

THE WORLD OF FIGURINES IN THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY CHALCOLITHIC
NORTH AEGEAN: THE CASE OF UĞURLU HÖYÜK – GÖKÇEADA

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ABSTRACT

THE WORLD OF FIGURINES IN THE NEOLITHIC AND EARLY CHALCOLITHIC NORTH AEGEAN: THE CASE OF UĞURLU HÖYÜK - GÖKÇEADA

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This thesis is aimed at the investigation of figurines recovered from the site of Uğurlu Höyük in Gökçeada, Turkey. It has previously been put forward that similar prehistoric figurines symbolized religious entities. Recent studies, however, have shown that such interpretations are not supported by scientific analyses. In order to understand the function of figurines in Uğurlu Höyük, this study approaches these objects based on an assessment of their thematic variation, standardization and abstraction, an evaluation of the raw materials, manufacture process and surface treatment, and temporal & spatial analyses of the breakage patterns, find contexts and intra-assemblage relations. Finally, a comparative analysis with figurines from the region is undertaken to examine the relations between these communities and their utilization of similar objects. The results indicate that figurines provided the society of Uğurlu Höyük with a mean of connecting with other people, groups, and ancestors through their fragmentation and distribution, focusing on a part of the settlement associated with intensive pit-digging and occasional mortuary activity. Uğurlu Höyük figurines indicate strong links with Anatolia during late 7th millennium BC; yet in the 6th millennium they provided a medium to relate with other communities in the Northern Aegean through the execution of incised decorative motifs, and with Southern Aegean through their shared forms. Thematically, Uğurlu Höyük figurines cannot be reduced to a simple male-female dichotomy; instead, they were used in the discussion of a variety of issues like identity, affiliation,

ancestry, regeneration, and supported a multitude of positions that could be taken.

Keywords: Figurine, Neolithic, Chalcolithic, Aegean, Uğurlu Höyük

ÖZ

KUZEY EGE NEOLİTİK VE ERKEN KALKOLİTİĞİNDE FİGÜRİNLERİN DÜNYASI: UĞURLU HÖYÜK – GÖKÇEADA ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezin amacı Gökçeada'daki tarihöncesi Uğurlu Höyük yerleşiminde açığa çıkarılan figürinlerin araştırılmasıdır. Kimi araştırmacılara göre benzer tarihöncesi figürinler dini varlıkları sembolize etmektedir. Fakat güncel araştırmalar bu tür yorumların tipolojik, zamansal, ve mekansal analizler tarafından desteklenmediğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışma, Uğurlu Höyük'te bulunan figürinlerin işlevinin anlaşılabilmesi için bu buluntuları şu yöntemlerle incelemektedir: nesnelerin tematik çeşitliliklerine ve standartlaştırma-soyutlama derecelerine göre değerlendirilmesi; hammadde seçimi, üretim tekniği, ve yüzey uygulamalarının tetkiki; figürinlerin parçalanma örüntüleri, buluntu bağlamları, ve diğer malzeme grupları ile ilişkilerinin zaman ve mekan ölçeğinde çözümlenmesi. Son olarak, bölgedeki çağdaş yerleşim yerlerinde bulunan benzer betimlemeler, bu toplulukların birbirleriyle olan etkileşimini ve bu nesneleri kullanım biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri incelemek adına karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmektedir. Araştırmanın sonuçları, figürinlerin yerleşimin yoğun çukur açma ve zaman zaman da gömü aktivitelerinin odaklandığı bir bölümünde kırılma ve dağıtımları yoluyla Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun başka insanlar, gruplar, ve atalarla ilişkilenebilmesinin yolunu açtığını göstermektedir. Uğurlu Höyük figürinleri MÖ. 7. Binyıl'ın ikinci kısmında Anadolu ile var olan güçlü bağlara işaret etmektedir; 6. Binyıl'da ise figürinler Uğurlu Höyük insanların Kuzey Ege toplulukları ile kazı bezeme motiflerinin uygulanması üzerinden, Güney Ege toplulukları ile ise de ortak formlar üzerinden bağdaşabileceği bir vasıta sağlamıştır. Tematik olarak, Uğurlu Höyük figürinleri basit bir erkek-dişi ikiliğine

indirgenememektedir. Bunun yerine figürinler kimlik, aidiyet, soy, yenilenme gibi meselelerin tartışılmasında kullanılmıştır ve bu konularda takınılabilecek çeşitli tavırları destekleyebilmektedirler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Figürin, Neolitik, Kalkolitik, Ege, Uğurlu Höyük

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EN	Early Neolithic
MN	Middle Neolithic
LN	Late Neolithic
FN	Final Neolithic
EBA	Early Bronze Age

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Ancient figurines, representations of humans or animals in small three-dimensional forms, have traditionally been a source of fascination for the scholar and the layman alike. In some cases, these objects took upon the role of being the public face of archaeology, featured in the covers of publications and pamphlets, or even as the poster child for events or organizations. Without a doubt, this is at least partly due to the fact that anthropomorphic representations can convey a sense of familiarity with much more ease than other elements of material culture across time and space. Another contributing factor is that although there have been generally accepted interpretations about what they represent, what they imply or how they were actually used, the specific meanings of prehistoric figurines are nevertheless a mystery for many people. This contrast of familiarity and mystery provides the power these timeless objects have over the modern viewer. But how powerful were the figurines on the people that originally made and used them, separated from us by thousands of years, and who no doubt had a very different understanding of the world around them? Were the figurines a direct result of that understanding or were they a reflection of it; or did they also contribute to its constitution? Who made them, and why? In short, what *was* the role played by the prehistoric figurines in the societies which they were a part of? Approaching these objects systematically is necessary to approach these questions seriously.

Prehistoric figurines, a unique manifestation of which from the island community in Uğurlu Höyük in Northwestern Turkey forms the main focus of this study, are a phenomenon not particular to one specific region or time frame. On the contrary, it is seen that many prehistoric societies from around the world at different times have independently produced and made use of the representations of the human body. Traditions of figurine making had undisputedly emerged as back as 30.000 years ago (Lander, 2005) in the Upper Paleolithic period. There are even older, isolated objects from earlier times ("Venus" of Tan-Tan, 300.000 to 500.000 years ago; "Venus" of Berekhat Ram, around 250.000 years ago; Balter, 2009) that might have been picked because

of their natural shape reminiscent of the human form or which were perhaps slightly modified to accentuate this form, although researchers are divided on whether these two objects are actually figurines or not.

In later periods, it is seen that a number of distinct and enduring figurine making traditions had come into being independently in Europe/Near East, Japan and the Americas (Lesure, 2011, p. 19) (Figure 1). It seems that many of the pre-literate societies around the world discovered a use and value in the miniaturized representations human body.



Figure 1: Distribution of major figurine traditions in prehistory (image adapted from Lesure, 2011, p. 19, Fig. 4).

What is meant by a “figurine tradition” would become clear after even a cursory examination of the prehistoric figurines recovered from the wider Mediterranean region, with some common traits such as “fleshy buttocks and thighs, seated posture, female breasts, schematic heads, and emphasis on overall bodily form” (Lesure, 2011, p. 21) (Figure 2). Even in their differences, these objects from different periods and places seem to be products of an attuned imagination. It becomes, therefore, possible to assert that for extended periods of time, prehistoric communities of Europe and Near East discussed a number of issues (not necessarily the same ones) by referring to a similar -perhaps even

common- “visual vernacular” as reflected in the figurines that they have made and used. Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines retrieved from Uğurlu Höyük in Gökçeada are not excluded from this vernacular in that regard, belonging to the same tradition of figurine making (both in the sense of falling within the spatial and temporal continuity and also through a number of shared traits).

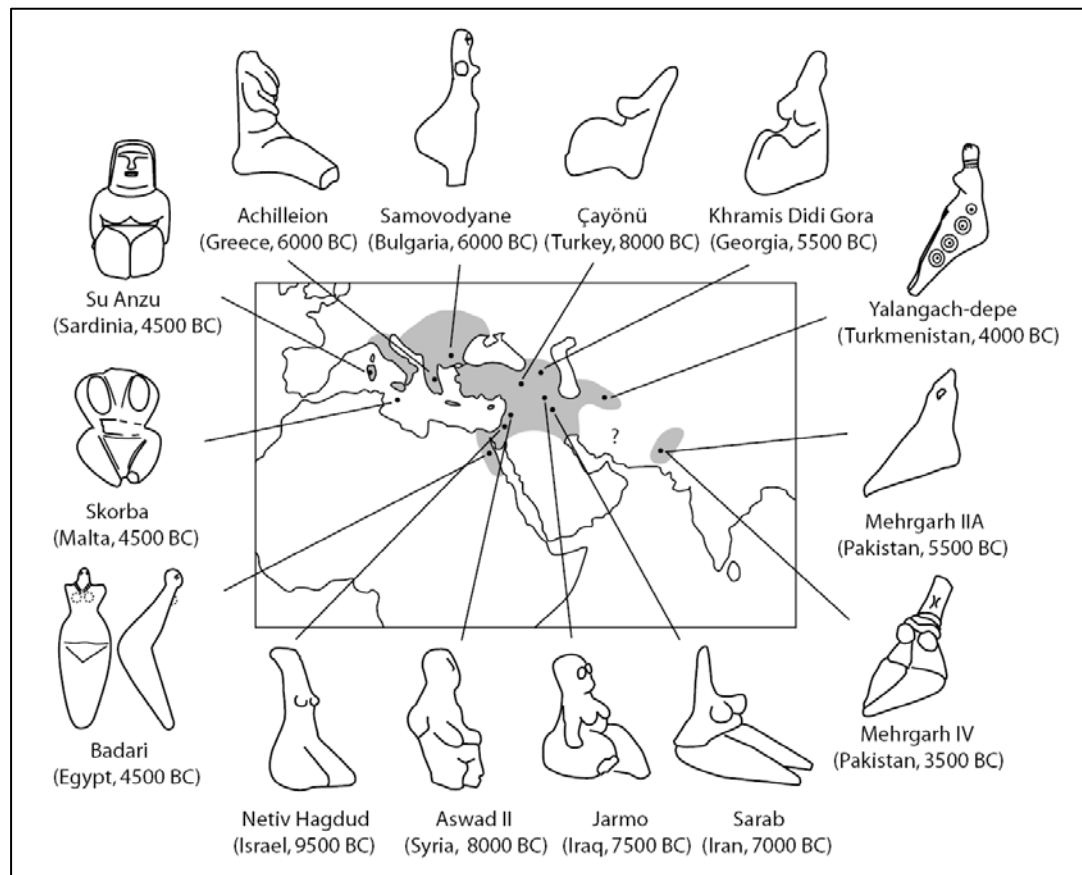


Figure 2: Lesure's (2011, Fig. 6) map of anthropomorphic figurine making in prehistoric Europe and Near East.

Setting aside other regions and focusing on Europe and the Near East, it can be seen that the earliest figurines are found starting with the Upper Paleolithic in Europe (which are also the first undisputed examples of their kind in the world, Dixon & Dixon, 2011). Their use later reaches a peak in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods of Southeastern Europe, where figurines were much more common objects compared to other parts of Europe; and it was claimed that their disappearance after c. 4000BC was caused by an invasion of new groups

of people coming from the eastern steppes (Gimbutas, 1982/2007). However, more recent studies have demonstrated that disappearance of figurines took place in different parts of Europe in different times (Hansen, 2007a, p. 372), and figurines can still be followed as late as the 4th millennium BC in the Eastern Balkans and the Greek Aegean (Atakuman, 2017a, p. 86).

In Anatolia, on the other hand, it is known that figurines were common in the Neolithic period; but there is a lack of evidence for figurine making (and in general, about settlement and habitation) in the succeeding Chalcolithic period (Atakuman, in press). Yet figurine making reached a maximum during the late 4th & 3rd millennia in the Early Bronze Age, after which it declined and was eventually superseded in popularity by two-dimensional representations (Bilgi, 2012, Tab. 4). Meanwhile, the practice of figurine making is also known to have diminished in the Near East during the 5th millennium BC; and figurines were still quite low in numbers during the 4th millennium (Hansen, 2007a, p. 381).

Nevertheless, figurines were still being produced and used in the much later historical periods like the Hellenistic or Roman times (Langin-Hooper, 2013; Barrett, 2015). Even though their meanings, functions and how they are produced might have completely changed, figurines are still in circulation among modern populations today; but they are now referred to as “dolls” or “action figures” and are almost always associated with children or hobby enthusiasts.

Going back to the distant past again, it is seen that the distribution and frequency of prehistoric figurines varied greatly through time: they ranged from temporally and spatially isolated chance finds like most of the Upper Paleolithic figurines (Lander 2005), to large numbers of hoards containing numerous pieces in networks of deposits or as grave-goods in large cemeteries in the Chalcolithic of Southeastern Europe (Chapman 2000), and to “special deposits” yielding hundreds of fragments by themselves in the Bronze Age of the Southern Aegean (Renfrew, Boyd, & Ramsey, 2012). Most often, though, figurines were recovered from the settlements themselves within contexts like buildings, pits, refuse, or from the general fill.

Ever since its widespread adoption to the material culture of prehistoric communities, clay has generally been the preferred medium to shape the figurines. But a variety of other materials, including rocks (of various types), bones (of various animals), wood, seashell, and ivory (etc.) have also been

used in their manufacture. Meanwhile, the sizes of most of these figurines fall in the range of a few centimeters to the lower fractions of a meter. Even larger representations of humans are also encountered in the archaeological record, but these are generally treated under the rubric of “statues” or “totem poles” since their lack of mobility implies an inherently different role attributed to these objects in the communities that made use of them.

As mentioned, this study is focused on a particular assemblage of Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines from the site of Uğurlu Höyük in the island of Gökçeada (also known as Imbros), produced by a group of people who were likely a part of the earliest agricultural community in the region. But any discussion concerning the earliest adaptors of a life of farming in the Aegean periphery is bound to touch upon the debates concerning the beginning of the Neolithic and the introduction of this way of life into the region: where, when, and exactly how it took place is one of the major concerns for the prehistorians of Europe and the Near East.

In general, Neolithic communities are characterized by the adoption of a new way of life in which people exerted greater control over natural resources that formed the basis of their subsistence. The process resulted in the gradual domestication of certain plant and animal species, and the greater investment in more limited areas on the land resulted in communities that were more associated with sedentism. In the Near East and Europe, it seems the Neolithic was also associated with an increase in the utilization of figurines (Bailey, 2000; Pérles, 2001; Kuijt, 2002); however, as mentioned above, these objects are not exclusive to farming communities and have also been made and used by mobile hunter-gatherer groups of the Paleolithic.

If the Neolithic process is taken as a transformation in the subsistence and the adoption of a sedentary-agricultural way of life, then the earliest Neolithic communities in the world seem to have flourished in Southwest Asia (Kuijt, 2002). The reason for the appearance of agricultural communities is not exactly clear, and suggested possibilities range from cultural adaptations to ecological and climatic constraints (Childe, 1936/1958; Braidwood, 1960; Binford, 1968) to the emergence of a new symbolic system beforehand that facilitated it (Hodder, 1990; Cauvin, 2000), or a combination of various similar factors. Another debate concerns the spread of Neolithic to nearby regions and communities. It is seen that westward movement of the Neolithic way of life

took place in a slow but steady pace (Figure 3). Whereas the original process seems to have begun with the Holocene (c. 10000BC) in the Near East, Neolithization of the Aegean periphery began in the 7th millennium BC; Neolithic populations were present in Central Europe by the 6th millennium; and it was only towards the end of the 5th millennium BC that it had reached the Northern European shores.

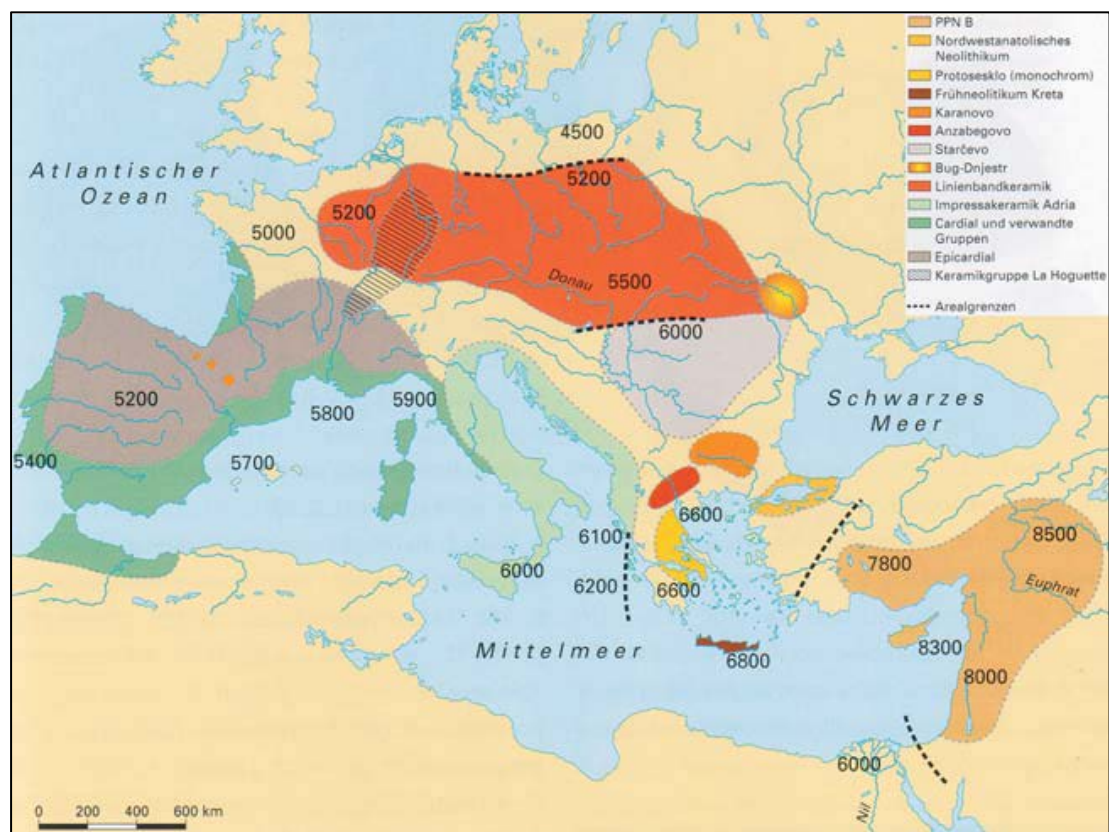


Figure 3: Map showing the spread of the Neolithic way of life in Europe (image adapted from Reingruber, 2011, Fig. 3; originally from Guilaine, 2007).

Many causes have been proposed for the Neolithization of Aegean and Europe: population movements from farming communities due to climatic and demographic pressures or to escape internal tensions, as a social strategy of local foragers to collect and manipulate surplus goods, or through selective local adoptions of new elements by foraging communities (Robb, 2013, p. 660). Reingruber (2011) sums the approaches of archaeologists to the Neolithization of the areas adjacent to the core regions of the Neolithic in two categories: (1)

those approaches which hold the original Neolithic populations of the Fertile Crescent responsible for the Neolithization of the Aegean and Europe through their direct colonization, or (2) those which maintain that the interactions and transformations of the local populations also played an important part.

Controversy on the issue still continues and it appears that it will continue for some time to come yet. But where are the figurines to be found among these debates? It is seen that figurines are generally included as a sub-group of a specific assemblage of material culture, generally found together and associated with Neolithic groups in the Near East and Anatolia, shortly called the "Neolithic package" (Perl  s, 2003;   ilingiro  lu   ., 2005;   zdo  an, 2008). Along with other categories of objects -like celts, pintaderas, and certain types of pottery- figurines are then used to trace the progression of the Neolithic way of life along its ever-expanding boundaries. The popular interpretation of figurines as objects of worship, signifying gods or goddesses, results in the equation of these objects with the religious life of their respective communities. It is this religion which then gets automatically traced when the figurines are recovered from various prehistoric societies around the Mediterranean. In traditional approaches, figurines are objects with presumed functions that are never articulated; and they are restricted to typology and chronology building in archaeological studies.

In contrast, a number of studies by various researchers -to be discussed in more detail in the following section- point towards a large amount of alternative possibilities for these representational objects. One of the beginning points of this research is that figurines should be investigated and analyzed like any other category of objects recovered from prehistoric sites, without any preconceptions or assumptions to their meaning, function, or use. The potential of these objects to provide further information about the people and the society that made and used them is restricted when they are simply written off as goddesses without further inquiry.

In this research, the traditional approaches of typology building and stylistic comparisons to trace connectivity networks will still be followed, but the main thrust will be the various analyses conducted to understand the significance and meaning attached to figurines' use and discard. A collection of 96 figurines recovered from the prehistoric site of U  urlu H  y  k on the island of G  k  eada in Turkey will be subjected to various strands of investigation, including an

analysis of their relations with other components of the material culture and their comparisons with figurine assemblages from other sites¹, to acquire as much information as they can offer regarding the society that they participated in. The main goal of this study is to contribute some answers to the questions posed with regard to the prehistoric figurines at the beginning of this chapter, from the perspective provided by the communities of the Aegean periphery in the 7th to 5th millenniums BC. It is also hoped that some of the focused interactions identified between different regions and communities in this study would help clarify some of the recurring issues regarding the Neolithization and the earliest permanent occupation of the Aegean Islands.

To achieve this goal, the following Chapter 2 will first provide a summarized overview of the theoretical and methodological approaches to prehistoric figurines in the past and present archaeological literature to obtain a framework with which certain issues or patterns can be approached. This will be followed by the explanation of the methodology used in this particular evaluation and analysis of the prehistoric figurines from Uğurlu Höyük.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the analysis of the figurine data collected from the site. It will first introduce the regional context of these figurines beginning with an overview of the island of Gökçeada and its prehistory. Later, details regarding the occupation of the site of Uğurlu Höyük will be summarized from the earliest occupation phases in the Neolithic to the later occupation phases in the Chalcolithic, to establish the facts pertaining to this community which will also be relevant to the discussion of its figurines. This chapter will then focus on the figurine assemblage recovered from the site. These analyses of the figurines will be complemented by an examination of a number of object categories collected under "related finds", as it became clear that a discussion of these objects was pertinent to a discussion of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük.

Chapter 4 begins with a synthesized commentary on all the data presented in the preceding Chapter 3, to provide the groundwork on which the comparative discussion of figurines and related assemblages from contemporary sites in the wider region can be established in the following sub-section. Here, a number of traits and features that can be detected on the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük and various other communities will be compared to suggest a number of interaction

¹ A map showing some of the sites that are mentioned in the text is provided in Figure 4, while a broad chronological framework can be found in Figure 5 at the end of this chapter.

networks between these societies. In addition, fragmentational and contextual analyses of a number of figurine assemblages in Anatolia and Southeastern Europe by various scholars will be examined to touch upon a number of issues determined to be crucial to an understanding of the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage. Lastly, an attempt will be made at explaining the social functions of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük in light of the information, patterns, and suggestions obtained as a result of all these investigations.

Finally, Chapter 5 will summarize the results of this study and shortly evaluate it. Some recommendations for future research will also be made before providing a conclusion.

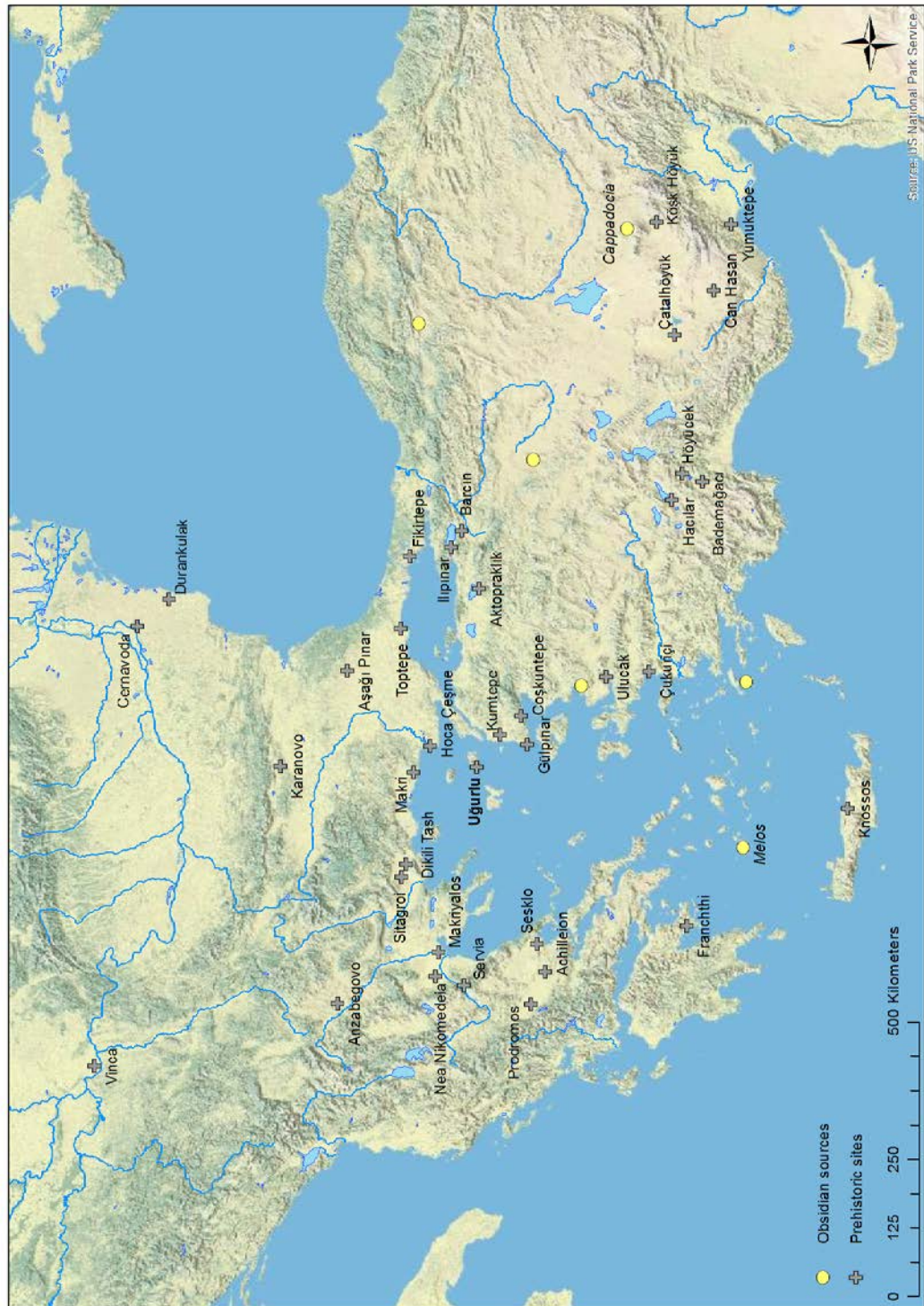


Figure 4: Map showing the locations of some of the sites mentioned in the text.

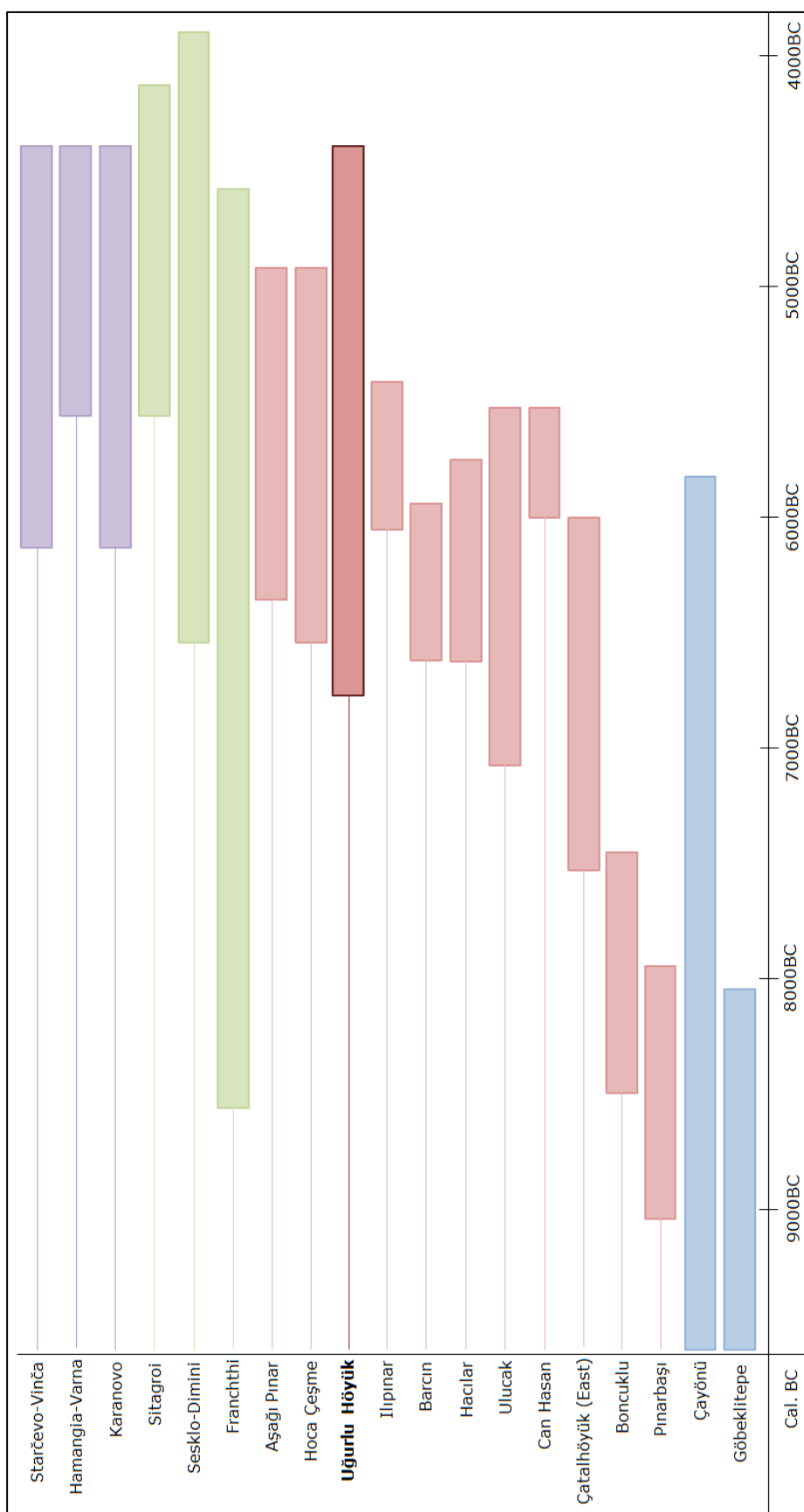


Figure 5: Approximate chronological framework for the regions and the time periods mentioned in the text (breaks in occupation not indicated). Dates were compiled from Özdoğan et. al. 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013; Çilingiroğlu, 2009; Thissen, 2010; Perlés, 1993; Talalay, 2001; and Anthony, 2010.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

Following pages will focus on the discussions centered on the figurines and the interpretations provided for the part they played in prehistoric societies through the history of archaeological thought. Main trends in approach and interpretation will be identified, the theoretical inspirations behind the prevalent perceptions of the figurines will be examined, and the methodologies used by various archaeologists in analyzing these objects will be compared. In the second part of this chapter, the methodology that was used in this study for the analysis of Uğurlu Höyük figurines will be explained.

2.1 Figurines in Archaeological Literature

Two groups (or schools of thought) are generally identified among archaeologists concerning the interpretation of prehistoric figurines (Talalay, 1993, pp. 37-8; Mina, 2013, p. 27; Naumov, 2014, pp. 49-50), corresponding to top-to-bottom and bottom-up approaches. First group tends to associate the figurines with gods or goddesses as objects of worship and ritual (without testing them as hypotheses) and utilize these objects in typology building; while others, taking cues from material culture and symbolic communication theories, link the use and discard of figurines to processes of social construction of the community and assert that a systematical approach (taking into consideration, above all, the social and material contexts of the objects in question) is necessary for the investigation of the figurines, which might have served a number of different purposes (including religious and cultic functions).

One common aspect that shaped the majority of approaches both old & new, and one which dominated the archaeological thought for the greater part of the 20th century is the idea of the "Mother Goddess" (Mellaart, 1967; Gimbutas 1982/2007). Yet the notion about a universal, static "Mother Goddess", associated above all with the concept of fertility, and whose corpulent female image is to be encountered from the Upper Paleolithic to late prehistory in the

wider surroundings of the Mediterranean Sea, had started to be objected seriously by scholars towards the end of the century (Ucko, 1962; Talalay, 1994; Haaland & Haaland, 1995; Meskell, 1995). However this framework for the understanding of prehistoric figurines is still entrenched in the mind of the general public and is dispersed in publications written for public consumption without question (see, for example, Duru, 2010; Sargin, 2012). A narrative is further constructed, in which the very same cult of the “Mother Goddess”, formed in the Upper Paleolithic as signalled by the “Venus” figurines, endures through prehistory and resurfaces prominently in the Phrygian goddess Cybele who eventually is incorporated into Greek and Roman pantheons (see, for example, Oral, 2014; Özmen, 2016; see also Şentürk & Aydingün, 2006; Bilgi, 2012).

How did this idea manage to embed itself so deeply in the minds of the archaeologists and art historians? Long after the classical period but prior to the modern scholarship, discussions about the “Mother Goddess” had restarted by the 18th century (Ucko, 1962, p. 39). Johann Bachofen in the 19th century argued for the existence of a matriarchal stage in the development of human societies, which was eventually replaced by patriarchal systems; similar arguments inspired by his writings were incorporated into the works of James George Frazer, Friedrich Engels and Sigmund Freud (Talalay, 1994, pp. 171-2). Primal matriarchal societies envisioned by these writers laid a groundwork that was to be influential on later archaeological thought. In fact, Etienne Renaud concluded in 1929 that an original, universal goddess worship was the culprit behind his observation that most of the prehistoric female figurines he studied from Europe, Near East, and America seemed to be recovered from the deepest, oldest archaeological layers (Lesure, 2011, p. 10).

In the first half of the 20th century it is seen that arguments about “Mother Goddess” did not specify much about her attributes, but generally she was assumed to be related with ideas like maternity and fertility (Ucko, 1962, p. 39). For example, images of the Near Eastern goddess “Astarte” recovered from archaeological sites in Levant, executed on terracotta plaques and later as bronze figurines, were in this vein referred to as the images of the “Mother Goddess” (Paton, 1910); Paton refers to Astarte as (among other things) the goddess of maternity and fertility (followed by a lively discussion including infant sacrifices by burying alive). Near Eastern goddesses so prevalent in later periods led archaeologists to evaluate all female images they recovered from

earlier periods as an extension of the same tradition (Talalay, 1994, p. 167). Likewise, many researchers working on pre-dynastic Egyptian figurines in the first half of 20th century also identified these objects as being related with "Mother Goddess" and fertility (Orphanides, 1986, p. 69). Arthur Evans, who excavated the site of Knossos in Crete early in the 20th century, identified connections between the Neolithic figurines of Knossos and the later Minoan imagery and concluded that the Neolithic figurines he found there were "Neolithic proto-types of Minoan Mother Goddess" (Evans, 1921, pp. 50-52). Gordon Childe too, suggested that the figurines in prehistoric Europe were employed in fertility rituals and linked them with the "Mother Goddess" (Milisauskas, 2011, p. 203) (although he also noted that "the collection and interpretation of mother-goddesses is just a harmless outlet for the sexual impulses of old men" [as cited in Budin, 2011, p. 12]).

Still, the concept was more prominently brought forward and linked with figurines (and other aspects of material culture) in the reports and books James Mellaart wrote about his excavations on the Neolithic sites of Hacilar (excavated 1957-1960) and Çatalhöyük (excavated 1961-1963 & 1965) in Southwest Turkey. The first two preliminary reports of Hacilar excavations (Mellaart, 1958; 1959) do not try to interpret the figurines recovered, but the "goddess" with her links to fertility is discussed in the third and fourth reports (Mellaart, 1960, 1961). Eventually Mellaart (1967, 1970a) painted a picture of religious life in Neolithic Anatolia centered on the "goddess", whose various aspects are discernible in different types of figurines and idols, including the "Mother Goddess" with an ancestry going back to the Upper Paleolithic (Mellaart, 1970a, pp. 171-2).

It was Marija Gimbutas, an influential archaeologist, who popularized the term and placed it in a much wider context in her numerous works starting from the 1960s (Haaland & Haaland, 1995, p. 106; Meskell, 1995, p. 74). She argued for an autochthonous civilization of "Old Europe" (corresponding to the Balkans, Greece, and parts of Ukraine, Italy, and Turkey) which flowered before the Bronze Age (Gimbutas, 1982/2007, p. 16). In her view, the societies of Old Europe were egalitarian, female-dominated and peaceful farmers of non-Indo-European origin (Lesure, 2011, p. 14; Haaland & Haaland, 1995, p. 110). According to Gimbutas, the civilization of Old Europe came to an end after the invasions of pastoralists from the northeastern steppes (who she identified as Indo-European Kurgan builders [Haaland & Haaland, 1995, pp. 106-7]). The

newcomers' society stood in stark contrast with its predecessor in all its aspects: hierarchical, male-dominated (patriarchal) and warlike (Lesure, 2011, p. 14).

Gimbutas used the matriarchal character she attributed to these societies of "Old Europe" as a justification for the production and use of the large number of female figurines recovered from prehistoric sites found in the region (Naumov, 2014, p. 49), figurines which played a part in fertility rituals so "crucial" to these farming communities (Bailey, 1994a, pp. 321-2). Making use of primarily stylistic and decorative evidence, Gimbutas identified among the figurines a number of goddesses and gods, forming a pantheon which was nevertheless dominated by the "Great Goddess" (Gimbutas, 1982/2007). Writings of Gimbutas eventually became popular not only among archaeologists but also among a wider feminist circle outside the field (see, for example, Sjöö and Mor, 1991; Ruether, 2005).

Even though many objections have been raised (see below) since Gimbutas wrote her books about Old Europe, many archaeologists still refer to prehistoric figurines either as female or as the "Mother Goddess" for the purposes of identification, which nevertheless reflects a presumed function that actually remains an untested assumption (see, for example, Sevin, 2002; Çilingiroğlu A. et al., 2004; Duru & Umurtak, 2005; Umurtak, 2008).

Some of the first analytical approaches began to raise objections to the above interpretations. Vivian L. Broman Morales suggested a contextual approach in his 1958 M.A. thesis about the figurines of Jarmo, and proposed that the making of figurines might have been more important than their use (Hamilton, 1996, p. 283). Similarly, Peter Ucko was one of the first to object to a general "Mother Goddess ideology" (Ucko, 1962). He pointed that many assumptions made in "Mother Goddess" interpretations are not actually supported by the archaeological evidence (1962, p. 43), and suggested instead that figurines should be investigated in terms of a detailed examination of the objects themselves, their contexts, later historical evidence from the region, and relevant anthropological evidence (1962, p. 38). Using the criteria he laid out for investigating figurines, he determined that the figurines of Neolithic Knossos might have functioned as toys, initiation figures, and/or vehicles of sympathetic magic (1962, pp. 47-8). Ucko concluded that identification of these figurines as "prototype Mother Goddesses" (Evans, 1921) is not supported, and that "there

is no evidence for the existence of any deity connected with fertility" in Neolithic Knossos (Ucko, 1962, p. 48).

Unfortunately, Ucko's objection did not generate much response (Talalay, 1994, p. 169), and criticisms against Gimbutas saw an increase only after her death in 1994 (Naumov, 2014, p. 50). Talalay (1994, p. 173) criticizes the "Mother Goddess" idea because it portrays an unchanging society for thousands of years, in which women were reduced to a one-dimensional role ultimately related to their reproductive value. Haaland and Haaland (1995, pp. 113-4) stress that abundance of female imagery need not be an indicator that women occupied a predominant place in society and that a distinction must be made between what the figurines are an "image of" and what the figurines are an "image for". While Meskell (1995, p. 77) appreciates that Gimbutas took into consideration the raw materials, production, and the form of the figurines, she nevertheless notes how Gimbutas later failed to take into account other studies which more systematically explored similar aspects of figurines. Meskell also maintains that archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence have been disregarded by "Mother Goddess" proponents to create an idealized past (p. 79), which appealed to an eco-feminist and "New Age" audience (p. 74); in Achilleion itself (a prehistoric site in Greece which Gimbutas herself has excavated) interpretations rest on work conducted in limited investigations and disputable contextual evidence (p. 82). Similar criticism was raised by Conkey & Tringham (1995) and Hamilton (1996), that modern ideas and conceptions about society were being projected into the prehistoric past in Gimbutas' interpretations without justification.

Following Ucko's example, Talalay (1993, p. 38) suggested four classes of evidence that should be analyzed in the investigation of figurines: figurines themselves, their archaeological context, their socioeconomic context, and ethnographic analogues; she then proceeded to apply this framework to the figurines of the Neolithic site of Franchthi in Southern Greece. She determined that figurine and ceramic production in Franchthi, although differing in their scale of production, overlapped both technically, artistically, and symbolically (p. 82). Some of the figurines, she argued, were used as toys through all the occupation layers, while "split-leg" figurines which are found in Middle Neolithic² occupation are regarded to be "contractual or identifying tokens" (p. 84).

² c. 5800-5400BC (Souvatzi, 2008, Table 3.1)

According to Talalay, these would have worked as a means of communication; correspondingly, a stylistic homogeneity in figurines and ceramics is observed in Middle and Late Neolithic periods³ between Franchthi and other northeastern Peloponnese sites (especially Corinth) (p. 82). Another possible explanation she provided for the parallels in pottery is the movement of village potters: potters (who "likely were women", although not explained why that should be so) might have moved between villages in marriage arrangements, bringing along with them their knowledge and style of ceramic manufacture; and that decorative elements on pottery might have relayed information on lineages, age-groups, or ritual status (pp. 82-3). Talalay concludes that figurines likely embody "a complex blend of behavioral and cognitive concerns and a multiplicity of uses and meanings" (p. 81); and while she admits that it is possible that a common religious belief and ritual system over a large region might have indeed existed, no evidence points this way (pp. 82, 84).

A similar contribution was made by Mary Voigt (2000, 2007) through her analyses of various figurine assemblages in Anatolia and the Near East. She used the framework developed by Peter Ucko, which divided the figurines into four classes based on ethnographic analogues and connected these with the morphological attributes that were associated with each of the classes. Voigt (2000, Tab. 3) then expanded this framework by adding suggestions for wear and disposal patterns that would be associated with these functional classes, and suggested a more flexible approach that considers the increased or decreased probabilities of assigning figurines into the classes based on how well they fit the proposed patterns (2000, Tab. 4). Applying her method on Çatalhöyük figurines, Voigt (2000, pp. 277-82) concluded that (1) small figurines of animals and people were used as vehicles of magic in personal or household rituals, while (2) the stone figures were used as cult figures, although whether they were related with the domestic or with a collection of households could not be determined. (3) Large clay figurines, most of which came from building A.II.I on the other hand, were also interpreted as cult figures (p. 281), although Voigt later revised this interpretation based on her investigation of the similar Hacilar assemblage that they could have been also initiation figures (2007, p. 168).

³ c. 5800-4600BC (ibid.)

Douglass Bailey suggested that instead of supernatural beings or ritual participators, anthropomorphic figurines from prehistory might have represented individuals (Bailey, 1994a, p. 321). The methodology he used (p. 323) consisted of (a) investigating the figurines visually and identifying the subject represented, (b) searching for parallels in the rest of the archaeological data (ceramics, wall paintings, burial record etc.), and (c) looking at the social context with regards to the subject identified. Examination of the Chalcolithic site of Golyamo Delchevo (c. 4900-3800BC) in Northeastern Bulgaria along these lines revealed that the figurines from this site were quite differentiated based on their sexual characteristics and decoration (Bailey, 1994a, pp. 324-5). Similarly, burials in the cemetery attached to the site (which yielded no figurines) showed a degree of differentiation based on sexual characteristics and grave goods; the diversity observed in both these spheres led Bailey to claim that figurines were used to represent individuals at this site (p. 325). Furthermore, differential representation of males and females in the domestic and public (cemetery) spheres was taken as evidence that males dominated the public life while female identities were most visible in the domestic space (p. 328). A third figurine identity which exhibited neither male nor female indicators was present in both spheres, "transcending the sexual barriers demarking mortuary and domestic space" (p. 329). Bailey then argued that sexualized figurines were employed by subordinate groups to challenge dominant power circles (Bailey, 1994b).

Another novel approach was offered by McDermott (1996), which stimulated lots of response from the archaeological community. His contribution involved the Upper Paleolithic ("Venus") figurines, which are placed at the beginning of the "Mother Goddess" spectrum by some proponents of the idea. Previously, Nelson (1993) had drawn attention to the diversity present in these objects, whereas they were frequently assumed to be alike and homogenous. Untested presumptions about Upper Paleolithic figurines included their association with fertility, the suppositions that they were made by and/or made for men, association of nakedness with eroticism, and association of breast depictions with sexuality (Nelson, 1993, pp. 15-6). On the other hand, McDermott (1996) suggested that these artifacts were manufactured by pregnant women who modelled the figurines based on their own body, i.e. by self-inspection. He compared the so-called Venuses with the proportions of actual pregnant women, and determined that the anomalies in body proportions visible in the

figurines correlated well with the proportions which pregnant women perceived of their own body. The argument was that women produced these images of themselves as a means of storing information about the biological stages they went through in their reproductive cycles. Although McDermott's idea generated lots of criticism (that his hypothesis is just as generalizing as the goddess interpretations, that it depends on selective evidence, and that there is a lack of attention directed at other avenues of investigation like raw materials and context etc.; see the comments section in McDermott, 1996) it nevertheless offered a fresh perspective not shackled by previous (mostly unsupported) trends in literature.

In the late 90's and the following years, approaches to figurines gradually shifted towards focusing on their role in identity construction and their capacity to work as mediators in the symbolic communication within or between societies. In addition to their interpretations as ancestors, individuals, toys, ritual & initiation & learning & communication devices, tokens, etc., subjects like personhood, identity, gender, and agency were increasingly being considered in their relation with the figurines (Naumov, 2014, p. 50).

Chapman (2000) drew attention to the patterns of fragmentation observed in the figurines of Neolithic and Copper Age of Southeastern Europe. He noted how the figurines were manufactured in a manner which facilitated their subsequent fragmentation (p. 70), and pointed to the practices of enchainment through deliberate fragmentation and structured deposition of figurines (and ceramics, ornaments, human burials, and so forth) that can create and maintain links and networks between people, groups, and ancestors (pp. 71-5, 226). Chapman also observed how fragmentation can radically alter the gendered identities embodied in the figurines, and stressed that in this way enchainment through fragmentation can play an important role in gender relations (pp. 76, 227).

Bailey (2005), in a refinement of his earlier arguments about figurines (1994a; 1994b), chose to focus on the representational power of the figurines without denying (and no matter what) their possible uses (some of which were listed above) (pp. 198-9). In his view, prehistoric figurines functioned in the creation, maintenance, negotiation, and manipulation of identities and worldviews (Bailey, 2010). The abstraction of the representation forced the viewer/handler to think about what is not represented and to draw inferences; and the

miniaturism inherent in these objects made themes like identity and personal/group distinctions unthreatening and manageable, opening them up to discussion (Bailey, 2005, pp. 32, 72-3). Being representations of human forms, figurines provoked people to reconsider, in short, "what it means to be human" (Bailey, 2005, p. 84). Recurrent use of human representations in daily life gradually helped create a group identity based on who can and who cannot be a part of the group (Bailey, 2010, p. 124).

In a parallel manner, Nanoglou (2005) addressed the "politics of the body" which were being played out on the figurines of prehistoric Thessaly in Greece. Comparing the variation involved in the posture and gestures of the figurines in the earlier Neolithic⁴ and the Late Neolithic⁵ (pp. 150-1), he revealed that a restriction of the movement that previously was allowed on the body had emerged in the latter period. Moving from the assumption that "motion" allowed for the construction of an identity that had to be actively performed, while more static images conveyed a more "predetermined" identity, he questioned whether this emergence of restriction regarding the positions that could be taken upon oneself in the social arena was linked to the emergence of a more restricting architecture in the Late Neolithic of Thessaly (p. 152).

Meanwhile, Naumov (2008) emphasized how often the pottery vessels were materialized with references to the human body in prehistoric (and modern) communities and argued that they were mainly linked with a feminine imagery. He also observed that in many Neolithic communities in the Southeastern Europe, anthropomorphism was extended to numerous categories of the material culture -to vessels, house models, or stamps (in addition to the figurines)- through their forms and decoration; and he suggested that these extensions served in the creation of frameworks with which people could engage each other and their world (pp. 228 & 234-5).

On a more fundamental level, modern anthropological research indicates that objects can contain and display information regarding ideas about affiliation, status, and worldview, making it possible to emphasize differences and/or similarities with respect to such ideas through the manipulation of diverse attributes associated with these objects (Atakuman, 2015a, p. 765).

⁴ Corresponding to the periods of both Early and Middle Neolithic of the Greek chronology, up to c. 5400/5300 BC (Nanoglou, 2005, p. 153, note 5).

⁵ c. 5400/5300BC onwards (ibid.)

Furthermore, a negotiation of various issues (like identity, self and the community, order and hierarchy, etc.) through material culture is deemed possible; often, such a negotiation was the goal itself in these material engagements (ibid.).

It is also stressed by various researchers that material culture and human experience are entangled with one another in an endless cycle of reference, through which meaning is produced and reproduced, such that those aspects that were not depicted within an object (history of relations among people and between people and materials) are just as important as those that were depicted (imagery, form, raw material, craftsmanship, etc.) (Atakuman, 2015a, p. 767). Even though a similar imagery can be attained over a wide geographical region, the meaning of this imagery (and the objects it is embedded in) can differ according to the different social contexts that they become involved in (Atakuman, 2015b, p. 64).

Symbolically loaded objects thus can divert attention to issues that needs to be discussed and evaluated (Atakuman, 2013, p. 4). Manipulation of these objects through their style, abstraction, miniaturism/portability, material qualities, and craftsmanship then allows for the negotiation and elaboration of social boundaries, which become crucial in obtaining a stable platform on which social exchanges can take place between different people and groups (pp. 5-6).

In this regard, it has been suggested that an analysis of structured patterns in the variation and abstraction of how the figurines were depicted, their decoration, craftsmanship, and raw materials, all in relation to their contexts of recovery would be necessary to gauge the fluctuations in the materialization of various ideas about personhood and how it is formed in relation to other people, groups, and the material and environmental background (Atakuman, 2017a, p. 88).

The diversity of methods and approaches that can be used and the explanations that can be provided for the place of figurines in prehistoric societies is visible from even a summarized overview of the archaeological and anthropological literature. It seems that a range of possibilities opens up when various questions are asked to the figurines from different perspectives. Some of these observations provided by previous researchers will be crucial in the following analysis and discussion of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines.

2.2 Methodology Used in this Study

For the purposes of this study, the investigation of figurines began with a re-examination of all the objects identified as figurines, and included a re-evaluation of all the small finds registered on the Uğurlu Höyük excavation database to validate the coherency of figurines as a consistent category. The effort revealed itself to be worthy when it was discovered that some of the figurine fragments were unintentionally omitted due to their fragmented and poorly preserved conditions, while some objects labelled as figurines had to be re-classified as pottery handles based on parallel forms observed among the pottery assemblage. This “excavation of the archive” brought the total number of figurines to 96.

In addition, the endeavor revealed a number of object categories which are distinct from figurines, but which are nevertheless relevant to the discussion of figurines and the material discourse within the community of Uğurlu Höyük. These include anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pottery handles, pottery sherds carrying human figures and human features applied in relief on their surfaces, a number of objects suitable to be used as head insertions on figurines (of which a considerable portion retains empty head sockets), certain curiously “foot-shaped” stone objects and so forth. Even though these objects are not considered as figurines themselves, they were also collected under distinct, coherent categories and kept under the general rubric of related finds. While not forming the main focus of this study, because of their conceptual relations with the figurine assemblage, these objects were also the subject of analysis and were allocated a section at the end of Chapter 3. Among these related finds, the investigation of eared-pots and polypod vessels had to be of a preliminary nature as it was discovered that these two pottery forms required a further dedicated study due to their sheer numbers and their close connections with the rest of the pottery assemblage.

After the finalization of the categorization of figurines and related finds, a process of rigorous recording commenced. All the figurines were photographed from their six cardinal sides to facilitate their detailed inspection on a digital medium when it was necessary; and it is these photographs that form the basis of the collaged visuals used in the following pages. Meanwhile, the illustrations for the entire collection of figurines were completed (by Emine Arslan).

Digital spreadsheet softwares provided a suitable platform for the creation of a parallel database dedicated to figurines and related finds. The sizes, colors, raw materials, levels of surface treatment, mineral inclusions present in the texture, degrees of firing, presence of decoration, methods of decoration (if any), posture of the figurine, presence of head sockets, information on fragmentation, wear, and miscellaneous notes were among the classes of data that was recorded for each member of the figurines and related finds. Following this, information regarding the stratigraphical position, context (association with architectural features: buildings, pits, walls, floors, platforms, hearths, burials etc.), and information about other finds recovered from the same excavation unit for each figurine was retrieved from the digital excavation database and was integrated into the primary database for the figurines and related finds. Together with the integration of the photographs and the drawings of these objects, and the addition of the relevant architectural and topographical plans of the mound, this meant that the database was now ready to start answering questions that would be posed during the various analyses.

Patterns that emerged after these inquiries and their implications form the subjects of the succeeding chapters on analyses and discussion. Meanwhile, as mentioned previously, comparisons of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines with their counterparts from various other sites were also conducted as a part of this study. To this end, published figurines from various sites in Anatolia and Southeastern Europe were collected and connected with their stratigraphical information and corresponding calendrical dates (from various sources), together with any other information that could be obtained (with regard to similar attributes as those listed above for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines themselves) to create a second database which could respond to questions asked about the parallels of Uğurlu Höyük figurines for a specific time period. This database, along with the assemblage specific analyses conducted by various researches, forms the basis of the comparative discussions engaged later in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

FIGURINES OF PREHISTORIC UĞURLU HÖYÜK IN GÖKÇEADA

Figurines recovered from the prehistoric site of Uğurlu Höyük on the island of Gökçeada (Imbros) in Turkey form the focus of this study. Following pages will introduce the island in the context of its prehistoric occupation, give information on the site and finally concentrate on the figurines and the relevant assemblage of artifacts recovered from the site.

3.1 Gökçeada (Imbros)

The island of Gökçeada, on which Uğurlu Höyük is located, lies 15 kilometers west from the coast of Gallipoli Peninsula and is administratively a part of the province of Çanakkale in Northwestern Turkey. The prehistoric site can be found slightly to the northeast of the eponymous village of Uğurlu, westernmost contemporary settlement on the island (Figure 6).

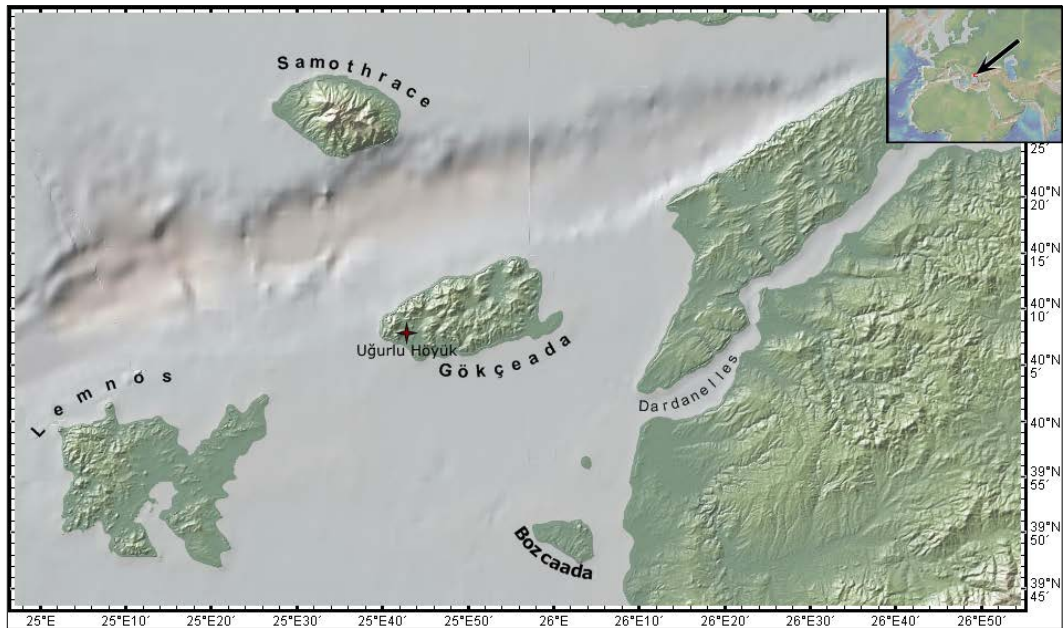


Figure 6: Location of Uğurlu Höyük on the island of Gökçeada, and the surrounding Northeastern Aegean landscape (map modified from base image obtained using GeoMapApp).

On a modern ferry, the voyage from the western shores of Gallipoli peninsula to the eastern shores of the island takes around one hour. Meanwhile, the nearby islands of Lemnos and Samothrace (both administratively part of Greece) are respectively 21 and 24 kilometers away and are within sight from vantage points near the prehistoric site of Uğurlu Höyük on a clear day.

The land on Gökçeada is characterized by a generally rugged, mountainous terrain. Mount Elias (Doruktepe) in the north reaches the highest altitude with a peak of 673 meters (Erdoğu, 2011b, p. 46). Meanwhile the western part of the island, where the site of Uğurlu Höyük is located, is less steep and generally more amenable to agriculture (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158). The river valleys in the northeastern and northwestern parts of the island and portions of the Salt Lake basin in the southeast are the main agricultural lands today (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 91). In the end, without the convenience of modern paved roads, it can be surmised that crossing the island in prehistoric times from one side to the other would not have been an easy undertaking.

Geologically, the landscape is dominated by sedimentary and igneous rocks. Most of the igneous rocks on the island are of volcanic origin, while the oldest rocks on the island are metamorphic rocks belonging to the Çamlıca Formation dated to early Paleozoic era. The site of Uğurlu Höyük lies upon the Middle Eocene Soğucak Formation which is dominated by nummulitic limestone layers (Sarı, et al., 2015, pp. 3-4).

With the modern shoreline, Gökçeada has an area of around 280 square kilometers. However, Erdoğu notes that during the Last Glacial Maximum the sea level was 120 meters lower than today (2011b, p. 46) and that Gökçeada and other islands in the Northeastern Aegean were connected with the mainland. The subsequent rise in the sea levels meant that Gökçeada and Lemnos -while still being connected to each other- became an island only after around 9600 BC (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 91). It is during the Early Neolithic period that sea levels in the Aegean reached around 10 to 20 meters lower than the current sea level, finally making Gökçeada an independent island (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 91); and around mid-Holocene the sea level had reached approximately -7 to -2 meters (Erdoğu, 2011b, p. 46). This means that the site was located farther away from the coastline at least during its earlier occupation levels.

Surveys conducted on the island discovered numerous prehistoric localities (Harmankaya & Erdoğu, 2001) (Figure 7). Finds dating back to Middle Paleolithic have been encountered on Gökçeada, while some finds possibly dating to Mesolithic / Epi-paleolithic have been recovered from the eastern part of the island (Özbek & Erdoğu, 2015, p. 105). So far Uğurlu Höyük is the only Neolithic site found in the western part of Gökçeada (Harmankaya & Erdoğu, 2001, p. 33; Erdoğu, 2016, p. 89) however another Neolithic site is known near the southeastern edge of the island, near the Salt Lake, which could be contemporary with Uğurlu Höyük Phase VI (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 92). Existence of an Early Bronze Age settlement, Yenibademli Höyük, in the northeast is also known and the site is currently under research (Hüryılmaz, 2017).

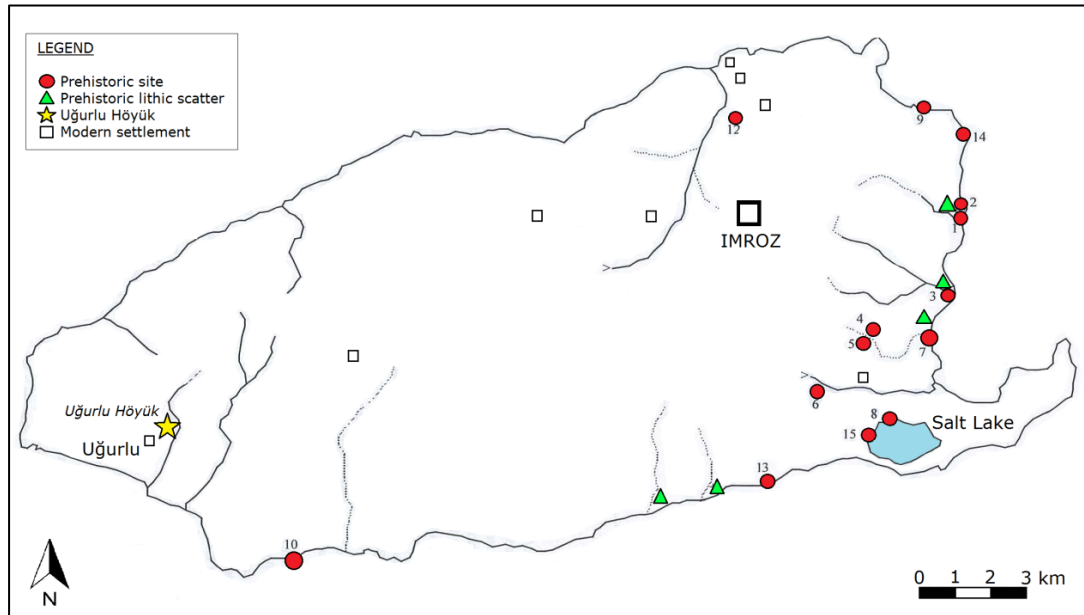


Figure 7: Prehistoric and modern localities on the island of Gökçeada (image adapted from Harmankaya & Erdoğu, 2001, Fig. 1, modified by the author).

Nevertheless, Uğurlu Höyük might have been one the first Neolithic settlements in the Eastern Aegean islands (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 157). This makes it a critical site to understand the Neolithization of Aegean and the spread of Neolithic way of life further unto Europe, especially as the site is located in the intersection of Anatolia, Aegean islands, and the Balkans.

3.2 Uğurlu Höyük

Uğurlu Höyük (also known as Uğurlu-Zeytinlik Höyük) lies within a gently sloping low mound (Figure 8) near the western shores of the island, and covers an area of approximately 250x200 meters, next to Mount İsa (Doğanlı) (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158).



Figure 8: General view of Uğurlu Höyük from the west (image adapted from Erdoğu, 2016, Fig. 2).

The site was discovered during an extensive survey of the island in 1998 by Savaş Harmankaya (Harmankaya & Erdoğu, 2001). In terms of water sources, a stream (Pilon) runs close to the site near its eastern border; and there is also a spring nearby (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158). It was determined that surrounding small lakes and swamps would have created a well-watered fertile ecosystem for the Neolithic occupants of Uğurlu Höyük (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 91).

A modern road linking the nearby village with the rest of the island runs through the middle of the mound, separating it into more or less an eastern and a western section. Unfortunately, it was also discovered that a previous construction of an irrigation system passing through the mound had apparently damaged parts of the site (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158).

A long term excavation project at the site began in 2009 and is continuing as of 2017, under the management of Burçin Erdoğu from Trakya University (Erdoğu, 2011a; 2012a; 2014a; 2017c; Erdoğu & Yücel, 2013; 2016; Erdoğu, Özbek, & Yücel, 2014).

Excavation of Uğurlu Höyük is conducted on trenches of various sizes (typically 9x10m), all overlaid on a grid plan of the mound (Figure 9). Trenches are further sub-divided into units, which form the smallest building blocks of the excavation for recording and analysis purposes (and are also featured prominently in this study). Units do not have a pre-determined extent, but are rather assigned on an *ad hoc* basis depending on the properties of the excavated volume (depth, horizontal extent, properties of the soil, archaeological assemblage and architectural elements encountered, etc.) to form a more or less homogeneous three-dimensional entity distinct from other archaeological units surrounding it. Buildings, pits, and other isolated architectural elements are also assigned a distinct feature number, and these features can incorporate any number of different units.

For the purpose of clarity it must be noted that when objects from the site are being discussed, excavation ID of the artifacts and any stratigraphical information pertaining to the artifacts are also provided (either directly in the text, or as a footnote to refrain from interrupting the flow of the text if the information is of secondary importance). A small find in Uğurlu Höyük is assigned an ID through the combination of the following information: trench ID (which is a combination of letters and numbers based on the grid system of the mound, see Figure 9), unit number, and the small find number. An example would be the figurine O6B3x4: trench O6, unit 3 (B3, B standing for *birim* ["unit" in Turkish]), and object number 4 in that unit (x4). Surface finds have a less regular nomenclature, either named after the year they were found (UH17Y09 - Uğurlu Höyük 2017, surface find 9), or were given an overall surface find number (Yüzey 9, surface find 9 - note that UH17Y09 and Yüzey 9 are two distinct objects). Objects mentioned by their ID are also tabulated in the catalogues given in Appendices A and B, and these catalogues can be consulted for further information.

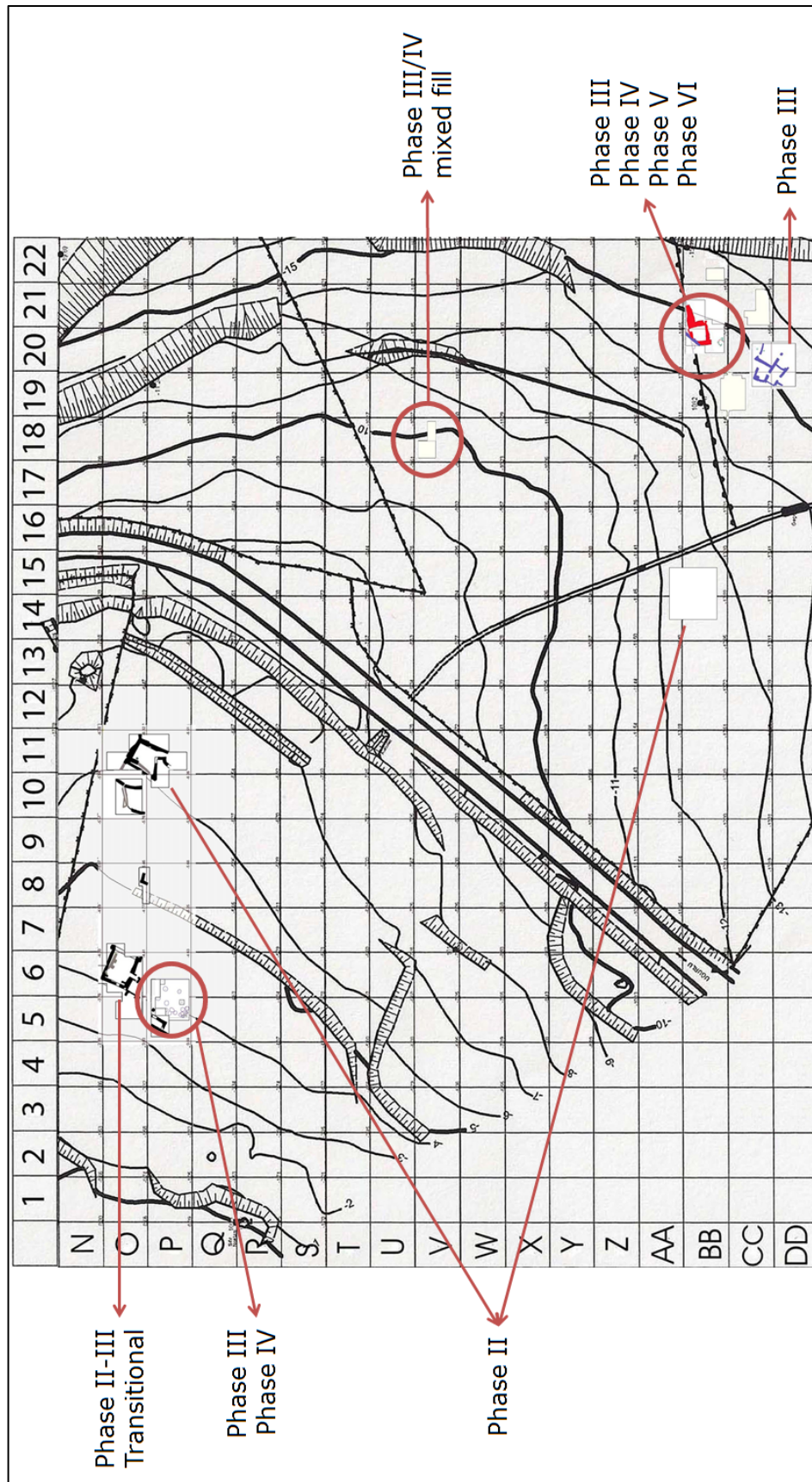


Figure 9: Topographical plan of Uğurlu Höyük showing major excavated features, 1:1500 scale (base plan courtesy of Burçin Erdoğu, modified by the author).

3.2.1 Cultural Phases

There are six main cultural phases identified in the site as of 2017, Phases I to VI (earliest Phase VI being discovered in the 2016 excavation season and so far only researched in a very limited area) (Table 1). Earlier three phases (Phase VI to IV) belong to the Neolithic period; Phase III is considered to be a transitional stage between Neolithic and Chalcolithic period; Phase II occupation in Uğurlu Höyük belongs to the Western Anatolian Chalcolithic Kumtepe Ia – Beşik Sivritepe Culture; and Phase I contains surface sherds from Early Bronze Age and Medieval times without any architectural features that can be linked with either of these periods (Erdoğu, 2012a, p. 366).

Table 1: Stratigraphy of Uğurlu Höyük and approximate dates.

Stratigraphy	Dating ⁶	Period
Phase I	-	Early Bronze Age & Medieval (scattered surface sherds)
	<i>Hiatus</i>	
Phase II	4500-4300 BC	Chalcolithic (Kumtepe Ia-Beşik Sivritepe Culture)
	<i>Hiatus (?)</i>	
Phase III	5500-4900/4800 BC	Neolithic-Chalcolithic Transition
Phase IV	5900-5500 BC	Neolithic
Phase V	6500-5900 BC	Neolithic
Phase VI	6800-6600 BC	Neolithic

⁶ All calendrical dates presented are calibrated.

Of all these phases in Uğurlu Höyük, Phase II and Phase III are the most extensively researched occupation levels with respect to the total volume of soil excavated, while Phases IV to VI remain less extensively investigated.

3.2.1.1 Phase VI (6800 - 6600 BC)

Phase VI is the earliest occupation level uncovered so far, however only in sounding trenches of limited extent. Scattered stone clusters and a hearth are the only architectural features represented, and a total lack of any pottery is noted (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 92). Worked shells, stone beads, bone awls, and chipped stones (of mostly local provenience) are among the finds from this phase; intensive flotation yielded only one possible cereal grain (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 92). Some obsidian, possibly from the island of Melos in South Aegean, is encountered among the chipped stone assemblage (Guilbeau, 2017). Radiocarbon dates for this phase have given the interval 6682-6570 cal. BC (1a) (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 92).

3.2.1.2 Phase V (6500 - 5900 BC)

Phase V is divided into two sub-layers in which the earlier layer -also investigated in limited sounding trenches- yielded no architecture, however dense concentrations of animal bones were found that included domesticated sheep, goat, pig and cattle; while the excavations of the later sub-layer revealed a single-room building (Building 2) with walls of mud on stone foundations and its courtyard which might have hosted a second floor (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158). After its abandonment a stone axe was deliberately left in its fireplace (set inside a wall) which was then filled (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 92). Found in the building was a malachite bead, and in the courtyard of this building a worked animal bone was found, used as an inserted figurine head on which the nose was portrayed in relief while the eyes and the eyebrows were drawn by red paint⁷ (ibid.). A pottery sherd with a human motif on relief⁸ was also recovered nearby. Outside this building in an open area was an oven, almost 1 meter in diameter (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158).

⁷ BB20-21B31x2

⁸ BB20-21B29x1

Pottery in Phase V is abundant, all of which is handmade and thin walled (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 93); Phase V is characterized by red slipped and burnished pottery, but a small amount of black burnished pieces are also present (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 160). Some abstract shapes encountered on some of the pottery, executed in relief, bear resemblances to *bucrania* (Özbek & Erdoğu, 2015, p. 116). As far as forms are concerned, parallels with Hoca Çeşme IV-III, Aktopraklık, and the basal layers of Menteşe in Anatolia are pointed by Erdoğu (ibid.). It is noted that pottery in Phase V does not contain organic temper unlike the pottery produced in the Early Neolithic of Western and Northwestern Anatolia (Özbek & Erdoğu, 2015, p. 117).

Polished stone axes and adzes, mostly made from local rocks, are encountered frequently in the later sub-layer of this phase (Erdoğu, 2016, p. 93). In addition to Melos obsidian, obsidian from Cappadocian sources is also present among the chipped stone artifacts in Phase V (Guilbeau, 2017). A sample taken from the early layer was radiocarbon dated to 6566-6518 cal. BC (2σ) (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 158).

3.2.1.3 Phase IV (5900 - 5500 BC)

It is noted that the settlement enlarged in Phase IV, and four occupational sub-layers (some of which have been damaged by the activity of the subsequent phases) have been identified, while no complete building plans could be obtained (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 159). Northwestern section of the mound yielded a number of features such as hearths, ovens, and a small number of pits; architectural elements uncovered include stone walls, an external buttress, and a partition wall of mud and adobe dividing a building (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 159). Same area also contained floor segments which were preceded, accompanied and succeeded by buildings, of which only some parts could be uncovered while the rest were disturbed by later activity (Erdoğu, 2017c, p. 119) especially in Phase III.

A pit (Ö52) in the same northwestern section of the mound, related stratigraphically with a circular hearth on a yellow compact floor, yielded a stone vessel, a worked seashell, a bead, and a lithic tool along with a number of worked bones including flattened awls with rounded heads (Figure 10; Erdoğu, 2014a, p. 169) which Erdoğu indicates that might be representations of the human form, perhaps used as bone idols (2014b, p. 159). Some of these

bone tools might have been also used as removable figurine heads which could be inserted into the empty head sockets present on a significant portion of the figurines (see Section 3.3.2.1 in Chapter 3). The above mentioned pit (Ö52) might have served in an abandonment ritual (Erdoğu, in press); there is at least one other pit (Ö142) which also seems to be curiously placed directly on top of a wall of the previous Building 8, and it seems possible that the pits in Phase IV were related with the ritualized abandonment of certain structures.



Figure 10: Bone items (left) and a stone vessel ⁹ (right) recovered from the Pit Ö52 in Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV (image adapted from Erdoğu, 2014a, p. 173, Fig. 5).

Soil samples yielded evidence of a number of domesticated plants in this phase, such as einkorn wheat, six-rowed barley, naked barley and pea; while there were also large quantities of shells and fish bones recovered (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 159). Bone tools, polished stone axes and adzes, and beads of stone and shell are abundant; while pan-shaped stone vessels are also encountered (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 159).

Pottery in Phase IV is highly burnished and thin-walled; red-slipped black ware dominates the assemblage (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 160). A mottled texture with alternating patches of crimson and black on the surface is very common, caused by differing thicknesses of the slip applied (ibid.). Decoration is rare and

⁹ P5B103x10

mostly executed as *impresso*; more rarely, incised lines with dots between them are also encountered (*ibid.*). Three sherds of painted pottery from Phase IV are the only examples of their kind in the whole Uğurlu Höyük sequence (Özbek & Erdoğan, 2015, p. 117). A white-on-red sherd has parallels in ware and design in the site of Karanovo I in Bulgaria, but red-on-black sherds are presumed to be unique to Uğurlu Höyük (Erdoğan, 2014b, p. 160). Erdoğan remarks that although there are no exact analogues, a general similarity to Anatolian sites in some pottery shapes does exist; at the same time some of the new pottery shapes carry resemblances to the assemblages used by the contemporary communities of the Aegean (Özbek & Erdoğan, 2015, p. 117). Meanwhile, microscopic analyses determined that the sources used and the methods of production were very similar between the pottery of Phases IV and V in Uğurlu Höyük (Erdoğan, 2014b, p. 161).

Polypod vessels and eared-pots (see Figure 85 in Section 3.3.2), pottery types which would become more popular in Phase III, are for the first time encountered in the Phase IV occupation in small numbers. Polypod vessels are rectangular or triangular box-like open vessels with straight walls and three or four legs. The eared-pots, on the other hand, are a uniquely local form encountered only in Uğurlu Höyük so far - these vessels incorporate ear-like extensions on carinated profiles. Among the polypod vessel pieces in Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV, one piece draws attention with its white-on-red painted decoration of a zigzagging line drawn negatively. Rest of the polypod vessels either exhibit incised decoration of linear geometric patterns completed with incrustations, or contain no decoration at all. Eared-pot pieces from Phase IV are also mostly decorated by incisions. Colors and textures of both eared-pots and polypod vessels follow the trends of the rest of the pottery. These two pottery forms are discussed in more detail with regard to their connections with the figurine assemblage in Section 3.3.2.7 in Chapter 3.

The community of Uğurlu Höyük during Phase IV also made use of marble, of which there is only one small low-quality source on the island (M. Dirican, personal communication). It is possible that there were also contacts with Western Anatolia, or some of the Aegean islands like Lesbos and Thasos, where sources of white marble have been identified (Erdoğan, 2014b, p. 161), or even further south in the Cyclades where high quality sources exist (Talalay, 1993, p. 12). Obsidian pieces from both Melos and Cappadocian sources are still found albeit in smaller numbers (Guilbeau, 2017). Meanwhile, chipped stone pieces of

“Balkan flint”¹⁰ from Eastern Balkans are found for the first time in Phase IV (except for a single uncertain piece from Phase V) (Guilbeau & Erdoğu, 2011). While three distinct sources in Bulgaria and Western Thrace in Greece are highlighted as the possible sources for these special flint specimens in Uğurlu Höyük, Guilbeau and Erdoğu (2011, p. 9) note that the source in Komotini, close to the Northern Aegean coast in Greece, is the most likely candidate due to the smaller distances involved (~100km). A number of samples from Phase IV were radiocarbon dated to 5980-5750 cal. BC (2a) and ca. 5600 cal. BC (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 159).

3.2.1.4 Phase III (5500 - 4900/4800 BC)

Occupation levels of Phase III correspond to the Neolithic-Chalcolithic transition in the prehistoric settlement (Erdoğu, 2013, p. 3). Erdoğu identifies a residential area and a storage-workshop area in different sections of the site (2014b, p. 162). Meanwhile, in the northwestern part of the site the trenches O5-P5-P6 were discovered to be the locus of several pits -mostly around a meter in diameter and half a meter in depth- which were plastered and were intentionally filled with large stones (Figure 11).

Here, more than 30 pits (starting in Phase IV, but most ubiquitously found in Phase III) seem to be used in periodical ritual activities, each focused on a spatially restricted group of pits (Karamurat, 2018). Contents of the pits include animal bones, pottery pieces, *Spondylus* bracelets & rings, and *Cerastoderma* and bone tools (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 162). Furthermore, one of the pits (Pit Ö25) contained a secondary partial burial of a middle-aged man with the application of red ochre (ibid.). Recently, another single pit (Pit Ö187) in the same area yielded numerous burials: multiple bodies were placed on top of the other and then were possibly covered with boulders. It is possible that this sequence of boulders above burials might have been repeated more than once; the pit, which has a diameter of around one meter and a depth of a few meters as of 2017, is still being excavated. The sequence of the burials, exact number of individuals, and the manner of their interment are under investigation¹¹. It was observed that this pit was dug on the earliest layers of Phase III, and might have been originally transitional in stratigraphy between Phases III and IV.

¹⁰ A honey-colored flint with white spots.

¹¹ Human remains are currently being studied by Başak Boz, University of Thrace.



Figure 11: Two of the plastered pits from trench P6 in the northwestern section of the mound in Uğurlu Höyük (photograph courtesy of Nejat Yücel).

Located adjacent to this area O5-P5-P6 of intensive pit activity is Building 4, based on trench O6. It is known that Building 4 had already been built by the end of Phase III and seems to be used at the same time with some of the pit-opening activities taking place in front of it. Yet this building was still in use in the transitional layers to Phase II when the pit-digging activities had ceased. Building 4 is a rectangular building with one room (roughly 6x6m in size), with stone drywalls. A courtyard pertaining to this building was formed by an extension of its two parallel walls which do not turn again to meet each other. This courtyard in front of the entrance yielded two Phase II-III transitional figurines¹². It is possible that the plan of the building was subjected to changes

¹² O6B3x4 and O6B3x17

through its occupation. Some partially preserved wall segments nearby (not connected with Building 4 itself but aligned along the same direction with its own walls) hint the possibility that this building might have been expanded and / or downsized at different stages during its life.

Towards the end, the floor of Building 4 was plastered, and traces of red paint were found scattered on the surface (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). No finds were recovered on the floor, neither were any other features like an oven or a hearth found inside. At the same time, a large horn of a bull was recovered in the entrance of the building, which originally might have been hanging on the wall above the entrance (Figure 12) (Erdoğu, 2014a, p. 168). A small number of eared-pot pieces were recovered, which are decoratively consistent with the earlier examples, from the transitional layers in Building 4; while only one fragment of a possible polypod vessel was found in the same building. Drawing attention to the similar practices recorded in the Neolithic of the Near East, Erdoğu observes that this structure might likewise have served as a communal or public building (2014b, p. 164).

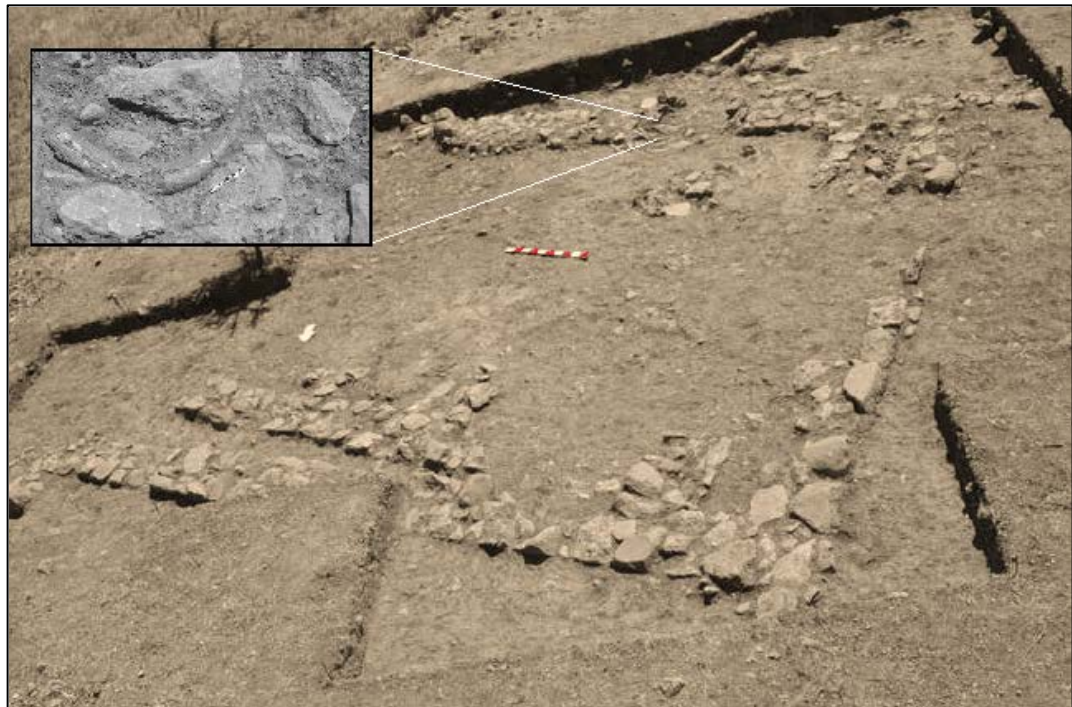


Figure 12: Uğurlu Höyük Building 4 (Phase III & Phase II-III transition) and the bull horn found in the entrance (images modified from Erdoğu 2014a, pp. 171-2, Fig. 2 & 3).

The area O5-P5-P6 again witnesses isolated floor segments similar to those in the previous phase. Some of these compact earth segments might have been part of structures that have since been disturbed. It is also possible however, that they might have been independent platforms. Since they seem to be post-dating all of the pits, these platforms could have been related with another series of abandonment rituals on the area, perhaps signaling the end of the pit-opening activities in this locality (after which the focus seems to have shifted to Building 4).

Meanwhile, one building in the opposite, southeastern part of the mound (Building 3) in Phase III was about 10x10m in size and had a number of rooms with stone drywalls and yellow plastered clay floors; radiocarbon samples from this building yielded a date interval of 5470-5320 cal. BC (2 σ) (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 162). Within the cells of Building 3, storage vessels, grinding slabs, bone tools, animal bones, *Spondylus* bracelets, and stone items were found (ibid.). This structure, thought to have served domestic purposes based on its contents, is considered unusual by Erdoğu and a lack of architectural parallels in comparable sites in the region is noted (Erdoğu, 2014b, pp. 162, 165). At the same time, a geophysical survey conducted on eastern part of the site has revealed a large 20x5m structure as well as multi-roomed buildings surrounding it, possibly belonging to Phase III (Erdoğu, Özbek, & Yücel, 2014, p. 206).

The existence of a possible *Spondylus* workshop in Phase III Uğurlu is deemed probable on the basis of the large quantity of *Spondylus* finds, with similar workshops known from the Neolithic sites of Dimini, Sitagroi and Stavroupolis in Greece (Erdoğu, 2014b; Baysal & Erdoğu, 2014). Lithic tools are more numerous than previous phases, but obsidian is found in fewer numbers and come from sources in Melos except for a single obsidian flake from Cappadocian sources (Guilbeau, 2017); presence of the white-spotted “Balkan” flint continues among the assemblage (Erdoğu, 2014b; Guilbeau & Erdoğu, 2011).

While lithic materials do not undergo changes during the transitions of Phases III, IV and V, radical differences are noticeable between Phase III pottery and the pottery of the previous phases (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 163). Black and grayish black slip on reddish-brown surfaces now dominates the assemblage (ibid.), with red and brownish colors in the minority (Erdoğu, 2017a). Decorating pottery surfaces is now a widespread phenomenon; decoration techniques include incisions, impressions, applique, and channeling. Incision decoration is

the most common type of decoration, and these incisions were regularly filled with yellowish-white incrustations (ibid.). Some similarities between Uğurlu Höyük Phase III pottery and the pottery of Karanovo III and Early Vinča cultures (and a lack of parallels with Anatolian pottery traditions) is noted, but the mainly local character of Uğurlu Höyük Phase III pottery is also stressed by Erdoğu (2014b, p. 163).

Polypod vessels (Figure 85 - top) are now found in significant numbers in Uğurlu Höyük Phase III, and were also decorated regularly by incisions. On a regional scale, the earliest examples of such vessels are known from Anatolia from the second half of the 7th millennium BC, while none of them are found earlier than c. 6000BC in Southeastern Europe (Schwarzberg, 2005, pp. 265-6). These objects went out of fashion in Anatolia after c. 5500BC even though their popularity was now at its highest in the Balkans and Northern Greece between c. 5500-5000BC (p. 267), which seem to correlate with the Phase III popularity of these objects in Uğurlu Höyük.

The use of eared-pots in Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 85 - bottom) also reaches its zenith in the Phase III occupation. Majority of these pots are decorated by incisions, in this regard exhibiting continuity with their previous Phase IV counterparts. At the same time, motifs broadly similar to those on the previously mentioned polypod vessels can be encountered on some of the eared-pot sherds (along with distinct patterns). Yet eared-pots, unlike the polypod vessels which were almost always restricted to the use of incised decorative patterns on their surfaces, can also be seen to occasionally contain unique, excised cross-like shapes.

Both eared-pots and polypod vessels are predominantly recovered from contexts in the northwestern section of the site, around the area of the aforementioned cluster of pits in Phase III based on the trenches O5-P5-P6. As mentioned previously, these two object categories are discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2.7 in Chapter 3, where it will be argued that they were more connected with the figurines than it first seems.

3.2.1.5 Phase II (4500 - 4300 BC)

Phase II in Uğurlu Höyük is associated with the latter phase of the Chalcolithic Kumtepe Ia-Beşik Sivritepe Culture in Western Anatolia and Eastern Aegean

Islands (Erdoğu, 2014b, pp. 163, 166). The pit opening activities of trenches O5-P5-P6 in the northwestern part of the mound had ceased by this time, but Building 4 was still in use during the transitional layers between Phase II-III and also later in Phase II. Meanwhile, in Phase II proper, it is seen that another building (Building 1) was now being used about 40 meters to the east of Building 4. Building 1 had stone walls, a compact earthen floor, a storage section (with large numbers of *Muricidae* shells, stone axe/adzes, and worked bones), a stone buttress, a post hole, and a half-circular courtyard (where a vessel piece with a human face¹³ in relief was recovered) while no ovens or hearths were found (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). Contents of the structure also included *Spondylus* bracelets and worked shells (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). A sample from this building was radiocarbon dated to 4449-4267 cal. BC (2a) (ibid.).

Two more buildings (Buildings 6 and 7) dating to Phase II were uncovered in the southern part of the mound in the trenches AA-BB/14-15. Both buildings were built with stone drywalls and had compacted earthen floors containing platforms, grinding stones, mortars, pestles and storage vessels (Erdoğu, 2017c, pp. 118-9).

As far as the pottery is concerned, differences are observed between Phase III and II in both forms and decoration. Coarse wares outnumber fine wares; burnished black, gray, red, and buff pots dominate the assemblage (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). Incised decoration is now only rarely encountered (Atakuman, 2017b). In addition to the decline in the use of incised decoration, the use of eared-pots also declines (sharply) with the end of Phase III. At the same time, it is seen that polypod vessels practically went extinct together with the figurines.

On the other hand, continuity is present in the frequencies of *Spondylus* - *Glycymeris* bracelets and beads recovered between Phase III and Phase II (Baysal & Erdoğu, 2014, p. 366). Chipped stone assemblage likewise does not imply a significant divergence from the previous phase, and a few blades made from Balkan flint are still present (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). Like Phase III, some lithic pieces of Melos obsidian and just one single obsidian piece from Cappadocian sources were found (Guilbeau, 2017).

¹³ O10B9x1

Parallels formed between Uğurlu Höyük Phase II and Kumtepe IA-Beşik Sivritepe culture are mainly based on pottery (Erdoğan, 2014b, p. 166). As far as the radiocarbon dates and pottery trends are concerned (Erdoğan, 2014b, pp. 162, 164, 166), a hiatus between Phase III and Phase II is possible, but further research is necessary to establish the exact stratigraphic and chronological relations between these two occupation levels.

3.2.1.6 Phase I

Few pottery sherds dating to Early Bronze Age (recovered from surface fills in the northwestern section of the mound, and found as scatter on the surface in the western section) make up the material assemblage of Phase I in Uğurlu Höyük. It is deemed possible that the mound saw a brief occupation in EBA (Erdoğan, 2012a, p. 366) though so far no architectural features of any kind were encountered.

Also present on the surface are some pottery sherds from Medieval times (Erdoğan, 2012b, p. 3; Erdoğan, 2014b, p. 158); but similarly, no architectural remains were found which can be associated with such late periods.

3.3 Articulating the Figurine Assemblage at Uğurlu Höyük

What is considered to be a “figurine” in this study concerning the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage is consistent with the definition provided in the introduction: physically and ontologically independent representations of the body. In other words, anthropomorphic figurines are considered to be the three dimensional, smaller than life-size representations of the human form which do not have any other apparent function. A result of such a definition is that anthropomorphic vessels would be left out of the category of figurines because they could function as containers, and so would the human or animal shaped handles that sometimes come attached to the pottery forms.

Even though elegant, large-sized anthropomorphic pottery forms like those in more or less contemporary settlements of Hacilar, Ulucak, or Töltepe have not been found in Uğurlu Höyük so far, there are other objects of interest in Uğurlu Höyük which were indeed left out of the category of figurines due to the definition provided above. Yet it is seen that these object groups are still of

relevance to a discussion of the figurines. Collected under the general rubric of “related finds”, these objects exhibit links with the figurines either through their shared references to the body, through a number of shared attributes, through their complementary uses, or through their common patterns of discard. Meanwhile, it is interesting that the anthropomorphic figurines at Uğurlu Höyük were not accompanied by the object group known as stamps (also known as pintaderas) or by animal figurines (excluding one zoomorphic figurine with anthropomorphic features¹⁴) which are often recovered together with figurines in many prehistoric sites in the Near East, but are curiously missing from Uğurlu Höyük.

Following pages will first introduce the figurine assemblage and the related finds categories of Uğurlu Höyük and present an overview of some the concepts and issues that will be discussed in more detail in the succeeding sub-sections. After this concise prologue, Section 3.3.1 will then be preoccupied with the analyses of the figurines, while Section 3.3.2 will focus on the figurine related finds.

First thing that should be mentioned about the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük is that they are almost always retrieved in a very fragmentary state, which makes it hard to distinguish between different figurine forms and to create typologies. A re-examination of all the small finds in Uğurlu Höyük identified several figurine pieces which had originally been mislabeled or not identified (i.e. simply left as “clay object”s) mainly due to their very fragmented condition. Fortunately, there are also 15 figurines which preserved portions of both their upper and lower bodies, making it possible to categorize most of the remaining figurine fragments with security (Figure 13).

In this way, a total of 96 figurines have been identified at Uğurlu Höyük as of the 2017 excavation season (for a catalogue of the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük, refer to Appendix A). It is seen that figurine fragments from Uğurlu Höyük generally range between 4 and 6 centimeters in height, but smaller (~2 cm) and larger (~10 cm) pieces are also present. A large number of figurines were thoroughly decorated by incised patterns, but painted decoration remains very rare.

¹⁴ BB20-21B118x1



Figure 13: Full body discernable figurines (15) of Uğurlu Höyük (i.e. upper & lower body pieces)¹⁵.

Distribution of the 96 figurines according to the occupation phases in Uğurlu Höyük indicates an explosion of figurine use in Phase III (Figure 14). No other period in Uğurlu Höyük saw even comparable numbers of figurines compared to Phase III (but it must be noted that earlier phases VI, V, and IV are much less extensively excavated compared to Phase III and Phase II). Unfortunately, a significant number of figurines were recovered from uncertain contexts and it is not possible assign these to any one of the occupation phases.

¹⁵ (Left to right) *First row:* V18B2x4, UH10Y69, P6B68x1, P6B10x3; *second row:* P5B6x4, BB20-21B118x1, O6B3x4, BB20-21B120x1; *third row:* BB20-21B71x4, Yüzey 4, Yüzey x25, BB20-21B81x5; *fourth row:* P6B2x1, P5B60x15, P5B21x7.

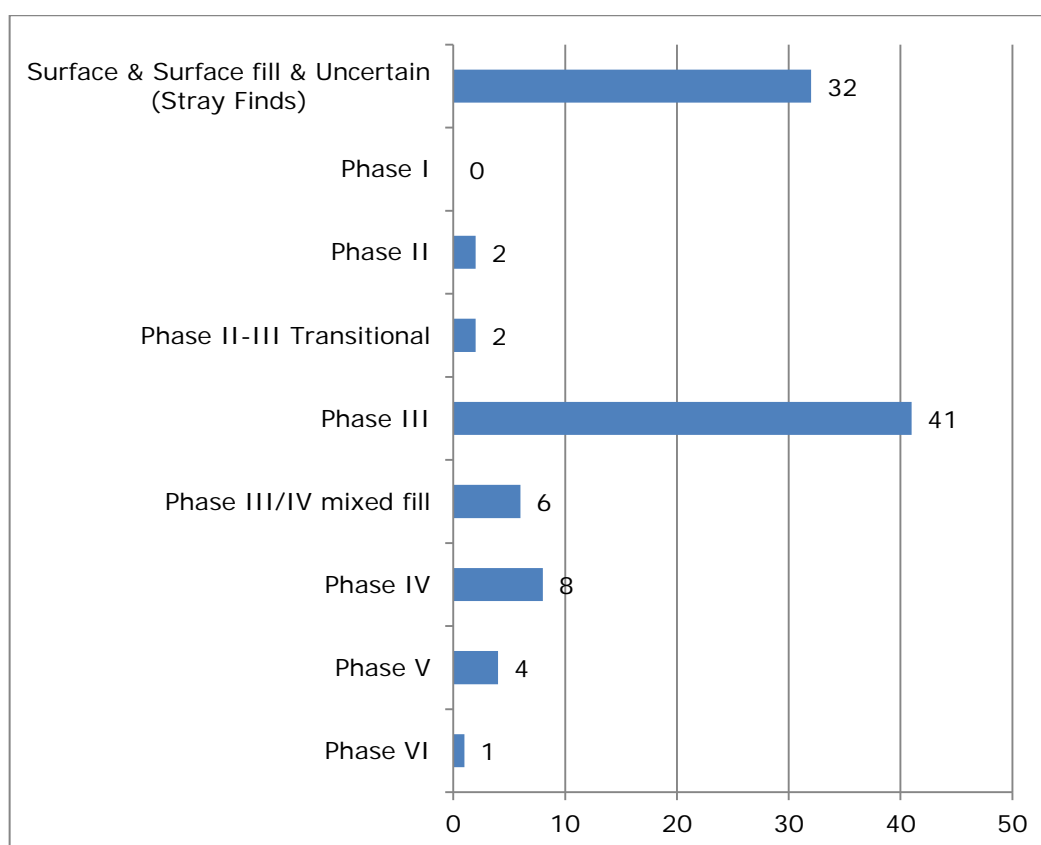


Figure 14: Number of figurines recovered from Uğurlu Höyük according to their occupation levels, Phase VI being the oldest layer.

An inspection of the remaining fragments in light of the 15 -relatively- full body discernible figurines (figurines which retained parts of both their *upper & lower body*) reveals that the fragmentation of the figurines were conducted in a controlled way prior to their discard. They were regularly broken into symmetrical parts consisting of left-right upper and lower body pieces, while the heads -almost always recovered detached from its body- formed an additional category (Figure 15). This regularity in fragmentation was ensured during the production of the figurine when different parts of the body were brought together as distinct lumps of clay. It seems that this controlled fragmentation was applied to both clay and marble examples: in addition to the clay figurines (which form the overwhelming majority of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük), the few marble figurines also conform in their breakage to the same scheme. Moreover, none of the numerous figurine fragments found have matched with one another so far. What this means is that each figurine fragment represents one individual figurine in Uğurlu Höyük. The missing

fragments, on the other hand, seem to be distributed to an as of yet unknown place.

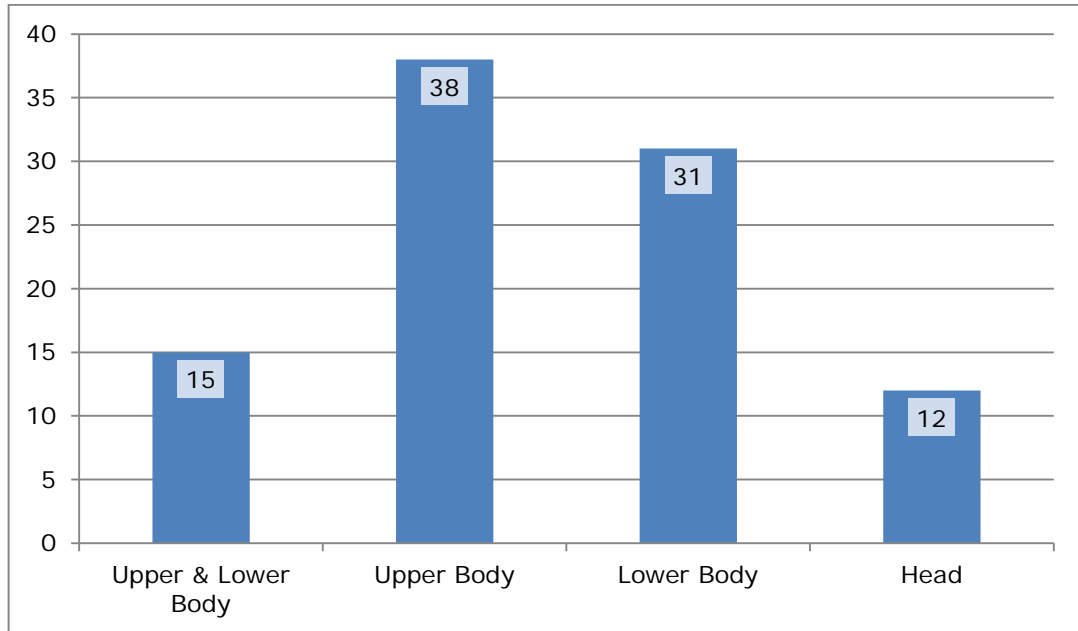


Figure 15: Number of figurine fragments from Uğurlu Höyük.

One unique aspect of the assemblage is that figurine makers employed two different methods of incorporating the heads onto the bodies: the head was either made from the same material as the body and formed a continuous extension of it (Figure 16 - left & middle) or it was made from a different material (like bone, seashell, etc.) and inserted into the clay body prior to firing (resulting in inserted headed figurines, also known as acrolithic figurines; Figure 16 - right). As mentioned, almost none of the figurine bodies were recovered together with their heads. They were either broken (if the heads were attached) or removed from their socket (if the heads were inserted). In any case, a discrepancy between the numbers of figurine heads and upper body fragments (all of which lack a head of their own) is conspicuous (Figure 15), where the head pieces are largely outnumbered.



Figure 16: Variety of figurine heads in Uğurlu Höyük. Left: clay head (V18B3x2); middle: marble head (UH09Y3); right: bone inserted head (BB20-21B31x2).

What is the cause of this discrepancy? One possible answer to this question links with one of the figurine related finds categories mentioned at the beginning (catalogues of these related finds categories from Uğurlu Höyük are included in Appendix B¹⁶). There are among the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage numerous bone objects which share a basic shape with the inserted figurine heads. However, these bone objects do not have any facial features indicated on them and at least some of them were also used as tools (see Paul, 2016). Nevertheless they are eligible to have been used as head insertions (specifically the better worked examples such as those coming from Pit Ö52 in Phase IV) and are collected under the category of “possible head insertions” in this study. These possible head insertions are not limited to bone objects either: also included in this group are a number of suitably shaped stone artifacts.

Possible head insertions are only one among the eight categories of figurine related finds in Uğurlu Höyük. Ultimately, the framework established to analyze and discuss the visual representations in Uğurlu Höyük can be summarized as follows (see also Figure 17):

- Figurines
 - o Upper & lower body pieces
 - o Upper body pieces
 - o Lower body pieces

¹⁶ With the exception of eared-pots and polypod vessels, which were not catalogued since they were investigated preliminarily and are in need of a more extensive separate research.

- Head pieces
- Related finds
 - Possible inserted heads
 - Ceramic sherds with anthropomorphic features
 - Anthropomorphic / zoomorphic pottery handles
 - Pottery feet
 - Anthropomorphic stone vessels
 - Foot-shaped worked stones
 - Eared-pots
 - Polypod vessels

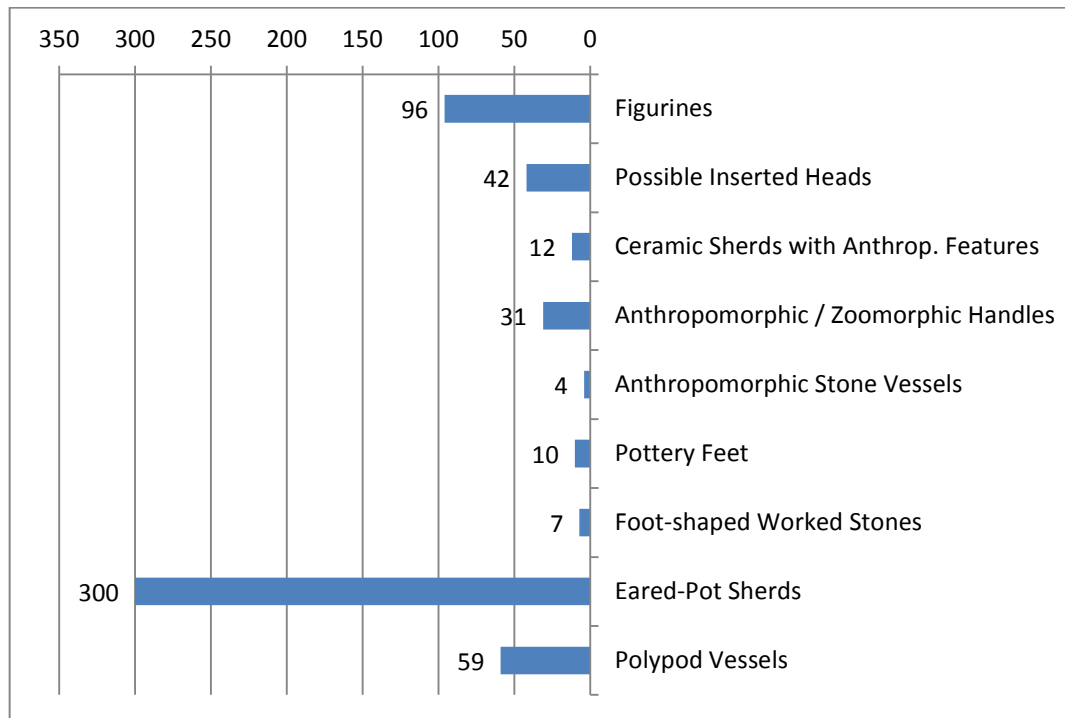


Figure 17: Numbers of figurines and related finds from Uğurlu Höyük.

To shortly introduce the rest of the related finds, the second group is formed by the human representations on the pottery surfaces (“ceramic sherds with anthropomorphic features”); third and fourth are parts of the ceramic vessels which were anthropomorphized / zoomorphized (“anthropomorphic / zoomorphic pottery handles” & “pottery feet”). A fifth category is the

“anthropomorphic stone vessels”, under which shallow containers made of stone were collected. As the name implies, these vessels have broadly human forms, bearing resemblances to the more abstract representations among the figurine assemblage. Another collection of polished stone objects, possibly used in burnishing pottery, are the “foot-shaped worked stones”. In addition to their similarity to the shape of the lowermost human limb, they are also reminiscent of some figurine forms on an abstracted scale. Lastly, two unique pottery types in Uğurlu Höyük, “eared-pots” and “polypod vessels”, are related with figurines based on their anthropomorphic features, shared decorative elements, and shared find contexts. All of these object categories are discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2 at the end of this chapter.

While these related finds are not evaluated under the category of figurines, it is accepted that anthropomorphic elements are *at least* peripheral to their nature. The intention in separating them from the figurines is not a refusal of connections between these object categories. On the contrary, it is acknowledged that the potential of these objects to participate together or complement one another in certain contexts is facilitated by their -sometimes implicit- anthropomorphism and other shared features. That similar objects from prehistoric settlements should be considered together with the figurines and be subjected to similar analyses is a point which will be raised in this study.

Moving back to the figurines themselves, it is seen that the presence of 15 full body discernible figurines among the assemblage enables for a typological classification to be created. In fact, a fivefold typological classification was established in this study for the figurine assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 18), which was eventually utilized according to the theoretical considerations raised at the end of Chapter 2. Figures 19 to 22 visualize this typological scheme and major trends in the variations detected among these types through the occupation layers of Uğurlu Höyük, giving a quick overview of some of the introductory points that follows.

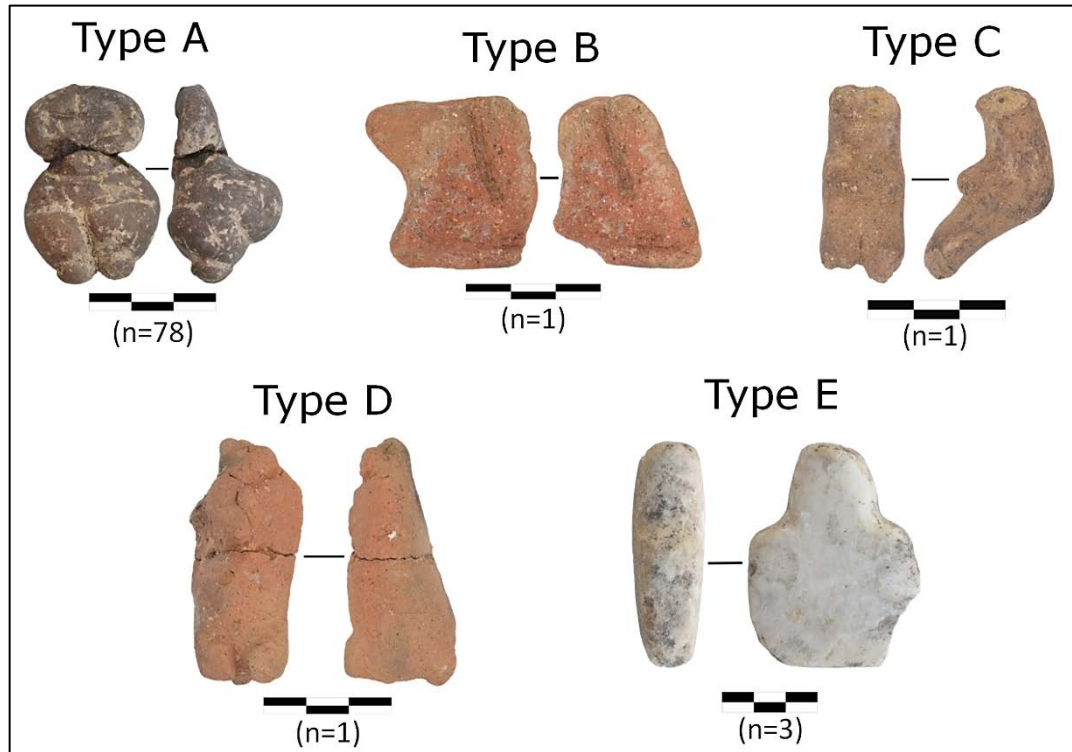


Figure 18: Typological classification of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines. Outside these types, head pieces (n=12) form a sixth group which cannot be safely assigned to any one of these typological classes.

Type A figurines are characterized by an exaggerated depiction of the buttocks and the arms making a motion towards the front of the body. Type A allows for the most variation in how the limbs could be portrayed. Arms can be placed symmetrically with respect to one another (curving: P6B10x3, bending: P5B119x2, abstracted: O6B3x4) or asymmetrically (P5B6x4). Legs can be separated (V18B2x4), adhering (V18B2x1), undifferentiated (O6B3x4), or as if they are embracing the body (P6B59x1). Feet are portrayed as conical (DD19B1x1) or rectangular (P6B68x1) endings on the legs. Buttocks also include different geometric variants like circular (P6B68x1), conical (V18B2x4), or rectangular (O6B3x4) shapes. Overwhelming majority of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük belong to Type A, which can be found from Phase IV onwards.

It must be noted that all the variations mentioned above are not as rigid nor are there strict dichotomies as implied by such an itemization. Some depictions fall between the variations offered, and some figurines can fit into more than one category given for a specific limb. Some attributes are more pronounced on some figurines, while some variations are limited to singular examples.

Moreover, it is not possible to fit badly preserved figurines into such a scheme of limb variation.

Type B represents a more shortened, sack-shaped figurine type that is more familiar to the prehistory of Southwest Anatolia than the Aegean littoral, with the single example in Uğurlu Höyük (BB20-21B71x4) retrieved from the Phase V occupation.

Single Type C figurine in Uğurlu Höyük (Yüzey 4) emphasizes the area of the stomach instead of the buttocks. Unfortunately it was retrieved as a surface find.

Type D is also represented by a single figurine (BB20-21B120x1) from an unsecure fill which features anthropomorphic elements on a mainly zoomorphic representation.

Type E figurines are characterized by their highly abstracted forms. Each of the Type E figurines exhibit a different geometry in their abstraction: rectangular (Yüzey x25 - surface), conical (BB20-21B81x5 - Phase V) or circular (P5B21x7 - Phase III).

Unfortunately, since figurines are very rarely recovered together with their bodies, it is not possible to incorporate the head pieces easily into this typological scheme. Instead, they are left as a sixth heterogeneous column separate from the types above. But a distinction that *can* be made among the heads is between the attached and inserted variants: even though no heads were found together with the body pieces, it is possible to tell if the head was attached or inserted to the figurine body through an inspection of the upper body pieces.

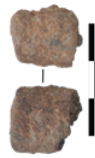









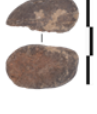


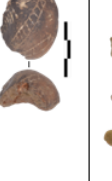
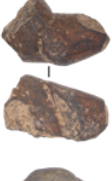

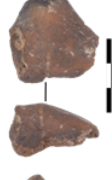

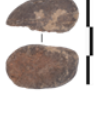


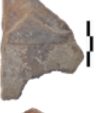






	Phase VI	Phase V	Phase IV	Phase III/IV (mixed fill)
Heads				
Upper & Lower Body		Type B  Type E  Conical abstraction	Type A	Type A
Upper Body			 Symmetrical arms (curving)  Symmetrical arms (bending)  Symmetrical arms (curving)	 Separating legs  Symmetrical arms (curving)  Embracing legs 
Lower Body			     	 
Related Finds (Selected)		 	   	 

Figure 19: Typological chart of Uğurlu Höyük figurines with selected related finds, Phases VI to III/IV mixed fill.

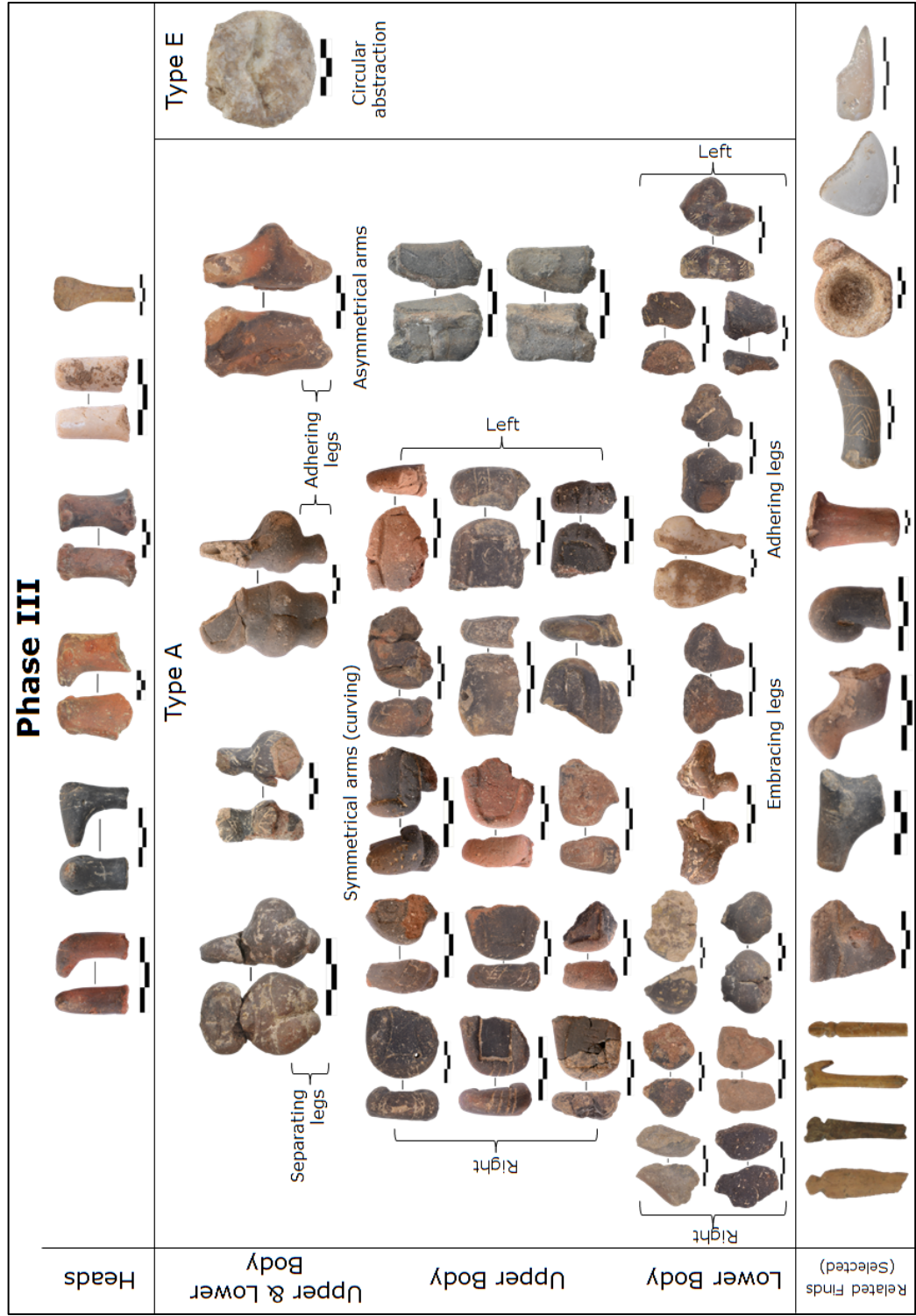


Figure 20: Typological chart of Uğurlu Höyük figurines with selected related finds, Phase III.




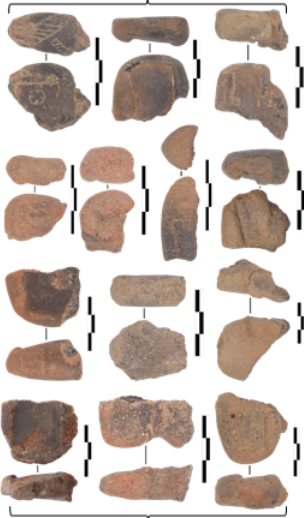
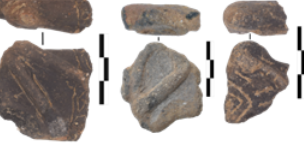

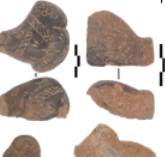

Stray Finds		Heads	
			
Upper & Lower Body	Type A	 Adhering legs	 Symmetrical arms (bending)
	Upper Body	 Symmetrical arms (curving)	 Asymmetrical arms
	Lower Body	 Right	 Left
Related Finds (Selected)			
		Type C	Type D
		Type E	Rectangular abstraction

Figure 22: Typological chart of Uğurlu Höyük figurines with selected related finds, stray finds.

3.3.1 Analyses of the Figurines

It would be convenient to start the analyses with the raw materials involved in the creation of the figurines, and work the way up from there through their manufacture, decoration, fragmentation, and discard as if following these objects through their cycle of life in Uğurlu Höyük from beginning to end. In the end, attention will be diverted to an in-depth investigation of the themes, variations, and different levels of abstraction observed on the figurines, based on the typological framework outlined in the previous section.

3.3.1.1 Raw Materials

Of the 96 figurines in Uğurlu Höyük, 87 were made from clay, 5 were carved out of marble, 2 from animal bones, while the remaining 2 were from seashell fragments (Table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their raw materials and associated occupation levels.

	Clay	Marble	Bone	Seashell
Phase II	2	-	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	2	-	-	-
Phase III	37	3	1	-
Phase III/IV mixed fill	5	-	-	1
Phase IV	8	-	-	-
Phase V	2	-	1	1
Phase VI	1	-	-	-
Stray Finds	30	2	-	-
TOTAL	87	5	2	2

Clay was the main preferred medium for creating figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. Both head and body pieces could be shaped out of clay. Body pieces could also

incorporate head insertions from different materials into their head sockets, which were present in a large number of figurines. Through all the phases, the texture of the clay and tempers used in the figurines are similar to those of the pottery, and it is likely that the same local sources were utilized in both their production.

Second, but much more rarely, comes the marble figurines. Like their clay counterparts, almost all the marble figurines are fragmentary to some extent (Figure 23). Two head pieces (one of which has its nose -barely- incised, while the other seems to lack a visage), one lower body piece and two abstracted representations of the human body form the corpus of marble figurines. Time spent within the soil of the mound has resulted in some of these objects being covered partially by calcareous brown patches.



Figure 23: Marble figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (upper row, left to right: P6B3x9, UH09Y37, lower row, left to right: P6B87x1, P5B21x7, Yüzey x25¹⁷)

It must be re-emphasized here that the only known marble source on Gökçeada (near Marmaros region in the northwestern part of the island) is of low quality

¹⁷ Phase III, surface find; Phase III, Phase III and surface find, respectively.

(M. Dirican, personal communication) and that some of these figurines along with a number of marble vessels must have been brought to the settlement from another place outside the island, although whether as raw material or as finished pieces is not clear. At the same time, archaeometrical analyses have indicated that marble in Gökçeada arrived from at least two distinct sources (Erdoğu & Yücel, 2016, p. 199), but where exactly is not known.

In addition to clay and marble pieces, it is seen that two figurines were shaped from animal bones. Both bone figurines in Uğurlu Höyük are head pieces (Figure 24); so far no figurine body piece produced from bone has been found. The bone head pieces have eyes (and possible eyebrows) indicated on them through incised (P5B161x2) and painted (BB20-21B31x2) lines. Aside from these two, the inspection of the small finds recovered from Uğurlu Höyük reveals that various other objects made from bone are among the likely candidates (based on their overall shapes and frequency, see Appendix B) that might have been used as possible head insertions on clay figurines, even though no facial features have been indicated on them (discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2.1).



Figure 24: Bone figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (left to right: P5B161x2, BB20-21B31x2¹⁸).

¹⁸ Phase III and V, respectively.

Animal bone was not the only organic material used to create figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. Balancing the two figurines made from the bones of terrestrial animals, there are two figurines carved from the shells of sea organisms (Figure 25). Among these two figurines, the inserted head piece (V18B8 (a)) was furnished with facial features (an incised nose and possibly eyes; Figure 25 - left). The other is a geometric piece which seems to be an abstraction of the human body (Figure 25 - right). It must be noted that the shape of this latter piece would have also enabled it to be used as a head insertion, even though it is stable on its lower surface.



Figure 25: Seashell figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (left to right: V18B8 (a), BB20-21B81x5¹⁹).

3.3.1.2 Manufacture

Unlike marble, bone, and shell figurines, which go through a rather straightforward process (although not necessarily any less time consuming or any less demanding on skill and experience) of reduction through carving once the raw material is obtained, *chaîne opératoire* of the production of clay figurines demands a number of intermediary stages.

¹⁹ Phase III/IV mixed fill and Phase V, respectively.

For Phases V and IV it is known that a clay source close to the settlement was used for the production of the pottery (Erdoğu & Yücel, 2013, p. 190), and was likely kept being used during the succeeding phases. Figurines of Uğurlu Höyük show parallels with the pottery of their respective phases regarding their texture, firing, colors, and surface treatment, and in general seem to follow the trends in the pottery.

Both the pottery and the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük contain mineral temper, although the density and the size of the inclusions exhibit differences (Figure 26). Most figurines have high concentrations of white mineral inclusions, likely calcite or feldspar fragments. Also frequently encountered are typically small, thin black inclusions of mica minerals.

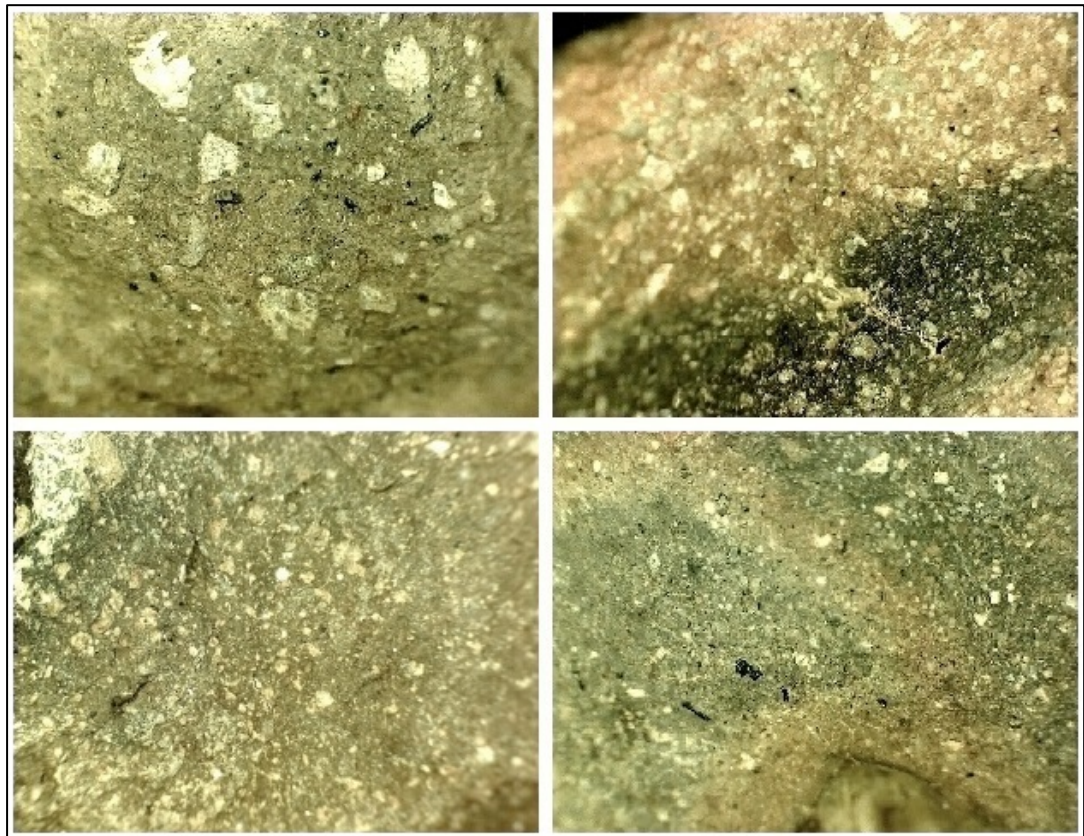


Figure 26: High magnification photographs showing textures of various clay objects from Uğurlu Höyük (top: AA-BB14B2x1 [left] - P5B5x5 [right]; bottom: P6B42x1 [left] - P5B39x3 [right]²⁰).

²⁰ Phase II, III, IV and III, respectively.

Organic temper was observed in one figurine (BB20-21B71x4 - one of the Phase V figurines), and also possibly in two others (P5B148x1 and V18B1x4 - Phase III and surface find, respectively). Organic matter is occasionally encountered among Phase III pottery examples, but this is thought to be a residue coming from the clay itself (Erdoğu, 2017a). On the other hand, organic temper is practically absent in the Phase V pottery (Erdoğu & Yücel, 2013, p. 190; Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 161), while some pottery specimens in this phase incorporated crushed bone matter (ibid.).

Majority of the clay figurines were not shaped from a single lump of clay, but rather parts of the figurine were modelled separately and only then assembled together while the clay was still wet. Sometimes an organic stick was used to hold these separate pieces together. During firing, this organic matter perished but left behind cavities which are still visible (Figure 27).



Figure 27: Lower-left figurine body fragment (V18B1x4, surface find) from Uğurlu Höyük with the cavities left behind during firing visible on the plane of breakage.

Typically, three roughly shaped clay pieces were brought together before giving the figurine its final form: two vertically symmetrical sections of the lower body,

including the legs and corresponding part of the buttocks on each one, and the upper body with the torso and the arms (for a similar production process see Figure 28). Heads were either shaped together with this upper part (attached heads), or were inserted into it (inserted heads).

For some figurines it is hard to determine the exact steps included in this stage of production. The lower bodies of a few very small figurines (2 to 4 centimeters) might have been prepared in one piece. It is likewise difficult to decide whether the figurine P5B6x4²¹ was shaped out of one piece or prepared by bringing together multiple pieces. It is also of note that during the production of the figurine O6B3x4²², the upper body and the legs might have been shaped together and it might have been the buttocks which were attached to them afterwards.

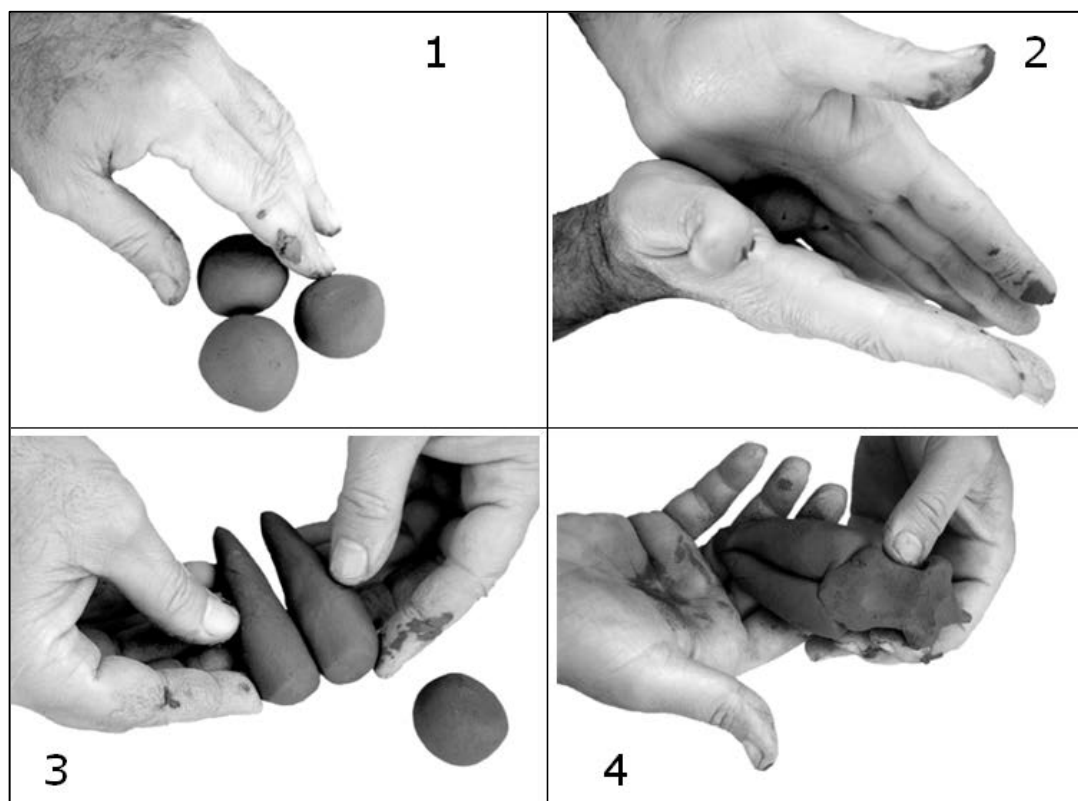


Figure 28: Steps in the modular production of Cucuteni-Tripolye figurines as suggested by Dragos Gheorghiu (2010), paralleling the method used for some of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (images adapted from Gheorghiu, 2010, Fig. 3, 4, 5, and 9).

²¹ Phase III.

²² Phase II-III Transitional.

In a similar vein, texture differences and the way that some figurines were fragmented hint at a similar production for a few other figurines as well, whereby the buttocks were attached to the rest of the body only after they were prepared separately, instead of being shaped from the same lump of clay with the left and right leg pieces (Figure 29).



Figure 29: Buttocks pieces from Uğurlu Höyük figurines. Left: lower-right part with leg and buttocks (UH09Y23²³); Right: buttock pieces (above - P5B14x5(b), below - P6B15x2²⁴)

After the parts were fitted together and the form was finalized, surfaces of the figurines were treated. A slip was applied and most of the figurines were burnished to varying degrees, ranging from low to high burnish (see also Table 4 in the following pages). Some of the figurines were decorated with geometric patterns created by incising (especially popular in Phase III; decoration of the figurines is discussed in more detail in the next section), and on some figurines a few features were attached as appliques. Finally, the figurines were baked in temperatures of around 400° to 700°C (Atakuman et al., 2018; Atakuman & Gemici, 2015). Firing conditions were not ideal as hinted by the color

²³ Surface find.

²⁴ Phase IV and III, respectively.

differences noticeable on the texture of the clay; it is known that clays fired in low-oxygen environments -where the air flow into the firing environment is obstructed- can exhibit similar grading in colors between the outer and inner surfaces (M. Dirican, personal communication). Dark patches of soot marks are visible on some of the figurines, caused either by an insufficient oxygen supply during firing or due to contact with organic material. However, in at least one case (P5B6x4) this marking seems to have been intentional (discussed in more detail in the following pages).

It is likely that figurines were fired in a similar way (and perhaps together) with the pottery, especially considering the textural similarities and how some of the figurines and ceramic vessels were also decorated similarly. Pottery in Uğurlu Höyük is known to have been fired in an open fire, likely in a warmer season without precipitation, within a pit supplied abundantly with organic materials (Figure 30); it is also known that the process took around a day (Atakuman, 2015c).



Figure 30: An example of an open fire in a pit, in which pottery and figurines can be fired (image retrieved from <http://miuiksa.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/awesome-pottery-fire-pit-art-review-adam-silverman-s-clay-and-space-is-vessel-for.jpg> on April 15, 2018).

Surface colors of the figurines (after firing) include black, brown, crimson/red and orange; while a number of figurines carry a combination of two colors (Table 3). In general, it seems that the colors of the figurines gradually shifted towards darker colors in the later stages of occupation in Uğurlu Höyük. It is possible that some of the darkest tones have been obtained by coating the objects with oil prior to firing (Atakuman, 2015c).

Table 3: Color distribution of figurines through Uğurlu Höyük occupation levels.

	Black	Dark Bicolored²⁵	Brown	Light Bicolored²⁶	Orange
Stray Finds	16%	27%	10%	27%	20%
Phase II	50%	-	50%	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	50%	50%	-	-	-
Phase III	40%	30%	11%	11%	8%
Phase III/IV mixed fill	60%	-	20%	-	20%
Phase IV	37%	63%	-	-	-
Phase V	-	-	-	-	100%
Phase VI	-	-	-	100%	-
TOTAL	32%	29%	10%	15%	14%

Earliest few figurines from Phases VI and V are in lighter orange and brown tones. In Phase IV, figurines display a mottled appearance with black and crimson/brown patches; which results in a vitreous appearance when combined with a high degree of burnish. These irregular blotches are known to be caused by an uneven application of the slip, with changing thicknesses over the

²⁵ Black & crimson/red/brown

²⁶ Black & orange/light brown

surface; such irregular coloring is also prevalent in the pottery assemblage in the same time period (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 160). During Phases III and II, darker brown and black figurines seem to predominate, but there are still light brown and reddish orange figurines albeit in smaller numbers. By this time some of the figurines still feature a mottled texture obtained by a differential application of the slip, but this ends up less noticeable visually without the high burnish (see also Table 4 below).

Interestingly, on at least one figurine, the configuration of dual colors was achieved using a different method. It appears that figurine P5B6x4 (Phase III) was wrapped with an organic material prior to firing. This covering perished during firing and left behind an oblique dark strip surrounding the figurine, contrasting with the unwrapped portions still in a reddish orange color (Figure 31). A similar method could have been used on three other Phase III figurines (P5B5x10 and P5B153x3) and five surface figurines (BB20-21B120x1, CC20B10x1, UH17Y09, UH17Y11, and UH17Y22); although in these cases the patterns formed are not regular and might have been the unintentional results of the firing conditions instead.



Figure 31: Color banding on a Phase III figurine (P5B6x4) from Uğurlu Höyük.

A look at the levels of burnish on the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük reveals that most of the figurines lacked a thorough burnish (Table 4). Yet, the majority of

figurines in Phase IV were intensively burnished, even though the trend seems to have decelerated in the following Phases III and II.

Table 4: Level of burnish on Uğurlu Höyük figurines through the phases.

	Low Burnish	Medium Burnish	High Burnish
Stray Finds	67%	20%	13%
Phase II	100%	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	-	50%	50%
Phase III	51%	19%	30%
Phase III/IV mixed fill	100%	-	-
Phase IV	-	25%	75%
Phase V	50%	50%	-
Phase VI	100%	-	-
TOTAL	55%	20%	25%

The final aspect related with the production of figurines is how the heads were incorporated. As mentioned before, almost none of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük have a head attached to their bodies. Curiously, however, on a significant number of figurines a vertical hole is present where their necks should have normally stood upon (Figure 32). First possibility that comes to mind is that these holes were a result of organic sticks that attached the wet clay heads onto the torso, similar to the sticks used to attach together the different parts of the body prior to firing. However, no corresponding holes are known from the clay head pieces among the assemblage. In addition, the holes on the necks themselves are way larger and deeper than should be necessary to attach and hold a head piece over the torso (such a support is more than likely not necessary at all). Instead, figurines with similar holes (occasionally called “dowel holes”; Meskell, 2007) are known from some other prehistoric

sites in the region, and what these holes offered is the accommodation of various head insertions into the figurine (Voigt 2007; Talalay, 2004). On the Uğurlu Höyük figurines, these head sockets typically penetrate deep into the torso vertically towards the waist, and would have enabled the insertion of slender profiled head pieces. Three head insertions with facial features depicted on them are already known from the assemblage (two of bone and one of *Spondylus* shell²⁷). Meanwhile, another category of objects that were likely used as head insertions (possible head insertions) is discussed in Section 3.3.2.1.



Figure 32: Head insertion socket on an Uğurlu Höyük figurine, visible on the side and top views of a fragment of the upper right torso (P5B21x1, Phase III).

One explanation of how the holes were produced is that a fire resistant material like stone or bone was inserted into the wet clay. It is also possible that the

²⁷ BB20-20B31x2, P5B161x2, and V18B8 (a)

upper body was modelled around such an object. This material could then be removed at will after the object was fired (providing the inserted headed figurines another means of limb fragmentation in the form of decapitation). An organic material (like wood) could also have been used instead, which would have perished during firing, and the remaining hole could be used to insert various figurine heads produced separately. In any case, it is certain that the heads responsible for these holes were not made from clay, as it would not be possible to obtain such smooth and predictable holes with clay insertions.

On the other hand, a number of figurines did at one point have clay (or marble) heads above their necks (shaped from the beginning as a natural extension of the upper body), but in almost all these examples the heads were broken off eventually. In any case, both attached and inserted head pieces are present among the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage²⁸. Temporally, it is seen that head sockets and inserted head pieces are found among figurines through Phases V to III, which means that head insertion and/or removal was at least a lasting practice in Uğurlu Höyük (Table 5).

Table 5: Presence of head sockets on Uğurlu Höyük figurines (on figurines whose necks can be inspected, i.e. upper body and head pieces)²⁹.

	Present	Not Present
Stray Finds	12	8
Phase II	-	1
Phase II-III Transitional	-	2
Phase III	20	6
Phase III/IV mixed fill	2	2
Phase IV	2	-
Phase V	2	1
Phase VI	-	1
TOTAL	37	22

²⁸ Information regarding the presence of attached or inserted heads on the upper body pieces are indicated for each figurine in Appendix A.

²⁹ It is not possible to determine whether a hole was present or not in some of the figurines because none of the relevant portions were preserved, i.e. the figurine in question is a fragment from the lower body or was recovered in an overall very fragmented state; and these objects were omitted from the numbers.

3.3.1.3 Decoration

Almost two-thirds of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük are decorated on their surface (Figure 33). This was executed through either incisions (primary method of surface decoration for Uğurlu Höyük figurines) or through painting (of which only two examples have been encountered so far). It must be mentioned again that surface decoration by incised patterns is not limited to the figurines: a considerable amount of pottery sherds in Uğurlu Höyük also carry on them incised motifs, sometimes with patterns very similar to those on the figurines themselves - especially on two special pottery forms (eared-pots and polypod vessels). This issue will be re-visited in Section 3.3.2.7 at the end of this chapter.

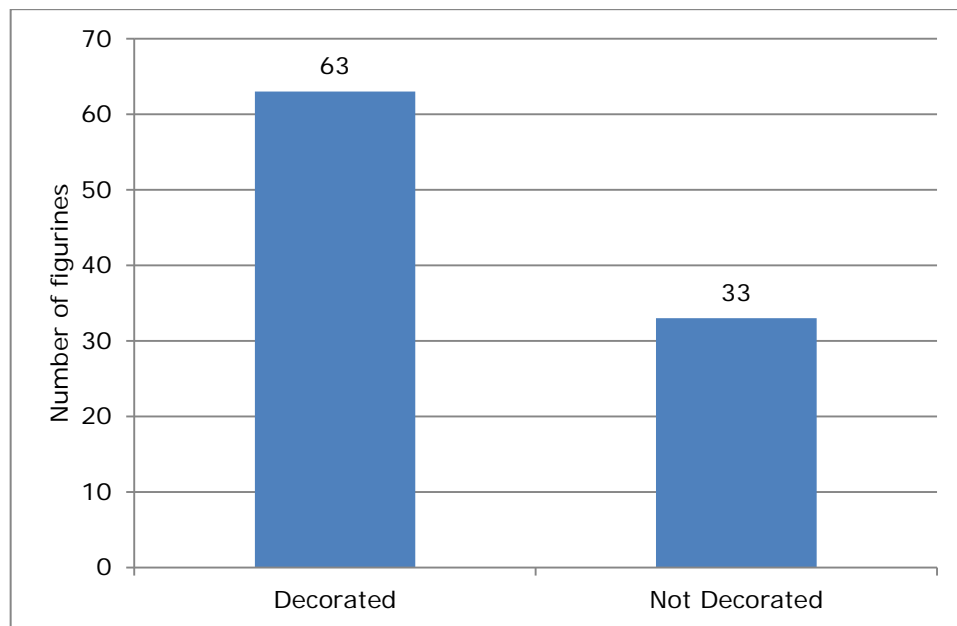


Figure 33: Presence of surface decoration on Uğurlu Höyük figurines.

Application of incisions on figurine surfaces was a widespread occurrence in Uğurlu Höyük. These incisions seem to have served two purposes: they either were used to outline the limbs or the curves of the body (sometimes in deeper incisions) and bring out the facial features, or they were used to create the above mentioned geometric patterns which were decorative at their core. Both these decorative and anatomical incisions were regularly filled with a yellowish

paste. On a significant number of figurines, these encrustations were eroded to some extent and are only visible in closer inspection. Considering the relative ease with which this yellow paste deteriorates, it is possible that encrustation on figurines was a widespread phenomenon.

Almost all the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük, including the non-clay examples, have their anatomical features indicated (at least, the features that were *chosen* to be indicated) by deep incisions. Arms are outlined, legs are differentiated, and buttocks are emphasized in this way. Occasionally, a similar line circles the waist. Some figurines have their fingers drawn by parallel incisions. Heads sometimes have facial details similarly sketched by shallow incisions. In this study, these anatomical incisions are not regarded as decorative but rather treated as fundamental elements which give the figurines their human form (unlike the optional decorative patterns applied on their surface), and thus were not parameters by themselves to consider a figurine decorated.

In rarer cases, the arms were brought forward in relief from the background of the body or appended as appliques instead of being highlighted by incisions. Similarly, applied clay elements were used to flesh out certain anatomical details on some rare figurines. Two figurine heads (DD20B3x3 and P6B12³⁰) have eyes applied on them, while one piece (DD20B16x1³¹) has small appliques on its torso which are likely signifying breasts. All these anatomical details were also not treated as decorative elements. On the other hand, three figurines (P5B60x15, P6B10x3 and P6B68x1³²) have appliques on their bellies resulting in a slight bulge, significance of which is not clear.

Other than the anatomical incisions, as mentioned, a large number of figurines also contain decorative incisions. These decorations were applied in the form of geometric patterns, and seem to be an optional occurrence (a number of figurines do not seem to carry any decoration). Even though at first sight these geometric patterns might seem random, many repeating elements emerge from the assemblage on a closer look. Some of these repeating elements include (see also Figure 34):

³⁰ Both from Phase III.

³¹ Phase III/IV mixed fill.

³² All of them are from Phase III.

- Short parallel lines of equal length (sometimes aligned to create a ladder-like composition)
- "H" shape and its variants
- Dot clusters (occasionally forming circular shapes or forming a variant of the "H" with five dots)
- Dots aligned on straight (and sometimes parallel) lines
- "ı|ı" pattern, its combinations and variants (like the ":|:" pattern)
- Zigzagging lines or bands arranged in parallels
- Spirals (coiling by itself or as a combination of two smaller ones forming a curving "S") and circles

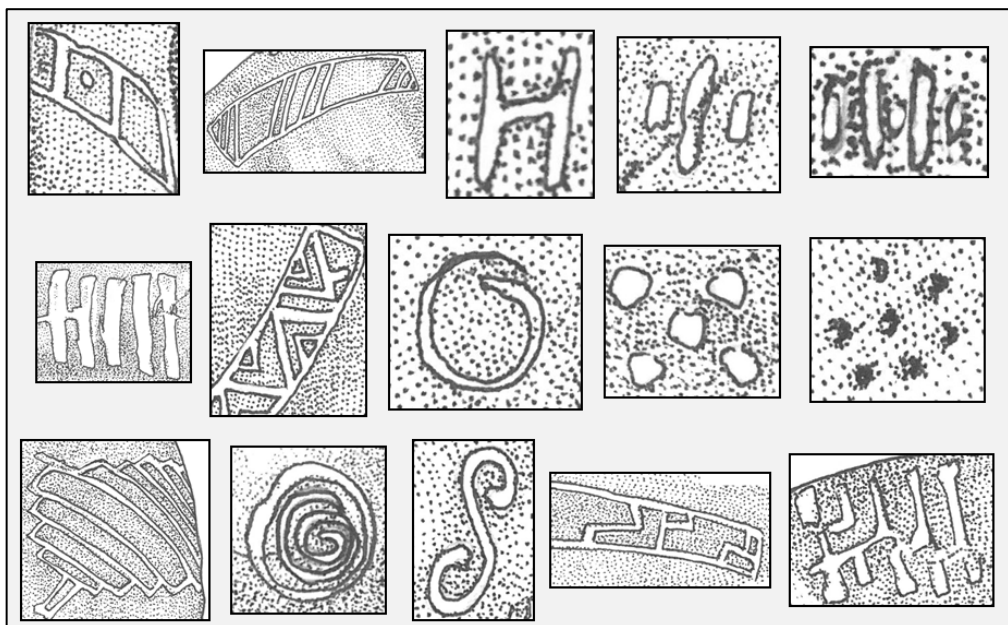


Figure 34: Examples of incised decoration patterns on Uğurlu Höyük figurines.

In addition, rectangular bands containing some of the individual elements listed above or their combinations are frequently encountered. These rectangular bands can be seen in a wrapping motion on various parts of the body (Figure 35). Symmetrical movement of such bands towards the front from four sides is especially noticeable on the lower body piece DD19B1x1 (Figure 35 - bottom). Similar bands generally have their rectangular border outlined, but in some cases this border is not provided but the contents are still aligned with respect to each other as if they were also contained within such a rectangular band.

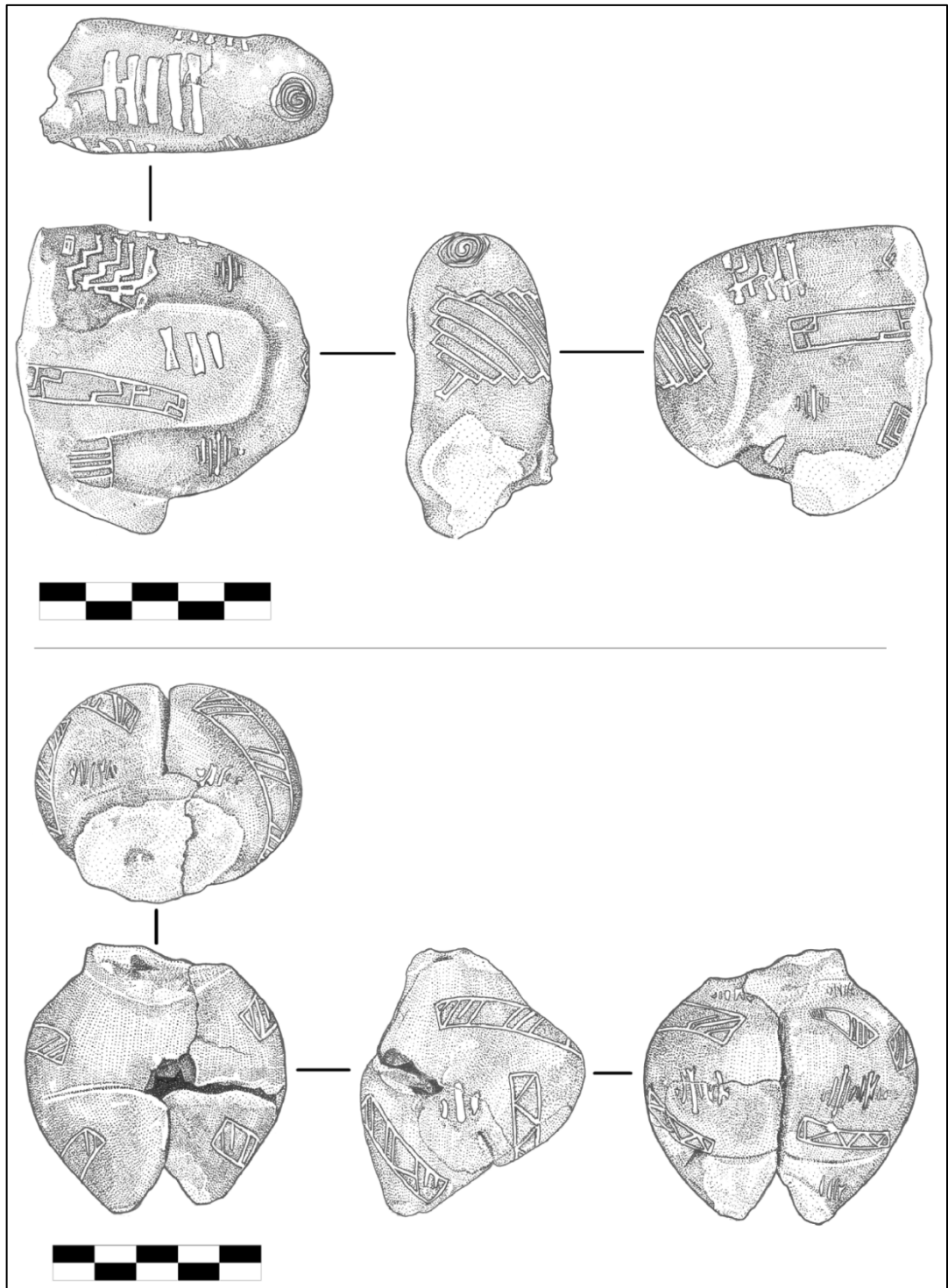


Figure 35: Extensively decorated upper body fragment (P6B42x1, top) and lower body fragment (DD19B1x1, bottom) from Uğurlu Höyük.

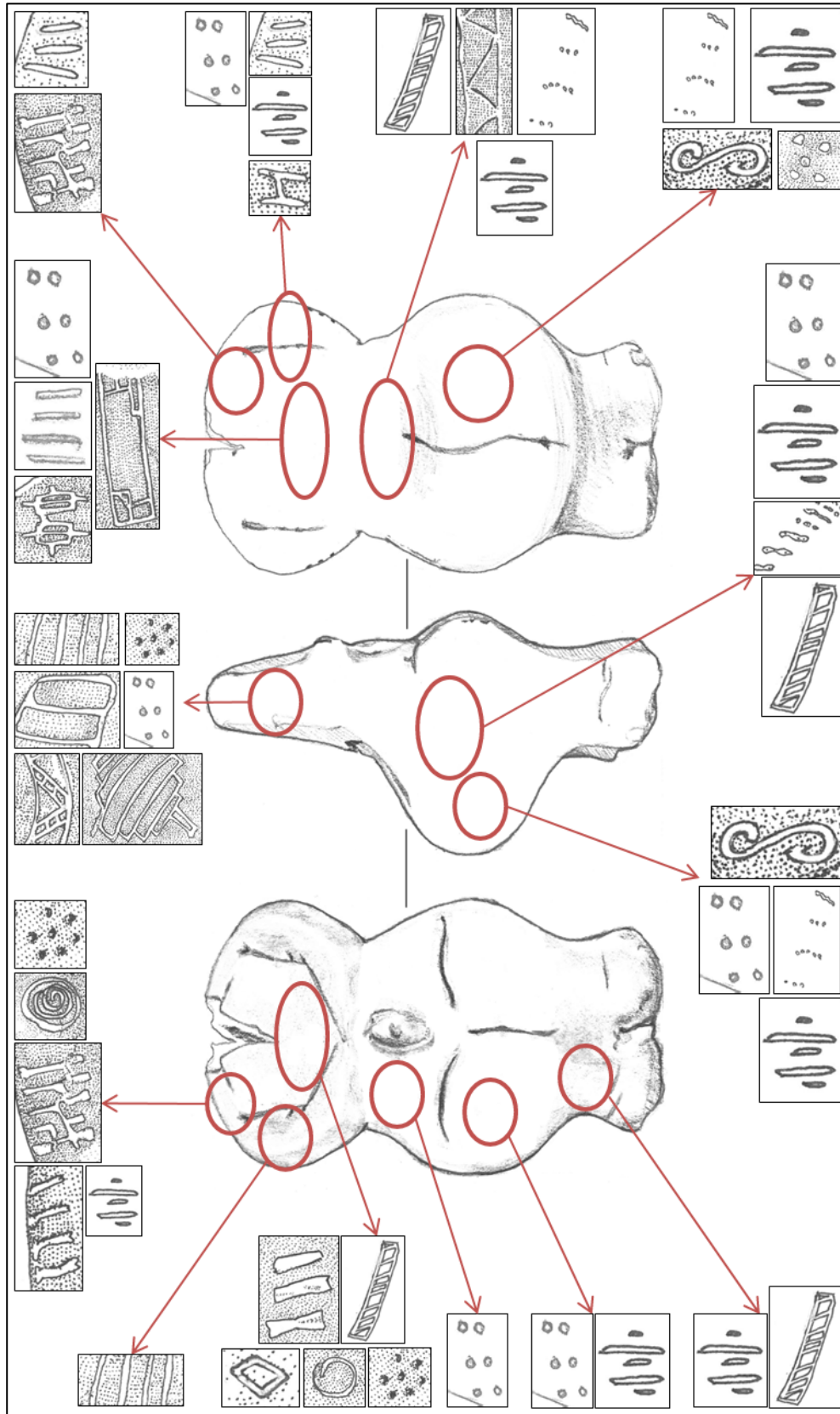


Figure 36: Generalized distribution pattern of various incised motifs on the body of an idealized Uğurlu Höyük figurine.

As a general rule, incised decorative patterns can be encountered on various parts of the figurines (Figure 36). Nevertheless, they seem to be concentrated on the hips, upper legs, and the torso (both at the back and at the front). At the same time, a few of the geometric patterns seem to be slightly more associated with certain parts of the body. For example, above mentioned rectangular bands tend to be wrapping up thighs and buttocks; although cases where they are obliquely moving on the sides of the arms are also present (but they are only rarely encountered on the frontal torso itself).

Likewise, the sides of the arms tend to contain parallel lines on them, generally lining up horizontally, almost giving the impression of arm bands. Meanwhile, the back surfaces of the curving arms (towards the edges of the back part of the torso) often carry sets of three parallel lines (in some cases the one in the middle being symmetrically longer than the rest). Variants of this pattern with different numbers of lines, sometimes with dots substituting for a symmetric pair of lines, or through combinations of two sets are also popular; such sets can occasionally be seen on other parts of the body also, but they are more associated with this specific part of the back torso.

Frontal surfaces of the torso can be seen to contain circular incisions or circular dot concentrations in similar sizes at the sides (Figure 37a, c and d). At other times, there are two or three dots aligned on a horizontal line crossing the frontal torso. It is hard to tell if the circular shapes were meant to be an imitation of the similarly placed holes seen on the figurine UH10Y69³³ (Figure 37b; this figurine and a few more similarly pierced examples will be returned to at the end of this section), or if they were an analogue of other geometric patterns on other parts of the body, or if they were meant to convey a depiction of the breasts. If they are indeed meant to be breasts, it is still not certain whether they are an abstraction of the female breasts or the flatter male counterparts. Yet in one case³⁴ (Figure 37d) the same circle includes within itself a curious lozenge-like motif. Further arguing against a possible representation of breasts is the observation that circular shapes and dots are not limited to this area of the frontal torso on the figurines. An example is the circular dot concentration above the shoulder of the figurine in Figure 37a³⁵;

³³ Surface find.

³⁴ CC19B27x4

³⁵ UH10Y68

the same figurine also carries the same motif on its back surface in a different spot. Continuous circles (opposed to the circular patterns created through the use of many dots) like the one in Figure 37c³⁶ do however appear much more rarely on other parts of the body. Yet, in all these cases, they seem to be positioned close to the edge of the torso, away from where one would normally expect breasts to be located.

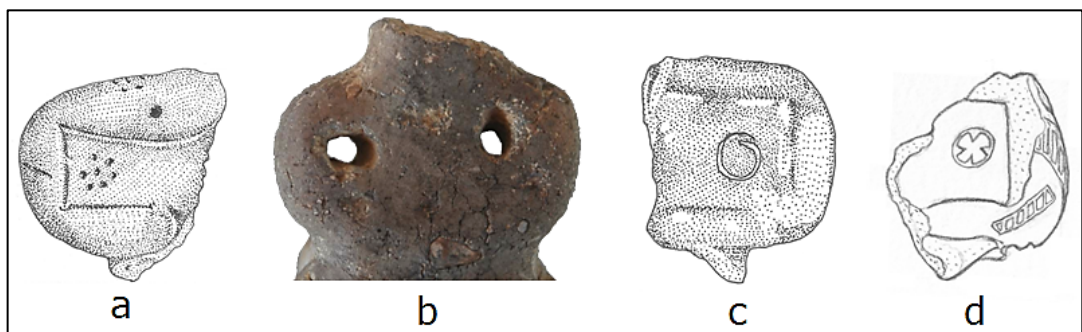


Figure 37: Different manifestations of circular elements on the frontal torso on Uğurlu Höyük figurines: a: circular dot concentration, b: hole penetrating to the other side, c & d: incised circles (objects not to scale)³⁷.

When the presence of incised decorative elements is inspected with respect to the occupation phases in Uğurlu Höyük, it is seen that they first appear on figurines in Phase IV (Table 6). Figurines in Phase VI and V so far yielded no examples of incised decoration, even though incised lines were used on some of the figurines to mark out facial details in Phase V. The popularity of incised decoration eventually reaches its zenith in Phase III. Both its overall frequency among the assemblage and its tendency to cover the body extensively seem to decrease after this time.

One observation to note is that incised geometric patterns in Uğurlu Höyük are a phenomenon restricted to the clay figurines only. While incisions were employed to depict the face or bring out the curves of the body on marble or bone figurines, geometric patterns seen on clay examples are absent on figurines made of non-clay materials. For some reason, the people of prehistoric

³⁶ P6B16x6

³⁷ a: UH10Y68 (surface find), b: UH10Y69 (surface find - cropped), c: P6B16x6 (Phase III), d: CC19B27x4 (surface fill).

Uğurlu Höyük chose to execute their decorative motifs only on figurines they shaped out of clay.

Table 6: Numbers and frequencies of figurines with incised decoration through Uğurlu Höyük occupation levels.

	Number	Percentage
Stray Finds	22	69%
Phase II	1	50%
Phase II-III Transitional	1	50%
Phase III	29	71%
Phase III/IV mixed fill	3	50%
Phase IV	5	63%
Phase V	0	0%
Phase VI	0	0%
TOTAL	61	64%

It can be seen above that 64% of all the figurines were decorated with incised patterns. If non-clay figurines are excluded, this proportion rises to 70%. Highly fragmented state of the figurine assemblage does not seem to be distorting these percentages, because incised decoration proportions among overall upper body (n=30) and lower body (n=24) parts are also 79% and 75%, respectively. What this means is that these incised patterns were executed frequently on all parts of the figurines except the heads. Head pieces do not seem to carry incised decoration as much (22%, n=2), and this does not seem to be a result of material diversity seen on heads (among the clay heads, the proportion of incised decoration is a comparable 29%). Meanwhile, on those figurines which are the least fragmented (which contain at least some part of both upper and lower bodies, i.e. upper & lower body pieces) the ratio is 33% (n=5) (42% among the clay examples). In these 5 decorated full body discernable pieces, incised decoration seems to focus on only the hips and the buttocks; but even

then, they are much less pervasive in their extent and were applied less rigorously³⁸.

While the few figurines in Phase VI and Phase V do not boast any of the incised decorations discussed above, a figurine head from Phase V (BB20-21B100x9) is one of the only two painted examples from Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 38). The paint is conserved only partially and faintly on the figurine, but it seems that it was of a light orange color on a beige surface. It could have been arranged as a band covering parts of the face and crossing the profile in an oblique manner, but in any case it is hard to define its exact borders.



Figure 38: Painted figurine head (BB20-21B100x9) from Uğurlu Höyük Phase V with the remaining paint layer visible at the front and in small patches at the back.

Second example of painting is present on the surface figurine Yüzey (a). In this case the object was not preserved well; and only a small, reddish-painted section on the upper back surface is visible (Figure 39). It is not possible to tell whether there was a pattern involved or if the entire surface was covered. Curiously, the inspection of the back surface of this figurine reveals that in

³⁸ Especially considering that the most extensively decorated one among these five (P5B60x15) is completely missing its right side, and unlike the others which are only missing their heads, it is hardly a full body piece even though it has preserved parts from both its upper and lower body.

addition to the head socket on its neck, another tubular hole penetrates from its back towards the breakage plane on the waist. Whether this was originally caused by an overenthusiastic application of an organic stick to bring together the upper and lower body parts together, or if figurine was meant to be performed by raising it using sticks is not clear. In the latter scenario the hole would have to be mounted from the upper body (meaning the figurine would be held upside-down). Another possibility is that the second hole was used for the insertion of a second head piece.



Figure 39: Uğurlu Höyük surface figurine Yüzey (a) with remnants of reddish paint visible on the upper back surface.

Meanwhile, the figurine head from the earliest Phase VI (BB20-21B114x4) contains thin, parallel dark lines partially preserved on the circumference of its flat top which could be the third example of painted decoration in Uğurlu Höyük, perhaps depicting the hair (Figure 91); the poor condition of this small piece prevents a detailed examination.

Lastly, it was mentioned that some of the figurines contain holes on their upper body near the arms, piercing through the torso and opening up to the other side. It is not clear whether this is a decorative element or an anatomical one (nor if the distinction was relevant in the first place). Yet, on the surface figurine UH10Y69, the hole seems to correspond to the actual gap between the curved arms and the torso (Figure 40a). Some other figurines also host piercings in a similar placement. However the sizes and exact locations of these holes differ: placed at the corner near the elbow or near the shoulder of the curving arms and in smaller sizes. It is possible that the more typical smaller holes (Figure 40b-c) are an abbreviation of the same gap on UH10Y69. On the other hand, one figurine (UH10Y68³⁹, Figure 37a)) has a similar hole located closer to the neck (on the shoulder) which does not penetrate all the way to the back.



Figure 40: Three figurines with piercing holes on their upper bodies (a: UH10Y69 [cropped], b: P5B21x1, c: O6B3x17⁴⁰).

The possibility that some of the figurines were displayed or interacted by hanging them using these holes is hard to dismiss conclusively, but the typically bulky lower part of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines make it very unlikely that they were worn around in their complete state.

³⁹ Surface find.

⁴⁰ Surface find, Phase III, and Phase II-III transitional, respectively.

3.3.1.4 Fragmentation

One of the most noticeable aspects of the Uğurlu Höyük figurine assemblage is the extremely fragmented state of its members. It is striking that most of the figurines are represented just by a single limb or two. Moreover, a glance at the figurine fragments reveals a pattern in their fragmentation: they were regularly broken into four body pieces resulting from the combination of two symmetrical axes (horizontal & vertical, Figure 41).

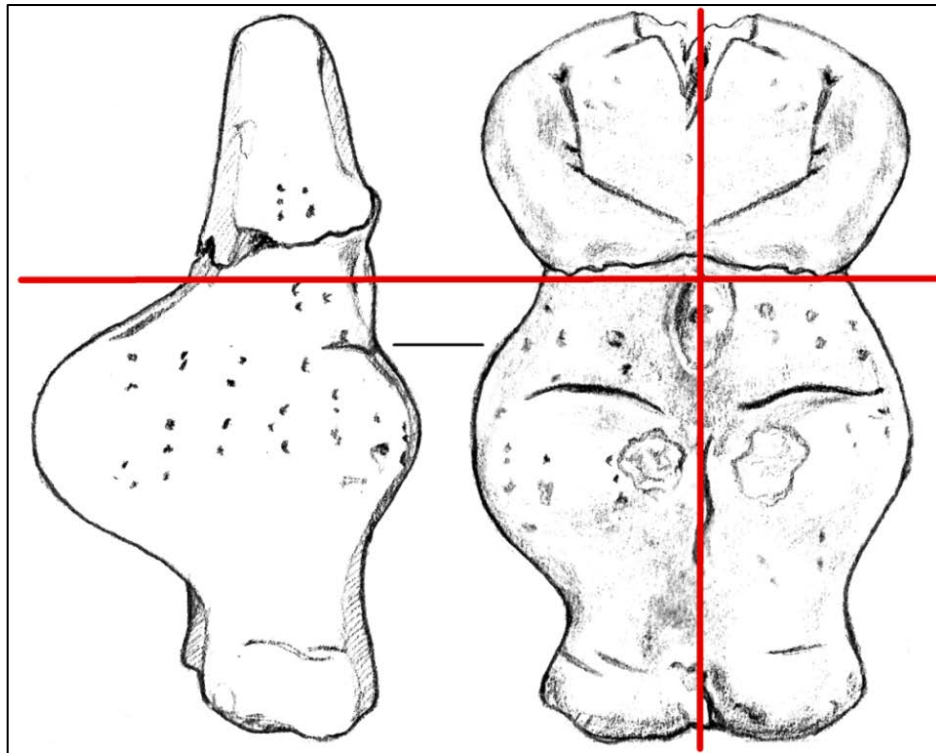


Figure 41: Typical axes of fragmentation on an idealized figurine in Uğurlu Höyük.

This fragmentation scheme results in independent upper body and lower body pieces and their left and right components. Meanwhile the heads (which are very rarely found attached to the body at all) form a fifth category of fragments. Nevertheless, not all the figurines were broken in this way. A select few figurines managed to survive with parts of both their upper and lower bodies - although in much lower numbers compared to individual lower and upper body pieces (these more complete pieces were in fact crucial in establishing a typological scheme for all of the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük).

Breakage in horizontal axis is stable in its location: the waist. Owing to the tripartite production of the body with two lower pieces (left and right) and one upper piece, figurines are broken predictably where the upper body meets the lower body. Secondly, both upper and lower body pieces were fragmented through the middle vertical axis resulting in left and right varieties of both upper and lower body categories.

In the case of the lower body pieces, the planar surface by which the left and right legs were attached to each other (while the clay was still wet) seems to have enabled the (predicted) symmetrical breakage of the lower body with ease. Yet sometimes, it seems that an upper-lower fragmentation of the whole body had sufficed: not all lower body pieces were further broken into left and right fragments. For the upper body pieces the situation is slightly more nuanced than the lower body pieces regarding left - right fragmentation. It was explained that upper body was shaped in one piece before firing, unlike the lower body. Yet, left-right duality is just as common on the upper body fragments as it is on the lower body. It seems that the head socket which typically penetrates almost as deep as the waist on the upper body pieces have facilitated breakage down the middle by forming a weak structural plane, which could be exploited to anticipate and control the direction of the fragmentation.

At the same time, not having a head socket apparently did not prevent the community in Uğurlu Höyük from attempting to break those pieces. Figurines with head sockets are not necessarily broken either. In fact, arm positioning seems to have been a bigger determinant on whether the upper body of a figurine was going to be broken in half or not: figurines which placed their arms asymmetrically on the body were less often broken on their upper half compared to the pieces with a symmetrical placement. Those upper body pieces without a head socket were also broken (although less commonly than those with head sockets) resulting in a comparable left-right dualism, but these breaks were not as smooth and regular. There are also a few cases, in both upper and lower bodies, on which irregular fragmentation took place during the recovery of the archaeological material.

Besides the horizontal and vertical fragmentation of the body, one final axis of fragmentation concerns the heads. Independent of whether the head was attached or inserted, it is seen that decapitation was just as popular as the dismemberment of the figurine body. A comparison of the numbers of attached

and inserted head pieces with the upper body pieces reveals that the number of attached heads are in equilibrium with the number of corresponding body pieces without head sockets, but the inserted heads are much less numerous than those body pieces with head sockets (Table 7). One category of objects (possible head insertions) which can bridge this gap between these numbers is discussed at Section 3.3.2.1 of this chapter.

Table 7: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurine head and body pieces according to their occupation levels⁴¹.

	Figurines lacking head socket	Attached head pieces	Figurines with head socket	Inserted head pieces
Stray Finds	8	3	12	-
Phase II	1	-	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	2	-	-	-
Phase III	2	5	19	1
Phase III/IV mixed fill	1	1	1	1
Phase IV	-	-	2	-
Phase V	-	2	1	1
Phase VI	-	1	-	-
TOTAL	13	12	35	3

One thing that should be mentioned is that the widespread fragmentation of Uğurlu Höyük figurines had at the latest begun by Phase IV (Table 8 and Table 9). Independent head pieces are found in both Phase VI and Phase V, however it is not certain that the upper-lower and left-right fragmentation was conducted in these periods. Two figurines from Phase V retain both their upper and lower bodies, one complete with its head while the other lacks it, but no

⁴¹ Those body pieces on which it is impossible to determine whether a head socket was present or not were omitted from the numbers. Few figurines complete with their body and heads were counted in both “figurines lacking head socket” and “attached head pieces”.

independent fragments of upper or lower body were found. With this said, one of these two relatively complete figurines (BB20-21B71x4; Figure 67) does carry the possibility of being intentionally fragmented. This figurine is partially missing the left side of its body. The plane of breakage is somewhat tilted, unlike the consistently vertical fragmentation observed in the later figurines. It is possible that its fragmentation followed the alignment of its head socket, which is similarly tilted, all the way down instead of being smoothly broken in half which might have been the original intention.

In any case, very limited sample size in these earliest phases is a factor that blurs our vision. In contrast, Phase IV and Phase III figurines supply the bulk of evidence regarding the fragmentation of the figurines. Even in the latest stages of occupation in Uğurlu Höyük, it is observed that the figurines (now very limited in numbers) were still being broken in the way established in the previous periods.

Table 8: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurine fragments according to their occupation levels.

	Upper Body	Lower Body	Upper & Lower Body	Head
Stray Finds	16	10	5	1
Phase II	-	1	1	-
Phase II-III Transitional	1	-	1	-
Phase III	17	13	5	6
Phase III/IV mixed fill	2	1	1	2
Phase IV	2	6	-	-
Phase V	-	-	2	2
Phase VI	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	38	31	15	12

Looking at the overall picture, it can be seen that the total numbers of upper and lower body pieces in Uğurlu Höyük are comparable (38 versus 31, Table 8). Left and right body pieces also follow each other closely in number (24 versus 21, Table 9). In the intersection of horizontal and vertical fragmentation,

however, it is seen that the lower left body pieces are much more numerous than the lower right body pieces. It is not clear if there was a preference in this manner, or why it existed if it did, but this difference in numbers is partially compensated by the reversed disparity for the upper body left-right fragments.

Table 9: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük upper and lower body figurine fragments according to their occupation levels⁴².

	Upper Body			Lower Body		
	Left	Right	Both	Left	Right	Both
Stray Finds	8	4	4	3	2	3
Phase II	-	-	-	1	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	-	1	-	-	-	-
Phase III	4	10	3	3	4	4
Phase III/IV mixed fill	-	-	1	1	-	-
Phase IV	1	-	1	3	-	1
Phase V	-	-	-	-	-	-
Phase VI	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	13	15	9	11	6	8
	37			25		

Lastly, it must be noted that in spite of the numerous figurine fragments coming from various parts of the mound, none of the fragments have matched with one another so far (see Figures 42 and 43). Whatever happened to the remaining parts of the figurines for now remains a question mark. Possible explanations will be put forward in Chapter 4.

⁴² If a lower body piece misses a leg but retains its waist in both sides it was still counted as a lower right body piece. Some figurines have both their left and right portions intact and they were indicated on the table. Those which were too fragmented were omitted, and so were the heads and those figurines with both upper & lower body pieces. Yet it must be noted that the latter are not necessarily complete with all their limbs: some still miss their lowermost extremities, while a few examples are missing an arm. One upper & lower body piece (P5B60x15 - Phase III) misses its right side completely.



Figure 42: Some of the upper body figurine fragments from Uğurlu Höyük.



Figure 43: Some of the lower body figurine fragments from Uğurlu Höyük.

3.3.1.5 Discard and Context

The largest portion of Uğurlu Höyük figurines were recovered from the Phase III occupation, followed by the figurines found in stratigraphically unsecure contexts (Table 10). It is striking is that the number of figurines from Phase II, which is the most extensively excavated level in Uğurlu Höyük, is very low in comparison to the other phases.

Table 10: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their occupation levels.

	Number of figurines
Stray Finds	32
Phase I	0
Phase II	2
Phase II-III Transitional	2
Phase III	41
Phase III/IV mixed fill	6
Phase IV	8
Phase V	4
Phase VI	1
TOTAL	96

A considerable thirty-two figurines are surface finds: they were either encountered on the surface or were discovered in surface fills (uppermost layers of the soil, typically 10 to 20 centimeters deep, disturbed mostly by agricultural activity among other formation processes) where stratigraphic relations were distorted or missing. Phase I yielded no figurines or fragments. Two figurines were found in Phase II contexts, and another two were found in the transitional Phase II-III layers. Meanwhile, 41 of 96 figurines in Uğurlu Höyük come from Phase III. An additional six figurines come either from Phase IV contexts disturbed by Phase III activity, or from contexts between Phase III

and IV which are awaiting further excavation to determine their exact stratigraphic relation. Phase IV is excavated in a much smaller total area than Phase III, but yielded eight figurines. Phase V is also investigated in a limited area and four figurines dating to this period have been found, while what information we have on Phase VI comes from a sounding trench which yielded a single figurine piece.

When the proportions of figurines from securely stratified contexts (i.e. omitting surface and mixed finds) are inspected, it is seen that almost three quarters of figurines were recovered from Phase III (Figure 44).

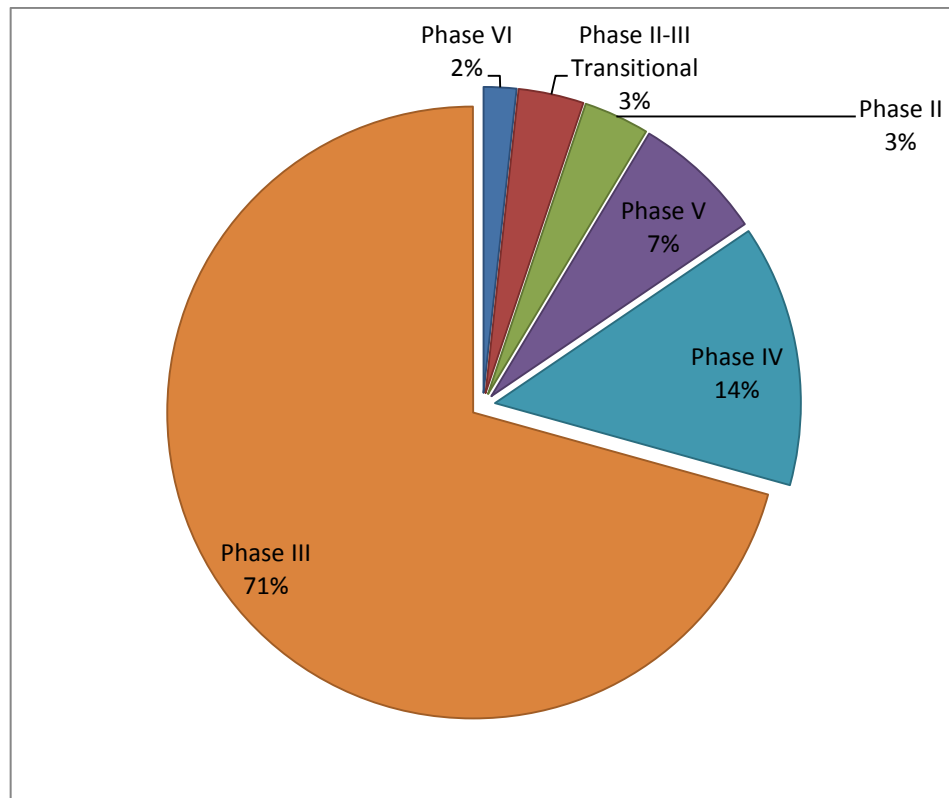


Figure 44: Proportions of stratified Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their phases.

The picture drawn so far is that figurines are present in the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage from the earliest stages of the settlement, gradually increasing in numbers and reaching its highest (by far) in Phase III. However in Phase II a very sharp decline takes place.

A closer look at the find spots of the stratified figurines reveals four different contexts that they have been recovered from in Uğurlu Höyük. Overwhelming majority of the figurines were recovered from regular fills, while smaller numbers are coming from pits, buildings and isolated floor/platform segments (Figure 45). The features labelled as floor/platform segments are those isolated instances of compact floors which could not be followed further nor linked with any other architectural feature. They were either originally a part of a building, or they functioned as independent platforms.

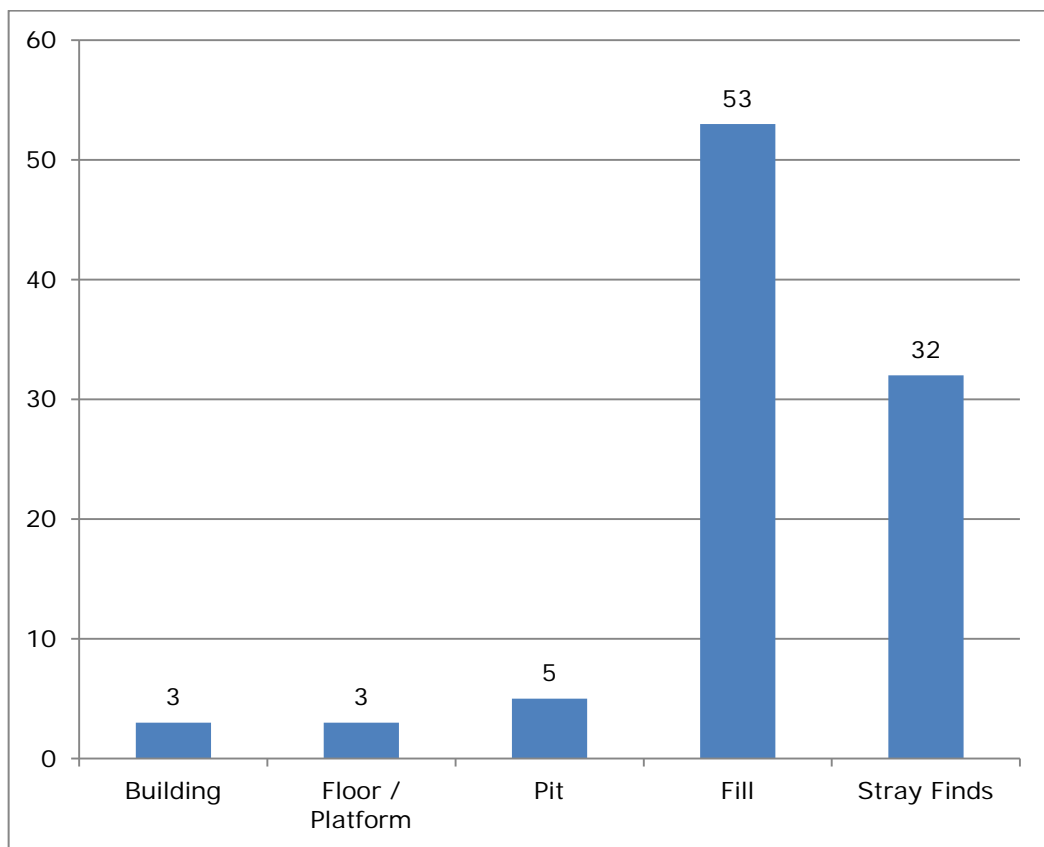


Figure 45: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their contexts.

Phase VI, IV and II figurines all come from settlement fills, while the figurines were recovered from more diverse contexts in Phase V and III: from inside pits, buildings or on floor segments (Figure 46). Yet, the figurines do not seem to be preferring one context over another in different phases: with the exception of the two clay figurines from the Phase II-III transitional Building 4 (which can be

thought of as the final stage of the Phase III occupation of the building), all the figurines in all the phases seem to come dominantly from regular fills.

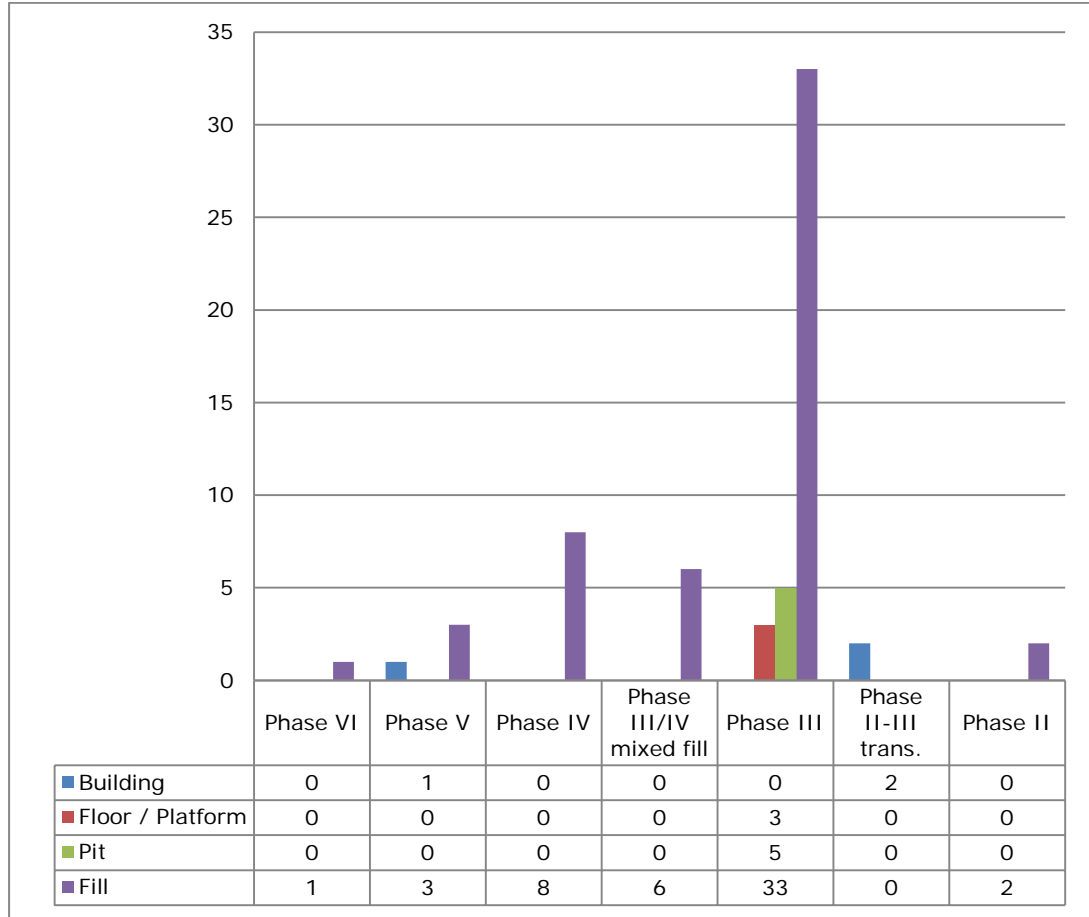


Figure 46: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their stratification and context.

Neither is a major differentiation present based on the raw materials of the figurines (Figure 47). Exceptions are the two bone figurines⁴³, both inserted head pieces from different phases, one of which was found in a building and the other on a floor/platform segment. One marble lower body piece⁴⁴ is notable in that it is one of the few figurines found directly inside a pit. Two of the remaining marble figurines were found in fills and another two are lacking contextual information. Both two figurines carved from seashells were also

⁴³ P5B161x2 and BB20-21B31x2; Phase III and Phase V, respectively.

⁴⁴ P6B87x1, Phase III.

recovered from fills. Likewise, small numbers of clay figurines found in non-fill contexts are the exceptions rather than the rule.

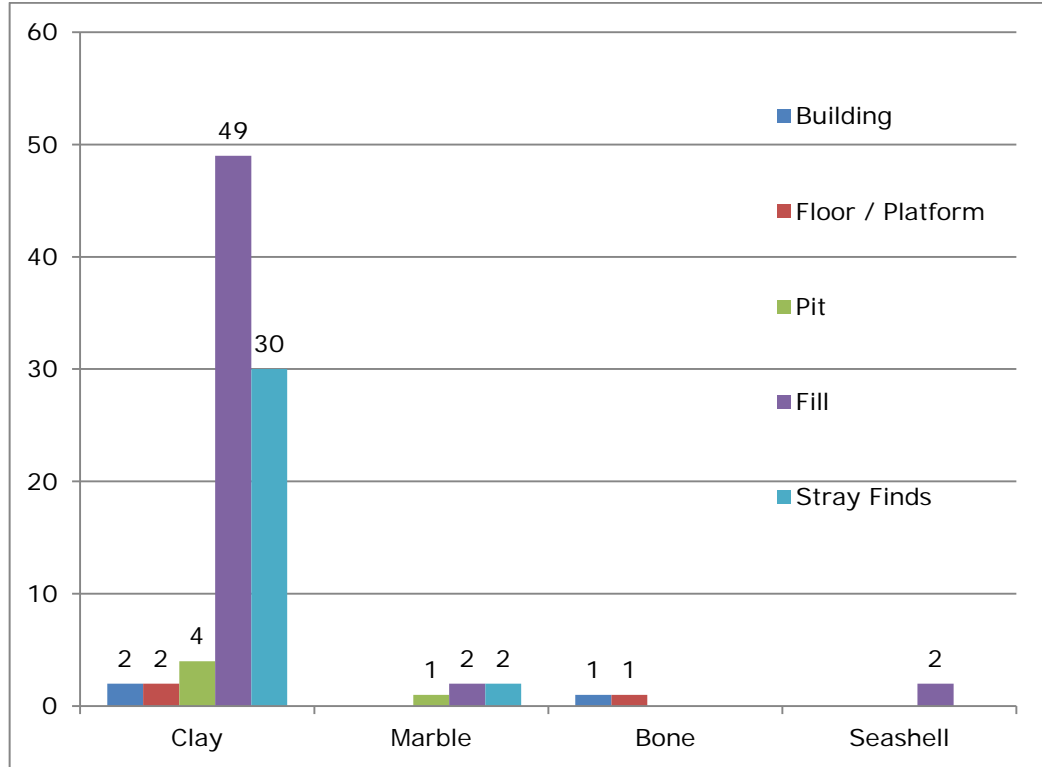


Figure 47: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their raw materials and contexts.

There is, however, a spatial accumulation of figurines on the northwestern part of mound around the area of the pit concentration of Phase III: a large fraction of all the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük is recovered from the trenches O5-P5-P6 and the immediately surrounding area (Figure 48). Figurines from Phase IV through Phase II were encountered in this locality (while the few Phase VI and V figurines are from the southeastern part of the mound). A comparable scene is present within the figurine related finds categories mentioned at the beginning: it will be seen later in this chapter that a considerable portion of these objects were also uncovered in the very same northwestern part of the mound.

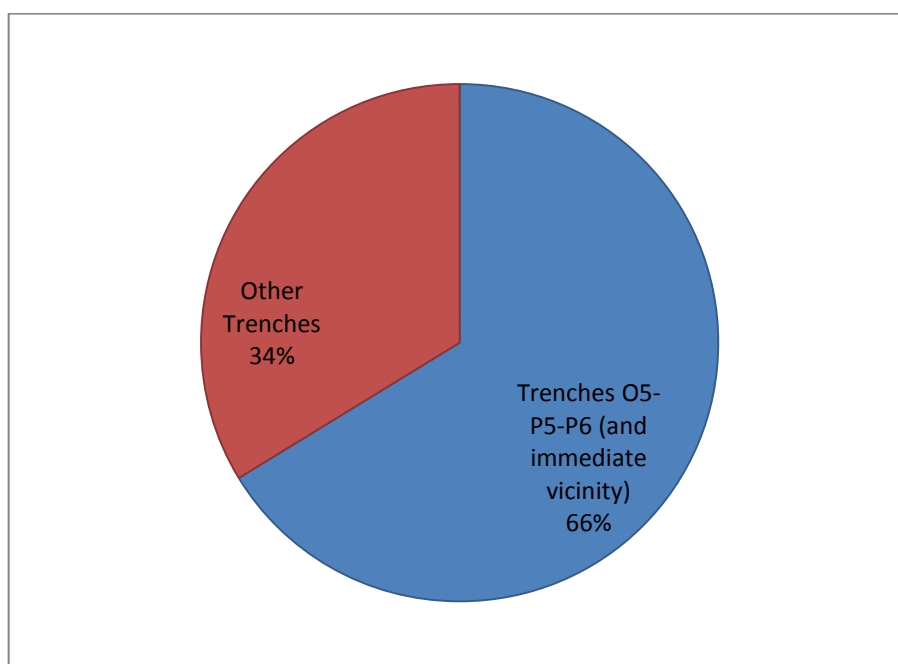


Figure 48: Proportions of Uğurlu Höyük figurines based on their spatial distribution on the mound⁴⁵.

Occupation of this area starts at the latest in Phase IV with a number of buildings following each other in a sequence through time, some of which might have been abandoned with ritual activity involving a small number of pits. Towards the end of this phase it is seen that the figurines have shifted in their concentration to this locality. Meanwhile these same trenches then host a large number of plastered pits in Phase III, the earliest of which might have been dug at the transitional levels at the end of Phase IV. Some of the Phase III pits yielded large numbers of pottery sherds and small finds, while the fills of the surrounding area were also quite rich in content. Multiple burials, all within the same pit (Pit Ö187) earlier in Phase III are noteworthy; and another pit (Pit Ö25) in Phase III proper accommodated a single partial burial of an adult male (these two instances of mortuary practice being the only examples in Uğurlu Höyük so far). Building 4, neighboring the trenches O5-P5-P6 from the northeast, had already been built by the end of Phase III and seems to have been contemporary with some of the pits; while during the transition to Phase

⁴⁵ Surface finds were omitted, while figurines from surface fills were included in the graph based on the assumption that they would not have travelled far enough from their location of original deposition to affect the results.

II it was the focus of the activities in this area all by itself. Yet later in Phase II, this focus seems to have shifted away altogether from this locality.

A diachronic plan of this part of the mound is provided in Figure 49 for reference. Figures 50 to 53 on the other hand present all the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük and selected related finds visually according to their contexts through the occupation phases and create reference points for the phase by phase contextual analysis of the figurines that follows.

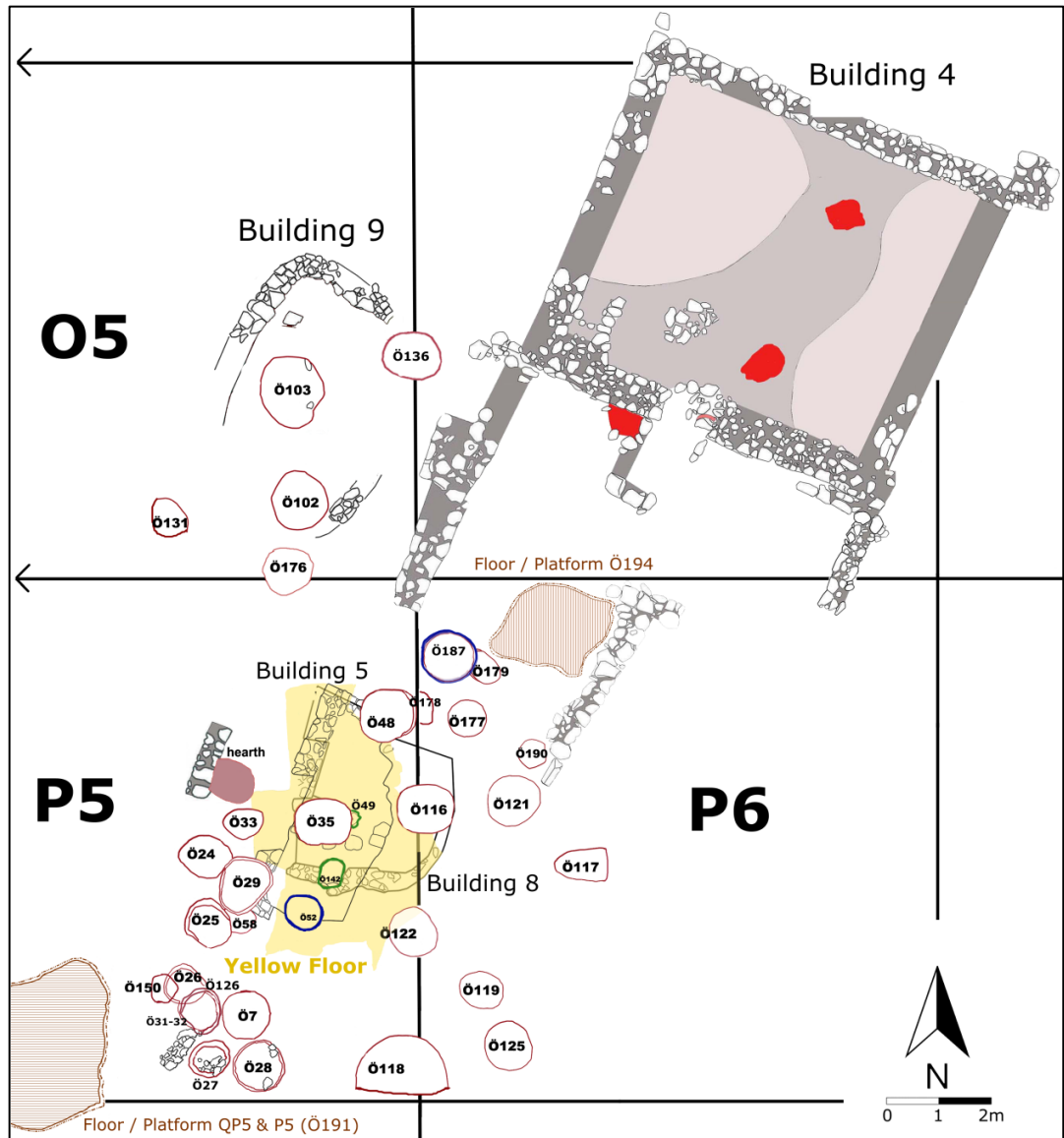


Figure 49: Diachronic plan of the trenches O5-P5-P6 showing major features through Phase IV to Phase II in Uğurlu Höyük (base plan courtesy of Cansu Karamurat, modified by the author).



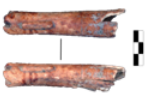








Figurines	Phase VI	Phase V	Phase IV	Phase III/IV mixed fill
	Fill 	Fill  Building 2 	Fill  Building 5  Building 9  Pit Ö52  Fill (selected): 	Fill 
Related Finds		Fill 		Fill 

Figure 50: Figurines and related finds according to their context, Uğurlu Höyük Phases VI, V, IV and Phase III / IV mixed fill.

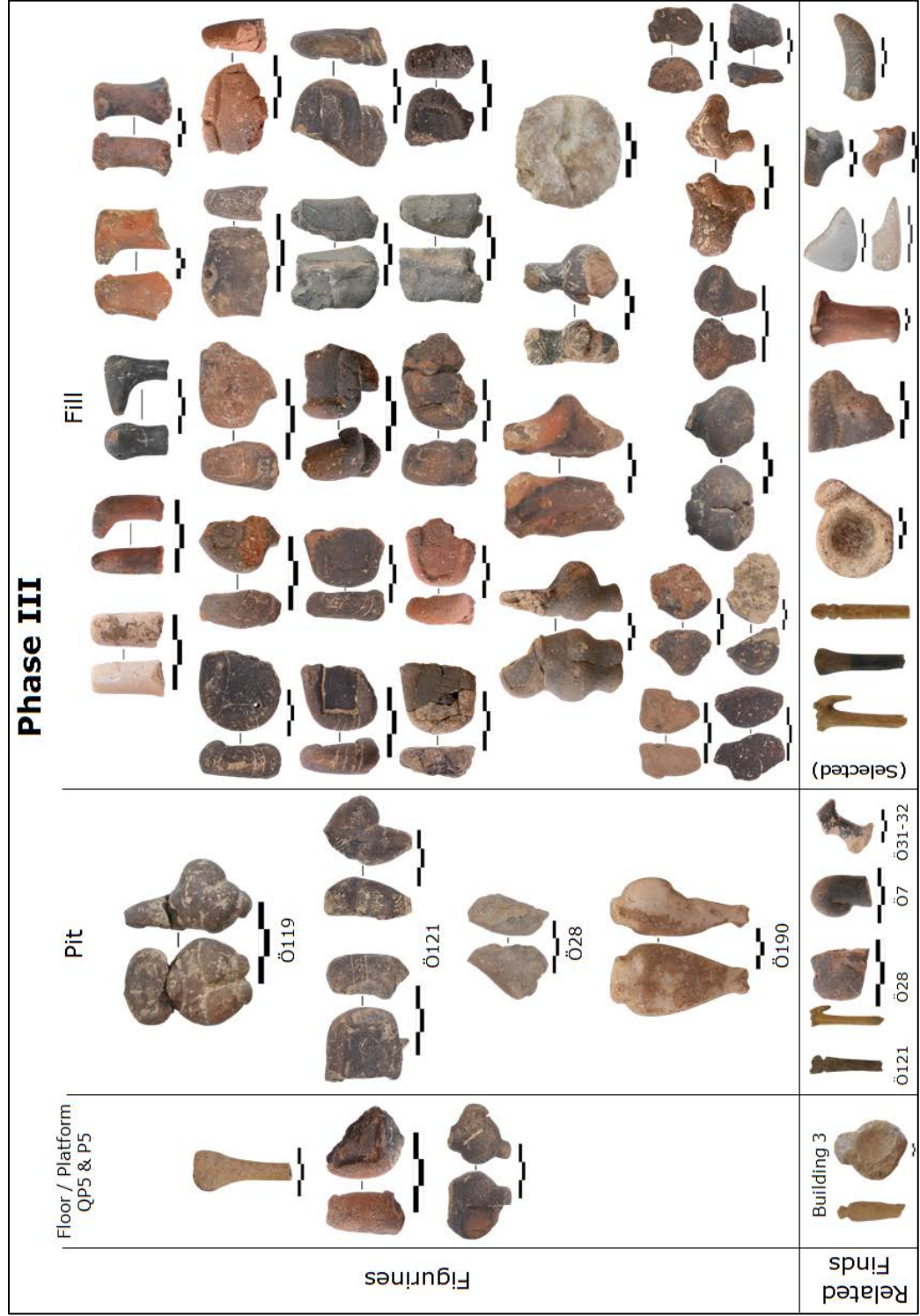


Figure 51 : Figurines and related finds according to their context, Uğurlu Höyük Phase III.

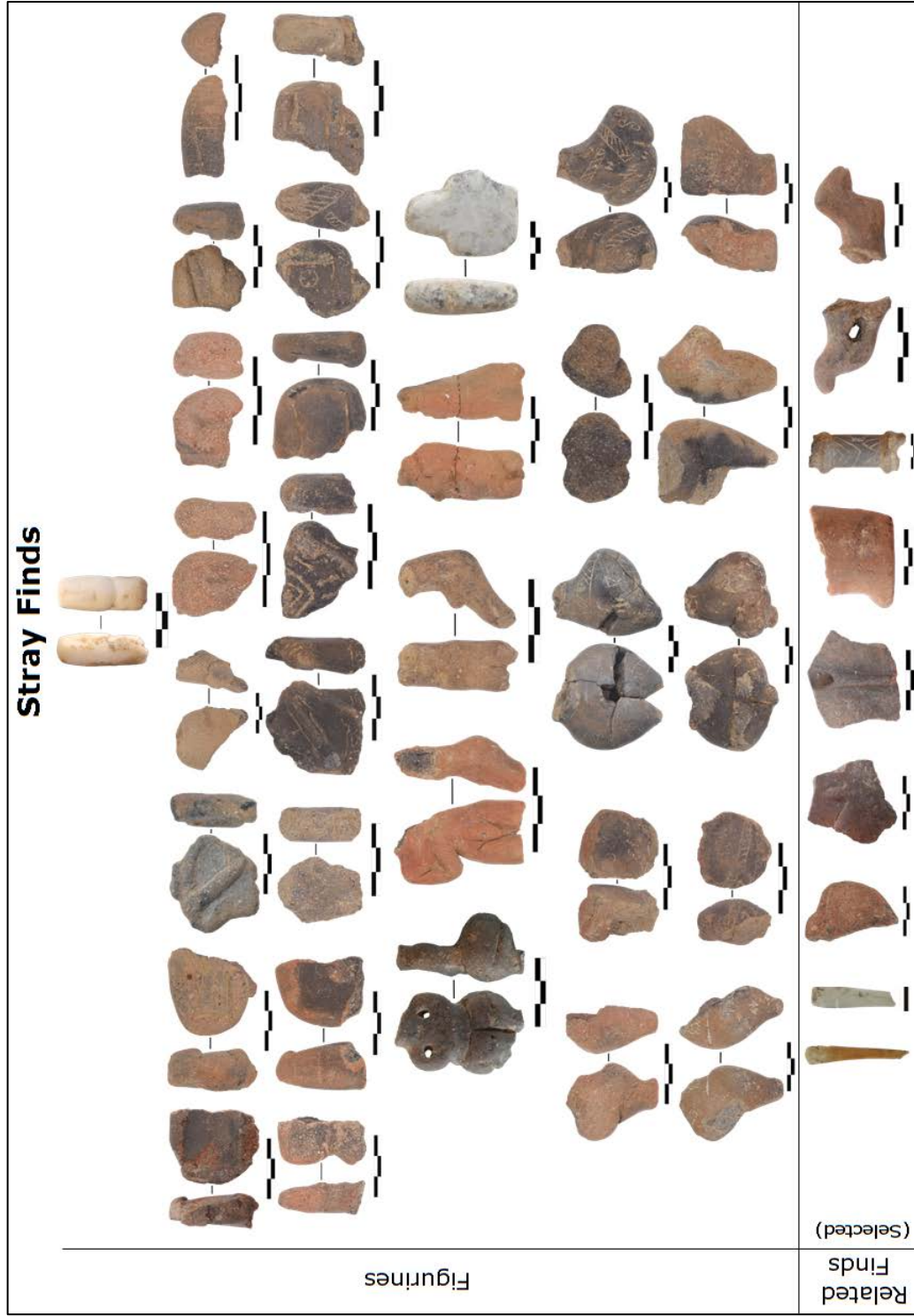


Figure 53: Figurines and related finds from Uğurlu Höyük, stray finds.

