

# Zoomorphic imagery and social process during the Early Bronze Age: the case of Koçumbeli-Ankara

Ebru Gizem Ayten, Çiğdem Atakuman

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, TR; ebrugizemayten@gmail.com; cigdem.atakuman@gmail.com

**ABSTRACT** – *Through the agency of animals, we think about our identity, landscape and society, and therefore animal imagery holds a special place in approaches to human thought. Through a study of the zoomorphic figurine assemblage recorded at the Early Bronze Age site of Koçumbeli-Ankara, we argue that the zoomorphic figurines of this time period were produced through a meaningful linking of particular images and raw materials to particular use contexts. For example, the ambiguously sexed zoomorphic figurines of clay are usually found within the settlement contexts, whereas the rest of the zoomorphic imagery, in the form of elaborately decorated and often male-sexed metal statues and standards, are found in 'elite' burials located in cemeteries. This occurs on the background of an emergent form of ritual control, which was negotiated through the separation of cemetery and settlement. In these contexts, the authority of the past was invoked via ancestral imagery through the careful employment of new raw materials, such as metals, that equally became agential in the separation of age, gender and class-based differences within society, at the eve of the centralization process in Anatolia.*

**KEY WORDS** – *figurines, Early Bronze Age, Anatolia, ritual, centralization*

## **Podobe živali in družbeni proces v zgodnji bronasti dobi: primer Koçumbeli-Ankara**

**IZVLEČEK** – *S pomočjo živali razmišljamo o svoji identiteti, pokrajini in družbi. Živalske podobe imajo zato posebno mesto v proučevanju človekovih misli. S pomočjo študije zbira živalskih figuric, najdenih na zgodnje bronastodobnem najdišču Koçumbeli-Ankara, trdimo, da so bile živalske figurice v tem času narejene v smiselni povezavi izbranih podob, surovin in posebnih kontekstov uporabe. Tako na primer živalske figurice nedoločenega spola običajno najdemo v naselbinskih kontekstih, ostale upodobitve živali v obliki dovršeno okrašenih kovinskih kipcev, ki so pogosto samci, pa v 'elitnih' pokopih na grobiščih. To je povezano z obrednim nadzorom, ki je bil dogovorjen ob ločitvi grobišča od naselja. V teh kontekstih so bile pretekle avtoritete priklicane s pomočjo podob prednikov ob skrbni uporabi novih surovin, kot so kovine, ki so prav tako postale dejavnik pri ločevanju starostnih, spolnih in razrednih razlik v družbi na predvečer procesa centralizacije Anatolije.*

**KLJUČNE BESEDE** – *figurine; zgodnja bronasta doba; Anatolija; obred; centralizacija*

## **Introduction**

Prehistoric animal imagery has been frequently associated with rituals that were performed to increase the efficacy of subsistence activities, such as hunting and herding of dietary species (Conkey 1989; Rice,

Paterson 1985; 1986), and the symbolic significance of dietary meat distribution and hunting in the construction of social hierarchies (Arbuckle 2014; 2015). However, animal representations are not al-

ways associated with dietary species. For example, snakes, vultures, lions or bears often hold prominent positions in prehistoric imagery (Chauvet et al. 1996; Peters, Schmidt 2004; Mellaart 1967; Özkaya et al. 2013). Arguably the skin, fur, teeth and bone of symbolically significant animals, specifically the wild and dangerous category, may have been used to signal prestige and social status in prehistoric times (Peters, Schmidt 2004; Hodder, Pels 2010; Arbuckle 2012; Russel 2012; Meskell 2015; Mouton 2017; Owens, Hayden 1997; Hamilakis 2003). At the same time, thinking via animals involves deeper ontological contemplation about who we are and how we are related to the landscape and each other (Wynn et al. 2009; Porr 2010; Hill 2011; Russell 2012; Arbuckle 2015; Lewis-Williams 2014; Mithen 1988; Leroi-Gourhan 1964; 1968). This thought is often reflected in animistic creation myths and within wider beliefs of animal-human relations, parts of which can be invoked through a careful use of various forms of portable and non-portable objects, at particular settings. Therefore, animals and animal imagery can be approached as mediums through which concepts about social positions, status and identity are negotiated.

Prehistoric wall paintings, rock carvings, landscape installations or statues and personal ornaments with animal themes are extremely valuable to understand the variety of human understandings of self and the perceptions of the social landscape. Among these, three dimensional and portable statuettes, *i.e.* 'figurines' hold a special place in understanding the function and meaning of prehistoric imagery. Through the use of various materials, such as stone, clay, bone, horn or metal, figurines are symbolically charged objects that can either depict abstract forms (such as geometric shapes) or naturalistic shapes (such as zoomorphic, anthropomorphic or hybrid). The recent methodological developments provided by the materiality and agency approaches, posit that the selection of raw materials, production techniques, size, colour, find contexts and discard patterns as well as the thematic focus and variation of figurines are outcomes of culturally structured behaviour and provide

clues to the constitution of symbolic worlds and the social relations in prehistoric societies (Nanoglou 2009; Lesure 2011; Meskell 2015; Gemici, Atakuman 2021). In this context, just as the animals selected for representation are important, their sex, and social behaviour may be used to understand the negotiation of social concerns in relation to group and individual identities (Porr 2010; Russell 2012). Such approaches have been widely employed in anthropomorphic figurine studies; frustratingly, however, the use and function of zoomorphic figurines are much less understood, particularly in Anatolian prehistory.

The aim of this study is to understand the use and function of the zoomorphic figurines, during the Early Bronze Age of Anatolia (EBA, *c.* 3200–2000 BC), through the case study of the North Central Anatolian site of Koçumbeli-Ankara (Figs. 1 and 2). The Early Bronze Age in Anatolia is a period of significant social and economic change, leading to the emergence of elites and formation of social complexity associated with centralization, the specialized production of metal objects, textiles and long-distance trade networks extending from the Aegean to Mesopotamia (Şahoğlu 2005; Çevik 2007; Efe 2007; Sagona, Zimansky 2009.172–224; Bachhuber 2011; 2015; Düring 2011.257–299; Steadman 2011.229–259; Schoop 2014). The anthropomorphic figurines of this time period have been an attractive topic of research in traditional typological approaches (Makowski 2005; Mina 2008; Yalçın, Yalçın 2013; Martino 2014), while their links to the social process of change have



**Fig. 1.** The Location of Koçumbeli, the other sites mentioned in the text.

also been demonstrated in recent studies (*Atakuman 2017; 2019*).

### The Early Bronze Age site of Koçumbeli and its zoomorphic figurines

Koçumbeli is a small EBA settlement located on hilly terrain in the south-west of Ankara, within the campus of the Middle East Technical University. The site was excavated in the 1960s for a short period of time and there are no absolute dates, but recent stylistic studies on the material culture indicate a time period of occupation that probably covers the early part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC, based on similarities to the other EBA sites in the vicinity, such as Demircihöyük, Alacahöyük, Etiyokuşu, Ahlatlıbel, and Karaoğlan (*Atakuman 2017; Bertram 2008; Bertram, İlgezdi 2008; Tuna et al. 2012*).

Unfortunately, there is not any contextual information, nor a systematic study regarding the zoomorphic figurines or zoomorphological remains of Koçumbeli, except a brief mention of a few objects in the original report (*Tezcan 1966.7*). Our study at the METU-Museum of Archaeology identified a total of 20 zoomorphic figurines from the site (Tab. 1, Figs. 2,3,4,5,

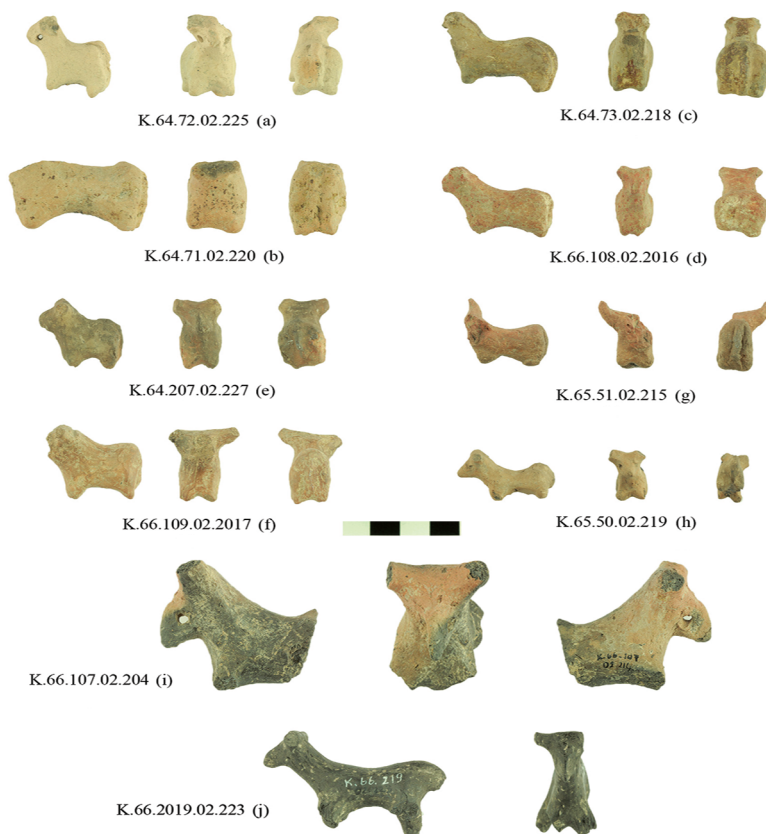
see Appendix). All of these 20 zoomorphic figurines were hand-shaped, possibly with locally available clay sources which were often mixed with chaff and small stone inclusions. Baking seems to have occurred in the range of 600°C to 800°C, possibly in an open fire. Finished colours vary between beige, reddish beige, brown beige and black. The majority have soot on their surfaces, but it is hard to tell whether the soot appeared during the baking process or because of contact with fire after they were discarded. The majority of the figurines were broken at the horns, legs and protruding facial parts, but it is not possible to know whether this was a deliberate act (as may have been the case with the anthropomorphic figurines, see *Atakuman 2017*) or the result of natural processes.

### Typological considerations

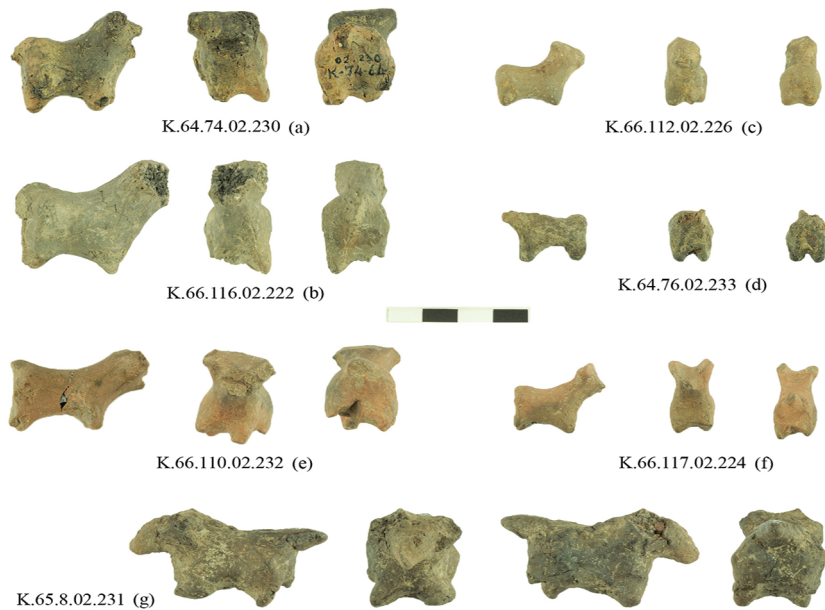
A significant portion of the Koçumbeli zoomorphic figurine assemblage involves ‘horned’ animals, which appear to be representations of cattle, sheep, goat and boar. However, it is quite difficult to tell the exact type of animal at first sight. In an attempt to identify these animal types, we primarily focused on the physical attributes, such as horn and tail shapes as well as

the body’s morphology. In this context, the long-tailed zoomorphic figurines have been identified as cattle, whereas the short-tailed zoomorphic figurines are categorized as sheep or goat. The horn shapes are also used as an identifier where possible, *i.e.* the crescent-shaped horns belong to cattle whereas the horns that curve backwards from the face are identified as belonging to sheep or goat. Ultimately, out of the twenty zoomorphic figurines of the Koçumbeli assemblage, ten are categorized as cattle (Type I, Fig. 2), seven as sheep/goat (Type II, Fig. 3), one as boar and one as a piglet (Type III, Fig. 4) as well as one bird (Type IV, Fig. 5).

Beyond the general typology, our focus has also been on the sex, age and domestication status represented in each figurine, where possible. In our assemblage, explicit sexual attributes, such as genitalia, are entirely absent. Horns are not a reliable indicator of



**Fig. 2. Koçumbeli animal figurines Type I – cattle.**



**Fig. 3. Koçumbeli animal figurines Type II - sheep/goat.**

sex either, since they can be present on both sexes of wild and domesticated adults of all of the above-mentioned species, albeit the domesticated males of sheep and goat have relatively more prominent horns than the females. Boar tusks are also more prominent in males. Within the assemblage, all of the goat, sheep and cattle figurines are identified as adults due to the presence of horns, since the juveniles do not have prominent horns in these species. There is one potential male boar (Type III, Fig. 4.a) within the assemblage, while there is also a potential representation of a piglet (Type III, Fig. 4.b).

Admittedly, it is difficult to rely on the size differences to identify sex or age differences, considering the possibility that each of these figurines may have been produced by different individuals at different time periods with different stylistic concerns. Nevertheless, in some cases size differences can be related to sex differences, such as rams (*e.g.*, Fig. 3.g) and bulls (*e.g.*, Fig. 2.i). For example, size difference in the two possible boar representations seems to be related to age (Fig. 4). There are also indications that some of the figurines were produced in pairs of slightly different sizes, (Fig. 2.a-b,c-d,e-f,g-h; Fig. 3.a-b,c-d), and these size-wise distinguished pairs of sheep, goat and cattle might be representative of sexual dimorphism, as the males are physically bigger in these species.

Within the above-mentioned evaluations, our 'Type I, the cattle group' figurines are in varied colours (beige, reddish beige, brownish beige and black) and sizes. Except for two (Fig. 2.i,j), all of them are group-

ed together with regard to their long tails. One of these two exceptional figurines is broken in half from the torso (Fig. 2.i). Its exceptional size might be representative of a male individual. The other one of these two exceptions is the only Jet-Black figurine with a different body morphology than the rest of group (Fig. 2.j) - it has a slender body which resembles a deer. However, it is more likely to be a 'bull' as found in the metal statues of 'the Royal Cemeteries' of Alacahöyük (Fig. 7 and Tab. 3, see Appendix).

Seven figurines have been identified as sheep/goat (Type II, Fig. 3), which come in various colours (beige, reddish beige and brownish beige) and sizes. The tails in four specimens were depicted as short and pointy (Fig. 3.a,b,e,f), one as short and protruding (Fig. 3.g) and the other two did not have tails Fig. 3.c,d). Horns are relatively poorly preserved compared to Type I, although it seems that all have similar horn types with Type I, apart from one example whose horns lean backward, and thus this particular items might be a representation of a goat (Fig. 3.f). The figurine with a protruding tail (Fig. 3.g) has a more robust body than the other Koçumbeli zoomorphic figurines, and it differs from the rest in terms of body proportion and features. Regarding the physical attributes, it is thought that it might be a representation of a ram.

Besides the above, there are two figurines which can be categorized as pig/goat (Type III). The bigger one of these two has tusks and probably represents a wild male boar (Fig. 4.a). A similar but smaller piece without horns resembles a piglet (Fig. 4.b). Type IV is unique within the whole assemblage and resembles a bird (dove?), similar in nature to the bird attachments found on the metal statuettes and standards of Alacahöyük (Fig. 5).

### Discussion: contextuality, materiality, and use in comparative perspective

There are many EBA sites that produced significant amounts of zoomorphic figurines (see Fig. 1), such as, Alişar (*Von der Osten 1937*), Ahlatlıbel (*Koşay*



1934), Karaoğlan Mevkii (Topbaş et al. 1998), Çiledirhöyük (Türktüzün et al. 2014), Troy (Blegen et al. 1951a), Kanlıgeçit (Özdoğan et al. 2012), Küllüoba (Deniz, Ay 2006), Şarhöyük (Darga 1994), Höyüktepe Sandalcı (2014), Seyitömer Höyük (Bilgen 2015), Demircihöyük (Baykal-Seeher, Obladen-Kauder 1996), Alacahöyük (Koşay 1937; Gürsan-Salzmann 1992), Horoztepe (Özgüç, Akok 1958) and Kalınkaya (Yıldırım, Zimmermann 2006). However, a systematic analysis regarding the zoomorphic imagery has not yet been attempted, and remains a difficult task, since contextual information for many of the items is not available. Table 2 (see Appendix) summarizes our attempt to summarize this comparative information.

The thematic and typological analysis of comparative sites reveal that the majority of the represented species are 'cattle' followed by sheep and goat and then fewer pig, deer and other animals such as tortoise, birds, etc. (Tab. 2). This general picture also holds for the Koçumbeli assemblage (Tab. 1 and Figs. 2,3,4,5). In contrast, Benjamin Arbuckle's (2013; 2014) analysis of zooarchaeological assemblages from a number of EBA sites demonstrates that more than half of all the identified animal species at any given site are of sheep and goat, with lower numbers of cattle. This is interesting and suggests that animal imagery may not be merely about the most consumed species. Cattle seem to be a symbolically important sacrificial animal both within the 14 'royal tombs' of Alacahöyük and for the seven 'elite' and male graves of the Sariket cemetery near Demircihöyük, (Seeher 2000; Massa 2014, Tab. 2). Such symbolic importance may be related to the late domestication of cattle, hierarchies established via sharing its meat, or its reproductive cycle and the social behaviour that may be metaphorically likened to that of humans, e.g., the nine-month pregnancy period.

In terms of the raw materials, clay is the most common raw material which is found at almost every settlement from the beginning to the end of the EBA period. Stone zoomorphic figurines were only observed at Alişar. This site has a very complex stratigraphy, but the stone zoomorphic figurines can probably be dated to the Late Chalcolithic and/or the early stages of the EBA period. The perforations found on all of



Fig. 4. Koçumbeli animal figurines Type III - boar, piglet.

these stone zoomorphic figurines suggest that they might have been used as amulets/pendant or the ornaments to hang, a phenomenon that is also observed in the animal imagery bearing objects of the earlier Chalcolithic period from sites such as Köşk Höyük and Domuztepe (Atakuman 2015a).

As for the contexts, the clay figurines of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic variety are usually associated with domestic contexts, while the metal statuettes/figurines of both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic variety have been found in association with 'elite' burials of north-central Anatolia (Atakuman 2017). More interestingly, a deliberate depiction of sex is very rarely seen in the clay or stone zoomorphic figurine representations, although the zoomorphic metal statuettes, which are almost always associated with burial contexts, often represent male cattle and deer, i.e. bull and stag. Because the majority of these objects seems to be designed to be carried on a pole or a pedestal, Hatçe Baltacıoğlu (2006) thinks that they represent the Hattic deities of power and fertility, such as Teşup and Arinna and according to Winfried Orthmann (1967) these animals were also used to pull the ceremonial wagons that carried the deceased. In line with these interpretations, Aşlı Özyar (1999) elaborates that some of these statuettes may be family emblems that represented the status of the deceased.

Although their actual purpose is unclear (see Zimmermann 2008 for a critical evaluation), it is safe to assume that these objects were used in ritual displays

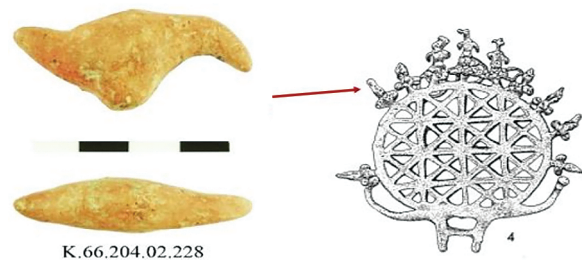
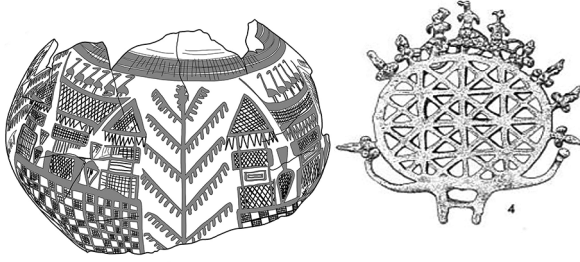
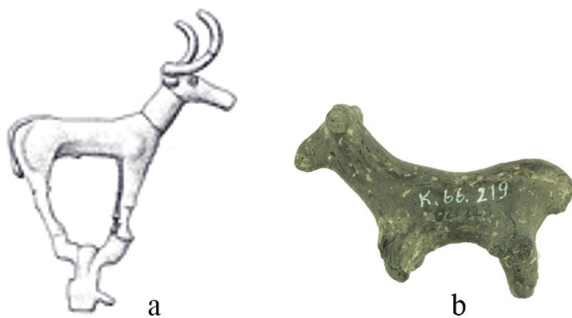


Fig. 5. Koçumbeli animal figurines Type IV - bird.



**Fig. 6. Comparison of imagery on Domuztepe house pots, Alacahöyük Standard (from Atakuman 2015a; Müller-Karpe 1974).**

associated with elite burials, since no metal statuettes or figurines have been found in domestic contexts. Indeed, the quality of these metal figurines and statuettes, which are all bronze casts sometimes decorated with gold and silver, reflect the intensive skills in metalworking and knowledge of metallurgy and resources of the period, and thus metal artifacts are considered an important signal of rank and status. From a different angle, it seems likely that the imagery depicted in some of these metal objects is a derivation of the Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic symbolism which can be found on the ritually significant 'house pots' recovered from Domuztepe (Atakuman 2015a; 2015b; Fig. 6). These pots were used in rituals of social regeneration in context of human and object burials at this site (Atakuman, Erdem 2015) and seem to depict a story about houses with seasonal birds on roof (possibly cranes, storks or similar) in relation to a checkerboard patterned area (possibly the ancestral location on the tell where rituals of house closing and object burials were performed). Arguably, the story behind the depiction recorded the time and season of the rituals as well as the ancestral connections of various households to the tell-place both in oral and material tradition, and it is likely to be related to one of the well-known wall paintings at Çatalhöyük, the so-called 'town map' (see Atakuman 2015a.Figs. 15 and 16).



**Fig. 7. Jet-Black cattle figurine from Koçumbeli (on the right), the Alacahöyük metal bull statuette (on the left).**

Looking at the Koçumbeli zoomorphic figurine assemblage as a whole, it is interesting to note that some figurines have been produced in pairs with hints of either of sex and/or age differences. A similar pattern of pair production has also been observed previously within the anthropomorphic figurine assemblage of Koçumbeli (Atakuman 2017), which was interpreted as a possible representation of sex and related status difference. Differences in status may have also been communicated through the particular selection of dark vs light colours, possibly to invoke concepts of death, ancestry or life and reproduction. The only shiny Jet-Black bull figurine (Fig. 7) is noteworthy in this regard which was probably produced by using a special production technique (such as oil raku) to achieve this shiny black colour. Similarly, the two boars, seem to have been deliberately dark coloured, possibly during a reductive firing process (Fig. 4). Again, a similarly structured pattern of deliberate black colouring was observed in three of the most elaborately manufactured anthropomorphic figurines, potentially representing high-status individuals (see Atakuman 2017.Figs. 7a, 8a).

In this context, we should also note that there is comparability in numbers of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines of Koçumbeli (26 anthropomorphic *vs.* 20 zoomorphic figurines) and based on our above-mentioned detection of other similarities in size, colour and sex differences, it seems plausible to think that they were produced within the same ritualized context, which most likely interlinked domestic and communal spheres, possibly during seasonal events that celebrated and invoked cycles of both human and animal regeneration as well as death (Atakuman 2017). It is well known that cattle, sheep, goat and deer were preferred sacrificial animals in the seasonally invoked religious celebrations of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (Mouton 2017.243; Collins 2001. 79).

### Symbolic continuity *vs.* ritual shift in Anatolian prehistory

Before coming to a conclusion, we would like to briefly trace the continuities and shifts in the use of zoomorphic imagery in an Anatolian context, in order to be able to highlight the agency of these objects during the major social transitions, such as the transition to agriculture and the emergence of complex societies. In Anatolia, the earliest evidence of animal imagery in the form of painting and engraved stones and of wild cattle, bison, ibexes, deer, and wild goats, is known

from the Epi-Palaeolithic contexts of Öküzini and Beldibi caves, and the many rock art sites scattered through landscape, specifically of south-east Anatolia (Eker 2023; Bostancı 1959; Otte et al. 1995; Sagona, Zimansky 2009; Tumer 2018). Animal representations go through a symbolic explosion during the Early Holocene of south-west Asia, which coincides with the emergence of settled communities that are increasingly reliant on food production and eventually agriculture of domesticated species during the Neolithic (c. 10 000–7000 BC). For example, during the Pre-pottery Neolithic (PPNA, c. 10 000–8500 BC), a wide range of wild species of both dietary and non-dietary varieties, most notably snakes, scorpions, lions and vultures are vividly depicted at Göbekli Tepe's communal ritual structures, composed of elaborately decorated monumental anthropomorphic pillars, statues, statuettes and miniature grooved stones (Schmidt 2007). It is interesting to note that, much of this imagery occurs in context of a deliberate emphasis on male sexuality (Peters, Schmidt 2004: 183–185). Similar representations are also observed on Körtik Tepe's stone vessels (Özkaya et al. 2013) while the use of wild cattle horn installations in houses of Hallan Çemi (Twiss, Russell 2009), demonstrate that remains of particular animals became an important component of zoomorphic imagery.

During the PPNB, the wider variety of species represented in previous periods began to diminish, as clay increasingly became the raw material of choice to produce figurines. Indeed, at sites such as Nevalı Çori, Çayönü, Ain Ghazal and Çatalhöyük, figurines of pre-domesticated and domesticated animals, such as goat, sheep, pig and cattle, started to dominate the imagery, although small numbers of bear, deer, fox, dog, felines and so on continue to be present in assemblages (Rollefson 1986; 2008; Morales 1990; Schmandt-Besserat 1997; Morsch 2002; Russell, Meece 2006). During this time period, zoomorphic as well as anthropomorphic imagery was increasingly concentrated in and around the 'house', both in the form of wall paintings and installations of animal remains, such as cattle horns, and figurines (Meskell 2015; Düring 2007).

Indeed, the 'houses' of the Neolithic were symbolically charged places where the concepts of life and death were metaphorically contemplated via the circulation of human and animal imagery together with the circulation of the living and dead animals and humans (Düring 2005; 2007; Russell, Meece 2006;

Kuijt 2008; Meskell et al. 2008; Hodder, Pel 2010; Atakuman 2014; Meskell 2015). Such a circulation was intensified during communal ritual activities which usually came to the fore during the seasonally invoked house renovation cycles. During these ritual events, symbolically significant architectural elements of the prior house structure, such as the bucrania and horn installations as well as the actual human remains were carried and implemented in the new phase of the house (Hodder, Cessford 2004; Boz, Hager 2013). As a result, multiple bucrania installations and a rich burial record accumulated in the last phases of a 'history house' (Hodder, Pels 2010), that competitively displayed house success and continuity during the rituals linking the past and present.

The wall paintings of these 'history houses', as well as the remains of animal horns that were used as wall installations within them, indicate that there continued a deliberate focus on male species of animals (Mellaart 1967; Hodder, Pels 2010). However, the sex is often ambiguous on zoomorphic figurines. Nevertheless, among the zoomorphic figurine assemblages of Çatalhöyük and Ain Ghazal a concern with different life-stages of animals seems to be evident, as adults and juveniles were represented accordingly (Schmandt-Besserat 1997; Rollefson 2008; Martin, Meskell 2012). Moreover, at both sites some zoomorphic figurines were found to be 'stabbed' or punctured by flint blades (Schmandt-Besserat 1997; Martin, Meskell 2012). Because the majority of these figurines depicted cattle at Çatalhöyük, which were still going through domestication at this site, Lynn Meskell (2008) suggested that hunting cattle in these communities was a symbolically important act, possibly constructing sex- and age-based status differences, as in rituals of initiation.

Jacques Cauvin (2000) explains this shift toward horned animals, as the birth of a new belief system within which social identities, and specifically gender roles, were constituted with references to the changing perceptions of the 'wild' and new ways of controlling it, during the Neolithic Process (see also Helmer et al. 2004). Similarly, Ian Hodder (1990) claimed that such a 'symbolic domestication' was mediated with creative uses of imagery in various forms, either as animal horn and head installations or wall paintings and figurines within the 'house' context, where the emergent sex- and age-based status differences were negotiated with reference to the concepts of wild and domestic, aging and sexuality, as well as death and regeneration.



Ultimately, on the one hand we observe a deliberate emphasis on male sexuality in rituals of communal nature where elaborate displays are prepared within the history houses, which were performed during the competitive place making activities involving funerary rituals and communal feasting; on the other hand, the community members may have also used the opportunity provided by the malleable character of clay to think and constitute their place in relation to the wide scale rituals of social regeneration (*Atakuman 2015*). This may have been through a variety of daily ritualized uses, such as the use of figurines as 'toys' for the education and initiation of children as well as wider rituals of initiation and other forms of social regeneration rituals during which social structure was negotiated. Unfortunately, the burial record of the time period, albeit rich and meticulously analysed, does not allow us to make any inferences about the sex and age based status differences during this time period (*Kuijt 2008*). Yet, we understand that the meaning and function of imagery is not merely in the image, but particularly in the context and the deliberate staging of referential relationships between the animate and the inanimate things within this context.

Arguably, a similar pattern of figurine production continued into the Early Bronze Age in Central Anatolia and it may be tempting to see a continuity in the contextually structured use of signs of an ancestral belief system that circulated since the Neolithic, *e.g.*, an emphasis on maleness in communal displays. However, we also see important shifts in the contexts and raw materials, which are fundamental to a better understanding of the agency of figurines within the EBA social scene. In fact, one important shift is related to the concept of the cemetery which seems to have emerged in tandem with the increasingly more visible status differences based on sex and age (*Bachhuber 2011; Atakuman 2017*). We think that such a division of spaces of death vs life is significant to understand the meaning and function of figurines during the EBA and we elaborate on this below.

As a general rule, during the EBA the adults and sub-adults of both sexes were mostly interred in cemeteries, whereas infants were usually buried under house floors, *e.g.*, at sites such as Beycesultan, Kusura, Kalinkaya, Gavurtepe and so on (*Wheeler 1974; Yıldırım et al. 2018; Selover, Durgun 2019*). Furthermore, the differential treatment of males and females is apparent both in terms of their body positions and the grave goods, such as at the Sariket cemetery near

Demircihöyük. Here, metal objects were recorded in burials of all age and sex groups, while weaponry (daggers, copper mace heads, axes, spearheads) and silver figurines, whetstones, razors, lead diadems and gold rings are almost always associated with male graves. Adult males have also been found to be closely associated with more elaborate grave forms, such as the stone-lined pit and stone cist graves, which make up a mere 4% of all grave types. Within this group, seven adult male graves seem to hold a higher political status, as these burials contained knobbed maces and more significantly were associated with completely articulated cattle burials (*Seeher 2000; Massa 2014*).

At the site of Alacahöyük, the 14 'royal' tombs are clearly separated from the ten 'commoner' graves, the latter potentially predating the former (*Gürsan-Salzmänn 1992.67–139; Koşay 1934; 1937; 1938; 1966*). Children and adults of both sex groups were buried usually with ceramic vessels and some personal ornaments, such as a bracelet, an earring, and a pin within the commoner graves. In contrast, children and infants were not found in any of the royal tombs which were composed of at least four adult females (tombs H, T, A, L) and five adult males (tombs B, R, T', A', K). The sex of the remaining burials was not identifiable (tombs S, D, E, C, F). Here, both male and female graves contained highly crafted metal objects, such as bull or stag statuettes as well as standards combining composite images of abstract shapes and animal imagery, together with personal ornamentation items such as rings, 'ear-studs', bracelets, diadems, pins and daggers (Tab. 3). Metal vessels and anthropomorphic metal and some clay figurines were also recorded in many of the tombs. Many of the tombs also contained skeletal remains, specifically skulls of sacrificial animals, such as cattle, sheep, goat, and dog. Within this scene, tomb B of a male individual is outstanding, as it involved the only stamp seal, made of stone, found in the cemetery. This burial also contained six metal disc standards (the highest number found within a single grave), the only clay anthropomorphic figurine and the only two clay zoomorphic figurines found within the cemetery. On the other hand, tomb H and tomb A, both of which are of females, included a greater variety and number of objects. In fact, tomb H contained ten ceramic and metal vessels, 13 metal anthropomorphic figurines (including gold sheet 'idols') and one bone figurine, eight castanets, 30 metal pins and more than six necklaces.



At Koçumbeli, one stone cist grave with an unsexed adult was found to be lying on its right side facing east, with two gold 'ear-studs' and a metal dagger, which tentatively indicate a male burial (*Yakar 1985:196*). No cemetery in the vicinity has been reported; however, at the site of Ahlatlıbel, only a few kilometres southwest of Koçumbeli, burials of mixed age and sex groups, with many copper, lead and gold objects, were found in 18 intramural graves of both pithos and stone cist types (*Koşay 1934; Özgüç 1948*).

As mentioned previously, the ambiguously sexed clay zoomorphic figurines are usually found within the settlement contexts, whereas the rest of the zoomorphic imagery, either in the form of cattle burials or in the form of elaborately decorated and often male-sexed metal statues and standards are found in 'elite' burials located in cemeteries. For example, at Demircihöyük, the majority of the 241 zoomorphic figurines that were found were recovered from the settlement contexts, whereas there were no zoomorphic figurines in the Sariket cemetery, although cattle burials were found in relation with possibly male elite burials (*Seeher 2000; Massa 2014*). As for the anthropomorphic figurines, there were more than 200 clay figurines in the settlement whereas only 10 anthropomorphic figurines, all from sub-adult graves, were recovered from a total of six graves (*Seeher 2000:74–126; Massa 2014:84*). At the site of Alacahöyük, a total of fourteen zoomorphic clay figurines were recovered from the domestic contexts, whereas only two were from the elite graves and none from the non-royal/commoner graves. As for the anthropomorphic figurines of Alacahöyük, most of the clay figurines came from the settlement contexts, whereas the metal objects were found in graves (*Atakuman 2017*).

It seems that the zoomorphic figurines were produced through a meaningful linking of particular raw materials and particular themes (e.g., types of animals) to particular use contexts, in an attempt to mediate/articulate/curate class and gender based social identities during a social process that amounted to 'political centralization' in central Anatolia by the end of the EBA. For a similar approach to the Greek Neolithic figurine corpus see Stratos Nanoglou (*2008; 2009*). This picture is similar to what we also observed in the study of the anthropomorphic figurine assemblage of Koçumbeli (*Atakuman 2017*).

## Conclusion

We argue that the figurines of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic variety were probably produced together and worked together to invoke a variety of themes of life, death, sex, place/genealogical continuity and success, all of which were fundamental ingredients in the creation of status-related identity discourses. Although clay is an easier medium to work with, to express finer details (e.g., anthropomorphic figurines with many details of sex, ornamentation etc.), the use of metals to produce figurines is entangled in the emergent role of new raw materials to express status differences during the wider processes of centralization.

According to Christoph Bachhuber (*2008:242–48; 2015*), a fundamental aspect of this process is the gradual separation of the settlement and cemetery from the Early Chalcolithic on, and the employment of different prestige displays in these separate contexts. For example, the highland sites of Central Anatolia began to invest more in the elaboration of personal status in lavish funerary ceremonies, such as seen at Alacahöyük, while the lowland sites of the Aegean and Mediterranean (such as Karataş-Sema-yük) invested in monumental architecture. Metal figurines, as new items of prestige displays, were reserved for those lavish cemeteries of 'elites' in the Central Anatolian sphere, since they demonstrated ideological control over sacred images and economic control over close-by raw material resources (*Zimmermann 2008; Bachhuber 2011; Lehner, Yener 2014; Yalçın, Yalçın 2013*). Similarly, working with metals required complex knowledge of the craft as well as control over resources and labour, and thus the use of this raw material in any public display indicated the individuals' economic influence over wide areas.

Furthermore, metals incorporated qualities of both malleability (like clay) and rigidity (like stone or bone), together with shine, glitter, and possibly sound. Such enhancements to the traditional sacred imagery that had been around since the Neolithic indicate a structured articulation of the emergent elite classes, as well as the increasing political significance of some male members of the society. In this context, the use of metal figurines of often male-sexed big-game animals (such as deer or bull) in elite funerary contexts may be related to the hierarchical order of these animals in religious ideology rather than the

Pre Pottery Neolithic	Pottery Neolithic	Early Bronze Age
<p>Hybrid imagery of animals and humans, as in the anthropomorphic pillars of Göbekli tepe. Horn installations are present in huts, such as at Hallan Çemi.</p> <p>Main raw material is stone during the PPNA, whereas clay is increasingly more popular during the PPNB.</p> <p>Imagery concentrating mostly on wild, dangerous species, often involving non-dietary animals.</p> <p>Pre-domesticates become the main focus during the PPNB.</p>	<p>Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic imagery are distinguished.</p> <p>The 'house' becomes the main context of animal imagery which can be depicted as wall paintings, installations or figurines.</p> <p>Maleness is indicated in wall paintings and horn installations whereas the sex is ambiguous in figurines.</p> <p>Domesticates with horns are the main focus, however, some of these are not the most consumed species.</p> <p>Main choice of raw material is clay to produce figurines of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic variety.</p>	<p>Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic imagery are distinguished.</p> <p>Domesticates with horns are the main focus, however, some of these are not the most consumed species.</p> <p>Main choice of raw material in domestic contexts is clay to produce figurines of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic variety, however, metal items are used in 'elite' burials, which are often separated from the domestic context, as in cemeteries.</p>
<p>Negotiation of group structure and composition with references to the animistic beliefs involving hybridity of human and animal spirits.</p>	<p>Emergence of the competitive 'house', where ritual and economic control was controlled by households that negotiated their success through displays of ancestral continuity. These displays involved both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic imagery and the actual remains of humans and animals.</p>	<p>An attempt to emphasize age, gender and class based differences through a new form of ritual control which was negotiated through the separation of burial and settlement contexts as well as structured employment of new materials, such as metals, to produce traditional imagery that was used in lavish displays.</p>

**Tab. 4. Temporal shifts in use of zoomorphic imagery in relation to the social contexts of change.**

differences in subsistence practices of the Anatolian Early Bronze Age sites (Arbuckle 2014; 2015).

Arguably, the traditional rituals of death that simultaneously triggered social regeneration (as in seasonal festivals) were undergoing a major transformation along with the increasingly more complex and stratified society. During this process, the domestic control over the potent rituals of death and social regeneration began to be limited, the public domains of symbolic and economic control, such as cemeteries, became the focus, which is typical of the political centralization process. Through the structured use of raw materials and themes in different contexts, the mean-

ing of images were actively manipulated, as society was provoked to contemplate the circulating ideas of the self, society and new scales of authority. Whereas the Koçumbeli figurine assemblage is completely made up of clay items, some objects of gold, copper and bronze have been recovered from the site. Indeed, the small Koçumbeli community was aware of the changes in the political landscape and restructuring itself in relation to the emerging networks of exchange and prestige by mediating alternate inland routes of 'the Anatolian Trade Network' (Şahoğlu 2005) or the 'Great Caravan Route' (Efe 2007), that connected north-central Anatolia to the south and southeast regions.

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## Appendix

**Tab. 1. Catalogue of Koçumbeli animal figurines.**

Type	Description
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.i	L: 5.6cm, H: 5.5cm, W: 3.6cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Not complete. Horns, back part of the body and front and hind limbs are broken. Triangular pinched face and eyes are indicated with a single hole. Soot on the surface and on the broken parts (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. The biggest figurine in the group, because of the size and the horn type it remains cattle maybe an adult male ox. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.66.107.02.214)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.f	L: 3.7cm, H: 3.3cm, W: 2.6cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost complete. Highly smooth surface. Horns and face (probably triangular pinched face) are broken. Tail is long and indicated by pinching. Slight soot on the surface. There is an engraved line at the back of the head. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Dorsal part of the figurine is defined with a smooth curve. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige. (inventory number: K.66.109.02.217)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.g	L: 3.0cm, H: 2.8cm, W: 1.9cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. One of the horns and face are broken. Feet are made as small protrusions. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. The color on the broken parts is same with the color on the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.65.51.02.215)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.a	L: 3.2cm, H: 3.7cm, W: 2cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns or ears are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are indicated with a single hole. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines at the back side. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.64.72.02.225)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.c	L: 4.2cm, H: 3.6cm, W: 2.1cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost complete. Dark Brown Slip? Horns or ears are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Slight soot on the surface. Neck part is longer than the other figurines. Body is getting wider from front to back. Back limbs are taller than the front limbs. Tail is long and indicated with two parallel engraved lines. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. There is a little bump on the ventral part (Sexual characteristic?). Buttocks are pronounced. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.64.73.02.218)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.d	L: 4.1cm, H: 3.3cm, W: 1.9cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. Surface is knotty. Horns are broken. Front limbs are not very distinctive or broken and right hind limb is broken. Slight soot on the surface. Triangular pinched face but nose looks like broken. Eyes are not indicated. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Tail is long. The color of the broken parts is not clear, but it seems the color is same with the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and very small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.66.108.02.216)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.e	L: 3cm, H: 3.2cm, W: 1.8cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is long. Front and hind limbs are complete. Soot on the surface. They are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige. (inventory number: K.64.207.02.227)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.b	L: 4.9cm, H: 3.1cm, W: 2.5cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Head is missing. Tail is long and indicated by grooves from both side. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Soot on the surface. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.64.71.02.220)

**Tab. 1. Continued**

Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.h	L: 3.7cm, H: 2.3cm, W: 1.6-1.1-1.5cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost complete. Triangular pinched face. Horns are broken. Eyes are defined with little holes. It is one of the smallest in the whole group. Slight soot on the surface. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Right back limb is darker than the other parts. Tail is pronouncedly defined with a plastic ledge. Waist is quite thin. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige. (inventory number: K.65.50.02.219)
Type I Cattle  Fig. 2.j	L: 6.6cm, H: 4.4cm, W: 2.1-1.4-1.8cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-Polished. Relatively elegant. Horns, two front limbs, left hind limb and tail are broken. Elongated body, neck and legs. Oil raku technique is possibly applied. Face is triangular pitched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is plastic and short. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.66.219.02.223)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.a	L: 3.8cm, H: 3.0cm, W: 2.2cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Horns, part of face, part of tail are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Front and hind limbs are almost complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Tails is short and probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.64.74.02.230)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.e	L: 4.3cm, H: 2.9cm, W: 2.1cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Broken in the middle (During excavation?). Horns or ears, face and left hind limb are broken. The deep line on the face suggests that its eyes might have been depicted with a single hole. Dorsal part is darker than ventral part. Limbs are most probably shaped by pinching. Tails is short and pointed. Forehead is stuffy. Limbs are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.66.110.02.232)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.f	L: 3.2cm, H: 2.7cm, W: 1.5cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. One of the smallest figurines. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Tail is small and short, most probably shaped by pinching and a little bit broken. Horns or ears are broken. If these are horns, they are going towards back side. There are two parallel engraved lines at the back of the head. Front and hind limbs are complete also they are most probably shaped by pinching. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is brown beige. (inventory number: K.66.117.02.224)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.c	L: 3.1cm, H: 2.6cm, W: 1.4cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Almost full. Horns or ears are broken. Face is triangular pinched face. Eyes are not indicated. Front and hind limbs are complete. They are most probably shaped by pinching. Tail is not indicated. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.66.112.02.226)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.d	L: 3.3cm, H: 1.9cm, W: 1.7cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Almost full. Head is broken. There is soot on the broken parts (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Limbs are full and looks like shaped with a tool. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.64.76.02.233)
Type II Sheep/ Goat  Fig. 3.b	L: 4.5cm, H: 3.8cm, W: 2.0cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. There is soot on the broken parts (Possible contact with fire after breakage). Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.66.116.02.222)
Type II Ram?  Fig. 3.g	L: 6cm, H: 3.4cm, W: 2.9cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.65.8.02.231)























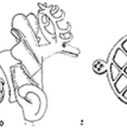
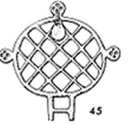
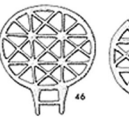

**Tab. 1. Continued**

Type III Wild Boar Fig. 4.a	L: 6cm, H: 3.4cm, W: 2.9cm Handmade clay figurine. Polished. Horns and face are broken. Tail is short and plastic. Soot on the surface and broken parts. Right front and hind limb are broken. Buttocks are slightly pronounced. On the left side of the body there is a "T" shaped engraving (it is not known intentional or unintentional). Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.64.77.02.229)
Type III Piglet Fig. 4.b	L: 4.9cm, H: 3.2cm, W: 1.3cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. Right front and back limbs are broken. Also, there is a breakage on the right side of the body. Soot on the surface and broken parts. It has a small face with eyes defined with a single hole. There are two dots and under of them a curved line on the tip of the face thought as representations of nose and mouth. On the back of the eyes, there are dots which are circling the face. These dots are followed by a single line which is also circling the face. Whole body is covered with parallel lines from front to back. The space between these lines filled with dots (except dorsal part). Tail is slightly pointed and short. Under the tail there are two diagonal lines which are extends towards the back limbs and two rows of dots are filling the area between these lines. It seems like there is a slight line on the ventral part. Not fine clay, possible chaff inclusion, if there is stone inclusion it is not visible. Clay color is reddish beige. (inventory number: K.64.8?.02.221)
Type IV Bird Fig. 5	L: 4.0cm, H: 2.5cm, W: 1.4cm Handmade clay figurine. Well-polished. May not be an animal figurine. One end is bent downward and getting thin and the other end is shorter and bent upward. On the bottom part of there is a hole in the middle. Depth of the hole is 0.4cm. and diameter in 0.3cm. Not fine clay, chaff and small stone inclusion can be seen. Clay color is beige. (inventory number: K.66.204.02.228)

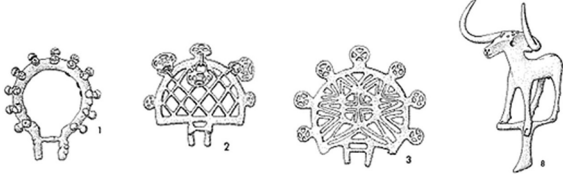

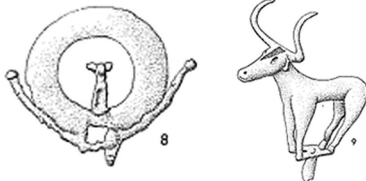
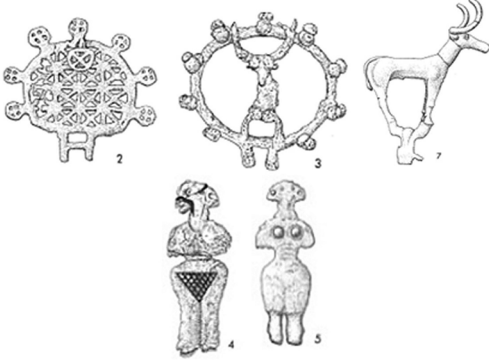
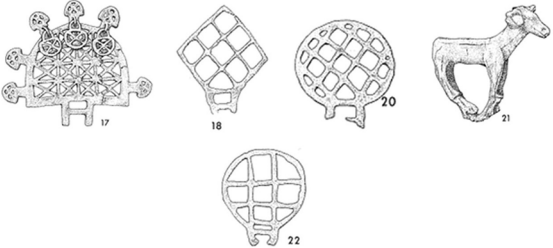
**Tab. 2. Animal figurines from comparative EBA settlements.**

Sites	Number of Zoomorphic figurines published or mentioned	Raw materials/types/contexts
<b>Alişar</b> <i>Von der Osten 1937;</i> <i>Schmidt 1932</i>	32	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 3 stone horned animal depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 6 stone abstract animal depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 stone rabbit animal depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 9 clay cattle depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 9 sheep/goat depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 3 clay unidentified animal depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay dog (?) with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Ahlatlıbel</b> <i>Koşay 1934</i>	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 clay sheep/goat depiction from child burial</li> <li>• 1 clay sheep/goat depiction with with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay cattle depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 2 clay snake or bird depiction with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Alacahöyük</b> <i>Koşay 1937;</i> <i>Gürsan-Salzmann 1992</i>	29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 11 clay horned animal depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay owl (?) depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay rabbit (?) depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay turtle (?) depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 7 metal stag depictions found in the royal tombs</li> <li>• 8 metal cattle (probably bull) depictions found in the royal tombs</li> </ul>
<b>Çiledir</b> <i>Türktüzün et al. 2014</i>	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 clay sheep/goat depictions with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Demircihöyük</b> <i>Baykal-Seeher,</i> <i>Obladen-Kauder 1996</i>	76 of 241 is published	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 42 clay cattle depictions from courtyard and front rooms of the houses</li> <li>• 17 clay sheep/goat depictions from courtyard and front rooms of the houses</li> <li>• 15 clay head and body fragment of horned animal depictions from courtyard and front rooms of the houses</li> <li>• 2 clay unidentified animal depictions from courtyard and front rooms of the houses</li> </ul> <p>(17 of them found in situ – 9 from storage bins and 8 from front rooms of houses)</p>
<b>Horoztepe</b> <i>Özgüç, Akok 1958</i>	4 metal	
<b>Höyüktepe</b> <i>Sandalcı 2014</i>	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 clay cattle depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay sheep/goat depictions with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 2 clay horned animal depictions with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Kalınkaya</b> <i>Yıldırım, Zimmermann 2006</i>	2 metal	
<b>Kanlıgeçit</b> <i>Özdoğan et al. 2012</i>	5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 clay sheep/goat depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay horn fragment of an animal depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 2 clay bird depiction fragments with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 1 clay unidentified animal depiction with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Karaoğlan Mevkii</b> <i>Topbaş et al. 1998</i>	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 clay sheep/goat with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Küllüoba</b> <i>Deniz, Ay 2006</i>	6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1 clay cattle depiction with no spatial context info</li> <li>• 5 clay sheep/goat depiction with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Seyitömer</b> <i>Bilgen 2015</i>	15	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 14 clay horned animal depictions from fill deposits</li> <li>• 1 clay horned animal depictions from a room as in situ</li> </ul>
<b>Şarhöyük</b> <i>Darga 1994</i>	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 clay sheep/goat depiction with no spatial context info</li> </ul>
<b>Troy</b> <i>Blegen et al. 1951a</i>	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 clay sheep/goat with no spatial context info</li> </ul>

**Tab. 3. Alacahöyük Royal Tombs in relation to sex, animal imagery bearing objects and other burial gifts (six sources have been used to construct this table, while the images have been gathered from the Herman Müller-Karpe (1974), the content of the burials have been written by comparing the information from Ayşe Gürsan-Salzman (1992), Nejat Bilgen (1993), and Hâmit Z. Koşay (1937; 1938; 1966).**

Tomb name	Sex & # of individuals	# of artefacts & categories	Standards, statuetes and figurines
Tomb A	Female 1 individual	2 ceramic vessels, 2 metal vessels, 8 hooks, 21 pins, 3 standards, 1 statuettes (stag), 14 borers, 3 barrettes, 1 mirror, 129 beads, 1 comb, 1 ring, 1 battle axe, 2 bracelets, 1 piece of textile, 1 diadem, 2 castanets	 
Tomb A'	Male 1 individual	3 standards, 5 vessels, 3 knives, 1 hook, 1 mirror, 1 sword 828 sewn pieces, 1 diadem, 1 figurine, 1 barrette, 2 bracelets, 5 pins, 2 tubing, 1 statuette (stag)	   
Tomb B	Male 1 individual	6 standards, 1 statuette (stag), 3 hooks, 1 diadem, 2 vessels, 2 handles, 1 mace head, 8 sheaths, 2 pins, 1 pair of earrings, 18 sewn ornaments, 2 earplugs, 331 beads, 3 bells, 3 figurines, 2 vessels, 10 sherds, 2 spindle whorls, 4 borers, 1 stamp seal	        
Tomb C	Unidentified 3 individual	3 standards, 1 dagger, 1 knife, 4 vessels, 5 sheaths, 7 borers, 20 tubes for gold plating objects, 34 nails, 1 disc, 3 necklaces, 1 sewn piece	 
Tomb D	Unidentified 1 individual	6 standards, 6 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), 1 diadem, 1 vessel, 1 dagger, 1 knife, 1 borer, 111 sewn pieces, 1 earplug, 2 necklaces and pieces from necklace, 1 spool, 99 nails	      

**Tab. 3. Continued**

Tomb name	Sex & # of individuals	# of artefacts & categories	Standards, statuettes and figurines
Tomb E	Unidentified 1 individual + 1 skull	3 standards, 2 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), 2 axes, 1 battle axe, 1 shield fragment, 2 sheaths, 2 arrowheads, 2 nails, 1 diadem, 33 sewn pieces, 1 pair of earrings, 28 stone beads, 1 vessel, 1 sherd, 27 metal beads	
Tomb H	Female 1 individual	1 standard, 1 statuette (bull), 1 diadem, 10 vessels, 4 figurines, 4 bracelets, 6 necklaces, 1 comb, 30 pins, 1 hook, 2 sheaths, 2 balls, 2 maces, 1 dagger, 176 sewn pieces/ornaments, 1 pendant, 7 pieces of plating, 8 castanets, 92 beads, 1 disc, 2 axes, 1 knife	
Tomb K	Male 1 individual	9 vessels, 1 diadem, 2 mace, 2 mace heads, 3 mace handles, 4 pins, 2 daggers, 2 necklaces, 23 sewn pieces, 1 comb, 2 standards, 1 statuettes (bull), 2 borers, 1 hook, 1 sword, 2 bracelets, 3 discs, 4 spindle whorls, 1 adze, 1 earring, 3 belts, 1 pair earplugs, 2 knives, 4 legs of furniture	
Tomb L	Female 1 individual	2 metal human figurine, 4 standards, 1 bull statuettes, 1 diadem, 2 vessels, 1 barrette, 3 bracelets, 1 spindle whorl, 1 spoon, 1 pin, 2 earplugs, 2 sewn pieces, 4 hooks, 3 borers, 1 metal sheath, 3 necklaces, 5 buttons	
Tomb S	Unidentified 1 individual	1 sword, 1 standard (fragment), 6 hooks, 1 band/diadem, 1 vessel, 4 amulets/medallions, 6 earplugs, 2 sewn pieces, 14 beads, 1 pin head 8 tubing and plating pieces, 1 axe, 1 spindle whorl/bead, 9 awls	
Tomb T	Female 1 individual (Phase II)	4 standards, 6 hooks, 1 statuette (bull), fragments of vessel, 2 bells, 1 vessel, 9 sheaths, 2 daggers/spearheads, 8 pins, 14 tubes, 4 bracelets, 6 ringlets, 2 castanets, 606 beads, 10 bracelets, 1 diadem, 95 sewn pieces	
Tomb T'	Male 1 individual (Phase I)	1 vessel, 7 pieces of plating, 6 bracelets, 3 spindle whorls, 5 knives, 1 polishing stone, 2 handles (ceramic vessel)	