük Wall Paintings	21
Figure 18 Figural Scales as Çatalhöyük.....	22
Figure 19 Location and Settlement Plan of Koçumbeli.....	25
Figure 20 Koçumbeli Clay Animal Figurines.....	27
Figure 21 Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part I	33
Figure 22 Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part II	34
Figure 23 Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part III.....	35
Figure 24 Koçumbeli Type II Clay Animal Figurines Part I.....	36
Figure 25 Koçumbeli Type II Clay Animal Figurines Part II.....	37
Figure 26 Koçumbeli Type III Animal Figurine.....	38
Figure 27 Koçumbeli Type IV Animal Figurine	39

Figure 28 Koçumbeli Type V Animal Figurine	40
Figure 29 Alişar Stone Animal Figurines Part I.....	42
Figure 30 Alişar Stone Animal Figurines Part II	43
Figure 31 Alişar Clay Animal Figurines Part I	44
Figure 32 Alişar Clay Animal Figurines Part II.....	45
Figure 33 Ahlatlıbel Settlement Plan	46
Figure 34 Ahlatlıbel Published Animal Figurines	47
Figure 35 Karaoğlan Published Clay Animal Figurines	48
Figure 36 Çiledir Höyük Published Clay Animal Figurines	49
Figure 37 Troy Published Clay Animal Figurines	50
Figure 38 Kanlıgeçit Published Clay Animal Figurines	50
Figure 39 Küllüoba Clay Animal Figurines	51
Figure 40 Şarhöyük Published Clay Animal Figurines.....	52
Figure 41 Höyüktepe Published Clay Animal Figurines	53
Figure 42 Seyitömer Published Clay Animal Figurines.....	54
Figure 43 Demircihöyük Animal Figurines with Possible Sexual Characteristics ..	56
Figure 44 Typology of Head and Body of Demircihöyük Animal Figurines	57
Figure 45 Typological Relationship of the Demircihöyük Animal Figurines	57
Figure 46 Clay Animal Figurines from Demircihöyük and Koçumbeli Resembling Alacahöyük Bull Statues	58
Figure 47 Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines with Unusual Head Shape	59
Figure 48 Unidentified Demircihöyük Clay Figurines	59
Figure 49 Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type I Part I.....	60
Figure 50 Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type I Part II.....	61
Figure 51 Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type II	61
Figure 52 Alacahöyük EBA Clay Animal Figurines similar to Koçumbeli Type I/II.....	63
Figure 53 Alacahöyük EBA Animal Clay Animal Figurines out of comparison Koçumbeli Types	64
Figure 54 Animal Imagery Bearing Objects from Alacahöyük Tombs	64

Figure 55 Horoztepe Metal Animal Figurines and Animal Imagery Bearing Objects	67
Figure 56 Horoztepe Metal Anthropomorphic Figurines and Standard.....	67
Figure 57 Kalınkaya Metal Animal Figurines and Standard	68
Figure 58 General Distribution of Demircihöyük Animal Figurines.....	76
Figure 59 Map of Demircihöyük and Sarıket Cemetery	77
Figure 60 Edited Version of Plan Cattle Burials and Related Burials	78
Figure 61 Alacahöyük Royal Cemetery	81
Figure 62 WIS Proportions of Major Domesticates and Fallow Deer in EBA Troia, Beşiktepe, Yenibademli, and Neolithic, Chalcolithic and EBA Ulucak..	94
Figure 63 Agency of Animal Imagery in Time and Space	99
Figure 64 Comparison of Çatalhöyük and Alacahöyük Ritual Symbolism.....	100

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although the materiality and contexts change from elaborately painted cave walls to carved statues and statuettes, animal imagery has been an important part of human symbolic communication for at least 35000 years, i.e., since the Upper Paleolithic Period. There are many ideas regarding the existence and function of animal imagery. The theories that have been proposed are generally linked with rituals related to the efficiency of subsistence activities, such as hunting magic for the success of the hunters and attraction of hunted animals or the control of the wild by shifting the symbolic focus toward proto-domesticates during the Neolithic transformation (Mithen, 1988; Rice & Paterson, 1985, 1986; Conkey, 1989; Morales, 1990). Other theories also suggest social functions, such as group identity markers in totemic use where spiritual and social links between certain animals and humans are depicted (Peters & Schmidt, 2004), articulation of gender relations through the selected animal species (Lewis-Williams, 2014; Owens & Hayden, 1997), social communication mediums related to social status, identity and regeneration (Meskell, 2015). Researchers suggesting that animal figurines are “toys” and finally as “toys” for the education and initiation of children (Morsch, 2002; Rollefson, 1986, 2008).

Whereas the animal imagery, in the form of figurines,¹ pottery and wall paintings or horn installations in houses are ubiquitously present in many of the Anatolian prehistoric contexts, they remain understudied in many respects. This study aims to shed better light on the use of animal imagery, specifically in the form of figurines, during the Early Bronze Age (approx. 3200-2000 BC) of Anatolia through the case study of the Central Anatolian site of Koçumbeli.

In the Anatolian context, Early Bronze Age (EBA) is the significant period of transformation which witnessed significant social and economic developments leading

¹ Figurines are small statuettes which are made of clay, stone, bone or metal in forms of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and abstract forms.

to the emergence of elites and formation of social complexity associated with centralization, specialized production of metal objects, textiles and long-distance trade networks extending from Aegean to Mesopotamia (Fig.1, 2) (Çevik, 2007; Bachhuber, 2015; Düring, 2011; Efe, 2007; Şahoğlu, 2005; Sagona & Zimansky, 2009). The period is dated between 3200- 2000 BC and in general it is subdivided in EBA I, II and III and generally accepted that the EBA II is the starting point of social and economic changes in Anatolia.

		Troy	Demircihöyük	Küllüoba	Beycesultan	Karataş - Semahöyük	Alişar *	Alacahöyük*	Tarsus	Aslantepe						
EBA I	3200	Kumtepe IB		5			14			VI A						
				4												
				3												
	3000			2		XIX				I						
					I a	D					XVIII	II	VI B-1			
						E										
					I b	F					XVII	III	VI B-2			
					I c	G										
					I d	H					IV F	XVI	IV			
					I e	I-K ₂					IV E	XV				
2600																
EBA II	2600	I f	K ₂ -L	IV D		V:1	9			VI C						
		I g, h, i	M-N	IV C	XIV											
		I k	O-P	IV B	XIII c-b	V:2										
		II a		IV A	XIII A	V:3										
		II b		III C												
		II c				VI:1										
		II d-h														
		2300		III B												
		EBA III	2300	III		III A					XII	VI:2	6			VI D1-3
				IV		II D- E					XI-IX					
				II B-C	VII-VIII											
V				II A	VI											

Figure 1. Comparative Chronology of Anatolian EBA (Şahoğlu & Sotirakopoulou, 2011, Table 7.1; Von der Osten, 1937a, 1937b; Frangipane, 2011; Schoop, 2005, Tab. 2.5)

*Alişar and Alacahöyük chronologies are controversial

In order to follow the dynamism of the period and the interaction of these cultures was investigated through regional settlement patterns, intra-site architectural differentiations, and material culture. One of the pioneer studies was conducted by Manfred Korfmann, who conducted comparative studies on different archaeological sites in different regions to understand the settlement pattern of Anatolia. He looked at the settlement plans of Demircihöyük from the West-Central specialized production of metal objects, textiles Anatolia, Ahlatlıbel from Central Anatolia and Pulur- Sakyol from Eastern Anatolia and suggested the “Anatolian Settlement Plan” which is a closed courtyard surrounded by buildings (1983). The development of this plan has been articulated recently by Erkan Fidan (2013) (Fig. 3).

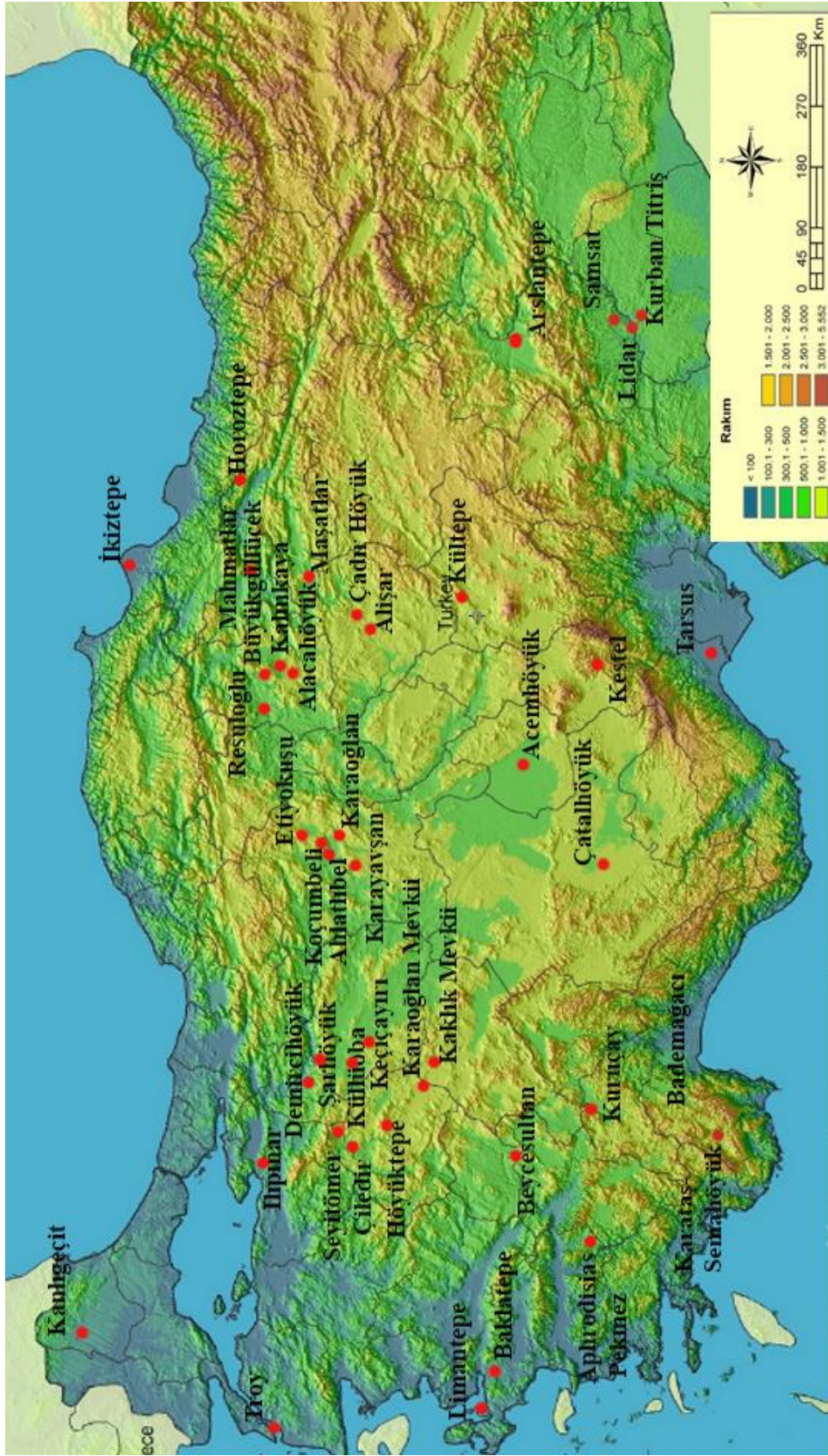


Figure 2. Main EBA Sites and the Sites Mentioned In the Text

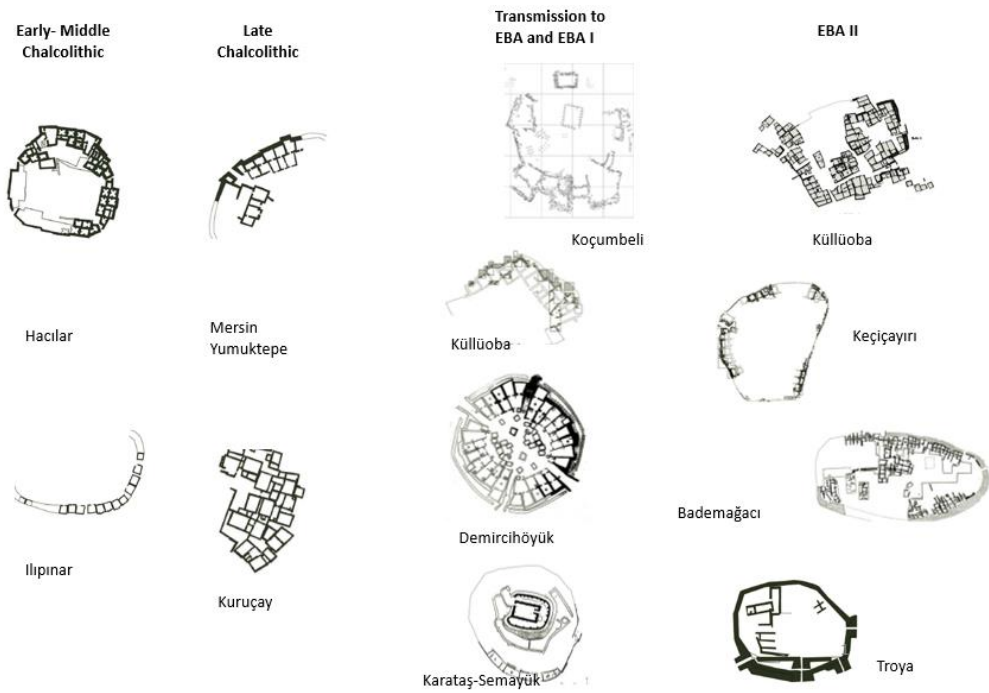


Figure 3. Anatolian Settlement Patterns (compiled by the author from Fidan, 2013, Levha1, Levha3, Levha 4; Bertram & İlgezdi, 2011, Abb.1)

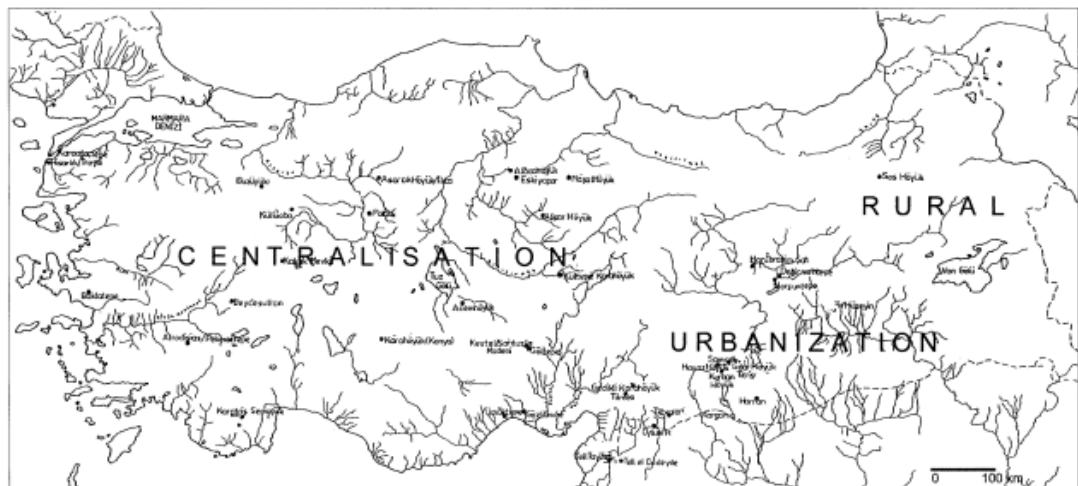


Figure 4. Different Socio- Political Systems in Anatolia (Çevik, 2007, p.136)

Although at sites such as Troy, Karataş, Alacahöyük, Beycesultan and Kültepe, possible centers of administration can be suggested (Sagona & Zimansky, 2009; Çevik, 2007; Steadman, 2011), much of the remaining corpus of sites cannot be immediately linked to a hierarchical structure. In fact, when size and size distribution of the settlements are considered, three types of socio-political formation have been

proposed for Anatolia; 1) urbanized societies in Southeast Anatolia, where large cities controlled their hinterland with a highly organized administrative system, 2) the centralized societies which had a flexible control of the surrounding area in West and Central Anatolia, 3) communities that remained rural with no evidence of hierarchy or a complex society in Eastern Anatolia (Fig. 4) (Çevik, 2007; Sagona & Zimasky, 2009; Fidan, 2013). Çevik explains this phenomenon by suggesting the topographical conditions of Anatolia as one of the reasons for this differentiation on socio-political organizations according to the geographic regions (2007).

EBA burials are regarded as another evidence of the social hierarchy. The burials of the EBA period were the main display areas where social prestige and status had been reflected, especially for the Western and Central Anatolian examples (Fig. 5). The studies indicate that four different burial types existed during EBA in Anatolia: stone cist graves, earth pits, clay container (pithoi, jars, pottery) burials and chamber tombs (Sagona & Zimansk, 2009). While it is possible to see all these three burial types in West Anatolia (Şahoğlu & Massa, 2011), in Central Anatolia the majority consists the clay container types and earthen pits (Yıldırım, 2006). However, chamber tombs seem a tradition only for Southeastern Anatolia, which had close affiliations to Mesopotamia (Yılmaz, 2006). During EBA period burials are found within or in close association with the domestic settlements, however the general picture indicates that during this time period the burials started to be concentrated in the cemeteries which were located outside the settlements, at sites such as Demircihöyük (Seeher, 2000), Resuloğlu (Yıldırım, 2006), Yortan (Kamil, 1982), Karataş – Semahöyük (Wheeler, 1974).

In general, the burial record indicates that both genders and children are represented in burials. Burial goods can include metal, stone, bone objects and textile working implements which seem to be differentially distributed amongst the age and gender groups. In specific, the male graves are distinguished by weapons like daggers, mace heads, and axes. Although it is not quite possible to suggest a specific grave good category for female burials, in consideration of Alacahöyük tombs, it might say that the female burials associated with the ornament objects such as bracelets, pins and ceramic containers (Gürsan- Salzmann, 1992). In general, child burials did not contain funerary objects. However, when they do contain such onjects, their number is not

more than one or two. Jewelry, little rattles, feeding bottles, and small figurines can be mentioned as the main funerary objects for children burials (Şahoğlu & Massa, 2011; Gürsan- Salzman, 1992).

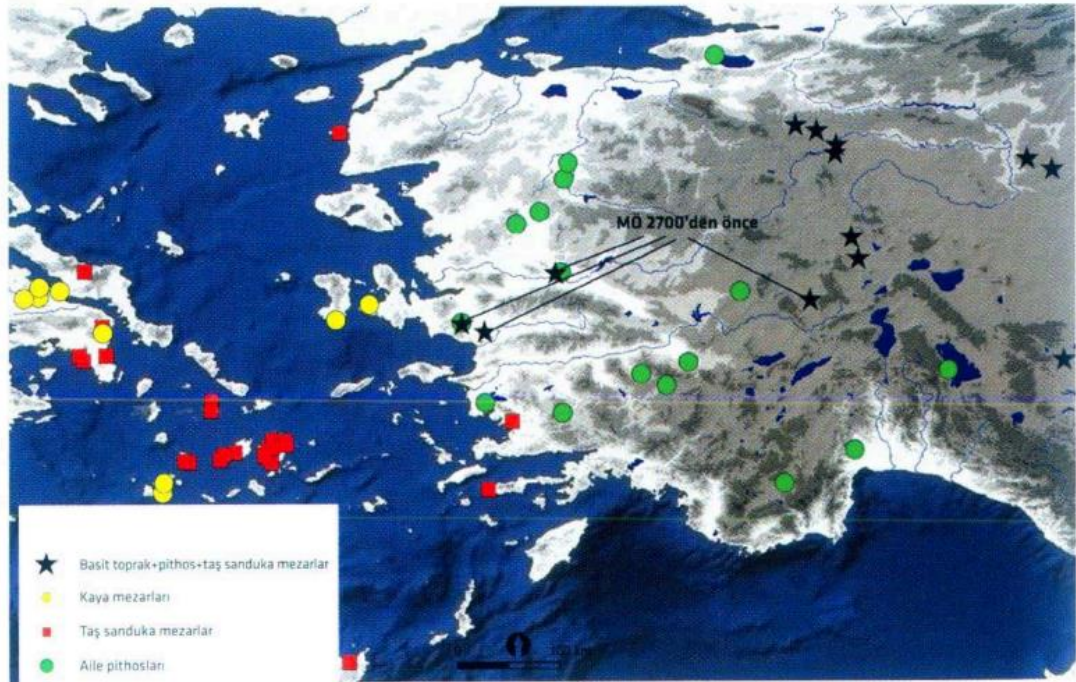


Figure 5. Distribution of Different Burials Types in Aegean and Western Anatolia (Massa & Şahoğlu, 2011, p.164)

At some sites, such as Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük, some individuals were given special treatment such as at the royal tombs of Alacahöyük and the chiefly burials of Demircihöyük. These burials can be regarded as one of the reflectors of social hierarchy in the EBA societies. These specific burials were filled with materials that were valuable economically and socially such as metal mace heads and diadems. The animal remains found in Alacahöyük and Demircihöyük burials suggest that these burials were also associated with possibly with the sacrifice ceremonies to death and post-mortem funerary activities (Şahoğlu & Massa, 2011; Gürsan- Salzman, 1992).

Specialized products mostly found in burials were also one of the essential indicators of the developing social complexity in EBA. One of the groups of specialized products was metal artifacts. Although it is known that the metal was used since the Late Chalcolithic period, the complex casting process and metalworking

techniques, and intentionally alloys were characteristic for EBA Anatolia (Sagona & Zimansky, 2009). The majority of these metal artifacts did not carry the attributes for practical use, but it seems that they bore a symbolic function like status markers, etc. (Gürsan- Salzman, 1992; Schoop, 2014). Therefore, metal artifacts became something fundamental for elites to reflect their rank in society.

It is known that textile was also another commodity which was desired by elites (Bachhuber, 2011; Schoop, 2014). Although there is not very visible evidence among the archaeological materials, the spindle whorls, which are made of metal and put as gifts into the male and female burials (Schoop, 2014), can be regarded as an indicator of the importance of the textile as one of the social hierarchy reflectors (Yakar & Taffet, 2007).

The fast rotating wheel pottery forms, which were introduced into Anatolia during the EBA period, can also be interpreted as evidence of rising social hierarchy and elites. It seems first appeared in Troy IIb along with the new pottery forms such as *depas amphikypellon* and tankards (Steadman, 2011; Düring, 2011). These new pottery types were associated with elite feasting and ritual alcohol drinking ceremonies (Schoop, 2011).

Rising elite culture and elite competition caused the intense desire of access to exotic and luxury items which in turn powered up existing local and international trade networks and cause the establishment of emerged long-distance trade networks which were institutionalized by Assyrian Trade Colonies in 2000 BC (Fig. 6). These trade routes were mainly followed on the distribution of new pottery types (*depas*, tankard, two-handled cup, wheel-made plate, incised pyxis, cutaway-spouted jug and ‘Syrian bottles’), tin-copper artifacts and precious stones such as lapis lazuli. Over the material culture, it has been suggested that there was an inland trade route during the EBA period which was connecting Mesopotamia and Aegean over Cilicia (Şahoğlu, 2005; Efe, 2007; Schoop, 2011; Massa & Palmisano, 2018).

They were not only the main subsistence choices (Arbuckle, 2014; Çakırlar, 2016) but also were used as ways of communication to reflect wealth, prestige and social status in the EBA societies. Arbuckle (2012) defined them as the “mobile banks” and social capitals which were used to inform about the social status and group membership which is highly visible on Alacahöyük and Sarıket cemeteries. The meat

amount and the secondary products of these animals such as milk and especially the power of cattle, which help to create the surplus of agricultural commodities, and wool, which was very important for elite textile, increased the social and economic value of these animals and were used to manipulate the social relationships and status (Arbuckle, 2014, 2015).

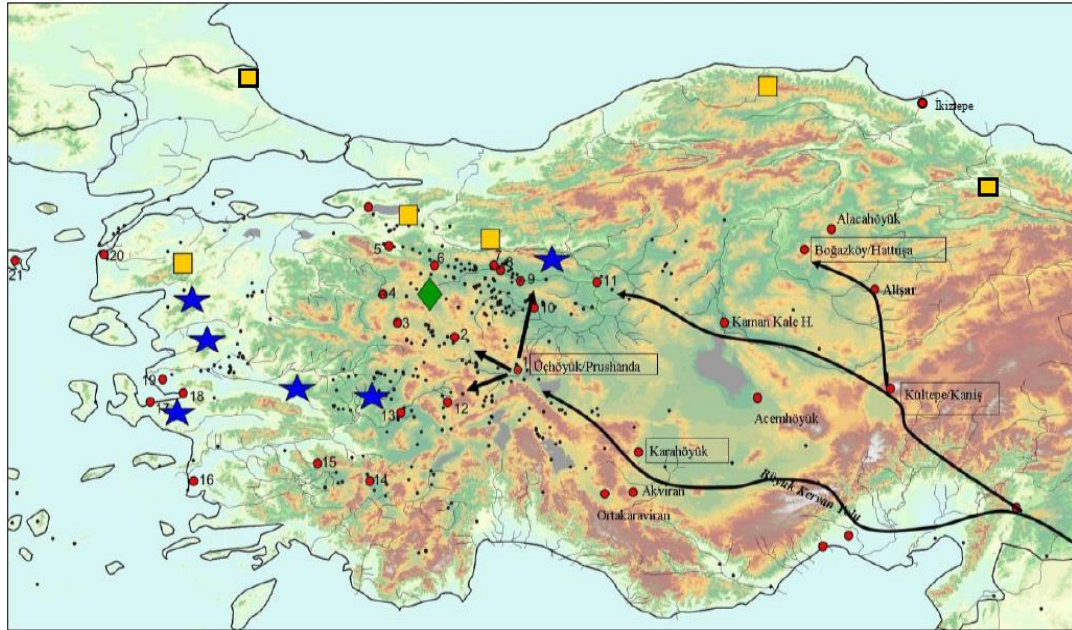


Figure 6. Metal Reserves and the Great Caravan Route (Sarı, 2012, p.224)

Ultimately, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the significance of animal figurines within the social and economic context briefly described above and to understand the existence of these animal figurines I tried to answer the following questions: Why are animal figurines made during the EBA? What could this symbolic communication be about? Could the representation of animals in miniature be related to a ritual? Could this ritual be about the subsistence concerns of the community? Or, could there be other reasons related to wider belief systems that may have been embedded in earlier prehistoric traditions?

In this context, Chapter 2 will cover a literature review of previous approaches to prehistoric animal imagery and a methodology will be proposed to interpret the animal figurines of Koçumbeli and comparative sites.

In Chapter 3, the case site of Koçumbeli will be introduced, and its figurine assemblage will be evaluated in terms of their thematic representations, raw materials, production technique, color, breakage as well as their contexts. Then, the published figurine assemblages from Alişar, Ahlatlıbel, Karaoğlan, Çiledir, Troy, Kanlıgeçit, Küllüoba, Şarhöyük, Höyüktepe, Seyitömer, Demircihöyük, Alacahöyük, and Kalinkaya will be evaluated in similar terms, in an attempt to have a better spatial and material understanding on the animal figurines of EBA. However, the spatial context of animal figurines are ambiguous in many EBA sites like Koçumbeli; therefore, the sites of Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük, which are relatively better studied in terms of spatial contexts of animal figurines, will be analyzed in more detail to understand the spatial relations of the animal figurines during EBA period.

In Chapter 4, to understand animal figurines in EBA social contexts, first I will discuss the importance of the depicted animals on the figurines in the EBA subsistence economy and try to explain their socio-economic value. Then, I will try to interpret the function of these figurines in EBA by comparing spatial and material interactions within time and space.

Finally, Chapter 5 will be a summary of the analysis conducted on EBA animal figurines and the outcomes of the evaluations. Furthermore, it will contain suggestions for the further studies.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARD A METHODOLOGY FOR UNDERSTANDING ANIMAL FIGURINES: APPROACHES TO ANIMAL IMAGERY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

In this chapter, main methodological and interpretative views on animal imagery and animal figurines from Upper Paleolithic to EBA will be evaluated. I will try to indicate how the interpretations have been shaped for different time periods, and then I will propose my methodological approach.

Some of the most interesting interpretive schemes have been developed from Upper Paleolithic animal imagery which was observed both on the cave walls and as three-dimensional ivory figurines. As the well-known painted caves of Lascaux (Fig. 7), Chauvet and Altamira indicate, the most frequently observed species on the Upper Paleolithic cave walls were horse and bison depictions (Renfrew & Bahn, 2001), albeit deer, lions, bear, and aurochs were also commonly depicted (Chauvet & Deschamps, 1996; Lewis- Williams, 2014).

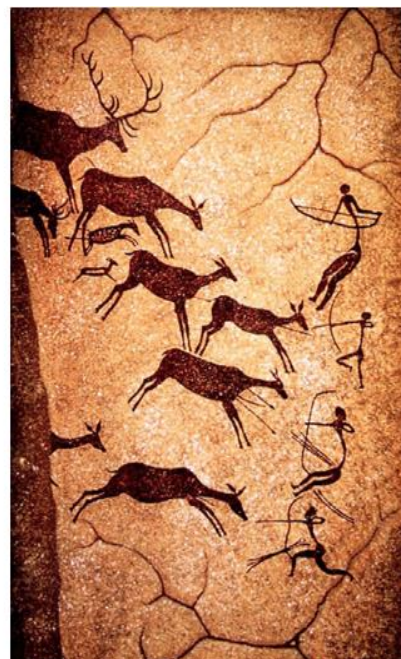


Figure 7. Lascaux Cave Paintings, Upper Paleolithic

Similar animals were also produced as three-dimensional ivory statuettes, i.e., figurines (Conard, 2003; White, 1989; Amirkhanov & Lev, 2002; Sandars, 1995). The best examples are known from the Vogelherd, Hohlenstein-Stadel and Hohle Fels Caves in Germany as well as the sites of Zaraysk in Russia and Vela Spila Cave in Croatia (Fig. 8, 9, 10, 11). Although there are not many interpretative studies on the Paleolithic animal figurines, there are detailed studies for animal imagery on wall paintings.



Figure 8. Paleolithic Figurines from Vogelherd, Germany (Porr, 2010, Figure 1)



Figure 9. Paleolithic Figurines from Vogelherd (1, 2), Hohlenstein (3), Geißenklösterle (4, 7) and HohleFels (8, 10) (Porr, 2010, Figure 2)



Figure 10. Bison Carving from Zaraysk, Russia ca.20.000 BC (Amirkhanov & Lev, 2002, p. 613)

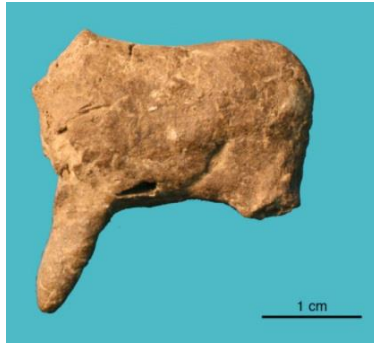


Figure 11. Clay Animal Figurine from Vela Spila, Croatia (ca.18000 BC) defined as foreleg of a deer representation (Farbstein et. al., 2012, Fig.6)

One of the first systematic studies of Upper Paleolithic animal imagery was proposed by Leroi – Gourhan who analyzed the spatial distribution of animal images on the cave walls (1964, 1965, 1966, and 1968). He noticed that among all the animal imagery especially horse and bison images were concentrated on the central sections of the caves along with the abstract shapes such as single dots, row of dots, short strokes, triangles, rectangular. He suggested that abstract shapes related to animal imagery can be related with the gender representation. He said while dots, strokes are the male signs; rectangular, triangles and oval shapes are female signs and he analyzed the relation between the abstract signs and animal imagery and he suggested that bison were standing for female and the horses for the male symbols (Leroi- Gourhan, 1968, p. 137), in later studies he abandoned this suggestion (Fig. 12).



Figure 12. Leroi – Gourhan's Gender Articulation over Animal Imagery
a) Bison as a female representation b) Horse as a male representation

Whereas this early study was concerned with the elaboration of sexual symbolism, later studies focused more on the broader ritual aspects and their relation to economic activities. For example, Rice and Paterson (1985, 1986) claimed that the animal depictions were related to the desired source of meat or the depictions of the most feared animals. Conkey (1989) proposed that these images were some kind of sympathetic magic for the hunt. Mithen (1988) suggested that Upper Paleolithic hunters depicted the animals which they most desired to kill and the social context might have also been used to educate young hunters and to refresh the memories of adult ones. Also according to David Lewis-Williams (2014), the cave imagery was part of a shamanic practice that was enacted during initiation rituals, possibly to instill group identity and ensure the success of the hunt (see also Owens & Hayden, 1997). However, zooarchaeological evidence reveals that in many cases the depicted animals and the animal remains of the sites are rarely in tune; while on a global level, mainly red deer and reindeer remains were found in the faunal data, bison and horse were the species mainly depicted on the walls for the Upper Paleolithic period (Russell, 2012).

When we come to South West Anatolia, the earliest existence of animal imagery comes in the form of cave engravings in the Epipaleolithic Paleolithic strata of Antalya, Adiyaman and Kars caves (Otte et al., 1995; Sagona & Zimmanky, 2009), and open air rock engravings of possibly Epipaleolithic age at Tırşın valley (Sevin, 1997), carvings on T shaped statues at the PPNA site of Göbekli Tepe (Schmidt, 2007), carvings on the stone vessels of the PPNA site of Körtik Tepe (Özkaya & Coşkun & Soyukaya, 2013) as well as small sized stone figurines and beads from many of these Early Neolithic sites.

For the case of animal imagery at the Early Neolithic site of Göbekli Tepe, researchers firstly tested the idea, which have been suggested for the Upper Paleolithic cave paintings, of hunting rituals for the favored game species of the hunter-gatherers. Eventually, it is found out that the species which are frequently depicted at the site were not showing consistency with the diet (Peters & Schmidt, 2004). After this theory's failure, other interpretations are suggested.

The first one is that the T shaped pillars are anthropomorphic beings associated with "ancestor cults" of the era and the animal imagery on them serves as attributes of these ancestral beings, such as their guarding animals (Peters & Schmidt, 2004). In

association with this claim, it has also been suggested that the T shaped pillars with animal images functioned as totemic emblems of different social groups that gathered for rituals at Göbeklitepe (Fig. 13). It is also suggested that, in these rituals spiritual links between certain animals and ancestors are built through shamanic activities.

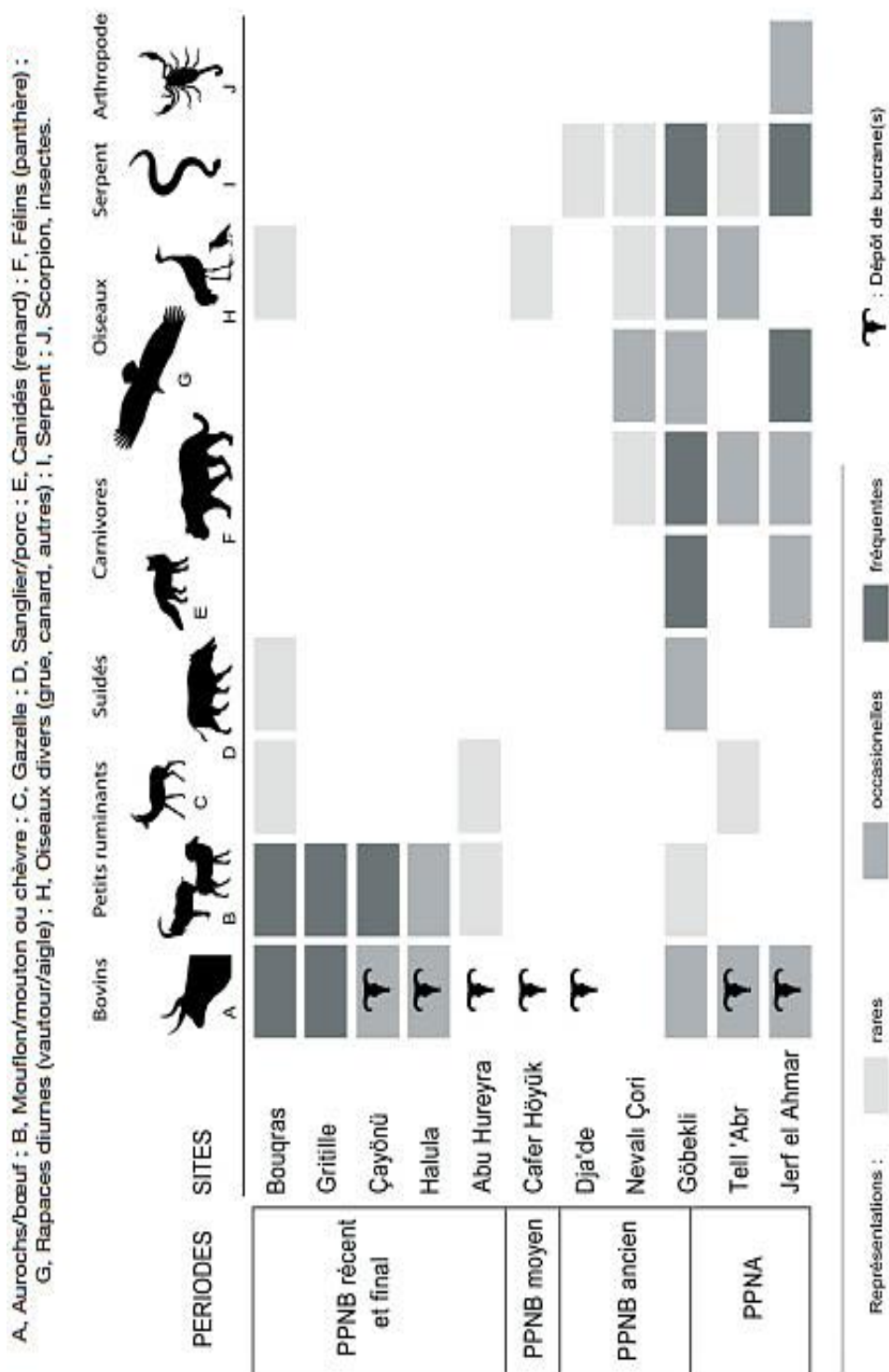
During the later stages of the Early Neolithic, clay becomes the material medium of choice for the production of animal imagery in the form of figurines and the wide variety observed in previous periods began to diminish. At this stage, which is well known from the sites of Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, Ain Ghazal and Çatalhöyük, the depictions focused mostly on the domesticates and proto-domesticates, such as cattle, sheep, goat, although a small number of other types of animals could have also existed depending on the site, such as bear, deer, fox, dog, felines and such (Morales, 1990; Morsch, 2002; Schmandt- Bessarat, 1997; Russell & Meece, 2006). As a matter of fact, animal figurines continued to be produced without much significant stylistic or thematic change from this point onwards to the end of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia.



Figure 13. Göbeklitepe T- Shaped Pillars

Some researchers (Helmer, Gourichon & Stourdeur, 2004) explained that this thematic change was related to the dramatic shifts in subsistence that took place during the Neolithic Transition where agriculture based on domesticated animals and plants began to be the norm. They claim that once the practices of livestock farming began to be widely adopted, the proto-domesticates, i.e., cattle, sheep, goat, began to be the focus of animal imagery in the form of clay figurines (Table 1).

Table 1. Frequencies of Animal Representations in the Northern Levant and Southeast of Turkey between the 10th and the 7th millennia. (Helmer, Gourichon & Stordeur 2004, Table 2)



On the other hand, Cauvin explains this thematic change with the association of a new belief system which actually preceded and thus allowed the plant and animal domestication (2000). He claims that there is a focus on cattle representations in the form of horns, skulls and paintings, and “female” representations mostly in the form of figurines. Specifically based on Çatalhöyük imagery, he explains these woman and bull representations were the major part of a religion which emerged in Neolithic Near East and continued through the Bronze Age.

In his explanation, the female representations stood for a supreme female deity which he associated with the plant domestication, whereas the bull/aurochs representations stood for a male god which subordinated the female deity and is possibly related with animal domestication (Fig. 14) (Cauvin, 2000). He also regards this kind of representation as a metaphor for controlling the wild (Russell, 2012). A similar kind of explanation was also suggested by Hodder (1990). He suggested that these representations might have been used as a metaphor for controlling the people by showing the control of the wild (1990). Hodder claims that “symbolic domestication” preceded the physical one which was mediated by bringing images and parts of these animals to the household.

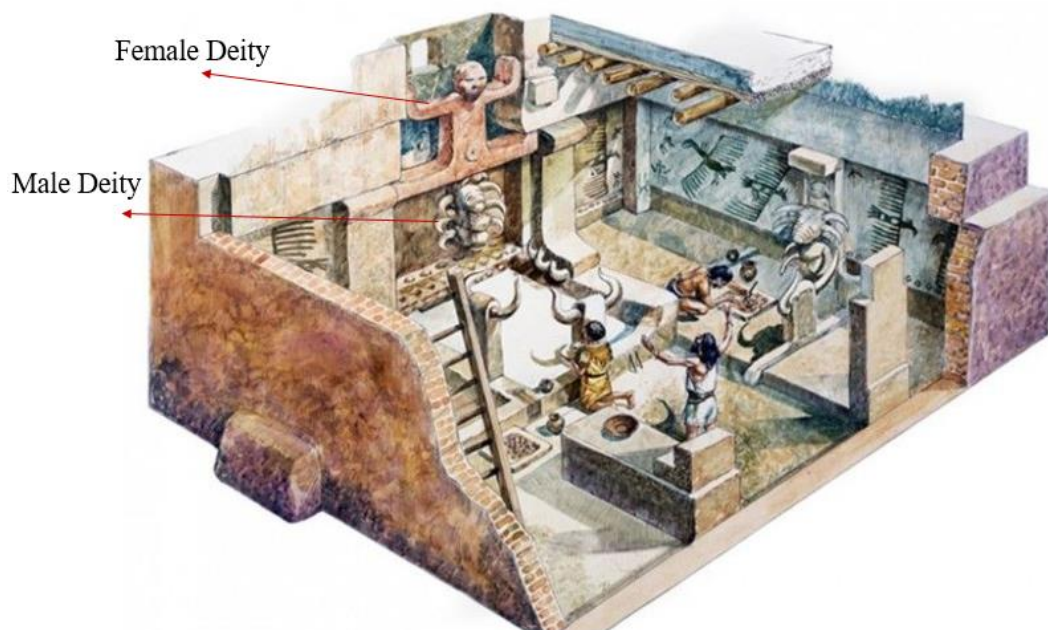


Figure 14. Çatalhöyük house construction and Cauvin’s deity interpretations on house imagery

Arbuckle (2014, 2015) argues that this thematic shift toward cattle, sheep, and goat is related to a belief system that is shaped by the shifts in the social basis of the subsistence system. He suggests that in Paleolithic times people depicted wild animals that are associated with the most meat contribution. He thinks that the reason for this was the maintenance of social hierarchies through the distribution of hunted animals' meat which in return reinforce the prestige of the hunters. He claims that this kind of relationship between the hunted, hunter and the social group must have increased the symbolic importance of some specific type of animals. He continues that this symbolic importance of the animals become stronger in the following periods. He says especially in Bronze Age display of power and prestige by using animal symbolism became more explicit.

Otherwise, Morsch (2002), who studied the Nevali Çori animal figurines, tried to explain the function of these animal figurines by making an analogy with anthropomorphic figurines. He suggests that anthropomorphic figurines were used as a toy for role-playing exercises to learn the family and social mechanism. In this manner, he offers that these animal figurines might be the toys of hunter-gatherer cultures.

In Ain Ghazal, over one-hundred coarsely handmade clay animal figurines have been found in different contexts: under the house floors, in storage bins with other artifacts, ash mixed trash deposits or as a hoard in the fill (Fig. 15) (Schmandt-Besserat, 1997). Schmandt-Besserat (1997) said that they showed a homogeneity in terms of manufacture. Similar themes were made over and over again in the same style with the same material. Any gesture or the pose of the animals have not been shown on the figurines. They have been depicted in standing position, the facial parts (eyes, nostrils, and mouths) and the sexual indications are excluded. The foreparts of the figurines are exaggerated.

Two main animal species have been observed among the horned animal figurines by analyzing the body, horn and tail characteristics which are bovids and caprines. While Schmandt- Besserat (1997) suggested that these animal figurines might be representations of adult males, Rollefson (2008) identified some as juveniles, some as adult representations. On some of the figurines stabbing, cutting activities and impressions around their neck have been observed (Rollefson, 1986, 2008; Schmandt

– Besserat, 1997). As a result of this observation, Rollefson suggests that this kind of representation might be related to the continuing state of domestication of cattle and hunting magic. A similar idea has also been offered by Morales who studies Çayönü clay animal figurines. He claimed that these figurines were used as wish magic to hope to attract specific animals in the hunt and they were probably discarded after the hunt (1990).

On the other hand, Schmandt – Besserat, in consideration of written sources (from the 1st and 2nd millennium BC.) suggests that animal figurines were used as votive offerings to gods, protection for foundations, metaphors of cosmic forces as an element in magic rituals instead of being just toys. In regard of textual evidence, she also suggested that these figurines were made in required number to display on an altar for a short time and then to discard by burying, burning or throwing them (1997).



Figure 15. Animal Figurines from 'Ain Ghazal (Schmandt- Besserat 1997, Fig.1)

Over 400 clay animal figurines have been found in Çatalhöyük, which are crudely made hand shaped, and left to dry or left next to the ovens and hearths (Fig. 16). Meskell focused on the Çatalhöyük clay animal figurines in terms of production method, raw material, theme, and age and compared results with the zoo-archaeological data. The species identification of Çatalhöyük animal figurines is made in consideration of body, head and tail type (Meskell, 2015). Facial features and sexual characteristics are omitted. During her examination, Meskell finds out that animal

figurines may not be directly related to the subsistence systems. While the remains of sheep/goat seem more abundant in the faunal record of the site, wild cattle representations dominate the animal figurine assemblages albeit boar/pig, equid, deer, and caprine are also present.

At Çatalhöyük, animal figurines were found in secondary depositional contexts outside of the buildings generally in the middens and sometimes in the places where animal-related activities had been held such as penning and butchering. On some of the figurines stabbing activities, fingernail marks and intentional deformations have been observed. However, any prominent indication of intentional breakage has not been identified. It is suggested that these animals were shown in different phases of their lifecycles. While some representations were related to the juvenile depiction, some were considered as the adult depictions (Martin & Meskell, 2012).



Figure 16. Çatalhöyük Clay Animal Figurines

In Çatalhöyük example, clay figurines are not the only display arena for animals. The cattle which is also the dominant image among the clay animal figurines were also stressed with installations and wall paintings. These displays were mainly found in some special houses which are called as “shrines” (Mellart, 1967) or “history houses” (Hodder & Pels, 2010). These houses identified as symbolically more elaborate places which were associated with many burials or/and animal installations (horns or skull of cattle and sheep/ goat) and paintings. Also, it is recorded that these places were also associated with communal feasting activities. Although there is not

any sexual indicator of the animal figurines, the zooarchaeological evaluation of the installations and bucrania indicate that there is a deliberate choice of the male animals. It has been explained as the fact that the males of these species are larger than females (Meskell, 2015; Hodder & Pels, 2010). It is also possible to see this sexual preference on the Çatalhöyük paintings too (Fig. 17).



a



b

Figure 17. Çatalhöyük Wall Paintings

a) Çatalhöyük, Bull hunting scene b) Çatalhöyük Stag Hunting Scene

Copies of painting on plaster. 6th millennium BC.

In concerning the broader use of animal imagery at the site, Meskell demonstrates that there is a representational overlap on wall paintings, installations, and figurines (Meskell, 2015). Same animals were shown in different ways that varied in terms of context, size, and other spatial associations. In this regard, she sees these figurines, wall installations and wall paintings provided complementary communication mediums for different scales of communal and private social

transactions, such as exchange, teaching, negotiations and rituals (Fig.18). In this regard, she suggests that these animal figurines as one of the communication mediums in personal scale.

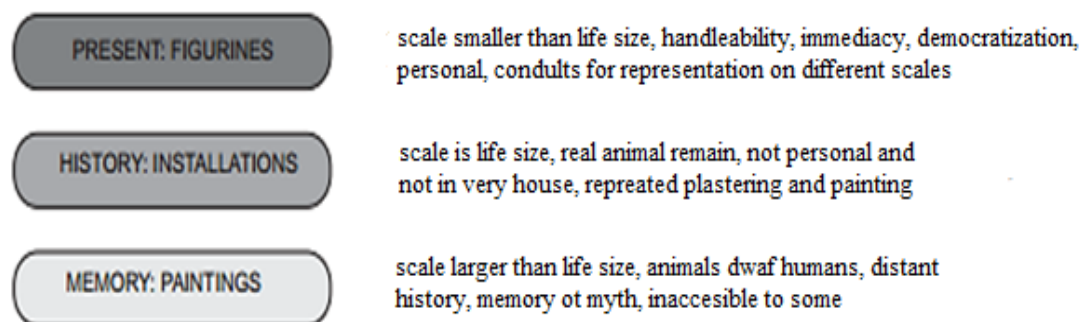


Figure 18. Figural Scales as Çatalhöyük (Meskell, 2015, Figure 9)

Meskell (2015) also evaluated the anthropomorphic figurines and animal figurines together. She claimed that anthropomorphic figurines had some kind of didactic concerns about personhood, aging, sexuality, maturity and a preoccupation with flesh. In this manner, she claims that there might be similar concerns might have been invoked during the production of the animal figurines (Martin & Meskell, 2012).

The studies on animal imagery for Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic times indicate that the animals and their depictions have a special place in human life. Researchers suggested various explanations combining social and economic aspects of prehistoric societies. However, when we consider the animal figurines of the Early Bronze Age Anatolia, it is difficult to see any systematic analysis except a brief mention of their existence usually in catalog style publications if any.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, systematic publication of animal figurines from the EBA sites is a rarity. The reason for this might be the fact that these objects are not reliable for chronological comparisons because they remained almost unchanged since the Neolithic Period. Demircihöyük is probably the best-documented site, and the animal figurines were also meticulously recorded in terms of their spatial contexts through the phases. Various statistical analyses have also been applied to these animal figurines to understand the typological variety

through the phases. However, well-argued interpretive schemes do not exist even in this case.

Based on the literature review presented above, animal figurines of Koçumbeli can be associated with rituals related to subsistence activities as well as the structuring of social identities and social relations at various scales during these rituals. To be able to understand the significance of Koçumbeli and the general EBA figurines, firstly a general typological scheme concerning the depicted animal species should be realized and tested against the thesis that these depictions are a direct demonstration of the species focused in subsistence activities. To realize this, there should be a general discussion of the zooarchaeological evidence from the EBA period.

The suggested typology should also consider the age and sex of the species, to see if these types of articulations are an indication of the social structure of the societies concerned. To be able to support the arguments in this case, we need to compare our data with reliable contexts of sex and age evaluations such as the burial record.

Another issue concerning the analysis would be the selection of raw materials and mediums of animal imagery. Although most of the animal figurines discussed within the text pertains to the clay objects, there are peculiar examples, such as the lavish metal standards and statuettes from “the royal cemetery” of Alacahöyük. None of our comparative material compares with these metal statuettes, and their existence within the elite burial chambers suggest that differences in animal figurine production were intertwined with the development of social stratification that was linked with the metal trade during the Early Bronze Age (Atakuman, 2017).

All of the above evaluations will be performed through a systematic analysis of the published data from comparative sites. Besides the typological comparisons, the spatial context of the animal figurines should be evaluated where possible.

CHAPTER 3

THE SITE OF KOÇUMBELİ AND ITS ANIMAL FIGURINES

Koçumbeli is an EBA settlement located on hilly terrain in the south-west of Ankara province, in the campus of the Middle East Technical University (Fig. 19) and shows cultural similarities with other EBA sites such as Demircihöyük, Alacahöyük, Etiyokuşu, Ahlatlıbel, and Karaoğlan. Excavations were started by Burhan Tezcan in 1964, then carried out by Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu and Sevim Buluç between 1966 and 1968.

Koçumbeli is a small village with rectangular and oval planned houses. Houses generally have two rooms, an oval room adjoining one of a rectangular or irregular plan. House constructed of mud-brick walls on a stone foundation. The post-holes and the stone post bases indicate that the roofs of single storied structures supported by wooden posts. The hearts shaped in rectangular and oval forms are existing in the houses against the walls or in the courtyard. (Tuna, Buluç & Tezcan, 2012).

According to archaeological studies, Koçumbeli has three building phases, which are dated to EBA II and III periods. Although at the beginning Koçumbeli, was dated to the second of the 3rd millennium BC (EBA II-III), the cultural similarities with Demircihöyük levels L-OP and HI-K and even with the older levels suggest that these settlements can be dated to an earlier time (Bertram, 2008).

Architectural remains cover approximately a 45 x 40 m area and are surrounded by an enclosure wall from the southern, eastern and northern parts. This wall is regarded as a defensive wall by Tezcan. Later researches reveal that there is a gap on the eastern side of the wall which is considered as the entrance of the settlement (Bertram & İlgezdi, 2009). According to the studies of Bertram in 2008, the settlement is almost entirely revealed by the earlier excavation studies (Fig. 19) and there is not any architectural or structural elements around the settlement (Bertram, 2008).

Although a cemetery is not found outside of the Koçumbeli settlement, a grave has been detected which was closed with stone lid in the settlement courtyard. In the

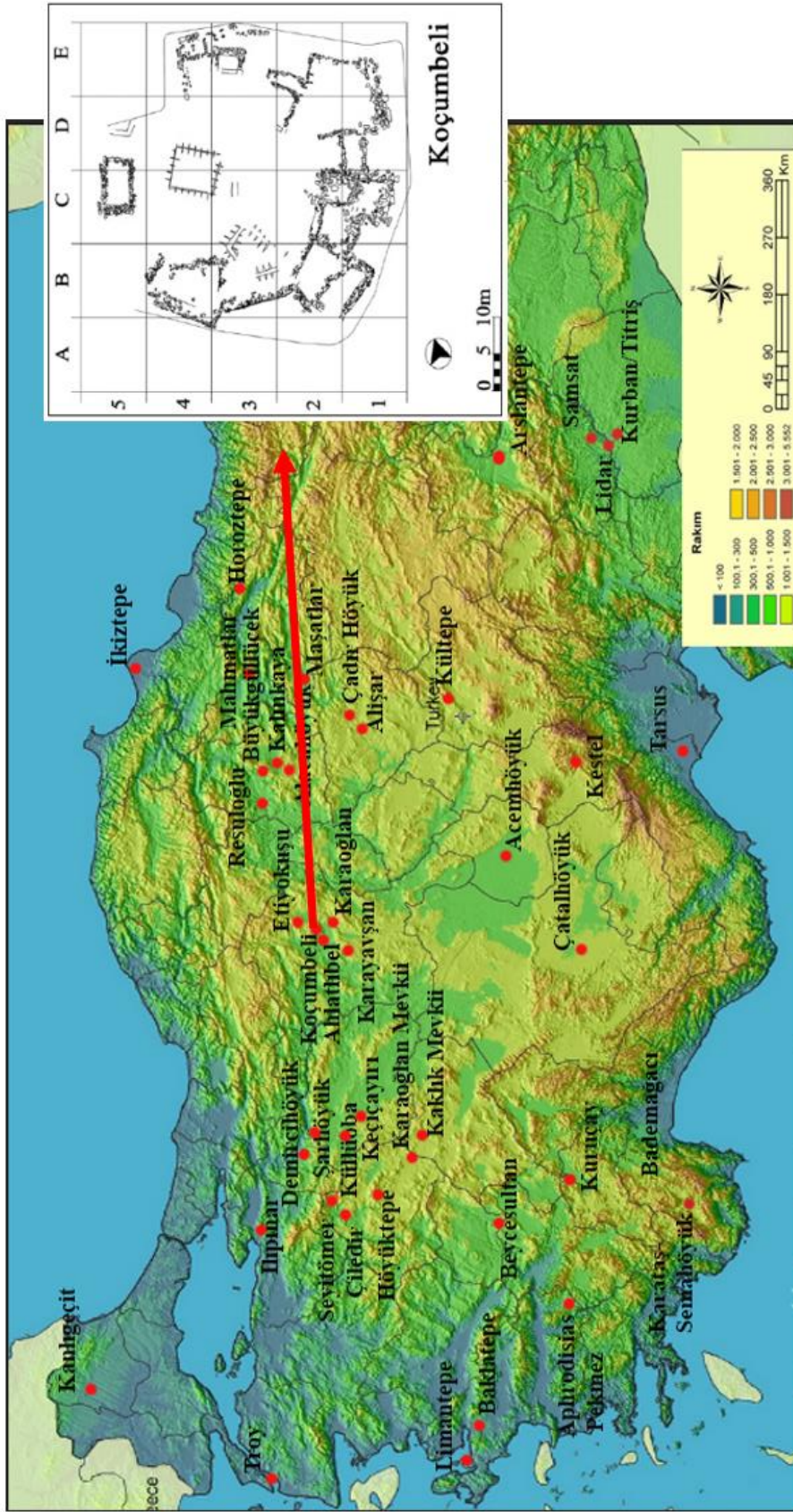


Figure 19. Location and Settlement Plan of Koçumbeli (Bertram & Ilgezdi, 2011, Abb.1)

grave context, a metal spearhead, a dagger, a bronze pin, and golden earrings have been found. These objects are highly consistent with the burial customs of the period. Although the sex of the individual could not be identified, the position of the body and the burials indicate that it belongs to a male (Atakuman, 2017).

Koçumbeli is one of the rich settlements among the Central Anatolian EBA settlements in terms of the archaeological materiality which is consisting of potteries, figurines (anthropomorphic, animal, abstract), spindle whorls, loom weights, stamp seals, tools and artifacts made of stone, bone and bronze. In regard to this archaeological materiality of Koçumbeli, it has been suggested that Koçumbeli was a pastoral village where primary economic activities were agriculture, animal husbandry and textile production (Tuna, Buluç & Tezcan, 2012).

3.1 The Characteristics and Typology of Koçumbeli Animal Figurines

Koçumbeli figurines are one of the most interesting assemblages of the Central Anatolian EBA. These figurines can be categorized under two titles as anthropomorphic figurines and zoomorphic figurines. While the anthropomorphic figurines of Koçumbeli have been systematically and comparatively studied to bring a new perspective to EBA centralization process by Atakuman (2017), the existence of the animal figurines were only mentioned with a few sentences in the existing Koçumbeli site publications (Tezcan, 1966, p.7) however, they were not subjected to any systematic researches. Twenty animal figurines have been found in Koçumbeli in total (Fig. 20, Appendix A). Unfortunately, there is no information about their spatial contexts. Although the majority of these animal figurines have similar features, four of them differ either in terms of surface treatment or depicted animal species. The details of these figurines are given inside of the typology description. In this section, I mention the general nature of these clay animal figurines.

All figurines were hand shaped possibly with the locally available clay source, with chaff and small stone inclusions. These figurines were most probably baked in an open hearth in a low baking degree like 600°- 800° (personal opinion of ceramic specialist Ödül Işıtman). The length of the figurines is generally in the range of 3 -6 cm and their colors vary between beige, reddish beige, brown beige and black. Generally horned animals, which show variations in terms of color, size, and theme, were preferred to be shaped. They were mostly broken from the horns, legs and facial



Figure 20. Koçumbeli Clay Animal Figurines

parts; however, it is hard to understand whether they are broken deliberately or not. They might have been deliberately broken or they might have been broken during the baking process due to the lousy baking conditions. They also might be broken while they were under the earth or during the excavations which is a more possible scenario for because of the random breakage points and also missing part are mostly thin and fragile parts such as the tip of the heads and horns. The majority of the figurines have soot either on their surface or on the broken parts. However, it is hard to tell whether the soot appeared during the baking process or because of contact with fire after their discard.

Horned animal depictions show variety in terms of tail depictions and even in some cases on horns. The horns are generally shaped in a crescent form which are starting sides of the head and making a curve upward, but there are two examples in which the horns are leaning backward. Although a significant change has not been observed on the horns depictions, tails seem intentionally differently shaped to represent a specific type of species. In this manner, these horned figurines can be categorized as long-tailed ones, short-tailed ones, and no tailed ones. On the figurines, long tails were represented with two parallel incised lines or pinching along the hind limbs. Under the consideration of long tail and crescent-shaped horns, this type of animal figurines can be associated with the schematic of a cattle.

On short-tailed figurines, tails were represented as short and pointy at the end of the buttocks. Although most of these types of animal figurines have similar shape horns with long-tailed ones, regarding shortness of tails, this type of representation more likely can be associated with the schematic of sheep or goat. While in some of the figurines no tail is present, these figurines are also considered as sheep or goat representations.

On some of the figurines, facial details have been observed, such as eyes, nostrils, and mouth. These features were depicted with incision technique. The eyes are depicted in two different ways; one is depicting with the simple dot on each side of the head and the second one is with a hole which starts from one side of the body and goes to the other side. On the clay animal figurines, no strong sexual characteristic has been identified. At first sight, horns might be related to the male representations; however, horn situation can show varieties in terms of domestication status. Among

these twenty figurines, six thematically different animal species have been observed which are cattle, sheep, goat, boar, hedgehog, and bird. Since some of these categories are wild animals, it is also questioned whether cattle, sheep and goat representations are referencing of wild forms even though the domesticated cattle, sheep, and goat were fundamental for the EBA economy. These clay animal figurines are categorized based on their physical attributes of the animals in nature (Table 2, Table 3).

According to this evaluation, the following points can be made;

1. Cattle: Horns are visible on both sexes of wild and domesticated adults. Calves do not have any visible horn. Horns have a crescent shape, and the body is relatively more prominent than the other animal species which are mentioned. Also, the size of the males is bigger than females for wild and domestic versions. The body has a rectangular form from the side, and a long thin tail completes the body and the face has a triangular shape from the front side.

2. Sheep: Horns are visible on both sexes of wild and domesticated adult. However, on domestic sheep, horns more visible on male than on female. Horns are growing towards the back of the head and then curves towards both sides. Horns are not visible for the lambs of domestic and wild sheep. The size of the male is bigger than the female for wild and domestic versions. The body has a rectangular form from the side, and a short tail completes the body and the face has a triangular shape from the front side.



















3. Goat: Horns are visible on both sexes of wild and domesticated adult. However, on domestic goat, horns more visible on male than on female. Horns grown towards the back of the head and curves down instead of the sides. Horns are not visible for the lambs of domestic and wild sheep. The size of the male is bigger than the female for wild and domestic versions. The body has a rectangular form from the side, and a short tail completes the body and the face has a triangular shape from the front side.

4. Boar: It is a wild animal. Both sexes have tusks, but the tusks are more visible on the males. The size of the male is bigger than the female. Piglet does not have a visible tusk, but differently, from the adults, it has a stripy fur.

Table 2. Domesticated animals in nature mentioned in the typology

Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Pig	
				<p>Domestic Adult Male</p>
				<p>Domestic Adult Female</p>
				<p>Domestic Baby</p>

Table 3. Wild animals in nature mentioned in the typology

	Cattle	Sheep	Goat	Wild Boar	Hedgehog	Bird	
							Wild Adult Male
							Wild Adult Female
							Wild Baby

5. Pig: It is the domesticated version of boar. The species have clearly visible tusks or fur like the wild ones have. The size of the male is bigger than the female.

6. Hedgehog: It is a wild animal, and it has many spikes instead of a smooth fur, and the size of the male is bigger than the female.

7. Bird: In general birds are animals which have wings, feathers, and two legs. The world itself covers many species inside, but the majority of them are wild animals. Since I do not have any certain species assessment on the Koçumbeli possible abstract bird figurines, I do not give more explanation for this theme.

Based on the above evaluation, my typology is categorized under five groups: Type I (Cattle Group), Type II (Sheep/ Goat Group), Type III (Wild Boar Group), Type IV (Hedgehog or Wild Piglet) and Type V (Bird). These groups are based on the criteria of physical attributes, such as tail length, body, and head shape. It is generally difficult to differentiate cattle from sheep and goat merely based on the horn shape. However, the tail length can be an indicator. While the long-tailed animal figurines are identified as cattle, the short-tailed animal figurines and the figurines without a tail are identified as sheep or goat. These two categories can be called as the horned animal category. Some of the animal figurines of Koçumbeli had been shaped differently from this horned animal category. Their species identification are made regarding their general physical attributions.

3.1.1 Type I (Cattle Group)

This group contains ten horned animal figurines in varied colors (beige, reddish beige and brownish beige) and sizes (Fig. 21, 22, 23). Eight of them are depicted in a similar body form which is a robust rectangular body with a long tail. Seven of these figurines were depicted with a crescent shape horn (Fig. 21. a, b; Fig. 22.c, d, e, f, Fig. 23. g, i, j). One item is found broken, the head of the figurine is broken from the neck and the head is missing; however, its tail suggests that this one is also cattle figurine (Fig.23. h). On this broken figurine, soot has been observed on the broken part. There is another figurine fragment included in this group which is also broken from the neck, but the body is missing. This particular figurine has been categorized under Type I because of the relatively massive head size and its crescent shape horns (Fig. 21. a). This particular figurine also has soot on the broken parts and the surface.

Although among Type I figurines generally the facial elements were not depicted, on four of them the eyes had been depicted. On three of these figurines eyes were depicted with a single hole (Fig.21. a, Fig.22. d, e). While on two of them, the eyes were clearly visible, on the other one since it is broken, only the traces of the eye hole is visible (Fig. 21. a, Fig. 22. d). On the fourth one, the eyes were depicted with two small dots (Fig. 23. i). Among Type I animal figurines, one differs from the others in terms of production technique and surface treatment (Fig. 23. j). It has a slender body with elongated body parts in a dark black color. According to the ceramic specialist Ödül Işıtman, on this figurine, a special treatment must have been applied to give this specific color (possibly oil raku technique). Also, differently from all of the Koçumbeli clay animal figurine assemblage, its surface is well-polished. Because of the slender body and the production technique, the first impression on this figurine was the representation of a deer however due to the similarity of this figurine with “bull” statues in the Royal Cemeteries of Alacahöyük, this figurine is included in the cattle group.

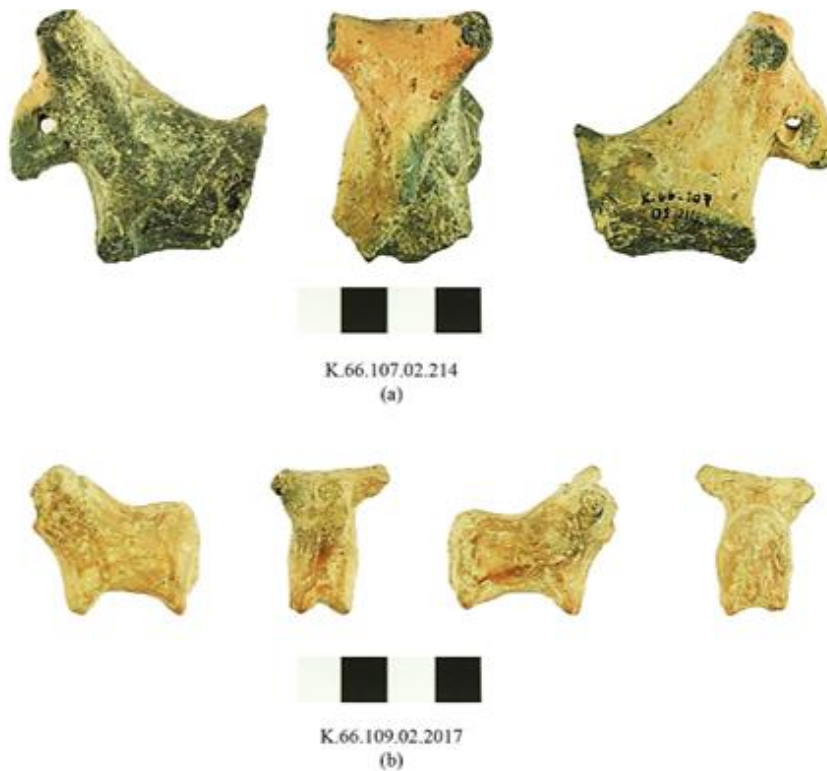


Figure 21. Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part I



K.65.51.02.215
(c)



K.64.72.02.225
(d)



K.64.73.02.218
(e)



K.66.108.02.216
(f)

Figure 22. Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part II



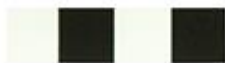
K.64.207.02.227
(g)



K.64.71.02.220
(h)



K.65.50.02.219
(i)



K.66.219.02.223
(j)

Figure 23. Koçumbeli Type I Clay Animal Figurines Part III

3.1.2 Type II (Sheep/Goat Group)

This group contains seven horned animal figurines in varied colors and sizes (Fig. 24, 25). Four of them are depicted with short and pointy tail at the end of the buttocks (Fig. 24. a, b; Fig. 25. c, f), one with short and plastic tail (Fig. 25. g) and the other two without any tail Fig. 25. d, e). Two of them have the traces of eye holes (Fig. 24. a, b). Horns are relatively poorly preserved compared to Type I. One of the figurines is broken from the head and depicted without any tail, thus, it is included in Type II category (Fig. 25. e). Apart from two exceptions, they have similar horn types with Type I.

One of these exceptions has horns leaning backward; therefore, it is thought that this particular one might be a representation of goat (Fig. 25. c). The other exception has a more robust body than the other Koçumbeli animal figurines, and it differs from the rest in terms of body proportion and features. Regarding the physical attributes, it is thought that it might be a representation of a ram (Fig.25. g). All of the Type I figurines have soot on their surface, and on some of the figurine, there is soot on their broken parts.

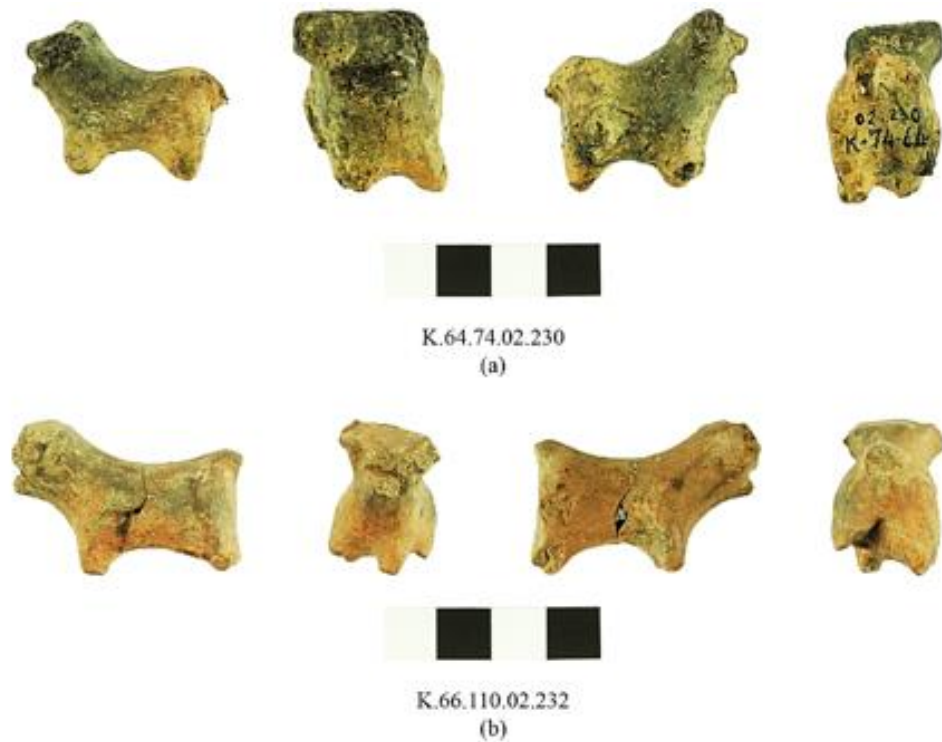


Figure 24. Koçumbeli Type II Clay Animal Figurines Part I



K.66.117.02.224

(c)



K.66.112.02.226

(d)



K.64.76.02.233

(e)



K.66.116.02.222

(f)



K.65.8.02.231

(g)

Figure 25. Koçumbeli Type II Clay Animal Figurines Part II

3.1.3. Type III (Wild Boar Group)

One figurine has been definitively placed under the wild boar group (Fig. 26). This item has a more robust body with a short tail. It is very well-polished, and except the tip of the head, all parts are intact. On the head, facial characteristics are visible except the mouth. Eyes are indicated with two small dots, and on the forehead, the ears are probably shaped by pinching. In front of the eyes, semi-curved lines can be seen on each side of the head which might be the representations of teeth. Due to its body shape and facial characteristics, this animal figurine is associated with wild boar representation. The body, limbs and the neck are decorated with incised lines. On the back (ventral) part, there is a line which is also going from neck to the tail, and there are random dots on each side of this line. Although the exact identification or function of this feature is uncertain, they might be a result of some kind of stabbing activity or sex identification. The soot on the surface also has been detected like the other Koçumbeli clay animal figurines.



Figure 26. Koçumbeli Type III Animal Figurine

3.1.4. Type IV (Hedgehog / Wild piglet Group)

There is only one figurine under this category which has features that are similar to both wild piglets and hedgehogs (Fig. 27). This figurine shaped with a robust body and a short tail. It is well polished and preserved but left limbs, and a part from the left side of the body are broken. Although it shows similarity with Type III in term of body shape, the head and the body decorations are made differently. It has a small face, and facial characteristics are shown. A single continuous hole represents eyes through the head, and the nose is depicted by two dots and the mouth with a curved

line. On the back of the eyes, there are dots which are circling the face. These dots are followed by a single line which is also circling the face. The space between these lines are filled with dots (except for the dorsal part). The tail is slightly pointed and short. Under the tail, there are two diagonal lines which are extended towards the back limbs. Two rows of dots fill the area between these lines. It seems like there is a slight line on the ventral part. The soot has been detected on the surface like the other Koçumbeli clay animal figurines.

Although it is difficult to ascertain exactly what species it is, it has characteristics which resemble a wild piglet or hedgehog. While dots were considered a possible representation of the spikes of the hedgehog, horizontal parallel lines from front to back seem the representations of the color transactions on the fur of a wild piglet.



Figure 27. Koçumbeli Type IV Animal Figurine

3.1.5. Type V (Bird Group)

This group contains only one figurine as well. It has the most schematic form compare to other Koçumbeli figurines (Fig. 28). One end is bent downward and gets thinner toward the end, and the other end is shorter and bent upward; on the bottom part, there is a hole in the middle. The presence of this hole hints that it might have been an additional part of another object. The object reminds the bird attachments of Alacahöyük standards therefore, it is interpreted as an abstract representation of a bird (dove?) and categorized as animal figurine.

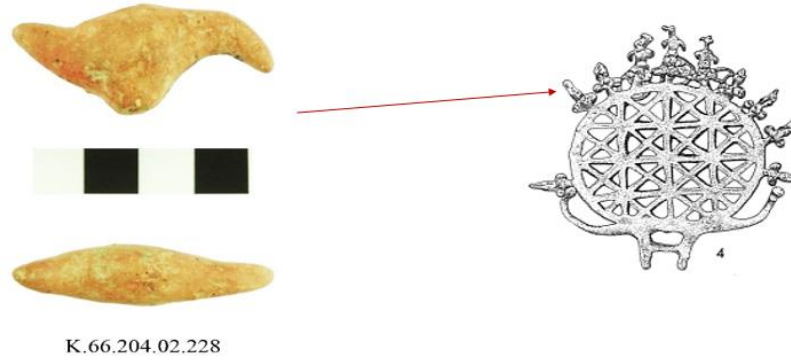


Figure 28. Koçumbeli Type V Animal Figurine

3.2 Comparative Assemblage

Animal figurines in the Anatolian EBA have been found in many EBA sites such as Alishar (Von der Osten, 1937), Ahlatlıbel (Koşay, 1934), Karaoğlan Mevkii (Topbaş, Efe & İlaslı, 1998), Çiledirhöyük (Türktüzün, Ünan & Ünal, 2014), Troy (Blegen et. al., 1951a, 1951b), Kanlıgeçit (Özdoğan & Parzinger, 2012), Küllüoba (Deniz & Ay, 2006), Şarhöyük (Darga, 1994), Höyüktepe (Sandalcı, 2014), Seyitömer Höyük (Bilgen, 2015), Demircihöyük (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996), Alacahöyük (Koşay, 1937), Horoztepe (Özgüç & Koşay, 1958) and Kalinkaya (Yıldırım & Zimmermann, 2006). The clay animal figurines from these settlements show strong resemblance in terms of production method and theme with each other, Koçumbeli and Neolithic clay animal figurine examples. There appear to be some differentiation in numbers and raw materials. The differences in numbers may be related to both the excavation context, lack of publication or regional cultural differences in the employment of figurines. Although most of the cases, they are a few in number, they are similar in terms of the depicted animals, style, size, production technique and raw material. The depicted animals on the clay figurines had always been depicted as standing on their legs and generally found in domestic contexts with an unclear spatial context.

It seems that clay animal figurines were more fashionable in Central Anatolia and West Central Anatolian during EBA. Most of these are simply hand shaped and most probably baked at low temperature. Like in Koçumbeli case, the animal figurines from different EBA sites were also found as mainly broken from the horns/ears and the legs. However, it is not known whether it is intentional or not. As the theme, horned

animals had been chosen; specifically, cattle and sheep/goat representations had been depicted but it is not safe to make an assumption on the domestication status of the represented animals because of the similarity of the figurines to the earlier period examples when these animals were not domesticated.

In the following section, I give information about the numbers, find contexts (if it is possible), raw materials and typological features of comparative zoomorphic figurines from the sites of Alişar, Ahlatlıbel, Karaoğlan, Çiledirhöyük, Troy, Kanlıgeçit, Küllüoba, Şarhöyük, Höyüktepe, Seyitömer, Demircihöyük, Alacahöyük, Horoztepe and Kalınkaya.

3.2.1 Alişar & Its Animal Figurines

Alişar is one of the most important EBA sites which is located in the southeast of Yozgat province. The excavations held between 1927 -32 under the direction of Von der Osten with the contributions of E. F. Schmidt on behalf of the Institute of Oriental Studies of Chicago. From top to bottom of the mound; Seljuk, Byzantine, Roman, Hellenistic, Phrygian, Hittite Empire, Old Hittite Period, EBA and Chalcolithic Age cultures were found. The site is known for its complex stratigraphy relations. As the reasons of this complex stratigraphy of Alişar, large size of the mound and the non-overlapping of periods of the settlement can be mentioned.

At the site, many clay and stone animal figurines have been found. However, because of the complications of the understanding of Alişar stratigraphy, it is hard to relate any of the Alişar animal figurines with any specific time period. Although the existing animal figurines associated with the Chalcolithic and Copper Ages of Alişar (Schmidt, 1932; Von der Osten, 1937), it is hard to identify which group of animal figurines related to which time of period and in which spatial context.

Ten stone figurines have been found in the settlement, and they are shaped in schematic forms of the species (Fig. 29, Fig. 30). They are all perforated, and on some of the figurines, there are lines and zigzags which seem not related to the naturalistic features of the species (Fig. 29. d260, c2259, Fig. 30. c635, c2367). Three of them look like horned animals however it is hard to make a typological comparison with the Koçumbeli clay animal figurines by relying on the publication photos (Fig. 29. e230, d260, d2522). Six of them seem the abstract representations of the animals (Fig. 29. c 2259; Fig. 30. e852, e1836, e353, c635, c2367). They have a roundish shape, and the

legs are barely displayed. Although the shape of these figurines reminds Koçumbeli Type III and IV, it is not possible to make a typological evaluations. Among ten only one of them slightly more identifiable in terms of the animal species. It might be considered as the form of a rabbit (Fig. 30. e1269).

Although the exact number of clay animal figurines is unknown, basing on the publications, it can be said that there are at least twenty-two clay animal figurines (Fig. 31, 32). Clay ones indicate similarities of Koçumbeli animal figurines examples in terms of production technique and depicted animal species. Although there is not a detailed species analysis of the Alişar animal figurines, cattle and sheep/goat seem the main species for the clay animal figurines of Alişar, in these terms, they show similarity to Koçumbeli Type I and II. Some of the Alişar clay animal figurine examples might be a representation of dog (Fig. 32. b1634) and equid (Fig. 32. 2239) however; it is hard to attain a species to this animal because of the image quality of the publications. On the other hand, it is not possible to see a tendency for depicted animal species on stone examples; but rabbit, dog, and pig can be observable on the stone animal figurines. Although there is not any clear spatial context information of these figurines, they all seem related to the domestic areas (Von der Osten, 1937).

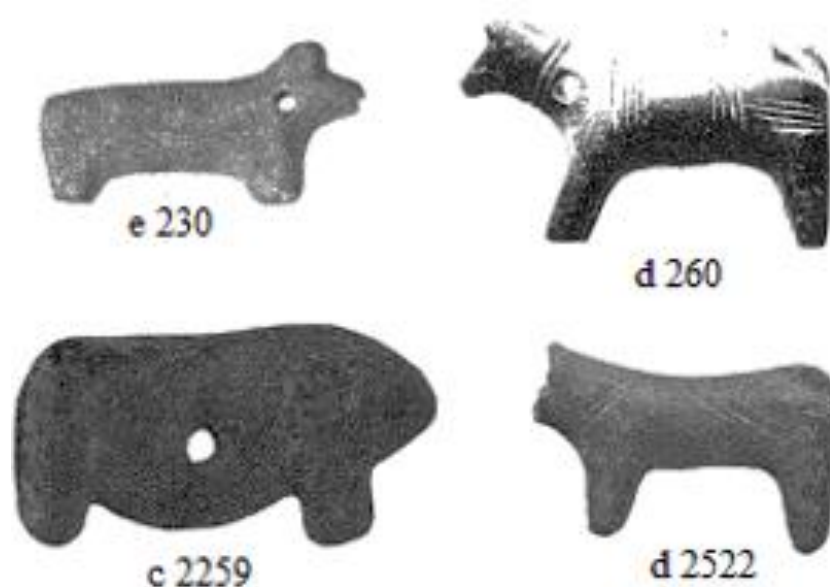


Figure 29. Alişar Stone Animal Figurines Part I (Von der Osten, 1937, Fig.184)



Figure 30. Alişar Stone Animal Figurines Part II (Von der Osten, 1937, Fig.184)

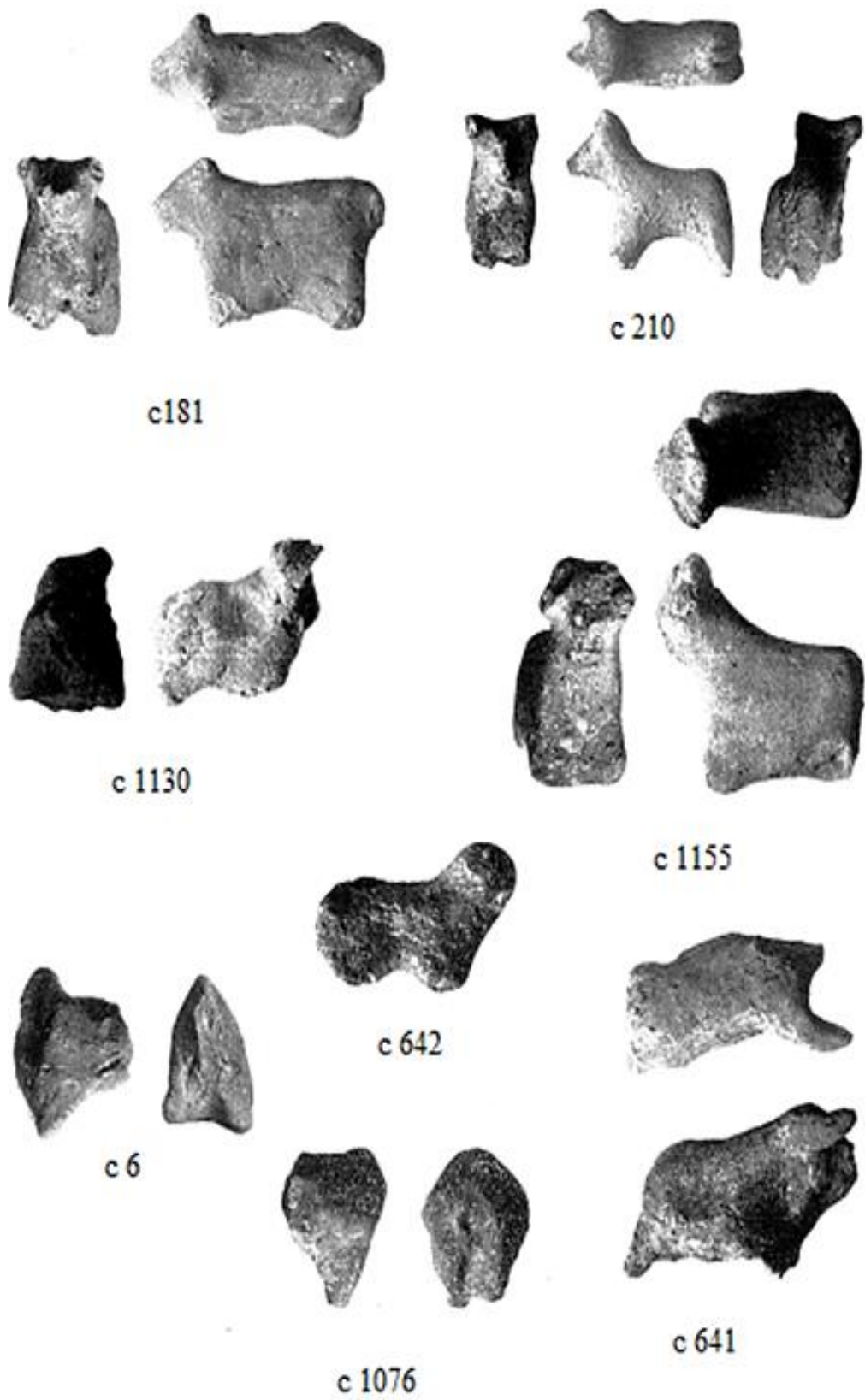


Figure 31. Alişar Clay Animal Figurines Part I (Von der Osten, 1937, Fig.185)

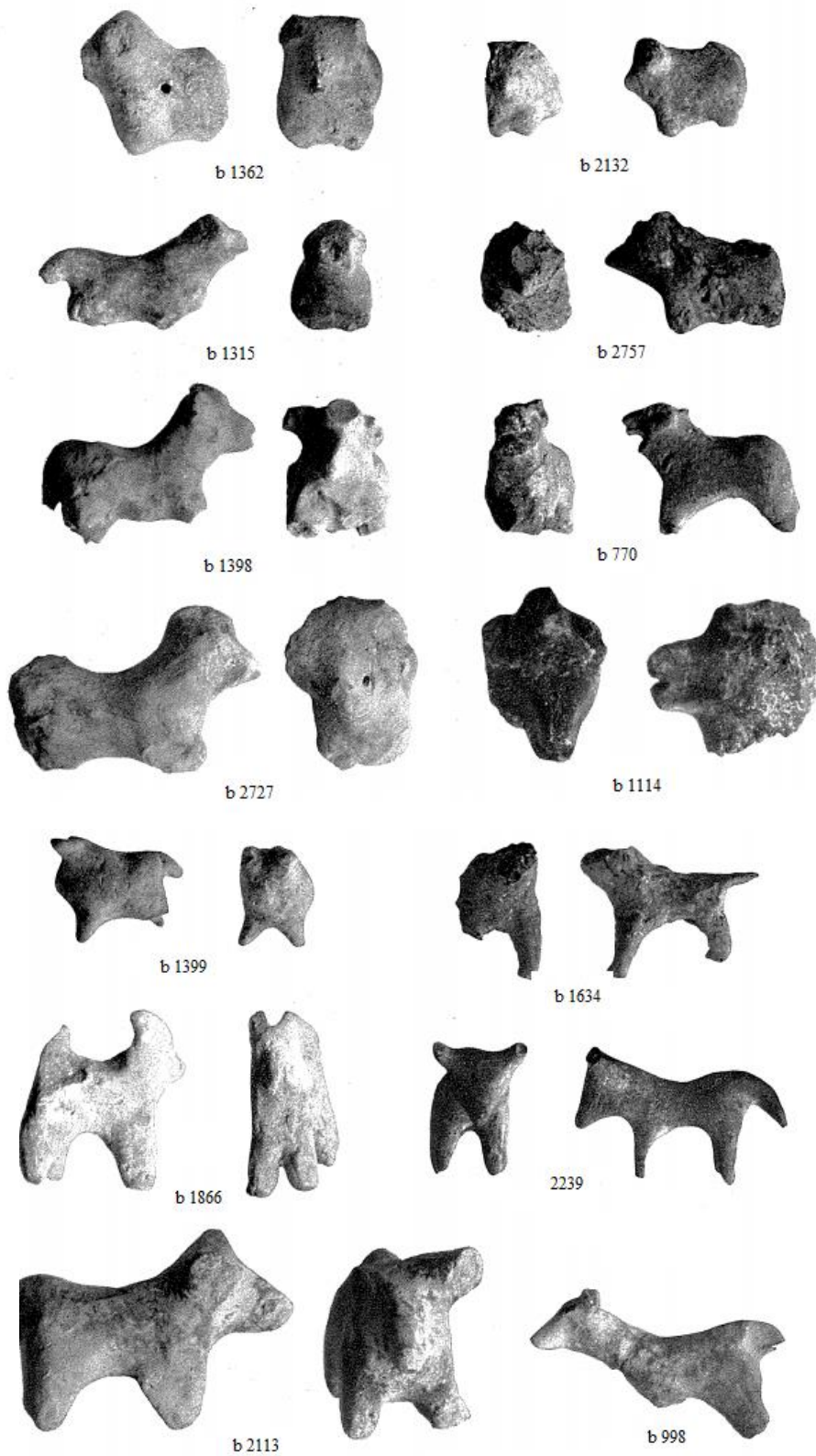


Figure 32. Alişar Clay Animal Figurines Part II (Schmidt, 1932, Fig.174 &175)

3.2.2 Ahlatlıbel & Its Animal Figurines



Figure 33. Ahlatlıbel Settlement Plan (Koşay, 1934, p.7)

Ahlatlıbel is an EBA settlement located on a limestone plateau on the southern part of the METU campus, and it is neighbor to Koçumbeli EBA site (Fig. 33). The exact location of the settlement was not precise because of a large amount of soil is deposited to the area. According to the researches of Gülçin İlgezdi Bertram and Jan – K. Bertram in 2010, it is thought that it must be 2 km west of Koçumbeli (2011). The excavations started in 1933 with the initiative of Atatürk and supervised by Prof. Dr. Hamit Zübeyr Koşay. It is suggested that Ahlatlıbel is and EBA III settlement where had been a short period of occupation, however, because of the cultural affiliation with Demircihöyük levels L-OP and HI-K and even with the older levels Bertram suggests that Ahlatlıbel can be dated to EBA I or II (Bertram, 2008).

Ahlatlıbel material culture indicates cultural similarities with other EBA sites. The findings consist of several categories: pottery, figurines (anthropomorphic and zoomorphic) and spindle whorls, stamps, tools made of stone, bone, and bronze. In the light of Ahlatlıbel findings, it is suggested that Ahlatlıbel like Koçumbeli was a pastoral village where primary economic activities were agriculture, animal husbandry, and textile production.

In Ahlatlıbel, six animal figurines have been recovered (Fig. 34). The animal figurines were made of hand-shaped clay; they are all found as broken. Koşay (1934) defined the species of the animals under three names as sheep, snake, and bird.

Although the spatial contexts are vague, it is known that one of them comes from a child's burial (Fig. 34. e) and others possibly come from the domestic contexts.

He defined three figurines (Fig. 34. a, e, f) as sheep representations. Two of them have a rectangular body, one with a short tail (Fig. 34. a) and the other with a long tail (Fig. 34. e). When we compare these two figurines with the Koçumbeli typology, it seems that one of them (Fig. 34. a) is similar to Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/goat group), the other one (Fig. 34. e) seems more similar to Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group). Although the third one (Fig. 34. f) is also defined as sheep by Koşay, since it is tough to identify the typological features from Ahlatlıbel publications, it did not seem similar to any of the Koçumbeli typology categories.

Two of the animal figurines were identified as snake or bird (Fig. 34. c, d) by Koşay which seems plausible (1934). It was noted that the eyes were depicted with dots. These kinds of representations have not been found in Koçumbeli however they might be considered with Koçumbeli Type IV.

One of the animal figurines (Fig. 34. b) was defined as an eye of a bird; however, the decoration is reminiscent of Koçumbeli anthropomorphic figurines eye representation (Atakuman, 2017) instead of a bird; therefore, I believe that it is a part of an anthropomorphic figurine's head instead of a representation of eye of a bird.

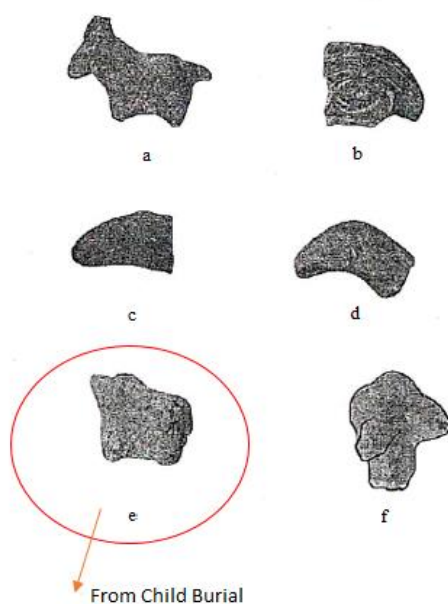


Figure 34. Ahlatlıbel Published Animal Figurines (Koşay, 1934, p.87)

3.2.3 Karaoğlan Mevkii & Its Animal Figurines

The site is located on 20 km north of the Afyonkarahisar province. The site has been discovered during the construction of a gas station in 1986. The excavations had been held by A. İlaslı and T. Efe under the supervision of Afyonkarahisar Archaeology Museum. During the excavations, a settlement has been discovered dating to EBA II. The settlement is a settlement with fortification walls and approximately inhabited for 100-150 years (Topbaş, Efe & İlaslı, 1998). According to the publication of Topbaş, Efe, and İlaslı, it seems there are not many findings from the site. Among a limited number of findings, there is one clay animal figurine (Fig. 35). The finding context is unclear, but it is possibly from a filling in the domestic context. It is baked and broken from the horns and the nose. The tail is not depicted, and it seems that it has a hole for the eyes.

In the publication, researchers have not suggested any animal species towards this figurine. However, when it is compared with the Koçumbeli typology, it can be regarded under Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/Goat Group) because of the absence of the tail.



Figure 35. Karaoğlan Mevkii Published Clay Animal Figurines (Topbaş, Efe & İlaslı, 1998)

3.2.4 Çiledir Höyük& Its Animal Figurines

The site is located in the center of Kütahya province in the borders of reserve zone of Seyitömer Lignite Company. In 2009, under the supervision of Kütahya Museum, the site excavated as a salvage excavation by Mehmet Türktüzün. In Çiledir Höyük, three different cultural periods have been identified which are Early East Rome Period, Imperial Rome Period and EBA II. Among the findings of the site, animal and anthropomorphic figurines have been noted as the most prominent finding group. Unfortunately, their context is unknown. Fourteen anthropomorphic figurines have been found in Çiledir Höyük, and two of them are published (Fig. 36). The

number of animal figurines has not been mentioned in the publication. The animal figurines are simply hand shaped and regarded as a possible representation of bull (Türktüzün, Ünan & Ünal, 2014).

Two of the animal figurines have been published. In the light of these figurines, it can be said that Çiledir animal figurines are similar to the Koçumbeli examples. One of them is broken from the head and depicted without a tail, and the other one is broken from the face and the horns and depicted with a long tail. In terms of typological comparison, the headless example resembles the Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/goat group), and the other examples resemble the Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group).



Figure 36. Çiledir Höyük Published Clay Animal Figurines (Türktüzün, Ünan& Ünal, 2014)

3.2.5 Troy & Its Animal Figurines

Troy is one of the essential settlements to understand the chronology of EBA in Anatolia. It is located on 30 km south of the Çanakkale province. The excavations on the site go back to the 1860s however it can be said that the excavations on the site gained a scientific methodology and analysis with researches of Blegen in 1932 and Korfmann in 1988. Nine occupation level have been identified at the city from EBA to Roman Periods.

Two animal figurines have been from Troy III level (Fig. 37). Although in the 1951 publication these animal figurines considered as a part of MBA periods (Blegen et al., 1951a), in consideration of chronological dating, these figurines are considered as part of EBA III. Unfortunately, their spatial contexts are unknown. As much as we can understand from the publications, the animal figurines were made of clay and simply hand shaped. Both of them have a rectangular body and a short tail. One is broken from the head, and the other one is broken from the horns.

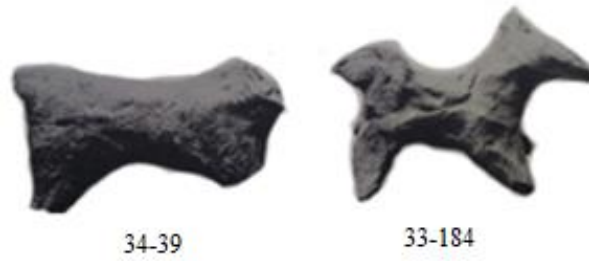


Figure 37. Troy Published Clay Animal Figurines (Blegen, et al., 1951b)

3.2.6 Kanlıgeçit & Its Animal Figurines

The site is located in the central part of the Eastern Turkey in Kırklareli province and one of the important EBA sites because of its uninterrupted an entire span of EBA period. The site was detected in 1981 by Mehmet Özdoğan. The excavations were started in 1994 by Özdoğan and Parzinger. From the site, five clay animal figurines have been found, but one of them have been published. In regards to the publications, it seems that except the published one, all animal figurines are found as fragmented. Among these five animal figurines, one is a representation of a horned animal (published one Fig. 38), two of them regarded as a fragment of a bird representation, one is regarded as the horn of a big animal, and the other one is unidentified. All animal figurines have dark colors. Some of the figurines suggested as a possible part of a vessel (Özdoğan & Parzinger, 2012). The published animal figurine in terms of Koçumbeli typology is similar to Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/goat group).



Figure 38. Kanlıgeçit Published Clay Animal Figurines (Özdoğan & Parzinger, 2012, p.200)

3.2.7 Küllüoba & Its Animal Figurines

The site is located on 35 km southeast of the Eskişehir province. The excavations started in 1996 by Turan Efe under the supervision of Eskişehir

Archaeology Museum. From Late Chalcolithic until the first quarter of the millennium BC (1800) it is thought to have been a continuous settlement. From the eastern cone of the site many anthropomorphic and animal figurines have been found (Deniz & Ay, 2006). Although in the Eskişehir Archaeology Museum six of the animal figurines have been displayed, they have not have been published, and ano further comments have been suggested on these figurines (Fig. 39). They are all simply hand shaped. Some have short, and some have long tails.

Regarding the physical attributions of the clay animal figurines, they may have been the representation of cattle and sheep/goat. In terms of Koçumbeli typology, while Fig. 38 b and d are similar to Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group) and the rest are similar to Type II (Sheep/Goat Group).

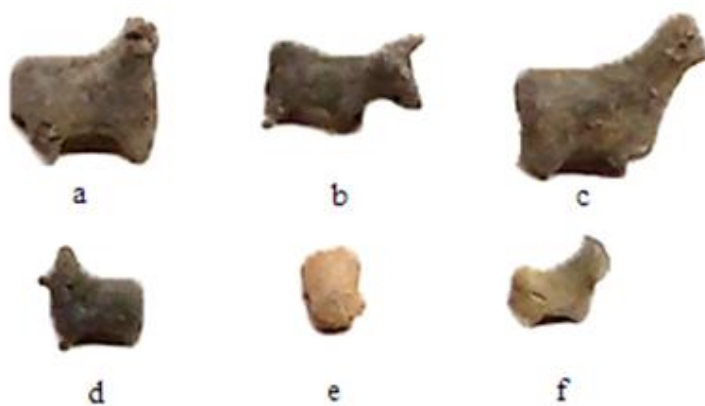


Figure 39. Külliüoba Clay Animal Figurines (photographed from Eskişehir Archaeology Museum by Beste Dilara Aksoy)

3.2.8 Şarhöyük & Its Animal Figurines

It is located on 3 km northeast of the Eskişehir province. The excavations were started by M. Darga at 1989 and continued by T. Sivas after 2005. The site stratigraphy starts from the Ottoman Periods and goes back to EBA levels. As it can be understood from the publications, there are animal figurines from the site however their exact number is unknown (Fig. 40). They look like hand- shaped clay animal figurines and in terms of Koçumbeli typology, they are similar to Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/Goat Group).



Res. 9 a-b Şarhöyük İTÇ III hayvan figürinleri

Figure 40. Şarhöyük Published Clay Animal Figurines (Darga, 2007, p.100)

3.2.9 Höyüktepe & Its Animal Figurines

The site is located in the Kütahya province. The site is excavated as a rescue excavation because of the Kureyşler Dam Project. The excavations were carried out by Kütahya Museum. Four occupational levels have been identified which are Late East Rome Period, Roma Period, Middle and EBA II. Four animal figurines which are found in EBA II level and one of them have been found in a building. All of the animal figurines were made of clay and simply hand shaped. They are generally missing from the horns, legs, and tails.

One of the figurines (Fig. 41. a) is depicted with large curved horns thus regarded as a bull representation, one of the horns is broken. Unlike the other animal figurines, the face is more elongated, and the eyes are depicted. As the cultural affiliation Demircihöyük animal figurines have been shown. In terms of Koçumbeli typology, it is similar to Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group). Another one of these figurines (Fig. 41. b) is also suggested as a bull representation; however, because of its short tail, it is similar to Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/Goat group). On this particular figurine, eyes are depicted with small dots. It is suggested for other two animal figurines that they might have ears rather than horns because the protrusions are blunt and short. The facial details have been indicated. One of these two (Fig. 41. d) has a hole on the neck which is going vertically. Because of the absence of the tail, these figurines (Fig. 41. c, d) could not be evaluated within the Koçumbeli typology.

According to Sandalçı's evaluations, all of the animal figurines are domesticated animals such as bull, cattle, and sheep and suggested that they might

have been functioned as the sacrifices to gods and goddesses for power and fertility (Sandalcı, 2014).

