

Chapter 14

Animal Representations and Animal Remains at Çatalhöyük

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Since Mellaart's (1962c; 1963d; 1964e; 1966b; 1967) excavations in the 1960s revealed spectacular paintings, reliefs, and bucrania, it has been clear that animal representations and animal parts played an important symbolic role at Çatalhöyük. Thanks to the thorough recovery techniques employed by the renewed excavations, we now have a large sample of well-collected animal bones to compare to the art. The incorporation of animal parts into the architecture in both visible and invisible ways means that there is no clear distinction between faunal remains and animal representations. We know from countless ethnographies as well as our own experience that human-animal relationships are crucial to the functioning of societies and to defining what it means to be human (e.g. Ingold 1988). We need to approach the study of human-animal relations through multiple pathways and in an integrated manner. We cannot understand 'art' apart from social and other aspects of human culture, and we cannot understand the roles of animals through osteology alone. The combination of numerous animal representations, a large faunal sample, and good contextual information from Çatalhöyük provides a rare opportunity to explore these issues.

In this chapter, we examine the roles of animal symbols. We are not offering here a detailed interpretation of the meaning of either individual deposits and scenes or animal symbolism at Çatalhöyük as a whole. Rather, we attempt to identify patterning in terms of associations of taxa, temporal change, and the media employed, and we offer a brief discussion of the social contexts of the representations. There are many ways to approach animal representations. Here our main goal is to compare the osteological and representational records of animals at Çatalhöyük. Therefore we concentrate on quantifying the representations and their associations in order to facilitate comparison with the animal-bone data.

There has never been a complete inventory of animal representations even from the earlier excavations. Table 13 of Mellaart's (1967, 81) book summarizes features of many of the buildings, but the information is sketchy and was compiled before his final excavation season. One of our goals is to create such a summary, but it must be regarded as an approximate rather than a definitive statement for a number of reasons. First, documentation is incomplete. Mellaart does not describe all the buildings that he excavated nor illustrate all animal representations. Many are shown only in transcription or reproduction, making it hard to evaluate what was actually present. This compounds the difficulties of identification, already considerable for fragmentary and stylized representations. Additionally, only part of the tell has been excavated, some levels more extensively than others. Animal representations have been damaged by abandonment behaviour, partial razing of houses, animal burrows, plant roots, and the ravages of time. As a result absences may not be significant and counts even of what is present are approximate.

We combine the information from the earlier and the current projects, but these data sets are not truly comparable. Animal paintings and reliefs have not yet been found in the new excavations. The collection and analysis of the animal bones from the earlier excavation provide little information on special deposits (Ducos 1988; Perkins 1969), so we have only the occasional references in Mellaart's descriptions. We draw our information from Mellaart's annual reports in *Anatolian Studies* (Mellaart 1962c; 1963d; 1964e; 1966b); the books that Mellaart and Ian Todd wrote about the site (Mellaart 1967; Todd 1976); the series of brief reports in the *Illustrated London News* (Mellaart 1962a,b; 1963a,b,c; 1964a,b,c,d,f; 1966a,c,d); the series of slides of the earlier excavations donated

to the Çatalhöyük Research Project by Ian Todd; and the data base of the renewed excavations.

We consider five media: paintings, reliefs, figurines and other portable artefacts, architectural installations of animal parts, and special deposits of animal remains. Each has its particular difficulties. All the paintings have been damaged to varying degrees, so that not only are some areas completely lost, but others are partial and difficult to interpret. In some cases organic pigments have faded. Moreover, many of the paintings were repainted several times, but there is only limited information about the different layers. We have not tried to account for these repaintings, but tally only the single best-documented version. We have identified the animals to the best of our abilities from the most primary version of the paintings available, rather than simply accepting Mellaart's identifications. Thus many animals that he assigned to particular species we prefer to consider simply 'quadrupeds'.

Most reliefs are also fragmentary and Mellaart reconstructs many from a few pieces or even from scars on the walls. We have used photographs as far as possible to judge what actually remained, but where photographs are not available and Mellaart does not specify the evidence for his reconstruction we have been forced to accept his description at face value. We have rejected some questionable claims of wavy horns or faint indications of animal heads that appear to have resulted from slumping of the wall plaster. We also exclude Mellaart's plaster cut-out figures. Most or all of these seem to result from random plaster fall or scars left by the removal of reliefs. It is not always possible to distinguish where Mellaart has restored fallen pieces to their place on the wall and where he has supplied them by analogy to finds elsewhere on the site. The animal figurines and portable artefacts are described so sketchily that we do not attempt to quantify them, but only make some general observations.

Sometimes Mellaart is explicit that actual horns or bones were present in architectural installations or this can be seen in photographs, but often it is difficult to tell if the horns were in place, if they were gone but stubs or voids indicated their former presence, or if they were simply inferred by analogy to other pieces. In the new excavations few installations have been found in place, while there are a number of pieces that we suspect derive from dismantled installations. In general we have included these with the special deposits, since it is not clear that they are found in the buildings where they were originally installed.

Mellaart reports a few special deposits of animal remains, but no doubt many that we would find interesting escaped his notice. We have made an effort

to identify such deposits more systematically in the new excavations, but of course it is often difficult to determine whether a deposit is 'special' rather than simply the result of ordinary discard practices. Indeed, our experience of the discard practices at Çatalhöyük suggests that this distinction is not fully valid (Martin & Russell 2000). We have included pieces and concentrations that stand out in terms of their treatment or placement. We exclude deposits that appear to be simple deposits of feasting remains, but include such remains when they are incorporated or placed in houses. It is often difficult to distinguish between architectural installations and special deposits. Animal parts stuck into walls, reliefs, or pillars are clearly incorporated into the architecture, but so, too, are less visible bones built into walls, placed in pits in platforms, and arguably those placed in burials within houses. Other special deposits include bones placed in houses at abandonment, buried in foundation trenches, or placed in middens or fills. Moreover, some special deposits appear to be dismantled installations. We therefore treat installations and special deposits together. We include installations and special deposits only from the South and North areas of the renewed excavations, since we have not yet completed detailed contextual analyses of the Bach, Summit, or TP areas. The off-tell KOPAL area lacks architecture and thus has fewer opportunities for special deposits. A couple of cattle horn cores were found here, but it is not clear that they constitute special deposits.

Despite these difficulties, we believe it is worthwhile, with due caution, to tally the animal representations, installations, and special deposits. The frequent reproduction of a few famous images has created a distorted view of the Çatalhöyük animal representations. Even an imperfect tally can illuminate the choices made by the ancient inhabitants. For chronological orientation, we follow Mellaart's level designations. Mellaart reassigned some buildings to different levels as the project progressed; we try to use his latest designation. The North Area does not link directly to Mellaart's excavations and hence his levels, and so these levels have been given more approximate designations. In order to incorporate the North materials on the same scale, we have attributed them to the earlier level of the range (e.g. North VI-V would be assigned to Level VI). In referring to buildings, we use Mellaart's numbering system for the buildings he excavated, in which the level is designated by a Roman numeral followed by the building number (e.g. IX.8 for building 8 in Level IX); sometimes both are preceded by a letter indicating the site area (e.g. F.V.1 for building 1, Level V, area F). The buildings in the new excavations have been given sequential numbers

regardless of level or area, starting from 1 (e.g. Building 6). Thus buildings excavated by Mellaart can be distinguished by the Roman numeral, while those with a simple number derive from the current project (see Hodder this volume, Chapter 1).

Paintings

Table 14.1 summarizes the animal representations in the wall paintings at Çatalhöyük. The numbers in the table represent our best estimate of the number of individual animals portrayed. For feathers, this refers to the number of people wearing garments or carrying objects that appear to be decorated with feathers. Parentheses indicate questionable cases due to insufficient documentation. We will first discuss the paintings in which these images appear level by level, and then consider general patterning.

Level IX

While geometric paintings are known from Level X, the earliest animal representation appears in Level IX. A single large black animal graces the north wall of building IX.8. Mellaart (1964e, 70, pl. XIVb) labels it a bull, but the species is in fact not obvious, as the top half is missing, nor is the gender marked. The feet are nicely drawn and seem to indicate hooves and fetlocks. The hooves are not cloven, however, as they are clearly portrayed in later bull paintings. And if they are hooves, they point toward the long, straight tail. It is therefore possible that the feet are actually paws facing the right direction. In Todd's slide (archived as 62-19), the black paint resembles heavy spotting, although this may just be pockmarking from damage to the painting, making it conceivable that it is actually a leopard. If so, it would be the only painted leopard (as opposed to leopard skin, or relief with painted decoration) yet known from the site. We have classified it as a quadruped. Unlike the later bull paintings, it appears in lone splendour.

Level VIII

Two animal paintings are known from Level VIII. Mellaart (1966b, 178) describes one on the south wall of building VIII.45 as portraying a small red bull and a fragmentary image that may be a human figure. He provides no further description and no picture of any

Table 14.1. *Animal representations in paintings.*

Level	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	Total
Canid			1					1
Bear			1					1
Leopard skin	25	2	54		(1)			81-82
Felid			1					1
Equid			7					7
Boar			4					4
Fallow deer			1					1
Red deer	12		2					14
Cervid			1					1
Cattle	1		1			(1)		2-3
Goat					13			13
Quadruped	3	1	8	(4)			1	13-17
Quadruped skin	5	2	27					34
Vulture					10	2		12
Bird	2		2	(1)				4-5
Feathers			5					5

kind. With such scanty documentation, the identification of the animal should be regarded as tentative. The east wall of building VIII.8 (directly above IX.8 with the black animal) has a fragmentary painting shown only in transcription of two vultures surrounding two small human figures. One human is headless, the other swinging a sling, lasso, or other looped object (Mellaart 1964e, 70, pl. XIVa). Curved beaks plausibly identify the birds as vultures. Although as transcribed these birds lack the indications of tufts of feathers on the neck seen in the later vulture paintings that would mark them as Griffon Vultures, the long necks suggest this species (Schüz & König 1983, 464). The legs are indistinct.

Level VII

Building VII.8, directly above VIII.8, continues the vulture theme. On the north and east walls seven Griffon Vultures (probably, although Schüz & König 1983 think the short necks suggest rather Cinereous or Lappet-faced Vultures) swoop at six comparatively tiny headless human figures (62-07). The legs have three-toed birds' feet. Four buildings to the north, Griffon Vultures appear again on the north wall of building VII.21. Two vultures with apparently human legs attack a headless human (Fig. 14.1). The reconstruction drawing shows another panel with a third vulture and a second headless human, which were apparently much more fragmentary. Two human



Figure 14.1. *Painting of vultures with possibly human legs and headless human figure from Building VII.21 (Level VII).*

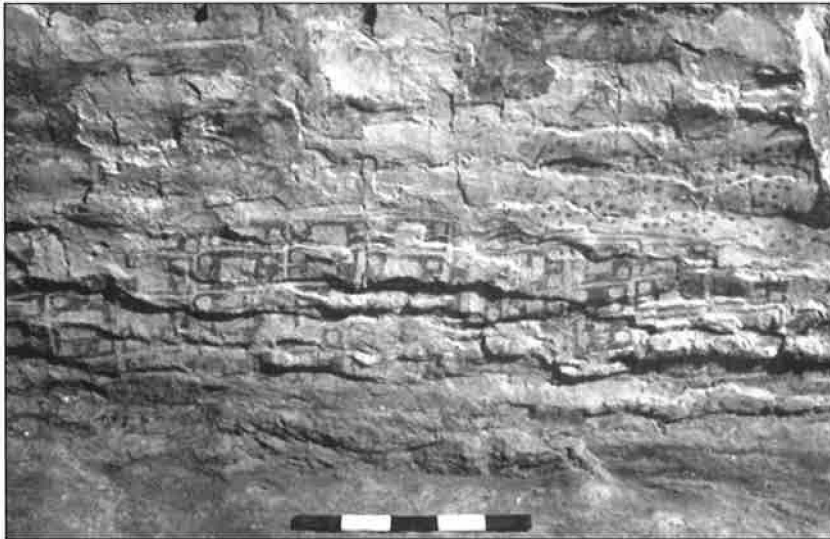


Figure 14.2. *Painting of spotted figure above pattern of rectangular objects from Building VII.14 (Level VII). Volcano above town plan, leopard skin above geometric design, or other representations?*

skulls were found on the platform below the painting (Mellaart 1964e, 64, pl. XII, figs. 21–2).

The north wall of building VII.14 has the famous ‘volcano’ painting (Fig. 14.2). We list this tentatively as a leopard skin, a possibility suggested by Mellaart (1964a, 194) although he preferred the volcano interpretation. The red lines interpreted by Mellaart as lava flows (or spurting blood if it is a leopard skin) seem more reasonably interpreted as claws, especially since they appear at all four corners. The leopard reliefs (see below) have claws indicated in pink. One of the ‘leopard shrines’ (building VII.44) also contains two

paintings of goats and trees. On the east wall at least four goats and a tree are painted in an alcove created by internal partition walls (76-07). On the north wall (Fig. 14.3), 9–10 goats and a tree are placed directly below the leopard relief (Mellaart 1966b, 177, pls. XXXV–XXXVI). The horns depicted are quite large and probably wild-type (76-08). The goat paintings are both festooned (in some layers) with spots that look like fruits or leaves on the tree, but extend well beyond both the trees and the goats. Mellaart considered them hoofprints of the goats, but they are not very convincing and seem rather like a general sprinkling of spots (conceivably fallen fruits from the trees), possibly somehow related to the leopard theme, although they are painted in red while the leopards are spotted in black.

Level VI

Level VI paintings lack fully convincing animal depictions. A patch of painting on the east wall of building VIA.66 includes a number of geometric figures, two humans, and three small figures that Mellaart (Mellaart 1967, 161–2) interprets as goddesses in birth position (our ‘splayed figures’; see Reliefs below). However, they appear to be simply swastika-like symbols. We have tentatively listed these as quadrupeds, since as noted below in the discussion of the reliefs, the splayed figures may actually portray animals. We have also so listed the large splayed figure painting in VIA.50, which appears only in

the reconstruction drawing (Mellaart 1964e, 42, fig. 4). Other than these paintings, the splayed figure appears only in reliefs. Three large cattle horns were found on the floor below the painted splayed figure in building VIA.50. Table 13 in Mellaart’s (1967, 81) book lists a bird depiction in building VIB.34. There is no further description and no indication of the medium, but a fragment of painting seems most likely.

Level V

All the Level V paintings with animal depictions come from a single building, F.V.1. This is one of

the 'hunting shrines', with all four walls covered with human figures interacting with several species of animals. (While we use Mellaart's term as a shorthand to refer to this type of painting, there are many possible interpretations of what these paintings represent, including hunting, dancing, sacrifice, and mythological events.) Mellaart (1966b, 184–91, pls. LI–LXIII) describes it at length in his last annual report. The large bull on the north wall has been widely reproduced. In addition there are three panels with deer. Most seem to be red deer, but Mellaart reasonably suggests that one, smaller than the deer next to it and with apparently more palmate antlers, is a fallow deer. There are five male deer, marked by antlers and/or penises. One of these is missing the head area thanks to a rodent burrow, but lacks painted antlers or room for a painted head. Mellaart suggests that the head was modelled and held inset genuine antlers. This makes sense in terms of what is here, but would be a unique instance of incorporating animal body parts into a painting (as opposed to a relief). No instances of antlers installed on walls have been recorded, although an antler with plaster (see below) could be the remnants of such an installation. The suggestion seems like a stretch, though, since there is no sign of any relief modelling in what remains. This leaves open the possibility that the animal was painted without a head. Some of the human figures in this room are also headless. The stags are accompanied by two smaller quadrupeds, which may be does or fawns, as some have deer-like body proportions. Perhaps a herd of equids (most likely one of the asses rather than horses) is invoked by the line of equids that proceeds around the lower part of the northwest corner. We have relegated some of these to the quadruped category, as some could as easily be deer or other animals, counting only five from this group and two with crossed necks on the south wall as fairly definite equids. Mellaart also refers to two damaged images from another part of the south wall that might be equids. With no illustration we have tallied these as quadrupeds. Four boars, one of them marked as male, appear in this building, one on each wall.

Carnivores are also represented. Mellaart calls a canid on the east wall a wolf, but it could just as well be a dog. We have relegated three figures that Mellaart labels dogs to the quadruped category. One seems more like a deer, another more like an equid, while the third is damaged and ambiguous and might be a skin worn by a human figure now vanished. Mellaart is probably correct that one animal is a bear. Mellaart labels a large pink animal, missing its head and back, a lion. The long straight tail and claws on the feet

suggest a felid, but despite the lack of spots, a leopard seems equally plausible. The earliest version of one set of leopard reliefs is painted plain pink, although they were later repainted with spots (see Reliefs below). Otherwise, leopards are represented only by their skins (spotted animal skins with the tails on) worn by many of the humans. Additional unspotted skins are labelled as quadrupeds, but these tallies are approximate, as it is not always easy to tell whether the skins are spotted or not. Finally, the mammals are joined by birds. Above the equids with crossed necks on the south wall is a pair of cranes with heads raised, perhaps in dance (Russell & McGowan 2003). On the east wall some of the skins worn by the people and perhaps some other items they carry are elaborated with black markings that may indicate feather trim.

Humans interact with the animals in these paintings in various ways. They seem to be teasing several: the bull, two of the stags, two of the boars, and perhaps the large felid. Humans approach two of the boars carrying what may be nets. Humans seem to stand on or leap over the back of the bull, fallow deer, and perhaps the bear and one of the boars, although they may simply be standing or running behind them. Human figures stand under the necks of two equids and a quadruped. Many of these might be read as gestures of control, but the effect seems somewhat negated by the inflated size of most of the animals in relation to the people.

Level IV

Building A.IV.1 has a painting of a headless (damaged) animal running with at least two humans, shown only in transcription. Mellaart (1963d, 50, pl. Vb) considers it a bull, but it is not particularly similar to the other bull paintings and much smaller than the humans. We have left it as a quadruped. In building E.IV.1, at least three human figures wear skins, one of them spotted. A fourth figure wears a spotted blouse, perhaps leopard skin.

Level III

Building A.III.13 bears a painting on the north wall where an archer seems to shoot at a red deer stag (54–33). The stag is followed by an animal that could well be a doe or fawn; in terms of realistic groupings it is more likely to be a doe, and then only if they were surprised during mating. Two other quadrupeds are seen below the stag, which Mellaart (1967, 170, pls. 56–7) calls a fawn and a dog. One is only a tiny fragment and the other is invisible in the photograph, so it is impossible to identify them. Mellaart describes the archer as wearing a skin, but this is not clear in the photo or even in the transcription; in any case there are no signs of spots.

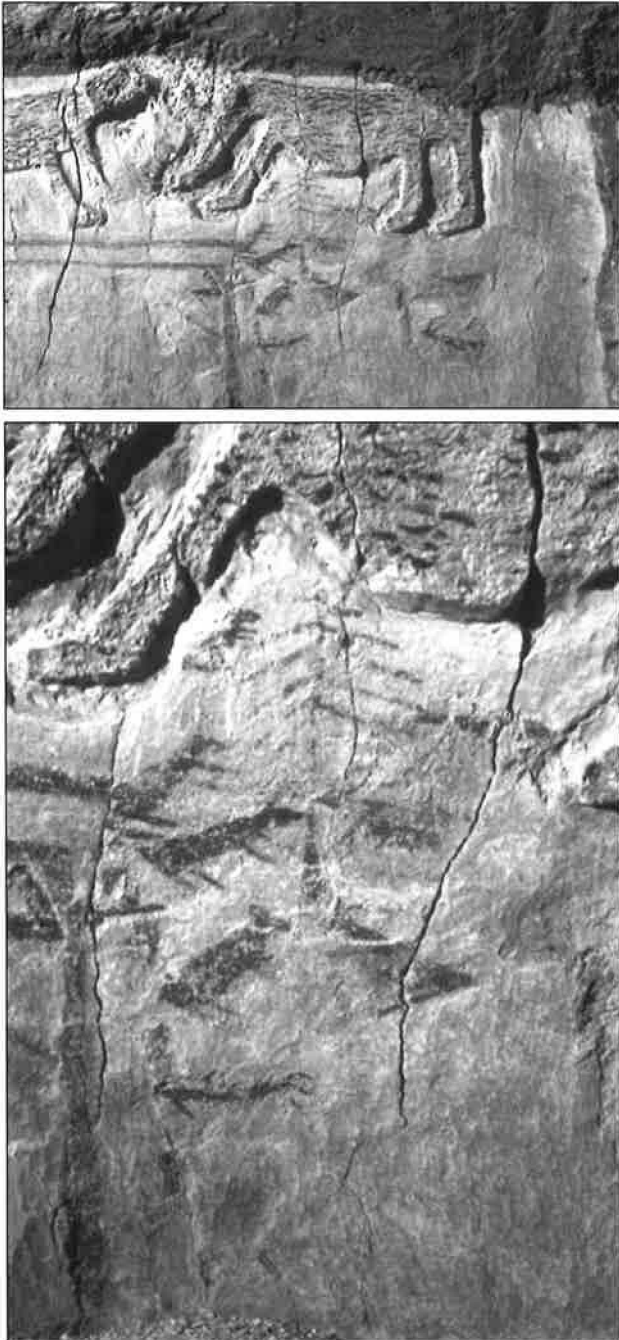


Figure 14.3. Painting of tree and goats (no dots in this layer) below leopard reliefs on north wall of Building VII.44 (Level VII).

Building A.III.1 is the other 'hunting shrine', with much in common with F.V.1 (Mellaart 1967, pls. XI, XIII, 54–5, 61–4, fig. 48). Paintings of small humans interacting with mostly large animals again cover all four walls. A large bull (or cow; it is actually ungendered) forms the centrepiece of the north wall. Three stags and four plausible does or fawns appear in a group on the south wall; two more stags and one

smaller doe/fawn appear on the east wall. A large, fragmentary indeterminate quadruped is located left of the bull on the north wall. Many of the human figures wear skins, some of which are spotted, and some wear spotted hats as well. A pair of birds is also reported, although their position is unclear. Mellaart (1962c, 62) describes the webbed feet of two birds on a fragment of painting 'embedded in the rebuilt west wall'. Does this mean the painting is not *in situ*? He identifies them as waders and suggests they might be storks, perhaps impressed by the massive flocks of storks that pass by the site during migration, but these birds do not have webbed feet. There are no pictures of this fragment. The repetition of paired birds with the big bull and groups of deer, however, is intriguing.

Summary

Bulls turn out to be rather rare in the paintings, with only two certain and one possible representations. The two definite bulls are very impressive, however, huge out of all proportion to the human figures around them and forming the centrepieces of the north walls of two rather similar buildings. In a sense they parallel the situation in the faunal assemblage, where cattle are not terribly common, but figure prominently in ceremonial consumption (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). Leopard skins, mostly as garments, are very common. Possibly there are even more leopard-skin depictions. Some of the geometric paintings have spots with inward-pointing triangles just like those painted on some of the leopard reliefs. We have not included these here, as they are not bounded in a recognizable skin, and such geometric designs grade into others that are less obviously linked to leopards. However, it is possible that the ancient inhabitants saw these as leopard skins.

Skins aside, deer, goats, and vultures dominate numerically. All are spatially restricted, with the goats appearing only in one building, the deer and vultures in three each. Within these, though, all appear in multiple panels. The buildings with relatively intact paintings seem to have themes: vultures; goats; or big bull with deer and a pair of birds (and in one case several other animals). One vulture house is rebuilt on top of another, but the third is at a slight distance. The 'hunting shrines' are also some distance apart. They are also temporally restricted. Vultures span two levels, 'hunting shrines' three. Some of this patchiness is no doubt the result of limited excavations, but it raises the possibility that certain themes had salience for only a limited amount of time. We do not see totemic associations of animal species with a house location through a long sequence.

Based on the analysis of the animal bones (Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2), most or possibly all of the animals depicted are wild. If the canid or any of the quadrupeds are dogs, they would be domestic. The only other possibility is the goats. Like most of the goat horns found in special deposits (see below), they appear morphologically wild. They could, however, be early domesticates that have so far experienced little morphological change. They appear not in hunting/teasing scenes (nor with people at all), but browsing on two distinct species of tree in the two panels, conceivably indicating seasonal movements of the flock. On the other hand, if we accept the hoofprint interpretation of the spots in these paintings, it could suggest tracking wild goats. Such tracks are absent in the 'hunting scenes'. Analysis has shown the cattle to be wild at least through Level VI, although there is as yet insufficient data to judge the status of cattle from the later levels from which most of the cattle paintings derive.

Table 14.2. *Animal representations in reliefs.*

Level	Leopard	Cattle heads	Cattle horns	Sheep heads	Quadruped	Quadruped head
VI	4	5	(2)	1	5	
VII	3	3-4	(1)	2	5-6	1-2
VIII	2					
X		4-5		2		
Total	9	12-14	(3)	5	10-11	1-2

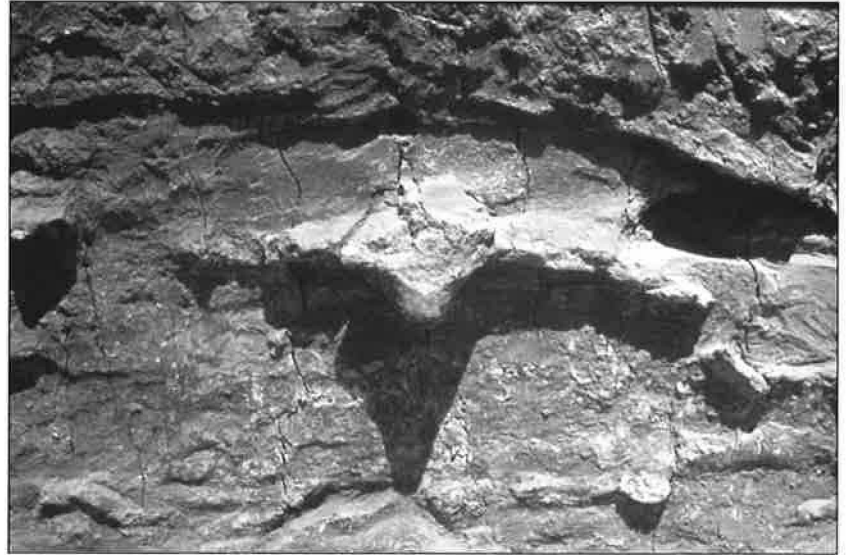


Figure 14.4. *Plaster animal head from Building X.1 (Level X).*

Reliefs

Table 14.2 summarizes the animal representations in reliefs. We include animal heads that lack any indication that they contained real horns, but this is often difficult to determine, so there is some blurring between reliefs of heads and heads with horns (treated as installations, see below). It is also tricky to distinguish small cattle heads from sheep heads. It is quite possible that many or even all of the plaster 'sheep heads' are just small cattle heads. Since there is at least some evidence for plaster sheep heads with genuine horns (see below), we have tentatively accepted Mellaart's designations. We have rejected a number of claimed animal heads for which the evidence seems highly tenuous, but some of those tallied remain questionable due to limited documentation.

Aside from the indeterminate quadruped heads, the reliefs we are designating 'quadrupeds' are all of the 'splayed figure' type. It is by no means certain that these are animals. Mellaart (1963d, 61-67) considered them to represent stylized human females, with the outstretched and sometimes upturned limbs indicating a birth position. None of them have any

indication of gender, though, in contrast to some of the figurines and some of the painted human figures. Moreover, the upturned legs make a physically impossible position for humans. The placement of the limbs rather suggests bears or some other quadruped. An extremely similar figure, but with a tail, appears engraved on a stela at Göbekli Tepe in southeast Anatolia, where it is interpreted as an animal (Hauptmann 1999, 52, fig. 27). At Çatalhöyük, the heads and usually the hands and feet of these figures were knocked off at abandonment, complicating identification. One has faint indications of rounded animal ears, or, for Mellaart (1964e, 50), a horned hairstyle. Another has its feet outlined in red, which Mellaart (1964e, 45) explicitly compares to a similar treatment of the feet and tails of the leopard reliefs. All of this raises the strong possibility that these reliefs portray animals. The rounded heads suggest carnivores, perhaps leopards, although none have spots. On the other hand, some, although not all, of these figures have a distinctly marked navel. This feature might suggest that they are intended to be anthropomor-

phic, or perhaps therianthropic (wereleopards?). The humanoid, animal, or human–animal combination character of these figures is thus uncertain. One of us (NR) is more inclined to see them as animals, the other (SM) prefers the humanoid reading. In any case, they are a recurring, reasonably standardized motif. If they are depictions of humans, they are of a type distinct from humans represented in figurines and paintings. We have chosen to include them because there is sufficient evidence to raise the possibility that they depict animals, at least in part.

Level X

All the animal heads in Level X come from building X.1. Most appear only in the reconstruction drawing and lack detailed discussion of the evidence for their presence. One is described as painted red, however, suggesting that something was actually present on the wall. The large wavy horns are probably just a product of slumping of the plaster (Mellaart 1964e, 70–73, fig. 25). Ian Todd took a slide of one plaster head from this building (Fig. 14.4), although it is not clear which one; perhaps one of the smaller ‘sheep heads’ on the east wall. It does seem to have modelled horns.

Level VIII

Building VIII.27 contains the earliest of the leopard reliefs (probably; they have spots only on their heads). A pair of leopards face each other on the west wall. While the later leopards stand sedately, these are more actively engaged, perhaps fighting: head to head and paw to paw (Mellaart 1966b, 180, pl. XLV).

Level VII

Building VII.1 is supposed to have a plaster cattle head at the base of the west wall; what appears in the photograph seems as likely to be the base of a pillar (Mellaart 1964e, 55–7, pl. XIa). Above it Mellaart has reconstructed a splayed figure relief, thought to be female because of a modelled breast. In the photograph the breast lump clearly lies directly on the wall, not on a modelled body. The only other trace is a rather indeterminate piece of moulded plaster taken to be part of an arm. Mellaart adds another figure beside this splayed figure to balance the composition, but there is no trace at all of this relief. A modelled horn is noted as projecting from the pillar on the east wall of this building. It is hard to tell whether these objects are in fact meant to be horns or are small shelves. A relatively intact splayed figure is in place on the east wall of building VII.23, with painted concentric circle on the belly and a netted pattern that overlies and extends beyond the body (Mellaart 1964e, 66, pl. XIII). Building VII.31 has fully three splayed figure reliefs on

the east, west, and south walls. All have outstretched rather than upturned limbs. Mellaart (1964e, 45–7, figs. 7–8, pls. IIIc–IV) calls the one on the east a running goddess because of the streaming hair he attributes to it, but this looks like just slumped plaster. A scar and red paint outlining the ears indicate the presence of a cattle (or possibly sheep) head on the west wall next to the splayed figure. Mellaart claims six additional cattle heads on this wall, but they seem to be slumped plaster. The north wall of building VII.45 has the bottom half of a splayed figure with outstretched legs and feet outlined in red. Two concentric circles of red paint outline the scar of a putative animal head on the east wall. It is small and could be either sheep or small cattle (Mellaart 1964e, 45, pl. IIIa).

A plaster head appears at the base of a pillar on the north wall of building VII.10, described as a ram with a single plaster horn, but it could as easily be a cattle head, so we have designated it as a quadruped. Indeed, this, too, may be no more than the base of a pillar. Mellaart (1964e, 57, fig. 17, pl. X) claims a bull’s head on the east wall of this building, but there is no photograph and even in the reconstruction drawing it appears to be simply the result of plaster slumping. Two sheep’s heads on the north wall and two cattle heads on the north and east walls are shown in the reconstruction of building VII.35, but there is no indication of what evidence supports this (Mellaart 1964e, 66, fig. 23). This building also contains some installations discussed below.

Building VII.44 is one of the ‘leopard shrines’. It has a pair of facing leopards on the north wall and a single leopard on the east wall. All are spotted and were repainted several times. Eyes and claws are sometimes indicated. The earliest version of the pair of leopards is plain pink without spots (Mellaart 1966b, 177, pls. XXXVII–XL).

Level VI

The west wall of building VIB.8 bears a nearly-complete splayed figure with upturned limbs, and a poorly-preserved but reasonably-plausible cattle head directly beneath it, resting on or in the floor. The later phase of this building, VIA.8, has two small cattle (or possibly sheep) heads on the east wall, although the evidence for these is not stated (Mellaart 1967, 123, 127–9, figs. 34–7, 41–2, pls. 26–7). A splayed figure is reported from Building VIB.7, with outstretched arms but no legs and a bull’s head relief painted red below the body. However, there are no pictures and no indication of which wall it was on; presumably not the west wall, which is missing (Mellaart 1967, 117). The lower halves of a double set of splayed figure reliefs with feet painted red are preserved on the north wall of Building VIB.12,

which in various reports is also known as VII.1, VII.7, and VII.12 (Mellaart 1962c, 49–50, fig. 8, pl. IIIb). The west wall of VIB.10 has another splayed figure, found fallen from the wall. Mellaart (1963d, 70–73, fig. 14, pls. XIII–XIV) reports a ram's head immediately below it, but this is not apparent on the wall in the photographs, so it is unclear a) where it was found, b) how its original position was determined, and c) whether or not it had real horns. This whole area is problematic (except for a well-documented stack of three plaster cattle heads with horns low on the wall, included in the installations tally below). There is not enough vertical room on the wall for the splayed figure, a problem that Mellaart solves by suggesting a clerestory to accommodate it. With no evidence for this architectural feature, it seems equally possible that the splayed figure relief actually belongs to the building above (Bleda Düring pers. comm. 2003). In this case, though, one would not expect the pieces to have been found in the fill of this building as described. Since this is difficult to resolve with the information available, we have left it as assigned by Mellaart. On the east wall, a moulded horn/shelf is visible in the photograph next to a pillar. Another such appears by a pillar on the east wall of Building VIB.1 (Mellaart 1967, 117, fig. 44).

On the east wall of Building VIA.66, Mellaart (1967, pl. 40) reports a stylized bull's head on the end of a bench modelled in plaster and painted in bright colours; this is documented only in a transcription. This object would appear to be similar to the other claimed bulls' heads at the bases of walls, often under splayed figures. It is difficult to be sure if any of them are more than simply small benches.

Directly overlying the Level VII leopard shrine is another: E.VI.44, with another pair of spotted, facing leopards (Mellaart 1964e, 42, fig. 5, pl. II). Pink lines circle the tails and indicate claws. Mellaart (1964e, 45) notes 'offerings of grain and crucifer seeds' and a stone anthropomorphic figurine on the platform below the leopards. More stone figurines were found in the center of the floor. Another pair of leopards is found in a different position from all the others, tail to tail in the northwest corner of building VI.80, one on each wall. They are said to have been replastered several times. They were highly fragmentary and there are no pictures of them (Mellaart 1966b, 175–6).

Figurines and artefacts

Information about animal figurines and artefacts with animal representations is much more limited, so we will only discuss these informally, with the understanding that they may not be representative of the assemblage as a whole.

Hamilton's (1996) study of the figurines from Mellaart's excavations notes that nearly all the animal figurines are made of clay, with the exception of two stone and two bone objects. Many can only be identified as quadrupeds. Where a taxon can be recognized, cattle and boar predominate, with a few dogs, felids (including leopards), goats, sheep, and bear. Isolated cattle horns also occur. Some have marks from 'stabbing', which Mellaart (1967, 180) believes is a hunting ritual. Hamilton's study shows that boars are most often stabbed, none of the three goats are, and some cattle are. The animal figurines occur almost entirely in Levels VI and VIII of Mellaart's excavations. Two of the bone and stone figures cannot be identified. One stone figure is probably a bird, missing its head. Mellaart (1963d, 90) suggests it is a vulture, but there is little on which to base this. A carved bone object is more certainly identified as a vulture head, although the beak is not very hooked (Mellaart 1966b, 175, pl. XLIXc). It bears some resemblance to carved stone bird heads from Nemrik 9 in Iraq, one of which has been tentatively identified as a bustard or corvid, while another has the hooked beak of a raptor (Dobrowolski 1990; Kempisty & Kozłowski 1990).

Of the 150 animal figurines from the new excavations, 5–7 have been stabbed. All are quadrupeds, with cattle the most common of the identifiable taxa. Sheep, goat, dog, and one probable equid are also represented. Despite their frequency in the earlier excavations, no boar are recognizable in this assemblage. More than three-quarters of the zoomorphic figurines are simply horns. Most look like cattle horns, but some could be goat. Hamilton also suggests that they may not be horns at all, but some other object, perhaps a form of jewellery (see Hamilton Volume 5, Chapter 9).

In addition to animal figurines, some of the anthropomorphic figurines include animals or animal parts. Two figurines from Levels II and IV wear spotted blouses or dresses that may represent leopard skins (Mellaart 1967, fig. 51, pl. 87). A group of three limestone figurines from building VIA.10 portray humans standing behind or riding spotted animals, and one wears a spotted scarf as well. Aside from the spots, the animals are rather nondescript, but it is reasonable to see them as leopards. One of the humans is marked as female, the others are of indeterminate gender. Judging from the photograph, one of these was broken and repaired in antiquity by drilling holes to tie the pieces together (Mellaart 1967, 181–2, pls. 73–76, 86, X). The famous figurine from a bin in building A.II.1 shows a seated female flanked by unspotted felines, usually assumed to be leopards (Mellaart 1967, 183, pls. 67–8, IX). From building A.III.1 comes another seated figurine reconstructed as having leopard cubs sitting on its shoulders (Mellaart 1967, 181, fig. 49). This

reconstruction could be questioned, though, and certainly there is no indication that the animals are leopards, or even that they are animals. Mellaart (1967, 201, pls. 88–9, 91) labels three stone figurines from Levels VI and VII ‘gods seated on bulls’. The identification as bulls is puzzling, as there are no horns even though the heads are unbroken nor are the heads shaped like cattle. The two more clearly rendered heads are rather triangular and flat, and actually look more human than animal. If they are animals, they seem feline rather than bovine. It would thus be possible to read all the animal associations in anthropomorphic figurines as leopards, although not with great confidence. The posture of sitting on animals is intriguing. Long before horse domestication, riding an animal would not necessarily be an obvious idea, and possibly expresses dominance. These may also be copulation scenes.

In addition to the figurines, animals appear on a few other portable artefacts. A stone pendant from the leopard shrine VIB.44 is shaped like a bull’s head with inset apatite eyes (Mellaart 1964b). A carved bone belt hook from a burial in building VIA.29 seems to be in the shape of an animal head, probably an equid (Todd 1976, 89, fig. 43). A bone pendant (or eye for a belt hook) found on the surface by the new project also appears to represent an equid head (see Russell, Volume 5, fig. 16.15b), while a carved bone dagger handle is surely an animal head, probably a boar. A similar handle from the earlier excavations was carved in the shape of a snake (Mellaart 1964e, 103, fig. 46, pl. XXVib & c). This dagger was found in a grave with a male skeleton in building VIA.29, while the dagger from the new excavations was found near the floor of a small room with a set of cattle horns and fragments of a human skull in Building 3 (BACH Area). A bone spatula from Building A.III.2 is adorned with a hoopoe head carved on the base. A fragment of the handle of a spatula or other artefact from the new excavations (in a between-wall fill outside Building 1) is carved into a shape that may be a bird (or perhaps a human; see Russell, Volume 5, Chapter 16).

Installations and special deposits

There are many kinds of installations and special deposits, all characterized by the use of actual animal parts. We consider the various types in turn. Quantification is tricky here. We have counted multiple instances of horns and scapulae separately, but groups of bones that form a single deposit as a unit.

Heads with horns

Here we refer to real animal horns set into modelled plaster heads mounted on walls. These have only

been found in the earlier excavations. Mellaart is not always clear whether animal heads actually contained horns. These heads are provided with cattle or sheep’s horns; three cases are not specified. The sheep’s horns are not well enough illustrated or described to determine whether they come from morphologically wild or domestic animals. Mellaart usually refers to them as ‘ram’s horns’, but in one case he enigmatically describes ‘a ram’s head (with the horns of an ewe)’ (Mellaart 1963d, 73). None of the sheep horns are very well illustrated in photographs. In one case (Building VIB.10: Mellaart 1963d, pl. XIII) holes for the horns are visible, but it is difficult to see their shape, perhaps a bit too round for sheep. In another (Building VIA.7: Mellaart 1963d, pl. XV), fragments of horn are visible in the photograph, placed by the excavators on top of the head. Again, the picture is not clear, but these look like sheep horns rather than cattle. Some of the plaster heads are painted with hands or other patterns. Well-documented heads with horns are limited to Levels VI and VII.

Horns in pillar

This installation type uses the same animal part as the heads with horns: the set of two horns with connecting skull. Rather than a head, these are set in simple clay pillars set on the edge of platforms. This type also is known only from Mellaart’s excavations. He found some in place or fallen over, but reconstructs others from scars in the platforms; it is not always clear what evidence he is using. Some are known only from their listing in table 13 of his book (1967, 81); the number per building in this case is unknown, but we have counted them as one. All but one of these contains cattle horns (where known); in building VIA.7 a pillar has sheep horns.

Horns in bench

Benches extending out from walls with cattle horn cores set in them are found only in Level VI of Mellaart’s excavations. They contain the same part (horns plus connecting skull) as the heads with horns and pillars, always in odd numbers (one with one set of horns, two with three sets, one each with five and seven). In the three cases where the position is specified, they extend outward from the east wall.

Horns in wall

Cattle horns have been documented as set into walls only in the new excavations, although Mellaart (1967, 101) does refer to single horns used to attach plaster animal heads. It is not clear whether he actually found such horns supporting heads, or simply inferred that this must be their function. In contrast to the other

horn installations, these are single horns, sometimes fragmentary. Some extend out into the room, others are built invisibly into the fabric of the house. Building 1 (Level N.VI–V) contains one definite and one probable case of horns set visibly in internal walls. Space 109 in Level VII has the remnants of a large horn next to an oven that extended from the south wall out into the room, just above the floor. Space 105 in Level VII contains a chunk of horn core built invisibly into a wall along with a cattle scapula. A complete cattle horn with plaster adhering (hence possibly part of a dismantled installation) was built invisibly into a wall blocking in Space 115 of Level VIII. In Level X, a sizable (24 cm) chunk of horn core was plastered into the floor of a bin along the base of one of the bin arms. It is not certain whether this would have been visible as a lump within the bin, but it was certainly not prominently visible.

Horn deposit

Apparently special deposits of horns and antlers are reported from both the old and the new projects. These occur in a variety of contexts, some more obviously distinct from 'ordinary' discard than others. While installations are limited to cattle and sheep horns, these special deposits include a broader range of taxa: cattle, sheep, goat, red deer, and fallow deer. Some are probably dismantled pieces of installations. Two sets of cattle horns with connecting skull (as found in heads with horns, pillars, and benches) have been recovered from house floors or fills: one from a small room in Building VIA.6 (Mellaart 1962c, 51, pl. Vc), another in Building 1 in the North area (Cessford, Volume 3, Part 3). Single horns, sometimes in groups of up to three, have also been found on house floors in both old and new excavations. Most are cattle, one with chop marks suggesting it was dismantled from an

Table 14.3. *Animal-part installations and special deposits: body part.*

Level	II	III	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Wolf bone				1						1
Dog head				1			1			2
Dog bone				1			2			3
Fox head					1					1
Bear foot					1					1
Mustelid head					1	1				2
Mustelid skeleton						1				1
Equid scapula				1	1					2
Boar head				15	4					19
Boar scapula						1				1
Deer antler						1	1		1	3
Cattle horn	1–2	(2)	(1)	56–65	3–7	1	1–2	1		63–81
Cattle scapula				5	4	1		2		12
Cattle bone				2		3	2	2		9
Goat horn				15		1	1			17
Sheep horn				8–9	6		(1)			14–16
Sheep scapula				3	1					4
Sheep bone				1				1		2
Bovid horn				3						3
Vulture head				2						2
Bird bone		1		3						4
Carnivore scat						4				4

Table 14.4. *Animal-part installations and special deposits: type of deposit.*

Level	II	III	IV	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	Total
Head with horns				25–7	6–9		(2)			31–8
Horns in pillar	2	1	2	7–15	(1)					12–21
Horns in bench				19						19
Horns in wall				2	2	1		1		6
Horn deposit				29	1	2	3		1	36
'Breasts'				16	3					19
Scapula in wall					1					1
Scapula deposit				9	5	2		2		18
Foot deposit				1	1					2
Wing deposit				1						1
Bones in wall				1						1
Bone deposit		1		7	3	5	5	3		23
Carnivore scat						4				4
Total	2	2	2	117–27	22–6	14	8–10	6	1	

installation (Level IX, while the remaining cattle horns come from Level VI), with one set of goat horns with connecting skull from just above the floor of Building 17 in Level IX (possibly morphologically wild, but a bit gracile) retaining some adhering plaster, perhaps from a former installations. Perhaps it is coincidental that a sheep frontlet (horns with connecting skull) from Building 5 in Level N.VII–VI and an antler tine from

Building 16 in Level IX were both found on floors, each cradling a clay ball against the wall. A female cattle horn and two morphologically wild goat horn cores form part of a deposit in a between-wall space outside Building 1 (Level N.VI–V) along with a dog skull and a crane wing (see below). Inside Building 1, but belonging to a later phase, at least 13 morphologically wild goat horns were placed on top of a bin full of lentils that was consumed in a fire. A large segment of fallow deer antler was found at the interface of penning deposits in Space 198, along with feasting remains that perhaps mark the construction of a nearby house. Mellaart (1963d, 75) notes three cattle horn cores found above a niche in the east wall of building E.VI.14, apparently meaning they were in the fill.

Antlers and horns also appear in deposits in small pits in platforms within houses. Fragmented cattle horn and skull lie in such a pit along the south wall of Building 1. A large chunk of goat horn core and a big piece of antler with adhering plaster (perhaps from a dismantled installation) form part of the deposit in platform F. 424 in Building 6 (Level VIII).

'Breasts' (skulls/mandibles in walls)

Mellaart (1967) believed that mounds of plaster on walls in buildings of Levels VI and VII represented women's breasts. Most of these contained animal heads or jaws, although he also refers to a few 'breasts' that apparently did not have bones. These empty 'breasts' are poorly documented, but one of Ian Todd's slides suggests that they may be known only from scars on the walls. In only two cases do these 'breasts' occur in a horizontal pair; the others occur singly or in horizontal or vertical rows. The identification as breasts is highly questionable. More likely the plaster was simply intended to cover the animal parts at abandonment or the end of their use life, much like the deliberate removal of the heads, hands, and feet of the splayed figure reliefs. Indeed, Mellaart (1963d, 67–9) notes that the 13 boars' mandibles in two rows on the east wall of building VIA.8 were originally exposed, and were only converted into breasts after they were damaged by a fire. Possibly this covering occurred as part of the regular wall replastering, in which case the jaws would be regarded simply as part of the wall.

In any case, it is interesting to note which animal parts are mounted on walls. In addition to the group of boar mandibles noted above, single jaws occur on the west wall of building VIB.10 near a splayed figure and on the east wall of VII.21, where it protrudes from a more complex plaster formation described as a 'combination of horn and breast' (Mellaart 1964e, 66), although it does not look much like either in the reconstruction but more like a small trough above the

mandible. While these mandibles are invariably reconstructed as including the large male canines, which would certainly be dramatic, there is no indication that any of the mandibles was preserved this far forward. Thus we do not know whether any or all of them are male. Two Griffon Vulture skulls are preserved in the only horizontal pair of 'breasts' containing bones, on the east wall of building VIB.10 next to a head with horns (Mellaart 1963d, 70, pl. XIVb). A fox and a 'weasel' skull appear in two vertically-stacked 'breasts' on the east wall of building VII.35 (Mellaart 1964e, 66). The weasel identification is problematic. Weasel occurs at the site, a weasel skeleton having been placed in a grave (see Jenkins, Volume 4, Chapter 4), but the skull would be very small and quite out of proportion to the other 'breast' contents. Perhaps this simply means a mustelid (member of the weasel family), in which case the most likely candidate is badger. Mellaart (1964e, 57) mentions 'peg-holes (?)' on the north walls of Buildings VII.8 and VIB.10. These may conceivably once have held other animal parts.

Scapula in wall

A cattle scapula was built invisibly into the wall of Space 105 (Level VII) together with a chunk of cattle horn core. The excavator noted another scapula built into the same wall in another location, although it has not yet been studied by the zooarchaeological team.

Scapula deposit

Most of the animal bones are highly fragmented, but scapulae are occasionally found complete or nearly complete, and often seem deliberately placed. Cattle scapulae disproportionately receive this treatment, but other taxa are also represented. Mellaart notes one specific case of a scapula deposit, and makes more general reference to scapulae being placed near hearths. Some scapulae from the new excavations are also placed near hearths, and more generally seem to be placed in houses at abandonment. Five cattle scapulae so placed have been worked into 'plaster tools' (see Russell, Volume 5, Chapter 16), while three are unworked. An equid, a sheep, and a sheep/goat scapula have also been recorded from house floors.

In addition, scapulae have been found in various other deposits associated with houses. A sheep scapula was recovered from the between-wall space outside Building 1 along with one cattle and two goat horns, a dog head, and a crane wing. A sheep/goat scapula was placed in the 'lentil bin' inside this building (also containing a pile of goat horn cores and a cattle mandible). Since it is from a young animal while the horns are from mature animals, it is unlikely to be from the same individual as any

of the goat horns. An equid scapula was found in a foundation cut under a wall separating Spaces 106 and 107 in Level VII in the South area. Two cattle scapulae were placed in a small pit near the ovens in Building 23 (Level X), and a boar scapula in a pit in platform F. 424 in Building 6 also containing chunks of antler and goat horn (see above). A cattle scapula in a midden deposit in Level VIII is less obviously placed, but pockets of apparent feasting remains and other special items do appear in middens and fills. On the whole, though, scapulae and especially cattle scapulae appear to be associated with the life cycle of houses: plaster tools used in their construction, unworked scapulae incorporated into the walls or floors, and both worked and unworked scapulae placed in houses at abandonment.

Foot deposit

Mellaart (1963d, 5) notes that dog foot bones (in a pile with sheep leg bones) occurred on the floor just below a splayed figure relief on the west wall of building E.VI.14. An articulated bear paw with traces of plaster between the toes was found in the fill of Space 159, Building 24, Level VII (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). This is the antechamber of Mellaart's building VII.10. The plaster probably indicates that the paw or a hide to which it was attached was once part of an architectural installation. Several sheep's feet on the floor of Building 1 in the North Area are not included here since they are plausibly interpreted as the remains of skin storage containers rather than ritual deposits (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2).

Wing deposit

The between-wall deposit outside Building 1 includes an articulated wing of the Common Crane. This wing bore cut marks suggesting a hole was pierced in it for suspension, possibly as part of a costume (Russell & McGowan 2003).

Bones in wall

A wolf ulna was set in an internal wall of Building 1, with wear indicating that something was hung on it (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). This recalls Mellaart's (1967, 101) suggestion that bones and single horns were used to hang up plaster animal heads. It was found low on the wall, but some of the heads are found at the base of walls. In this case, though, they should not need a hook to support them. Also, the wear seems to indicate repeated movement on the bone, not a stationary relief. This is one of a very few wolf specimens from the site and seems likely to have significance beyond simply acting as a hook.

Bone deposit

Assorted deposits of bone that seem out of the ordinary have been recorded in both old and new excavations. Sheep leg bones are found in a pile with dog feet below a splayed figure relief in E.VI.14 (Mellaart 1963d, 5). The forelimbs of a puppy may be deliberately placed on the floor of Building 2 (Level IX). A complete male boar's canine may also be placed on the floor of Building 1. Five instances of possible feasting remains spread on the floor of abandoned buildings include four cattle and one sheep/goat. Articulated neck segments from two different cattle individuals found together in the fill of Building 23 (Level X) may also be feasting remains. An apparently complete dog skeleton occurs in the fill of Building 17 (Level IX), later disturbed by burials. There is no sign of a pit for the dog skeleton; is it a burial, disposal of a troublesome corpse, or a foundation deposit? A dog skull with mandibles and the second vertebra forms part of the deposit with crane wing and horns in the between-wall space to the east of Building 1. A cattle mandible is the uppermost portion of the set of animal parts included in the 'lentil bin' in Building 1 and burnt in a fire.

Several animal parts occur in various kinds of pits. Another dog skull with mandibles is found in a post retrieval pit in Building 2. This fits with a frequent practice of putting something back in the pit when a post is removed at the end of the life cycle of the house. Small pits in house floors include a drilled cattle incisor and a badger mandible (along with other assorted objects; Building 6, Level VIII); two large pieces of cattle ribs under platform F. 424 with antler and horn chunks; and unspecified bird bones buried below a fragment of a painting of birds in building A.III.1 (Mellaart 1962c, 62). Bird bones also appear in two infant burials in Building 1: an intact Mallard radius that seems carefully placed next to the skull of one neonate, and two sections of tracheal rings from a duck-geese size bird around the fingers of each hand of another (see Russell & McGowan, Volume 4, Chapter 3). An adult female burial in building VII.14, the only burial under this platform, is accompanied by three, probably complete, boar mandibles (Mellaart 1966a, 27, figure 6). A complete weasel was evidently placed in one of the burials with carnivore scat in building 6 (see Carnivore scat deposit below).

Carnivore scat deposit

Three burials from Level VIII, one excavated by Mellaart and two in the new project, contain microfaunal remains that are almost surely deliberately collected and placed carnivore faeces. The small tooth marks and signs of digestion on the bones in addition to the high concentrations show that they were generated

Table 14.5. Percentages of mammalian taxa across media.

	Paintings	Reliefs	Installations/ Deposits	Faunal remains
Hedgehog	0%	0%	0%	<1%
Hare	0%	0%	0%	1%
Wolf	0%	0%	1%	<1%
Dog	1%	0%	3%	5%
Fox	0%	0%	1%	2%
Bear	1%	0%	1%	<1%
Mustelid	0%	0%	1%	<1%
Wild cat	0%	0%	0%	<1%
Leopard	65%	35%	0%	0%
Equid	6%	0%	1%	8%
Boar	3%	0%	13%	3%
Fallow deer	1%	0%	1%	<1%
Red deer	12%	0%	1%	1%
Roe deer	0%	0%	0%	<1%
Cattle	1%	46%	54%	15%
Goat	10%	0%	11%	9%
Sheep	0%	19%	13%	56%

by a carnivore considerably smaller than a dog, as yet unidentified (see Jenkins, Volume 4, Chapter 4). It is hard to imagine that these three burials were left open and completely undisturbed for months while the houses were abandoned and animals defecated in them, and then were subsequently filled. It is conceivable that small animals burrowed down into the burials, but it is unusual for carnivores to defecate in their burrows. One, a young woman, is found in Building VIII.31 (Mellaart 1966b, 182). The others, a young adult male and an adult female, come from Building 6 (Mellaart's VIII.10). One also contains a weasel skeleton, but the amount of scat is too great to be simply stomach contents. A pit in this building also contains probable carnivore scat deposits. These two buildings are separated by Building VIII.27; perhaps the carnivore scat theme indicates some relationship between the occupants. Two other microfauna concentrations on other house floors may also be carnivore scat, or perhaps owl pellets. We do not include them as it is not yet clear whether these were collected or accumulated naturally in the abandoned buildings. If indeed carnivore faeces were deliberately collected and placed in burials, it would be easy to read this as a mark of opprobrium towards the individuals buried. However, we should consider certain factors. Dog faeces are also collected and dumped in concentrated deposits at Çatalhöyük (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). Possibly this is somehow related, but it is notable that not these, but the harder-to-find faeces of wild animals were placed in the burials. Also, those

knowledgeable of wild animals recognize the scat of different species and use it to locate them. Thus the weasel and scat might indicate an expert fur trapper.

Summary

While it may be that not all of the deposits described above result from deliberate ritual acts, it is clear that animal parts are frequently placed or built into architecture. These deposits occur throughout the life cycle of the house: foundation deposits, animal parts hidden in walls, animal parts installed visibly within the house at various points during the occupation, collections of objects prominently including animal parts commemorating ceremonies buried invisibly in house floors, objects placed at abandonment or (as in Building 2) after abandonment just before filling to rebuild. At abandonment, installations may be dismantled and incorporated into other deposits. Animal-part inclusions in burials are relatively rare,

and, since burials occur in houses, perhaps not fully separable conceptually from deposits marking the life cycle of the house. Animal parts used are distributed throughout the body, but heads, horns, and scapulae feature most prominently, especially in the more visible displays. These deposits include a wide range of taxa, but cattle predominate, followed by boar, sheep, and goat. This is quite different from the prevalence of these taxa in the general faunal remains, where sheep overwhelmingly predominate, with considerably less cattle and goat and very little boar (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2).

Taxa represented

The discussions above show that animal taxa are not represented evenly among the various media, nor in proportion to their occurrence in the general faunal assemblage. The difficulties of quantification noted earlier are compounded when we try to compare different media. Thus the percentages given in Table 14.5 should be regarded as rough approximations. For the representations and installations/special deposits, they are based on the more conservative estimates from Tables 14.1–14.3. Percentages for the general faunal remains are based on diagnostic zones (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). For sheep and goat we have divided the specimens identifiable only to the sheep/goat level between the two taxa according to the proportions of those that can be assigned to these species. We limit ourselves

to mammals and exclude microfauna (including carnivore scat) to simplify these comparisons. We include leopard skins, but it must be noted that this makes a huge difference in the painting percentages. Without the skins, leopards would not appear at all (unless one wishes to count the pink felid, which we have left out of this tally). We have assigned the canid painting arbitrarily to dog. If one followed Mellaart's identifications of the quadruped paintings, many of these would be dogs as well, but we do not include them here. Likewise, if we were able to assign all the plaster animal heads to cattle or sheep, they would increase in proportion to leopard reliefs. And if some or all of the plaster sheep heads are really cattle, percentages would also shift.

It is not surprising that the proportions in which animals are represented symbolically differ from those in the faunal remains. This has been the case whenever it has been possible to compare art and faunal remains (e.g. Altuna 1983; Holt 1996; Miller & Burger 1995). The differences among the media are interesting, however. These differences tend to suggest that the paintings, reliefs, and installations were created in the context of different kinds of events, drawing on distinct symbolic repertoires.

Leopard is the only animal that appears in representations but is totally absent from the faunal remains. This is particularly striking since there are so many representations of what plausibly seem to be leopard skins, suggesting that it was not unthinkable to kill leopards. If whole skins were brought back to the site we should recover at least the feet, although skins already processed into clothing would leave no bony trace. While the distinction is not so stark, deer are also over-represented in paintings compared to installations or general faunal remains. This is all the more significant since deer remains, while never common, become extremely rare after Level Pre-XII. B, while the paintings are all from later levels.

Intriguingly, cattle dominate the reliefs and installations, but are very rare in the paintings. Of course, the number of depictions is not the only way to judge significance. The two certain cattle paintings are huge images that are the centre of the panels in which they appear. Nevertheless, most buildings with animal paintings do not depict cattle. The absence of sheep from the paintings is remarkable compared to their abundance in the faunal remains. Still, we must acknowledge sampling issues. Until Mellaart's last season there were no known goat depictions, either, and these are all from a single building. As it stands, however, domestic animals may be totally absent from the paintings, if we take the goats to be wild and the one clear canid to be a wolf. It cannot at present be

resolved whether the sheep horns in plaster heads are from wild or domestic animals, and purely plaster heads are still more ambiguous. Some domestic sheep remains have been found in special deposits. Aside from the frontlet cradling a clay ball, perhaps one of the less convincingly 'special' instances, all are scapulae. The scapulae may denote the remains of special meals rather than specifically representing the qualities of the animal. In sum, sheep appear to be less important symbolically than they are economically, and cattle the reverse. This is also evident in the faunal remains, which indicate an association of cattle with feasts and ceremonies and sheep with ordinary meals (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). Clearly animal representations do not arise from a concern with the meat supply, but from their ideological value.

Absences seem worth consideration as well. The absence of actual leopard remains has already been noted, as well as the total absence of painted sheep. Equids appear in paintings (in one building) and portable artefacts, but are nearly absent from installations (two scapulae). Their lack of horns no doubt has something to do with this, both directly (nothing to put in a plaster head) and perhaps indirectly, if the horns/antlers are a symbolic focus. Boar, on the other hand, while hornless are relatively prominent in installations, chiefly in the form of mandibles.

Animal gender

It has been claimed that all the animals represented at Göbekli Tepe in eastern Turkey (*c.* 9000 cal BC) are male (although in fact not all the Göbekli animals are marked as male), and this in turn has been linked to male ritual (Verhoeven 2002). Similar male hunting rituals have been proposed for Çatalhöyük on the basis of the art (Hodder 1987; Wright 2000). Thus it seems important to consider the gendering of animal representations at Çatalhöyük. While some of the animal parts in the installations and special deposits could be sexed, we have been able to examine very few of them. We therefore limit our discussion to the paintings and reliefs, where it is not a matter of biological sex but of the artist's choice to indicate gender or not. Animal representations can be designated as male by showing a penis or, for deer, antlers. However, it can be more difficult to distinguish female from ungendered animals. Without the antlers, it is harder to be sure that a somewhat schematic animal is a deer, and since relative sizes are not portrayed realistically it is difficult to distinguish fawns from does. Moreover, even male deer do not have antlers year-round, so deer without antlers could still be male. The result is

Table 14.6. Gender indication of animals in paintings.

	Male	Ungendered
Bear		1
Canid		1
Felid		1
Equid		7
Boar	1	3
Deer	10	6
Cattle	1	2
Goat		13
Bird		16

that usually we can only distinguish between male and ungendered animals.

We summarize these gender indications in Table 14.6. Representations of skins and feathers are not included, nor are indeterminate quadrupeds. Red deer and fallow deer are combined, and all birds are placed in a single category. Most of the painted animals lack a gender designation. The high number of male deer results from the portrayal of antlers; only one has a penis. The proportion of marked male deer may be lower than it appears if some of the quadrupeds are meant to be female/ungendered deer. While Mellaart invariably refers to cattle and sheep depictions as bulls and rams, only one of the bull representations is actually gendered. The modern population of wild sheep (mouflon) near Çatalhöyük has mostly hornless females (Aydinoğlu 2002). If this was true of ancient wild and early domestic sheep in the area, then any sheep heads with real horns would be male. This issue has not yet been resolved. One hornless female sheep has been recorded from the BACH Area, and no definitely female horn cores have been recovered, but the number of relatively intact horns is small.

The only relief with a possible indication of gender is the splayed figure with a questionable breast. If this is indeed a woman's breast, the relief should probably be regarded as an anthropomorphic figure. Some of the splayed figures do have navels; not a gender-linked trait but seen as emphasizing the belly and thus suggesting pregnancy, likewise the rounded bellies on a few splayed figures (Mellaart 1967, 113–17). Mellaart (1966b, 177; 1967, 119) also suggests that the paired leopard reliefs are male and female, since one has a bigger belly. This is true of at least two of the pairs, although the difference is slight enough that it may not be deliberate. In sum, it was apparently sometimes relevant to indicate that the animals depicted were male, but this is hardly universal.

Placement

Since Çatalhöyük buildings tend to follow a standard orientation with entrances (ladders from the roof) usually on the south and burials typically along the north and east sides, it is worth examining the placement of animal representations on the four walls. We include in Tables 14.7–14.9 all paintings, reliefs, and wall installations that are reasonably identifiable even when the evidence for them is questionable. Some cases lack information as to with which wall they are associated. To aid in evaluating the patterning, we include the number of buildings in which each kind of representation is found.

It is immediately apparent that the tendency for paintings of a particular animal taxon to cluster in a few houses limits the possibility of detecting consistent patterning in placement. Only leopard skins (if the 'volcano' painting is counted) occur in as many as four buildings. With these constraints, we can note that boar, deer, and equids do not seem linked to any particular wall (although the boar and equids are known only from building F.V.1). It may also be significant that cattle appear primarily on the north wall; the only two well-documented paintings are on the north and form the dominant image in two quite similar sets of paintings. In three buildings, vultures appear only on the north and east. The association with the location of burials is compelling. However, we should note that animals not obviously associated with death (e.g. goats) also appear on these walls.

We have somewhat more to work with in examining the placement of reliefs and installations. There is a general lack of modelled representations on south walls, somewhat in contrast to the paintings. Possibly this is a practical accommodation to the presence of the ladder (and need for some room around it to manoeuvre things in and out of the house). Cattle heads, with and without real horns (and there is not always sufficient information to distinguish the two), are most common on the east and west walls, and may occur exclusively in these two locations, since the two listed for north walls are poorly documented. This is less true of sheep heads. The various animal heads and jaws that are termed 'breasts' are found almost exclusively on the east wall. Again, it is easy to connect carnivores and perhaps dangerous boars' tusks with death. However, the association of carnivores or dangerous animals with the east is hardly universal. Leopards and splayed figures (conceivably also leopards or bears) show little patterning beyond an avoidance of the south wall.

Table 14.7. Placement of animal representations in paintings.

Wall	North	East	South	West	No. of buildings
Canid		1			1
Bear		1			1
Leopard skin	18	55	2	7	4
Felid		1			1
Equid	4		2	1	1
Boar	1	1	1	1	1
Fallow deer				1	1
Red deer	3	3	7	1	3
Cervid				1	1
Cattle	2		1		3
Goat	9	4			1
Vulture	8	4			3
Bird			2	2	2
Feathers		5			1

Associations

Since many of the paintings and reliefs form groups or scenes, it is worth exploring the associations of the animals depicted, both within and across taxa. For this purpose we use the same data set as the previous section: paintings, reliefs, and installations on walls. In addition to the usual problems of preservation, identification, and documentation, we are limited here by the partial excavation of many buildings. Moreover, Mellaart excavated most of several houses that were completed in the new excavations with different recovery methods and no doubt some deterioration in the interim. Thus many associations have surely been lost, and we therefore stress the associations that are evident rather than cases where they are lacking.

Considering first groupings within taxa, Table 14.10 summarizes the occurrences of single, paired, multiple, and possible family groupings (mixed age and sex) for the identifiable taxa in paintings. While the paintings seem to depict scenes, their boundaries are not always clear. We have tried to tally within 'panels' as far as possible, which sometimes continue around corners. Each group is counted once in this table (not the number of group members). Table 14.11 provides a similar tally for reliefs and on-wall installations. Here we do not distinguish (as Mellaart often does not) between cattle and sheep heads with plaster vs. real horns. Reliefs and installations are counted as grouped when they are placed in close association or in patterns (e.g. stacks or rows).

The groupings of animal representations do not directly reflect the behaviour of the living animals.

Table 14.8. Placement of animal representations in reliefs.

Wall	North	East	South	West	No. of buildings
Leopard	5	1		3	4
Cattle head	2	8		3	7
Cattle horn		3			3
Sheep head	2	2		1	3
Splayed figure	3	2	1	4	8
Quadruped head	1	1			2

Table 14.9. Placement of animal installations on walls.

Wall	North	East	South	West	No. of buildings
Cattle head with horns		8		11	9
Sheep head with horns	2	9	1	2	7
Bovid head with horns	1			2	2
Horns in wall	2		1	1	3
Boar 'breast'		14		1	3
Fox 'breast'		1			1
Mustelid 'breast'		1			1
Vulture 'breast'		2			1

Table 14.10. Within-taxon groupings in paintings.

	Single	Pair	Multiple	Family group
Canid	1			
Bear	1			
Felid	1			
Equid		1	1	
Boar	4			
Fallow deer	1			
Red deer	1			4
Cattle	3			
Goat			2	
Vulture		2	2	
Bird		2		

While complicated by problems of identification without antlers, it is striking that red deer are the only animals portrayed in what seem to be family groups (with stags, does, and perhaps fawns), and that they are almost always shown in such groups. As noted above,

Table 14.11. *Within-taxon groupings in reliefs and installations.*

	Single	Pair	Multiple
Cattle head	13	5	3
Sheep head	7	4	1
Plaster horn	3		
Leopard	1	4	
Splayed figure	7	1	
Cattle horn	3		
Boar jaw	2		1
Fox jaw	1		
Mustelid jaw	1		
Vulture skull		2	

linked to the human family. Arguably equids and goats are also portrayed in what could be family groupings, although it is harder to distinguish sexes and ages in the paintings. At any rate, these herd animals are shown in groups. Some of the goats in one group do not have clearly indicated horns, but it is hard to tell whether this is meant to portray smaller-horned females or immature animals, or simply results from damage to the painting. On the other hand, cattle are also herd animals but are always shown singly in paintings.

While the sample is small, the tendency to pairing in birds (cranes, in one case) is intriguing. Cranes form mating pairs, with the young remaining with the family for extended periods. They also form large

flocks for much of the year, which join in group activities such as dancing. Thus while depicting a pair is not at odds with crane behaviour, it is only one of several possible choices. Pairing is also a consistent theme in leopard reliefs (the only depictions of whole, living leopards in the wall art). This is a striking choice for a solitary animal. If these are indeed to be read as male–female pairs, they depict the brief association at mating time. At least one pair could equally be read as fighting (although this is harder to argue for the pair that is posed tail to tail). What is most notable about the leopard pairs, and to a slightly lesser extent the pairs of equids, cranes, and one set of vultures, is their symmetry of posture. In contrast to the possible family groups of red deer, which move together in a loose group, these pairs stress twinning or opposition.

Turning to associations between different taxa measured by their appearance on the same wall, the paintings show little patterning. For the most part, either only a single taxon appears, or several are mixed with no consistent associations (in the two ‘hunting shrines’). Animal paintings are rarely combined with reliefs or installations on the same wall (although the reliefs and installations are often themselves painted).

The only exceptions are two scenes

Table 14.12. *Co-occurrences of animal representations on the same wall (column abbreviations equate to row labels; numbers indicate how many walls have both the column and the row item).*

	CH	SH	PH	LR	SF	BJ	FJ	MJ	VS	GP
Cattle head (CH)										
Sheep head (SH)	8									
Plaster horn (PH)	1									
Leopard relief (LR)										
Splayed figure (SF)	5	1								
Boar jaw (BJ)	3	2			1					
Fox jaw (FJ)	1	1								
Mustelid jaw (MJ)	1	1					1			
Vulture skull (VS)	1		1							
Goat painting (GP)				2						

Table 14.13. *Interaction with humans in paintings.*

	None	Associated	Acted upon	Actively engaged
Canid		1		
Bear				1
Felid				1
Equid				7
Boar				4
Fallow deer				1
Red deer				14
Cervid		1		
Cattle	1			2
Goat	13			
Quadruped	1	5		8
Splayed figure	2			
Vulture			10	2
Bird		2		

there is only a limited time of year when red deer social organization would approximate this, raising the question of whether perhaps red deer are particularly

with goats associated with leopard reliefs in a single room. We therefore summarize in Table 14.12 only the goat paintings along with those categories of

Table 14.14. *Animal paintings by level from Mellaart's excavations.*

Level	No. of buildings	No. with paintings	Per cent buildings with paintings
III	14	2	14%
IV	15	2	13%
V	25	1	4%
VI	68	(3)	(4%)
VII	45	3–4	7–9%
VIII	11	2	18%
IX	2	1	50%

reliefs and on-wall installations that co-occur with other categories on the same wall. Here we see that splayed figure reliefs are often (though not invariably) associated with cattle heads, some better documented than others (and while we include the association in VIB.10, as noted in the discussion of the reliefs, the splayed figure relief may not actually belong in this building). Cattle and sheep heads also tend to appear together, and these animal heads are often associated with the various skulls and mandibles mounted on walls ('breasts'). This group occurs separately from the leopard reliefs and thus may be used in a different context or associated with a different set of people. Considering associations at the level of co-occurrences in the same building rather than wall does not change the picture much. The 'hunting shrines' have still more taxa appearing together, and the vulture paintings in one case (VII.21) are found with sheep and cattle heads and a boar jaw.

Verhoeven (2002) proposes that human-animal linkages, perhaps specifically with wild animals, are a key component of the symbolic and ritual world of the PPNB further east. Therefore we investigate associations of animal and human representations at Çatalhöyük. This is chiefly an issue for the paintings. As we noted above, a few figurines combine human and animal representations, usually with the human riding or sitting on the animal. There are only a few cases of animal parts or representations in burials. The reliefs do not include human forms unless the splayed figures are regarded as anthropomorphic, in which case they would frequently be associated with cattle and sheep heads as discussed above. The paintings, though, include many human figures, as well as animals without humans.

In Table 14.13 we tally the number of animal representations in paintings per taxon according to human interactions with them, not including skins and feathers. These interactions are categorized, from the human point of view, as 'none' (no human figure in the vicinity), 'associated' (human figure nearby but not

interacting with animal), 'acted upon' (animal acting on human), and 'actively engaged' (human figure or figures interacting with the animal). Active engagement includes touching the animal (pulling tongues, tails, etc.), standing close to it, or running/dancing toward or around it. Goats and the somewhat dubious painted splayed figures are the only taxa never shown with humans. The pair of cranes and the one clear canid also stand apart from human figures, although some occur elsewhere in the panels. Humans are actively engaged with the other taxa, although most of the vultures are acting on inert, headless humans rather than vice versa. Since the vulture paintings are among the earliest known from the site, this difference in interaction could represent a temporal change in attitudes toward animals. However, it is also specific to vultures, and the earliest vulture painting has a human figure actively attacking or warding off the birds, or, by analogy to Tibetan practice, calling habituated vultures to deflesh the corpse (Schüz & König 1983, 465–7). Since current work on the human remains (see Andrews *et al.*, Volume 4, Chapter 11) does not support exposure to vultures as part of the funerary ritual, however, it seems more likely that this depicts a scene from a myth or story.

Conclusions

There are hints that the balance of media in which animal representations are rendered may change through time. It is evident from Tables 14.2–14.4 that animal reliefs occur only in Levels X–VI while installations and special deposits peak in Level VI and are rare afterwards. It is harder to read the frequency of paintings from Table 14.1, since it tallies individual animals rather than paintings. We therefore tally the number of buildings with animal paintings in Table 14.14. Since animal paintings occur only in Mellaart's excavations, we also tally the number of buildings excavated in each level of his excavations to correct for the varying amounts excavated in different levels. These numbers are taken from Ritchey's analysis (Hodder 1996), which is based on the level plans in Mellaart's annual reports (Mellaart 1962c; 1963d; 1964e; 1966b). Since Mellaart does not give a complete accounting of which buildings he excavated, it is possible that not all of these were actually excavated, but the numbers of planned buildings should provide some control for the area excavated in the various levels. On this basis it is less clear that animal paintings increase through time in terms of the number of buildings with such paintings. The number of animal representations increases because the two 'hunting shrines' each contain many animal images. The dip in animal paintings in

Level VI probably results from the large-scale fires in this level, which, as Mellaart (1964e, 50) notes, destroy the paintings. It is less clear why there are so few animal paintings in Level V. Conversely, installations and special deposits are probably more frequent in Level VI because the catastrophic fire prevented their removal during the usual abandonment/post-abandonment routine (but see Cessford & Near, Chapter 11, this volume).

The lack of reliefs after Level VI is intriguing and possibly represents a real shift in the media of animal representations. However, since most of the later levels were excavated before the earlier ones, it is possible that Mellaart did not identify scars in the plaster as reliefs until later in the project; this may also account for the lower number of installations in the later levels. He would surely not have missed well-preserved reliefs, but is difficult to be sure whether the lack of later reliefs is genuine or the result of a change in abandonment practices so that they were no longer left on walls. We know from both Mellaart's accounts and the renewed excavations that reliefs were often removed from walls either at abandonment or later (via pits dug through the fill) from Level VI down. In sum, problems of documentation and differential preservation preclude firm conclusions about change through time. On current evidence, it seems likely that changes were not dramatic shifts in media, but more subtle changes in abandonment or post-use behaviours and in the elaboration of painted panels.

Social context

Animal representations and installations have life cycles tied to the life cycles of houses. Animal parts probably derived from feasting remains are incorporated into houses prior to and during construction, as well as during the use of the house (marking remodeling?). They are also placed in houses at abandonment. Most or all of these would be invisible from the start (assuming that abandoned houses were rapidly filled after the placement of these items). Animal parts are also mounted on walls where they would have been visible for some time. Animal heads and jaws are eventually covered in clay (converted into 'breasts'). Mellaart found some plaster animal heads with horns in place on the walls, but many were merely scars. Most of the surviving heads come from Level VI, where fires apparently prevented the normal abandonment process. Horns from dismantled installations may in some instances be incorporated into other buildings as foundation or platform deposits or spread on the floors of abandoned buildings, although it is hard to be sure this is the origin of horns in such positions. Some clearly end up in middens and fills. Given the intimate

relation of buildings, middens, and fills (buildings are carefully broken down to make fills; things used in buildings are discarded in middens, then the midden is used to make bricks and mortars for other houses, etc.) this cannot necessarily be taken to indicate that dismantled installations carried no further value (Martin & Russell 2000). It does, however, move them into another context where they are less directly associated with a building. At the end of their use lives, the heads, hands, and feet of splayed figure reliefs were usually knocked off, although the splayed figures were not completely removed from the walls (at least not all of them). In contrast, the leopard reliefs, after multiple replasterings and repainting, remain intact on the walls (particularly interesting if the splayed figures are in fact leopards as well). Paintings are also often plastered over and repainted, but in the end covered with plain plaster.

These contrasting use lives surely indicate differing contexts of use. While a wide variety of animal parts are incorporated invisibly into houses or placed in them at abandonment, a much narrower range is mounted visibly on walls. Scapulae, for instance, while clearly carrying special meaning, are never so displayed. All the animal parts that are displayed on walls are pointy and perhaps can be considered 'dangerous things': horns, carnivore and boars' teeth, vulture beaks.

Clearly, then, there is no single role for animal representations at Çatalhöyük, nor are there likely to be single meanings for particular taxa. Working from the patterns of occurrence in time and space, associations, placement, visibility, and permanence, we can suggest something about the varied social contexts that created these representations and deposits. First, we can make a general distinction between animal representations (paintings and reliefs) and installations and special deposits. The representations are characterized by episodic motifs that flower for 2–3 levels (a few generations) and then disappear. It is more difficult to discuss spatial distributions with so little of the tell excavated, but we can note a distinction between the more widespread splayed figures and other motifs. These splayed figures may therefore either have had especially broad appeal, or have been associated with rituals or beliefs that were more widely shared. Installations and deposits of actual animal parts, on the other hand, are more widely distributed in time and space. This is probably also true of the portable artefacts representing animals.

There are also distinctions within the animal representations. The paintings were visible for only a relatively short time, while reliefs remained in view for longer, apparently until the end of the occupation

of the building. Leopard reliefs were replastered and renewed many times, as were at least some modelled animal heads, while this is not indicated for the splayed figure reliefs. On the other hand, splayed figure reliefs and many animal heads were defaced or removed during or after abandonment, while the leopards, as far as we know, were always left intact. Thus it would appear that the act of creating the paintings was more important than the paintings themselves; they were not painted to decorate the rooms. The paintings may also have held potentially dangerous power that needed to be contained by covering them. All of this strongly suggests that the paintings were created as part of ritual performances (see Last this volume). Due to differential preservation, we do not know whether every building had some kind of painting, but within buildings only occasional layers of plaster are painted, and animal paintings are quite rare. Thus the ceremonies associated with their creation cannot have been very widespread or very frequent, certainly not annual calendrical festivals, for instance. Nor can they have been performed at every marriage or funeral, although they might have marked life-cycle events of particular people.

The episodic nature of the themes suggests that while there may have been a general framework for the ceremonies, there was room for innovation. Particular imagery lost its power after a time and was supplanted by new images and very likely new narratives. The paintings may be depictions of myths or of visions. While larger ceremonies may have been held off the tell, those associated with the creation of the paintings took place inside buildings that could have held only a small portion of the population and would have hidden the proceedings from outsiders. The participants could be kin groups, potentially larger than the family occupying the building, but probably not more than 40–50 people. Or perhaps the episodic themes trace the rise and fall of secret societies mobilized around new revelations. It is possible to read the crowded 'hunting scenes', the latest-known animal paintings, as an elaboration reflecting the need for increasingly complex and dramatic narratives to create a fresh impact. In this case, whether the events depicted are hunts, sacrifices, or rejoicing around dead game, they are not literal depictions of actual events but rather of mythical happenings.

At least some of the reliefs (leopards and splayed figures) also display an episodic character, but they remain visible for longer periods and rarely co-occur with animal paintings. Thus they may also be tied to changing myths or sodalities, but are most likely associated with different kinds of rituals. Splayed figures seem to have been created once, then left

visible and unaltered until abandonment, when their heads and extremities were knocked off (unless this in fact happened earlier). They were an ongoing presence in these buildings, open to any who had access to the buildings themselves. Perhaps the head and foot removal was less to render them harmless than to transfer their power to a new building by incorporating them into the building material. The leopards were not transferred in this way, but were renewed frequently. In contrast to the paintings, the leopard reliefs participated in repeated ceremonies. Since building VII.44 is a rare case with animal paintings in addition to the leopard reliefs, it may be that the spots ('hoofprints') sprinkled over the paintings are the result of one of these renewals, with spots added to the paintings as well as the leopards (although in a different colour). The occasional repetition of a theme in paintings (vultures) or reliefs (leopards) in successive levels of the same building might indicate that the story or the ceremony was owned by a person or a small group. If so, this ownership could clearly be transferred to the occupants of other buildings. In this case, one could read the disappearance of themes after 2–3 building levels as an eventual failure to transfer ownership.

We may also distinguish among the uses of animal body parts. The heads and jaws that become 'breasts' have a use life that resembles that of the splayed figures: installed visibly and present until at abandonment (or at least some later time) they are partially erased, in this case by covering them up (unless this occurred through gradual coatings of plaster, in which case the use life would be more akin to that of the paintings). Again like the splayed figures, at least some remain in the building after abandonment; of course we cannot be sure that some were not removed, leaving unintelligible scars in the plaster. These heads and jaws are unlikely to be feasting remains. They are all from taxa that are relatively rare at the site and most would not be considered prime meat sources. The boar (the most frequent taxon in this context) could certainly be feasting food, but in fact the meaty parts of boar are extremely rare on the tell, especially after the earliest levels (see Russell & Martin, Volume 4, Chapter 2). Therefore these are less likely to be commemorative, and more likely to be chosen for the particular meaning of these taxa. All of them are relatively fierce animals, although some (vulture, fox, weasel or even badger) pose little danger to people. Their purpose may then be apotropaic. Their placement almost exclusively on the east wall, where burials often occur, strongly suggests some link to the dead, whether it is protecting the living from ghosts or keeping the ancestors safe.

Visibly mounted horns (in heads, walls, benches, and pillars) are placed less specifically, and most or all derive from cattle, a prime feasting food. Some of the plaster heads containing horns are renewed with fresh plaster and paint in a manner similar to the leopards. In general, though, the impression is that they were normally removed from buildings (and perhaps incorporated in other buildings) at abandonment. These seem more like trophies of successful hunts or visible badges of feasts hosted (Simoons 1968). The frequent clustering of such displays in particular buildings would imply either greater differentiation in building function than is otherwise apparent (only some buildings are used to display such items, thus these buildings are in some sense public), or certain people (e.g. lineage heads) are far more likely to sponsor hunts or feasts than others. Since splayed figures often occur in these same buildings, they may also be associated with whatever social unit (lineage head, big man, sodality) distinguishes these buildings.

Most of the special deposits appear to be a different kind of memento: not displayed publicly (at least to all who enter the building), but invisibly incorporated into the fabric of the house and perhaps other deposits. These deposits are clearly partial: often fragments of horns or bones, rarely a complete animal. Either a few representative bits of the remains of the ceremony (featuring but not limited to animal remains) are selected, or the remains are spread widely among many houses. Here it is not a matter of displaying hunting prowess or generosity, but appropriating the power of the ceremony. Perhaps these deposits are also in some sense protective; in any case they add to the sense that the house itself was a central metaphor for human life. Of particular note is the deposit outside Building 1 containing the crane wing. The cut marks on this wing suggest it was part of a costume (Russell & McGowan 2003), thus implying another performance involving animal images and body parts prior to the performance of the ritual interment of part of the costume.

While we do not have space here to review animal representations and special deposits elsewhere in the region during the Neolithic, it is worth noting in passing that some of these themes can be seen elsewhere. Certain taxa such as cattle, felines (leop-

ards and lions), canids, cranes, and vultures appear repeatedly, as do certain body parts such as horns and scapulae (e.g. Becker 2002; Cauvin 1994; Clason 1999; Gourichon 2002; Hauptmann 1999; Kozłowski 1989; Schmidt 1999; Verhoeven 2002). In some cases, there are strong stylistic resemblances among representations from different sites, although often executed in different media or appearing in different contexts. Still, there is also a good bit of variation among sites in the deployment of these images. The impression is less of specific cults shared across a region than of a loosely-linked set of myths and a symbolic repertoire deployed and reinterpreted locally and through time.

In conclusion, we re-emphasize that the quantification we have offered here is only approximate, due to limitations of preservation, identification, and documentation. Moreover, a quantitative approach is only one possible, and limited, way to analyze animal representations. Stylistic and contextual analyses currently in progress (by SM) will provide further insights. Nevertheless, some things have become apparent. There are real differences in the representation of taxa among the various media. Placement and associations among taxa show some patterning, but perhaps less than might have been anticipated. What is most striking for the paintings and the leopard reliefs is their patchiness. While themes are repeated, this never extends beyond two successive incarnations of a given house, although (as with leopard reliefs, vulture paintings, and 'hunting shrines') they may appear in other houses nearby as well. This discrete quality makes it hard to detect temporal trends in these media. On the other hand, plaster animal heads, splayed figure reliefs, and installations and special deposits are much more ubiquitous. Animal representations and animal body parts clearly played multiple roles in a variety of social contexts, some more open and widely shared than others. Drawing on the various lines of evidence we have explored here, we have offered some tentative suggestions of what these contexts might be. While we have stressed the multiple contexts in which animal representations and body parts were deployed, this is still no doubt a simplistic account that can be expanded through further more detailed work.