CHICAGO JOURNALS

A "Curious and Sometimes a Trifle Macabre Artistry"

Author(s): Ian Hodder and Lynn Meskell

Source: *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (April 2011), pp. 235-263
Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/659250
Accessed: 19/10/2015 05:21

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

The University of Chicago Press and *Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Current Anthropology*.

http://www.jstor.org

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

A "Curious and Sometimes a Trifle Macabre Artistry"

Some Aspects of Symbolism in Neolithic Turkey

by Ian Hodder and Lynn Meskell

Comparison of two Turkish Neolithic sites with rich symbolism, Çatalhöyük and Göbekli, suggests widespread and long-lasting themes in the early settled communities of the region. Three major symbolic themes are identified. The first concerns an overall concern with the penis, human and animal, that allows us to speak of a phallocentrism in contrast to the widely held assumption that the early agriculturalists in the Middle East emphasized the female form, fertility, and fecundity. The second theme concerns wild and dangerous animals, even in sites with domesticated plants and animals, and particularly the hard and pointed parts of wild animals, such as talons, claws, horns, and tusks. We interpret this evidence in relation to providing food for large-scale consumption and the passing down of objects that memorialize such events within specific houses. The third theme is that piercing and manipulating the flesh were associated with obtaining and passing down human and animal skulls. The removal of human heads was also associated with symbolism involving raptors. Overall, we see a set of themes, including maleness, wild and dangerous animals, headlessness, and birds, all linked by history making and the manipulation of the body.

For a long time, Çatalhöyük (7400–6000 BC) has stood on its own as a remarkably rich concentration of early symbolism, ritual, and art in the Neolithic Middle East. The apparently odd focus on vultures, death, bulls, and breasts has challenged archaeological interpretation. In his foreword to James Mellaart's (1967:10) book about the site, Sir Mortimer Wheeler described a "curious and sometimes a trifle macabre artistry" that nevertheless distinguishes a site that "represents an outstanding accomplishment in the upward grade of social development." A wide range of interpretations has been proposed (Cauvin 2000; Clark 1977; Gimbutas 1989; Lewis-Williams 2004; Mellaart 1967; Mithen 2004; Özdoğan 2002). Of course, there are other and earlier sites with art and symbolism (e.g., Jericho, Jerf el Ahmar, Nevalı Çori, Djade al-Mughara), and new discoveries are being made all the time. However, none of these has the concentration of symbolism (at least not the surviving and interpretable symbolism) found at Çatalhöyük. Today, that situation has changed. The site of Göbekli, excavated by Klaus Schmidt since 1994, has an equally or more remarkable concentration of symbolism, ritual, and art starting at an even earlier date (Pre-Pottery Neolithic [PPN] A/B, the early ninth millennium BC).

It might have been the case that the discovery of Göbekli unearthed a corpus of symbolism very different from that of Çatalhöyük. After all, the sites are very different in both time and place. They are 450 km apart and in different regional traditions, in central and southeastern Turkey (Gérard and Thissen 2002). There are major differences in economy and architecture. The inhabitants of Çatalhöyük depended on domesticated cereals and pulses and domestic sheep and goats, as well as wild cattle, boars, deer, and equids, whereas all the plant and animal food resources at Göbekli were wild species. The architecture at Çatalhöyük is agglomerated individual houses of mud brick, whereas at Göbekli, the buildings are of stone, sometimes of monumental proportions. There are also major differences in the social setting of ritual and symbolism at the two sites: at Çatalhöyük, the art and symbolism occur in domestic houses, whereas at the earlier site of Göbekli, the symbolism is focused in separate "temples." Yet in comparing Göbekli and other Neolithic sites in Turkey, such as Nevalı Çori and Çatalhöyük, we have been struck by various similarities and contrasts that we would like to explore in this paper. These similarities and differences raise general issues about the role of symbolism in the earliest settled villages or "towns," our assumptions regarding gendered representations during this time period, and our understanding of constitutions of the human form.

Ian Hodder is Dunlevie Family Professor in the Department of Anthropology and **Lynn Meskell** is Professor and Director of the Stanford Archaeology Center, Stanford University (Main Quad, Building 50, Stanford, California 94305, U.S.A. [lmeskell@stanford.edu]). This paper was submitted 3 XII 08 and accepted 16 II 10.

© 2011 by The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. All rights reserved. 0011-3204/2011/5202-0005$10.00. DOI: 10.1086/659250

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

In this paper we discuss the interpretation of Neolithic symbolism at Göbekli and other key sites in Turkey and northern Mesopotamia (fig. 1) from the perspective of the new research being conducted at Çatalhöyük (Hodder 1996, 2000, 2005*a*, 2005*b*, 2006*b*, 2007*b*). We suggest that current data do not support the traditional ideas of fertility and matriarchy that have long been associated with discussions of the emergence of settled agricultural life. Rather, current data present a picture of animality and phallic masculinity that downplays female centrality. The Göbekli and Nevalı Çori sculptures illustrate that when Neolithic people first crafted monumental images, they chose subjects that focused on imagined beings and dangerous wild animals. We note here that many of the subjects portrayed are carnivorous, flesh-eating species: lions, leopards, foxes, boars, bears, snakes, scorpions, spiders, and raptors. For reasons we will explore below, it was such a suite of symbolism that was in the mind's eye of the earliest settled villagers and agriculturalists in southeast Turkey, rather than symbolism based mainly on fertility and female reproduction.

Older work was based on notions of the goddess and the bull (Cauvin 2000), with its classical genealogy, but now scholars such as Mithen (2004), Kuijt (2008), Özdoğan (2001, 2002), and Verhoeven (2002) are presenting a series of new interpretations. Our aim here is to stimulate further debate about the symbolism associated with early settled villages. We aim to create a synthetic perspective that has new dimensions and brings together some of the apparently disparate themes found at a diversity of sites over a long period of time. We recognize the marked variation in the symbolism of the Neolithic of the Middle East, and we do not aim to impose a unified account. Rather we want to draw out some productive themes that seem to recur across different media and across a vast swathe of space and time.

We have organized our account by focusing on three themes, starting with maleness, as we believe that it is important at the outset to move away from the female-centered narratives that have dominated so much discussion of the symbolism of the Neolithic of Anatolia and the Middle East.

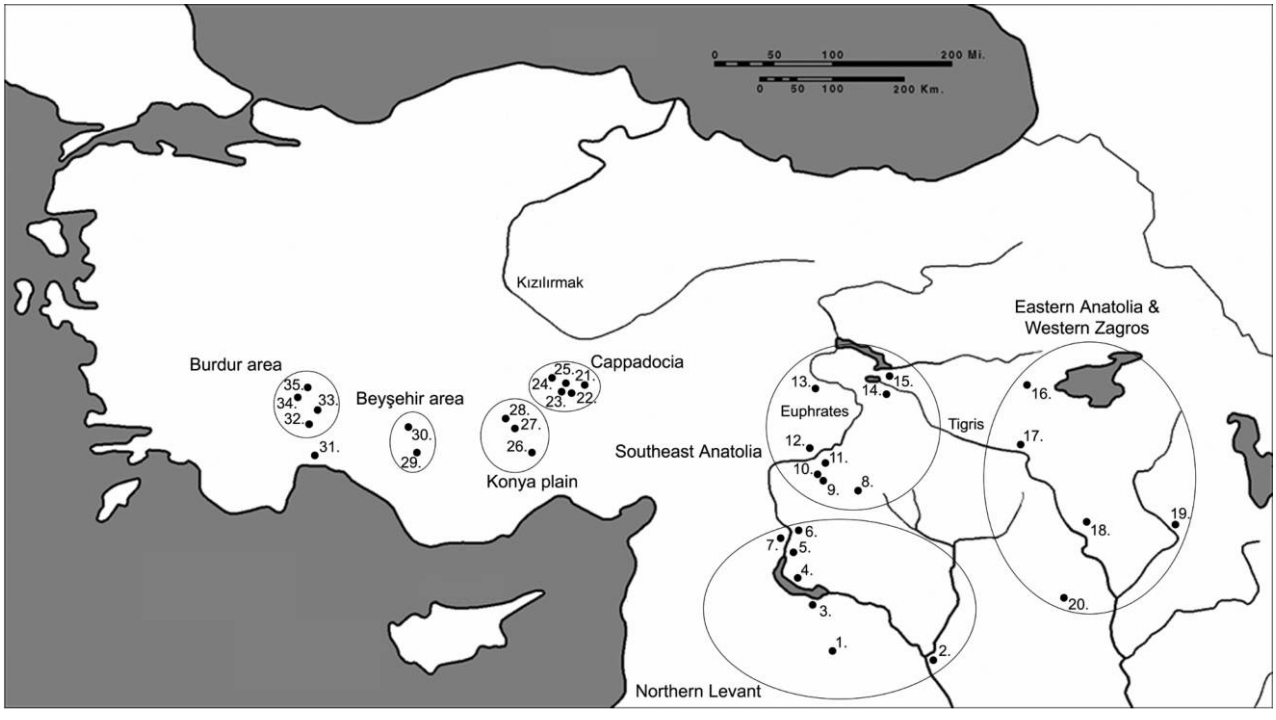

Figure 1. Map showing some of the main Neolithic and Epipaleolithic sites in the main known regions in Anatolia and the Middle East (source: Eleni Asouti). *1*, El Kowm; *2*, Bouqras; *3*, Abu Hureyra; *4*, Mureybet; *5*, Jerf el Ahmar; *6*, Dja'de; *7*, Haloula; *8*, Göbekli Tepe; *9*, Biris Mezarlığı; *10*, Söğüt Tarlası; *11*, Nevalı Çori; *12*, Gritille; *13*, Cafer Höyük; *14*, Çayönü; *15*, Boytepe; *16*, Hallan Çemi; *17*, Demirci; *18*, Nemrik; *19*, Zawi Chemi Shanidar (Paleolithic-Epipaleolithic); *20*, Qermez Dere; *21*, Gedikpaşa; *22*, Aşıklı Höyük; *23*, Musular; *24*, Yellibelen Tepesi; *25*, Kaletepe; *26*, Can Hasan; *27*, Pınarbaşı A and B; *28*, Çatalhöyük; *29*, Erbaba; *30*, Suberde; *31*, Öküzini (Epipaleolithic); *32*, Bademağacı; *33*, Höyücek; *34*, Hacılar; *35*, Kuruçay.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

We then turn to the theme of wild and dangerous animals and then to the theme of piercing the flesh and the removal of animal and human heads. These three themes allow us gradually to build a social account based on notions of continuity, passing down, and duration within which the concept of "history house" plays a key role.

Neolithic Phallocentrism

An historically strong theme in many discussions of Neolithic symbolism has been the centrality of the female figure to supposed concerns of early agriculturalists with fertility and fecundity (Rudebeck 2000). Such narratives stretch back to biblical accounts and pick up in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European scholarship (Hutton 1997; Meskell 1995). Frazer's (1922) *The Golden Bough* was a key text and remains influential to this day. Notions of the goddess or mother goddess had a major influence on James Mellaart (1967) in his original account of Çatalhöyük. In recent times, this emphasis has been continued by Cauvin (2000) in relation to the Middle East Neolithic generally (see comments in Rollefson 2008:398, 403, 408). In a similar vein, Verhoeven (2002) imputes that "both women and bulls do seem to be related to vitality, that is, domestication, life-force and fecundity" (251). While we do not seek to replace one metanarrative with another, we do suggest that the phallocentric elements of representational schemas, monumental statues, and material culture have previously been downplayed, particularly in the Turkish Neolithic. By "phallocentrism" we refer to the privileging of maleness as a prime cultural signifier and the centrality of masculinity (both human and animal) as a source of power and authority within the material and symbolic repertoire of the Turkish Neolithic.

At Çatalhöyük, the current excavations have yielded 12,466 cattle horn cores and horn core fragments, mostly in "special" contexts, defined as installations on walls or in benches, feasting spreads (concentrations of large amounts of bone from one or a few animals, less processed than usual and in a relatively primary context) and caches. Most of the horn cores are very fragmentary and difficult to sex, but Twiss and Russell (2009) show that of the sexable specimens, 71% are male or probably male and 29% are female or probably female. Looking at the faunal assemblage more widely, Russell and Martin (2005) show that females form roughly half the assemblage in the daily contexts of deposition but only a third of the other special categories. This suggests that bulls were preferentially selected for feasts and ceremonies.

The imagery of wild animals at Çatalhöyük also suggests a strong masculine presence. The wild animals depicted in two buildings in the upper levels (levels V and III in Mellaart's levels, counted from I at the top of the site to XII at the bottom) were involved in narrative scenes involving hunting, teasing, and baiting wild bulls, wild stags, wild boars, a bear, and a stag. Many of these teased and baited animals are shown with erect penises (e.g., in F.V.1, the best-preserved building showing humans interacting with wild animals, of the 13 large quadrupeds depicted, six have a penis shown; Mellaart 1966). In one scene (fig. 2), the humans interacting with a wild stag are bearded, although in other scenes, gender is not determinable. In the figurine corpus, there are examples of phallic forms (fig. 3). Most of the figurines at Çatalhöyük are small, quickly made, discarded in middens, and of either animal or abbreviated human form without sex characteristics (Meskell et al. 2008). The largest number of figurines are zoomorphic (896), and they extend throughout the history of the site, with the majority being represented by horns (504). Given the importance of bull and wild sheep and goat horn symbolism at the site and given that we have seen that feasting deposits at Çatalhöyük are dominated by wild bulls, it is reasonable to suggest that the maleness of the figurine horns was an important feature of their use. It is clear, on the other hand, that the predominance of the female human form at Çatalhöyük has been exaggerated in much writing about the site. The famous image of a naked woman sitting on a pair of felines is an isolated find, and indeed the number of clearly female figurines is small (40 out of 1,800 so far discovered; Meskell 2007). Moreover, these examples are confined to the upper levels of the site.

One of the most surprising and distinctive aspects of the Göbekli data is the lack of female symbolism. As Hauptmann and Schmidt (2007) put it, "in Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe, the Great Goddess remains invisible (cf. Gimbutas 1989)" (72). Female sculptures have not been found at Göbekli Tepe. The most outstanding features of the site are the T-pillars that are occasionally identified as human forms with arms and hands, sometimes with wild animals carved on their surfaces. These stone pillar–beings are arranged in approximately circular fashion around two larger pillars, with these central ones being distinctly larger than the others. The two central pillars are freestanding, whereas the pillars in the circle are connected by quarry stone walls and, inside the walls, stone benches (Schmidt 2007:74). The excavators interpret these pillars as representing stylized anthropomorphic beings of stone. T-pillars, as well as representing or being human forms, may themselves be evocations of the phallus, with an elongated shaft and a pronounced head. They are massive uprights that themselves often have images of wild male animals with penises depicted. The T-pillar shape occurs frequently at Göbekli and at different scales, including very small examples about 30 cm high carved in stone. It is also possible that some of the pillars, with their long shaft and root, resemble teeth, and bared teeth and fangs are a recurrent motif at the site (see below).

In the main, the T-shaped pillars feature wild and dangerous animals with bared teeth and exaggerated jowls. Most of the wild animals shown in low relief on the pillars have the penis shown (Schmidt 2006). Some of the Göbekli examples of stone animals carved in the round and originally attached to pillars and now in the Urfa Museum also have

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Figure 2. Wall painting showing teasing and baiting of stag from Çatalhöyük (source: J. Mellaart). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

delineated penises underneath their large stone bodies, even though such surfaces may have been obscured from view. Taken together, there is a close association between male humanlike beings (the T-pillars) and male animals, specifically in their phallic and aggressive aspects. As Verhoeven (2002) has noted, "the basic relation expressed was between humans and male wild animals" (252).

Near Göbekli at the site of Yeni Mahalle (Urfa), an ithyphallic larger-than-life stone sculpture was discovered and reassembled from four large pieces (Hauptmann and Schmidt 2007). This impressive male figure is depicted naked, apart from a carved necklace or detail, with its splayed fingers pressed outward from the genital area so that the viewer's attention is drawn immediately to the presence (or absence) of the penis. Testicles were also indicated. One interpretation is that the splayed fingers effectively cover the upright penis. Another interpretation would be that the penis is entirely missing and present only when placed into the rather shallow depression below. Possible red pigment, natural ochre staining, or some form of discoloration marks the area.

While this impressive example is clearly anthropomorphic, it recalls a parallel stone figure from Adiyaman-Kilisik (found in 1965) that incorporates the T-pillar body shape with sculpted facial features on the transversal of the T (fig. 4). The arms extend to the head of the smaller body on its front side, with its own set of arms and hands. The smaller body is constituted by a penis-shaped relief, and its hands are placed above the empty hole (where a penis could have been inserted). Moving a penis in and out of this slot could have enhanced the sexual element of this phallic being, mimicking masturbation. Other interpretations might be that this combination of penis and orifice symbolizes a hermaphroditic quality, joins maleness and femaleness, or instantiates the possibilities for bodily transformation and change. Whichever interpretation one chooses, the motif of the phallic body overlain by another is striking, and, moreover, this example further substantiates the theory that the T-pillars themselves are anthropomorphic and perhaps also phallic. While the Yeni Mahalle and Adiyaman-Kilisik examples present a remarkable combination and accentuation, in many ways they recall the Egyptian Predynastic figures of the god Min (Bar-Yosef 2002; Kemp 2000), who holds his penis in one hand. We do not wish to argue for direct cultural links. Our comparison here is illustrative in purpose. In many representations, Min holds one arm up as a sign of aggression, the overall effect being one of phallic intimidation. Originating in the Middle East in prehistoric times, according to Egyptian mythology, Min was popular over the millennia as a deity concerned with violence, sexuality, and fertility (he was also associated with a deceased state and depicted in a mummiform shape). Large stone carvings from Coptos (although very different in date in the fourth millennium) look remarkably similar to the Yeni Mahalle sculpture in form and like the Adiyaman-Kilisik example in regard to the prominent hole where the penis could be slotted in and out.

The bottom part of the Yeni Mahalle statue was left in the form of a pillar, which when partially buried made it resemble an upright stela, like those at Göbekli (Hauptmann and

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Figure 3. Stone figurine from Çatalhöyük (source: J. Quinlan). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

Schmidt 2007). Hauptmann and Schmidt suggest that the Yeni Mahalle figure enables further reconstruction of other fragments from Göbekli and that a number of large stone phalluses probably originally belonged to large anthropomorphic sculptures similar to this one. Another stone sculpture from Göbekli, albeit smaller than life-size, shows an ithyphallic male with the erect penis prominently connected (Schmidt 2006). Lending weight to the idea of phallic masculinity, this completed figure consists only of carved facial features and a detailed penis, while the body is rendered simply as a block without arms or legs. Other finds from Göbekli include quite a number of stone pestles that Mithen, Finlayson, and Shaffrey (2005) have convincingly argued have phallic associations in Levantine contexts (see also Garrod 1957; Goring-Morris et al. 2008; Weinstein-Evron and Belfer-Cohen 1993). Nearby Göbekli at a limestone quarry, three reliefs have been recorded, each depicting a 1-m-long phallus with testicles, plausibly considered contemporaneous with the main site (Rollefson 2008:391).

Possibly linked to this concern with phallocentrism is the depiction of snakes at Göbekli and Nevalı Çori. One highly decorated T-pillar (fig. 5) has two sets of three snake bodies down the length of one front, and snake heads appear along the sides of the pillar's lower portion. If one accepts that this is a phallic pillar, then the writhing snake bodies could possibly have accentuated the phallicism. Schmidt (2007) interprets the snakes on this pillar as issuing from the stomach or from approximately the same position where one might expect male genitals. Some 266 T-pillars have been found at the related site of Karahan Tepe (MPPNB), some showing carved anthropomorphic arms on a pillar/torso and animal legs, and another features a snake relief like those from Göbekli (Çelik 2000:7).

The only clearly female image at Göbekli was incised on a stone slab on a low bench, which could have been sat on, inside one of the stone circles from level II, L. 10-71 (fig. 6). Compared to the well-executed carved sculptures and pillars, this is a crude and misshapen splayed figure with minimal facial features, small drooping breasts that hang to the side of the torso, and scrawny arms and legs. Most striking, however, is the exposure of the body, the complete opening up of the naked form. Specifically, the explicit depiction of the genital region, previously unknown in the Turkish and Levantine Neolithic, is marked by an engraved hole that might be interpreted as being penetrated by a disconnected penis. On either side of the penis are incised areas that can be seen as accentuating the penis or perhaps representing emissions from the vagina. Since the splayed figure is the only female portrayal from Göbekli, was on a bench that people may have sat on, and is a passively penetrated figure, one might interpret this as not being a particularly positive rendition of women and as unlikely to be associated with notions of fertility or matriarchy.

The phallocentric focus at Çatalhöyük and Göbekli is seen at other closely related sites such as Nevalı Çori. The focus is found elsewhere in the Neolithic of Turkey, typically on a

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

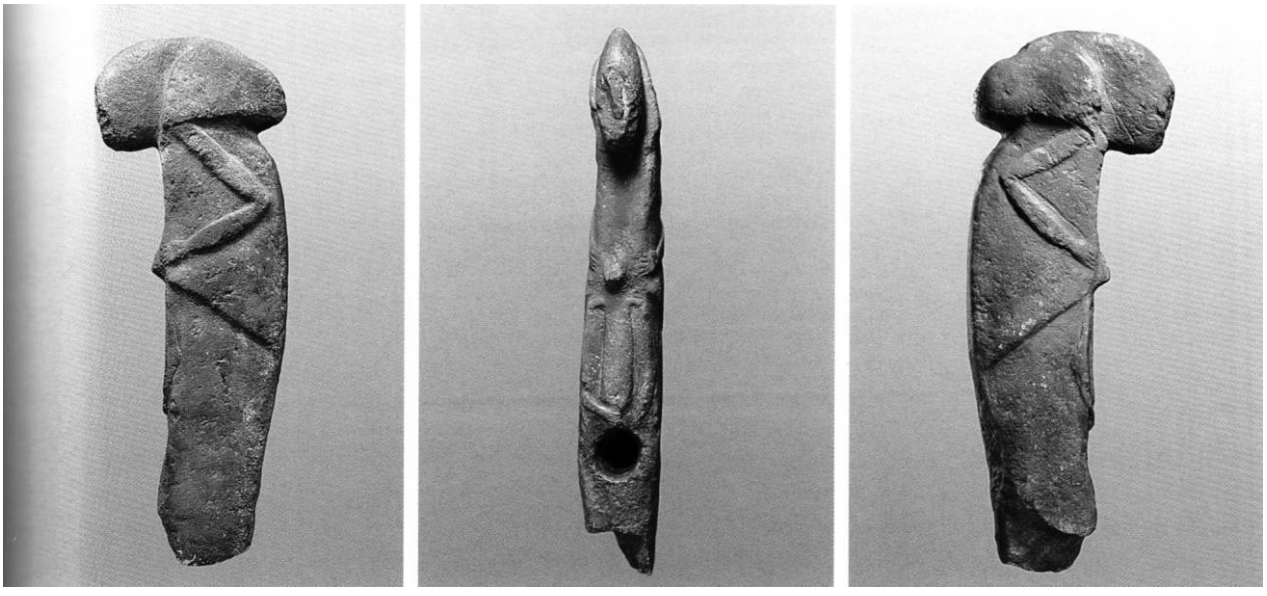

Figure 4. Stone figure from Adiyaman-Kilisik, Turkey (source: Bettina Freytag-Loeringhoff). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

smaller scale, as demonstrated within the figurine corpus. At Mezraa Teleilat, Özdoğan (2003:517) describes some 94 phallic figurines found in the transitional layers between the PPN and Pottery Neolithic levels. The numbers of these limestone figurines greatly outnumber those of the standing or seated anthropomorphic figures from the same context and suggest a particular focus on male sexuality as denoted by the penis. Recent work in Turkey has attempted to catalogue the many hundreds of phallic figurines for the Neolithic generally (Nergis 2008). Albeit to a lesser degree, early phallic objects and imagery have also been found in the Levant in pre-Neolithic Natufian contexts. "Natufian art also had an erotic element," seen, for example, in a calcite statuette from Ain Sakhri (Henry 1989:206). The discussion by Mithen, Finlayson, and Shaffrey (2005) of phallic imagery at Wadi Faynan (WF16) in the PPN has already been mentioned. Phallomorphic and male figurines have been noted in the Neolithic across a broad geographical region (Hansen 2007), including the Levant and Middle East (e.g., Ain Sakhri, Salibya, Dhra', El Wad, Tepe Guran, Nahal Oren, Nemrik, Ain Ghazal, Netiv Hagdud, and Munhata) and Turkey (Göbekli, Nevalı Çori, Hallan Çemi, Cafer Höyük, Gritille Höyük, Mezraa Teleilat, and Çatalhöyük). At Nevalı Çori, more than 700 clay figures were excavated, with male examples slightly outnumbering the female ones (Morsch 2002). The number of animal figurines, a mere 30, pales in comparison (Hauptmann 2007). Importantly, phallic or male figurines are typically outnumbered by geometric, ambiguous, or zoomorphic examples in both Turkish and Levantine sites (see Kuijt and Chesson 2005, table 8.2; Meskell et al. 2008, tables 5, 6). The same could be said for explicitly female figurines. Moreover, Rollefson (2008) suggests that "male figurines also occur in the central and southern Levant, but in some cases the lack of effort to represent male genitalia explicitly may be a reflection of technological problems (for example, in the fashioning of the plaster statues at 'Ain Ghazal)" (408). Here we note that such technological problems may also apply to showing female genitalia and breasts. The lack of clear sex characteristics on figurines may result from a lack of interest in those characteristics and an interest in other bodily zones (Nakamura and Meskell 2009) or from showing gender in ways such as posture, hair, size, or figurine fabric that are not easily interpretable as gendered today. We have concentrated here on instances where beards, penises, and breasts are shown and have found an increasing documentation of Neolithic male and phallic imagery across both visual and material culture, even if much of the Levantine evidence partakes of a smaller scale than the paintings and sculptures of Çatalhöyük and Göbekli. It would be fair to say that the character of the Turkish materials differs in style and intensity from those of the Levant, yet there are threads of common concern, as we suggest here. We do not argue that the representation of the female is insignificant in the Neolithic of the region, only that it has frequently been overemphasized at the expense of clear and sometimes predominant male imagery.

The striking monumental imagery at Göbekli, Nevalı Çori, Çatalhöyük, and other Turkish sites, "(albeit on a reduced scale) appears in the central Levant at Jericho, 'Ain Ghazal, and Nahal Hemar, an area where the plastered skull cult was characteristic of the ritual arena" (Rollefson 2008:404). In

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

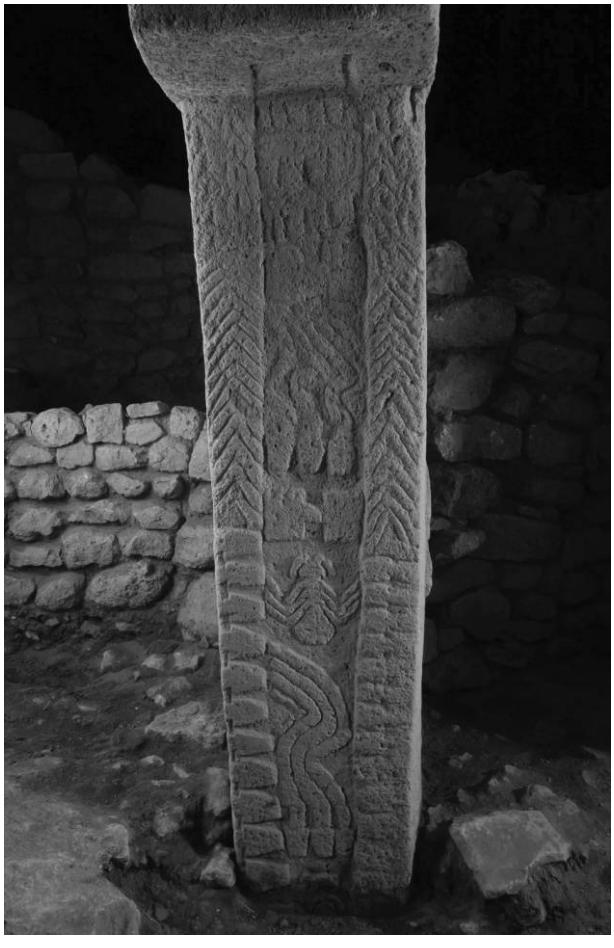

Figure 5. Stone pillar with engravings from Göbekli Tepe, Turkey (source: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

making sense of this Neolithic phallocentrism, at least in relation to Turkey, we find that another stele from Göbekli is of considerable importance and discuss it below (see fig. 7). This shows an ithyphallic headless body in association with a bird. This focus on headless bodies and birds is also found at Çatalhöyük, where it is clearly linked to the removal and passing down of skulls of the dead. At Göbekli, too, there seems to be a link between the phallus and the dead. As discussed below, links to the past will be one context in which to make sense of the phallocentrism discussed here.

First, we wish to explore another set of linkages that derive from the frequent association already noted between the explicit display of penises and the portrayal of wild animals. What are the associations of wild animal depictions and installations at Çatalhöyük, Göbekli, and related sites?

Dangerous, Wild Things

A distinctive and perhaps surprising aspect of the symbolism emerging from sites such as Göbekli is the focus on wild rather than domesticated animals. At some sites, such as Göbekli, we would not expect domestic animals in the symbolism since the economies of the sites are based on wild animals only. Of course, there may have been increasingly close links between humans and animals well before genetic change was manifest (Mithen 2004). But at other sites, the focus on wild animals continues in the context of the use of clearly domesticated plants and animals. Schmidt (2006, 2007) remarks that all of the beasts depicted at Göbekli were present (though not dominant) in the site's faunal assemblage rather than representing fantastic creatures.

We have seen that at Çatalhöyük the narrative paintings show mainly wild animals. Moreover, installations in the houses featured bucrania (wild bull or wild ram and goat skulls and horns with the heads plastered). The teeth of foxes and weasels, the tusks of wild boars, the claws of bears, and the beaks of vultures were placed in protuberances on the walls. We have found a leopard claw and the talons of raptors in burials. While we have seen the preponderance of male cattle bones and horns in special deposits, we have no evidence so far that the claws, teeth, and beaks of other animals and birds were mainly from males, and we do not argue in this paper that violence and danger were associated solely with males. Our interest is more in the overall focus on parts

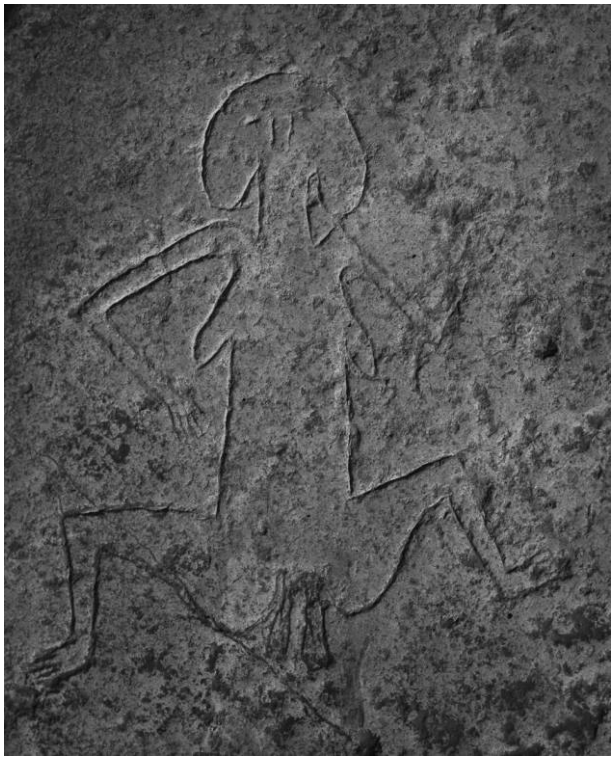

Figure 6. Stone engraving from Göbekli Tepe, Turkey (source: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Figure 7. Stone pillar from Göbekli Tepe, Turkey (source: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

of animals that are dangerous or piercing; there is little symbolic emphasis on femurs, humeri, molar teeth, and so on. It is also the case that dangerous or flesh-eating wild animals and birds are selected for representation. The economy at Çatalhöyük is based on domestic sheep and goats, but these hardly appear in the symbolism. Wild cattle make up 54% of all animal bones in installations and special deposits and 46% of the animal reliefs but only 15% of the faunal remains from domestic, processing, and consumption contexts. Contrast this with domestic sheep, which comprise 56% of the faunal remains and thus the bulk of meat consumption and only 19% of reliefs and 13% of installations and deposits (Russell and Meece 2006, table 14.5). Bones of wild equids do occur on the site and sometimes in special deposits (foundation or abandonment deposits in houses), and depictions of equids are shown on the walls, but they are rare. Russell and Meece note that 6%, 0%, and 1% of the paintings, reliefs, and installations, respectively, at Çatalhöyük are equids. So it is not just that wild animals are being selected for symbolic representation. There are some deer paintings, but deer antlers are rarely used as installations and never as reliefs. There is a particular focus at Çatalhöyük on both wild, dangerous, flesh-eating animals and their sharp, dangerous body parts. It is these that are predominantly brought into the site and installed or portrayed in the houses.

It can certainly be argued that in Turkey and the Middle East, there was a general interest in the early Holocene in depicting everything that existed in the habitat (Mehmet Özdöğan, personal communication). Within this general frame there is a particular focus on dangerous wild animals or on the dangerous parts of wild animals from very early in the formation of settled villages (Twiss and Russell 2009). Already at Hallan Çemi in Turkey in the eleventh millennium BC, there is an aurochs skull on a wall of a public building, a row of three wild sheep skulls in a public space, and a snake carved from bone (Rosenberg 2007). New findings from the 12,000-year-old Natufian cave site, Hilazon Tachtit (Israel), have revealed the burial of an elderly woman with body parts of a range of dangerous and/or carnivorous animals, including wild boars, eagles, wild cattle, leopards, and martens, as well as a complete human foot (Grosman, Munro, and Belfer-Cohen 2008). At the pre-Neolithic Natufian site of Nahal Oren in the Levant, Noy (1991) found carved stones with incised decoration and animal heads carved on bone handles (e.g., of sickles). Carved bone, bone fragments, and bone sickle hafts representing animals (deer, horses) were also found in Kebara Cave (Garrod 1957). The sickle shafts from El Wad and Kebara are in the form of deer and goat heads (Henry 1989). Fox (*Vulpes* sp.) teeth are widely used as raw materials for pendants (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002:70). In the Natufian, we see a marked rise in the numbers of raptor talons (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002:71) and pendants of bone and canine teeth (Henry 1989).

In the following PPNA (from 9500 to 8500 cal BC), wild cattle imagery is found throughout the southeast Turkey–north Levantine region (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002). At Tell ʻAbr 3 in Syria, a series of stone slabs line the bench around the walls (Yartah 2005) in building B2. These are polished and decorated with wild animals—gazelles, panthers, aurochs—as well as with geometric designs. The panthers are spotted and highly stylized and look rather like lizards. Bucrania are deposited within a bench, but there are also bucrania on view in smaller buildings, interpreted as houses, at the site. Investigators at Jerf el Ahmar also found a building with four cattle bucrania probably suspended on the interior walls (Stordeur 2000; Yartah 2005). Two impressive stelae some 2 m high in one building seem to represent birds, possibly raptors (Stordeur et al. 2000:40). At Jerf el Ahmar, there is also serpent decoration on the stone slabs of the benches of the large circular buildings (Stordeur 2000), along with a separate depiction of a vulture (for parallel symbolism at Hallan Çemi and Nemrik 9, see Kozlowski 1992; Rosenberg and Redding 2000). In the PPNB, there continues to be a widespread symbolic focus on foxes, wild cattle, wild

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

boars, and birds of prey (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002:70–71).

The depictions from Göbekli allow a fuller insight into some of the associations of these lists of wild animals in the Neolithic. The animals shown overlap in great part with those found at Çatalhöyük, but there are differences in emphasis. Çatalhöyük has fewer scorpions and spiders and more cattle. This difference relates to the different subsistence strategies of the two sites, with the latter site seeing the adoption of domestic cattle at least by the ensuing Chalcolithic West Mound. The cultural intensity of such motifs/genres at both sites is suggested by their appearance at multiple scales across the sites. At Çatalhöyük, the images of wild animals occur as both large painted bulls and full-sized bucrania, as well as small figurines. At Göbekli, there are large and small T-pillars, from the monumental to the handheld limestone examples and miniatures less than 5 cm high (Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe 2007:273). To date, there have been no clay figurines discovered at Göbekli.

However, the Göbekli data resonate with the data from Çatalhöyük in demonstrating not only the salience of wild animals but also the hard, dangerous, pointed parts of wild animals. As already noted, at Çatalhöyük it is 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 that are brought on-site and installed in walls in houses or worn as attachments on the body (Hodder 2006*c*). The postcranial parts of some of these animals are rarely found on-site (Russell and Martin 2005). Where postcranial elements are brought on-site, as in the case of cattle, it is the skulls and horns that are used in installations. At Göbekli, this same emphasis is seen in the sculptures showing bared teeth and fangs and the snarling heads.

How can we make sense of all this? Verhoeven (2002:252) suggested that PPNB human-animal linkages were an expression of the wild, dangerous, aggressive dimensions of the domain of nature. We can turn to wider, classic discussions of the role of violent male-centered imagery. For Bataille (1986), violence in ritual creates moments of transcendence. One returns from this "other" world transformed and more able to cope with restraint in society. For Girard (1977), violent symbolic imagery is a way of managing and evacuating the violence generated inside the human community. Most archaic religions show a narrative that involves going through violence to resolution. While animals predate and fight, only humans have vengeance. There is no community unless there is something to prevent vengeance. Vengeance is overcome when a victim is found that all can fight against—then a solution has been found. The frightening god is thus good for community. The bull is made a scapegoat, and society is reformed. Bloch (1992) discusses how in ritual things are turned inside out in some "other" world "beyond." For him, the violence and symbolic killing take the initiate beyond the transience of daily life into permanent entities such as descent groups. By leaving this life, it is possible to see oneself and others as part of something permanent and life transcending.

We will return to an argument not dissimilar to Bloch's, but we are concerned about the imposition of terms such as "violence" and "aggression" to the Neolithic imagery, and we are concerned about the relevance of off-the-shelf theoretical explanations of its social context. We would prefer to try to build more historically specific arguments for the Göbekli and Çatalhöyük material, and we believe that at least for the latter site there are now sufficient data to allow some progress in this direction.

We can start with the evidence already noted from Çatalhöyük of an association between special and feasting deposits and the bones of wild bulls (Russell and Martin 2005). It is of course possible that male cattle may have been selectively culled as part of an incipient herding/management strategy of the wild cattle population, but for much of the occupation at Çatalhöyük, there appear to be equal proportions of adult males and females deposited overall. The focus on wild bulls shows up only when special and feasting deposits are considered, suggesting a consumption/deposition strategy rather than culling. Peters et al. (1999:40) have demonstrated that at Neolithic sites in southeast Turkey at which all the cattle bones are wild, such as PPNA Göbekli and EPPNB Nevalı Çori, a higher proportion of the remains are from bulls (>60%), whereas at sites with early domesticated cattle, such as Gürcütepe, the ratio of males to females is 1 : 5. Without contextual evidence, we cannot say whether these data from Göbekli and Nevalı Çori represent culling or consumption.

At Çatalhöyük, there is a shift in the upper levels (above level VII) from roughly equal overall proportions of male and female adult cattle to an increase in adult females (Russell and Martin 2005). It is not possible to identify male and female in younger unfused bones, so the increase in adult females may have been the product of increased culling of younger males. Russell, Martin, and Buitenhuis (2005) argued against this interpretation, as it seemed more plausible that the pattern resulted from targeting female and young groups. Male aurochsen tend to be more solitary. Their predominance in feasting deposits and in the paintings and installations seems more likely to represent animals that were harder to hunt.

Bulls were preferentially selected for feasts and ceremonies at Çatalhöyük. We also see wild animals in large group activities in the paintings (in one case with all the human figures bearded). There could be a social focus on feast providing, perhaps largely involving males, and the memorialization of these events in the house and ritual symbolism. The heads, horns, teeth, claws, and so on could be taken as long-term memories of public events in which prestige was gained. They are the enduring hard bits, as well as being the distinctive elements of particular species. At Çatalhöyük, we have evidence that after a house (building 1) was abandoned, filled in with earth, and rebuilt upon, a pit was dug to retrieve a wall relief from the underlying room (Hodder 2006*c*:146). It

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

also seems likely that the bucrania stacked in houses (Mellaart's [1967] shrine 10 and in building 52 in the 4040 area; Twiss et al. 2008) were amassed over a considerable period of time. If a building is not burned on abandonment, the bull horns and other installations are often carefully removed, perhaps for reuse in later rebuildings of the house. The splayed bear figures always had their heads and hands or paws removed at closure; evidence for this was bolstered by the discovery of bones from a bear paw encased in plaster (Hodder 2006*c*:199). In the seventh-millennium levels at the nearby site of Pınarbaşı, Baird (2007) has identified small collections of animal bones packaged in plaster that were presumably kept and were perhaps exchanged before deposition. But at Çatalhöyük, very specific or telling parts of animals were kept and passed down from generation to generation. They are the visible, aggressive, dangerous, and ultimately durable parts.

Can the same be said of Göbekli? Here there is no published evidence of the role of animals in feasting or of the passing down of animal parts. The imagery may be associated with public gatherings in the circular temples of monumental stones. Verhoeven (2002) has warned that "it seems that only a small portion of the entire (settlement) population could be assembled" (245) in the public ritual buildings at 'Ain Ghazal, Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, and Göbekli. For the latter site, he estimates up to 20–35 people being able to assemble in the buildings at any one time. In our view, these numbers might easily be doubled or tripled, given the size of some of the Göbekli temples (the Double Pillar building is 25 m by 5 m), but even if lower figures are preferred, some unit beyond a small family or group is indicated. We shall see below that there are claims that the Göbekli temples were involved in links to the ancestral dead, but the Göbekli evidence complicates the notion that the durability of parts of animals involved in prowess and feasting was the central focus of the symbolic imagery, as this argument can hardly be put forward for snakes, spiders, and scorpions, although they can often be dangerous. The latter are unlikely candidates for feasting or for memorials of public events, even if they had totemic or some other such marking significance.

While we argue that the symbolism at many sites focused on the dangerous, distinctive, and durable elements of particular beasts, we also think that other factors may have been involved in the selection of the particular animals and body parts represented. At both Göbekli and Çatalhöyük, birds are depicted. At Çatalhöyük, these are either raptors or cranelike. The overall assemblage of bird remains at Çatalhöyük is dominated by waterbirds, in particular ducks, geese, and ducklike birds such as grebes and coots (Russell and McGowan 2003). Herons and other waders are also well represented, but the art shows a focus on larger birds that eat animal or human flesh. At Göbekli, a wider range of birds is shown. They are at times difficult to identify, but again the focus seems to be on raptors, water birds, and birds with hooked beaks.

Rather than, or in addition to, the focus on durability and memory construction, the focus on sharp, pointed parts of animals may relate to piercing of the flesh. The role of the equids in the symbolism at Çatalhöyük is interesting, as already noted. In the site's faunal assemblage, three types of equids have been identified (Russell and Martin 2005): the European wild ass (*Equus hydruntinus*), the onager (*Equus hemionus*), and the horse (*Equus ferus*). While there are several equids shown in the paintings, they rarely occur in special deposits or installations. Herbivores such as the wild goat, wild sheep, and wild deer all have hard, pointed parts that can penetrate the flesh, whereas equids do not. While a hoof can effectively be used to protect, it does not pierce. It is thus of interest that there is considerably less symbolism surrounding equids at Çatalhöyük than surrounding the other wild herbivores (Russell and Meece 2006).

We have identified a theme of piercing and manipulating the flesh, associated with male prowess and with the construction of memories. At Çatalhöyük, these objects of memories were installed in and passed down in houses that we have come to term "history houses" (Hodder and Pels 2010). In a relatively egalitarian society at Çatalhöyük, some houses became preferred locations for burial beneath the floors, and these houses were rebuilt over more generations than other houses and were more elaborate in terms of installations and fixtures (Düring 2006; Hodder 2006*c*). These history houses amassed objects of memory such as human remains and the hard, durable, dangerous, pointed parts of wild animals. We wish now to expand on this notion of history houses by arguing that they were closely linked to ritual knowledge about body manipulation and the piercing and remaking of the flesh.

Piercing and Fleshing the Body

In this paper, we outline a possible set of connections between phallic masculinity, aggressive animality, danger and durability, and, finally, the piercing and manipulation of flesh. Concerning the latter, much of our account of the ways in which human fleshed bodies were treated stems from the more detailed evidence of within-house burial from Çatalhöyük. At present, we lack complementary evidence for burial practices at Göbekli, but we will refer to some relevant imagery from the site, as well as to practices widely understood from the Middle Eastern Neolithic more generally.

In building 77 at Çatalhöyük, wild bull horns set into pedestals seem to fence off or protect a burial platform in the northeastern part of the main room (fig. 8). 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. Above the platform on the north wall of the room, there is a wild ram bucranium with a small niche beneath and with the horns no longer surviving. There is much that could be made of the specific association between bull horn pedestals and a burial platform. Perhaps the horns refer to an individual buried in the platform

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Figure 8. Wild bull horns on pedestals I, northeast corner of building 77, Çatalhöyük (source: J. Quinlan). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

or to some ancestor of the individuals buried there. Perhaps the power of the pointed bull horns protects the dead. Perhaps both the buried humans and the bulls are ancestors. Whatever the specific interpretation, there are other examples at Çatalhöyük of a close link between humans and cattle, particularly in relation to the construction of histories and memories.

Recently, the most evocative materialization of this connection is demonstrated by one remarkable ceramic vessel that was assembled by Nurcan Yalman in 2007 from fragments recovered from a midden in the 4040 area of the site (fig. 9). There is a human face at both ends of the pot and a bull head on both sides. The moulded and incised human and cattle heads mutually constitute 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. Human and bull heads, and to a lesser extent wild sheep and goat heads, are treated in comparable ways in that they are removed from bodies and kept and sometimes plastered in order to symbolically reflesh the skull (Meskell 2008). We have already seen the plaster molding of bull skulls in order to create bucrania and other installations in houses. But what of human heads?

At Çatalhöyük, there is evidence for the intentional severing of heads in the mortuary data, although the removal of human heads has been demonstrated to occur after death rather than being causal (Molleson, Andrews, and Boz 2005). In the case of human bodies, only a few individuals were treated with head removal. Six (three male and three female) out of 350 skeletons so far excavated by the current project beneath the floors of houses had clear evidence of head removal, though the real proportion is probably considerably higher since most skeletons excavated have been disturbed by later additions into the same grave or platform. In two cases of headless bodies uncovered by the current excavations, cut marks were present, and the heads were probably cut off some time after initial burial (Molleson, Andrews, and Boz 2005). These examples occur in buildings 1 and 6, both good examples of history houses, as defined above, long-lived and rebuilt buildings with many burials (up to 62 burials in building 1). Other examples were also found in probable history houses. In building 60, a woman with a child in the birth canal was found without head, and in building 49, three individuals, including juveniles (L. Hager and B. Boz, personal communication), were found without heads. Individual skulls (male, female, and juvenile) have also been found in abandonment contexts or in foundation deposits (e.g., placed at the base of a supporting house post in building 17). The retention and

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Figure 9. Pot with faces of humans at each end and heads of bulls on both sides from 4040 area midden at Çatalhöyük (source: J. Quinlan). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

deposition of human skulls can be argued to be involved in history building. Following removal, human skulls may well have circulated for some time before final interment in specific abandonment or foundation contexts. In 2004, the plastered skull of an adult man (sex based on cranial features) was discovered held in the arms of a woman who had been buried in a pit as part of the foundation of a new building; it is the earliest example of a plastered skull recovered from Anatolia. The facial features, but not the eyes, had been plastered and painted red, perhaps several times (based on the appearance of multiple layers of red painted plaster in a broken cross section of the plaster). These particular treatments and actions of head removal and plastering appear to be directed at certain individuals—possibly deemed as revered ancestors, both male and female—not to collectivities of people, although social groups may have witnessed, or interacted with, curated or plastered skulls.

Apart from the example at Çatalhöyük, plastered skulls have been discovered at Kösk Höyük in Turkey and six Levantine sites (Bonogofsky 2005; Kuijt 2008; Verhoeven 2002), suggesting the possibility of a long-lived and shared set of bodily practices, although there are many regional and temporal gaps in our evidence that remain to be filled. In the Levant, groups of skulls occur. Bonogofsky rules out plastered skulls as evidence for links to specific ancestors on the basis of the evidence for plastered children's skulls (e.g., at Kösk Höyük). To dispute that children could possibly be considered as ancestors in the Neolithic does not to take into account the many ritual contexts where children are revered individuals or embodiments of deities and spirits (see also Fletcher, Pearson, and Ambers 2008). The tradition of strictly biological descent from adults is probably only one, very modern, understanding of what constitutes the ancestral. Recent discoveries at PPNB Kfar HaHoresh in northern Israel have revealed the removal of both wild cattle skulls and a human skull; the latter was retrieved some time after (Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007).

At Çatalhöyük, the removal of human heads is referred to in several wall paintings from different levels at the site that show vultures, in one case with human feet, associated with headless corpses. We now estimate that most of those inhabiting the site were buried beneath house floors, although excavations off-site in the KOPAL trench discovered disarticulated human remains mixed in with faunal remains. No evidence of vulture disarticulation has been found in the bone remains from on- or off-site, but it remains possible that some bodies were exposed. The symbolic association between death and birds is widely found in the Neolithic of Turkey and the Middle East, and there appears to have been an important and long-lasting narrative within which head removal was associated with birds, especially raptors or water birds. A deposit of vulture, eagle, and bustard wings at Zawi Chemi Shanidar (Simmons and Nadel 1998; Solecki and McGovern 1980) and stones engraved with vulture images, like those at Çatalhöyük from Jerf el Ahmar (Stordeur et al. 2000), indicate that ideas surrounding death, vultures, and skulls belong to a set of practices and preoccupations with remarkable flexibility, endurance, and sociospatial breadth.

On the Göbekli pillar in figure 7, the two registers highlight the association of birds and a headless human. On the upper register, we see the repeated and stylized motifs of possible structures and plants. Beneath these motifs were carved four birdlike creatures, some having the features of raptors, the others of water birds. Three of the four have humanlike legs that extend out in front, making the creature appear to be in a sitting position. At both Çatalhöyük and Göbekli, the birds

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

that are associated with the headless bodies have human traits or adopt a hybrid human/animal form. The fourth bird image ends in a triangular, snakelike head instead of legs. Of particular interest is the raptor with the neck detail similar to that of the Yeni Mahalle sculpture that appears to be bouncing a sphere in its feathered wing. One possible interpretation is that this sphere or skull belongs to the headless male in the lower register, again reinforcing a connection between death, birds, and a headless human state. On the lower register we see an array of dangerous animals: a scorpion, a snake, a toothy creature of unknown species, and a water bird paired with a decapitated phallic male. The male figure extends an outstretched arm, as if to stroke the bird's neck, while his penis is also extended toward the lower portion of the neck. While the pillar is damaged in this area and the decapitated man's legs are missing, it looks as if he is riding or directly positioned on top of the large bird.

Another striking sculpture composed of four fragments uncovered in the Terrazzo building and other contexts at Nevalı Çori materializes a complex interrelationship between birds and human heads specifically. Described as a composite, freestanding totem pole, the three individuals are stacked one on top of the other, mutually constituting each other's forms. At the top, a bird perches on two human heads whose hair is detailed in a cross-hatched pattern (Hauptmann and Schmidt 2007). Associated with these heads, two opposing bodies are crouched with their backs toward each other. Hauptmann and Schmidt (2007:67–68) suggest that "their swelled bellies and the depiction of their vulvae may represent pregnancy" and in one case "the bird seems to grasp the human head by the cheeks with both feet." The latter instance implies a form of violence, or threat of violence, that underwrites many of these monumental projects. Another stone statue of a birdman was found in an early phase of the Terrazzo building. The excavator interprets this as a hybrid being, a human dressed as a bird, or a bird with a human head in its mouth. In light of the prevalent skull cult documented at Nevalı Çori and other early Neolithic sites, this example—along with the human/bird pillar and the T-pillar with birds and the headless ithyphallic male—supports an interpretation of birds and human heads as a central theme of Neolithic art (Hauptmann and Schmidt 2007).

The removal of heads is widely found in the Turkish and Middle Eastern Neolithic (seen at numerous sites, including Çayönü; Verhoeven 2002, table 3). It was perhaps at some times and places embedded in a narrative that involved birds and perhaps birds taking away heads. In the Çatalhöyük wall paintings referred to above, Griffon vultures (*Gyps fulvus*) have their beaks poised toward a number of decapitated yet fleshed human bodies. Examining the composition closely, one can see that each vulture's beak targets the area where the head once was rather than the limbs or fleshy parts of the body. This may lend support to the idea that vultures were associated with head removal and headless bodies rather than with practices of excarnation per se. Moreover, the vultures were often painted red, and their talons were accentuated. The overall effect is of a pointy, bony, and dangerous predator.

In Mellaart's (1967) shrine VII.8, some seven vultures swoop on six disproportionately small headless humans, although the burials below the paintings all retained their skulls. Mellaart also claimed that in shrine E.VII.21, four skulls were positioned in direct association with plastered animal parts or paintings. Two skulls were "perched on the corner platform below the vulture painting," another skull was in a basket below a bucranium on the west wall, and the fourth skull was positioned below another bucranium on the east wall (Mellaart 1967:84). Another fragmentary painting uncovered by Mellaart (1967) was interpreted by him as a human figure between two vultures "swinging a sling in vigorous motion, presumably to ward off the two vultures from the small headless corpse which lies on its left side to his right" (166). Since all that remains of this panel is the artist's drawing rather than a photograph, we remain circumspect. Vulture skulls themselves were also inserted into the house walls at Çatalhöyük, plastered over into a lump, with the beaks protruding (Russell and McGowan 2003:445). Raptor claws were also curated and deposited, as in a grave in building 75, and another three examples have been found in building 77.

Besides the narrative art at Çatalhöyük, the figurine corpus similarly reveals a connection to headlessness and may reveal resonances with bird imagery. There is an example of a carved stone figurine that may have represented a vulture or bird of prey (Mellaart 1967:183). More generally, a subset of clay figurines that we label "abbreviated" (Meskell et al. 2008) displays birdlike qualities (beaky pinched heads) that sit atop stylized or truncated human torsos. Additionally, these figurines often have two legs that protrude out in a sitting position, resembling the vulture's human legs present in the wall painting of Mellaart's (1967) shrine VII.21. There are also visual similarities between these abbreviated, possibly hybrid figurine forms and the depiction of the seated birds (raptors and water birds) on the Göbekli T-pillar described above. Figurines from sites such as Nemrik display raptor imagery even more strikingly (Kozlowski 2002).

At Çatalhöyük, many figurines are found without heads, and in one case there is evidence for the intentional severing of a stone figurine head (12102.X1) by cutting, probably using an obsidian blade. We have found numerous obsidian tools that show flattened and abraded edges from working stone surfaces (Karen Wright, personal communication). About a dozen clay figurines have dowel holes, suggesting that the process of removing and keeping heads could be played out in miniature. The ability to remove and replace certain heads might allow for multiple identities and potential narrativization (see Nanoglou 2006, 2008; Talalay 2004). Hamilton (1996) argued that detachable heads at Çatalhöyük "were used to portray a range of emotions, attitudes or states of being" (221). In recent analyses, Nakamura and Meskell (2006) have identified more bodies with dowel holes than heads made for

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

attachment, which could suggest that the head is more determinative and the bodies are deemed more generic, although this may not imply a hierarchy. From the figurines, almost all of the examples with detachable heads are large female forms: 10 are female and depict breasts, two are suggestive of the female form, and one is androgynous. All but one of these examples is corpulent.

One dramatic example (12401.X7; fig. 10) from Çatalhöyük plays on a possible tension between fleshed and unfleshed. The front portrays a robust female with large breasts and a stomach with the navel protruding. From the arched shoulders, very thin, almost skeletal arms with delineated fingers rest on the breasts. The back depicts an articulated skeleton with a modeled spinal column, a pelvis, and scapulae that project above shoulders. Individual ribs and vertebrae are depicted through horizontal and diagonal scoring. A dowel hole indicates that originally the piece had a separate, detachable head, and the circular depression around the dowel hole suggests that the head fit snugly into this curved space (Meskell and Nakamura 2005). It has previously been suggested that the heads of figurines themselves, especially detachable ones, came to represent real plastered skulls, with their high foreheads and smoothed, minimal facial treatment, minus mouths and detailed features (Meskell 2007). There are interesting parallels at Göbekli, specifically in the carvings of beasts with bared fangs and claws, attached to the large stone pillars described above. Several of these beasts, some still attached, others cut and removed in antiquity, have the same skeletal detail on the back while retaining a fully fleshed belly and underside. Several examples show an erect penis underneath, even when it would have been difficult to view. Like the Göbekli beasts, the Çatalhöyük figurine reveals the bony, skeletal part of the body that survives death (and interment) and explores a tension between embedded bony human parts and a shaped, fleshed, living body.

What we might be witnessing is a concern for the processes of bodily articulation or disarticulation across the Neolithic (see also Bailey 2005; Chapman 2000; Daems and Croucher 2007; Nanoglou 2008; Talalay 2004). As Kuijt and Chesson (2005:177) have observed, the deliberate removal of figurine heads at ʻAin Ghazal coincides with the practice of skull removal in mortuary practices. The practice of removing, circulating, and passing down of heads at Çatalhöyük is something we have observed across media from the wall paintings and burials to the figurine corpus and is part of repetitive suite of practices. For example, heads of animals in the forms of skulls (bulls, vultures, goats, wild boar jaws) were attached to walls and embedded and "refleshed" with wall plaster, and

Figure 10. Clay figurine from IST area at Çatalhöyük (source: J. Quinlan). A color version of this figure is available in the online edition of *Current Anthropology*.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

there is one unclear example of a wall painting showing a headless animal in a hunting scene. N. Russell (personal communication) has noted instances of plastered animal skulls with both plastered horn cores (suggesting more decomposition) and nonplastered horn sheaths (less decomposition). These treatments might indicate different levels of enfleshment; horn sheaths would eventually deteriorate, and it is possible that after this happened, people would then plaster and rebuild the remaining horn core to achieve a similar effect (Nakamura and Meskell 2006).

At Çatalhöyük, the context for the replastering is the house. Many of the bucrania were placed on structural pillars made of large timbers, themselves frequently replastered and embedded within the house walls. These wooden pillars also were usually retrieved at house abandonment and reused in later rebuildings of the house. These wooden pillars are not needed structurally as supporting beams, and so their inclusion in the house may have a more symbolic resonance, possibly harking back to an earlier time when they were necessary or suggesting an embodied element such as a skeleton for the house that was then plastered over.

The overall symbolic concern with flesh and its removal can be related to the practical knowledge of flesh and body part manipulation that must have been involved in the human burial process. In building 49, a burial was found in a small grave adjacent to the painted northwestern platform. The head and torso were present, but the arms and legs had been removed. The perfect anatomical position and articulation of the head and torso suggested that the arms and legs had been carefully removed while the bones were still partially fleshed. Lori Hager (personal communication) has noted the extreme care and bodily knowledge that must have been involved in removing the body parts. Not only had the arms been removed but also the scapulae and clavicles—and yet not a single cut mark could be identified, suggesting an almost surgical knowledge and care. The overall bioarchaeological evidence from the site suggests that heads and other body parts were often removed before decay of the flesh, given the anatomically correct positioning of the smallest bones in the body (Andrews, Molleson, and Boz 2005).

We have already referred to the cut marks found in relation to two of the bodies from which heads had been removed at Çatalhöyük. As people dug below house platforms to make new interments, they came across earlier bodies, rearranged them, and resorted them, and in building 1, there is evidence of secondary reburial of body parts. Skulls were removed and sometimes painted in red ochre, and in the case noted above, the facial features were remodeled in plaster. Daily practices at Çatalhöyük involved detailed knowledge of the human body and its flesh. However, in particular, as we have seen, some houses became repositories for more burials than others, and all the cases of headless bodies so far found can be said to be from these history houses. Groups of houses may have been associated with the houses in which people were preferentially buried and in which individuals had special knowledge of bodily manipulation. As noted above, we have little evidence for the role of burial in the temples at Göbekli, but Schmidt (2006) has proposed a mortuary function on the basis of the evidence of mortuary associations for the buildings at Jerf el Ahmar and Nevalı Çori (Hauptmann 2007; Stordeur 2000).

The theme of bodily manipulation as a component of the social process of history making can be seen to link together many of the themes discussed in this paper. Manipulating human bodies involved piercing, cutting, and handling flesh. Birds are shown pecking the flesh from headless human corpses. In the symbolic repertoire of wild animals, the focus is on their claws, talons, horns, tusks, fangs, and stings that pierce or tear flesh. The sharp body parts are kept and hidden in plaster on house walls. The wild animals are often male, with erect penises, and in one case, an erect penis is associated with a headless corpse and with the bird theme. Clay figurines from Çatalhöyük also show the piercing or stabbing of animal bodies in a number of cases (Meskell 2007; Russell and Meece 2006), typically the fleshy parts of cattle, equids, and boars.

What, then, of the tools involved in piercing the flesh? Many of the most finely flaked daggers from Çatalhöyük were made of flint. Two flint daggers have been found with bone handles, one depicting a boar's head (from building 3; Stevanovic and Tringham 1998) and the other a snake (Mellaart 1967). The largest proportion of flaked stone points was made of obsidian (Carter, Conolly, and Spasojević 2005). The elaborate, bifacially flaked projectile points occur in a wide range of contexts, including graves, and they functioned as arrowheads, spear points, or knives/daggers. It is a remarkable fact that in the Middle East as a whole, elaborate, large bifacially flaked projectile points are not associated with late Paleolithic and Epipaleolithic sites. During these later stages of hunting and gathering, the focus was on light arrowheads made with small microliths (Henry 1989) and short blades in the PPNA (Bar-Yosef 1981; Gopher 1994). Bifacially flaked large points become more common in the PPNB (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2001); that is the period in which there was heavy dependence on domesticated sheep and goats and in which the symbolic elaborations around dangerous wild animals, the dead, and piercing the flesh reach their height. However, large bifacial chipped tools are most common in the seventh millennium, for example, PPNC and Pottery Neolithic Levant, just as at Çatalhöyük. These points may well have played their role in protecting domesticated flocks from wild animals; they may be herders' tools. Some may have been used as knives to cut up domestic animals. But some points may have played a part in the confrontation of wild animals as part of social and ritual ceremonial and in the processing of human flesh; the more elaborate flint daggers with carved handles are most likely to have been involved in this way.

Finally, we wish to mention another possible association of this suite of symbolic themes and practical engagements. If a key theme is indeed the piercing of animals and humans

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

and their refleshing, then we might expect a focus on blood and its symbolic potentials. The color red is used extensively at Çatalhöyük. Lower portions of walls are often colored red, especially in relation to burial platforms, entrance ways, and thresholds. Red hands are depicted on walls. Many burials include scatterings of red ochre. Red paint was applied around the neck of a headless figurine, representing both the fleshed body and the skeletal body. Moreover, the claws of the pair of leopards in Mellaart's (1967:119) shrine VI.B.44 were repeatedly painted red, as were the mouths, and red paint was applied onto the heads and snouts of animal installations in other houses. Taken together, we might suggest that the piercing and manipulation of human bodies, as well as the depiction of dangerous animals, was connected to the color red and possibly the representation of blood at Çatalhöyük.

Conclusions

We do not wish to downplay the interesting differences in the symbolism of Çatalhöyük and Göbekli. For example, more herbivores (equids, cattle, deer) are shown in the symbolism at Çatalhöyük and fewer foxes, snakes, spiders, and scorpions. This may relate to the different subsistence strategies of the sites and the different landscapes in which various forms of wild animals dominated. Irrespective of these differences, there remains a focus on the depiction of wild, dangerous, or predatory beasts. However, there are also important social and economic changes that occurred between the two sites, particularly in relation to the increased dependence on domesticated plants and animals and the shift from public to domestic ritual. Equally, there are important changes within the sites. For example, at Çatalhöyük, the focus on animal installations in houses predominates in the earlier (pre–level V) buildings, while the focus on fleshy figurines with removable heads predominates in later (level V and above) levels. There seems to be a breakdown in the centrality of the history house themes and practices in the upper levels for reasons that remain to be explored (Düring 2006), and the same may be true of other sites in the Neolithic of the Middle East as the distinctive long-lived PPNB sites decline and transformation occurs into the Pottery Neolithic.

We do not wish to downplay these regional and temporal variations. The polycentric nature of the Neolithic in the Middle East has become abundantly clear over recent decades (Gérard and Thissen 2002; Mithen 2004; Özdoğan and Başgelen 1999), but it is clear that a suite of themes involving skulls and birds of prey, wild cattle, and other dangerous animals and masculinity circulated over enormous areas of the Middle East during the period in which people settled into large villages or towns and adopted agriculture. The similarities between Çatalhöyük and Göbekli and in material culture we have drawn with other sites suggest a very long-term and very far-flung set of myths, ideas, and orientations, even if there were many local variations. These interconnections need to be set in the context of other similarities and interactions over the area in the Neolithic, especially in the PPNB: intramural burial, stone tool types, obsidian, and shell exchange.

At one level, we see the similar symbolic themes as linked to the processes of settling and forming long-term villages, with all the dependencies on social structures that these villages imply. The long-termness involved delayed returns, and it was produced by the focus on constructing histories, as seen in the history houses at Çatalhöyük and the repeatedly reused and replaced temples at Göbekli. Hodder (2007*a*) has elsewhere described the rebuilding of houses in place as a widespread theme of history making from the Epipaleolithic to the PPNB throughout the region. At another level, the focus on history making involved daily practices of living on and over human remains, the circulation of body parts, and the cutting and remaking of flesh. There was some equivalence of human and animal heads, the latter perhaps as mementoes of significant social events at which largesse and status were built around the killing and distributing of wild animals.

At Çatalhöyük, the longer-lasting history houses were preferentially involved in the obtaining and passing down of male cattle horns, resulting from feasts and other events in which dangerous wild animals were involved. They amassed more of these mementoes, and they were preferentially involved in the processing of human flesh and skeletons and the associated ritual knowledge. The manipulation of the human body was an important part of history making. If the social and ritual events, such as teasing, baiting, killing, feasting on, and passing down wild animals, often had a phallocentric focus, both males and females were equally involved in the construction of histories and were equal participants in the building of memories (as seen in the removal and circulation of human heads). At Göbekli, we can as yet say little about the social role of the symbolism, except that it again probably took place in relation to ancestry and the construction of histories in the frequently replaced and long-lived temples.

There is little evidence that all this was couched in terms of a nurturing female or a mothering goddess linked to the fertility of crops. Imagery of a nurturing female is absent from Göbekli, and it is all but absent from Çatalhöyük. Equally, there is little to no symbolic focus on domesticated animals or domesticated plants at Çatalhöyük. Grain bins or pots are not decorated in the main sequence at the site. The process of domestication of different species of plants and animals was long and drawn out in the Middle East, but some genetic changes are visible in PPNA, and by the mid-PPNB, there is a full suite of domestic plants and domestic sheep, goats, and dogs available, with regional variation in terms of pig and finally cattle domestication (the latter in the seventh millennium BC). The symbolic concentrations on masculinity; wild, dangerous things; and circulating human flesh and bone in houses and buildings occurs before full domestication at Göbekli and in the Natufian and continues on coincident with the increased use of domestic animals, the increased stability

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

and continuity of houses, and the increased focus on the creation of histories into the PPNB generally and into the Pottery Neolithic at Çatalhöyük. It seems, then, that domestication occurred in the context of societies thoroughly engaged in building histories around their manipulation of nondomestic species. The ability to kill a dangerous wild animal or a large wild bull, to use and overcome its masculinity, and to control the distribution of its meat and mementoes was as important to creating the agricultural revolution as domesticating plants and animals. The knowledge of how to pierce animal and human flesh and disarticulate and reflesh human bodies and skulls was as important to creating the long-term dependencies of agricultural societies as the storage of grain and the management of herds. An intriguing possibility that needs further exploration is that the forces that fueled more intensive use of plants and animals were social processes involving maleness, dangerous wild animals, and the piercing of human flesh.

Acknowledgments

We are very grateful to Klaus Schmidt for encouraging us to make these comparisons and for providing access to Göbekli and its imagery. We should emphasize that the interpretations we make here, including of the Göbekli material, are our own and we do not mean to implicate the excavator of Göbekli in them. We are also grateful to the sponsors of the Çatalhöyük Research Project, including the John Templeton Foundation, and to all the members of the project on whose work this article is based. We acknowledge the helpful comments of Ofer Bar-Yosef, Nigel Goring-Morris, Ian Kuijt, Louise Martin, Steve Mithen, Carolyn Nakamura, and Mehmet Özdoğan, as well as the reviewers of the paper.

Comments

Douglas Baird
School of Archaeology, Classics, and Egyptology, University of Liverpool, Hartley Building, Brownlow Street, Liverpool L69 3GS, United Kingdom (d.baird@liverpool.ac.uk). 24 XI 10

Hodder and Meskell identify a number of common threads in imagery and ritual practices from the early Neolithic of northern Mesopotamia and the later Neolithic of central Anatolia. They argue that the distance in time and space between these periods and areas, while not unproblematic, is actually an interesting element of the evidence in that it makes the commonalities all the more intriguing. Some of the commonalities are compelling and have not perhaps received enough attention in the past, notably the association of vultures and human headless bodies and heads, matched by the importance of raptors in imagery and special deposits of raptor elements at sites such as Çatalhöyük and Zawi Chemi Shanidar. In addition, they have clearly done a service by identifying and linking the importance of male representations and preponderances of male animals within some of these contexts, particularly notable at Göbekli, where it is clear that the depictions of many wild animals and the anthropomorphic representations, whether larger than life T-shaped pillars or smaller statues, are male.

In highlighting that previous arguments for the dominance of female representations and the related ideas of the dominance of female deities in the Neolithic, as espoused by archaeologists working in the '60s and '70s, are weak, Hodder and Meskell are keen to point out that they do not want to replace one metanarrative with another. Nevertheless, this is the danger of focusing on certain elements of the evidence, mainly from two sites, considered separate from the quite distinct social contexts in which the practices operated. For example, male representations seem less predominant at Çatalhöyük and more context contingent, for example, hunting scenes and the products of the hunt—bucrania. It is worth recalling that the bulk of the evidence discussed comes from restricted contexts even at the two sites that form the focus of discussion. In terms of the imagery, at Göbekli it is the monumental public buildings (four enclosures A–D) of the earlier levels of the site that provide the bulk of the evidence presented; at Çatalhöyük it is a few houses that have naturalistic wall paintings. In terms of other sorts of symbolic practice that deployed parts of animal bodies, figurines, and installations, it is notable that this evidence is only from Çatalhöyük and is not supported by analogous practices using animal elements or human remains from Göbekli at all. The dismemberment of human and animal bodies and figurines seen in practices at Çatalhöyük is not present at Göbekli as far as we know, and therefore, the imagery there may be little connected to the symbolic practices implied by the dismemberments and displays of material in houses at Çatalhöyük. The links in the imagery between the two sites appear tenuous in that while there is overlap in species, there are certainly different emphases; for example, snakes at Göbekli and even the representations of similar species are likely to have quite different meanings in these different contexts. Most animals at Çatalhöyük are shown in huntlike scenes, sometimes dwarfing the humans, and the bucrania seem to be trophies of such activities. The context of representation is different at Göbekli; there, the anthropomorphic T-pillars dwarf a wide range of species and sometimes carry animals under their arms. Indeed, in terms of relationships between humanlike entities and animals, one could argue for quite different relationships in that at Göbekli large humanlike figures dominate animals and at Çatalhöyük people alive or dead are challenged by animals.

At Göbekli, the four enclosures are large public buildings, settings designed to afford the gathering of multiple house-

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

holds or elements thereof, the structures potentially accommodating between 30 and 150 people. These buildings were clearly designed to facilitate communal gathering, and the images were probably referenced in these settings. Currently, the raptor and the headless human with a morbid erection create a unique scene that parallels the rare vulture images at Çatalhöyük, which themselves are not associated with most of the hunting scenes that occur in later levels at Çatalhöyük. At Çatalhöyük, these vulture scenes are restricted to a few buildings likely used by a few specific households. There is no evidence that they necessarily represent community-wide concerns. Likewise, the hunting scenes are portrayed in a few buildings. These images may well express the beliefs and concerns of restricted networks within the Çatalhöyük community and indeed be bound up with the identities of small-scale lineages. At Çatalhöyük, headless bodies and heads are juxtaposed with carrion eaters, scenes referencing excarnation or war. At Göbekli, the single headless human is portrayed at the moment of death, hence the morbid erection, and is part of a complex scene involving a moon or sun symbol, structures, and possibly totemic animals, and the meaning seems to be quite different.

There are a wide range of birds in this Neolithic imagery, and to suggest similar meanings for these is also problematic: at Göbekli, water birds waddle across rocks; at Çatalhöyük, two cranes dance together; at both, vultures hover over headless people; at Late Neolithic Bouqras, a series of large birds are portrayed in a painting; and at Natufian Hilazon Tachtit, eagle elements are found. It seems likely the scavenging vultures, waddling water birds, birds of prey, paired cranes, and large birds at Bouqras all mean or evoke quite different things.

The Çatalhöyük history houses, repositories of memories that provided a source of symbolic power, are discussed elsewhere. I am less clear how well this phenomenon relates to the other evidence presented in this paper. I am not clear how distinct the history houses at Çatalhöyük were, certainly as presented here. Is it always houses with lots of burials that make reference to their predecessors or show evidence of digging for earlier materials? Are such history houses always the ones from which skulls are recovered and deposited, or is it simply that skull removal is a defining criterion, so by definition a history house is identified where there is skull removal? One would like to see clearer evidence of correlations with other practices. Are all history house lineages concerned with skulls? It is also not clear how well such a concept transfers to Göbekli; certainly, as these were public buildings, it seems likely that the same sorts of institutions and institutional histories existed at each site. The histories of the institutions at Göbekli probably involved many more households than those at Çatalhöyük. There is no current evidence for the sort of retrieval and redeployment of human remains or earlier material directly related to the continuity of the Göbekli institutions. Having said this, there does seem to be evidence of certain continuities at Göbekli. It seems likely some of the enclosures are reconstructed, with later buildings set up within the shell of earlier buildings. In addition, there is evidence for dismemberment of elements of buildings, for example, pillars for use elsewhere. Undoubtedly, this will be a fruitful area for further investigation. In short, the varied practices of Çatalhöyük are well documented and interestingly interrelated, and there are some reflections of common concerns between the two communities that are the focus of study, but the symbolism seems to be deployed in quite different social contexts with largely different meanings.

E. B. Banning
Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, 19 Russell Street, Toronto, Ontario M5S 2S2, Canada (ted.banning@utoronto.ca). 18 VII 10

I see two main themes in Hodder and Meskell's article: one regarding the association of fierce animal imagery, phalluses, and masculinity and one regarding flesh, defleshing, body parts, and especially skull curation. I agree entirely with the authors about past overemphasis on female imagery in the Neolithic and find other aspects quite compelling, but I would like to point out possible directions for alternative hypotheses on these themes.

Past interpretations of Neolithic curation of body parts, and especially human skulls, have emphasized ancestor veneration and social integration and (for nonhumans) have recently focused on feasting. Hodder and Meskell offer fresh views on excarnation and the use of body parts. I would like briefly to mention that, ethnographically, the curation of body parts sometimes involves attempts to neutralize, preserve, or usurp the power associated with a deceased individual. For example, in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, attitudes to death and to dead bodies are complex and varied. While ancestors are important in traditional New Guinean beliefs, the reasons for secondary mortuary treatments, including the curation of skulls and other bones, could be quite selfish. Individuals sometimes explicitly employed body parts for their own advantage, even over others of their community. Among the Asabano, before Christian missionary activity, bones of select deceased individuals were thought to give their possessors specific benefits, such as success in hunting, power in battle, or a good harvest (Lohman 2005). In addition, secondary mortuary ritual or manipulation of relics was considered to limit the deceased's opportunity to bring misfortune to the living. It is possible that body parts were used in similar ways in the Neolithic.

However, I would most like to comment on the contexts of the symbolism. Hodder and Meskell recognize regional variation as well as some real commonalities across the region and the period, yet they may still be overgeneralizing. At

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Göbekli in level III, different buildings exhibit distinctly different dominant symbols, such as foxes, boars, scorpions, or snakes, associated with apparently subsidiary ones, often snakes, spiders, various birds, "H-symbols," and bucrania. Peters and Schmidt (2004:184) specifically comment that snakes are "replaced" by wild boars in structure C, and motifs that dominate in one building serve only subsidiary roles in other structures. At Çatalhöyük, the situation is quite different. Various houses tend to repeat the same kind of symbolism in the same places: bear with upraised paws on one wall, multiple cattle skulls and horns, leopards, and so on in other distinct places, typically in the north half of structures. Although there are also replacements here, they differ in nature. Domesticated goat horns may replace aurochs horns, baited stag may replace baited aurochs, and even less intimidating animals lacking pointy horns, such as equids, can take the place of aurochs in certain kinds of scenes. However, nowhere do we find the body parts of a leopard or vulture, even sharp or pointed ones, standing in place of horns or an aurochs serving symbolically in the role usually filled by a bear. This suggests substantial semiotic difference between the two sites.

One possible interpretation of some of Çatalhöyük's installations is that at least one of their meanings is as memorials of feasts (e.g., Testart 2006; Twiss 2008), even if they sometimes have additional meanings, such as the protection of ancestors. In that case, aurochsen would appear to be feast animals of choice but with stags, goats, and equids serving as acceptable, if less prestigious, substitutes. Other symbols at Çatalhöyük, including the bears and leopards, by their ubiquity appear to be shared among most or all of the site's inhabitants, suggesting that they have something to do with large-group identity, shared cosmology, or both.

At Göbekli, possible symbols of feasts may get less emphasis; for example, bucrania in our current sample are small and occupy secondary locations in the imagery, as often do many of the other possible feast animals, such as boars and water birds. A plausible interpretation of the pattern of symbols is that the most prominent ones are emblems of smaller groups, such as lineages, clans, or Houses (sensu Lévi-Strauss 1963). That many of these emblems are depictions of "scary" animals is not necessarily associated with piercing or excarnation. As with curation of body parts, it could instead be associated with the real or imagined powers of these creatures, whether the meaning is totemic (Lévi-Strauss 1963) or just emblematic. We need not look as far as New Guinea for analogies, as even modern sports teams often select belligerent or dangerous animals as their emblems: eagles, bears, timber wolves, bulls. Where a group emblem appears in subsidiary position in a Göbekli building in which another symbol is dominant, this could reflect kinship, affinity, or some other kind of social alliance.

Anna Belfer-Cohen and A. Nigel Goring-Morris
Department of Prehistory, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 91905, Israel (belferac@mscc.huji.ac.il, goring@mscc.huji.ac.il). 4 VII 10

Neolithization processes in the Near East undoubtedly brought about changes in the conceptual and spiritual realms of the human groups taking part in these developments. A major motif supposedly pertaining to these changes was the introduction of the "Mother goddess," a symbol of fertility and fecundity, integral to the primitive agricultural mode of existence—as most forcefully espoused by Gimbutas (1982). Indeed, this concept has been long ingrained within the mythology of Near Eastern agricultural origins. It is of interest to note that the methodology by which this concept was introduced is fraught with circular reasoning, since the simile actually derives from much later, fully fledged agricultural societies in the Balkans. Recent research, especially in the northern Levant, convincingly demonstrates that the symbolic repertoire associated with the shift to early village life was not simply within the framework of benevolent female fecundity but likely represents an aggressive, domineering male presence, full of scary bestiary. The present essay by Hodder and Meskell illustrates and discusses these issues in a timely manner. They primarily compare the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic repertoires of Late PPNB/Early Pottery Neolithic Çatalhöyük (ca. 7400–6300 BC Cal) and PPNA/Early PPNB Göbekli Tepe (ca. 9600–8000 BC Cal). They support their arguments with data from other Neolithic sites in the region.

We believe that among the issues raised in this essay, scale and context are of paramount significance in examining Neolithic worldviews in the Near East. This relates to both chronology and geography. Obviously, archaeologists have to deal with the cards that they are dealt, and thus, we are at the mercy of whatever is retained within the archaeological record, trying to "join the dots" in order to make sense out of the data. Still, some of the ensuing assumptions are problematic by sheer common sense. For example, postmortem skull removal and skull caching are first documented within the framework of the Late Epipaleolithic Natufian, ca. 12,000 BC Cal, in the southern Levant (Bonogofsky 2006; Kuijt 2008). The practice continues until at least the Late Neolithic, ca. 5500 BC Cal, in the southern Levant and through to central Anatolia. The distances involved are vast, and the intensity with which the tradition was practiced was variable. The longevity (>6,000 years) of such traditions initially practiced by complex hunter-gatherers, to be replaced in due course by farming and pastoralist societies, renders questionable the assumption that the original meaning and conceptual framework of these traditions remained static. For sure, changes occurred in tandem with other developments pertinent to different aspects of the human condition. Moreover, there is

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

ample evidence that, over time, particular symbols could be and were infused with new significance and connotations; indeed, this often represents a means of "easing in" new concepts in familiar clothing, to assist their incorporation within the social fabric/conceptual frame of references, which is, by default, of a conservative nature (see also Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002).

We should remember that the motifs that seem to persist through time were associated with other ritual phenomena that did not persevere. Besides skull removal, some Natufian burials were accompanied by grave goods, which often comprised animal bones (see the reference of Hodder and Meskell to the Late Natufian Hilazon Tachtit shaman's burial). A common element among those were tortoise shells (as opposed to the carnivore and eagle bones encountered in the shaman's burial, which are rather the exception), also recovered in other nonmundane Natufian contexts. That very same shaman burial was accompanied by more than 70 complete tortoise skeletons, including the carapaces. This custom did not "survive," as we presently have no continued inclusion of tortoises within Levantine Neolithic sacred domains or burials. The same is valid also for some of the bestiary recorded at Göbekli Tepe, which does not appear in the later bestiary of Çatalhöyük. Gone are the spiders and scorpions, as opposed to other animals (see Peters and Schmidt 2004, table 2). At one time, though, these animals were an integral part of a repertoire, the spiritual concepts of the entity at hand. What is the meaning of the particular motifs that continued to appear; is it the same as when these motifs were but a fraction of a whole?

There are obvious differences in the geographic contexts of the Neolithic spiritual domains. The authors mentioned some, but we would like to note a few other no less important differences for endeavors to reconstruct Neolithic spiritual worldviews. Thus, when comparing and drawing parallels with the Natufian, one should bear in mind that while the Natufian, with its symbolic imagery, is found predominantly in the southern Levant, starting with the very beginning of the Neolithic, the wealth of symbolic imagery in the northern Levant contrasts starkly with the paucity evident in the southern Levant.

Another point of geographic differences in the early Neolithic of the northern Levant is the contrast between domestic and ritual architecture. Here one can cite the presence of special communal structures (kivas) within settlements such as Jerf el-Ahmar, Tell ʿAbr 3, and Mureybet on the Euphrates. It is important to note that special structures within occupation sites are already documented in the southern Levant earlier on, during the Natufian (e.g., at Wadi Hammeh 27 and Mallaha; see references in Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2008) and PPNA. Do these find echoes in the history houses of Çatalhöyük?

In recent years, large numbers of PPNA and PPNB sites have been documented in the region bounded by the Taurus/Zagros and the Euphrates and Tigris rivers—the "Golden Triangle." Many of the settlements are located on the banks of the rivers and their tributaries, while Göbekli and other similar sites (e.g., Karahan, Sefer Tepe, and Hamzan, each with hundreds of T-shaped pillars and each less than 80 km from one another; Çelik 2000, 2004, 2006; Schmidt 2005) are located on or close to watershed situations. At Göbekli at least there seems to be no evidence for purely domestic architecture. These special sites may have formed together a node functioning somewhat akin to the later classical Greek amphictyony (Belfer-Cohen and Goring-Morris 2002, 2005). By way of contrast, Çatalhöyük is located in seemingly splendid isolation on the central Anatolian plateau. Aşıklı Höyük (300 km from the middle Euphrates) is situated ca. 150 km east of Çatalhöyük on the Anatolian plateau, close to the Cappadocian obsidian sources (Esin and Harmankaya 1999). The site falls geographically and chronologically between Göbekli and Çatalhöyük, displaying domestic architectural parallels to Çatalhöyük. However, the spectacular mural art of Çatalhöyük is almost entirely absent.

Apparently, the similarity in motifs is in contrast with the differing contexts in which they are portrayed, whether intrasite, as is the case with the spatial architectural arrangements in Jerf el-Ahmar of living quarters and kivas, or intersite, as is the case of Göbekli being one of a number of similar sites. This differs with what is encountered in Çatalhöyük, where the sacred is interwoven with the mundane in the history houses, being an isolated and unique occurrence among contemporaneous sites on the Anatolian plateau. While the later Çatalhöyük is clearly domestic in overall nature (albeit with its history houses/shrines), the earlier Göbekli has, so far at least, furnished evidence only of ritual/ceremonial architecture, a difference that obviously influenced the frame of reference and contextual meaning of the various symbolic motifs depicted in the various media at both sites.

Last, but not least, we should note that there is also the issue of the modern mythology surrounding the site of Çatalhöyük itself. Since the initial investigations by Mellaart (1967), it has been portrayed as a central but almost totally isolated town, featuring huge quantities of symbolically loaded murals, bas-reliefs, and the like. Intriguingly, the vast majority of the more spectacular scenes found in the earlier excavations have not been matched in Hodder's (2006*a*) ongoing project there. In examining the relatively rare instances where Mellaart (1967) provided original photographs, in addition to his own reconstructions, one is left with the clear notion that the latter are rather imaginative renderings, to say the least. While certain symbolic elements at Çatalhöyük are clearly gendered, we are less convinced that this should be portrayed as phallocentric, in contrast to the situation at Göbekli.

Still, congratulations are due to Hodder and Meskell for opening new venues of interpretation and challenging previous axioms. "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, Than are dreamt of in your philosophy" (*Hamlet*, act 1, scene V), and these are hopefully but humble beginnings of greater revelations to come.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Kostas Kotsakis
Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 54124, Greece (kotsakis@hist.auth.gr). 14 VII 10

Hodder and Meskell conclude their paper with a question on the priority of human agency. By asking whether the domestication of plants and animals was fueled by social processes, they transfer directly the center of their interpretative focus from the strictly empirical to the experiential. In that, they shed a different light on the recent reappearance of the discussion concerning the origins of domestication and agriculture. To use Aldenderfer's (2009) distinction, this approach can be described as particularist, in the sense that it relates domestication at Çatalhöyük with the remarkable specificity of the distinct site. Having more sympathy for particularism myself, I feel more at ease in invoking situated social processes rather than global "causes," which often leave a distinct undertaste of determinism, though I concur that both approaches are complementary to each other. Still, somehow, for all things cultural, global causalities do not really feel right, especially if one does focus on the experiential side of history, on history as lived-in-the-world. Contemporary archaeology tends to do this, progressively more often. Maleness, piercing the flesh, corporeal relation to dangerous animals, memories, and mementoes project experiential meanings—they are all placing the Çatalhöyük people in a real world of lived experience.

Talking about meaning in Çatalhöyük seems like the obvious thing to do. There is so much compelling signification there that it makes the site look like a textbook of the Neolithic conceptual universe. On the other hand, deciphering signification has always been a dangerous task, and the approach applied in this paper is the comparison with another site equally spectacular in terms of symbolism, Göbekli. Both sites exhibit a symbolic vocabulary that seems in many respects to coincide, a coincidence that is taken by the authors to strengthen the interpretation presented. Some of the common traits that are recognizable there are sporadically present in other sites in the wider region of the Middle East as well.

The overall picture that is thus emerging overturns some of the long-standing canonical readings of the Neolithic, mainly connected with the predominance of the female figure in the symbolic discourse. The "Great Goddess" related to fertility is a particular materialization of this idea, which, as the authors explain, comes from the nineteenth-century ethnography, together with matriarchy. In one way or another, it is still powerful today, so the paper makes a valuable contribution to this point. Equally, the ideological connection with the wild is a theme that has already been identified by many scholars, but it is now put in a different context, in connection to the phallocentric imagery of the two sites, Çatalhöyük and Göbekli. Last, the evidence for piercing and fleshing the body ascribes to the Neolithic a shade of violence that previous synthetic overviews literally ignored.

All this compelling symbolism argues for uniformity. This is not to say that there are no subtle differences in the first place: Çatalhöyük, for example, offers detailed information about the practices in which the wild male animals were involved, such as feasting or culling, while in Göbekli the role of the wild is inferred by interpreting the animal imagery. It is probable, therefore, that the apparent similarity between the two sites was structured by many diverse realities, some of them shaped during practice. From this point of view, there is definitely some risk in isolating individual themes from their particular spatiotemporal associations with social actors, objects, and events and building arguments based on a common vocabulary. The possibility that this vocabulary had an actively different meaning depending on participation in social practice cannot be excluded.

No one denies that the extreme visibility of the symbolic demands an explanation, especially in comparison with the many sites that have been excavated in the wider region, which exhibit few, or none, of these symbols. Yet, precisely this discrepancy makes it more difficult to accommodate the suggestion that they represent "a very long-term and very far-flung set of myths, ideas, and orientations," even if the discrepancy represents only "local variations." Arguably, if these symbolic manifestations constituted widespread structured totalities (a sort of conceptual universal of the earliest Neolithic), they must have been somehow also present in the less symbolically expressive communities—unless, of course, the signification process was more complicated than an expression of myth or an agreed canonization of meaning. In that case, a whole new set of questions arises about the nature and modes of representation in the Neolithic communities and the conditions or the practical circumstances of their selections. Is the "reading" of symbols fixed and constant? Furthermore, is this imagery a communicative signification or mainly an index (Knappett 2005) of the essential conditions of living in the particular sites? We have to thank the authors for opening up this intriguing subject and for taking us a step closer to the meanings of Neolithic life.

Mehmet Özdoğan
Prehistorya Anabilim Dali, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul Universitesi, 34134 Istanbul, Turkey (c.mozdo@gmail.com). 29 VII 10

With the increase in the number of excavations in Anatolia, there has been a sudden and rather unpredicted inflow of information thoroughly changing the picture of the Neolithic

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

period. The evidence now becoming available is so inconsistent with earlier assessments that it is becoming necessary to reconsider all previous assumptions and more significantly to look for new definitions. In this respect, the recovery of spectacular figurative representations has made it possible to reflect on the art, symbolism, cult practices, and belief systems of the Neolithic communities. Previously, as clearly noted by Hodder and Meskell, the Neolithic of Anatolia was considered through the steatopygous female figurines, mostly depicted in imposing postures. These corpulent female figurines were taken to stand for agricultural productivity, and the entire ideological framework of the Neolithic communities was narrowed down to the concept of fertility. The biases in this approach are evident; first, as noted by Hodder and Meskell, the extensive presence of male and animal representations had been overlooked and the role of food production overestimated. Thus, Hodder and Meskell, besides questioning the myth of the mother goddess, open a new dialog on the belief system of the Neolithic period, which is now understood to be much more complex than previous assumptions.

The authors have based their arguments on the comparative analysis of Çatalhöyük and Göbekli Tepe, the two most prolific sites; however, these two sites are more than 2,000 years apart in time. Whether drawing conclusions without considering the happenings of those 2,000 years can be justified is a matter of methodological discussion. However, we are rather worried that overlooking the evidence of other sites such as Körtiktepe, Çayönü, Can Hasan, and Hacılar that are within the time range of Çatalhöyük and Göbekli Tepe might pave the way for a new set of biases.

The Göbekli Tepe evidence is solely derived from cult buildings. The authors have correctly noted the predominant presence of the male deity, figuratively symbolized by phallic representations. However, considering the evidence of other contemporary sites where domestic areas have also been excavated, there is an evident controversy between female and male deities (Özdoğan 2001). In the domestic buildings, at both Çayönü and Mezraa Teleilat, there were female figurines depicted as being pregnant (Erim-Özdoğan 2007, fig. 82; Karul, Ayhan, and Özdoğan 2002, fig. 12:96). Thus, it is possible to surmise that there was a dualism through the Neolithic communities of Anatolia, with males dominant in the templelike communal buildings and female figures mostly confined to private areas. It is also possible to surmise that the almost equal presence of male and female figures at Çatalhöyük, where no predesigned temples occur as in the southeastern parts of Turkey, signifies the merging of two distinct social systems. The authors note that female figures become more common in the upper layers of Çatalhöyük.

There has been a tendency during the past years to associate the Neolithic way of living with violence and aggression; the presence of wild beasts depicted in aggressive postures in Neolithic art has certainly provoked this interpretation. However, a holistic appraisal of the animal imagery in Neolithic sites draws another picture. Together with the beasts, all sorts of living beings, from insects to reptiles, from birds of prey to aquatic ones—every sort of animal—are represented, regardless of their nature but at the same time depicting their inherent character. Thus, all living creatures, as in the shamanistic sphere, must have been an indispensible part of their spiritual world, and they were not depicted as a threat. The mere repertoire of animals that have been transferred to Cyprus from the mainland also supports the essential role of these creatures for the spiritual lives of Neolithic communities.

The authors note the almost total absence of domestic animals in the imagery of both Çatalhöyük and Göbekli Tepe, but it should not be overlooked that there is an abundant presence of simple clay figurines of all domestic animals in the non–special building contexts of Neolithic sites. Çayönü, for example, has revealed several figurines of sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs, though none of them showed any high-level craftsmanship, as did the sculptured animals of Göbekli Tepe or Nevalı Çori. It is also true that there are no representations of plants. Thus, it seems evident that the symbolism in the special buildings had nothing to do with subsistence in contrast to concerns in domestic areas. What is being exposed at Körtiktepe is at least as inspiring as that at Göbekli Tepe, presenting an unprecedented variety of figures, mostly related to the burial customs, with "fetuslike" figures being the most outstanding ones (Özkaya and San 2007, fig. 19).

As explicitly noted by the authors, there is a great difference in the corpus of symbolism between Göbekli Tepe and Çatalhöyük; however, when the evidence is assessed, differences in social structures have to be taken into consideration. Answers to the questions we are addressing would also vary according to which sector of the site we are considering, as there is evidently a hierarchical structure, as noted at Çayönü (Özdoğan 2007). If we consider that the cult practices or symbolic assets are the direct or indirect reflections of social systems, in a dynamic era such as the Neolithic period, time dimension should not be overlooked. Nevertheless, in spite of what has been noted, the paper is extremely inspiring as a turning point from customary perceptions, stimulating a dialogue for new trajectories of looking to the Neolithic era.

Joshua Pollard
Archaeology, School of Humanities, University of Southampton, Southampton SO17 1BF, United Kingdom (c.j.pollard@soton.ac.uk). 25 IX 10

Occasionally, the results of individual excavation projects have the capacity to radically alter archaeological understanding. Such is certainly true of the recent and exemplary work at Çatalhöyük and Göbekli Tepe, which has transformed knowl-

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

edge of the contexts within which agricultural beginnings in Anatolia and the Levant were framed. Surprising are the scale, complexity, and iconographic richness of both monumental and domestic architecture immediately before and during the earliest Neolithic. Such serves to reinforce awareness that the movement toward agriculture and sedentism was configured as much through an exploration of the symbolic potential of new kinds of social and ontological relations (e.g., Cauvin 2000; Hodder 1990) as it was a process of economic substitution.

In the case of Çatalhöyük, Hodder's commitment to building interpretation into the heart of the fieldwork process has proved particularly productive. Hodder and Meskell have here pulled together some striking themes, linking both sites and a period of over 2 millennia from the early ninth to the late seventh millennia BC that sees the transition to agriculture within the region. This is, as would be expected, an excellent exercise in contextual archaeology: their three themes of Neolithic phallocentrism, dangerous wild things, and piercing and fleshing the body are thoughtfully interlinked through consideration of a variety of media and practices.

A compelling demolition of long-established interpretations focused on female fertility, matriarchy, and goddess worship is first provided. The implications of this will not be welcomed by New Age proponents of goddess veneration at Çatalhöyük. Yet while the replacement of a romanticized Neolithic characterized by feminine harmony with one in which the dominant symbolism is male, aggressive, and centered around the wild, dangerous, and predatory might be hard for some to take, it is undeniably spelled out in the material record. So one old and tired metanarrative is dispensed with, and new interpretive fields are generated. However, has this been achieved at the expense of creating a new metanarrative set diametrically against that of the goddess and the bull? I think not. The authors are fully aware of the need to situate interpretations of ritual and cosmology within the unfolding of practice and of the historical conditions within which individual agents and communities operated. It is also the specific detail of action provided by the high-resolution archaeology at Çatalhöyük that gives confidence in the linkages made between the qualities of dangerous, clawing, biting nonhuman agents; the postmortem manipulation of the human body through cutting and dismembering; and the making of history and memory through an ongoing engagement with bodies, body parts, representations, and other materials.

Most striking is the claimed longevity of these themes and practices, which implies considerable value placed on correct and repeated action, an accepted collective image of continuity, and ancestrally sanctioned tradition. The essential continuities and reengagements with the past represented by the history houses reinforce this. Hodder and Meskell do alert us to transformations as well as continuities. One should not expect rigid continuity in symbolism and belief over 2 millennia, and the different contexts within which these expressions of worldview were materialized have to be acknowledged: Çatalhöyük and Göbekli are very different kinds of sites, and it is perhaps remarkable that they can be joined at all by common themes.

My concern is that differences are perhaps played down at the expense of long-lived themes. It is acknowledged that there is a less varied range of dangerous species represented in special deposits at Çatalhöyük than at Göbekli—could this be read as evidence of transformed values? Cosmologies and animal classifications were surely shaped by the specifics of local ecologies and by people's engagement with the animal estate. Of particular note is the greater emphasis on wild cattle at Çatalhöyük. Were cattle more prevalent on the Konya Plain? Perhaps in the close-knit, aggregated world of Çatalhöyük, wild cattle were also valued didactically and metonymically for their sociability; herds of animals may have appealed to communities of people in a way that solitary leopards, snakes, and foxes did not. What if the qualities of size, strength, and vitality embodied by animals such as cattle were considered more socially benign than threatening? It might be only in fragmentation and installation that the horns and skulls of bulls signified presence danger, maleness, and processes of bodily transformation through defleshing and refleshing.

Other issues might be addressed. To what extent did the concerns expressed in the history houses at Çatalhöyük have wider resonance in routine life? In the context of managing death, social disruption, and even spirits, might the images and installations at these sites have served a primarily apotropaic function, controlling agencies that were literally close to home rather than in the wild? Eschewing interpretation that is primarily focused on representation, was there an agency to these substances and images that really mattered and that we still understand only poorly?

Lauren Talalay
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, 434 South State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109, U.S.A. (talalay@umich.edu). 11 VII 10

The prehistoric record does not surrender its "symbolic secrets" easily, and deciphering the cognitive aspects of prehistoric remains is fraught with challenges. Hodder and Meskell, therefore, are to be commended for launching a thoughtful discussion of a seemingly impenetrable set of symbols found principally at Göbekli and Çatalhöyük and to a lesser extent at other Neolithic sites in Turkey and northern Mesopotamia.

In an attempt to stimulate further discussions of the curious and dramatic finds at these sites, the authors have cast a wide net, gathering together what they consider an interrelated assortment of recurrent images and archaeological features. These include phallic imagery; depictions of what they cat-

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

egorize as predatory and dangerous animals; the portrayal and curation of talons, horns, tusks, and claws; and the treatment and disposition of human and animal skulls. According to Hodder and Meskell, some of the images and skeletal parts were passed down over the years or excavated for subsequent reuse, suggesting that the purposes and meanings were long-lived. At some fundamental level, the authors argue, all of these elements are linked by a set of themes involving maleness, dangerous and wild animals, and bodily manipulation, especially predation, piercing, bloodletting, and refleshing. Just as important, they suggest that the maintenance of select objects over time served to memorialize past behaviors associated with feasting, the treatment of the body, and perhaps large community events.

Their discussion of maleness and its place in these early agricultural societies offers a particularly valuable corrective to the widely held belief that female fertility formed a central theme in the emergence of settled village life. Masculinity has long been lurking in the wings of Mediterranean prehistory, and Hodder and Meskell have moved it center stage. Phallic imagery, both human and animal, was certainly a significant part of the symbolic repertoire at Göbekli and Çatalhöyük, and its possible meanings deserve more investigation than has hitherto been the case. Although phallic details, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, can be associated with the notion of fertility, the authors suggest that such depictions were more likely keyed to ideas of maleness, power, and authority. The authors are careful not to trade one metanarrative for another or to endorse a schema that explicitly poses "male" and "female" in opposition, preferring to set an agenda for more fine-grained investigations into the role of phallocentrism at such early sites.

Although Hodder and Meskell's ideas are intriguing and not without support, what is problematic for me is that they seem to compact or conflate too many elements and images into a slightly overstretched and not always coherently linked set of themes. There is no doubt that the depictions from both Göbekli and Çatalhöyük must have been deeply symbolic and highly ritualized, reflecting how attuned some segment of the population was to its place in the world, especially in connection with a focused array of animals. There is, however, a degree of contrivance to their analysis that limits variability of meanings. Some organizing principles likely connected at least some of these portrayals and possible associated behaviors, but the proposal that the Neolithic "bestiary," narrative art, and attendant symbols were all coupled to preoccupations with bodily manipulation, dangerous animals, and memorialization is not entirely convincing.

As Hodder and Meskell are quick to point out, Göbekli and Çatalhöyük represent very different cultures, separated by several thousand years. If we accept the authors' overarching thesis, one challenge is to determine why this particular suite of symbols and meanings would have been sustained at such different sites, for so long, and over such a wide area, if, in fact, these symbols moved across space and time as a package. Their suggestion that the themes of maleness, bodily manipulation, and dangerous animals were linked to the processes of "settling and forming long-term villages" does not seem sufficient. Other forces surely must have been at play.

While I voice some reservations with their arguments and conclusions, I am struck, as always, by the originality of their ideas. The virtue of this article lies not only in Hodder and Meskell's immediate proposals but also in the larger issues they touch upon. As they have both done on other occasions, they exhort us to reevaluate basic, underlying, and often binary templates that shape our thinking, such as male/female, human/animal, and fleshed/unfleshed. Equally important, they encourage us to contemplate other aspects of the intriguing data under discussion: who was controlling the artistic output at these sites, how does scale play into the enterprise, who possessed ritual knowledge of the body, is it correct to assume that human-animal dynamics at this time necessarily reflected predator/prey relationships, and how might such far-flung myths or ideas have traveled and become nuanced over time and space? Indeed, there is much food for thought in this discussion of the "curious and macabre" symbolism at these sites.

Reply

There is at least some unity to the comments. Almost with a single voice they suggest that we have overly emphasized continuity and similarity at the expense of discontinuities and contextual variations.

At a theoretical level, we would be the first to propose the importance of sensitivity to context. Empirically, too, we emphasize variation within the broad scheme we outlined. As we pointed out in our paper, clearly Göbekli Tepe differs from other sites in its use of massive stones and the relative lack of female symbolism. The public ritual focus of art and symbolism there and at other sites with kivalike buildings (such as Jerf el Ahmar) differs from the domestic context at Çatalhöyük. We noted many differences between the southern and northern Levant, including the lesser emphasis on the phallus in the former. Severed heads often occur deposited in groups in Levantine sites, but at Çatalhöyük they are treated as individual entities to which specific people had links (as in the burial of a woman holding a man's plastered skull from building 42). Göbekli and Çatalhöyük differ in that the former has more snakes and scorpions and fewer wild cattle; there is also a wider representation of birds at Göbekli. There is much change through time. At Çatalhöyük itself, the focus on animal installations in houses predominates in the earlier levels, while the focus on fleshy figurines with removable heads predominates in later levels. Across the region, there is a gradual increase in the amount of activity in houses, in-

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

cluding both storage and symbolic activity (Byrd 2000; Zeder 2009).

Thus, it has been far from our purpose to argue that "the original meaning and conceptual framework of these traditions remained static" (Belfer-Cohen and Goring-Morris). Rather, we argue that some themes, images, and ideas seem to have been available over wide areas and long periods, taken up and used with local meanings in specific contexts. We agree with Kotsakis that a widespread vocabulary may have been used to construct many variant local meanings. Similarities in myths, narratives, and symbolic associations seem to have continued despite local reworkings.

We are not sure why the existence of a widespread symbolic vocabulary should be surprising. This was not a disconnected set of people. There is much evidence of obsidian exchange stretching from central Turkey into the southern Levant. At Çatalhöyük, there are shells from the Mediterranean and evidence of baskets from the Red Sea (Hodder 2006*c*). During this time period, we know of movements of people to Cyprus, and Turkey is usually seen as a corridor of Neolithic migration from the Levant into Europe, perhaps in multiple waves (Cauvin 1994; Renfrew 1987). Many crops and husbanded animals were domesticated once or a few times only, so these, too, must have spread by exchange or migration of people. This was a highly connected world. There were multiple channels of communication along which a symbolic repertoire could have spread and been renewed.

Nor are we sure why 3,000–4,000-year continuities in the symbolic repertoire in the Middle East should occasion skepticism. After all, a recognizable type of art is identifiable over at least 10,000 years in the Franco-Cantabrian caves (Clottes 2008). In the Americas, there are claims for long-term associations between birds and pipe smoking (von Gernet and Timmins 1987) and in the organization of space into four-colored quarters (Flannery and Marcus 1983). The origins of Chinese geomancy (feng shui) can be traced back historically 2,000–3,000 years, and there are possible origins in urban plans (e.g., Erlitou) 4,000 years ago or even in the earlier regular orientation of Neolithic houses. In ancient Egypt, a recognizable symbolic vocabulary continued for at least 3,000 years. There have been streams of continuity in the Abrahamic religions over 3,000 years. Many of these continuities extended over social, economic, and political change that occurs at a scale greater than that found in the Neolithic.

From Braudel to Weber and from Freud to Foucault, there are many possible forms of explanation of these long-term continuities, and it was not the intent of our paper to delve into this literature (see Hodder 1987; Knapp 1992; Sherratt 1995). But the responses of the commentators suggest that some further discussion of the continuities we described may be appropriate.

Some of the continuities in the Neolithic of the Middle East may result from similarities in environment and modes of subsistence and social organization. For example, wild bulls would have been the largest and one of the most forbidding animals in the landscape, and it is likely that, as a result, they would have had high symbolic potential in a broad range of contexts and societies throughout the period. The recurrence of wild bulls and their horns does not necessarily imply continuity of meaning; these may be analogous rather than homologous similarities. Other images of wild animals and their dangerous or ferocious attributes may have been selected as powerful, without any continuity implied. Similarly, in small-scale societies in which some degree of descent is involved in the construction of affiliation between groups, there is widespread occurrence of head removal and circulation. Testart (2008) has reviewed the ethnographic occurrences of the removal of heads from kin and enemies and has applied the knowledge gained to the Neolithic of the Middle East (Hodder 2009). Head retrieval and circulation may have been emergent phenomena in particular forms of society, occurring from time to time and from place to place without any cultural continuity implied.

Some of the similarities we noted are, however, in our view, too explicit to be explained as analogous responses to similar conditions. In particular, the link between head removal and birds is very specific and distinctive and seems to us to imply continuity of repertoire, even if the specific meanings varied. Recent work at Göbekli has found waddling ducks surrounding the base of a central 5.5-m-high stele. This stele is dressed with a belt and a loin cloth, and Schmidt argues that these are the figures of gods or ancestors. In view of the other associations between birds and ancestors, it seems not unreasonable to argue that these ducks brought the belted ancestor there. Another specific comparison can be made between the serpent head sticking through the interior surface of the wall of an enclosure at Göbekli and the numerous examples of heads (of vultures, foxes, weasels, and wild boars) sticking through the plaster walls of houses at Çatalhöyük.

In our view, it seems likely that elements of narratives circulated over large areas and periods of time and were used and reused locally in a variety of contexts with a range of different meanings. They were found to have valency and to "work" in the varied versions of small-scale and relatively undifferentiated societies that existed in the region over at least 3,000 years. Notions of phallocentrism, dangerous wild animals, and the piercing of human flesh "worked" in terms of producing histories and long-term relationships in small-scale societies with limited social differentiation in a suite of related environments. Animal and human bodies were put to work to create the links through time that generated delayed-return agricultural societies. We agree with Talalay that other forces must also have been at work (see Hodder 2010; Hodder and Meskell 2010).

Whether we can as archaeologists observe this set of symbolic themes in any one site will depend on whether and how the themes were materialized and deposited. Presumably in most cases the themes circulated as oral histories and were expressed in perishable materials. We presume that at all early villages and settlements there were rich symbolic worlds—

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

but only every now and then were the conditions right for their survival: in Göbekli, the carvings on massive stone stele followed by the deep burial of the temples by infilling ensured survival; at Çatalhöyük, the happenstance of paintings on walls that were then plastered over and the houses filled with clean soil assured protection and discovery. At Körtik Tepe and Nemrik, symbols were incised on stone artifacts. From time to time, in these ways, we obtain windows into the rich diversity of ideas and symbols that circulated. It is only very rarely, particularly at Göbekli and Çatalhöyük, that the richness of the symbolism and its narrative content allow deeper insight, and it is this that justifies our focus on these particular examples.

Concerning other specific comments, we are intrigued by Banning's suggestion that there may be an interesting semiotic difference between Göbekli and Çatalhöyük, with regard to the replacing and mixing of symbols. This contribution opens up viable lines of analysis. Certainly at Çatalhöyük some replacement occurs. For example, bull paintings occur on the north walls of some buildings, but painted leopard reliefs also occur in this location. There is undoubtedly the potential for a careful and detailed analysis of the semiotic systems at these and other sites. We also agree with Banning that the reuse of the dangerous parts of wild animals could be linked to their use as emblems of lineages, clans, or houses, with the power of the animal body parts being used to give power and life to the generation and regeneration of the social group (Bloch 2010). Such an emblemic role seems particularly likely for bears and leopards at Çatalhöyük; it seems less likely for bulls, as they are ubiquitous. It is of interest, however, that the houses with most complex imagery, such as bears and leopards at Çatalhöyük, and with most elaborate internal architecture are not associated with the control of resources or concentrations of storage. There is not the evidence for symbolic differences between elite and nonelite houses, as argued by Mehmet Özdoğan at Çayönü. Once again, the regional, temporal, and site-based differences in society and symbolism are considerable.

Finally, we remain intrigued by the potential for rethinking the processes of village formation and domestication in the Middle East that is implied by the lack of evidence for fertility and agricultural symbolism. With Kotsakis, we are intrigued by the potential for a new narrative, one in which sexuality, wild animals, and the piercing of flesh play a central role. There now seems to be widespread discussion of the possibility that domestication of plants and perhaps animals happened unintentionally (Fuller, Allaby, and Stevens 2010; Zeder 2009), a side-effect of other processes. Can the revised view of the symbolism offer some insight into what these processes might have been? It is too early to give a well-developed response, but some possible lines of argument in future research might include the role of wild animals in giving power to certain social groups such that they could maintain houses over the long term, the role of sexually powerful humans and animals in protecting and sustaining those houses, and the role of cut and pierced animal and human flesh in creating continuities of houses through time. Within this view, domestication happened while people were looking the other way, absorbed in using the power of wild animals and the dead to build social institutions. The houses thus established were nevertheless material, needing increasingly intensive provisioning. The increased engagement with plants and animals in socially unmarked areas of life unintentionally led to the selection of domestic forms. By focusing on the wild and dangerous in order to form society, humans unintentionally produced the opposite—the domestic and the settled.

—Ian Hodder and Lynn Meskell

References Cited

Aldenderfer, M. 2009. Editorial: the continuing conversation about the origins of agriculture. *Current Anthropology* 50(5):585. [KK]

Andrews, P., T. Molleson, and B. Boz. 2005. The human burials at Çatalhöyük. In *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 261–278. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. 2007. *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

Bailey, D. W. 2005. Prehistoric figurines: representation and corporeality in the Neolithic. London: Routledge.

Baird, D. 2007. Pınarbaşı: from Epipalaeolithic camp site to sedentarising village in central Anatolia. In *The Neolithic in Turkey: new excavations and new discoveries*. M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen, eds. Pp. 285–311. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Bar-Yosef, O. 1981. The "Pre-Pottery Neolithic" period in the southern Levant. In *Préhistoire du Levant*. J. Cauvin and P. Sanlaville, eds. Pp. 551–570. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

———. 2002. Early Egypt and the agricultural dispersals. In *Magic practices and ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic*. H.-G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen, and C. Hoffmann Jensen, eds. Pp. 49–65. Berlin: Ex Oriente.

Bataille, G. 1986. *Eroticism, death and sexuality*. San Francisco: City Lights.

Belfer-Cohen, A., and A. N. Goring-Morris. 2002. Recent developments in Near Eastern Neolithic research. *Paléorient* 28:143–148. [B-C/G-M]

———. 2005. Which way to look? conceptual frameworks for understanding Neolithic processes. In "Dialogue on the Early Neolithic origin of ritual centres." *Neo-Lithics* 2/05:22–24. [B-C/G-M]

Bloch, M. 1992. *Prey into hunter: the politics of religious experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2010. Is there religion at Çatalhöyük . . . or are there just houses? In *Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 146–162. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bonogofsky, M. 2005. A bioarchaeological study of plastered skulls from Anatolia: new discoveries and interpretations. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 15:124–135.

———, ed. 2006. *Skull collection, modification and decoration*. BAR International Series 1539. Oxford: Archaeopress. [B-C/G-M]

Byrd, B. 2000. Households in transition: Neolithic social organization within southwest Asia. In *Life in Neolithic farming communities: social organization, identity, and differentiation*. I. Kuijt, ed. Pp. 63–98. New York: Kluwer Academic.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Carter, T., J. Conolly, and A. Spasojević. 2005. The chipped stone. In *Changing materialities at Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 221–283, 467–533. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Cauvin, J. 1994. *Naissance des divinités, naissance de l'agriculture*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

———. 2000. *The birth of the gods and the origins of agriculture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Çelik, B. 2000. An early Neolithic settlement: Karahan Tepe. *Neo-Lithics* 2–3/00:6–8.

———. 2004. A new early Neolithic settlement in southeastern Turkey: Hamzan Tepe. *Neo-Lithics* 2/04:3–5. [B-C/G-M]

———. 2006. Sefer Tepe: a new Pre-Pottery Neolithic site in south-eastern Turkey. *Neo-Lithics* 1/06:23–25. [B-C/G-M]

Chapman, J. 2000. Fragmentation in archaeology: people, places, and broken objects in the prehistory of south-eastern Europe. London: Routledge.

Clark, G. 1977. *World prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clottes, J. 2008. *Cave art*. New York: Phaidon.

Daems, A., and K. Croucher. 2007. Artificial cranial modification in prehistoric Iran: evidence from crania and figurines. *Iranica Antiqua* XLII:1–21.

Düring, B. S. 2006. Constructing communities: clustered neighbourhood settlements of the central Anatolian Neolithic, ca. 8500–5500 Cal. BC. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Erim-Özdoğan, A. 2007. Çayönü. In *Anadolu'da Uygarlığın Doğuşu ve Avrupa'ya Yayılımı: Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem: Yeni Kazılar, Yeni Bulgular*. M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen, eds. Pp. 57–97. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. [MO]

Esin, U., and S. Harmankaya. 1999. Asikli. In *The Neolithic in Turkey: new excavations and new discoveries*. M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen, eds. Pp. 115–131. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. [B-C/G-M]

Flannery, K. V., and J. Marcus. 1983. *The cloud people*. New York: Academic Press.

Fletcher, A., J. Pearson, and J. Ambers. 2008. The manipulation of social and physical identity in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 18:309–325.

Frazer, J. G. 1922. *The golden bough: a study in magic and religion*. New York: Macmillan.

Fuller, D. Q., R. G. Allaby, and C. Stevens. 2010. Domestication as innovation: the entanglement of techniques, technology and chance in the domestication of cereal crops. *World Archaeology* 42(1):13–28.

Garrod, D. A. E. 1957. The Natufian culture: the life and economy of a Mesolithic people in the Near East. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 43:211–222.

Gérard, F., and L. Thissen. 2002. The Neolithic of central Anatolia: internal developments and external relations during the 9th–6th millennia cal BC. In *Proceedings of the International CANeW Round Table, Istanbul, 23–24 November 2001*. F. Gérard and L. Thissen, eds. Pp. 181–192. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.

Gimbutas, M. 1982. *The goddesses and gods of old Europe*. Rev. edition. London: Thames & Hudson.

———. 1989. *The language of the goddess: unearthing hidden symbols of Western civilisation*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Girard, R. 1977. *Violence and the sacred*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Gopher, A. 1994. *Arrowheads of the Neolithic Levant*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Goring-Morris, A. N., H. Ashkenazi, O. Barzilai, M. Birkenfeld, V. Eshed, Y. Goren, L. K. Horwitz, M. Oron, and J. Williams. 2008. The 2007–8 excavation seasons at Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Kfar HaHoresh, Israel. *Antiquity* 82(318), http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/goringmorris/index.html.

Goring-Morris, A. N., and A. Belfer-Cohen. 2001. The symbolic realms of utilitarian material culture: the role of lithics. In *Beyond tools*. I. Caneva, C. Lemorini, D. Ampetti, and P. Biagi, eds. Pp. 257–271. Berlin: Ex Oriente.

———. 2002. Symbolic behaviour from the Epipalaeolithic and Early Neolithic of the Near East: preliminary observations on continuity and change. In *Magic practices and ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic*. H.-G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen, and C. Hoffmann Jensen, eds. Pp. 67–79. Berlin: Ex Oriente.

———. 2008. A roof over one's head: developments in Near Eastern residential architecture across the Epipalaeolithic-Neolithic transition. In *The Neolithic demographic transition and its consequences*. J.-P. Bocquet-Appel and O. Bar-Yosef, eds. Pp. 239–286. New York: Springer. [B-C/G-M]

Goring-Morris, A. N., and L. K. Horwitz. 2007. Funerals and feasts during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Near East. *Antiquity* 81: 902–919.

Grosman, L., N. D. Munro, and A. Belfer-Cohen. 2008. A 12,000-year-old Shaman burial from the southern Levant (Israel). *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA* 105:17665–17669.

Hamilton, N. 1996. Figurines, clay balls, small finds and burials. In *On the surface: Çatalhöyük 1993–1995*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 215–263. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Hansen, S. 2007. *Bilder vom Menschen der Steinzeit*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Hauptmann, H. 2007. Nevalı Çori. In *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. Pp. 86–93. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

Hauptmann, H., and K. Schmidt. 2007. Anatolien vor 12 000 Jahren: die Skulpturen des Frühneolithikums. In *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. Pp. 67–82. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

Henry, D. 1989. *From foraging to agriculture: the Levant at the end of the Ice Age*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hodder, I., ed. 1987. *Archaeology as long-term history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 1990. *The domestication of Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.

———, ed. 1996. *On the surface: Çatalhöyük 1993–1995*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———, ed. 2000. *Towards reflexive method in Archaeology: the example at Çatalhöyük*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———, ed. 2005*a*. *Çatalhöyük perspectives: themes from the 1995–1999 seasons*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———, ed. 2005*b*. *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———. 2006*a*. *Çatalhöyük: the leopard's tale: revealing the mysteries of Turkey's ancient "town."* London: Thames & Hudson.

———, ed. 2006*b*. *Changing materialities at Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———. 2006*c*. *The leopard's tale: revealing the mysteries of Çatalhöyük*. London: Thames & Hudson.

———. 2007*a*. Çatalhöyük in the context of the Middle East Neolithic. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36:105–120.

———, ed. 2007*b*. *Excavating Çatalhöyük: south, north and KOPAL area reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———. 2009. An archaeological response. *Paléorient* 35(1):109–111.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

———, ed. 2010. *Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I., and L. Meskell. 2010. The symbolism of Çatalhöyük in its regional context. In *Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 32–72. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodder, I., and P. Pels. 2010. History houses: a new interpretation of architectural elaboration at Çatalhöyük. In *Religion in the emergence of civilization: Çatalhöyük as a case study*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 163–186. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hutton, R. 1997. The Neolithic great goddess: a study in modern tradition. *Antiquity* 71:91–99.

Karul, N., A. Ayhan, and M. Özdoğan. 2002. Mezraa-Teleilat 2000. In *Salvage project of the archaeological heritage of the Ilısu and Carchemish Dam reservoirs: activities in 2000*. N. Tuna and J. Velibeyoğlu, eds. Pp. 101–148. Ankara: Middle East Technical University, Centre for Research and Assessment of the Historic Environment (TAÇDAM). [MO]

Kemp, B. J. 2000. The colossi from the early shrine at Coptos in Egypt. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 20:211–242.

Knapp, A. B., ed. 1992. *Archaeology, annales, and ethnohistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Knappett, Carl. 2005. *Thinking through material culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. [KK]

Kozlowski, S. K. 1992. *Nemrik 9: Pre-Pottery Neolithic site in Iraq 2*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

———. 2002. *Nemrik 9: an Aceramic village in northern Iraq*. Warsaw: University of Warsaw Institute of Archaeology.

Kuijt, I. 2008. The regeneration of life: Neolithic structures of symbolic remembering and forgetting. *Current Anthropology* 49(2): 171–197.

Kuijt, I., and M. Chesson. 2005. Lumps of clay, pieces of stone: ambiguity, bodies and identity as portrayed in Neolithic figurines. In *Archaeologies of the Middle East: critical perspectives*. S. Pollock and R. Bernbeck, eds. Pp. 152–183. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1963. *Totemism*. R. Needham, trans. Boston: Beacon. [EBB]

Lewis-Williams, D. 2004. Constructing a cosmos: architecture, power and domestication at Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4: 28–59.

Lohman, R. 2005. The afterlife of Asabano corpses: relationships with the deceased in Papua New Guinea. *Ethnology* 44(2):189–206. [EBB]

Mellaart, J. 1966. Excavations at Catal Hüyük, 1965: fourth preliminary report. *Anatolian Studies* 16:165–191.

———. 1967. *Çatal Hüyük: a Neolithic town in Anatolia*. London: Thames & Hudson.

Meskell, L. M. 1995. Goddesses, Gimbutas and New Age archaeology. *Antiquity* 69:74–86.

———. 2007. Refiguring the corpus at Çatalhöyük. In *Material beginnings: a global prehistory of figurative representation*. A. C. Renfrew and I. Morley, eds. Pp. 137–149. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

———. 2008. The nature of the beast: curating animals and ancestors at Çatalhöyük. *World Archaeology* 40:373–389.

Meskell, L. M., and C. Nakamura. 2005. *Çatalhöyük figurines: archive report on the Çatalhöyük season 2005*. http://www.catalhoyuk.com.

Meskell, L. M., C. Nakamura, R. King, and S. Farid. 2008. Figured lifeworlds and depositional practices at Çatalhöyük. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 182(2):139–161.

Mithen, S. 2004. *After the ice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mithen, S., B. Finlayson, and R. Shaffrey. 2005. Sexual symbolism in the Early Neolithic of the southern Levant: pestles and mortars from WF16. *Documenta Praehistorica* XXXII:103–110.

Molleson, T., P. Andrews, and B. Boz. 2005. Reconstruction of the Neolithic people of Çatalhöyük. In *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons*. I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 279–300. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Morsch, M. G. F. 2002. Magic figurines? some remarks about the clay objects of Nevalı Çori. In *Magic practices and ritual in the Near Eastern Neolithic*. H.-G. K. Gebel, B. D. Hermansen, and C. Hoffmann Jensen, eds. Pp. 145–162. Berlin: Ex Oriente.

Nakamura, C., and L. M. Meskell. 2006. *Çatalhöyük figurines: archive report on the Çatalhöyük season 2006*. http://www.catalhoyuk.com.

———. 2009. Articulate bodies: forms and figures at Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 16:205–230.

Nanoglou, S. 2006. Regional perspectives on the Neolithic anthropomorphic imagery of northern Greece. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19:155–176.

———. 2008. Building biographies and households: aspects of community life in Neolithic northern Greece. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8:139–160.

Nergis, S. 2008. Yakin Dogu Neolitikinde Phallus Sembolü Sorunu (The problems concerning the phallic symbols in the Neolithic of the Near East). PhD dissertation, Prehistory Section, Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University.

Noy, T. 1991. Art and decoration of the Natufian at Nahal Oren. In *The Natufian culture in the Levant*. O. Bar-Yosef and F. R. Valla, eds. Pp. 557–568. Ann Arbor, MI: International Monographs in Prehistory.

Özdoğan, M. 2001. The Neolithic deity: male or female. In *Lux Orientis, Festschrift für Harald Hauptmann*. R. M. Boehmer and J. Maran, eds. Pp. 313–318. Rahden: Marie Leidorf.

———. 2002. Defining the Neolithic of central Anatolia. In *Proceedings of the International CANeW Round Table, Istanbul, 23–24 November 2001*. F. Gérard and L. Thissen, eds. Pp. 253–261. Istanbul: Ege Yayınları.

———. 2003. A group of Neolithic stone figurines from Mezraa-Teleilat. In *From village to cities: early villages in the Near East*. M. Özdoğan, H. Hauptmann, and N. Başgelen, eds. Pp. 511–523. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

———. 2007. Von Zentralanatolien nach Europa: die Ausbreitung der neolithischen Lebensweise. In *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. Pp. 150–160. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum. [MO]

Özdoğan, M., and N. Başgelen, eds. 1999. *The Neolithic in Turkey: new excavations and new discoveries*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Özkaya, V., and O. San. 2007. Körtik Tepe: Bulgular Işığında Kültürel Doku Üzerine İlk Gözlemler. In *Anadolu'da Uygarlığın Doğuşu ve Avrupa'ya Yayılımı. Türkiye'de Neolitik Dönem: Yeni Kazılar, Yeni Bulgular*. M. Özdoğan and N. Başgelen, eds. Pp. 21–36. İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları. [MO]

Peters, J., D. Helmer, M. Saña Segui, and A. Von Den Driesch. 1999. Early animal husbandry in the northern Levant. *Paleorient* 25:27–48.

Peters, J., and K. Schmidt. 2004. Animals in the symbolic world of Pre-Pottery Neolithic Göbekli Tepe, south-eastern Turkey: a preliminary assessment. *Anthropozoologica* 39:179–218. [EBB, B-C/G-M]

Renfrew, C. 1987. *Archaeology and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rollefson, G. O. 2008. Charming lives: human and animal figurines in the Late Epipaleolithic and Early Neolithic periods in the greater Levant and eastern Anatolia. In *The Neolithic demographic transition and its consequences*. J.-P. Bocquet-Appel and O. Bar-Yosef, eds. Pp. 387–416. New York: Springer.

Rosenberg, M. 2007. Hallan Çemi. In *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit*. Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. Pp. 54–57. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Rosenberg, M., and R. W. Redding. 2000. Hallan Çemi and early village organization in eastern Anatolia. In *Life in Neolithic farming communities: social organization, identity, and differentiation.* I. Kuijt, ed. Pp. 39–61. New York: Kluwer.

Rudebeck, E. 2000. Tilling nature, harvesting culture. *Acta Archaeologica Lundensia* 32. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.

Russell, N., and L. Martin. 2005. The Çatalhöyük mammal remains. In *Inhabiting Çatalhöyük: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons.* I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 33–98. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Russell, N., L. Martin, and H. Buitenhuis. 2005. Cattle domestication at Çatalhöyük revisited. *Current Anthropology* 46(suppl.):S101–S108.

Russell, N., and K. J. McGowan. 2003. Dance of the cranes: crane symbolism at Çatalhöyük and beyond. *Antiquity* 77:445–455.

Russell, N., and S. Meece. 2006. Animal representations and animal remains at Çatalhöyük. In *Çatalhöyük perspectives: reports from the 1995–1999 seasons.* I. Hodder, eds. Pp. 209–230. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Schmidt, K. 2005. "Ritual centers" and the Neolithisation of Upper Mesopotamia. *Neo-Lithics* 2/05:13–21. [B-C/G-M]

———. 2006. *Sie bauten den ersten Tempel: das rätselhafte Heiligtum der Steinzeitjäger.* Munich: C. H. Beck.

———. 2007. Göbekli Tepe. In *Vor 12.000 Jahren in Anatolien: die ältesten Monumente der Menschheit.* Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, ed. Pp. 74–75. Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum.

Sherratt, A. 1995. Reviving the grand narrative: archaeology and long-term change. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3:1–32.

Simmons, T., and D. Nadel. 1998. The avifauna of the early Epipalaeolithic site of Ohalo II (19–400 years BP), Israel: species diversity, habitat and seasonality. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 8:79–96.

Solecki, R. L., and T. H. McGovern. 1980. Predatory birds and prehistoric man. In *Theory and practice: essays presented to Gene Weltfish.* S. Diamond, ed. Pp. 79–95. The Hague: Mouton.

Stevanovic, M., and R. Tringham. 1998. *The BACH 1 area: Çatalhöyük archive report 1998.* http://catal.arch.cam.ac.uk/catal/Archive_rep98/stevanovic98.html.

Stordeur, D. 2000. New discoveries in architecture and symbolism at Jerf el Ahmar (Syria), 1997–1999. *Neo-Lithics* 1/00:1–4.

Stordeur, D., M. Benet, G. der Aprahamian, and J.-C. Roux. 2000. Les bâtiments communautaires de Jerf el Ahmar et Mureybet PPNA (Syrie). *Paléorient* 26:29–44.

Talalay, L. 2004. Heady business: skulls, heads and decapitation in Neolithic Anatolia and Greece. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 17:139–163.

Testart, A. 2006. Interprétation symbolique et interpretation religieuse en archéologie: l'exemple du taureau à Çatal Höyük. *Paléorient* 32(2):23–57. [EBB]

———. 2008. Des crânes et des vautours ou la guerre oubliée. *Paléorient* 34(1):33–58.

Twiss, K. 2008. Transformations in an early agricultural society: feasting in the southern Levantine Pre-Pottery Neolithic. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 27(4):418–442. [EBB]

Twiss, K. C., A. Bogaard, D. Bogdan, T. Carter, M. P. Charles, S. Farid, N. Russell, M. Stevanović, E. N. Yalman, and L. Yeomans. 2008. Arson or accident? the burning of a Neolithic house at Çatalhöyük. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 33:41–57.

Twiss, K. C., and N. Russell. 2009. Taking the bull by the horns: ideology, masculinity, and cattle horns at Çatalhöyük (Turkey). *Paléorient* 35(2):19–32.

Verhoeven, M. 2002. Ritual and ideology in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B of the Levant and southeast Anatolia. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12:233–258.

von Gernet, A., and P. Timmins. 1987. Pipes and parakeets: constructing meaning in an early Iroquoian context. In *Archaeology as long-term history.* I. Hodder, ed. Pp. 31–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Weinstein-Evron, M., and A. Belfer-Cohen. 1993. Natufian figurines from the new excavations of the el-Wad Cave, Mt. Carmel, Israel. *Rock Art Research* 10:102–106.

Yartah, T. 2005. Les bâtiments communautaires de Tell 'Abr 3 (PPNA, Syrie). *Neo-Lithics* 1/05:3–9.

Zeder, M. A. 2009. The Neolithic macro-(r)evolution: macroevolutionary theory and the study of culture change. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 17:1–63.

This content downloaded from 23.235.32.0 on Mon, 19 Oct 2015 05:21:56 AM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions