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A FOCUS ON THE BODY DETAILS OF EARLY BRONZE AGE FIGURINES AND IDOLS OF ANATOLIA

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RESUMEN: Una investigación precisa sobre detalles de los cuerpos de figurillas e ídolos nos demuestra que el cambio y desarrollo durante el Bronce Antiguo Inicial de la tradición de la Diosa Madre en Anatolia tiene sus auténticos orígenes en el X milenio a.C. Se ha interpretado, en base a la información proveniente de excavaciones arqueológicas, que algunas ceremonias de culto a la misma Diosa Madre se realizaron en el Bronce Antiguo Inicial de Anatolia. Durante esa época apareció por vez primera una forma plana y muy abstracta llamada “ídolos” perteneciente a la tradición de la Diosa Madre. Esos ídolos aparecieron de forma misteriosa y son totalmente diferentes a las formas plásticas de los objetos antropomórficos del período más temprano. El objeto de este estudio es intentar descifrar el “lenguaje corporal” de las figurillas e ídolos que provienen de una era de la que no han sobrevivido testimonios escritos. Y se insiste que los ornamentos y figuras abstractas sobre los cuerpos de figurillas e ídolos, lejos de ser simples representaciones, pueden haber tenido significados simbólicos muy importantes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Anatolia, Figurilla, Ídolo, Edad del Bronce Inicial, Detalles corporales

ABSTRACT: A detailed research on the body details of idols and figurines proving the changing and developing in Early Bronze Age of the Mother Goddess tradition of Anatolia having its origins in the 10th Millennium BC has been carried out for the first time. It has been understood from the information coming out of excavations that some cult ceremonies to the name of Mother Goddess were performed in Early Bronze Age in Anatolia. During that time a flat and highly abstract form called “idols” appear for first time in Mother Goddess Tradition.

These idols, coming out in a rather mysterious way, are totally different than the plastic forms of earlier period’s anthropomorphic objects. The aim of this paper is to try deciphering the “body language”
of figurines and idols coming from an era where no written records survive to our time. And it is claimed that the ornaments and abstracts figures on the bodies of figurines and idols, far from being simple drawings, may have very important symbolic meanings.

**KEY WORDS:** Anatolia, Figurine, Idol, Early Bronze Age, Body Details

The female statuettes, usually attributed to Mother Goddess Cults of Anatolia, were in the existence since the 10th Millenium BC, Pre-pottery Neolithic Age. Their production continued in the following Chalcolithic Age. And in the Early Bronze Age it increased tremendously. But during that time a second kind of very abstract and flat female form appeared for the first time.

This new form (idol) didn’t come into the existence suddenly but was a logical result of thousands years slow development and abstraction of the main plastic mother goddess figure we know very well from Çatalhöyük (Pic.1) and Hacilar (Pic.2) or Koskhöyük (pic.3). And the very existence of a second type of figure named figurines continued the plastic form and many of the bodily details of a normal human body but representing something completely different the Mother Goddess of bygone eras shows us that important changes in the spiritual life of societies were taken place.
The distinct separation of these two types of human representations and their coexistence make us think that they were having changes in their meanings too. The figurine’s postures and the expressions of their faces make us believe that the Mother Goddess Cult was developing into a more sophisticated format having for the first time some full time priestess and religious servants.

Scientists have not been surprised by the fact that the figurines of the Early Bronze Age are formed in two styles very different than the overweight Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines. The Early Bronze Age figurines are either flat or slim in appearance. This change in style has been interpreted as an immense development as it was seen as abstracting form into two dimensional, from the accustomed three dimensional forms of the previous ages¹ (Table.1).

Table 1
Abstraction of the Mother Goddess figure sitting in the throne from 7th millennium BC till 3rd millennium BC.

¹Thimme, 1976.
Despite the fact that figurines and idols may be found in the same levels in archaeological excavations, the possible reasons why the figurines were not as much abstract as the idols was never questioned.

After studying hundreds of samples from each group the existence of a subtle but undeniable contextual difference reveals itself. The co-existence of both groups side by side supports the idea that they were produced in the first hand for different purposes and were used in different contexts.

I think that those very abstract anthropomorphic forms from Anatolian Early Bronze Age consisting solely of head, neck and body are the new interpretation of the same Mother Goddess which becomes more and more abstract herself giving maybe some hints of a very modern concept of God devoid of any humanly form, we are so much used to nowadays.2

When taking into considerations their postures, their facial expressions and their in situ positions in excavations we think that three dimensional figurines are far from depicting Mother Goddess. Especially in those found at Alaca Höyük (Pic. 4) in Central Anatolia, Kuzeto in the Central Black Sea region (Pic. 5), Demircihüyük (Pic. 6), Çikrik (Pic. 7) and Nader (Pic. 8), Alhisar (Pic. 9), Bolvadin Üçler (Pic. 10) in the Transition Region, Harran (Pic. 11) in the South Eastern Anatolia of this concept is very clear.

With their slim and "model like" appearance, which is closer to the beauty concepts of our time, these females look very different than the fat, feeding and fertile Mother Goddess. An other very interesting characteristic is the amazement or downright fear you can see on their faces. They are not the solemn and imposing Goddess from Hacilar but creatures
looking very vulnerable and like mere mortals. Some of them are holding up their hands as if asking some favour from an all powerful being, and some others sit with their hands on their knees, in a deep respect as if listening to it, while some others look like offering something. Instead of being Goddesses themselves they are reminding us the different characters who can be in a cult ceremony.

If not Goddesses who are they? The first idea coming into the mind is that they can symbolize a newly emerging priestess class serving Mother Goddess. They can be holy queens or princess from the ruling class with distinct religious duties. Or they can be the predecessors of the lesser gods who will appear in the following millennium in Hittites, like protector goddesses. In Hittites there were many small deities with distinct duties. In Anatolia towards the end of Early Bronze Age there were political and religious changes. In around 2000 BC the Hittites appeared almost suddenly with their complex social and religious institutions. I think that this would be possible if only Hittites used the cultural and religious infrastructure which existed already in Anatolia. Meaning that maybe these small figurines, with their numbers increasing towards the end of the 3rd Millennium were the earlier forms these gods.

Of course there is a third possibility: maybe these small figurines were representing symbolically the worshippers themselves. If this is the case, one can be surprised to see that not only the worshipped one was an all powerful female but the worshippers also were almost only females, thus leaving us with more questions than answers.

Both the idols and the figurines are the basic material evidence we have about the religious beliefs of the Early Bronze Age of Anatolia. Seeing as this, every single incision or ornament put on these small bodies must have a tremendous symbolical importance. It is very interesting to note that some of the symbolic expressions we find on these female figures are coming from a time before the writing reached Anatolia but they are still recognizable in more than 4,000 years later.

This paper is the result of the first detailed research on the idols and figurines of the Early Bronze Age. The aim is to decipher the "body language" of these small silent ladies.

When the cross sections of the human bodied figurines and idols of the Early Bronze Age are examined in close details they appear to be classified into two categories, as: 1- Plastic or Cylindrical Type shaped (Statuette-figurine) 2- Flat (idol) (Table:2). They have two basic stances: standing or sitting.

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4 The fact that a figurine found in prehistoric Yalia, Cyprus carries an amuette almost identical to herself supports our theory. Karageorgis 1981, fig.12.

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Table 2: EBA Anatolian figurines and idols’s basic body shapes

Plastic

Flat

Ayfon/Cikrik

Beycesultan Kusura type

Head and face shapes (Table 3)

<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
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<th>Cylindrical</th>
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I-Head and face shapes of figurines

a) Flat Faced: They generally have embossed brows, nose and ears, and have their chins and cheeks detailed. Heads are protruding in the back, necks are emphasized. Heads usually have straight cut faces with polos or a bun protruding in the back of the head. This type of head have been produced more frequently in EBA I and II, at Demircihöyük and Kültüoba in the Transition Region, in EBA II and III at İkitezpe of the Central Black Sea Region.

Triangular faced: The flat topped heads are circular in shape when viewed from above, and appear to be compressed from both sides into a triangular shape, when seen from a side view. The nose protrudes. The flat topped head has short hair carved as being parted in the middle. The face has carved straight eye brows, an embossed nose, pressed eye sockets and irises, while the mouth is a line. The chin is undefined and connected to the neck. They are mostly seen in EBA I and II of İkitezpe in the Central Anatolian Region.

Bird Faced: These give the impression of looking like a bird with their rounded heads and 0protruding three dimensional noses. The bird faced figurines overlap with the Ancient European female figurines produced since the Palaeolithic Period, and defined as “Bird Goddesses” by Gimbutas. The closest examples to the Anatolian bird faced figurines have been found at Sesdo in Tesalya (5900-5700 B.C.)

No other features, except the nose, have been defined on the face. Hair and sometimes multiple pierced ears are apparent. They are seen; during EBA I, II and III at Alişar in the Central Anatolian Region, at Tepecik/Makarazitepe in the South Anatolian Region and during EBA III – MBA: at Harran in the South eastern Anatolian Region. This figure, which is reminiscent of the demons (Symbolic creatures that are a combination of humans and animals were frequently found in Ancient Mesopotamian iconography) widespread in the Balkan and Mesopotamian cultures, can be traced to have come from the more southern Assyrian Colonies rather than from the Balkans, into Central Anatolia.

b) Head and Face Shapes of Idols

Circular Heads: The sub categories of these are circular, oval and wide shaped. Their cross sections appear to be flat. The facial features such as the brows and eyes have been drawn by pressing and carving. These type of heads are commonly found in almost very region across Anatolia.

Crescent Shaped Heads: The heads are flat and semi circular and taper off by the ears to a thin long piece that joins the neck. The faces have curved and joined eye brows and round

5 Gimbutas, 1989, p.31-41.
8 Gimbutas 1989, p.35

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eyes that have been drawn by carving. Facial features such as a nose and a mouth are rarely seen. These heads are more commonly found idols from EBA II and III in the settlement areas around Ankara in the Central Anatolian Region. Idols with these type of heads are sometimes seen to be wearing a tiara style head dress and therefore appear goddess-like in examples, such as those found at EBA II and III Alişar, Kalımaya and the one at Kütahya Museum.

*Quadrilateral Heads:* This type of head is neither rectangular nor square but quadrangular and they have a flat appearance from the side. They have commonly been applied to the EBA I and II Çağkınar type of idols. I believe that quadrilateral headed idols are in fact a stylized version of the idols with polos styled head wear. Quadrilateral heads are stylized versions of the polos wearing females such as those seen in Can Hasan since the Neolithic Ages in Anatolia, and the Hittite embossed idols of Goddess Kubaba and her ladies-in-waiting.

*Conic heads:* These include heads that become triangular towards the top and are normally flat. In some examples, the head becomes very pointed while the eyes are hollowed out cavities and the eye brows are grooved out. The group of idols we define as having conic heads are stylized interpretations of the Ahlatlıbel and Karayavaşan idols that had tasselled head wear. More prominent examples of this type are; the statuette recovered at Hacilar, and the LNA head dress of the embossed woman figure on the cup fragment found at Köşk Höyük. These head dresses are seen on the heads of lead figurines from the post EBA period of 2,000 B.C., on the embossed orthostat from the “Courtesans’ Ceremonial Procession” at Samšal Zincirli Işkale, Hilani III, during the late Hittite period. These figures are wearing “arami” style head dresses with tassels and pompoms.

*Stem Heads:* Flat heads have been completely without defining the neck and the upper parts, have been slightly rounded off or formed into a point. These heads, which remind us of a stem, were produced in Western Anatolia at Beycesultan and Yeğenbademli, in Central Anatolia at Alişar, Alacahöyük, Karayavaşan and Kültepe, in Eastern Anatolia at Norşuntepe.

*Cylindrical heads:* On this type of head, the features are rarely in plastic form and protruding. They have, usually, indented eyes which form a nose in the area between the eyes. A mouth is sometimes shown. Cylindrical heads are seen on figurines and idols found at Ikiztepe and Maşat Höyük in The Central Black Sea Region from the EBA I and on the EBA I and II samples from The Transition Region as well as on EBA III samples of South Eastern Anatolia.

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Footnotes:

1 Kulaçoğlu, 1992, cat.no.69, 72, 73,74,75,76.
2 Darga, 1992, p.251-252, fig. 257, 259.
3 Mellarc, 1961p.54.
4 Öztan, 2002 p. 65.
5 Enare, 1971 pl. V.
c) Facial Features

The most frequently displayed facial features on figurines and idols are eyes and brows. The next most commonly displayed group of features are the nose, mouth and ears. In some plastic examples the mouth is a round cavity, but this type of mouth is hardly ever seen on flat idols. It is also interesting to observe that, though the brows and the eyes are more often depicted on the flat examples, on these examples the nose and the mouth are clearly depicted. At this point, the portrayal style of the eyes on the figurines and idols become ever more prominent. The organ that is responsible for optical reception is openly revered on these objects. According to Giumbutas; the fact that figurines of the ancient world had their eyes depicted clearly is an indication of the fact that they were perceived as goddesses “who saw everything.”\(^{14}\) I fully agree with her idea. Also these idols have no mouth almost at all. This must have a symbolical meaning; most probably giving us a goddess “who sees all, but never speaks” to the ordinary mortals, reminding us a very modern concept of God we are used to nowadays in our monotheist religions. Conversely, the well depicted mouths of the figurines should be considered as a further proof of their mortal nature.

Yet, the organ responsible for hearing has not been displayed on these objects in every geographical region. They appear to have been made in an effort to place decorative features such as ear rings and the first time pierced ears have been seen in Anatolia is at Alişar Ia of Central Anatolia. Pierced ears were later produced in EBA II and III at Ikitetepe in The Central Black Sea region and we understand through the examples found in the Ancient Hittite regions of Korucutepe that they continued to be produced in the Eastern Anatolian region in 2.000 B.C.\(^{15}\) It is also known that figurines with pierced ears were produced in Mesopotamia and Cyprus in 2.000 B.C. Ears with multiple pierces have been seen on figurines dated to the MBA II, in the coastal regions of Mesopotamia, such as; Syria, Lebanon, Israel (Ta’alânakh), which have been dated to the beginning of 2000 B.C., and at Cyprus Enkomi\(^{16}\).

\[\text{d) Hair and Head Wear (Table:4a-b)}\]

Hairstyles are varied and are either long, short or piled up on the head. Short hair is usually accompanied with a fringe on the forehead. These fringed styles are more commonly seen in Çaykenar Type of idols of EBA I-II in the South Eastern Anatolian Region. Short hair styles without a fringe were used on the figurines with a flat topped head and a triangular face

\[^{14}\text{Gimbutas, 1989, p.51.}\]
\[^{15}\text{Ertem 1988, p.11-13, s.15-17.}\]
\[^{16}\text{Desmond 1985; Tattai-Brown 1997, p.49; Caubet and others 1992, p.44-45.}\]
during EBA I and II in the Central Black Sea Region, and on EBA I-II of the Transition Region. Although the use of long hair on figurines and idols was not very wide spread, examples have been found in Troya, Kusura, Alaca Höyük, Alışar, Kültepe (Pic.12a-b) and Harran. When long hair is seen on figurines and idols it is braided and goes down the back. Gathered hair styles are more prominently shown on figurines. Many examples of this type have been found in the Central Black Sea Region, at İkiztepe. Idols, on the other hand, sometimes have a protrusion on one side of the head, which have been identified as gathered hair and have been seen in the idols recovered from Demircihöyük and Sariket Cemetery, in the Transition Region. The hair styles that have been identified as the hair being gathered on one side of the
head; have been observed on the marble idols of the area. While Korfmann finds these similar to the tiaras worn by goddesses. Höckmann believes these protrusions on the side of the head to be hair accessories such as a hair comb. During the EBA, Anatolian figurines were often produced with head dresses such as polos, conical hats, berets or tiaras.

II-Neck Shapes

Except the cylindrical figurines and idols, all plastic and flat shaped figurines and idols have their neck depicted as an extremely elongated, elongated, or short limb. Extremely elongated necks have been seen at Beycesultan in Western Anatolia from between EBA I and II, as well as on Central Anatolian figurines and idols of the Transition Region from EBA II and EBA II-III. The carved or pressed decorations and adornments on the neck usually depict visually rich and artistic necklaces, chokers and collars. According to Dales: "The wealth and variety of neck decorations must be indicative of goddess adornments."

17 Korfmann and Höckmann, 1983, p.26,
18 Korfmann and Höckmann, 1983, p.27
19 Dales 1963, p.21-22.

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Body and Limbs Shapes—Decorations

a) Body Shapes: (Table 5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair</th>
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<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>Poio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Beret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gathered</td>
<td>Crown</td>
</tr>
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Natural Bodies: These are plastic examples that have natural body features such as; defined neck, arms, hands, breasts, waist, belly, hips, legs, feet and toes.

Sack-Shaped Bodies: These include flat and schematic examples that grow wider after the waist and have the lower torso finished off with a wide edge or it tapers off into a point. Sack shaped bodies are the most frequently found EBA Anatolian figurines. I believe that sack shaped torsos are a stylized version of the original seated and overweight female goddess statuettes. Flat and stylized examples with sack shaped bodies have been interpreted by O. Höckmann as the stylized version of earlier examples depicting women crouching down.26

Disc-Shaped Bodies: This category describes bodies that do not have a defined neck, arms or waist and are circular in shape. Disc shaped bodies were used at Alişar, Alaca Höyük and Kültepe in the Central Anatolian Region, and at Maşat Höyük in the Central Black Sea Region.

Quadrilateral Bodies: The part after the waist is angular and has corners. Çaykenar idols from South East Anatolia have quadrilateral bodies.

26 O. Höckmann, 1976, p. 177.
Bell Shaped Bodies: Figures in this category appear to be wearing skirts as the body widens out into a bell shape, after the waist. Flat and bell shaped examples have been recovered at Çaykenar in South East Anatolia, at Kültepe in Central Anatolia, at İkiztepe in the Central Black Sea Region and at Burhan Höyük in South Eastern Anatolia. The figurines recovered at Şemsiyetepe in Eastern Anatolia, which are clearly seen to be wearing long, billowing dresses that become bell shaped and three dimensional towards the edge with hollowed out insides are considered important as they support our theory that these are the stylized versions of the flat and bell shaped examples. Bell shaped figurines become more widespread in Eastern Anatolia after 2,000 B.C.

Hour-glass Shaped Bodies: These figurines are indented at half way, dividing the lower and upper torso into two equal parts, and look like an hour glass. The group that have been classified as the hour glass idols usually have inserted heads or do not have heads at all. Hour glass shaped idols have been found in the Central Black Sea Region and South Eastern Anatolia.

Pear Shaped Bodies: These flat bodies begin to widen out from the shoulders, do not have the waist defined and taper into a point at the end, creating a pear like shape. It is thought that pear shaped idols are the abstract versions of the standing, wide hipped idols with joined legs. Pear shaped idols have been recovered from Bakla Tepe, Babaköy in Western Anatolia, at Yalvaç in the Transition Region, at Alişar in Central Anatolia, in the Eastern Anatolia and at Yumuktepe in the South East Anatolia.

Cylindrical Bodies: These are shaped without defining the head, neck and body as different areas and have an elongated appearance. Examples of this type have been recovered from Yenibademli in North Western Anatolia, at İkiztepe21 Maşat höyük, Ulutep at the Central Black Sea Region and at Pulur in South Eastern Anatolia.

a) Limbs

Arms: Arms are seen to be shaped differently in various Anatolian EBA figurines and idols. Although arms are clearly visible in flat and plastic shaped figurines and idols, they are not defined noticeably in cylindrical shaped examples. The variety of positions used in depicting arms and hands are interesting as they show the availability of a wide variety of types. Arms are the first limbs to indicate the more schematic stylization developing.

Raised Arms: In these examples, the arms are raised upwards and outwards and take on the appearance of bird wings. In some examples, the outwardly open arms only have the tips pointing upwards and in our opinion these represent praying as their hands are pointed upwards. Raised arms were frequently used in the figurines of EBA III found at İkiztepe.

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21 O. Bilgi named the cylindrical bodied examples recovered from İkiztepe as “finger shaped”. 2001, p.84.

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Arms bent downwards: These types are designed either with the arms joined to the body or as a separate piece. They have been used in flat and plastic human depictions produced in all regions of Anatolia.

Arms placed on the body: In these examples the arms are designed: bent at the elbows and are either holding the breasts, the belly or the waist.

Arms Placed on the Knees: Thin, long arms extend from the shoulders and bend downwards and meet together on the knees. This type of arm depiction has only been used on EBA I and II era figurines of the Transition Period.

Arms placed on the face: The arms extend upwards from the shoulders and meet on the face with the hands leaning on the cheeks. A single example of this type has been recovered from the Transition Region. We are familiar with figurines that are holding their faces with their hands, from the Balkans and in Greece.22

Arms shaped as shoulder extensions: All examples of this type, whether they are plastic, flat or stylized human figures, had small, stumpy protrusions extending from the shoulder. Some examples have pointed extensions protruding a little further from the body. I believe that all the stumpy and pointed protrusions are the stylized version of plastic figurines holding their breasts. As seen clearly in the two standing, flat examples recovered in the Transition Region, protrusions shaped as extensions of the shoulder, which are half plastic shaped, are bent at the elbows and cross over together on the belly. The arms that protrude from the shoulders have also been seen on silver and bronze EBA figurines recovered at Alacahöyük but are not included in the thesis as they are made of materials that are not discussed in this work. A semi schematic terracotta example depicting pointed arms opened up to the sides at a right angle, has also been recovered at Kinet Höyük excavations in South Eastern Anatolia in 1999. The example that has been dated to MBA and is therefore excluded from this work is important: as it displays pointed and angled arms that are bent at the elbows and are holding the breasts. This sample holds its forefinger in an upward position and presses down on the breast while the lower fingers separate and support them. This figurine appears to be depicting a mother preparing to breastfeed.24

Bent Shaped Arms: In flat and stylized examples, the upper body is shaped angularly from the shoulder to the belly. There have been examples found from EBA I at Troya in the north eastern region of Anatolia and at Bakla Tepe in the inner regions of Western Anatolia and from EBA II-III at Aliyar in the Central Anatolian Region. The angular arm shapes must be

23 Kosay, 1951, lev. CXCV.
24 Gates, 2001, p. 219, pic. III.
stylized versions of the examples with their arms bent at the elbows and folded over on the belly/upper torso or the ones that are holding their breasts. The bent arm design of the EBA bronze figurines discovered at Alaca Höyük and Hasanoglan are clearly observed. The angularly bent shaped arms have parallel examples in the Balkans, Cyclades of the Aegean, Thermai in Lesbos and at Susa in the East.

**Legs**

Legs are the limbs that indicate whether, all plastic and flat figurines are in a standing, seated or crouched position. They are therefore in a variety of different positions which are classified into 4 categories: separated, joined, crouched or kneeling.

**Other Limbs**

The other limbs that are most frequently defined, except the arms and the legs, are sexual identity defining features such as breasts, and genitalia. These are followed by the belly, hips and anus.

**Breasts:** These are classified into three categories, which are: cavity, grooved or embossed types. The nipples are indicated on some examples. According to Gimbutas; “carefully modelled small or large breasts and the X, V and parallel markings on the breasts represent the “godly nurturing capabilities, milk/rain providing or life giving qualities” of the figurine, as well as being symbols of rain drops or steam”.

**Bellies:** have mostly been indicated by dots or circles on the body. Some have flowers created by pierced, grooved and incised shapes or adornments shaped as pluses or crosses.

**Genitalia (Table: 6)**

The depiction of the non-existence of features that enable us to determine the sexual identity of figurines and idols; both provide important information for us. The depiction of features such as the breasts, genitalia and the vaginal hole do not only indicate that all figurines (with the exception of three males) were females but that they were also representations of their sexual lives and reproductive functions. It is not compulsory to attribute a godly status or bestow religious virtues on these figurines as they are only showing essential and normal features. Yet, the question of why male figurines were not more frequently produced to represent the same values arises, which indicate that the identifying contents are purely related to

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Gimbutas, 1989, p.3-17.

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Table 6: Female Genitalia

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The first depictions of the female genitalia are from the Aurignacian period in 30,000 B.C. The large, triangular images with punctured holes on the lower side, found on cave walls in the Dordogne Region of France were first interpreted as being representations of female genitalia by Leroi-Gourhan. Where as Gimbutas refers to these images, previously described as super natural decorations, as “wombs filled with cosmic powers” and states that he believes them to have been viewed as “the source of the water of life.”

a) Body Decorations (Table: 7)

Among marble, metal, bone and terracotta figurines and idols of Anatolia, the most frequently decorated examples were terracotta. These body decorations were either parallel, diagonal, vertical or cross shaped. Sometimes they were filled in with a paste. The second most used types of decorations were; circular, dotted and floral; which were made by inserting a piercing object. Embossed decorations usually depicted appliqué stripes and emblems. Painted body decorations are observed more rarely. The grooved out designs depicting anatomical details, such as grooved and dotted arm muscles, rib bones and shoulder blades, which are seen on the Demircihüyük and Transition Region figurines are especially fascinating. These are reminiscent of the pregnant female figure that has a skeletal appearance from the back, found at Çatal Höyük in 2005 and therefore indicate that life and death symbolisms continued to be associated with the female body, well into the middle of EBA.

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The most frequently observed upper torso decoration is crisscrossed stripes. Single, double or triple stripes usually appear on the rib cage or the back. While crisscrossed patterns are frequently observed in flat and plastic examples, they are never seen on cylindrical ones.

As crisscrossed stripes were widely used throughout the ancient world and all its ages, scientists have not declared views or theories that are all inclusive on this subject. On a smaller geographical scale, crisscrossed stripes can be evaluated as indicators of traditions or the interaction between culture groups. Whether the symbolic meanings of these stripes were known, or whether the crisscrossed stripes developed into an artistic image throughout time, are not questions we have been able to answer. The stripes on Anatolian figurines and idols must have had a meaning related to the content as they are rarely the same.

There are contradictory views on the interpretation of crisscrossed decorations. There are some who believe that these represent vests, short embroidered jackets, bolero type jackets or hunting tools such as quiver holders, while some believe that they are religious symbols related to the cult of bulls. According to Korfmann, crisscrossed stripes were frequently observed on many objects, such as jewellery (tiaras, hair pins, plates, and amulets), sistrams, and fire places considered being sacred, throughout EBA. Korfmann believes that especially the crossed stripes which appear on bull horns found at Alaca Höyük sistrams, are clearly religious symbols. He declares that we will have a better understanding of the subject once we have a more comprehensive understanding of the priests and religious rituals of the bull cult which had been in existence in Anatolia since the Neolithic Ages, and has been observed in the Aegean Cretan-Minoan culture during 2000 B.C.

The crisscrossed stripes that appear on the upper torso should be accepted as unknown symbolisms. The question of whether these are some kind of talisman or whether they are some form of tattoo have never been answered.

The human depictions of the Early Bronze Age, such as idols, which have the waist at half way on the body, have grooved out stripes covering the whole waist area. But it is not known whether these depict a belt, a shawl wrapped around the hips or a skirt like clothing item.

When we examine the body decorations of Anatolian figurines and idols believed to be depicting clothing, the only plastic examples displaying such adornments are: the dotted and grooved samples found at Antalya in South West Anatolia, the circular cavities on the example found at Nudra and Demircihöyük in the Transition Region, the woven basket type and diagonal striped trousers of the figurines recovered at Ikiztepe in the Central Black Sea Region and the inserted, grooved, incised and painted decorations on the bell shaped painted figures of emsiyettepe in Eastern Anatolia. When it comes to cylindrical shaped examples, there are

28 Dales 1963, p.35-36; Schleemann 1881, p. 374.
only two which appear to have clothing decorated on them; and they were found at Yenibademli in the North Western Anatolian Region and at Ulutepe in the Central Black Sea Region. The example recovered at Ulutepe is truly unique as it has a cloak-like garment tied at the neck and billowing out at the back in large folds.

Flat examples differ in style according to the geographical area of recovery. In the North Western Anatolian Region, except the examples with crisscrossed stripes found at Troya and Yenibademli, there are no other clothed samples. All the figurines we classify as 'Çaykenar Type' in the South Eastern Anatolian Region display five types of body decorations, which are: cross, zigzag, vertical, horizontal and diamond shaped grooves. The largest selection of body decorations are viewed on the flat examples of the Central Anatolian Region. Most idols from this area display a square shaped image with a dotted decoration, which covers the whole lower torso area, and is reminiscent of genitalia. It can also be stated that some Vinça Figurines also have an apron-like clothing item tied at the waist with a thin piece of string. The pressed round cavities seen on the idols found at Maşat Höyük in the Central Black Sea Region are similar to an example recovered at Alaca Höyük, in the Central Anatolian Region. The Ikiztepe example with the bell shaped skirt also show a similarity to the flat Külepepe example from the Central Anatolian Region with the grooved out cross designs. The flat examples from Eastern Anatolia are similar to the İmikuaşği examples with the diagonal and vertical stripes resembling clothing. The only clothed example of the South Eastern Anatolian Region was recovered at Barhan Höyük and is adorned with painted decorations. The flat FBA example from Amukvasi in the South Eastern Anatolian Region has a parallel stripe on the end of the skirt, filled with a decoration made up of slanted lines.

I also believe that some pillar shaped examples, from a variety of places, with joined legs and in a standing position appear to be wearing a skin-hugging fine and long linen dress; although there are not any folds or painted decorations to define the existence of this dress. I arrive at this conclusion, based on the widening at the Pedi stool which indicates the billowing dress edge.

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36 Gimbutas 1996, p.32, fig. 23.

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