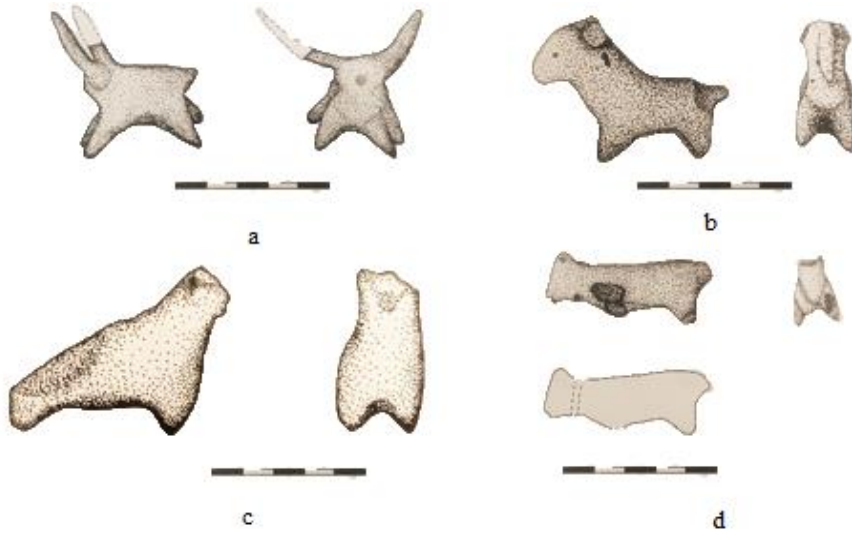


Figure 41. Höyüktepe Published Clay Animal Figurines (Sandalcı, 2014, Figurine a, p.468; Figurine b, p.469; Figurine c, p.470; Figurine d, p.471)

3.2.10 Seyitömer & Its Animal Figurines

Seyitömer is multi-cultural layered settlement which is located at Seyitömer Lignite Company working area in Kütahya. The first excavation were started at 1989 by N. Aydın from Eskişehir Museum then the excavations were continued by A. Topbaş and A. İlaslı from Afyon Museum between 1990-93. After 13 years gap, the excavations were started again in 2006 under the supervision of Nejat Bilgen from Dumlupınar University. At the site, Roman, Hellenistic, Classical, Archaic, Phrygian Period and EBA levels have been found.

At the site, 15 clay animal figurines were found from EBA II- VD phase. All of them are representing horned animals and they seem shaped by hand. Figurines are generally found in the fill deposits along with the anthropomorphic figurines and animal horns in domestic areas but one of them was found in the room floor as in situ. Although all of these animal figurines were considered as bull representations (Bilgen, 2015), some of the figurines seem more similar to Koçumbeli Type II- Sheep/Goat Group (Fig. 42).

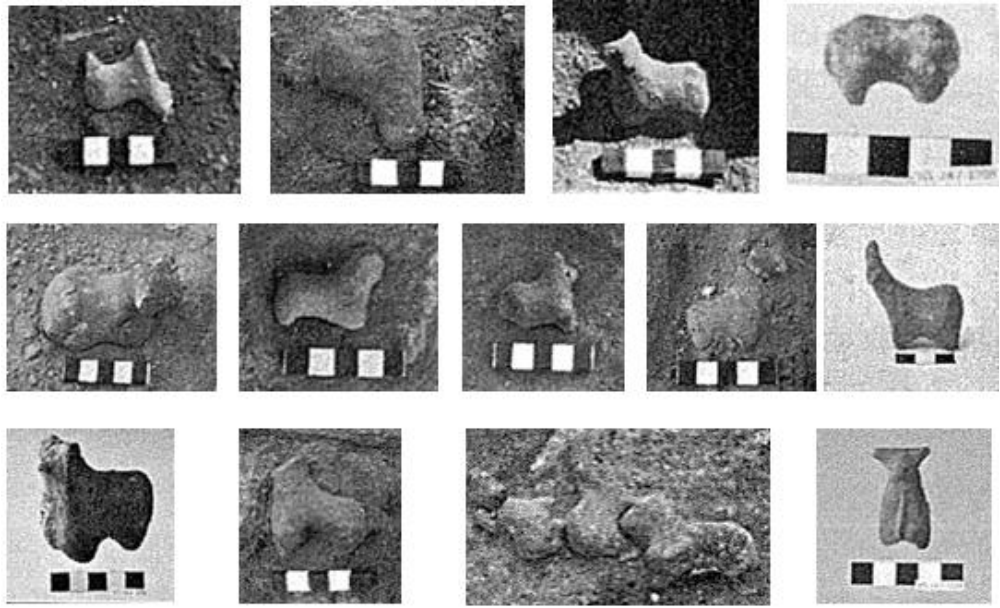


Figure 42. Seyitömer Clay Animal Figurines (Bilgen, 2013, p.272-306)

3.2.11 Demircihöyük & Its Animal Figurines

Demircihöyük is an EBA site located approximately 25 km west of Eskişehir city center. The site is dated to the first half of the 3rd millennium BC (3000-2500 BC) by radiocarbon dating method (Korfmann & Kromer 1993). In the light of excavations seventeen EBA building phases have been identified, and they are categorized under three sections which are Section 1: D-F2 phases (EBA I), Section 2: F3-K2 phases (EBA I), Section 3: L-P phases (EBA II) (Baykal- Seeher & Obladen- Kauder 1996). The settlement has a radial plan which consists of three or two roomed trapezoidal houses with an open courtyard and surrounded by an enclosure wall. Although the site is not completely excavated, there are fourteen excavated houses which indicate a standard organization regarding the placement of ovens and benches which made possible the reconstruction of the whole settlement plan. Each house shows a similar assemblage even it is thought that the tree roomed house might have a different function than two-roomed houses. However, apart from its additional room, the organization of the house and the materials are not showing differentiation.

Demircihöyük is a very generous settlement in terms of small finds which are grouped according to their material and possible functions. The number of small finds is increasing in the courtyard. Considering the material distribution in the settlement,

it can be said that the courtyard has the highest number of clay finds, however metal and bone objects mostly were found on the surface of the front rooms. So far back rooms are poor in terms of small finds. The lack of findings from back room might be related to three reasons: a) function of the areas, b) excavation choices and c) preservation situation. Courtyard and the front rooms most probably served as main activity areas while back rooms were used for storage. However, since the excavations mainly focused on the courtyard and front rooms and back rooms relatively bad preserved than the front rooms, having a solid idea about the specific functions of the areas is difficult (Baykal- Seeher & Obladen- Kauder 1996).

Presence of the high number of zoomorphic figurines with more secure contexts has made Demircihöyük a very significant site in understanding the role of these figurines in EBA society. From two-hundred forty-one animal figurines, which have been found at the site, only seventy-six of them were published. This analysis will be based on the published ones. Majority of the figurines were found as stratified, and seventeen of them found as in situ. Among in situ examples, while nine of them were found in storage bins in the courtyard, the others from the houses.

It seems that on Demircihöyük clay animal figurines, horned animals had been preferred especially cattle and sheep/goat representations. The zoo-archaeological data of Demircihöyük also proves that domestic sheep/goat and cattle had been playing a significant role in the subsistence economy of Demircihöyük during EBA period (Arbuckle, 2014). In terms of dominant animal species, shaping, and baking methods, Demircihöyük zoomorphic figurines show similarity to Koçumbeli zoomorphic figurines. According to studies of Seeher (1996), the clay animal figures are mostly made of fine clay. They are usually either uniformly fired or burnt out and their surface predominantly smoothed. In the uniformly fired figures, the colors are beige, pink and dark gray, while the unbaked specimens are mainly brown, gray or dark gray (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996). Some of the figurines have traces of secondary burning which could be an indication of possible contact with fire after their discard or during the usage.

Any unusual surface treatment is not observed on Demircihöyük zoomorphic figurines except for smoothing and polishing. Three of the published zoomorphic figurines have additional depictions on their bottom which are suggested as possible

indicators for sex (Fig. 43). While two of them have dots which might be the representation of breasts of females, the other one has two small knobbls and a line between these knobbls which might be an indication of a male animal.

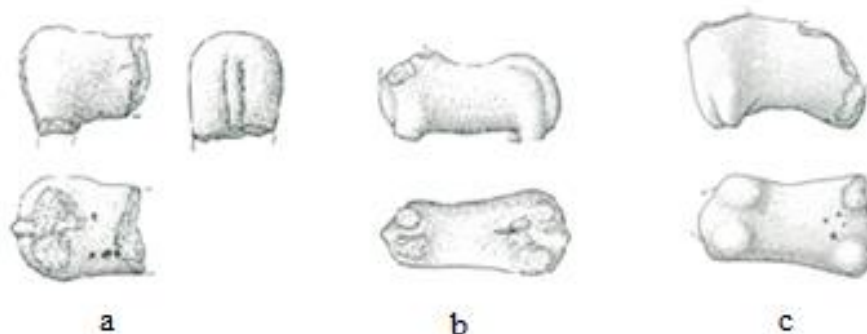


Figure 43. Demircihöyük Figurines with Possible Sexual Characteristics
a) H9.273: Room200 (possible female); b) K7.136; Room 200 (possible male); c) K8.139 (possible female) (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996)

In some cases, eyes, nostrils, and mouths are shown as well. These features were depicted with incision technique. Like in Koçumbeli example, the eyes are depicted in two different ways; one is depicting with the simple dot on each side of the head and the second one is with a hole which is starting from one side of the body and going to the other side.

They are simply hand shaped figurines made of clay with four legs on standing position. They are generally broken from the horns, legs and facial parts and in some occasions, they are broken from the head or in half. However, the main reason for these breakages is uncertain similar to the Koçumbeli examples. The typology of these clay animal figurines was made according to their head and body shapes. For heads, seven categories have been identified which are named with letters and for body 7 categories also have been identified, and they are named with Roman numerals (Fig. 44). The complete figurines are typed according to these 14 categories such as Type I/A. Eighty-nine complete animal figurines have been found in Demircihöyük animal figurine assemblage. Regarding the head and body types of these figurines, a closer relationship has been identified between especially types I / A and I / D. (Fig. 45) (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996).

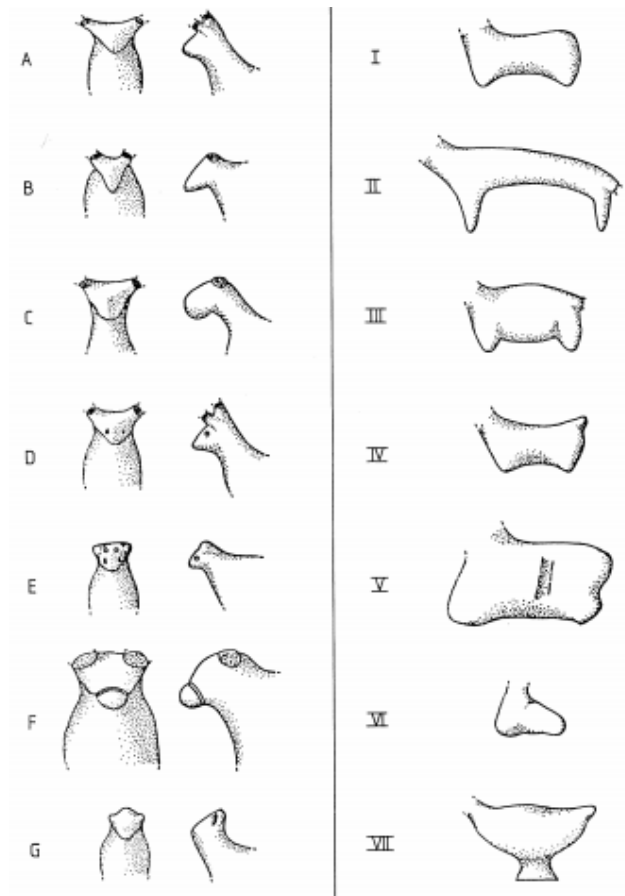


Figure 44. Typology of Head and Body of Demircihöyük Animal Figurines (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Abb.197)

Kopf \ Körper	Kopf							Körper	vollst. Körper	Köpfe
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G			
I	35		3	35	1	1	1	100	76	100
II		1		2				1	3	1
III		2							2	
IV	1		3				2	6	6	6
V	1								1	
VI	1								1	
VII								2		2
Köpfe	17	1	2	22			1			43
Summe	55	4	8	59	1	1	4	109	89	109
										241

Figure 45. Typological Relationship of the Demircihöyük Animal Figurines (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Abb.198)

When Demircihöyük clay animal figurines re-evaluated, in terms of possible species and typology basing on the head, horn and tail characteristics are highly similar to the case of Koçumbeli. In typological terms, Demircihöyük clay animal assemblage shows strong resemblance with Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group) and Type II (Sheep/Goat Group).

From the Demircihöyük publication, forty-two animal figurines have been detected which similarity with Koçumbeli Type I (Cattle Group) (Fig. 49, 50). While forty-one of them depicted with long tail and crescent shape horns, one has a slender body and relatively more elongated body parts. The same situation can also be seen in Koçumbeli Type I example. Both remind the “bull” statues in the Royal Cemeteries of Alacahöyük. Thus, it is thought that this particular figure can be a cattle representation as well (Fig. 46).



Figure 46. Clay Animal Figurines from Demircihöyük and Koçumbeli Resembling the Alacahöyük Bull Statues

- a) “Bull” Statute from Alacahöyük (Müller-Karpe, 1974, Tafel 313,7), b) Koçumbeli clay animal figurine K.66.219.02.223, c) Demircihöyük clay animal figurine M8.107 (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Tabel 133,9)

Seventeen animal figurines are depicted with a short tail or without a tail with horns among Demircihöyük animal figurines. In typological terms, they can be categorized under the Koçumbeli Type II (Sheep/Goat Group) (Fig. 51). Among the clay figurines, there are three horned figurines whose heads were shaped differently than the other Demircihöyük figurines (Fig. 47). Although these animal figurines show resemblance in terms of body and tail shapes to Koçumbeli Type I and Type II, a similar representation of the head has not also seen on Koçumbeli examples.



Figure 47. Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines with Unusual Head Shape (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Table 130, 13, 14, 15)

There are fifteen partial figurines (just heads or some part of the body) which have not been compared with Koçumbeli typology because of the absence of the tails on these figurines. However, they can be regarded under Koçumbeli Type I and II. There are two figurine fragments which are not similar to any animal figurines depictions, and it is difficult to say an opinion about their species. However, these might be a part of an anthropomorphic figurine or a schematic representation of an animal (Fig. 48).



Figure 48. Unidentified Demircihöyük Clay Figurines (Baykal - Seeher & Obladen- Kauder, 1996, Table 135, 2)

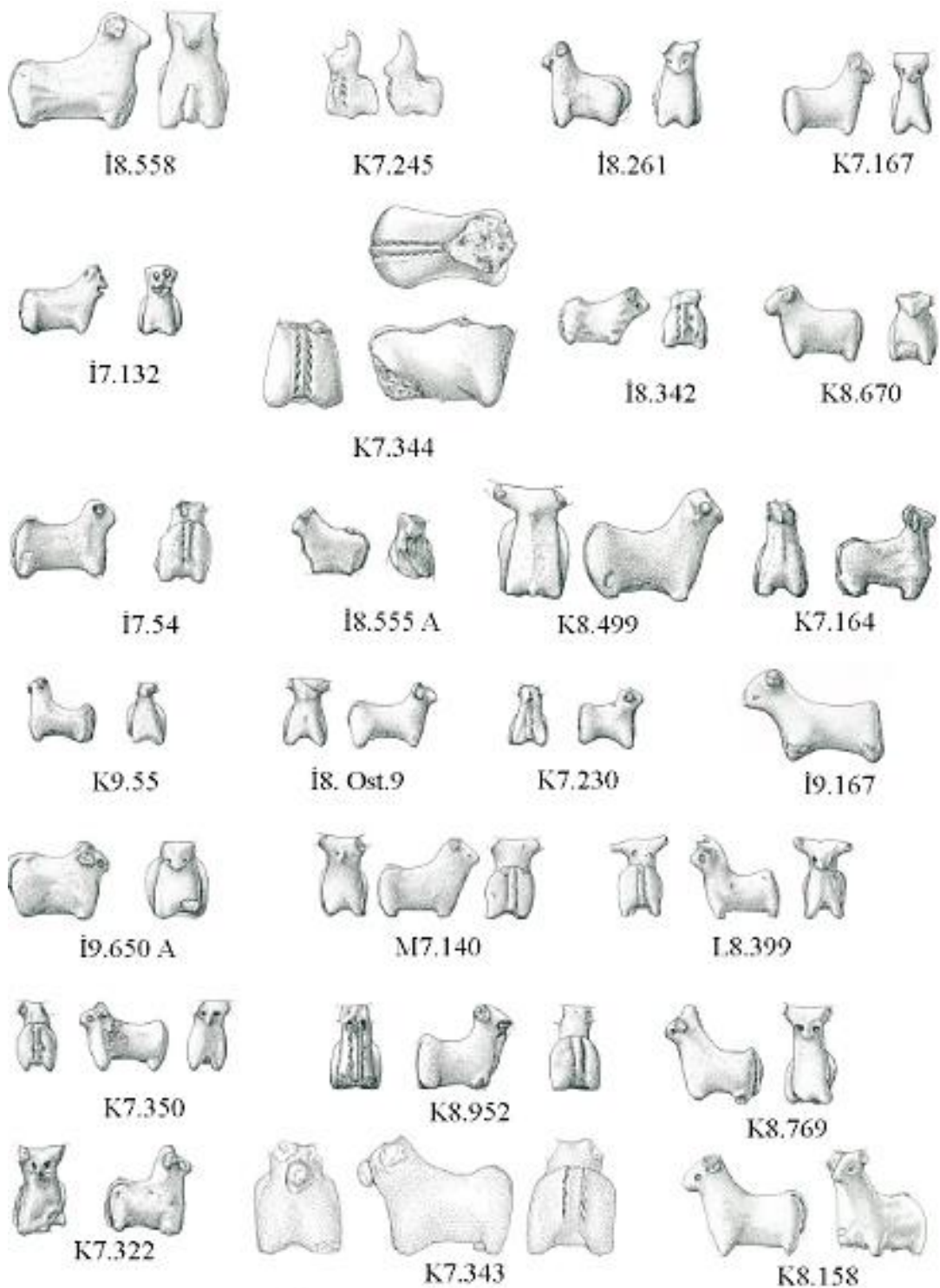


Figure 49. Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type I Part I (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Table 129,130,131,132,133,134)

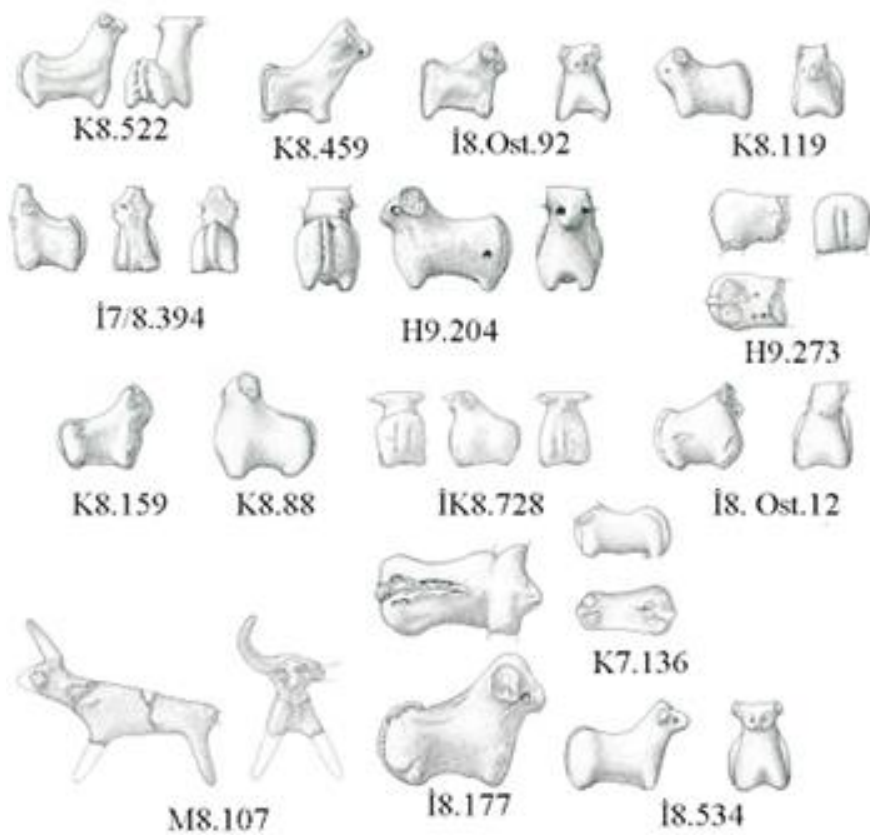


Figure 50. Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type I Part II (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Table 129,130,131,132,133,134)

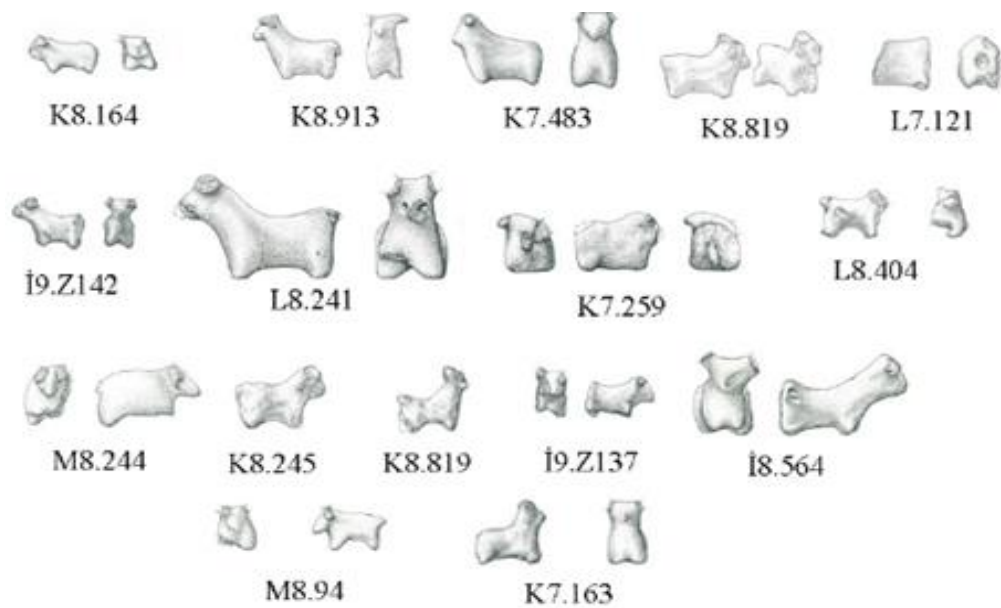


Figure 51. Demircihöyük Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type II (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996, Table 129,130,131,132,133,134)

3.2.12 Alacahöyük & Its Animal Figurines

Alacahöyük is located in Çorum province, and it is one of the important EBA sites for the central Anatolia. The site was discovered by W.C Hamilton in 1835, and the excavations were started by G. Perrot in 1861. After a short excavation period in 1907, the researches were resumed by Remzi Oğuz Arık and Hamit Koşay by the orders of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who sponsored the excavations. From 1997 until 2018, the studies in Alacahöyük were conducted by Prof. Dr. Aykut Çınaroğlu. The relative chronology of the layers was made by comparing the pottery assemblages of Troy, Kültepe, Alişar, Tarsus, and Cilicia (Gürsan- Salzmänn, 1992).

On the southern part of the mound, an intramural cemetery has been revealed. In the cemetery fourteen burials with sixteen individuals. Due to their richness in terms of grave goods like in Ur, Troy, Maikop and Mycenae examples they have been called as “royal”. However, it is proven that they are not at the same time lapse (Chernyky, 1992). Yet, the treatment on the burials suggests that they were burials of individuals who had possibly a high status in society. All of the burials contains luxury items such as metal cups, bowls, sun discs, standards, figurines, earring, earplugs, weapons, diadems, etc. Although the majority of the burials were found in poor condition some were disturbed because of the rising water level and some because of the later activities; they are in good shape to give clues the burial activities of the Alacahöyük societies (Gürsan- Salzmänn, 1992). Alacahöyük has always attracted the attention of researchers in terms of metal artifacts. Among these metal artifacts, the metal animal figurines will be the main focus of this study (Fig. 54). However, royal tombs are not the only places where we see animal figurines.

Animal figurines come from both the domestic contexts and the burials in the “royal cemetery. For the EBA settlement contexts, fourteen figurines have been identified from the Alacahöyük publications. Unfortunately, the information of spatial contexts of these figurines is vague. Therefore, a distribution pattern cannot be suggested, but they might be related to domestic areas. In terms of mainly depicted animal species, shaping, and baking methods, Alacahöyük clay zoomorphic figurines also have a strong similarity to Koçumbeli zoomorphic figurines. They are simply hand shaped figurines made of clay, and primarily the horned animals are chosen to depict on figurines.

There are eleven animal figurines, which can be considered under the horned animal category (Fig. 53). They are mostly broken from the limbs, the horns, and the heads. However, it is hard to understand whether they are broken deliberately or not like in Koçumbeli and Demircihöyük examples. From the publication photos having a tail- horns identification is not quite possible for Alacahöyük figurines. Yet, the depiction of horns can be interpreted as the indication of adults. Although there are not any strong sexual characteristics, two of these figurines were identified as “bull” by Koşay and Akok (1966). Most probably this identification based on the horn shapes. On some of these figurines, eyes are depicted with a hole; however, Koşay and Akok defined these holes as the string holes which refers a pendant like usage of the figurines (Koşay & Akok, 1966). In terms of typology, these figurines can be compared with Koçumbeli Types I and II.

Among Alacahöyük clay animal figurines, three of them are shaped differently from the rest. One is identified as a turtle representation. The head is broken, and the shell is shown with lines. The other is possibly a representation of a bird’s head. There are two projections on the sides of the head, and the eyes are represented with dots. Because of the characteristics of the head, this figurine is identified as an owl and the third one regarded as a representation of a rabbit (Fig. 53, Koşay, 1937).

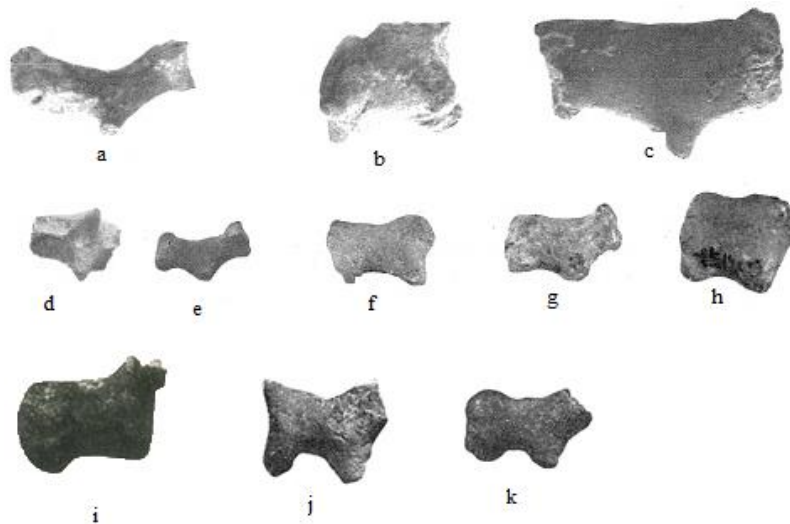


Figure 52. Alacahöyük EBA Clay Animal Figurines Similar to Koçumbeli Type I/II - a, b, c, d, f, g, h (Koşay, 1966, Lev. 59) and i (Koşay, 1938, L.CVI) from domestic context; j, k from Royal Tomb B (Koşay, 1937, CCXXI)



Figure 53. Alacahöyük EBA Animal Clay Animal Figurines out of Comparison Koçumbeli Types a. Tortoise b. Owl (Koşay, 1938, L.CVI) c. Rabbit (Koşay, 1937, CLXI)

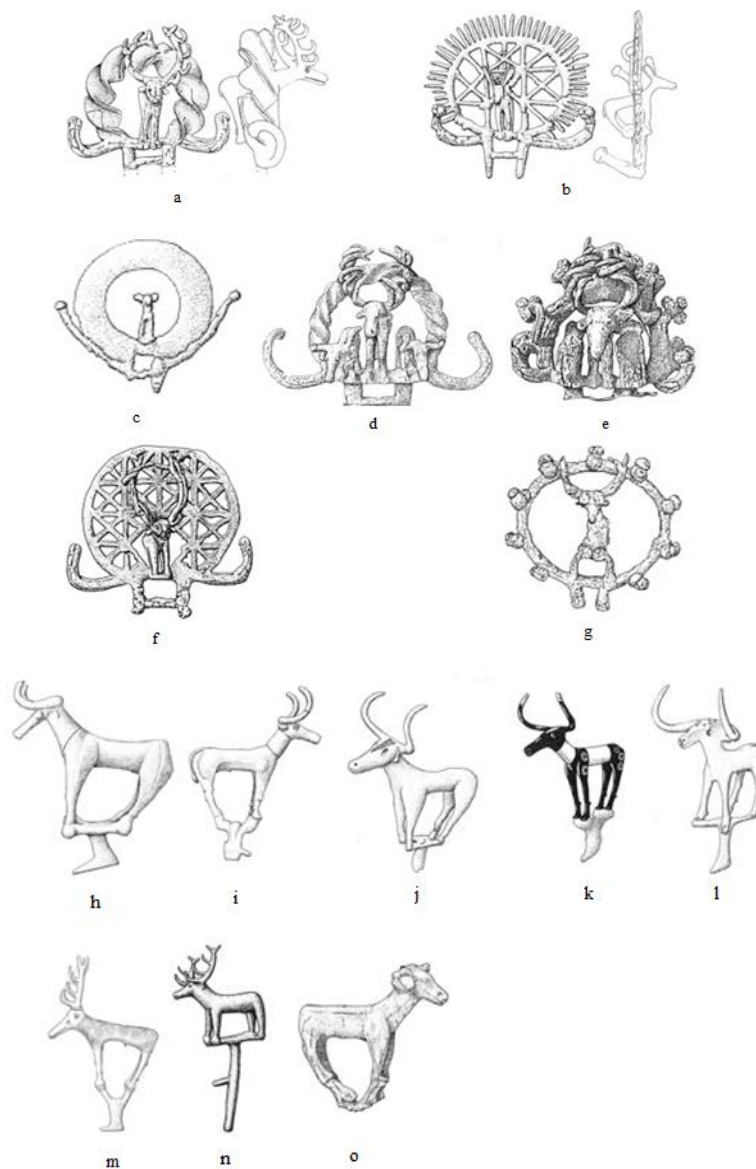


Figure 54. Animal Imagery Bearing Objects from Alacahöyük Tombs (Müller- Karper, 1974, a, b Tafel 309; d, e, m, o Tafel 310; k, Tafel 311; c, h, j Tafel 312; g, i, l Tafel 313; f, n Tafel 314)

From the Alacahöyük “royal cemetery”, there are also animal figurines. However, these items have never been considered within the figurine assemblage of the era due to their special context and raw material. Instead, they have been identified as statuettes and standards. A total of fifteen has been extracted from publications. These items are all in metal, all represent stags and bulls (male species), and associated with elite burials (Fig. 54). The stratigraphic relations of burials and occupation levels seem elusive, because of the limited access to the EBA levels (Gürsan-Salzman,1992). The topography of the mound along with the later building activities have made it difficult to have an accurate idea on the chronological relation of these tombs with each other (Özyar, 1999). Six different relative dating have been suggested by different scholars (Table 4); however, C-14 results of samples from tombs (Tombs A, A’ and S) have suggested that they must all belong to the first half of the third millennium (2850- 2500) BC – EBA II (Yalçın, 2011).

Table 4. Possible relations of royal tombs with EBA layer by Salzman
(Gürsan-Salzman 1992, pg. 45)

Level	Period	Koşay	Schaeffer	Orthmann	Huot	Salzman
4	MBI Transit (2.100- 1.900 BCE)		All tombs dug above fire level 5	B,D,H		H
5/4					B,D,H,R, T ² , S?	
5	EBAIII (2.400- 2.100 BCE)	B,D,H,R ,S		R,A',T		B,D,R,S
6/5					T ¹ , A ¹ , E?	
6		A,A1,C, E,T		C,E,F,K,L, A,S		A,A1,C,E,T,T1
7/6					F,K,L,A? C	F,K,L
7	EBII (2.800- 2.400 BCE)	F,K,L				

3.2.13 Horoztepe & Its Animal Figurines

Horoztepe is an EBA cemetery which is located in Tokat, Erbaa on top of the modern Dere Neighborhood Cemetery. The EBA cemetery was discovered by chance during the modern burial activities by local people. The excavations were started in 1957 by Tahsin Özgüç and Mahmut Akok (1958); however, because of the existence of modern cemetery and settlement and agricultural activities, the site could not be investigated thoroughly. Although the cemetery is profoundly disturbed by looters and modern cemetery, the archaeological data which came from the drills suggest that the most probably also have Late Chalcolithic phase besides the EBA.

The limited excavations which had been held in the EBA cemetery revealed strong cultural affiliations with Alacahöyük. At the cemetery many metal artifacts have been discovered which are very similar to Alacahöyük 'Royal' cemetery material, especially the animal figurines, animal imagery bearing objects and standards (Fig. 55, 56). The similarities between Horoztepe and Alacahöyük materials have been considered as the products of the same belief system by Özgüç & Akok (1958, p.28).

Four bronze animal figurines and three animal imagery bearing objects have been found in the burials along with the metal anthropomorphic figurines (Fig.55). While animals were limited to two species which are cattle and deer on animal figurines; on the animal imagery bearing objects (sistrums /sun discs), different species were displayed together such as bird, dog, sheep/goat, deer, and cattle and on some of the animal figurines especially the maleness is clearly depicted.

Although it is clear that these animal imageries and animal figurines are related with the burials contexts and the other archaeological materials found in the burials, unfortunately, it is not possible to make any further spatial analyzes because of disturbed contexts of the burials.

3.2.14 Kalınkaya & Its Animal Figurines

Kalınkaya is an EBA cemetery located approximately 3 km northeast of Alacahöyük in Çorum province. After the first report of the site in 1971, the site had been systematically looted. Two rescue excavations have been conducted at the site by Museum of Anatolian Civilizations by R. Remzier in 1971 and 1973 seasons. Despite the lootings, three different types of burial have been found at the cemetery which are simple earth graves, cist graves and pithos graves (Yıldırım, Zimmermann, 2006).

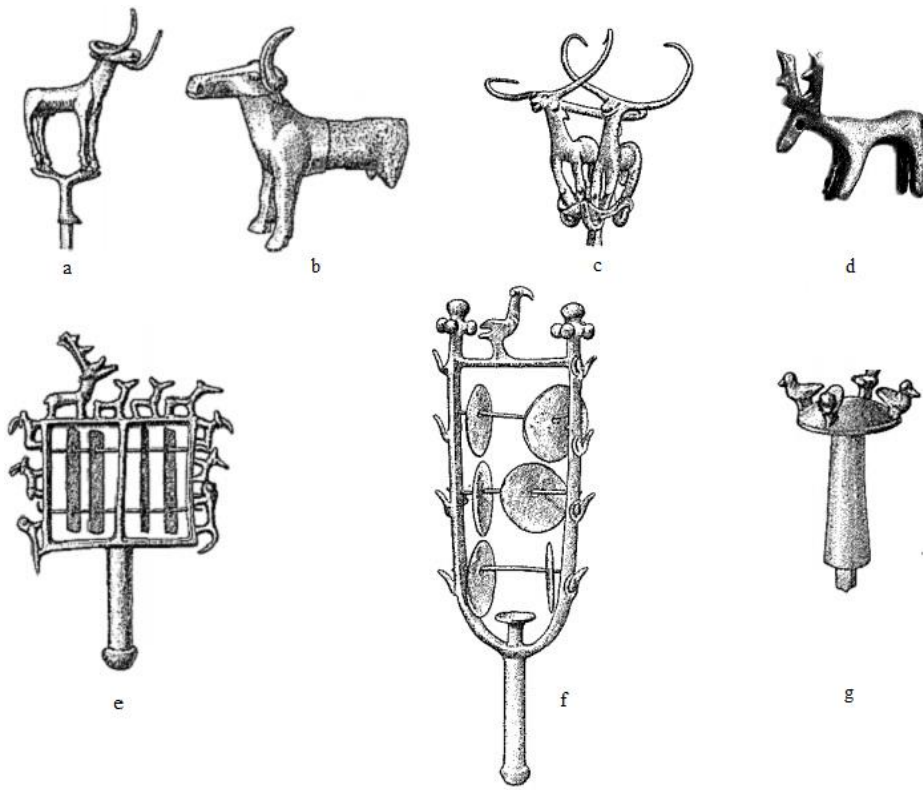


Figure 55. Horoztepe Metal Animal Figurines and Animal Imagery Bearing Objects (Müller- Karpe, 1974, Tafel 315 & 316; Özgüç & Koşay, 1958, Plate XIV)



Figure 56. Horoztepe Metal Anthropomorphic Figurines and Standard (Müller- Karpe, 1974, Tafel

315)

67

At the burials potteries, stone beads, metal weapons, metal tools and, metal objects in forms of metal animal figurines and standard which are very similar to Alacahöyük and Horoztepe have been found, but they are more robustly shaped compared to the Alacahöyük and Horoztepe examples (Fig. 57). Unfortunately, there are only two examples of animal figurines in forms of cattle.

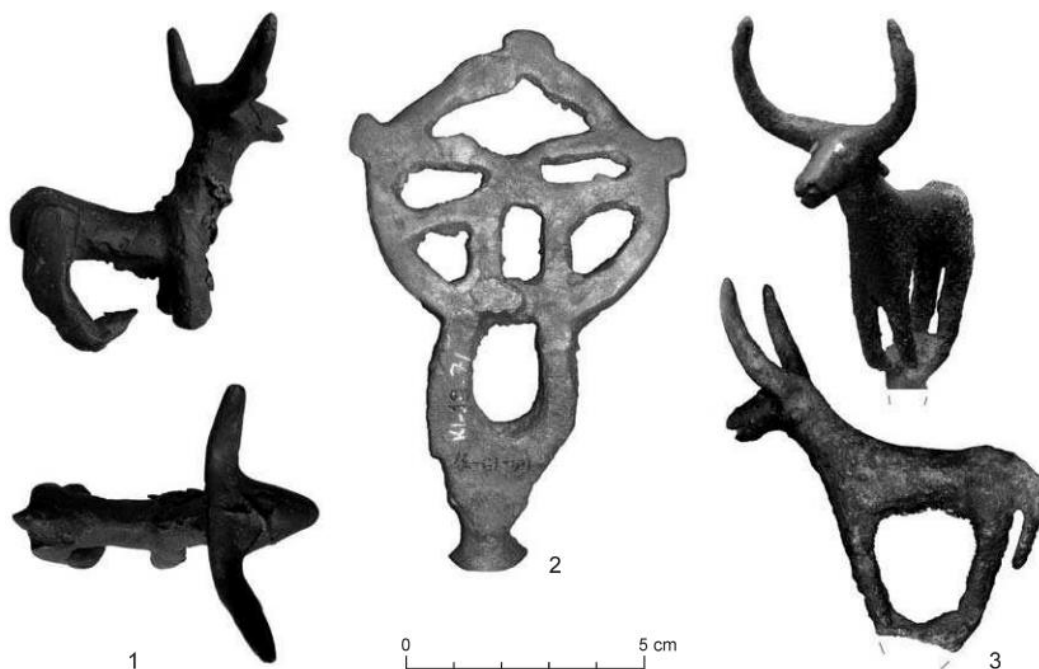


Figure 57. Kalınkaya Metal Animal Figurines and Standard (Zimmermann, 2008, p. 517)

As it can be understood from the comparative data, the examples of animal figurines can be observable in different regions of the EBA Anatolia although the number of the existing figurines show differentiation from site to site which might be a result of choice of material for publication or cultural tendencies. Concerning the published data, it seems that mainly horned animals were selected to depict especially in the form of cattle, sheep/goat and deer.

Three different raw material choices have been detected on for the EBA animal figurines which are stone, clay, and metal. Among these raw materials, clay is the most common raw material which is almost found in each settlement from the beginning to the end of the EBA period. Clay examples show strong similarity to the Neolithic animal figurines examples in terms of the theme and the production

technique. Like Neolithic examples, they are mainly shaped by hand in forms schematic forms of cattle and sheep/goat, and they are most probably baked or left to dry by themselves. Although facial details were indicated on some of these figurines, the majority is the plain representations of the animals. They all formed in quadruped form which might mean that they made to be stand and displayed possibly on an altar. These clay animal figurines were mainly found as broken from weakest parts of the figurines such as horns, neck. On Koçumbeli and Demircihöyük clay animal figurines, the soot has been observed on the surface and the broken parts. It may be a sign of a possible contact of fire after discard, or the soot might have appeared during the baking process.

The majority of these figurines is interpreted as the representation of bull because of the horns in the previous publications; however, except three clay figurines from Demircihöyük (two female, one male), any sexual characteristics have not been indicated on the clay animal figurines assemblage. In this study, horns were not taken into account as a sexual characteristic since horns can exist on both sexes of the wild and domestic cattle while it can show differentiation according to the domestication status of the caprine species. As it is mentioned in this chapter, the existence of some wild species in the animal figurine assemblage of EBA brings the question of whether cattle and sheep/goat figurines are the wild representations of these species. However, it is not possible to have an idea about their domestication status of depicted animals by relying on the physical features of the figurines. Therefore, any sexual definitions have not been attested on EBA animal figurine assemblage by relying on horns.

Moreover, existence of female and male depiction of Demircihöyük figurine assemblage and the general ambiguity of the sex on animal figurines might suggest that the representation of sex is not the main point for the production for animal figurines. Although any specific sex cannot attain to these figurines by relying on the existence of horns, it can be said that they were adult representations of the depicted animals. These clay animal figurines were mainly found in settlements with elusive contexts (with three exceptions); however, Demircihöyük case suggests that they must be related to the domestic contexts, such as courtyards, storage areas, and houses, where the domestic and community life had been formed.

Metal animal figurines seem started to appear at the beginning of the second half of the 3rd millennium BC in the burial contexts. Like clay animal figurines, horned animals were continued to be displayed, especially cattle and deer; however, unlike the clay animal figurines, the physical features of the species were represented more naturalistically, and in most cases, the maleness of animals is deliberately displayed. The quality and the features of these metal figurines reflect the intensive skills on metal working and knowledge of metallurgy and resources of the period. They are all bronze casts, and in some cases, they are decorated with the other precious metals such as gold and silver. While some of the figurines designed as to stand by themselves, the majority of them designed to be carried on a pole or to insert into a pedestal.

Stone animal figurines were only observed on Alişar which has a very complex stratigraphy and chronology. Therefore, considering these stone examples in a particular time of period is not very accurate, but probably they can be dated to the Late Chalcolithic and very beginning of EBA period. Their spatial contexts are very elusive; however, for Alişar case, they seem related to the domestic contexts. They are in a very schematic form of animals, any physical or sex features were not depicted except some line work and perforations. The perforations found on these animal figurines suggest that they might have been used as amulets/pendant or the ornaments to hang. It is hard to detect preferred animal species for this group of animal figurines since the example of them are very few, but horned animals can also be seen in this group as well. However, unlike clay and metal animal figurines it is not possible to make an inference by evaluating the stone figurines since they have been observed in only one settlement which has a complex chronology.

Table 5. Comparative EBA Animal Figurines According to Koçumbeli Typology












	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Out of Comparison
Koçumbeli	 <p>See also</p>	 <p>See also Fig. 22</p>				
Ahlatlıbel						 <p>See also Fig. 34. b, c, d</p>
Alacahöyük	 <p>See also Fig. 53 h, i, k, l, o</p>	 <p>See also Fig. 51</p>				 <p>See also Fig. 53. m, n</p>

Table 5 (continued) . Comparative EBA Clay Animal Figurines According to Koçumbeli Typology









	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Out of Comparison
Alişar		 See also Fig. 30,31				
Çiledir						
Demircihöyük		 See also Fig. 49,50				 See also Fig. 47

Table 5 (continued). Comparative EBA Clay Animal Figurines According to Koçumbeli Typology

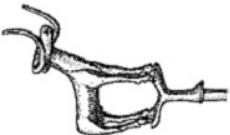




	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Out of Comparison
Horoztepe	 See also Fig. 54 b,c					See Fig. 54.f,g
Höyüktepe						
Kalınkaya	 See Also Fig. 56					
Kanlıgeçit						

Table 5 (continued) . Comparative EBA Clay Animal Figurines According to Koçumbeli Typology

	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V	Out of Comparison
Karaođlan Mevkii						
Küllüoba	 See also Fig. 29d	 See also Fig. 29 a, c, e, f				
Şarhöyük						
Troy						

3.3. Spatial Context of EBA Animal Figurines

Typological evaluation of EBA animals indicate that generally the horned animals were chosen to be depicted on different type of raw materials; however, considering these animal figurines in a typological aspect by isolating them from their spatial contexts and the contextually related other archaeological materials is not very helpful to understand the role of the animal figurines in EBA. Unfortunately, like Koçumbeli, there is not any spatial information for the animal figurines of many EBA sites. However, Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük studies, which reveal the spatial relations of animal figurines and imagery can be used as guideline to figure out the function of these animal figurines.

3.3.1 Demircihöyük

Demircihöyük excavations provide information that the animal figurines were usually located in domestic areas such as the courtyard and front rooms as well as within storage bins. Nine of them were found as in situ where the storage bins were located. Beside the courtyard, a high concentration of animal figurines has been encountered in rooms 108, 109 and 110. It is suggested that these rooms have the highest number of animal figurines through the different phases of the settlement. However, it should be taken into account that these rooms are located in K8, K9 and L8 trenches where the excavation was mainly focused (Fig. 58).

Many anthropomorphic and animal figurines have been found in Demircihöyük which are made of bone, clay, and stone. The outnumber existence of these figurines increases the significance of Demircihöyük to have a more specific idea on the functions of these figurines. In Demircihöyük, clay anthropomorphic and animal figurines show a similar type of distribution pattern- mainly in the courtyard and some in houses. While the anthropomorphic ones are associated with “fertility”, zoomorphic ones are associated with “pars pro toto” for the livestock of the settlement (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen- Kauder, 1996, p. 283).

Beside figurines found in the settlement, abstract anthropomorphic figurines made of stone and clay were also found in the cemetery of Demircihöyük. However, it is noted that these figurines are not typologically in dialogue with the clay figurines found in the settlement, but they are between themselves. It may mean that the

functions of these figurines were probably showing variety according to the material and the context (Atakuman, 2017).

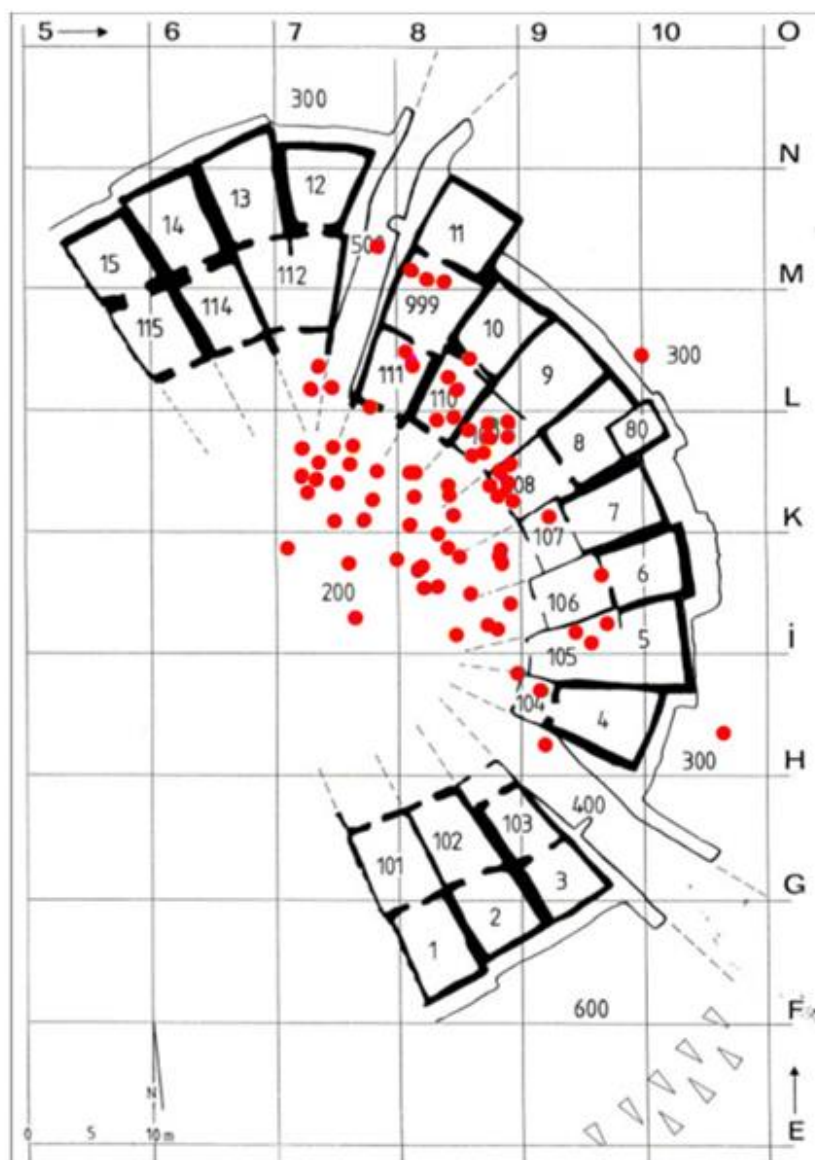


Figure 58. General Distribution of Demircihöyük Animal Figurines (Modified by author, locations are approximate according to find locations given in publication) (Baykal-Seeher, & Obladen-Kauder, 1996)

Although there is not any animal figurine found in the Sarıket Cemetery (Fig. 59), near Demircihöyük, Michele Massa’s analysis (2014) of this cemetery shows that such a relation between cattle and “chiefly” burials exist. The Sarıket cemetery contains approximately 500 burials from EBA, containing mixed age and gender

groups. Whereas Massa does not identify sex or age-based difference in the burial types, he does detect differences in the grave goods or position of burials. In general, the orientation of the burials is east to west, and except some cases, males were laid on their right side and females were laid on their left side while there is not any specific side for the children. In terms of the grave goods, the metal objects made of silver, lead, copper, and gold can be found in the burials of all age and sex groups, although the male graves are more associated with daggers, mace heads, axes, and whetstone, razors, lead diadems and gold rings. There appears to be no particular category for the female burials.

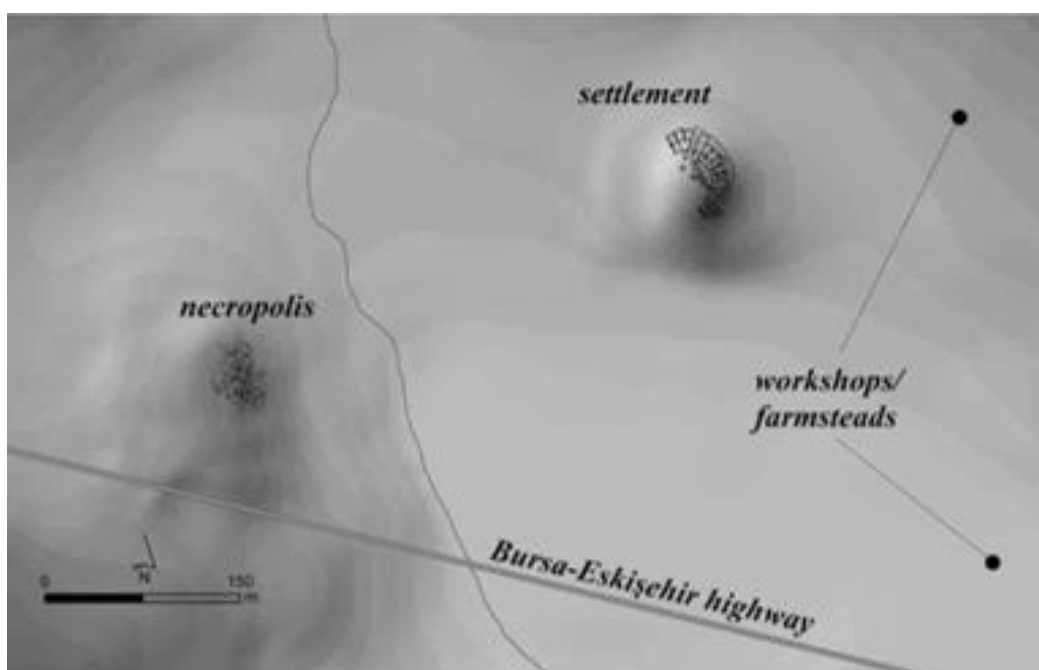


Figure 59. Map of Demircihöyük and Sarıket Cemetery (Massa, 2014, Figure 4)

It is suggested that weapons in male burials can be the personal belonging of the deceased because of the placement of them. In male burials, weapons were placed either near their stomach or in front of the face. However, in female (G.305) and (G.517) child burials weapons were deposited as a part of grave assemblage on top of the small jars. Also in G.479, a child burial, a dagger was found as bent and placed as a diadem on the forehead. In the child burials, there are not many objects; however, there are some exceptions. Some of the child burials were found with some small metal

objects, or semi-precious stone jewelry are found in connection with arm rings, ear studs, necklaces, rattles, marble/ceramic anthropomorphic figurines, spatulas and feeding bottles (Massa, 2014).

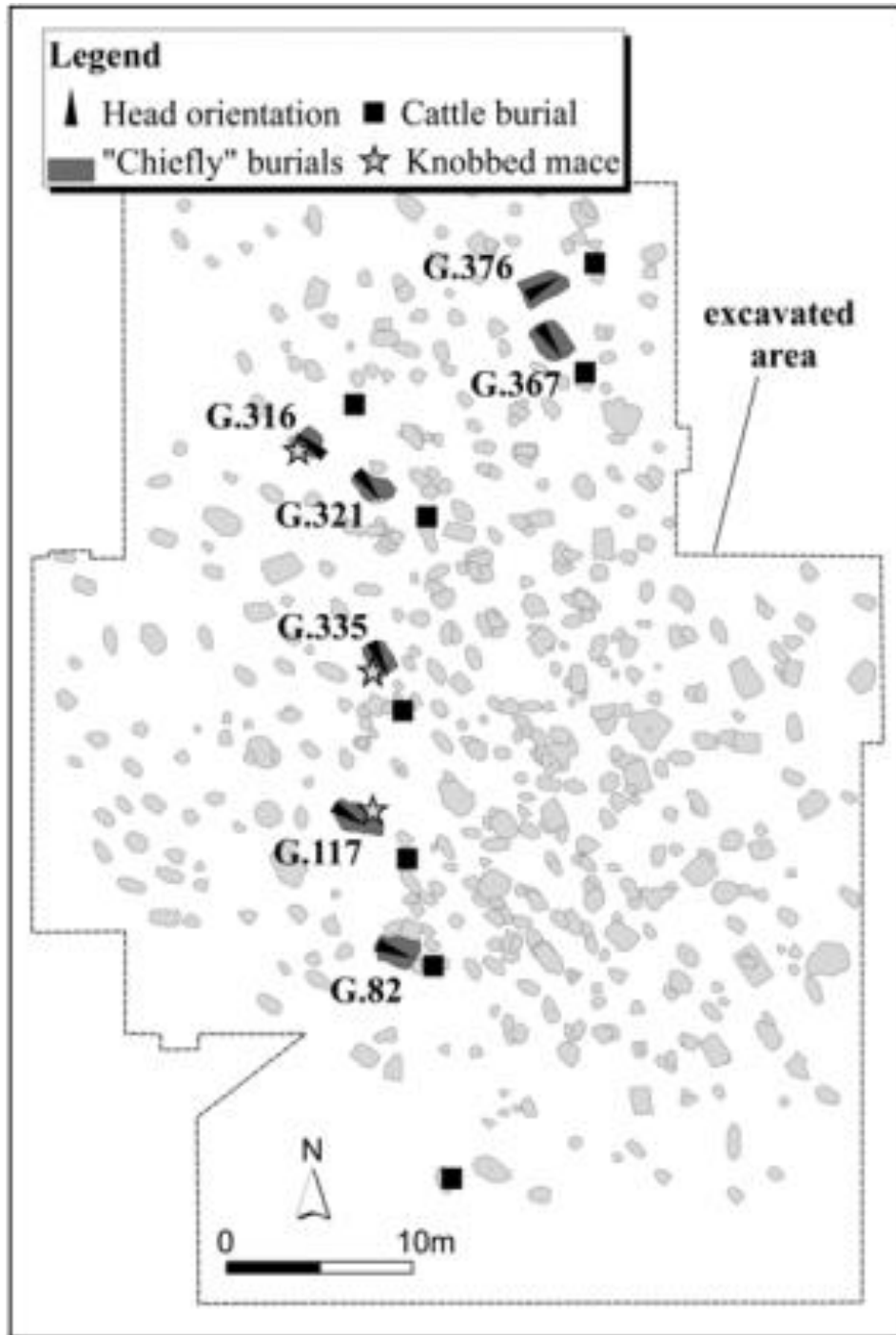


Figure 60. Edited version of plan cattle burials and related burials (Massa, 2014, Figure 15)

More pertinent to our discussion, seven burials (Fig. 60) have been identified as anomalous because of their close association with complete cattle burials that have been buried as meat on the bone, possibly as sacrifices without consumption of their meat. All seven of these graves had skeletal remains; however, the sex of the individuals are difficult to identify due to the partial nature of skeletons. Nevertheless, according to Massa's (2014) evaluation of grave goods and grave types, these seven burials might be of adult males who had a politically higher status as "chiefs" in the Demircihöyük society data (Table 6). It is possible that there is a link between cattle and males, as Cauvin (2000) had also suggested for the Neolithic period, however, except for a few cases from the Demircihöyük corpus, the clay animal figurines found in domestic contexts do not depict sexual features.

Table 6. Burials Associated with Cattle Skeletons (Durgun, 2012, Table 8)

Name of the burial	Location-trench	Burial Type	Orientation	# of individuals	Total # of finds	Gender of Individual1	Age of Individual1	Special Treatment
G117	YY/85	Simple Inhumation	?	1	5	Adult-uncertain	Minimum 20	SE: cattle pair, W,E,S surrounded by stones, on W covered with a large stone plate
G125	XX/85	Simple Inhumation	?	1	1	Adult-uncertain	Minimum 20	E: cattle pair ,on the sides stone blocks
G316	A/84-85	Simple Inhumation	NE	2	2	Adult-unknown x2	Minimum 20 x2	NE:cattle pair on top,covered with stone plates,on top pitho sherds
G321	A/85	Cist	SE	1	3	Adult-unknown	40	SE: cattle pair & human bones on the closing stone
G335	ZZ/85	Simple Inhumation	SE	1	2	Adult-uncertain	20-40	SE:cattle pair
G367B	B/86	Simple Inhumation	SE	1	2	Adult-uncertain	Minimum 20	S:cattle pair
G583	WW/85	Double pithos	SE	?	7	-		cattle pair-on top

3.3.2 Alacahöyük

Although the existence of clay animal figurines is not very visible unlike in Demircihöyük, metal animal statues and cattle burials are also a feature of the

Alacahöyük's "royal" cemetery² (Fig. 61). At Alacahöyük, 14 tombs with 15 individuals of elite status have been identified (Tomb C has 3 individuals). Within the 14 tombs, four males, four females and seven unidentified skeletal remains have been found (Table 7). Although the tombs seem generally related with one burial, Tomb C did not have a complete skeleton. Instead, three human skulls and numerous human femurs have been found within Tomb C. The other examples of these exceptions (Tomb E and Tomb T) contain a complete body with additional human skeletal remains. Royal tombs do not consist of child remains, however, outside of the Tomb S, a child's remains have been found in an east-west oriented pithos. The head of the child was also faced south like in the adult examples. The reason for absence of child burial in "Royal" tombs might be related with three assumptions. Either these tombs have not been discovered yet, or they might have been destroyed during the ancient building activities or children bodies might have been cremated.

Table 7. Number and sex of the individuals found in Alacahöyük Royal and non-royal Burials

Sex of Identified Individuals	Royal Tombs	Non-Royal Tombs
Female (Tombs A, H, L, T)	4/15	2/12
Male (Tombs A', B, K, T')	4/15	7/12
Children	0/15	3/12
Unidentified	7/15	0/12

² At the site, there are also non-royal burials from the settlement context. The non-royal burials, which were found in context of domestic architectures or below the floors of the houses throughout the settlement (Gürsan-Salzmann, 1992), and are differentiated by both quality and quantity of the votive objects from the Royal tombs. Unlike "royal" tombs, no clay or metal animal figurines or remains of livestock animals have been found in non-royal burials. As elaborated further above, the animal remains of especially cattle, and also sheep, goat and pig are associated with feasting at the rich contexts of the royal burials, whereas the only animal buried with the deceased both in royal and non-royal burials is the dog.

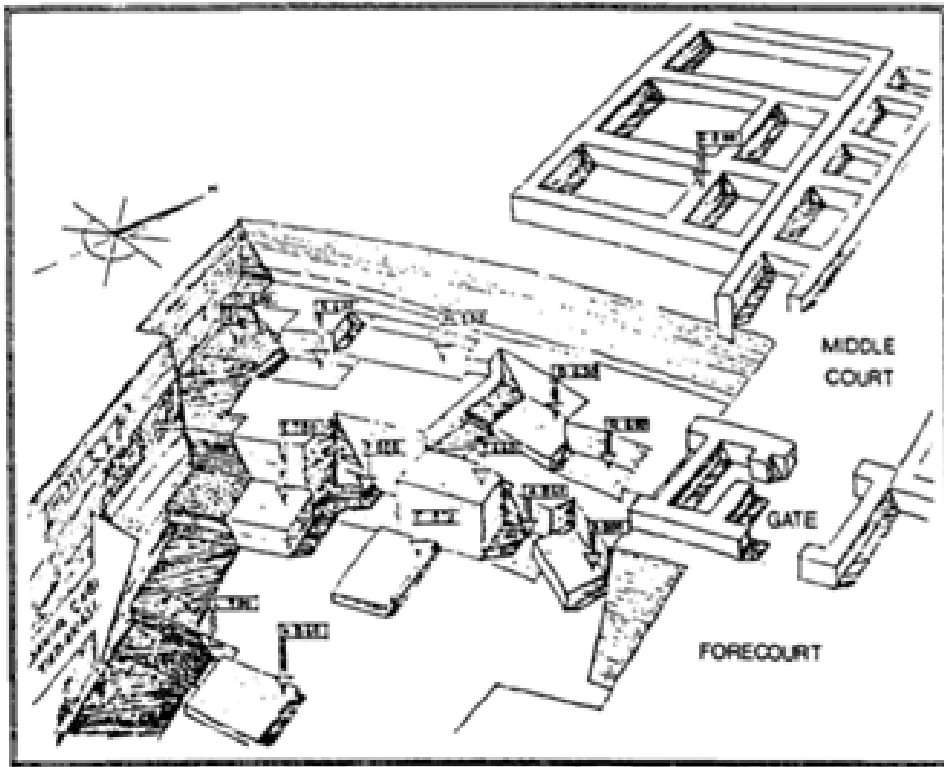


Figure 61. Alacahöyük Royal Cemetery (Gürsan-Salzman, 1992, Figure 24)

From the Alacahöyük Royal cemetery, there are forty-three metal standards and statuettes; however, we have access to thirty-four items through the publications (Table 8). Among twenty-five of them were identified as standards and the 9 of the statuettes. Standards also known as sun-discs are one of the outstanding grave goods of Alacahöyük. The standards have been found in eleven different “royal” tombs. Among the standard category four different kinds of shaping has been observed by Bilgen (1993): a) with animal figurines, b) with geometric decorations, c) flat ones and d) wreath shaped ones. These standards are all made with similar techniques of casting, hammering, and soldering. The elements of these standards are made of bronze and connected with rivets. Beside standards with animal figurines, one wreath shaped standard from Tomb B also contains animal figures. The wreath is decorated with birds and sheep, dog or their infants. Besides the standards, nine animal statuettes have been found from the “royal” tombs in nine different tombs. These are also made of bronze and decorated with silver and golds inlays in forms of bull and stag.

To understand the function of these items different theories have been suggested by finding cultural similarities. Some cultural similarities have been found between Alacahöyük “royal” burials and the Caucasian and Mesopotamian wagon burials therefore, it is suggested that these objects were a part of the wagons which carried the deceased to the grave and these items used as “pars pro toto” for the animals used to pull the wagons (Orthmann, 1967). However, these ideas have been questioned because of the discrepancy of time of these burials and also the lack of archaeological evidence which support this theory (Zimmermann, 2008).

On the other hand, some of the theories on these standards and statuettes focused on the divinity of these items. It is thought that stag and bull representations might be related to the Hattic deities who have nature related magical powers. While the disc is referring the celestial significance (also might be related with Arinna), the bull and the deer (Hattic deities, Tesup, and ‘LAM-MA. LİL) refer to power and fertility (Baltacıoğlu, 2006). These theories have been suggested that by basing on the existence of belief system in Anatolia which is adapted from Mesopotamia and Near East, it suggested that there is not any clear evidence which proves these theories (Zimmerman, 2008).

Another idea on these items is that they might be the emblems of the individuals which indicates their family. It is suggested that the different combinations of the geometric shapes, animals and other shapes might be representing an identity of the individual (Özyar, 1999). Although their actual purpose is unclear, it would not be wrong to associate these objects with ritual displays used in burial activities since no standard or statuette have been found in the domestic area.

Further analysis of the Alacahöyük royal tombs can provide more detailed information about the relationship between gender, social hierarchy, and animal imagery. When these burials are considered from a social perspective, the quantity and the absence or the presence of some certain objects in the graves may suggest a social differentiation. Diadem, mace head, seal, personal ornaments and sewn objects are categorized as rank-related objects in Gürsan-Salzman’s study (1992). In Gürsan - Salzman’s study these four males and four female burials were compared in their sex categories. As a result of this analyses, amongst the four male burials, three have (Tombs B, Tomb T, Tomb A) been detected as in higher rank than the other two.

Among the four female burials, one of them (Tomb H) is outstanding in terms of the quantity, and the variety of the objects found in the burial (Gürsan-Salzmänn, 1992).

Although, the content of the burials seems similar regardless of sex and status, in a closer examination there are some minor differentiations in terms of quantity, type, and material in terms of sex and the status. For example, while all the female burials contain standards, diadems, and hooks, only the half of the male burials contain this inventory. On the other hand, while all the male burials have the objects which are called as utilitarian objects/tools (axes, borers, polishers, and nails), only a few female burials have them. Both of the sexes have vessels; however, while the metal ones appear a similar quantity on both of the sexes, the number of ceramic ones is higher in the female burials. The objects categorized as personal ornaments such as pins, rings, combs, and bracelets seems more related to female burials while the earplugs seem more associated with male burials. Among the burials content, the distribution of castanets may be related to the sex of the deceased. While all of the female burials have castanets, none of the male burials have this object group. Although there is not any definitive differentiation on the burial gifts according to the sex, it seems some of the objects seem more related to one of the sexes.

When the distribution of the standards and bull/stag statuettes are considered, it seems that there is not any specific differentiation related to the sex. Intriguingly, however, all of the metal statuettes and standards that depict “bulls” and “stags” from the Alacahöyük “Royal cemetery” are “male” species. Also, the highest number of standards depicting both animals and abstract images have been found in Tomb B which belongs to a male. This tomb is also intriguing with its two clay animal figurines and one stone seal. Although at Alacahöyük, both sexes are associated with lavish gifts and metal statuettes, it is highly possible that the royal cemetery represents a case where elite power was increasingly associated with maleness, perhaps in a similar vein to the close association of male burials with cattle remains.

It can be said that animal figurines have similar material and spatial distribution to anthropomorphic figurines; while clay figurines are related to domestic contexts, metal figurines seem related to the burial contexts in EBA period (Atakuman, 2017). At Alacahöyük, a gender-based hierarchy within “the royal cemetery” is difficult to assess; both males and females can be buried with similar objects and similar animal

statues. However, it is interesting that all the depicted animals within the Alacahöyük graves are male species (i.e., bull and stag). At Demircihöyük-Sarıket Cemetery, there are no animal figurines; all the animal figurines of this site come from the Demircihöyük settlement contexts. However, at the Sarıket Cemetery, there are eight male burials, which were found in close association with fully articulated cattle burials, possibly representing a sacrificial ceremony. Based on these observations, it is difficult to understand whether the existing differences between these two sites are a function of temporal or cultural differences. However, one thing should be underlined; during the EBA, social differentiation was developing in favor of males, and this social distinction was operating within an established social stratigraphy.

So far, consideration of earlier animal imagery mentioned in literature review and the typological and contextual evaluation of EBA animal figurines concerning material, breakage, size, spatial distribution, sex, age and in general social status indicate the following outcomes:

1. Animal imagery and figurines exist since the Upper Paleolithic period; however, animal figurines made of clay specifically representing cattle and sheep/goat became emerge during the PPNB of the Near East.

2. The EBA clay animal figurines are very similar to Neolithic examples in terms of depicted species, representations and production techniques.

3. The length of the figurines is generally in the range of 3-6 cm. Since all of the figurines have distinctive horns regardless of their size, they can be considered as the adult representations of species instead of cub.

4. Early Bronze Age animal figurines show similarity to anthropomorphic figurines in terms of spatial distribution; like the clay human figurines, animal figurines are usually found in relation to the domestic contexts, whereas the metal examples seem to be related to burial contexts.

5. Animal figurines made of metals started to emerge in mid-3rd millennium BC while clay animal figurines were already in use during this period.

6. Although it is very hard to make a contextual evaluation on EBA animal figurines, in regards of Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük, the clay animal figurines of EBA are often non-sexed and usually associated with the domestic context, while the maleness was stressed on the metal ones which are found in the 'elite' graves.

7. Burial contexts are one of the places where the social differentiation of EBA can clearly be seen; however, the hierarchy within the EBA burials are difficult to distinguish in terms of sex-based differences. Based on the rare number of male graves which are associated with cattle sacrificial remains at Demircihöyük, it may be suggested that a social hierarchy in favor of males were developing.

8. The existence of animal sacrifices such as cattle, sheep/goat, dog and pig which have been detected at 'royal' cemeteries of Alacahöyük along with metal animal figurines and at the 'chiefly' burials of Demircihöyük emphasize the importance of the animal imagery in the social and economic power display arenas during EBA period.

9. Although it is not quite possible to understand the regional tendencies on figurine production with regard to the published material of EBA, it seems that while production of clay animal figurines seems more related to the West Central Anatolia and South East Anatolia, the production of metal animal figurines seems related to the North Central Anatolia.

In the next chapter, I will be evaluating my observations concerning the previously suggested theoretical approaches with the aim of contextualizing the agency of animal imagery in the development of EBA social organization.

Table 8. Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts (Six sources have been used to construct this table while the images have been gathered from the Müller-Karpe 1974, the content of the burials have been written by comparing the information from Gürsan- Salzman 1992, Bilgen 1993 and Koşay 1937,1938, 1966)

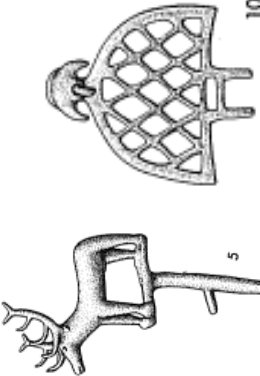
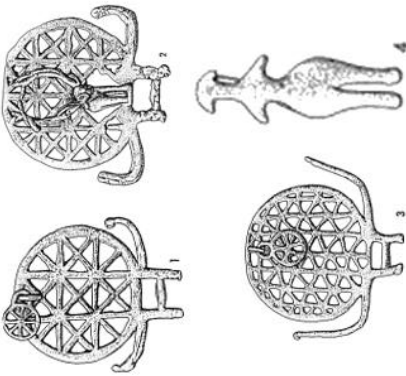
Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statutes and figurines
Tomb A	Female 1 individual	2 ceramic vessels, 2 metal vessels, 8 hooks, 21 pins, 3 standards, 1 statuette (stag), 14 borers, 3 barrettes, 1 mirror, 129 beads, 1 comb, 1 ring, 1 battle axe, 2 bracelets, 1 piece of textile, 1 diadem, 2 castanets	
Tomb A'	Male 1 individual	3 standards,5 vessels, 3 knives, 1 hook, 1 mirror, 1 sword 828 sewn pieces, 1 diadem, 1 figurine, 1 barrette, 2 bracelets, 5 pins, 2 tubing, 1 statuette (stag)	

Table 8 (continued). Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts

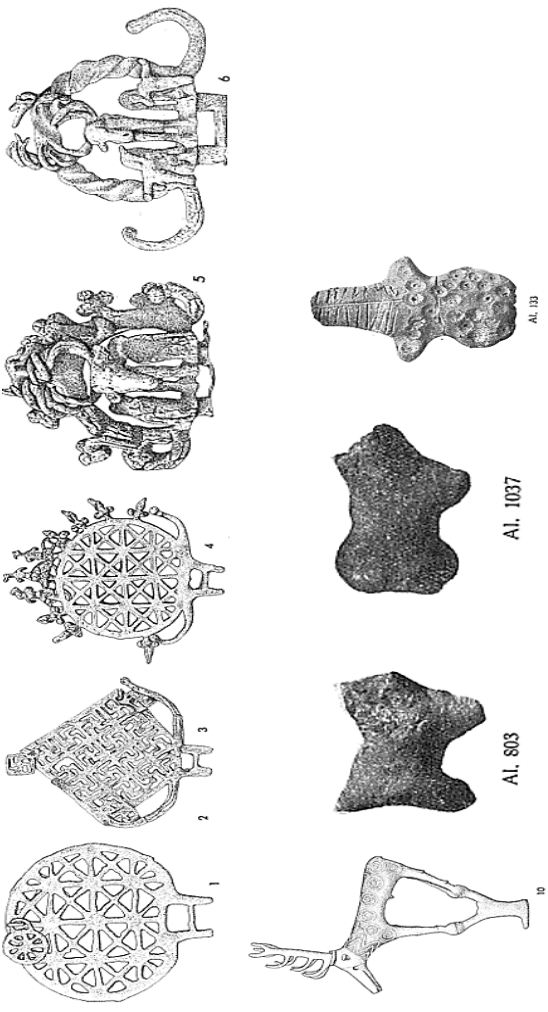
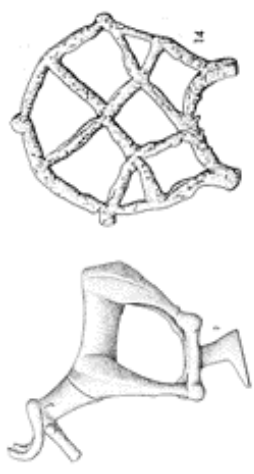
Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statutes and figurines
Tomb B	Male 1 individual	6 standards, 1 statuette (stag), 3 hooks, 1 diadem, 2 vessels, 2 handles, 1 mace head, 8 sheaths, 2 pins, 1 pair of earrings, 18 sewn ornaments, 2 earplugs, 331 beads, 3 bells, 3 figurines, 2 vessels, 10 sherds, 2 spindle whorls, 4 borers, 1 stamp seal	 <p>The image shows six standards (1-6) and several figurines. Standard 1 is a circular object with a grid pattern. Standard 2 is a similar circular object with a different pattern. Standard 3 is a triangular object with a grid pattern. Standard 4 is a circular object with a grid pattern and a handle. Standard 5 is a circular object with a grid pattern and a handle. Standard 6 is a circular object with a grid pattern and a handle. Figurine A is a stag statuette. Figurine B is a mace head. Figurine C is a dark, irregularly shaped object. Figurine D is a dark, irregularly shaped object. Figurine E is a dark, irregularly shaped object. Figurine F is a dark, irregularly shaped object.</p>
Tomb C	Unidentified 3 individual		 <p>The image shows two figurines (1, 2) and a stamp seal (3). Figurine 1 is a dark, irregularly shaped object. Figurine 2 is a dark, irregularly shaped object. Stamp seal 3 is a circular object with a grid pattern.</p>

Table 8 (continued). Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts

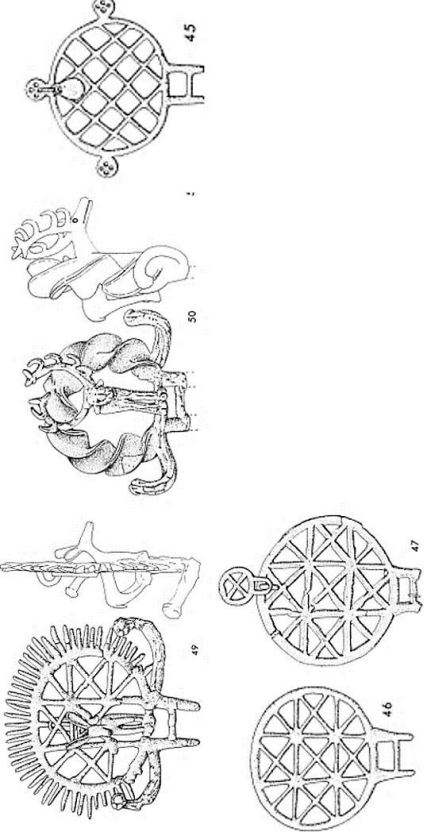
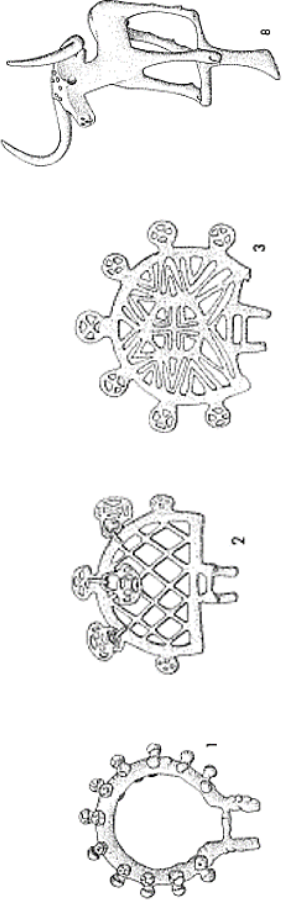
Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statues and figurines
Tomb D	Unidentified 1 individual	6 standards, 6 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), 1 diadem, 1 vessel, 1 dagger, 1 knife, 1 borer, 111 sewn pieces, 1 earplug, 2 necklaces and pieces from necklace, 1 spool, 99 nails, 3 pins, 1 sheath, 2 vessels and 4 sherds, 8 beads	
Tomb E	Unidentified 1 individual + 1 skull	3 standards, 2 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), 2 axes, 1 battle axe, 1 shield fragment, 2 sheaths, 2 arrowheads, 2 nails, 1 diadem, 33 sewn pieces, 1 pair of earrings, 28 stone beads, 1 vessel, 1 sherd, 27 metal beads	

Table 8 (continued). Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts

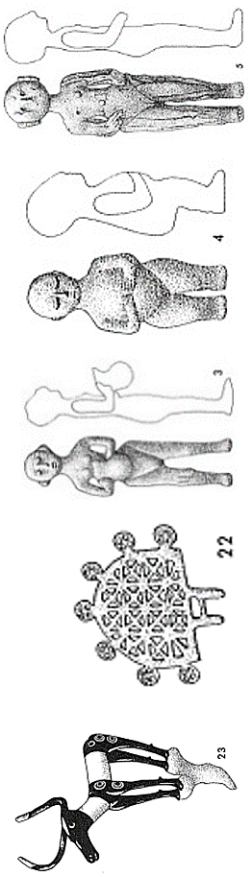
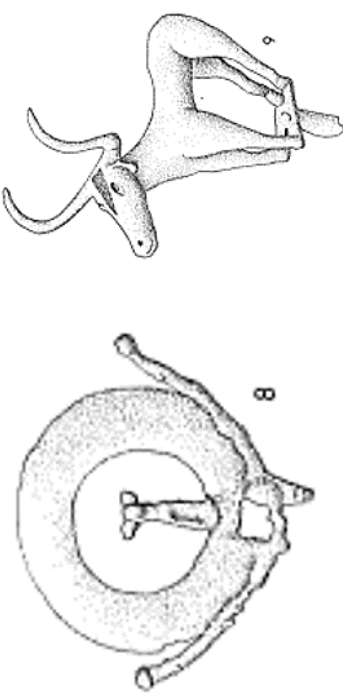
Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statutes and figurines
Tomb F	Unidentified 1 individual	26 sewn pieces	
Tomb H	Female 1 individual	1 standard, 1 statuette (bull), 1 diadem, 10 vessels, 4 figurines, 4 bracelets, 6 necklaces , 1 comb, 30 pins, 1 hook, 2 sheaths, 2 balls, 2 maces,1 dagger, 176 sewn pieces/ornaments, 1 pendant, 7 pieces of plating, 8 castanets, 92 beads, 1 disc, 2 axes,1 knife	
Tomb K	Male 1 individual	9 vessels, 1 diadem, 2 mace, 2 mace heads, 3 mace handles, 4 pins, 2 daggers, 2 necklaces, 23 sewn pieces, 1 comb, 2 standards, 1 statuettes (bull), 2 borers, 1 hook, 1 sword, 2 bracelets, 3 discs,4 spindle whorls,1 adze, 1 earring, 3 belts,1 pair earplugs, 2 knives, 4 legs of furniture	

Table 8 (continued). Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts

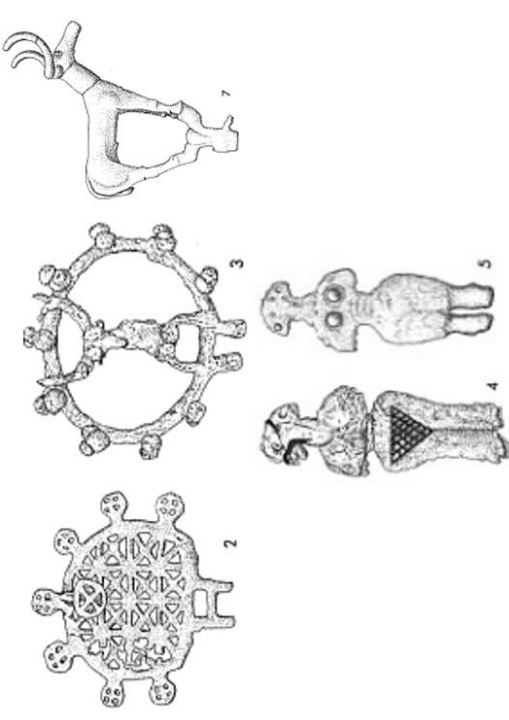
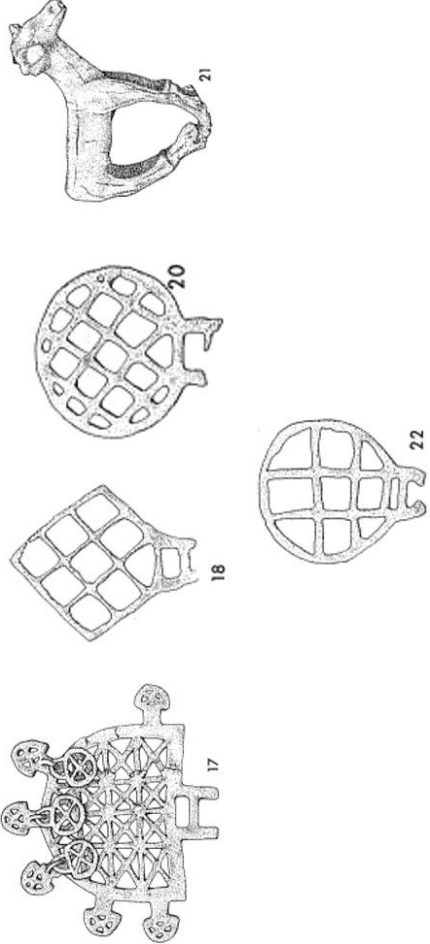
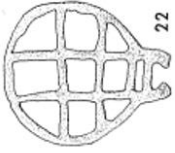
Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statutes and figurines
Tomb L	Female 1 individual	2 metal human figurine, 4 standards, 1 bull statuettes, 1 diadem, 2 vessels, 1 barrette, 3 bracelets, 1 spindle whorl, 1 spoon, 1 pin, 2 earplugs, 2 sewn pieces, 4 hooks, 3 borers, 1 metal sheath, 3 necklaces, 5 buttons	
Tomb S	Unidentified 1 individual	1 sword, 1 standard (fragment), 6 hooks, 1 band/diadem, 1 vessel, 4 amulets/medallions, 6 earplugs, 2 sewn pieces, 14 beads, 1 pin head 8 tubing and plating pieces, 1 axe, 1 spindle whorl/bead, 9 awls	

Table 8 (continued). Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts

Tomb Name	Sex & # of individuals	#of artefacts & categories	Standards , Statutes and figurines
Tomb T	Phase II female	4 standards, 6 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), Fragments of vessel, 2 bells, 1 vessel, 9 sheaths, 2 daggers/spearheads, 8 pins, 14 tubes, 4 bracelets, 6 ringlets, 2 castanets, 606 beads, 10 bracelets, 1 diadem, 95 sewn pieces	
Tomb T'	Phase I male	1 vessel, 7 pieces of plating, 6 bracelets, 3 spindle whorls, 5 knives, 1 polishing stone, 2 handles (ceramic vessel)	

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

Although these inferences from typological and spatial analyzes on the animal figurines provide a limited amount of information about the Early Bronze Age animal symbolism, it is not sufficient to understand how animal figurines have functioned in the EBA social life. For this reason, in this section first I will try to explain the social and economic importance of the depicted animals during the EBA period and I will try to understand the mechanism behind the animal figurine making and the function of them in the EBA social contexts by reconsidering material and spatiality changes of these images through the time and space.

4.1 The Evaluation of Figurine Animal Imagery within EBA Subsistence

Economy

As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, cattle and sheep/goat consisted of the majority of the clay animal figurines, while cattle and deer were specifically chosen for the metal figurines. Although no subsistence-related explanations have been suggested for the metal figurines, there have been subsistence-related explanations for clay animal figurines. These explanations raise the question of whether the animals represented on figurines are a reflection of the Early Bronze Age economic activities. Therefore, the aim of this section is to understand the economic importance of cattle, sheep, goat, and deer, which are the prominent species among the animal figurines, during the EBA period.

Although the subsistence economy could vary in terms of the environmental factors, according to Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) analysis from different EBA settlements (Arbuckle, 2013, 2014), sheep and goat are the most frequently identified species (more than 50% of all zooarchaeological assemblages at any given site) in the zooarchaeological data (Table 9). It has been suggested that these animals were significant in terms of meat consumption in the household level as well as in terms of their secondary products (Çakırlar, 2016). However, in regards of the burial

data of the EBA period, it can be said that these animals were also consumed during the communal ceremonial events (Massa, 2014). The economical contributions of these animals can also be followed on the mortality profile studies. Considering the mortality profiles of these species, it can be suggested that while goat was generally grown for milk production, sheep was raised to provide wool for textile products (Arbuckle, 2012; Çakırlar, 2016; Sagona & Zimmansky, 2009).

On the other hand, the frequency of cattle remains are generally lower than the caprines (sheep/goat) in NISP analysis; however, in regard of the Weight of Identified Specimens (WIS) analysis, cattle can be regarded as the most important meat source in EBA period (Fig. 62, Arbuckle, 2014). Because of the amount of the meat, it has been suggested that they must have been consumed during the occasions which require a considerable amount of meat and food distribution such as communal feastings (Çakırlar, 2016; Bachhuber, 2015, p.33). Cattle were not only meat sources, but also they were important for milk production and more importantly they were fundamental for agricultural activities such as plowing and fertilization of the fields.

Beside the herding activities, hunting was also a part of the subsistence of the EBA period. Although the hunted species are slightly visible in zooarchaeological data, it is known that deer was one of the hunted species of the period, especially in woodlands. Deer may be considered as the one of the secondary meat sources of the EBA period; however, the zooarchaeological data from Troia prove that deer could have been used as meat sources for communal feastings in EBA (Çakırlar, 2016).

Table 9. Modified NISP data table of Acemhöyük from EBA Levels (Arbuckle, 2013, Table 3)

Area	DB50	DB52	EB50
Period	EBA	EBA	EBA
Sheep/Goat	76,5 %	31,6 %	88,6 %
Cattle	23,5 %	36,8 %	8,6 %
Pig	0,0 %	5,3 %	0,0 %
Others	0,0 %	26,3 %	2,9 %

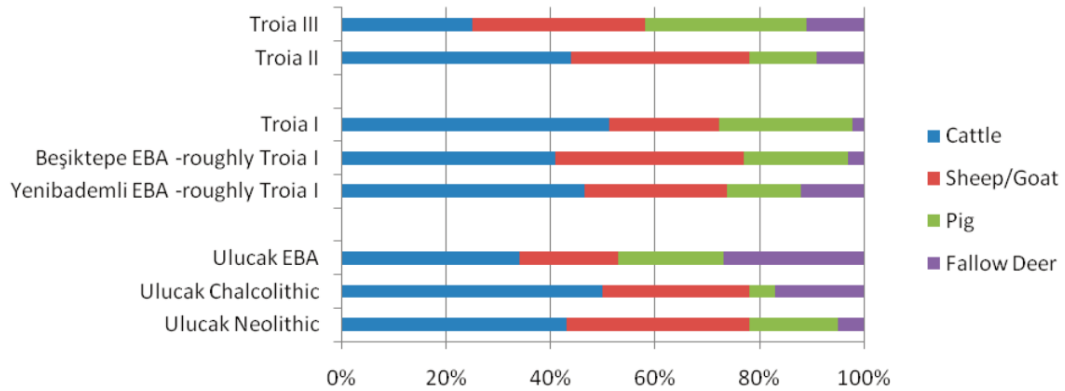


Figure 62. WIS (= Weight of Identified Specimens) proportions of major domesticates and fallow deer in EBA Troia, Beşiktepe, Yenibademli , and Neolithic, Chalcolithic and EBA Ulucak (Çakırlar, 2016, p. 295)

It is clear that the animal species represented on figurines had an essential role in subsistence system of EBA; however, considering them only in the subsistence system would be misleading the wider social context within which these images operate. It has been suggested that animal herding and raising is laden with symbolic communicative information related to the social position, status, group membership which turned animals into symbols of status and wealth both in individual and communal scale (Arbuckle, 2012; Bachhuber, 2011; Çakırlar, 2016; Hamilakis, e2003; Hodder & Pels, 2010; Meskell, 2015; Russel, 2012; Mouton, 2017). In this manner, the slaughter of these animals and the distribution of their meat in public ritual contexts and access of the economically important secondary products became evidence of the social differentiation in the household and communal levels in EBA societies (Arbuckle, 2012). Hunting can also be considered as another communication platform for social relations in EBA period. Hamilakis (2003) defines hunting as an essential social activity where the status and gender role and identity have been stressed out concerning the perception of time and space, and he associates hunting with “elites” and maleness, which provide generation and legitimation for their social status.

In this regard, it can be suggested that the animal figurine imagery must have operated both within the economic and social realms. For example, the meat on bone cattle burials in Demircihöyük-Sarıket Cemetery’s so called “chiefly” burials or the metal figurines in Alacahöyük elite burials may indicate that there is a ritualistic

symbolic communication which was possibly related to social status and social identity of the individuals buried.

4.2 The Evaluation of EBA figurines in Social Context

The animals depicted on figurines are mentioned as symbolic communication mediums related to social status, prestige and social identity within the EBA social life due to their economic importance (Arbuckle, 2014; Çakırlar, 2016; Meskell, 2015). For this reason, it is necessary to evaluate the relationship of EBA animal figurines within these concepts. However, the detailed spatial context information required to understand the relationship between animal figurines and these concepts are only coming from Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük settlements. Therefore, the typological and contextual evaluations on these animal figurines may not be very conclusive. However, understanding the existence of animal imagery in time and space can provide an explanation for how animal figurines have a symbolic function during the EBA period.

Since the Upper Paleolithic period, animal imagery has been a part of ritual spaces along with the human imagery; however, it can be said that their meaning and function are reshaped according to the social and economic order of their period (Fig. 63). For instance, while PPNA period wild animals and anthropomorphic images were depicted on monumental structures such as at Göbekli Tepe, in later periods there had been a thematic and dimensional change on these imageries. During the later PPNB and Pottery Neolithic Periods; instead of the wild animals, pre-domesticated and domesticated animals started to dominate the imagery inside the house contexts and the miniaturized and portable versions were started to be appear in relation to house contexts, such as at Çatal Höyük and Ain Ghazal. While thematic change on the animal imagery explained as a result of the domestication activities and subsistence change (Helmer, Gourichon & Stourdeur, 2004), size change has been interpreted as the emergence of the new concepts such as house and community which reorganize the terms of social affiliation as well as difference and hierarchy at various scales (Atakuman, 2015). In this term, it is important to evaluate the material and spatial relation of animal figurines in time to offer an explanation for the existence of EBA animal figurines.

In order to understand the functions of EBA animal figurines, Çatalhöyük can be used as a guide, because the symbolic scenario which was created with the actual human and animal bodies and imagery in Çatalhöyük houses is similar to the scenario observed in Alacahöyük “royal” tombs and Demircihöyük “chiefly” burials (Fig. 64). Furthermore, the clay animal and human figurines that exist in EBA domestic contexts are very similar to the Neolithic examples in terms of their production techniques, raw materials, themes and find contexts. This may suggest that there is a continuation of an understanding which survived from earlier periods in accordance to the social and economic order of EBA. To explore this further, I will try to explain the wider context of Çatalhöyük animal imagery which we see on the Çatalhöyük houses as wall paintings, installations and bucrania.

It can be said that Çatalhöyük houses are very symbolic places in terms of human paintings, animal paintings and animal installations. These places are interpreted by researchers as highly symbolic areas where the social status, social identity and social regeneration concepts and the success of households were emphasized and memorized (Hodder & Pels, 2010). It has been suggested that these houses had a life cycle (Meskell et al., 2008; Meskell, 2015; Russell & Meece, 2006). When the cycle of these houses was completed, they were burned or cleaned in some certain times of the year, and they were renovated in the exact spot of the earlier house, in the same plan (Düring, 2005, 2007). Some elements of the old houses such as bucrania and horn installations were carried out to the new phase of the house (Hodder & Chessford, 2004). In that way bucrania and installations accumulated in the houses as superimposed (Hodder & Pels, 2010). A similar circulation is observed on the treatment for buried human bodies of the site. Like in many Neolithic, after some time of primary burial, the burials were reopened, and skulls had been removed into other houses (Boz & Hager, 2013). This circulation of human and animal remain among the houses were considered as the attempts of construction of social identities and the representations of household success and the social regeneration through the ancestral relationships (Düring, 2001; Kirch, 2000; Russel & Meece 2006; Hodder & Pels, 2010).

In addition to this symbolism which had been achieved through usage of actual human and animal bodies, the miniaturized figurines of humans and animals were also

found as related to house contexts in Çatalhöyük. Meskell (2015, p.15) explains the existence of these figurines as the individualized version of rituals which are performed by actual human and animal bodies inside the houses. She says the small size and the malleability of the material of these figurines allow individuals to represent their own identities and provide equality to individuals to bond themselves to social regeneration rituals which are performed during the burials ceremonies, placing making activities and celebration of other symbolic events (Atakuman, 2017). In this terms, it can be suggested that Çatalhöyük animal figurines and imagery became agents in the negotiation of wider concepts related to social regeneration, social identity and house success in the community.

So, is it possible to suggest a similar interpretation for EBA animal figurines? It is not very possible to make such an interpretation on EBA animal figurines at the first sight. However, the existence of animal figurines which show spatial differentiation in regards of raw materials and the existence of sacrificed animals, which were depicted on figurines, in elite burials suggest a social communication which had been expressed over animals and animal figurines in the EBA society. In regard of the socio- economic value of depicted animals on figurines, it can be thought that this symbolic communication can be related to social status, social identity, social regeneration and success of the families like it is suggested for Neolithic figurines; however, the meaning of these symbolic communication have been altered according to the centralization process of the EBA.

The existence of Neolithic like clay animal figurines in the domestic areas indicates rituals related to social status, social identity and social regeneration continued in household levels in EBA period; however, the emergence of metal animal figurines along with the animal sacrifices in the elite burials in extramural cemeteries in the second half of the EBA period suggest that household rituals became public power display performed for a limited group of society in a controlled manner. Also, the disappearance of the clay animal figurines at the end of the 3rd millennium BC may be interpreted as beginning of limitation of household rituals by the developing ritual and political authorities.

Furthermore, the sacrifice of cattle, sheep, goat and deer in religious celebrations related to the seasonal changes within certain directions (Mouton, 2017,

p.243; Collins, 2001, p.79), the capture of these animals as war booty from the defeated countries and the existence of laws concerning the theft of these animals in second millennium societies (Arbuckle, 2014, p.288) can be regarded as the proof the social and economic institutionalization of the rituals related to social status, prestige and social regeneration and the clear transformation of animals and animal imagery into power displays within the hierarchical relations within/between societies which started to be appear in EBA.

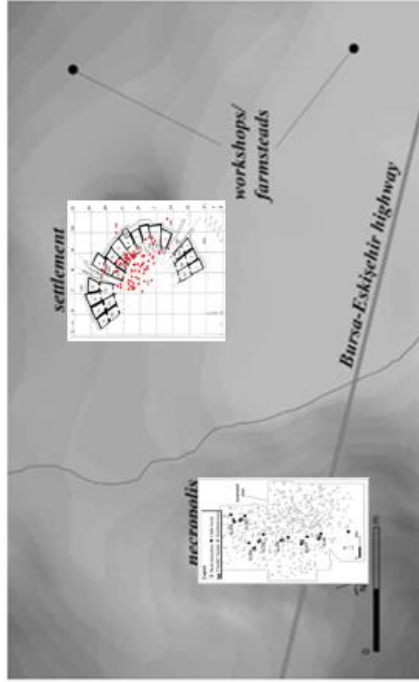
In the light of these evaluations, when Koçumbeli animal figurines were considered, it can be thought that there is ritual negotiation on the social status, identity, prestige and social regeneration through the figurines, but it is hard to talk about a ritual authority in Koçumbeli relying on the animal figurines. Although there are metal gifts in the Koçumbeli grave, the absence of metal animals or human figurines in this context might be considered as a result of the limited access of Koçumbeli society to raw materials and specialized products. However, the similarity of clay animal figurines found in Koçumbeli to Demircihöyük, Alacahöyük examples, where the social differentiation displayed in public areas including animal imagery and communal feasting, can be considered as an effort of Koçumbeli to position itself in ritual actions within the hierarchical order among the EBA societies in the centralization process.



- Depicted animals wild and dangerous & very few pre domesticates(cattle, sheep, boar)
- Animal and anthropomorphic imagery are together
- Monumental scale stone architecture



- Clay animal figurines as well as installations and wall paintings associated with domestic contexts
- Generally horned animals (cattle, sheep/goat, deer) mostly domesticates and pre domesticates
- Animal and human figurines are depicted separately
- In close relationship with human burial activities and social regeneration rituals within the house



- Generally horned animals (cattle, sheep/goat, deer) mostly domesticates
- Animal and human figurines are depicted separately
- Separation of settlement and burial activities
- Clay animal and human figurines in domestic context
- Metal animal and human figurines in elite burial context
- Male emphasis on metal animal figurines

Figure 63. Agency of Animal imagery in Time and Space



a



b

Figure 64. Comparison of Çatalhöyük and Alacahöyük Ritual Symbolism

a) Çatalhöyük House Reconstruction b) Alacahöyük "Royal" Burial

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study has been to shed better light on animal figurines of Early Bronze Age Anatolia through the analysis of the animal figurines of Central Anatolian site of Koçumbeli and the comparative sites. The reason behind this purpose is the lack of the studies on these animal figurines in figurine and period studies. Although animal imagery and figurines were existed and change their appearance along with the anthropomorphic figurines, they are generally subjected to a limited number of studies and regarded as the minimal representations of the livestock of the period or children toys. In most occasions, they are merely shown on the catalogs of excavation publications and their existence are just mentioned with a few sentences. However, the contextual analysis indicates that these animal figurines are in a dialogue with anthropomorphic figurines as the reflections of social identity and social status both in domestic and burials context.

Therefore, to present a new perspective for the interpretation of these animal figurines and their functions, animal figurine assemblage of Koçumbeli and other EBA sites have been examined in terms of their thematic representations, raw materials, production technique, color, breakage as well as their contexts (where it is possible) to understand the cultural logic behind the animal figurines in EBA. Then, to understand how these animal figurines functioned in the social context of EBA, the animals depicted in these figurines are discussed in the EBA economy and considered in a wider perspective on the usage of animal figurines.

Thematic and typological analysis reveal that horned animals such as cattle, sheep, goat and deer imagery are the dominant imagery on the animal figurines of EBA. While cattle, sheep, and goat representations were main species on clay animal figurines, cattle and deer representations were the main focus on metal figurines. Clay animal figurines of EBA is very similar to Neolithic examples in terms of the themes, production technique and raw material. Although it is hard to make an interpretation

of the sexual characteristic of the depicted species by basing on horns (horns can exist on both sexes), the existence of distinctive horns indicates that they might be adult representations. Although any sexual characteristic detected on clay animal figurines, the depiction of maleness on specialized metal animal figurines suggests there must have been a social ongoing on the figurine production.

Contextual analysis indicated that there is spatial differentiation on animal figurines in regard of their materiality. While clay animal figurines were found in houses and courtyards along with the clay anthropomorphic figurines during the EBA, metal animal figurines were found in the elite burials along with the metal anthropomorphic figurines, communal feasting and the animal sacrifices. This spatial differentiation suggests the existence of a symbolic communication within the EBA societies over animal imagery.

To understand what this symbolic communication be first the economic role of the depicted species in EBA subsistence economy. In the light of the zoo-archaeological data of EBA settlements, it has been understood that the depicted animals on figurines had a huge importance on the subsistence economy. They were not only the meat sources but also they were fundamental for the agriculture and economic activities. However, they cannot simply be related with the subsistence strategies of the EBA societies because they also bear a symbolic function related to social status, social identity and social regeneration concepts in the EBA society. Therefore, it has been tried to be understand the relationship of animal figurines with these concepts.

Spatial and material evaluations which are considered in a wider perspective suggested that animal imagery and figurines have always been a part of ritual areas where the social status, identity had been negotiated over social regeneration rituals along with the anthropomorphic imagery and figurine. However, their display methods seem changed accordingly the social organization of the period. In this manner, the analysis of spatial and material shift of EBA animal figurines and prehistoric animal imagery have been used to understand the development of the ideas which triggered the centralization process in EBA.

As a result of the systematic analysis of the Koçumbeli and EBA animal figurines, it can be suggested that clay animal figurines are also one of the agencies in

the negotiation of wider concepts related to social regeneration, social identity and house success in the Koçumbeli community and between the EBA societies. Although the interpretations of animal figurines on the Kocumbeli's social organization made through the contextual analysis of Demircihöyük and Alacahöyük and with the evaluation of the shifts on the animal and human imagery in time and space, this study presents a new perspective for the evaluation on animal figurines.

REFERENCES

- Amirkhanov, H., & Lev, S. (2002). A unique Palaeolithic sculpture from the site of Zaraysk (Russia). *Antiquity*, 76 (293), 613-614.
- Alparslan – Roodenberg, M. S. (2009). Kuzeybatı Anaolu'nun İlk Çiftçileri: Mezarlık ve Gömütler. *Arkeoloji ve Sanat Dergisi*, 131, 1-12.
- Arbuckle, B. S. (2012). Animals and inequality in Chalcolithic central Anatolia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 31(3), 302-313.
- Arbuckle, B. S. (2013). Zooarchaeology at Acemhöyük 2013. *Anadolu/Anatolia*, 39, 55-68.
- Arbuckle, B. S. (2014). The rise of cattle cultures in Bronze Age Anatolia. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies*, 2(4), 277-297.
- Arbuckle, B. S. (2015). Animal Symbolism. *Actual Archaeology Magazine Anatolia*, 44, 36-47.
- Arbuckle, B. S., & Makarewicz, C. A. (2009). The early management of cattle (*Bos taurus*) in Neolithic central Anatolia. *Antiquity*, 83 (321), 669-686.
- Arbuckle, B. S., Öztan, A., & Gülçur, S. (2009). The evolution of sheep and goat husbandry in central Anatolia. *Anthropozoologica*, 44(1), 129-157.
- Atakuman, Ç. (2014). Architectural discourse and social transformation during the early Neolithic of southeast Anatolia. *Journal of world prehistory*, 27(1), 1-42.
- Atakuman, Ç. (2015). From Monuments to Miniatures: Emergence of Stamps and Related Image-bearing Objects during the Neolithic. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 25(4), 759-788.
- Atakuman, Ç. (2017). Figurines of the Anatolian Early Bronze Age: the assemblage from Koçumbeli-Ankara. *Anatolian Studies*, 67, 85-108.

- Bachhuber, C. (2011). Negotiating metal and the metal form in the royal tombs of Alacahöyük in north-central Anatolia. In T. C. Wilkinson, S. Sherrat & J. Bennet (Eds.), *Interweaving Worlds: systemic interactions in Eurasia, 7th to 1st millennia BC* (pp. 158-74). Oxford: Oxbow.
- Bachhuber, C. (2015). *Citadel and cemetery in early bronze age Anatolia*. Sheffield, UK: Equinox Publishing.
- Baltacıoğlu, H. (2006). Güneş Kursları, Alaca Höyük ve Arinna. In E. Özgen et al. (Eds.), *Hayat Erkanl'a Armağan: Kültürlerin Yansıması* (pp. 129-137) İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi.
- Baykal-Seeher, A., & Obladen-Kauder, J. (1996). Demircihöyük IV: Die Kleinfunde. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern.
- Bertram, J. K. (2008). Ahlatlıbel, Etiyokuşu, Koçumbeli zur Neubewertung der Ankara Gruppe. *Ahlatlıbel, Etiyokuşu, Koçumbeli-Ankara Çevresine Ait Bazı Buluntu Topluluklarının Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi. TÜBA-AR XI*, 73-84.
- Bertram, J.K., & İlgezdi, G. 2009. ODTÜ Survey 2006-2007. *26. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı 3*: 239-248.
- Bertram, J.K., & İlgezdi, G. 2011. Ankara'daki Yeni İlk Tunç Çağ Araştırmaları, *29. Araştırma Sonuçları 2*:51-66.
- Bilgen, N. (1993). *The importance of Alacahöyük's early Bronze Age metal artifacts to the Anatolian Archaeology*. Ankara: British Institute of Archaeology.
- Bilgen, N. A. (2013). *Seyitömer Höyük Kazısı Ön Raporu (2013-2014)*. Kütahya: Dumlupınar Üniversitesi.
- Blegen, C.W., Caskey, J.L., Rawson, M. & Sperling, J. (1951a). *Troy: Third, Fourth and Fifth Settlements Volume II Part:1 Text*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Blegen, C.W., Caskey, J.L., Rawson, M. & Sperling, J. (1951b). *Troy: Third, Fourth and Fifth Settlements Volume II Part:2 Plates*. New Jersey: Princeton University

Press.

Boz, B., & Hager, L. D. (2000). Living above the dead: intramural burial practices at Catalhöyük. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Humans and Landscapes of Catalhöyük: Reports from the 2000-2008* (pp. 413-440). Ankara: British Institute.

Cauvin, J. (2000). *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture*. (Trevor Watkins, Trans.) London: Cambridge University Press.

Chauvet, J., Deschamps, E. B., & Hillaire, C. (1996). *Dawn of art: The Chauvet Cave: The oldest known paintings in the world*. New York: H.N. Abrams.

Collins, B. J. (1995). Ritual Meals in the Hittite Cult. In M. Meyer & P. Mirecki (Eds.), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (pp. 77-92). Brill.

Conard, N. J. (2003). Palaeolithic ivory sculptures from southwestern Germany and the origins of figurative art. *Nature*, 426, 830–832.

Conkey, M. W. (1989). The structural analysis of Paleolithic art. *Archaeological thought in America*, 135-154.

Çakırlar, C. (2016). Early Bronze Age Foodways in the Aegean: Social Archaeozoology on the Eastern Side. In E. Pernicka, S. Ünlüsoy, & S. Blum (Eds.), *Early Bronze Age Troy: Chronology, Cultural Development and Interregional Contacts : Proceedings of an International Conference held at the University of Tübingen* (pp. 291-303). Verlag Rudolf Habert.

Çevik, Ö. (2007). The emergence of different social systems in Early Bronze Age Anatolia: urbanisation versus centralisation. *Anatolian Studies*, 57, 131-140.

Darga, M. (2007). Şarhöyük Kazılarında İlk Tunç Çağı Buluntuları, In G. Umurtak, Ş. Dönmez & A. Yurtsever (Eds), *Refik Duru'ya Armağan* (pp. 91- 102). İstanbul: Graphis Matbaa.

Deniz Ş. M., & Ay E. (2006). Küllüoba'da Bulunmuş Olan Pişmiş Toprak Figürinlerinden Birkaç Örnek. In E. Özgen et al. (Eds.), *Hayat Erkan'la Armağan: Kültürlerin Yansıması* (pp. 90-94) İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi.

- Durgun, P. (2012). *Social organization in the early bronze age Demircihöyük: A re-evaluation*. Unpublished master's thesis, Koç University, İstanbul.
- Duru, R. (1996). *Kuruçay Höyük II : 1978-1988 kazılarının sonuçları geç kalkolitik ve ilk tunç çağı yerleşmeleri*. Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu.
- Düring, B. S. (2001). Social dimensions in the architecture of Neolithic Çatalhöyük. *Anatolian studies*, 51, 1-18.
- Düring, B. S. (2005). Building continuity in the Central Anatolian Neolithic: Exploring the meaning of buildings at Aşikli Höyük and Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 18 (1), 3–29.
- Düring, B. S. (2007). The articulation of houses at Neolithic Çatalhöyük, Turkey. In R. Beck (Ed.), *The durable house: House society models in archaeology* (pp. 130-153). Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations.
- Düring, B. S. (2011). *The prehistory of Asia Minor : from complex hunter-gatherers to early urban societies*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Efe, T. (2007). The theories of the “Great Caravan Route” between Cilicia and Troy: The Early Bronze Age III period in inland western Anatolia. *Anatolian Studies*, 57, 47–64.
- Farbstein, R., Radić, D., Brajković, D., & Miracle, P. T. (2012). First Epigravettian Ceramic Figurines from Europe (Vela Spila, Croatia). *Plos One*, 7 (7).
- Fidan, E. (2013). Anadolu Arkeolojisi Üzerine Yeni Bir Değerlendirme. *Arkeoloji Dergisi*, XVIII, 113-125.
- Frangipane, M. (2011). Arslantepe-Malatya: A Prehistoric and Early Historic Center in Eastern Anatolia. In S.R. Steadman & G. McMahon (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia* (pp. 968- 992). NY: Oxford University.
- Gürsan-Salzman, A. (1992). *Alaca Höyük: A reassessment of the excavation and sequence of the early Bronze Age settlement*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania.

- Hamilakis, Y. (2003). The sacred geography of hunting: wild animals, social power and gender in early farming societies. *British School at Athens Studies*, 239-247.
- Helmer D., Gourichon L., & Stordeur D. (2004). À l'aube de la domestication animale. Imaginaire et symbolisme animal dans les premières sociétés néolithiques du nord du Proche-Orient. *Anthropozoologica* 39 (1), 143-163.
- Hodder, I. (1990). *The domestication of Europe: Structure and contingency in Neolithic societies*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hodder, I., & Cessford, C. (2004). Daily practice and social memory at Çatalhöyük. *American antiquity*, 69 (1), 17-40.
- Hodder, I., & Pels, P. (2010). History houses: a new interpretation of architectural elaboration at Çatalhöyük. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study* (pp. 163-186). London: Cambridge Universtiy Press.
- Kâmil, T. (1982). Yortan Cemetery in the Early Bronze Age of Western Anatolia. *British Arcaheology Reports*, 145, Oxford.
- Korfmann, M., & Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. (1983). *Demircihüyük: die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1975-1978. 1 [Textband]. Architektur, Stratigraphie und Befunde*. Philipp von Zabern.
- Koşay, H. Z., & Koşay, H. Z. (n.d). *Alacahöyük*. Ankara: Turkish Press, Broadcasting and Tourist Department.
- Koşay, H.Z. (1934). Ahlatlıbel Hafriyatı. *Türk Tarih, Arkeoloji ve Etnografya Dergisi II*: 3-100.
- Koşay, H.Z. (1937). *Alaca Höyük Hafriyatı: 1935'deki Çalışmalara ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.
- Koşay, H.Z. (1938). *Alaca Höyük Hafriyatı: 1936'deki Çalışmalara ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Koşay, H. Z., & Akok, M. (1966). *Alacahöyük Hafriyatı: 1940-1948 deki Çalışmalara ve Keşiflere Ait İlk Rapor*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Kuijt, I., & Chesson, M. (2014). Imagery and Social Relationships: Shifting Identity and Ambiguity in the Neolithic. In C. R. & I. M. (Eds.), *Image and imagination: A global prehistory of figurative representation* (pp. 211-226). McDonald Inst of Archeological.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1964). *Les religions de la Préhistoire: Paléolithique*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1965). *Préhistoire de l' Art Occidental*. Paris. Editions d'art L. Mazonod.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1966). Réflexions de méthode sur l'art paléolithique. *Bulletin De La Société Préhistorique Française. Études Et Travaux*, (1), 35-49.

Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1968). The Evolution of Paleolithic Art. *Scientific American*, 218 (2), 58-70.

Lewis-Williams, J. D. (2014). *The mind in the cave: Consciousness and the origins of art*. NY: Thames & Hudson.

Llyod, S., & Mellart, J. 1962. *Beycesultan Vol. I The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Levels*. London.

Martin, L., & Meskell, L. (2012). Animal figurines from neolithic Çatalhöyük: Figural and faunal perspectives. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 22 (3), 401–419.

Massa, M. (2014). Early Bronze Age Burial Customs on the Central Anatolian Plateau: A View from Demircihöyük-Sarıket. *Anatolian Studies* 64: 73-93.

Massa, M., & Palmisano, A. (2018). Change and continuity in the long-distance exchange networks between western/central Anatolia, northern Levant and northern Mesopotamia, c. 3200–1600 BCE. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 49, 65–87.

- Massa, M., & Şahoğlu, V. (2011). Western Anatolian burial customs during the Early Bronze Age. In V. Şahoğlu & P. Sotirakopoulou (Eds.), *Across: The Cyclades and Western Anatolia during the Third Millennium BC* (pp. 164-71). İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum.
- Mellaart, J. (1967). *Catal Hüyük. A Neolithic Town in Anatolia*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Meskel, L. (2015). A society of things: animal figurines and material scales at Neolithic Çatalhöyük. *World Archaeology*, 47 (1), 6–19.
- Meskel, L., M., & Nakamura, C. (2005). Çatalhöyük figurines. Archive Report on the Çatalhöyük Season 2005. Retrieved May 16, 2016 from [http:// www.catalhoyuk.com:8080/archive_reports/2005/ar05_29.html](http://www.catalhoyuk.com:8080/archive_reports/2005/ar05_29.html).
- Meskel, L., Nakamura, C., King, R., & Farid, S. (2008). Figured lifeworlds and depositional practices at Çatalhöyük. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 18(2), 139-161.
- Mithen, S. J. (1988). To Hunt or to Paint: Animals and Art in the Upper Palaeolithic. *Man*, 23 (4), 671.
- Morales, V. B. (1990). *Figurines and other clay objects from Sarab and Çayönü*. Oriental institute of the University of Chicago.
- Morsch, M. G. F. (2002). Magic figurines? Some remarks about the clay objects of Nevalı Çori. In H. G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen & C. Hoffmann Jensen (Eds.), *Magic practices and ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic*. (pp. 145-162) Berlin: Ex Oriente.
- Moutons, A. (2017). Animal Sacrifice in Hittite Anatolia. In S. Hitch, I. Rutherford (Eds.), *Animal Sacrifice in the Ancient Greek World*. (pp. 239- 327). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Müller-Karpe, H. (1974). *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte: Handbuch der Vorgeschichte: 3. Band: Kupferzeit: dritter Teilband: Tafeln*. München: Beck.

- Otte, M., Yalçinkaya, I., Leotard, J. M., Kartal, M., Bar-Yosef, O., Kozłowski, J., ... & Marshack, A. (1995). The Epi-Palaeolithic of Öküzini cave (SW Anatolia) and its mobiliary art. *Antiquity*, 69 (266), 931-944.
- Owens, D., & Hayden, B. (1997). Prehistoric Rites of Passage: A Comparative Study of Transegalitarian Hunter–Gatherers. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 16 (2), 121-161.
- Özdoğan, M., Parzinger, H., Fassbinder, J. W. E. (2012). *Die frühbronzezeitliche Siedlung von Kanlıgeçit bei Kırklareli: Ostthrakien während des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Spannungsfeld von anatolischer und balkanischer Kulturentwicklung*. Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern. İstanbul Üniversitesi., Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz., & Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.
- Özgüç, T., & Akok, M. (1958). *Horoztepe, eski tunç devri mezarlığı ve iskân yeri. Horoztepe, an early Bronze Age settlement and cemetery*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Özkaya, V., Coşkun, A., & Soyukaya, N. (2013). *Körtik tepe: uygarlığın Diyarbakır'daki ilk adımları*. Diyarbakır: Diyarbakır Valiliği.
- Özyar, A. (1999). Reconsidering the “royal” tombs of Alacahöyük: problems of stratigraphy according to the topographical location of the tombs. *TÜBA-AR*, 2, 79.
- Peters, J., & Schmidt, K. (2004). Animals in the Symbolic World of Pre-Pottery Neolithic Göbekli Tepe, South-Eastern Turkey: A Preliminary Assessment. *Anthropozoologica*, 39 (1), 179–218.
- Porr, M. (2010). Palaeolithic art as cultural memory: A case study of the Aurignacian art of Southwest Germany. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 20 (1), 87-108.
- Renfrew, C., & Bahn, P. G. (2001). *Archaeology: Theories, methods, and practice*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Rice, P. C., & Paterson, A. L. (1985). Cave Art and Bones: Exploring the Interrelationships. *American Anthropologist*, 87 (1), 94-100.

- Rice, P. C., & Paterson, A. L. (1986). Validating the Cave Art-Archeofaunal Relationship in Cantabrian Spain. *American Anthropologist*, 88 (3), 658-667.
- Rollefson, G. O. (1986). Neolithic 'Ain Ghazal (Jordan): Ritual and Ceremony , *Paléorient*, 12 (1), 45-52.
- Rollefson, G. O. (2008). Charming Lives: Human and Animal Figurines in the Late Epipaleolithic and Early Neolithic Periods in the Greater Levant and Eastern Anatolia. In J. P. Bocquet -Appel & O. Bar- Yosef (Eds.), *The Neolithic demographic transition and its consequences* (pp. 387-416). Dordrecht:Springer.
- Rosenberg, M. (1994). Hallan Çemi Tepesi: Some Further Observations Concerning Stratigraphy and Material Culture. *Anatolica* 20, 121-140.
- Russell, N. (2012). *Social zooarchaeology: Humans and animals in prehistory*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Russell, N., & Meece, S. (2006). Animal representations and animal remains at Çatalhöyük. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Çatalhöyük Perspectives: Themes from the 1995-99 Seasons* (pp. 209- 230). Ankara: British Institute.
- Sagona, A. G., & Zimansky, P. E. (2009). *Ancient Turkey*. London: Routledge.
- Sandars, N. K. (1995). *Prehistoric art in Europe*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press.
- Sandalcı, S. (2014). Höyüktepe 2014 Yılı Erken Tunç Çağı Hayvan ve İnsan Figürinleri. In M. Türktüzün & S. Ünan (Eds.), *Kureyşler Barajı Kurtarma Kazıları* (pp. 447-471). Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. (1997). Animal Symbols at 'Ain Ghazal. *Expedition Magazine*, 39, 48-57.
- Schmidt, E. F. (1932). *The Alishar Hüyük Season of 1928 and 1929 (Part. 1)*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Schmidt, K. (2007). *Taş çağı avcılarının gizemli kutsal alanı Göbekli Tepe: En eski*

tapınağı yapanlar (R. Aslan Trans.). İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Schoop, U. D. (2005). *Das Anatolische chalkolithikum: eine chronologische untersuchung zur vorbronzezeitlichen kultursequenz im nördlichen zentralanatolien und den angrenzenden gebieten*. Remshalden: Verlag Bernhard Albert Greiner.

Schoop, U. D. (2011). Some thoughts on social and economic development in western Anatolia during the fourth and third millennia BC. In *Archaeological Research in Western Central Anatolia: Proceedings of the IIIrd International Symposium of Archaeology, Kütahya* (pp. 29-45). Kütahya: Dumlupınar University Department of Archaeology.

Schoop, U.D. (2014). Weaving society in Late Chalcolithic Anatolia: Textile production and social strategies in the 4th millennium BC. In B. Horejs & M. Mehofer (Eds.), *Western Anatolia before Troy. Proto-urbanization in the 4th millennium BC?* (pp. 421-46). Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Seher, J. (2000). *Die bronzezeitliche Nekropole von Demircihüyük-Sariket* (Vol. 44). Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.

Sevin, V. (1997). *Anadolu arkeolojisi: başlangıçtan Persler'e kadar*. İstanbul: Der yayınları.

Steadman, S. R. (2011). The Early Bronze Age on the Plateau. In S.R. Steadman & G. McMahon (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia* (pp. 229-59). NY: Oxford University.

Şahoğlu, V. (2005). The Anatolian trade network and the Izmir region during the Early Bronze Age. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 24 (4), 339-361.

Şahoğlu, V. & Sotirakopoulou, P. (2011). Across: The Cyclades and Western Anatolia During the 3rd Millennium BC. *Istanbul: Sakip Sabanci Museum*.

Tezcan, B. (1966). *1964 Koçumbeli kazısı. Koçumbeli village excavation 1964*. Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.


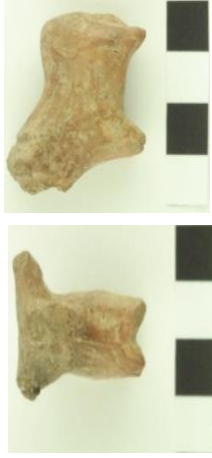
- Topbaş A., Efe T., & İlaslı A. (1998) Salvage excavations of the Afyon archaeological museum, part 2: the settlement of Karaoğlan Mevkii and the Early Bronze Age cemetery of Kaklık Mevkii. *Anatolia Antiqua*, 6, 21-94.
- Tuna, N., Buluç, S., & Tezcan, B. (2012). *ODTÜ Arkeoloji Müzesi*. Ankara: Aydan Yayıncılık.
- Türktüzün M., Ünan S., & Ünan S. (2014) Çiledir Höyük Erken Tunç Çağı II Bulguları. *TÜBA-AR*, 17, 49-75.
- Twiss, K. C., & Russell, N. (2009). Taking The Bull By The Horns: Ideology, Masculinity, And Cattle Horns At Çatalhöyük. *Paléorient*, 35 (2), 19–32.
- Von der Osten, H.H. (1937) *Researches in Anatolia 7. The Alishar Hüyük Seasons of 1930-1932, Part 1*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Wheeler, T. S. (1974). Early Bronze Age burial customs in western Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 78 (4), 415-425.
- White, R. (1989). Visual Thinking in the Ice Age. *Scientific American*, 261 (1), 92-99.
- Yakar, J., & Taffet, A. (2007). The spiritual connotations of the spindle and spinning: Selected cases from ancient Anatolia and neighboring lands. In M. Alpaslan, M. Doğan & H. Peker (Eds.), *Belkıs Dinçol ve Ali Dinçol'a Armağan* (pp. 781-788). İstanbul.
- Yalçın, Ü. (2011). Alacahöyük İlk Tunç Çağı Kral Mezarları Üzerine. In Ö. İpek (Eds.), *1. Çorum Kazı ve Araştırmalar Sempozyumu: Vol. 5*. (pp. 55-64). Çorum: Çorum İl Valiliği İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü.
- Yıldırım, T. (2006). An Early Bronze Age cemetery at Resuloğlu, near Uğurludağ, Çorum. A preliminary report of the archaeological work carried out between years 2003-2005. *Anatolia antiqua*, 14 (14), 1-14.
- Yıldırım, T., & Zimmermann, T. (2006). News from the Hatti Heartland-The Early Bronze Age Necropoleis of Kalinkaya, Resuloğlu, and Anatolian Metalworking Advances in the late 3rd Millennium BC. *Antiquity*, 80, 309.

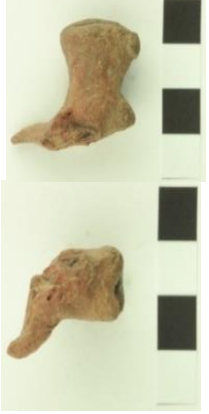

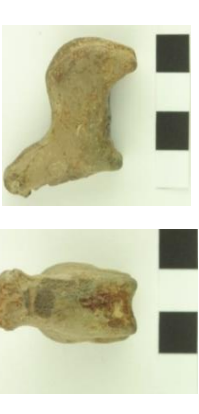
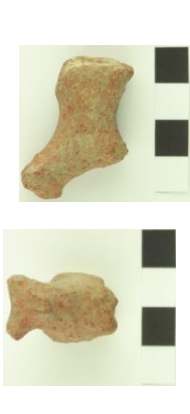
Yılmaz, D. (2006). Burial Customs of the Chamber Tombs in Southeast Anatolia During the Early Bronze Age. *Anatolia*, 31, 71-90.

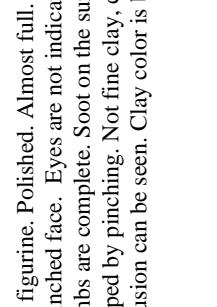
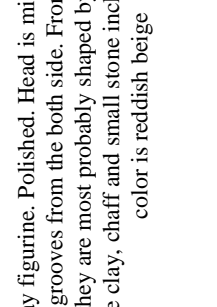
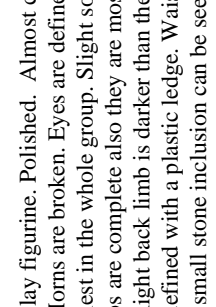
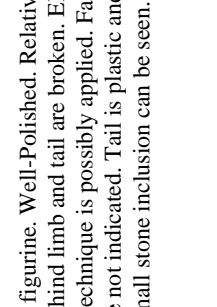
Zimmermann, T. (2008). Symbols of Salvation? Function, Semantics and Social Context of Early Bronze Age Ritual Equipment from Central Anatolia. *ANADOS*, 509-20.

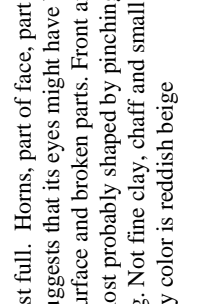
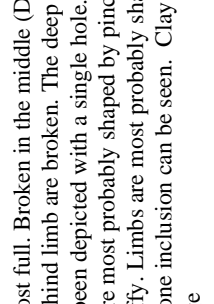
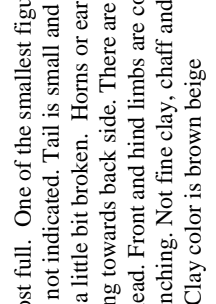
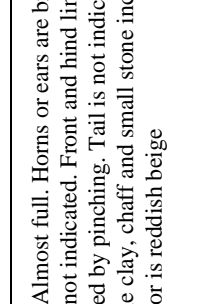
APPENDICES

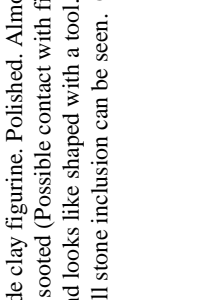
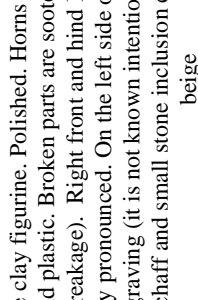
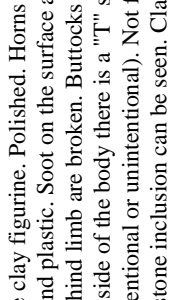
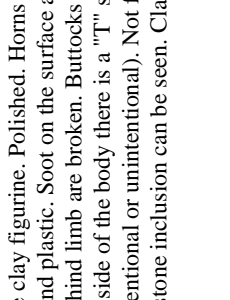
APPENDIX A - KOÇUMBELİ CLAY ANIMAL FIGURINES


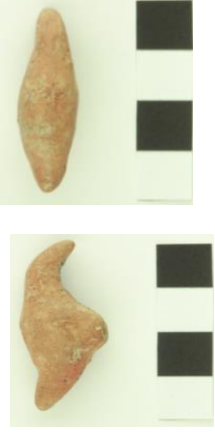
Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.66.107.02.214		Type I Cattle	L: 5,6 cm H: 5,5 cm W: 3,6-2,8-3,3 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Not complete. Horns, back part of the body and front and hind limbs are broken. Triangular pinched face and eyes are indicated with a single hole. Soot on the surface and on the broken parts (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. The biggest figurine in the group, because of the size and the horn type it remains cattle maybe an adult male ox. Clay color is reddish beige
K.66.109.02.217		Type I Cattle	L: 3,7 cm H: 3,3cm W: 2,6-1,5-1,7cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost complete. Highly smooth surface. Horns and face (probably triangular pinched face) are broken. Tail is long and indicated by pinching. Slight soot on the surface. There is an engraved line at the back of the head. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Dorsal part of the figurine is defined with a smooth curve. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige

Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.65.51.02.215		Type I Cattle	L: 3,0 cm H: 2,8 cm W: 1,9-1,3 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. One of the horns and face are broken. Feet are made as small protrusions. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. The color on the broken parts is same with the color on the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige
K.64.72.02.225		Type I Cattle	L: 3,2 cm H: 3,7 cm W: 1,8-2- cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns or ears are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are indicated with a single hole. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines at the back side. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.64.73.02.218		Type I Cattle	L: 4,2 cm H: 3,6 cm W: 1,5-1,6-2,1 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost complete. Dark Brown Slip? Horns or ears are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Slight soot on the surface. Neck part is longer than the other figurines. Body is getting wider from front to back. Back limbs are taller than the front limbs. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. There is a little bump on the ventral part (Sexual characteristic?). Buttocks are pronounced. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.66.108.02.216		Type I Cattle	L: 4,1 cm H: 3,3 cm W: 1,6-1,6-1,9 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. Surface is knotty. Horns are broken. Front limbs are not very distinctive or broken and right hind limb is broken. Slight soot on the surface. Triangular pinched face but nose looks like broken. Eyes are not indicated. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Tail is long. The color of the broken parts are not clear but it seems the color is same with the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige

Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.64.207.02.227		Type I Cattle	L: 3 cm H: 3,2cm W: 1,7-1,8-1,8 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is long. Front and hind limbs are complete. Soot on the surface. They are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige
K.64.71.02.220		Type I Cattle	L: 4,9 cm H: 3,1 cm W: 2,5-2,2-2,3 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Head is missing. Tail is long and indicated by grooves from the both side. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Soot on the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige
K.65.50.02.219		Type I Cattle	L: 3,7 cm H: 2,3 cm W: 1,6-1,1-1,5 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. Triangular pinched face. Horns are broken. Eyes are defined with little holes. It is one of the smallest in the whole group. Slight soot on the surface. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Right back limb is darker than the other parts. Tail is pronouncedly defined with a plastic ledge. Waist is quite thin. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige
K.66.219.02.223		Type I Cattle	L: 6,6 cm H: 4,4 cm W: 2,1-1,4-1,8 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-Polished. Relatively elegant. Horns, two front limbs, left hind limb and tail are broken. Elongated body, neck and legs. Oil raku technique is possibly applied. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is plastic and short. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige

Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.64.74.02.230		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 3,8 cm H: 3,0 cm W: 2,0-1,7-2,2 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns, part of face, part of tail are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Front and hind limbs are almost complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Tails is short and probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige
K.66.110.02.232		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 4,3 cm H: 2,9 cm W: 2,1-1,6-2,1 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Broken in the middle (During excavation?). Horns or ears, face and left hind limb are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Dorsal part is darker than ventral part. Limbs are most probably shaped by pinching. Tails is short and pointed. Forehead is stuffy. Limbs are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.66.117.02.224		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 3,2 cm H: 2,7 cm W: 1,5-1,3 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. One of the smallest figurines. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is small and short, most probably shaped by pinching and a little bit broken. Horns or ears are broken. If these are horns they are going towards back side. There are two parallel engraved lines at the back of the head. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige
K.66.112.02.226		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 3,1 cm H: 2,6 cm W: 1,2-1,4 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost full. Horns or ears are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Front and hind limbs are complete. They are most probably shaped by pinching. Tail is not indicated. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige

Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.64.76.02.233		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 3,3 cm H: 1,9 cm W: 1,6-1,6-1,7 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Head is broken. Breaks are sooted (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Limbs are full and looks like shaped with a tool. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.66.116.02.222		Type II Sheep/ Goat	L: 4,5 cm H: 3,8 cm W: 2,0-2,0-2,0 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. Broken parts are sooted (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.65.8.02.231		Type II Ram?	L: 6 cm H: 3,4 cm W: 2,7-2,3-2,9 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige
K.64.77.02.229		Type III Wild Boar	L: 6 cm H: 3,4 cm W: 2,7-2,3-2,9 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige

Inventory Number	Image Photo	Type	Measurements	Description
K.64.8?.02.221		Type IV Hedgehog/ Young wild boar	L: 4,9 cm H: 3,2 cm W: 1,3-1,2-1,1 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Right front and back limbs are broken. Also there is a breakage on the right side of the body. Soot on the surface and broken parts. It has a small face with eyes defined with a single hole. There are two dots and under of them a curved line on the tip of the face thought as representations of nose and mouth. On the back of the eyes, there are dots which are circling the face. These dots are followed by a single line which is also circling the face. Whole body is covered with parallel lines from front to back. The space between these lines filled with dots (except dorsal part). Tail is slightly pointed and short. Under the tail there are two diagonal lines which are extends towards the back limbs and two rows dots are filling the area between these lines. It seems like there is a slight line on the ventral part. Not fine clay, possible chaff inclusion, if there is stone inclusion it is not visible. Clay color is reddish beige
K.66.204.02.228		Type V Bird	L: 4,0 cm H: 2,5cm W: 1,4 cm	Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. May not be an animal figurine. One end is bent downward and getting thin and the other end is shorter and bent upward. On the bottom part of there is a hole in the middle. Depth of the hole is 0,4 cm. and diameter is 0,3cm. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige

APPENDIX B - TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

ERKEN TUNÇ ÇAĞI KOÇUMBELİ HAYVAN FİGÜRİNLERİNİN SOSYAL BAĞLAMDA DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ

Hayvan imgelemleri, Üst Paleolitik dönemden beri insanların sembolik iletişiminin önemli bir unsuru olmuşlardır. Üst Paleolitik ve Neolitik dönem hayvan imgelemlerinin varlığı ve işleyişi hakkında önerilen teorilerin çoğu; av büyüsü veya sembolik evcilleştirme gibi, geçim aktivitelerinin verimliliğinin artırılmasıyla alakalı ritüellerle ilişkilendirilmiştir (Mithen, 1988; Rice ve Paterson, 1985, 1986; Conkey, 1989; Morales, 1990). Ekonomik temelli bu açıklamaların yanı sıra, hayvan imgelemlerinin sosyal işlevleri olduğunu savunan görüşler de bulunmaktadır. Bu görüşlerde, bazı hayvan imgelerinin grupların toplumsal kimlik, cinsiyet ve inanç sistemleri ile ilişkili olabileceği savunulmuştur (Lewis-Williams, 2014; Owens & Hayden, 1997; Peters & Schmidt, 2004; Cauvin, 2000). Hayvan figürinlerinin “çocuk oyuncuğu” olduğunu ileri süren araştırmacılar ise, hem ekonomik hem de sosyal bağlamlı öğrenmenin bir aracı olarak bu nesnelere yaklaşmaktadırlar (Morsch, 2002; Rollefson, 1986, 2008). Yorumlar, hayvan figürinlerinin yukarıda özetlenen yorumsal çerçevelere dâhil olabileceği yönünde bir kanaat oluştursa da, aslında prehistorik hayvan figürinleri ile ilgili araştırmalar hem kuramsal hem de yöntemsel açılarından oldukça kısıtlıdır.

Bu çerçevede, Anadolu'nun tarih öncesi bağlamlarının çoğunda mevcut olan figürin, çömlek, duvar resmi, enstalasyon şeklindeki hayvan imgelemleri, birçok bakımdan anlaşılmamış olarak kalmıştır. Bu çalışma, Orta Anadolu'da bir Erken Tunç Çağı (M.Ö. yaklaşık M.Ö. 3200-2000) yerleşimi olan Koçumbeli'nde bulunan hayvan figürinlerinin incelenmesiyle, söz konusu dönemin sosyal ve ekonomik bağlamında bu nesnelere işlevlerini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anadolu Erken Tunç Çağı'nda, sosyal ve politik merkezileşmenin başlaması, Ege'den Mezopotamya'ya uzanan ticaret yollarının kurulması, üstün işçilikli metal ve tekstil ürünlerinin üretilmesi ve elit/yönetici sınıfın ortaya çıkması gibi önemli sosyal

ve ekonomik gelişmeler yaşanmıştır (Çevik, 2007; Bachhuber, 2015; Düring, 2011; Efe, 2007; Şahoğlu, 2005; Sagona & Zimansky, 2009). Bu dönemdeki gelişmeleri ve değişimleri anlayabilmek amacıyla bölgesel yerleşim düzenleri, mimari farklılıklar ve materyal kültür öğeleri pek çok farklı araştırmacı tarafından incelenmiştir. Dönemin önemli geçim kaynaklarından biri olan ve sosyal statü göstergesi olan bazı hayvanların minyatür gösterimleri olan figürinler genellikle sistematik olarak incelenmemiş ve dönem çalışmalarına dâhil edilmemişlerdir. Bu sebeple, hayvan figürinlerinin önemli sosyal ve ekonomik değişimlerin olduğu Erken Tunç Çağı dönemindeki işlevlerini anlayabilmek için Koçumbeli’nde bulunan hayvan figürinleri; tematik tasvir, hammadde seçimi, üretim tekniği, renk, kırılmagibi özellikleri açısından incelenmiştir. Koçumbeli hayvan figürinlerinin buluntu bağlamları bilinmemektedir ancak, benzer nesnelerin Demircihöyük, Seyitömer ve Alacahöyük gibi yerleşimlerdeki buluntu bağlamları incelenerek çıkarımlar desteklenmeye çalışılmıştır. Tematik değerlendirmeler, tasvir edilen hayvanların türlerine, cinsiyetlerine ve yaşlarına odaklanırken; bağlamsal değerlendirmeler, hayvan figürinlerinin domestik ve gömü alanlarıyla ilişkilerine odaklanmaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, hayvan figürinlerinin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için, diğer Erken Tunç Çağı yerleşimlerinde bulunan hayvan figürinleri de benzer ölçütler üzerinden karşılaştırmalı olarak değerlendirilmeye alınmışlardır. Tezin amacı, stilistik karşılaştırmalar aracılığıyla bir ETÇ kronolojisi çıkarmak değil; hayvan figürinlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik işlevlerine ışık tutacak yöntemleri geliştirmektir.

Koçumbeli yerleşiminde toplam 20 adet kil hayvan figürini bulunmuştur fakat daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, bunların buluntu bağlamları bilinmemektedir. Yapım teknolojileri açısından baktığımızda figürinlerin, Koçumbeli yerleşimi çevresinden temin edilen kil hammaddeye, saman ve küçük taş katılarak elde şekillendirilmiştir. Figürinler, muhtemelen 600 ° gibi düşük bir pişirme derecesinde açık bir ocakta fırınlanmıştır. Figürinlerin boyları genel olarak 3-6 cm aralığındadır ve renkleri bej, kırmızımsı bej, kahverengi bej ve siyah arasında değişiklik göstermektedir. Figürinler renk, boyut ve betimlenen hayvan açısından farklılık gösterse de, genel olarak boynuzlu hayvanların tasvir edildiği söylenebilmektedir. Genellikle boynuzlardan, bacaklardan ve burun kısımlarından kırık olarak bulunmuş olan bu figürinlerin kasıtlı olarak kırılıp kırılmadığını anlamak oldukça zordur. Figürinlerin kırılma noktalarında

belirli bir düzenin bulunamaması ve kırılan bölgelerin oldukça narin olmasından dolayı kazı sırasında veya uzun süre toprak altında kalmalarından dolayı kırılmış olabilecekleri düşünülmektedir. Figürinlerin çoğunun yüzeyinde ve kırma noktalarında is gözlenmiştir; fakat bu durumun da figürinlerin pişme sürecinde mi yoksa kırıldıktan sonra ateşle temasın sonucu olup olmadığı anlaşılamamıştır.

Betimlenen boynuzlu hayvanlar, kuyruk ve bazı durumlarda boynuz şekli açısından çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Betimlenen hayvanlardaki boynuzlar genellikle hilâl şekilli olsa da bazı örneklerde geriye doğru kıvrıldığı gözlenmemiştir. Figürinlerin boynuzlarında çok göze çarpan bir değişim mevcut olmasa da kuyrukların belirli bir türü betimlemek amacıyla kasıtlı olarak farklı şekillendirildiği düşünülmektedir. Bu yüzden Koçumbeli hayvan figürinlerinin tematik anlamda hangi hayvan türünü betimlediğini anlamak amacıyla diğer fiziksel özelliklerinin yanı sıra özellikle kuyruk kısımları da dikkate alınmıştır.

Hayvan figürinlerinde belirgin herhangi bir cinsel öge tespit edilememiştir. İlk bakışta, hayvan figürinlerinin çoğunluğunda mevcut olan boynuzlar erkeklikle ilişkilendirilebilir; ancak bu çalışmada boynuzla dayalı bir cinsiyet tayini yapılmamıştır. Bunun sebebi ise boynuzun betimlenen hayvanların yabani ve evcil formlarının hem erkeklerinde hem dişilerinde mevcut olmasıdır. Koçumbeli hayvan figürinlerinde sığır, koyun, keçi, yaban domuzu, kirpi ve kuş betimi şeklinde altı farklı hayvan türü gözlenmiştir. Bu kategorilerden bazıları vahşi hayvanlara ait olduğu için, ETC ekonomisinin temelini oluşturan evcil sığır, koyun ve keçilerin yabani formlarının figürinlerde gösterilip gösterilmediği de göz önünde bulundurulmuştur. Bu düşünceyle hayvanların türleri belirlenirken betimlendiği düşünülen hayvanların vahşi ve evcil formları göz önüne alınarak, Tip I (Sığır Grubu), Tip II (Koyun / Keçi Grubu), Tip III (Yaban Domuzu Grubu), Tip IV (Yavru Yaban Domuzu veya Kirpi Grubu), Tip V (Kuş Grubu) olarak 5 ayrı kategori oluşturulmuştur.

Hayvan figürinleri sadece Koçumbeli'nde değil pek çok farklı ETC yerleşiminde de gözlemlenmiştir. Alışar (Von der Osten, 1937), Ahlatlıbel (Koşay, 1934), Karaoğlan Mevkii (Topbaş, Efe & İlaslı, 1998), Çiledirhöyük (Türktüzün, Ünan & Ünal, 2014), Troy (Blegen et. al., 1951a, 1951b), Kanlıgeçit (Özdoğan & Parzinger, 2012), Küllüoba (Deniz & Ay, 2006), Şarhöyük (Darga, 1994), Höyüktepe (Sandalcı, 2014), Seyitömer (Bilgen, 2013), Demircihöyük (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder,

1996), Alacahöyük (Koşay, 1937), Horoztepe (Özgüç & Koşay, 1958) ve Kalinkaya (Yıldırım & Zimmermann, 2006) bu yerleşimlerden bazılarıdır.

Bu yerleşimlerden ele geçen hayvan figürinleri tipolojik olarak Koçumbeli örneklerine benzerlik gösterebilirler de, buluntu sayısı ve hammadde açısından farklılık gösterebilmektedirler. Figürin sayılarındaki farklılık, kazı stratejilerinden, yayınlarda orijinal rakamın bahsedilmemesi ve bulunan hayvan figürinlerinin yayınlarda genellikle gösterilmemesinden veya figürin üretimindeki bölgesel kültür farklılıklardan kaynaklanıyor olabilir. ETC' nin yayımlanmış materyali temel alınarak, hayvan figürinlerinin üretimine ilişkin bölgesel eğilimleri anlamak pek mümkün olmamaktadır. Fakat hayvan figürinlerinin genel çerçevede ilişkili olduğu coğrafyalar düşünüldüğünde kil hayvan figürinleri daha çok Orta Batı Anadolu (İç Ege) ve Güney Doğu Anadolu ile ilişkiliymiş gibi gözükmektedir, metal hayvan figürinleri Orta Kuzey Anadolu (İç Karadeniz) ile ilişkiliymiş gibi durmaktadır.

Erken Tunç Çağı yerleşimlerde bulunan hayvan figürinleri bir arada düşünüldüğünde taş, kil ve metal olmak üzere üç ayrı hammadde kullanıldığı gözlemlenmiştir. Bu hammaddeler arasında kil, Erken Tunç Çağı döneminin başından sonuna kadar neredeyse her yerleşimde bulunan en yaygın hammaddedir. Bulunan kil hayvan figürin sayısı yerleşim yerinden yerleşim yerine değişiklik gösteriyor olsa da bulunan hayvan figürinleri genel bağlamda Koçumbeli örneğinde olduğu gibi dört ayağı üstünde duracak şekilde betimlenmiştir. Genellikle belirli bir buluntu bağlamına sahip olmasalar da domestik alanlarla ilişkili oldukları söylenebilmektedir. Elle şekillendirilen bu figürinlerin düşük sıcaklıkta pişirildiği veya güneş altında kurumaya bırakıldığı düşünülmektedir. Farklı yerleşimlerden ele geçen hayvan figürinleri de Koçumbeli örneğinde olduğu gibi figürinlerin en zayıf noktaları olan boynuz/kulak ve bacak gibi uzantılarından kırık olarak bulunmuştur. Fakat kasıtlı bir kırılma olup olmadığı söylemek oldukça zordur. Bazı figürinlerin üstlerinde ve kırıklarında Koçumbeli figürinlerinde olduğu gibi is mevcuttur. Fakat bu islenmenin neden kaynaklandığı konusunda net bir yorum yapmak mümkün değildir.

Her ne kadar betimlenen hayvanların türlerinde bazı minik farklılıklar olsa da çoğunlukla her yerleşimde sığır, koyun/keçi gösterimleri değişmeyen figürin formlarındandır. Bu yerleşimlerde bulunan kil hayvan figürinleri, Koçumbeli örneğinde olduğu gibi Neolitik dönem kil hayvan figürinlerine betimlenen hayvan, stil,

üretim tekniği, ham madde açısından büyük benzerlik göstermektedirler. ETÇ döneminde betimlenen hayvanların Neolitik dönem örneklerindeki ile aynı olmasından dolayı betimlenen hayvanların evcil olup olmadığı konusunda net bir şey söylemek zordur. Daha önceki yayınlarda ele geçen kil figürinler, boğa olarak nitelendirilmiş; fakat Demircihöyük örneğinde ikisi dişi, biri erkek olarak betimlenen üç hayvan figürünü hariç, ETÇ hayvan figürinlerin de belirleyici bir cinsiyet unsuru gözlemlenmemiştir. Boynuzların her ne kadar erkek cinsiyeti ile bağdaştığı düşünülse de bu çalışmada boynuzun betimlenen hayvanların yabani ve evcil formlarının her iki cinsiyette de var olmasından dolayı boynuzlar cinsiyet unsuru olarak değerlendirilmemiştir. Dahası Demircihöyük'te dişi ve erkek olarak gösterilen hayvan figürinleri ve figürinlerdeki genel cinsiyetsizlik bir arada düşünüldüğünde, figürinlerin şekillendirilmesinde cinsiyeti göstermenin ana endişe olmadığı düşünülebilir. Her ne kadar bu çalışmada boynuzlar cinsiyet ile ilişkilendirilmese de boynuzlar betimlenen hayvanların yetişkin olduğunun göstergesi olarak düşünülmüştür.

Kil hayvan figürinlerinin yanı sıra bazı yerleşimlerde (Alacahöyük, Horoztepe ve Kalinkaya) metal hayvan figürinleri de gözlemlenmiştir. Bu figürinlerin ise MÖ 3. bin yılın ikinci yarısından itibaren mezar kontekstlerinde gözlemlenmeye başladığı söylenebilir. Kil hayvan figürinlerinde olduğu gibi boynuzlu hayvanlar betimlenmiş olup, betimlenen hayvan türleri sığır ve geyik gösterimlerine odaklanmıştır. Kil hayvan figürinlerinden farklı olarak hayvanların fiziksel özellikleri detaylı bir şekilde tasvir edilmiş ve birçok örnekte özellikle bu hayvanların erkeklik organları belirgin bir biçimde gösterilmiştir. Genel olarak bronz (tunç) döküm olarak şekillendirilen metal hayvan figürinlerinin bazı örnekleri ise altın, gümüş gibi değerli madenler ile süslenmiş olarak bulunmuşlardır. Bu figürinler, nitelik ve özellik açısından düşünüldüklerinde, ETÇ'de üst düzey metal işleme becerisinin, metalürji ve maden bilgisinin var olduğu söylenebilir.

Taş hayvan figürinleri ise yalnızca Alishar yerleşiminde gözlemlenmiştir. Ancak bu yerleşimin kronolojisi ve stratigrafisi oldukça karışık olduğundan taş figürinlerinin Erken Tunç Çağı'nın bir parçası olup olmadıkları sorgulanır niteliktedir. Taş hayvan figürinleri Alishar'ın Son Kalkolitik veya Erken Tunç Çağı'na geçiş evrelerinin bir parçası olabilir; fakat kesin bir şey söylenemediğinden taş hayvan figürinleri hayvan figürin tartışması içerisinde değerlendirilmemiştir. Yine de kısaca bahsetmek

gerekirse, kil hayvan figürinlerinde olduğu gibi oldukça belirsiz bir buluntu kontekstine sahip olmalarına rağmen domestik alanlarla ilişkili oldukları söylenebilir. Oldukça şematik bir formda şekillendirilen bu figürinlerde herhangi bir cinsiyet belirleyici unsur olmamasına rağmen, üstlerinde çizgisel betimlemeler ve delikler bulunmaktadır. Bu hayvan figürinlerinde bulunan delikler, tılsım / kolye veya asılabilen bir eşya olarak kullanılmış olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Örnek sayısı az olduğu için hangi hayvan türünün öne çıktığını belirlemek zor olsa da boynuzlu hayvan tasvirinin bu figürin grubunda da görüldüğü söylenebilmektedir. Ancak, kil ve metal hayvan figürinlerinin aksine, kronolojisi ve stratigrafisi karmaşık bir yerleşimde bulunmaları ve başka yerleşimlerde karşılaştırma yapacak malzemenin bulunmaması sebebiyle taş figürinlerini değerlendirerek hayvan figürinlerinin sosyal işlevi üzerine bir çıkarım yapmak mümkün değildir. Bu yüzden bu çalışmada, ETÇ hayvan figürinlerinin sosyal bağlamda anlaşılabilmesi için sadece kil ve metal hayvan figürinlerinin tematik ve bağlamsal özellikleri incelenmiştir.

Genel bağlamda ETÇ hayvan figürinleri üzerinde hammadde, kırılma, boyut, mekânsal dağılım, cinsiyet, yaş ve sosyal statü ile ilişki gibi kavramların incelenmesi ile yapılan tematik ve bağlamsal değerlendirmeler sonucunda varılan çıkarımlar şu şekilde özetlenebilir:

Erken Tunç Çağı kil hayvan figürinleri, betimlenen hayvanlar, üretim tekniği ve stil açısından hem birbirlerine hem de Neolitik dönem örneklerine büyük benzerlik göstermektedir. Genellikle kil hayvan figürinlerin boyları 3-6 cm arasında değişiklik göstermektedir. Her ne kadar Neolitik hayvan figürinlerinde ki boyut farklılıkları yaş ile ilişkilendirilmiş olsa da ETÇ örneklerinde belirgin boynuzların bulunması sebebiyle hepsinin yetişkin gösterimi olduğu düşünülmektedir. Erken Tunç Çağı hayvan figürinleri, mekânsal dağılım açısından dönemin insan figürinlerine benzerlik göstermektedir. Bu sebepten hayvan figürinlerinin, insan figürinleri ile ilişkili olduğu düşünülmektedir. İnsan figürinlerine benzer olarak, kil hayvan figürinleri de Erken Tunç Çağı'nın başından beri genellikle yerleşimlerin domestik alanlarında gözlemlenirken, metal hayvan figürinleri, MÖ 3. bin yılın ortalarında "elit" mezarlarında gözlemlenmeye başlamıştır. Bunun yanı sıra Demircihöyük ve Alacahöyük örnekleri göz önüne alındığında, domestik alanlarla ilişkili kil hayvan

figürinleri cinsiyetsiz olarak tasvir edilirken, “elit” mezarlarıyla ilişkili olan metal figürinlerinde erkekliğin net bir şekilde gösterildiği fark edilmiştir.

Her ne kadar Erken Tunç Çağı hayvan figürinleri üzerine bağlamsal bir değerlendirme yapmak çok zor olsa da Alacahöyük’ün “kral” mezarlarında metal hayvan figürinleri ile birlikte bulunan sığır, koyun/keçi, köpek, domuz gibi hayvan kurbanları ve Demircihöyük’te soylu mezarları ile ilişkilendirilmiş sığır gömüleri, hayvanların ve hayvan imgelemlerinin kamusal ortamlarda sosyal ve ekonomik güç gösteriminin önemli bir parçası olduklarını gösterir niteliktedir.

Erken Tunç Çağı mezarları, sosyal farklılaşmanın açıkça görülebildiği buluntu bağlamlarından biridir; fakat hiyerarşideki cinsiyet temelli farklılıkları ayırt etmek oldukça zordur. Nitekim Alacahöyük “kral” mezarlarında erkeklikleri vurgulanan metal hayvan figürinlerinin miktarı veya türü, mezarda bulunan bireyin cinsiyetine göre farklılık göstermemektedir. Fakat diğer bir taraftan Demircihöyük’te sığır gömüleri ile ilişkilendirilen soylu mezarlarının erkek mezarı olması, erkeklerin lehine gelişen sosyal bir hiyerarşinin oluşumu şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

Yapılan tipolojik ve mekânsal analizler sonucu elde edilen bu çıkarımlar, Erken Tunç Çağı hayvan sembolizmi hakkında kısıtlı miktarda bilgi sağlıyor olsa da, hayvan figürinlerinin ETÇ sosyal yaşantısında nasıl bir fonksiyona sahip olduğunu anlamak açısından yeterli gelmemektedir. Bu sebeple öncelikle betimlenen hayvanların ETÇ ekonomik yaşantısındaki yeri ve önemi anlaşılmaya çalışılmış, daha sonra ise hayvan figürinlerinin var oluşlarının sebebi daha geniş bir sosyal süreç içerisinde anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Erken Tunç Çağı hayvan figürinleri içerisinde özellikle sığır, koyun, keçi ve geyik gösterimleri ön plana çıkmaktadır. Her ne kadar figürinlerde betimlenen hayvanların evcillik durumları hakkında bir çıkarımda bulunulmasa da sığırın, koyunun ve keçinin bu dönemde evcil olduğu, geyiğin ise avlanan yabani hayvanlardan biri olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu yüzden özellikle bu hayvanların Erken Tunç Çağı ekonomik yaşantısındaki önemlerini anlamaya çalışmak, minyatürize edilmiş gösterimlerinin fonksiyonunu anlamak açısından yararlı olacaktır.

Hayvan gütmeye ve yetiştirme stratejileri her ne kadar bölgesel olarak farklılık gösterse de zooarkeolojik veriler ışığında kil hayvan figürinlerinin büyük bir çoğunluğunda betimlenen hayvanların (koyun, keçi, sığır) ETÇ ekonomisinin bel

kemiğini oluşturduğu anlaşılmıştır. Bu hayvanlar birincil ürünleri olan et ve güçlerinin yanı sıra, ikincil ürünleri olan yün ve süt üretimi açısından ETÇ ekonomik yaşantısında büyük bir rol oynamaktadırlar (Arbuckle, 2014; Çakırlar, 2016; Sagona & Zimmansky, 2009).

İlk Tunç Çağı yerleşmelerinde yapılan zooarkeolojik incelemeler içerisinde (NISP) koyun ve keçilerin en sık tespit edilen türler olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu hayvanların kalıntıları genellikle zooarkeolojik verilerin %50'sinden fazlasını oluşturmaktadır (Arbuckle, 2014) ve hane düzeyinde hem et kaynağı olarak ve hem de ikincil ürünleri açısından yetiştirildikleri ve tüketildikleri düşünülmektedir. Ölüm profilleri düşünüldüğünde genel olarak keçilerin süt üretimi için yetiştirilirken, koyunların tekstil ürünlere yün sağlamak amacıyla yetiştirildiği anlaşılmaktadır (Arbuckle,2012; Çakırlar, 2016;Sagona ve Zimmansky, 2009). Her ne kadar sığır kalıntılarının zooarkeolojik verilerdeki sıklığı koyun ve keçiye göre daha az olsa da ağırlık analizlerine göre (WIS) sığırların ETÇ için birincil et kaynağı olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (Arbuckle, 2014). Vücutlarında bulundurdukları etin miktarı sebebiyle, bu hayvanların ziyafet gibi et dağıtımını ve ortak et tüketimini gerektirecek durumlarda tüketildikleri ileri sürülmüştür (Çakırlar, 2016). Et miktarı açısından ETÇ ekonomisinden oldukça önemli bir yere sahip olan sığırların süt üretiminde kullanıldığı gibi tarlaların sürülmesi ve gübrenmesi açısından oldukça önemli olduğu söylenmektedir. Erken Tunç Çağı'nda sığır, koyun, keçi gibi evcilleştirilmiş hayvan ürünlerinin kullanımının yanı sıra, avcılık faaliyetlerinin devam ettiği de bilinmektedir. Her ne kadar zooarkeolojik verilerde avlanan hayvanlar her zaman net olarak anlaşılamasa da geyiklerin, özellikle ormanlık alanlarda sıklıkla avlandığı düşünülmektedir. Av hayvanları, dönemin ikincil et kaynakları olarak düşünülse de Troia'dan elde edilen zooarkeolojik veriler, geyiklerin ETÇ'deki şölen ve ziyafetlerde de et kaynağı olarak kullanıldığını göstermektedir (Çakırlar, 2016).

Figürinlerde tasvir edilen hayvanların sadece ETÇ ekonomik yaşantısında değil aynı zamanda sosyal anlamda da işlevlerinin olduğu söylenebilir. Bu hayvanlar sahip oldukları ekonomik önem sebebiyle, zaman içerisinde sosyal statü, zenginlik sembollerine dönüşerek hane ve toplum bazında sosyal farklılaşmanın belirtildiği iletişim kanalları haline gelmişlerdir (Arbuckle, 2012; Arbuckle, 2014; Çakırlar, 2016). Bu sebepten, bu hayvanların belirli durumlarda ve ortamlarda tüketilmesi,

avlanması veya gösterilmesi toplum içerisindeki cinsiyet, statü, aidiyet ile alakalı toplum ilişkilerinin düzenleyen faaliyetler olarak düşünülebilir. Bu durumda, Erken Tunç Çağı'nda üretilen hayvan figürlerinin dönemin tüketilen hayvanların gösterimi ile ilişkilendirilmesi çok doğru olmamaktadır.

Betimlenen hayvanların ekonomik önemlerinden dolayı, hayvan figürlerinin de sosyal statü, prestij ve sosyal kimlik ile ilgili sembolik bir iletişim parçası olabilecekleri düşünülmektedir (Meskell, 2015). Bu nedenle, ETÇ hayvan figürlerinin de bu kavramlar ile ilişkisini değerlendirmek gerekmektedir. Hayvan figürleri ve bu kavramlar arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamak için gerekli olan ayrıntılı mekânsal içerik bilgisi, yalnızca Demircihöyük ve Alaçahöyük yerleşimlerinden gelmektedir. Bu nedenle, bu hayvan heykelcikleri üzerindeki tipolojik ve bağlamsal değerlendirmeler çok kesin olmayabilir. Fakat hayvan görüntülerinin zaman ve mekândaki varoluş sebeplerini ve değişimlerini anlamak, hayvan heykelciklerinin ETÇ dönemi içerisindeki sembolik işlevlerini anlamak için faydalı olabilir.

Üst Paleolitik dönemden beri hayvan imgelemleri, insan imgelemleri ile birlikte ritüel alanların bir parçası olmuştur ancak; bu imgelemlerin, anlamlarını ve işlevlerini içinde buldukları dönemlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik düzenine göre yeniden şekillendirildiği söylenebilir. Örneğin; PPNA döneminde vahşi hayvanlar ve insan imgeleri Göbekli Tepe gibi anıtsal yapılarda bir arada tasvir edilirken, daha sonraki dönemlerde bu görüntülerde tematik ve boyutsal bir değişim yaşanmıştır. PPNB ve Çanak Çömlek Neolitik dönemlerinde vahşi hayvanlar yerine evcilleştirilmeye çalışılan hayvan ve evcil hayvan imgelemleri evlerin içerisinde görülmeye başlanırken, bu hayvanların minyatür ve taşınabilir versiyonları da yine evlerle ilişki alanlarda gözlemlenmeye başlanmıştır. Hayvan imgelemlerinde yaşanan bu tematik değişim, hayvanların evcilleştirilme süreci ve geçim stratejilerinin değişimi olarak açıklanırken (Helmer, Gourichon & Stourdeur, 2004) boyutsal değişimleri, toplum ilişkilerini düzenleyen “hane” ve “toplum” gibi yeni kavramların ortaya çıkışı, farklı ölçeklerde ortaya çıkan sosyal farklılaşma ve hiyerarşinin oluşması olarak yorumlanmıştır (Atakuman, 2015). Bu sebeple, ETÇ hayvan heykelciklerinin varlığına ve işlevine dair bir açıklama sunmak için hayvan figürlerinin zaman içerisinde üretim şekillerine ve buldukları mekânlarla olan ilişkilerini anlamak önemlidir.

ETÇ hayvan figürlerinin işlevlerini anlayabilmek için Çatalhöyük örneği kılavuz olarak kullanılabilir. Çünkü; Çatalhöyük evlerinde gerçek hayvan ve insan bedenleri üzerinden oluşturulan sembolik senaryonun benzeri, ETÇ Alacahöyük ve Demircihöyük “elit” mezarlarında gözlemlenmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, ETÇ domestik mekânlarda bulunan kil hayvan ve insan figürlerinin Neolitik dönemde üretilen örneklerine üretim tekniği, hammadde, betimlenen kavram ve buluntu bağlamında benzerlik göstermesi, Neolitik ve ETÇ arasında bazı kavramsal benzerliklerin dönemin sosyal ve ekonomik yapısına uygun olarak devam ettirilmiş olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Bunu daha iyi anlayabilmek için öncelikle Çatalhöyük evlerinde duvar resmi ve enstalasyonlar şeklinde görülen hayvan imgelemlerinin işlevlerinin anlaşılması gerekmiştir.

Çatalhöyük evlerinin içlerinde barındırdıkları insan ve hayvan resimleri ve hayvan enstalasyonları açısından çok sembolik yerler olduğu söylenebilir. Araştırmacılar bu evlerin sosyal statünün, sosyal kimliğin ve toplumsal yenilenme kavramlarının ve hane halkının başarısının vurgulandığı ve belletildiği sembolik alanlar olarak yorumlanmaktadır (Hodder & Pels, 2010).. Yapılan incelemeler, evlerin bir yaşam döngüsü içerisinde olduğunu ve yaşam döngülerini tamamladıklarında yakılarak veya temizlenip yıkılarak bir önceki ev planına uygun olarak yeniden inşa edildiğini göstermektedir (Meskell et al., 2008; Meskell, 2015; Russell ve Meece, 2006; Düring, 2005, 2007). Bu eylemler sırasında, eski eve ait hayvan boynuz ve baş enstalasyonlarının yerlerinden çıkarılarak inşa edilen yeni evlerin içerisinde toplandığı ve zaman içerisinde üst üste birikmeye başladıkları söylenmektedir (Hodder & Chessford, 2004; Hodder & Pels, 2010). Buna benzer bir eylem, evlerin içerisinde bulunan insan gömülerinde de gözlemlenmiştir. Birçok Neolitik yerleşimde olduğu gibi Çatalhöyük’te de birincil gömülerin üstünden bir süre geçtikten sonra, gömülerin tekrar açılarak bireylerin kafataslarının alındığı ve başka evlere taşındığı anlaşılmıştır. (Boz & Hager, 2013). Hayvan ve insan bedenlerinin bu şekilde evler arasındaki dolaşımının, ataların üzerinden kurulmaya çalışılan sosyal kimlik, hane başarısı ve sosyal yenilenme kavramları ile ilişkili olabileceği savunulmaktadır (Düring, 2001; Kirch, 2000; Russel & Meece 2006; Hodder & Pels, 2010).

Bu durumda Çatalhöyük evlerinde gerçek insan ve hayvan bedenleri üzerinden gerçekleşen sembolik bir iletişimin varlığına işaret etmektedir. Çatalhöyük evleri

içerisinde gerçekleşen bu sembolizmle ilişkili olduğu düşünülen kil hayvan ve insan figürinleri de bulunmaktadır. Bu figürinlerin varlığı, Meskell (2015, s.15) ve Atakuman (2017) tarafından ev içindeki gerçek insan ve hayvan bedenleri tarafından gerçekleştirilen hane temelli ritüellerin simgesel bağlamda bireyselleştirilmesi olarak açıklanmıştır. Bu araştırmacılara göre figürinlerin küçük boyutları ve kil gibi kolay şekillenen bir malzemeden üretilmeleri, bireylere ölü gömme, mekân yaratma ve diğer sembolik kutlamalar üzerinden gerçekleşen sosyal yenilenme ritüellerinde kendi kimliklerini yansıtmaya ve kendilerini bu ritüellere bağlamada eşitlik sağlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda, Çatalhöyük hayvan figürlerinin ve imgelerinin, toplumda sosyal yenilenme, sosyal kimlik ve hane başarısı ile ilgili daha geniş kavramların müzakere edilmesinde etken olduğu öne sürülebilir.

Peki, ETÇ hayvan figürleri için benzer bir yorum önermek mümkün müdür? İlk bakışta ETÇ hayvan figürinleri üzerinde böyle bir yorum yapmak pek mümkün değildir. Fakat hammadde bakımından mekânsal farklılaşma gösteren hayvan figürinlerinin varlığı ve bu figürinler üzerinde betimlenen hayvanların elit mezarlarında kurban edilmeleri, ETÇ döneminde de daha önceki dönemlerde gördüğümüz kadim imgelerin manipülasyonu ile müzakere edilen bir sosyal dönüşümün varlığını işaret etmektedir. Figürinler üzerinde betimlenen hayvanların sosyo-ekonomik önemleri düşünülecek olursa; var olan sembolik iletişimin Neolitik dönemde olduğu gibi sosyal statü, sosyal kimlik, sosyal yenilenme ve hane başarısının vurgulanması ile ilişkili olduğu düşünülebilir. Şüphesiz, bu sembolik iletişim anlamı Neolitik dönemde olduğundan farklıdır ve Erken Tunç Çağı'nın merkezileşme süreci içerisinde yeniden şekillenmiştir.

Erken Tunç Çağı'nda Neolitik dönemdeki örneklere benzer kil hayvan figürinlerinin domestik alanlarda bulunuyor olması, sosyal statü, sosyal kimlik ve sosyal yenilenme ile ilişki ritüellerin ETÇ döneminde de hane temelli olarak devam ettiğine işaret etmektedir. Fakat ETÇ'nin ikinci yarısından itibaren metal hayvan figürinlerinin hayvan kurbanları ile beraber yerleşim dışı mezarlıklarında bulunan elit mezarlarında ortaya çıkması ise hane bazından gerçekleştirilen ritüellerin artık kamusal alanlarda belirli bir sosyal sınıf için kontrollü bir şekilde düzenlenen güç gösterilerine dönüşümü şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Bununla birlikte, MÖ 3. bin yılın sonunda Neolitik benzeri kil hayvan figürinlerinin ortadan kalkması ise; oluşmaya

başlayan politik otoritenin kontrolünde olduğu düşünölen yeni kamusal ritüel alanların ortaya çıkması ve bu gelişmeyle hane bazında gerçekleştirilen ritüellerin kısıtlanmaya başlaması şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

Nitekim, 2. binde ortaya çıkan toplumlarda, mevsimsel değişimlerle ilgili dini kutlamalarda sığırların, koyunların, keçilerin ve geyiklerin belirli kurallar çerçevesinde kurban edilmesi (Mouton, 2017, p.243; Collins, 1995, p.79), bu hayvanların fethedilen ölkelerden ganimet olarak alınması ve bu hayvanların çalınmalarına karşı yasaların var oluşu (Arbuckle, 2014, p.288), ETÇ çağında gerçekleştirilen sosyal statü, prestij ve sosyal yenilenme ile ilgili ritüellerin sosyal ve ekonomik anlamda kurumsallaştırıldığı ve hayvan imgelemlerinin toplum içinde ve toplumlar arasında hiyerarşik ilişkileri kuran güç sembollerine dönüştürüldüğünü kanıtlamaktadır.

Bu değerlendirmeler ışığında Koçumbeli hayvan figürinleri ele alındığında, Koçumbeli toplumunda bu figürinlerin üzerinden gerçekleşen sosyal statü, kimlik, prestij ve sosyal dönüşüm ile ilgili ritüel bir müzakerenin var olduğu düşünülebilir. Koçumbeli'nde bulunan bir insan mezarında metal hediyeler olmasına rağmen metal hayvan veya insan figürinlerinin bulunmaması, Koçumbeli toplumunun hammaddelere ve özel ürönlere sınırlı erişiminin bir sonucu olarak düşünülebileceği gibi, bu tür özel üretim malzemelerinin daha geniş katılımlı ritüellerde sadece sınırlı sayıdaki kişilerin mezarlarına entegre edildiği söylenebilir. Koçumbeli'de bulunan kil hayvan figürinlerinin sosyal farklılaşmanın kamusal alanlarda hayvan imgeleri ve ziyafetlerle yansıtıldığı Demircihöyük ve Alacahöyük gibi yerleşimlerdekilere benzerlik gösteriyor olması ise, ETÇ merkezileşme sürecinde Koçumbeli'nin kendisini hiyerarşik anlamda diğer ETÇ toplumları içerisinde ritüel eylemler aracılığıyla konumlandırma çabası olarak düşünülebilir.

APPENDIX C - TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : AYTEN
Adı / Name : .Ebru Gizem
Bölümü / Department : Yerleşim Arkeolojisi

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) :

ANIMAL FIGURINES DURING THE EARLY BRONZE AGE OF ANATOLIA:
THE CASE OF KOÇUMBELİ

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

1. Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of two years. *
3. Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır. / Secure the entire work for period of six months. *

* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir.

A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

Yazarın imzası / Signature

Tarih / Date