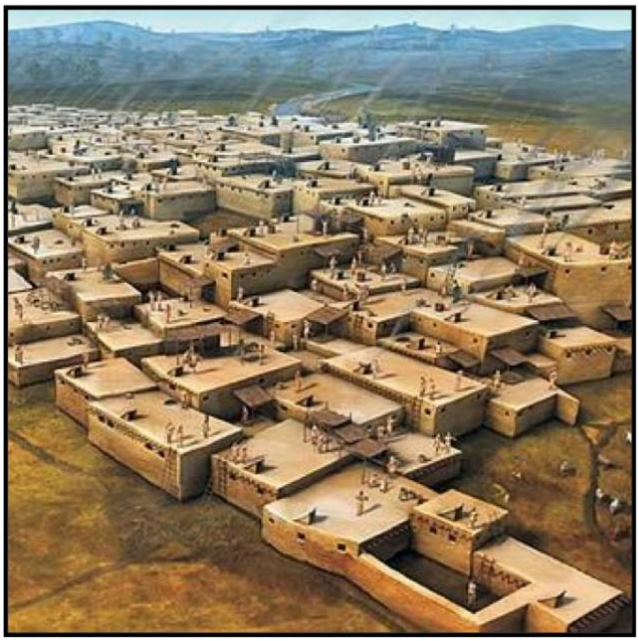
Prehistory in Myth Memory:

A mythographic approach to Neolithic Anatolia (Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük)



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I declare that this thesis was composed by myself, that the work contained herein is my own except where explicitly stated otherwise in the text, and that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or processional qualification. Sources and materials used in the creation of this study are appropriately referenced and acknowledged.

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Abstract:

The prehistoric sites of Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük provided a plethora of symbolic data, whether it be in their architecture or objects found there. Although distant in time and geography, there is evidence of cultural continuity between the two. This study aims to meld together methodologies to create a framework appropriate for identifying myth-memory within the archaeological record. Cultural memories are identified along Indo-European migration roots, and myths arising from Indo-European descended cultures provide stories that can potentially be traced back to a prehistoric origin. This is enhanced through ritual comparisons and architectural analysis, revealing that cosmology is infused into architecture.

Keywords: Göbekli Tepe, Çatalhöyük, myth-memory, cultural continuation, bulls, cosmology, architecture

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Introduction:

The plains of Anatolia are littered with prehistoric sites that are fragmented puzzle pieces essential for understanding the complex history of humanity. The importance of the region was realised upon the identification of the 'symbolic revolution'; a term coined by Jean-Jacques Cauvin as an alternate to Gordon Childe's term Neolithic Revolution.[1] Cauvin's term indicates that the desire for plentiful and easy to access resources was not the driving agent of domestication and agriculture as previously thought, but rather a religious by-product.[2] Neolithization began in the Fertile Crescent and its' transmission through Europe is evidenced by migration routes.[3] The model of religion typically identified in the Neolithic is that of a tiered cosmos, and a complex symbolic and social order; emerging from the caves, *ab aeterno* peoples designed and constructed their own cosmologically reflective and significant structures, taking control of the chaotic cosmos around them and adjusting their beliefs and behaviours accordingly.[4] Frequently within tiered cosmologies, animals are connected to deities or the divine in some way and hunting them could have mythic/ritualistic implications.[5] Furthermore, the use of underground minerals indicates a mimicking of controlling the natural underworld.[6] These characteristics are identifiable at the two sites of this study: Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük.

These Neolithic sites are notable for their impressive repertoire of symbolism. They date predominantly to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic; at Çatalhöyük, the introduction of pottery has been identified within its later levels of occupation.[7] Göbekli Tepe was built before the invention of agriculture, albeit near the location of initial wheat domestication,[8] and was a sanctuary for numerous attendees. Neolithization may have spread due to such gatherings.[9] By 6500 BC, the inhabitants of Çatalhöyük, a town produced through Neolithization processes, were undergoing shifts in lifestyle, production, and religiosity.[10] Stone structures such as Göbekli, have been connected to the tiered cosmos, providing a vertical cosmos to traverse and Çatalhöyük also features architecture reflecting this.[11] Often, ritualised sacrifice is associated with cosmological travels and ritual evidence from the Neolithic indicates emerging social differentiation.[12] However, through the ensuing theories of cultural memory and convergence, it could be possible to identify cultural continuation from the Neolithic into antiquity due to the integral relationship between these sites and Neolithization.

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[1] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:20, 23 - The Neolithic Revolution is the name of the epoch in which human behaviour and production drastically changed, or, as the superior Eurocentric scholars would say, 'advanced'.

[2] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:140

[3] Yakar 2016:32; Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2009:171

[4] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 85, 148, 165

[5] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:139

[6] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:106

[7] See Hodder (2014)

[8] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:33

[9] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:33

[10] Hodder 2014:2

[11] Wason 2010:284

[12] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:101

Göbekli Tepe is a temple site with no domestic activity present, whereas Çatalhöyük is a domestic site lacking a temple. They appear to contrast in function as well as time and geography, therefore it initially seems problematic to ponder a symbolic continuity between the two scripture-less communities. However, the lack of literature presents a platform for heuristic speculations on the social, religious, and psychological spheres of culture based on analysis of the archaeological data set and contemporary scholarly research. While a speculative study could be deemed risky for an undergraduate dissertation, knowledge cannot be gained without thorough interdisciplinary research into the unknown. All research concerning prehistory could be considered assumptive and it is difficult to fully verify the daily lives of the ancients.[13] Nonetheless, studies into prehistory are abundant and valid, and all knowledge begins as speculation.

This dissertation draws on the symbolism of the above-mentioned sites, to identify the sites' key iconographic themes within the mythographic writings of antiquity, thus speculating the continuation of *ab aeterno* Anatolian spirituality, albeit infused with cosmetic variation per cultural adaption. This will include a detailed outline of the archaeological data from both sites, a vital theoretical discussion centred on myth including a literature review, and finally, a presentation of the research that allows the drawing of a conclusion as to whether Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük's stories can be identified within myth-memory.

Figure 1. Map displaying early civilisations in the region of Neolithization, with Çatalhöyük and Göbekli Tepe marked.

[13] See Mithen (2004)

The land of Innovations and Invocations: Archaeological Data

The Neolithic is "arguably the most significant turning point of human history"[14] and the two chosen sites are notorious examples of the innovations and invocations occurring in the epoch prior to civilisation emergence. Anatolia is modern-day Turkey and overlaps heavily with the 'Fertile Crescent' (Figure 1). Previous studies have acknowledged the cultural continuation between Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük, but not explored this continuation further.[15]

Table 1. Brief Explanation of differences between the two sites[16].

	Layout	Population	Communal Structures	Ritual/Burial	Feasting
Göbekli Tepe 9990-8880 BCE	Clustered (?) "communal" buildings; no domestic buildings (?)	No permanent residents (?)	Multiphase "communal buildings; ceremonial complex (?)	Intermural ritual installations; no burials	Yes, combined with communal building activities
Çatalhöyük 7400-6000 BCE	Clustered domestic buildings	3,500-8,000 people	None; domestic buildings only	Intermural ritual installations and burials	Yes, unknown contexts

Göbekli Tepe

The unique 'mountain sanctuary'[17] of Gobekli Tepe (9990-8880 BCE[18]) is situated in the centre of the Fertile Crescent[19] and dominates its' landscape on the Harran plains.[20] Originally ignored by archaeologists, this 15m high mound was eventually excavated by Klaus Schmidt in 1994.[21] Geophysical surveys reveal 19 enclosures within the mound.[22] For more general information see Appendix 1.1. The architecture is previously unknown[23] and unfortunately, some of it was damaged in ancient, medieval, and modern times due to agricultural activities.[24] Another peculiarity concerning architecture is that the evidence indicates that the limestone pillars were often repaired, reused, and recycled.[25] Moving the stones from the nearby quarries would have taken an estimated 600 people, which is considerably larger than the size of communities at the time, thus confirming that the erection of Gobekli Tepe had involved several tribal

[14] Wentzel van Huyssteen 2010:111 citing Lewis & Williams 2009:6

[15] Wentzel van Huyssteen 2010:112

[16] Stylistically adapted from table in Clare et al. 2018:119

[17] Schmidt 2000:46; 2011:919; Dietrich et al. 2012:675; Kornienko 2009:89

[18] Kornienko 2009:89; for a more detailed outline of this chronology, see Dietrich 2018

[19] Tobolczyk 2016:1399

[20] Schmidt 2000:46, 48; 2007:180; 2011:917; Notroff et al 2015:40; Clare et al. 2018:116

[21] Schmidt 2000:46; 2011:917; Notroff et al 2015:34; Tobolczyk 2016:1399

[22] Dietrich et al. 2018:6

[23] Notroff et al 2015:40

[24] Dietrich et al. 2012:679; Schmidt 2011:922-3

[25] Notroff et al 2015:44; Schmidt 2011:927; Clare et al. 2018:122

communities;[26] it has been suggested that the limited evidence of settlement at the site is connected to the semi-permanent residence of builders and the miners in the vicinity.[27] The structures begin as ovular and impressive in size, with two central, high-quality pillars being encircled by more pillars with benches connecting the outer stones. Originally, Schmidt proposed that the structures were open-aired[28] yet reports from current excavators' state that the structures were subterranean,[29] with the pillars being held in place by limestone or soil pedestals.[30] As time has progressed at the site, the enclosures have decreased in size, becoming more rectangular with evidence of walls, as well as benches, connecting outer pillars and terrazzo flooring, an artificial floor style involving firing and polishing limestone[31], being introduced. The characteristic T-shape and centralised pillar style remained throughout the site's history (see Figure 2). For more detailed information on each enclosure, see Appendix 1.2. The characteristics that are later incorporated, such as the terrazzo flooring, are also seen at other contemporary sites in the vicinity.[32]

Figure 2. Göbekli Tepe: overhead view of the main excavation area (Image: N. Becker, c DAI via Dietrich et al. 2012:677)

[26] Clare et al. 2018:121-2; Kornienko 2009:89

[27] Notroff et al 2015:44; Schmidt 2011:922

[28] Schmidt 2000:51

[29] Clare et al. 2018:117; Kornienko 2009:89

[30] Clare et al. 2018:123; Tobolczyk 2016:1399

[31] Notroff et al 2015:38

[32] See Kornienko 2009

The art style is extremely diverse,[33] and at present, it is not possible to recreate a comprehensive catalogue of motifs due to incomplete excavations, overlapping wall constructions and the recycling of pillars. Anthropomorphic depictions come in two styles, which indicates that there are two modes of representations present here.[34] The anthropomorphic pillars are abstract in design, only evidently humanoid due to hands, arms and clothing, such as loincloths and adornments (for example, necklaces).[35] The gender represented on these pillars is also undeterminable.[36] The evidence has caused scholars to conclude that these pillars represent beings from a different 'sphere of reality'.[37] Human head statues were unearthed from the backfill,[38] yet their function remains mysterious.

As mentioned, zoomorphic motifs are also prevalent at Gobekli Tepe. This is unsurprising considering the hunting life of these peoples and the plethora of animal bones that were unearthed. These include cattle, ass, gazelles, pigs, red deer, foxes, wolves, leopards, hare, doves, ducks', partridges and other birds.[39] There is also evidence of marrow harvesting from the bones[40] as well as 50% of the meat produced being from cattle.[41] Notably, black-feathered birds are also frequently evidenced, despite their lack of nutritional value,[42] thus indicating a possible mythic connection. Additionally, charred botanical remains were unearthed just outside one of the largest, and oldest, enclosures.[43] Limited evidence of human bones has been found, although Clare et al. (2018) believe this to be accidental.[44] The motifs' do not represent the entirety of bones discovered but are nonetheless connected slightly. Within the backfill, a vulture figurine and lion head statue have also been found.[45]

Not only are there depictions of animals and humanoids, but also symbols.[46] Nor are all the depictions located on pillars, but also on a plaquette and in the form of statuettes.[47] Depictions are also varied between bas/low relief, and high relief (Figure 5). It has been proposed that the bas-reliefs are depicting a mythic narrative.[48]

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[33] Schmidt 2011:919

[34] Notroff et al 2015:36

[35] Notroff et al 2015:36; Schmidt 2011:921

[36] Schmidt 2007:180; Schmidt 2011:930

[37] Schmidt 2011:921; Kornienko 2009:93

[38] Notroff et al 2015:36; Schmidt 2011:929

[39] Dietrich et al. 2012:690; Notroff et al 2015:42; Schmidt 2000:47; 2007:180

[40] Dietrich et al. 2012:690

[41] Notroff et al 2015:42

[42] Notroff et al 2015:42

[43] Dietrich et al 2014:4

[44] Clare et al. 2018:120

[45] Schmidt 2011:929

[46] Schmidt 2007:180-1; 2011:925, 930; Kornienko 2009:89

[47] Schmidt 2011:929

[48] Schmidt 2011:926

Figure 4. (Above) Sculpture of a boar and stone plates (K. Schmidt, DAI via Dietrich et al. 2012)

Figure 3. (Below) Snakes and Scorpians feature heavily in Gobekli Tepe icongraphy. (C. Gerber, D. Johannes, I. Wagner, c DAI via Dietrich et al. 2012)

Figure 5. (Left) Carnivorous carving at Gobekli Tepe (Dieter Johannes, DAI via Tepe Telegrams)

Çatalhöyük

The early urban cluster of Çatalhöyük (7400-6000 BCE),[49] housing most of the inhabitants of the Konya Plain who had flocked to the dwelling,[50] accommodated a seemingly peaceful,[51] egalitarian society[52] of three to eight thousand people within its thirty-four acres.[53] This town lacks any large-scale ceremonial spaces, distribution centres or temples[54] and is relatively decentralised,[55] with healthy inhabitants who ate varied diets.[56] Their main source of protein was domesticated sheep and goat; bulls were consumed during feasts.[57] Evidence also reveals honey, or beeswax, harvesting.[58] They mostly consumed stewed meat, not roasted, and used pottery in the later levels. Furthermore, there is a myriad of evidence of long-distance trade networks and complicated technological skills.[59] Archaeologically, the site is divided into two mounds; East and West (Figure 6), younger and older respectively, with the shift to the eastern mound mirroring the evidential ideological shift occurring before cattle domestication,[60] as foraging was replaced by agriculture, and herding coexisted with hunting.[61] Sweatman & Coombs believe it to be two different cultures inhabiting the site due to the stark differentiation between material culture and production methods.[62] Unfortunately,

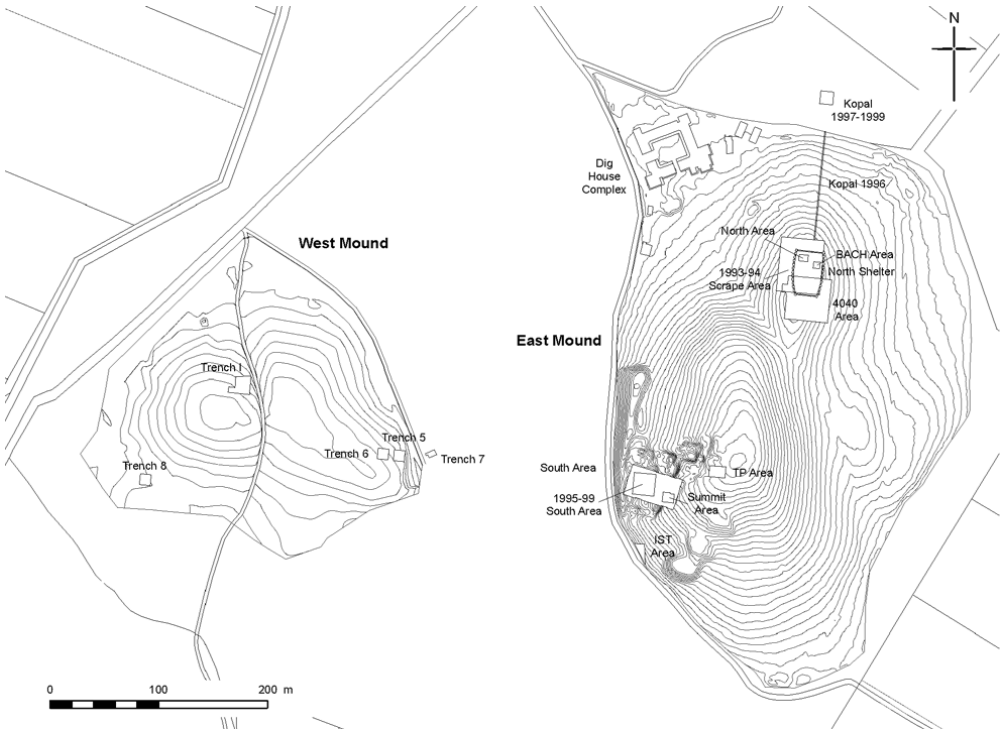

Figure 6. Çatalhöyük excavation areas (Image: Hodder 2014:2)

[49] Hodder 2010:3

[50] Wason 2010:288

[51] Pels 2010:240; Wason 2010:275

[52] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020b

[53] Hodder 2010:3; 2014:6

[54] Bloch 2010:150

[55] Whitehouse & Hodder:140

[56] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020a

[57] Keane 2010:199

[58] Roffet-Salque et al. 2015:162-164

[59] Hodder 2010:14

[60] Hodder 2010:20

[61] Keane 2010:199

[62] Sweatman & Coombs 2019:5

the sites' excavation is incomplete[63] and so mostly mysterious. However, it is deemed that the ritual activities of these people were focused on hunting, death, and animals[64] and that they "were a people who valued artistry and aesthetics".[65]

Figure 7. Reconstruction of one of the rooms at Catalhoyuk. (Sarah Murray via Greenfield-Boyce 2014)

The dwellings of Çatalhöyük are indicative of a tight-knit community[66] seemingly connected by ancestral bonds.[67] The homes, densely packed to resemble nests (coined 'clusters'[68]), reveal micro-traditions through their architectural elements.[69] It seems the buildings' layout was determined early on, with its construction imbued with ritual.[70] For more information on the construction, controlled demolition, and deliberate reuse of materials, see Appendix 2.2, for the almost-uniform layout, see Appendix 2.3. Households seemed to become increasingly independent as hunting reduced, displaying less social unity.[71] Elements from all spheres of life are reflected within the architecture and material culture, including material, social and ritual.[72] The art and symbolism and burial all occur within houses[73] and it is clear these dwellings were important to their inhabitants.[74] There is a strong north/south axis orientation at

[63] Hodder & Pels 2010:166

[64] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020b

[65] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020a; 2020b

[66] Clare et al. 2018:119

[67] Hodder 2010:3

[68] Introduced by the Çatalhöyük Research Project and asserted within Falid and Hodder 2014

[69] Hodder & Pels 2010:164

[70] Wason 2010:280

[71] Ibid, p.241

[72] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020a; Clare et al. 2018:119

[73] Hodder 2010:3

[74] Bloch 2010:148

Çatalhöyük, with reconstructions showing that sunlight reflected on the white plaster to illuminate the room.[75] Furthermore, the sense of domestication reaching all spheres, including astronomical time tracking, is demonstrated through the reconstruction as it revealed that:

In the early morning, as the sun rises in the cart, a bright rectangle appears on the west wall of the house, at its southern end. During the day, the rectangle moves, like a clock, eastward across the floor of the southern end of the main room, past the oven and ladder, and finally climbs the eastern wall of the house and disappears.[76]

Figure: 8. 3D model of the entranceway to a house, showing the position of the oven below the ladder (Image: Grant Cox Çatalhöyük Research Project (n.d.).

At Çatalhöyük, some houses gained elevated status and elaboration, represented by impressive architectural features; multiple burials beneath the floors; with white plastered walls and floors, and painted motifs "depicting hunting scenes and geometric patterns."[77] These houses, some of which are connected to nearby clustered houses through tunnels,[78] seem to have a focus of attention on the dead.[79] For more information on burials at Çatalhöyük, see Appendix 2.4. Mellartt had initially deemed them shrines,[80] yet now we understand the symbolic incorporation into the domestic, a notion aided through ethnographic studies into 'house' societies'.[81] Through these studies, Peter Pels coined the term

[75] Wason 2010:285-6

[76] Ibid, p.286

[77] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020a

[78] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:135

[79] Veropoulidou 2017:10

[80] See Mellart (1967)

[81] Hodder & Pels 2010:163-5

'history houses'.[82] These 'history houses' display indications that insinuate they were purposefully used to store knowledge and symbolism or were conservers of ancestral memories and accompanying history.[83] The 'membership' to houses is determined through social interactions rather than primarily blood relatives.[84] Despite debates on the details, it is agreed that the history houses served a similar function to Göbekli Tepe; "to preserve historical and mythical memories." [85] The use of these clustered ritual centres decreases after Level VI.[86] Due to the extensive corpus available for Çatalhöyük, not everything can be understood in one undergraduate study; see the Appendix for a selection of building and artefact data (2.1) and clay figurines (2.5), and information on stamps (2.6).

Çatalhöyük residences contain impressive wall paintings within the domestic dwellings. These were often covered, remade, and recovered.[87] Houses in Level V and III depict crowds baiting animals such as bulls, deer, boar, and a bear, all of which are ithyphallic.[88] As hunting evidence declines, baiting scenes continue to be painted but, at Level V, ideology change is represented through bull symbolism medium-shifting from installations to pottery handles.[89] Wall paintings reveal patterns and handprints, figures both human and faunal, and replace the older interior fashion of bucrania and installing, or adorning skulls, or claws of dangerous beasts on the walls.[90] In one scene, the humans interacting with a wild stag are bearded.[91] There is a rich material culture focused on fauna here incorporated into their interiors, paying attention to the dangerous parts of animals such as claws, horns, antlers, tusks and talons.[92] With each year of excavation, bucrania are revealed but can vary on species and plaster coverage. However, the plastered animal craniums are not the only interior adornments. Plaster reliefs have been identified as representing species in an ambiguous or hybridized form, with multiple layers matching the surrounding architectural sediment, implying they were plastered and painted over,[93] evidenced to have been a regular and meticulous process.[94] While bulls feature heavily in wall installations and feasts, it has been proposed that leopards and bears hold higher meanings.[95] Vulture skulls and the teeth of foxes, weasels and wild boar are also found in the walls.[96] It has been suggested that the installations and rituals serve to inscribe certain information into memory.[97]

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[82] Discussed full in Hodder 2010:25

[83] Clare et al. 2018:120

[84] Tsoraki 2018:258

[85] Clare et al. 2018:120

[86] Hodder & Pels 2010:180

[87] Whitehouse & Hodder:133

[88] Hodder & Meskell 2010:34; Whitehouse & Hodder:128

[89] Whitehouse & Hodder:138

[90] Pels 2010:240; Wason 2010:288

[91] Hodder & Meskell 2010:34

[92] Whitehouse & Hodder:128

[93] Busacca & Lingle 2017:340

[94] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:139

[95] Çatalhöyük Research Project 2020a

[96] Hodder 2010:23-4

[97] Tsoraki 2018:258

Bones of fauna are also found at Çatalhöyük. Concentrations of large, unbroken animal bones found in locations are suggestive of ritualistic foundation/abandonment events[98] and bull bones are primarily found in feasting deposits.[99] In earlier levels, human and animal bones are discarded together but in the latest East mound levels, they are separated – occurring in the contemporary phase together with the bull symbolism medium-shifting.[100] Hodder and Meskell note that "70% of the faunal remains are the bones of domesticated animals (sheep, goats, dogs) while the rest consist of wild cattle, equids, deer, [and] boars"[101] which contrasts the depictions, where only 19% depict domesticated animals. Animal teeth such as badger, dog, boar and even fake deer teeth, have been worked into beads.[102] Birds are also depicted, either as raptors or crane-like, whereas the bone assemblages are dominated by water birds such as ducks, geese, graves and coots and despite heron and wader bones being found, they are not represented in the art.[103] Deer antlers are often used to form tools (such as picks, pressure flakes, hammers, handles), ornaments and jewellery, yet it is a relatively rare material on site.[104] It is the sharp, dangerous parts, the "tusks of wild boars, the horns of wild bulls, wild sheep and goats, the beaks and talons of vultures and raptors, the teeth of weasels and foxes and the claws of bears and leopards" [105] that are adorned on the person or property.[106] This provides similar iconography as seen at Göbekli Tepe.

Figure 9. Predator figurine, presumed to be a leopard. This shows the intricate details that these people were applying to their art. (Image: Hodder 2005)

[98] Hodder 2010:17

[99] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:128

[100] Hodder 2010:20

[101] Hodder & Meskell 2010:46

[102] Nakamura 2010:320

[103] Hodder & Meskell 2010:49

[104] Nakamura 2010:319

[105] Hodder & Meskell 2010:46

[106] Hodder & Meskell 2010:46; Wason 2010:292

Table 2. Showing the motifs present at both sites. This will likely require updating with more excavation.

Table 2. Motifs.	Gobekli Tepe	Catalhoyuk
Human	X	X
Symbols	X	X
Boar	X	X
Snake	X	
Fox	X	X
Birds	X	X
Rams	X	X
Aurochs	X	X
Reptiles	X	
Wolves	X	X
Asses	X	
Feline	X	X
Deer		X

Table 3. Showing the bones revealed at both sites. This will likely require updating with more excavation.

Table 3. Bones	Gobekli Tepe	Catalhoyuk
Human		X
Auroch	X	X
Sheep	X	X
Goat	X	X
Ass	X	
Gazelle	X	
Pig	X	X
Deer	X	X
Fox	X	X
Wolf	X	
Leopards	X	X
Hare	X	
Bird	X	X

The Land of Chaos and Confusion: Methodology

The land of academia can be confusing, even when the topic is well-formed. Concerning mythology, there is no unified discipline for the discourse[107] and the schools of thought are 'chaotic and confusing'.[108] This study, therefore, is comprised of many methodologies melded together from prior literature. Mythology has interdisciplinary affinities to many schools of thought: anthropology, archaeology, folklore, linguistics, literature, philosophy, psychology, and theology.[109] The diverse variety of definitions, perspectives and methodologies that are synthesised in the specialised discourse causes one of the greatest complexities of mythography. The desire for categorical conformity within academic research can cause oversimplifications[110] and ultimately prove limitational to furthering understanding of the topic. However, definitions do not need to be universal to be insightful and must be combined for applicable use.[111] Furthermore, it would be unwise to expect consistency due to the subjectivity of myth and ritual.[112] One scholar concludes that it would be beneficial having belief in the supernatural when approaching mythographic work to accept myth as it would have been within its native context.[113] The lens formed for this study is a kaleidoscope of melded methodologies, aimed in viewing the data from a heuristic, humanistic yet empirical approach.

Literature Review

When considering mythology, the untrained mind jumps to the ancients. There is the presumption of falsehood and legends of unruly gods of the past. Similarly, when rituals are pondered upon, that same mind jumps to the occult, or something dark. However, myths and rituals can come in an assortment of forms, features, and themes. Undeniably, this commonly includes supernatural elements.[114] This element has caused myth to frequently be reduced to the primitive counterpart to modern science, unacceptable in epistemically focused academia.[115] Many scholars advocate for the importance of mythology, claiming it to be 'admirable' and 'creative',[116] or unconscious manifestations of genetic and cultural memories.[117] Others claim it ultimately false nonsense narratives of primitive man,[118] with some in agreement but arguing its necessity for humanity's advancement,[119] or guided by cosmological and psychological frameworks.[120] Sir James Frazer thought myth to be *misguided* science born from the mind of the ignorant, but others

[107] Segal 2004:2

[108] Malinowski 1978:16

[109] Guerin 2005:225-6; Malinowski 1978:16

[110] Bowie 2009:267; Guerin 2005:226

[111] Csapo 2009:8, 76

[112] Doty 2000:85

[113] Segal 2004:50. While I am not religious myself, I have found myself being more open to the idea of *something* which agreeably aid in mythographic studies.

[114] Coupe 2009:5-6; Strenski 1995:51; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:26

[115] Segal 2004:13

[116] Coupe 2009:119

[117] Jung 1938:65

[118] Via Segal 2004:23-24; See Segal (2004), Csapo (2009). Doty (2000), Strenski (1995) for detailed discussion on the history mythographic discourse.

[119] Coupe 2009:119

[120] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:152

counter that science and myth are separate spheres of knowledge with myth focused on ethics, emotion, aesthetic, communal and individual identity.[121] Sigmund Freud goes as far as to state religion and its practices (including mythology) are dangerous illusions, equating it to a 'neurosis' of the collective, which has arisen due to a guilty conscience about barbaric acts of patricide and incest.[122] Emile Durkheim, similarly, deemed religion, and its components, an 'opiate of the masses', simply a means of control and oppression.[123] Following the theme, Max Muller stated myth to be a disease of language and religion.[124]

Scholars do find areas with which they agree, such as the importance of cultural and historical context when considering myth.[125] Evidently, each mythographer carries a definition and model appropriate to their contexts. While the scientific quest for universal perspectives may seem impossible in the mythographic discourse, the paradigms within the discussion are nonetheless important, despite their non-universality, *due* to their variability. Each paradigm provides a unique perspective and highlights the complexity of mythographic diversity. Many condemn the scientific study of myth, claiming it too limiting and static, or reductionist, and encourage reinterpretations.[126] The notion of limitation in static definitions/categorisations is humorously highlighted by Diogenes presenting a plucked chicken to Plato in response to the latter's simplistic 'bipedal and featherless' definition of a man.[127] Eliade's hermeneutic interpretations are agreeably considered creative, shedding optimistic rays onto academia.[128] This dissertation lacks the pretension of being a comprehensive mythographic study that explores the richness of the proposed topic; it merely scrapes the surface, presenting the potentiality of further studies of the same method.

Myth and Ritual: Focusing the lens

Here, myth and ritual are considered co-existing, long-lasting, and impactful. Both are the symbolic projection of a peoples' hopes, fears, values and aspirations, binding communities together as they transcend space-time, holding together past, present and peoples.[129] They are pan-human,[130] abstract and fulfil various functions including sociological, psychological and religious, as well as providing a poetic, dramatized account of history.[131] Segal pleasantly regards them as metaphorical teddy-bears, providing people comfort in their darkest moments.[132] The cosmology of a culture exposes its environmental and societal organisation and needs[133] with its mythos becoming a 'reservoir of human experience'.[134] Society is validated through mythic prototypes, and the myths are heuristic experiences,

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[121] Via Doty 2000:93; Segal 2004:16

[122] Via Csapo 2009:120; Doty 2000:165-6

[123] Via Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:37-9

[124] Via Bowie 2009:971; Csapo 2009:26; Doty 2000:11

[125] Bowie 2009: 272-3; M.Mauss 1905:224 via Strenski 1995:154

[126] Turner 1974:166 via Coupe 2009:152; Doty 2000:129; Segal 2004:128

[127] Csapo 2009:2; Maynard 2005:62

[128] Via Strenski 1995:119-120

[129] Guerin 2005:226

[130] Segal 2004:57

[131] Malinowski 1978:88-9; Coupe 2009:5-6; Cotterell 2003:2

[132] Segal 2004:139

[133] Cotterell 2003:9

[134] Bowie 2009:298

preservers of information that is passed on and appropriately adapted for the society at the time. Myths are quintessential stories, their continual transmission is caused by their cultural significance and framing of social realities,[135] and are initially introduced during childhood socialisation.[136] Despite this, myths are also 'complex cases of autopoiesis', meaning they 'self-create' according to their environments and historical context.[137] They embody cultural symbolism and enforce cosmic orientation, are foundational to the social groups' mentality, and provide a 'charter' of behaviour that intimately relates to ritual, the accompanying practical activity.[138]

Ritual and myth are not related as practical are to theoretical, but rather they are two different mediums communicating a message; ritual speaks through actions and symbols whereas myth speaks through language and symbols.[139] Defining ritual can be problematic due to the vast array of variation in context and activity as to what is considered ritualistic; for example, festivals are a form of ritual that communicate cultural lore.[140] Ritual can also be intertwined with everyday life, and this is one of the ritual models identified at Çatalhöyük, who's ritual contexts occur within domestic dwellings.[141] Malinowski boldly claims that myth is "a vital ingredient of human civilisation"[142] and Rosenfeld & Boutista state the same for ritual.[143] Understanding both forms of communication is crucial due to the limited data provided by the prehistoric dataset. Additionally, myth and ritual serve different functions within daily life and even within the same culture, there may be various, seemingly contrasting, perspectives for one myth/ritual.[144] Despite near cultural destruction or duress of deep stress, the myth may survive; although their original meanings are forgotten, the potent symbolism with the myth survives.[145] This could be due to their periodic regeneration, preservation, and transmission of paradigms[146] or the introduction of innovations.[147] Such processes show that "out of catastrophe comes a new cosmos",[148] one that is appropriate to its cultural and historical climates. Mythos is not only the 'reservoir of human experience'[149] but also representative of their ecological environments, adapting appropriately, accordingly. This is particularly detectable in Egyptian mythos concerning the inundation of the Nile, the Sumerian emphasis on Earthy forces and Semite focus on the celestial heavens.[150]

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[135] Doty 2000:37-9

[136] Ibid, pp.43-4

[137] Shults 2010:75

[138] Mathews 1994:12 via Bowie 2009:108; Strenski 1995:72-4; Csapo 2009:142-3

[139] Csapo 2009:161

[140] Burkert 2001:29

[141] Rosenfeld & Boutsita 2017: 7

[142] Malinowski 1978:19

[143] Rosenfeld & Boutista 2017:4

[144] Doty 2000:79-80

[145] Coupe 2009:62

[146] Eliade 1954:xiv

[147] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:86

[148] Coupe 2009:75

[149] Bowie 2009:298

[150] Cotterell 2003:9-11

Methodology

Even within contemporary life, there are modern myths. The myth of creation, widely accepted by renowned scientists, is currently the narrative of the Big Bang, the universe born from an explosion and evolving energy.[151] Previously this was not so; *mythos* continuously adapts with the cultural environment, evolving synonymously alongside its people; influenced by its' neighbours,[152] with the potential for multiple variations co-existing.[153] Doty describes it as a mythological network resembling a large tree, with its' branches only partially understood yet reaching humanity universally, culturally, and individually.[154] The interconnected mosaic of myth, and human history, is reflected in the evidence of the archaeological record. Unfortunately, the 'human' parts of archaeology (imagination, language, consciousness, and mythology) are ultimately the hardest to identify.[155] Rosenfeld & Boutista argue that rituals can be identified through their repetition, paraphernalia, and location whereas sacred areas are identified through architectural elements that are specialised or frequently renewed.[156] Applying this to Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük, both evidence sacred areas where rituals were being practised.

The symbiotic entanglement of social and biological evolution, a notion presented by the bio-functionalist, Walter Burkert,[157] emphasises ritual as biologically driven communication. Rituals were identified as manifestations of animal behaviour serving functions for the individual and community;[158] their primacy enforced by evidence of *Homo Neanderthalensis* performing ritualistic activity 100,000 years ago.[159] Initially, the equation to religiosity as biological behaviour evident in a myriad of species was seen as a threat to civilisations' progress to critics,[160] yet due to Cauvin's work on symbolic involvement in evolution,[161] modern scholarship is more lenient to the notion. This newly accepted, deeply rooted religiosity has implored some scholars to rename our species '*Homo Religiosus*.'[162] Other proposed species renames include *Homo Necaris* (man the killer)[163] and *Homo Aestheticus*.[164] Regardless, *Homo Sapien* refers to our quest for wisdom,[165] and thus the quest shall continue.

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[151] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009: 60; See Gribbin & Britain (1986)

[152] Doty 2000:422

[153] Ibid, p.139

[154] Ibid, pp.34-7

[155] Wentzel van Huyssteen 2010:100-1

[156] Rosenfeld & Boutista 2017:5, 8

[157] Burkert 1978:18 via Csapo 2009:165

[158] Doty 2000:314

[159] Burkert 2001:12

[160] Burkert 2001:8-10

[161] See Cauvin (2008)

[162] Burkett 2001:19; Coupe 2009:57

[163] Coupe 2009:57 - This theory presented that the evolutionary catalyst was biological drive for food, with the side effects of increased aggression and sociality to improve hunting success. It has been argued that religion is pan-human, with myth and ritual as essential mediums for expressing the drive to commune with something higher.

[164] See Dissanayake, E. (2001) for an in-depth discussion based on evolutionary understandings of the aesthetic component of human psychology.

[165] Shults 2010:97

Eloquently, Carl Gustav Jung stated, “as a plant produces its flower, so the psyche creates its symbols.”[166] His methodology delves into the psyche of humanity to identify the 'collective unconsciousness’ - a biological blueprint of behaviour, weaved into the unconscious framework,[167] allowing it to be identified cross-culturally *and* inter-culturally. Guerin stresses that the archetypes are not inherited ideas, but inherited responses to stimuli, belonging to the realm of instincts, ingrained since early times,[168] translating into psychologically potent symbols. These pan-human motifs are foundational to myth and ritual, manifesting symbolically within dreams and visions and themes of folklore.[169] Imagery, a form of symbolism, is widespread across prehistoric Anatolian contexts. This extends the mediums of ritual and mythos that potentially grant privy into the spirituality of prehistoric humans. Consequentially, elements of comparative thematic elucidation[170] feature within this study, to draw on archetypal methodology.

The biological blueprints of religiosity are further enforced by cultural contact, creating a cultural/genetic ‘memory’ synthesis into the form of mythology. Cosmology is interwoven into a culture, causing traditions to evolve into legendary tales that traverse generations. This is aptly summed up by Burkert with the simple noting that "nobody has seen the Phoenix but we all know about him".[171] Learning, language, myth, and tradition shape the individual through cultural interaction, reinforced by art and rituals.[172] The experience of an individual is not only comprised of their biology but also their social interaction. Emile Durkheim identifies the integral agency of culture through the theory of ‘collective conscience’,[173] a societal construction of transgenerational unification of religion, morality, and value. Furthermore, shared culture is deemed vital for social survival[174] and is enforced through collective memory.

Collective, or social, memory is understood to be a transgenerational transmission and interaction with the past, whether it be through narration, evocation, or celebrations, that imbues itself within the consciousness through its’ continuity through interlocking practices.[175] These practices were adaptively developed over time[176] and comprised of the communal pooling of individual experiences that induced retrospective recognition of the maintenance, advancement, and continuity of the culture.[177] Collective memory allows for continuous contact with the past of a culture, providing both identity and unity.[178] Culture (including etiquette and conventions of expression) is constituted by the realisation of inherited schema in a form of memory that is collective[179] with there being potentially no

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[166] Jung 1990:64 via Coupe 2009:140

[167] Guerin 2005:239; Doty 2000:333; Coupe 2009:4

[168] Guerin 2005:239

[169] Coupe 2009:139; Jung 1938:63; Doty 2000:200-201

[170] Doty 2000:83

[171] Burkert 2001:25

[172] Ibid.

[173] See Durkheim (1974)

[174] See Parsons (1951)

[175] Cubitt 2014:18-19 but see same text (pp.13) for debate on interchangeability of collective, cultural, and social memory. This work also discusses the complexity of defining memory and the debating discourse regarding its’ increased involvement academic study. Also, see Erell & Nunning (2010)

[176] See Janet (1928)

[177] Cubitt 2014:126-135

[178] Kratochvil 2018:10

[179] Counsell 2009:1

individual memories due to their construction according to cultural schemata.[180] The selection of events or behaviours to become incorporated into the collective memory is bound by the community's interests and often has political implications within their consolidation, enhanced by media associations such as arts or rituals.[181] Anne Karpf likened the legacy of memorable mythos to a form of DNA,[182] due to the transgenerational transmission of knowledge such as skillsets, production methods, societal institutions and organisation and traumatic events within cosmological tales. Such events usually incite societal disorder and reorder, whereby the culture is forced to reflect on their collective past to shape their future.[183] During these times, myth and ritual transform accordingly and it is probable that this was occurring at the two chosen sites. The memories may be transmitted through a myriad of mediums, yet, oral narratives are often 'refined and simplified',[184] the mythic resonance increasingly prominent with time. Also, as Raymond Williams notes, "no generation speaks quite the same language as its predecessors,"[185] which consequentially ensures each will model its memories somewhat differently.[186] Additionally, memories can be embedded in objects. It has been argued that cultural memory is synonymous with 'material heritage'[187] but this fails to encompass the agency of an object imbued with cultural memory.

The material culture at Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük represent shifting ideologies, and symbols are intrinsically bound into the changes that occur, whether aesthetic or functional, due to their entanglement in human lives.[188] This entanglement creates object agency that can affect social relations and be affected by societal notions.[189] Due to materiality theories, objects can ascribe inflated sociality, be impactful in social bonding and the sharing of ideas and even represent shifting practices, beliefs, concepts, and structure.[190] Objects, similarly, can be imbued with memory. Materiality is imbued in objects once a culture has "marked it as a certain type of thing,"[191] and these biographical memories of an object aid in understanding cultural contacts.[192] This is because objects become a 'culturally constructed entity' bound by its' cultural categorisations[193] and human cultures frequently attribute certain objects to the realm of the 'sacred'.[194] It appears that societies construct "objects as they construct people",[195] including their landscapes. In such, 'places of memory' are crucial for memory, whether they be material, geographical locations or 'non-material, cultural co-ordinates'[196] that reflect a dichotomy of fossilised history and living memories. The two sites

[180] Erell & Nunning 2010:5

[181] Kratochvil 2018:11

[182] Karpf, *The War After,* pp.17 as cited in Cubitt 2014:139

[183] Cubitt 2014:201

[184] Ibid, p.187

[185] Lewis-Williams 1977:131

[186] Counsell 2009:6

[187] Cubitt 2014:14

[188] Shults 2010:76

[189] Hodder 2006:204-5 as cited by Shults 2010:77

[190] Shults 2010:79-80

[191] Kopytoff 1986:64

[192] Ibid, p.67

[193] Ibid, p.68

[194] Dukrheim 1915 as cited by Koyptoff 1986:73

[195] Kopytoff 1986:90

[196] Kratochvil 2018:9

appear to incorporate these notions within their structure and functions and are embedded within the interactive complex web that these theories endeavour to understand.

Cultural memories can prevail after the culture has died.[197] The continuation was likely caused by the assimilation of cultures. Myths' themselves are evidence of 'continuous intercultural contact'.[198] While some see this as a linear progression,[199] it has also been viewed as a web of interaction: Don Cupitt takes a reductionist 'family resemblance' approach, believing that there are too many conflicting paradigms and themes to determine a linear continuation.[200] Additionally, Ludwig Wittgenstein identifies the relations between cultures, with the near-similarities and overlaps[201] whereas N.S Trubetzkoy contends for cultural 'convergence'; a model based on mutual adaptation and intertwined influence and growth that displays similarities and differences.[202] The increased interaction between cultures will gradually see emerging similarities that can deepen to include core socio-ideological practices and morality, enforcing a sense of unity with the exchanging of ideas.[203] The notion of cultural convergence allows for the systematic drawing of evidence from cultures that could have had direct or diluted indirect relationships with the chosen sites.

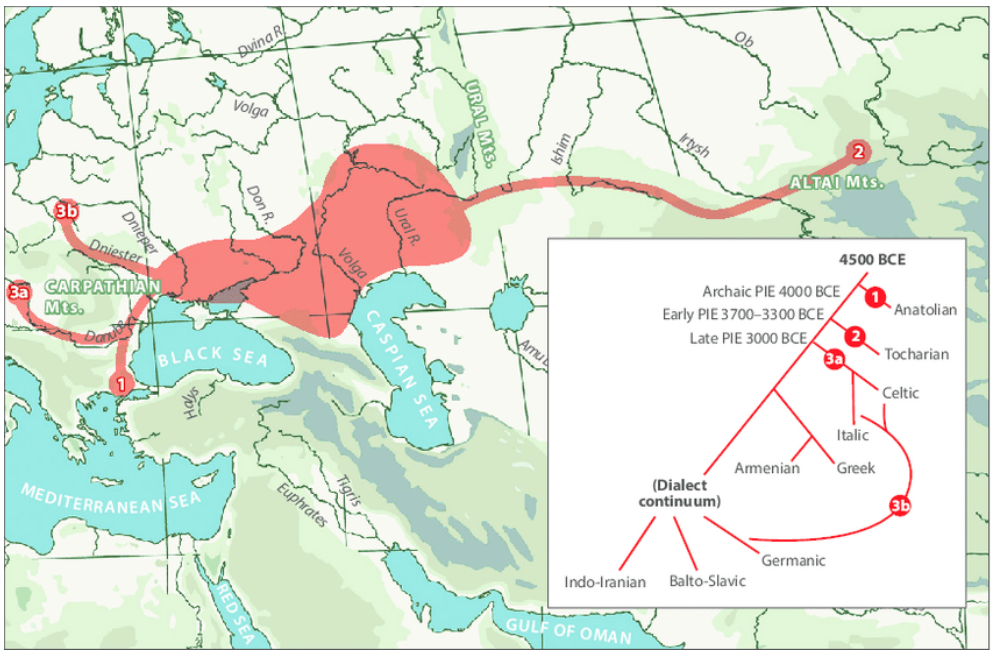

Figure 10. Map displaying the currently accepted transfer routes of Proto-Indo-European. (Image: Anthony & Ringe 2015:209

[197] Cultural differentiation is usually determined by material culture and cross-cultural comparisons of source material when concerning the archaeological record.

[198] Csapo 2009:78

[199] Ibid, p.76

[200] Via Coupe 2009:5; See also Cubitt (2014)

[201] Wittgenstein 1958:65-77 via Csapo 2009:8

[202] Via Csapo 2009:76

[203] Anburaj et al., 2019:17

The theological connectivity between motif variants indicates how mythos may be transmitted culturally, and have continuous motifs appear despite the geographical or chronological distance. This notion is specifically valid for this region because William Jones noticed similarities in Western languages and Sanskrit, concluding they were connected by a common ancestor; the Indo-Europeans[204] (See Figure 9). The Indo-Europeans illuminated the idea of *mythos* and *cultus* in prehistory due to undeniable similarities identifiable in early Near Eastern civilisation.[205] It is the cultures emerging on the Indo-European migration routes[206] that the comparisons are drawn in this study. Early Sumerian and Egyptian are not linguistically tied to the Indo-Europeans but there is evidence of strong cultural connections in the region.[207] The earliest known Indo-European text is the Sanskrit Veda (1450 BC),[208] and there is much debate over what constitutes as 'Indo-European', however, recent studies argue strongly for Turkey as the epicentre of the Indo-European language, and the 7th-millennium migrations extending into the Balkans spread Neolithization.[209] Therefore, the *ab aeterno* Anatolians' of the chosen sites likely constituted of Indo-European ideology, or at least some of, and were the dispersers of the ideology across the continents (See Figure 10). This means that a definitive conclusion is not likely at this present time but can provide valid potential cross-cultural cosmological connections.

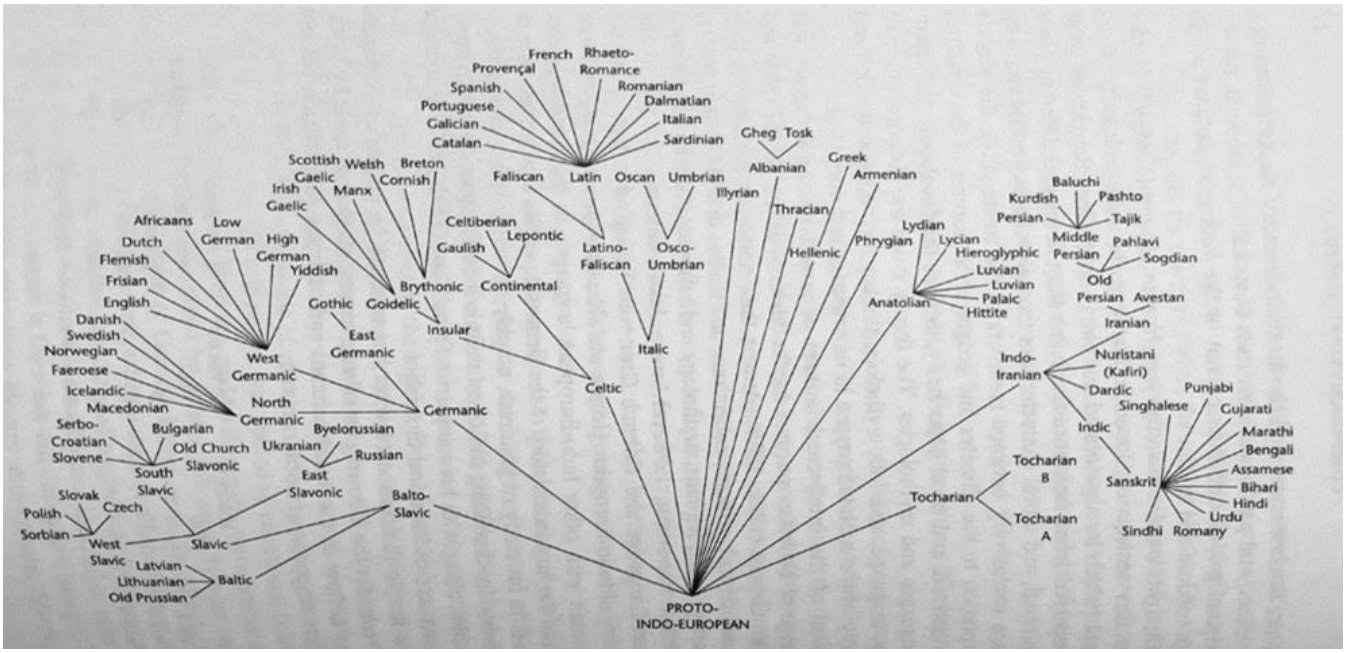

Figure 11. Indo-European linguistic tree (Image: Csapo 2009:18)

[204] Via Csapo 2009:22-3

[205] Eliade 1954:70

[206] Yakar 2016:32

[207] See Renfrew (1990)

[208] Csapo 2009:22

[209] Bouckaert et al. 2012 confirming Renfrew 1990 (reprint of 1987 ed.); as cited in Hodder 2014:17

This is not the only problem that could arise in this study. The relationship of *cultus* and *mythos,* and their distinction from secular, is only theorized (or potentially a contemporary projection) as sources in antiquity identify only one-or-the-other medium - notwithstanding the plethora of lost variations, or debated differentiation between myth, legend and folktale.[210] The variations extend to interpretations of the academic, and even conflicting perspectives within a culture.[211] Study of sources is subjective, and the individual will infer different meanings depending on their understanding[212] – this could include people using the same methods on a text, as the personal history of the interpreter affects their work. Bowie emphasises that ethnographic data is "filtered through his or her prior experience, life history and conscious and unconscious intention… all studies of other cultures reflect their times."[213] Furthermore, approaching antiquity and prehistory does have undeniable limitations. Malinowski points out that being limited to scriptures of a long-dead culture causes a lack of context,[214] whereas Cotterell warns of projecting onto prehistory data.[215] These both highlight how the present perspective can alter the painted picture of the past, however, Waddell highlighted how myth and archaeology may illuminate each other.[216] Criticisms of mythic theory implore that future methods emphasise contextual data and interdisciplinary perspectives. However, through viewing the dataset through the variegated lens of the above-mentioned perspectives, a speculative tale may be cautiously weaved.

[210] Doty 2000:28-9

[211] Ibid, p.373

[212] Grossberg 1992:52-3 as cited in Doty 2000:270

[213] Bowie 2009:83

[214] Malinowski 1978:18

[215] Cotterell 2003:3

[216] See Waddell (2018)

The Land of Speculation and Stars: Discussion

It must be emphasised that this research is not focusing on understanding the spiritualism of these two sites in totality, but rather suggests a new interpretation to enhance the knowledge gained in such discussions through their identification in myth-memory. The Neolithic saw cosmology brought into the home and the shamans of the community, intentionality unknown, likely experienced increased political influence through a culturally connected spiritual belief.[217] Lewis-Williams & Pearce admit this is a hypothesis but could be an indication of the [indisputable] changing social relations that caused Neolithization.[218] Early Sumerian literature claims that men emerge from the Earth's navel;[219] is this a symbolic narrative representing the population and knowledge dispersion from Göbekli Tepe, 'Navel Hill'?[220]

Stories from Sumer

The Sumerians are closest geographically and chronologically to Anatolia and Lewis-Williams and Pearce boldly claim that the Sumerians display their awareness of the societal and ideological transition, with Enkidu personifying Neolithization.[221] The myth [Epic] of Gilgamesh dates to the 3rd millennium BC, originally found in the library of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh,[222] but many variants have since been found over the Akkadian empire.[223] Disagreeably, Lewis-Williams & Pearce deem it an 'unlikely' Neolithic narrative.[224] Gilgamesh, half-divine, half-mortal, traverses the material and spiritual worlds being king of Uruk, and king of the Underworld, respectively in each location. His reality is a meld of dreams and conscious experience, his wisdom gained through traversing a cave.[225] This mirrors the reality of a shaman and could indicate the mythical reflection from reality. The notion of Gilgamesh representing a shaman in the mythos is further enhanced by his metamorphosis into an avian therianthrope when in the underworld.[226]

The mythos tells of Gilgamesh meeting Enkidu; the pair fought, shattering posts and shaking walls, and snorting like bulls.[227] Practically, the shattering and shaking walls provide imagery of catastrophe in the name of an earthquake – a potential by-product of a volcanic eruption. Çatalhöyük provides imagery that is arguably volcanic (Figure 11) and it has been argued that this represents an eruption from nearby Hasan Dağı twin-peaked volcano[228]. The astronomical divinations of Assyria, a culture strongly connected to the Sumerians, decree "if a red glow [keeps blazing in the height

[217] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009;145, 167

[218] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:144

[219] Eliade 1956:16

[220] Jones 2015

[221] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:157

[222] See Fincke 2004 for discussion on some of the tablets uncovered here.

[223] Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2009:154

[224] Ibid, p.153

[225] Ibid, p.156

[226] Ibid, p.158

[227] Ibid, p.157

[228] See Schmitt et al. (2014)

of the sky]: the land will be [confused, variant: made smaller],[229] potentially being reminiscent of long-distant destruction of the land due to a blazing sky. Notably, this could be referring to a comet, rather than a volcanic eruption. Symbolically, this could be argued that the pair meeting shook the foundations of these people, forcing ideological change. The imagery of the bull invites a sense of raw, unbridled strength and offers an opportunity for a union of the two; Lewis-Williams & Pearce identify Gilgamesh as the culture/civilised/human/spirit, and Enkidu as nature/wild/human/animal, who had been tamed through his adventures with Gilgamesh, seduced by a harlot and rejected from the wilderness to become a sheepherder.[230] This invites a feeling of humanity being seduced by the pleasures of culture, and thusly rejected from nature.

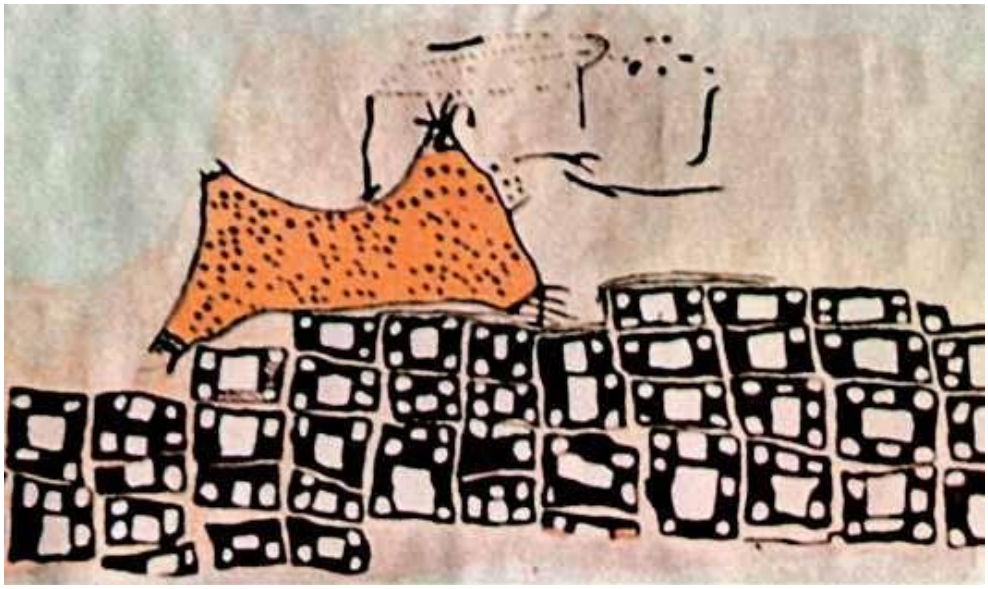

Figure 12. Volcano mural from Catalhoyuk, believed to be representing nearby volcano Hasan Dağı. (Image: Weiner 2019)

Another variation identifies the gods as the murderers of clay-made, genderless Enkidu after it assisted Gilgamesh to kill the Great Bull, causing Gilgamesh to seek immortality to avenge his fallen friend.[231] The genderless statues of Göbekli Tepe could be representative of humanity within nature, as Enkidu. Potentially, with increased sex segregation due to skill specialisation and urbanisation, society eventually evolves to Gilgamesh at Çatalhöyük. This process is identifiable two-fold at Çatalhöyük, as the bull imagery, identification and admiration decrease in the later levels as the auroch gets domesticated and so shamans of the community sought a story more spiritually potent.[232] Furthermore, the analysis of animal bone remains of the West and East mounds indicate that the shift in burial traditions (human and animal together → human and animal separate → human and bull together) is contemporary with the domestication of cattle, indicating that this symbolism is representative of the changing relations between

[229] Hunger & Reade 1992:19

[230] Lewis-Williams and Pearce 2009:156-7

[231] Britannica 2016

[232] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:148; Keane 2010:196-7

man and animal.[233] Interestingly, the name Enkidu has been translated as "lord of the reed marsh,"[234] reminiscent of Çatalhöyük's geography. This could indicate that Çatalhöyük was potentially one of the last strongholds of the wild, untameable, and dangerous. It would be curious to identify the sex of those who performed in bull rites at Çatalhöyük, to be representative of Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Unfortunately, this data is unavailable. The notion of a 'harlot' seducing man from wilderness mirrors Eve encouraging the Fall through consuming the Forbidden Fruit; especially when considering Enkidu's curse against his creators for the taming of his wilderness.[235] It was noted that cultural stress can alter mythos and anxiety /fear are core driving agents of religion, primarily concerning death.[236] This would suggest they would feature heavily in shamanistic narratives and interpretations. The transition from hunter-gathering to agriculture could be deemed a 'Big Mistake' due to heavy reliance on food prone to disease, longer and tougher work hours.[237]

Figure 13. Scenes painted at Catalhoyuk potentially reveal evidence of baiting. (Image: Hodder & Meskell 2010:35)

Taking the Bull by the Horns

The bull was undeniably important to the ancients, regardless of geography or epoch, and the engagement with the bull at Çatalhöyük shows that it also shaped their spirituality, reflecting societal notions of space and time.[238] Further conclusions of the site state that bull skulls are only symbolic due to their non-presence at the site[239] or that bucrania and bulls are associated with males.[240] Indisputably, there was an adrenaline rush alongside bull rituals. It could be

[233] Hodder 2010:20

[234] Britannica 2016

[235] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:157

[236] Burkert 2001:31 - It is important to note that death is dominant at Çatalhöyük, although the burials and their meaning have not been explored in this research. They are briefly discussed in the Appendix 2.5.

[237] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:20

[238] Shults 2010:93

[239] Cauvin 2000:238; Keane 2010:189

[240] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:134

deduced that this was bull-baiting, from the painting at Çatalhöyük (Figure 12). In feasting deposits, only a third of the cattle bones are female, whereas within the daily consumption deposits they made up roughly half of the found assemblage.[241] The bulls used in feasts, estimated to feed roughly a thousand people,[242] would have been moments of high societal excitement. Is it possible these bulls were baited and feasted upon at festivals? Feasting events seem to have occurred every 7-80 years;[243] a figure so vague it proves useless here. It has been realised in recent scholarship that the inhabitants were increasing individualisation and emphasising individual relations and exchanges.[244] This could be causation for the decrease, and specificity of time, of feasting.

It is believed that only traces of Indo-European culture have left a viewable footprint.[245] Female worship is the accepted religiosity of the Neolithic and believed to date back to at least c. 25,000 BC.[246] The archaeological record of Neolithic Europe and Asia is overshadowed by 'Venus' statuettes' displaying a "large-busted, big-buttocked, naked birth-goddess."[247] This was also identified at Çatalhöyük (Figure 13). One figurine displays a voluptuous female form at the front but a skeletal figure from the back (Figure 14), with a dowel hole with a clear indication of use.[248] Could this be symbolising both sides of Mother Nature; the dualism of prosperity and obliteration, and unification through creation, death and rejuvenation having emphasised status during this time due to increased agriculture? Furthermore, it is believed women were the introducers of agriculture and likely held the wealth of Çatalhöyuk.[249]

Figure 14. One of the voluptuous figurines found at Catalhoyuk. (Image: Jason Quinlan, Çatalhöyük Research Project via Archaeology 2017)

[241] Hodder & Meskell 2010:47

[242] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010: 129

[243] Ibid.

[244] Hodder 2014:11

[245] Waddell 2018:3

[246] Barstow 1992:7

[247] Csapo 2009:119

[248] Hodder & Meskell 2010:57

[249] Barstow 1992:11

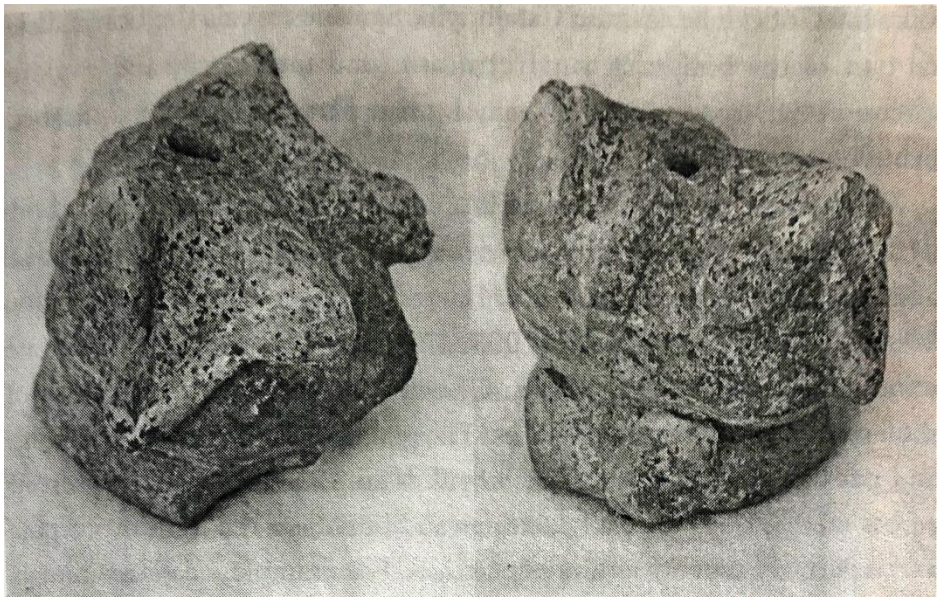

Figure 15. Female figurine from Catalhoyuk. Large on the front yet skeletal on the back. (Image: Hodder & Meskell 2010:57)

Older studies claim patriarchal prehistory; as determined by Muller through Indo-European importance attributed to the 'Sky Father'.[250] Freud, unable to resist, denoted pre-agricultural societies practices of traumatic rituals that channelled the repressed guilt accumulated due to the Oedipus complex.[251] The warning of projection springs to mind, for not all societies recognise a heavy gender divide. Later works have also emphasized the gender segregation in discussions of 'the goddess and the bull'.[252] Despite their focus on the Neolithic, the theories above are based on contemporary models of gender understanding, but recently, new interpretations, such as this study, are arising.[253]

It has been noted through ethnographic studies that societies who do not segregate gender and accompanying roles, tend to worship predominantly female deities.[254] However, whichever sex is thought to embody the forces upon which the peoples dominantly depend, tends to hold the power,[255] in both cultural and divine hierarchies. Furthermore, Palaeolithic figurines representing vulva have been found[256] but there is no evidence of Magna Mater, excluding unflattering graffiti (Figure 15), at Göbekli Tepe.[257] Yet, at Çatalhöyük, it has been proposed that women are associated with danger and the wild while men control and subjugate it – something Lewis-Williams & Pearce note to be

[250] Via Csapo 2009:22

[251] Via Csapo 2009:118-9

[252] See Balter (2005) for an in-depth discussion that ideally could be revised in the future.

[253] Mithen 2004; Kuijt 2005; Ozdogan 2001, 2002; Vehoeven 2002; Hodder & Meskell 2010:33

[254] Bowie 2009:121

[255] Sanday 1981:11 via Bowie 2009:122

[256] Wason 2010:277

[257] Schmidt 2011:930

metaphorically mirroring human society.[258] The figurine caches at Çatalhöyük reveal a vaguely equal representation of male/female/genderless and so potentially sex segregation was not perceived as it is today.

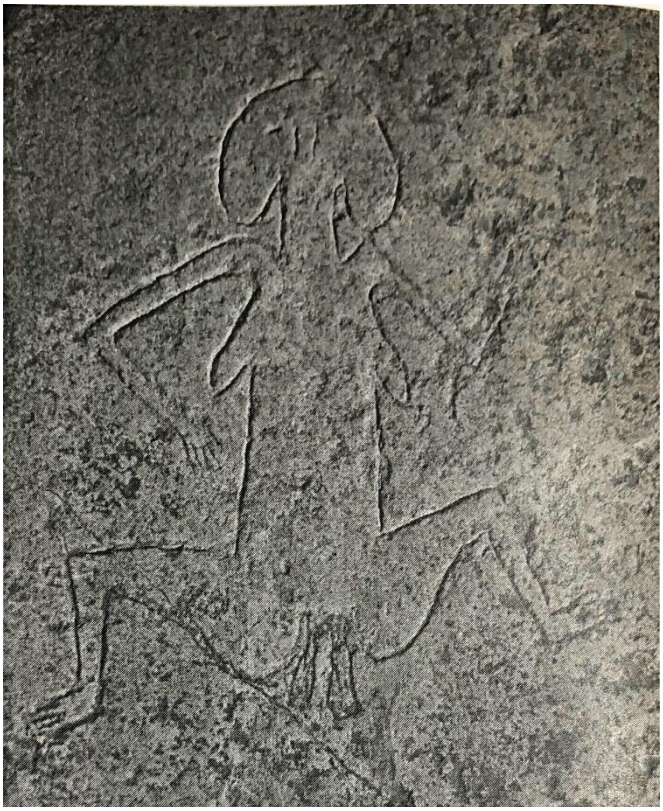

Figure 16. Graffiti found at Gobekli Tepe. This is the only female form evidenced at the site. (Image: Hodder & Meskell 2010:40)

If culture is attributed to male, and nature to female, we would expect the people of Anatolia to experience a gender enantiodromia in anthropomorphic symbolism. This does seem evident from the archaeological data; Göbekli Tepe appears more phallic focused, as does early Çatalhöyük, yet Göbekli is buried and in the later levels of the town, female figurines are more dominant. This is not as expected if relying on the ethnographic data. It is likely that the mythos of Göbekli Tepe concerns itself with hunting and cultivating, as represented in their architecture, or mimicking the transition into death (e.g burial).[259] According to archetypal studies, "God [is] symbolized by the circle, and the goddess [is] symbolised by the square".[260] Göbekli Tepe is round and undeniably religious, whereas Çatalhöyük is clustered, domestic squares. Jung believes the circle to be 'the most perfect form,'[261] a prehistoric symbol attributed to world creation, and Guerin affirms their indication of wholeness and unity.[262] Potentially, the square is a later symbolisation correlating to the emergence of agriculture, representing the increased individualisation[263] and sex segregation. The

[258] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:138

[259] Ibid, pp.157, 125

[260] Jung 1938:96-7

[261] Ibid, p.66

[262] Guerin 2005:227

[263] Wason 2010:294

burying of Göbekli Tepe could be indicative of a spiritually active community ushering in a new era of awareness and categorisations, reflected in their squared architecture in later levels. Conversely, square structures could be indicative of improved architectural knowledge. Potentially, it was a pragmatic and spiritual design. Additionally, Vehoeven[264] states that "both women and bulls do seem to be related to vitality, i.e. domestication, life-force and fecundity".[265] Responding to this concept, Hodder and Meskell denote the feminine worship theory has downplayed other finds, such as phallocentric elements, that could create a different narrative.[266]

It is presumed in current literature that the phallus imagery contradicts and is contrasting to the bulls' connection to women and fertility but arguably, this is projection and limiting. Debatably, the symbolism is not depicting gender segregation at all, but a unified understanding of fertility with its zenith represented in bull symbolism; the horns both phallic (male)[267] and lunation (female)[268] representations. The bull, symbolising the union, is at its' most potent within the domestic household, an architectural representation of union. Both sexes are required for successful fertility and the relationship between bull, fertility, and triads of gods experience cultural convergences and confused continuations; an example is the presentation of the Queen's promiscuity in the Irish bull ritual tales.[269] At Çatalhöyük, the hearth and utility tools are usually deemed feminine and masculine respectively but are found deposited together[270] reflecting a utility aspect of the union within the home. Furthermore, Lewis-Williams & Pearce highlight the crosslinked imagery of a Fertility goddess emerging during social change and the narratives that link the same goddess to the Underworld and dangerous animals, suggesting that passage through tunnels and tombs could reflect entry into the womb.[271] In Indo-European motifs, an "intoxicating goddess associated with fertility and human kingship"[272] is depicted, with associated queens' names within mythos being etymologically connected with recreational drinking. There is evidence of beer drinking at Göbekli Tepe,[273] although no such results have been uncovered so far for Çatalhöyük. There is also no evidence of kingship at the sites, so this may be indicative of a divide in duties represented in later mythos as the male/kingship association is a characteristic found in later cultures. Additionally, it is common practice to identify paired animals facing each other within the image corpus of Çatalhöyük,[274] further indicating notions of a union at this site. The mythological confusion could stem from the 'civilised' desire to divide and segregate into conformist categories, ordering the chaos of the cosmos into something controllable and containable. This divide was, proposedly, enforced by the emergence of civilisation, hierarchies, and role specialisation.

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[264] Vehoeven 2002:251

[265] Hodder & Meskell 2010:34

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

[268] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:140-1

[269] Waddell 2018:31

[270] Bloch 2010:152

[271] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:113-5

[272] Waddell 2018:32

[273] See Dietrich et al. (2002) for a detailed discussion on the evidence and implications of beer drinking at Göbekli Tepe.

[274] Russell & McGowan 2002:448

Further Comparison

There is a plethora of evidence displaying Anatolian ideological influence on later cultures, potentially through the Indo-European and geographical connections. The Indo-European culture is connected to Greek mythology through the Hittites (c.1460-1200 BC) and Zeus of the Greek pantheon is a royal representation of the 'Sky Father' motif.[275] He originated as his female counterpart, Diwa in older mythos but was paired with Demeter/Gaia in younger tales.[276] Prior to agglomerating local variations and traditions into his character, Zeus was an agricultural deity. The pairing of Zeus and Demeter ('mother'/'grain'[277]) is reminiscent of the unified principle mentioned above that is divided through adaption in a civilised society. Most notably, Zeus was worshipped in mountain sanctuaries.[278] His wife, Hera, presides over marriage and fertility with her name etymologically connected to *hōra* (seasons).[279] Interestingly, Poseidon has a possible meaning of 'spouse [of the] earth'[280] despite being viewed as an ancestor and "a god of elemental, geological forces: life-giving springs, disastrous floods, chasms through which water flows or recedes, and tremors in the earth."[281] This evokes a memory of a disaster, and an understanding of Earths' destructive capabilities – albeit personified in the masculine form here, rather than the half-skeletal, half-voluptuous feminine sculpture of Çatalhöyük (Figure 14).

Conversely, Apollo, originating from Near Eastern 'smiting gods',[282] seems to be reflective of shaman duties in the Neolithic. He was patron to boys approaching puberty; held dominion over plagues; prophesied and interpreted the will of Zeus.[283] When considering the link of Zeus, agriculture, seasons, and the earth, it could be considered that the shaman must traverse cosmological realms for knowledge that would be beneficial to the community: resource prosperity. His sister, Artemis, was the "virgin who aids women in childbirth, a fierce huntress who fosters wild beasts, and a bloodthirsty deity who both nurtures the young and demands their sacrifice."[284] She is the patron of girls in puberty and warriors, ultimately concerned with the young due to their unruliness. Together, as they were primarily worshipped,[285] the siblings present a vague image of the ideology seen at Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük. Furthermore, Artemis is often depicted as the *potnia theron* (Mistress of Animals); an iconographical motif of flanking animals (most frequently felines) that appears cross-culturally in the region,[286] and at Çatalhöyük (Figure 16). The continuation of this motif from Çatalhöyük is further enhanced due to the sanctuaries of Artemis being near rivers, or in wetlands[287] and the location of Çatalhöyük on a wetland. Eileithyia, the third to the Apolline Triad and pre-Greek in origin, is

[275] Branscome 2014:504

[276] Larson 2007:15

[277] Ibid, p.69

[278] Ibid, p.15

[279] Ibid, p.29

[280] Ibid, p.57

[281] Ibid.

[282] Ibid, p.86

[283] Ibid.

[284] Ibid, p.101

[285] Ibid, p.88

[286] Ibid, p.102

[287] Ibid.

known to be 'older than Kronos' and worshipped in a cave.[288] This triad appears to be a memory of prehistorical practices of religiosity, converged with the predominant themes.

Figure 17. The female flanked by felines may not be a prehistoric 'goddess' cult statue in the way that is currently accepted. (Image: Creighton & Çatalhöyük Research Project 2004)

Regarding the above, the gods reflect the division of sex in civilisation yet contain aspects relating to the Neolithic lifestyle. It is interesting to note that Hestia, goddess of the hearth, lacks mythographic writings or an anthropomorphised form, yet received piety daily.[289] This importance of hearth in the home was only realised during the increased urbanisation that was occurring at Çatalhöyük and it supported household integrity. This deification is simple, rather than the complex convergences of cultural diffusions mentioned above. Additionally, Larson notes:

"Hestia's special relationship with Hermes is recognized in the Homeric Hymn to Hestia (29.7–12), where the two are invoked as ***dear friends who dwell in and protect the house together****. Both are the objects of domestic cult and both are concerned, more than the other gods, with the doings of epichthonioi, those "who live on the surface of the earth.""*[290]

This draws a cyclical conclusion towards notions of a union in the domestic dwelling and its importance. The silence of Hestia within mythology could be attributed to the status she was provided in the home, her mythology manifesting

[288] Ibid, p.164

[289] Ibid, p.160

[290] Ibid, p.161 [bolded emphasis added]

in a living, active medium. The array of gods appears to be a tree of converging and diffusing ideas that can be intertwined together in a complex, trans-cultural web that presents possible continuation from the Neolithic.

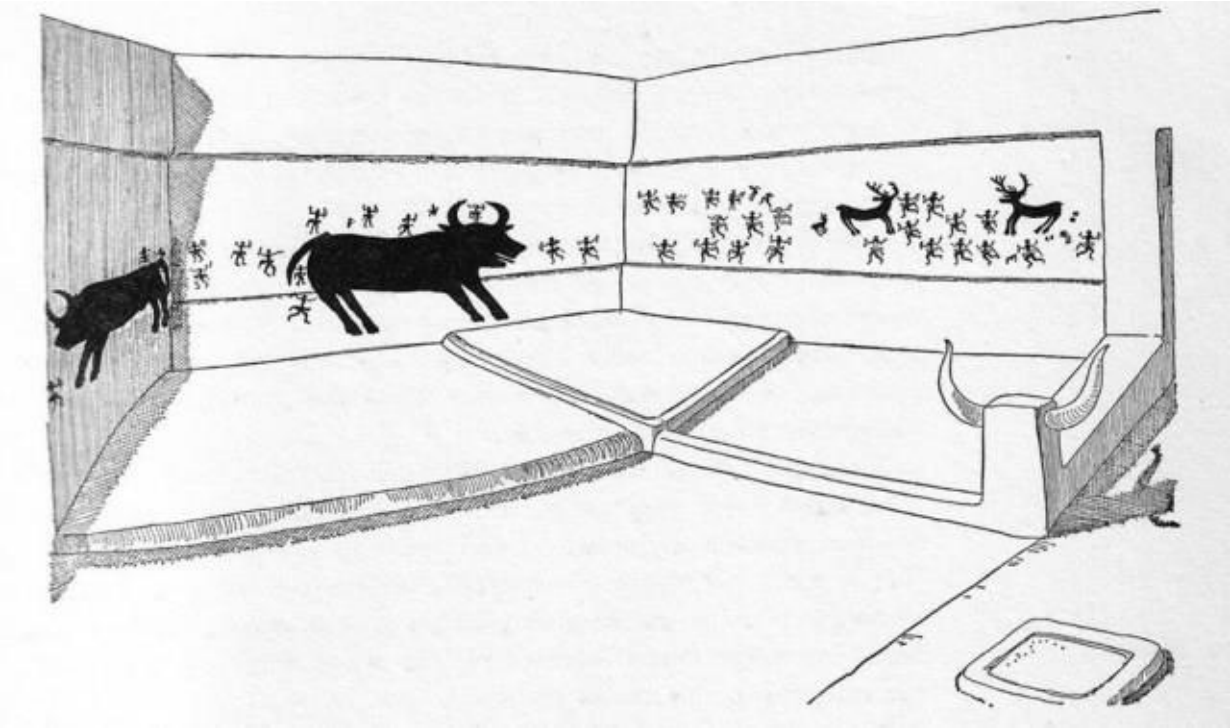

Figure 18. Reconstruction sketch of Shrine A.III.I (Image: Cox 2015)

Figure 19. The Bull, found in situ on a northern wall of Catalhoyuk (Image: Cox 2015)

As king of Uruk, Gilgamesh kills the Great Bull of Heaven and adorns his wall with its horns.[291] Bull horns displayed on walls is reminiscent of Çatalhöyük. The question of how the bulls of Çatalhöyük were killed is unknown due to the activity occurring offsite. In wider studies, the bull is a cosmological travel companion.[292] The early Mycenaean tablets reveal that the high elite figure *wanax* sacrificed a bull in Pylos,[293] Additionally, in the Irish tale of Tain, a ritual of two fighting bulls is identified.[294] Bulls are also used during royal divination rituals in the Irish *Togail Bruidne Da Derga.*[295] The Egyptian cult of the Apis bull remained prominent from the first dynasty (2900 BC) to the Roman Period (398 AD) and the primary ritual likely originated in predynastic times but was eventually incorporated into the *sed* festival of royal rejuvenation.[296] The temple of Ptah in Egypt housed the bull in a sacred enclosure, and upon death, the bull was embalmed in a building situated south-east to the enclosure, before shipment along the Sphinx-lined walkway of the Serapeum in Memphis.[297] Like Göbekli Tepe, the temple was a popular pilgrimage site,[298] and like both sites, there is a focus on bovines and felines.

Figure 20. Detail of painting from the south wall of shrine F.V.1, with two cranes above a pair of onagers and below a fragmentary boar. (Image: Pictures of Record, Inc.: Çatalhöyük, by James Mellaart.)

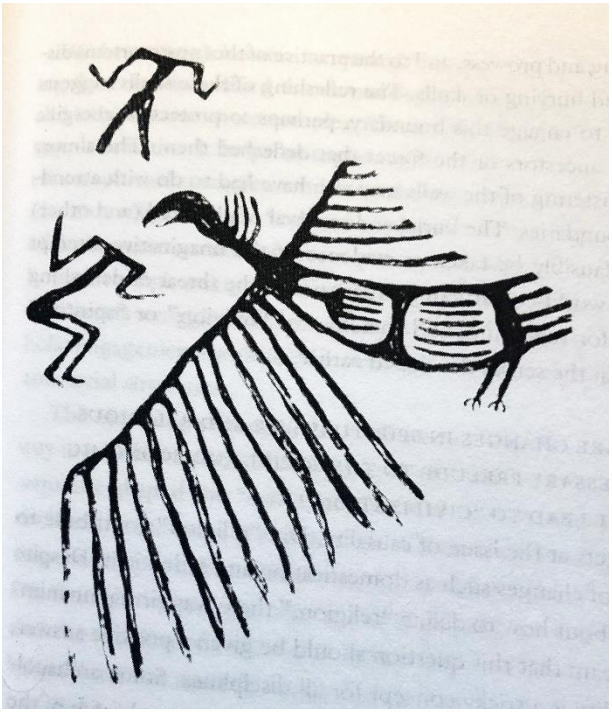

Figure 21. Crane and headless humans depicted at Catalhoyuk (Image: Shults 2010:91)

[291] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:155

[292] Ibid, pp.108-9

[293] Waddell 2018:54-55

[294] Ibid, p.31

[295] Ibid, p.40

[296] Markovic 2015:135

[297] Ibid, pp.136-8

[298] Ibid, p.136

Identifying the Ignored

The snake and leopard, of which both are identified at Göbekli Tepe and only the *felis* at Çatalhöyük, usually symbolise demonic forces that need apotropaic rituals to drive them away, according to Burkert.[299] Malinowski denotes snakes as symbols of the underworld, yet also life rejuvenation.[300] Similarly, Guerin attributes them to libido and destruction.[301] The snake, it seems, is neutral; latent and undifferentiated.[302] The snake is unidentified at Çatalhöyük but seen as connected to fertility goddesses across the ancient world[303]. It is identified frequently at Göbekli Tepe. These are further symbols linked to death, violence, birth, and rebirth, which feature dominantly at both sites.[304] Another carnivore that features in the sites' symbolism is the fox. The fox is usually attributed to the trickster theme, being a primordial force of transformation.[305] Drawing on cultural comparisons, Loki, from Nordic mythos, is a trickster god said to have 'reordered the cosmos'.[306] The fox, therefore, could be symbolising change within the culture.

Felines are attributed to elevated status[307], their lethal regency reflected in humanity's symbolism. If the pictorial art of Çatalhöyük was representational of reality, then it can be concluded that leopard skins were adorned on the person during ritualised dancing,[308] likely by those of higher status, possibly priests,[309] to emphasise their spiritual engagement. The unearthing of a leopard claw in Building 41 burial indicates further support for Hodder's (2006) argument concerning the importance of leopard symbolism at Çatalhöyük.[310] This is supported further when considering the leopard painting at Çatalhöyük that displayed evidence of a multitude of leopard-spot repainting.[311] At Göbekli Tepe, felines flank gateways.[312] Could this be an early concept of the Mesopotamian sphynx?

The depiction of dancing figures wrapped in leopard skins with an additional adornment of black, likely crane, feathers to extend the tail,[313] indicate birds were also attributed some cosmological importance. Furthermore, evidence has also arisen indicating that wings were carefully cut from the shoulder joint to be assembled into ritual costumes, likely attached at the shoulder of a dancer.[314] This dance possible mirrors the mysterious dance of wild cranes that are usually performed by mating pairs[315] further enhancing notions of a union. Birds are identified at both sites, often in contexts of headless humans. This connection has led Wason to argue they were psychopomps,[316] whereas Whitehouse and

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[299] Burkert 2001:42-6

[300] Malinowski 1978:62

[301] Guerin 2005:229

[302] Eliade 1954:69

[303] Gimbutas 1996:80, 85, 101, 112-50, 236

[304] Hodder 2010:23

[305] Guerin 2005:229

[306] Bates 1996:125

[307] Martin & Ronnberg 2010:268

[308] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:115

[309] Barstow 1992:12

[310] Hodder 2010:17

[311] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:133

[312] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:107-8

[313] Russell & McGowan 2002:448

[314] Ibid.

[315] Ibid, p.451

[316] Wason 2010:289

Hodder declare their identification with the trickster.[317] This notion connects back to Loki, and cosmological reordering, or socio-spiritual restructuring. The cosmological connection between bird and bovine is also presented with the find of a wing placed atop a cattle horn core.[318] There is also a linkage to boars (Figure 19).[319] This triadic connection that continues through Neolithic Anatolia caused Russell & McGowan to concurrently conclude that there is "the possibility of an enduring mythic association of cattle, canids and cranes"[320] in the region. James Mellartt believed the costumed dancers to be representative of priests or priestesses.[321] Additionally, crane symbolism includes femininity, wisdom, longevity, and a strong connection to the sun that ensures their connection to renewal and fertility.[322] The crane can be connected to the myth of the Minotaur, as it is claimed Theseus and crew performed a crane dance upon porting at Delos.[323] This further asserts the web of union, life, death and renewal identifiable at the sites continuing into later cultures of antiquity. See Appendix 3.2 for further potential evidence of ritual memories.

Converging the Chaos to Cosmos

Göbekli Tepe is understood to have been a non-domestic location, most likely for cosmological connections of some kind (see above). Schmidt had claimed it to be a mortuary temple,[324] but this is too simple. It was a cultural centre for the region, and many would have journeyed from surrounding areas to the site. To rephrase, the ancient Anatolians made a pilgrimage to their sacred place. [325] Nolan and Nolan (1989) state that a sacred pilgrimage site is "possibly a structure or a feature within the landscape. Some of these features may contain extravagant enhancements created by humans."[326] Pilgrims create a spiritually connected collective and their shrines display history, and human experiences such as their interactions, and religiopolitical factors.[327] A modern example of this would be the Kaaba in Mecca. Furthermore, Lewis-Williams & Pearce identify megalithic structures as replicas of the tiered cosmos.[328] Mountains are often representative of spiritual elevation[329] and the architectonic symbolism of a sacred mountain, or 'axis mundi', is regarded as the meeting point between the tiered cosmos.[330] Göbekli Tepe is an elaborate centre, a meeting point of cultures and potentially, spiritual specialists traversing cosmos tiers, on a mountain. Could Göbekli Tepe have been the central, common cultural ancestor, identified by Johann Gottfried von Herder,[331] as the disperser

[317] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:130

[318] Russel & McGowan 2002:446

[319] This is not investigated further here but is certainly a potential avenue.

[320] Russell & McGowan 2002:450

[321] Mellaart 1967:167

[322] Russell & McGowan 2002:451

[323] Ibid.

[324] Schmidt (2006) as cited in Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:135

[325] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:32

[326] Via Bowie 2009:47

[327] Bowie 2009: 240

[328] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:268

[329] Guerin 2005:230

[330] Eliade 1954:12

[331] Via Csapo 2009:17

across the Eurasian continent, transmitting and adapting ideologies, languages, and spiritual views? It is said that the people of Çatalhöyük are the ancestors of the majority of humankind today,[332] so potentially the culture is older.

A sacred structure, a popular pilgrimage site, and feasting could indicate large-scale rituals were happening at Göbekli Tepe. The primary function of ritual, according to Burkert, is initiating the young into the customs of the elders.[333] Another predominant function of ritual is right of passage, whether this is age (puberty), status (coronations), vocation (shamanistic initiation) or nature (seasons).[334] Festivals are also a form of ritual; an entertaining educational tool that embeds the cultural representations and lore.[335] Participation in communal festivities and feasting strengthens social bonds,[336] something that would have been vital in a culture undergoing social change. Additionally, participation in high arousal, low-frequency rituals that involve esoteric traditions transmitted by ritual specialists or elders, leave distinctive, enduring memories and are likely how mystery cults begin.[337] Sometimes, masks are adorned in rituals and this is believed to be evidenced at Göbekli Tepe (Figure 22).[338] Mostly, masks are constructed from organic materials (wood, feathers, textiles) and so discovering a mask that has survived the years is rare.[339] Ronald Grimes claims masks are common in rituals due to their function in concealing personal identity, heightening expression and emotion, embodying or employing qualities of a person/power/part.[340] Masks were potentially used as narrative tools during rituals at Göbekli Tepe, possibly to the participants' active inclusion within complex mythology,[341] and one

Figure 22. Larger than life mask identified at Gobekli Tepe (Image: Dietrich et al. 2018:8)

[332] Bloch 2010:147

[333] Burkert 2001: 29

[334] Bowie 2009:138

[335] Burkert 2001: 29

[336] Csapo 2009:175

[337] Whitehouse and Hodder 2010:131-3

[338] See Dietrich et al. (2018) for more.

[339] Dietrich et al. 2018:3

[340] Via Doty 3000:317-8

[341] Dietrich et al. 2018:15

wonders if this temple presents a model for proto-Grecian theatres. The origin of Greek theatres is said to mirror early agricultural rituals[342] and can be traced to earlier to fertility rituals, involving dancing.[343] This relates to crane dances and fertility. Furthermore, if Göbekli Tepe is a proto-theatre, shamans were likely performing here and educating the observers on their mythos, possibly causing the spread of ideology to different communities.

Figure 23. The ancient site of Delphi. Is it possible that the preference for performing in mountain sanctuaries stem from a prehistoric Anatolian origin? (Image: Goldberg 2019)

Çatalhöyük is a domestic site lacking any temples and seemingly lacking the axis mundi in its architecture, despite its uniform layout corresponding to cardinal directions.[344] Nonetheless, it could be argued that the history houses are representing the axis mundi in this urbanised context, soon to evolve into the temples. It is believed that the location of Çatalhöyük could have cosmological significance due to understandings of the Underworld and traversing realms.[345] This is due to the marshland topography reflecting ideology around death,[346] and proximity to water, plains, and mountains. To concur, Çatalhöyük's structure also mimics the subterranean caves from Palaeolithic religious activities,[347] while displaying the human desire, and capability, to control their environment.[348] For mythographer

[342] Adrados 1975:12

[343] Leavesely (n.d pp.1) citing Lust 2003:21; Crawford et al. 2011:85

[344] Wason 2010:294

[345] Ibid, p.289

[346] Ibid, p.294

[347] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:105

[348] Shults 2010:94-6

Mircea Eliade, the construction of every new house is representative of a 'new era', or an 'absolute beginning'.[349] As noted previously, the houses of Çatalhöyük are seen to reflect their cosmological landscape. The combination of the above notions could indicate that Çatalhöyük itself is symbolic of the ushering in of a 'new era' based upon a new cosmos, although arguably formed through a catastrophe. The history houses and lack of communal sacred space could be indicative of a transforming ideological climate, traces of prior mythos seeping through the mud-brick cracks to be installed into the walls. However, one Sumerian text claims the gods emerged from a divine place, where flocks and wheat are found, and housed schematics of temples' and cities' celestial prototypes.[350] For the Sumerians, territory intended for inhabitation required taming, being "transformed from chaos to cosmos."[351] Çatalhöyük moulds its environment to create cosmos in an urbanized culture, symbolising the societal transformation and dominion of their environment. Not necessarily a cultural centre itself but a gateway from old to new, rebuilding after the stress of new cultural changes, the mythos and architecture constructed together. Interestingly, some of the symbolic architectural characteristics of Çatalhöyük are identifiable at Boncuklu Höyük (Central Anatolia, Konya plain), indicating traditional continuation from this site to Çatalhöyük during the 8th millennium BC.[352] This indicates the community of Çatalhöyük already experienced cultural convergence during its foundation and is thusly adapted to the requirements of the urban nest, implying these inhabitants are familiar with shifting socio-ideological paradigms. Lewis-Williams & Pearce liken Çatalhöyük's walls to membranes, and the rooms as household religious centres.[353]

Despite deeming the history houses as the 'invention of history',[354] Hodder denies civilisation at Çatalhöyük.[355] Towards the end of the site, there is an aesthetic shift from narrative interior art to pottery production and diversification and mobile wares.[356] Unfortunately, the ceramic wares do not show narrative art or symbolic elaboration.[357] Furthermore, there is evidence of population dispersal in the later levels, and potentially these were the transmitters of Çatalhöyük memory; it is clear they had complex concepts of past, present, and future and a sense of conserving identity and memory. It is not implausible to assume their past paved their future and provided the foundation to the ideology they practised wherever they settled.

The two sites initially appear to lack continuation, but through comparisons, cultural continuity does begin to present itself. The knowledge transmitted in ancient times, according to new studies was heavily influenced by astronomical observation.[358] Specifically, the peoples of Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük were using architecture to record dates based

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[349] Eliade 1954:76

[350] Ibid, pp.6-7

[351] Ibid, p.11

[352] Hodder 2014:10

[353] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:112

[354] Hodder (2006, ch.6) as cited by Nakamura 2010:309

[355] Hodder 2010:353

[356] Pels 2010:238

[357] Hodder 2010:353

[358] Sweatman & Coombs 2019; Magli 2016; Schoch 2012; Collins 2014

on the precession of the equinoxes, with ancient astrological symbolism memorialising catastrophic events linked to the Taurid meteor stream;[359] the core zoomorphic depictions represent the solstices and equinoxes.[360] Zodiacal sign precession with the Taurid meteor stream takes roughly six thousand years,[361] approximately the timespan of social change in the region. Sweatman & Coombs[362] state that this astronomical observation and preservation are continually identified from prehistoric cave paintings to the chosen sites and likely to have been used by *Homo Sapiens* for thousands of years; its origin and evolution are mysterious but it spans Eurasia. Additionally, the emphasis on bucrania at Çatalhöyük could be indicative of deep-running memories associated with Taurid symbolism, despite the astronomical bovine connection to the constellation Capricornus.[363] The word 'Taurus' has etymological roots in Proto-Indo-European as **tauro* (bull), which itself has the linguistic root **(s)taeu* (stout, standing, strong).[364] This indicates that this Proto-Indo-European word has not differed much through time and is representative of a cultural memory reaching modernity. The feline iconography is identified with the constellation Cancer, explaining the tendency to come in pairs.[365] The notions of skyscapes affecting the constructed landscapes of the ancients are enhanced when reminded of the cardinal orientation of the dwellings of Çatalhöyük, and enclosures at Göbekli Tepe.[366] Furthermore, some of the enclosures (A and F) indicate orientations towards the Moon and Sun respectively,[367] enhancing notions of adept astronomical knowledge. It has also been suggested that Göbekli Tepe was built to memorialise the 'birth' of Sirius, as it became visible on the horizon due to precession.[368]

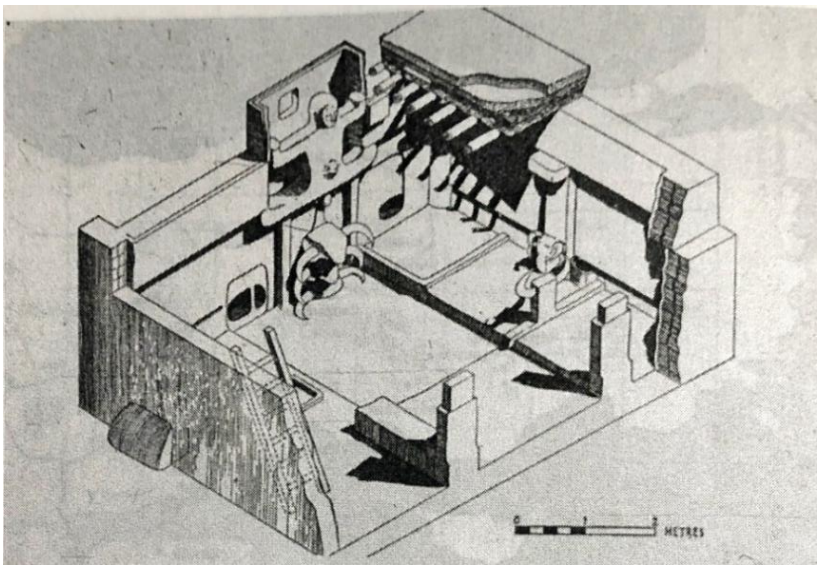

Figure 24. A reconstruction of Shrine 10 at Çatalhöyük, showing the zodiacal ideology in its features.

(Image: Hodder 2010:6)

[359] Sweatman and Coombs 2019:1

[360] Ibid, p.3

[361] Ibid, p.13

[362] Ibid, pp.13, 18

[363] Ibid, p.7

[364] Harper 2020

[365] Sweatman & Coombs:8

[366] Magli 2015:340

[367] De Lorenzis & Orofino 2015 cited in Magli 2016:242

[368] Magli 2016:339

Conclusion

In reflection, this research would have been approached differently if the opportunity to extend the study was presented. Some areas could be explored further, to grasp a deeper understanding. However, formulating a solid foundational mythic framework is vital and should be the primary focus before further potential exploration of the spiritual lives of Neolithic Anatolia. This work provides a discussion of curiosity unquenched and displays the potential illumination that mythographic studies could shine on archaeology. The study is a drop in the stream compared to the lake of literature to be explored and the ocean of curiosities and questions that surfaced during its formation. Nonetheless, it seems the differing mythos mentioned above seem to mirror the nature/culture ideological shift, seen within the drastic architectural changes that are indicative of an agricultural society adjusting their mythos accordingly. Potentially, the material and architectural shifts may indicate that attention was taken from the stars and put into society. The notions of sex, production roles and religiosity all developed during this time and they were undoubtedly reflected in their mythos. The dichotomy of gender is arguably not seen until Çatalhöyük, where it begins to emerge. Prior to emphasis on the household, architecture and symbolism were arguably focused on the sky, rather than sex or symbolic dichotomies. Concerning cosmology and astronomy, the ancients clearly used their skyscapes to model their landscapes, implying that monumental architecture emerged due to observing celestial cycles.[369] The correlation of architectural characteristics to the zodiacal system is clear evidence for cultural continuation and is a promising avenue to explore in future studies. The astronomical incorporation into architecture ensured these people were interacting with their cosmologies daily. Furthermore, the disjointed kaleidoscope of ancient mythic-ritual knowledge that underwent cultural diffusions and convergences can be understood through a mythographic methodology. Through constellations, or bull rituals and related narratives, the stories of Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük are unquestionably identifiable in mythographic literature. These ancients and their sites, so inspiring and imperative to human history, ancestors of us all and providers of human history as we know it, are potentially bound to us through biological blueprints, the patterns converging over time and space to piece together the fragmented puzzle of Neolithic Anatolian spiritualism.

- Words: 10,536 -

[369] Magli 2016:344

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**some footnotes feature 'via' and this is due to access to these works being lost because of Covid-19, and so it was not possible to locate the original citation.*

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The Land of Limited Lexicon: Appendix

1.1 Gobekli Tepe's extra information

Gobekli Tepe is an extraordinary site that was first excavated by Klaus Schmidt with the aid and funding of the German Archaeological Institute[i]. Geo-surveying of the site indicates its substantial size; 9 hectares[ii] of oval structures that had been intentionally, mysteriously, buried with up to 300 cubic metres of backfill[iii]. The European Union and the Turkish government eventually also placed funds into the site after its importance to understanding human history became apparent and it drew in a large portion of tourists. One of the reasons for this includes the lack of domesticated flora and fauna evidence[iv], implying that this site was one created by hunter-gatherer societies; something that was deemed impossible by archaeologists due to the belief that hunter-gatherers could not create such megalithic architecture[v]. More evidence to this is shown through the dating of the site which, so far, has been deemed late PPNA to early/middle PPNB which equates to 9990-8880 BCE[vi]. This hypothesised dating is proposed through the dating of carbon backfill, or material remains found within it[vii]. However, it is constantly being scrutinized and attempts are being made to clarify dating due to the anomalies found within the 51 radiocarbon dating samples that do not fit into the chronology of the region[viii]. Moreover, because dating is discovered through analysis of the backfill, the actual stone structures themselves could be much older.

Additionally, the backfill provides evidence of artefacts that indicate cultural contact. The limited lithic finds include naviform cores of the Byblos, Nemrick and Helwan point types[ix]. While obsidian finds are rare, they indicate the geographical range that Gobekli Tepe was attracting[x]. The flint is of high quality, and animal bone artefacts are also found[xi]. It is not just hunting equipment that has been unearthed, but also needles, hooks, spatula, arrowheads, denticulated tools, basalt mortar and pestle, containers, 'game board', jewellery, vessels, buttons, pendants and, in the later layers, sickles.[xii] The 'game board' has indents which look like cup-holders, yet their usage is completely mysterious[xiii]. The buttons are stylistically comparable to Hittite cylinder seals, although deemed the Gobekli Tepe button type[xiv], which could indicate a mythic or commercial usage.

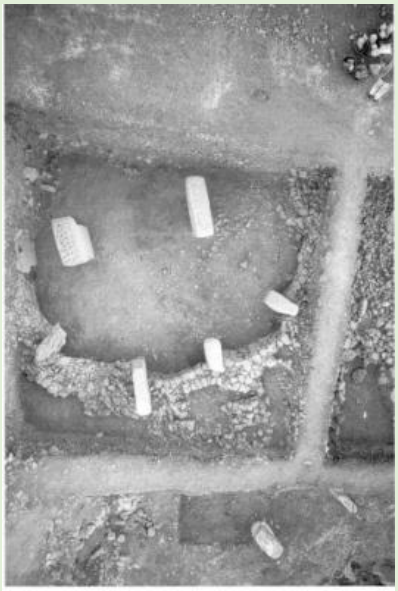
Furthermore, the site has extremely limited evidence of domestic activities and water sources are not close by[xv]. This causes the conclusion that this site was one for sacred activity, and the limited evidence of settlement has been connected to the semi-permanent residence of builders and miners during the megalith's erections.

1.2 Göbekli Tepe Enclosures

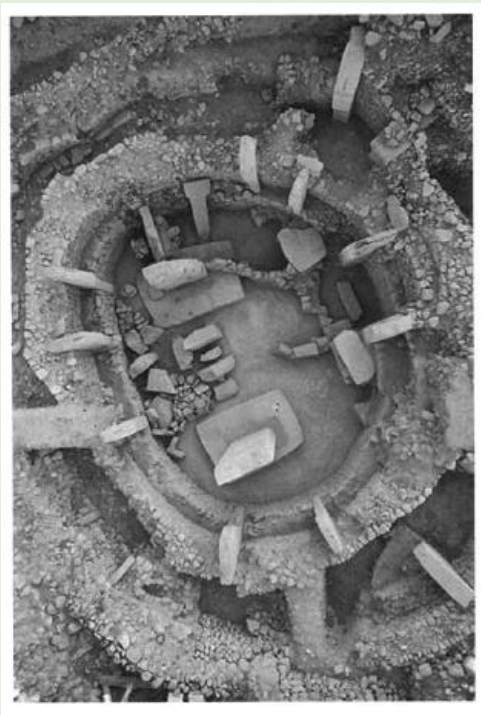
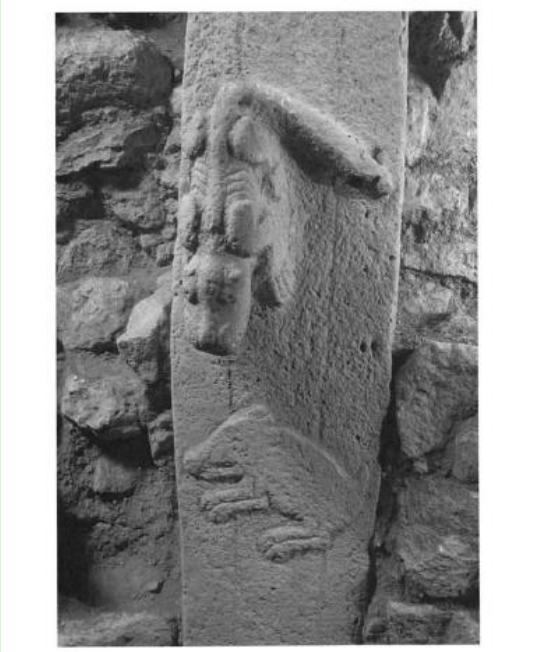
Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
A	Also known as the Schlangenpfeilgerbaude or 'Snake building'[xvi]. This building is not fully excavated but reveals a rectangular, unusual floor plan, possibly evidence of a transitioning period from ovular to rectangular[xvii] and there is evidence of benches[xviii].	The snake motif dominates known pillars[xix]. However, there are also rams, foxes, bulls, cranes and bucranium[xx], with a stole also being depicted on one of the central pillars; albeit in a differing location to other enclosures' depictions of stoles[xxi]. Snakes are arranged in groups, as an individual or as a 'net'[xxii]. Sculptures have also been unearthed[xxiii].

Images	
A *Image from: Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, (2017:28)*	

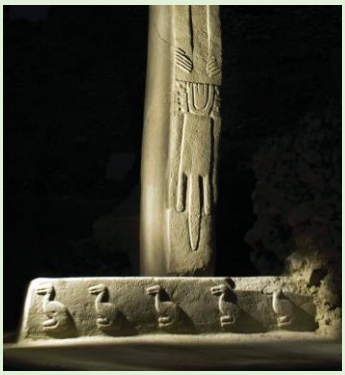
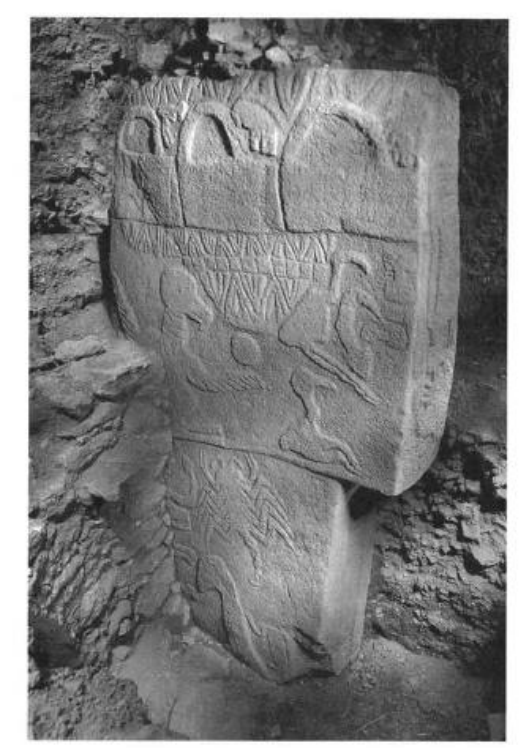
Enclosure	**Archaeological Data**	**Summary of Motifs**
B	This building is ovular, with only 8 pillars uncovered that reveal a very limited depiction of motifs.[xxiv] It is unknown if missing pillars remain undiscovered or were destroyed in the past[xxv] although motif placement indicates that this enclosure was composed of recycled pillars.[xxvi] However, a stone bowl has been set into the terrazzo style flooring.[xxvii] There is evidence of a 30cm cavity on the central pillar.[xxviii] Further excavation revealed mud plaster on one of the benches which can be C14 dated to c.9280.[xxix]	Fox motif is dominant,[xxx] but also evidence of unidentified, four-footed reptiles, snakes,[xxxi] boars and dogs.[xxxii]

Images	
B *Clockwise* *Image from: Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, (2017:29)* -- *Image from: Schmidt (2000:50)* -- *Image from: German Archaeological Institute, [Irmgard Wagner] via Tepe Telegrams*	  **Fig. 7 :** *Göbekli Tepe, area L9-66, Structure B, vertical view 1999.*

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
C	The central pillars were held in place by pedestals carved from the natural bedrock,[xxxiii] and the floor was polished and leaning towards terrazzo style.[xxxiv] Although the central pillars had been destroyed in ancient times,[xxxv] it was possible to recreate how the stones looked through virtual reconstructions as the damaged pieces were found nearby.[xxxvi] This enclosure shows evidence of having its contents removed for reuse and/or rearranged[xxxvii] and it gradually decreased in size, over time.[xxxviii] It also has a double row of pillars, the only known example of such right now.[xxxix] Entrance to this Enclosure was through a portal, known as a 'domos', indicated by a worked 'U' shaped stone and a stairway leading to it.[xl]	Zoomorphic motifs dominated by boar motifs,[xli] including boar sculptures found on the bottom layer of backfill.[xlii] One of the boar reliefs depicts the animal in a very aggressive stance; teeth bared.[xliii] Not only this, there is evidence of a high-relief boar that was, unfortunately, mysteriously, destroyed before backfilling.[xliv] Other evidences of depiction include birds trapped in a net, or Asiatic asses jumping over rocks[xlv] and a fox[xlvi] and ducks[xlvii]. Both central pillars have stoles, the western accompanied with a fox and the eastern, a boar.[xlviii] On the portal 'U' stone, the right column had a poorly preserved creature presumed to be a guardian spirit, whereas the left column presented a predator.[xlix]

Images	
C *Images from:* *Schmidt (2011:923-924)*	 

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
D	The largest, and best-preserved, enclosure excavated, with 11 visible pillars but a total of 12 proposed.[l] The floor, and central pillar pedestals, are formed from the natural bedrock.[li] The central pillar has evidence of 30cm central cavity.[lii]	Zoomorphic depictions are dominated by foxes and snakes, yet a wide variety is displayed including boar, aurochs, gazelle, onager, carnivores, birds[liii] such as cranes, ducks, ibis and vultures, and wild ass.[liv] Ducks are also depicted on the base of a central pillar.[lv] Interestingly, there is also evidence of a human albeit a headless, ithyphallic one.[lvi] Anthropomorphic designs on central pillars; hands and arms along with belts and loincloths.[lvii] The pillars are also adorned with 'U' shaped buckles and jewellery; one has a necklace with a 'H' shaped pendant and accompanying 'C' shaped motifs, the other pendant is a bucranium.[lviii]

Images	
D Clockwise *Image from:* *Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, (2017:31)* -- *Image from:* *Schmidt (2011:926)* -- *Image from:* *N. Becker, DAI. Dietrich et al. (2012:683)*	  

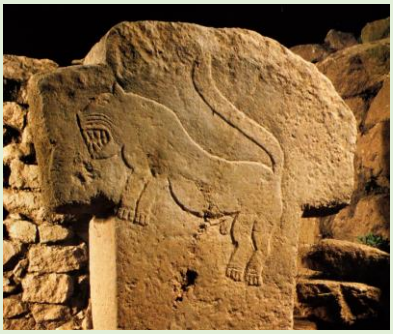
Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
E	This circular structure had all its components removed, the smoothed natural bedrock and pedestals cut from it the only evidence that this was an enclosure.[lix]	

Images	
E *Image from: Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, (2017:33)*	

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
F	Smaller than older structures, but architecturally similar.[lx] The ovular design indicates it was built early in the sites' use.[lxi]	

Images	
F *Image from: K. Schmidt, DAI via Dietrich et al. (2012:690)*	

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
H	By 2011, both central pillars were uncovered with only four of the surrounding ones having been excavated.[lxii] It is evident that the central pillars had been disturbed in antiquity, and exposed to the elements,[lxiii] and the surrounding pillars have very limited evidence of motifs.[lxiv] Geo-radar surveys indicate that this enclosure overlaps a larger one.[lxv] By 2018, it is noted that one of the pillars is broken with a strange orientation, while also noting a similarity with two other enclosures: a 30cm cavity on the central pillar.[lxvi]	Two antithetic snakes beside a circular object.[lxvii] Ferocious jumping cat motif on this central pillar.[lxviii]

Images	
H Clockwise *Image from: Clare et al. (2018:126)* -- *Image from: Schmidt (2007:183)* -- *Image from: German Archaeological Institute, [Nico Becker] via Oliver Dietrich, Tepe Telegram.*	

Enclosures without images

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
G	Smaller than older structures, but architecturally similar.[lxix] This structure is also square in design but featuring the T-shaped pillars.[lxx]	

Enclosure	Archaeological Data	Summary of Motifs
I	This enclosure is limitedly excavated but is known to be circular.[lxxi]	

2.1 Çatalhöyük Tables

Buildings*

**This is a sample of the data from Çatalhöyük. More can be found at www.catalhoyuk.com*

1 *lxxii*	This building contains 62 burials, including 3 neonates, with the important burials being marked by a red painting. Some 'special' items were discovered in the context of this buildings' construction; a wing, placed on a cattle horn, besides some wild goat horn cores, a complete dog head and a stone mace-head.
3 *lxxiii*	The focus of this building transfers from production and storage to burials, likely due to the sudden increase in family size.
17 *lxxiv*	One of the oldest excavated, apparently the wrong way round; oven to the north and clean floors to the north. This layout has been found at an earlier site of Boncuklu.
42 *lxxv*	Within the foundations of this house, an adult female burial was found holding the plastered head of a man. The skull had been replastered and had red facial features. It is the only plastered skull found at the site, and there is only one other example in Turkey. A leopard claw was also found with the burial, enhancing notions of religiosity.
49 *lxxvi*	This building revealed a burial. The body's extremities had been carefully removed.
52 *lxxvii*	A bull horn bench, located in the west of the building compared to the usual east, is unearthed in this building along with stacked cattle horns mounted on a bucrania upon the wall.
77 *lxxviii*	This building contains bucrania, a horned bench, leopard pair reliefs and a bear relief. The "wild bull horns set into pedestals seem to fence off or protect a burial platform in the northeast part of the main room... The platform was dug into during abandonment, and traces of disturbed human bones were found; we assume that some attempt was made to retrieve human remains in the platform before the building was abandoned and then burned. The above platform on the north wall of the room is a wild ram bucranium with a small niche beneath, and with the horns no longer surviving."
80 *lxxix*	"Exposed features upon the walls of the building are a series of decorative horizontal grooves running horizontally between the post settings on the northern and eastern walls... there is also a small, deep-set oval niche within the eastern wall." Furthermore, it is believed that the plastered posts on the central west wall are suggestive of a decorative function, enhanced by the finding of burnt cattle horn, and a collapsed plaster mould containing sheep/goat horns. Earlier plaster levels show a red pigment on the surface, but later levels do not show decorative plaster.

120 *lxxx*	Obsidian was found in this building. It also has a unique room with elaborate tools buried in the floor. It is evident this building served a specific function. It has been named the 'curiosity cabinet' due to the peculiar finds in the deposit. Unfortunately, there is no further indication as to what these finds were.
122 *lxxxi*	This space held two benches in the north and south, geometric white paintings and a horned pedestal. Below the floor, 8 burials were found.
131 *lxxxii*	In the extensively burnt building, a well-preserved burial was uncovered. It included "wooden bowls, brain tissues and other organic remains... an obsidian mirror with white plaster backing... fascinating that the building directly above... also had mirrors placed in burials, and in exactly the same location within the house." Thus, this building is an example of history-making. Furthermore, 21 obsidian blades were found as well as an obsidian mirror, included in the burial. This mirror was compared to modern standards.
132 *lxxxiii*	Obsidian was found in the south-east corner of this building, with further evidence implying this area was specifically used for knapping.
139 *lxxxiv*	This building contained many features. It had over 2,070 obsidian artefacts, sourced from Göllü Dağ. The bucrania displayed evidence of paint traces, and three zoomorphic heads can be attributed to abandonment contexts of the building. Plastered heads were found in several locations (south-western corner, north-central and eastern). It is not possible to determine whether the paint was geometric in design, however, through analysis of the plaster, it is possible to conclude that the figurines found were originally installed on the wall.
150 *lxxxv*	This building has revealed a wealth of data. In the south-western room attached to the building, a wall was built upon the edge of a truncated platform. Within the main room of the building, although in the south-western corner, two burnt stone figurines and two figurines flanking the rooms' platform were found. On the north-eastern platform, finely modelled, plastered clay figurines with distinct facial features were found, with the excavators exclaiming that "a hairline is also visible... extending across the forehead to above the ear and then behind the ear to the back of the neck" and the head is 'somewhat pronounced', 'not quite elongated' and would have been attachable to a body with a dowel. Furthermore, the building was occupied in later phases and revealed peculiar objects deposited in clusters; "two wings of a goose and worked stones, worked bones, horn core, obsidian, flint objects... a large stone headless female figurines."
162 *lxxxvi*	One of the oldest excavated, apparently the wrong way round; oven to the north and clean floors to the north. This layout has been found at an earlier site of Boncuklu.
527 *lxxxvii*	11 bull horns were found stacked on a bucranium.

Burials*

**Not the extent of burials.*

Sk (32770) [lxxxviii]	The artefacts recovered with this burial are noticeable due to the bare burials located near-by. It included "a number of stone beads, bone and shell pendants that represented most plausibly bracelets and necklaces... one plain and three pillared bone rings discovered on the fingers of the individual, two obsidian tools, and a wide spectrum of elaborately worked bone objects."
Burial F.7961 [lxxxix]	This is the primary burial of an adolescent female, with items such as an obsidian mirror with ochre, wooden bowls, pigments, and pottery fragments under the cranium. This burial reveals similarities between burials. Discarded crania along the edges of the burial, adolescent female, two adolescent males, one infant and one child.
Multi-burial [xc]	This burial uncovered a plethora of artefacts such as coloured stone beads, obsidian points and shaped flakes, worked and unworked faunal bones, shells and pigments of red and blue, of which the latter contained copper and was likely azurite.

Female Figurines

1. Quote: [xci]

"Squat anthropomorphic female figurine made of very soft (poor quality) limestone. It survives complete (broken at the neck)... the figurine was placed front side down with head towards the north. The figure has a very rotund torso and elongated neck and is unclothed, with breasts, and emphasized stomach and buttocks depicted. The arms are folded across the front and hands merge with the breasts. The wrists are indicated by vertical lines across the lower arms. Feet are also depicted on the front and give the impression of a seated posture. The oval face is tilted upward, but few facial details remain... very worn with uneven coloring from white on the front to dark gray on the back and sides due to contact with the burnt layer. The top and sides of the head, left shoulder, right elbow and front and bottom of the right side are damaged."

2. [xcii]

A figurine featuring 'Cypriot reminding' characteristics but with emphasised breast, belly and buttocks.

3. [xciii]

A flattering female figurine is found, made of marble and larger. The facial features are identifiable but the figurine itself is asymmetrical and damaged from the environment.

Bucrania

19285 *xciv*	Found in building 77 on its northern wall, “above the platform with horned pedestals”. Either a goat or calf, it has “heavily burnt packing sediment and a multi-layered sequence of fine plaster layers”. There is also evidence of red paint.	
21968 *xcv*	In Building 89, a bucrania is found, likely belonging to a female adult or juvenile. There is also evidence of geometric patterns in black paint.	
22334 *xcvi*	This is a fragmentary bucrania, recognisable through the black painted nose and eyes.	

Other

Space 129 *xcvii*	Dates to Level 7 and reveals a burial of a male with a sheep.
Space 639 (proximity to Building 150) *xcviii*	Here, “grinding stones and large animal bones” were uncovered, along with “maple, vessel, crystals, human teeth, possibly animal skin, an oyster and a large number of worked stones and obsidian”, placed atop a mattress of leaves. A figurine of poor quality, soft limestone found, shaped like a squat anthropomorphic female (10cm, 8.5cm, 8.50cm thick) was found. She is depicted as seated, with a corpulent body, and emphasised breasts, belly, and buttocks. Her arms are folded and merge with the moulding of the breasts and she reveals minimal facial features. Another anthropomorphic figurine was found, made of marble and much larger. It was found on its back, with its head to the west. Very well preserved and nearly 25cm, 12cm, 6cm thick. This figurine also had folded arms into the breasts but had extended legs and non-exaggerated breasts and stomach. The carved facial features reveal skilful carving. Both figurines were found to the south of the space.

4040 Area [xcix]	A ceramic vessel was found, depicting human and bull faces on the ends and sides respectively with the two moulded together, blending into each other; "the horns of the bull form the eyebrows or perhaps the hair of the human faces, while the human ears can also form those of the bull when the vessel is turned."
Statuette (x2) [c]	Dating to pre-Building 150, these were the foci of their assemblage. "the smaller figurine was found about 10cm to the north, a palette… Norwest of the feet, a light blue-green bead was found underneath the buttocks area; bones (x4) from a bird wing (carpo-metatarsus) were found next to the left shoulder… cluster of bright green malachite(?) was found under the torso, and a burnt shell under the head area."
Clay Stamps [ci]	Designs include "a wavy line along the length of the finger with rounded triangles… filling in the gaps created by the crests of the waves." The smooth surface shows no sign of pigment. However, a bright blue textile is found in the handle. The deposit it was found in revealed concentrations of crystal, polished horn, pots and worked stone.

2.2 Construction, Destruction, Reconstruction

The mud-brick homes were made using techniques still used today and show evidence of continuous rebuilding.[cii] There is evidence of 'aggressive' dismantling of buildings with the building being filled with the demolition infill.[ciii] Furthermore, they reused materials from demolished houses in the construction of the new while maintaining a near-uniform layout.[civ] The inhabitants of Çatalhöyük also adapted their materials of construction throughout the sites' occupation, moulding their technological innovations to the emerging needs of the society.[cv]

Interestingly, reconstruction and decoration were not applied evenly; plaster on the north and south walls is thicker in some of the buildings in the North area of the town, with clear evidence of decoration adornment and innovative plaster creations resembling horned beings.[cvi] Some houses display evidence of reconstruction spanning a several hundred to a thousand-year life span and rarely deviate from the layout.[cvii] Some of the houses, however, were short-lived or built slowly over a long time[cviii] and the value was attributed to the continuity of the dwelling.[cix] The desire to remain in one place could be enhanced by burials of the dead under the floor.[cx] Unfortunately, Mellart's initial excavation reports see the various building levels lumped into one category and hearths were often plastered so often that phases are unidentifiable, so the amount of reconstruction phases is not known,[cxi] yet we can see upgrades occurring through replacements of rotten posts with brick pillars. Buildings gradually increase in elaboration until they are ceremoniously burnt and reduced.[cxii]

2.3 House layout

The houses were rectangular, albeit differing in shape and size, with similar floor plans.[cxiii] Access to all houses was through the roof; down a ladder that sat above the hearth, to allow smoke to leave, with a raised platform in an opposing corner used for sleeping and family burials.[cxiv] In the foundation of hearths, figurines were buried, and close by, obsidian caches also buried in the floor.[cxv] Hodder and Cessford note that: "Human corpses, cattle horns, boar

mandibles, paintings and reliefs all find their place in the house in close proximity to cooking, eating and sleeping"[cxvi] creating a notion of a unified sacred and mundane. Side rooms were used for storage,[cxvii] contained bins and ovens and had very little plaster on the wall, yet white plastered floors.[cxviii] They can be hard to identify sometimes due to partition walls, but the main room is dominant with its burials and work areas, and gradually increase in size whereas the side rooms do not increase accordingly.[cxix] Hodder[cxx] notes that the central room of the house became more associated with commensalism, display and social exchange. But in the upper levels, painting spreads to all walls of houses and expands out of any horizontal panelling. It is also of interest that in the upper levels in the South Area burials are increasingly found extending off the northern and eastern platforms onto non-platform floors. Bucrania installations and reliefs of bears and leopards were less common in the upper levels, but bulls' heads appeared as reliefs on pottery and bulls are shown in paintings. Leopards and bears and wild boar appeared on mobile stamp seals as well as later paintings.

2.4 Burials

The burials themselves were usually located in the north of the house, although infants are buried in the south.[cxxi] The bodies were tightly bound, in a crouched, almost foetal, position,[cxxii] sometimes stacked on each other. Often, the skulls were removed with obsidian later, regardless of sex.[cxxiii] Not every house has burials, and some exceeded occupation of the house, for example, Building 1 revealed 62 burials but only had 40 years of occupation.[cxxiv] Furthermore, there is evidence of an off-site cemetery and possibly excarnation practice due to a connection between the dead and birds of prey, specifically vultures.[cxxv] The graves were shallow[cxxvi] and simple.[cxxvii] Some revealed evidence of iron-based red ochre, or phytoliths.[cxxviii] It is within burials where shells are more frequently found, indicating a strong symbolic relationship between the two.[cxxix] Forty-one different marine species are identifiable from 28,282 shells recovered, including three fossils.[cxxx] One of the 'most complicated' burials revealed a beautifully unique and perfectly polished obsidian mirror.[cxxxi] Recent work shows that child burials had more artefacts, and burials did not necessarily equate to the population of the household.[cxxxii] The peoples of Çatalhöyük often dug up bodies to remove their heads. They likely used obsidian blades to do this, while exhibiting their extensive anatomical knowledge and acute attention to detail.[cxxxiii] The heads, often removed from history houses, were then placed at the base of supporting foundational posts of a new house or in abandonment deposits.[cxxxiv] Some were 'refleshed' with plaster and paint, with facial features included.[cxxxv] Moreover, there is evidence that some of the heads were painted red[cxxxvi] with geometric motifs, although black paint has also been identified.[cxxxvii] Whitehouse and Hodder propose that this activity was incorporated into the community and mythos.[cxxxviii] However, this is not investigated within this research.

2.5 Figurines

Figurines, usually found in rubbish dumps, were quickly made and small.[cxxxix] Humanoid shapes have been detected within the figurine corpus, quite often lacking sex characteristics.[cxl] Hodder and Meskell agreeably state that "the predominance of the female human form at Çatalhöyük has been exaggerated in much writing about the site."[cxli] Undeniably, there are female forms such as the forty figurines isolated to later levels,[cxlii] and the notorious 'Venus' figurine, with the frontal view displaying full breasts and enlarged stomach, but from the back revealing a skeletal body with the "ribs, vertebrae, scapulae and pelvic bones clearly shown."[cxliii] Furthermore, there is a figurine of an enthroned woman flanked by felines that encouraged Mother goddess speculations.[cxliv] Yet there are also plenty of examples of phallic forms,[cxlv] and ithyphallic representations. As more evidence of animals and male figurines are uncovered, the ideology connected with spirituality does not appear to be The Mother, as so frequently theorised in the past.[cxlvi] Throughout the site, there seem to be two enantiodromias of gender representations.[cxlvii] Concerning zoomorphic figurines, in 2010 there were 896 figurines, with 504 having horns.[cxlviii] The most common figurine medium was various clay types, although occasional limestone or marble variations are identified.[cxlix] It is believed they were not baked, but placed in proximity to fires, ovens or hearths due to evidence of uneven heating, with many zoomorphic figures having only been exposed on one side.[cl] Furthermore, identifying *how* they were made is almost

impossible due to being worked smooth – although zoomorphic figures reveal the most with their pinch marks and fingerprints, diverse shapes, sizes and production methods.[cli] It appears there was some form of standardization, with the same shaping techniques employed for each creation, sometimes with the aid of tools to delineate features.[clii] Some figurines feature dowel holes and removable heads and overall, there seems to be a focus on body parts particularly the breasts, buttocks and belly.[cliii] Due to most of the figurines being unearthed from earlier deposits, excavators muse on the ideology around figurine disposal and the potentiality of practice differing over time.[cliv]

2.6 Clay Stamps

Clay stamps constitute another art medium, mostly found in burials or middens and sometimes with coloured (blue and green) pigments.[clv] They are frequent within early Neolithic Anatolia assemblages and Çatalhöyük does not disappoint; it displays a myriad of shapes, patterns and incised stamps dating from the middle phase of its occupation. On occasion, shells were inserted in the clay stamps, and some display evidence of heat exposure.[clvi] Sometimes the deposits in which they are found constitute a plethora of other finds, such as "a concentration of crystal, polished horn core, pot, deer horn, stone ball, beads, animal bone including several astragali, and much ground and worked stone."[clvii] While some may equate these stamps to the predecessors of the Mesopotamian seals, others argue their likeness to bear paws.[clviii] Others contend that they resemble a human hand.[clix] Similarly discovered are incised clay balls with deep notches, holes, dots and crossed lines,[clx] and abstract codified signs.[clxi] From Level V, there is a dramatic increase in ceramic skill and variety, and focus is turned to mobile aesthetics rather than immobile interior decoration.[clxii] Potentially, these could be indicative of a pre-cuneiform script emerging. Below is an image of object 23993.DI, a prime example of the intricate designs emerging on clay stamps at Çatalhöyük.

(Image from Meskell and Nakamura 2017:190)

3.1 Shamanism

Shamanism is an umbrella term is used to categorise a spectrum of religious specialist techniques. For many cultures, it is the shaman who determines the nature of the cosmos.[clxiii] Shamans often interpret omens to solve problems and have access to higher powers of knowledge.[clxiv] Examples may include the warming climate, the aftermath of natural disaster, disease accompanying population growth. Shamans, however, are also known to be the prodigies of storytelling; "The shaman, in a state of ecstatic performance, acts out a quest of supernatural dimensions… he meets with spirits, demons and gods."[clxv] This ecstatic experience is moulded by millennia of cultural changes, and the shaman is the medium through trance-like, ritualised meditation which allows for spiritual communication.[clxvi] Initiation is exclusive and usually occurs at a specialist location.[clxvii]

Mircea Eliade denotes shamanism a "technique of ecstasy".[clxviii] The use of stimulants, in the context of mythology, occurs when the older methods are lacking.[clxix] In the case of Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük, other than beer, no stimulants have been identified so far. Stimulants, however, are not required for altered states of consciousness. The 'vortex experience' of seeing "bright geometric patterns, floating or flying, passage through a tunnel, transformations of one thing into another, transformations into animal forms, ability to see mercurially, though vividly,"[clxx] is hard-wired into the human brain.[clxxi] Similarly, Vitebsky noted that the themes and motifs of shamanism repeat through religion, history and psychology.[clxxii] Religious specialists were likely practising altered states of consciousness.

Modern shamanism focuses on spirits, but Bowie believes it previously focused on sky accession.[clxxiii] Ethnographic studies reveal that flight/bird imagery is often used when the soul is traversing a tiered cosmos.[clxxiv] Headless ithyphallic figures alongside birds feature at Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük.[clxxv] Harold Hauptmann suggests birds and headless humans represented shamanistic traversing of the soul between worlds.[clxxvi] Williams and Pearce pragmatically state the headless figures are victims of vultures during excarnation[clxxvii] and re-enactment of decapitation occurred with dowel-holed figurines.[clxxviii] Conversely, they could represent astronomical knowledge.[clxxix] Nonetheless, it is not uncommon for shamans to be spiritually connected to certain animals who guide them.[clxxx] Ethnographic research shows different shamans resonate with different animals, which could lead to social rivalry, governed by faith. In Palaeolithic cave art, the humans are equal in size to the beast but represented with antlers on their head,[clxxxi] indicating a more unified view of humanity's relationship with nature. This notion, and connection, could be enhanced at Çatalhöyük, albeit reduced to a specialist few, due to the discovery of antlers. Williams and Pearce ponder if Upper-Paleolithic caves, in which the dead were buried at the threshold, were subterranean tiers of the cosmos that housed ecstatic rituals enhanced by sensory deprivation and deception.[clxxxii] The artworks of Palaeolithic France and Spain suggest human mediation with nature, contrasting the dominating human presence of Göbekli Tepe's central figures.[clxxxiii] The mythographic drawing and dealing with the dead that occurred in the caves provide a potential proto-history-house theory. This is not a concept mentioned by the authors, who go on to suggest that animals who were domesticated lost their mystique.

3.2 Rituals

Greek and Ancient Near Eastern rituals were aimed at securing community wellbeing.[clxxxiv] The primary performance was the re-enactment of divine marriage reflecting sacrifice and rebirth required for societal prosperity. S.H Hooke, similarly to Harrison, believed myth to emerge from a ritual in time, as it entered the realms of literacy, art and religion.[clxxxv] Csapo discusses a sacrificial ritual that occurred in Greece.[clxxxvi] This public, highly charged ritual was rigid in its presentation, segregating sacred and secular, and required consent from the sacrificial sheep (or goat, bull or pig) through a nod; encouraged by a splash of water on its' face! This does not seem adequate consent but could reflect humanity's dominion over the animal. Nevertheless, the priests would cut the throat, careful not to spill any blood, in private before revealing the death and divining publicly as the commencement of the feast. Csapo relates this ritual to collective guilt over the killing and to the controlled separation of violence in the community.[clxxxvii] While it is undeterminable if this ritual, or similar variation, was occurring at the two chosen sites, other contemporary sites within the region do display areas for sacrificial rituals.[clxxxviii] However, the dominion over animals and the requirement of controlled aggression could very well be present at Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük. Several scholars[clxxxix] relate ritual and violence. In various approaches to the notion, violence is appropriately channelled in an acceptable way within the community and, in releasing such tensions, is a form of 'other' and transcendence – although this could be a projection of modern understandings of violence.[cxc] Despite this, for Neolithic Anatolia, the bull is the sacrificial scapegoat that eases the guilt of society.[cxci] This could indicate how the bull symbolism converged through cultures.

There is a violent ritual, originating on the shores of Anatolia according to literature, attributed the mother goddess Cybele. This fertility cult on the coast survived until Roman times, and the rituals represented the revival of life through the god-king and the divine marriage, consummated with the sacrifice of a boar.[cxcii] While there is no evidence of boar sacrifice at Göbekli Tepe, the animal features heavily in imagery. At Çatalhöyük, the boar features in imagery and tusks are also found yet no sacrificial evidence connecting the two. This variation could be attributed to regional differences. This cultic centre also presents a ritual of castration. Regarding castrations' relation here, it is a female control over the male fertility, a counter to the rising patriarchal culture that eventually succeeded in agglomerating the matriarchal centre. Possibly unrelated, but nonetheless, of interest.

Returning to manifestations of the memory of shamanistic duties, the god Hephaestus originates from Anatolia and was known to be a magician-craftsman using rituals of pre-Grecian nature. His festival, the Hephaisteia involved mass 'ox-lifting' that peaked with the animal being sacrificed to the forge god. This evokes a sense of sacrifice inducing technological innovations, which could have emerged due to an assumed relation of causality between ritualised sacrifice and the advancements of Anatolia in cultural memories imbued with mythic resonance.

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[i] Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2000:46, Schmidt 2011:917, Tobolczyk 2016:1399

[ii] Notroff et al 2015:34, Clare et al. 2018:116

[iii] Schmidt 2011:921, Notroff et al 2015:34

[iv] Schmidt 2000:49 Schmidt 2011:917, Schmidt 2007:180, 182, Notroff et al 2015:48, Clare et al. 2018:119

[v] Dietrich et al. 2012:675, Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2011:930

[vi]Kornienko 2009:89 and for a more detailed outline of this chronology, see Dietrich (2018)

[vii] Dietrich et al 2014:8, Schmidt 2000:49, Schmidt 2007:182, Hancock 2005:9

[viii] Clare et al. 2018:118

[ix] Schmidt 2000:51, Schmidt 2011:919

[x] Notroff et al 2015:44

[xi] Schmidt 2011:919

[xii] Dietrich et al. 2012:690, Notroff et al 2015:42, Schmidt 2000:51, Schmidt 2011:919

[xiii] Schmidt 2011:919

[xiv] Schmidt 2011:929

[xv] Schmidt 2000:49 Schmidt 2011:917, Schmidt 2007:180, 182, Notroff et al 2015:48, Clare et al. 2018:119

[xvi] Schmidt 2000:49

[xvii] Notroff et al. 2015:38, Schmidt 2011:922

[xviii] Schmidt 2000:50

[xix] Notroff et al. 2015:38, Schmidt 2000:49

[xx] Schmidt 2000:49, Schmidt 2011:922

[xxi] Schmidt 2011:922

[xxii] Schmidt 2000:49, Schmidt 2011:922

[xxiii] Schmidt 2000:49

[xxiv] Notroff et al. 2015:38

[xxv] Schmidt 2000:50

[xxvi] Schmidt 2011:923

[xxvii] Notroff et al. 2015:38, Schmidt 2000:50, Schmidt 2011:922

[xxviii] Clare et al. 2018:123

[xxix] Clare et al. 2018:123

[xxx] Notroff et al. 2015:44, Schmidt 2000:50, Schmidt 2011:922

[xxxi] Schmidt 2000:50, Schmidt 2011:922

[xxxii] Schmidt 2011:922

[xxxiii] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:36, Schmidt 2011:923

[xxxiv] Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2000:51, Schmidt 2011:923

[xxxv] Dietrich et al. 2012:675, Notroff et al 2015:36

[xxxvi] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:36, Schmidt 2011:923

[xxxvii] Notroff et al. 2015:36

[xxxviii] Clare et al. 2018:122

[xxxix] Tobolczyk 2016:1400

[xl] Dietrich et al 2014:4-5, Clare et al. 2018:123, Tobolczyk 2016:1400

[xli] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:38, Schmidt 2011:923

[xlii] Notroff et al 2015:38, Schmidt 2000:51

[xliii] Schmidt 2000:51

[xliv] Schmidt 2011:923-4

[xlv] Schmidt 2000:50

[xlvi] Schmidt 2000:51, Schmidt 2011:923

[xlvii] Schmidt 2011:923

[xlviii] Schmidt 2011:923

[xlix] Dietrich et al 2014:5

[l] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2011:924

[li] Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2011:924

[lii] Clare et al. 2018:123

[liii] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:36, Schmidt 2011:925

[liv] Schmidt 2011:925

[lv] Dietrich et al. 2012:683, Notroff et al 2015:34, Schmidt 2011:924

[lvi] Schmidt 2011:925

[lvii] Dietrich et al. 2012:679, Notroff et al 2015:36, Schmidt 2011:924

[lviii] Schmidt 2011:925

[lix] Notroff et al 2015:38, Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, 2017:33

[lx] Notroff et al 2015:38

[lxi] Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, 2017:34

[lxii] Dietrich et al 2014:6

[lxiii] Clare et al. 2018:129

[lxiv] Dietrich et al 2014:6

[lxv] Dietrich et al 2014:7

[lxvi] Clare et al. 2018:123

[lxvii] Dietrich et al 2014:6

[lxviii] Notroff et al 2015:38

[lxix] Notroff et al 2015:38

[lxx] Göbekli Tepe Archaeological Site World Heritage Nomination, 2017:35

[lxxi] Notroff et al 2015:38

[lxxii] Wason 2010:280-5; Russel and McGowan 2002:446

[lxxiii] Hodder 2017:178

[lxxiv] Hodder 2017:10

[lxxv] Hodder 2010:17, Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:129; Wason 2010:280

[lxxvi] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:136

[lxxvii] Whitehouse & Hodder 2010:140; Wason 2010:279

[lxxviii] Hodder 2017:12; Quote from Hodder and Meskell 2010:50-1; Whitehouse & Hodder 2017:135; 2017:292

[lxxix] Taylor 2017:78-9

[lxxx] Schechter 2017:212-3

[lxxxi] Marciniak 2017:93

[lxxxii] Quote from Hodder 2017:10; Doyle 2017:198-9

[lxxxiii] Doyle 2017:200

[lxxxiv] Doyle 2017:200; Hodder 2017:11; Busacca and Lingle 2017:333

[lxxxv] Marciniak 2017:89, 92; Quote from Meskell and Nakamura 2017:185-6,

[lxxxvi] Hodder 2017:10

[lxxxvii] Whitehouse & Hodder 2017:129

[lxxxviii] Baranski et al. 2017:29

[lxxxix] Baranski et al. 2017:44

[xc] Haddow et al. 2017:133-4

[xci] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:187-8

[xcii] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:188

[xciii] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:189-90

[xciv] Busacca and Lingle 2017:338-9

[xcv] Busacca and Lingle 2017:339

[xcvi] Busacca and Lingle 2017:339-40

[xcvii] Whitehouse and Hodder:136

[xcviii] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:185; Marciniak et al. 2017:86-7

[xcix] Hodder and Meskell 2010:52

[c] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:187

[ci] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:190-2

[cii] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020a

[ciii] Baranski et al. 2017:33, 35

[civ] Bloch 2010:149-150

[cv] Hodder 2014:11

[cvi] Baranski et al. 2017: 31, 33

[cvii] Keane 2010:207

[cviii] Hodder 2010:25

[cix] Bloch 2010:148

[cx] Hodder 2010:10

[cxi] Hodder and Pels 2010:166-167

[cxii] Hodder and Pels 2010:174

[cxiii] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020a

[cxiv] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020a

[cxv] Hodder 2010:16

[cxvi] Hodder and Cessford 2004 as cited by Keane 2010:206

[cxvii] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020a

[cxviii] Hodder and Pels 2010:173

[cxix] Hodder and Pels 2010:166, 176

[cxx] Hodder 2014:15-16

[cxxi] Hodder 2010:16, Whitehouse and Hodder:136

[cxxii] Whitehouse and Hodder 2010:130

[cxxiii] Hodder 2010:22, Whitehouse and Hodder:136

[cxxiv] Hodder 2010:24

[cxxv] Whitehouse and Hodder:130, 137

[cxxvi] Whitehouse and Hodder 2010:136

[cxxvii] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020b

[cxxviii] Haddow et al. 2017:118

[cxxix] Veropoulidou 2017:159

[cxxx] Veropoulidou 2017:162

[cxxxi] Doyle 2017:196

[cxxxii] 2014:277-8

[cxxxiii] Whitehouse and Hodder:130

[cxxxiv] Hodder and Pels 2010:179-180

[cxxxv] Whitehouse and Hodder 2010:136

[cxxxvi] Whitehouse and Hodder:130

[cxxxvii] Busacca and Lingle 2017:340

[cxxxviii] Whitehouse and Hodder:130

[cxxxix] Keane 2010:189

[cxl] Hodder and Meskell 2010:34

[cxli] Hodder and Meskell 2010:34

[cxlii] Hodder and Meskell 2010:35

[cxliii] Hodder 2010:23

[cxliv] Keane 2010:189

[cxlv] Hodder and Meskell 2010:34

[cxlvi] Çatalhöyük Research Project, 2020a

[cxlvii] Pels 2010:240, Wason: 291

[cxlviii] Hodder and Meskell 2010:34

[cxlix] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:185, Arntz 2017:192

[cl] Arntz 2017:193, Hodder 2010:15

[cli] Arnts 2017: 193

[clii] Arnts 2017: 193

[cliii] Hodder 2010:22-3

[cliv] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:185

[clv] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:192 – They note that future studies are focusing on the coloured pigments.

[clvi] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:191

[clvii] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:191

[clviii] Türkan 2014

[clix] Meskell and Nakamura 2017:192

[clx] Bennison-Chapman 2017:255-7, and research conducted by Sonya Atalay is mentioned.

[clxi] Whitehouse and Hodder 2010:138

[clxii] Pels 2010:240

[clxiii] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:64

[clxiv] Burkert 2001:116-7

[clxv] Burkert 2001:67

[clxvi] Bowie 2009:176, 179

[clxvii] Bowie, 2009:189, Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:165

[clxviii] (Eliade 1988:499-50 found in Bowie, 2009:176)

[clxix] Cotterell 2003:5

[clxx] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:45

[clxxi] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:54

[clxxii] Bowie, 2009:177

[clxxiii] Bowie, 2009:176

[clxxiv] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:67

[clxxv] Hodder and Meskell 2010:42

[clxxvi] Via Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:31

[clxxvii] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:116

[clxxviii] Hodder 2010:22

[clxxix] Discussed further later but originally proposed in Sweatman and Coombs 2019:18

[clxxx] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:141

[clxxxi] Cotterell 2003:3

[clxxxii] Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2009:82-84

[clxxxiii] Hodder 2010:21

[clxxxiv] S.H.H Hooke as cited in Doty 2000:340

[clxxxv] Doty 2000:340

[clxxxvi] Csapo 2009:176-8

[clxxxvii] Csapo 2009:178

[clxxxviii] Old Diss Stuff

[clxxxix] Bataille 1986, Girard 1977, Bloch 1992 via Hodder and Meskell 2010:46

[cxc] Keane 2010:201

[cxci] Hodder and Meskell 2010:46

[cxcii] Cotterell 2003:16, Guerin 2005:232