Phase VI yielded a single figurine head from a sounding in trench BB20-21. Currently it is not possible to associate it with any architectural feature, but it must be noted that so far investigation of Phase VI in Uğurlu Höyük is also in a very preliminary stage. This particular figurine head (BB20-21B114x4) in Phase VI does not seem to be very well preserved. Contours on the figurine hint at possible facial features that gave the figurine some identity at one stage. Circumference of the top of the flat head was decorated with thin black lines. Overall, however, not much can be discussed about this figurine due to its poorly preserved state.

Following Phase V yielded four figurines, but like Phase VI, these figurines are limited to the same southeastern trench BB20-21. Here Building 2 yielded one figurine head from worked bone with some facial features painted in red (BB20-21B31x2) which was used as a head insertion. Three figurines were found among the fill in the same general area which might have been associated with Building 2 in the earlier stages of Phase V. Another curious group of finds in this phase are the ceramic sherds which contain representations of humans (or parts of the human body) in relief. One is a red colored pot sherd with an almost complete human figure (BB20-21B29x1) from the latest stages of Phase V. One of the other two depicts a face (BB22B3x2, from a trench slightly to the east) and the other depicts the lower portion of a human body in profile (CC21B24, from a trench slightly to the south).

A shift between Phase V and Phase IV in Uğurlu Höyük takes place as far as the find spots of the figurines are concerned. Unlike the southeastern figurines of Phase V, in Phase IV all the figurines were recovered from fills in the trenches P5 and P6 at the northwestern part of the mound (Figure 54). In Phase IV, this locality witnesses a sequence of buildings (mostly isolated wall foundations) and a small number of pits. Another interesting feature is an isolated floor/platform segment with a yellowish color. Meanwhile, the small number of pits towards the end of this period anticipates the more intensive pit opening activities that will take place in this general locality in the following Phase III. The location of the pits coincides curiously with some of the architectural elements pertaining to different buildings.

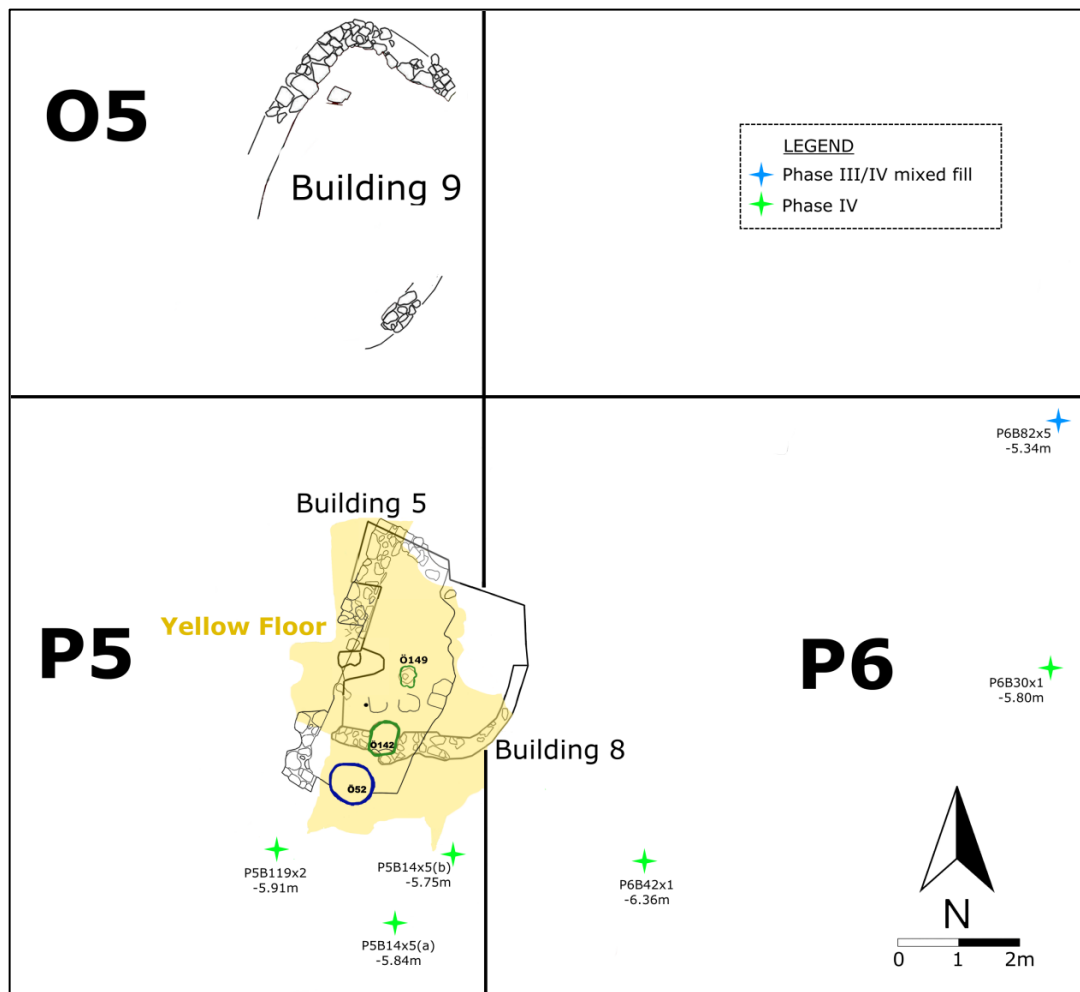


Figure 54: Plan of trenches O5-P5-P6 through Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV together with the figurines⁴⁶ (base plan courtesy of Cansu Karamurat, modified by the author).

One of these pits, Pit Ö52, yielded three possible head insertions (note also the presence of head sockets on many of the Phase IV figurines) and a stone vessel whose form is reminiscent of some of the abstracted figurines of Uğurlu Höyük. It should be noted that all the figurines except P6B42x1 were found in levels higher than the buildings in question, and are were likely deposited towards the end of Phase IV, post-dating these structures. Nevertheless, the intensive digging activity in following Phase III obscures our vision of Phase IV in this particular area; it is responsible for the wide disturbance and the isolation of the architectural remains of Phase IV in these trenches.

⁴⁶ Figurine IDs and the find depths are provided if available in this and the following plan. Note that a slight NW-SE topographical gradient is present on the mound surface.

Four figurine pieces were retrieved from an isolated trench (V18) in the eastern part of the mound, all from mixed Phase III/IV contexts (including the single inserted head made of *Spondylus*, V18B8(a)). During its excavation, this same area yielded a wall segment with an associated yellow colored floor segment made of compressed soil, which might be dating to Phase IV (Erdoğu, 2011a, pp. 120-121; 2012a). It is notable that five more figurines were also recovered from the same area either in surface fills or collected as surface finds. Another figurine (P6B82x5) from a fill with similarly uncertain Phase III/IV mixed context (likely due to the disturbance of aforementioned Phase III activity) was found in the northwestern trench P6 (Figure 54).

Lastly, a unique figurine (DD20B16x1) was found below Building 3 (which probably served as a domestic building; Erdoğu, 2014b) in the southeastern section of the mound. This figurine is special in that it retains the only explicit depiction of female breasts among the Uğurlu Höyük figurine assemblage, in addition to its depiction of the skeletal framework (the spine and the ribs) on its back. Building 3 is dated to Phase III, however the underlying layers in which this figurine have been found have yielded mixed material from both Phase IV and Phase III.

A quite literal figurine “explosion” takes place in Phase III as the number of figurines in this phase is more than the combined number from all the other phases (excluding stray finds). Parallel to this, Phase III figurines also exhibit the most diversity with respect to their find contexts. Out of the 41 figurines in Uğurlu Höyük Phase III, 5 were recovered directly from inside four different pits (all within the pit cluster in the northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6), while 3 were found on the same floor/platform segment (Floor QP5 & P5, right next to the aforementioned pit cluster in the northwestern part of the mound) and 33 are coming from regular fills.

What is striking is that of the 33 figurines found in Phase III fills, 29 comes from fills in the area of the same pit cluster in the northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6 and another 2 comes from the very close vicinity (Figure 55). On the contrary, the large complex of Building 3 in the southeastern section of the mound has not yielded any figurines itself, but the remaining 2 figurines from Phase III fills were found among the fills around the same locality and might have been originally related with this building.

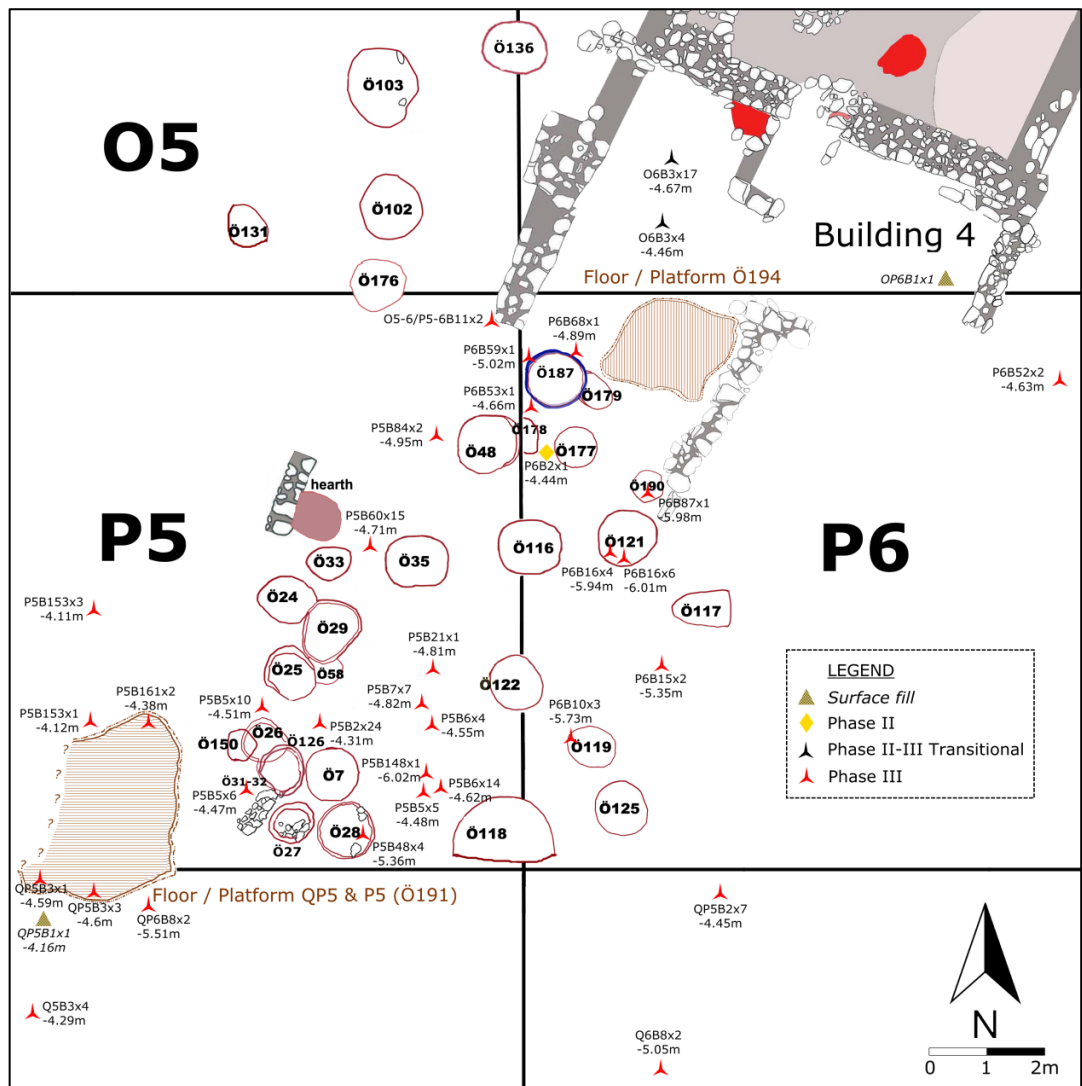


Figure 55: Plan of trenches O5-P5-P6 through Uğurlu Höyük Phases III and II together with the figurines (base plan courtesy of Cansu Karamurat, modified by the author).

It can be safely asserted that the intensification of figurine use in this area, which began in Phase IV, reaches its climax in Phase III: 39 of the 41 figurines in Phase III were recovered from this locality, either directly or indirectly related with the architectural features found in these trenches.

As mentioned, the four pits with figurines are part of a spatially related pit cluster. Pit Ö121, from which 2 figurines (P6B16x4 and P6B16x6 - one upper and one lower body fragment, similar in proportions though with slightly different textures) were found also yielded an awl, a pestle, a grinding stone, a *Spondylus* bracelet, and another worked bone piece which might have been

used as a head insertion (P6B16x3). Pit Ö119, from which one of the more complete figurines (P6B10x3) have been found, and Pit Ö190, from which the unique marble lower body fragment (P6B87x1) came, both yielded a small number of finds: a pestle and a worked bone piece, and an awl, respectively. Lastly, Pit Ö28, where a very fragmented lower body figurine piece was recovered contained the richest assemblage among these four pits with figurines: an awl, numerous worked seashell pieces, worked bone objects, an unidentified clay object, two *Spondylus* bracelets, broken sherds of a whole pot (significant in that pottery in Uğurlu Höyük is rarely recovered whole, not even as fragments that can be brought together), another worked bone possibly utilized as a head insertion (P5B48x3), and a pottery handle with possibly anthropomorphic features in terms of form and decoration (P5B48 (d)).

Furthermore, 3 figurines (QP5B3x1 and QP5B3x3, lower and upper body pieces respectively; and P5B161x2, inserted head made of bone) were found on an isolated floor/platform segment of compacted earth, seemingly post-dating the pits as it is located at a higher level. This structure at the southwestern edge of the pit cluster originally might have been related with a building which currently cannot be tracked down; the possibility that it was an independent platform is not ruled out either (a similarly ambiguous floor/platform segment is present on the northeastern edge of the cluster, although no figurines were recovered in that case). In addition to the three figurines, two awls, some worked bone pieces, a worked seashell fragment, an unidentified clay object, and a polypod vessel sherd was found in relation to this feature.

Towards the end of Phase III, a new building -Building 4- makes its entrance to this scene. This is a structure centered on the trench O6, lying slightly to the northeast of the pit cluster area of Phase III. Building 4 was originally contemporary with at least some of the pit opening activities of Phase III (which would be taking place in front of it); and it was still standing at the very end of Phase III during the transition to Phase II. Two figurines (O6B3x4 and O6B3x17) belonging to this transitional stage were found on the courtyard of this structure. However, by then the pit opening activities had ceased. This building on the other hand, might have become the focus of communal activity instead (Erdoğu, 2014b, p. 164). The floor inside Building 4 was found to be practically empty except for a *Spondylus* bracelet and an animal horn. A curious assemblage of 40 similar sized stone balls and a grinding stone was found in a niche in the southwest corner, while another niche in northwest corner was

empty; Erdoğan considers the possibility that these balls might have been used with slings (Erdoğan, 2014a, p. 168).

In Phase II, the figurines had all but faded from popularity. In spite of the extensive excavation of this phase, the total figurine count from Phase II is a meager “2” in a complete reversal of the trend in Phase III. One of these Phase II figurines was found in the fill of the northwestern trench P6 (Figure 55), and the other was recovered from the southwestern trench AA-BB14. While the latter was also not directly related with any architectural features by itself, two Phase II buildings have been uncovered in the same general area. One note of caution regarding these figurines is that both of them were recovered from Phase II fills relatively close to the surface. Considering the lack of any other figurines from more secure Phase II contexts, and also considering that these figurines are typologically more in tune with the earlier figurines of Phases III & IV and less so with the figurines recovered from the Phase II-III Transitional Building 4 at the end of the Phase III occupation, it is possible that they were originally not a part of the Phase II assemblage but rather belonged to an earlier phase in Uğurlu Höyük.

Finally, it is not possible at the moment to attribute any figurine in Uğurlu Höyük to a date later than Phase II; neither are there any architectural remains found in Phase I which is represented only by scattered surface sherds. However, aside from stratified finds, there are a significant number (32) of figurines from Uğurlu Höyük that were recovered as stray finds: they were either encountered on the surface, recovered from a surface fill, or from one of the heavily disturbed fills. Nevertheless, the trench (if the figurine was recovered from an excavated fill) or the grid (if the figurine was found on the surface) location of these figurines are provided in Appendix A (if such data was originally recorded). It is not possible to securely assign these figurines into their chronological positions within the rest of the assemblage. However, a commentary tentatively grouping a number of these objects with more securely dated figurines (based on their find location, texture, typology, or parallel finds from contemporary settlements from the region) will be provided in Chapter 4.

Even though these figurines are not able to insert themselves into the original stratigraphy of the mound with ease, some of them are quite valuable in establishing and elaborating the typological considerations concerning the

entirety of the Uğurlu Höyük figurine assemblage, which the following section will focus on.

3.3.1.6 Typology

It was highlighted previously that the highly fragmented state of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines make it difficult to create an encompassing typological scheme. Yet, the presence among the figurine assemblage of 15 relatively well-preserved figurines still in possession of (at least parts of) both their upper and lower bodies make it possible to establish a framework consisting of 5 typological classes into which the more fragmented figurines can be distributed with confidence. Following pages will first be concerned with an overall evaluation of the typological numbers of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their phases, contexts, and raw materials, after which the more specific details of these typological classes will be discussed type by type. Typological development charts through the Uğurlu Höyük occupation, containing all the figurines found in Uğurlu Höyük, was provided within the introduction of the figurine assemblage (Figures 19 to 22) and can be used for further reference through the following section.

The five typological classes mentioned are labelled as Types A, B, C, D and E (Figure 56). In addition to these five types, however, there are also the head pieces which do not readily yield themselves to such a typological classification, since the figurines are very rarely recovered together with their heads, even if they retain the rest of their body.

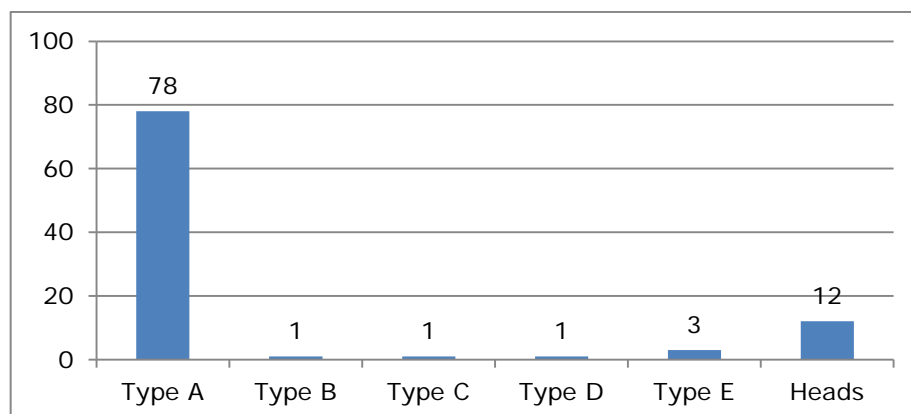


Figure 56: Typological distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines.

It is seen that most of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines share a set of particulars that give them a typological uniformity (collected under Type A), which nevertheless allows for an amount of variation within itself which will be touched upon in the following pages. Divergences from this mainstream are few but nevertheless present, represented by Types B to E.

Because of this overwhelming numerical advantage, it is not surprising to see that Type A examples which make up the most of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines were dominantly retrieved from Phase III contexts which yielded the majority of the figurines (Table 11). The presence of Type A figurines in the assemblage is first observed at Phase IV and continues until the end of the occupation of the mound. Types C and D are unfortunately represented only by figurines from uncertain contexts, while the single Type B figurine was recovered from Phase V. Type D figurines are distributed between Phase V and Phase III (in addition to a surface find). More numerous head pieces are encountered from the earliest Phase VI through the later Phase III, while another was encountered as a surface find.

Table 11: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their types through the occupation levels.

	Type A	Type B	Type C	Type D	Type E	Heads
Stray Finds	28	-	1	1	1	1
Phase II	2	-	-	-	-	-
Phase II-III Transitional	2	-	-	-	-	-
Phase III	34	-	-	-	1	6
Phase III/IV mixed fill	4	-	-	-	-	2
Phase IV	8	-	-	-	-	-
Phase V	-	1	-	-	1	2
Phase VI	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	78	1	1	1	3	12

Accordingly, Type A figurines and head pieces exhibit some diversity in their specific contexts, some of which were found in pits, buildings and floor / platform segments, in addition to the majority coming from regular fills. Likely due to their much smaller numbers, figurines of Types B to E are less diverse regarding their context (Figure 57).

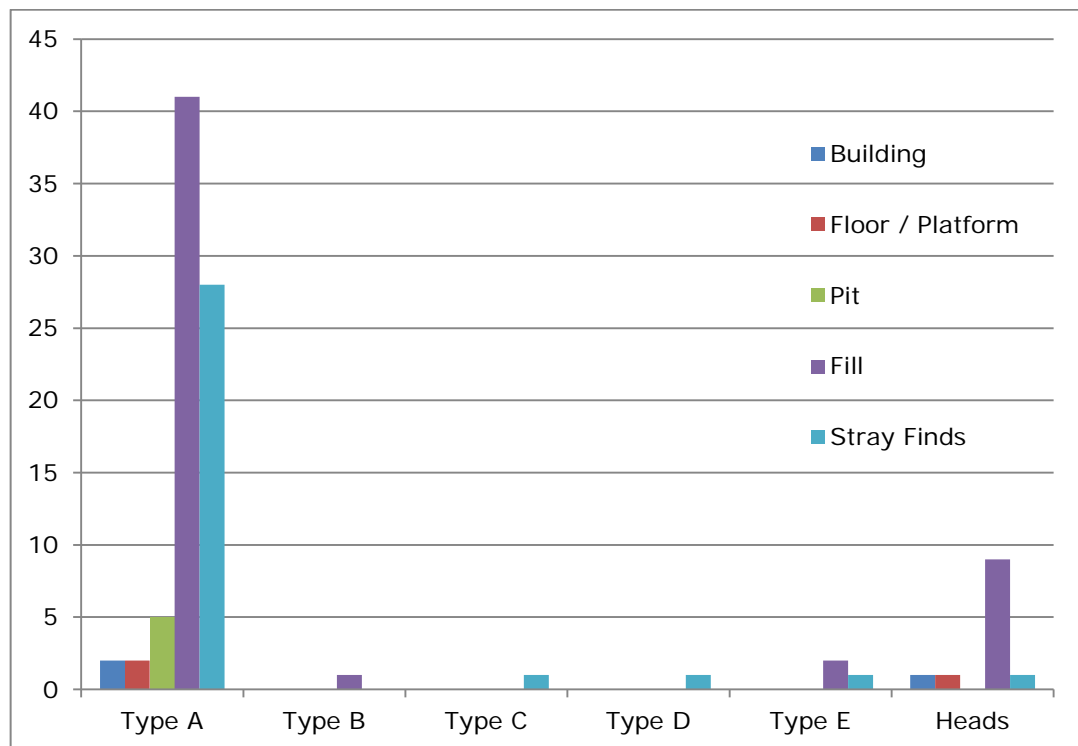


Figure 57: Contextual distribution of the typological classes of figurines in Uğurlu Höyük.

Finally, a small amount of differentiation is present within the typological classes when the raw materials of the figurines are considered (Figure 58). Types A to D were dominantly made of clay. The abstracted Type E figurines, on the other hand, were exclusively made out of non-clay materials. Heads are the most diverse category, including both clay, marble, bone, and seashell examples.

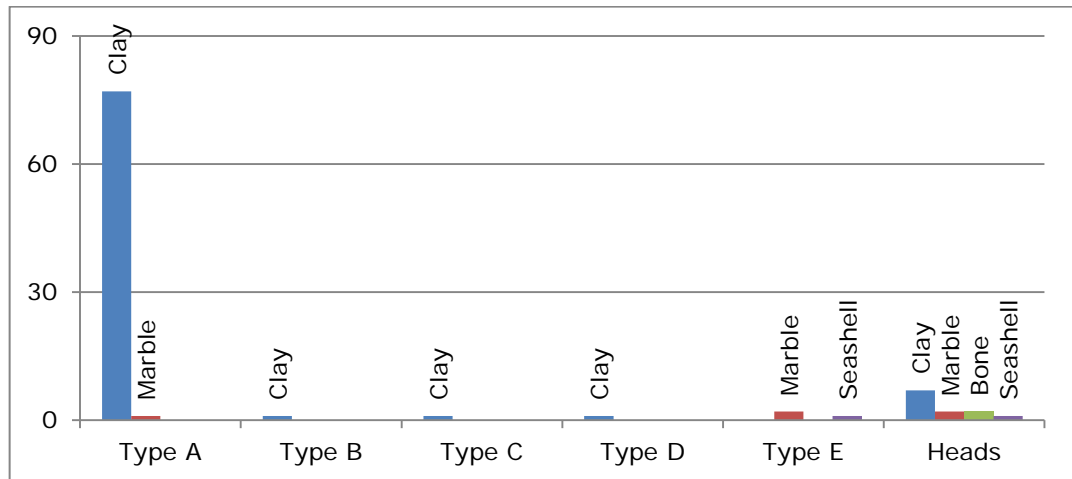


Figure 58: Distribution of Uğurlu Höyük figurines according to their types and raw materials.

3.3.1.6.1 Type A

Vast majority of the anthropomorphic figurines in Uğurlu Höyük share the common theme of a straight body with somewhat exaggerated buttocks and the arms making a motion toward the front of the body - most commonly curving symmetrically to come at a rest around the abdomen (Figure 59). The impression given is typically one of a fleshy body, as mentioned, rarely found unfragmented and never recovered together with its head. Collected under Type A in this study, these figurines are encountered from Phase IV onwards.



Figure 59: A representative Type A figurine (P6B10x3⁴⁷). Notice the missing head.

⁴⁷ Phase III.

While their general form is suggestive of a female body, there are in fact almost no markers of biological sex on these figurines. None of the figurines have their genitalia marked. One figurine (BB20-21B118x1⁴⁸) has a faint protrusion in the genital area accompanied by two vertical incisions at its base fading into the abdomen, but it is not clear whether genitals are being depicted or not (or if it is supposed to be a male component or female). Neither are there any breasts explicitly shown except for one case (DD20B16x1⁴⁹) with two applique lumps on the torso (Figure 60, see also Figure 111 for its drawing).



Figure 60: Figurine DD20B16x1⁵⁰ from Uğurlu Höyük, unique for its depiction of breasts (left) and skeletal framework (right).

This particular figurine deserves some attention by itself. It is special not only because of its bulbous breasts; another interesting, explicit representation is also present on its back. Here a ridge runs down the middle, widening as it continues downwards; while four parallel grooves at each side run vertically with respect to this middle line, only slightly stooping downwards (Figure 60). What this depiction portrays is a snapshot of the human skeletal framework when it is viewed from the back. Although there are four ribs at each side instead of the regular twelve, and the proportions of the constituent elements

⁴⁸ Disturbed context.

⁴⁹ Phase III/IV mixed fill.

⁵⁰ Phase III/IV mixed fill.

are somewhat off, what this unique figurine has is a quite realistic rendering of the spine and the ribs. The head is missing as is usual and there does not seem to be a socket for it; instead, the head at one point was attached directly to the figurine body. Similarly, the lower body was also broken off.

Returning to the Type A figurines in general, another point that should be raised concerns their intended posture. None of these figurines are actually stable when they are placed on their feet, even though they are intuitively viewed and documented in an upright standing position today. They are, conversely, in balance when positioned on their buttocks. However this position tilts the vertical axis of the figurine backwards and results in a swayback type of posture (Figure 61).



Figure 61: A relatively complete figurine (P6B68x1⁵¹) resting on its buttocks, front and side views.

Viewed in this way, it becomes possible to make some further observations. It is seen that, at least in some of the figurines, legs do not simply stand straight but are in fact drawn up towards the body. It is this bending of the knee which results in the frontal bulge on both legs of some of the figurines, generally framed by a horizontal incision above (Figure 62). Nevertheless, on some figurines this last trait is less noticeable and on others it is completely absent; and even though they cannot stand on their feet it is possible that these latter figurines were in fact depicted as standing.

⁵¹ Phase III.



Figure 62: Figurines with legs drawn up towards the body (left - V18B2x1; right - DD19B1x1)⁵².

Although thematically consistent enough to be grouped together under the same class, Type A figurines show some variation on how the limbs were chosen to be depicted. These variations mainly concern the arms, legs, buttocks, and the heads of the figurines. Some of the more prominent and repeating differences in the depiction of these parts of the body can be concisely summed up as follows (a representative example for each variation is indicated next to it in parentheses):

- Variation of the arms:
 - o Symmetrical arms
 - Curving (P6B10x3)
 - Bending (P5B119x2)
 - Abstracted (stumps) (O6B3x4)
 - o Asymmetrical arms (P5B6x4)
- Variation of the legs:
 - o Separating legs (V18B2x4)
 - o Adhering legs (V18B2x1)
 - o Undifferentiated legs (O6B3x4)
 - o Embracing legs (P6B59x1)
- Variation of the feet:
 - o Conical (DD19B1x1)
 - o Rectangular (P6B68x1)
- Variation of the buttocks:
 - o Circular (P6B68x1)
 - o Conical (V18B2x4)

⁵² Both are from surface fills.

- Rectangular (O6B3x4)
- Variation of the heads⁵³:
 - Attached
 - Inserted

It must be reminded again that these variations and their sub-categories are not inevitably strict divisions into one of which any given figurine must necessarily fall. On the contrary, it would be more adequate to talk about a series of gradients, each concerning the above mentioned body parts, on which the figurines can be placed. Fragmentary state of the assemblage makes it very difficult to correlate some of the different avenues of variation with another. Very fragmented pieces or those figurines which were badly preserved cannot be placed at all among this schema either. With these considerations in mind, rest of the discussion about Type A in the following pages will focus on these variations in the order listed above.

Positioning of the arms on Type A figurines can be divided into two main groups: arms are either placed symmetrically with respect to each other, or they are placed in such a way that they are making different gestures (i.e. asymmetrically). Symmetrical arms are vastly more popular than asymmetrical ones; of the latter variant there are only few examples. It is possible to further divide the symmetrical arms into curving, bending, and abstracted variants. On all the arm variations the fingers are rarely indicated, and when they are shown this is accomplished through the use of parallel incisions.

Most popular depiction of the arms on Type A figurines has them smoothly arching around the torso to sit above the waist in front of the body (Figure 63a). At the same time, a small number of figurines have their arms making a similar motion yet in their case the arms bend sharply (as opposed to curving smoothly) at the elbows or near the shoulder instead, and their hands rest higher on the torso (Figure 63b-c). In one example (Figure 63c) one of the hands might be resting in a slightly higher position than the other hand. On the figurines retrieved from later phases these symmetrical arcs manifest themselves in progressively more abstracted forms: the arms are almost turned into contours of the torso itself (Figure 63d) or portrayed as discoid stumps protruding laterally from the shoulder (Figure 63e). Even in their abstracted

⁵³ No Type A figurine was retrieved together with its head, but an examination of the necks reveals whether the original head was attached or inserted.

form, the motion conveyed by these arms is the same curving movement towards the front of the body familiar from the previous figurines.

In addition to these figurines with symmetrical arms, there are also figurines which retain an asymmetrical positioning of the arms on their body. This group seems to be more monolithic than the previous one: on all the examples (which are not too numerous in the first place) one of the arms crosses the body obliquely and reaches below between the legs; while the other arm extends to the opposite arm, either towards the shoulder or the elbow (Figure 63f). On some fragmented figurines, only the arm reaching towards the opposite shoulder remains, leaving behind a single band crossing the upper body (OP6B1x1, Yüzey (a)⁵⁴).



Figure 63: Variants of arm placement on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (a: P6B10x3, b: P5B119x2, c: BB20-21B118x1, d: O6B3x17, e: O6B3x4, f: P5B6x4⁵⁵).

⁵⁴ Surface fill and surface find, respectively.

⁵⁵ Phase III, Phase IV, surface fill, Phase II-III transitional (2) and Phase III, respectively.

In terms of their fragmentation, it can be seen that figurines with symmetrically curving arms were most often fragmented on the left-right axis (87%). On those figurines with bending or abstracted arms this fragmentation is encountered less frequently (the proportion for both of them is 50%). Meanwhile, the figurines with asymmetrical arms are the least fragmented among these arm variants (29%).

Secondly, like the arms, there are differences present regarding how the legs of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines were depicted. Major differentiation in this part of the body mainly concerns the degree of separation of the two legs from each other (Figure 64).

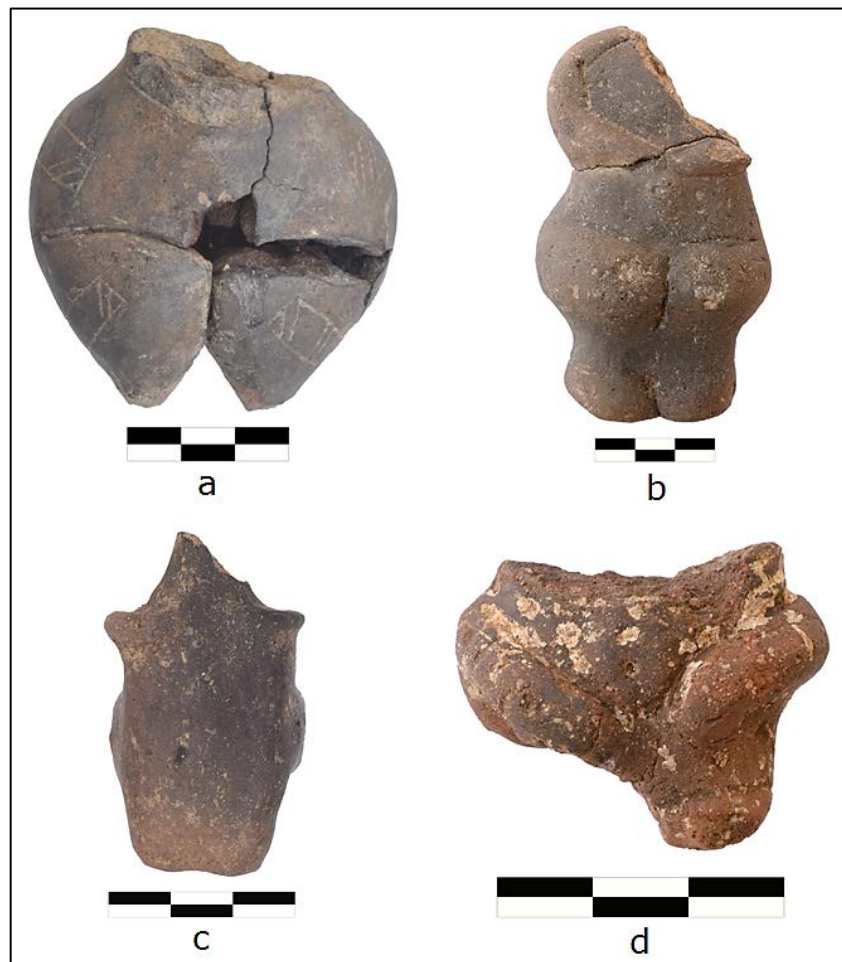


Figure 64: Variants of leg and feet depiction on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (a: DD19B1x1, b: P6B68x1, c: O6B3x4, d: P6B59x1⁵⁶).

⁵⁶ Surface fill, Phase III, Phase II-III transitional and Phase III, respectively.

All the figurines have contiguous legs until around the knees. On some figurines the legs separate from each other below this point (Figure 64a). On others, the legs keep adhering to each other, differentiated from one another only by a horizontal incision or a vague depression (Figure 64b). A small number of figurines do not distinguish between the two legs at all (Figure 64c). Lastly, on a few of lower body pieces, the legs proceed down from the hips in two bulges as if they are wrapping or embracing the body (Figure 64d).

Like the hands, another extremity of the body which was not represented with much detail on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines is the feet. Sometimes they are manifested as small knobs at the end of the legs, rarely marked by a horizontal incision running along the diameter. More often, however, they are not marked at all while the legs reach the natural conclusion of their geometry. In these cases it can be questioned if these lowermost extremities were even supposed to be feet in the first place. People in Uğurlu Höyük might not have intended to depict the lowermost human limbs on these figurines. It is contrasting that some of the pottery legs are more realistically modelled in this regard, as they actually show the lateral extension of the feet from the legs. One explanation is that the figurines are indeed in a sitting posture and the legs are drawn towards the body, which somewhat aligns the feet with the legs and thus blunts this extension.



Figure 65: Proportional variance of the feet on Uğurlu Höyük figurines (left: P6B68x1, right: V18B2x1⁵⁷).

⁵⁷ Phase III and surface fill.

More separated legs generally taper off with conical feet (Figure 64a), while adhering legs generally end with rectangular extremities (Figure 64b). In some cases these were flattened on the bottom, but these figurines are nevertheless unable to stand on them without outside support. The proportions of the feet are not consistent either, ranging from almost as wide as the waist to more anatomically accurate depictions (Figure 65). Toes do not ever seem to be indicated.

Taking upon the role of the mediator between the legs and the arms, it is seen that the buttocks are typically quite exaggerated and generally maintain a roundish shape, although there are exceptions to this as well (Figure 66). While most of them are proportioned much larger than normal, a few figurines do have more realistic proportions behind them. The mainstream is the round and smoothly curving variant (Figure 66a). On the other hand, on some figurines the buttocks taper off conically instead (Figure 66b). Meanwhile, one unique figurine (Figure 66c) hosts a rectangular backside, with almost flat upper and lower surfaces parallel to each other.



Figure 66: Variants of the buttocks on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (left: UH10Y69, middle: V18B2x4, right: O6B3x4⁵⁸).

⁵⁸ Surface find, Phase III/IV mixed fill and Phase II-III Transitional, respectively.

Final variation on Type A figurines concerns their heads. It was mentioned that none of the Type A figurines were recovered with their head intact. Yet it is possible to determine how the head was incorporated into its body. Inspection of the necks reveals that on the Type A figurines, the head was either shaped together with the rest of the body from the same material, or it was made from a different substance in a thin, elongated shape and was then inserted into the clay body. The latter method of incorporating the head is unique to the majority of Type A figurines and the single Type B figurine.

3.3.1.6.2 Type B

This single Type B figurine (BB20-21B71x4), recovered from the earlier Phase V, is unparalleled on the basis of a number of aspects. It is reddish orange in color without any decoration and it was well fired. Unlike the rest of the almost entire assemblage it can stand upright thanks to its flattened and wide lower base, even though it is broken almost in half on an oblique plane down the middle. It might have been shaped from one single lump of clay, or from two pieces corresponding to the sides of the relatively smooth fracture. It retains an irregular shape on some of its surfaces. In contrast to the Type A figurines, the buttocks are virtually absent. Single preserved arm is stubby and the motion it tries to convey is not clear. Conforming to the Uğurlu Höyük norms though, the head is absent and instead there is a socket in which a thin, long head was originally inserted (Figure 67).



Figure 67: Type B figurine from Uğurlu Höyük (BB20-21B71x4).

In the archaeological literature, this type of figurines is better known as “sack-shaped” (Sagona & Zimansky, 2009, p. 99) or as “stub-armed” (Voigt, 2007, p. 152) figurines and are more familiar from the prehistory of Southwest Anatolia (Duru & Umurtak, 2005; Duru & Umurtak, 2006, p. 13; Mellaart, 1970a).

3.3.1.6.3 Type C

Unlike the prevailing emphasis on the buttocks of the Type A figurines, the single Type C figurine (Yüzey 4, surface find) in Uğurlu Höyük emphasizes the stomach instead. It seems to have a drooping belly (Figure 68). The same bulge could also be signifying an abstraction of the hands meeting on the abdomen, but the arms are not shown at all. Legs were differentiated by a vertical incision at the middle, but are broken below not far away. Likewise the uppermost part is also fragmented, making it difficult to talk about the head, although a head insertion socket is not visible.



Figure 68: Type C figurine from Uğurlu Höyük (Yüzey 4).

This figurine was shaped from one small lump of clay. It is worthy to note that it is stable when it sits on its bottom. This results in a leaning back posture, which also appears on the Type A figurines when they are positioned as if they

are sitting on their buttocks. It can be asserted that unless the legs were extending significantly further, the posture was still the same when the figurine was complete.

3.3.1.6.4 Type D

Type D covers the only zoomorphic figurine (BB20-21B120x1) in the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage (leaving aside some possibly zoomorphic elements in the clay heads, see below), but it also contains anthropomorphic features (Figure 69). It seems that an animal is depicted, sitting on its hump, with a short tail and small hind legs. Forelegs appear to be huddled together on the torso, possibly even carrying something like a human would, but the contours are far from clear. Back of the figurine is straight and the abdomen is curvy. Body slims upwards to the head, which is not preserved well. There appears to be a circular ear, but that is the only legible detail. First impression given is of a bear, but a range of other mammals are also not out of the picture. Manufacture process is not clear, but this figurine also might have been shaped from one lump of clay unlike the Type A figurines.

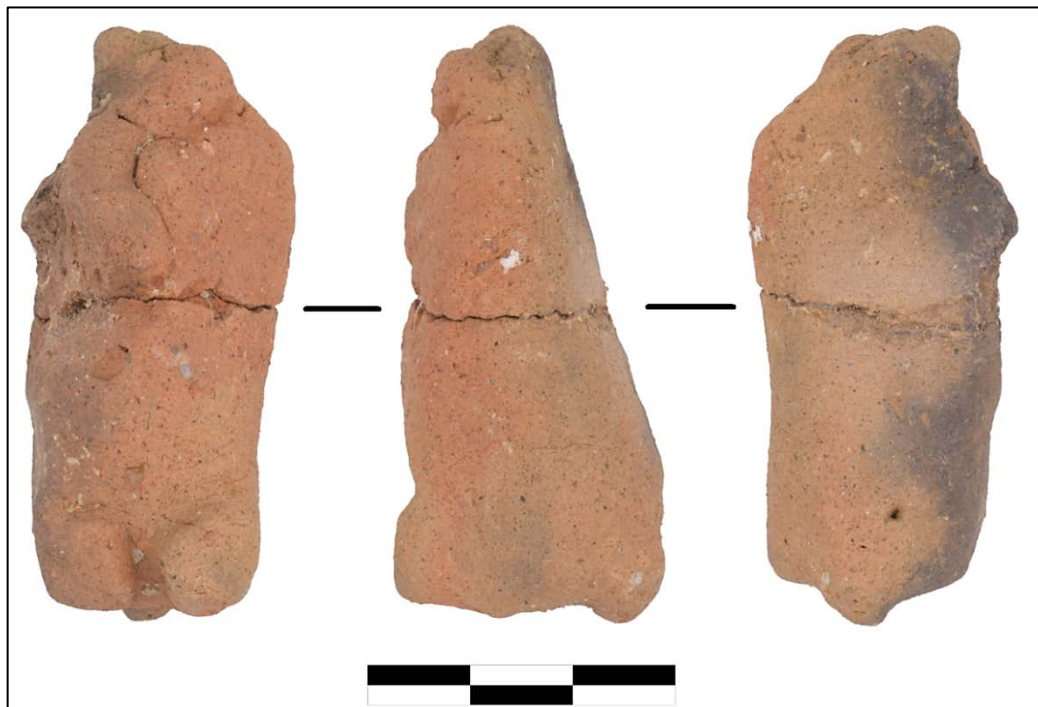


Figure 69: Type D figurine from Uğurlu Höyük (BB20-21B120x1).

Unfortunately, it was recovered from a trench where the soil was deeply disturbed by modern infrastructure construction efforts and it is not possible to assign it to any occupation stage in Uğurlu Höyük with certainty.

3.3.1.6.5 Type E

Final typological category in Uğurlu Höyük includes the abstract figurines. Three such figurines are present in the assemblage, all of them non-clay (marble and seashell). These objects were not crafted with as much detail as the figurines from the previous types. Still, the basic human form with the head and the body is present on at least two of them (Figure 70a and Figure 70b); while the other seems to be an attempt at capturing a form with the legs collapsed and the upper and lower body separated by a groove (Figure 70c). Even though this last figurine is flat, its head was nevertheless broken.

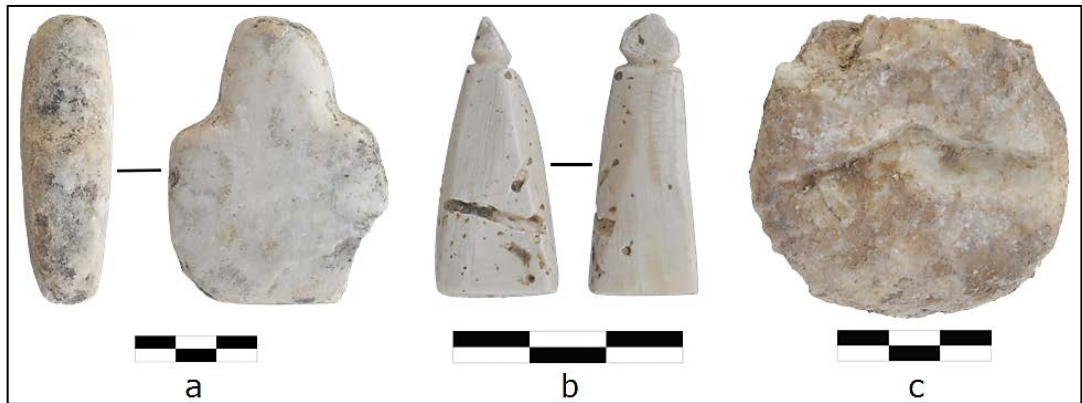


Figure 70: Type E figurines from Uğurlu Höyük (a: Yüzey x25, b: BB20-21B81x5, c: P5B21x7⁵⁹).

Interestingly, all three abstracted figurines employ a different element of geometry in establishing their general form. First figurine (Yüzey x25) is blocky, rectangular in both its body and head; second is conical (BB20-21B81x5), similarly in both head and body (and it can stand on its flat lower surface); while the third one (P5B21x7) has a circular body and a missing head. A simple

⁵⁹ Surface find, Phase V and Phase III, respectively.

extrapolation would conclude that this last object also had a circular head rhyming with the geometry of its body.

One of these objects, BB20-21B81x5 from Phase V (i.e. the conical/pyramidal variant - Figure 70b) could also have been used as an inserted head as it carries a form which would allow it to fit some of the head sockets when it is inverted. This duality in use might have been intentional, and these objects might have retained a fluidity beyond a simple categorization.

3.3.1.6.6 Heads

In addition to these five typological classes, heads form a sixth group which cannot be assigned safely to either one of these types. The lack of complete figurines with their heads, especially on the Type A figurines which make up the overwhelming majority of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines, and the less than perfect preservation of the few figurines from other typological classes mean that these 12 head pieces from Uğurlu Höyük have to remain in a pool distinct from other types (Figure 71).

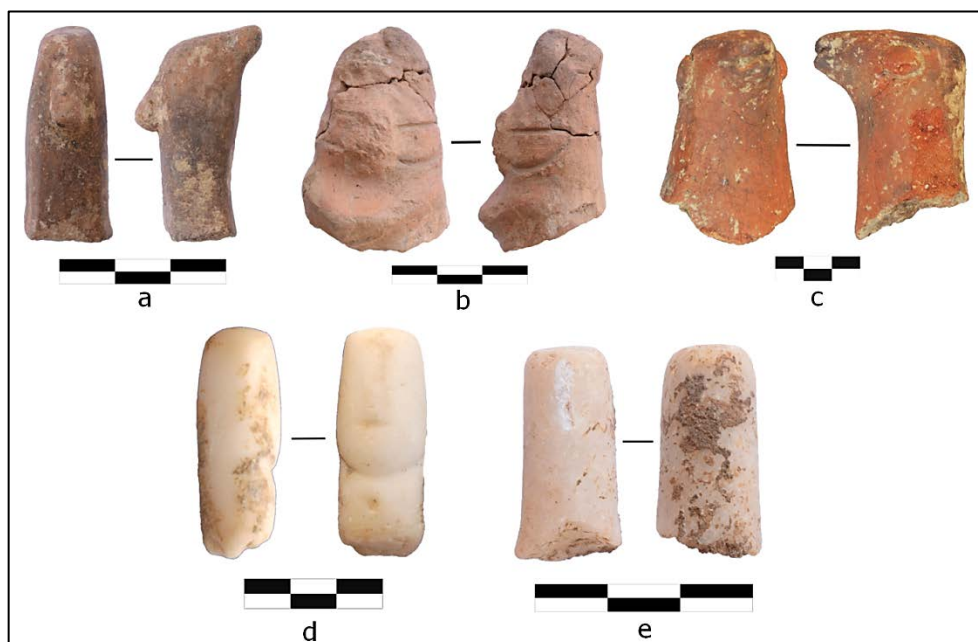


Figure 71: Examples of attached figurine heads from Uğurlu Höyük (a: V18B3x2, b: BB20-21B100x9, c: DD20B3x3, d: UH09Y37, e: P6B3x9⁶⁰).

⁶⁰ Phase III / IV mixed fill, Phase V, Phase III, surface find and Phase III, respectively.

With this said, it is possible to further classify these head pieces, making some of them more likely to be associated with certain types and not with others. Of the 12 heads, 9 were attached heads (i.e. manufactured from the same material as the body and together with it), while remaining 3 were inserted heads.

Attached heads present in the assemblage were either made of clay (7/9) or carved out of marble (2/9). Clay heads are more varied in their forms, while the two marble heads retain similar cylindrical shapes. When compared to the body pieces, where it was seen that clay as a raw material was used in all the figurine types except Type E, while Type B figurine hosted an inserted head instead, clay attached heads could have been originally part of figurines conforming to the remaining types A, C, and D. Marble on the other hand is limited to Type A and Type E, limiting the two marble attached heads in the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage to these categories as far as current state of research is concerned.

Facial features were indicated on some of the attached heads sparingly, while others were left more or less featureless. One of the clay heads from Phase III/IV mixed fill has a protrusion at the rear end of the skull reminiscent of cranial deformation practices, although it might also be sporting a sort of headgear or hairdo (Figure 71a). A similar effect is also present in another clay figurine head from Phase V, but in this case it is less emphasized (Figure 71b). A few of the heads seem to be animal heads and might have been attached to possible Type D figurines (Figure 71c). Meanwhile some of the others are more ambiguous in this regard, and could be representing a deliberate amalgamation of man and beast. Similar ambiguous heads can also be found on the pottery attached as handles.

Second category of heads is the inserted heads. It is known that -as opposed to those figurines with attached heads- a considerable portion of the figurines sported head sockets on them. These sockets would have accommodated heads made of non-clay materials inserted into the figurine body. Three such inserted heads are known from the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage (even though none of them recovered inside a figurine body itself): two from bone and another from *Spondylus* shell (Figure 72).



Figure 72: Inserted heads from Uğurlu Höyük (top-left: BB20-20B31x2, top-right: V18B8 (a), bottom: P5B161x2⁶¹).

All these three inserted heads have facial features indicated on them: the one from Building 2 in Phase V (BB20-20B31x2, animal bone) has eyes and eyebrows drawn by red paint, while the nose was carved in relief; another found on the floor/platform QP5 & P5 in Phase III (P5B161x2) has attempts at eyes and eyebrows through parallel, oblique incisions. Last one, from Phase III/IV mixed fill (V18B8 (a), *Spondylus* shell) has its nose (and possibly, eyes) outlined similarly by incisions.

⁶¹ Phase V, Phase III/IV mixed fill and Phase III, respectively.

Figurines with head sockets are present within Types A and B, and it seems that these three inserted heads were utilized with figurines conforming to one of these typological classes.

3.3.2 Figurine Related Finds

As explained earlier, in addition to the 96 figurines retrieved from Uğurlu Höyük, there are also objects which cannot be regarded as figurines themselves but which are nevertheless relevant to a discussion which problematizes the place of figurines in this prehistoric community. These objects are not singular finds either and it is possible to collect them under distinct categories:

- Possible inserted heads
- Ceramic sherds with anthropomorphic features
- Anthropomorphic / zoomorphic pottery handles
- Pottery feet
- Anthropomorphic stone vessels
- Foot-shaped worked stones
- Eared-pots and polypod vessels.

Like the figurines, these objects maintain a relation with the human form. Some of them incorporate body parts onto themselves (possible inserted heads, pottery handles, pottery feet, eared-pots, and also possibly polypod vessels); while others contain depictions of the human form itself (pottery sherds). A few of these objects were shaped to obtain an abstracted similarity with the human form (anthropomorphic stone vessels and foot-shaped worked stones). Some of these objects have similar surface treatments with the figurines (eared-pots and polypod vessels), occasionally carrying the very same decorative motifs. In addition, preliminary investigations indicate that through the occupation in Uğurlu Höyük, related finds were recovered from predominantly the same spatial contexts as the figurines (i.e. trenches O5-P5-P6 and their immediate vicinity) (Figure 73). This brings forward the possibility that figurines and some of these objects were utilized together and perhaps even in a complementary manner.

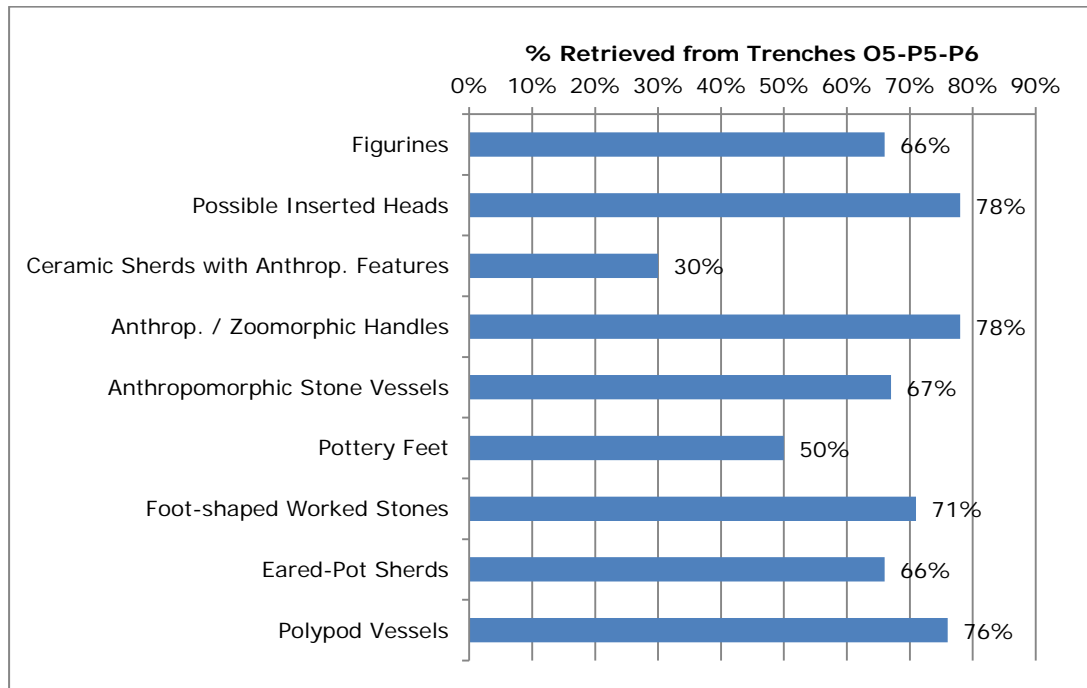


Figure 73: Proportions of figurines and related objects retrieved from the northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6 and their immediate vicinity in Uğurlu Höyük.

Following pages will discuss in more detail these object categories and try to make more visible the purported relation they have with the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. Objects discussed under the following categories are (like the figurines) also tabulated in their relevant catalogues in Appendix B according to their stratigraphic position in the mound; basic information about material properties and contextual data are also provided for reference.

3.3.2.1 Possible Inserted Heads

The disparity between the number of figurine heads and figurine body fragments was previously mentioned. Like other limbs, heads are not always encountered due to the very fragmented state of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. However, when the fragmentation numbers are inspected, it can be seen that while the upper and lower body figurine fragments are comparable in numbers, head pieces are vastly underrepresented (Figure 74). This brings the question of whether a portion of the actual assemblage is being glanced over. Among the small finds assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük there exists a certain group of objects which can bridge this gap between the numbers, collected here under the label

of possible inserted heads, which are the most likely candidates to have been used with the head sockets present on a large number of figurines.

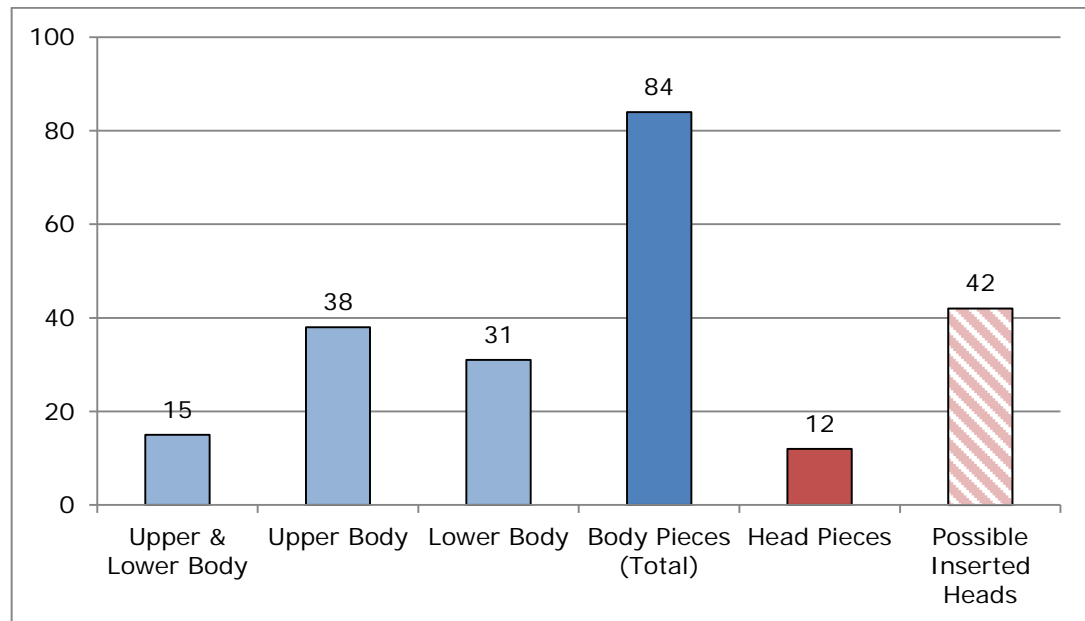


Figure 74: Numbers of figurine heads (red) and body pieces (blue) and possible inserted heads from Uğurlu Höyük.

Typically, these sockets would only allow long elongated objects with a rather thin profile to fit in them. Three inserted head pieces of different materials (bone and seashell) complete with their facial features are already known from the figurine assemblage, and were discussed in the previous section (Figure 72). There are other objects which fit the criteria of head insertions, although in these cases they do not have any facial features indicated on them. This, together with the fact that they might also have served other purposes (as awls, spatulas, etc.) meant that these objects were previously skipped before they would be associated with the anthropomorphic figurines. It must be kept in mind that even the most elaborated figurine head pieces (both attached and inserted) in Uğurlu Höyük do not show all the details of the face; and most of the time the face in Uğurlu Höyük is devoid of all its features save the barely outlined nose. It would not be out of the question therefore to imagine that even those objects without a face could be utilized as heads as long as their overall form enabled them to serve as such.

One likely group of objects includes some of the bone implements. It is known that the people of Uğurlu Höyük made use of animal bones for a wide range of uses (Paul, 2016). Some of the well-polished bone tools, although they might have also served other purposes, attract the attention of the viewer by their forms: their uppermost part of the object bulges out, sometimes separated from the rest of its body by a trimmed narrower section, giving the impression of a head on a neck (some of these objects were interpreted by Erdoğan (2014b, p. 159) to be anthropomorphic bone idols because of these same suggestive shapes). The narrow lower part and slim profile would have enabled these objects to be inserted into the head sockets on the figurines (Figure 75). Most of the objects collected under possible inserted heads are bone objects of comparable shapes.



Figure 75: Examples of the possible head insertions from Uğurlu Höyük (left to right: P6B82x2, BB20-21B61x1, P6B45x1 (top), P5B26x8 (bottom)⁶²).

In addition to the bone insertions, there are also comparable stone objects in smaller numbers which are candidates for inserted heads. One particular stone object (BB20-21B79, Phase V) is striking in that it has a form very similar in

⁶² Phase III / IV mixed fill, Phase V, Phase IV add Phase IV, respectively.

both its outline and profile with the *Spondylus* inserted head V18B8(a) (Phase III/IV mixed fill) except for the outlined nose of the latter (Figure 76). Even though they seem to be parts of assemblages separated by hundreds of years, interchangeability of stone and shell for the Uğurlu Höyük community is another issue brought forward by this resemblance.



Figure 76: Possible head insertion BB20-21B79 (left) and inserted figurine head V18B8(a) (right)⁶³ from Uğurlu Höyük.

Possible head insertions can be found in all the Uğurlu Höyük phases except for Phase VI. All the possible head insertions in Phase V were recovered from the southeastern BB20 & BB21 trenches from which the earliest figurines come. A curious collection of possible head insertions (along with other artifacts) was found in the Pit Ö21 in Phase IV (located within the area of the pit cluster of the later Phase III, O5-P5-P6). Numerous flattened awls with rounded upper parts were cached in this particular pit. Majority of possible head insertions however come from the Phase III contexts of the same northwestern section of the mound where the pits are clustered, although most are from the fills in between and rarely from the pits themselves. Yet one possible head insertion was retrieved from Building 3 in the southeastern section of the mound. No head insertion candidates were retrieved from the Phase II-III transitional Building 4, where coincidentally two figurines which were found on the courtyard both did not carry head sockets, while a small number of possible head insertions were

⁶³ Phase V and Phase III / IV mixed fill, respectively.

recovered from Phase II fills. As a general rule, the numbers of possible head insertions seem to follow closely the trends in the popularity of the figurines (Figure 77).

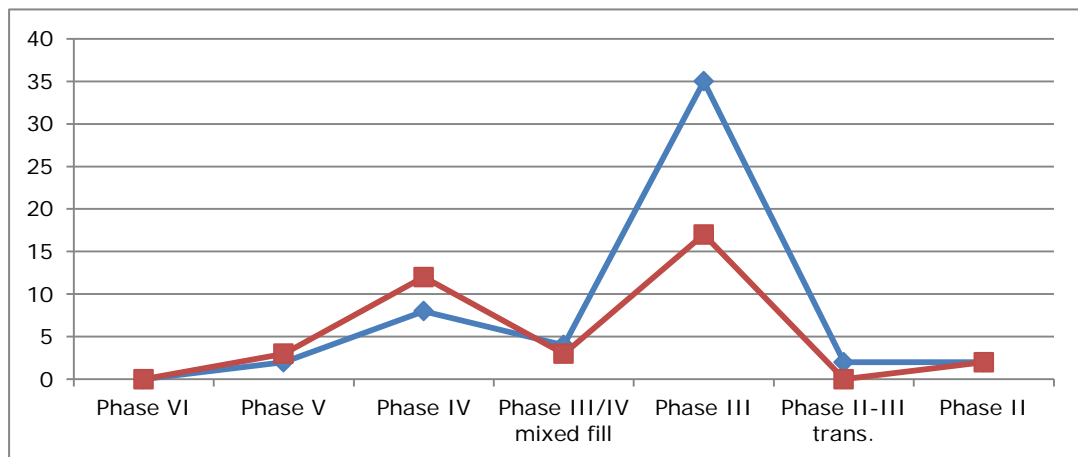


Figure 77: Graph showing the numbers of figurine body pieces (blue) and possible inserted heads (red) through the Uğurlu Höyük occupation.

A more specific comparison of the numbers of those figurines with a head socket and the possible head insertions yields a similar picture in this regard (Table 12).

Table 12: Numbers of figurines with head sockets, inserted figurine heads, and possible inserted heads from Uğurlu Höyük according to their occupation levels.

	Head sockets	Inserted heads	Possible inserted heads
Phase II	-	-	2
Phase II-III Transitional	-	-	-
Phase III	19	1	17
Phase III/IV mixed fill	1	1	3
Phase IV	2	-	13
Phase V	1	1	3
Phase VI	-	-	-

It can be seen in the table above that the numbers of head insertion candidates and head sockets in Phase III are comparable, although there is a wide gap between the numbers for Phase IV and Phase V in which the possible head insertions might be overrepresented.

3.3.2.2 Ceramic Sherds with Anthropomorphic Features

Another medium for anthropomorphism in Uğurlu Höyük is encountered on the pottery. At least four sherds carry explicit representations of the human body (or parts of it), while others feature more schematized depictions. One special sherd from Phase V (BB20-21B29x1), for example, yields an almost complete human figure in relief. It is missing its head and the lower portion of its legs, while the arms are curving towards the abdomen (a motion familiar from the figurines of later phases). The torso hosts two bulbous features signifying breasts (Figure 78).



Figure 78: Human motif in relief on a ceramic sherd (BB20-21B29x1).

At the same time, three other sherds portray a human face indicated in relief or by deep incisions (O10B9x1, P6B5 (c) and BB22B3x2⁶⁴). On two of the sherds, the face is comprised of the eyes and the nose, where both the eyes are shaped like slits (closed eyes?). The last sherd was only partially preserved and an eye and possible eyelids are discernible.

Another relief on a sherd from Phase V (CC21B24) is a schematic representation of the lower human body in profile. The sherd was broken in a way which fragments the relief on its waist, which parallels the axis of upper-lower fragmentation on the figurines themselves. Moreover, a very similar profile view of the buttocks to the one depicted on this relief can be seen on the figurine UH17Y09 (surface find) (Figure 79). Meanwhile, one depiction in relief (CC19-20B1, another surface find) might be showing a person raising arms, but the arms might just as well be an animal's legs and what looks like the person's head might be the animal's tail.



Figure 79: Lower body profile represented in relief on a Phase V sherd (left - CC21B24) and lower body piece of a surface figurine (right - UH17Y09), exhibiting similar profiles.

Some sherds seem to be broken or shaped to create parallels with figurine fragments themselves like the torso and the neck (with similar decorations on the upper torso), or curved arms (see, for example, P6B5 (b) and P5B38 in Appendix B). Likewise, tubular lugs seen among the Uğurlu pottery assemblage might have been the focus of intentional breakage to obtain a form similar to

⁶⁴ Phase II, III and V, respectively.

the torso with a head socket (Yüzey 2 (b) and Yüzey 5), a recurring element among the figurine assemblage.

Unlike the rest of the related finds categories, those objects which were collected under this category were not dominantly retrieved from the vicinity of the northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6. Rather, they seem to concentrate on three distinct areas on the mound on the northwest, north, and southeast. Interestingly, each of these concentrations took place on a different occupation phase (Figure 80).

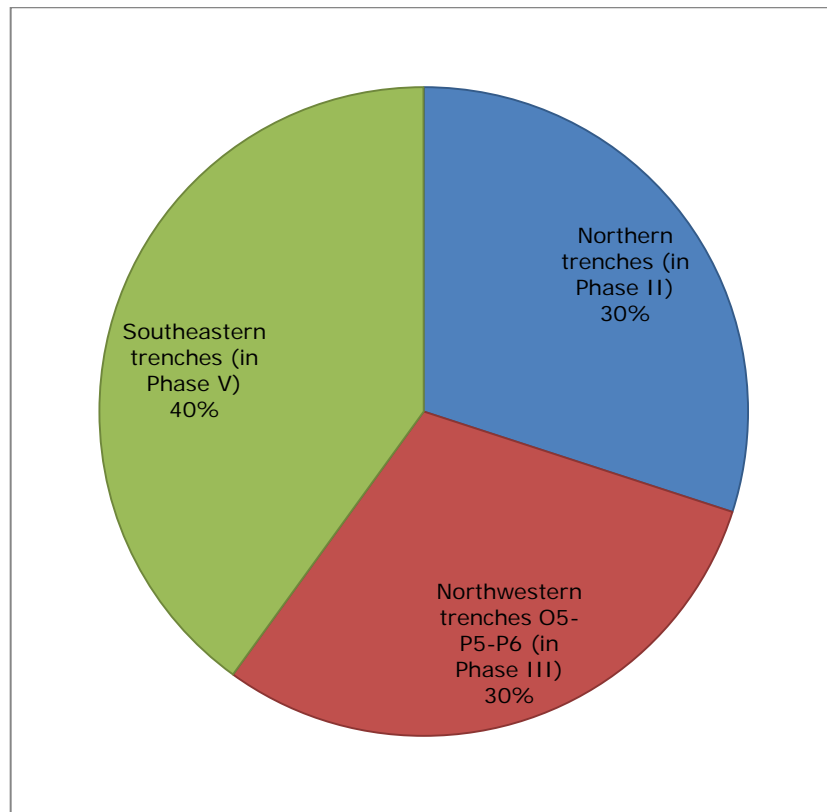


Figure 80: Spatial and temporal concentration of ceramic sherds with anthropomorphic features in Uğurlu Höyük.

It must be noted, while not the subject of this study and not collected in the catalogue, that representations of various animals in relief are also encountered on some of the pottery sherds in Uğurlu Höyük.

3.3.2.3 Anthropomorphic / Zoomorphic Pottery Handles

Some of the figurine heads seem to be paralleled vaguely on some of the pottery handles in Uğurlu Höyük. However the line between anthropomorphic heads and zoomorphic heads on pottery are somewhat blurry. The general approach of not detailing the face is one of the causes in this ambiguity. At the same time, there are also handles which are definitely zoomorphic, depicting heads of snouted animals (likely ruminants) (Figure 81 - right). More ambiguous examples could be depicting birds or fish species.

Some of the handles resemble arms and/or hands in their shape and might have been originally parts of large anthropomorphic pottery forms (although a definite example of such a vessel has not been found in Uğurlu Höyük so far). Another factor that contributes to this possibility is the presence of elaborate incised decoration found on these pieces, similar to some of the figurines (Figure 81 - left). A few pieces, more abstract in shape, also contain incised motifs. It is possible that all these motifs linked those objects which were decorated by them at some level.



Figure 81: Examples of anthropomorphic / zoomorphic handles from Uğurlu Höyük. Left: incised handle possibly shaped like an arm (DD19-20B5ç1); right: zoomorphic handle with eyes incised (O5B8x2)⁶⁵.

Most of these anthropomorphic / zoomorphic pottery handles were recovered from Phases III and IV, while a few were also found in Phase II.

⁶⁵ Both are from Phase III.

3.3.2.4 Pottery Feet

Several large pottery supports are present in the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage which were explicitly shaped like the human legs (Figure 82). These might have been attached to otherwise regular pottery forms. It is also possible that they were once part of wholly anthropomorphic vessels, perhaps even used together with the above-mentioned decorated handles which resemble human arms. Ironically, none of the figurines have feet as realistically depicted as these pottery feet are. Stratigraphically secure examples detected so far are from Phase III and Phase IV.



Figure 82: Examples of pottery feet from Uğurlu Höyük. Left: BB-CC19B28 (b); Right: Yüzey x22 (top), CC19-20B8 (bottom)⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ Phase III, surface find and Phase III, respectively.

3.3.2.5 Anthropomorphic Stone Vessels

Ground stone implements like grinding stones, mortars, and pestles are frequently encountered in Uğurlu Höyük, but stone vessels are rare. Some of these vessels that were found seem to feature a recurring element in their broadly anthropomorphic form: a way of looking to these particular objects is considering the handle as a head and the container basin as the body. The marble vessel recovered from the Phase IV pit Ö52 (P5B103x10, Figure 83 - left) together with the cache of worked bone implements, and a similar stone vessel (CC19-20B3x4) from Building 3 in Phase III are examples that in this way resemble the human shape. These vessels bear resemblances in their form with some of the abstracted Type E figurines - all of which also happen to be made from non-clay materials. A similar form is encountered in the object UH17Y24 (surface find), however the basin seems to be basically outlined but was not carved out in this case. Another vessel (QP5B2x5, Figure 83 - right) gives the impression of a leaning back human with an emphasis on the exaggerated belly, not unlike the clay Type C figurine Yüzey 4 (surface find).



Figure 83: Examples of anthropomorphic stone vessels from Uğurlu Höyük. Left: P5B103x10, right: QP5B2x5⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Phase IV and Phase III, respectively.

3.3.2.6 Foot-shaped Worked Stones

Uğurlu Höyük also yielded a small number of unique, curious artifacts: smooth, almost polished, small stone objects in different colors and textures - all in curious triangular shapes resembling little feet. In addition to this formal similarity with the lower extremities of the human body, some of these objects also bear resemblances to those lower body figurine pieces from Uğurlu Höyük which have small, almost collapsed feet (Figure 84).



Figure 84: Foot-shaped worked stone P5B6x13 (left) and lower body figurine fragment V18B1x4 (right) from Uğurlu Höyük.⁶⁸

The possibility that these stone objects could also function as analogues to figurines (or their fragments) is a possibility to consider. Some of these worked stones contain a straighter surface at one side, bringing into mind a possible function of pottery burnishing. Yet it must be noted that the number of these objects is very small compared to the large amounts of pottery retrieved from the mound. Stratigraphically, all the examples of these stone artifacts come from Phase III except for the two finds from Phase II.

⁶⁸ Phase III and surface fill, respectively.

3.3.2.7 Eared-pots and Polypod Vessels

Polypod vessels and the unique eared-pots of the Uğurlu Höyük pottery assemblage were introduced previously. Polypod vessels are rectangular or triangular box-like open vessels with straight walls and three or four legs (Figure 85 - top). They are also known from various contemporary settlements both in Southeastern Europe and Western Anatolia (Schwarzberg, 2005). Eared-pots, on the other hand, are a uniquely local form encountered in Uğurlu Höyük: these vessels incorporate ear-like extensions on carinated profiles (Figure 85 - bottom). Because the two “ears” are placed facing the same side on the vessel, the overall pot resembles a human head especially when it is turned upside-down. As evinced from some of the more complete examples, eared-pots were also raised on a number of legs.

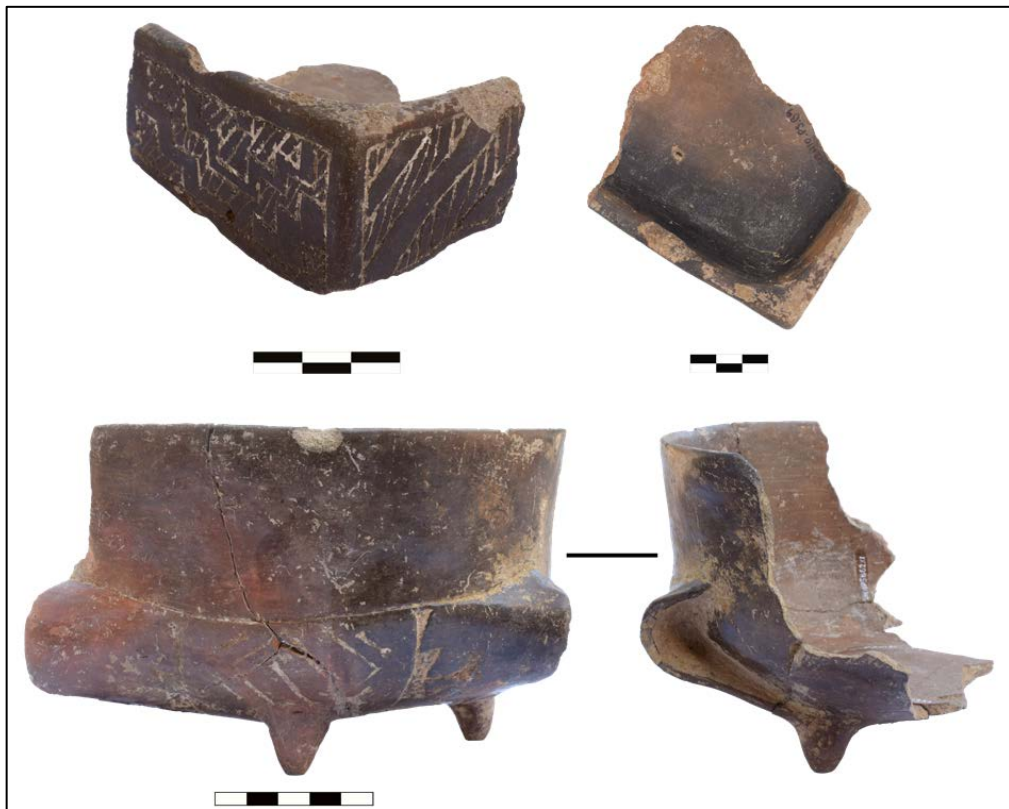


Figure 85: Special pottery forms encountered in Uğurlu Höyük. Top: a polypod vessel piece from Phase III (side and top views); Bottom: an eared-pot from Pit Ö33 in Phase III.

Like the figurines, both these pottery forms are recovered as fragments and it is only rarely that semi-complete vessels emerge. Colors and textures of both eared-pots and polypod vessels follow the trends of the rest of the pottery in their respective phases. Another aspect that these objects share with the figurine assemblage is that incised decoration is common (and at times, widespread) on these categories of objects. Some of the patterns on both figurines and these pottery forms are the same, while others contain shared elements. If there was indeed a “language” present in the decoration, then figurines, polypod vessels, and eared-pots would have been clearly able to understand each other. Other pottery forms are also known to have carried incised decoration in Uğurlu Höyük (in contrast, though, other methods of decoration were also quite popular) but a more detailed contextual and iconographical investigation is necessary for the rest of the decorated ceramics before it is possible to make similar observations.

On the polypod vessels, outer surfaces and the feet are the parts that were decorated (Figure 86). Incisions were generally filled with a yellowish-white paste. Common motifs include single or multiple parallel lines, often in a diagonal motion with respect to the side-walls creating a zigzag geometry. Occasionally the contours of a stepped pyramid are outlined, or boxes (either empty or raked with parallel lines) come together to form similar pyramids or a checkerboard motif. Curvilinear incisions are rare: only a few examples possess spiraling motifs. A minority of the polypod vessels lack any decoration whatsoever.

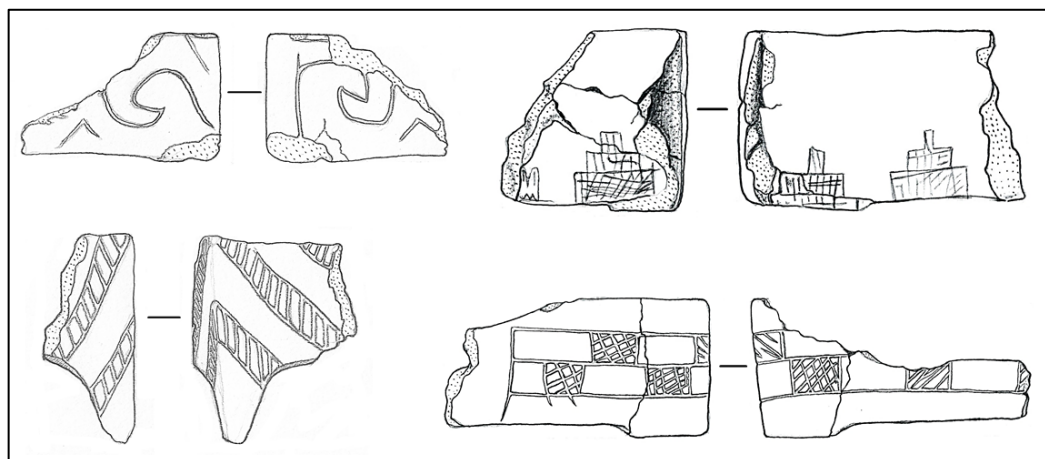


Figure 86: Some polypod vessels with decorated walls from Uğurlu Höyük (objects not to scale).

Similar patterns can be noticed on the eared-pots, but there are also different motifs (Figure 87). Spirals and curving incisions are more popular compared to the polypod vessels. Cross and semi-crosses generated through excisions are regularly seen on eared-pots; even though similar shapes are (rarely) found on polypod vessels, in their case these were executed through incisions instead of cut-outs.

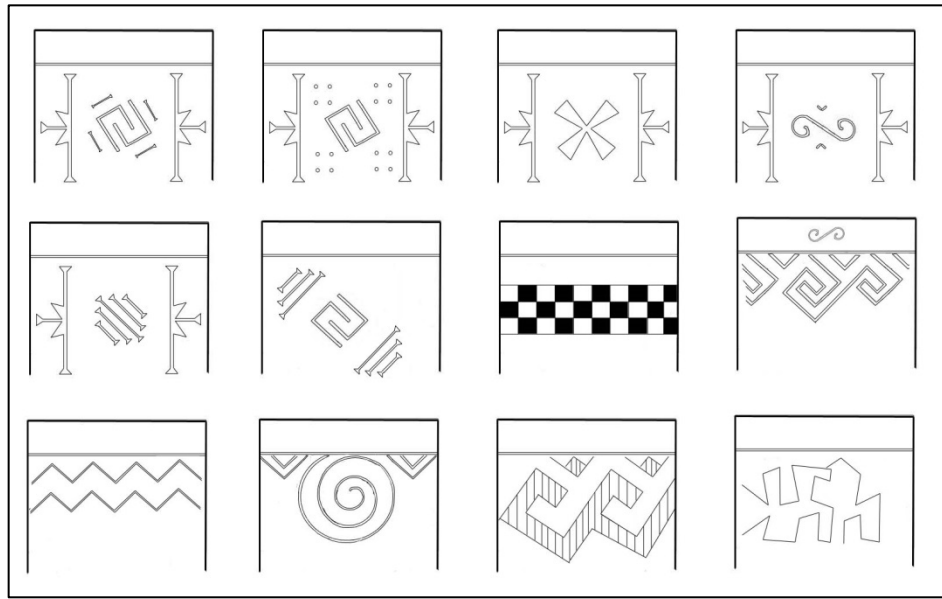


Figure 87: Some of the decorative motifs encountered on eared-pots (image adapted from Erdoğan, 2017a).

Both eared-pots and polypod vessels first start to be seen in Phase IV (in small numbers) and following the trends of the figurines, their use also reaches its zenith in Phase III. However, it seems that both polypod vessels and eared-pots virtually ceased to exist by Phase II, even though there are pieces from both categories from the intervening transitional layers between Phase II and Phase III.

When the numbers are compared, it can be seen that a total of 300 sherds of eared pots and 59 polypod vessels have been recovered from Uğurlu Höyük⁶⁹. A

⁶⁹ The numbers were obtained as a result of a preliminary investigation; catalogues for polypod vessels and eared-pot sherds are not provided in the appendices like the rest of the related finds in this study as these special ceramics yet require a more in-depth analysis.

few polypod sherds from different excavation units could be fitted together, while the rest of the sherds seem to be parts of distinct vessels. Paralleling the non-matching fragments of the figurines, the number given for the polypod vessels thus indicates the number of individual polypod vessels. A similar examination of the eared-pots has not been conducted yet and it is not possible to make such an estimate.

A preliminary investigation of the contexts of these objects reveals that the majority of these objects were retrieved from the area of the pit cluster in the northwestern part of the mound, mostly from the fill instead of the pits themselves. In rare cases sherds are found on independent floor/platform segments (one of which yielded a polypod vessel together with three figurines). When the numbers given above is restricted for those recovered from the trenches O5-P5-P6 and its immediate vicinity, it is seen that the numbers of the figurines and polypod vessels coming from this section are comparable (Figure 88). While the overall number of sherds from pits is small, some of the most complete examples eared-pots did curiously come directly from the pits.

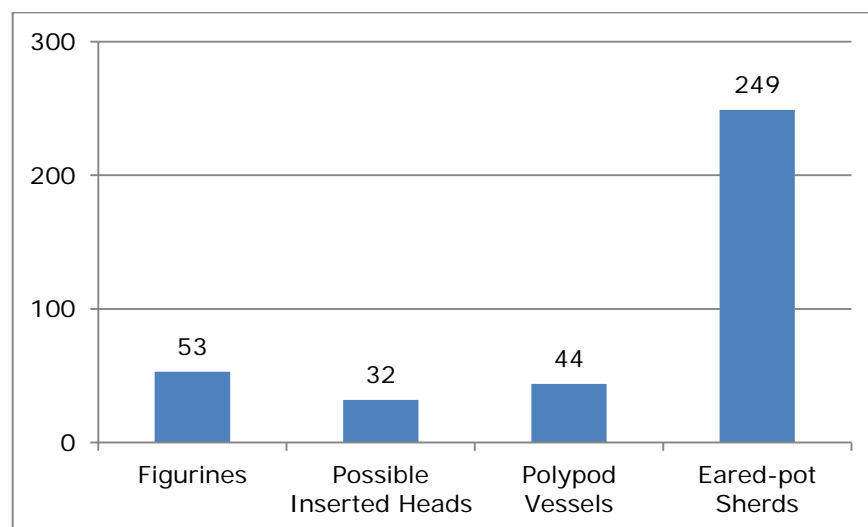


Figure 88: Numbers of figurines, possible inserted heads, polypod vessels, and eared-pot sherds recovered from the northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6 and their immediate vicinity in Uğurlu Höyük.

A final note should be left about three unique pottery sherds. These sherds come from two different contexts: two from a Phase IV fill (associated with a burnt zone which might have been a hearth), the other from a Phase III / IV

mixed fill. All of them have the almost same exact texture and comparable proportions: while they do not fit with each other they still might have been parts of the same vessel. They are not diagnostic sherds and their fragmented state makes it impossible to determine the exact form of the complete pot (or their respective complete pots), but the curvature of all these sherds would not forbid them to be parts of eared-pots. In any case, what makes these fragments special is the same incised decoration pattern found on all of them: a thin rectangular band ending in smaller parallel bands of consecutively changing lengths (Figure 89).



Figure 89: Parallel motifs on pottery sherds and figurines. Top: three pottery sherds (from Phase IV and III/IV mixed fill) with unique arm-like incised bands from the trench P6; Bottom: upper body figurine fragments P6B42x1 (Phase IV, left) and P5B84x2 (Phase III, right).

Even though they might have been just different configurations of similar band-forming geometric decorations, these bands nevertheless give the impression of arms: a very similar depiction of fingers can in fact be seen on the figurine P6B42x1 in Phase IV. One of the bands on the sherds even contains diagonal, parallel strips towards the middle, which parallels the arm bands in the same figurine (so-called arm bands are present on many other upper body figurine pieces as well). All the rectangular bands on these sherds are fragmented and it is not possible to say what they were connecting to (or if they did), likewise the fragmentary state of the sherds forbids us from commenting on how these "arms" were placed with respect to the overall form of the vessel's "body". Nevertheless, these pieces are another reminder that the figurines and the pottery in Uğurlu Höyük might have been more connected than they seem at the first glance.

CHAPTER 4

SYNTHESIS, COMPARISONS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, attention will be directed at the networks of relations between the Uğurlu Höyük community and other contemporary societies inhabiting the broad circumference of the Aegean Sea, as glimpsed from their assemblages of figurines and related finds. Then, some well-published and thoroughly analyzed figurine assemblages from key sites in Southeast Europe and Near East will be examined to offer perspectives from their contextual and fragmentational patterns. Finally, at the end, an attempt will be made to interpret the various patterns that become visible as a result of all these investigations to clarify the role played by the figurines in the prehistoric settlement of Uğurlu Höyük and other communities beyond the Aegean.

However, before moving any further, it would be necessary to synthesize the information in the preceding chapters surrounding Uğurlu Höyük and its anthropomorphic figurines in a concise summary starting from the earliest occupation of the settlement, sensitive to the trends that manifest themselves as we move forward in time, to create reference points that will be useful in the succeeding sections.

4.1 World of Uğurlu Höyük Figurines through Time

So far, the earliest occupants of Uğurlu Höyük that are known of have not yielded many representations. The only figurine that was found in the Phase VI sounding is a figurine head⁷⁰; cylindrical in shape, with a flat top which contains thin parallel black lines at its circumference. But the deformed state of the object makes it impossible to single out any facial features or whether it had one in the first place (although it is possible that a slight protrusion at the middle might have been the nose).

⁷⁰ BB20-21B114x4

The following Phase V was investigated in a larger area and we have a more representative selection at hand. One figurine head⁷¹ from this phase was crafted more naturalistically compared to the example from the previous phase: eyes and nose were indicated by incisions, there are traces of paint on the figurine, and it seems that there was an emphasis to the top of the head (which is not flat unlike the earlier example). In addition to this figurine head (it is not possible to incorporate the head pieces into the five typological classes A to E and the heads are left as a distinct class since figurines are very rarely found together with their heads), two of the five types of Uğurlu Höyük figurines are introduced in Phase V. First of these is the stocky, sack-shaped Type B; the single Type B figurine⁷² from Phase V also happens to be the only example from Uğurlu Höyük. Second type introduced to Uğurlu Höyük in Phase V is Type E with its abstracted figurines. The only Type E figurine in Phase V⁷³ was carved from seashell, and this small object retains a pyramidal form with its conical head separated from the rest of the body with a notched neck.

In tandem with the Type B figurine which has a head socket, the first head insertions are encountered within this time period. One bone head⁷⁴ from Building 2 in the southeastern section of the mound has facial features depicted through painting and a nose that was carved out. This particular head insertion is too large in size to fit in the socket of the Type B figurine, but there are other (smaller) objects which could have filled similar roles in the Phase V assemblage even though they do not have their facial features indicated; these possible head insertions are to be a recurring element among the assemblage in the following phases. There are no Type A figurines yet in Phase V, however a representation in relief on a pottery sherd⁷⁵ shows a human figure in a pose which anticipates the overall form of these figurines so prevalent in the succeeding phases with its curved arms meeting around the waist. The colors of all these objects of clay follow the lighter orange-brown colors of the Phase V pottery. Decoration is rare and the incisions are not present as decorative patterns.

⁷¹ BB20-21B100x9

⁷² BB20-21B71x4

⁷³ BB20-21B81x5

⁷⁴ BB20-21B31x2

⁷⁵ BB20-21B29x1

All the figurines in these two earliest Neolithic layers come from the southeastern trenches (BB20-21); these trenches so far are the only parts of the mound where the earliest phases could be reached. At the same time, a number of heavily disturbed fills in the same area of the mound yielded some curious figurines - a zoomorphic figurine with anthropomorphic features⁷⁶, which by itself makes up the Type D in Uğurlu Höyük and a semi-complete Type A figurine (with less emphasis on the buttocks than typical)⁷⁷. Both of them are in the lighter tones more associated with the rest of the Phase V assemblage, but it cannot be put forward with confidence whether these two were originally Phase V figurines or not: the same section of the mound saw occupation during both Phase IV and Phase III, and figurines in similar colors are also encountered in the succeeding phases (albeit less frequently).

Some changes make themselves apparent during Phase IV. Type A figurines are encountered for the first time with their exaggerated buttocks and folded arms, and a number of these figurines also carry on them head sockets. Two variations of the arms on Type A figurines are visible in Phase IV: (1) arms smoothly curving towards the abdomen, and (2) arms sharply bending to make a similar gesture (possibly towards a higher position on the torso like the breasts). On both of them the arms move symmetrically with respect to each other.

It is observed that the colors of the figurine surfaces have shifted (a trend also observed on the pottery) towards darker tones: both jet black and crimson-black textures are present among the figurines. Incised decorative patterns are now seen on the figurines, and it is the only method of decoration applied. Pottery in Phase IV was mostly decorated by the *impresso* technique, but incised decoration was also used. Eared-pots and polypod vessels are another addition to the pottery assemblage, and the decoration used on these objects follow more closely the trends and the motifs on the figurines than the rest of the pottery assemblage.

It seems that figurine use had shifted towards the northwestern sections of the mound by this time, as the Phase IV and later contexts of the previously mentioned southeastern trenches yielded virtually no figurines beginning with this stage. All the Phase IV figurines were found in fills of the trenches P5-P6,

⁷⁶ BB20-21B120x1

⁷⁷ BB20-21B118x1

which -together with the trench O5- in this Phase witness a series of (partial) buildings and a few pits in a chronological sequence. Found within one of these pits is a cache of worked bone implements (some of which in forms that would allow them to be used as head insertions on figurines) together with a marble vessel with a broadly anthropomorphic outline. Explicitly animal forms on the pottery handles are now seen on the Phase IV pottery.

Meanwhile, an otherwise isolated trench (V18) in the eastern section of the mound yielded mixed fills of Phase IV and III materials together with a small section of a building wall. A number of figurines were among the mixed material recovered. Unfortunately, it is hard to assign these figurines to their phases solely based on their physical and typological properties. Nevertheless, we are presented with some unique figurines from this locality. An orange colored figurine⁷⁸ (a color more typical of earlier levels both in figurines and the pottery) which managed to preserve both its upper and lower body - a rare occurrence among Uğurlu Höyük figurines - shares in the exaggerated buttocks of the Type A figurines but its buttocks has atypically sharp contours. Its legs also separate to taper off in a conical form. A figurine head with a darker texture features a conspicuous nose and the top of its back head was accentuated⁷⁹. This could be a restatement of a similar feature of the aforementioned figurine head found in Phase V. A unique *Spondylus* head⁸⁰ from the same area has a similarly prominent nose indicated by shallow incisions and was used as an inserted head. Other figurine fragments recovered from the surface of the same area have on them elegantly incised geometric patterns. Another figurine⁸¹ from another Phase III/IV mixed fill in the southeastern section of the mound is the only example in the entire figurine assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük which can safely be assumed to represent a female: unlike this figurine with its explicit depiction of female breasts, none of the other figurines have such comparable indicators.

It is during the transition to the Chalcolithic occupation in Uğurlu Höyük that the figurine assemblage really flourishes. Phase III by far yields the largest number of figurines (but note that Phases III and II are the most extensively excavated occupation layers so far, while the earlier phases remain less

⁷⁸ V18B2x4

⁷⁹ V18B3x2

⁸⁰ V18B8 (a)

⁸¹ DD20B16x1

investigated) and almost all of them belong to Type A. We see that a new, asymmetrical arrangement of the arms was introduced in Phase III in addition to the variations observed in previous Phase IV: in this new addition, one of the arms bends to reach towards the other arm (somewhat similarly with the symmetrically bending arms of the Phase IV figurines), while the other arm reaches straight below towards the middle of the body. Symmetrically curving arms are the majority, while the symmetrically bending variant seems to be extinct.

Similar variation is present in how the legs and the feet were portrayed. Some of the figurines have legs separating from each other, while others have adhering legs. A few of the figurines have legs bulging in such a way towards the front that they give the impression of an embracing motion. Feet sizes range from realistic to completely out of proportion. Buttocks are generally curvy and almost always exaggerated. Quite a few of the figurines were possibly meant to be in a sitting position with legs drawn to the body -perhaps even leaning backwards-, though what they were meant to sit on (if they did actually sit on something) is not clear.

The vast majority of the figurines were retrieved in a fragmented state in all the phases of Uğurlu Höyük, but this is especially noticeable on Phase III owing to the sheer number of examples found. Heads are always missing and never recovered attached to the torso; while at the same time a considerable portion of the figurines have sockets which would have allowed head insertions in them. Very few figurines were recovered with both their upper and lower body. A patterned fragmentation of the body is at work, regularly dividing the body into fragments based on a fourfold symmetry: left-right and upper-lower body pieces. Even though large numbers of figurine fragments were uncovered, none of them match with each other; which brings forward the possibility that the missing figurine fragments might have been subjected to a mechanism of distribution on a scale yet to be elucidated.

Marble figurines are for the first time encountered in Phase III, found among Type A and Type E figurines. Meanwhile, clay figurines are overwhelmingly in darker colors and incised geometric patterns are prevalent. Pottery in Phase III is likewise generally in darker tones; incised decoration is commonly seen but not the only method used to decorate the surfaces. Even though some influences from contemporary Balkan communities are present, the local

character of the pottery assemblage is strong. Like the figurines, the use of eared-pots and polypod vessels is now at its peak in Phase III. Many of these unique pottery forms contain incised decorations on their surfaces, some of which have counterparts on the figurines. Anthropomorphic symbolism is regularly encountered on Phase III pottery, either as distinct body parts (as handles, feet, etc.) or as anthropomorphic depictions on pottery surfaces. There are also stone vessels with broadly anthropomorphized outlines, some of which are reminiscent of the abstracted Type E marble figurines.

The vast majority of the figurine fragments were recovered from the previously mentioned northwestern trenches O5-P5-P6, where an intense pit digging activity seems to have taken place in Phase III. The figurine concentration at this part of the mound seems to be a continuation of the trend that began at Phase IV. Figurines themselves were only rarely found in the pits themselves, but rather they were recovered from fills in the same general area. The pits were generally plastered and were sometimes quite rich in content. Interestingly, two of the pits in this place were used for the both cases of mortuary practice uncovered in the settlement so far: one of the burials contained a partial skeleton of an adult male while the other was a multiple burial of at least 13 individuals. Segments of compact floors or independent platforms are glimpsed at later layers (post-dating all the pits) one of which yielded three figurines on it. Fragments of both eared-pots and polypod vessels are also concentrated within the trenches O5-P5-P6 around the pits; same also holds true for the numerous possible head insertions from this phase.

Building 4 in the adjacent trench O6 had been constructed by the end of Phase III in the latest. This building opens directly towards the main concentration of pits, and this red plastered (and possibly communal) building apparently saw contemporaneous use with some of the pit opening activities in Phase III. It yielded two figurines⁸² on its courtyard from its transitional layers between these Phases III and II; but by this time the pit activity in front of Building 4 in O5-P5-P6 had come to an end. Although belonging to Type A still, the features of these transitional figurines are more abstracted (especially noticeable on their arms). The legs, preserved on one of them, are a single blocky monolith and were not differentiated at all; the buttocks are also curiously rectangular. Neither of them have any head sockets but their heads were nevertheless both

⁸² O6B3x4 and O6B3x17.

broken. In the same building there were a few eared-pot and polypod vessel fragments found, along with one zoomorphic handle. Unfortunately this largely empty building forms the extent of our knowledge of the Phase III-II transition, and a hiatus between Phase II and Phase III is still not ruled out.

A shift seems to have taken place between Phase III and Phase II. Phase II proper is the most extensively researched layer in Uğurlu Höyük; but so far there are only two figurines, making the figurines practically extinct at this stage. One lower body piece⁸³, decorated with virtually the same incised patterns encountered on Phase III figurines, comes from the general area of a number of Phase II buildings from the southern section of the mound. The other⁸⁴ was found close to the surface near the pit cluster of Phase III: it retains parts of both its upper and lower body and does not seem to have a head socket. Polypod vessels and eared-pots of Uğurlu Höyük had also gone out of use by Phase II proper, and now the pottery assemblage (on which incised decoration is now quite rare) indicated strong links with the contemporary communities in Western Anatolia and Eastern Aegean islands. Few possible head insertions are present in the worked bone assemblage in Phase II, although so far we do not have any figurines with head sockets from either Phase II or the Phase II-III transition. Building 1 (about 50 meters east from the Phase III pit cluster) yielded no figurines, but in its courtyard a black colored sherd was found on which the eyes and the nose of a human face was indicated in relief⁸⁵; this representation of the human face bears parallels with a similar sherd in Phase III⁸⁶ on which the eyes were also portrayed in a linear form (perhaps meant to convey closed eyes). The difference is that the eyes on the Phase III sherd were executed by deep incisions instead of the relief depiction on the Phase II example.

Finally, while there are no figurines which can be attributed to Phase I, there are in fact numerous figurines retrieved from the surface (or from surface fills) of Uğurlu Höyük. Even though they are not stratified, it is possible to make some observations about these figurines. The two figurines coming from the heavily disturbed fills in the southeastern trenches (BB20-21) were mentioned at the beginning while discussing the Phase V figurines. These trenches yielded

⁸³ AA-BB14B2x1

⁸⁴ P6B2x1

⁸⁵ O10B9x1

⁸⁶ P6B5 (c)

Phase III materials from a thin layer, while architectural remains were encountered in the thicker Phase IV and V strata; but the only figurines coming from secure contexts were found among the Phase V layers. Together with the orange/pale red colors of the figurines (colors which are more popular among the pottery assemblage of the Neolithic occupation in Uğurlu Höyük) it was argued to be more likely for these two figurines to be originally from the Neolithic layers. A similar argument through color can be made for the lower body piece UH17Y09, although less securely. It was found in an unexcavated part of the mound (Z-AA19-20) slightly to the north of the aforementioned BB-20-21 trenches. The figurine is orange colored while its front was covered by a black patch as a result of its uneven firing; the upper surface of its buttocks is straight (as opposed to the typically curvy buttocks of the Type A figurines), similar to the buttocks of the figurine V18B2x4 from a Phase III/IV mixed fill in the eastern section of the mound.

A handsome marble figurine head (UH09Y37) is conspicuous among the surface finds, retrieved around this same eastern section of the mound in the isolated trench V18. Surface fills from the same trench also contained a highly burnished and one of the most elaborately decorated figurine pieces (V18B1x4). Another figurine (DD19B1x1) from another surface fill, this time near the Building 3 complex in Phase III in the southeastern part of the mound, was also highly burnished and decorated extensively with incised patterns. These two examples are quite reminiscent in their surface treatment and decoration of the Phase IV figurine P6B42x1 and might have been originally part of the Phase IV assemblage. Two of the most complete figurines, UH10Y69 and Yüzey 4, are unfortunately also surface finds. Former is a Type A figurine and was recovered from the unexcavated northeastern part of the settlement (grid P17); this figurine is significant among Type A figurines for its explicit separation of the arms from the torso even though it is making the typical arching motion with its arms. Latter is the single Type C figurine from Uğurlu Höyük and was found on the surface (grid P5) above the area of the Phase III pit concentration. The leaning backwards posture of this figurine, a possible posture that was also suggested for some of the Type A figurines, was depicted explicitly. Lastly, one pottery sherd with a relief representation of what seems to be a human with opened arms upwards (CC19-20B1) is another notable piece coming from a surface fill in the southeastern trenches. The crimson & black texture of this sherd is generally associated with the pottery from Phase IV.

Securely dated direct parallels from contemporary sites in the region could be illuminating about the dating of some of these figurines which were recovered from unsecure contexts in Uğurlu Höyük. Next section will investigate such parallels to determine networks of long-distance relations that the people of Uğurlu Höyük were involved in through time, as gauged by the figurine assemblages of these prehistoric communities.

4.2 Interaction Networks around the Aegean through Figurines

It was mentioned before how the Uğurlu Höyük figurines were not excluded from the “vernacular” created by the figurines around the Near East and the Mediterranean in the prehistoric times. Yet, unique and local traits are present in almost all of the individual assemblages. This is all the more apparent in the Uğurlu Höyük figurines. Likewise, a number of features link the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük with figurines from around the Aegean, while others set them apart.

A cursory look at the prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines from communities in the wider Eastern Mediterranean basin reveals that the depiction of the human body in a corpulent and often exaggerated form (with much broader contours than average) was not at all a practice unique to the inhabitants of Gökçeada. Such figurines were frequently encountered in the prehistory of Europe and the Near East; although this imagery was frequently accompanied with biological indicators of the female sex (Figure 2), which is absent on almost all of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines.

In this section, it is these similarities and differences between figurines of Uğurlu Höyük and those from different communities around the region which will be investigated in detail. Numerous criteria are involved in these comparisons (see below for a more detailed discussion), but the primary criteria that will be followed is the overall forms of the figurines. However, for the most part, direct parallels are hard to come by because of the aforementioned local characters of the assemblages. This is neither surprising nor unexpected in a prehistoric landscape which was much more sparsely populated in a time when the means of communication were simpler and less efficient. Yet, it is seen that these communities were at least aware of what was going on in the world around them, participating together in the same tradition of figurine making.

Even if different communities only rarely produced the very same figurines, it is possible to detect certain shared traits and features that can be informative about the contacts and networks that these people participated in. As discussed in Chapter 2, these similarities would provide a platform of understanding on which different groups could more freely engage each other, allowing an exchange of ideas and concepts, which then might result in even more similarities in how these different groups conceptualized and manufactured their figurines.

The underlying assumption is that these commonalities between figurines indicate contacts between the communities, and that the increased similarities on the figurines would be proportional to the intensity of contact. For this to hold true, the figurines need to have been a medium conducive to the communication of people and ideas, even between groups of people that do not necessarily ascribe the exact same meanings to these objects. It will be seen later in this chapter that there was indeed a distributive process involved in the use of figurines in Uğurlu Höyük and in other communities, through which individuals, identities (Chapman, 2000) and different communities distributed over a wide region (Talalay, 1987) could become involved within threads of enchainment. Therefore it also seems possible to create far-reaching associations through the use of figurines.

Following this line of thought, it can be suggested that one of the reasons for the existence of the aforementioned visual vernacular as demonstrated by the figurines might have been their eligibility to be used in facilitating an understanding between distinct groups of people, which perhaps did not even speak the same language, through making references to more familiar images and concepts. In their respective communities these figurines would likely take up different roles and correspond to different ideas, but in this way they could have been crucial in finding common ground during exchanges between less accustomed groups.

This is not to say that all the communities which participated in external networks used figurines to this end, nor does it mean that those groups which did not use figurines or which employed vastly different imagery did not engage each other at all. Some might have kept their figurines secluded from the outside world, and others might have had only a select people that had access to them; yet all might have maintained crucial channels of communication with

other communities. It must be emphasized that the aim in this section is not an attempt at a complete picture of the network of relations of Uğurlu Höyük through time, but rather a piece of the puzzle that can be added from the perspective offered by its figurines.

In terms of long-distance connections, we are aware that the community in Uğurlu Höyük somehow procured obsidian from sources in the Cyclades Islands in the Southern Aegean and also from sources in Central Anatolia. The existence of Balkan flint also points towards networks that worked their way up north. In addition, the presence of marble objects in the assemblage means that marble was also one of the imports to the settlement, as no significant source of marble is present on the island of Gökçeada. How directly were these materials being procured is not certain, although it is highly unlikely that people from Uğurlu Höyük themselves went to the Cappadocian sources to bring back what they needed, given the large distances to be traveled overland⁸⁷. Thus it can be surmised that members of the Uğurlu Höyük community were participating in the exchange of exotic materials with second or third parties.

It is based on this knowledge of regional exchange partnerships engaged by the people of Uğurlu Höyük and the viability of figurines to provide a communicative medium that the comparisons of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines with those from the region were constructed in the following pages. These comparisons were established for each phase in Uğurlu Höyük and summarized in the maps given, Figures 90, 93, 94, 100, and 103 (within each sub-section), creating a template of interaction around the wider Aegean region based on the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük. The following pages will supply a commentary on these maps and elaborate them with more details when it is necessary.

The criteria used include the overall forms of the figurines (including posture and gestures made by the arms & legs, scale of realism of the depictions, scale of exaggeration of the body parts, and abstraction; i.e. most of the typological concerns), raw materials used, surface treatment (color & burnish)⁸⁸, decoration (presence, method, and patterns executed), and presence/absence of head sockets. Related finds were not omitted from these comparisons where

⁸⁷ Although the Aegean Sea might have been more conducive to long-distance voyages; see Papageorgiou, 2008.

⁸⁸ This is a problematic criterion in that most of the figurines are published as drawings and are not accompanied with the relevant information until the final research monographs.

it was feasible. The contextual data (which are not available for most of the figurines in the first place) and fragmentational patterns are however not evaluated in these maps as it was assumed that these would be more related with the functions of the figurines internal to their respective communities instead of their relations with external groups (although in some cases the fragmentation of the figurines played an important role in their distribution, this fragmentation is not necessarily a prerequisite to their distribution or to their ability to work as a medium of communication); context, fragmentation, and a number of related issues are discussed in more detail in the following Section 4.3 through a number of better published and analyzed assemblages.

It must be noted that the figurines picked and presented from the region as analogues to their Uğurlu Höyük counterparts do not generally form a representative sample of the assemblages that they belong to, but rather are singular finds that were isolated due to their (sometimes partial) intersection with Uğurlu Höyük figurines based on the criteria listed above. This is not an unexpected pattern either, total convergence of two assemblages from distant regions would only be expected in extraordinary circumstances (like a period of very intensive and focused interaction or due to an outright movement of people).

Temporal extent of each map is based on a single Uğurlu Höyük occupational phase and its assigned calendrical dates, starting from Phase VI and ending in Phase II - after which no figurines were recovered. For each of the maps, a representative pool of respective Uğurlu Höyük figurines on which the comparisons were selected was provided in the frame to the right. Also included in this frame are some surface finds from Uğurlu Höyük because of their parallels identified abroad within that calendrical interval. A few of the comparisons were pulled from out of the time frame of the respective Uğurlu Höyük phase, and these figurines were outlined by a red box. References used in each map for the figurine visuals and for their dating are presented in an endnoteⁱ to prevent them from interrupting the flow of the text. For those figurines which could not be associated with more specific dates, the generalized calendrical intervals for their assigned period (Early-Late-Middle Neolithic, Early Chalcolithic, etc.) were used⁸⁹.

⁸⁹ Dates for the Greek chronological scheme were compiled from Souvatzi, 2008, p. 52, Table 3.1; Nanoglou, 2005, p. 153, note 5; and Papageorgiou, 2008, p. 217, note 1.

Figurines discussed in the following pages (both from Uğurlu Höyük and abroad) are those figurines provided on the maps, and thus these maps (Figures 90, 93, 94, 100, and 103) should be consulted about a specific figurine mentioned in the relevant time period. In-text citations are given for the few exceptions to this rule, while more visuals are also provided if necessary.

4.2.1 Phase VI

It is now possible to move on to the discussion of patterns identified in the region after this extended prologue, starting with the earliest occupation in Uğurlu Höyük in Phase VI. Information on the settlement is very limited in this phase, and the only figurine recovered is a head piece (BB20-21B114x4) that was not preserved well (Figure 91). Not much can be said about this figurine head, except that it has a cylindrical flat top and a possible indication of its nose as a slight ridge on the front. Yet, one detail that strikes the eye is the previously mentioned thin, parallel lines traversing the circumference of this flat top. These lines could have been an attempt at portraying the hair. Unfortunately, it is not possible to tell just how extensively these lines covered the head; neither can it be seen if they extended further down at the neck as is the case in some of the similar figurine heads that will be mentioned shortly below.

On the basis of its flat top, decoration of its circumference, the cylindrical design and the possibly bulging nose, is it possible to find parallels to this object (Figure 90). However, all the similar heads were retrieved from spatially and temporally distinct sites. One head with a flat top from Çatalhöyük could be roughly contemporary, but it was decorated with dots instead of lines. More resembling pieces were actually recovered from sites in Greece and the Balkans (some of which are as far away as Hungary) and are always dated to much later periods. Two examples from Donja Branjevina (Serbia) and Dunavec (Albania) have the most similar decorations on their circumferences of the flat head; and in both cases these seem to serve as the basis of the long hair drooping downwards along the neck. Other parallels identified with the figurine head in Phase VI also have comparable forms and application of decoration, yet some are separated by possibly thousand years from the figurine head in Uğurlu Höyük.

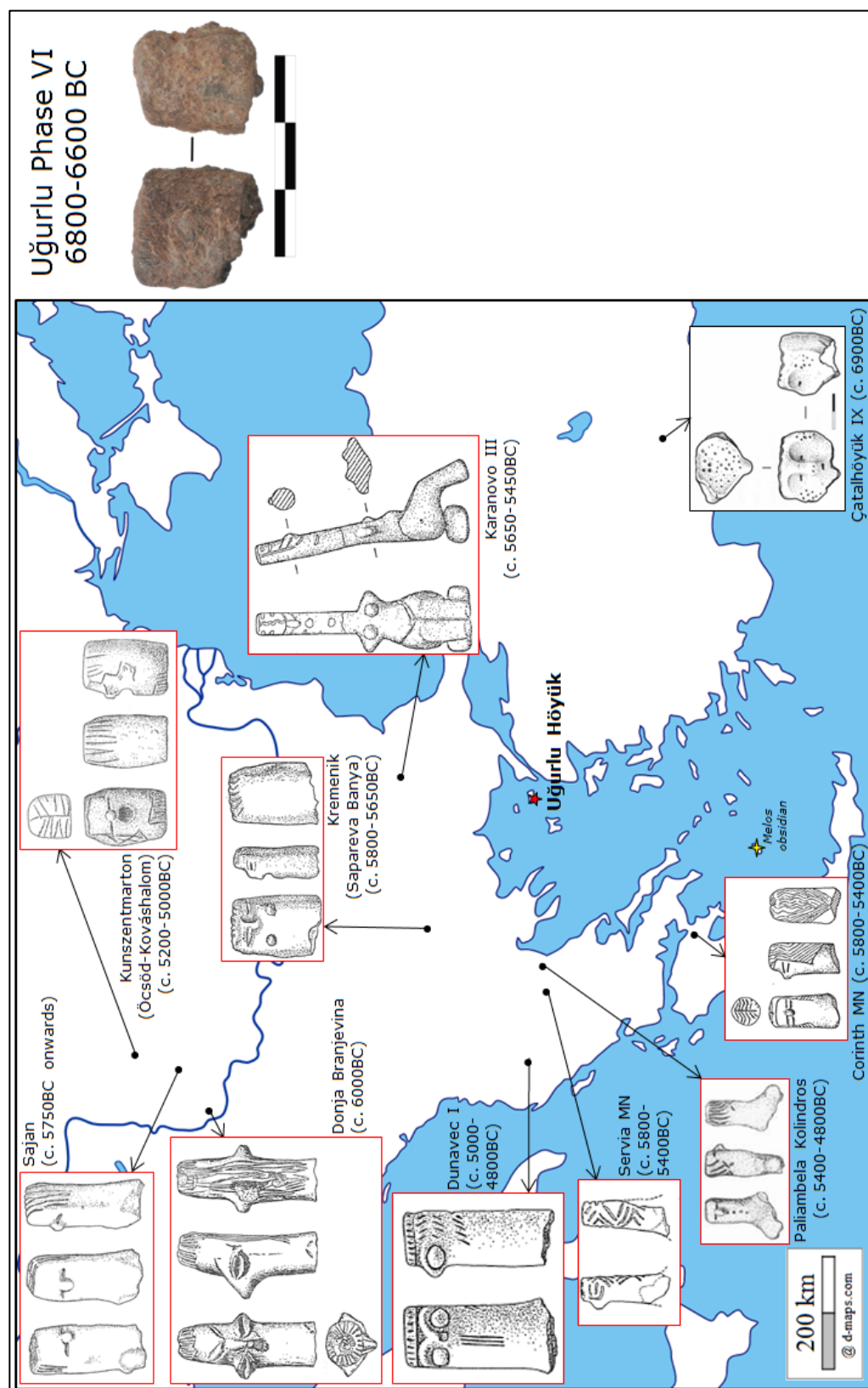


Figure 90: Regional parallels to the Uğurlu Höyük Phase VI figurine (note the discrepancies in temporality) (see endnote i at the end of the chapter for references).



Figure 91: Figurine head BB20-21B114x4 from Phase VI in Uğurlu Höyük. Notice the black parallel lines at the top.

Is there a reason for this convergence in design, or is it simply a coincidence (and perhaps, reading too much into one single badly-preserved piece)? One idea that could be entertained is the possibility of a tradition contemporary with (or older than) Uğurlu Höyük, which was the source of this object and its later off-shoots in the wider Balkans. Another curious detail which prompts one to ask this question is the link between Uğurlu Höyük and Dunavec figurines, which manifests again (this time, incontestably) in the early 5th millennium BC assemblages of the both sites (see Section 4.2.5 below). Could this be a symptom of the shared pool of ideas between these communities, which perhaps had roots going back as far as the 7th millennium BC? In any case, the later phases in Uğurlu Höyük yielded no similar examples to this figurine head in Phase VI, and the suggestions above can be no more than a speculation at this point.

It is perhaps relevant in this context that another clay figurine from Donja Branjevina (c. 6000 BC, Gatsov et al. 2017, p. 66; the “Redheaded Goddess”), which also features a head with similar hair (but with slightly curving top as opposed to completely flat) has a body and gesture comparable with Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük Phase III (Figure 92 - left), although this figurine is much bigger in size (more than 30cm tall; Hansen, 2007b, Taf. 115.1). A quite resembling figurine (in form and gesture, but lacking a head) is found in the site of Madjari in the Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) (Figure 92 - right). Dated to c. 5800-5300BC (Nasteva, 2007, p. 17), it is much smaller in size (6.8cm tall) and it was carved out of marble; this figurine is also discussed in relation to the Phase III assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük in Section 4.2.4 in the following pages.

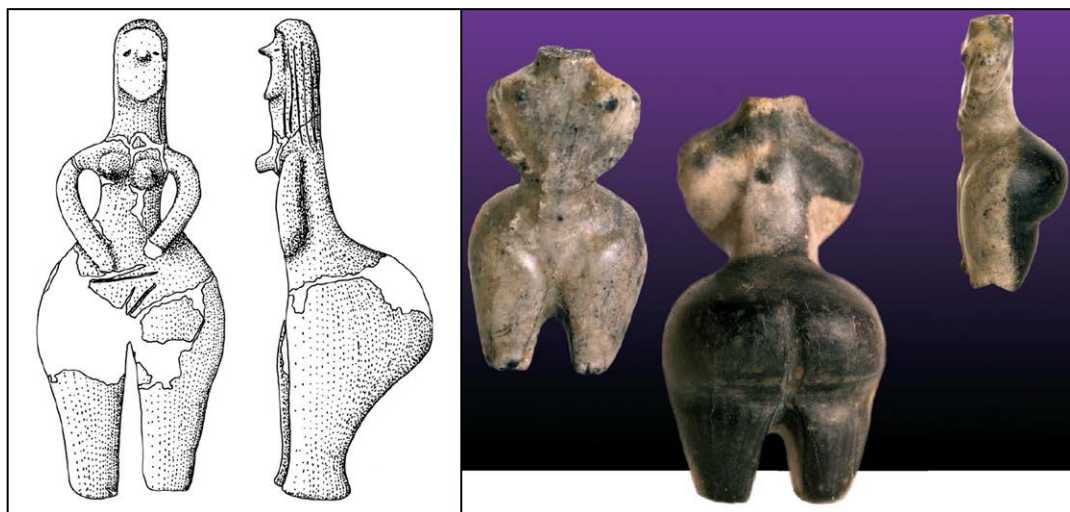


Figure 92: “Redheaded Goddess” from Donja Branjevina (left; image adapted from Becker, 2007, Fig. 6); a similar figurine from marble in Madjari (right; image adapted from Nasteva, 2007, p. 17).

4.2.2 Phase V

As far as the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük is concerned, there is a much clearer picture present in the succeeding Phase V. This time, the assemblage indicates direct links to the sites in Southwest Anatolia (Figure 93). Every anthropomorphic representation found in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V (the socketed

Type B figurine⁹⁰, the more naturalistic figurine head⁹¹, painted head insertion of bone⁹², the abstracted Type E pyramidal figurine⁹³, the relief representation on a pottery sherd⁹⁴) has direct parallels in the Lakes Region assemblages (note also that one lower body piece from Uğurlu Höyük⁹⁵ shares the same profile outline with some of the naturalistic figurines in Hacılar). Moreover the analogues in these sites (Hacılar, Höyücek, Kuruçay and Bademağacı) are not singular examples; in contrast, they seem to form large portions of their respective assemblages.

In this regard, a movement of people from this part of Anatolia to Uğurlu Höyük seems plausible (and would fit within the narratives of Neolithization of Aegean through the diffusion of people), bringing with them the ideas and the means of producing very similar objects. Perhaps such a movement was also responsible for some of the common depictions found in Western and Northwestern Anatolia or even Greece. An alternative would be a very focused and intense period of interaction, whereupon the adoption of similar objects in Uğurlu Höyük took place. The imagery of Çatalhöyük might have been one of the original sources of inspiration in turn. Even though the depictions in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V are much more directly related with those of the Lakes Region, in the following phases some traits on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines can be seen to be reflected on some of the much older figurines of Çatalhöyük. In any case, the strong links which the people in Uğurlu Höyük had with Anatolian societies cannot be denied within this time frame.

Yet, it must also be noted that these figurines (and especially those of Hacılar) also exhibit a much larger variety than the entire assemblage in Uğurlu Höyük in all its phases: they are sitting, lying, reclining, depicted with animals, depicted with other people, clothed, naked, occasionally decorated with painted motifs; there are schematic figurines with different levels of abstraction, there are large, flat anthropomorphic slabs in addition to anthropomorphic vessels, zoomorphic vessels, various painted and relief representations on pottery, bone representations, pintaderas, and so forth. Contextual patterns of the Hacılar

⁹⁰ BB20-21B71x4

⁹¹ BB20-21B100x9

⁹² BB20-21B32x2

⁹³ BB20-21B81x5

⁹⁴ BB20-21B29x1

⁹⁵ UH17Y09, surface find

assemblage in the face of this diversity and some interpretations given for various figurines recovered there will be discussed in Section 4.3.1, which can provide some clues as to how the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V were utilized.

Meanwhile, one figurine from Early Neolithic levels in Knossos (on the island of Crete) bears extensive similarities to the clay figurine BB20-21B118x1 from Uğurlu Höyük which was recovered from an uncertain context. They share the same form and posture; they both have broken heads, the both miss parts of their lower body, and they both make the very same arm movement. There are only two minor differences: the figurine from Knossos has a greater emphasis on its genitals, and it was carved from marble instead (occurrence of very similar figurines between Southern Aegean and Uğurluk Höyük with the sole difference of the clay-stone dichotomy is a recurring theme in the following Phases IV and III as will be seen in the following pages). This parallel from Knossos and another parallel from Bademağacı (which was made out of clay, but it is reclining much more sharply than the other two) argues for an assignment of this figurine in Uğurlu Höyük to Phase V.

It is mentioned by Perlés (2001, p. 257) that the earliest figurines in Neolithic Greece were highly schematized, such that it is hard to identify them as anthropomorphic; it was only later (towards the end of the 7th millennium BC) that the more familiar figurines emerged. She identifies four major types: 1) schematic “pear-shaped” figurines, 2) truncated figurines without legs, 3) standing figurines, and 4) sitting figurines; the latter two being more naturalistic (p. 258). An emphasis on the belly and the hips are prevalent, and there is a tendency to mark diagnostic sexual indicators (ibid.). A general schematization of the heads is also noted (ibid.), but even in this schematized form the heads can incorporate detailed applications: some of the 7th millennium BC figurines from Achilleion (in Thessaly, Greece) incorporate eyes, nose and the mouth applied on a mask-like lozenge attached to a cylindrical rod (see Gimbutas, 1989). Hansen (2007a, p. 373) claims that earlier figurines in the Greek Neolithic can be traced back to Anatolia and Mesopotamia with its various types, although the manner of constructing the heads (and how some facial features like the eyes are depicted) and the enthroned male figurines seem to be more local developments in the Greek mainland.

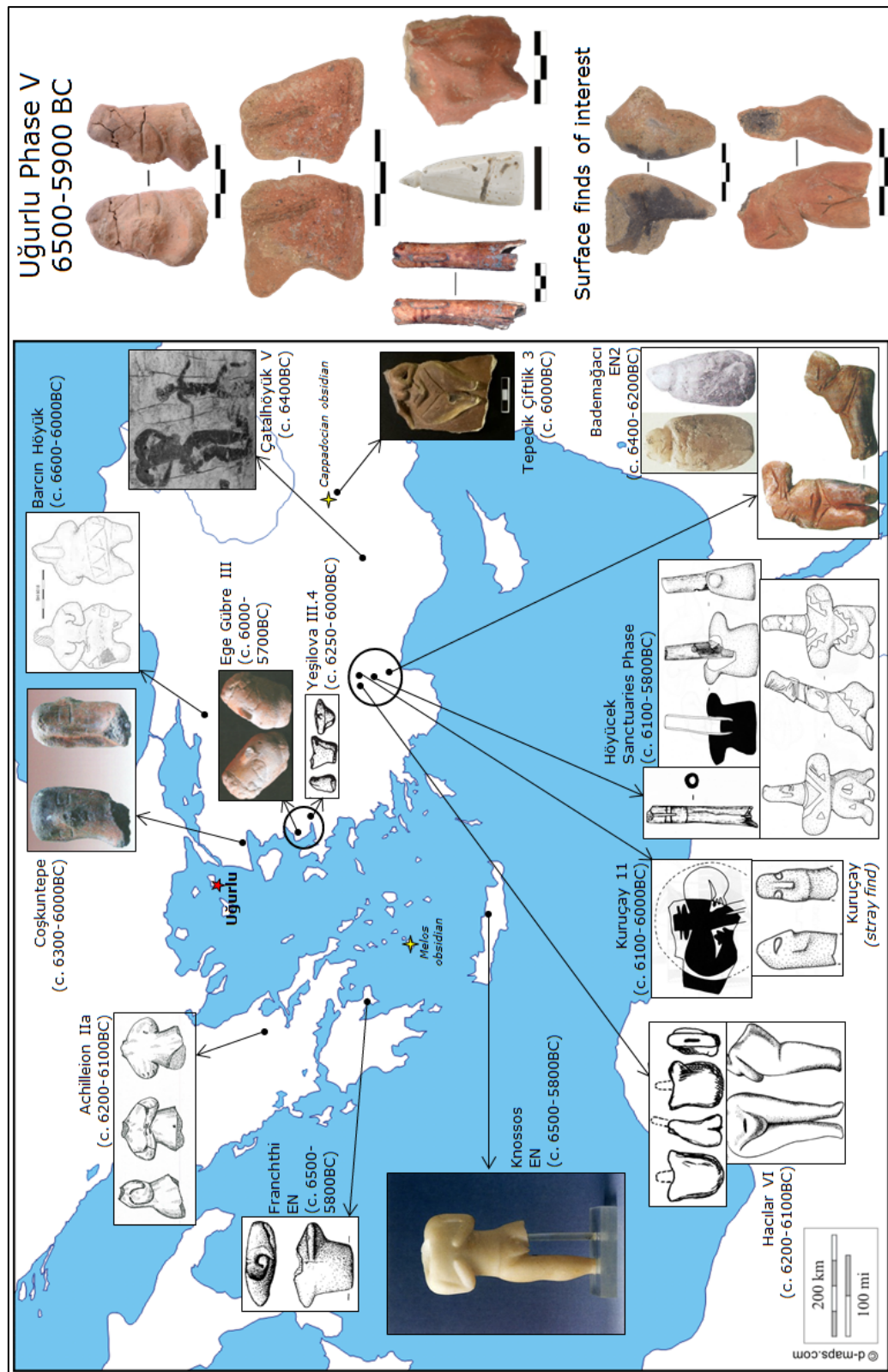


Figure 93: Regional parallels to Uğurlu Höyük Phase V figurines and related finds (see endnote 1 at the end of the chapter for references).

Achilleion assemblage seems to include all the types mentioned by Perlés, where some of the more naturalistic (standing) examples can be seen to make a curving arm movement towards the front of the body like the later Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük, even though the heads (mentioned above) are not similar to any of the heads recovered from Uğurlu Höyük Phase V. Inserted heads and figurines with head sockets are also not present in Achilleion.

One observation regarding the Greek figurines is that they are generally more frequent in Thessaly and regions further north, while sites in Southern Greece yield lesser numbers (Hansen, 2007a, p. 374); this trend is even sharper in the late 7th millennium BC (Talalay, 1993, p. 58). Yet, one figurine from Early Neolithic levels in Franchthi in Southern Greece is quite similar with the Type B figurines, except instead of a head socket there is a spiral impression on its neck: the inserted head on this figurine was likely a shelled organism (Talalay, 1993, p. 30) that was pressed onto the clay. Talalay notes that this figurine is unique in the Greek Neolithic, where inserted headed (acrolithic) figurines are only found in the Final Neolithic (c. 4600BC onwards) and in limited regions (Thessaly and Greek Macedonia) (p. 59).

4.2.3 Phase IV

After Phase V, it is not possible anymore to detect such assemblage-wide parallels with Uğurlu Höyük and any other sites based on their figurines; instead, the similarities are confined to a few figurines or a few particular traits. What takes place in Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV, it appears, is one of diversification of contacts and localization of figurines (Figure 94). Type A in Uğurlu Höyük forms as a consistent group within this time period.

It seems that the community might have retained some of its connections with Anatolia. The symmetrically bending variation on the Type A figurines is also observed on the figurines found in Ulucak, Orman Fidanlığı, Hacılar, and from an earlier date in Çatalhöyük, although the exaggeration of the buttocks is not as consistently applied. Towards the east, some figurines in Köşk Höyük have what seems to be a headgear protruding backwards from the head, and might have been the intended effect on the similar but much more featureless figurine head V18B3x2 in Uğurlu Höyük. Relief decoration of human figures on pottery was also popular in Köşk Höyük, and one of the surface sherds in Uğurlu Höyük exhibit a similar portrayal of the human form. Notably, the figurine P6B42x1

displays the same color and the high level of burnish like the figurine found in Pendik in Marmara region, but the latter does not boast of extensive incised decoration on its upper portion as is the case for the former. Meanwhile one object in this period from the site of Yeşilova, registered as a "spoon handle", looks very similar to some of the individual leg fragments in Uğurlu Höyük; it might yet be a figurine fragment in the style of Uğurlu Höyük Type A figurines. Although an examination of the object itself is necessary to affirm this connection, it would be the first confirmed instance of the distribution of figurine fragments out of the settlement in Uğurlu Höyük (which is one of the purported mechanisms indeed at work among the figurines of this community, see the following section).

Meanwhile, it is seen that the interactions with the other side of the Aegean had increased in Phase IV. Exaggeration of the buttocks in a similar way as in Uğurlu Höyük can be followed in a number of Greek and Bulgarian sites. Posture and gesture on some of the earlier Thessalian figurines show resemblances to those in Uğurlu Höyük. At least one arm of a figurine from Zappeio 5 has arms bending like P5B119x2, although the former seems to be reaching lower on the body than the latter. One figurine from the site of Prodromos has drawn up legs similar to some Uğurlu Höyük lower body pieces. Yet, both of these figurines have their breasts explicitly indicated, and there is an emphasis on the belly; which are uncharacteristic of the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage. The famous figurine from Nea Nikomedeia has a lower body quite similar to the lower body piece DD19B1x1. Another similar parallel, reported to be originally part of a Thessalian assemblage c. 6th millennium BC, is found in private collections (Figure 95). However, both this figurine and the Nea Nikomedeian example (in addition to their lack of incised decoration) seem to be emphasizing the hips and thigh in expense of the buttocks and have breasts indicated unlike Uğurlu Höyük figurines. Moreover, the arms are making a very comparable motion to Type A symmetrically curving variants, but the proportions are in these cases distorted to result in a stubby torso, whereas the examples in Uğurlu Höyük are more realistically proportioned in this regard. The marble figurine head UH09Y37, a surface find in Uğurlu Höyük, is comparable in its shape with the heads of these two figurines; although the latter have deeply incised eyes which are not found on any of the Uğurlu Höyük examples.

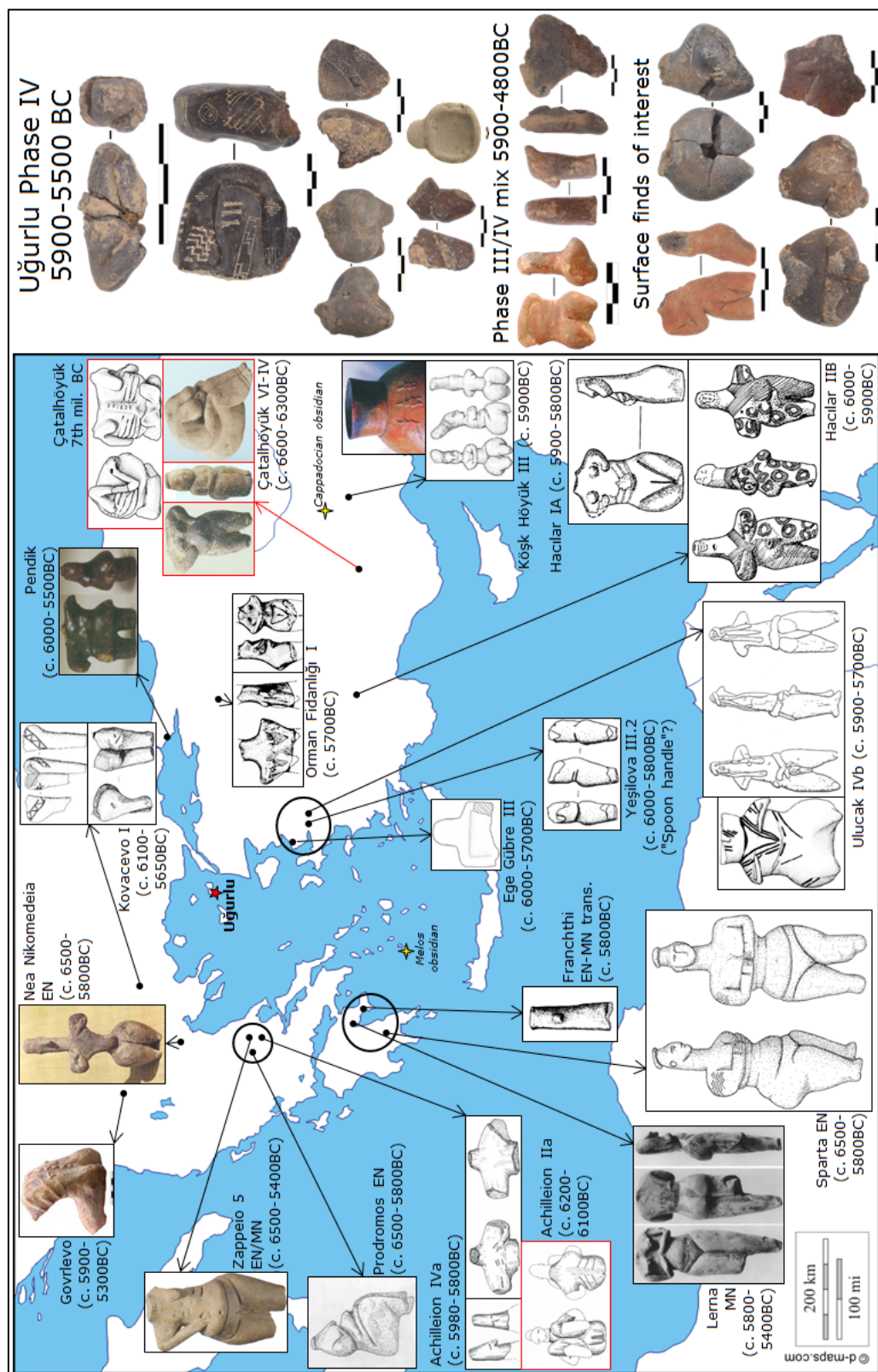


Figure 94: Regional parallels to Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV figurines and related finds (see endnote i at the end of the chapter for references).



