2007 Archive Report Çatalhöyük Figurines / 2007 Arşiv Raporu Çatalhöyük Figürinleri -

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Abstract

The 2007 season had several research objectives. In addition to presenting this season's materials and work, we will discuss the work of two projects: one just completed and one in progress. Since the concentrated excavation of large swathes of midden beginning last vear in the 4040 Area, we have seen certain anthropomorphic body forms appear with increasing frequency and the emergence of some rather different animal forms. These results have prompted us to turn our attention towards certain aspects of figural practice. Most generally, figurine forms appear to negotiate various tensions between exaggeration and abbreviation, mobility and immobility. For instance, anthropomorphic examples offer a distinct range and preference for certain bodily zones, while the abbreviated figures play on both the attenuated (basic bodily form of head and torso) and overstated (phallic form). Currently, we are further developing these and other themes in terms of how they invite and allow different forms of human engagement and activity for another publication. We discuss some of the main ideas of this work below and, secondly, we incorporate here our work on figurine depositional patterning that has been ongoing over the past 6 months, the results of which will be published in 2008 in the Cambridge Archaeological Journal.

Özet

2007 kazı sezonunda çeşitli bilimsel gündemler etrafında çalışılmıştır. Bu sezondan çıkarılan buluntuların ve yapılan çalışmanın tanıtılmasının dışında, iki farklı projeyi tartışacağız; bir tanesi tamamlanmıştır ve bir diğeri hale devam etmektedir. Geçen yıl 4040 Alanındaki kazıların çöplük alanlarına yoğunlaşması nedeniyle, antropomorfik formlar artış görülmüştür ve diğer farklı hayvan formları da ortaya çıkmıştır.

Bu sonuçlar figünlerle ilgili gelenekler açısından yeni bilgilerle bize ışık tutmuştur. Genel olarak ifade edecek olursak, bu figürin formlarına bağlı abartı, küçülterek ifade etme, hareketlilik ve hareketsizlik gibi unsurlar birbirleriyle iletişim halindedir. Örneğin, antropomorfik örnekler çok çeşitli ve farklı öncelikleri yansıtan farklı vücut kısımlarına işaret ederken, bazı figürler ise bazı bölümlerin hem normalinden fazla küçültülmesi şeklinde (baş ve boyun kısmı) hem de normal boyutuna gore abartılarak (fallus formları) gösterilmiştir. Şu anda, bahsedilen temalar ve bunlara bağlı başka olası temalar üzerinde calışmakta ve bu farklı formların insan aktiviteleri ile ilgili bağlantısını başka bir yayın için tartışmakatayız. Aşağıda bu projenin ana fikirleri üzerine tartışmış bulunyoruz ve ikinci olarak da burada Cambridge Arkeoloji Dergisi'nde 2008 yılında yayınlanacak olan, son 6 aydır

yaptığımız figürin kalıntılarının geldikleri kontekslere göre dağılım haritasını ve oranları ile ilgili çalışmayı ortaya koymaktayız.

2007 Figurines

The 2007 excavation season retrieved 95 figurines (Table 13). As we have come to expect, most of these finds came from midden contexts. The majority of the figurines were zoomorphic types, with far fewer anthropomorphic and abbreviated forms. Strikingly, relatively few abbreviated examples were found this year. In the past, these types have been less ubiquitous than the animal forms, but generally substantially more common than the human forms; whereas, this year, the number of abbreviated forms is more or less on a par with the human forms (the density calculations for these materials still need to be done in order to see if this apparent pattern is in fact significant, and correlates with any type of change over time and/or space (see discussion below)). Building 65 in the South Area also produced the current project's first human female figurine from a primary context (14522.X8).

Deposition	Anthropo-morphic		Zoomorp	ohic	Abbreviated	Phallo- morphic	Other	Totals
context		Horn	Quadruped	Indeterminate				
Primary	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	5
Secondary	3	2	5	0	0	1	1	12
Midden	7	16	28	5	13	1	7	77
Unassigned	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
TOTALS	11	21	34	5	14	2	8	95

Table 13. Summary of 2007 Figurines.



Figure 153:14522.X8 is a robust, standing female figurine with large breasts and a protruding stomach with a large navel.

14522.X8 (Figure 153) is a robust, standing female figurine made from fine marly clay. The piece was rendered by hand and perhaps using a simple tool. The figure has large breasts and a protruding stomach with a large navel. The backside is damaged, but probably sported slightly protruding buttocks. The legs are divided towards the bottom; however, the figure does not appear to have been free-standing. The figure is broken at the neck and both shoulders: on the right side, the break extends across the front of the breast. The head appears to have been broken off in antiquity as the break is very worn; the shoulder breaks are less worn, but also likely ancient. This figurine is reminiscent of Haçilar female forms now in the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilisations, but is distinctly lacking any indication of the genital region or pubic triangle. Rather this figurine, like the other Çatalhöyük female figures, seems to emphasize or articulate non-reproductive and non-genital female traits. Notably, this figurine

also derives from a primary context—a deposit feature under a ladder base (F.2094), which cut into SE platform F.2086 in Space 297 in Building 65 (see discussion below for Building Sequence 65, 56 44, 10).

Body Typing

After working with the figurine materials for four seasons, we have seen the emergence of several bodily traditions within the corpus that often cross-cut the broadly descriptive anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and abbreviated categories. Many of these bodily traditions or treatments also extend across different media such as wall art, human burials and room features/installations. We have continually stressed that the boundaries between figurine categories (ours, discursive) are not rigid and clearly defined. Rather they are quite fluid and we have seen numerous intermediate forms with traits that fall in between the basic types. Three, often enmeshed, bodily themes have become apparent: 1) exaggeration/abbreviation of bodily zones or traits, 2) the mobility/immobility of certain forms or bodily parts, and 3) the enfleshment and defleshment of bodies and body parts. We will touch on only one of these themes here briefly as we are currently compiling more data for publication, namely the notion of bodily exaggeration.

Bodily Exaggeration

The conventions of emphasizing certain body zones and traits or alternatively, pairing down bodies to simple forms or silhouettes, are characteristic of Catalhöyük practices, but also seemingly to Anatolia more broadly during Neolithic times (Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2007). We noted for the human forms last year that there is a strong tendency for exaggerating the buttock and stomach regions seen in increasing numbers on female and non-gendered examples: this attention to the buttocks, to their careful delineation or pronouncement, typically at the expense of other bodily characteristics. These two sites of exaggeration tend to be combined on a single figurine, leading us to consider the lower body as a focal zone, notably without marked genitalia in almost all cases. The non-genital, non-reproductive elements of the lower body do not, however, negate the presence of erogenous zones or a sexual emphasis. There are of course many cultures, including contemporary ones like our own, that place enormous emphasis on the buttocks in social, sexual and visual terms. Where breasts are indicated, they are typically large and pendulous, or malformed and flattened. Many bodies are headless and a growing number show evidence of the removable heads with dowel holes.

Some figures with markedly distended stomachs, also gesture towards certain earlier forms found by Mellaart in which the stomach or lower front extends outward into the head of an animal, as in the example from the 1960s (see Ankara 79-457-65 and 79-161). Clay parallels can also be found for these at Mezraa-Teleilat (Özdogan 2003) and other Neolithic sites. These should not be confused with Mellaart's stone examples of men with leopards such as Ankara 79-168-65, and 79-162-65. Here the legs are clearly demarcated against the spotted animal bodies that they overlay. Alternatively, the examples we point to here are not clearly defined but rather amorphous bodies that defy the natural boundaries of the body (Figure 154). These are not generally smoothed contours but roughly modeled surfaces. We also note a concerted interest in the navel, marking it either as an indentation or an added detail. This can be



Figure 154. amorphous bodies that defy the natural boundaries of the body

seen across the site in figurines, stamp seals as well as the famous plastered wall figures with swelling, decorated stomachs (see Mellaart's 'Shrines' VI.B.8, VI.B.10, VII.31, VII.45). It should be said that we do not interpret this focus as a preoccupation with fertility or birth: there are no representations in the wall art of pregnant women, scenes of birth and so on, and with possibly only one or two representations that might be children. But the navel may be connected to ideas of birthing as a cultural

concern and generative process that may extend beyond offspring to producing animals or ancestors. It also implicate seems to male examples, which may seem incongruent with our notions own and knowledge of reproduction. In the same vein, there are no depictions of sexual intercourse or interaction in any media across the site.

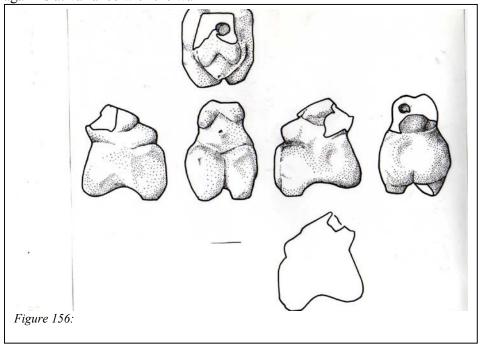


The only scenes detailing interaction are between wild animals and groups of what appear to be men in the wall paintings uncovered in Mellaart's time.

This year we uncovered a plastered splayed figure, probably of a bear (Figure 155), in the 4040 during construction of the site shelter. Unusually, it was placed in the corner of a building with its legs astride the corner. It was carefully shaped and smoothed;

the stomach was round and protruding with a pronounced navel. It was clear that the stomach was shaped and added later and plastered over to convey a smooth three-dimensionality. The presence of the navel on animal forms, especially animals like bears, presents us with a clear case of anthropomorphism or human/animal cross over. It is salient to note that while in theory all mammals (with the exception of monotremes) are born connected to the placenta by way of an umbilical cord, this does not leave the trace of a navel that is peculiar to human offspring. The mother cleans away the remains of the umbilicus and there is no visible mark. Moreover, unlike human bodies those of animals like cats and bears are covered with fur making any presence even more impossible to view. Just like the numerous bears anthropomorphized today in our own society (for both children and adults) there was a need to insert the navel to make the body legible and familiar for those viewing and comprehending the perhaps human like traits of the animal.

We suggest that the figured world at Çatalhöyük directs our attention to heads and necks, stomachs and buttocks, with scant attention to arms, legs, feet, facial features. The illustrated figurines above from this season's excavations concretely reiterate these trends (see above). The torso is the main area of interest. Figures are naked for the most part, though there are a handful of dramatically costumed examples. This again is at variance with the wall



paintings that show a predominance of male figures costumed in fabrics that mimic leopard skin, with tails or feathered attachments, sometimes with headgear. Given the leopard's solitary and cunning behaviour, it strikes us as an animal that the villager's may not have had regular access to. It should be remembered too that there are no leopard or feline skulls within the plastered forms as there are with other animals.

Returning to the figurines more generally, we should also consider what these specific and diverse body types evoke, represent, and enable in terms of human interaction. For instance, what kinds of bodily engagement and participation do they allow and

require? Many of the abbreviated examples and well-made quadrupeds appear to be free-standing and therefore were capable of sitting or standing about on surfaces or floors, whereas the more elaborated stone and clay human forms are not free-standing and therefore would have had to be held, supported, or kept laid down (Meskell 2007, Meskell and Nakamura 2005, Meskell et al. 2008, Nakamura and Meskell 2006). Both types were likely circulated to some extent, however these different formal aspects perhaps suggest a more personal relationship with the elaborated human figurines in the sense that they required and invited a certain amount of handling.

Depositional Practices

From the outset, one of our larger goals has been to perform a site-wide analysis of the figurine assemblage through time and space. Based on this preliminary information, we have found that a number of different factors make this kind of intrasite comparison challenging (Meskell et al. 2008).

In the first instance it is useful to make some general comparisons between figurines found in association with buildings and figurines found in external areas (i.e. in large middens and in between walls). Significantly, more figurines come from these external areas, which are all secondary deposition; and of these figurines, most come from midden areas (566), while significantly less come from fill in between walls (31). One notable pattern that emerges in the comparison of building and non-building deposition across the site is that the distribution of figurine types remains the same (Table 14). Zoomorphic forms dominate, followed by abbreviated forms and then anthropomorphic forms. Although not conclusive in itself, this general result supports the idea that figurines were in circulation rather than kept and guarded as 'special' objects. Notably, all form types are found in secondary building and discard contexts (for specific parallels at Nevali Çori see Morsch 2002), contradicting the idea that the elaborated human forms might have been treated differently from the more expediently made animal and abbreviated forms.

	Anthroj	Anthropomorphic		Abbreviated		Zoomorphic		Non-diagnostic		Other	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Location	Figs	Comp	Figs	Comp	Figs	Comp	Figs	Comp	Figs	Comp	Total
Buildings	20	6%	50	17%	109	34%	105	33%	37	12%	321
External	49	8%	72	12%	223	38%	166	28%	80	14%	590

Table 14. Figurines Types found in Buildings and External Areas (through 2006).

Since archaeologists tend to privilege stone over clay we were interested in determining whether specific types of figurines were deposited in midden as opposed to buildings. We discovered that those figurines carved from various stones are found both within midden and buildings, which suggests that there was no distinction between the treatment or deposition of stone and clay figurines. At the time of writing, 61 of some 1966 examples are stone, only 3.1%. From a modern perspective, we might expect that carved stone pieces were considered as more labor intensive, more precious or more ritually charged pieces by their makers. Most of the stone figurines from Çatalhöyük were found during the 1960s, but those that have been excavated since the 1990s with exact provenience suggest that they were not deposited differently from their seemingly more humble clay counterparts. Of eight total stone figurines found during the current excavations, four come from buildings and four come from external or unstratified contexts (Table 15). Taking a larger view,

this pattern may further indicate that, irrespective of material chosen, there was some cohesion in the classification of 'figurines' for the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük. This should not be assumed a priori, as type of material chosen may indicate specific contextual hierarchies of production, use, value, meaning and deposition.

ID	Form	Deposition
1505.X1	Phallus	Midden/construction
4116.D1	Human	unstratified
5189.X1	Abbreviated? (fragment)	B.17 - construction
7814.X1	Human	midden
10264.X1	Human	B.58 – fill
10475.X2	Human	B.42 - fill
11324.X3	Human	B.42 - fill
12102.X1	Human	midden

Table 15. Depositions Contexts of Stone Figurines

The majority of Catalhöyük figurines derive from middens rather than houses. This is a general pattern across the site for all materials, however shell, bone and obsidian were periodically curated or cached within houses at Catalhöyük and have been interpreted as integral for the crafting of memory or long-term social identity. Since such practices of caching, embedding and burying were consistent practices at the site, it is striking that figurines were not typically treated this way (see below for one potential example). Depositional practices at other Neolithic sites (Gebel, Hermansen, and Jensen 2002, Kujit and Chesson 2005, Verhoeven 2002) often indicate protective, magical and ancestral concerns. We have to ask why figurines at Catalhöyük were not intentionally placed in burials, in foundation deposits, around platforms, ovens and basins, plastered into house features or left on floors. Perhaps their ease of manufacture and general ubiquity meant that they were considered commonplace and easily reproducible, thus not 'special' in the same way. Conversely, an argument could also be marshalled that their very frequency and quotidian characteristics suggest that they were central to the Catalhöyük lifeworld. They may not have operated within some imagined separate sphere of 'religion' or 'ancestor worship' but rather in the practice and negotiation of everyday life. These ideas of cultic and religious figurine practice, while seemingly commonplace in archaeological narratives do not find much purchase with the actual figurine data at Catalhöyük.

Similar to the finds of obsidian, stamp seals, and so on, Çatalhöyük figurines come from secondary deposits, mostly midden and fill (Tables 16 and 17). The midden number is especially high due to the fact that vast swathes of midden excavated in the 4040 and South Areas produced enormous amounts of materials, including figurines during the 2007 field season. Again it is notable that figurines have not been found intentionally placed on benches, around hearths or buried with individuals, but rather were retrieved from the mix of materials used to fill houses after abandonment, as well as from other deposits and middens. It has been suggested that both the abandonment of houses and their subsequent infilling was underwritten by both practical and symbolic motivations, possibly in an attempt to maintain continuity across generations or lineages (Hodder 2006: Ch. 6). These practices were repetitive,

Building	Levels represented	% Excavated Assessed at the end of 2007.	Dry sieve volume (KL)	# Figurines Includes indeterminate pieces.	Figs/KL
1	VIII-IV	Full	60.555	30	0.495
	IX-VII	2/3,			
2		ongoing	30.446	24	0.788
3	VII-VI	Full	35.322	141	3.992
	VII-VI	1/2,			
Sp. 87 (room)		ongoing	0.968	4	4.132
Sp. 88 (room)	VII-VI	Full	8.440	13.5	1.600
Sp. 89 (room)	VII-VI	Full	7.250	16.5	2.276
,	VIII	1/3,		_	
4		ongoing	5.195	2	0.385
_	VII-V	1/2?, on	27.54	4.0	0.504
5	**************************************	display	37.564	19	0.506
	VIII, VI	1/3 –			
		truncated,	21 500	17	0.540
6	X/III X/II	completed	31.508	17	0.540
	VIII-VII	Wall stub			
		and niche fill,			
7		completed	0.362	3	8.287
/	VIII-VII	West wall	0.302	3	0.207
	V 111- V 11	only,			
8		completed	0.361	6	24.931
- U	IV	c. 1/5,	0.501	Ŭ .	21.731
	1,	heavily			
		eroded,			
10		completed	6.232	2	0.321
	IX	1/8,			
16		completed	0.035	6	171.429
	X-VIII	1/2,			
17		ongoing	36.838	22	0.597
18	IX	1/2	3.305	13	3.933
	VIII	Less than			
		5%,			
21		completed	0.000	1	-
	IX	Less than			
		5%,	_		
22		completed	0.075	1	13.333
	X	¹ / ₂ ,	0.5.5	_	0.55
23	*****	ongoing	9.365	5	0.534
20/12	V-IV	2/3,	4 4 2 4		4.740
29/42	777	completed	1.131	2	1.768
	VI	Less than			
40		10%,	0.000	1	
40	VIII	completed Less that	0.000	1	-
	V 111	1%,			
43		ongoing	6.990	2	0.286
77	<u> </u>	Origonia	0.220	4	0.200

44	IV	Full	1.152	2	1.736
45	V	1/3	0.400	1	2.500
	IV	1/5,	01100	_	
47		completed	0.000	13	_
	VI	3/4,			
49		ongoing	3.228	13	4.027
50	VII	Full	0.000	0	0.000
	VI-V	2/3,			
51/52		ongoing	0.030	0	0.000
	VI	1/3,			
53		completed	6.379	2	0.314
56	V-IV	Full	0.015	5	-
	IV-III	1/3,			
57		ongoing	0.026	0	0.000
	IV-III	1/3,			
58		completed	0.060	0	0.000
59	VI-V	Full	0.180	0	0.000
	V-IV	1/3,			
60		completed	1.44	3	2.080
	I-0	1/2,			
61		completed	1.878	0	0.000
	II-I	1/2?,		_	
62		completed	3.251	0	0.000
	V-VI	1/4,	0.000		0.000
63	X 7 X 7 X	ongoing	0.030	0	0.000
	V-VI	1/3,	0.040	0	0.000
64	X71 X7	ongoing	0.210	0	0.000
65	VI-V	Full	0.000	2	-
66	VI-V	None,	0.040	0	0.000
00	IV	ongoing	0.040	U	0.000
67	1 V	1/5,	1.448	0	0.000
0/	VI-V	ongoing	1.440	U	0.000
68	V 1- V	1/5, completed	0.120	0	0.000
00	VI-V	1/8,	0.120	U	0.000
69	A 1- A	completed	0.000	0	0.000
07	VI-V	1/3,	0.000	<u> </u>	0.000
Space 229	4 ± 4	ongoing	0.120	1	8.333
Midden		51-8011-8	0.120	<u> </u>	0.000
2/2100011	V-IV	Less than			
	, 1,	10%,			
60		ongoing	6.880	34	4.942
	VII-VI	1/10,			
85		ongoing	1.947	54	27.735
	VII	1/5,			
106		completed	5.092	2	0.393
107	VII		1.215	5	4.115
107-108 Transition	VII		0.735	3	4.082
108	VII		5.397	7	1.297
115	VIII	1/3,	38.484	66	1.715

		ongoing			
117	IX	0 0	21.992	108	4.911
	Pre-level	Unknown			
181	XII		34.285	84	2.450
	V-III	Unknown,			
226		ongoing	14.780	15	1.015
227	IV-III		0.120	2	16.667
	VI	Unknown,			
260		ongoing	1.440	4	2.778
	VI	Unknown,			
261		ongoing	10.563	51	4.828
	II	1/4,			
268		ongoing	3.190	11	3.448
279	V		17.125	85	4.964
280	V		12.540	65	5.183
283	V-IV		0.030	1	33.333
	V-IV	Unknown,			
294		ongoing	0.000	3	-
	IV/V	Unknown,			
295		ongoing	0.000	1	-
	V-IV	Unknown,			
301		ongoing	0.000	1	-
	IV/V	Unknown,			
306		ongoing	5.680	1	0.176

Table 16. Summary of Figurine Totals and Densities in Buildings and External Spaces (through 2006).

time consuming and meaningfully enacted. Some of these fill deposits were carefully processed or even screened, as in the case of Buildings 1, 4 and 5. The amount of soil that went into filling Building 5 is comparable with the amount of mudbrick and earthen material that could have been obtained from the destruction of the upper walls and roof (Hodder, Cessford, and Farid 2007). But there are also cases of houses being filled with midden when they were not to be rebuilt, as for Building 2. In the earlier excavations Mellaart (1967) also noted large amounts of burnt material and construction debris in buildings that constituted another kind of fill. Additionally, there is some evidence that different fills were placed in different rooms within a single building at Çatalhöyük. One might deduce that there were various methods appropriate for filling in a house throughout the site's history, and that each was carefully executed (Hodder, Cessford, and Farid 2007).

Focus on house lifecycles and their distinct processes of infilling, reuse and abandonment provides a practical analytical horizon for the study of figurine work since here our attention is drawn to process rather than to a clearly defined space or product. Work by Cessford (2006) on dating house lifecycles at Çatalhöyük is salient to our analysis, since any easy determination of observable phases for houses is complicated by an elaborate and unending repertoire of rebuilding and replastering practices. Using a variety of measuring techniques he demonstrates with a reasonable level of agreement that the lifespan of houses fell in the range of 50 to 80 (68% probability) or 45 to 90 (95% probability) years. These recent results are broadly comparable with ethnoarchaeological analysis that posits mudbrick buildings in semi-arid climates tend to last 50 to 100 years (Cessford 2006).

In order to get at both site-wide and localized patterning, we worked strictly with the volume of sieved fill material from individual houses and middens to ascertain the density and type of figurines present. Most useful are those buildings excavated by the current project, particularly those that have been fully excavated, with substantial volumes and which do not significantly overlap with buildings previously excavated in the 1960s.

One of our first tasks then was to investigate the density of figurines retrieved during the current excavations and to try and work in a limited comparison with the earlier, less reliable, data from Mellaart's excavations where possible. In fact, such a comparative analysis is necessary. If one were to take the Mellaart finds at face value, specifically the published pieces and thus ignore the wide variation in figurine types, then one might posit that two rather different sites had been dug (see Mellaart 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1975). Mellaart would have uncovered a large number of impressive stone and clay pieces, whereas conversely the new project would have found more mundane clay examples of quadrupeds, horns and bucrania, and abbreviated forms. Although we have found a few impressive examples, the mundane dominate numerically. Might this discrepancy be explained away by differences in excavation methodologies and goals or does it, in fact, present some kind of meaningful patterning? Clearly, we need some dialogue between the two periods of excavation in terms of material culture — despite the fact that exact contexts are not available, given the lack of specificity in recording during the 1960s (Todd 1976). The scale and speed of the early work uncovered a dazzling array of materials, yet lacked the benefit of the current team's careful, contextual methodologies. This is evinced very clearly with the figurine corpus. As was typical of the time, most of the noteworthy objects (totaling only 288 figurines) were hand selected while most of those considered more 'ordinary' were neither recorded nor kept. Moreover, since Mellaart's workmen were rapidly excavating one house per day it is not surprising that they did not record the exact provenience of each figurine. Excavated deposits were not sieved either, which accounts for the differences in retrieval rates between the two projects.

One way to explore this scenario is to re-excavate Mellaart, to literally work in his areas and through his spoil heaps. Under the aegis of a wider EU funded educational program called TEMPER, a children's summer school is conducted every year. Part of the children's activities on site is to excavate and sieve the 1960's spoil heap and we now have a much clearer idea of what Mellaart missed, overlooked or even discarded. Our numbers indicate that he missed significant amounts of whole figurines (abbreviated and zoomorphic), along with figurine fragments, nondiagnostic pieces, shaped clay pieces and scrap that is probably ceramic debitage (see also Morsch 2002). The TEMPER Summer School project (Bartu Candan, Sert, and Bagdatli 2007) removed a total of approximately 23,050 litres of dry sieve from Mellaart's spoil over several years (The density calculations for these materials still need to be done in order to see if this apparent pattern is in fact significant, and correlates with any type of change over time and/or space (see discussion below)), retrieving some 58 clearly identifiable figurines to date. This gives us a density of 2.51 figurines per kilolitre, a rather high density in comparison with the buildings on site (see discussion and Table 16 below), and a clear indication of the materials that were missed in the 1960s.

Materials from the current excavations in Mellaart's area (now called the South Area) also contribute to balancing out the profile of the 1960s excavation. The current figurine database includes these older materials, recorded in appropriate detail yet, since contextual information is missing or minimal for most of these finds, they cannot be used in analyses that directly target patterning over time and space. Ostensibly our analyses of figurine densities are based on data collected from the recent excavations at Catalhöyük. The densities presented here are the ratio of figurines to kilolitre of the total material excavated from buildings prior to being dry sieved for individual small finds. Despite protocol stipulating that every unit excavated be documented and its dry sieve volume and small finds recorded, several points regarding our excavation data must be made. First, the dry sieve volumes reported for each unit, while well-noted in the excavation reports, are not scientifically precise measurements; they are the most accurate estimates possible given the excavation conditions and are not considered absolute quantities. As such, we do not intend these volumes to represent a scientifically precise measurement of the buildings, but rather they provide an indication of the relative proportion of contents from each building at this stage in the excavation process. Additionally, we do not include in our analyses buildings that have only a small proportion excavated by the current project, such as those in the South Area where Mellaart left small portions of houses unexcavated. These tend to have little or no figurines and yield almost no deposit for dry sieve, such as Buildings 7, 8, 16, 21, 22, and 40. Other buildings that are located in the new 4040 Area and are only partially excavated at the time of writing will not be considered in detail here, but will in future work. These include buildings 47, 54, 55 and so on (see Table 16).

				Primary		Se	econdary		Inter	nal Midden	1
Level	Buildi ng	Total # Figurines	Volu me (KL)	#Figuri nes	Densi ty	Volume (KL)	#Figuri nes	Densi ty	Volume (KL)	#Figuri nes	Densi ty
	1	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.365	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
IV	10	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.410	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
1 '	44	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1	-	0.000	0	0.000
	47	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1	-	0.000	0	0.000
V-IV	1	2	0.320	0	0.000	1.041	2	1.921	0.000	0	0.000
V	45	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1	-	0.000	0	0.000
•	Sp. 229	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.120	1	8.333	0.000	0	0.000
VI-V	1	28	6.728	5	0.743	27.656	23	0.832	0.000	0	0.000
V 1- V	5	0	5.000	0	0.000	5.433	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
	3	141	7.245	5	0.690	25.336	122	4.815	2.741	14	5.108
	Sp. 87	4	0.000	0	0.000	0.986	4	4.057	0.000	0	0.000
	Sp. 88	13.5	0.835	0	0.000	2.606	13.5	5.180	0.000	0	0.000
VI	Sp. 89	16.5	3.094	2.5	0.808	4.336	14	3.229	0.000	0	0.000
	6	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.330	1	3.030	0.000	0	0.000
	40	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1	ı	0.000	0	0.000
	49	13	0.000	0	0.000	0.465	13	27.957	0.000	0	0.000
VII-	1	0	0.000	0	0.000	23.834	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
VI	5	19	0.030	0	0.000	32.101	19	0.592	0.000	0	0.000
	2	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.020	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
VII	7	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.120	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
	8	3	0.000	0	0.000	0.360	3	8.333	0.000	0	0.000
VIII	1	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.105	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
	2	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.020	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
	4	2	0.405	0	0.000	4.790	2	0.418	0.000	0	0.000

	6	16	0.000	1	-	31.178	15	0.481	0.000	0	0.000
	7	3	0.000	0	0.000	0.240	0	0.000	0.000	3	-
	8	6	0.000	0	0.000	0.361	6	16.620	0.000	0	0.000
	17	4	0.000	0	0.000	6.665	4	0.600	0.000	0	0.000
	21	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1		0.000	0	0.000
	2	24	0.398	1	2.513	29.060	21	0.723	0.195	2	10.256
	16	6	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	6		0.000	0	0.000
IX	17	17	0.000	0	0.000	24.730	17	0.687	0.000	0	0.000
	18	0	0.000	0	0.000	0.060	0	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
	22	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.075	1	13.333	0.000	0	0.000
	17	1	0.000	0	0.000	0.000	1	0.000	0.000	0	0.000
X	18	13	0.000	0	0.000	3.245	13	4.006	0.000	0	0.000
	23	5	0.385	3	7.792	8.980	2	0.223	0.000	0	0.000

Table. 17: Figurine distribution in Excavated Buildings (through 2006).

Due to the recording procedure for data collected from individual units of excavated material, some of this material were recorded as belonging to particular buildings but could not be assigned to sequential levels. Therefore, there is a slight discrepancy of only a few liters between the total volumes reported in Table 3 and those in Table 5 as a result of more readily apparent associations with spatial features such as buildings than with chronological features. This discrepancy does not impact the conclusions drawn from the data shown here, nor does it greatly alter the reported figurine densities. For further explanation, please visit http://www.catalhoyuk.com/database/catal

Context	Anthropomorphic	Zoomorphic	Abbreviated	Non-diagnostic	Other/unknown	Context Totals
Construction/make-up/packing	1	23	4	19	16	63
Fill	11	57	29	54	31	181
Floors	2	14	5	17	13	51
Midden	5	9	9	8	5	36
Other (backfill, animal hole, unknown)	1	2	3	4	0	11
Form Type Totals	20	105	50	102	65	342

Table 18: All Buildings: Breakdown of Figurine Types by Context (through 2006).

Building Biographies

As outlined above, figurines and shaped clay objects are largely found in secondary contexts (Table 17); within buildings figurines most commonly appear in fill (Table 18). Only very occasionally have they been found even near floors in buildings. In the current excavations we do not see the patterns that Mellaart evinced, namely that figurines (specifically anthropomorphic) were retrieved from special or cultic areas associated with features such as platforms, shrines, grain bins and so on (but see discussion of 14522.X8 above). For example, Mellaart (1964) described finding a 'goddess figurine' painted red in an associated shrine. We too have found red paint on clay figurines but none from such grandiose contexts since the whole notion of what constituted a 'shrine' has been cogently deconstructed (Hodder 1996). Mellaart often claimed that figurines ('Goddess figurines' no less) were found only in 'shrines', whereas the more rigorous excavations over the past decade have shown them to be consistently in rubbish and fill deposits, alongside vast quantities of animal bone, plant remains, ground and chipped stone and other small finds.

In general, we must remember that figurines and fragments of figurines were deposited into these fills and dumps alongside many other cultural and organic materials. Although these are secondary deposition contexts, such assemblages still provide useful information concerning the potential range of figurine practice at the site. While the broader site-wide patterning suggests that perhaps all figurines were treated equally and randomly, the resolution at the building level could present a somewhat different story. The building figurine assemblages vary significantly, from quantity of figurines to the composition of the assemblage in terms of form types. However inconclusive, certain building complexes are quite suggestive.

Buildings 44 and 49

In terms of notable figurine assemblages associated with particular buildings, Buildings 42 and 49 stand out from the rest. B.42 in the South Area has revealed a number of interesting characteristics and associations. Although severely truncated and therefore not a complete building, excavators were able to reveal the southern part of the building, which was extremely well preserved (see Chaffey and McCann 2004). They noted a particular division of space where activity focused around two platforms and a bench in the eastern part of the building. Initially, the excavators were inclined to interpret this building space as perhaps 'special/different' from the typical Çatalhöyük house. This specific division of space formed a single layout that was maintained throughout the building's lifecycle, with the platform and bench features, 'clean' and 'dirty spaces' remaining constant. However, such conservation of layout and division of space is typical of many houses, and while B.42 has some interesting features, it is not so different as to support a claim that its purpose was less 'domestic' or more 'ritual'.

There are nevertheless some interesting aspects of this building assemblage. First, a foundation burial containing a female holding a plastered skull was dug. And second, the only two figurines to come out of B.42 (10475.X2, 11324.X3) were, notably, both elaborated human forms depicting limbs and head/face features, made of stone. Such human stone figurines have been the least commonly found under the current excavations at the site, as outlined above. While their deposition in building and redeposited burial fill suggests that these were not highly revered, 'inalienable' objects (Wiener 1992), the plastered skull burial and figurine forms associated with

B.42 might articulate a focus on persons or certain treatments or aspects of the human body. Given the particularities of Çatalhöyük house lifecycles, we might consider the possibility of the biography, or use lives, of certain figurines as being connected to a particular house or place. This idea does not imply that such figures were static, religious objects of worship, rather they might have belonged to a certain spatiotemporal setting or genealogical lineage. Although the effort made to preserve and maintain the building in its original plan is not unique to this house, such concern coupled with the internment of a rather elaborate burial assemblage and durable human figurines in house and burial infill does seem to articulate a special concern for multi-generational human relations within this household during its main use and perhaps afterwards. These practices — the concealed and carefully structured burial, and the remaining durable presence of stone figurines — perhaps articulate a multigenerational temporality, one that reinforces a concern for durability and memory of certain people, ancestors or groups. Statements crafted in durable media or contexts in some sense strive to become objects of memory, as if created for descendents (Bakhtin 1981:19, Nakamura in prep). Even when these memory anchors are not visible, they may continue to 'work' in their being remembered, forgotten and rediscovered.



Figure 157: 10475.X2. Front (L) and back (R) views. (7.5h x 4.9w x 3.5th cm, 84g)



Figure 158: 11324.X3. Front (L) and back (R) views. (2.8h x 1.4w x 1.1th cm, 2.5g)

It is also interesting to consider the different scales of these two figurines. While 10475.X2 appears to depict a female form with hands held up to its chest and is of substantial size, 11324.X3 is a small androgynous form. Given the occurrence of both

relatively large (palm-sized) and extremely small (fingertip-sized) elaborated figural forms within the Çatalhöyük assemblage, we have often wondered about the significance of this difference in scale. We have noted previously that that the human figurines tend to receive a rather non-sexualized treatment; genitalia are not depicted, but rather buttocks, stomachs and breasts are emphasized (Nakamura and Meskell 2006). Taken in toto, the human figurines from the current Çatalhöyük excavations do not articulate the reproductive lifecycle of pregnancy, birth, adolescence, and death. We have found only one very unusual figure possibly depicting pregnancy (however, this interpretation is rather debatable) and no examples clearly depicting any of the other events. Both of the B.42 figures display exaggerated stomachs and buttocks, which are redolent of a non-generative sexuality or personhood, rather than a focus on a reproductive lifecycle. Furthermore, these forms are often reminiscent of geriatric bodies with markedly slumping or angular features.

Building 49 in the 4040 Area presents a very different scenario. Almost all figurines found here were expediently made animal quadrupeds (14 quadrupeds or fragments thereof and 2 non-diagnostic pieces), 8 of which were found in a cluster (7958). Although B.49 is still under excavation, it appears to have been occupied for a considerable period of time based on the number of wall plaster applications and possibly the number of burials present. Intriguingly, its complex stratigraphy indicates that it was subject to constant alteration and modification. At least superficially, this building seems to have a strong association with animals, since both the building infill and post retrieval pit (13641) fill contained horn cores (some deliberately plastered) and other interesting animal bones. Russell et al (2004) regard the former as a large spread of feasting remains and installations, and the latter animal bone assemblage as something atypical for the site given the extensive range of taxa represented in a fairly small assemblage (at least three different species of birds, large amounts of eggshell and fish bone, as well as equid, pig, deer, and dog bones; small quantities of cattle bone, antler, some turtle shell; a hedgehog bone; and two or probably three juvenile sheep and at least one perinatal sheep/goat). The faunal team suggests that this sequence may represent the remains of a special meal or closely spaced series of special meals.



Figure 159: Figurines from B.49. (Left) 7958.X5, quadruped; (Center) 7958.X2, quadruped; (Right) 7938.X1, quadruped with 'stab mark' from wall baulk.

While the composition and density of such faunal assemblages are provocative, these deposits may not necessarily indicate feasting events or the concomitant interpretation of 'ritual' activity. This building could also be read as more generally evoking a place of human-animal relations, perhaps those of a more regular or repetitive nature. Other notable features of B.49 include the presence of several layers of painted plaster on the northern and western walls. Excavators note that on the western wall, paintings consisting of red and black geometric designs appear to have been plastered over

relatively quickly and then repainted with an identical design in the exact same location every time. The above-mentioned aspects of this building are suggestive of some kind of frequent, repetitive activity possibly related to animal control, processing and/or consumption. Certain aspects of the figurine assemblage in this building may lend support to this idea. As mentioned briefly earlier, these quadrupeds are rather expediently made. While they are certainly recognizable as animal forms, their proportions and renderings were not naturalistic in the strictest sense. Rather, efforts seemed to focus on the treatment of these forms perhaps immediately after their fabrication. For instance, 8 of the 12 quadruped figurines bear some evidence of intentional puncture marks (4), breakage (2) or deformation (2). The remaining four figurines are fragmentary and inconclusive in this regard. At least the puncture marks and deformation would have to have been carried out while the clay was still plastic. These characteristics would seem to indicate that it was the process of making, acting upon and discarding or depositing these figures that was deemed salient — not the final object product. While these and other events associated with B.49, to some extent, appear to have been 'ritualized', it is important to not automatically assume that they comprised special rites that were radically set apart from everyday life. In fact, it is quite possible that they were part of quotidian or regular activities.

Building Sequence 65, 56 44, 10

One find from this season also brings us to consider the presence of figurines in house 'histories.' As mentioned above, Building 65 located one of the few figurines found in a primary context (14522.X8). Under the current excavation program, almost all of the figurines have come from secondary deposition contexts. However, this figurine was found in a cluster deposit (14522), which lay in front of and around a pot inset into the floor at the base of the ladder, and also contained equid scapulae, stones, and an infant bone. Excavator, Roddy Regan (2006) has noted that the sequence of Buildings 65, 56, 44 and probably 10 share certain continuity in layout and events, and has surmised that the same family group occupied the same space throughout the house sequence. For instance, he has observed the placing or leaving of objects or groups of objects prior to a space or feature going out of use and subsequently becoming something else, and similar patterns of plaster use in Buildings 56 and 65 (Ibid, 103). The placement of a pot near ladder bases is also a repeated activity, common to Buildings 44, 56, and 65.

One notable aspect about this building sequence is that it has produced very few figurines: 3 from B.65, 5 from B.56, 2 from B.44 and 2 from B.10. All but two of these are non-diagnostic pieces or horn fragments from make-up/packing or ashy layer contexts. The remaining two are anthropomorphic figurines: one a human torso fragment from the make-up of a platform in B.44 (10663.X1), and the other, a human head, possibly complete, from a room fill deposit between walls in B.65 (13352.H1). This latter figurine and context are notable given that four of the X-finds from 13352 seemed to have been deliberately placed on the floor along with cluster 13559. These materials included horn cores, obsidian, an antler, a scapula, a bone awl and a small stone. Although, we can only speculate at this point, it would be interesting to consider the possibility that the human head figurine was included among these deliberately placed items; if this were the case then the assemblage would bear some similarity to the ladder deposit described above. These two scenarios, then, might point towards a specific use or role of human figurines in the house biography or

household continuity, perhaps acting as a kind of memory anchor as discussed above in relation to Building 42.

Figurines in Buildings

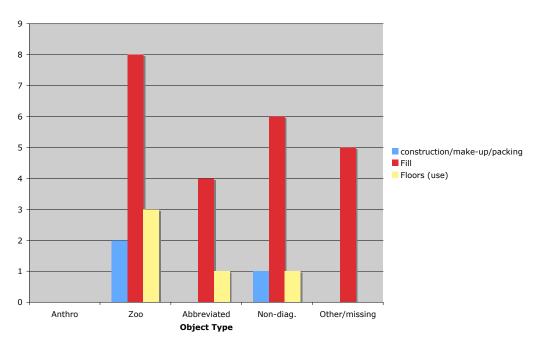
What is compelling about these different building assemblages is that they suggest a very diverse set of figurine practices. Figurine assemblages like building plans, seem to conform to certain general patterns, yet they also demonstrate remarkable flexibility and diversity. In the best cases, the consideration of figurine patterning alongside other building features and practices suggests some compelling relations or notions related to house character and biography, its associated activities, and the concerns of its inhabitants. The B.42 scenario with human figurines and plastered skull burial might lend support to the idea that some figures were considered meaningful or were 'working' objects that were essential parts of the house and even continued in their affective presence after being buried within fill. Whereas, the animal-rich B.49 assemblage suggests that some figurines were more spatially and temporally circumscribed by specific locales and practices. The absence of figurines in houses such as the closure phase of B.52 is also provocative in the sense that elsewhere figurines have been ubiquitous in building closure infill (e.g. B.3) or even interpreted as part of a ritualized 'closing event' (B.17, see discussion below). Moreover, that B.52 had no figurines but contained a room with striking architectural features casts further doubt on a tacit connection between figurine work and ritual or religious practice. Finally, the general ubiquity of figurines in fill and midden initially led us to question if some figurines were made primarily for discard. Unlike other materials such as clay balls and obsidian, figurines are not found stored in caches or bins inside buildings, nor are they embedded in architectural features like certain animal bones. As relatively non-labour-intensive objects, many clay figurals might have been quickly made and quickly discarded. A few deformed pieces suggest that the clay was still somewhat wet and plastic at the time of discard. In other cases, however, observable patterns of wear tend to mitigate such a theory. Nonetheless, much has been made of a broken figurine (5043.X1) in B.17, where the head and body were found within an ashy fill associated with a hearth (F.541). It has been interpreted as part of a ritualized 'closing event' (Hamilton 2006), however, it is equally possible that the figurine was accidentally broken during the process of filling the house. Another broken head of a similar type, though missing the remaining body, was also discovered within the fill of this same house (see Farid and Cessford 1999).

Figurines in External Areas

In addition to building contexts, figurines are also commonly found in external midden areas. Some of these are contemporary and associated with certain buildings, while others cannot be connected to particular buildings and habitations. In the former case, Space 85 can be associated with B.3 habitation and Space 279/280 with B.60 (see also Table 16). In both cases, the figurine density is significantly higher in the external midden area than in the buildings, and although B.60 is still under excavation, no figurines have been found in this building thus far. We should not be surprised that there are higher densities in midden areas, and little or no presence of figurines in adjacent houses. Activities employing figurines such as narrative, play and performance, as well as their original manufacture and decoration, might have taken place outside. Additionally, their ubiquity in dumps points to the highly disposable nature and perhaps brief use life of most figurines.

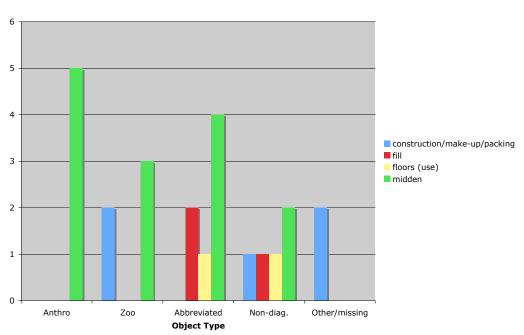
Appendix: Additional Charts from depositional analysis

Bldg. 1



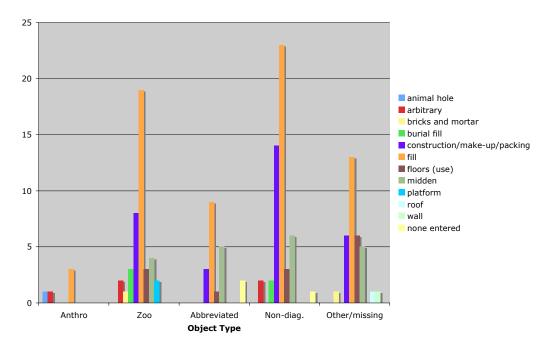
Building 1

В2



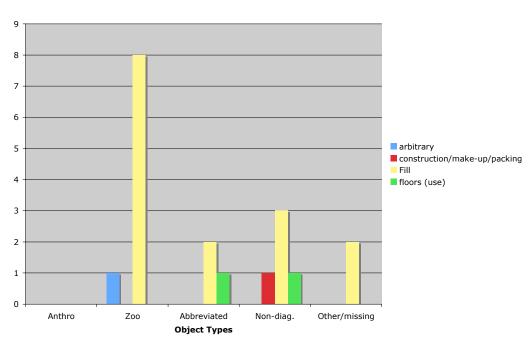
Building 2



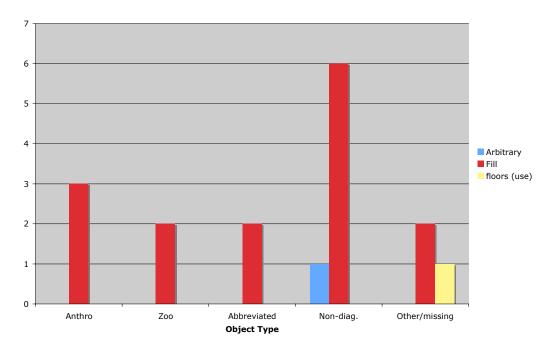


Building 3

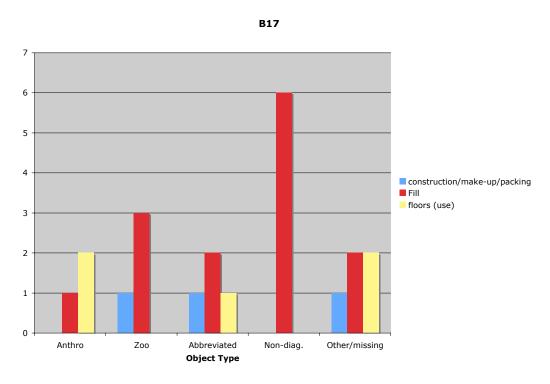




Building 5

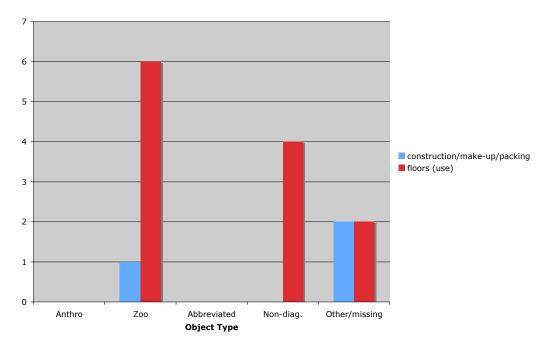


Building 6

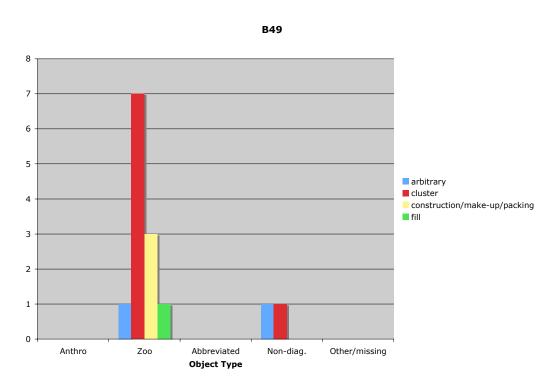


Building 17



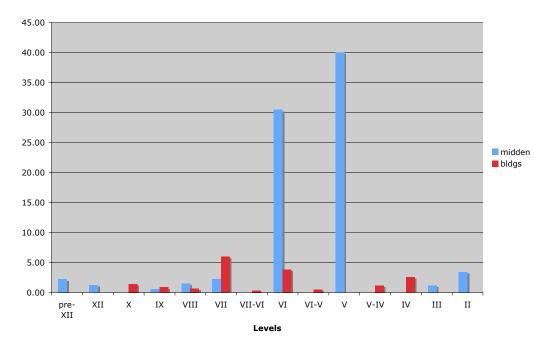


Building 18

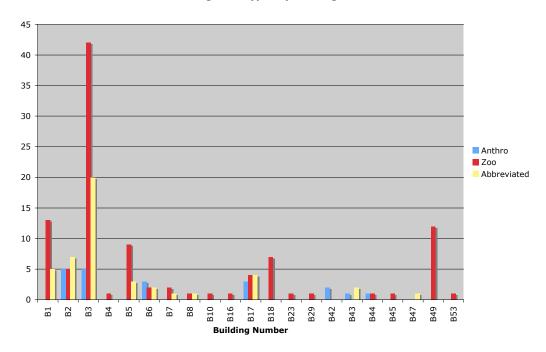


Building 49

Comparison of External Area and Building Figurine Densities by Level



Figurine Types by Building



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2007 Chipped Stone Report / Yontma Taş Raporu

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Introduction

This short report offers a preliminary assessment of the chipped stone from the 2007 excavations of the 4040 and South Areas, together with a brief discussion of other ongoing research and the Team's activities and publications since last year. While there were full excavations in the TP Area the associated lithic specialist Marcin Waş was unable to attend in 2007 and thus no report is forthcoming for this year.

Giriş

Bu kısa rapor, 2007 yılında 4040 ve Güney alanlarından çıkan yontma taş malzemenin, geçen seneden beri süre gelen kazı ekibi arasındaki tartışmalar ve yayınlarınla birlikte değerlendirilmesini içeren bir ön rapor niteliğindedir. TP alanındaki kazılar devam ederken, bu ekibin taş uzmanı Marcin Waş'ın 2007 kazılarına katılamaması sonucu bu alanla ilgili malzmeye bakılmamış ve bu alanla ilgili rapor sunulamamıştır.

4040 Area – T. Carter

The large number of contexts exposed this season in the 4040 Area failed to produce anything significantly different to the material reported on last year in terms of raw materials, technology, typology and – for the most part – depositional practices. That said, we feel the devil will be in the detail and at present much of the assemblage from this part of the site is still being studied, ergo there will be a great deal more to be said about this material after the completion of a study season (or two). In general it can be stated that:

- 1. The midden and pit fill contexts continue to provide us with large assemblages which have provided us with a great insight into the nature of the later Early Pottery Neolithic chipped stone from the site. In terms of raw materials, obsidian dominates, with the non-obsidian chipped stone (NOCS) component comprising on average only 2-3% of any major assemblage.
- 2. The obsidian from these upper levels is comprised primarily of what appears to be products from the Nenezi Dağ source in southern Cappadocia, often in excess of 98% of the obsidian from any major assemblage, the remainder being a small quantity of East Göllü Dağ products. This ratio is in marked difference to what we see earlier in the Çatalhöyük sequence (during the Aceramic Neolithic the relative proportions are virtually the reverse, levelling out about halfway through the Early Neolithic) and subsequently on the West mound during Early Chalcolithic I-II (see below).
- 3. The NOCS assemblage appears to be comprised almost entirely by chert, albeit a variety that we have yet to really appreciate, the focus of Doherty and Milić's studies having been up until now the Aceramic Neolithic material (see below).