The Archaeology of Anatolia Volume II

The Archaeology of Anatolia Volume II:

Recent Discoveries (2015-2016)

Edited by
Sharon R. Steadman
and Gregory McMahon

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing

The Archaeology of Anatolia Volume II: Recent Discoveries (2015-2016)

Edited by Sharon R. Steadman and Gregory McMahon

This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN (10): 1-4438-7953-3
ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-7953-8

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO *THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ANATOLIA VOLUME II*

SHARON R. STEADMAN
AND GREGORY MCMAHON

It is with great pleasure that we offer a second volume in this newly established series that features recent archaeological fieldwork in Anatolia. At the inception of this new series, it was agreed by the current editors and the publisher that volumes would appear at two-year intervals. Volume I appeared in the fall of 2015 (Steadman and McMahon 2015), and this second volume will be available in the fall of 2017. As was the case in volume I, this volume features reports on both excavations and surveys.

The present (founding) editors envision an *Archaeology of Anatolia* series editorship that changes after the completion of two, or no more than three, completed volumes. The current editors will take the series through the 2019 publication, and following the completion of the third volume the reins of the series will be handed to a new editor or editors. Submissions for the 2019 Volume III may be made between January 1 and February 15 of the publication year (therefore, for Volume III submissions will be accepted between Jan. 1-Feb. 15, 2019). The editors look forward to seeing the results of the archaeological work to take place over the next two years.

The current volume features projects directed by archaeologists residing and working in Turkey, Europe, Canada, and the United States. Submissions to the volume were vetted by the series editorial board, the editorial panel at Cambridge Scholars Publishing, and by the present editors. The chapters included here reach a high mark in quality, and present the latest findings from research carried out across the breadth of Anatolia.

The time periods covered in the research presented here span the millennia between the Palaeolithic and the Byzantine and Medieval

periods. Data from sites and surveys presented in this volume cover territory from the west coast of Turkey to the eastern province of Van, and from the shore of the Black Sea to the southern Mediterranean coast and beyond to southeastern Anatolia. Although reporting on vastly different time periods and regions, there are some common themes that thread various reports together, creating a continuity of work by myriad scholars and the enormous quantity of data they have collected.

While some themes which have emerged were expected, others were interesting and informative surprises. For instance, two chapters, "Continuous Change" (Ch. 2 by Anvari, et al.) and "Lake-Places" (Ch. 14, by Harmanşah, et al.) featured the role climate and landscape change play on human settlements and their preservation. Anvari et al. document dramatic changes at Çatalhöyük in the later 7th and early 6th millennia BCE resulting from climatic and environmental changes. Harmanşah and his team document the impact which anthropocene "post-industrial landscapes" (p. 297) have had on the Ilgın Plain and its archaeological sites. Another pleasant surprise was the emerging importance of forts and fortified settlements on the Anatolian landscape, shown through two survey projects. Koparal's team (Ch. 18, "Sampling the Ionian Landscapes") discovered a number of forts and fortified settlements in their survey region dating from the Early Bronze Age to the Archaic period. Maner's survey in the Bolkar Mountains region of the Konya Plain (Ch. 16) investigated a number of forts that shaped not only the landscape but also trade routes to the Mediterranean from the 1st millennium BCE down to nearly the present day.

Several chapters featured places that demonstrated the power invested in ancient buildings and their élite occupants. Işıklı's review of recent work at Ayanis (Ch. 6, "A Key Site in Urartian Archaeology") describes recent excavations which have revealed a "hall and podium," possibly associated with a throne, in the temple area of the castle site. Branting's team, working at the site of Kerkenes on the plateau (Ch. 8, "The Kerkenes Project") further explored a large columned hall at this Iron Age site; ivory and amber inlay, along with tools and other artifacts, suggest the possible presence of decorative wooden furniture in this large and finely-built structure. Denel and Harrison (Ch. 7, "The Neo-Hittite Citadel Gate at Tayinat") review the discovery of an astounding statue of Suppiluliuma, a winged bull and sphinx column base, and the gate at the Royal Citadel at this site. Finally, Frangipane and her team (Ch. 4, "Arslantepe, Malatya") describe the newly-revealed structure, perhaps another temple or possibly a ceremonial building, as well as another

building that may have functioned as an audience hall used by the Arslantepe leader.

We were not surprised to find one major theme occurring throughout the chapters: cultural transitions and the vanishing, or sometimes the reemergence, of settlements through time. Excavations at the site of Çadır Höyük, reported on by Steadman and McMahon (Ch. 5), detail the many cultural transitions that took place over the nearly 6000 years of occupation at this settlement. The work by Doonan and his team at Sinop Kalesi (Ch. 9) details the architectural and cultural connections between the Iron Age and Byzantine occupations at this site. The careful analysis of the Salat Tepe excavations by Ökse (Ch. 3) details the changing trends of ceramic forms and types as well as architectural footprints over the course of the Early Bronze Age. Vandam and his team conducted a survey (Ch. 15, "Living on the Margins") in the Sagalassos region in which they documented that Palaeolithic occupation of the region is not at all absent but rather somewhat prolific; it is, however, the Neolithic occupation that at present would occupy the "vanished" category. In the Göksu Valley, Şerifoğlu (Ch. 13, "Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey Project") documents the vanishing and re-emerging sites from periods spanning the Late Chalcolithic to the Byzantine. The 4th–9th century CE maritime community on Boğsak Island, in rough Cilicia (Ch. 12, "Houses on an Island"), is effectively brought back to life by the careful documentation of residential houses carried out by Varinlioğlu and Esmer. Back on the Konya Plain, Danelon and Forte (Ch. 17, "Revealing the Topography of Ancient Isaura") show how drone-based photogrammetric survey can reveal the architectural footprint of an ancient settlement including its theater, fortified gates, and agora.

Two other chapters provide unique insights into the diverse types of investigations taking place across the peninsula. The ongoing work at Tarsus, reported on by Özyar and her team (Ch. 10, "Recent Fieldwork at Tarsus-Gözlukule") details the fascinating Medieval (Abbasid/Early Islamic) occupation of this famous Anatolian site. Shipwreck archaeology also appears in this volume. Aylward and Carlson (Ch. 11, "Excavation and Analysis of the Kızılburun Column Wreck") show how careful analysis of columns can provide critical information on the technological steps necessary to build an ancient temple on the Anatolian landscape. As this book goes to press, many of these authors are already in the field, making new discoveries in the land known as the largest open air museum in the world.

Scholars fortunate enough to work in the field in Turkey share a passion not only for their work but also for the country which has proven

so attractive to so many different groups of people over the millennia. This volume reflects the tremendous range of work being done in Turkey and reminds us that Turkish and international scholars continue to respond to the allure of this wonderful archaeological legacy. As we look forward to the coming excavation seasons, we are grateful again for the opportunity both to understand better the remarkable diversity of the ancient inhabitants of Anatolia and to enjoy again the tremendously rich culture of modern Turkey.

We acknowledge with gratitude as always the quite remarkable administrative infrastructure which Turkey has built up to support and encourage the fieldwork we enjoy so much. Every year the Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı provides a unique week-long opportunity to experience the amazing range of work being done in Turkey, to connect with old friends and meet new colleagues, and to be inspired yet again to go back into the field. The Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, and its Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü, facilitate the exploration of Anatolia's history in an exemplary way appreciated by all who work in Turkey. It is a pleasure to offer our thanks to to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the General Directorate of Cultural Monuments and Museums, the museum directors, government representatives, Turkish colleagues, and people of Turkey for making Anatolian archaeology such a satisfying and rewarding calling.

PART I:

EXCAVATIONS

CHAPTER TWO

CONTINUOUS CHANGE: VENTURING INTO THE EARLY CHALCOLITHIC AT ÇATALHÖYÜK

JANA ANVARI, JACOB BRADY, INGMAR FRANZ, GOCE NAUMOV, DAVID ORTON, SONIA OSTAPTCHOUK, ELIZABETH STROUD, PATRICK T. WILLETT, EVA ROSENSTOCK, AND PETER F. BIEHL

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of recent research on cultural change at Çatalhöyük around 6000 cal. BC by discussing the material culture of the West Mound, the second mound at Çatalhöyük, located ca. 200 m west of the better-known East Mound. The West Mound was occupied in the Early Chalcolithic, the period of the first painted pottery that starts at ca. 6000 cal. BC in commonly used Anatolian periodisation schemes (e.g. Baird 2012: Tab. 23.1; Düring 2011a: Tab. 5.1; Özbaşaran and Buitenhuis 2002: Tab. 2; Yakar 2011: Tab. 4.1). The Early Chalcolithic of central Anatolia, and the Chalcolithic as a whole, is less well researched than the preceding Neolithic (Düring 2011a: 200, 2011b: 797), and this situation is exemplified at Çatalhöyük, where the Neolithic East Mound (dated 7100-5950 cal. BC; Bayliss et al. 2015; Marciniak et al. 2015b) has been investigated in much greater depth than the West Mound (dated ca. 6000–5500 cal. BC, Orton et al. 2017). Recently, the Late Neolithic (6500–6000 cal. BC) has become a focus of East Mound research. This chapter will draw on the newest publications discussing material culture and social transformations during these last centuries of

the East Mound (pre-6000 cal. BC) to investigate their relation to West Mound material culture (post-6000 cal. BC).

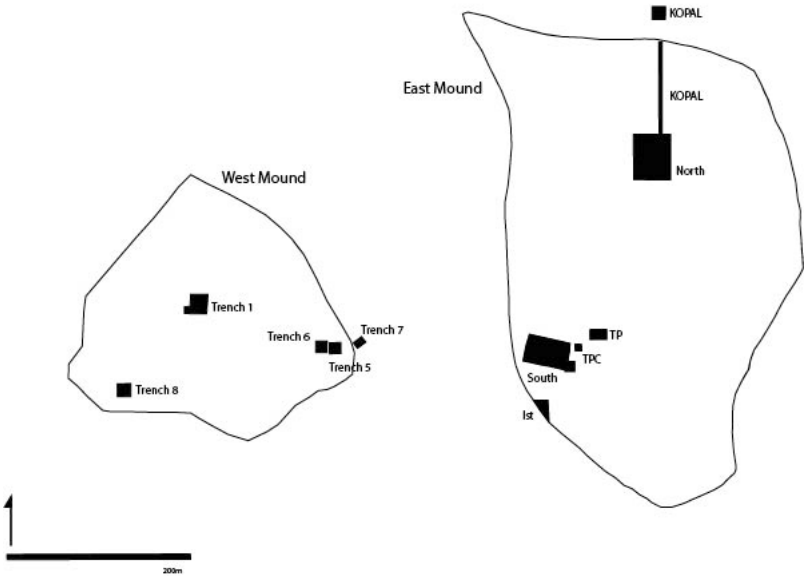

Figure 2-1. Location of excavation trenches at Çatalhöyük (adapted from Hodder 2014a: Fig.1.4).

Four teams have excavated on the West Mound (Figure 2-1). In 1961, James Mellaart dug two test trenches (Mellaart 1965) and then decided to focus his efforts on the East Mound. Between 1998 and 2004, a team under the direction of Jonathan Last and Catriona Gibson re-opened and extended the Mellaart trench at the summit of the mound, Trench 1 (Gibson and Last 2003a; Gibson et al 2004). In 2006, two new excavation areas were opened; Trench 8 by Burçin Erdoğu's team (Erdoğu 2012; Erdoğu and Ulubey 2011) and Trenches 5-7 by our team, directed by Peter Biehl and Eva Rosenstock (Biehl and Rosenstock 2009; Biehl et al. 2012a). This chapter focuses on results from Trench 5, where West Mound material culture has been studied to a high resolution. Excavations on the West Mound ended in 2013, and results are currently being processed for publication. For this reason, and also since excavations of the Late Neolithic on the East Mound are still ongoing, this is a preliminary overview of continuity and change at Çatalhöyük around 6000 cal. BC. It

will be argued that what might appear to be important differences in material culture between East and West Mound–between the Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic–really constitute a further development and consolidation of social processes that had started at Çatalhöyük around 6500 cal. BC, and thereby represent a form of continuity.

Change at Çatalhöyük 6500–6000 cal. BC: Current Research

The last few years of research on the Çatalhöyük East Mound have collected an impressive amount of evidence that indicates a significant cultural disruption around 6500 cal. BC, followed by centuries of further changes in the socioeconomic makeup of the site (summarised by Hodder 2013a, 2013b, 2014b; Marciniak 2015a, 2015b; Marciniak et al. 2015a; Özdöl-Kutlu et al. 2015). Two important and interrelated changes that are the focus of this chapter are: first, increasing socioeconomic household autonomy at the expense of community integration, and second, a series of changes in the relationship of Çatalhöyük peoples with the surrounding natural and cultural landscape. As part of the 6500 cal. BC change, overall population numbers at Çatalhöyük dropped, and the remaining inhabitants lived in a more fragmented village landscape consisting of individual houses or small clusters of houses scattered across the surface of the mound (Düring 2006: 228; Farid 2014: 96; Hodder 2014b: 12). The un-clustering of the village is evidence for the loosening of the tight communal ties that had connected Çatalhöyük households before 6500 cal. BC. There is further evidence in the form of a decrease of symbolic elaboration in houses–subfloor burials and animal reliefs–that had characterised architecture prior to 6500 cal. BC and functioned in the context of ritual that strengthened community ties (Düring 2006: 201; Hodder 2014b: 11, 15). Instead, houses became increasingly large, functionally subdivided, and had outdoor activity areas ("yards") in order to facilitate the higher household-specific productivity that became necessary and possible with household autonomy (Bogaard et al. 2014; Düring and Marciniak 2005; Hodder 2014b: 12). The newly independent households engaged in social competition, evidenced for example by the fact that some houses have much larger collections of feasting remains than others, suggesting that Late Neolithic feasting had a competitive aspect of display and differentiation (Hodder 2013b: 25; Russell et al. 2013a: 236). The increasing investment in more elaborate ceramic and stone vessels during this time is probably also related to competitive hospitality (Hodder 2013a: 23; 2014b: 15-16).

With household autonomy and social competition revolving around economic productivity and its display, this transformation is related to a changed economic use of the local and regional landscape by Çatalhöyük people. Pastoral mobility increased significantly after 6500 cal. BC, when isotopes and other skeletal markers in human and animal bones indicate that sheep were grazed over increasingly large territories, probably necessitating the seasonal absence of community members from the site (Hodder 2014b: 13-15; Larsen et al. 2015: 33; Pearson et al. 2007). Hodder (2014b: 16) thinks it might have been the intensified investment of households in the ownership of large herds that allowed Late Neolithic households to rely more on their own resources, and invest less in social security via bonds with other households. Perhaps related to pastoral mobility, the frequency of shell, stone, and clay materials brought to site from areas several dozen kilometers away as raw materials for production increases after 6500 cal. BC, part of an overall trend whereby the newly autonomous Çatalhöyük households increasingly utilised areas further away from the site to increase their productivity (Hodder 2014b: 12, 14). The seasonal movement of Çatalhöyük people in the southern Konya Plain first led to the appearance of temporary campsites after 6500 cal. BC such as Pınarbaşı (Baird 2012: 447; Baird et al. 2011; Hodder 2014b: 14). A few centuries later in the Early Chalcolithic (after 6000 cal. BC), the intensified use of the local landscape had led to the development of permanent settlements, of which Baird's (2005: 71, 2012: 446) survey found 14 in the southern Konya Plain around Çatalhöyük (West). These sites were smaller and possibly more short-lived than Çatalhöyük, and the latter might have had a central role in the interaction of the many communities in its surrounding landscape (Baird 2005: 71-73). This made for a significantly altered cultural landscape as compared to before 6500 cal. BC, when there were no other settlements in the immediate vicinity of Çatalhöyük (Baird 2005: 66-71).

Parallel to these local/regional developments, Çatalhöyük might somehow have been involved in supra-regional changes. Around 6500 cal. BC, Neolithic lifeways spread on a large scale to western Anatolia, and there have been suggestions that farmers migrated from central Anatolia more generally (e.g. Düring 2011a: 198-199, 2013: 91) or Çatalhöyük specifically (Hodder 2014b: 18) during this expansion. There is some evidence for this in the sudden population drop at Çatalhöyük around 6500 cal. BC. Whether or not an impetus for the spread came from Çatalhöyük, following the Neolithic expansion the site became part of a dynamic region of cultural diversity and cultural exchange in western Anatolia, a region in which cultural innovations were exchanged between sub-regions

(Baird 2012: 443; Düring 2011a: 199). Overall, the impression is that of an interrelated set of changes in the way Çatalhöyük residents related to communities in the region and beyond; changes that begin in 6500 cal. BC but possibly gain in momentum during the following centuries and continue after 6000 cal. BC. These changes themselves and their relationship to other social transformation in the Çatalhöyük community, such as household autonomy, are not currently fully understood, but seem significant.

West Mound Households and Community: Settlement, Architecture, Animal Bones, Figurines, and Pottery

Some of the West Mound material culture can be interpreted as evidence that the Early Chalcolithic saw a continuation of the trend to greater household autonomy that started at the site around 6500 cal. BC. This includes some of the most visible changes of material culture occurring at Çatalhöyük around 6000 cal. BC: the shift in occupation to a second settlement spot–the West Mound–as well as changes in the appearance of houses and pottery; but also some more subtle alterations in the economic and symbolic importance of animals, and the figurative representation of animals and people.

Settlement Layout and Architecture

Three aspects of West Mound settlement organisation and house configuration point to a continuing trend towards greater household autonomy: a fragmentation of the settlement layout, the appearance of two-storied houses, and a decrease of symbolic house elaboration. First, the more dispersed occupation and fragmented settlement landscape that characterised the Late Neolithic East Mound and contrasts with the densely clustered village structure prior to 6500 cal. BC has been associated with population decline and the increasing socioeconomic autonomy of the households that remained at the site (Farid 2014: 110-112; Hodder 2014b: 12). We suggest that the foundation of a completely new settlement area, later to become the West Mound, ca. 200 m from the western rim of the East Mound, might represent part of this trend to a more fragmented settlement arrangement. This hypothesis, although difficult to fully investigate as long as the lowermost levels of the West Mound remain mostly unexcavated, is supported by recent radiocarbon dates indicating that the occupation of the mounds overlapped temporally and that both mounds were occupied simultaneously for a period of at least

a few decades (Cessford 2005: 95; Orton et al. 2017), representing separate settlement locations across greater Çatalhöyük.

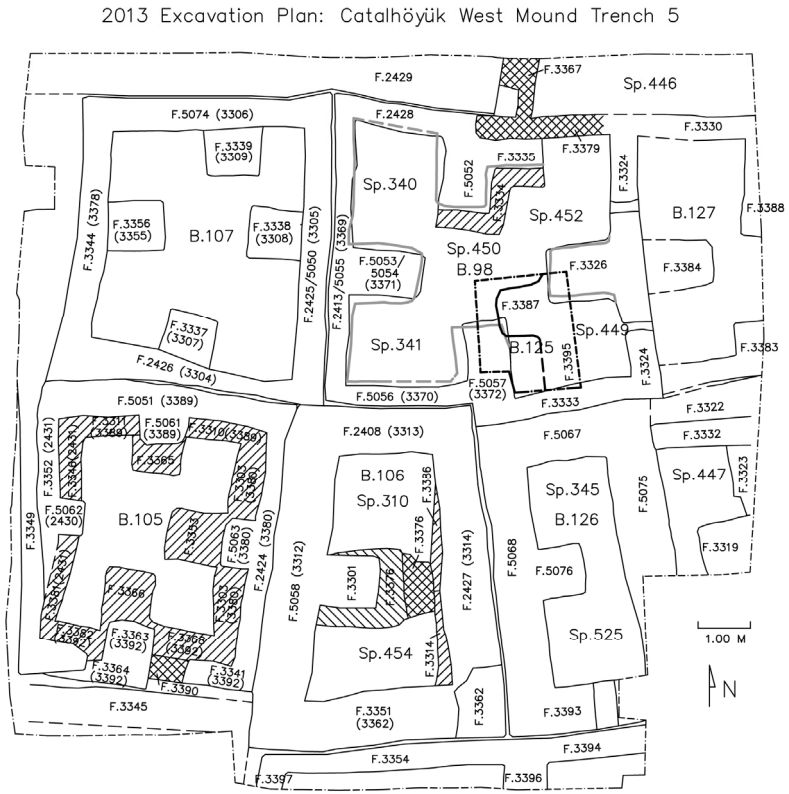

Figure 2-2. Construction features excavated in Trench 5, Çatalhöyük West Mound (plan by Patrick Willett and Jana Anvari).

By contrast, the settlement structure of the West Mound itself appears densely clustered, an apparent contradiction to our hypothesis of continuity from the Late Neolithic. West Mound settlement layout remains incompletely explored because of the limited size and depth of excavation trenches and the fact that surface scraping on the mound in 1994 was not successful at revealing architecture and settlement layout (Matthews 1996: 99; Last 1994); but where excavated, the West Mound settlement appears clustered. With the exception of the deep sounding Trench 7 on the eastern edge of the tell, which investigated what seem to be buildings and

unroofed activity areas at the edge of the site (Biehl et al. 2012a: 61; Rosenstock et al. 2017), all trenches on the West Mound uncovered densely clustered architecture with only small external midden areas in Trenches 1 and 8 (Gibson and Last 2003b: 63, Fig. 41; Erdoğu 2010: 51). However, there is stratigraphic evidence from Trench 5 (Fig. 2-2 and 2-3) indicating that not all houses were actually inhabited contemporaneously. A study of building infill has revealed that abandoned West Mound houses were used as waste disposal areas (Anvari et al. 2017), suggesting the possibility that some buildings within a house cluster might have been abandoned and used for middening while others were used as habitations. It is thus possible that the actual settlement structure of the West Mound was in fact less clustered than it appears to be, but featured gaps (uninhabited spaces) between residences.

Figure 2-3. Western part of Trench 5 after the end of the 2012 season, B.105 in the foreground (photo by Jason Quinlan).

Regarding the second aspect, West Mound buildings probably were in the majority two-storied. An upper storey collapsed into a buttressed basement was found in B.78 in Trench 8. The upper storey of B.78 did not have buttresses, and therefore had a more open floor plan as compared to the basement (Erdoğu 2009a: 139). Very similar to the basement of B.78, the buildings excavated in Trench 5 each represent a single room,

compartmentalised by thick internal buttresses (Fig. 2-2). The few installations that were found can be related to food processing or storage, but cooking installations were absent (Biehl and Rogasch 2013). While this is only indirect evidence for the existence of a second storey, the Trench 5 buildings as well should probably be reconstructed as the storage-basements to upper stories used as living areas (Biehl et al. 2012a: 55; Düring 2011a: 134). B.25 in Trench 1 is also reconstructed with a second storey (Gibson and Last 2003b: 63). With the exception of B.78, then, excavated West Mound buildings represent only the lower half of houses whose living floor was not preserved *in situ* but sometimes as collapse. Two-storied houses had started appearing on the East Mound after 6500 cal. BC, although most houses never had fully developed upper stories, only light constructions on roofs (Stevanović 2013). The regular presence of two-storied houses on the West Mound could thus represent a further development of a process starting on the Late Neolithic East Mound, whereby houses became larger and more functionally subdivided to accommodate the increasing house-internal productivity that went along with growing household autonomy (Düring 2006: 314, 317; Hodder 2014b: 10, 12).

The third aspect involves another very obvious difference between East and West Mound houses: the total lack of the symbolic elaboration of house interiors with wall paintings and clay mouldings that made the East Mound so famous (Mellaart 1962, 1963, 1967). There are few examples of possibly symbolic features in West Mound houses, and these are different from East Mound house-related symbolism. The two clearest cases in Trench 5 are a cache of clay balls between two subsequent floor layers in B.98, and a cluster of caprine frontlets (see more below) under what appears to be the remainder of an otherwise not preserved floor in B.106. The walls and floor of the preserved upper storey of B.78 were painted red with a possible ritual significance (Erdoğu 2009b), and fragments of red wall or floor plaster were also found in the Trench 5 middens, probably originating from dismantled houses. The red paint in B.78 indicates a possibility that symbolic elaboration was present in the unpreserved upper stories, but overall West Mound houses seem significantly less symbolically imbued than their Neolithic predecessors. It seems that the West Mound saw the conclusion of a development that started at Çatalhöyük at 6500 cal. BC: the gradual disinvestment in community-making via house-related ritual (Hodder 2013a: 23, Marciniak et al. 2015b: 173). This included the gradual abandonment of subfloor burial (Düring 2006: 300; 2011a: 132; 2013: 88); by 6300 cal. BC in the TP area, no subfloor burials are found, but instead burial chambers (Marciniak et al.

2015b: 151). No subfloor burials were found on the West Mound, either, and in fact the only two prehistoric burials excavated on the mound are two neonate skeletons deposited between midden layers in B.105 in Trench 5 (Biehl et al. 2012b: 85). Further, instead of undergoing elaborate abandonment rituals as on the East Mound (Matthews 2005; Russell et al. 2009, 2014), West Mound houses, once they fell out of use as habitations, were used for middening as mentioned above (Anvari et al. 2017). Altogether, architectural evidence supports the interpretation that household autonomy continued to increase in the Early Chalcolithic levels at Çatalhöyük.

Animal Bones

In the context of changes in ritual expression, animal bones present some interesting evidence: specifically, a continued and increased economic, and also perhaps symbolic, importance of caprines. In this as in many ways, West Mound faunal evidence gives the impression of continuation of certain trends that began during the East Mound occupation–most notably a decline in the importance of cattle (both wild and domestic) and a concomitant increase in the dominance of sheep and goat (Russell et al. 2013a: 216). The new economic importance of caprines after 6500 cal. BC has been associated with greater economic independence of individual households (Hodder 2013b: 18, 2014b: 12). Hunting seems to have declined markedly in the latter part of the East Mound sequence, and this trend continues into Trench 5 (Russell et al. 2013b: 50). Wild cattle probably contributed the bulk of meat consumed during the first half of the East Mound occupation, but the first appearance of their domestic counterparts at the site, ca. 6500 cal. BC, was accompanied by a very significant drop in the *overall* frequency of cattle, and also in the contribution of wild equids and cervids. This trend continued more gradually through the latter part of the South Area sequence (Russell et al. 2013b: 50). By the time of the Trench 5 neighbourhood, cattle represent well below 5% of the assemblage by NISP (fragment count), with wild equid at ca. 2% and sheep and goats collectively making up ca. 90% (Orton and Piliougine 2013)–a composition very similar to that seen in Late Neolithic middens on the East Mound. Plotting all of the Çatalhöyük taxonomic data together, far and away the clearest break in the animal component of the subsistence economy is seen at ca. 6500 cal. BC, with no obvious discontinuity at the East-West transition. There is some suggestion of changes in caprine herding practices, with males perhaps culled slightly later than previously and metrical evidence pointing

towards an increase in stature on the West Mound, but both these trends remain to be explored in detail.

Where the taxonomic frequencies indicate remarkable continuity in the subsistence economy, however, the taphonomic condition of the West Mound material hints at changes in consumption and deposition practices. The Trench 5 animal remains derive almost exclusively from building infill deposits, but these bear little resemblance to the relatively sterile rubble infilling typical on the East Mound. Rather, the quantity and condition of bone material varies widely, both between and within buildings. In several cases, spectacularly rich, well-preserved, and lightly-processed deposits of (primarily) sheep remains indicate rapid deposition of large quantities of incompletely exploited food waste. The bulk of Trench 5 contexts are somewhat less spectacular, but most nonetheless feature good preservation and high rates of articulation, indicating limited redeposition, while a significant minority do appear to be composed of largely redeposited material. In some respects the unusually rich animal bone assemblages from Trench 5 contexts have less in common with either room fills or middens on the East Mound than with its apparent "feasting deposits," save for the obvious distinction that the Trench 5 remains consist overwhelmingly of domestic sheep, whereas the latter disproportionately feature (wild) cattle (Russell et al. 2013a: 217). The symbolic significance so famously invested in cattle on the East Mound clearly continued to apply–indeed increased–into the Late Neolithic at the site, long after the appearance of the domestic variant and the species'

Figure 2-4. Caprine frontlets found in B.106 infill (photos by Ingmar Franz).

marked decline in economic importance (Russell et al. 2013b: 63). Might cattle eventually have been replaced by sheep in symbolic terms by the time of the Trench 5 deposits? No parallels to the bucrania or other cattle bone installations and special deposits known from the East Mound have yet been uncovered on the West, with the closest equivalents being two sets of *caprine* frontlets found within building infill in opposite corners of the northern room of B.106–one domestic sheep and one domestic goat (Fig. 2-4; Russell et al. 2013b: Fig. 17). To the extent that the cattle involved in putative feasts and in installations were wild, or at least referenced a tradition of cattle hunting, a switch to domestic caprines could be linked to the proposed shift away from communal traditions and towards practices emphasising household autonomy and wealth (Russell et al. 2013b: 65). Even this trend might have had roots in the Late Neolithic, though, caprines having begun to play a limited role in feasting deposits in the later levels of the East Mound (Russell et al. 2013b: 63).

Figurines

Similarly, the West Mound figurine assemblage indicates changes in symbolism while being rooted in an East Mound tradition. A total of 86 anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines were excavated from Trenches 1, 5, 7, and 8 on the West Mound (Fig. 2-5). All figurines were found in secondary or tertiary contexts–in topsoil, building infills, or inside mudbricks in walls–although the latter, two figurines found in Trench 5 walls, might represent intentional placement inside walls. In the absence of clear primary finds contexts, the visual features of the figurines themselves are for the moment the main evidence for their interpretation. A majority of figurines are broken and consist of only torso, limbs, or head, but there is a sufficient number of complete figurines, or figurines with sufficiently complete bodies, to allow an overall interpretation of the figurine assemblage (Biehl et al. 2011; Naumov and Biehl 2014). Animal figurines (38) slightly outnumber human representations (34, of which only two are complete) although many fragments of horns or legs could belong to a single animal figurine. This ratio is slightly different from the East Mound assemblage, where animal figurines considerably outnumber human figurines (Nakamura and Meskell 2013: Tab. 12.1, 12.2). Among 38 zoomorphic figurines the majority (14) are cattle representations; one represents a goat, and the remainder are of indeterminate species, a species ratio very similar to established East Mound traditions of animal representation (Martin and Meskell 2012: Tab. 4). The single goat figurine, however, representing a polished head fragment, is modelled