Figure 95: "Thessalian" figurine from the collection of Electrum Art Gallery, New York; 15.2 cm in height (images retrieved from <https://www.electrumartgallery.com/#/ancient-thessalian-idol-antiquities/> on April 19, 2018).

Incised decoration, now extensively covering many of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines, is occasionally encountered in Northern Aegean and the Balkans with comparable designs. Strikingly, one lower body piece from the site of Kovacevo in Bulgaria contains an incised pattern on its hips of which a very similar variant can be found on many of the Phase IV figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (same pattern can also be found in Phase III figurines, see Figure 99). This pattern includes a single zigzagging line confined within a rectangular band (Figure 96).

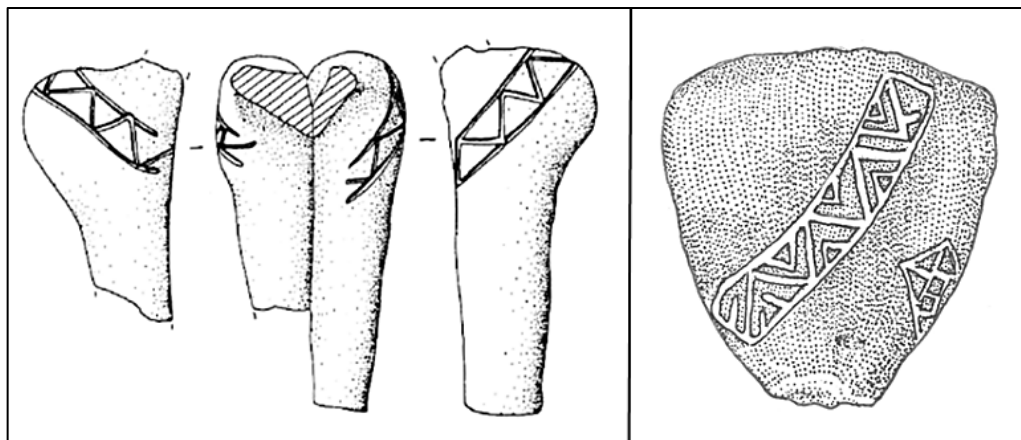


Figure 96: Similar decorative patterns from North Aegean in the early 6th millennium BC. Left: Kovacevo (image adapted from Demoule & Lichardus-Itten, 1994, Fig. 15.7), right: lower body piece P5B38x11 from Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV.

In the Eastern Balkans, the earliest Neolithic figurines seem to boast exaggerated buttocks but very flat upper bodies that fade seamlessly into the heads (Hansen, 2007a, p. 375), such as those figurines in Karanovo and Aşağı Pınar (Mikov, 1959; Özdoğan, 2013); and are quite distinct from Uğurlu Höyük figurines except for a similar emphasis on the buttocks. It is also noted by Hansen (p. 376) that figurines in this region are commonly accompanied with “anthropomorphic vessels, miniature tables and model houses”, which seem to be missing from the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage.

Most direct parallels for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines in Phase IV are to be found in Southern Greece. During this period, the previously mentioned discrepancy in numbers between Northern and Southern Greece still continues, however more figurines are now recovered from the southern sites (Talalay, 1993, p.62). One clay figurine from Lerna (where it was reported by Talalay [p. 72] that most of the figurines came from “rubbish pits or heaps located close to habitation areas”) features a similar symmetrically bending arm movement with the surface figurine (BB20-21B118x1) mentioned in relation with Phase V and the example from Knossos (in Section 4.2.2), but it also has much more emphasized breasts. A figurine head from Franchthi joins the figurine head V18B3x2 in its cylindrical form and in its reluctance to depict anything but the nose.

At the same time, one marble figurine from the site of Sparta in the Peloponnese region is very interesting in its design and decoration (note that marble figurines in Greece become apparent only after c. 5800BC; Perlés, 2001, p. 263). First and foremost, it must be said that this figurine by and large anticipates the Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük with the exception of the raw material employed in its production - marble. It has the same overall form: exaggerated buttocks, fleshy legs with hints of its elegant curves, symmetrically curving hands meeting straight around the abdomen/breasts - hands on which the fingers were depicted by parallel incisions. Curiously, the exact same decoration motif on the shoulder of this figurine was also used in the shoulder of the clay figurine P6B42x1 from Uğurlu Höyük, which seem to be direct references to one another (Figure 97). Yet the latter was also decorated with many other motifs unlike the former marble figurine from Sparta.

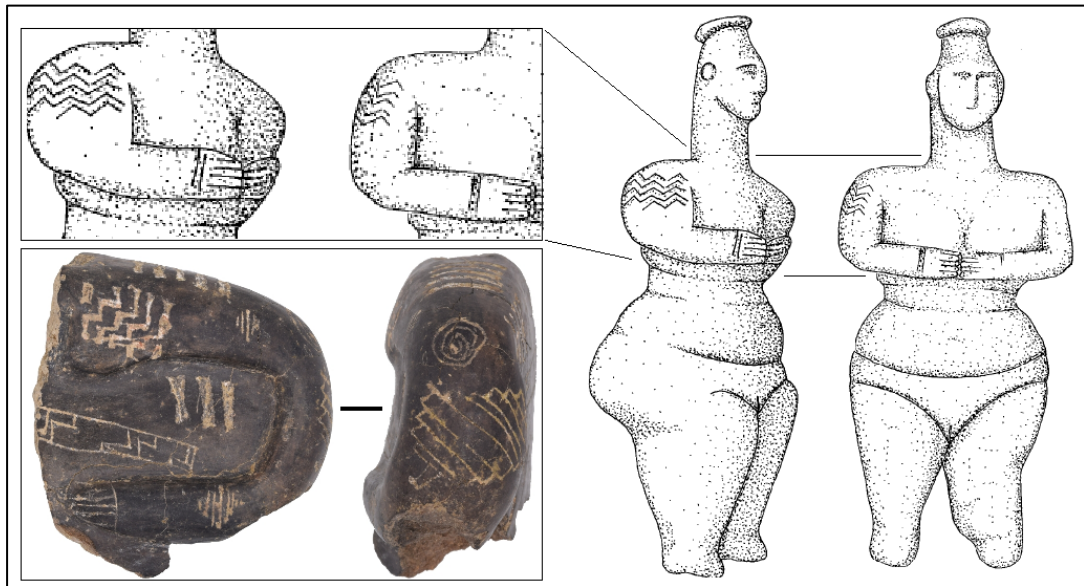


Figure 97: Decorative and typological parallels between Uğurlu Höyük and Southern Aegean. Right: marble figurine from EN Sparta (image adapted from Orphanidis, 1998, p. 56); Left: detail from the same figurine drawing (top) and figurine P6B42x1 from Uğurlu Höyük Phase IV (bottom). Objects are not to scale.

Nevertheless, with all the details concerned, it is possible that this Spartan figurine is what some of the complete Type A figurines (with attached heads) looked like. The above mentioned marble head piece UH09Y37 from Uğurlu Höyük is similar in form with the head of this marble figurine from Sparta, and perhaps was attached originally to a similar figurine. Curiously, the *polos* crowning the head of the Spartan example, which is lacking on UH09Y37, can be also found on some stone figurines in Çatalhöyük (from a much earlier date, Figure 98). It is noteworthy that one of these figurines from Çatalhöyük (Figure 98 - left) bears resemblances in its overall form as well; while another similar stone figurine from the same level in Çatalhöyük (Figure 98 - right) features an arm band that is also familiar from the Phase III figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (see, for example, Figure 89 - bottom-right). Yet it must be noted that the figurine from Sparta (Figure 97 - right) and the formerly mentioned figurine from Çatalhöyük (Figure 98 - left) have hints of their breasts, which is more than what can be said about the overwhelming majority of Uğurlu Höyük figurines.



Figure 98: Two stone figurines from Çatalhöyük VI (c. 6600-6500BC). Note the armband of the figurine on the right (Bilgi, 2012, Fig. 49 [left]; Fig. 89 [right]; Özdöl, 2012, Tab. 5.1).

Lastly for Phase IV, the depiction of skeletal elements on the torso seems to be a recurrent element in the wider Aegean, which is encountered on the back of one figurine from Uğurlu Höyük (DD20B16x1, Phase III/IV mixed fill). Such instances of the “duality of bone and flesh” are known from Macedonia, Greece, Aegean and Anatolia⁹⁶. In all the five examples (Govrlevo, Achilleion, Uğurlu Höyük, Hacilar and Çatalhöyük) the body implicated in this way also seems to be gendered⁹⁷ (which is normally not the case for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines with the exception of this sole figurine DD20B16x1). Was the discussion of concepts like death, rejuvenation, or perhaps even a literal starvation perceived

⁹⁶ Also possibly from some of the Linear Pottery Culture sites in Central Europe (c. 5500-4900BC; Hofmann, 2014, p.47); see, for example Becker & Dębiec, 2014, Fig. 8; Becker et. al. 2014, Fig. 4.

⁹⁷ Examples from Achilleion, Uğurlu Höyük, Hacilar and Çatalhöyük seem to be depicting females. The “Adam of Govrlevo” on the other hand is a male.

to be interlinked at some level with a discussion of the gendered body, such that they had to be referenced together?

4.2.4 Phase III

The trend of Aegean connections reaches its zenith in Phase III. Now, it seems, the people in Uğurlu Höyük were actively influencing (and being influenced by) the communities in the European side of the Aegean instead of those in Anatolia (Figure 100); although this picture is no doubt also influenced by a relative lack of investigated sites in Anatolia from this period. The trend of formal similarities with Southern Aegean and decorative similarities with Northern Aegean is seen to have accelerated during this phase. It also pointed by Hansen (2007a, p. 380) that richly decorated figurines appear in this period in Eastern Balkans. Similarly incised patterns with Uğurlu Höyük can now be found in numerous Northern Aegean sites such as Sitagroi, Makri, Harmanli, Makrychori, and Dikili Tash, some of which have figurines that are quite extensively decorated.

The arsenal of common incised motifs is seen to have expanded between Uğurlu Höyük and Northern Aegean communities in Phase III: shared motifs now include spirals, aligned dot clusters, variants of the “H” motif, and short parallel lines forming a ladder. A recurring element from Phase IV is the zigzagging lines confined within a rectangular band (see Figure 96 in the previous section): same motif also appears in a figurine from Thessaly (Figure 99 - Left: exact provenance not known, dated to late 6th millennium BC by Orphanidis & Gallis, 2011, p. 99) in addition to its presence also in the Phase III assemblage in Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 99 - Right). Meanwhile, some animal heads in Sitagroi also have counterparts in the Uğurlu assemblage both in their form and in how some of their features were brought out by incisions, although they seem to be coming from a slightly later date than Uğurlu Höyük Phase III.

In spite of the decorative similarities, assemblages from Northern Aegean remain distinct from Uğurlu Höyük figurines as a whole. In Sitagroi, for example, where a large number of figurines were recovered, most of the figurines are largely flat, and remain as schematized figurines with no legs (see Gimbutas, 1986). Meanwhile, the figurines in Dikili Tash have quite naturalistic heads, while the arms also do not seem to be making a motion toward the front of the body like Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (see the Dikili Tash Research Program website)ⁱⁱ. Likewise, even though similar decorative patterns are

present on some of the Harmanli figurines, these objects are schematized in a quite different way than the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (see Bacvarov et al., 2010). The parallels between these two regions seem to be mostly confined to the widespread application of incisions and the motifs involved.



Figure 99: Similar decorative patterns from a lower body figurine fragment from Thessaly (left - Orphanidis & Gallis, 2011, p. 226) and upper body piece P5B21x1 from Uğurlu Höyük Phase III (right).

Exceptions to this rule are the two singular figurines from Servia (Greece) and Madjari (also known as Madzari, in the Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]) which have fashioned their fleshy body in a similar way as the Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (but both two figurines lack incised decorations). The marble figurine from Madjari has symmetrically curving arms, but they meet at a much lower point than is typical for the Uğurlu Höyük examples. The example from Servia retains only one side of its body, but the arm on the remaining part seems to bend towards the front; it is possible (but not certain) that the arm continued down like the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük with the asymmetrically bending arms. The former is also notable for its color banding in a similar fashion with the figurine P5B6x4 in Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 31) even though it was shaped out of marble. A similar banding is also known from a clay figurine in Aşağı Pınar, but it is from an earlier date.

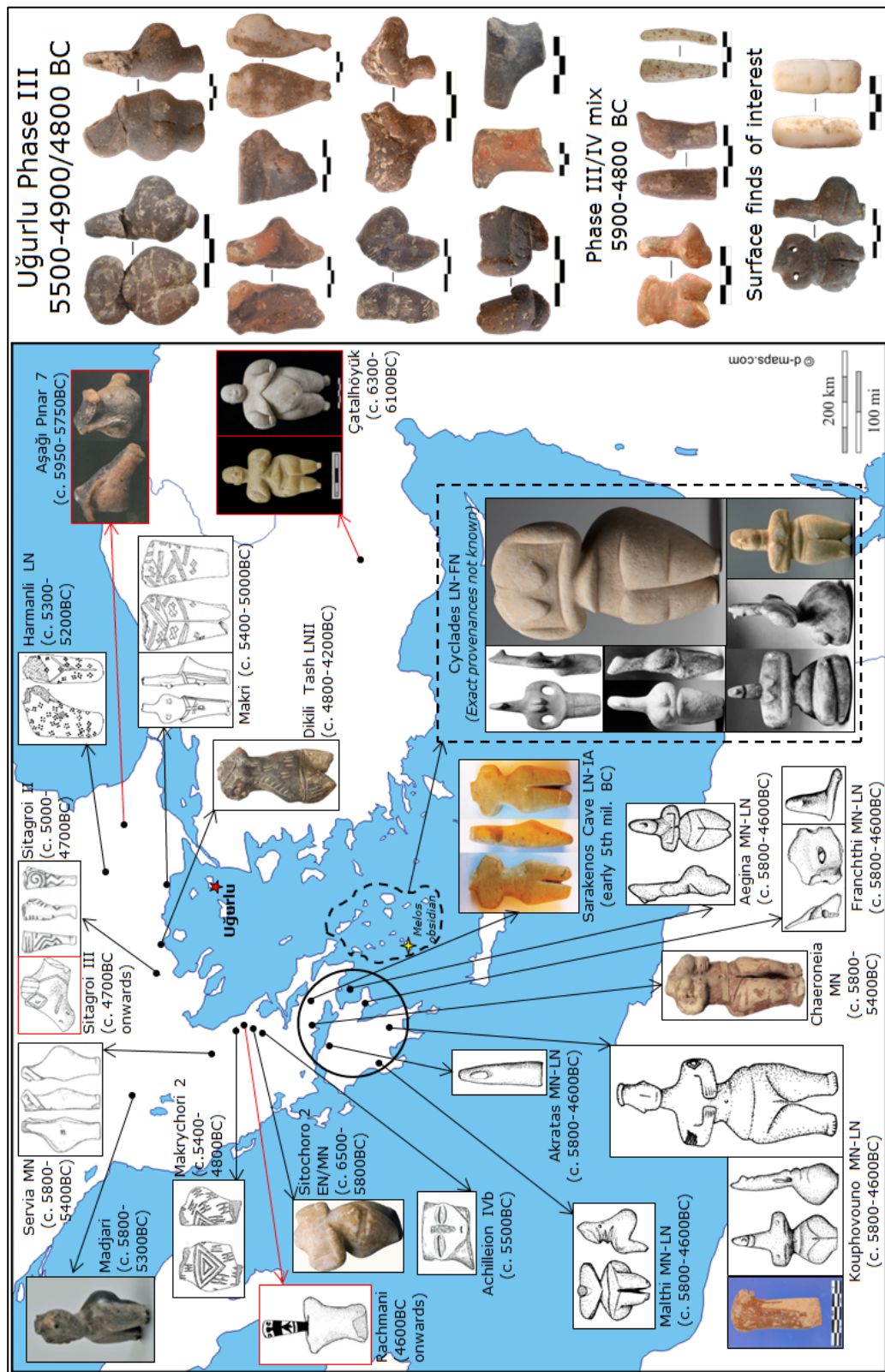


Figure 100: Regional parallels to Uğurlu Höyük Phase III figurines and related finds (see endnote i at the end of the chapter for references).

One unique figurine with a head insertion is known from the site of Rachmani in Thessaly. The head insertion in this case was carved out of stone and was painted to bring out the facial features and to decorate it with abstract patterns (Talalay, 2004), but it looks similar in its shape to the *Spondylus* head insertion V18B8(a) from Uğurlu Höyük; although the latter was incised to detail the face instead of being painted. A second point is that the body which this head was inserted into seems to have more in common with the schematized Type B figurines (which have been extinct in Uğurlu Höyük for quite some time) than the more realistically rendered Type A figurines of this time period. Furthermore, while the head insertion V18B8(a) from Uğurlu Höyük comes from an unsecure context and might be originally dating to as late as 4800BC, the figurine from Rachmani seems to be from an even later date. Accordingly, it is known that inserted headed figurines appear only after c. 4500BC in Thessaly (Hansen, 2007a, pp. 112 & 374-5), by when the tradition of head insertions had long been abandoned in Uğurlu Höyük. Even when acrolithic figurines emerge in Thessaly, it is seen that these figurines are cylindrical in shape with flat bases and stubby arms (Nanoglou, 2006, p. 169); all in all quite different from the Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük which were the main employers of the head insertions in this settlement.

Returning to the Southern Aegean, it is now possible to find direct parallels to the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage in the entire Peloponnese region. By now, the analogues to Type A figurines are almost as diverse as those in Uğurlu Höyük itself. Separating legs, adhering legs, different feet proportions; symmetrically curving arms, symmetrically bending arms: different Type A variations can be found in different assemblages in this region. One caveat, however, is that they are overwhelmingly made of stone with very few clay examples, in a complete reversal of the picture in Uğurlu Höyük⁹⁸; in addition, they do not seem to be decorated at all apart from some rare exceptions. Another reversal concerns their sex: these examples in Southern Aegean are almost always female, with either their breasts or their genitals indicated. Meanwhile, it seems that the head sockets have not penetrated as south as this part of the Aegean.

Marble figurines from Kouphovounos and Aegina are quite striking in their overall similarity to more complete Type A figurines from Uğurlu Höyük. A stone

⁹⁸ The examples from the following sites (in Southern Aegean) indicated in Figure 100 were carved out of stone: Aegina, Cyclades (all), Franchthi (right), Kouphovouno (middle and right), Malthi, and Sarakenos Cave.

figurine from Malthi has the almost the same legs-drawn posture as the figurine P6B59x1 from Phase III. Another marble figurine from Sarakenos Cave does not have exaggerated buttocks, but the arms and the torso were contoured very similarly to some of the Uğurlu Höyük upper body pieces. The site of Chaeroneia in Boeotia is seen to have yielded a clay alternative to some of these marble parallels, except for its painted decoration and its overemphasis on the breasts. At the same time, the site of Sitochoro 2 in Thessaly is unique in that it yielded the northernmost example of these marble parallels to Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük.

With these said, perhaps the most direct parallel to Type A comes from the islands of Cyclades instead of the Greek mainland, with almost the exact same contours of the body that we are familiar from Uğurlu Höyük (Figure 101 - cf. Figure 59). Yet, the above differences regarding the indication of sex and raw material apply to this object as well. A third difference is the size of this particular figurine: with a height of 21.4cm, it would easily tower over any of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines (however, not all Cycladic figurines from this period are as tall as this example: some of the other figurines mentioned below are comparable in size with Uğurlu Höyük figurines).

The parallelism between this marble figurine and some of the Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük is at such an extent that it would not be far-fetched to suggest that people who encountered and observed one of the examples were responsible for the others. Unfortunately, this figurine -along with numerous other early examples from Cyclades- is part of private collections which were originally retrieved through unsystematic digs (Getz-Preziosi, 1994), and even the island they were found on is not certain. The object in Figure 101 is not an isolated parallel; there are also other figurines from the Cyclades (again from private collections) which share numerous traits with the Type A figurines (although not as strongly as the example above) - again, all of them were carved out of marble. These objects are generally considered to be the precursors of the Cycladic figurines of the Bronze Age, and are dated accordingly to the later part of the 5th millennium BC (Getz-Preziosi, 1994; Getz-Gentle, 2001). Parallels from both Greece and Uğurlu Höyük, however, indicate that this assignment should perhaps be revised in favor of an earlier date.



Figure 101: Marble figurine from Cyclades, currently on exhibit in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York). Originally part of a private collection (accession number: 1972.118.104)ⁱⁱⁱ.

It should be mentioned that, at least in sites where the figurines were recovered through scientific excavations, numbers of figurines in Southern Greece are not high in the first place (Talalay, 1993, Tab. 7). The number of the marble Type A analogues above do not exceed 5 in any one site that they were found in. It is possible that Uğurlu Höyük was providing a suitable context, in this regard, for the more intensive use of figurines compared to the sites which yielded marble Type A parallels in the Southern Aegean. Complementing this observation is the fact that Neolithic sites in Southern Greece do not seem to have yielded much figurines in general (Talalay, 1993, Tab. 7, 8 and 9.). The sites with the highest number of figurines, Corinth (37) and Franchthi (24), either did not yield a direct Type A analogue (Corinth⁹⁹), or it was confined into one fragmented head piece (Franchthi). It might be relevant that the figurines in these two sites are almost always made of clay; in addition, they are generally female and also generally painted.

Secondly, the issues of raw material and head insertion might have been more related than it first seems. If those people of Peloponnese and Cyclades who produced the Type A parallels almost consistently chose to make their figurines

⁹⁹ Even though a few figurines are making a comparable arm motion they are still typologically distinct.

out of marble, this might have been due to an intrinsic value attributed to this material (note also the presence of very high quality marble sources on various Cycladic islands, while the mainland seems to contain fewer sources of a lesser quality; Talalay, 1993, p. 12). People of Uğurlu Höyük, on the other hand, had to produce the same objects mainly from clay since the island lacked significant sources of marble and had to make do with the relatively few marble pieces they could obtain. The head insertions, on the other hand, could have been attempts at reintroducing this value to a larger number of figurines using various materials. *Spondylus*, meanwhile, might have been such a substitute for marble due to its comparable appearance.

Finally, it is of note that a marble figurine from MN-LN Kouphovounos sports the very same incised pattern on its arm as the previously mentioned EN figurine from Sparta in the previous section (Figure 97). In general these two figurines are quite similar, and that the two sites are very close to each other might have been a contributing factor. The single difference is that the figurine from Kouphovounos has another motif on the other arm, two concentric lozenges, in a symmetrical placement. This latter pattern, however, does not have a direct correspondent on the Uğurlu Höyük figurines. In addition to other marble figurines found in Kouphovounos (some of which are also very similar with Uğurlu Höyük figurines), one clay figurine head from the same site is seen to parallel the Phase III figurine head DD20B3x3 in form, color, and design.

But what is to be made of all these groups of similar objects, found at the two distant ends of the Aegean Sea? For the almost identical marble figurines recovered different sites across the Middle Neolithic of Southern Greece, Talalay offers four possible explanations (1994, p. 65):

1. The pieces were made by different people and were distributed in an exchange network,
2. One sculptor, who made these objects and traveled between settlements, disseminated them,
3. People that made these objects could communicate in regional gatherings or through exogamous partner exchanges,
4. The knowledge and tradition was circulated by a third party.

When Uğurlu Höyük and its clay figurines are included in this network of relations, the second possibility can be eliminated. The rest, on the other hand, are not mutually exclusive explanations. Perhaps exchange networks, which brought Melos obsidian from the Cyclades to Uğurlu Höyük, were also responsible for the similarities in figurines. These communities have could have participated in these exchange networks, which were arranged and/or affirmed in periodical regional gatherings, that also made the transfer of people and ideas possible along with the transfer of raw materials and goods. Similar figurines, indicative of similar narratives and similar worldviews, might have been crucial to be able to participate in these networks, which in turn would have affected the “canon” in place for the production of these artifacts. The extent of the similarities is a testament to the strong connections Uğurlu Höyük had with the region in this time period, which seems to be a continuation and expansion of the links formed in the previous Phase IV. Overall, it seems that references to a widely similar form enabled the Uğurlu Höyük community to engage the communities of the Southern Aegean, while the extensive decoration of the figurines with incised motifs facilitated the same with the communities of the Northern Aegean.

4.2.5 Phase II-III Transition and Phase II

In contrast with the earlier phases, 5th millennium BC witnesses an isolation of the Uğurlu Höyük figurine assemblage in the Aegean. Parallels are now confined to the periphery of the Northern Aegean (Figure 103). It seems the figurines were still being decorated with familiar patterns of incisions, but now these were not as extensive or conspicuous. They might be indicating still-lasting links with the northern coast, with sites like Sitagroi and Dikili Tash, both of which yielded elaborately decorated figurines. However the figurines from these sites are now even further apart from the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük typologically as the latter now incline towards abstracted variants of the earlier Type A figurines.

More direct correspondents to these flat, almost stump-armed figurines in the early 5th millennium BC in Uğurlu Höyük are found in Albania and in Thessaly, Greece. The assemblage of the site of Dunavec is remarkable in this regard. Quite a number of the figurines here seem to be identical to the figurines of the Uğurlu Höyük Phase II-III transition. Flat front, box-shaped buttocks,

abbreviated arms (sometimes stumpy, sometimes discreetly curving), slightly narrowing cylindrical necks are all found in both Dunavec and Uğurlu Höyük. In this regard, the numerous flat-top heads recovered from the former site could be what the original heads of the transitional figurines of Uğurlu Höyük looked like. Yet, most of the Dunavec figurines incorporate references to the breasts, which was still not an acceptable practice in Uğurlu Höyük.

Even though there are also other figurines distinct from these former examples among the Dunavec assemblage, a few figurines in Dunavec could yet be hinting that the links between the figurines assemblages of these two sites might be going further back in time. More explicit and familiar depictions of curving arms can be seen on one figurine in Dunavec I (Figure 102a), while another fragment hints at similar attempts at the fleshy body (Figure 102c). Some figurines were also decorated extensively with incisions (Figure 102b) while others were left mostly plain. Lastly, one clay figurine from Dunavec II with crossed legs under its body (Figure 102d) is paralleled in this posture by some of the marble Cycladic figurines (Figure 102e), and could be hinting about the Cycladic connections of this community¹⁰⁰: similar links with the Cyclades was argued for the Uğurlu Höyük community in the earlier Phase III (see previous section).

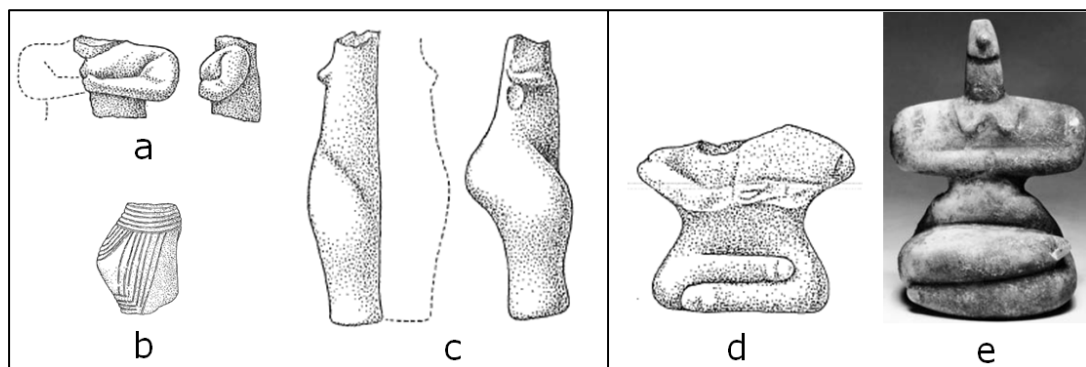


Figure 102: Possible parallels between Dunavec, Uğurlu Höyük, and the Cyclades. Left: figurines from Dunavec I which could be paralleling some of the earlier Uğurlu Höyük examples (images adapted from a: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 158.7; b: 158.8; c: 158.2); Right: similarly postured figurines from Dunavec II (d: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 159.9) and Cyclades (e: Getz-Gentle, 2001, Pl. 1b). Objects are not to scale.

¹⁰⁰ Note that this pose of crossing the legs under the body is not limited to these sites and could be found in figurines from an extensive region in different times (see Baltacioğlu, 2011). Therefore it is also possible that this posture is carrying older and/or different connotations.

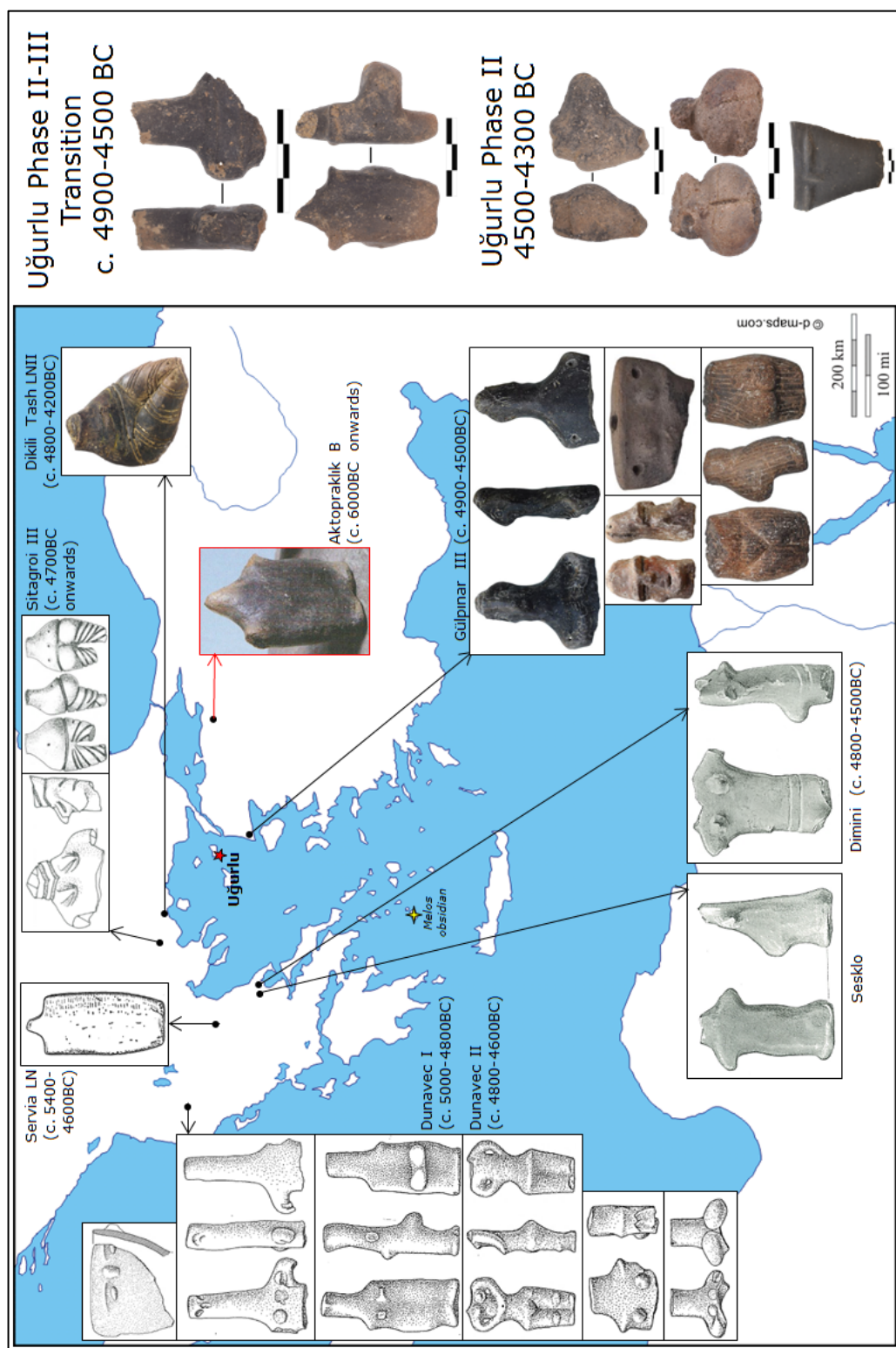


Figure 103: Regional parallels to Uğurlu Höyük Phase II-III Transitional and Phase II figurines and related finds (see endnote i at the end of the chapter for references).

It should be noted that a number of other similar figurines (to those in Phase II-III transition in Uğurlu Höyük) with flattened frontal surfaces are also found in Servia, Dimini, and Sesklo in Thessaly. The head of the example from Servia seems to be tapering off in a rather inglorious fashion. The similarity of this figurine to the examples in Aktopraklık is striking (Karul & Avcı, 2013, Fig. 27), even though the latter predates (p. 270) both this Late Neolithic figurine and the similar flat and blocky figurine¹⁰¹ in Uğurlu Höyük (which, unlike the preceding two figurines mentioned, does not seem to taper off at its head).

At the same time, Uğurlu Höyük is assigned to the Kumtepe Ia-Beşik Sivritepe Culture in Western Anatolia and Eastern Aegean Islands in this time period based mainly on the convergent pottery styles (Erdoğan, 2014b, pp. 163, 166; Kuş, 2013). It is therefore not surprising that their figurine assemblages are also comparable. The three assemblages (Uğurlu Höyük, Dunavec, and Gülpınar) seem to share some traits while diverging on others. Both at Dunavec and Gülpınar, figurines did not shy from showing their breasts. As in Dunavec, incised decoration could also be applied more liberally on some of the Gülpınar figurines. The small holes on the corner of the shoulders of Gülpınar and Uğurlu Höyük figurines could be corresponding to the gaps resulting from the curving motion of the arms, which is indicated in a less stylized manner on some Dunavec examples. Also noticeable is the presence of a head socket in one of the Gülpınar figurines, which is lacking in both Dunavec and Uğurlu Höyük at this time. The attached heads in Gülpınar were fashioned differently than those in Dunavec as well, generally retaining more naturalistic contours.

One of the figurine heads in Gülpınar was suggested to be representing a mourner, based on the presence of two shallow vertical incisions moving downwards from the eyes (Takaoğlu, 2006, p. 306); and the possible connections of this representation to some of the Cycladic and later Bronze Age examples from the Aegean were indicated (ibid.). It is noteworthy that the figurine in question (Takaoğlu, 2006, Fig. 12) was recovered above the fill of a pit, which was similarly covered with stones like the pits of the earlier Phase III of Uğurlu Höyük. A final remarkable group of objects in Gülpınar are the anthropomorphic pottery handles and lids, which have their ends shaped like human heads (Kuş, 2013, p. 29).

¹⁰¹ O6B3x4

Meanwhile, a trend of making more crude, schematized figurines after the Late Neolithic period was also noted by Talalay for the Southern Aegean communities (1993, p. 68), but this schematization seems to be different from the abstraction at work in Uğurlu Höyük: in the Southern Aegean, figurines gradually lose their lower body and buttocks (1993, Pl. 5a-b), which is not the case in Uğurlu Höyük. In Thessaly, cylindrical figurines with flat bases and stubby arms had become more popular than the earlier, more naturalistic representations (Nanoglou, 2005) and they seem to be able to stand on this flat base, unlike the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük. On the other hand, the heads in the Cyclades are seen to be gradually morphing into the distinct shapes characterizing the Cycladic marble heads of the Bronze Age (p. 119), for which any resembling examples are lacking in Uğurlu Höyük in spite of the intensive links outlined for the previous Phase III.

Why was the interaction of Uğurlu Höyük figurines now limited and what caused their relative isolation in the 5th millennium BC compared to earlier periods, especially the decreased parallels with the Southern Aegean, even though obsidian from Cyclades still found its way up to Gökçeada? Nanoglou (2005) claims that a decreased concern with “motion” on the figurines corresponded to a restriction of individuals in the social arena in the Thessalian communities in the late 6th / early 5th millennium BC. Another possibility summoned for the Final Neolithic (c. 4600BC onwards) of the Cyclades by Talalay is that of an competition over resources, the control over which was crucial in the emergence of hierarchies in the succeeding Bronze Age (Talalay, 1993, p. 75). Perhaps this increase in competition and tension was also responsible for the seemingly diminished ties of Uğurlu Höyük with the region.

4.3 Spatial and Contextual Comparisons with Selected Sites

In addition to particular comparisons of individual figurines, a broader comparison of well-published and well-analyzed (with regard to their thematic, contextual, and fragmentational patterns) assemblages from contemporary sites can also contribute to understanding the role of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. Accordingly, analyses by various researchers of three distinct assemblage groups from the region (Figure 104) will be examined in the following pages, each of which will touch upon aspects that will be seen to be

pertinent to the issues discussed in relation with the assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük.

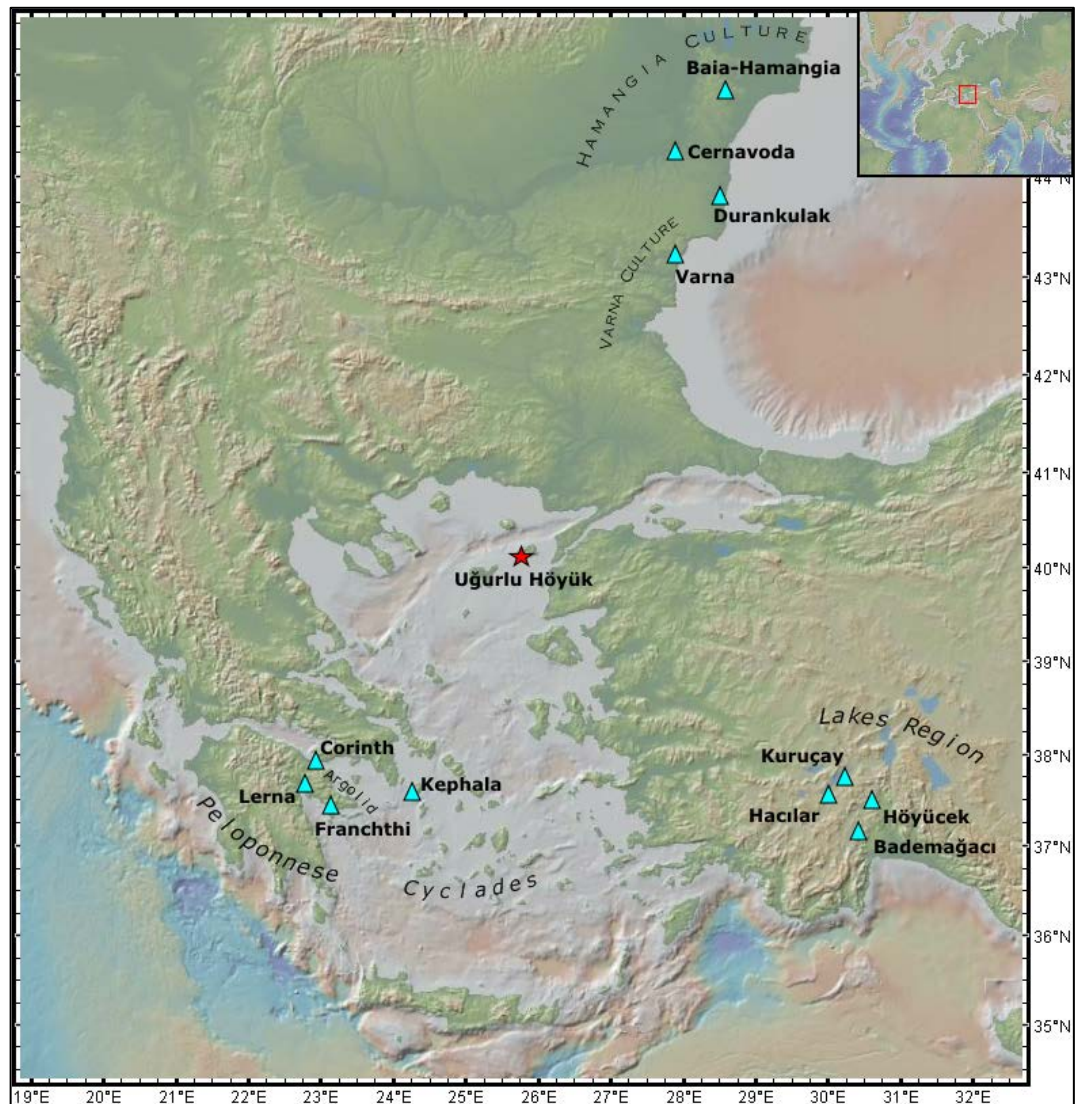


Figure 104: Locations of sites and regional entities mentioned in this section (map modified from base image obtained using GeoMapApp).

First comes a look eastwards to the site of Hacilar in Southwest Anatolia, to pour more life into the community of (relatively less known) Phase V in Uğurlu Höyük, whose representational assemblage exhibits parallels with Hacilar and other contemporary sites in the region. Then, an inspection of the explanations given for the functions of the fragmented figurines of Franchthi in Southern

Greece will follow, located in a region focal to the networks which people in Uğurlu Höyük Phases IV and III participated in. Lastly, figurines from the settlements and cemeteries of the Hamangia culture in the Western Black Sea region will be visited to take a look at the reasons for the variety in their depositional patterns. For each case, a suitable amount of background information will be provided before moving on to the discussion of the figurine assemblages in light of the analyses conducted by different researchers, after which the relevance of the subject discussed to the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük will be established.

4.3.1 Hacılar

Hacılar is a prehistoric mound in southwest Anatolia occupied between c. 6400-5700 BC (Levels IX to I; Thissen, 2010), excavated by James Mellaart between 1957 and 1960; controversial both because of the spectacular finds recovered from the site and the events surrounding the excavations (Mellaart, 1970a; Duru, 2010). Around 130 figurines have been recovered from Hacilar, which were mostly concentrated in Level VI, and to a lesser extent, in Level II (Mellaart, 1970a).

In Level VI (c. 6200-6100 BC; Thissen, 2010) rectangular mudbrick buildings with stone foundations were uncovered whose walls and floors were covered with plaster; numerous postholes and a possible collapsed upper floor in one building indicate that the structures probably had second stories (Mellaart, 1970a, pp. 16-7). All these buildings were associated with domestic activities, and are labelled as houses (Voigt, 2007, p. 153). This occupation level was destroyed in a fire (Mellaart, 1970a, p. 10) which led to a good preservation of the figurines, some of which were unbaked before the incident (Voigt, 2007, p. 152). Almost all the figurines were found inside the buildings in Hacilar VI, and there is evidence that some of these objects were dropped from second floors during the conflagration (p. 154). Voigt points to the possibility that these statuettes were in storage prior to the destruction of the settlement (p. 167).

Mellaart (1970a, pp. 166-77) makes a distinction between naturalistic "statuettes" as opposed to the more schematic "figurines". The latter category includes a sub-category (dubbed "quadrilateral figurines" by Voigt (2007)), which corresponds to the Type B figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. However, the inserted heads of these "quadrilateral figurines" on Hacilar VI seems to have

been destroyed in the fire (perhaps because they were made of wooden material) and thus were not recovered together with these figurines. It is notable that these Type B correlates are present only in Level VI in Hacilar and not in other occupation layers. Meanwhile, the so-called statuettes were adorned with realistic curves and details, sometimes clothed but mostly naked; and they are varied in their postures and the positioning of their limbs (Figure 105). Special attention was paid to the heads, which have detailed facial features including the ears and sometimes the pupils (but missing their mouths), and they were crowned with intricate hairstyles.

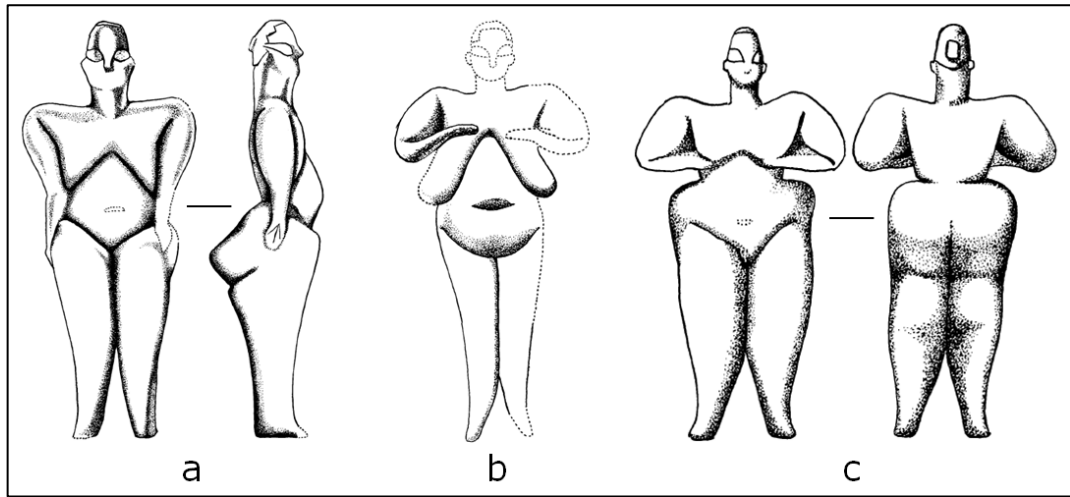


Figure 105: Naturalistic figurines ("statuettes") from Hacilar Level VI. a: #520 (24cm) from building Q.VI.5 (image adapted from Mellaart, 1970b, p. 482, Fig. 202), b: #531 (8.5cm) from building Q.VI.3 (p. 488, Fig. 210), c: #514 (11.7cm) from building Q.VI.5 (p. 483, Fig. 204). Objects are not to scale.

In addition to the Type B correlates, other parallels exist between the assemblages of Uğurlu Höyük Phase V and Hacilar Level VI. The figurine head BB20-21B100x9 (Figure 38) from Uğurlu Höyük was depicted similarly with the figurine heads of Hacilar VI (Figure 105a). The eyes in both cases have the same shapes, outlined by incisions; the nose is indicated by a ridge between the eyes; and there is an emphasis on the top of the Hacilar heads, which have detailed hair or headgear applications, which might also be the intended case for the Uğurlu Höyük example. In both cases the mouths were not depicted. Secondly, some of the statuettes in Hacilar VI make the same pose with the relief figure on the pottery sherd BB20-21B29x1 in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V

(Figure 78) with both having arms curving towards the front of the body; while some statuettes in Hacilar have large, pendulous breasts (Figure 105b) that also seem to be the intended depiction on the aforementioned pottery sherd from Uğurlu Höyük. Slight variations of the same pose (with arms moving slightly lower on the body - Figure 105c) more or less anticipate the popular arm movement of the later Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük.

Yet, unlike the Type B figurines from both sites, it is not possible to equate the statuettes of Hacilar with the Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük (with this said, some implicit connections between Type B figurines and certain Type A attributes exist and will be discussed in the next section). The statuettes from Hacilar are more realistically rendered, more detailed, explicitly sexed much more often, sometimes clothed; they have more proportionate buttocks, do not have head sockets, and allow for a great deal of motion of the arms and legs and many different postures. Occasionally more than one individual is portrayed on the Hacilar figurines, sometimes even with animals.

Returning to the explanations given for these objects in Hacilar Level VI, Mellaart notes that while the statuettes and schematic representations in Çatalhöyük are recovered in contrasting contexts (shrines vs. pits, fills and walls - although his identification of shrines was disputed later: see Voigt, 2000, p. 282) such a difference is not observed among the Hacilar assemblage. He insists that the statuettes in Hacilar represented various aspects of the main deity (the "goddess"); while the more schematic representations were according to him *ex voto* substitutes. He admits that contextual evidence in Hacilar does not imply such a clear-cut difference between these groups (objects from both groups were found in houses), and rather bases his categorization on differences observed on form and style, and on parallels from Çatalhöyük. In addition, it is seen that Mellaart does not try to justify his reading of statuettes as representations of the "goddess": implicitly, assumptions were accepted and presented as facts. Meanwhile the meaning of a third group of human representations in Hacilar, stone and clay slabs, is left as a question mark in his interpretations.

More recently, Voigt (2007) tried to give an alternative interpretation of the figurine assemblage of Hacilar VI. In her study, Voigt employs the methodology she used in her investigation of Çatalhöyük figurines (2000). Here, as discussed previously in Chapter 2, she had adapted the fourfold classification devised by

Peter Ucko with respect to the figurine assemblage of Neolithic Knossos (Ucko, 1962), separating the figurines as cult figures, vehicles of magic, teaching figures, and toys. Voigt uses a slightly expanded version of Ucko's attribute sets for differentiating between above classes of figurines (pp. 254-64). The parameters include raw materials, morphological diversity, use, disposal, wear & damage, and disposition (pp. 261, 263; Tables 2 & 3). In this way she determines three functional classes among the figurines of Hacilar VI (Voigt, 2007, pp. 167-8). The slabs are argued to have served as vehicles of magic associated with dwellings. Schematic figurines are identified also as vehicles of magic but associated with individuals instead of the houses; similar Type B figurines from Höyücek which have cut marks (which is identified as an indicator of use as vehicles of magic) are pointed by Voigt (p. 157) as supporting this interpretation. Detachment of head insertions could then deprive the object of its power (ibid.). Finally the naturalistic figurines ("statuettes") are identified as initiation or teaching devices associated with women by Voigt, whereas an interpretation of Hacilar figurines as designed to be used in "small-scale" initiation rites is also subscribed by Talalay (1984). Meanwhile, Voigt acknowledges that some of the latter could also be representations of a prominent figure like Mellaart's "goddess", however she maintains that "majority of the Hacilar statuettes are better identified as ordinary women, models for adult roles within the society" (2007, pp. 168-9). Lastly, she talks about the possibility of deliberate removal of head pieces, and stresses that some statuettes were likely damaged deliberately as part of the discard process (p. 167).

It is noteworthy that almost all of the figurines (both naturalistic and schematic) in Hacilar VI were recovered from the various buildings of this occupation level associated with domestic activity. It seems that regardless of their purpose (either as tools to manipulate the supernatural or as initiation/teaching devices) they were not limited to a certain part of the settlement; but instead, being recurrently found in domestic contexts, were used by the members of the community in relation to their very own dwellings.

Strong parallels between the representational assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük Phase V and Hacilar VI (and the contemporary nearby sites of Höyücek, Kuruçay, and Bademağacı, see the previous section) indicate (at the very least) a flow of ideas between the Lakes Region in Southwest Anatolia and Gökçeada. It is also possible that this flow was made possible through the transfer of

people at some point in time. However, the latter claim needs a parallel comparison of the architecture, subsistence habits, pottery, and other small finds between these regions before it can be discussed on a more secure ground. In the meantime, it is the region opposite the Aegean Sea which seems to have maintained close relations with the people in Uğurlu Höyük in the following phases.

4.3.2 Franchthi

Franchthi is located in Southern Greece mainland in the Argolid region. The site, excavated in the 60's and 70's, encompasses the Franchthi cave and the open-air area of activity in front of it, known as the Paralia (Perlès, Quiles, & Valladas, 2013, p. 1003). In addition to a sequence lasting through the Neolithic, the site also has older layers dating to Mesolithic and Paleolithic (Talalay, 1993, p. xvii).

A total of 24 figurines (including anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations) have been retrieved from the continuous Neolithic sequence spanning the Early Neolithic all the way down to Final Neolithic in Franchthi (ibid.). Almost all the figurines were made of clay, with the exception of two stone examples (p. 8). Both the cave itself (19/24) and the Paralia (5/24) yielded figurines but all of them came from fills, a distribution considered to be a sign of the association of these objects with activities inside the cave (ibid.).

Talalay, who undertook a comprehensive analysis of the Franchthi figurines (1993), indicates that almost all the figurines are fragmentary, and that while the most figurines are depicting females, some do not permit an assignment of the biological sex (p. 12). Curiously, one of the figurines has a spiral shaped socket on its neck, which Talalay points that would have hosted a gastropod shell as a head (p. 30). Another aspect Talalay stresses is the connections between the pottery and the figurines. She points at the likelihood that the same people were making the figurines and the pots (p. 33), and suggests the human form as a common symbol linking these object categories through the use of a shared vocabulary in design (p. 35).

Using a methodology (p. 38) comprising (a) an examination of the figurines with respect to their condition, wear, size, design, color, hardness, sex, and other features, (b) examination of their find contexts, (c) examination of their

socio-economic contexts, and (d) examination of ethnographic analogues, Talalay proposes three possible uses of Franchthi figurines (p. 45): as (1) contracts and tokens, (2) items of sympathetic magic, and (3) dolls and toys. First two categories seem to be confined in two distinct time periods.

The aforementioned figurine with a head socket (and two other figurines) is argued to be a child's toy based on its association with areas of activity (linked with females by Talalay); but it is also acknowledged that the presence of human skeletal remains, found nearby in all these three cases, is confusing (pp. 48-9). But more importantly, figurines identified as contracts or tokens seem to be quite relevant to the discussion of the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage. During the Middle Neolithic (c. 5800-5400 BC; Souvatzi, 2008, pp. 52-3, Table 3.1), a group of figurines identified by Talalay as "split-leg" figurines are argued to have served as symbolizing "an agreement, obligation, friendship or common bond" between a number of communities in the surrounding the Argolid and Peloponnese, where similar figurines were recovered from a number of sites (Figure 106; Talalay, 1993, pp. 45-6).

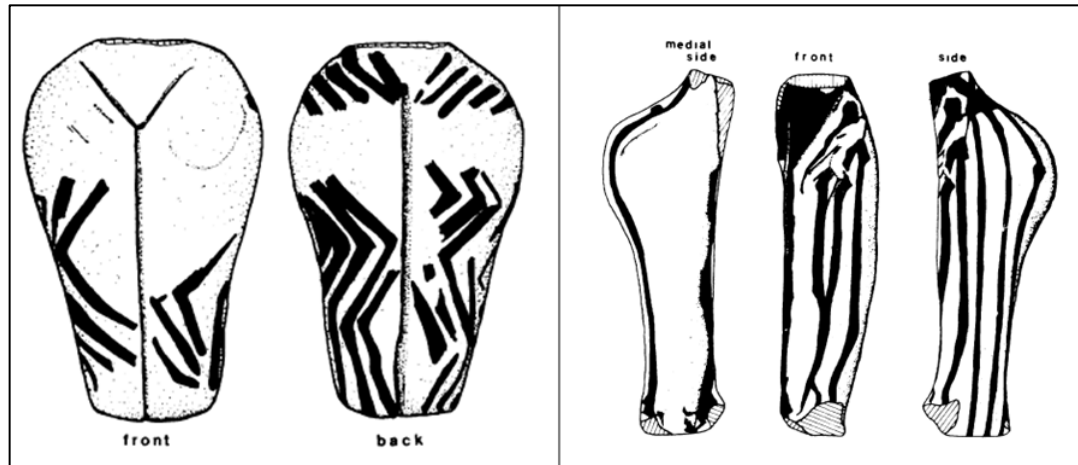


Figure 106: "Split-leg" figurines from Lerna (left) and Franchthi (right). Images adapted from Talalay 1987, pp. 163-4, Fig. 2 and 3; objects are not to scale.

Most of these figurines are missing their halves and were manufactured in a way that would ease their deliberate fragmentation, and Talalay argues that they served in the establishment of inter-settlement contacts in the region (ibid.). The most intensive contacts of Franchthi are identified by Talalay to

have been with the site of Corinth due to the close similarities in the figurine and pottery assemblages, perhaps as a result of the movement of women in a system of exogamous partner exchange (pp. 82-3).

Even though these figurines are different from contemporary Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük in design and decoration¹⁰², it is noteworthy that communities in a region where Uğurlu Höyük is claimed to have maintained connections with through the 6th millennium BC made use of fragmented figurines and possibly distributed them to establish and sustain networks (a case that will also be argued for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines in the following pages). Moreover, it is also claimed that some of the ground stone implements in Franchthi were deliberately fragmented and parts were deposited in distinct places, or even distributed abroad as part of ritual activity (Stroulia, 2003, p. 24). Furthermore, the cave, which yielded the most of the figurines, was also the place for the burial of a large number of individuals (at least 46) through the Neolithic occupation and the possibility of its use as a ritual locality has been put forward (Tomkins, 2009). Could the cave in Franchthi be the arena where the figurines (and other objects) were being fragmented while referencing the mortuary activity taking place? Even if this was not the case for the activities that took place in Franchthi cave, it will be seen in the following section that this is precisely what took place in the Hamangia cemeteries.

4.3.3 Hamangia

Hamangia culture is the given name to a collection of sites in the Lower Danube region dated between c. 5200-4800 BC (Chapman, 2010, pp. 76-7). It is named after the site of Baia-Hamangia in Eastern Romania not too far away from the Black Sea coast, while it has come to be better known from the sites of Cernavoda and Durankulak in Romania and Bulgaria, respectively.

The Hamangia settlements consisted of small, rectangular wattle and daub structures in addition to sunken pit buildings; coming together to form flat villages which might not have been used as long-term residences (Bailey, 2005, pp. 53-4). More interesting are the large cemeteries that first appear in the same period, although in smaller numbers than the settlements. The

¹⁰² Note, however, that at least one other figurine in MN Lerna (Caskey & Eliot, 1956, Frontispiece; see also Figure 94) makes very similar gestures in its upper body with some of the Type A figurines with symmetrically bending arms in Uğurlu Höyük.

aforementioned Cernavoda and Durankulak are two sites which also host such extensive cemeteries, yielding over 400 burials in the former (p. 56) and around 1200 burials in the latter (together with the burials from the succeeding Varna culture phases¹⁰³; Chapman, 2010, p. 77).

Bailey indicates that these cemeteries were the focus of ceremonial activities and material deposition (2005, p. 58). The bodies were generally interred in similar alignments; and there does not seem to be a differential treatment of the dead according to the age or sex groups (pp. 56-7). There also does not seem to be a differentiation based on grave-goods, however some of the graves in Durankulak do contain an anomalously rich inventory (Bailey, 2000, p. 197); which could be a sign of some limited hierarchy (Bailey, 2005, p. 58)¹⁰⁴. *Spondylus* shells, coming from the Aegean Sea (Chapman, 2000, p. 95), were a popular offering with the burials (Bailey, 2005, p. 58).

A typology of Hamangia figurines was created by Dimitre Berciu in 1966, identifying three main types (Figure 107; Bailey, 2005, pp. 49-50). These figurines were recovered from both cemetery (where the majority of the figurines were found; Chapman, 2000, p. 79) and settlement contexts; sometimes coming from burials themselves (occasionally more than one figurine could be found), or from unclear or disturbed contexts in the cemetery, while others were recovered from settlements in buildings or pits (Bailey, 2005, pp. 60-2). Regarding the figurines recovered from the cemeteries, Bailey (p. 62) states it is unlikely for their only function to have been related with mortuary ceremonies. Instead, he deems it more probable that these objects were related with the expression of individual identity or an expression of affiliation with certain groups and differentiation from others. He finds support for this argument in the deposition of figurines close to the heads of the interred, around where the objects of identity expression are generally found.

¹⁰³ Entire sequence of Durankulak (including Hamangia and Varna phases) is dated to c. 5100-4000 BC (Windler, Thiele, & Müller, 2013, p. 210). Meanwhile, the eponymous cemetery of Varna itself yielded close to 300 burials between c. 4800-4000 BC (Bailey, 2000, p. 203; Chapman, 2010, p. 76, Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

¹⁰⁴ A trend which is seen to have intensified in the Varna cemetery, where it is now possible to talk about "elite" and "non-elite" burials (Chapman, 2010, p. 79).

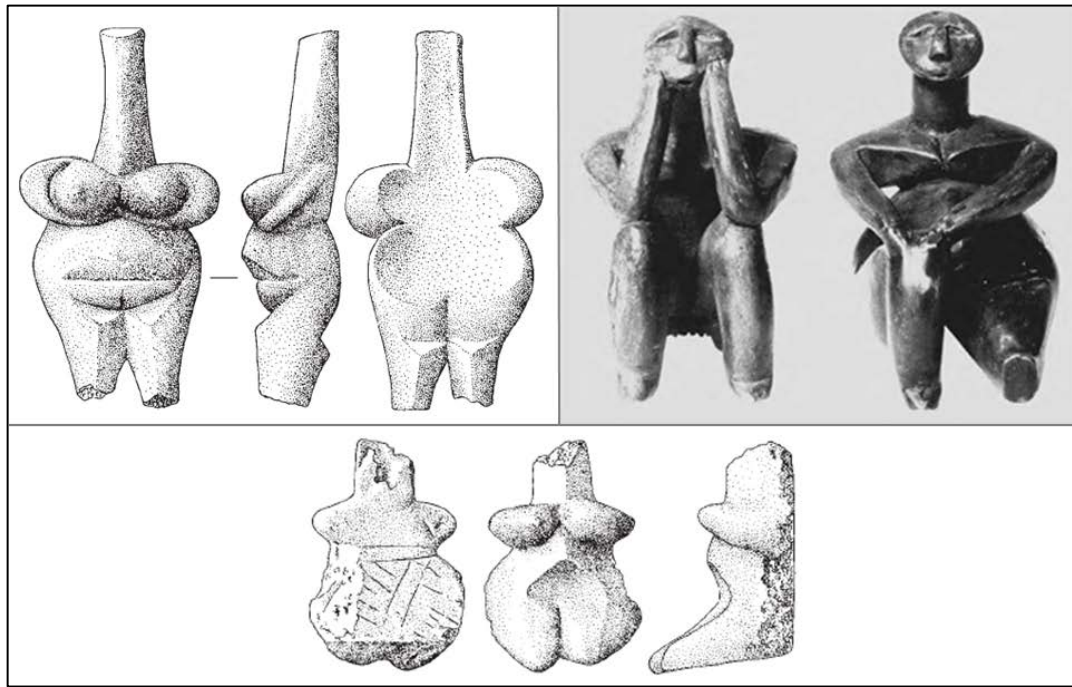


Figure 107: Figurines corresponding to three typological classes identified among Hamangia figurines by Dimitre Berciu (images modified after Bailey, 2005, Fig. 3.1, 3.2 and 3.5). Objects are not to scale.

Meanwhile, Chapman considers that the Hamangia figurines are not as conservative and stable as the categorization devised by Berciu implies (p. 75). Instead, he divides these objects into five basic categories: standing clay, seated clay, miniature shell, miniature marble, and schematic figurines from ankle bones (*ibid.*). In contrast with the previous identifications as females, he identifies a combination of five traits on the figurines: one male (the phallic head and the neck) and four female (breasts, pregnant stomach, pubic triangle, and wide hips) (pp. 75-7). This combination would mean that figurines could be both male and female at the same time. Gender-neutral figurines yielding none of these traits could also be found (albeit rarely). The fragmentation of the figurines could result in the loss of maleness when the head was broken off. He adds that since very few figurines carried no evidence of gender, this issue must have been of importance to the Hamangia communities (p. 76).

In addition to the nuanced formation of gender on these figurines, Chapman observes that complete grave goods are generally selected to accompany the complete body in a burial (p. 77). However, almost two-thirds of the figurines coming from Hamangia graves were incomplete (while all the figurines from

settlement contexts were incomplete) which were deliberately placed within the graves in this incomplete state (ibid.). Chapman offers the possibility of certain social activities whose participants would fragment and distribute the figurine parts as an explanation to this unexpected pattern, which would result in the enchainment of social identities (p. 78). This enchainment through the structured deposition of figurine fragments would link the domestic and the mortuary spheres, and would offer a reinforcement of the connections between the people, deceased, and the ancestors, which then would play a crucial role in producing a sense of space (p. 79).

While no cemetery related with Uğurlu Höyük is known of, there is indeed an area on the mound where mortuary activity seems to be reserved to; an area which was also the stage for the fragmentation of a large number of figurines. At the same time, it will be seen in the next section that some of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines were also capable of hosting multiple images like their Hamangia counterparts that could fit in a multitude of narratives. Nevertheless, both the geographical distance between Uğurlu Höyük and Hamangia sites and the typological distance between their figurines make the possibility of direct contact and direct transfer of ideas between these communities unlikely, especially concerning that the sea levels in the Aegean, Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus reached their current state only around 5500BC (Özdoğan, 2013, p. 169) and how viable or established was this sea route by the beginning of 5th millennium BC is not certain. It is also known that at this time period, the level of the Black Sea was still lower than today, making many of the Hamangia sites even further inland (Chapman, 2010, p. 76). In any case, while some of the Hamangia figurines are making similar gestures with the Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük, the almost flat, undecorated and explicitly gendered design of these objects from Hamangia ensure that they remain distinct from the assemblage in Uğurlu Höyük.

In the next section, attention will be directed again to the figurines and the related finds of Uğurlu Höyük itself; bringing together the results of the analyses conducted in Chapter 3 and the parallels abroad identified in this and the preceding section, a picture of the role taken up by the figurines within the society of Uğurlu Höyük will be drawn.

4.4 Social Functions of the Figurines: Uğurlu Höyük & Beyond

Other than linking Uğurlu Höyük with other communities around the Aegean, it is obvious by the sheer number of fragments found within the settlement that figurines also played an important role in the within the society of prehistoric Uğurlu Höyük itself. This section will bring together the various strands of evidence to clear issues surrounding the participation of figurines and related objects in this community and in others.

4.4.1 Typology

First point that must be indicated is that through the almost 2000 year-long occupation, the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük by and large kept conforming to the typology broadly outlined in Type A. Representations of the human body with arms in motion towards the front, often with exaggerated body parts, is a recurrent theme from the earliest occupation layers to the latest. Even though there are no Type A figurines in Phase V, a relief on one pottery sherd¹⁰⁵ depicts a person in this same pose: although it is not an independent three-dimensional representation, the same theme familiar from the Type A figurines was being conveyed.

This is not the only connection between the representations of Phase V with the succeeding Type A figurines: more explicit parallels from other settlements hint that the schematic Type B figurine with its stocky arms¹⁰⁶ (Figure 67 - found only in Phase V) is likely depicting the same curving arm motion of Type A figurines. It will be remembered that the site of Höyücek in Southwest Anatolia yielded numerous contemporary figurines¹⁰⁷ that correspond to the Type B in Uğurlu Höyük. Along with these schematic figurines however, there were also more naturalistic figurines in Höyücek, all from the same time period. An inspection side by side enables us to trace the curving motion of the arms towards the front of the body from the more naturalistic figurines to the more

¹⁰⁵ BB20-21B29x1

¹⁰⁶ BB20-21B71x4

¹⁰⁷ Sanctuaries Phase in Höyücek is dated roughly to 6100-5800 BC (Thissen, 2010; Düring, 2010, p. 162, Table 5.2).

schematized ones, both of which retain the same overall form notwithstanding (Figure 108)¹⁰⁸.

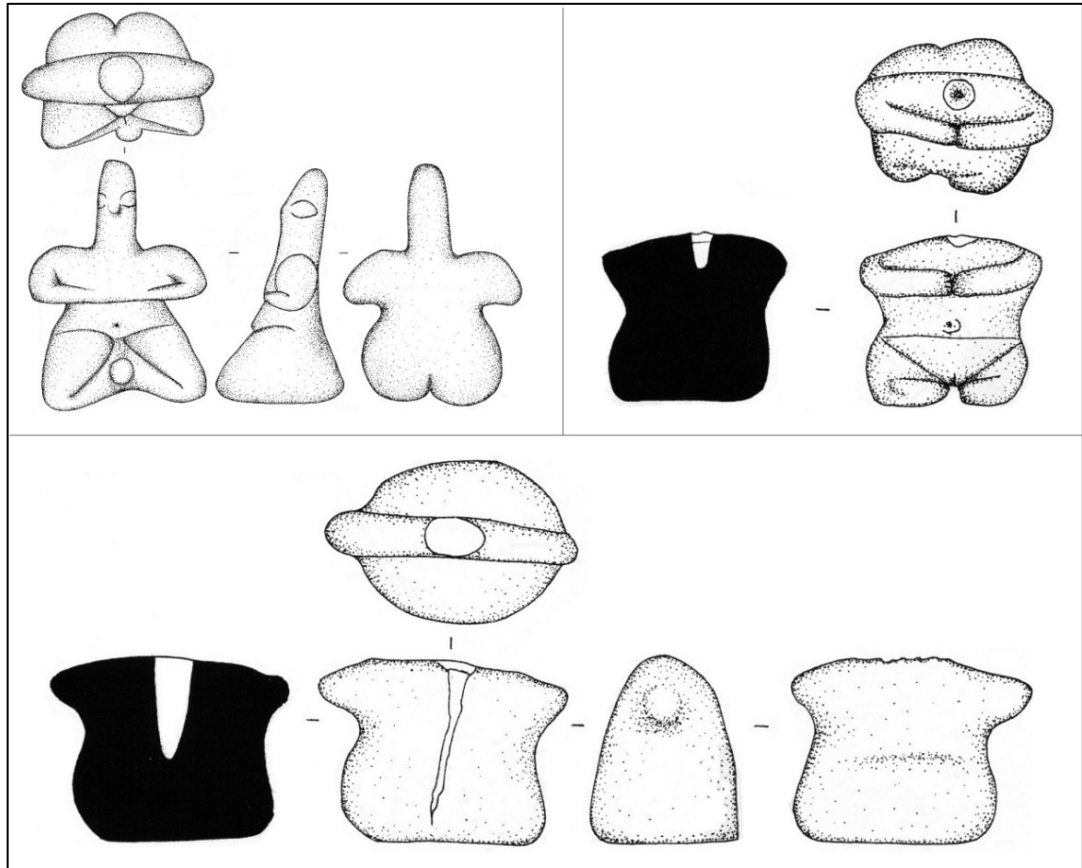


Figure 108: Höyücek figurines from Sanctuaries Phase (images adapted from Duru & Umurtak, 2005, Pl. 118-1 [top-left], Pl. 112-1 [top-right] and Pl. 114-3 [bottom]), showing the gradual schematization between the more naturalistic representation (top left) to the abbreviated form (bottom) which corresponds to the Type B figurine in Uğurlu Höyük. Objects are not to scale.

This parallel from Southwest Anatolia hints that the Type B figurine from Uğurlu Höyük could also be the result of a similar schematization. Nevertheless, so far such a direct naturalistic counterpart has not been uncovered in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V. Yet another feature that does link the Type B figurine from Phase V with the more naturalistic representations of Type A in the following phases is the head socket, which is observed on around 60% of all the relevant fragments from Uğurlu Höyük (see Table 5). Head insertion was a lasting

¹⁰⁸ It is also noteworthy that the lower part of the Type B figurines seems to be schematization of the folded legs of a sitting person.

practice from Phase V to Phase III in Uğurlu Höyük (even when the practice was long abandoned in Southwest Anatolia), and it was present in both Type A and Type B figurines.

Meanwhile, a similar level of schematization seen on the arms of the aforementioned Type B figurine resurfaces again only in the final phases of the occupation in Uğurlu Höyük, on the two Phase II-III transitional figurines¹⁰⁹. Despite being a part of Type A still, their arms are abbreviated and are now an abstraction of their counterparts from the preceding Phase III. Yet these two later figurines from the end of the Uğurlu Höyük sequence do not have head sockets on them; whereas it used to be very popular.

4.4.2 Fragmentation & Distribution

Secondly, both the structured fragmentation of the assemblage and their method of production imply that Uğurlu Höyük figurines were purposefully made to be broken. In addition to this, the lack of any matching fragments so far also implies that the figurines were distributed between some people or to some place after they were fragmented. The scale of this distribution is not clear yet: the fragments might have been taken to some other locality on the mound itself that is yet to be discovered, or they could have been taken outside the settlement and perhaps even outside the island.

While Nanoglou (2005, p. 143) argues that an observation of figurines breaking in their weaker planes does not constitute conclusive evidence for their deliberate fragmentation (and that such reasoning by itself would be a circular argument), there are indeed supporting observations for the intentional breakage of Uğurlu Höyük figurines. For starters, most of the figurines were produced with not just one but three weak planes (Figure 41) (counting also the plane of head removal). A single lump of clay would have sufficed to give their intended form to the Type A figurines, but instead we see that three lumps or more were often used. This choice not only makes the figurines much more prone to breaking (which does not make much sense if their breakage was not a desired outcome), but since these lumps were brought together in such a consistent manner that they always corresponded to the same symmetrical parts of the body, it also contributes to the structured fragmentation of the

¹⁰⁹ O6B3x4 and O6B3x17

figurines. Moreover, if these breakages were not deliberate, one would expect that the fragments would be discarded together when they were accidentally broken; or that they would be found not too far apart if the breakage was a result of post-depositional processes. Even if the figurines could function just as well in their (unintentionally) broken state, completely different contexts of deposition would not be an expected outcome. Yet that is exactly the situation in Uğurlu Höyük, where none of the 96 figurines fragments seem to match with one another. If the distribution of the fragments was indeed intentional, then the fragmentation must also have been intentional (and calculated beforehand).

This deliberate fragmentation holds true, above all, for the Type A figurines. Abstracted (and all non-clay) Type E figurines seem to be more immune to this fragmentation, while the singular examples of Type C and D are less fragmented compared to rest (but it is too early to reach a conclusion regarding these latter types because of their extremely limited sample size). Type B is also represented by a single figurine but this one is broken obliquely in half. In contrast, the numerous counterparts of Type B in Southwest Anatolia are typically recovered in one piece (except for the head sockets which are occasionally found empty); thus this example from Uğurlu Höyük might not have been fragmented intentionally as is the case for the Type A figurines, or perhaps fragmentation was part of the cultural repertoire at Gökçeada since the earliest times.

4.4.3 Heads & Head Insertions

While some figurines had heads that were broken off, on others the same role was taken up by the removal of head insertions. The disparity in numbers between head sockets and the inserted heads can be explained by the category of objects collected under possible head insertions, i.e. suitably shaped objects of various materials, especially some of the well-crafted bone tools. Their only difference from the more plausibly identified head insertions is the lack of any facial indicators. Yet, even in the cases where the facial features were explicitly represented (both on inserted heads and attached heads), it is seen that not much effort was put to depicting the face faithfully in Uğurlu Höyük. Sometimes, outlining only the nose was enough for these people when they visualized the head. Moreover, a lack of mouths is universal for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines as if they are condemned to an eternal vow of silence, or as if

what they had to say could not matter in determining who they are really are. Considering these nuances, it would not be far-fetched to assume that even completely featureless objects could take on the role of head pieces among the assemblage. At the same time, while it is not known if wooden materials were ever used as head insertions in Uğurlu Höyük, it would be a plausible substitute as it can be carved with relative ease and given suitable forms to be used as head insertions, at least after the figurine was fired.

Attached heads and their inserted counterparts might practically have served the same end when the clay head was broken and the head insertion detached during the same social context. Being present in so many figurines (number of fragments with head sockets is almost double in number of those without; in fact, Uğurlu Höyük figurine assemblage is unique in its prevalent use of head sockets in the wider Aegean of the 6th millennium BC) the vast popularity of this practice suggests that in many cases it was quite important to capitalize on the removal and/or insertion of the head. In this regard, it is very likely that heads were the most crucial component in the construction of identity for the people of Uğurlu Höyük.

Moreover, it is of note that the head insertions penetrate deep into the figurine body. Being a continuous extension of the head, these insertions parallel the vertebral column of the human body in their positioning within the torso. The impression is reinforced when one considers that the insertions were almost always made from hard and durable materials in a lighter color (bones, seashells, marble, etc.) in contrast with the soft and malleable flesh that forms the clay body around this insertion. Thus it can be asserted that the head insertions (and possibly the attached clay heads by extension) provided the essential framework of the figurine on which the clay body could be shaped, both literally during the production of the figurine and figuratively around the conceptual perspective introduced by these insertions.

4.4.4 Raw Materials & Materiality

It is known that figurines can play an active role in the formation of identities (Bailey, 1994a; 2005; Insoll, 2017), and as discussed above, this seems to be primarily a function of the figurine heads in Uğurlu Höyük. In this context, incorporation of a wide range of materials (clay, bones of various animals, *Spondylus* shells, other seashells, marble, other stones, and perhaps even

wooden materials; non-clay materials were especially popular with the heads) would open new alleys for identity construction by tying people and segments of society to various habitats and landscapes (Conneller, 2011). The heads, then, in a sense bring concerns over these innumerable connections to the fore in the construction, maintenance, and negotiation of identities. Moreover, there might not have been strict limitations in this regard: the curious figurine Yüzey (a) with its two vertical holes around its neck (Figure 39) was perhaps intended to carry two head insertions at the same time. The goal might have been a synthesis or unification of alternative stories and histories.

Thus the materiality of the objects in question was important in the establishment of such links. Overwhelming majority of the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük was shaped out of local clays, from a number of localities in the broad vicinity of the settlement. There are, however, also a small number of marble figurine pieces in Uğurlu Höyük; some other stone objects are likewise among the candidates which could have been used as head insertions. Stone artifacts are usually associated with concepts like permanence and durability in the archaeological literature, but this has been problematized in more recent works (Conneller, 2011, p. 82). Apart from engaging the community in Uğurlu Höyük in the networks of the wider Aegean, marble figurines in Uğurlu Höyük might also have been valued for their connotations of different landscapes than Gökçeada from where the raw marble has been retrieved or from where marble was more strongly associated with.

These materials -marble, seashell (especially *Spondylus*) and bone- might have been associated with a common essence which was introduced to the figurines upon their insertion. What gave one of these raw materials its importance might have also worked for the others due to their possible interchangeability based on their similar physical properties with respect to their colors and hardness; additionally these materials all had to be carved to give them their intended form which would also bring them closer on a conceptual scale. It might not have been a coincidence that all three abstracted Type E figurines were made from marble and seashell¹¹⁰: even though an attempt at a tangible representation of the “essence” had to be given a more or less familiar human form to make it intelligible, it still remained quite abstracted to underline its distinctiveness. It is yet possible that these materials were also associated with

¹¹⁰ Although note that marble was also used to produce more naturalistic representations (of Type A).

durability and the abstracted figurines might have been references to the unchanging “essence” which was perceived to lie at the core of the Uğurlu Höyük community.

It was noted that marble was also used in Uğurlu Höyük to create more naturalistic figurines of Type A in addition to the abstracted Type E figurines. As discussed in the previous pages (see Section 4.2), very similar figurines to the Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük are found in the Southern Aegean archipelago, except that these were predominantly made out of marble instead of clay (which was the preferred medium in Uğurlu Höyük). The small number of marble Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük might have been attempts to more directly engage or emphasize the connections with this part of the Aegean Sea. At the same time they could be reflecting a concern over the immutability of certain concepts central to the identity of the community and the inflexibility of positions that could be taken on a number of issues, where it was important to stress the permanence of the social order, beliefs, and so forth.

Just as the “essence” could be used to imbue the figurines, it could also be used to imbue its context (or the events surrounding the formation of this context) with various connotations. Previously mentioned stone vessel retrieved from Pit Ö52 in Phase IV, with an outline similar to the abstracted Type E figurines¹¹¹, might have been deposited along with a cache of possible head insertions precisely because of these implications that it brings with it. Similarly, *Spondylus* shells, which are used in Uğurlu Höyük in the manufacture of numerous personal adornments in addition to a small number of figurines, might have been valued because of this perceived intrinsic value; these *Spondylus* bracelets could be then wore around as a statement of individual identity that brought forward its own unique connections.

In contrast with marble and most other rock types, clay is softer, malleable, and has to be kneaded by the hands. As hinted previously, perhaps it is possible to talk about the presence of a duality of bone and flesh within the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük, whereby the skeletal framework (marble, seashell, and animal bones used as insertions) provided an essential narrative or perspective (related with identity and ancestry tied upon the landscape or the “seascape”) on which the flesh (the clay body which surrounds the insertion) could form to discuss issues more mundane and more relevant to the politics

¹¹¹ P5B103x10

between the various groups and individuals involved in the utilization of the figurines.

Although the majority of Uğurlu Höyük figurines seem to be incorporating head insertions using non-clay materials (more than 75% percent of the relevant figurine pieces carried head sockets through Phases IV to III; see Table 5), a number of figurines nevertheless had attached clay heads above their necks. Clay in this context could have also carried similar (perhaps more local) connotations or perhaps these figurines were less preoccupied with engaging the far-reaching narratives mentioned above.

4.4.5 Themes

Perhaps the most intriguing of all is the lack of almost any explicit sexual indicators on Uğurlu Höyük figurines. Around the Mediterranean, figurines in similar postures and forms to those in Uğurlu Höyük can be seen to usually feature breasts or genitals (Figure 2); however except for one case on which the breasts were shown explicitly¹¹² it is impossible to assign a biological sex to the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük with certainty. Instead, when we look at these figurines, we are presented with a deliberate ambiguity which occasionally obscures classification and in other times supports a multitude of images to be imposed on it. What we have is a form generally associated with “females” in the prevailing representative context of the Near East, but at the same time, Uğurlu Höyük figurines downplay this female aspect by blurring the border between the two sexes by refraining from making explicit statements about it. With this said, Type A figurines of Uğurlu Höyük have the flexibility to engage issues around gender if wanted, and can lend themselves to multiple representations when necessary. For example, Type A figurines have such proportions between the upper body, lower body and the buttocks that the figurine obtains an overall phallic form depending on the angle it is viewed, especially on the side and back views of the object (Figure 109), or when the object is turned upside-down.

¹¹² DD20B16x1



Figure 109: Side and back views of the Type A figurine P6B10x3 from Phase III in Uğurlu Höyük.

Additionally, the heads in the assemblage generally retain quite long necks and are cylindrical in form until the top (Figure 71), which would be adding a phallic element complementing the rest of the “female” body when they were incorporated. Head insertions do not fall outside this interplay with their thin, elongated form either (Figure 72). The insertion or the removal of the head insertion, or the fragmentation of the attached head from the body would then have the potential to change and even upturn the narrative that is played out in this potentially gender-fluid medium. The body, then, can be said to contain implications of maleness and femaleness at the same time. A similar alteration of gender through the breakage and removal of the phallic head have also been argued for Hamangia figurines in the Western Black Sea Coast, roughly contemporary with Phase III figurines of Uğurlu Höyük (see also Section 4.3.3).

The ambiguity itself on some of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines can be pulled towards different directions. The arm variation introduced in Phase III, which portrays one of the arms making a motion towards the area of the genitals (Figure 31) present on a relatively small amount of figurines, might be aimed at emphasizing and hiding them at the same time. The intent might have been a masking of issues surrounding gender, or a suppression of identities based on its perception; alternatively, it could also function as a means of emphasizing a regeneration of the society (both literally and figuratively) by pointing towards the genitalia. Meanwhile, most of the figurines have arms placed symmetrically

around the abdomen and the waist (lower than where one would expect the breasts to be located); but there are also a few figurines which might indeed be placing their arms higher, towards or directly on where the breasts would normally be (but the torsos on Uğurlu Höyük figurines are practically free of any depiction of the breasts). The concerns that led to these depictions might have been similar to the asymmetrical arms mentioned.

Therefore it seems that while gender was not an essential issue in the discussion of identity and affiliation in Uğurlu Höyük itself, which was generally obscured or at least referenced indirectly on the figurines (a trend especially visible beginning with the appearance of Type A figurines in Phase IV), their flexibility allowed them to address issues revolving around sex and gender when it was deemed necessary. Even if this was not crucial within the Uğurlu Höyük community for the more local understandings, it would have served well in engaging groups which made more explicit references to biological sex on their figurines, perhaps as a result of more gendered concerns of identity and hierarchy. Some of these groups seem to be found in the Southern Aegean: the similarities between some of the figurines found in this region and those of Type A in Uğurlu Höyük have been established in the previous pages. The two main differences between these assemblages, however, seem to be the choice in raw material (marble for Southern Aegean, clay for Uğurlu Höyük), and the presence of sexual indicators on the Southern Aegean examples (which almost consistently depicted female genitalia and breasts, in contrast to the more “neutral” figurines of Uğurlu Höyük). Likewise, some of the Northern Aegean communities which decorated their figurines in similar ways with the people of Uğurlu Höyük also commonly indicated their biological sex. Signaling similar concerns and alluding to common themes might have been important for the maintenance of networks of relations developed with such groups of people, and Uğurlu Höyük figurines maintained the flexibility to be adapted for these roles.

Meanwhile, it seems that the figurine body was utilized in Uğurlu Höyük as a medium for the elaboration of a variety of other topics. There is a dominating concern with moving the arms symmetrically towards the front of the body (Figure 110a). There might, originally, have been more depth to this motion. It was discussed previously how the head insertions occupied a central place within the figurine body. The axis of symmetry of the arms is the same axis which allows the insertion of heads. It is possible that it was these head

insertions (and the connotations that they bring) which were being embraced by the arms.

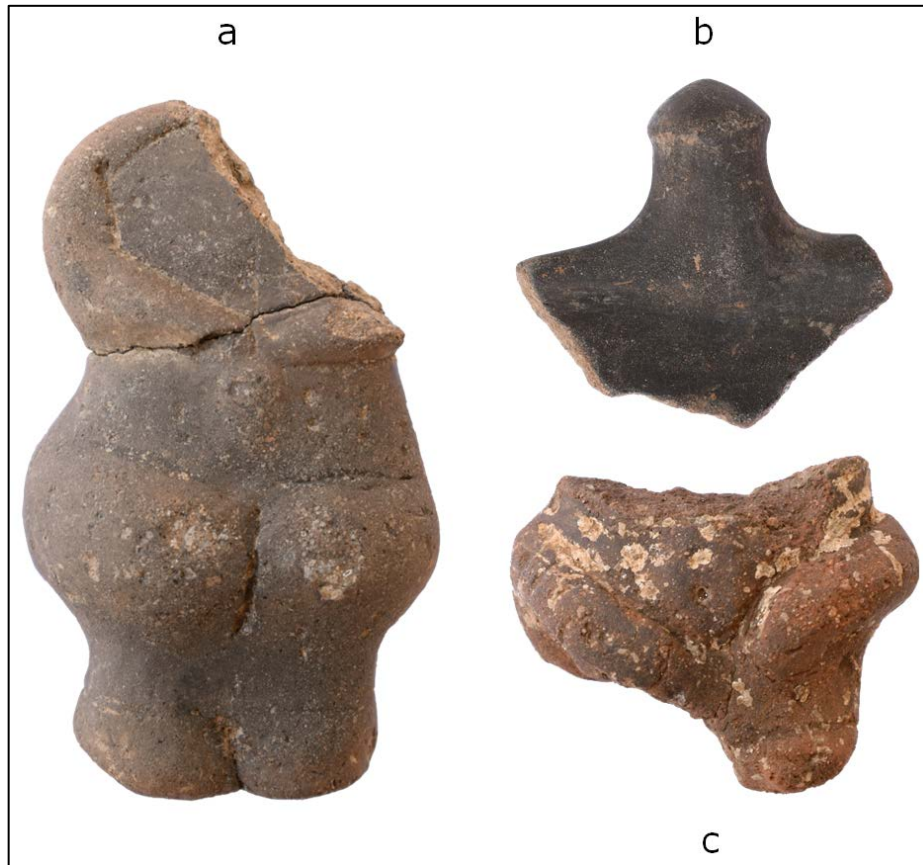


Figure 110: Figurines and related finds with “embracing” elements (a: figurine P6B68x1, b: ceramic sherd with anthropomorphic features O10B9, c: figurine P6B59x1; Phase III, II, and III, respectively). Objects are not to scale.

A similar motion is also noticeable on legs incorporated on some figurines (Figure 110c - figurines with “embracing” legs), where they appear as two distinct bulges wrapping around the “core” of the body. The same leg motion might have been present more implicitly in other figurines, where they appear as two bulges in the side and the front (Figure 110a). Both the arms and the legs would then be affirming or reinforcing the head insertions (or the “core”) and the implications that came attached to them. It is possible to trace the same motion on some of the pottery handles shaped as capped vertical knobs with the rim bulging outwards from them (Figure 110b): in their original (complete) state, the handle (the head and the neck) and the rim (arms) would

be positioned in such a way that they would appear to be “embracing” the vessel or its contents.

Lastly, one figurine¹¹³ with a dual representation of bone and flesh (Figure 111 and Figure 60) is curious in its contraposition of the skeleton at the back and the breasts at the front (in fact this figurine contains the only case of explicit representation of the breasts among the Uğurlu Höyük assemblage). It is also of note that the manner of depiction of the vertebral column at the back conforms to the typical size and position of the head insertions on the figurines. It might have been intended as a representative variant of inserted elements (note that this figurine does not have a head socket). The object hints at a discussion of issues like life, death, regeneration, and ancestry all through the figurine body.

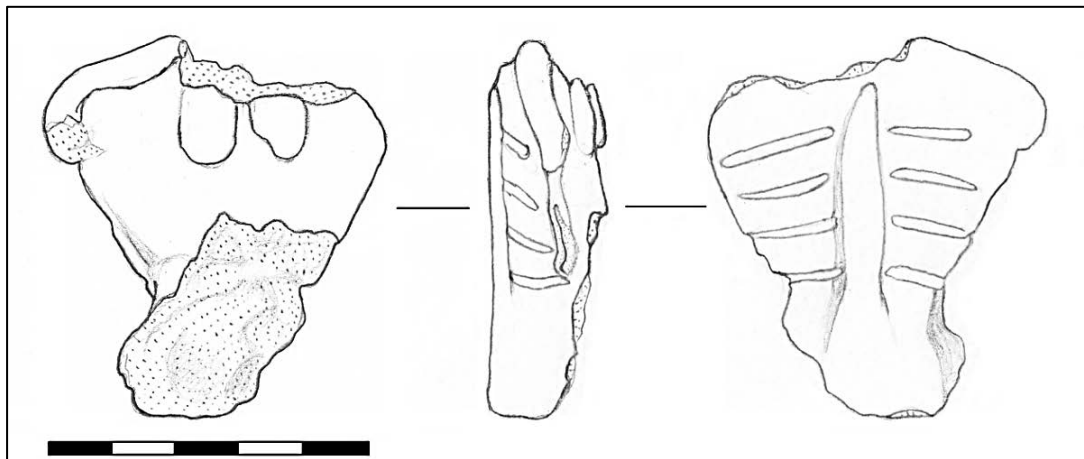


Figure 111: Figurine DD20B16x1 from Uğurlu Höyük displaying its skeletal framework at its back.

Another implication of this figurine is a possible dichotomy between the front and the back of the human body (wherein the front was associated with concepts like regeneration and reproduction while the back was associated with death and ancestry) which was perhaps implicit yet also present in other figurines (and in how the people of Uğurlu Höyük conceptualized the human body in general). Similar depictions are also known from a number of other sites in the region (Figure 94; see also Atakuman, in press for a possible

¹¹³ DD20B16x1, Phase III/IV mixed fill.

manifestation of the same phenomenon in the Early Bronze Age), but it is yet to be understood whether these figurines simply served different purposes or other figurines also carried similar concepts albeit more implicitly.

4.4.6 Local and Regional Context

But how do these various attributes of the figurines relate with the activities on the settlement itself? Starting with Phase IV, figurine discard in the trenches O5-P5-P6 focuses on an area which also witnesses a sequence of plastered floor segments or platforms, preceded and succeeded by partial remains of two buildings, which was then followed by a small number of pits (Figure 112).

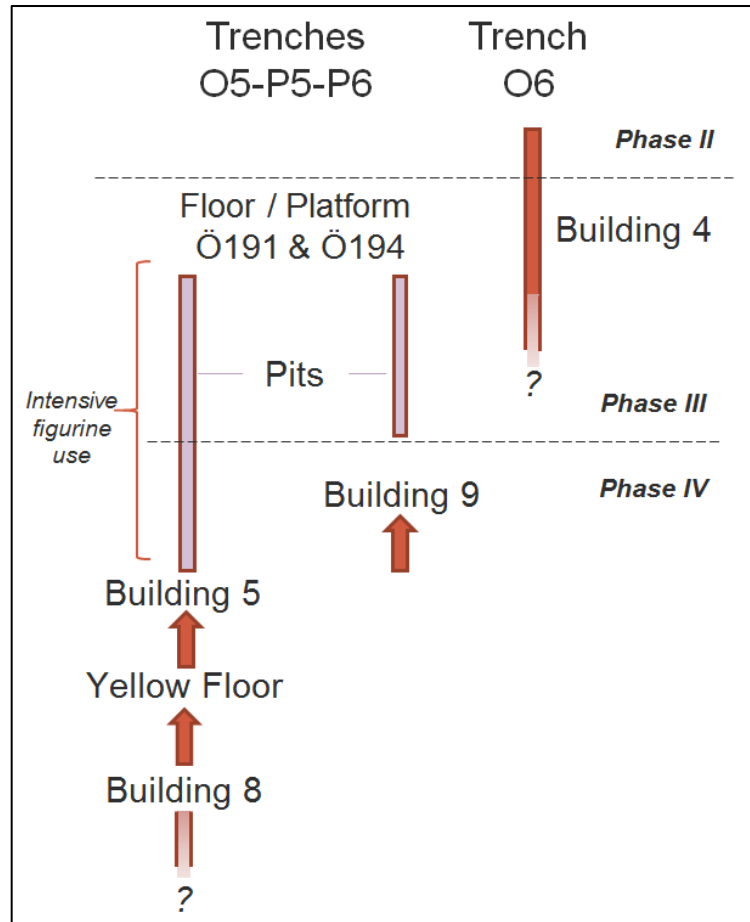


Figure 112: Stratigraphical relations of major features in trenches O5-O6-P5-P6 of Uğurlu Höyük.

This same area becomes the locus of intensive pit opening activities afterwards in Phase III while at the same time yielding the overwhelming majority of all the Uğurlu Höyük figurines, becoming most numerous in Phases IV and III (it is especially contrasting that only four figurines were retrieved from the general area of the large complex of Building 3 of Phase III in the opposite section of the mound). Meanwhile, towards the end of Phase III and in Phase II, the focus shifts from O5-P5-P6 to slightly east to the possibly ceremonial Building 4 (centered on trench O6) as the pit digging activities cease and the number of figurines drastically decreases to just a few (see also Figure 49 for a plan of this area through Phase IV to II).

The nature of the Phase IV buildings in O5-P5-P6 is not well-known (the few pits dug directly above these buildings coinciding with architectural elements could be part of an abandonment ritual); neither do we know for certain whether there was an even earlier activity, since the excavation has not yet reached those depths. But it is clear that people of Uğurlu Höyük attributed some importance to this area, and it is possible that this importance was in part due to its continued utilization going backwards many generations: most of the pits in Phase III were opened in an area where there were at least 3 to 4 meters of previous occupation layers. In addition, we are aware that people of Uğurlu Höyük conducted burials in this same location: two separate cases of burial (one multiple burial from the earliest layers of Phase III and other partial burial of a single male adult from Phase III proper) are present which are the only instances of mortuary practice in Uğurlu Höyük detected so far. Both instances of burials were conducted inside pits (partial burial was in the heavily plastered pit [Pit Ö25], while the pit containing the multiple burials was not plastered [Ö187]), overlain by stone boulders. Likewise, the SW-NE alignment of Building 4 in Phase III and Phase II might have been a reference to the memory of built space in the earlier periods: Buildings 5, 8 and 9 in Phase IV seem to have aligned on the same SW-NE axis (Figure 49). The pit opening activities and the occasional burials conducted in this place might have been a result of the value attributed to the memory of this locality. The floor/platform segment with three figurines found on it seems to be post-dating all the pits, and might be signifying a ritualized closing of the entire area, after which the focus seems to have shifted completely to ceremonial Building 4.

While only a small fraction of the figurines were retrieved from *inside* the pits of Phase IV and III themselves, the correlation in space on the trenches O5-P5-P6

hints that the pit opening activities were at some level related to the figurine discard. It seems that the breakage of the figurines accompanied and perhaps even formed one of the focuses of the activities that took place (even if they were not deposited in the pits themselves), resulting in the recurrent patterns seen in their fragmentation. Enchainment of individuals, groups, and ancestors through the fragmentation of figurines (and other classes of finds) has been demonstrated by Chapman (2000) for the prehistory of Southeastern Europe. Figurines in Uğurlu Höyük likewise could have functioned as a similar medium through which links between the living and the dead (both the unseen ancestors and the recently deceased) and between different participants (individuals and various groups) were established. Fragmentation of the figurines might have served to constitute contracts between the parties (Talalay, 1987) or might have served to forge deep-running bonds between the participants (Chapman, 2000, p. 226); the breakage of these objects might also have been associated with the release of the “essence” or other beneficial properties attributed to the figurines in benefit of the participating parties (Verhoeven, 2007). In any case, this fragmentation and the deposition / leaving behind of some of the fragments *in situ* in this symbolically loaded place formed the basis of figurine use in the events that took place. Meanwhile, the distribution to other people and to other places of the remaining fragments accounts for the lack of matching pieces between the figurine parts recovered.

As implied previously, the links established in this way need not affect only those within the local community of Uğurlu Höyük: it is also possible that the links formed and maintained were far more reaching. Uğurlu Höyük is located in the intersection of the three valleys which dominate the landscape in the western part of the island. Although we are not aware of any other prehistoric communities inhabiting these valleys, the lower sea levels of the prehistoric times in question preclude us from seeing the whole picture: if there were indeed coastal settlements scattered around the island they are now submerged underwater. Yet, an occupation contemporary with the earliest levels of Uğurlu Höyük in the southeastern edge of the island is known of; it is doubtful that this was an isolated occurrence. Furthermore, the island of Gökçeada is located in the middle of three other islands (Samothrace, Lemnos and Bozcaada [Tenedos]) and the mainland to the east (Figure 6). The western shores of Gökçeada (to which Uğurlu Höyük is very close) is closer to all three islands than any of these islands are to each other (even when the sea levels were

lower), making it a natural springboard for interisland travel. Thus Uğurlu Höyük, being at a natural intersection point, could have been the place for the creation and the maintenance of networks between different groups on Gökçeada, nearby islands, Northwestern Anatolia and Southern Thrace, through which goods, people, and information could flow.

On an even larger scale, we are aware that even the earliest occupants of the mound somehow procured obsidian from the far away sources of Melos down in the Aegean Sea and Cappadocia in Central Anatolia. How direct these links were is a matter of debate, but in any case it is clear that Uğurlu Höyük community had managed to be a part of the extensive network working up and down in the Aegean and Anatolia. A reflection of such contacts on the figurines was discussed in the previous section: direct parallels in form between the figurines from the Southern Aegean and Uğurlu Höyük are easily noticeable in Phases IV and III (see Figure 94 & Figure 100, and the surrounding discussion); while at the same time the extensive application of incised decorations (and some similar patterns) on the figurines link Uğurlu Höyük with the Northern Aegean communities. Yet the Southern Aegean communities generally depicted similar themes more frequently in stone (mostly marble) compared to the overwhelmingly clay examples of the community in Uğurlu, where no significant marble sources are to be found.

Perhaps the reason why the marble figurines in Uğurlu Höyük were not extensively decorated like the clay figurines was that they were impervious or irrelevant to the local (Northern Aegean) implications of most of these geometric patterns, where it was seen that extensive decoration of the figurines with similar incised patterns was a recurring phenomenon. It is also possible that marble figurines were only meant to be decorated on the arms in the canon of Uğurlu Höyük, like the two marble examples from two sites very close to each other in the Laconia region in the southern Peloponnese (Sparta and Kouphovouno; see Figure 97 & Figure 100). These objects are very similar in form to Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük (except their raw material and their indication of genitals), but were decorated only on the outer part of the upper arms (either on both arms as in Kouphovouno, or on just one as in Sparta). What makes the matter more interesting is that the very same motif (zigzagging parallel lines) on these figurines is directly mirrored on a contemporary Uğurlu Höyük clay figurine in Phase IV (P6B42x1, Figure 97) such that it is hard to be coincidental. The possibility that these marks were a sort of

identification mark (Talalay, 1993, p. 70) or that they were referring to the very same narrative (whatever that might be) should be seriously considered.

Notwithstanding, the production or the acquisition of these marble specimens were results of long distance networks, which also made the transfer of obsidian from the island of Melos in the Cyclades to the island of Gökçeada at the western end of the Dardanelles possible. It is known that communities in the Peloponnese also distributed a certain class of deliberately fragmented figurines (although these clay figurines that do not seem to be typologically related to Uğurlu Höyük figurines) to create and maintain connections with each other in the same wider region (Talalay, 1987; 1993; see also the discussion in the previous section); perhaps they also maintained connections with more distant communities in a similar way. Still, matching figurine fragments -both within the settlement of Uğurlu Höyük itself and from outside its borders- have evaded detection so far, with the exception of one possible figurine leg fragment in Yeşilova Höyük in Western Anatolia, which needs further confirmation (see Figure 94 and the surrounding discussion).

4.4.7 Figurines & Burials

Figurines are not necessarily the only element which functioned as an enchainning agent by themselves. Most ostensibly, the secondary partial burial in Pit Ö25 (located within trenches O5-P5-P6) in Phase III mentioned before begs the question of what happened to the rest of it. The parallel between deliberate fragmentation of both the human body and the figurines (which are *representations* of the human body) and deposition of their selected parts in these pits is -almost obtrusively- obvious. Could the figurines substitute for the actual human body as burials when they were deposited in pits (perhaps that was the reason none of figurines had their mouths indicated); or could the actual human body be fragmented and distributed as an enchainning agent just like the figurines? In this regard, the reddish colors on some of the figurines might have been intended as a counterpart to the use of red pigments associated with the partial burial in Pit Ö25 (what the other colors on the figurines referred to is less clear, however).

On the other hand, the instance of multiple burial seem to be composed of more or less fully articulated individuals (so far), while the even most complete

figurine recovered from inside a pit is at least missing its head¹¹⁴. Even if figurines could substitute for human bodies in pits, or if they could form more direct connections with the ancient space through their direct deposition in pits, their main use around trenches O5-P5-P6 in Uğurlu Höyük seems to be one that complemented the pit-digging activities that took place instead of being the primary focus of them, as it is seen that the large majority of the figurines were deposited on the fill surrounding the pits.

4.4.8 Figurines & Pottery

A number of connections are also present between the figurines and the pottery assemblage, hinting that these objects might have taken part in the same discourse together. Foremost among these connections is the recurrence of body symbolism. Most explicitly, depiction or incorporation of the human body onto the pottery forms was not an unprecedented occurrence in Uğurlu Höyük. Starting from Phase V and continuing until Phase II, images of humans or their faces were being depicted on pottery. In addition, from the examples recovered mainly from Phase III we know that some of the pottery forms were standing on supports shaped like actual human feet (Figure 82). Also present are the pottery handles sharing common elements with the rest of the anthropomorphic imagery: some have forms reminiscent of human arms (Figure 81 - left) and might have been part of larger anthropomorphic vessels (of which there is no definite evidence in Uğurlu Höyük so far) or simply an incorporation of the human form into the pottery like the pottery feet. These handles also contain incised decoration motifs similar to those seen on the figurines (see, for example, BB14B2x3, P6B12x14, and O5B36x9 in the catalogue of anthropomorphic / zoomorphic handles in Appendix B). A number of handles vaguely resemble heads, although for some it is possible they were originally meant to be animal heads. Yet, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic imagery are not necessarily separate and irreconcilable spheres of representation in Uğurlu Höyük: the Type D figurine¹¹⁵ depicting a sitting animal holding something in its arms in the same way a human would is an extraordinary piece. Last but not least, in all of these related finds categories identified, we see that all of them

¹¹⁴ In neither of the burial incidents figurines were deposited as grave goods themselves.

¹¹⁵ BB20-21B120x1

were predominantly retrieved from the same aforementioned area O5-P5-P6 (Figure 73).

Two unique pottery forms discussed before (eared-pots and polypod vessels) were not excluded in the interaction with the human form either. Anthropomorphic aspect of the eared-pots reveals itself in the features that gave it its name: two ear shaped protrusions (always placed symmetrically apart and looking towards the same direction) give the impression of actual human ears (Figure 113c). The impression of a human head is accentuated when the pot is placed upside-down.

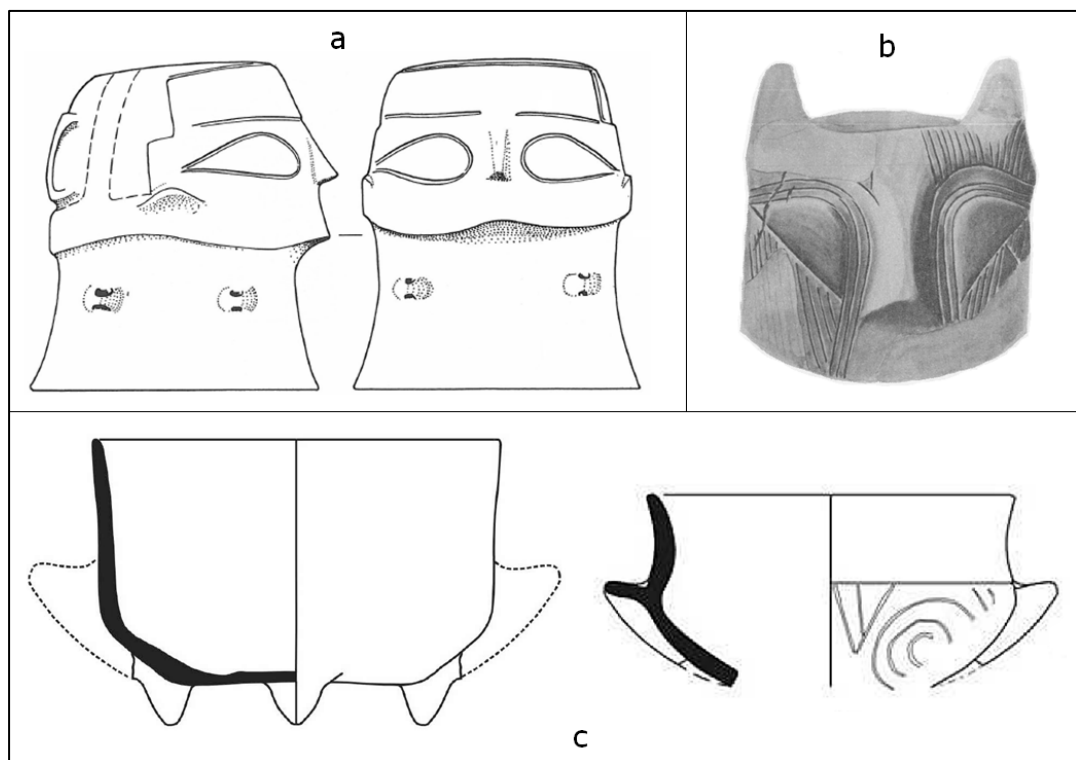


Figure 113: Uğurlu Höyük eared-pots and possible parallels abroad; a: head-shaped vessel from Hacilar VI (image adapted from Mellaart, 1970b, Pl. 265.3); b: prosopomorphic lid from Vinča (image adapted from Stankovic, 1986, Pl. XL.1); c: eared-pot forms from Uğurlu Höyük Phase III (images adapted from Erdoğu, 2011b, Fig. 7.1 & 8.2). Objects are not to scale.

A similar “headcup” was found with an intramural burial in Hacilar VI (c. 6200-6100 BC; Thissen, 2010), which also had to be placed upside-down to be “read correctly” (Figure 113a - Talalay, 2004, pp. 141-2). Furthermore, a category of objects known as prosopomorphic (face-shaped) lids were quite popular in the

Vinča Culture (c. 5th millennium BC) in the Balkans (Figure 113b); these lids were shaped as human or animal heads and were always decorated with incisions and impressions (Chapman, 2000, pp. 79-80). They are similar to the “headcup” or the “eared-pots” except that they are already upside-down since they are lids instead of vessels. It was argued by F. Resch that these prosopomorphic lids were produced to accompany burials where they represented the newly deceased, and during mortuary rituals they were deliberately broken to release the spirit (as related by Chapman, 2000, p. 81).

Polypod vessels, on the other hand, might be possessing a similar anthropomorphic aspect more implicitly. It will be remembered that these vessels had almost went out of use by Phase II; but there is a figurine recovered from Building 4 from its Phase II-III transitional layers which hints that this extinction might have been more gradual than it first seems. This figurine, O6B3x4, has buttocks shaped differently from the rest of the assemblage: a box-shaped attachment at almost right angles to the back of the flat body. The similarity between the shape of the rear part of this figurine and the box-like form of the polypod vessels (Figure 114)¹¹⁶ brings to mind the possibility that these vessels were also regarded to be correspondents of the human body (like the eared pots or the figurine fragments); and perhaps different parts of the material assemblage that previously worked together were now being assimilated upon a narrower selection of objects.

Another connection between the pottery and the figurines is the presence of incised decoration patterns, which were generally encrusted with a white-yellowish paste. As we have seen (Section 3.3.1.3 & 3.3.2.7), many parallels and even direct counterparts exist between the decorative patterns on eared-pots, polypod vessels, and the figurines. A similar convergence is likewise present regarding their contexts: the use of both eared-pots and polypod vessels also reached its zenith in Phase III and overwhelmingly focused on the area of the trenches O5-P5-P6, like the figurines and other related finds. Very rarely were these pottery forms recovered in even *relatively* intact conditions, which also parallels the figurines. It is not possible to rule out that these objects were also subjected to a deliberate and patterned fragmentation in Uğurlu

¹¹⁶ Drawings of vessels from Northwest Anatolia were used to illustrate this point since examples in Uğurlu Höyük are heavily fragmented, but they would have also retained a similar form in their original condition.

Höyük, but a systematic investigation focused on these object categories by themselves is necessary before making any further inferences.

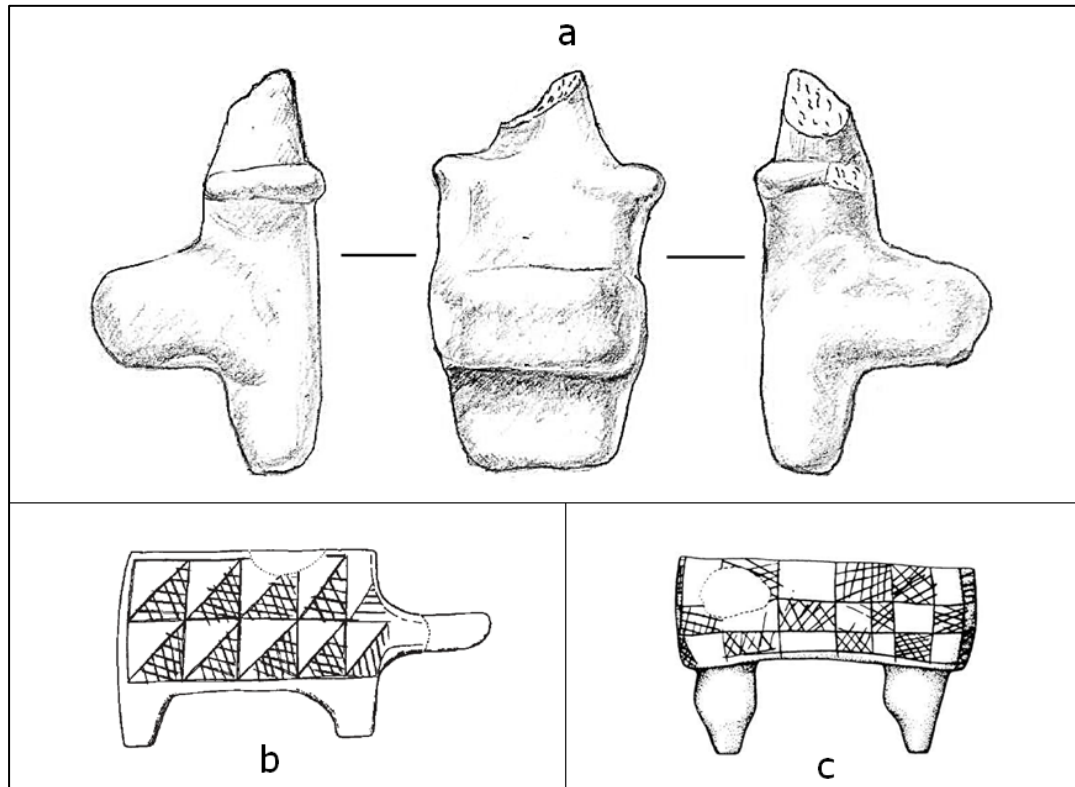


Figure 114: Convergent forms on figurines and polypod vessels; a: side and back views of figurine O6B3x4 from Uğurlu Höyük; b: polypod vessel from Menteşe Burial UK, c. 6200 BC (Alpaslan-Roodenberg, 2011, p. 1; image adapted from Schwarzberg, 2009, Fig. 6B); c: polypod vessel from Fikirtepe, c. 6400-5800BC (Özdoğan, 2013, p. 173; image adapted from Schwarzberg, 2005, Fig. 2). Objects are not to scale.

4.4.9 Figurines, Ritual, and Society at Uğurlu Höyük

Taking a step back, we can now look at the social context of the activities that took place at the area of the trenches O5-P5-P6. These pit opening activities began in Phase IV (at the latest) and escalated dramatically in Phase III, while being accompanied by a similar escalation in figurine numbers; running parallel to this is a continuity between the figurines of Phase IV and Phase III in typology and variation. It is therefore clear that there was an intensification of symbolic communication in Phase III, which seems to have developed directly from Phase IV. Meanwhile, the area O5-P5-P6 itself seems to be a public one during Phase III (at least until the construction of Building 4 which might have

enclosed parts of the area), in the sense that it was not closed off from the rest of the settlement either by walls or a ditch or by natural topography. Since we are aware of the domestic building complexes in Phase III; and judging by the scale in the quantity and continuity of figurine use, O5-P5-P6 might have been the focus of rituals involving different and perhaps competing groups.

The intensification in Phase III might have been necessary to conserve the cohesion of an increased population, bringing together larger number of people and groups, and to maintain the wider and more extensive networks of connections established with other communities. Ancestral links were likely the primary frame of reference in these efforts, which might be the reason this area with a lengthy history of occupation have been picked. Pit-digging might have just as well been an “exchange” between the living and the dead (Chapman, 2000, p. 72). As people dug pits, they encountered materials used by a more ancient people; just as archaeologists do today when they excavate ancient sites. It is therefore not too hard for archaeologists to imagine that handling these older materials, interacting with them (and by extension interacting with the people that created them), perhaps even reinserting them to circulation, and placing materials which themselves have made into these depths which their grandparents inhabited (and in a sense still kept inhabiting) would have been a powerful experience for these prehistoric residents.

The multiple burial of fully articulated individuals from the earliest Phase III might have been such an attempt to forge links with the ancestors through the burial of the dead, which itself eventually turned into a point of reference for the later generations engaging in rituals aiming to maintain and utilize *their* links with *their* ancestors. The farmers of Uğurlu Höyük were already familiar with how the lifeless seed would shoot forth after a prolonged yet successful negotiation with the soil. Death, in this context, would be a potent avenue through which the regeneration of the society could be discussed, negotiated and realized. Following the regeneration of the land, it is likely that these events were also arranged to follow the seasonal cycles.

The heads seem to be a crucial component in the construction of identity and in referencing concepts pertaining to ancestry and lineage. Wide range of materials with which the heads could be portrayed, removed and inserted on the figurines enable references to be made to various parts of the landscape and the environment. Narratives could follow these objects overseas, to the sea

itself, to the pastures and hills, to the various animals and other living or not-living entities, and so forth. Insertion of the heads into the figurines might have been in a sense the insertion of these narratives. These narratives then supplied a grander context and even justification to the social engagements that took place.

The decorative motifs on the figurines might have been making up parts of the narrative which linked people and groups to each other: repeating patterns and affinitive symbols might be those references to certain themes and associations which needed to be emphasized. The same decoration methods would also have allowed the society in Uğurlu Höyük to engage with the communities of the broader Northern Aegean, who also decorated their figurines with extensive incisions. While the motifs used in Uğurlu Höyük are for the most part different, the widespread application of incised patterns on the human body (which was generally encrusted both in Uğurlu Höyük and the Northern Aegean) would have created a stable platform on which common ground could be found by the manipulation and negotiation of this imagery; much like the common ground created by the similar forms of the figurines of Southern Aegean and Uğurlu Höyük, even if they ultimately decided to use different raw materials to create these figurines. Yet the proliferation of marble figurines in Phase III of Uğurlu Höyük (even though they are still quite rare compared to clay figurines) too might not have been a coincidence, especially if it became important to keep the community together, whereby these marble objects would have allowed references to be made to the unchanging core values of the group(s) involved.

It is apparent that the pottery, with its decorations and particular forms, was designed to be able to partake in the activities of the O5-P5-P6. Intensive use of eared-pots and polypod vessels in this place hints that display, presentation, and consumption were important elements during the activities that took place. Placement of figurines within vessels of similar shapes is known from a number of prehistoric sites in Europe (Figure 115) even though an explicit occurrence in this way has not been encountered in Uğurlu Höyük so far. Yet, an analogous placement and display of figurines inside such vessels cannot be ruled out. If this was indeed the case, the almost 1:1 ratio of figurines to polypod vessels in O5-P5-P6 would mean that each vessel was complemented by a single figurine placed within (which also would be consistent with the size range of these vessels).



Figure 115: Figurines displayed in vessels similar with the polypod vessels of Uğurlu Höyük. Left: architectural model from Ghelăiești in Romania (image adapted from Bailey, 2010, Fig. 5.5), right: house model from Platia Magoula Zarkou^{iv} in Thessaly, Greece¹¹⁷. Objects are not to scale.

Thus Uğurlu Höyük could have been accommodating seasonal events or feasts that facilitated the negotiation, arrangement, and legitimization of all sorts of contacts between groups, households or communities; the celebration of partner exchanges and kinship, of common ancestry, of seasonal or astronomical cycles, and of life and death: all taking place in the immediate vicinity, observation, affirmation, and perhaps even the participation of the ancestors. Pits that were dug up ensured legitimacy and provided a framework by bringing connections with the ancestral place to the front, and the fragmentation of the figurine and its subsequent distribution facilitated and sealed the equilibrium that was established and/or affirmed. Yet, the exact sequence of events is open to debate. How much time passed between the opening of the pits, their plastering, and closing is not certain. Neither are we sure just when the figurines were produced and broken. The production of the figurines might have been just as ritualized and incorporated into a ceremonious event as their fragmentation; and perhaps different stages in the life of the figurines corresponded to and accompanied different stages in the life of the pits. It is possible that the plastered pits hosted objects and provisions

¹¹⁷ The set from Ghelăiești is dated to 3700-3500 BC (Bailey, 2010, p. 120, Fig. 5.5), while Nanoglou (2005, p. 149) dates the one from Platia Magoula Zarkou to MN-LN transition (c. 5400/5300 BC; Nanoglou, 2005, p. 153, note 5).

that would be used and consumed (or would become *eligible* to be used and consumed) during closing events.

Talalay (1993, p. 79) asserts that the control of imagery linked with figurines in the Neolithic societies of Northern Greece and the Balkans were a source of competition at a communal and regional stage. In a parallel fashion, some individuals and households were no doubt more successful in distinguishing themselves and could secure their places in networks facilitating the flow of resources, people, information, and ideas into the community in Uğurlu Höyük. The activities taking place around O5-P5-P6 were likely a mean of obtaining or securing these prerogatives or justifying them. However, even though this area was the focus of the most intensive figurine use, it seems that the use of figurines was not entirely limited to this area. There are a few figurines in Phase III and IV which could be connected indirectly with domestic contexts, such as the Building 3 in Phase III. Another small-scale intensification of figurine use is present in an isolated trench (V18) in the eastern part of the mound. Here the figurines could again be related with a structure, but the picture is much less clear since only parts of wall segments were uncovered. Perhaps these instances were all related with the domestic, but in any case they are much less extensive and more sporadic.

Previously discussed figurine DD20B16x1 found in a Phase III/IV mixed fill (below the above mentioned Building 3) with its dual representation of bone and flesh (Figure 111 and Figure 60) was perhaps related with a domestic context in Phase IV similar to the building complex near which it was found. Gendered relationships might have been relevant only in the domestic/private (as opposed to the public O5-P5-P6); perhaps it was even necessary to link with those “grand” matters concerning death, regeneration, and ancestry explicitly before a “trivial” issue like gender could be addressed properly. The aforementioned variation of the arms making a motion towards the genitals, also first seen in the Phase III occupation, could be based on the same concerns which led to this gendered manifestation in an earlier time. It might have been an attempt to address the tensions or mask these issues raised by some segments of society, although at this stage is hard to tell exactly which segment of the society this corresponded to.

One possibility is that the practices related with figurines in the domestic sphere in Phase III and IV were a continuation of those in Phase V. Continuity between

Phase V representational assemblage and the succeeding counterparts is not obvious at first but nevertheless present: we can see connections in the continued use of head insertions and abstracted figurines, we can glimpse the conceptual similarities between the Type B (Phase V) and Type A (Phase IV and onwards) figurines, and we can read the relief representations of human figures on pottery as an anticipation of some of the defining features of Type A figurines. Contextually, the investigation of Phase V is limited but the few figurines found from these occupation layers seem to be spatially connected with Building 2. There are clues to the ritualized abandonment of this building, and it appears to be used as a domestic dwelling with a possible second story.

As discussed in the previous sections, the similarity of the figurine assemblage of Uğurlu Höyük Phase V and the contemporary Lakes Region settlements in Southwest Anatolia is notable, such that even a borrowing of ideas and concepts (and perhaps people) is likely between these two regions. Also possible is the presence of a network connecting Uğurlu Höyük and Southwest Anatolia through the communities in Western Anatolia (which also yielded a number of analogous representations). Taking into consideration our current extent of knowledge of the occupation in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V, which needs more excavation and research before it can offer as much as we would like, perhaps an explanation of the functions of its figurines could be sought in the communities of Southwest Anatolia - which were investigated much more extensively within the same time frame. Indeed, we have seen in the previous section that the use of figurines within the community of Hacilar VI revolved around domestic units; while at the same time it is seen that the female body was referenced much more explicitly among the representational imagery of the Hacilar assemblage. Perhaps the figurine head in Uğurlu Höyük Phase V¹¹⁸ was also originally a part of a similar portrayal of a female which then functioned as a teaching/initiation device related with females of various ages (Voigt, 2007). Likewise, the Type B figurine¹¹⁹ could have been a vehicle of magic like its counterparts in Hacilar (ibid.). What is most important, however, is that both the naturalistic and the schematic figurines are always associated with domestic contexts in Hacilar; almost as if they were part of a regular activity conducted by people going through their periodical routines in their private lives,

¹¹⁸ BB20-21B100x9

¹¹⁹ BB20-21B71x4

independent of other households yet at the same time nourished by a common understanding shared by all the community.

Could it be that figurines were also integrated into the society of Phase V Uğurlu Höyük in this fashion? Similarities in the assemblages and the (meager) contextual information present so far encourage a positive response to this question. Yet, even if a transfer of concepts (in one way or the other) had taken place, we see that this understanding eventually took its own unique and local path in the island of Gökçeada. Even if issues regarding women were continued to be addressed (more rarely as it may) in similar contexts like before, it seems that they nevertheless were forced to reference the other issues which the figurines were now dominantly embroiled in (see Figure 111).

Therefore we can state that the shifting of ritual out of the private and into the public sphere had started by the end of Phase IV (when one of the figurines¹²⁰ might have been related with one of the buildings in O5-P5-P6, but the rest of the figurines seem to be associated with the pit-related activities later in this phase) and surged in Phase III. Yet, by the end of Phase III, the pit opening activities in O5-P5-P6 had come to an end. Instead, the focus was now on the ceremonial Building 4 at the eastern edge of this area, the earliest use of which was contemporary with at least some of the pits in front of it, but which kept on being used after the pit activity had ceased in the transitional layers to Phase II. It is possible that this building, originally used in tandem with the pit opening activities, could have later collected and assimilated these practices on itself.

Two figurines¹²¹ recovered from the courtyard of this Phase II-III transitional Building 4 are the most abstracted examples of the Type A figurines in Uğurlu Höyük. The abstraction of the arms is at such a level that it is almost as if the figurines do not have any arms in the first place, while the legs are not differentiated at all from one another and instead expand downwards as a monolithic block. The buttocks was given a rectangular form like the polypod vessels and might have assimilated on itself this category of the related finds, which previously participated together with the figurines in the earlier Phase III. It is noteworthy that both the figurines lack head sockets and originally had clay heads attached to them, thus ending the use of head insertions.

¹²⁰ P6B42x1

¹²¹ O6B3x4 and O6B3x17

What we are witnessing with Building 4 could be the increasing institutionalization of ritual activity (and the privileges that followed these prerogatives) under some groups or households at the expense of others (especially if prestige and initiative could be inherited). Although they are still Type A figurines, the increased abstraction would mean that the figurines now required further explanation than before (even though they might have been alluding at very similar themes or discussing the same issues as their previous Type A counterparts). Atakuman (2013, p. 6) notes how more abstracted representations require a commentary by those who have the knowledge and understanding of the symbolism at play. She therefore argues that abstraction could be an indicator of a narrower access to knowledge and influence circles. This seems to be the case in the community of Uğurlu Höyük at this time, when social identity was becoming more restricted to benefit and empower a smaller group of people who would retain the knowledge on how to properly perform these objects, and who could manipulate the access to this information as a strategy of control.

In a parallel manner, the reduction of the arms and the legs could also be reflecting a concern with limiting the motion or expression that was previously allowed. A similar decrease of “motion” is identified by Nanoglou (2005, p. 150) for the figurines of Thessaly in the Late Neolithic¹²² compared to examples from earlier periods, which he also links with the representation of a “predetermined identity” (p. 152). Likewise, the omission of head insertion practices might be an attempt to neglect or limit certain narratives in favor of selected others.

Coincidentally, networks of connections as indicated by figurines in Uğurlu Höyük point towards a less extensive web of relations during this period (see Section 4.2). Those relations that persisted seem to be more focused on the Northern Aegean periphery. Decrease in the extent decoration of the body could be another epiphenomenon in this regard. Nevertheless, there is also continuity. Typologically, the figurines are still part of the mainstream of Type A. The buttocks are still exaggerated, albeit in a different manner. Although the arms are very abstracted, their typical arching motion is still possible to follow. The decoration used also follows the decorative patterns and the placement routines of the previous phases. Whatever narrative that was in use was still referring to the traditions of the past.

¹²² c. 5400/5300-4700/4500 BC; Nanoglou, 2005, p. 153, note 5.

Extinction of some of the related finds categories like eared-pots and polypod vessels, and the recovery of practically no figurines from the extensively excavated Phase II signals that ritual activity at this stage had changed its medium on the settlement itself. Red plastered Building 4 at the edge of O5-P5-P6 is a candidate for the new ritual focus, though exactly how is not clear. The independent floor segments on O5-P5-P6 (Ö191 and Ö194, former yielding three figurines on it) might have been associated with an event signaling the ritualized closing of O5-P5-P6 to any further pit-digging activity, after which Building 4 might have become more important. It is also worth questioning whether the Uğurlu Höyük community stopped making and using figurines in Phase II, or if the figurines were now being deposited in a yet to be discovered context.

It is known that collecting burials in cemeteries outside the settlement (but not necessarily too far away from it) was an emerging practice in the Late and Final Neolithic of Greece and Aegean¹²³ (after a lack of similar cemeteries in the preceding Middle Neolithic; Triantaphyllou, 2008, p. 141, Table 8.1). In a parallel manner, figurines from the Final Neolithic¹²⁴ site of Kephala, in the island of Keos on the Cyclades, were associated with the cemetery instead of the settlement itself (Talalay, 1993, p. 73). The possibility was also stressed by Psimogiannou (2012) that in the Final Neolithic of Southern Greece, new social arenas were being created based on distinct areas of mortuary practice “for the expression of social messages related to continuity, ancestors and the living” (p. 195). Meanwhile, a change in mortuary practices is also witnessed during the 5th millennium BC in the Lower Danube region with the introduction of cemeteries (Bailey, 2000, p. 193) which also yielded figurines. Perhaps in Uğurlu Höyük too, ritual focus -together with the figurines- shifted towards activities surrounding a similar place out of the settlement. Yet, neither any evidence of a related cemetery, nor any mortuary activity on the settlement after Phase III in Uğurlu Höyük has been encountered so far.

¹²³ c. 5300-3500 BC (Souvatzi, 2008, p. 52, Table 3.1).

¹²⁴ c. 4600-3500 BC (ibid.)

ⁱ References for Figure 90: *Corinth*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 85.2. *Çatalhöyük*: Hamilton, 2005, Fig. 9.7; Özdöl, 2012, Tab. 5.1. *Dunavec*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 157.4; Merlini, 2009, Fig 8.1. *Donja Branjevina*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 130.1; Gatsov et al. 2017, p. 66. *Karanovo*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 174.3; Nikolov, 2017, p. 76. *Kremenik*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 160.3; Nikolov, 2017, p. 75. *Kunszentmarton*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 128.4; Rackzy & Füzesi, 2016, p. 34. *Paliambela Kolindros*: Nanoglou, 2006, p. 166; Fig. 6. *Sajan*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 110.1; Thissen & Reingruber, 2017a, p. 150. *Servia*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 156.6.

References for Figure 93: *Achilleion*: Gimbutas, 1989, Fig. 7.27.1; Thissen & Reingruber 2017b. *Bademağacı*: Duru, 2008, Fig. 152e (bottom), 153 (top-right); Bilgi, 2012, Fig. 64 (top-left); Thissen, 2010, Tab. 4. *Barcın Höyük*: Hansen, 2014, Fig. 29 & p. 278. *Coşkuntepe*: Takaoğlu & Özdemir, 2013, Fig. 5 & p. 270. *Çatalhöyük*: Mellaart, 1966, Pl. LV1b; Özdöl, 2012, Tab. 5.1. *Ege Gübre*: Sağlamtimur, 2012, Fig. 24 & p. 198. *Franchthi*: Talalay, 1993, Pl. 7c. *Hacılar*: Mellaart, 1970b, Fig. 233.2 (top), 205 (bottom); Thissen, 2010. *Höyücek*: Duru & Umurtak, 2005, Pl. 140.4 (top-left), 121.1 (top-right), 111.1 (bottom); Thissen, 2010. *Knossos*: de Laet et al., 1994, Pl. 75 (better image retrieved from <http://www.attalos.com/cc307/minoan/images/1c.jpg> on April 2, 2018). *Kuruçay*: Duru, 1994, Pl. 80.13 (top), 189.7 (bottom); Thissen, 2010. *Tepecik-Çiftlik*: Bıçakçı et al. Fig. 57 & p. 104. *Yeşilova*: Derin et al., 2009, Fig. 17.6 & p. 14.

References for Figure 94: *Achilleion*: Gimbutas, 1989, Fig. 7.19.5 (top-left), 7.28.1 (top-right), 7.46.1 (bottom); Thissen & Reingruber 2017b. *Çatalhöyük*: Stanford Figurines Project (retrieved from (<https://web.stanford.edu/group/figurines/cgi-bin/omeka/items/show/7181> on April 3, 2018) & Goodison & Morris, 2013, p. 274 (top); Bilgi, 2012, Fig. 61 (bottom-left), 49 (bottom-middle), 78 (bottom-right) & Özdöl, 2012, Tab. 5.1. *Ege Gübre*: Ozan, 2012, Pl. 82.5 & p. 674; Sağlamtimur, 2012, p. 198. *Franchthi*: Talalay, 1993, Pl. 17c. *Govrlevo*: Fidanoski, 2015, Pl. 1.4 & p. 21. *Hacılar*: Mellaart, 1970b, Fig. 243 (bottom), 246.2 (top); Thissen, 2010. *Kovacevo*: Demoule & Lichardus-Itten, 1994, Fig. 15.7-9; Nikolov, 2017, p. 74-6. *Köşk Höyük*: Silistreli, 1989, Pl. V.1 (bottom) & Öztan, 2011, Fig. 38; Özdöl, 2012, Tab. 5.1. *Lerna*: Caskey & Eliot, 1956, Frontispiece; Talalay, 1993, p.121. *Nea Nikomedeia*: Perlés, 2001, p. 259 (better image retrieved from <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/ff/f6/c6/fff6c6c5af3d34ac4c6d8a776728d3ed.jpg> on April 19, 2018). *Orman Fidanlığı*: Efe, 2001, Fig. 1.1-2 & Tab. 22. *Pendik*: Özdoğan, 2013, Fig. 29 & p. 175. *Prodromos*: Mina, 2013, Fig. 1. *Sparta*: Orphanidis, 1998, p. 56. *Ulucak*: Çilingiroğlu A. et al., 2004, Fig. 25.32 (left), 30.2 (right); Çilingiroğlu Ç., 2009, Fig. 3.6. *Yeşilova*: Derin et al., 2009, Fig. 16.2 & p. 14. *Zappeio 5*: Orphanidis & Gallis, 2011, p. 204 & 98.

References for Figure 100: *Achilleion*: Gimbutas, 1989, Fig. 7.54.3; Thissen & Reingruber 2017b. *Aegina*: Talalay, 1993, p. 111. *Akratas*: Talalay, 1993, p. 112. *Aşağı Pınar*: Özdoğan, 2013, Fig. 137 & p. 190. *Chaeroneia*: Orphanidis, 2015, Fig. 25. *Cyclades*: (starting from top-left, counter-clockwise) Getz-Gentle, 2001, Pl. 2, 3, 1b; Phoenix Ancient Art (retrieved from <https://phoenixancientart.com/work-of-art/aegean-marble-idol-of-the-steatopygic-type/> on April 3, 2018), The Metropolitan Museum (retrieved from <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255417> on April 3, 2018). *Çatalhöyük*: Science in Poland, 2016. *Dikili Tash*: Dikili Tash Research Program (retrieved from http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_figurines.htm on April 3, 2018); Darcque et al., 2007, p. 247. *Franchthi*: Talalay, 1993, Pl. 9b; 15a. *Harmanli*: Bacvarov et al., 2010, Fig. 20.1; Thissen & Reingruber 2017b. *Kouphovouno*: Cavanagh et al., 2006, frontispiece; Talalay, 1993, p. 120. *Madjari*: Naumov, 2010, Fig. 1.2 (better image retrieved from <https://i.pinimg.com/736x/51/c0/c5/51c0c5e1d7ac6d61647b60809956ec6a--magna-divine-feminine.jpg> on April 3, 2018); Nasteva, 2007, p. 17. *Malthi*: Talalay, 1993, p. 121. *Makri*: Efstratiou & Kallintzi, 1994, Fig. 32 (left), 30 (right); Karkanis & Efstratiou, 2009, p. 956. *Makrychori*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 92.6; Nanoglou, 2006, p. 167. *Rachmani*: Talalay, 2004, Fig. 7; Souvatzi, 2008, p. 52, Table 3.1. *Sarakenos Cave*: Orphanidis & Sampson, 2015, pp. 59 & 12. *Sitochoro 2*: Orphanidis & Gallis, 2011, pp. 202 & 98. *Servia*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 156.8. *Sitagroi*: Gimbutas, 1986, Fig. 9.78 (left), 9.15 (right); Souvatzi, 2008, p. 52, Table 3.1.

References for Figure 103: *Aktopraklık*: Karul & Avcı, 2013, Fig. 27 & p. 270. *Dikili Tash*: Dikili Tash Research Program (retrieved from http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_figurines.htm on April 3, 2018); Darcque et al., 2007, p. 247. *Dimini*: Tsountas, 1908, Pl. 35.8a-b; Souvatzi, 2008, p. 108. *Dunavec*: (top to bottom) Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 157.11, 1; 158.6; 159.1, 15, 3; Merlini, 2009, Fig 8.1. *Gülpınar*: Takaoğlu, 2016. *Servia*: Hansen, 2007b, Pl. 156.8. *Sesklo*: Tsountas, 1908, Pl. 34.8. *Sitagroi*: Gimbutas, 1986, Fig. 9.120 (left), 9.10 (right); Souvatzi, 2008, p. 52, Table 3.1.

ⁱⁱ See the Dikili Tash Research Program website on http://www.dikili-tash.fr/content_en/chronologie/neolithique/neo_figurines.htm (accessed April 19, 2018).

ⁱⁱⁱ Since this object is on permanent exhibit in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), photographs from various angles are freely circulated online by social media users. These three images were retrieved on April 4, 2018 from the following pages:

Left: https://usercontent2.hubstatic.com/8819629_f1024.jpg

Middle: https://farm3.static.flickr.com/2767/4444396184_dc71171274_b.jpg

Right: <https://www.instagram.com/p/BJJWEQIAWgY>

^{iv} For the website of Austrian Academy of Sciences see <http://orea.oeaw.ac.at>; image was retrieved from <http://orea.oeaw.ac.at/fileadmin/Institute/OREA/img/events/ed05976a65.gif> (accessed March 23, 2018).

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was the investigation of the figurines recovered from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic occupation in the prehistoric settlement of Uğurlu Höyük on the island of Gökçeada, Turkey. The analyses of the figurines with regard to their raw material, method of manufacture, surface treatment, types and patterns of decoration applied, thematic variation, standardization and abstraction, fragmentation and discard patterns, find contexts, and their relations with the rest of the material assemblage was brought together to bear on the question of the role played by the figurines in this prehistoric society in Northwestern Turkey, together with a comparative examination of the figurines from the contemporary settlements in Anatolia, Greece, and the Balkans to understand the nature of contacts between these societies and their utilization of similar objects.

The meaning and use of prehistoric figurines in Europe and Near East is a subject of debate within the archaeological research. Similarly, the first adoption of agriculture and sedentism around the periphery of the Aegean Sea and further in Europe, shortly regarded as the Neolithization of these regions, is the result of a process whose exact details are not understood very clearly. The presence of networks of relations around the Mediterranean, their nature, extent, and ultimately their part in this spread of life is still researched and alternative explanations are being provided. With this analysis of the figurines recovered from Uğurlu Höyük, it was hoped to make a contribution centered on the Northern Aegean to the resolution of these issues.

The results indicate that figurines in Uğurlu Höyük played a part in establishing and maintaining connections and networks in different scales based on their structured fragmentation and distribution, surrounding activities concentrated on a particular open area of the settlement in which ancestry, identity, death, and regeneration were the underlying central themes. This area, located on the trenches O5-P5-P6 on the northwestern section of the mound, was the focus of pit-digging activities starting with the beginning of the 6th millennium BC, which

significantly accelerated in the second half of the millennium. The only instances of burials in Uğurlu Höyük were also encountered in the same locality. The activities taking place seem to be focused on the memory of built space (which extended to levels pre-dating the earliest pits and burials) and the interaction with ancient material. The fragmentation (in a controlled and customary manner) and distribution of figurines in this context would then function as an enchaining agent between various individuals, groups, the recently deceased, and the ancestors.

Heads were a crucial component in the construction of identity as hinted by the heavy emphasis put on the breakage, removal and/or insertion of the heads within the figurine practicality. Bodies of the figurines were made of clay, marble, or seashells, while the head sockets present in a large number of clay figurines could accommodate head insertions made from a variety of materials including animal bones, *Spondylus* shells, and various rocks. This multiplicity of materials was likely a reflection of the plurality involved in the constitution of personal or communal identities, tying people or groups to various parts of the geography and the environment based on the material connections invoked. The head insertions, made from hard and durable materials (often animal bones) and inserted deep into the body, might have served as an analogue of the skeletal framework of the human body around which the flesh is formed. The narratives pertaining to identity and affiliation constructed through the heads and head insertions would then provide an essential framework on which other issues could be discussed on the medium of the surrounding clay body, through its decoration, posture, motion, and so forth. The use of non-clay materials (like marble or seashells) to construct the abstracted or occasionally naturalistic depictions of the body itself would have been used to emphasize the unchanging, idealized essence of the Uğurlu Höyük society to preserve the cohesion of the group, which seems to have become important especially in the second half of the 6th millennium BC.

It is not possible to talk about an explicit male-female dichotomy for the Uğurlu Höyük figurines: there are no direct indicators on the overwhelming majority of figurines with which to label them as male or female. Gender was either not a crucial issue or it was consciously masked; it is also possible that it tolerated a certain fluidity since the fragmentation of the figurines or presenting them from certain angles could result in a different identification of the object. The single

figurine with its breasts indicated¹²⁵ was recovered from a possible domestic context (distinct from the above mentioned open locality on trenches O5-P5-P6) and could be hinting that the involvement of gendered discussions was more relevant instead in the domestic sphere, which might have been a continuation of similar practices from an earlier stage of occupation in the late 7th millennium BC yet to be researched more extensively.

Instead, it can be seen that the figurine body in Uğurlu Höyük could be utilized in the discussion of a variety of topics. While the figurines maintain a typological coherency through a very long portion of the stratigraphical sequence, the variations observed in the depiction of the body were signaling different priorities. One particular variation involving the movement of one arm towards (or directly placed on) the genitals (encountered in the second half of 6th millennium BC on a small number of figurines) was either reflecting a concern with the reproduction and regeneration of the society, or it was an attempt at addressing or masking the issues (or tensions) centered on gendered discussions in Uğurlu Höyük. Another variation of the legs, which positions these limbs as if they are wrapping around the body, seem to be an affirmation or emphasis on the identity (or identities) brought forward by the material connections established by the inserted heads (which maintain a central position within the body) or which were implicitly present in the essential “core” of the body. The folding motion made by both the legs and the arms moving symmetrically towards the front of the body can be read as the “embrace” of these values. The above-mentioned figurine with its breasts indicated¹³¹ also carries a relief representation of its skeletal framework at its back, further indicating that a discussion of death, ancestry, regeneration, and gender were interconnected and were actively being played out on the figurine body.

Earlier figurines in the settlement from the middle-late 7th millennium BC point towards strong links with Southwestern & Western Anatolia. It is highly probable that such links included the transfer of people and ideas. Meanwhile, the connections of Uğurlu Höyük with the Aegean communities manifest themselves more apparently in the following stages of occupation. Yet, it is safe to assert that the local character of the figurine assemblage dominates from 6th millennium BC onwards. Towards the end of the 6th millennium BC it is seen

¹²⁵ DD20B16x1, Phase III/IV mixed fill.

that the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük could now easily initiate dialogue with various Northern Aegean communities through the shared practice of extensively decorating the figurines with incised patterns (occasionally using the same or similar motifs); while at the same time the shared form and typological features with many of the figurines recovered from the Southern Aegean indicate the maintenance and further acceleration of the substantial contacts with the Southern Aegean communities established (at the latest) in the earlier part of the millennium.

The flexibility of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines in supporting multiple meanings and images would have allowed these objects to engage with different priorities when it was deemed necessary or suitable. This was likely the case in their interaction with some of the Aegean communities mentioned above, which either made their figurines in very similar forms or decorated them in similar ways to the figurines in Uğurlu Höyük, yet in both cases tended to make explicit references to biological indicators of sex - which was not addressed directly on the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük itself. Nevertheless, the capability of the Uğurlu Höyük figurines to plausibly engage these issues when necessary (allowed by a form and posture that was generally associated with the female body around the Mediterranean, even if this female aspect was not a primary concern in Uğurlu Höyük) would have provided a useful platform not just in the Aegean, but also during interactions with any other groups which conferred more importance on the subject.

Decreasing numbers of figurines found, increasing abstraction, less enthusiastic application of decoration, the exclusion of head insertion practices seen on the figurines, together with the shifting of the ritual focus on a ceremonial building¹²⁶ towards the end of the sequence in the 5th millennium BC are possibly the results of a society in which ritual activity (and the prerogatives it brought) was being more and more associated with certain groups or segments (perhaps with some households) and which was more restricted in the narratives and the networks of connections that could be offered by alternative groups in the society. Even though the figurines still adhered to the typological norms of the previous phases, their increased abstraction would have limited the number of people or groups that possessed the knowledge to provide the proper exposition during the performing of these objects as a strategy of

¹²⁶ Building 4, located within trench O6 in the northwestern section of the mound.

exclusion and control. This situation is reflected in the decreased links with the figurine assemblages of the contemporary communities and implies a relative isolation of the Uğurlu Höyük community compared to the previous phases, now restricted to interactions only around the Northern Aegean periphery.

The overall picture in the Aegean and the wider Mediterranean in these time periods indicates that while there was no single, universal way of depicting figurines, there was also a level of interaction which allowed themes, concepts, and styles to be shared in different intensities and extents. These interactions also allowed for the movement of resources, ideas, and people. Yet there was much that these communities kept for themselves as they shared. This is especially valid for the community in Uğurlu Höyük with its interactive yet dominantly local character of the figurine and pottery assemblage in the 6th millennium BC.

Figurines in Uğurlu Höyük were not the static objects of worship as it is usually attributed to the prehistoric figurines. Rather, they participated dynamically in the community, changing as it changed and ultimately serving as a medium through which individuals and groups attached to one another. More in depth knowledge about the social units that made up the community of Uğurlu Höyük and clarification regarding the extent of the contrast between domestic and public spheres through further excavation and research in the future would help us to understand in detail the interactions negotiated through the figurines and the groups that were involved in these engagements. In any case, it should be kept in mind that figurines can yield valuable information about the social structure in the societies that they participate in, and to this end should be subjected to systematic analyses to extract this information.

In this regard, another aspect that deserves more attention is the relationship between figurines and the rest of the material culture. A number of studies have already demonstrated the close links between figurines and ceramics (Talalay, 1993; Budja, 2009; Bailey, 2010) and it has been suggested that figurines and pottery can also cooperate with other non-ceramic elements of material culture to enchain individuals and communities in networks of social relations (Chapman, 2000). It is therefore becoming increasingly apparent that figurines should not be studied in isolation, but the connections between figurines, other symbolic representations, and the rest of the material culture

must also be investigated. It is quite probable that these objects were the parts of a whole and they made sense only when they were considered together.

The line between ritual and mundane in prehistoric societies need not be the thick, uncompromising one that exists in our modern societies today. As Bradley (2005) argues, the possibility that aspects of daily life could be ritualized when certain conditions were met should not be disregarded. The numerous anthropomorphic elements caught across distinct material categories in Uğurlu Höyük are perhaps better interpreted in this way, as components of a platform for communication and discussion when it was suitable. Most ostensibly, the eared-pots and polypod vessels in Uğurlu Höyük are linked with the figurines both symbolically and in their utilization in the same contexts. In this regard, a systematical investigation of these special pottery forms, much like the multifaceted analysis directed at the figurines in this study is necessary and would give more clues to the purpose of the connections between different parts of the material assemblage, and ultimately about their conceptual place in the minds of the prehistoric inhabitants.

Despite new and expanding visions of research, Naumov (2014, p. 50) comments that still no definite answers have been given to questions like what the figurines represent, what are the motives for their production, and what were their use. Neither a universally agreed upon methodology for studying figurines have so far emerged, although different researchers suggested various methods to approach the subject. This is an ongoing debate, likely to go on as long as archaeologists keep trying to calibrate their attempts to conceptualize the past. Nonetheless, it is clear that an investigation of figurines based on patterns revealed by the analysis of various strands of evidence such as their raw materials, manufacture process, thematic variation (subject, form, style, abstraction, decoration etc.), disposal, and their local and regional contexts is bound to give more insight on their meaning and use than trying to fit all data into preconceived notions of social and religious life in prehistory; and those are the avenues of investigation in this study which yielded nuances about the community of prehistoric Uğurlu Höyük which were otherwise unavailable.

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APPENDICES

Objects in the appendix catalogues (Appendix A and Appendix B) are sorted according to their phases from which they were recovered: artifacts from the uppermost and chronologically the latest stratum (Phase II) are given first and are followed by objects from Phase III, then Phase IV, and so forth. Surface finds and finds recovered from surface fills, however, are at the very end of each catalogue. Artifacts from the same layer are then sorted according to their contexts: objects recovered from building and floor/platform contexts are given first, followed by those recovered from pits, and finally those from regular settlement fills are provided.

The column of "Contextual Finds" lists the other small finds which were found within the same excavation unit (or feature, or architectural element) with the figurines, and should not be confused with the "figurine related finds" categories discussed in the text whose relation with the figurines is symbolic if not anything else. Note that contextual finds can include objects belonging to related finds categories, but the opposite is not necessarily correct.

A contextual dataset for the figurines of Uğurlu Höyük is provided in Appendix A. Observations were provided in the text about the contextual data concerning the figurines, but a complete analysis of specific associations between building and pit assemblages requires a study beyond the scope of this thesis.

Lengths provided (all in centimeters) indicate the heights of the objects.

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF FIGURINES FROM UĞURLU HÖYÜK

For each figurine a frontal photograph and a side photograph from the more preserved side (if available) are given. Exceptions are a few figurines in which the original frontal surfaces were completely deteriorated, and for these the back photographs are used instead. Colors given for the clay figurines are the original surface colors as much as they can be detected; deteriorated conditions of some of the figurines mean the original colors were only partially preserved.

Table 13: Catalogue of figurines.



ID	Photograph	Information	Contextual Finds
AA-BB14B2x1		<p>Context: Phase II – Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,5 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A – Lower body</p>	Unit AA-BB14B2: Clay weight, Spindle whorl, Worked seashell, Figurine
P6B2x1		<p>Context: Phase II – Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay – 3,9 cm – Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A – Upper & lower body - No head socket</p>	Unit P6B2: Stone bracelet, Spatula (3), Worked stone, Stone chisel, Spindle whorl, Worked horn, Stone axe, Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





O6B3x4		<p>Context: Phase II-III Transitional Building 4 (courtyard)</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay – 5,3cm – Black & brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A – Upper & lower body - No head socket</p>	<p>Building 4: Spondylus bracelet</p> <p>Unit O6B3 (courtyard): Seashell bracelet (2), Spondylus bracelet, Stone chisel, Worked stone (2), Worked bone (3), Awl (3), Spatula (4), Figurine (2)</p>
O6B3x17		<p>Context: Phase II-III transitional Building 4 (courtyard)</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,8 cm - Black - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A – Upper body No head socket</p>	<p>Building 4: Spondylus bracelet</p> <p>Unit O6B3 (courtyard): Seashell bracelet (2), Spondylus bracelet, Stone chisel, Worked stone (2), Worked bone (3), Awl (2), Spatula (4), Figurine (2)</p>
P5B161x2		<p>Context: Phase III – Floor QP5 & P5</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone - 6 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head (inserted)</p>	<p>Floor QP5 & P5: Awl (2), Worked bone (2), Worked seashell, Clay object, Polypod vessel, Figurine (3)</p> <p>Unit P5B161: Awl (2), Worked bone, Polypod vessel, Clay object, Worked seashell, Figurine</p>
QP5B3x1		<p>Context: Phase III – Floor QP5 & P5</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,3 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Floor QP5 & P5: Awl (2), Worked bone (2), Worked seashell, Clay object, Polypod vessel, Figurine (3)</p> <p>Unit QP5B3: Worked bone, Figurine (2)</p>

Table 13 (continued)





QP5B3x3		<p>Context: Phase III - Floor QP5 & P5</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3 cm - Brownish orange & black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No visible head socket</p>	<p>Floor QP5 & P5: Awl (2), Worked bone (2), Worked seashell, Clay object, Polypod vessel, Figurine (3)</p> <p>Unit QP5B3: Worked bone, Figurine (2)</p>
P6B10x3		<p>Context: Phase III - Pit Ö119</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,6 cm - Brown & black - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body Head socket</p>	<p>Pit Ö119: Pestle, Worked bone, Figurine</p> <p>Unit P6B10: Pestle, Worked bone, Figurine</p>
P6B16x4		<p>Context: Phase III - Pit Ö121</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,5 cm, Black & crimson - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Pit Ö121: Awl, Pestle, Grinding stone, Spondylus bracelet, Figurine (2), Possible head insertion</p> <p>Unit P6B16: Awl, Spondylus bracelet, Pestle, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>
P6B16x6		<p>Context: Phase III - Pit Ö121</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,9 cm - Black & brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Pit Ö121: Awl, Pestle, Grinding stone, Spondylus bracelet, Figurine (2), Possible head insertion</p> <p>Unit P6B16: Awl, Spondylus bracelet, Pestle, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P6B87x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Pit Ö190</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble - 9,7 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Pit Ö190: Awl, Figurine</p> <p>Unit P6B87: Awl, Figurine</p>
P5B48x4		<p>Context: Phase III - Pit Ö28</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,3 cm - Brownish orange - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Pit Ö28: Awl, Worked seashell (4), Worked bone (2), Clay object, Spondylus bracelet (2), Whole pot sherds, Possible head insertion, Anthropol. handle</p> <p>Unit P5B48: Worked seashell (4), Worked bone (3), Spondylus bracelet, Possible head insertion, Anthropol. handle, Figurine</p>
CC19B11x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,1 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit CC19B11: Worked bone, Figurine</p>
DD20B3x3		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 7 cm - Orange - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit DD20B3: Spondylus bracelet (3), Worked bone (2), Worked stone, Awl, Worked seashell (2), Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





O5-6/P5-6B11x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,5 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit O5-6/P5-6B11: Polished stone axe, Spatula, Figurine
P5B2x24		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,6 cm - Black & reddish brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B2: Worked stone (5), Worked bone (7), Seashell bracelet (2), Bracelet, Bead, Polished stone axe (2), Awl (6), Whole pot, Spondylus bracelet, Weight, Clay object, Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine
P5B5x5		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4 cm - Black - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B5: Awl (2), Worked bone (3), Worked horn, Spondylus bracelet, Figurine (3)
P5B5x6		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,9 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P5B5: Awl (2), Worked bone (3), Worked horn, Spondylus bracelet, Figurine (3)

Table 13 (continued)





P5B5x10		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3 cm - Black & orange - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B5: Awl (2), Worked bone (3), Worked horn, Spondylus bracelet, Figurine (3)</p>
P5B6x4		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 6,9 cm - Black & reddish orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B6: Worked horn (2), Awl (2), Worked bone (3), Spondylus bracelet (2), Clay object (2), Tripod piece, Worked seashell, Possible head insertion, Anthrop. / Zoom. handle, Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B6x14		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,4 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P5B6: Worked horn (2), Awl (2), Worked bone (3), Spondylus bracelet (2), Clay object (2), Tripod piece, Worked seashell, Possible head insertion, Anthrop. / Zoom. handle, Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B7x7		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,2 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B7: Worked bone (5), Clay top, Worked seashell, Stone vessel, Awl (3), Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P5B21x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,1 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B21: Polished stone axe, Worked stone, Awl, Stone chisel, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B21x7		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble - 5,7 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type E - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B21: Polished stone axe, Worked stone, Awl, Stone chisel, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B50x16		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,9 cm - Black & red - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit P5B50: Worked stone, Worked bone (6), Awl (5), Stone chisel, Worked horn, Worked seashell, Clay object, Stone vessel, Possible head insertion, Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B50x22		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,5 cm - Black & brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P5B50: Worked stone, Worked bone (6), Awl (5), Stone chisel, Worked horn, Worked seashell, Clay object, Stone vessel, Possible head insertion, Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine (2)</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P5B55x14		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,4 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P5B55: Spondylus bracelet, Worked bone (8), Awl (5), Figurine
P5B60x15		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,5 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B60: Awl (7), Worked bone (3), Spondylus bracelet, Pestle (2), Worked stone, Sling ball (clay), Possible head insertion (2), Figurine
P5B84x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Black & reddish brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B84: Awl, Worked seashell, Possible head insertion, Figurine
P5B148x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,4 cm - Black & brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B148: Worked bone, Spatula, Awl (2), Polypod vessel, Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





P5B153x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,2 cm - Orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B153: Worked bone, Figurine (2)
P5B153x3		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Orange & black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B153: Worked bone, Figurine (2)
P6B3x9		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble - 3,1 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	Unit P6B3: Awl (3), Worked bone, Spondylus bracelet, Stone chisel, Worked horn, Clay object, Spatula, Zoom. handle, Figurine
P6B5x24		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P6B5: Clay object (2), Pestle (2), Awl (3), Worked bone (7), Seashell bracelet (4), Stone chisel, Worked horn (3), Seashell bead, Worked seashell, Anthrop. pottery sherd (2), Zoom. handle (2), Foot shaped worked stone, Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





P6B12		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,6 cm - Black & crimson - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit P6B12: Awl (5), Worked horn, Spondylus bracelet (2), Spatula, Worked seashell (2), Stone chisel, Decorated ceramic, Anthrop. / Zoom. handle (3), Figurine</p>
P6B15x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,9 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P6B15: Awl (3), Spondylus bracelet (2), Worked seashell (3), Worked bone (3), Clay bracelet, Spatula (2), Worked horn, Figurine</p>
P6B52x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,9 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P6B52: Polished stone axe (2), Awl (2), Worked bone, Worked seashell, Figurine</p>
P6B53x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,4 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P6B53: Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P6B59x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,4 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P6B59: Worked bone, Awl, Figurine</p>
P6B68x1		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 9 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P6B68: Awl (2), Polished stone axe, Figurine</p>
Q5B3x4		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit Q5B3: Polished stone axe, Stone chisel, Worked stone, Awl, Figurine</p>
Q6B8x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,5 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit Q6B8: Spondylus bracelet, Ceramika disc, Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





QP5B2x7		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Black & brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit QP5B2: Spatula, Worked bone (3), Stone vessel (2), Stone chisel, Worked Stone, Polished stone axe, Worked seashell, Anthrop. ground stone / stone vessel, Figurine (2)</p>
QP5B2x14		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,9 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit QP5B2: Spatula, Worked bone (3), Stone vessel (2), Stone chisel, Worked Stone, Polished stone axe, Worked seashell, Anthrop. ground stone / stone vessel, Figurine (2)</p>
QP6B8x2		<p>Context: Phase III - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,7 cm - Black & brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit QP6B8: Spindle whorl, Stone axe, Horn (2), Figurine</p>
DD20B16x1		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 6,2 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No head socket</p>	<p>Unit DD20B1: Worked stone (2), Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P6B82x5		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,2 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P6B82: Worked bone, Awl (2), Possible head insertion, Figurine
V18B2x4		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,2 cm - Orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body Head socket</p>	Unit V18B2: Awl, Figurine
V18B3x2		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,3 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	Unit V18B3: Awl, Polished stone axe (2), Stone vessel, Figurine
V18B6		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,5 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No visible head socket</p>	Unit V18B6: Worked stone, Stone chisel, Clay object, Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





V18B8 (a)		<p>Context: Phase III / IV - Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Spondylus - 5 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head (inserted)</p>	<p>Unit V18B8: Awl (2), Worked seashell, Worked stone, Worked bone, Possible head insertion, Figurine</p>
P5B14x5 (a)		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,8 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P5B14: Worked seashell (4), Worked horn, Stone chisel, Sling ball (stone) (2), Worked bone (5), Clay object, Awl, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B14x5 (b)		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,7 cm - Black & brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P5B14: Worked seashell (4), Worked horn, Stone chisel, Sling ball (stone) (2), Worked bone (5), Clay object, Awl, Possible head insertion, Figurine (2)</p>
P5B24x6		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,9 cm - Black & reddish brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	<p>Unit P5B24: Worked stone (3), Worked bone, Spindle whorl, Awl, Figurine (2)</p>

Table 13 (continued)





P5B24x7		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,9 cm - Black & crimson - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P5B24: Worked stone (3), Worked bone, Spindle whorl, Awl, Figurine (2)
P5B58x11		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,5 cm - Black & reddish brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P5B58: Awl (5), Stone chisel, Worked bone (2), Worked stone, Pestle, Figurine
P5B119x2		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 1,7 cm - Black - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit P5B119: Spatula, Figurine
P6B30x1		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,6 cm - Black & reddish brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit P6B30: Awl (5), Sling ball (stone), Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





P6B42x1		<p>Context: Phase IV - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 7 cm - Black - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit P6B42: Decorated ceramic, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B31x2		<p>Context: Phase V - Building 2</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone - 4,7 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head (inserted)</p>	<p>Building 2: Awl (2), Spatula (2), Bead, Worked bone (2), Stone chisel, Figurine</p> <p>Unit BB20-21B31: Bead, Worked bone, Stone chisel, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B71x4		<p>Context: Phase V - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,8cm - Orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type B - Upper & lower body Head socket</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B71: Awl (2), Bead, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B81x5		<p>Context: Phase V - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Spondylus - 1,8 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type E - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B81: Miniature vessel, Awl, Worked bone (2), Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





BB20-21B100x9		<p>Context: Phase V - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,6 cm - Orange (painted) - Medium burnish (?)</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B100: Worked bone (3), Bead, Awl (3), Worked stone, Stone chisel, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B114x4		<p>Context: Phase VI - Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,4cm - Light brown & black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B114: Spatula, Stone chisel, Bead, Worked bone, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B118x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,5 cm - Orange - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B118: Bead, Figurine</p>
BB20-21B120x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,9 cm - Orange & black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type D No head socket</p>	<p>Unit BB20-21B120: Awl, Seashell object, Figurine</p>

Table 13 (continued)





CC19B27x4		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,7 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit CC19B27: Worked bone (2), Seashell object, Bead, Worked stone (2), Figurine
CC19B28x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,4 cm - Orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit CC19B28: Bead, Figurine (2)
CC19B28x3		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,7 cm - Orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit CC19B28: Bead, Figurine (2)
CC19B40x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,4 cm - Black & brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No head socket</p>	Unit CC19B40: Polished stone axe, Figurine

Table 13 (continued)





CC20B10x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4 cm - Black & brownish orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit CC20B10: Worked seashell, Figurine
CC-DD20B1x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4 cm - Black & brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit CC-DD20B1: Figurine
DD19B1x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 6,4 cm - Black & brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit DD19B1: Polished stone axe (2), Figurine (2)
DD19B1x3		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,6 cm - Black & brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit DD19B1: Polished stone axe (2), Figurine (2)

Table 13 (continued)








OP6B1x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,6 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No head socket</p>	Unit OP6B1: Figurine
QP5B1x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,4 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit QP5B1: Stone chisel, Figurine
V18B1x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,3 cm - Black & brownish orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	Unit V18B1: Worked stone, Awl, Figurine (2)
V18B1x4		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 6,4 cm - Black & brown - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit V18B1: Worked stone, Awl, Figurine (2)

Table 13 (continued)

V18B2x1		<p>Context: Surface fill¹²⁷</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,1 cm - Black & brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit V18B2: Figurine (2)
V18B2x2		<p>Context: Surface fill¹²⁸</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Black & brown - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	Unit V18B2: Figurine (2)
Yüzey (a)		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,6 cm - Reddish orange (painted) - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-

¹²⁷ While recorded within Unit 2 (B2), it was actually found in a shallow depth that would make it a part of the surface fill Unit 1 (B1).

¹²⁸ Same as above.

Table 13 (continued)





Yüzey 4		<p>Context: Surface - Grid P5</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,4 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type C No head socket</p>	-
Yüzey 9		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,6 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-
Yüzey x1		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,2 cm - Black & light brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-
Yüzey x25		<p>Context: Surface - Grid OP8</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble - 7,3 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type E - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	-

Table 13 (continued)





UH09Y23		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,6 cm - Brownish orange - High burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	-
UH09Y37		<p>Context: Surface - Grid V18 (~)</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble - 5 cm</p> <p>Typological Properties: Head</p>	-
UH10Y68		<p>Context: Surface - Grid Z20</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,2 cm - Black & reddish brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-
UH10Y69		<p>Context: Surface - Grid P17</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,7 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper & lower body No head socket</p>	-

Table 13 (continued)








UH10Y74		<p>Context: Surface - Grid O17</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 3,4 cm - Black & brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No head socket</p>	-
UH10Y75		<p>Context: Surface - Grid Y23</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,4 cm - Brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-
UH15Y10		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 2,2 cm - Black - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	-
UH16Y2		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 6,1 cm - Brownish orange - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	-

Table 13 (continued)

UH17Y09		<p>Context: Surface - Grid Z-AA19-20</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 5,7 cm - Brownish orange & black - Medium burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Lower body</p>	-
UH17Y11		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 1,5 cm - Black & brownish orange - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body No visible head socket</p>	-
UH17Y22		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay - 4,3 cm - Black & reddish brown - Low burnish</p> <p>Typological Properties: Type A - Upper body Head socket</p>	-

APPENDIX B

CATALOGUE OF FIGURINE RELATED FINDS FROM UĞURLU HÖYÜK

Table 14: Catalogue of possible inserted heads.




ID	Photograph	Information
O10B9x2		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4 cm</p>
P5B65x4		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,9 cm</p>
DD19-20B3x1		<p>Context: Phase III Building 3</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 2,5 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P6B16x3		<p>Context: Phase III Pit Ö121</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,6 cm</p>
P5B48x3		<p>Context: Phase III Pit Ö28</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,3 cm</p>
P5B6x2		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4,4 cm</p>
P5B11x2		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,9 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)

P5B21x4		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4,3 cm</p>
P5B38x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 10,8 cm</p>
P5B38x6		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4,2 cm</p>
P5B49x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,7 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P5B50x17		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,1 cm</p>
P5B51x10		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,1 cm</p>
P5B60x3		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,5 cm</p>
P5B60x8		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 7,4 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P5B84x4		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,4 cm</p>
P6B3x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,7 cm</p>
P6B3x4		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,9 cm</p>
P6B19x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,4 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P6B21x2		<p>Context: Phase III / IV Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4 cm</p>
P6B82x2		<p>Context: Phase III / IV Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 8,2 cm</p>
V18B8 (b)		<p>Context: Phase III / IV Mixed fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,3 cm</p>
P5B108x7		<p>Context: Phase IV Building 5</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,4 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P5B91x3		<p>Context: Phase IV Pit Ö52</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,3 cm</p>
P5B91x6		<p>Context: Phase IV Pit Ö52</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,9 cm</p>
P5B91x10		<p>Context: Phase IV Pit Ö52</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,4 cm</p>
BB20-21B24x4		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 7,7 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P5B14x16		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 4,9 cm</p>
P5B16x1		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,6 cm</p>
P5B26x8		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 8 cm</p>
P5B85x1		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 3,6 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





P5B88		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone 2,4 cm</p>
P6B29x3		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 2,7 cm</p>
P6B30x7		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,7 cm</p>
P6B45x1		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 2,4 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)





BB20-21B58x1		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,4 cm</p>
BB20-21B61x1		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6,1 cm</p>
BB20-21B79		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone 7,7 cm</p>
CC19B9x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 5,5 cm</p>

Table 14 (continued)




P5B42x1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Bone 6 cm</p>
P11B1x2		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone 3,2 cm</p>
UH16Y11		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone 2,7 cm</p>

Table 15: Catalogue of ceramic sherds with anthropomorphic features.





ID	Photograph	Information
P11B4		<p>Context: Phase II Building 1</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
O10B9x1		<p>Context: Phase II Building 1 (courtyard)</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
O10B9		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B38		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 15 (continued)





P6B5 (b)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B5 (c)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
BB22B3x2		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
BB20-21B29x1		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 15 (continued)





CC21B24		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
CC19-20B1		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey 2 (b)		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey 5		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16: Catalogue of anthropomorphic / zoomorphic handles.





ID	Photograph	Information
OP11B8x6		<p>Context: Phase II Building 1</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
BB14B2x3		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P10B4		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
O6-7B4		<p>Context: Phase II-III Transitional Building 4</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





P5B48 (d)		<p>Context: Phase III Pit Ö 28</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B56		<p>Context: Phase III Pit Ö31-32</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B39x3		<p>Context: Phase III Pit Ö7</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
DD19-20B5ç1		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





O5B8x2		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B6x16		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B8x4		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B49x8		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





P5B85x8		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B3		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B5x26		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B5 (a)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





P6B12x14		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B12 (a)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B12 (b)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
O5B36x9		<p>Context: Phase IV Building 9</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





O5B38x1		<p>Context: Phase IV Building 9</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B12x8		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B25 (a)		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B25 (b)		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)





P6B49x1		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
BB20-21B139x1		<p>Context: Phase V Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P5B1x3		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey (b)		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 16 (continued)




UH16Y1		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
UH16Y12		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
UH17Y10		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 17: Catalogue of pottery feet.





ID	Photograph	Information
BB-CC19B28 (b)		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
CC19-20B8		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
O5B2x10		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
P6B7x15		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 17 (continued)





P6B33x8		<p>Context: Phase IV Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
OP11B5x4		<p>Context: Surface fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey 2 (a)		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey 8		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 17 (continued)



UH10Y67		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>
Yüzey x22		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Clay</p>

Table 18: Catalogue of anthropomorphic stone vessels.





ID	Photograph	Information
CC19-20B3x4		<p>Context: Phase III Building 3</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
QP5B2x5		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble</p>
P5B103x10		<p>Context: Phase IV Pit Ö52</p> <p>Material Properties: Marble</p>
UH17Y24		<p>Context: Surface</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>

Table 19: Catalogue of foot-shaped worked stones.








ID	Photograph	Information
OP11B8x2		<p>Context: Phase II Building 1</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
P5B32x3		<p>Context: Phase II Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
BB20-21B15		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
P5B2x14		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>

Table 19 (continued)

P5B6x13		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
P5B50x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>
P6B5x1		<p>Context: Phase III Fill</p> <p>Material Properties: Stone</p>

APPENDIX C

TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Geleneksel olarak figrinler, insan veya hayvanların  boyutlu ufak betimlemeleri olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bazıları on binlerce yıl ncesinden gnmze ulařan tarihncesi figrinler, yakın gemiřte yeniden ortaya ıkarılmaya bařlandıklarından beri hem arařtırmacıların hem de kamuoyunun dikkatini eken nesneler olagelmifřtir. Farklı dnem ve blgelerden eřitli figrin topluluklarını konu alan birok arařtırma ve incelemeye rağmen, bu nesnelerin kimler tarafından, ne iin retildikleri, onları yapan bireylerin ve toplumların dnya grřlerini ne derecede yansıttıkları veya bu dnya grřnn oluřumuna ne derece katkıda bulundukları, veya daha da temelde figrinlerin tam olarak neyi aktarmaya alıřtıkları gibi sorular hala geerliliklerini korumaktadır. Bu soruları ciddi bir řekilde ele alabilmek iin tarihncesi figrinlere sistematik bir yaklařımın gerektiğiyi aıktır.

Bu alıřma ise anakkale iline baėlı Gkeada adasındaki tarihncesi Uėurlu Hyk yerleřiminde aıėa ıkarılan insan biimli figrinlerin incelenmesini amalamaktadır. Yaklařık M. 6800 ile M. 4300 yılları arasında byk lde devamlı bir řekilde iskan edilen bu hykte 2017 arařtırma sezonu itibariyle 96 adet figrin ele geirilmifřtir. Uėurlu Hyk yerleřiminin de kronolojik olarak dahil olduėu Neolitik ve Kalkolitik tarihncesi dnemlerine ait, genellikle Akdeniz havzası etrafında bařka yerleřimlerde ele geirilen benzer nesneler kimi arařtırmacılar tarafından "tanrı" veya "tanrıa" betimlemeleri olarak nitelendirilmekte, figrinlerin dini varlıkları sembolize ettiğiyi hipotezi test edilmeden doėru olarak kabul edilmektedir. Ancak gncel birok arařtırmanın da gsterdiğiyi zere, figrinler tipolojik, zamansal, ve mekansal eřitli sistematik analizlere tabi tutulduklarında ortaya ıkan sonuların bu yorumları desteklemediğiyi anlařılmaktadır.

Arkeolojik literatrde tarihncesi figrinlerin yorumlanması hususunda temel olarak iki yaklařım grubunun veya ekolnn var olduėu grlmektedir (Talalay, 1993, s. 37-8; Mina, 2013, s. 27; Naumov, 2014, s. 49-50). Bu gruplardan ilki, figrinleri bahsedildiğiyi zere tanrı veya tanrıa imgeleri ile iliřkilendirmekte ve

bu nesneleri tapınma ve kült araçları olarak kabul etmektedir. Ne yazık ki bu varsayımların genellikle bir önkabul olarak kaldığı ve arkeolojik veri üzerinden test edilmediği görülmektedir; figürinler bu çalışmalarda tipoloji şemaları oluşturulmasında ve kronolojik bağtıların kurulmasında kullanılmaktadır. İkinci grup yaklaşımlar ise materyel kültür ve sembolik iletişim teorileri üzerinden hareket etmekte ve figürinlerin kullanımlarını toplumun sosyal üretiminde rol oynayan süreçler ile ilişkilendirmektedir. Bu yaklaşımlar figürinlerin sosyal ve materyal bağtıları göz önünde bulundurularak sistematik analizlere tabi tutulmasının gerekli olduğunu belirtmekte, figürinlerin çeşitli amaçlara (tapınma veya kült araçları da dahil olmak üzere) hizmet etmiş olabileceğini kaydetmektedir.

Daha temel bir seviyede, modern antropolojik araştırmalar insanların ürettiği ve kullandığı nesnelerin aidiyet, statü, ve dünya görüşü gibi konularda bilgi barındırabilip sergileyebileceğini belirtmekte, ve bu nesnelerin çeşitli özellikleri manipüle edilerek bu fikirlere binaen farklılıkların veya benzerliklerin vurgulanabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır (Atakuman, 2015a, s. 765). Buna ek olarak, kimlik, benlik, topluluk, düzen ve hiyerarşi gibi kimi meselelerin müzakeresinin materyal kültür üzerinden gerçekleştirilebilmesi mümkün görülmekte, ve çoğu zaman bizzat bu konuları müzakereye açmanın insanların materyal kültür ile girdiği ilişkilerin amaçlarından biri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır (a.e.). Aynı zamanda, çeşitli araştırmacılar nesnelerin ve insan deneyimlerinin birbiri ile anlamın üretilip yeniden üretildiği bir etkileşim döngüsü içerisinde bulunduklarını belirtmekte, ve genel olarak nesnenin üzerinde fiziksel olarak temsil edilmeyen bu (insanlar - insanlar ve insanlar - nesneler arasındaki) ilişkiler tarihinin de en az nesnenin imgelem, form, hammadde, işçilik gibi özellikleri kadar önemli olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir (Atakuman, 2015a, s. 767). Her ne kadar geniş coğrafi bölgeler üzerinde benzer bir gösterim biçimi üretilebilir olsa da, bu gösterim ve gösterimin gömülü olduğu nesneler ilişkilendikleri değişik sosyal bağtımlara göre farklı anlamlar kazanabilmektedir (Atakuman, 2015b, s. 64).

Sembolik olarak yüklü olan nesneler insanları ve grupları tartışılmalarının ve yeniden değerlendirilmelerinin gereği doğan meselelere yöneltebilmektedir (Atakuman, 2013, s. 4). Bu nesnelerin stil, soyutlanma, minyatürize edilme dereceleri, materyal nitelikleri ve işçilikleri gibi özellikleri üzerinden manipüle edilmeleri ise sosyal sınırların tesisi ve müzakeresinde kullanılabilmekte, ve böylece üzerinde sosyal alışverişlerin gerçekleşebileceği stabil bir platform elde

edilmesinde önemli bir rol oynamaktadırlar (s. 5-6). Bu yaklaşımlar bağlamında, figürinlerin de varyasyon ve soyutlanma dereceleri, bezeme, işçilik, ve hammadde örüntülerinin bulundukları mekansal ve zamansal bağlamlara göre analiz edilmesinin gerekli olduğu belirtilmiş, bu incelemelerin birey olmak ile ilgili fikirlerin oluşumunu ve bu fikirlerin diğer insanlar, gruplar, materyal ve çevresel arkaplan etrafında nasıl şekillendiğini anlayabilmek için gerekli olduğu ortaya konulmuştur (Atakuman, 2017a, s. 88).

Bu çalışma kapsamında ise yukarıda bahsedilen ikinci grup yaklaşımlar ışığında Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin bu toplumda üstlendikleri işlevlerin anlaşılması ve Ege havzasının Neolitik ve Kalkolitik dönemlerinde figürinlerin onları üreten ve kullanan birey ve toplumlar nezdindeki konumlarının açığa kavuşturulması adına yerleşimden ele geçirilen figürinler (ve figürinler ile ilişkili nesneler) çeşitli açılardan incelenmiştir. Her ne kadar geleneksel çalışmalarda kullanılan tipoloji inşası ve başka yerleşim yerlerinden ele geçirilen figürinler ile stilistik karşılaştırmalar gibi yöntemler bu araştırmada kapsamında da kullanılmış olsa da, birincil çıkış noktası figürinlerin kullanımları ve kullanımdan çıkarımlarına yüklenen anlamın ve önemin anlaşılması adına uygulanan şu analizler olmuştur: figürinlerin hammadde seçimleri, imal süreçleri, ve yüzey uygulamaları (renk, dekorasyon, perdah, vs.) açısından değerlendirilmesi; bu nesnelerin parçalanma ve kullanım dışı bırakılma örüntülerinin, buluntu bağlamlarının, ve aynı yerleşimde açığa çıkarılan diğer malzeme grupları ile ilişkilerinin zaman ve mekan ölçeğinde çözümlenmesi; ve figürinlerin bulundurdıkları tematik çeşitliliğin, gösterim biçimlerinin, standartlaşma ve soyutlanma derecelerinin değerlendirilmesi ve bunların zaman içerisindeki değişimlerinin tetkiki. Bunlara ek olarak, aynı dönemler içinde Türkiye, Yunanistan ve Balkanlar'daki diğer tarihöncesi yerleşimlerde açığa çıkarılan benzer betimlemeler karşılaştırılmalı olarak analiz edilerek bu nesnelerin farklı toplumlarda yüklendikleri işlevlerin ve kullanım biçimlerinin ilişkisi anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır.

Uğurlu Höyük yerleşiminin en erken tarihöncesi sakinlerinin Doğu Ege Adaları'ndaki ilk tarımcı topluluklardan biri olduğu bilinmektedir. Bu açıdan, Neolitik hayat biçiminin Avrupa'ya yayılışının araştırılması hususunda Uğurlu Höyük yerleşimi Anadolu, Ege ve Balkanlar'ın arasında kritik bir noktada bulunmaktadır. Avrupa'nın Neolitizasyonu olarak adlandırılan bu süreç hala bilim insanları tarafından araştırılmakta ve neden, nasıl, ne zaman, ve kimler tarafından gerçekleştirildiği tartışma konusu olmaya devam etmektedir. Bu araştırma kapsamında Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin toplum içerisindeki rolünün

ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmakla birlikte, bölgedeki çeşitli toplulukların figürinlerinin incelenip karşılaştırılması ile tespit edilen etkileşimlerin yukarıdaki hususların bir nebze açığa kavuşturulmasına da katkıda bulunacağı umulmuştur.

Bahsedildiği üzere, Uğurlu Höyük'te 96 adet figürin ele geçirilmiştir. Bunun yanında, yerleşimin tüm küçük buluntularının incelenmesinin ardından figürin olmamakla beraber figürinlerin bu yerleşimdeki rolünün sorunsallaştırıldığı bir tartışma içerisinde göz ardı edilmemesi gerektiği farkedilen çeşitli obje grupları da tespit edilmiştir. Olası figürin sokmabaşları, insan biçimli betimlemeler içeren veya insan formuna göndermelerde bulunan çanak çömlek parçaları, insan biçimli taş kaplar, ayak biçimli işlenmiş taş nesneler, kutu kaplar ve kulakçıklı kaplar gibi çeşitli alt kategorilerde toplanan bu ilişkili nesneler de figürinlerin tabi tutulduğu çeşitli analizler kapsamında değerlendirmeye alınmıştır.

Figürinlerin ve tespit edilen ilişkili nesnelerin kategorik olarak ayrıştırılmasının ardından, nesnelerin çeşitli açılardan fotoğrafları çekilmiş ve çizimleri tamamlanmıştır. Figürinlerin ve ilişkili nesneler ile ilgili çeşitli verilerin sistemli bir şekilde bir araya getirilip istenildiğinde sorguya tabi tutulabileceği bir veritabanı yaratmak adına dijital çizelge yazılımlarından faydalanılmıştır. Kaydedilen veriler arasında nesnelerin ölçüleri, renkleri, hammaddeleri, süsleme mevcudiyeti, varsa bu süslemelerin yapıma teknikleri ve objenin hangi kısımlarını kapsadıkları, kil yapısına eklenen mineral veya organik katkıların mevcudiyeti, kil figürinlerin pişirilme dereceleri, elde edilen figürinlerin duruşları (postür), sokmabaş yuvasının mevcudiyeti, parçalanma ve aşınma bilgileri gibi sınıflar bulunmaktadır. Ardından bu nesnelerin tabakalanma ve bağlam verileri (bina, çukur, duvar, taban, platform, ocak, gömüler gibi mimari ve diğer öğeler ile ilişkiler) ve figürinler ile aynı kazı biriminden gelen diğer buluntular ile ilgili bilgilerin eklenmesi, son olarak da höyüğün mimari ve topografik planlarının da dahil edilmesi ile birlikte veritabanı kendisine yöneltilebilecek çeşitli sorulara cevap vermeye hazır hale gelmiştir.

Uğurlu Höyük figürin topluluğuna göz atıldığında ilk göze çarpan noktalardan biri 96 figürinin oldukça büyük bir kısmının kırılmış olarak ele geçmiş olmasıdır. Figürinlerin, baş, üst beden, alt beden, ve bu üst-alt beden parçalarının sağ ve sol kısımları olmak üzere tekrarlayan bir biçimde üst-alt ve sağ-sol eksenleri etrafında 4 (kafalar ile 5) simetrik parçaya bölündüğü anlaşılmakta, bu kırılma düzeninin tahmin edilebilir, tekrarlanabilir, ve kontrol edilebilir olmasının

sağlanması için de figürinlerin 3 veya daha fazla parçadan üretilmiş oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Ele geçirilen parçaların hiçbirinin eşleşmemesi ise figürinlerin kırıldıktan sonra geriye kalan parçalarının bir tür dağıtım mekanizmasına tabi tutulduklarını akla getirmektedir.

Daha kırık parçaların yanında, vücutsal bütünlüğünü göreceli olarak koruyabilmiş olarak ele geçirilen az sayıdaki figürinin varlığı ise geriye kalan figürin parçalarını da içine alabilen tipolojik bir çerçevenin oluşturulabilmesine imkan vermiştir. Vurgulanması gerekir ki baş kısımlarını koruyabilmiş olan figürin sayısının oldukça az olması, bu tipolojik çerçevede baş parçalarının belirlenen tipolojik gruplara dağıtılmasını engellemiş, ve bu parçalar ayrı bir kategori olarak muhafaza edilmişlerdir.

Boyutları çoğunlukla 4 ila 6 santimetre arasında değişen Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin ekseriyetle kilden imal edildikleri görülmüştür. Baş parçaları arasında vücut ile aynı hammaddeden üretilip vücuda eklenen baş parçalarının yanında, vücuttan farklı hammaddelerden üretilip kil figürin vücutuna sokmabaş olarak yerleştirilen başların varlığı da dikkat çekmekte, figürinlerin önemli bir kısmında sokmabaş yuvalarının olmasından dolayı da bu pratiğin oldukça popüler olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bunun yanında, figürinlerin yüzey uygulamaları (katkı, renk, perdah, bezeme) açısından kendileri ile aynı dönemde kullanılmış olan çanak çömlek formlarını takip ettiği gözlenmektedir. Kazı bezeme ise birçok figürinde yoğun bir şekilde uygulanmış bir dekorasyon yöntemi olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Figürin kullanımı yerleşimin ilk dönemlerinden itibaren zaman ilerledikçe artış eğilimi göstermekte, fakat figürin sayısının özellikle MÖ. 6. Binyıl'ın ikinci yarısında çok büyük bir artış kaydettiği farkedilmektedir. Aynı dönem içerisinde Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin yerleşim üzerinde mekansal dağılımının da höyüğün belirli bir alanına odaklandığı gözlenmiştir. Bu tarihten sonra figürin sayısında radikal bir düşüş yaşanmış, bu nesnelerin kullanımı Uğurlu Höyük'te neredeyse tükenme noktasına gelmiştir.

Genel olarak baktığımızda incelemelerin sonuçları Uğurlu Höyük'teki figürinlerin kontrollü bir şekilde kırılıp dağıtılmaları neticesinde çeşitli ölçeklerdeki ilişkilennmelerin tesisi ve ikame ettirilmesinde rol oynayan aktivitelerde kullanıldığını, ve yerleşimin belirli açık bir kısmında toplanan bu aktivitelerde soy, kimlik, ölüm, ve yenilenme gibi temaların merkezi bir yer tuttuğunu göstermektedir. Höyüğün kuzeybatı kısmındaki O5-P5-P6 açmalarına odaklanan

bu alanın MÖ. 6. Binyıl'da bir takım çukur açma aktivitelerine sahne olduğu görülmekte, bu aktivitelerin aynı binyılın özellikle ikinci yarısında oldukça yoğunlaştığı anlaşılmaktadır. Uğurlu Höyük'te rastlanılan az sayıdaki insan gömüleri de aynı alanda bulunmuştur. Gerçekleştirilen aktiviteler üretilmiş mekanın belleğine (bu alanın iskanı en erken çukur ve gömülerden oldukça erkene uzanmaktadır) ve kadim malzeme ile etkileşime odaklanıyor görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda, figürinlerin (kontrol edilebilir ve alışlageldik bir biçimde) kırılmaları ve dağıtımları değişik bireyler, gruplar, yakın zamanda vefat edenler ve atalar arasında bir ilişkilendirme aracı olarak kullanılabilmelerine yol açmaktadır.

Uğurlu Höyük'teki figürin kullanımı çerçevesinde başların kırılmasına ve özellikle de sokmabaşların kullanımına (yerleştirme / çıkarma) yapılan yoğun vurgudan dolayı kimlik inşasında başların oldukça önemli bir yer tuttuğu anlaşılmaktadır. Figürin vücutlarının üretiminde kil, mermer, veya deniz kabukları kullanılmaktayken, kil figürinlerin birçoğunda mevcut olan baş yuvaları ise hayvan kemiği, Spondylus kabuğu veya çeşitli kaya türlerinden yapılmış sokmabaşların yerleştirilmesine imkan vermektedir. Kullanılabilir hammaddelerin bu çeşitliliği muhtemelen bireysel veya müşterek kimliklerin inşasında dahil olabilen alternatiflerin çokluğunun bir yansıması olmakla birlikte, bu hammaddeler kişi veya grupları çevrenin ve coğrafyanın çeşitli kısımları ile ilişkilendirebilmekteydi.

Sert ve dayanıklı maddelerden (özellikle hayvan kemikleri) üretilip boyundan aşağıya doğru kil vücuda yerleştirilen sokmabaşlar, insan vücudunun etrafında etin biçimlenmesine izin veren iskelet yapısının bir emsali olarak düşünülebilir. Kafalar ve sokmabaşlar etrafında oluşturulan kimlik ve aidiyet ile ilgili anlatılar, böylece dekorasyon, duruş (postür), hareket ve benzeri özellikler aracılığıyla diğer meselelerin tartışılabilmesine izin veren kil vücudun etrafında şekilleneceği özsel bir çerçeve sağlamaktadır. Vücudun soyut ve (nadiren de) gerçekçi tasvirlerinin üretiminde kullanılan kil harici hammaddeler (mermer veya deniz kabukları) ise Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun idealize edilmiş değişmeyen özünün vurgulanmasında ve bu yolla grubun uyum ve bütünlüğünün korunmasında kullanılabilecektir. Bu kaygı özellikle MÖ. 6. Binyıl'ın ikinci yarısında öne çıkmış gibi görünmektedir.

Uğurlu Höyük figürinleri özelinde bir erkek-dişi ikiliğinden bahsetmenin mümkün olmadığı görülmektedir: figürinlerin neredeyse tamamında onların erkek veya

dişi olarak teşhis edilebilmelerine imkan verecek biyolojik göstergeler belirtilmemiştir. Cinsiyet ya Uğurlu Höyük içinde tartışılan meselelerde kritik bir yer tutmamakta ya da bilinçli olarak maskelenmektedir. Figürinlerin kırılımını veya farklı açılardan gösterimi ile bu nesnelerin erkek veya kadın olarak tanımlanmalarının yer değiştirebiliyor olması cinsiyet konusunda belirli bir akışkanlığın varlığına delalet olabilir. Dişi göğüslerinin açık bir şekilde betimlendiği tek figürin (DD20B16x1, Faz III/IV karışık dolgu) olasılıkla domestik bir bağlamdan gelmektedir. Bu durum cinsiyeti sorunsallaştıran tartışmaların figürinlerin büyük bir kısmının bulunduğu özel (O5-P5-P6 açmalarına odaklanan) açık alandan farklı olarak domestik mekanlarda daha yoğun olarak gerçekleştiği ihtimalini öne çıkarmaktadır. Bu pratiğin höyüğün MÖ. 7. Binyıl'ın sonundaki daha erken iskan döneminden kalan bir gelenekten devam etmiş olması mümkün olmakla birlikte yerleşimin bu tarihlerdeki erken seviyeleri daha geniş bir şekilde araştırılmamıştır.

Bunun yerine, Uğurlu Höyük'te figürin vücudunun çeşitli konuların tartışılmasında kullanılabildiği fark edilmektedir. Figürinlerin tüm yerleşim boyunca tipolojik olarak tutarlı bir görüntü sergilemelerine karşın, figürin vücudunun tasvirinde kullanılan varyasyonlar farklı kaygı ve önceliklere işaret etmektedir. Kollardan birinin cinsel uzuvlara doğru uzandığı veya bizzat üzerine koyulduğu (MÖ. 6. Binyıl'ın ikinci yarısında az miktar bir figürinde karşılaştığımız) bir varyasyon ya Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun yeniden üretimi ve yenilenmesi ile ilgili bir kaygıyı yansıtmakta, ya da toplumsal cinsiyetin dahil olduğu tartışmaların üzerine eğilmek veyahut bu meseleleri (belki de gerginlikleri) maskelemek adına yapılan bir girişim olarak açığa çıkmaktadır. Bacakların betiminde var olan başka bir varyasyon bu uzuvları vücudu sarıyormuşçasına yerleştirmekte ve bu hareket (vücut içerisinde merkezi bir konumda olan) sokmabaşların materyal bağlantıları üzerinden inşa edilen veya vücudun özsel "çekirdeğinde" içkin olarak mevcut olan kimliğe (veya kimliklere) bir vurgu veya onay olarak görülebilmektedir. Hem bacaklar, hem de kollar tarafından vücudun ön tarafına doğru simetrik bir şekilde yapılan kıvrılma hareketi mevzubahis değerlerin bir "kucaklanması" olarak okunabilir. Yukarıda bahsedilen göğüsleri betimlenmiş figürin (DD20B16x1) aynı zamanda arka cephesinde iskeletinin bir tasvirini de içermektedir ve ölüm, soy, yenilenme, ve cinsiyet meselelerinin içiçe geçmiş olduğunu ve figürin vücudu üzerinden aktif bir şekilde tartışıldıklarını göstermektedir.

MÖ. 7. Binyıl'ın orta-geç dönemlerinde yerleşimde ele geçirilen figürinler Güneybatı & Batı Anadolu ile güçlü bağlantılara işaret etmektedir. Bu ilişkilerin fikir ve insanların aktarımını da içermiş olması yüksek ihtimaldir. Bununla birlikte, Uğurlu Höyük insanların Ege toplulukları ile bağlantıları yerleşimin ilerleyen evrelerinde açık bir şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yine de, Uğurlu Höyük figürin topluluğunun yerel karakterinin MÖ. 6. Binyıl'dan itibaren baskın olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. MÖ. 6. Binyıl'ın sonlarına doğru Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin çeşitli Kuzey Ege toplumları ile ortak bezeme gelenekleri (figürinlerin -bazen aynı desenler kullanılarak- yoğun bir şekilde kazıma motifler ile dekore edilmesi) üzerinden diyalog başlatabildiği görülmekte; aynı zamanda Güney Ege'de ele geçirilen birçok figürin ile aralarında tespit edilebilen form ve çeşitli tipolojik özelliklerin benzerliği ise bu bölge ile en geç aynı binyılın erken dönemlerinde kurulan bağlantıların sürdürüldüğüne ve hatta derinleştiğine işaret etmektedir.

Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin değişik anlam ve imgeleri konu edebilmesine imkan veren esnekliği bu nesnelerin gerek duyulduğunda veya uygun görüldüğünde farkı öncelik veya kaygılara angaje olabilmesine izin vermektedir. Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun yukarıda bahsedilen bazı Ege toplumları ile etkileşiminde bu esnekliğin öne çıktığı görülmektedir. Zira bu topluluklar figürinlerine ya Uğurlu Höyük insanların ürettiği figürinlere benzer formlar üzerinden şekil vermekte veya onları karşılaştırılabilir bir biçimde bezemekte idi, ancak her iki durumda da figürinlerinde Uğurlu Höyük'te rastlanılmayan bir şekilde biyolojik cinsiyet unsurlarına açık atıflar yaptıklarını görüyoruz. Bahsedilen esneklik, Uğurlu Höyük figürinlerinin de gerek görüldüğünde (örneğin, bahsedilen Ege toplulukları ile kurulan bağlantılarda) toplumsal cinsiyet ile ilgili konuların üzerine eğilebilmesine müsaade etmektedir. Tarihöncesi Akdeniz havzası etrafında genellikle dişi bedeni ile ilişkilendirilen bir form ve duruşa sahip olan Uğurlu Höyük figürinleri, her ne kadar dişi vücudu ile ilgili meseleler Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun kendisi için birincil olarak önem taşıyorsa da, bu özellikleri sayesinde sadece Ege'de değil, farklı bölgelerde de meseleye önem atfeden diğer gruplar ile ilişkilenecek adına kullanışlı bir platform sağlamaktadır.

Yerleşimin sonuna doğru MÖ. 5. Binyıl'da görülen figürinlerin sayısındaki azalma, figürinlerin artan soyutlanma dereceleri, üzerlerinde bezemelerin daha nadir olarak uygulanması ve sokmabaş kullanımının ortadan kalkması, ritüel odağın törensel bir binaya (Bina 4) kayması ile birlikte ele alındıklarında yüksek ihtimalle ritüel aktivitenin (getirdiği imtiyazlar ile birlikte) gittikçe daha kısıtlı

grup ve kesimler (belki bazı hane grupları) ile bağdaştığı ve önerebilen anlatıların ve eklemenebilen iletişim ağlarının daha kısıtlı olduğu bir toplum yapısının sonucudur. Figürinlerin halen önceki tipolojik normlara uyum göstermesine rağmen daha soyut bir hale gelmiş olmaları, bir hariç tutma ve kontrol stratejisi çerçevesinde bu nesneleri sunabilecek veya açıklayabilecek yeterli bilgiye sahip kişi ve grupların kısıtlanmasına sebep olacaktır. Bu durumun bir yansıması çağdaş toplulukların figürinleriyle azalan bağlantılarda görülebilmekte ve Uğurlu Höyük toplumunun önceki zamanlara nazaran daha izole olduğuna işaret etmektedir; var olan etkileşimler ise sadece Kuzey Ege çevresiyle sınırlı kalmış görünmektedir.

Genel olarak bütün bu zaman dönemlerinde Ege ve Akdeniz’de figürin yapımında tek ve evrensel bir yöntem olmadığını görülmekle birlikte, topluluklar arasında tema, konsept, ve stillerin paylaşılmasına izin veren bir etkileşimin de mevcut olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Aynı etkileşimler ayrıca kaynakların, fikirlerin ve insanların da aktarımına izin vermiştir. Yine de bu grupların paylaştıkları kadar kendilerine sakladıklarının var olduğu da açıktır. Bu husus özellikle Uğurlu Höyük toplumu için geçerlidir ve MÖ. 6. Binyıl’da etkileşime açık fakat bir o kadar da yerel karakterli bir figürin ve çanak çömlek topluluğuna sahip olmasından anlaşılabilmektedir.

Uğurlu Höyük’teki figürinler genelde tarihöncesi figürinlere atfedildiği gibi statik, değişmeyen tapınma araçları değildi. Tersine, bu nesneler toplumda aktif bir şekilde yer almış, toplum değiştikçe değişmiş ve nihai olarak üzerinden bireylerin ve grupların birbiri ile ilişkilenebildiği bir vasıta sağlamıştır. Gelecekte kazı ve araştırma yoluyla Uğurlu Höyük toplumunu meydana getiren sosyal birimler hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinilmesi ve domestik ve umumi mekanların arasındaki ilişkinin detaylandırılması, figürinler üzerinden müzakere edilen konular ve bu süreçlere dahil olan gruplar hakkında daha iyi bir anlayışa kavuşmamıza yardım edecektir. Her halükarda, figürinlerin kullanıldıkları toplum ve sosyal yapı hakkında önemli bilgiler sağlayabileceği ve bu amaçla sistematik analizlere tabi tutulması gerektiği akıldan çıkarılmamalıdır.

Bu bakımdan, araştırmacılar tarafından daha fazla ilgi gösterilmesi gereken bir başka konu da figürinler ve materyal kültürün diğer unsurları arasındaki ilişkidir. Çeşitli arkeolojik çalışmalar (Talalay, 1993; Budja, 2009; Bailey, 2010) figürinler ve seramikler arasındaki yakın bağı ortaya koymuş ve figürinlerin seramikler ve materyal kültürün seramik olmayan diğer unsurları ile birlikte

çalışarak bireyleri ve toplulukları sosyal ilişkiler ağlarında birbirlerine bağlayabildiğini göstermiştir (Chapman, 2000). Dolayısıyla figürinlerin tek başına bir buluntu kategorisi olarak izole bir şekilde çalışılmaması, fakat figürinler, diğer sembolik gösterimler, ve ilişkili diğer arkeolojik buluntuların beraber ele alınması gerektiği gittikçe belirgin bir hale gelmektedir. Tüm bu nesnelerin bir bütünün parçası olduğu ve ancak birlikte göz önünde bulundurulduklarında anlamlı bir hale geldikleri kuvvetle muhtemeldir.

Tarihöncesi topluluklarda ritüel ve gündelik arasındaki çizginin günümüzün modern toplumlarında var olan ayrım kadar kalın ve taviz vermez olması gerekmediği açıktır. Bradley'nin (2005) de bahsettiği gibi, gündelik yaşamın unsurlarının bazı koşullar sağlandığında ritüelleştirilebildiği ihtimali gözardı edilmemelidir. Uğurlu Höyük'teki çeşitli materyal kültür kategorilerinde rastlanabilen antropomorfik unsurların belki de bu bakış açısıyla, elverişli şartlar altında bir iletişim ve tartışma platformunun bileşenleri olarak yorumlanması gerekmektedir. Özellikle Uğurlu Höyük'teki kulakçıklı kap ve kutu kapların hem sembolik açıdan hem de kullanım bağlamları üzerinden figürinler ile ilişkileri olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu açıdan, bu çanak çömlek gruplarının da figürinlere yöneltilen çok yönlü analizler yoluyla sistematik bir şekilde incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Bu incelemeler değişik buluntu grupları arasındaki bağlantıların amacı ve nihai olarak da bütün bu materyal kültür unsurlarının tarihöncesi insanlar nezdindeki kavramsal yeri hakkında ipuçları sağlayacaktır.

Yeni ve genişleyen araştırma perspektiflerine rağmen, Naumov (2014, s. 50) figürinlerin neyi temsil ettiği, hangi amaç ile üretildiği veya ne için kullanıldıkları gibi sorulara hala kesin cevaplar verilememiş olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Çeşitli araştırmacıların farklı yaklaşımlar önermiş olmasına rağmen figürinlerin incelenmesi için evrensel olarak kabul edilmiş bir yöntem de ortaya çıkmamıştır. Bu devam etmekte olan bir tartışma olup, arkeologlar geçmişi anlama teşebbüslerini güncelledikleri sürece de devam edeceği anlaşılmaktadır. Ne olursa olsun, figürinlerin tarihöncesi sosyal ve dini hayat hakkında peşinen oluşturulmuş hükümlerin içine sıkıştırılmasından ziyade çeşitli bulguların (hammadde, üretim biçimi, tematik varyasyon [konu, form, stil, soyutlanma, dekorasyon, vb.], kullanım, yerel ve bölgesel bağlam gibi) analizi sonucu ortaya çıkan örüntüler üzerinden soruşturulmasının bu nesnelerin kullanım ve anlamları hakkında bizi daha derin bir anlayışa götüreceği açıktır. Bu çalışmada tarihöncesi Uğurlu Höyük toplumu hakkında başka bir şekilde ulaşılması mümkün olmayan ayrımlara da bu soruşturmalar sonucunda ulaşılmıştır.

APPENDIX D

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Gemici
Adı : Hasan Can
Bölümü : Yerleşim Arkeolojisi

TEZİN ADI: The World of Figurines in the Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic North Aegean: The Case of Uğurlu Höyük - Gökçeada

TEZİN TÜRÜ: Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: